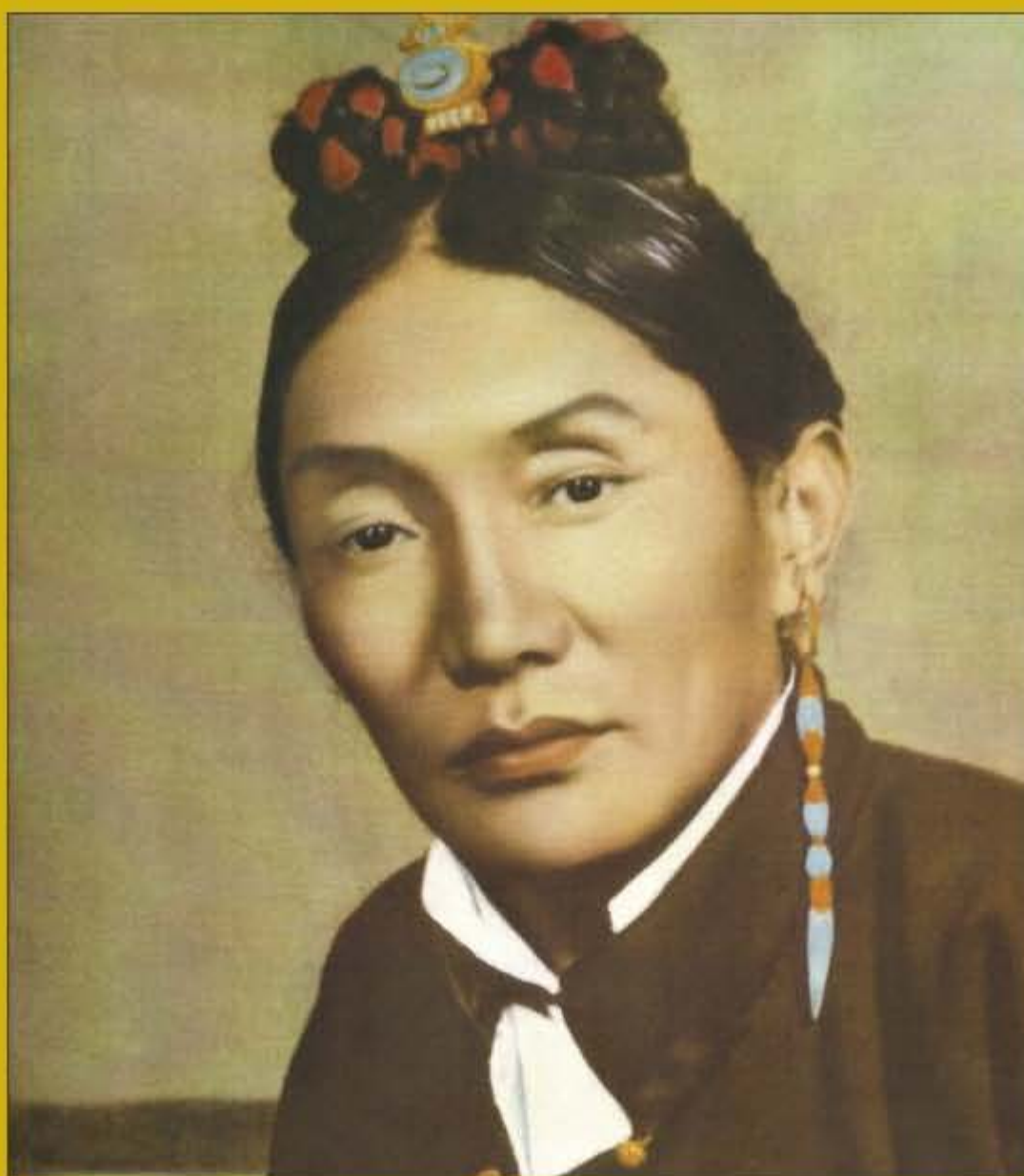


One Hundred Thousand Moons

AN ADVANCED POLITICAL HISTORY OF TIBET
VOLUME 1



BY
TSEPON WANGCHUK DEDEN SHAKABPA

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY DEREK F. MAHER

BRILL

One Hundred Thousand Moons

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VOLUME 23



Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa
Finance Minister of Tibet

One Hundred Thousand Moons

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CONTENTS
VOLUME 1

List of maps and illustrations	viii
Foreword by Matthew T. Kapstein	ix
Translator's Preface	xi
Author's Preface	xxxv
Note on Chronology and the Sources	xlix
 Chapter One Origin of Tibet and the Tibetans and the Common and Uncommon Culture and Traditions of the Tibetan People	 1
 Chapter Two Power of the Ancient Religious Kingdom of Tibet that was Protected by the Strength of Buddhism	 109
 Chapter Three Era of the Fragmentation of Tibet	 173
 Chapter Four Preceptor-Patron Relationship Between Genghis Khan and Sakya	 199
 Chapter Five Pakmo Drupa, Rinpungpa, and Tsangpa	 243
 Chapter Six How the Dalai Lamas Lineage Emerged	 289
 Chapter Seven Great Fifth Dalai Lama Assumes Political Power Over Tibet	 321
 Chapter Eight Conflicts between the Sixth Dalai Lama, the Regent Desi Sangyé Gyatso, and Lozang Khan	 381
 Chapter Nine Ascension of the Seventh Dalai Lama to the Golden Throne and the Beginning of Manchu Influence in Tibet	 431
 Chapter Ten Eighth Dalai Lama and the Gurkha War	 483
 Chapter Eleven Ninth and Tenth Dalai Lamas	 557

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps

1. Southern Tibet	244
2. Lhasa City	322
3. Tibet within Asia	622
4. Eastern Tibet	784

Illustrations

1. Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa
2. The Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821 inscribed on a stone pillar
3. Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa wearing customary jewelry prior to his departure on the 1948 Tibetan Trade Mission
4. Members of the Tibetan Trade Mission of 1948
5. Tsepon Shakabpa with the British Viceroy of India, Lord Louis Mountbatton, in 1948
6. Tsepon Shakabpa meeting with Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1948
7. The Tibetan Trade Mission outside 10 Downing Street in London
8. Tsepon Shakabpa meeting with the President of India, Rajendra Prasad, in New Delhi in 1950
9. The Tibetan Delegation to India meeting with Indian Prime Minister Nehru in New Delhi in 1950
10. Tsepon Shakabpa receiving a visit from Jayaprakash Narayan in Kalimpong in 1968
11. Tibetan soldiers with the Tibetan national flag. Circa 1947–8
12. Certificate presented to Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa by the Tibetan cabinet in 1985
13. Tibetan passport employed by Tsepon Shakabpa during the Tibetan Trade Mission in 1948

FOREWORD

The late Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa needs no introduction to Western students of Tibetan history thanks to his prominent role in advancing the cause of Tibet's independence in the years leading up to China's annexation of Tibet in 1951 and to his popular *Tibet: A Political History*, first published in 1967. My personal acquaintance with Mr. Shakabpa began some years later, during the mid-1970s, when we were both living in New York and sometimes made use of Columbia University's Tibetan collection, housed in the basement of the Lehman Social Science Library in a locked area that was referred to unironically as "the cage."

We first met one morning when I noticed him, looking dapper in a maroon pull-over sweater, sitting off to the side at a carrel and immersed in a stack of recent Tibetan publications from India. His demeanor was concentrated and self-contained, but at the same time graceful and bright; I by no means felt that he would be averse to casual conversation, and this, indeed, proved to be the case. He was pleased to find a young American speaking Tibetan and, taking an indulgent interest in my studies, quickly began to point me to pertinent titles he had noticed, and to works with which he thought that I would do well to familiarize myself in any case. The generosity with which he sought to share with me his expansive knowledge of Tibetan historical writing—and I must admit that I was then too green to appreciate all but a fraction of the learning he freely offered—was made evident at about the same time to readers of Tibetan more broadly, through the appearance of the expanded version of Mr. Shakabpa's political history, published in 1976 as *Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*. It is a pleasure to see that his major work, which in terms of both length and difficulty poses an exceptional challenge, is now made available in a complete English rendition, the product of outstanding efforts on the part of Professor Derek Maher.

My meetings in the cage with Mr. Shakabpa brought home some important lessons about the problems inherent in the study of Tibetan history. Concerning not just a few significant matters, the sources at our disposal remain inadequate, while those that exist may contradict one another. In some cases, we have reason to believe that essential documents are no longer in existence, in others, that they exist but remain inaccessible. The construction of Tibetan history is thus necessarily a

tentative affair, in which conclusions about many points must be left open to revision as new data become available.

Despite these cautions, however, it was impossible, in Mr. Shakabpa's view, for the contemporary historian of Tibet (and, in particular, for the Tibetan historian of Tibet) to adopt what the philosopher Thomas Nagel has felicitously termed "the view from nowhere." Tibetan history is sharply contested terrain and, as a player in some of the twentieth century's key contests, Mr. Shakabpa placed both his political career and his work as a historical scholar unambiguously in the service of Tibetan freedom. It should come as no surprise, therefore, to learn that he and his history figure among the leading *bêtes noires* for historians of Tibet in China. It was Mr. Shakabpa's conviction that, though certain of the details might be subject to reassessment, the sum of the evidence would inevitably lend its support to his position.

It must be stressed, in this regard, that the work translated here has had singularly profound and far-reaching repercussions upon the manner in which, among Tibetans, Tibetan history is now written. In his approach to his subject-matter, Mr. Shakabpa joins forces with other twentieth-century Tibetan intellectuals who recognized that the perspectives and methods of historiographical traditions outside of Tibet could serve as valuable resources for the contemporary Tibetan historian. In this sense, Mr. Shakabpa's detractors are no less indebted to him than are his partisans. However, the standpoint within Western historiography that most inspired him was without doubt that of national history, and it is this, rather than quibbles about details, that has proven most problematic for his critics.

By presenting here Mr. Shakabpa's achievement in English translation, Professor Maher thus makes available to a broad readership both the abundant information bearing upon Tibetan history that is to be found within the work, and a key point of contestation within modern Tibetan intellectual history. It is a contribution for which students of Tibet's past and present will therefore be grateful.

Matthew T. Kapstein
Paris
March 2009

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

For Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa (January 11, 1907–February 23, 1989), a seed planted during a 1931 conversation with his uncle blossomed in the 1950s into a fascination with the history of Tibet, a preoccupation that eventually enabled him to write this book another two decades later. His uncle, Trimon Norbu Wangyal, a Cabinet Minister in the government of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, had been a participant in many events in the early part of the 20th century that helped to define Tibet's future. Perhaps most significantly, he participated in the tripartite negotiations in Simla, India between Tibet, British India, and China in 1914 (this is vividly described in Chapter 16 below). Already conscious that Tibetans would need to counter Chinese narratives about the history of Sino-Tibetan relations, Cabinet Minister Trimon urged his nephew to take an interest in Tibet's past, explaining the negotiations in Simla to him and entrusting him with a cache of documents and maps that he had gathered. Presciently, he enjoined the young Shakabpa, "You should investigate these documents. After you have studied them well, great benefit would come to our country if you were to write a political history of Tibet."^a

Yet, before he turned his attention to history in the 1950s, an entirely separate and distinguished career intervened for Wangchuk Deden, the scion of the noble Shakabpa family. His family was already well-known through his uncle's service and also through the position of his father, Tashi Phuntsok Shakabpa, as the steward of Lhasa. It was a custom in the family that they should hold positions of trust and authority in the government. In the late 1940s, for example, his elder brother, Losel Döndrup Shakabpa, would serve as the Governor of the Northern Province. Thus, at the age of twenty-three in 1930, Shakabpa secured a position in government service in the treasury branch of government.

As a young lower level functionary in the government, he was part of the party charged with seeking visions in an oracular lake in the search for the identity of the fourteenth Dalai Lama, and he was sent to retrieve one of the unsuccessful candidates for the identification. He was

^a See xxx below.

also dispatched to receive the successful candidate, and he attended the child's enthronement as a minor treasury official. As on so many other occasions throughout this book, his eyewitness vantage point on the episodes narrated in these pages enabled him to verify the actual course of events; for example, he was able to counter the fallacious claim by the Chinese that the representative of the Nationalist government had played a prominent part in the enthronement ceremony. In the early 1930s, Shakabpa was a mid-level official in the service of Tretongpa Gyurmé Gyatso, the newly appointed governor-general of Do and the chief negotiator in the resolution of the armed conflict with China in 1933. He carried the governor's seal and managed to perform some photographic reconnaissance of Chinese positions in Ziling, as well. He steadily rose through the ranks of the government, serving on the Drungtsi, a committee of secretaries and treasury officials that reported to the National Assembly. Eventually, he became the finance minister, a position he held until 1950 when China invaded and he made plans to go into permanent exile in India. In the intervening years of his government service, he played many significant roles, frequently finding himself at the center of history.

A private family journey to India in 1946 had begun to open his eyes to the currents that were driving world affairs beyond Tibet's borders. He witnessed firsthand the Indian quest for independence from the British, and he met with prominent figures including the man who would be India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. These experiences gave him a worldly perspective that few other Tibetans enjoyed at the time. His most prominent work in the international realm began the following year when he was appointed to lead the Tibet Trade Mission, a delegation that traveled around the world with the objective of fortifying Tibet's international standing. This tour, which was far more important diplomatically than it was in terms of trade, was consciously designed to enhance claims that Tibet was an independent and sovereign nation. Shakabpa showed himself to be a natural diplomat by pressing the greatest possible advantage in a variety of contexts, by skillfully understanding and manipulating political symbols, and by cultivating relations with figures in foreign governments. One example will serve to highlight his facility in this regard. Shakabpa met with a variety of dignitaries in the United States, including Secretary of State Marshall, the retired general and then future president Dwight Eisenhower, and officials at the Federal Reserve, where he negotiated the purchase of gold. As he angled for a meeting with President Truman, the Chinese

embassy was busy attempting to insinuate itself into the Tibetans' schedule. When Shakabpa realized that he would not be able to bring about a White House meeting without the involvement of the Chinese, he abruptly cancelled the meeting and left town, thereby turning the loss of a potentially potent symbolic meeting into a demonstration of the Tibetan delegation's ability to make decisions in defiance of Chinese demands to the contrary.^b

Almost as soon as Shakabpa returned to Tibet, the situation between China and Tibet came to a boil in eastern Tibet in 1949. Mao Zedong's forces were finalizing their victory over the Nationalist forces, and swiftly they began proclaiming their intention to "peacefully liberate" Tibet from imperialist forces. As they consolidated control over the government in Beijing, their forces poured across the border into Amdo and later Kham. A divination performed by the regent caused him to appoint Shakabpa and Tsechak Khenchung Tupten Gyelpo to serve as chief negotiators with the Chinese. Hence, Shakabpa once again left the country for India to prepare to leave for the Chinese border. In Delhi, Shakabpa and the other Tibetans met with Nehru, other Indian advisors such as Foreign Secretary Menon, and also Chinese representatives. They struggled to come up with a response to Chinese demands that Tibet accept that it was part of China, that China would undertake the defense of Tibet, and that China would undertake all negotiations with foreign nations on behalf of Tibet. Acutely aware of the dangers that loomed for his homeland, Shakabpa urged and pleaded with the government in Lhasa, knowing that indecision could be fatal. Yet, before a definitive reply could be delivered to China, he heard, with the rest of the world, the alarming news that the Tibetan cabinet minister on the ground in eastern Tibet, Ngapöpa Ngawang Jikmé, had apparently assented to an agreement with the Communist Chinese, thereby rendering his journey to China unnecessary. Devastated by this turn of events, Shakabpa was then pressed into service as the Dalai Lama's representative to the United Nations, transmitting an appeal to Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld on November 10, 1950.

Given the tense and uncertain environment, the Dalai Lama moved to the border at Dromo near the Indian border and not far from the Indian town of Kalimpong where Shakabpa would soon make his home.

^b Tsering Shakya, "1948 Tibetan Trade Mission to United Kingdom," *Tibet Journal* XV (4) 1990: 97-114.

After much deliberation, it was resolved in the summer of 1951 that the Dalai Lama would return to Lhasa. As the party prepared to depart, Shakabpa requested permission to remain in exile, a request that was granted. From that point on, he would serve not as an official in the government hierarchy in Lhasa, but rather as the first official in the shadow government-in-exile that would not actually be established for another eight years. It was fortuitous that he remained in India, as he was able to lay the foundation for the future government.

Shakabpa tells us that it was also during this time that he began to focus on studying Tibetan history as his uncle had urged him to do years earlier. He made good use of his time during the 1950s, while he had ready access to all sorts of governmental sources, including the archives of Cabinet minutes, old treaties, and the like. He also had an impressive personal library with a significant number of old texts, biographies, chronicles, and other types of texts with historical information.^c

Already in 1956, it was evident that the situation in Tibet was going to demand ongoing assistance from outside of the country, and so Shakabpa founded the Committee for Tibetan Social Welfare in Kalimpong with the Dalai Lama's older brother Gyalo Döndrup and Khenchung Lozang Gyeltsen, a member of the old Trade Mission Shakabpa had led. Along with the Dalai Lama's two elder brothers, Gyalo Döndrup and Taktser Rinpoché Tupten Norbu, he helped to organize the beginnings of resistance to Chinese rule, efforts that would eventuate in a full-scale CIA-sponsored guerilla movement.

In 1959, when the Chinese violently suppressed Tibetan demonstrations, precipitating the course of events that would send the Dalai Lama and eighty thousand other Tibetans into exile all along the Himalayan Range, Shakabpa was already in place to begin to publicize the attacks and to appeal to the international community. He and the Dalai Lama's older brothers went to New York to press Tibet's case before the United Nations in the fall of 1959. He was appointed as the Dalai Lama's chief representative in Delhi in 1959, a position he maintained until the mid-1960s. In this capacity, he was centrally responsible for developing the infrastructure to take care of the Tibetan exiles in India,

^c Several titles that were eventually published in India came from his library, including a group of rare texts edited by his younger brother, T. Tsepal Taikhang, and published under the title *Rare Tibetan historical and literary texts from the library of Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa* (New Delhi: Taikhang, 1974).

and he also played the role of a sort of Tibetan ambassador-at-large for the Dalai Lama.

That was his last official position, but during the later 1960s and extending all the way into the later 1970s, he remained deeply involved in Tibetan affairs as an interested private citizen. He spent a few years in the United States working on the English-language volume *Tibet: A Political History*^d that was the most thorough explication in a western language of a Tibetan's view of their history until the present translation. He also spent considerable amounts of time visiting the various Tibetan exile schools throughout India and the Himalayan region, especially in 1967–1968, when he toured all over India giving lectures to the Tibetan children about their history. Several Tibetans who heard those lectures conveyed to me the potent impact he had on their thinking and how he fostered in them a desire to live their lives in service of the Tibetan community. He continued his historical investigations throughout his later years, publishing the present volume in Tibetan in 1976, as well as other works.^e

Tashi Tsering, a noted historian in his own right and the director of the Amnye Machen Institute, told me an affecting story about talking to Tsepon Shakabpa on one occasion and mentioning some text he had recently read. The great scholar, many decades older, pulled a notebook from his pocket and began asking detailed questions about the contents of that text which he had never read himself. Tashi saw this as a sign that Shakabpa was a humble man, whose passion for learning about Tibetan history was never quenched. In 1985, Shakabpa gave a prolonged series of lectures on Tibetan history at the Library of

^d Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967). Shakabpa frequently mentions the 1967 book throughout the present work, sometimes correcting mistakes he made in the earlier work or providing additional information. *Tibet: A Political History* could be seen as a first draft of *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, the latter work being more than five times the length of the older work.

^e In addition to his earlier work, *Buddha's Relics in Tibet* (Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1951), he published *Catalogue and Guide to the Central Temple of Lhasa* (Kalimpong, India: Shakabpa House, 1982) and *A Brief History of Ancient Monasteries and Temples in Tibet*, ed. by T. Tsepal Taikhang (Varanasi, India: Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa Memorial Foundation, 2002). With Yonten Gyatso, Tsepon Shakabpa wrote a small booklet on Tibetan history called *The Nectar of the Immortal Gods Inducing Recollection in the Brethren Living at Home in the Three Province of Tibet and Living in Exile*. Published in 1988, the 16-page book was printed in a concealable small format so it could be distributed throughout Tibet. Among the many articles, he penned the article on Tibet for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th edition (1977).

Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala, India at the behest of the Dalai Lama. Government officials from many departments, monks, and intellectuals attended these sessions for about two months.

Because of his broad experience within the government, Shakabpa was able to provide extensive first-person insights into how the government operated in general during most of the early and middle parts of the 20th century. His own memory illuminates many specific events narrated in the book, supplementing the extensive documentary evidence to which he had access. In commenting on occasions in the early decades of the 20th century when conservative elements in both the government and the monasteries prevented open discussion of international affairs or hindered modern education or other developments, he depicts himself as a progressive, bemoaning such obstructionism. Likewise, he exhorts young people living in exile to educate themselves and work to modernize the Tibetan government-in-exile, preparing the way to develop Tibet in the future. His narrative voice comes through the text in a pronounced and distinctive fashion.

The book is quite beautifully written, with rich poetic expression, extensive vocabulary, and often clever and amusing adages and similes. The Tibetan text makes very wide use of quotations, and so as the narrative moves through the centuries, it employs a many distinct styles of Tibetan. While the Tibetan language has not drifted as dramatically as English did from Old English up to the modern period, Tibetan vocabulary and expressions have changed since classical times. For this reason, it is difficult to read even for Tibetans who are not well-educated in classical Tibetan.

Tsepon Shakabpa researched and wrote this expansive work under the shadow of perilous dangers. Coming on the heels of an era that was marked by decades of perceived encroachment by a series of Chinese governments, he had seen his country occupied, a massive military build-up in his hometown, the loss of religious and political liberty, and threats to his people's basic understanding of how life should unfold. Ultimately, he himself was driven into exile, fracturing his own family and compelling him to define the paradigm for subsequent generations of his countrymen and women who would also know exile and splintered families.

For Shakabpa, Chinese assertions of authority over Tibet were an outrage that had to be resisted. Through his uncle and through his own personal experience, he became earnestly committed to resisting Chinese efforts to impose control on Tibet, which he saw as threatening its very

existence. He may have been among the earliest Tibetans to understand that the long relationship between China and Tibet had taken on a new character in the 20th century. As one of the worldliest people in his country as Chinese troops entered Tibet in 1950, he quickly understood that it would be important to present Tibet's case to the international community if it was to continue as a separate nation. Thus, for him, writing history was not a disinterested and merely academic enterprise; it was an expression of his deeply personal patriotism and a dimension of what he saw as his service to his people. He was perhaps the only person who could have written this book at the time.

Since he was involved in negotiations with Chinese representatives, he came to understand the way that the Chinese had managed to disseminate their own account of the history of Sino-Tibetan relations throughout the world community. While conservative elements in Tibet resisted the establishment of English medium schools and attempted to shut out the world, the Chinese had been busily fortifying their narrative that Tibet had become a part of China at some moment in the distant past, perhaps during the Sakya era in the 13th century, at the end of the Yuan Dynasty in the 14th century, during the Ming period (1368–1644), or at some point during the Qing period (1644–1912), such as the Dzungar invasion in the 1720s or after the Gurkha War in 1792. Chinese sources have offered sundry suggestions as to when Tibet was assimilated. But Shakabpa maintains that each of these claims is unjustified by the historical evidence, and instead, Tibet was forcibly incorporated into China under the threat of military destruction only in 1951. This book is a sustained argument to that effect. He wrote this book not as an objective neutral observer but as an engaged and motivated participant in the struggle for how Tibet will be depicted and understood in the international arena.

Despite the title, this book is not really a general history of all of Tibet. While it provides a more thorough overview of Tibet's past than any other book now available in the English language, Shakabpa primarily narrates those episodes that contribute to his main agenda of making the historical case for Tibetan independence. Of course, any author of a work of this sort begins with an orientation which guides their selection of what to include and what to leave aside. Many dimensions of Tibet's story have thereby been neglected in these pages. This is primarily a narrative of the center, and so there is little discussion of events in Kham and Amdo, except as they impinge upon the central narrative of the ancient religious kings (7th–9th centuries), the rule

from Sakya (1249–1354), the kingdoms in Ü and Tsang (1354–1642), and the account of the Dalai Lama lineage and their Ganden Podrang government (1642–1959). Lavish detail is provided in recounting the initial stages of the warfare prosecuted by Gushri Khan in eastern Tibet in the late 1630s, the missionary journeys of various prominent lamas to Mongolia and China, the exiles of the thirteenth Dalai Lama to the east in Mongolia and China to the west in India, and the earliest years of the present Dalai Lama in his birthplace in Amdo. But that is only because of the fact that these events are critical to making his larger case about Tibet's political status. In contrast, significant episodes concerning the lives of the Dergé kings and the regional powers most closely involved with Chinese and Mongolian authority in Amdo pass almost unnoticed in these pages. Hence, before it can be said that Tibetan history at large is well-understood, separate works are needed to explicate the overlapping histories of these areas.^f

The occupation of Tibet by China and the subsequent events have caused some historical sources to be unavailable. In the summer of 2008, I found myself quite startled, verging on grieving, when Lobsang Shastri of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives broke the news to me that all of the pre-1959 cabinet records cited by Shakabpa had been left in Tibet, their present fate unknown. This fact makes Shakabpa's book all the more valuable because he references such sources many dozens of times and relies on them for background throughout the last two-thirds of the book. Given the chronology he himself elaborates in the book, he was already living in exile in India before he took a great interest in history. It must be the case, then, that he spent the interregnum years between the initial Chinese invasion in 1950 and the final exile of the Dalai Lama in 1959 studying these records, taking notes, and piecing together the past history of the Tibetan government.

It remains unknown if those old records may someday become accessible to scholars, but until they do, it will be difficult to find a better and more thorough study of them than the one offered by Shakabpa in the present work. It would be extremely beneficial if, in the future, scholars could be granted access to the records that remain in Tibet. Moreover, some of Tsepon Shakabpa's personal papers are still unavailable, and a

^f Fortunately, under the sponsorship of the Dalai Lama, Hortsang Jigme has recently completed a six-volume history of Amdo. It is hoped this will become available in English soon. Corresponding studies of Kham history constitute an important desideratum in the field.

thorough examination of these sources might permit a more nuanced reading of Shakabpa's perspective. It is hoped these resources will also be placed in the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives or some other repository where scholars can make use of them.

Within the People's Republic of China, scholars have written quite thorough academic critiques of histories upholding the general Tibetan viewpoint. One was written specifically in reply to the present text.^g With sixty-seven chapters disputing particular points of Shakabpa's account, the anonymous author or authors indicate that they are refuting what they see as a highly motivated and biased account of Sino-Tibetan relations.^h Likewise, a similar thorough-going critique, perhaps written by the same people, was directed at Michael C. van Walt van Praag's very careful examination of Tibet's status in international law.ⁱ This second critique also briefly takes issue with Shakabpa. It must be said that both of these critiques are themselves highly selective and extremely motivated depictions of Tibetan history.

Nonetheless, the unsealing of a storehouse of thousands of texts in Drepung Monastery,^j the end of communist rule in Mongolia, episodic liberalization in China, and many other factors have permitted a variety of resources to come to light that were unavailable to Tsepon Shakabpa. Perhaps these sources will enable us to see Tibetan history in new lights as time unfolds. The history of the history of Tibet is a work in progress.

^g There is a quite thorough critique written by the TAR Committee to Make Commentary and Annotations on the Political History of Tibet and published under the title, 'Shakabpa's "Political History" and the Real History of Tibet' (Chinese edition, 1996: Xiageba di "Xizang zheng zhi shi" yu Xizang li shi di ben lai mian mu/Xizang Zizhiqu "Xizang zheng zhi shi" ping zhu xiao zu bian xie. Beijing Shi: Min zu chu ban she. Tibetan edition, 1996: Bod rang skyong ljongs "Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs" Blta bsdur mchan 'god tshogs chung, *Zhwa sgab pa'i bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs dang bod kyi lo rgyus dngos*. Lhasa: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang).

^h Derek F. Maher, "An Examination of a Critical Appraisal of Tsepon Shakabpa's One Hundred Thousand Moons," in *The Rise of the Modern in Tibet*, edited by Gray Tuttle, Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung, International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies—Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH: Sankt Augustin, forthcoming 2009.

ⁱ Michael C. van Walt van Praag, *The Status of Tibet: History, Rights, and Prospects in International Law* (London: Wisdom, 1987). The critique is published in English as Wang Jiawei and Nyima Gyaincain, *The Historical Status of China's Tibet* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 1997).

^j The storehouse of literature has the potential to change how we think of Tibet's intellectual history.

I first heard about this book back in the early 1990s when Dan Perdue mentioned it to me. Donald S. Lopez was then editing what was planned to be a significant new series of books about many aspects of Tibet called the *Library of Tibet*, for which, John F. Avedon was the general series editor. The plan was to have three books published each year for seven years, with His Holiness the Dalai Lama contributing one book each year and scholars providing translations of other classic Tibetan works for the other two. The books were to be published by a well-known American publisher. Years later, the publishing deal collapsed after only one book had been put out, the novel called *The Tale of the Incomparable Prince*, written by Tshe ring dbang rgyal and skillfully translated by Beth Newman.^k

At the time Dan mentioned this project to me, I was a graduate student in the Tibetan Studies program at the University of Virginia where both Dan and Don had earned their Ph.D. degrees under our common advisor Professor Jeffery Hopkins. I thought the book sounded fascinating, and I did a small tryout translation of a section of the book just to see if I would be able to read it. I was captivated by the elegant prose, the fascinating new insights it provided into Tibetan life, and best of all, the engaging narrative that unfolded in the book. It was the first time I had read any historical or biographical sources, and even that brief section inspired a reorientation of what I wanted to learn about Tibet. It was in the midst of this excitement, however, that the full scope of the work came into focus. I can well recall the day that the late Skip Martin, the South Asian bibliographer at Alderman Library at the University of Virginia, handed me not one, but two large volumes, of the Tibetan version of the book. It struck me with a thunderbolt how gigantic the project would be.

Nonetheless, I had been captivated already, and I wanted to undertake what I knew would be a several year detour in my academic work. With Don's offer of the translation contract and Jeffrey's approval of a sojourn from my dissertation research on the philosophical thought of Jamyang Zhepa, I plunged forward. My new wife, Jill Jennings, and I moved away from the Charlottesville area into an 18th century farmhouse in the much cheaper Shenandoah Valley, where I commenced

^k Beth Newman, trans. *The Tale of the Incomparable Prince* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996).

my life as a hermit whittling away at the intimidating page count, 685 pages in volume 1 and 640 pages in volume 2.

For the first two chapters I worked through (I no longer recall which chapters they were), I had access to a very rough and incomplete translation that had been prepared by someone for whom English was apparently not a first language. This was provided to me by the agent handling the *Library of Tibet* series, Wylie Aitkin & Stone. Despite its limitations, I owe a debt to the person or people who created those pages because they served as a sort of Rosetta Stone for me, permitting me to understand difficult phrases and stylistic forms employed by Tsepon Shakabpa, many of which I could not find paradigms for in the few grammar books then available. As I progressed through each chapter, I would compile great long lists of questions that I would then take to the Tibetan Buddhist Learning Center in Washington, New Jersey, directed by Joshua and Diana Cutler. This was the residence also of several learned Tibetan monks, and many of us benefited from their instruction and patient instruction in matters of Buddhist philosophy and practice.

For my particular purposes, however, I was especially fortunate that the Learning Center was also the home of Khenchung Thubten Tsepal Taikhang, the exceedingly knowledgeable and refined younger brother of Tsepon Shakabpa. He was known by most people in that circle as “Kungo,” a term of respect for a nobleman. Very slowly, he and I would work through a few dozen pages at a sitting, with him artfully explaining everything from turns of grammar to idioms to points of historical detail. He was my ideal guide in this process for he had long before served as editor of the original Tibetan text itself, and he was extremely conversant with its every fine point. He kindly displayed to me the same dignified patience he exhibited to the deer that grazed on his well-tended flowers. I must say that I could never have made progress in the beginning without his generous help and without the Cutler’s hospitality.

The work of translating the book was quite challenging in the beginning, and when I was about 80% done with my work, the *Library of Tibet* series was cancelled. The terms of the contract prevented me from trying to publish my translation elsewhere, and the project went dormant, much to my regret for I had done little else for more than two years. Fortunately, around the new year of 2002, the rights to the translation reverted to me, and I began to work on completing the book. In the intervening years, many things had changed quite dramatically within

Tibetan Studies, and in the end, the quality of what I have been able to produce has been greatly enhanced because of the delay. Whereas there had been very few dictionaries when I first began working on the book, several excellent ones have since become available. Many fine historical sources have been published since the early 1990s as numerous excellent scholars have labored to investigate particular chapters on Tibetan history. A virtual blizzard of interest in Tibet has inspired publications on all dimensions of Tibetan life. Furthermore, the internet has become a veritable cornucopia of information about Tibet, much of it reliable. In this connection, I should mention the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (www.tbrc.org) run by the inestimable E. Gene Smith and the Tibetan and Himalayan Library (www.thlib.org) at the University of Virginia, as being particularly helpful sources for my research. All of these changes have enabled me to create a far better, but undoubtedly still flawed, translation of this classic text.

My translation, despite its having grown to nearly unforgiveable heft, cannot be said to be the last word on Tsepon Shakabpa's history. A variety of other scholarly works have appeared in English and other western languages since the publication of Tsepon Shakabpa book in Tibetan in 1976. Moreover, a large number of historical, biographical, and other sources in Tibetan—including a large cache of material that had been concealed at Drepung Monastery until recent years—have since become available. Perhaps, Tsepon Shakabpa would have changed some of his views if more of these texts had been available to him. If my time and the publisher's space were unlimited, a detailed comparison of the differences between these sources and Shakabpa's account would have provided an interesting added dimension to this work. However, this would have expanded the length of the book beyond all reasonable limits. Likewise, it is beyond the scope of the present work to discuss the criticisms of the book and the contrary views advanced by pro-Chinese historians or the Chinese government. If I had undertaken those sorts of inquiries, a third volume of 700 pages and three more years could easily have been required.

Many specific people have helped me in significant ways. I count a chance encounter with His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the signal event that diverted my attention from what was to be a life as a physics professor. I am grateful to him for that and many other things that are inexpressible. My debt to Jeffrey Hopkins, my advisor at the University of Virginia, cannot even be recounted, never mind repaid. He generously shared his expansive knowledge on hundreds of separate occa-

sions over the years I have counted him as my teacher and my friend, and he demonstrated for me what it means to be a dedicated scholar. One summer, Jeffrey, my wife Jill, and I lived in his home together, and this afforded me an opportunity to observe his work habits closely. That experience will always inspire me to be more diligent than I could have imagined.

In addition to Jeffrey, I studied the Tibetan language with Bill Magee, Jules Levinson, Georges Dreyfus, Karen Lang, and dozens of helpful Tibetans, including most notably Geshe Jampel Thando with whom I had the pleasure to live for too short a time, my great friend Buchung Tsering with whom I drank an ocean of tea and discussed everything under the sun through a joyful year of friendship in India, Kenzur Tenpa Tendzin of Gomang Monastery, Thubten Dawa formerly of Loseling Monastery, and so many other people. Truly, each of them taught me something quite distinct about how to read, speak, and think within the Tibetan language. Many other Tibetans gave me specific assistance with parts of this translation, including Sönam Dorjay, Jigme Ngapo, Tenzin Namdrol of the Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute in Dharamsala, India, Kalsang Dagpo of the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts in Dharamsala, India, and Tenzin Phuntsok of Chokhor Travels in Delhi, India, in addition to several people who asked not to be named. I took great pleasure in hearing about Tsepon Shakabpa from many people in Dharamsala and elsewhere, including Tashi Tsering of the Amnye Machen Institute and Lhasang Tsering of the Bookworm Bookstore, both of whom told me great stories that enlivened him as a person and helped me understand that outside of the covers of a book, he was a true patriot. Finally, during the summer of 2008, I spent many dozens of pleasant hours working with my good friend Tenzin Tsebag, who is a bottomless well of good humor, as well as a man of wide learning, great patience, and true generosity. Through his kind assistance, I was able to resolve many of the difficult passages that had resisted my best efforts at understanding for years. As I flip through the notes I made on our sessions, I find myself in awe of the range of things he taught me. I owe him a great deal.

Don Lopez not only got me started on this project, but he has been a friendly and helpful supporter of it through the years. I am particularly grateful to him. José Cabezón, Ronald Davidson, Matthew Kapstein, and Gene Smith have also been extremely generous with both their knowledge and their friendly support. Richard Barnett, David Germano, Paul Groner, Karen Lang, Abdulaziz Sachedina, and David White of the University of Virginia all helped me in profound ways

as I was attempting to figure out what it means to be a scholar. Many other scholars concerned with Tibet have been helpful in diverse ways, whether it was by sending me a text, answering a question over a beer in an Oxford pub, providing computer assistance, or making some illuminating point in a scholarly presentation or a written paper; they include Elijah Ary, Robbie Barnett, Christopher Beckwith, Suzanne Bessinger, Martin Brauen, Isabelle Charleaux, Bryan Cuevas, John Dunne, Johan Elverskog, Frances Garret, Than Garson, Melvyn Goldstein, Janet Gyatso, Amy Heller, Nathan Hill, Greg Hillis, Hortsang Jigme, Geshe Thupten Jinpa, Dan Martin, Martin Mills, Elizabeth Napper, Paul Nietupski, Charlie Orzech, Karma Phuntsho, Trent Pomplun, Craig Preston, Geshe Sonam Rinchen, Jann Ronnis, Kurtis Schaeffer, Tsering Shakya, Lobsang Shastri, Nicolas Sihle, Ruth Sonam, Elliot Sperling, Gray Tuttle, Leonard van der Kuijp, Kevin Vose, B. Alan Wallace, Vesna Wallace, and Steve Weinberger. Certainly another dozen people extended me some kindness that helped me with this book, and it is only my forgetfulness that prevents me from naming them, for which I apologize.

The bibliographers who have helped with this project are legion and include many staff at the following libraries: Skip Martin, Nawang Thokmey, and my friend Paul Hackett at the University of Virginia, Lauren Hartley at Columbia University, the staff at the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (www.tbrc.org), Gomang Monastery and Loseling Monastery libraries in Mundgod, India, the Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath, India, the Library of Congress, and Joyner Library at East Carolina University, my current institution. I must give special praise to the helpful and generous staff at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala, India, from the exceedingly knowledgeable Lobsang Shastri to the helpful librarian Thubten Puntsok to the patient Tsering La who makes the copies. They made my work so much easier and more productive in the summers of 2007 and 2008.

I have received great help of various kinds from a number of undergraduate and graduate students at East Carolina University over the years. These include: Robert Alvarez who stretched the indexing functions of Microsoft WORD in surprising ways among other things, Jennifer Jones who offered comments on the entire translation and drew the basic outlines of the maps, J. T. Pitt who performed heroic deeds with the InterLibrary Loan office and copied copiously, Veronica Haynes who helped with many errands, and Alan Vaughn who did various tasks, including asking interesting questions about the text, inspiring many footnotes in the process. Susan Adams, the administrative assistant for Religious Studies at East Carolina University, helped with

various aspects of the book, and I was cheered on by Calvin Mercer, my friend and colleague in Religious Studies at East Carolina University, through the last stages of the project. I am particularly happy to acknowledge the critically important and substantial contributions of my student and great friend Wes Borton. He helped to copyedit the entire manuscript, oversaw the spellings of Chinese names, located diverse sources, and in many other ways assisted me in locating and removing all sorts of errors. I began working with him when he was a freshman undergraduate and started teaching him Tibetan when he was a sophomore; as this book goes to press, he is a graduate student in the Asian Languages & Cultures program at the University of Michigan. It has been my profound pleasure to watch him manifest the great promise I suspected all those years ago.

I am extremely grateful for all of the generous financial support I have received from the *Library of Tibet*, the Center for South Asian Studies at the University of Virginia, the Foreign Language Area Studies Grant from the U.S. Department of Education, the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Research Abroad Fellowship from the U.S. Department of Education, and two Research and Creative Activities Grants from the Thomas Harriot College of Arts and Sciences at East Carolina University under two separate deans, Keats Sparrow and Alan White, with the further support of Scott Snyder, Mike Brown, and George Bailey.

I am grateful to Tsoltim Ngima Shakabpa and Thubten Chukie Shakabpa-Wangdu, the son and daughter of the author, for their cooperation with this project and for providing me with several of the photos from the family archives. I want to acknowledge Ann Routon of Columbia University Press, who has been extremely helpful to me and generous with her time and expertise at critical moments throughout the past 5 years. At Brill, I must thank Alex McKay, the history editor at Brill, who provided a very useful stream of comments that have helped me improve the text. I am grateful to Albert Hoffstädt, Brill's acquisitions editor, who saw a way to publish this very large text, when the enormity of it had given pause to others. Brill's very professional Patricia Radder helped me past some substantial obstacles, and made it easier for me to be patient towards them. Marjolein Schaake expertly handled the page layouts and proof editing. Although many people have helped to bring this work to fruition, all errors, omissions, and shortcomings remain my responsibility.

On a more personal note, my lifelong great true friend Bill Blodgett first uttered the word "Tibet" to me, helped ignite my passion for it, and was my fellow traveler at the early stages of my journey into the

scholarly life; his mother Cecile Clover added kindling to a smoldering fire at the right time. My parents Barbara and Kevin Maher, my sisters, my brothers, and my in-laws Patricia and Russell Jennings have all nurtured this work in ways they may not realize. My brother-in-law Jed Jennings not only made the maps beautiful and helped me with some computer issues, but he also helped distract me from this work in valuable ways when that was needed. I am ever grateful to Dave Hitchens and Rob Knapp of the Evergreen State College, who taught me how to learn and how to teach by enjoying both of these activities so much themselves.

Finally, my lifetime love Jill Jennings-Maher has given me her unqualified support, her ceaseless confidence, and her inexhaustible kindness. She came into my life just before this project did, and throughout it all, she has been my greatest ally, my most consistent collaborator, and the person who animates life beyond the threshold of my office. How can I repay her for these gifts and for making our lives together so rich and meaningful?

A variety of technical issues call for explanation. Unfortunately, there is no single standardized system for phonetically depicting Tibetan words in the Roman alphabet. This is highly regrettable because the diverse systems of representing Tibetan words encourages the marginalization of Tibetan Studies as a field of inquiry since non-specialists find it difficult to keep track of the different spellings employed in competing phonetic systems and cannot make sense of the standard transliteration scheme, called the Wylie system.¹ Nonetheless, the THL Simplified Phonetic Transcription System,^m based on the scheme developed by the linguist Nicolas Tournadre, is coming to be employed more widely than other systems. For that reason, it is utilized in this book with a few specific exceptions. In cases in which Tibetans have chosen to represent the spelling of their own name in a way that differs from the THL system, I have employed their preferred spelling. Notable examples of this sort include the author's own name, Shakabpa instead of what the system would dictate Zhakapa, his uncle mentioned above, Trimon Norbu

¹ Turrell Wylie, "A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 22 (1959), 261–267.

^m David Germano and Nicolas Tournadre, "THL Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan," http://www.thdl.org/xml/showEssay.php?xml=/collections/langling/THDL_phonetics.xml, accessed January 8, 2009.

Wangyal instead of Trimön Norbu Wangyel, or the present Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso which would be written as Talé Lama Tendzin Gyatso in the THL system. For the sake of specialists who can read Tibetan, the index provides the proper Tibetan spelling according to the Wylie system.

Many words from other languages appear in the text, including Arabic, Chinese, Hindi, Japanese, Manchu, Mongolian, Nepali, and Sanskrit. I have done my best to determine a standard spelling in the Roman alphabet according to some traditional transliteration scheme used to represent these languages. This has not always been possible, and so I have written the words according to rules of Tibetan pronunciation. After Tibetan, the language used most commonly is Chinese, as a large number of individuals from China are mentioned by name. Unfortunately, the approach to transliterating Chinese names used by Shakabpa in the Tibetan text is very irregular. I have attempted to confirm spellings by consulting various standard sources.ⁿ

There are a variety of documents, such as treaties or cease-fires negotiated by the British, appeals to the United Nations, and so forth quoted in this volume, of which an official English translation exists. When it has been possible to locate these sources, I have merely provided the relevant quotations instead of re-translating them from Tibetan. Even in cases where I might disagree with those older translations, it has seemed prudent to give the official version, since they served as the bases of understanding between the parties involved. For example, the treaty negotiated in eastern Tibet by Teichman in 1918 includes the provision that any future disputes are to be mediated based upon the English version of the treaty.

Some places mentioned in this book are known by different names in China, India, and Tibet. Whereas Shakabpa almost always uses the Tibetan name, in some cases, I have used the more commonly known Chinese or Indian name, especially if I think the Tibetan name would be difficult to find on widely available maps. For example, the Indian town where Shakabpa had a house in his later years, Kabuk (*ka sbug*), is referred to by the Indian name Kalimpong.

ⁿ The most helpful sources in this regard are the classic works by Charles Bell, Luciano Petech, and Hugh E. Richardson, as well as valuable newer sources written by Matthew Kapstein, Tsering Shakya, Gray Tuttle, I have done my best to put all of the Chinese names in the Pinyin System.

Shakabpa's history is pioneering in Tibetan literature for his use of apparatus common in western books. For example, he has more than a thousand notes, often citing the page and line numbers of his cited sources. Aside from referencing sources, he also uses footnotes to explain word usages, refer to some other section in the text, or provide further information about some point. He includes a bibliography, almost unknown in other Tibetan literature, and he frequently adds parenthetical material to explain certain points. All of these make the narrative clearer and permit comparison with root sources. In my translation, I have found it necessary to provide a separate stream of explanatory notes. In order to distinguish my own notes from those written by Shakabpa, I have translated all of his notes in the endnotes, while my own annotations are in the footnotes.

Shakabpa's method of referencing earlier sources raises some difficulties. He frequently makes no distinction on the page between direct quotations and paraphrases. Moreover, in many cases, he shifts back and forth between quoting the precise words of a source for a time and then summarizing another section without any indication of a difference. Sometimes, such switches occur numerous times in one passage. I have been unable to devise a means of depicting this in the translation without a terribly messy appearance. Specialists for whom such distinctions will matter most will be able to check the root source themselves, and page and line numbers are provided for most of the quoted material. Thus, I have usually elected to render these passages in the block format as if they are merely quotes, unless I have been able to confirm that the passage in question is primarily a paraphrase. I feel this gives the simplest appearance and makes a dense text as user friendly as possible.

Relatedly, it was a challenge for me to find the voice that I should use in the translation, and I struggled with the issue all translators confront: how to balance precision with readability. The features of well-written Tibetan prose qualifying it as elegant—and as I have said above, this book is beautifully written—can be quite difficult to capture in English. Complex parallel grammatical structures can read across several pages, a vast array of continuative particles can keep the connections of consecutive thoughts flowing almost endlessly, and various poetic devices can evoke the recognition of internal references within the text. All of these are exceedingly difficult to recreate in translation. I have worked through each section of the translation several times, and as time has passed, my translation has drifted from a more rigid

programmatic effort to capture all of those features of the Tibetan text to a voice that I hope is more fluid and readable. I was encouraged in this direction by advice Jules Levinson gave me and my fellow students in our third year Tibetan class long ago, advice he framed in terms of the eight stages of translation described by the poet and great translator of poetry, Robert Bly.^o At first, the translator is asked to maintain a formal adherence to the literal expression in the original language; in stages, then, the translator refines the translation in order to express the thoughts and ideas of the original source in a more natural way in the target language, eventually capturing the “living tone or fragrance” in the new language. Moreover, the generous remarks of an anonymous reviewer of my translation inspired me to take another step away from the slavish adherence to the form of the Tibetan text in order to create a more accessible voice. I hope I have struck the right balance.

As Tsepon Shakabpa says himself, he wrote this history for both a foreign audience and for the young Tibetans who he knew would not have ready access to all of the sources he was able to read and study. Frequently, however, I have found that both Tibetan and non-Tibetan readers of this translation have had difficulties understanding the flow of Shakabpa's thoughts unless they are already steeped in the minutiae of Tibetan history and Sino-Tibetan relations. Some sections of the text do not speak for themselves, and even if readers can understand specific portions of the narrative, they may find it difficult to determine why Shakabpa would regard those episodes as important enough to include in the chapter. Additionally, it can sometimes be difficult to keep track of all of the characters in the narrative. For these reasons—and again at the urging of a helpful anonymous reviewer—I have provided a brief introduction to each chapter. In these introductions, I identify the primary issues and themes explored in the chapter, clarify the roles of the most important actors, highlight their presumed motives, and attempt to identify Shakabpa's perspective on the events being discussed. It is hoped that these chapter introductions will make it possible for the reader to enter into each chapter with greater ease. As further assistance along these lines, whereas Shakabpa will sometimes let several pages pass without identifying the figure being discussed, I often insert the figure's name to help remind the reader.

^o Robert Bly, *The Eight Stages of Translation* (Boston: Rowan Tree Press, 1986).

I have sometimes found it difficult to avoid gendered language. For example, a stock phrase used quite often in this book, *ser skya mi mang tshang ma*, is meant to indicate the totality of the population, both lay people and men and women who have taken the vows of a monk or nun. I have not found a convenient way to express all of this without a gender bias. Just to avoid the awkwardness of the more accurate phrase, I have chosen to translate this as “all of the monks and lay people” even though this fails to include nuns. In fact, in some cases, the phrase is only meant to include men, as will be evident from the context. For example, in the case of “all of the government officials, both monks and lay people,” it should be understood to include only men since government offices in traditional Tibet were only offered to males. In other cases, it should be taken to include nuns, as will be understood from the context. I feel the loss in precision in such cases is repaid in less cumbersome phrasings.

As my work on this book comes to a conclusion, China is hosting the 2008 Olympics and Tibetans find themselves in a quite different place than they occupied when Tsepon Shakabpa finished writing this book in 1976. In the interim, Tibetans living in exile in India and throughout the Himalayan region have created exceptional cultural institutions intended to preserve their cultural traditions and religion. In many cases, the innate Tibetan talents for commerce have enabled them to create successful businesses even while living as exiles in developing nations.

At the same time, His Holiness the Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso has become a popular and well-known figure throughout the world. In 1987, he proposed a five-point plan according to which Tibet would become a Zone of Ahimsa, “a sanctuary of peace and non-violence.”^p The following year, he announced a compromise proposal at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France in which he accepted for the first time the notion that China could “remain responsible for Tibet’s foreign policy.”^q This position, more conciliatory than many Tibetans, including

^p Tenzin Gyatso, Dalai Lama, “Five Point Peace Plan: Address to the U.S. Congressional Human Rights Caucus,” <http://www.dalailama.com/page.121.htm>, accessed January 17, 2009.

^q Tenzin Gyatso, Dalai Lama, “Strasbourg Proposal 1988,” <http://www.dalailama.com/page.96.htm>, accessed January 17, 2009.

Shakabpa, could accept, was rejected out of hand by the Chinese. In 1989, the Dalai Lama was recognized with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize, an eventuality that raised the profile of Tibet tremendously. Thereafter, he became well-known internationally; ever since, he has written bestselling books and routinely met with American presidents, European parliamentarians, and international dignitaries, while keeping a busy schedule teaching about Buddhism around the world.

In 1991, the International Year of Tibet was celebrated in dozens of countries around the world. Free Tibet concerts and bumper stickers have become widespread enough that the person on the street has a basic knowledge that things are amiss in the distant land of Tibet, even if they don't know the narrative of Tibet's plight. Once envisioned as an exotic and distant land, the very idea of Tibet has become normalized through the high visibility of the Dalai Lama and other prominent Tibetan teachers, the commonplace nature of Tibetan Buddhist and Bön religious centers throughout Europe and the Americas, the embrace of Tibetan religions by a variety of celebrities, the success of significant immigration programs into Canada, Switzerland and the United States, and popular culture references to Tibet in mediums as diverse as major motion pictures starring the biggest box office stars like Brad Pitt or irreverent cartoons like the Simpsons.

Nonetheless, as a basic familiarity with Tibet has become more widespread, detailed knowledge of Tibet's history, religion, and culture have not kept pace. Scholarly sources have increasingly become available, and a small landslide of books have come into print on many aspects of Tibetan religion and culture. However, their penetration beyond specialists is minimal. Moreover, the dominant position of China in the emerging geopolitical and globalized economic regime has given it an outsized voice in the discourse about Tibet. Tibet's own account of its history and self-identity has been marginalized in the process.

It is hoped that this book will permit a wider audience to understand some of the narratives and traditions through which Tibetans configure their own place in history and their relationship with their neighbors. Along with Tsepon Shakabpa, it is my great wish that many young Tibetans will read this book and learn about the past of their people. He expressed the hope that the Tibetan text could play that role, but he may not have anticipated the current situation in which many young Tibetan are more comfortable reading English than the complicated text that he authored in Tibetan.

One thing that remains true from the era in which this book was written more than three decades ago is that Tibet continues to be a beleaguered place where people are not free to express their culture and religion in the ways they would desire. While episodically permitting some degree of liberalization, the Chinese Communist government has asserted control over Tibet in a way that has obstructed religious freedom and has disrupted the continuity of so many dimensions of their traditional life. During the Cultural Revolution, the low point of Tibet's struggle under Chinese rule, most monasteries, temples, and other institutions of Tibetan religion were destroyed. Periodically since that time, it has been possible for Tibetans to rebuild the structures that were destroyed, and at the same time, attenuated forms of the associated institutions have been reestablished as well. Still, the Tibetans that have not gone into exile but who remain in their own land have, since 1959, had to live without the Dalai Lama, the single figure who most animates the Tibetan religious identity.

Also since 1959, the Chinese authorities have periodically cracked down on the Tibet population. Aside from the period of brutal suppression in Tibet during the early 1960s and the Cultural Revolution during the later 1960s when people throughout China suffered tremendously, Tibet underwent several periods of severe turmoil. In the period between 1987 and 1993, recurrent Tibetan protests brought about an aggressive Chinese policy of assertive control.[†] Other shorter periods of dissension have been met by the Chinese with a stern response. In 2008, a series of protests against Chinese control over Tibet took place throughout the world as the traditional torch-related ceremonies unfolded in preparation for the 2008 summer Olympics in Beijing. International protesters attempted to extinguish the Olympic torch in Europe and the United States. Simultaneously, protests erupted throughout Tibet, provoking mass arrests, the expulsion of foreigners from Tibet, and the deaths of scores of people and the injury and arrest of many more.

Thus, as Tibetan and Chinese voices endeavor to actualize their own objectives in Tibet, they continually contend to represent Tibetan history. And so, this book arrives at an opportune time. It is my hope that this book will foster a wider dialogue among people of good will so that

[†] Ronald D. Schwartz, *Circle of Protest: Political Ritual in the Tibetan Uprising* (London: C. Hurst and Co, 1994).

a solution to the difficulties of the Tibetan people can be found. As the Dalai Lama concluded his Nobel acceptance speech:^s

I pray for all of us, oppressor and friend, that together we succeed in building a better world through human understanding and love, and that in doing so we may reduce the pain and suffering of all sentient beings.

May it be thus!

Derek F. Maher, Ph.D.
Greenville, North Carolina

^s "His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Nobel Prize acceptance speech, University Aula, Oslo, 10 December 1989," <http://www.tibet.com/DL/nobelaccept.html>, accessed January 17, 2009.

This book is dedicated to the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, the Tibetan people, and those people throughout the world who work tirelessly for peace and justice in the face of ignorance, hatred, and the lust for power.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

I prostrate to the surpassing Divine Protector, Mañjuśrī!

Although you have been perfectly enlightened from the long distant past, in the perspective of those beings of the degenerate era,
You posed as the Fourth Preceptor of the Fortunate Aeon, having completed your transmigrations through three countless aeons.
You manifested the twelve miraculous deeds in your magical manner for the illusory sentient beings.

I prostrate respectfully to your crown, Śākyamuṇi Buddha, skilled in displaying the marvels of illusory exalted wisdom.

Embodiment of the vajra speech of all of the conquerors,
Playfully manifesting as a cloud of exalted wisdom which realizes appearance and emptiness as non-dual,
The treasury of wisdom completely dawning as the wheel of stability,
May you delight in my ocean-like clear mind, making it auspicious!

I prostrate respectfully to the three-fold secret activities of the conquerors,
To the essential maṇḍala of body, speech, and mind,
And to the series of religious kings,
The three ancient kings of the three miraculous lineages, and so forth.^a

I bow my head, remembering the kindness
Of the abbots, teachers, religious kings, adepts, text discoverers, translators, and paṇḍitas,
Who bestowed unlimited benefit and happiness on the Land of Snows,
By directing the ocean's current of excellent speech, the doctrines of sūtra.

May the crown of my head be perpetually adorned with the series of the White Lotus Holders and the sole deity of the Land of Snows, Avalokiteśvara, who dances one hundred experiences of thorough compassion that take the form of the compassionate Lord of the World,

^a The three great ancient religious kings were Songtsen Gampo, Trisong Detsen, and Tri Relpachen. See pp. 117, 129, and 147, respectively.

Who is a treasury of compassion, an aggregation of youthful bliss and merciful wisdom,
And who, over many aeons, continues to offer the tremendous marvels of leading all sentient beings to liberation.

Heruka initiates the primary protectress of Buddhism through impressing the seals;
Taking the female form of the Perfection of Wisdom, the glorious queen of the sphere of reality, Rimati,
With a terrible wrathful form in a fearful dance of unlimited authority in the three worlds,
Glorious Lhamo^b do not waver from your duties to protect the teachings and those who bear them!

Having sworn a vow to protect Buddhism in the presence of the conqueror,
The ḍākiṇīs who watch over the conqueror's religion, the dharma protectors with supreme faith in Buddhism, the virtuous gods,
The four great kings, the glorious protectors of the pure realms, the hunting gods, the upāsakas, the mountain spirits, and so forth,
Hoist the Conqueror's flag to the peak of cyclic existence, without neglecting your continual protection of the Buddhist religion.

The southern continent of Jambūdvīpa is the best among the three thousand worlds here in this field of endurance;
Bodhgaya is in the Land of the Superiors in the midst of the sphere of one thousand preceptors of the fortunate aeon;
To the north of it lies the country of Tibet, Land of Snows, thoroughly praised by the conqueror,
Encircled by the chain of Kailash Mountains, as if the Heaven of the Thirty-Three had come to the earth.

Marvelous riches, radiant fantastic sphere arranged in a tower of jewels,
A beautiful string of clusters of very white pearls, a display pleasing to see,

^b Pelden Lhamo is a female deity sworn to protect Buddhism, Buddhists, and especially the Tibetan government and the Dalai Lamas. She is thought to manifest in the form of a medium, making it possible to consult her as an oracle.

With joyousness, Tibet steals an expansive place in the sky from its rivals;
Its cities are more beautiful than the stars scattered around.

Living beings in the Joyous Land of Snows experience pervasive marvelous happiness;
Long-life, religion, and all objects of desire—the inexhaustible fortunes of liberation—are a treasury as vast as the sky.
The thousand-spoked golden wheel of the government, possessing the one hundred joys that are friends of the conqueror's religion,
Are anointed with blood by the troops of sly demons in this evil period that causes obscuration.

In order to take pleasure in discussing the best aspects of the conqueror's religion
And being involved in political activities,
I composed these good and comprehensive explanations
In order to exhort young and intelligent people.

This is a telescope for viewing things at a distance
And a compass that points out the path.
It is the atomic bomb of truth
That destroys the high mountain rock, the groundless lies used to steal our power.

The purpose of this book is not to gain notice or become famous.
It is also not meaningless babble for the purpose of ridiculing others.
Citing reliable records as evidence,
I have written it for the purpose of regaining our independence through truthfulness.

The actual facts are seen well by truthfulness in the clear mirror fringed with truth.
I am weary with this heavy responsibility of labor; thus, with my best efforts, I have purified one hundred labors.
I have gained excellent ascertainment, seeing things as they are in fact.
The intelligent young Tibetans who are maturing should examine this display of marvels.

This account of the religious and political form of government, the
 dynastic history of the Land of Snows,
 That comes to take hold of whatever marvelous glories there are.
 One hundred thousand moons of good explanations, not concealed
 by impure words,
 Are reflected in this luminous pond.

Thereby, I have expressed my prayers to the supreme in the land, and
 I have entrusted action to the protector deities who guard the Bud-
 dhist religion.

I have composed this *One Hundred Thousand Moons Reflected in the Luminous Pond or the Playful Lake in which Young Intelligent Bees take Joy, the History of the Political Situation of the Great Nation of Tibet, the Land of Snows, Possessed of a Religious and Political Form of Government*. I will express briefly some introductory remarks, the necessity [of composing it], and so forth. With regard to that, the supreme scholar Vasubandhu said:

For those who listen and take hold
 Of the great meaning of a sūtra after hearing it,
 [Authors] must express their purpose [of composition] at the beginning
 So their audience will behave with respect.

The Kashmiri Somanātha said:

In all treatises like this one,
 If one does not recount the purpose of the work,
 To the extent this is possible,
 Then who will take it up?

In this vein, one day in 1931, my uncle, Cabinet Minister Trimponpa Norbu Wangyal summoned me to his home.

He explained that in the past the officers and soldiers of the Chinese Manchu Emperor who were in Tibet had been driven from the country. He continued, saying that when the Chinese popular government, the British ruling in India, and Tibetan representatives met in Simla in 1914 on equal terms, he, that is, my superior uncle had served as Prime Minister Shedra Peljor Dorjé's assistant. Thus, based upon reliable sources, he recounted the detailed story of the negotiations conducted between China and Tibet.

Together with a special stainless greeting scarf, he presented me with the actual documents that he had gathered at the time of the Simla Conference, copies of records used as evidence, treaties that had

been reached, maps, and other important documents; this was out of his great love for me. Then he told me, "You should investigate these documents. After you have studied them well, great benefit would come to our country if you were to write a political history of Tibet." At the time, I didn't take a great interest in the idea. However, ever since I was young, I have taken a special pleasure in reading dynastic histories, religious histories, biographies of superior great beings, the legends of Gesar, and so forth; I have always read whatever historical texts I have come across and taken notes on the important points.

In the first month of 1946, while my family and I went to India and Nepal on a pilgrimage, the Indian people, in a quest for their freedom and independence, were seizing an opportunity to act, revolting against the British, staging demonstrations, and so forth. When we reached Bombay, Paṇḍita Jawaharlal Nehru, Sadar Vallabhai Patel, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and so forth were speaking before a crowd of many hundreds of thousands of people at the harbor. They said that it was unsuitable for foreigners to exercise control over their country, and thus, all people committed to freedom and independence must work together and strive to overcome difficulties.

Unlike any other experience, I was deeply moved by the attitude of the great crowds. Consequently, I became very interested in those documents my esteemed uncle had given me several years before. Not only did I place great importance on them, but I continually made efforts to ask questions about politics every time I met with an esteemed person. After my return to Lhasa, my primary political concerns related to the consolidation of the welfare and happiness of our people through continually working for freedom and independence. I was perpetually called to remember that the path towards happiness in consonance with the times required that harmonious relations be developed with our neighbors, including India, China, and Nepal, and that expanded relations must be based on clear understanding.

As a result, at the end of 1947, I served as the leader of the Tibetan Trade Mission delegated to discuss trade and political relations with several of the world's great powers; I was accompanied by assistants and a translator. When we arrived in Delhi, India we met at Birla House with Mahātmā Gandhi, the great leader who had led India to freedom and independence on a path of peace; we also met with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the Foreign Office. Both of them gave us a great deal of important advice. We then traveled to China, America, England, France, Switzerland, Italy, and so forth. We met directly with

many famous leaders and political experts and had an opportunity to speak with them.

Seeing the advanced living standards of people and the powerful resources of these countries, I came to realize that through the deceptive strategies of China and Britain, Tibet had remained isolated from the world, due to which, the political and economic status of the country had declined. From among the many crucial objectives I perceived for the welfare of the government and the people, I considered it to be of the utmost importance that the people of the world understand the nature of the Tibetan government and its political history in light of international law. I had to report these matters to the cabinet of our government and upon my return to Lhasa, I presented a report of my insights to the Regent Rinpoché through the cabinet. Thus, the report was proclaimed in a meeting of the Tibetan National Assembly.

In 1950, [after the initial Chinese incursions into Tibet], a divination was elicited from Pelden Lhamo in the Dalai Lama's personal chambers in the Potala Palace; its import was that Tsechak Kenchung Tupten Gyelpo and I should be sent to hold talks with the Chinese Communist government on preserving Tibet's freedom and independence. Thus, we conferred with the Chinese Communist Ambassador in Delhi. Suddenly, the Chinese Communists invaded from the direction of Kham, and thus the sovereign protector Dalai Lama and several members of his retinue were forced to flee to Dromo, near the border with India.

In 1951, the Seventeen-Point Agreement, which had been composed according to the wishes of the Chinese Communists, was forced on Tibet under duress in Beijing. Thereafter, when the Dalai Lama and his ministers returned to Lhasa, I was to return to work in harmony with the Chinese Communists, even against my own wishes. Seeing that there would be benefits and auspicious signs in both the personal and public spheres if I were to remain in the free country of India, I decided to stay there.

Mātrçęṭa's *One Hundred and Fifty Verses in Praise of Buddha* says:

Just as a turtle might surface with its neck
Within a yoke floating in the ocean,^c

^c The image is meant to convey the extreme rarity of finding a human form in the beginningless cycle of rebirths. Buddha suggested that finding a human lifetime once again after being reborn in a lower realm is rarer than would be the happenstance occurrence of a blind turtle surfacing once each century on the surface of the ocean and someday blundering into the middle of a yoke thrown on the water's surface by a

I have obtained a human lifetime,
 Together with the feast of the holy religion.
 Yet, life is impermanent and contingent, and
 I am afraid of the opportunity of karma.
 Why don't I seize on the essence
 With my own tongue?

Accordingly, I came to realize that the documents and the advice my uncle the cabinet minister had given to me, as well as a period of leisure during that time, presented me with an opportunity to make the people of the world understand Tibet's political status.

During the Manchu Empire and thereafter under the Nationalist government, a perverse understanding of the preceptor-patron relationship between China and Tibet developed; books and maps put forth the claim that Tibet was part of China. There was no one on the Tibetan side to refute these claims during that time. Since foreigners were obstructed from entering Tibet, most foreigners accepted the perspective put forth by the Chinese.

I began to write this political history based on original documents in an effort to refute these claims and particularly for those young intelligent Tibetans possessed of earnest loyalty who would have difficulties in gaining access to many texts and documents. Even if they were to have [such documents], they would have difficulties being determined to study them. Thus, among many others, my purpose of composition was that they would be able to understand Tibet's entire history from the ancient religious kings up to the present evil time in the absence of such obstacles.

Moreover, the great bodhisattva Śāntideva said:^d

There is nothing here that has not been said before,
 Nor do I have any skill in composition.

In the same way, I have used as sources, the religious histories, dynastic histories, and annals written by previous scholars. However, most of those sources are primarily about religion and are often the accounts of the lamas and leaders of the period. Moreover, several religious histories only cite the year, without mentioning the element and so forth.

man. See, for example, *Saccasamyutta Sūtra* in Bhikku Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000), 1871–1872.

^d Śāntideva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 1.2. See Vesna and B. Alan Wallace, *A Guide to the Bodhisattva Way of Life* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1997), 18.

Several others give the year and the element, but not the sexagenary cycle. Thus, when calculating the chronology, it was difficult to work out immediately.^c There are many different explanations for the year of Buddha's birth and death and the years in which Tibet's religious kings were born and died. Because of this confusion, I have used the Sautrantika-Sthavira system in determining the year of Buddha's birth and death, as it is well known these days. Also for the years in which Tibet's religious kings were born and died, I have followed the customary view. Wherever possible, I have given the international year for those events.

I have carefully studied whatever texts I have been able to obtain, including religious histories, dynastic histories, biographies of scholars and adepts, chronologies, annals, and documents written by the learned authorities of the past. Whatever I have received on the political situation, I have gathered in one place; without concerning myself with anthologies, I have relied upon the original sources. I have also supplemented that with the important documents my uncle the cabinet minister gave me, treaties, cabinet records, government proclamations, copies of inscriptions on stone pillars, important corroborating documents, related material from the Tang Dynasty, records discovered at Dunhuang, as well as dynastic histories from India, China, Mongolia,

^c The Tibetan calendrical system is based on sexagenary cycles derives from Indian traditions of temporal reckoning, mainly derived from the Kālacakra Tantra and associated systems of astrology. Each year in the cycle is uniquely identified by a combination of one of five elements and one of twelve animals. The elements are: fire, earth, iron, water, and wood. The animals are rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, hen, dog, pig, mouse, ox, and tiger. The cycle begins with the Fire-Rabbit Year. Thereafter, each element is used to name two consecutive years and is paired with the next two animals. Thus, the next two years in the cycle are the Earth-Dragon and the Earth-Snake years. The year 1 is 1027 in the international calendar; it was selected for this place of honor because of being the year that the Kālacakra Tantra was introduced to Tibet. See Tsering Choezom, "A Brief Introduction to the Chart of the Years: Starting 1014 B.C.–2046 A.D." in *Tibetan Astronomy and Astrology: A Brief Introduction* (Dharamsala, India: Men-Tsee Khang, 1998), 68–81. More information on the Tibetan calendar, including tables of the years matched with their sexagenary names, can be found in Alaka Chattopadhyaya and Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan, *Tibetan Chronological Tables of Jam-dbyaṅs bṣad-pa and Sum-pa mkhan-po* (Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993), ix–xvii. The best source on the Tibetan calendrical system is Edward Henning, *Kālacakra and the Tibetan Calendar* (New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies at Columbia University, 2007).

Here, Shakabpa is saying that some of the older sources do not identify the year unambiguously since it may not be known which cycle is being indicated.

Nepal, Bhutan, Ladakh, Sikkim, and so forth, and texts about Tibet in English, Thai, and Arabic. I added to the mixture whatever good explanations I received by jogging the memories of scholars and experienced politicians.

I have also provided a bibliography, necessary explanations, and also footnotes for terms that are difficult to understand. The names of important foreigners, text titles, and the dates of important events have been noted in parentheses in English. Throughout, I have set aside any racial bias or religious partisanship.

While I was writing, the Dalai Lama came to India in 1956 at the invitation of the Indian government and the Mahābodhi Society in order to mark the 2500th anniversary of the nirvāṇa of our unequalled compassionate teacher Śākyamuni. With kindness, he gave me profound instructions that I must complete the political history I was then writing. Based on this, I nearly completed it. However, at just that time, the Chinese Communists became increasingly forceful and violent in Tibet, violating the agreement that had been composed according to their own wish and imposed with force. Consequently, in the second month of 1959, the Tibetan people began fighting, calling for Tibet's independence. At that time, there was nothing to be done but for the Dalai Lama Rinpoché, his ministers, and about eighty thousand monks and lay people to seek refuge in India, Nepal, Bhutan, and so forth. At the behest of the protector Dalai Lama, I served as his representative in Delhi. My responsibilities involved foreign relations, providing livelihoods for the refugees, establishing settlements, and arranging schools. I had to remain at this work. In addition, along with the Dalai Lama's older brother Gyalo Döndrup La and Sadu Rinchen La, I was called upon to present Tibet's case before the United Nations at the end of the year. Because of my many duties,^f [the composition of] this history was delayed.

However, since foreigners did not understand Tibet's status, I saw the great importance of publishing my political history as it was at the time; I took a temporary respite from my duties in Delhi in 1963; with the assistance of the Asia Foundation, I went to Yale University where my children and Mr. Ruskin Bond assisted in translating it into English. Professor Turrell Wylie, a great American scholar of Tibetan

^f Read *las sna* for *las sne*. [9.12]

history and religion, assisted in putting the book into the customary form. As a result, that book, *Tibet: A Political History* was distributed throughout the world in 1967.

His Holiness the Great Protector Dalai Lama praised that volume saying:^g

Since Tibet has remained isolated for many centuries, there are very few people who know much about Tibet and its people. I, therefore, welcome this book, *Tibet: A Political History* by Mr. Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa. This is the first of its kind in English written by a Tibetan, and there is no doubt that it will be of immense value in presenting a true picture of Tibet, particularly today, when there is a great need for it.

Similarly, many Indian and other foreign newspapers, famous scholars of history, and famous, important, and unbiased people frequently scattered flowers of praise; at the same time, many people expressed their desire that I write a detailed account of the modern period. In addition, Rakra Choktrul Rinpoché wrote some verse of praise from Switzerland as follows:

You have gathered the streams of all types of scholars' scriptures,
And the depth of the pond of the religious and political form of government
is difficult to measure.
Yet when I saw these waves of happy^h marvels, [I thought]
Why doesn't the moon of impartial intelligence increase?

While it is difficult these days to take possession
Of even the name of the past ancestors,
With this ritual of speech, even though I am poor [in understanding], I
take pleasure in you,
Who are a treasury of precious light green turquoise.

From my brain which is like the supreme dark green turquoise,
I sing the song which I have heard well from the beautiful Sarasvatī.
Since it was proclaimed throughout space, the supreme benediction,
I hope you, supreme scholar, will also be pleased.

Remaining within the stones of ignorance,
With the wafting vapors from the poisons of anger,

^g Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, foreword to *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press), xv.

^h This is a pun on two syllables of Mr. Shakabpa's names. Deden (*bde ldan*) means possessing happiness.

The Joyous Lady, the Land of Snows, who is forcefully suppressed at the
mercy of lust,
Is bound by the serpent of Chinese Communism.

However, this beautiful thousand-stringed guitar that conveys the truth,
Has one thousand changing notes that are reliable.
You volunteered to take up this pure song of our political history;
Thus, many beings have been awakened from enduring sleep.

On a throne built from bricks of reliable scriptures,
Sits the lady who speaks of the past with beautiful speech.
She is stealing the confidence of sentient beings.
Except for you, who has the courage to write.

I continued writing a book in Tibetan in just the same way as I had
written the book translated into English.

His Holiness the great protector sovereign, the great Kyapjé Yongdzin
Trijang Dorjé Chang, and others continually advised me that if this
book were a very detailed work, it would be beneficial to Buddhism,
the government, and the maturing young people in Tibet and in exile.
The great protector sovereign's private secretary, Tarawa Dongak Tar-
chinchok sent me a persuasive letter which said:

These days, it is as if the progression of our society is being exhausted
because the old people remaining in Tibet are dying under our enemy's
unending exploitation. Meanwhile, the young people are becoming illiter-
ate; they have the same eyes and ears, but are not educated. The young
people who have newly arrived in exile, because they are studying and
growing up in a foreign country, have no understanding of the nature
of their own country.

Consequently, because the occasion calls for an extensive history of
Tibet for the welfare of young Tibetans in the future, you, a superior
being, have successfully published your English book *Tibet: A Political
History*; you have achieved a great accomplishment. In the same way, it
would be marvelous if you could undertake an honest and detailed study
of status of the great numbers of Tibetans, the changes in governmental
traditions throughout time, and so forth, evaluating the Tibetan govern-
ment's benefits and costs to public and private parties in recent times,
and foregoing exaggeration and underestimation.

The very young Mr. Ngawang Döndrup, who is patriotic and educated,
has continually made appeals to me.

In 1967, the Chinese Communists launched the wicked campaign
called the Cultural Revolution. The Red Guard, which was responsible
for these efforts, arrived in Tibet. Saying they would annihilate the old
ideas that conveyed religious commands, the old regional customs, the

old cultural traditions, and the old religious faith,ⁱ they utterly destroyed priceless religious articles representing Buddha's Body, Speech, and Mind from the previous millennia, the texts embodying our cultural tradition, valuable treasures, and the good customs. Tibet was plunged into darkness.

Because of the many obstacles and requirements involved in preserving those things, writing an extensive history would entail great fatigue on my part; I was also an old man, weak of mind and body. Still, once again I went to many libraries in Sikkim in India, Bhutan, and foreign countries in order to search for texts. While I was investigating the religious histories, dynastic histories, and so forth of Tibet and whatever foreign books I had received, Rani Chöying Wangmo and especially Ating Trashī Dradül of Banyak Monastery in Sikkim offered their assistance by loaning me whatever old and new texts and documents I wanted. As a result, I was able to complete this history; thus, I must express my gratitude.

I must express my unending respect, gratitude from the bottom of my heart, and the greatest thanks to the Great Kyapjé Yongdzin Trijang Dorjé Chang, the Lord of all of the teachings that have been set forth in the past; he carefully scrutinized all of the faults and errors in this book with his penetrating vision, offering advice that is difficult to find in cyclic existence and making corrections. In particular, my loving wife, Pema Yudon La, continually provided me with the requisite conditions, support, and encouragement in the writing of this political history. All of my children, who are earnestly patriotic, also assisted me in the beginning, middle, and end; again and again, they made corrections in the originals. My younger brother Thubten Tsepel Taikhang took responsibility for overseeing the printing and so forth, while Jikmé Wangchen La, a son of the Samdrup Podrang family assisted by carefully examining the proofs and making corrections. I am grateful to all of these people.

Nāgārjuna's *Friendly Letter* says:^j

Just as images of the One Gone Thus are honored by scholars,
Even though they are made from wood,

ⁱ See John F. Avedon, *In Exile from the Land of Snows* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 280 on the "Four Olds" and the "Four News."

^j Nāgārjuna, *Friendly Letter*. See Geshe L. Tharchin and A. B. Engle, trans., *Nāgārjuna's Letter* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1979), 20.

So, even though my poetry is poor,
Do not disparage it, for it is based on the expression of the Supreme
Religion.

Accordingly, because my discriminative capacities are small, I do not have the confidence that I can please many literate scholars with a cloud of offerings, a spectacle which increases respect. However, the work is based upon reliable sources, and the subject of expression is free from the stains of error. It is set forth in order that it will be easily understood by all people, the lofty and humble, like counting black seeds. Thus, the people of neighboring nations and other foreign nations with an interest in Tibet will be able to clearly understand the political status of Tibet without distortion. In particular, the maturing young Tibetans in Tibet and in exile can understand clearly the history of their own nation. It is my fondest wish that this book will be like a compass that indicates the path to recovering our independence.

NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY AND THE SOURCES

Readers should understand the following with respect to the dates in this book. When it says, “Water-Ox Year 173,” Water-Ox is the Tibetan year and element and 173 is the year in the common era. These days, there is a tradition of using the international year. Thus, when it says, “the ninth day of the ninth month of the Water-Dog Year 1322,” the year and element, as well as the day and month, are according to the Tibetan calendar; the year 1322, is the international year. Also, when it says, “the fifth day of the fifth month of the Fire-Bird Year (May 27, 1876),” since the international date is in parentheses, it is easy to understand which is the Tibetan date. Also, when it says, “Iron-Dog Year, the fourteenth day of the third international month of 1910,” the date is according to the international calendar, that is, March 14, 1910, except that the year and element are Tibetan. Accordingly, if there is no mention of the international date, the date is according to the Tibetan calendar.

In special cases, when it says, “the thirteenth day of the eleventh month of 1908 or the twentieth day of the tenth Chinese month in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of the Manchu (Qing) Emperor Guangxu,” it must be understood according to the international date and the Chinese calendrical system corresponding the reign of the Manchu (Qing) Emperor. Moreover, all of the dates following the fourteenth Dalai Lama’s passage into exile are reckoned according to the international system. Important dates are calculated in terms of the year in which Buddha died and the year in which Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, with the sexagenary cycle also being specified.

Also, the ellipses noted in the inscriptions from the stone pillars indicate syllables that are unclear or have deteriorated. The footnotes must be understood from the corresponding number. For example, although it is easy to understand which text is being referred to when I say *An Ornament for the Yellow Hat School, the Biography of Jé Dharmabhadra*, there are many cases where I do not say anything more than the title, like *The Treasury of the Precious Scriptures*. If you wish to know the identity of the author or the identity of the subject of a biography, you must consult the bibliography.^a

^a The translator has attempted to supply the author, text title, and page number wherever possible.

With respect to the page numbers in the individual footnotes, when it says, “150-na-2,” it refers to the second line of the front side of page 150. “Ba-4” means the fourth line of the back side of the page. In other cases, it will say, “115/13;” this means the thirteenth line of page 115. Also, several times, I only cited the title, without indicating the line or page number. I ought to have noted the page numbers when I was doing my research, and I apologize for this.

If an opportunity arises to reprint this history, to translate it into another language, or to copy from it, then the rights should be given to my sons Tsering Wangyal and Tsoltim Ngima Shakabpa and to my daughter Thubten Chukie Shakabpa-Wangdu. Moreover, if my children are unable to translate it into other languages and if someone else wishes to do so, then they must receive permission from my children in accordance with international law.

CHAPTER ONE

ORIGIN OF TIBET AND THE TIBETANS AND THE COMMON AND UNCOMMON CULTURE AND TRADITIONS OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE *TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION*

This extensive chapter, which could serve as a stand-alone primer on Tibet, begins by introducing poetic allusions employed to refer to the country and discussing possible origins for its name. Shakabpa then recounts both traditional legendary accounts of the origins of the Tibetan people and the archeological evidence of early human habitation. The general introduction is concluded with a brief sketch of the early Tibetan kingdoms, a theme that will be elaborated in greater detail in the following three chapters.

The basic geography of the region is explained as the main mountains, lakes, and rivers are identified and described; basic demographics of the Tibetan population are set forth. The emergence of writing systems in Tibet is recounted and a general overview of both the Buddhist and non-Buddhist religious systems is provided. Throughout the course of the book, these brief narratives will be greatly augmented. Shakabpa then orients the reader to further details of Tibet's geography, exploring its climate, flora, fauna, and mineralogy. In several of these sections, he provides extensive lists of the types of trees, flowers, or carnivores, for example, to be found in Tibet. Wherever possible, I have translated these terms, but in those cases in which neither my informants nor the dictionaries available to me provided English or Latin equivalents, I have provided the Tibetan name in phonetics and the Tibetan spelling in parentheses. Interestingly, these sections provide accounts of some fantastic creatures, including the yeti.

This chapter also introduces a broad range of cultural beliefs and practices. General qualities based on gender and region are described. Various Buddhist beliefs and practices are explained, as are those that are more characteristically Tibetan. These include cosmological views, beliefs about what counts as auspicious or inauspicious, behavior during religious holidays or at holy places, and so forth. Some regional variations are noted. Burial practices, wedding traditions, and other

customs are described, and distinctive forms of both sports and games are explained. Once again, some of these could not be translated. Various forms of artistic expression are described, including singing, dancing, music, and, later in the chapter, crafts. Most significantly, Shakabpa provides an outline of the forms of painting styles in Tibet. Jewelry and other ornamentation, as well as royal, monastic, and lay clothing styles are described.

The history and architecture of Lhasa is surveyed. The basic economics and trade relations of the country are summarized, and Shakabpa reviews the communications and transportation, currency, and the system of weights and measures employed in the region. Tibetan medical traditions are described. In an important section, Shakabpa outlines the forms of government developed in Tibet. This material will be helpful to the reader in understanding how decisions were made in later periods. The chapter comes to an end with a discussion of Tibetan holidays and celebrations and the Tibetan national flag.

CHAPTER ONE

ORIGIN OF TIBET AND THE TIBETANS AND THE COMMON AND UNCOMMON CULTURE AND TRADITIONS OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE

For those wishing to know the political history of the Tibetan people, initially it is critically important to understand the origin of Tibet and the Tibetans, their culture and customs, and so forth. If one were to do a detailed study of just the origins of the environment and the beings of Tibet, it would run the risk of becoming excessive; since it would involve much more than just the dynastic histories written directly on Tibet, it would be like a fruit concealed by too many leaves. Thus, for the time being, I will set forth these topics in brief, without imagining that I am exhausting the terrain. In this context, the *Birth Stories of the Precious Jewel's Subjects* says:

In the region to the north of eastern Bodhgaya,
Is Tibet, the Kingdom of the Dead.
There is a high mountain, the pillar of the sky.
There is a turquoise maṇḍala, Mapo Lake.
There is a crystal stūpa, Kailash Mountain.
There is a hill of yellow and gold grasslands.
There is sweet smelling medicinal incense.
There are beautiful autumn flowers of gold.
There are beautiful summer flowers of turquoise.
Oh! The sphere of the protector of the snowy mountains,
Avalokiteśvara,
Is in that place.
His trainees are in that sphere.

Moreover, Pelsa Tritsün's^a father told her that:

The place called Tibet is the land of the especially superior,
The land of snowy mountains, the pure high mountain land,
Beautiful cool abode of the gods, the inestimable mansion,
Basis for the emergence of astonishing marvels, benefit, and happiness,

^a Pelsa Tritsün is the Nepalese queen of King Songtsen Gampo. See p. 119 below.

Beautified by forests of fruit trees from which the four rivers^b flow,
Birthplace of the five types of grain^c from which various treasures emerge.

In his letter inviting Atīśa to Central Tibet, Dromtön, the source of conquerors, said:

The northern snowy mountain, having a luster unique
Within the world, is shaped like a chariot;
Being the source of the precious banks of the Brahmapūtra River,
It is known by the name, "Snowy Land."
Those with powerful intelligence are not dissolute
It order that Tibet shall endure.

Rinpung Ngawang Jikten Wangchuk says:

Because of being an ornament of this land bearing jewels,
The necklace-wearing people of the splendid giving mountains,
Are the unsurpassed kings of the central religion;
This is the crown jewel of all the continents.

The names "High Mountains," "Pure Land," "Beautiful Coolness," "Inestimable Mansion of the Gods" are similar. Repeatedly, Tibet, the Land of Snows, is praised by many superior people by the use of such names as "Surrounded by a Garland of Snow Mountains," "Source of Precious Articles like Gold, Silver, Copper, and Iron," "Great Essence of Sweet Smelling Supreme Nectar," and "Heroic Men, Swift Horses." The dynastic histories of the past speak of the upper region of Ngari Korsum being like a pond, the middle region of the four districts of Ü Tsang being like a canal, and the lower region of the six ranges of Do Kham being like a field.

Most of those areas had groves of trees and were filled with water. Gradually thereafter, waterways were opened, valleys opened up, and forests of sala trees gradually emerged. It became a home for vicious carnivores, birds, and game. It is said that it gradually became inhabited by humans; this is how the residents and environments of the world in general emerged. There is no contradiction with scripture and reasoning if we follow the historians the omniscient Wangchuk Butön, Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel, Taktsang Lotsāwa, and so forth who say that the land of Tibet is like India in that the land and races emerged during

^b Four rivers flow from Mount Kailash: Brahmapūtra, Ganges, Yamuna, and Indus.

^c The five types of grain are barley, rice, wheat, lentils, and millet.

the fortunate eon. Accordingly, it is possible to say that for a very long time past, this land has been occupied.

According to world maps, Tibet is north of India the Land of Superiors, Nepal, Bhutan, and so forth, to the east of Kashmir, Afghanistan, and so forth, to the south of East Turkestan (Xinjiang) and the Land of Hor-Mongolia, and to the west of China. If we follow the international boundaries, it is possible to define Tibet as extending from 78° East to 103° East Longitude and from 27° North to 37° North Latitude. It is the highest inhabited land in the world, and all of great rivers in East Asia have their source there.

Origin of the Name "Tibet"

There are several different explanations for how the name Tibet (pronounced "Bö" in Tibetan) arose. Since the Bönpos spread Shenrap's Bön religion in the Land of Tibet, it is said that the name of the religion was applied to the country, that is, through a corruption of the word Bön (*bon*), it came to be called Bö (*bod*). Several other sources say:

Drigum Tsenpo's son, Jatri Tsenpo was invited from the Land of Kongpo; his mother said, "If my son is the son of Drigum, then let the Tibetan government become stable." When she said this, a voice from the sky proclaimed, "This son of yours will become victorious throughout this region." Thus, not understanding what had been called out, Tibetans applied the supposed name of the king Puté Gungyel (*pu te gung rgyel*) to the country; "Purgyel" (*pur rgyal*) became "Bö" (*bod*).^d

Alternatively, the Indian people called us "Bhoṭa"; it is thought that the word "Bö" comes from that; the superior scholar-adept Wangchuk Khunu Gen Tendzin Gyeltsen cited the sayings of Situ Tenpé Nyinjé to assert that "Bö" came from "Bhoṭa." However, Drenwang Gendün Chöpel La gave evidence that "Bhoṭa" came from the word "Bö."¹

In fact, dynastic histories of India say that during the initial period of conflict in which there was a war with the five Pāṇḍava brothers, Rūpati and an army over which he was king were on a campaign;

^d The phrase translated here as "This son of yours will become victorious throughout this region," is pronounced as "khyö kyi bu di kün lé gyel war gyur ro." The name the ignorant people called the king, "Puté Gungyel," is a corruption of the underlined syllables in the above phrase, and "Purgyel" is a further contraction of the same name; this connection is more obvious in Tibetan.

wearing women's clothes, he escaped^e and stayed in a range of snowy mountains. Even now, the people of this region are called Bö. The commentary on Master Deje Dakpo's commentary on the great Bengali Paṇḍita Prajñāvarman's *Praise of the One More Perfect than the Gods* says that the word *bros* was then pronounced as "bö" (*bos*) by the people of Central Tibet;² this is similar to the pronunciation of "Bö" (*'bod*). The name "Bö" is supposed to have come into use in that way, so that the land is called the "Land of Bö" and the people who live there are called the "Böpas."

Also, foreigners apply the name "Tibet" to Bö. It is very clear that this came about as follows: Old Chinese records call our country Taofang (*ta'o phang*), while old Mongolian records use the name Tubitu (*thu shi thu*), ancient Arabic records say Tubakta (*thu sbag ta*), and Thai records say Tibiti (*thi shi thi*). In India, the name Thriupathi is used. These are all like the word Tibet.

The names "Snowy Place," "Land of Snows," "Glacier or Snow Possessor," and "Land of Coolness" are used because there is a great deal of snow in the Himalayan Mountains in the south and in the mountain ranges in the north. As there are many high mountains in Tibet where the snow does not melt even in the summer, these names are used in a poetic sense. Many foreigners think that there is only snow in Tibet, like the north or south poles; this is not the case.

Initial Human Settlement

There are two different explanations for how people originally settled in Tibet. The first follows the account mentioned above. During the initial period of conflict in India, the Land of the Superiors, there was a conflict with the five Pāṇḍava brothers. At that time, King Rūpati and his army escaped through a passageway in the snowy mountains, and they were the initial settlers of Tibet. Indian histories widely hold that that war took place two thousand five hundred years before Jesus. Relying on that account, it could be supposed that people have been in Tibet since about that time.

^e The word for escape is spelled *bros*. There are questions about how this might have been pronounced in the past; a likely possibility would be *brö*.

The second explanation is according to (1) the *Last Will of King Songtsen Gampo* which was a treasure (*gter*)^f reveled by Jowo Pelden Atiśa from the pillar of Lhasa's Tsuklakhang with a pot-shaped capital and (2) *The Hundred Thousand Precepts of Maṇi* which was revealed by Druptop Ngödrup from upon the right foot of the image of Tamdrin, one of the five self-arisen images in Lhasa's Tsuklakhang Temple. They maintain that a monkey-bodhisattva who had been blessed by Avalokiteśvara and a female rock-demon came together and had a great many offspring; the Tibetan race of people is said to have come from those offspring.

There are also traditional explanations for places in the Nedong region, such as the rock outcroppings where they lived, a plane where they played games, and fields. Some people³ say that the initial Tibetans came from Kongpo, the homeland in which the monkey beings lived. One hundred years after the death of Buddha, the lakes of the snowy land diminished. Gradually thereafter, human beings spread from the sala forests⁴ and they were descended from those monkeys; if we accept this theory, then the initial inhabitants of Tibet arrived within two or three hundred years of the life of Jesus.

Moreover, Peter Aufschneider,^g a German who led the Tibetan government's hydro-electric power station, found a small ancient burial site under a rock on a wide hillside to the east of Lhasa; humans' bones and several other items were taken to Switzerland, and when they were investigated in a forensics laboratory, they were found to be three thousand years old. Aufschneider himself told me this. In fact, since it is possible to recognize the existence of people in Tibet before the arrival of the monkey-people, it is clear that the first inhabitants were the descendants of the people who escaped from the war with the five Pāṇḍava brothers.

Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark examined five thousand Tibetan men and women, scientifically investigating their heads, eyes, hair,

^f Treasures (*gter* or *gter ma*) are texts, statues, ritual implements, or other sacred objects that are believed to have been concealed by Padmasambhava in the eighth century only to be unveiled throughout the centuries by reincarnations of his disciples, called treasure-revealers or *tertöns* (*gter ston*).

^g Peter Aufschneider is the traveling companion of the more well-known Heinrich Harrer, whose *Seven Years in Tibet* (New York: Dutton, 1954) recounts their mutual adventures in Tibet during the 1940s. He tells his own story in *Peter Aufschneider's Eight Years in Tibet*, ed. by Martin Brauen (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2006).

teeth, skin color, and so forth. In his book, *Anthropological Researches from the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia*, he concludes that in general, the people of the three provinces of Tibet mixed with the Central Asian Mongolian people a little in the past.⁵

Renowned Mountains, Lakes, and Rivers

Mount Kailash in Upper Ngari is considered to be sacred by both Buddhists and Hindus.⁶ Mount Everest (the Sapphire Queen Snow Mountain or the Jomo Langma of Kharda) on the Nepal-Tibet border is the highest mountain in the world.⁷ Other mountains include Jomo Lhari at Pakri, and also Gangkar Shamé, Jomo Kharek, Nyenchen Tanglha, Yar-lha Shambu, Kula Khari, Nechen Tsari Tra, Nöjin Gangzang, Samten Gangzang, Machen Pomra, and Minyak Gangkar on the Tibet-Bhutan border and Rongtsen Khawa Karpo on the Chinese-Tibetan border. On the Xinjiang-Tibetan Border, snow mountains such as Namgyel and Meru Gangkar—which are higher than Mount Kailash—and various hard and rocky hills are arrayed like precious jewel in a golden maṇḍala.

Similarly, both Buddhists and non-Buddhists regard as sacred the famous great lakes such as Tsoma Pampa Lake (Manasarowar),⁸ Namtso Chukmo Lake (Dingri Nor),⁹ Yardrok Yutso Lake, Tsokya Ring Lake (Tsagen Nor), Tsongö Ring Lake (Alak Nor), Tsotri Shorgyelmo Lake (Kokonor), and so forth. Moreover, there are also salt and soda lakes, lakes in which mirages are seen, as in a mirror, lakes in which miracles are displayed, lakes in which a fire burns perpetually, inconceivable ponds, and so forth.

Four great rivers come out of Upper Ngari. The Tachok Khabap River (literally: Flowing from the Horse's Mouth) flows through the center of Tsang joining the Kyichu River in Ü; then by circling around Namjak Barwa Mountain from Dakpo and Kongpo, it flows through Loyül and thence descends to the ocean through Assam in East India and Bangladesh. At that point it is called the Brahmapūtra River.¹⁰ The Maja Khabap River (literally: Flowing from the Peacock's Mouth) flows from Pureng through Uttar Pradesh, India; called either the Ganga or the Ganges River,¹¹ it is sacred to both Buddhists and non-Buddhists. The Langchen Khabap River (literally: Flowing from the Elephant's Mouth) flows from Upper Dapa, Toling, and so forth and then passes through the Künnu Valley. Called the Sutlej River in India, it passes

through Rampur, Madhyana, Punjab, and so forth.^h Finally, the Sengé Khabap River (literally: Flowing from the Lion's Mouth) comes from Tögar and Ladakh and then descends through Kashmir and Pakistan as the Indus River.

The Gyamo Ngochu River comes from the area to the north of Ü, passes through Dotö, and enters Burma as the Salween River. The Dzachu and Ngomchu Rivers come together in Chamdo, Dotö; then it passes through Markham and Ba before entering Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia as the Mekong River. The Drichu River flows from the northern plateau passed through the Serden,¹² Dotö region, and then enters Chongqing and Hunan, China as the Yangtze River. It is the longest and most important river in China. The Machu River in Domé Amdo passed through Gulok; it joins with the Luchu, Samchu, Julak Rivers and the Mechu River that descends from the Meru Gangkar Mountain. In the Gansu Province of China it is called the Huang He or Yellow River. There are also smaller rivers that are unnamed. Thus, all the important rivers in East Asia have their sources in Tibet.

Tibetan Empire

Between the Tibetan Lord Nyatri Tsenpo and Namri Songtsen,ⁱ there was merely the name "Tibetan Lord," although in fact there was no unified power that extended across the vast territory. The essential point is that even foreign books recognize Yarlung as a kingdom. During the time of the Tibetan Lord Songtsen Gampo (617–650), who was under the influence of the superior Avalokiteśvara, the entirety of Tibet was unified. Thereby, he seized the daughter of the Chinese Lord Taizong by force.¹³ The Tibetan lords Tridé Tsukten and Trisong Deutsen^j led

^h It is remarkable to note that the sources of the Dachok Khabap, Maja Khabap, and Langchen Khabap Rivers are all in the immediate vicinity of Manasarowar Lake. The headwaters of the fourth great river, the Sengé Khabap, is a mere fifty kilometers from the lake.

ⁱ Nyatri Tsenpo was the first king of Tibet, *circa* first century, B.C.E. See p. 115. Namri Songtsen was the father of Songtsen Gampo, *circa* early seventh century, C.E. See p. 117.

^j The name of Trisong Deutsen (*khri srong lde'u btsan*) is sometimes given as Trisong Detsen (*khri srong lde btsan*).

armies against Kingshi (*king shi*),^k China, and the Chinese king was deposed. Annual tribute was offered periodically.

A foundation was established for the extension of military might to the west; the area stretching from Rashi (the Arab Caliph al-Rashid)^l to Longshen (Longshen in Senshi) was brought under the Tibetan king's command.¹⁴ Thereafter, Tibet's military power reached to the east and west during the time of the divine sons, Muné Tsenpo, Murup Tsenpo, and Senalek.¹⁵

Even while Gesar of Drugu resided in the north,
He resented being commanded, and he was harmed.
The red-faced demon Tibetan army battled,
Up to and including Mongdu of the Dugu country.

The Tibetan army erected their black felt tents,
Destroying the land and driving the people to Mön.
Even after the families were made to settle in the Mön land,
The religion of the evil men in the country was nullified.

Subduing them, a leader was appointed with his provisions and shelter;
Drugu Gesar became a servant to Tibet.
The Tibetan army was moved on to the land of Liyiyul,^m
And Cangra Mugpo in Li(yul) was placed in their service.

The Tibetan military force charged on to China;
The great Chinese king of Bechu
Gave up his political power and state to Tibet.
He offered rolls of five-colored silk, many precious gems,
And provisions without delay in time.

In addition, during the sovereign Relpachen's reign,ⁿ the area between Jingjoa in the west and Longrao (Longshen, Shanxi) was brought under Tibet's control; the region directly between the north of the great Tāchi Desert and the outside of the Gobi Desert straight to the mountain peak of Haolenshen in the south were under the common ownership of China and Tibet. On the stone pillar agreement establishing harmonious relations between the nephew and uncle, the Chinese-Tibetan border was demarcated below Tsengzhungjek (*rtseng zhung*

^k Likely King-shi is another name for Chang'an, the capital of the Tang Dynasty which was invaded by Tibetan armies in 763.

^l Hārūn al-Rashīd (763–809) was the Abbasid caliph who ruled from Baghdad.

^m This may be a region called Khotan to the north of Tibet.

ⁿ Relpachen (circa 806–841) ruled from 815 until his death.

ceg) to above Tsengshuhen (*rtseng shu han*).¹⁶ Thus, Tibet reached the height of its power.

Following the reign of Lang Darma, Tibet fell into a period of fragmentation, having no king who exercised authority over all of Tibet. However, Wönpo Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen,^o the Sakya protector and religious king, unified the lamas and leaders of all of Tibet under one roof. From that time, the so-called province (*chol kha*) of Tibet was divided into three “sources” (*’byung khungs khag*).¹⁷ Moreover, the three are distinguished as follows: (1) Ü Tsang, from Upper Ngari Korsum to Sokla Kyawo, is said to be the province where religion is the best. (2) Dotö, from Sokla Kyawo up to the bend in the Machu River, is said to be the province where the men are the best. (3) Domé, from the bend in the Machu River to the white stüpa, is said to be the province where the horses are the best.

Moreover, during the period of Sakya rule,^p Ü Tsang was considered to be divided into thirteen myriarchies: north and south Ladö, the six in Tsang (Chumik, the two Zhalus, Jangdrok, and the two Gurmos), the six in Ü (Drigung, Pakdru, Gyama, Tselpa, Yazang, and Jayülwa), and Yardrok.¹⁸ Also, during the time of the great thirteenth Dalai Lama, there were reckoned to be thirteen myriarchies: the three areas of Ngari Korsum, the four regions of Ü Tsang, and the six ranges of Mé Do Kham.¹⁹ If those are set forth individually, they are as follows: the three areas of Ngari Korsum are (1) Puhreng, Mangyül, and Zangkar, (2) La, Drusha, and Beldi, and (3) Zhang Zhung, Tridé, and Tömé; the four regions of Ü Tsang are Uru and Yoru in Ü and the Yeru and Rulak in Tsang; and the six ranges of Mé Do Kham are Ngöldza Zelmo Range, Tsawa Range, Markham Range, Pombor Range, Mardza Range, and Minyak Rap Range.²⁰

As for the three Do Khams, the Kham in Do Kham is designated Markham, another Kham in Domé is called Yarmotang, and the other, in Tsongkha, is called Gytang. Also, some histories speak of Tibet and Greater Tibet (*bod chen mo*); Tibet is Ü Tsang and Greater Tibet also includes Dotö and Domé. However, since Dromtön says that Samyé Tsuklakhang is in Greater Tibet, there must be a tradition of explaining Greater Tibet as being Ü Tsang.

^o In the middle of the 13th century, Kublai Khan offered Pakpa Rinpoché authority over the thirteen myriarchies in Tibet in payment for granting Tantric initiations to him. See p. 347.

^p Sakya ruled Tibet during the period, 1253–1358.

Among the people who settled or wandered in those areas, there are considered to be four different lifestyles. The people who live in high areas where no agricultural products can be grown are nomads. They live by tending yaks, goats, sheep, horses, and so forth, and by hunting deer, wild yaks, antelope, wild sheep, and so forth. Most of the people live in tents fashioned from the long and short hair of yaks. The young and old lived together in one camp, while the remainder roamed about, herding the livestock to wherever there is good pastureland.

The residents in those high areas where barley and peas can be grown are called farmer-herders. They live by doing a little farming, by raising yaks, goats, and sheep, by doing some fishing, and by collecting eggs from geese and waterfowl. The people who are able to sow the land are called farmers. They grow barley, sweet potatoes, peas, lentils, mustard, and green garden vegetables; they also grow fruit trees and make goat hair blankets. Finally, there are the valley dwellers; except for a little farming in lower valleys, tropical areas, and fields, they just take their sustenance in the forests. If one does a rough calculation of the entirety of the three provinces, 40% are nomads, 30% are farmer-herders, 26% are farmers, and 4% are valley-dwellers.

Population

There was a very large population during the time of King Songtsen Gampo and Trisong Deutsen. Songtsen Gampo sent two hundred thousand troops to China,²¹ and thereafter, during Trisong Deutsen's reign four hundred thousand troops were dispatched to China.²² Similarly, if one relies upon the histories that report that when relics of the One Gone Thus (i.e., Buddha) were taken from Bodhgaya, India, one hundred and forty million cavalry were sent,²³ then there would indeed have been a very large population. However, during the Era of Fragmentation in Tibet (929–1249), the population gradually declined more and more. Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné's *Great Chronology of Buddhism* says that the population throughout Tibet and Greater Tibet was six million [in the 11th century].

If one considers that in general the population is increasing throughout the world, then one must suppose that the population has doubled in the intervening period. However, I have not seen any records that clearly specify the numbers of people during the Sakya, Nedong, or Ganden administrations. In 1920 or the Iron-Monkey Year of the

fifteenth sixty-year cycle, two ṭam were collected from each person throughout Ü, Tsang, and Kham for the purchase of war materials in order to protect our religious and political form of government as the time demanded. My grandfather, the retired treasurer, Shakabpa Tenzin Norgye said that there were about four million people. Add to that the number of people in Domé Amdo in accordance with the oral tradition, and there would be six million, verifying what was said above. More recently, a newspaper reported a count made by the Chinese Communists; it said there two and a half million. If the people of Drichupen and Domé (Amdo) are added, it seems possible to say that there are six million at the minimum.

Language and Literature

According to linguists, the Tibetan and Burmese languages are related.²⁴ Not only do their dynastic histories say that the Burmese people are descended from Tibetans, but also within the last six centuries the people of Upper Burma have spent many years under Tibetan jurisdiction. Thus, there is a connection between the Tibetan and Burmese languages.²⁵ Likewise, there are very strong connections between the languages of Balistan^q and Tibetan. In the 6th and 7th centuries, it was under Tibetan jurisdiction. For many years, Tibetan soldiers lived there in order to protect it, as is evident from the discussion on p. 147 below.

The spoken and written forms of Tibetan are closely related, although there are modest corruptions in the spoken form in widespread areas: Lhodruk, Sikkim, Ladakh, Mönpa, Sherpa, Tamang, and so forth. Except for those areas, people speak the original Tibetan. The Uchen (*dbu can*) script is used to read religious books; even in Mongolia, sūtras, tantric texts, and philosophical books are written in Tibetan. Thus, its use is extremely widespread. Similarly, although there is one original language for the three provinces of Tibet, regional accents have evolved. Because of these corruptions, if one does not listen carefully, it is difficult to understand. However, wherever one goes in the three provinces, there is no problem in communicating through writing.

^q Balistan is in the Karakorum region to the north of India where Ladakh, Pakistan, and China connect.

There are slight connections between Tibetan and the languages of India, China, Mongolia, and elsewhere. There are also strong religious, political, trade, and other sorts of relations between those countries and Tibet. Thus, many of the Sanskrit words in religious works are left untranslated. Moreover, there is no need to come up with new names for each new product that comes into a country; some of the foreign names remain. Beyond those sorts of general relationships, the original Tibetan language is unique and is not related to those other languages. The prime minister of India, Pāṇḍita Jawaharlal Nehru said that except for mistaken similarities, the Tibetan language is unlike the Indian language.²⁶

It is a strange circumstance that there is a very strong resemblance between the Tibetan and Japanese numbers. Several scholars suppose that both the Tibetan and Japanese numbers derived from Chinese numbers. Consequently, I investigated texts relating to the Chinese dynasties including the Shang, Zhou, Han, and Tang of the two thousand five hundred year period between 910 B.C.E. and 1500 C.E. My purpose was to see if the Tibetan numbers had any similarities with the Chinese numbers of those periods. In addition, I also asked Professor Rahder of Yale University, who is an expert in such languages as Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian, as well as in history; he assisted me in my investigation. However, we did not find any connection. It is necessary to do more research on the relationship between Tibetan and Japanese numbers.

As for the letters, in the 6th century, the Tibetan lord Songtsen Gampo sent many young students, including Tönmi Sambhoṭa, to India to study the spoken and written language. The scripts used during the Brahmi and Gupta kingdoms were the most widespread in northern India.[†] Taking the Nagara²⁷ and Sharada scripts as a basis, Tönmi designed the Tibetan script; developments were gradually made by Khyungpo Yutri, Sumpa Nöjin, and so forth. They created countless scripts, such as Dzapchen, Dzapchung, Sharma, Kyüyük, Drutsa Gongzhapma, and Khandrö Dayik.²⁸ However, if these are condensed, then the scripts

[†] The Brahmi and Gupta scripts can be seen in Georg Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie von circa 350 a. Chr.—circa 1300 p. Chr.* (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde 1:11.) Strassburg: Trübner, 1896. Translated as *Indian palaeography* (Indian Antiquary, vol. 33, Appendix), 1904. Reprinted, Calcutta: Sambunath Pandit, 1959, Cols. I–VII. Other specialized scripts can be seen in Nicolas Tournadre and Sangda Dorje, *Manual of Standard Tibetan: Language and Civilization* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2003), 70–71.

called Dzapchen, Dzapchung, Druchen, and Druchung are currently collected under the rubric of Uchen (letters with heads). Umé (letters without heads) or Denluk, Sharma, Kyüyük or Khyukyik, and so forth arose for the purpose of writing quickly. There is no dispute that Drutsa Gongzhapma and others arose as special ornamental scripts. Gendün Chöpel says that according to the Bönpos, since the Bön religion spread prior to Songtsen Gampo, it is not true to say that there was no writing system at that time.²⁹ Moreover, the so-called Pungyik system of Dasik developed into the Zhang Zhung script. That changed into the Mendrak and that gradually developed into the Uchen and Drumar scripts. Thus, Zhang Zhung is said to be the Bön script. Presently, it is not in use.

However, it is difficult to say that there was absolutely no system of writing before Tönmi formulated the modern script because there is an account that when the queens were accepted from Nepal and China, three royal orders were issued to each of them.³⁰ Some people say that they were written in the Nepali and Chinese languages respectively.³¹ Others say that many kingdoms sent congratulatory messages at the completion of the Red Palace's construction, and that the replies from Tibet were written in their own script.³² If we rely on these accounts, then it would seem that there were also people who knew various sorts of scripts.

Depending on whether people lived in high, low, or middle areas, they spoke with many different levels of honorific forms of expression; similarly, in correspondence, there were different forms of address depending on the status of the recipient. In brief, there are many explanations for the excellent customs of the shape of paper, the various ranks of honorifics in private communication, and the way that various seals are used. Similarly, there were also special scribes called Epa and Nyemo Yongdakpa who wrote government orders, sealed documents, and legal documents in the Drutsa script.

Religious Systems

Bön

Our Tibetan histories say that Shenrap's Bön religion existed from a very early time. Most histories say that at the time that Jé Nyatri Tsenpo descended from the peak of Lhari Rölpa, twelve superior beings, Bönpo and so forth, who were like herdsmen, saw him at Tsentang Gozhi,

and carried him on their shoulders. If one relies upon that, then one can see that the Bön religion existed before Jé Nyatri. However, Tuken Chökyi Nyima says:³³

With respect to the spread of the Bön religion in Tibet, there were three stages: Dobön, Khyarbön, and Gyurbön. The first of these periods lasted from the reign of Netri Tsenpo to the time of the sixth member of the dynasty, Tridé Tsenpo.

During his time, a devil captured a child from the Shen race from Üamshö Ön, and led him all around the entirety of Tibet from the age of thirteen until he had reached the age of twenty-six. Through the power of non-humans, the child discovered which sorts of demons and gods there were in various places and whether they were beneficial or harmful. He also learned various religious practices related to them, and thus, he understood whether they ought to be called useful.

All of the histories say that there were twenty-six kingdoms between Nyatri Tsenpo and Tritok Tsenwa. Although nothing is explained about the Bön political power, it is evident that the Bön religion was the initial religion in Tibet.

Several dynastic histories also report that the Bön religion spread from Zhang Zhung during the reign of Pudé Gungyel (Jatri Tsenpo). Whatever may be the case, there is no dispute that it was the first religion in Tibet.

Buddhism

In the Buddhist religion, there are teachings related to sūtras and tantras. There is no presentation of an old and new sūtra tradition; with respect to the doctrine of Great Vehicle Secret Mantra, there are said to be old (*rnying ma*) and new (*gsar ma*) traditions. The distinction between these is as follows: the term Nyingma Secret Mantra is used for tantras translated up to the time of Paṇḍita Smṛtijñānakīrti and the term Sarma Secret Mantra is used for those translations following the translator Rinchen Zangpo. According to this way of explaining matters, the followers of the Nyingma Secret Mantra invited the second Buddha Ögyen Padmasambhava from India during the reign of the great sovereign Trisong Deutsen. He taught many doctrines of Secret Mantra, and in reliance on the Vajrayāna, many people achieved feats,^s

^s This means that people became skilled enough in the practices that they achieved the ability to perform feats like walking through walls and the like.

such as the king and twenty-five of his subjects. From the time of Nyak Jñānakumāra and Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé, the doctrine was spread far and wide by Zurchen Śākya Jungné (Ukpa Lungpa), Zurchung Sherap Drakpa, and Chöjé Dropukpa Śākya Sengé.³⁴

Monastic Discipline

As for the discipline, the Sovereign Trisong Detsen invited the great abbot Śāntarakṣita from Nepal; seven hand picked men became monks, and the monastic discipline of the supreme religion was inaugurated.¹ Moreover, during Lang Darma's reign, the teaching of the discipline was very much in decline in Ü Tsang. At that time, three monks, Tsang Rapsel, Yo Gewajung, and Mar Śākyamuṇi, escaped from Chubori. Tsang Rapsel served as abbot and bestowed monastic vows upon Lachen Gongpa Rapsel; besides him, ten people from Ü Tsang, such as Lumé, received the lineage of vows. Gradually, the Mendül (Lower) or Khengyu monastic discipline spread. Lhadzün Yeshé Ö invited the East Indian Paṇḍita Dharmapāla to Ngari while he was making a pilgrimage in Nepal, appointing him as abbot. The three Pālas—Sādhupāla, Gunapāla, and Prajñāpāla—performed the ordination and explained the monastic discipline. After Zhang Zhung Gyelwé Sherap was ordained by Prajñāpāla, he went to Nepal. Thereby, he received the monastic discipline from Pretākara, who bore a lineage of the discipline. Having heard teachings on the discipline from such people as the Kashmiri Jñānaśrī, the Kashmiri Pañchen Śrī Sutiśanti, Samantaśrījñāna, and so forth, translations were undertaken by Malodro, and so forth.

The Dödül (Upper) monastic discipline was received from Lopma Peljor Sherap and Jangchup Sengé of Zhingmoché.³⁵ Also, the Great Sönyompa Śākyaśrī of Kashmir was invited by Tropu Lotsāwa Jampa Pel. He stayed in Ngari and Ü Tsang for ten years and consecrated the great statue of Maitreya^u at Tropu. As abbot of Chushül Sokmang Monastery, he granted full ordination to eleven people, Jangdor and so forth. Sakya Paṇḍita Kūnga Gyeltsen received his full ordination at Nyangdö Gyengong. The lineages passed through those teachers,³⁶ who were like the foundation and root of the old and new Buddhist religious systems.

¹ See p. 132 below.

^u Maitreya is a bodhisattva who is believed to be the future Buddha.

Kadampa School

The uncle and nephew, Lha Lama Yeshé Ö and Jangchup Ö, despite a path wrought with one hundred difficulties, invited the Great Scholar of Zahor (Bengal) Jowo Jé Pelmar Medzé Yeshé (Atiśa) to Tibet. His primary spiritual son, Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné, founded Radreng Monastery. The custom was inaugurated of calling the school Jowo Kadampa (*bka' gdams pa*) because it conveys advice (*gdams*) that will lead sentient beings to the perfected state, without having omitted any of the commands (*bka'*) of the conqueror's Great and Lesser Vehicles. Puchungpa Shönu Gyeltsen, Potowa Rinchensel, Chenngawa Tsültrimbar, the three Kadampa brothers, spread the lineage widely.³⁷

Path and Result: Sakyapa School

While traveling in India, Drokmi Lotsāwa Śākya Yeshé came into contact with the six gate-keeper scholars, such as Paṇchen Śāntipa and Prajña Indraruci, from whom he heard teachings on the *Kālacakra Tantra*, the "Path and Result" (*lam 'bras*), and so forth. He remained in India and Nepal for thirteen years, and having completed his studies, he returned to Tibet where he founded Nyugu Lung. He also invited Paṇchen Gedhara. His student Khön Könchok Gyelpo, who was lord of both texts and oral instructions, founded Sakya Monastery. Sachen Kunga Nyingpo, Jetsün Sönam Tsemo, Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, and Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga Gyeltsen, and so forth spread this tradition widely.³⁸

Kagyüpa School

There are two sub-schools, Shangpa Kagyü and Dakpo Kagyü. As for the first, while Khedrup Khyungpo Nenjorpa was traveling in India, he studied with many scholar-adepts, such as Paṇchen Maitripa (1007–1077), Dorjé Tenpa Chenpo, and Niguma. He gave extensive religious teachings upon his return to Tibet. Since his residence was in the Shang region of Tsang, his lineage was known as Shangpa Kagyü. Lamas who conveyed the tradition, including Meutönpa, Mokchokpa, Zhanggom Chöseng, and Latöpa Könchok Khar, spread it widely.

As for the second sub-school, the Dakpo Kagyü, Marpa Lotsāwa Chökyi Lodrö of Lhodrak visited India three times and Nepal four times. He studied under many lamas, such as the glorious Nāropa, Maitripa, and Sāraha. From among his students, there were four who had received

his instruction, like a constellation in the sky; Milarepa Dorjé of Gungtang had received instructions in the lineage of accomplishments. His unequaled student, Dakpo Lhajé, bore a mixture of the two streams of instruction; thereby, the tradition was called Dakpo Kagyü.³⁹ The Dakpo Kagyü had four greater sub-divisions and eight lesser.⁴⁰

From within the Drukpa Kagyü, there are four Kagyü lineages: Barompa Kagyü came through Darma Wangchuk of Barompa, Pakdru Kagyü came through Dorjé Gyelpo of Pakdru, Kamtsang came through Khampa Usé or Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa, and Tselpa Kagyü came through Zhang Tsöndrü Drakpa, a student of Öngom Tsültrim Nyingpo. There were also eight lesser divisions: Drigung Kagyü came through Kyopa Jikten Gönpö, a student of Pel Pakmo Drupa, Taklung Kagyü came through Tangpa Trashi Pelgyel, Lingré Kagyü came through Druptop Lingrépa Pema Dorjé, Tropu Kagyü came through Drogön Gyatsa Khuön, Martsang Kagyü came through Chöjé Marpa Drutop, Yelpa Kagyü came through Yelpa Trashi Tseka, Yazang Kagyü came through Zara Yeshé Sengé, and Shuksep Kagyü came through Nyibu Gyergom Chenpo.

As for the Drukpa Kagyü, it came through Druptopling Repa Pema Dorjé's student Chöjé Gyarepa Yeshé Dorjé: the (Upper) Tödrük Namgyi Karma came through the latter's student, Gyelwa Gö Tsangpa, the (Lower) Medruk Sayi Dreka came through Lingrepa's student, Gyelwa Lorepa, and the (Middling) Bardruk came through Lingrepa's student, Uché Nyitong Gyegyapa.⁴¹ The Densa Gyüpa came through Bönré Darma Sengé. Thereby, the Kagyü teachings increased.

Zhijepa School

Padampa Sangyé taught a supreme religious system which pacified (*zhi byed*) suffering. His students were Kyo Śākya Yeshé, Ma Chökyi Sherap, Sogé Dünbar, Machik, Lapkyi Drölma, Kam Yeshé Gyeltsen, and so forth; these inconceivable students spread the school.⁴²

Jonang School

Künrang Tukjé Tsöndrü founded a monastery at Jomonang. Künkhyen Dölpopa, Künrang Chödrak, Jonang Künga Drölchok, and so forth spread the doctrine.

New Kadampa or Yellow Hat Riwoḡe Denpa

The eastern king of religion of the three realms, Tsongkhapa Lozang Drakpa (1357–1419), went to Ü from Do Kham. He served at the feet of many lamas, including those trained in the Sakya School; thereby, he brought hearing, thinking, and meditating to completion. The Kadampa followed after Chöchok Asaṅga; the New Kadampa or the Yellow Hat Riwoḡe Tenpa was inaugurated according to the example set forth by Nāgārjuna and his spiritual son, Āryadeva. Ganden Nam-par Gyelweling Monastery was founded, and the custom of the Great Prayer Festival offerings was initiated. Jé Tsongkhapa's students, Gyeltsap Darma Rinchen, Khedrup Gelek Pelzang, (the first Dalai Lama) Tamché Khyenpa Gedün Drupa, and so forth caused the tradition to spread far and wide.⁴³

How the Preceding Religious Schools were Named

The Nyingmapa (Old ones) received its name by virtue of the period in which it arose. Sakyapa, Taklungpa, Drigungpa, Drukpa, and Gedenpa were named after the places at which they emerged. Karma Kagyü and Bulukpa were named after the masters of the schools. Others such as the Kadampa, Dzokchenba, Chak Chenpo, and Shijepa were named according to the advice they offered.

Accordingly, from among the preceding schools, all of them, except the Bön religion, are given various names in dependence upon the practices of the individual lamas and the manner of behavior, that is, the stages of conduct, conveyed to the students. Beyond that, in essence, they are just the stainless customs of the Teacher Śākyamuṇi and are not perverse traditions. These days, foreigners regard the Tibetan religious traditions (*chos lugs*) as being adversarial, as though they were opposed to one another like hot and cold. In addition, some scholar-lamas have introduced artificial elements into Buddha's instructions. Calling it "lamaism" is a very serious mistake. Thus, in this regard, the great protector, the fourteenth Dalai Lama gave the following advice together with an example:⁴⁴

Some people say that the religion of Tibet is "lamaism," as if it were a religion not taught by the Buddha, but this is not so. The original author of the sūtras and tantras that are the root source of all schools of Tibetan Buddhism is the teacher Shākyamuni Buddha. Next, the great Indian pundits, using reasoning purified by the three analyses, explained and delineated the meaning of the thought of these sūtras and tantras...

Finally, the bodhisattva kings and ministers of the snowy land of Tibet and the benevolent translators underwent hardships without concern for life and limb—not to mention wealth and resources.

With earnest effort, many paṇḍitas and adepts whose renown is beyond dispute, wandered, like water, through many areas of the Nepali kingdom; with joy, they heard many religious instructions and translated scriptures into the Tibetan language. Taking those translations as a foundation, people made efforts at hearing, thinking, and meditating; Tibetan lamas have not fabricated even a single doctrine that is not in agreement with those Indian doctrines.

For example, one might wonder what sort of Buddhist religion there is in Tibet. Even if a slight qualm about an essential religious point arises or if there is a need to identify the source of some doctrine, then it is examined whether the source is in Buddha's scriptures or among the works of any of the Indian paṇḍitas and adepts.

Similarly, from among the incarnations, lineage holders, religious practitioners, and so forth in Tibet, there are various sorts: the throne holder of Ganden Monastery, abbots, lamas, masters, geshés, and so forth. Except for those who have attained a high level of knowledge through their own good qualities, there are absolutely no distinctions among people based upon the status of their family or their wealth. In addition, although there are practitioners of various religions in Tibet, such as Bönpos, Muslims, Hindus, Christians, and so forth, they are not obstructed by government laws in any way, but act according to their own wishes.

Altitude and Climate

The Tibetan region is like a plateau set upon a mountain range, and most of the northern wilderness is about 14,000 feet above sea level. The lowest valleys are about 3,000 feet above sea level. However, most people live between 7,000 and 12,000 feet. The capital, Lhasa, is 11,000 feet above sea level.

As for the climate, since the high altitude regions in the north are cold, but the low altitude regions in the south are warm, there is no certainty as to the temperature. However, if one considers a place like Lhasa, then it ranges between 85°F in the summer and 4°F in the winter. In the Himalaya Mountains in the south, a great deal of rain falls in the summer and snow in the winter. In general, there is between 10" and 18"

of rain each year.⁴⁵ Although no more than five or six feet of snow falls in the north, it does not melt immediately if it is not blown by the wind. Thus, there is no grass for living beings to eat. This causes big problems. At those times, the nomads suffer the most severe difficulties.

As the wind-swept lands are dry, barley, wheat, peas, and so forth that are kept in storehouses built in those areas that are without moisture can be preserved for fifty or sixty years. Thus, the government, the major monasteries, and wealthy landlords have many storehouses where they accumulate these foods. Similarly, loads of butter are wrapped in leather and kept in cold places where they can be preserved for two or three years. Meat is also thoroughly dried and can be preserved for about two years if placed in a cold place. Consequently, things may last for a few years. There is also the distinctive feature that in this cold climate, the great harm of famines does not occur, and also, extensive epidemics and infectious diseases do not occur.

Natural Resources and Wildlife

Agricultural Production and Forests

The most important foods harvested include: barley, wheat, peas, and lentils. Moreover, buckwheat, white buckwheat, coarse barley, lentil, mustard, white mustard, hemp, and beans are also harvested at several low altitude places, and maize and firewood are cultivated.

Similarly, cultivated garden vegetables include: potatoes, radish, white radish, carrots, turnip, cauliflower, Chinese cabbage, lencor cabbage, cauliflower, celery cabbage, celery, cayenne, eggplant, tomatoes, mint, pepper, garlic, chili, onion, white ginger, ginger, horseradish, and so forth. Wild vegetables include yellow and white mushrooms, funguses, nettles, kauri seeds, hot garlic, mountain garlic, dragonhead (*dracocephalum tanguticum*), cumin, wild sweet potatoes, carrots, dandelions, and so forth.

There are also many different types of medicines and poisons including: pine tree, worms, frankincense, spikenard, seeds, resins, orchids, aconite, thorn apple, tsatakngu (*rtsa rtag ngu*),^v rock chiretta, camphor, costus root, and so forth.

^v A different form or a different name for the same form of this plant is *rtag ngu 'od ldan*, which has a white flower and a bulbous root. It is called *saxifraga melanocentra*.

Forests

The following trees range widely: pine, silver fir, cedar, birch, trepa (*khred pa*), locust, alpine willow, oak, willow, kyeyak (*skye yag*), Chinese willow, elm tree,^w poplar, white poplar, birch, latser (*gla tsher*), white thorn, red thorn, Tibetan sandalwood,^x bamboo, rhododendron, azalea, *coloneaster* spp., barberry, licorice root, mazhok druzhi (*ma zhog gru bzhi*), *senescarpus anacardius*,^y rose bush, bulrush, cane, bodhi tree, tea tree, and so forth.

Fruit-bearing plants

Cultivated fruit trees include: apricot, walnut, apple, clove, cholo (*co lo*), cranberry, grape, small berries, and so forth. At low elevation, bananas, pomegranate, and oranges are also grown.

Flowers

Among the flowers are the following: rose, lotus, marigold, saffron, chrysanthemum, vines, wisteria, drölma (*sgrol ma*), *crocus sativas*, gyajam (*rgya byams*), riksum (*rigs gsum*), petunia, snap dragon, drangsong gupa (*drang srong dgu pa*), chudawa (*mchu zla ba*), lily, orchid, annual red *cosmos bipinnata*, sunflower, red new year's flower, tratik (*khra thig*), yangjün (*yang jun*), chintsili (*cin tsi li*), willow, gamzhu (*sgam bzhu*), tilung (*ti lung*), hetang (*has thang*), hydrangea,^z and gyeltsen senma (*rgyal mtshan sran ma*). There are many different sorts of flowering peas. Among the garden vegetables and flowers, several names come from China and India; their seeds, roots, and so forth also came from those places.

Wildflowers

There are many different wildflowers, including white and green utpala, pyrethrum, *primula sikkimensis*, *chrysanthemum*, *gentiana*, *incarvillea compacta*, iris, *stellaria chamaejasme* (*re lcag*),⁴⁶ and so forth.

^w Yombok (*yom sbog*) is a tree whose bark can be used as a soap.

^x Dzomo shing (*mdzo mo shing*) is a medicinal tree useful in treating blood diseases. The Latin name is *caragana tibetica*.

^y Seshing (*bse shing*) is a medicinal tree useful in counteracting poison.

^z The Tibetan name hotrin (*ho krin*) may derive from the English name, hydrangea.

Livestock and Wildlife in Mountains and Pastures, and Wet and Dry Areas

The livestock that is held by Tibetans include horses, mules (*drel*),⁴⁷ donkeys, cows, bulls, yaks, dri,⁴⁸ dzo, dzomo, goats, sheep, bamen,⁴⁹ camel, dogs, cats, domestic fowl, domestic waterfowl, bama yak, small mule (*tho log*) and yak hybrid (*rtol gog*).⁵⁰ The male and female mules are said to be infertile. If they do produce offspring, it is regarded as a bad omen. Thus, when a female mule gave birth at Nyemodo monastic estate in 1953, it generated tremendous concern. In such little places, away from the main roads, there are many marvelous notions that would be inconceivable in great foreign countries.

Carnivores and Herbivores in Uninhabited and Dry Areas

There are various carnivores and herbivores in Tibet such as tiger, leopard, Himalayan black bear, red bear, Tibetan leopard, wolf, lynx, fox, dretse (*bre tse*), jackal, weasel, badger, okar (*og dkar*), wild yak, wild ass, Hodgon's antelope, two types of wild sheep, antelope, musk deer, stag, wild boar, wild goat, forest ox, two types of monkey, rat, mountain rats, squirrels, guinea pig, rabbits, marmot, porcupine, and so forth. When carnivores and herbivores are divided, several histories say that carnivores have claws and herbivores have hooves. Others use the convention that carnivores lick water with their tongues, while herbivores drink water with their lips.

The black fox is very rare, and if one is found, it is said to belong to the estate; it is taken to be very important. The white marmot is said to be extremely sacred; thus, if a hunter kills one, it is considered to be inauspicious to the area. There are many interesting accounts that the lineage of a person who kills one will end.

Vermin

There are a tremendous number of different types of vermin: snakes, scorpions, spiders, centipedes, ants, beetles, roaches, lizards, horsefly, moths, flies, maggots, mosquitoes, glow worms, butterfly, moths, leeches, dragonfly, locusts, lice, bedbugs, fleas, sheep fleas, and so forth.

Birds

There are many different types of birds including: two types of vulture, white-tailed eagle, mouse hawk, raven, spotted magpie, jackdaw, magpie,

small magpie, cuckoo, water bird, jölmo songbird, mockingbird, doti (*rdo thi'i*), deng deng ma (*deng deng ma*), lark, parrot, crested birds, dügong (*bdud 'gong*), pigeon, barn swallow, mud swallow, swallow, mödep (*rmos 'debs*), apjiu (*ab byi'u*),⁵¹ mountain birds, tepchiu (*mtheb byi'u*), grouse, partridge, ja ngang (*bya ngang*), wild goose, ja zhar (*bya bzhar*), zemong (*ze mong*),^{aa} two types of owls, pakji or gapukrön (*pag byi'i* or *ga phug ron*),^{ab} and so forth.

It is regarded as an inauspicious sign if vultures, owls, and so forth settle on the roofs of city houses and screech. There are many accounts that the jalong and jashar assist one another when migrating from the north. Similarly, there are stories that vultures carry marmots while migrating.

Animals that live in Wet Places

Such animals are countless, including cranes, geese, red ducks, chickens, spoon bills, waterfowl, kingfisher, ravens, fish, frogs, snow frog,⁵² otters, tortoise, crabs, and jongmo (*'jong mo*). An animal called pilhamo (*pi lha mo*) or julak (*'ju lag*) in the Dzangchu River has scales all over its body, and it harms human beings. It looks like the crocodiles that live near water in the forests of India and Burma. I have not personally seen the water buffalo that are in the great swamp west of Lhasa, but those who have heard their calls at night or have seen their dung agree that it might be some divine protector, the protector of a spirit's garden, or the protector of the Land of Rainbow Spring.

Also Ngülchu Dharmabhadra's biography says that on the fifth and sixth days of the first month of 1851, a vast number of frog-like dragons appeared under the iron bridge at Püntso Ling; they remained there for two or three nights, and many people saw of them.⁵³ If we rely on that account, then I think it is certain that there are marvelous creatures in the rivers and lakes of Tibet.

There are also strong and hairy creatures called yetis (*mi rgod*) in snowy ranges and rock outcroppings. Eyewitnesses include Dromo Geshé Kugongma Ngawang Kelzang Rinpoché's servants Drokpön Dawa, Namgyel, Jishing Tumi Ané Adar,⁵⁴ and so forth. Many people in Upper and Lower Dromo have heard their calls and have seen their

^{aa} One informant says a zemong is a porcupine or a weasel, although this does not fit with the category of birds.

^{ab} A pakrön is a pigeon.

footprints. Likewise, there are also people who say that there are small beings called *dzami* (*rdza mi*) in rock outcroppings and rock piles.⁵⁵

There is a tradition that there are white lions and others having blue hair in several high mountains. An eyewitness account is reported in the biography of Ngawang Chödrak Gyatso (Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso).⁵⁶ Moreover, there are many accounts that spirits have presented offerings like snow lion's milk to several other lamas and adepts; precious pills and relics are made from this milk.

Several histories report that in the past in Tibet there was a creature with a great human form called a *garuḍa*. In addition, there are accounts of their descendants also,⁵⁷ and about their homes being in caverns. There are said to be *garuḍa* eggs in several old monasteries; those arrangements of piles of great eggs would seem to be the eggs of the large African birds called the ostrich. If one followed the *garuḍa* explanation, then it would seem to require that the birds would be several hundreds of times larger than those eggs.

With regard to the beings called dragons (*'brug*) that are mentioned in writings, many nomads from Jangnam Tsokhapa, Jado Monastery, and the Namru region saw dragons going into the sky together with the fog from Namtso Chukmo. Sometimes, from the distant clouds, one sees the tail of a dragon flipping. When they move, many people hear the sound of a rain and wind storm. Since many eyewitnesses are in agreement on this, people continue to investigate this question. Recently, I spoke with Dilgo Khyentsé Rinpoché, the victory banner of the supreme vehicle of Buddhism. He said that from a distance in Upper Dza, one dragon descended along with the fog. At the same time, another one was seen going into the sky. During a great summer drought, Rinpoché's father saw a small thumb-sized dragon sitting in a large copper pot used to gather water. In one moment, there was a sound in the air, and he saw a superior being in the sky.

In addition, Ju Mipam Rinpoché also told Rinpoché's father:

In a small stream these days, there is a dragon that takes all sorts of colors and sizes in all sorts of shapes, like a drawing in water. One day at that place, it was protected out of fear that children would harm it. It remained on its own bank. By evening, its size had doubled. At night, it flew into the sky accompanied by a loud noise.

I was told that since dragons are naturally arisen, they are all able to transform themselves from small to large in a single moment. Since there are very marvelous stories about the existence of amazing sorts of beings in our country at present, I think more investigation is needed.

Also foreign scientists say that the sound of thunder (*'brug*) is the fierce tumult from clouds, rain, and wind, and that apart from the lighting and the sounds being projected, there is no living being that is called a dragon (*'brug*). Accordingly, even the royal orders during the time of the Sovereign Trisong Detsen say:⁵⁸

The waves in the ocean put clouds in the sky.
Because hot and cold elements meet, lighting flashes.
The sound of thunder (*'brug*) resounds in the sky due to that struggle.
With great noise, it lands on the roof.
Just as striking a flint stone emits sparks,
So light is issued from fire and from jewels.

Thus, one is able to recognize that there is clear evidence that such a sound is not the sound of the creature called a dragon.

There is a tooth that is said to be Buddha's tooth at Tel Monastery, and at Yangchen Monastery, there is an especially large rib said to be a demon's rib. There is also an extremely large thigh bone that is said to be the thigh bone of a migen (literally, "old man"). When scientists investigated them, they were able to determine that they were the fossils of creatures that lived in Tibet in the long-distant past.

Naturally Occurring Minerals

In the various regions of Tibet, there is a tremendous number of naturally occurring minerals. Mentioning just some of them, they are: gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, nickel, zinc, salt, soda, white salt, saltpeter, coal, graphite, red ochre, vermillion, moss, blue dye, chalk, gypsum, yellow clay, yellow dye, a mineral medicine called donggrö, yellow arsenic, lime, clay dust, porcelain, red dye, the soma plant, quicklime, pencil lead, marble, green rock that are like jade, stone used for seals, petroleum, cement, slate, whetstone, sodium, crystal, onyx, turquoise, crystal spheres, amethyst, sharpening stone, mica, brimstone, dye for robes, asbestos,^{ac} dogok drichen (*rdo sgog dri can*), flint, dotting ngam (*rdo ting ngam*), chime stone, dragon bones,⁵⁹ white shell, dobu kyok (*rdo 'bu kyog*), dojiu go (*rdo byi'u mgo*), doyu gong (*rdo g.yu sgong*),⁶⁰ and so forth. It is definite that these inconceivable products still exist.

These minerals are extracted by the government or the landowners a little at a time, as they are needed. Beyond that, no large scale mining takes place. In the past, Chinese traders in Sichuan and Ziling

^{ac} Dogyü (*rdo rgyus*) is a mineral used to reduce swelling.

obtained a little bit of mined gold from Dotö and Domé; beyond that, the government would not give permission for foreign countries to do excavations.

Möndrong Khyenrap Künzang, who had studied mining in England, and his assistants, explored several places in Ü to see if they were minerals that could be mined; he presented a report on the location and quality of gold, copper, and iron deposits. Moreover, a British mining expert found a vast deposit of gold in the Dakpo Lhasöl region. The Tibetan government formed a joint venture with foreign mining experts; after the foreign mining traders performed an extensive investigation for a time, they gave advice on how to earn great profits once the Tibetan government accepted their proposals.

However, there was widespread concern that if large scale mining took place, then many foreigners from neighboring countries would be contending with one another to come to Tibet, and consequently, the traditional customs of the country would undergo a severe decline.

In addition, there are three different legends from the ancient past that speak to this issue. First, it is said that such minerals were being extracted from land that was actually owned by spirits. They became jealous and annoyed; consequently, rain did not fall during the rainy season, and an epidemic, a famine, and a war resulted. The second legend says that when minerals were being extracted, the fertility of the soil declined in that area; the productivity and resources of the farmers and nomads suffered. According to the third account, although the various locations of minerals were known by people, there was concern that when they went to mine them, the plentiful resources of fortunate times would disappear. There is also a tradition that the minerals that were to be mined disappeared. Consequently, the small amount that they had extracted was returned.

For example, ochre for the Red Palace [part of the Potala Palace] was taken from the Pakmo region of Upper Ü, moss and blue minerals used for dye came from Nyemo Warkhor, lead came from the Shang Gyatso region, graphite came from the Büdé region, lime came from Yangchen and Rinpung, gold came from Tögertsé, Drongpa, E, Dergé, Nyakrong, and the Muli region, and iron came from the Chamdo region. Thus, there is also a tradition that extensive fixed revenues were received. I wonder if the economic prospects of the country were undermined due to the greed on the part of both the government and the private parties.

These days since the Chinese Communists have attacked Tibet, it was proclaimed that groups of mining specialists would explore all regions of Tibet and that various sorts of minerals would be mined. In addition, I understand that white salt and petroleum were extracted from Naktsang and the Kormo region, and coal was taken from Tö and Ü.

Customs and Behavior

It is always very difficult to say with certainty such and such is the case with respect to the customs and behavior of beings in general. For example, even with respect to the children of a particular mother and a particular father, there are various levels of intelligence, propriety of character and moral behavior, physical characteristics, and so forth. The way in which one perceives these matters depends upon their previous karma.

However, here, this must be considered to be a general characteristic of the Tibetan people. The male characteristics are supposed to come from the Bodhisattva Monkey-Father, who was compassionate, tolerant, sharp-minded, well-built, and liked to eat fruits. The female characteristics come from the female rock spirit, who was strongly influenced by desire, hatred, greed, envy, jealousy, and so forth. This spirit is very ugly and takes joy in eating flesh. Because of the increase in population since the original six races of people and the six types of sentient beings,^{ad} each has various different customs and behavior. There are four great tribes, Sé (*se*), Mu (*rmu*), Dong (*ldong*), and Tong (*stong*); adding the two lesser tribes, Dra (*dbra*) and Dru (*'bru*), there are six.⁶¹

In particular, it is said that the people of Ü Tsang have faith in religion, pleasant manners, and swift memories, and they have concern for their future lives. The people of Dotö (Kham) are said to be very heroic, self-motivated, and resolute. The people of Domé (Amdo) are said to be of sharp minds, temperamental, and able to bear suffering. If I speak honestly, setting racial partisanship aside, Tibetans have strong connections with religion in whatever sorts of activities they

^{ad} The six types of sentient beings (*'gro ba rigs drug*) are hell beings (*dmyal ba*), hungry ghosts (*yi dvags*), animals (*dud 'gro*), humans (*mi*), demigods (*lha ma yin*), and gods (*lha*). For a detailed discussion, see Lati Rinpochoy, Denma Lochö Rinpochoy, Leah Zahler, and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditative States in Tibetan Buddhism: The Concentrations and Formless Absorptions* (London: Wisdom Publications, 1983), 23–41.

undertake, and they believe in religion spontaneously due to having been acquainted with it from youth. People offer respect and esteem to lamas, clergy, old teachers, parents, and their elders; they are always truthful and upright, they keep their word, and are content with their situations. Tibetans are very compassionate, extremely ashamed of sinfulness, generous, concerned for their future lives, and cautious in their conduct. These things can be said with certainty.

Tibetans are delighted when auspicious signs, good omens, lucky days, propitious dreams, and so forth occur; if such things are inauspicious, they become terribly concerned. During receptions or celebrations, purifications and decorations are undertaken.⁶² Prayer flags are raised.⁶³ The prayer flags (*rlung rta*) and the Buddhist banners (*dar lcog*) are the uncommon symbols of the Tibetan people. Thus, they are placed on the top floor of houses, on mountain peaks, at the highest points of mountain passes, on steep rock outcroppings, in tall trees, and so forth.

When particularly big celebrations are held, a five element banner is raised. Prayer flags and the eight auspicious sign banners are hung. Threshold banners are raised. People go to the Tsuklakhang Temple to offer widely recognized religious articles, such as offering scarves and so forth.⁶⁴ People present gifts to lamas and leaders they meet. For marriage ceremonies, when leaving on journeys, or when removing a corpse from the house, and so forth, they are indispensable, no matter what.

People would meet with people they knew from their village or the surrounding region and discontinue work. Finally, they would make a pilgrimage, and even if they took the wrong path, they would not do without food for there was an excellent custom of people providing tea, beer, and roasted barley. When someone goes to the home of an acquaintance, they will drink plenty of tea. Even an enemy will drink more than one cup. These two or three customs had been introduced.

When Tibetan people get a good job or make thorough preparations, they show their love and respect by saying, "This is the compassion of the Three Precious Jewels."^{ae} If negative conditions or undesired consequences arise, they say, "That is my own karma." They believe that beings' past actions ripen as consequences. Hence, this is the reason that they are very content with their situations, whether they

^{ae} The Three Precious Jewels, the primary objects of Buddhists' devotions, are: Buddha (*buddha*, *sangs rgyas*), the Buddhist religion (*dharma*, *chos*), and the community of ordained monks and nuns (*sangha*, *dge 'dun*).

experience joy or suffering, whether they have resources or they are in decline. They worship the Three Precious Jewels, supplicate through prayers, perform services, and aspire toward virtue through recitations. In brief, while they perform dramas, build things, make clay images, farm, perform dances, and undertake other activities all people have a connection with religion through reciting the sacred words “Om ma ñi padme hung.”

If through mutual animosity, someone is killed, there was a tradition whereby the descendants of the murdered person made efforts to retaliate against the murderers and their descendants up to the murderers' grandchildren; in this way, many generations on both sides were killed. People who sought revenge would be regarded with esteem. When it did not occur, then their lineage was kept down, and they remained timid like a fox. That custom is mainly followed in Dotö and Domé. Similarly, when there is no peace in a region over a long period of time because of a blood feud, there are accounts of an entire region being wiped out. Since the law of the land is not able to control the criminal element, the law of the wild holds sway.

Among the northern peoples and in the Do Kham region, if people become friends, becoming blood brothers, then whatever arises, good or bad fortune, they perceive it as though it had happened to themselves. There are many stories that if an enemy arises against a sworn friend, the friend would sacrifice his own life.

Several books written by foreigners⁶⁵ recount how Tibetans stick their tongues out a long way and raise the thumbs of both hands towards the sky when showing respect and when welcoming someone. They write as if these practices are very strange; besides that, there is no custom of sticking the tongue out a long way. In several regions, people inhale while placing the tip of the tongue on the palate. Thereby, there is a custom of opening the mouth. In fact, what has been written in that book is a legend. As for raising the thumbs of both hands towards the sky, this is not done out of respect. Rather it is a sign by which the helpless express their appeal, meaning, “Please!” Also, there is a custom of turning the thumbs up to indicate that something is correct or sufficient. One can understand the meaning of those gestures.

Survivors and the Manner of Disposing of the Remains

Since the Tibetan Lords between Nyatri Tsenpo and Drigum Tsenpo ascended into the sky on a rope, they are called the corpseless. When

Drigum Tsenpo was assassinated by Minister Longam, his corpse was thrown into the river and taken from the sand at Kongpo. Thus, the first tomb was built there. The remains of the series of kings from Buté Gungyel to Lang Darma were anointed with gold and placed in a coffin or box of silver, stone, and clay; that in turn was placed on thrones on the ninth level of the tomb. All around, the king's wealth was collected and placed in the tomb. There is also a tradition of offering regular services.⁶⁶

As for the remains of common people, some are cremated and some are purified in water. Most people are buried. I have not seen records that say bodies are buried in coffins. The remains of great lamas are placed in stūpas.⁶⁷ Alternatively, the remains can be offered into a fire, with the ashes being placed into stūpas. Some are built into images and small clay figures. Ashes can be mixed into ink that is then used to write collected works and Buddha's scriptures into a blank book. There is a custom according to which the remains of several important figures among the common people are placed in tombs.⁶⁸ Of the remainder, some are cremated, but in most cases, people follow the custom of cutting the corpse into pieces and feeding them to vultures.^{af} From a religious point of view, people generally believe that in this way, the corpses can serve to sate the hunger of vultures. The place where the vultures are fed is called the sky burial cemetery (*dur khrod*). It is impermissible to bury someone if they died from a contagious disease or if they were judicially executed.

Before someone's breath stops, they should be given the special relics of the One Gone Thus [Buddha], and the names of Buddha and the bodhisattvas should be recited. People work to guide the dead, directing them to Sukhāvatī Heaven, to liberation in the intermediate state (*bar do*) between births, and so forth.^{ag} One ought to supplicate a lama who is dying and with whom one had religious connections to transmigrate again. Astrologers are able to determine the time of a person's death through methods and divinations, and so there is also a

^{af} Photographs depicting this practice, called a sky burial, are found in Ngapo Ngawang Jigmei et al., *Tibet* (London: Bracken Books, 1981), plates 98–100.

^{ag} Tibetan practices relating to the guidance of those in the process of dying are quite extensive and have been the subject of many publications. For recent treatments, see Robert A. Thurman, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead: The Great Book of Natural Liberation Through Understanding in the Between* (New York: Bantam Books, 1993) and Bryan J. Cuevas, *The Hidden History of the Tibetan Book of the Dead* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

custom of burning barley for a period of one, two, or three weeks and of providing food and drink for the duration.⁶⁹

Sacred fires are lit in temples and dedication prayers are requested from groups of lamas. Survivors wash their heads and perform prescribed religious acts on behalf of the deceased.^{ah} Special dedications are performed each week up to forty-nine nights, a period of seven weeks,⁷⁰ and offerings are made to the Three Precious Jewels. Gifts of respect are given to monks. Also sufficient gifts ought to be given to the general public and the beggars. The officiants presiding over the funeral ritual, possessing the qualities of a lama and of a religious person, generate themselves as deities suitable to the ritual; they serve with authority and perform ritual offerings.

Besides that, according to what the tantras say for ordinary people, the ritual of the southern gate is used to purifying sins and so forth. When corpses are taken to be consumed by birds, there is a custom of raising the body. Various people follow this as though it were a custom. They cover the body with ritual implements, without performing any rituals, and so forth.⁷¹ People do not understand the reason for blowing a horn and other practices. On the day of the forty-ninth night, a ceremony even larger than the previous one is held. Around that time, faithful friends gather. A ceremonial scarf is offered and a rite is performed depending upon the birth sign of the deceased; thereafter, beer is drunk and songs are sung as though people are happy. Thus, there is an anecdote about Akhu Tönpa's suffering at the death of his wife.⁷²

If someone dies on a Sunday, which coincides with the ninth, nineteenth, or twenty-ninth days, then it is called *Nyima Gutri* (*nyi ma dgu 'khrid*); evil will follow the members of their family and extensive ceremonies must be performed. It is said that if snow falls when the body is moved, the way to the funeral place is obstructed by the snow.^{ai} Many corpses are not taken to the home. There is also a tradition among the northern nomads that when someone dies, the corpse and the funeral officiant remain while the family members move to another home. Some scriptures also say that a funeral ceremony should be performed

^{ah} When a person has an astrological chart done, they may be advised that it would be beneficial to sponsor the creation of a religious painting, a statue, or the like in order to achieve some positive result, particularly in a future life. Once the person dies, their family members may undertake these actions on their behalf.

^{ai} The implication is that there will likely be few deaths in the household since even the snow is reluctant to let the body be removed.

after the body has left; a ransom is paid, it is returned, and demons are thereby exorcised. There is also an excellent custom of performing rites for a year after the person has died or holding a funeral banquet; whatever is received is offered to the Three Precious Jewels. Grain and gifts of tea and noodles are sent to beggars.

Wedding Ceremonies

Weddings, through which worldly family alliances are formed, are considered to be parents' most vital responsibility because of the importance of helping children take possession of the requisites of a householder's life. A thorough search is made for suitable prospective mates. Then a meeting is held with the parents of several sons or daughters. The names and years of birth are exchanged, and an astrologer analyzes the proposed unions from the viewpoint of astrology; having selected the two or three most promising candidates, a divination is requested from a lama or an oracle. The parents mutually decide upon the best choice without the son and daughter meeting.

When a marriage proposal is accepted, the initial wedding celebration, called "Begging Beer" (*slong chang*) is held by the groom's parents. At the same time, some silver and small gifts, called "Breast Price" (*nu rin*), are given to the bride's mother. Following the customary celebrations for the future success of the alliance, on that day, the parents on both sides and witnesses sign a letter of alliance. Beyond that, there is no tradition of any one haggling over the size of the dowry; the bride's parents give it voluntarily.^{aj}

As for the actual wedding ceremony, depending upon the wealth of the families, various sorts of wedding day ceremonies are performed on the day selected by the astrologer as auspicious in accordance with his calculations. A religious painting called a "tangkha" is carried before the bride to protect her from harm, and a mare that has previously given birth is prepared as her mount. Moreover, upon being released from the deities of her family's household, obstructions on the road are cleared away; then with the arrow, decent, door, and turquoise explanations,^{ak} she is bound to the deities of her husband's household.

^{aj} See Dorje Yudon Yuthok, *House of the Turquoise Roof* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1990), 135–53, for the author's personal account of the arrangements involved with her own marriage.

^{ak} These "explanations" are separate rituals integral to the marriage ceremony. The

When a banner bearing the man's birth-element is raised over his family house, a magnificent account of the meaning of the banner is explained, and many ancient customary ceremonies are performed. After the wedding, the bride is not permitted to return to her father's house until the ceremony of meeting the relatives. Once that has taken place, there are no prohibitions to her going to see her family. When women become wives, they shed tears and weep while calling out. Some regard this as a tradition, while others do not.

Since the bride, who has previously lived in her parents' home, must now go to the home of her husband, her new home, to live among people she does not recognize and with whom she has absolutely no experience, it is certain that she will become sad; consequently, she is powerless but to shed tears and weep. As a result, there is also a tradition of a friend of the bride, called the bride's maid (*bag grogs*), coming to stay with her for several nights. When the bride goes to the groom's house, it is considered auspicious to see someone fetching water or else to see a corpse. It is said, "A great guest meets a great friend." Also if snow falls on that day, it is considered to be a bad omen; "The bridal path has been obstructed by snow."

These days, most young people get married according to their own desire, regardless of whether their choice accords with the advice of their parents and regardless of whether the marriage is in compliance with the prophesies or the judgment of an astrologer. When the bride proceeds, she goes in a procession of horses, and upon seeing the groom, sometimes, she will smile and pretend to be so excited that she will spur the horse and swing the reigns, hurrying to her groom. Most weddings are very pleasant occasions.

There is a convention of referring to men and women by the terms, "royal being" and "lesser being" (*skyes rgyal dman*), respectively. Moreover, women are not considered within the sixteen point civil code. In the past, there was no tradition of women entering into government service. These few facts are regrettable. Yet, in the banner explanation

first of these, the arrow explanation (*mda' bshad*), is an explanation that takes place when a symbolic arrow with ribbons of five colors is attached to the collar of the bride's garment. The descent explanation (*'bebs bshad*) takes place before the bride dismounts from her horse at the home of her new husband. The door explanation (*sgo bshad*) takes place at the threshold when an auspicious inscription is placed by the door. The fourth, the turquoise explanation (*gyu bshad*), takes place when turquoise wedding ornaments are being put in the bride's hair; a different person gives each explanation, although I have been unable to determine what is explained at each stage.

the day after the wedding, at the time of binding the wife to the husband's family deities and raising the banner, it is proclaimed that:

From this day, all people high and low, inside and outside of this family, all men and women, old and young, have equal authority.

This is like the status of women in neighboring countries. In addition, all people are free to do as they please, to go or stay, to gather with many people, to be happy, and so forth. Moreover, there is a custom that is said to have come from India in the distant past;⁷³ one woman would marry two or three brothers, or similarly one man would marry two or three wives. These days, when a woman is educated, there are no legal restrictions in granting equal rights to men and women, monks and lay people, in any sort of large or small undertaking, in government service and so forth.

Sports, Games, and Drama

Following ancient tradition, there is tremendous interest among the Tibetan people in nine male sports. There are two explanations of those nine sports. First, there are three games of physical skill: having a powerful grip, swimming across a river, and performing acrobatic routines like a bird. There are three sort of verbal skills: telling legends well, having a good sense of humor, and being persuasive in debate. Finally, there are three mental skills: having intellectual activities,⁷⁴ being capable of courage, and being able to speak clearly and being profound. According to the second way of explaining the nine skills, there are: speaking, writing, and calculating, shooting arrows, throwing stones, and jumping, and foot racing, swimming, and wrestling.

There is fierce competition in wrestling and rope pulling. People also play like fish in large bodies of water. People jump as far as thirty or forty paces.⁷⁵ People race long distances and carry heavy stones. They fling stones great distances, shooting for accuracy, or throwing them great distances. People also compete at throwing rocks at yak horns.^{al} There are competitions in all of these activities.

Archery is the sport that men enjoyed most during the summer. Competitors shoot their steel-pointed arrows great distances. They also fire at targets. In another competition, people fire at targets suspended

^{al} This is like the game of horseshoes.

in the air with arrows that produce a loud sound; these projectiles, used in place of the steel-pointed arrows, are called “bishu” (*sbi shu*). Horse racing games are the most widespread activities in Tibet. People will race at distances of four or five miles on horseback, measuring their speed. Riderless horse races are also conducted, but at a cantor. While horseracing, people will shoot at targets with guns, arrows, and spears. As a display of agility while riding a horse, people grasp a greeting scarf from the ground, rise back up on the horse, bend back while riding, and conceal themselves beneath the horse. Riders also compete at lassoing horses, sheep, and so forth while riding horses. Finally, they compete by swinging spears around in circles. When no rain falls in the summer, many people in Lhasa pray for rain by playing a game in which they pour water. Likewise, there is a custom in the various regions of Amdo of practicing archery when it rains. During the fall, they have kite-flying competitions, and during the winter, they play ice games, snow games, and bringing snow.^{am}

At all times, people play snakes and ladders. They play go, Tibetan chess, apchuk (*ab cug*),^{an} and so forth; they also play dice games,⁷⁶ backgammon,⁷⁷ cards, and eat food. More recently, there was a tradition of playing cards, tubechu (*thu sbas cu*), and mahjongg. Some people suffered heavy financial burdens because of losing their jobs and particularly because of high stakes games. Consequently, some people have even been compelled to kill themselves, and it became necessary to prohibit these games by law. There are many other types of games that women play, including shuttlecocks, rope-skipping, and a bone-dice game.

Moreover, there are drama, dancing, singing, and so forth, the eighteen musical arts, the seven types of harmonic pitch,^{ao} the nine drama costumes,⁷⁸ and so forth. Many different traditions of drama, singing, and dancing spread through the various provinces. In brief, plays about events in ancient history and other dramatic performances include drama or opera, auspicious songs, dance, other performances, and so

^{am} This is a game in which someone brings a bottle to a neighbor. It may contain either a nice prize or some snow. If they accept it and it contains snow, they must throw a party.

^{an} Apchuk is a game of chance played with the square bones in the hooves of sheep. The object of the game is to have the tossed bones land on certain sides as opposed to others, making it much like the game called “Pass the Pigs.”

^{ao} See Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979), 259, for the Sanskrit and Tibetan names.

forth. With respect to singing and the performance of biographical dramas, endless melodies are prescribed, as are leg and hand movements, and physical postures for the eyes, lips, and face.

Also with respect to songs, there are wedding songs, *datung* (*rta thung*), solo songs, circle dancing, drinking songs, instrumental,⁷⁹ drum dances, *kera* (*skad ra*), work songs, choruses, group singing, and so forth. There is also a custom of having competitions in circle dancing, drum dances, and *kera* among villages and also between men and women; they can last for two or three days and nights. Music and dances are performed using small bells, drums, cymbals, tambourines, different types of guitars, reed pipes, and so forth. There are also several different musical instruments from China including the *hōjin*, the *daijin*, and *yangjin*.

Desi Sangyé Gyatso, who was very interested in these matters, said that in the past during the time that the stainless Tibetan religious kings lived in Ngari Korsum, singing and dancing traditions spread from Kashmiri nomads. During the time of the Tsang desis, Khyigu Döndrup, Gayuni, Jozang, and so forth were summoned for this purpose. Thereby, the dancing and music performance traditions were introduced. Subsequently, the skilled musician Guti also arrived. Thus, he distinguished twenty-one different physical postures, and set forth wonderful artificial tones that accorded with them.

Subsequently, the custom spread to important functions of the Ganden Podrang government and to public and private parties. Also, with respect to that, there are Virācharya's eight different melodies called "rak" (*rag*), the twenty-one types of dance, the twenty-three dances such as the peacock and the bear, and the one hundred seventy-four songs; if these are counted together, there are two hundred and sixty-one. There are fifty-three types of tones and melodies and so forth. Since some of these are duplicated, there are sixty-three. There are forty-three types of quiet tones. Since some of these are duplicated, there are seventy-six. There are many different divisions. The letters and words of Jagowa Lozang Wangchuk and Kangok Ngödrup were compiled and a record of the songs was set down in detail in 1688.⁸⁰

Out of the kindness of those who recorded these received traditions of pleasing music, several Tibetans these days say that there are no books for teaching the foreign system of musical notation to Tibetans. They also say that there are no drawings in children's primers or books of legends. Thus, these people have the fault of a limited perspective. Beyond that, according to what has been said above, Desi Rinpoché's *Annals: the Essence of the Eye, Mind, and Ear* teaches guitar through

musical notation. Similarly, the mudrās^{ap} associated with the chanting, music offering, dungtsik (*dung tshig*), and rituals traditions in various monasteries are pictured there. In addition, there are also drawings in medical textbooks and manuals for constructing images; they are also used to recognize tree roots, leaves, and fruits.

Likewise, there are drawings on various pages of the biography of the Yogi Wangchuk Milarepa Dorjé that was written during the time of the Rinpung Regent Dönyö Dorjé. The courageous deeds and scenery of some Gesar legends are drawn on individual pages. From the long-distant past, marvelous progress in understanding in the various regions took place, such as the mixture of text and drawings in the biographies of Drimé Künden and Drowa Zangmo; although one is able to become satisfied of this point with respect to neighboring countries, no one has composed such works in more recent times. There have not been any developments in the old material. Also those fundamental texts have remained like a treasure underground. People have not been able to see them, and also no one has been searching for them. These days, since the condition of books is very poor, it is regrettable.

The thought behind the traditions of most sorts of dance, performance dance, religious dance, and so forth, are in conformity. Thus, with respect to performance dance, there are the Sachok, Chötrengr, and Rikma Chudruk dances. With respect to religious dance, there are the dances for the collection of peaceful and wrathful deities and the dance of the ocean of protector deities possessing vows. Because of the many different traditions and their different purposes, it is not possible to expand on each of them here. Many people in the West have written that the dances are mixed with wickedness; I think these writings are unreliable because the authors do not understand why the dances are done.

Clothing Customs

Royal Clothing

The histories on the era of the Tibetan lord Mangsong Mangtsen say that Tibetans wore a felt cloak in the summer and sheep skin robes in

^{ap} Mudrās (*phyag rgya*) are meaningful postures made with the hands as part of ritual activities.

the winter. Moreover, the sleeves are thin at the end and thick at the shoulder. The sovereign Trisong Detsen wore such clothes.

The religious items at Samyé Monastery that I myself have seen include yellow woolen cloth, a few indigo items, and long sleeved garments. Most of the figures in the clay images and paintings in the Lhasa and Samyé tsuklakhangs are clothed in yellow or red garments and upper garments or shawls of white; they also have the great sleeves, but have no belts on the upper garments. They also have shoes with up-turned toes.⁸¹

Khenwang Gendün Chöpel says:⁸²

At that time, Tibet had very friendly relations with Tazik,⁸³ following the lead of their neighbors. Not only had the Buddhist religion spread to Tazik at that time, but that country had an unrivaled culture. Consequently, most of the Tibetan kings and their ministers took up Tazik customs. Songtsen Gampo is noted to have adopted the red silk turban, an undercloak, and the shoes with up-turned toes; garments like those that were customary for the Tazik people...

Up to the present time, the descendants of the religious kings have continued to live in Ngari and Ladakh. It is said that these clothes belong to the distant past. There was a red hat with a pointed tip and a special shape; on the right hand side, there is an image of the long-life deity and a piece of leftover red silk hanging down the front. Tibetan histories written in other languages seem to indicate that such traditions spread from China.

Writings about Tibet's queens are unclear. The queens wore dark blue blouses with long sleeves that reached the ground, and the lower undergarment was of black silk. They made a large number of braids in their hair and wore earrings and shoes called "zoyi" (*zo yi*). They had various embroidered patterns on the outer side of their leather garments.

It is very difficult to find detailed writings that say, "We copied this tradition." People everywhere do the same thing. For example, I have now examined all histories written by Tibetans. However, the women in Lhasa wear a multi-colored apron and a triangular head ornament. People wear a fur hat with four flaps, signifying the four directions. The way in which the present traditions were passed down through the last five hundred years is thoroughly hidden. Except for the general things I have gathered from oral traditions in other regions, I have been able to investigate this.

The autobiography of the great fifth Dalai Lama says that following the gradual emergence of civil unrest in the intervening period, the ceremonial form of dress of such people as the Chinese, Hor, and Tibetans became completely random, not being Hor, not being Tibetan, and so forth; thus, it is in this sense that there was originally a Tibetan form of dress.

Since it is difficult to express anything more than the terminology after even a century, Desi Lozang Tutop inquired into these matters, recounting how valuable clothing and jewelry had customarily been arranged. In dependence on those reasons, I have investigated whatever clothing there was in the past for men and women, monks and lay people, and how the changes in them took place; I have briefly explicated these matters.

At the end of Trisong Detsen's life and during the time of Muné Tsenpo, there were trade and military relations between the Arabs and Tibetans, as is clear from the history recounted below.^{aq} Thus, there are definite connections between the clothing of the Tibetan kings and those from Tazik. Desi Lozang Tutop investigated the clothing of the former kings and ministers; thus, he decided that the valuable ornaments were like the proverb which says, "A man with a turquoise earring is surrounded by the gods."

Previously, leaders such as Pakmo Drupa, Jangpa Rikden, Gyelkhar Tsepa, Rinpungpa, and so forth depended upon reliable sources to know the clothing styles of the ancient religious kings, including gold breast ornaments, Mongolian earrings, Mongolian money, long earrings, red and white silk, dyed clothing, semi-circular medallion, crown hat, drinking cups, and matching leather boots.⁸⁴ It is possible to recognize similar types of clothing and ornaments, but it is difficult to find items of similar value in regions in India.

Six lay nobles during the time of Pakdru, Rinpung, and the depa of Upper Tsang introduced the custom of having the lay attendants wear the princely vestments called *Gyaluché* (*rgya lu chas*): a pleated lower garment of black wool or flannel, a colored woolen cloak with long sleeves, a woolen cloak, bowls, drinking cups, pointed quiver, pen holder, matching leather boots, a great crown hat,⁸⁵ and a hat shaped like a soup pot. Those are customarily explained as being the traditional Tibetan costume from ancient times. At important government functions, such as New Year's, the lay cabinet ministers had to wear these sorts of clothes. Later on, the *Gyaluché*⁸⁶ custom was elaborated as follows: a colored silk design, Chinese silk waistcoats, aprons, bowls, a hat shaped like a soup pot, drinking cup, multi-colored sash, shawl with

^{aq} See p. 129 below. For a broad ranging account of the period, see especially Christopher I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987).

designs, and in place of a hat, it is thought that people wore white cotton bandanas.

During the time of the glorious Sakya, there were connections with objects from Genghis Khan's Mongolia. Later, a preceptor-patron relationship emerged with Alten Khan, and during the time of the great fifth Dalai Lama, Gushri Khan and his sons remained in Tibet continually. Thus, the influence of Mongolian styles of dress was increasingly felt among the monk and lay government officials. The following clothes were introduced: stone armor, sail banners, clothing ornaments, thin upper and lower underwear, colored shoes with curved or round toes, fox pelt hats, iron arrows, hats that indicate rank, gold awards, winter horse hats, tent interiors, Mongolian hats, loose upper garment, a lay woman's garment, and so forth. It is easy to understand how the connections with Mongolian clothes developed.⁸⁷

Moreover, just more than four hundred years passed between Genghis Khan and Gushri Khan. Thus, there were tremendous changes between the earlier and later styles of clothing. Most of those intervening changes were the styles of the Olö (Orö) or Helha leaders. Similarly, the women of Ü wear their hair high up, like the wings of a raven. There are extremely strong similarities with the customary hair styles of contemporary Mongolian women.

Monastic Clothing

The clothing worn by lamas and monks is as the *Scriptures on Monastic Discipline* specifies; these clothes have the form of the clothes worn by our teacher Śākyamuṇi Buddha, although they are made from wool by virtue of the colder weather in our country. Subsequently, it was elaborated to include silk and so forth. The upper and lower monastic robes were dyed either red or yellow, while the shawl and undergarments are red. There is also a custom in several religious systems of wearing white undergarments. Although I have not come across paintings or carved images that depict the shoes and hat worn by our teacher Buddha and the Hearers (*nyan thos*, *śrāvaka*), there are images showing the sixteen superior Sthaviras^{ar} wearing cloaks of various colors with sleeves and

^{ar} The sixteen elders (*sthaviras*, *gnas brtan bcu drug*) made a vow to Śākyamuṇi Buddha that they would serve as guardians of the Buddhist teachings until the arrival of Maitreya, the coming Buddha. They are: (1) Panthaka (*lam pa*), (2) Abhedya (*mi phyed pa*), (3) Kanaka (*gser can*), (4) Bakkula (*bakkula*), (5) Bhāradvāja (*bha ra dhva*)

various sorts of shoes and boots;⁸⁸ there are reasons for their wearing those. I have also seen images of other Indian and Nepalese paṇḍita-adepts wearing hats with long tips, thin cotton undershirt, and shoes.

Accordingly, hats of various designs spread throughout Tibet, including paṇḍita hats, Bön hats, the pointed paṇḍita hats, ascetic hats, Jonangpa hats, bodhisattva hats, chö hats (*gcod zhwa*), tang hats (*thang zhwa*), Sakya hats, black (Kagyü) hats, and feathers.⁸⁹ Thus, most of the Indian and Nepalese designs and the summer hats used to be worn by high lamas and aristocrats in Burma. When Karma Dusum Khyenpa was sixteen years old, he received monastic vows from the lama of the supreme abbot;⁹⁰ at that time, he wore a hat that was superior to others, it being made from the hair of sky-goers by wisdom ḍakṇiṣ and the collection of pledge deities of Śrīcakra. The black hats worn by Drung Dezhin Shekpa and Jamchen Chöjé were modeled after those worn by great ministers during the Da Ming Dynasty, called the Chinese Daosé.

Also with respect to the pointed hat, both the common version and the lama's version also have a feather. These can be yellow and red; the designs are similar to the hats of the Greek and Roman soldiers. I have not seen any documents recounting how these connections arose.

There are chaklham shasuma boots (*phyags lham sha su ma*), cotton boots (*ras zon*), single-sole gaklham boots (*'gag lham*), and so forth. Because of the difficulty of obtaining shasuma and cotton in Dotö and Domé, the people there traditionally wear shöltsé boots and tré (*tre lham*) shoes.⁹¹ Since there is no mention of the shawl in records written up to the time of Sakya Paṇḍita Künga Gyeltsen, one wonders if it didn't come into use since that time.

The woolen cloaks worn by senior lamas have a pronounced similarity to the cloaks worn during important ceremonies by senior Christian preceptors, such as the pope and bishops. I have done a little research

ja), (6) Mahākālīka (*dus ldan chen po*), (7) Vajrīputra (*rdo rje mo'i bu*), (8) Śrībhadrā (*dpal bzang*), (9) Gopaka (*sbed byed*), (10) Nāgasena (*klu sde*), (11) Vanavāsin (*nags gnas*), (12) Kṣudrapanthaka (*lam phran*), (13) Kanakavatsa (*gser gyi be'u*), (14) Aṅgirāja (*yan lag 'byung*), (15) Ajita (*ma pham pa*), and (16) Rāhula (*sgra gcan 'dzin*).

⁸⁸ Many different styles of hats that are worn in Tibet can be seen by exploring the thousands of images available on the website, <http://www.himalayanart.org/>.

⁸⁹ Karma Dusum Khyenpa (1110–1193) received his novice vows from Sengé Drak (b. 11th century), according to Dungkar Lozang Trinlé, *Dungkar Tibetological Great Dictionary* (Beijing: China Tibetological Publishing House, 2002), 29.

⁹¹ People of different rank wore distinctive types of boots and shoes. It is possible that the word shöltsé (*shol rtse*) might simply be a Tibetanization of the English word "shoe".

on this question. The 1965 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* has an article on the history of this garment which says that the sleeveless bell-shaped garment called a “cloak” initially spread to the west from Egypt. Senior preceptors and great leaders wore such cloaks made of wool and leather. The common people wore garments made of cotton. During the time of the famous western King Charlemagne (771–814), an elaborate form of that garment was customarily worn by senior preceptors.

In 1271, the Italian Marco Polo traveled overland across the edge of Tibet to meet with Kublai Khan, the king of China and Mongolia; after staying in China for seventeen years, he returned to his own country, bringing many items that had been made in China with him that had not yet spread to the west, such as colored silk, silk embossed with gold, porcelain, and gunpowder. Cloaks were made with the gold-embossed silk, and I think the custom developed in which the senior Christian preceptors would wear these cloaks. At the same time, both Drogön Chögyel Pakpa and Karmapa Pakši were living at Kublai Khan’s palace as his objects of refuge. Thus, one wonders if he didn’t give them cloaks made of gold-embossed silk. The edict that the khan presented to Pakpa Rinpoché mentions a ceremonial silk robe studded with pearls. It is possible to understand the matter in this way.

Johnson’s *History of Art* has a painting by Domenico Veneziano (p. 294) and another by El Greco (p. 365); both of them depict cloaks being worn by senior preceptors, the shape, materials, and color of which bear a strong resemblance to the silk and woolen garments worn by senior Tibetan lamas even today. The robe called a dagam (*zla gam*) that is worn by the remaining monks is made of orange wool cloth; although they do not have elaborate ornaments on them and so forth, there is a tradition in which some special figures, such as a disciplinarian of a large assembly, will wear a patch or emblem on his robe. Several sources also say that these robes are for the purpose of blocking dust. Since the meaning of the term dagam is half moon, I think the name derived from the shape of the garment.

Clothing of the Public^{av}

Depending on people's wealth and the weather in the area where they live, people wear clothes of various materials, such as wool, leather, silk, or cotton and various thickness; the most common design of clothing is the chupa (*phyu pa*). The collars are doubly thick and it folds at the waist, with two folds at the back. In Dotö and Domé, fleece, otter, and tiger skins are worn. In the northern wilderness, throughout winter and summer, people only wear sheep skin. I think the name of the dress called a chupa (*phyu pa*) comes from the ancient upper garment worn by Indians called a chuga (*chu ga*), which sounds alike. In some dictionaries, it is written as chupa (*chu pa*).⁸⁹

There are many very different types of women's clothes and ornaments. In ancient records and more recent documents from the last fifty or sixty years, it is clear that clothing and ornaments have changed a great deal. For example, there are slight changes between one district and another in clothing, ornaments, and even in hairstyles. There is a great variety in such adornment for the respective rituals. However, such items as women's elegant upper garments were discontinued; dresses with and without sleeves were worn, and all sizes are the same. The front and back aprons were initially worn by mothers to protect their clothing. Gradually, they became part of the dress; eventually they were elaborated and sides were added on. The women of Tsang wore very high headdresses wrapped in fabric and ornamented with turquoise, coral, pearls, and so forth; ultimately, it even became difficult for them to enter their own homes.

Women of Ü wear a triangular headdress of turquoise, coral, pearls, and so forth with their hair upon their heads like the wings of a raven. People of Drigung, Upper Ü wear palm-sized round headdresses with turquoise. People from Shentsa wear hats with small pieces of coral and shell arranged on them. Northern nomads wear beautiful round forehead ornaments with small bits of coral and wrap felt around their small braids. Their back aprons are ornamented with silver and shell. Women in Dotö have amber and coral set in their head ornament. Some string onyx, turquoise, coral, and turquoise head ornaments on their hair. Others braid the ends of their hair like corn rows. Also

^{av} Trang Jisun, *The Great Treasury of Chinese and Tibetan Words*, (Beijing, People's Publishing House, 1993), 3900–3904, has photographs of various tradition styles of clothing and ornaments that are discussed below.

the women of Chatreng, Sadam, Muli, and so forth wear earrings and necklaces made of the trunk and branches of coral.

The people of Domé wear a head ornaments called coral-lotuses (*byu ru padma*). In particular, the ones called *ṭamkha ritsegang* (*ṭam kha ri tse gang*) have an empty space within them. Some people have back aprons inlaid with gold, silver, shell, and so forth, and their garments are made of silk or richly embroidered with designs. Some have red fringes. The women of Gulok have back aprons ornamented with amber, coral, and silver shaped like cups. Embroidered cotton fabric hair coverings are ornamented with small mirrors. Except for this brief mention, I have not raised these issues individually. Formerly, Ü Tsang women wore right-hand turning conch shells. However, most people don't wear them.

Similarly, various sorts of changes have also taken place in the respective rituals. Thus, our compatriots who remain in Tibet under the present circumstances are unable to dress in our customary style due to being under the oppression of Chinese Communists. Instead, they must wear Chinese clothing against their own wishes. Also, it is difficult for the Tibetans who have gone abroad to continue wearing our traditional dress because of the weather in the exile lands and because it is difficult to wear these clothes when trying to become accepted in a new country. If this situation persists for a century, then the clothing ornamentation and hairstyles of our mothers and fathers will become lost. The reason for this is plain to see.

The old people who remember those clothing styles today wear clothes, ornaments, and boots that are particular to the various regions. In brief, it is good even to learn about the old hairstyles, and I consider it extremely important to preserve this information for the benefit of the young literate people growing up in Tibet and abroad.

However, these days, some people in America, presuming they have reached an advanced level of learning, say, "We should live without clothing, nude like the ancients; thus, there is no purpose in developing clothing and ornamentation any further at this point." If they believe they should found nudist colonies where men and women can live without concealing their shame, then there is no purpose in my writings.^{aw}

^{aw} Writing at a time when many western hippies began to appear in India, Shakabpa must have encountered some members of the counter-culture. Here he is saying that

The Construction of Temples and Homes

Originally, people lived in brick and rock shelters or temporary rain shelters made of wood and grass. However, I think the practice of building homes was subsequently introduced from the time that the Tibetan Lord Nyatri Tsenpo constructed Khargi Tokma Yumbu Lagang and the Tibetan Lord Drigum Tsenpo constructed the Chingwar Taktsé Palace. Moreover, most temples built in India during the first and second centuries were constructed of stone. In the sixth century, they were built of stone in Nepal. However, all of the features, building doors, beams, brackets, foundations, capitals, capital ornamental details, and so forth were in the meanwhile built of wood in the Tibetan tsuklakhangs and palaces. Those architectural features were transmitted here and there. For example, Lhasa's Rasa Trülnang Tsuklakhang and the glorious Samyé Monastery are known to have been built on the models of Vikramalaśīla⁹⁰ and Oten Puri tsuklakhangs,⁹¹ respectively. Since the temples in the prayer halls are just like Chinese and Indian models, with iron locks and so forth, it is reasonable to say that they were modeled after their Indian and Nepali counterparts. The designs of several roofs and framed windows are even modeled on Chinese practices.

The old castles⁹² and homes of the leaders were constructed upon hills. Below that, they built fences for livestock and storage areas for grain and food. Above that, there is a kitchen, fire room, and sleeping quarters, and above that, a temple and room for worshipping. It is said that the doors were built from the top to the bottom of the room as a means of preventing spirits from entering. Since windows and chimneys are small, it is not very bright inside and only a small amount of sunlight penetrates. However, skylights are built in the roof.

Since the southern side of houses is warmest, people live on that side. Since the northern side is coolest, butcher shops, beer houses, wool shops, and so forth are located there. Firewood, brambles, and so forth were piled up on the roof, which made it like a turret for drying firewood and also for security. Later however, when porches were built, they were desired as ornaments for houses. Yak hair curtains are used to protect balconies and overhangs from rain. Crossbars^{ax} and images

if this licentiousness is acceptable, then the world has declined to an extent that all of his efforts are of no consequence.

^{ax} According to Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979), 676–7, crossbars (*mdos*) are small mast-like structures with various

of the three bodhisattvas^{ay} are placed above the gate. The sun, moon, and a swastika are drawn on a mirror on the door. As a method of protecting against harm, a goat skin is suspended over the door.

The homes of common people are arranged in a small village below the castle; the castle and village are commonly called Tsé (*rtse*, peak) and Shöl (*shol*, bottom), respectively.⁹³ Gradually, this was developed; the standard of living became more equal and building sites were expanded. Houses have extensive and well-designed doors, windows, balconies, and so forth. With black paint on either side of doors and windows, curtains hanging over doors and windows, and glass windows protecting balconies against the rain, these two- and three-story homes have images of deities, incense bowls, victory banners,⁹⁴ trident (*thug*) banners, and prayer flags upon their roofs; they have very long flags with mantras printed on them hanging along the side of the doors and so forth.

There are many distinctive customs of the Tibetan people. The houses are high in the back and low in the front, and most of them are oriented towards the sun. The animal corrals are built separate from the human residence. All around, there are willow parks, gardens, water wheels for grinding barley flour, and places for pressing oil. Houses are built with superior stones, compressed earth, and bricks. In valleys, they are also built of wood.

Customarily, temples and palaces are covered with white, red, or yellow limestone, oracle temples and sanctuaries are covered with red limestone, and the remaining houses are coated with white limestone. However, some old monasteries, such as Sakya, were covered by a mixture of stretched wool with white, yellow, and black limestone. Most monasteries are set in open places at a distance of one or two miles [from the towns]. Hermitages are also very remote from monasteries and are placed in isolated high mountains.

The Potala Palace, the inestimable mansion that is Avalokiteśvara's second home, was built on the ruins of the White or Red Palace that had been constructed during the time of Songtsen Gampo in the middle of the Lhasa Valley. The great fifth Dalai Lama laid the foundation for it in 1645. The outside of the Potala was completed in three years, while

colors of strings hanging from the wooden pieces; they are set above a house where a sick person lives, and obstructive demons are thought to take up residence in the sticks, instead of afflicting the ill person.

^{ay} The three bodhisattvas are Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāni, and Avalokiteśvara.

the interior and furnishings were completed in forty-five years. Being of marvelous design in all ways, firm and stable, high and expansive, it is like the single ornament beautifying this great world.^{az}

Lhasa: The Capital

The great fifth Dalai Lama wrote a poem of praise saying:

In its centre, in the land of Kyishö
Is the sublime city, like the stars strewn on the earth,
A place (*sa*) where gather all the wealth of the gods (*lha*),
Putting to shame the pride of the heaven of three enjoyers.^{ba}

There the supreme compassion of the son of Śuddhodana,^{bb}
Transfigured into the [Jowo] statue, suffused with refined gems
Principal amongst the ocean of wondrous images,
As if attracting from afar, the guests of well-being and happiness.

The immeasurable sacred palace, well established as supreme,
Is the collection of wisdom, the self-appearance of limitless conquerors.
Renowned as the miraculous sacred shrine of the gods,
[The Jokhang Temple] is brilliant like the [rain]bow of Indra across the sky.

The city of Lhasa, which is in the center of the Snowy Land, is the central capital of the expansive kingdom of Tibet or the vajra seat^{bc} of Central Tibet in the midst of these Buddhist lands.

The Hundred Thousand Precepts of Maṇi, The Last Will of King Songtsen Gampo, Desi Sangyé Gyatso's *A Catalog of the Ornament for the World*, and so forth recount its inception. However, I will explain it in a general manner. Lhasa was built during the time of the religious king Songtsen Gampo.^{bd}

Initially, that area was called Ngamshö, Amshö, or Omshö. There was a small pond called Othang and a grove of alpine willows and tamarisk bush at the place where the Rasa Tsuklakhang was built. Gradually, the

^{az} See p. 350 below. See also, Phuntsok Namgyal, *Splendor of Tibet: Potala Palace, Jewel of the Himalayas* (Paramus, NJ: Homa & Sekey Books, 2002).

^{ba} The three enjoyers (*sum rtsen*) are the three supreme Hindu gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

^{bb} Śuddhodana (*zas gtsang*) was the father of Śākyamuṇi Buddha.

^{bc} By calling Lhasa a vajra seat (*vajrāsana, rdo rje gdan*), Shakabpa is evoking the other vajrāsana, Bodhgaya, the place where Śākyamuṇi is said to have achieved enlightenment.

^{bd} See p. 117.

Tsuklakhang and the city were constructed. Thus, Kyimoshö or Kyishö were transferred to the place of the gods. It came to be known as Lhasa (i.e., Land of the Gods, *lha sa*) in dependence upon the magnificent auspicious qualities of the environment and its residents.

In the area surrounding Lhasa, there are spontaneously arisen forms such as the umbrella on Nyangdren Mountain, the victory banner upon Sera Mountain, the fish upon Rakha Rock, the pot and calf upon Dzongtsen Mountain, the white conch upon Drip Mountain, and the lotus on Shün Rock where Jowo Dokharwa lived. The sky is beautified with an eight-spoked wheel and the ground is beautified with an eight-petaled lotus. Moreover, following the divinatory system for determining a suitable location, the shapes of nearby mountains were examined for their auspiciousness.^{be} The Kyichu River is identified as passing the blue dragon to the south and the red bird on Shün Mountain to the west. As for the Pabongkha Rock, it is identified as being the yellow (or black) tortoise to the north. On the mountain behind Sera, between Nyang and Dok, there were marvelous mountain shapes, as if a vast army of elephants were in residence.

In the midst of Lhasa, Songtsen Gampo constructed the Rasa Trülnang Tsuklakhang,^{bf} it had four stories, a golden roof at its peak, a balcony, and a parapet. A surrounding wall was built because of the swirling winds. The crocodile ornaments at the corners of the roof and the parapet sometimes issue water from their mouths even when there is no rain.^{bg} The four corners of the wall are beautified by ganyajira ornaments,^{bh} victory banners, and tridents.

As for the primary objects of worship in the Tsuklakhang, like a sesame seed,^{bi} there are the Chinese Princess Wencheng Gongzhu's

^{be} For example, certain animal-shaped silhouettes are regarded as inauspicious. Since that shape would only be visible from certain perspectives, people would select a site from which that shape was not visible.

^{bf} The Rasa Trülnang Tsuklakhang, also known as the Jokhang or simply as the Lhasa Tsuklakhang, is the center of religious life in Lhasa. A careful discussion of its history, structure, and contents can be found in André Alexander, *The Temples of Lhasa: Tibetan Buddhist Architecture from the 7th to the 21st Centuries* (Chicago: Serindia, 2005), 27–72.

^{bg} This is regarded as a sign that disaster is impending. Reportedly, just before the Chinese invaded in 1950, the crocodile ornaments spouted water even under sunny skies.

^{bh} Ganyajira is an ornament placed at the pinnacle of a roof or stūpa. A variety of roof ornaments of the Jokhang Temple are shown in Ngapo Ngawang Jigmei et al., *Tibet* (London: Bracken Books, 1981), plates 166–167.

^{bi} A sesame seed is used to exemplify pervasiveness. In contrast to a coconut, which has a skin outside and fluid within, the sesame is said to be permeated by its oil. The

share that she brought from China, the image of Jowo Śākyamuṇi that was consecrated by Buddha himself, and the inconceivable representations of Buddha's body, speech, and mind, including the five self-arisen images of the Great Compassionate One that emerged as the basis of Songtsen Gampo's religious practice.⁹⁵ The king's residence was in a wing connected to the Tsuklakhang. Moreover, there are many different offices of the government in the Tsuklakhang. The marvelous Accountant's Office, where manifest efforts are made towards peaceful assistance, was built in the east wing.

The cabinet, which held primary responsibility for government actions, was situated in the south. The wealth and riches were kept in the Treasury of Resources that Fulfills All Wishes in the west wing. In the northern part of the Tsuklakhang, there was a court for trying serious cases. Extensive ceremonies were also performed there. There is a large courtyard where the ten thousand resident monks who were invited to this place of respect could take walks. Finally, there are more than one hundred maṇi prayer wheels^{bj} around the east, south, and north sides of the inner circuit around it.

The primary central gate of the Tsuklakhang is considered to be the one facing west. Besides that one, there are large gates on both the east and the south sides. The west, south, and north sides also have small secret doors. There was a great willow trunk in front of the central gate called "Jowo's Hair Lock" (*jo bo'i dbu skra*), and to the side of it, the sovereign Relpachen erected a magnificent stone pillar on which was inscribed the words of the treaty reached between China and Tibet, uncle and nephew.⁹⁶

If one went along the clockwise circumambulation route, then to the left and right, there were countless Tibetan shops and also shops run by Indians, Nepalis, Muslims, and so forth. In the middle of the upper market to the north, one could effortlessly obtain anything one wished in all of cyclic existence and nirvāṇa. There is a four-doored stūpa kaṇi,⁹⁷ which is a pure repository for the eight lords of Namseta, Shambhala, Norgyünma, and so forth. The great Maṇi Prayer Wheel

meaning here is that the religious objects in the Tsuklakhang are so numerous, they can be found everywhere.

^{bj} Prayer wheels are cylinders containing scriptures or prayers. It is believed that prayers issue forth when they are spun. Prayer wheels are frequently found outside of Tibetan monastery, temples, stūpas, circumambulation routes, and other sacred places.

that was constructed by Miwang Sönam Topgyel is there also. Nearby are the offices of the overseer of Lhasa, the judge's office, and the Nangtseshak Prison for heinous crimes.⁹⁸ Also nearby are the Maitreya Temple, the Pelgön Zhel Oracle Temple at the old Meru, and the wall of Nechung Dorjé Drakden.

The great virtuous banner of thorough victory that came from Ganden Tsewang Pelzang's military campaign in Ngari was posted to the east of the inner circumambulation route.⁹⁹ In 1409, Jé Tsongkhapa Lozang Drakpa began the tradition of the Great Prayer Festival in the corner of Dungtso to the southeast of the circumambulation route. It is known that fifteen great prayer flags were erected on the outer circumambulation route on those occasions. The one on the east side was very long.

When the Prayer Festival or large services were held by the southern gate of the Tsuklakhang, an enclosure was built so that the Dalai Lama and throne holder of Ganden Monastery at the time could give religious teachings. When the seventh Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso was invited to the golden throne in front of that gate, the custom of raising great banners of good fortune was newly established.^{bk} [On another occasion,] banners were raised at the central western gate called Sapokgang in order to proclaim the good news of Gushri Tendzin Chökyi Gyelpo's defeat of the Beri king; Depa Sönam Chöpel raised the "Great Banner of Power and Fortune."¹⁰⁰

Moreover, to the north of Lhasa's Lupukgyel gate, the Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute was founded at a later time as a place for bringing benefit to living beings.^{bl} Poor old people and the blind were provided with assistance from the Relief Office. Also to the north are the ruins of Tengyeling Monastery's Bentsang monastic college, with Zhidé monastic college to the north of that¹⁰¹ and then Tsemönling monastic college. To the north of the tsuklakhang, there are the image of Jowo Mikyö Dorjé that was brought to Gyetap Ramoché Tsuklakhang by the Nepali Consort Tritsün as a basis for her religious practice, the Great Secret Tantric College of Upper Lhasa, the Tsepak Temple near that, and the Jebum Temple. To the west of that, there are the Glorious Tantric College of Lower Lhasa and Meru monastic college.¹⁰² The Capuchin

^{bk} These banners are called Kelzang banners (*bskal bzang dar chen*); thus, they refer to both good fortune and to the seventh Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso.

^{bl} The Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute was founded in 1916 by the thirteenth Dalai Lama.

Christian Mission's Ati Changsep was also in that neighborhood, and the mosque of the Chinese Muslims was near Telpunggang.

There is a nunnery called Tsakhung to the south of the city and to the west is the temple of the Kashmiris who permanently reside in Lhasa. The offices of the Nepali Embassy are quite close to that. There used to be residential quarters for the Chinese civil and military officials, the amban and so forth, to the southwest; it was called Yamön. In the past, the Khampa tea merchants used to be pitch their tent to the west of Lhasa; they resided at Dranak Zhöl. There is a Muslim village called Wopaling to the southeast where meat and vegetables are sold. In the past, there was a place to the west called Chingurnang where Mongolian officers and travelers pitched their felt tents and lived. These days, that area is full of houses. There were also merchants selling food and other articles, tea shops, beer houses, and craftsmen working in gold, silver, copper, iron, and leather on most small roads in the city. In addition, there were produce markets and food markets selling meat, vegetables, fruit, and rice in all the vacant areas such as the inner circumambulation route or empty fields. Nearby, there were merchants selling horses, mules, donkeys, hay, dung, and so forth. Throughout the morning, there was a tremendous commotion.

There were many religious sites in the four directions, including the Riksum Gönpö Temple built during the time of Songtsen Gampo; subsequently, the Zhitrö Temple, the Nyungné Temple, the Tsechu Temple, the Mañi Temple, and so forth were newly constructed. Likewise, the temples of local deities were built such as Darpoling, Karmashar, and Drodé Khangsar. There are also historic government and private houses such as Tromzik Khang, Peljor Raptan, Wangden Pelbar, Dechen Raptan, Drangyé Shak, Rakkha Shak, Neu Shak, Chudingné,¹⁰³ Ganden Khangsar, and so forth. Moreover, there are many private homes of regional leaders, paternal estates, military people, and wealthy traders. There are several private schools and even a movie theatre called Dekyi Öngang.

The small narrow roads of the city and even the main roads are not beautiful and clean. Except for the water that is piped in from the river to the two prayer assembly areas, drinking water for the remaining areas must be drawn from wells. Thus, there are many historic wells, including Dünkhung Spring, Dogorgor Spring, and Rakkha Chukhor Spring. Except for the threshold of the Tsuklakhang and several private homes, there were no electric lights. Thus, most people used lamps lighted by petroleum or rapeseed oil. There were several underground canals in

order to wash away the city's sewage. There are several bridges such as the Möndrong Bridge, Sarjung Bridge, Ketung Bridge, Döjo Bridge, Ramoché stone bridge, and the Yutok Bridge;¹⁰⁴ I have personally seen some of them.

However, since there is not good drainage, each year during the third month, all the mud is discharged out into the inner circumambulation route and then it is taken away; thus, for several days the entire area smells bad. All around the outer circumambulation route, there are many beautiful newly built houses. There are also many public and private parks inside and outside of the city and along the banks of the river. No one prevents citizens from crossing the river or enjoying the parks.

At a place about 3 gyangdraks^{bm} to the west of the Tsuklakhang, there are the Potala Palace, the inestimable mansion which is Avalokiteśvara's second home, the Maitreya Temple within the wall before it, the Treasury of Benefit and Happiness of the Land of Snows where the woodblocks of many scriptures among the Buddhist canon are kept, Ganden Püntsokling which is the old storehouse for woodblocks, the Zhöl steward's office, the granary, the office of the military general of Tibet, the armory Dorjé Ling, the Welfare Office, the Dobuk stables, the Dzomo corrals, the prison for heinous crimes, and the many homes in both the inner and outer walls. There are gates in each of the great walls east, south, and west of Zhöl; the main road comes straight from the isolated south wall to an intersection. During the reign of the Tibetan Lord Trisong Detsen, he led an army against China and deposed the Chinese king. It was required that an annual tribute be paid to Tibet. These and other provisions are inscribed on a glorious stone pillar.¹⁰⁵ During the civil conflict between the Gurkhas and Tibet, the Manchu emperor sent military assistance to Tibet; a second stone pillar describing this matter is near the other pillar.¹⁰⁶

Mongza Tricham built the special Draklha Lubuk Temple to the west of there. Medicinal waters having eight qualities flows continuously from under rock in front of and behind that mountain.¹⁰⁷ In the area between the Potala Palace and Chakpori Mountain, there is a beautiful and pleasing series of the three historic Drakgo Kaṇi stūpas, which are like Lhasa's western gate. The Mañjuśrī Temple is a few miles to

^{bm} A gyangdrak (*rgyang grags*) is 2000 cubits or 3000 feet. So this place is about 9000 feet from the Tsuklakhang.

the west of the Potala, on the Bongwari Mountain, the residence of Jetsün Mañjuśrī. There is also the Chinese-style Gesar Temple, and the enduring Kündeling monastic college called Chökhörling is in the Zhöl village nearby. The Norbu Lingkha Kelzang Palace,¹⁰⁸ the summer residence of the Dalai Lamas is about four miles to the west of that. The Chinese Embassy, Dekyi Lingkha, is between Kündeling and Norbu Lingkha. Behind the Potala Palace, there is a temple to the king of the nāgas, Meldro Zichen, and there is a garden where city people launch yak-hide boats and celebrate during the Saga Dawa holiday.

There is a route called the Lingkhor that completely surrounds Lhasa, Chakpori Mountain, Bongwari Mountain, and the Potala Palace; there is never a break in the flow of people around it. There are several types of cairns on this route; since the people making circumambulations offer maṇḍalas of round rocks,^{bn} there are cairns of good fortune, and there are cairns of stone offered to achieve war aims. To the side of the war cairn, there is a marvelous tree with representing Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāni, and Avalokiteśvara; one branch has a blooming flower, another has a ripening seed, and the third has another tree growing out of it. I have seen many rock inscriptions of images and praises for Buddha and the bodhisattvas in the rocks on the path around Chakpori Mountain.

The great Pelden Drekar Pungwa Monastery is located several miles to the west of Lhasa.¹⁰⁹ There is a town called Denbak Rinchen Gang just about a mile in front of that. Nechung Drayangling is to the east.¹¹⁰ Chang (Kyang) Tangnakha, Dezhi Damra Chenmo, Lhalu Gatsel, Jatsön Spring, and so forth are between Lhasa and Drepung Monastery. The great Sera Tekchenling Monastery is about eight miles north of Lhasa. The Drapzhi Office of Electrical Production, Treasury of Endless Scientific Knowledge, is located between Lhasa and Sera Monastery, as are the Kha and Drapzhi regimental camps.

There are extremely isolated places in the mountains around Lhasa; among the many mountain retreat centers near Lhasa are: Bakpep Yid-uongwé Gepel, Lhalung, Sargongok Monastery, Drakri, Jokpo, Pabongkha Jangchup Shingi Naktrö,¹¹¹ Chuzang, Dukyu Monastery or Trashī Chöling, Takten, Seratsé, Serachöding, Rakhadrak, Keutsang Sharnup, Purbuchok, Banglung, Kardö (Tong) Nenang, Rikya, Rak, Garpa, and

^{bn} Giuseppe Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome: Reale Academie d'italie, 1936), has dozens of plates depicting these objects.

Tsechokling. There are also several mountain retreat centers for nuns, including Garu Monastery and Nelchungri.

Similarly, there are also special old pilgrimage sites nearby including: Rama Gangi Purkar Chung Dorjeying Temple, Sang Neutok, the kumbum^{bo} of Lotsāwa Loden Sherap at Sangda, the halfway rest station Ushangdo Trashi Gepel, Nyetangor Drölma Temple to the north of the Kyichu River, Atiśa's kumbum, Rawatö, Taklungdrak, the Lhachu river valley site founded by the second Buddha Padmasaṃbhava, Kyormolung, Ratsak, and Gawadong.

The Jowo Dam is located on the banks of the Kyichu River east of Lhasa. Initially, it was built in order to prevent the river from harming the Tsuklakhang and the city. Nyang Nyimé Özer magically drew the stones uphill. He initially built it, and Zhikpo Dutsi (1149–1199) subsequently rebuilt it four times. Lhajé Gewabum also did some construction, and when he died, it is known that his lower body remained in the stones. When the third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso led the Great Prayer Festival, the custom was begun that each year the monks in attendance would carry stones to fortify the dam.

As for the Kumbum Tang near the blessed dam, Ra Lotsāwa Dorjedrak manifested one hundred thousand bodies at one time; since he taught religion, the place is called Kumbum Tang.¹¹² Ra Lotsāwa's relics were placed in a stūpa on the banks of the Tsangchu River at the lower part of Den. Subsequently, however, they were carried away by the water; thus, it is known that the remains were placed in the statue of Vajrabhairava at Drepung Tantric College.

Across the Kyichu River and a few miles east is the Tsel Gungtang Monastery of Drowa Gönpö Zhangyu Drakpa and Kumbum Chenmo.¹¹³ Yerpa Lhari Nyingpogül is to the north,¹¹⁴ and the Dechendzong and the Sangak Khar founded by Jé Tsongkhapa are to the east of Gungtang.¹¹⁵ The great Ganden Nampar Gyelweling Monastery is several miles further east.

There are between fifty and sixty thousand permanent residents in Lhasa. During Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival in the first month, Lhasa has between one hundred and one hundred and twenty thousand people

^{bo} A kumbum (*sku 'bum*), which literally means "one hundred thousand bodies," is a stūpa at which vast number of small clay images, dedicated to a particular person, are offered.

consisting of monks from Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries and pilgrims from the surrounding area.

Lhasa's residents, of high, low, or middle station, were completely carefree. In all special religious ceremonies and in the evening, they would sing songs in the street. Beggars would go out to get food in the morning; otherwise, they would get drunk in the evening and take the opportunity to rest. Their minds were heavy, they had nutritious food, and they did not require much to live. This is a marvelous thing.

However, after the Chinese Communists attacked in 1950, residences, military camps, hospitals, and schools for the Chinese officials, and also guest houses restaurants, several small factories, rest stations, and so forth were built all over Lhasa. Not only is it said that the city has expanded to a size two or three times greater than it was in the past, but vehicles drive all over the place and electricity has been extended widely to all parts of the city. Yet, while all of these efforts have been advantageous to the Chinese soldiers, the Chinese officials, and the Chinese who came to settle, they brought no benefit to the Tibetan people who actually owned the land.

For example, Lhasa was divided into several parts and if Tibetan people, the owners of the land, had to meet each other in the city or if they had to go out on some business, they were required to obtain a permit from the Chinese office. They had absolutely no freedom, but had to operate according to a curfew. People did not have even a moment of pleasure because they had to work continuously and undergo struggle sessions (*'thab 'dzings*), criticism sessions (*skyons brjod tshogs 'du*), and so forth.^{bp} Thus, Lhasa was turned into a huge prison for the Tibetan people. Also, the population swelled to two hundred thousand with the Chinese civil and military officials and the settlers. As has been explained above and as the story will gradually unfold below, they have utterly destroyed all that is valuable, the Tibetan religion, knowledge, and customs, as well as the representations of Buddha's body, speech, and mind. Tibetans who have witnessed these things directly have escaped and arrived in exile. They have recounted and will continue to recount this thoroughly depressing situation.

^{bp} Struggle sessions were a tactic employed during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) to overcome what were regarded as reactionary forces. An account of how they were carried out in Tibet is provided in John F. Avedon, *In Exile from the Lands of Snows* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 228–232.

Economic and Trade Relations

The central foundation of Tibet's economy is in the arable land and the production from the wilderness. In regards to the arable land, there is fertile, medium, and poor soil. Some fertile lands produce one khel or twenty kortang^{bq} of grain and so are called drekhel. Medium soil produces eight khel of grain and so are called gyé (eight) kor. Poor fields yield five khel and so are called nga (five) kor. Although only one harvest is possible in most places, two crops are raised in low-lying areas. Several regions cannot produce more than one crop every two years; they are called sleeping-rising yields (*ston nyal langs*).

Similarly, with regard to the production from the wilderness, there are both zhoma and yarma.^{br} There are good, medium, and poor zhoma. The best zhoma produce twelve khel a year, the medium produce eight, and the poor zhoma produce five. The best yarma produce eight khel each year, the medium produce five, and the poorest produce three. At the same time, it is customarily said that ten milk goats produce the same amount of milk as a single milk dri.

As for the manner in which trade operated between farmers and herders and between the distant villages and cities like Lhasa, market prices for agricultural and dairy products fluctuated each year depending upon their quality. For example, when the northern nomads went to the farming areas each spring, they would trade one khel of milk for four khel of grain, or two khel of salt for one khel of grain, or five khel of soda for one khel of grain. Similarly, the nomads would sell such things as cheese, wool, soft animal hair, tails, yak hair, goat and sheep skins, felt, and wild sweet potatoes. They would buy grain, barley, flour, woolen cloth, tea, imported cotton, iron implements, and sweets from the farmers. Moreover, the nomads herd many yaks in order to trade for salt, wool, and so forth; in the spring, the farmers sell their agricultural products. Yaks are used to thresh grain, for which the nomads receive a fee.

Horses, mules, donkeys, alum, fruit, mangoes, dried peaches, and so forth come from the Tsongön Lake, Domé. Pack mules, male and female

^{bq} As is evident from the context, a kortang (*skor thang*) is one-twentieth of a khel (*khal*), which is about thirty pounds. For more information on the Tibetan system of weights and measures, see p. 68 ff below.

^{br} A zhoma (*bzho ma*) is a milk cow. A yarma (*yar ma*) is a sterile cross between a male yak and a female dzo. A dzo (*mdzo*) is a cross between a male yak and a female cow. A dri (*'bri*) is a female yak.

dzo, butter, animal hides, musk, dried blood, and so forth come from Dotö Kham. Paper, dairy products, mules, male and female dzo, walnuts, dried apricots, and pork come from Dakpo and Kongpo. Boards, manufactured wood products, bowls, basins, tassels, woolen products, grain, and barley come from Lhodrak and Lhokha. Dried goat, yak, and fish meat come from Yardrok. Rugs, carpets, paper, vermicelli, flour, and so forth come from Tsang and Tö. Thus, the products of each region are transported to the other regions. Having been brought to Lhasa, the commodities required by each village are manufactured and transported.

Imports and Exports

Since Tibet has agricultural products, dairy products, and all sorts of woolen materials, for many centuries Tibet did not import foreign goods or export native goods. Gradually, however, as one person vied with another, people's requirements or their fortune increased, and so trade relations with foreign peoples expanded. For example, commodities such as various sorts of silk, tea, greeting scarves, porcelain, enamelware, and so forth were imported from China. At the same time, raw wool, wool material, incense, caterpillar herb, fritillary bulb, dried blood, musk, bear bile, and salt were sent from Tibet to China.

Cotton, embroidery, sweets, flannel, petroleum, oil products, iron products, cement, stationary, soap, sulphur, aluminum, dyes, glassware, machinery, and so forth come from India. Tibet exports wool, tails, soft animal hair, animal hides, musk, mica, horses, mules, pig bristles, and so forth to India.¹¹⁶

At the same time, alloy and copper images, brass tools, rice, chili powder, unprocessed medicinal products, and so forth came from Nepal. Tibet exported to Nepal such things as salt, woolen cloth, sheep, and so forth. Rice, corn, printing paper, raw silk cloth, dried fruit, Chinese vermilion, red dye, cane, and bamboo fencing also came from Bhutan. Salt, wool, tea, fat, dried fish, wool, sheep skins, and so forth are exported to Bhutan from Tibet. Similarly, linen, dried fruit, medicinal raw materials, and so forth come from Ladakh. Tibet exports tea, salt, woolen cloth, sheep, wool, and so forth to Ladakh.

There are no traditions of establishing currency rates with those countries or exchanging money through banks and so forth. The fluctuations in the value of products and currency were set by the traders themselves in dependence upon local conditions. There were severe

restrictions on the trade of such items as guns, illicit articles, tobacco, and opium. Otherwise, people were free to trade in any items they liked. Nominal duties were charged on imported tea and exported wool, tails, hides, salt, and so forth.¹¹⁷ Otherwise, there were absolutely no trade taxes, road taxes, duties, or taxes on profit. For a few years after the Chinese Communists attacked Tibet in 1950, trade increased. However, like a hat made from wet leather, the situation became increasingly constricted. Since 1959, Tibetan trade with India and Bhutan has been utterly severed, although it has continued with Nepal.

Communications and Transportation

Formerly, there were tremendous difficulties in communicating within Tibet. Moreover, wealthy people rode horses, mules, nalo (a cross between a dzo and a yak), camels, and so forth. Trade goods were loaded on horses, mules, camels, donkeys, bulls, yaks, goats, and sheep. Most common people walked, carrying their food and bedding on their backs. To serve the religious and political form of government and out of concern for the welfare of the people, the government continually rebuilt and restored the main roads where they were too narrow and restored narrow precipices. Besides these pathways, there were not any roads for motorized vehicles.

In remote places in the northern region and in Kham, there were terrible dangers such as thieves, robbers, and quicksand. However, the government constructed many places to protect people from fear and guest houses in gorges and remote places; they were referred to as “rest houses to protect from fear” and “guesthouses in the pilgrimage places.” Traders from Dotö and Domé sent camp chiefs and assistants along with arms to the protective posts.

Moreover, beginning in the monkey year, people circumambulated around the side of the pilgrimage site of Tsari Mountain. Beginning in the sheep year, they toured around Machak Senmodo or Namtso Chukmötso. In the horse year they toured around Gangkartesé Mountain. For the benefit of these pilgrimage routes, leaders were appointed, street lamps erected, and both tea and beer were provided.

In the seventh cycle (1387–1446), the adept Toptong Gyelpo constructed bridges over fifty-three large and dangerous rivers in Tibet and Lhodruk, bringing tremendous benefit.¹¹⁸ The government and private parties built yak-hide boats and “tagochen” (having a horse-head) wooden ferries that were able to fit about thirty animals and their

goods on the great rivers.¹¹⁹ Travelers paid a fee to cross back and forth. Cane ropes or long bulky ropes have been stretched across in several ravines in Dotö where rivers fall with great force. Travelers would sit in small wooden harness and horses and mules would dangle on ropes, whereupon they would be pulled across with great fear.

Previously, when government orders and proclamations were issued, horse couriers would be sent out. Otherwise, news would reach the various districts only very gradually. After 1913, postal routes were established between Lhasa and Pakri through Gyantsé and between Lhasa and Kongpo Gyada. In 1921, a telegraph line was created between Lhasa and Pakri. In 1926, the Indian government asked for permission to build a road so the Indian trade agent, his assistants, and their military guard could travel back and forth and so they could transport things they required. Accordingly, several large and small vehicles arrived. After one or two transits, the people of Gyantsé, Pakri, and Dromo, who earned their livelihood from pack labor, objected that the road was harmful to their interests. Consequently, the former situation had to be restored.

Since 1930, when the great thirteenth Dalai Lama would travel around the Potala Palace or when he would go to Drepung Monastery, Sera Monastery, and so forth, he would drive in a vehicle. Gradually, people considered introducing mechanized transport, due to which several vehicles began to move back and forth in Tibet. As people became more familiar with them, roads were built. Although all public and private parties considered vehicles to be useful, after the great thirteenth Dalai Lama died for the sake of others, the effort could not be sustained.

When important government representatives and army regiments traveled about, local residents made arrangements for horses, beasts of burden, and porters, as well as the necessary rest houses at way stations and checkpoints. However, the great thirteenth Dalai Lama ordered that horses, beasts of burden, and porters could only be commandeered for important government business. His order also introduced the practice of having the official pay for these services. It was urged that these matters be inspected every six months. New standards were introduced such that, beyond providing hospitality for three nights, people did not have to provide sleeping quarters, firewood, or transportation. This brought unsurpassed relief to the population.^{bs}

^{bs} In traditional pre-1950 Tibet, one form of taxation had been *corvée* labor, an arrangement in which government officials could call upon citizens to transport goods,

The great fourteenth Dalai Lama issued a public notice that on most occasions, horses, beasts of burden, and porters ought to be summoned only for official government business. From 1948, radio transmitters were set up at most of the important sites on Tibet's border. Thus, horse couriers and postal service became unnecessary. Tremendous benefit resulted in that difficulties were removed for the people and official business was accelerated.

When the Chinese Communists invaded Tibet, they forcibly conscripted countless Tibetans in order to provide transportation for the soldiers and for war materials. Two roads were built through Tsongön Lake and Kham and also up to the Indian and Nepali border through Lhasa and Zhikatsé. An airport was also newly constructed. Consequently, the Tibetan government also used many trucks from India in order to facilitate the transportation of grain. At the same time, private, religious, and trading interests introduced many bicycles, tractors, and other vehicles. Since 1959, the Chinese Communists have built new roads to all of the important sacred sites in Tibet. They have built many airports. Finally, they have constructed a large number of missile sites. From this point, I have understood how our peaceful and joyous land of Tibet has been transformed into a huge military installation.

Currency^{bt}

When I investigated the ancient histories, I thought there was a tremendous amount of natural gold in Tibet. Tibetans went to study Buddhism in India and Nepal, seeking religious teachings and inviting many paṇḍitas and scholars from India and Nepal. On those occasions, several of the Indian and Nepali paṇḍitas and scholars said that in order for them to give the quintessential instructions of the great religion, gifts of gold would have to be offered. There are many reports of students and patrons giving gifts of gold, asking that the quintessential instructions not be given to anyone else.¹²⁰

provide labor or goods (such as firewood, food, or animal fodder), or provide accommodations. Since this could be abused easily, it was the frequent subject of reform.

^{bt} Images of some Tibetan currency can be seen in the quite exhaustive history, Wolfgang Bertsch, *A Study of Tibetan Paper Money with a Critical Bibliography* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1997).

Although there was trade, people had to carry their own requisites with them, grain, barley, and other articles. Not only did trade take place in villages, but also in such cities as Lhasa. People carried barley so they could trade for small things such as butter for tea, yogurt, vegetables, writing paper, ink, pens, and so forth. Not only was it a sort of means of exchange, but also early in the morning, a little barley would be given to each person who was studying. The monks in the mountain hermitages were given tea, butter, and firewood in exchange for blessings for the donors. This excellent custom continued up to 1959.

Up until 1750, unrefined gold and silver were weighed out with a scale when commodities and food were exchanged. The value of gifts to monks, handicrafts, and labor were customarily reckoned in terms of gold, silver, commodities, grain, armor, and livestock. For example, from the records relating to Pönchen Śākya Zangpo's construction the great Sakya Temple, Drogön Chögyel Pakpa's construction of the Great Prayer Wheel at Ringmo Spring, Jé Tsongkhapa's construction of Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival, the great fifth Dalai Lama's construction of the Potala Palace, and finally Desi Sangyé Gyatso's construction of the reliquary [of the fifth Dalai Lama] that is the single ornament of the world, one can understand the values put on respectful gifts to monks, manufactured items, and labor at these times.

Although I have not seen clear indications of how the circulation of Nepali coins began in Tibet, I have seen one history from the time of Sachen Künga Nyingpo [1092–1158] that says one thousand nine hundred Nepali *ṭam* were given to Sakya when the Great Prayer Wheel was built.¹²¹ When Miwang Sönam Topgyel built a workshop at Shelkar for making woodblocks to print the canons of Buddha's word and the commentarial literature, a small fee was paid to the craftsmen in Nepali *ṭam*. From that point, however they came into use, Nepali *ṭam* were circulated in Tibet. Each Nepali *ṭam* was reckoned to have the value of a *zho* (*zho*) and five karma (*skar ma*).

In the forty-sixth year of the thirteenth sexagenary cycle, 1792, the Tibetan government issued the first *ṭamka* (*ṭam ka*) coin of the same weight as the Nepali *ṭam* inscribed with the date 13.46. Since then, coins were gradually issued with the dates 14.25, 15.24, and 15.25.^{bu} Thereafter, *ṭamka*, coins with various drawings and the name of the government,

^{bu} The first number indicates the sixty-year cycle, while the second number indicates the year in that cycle. Thus, 14.25 is 1831, 15.24 is 1890, and 15.25 is 1891.

“Ganden Podrang”, were issued. Fractions of those *ṭamka* were made to facilitate transactions; they were valued at two and half karma, five karma, seven and a half karma, one zho, two and a half zho, and so forth. Gradually thereafter, coins were issued that were valued at one *ṭam sang* (*ṭam srang*), five *ngülzho* (*ḍngul zho*), ten *ṭam*, three *sang* (*srang*), and ten *sang*. Gold coins valued at twenty *sang* were issued.¹²² Several copper coins were issued valued at four *kar* (*skar*) or one *tikhu* (*tikhu*), two and a half karma or one *khagang*, five karma, seven and a half karma, one zho, three zho (*zho*), and five zho.

Similarly, paper currency was first issued in the forty-fifth year of the fifteenth cycle, 1911.¹²³ Moreover, the currency, printed in Lhasa itself, was made of Tibetan paper and had a watermark reading “Ganden Podrang”. Printed by hand with woodblocks, they were valued at five *ṭam*, ten *ṭam*, fifteen *ṭam*, twenty-five *ṭam*, and fifty *ṭam*. Postage stamps were also issued in values of one *kha* (*kha*), five *kar*, one zho, one *ṭam*, two *ṭam*, and four *ṭam*. Since people were sent to Calcutta to learn how to print paper currency by mechanical means, *kyem* paper (*skyem shog*) was initially made with a watermark. In 1931, colored paper currency valued at fifty *ṭam* was issued. Gradually, colored currency was issued with values of one hundred *sang*, twenty-five *sang*, ten *sang*, and five *sang*.

Cabinet Minister Tsarong Dazang Dradül,^{bv} who was placed in charge of securing the paper currency, stored it at the Tsenam Segen Treasury in fifty-four gold chests with five hundred gold *ṭam* each.

Subsequently, when, on behalf of the Drapzhi Office of Electrical Production, Dza, Tā, and Tse¹²⁴ asked to buy gold from the American government, as an ancillary objective of the Tibetan Trade Mission. The Tibetan and Indian gold that was bought in order to back up the paper currency was placed in the Norbu Lingkha Treasury. Consequently, the prices of food in Tibet did not rise appreciably. There was no danger that there would be a lack of resources for religious endowments or trader’s capital from the Office of Development. Also, it was possible to stabilize the currency exchange rates with India and Nepal, avoiding large fluctuations.

^{bv} The life story of this significant figure, a favorite of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, is told in Dündül Namgyal Tsarong, *In the Service of His Country: The Biography of Dasang Damdul Tsarong Commander General of Tibet* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 2000). His work in the Tibetan mint is discussed briefly (52).

However, since the Chinese Communists invaded Tibet in 1950, prices have increased hundreds of times. Not only has this posed difficulties for the continuance of the religion and for the livelihood of humble people, but in 1959, the Chinese Communists illegally destroyed Tibetan currency in circulation. They went on to circulate Chinese currency. The Communists also plundered every sort of valuable from government, private, and monastic sources. Thus, the Tibetan people ate like dogs and worked like donkeys. There are many accounts about people living this way.

Weights and Measures

The Tibetan standards for measuring volume, weight, and so forth were settled during the time of the sovereign Relpachen in accordance with the Indian system.¹²⁵ Gradually, slight modifications were made thereafter. This is clearly set forth in Desi Sangyé Gyatso Rinpoché's *White Lapiz Lazuli* and his *Answers and Questions Clearing Away Misconceptions within the "White Lapiz Lazuli."* Thus, if we cite general examples, measures for solids such as grains are as follows: There is one pül (*phul*) to one hundred and twenty cha (*cha*) and one dré (*bre*) to six pül. Alternatively, there is one dré to six thousand complete trim (*khrim*). There are twenty dré in one khel of Tentsik Kharu's system, and two khel (*khal*) and ten dré of grain are equal to one medium-sized pack load.

As for weight standards, for things like gold, there is one sewa (*se ba*) to two maru (*ma ru*) or kakani (*ka ka ni*), one zho to twenty sewa, one sang to eight zho, and one pülnyak (*phul nyag*) to four sang.¹²⁶ For things like butter, there is one por (*spor*) to one hundred and twenty cha (*cha*), one nyak to four por, one khel of Tentsik Khargya's system to twenty nyak, and twelve khel make one medium-sized pack load. For fluids like oil, the measures are similar to the standards for measuring grain, with copper vessels measuring pül, dré, and kharkhel (*mkhar khal*). However, in some areas, liquid measures are reckoned for each zowa (*zo ba*), and ten zowa are equal to one kharkhel.

As for measures for silver, there is one karma to one hundred and twenty parts (*cha*), one zho to ten karma, one țam to one zho and five karma, and one sang to ten zho. Alternately, there is one sang to six țam and one zho, one țamdo to fifty sang,¹²⁷ two țamdo to one hundred sang, one hundred țamdo to five thousand sang.

As for the measurement of distances, there are six grains of barley (*nas 'bru*) in one thumb width (*sor*), twelve *sor* in one *to* (*mtho*), one *tru* (*khru*) to one *todo* (*mtho do*), one *dom* (*'dom*) to four *tru*, one *gyangdrak* (*rgyang grags*) to five hundred *zhudom* (*gzhu 'dom*), and one *paktsé* (*dpag tshad*) to fifty *gyangdrak*. More recently, a system like the English system, with miles, came into use. Those measurements have been calculated in fine detail. Khewang Böndrongpa calculated all of the fine gradations.

Moreover, when doing calculations, markers such as peach pits, sticks, lentils, offering stones, marbles, and so forth, are used to represent units from one to one hundred thousand. One must know how to arrange the markers to signify *dré*, *pül*, and smaller units. Also when doing calculations with an abacus, people intone a special song called a “calculation song” (*rtsis rta*). People who work in the accounting offices keep all of these counters on their desks. Thus, foreigners have become convinced that the accountants were living in the midst of a lot of garbage. When they go to some other place, they take their counters in a bag. Later, some private people and traders did calculations by drawing pictures on the ground or by arithmetic. Some people say there are many people who use the Chinese method called an abacus. Many old village people calculate using their fingers and prayer beads. Since every tenth bead on a rosary is different, so when each of those is reached, it can represent ten or one hundred. Although this can be used for addition and subtractions, it is not useful when doing multiplication, divisions, or when working with fractions.

Also, when people trade horses, mules, donkeys, and so forth, there is a tradition whereby the parties to a trade will put their hands in the other person's sleeves so they can count on their fingers, secretly indicating their bids. People customarily make secret sales unknown to other traders nearby.

Public Health

The source of the Tibetan medical science is in India itself. Pelgön Pakpa Nāgārjuna wrote many sources including the *One Hundred Preparations*, *A Treatise on Medicine*, *The Verse Discourse on Well-Being*, *The Garland of Precious Mercury Preparations*, and so forth. His student, Khachok Pawo entered the eighth branch and composed *The Essence of the Eighth Branch* and so forth. Physicians were summoned from

the four directions to prolong the life of the Sovereign Trisong Detsen; thereby, medical theories were promoted.

Moreover, the actual words of Buddha, who is a fully qualified teacher, were translated by the Kashmiri Dawa Ngönga and by Vairocana who spoke both Sanskrit and Tibetan; thereby, the meaning was determined. Through discussions between the preceptor and patron, these texts were concealed in the central room of Samyé for the benefit of later times. Geshés and monks possessed of clairvoyance brought these treasures forth. Thus, they were transmitted through a single lineage to Roki Bandé Könchok Kyap. The lineage increased through his having expressed it to Yutok Sarma Yönten Gönpö. Dütsi Nyingpo Sangwa wrote many texts including the Ninety-Two Chapter Tantra of Quintessential Instructions, the Six Chapter Root Tantra, the Thirty-Two Chapter Explanatory Tantra, and the Twenty-Five Chapter Later Tantra—known as the Four Tantras—and the eighteen parts. During the time of the unequaled Dakpo Lhajé Tenkhyimpa, the welfare of sentient beings was furthered through the efforts of thirty medical masters, including Doctor Pidza. At that time, the composition of the four tantras by Yutok had not yet been completed.¹²⁸

Sakya Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen composed *The King's Treasury of Medical Science*, which was related to Nāgārjuna's medical science. Moreover, many students received instructions in the government's *Medical and Astrological Institute, The Chakri Mountain Park where Beings are Benefitted through the Knowledge of Lapiz Lazuli*, and so forth. These included Trangti [Pelden Tsojé], Jangpa Rikden Chenpo,¹²⁹ Zurkhar Nyamnyi Dorjé,¹³⁰ Lodrö Gyelpo,¹³¹ Taksang Lotsāwa Sherap Rinchen,¹³² Darpa Lotsāwa, Yartö Darma Menrampa Lozang Chödrak,¹³³ Desi Sangyé Gyatso,¹³⁴ Lhajé Jangngöpa Lozang Zhenpen Wangpo, Khesumpa Ngawang Kelden, Tsomé Khenchen Śākya Wangchuk, Tsungmé Jarpo Pañchen, Pöntsang Tsarongpa Tsewang Namgyel,¹³⁵ his son Tseten Dorjé, Tsojé Jangngöné Gendün Döndrup, Lamen Japukpa, Kongdrül Yönten Gyatso,¹³⁶ Kuchar Lamen Khenpo Ngözhi Jampa Tupwang¹³⁷ who was renowned in both China and Tibet, Mentsi Khenpo Khyenrap Norbu, and so forth. Thus, the benefit to living beings increased and expanded in all areas.

Moreover, based upon the pulse, urine, and scent, illnesses are analyzed. Illnesses are cured based upon the four foods and practices of medical science. Also with respect to medicines, there are medicinal stones, including precious stones, botanical medicines that are roots or

fruits, and medicines that come from animal products. Also, those are administered in the forms of broths, powders, pills, ointments, medicinal butters, and so forth. As for treatments, there are also countless types of cholera medicines, nasal medicines, salves, perfumes, laxatives, bleedings, moxibustion, incense, therapeutic baths, spoons, and so forth.

Nothing developed in the system of the great practices of surgery, such as the five internal visceral organs, the six hollow organs, and so forth.^{bw} However, the Tibetan system developed medicines to treat the causes of many particular illnesses such as heart disease, water-based illnesses, arthritis, and gout. Thus, there are tremendous potential benefits. These days it is as though this is recognized by all.

Tibetan doctors are not like foreign medical experts, who specialize in one field of knowledge. They perform diagnoses through analyzing the urine and feces and prescribe medicinal foods and practices.¹³⁸ In brief, medicinal roots, plants, stones, precious substances, and so forth are recognized along with their individual applications. It is necessary for one to understand all branches of practices for making medicines to overcome poisons and so forth. Thus, the training is a tremendous undertaking.

Also, in analyzing urine and feces, there are explanations by Tibetan medical experts. Taktsang Lotsāwa says:

There are no explanations from the Land of Superiors, India, on diagnoses through urine and feces. These were formulated by the Tibetan doctor Jangchup Sempa.

At the same time, Desi Sangyé Gyatso says:¹³⁹

Paṇchen Śākya Chokden, Jé Rangjung Dorjé, and so forth accepted this explanation.

Crafts

From among the various sorts of crafts in Tibet, the most famous are as follows: the creation of images in scroll paintings (*thang kha*), the construction of images of gold, copper, bronze castings, clay, wood, and so forth, stūpas, cast meditation maṇḍala, the constructions of maṇḍalas with colored sand, the writing of scriptures with gold, silver,

^{bw} The five internal visceral organs (*nang gi don lnga*) are: heart, lungs, kidneys, liver and stomach. The six hollow organs (*snod drug*) are: stomach, intestines, abdomen, gall bladder, urinary bladder, and gonads.

vermilion, and regular ink, and the carving of woodblocks for printing.^{bx} India, Nepal, Liyül, and so forth are the primary sources for relief carvings of representations of Buddha's body, speech, and mind. These traditions were initially introduced to Tibet during the time of the religious king Songtsen Gampo. Moreover, the self-arisen images of the six syllables in Geré Rock, Avalokiteśvara, Drölma, and Tamdrin were inscribed by Nepali craftsmen.

The primary images of the Tradruk Trashī Jamnyom Temple, the three primary spheres of Vairocana, and the Śākyamuṇi rock image in Lhasa were carved by Nepali artisans. The primary images in the Rasa Trülṅang Tsuklakhang, the five self-arisen images of great compassion, were created by a Nepali artisan named Trowo. Similarly, Chinese artisans accompanied King Songtsen Gampo's consort Princess Wencheng Gongzhu, and thus, on the way, the one hundred thousand line *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* and the *Prayer of Good Conduct* were inscribed on the Dema Rock, an image of Maitreya measuring eighty cubits (*khru*) was built at Jadur Langna,¹⁴⁰ and the Ramoché Tsuklakhang was founded.

During the time of the sovereign Trisong Detsen, many artisans were summoned from India and Nepal. The form of a stag was inscribed in a rock trough in order to determine whether it would be possible to make deities in Tibetan stone. Five types of stūpas were built in the Zungkhar Valley, and Nepali and Tibetan stone carvers built the main images of Samyé, the retinue of the Subduer [Buddha], with inscribed stone. Similarly, Nepalis and Tibetans skilled in foundry work poured the upper and lower parts of castings in Gongkar for such things as the nine retinues of Nangwa Tayé of Gegyé Lima Temple together with a bell.¹⁴¹ All around the top of the bell are two circuits of ancient lettering, flawlessly written in the seventh century; it read:

This bell was made for the purpose of venerating the Three Precious Jewels of the ten directions of Jomo Gyelmo Tsen and her son. Through the force of the merit gained from that, may the parents of King Trisong Detsen and his son be blessed to achieve the unsurpassed enlightenment possessed of the sixty harmonious speeches!

I have seen the Gegyé Lima Temple, the bronze and lead chinks in the walls of the Blue Stūpa built by the leader of Dorjé Drechung, the previously

^{bx} Stūpas are the most common type of Buddhist monument. Examples can be seen at www.himalayanart.org.

mentioned bells, and the Tradruk Temple in the south, as well as the Yerpa Temple in Lhasa. I investigated that inscription, but I was disappointed in that I could not take a picture. I wonder if those two bells were primarily caste during the time of Songtsen Gampo.

When the nine-story Trashi Pemé Gepel Temple was built at Önchang during the time of the Sovereign Tri Relpachen, many fully-qualified Tibetan craftsmen and craftsmen from India, China, Nepal, and Liyül were summoned. Ever since the techniques of rock carving, alloy casting, clay images, and the many traditions of wall frescoes were introduced, Tibetan craftsmen have gradually made improvements and distinctive modifications in such things as proportions, painting styles, attitudes, and coloring of representations of Buddha's body, speech, and mind. Formerly, the statue of the Subduer, the image of the Subduer of Bodhgaya, was anointed with sweet smelling substances; many Nepali designs of the Subduer's form spread, in reliance upon their being printed upon white cotton.

There have been many people who were skilled in doing relief carvings in Tibet in the past. From among them, many drawings were later made. These painters include Dopa Tregyel, Yartö Jiugangpa, the former's student Menla Döndrup of Lhodrak Mentang, Gongkar Gangtö Khyentsé, and also Trülku Chöying Gyatso, Lama Sangyé Lhawang, the tenth Karmapa Chöying Dorjé, and so forth.

I have investigated such things as the painting styles a little. There were two expert deity painters both named Tregyel, who were student and teacher. At the same time as Menla Döndrup was born in Lhodrak Mentang,¹⁴² red dye (*sman thang*, pronounced "mentang") came out of the ground. After becoming ill, he had a disagreement with his wife, due to which he wandered about. He found a paintbrush, a pot, and a model, and thereafter, he longed only to draw. After going to Tsang, Sakya, and so forth to see whether there were people who knew how to draw, he met Dopa Tregyel. In this way, he studied and understood the drawing tradition. In a former life, [Menla] had been an artist in China. At that time, he was renowned as having painted the Sitang Gyantsé Chenmo painting. When Menla Döndrup saw it, he recalled his former life. There are also records that mention a system of physical proportions called "Yizhin Norbu" (*yid bzhin nor bu*) that is based upon the two tantra sets.¹⁴³ Since this is evidence for dating Mentangpa, it must be thought that Dopa Tregyel was alive during the seventh sexagenary cycle (1387–1446).

As for Menla Döndrup, he was born in 1440, in the middle of the lifetime of first Dalai Lama Gendün Drupa. The histories call him Men-

tangpa Khuwön, and others mention Mentangpa and his son. As for the name Khuwön, there is mention of Khuwo Menla Döndrup and Wönpo Mentangpa Zhiwa Ö; in 1484, when the fourth Zhamar went to Sekhar from southern Bhutan, he saw that things were in disrepair. He ordered Mentangpa Zhiwa Ö to redraw the image of the supreme being (*skyes mchog*)^{by} together with his retinue, the mantras, and the other figures in the chamber. As for the son, he was called Mentangpa Jamyang. His story will gradually unfold below.

Dopa Tregyel's student, Khyentsé Chenmo was born in the eighth sexagenary cycle (1747–1806) in Chingru Gangtö Tögar in Gongkar. It is known that he drew most of the wall paintings of Gongkar Dorjeden. Moreover, the fourth Zhamar Chödrak Gyatso or Chödrak Yeshe (1453–1524) founded the Yangpachen Monastery in 1503. At that time, the special drawings that were arrayed above and below were drawn by Mentangpa Döndrup, his son, and Khyentsé.¹⁴⁴ Continuing from that quote, it says:

Measuring the silk brocade out on the front lawn, Mentangpa Jamyangpa wore silk shoes and held a charcoal pencil in his hand. Thus, he drew the body of the Great Subduer, and he made special sorts of silk images, sewing colored letters and arranging bits of cloth of various colors.

Drukpa Künkhyen Pema Karpo's (1527–1592) autobiography says:¹⁴⁵

In order to eliminate doubt about the lineage of Khyentsé Pönpo from Gongkar Dorjé Den, I traveled by foot. I fulfill my wishes regarding religion and the elimination of doubt... In Samdruptsé, Kündün Zhing (Zhingshakpa Tseten Dorjé) summoned Mentangpa Jamyang Pel.

If one relies upon this account, then Menla Döndrup, Wönpo Zhiwa Ö, Döndrup's son Jamyang, and Khyentsé Chenmo of Gongkar¹⁴⁶ lived at that time. Beyond the practice of referring to painters as Menri (Eri) and Kyenri (Zhungri), in fact, since both groups are descended from student of Dopa Tregyel, these customs of drawing are Menri. However, I wrote a letter to the great Kyapjé Yongdzin Trijang Dorjé Chang asking about the special features of each. In reply, he wrote:

Menla Döndrup had determined the best physical proportions through seven divisions called "Yizhin Norbu"; the system was based on the *Kālacakra Tantra* as well as the root tantra and the commentary on taking

^{by} Usually this term refers to the Dalai Lama, but in the era being described, it is unlikely there would have been a painting of the first Dalai Lama in the inner chamber of a temple in the southern part of Bhutan.

the vows. Through that, it became known as “Menluk” (*smān lugs*). Also, as the expert deity painter from Gongkar Gangtö named Khyentsé Chenmo emerged, he was a Mentangpa. Since his style of drawing was slightly different, it came to be called the Khyenluk.

Moreover, the painter named Trülku Jiugangpa, who was born in Yartö, had a tradition of painting that was slightly different from both the Menluk and the Khyenluk lineages; three customs were delineated.

When the great fifth Dalai Lama created the silk painting of Vajramāla, the peaceful aspect was done in the Mentangpa style and the wrathful aspect along with the maṇḍala were done in the Khyentsé style. Thus, there are only slight differences between the Men and Khyen styles.

As for Jiugangpa of Yartö, one wonders whether he mainly lived in the fourth (1207–1266) or fifth (1267–1326) sexagenary cycles. Although I have not found a detailed history about him, I have seen a similar old painting of Jowo and his spiritual son, Sakya Paṇḍita, Tsepakmé, Künrik, Gönpö Ber, Zhel, and Lhamo known to have been drawn by Jiugangpa. In particular, the silk images of Avalokiteśvara that had been produced for distribution during the great occasion of the Saga Dawa Ceremony at Gyantsé’s Pelkhor Monastery and the image of Samantabhadra painted on the inner walls of Kumbum Monastery were of a similar Nepali design. The primary great deities and the deities of invocation are placed in different sectors or doors and windows of the painting. They are painted a bright vermilion color.

Clothes and so forth have extremely detailed golden designs. Wrathful figures are smaller in size, with larger heads and abdomens. When their body color is azure or black, it is marked with white or sky blue measurements. There are tremendous details in the six types of ornaments.^{bz} The extremely skilled painter Chökyi Gyeltsen Choklé Namgyel (1376–1451) of Bodong Pelden made an unequaled painting of the glorious Sāraha.^{ca} It is known to reside as an object of worship in Sakya Monastery. Likewise, I have heard that it is like the Nepali style of Jiugangpa.

Tsawa Rongpa Sönam Ö, the student of Drogön Chögyel Pakpa (1235–1280) built three objects of worship; as he was extremely skilled, his manner of constructing such objects was known as “Origin of Good

^{bz} The six types of ornaments are worn on the feet, wrists, upper arms, neck, ears, and the crown of the head.

^{ca} Sāraha was the main teacher of Nāgārjuna, the Indian scholar-adept of the second century C.E.

Qualities" (*yon tan 'byung gnas*). Moreover, Butön Tamché Khyenpa, Draknakpa, Taktsang Lotsāwa Sherap Rinchen, and so forth have written many texts on the dimensions of deities' bodies, stūpas, and so forth. Geshé Tendzin Püntsock of Dergé who was skilled in all types of crafts, was said to be have been like the assembly of all that one desires in the technical field.

During the time of the third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso (1543–1588), there was a very skilled painter of the Menluk tradition named Trülku Trengkhawa Pelden Lodrö Zangpo. He wrote a volume called *The Clear Mirror of Sūtra and Tantra on the Size of Deities' Bodies*. Longdöl Lama Rinpoché is variously referred to as Trülku Rikharwa and Trülku Trengkhawa.¹⁴⁷ However, Akhu Sherap Gyatso says he may be called Tanak Rikhar Trülku Trengkhawa Pelden Lodrö of Tsangtö. Thus, this should be investigated.¹⁴⁸

During the time of the great fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), Tendzin Norbu of Lhodrak, Zurchen Chöying Rangdröl, Natsé Taklung Pelgön, and Desi Sangyé Gyatso wrote about the conqueror's lineage. All of the expert painters, Uchen Mentangpa Gönpö Tsewang, Podrang Püntsock, Rakhawa Jamyang Wangpo of Lhasa, and so forth, are accepted as being of the Menluk tradition. Also the painter called Trülku Chöying Gyatso was peerless in Khyenri and Menri. Sometimes, his paintings were of a special new style.

During the great fifth Dalai Lama's time, a mural recounting how human beings had come to Tibet was painted in the Great Hall of the Potala Palace. The birth stories of the conqueror [Buddha] were painted by Trülku Chöying Gyatso. He planned to paint the lineage of lamas bearing the teachings of Tsongkhapa's *Stages of the Path* in the Temple of the Buddhist Canon. However, he painted it in a style based on the original Jiu painting. By virtue of his unfamiliarity, Trülku initiated a new style that was not either of the other two styles.¹⁴⁹ Thus, aside from the Khyen or Men styles, there was another separate tradition. One wonders if this isn't the Kardri tradition. Details about Kardri will be explained below. The first Pañchen Lama Lozang Chögyen's autobiography says:¹⁵⁰

After a charcoal drawing was made by Trülku Chöying Gyatso, the abbot painted a fresco at the restored Wen Monastery in 1645. In 1647, cotton backed paintings of the life stories of Gyelwa Lozang Döndrup and Khedrup Sangyé Yeshé were drawn at Trashī Lhünpo Monastery.

As for Lama Sangyé Lhawang, I asked the great Kyapjé Yongdzin Trijang Dorjé Chang about him. He replied:

He was a direct disciple of the eighth Karmapa Mikyö Dorjé (1507–1550), and Lama Sangyé Lhawang, who based himself on the old Menluk painting style, emerged in Denkhok. The pupil of his pupil was Lhazo Tadrin Gönpö and so forth.

I asked Tragu Rinpoché, the Abbot of the Karma monastic college of Rumtek Monastery in Sikkim, about the Kardri style. As for the Karma Gardri (*sgar bris*) or the Kardri (*kar bris*) style, the eighth Karmapa Mikyö Dorjé wrote *The Great Sun, the Manual for Drawing Images*, and the tenth Chöying Dorjé (1604–1674), with his excellent drawings, formulated examples of trees, flowers, and homes through the Indian and Chinese drawing styles.

Moreover, in regards to the distinctions between the Kardri and Zhungdri (*gzhung bris*) styles, the details of the Kardri are that faces and eyes are small, and thus, they have a peaceful countenance. In the Zhungdri style, the faces and eyes are large and are a little wrathful. Based on this, the biography of the eighth Karmapa Mikyö Dorjé lacks clear details on painting styles. However, when the tenth Chöying Dorjé was young, he could draw well. Trülku Tsering of Lhodrak Chukhyer studied the old Mendri system.

Based on the advice Lumé previously received from Sitang in Tibet, there were ten types of tangkha painting known as Yerpa Rawama, the reclining form of Avalokiteśvara, and the ten types of systems brought by the sixteen superior Sthavira monks, known as Chim Namkha in Nartang; there were many such drawing styles. He stayed for a long while in Jangyül near China and so forth, and there are accounts that he practiced a tradition of drawing close to the Chinese style. He was invited by Gyelrong Tsako Gyelpo and celebrated the New Year of the Year of the Dragon in Bogangkar. At that time, this lord said, “Poetry and painting did not come to Tibet before me. I am a person who takes joy in Avalokiteśvara. I came to this world to draw.”¹⁵¹ He was asserted to be an expert in drawing; texts proving that other people practiced the Karma Gardri (*sgar bris*) or Kardri (*kar bris*) style have not emerged. I think one is able to become certain that he introduced this tradition.

Chöying Dorjé’s reputation was established by the paintings of Milarepa Dorjé and the five life-increasing deities (*tshe ring mched lnga*) that were at the Nyidé Monastery in Lhodrak and are presently at Tibet House in Delhi. I have seen the peerless Kardri style paintings of the series of eighty adepts that are the basis of worship of Pawo Rinpoché in Nenang. It is possible to distinguish it from the Menluk style imme-

diately based upon the open spaces in those paintings, the many valleys, mountains, and forests, the extremely detailed gold designs, and most importantly, the bright green and bright white colors.

When the omniscient Jamyang Zhepa founded the great Trashigomang Monastery in Trashikyil, Domé, stone masons, carpenters, and experts in the construction of religious objects were sent by the central government as a blessing; there was one among them named Dechen Sangngak Kharpe Tsepel. He spread the Menluk style of drawing throughout the Ripgong region of Domé Amdo. There are accounts of how Tenpa Dargyé became famous for his drawing of the master Jatang Tsokdruk Rangdröl and how during the ninth Dalai Lama's time, he became known as Gurkhuwön in Ngapa and Gulok Domé. In the intervening period, many famous painters emerged such as Lubum Geshé in Sikkim, Chokro Nekhyungpa of Gyantsé, Zurchong Uchen Zamdong Kelzang of Lhasa, Kedung Udzé, Paklhé Könnyer Yeshé Gyatso Galingshar Peljor, Peljor Gyelpo, Purbu Lhazo of Chamdo, Tsepak Lhaso, and so forth. One will come to understand the proportions of drawings of bodies by examining the *Collected Works* of Jangdak Panam Gyel Drakzang, Desi Sangyé Gyatso, Jonangpa Tāranātha, Situ Chökyi Jungné, Kongtrül Yönten Gyatso, and so forth.

I wonder if the two-story image of Vairocana Buddha at Nedong Jasa commissioned by the sovereign Ösung is the best alloy image made in Tibet.¹⁵² I do not know the name of the person who caste this image. However, there is a traditional explanation that the place where it was cast was a hearth and foundry at a mountain behind Sheldrak.

The style used in the tombs of figures in the Kadampa School was introduced from northeast India during the time of Atiśa (982–1054). Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné's^{cb} direct disciple, Chenngawa Tsültrimbar constructed a jeweled stūpa modeled on Atiśa's small stūpa. Many Nepali and Tibetan artisans were summoned and countless Kadampa tombs were constructed of alloys. When small images of Buddha and the bodhisattvas are piled up in one place, it is called "Rideu Tsamong." There have been many other people who built sacred objects. Gompa Tsültrim Nyingpo built the golden Trashigomang resting place for Jé Gompöwa as well as many-storied Kadampa tombs. Similarly, gold and silver Trashigomang stūpas were built at Nartang, Tel Monastery, Drigungtel, and so forth. There were also many alloy castings of the

^{cb} Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné was Atiśa's direct disciple.

great Subduer [Buddha] and Kadampa tombs with rings fashioned of molten iron on the shoulders and lotus-petal ornamentations on the base. These details can be seen from a great distance.

Karma Pakṣi or Chökyi Lama (1206–1283) took brass and copper from Ram Pasang Khung. The so-called deity-maker Penyül Pakṣi built the great deity of Tsurpu, an ornament for the world, measuring ten hand spans in height. Tropu Lotsāwa Jampé Pelzang built an eighty cubit golden image of Maitreya, and Künga Trashi Pelzang built the seventy-five cubit golden image of Maitreya. Moreover, except for briefly mentioning the great Maitreya image at Drepung, the mere sight of which bestows liberation, the Conqueror Maitreya Tēpgülma, and the images at Lap, Sershül, Litang, Katok, Ba, and so forth, I allude to the images of the great Subduers, Maitreya, and so forth that are between one and four or five stories high. Thus, it is not possible to raise them higher.

During the time of Jé Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), there were many Tibetan craftsmen, including a deity-maker named Trülku Leu Chungpa. They did not introduce innovations in the proportions or sizes of images; according to the advice of Jé Tamjé Khyenpa, Śāripūtra and the son of Brahmā Eḍa asked Buddha about the size of the letters, and in the first chapter of the *Tantra on the Vows of Samvara*, he was asked about the proportion of deities. The Indian commentary on that text was determined by Ratnarakṣita. The size of deities from the *Tantra of the Glorious Red and Black Yamāntakas* is used as a basis. The primary images of Ganden Yangpajen were the contemplative images of Tupa Tsültrima and the thirty-two gods of Guhyasamāja, the maṇḍala of the sixty-two deities of the glorious Cakrasaṃvara, the self-arisen clay images, and the beautiful immeasurable gold and copper alloy images of tutelary deities such as the rainbow colored Hero Kandakapa, Buddha, and bodhisattvas.¹⁵³ According to the orders of Ngorchen Künga Zangpo (1382–1456), Dakpo Gyeltsen Pel presented gifts; the expert deity-maker Trülku Taktsewa made the marvelous Jowo image of Tinggyé, and Rapten Künzang Pak presented gifts. Trülku Taktsewa created many marvelous beautiful objects, such as alloy images and tombs.

Moreover, there are the gold and copper images, contemplative images, tombs, and so forth within Ganden Serdung Rinpoché and in the various Sakya, Nyingma, Kagyü, and Drukpa monasteries, all of the marvelous and pricelessly bejeweled multi-storied golden reliquaries of the series of Dalai Lamas, including the Golden Reliquary [of the fifth Dalai Lama], the single ornament for the world in the great Potala Palace, and Gelek Döjō. Similarly, there are the silver reliquaries of the

series of Paṇchen Lamas in Trashī Lhünpo Monastery and so forth, particularly that of the sixth Paṇchen Lama Chökyi Nyima (1885–1937). The seven-story image of the great Maitreya is known as the largest golden statue in the eastern world. Finally, there is the greatest golden image in Dokham and Tömé, the five-story image of the Great Maitreya built by Khyentsé Jamyang Chökyi Lodrö of Dzongsar.

Many of the most skilled craftsmen of Tibet emerged from Döjō Pelkhyil in Lhasa, Gyeltsen in Zhikatsé, Tsedong, Chamdo in Dotö, Dzatö, and Dergé; these works are the products of these superior craftsmen. Similarly, the skilled sculptor Trülku Dzingkhawa of Yartö lived during the time of the first Dalai Lama Gendün Drupa (1391–1474). Trülku Hordarwa and Epa Bakdro lived during the time of the great fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso (1617–1682); these were among the many artists skilled in making clay images and contemplative images. Through cutting and sewing variously colored silk, brocade, sewn offering objects, silk ornaments, and so forth were made, like nectar for the eyes.

Because the tradition of writing scriptures in gold and light paper by hand became widespread in Tibet in the past, the temples of Daklha Gampo, Densa Tel, Radreng, Taklung, Sakya, Nartang, and Riwoché wrote on blue paper with gold ink. Also, the five precious substances of gold, silver, turquoise, coral, and conch were mixed in ink used to write on blue paper. There are many hundreds of thousands of bundles of pages from the Buddhist and commentarial canons that are written in ink mixed with vermilion on composite paper. There is a traditional explanation that although an outer wall might be destroyed, it is not possible to destroy a wall of Buddhist scriptures. For example, the Lap Shedrup Dargyeling alone has eight thousand scriptures written in white; they are wrapped in cloth with the five ornaments in old silk, with wooden boards on both sides, a string tying them together, and an ornamental flap hanging off the end. This custom of writing scriptures became extremely widespread.

During the time of the omniscient Jé Lozang Drakpa in the past, patrons inscribed scriptures on woodblocks in order to avoid their being lost. As this practice spread, Buddha's scriptures and most of the treatises of Indian and Tibetan paṇḍitas, adepts, and scholars were rendered in woodblocks. Gendün Chöpel said that it is known that there is no other place where there are more woodblocks than in Tibet.¹⁵⁴ All those who are interested in the religion and history of our land praise this development with one voice. Most people who were skilled in writing

and woodcarving in that time are known to have come from Nyemo, E, and the Dergé region. In dependence upon that, special schools were founded in E and Nyemo where woodcarving was taught. These people were given the ranks of Tapden and Drungtok.

Since the practice of drinking tea was introduced to Tibet during the time of Jé Düsong Mangjé (680), drinking vessels were made of such materials as Tibetan Dartsé porcelain.¹⁵⁵ There are accounts that subsequently Tibetan porcelain was manufactured in Dranang, Chonggyé Tangpoché, and so forth. The Chinese consort Princess Wencheng Gongzhu introduced the goat hair blanket to Tibet; thereby, thick types of woolen blanket, blankets woven of long animal hair, and blankets made of coarse goat hair became widespread throughout Tibet. However, special items were also made; good quality flannel from Tsetang, poor quality from Yakden, woolen material, serge, soft wool, woven wool from places in the south like Döl, high quality wool from Gyantsé, and items made of the long and short hair of a yak from the northern region. Carpets (*grum ze*) came from Wangden; subsequently they were called by a new name, “drum” (*grum*).¹⁵⁶

There was a tremendous increase in the practice of these crafts throughout Ü Tsang. During the time of Tibet’s King Trisong Detsen and Muné Tsenpo, a regiment of the Tibetan army spent many years in Shiya and Tazik. As there were extensive trade, cultural, and political relations, from that time, carpets, tents with the design of a dog’s nose, a design with dragon’s on the corners, and the practice of making designs with red felt from Sé Rinchentsé became widespread. Subsequently, under the sovereign Relpachen, many skilled technicians were summoned from Liyül (Yarkhyen);¹⁵⁷ thereby, those practices were improved and they were augmented by Mongolian and Chinese designs.

Similarly, small bells, wind chimes, and cast copper objects were introduced from Jora, stone pottery, wooden trays, and lacquered cups for barley came from Dakpo, pottery came from the Pentak region, Nau, and so forth, materials for woodblock printing, clay-based incense, and wooden-soled shoes from Nyemo, paper from Dakpo, Kyemtong, Gyantsé, Chiplung, Nyemo, and so forth, ladels, basins, and planks from Lhodrak Temple and the Sengdzong region, cups and saddles from Tsona, felt from Sé Rinchentsé, and coarse spoons from Dotö-Chartreng. There were also musical instruments made of gold, silver, copper, iron, and so forth from Dergé,¹⁵⁸ as well as bells, hand cymbals, and big cymbals, and such things as knives, armor, and helmets. Likewise, offering objects and various necessary requisites came from

Lhasa, Zhikatsé, Chamdo, and so forth. Various sorts of leather goods such as leather bags, Chinese boxes, horse feed, shoes, and tack were manufactured in the Gong region. A whole series of common and uncommon techniques were developed for making incense at Lhasa Zhöl Pödungkhang, Drachi Mindröling, Panam Gawadong, Shang Ganden Chökhör, and Nyemo Gyelché Monastery.

These days, various sorts of articles are manufactured in dependence upon technical knowledge in the world. Because of the extreme rarity of hand-made goods, things made in Tibet are presently valued in foreign lands. Thus, it is extremely important that each person's traditional knowledge should be restored where they have declined and increased where they have not declined.

Organization of the Government

In 1642, the Water-Horse Year of the eleventh sexagenary cycle (1627–1686), the Tibetan Ganden Podrang government came into existence. From then until 1959, the Earth-Pig Year of the sixteenth sexagenary cycle (1927–1986), when the Chinese Communists forcibly attacked, the protector Dalai Lama was the lord of both the religious and political spheres of the government of the entirety of Tibet, the leader of our country, and the embodiment of highest authority. When a Dalai Lama would die for the benefit of others, then a lama selected from the highest incarnate lamas or the throne holder of Ganden Monastery would serve as regent of the entire population of Tibet. The regent (*rgyal tshab* or *sde srid*) would perform all of the duties in both religious and political affairs, just like the Dalai Lama, until the new incarnation of the Dalai Lama could take over responsibility. It seems that the regent had the same necessities as the government. There is some doubt as to whether he later took money for expenses and also received a salary in addition.

If the most important elements of the government are considered to be a body, then the cabinet would be like the spinal column or the eye of the entire sphere of living beings. The cabinet had one monk cabinet minister and three lay cabinet ministers. On important occasions, the abbot with general responsibilities as the Dalai Lama's personal attendant would meet with the cabinet at the same rank as the cabinet ministers. Otherwise, he was the head of the monastic office for religious affairs and the Dalai Lama's personal affairs. He also served as

the manager of the government's forests. Reports about decisions of all civil and military, domestic and foreign matters were made to the cabinet; the cabinet ministers would confer with each other and then on the important matters, they would consult with the Dalai Lama or the regent. On other issues, they had authority to make decisions.

More recently, another important duty of the cabinet ministers was to investigate and provide guidance on law cases and on arrangements concerning government officials, including appointments to civil and military posts, domestic and foreign offices, and to districts. Also, when critical issues would arise, such as the emergence of an epidemic, the Drungtsi^{cc} would confer. Also through them, issues were put to the Tibetan national assembly when a situation became extreme. In some matters, the cabinet ministers cooperated and made improvements; they also had special portfolios in foreign, domestic, military, and economic affairs.

There were four senior monk officials in the Potala Secretariat Office with general responsibility over all monastic affairs; they determined who should fill monastery posts throughout Tibet, the large and small religious offices, and the monk offices in the government, as well as the steward's offices in the districts. There is a tradition whereby the oldest of the four is given the rank of Tā Lama.

There were four accounting officials in the Treasury Office who had general responsibility over lay government officials; they performed detailed calculations on the income in various districts all over the country, in grain, dairy products, and so forth. They performed studies among the people on their produce. They also made suitable arrangements in most economic matters, in the collections and distributions of resources, in storage, and reserves. Finally, they determined the new lay officials.

In the past, officials in the Treasury Office had tremendous responsibilities in effecting a beneficial increase in the resources of the various regions. Those practices were of enormous importance in accordance with the time. However, in the meanwhile, all the tsipöns became involved in extra work. Land and grain taxes would be due and people would make private deals. Thus, the traditional tax rolls became a farce. In fact, there was no accountability.

^{cc} As outlined below, the Drungtsi (*drung rtsis*) is a committee consisting of the four monk secretaries (*drung yig*) and the four lay accountants (*rtsis dpon*).

The four khendrungs and the four tsipöns always took up their individual duties. However, in matters of importance for the welfare of the government, the eight-member Drungtsi committee had to go to the cabinet together. It was like the leadership of the entire Tibetan National Assembly, and it served as a bridge between the Dalai Lama, prime minister, and the cabinet on the one hand and the Tibetan National Assembly on the other. Sometimes, it was like a messenger, and at other times, it was a mechanism through which the cabinet could distance itself from dangerous initiatives.^{cd} In fact, I think it is possible to think of it as the political pillar of the government upholding the cabinet.

Specially recognized citizens make up the Tibetan National Assembly. As for the selective make-up of the Tibetan National Assembly, there are about sixty members including the eight-member Drungtsi, representatives of the greater and lesser ranks of monk officials called khendé, representatives [with ranks] of dzasak, Tā Lama, and taiji, representatives of fourth-ranking civil and military lay officials, representatives from various offices of the government, the abbots of Drepung and Sera monasteries, representatives of Ganden Monastery, and general representatives of the monk and lay attendants of the Dalai Lama. There are no opposition groups.

Full complements of the Tibetan National Assembly or the Greater Tibetan National Assembly has approximately five or six hundred members, including the retired Ganden Tripa, the Dalai Lama's junior and senior tutors, the Chöjés of Ganden Shartsé and Ganden Jangtsé, the lamas and incarnations of the great assembly from Hotoktu, the retired abbots and officials of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, the abbots of the tantric colleges of upper and lower Lhasa, the leader of the Drepung Palace, and the head of the Sera Monastery residence. Also included were prominent government officials such as the cabinet ministers, the Dalai Lama's personal attendant and the eight-member Drungtsi committee. The remainder were monk and lay government officials, whether their office related to civil or military functions, including regimental commanders and secretaries; in addition, there were the monastery stewards of such places as Mezhi,¹⁵⁹ the great figures of

^{cd} The phrase being employed is that it was like using tongs when the hands were being burned (*lag pa tsha dus rkam pa lta bu*).

Ü Tsang, and the civilian leaders of Trashī Lhünpo, Markham, Dzora, Sangpu, Dergé, and Chapdrak.

Besides notifying the full complement of the Tibetan National Assembly of the time and place of important sessions, there was no way to appoint representatives, and so forth. Since the complete assembly always had to confer on the important matters before the government, there was a place where large groups of assembly members decided matters. There was no tradition of electing these representatives by general acclaim. There also was no way to alter all of the representatives at one time. Sometimes, it was necessary to remove some particular representatives, appointing others in their place. In that case, the monastic Secretariat Office and the lay Treasury Office would analyze the actual facts, presenting their findings to the cabinet. The cabinet in turn would consider whether the changes were necessary and present their recommendations to the Dalai Lama, who would make the actual appointments.

Those assembly representatives prepared meeting agendas beforehand for all matters except politics, the welfare and happiness of the government and the people, how to bring about progress in various regions, and so forth. The reason for making the agenda was that without it, mistakes might be made, and no one would be willing to point them out. People would, however, be willing to speak out about the progress of a region without criticism. If somebody expressed direct criticism toward the government, then that person seems to have been regarded as a reactionary or as someone who wishes ill [on the government]. Even with respect to what is included in the agenda, due to their limited experience, people found it difficult to express themselves on international affairs with respect to which they were not absolutely certain.

Relying on the political situation of Tibet's close neighbors, India, China, Nepal, Bhutan, and so forth, very few people are able to understand the benefits and harms that have come to our land. Having gone to these countries, relations were established; yet texts about the history of these relations, about the borders, and the resulting treaties are like a treasure under the ground; consequently, these things were not studied, due to which it became difficult to explain them. In addition, if we take our country as an example, many people who have reached high rank understand the details of the situation in our country. However, they are afraid of how their own status might change, and so they are cautious, engaging in calculating speech that does not harm or benefit anyone. Only a few people, like the retired Regent Lukhangpa, aban-

doned caution. Most of the assembly representatives blew with the prevailing wind. Perhaps there were assembly representatives in our country who did not really understand how politics worked. Also, if someone wanted to benefit themselves, then without specifying that, they would sometimes hint at some harm that might come to religion [as a pretext for achieving their objective]. In that case, there is no doubt that monastic members would suppress it.¹⁶⁰

As for the duties of the Tibetan National Assembly, it was necessary for them to meet to execute whatsoever duties they have. However, the cabinet raised issues with the National Assembly through the Drungtsi or else issues could be raised between the cabinet and the Drungtsi. Since the Drungtsi conferred with the National Assembly, the representatives gave detailed deliberations to issues that were raised. The consensus provisions were recorded in a statement which would be impressed with the seals of the three representatives of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries and the general seal of the senior and junior government officials. The Drungtsi would then present it to the cabinet. The cabinet considered it in detail, and if they approved it, then it would be presented to the Dalai Lama. He would grant his permission, and the work would be done.

Alternatively, if the cabinet had any suggestions for changes in the proposal, they would critique it, amend it, and present a report to the Dalai Lama; he would issue a proclamation determining which changes would be accepted. Once again, the proclamation would be announced to the National Assembly. Thus, when everyone agreed to the suggestions, the words of the proclamation would be changed and the people who changed it would impress their seal upon it. If the assembly representatives did not agree with the proclamation, then it would be blocked, and the previous proclamation would be accepted. Other than this, there was no tradition of making changes in the National Assembly's proposals.

However, on some occasions a consensus among the representatives could not be reached. Thus, when there were difficulties in coming to a decision, they would vote, reaching a decision agreeable to the majority. At other times, if there were problems in reaching a decision on some important political matter, then the choice would be decided by performing a divination with a protector deity or seeking a prophecy from the Nechung Oracle, the Gadong Oracle, and so forth. Since the protectors of religion see the past, present, and future clearly, it is not possible for them to be deceived. Although they can discern what

is right and wrong, [government officials] do not want to accept the blame. Thus, they want to wash their hands of the responsibility, and so they [consult the oracles]. When the oracles expressed an opinion that did not agree with the National Assembly's determination, then the Drungtsi made the determination.

For a moment, I will write a little based on my own personal experience. These days, the Tibetans at home and those in exile have suffered terrible hardships, being seen as lowly and unreliable. In such a context, among the many progressive young people who have grown up, those patriotic and courageous people are abandoning faulty customs from the past, maintaining the good practices from the past, and adopting good qualities from the advanced world in reliance upon a true and good path. Since the necessity of continuing in this way is of the utmost importance, I have written this aside as an exhortation.

Aside from those offices mentioned above, there were various permanent committees related to political, economic, and other matters of the government: the Foreign Affairs Office, the Military Governor's Office, the Office of Electrical Production, the Office of Improvements, the Telegraph Office, the Law Office, the Granary Office, the Potala Protocol Office, the Treasury of the Monastic Estates, the Military Paymaster, the Welfare Office, the Revenue Office, the Investigating Office, Agriculture Office, the Tea and Salt Taxation Office, Court Office, the Office of Loan Interest, the Office of Religious Endowments, the Office of Processions, the Postmaster, the Stables, the Office of Construction, Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute, the Potala Storehouse, the Lhasa Storehouse, the Zhöl Steward, the Judge's Office, the Prayer Office, the standing committee of Nepali-Tibetan relations, the Barley Loan Office, the Grass Steward, the Wood Steward, the Office in Charge of Books, the Office in Charge of Ceremonial Requisites, the Office in Charge of Production, the Plant Office, the Office in Charge of the Welfare of Retired Officials, the Office in Charge of Payroll and Income, and so forth. There are many large and small offices involved with customary and special expenditures. There are also many departments under each of those.

Some officials had a lesser ranks and no offices in which to do their work. Most of the responsibilities and functionaries of those offices are included under the cabinet and the monk officials. The Potala Secretariat Office and the Dalai Lama's personal attendant who is included under it presented proposals to the Dalai Lama. Sometimes, the functionaries of the various offices would make suitable arrangements themselves and

present their appeals through the cabinet. There were also many cases where the officials or functionaries of those offices had ranks, certain status, and participated in monk and lay joint committee. Those were the groups of departments within the government.

As for the governor-generals and districts, there were seven: Domé, Janggyü, Tsang, Lho, Tö, Kongpo, and Pentak governor-generals. There were a tremendous number of district commanders, managers, stewards, leaders, customs official, and so forth under each of them. Like neatly arranged feathers, there were also important figures, secretaries, elders, and so forth from the governmental, private, and religious spheres under each of them.

As for the ranks of the various figures, the Dalai Lama Rinpoché was not included in the rankings since he was the highest. The regent (*rgyal tshab srid skyong*), the desi, and the prime minister were of the first rank. The second rank included high level government officials such as the cabinet ministers, the abbot with general responsibilities as the Dalai Lama's personal attendant, and the Dalai Lama's father. The Dzasak, Gung, Tā Lama, Taiji, Kuchar Darhen, and so forth made up the third rank. Khendé Chechung, Pokpön, Tsipön, Dapön, Rimzhi, and their sons were fourth ranking officials. The offices that made up the fifth rank are those who attend to the Dalai Lama, the regent, and the prime minister, those in charge of books and ceremonial requisites, the leadership of the Lhasa and Zhöl Steward's Office, the upper and lower storehouse, the grain offices, the court leaders, the postmaster, production and plant officials, and so forth. The sixth rank consisted of the Dalai Lama's groom, secretaries, scribes of the cabinet, accountants, the barley, grass, and wood stewards, and those who achieved special skills in the crafts. The remaining monk and lay officials, the military regiment commanders, and so forth made up the seventh rank. Likewise there were also higher and lower ranks even within the districts. There were also petty kings on the border, the regional leaders, permanent leaders, government official seats that were hereditary, and many nominal offices people had only during their life.

There were limitless ranks and gradations among the attendants of all-seeing Panchen Rinpoché, Sakya Daktri, Ganden Tri Rinpoché, the Dalai Lama's Senior and Junior Tutors, the three incarnations of Gyeltrül Hotoktu, Hotoktu, and the Karmapa, abbots, and the various incarnate lamas. I have not exhausted this topic.

The greater part of the government's revenue came from land taxes; secondarily, it came from dairy product taxes, forestry taxes, and so

forth. Most of the revenue came in the form of material, while some of it was in the form of money. Most of those revenues were spent for religious purposes; secondarily, it was used to protect the government and the religion. Thereafter, it went to regional progress, health care, communication, salaries for various office holders, and so forth.

As for culture, salaries were always provided for the Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute, the Potala School of Culture, the Döjō Pelkhyil, the Ngotsar Tangdri (Zurchong), and so forth, and scholarships were customarily provided for students from all over who were learning to carve Uchen woodblocks at E and Nyemo. In some districts, except for making modest provisions for students, I have not seen any special measures being made for the enhancement of culture. As most officials' pay was provided by estates, they did not receive large salaries. Subsequently, all of the revenues offered to the government and the payments of grain and silver to the officials were revised so they would be adequate.

Basic Constitution and Documents of the Government

The *Losing a Smile Through Seeing a Straight Line* says:

They do not spoil those of elevated rank,
They also do not forsake kindness toward those of lower status.
Being able to determine what is and is not to be done,
They are the highest reliable leaders.

The all-seeing great fifth Dalai Lama said:

Give earnest advice to the subjects.
Be generous of spirit with respect to minor errors.
Stubborn people who disregard things knowingly
Ought to abandon faults and adopt good qualities mindfully.

Desi Rinpoché said:

Just as the rays of the sun beat [the surface of] the great ocean,
Great compassion becomes angered [at the suffering of people].
Yet, internally [the ocean and the compassionate person] remain cool.
Externally, they protect sentient beings through being resolute.

According to what has been said, during the time of Tibet's King Songtsen Gampo, the actual superior Avalokiteśvara introduced the foundational principles of the ten religious virtues and the sixteen civil purities throughout Tibet. The six Tibetan laws founded on those are as follows: (1) the law of ten thousand points and one hundred thousand

topics, (2) the law of weights and measures, (3) the law establishing the model of the country, (4) the law concerning maintaining stability, (5) the law punishing the guilty, and (6) the law concerning mediation of disputes.¹⁶¹

Moreover, Songtsen Gampo said:

If you praises one who is evil, then both decline.
Arrogant people should not be made lords.
If the heroic are not praised as tigers,
Then there will be no fervor to behave as a hero.

If the intelligent are not praised as literate,
Then in the future, there would be no distinction between the intelligent
and the wicked.

If the good is not praised with a reward,
Then later on, who will behave properly?

If the cowardly fox is not humble,
Then there will be no difference between cowardice and heroism.
If one is not resolute with respect to evil people,
Their minds will not be disciplined at all.

If one does not punish those who commit crimes,
Then they will not discontinue performing misdeeds later on.
If [children] makes their parents suffer [even though they] gave them life,
Then there will be the fear of retribution, now and in the future.

If parents make the child of their own bosom suffer,
Then external enemies will feel yearning.
If someone makes their spouse suffer,
Then their husbandry and farming will diminish from within and without.

King Songtsen Gampo's *Learned Words of Advice* says:¹⁶²

Do not cut the golden yoke of the royal law
With evil behavior.
Do not untie the silk bond of the religious law
With the awl of the five poisons.^{ce}

Do not slash with the knife of malice
The minister who is the cord [binding] the law.
Do not enter the royal treasury of the dominion
With the key of your own desire.
Do not cut the hemp twine of the sixteen civil purities
With chisel of your bad behavior.

^{ce} The five poisons are: desire (*'dod chags*), anger (*zhe sdang*), ignorance (*gti mug*), pride (*nga rgyal*), and jealousy (*phrag dog*).

These are the sources for the legal statutes called the thirty-six necessities which indicate what should be adopted and what should be abandoned for people throughout Tibet.

Thereafter, during the time of the sovereign Trisong Detsen, men's eyes were not taken out and women's noses were not cut off. Tsangchen Mingumpa obeyed the commands of the lord of all beings. The burden of caring for the monks was undertaken by law, by the lord, and his subjects.¹⁶³ It is said that from the time of Muné Tsenpo and Sena Lekjing up to Tri Relpachen, the external subjects were protected like cows and sheep, the internal subjects were trained like grandsons, and those in between were as familiar as blood relations. In this way, the author was conveying that the kingdom of Tibet was happy.

Accordingly, at a conference, the king and his minister, as well as the vital leaders throughout the country, the petty kings, and the military leaders protecting the border were enjoined to swear an oath in order that the legal customs of the ancient ancestors that had not declined could be enhanced; it was inscribed on a stone pillar and left as a gift. In these and other ways, the peerless legal scriptures were modified.

During the time of the glorious Sakya (1249–1354), there was a legal tradition based on the Hor legal practice called the Great and Clear Tibetan Discriminations (*bod kyi phye gsal che mo*); it concerned minor and major customs, the method of taxation through providing transportation and labor, and legal punishments. Thereafter, Tai Situ Jangchup Gyeltsen promulgated a fifteen point legal code.¹⁶⁴ The legal code was supplemented with the following four provisions: (1) the manner of pursuing connections with military troops, (2) the manner in which districts were fortified for defensive purposes, (3) the manner in which responsible officials effect the essential issue of causing people to perform pure actions and abandon those that are impure, and (4) the code which fines murderers one thousand sang. Thereby, people could live peacefully in a calm and happy environment. Thus, an old woman carrying a bar of gold was able to pass from the border of Dakpo down to Dartsedo in peace, without fear of robbers and thieves. Therefore, this came to be called the “time of an old woman carrying gold.” During the time of the Depa of Upper Tsang, a sixteen point code was promulgated with slight modifications of the previous code.

Basing himself on *The Crystal Mirror*, *The Code of the Ancestors*, and *The Garland of Pearls*, the great fifth Dalai Lama modified the legal scriptures. If there was dissatisfaction with a verdict, like there being two versions of the truth, then oaths would be sworn, with protector

deities serving as witnesses. Upon proving the truth of a case, there are also traditions of casting die, using an oiled stone, and other divination methods.

During the time of the Upper Tsang Depa Püntsok Namgyel, Drukchen Ngawang Namgyel and Trülku Paksam Wangpo wrote a letter, the main purpose of which was to set forth the legal uses of the oiled stone method.¹⁶⁵ During the lifetime of the great fifth Dalai Lama, the oiled stone practice was introduced at Sangngak Chöling and Gongkar Dechen Chökhörwa; the histories say that those versed in the secret doctrines did not reveal it.¹⁶⁶ More recently, during the tenure of Regent Radreng, the wife and son of Dergé's king cast die in consulting the glorious Lhamo.

As for punishments, previously criminals were executed in both western and eastern countries depending upon the extent of their crimes. Their senses were impaired or limbs were cut off. People were punished on their backs. Criminals were imprisoned for life or for a certain period of time. They were exiled for life without the possibility of returning or they were sent to land they owned. Valuables were seized by the government or they were fined certain quantities of gold. There were many different sorts of punishments. However, these forms of punishment were later discontinued in all parts of the world. In accordance with the times, there have also been legal reforms in Tibet. During the time of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, many sorts of changes were gradually introduced in such practices as the execution of criminals. Beyond that, some wicked customs that are regarded as appealing elsewhere do not appear in Tibetan histories; these include the custom of binding women's feet, a man having relations with his wife's servant, or a wife being burned along with her husband's corpse.

Also, the Drepung Monastery Disciplinarian acts to uphold the laws of the city during Lhasa's two prayer assemblies. Being as it is slightly different from the general state of affairs, he has authority over everyone, monk or lay person, strong or weak, as though it were martial law. It is proclaimed everywhere that he has taken over the reigns of law. Through the duration of the prayer assemblies, it is forbidden to play drums or blow horn in the city. Horses, mules, dogs, birds, and so forth may not be kept. Large and small bells may not be put on horses, mules, or dogs. Cow or horse dung may not be collected or saved in houses or corrals. It is forbidden for women to go to the Tsuklakhang or the market without wearing hair adornments and their head ornaments. The hay and firewood merchants, the horse markets, the nomad

markets, and so forth may not operate as they ordinarily do. Many such prohibitions are set forth during these assemblies.

However, whether someone is rich or poor, every time they ask if they can do something, they must give a coin away. If they ask to do something, everyone will say they can do it. No one may conduct legal cases. Interest must be paid up and losses abandoned. If similar disputes arise thereafter, then without suffering a protracted lawsuit, the case is decided immediately, like touching something cold after something hot. With respect to the foreigners who live in Lhasa permanently, various cases have come about wherein they completely disregarded the local laws. However, all during these assemblies, peace is maintained. The reason for this is that when there is no reliance upon the monastic code, then there are serious questions as to how this disregard will affect the oceanic gathering of monks; in this way, there is fear about the extent of the storm that would erupt following such violations.

As a consequence of the forcible attack on Tibet and the gradual subversion of our laws by the Chinese Communists, the great fourteenth Dalai Lama suffered difficulties in going into exile in the Land of the Superiors, India. Nearly one hundred thousand Tibetan monks and lay people have also gone to India and Nepal as refugees. Thus, these days, our legal practices are in agreement with those of advanced nations, and we have compiled our own seventy-seven point Tibetan constitution for the future relationship between the religious and political spheres.^{cf} It was proclaimed in 1963, the Water-Rabbit year of the sixteenth cycle; it is like protecting and offering respect to ideal behavior.

Holidays and Celebrations^{c§}

As for the preservation of our holidays and the practice of our celebrations, there are many different customs in all parts of Tibet. Thus, it would be difficult to describe each of them here. However, I will just

^{cf} On March 10, 1963, four years after the uprising that had compelled the Dalai Lama to escape to India, a reorganized government-in-exile approved a draft of the constitution. For a description of these events see John F. Avedon, *In Exile from the Lands of Snows* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 106–109. For a copy of the constitution, see <http://www.tibetjustice.org/materials/tibet/tibet2.html>.

^{c§} Tsepa Rikzin, *Festivals of Tibet* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993) provides excellent detail on these and many other traditional celebrations.

recount what I recall of those governmental and non-governmental holidays in a single year in the capital, Lhasa.

There were ceremonies at the Potala Palace on the first day of the first month, called the lama's New Year, and the second day, called the king's New Year. The people of Lhasa each celebrated the New Year in a fashion corresponding to their own economic condition. On the third day, incense was burned at the Nechung Oracle Monastery and New Year's was completed behind the castle. On that same day, the great banner of Ganden Monastery was hoisted. Incense was burned upon all of the homes and the monks of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries go to the Great Prayer Festival. From that day on, for three weeks, the two disciplinarians of Drepung Monastery took charge of the laws of Lhasa.

On the fifteenth day, a ceremony was held called the Fifteenth Day Offering; elaborately decorated butter sculptures were arrayed all around the circumambulation route. The Dalai Lama and his ministers went to view the offerings at the prepared places. The offerings were judged and rewards are given. The public danced and sang before the offerings throughout the night. The Propitiation Ceremony was held at the Lubuktang camp on the twenty-second day, where a cavalry camp is arranged. On the twenty-third, the cavalry was inspected at Drapzhitang wearing their armor. On the twenty-fourth, a rite was performed in which ceremonial cakes were offered in an effort to overcome enemies; this was held at Pendé Leksheling and Drepung's tantric monastic college. A gathering, consisting of the ceremonial military leaders, the cavalry, and private attendants, was held to offer the cakes.¹⁶⁷ Maitreya was invited on the twenty-fifth day, and competitions were held, including hoisting heavy stones, throwing, and horse racing. On the twenty-sixth day, a competition was held behind the castle called the Zharpen. An archery contest was held to mark the conclusion of the Prayer Festival on the twenty-seventh. In the past, there were many marvelous ceremonies.

The Great Offering Ceremony of Purification, marking the death of the great fifth Dalai Lama lasted for ten days, from the twentieth day of the second month. On the twenty-ninth day, the members of Sangngak Jangchup Ling Monastery were sent by Gyelpo Tsedö. Finally, there was a great monastic procession on the thirtieth day.¹⁶⁸ The eighth day of the third month was an occasion of offering tormas to Pel Göñ Toptrok Wangpo at the Potala Palace; the government officials would change into their summer costumes. Throughout the fourth month,

on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the Hor calendar, the Saga Dawa ceremony is celebrated. People perform religious devotions, such as taking a one-day vow, a fasting vow, and so forth. The fifteenth was an especially important day because of a coincidence of three special events, the birth of our teacher, the compassionate conqueror of Śākya,¹⁶⁹ his complete enlightenment, and his parinirvāṇa (i.e., his death); various virtuous actions are undertaken, offerings are made to the Precious Jewels, prostrations are offered, wealth given is purified, humble food is given, criminals are freed from prison, and so forth. On the way around the circumambulation route, hide boats are launched at the Lukhang House behind the castle. Songs, dances, games, and so forth are performed. On that day, many people from Lhasa and the surrounding areas meet on the plain for the Flower Offering Ceremony.

On the tenth day of the fifth month, many people from Lhasa and the surrounding areas meet at Yerpa Lhari to celebrate the birth of the second Buddha Padmasaṃbhava. The World Purification Day is celebrated on the fifteenth day of the fifth month;¹⁷⁰ the local deities are invoked in their temples within Lhasa, and ceremonies were performed in all the parks on the banks of the Tsangpo River. Tents, tea houses, and rest houses were also erected. Nutritious foods were enjoyed, songs performed, and various sorts of pleasing music were played; this was an occasion when the happiness of the local gods was outshone.

On the fourth day of the sixth month, offerings were made to the supreme objects of worship in commemoration of the time when the compassionate teacher [Buddha] turned the wheel of religion at Varanasi, teaching the doctrine of the Four Noble Truths.^{ch} In particular, the people of Lhasa and the surrounding areas went to Drepung Monastery, Sera Monastery, and the mountain retreats. When they returned, they wore ornaments made of rose seeds and citrus. People then sang, danced, and performed dramas.

The Yogurt Festival was celebrated at the Norbu Lingkha Kelzang Palace for four days, beginning with the first day of the seventh month.¹⁷¹

^{ch} According to traditional accounts, after achieving enlightenment at Bodhgaya, Buddha journeyed to Sarnath near Varanasi where he instructed his former traveling companions. The first teaching, metaphorically called turning the wheel of religion, concerned the Four Noble Truths: all is suffering, craving leads to suffering, there is a cessation of suffering, and the eightfold noble path leads to that cessation. See Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, V 420–424 translated in Bhikkhu Bodhi, *In the Buddha's Words: An Anthology of Discourses from the Pāli Canon* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2005), 75–78.

Operatic performances of the lives of Buddha and the bodhisattvas were performed, as was the royal history of King Songtsen Gampo. There were even performances within the parks of Lhasa and among the Depön and military people. People on pilgrimage were able to go around according to their own wishes and were not required to pay any fees and so forth.

For a period of ten days beginning with the first day of the eighth month, a celebration preceding the summer retreat was held, along with all of the monk officials.¹⁷² In coordination with the rising of the *riši* stars [i.e., the Pleiades constellation], the public bathed in the Tsangpo River and celebrated. Since the compassionate teacher descended from Tuṣita Heaven on the twenty-second day of the ninth month, offerings were made to the supreme objects of worship on that day. On the fifteenth day of the tenth month, the monks of Meru monastic college called the Pelha Mountain Retreat invited the wrathful form of Pelden Lhamo to the Khor Jangchup route. Ceremonial cakes were caste in the four directions. There was also a custom of the temple stewards, inn keepers, and so forth raising beer in celebration of the glorious gods.

On the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month, there was a celebration marking the death of Jamchen Chöjé Śākya Yeshé, the founder of Sera Tekchenling Monastery. The death of the Conqueror Tsongkhapa Lozang Drakpa at Ganden Yiga Chödzin Monastery was marked on the twenty-fifth. At the same time, the government officials at the Potala Palace put on their winter clothing. In this connection, offerings were also presented at the temples, and people in Lhasa and indeed throughout Tibet light fires as part of the Four Offerings and Five Offerings.

The sixth and seventh days of the eleventh month were called the Aggregation of the Nine Bad Signs;¹⁷³ people would not engage themselves in any great desires. On the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month, the monks from Pendé Leksheling and Meru monastic college perform a ceremony at the Potala Palace in which nine ceremonial cakes were thrown to Garcham, burnt offerings were made to the wrathful deities, and cakes are thrown to the obstructing demons. People in each household consume a soup containing nine substances, called the "nine soup." There was also a custom of paying a ransom for all of the misery of the entire following year.

Usually, reports were made to the government offices on Saturdays and on most of the celebrations mentioned above. Most of them had important religious connotations. These days, it is necessary for the refugees to preserve the memory of the two most important celebrations.

Many people gather together on March 10, called the commemoration of the thirty, to commemorate the Tibetan uprising for independence from the authority of the Chinese Communists. They appeal for methods for achieving the general welfare and work to be effective in the struggle for independence. There is also an excellent custom marking the birth of His Holiness the fourteenth Dalai Lama on July 6; banners are raised and incense is burned. A service is held to supplicate him to remain alive for a long time.

National Flag

As for the actual flag of the great kingdom of the Lands of Snows with its dual religious and political form of government, it is called the Banner of the Religion or the Banner of Victory over Foes. It has the symbols of three living beings.¹⁷⁴ In dependence upon that, the great thirteenth Dalai Lama presented flags to the different military camps with five different colored banners hanging from the top. Up to the present time, this was the flag of the country, but it was also the flag of the military leader.

As for the flag during the time of Tibet's religious kings, during the reign of the sovereign Songtsen Gampo, the banner of the military leader of Upper and Lower Ü had a red striped flap and a red hero's banner, the Upper and Lower Right Hand Regiment had a red lion banner and a white hero's banner with a black heart, the banner of the Upper and Lower Regiment of Rulak had a lion jumping into the sky and a black hero's banner, the Upper and Lower Left Hand Regiment had a black banner with a garuḍa and a hero's banner dyed yellow, and so forth.¹⁷⁵

During the time of the Sovereign Trisong Detsen, when he led his army into China, the banner of the Tsang Regiment had a white lion jumping into the sky, the banner of the Upper and Lower Rulak Regiment had a white field, the banner of the Right Hand Upper Regiment was like a black lake, the banner of the Right Hand Lower Regiment had a lion on a multi-colored background, and the banner of the Upper Ü Regiment was red with a white flap. The banner of the Lower Ü Regiment had a lion on a black background, the banner of the Left Hand Upper Regiment had two lions facing each other, and the banner of the Left Hand Upper Regiment was ornamented with five colors.¹⁷⁶

Trisong Detsen's son Murup Tsenpo and the Zhang Minister Lha-zang Lupel explained how the initial regimental armies carried a raised

banner to Persia and Dasik in order to protect against enemies to the north; it had the four weapons of King Namsé.¹⁷⁷ A similar raised banner was placed at the objects of worship in Gyantsé's Pökhang Tsokpa. Thus, Kyapjé Yongdzin Dorjé Chang said:

In 1939, I saw [some banners] when I visited the Tsang region during a pilgrimage. The banners of the divine son were called Jangyülma and Jangdrama. One had the eight mounted lords of Namsé Serchen, while the other had the retinue of soldier of Namsé Serchen with a bird's head and many shapes and colors. They carried weapons in their hands and various banners. Otherwise, there were none with the four symbols with a red lance.

The regimental banner during the time of the divine son, Muru Tsenpo, was called Jangyülma and Jangdrama. This is recounted in the great fifth Dalai Lama's *The Good Silk Cloth*.

Subsequently, some histories record that when the armies of the glorious Sakyapa, Pakdru, Rinpong, and Tsang traveled, they had regimental banners, stūpas, and so forth. However, details like the actual colors do not seem to have been recorded with certainty. As for the banners of Gushri Khan's military leaders during the time of the great fifth Dalai Lama, they are generally said to have been stūpas of the red and black protector deities; more recently, the raised banners with stūpas carried by the regimental commanders of the cavalry were red and white. However, since they were originally the objects of worship of Chamsing and Nyenchen Tanglha, the reason for that is clear. This is recorded in the writings of the seventh Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso.

I have heard about Cabinet Minister Lama Jampa Tendar's banner from officials who were there at the time that the officers and troops of the Chinese Manchu Emperor were gradually driven from Tibet in 1913. According to Eric Teichman:¹⁷⁸

[Over the Kalon Lama's residence, a small Tibetan house, floats the banner of Tibet,] a yellow flag bearing a device like a lion in green, with a white snow mountain and a sun and moon in the corner.

In 1918, the Tibetan army was trained in the English style. At the same time, the design of all the banners of the Tibetan military camps was determined. Twelve blue and red sun rays sat upon the peak of a white snow mountain, while a three eyed jewel was held in the paws of a pair of white lions. It had a gold border.

The meaning of the design is explained as follows: to briefly set forth the significance of the flag of the Land of Snows, Mount Kailash, on

which a great deal of snow is piled up, is emblematic of our place in the world. The great lion with turquoise hair, fangs and claws, and five fearless tufts of hair radiating, symbolizes the government which is a union of the two marvelous aspects (i.e., religious and political), fully qualified in the four activities.^{ci} As for the wish-granting jewel in the lions' paws, it is a treasury of all desires that protects the detailed legal system of karma that has come to be the essence of the ten religious virtues and the sixteen point civil code. The valuable jewel, which shines with the nature of light, is carried upon the crown, symbolizing the Three Precious Jewels which is thoroughly beautified with the twenty-four supreme qualities.

As for the certainty of the number of stripes as twelve and the colors as red and blue, from a distance, the activities of the pair of red and black superior protectors of religion are absolutely immovable. Since the living beings who were the original inhabitants of Tibet are separated into six tribes, there are twelve groups when those six are further distinguished into the two, inner and outer. In brief, they are definite as the two, inner and outer. The flag, completely covered with strips of material like rays of lights, has the appearance of benefit and happiness radiating in the ten directions. The gold brocade border symbolizes the golden crown of Vajradhāra, whose doctrine increases in all ways. The vajra weapon held aloft signifies that the protector deities, whose wrathful action flash like lightning, pervade the earth and sky. Thus, it is a symbol that the religious and political character of Tibet will always be preserved.¹⁷⁹

In 1931 and 1932, the Dalai Lama's bodyguard and the Tibetan army respectively were given banners; each of the banners had a lotus and vajras crossed on a sharp sword, with five colored victory banners hanging. I heard that the commentary on the national flag had been reproduced subsequently, and so I sent a request to Dharamsala asking that I be given a copy. However, I was told that at present it was unfitting for the Gangkyi Library to issue a commentary on the national flag, and so it has not been issued. While I have been searching here and there, I have found one printed by Tarchin La.^{cj} It says:¹⁸⁰

^{ci} The four activities are the four general areas of government: politics, economics, taxation, and the military.

^{cj} Likely, this is Tarchin Babu, the publisher of the newspaper in Kalimpong, India called the *Tibetan Mirror*.

Mount Kailash, on which snow flakes are piled up, is set up in the Land of Tibet which is surrounded by snowy mountains. The proud one, which is possessed of turquoise fur, fangs and claws, and five luminous and fearless tufts, represents the government that is a union of religion and politics. The joyous sphere, the wish-fulfilling jewel in the lions' paws is a treasury of limitless benefit and happiness, protecting the subtle law of karma which is the essence of the ten religious virtues and the sixteen point civil code. The natural brightness, which has the nature of light radiating from a priceless jewel, signifies the highest respect for the three valuable aspects of the Protector Precious Jewel which are thoroughly beautified by the four proximate supreme qualities.

The banner strips must be red and blue to signify that from afar, the activities of the supreme red and black protector of the religion are immovable. They are twelve in number because twelve tribes split off from the six original tribes of Tibet. The pervasiveness of the rays of the rising sun signifies that all beings are protected by the splendor of the happiness of freedom. The trim of gold brocade signifies the golden crown of Vajradhāra whose doctrine spread everywhere. The five colored victory banner signifies that the government possessed of one hundred joy raises higher the banner of victory higher in all direction. The sword, lotus, and the crossed vajras symbolized the three ancestral religious kings, who came from the uninterrupted lineage of the protector's incarnation.^{ck} The globe on the straight flagpole signifies the rectitude of the royal law that shows what to adopt and what to abandon without error. Finally, the knot of white silk is a superior symbol representing the tenderness of the religious law. This is the natural elucidation of the meaning of the flag.

The explanations of the manner in which the great religious and political kingdom of the land of the snows triumphed in all ways and the manner in which Tibet and its residents arose is now complete.

Notes to Chapter One

1. Gendün Chöpel, *White Annals, Dynastic History of the Political System of Greater Tibet*, 3-ba-1. See Samten Norboo's translation, Gedun Choephel, *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 22.

2. *Collection of Praises in the Nartang Edition of the Commentarial Canon*, vol. Ka, 52-na-2.

^{ck} The Tibetan flag was codified under the thirteenth Dalai Lama as part of his efforts to demonstrate Tibetan independence. The symbolic elements were drawn from the ancient past of Tibet, using imagery from regimental insignia, banners, and the like. It seems that there have been some changes in the flag since that time, however, since the five colored victory banner, the sword, lotus, and the crossed vajras no longer appear on the flag.

3. Drukpa Künkhyen Pema Karpo, *Dawning of the Day in which the Lotus of Buddhism Increases, A Religious History*, 17-ba-2.

4. The sala tree (*shing sa la*) is a pine or fir tree from which frankincense comes.

5. Prince Peter, *Anthropological Researches from the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia* (København, Denmark: Munksgaard, 1966), 45–6.

6. Jetsün Milarepa Dorjé, *One Hundred Thousand Songs*, 176-na-1, says that he magically went to the top of Mount Kailash in the eleventh century.

7. The height of Mount Everest is 29,028 feet. Being the highest mountain in the world, it was initially ascended on May 29, 1953 by the Tibetan Sherpa Tenzing Norgay and Sir Edmund Hillary. Thereafter, several people have climbed it. A Japanese woman named Junko Tabei climbed it on May 16, 1975, due to which the first woman reached the peak of Mount Everest in the International Year of the Woman. As a consequence, she was praised by many people and newspapers throughout the world.

8. Drigung Denrap Sozhipa Könchok Tendzin, *White Crystal Mirror, an Explanation of the Sacred Sites of Gangkar Tesé Mountain and Lake Manasarowar*, gives a detailed explanation of the pilgrimages sites of Mount Kailash and Tso Mapam. At 14-na-4, he cites Jetsün Milarepa Dorjé, *One Hundred Thousand Songs*, which says, “The name of the turquoise Lake Mapam is Madrö Tsomo.” These lines were cited also to refute Sapan. Tai Situ Rinpoché Tenpé Nyin-jé’s autobiography, *Stainless Crystal Mirror*, 64-ba-1, does not call it “Tso Mapam”; instead it uses the word Manasarowar, which means, the “supreme mental lake.”

9. The names in parentheses are Mongolian; *nor* (nor) means lake.

10. Karma Tsewang Kunkhyap, *Garland of Moon Crystals, Jewel of the Scholars, Biography of the Precious Lineage of the Karma Kamtsang*, 42-na-2, calls the Brahmaputra River Brahmā’s daughter or Pārvatī; it is said that as it flows, it is always red. Also, Drigung Denrap Sozhipa Könchok Tendzin, *White Crystal Mirror, an Explanation of the Sacred Sites of Gangkar Tesé Mountain and Lake Manasarowar*, calls it Lohita.

11. Tai Situ Rinpoché Tenpé Nyin-jé, *Stainless Crystal Mirror*, 65-ba-2, says that the Kailash spring bestows liberation; this is the Ganga cave. Most Tibetan records and the Indian *Vedas* explain that the Ganges River comes from Mount Kailash. However, Indians hold that the Ganges River comes from Kedarnāth in the Himalaya Mountains.

12. Gold has been found within the sand of the northern branch of the Drichu River. Thus, many Tibetan records refer to it as the Serden River (*gser ldan*), that is, the gold-possessor.

13. See p. 151 below.

14. In this regard, see p. 192 below for a detailed discussion of the stone pillar inscription on the Chongyé Bridge.

15. *Royal Orders*. See also, this volume, p. 198 below for details. In addition, they settled at the Fenhe River in Shanxi, China. Previously, the king’s capital had also been there, and so, he was known as the king of the Pechu River. See Gendün Chöpel, *The White Annals*, 6-na-1.

16. See the inscriptions from the Lhasa stone pillar and the discussion in this volume, p. 148.

17. Yangchen Drupé Dorjé, *Biography of Jé Dharmabhadra, Beautiful Ornament that Reveals the Yellow Hat School*, 14-ba-3, says that even though they are provinces (*chol kha*), if one uses the Tibetan language, then there are three sources (*’byung khung*). One wonders if the convention of using the term *chol kha* doesn’t come from a Mongolian word. I think the White Stūpa is the so-called Shanxi White Stūpa near Longshen. Several people also say it is the Kachu White Stūpa in the Gansu Province.

18. Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, *Fulfilling All Desires: Valuable Treasury of the Sakya Geneology*, 81-ba-1.

19. I have copied this from the orders and notices of the great thirteenth Dalai Lama.

20. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Boat for Crossing the Ocean to the Island of Liberation, Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary*, 66-ba-6.

21. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, Religious History*, vol. Ma, 10-ba-5, and S. W. Bushell, "The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII, 1880, 444.

22. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1961), 27.

23. *Sayings of Ba*. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, Religious History*, vol. Ja, 97-na-1. However, Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Boat for Crossing the Ocean to the Island of Liberation, Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary*, 388-na-1, where it mentions four hundred million magical soldiers. There is a very great difference between these.

24. Charles Bell, *People of Tibet* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928), 9.

25. Gendün Chöpel, *White Annals, Dynastic History of the Political System of Greater Tibet*, 7-ba-5. *Translator's Note*: See Samten Norboo's translation, Gedun Choephel, *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 30.

26. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Letters from a Father to His Daughter: Being a Brief Account of the Early Days of the World Written for Children* (Allahabad, India: Kitabistan, 1930), 60.

27. Geshé Tendzin Gyeltsen Rinpoché said:

Previously, the Khaché script was called Nagara. In dependence on that, Situ's great commentary even says the Tibetan letters were designed based on the Khaché script. In fact, it is as though the letters are called by the name of the city. These days, the writing used in Kashmir (Khaché), called Urdu, came from Arabia at a later time. These days even in the Indian government Institute of Language, the script is called Nagara.

28. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Boat for Crossing the Ocean to the Island of Liberation, Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary*, 248-na-2.

29. Gendün Chöpel, *White Annals, Dynastic History of the Political System of Greater Tibet*, 30-ba-4. *Translator's Note*: See Samten Norboo's translation, Gedun Choephel, *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 71.

30. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Treasury of Wish-Fulfilling Jewels, Catalog of the Choné edition of the Canonical Commentarial Literature*, 110-ba-2. Tselpa Künga Dorjé, *Red Annals*, 17-na-1.

31. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*, vol. Ja, 26-ba-5.

32. *Sun that Increases the Subduer's Lotus Garden*.

33. Tuken Chökyi Nyima, *Crystal Mirror of the Good Explanations Showing the Sources and Assertions of All Systems of Tenets*, 164-ba-1.

34. Dudjom Rinpoché, *Religious History of the Early Transmission of Tantrayāna, the Drumbeat of Victory through the Power of the Gods*. *Translator's Note*: This work has been translated into English by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein as *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism, its Fundamentals and History* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2002).

35. Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Peljor, *Excellent Wish-Granting Tree, History of Buddhism in India, China, Tibet, and Mongolia*, 45/22.

36. Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Peljor, *Excellent Wish-Granting Tree, History of Buddhism in India, China, Tibet, and Mongolia*, 69/1.

37. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönupe, *Blue Annals: Religious History*, vol. Cha (ca). [*Translator's Note*: See George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949–1953), 236.] Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *The Beautiful Ornament of Thought, a Religious History of the Kadampa School*.

38. Lama Dampa Sönam Drakpa, *Marvelous Appearances, Religious History of "Path and Fruit," and History of Tibet's Superior Lamas, the Biographies of the Lineage of the Teachers of Buddha's Precious Teachings*.

39. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönupel, *Blue Annals, Religious History*, vol. Nya, 40.

40. Vaghandi says that Kagyü had four greater sub-divisions and eight lesser.

41. As for the phrase, “Uché Nyitong Gyegyapa,” Künkhyen Pekar’s *Biography of Drogön Tsangpa Gyaré, Garland of Waves of Marvelous Faith*, says the two thousand eight hundred leaders (*dbu che*) include the three yogis (*rnal ’byor pa*) such as Gaye, the four cotton-clad yogis (*ras pa*) such as Yakré, the four divine madmen (*zhig po*) such as Zhikré, the three holy people (*dam pa*) such as Dampa Terkhungpa, and two thousand eight hundred other great leaders who received knowledge and realization. *Translator’s Note:* *Zhig po* means one who is a destroyer, in this case, one who has destroyed conventional notions of reality. The body of the text appears to indicate that Uché Nyitong Gyegyapa is a personal name, whereas the footnote seems to indicate this phrase should be read as the number of great leaders, twenty eight hundred.

42. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönupel, *Blue Annals, Religious History*, vol. Na and Pa.

43. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Garland of Golden Lapiz Lazuli, Religious History of the Yellow Hat School*.

44. Tenzin Gyatso, 14th Dalai Lama, *Opening the Eye of New Awareness*, trans. Donald S. Lopez Jr. (Boston, Wisdom Publications, 1989), 107. *Translator’s Note:* Lopez notes that “the three analyses are, roughly speaking, to determine that a passage is not contradicted by direct perception, inference, or other literally acceptable scriptures.

45. The altitude, temperatures, and rainfall were measured in books by British and Indian deputies who had lived in Tibet in the past.

46. Most paper in Tibet is made with rechak (*re lcag*).

47. The offspring of a male donkey and a female horse is a mule. The offspring of a male horse and a female donkey is a tolok. They have small bodies, but their noses are notched.

48. Female yaks are called dri. The offspring of a male bull and a dri is called a dzo. The offspring of a male yak and a female cow is bama yak. They are like the males and have good hair.

49. A bamen is bred from oxen on the border and local breeds of cows. There are many in Pema Kö and Po.

50. The offspring of a female dzo and a male ox is a tölgok; it is like a cow.

51. In the north, these birds live along with guinea pigs.

52. Chechok Düpa, *Clearing Away the Darkness of Torment*, says that when water would initially come from a low spring in the Nedong region, it was preceded by snow frogs the size of a two-year-old lizard. There is a legend that Desi Sangyé Gyatso would catch snow frogs in a woman’s pants in order to make a medicine called rotsa (*ro btsa*).

53. Yangchen Drupé Dorjé, *Biography of Jé Dharmabhadra, Beautiful Ornament that Reveals the Yellow Hat School*.

54. As for those with direct experience, Gyeltsen Jikmé asked the supreme incarnation of the Dromo Geshé Rinpoché; he reported that he had heard the voice and seen the footprints [of the yetis].

55. I asked Gangkya Rinpoché who lives in Penpo. Those in retreat at Damé Khangmar Monastery gave a so-called skull of a dzami to Khenzur Tendzin Dzöndrö Rinpoché through Lozang Nyima La. It was small, like a monkey’s, and brown in color. It was accompanied by a letter, which said, “This skull of a dzami is priceless, and it is very difficult to find.” I saw this marvel and the letter myself.

56. Ngawang Dorjé Lhündrup Dargyé, Lhatsün, *Biography of the Omniscient Ngawang Chödrak Gyatso (Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso), Elegant Saying Without Activity, Tantric Melody of the Divine Tambura*, 34-ba-4, says:

When this Lord went to the peak of the snowy mountain of Odé Gunggyel, he saw something like a dog-print. He chased after it; then from a distance, he saw something that looked like a blue goat. When he got closer, it was a lion with matted hair.

57. Kongtrül Yönten Gyatso, *Autobiography of Jamgön Lodrö Tayé, Colored Jewels*, 6-ba-3.

58. Yarjé Ögyen Lingpa, *Five Chronicles*, 9-na-2.

59. Local people call it dragon's bones; actually, they are fossilized bones. An annual tax had to be paid to the monastic estate office. It is definite that most of them are bones of ancient fish or creatures who lived in the water. They are always found within a huge crevice under the Shang Gyatso Panggang Monastery.

60. Since white shell, snail shell, bird's skulls, and a mineral called yugong (*g.yu sgon*) all come from the Namtso Chukmo Lake in the north, they are living beings who lived in the lake many millions of years ago transformed into stone.

61. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Answers and Questions Clearing Away Misconceptions within the "White Lapiz Lazuli"*, 381-na-6. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Garland of Golden Lapiz Lazuli*, says "The six tribes are Ga (*dga*'), Dong (*ldong*), Dru (*'bru*), Dra (*dbra*), Newo (*ne bo*), and Pel (*dpal*). Since there is slight disagreement, more research is needed.

62. These practices spread from India; the first means that sinful obstructions are purified and the second means that decorations are arranged as if for a festival.

63. The practice of raising flags is known to be a Bönpo custom.

64. Formerly, when Indians would meet a lamas or monk they respected, there was a tradition of offering cloth. Later, in Tibet, I think the greeting scarf was substituted for the garment. Such greeting scarves can vary greatly in quality. The superior ones are called dzöma riknyi sangma, könchok rinchenma, bartön nyidema, domkhorma, chitön triné dargyema, among others. The inferior ones are called bardzö, zungchi, chidzö, sönam khatak, among others.

65. Lowell Thomas, *Out of This World: Across the Himalayas to Forbidden Tibet* (New York: Greystone Press, 1950), 150. Heinrich Harrer, "Life in Forbidden Lhasa," *National Geographic* 108, no. 1 (1955), 45.

66. The practice of placing the king's remains in a tomb developed in Egypt long ago. Similarly, in Tibet a king's remains are placed in a tomb. This is recounted in *Royal Orders*, vol. Kha, 39-ba-4.

67. *Sūtra of the Fortunate Era* says that the remains only consist of pellets. *Translator's Note*: The corpse is cremated and small hard pills or pellets are taken from the ashes. These remains are often placed in a stūpa.

68. There is a tradition that of asserting that the clan of Depön Dokharwa (Rakha-shak), said to be of the lineage of Gazi, among the eighteen great clans of Tibet, was placed in a tomb.

69. While the yogi Milarepa Dorjé was residing in a cave subduing demons, he was cut off by the snow; he remained there for months without provisions. His patrons in Tsarma, Nya, had decided that he must have already died, and so they held a funeral. Milarepa Dorjé imagined that they offered a great deal of food and drink during the funeral. Even though he hadn't died, these acts were beneficial to the patrons. According to Milarepa Dorjé, *One Hundred Thousand Songs*, 112-na-5, it is believed to be beneficial to make burnt offerings and to offer food and drinks when someone dies.

70. *Sayings of Ba* says that the Chinese Queen Kongo found the hidden golden Śākyamuṇi statue, whereupon she initiated this practice, saying "We should serve the nemmo deity. Since there was no tradition of offering food to dead ministers, when the dharma spread [to China], we Chinese initiated the practice of the weekly offering to the dead (*bdun* tshigs) and the scriptural recitation.

71. There is a story about a beggar in Lhasa who died. His friends, who were also beggars, adorned him in the manner of a high lama during an initiation and took his corpse to the cemetery.

72. Previously, there was a marvelous practitioner in Dechen named Akhu Tönpa. Since his wife died, his village neighbors brought beer, and Akhu was consoled. He became very sad. They told him not to become upset. He responded, "I won't be around for long." They thought he meant that he would die from his terrible grief.

After a while Akhu became very drunk. Some vultures started to waddle up to the corpse of his wife Tsering Drölma, and then the beer and tea started to waddle up to Akhu Tönpa. He started to sing loudly and to dance. The people said, “Don’t do that, Akhu, it is shameful to other people.” He replied, “I told you I wouldn’t be around for long.” *Translator’s Note:* The implication is that Akhu knew that his tremendous grief would cause him to lose his mind.

73. In ancient India, the five Pāṇḍava brothers are said to have married one woman. There are also stories about kings marrying many wives.

74. The dictionary says that the phrase “*mdzangs shing glo ’gyu ba ni*” means “intellectual activities” (*shes rab can gyi bya spyod*).

75. Young monks in large monasteries will sometimes slip away to practice jumping and using a sling instead of doing their studies.

76. Dice games are ancient. Jetsün Milarepa’s ancestors even played dice. Thus, it is clear in his biography that his losses are the reason for the family’s departure from the region.

77. Gambling, cards, and mahjong all spread from China. Shokbak cards (*shog sbag tag se*) and kites both spread from India; thus, one can understand how they came to receive the names they have.

78. For details on each of these, see Longdol Ngawang Lozang, *Collected Works*, vol. Ma, 3-ba-5.

79. This dance, which spread from Ngari and Ladakh, is called “nakma” (*nag ma*) by Muslims in those regions.

80. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Introduction of Excellent Noble Customs from the Past, Annals that are Pleasing to the Eye, Mind, and Ear, Iron Hook that Summons*.

81. Most foreign scholars rely upon the ancient writings and the old clay images; thereby, they are able to analyze the clothing and ornamentation styles.

82. Gendün Chöpel, *White Annals, Dynastic History of the Political System of Greater Tibet*, 19-na-3. *Translator’s Note:* See Samten Norboo’s translation, Gedun Choephel, *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 29, which stops at the ellipses.

83. Tazik is the area west of Yarkhyen and north of Afghanistan; these days, it is called Tajikistan.

84. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, vol. Kha, 140-ba-3.

85. Bokdo (*’bogs do*) is a Mongolian word meaning crown hat or crown ornament.

86. In the past the nobles were called the gyalu; since this tradition speaks of the clothes they wore, it became known as the gyalu clothes (*rgya lu chas*).

87. In a speech, the fourteenth Dalai Lama said, “The excellent religion is Indian, warm clothes are Mongolian, and delicious foods are Chinese. Tibetans understand this. Thereby, they formed relations with them.”

88. Gelong Tendzin Chögyel, *Complete Biographies of the Sixteen Arhats, Drumbeat of Charity*.

89. Geshé Chödrak, *Spelling Dictionary*, says the garments of Nepali people who perform water rescues are called chupa (*chu pa*).

90. Gendün Chöpel, *White Annals, Dynastic History of the Political System of Greater Tibet*, 37-ba-5.

91. Butön Rinchen Drup, *Religious History of the Treasury of Precious Discourses*, 114-na-3. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth*, 35-ba-6.

92. In the past, the term “dzong” (*rdzong*) was applied to secure castles that could not be breached by enemies. Subsequently, a “dzong” was a region ruled by a local authority.

93. Except for the ruins of several castles, most of these were destroyed during the time of Goden Khan.

94. When a lay person has an edition of the Buddhist canon in their home, then they raise a victory banner. If it is in the home of a mantrika or a magician, then a ngatuk

banner (*nga thug*) is raised. As for the raising of flagstaves and great banners, these are said to be Bön traditions. However, it is an excellent custom commonly practiced by all Tibetans, of both high and low station.

95. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Catalog of the Three Supports of Lhasa's Tsuklakhang Temple, White Crystal Mirror*, and the great thirteenth Dalai Lama, *Lake of Milk in which One Hundred Thousand Appearances of Faith Dawn, a Catalog of the Restoration of Lhasa's Tsuklakhang*.

96. A copy of this treaty is given on p. 152 below.

97. Geshé Tendzin Gyeltsen Rinpoché comments on the kaṇi stūpa. He said the maṇḍala of Mitrukpa and the mantra "Kamkaṇi" were drawn on the ceiling. It was drawn in a square. He said that that name was subsequently applied to all stūpas. Kyapjé Dūjom Rinpoché says that in India stūpas are called kaṇi.

98. The Depa Nangtseba Namkha Tseten was known to be a member of the Nyingma lineage.

99. Ganden Tsewang Pelzang raised the first great banner in the presence of Gang Rinpoché. Situ Rinpoché's *Autobiography*, which holds that to be the second great banner, says that since it was extremely long, it was called the "crazy virtuous banner" (*dga' ldan dar smyon*).

100. With regard to the defeat of Beri, see p. 340 below (See volume 1, p. 416 in the Tibetan text.)

101. Tselpa Tripön Gadé Zangpo made offerings at the Tsuklakhang every four months; thus, it was called the zhidé (*bzhi sde*).

102. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Golden Lapis Lazuli*, 116-ba-1, says that this monastic college split off from the Zhidé monastic college during the twelfth sixty year cycle (1687–1746). Several people also say that during the time of the religious kings, there were monasteries called Karu (*ka ru*) and Meru (*rme ru*).

103. The patrons of Ganden, such as Depa Sönam Chöpel and Kyishö Taktsewa, gathered here. When they sought support among the Hor and Mongolians, as Lamo Tsangpa prophesied, it came to be known as the house where the conference was held.

104. Because of the difficulties in traveling between Lhasa and Zhöl when the summer waters are high, a Manchu amban undertook the construction of a large, stable, and beautiful bridge with a turquoise (*gyu*) glazed roof (*thog*) about ten miles away. Since this was done in an effort to further the preceptor-patron relationship between China and Tibet, many tens of thousands of Chinese silver coins came from the emperor's treasury. There is a tradition that this amban subsequently displayed some deceptive sources, and so, he was judicially executed.

105. The text of this stone pillar is discussed on p. 136 below (See volume 1, p. 180 in the Tibetan text.)

106. The Manchu stone pillar is given on p. 535 below (See volume 1, p. 647 in the Tibetan text, not p. 650 as Shakabpa indicates.)

107. The eight qualities possessed by water are clarity, coolness, softness, fragrant, sweetness, light, not harmful to the stomach, and not harmful to the throat.

108. For a general discussion of the Norbu Lingkha Palace, see p. 504 below (See volume 1, p. 606 in the Tibetan text.)

109. Purchok Ngawang Jampa, *Garland of White Lotuses, a Catalog of the Four Great Monasteries and the Tantric Colleges of Upper and Lower Lhasa*. Translator's Note: Hereafter, this monastery is called by its common name Drepung Monastery.

110. *Biography of Chok Jangchup Pelden History of Nechung and the Oracle*.

111. Dorjé Dzinpa Peljor Lhündrup, *Catalog Explaining the Sacred Sites of Pabongkha*, explains these individual mountain retreat centers.

112. Yeshé Sengé, *Biography of Ra Lotsāwa Pervasive Sound of the Drum*. Translator's Note: Kumbum Tang means "Plain of One Hundred Thousand Bodies."

113. Jokri Ngawang Tendzin Trinlé, *Catalog of the Great Gungtang Tsuklakhang and Kumbum*.

114. Lozang Norbu, the retired teacher of Sera Jé Monastery, *Explanation of the Sacred Sites of Yerpa*.

115. Tsering Gönpö, *History of the Secret Mantra Castle*.

116. For example, with regard to just one month's trade back and forth through Kalimpong on the road between Tibet and India, the Kalimpong Tarchin la newspaper (April–May, 1948, vol. 16, no. 6–7, p. 7, the second and third months of the Tibetan Earth-Mouse Year) says that a sum equal to 11,241 loads of goods passed from Kalimpong into Tibet in the single month December 1–31, 1947. The newspaper (June, 1, 1948, vol. 16, no. 9, p. 7, the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month of the Tibetan Earth-Mouse Year) says that 11,672 twenty pound loads of wool, tails, and hides passed from Tibet to India during the same period. There are also many other trade routes.

117. A five percent tax was charged on imported tea and one Indian rupee was charged on each exported bundle of wool and tail. Levies applied to hides depended on their size. A tax of one damkar was also applied to each load of salt. *Translator's Note*: The author's younger brother, Thubten Tsepel Taikhang La, who was a customs official for many years, reported that musk, furs, wool, pig whiskers, yak tails, and other items were also taxed at the border.

118. Gyurmé Dechen, *Mirror of Jewels Illuminating All Marvels, A Biography of Chakzampa Tangtong Gyelpo*, 125-na.

119. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, vol. Ka, 23-na-2. Pönchen Aklen of Sakya is said to have made these small wooden canoes at river crossings like Chakzam, Gyerpa, and Nyangpo in the sixth sexagenary cycle (1327–1386), based on what he remembered from Chinese designs.

Although I have not discovered a reason that these ferries had horse's head, there was a custom in the past of manufacturing them in that way. Fifth Dalai Lama's *Dorjé Dzinpa Tsarchen Losel Gyatso Drakpa Gyeltsen, Explanation of the Teacher, the Light of Buddhism* says:

Iron boats came from Shara. They had horse head bows on them, and upon the foreheads of the horses, orders would be posted. The iron would be gouged out and gold would be poured in. This virtuous custom was introduced.

Since boat captains would be granted retirement estates, they became greedy. Later, a plaque was posted saying that they had been punished [by the loss of their retirement]. The boat captains were ashamed as they never had been before. All they could do was plead for just a small amount of support. It is true that the Rinpungpas were very strict. Since that time, the custom of having a horse head on a boat has been in effect.

120. Go Lotsāwa Zhönupel, *Blue Annals, a Religious History*, vol. Nga, 5-ba, where Drokmi Lotsāwa invites Paṇḍita Gayadhara. *Translator's Note*: See Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, p. 112.

121. Butön Rinchen, *Precious Scriptures*, vol. 1, 25-ba-4.

122. The gold coins were issued over four years from 1917, the fifty-first year of the fifteenth sexagenary cycle, Fire-Snake Year.

123. Since there is slight doubt about the date when paper currency was initially introduced, one should see p. 763 below (See volume 2, p. 224 in the Tibetan text.)

124. That is, Dzasak Tsarongpa Dasang Dradül, Khendrung Tā Lama Rong Namsé Tupten Norzang, and myself Tsepon Shakabpa Wangchuk Deden.

125. Butön Rinchen, *Treasury of Precious Scriptures*, 112-na-6. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, Religious History*, vol. Ja, 123-na-1.

126. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Answers and Questions Clearing Away Misconceptions within the "White Lapis Lazuli,"* 24-na-5.

127. Jamgön Kongtrül, *Autobiography of Jamgön Lodrö Tayé, Colored Jewels*, calls sang "ngüldeltse" (*ngul rdel tshad*) or sometimes "diltse" (*rdil tshad*).

128. Karma Tsewang Kunkhyap, *Garland of Moon Crystals, Jewel of the Scholars, A Biography of the Precious Lineage of the Karma Kamtsang*, 42-na-6.

129. Jangpa Rikden Chenpo, *Drops of Nectar, the Lesser Analysis*.
130. Zurkhar Nyamnyi Dorjé, *Ten Million Relics, The Response of the Mineral Manu, and Penetrating the General Topic, the Clarification of the Original Medicine*.
131. Lodrö Gyelpo, *Oral Instructions of the Ancestor's Medical Science*.
132. Taksang Lotsāwa Sherap Rinchen, *Fascination of Scholars, A General Presentation Medical Science and Contacting Medicines, Selected Practices*.
133. Yartö Darma Men Rampa Lozang Chödrak, *Orders of Quintessential Instructions and The Golden Ornament of Good Explanations, A Commentary on the Lineage of Quintessential Instructions*.
134. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Blue Lapiz Lazuli, A Commentary on the Four Tantras, and the Addendum*.
135. Pöntsang Tsarongpa Tsewang Namgyel, *Swift Path for Beings in the Fortunate Eon, Religious History of Medical Science. Translator's Note: A text with this same title is attributed to Lozang Chödrak (1638–1710) on TBRC W13863*.
136. Kongdrül Yönten Gyatso, *Gentian Flowers and many other texts*.
137. Kuchar Lamden Khenpo Ngözhi Jampa Tupwang, *Orders of Quintessential Instructions, Preparation of Precious Pills and Preparations of Twenty-Children*.
138. In Mongolian, the term menpa (*sman pa*) means doctor.
139. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Answers and Questions Clearing Away Misconceptions within the "White Lapiz Lazuli,"* 302-na-6.
140. Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé, *Ocean Annals, a Religious History of Domé*, 545/5, says that Jadur Langna is in the direction of Langdru. However, the *Autobiography of Katok Khenpo Ngawang Pelzang, Illusory Dance*, 136-na-6, says that the image of Maitreya inscribed in stone is before the Jamden rock out-cropping. Also, Situ Rinpoché Tenpé Nyinjé, *Stainless Crystal Mirror*, 39-na-4, says that he saw the image of the main sphere of Vairocana built by the Chinese Consort Gongzhu (*kong jo*), the *Heart Sūtra*, and the *Prayer of Good Conduct* inscribed in rock. It should be investigated whether this is actually true.
141. *Sayings of Ba*, 23-ba. The bell and the prayer are described in *Compilation of Records*.
142. Longdöl, *Collected Works*, vol. Ma, 7-na-6, calls him Menla Döndrup Gyatso.
143. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Answers and Questions Clearing Away Misconceptions within the "White Lapiz Lazuli,"* 255-na-1.
144. Karma Tsewang Kunkhyap, *Garland of Moon Crystals, Jewel of the Scholars, A Biography of the Precious Lineage of the Karma Kamtsang*, 311-ba-6.
145. Drukpa Künkhyen Pema Karpo, *Dance of the Great Illusion*, 83-ba-6 to 88-ba-5.
146. Situ Rinpoché Tenpé Nyinjé, *Stainless Crystal Mirror*, 45-ba, says that not only were images drawn by Khyentsé in Upper Gang, but he was skilled in making images of clay.
147. Longdöl Ngawang Lozang, *Collected Works*, vol. Ma, 7-na-6.
148. Aku Gerap Gyatso, *List of Rare Tibetan Sources*.
149. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, vol. Ka, 142-na.
150. Pañchen Lozang Chögyen, *Autobiography, Garland of Jewels which Clearly Indicates Codes of Conduct*, 134-ba-1.
151. Karma Tsewang Kunkhyap, *Garland of Moon Crystals, Jewel of the Scholars, A Biography of the Precious Lineage of the Karma Kamtsang*, 184-na-7.
152. Situ Tenpé Nyinjé, *Stainless Crystal Mirror*, 65-ba-2.
153. Darhen Khentrül Lozang Trinlé, *Biography of [Lama Tsongkhapa] the Omniscient Jé Rinpoché, A Beautiful Ornament of the Subduers, A Garland of Marvelous Jewels*.
154. Gendün Chöpel, *White Annals, Dynastic History of the Political System of Greater Tibet*, 32-na-2. *Translator's Note:* See Samten Norboo's translation, Gedun Choephel, *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 72.

155. Taktsang Lotsāwa, *The Festival of Learning Chinese and Tibetan Writing*.
156. Tāranātha, *Religious History of Nyang* says that the most important handicrafts in Upper and Lower Nyang were blanket-making, carpet-weaving, and felt-work. It must be investigated how that similar term, *drum*, came into use later.
157. Sakya Jetsün Sōnam Gyeltsen, *Luminous Mirror, Dynastic History*, 94-ba-2.
158. Following Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival each year, the cavalry processes with gold- and silver-inscribed iron armor, chain link, belts, and mirrors introduced by the Mongolians. Gold inscriptions of Arabic writing or religious verses of the Islamic Ayatollah Korsi can be read in them. Moreover, there are designs like a dog's nose or like a lotus. There is no doubt that these customs arose during the time of the military relations with Persia and Tazik during the reigns of the father and son, Muné Tsenpo and Murup Tsenpo. I think that later, ancient Tibetan guns called rome-guns, which had come from the direction of Rome, were engraved with lotus, dog nose, and serpentine designs. If there are other sources on these questions, I have not seen them.
159. These monasteries include Kuchar Pendé Leksheling, Meru, Zhidé, Dengyeling, Tsemönlung, Kündeling, Tsechokling, and Nechung Drayangling.
160. When an English language school was opened, a representative of the monasteries went into the middle of the assembly and said that people found fault with Buddhist views and practices and someone had kicked a soccer ball onto the head of an image of Buddha.
161. There is clear explanatory commentary on each of those in Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of Learning*, vol. 1a, 18-ba-5 to 21-ba. However, the fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth*, 42-ba-6, says they were all complete during the time of Tri Relpachen.
162. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Answers and Questions Clearing Away Misconceptions within the "White Lapiz Lazuli,"* 27-ba. See also p. 121 below of this volume for information of the thirty-six necessities. (See volume 1, p. 153 in the Tibetan text.)
163. *Sayings of Ba*, 25-na.
164. See p. 263 of this volume. (See volume 1, p. 334 in the Tibetan text.)
165. Pelden Gyatso, *Extensive Biography of Bhutan's Ngawang Namgyel, Song of the Cloud of Dharma*, W30164.
166. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 4-ba-3.
167. This custom of having a gathering where the ceremonial military leaders, the cavalry, and private attendants offer cakes arose during the time of Fifth Dalai Lama. At that time, the military leaders and the cavalry were Gushri Khan's Mongolian soldiers.
168. See Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Maṇḍala of the Sun*, on the great monastic procession and more briefly his *Golden Lapiz Lazuli*, 380-na-2.
169. In some records, Buddha's birth is believed to have taken place on the seventh day of the fourth month, while several others indicate that it was on the tenth day of the fourth month.
170. Since I do not know of clear accounts in the histories of the World Purification Day and the Mountain Retreat of Pel Lhamo, sources are needed.
171. The custom of doing operatic performances during the Yogurt Festival was introduced during the time of the tenth Dalai Lama. Later, as this practice was increased, opera companies included Gyangkhar Chödzungpa, Chung Riwochepa, Shang Riwochepa, Kyongmo Lungpawa, Yarlung Trashy Zhepa, Chonggyé Pündünpa, Nyemo Jagowa, and so forth. A yak-costumed dance and another dance tradition came from Sheldrong and Dechen respectively.
172. Sometimes, the monks of Meru monastic college perform a story from Buddha's life called "Clearing Away in Order to Remove Obstacles" to the summer retreat.
173. This tradition is related to the story called "The Householder Dandadhara" in *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish*. *Translator's Note*: See Stanley Frye's translation of that name, (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981), 203–8. The Tibetan calendar says of this day, "The wicked speech during the Aggregation of the

Nine Bad Signs is a food that should not be eaten. Also Buddha's word should not be recited on that day."

174. As for the signs of the three living beings, they are said to be a lion with the head of a garuḍa, an otter with the head of a fish, and a crocodile with a shell. The Omniscient Lord Lozang Drakpa's, *Garland of Worship Services* says, "Whether or not there are marks of a beautiful animal [to distinguish them], Buddhism is marked by having a victory banner. The thoroughly beautiful offering flag is presented."

175. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned*, vol. Ja (ja), 20-na-3. I think the term weldar (*dbal dar*) means hero's sign or hero's banner.

176. *Biographical Discussions of the Ministers, Signs of Ministers*, vol. Cha (ca), 8-na-5.

177. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Biography of Dorjé Dzinpa Tsarchen Losel Gyatso Drakpa Gyeltsen, Explanation of the Teacher, the Light of Buddhism*, 90-na-3.

178. Eric Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 116.

179. The likeness of the original pattern of the banner of the General of the Tibetan army that I have received is included in the *Compilation of Records*.

180. The pattern and the commentary on it that was printed by Tarchin La are included in the *Compilation of Records*.

CHAPTER TWO

POWER OF THE ANCIENT RELIGIOUS KINGDOM OF TIBET THAT WAS PROTECTED BY THE STRENGTH OF BUDDHISM TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Shakabpa begins his historical account by narrating the ancient history of Tibet in detail, focusing particularly on legends concerning the origins of the royal lineage, the sequence of events that introduced Buddhism on the Tibetan plateau, the creation of a written form of the Tibetan language, and the entry of Tibet into history. Many of the sources reporting on that era do not distinguish between history and legend, and Shakabpa himself does not endeavor to separate these threads critically. This chapter covers the period from prehistory to the 9th century. Interestingly, Shakabpa provides almost no information about the pre-Buddhist Bön religion or the Zhang Zhung culture in Tibet, a tradition that greatly occupies the historical narratives of the advocates of the Bön faith.^a

Shakabpa recounts several legends about the origins of the Tibetan royal family. Nyatri Tsenpo, who is said to have been the first king of Tibet, established the royal lineage at Yarlung. He is depicted as the son of Makgyapa, the king of Magadha in Bihar, India, the same kingdom that was ruled by King Bimbisāra, the noted royal patron of Buddha Śākyamuṇi. This narrative detail helps to legitimize the Buddhist credentials of the Tibetan royal family. Nyatri Tsenpo and the next six kings do not have tombs in Tibet because, we are told, they ascended into the sky at the ends of their lives. Beginning with the eighth, tombs were constructed in the Yarlung Valley to the southeast of Lhasa.

^a For more information on Bön accounts of this early period, see Samten G. Karmay and Jeff Watt, eds. *Bon: The Magic Word: The Indigenous Religion of Tibet* (London: Philip Wilson Publishing, 2008); Samten G. Karmay, *The Little Luminous Boy: The Secret Oral Tradition from the Land of Zhang-zhung depicted on two Tibetan Paintings* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 1998); and Namkhai Norbu, *Drung, Deu and Bön: Narrations, Symbolic Languages and the Bön tradition in Ancient Tibet*. Translated from Tibetan into Italian, edited, and annotated by Adriano Clemente. Translated from Italian into English by Andrew Lukianowicz. (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1995).

The twenty-sixth king after Nyatri Tsenpo was Lhato Tori Nyentsen, born in the year 173 C.E. He was regarded as a propitious sovereign who presided over the first appearance of Buddhist artifacts in Tibet when a book of scriptures and some statues, called the “Fierce Secret,” appeared on the roof of his palace. At the same time, it was prophesied that the meaning of these things would be understood five generations later, a prophecy that seems to have been realized during the reign of Songtsen Gampo (605/617–650), actually only four generations later. A historical figure, many fantastic legends feature him and his family, making it difficult to distinguish fact from fantasy. He is said to have ignited the emergence of Buddhism in Tibet by obtaining a devoutly Buddhist bride from the royal families of both China and Nepal, each of whom brought statues—Jowo Śākyamuṇi and Jowo Mikyö Dorjé respectively—that would continue to be important in Tibetan history up to the present day. They also created the Jokhang Tsuklakhang Temple that is at the sacred center of Tibetan Buddhism and also Ramoché Temple. Songtsen Gampo is also remembered as a great patron of Buddhism because it was through his support that a royal minister, Tönmi Sambhoṭa, spent years in India learning Sanskrit and creating a written form of the Tibetan language. When he returned to Tibet, some of the scholars who accompanied him from India translated the text that had earlier come into the possession of Nyatri Tsenpo.

From among his many wives, the Chinese Princess Wencheng Gongzhu and the Nepali Princess Bhrikuti Devi are mentioned most prominently. The Chinese consort is depicted as being more knowledgeable in such important matters as geomancy and temple construction, and she is the senior wife of the king in all respects.^b Songtsen Gampo also built a palace on the Red Hill in the Lhasa Valley, a site that would later be developed into the Potala Palace. It is with this king that Tibet entered fully into the international realm, capable of invading mighty neighbors, demanding princesses in bridal alliances, and engaging in broad-reaching intercultural exchanges.^c While Gartongtsen, Songtsen Gampo’s minister, served as regent for the minor heir, he continued

^b Anne-Marie Blondeau and Yonten Gyatso, “Lhasa, Legend, and History,” in *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century: The Capital of the Dalai Lamas*, ed. Francoise Pommaret (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 17–21.

^c Christopher I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 20–26.

the expansionist policy of the great king. His family continued to serve in important government positions thereafter.

Moreover, Tibet continued to battle with its neighbors, fighting for supremacy particularly in the area to its north and east. In recounting these episodes, Shakabpa is primarily concerned to demonstrate that Tibet was a powerful force that other nations in the region had to take seriously. In particular, he provides evidence to buttress one of the primary themes of the entire book, that Tibet was an independent nation that was treated by others as such. Most notably, he is interested in showing that China and its rulers demonstrated their respect for the sovereignty of Tibet by how they dealt with it.

Tridé Tsuktsen (704–755), also known later in life and to posterity as the “Bearded Grandfather” (*mes ag tshom*), presided over Tibet as king during a period of great change. He was a great patron of Buddhism, and during his reign, many temples were constructed and religious and medical texts were translated. It was also a period of time in which Tibet was increasingly involved with Arab Muslims to the northwest, something Shakabpa glosses over in a single sentence, but which is copiously documented by Christopher I. Beckwith.^d

Trisong Detsen (742–796), Tridé Tsuktsen’s son, succeeded him to the throne, eventually becoming renowned as the second of the three great religious kings (*chos rgyal chen po gsum*).^e During his long reign, from 756 until his death, he pledged extensive resources to the elaboration of Buddhism and oversaw many of the most consequential episodes in the founding narrative of Tibetan Buddhism. These include: driving anti-Buddhist ministers and officials from office, inviting the great Indian scholar Śāntarakṣita to Tibet, inviting the powerful tantric yogi Padmasaṃbhava to Tibet at Śāntarakṣita’s urging, sponsoring the creation of the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet at Samyé, inviting the scholar Paṇḍita Kamalaśīla from India, and convening the debate between Kamalaśīla and Hoshang Mahāyāna that would define the form Tibetan Buddhism would take. Whether all of these episodes have historical grounding is less interesting than the fact that these are the events that populate Tibet’s own self understanding.

^d Christopher I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), *passim*.

^e In order of appearance the three great religious kings are Songtsen Gampo, Trisong Detsen, and Relpachen.

Still, his Buddhist reign was not without a martial dimension; Trisong Detsen's armies responded to continuing border conflicts in the middle of the 8th century by invading China, even taking the capital of the Tang Dynasty, Chang'an in 763. The emperor put on the throne by the Tibetans did not endure for long, but Shakabpa mentions this incident on a few occasions. The event, while not terribly important on its own terms, does show that Tibet was a powerful military force in the region at the time. However, the sacking of Chang'an is even more important as a way of deflecting an argument sometimes offered by those who maintain that Tibet has long been a part of China. That position rests upon the claim that since Tibet was a part of the Yuan Dynasty in the 13th century and since that dynasty was based in China, Tibet was inherited by China at the demise of the Yuan Dynasty. These points are strenuously resisted by Shakabpa and other scholars. Shakabpa will address that argument several times in the account that follows,^f but here the significance of the capture of Chang'an lies in the suggestion that perhaps Tibet has an equal claim to China since it had once conquered the royal capital. Complementary to those observations, Shakabpa also takes note of a broad array of international contacts that took place during Trisong Detsen's reign.

After a series of less consequential sovereigns, King Tridé Songtsen or Senalek Jingyön (761–815) died, leaving his middle son Tritsuk Detsen or Relpachen (806–838) to take the throne. Relpachen was the third “great religious king” of Tibet. Shakabpa reports that his brother Lang Darma “was a potential candidate, he was not appointed because of his violent character.”^g Relpachen was a vigorous patron of Buddhism, sponsoring a host of visiting Indian scholars, extensive translation projects, a standardized orthography, and the notable Sanskrit-Tibetan glossary called the *Mahāvvyutpatti*. All of these efforts made it possible for the roots of Buddhism to grow deep in the Tibetan soil. Meanwhile, his reign was a time of increasing harmony with China and other neighbors.

The establishment of Buddhism was not to continue unopposed. Indigenous religious elements resisted the diversion of patronage to the new Buddhist scholars and institutions, and such factions sought to restore the religious and cultural landscape they felt Buddhism

^f See Chapter 3 in particular.

^g See p. 119 below.

threatened. The figurehead of this movement, as the later stories tell us, was King Relpachen's brother. Long-lived traditional accounts of the rule of King Lang Darma depict him as a repressive anti-Buddhist ruler who was responsible for undermining the position Buddhism had enjoyed under recent more pious kings. He is represented as serving the advocates of the pre-Buddhist religion, Bön. Contemporary scholarship calls these accounts into question,^h but Shakabpa narrates them uncritically here.

Lang Darma is depicted as a violent and immoral person into whose heart evil demons were called.ⁱ According to this account, Buddhist texts, statues, and other treasures were destroyed, while efforts were made to disrupt Buddhist teaching lineages by killing monks and driving Indian teachers from the country. At the same time, Buddhists hid their own scriptures and ran into the hills for safety. The pogrom is said to have lasted for three years; thereupon, in 842, a tantric yogi named Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé assassinated the king, bringing the purported reign of terror to an end.

^h See for example, Zuiho Yamaguchi, "The Fiction of King Dar-ma's Persecution of Buddhism," in Jean-Pierre Drege, ed., *Du Dunhuang au Japon: Études chinoises et bouddhiques offertes à Michel Soyumié* (Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 1996), 231–258.

ⁱ See p. 162 below.

CHAPTER TWO

POWER OF THE ANCIENT RELIGIOUS KINGDOM OF TIBET THAT WAS PROTECTED BY THE STRENGTH OF BUDDHISM

Tibet, the Lands of Snows, emerged in the distant past. The historians Nelpa Paṇḍita, Butön Tamché Khyenpa, Gö Lotsāwa Zhönupel, Taktsang Lotsāwa, and others say that, like India, the land and the people of Tibet arose during the Aeon of Abiding;^a this view is not contradicted by scripture or reasoning.^b Paṇchen Sönam Drakpa also said that since Tibet is often mentioned in the sūtras on monastic discipline, the glorious *Kālacakra Tantra*, and so forth, the land and its people must have existed prior to the time that our teacher, Śākyamuṇi, arrived in the world (in the 6th century B.C.E.).

Also, several histories also say that Tibet was ruled in turn by the nine Masang brothers, the twenty-five or twelve petty kings, and the forty scattered kingdoms.¹ There are no accounts that indicate the lineages of these rulers. Thus, using the work done by these scholars of Tibet's dynastic history as a base, I have written my own account according to what has been expressed about the dynastic history from the time of Jé Nyatri Tsenpo.

Nyatri Tsenpo, the first king of Tibet, was the son of Makgyapa, the king of Magadha in Bihar, India. The child was born with an overhanging brow, turquoise eyebrows, a complete set of teeth, and webbed fingers. Being unable to show his son to the people, the father expelled him from his own land. The youth eventually reached Yarlung, Tibet,² where he was seen by twelve learned herdsmen who were followers of the Bön religion.³ They asked where he had come from and other such questions. As he could not communicate with them verbally, he pointed to the sky. Thus, they understood him to mean that he had come from the sky, and since the Bönpos took joy in the sky, they said it

^a The Aeon of Abiding (*gnas pa'i bskal pa*) is an era in Buddhist cosmological reckoning. It immediately follows the period of creation.

^b In determining the veracity of a proposition, a necessary condition is satisfied by determining whether it is contradicted by scriptures that are accepted as authoritative or refuted by legitimate reasoning.

would be suitable for him to become king of Tibet. Placing him on a wooden sedan chair, they carried him on their shoulders to their village, where they gave him the name *Jé Nyatri Tsenpo*, meaning “neck-enthroned king.”

Until that time, Tibetans had lived in rock and dirt caves. Thus, the king built the first house, known as *Yumbu Lakhar*. The house had a third roof that was constructed of various small and large stone roof tiles from the top of a hill in the *Yarlung* valley. Later, *Śākya Gönpö*, who was the attendant of *Drogön Chögyel Pakpa*,^c restored the house and built a roof ornament on it. During the time of the great fifth Dalai Lama, it was restored and expanded. Even now the foundation of the walls of the original house can still be seen.

Upon the death of each of the first seven kings, *Nyatri Tsenpo* and his successors, it is said that they vanished into the sky by climbing a special cord. Thus, there are no remains or tombs of these first seven kings. The eighth king, *Drigum Tsenpo*, was assassinated by Minister *Longngam*.⁴ The king’s body was cast into a river, and it eventually reached *Kongpo*. Thus, the first royal tomb was built there. *Drigum* had three son’s, *Jatri*, *Shatri*, and *Nyatri*, and they lived at a place in *Kongpo*. It is said that *Jatri*, the son who was born to *Drigum*’s queen from *Yarlha Shampo*, killed *Longngam*. As he was the oldest son, he was invited to the capital and appointed king. The mother intervened for her son saying, “If the royal lineage does not definitively decline under this son, then the royal government will become stable and flourish.” Then a voice from the sky said that the son would come to rule over everything. The public heard the voice and called him *Pudé Gungyel*.^d

[The second son,] *Shatri Tsenpo* stayed in *Kongyül* for a long time. The youngest son, *Nyatri Tsenpo*, who was called *Borachi*⁵ in Mongolian, married a queen from *Kongpo* called *Goa Marel*. He went to the land occupied by the *Beda* (Mongolian) people near the mountain in *Burkhan Khalduna* called *Porhen Geltön* and *Baikal Sea*. The people of that area called upon him to be their king. It is uniformly reported by the Mongolians that this was the initial royal lineage in Mongolia.⁶

^c See p. 200 ff. below.

^d The phrase meaning “the son would come to rule over everything” (*bu de kun las rgyal bar ’gyur*) is a folk etymology of the name *Pudé Gungyel* (*bu de gung rgyal*).

During the reign of Pudé Gungyel, iron and copper were mined from melted stone and glue was manufactured from melted leather. Rivers were dammed, linear irrigation canals were built, and bridges were constructed over rivers. The castle called Chingwar Taktsé was constructed at Chonggyé.

Lhato Tori Nyentsen was born in the year 173 C.E., eighteen generations after Pudé Gungyel. It is said that on one occasion when he was sixty years old, while he was residing at Yumbu Lakhar Palace, he received a volume of Buddhist scripture and several statues whose meaning he could not discern, and some ministers descended from the sky. He called the images the "Fierce Secret" (*gnyan po gsang ba*),⁷ making offerings and requesting that they remain for a long time. He himself continued to live until the age of one hundred and twenty. The king had a dream foretelling that the significance of these objects would be understood five generations after him. Nelpa Paṇḍita said the gifts had come from the translator of Litisi and Togar named Losem Tsonyi, a paṇḍita who had come to Tibet to teach religion to the king. But since Tibet had no written language, he was unable to teach. He gave presents to the king, including the *Basket of Books Sūtra*, and he advised the king that if he did prostrations, circumambulations, and made offerings then he would be blessed in whatever he desired. He said that since there was no benefit to his remaining in Tibet, he would return to India.

Several people also say that a rain of books fell upon the roof of the king's residence and the sūtra was carried by the wind. Since they fell upon Yumbu Lagang, it seemed that conditions were suitable for raising the banner of religion in Tibet.⁸ However that may be, in the Water-Ox Year, 777 years after our teacher, the compassionate Śākyamuṇi, passed into nirvāṇa and 233 years after Jesus Christ, the supreme religion began in Tibet. Thus, the Tibetan government thereafter used that year as the basis for calculating the date of the founding of the government of the Land of Snows; the date was also printed on money.

Four generations thereafter, a son was born to King Namri Songtsen and Queen Togar Zatsé Pong⁹ at the Dratötsel Palace in Mingyur Jampaling; his name was Tridé Songtsen or Songtsen Gampo.¹⁰ He is called Qizong Longzan in Chinese records. The year after Songtsen Gampo was born, the first Chinese Tang Dynasty Emperor Gaozu was established on the throne.

Songtsen Gampo sent many horsemen, along with Minister Gartong Tsen, to Nepal with a letter (written in the Nepali language) and gifts. He

requested that Princess Bhrikuti Devi, the daughter of the Nepali King Amshuvarmān, be given in marriage. (She was also known as Zhiwé Gocha or Yongdrak Özer Gocha.) Because the tone of the Tibetan king's letter was threatening, the Nepali king agreed to give his daughter to the Tibetan king as a wife. Many valuable gifts were sent as objects for his daughter's religious practice, such as the images of Jampa Chökhorma and Jowo Mikyö Dorjé, which had been consecrated by Buddha and Ānanda, and other precious objects. She was taken to Tibet and installed as the king's queen. The Tibetan people called Princess Bhrikuti Devi the "Nepalese Consort Tritsun" (*bal bza' khri btshun*). She constructed a monumental royal palace on the Red Hill in Lhasa.

The king sent sixteen young intelligent Tibetans, along with [his minister] Tönmi Sambhoṭa, to India in order to learn the language; they carried presents of gold.¹¹ Thus, they trained in all of the literary arts from the masters (Dramzé Lijin) Brahmin, Lipi Kara, and (Lharikpé Sengé), Devavidyasingha in Kashmir, North India. While other Tibetans died from the heat, Tönmi Sambhoṭa returned to Tibet, whereupon he devised a system of Tibetan writing based on the Sharada (*sha ra rda*) and Nagara (*na ga ra*) scripts in which Buddhism was increasingly disseminated throughout northern India during the Brahmin and Gupta (280–550) periods.

Tönmi Sambhoṭa became a translator; the Indian masters Kusara, Brahmin Śaṅkara,^e and others translated the entire contents of the "Fierce Secret," the text of which had come into the possession of Lhato Tori Nyentsen. Although not many people taught or studied the book, on many festive occasions, the king himself received teachings on the secret practices of peaceful and wrathful compassion; he also practiced these traditions. Before seven selected students became monks, it is explained that hundreds of practitioners continuously engaged in the yoga of compassion at Nyangdren Pabongkha.

Moreover, the king sent a great number of horsemen, including Minister Gartongtsen and Sambhoṭa, to China to ask Emperor Taizong to permit Songtsen Gampo to marry his daughter, Princess Wencheng Gongzhu (The Lotus in the Lake). At that time, the Tibetan king heard that Tokiki, the king of the Tuluhun (Eastern Tatars), had sent a message requesting Gongzhu's hand in marriage. In consternation, he

^e This may be the well-known Advaita Vedanta scholar, Adi Śaṅkara, who is asserted to have lived around this time (788–820?).

dispatched troops against the Tuluhan, and their king was expelled.¹² Thereafter, the Tibetan king recruited two hundred thousand troops from the petty kingdoms of Qiang, Bailang, and Tangshan and seized the city of Songzhu (Zongjo).¹³ The Tibetan king made a request to the Chinese king that he either give him a princess or prepare for war, but he also sent a letter that had the luster of authority and a set of bejeweled armor as a present along with his request for a princess. Even though the Chinese king fought for a time, he was defeated. Therefore, he agreed to send a princess.

In 641, the king of China dispatched his senior minister, Daozong, and the prince of Jiangxia along with troops. Princess Wencheng Gongzhu was sent along with magnificent treasures including a statue of Jowo Śākyamuṇi, which had been blessed by the hands of Buddha himself, fine satin, and porcelain objects to serve as the bases of religious devotions. The princess was accompanied to the Tibetan border. Thereafter, the Tibetan King Songtsen Gampo received her along with his retinue and his army.¹⁴ Wencheng Gongzhu was called "Chinese Consort Gongzhu" (*rgya bza' kong jo*) by the Tibetan people.

Subsequently, King Songtsen Gampo eventually also married the daughter of King Limikkya of Zhang Zhung,¹⁵ who was called the "Zhang Zhung Consort Litikmen" (*zhang zhung bza' li thig dman*), the daughter of the Minyak¹⁶ king, who was called the "Ruyong Consort Gyelmotsün" (*ru yong bza' rgyal mo btsun*), and the daughter of the Zhang minister from Tölungmong, who was called the "Mong Consort Tricham" (*mong bza' khri lcam*).

Accordingly, each of the queens wished to construct a temple or building of worship to house the religious objects they had brought with them. Prior to the construction of these buildings, the king and his queens lived at the Maru¹⁷ Palace of Nyangdren Pabongkha. According to a prophecy from a tutelary deity, the Tadül, Yangdül, and Runön Tsuklakhang temples were constructed, including Tradruk Trashi Jamnyom Temple.

In order to determine the appropriate location for the construction of her temple, the Nepalese consort Tritsün consulted with the Chinese consort; the latter performed a divination by means of which she determined that it would be best if the temple were constructed in the flat meadow in the Lhasa Valley. She indicated this to the Nepalese consort, who became suspicious of the Chinese consort's motivations. She asked the king, and he supplicated the superior deities, receiving a prophecy that it was just as the Chinese consort had indicated. Accordingly, the

principal beam was to be arranged on top of a small pond in the Omatang meadow. The image of Jowo Mikyö Dorjé would be placed in this temple, which became the Tsuklakhang. With goats (*ra*) carrying away earth (*sa*), the site was prepared, and the Tsuklakhang, which was like the dawning of a miracle (*trul nang*), was constructed upon the filled-in pond. Thus, it was called the Rasa Trülnang Tsuklakhang.¹⁸

Some people also say that it was built in the manner of an inestimable mansion with four doors, and so religious practitioners were very happy because they felt that it was as though the spiritual world had penetrated the mundane sphere. Since the walls were arranged in the form of a swastika, the Bönpos rejoiced. Since the pillars were built in the shape of a ritual dagger (*phur pa*), the tantrikas rejoiced. The rafters and beams were set out like a chessboard, and so the public rejoiced. Thus, it was called the Tsuklakhang which is a Miracle of Four Joys.¹⁹

The Chinese Consort Gonzhu constructed a place for the statue of Jowo Śākyamuṇi, which was like triumphing over the wicked *nāga* spirits; she also built the Ramoché Tsuklakhang. Since it was decorated with a roof ornament like a tiger, Bawo Tsuklak Trengwa's *Festival of the Learned: A Religious History* says that it was known as the Chinese Tiger Ramoché Tsuklakhang. However, several people say that this account is fabricated.

The Zhang Zhung Consort Litikmen built the Timbu Kokpé Temple. The Ruyong consort built the Draklha Lupuk Temple. (Some people say she constructed the Mikmang Tsel Temple.) The Mong Consort Tricham built the Yerpa Temple.

This king also had one hundred and three ministers, sixteen great magical advisors, ten ministers authorized to issue orders, six good internal ministers, six powerful external ministers, Gartongtsen (who protected the border), Tönmi Sambhoṭa (who explained the script), Seru Gungtön, and Trizang Yangtön of Nyang (Nyak); the king brought all of these people down from their mountain houses and created a city. The latter four were his crucial ministers.²⁰ Thus, initially, there were five great regions in Tibet and eighteen lesser districts.

The king had sixty-one army units under commander Gö, personal bodyguards, and subordinate servants and officials. He appointed surveyors and ten great lawyers. He established the sixteen-point civil code and the six legal statutes. Six of Gö's army commanders (*tongpön*) had one thousand smaller groups of soldiers under them. Under the *Tongpön*, there were *Makpön*, *Pada*, *Rupön*, *Rugyap*, and volunteer soldiers. Each group had similar warhorses, war flags, armor, weapons, heroic emblems, signs, and insignias.

Each regional leader had to make sure that the local necessities of his small region were met, whereas the army leader had to subdue foreign threats. The grooms would be responsible for taking care of the horses so that they would be available for use. The treasurer stored the grain, gold, and silver. The disciplinarian administered justice.

In addition, there were six advisors, six offices, six seals, six conditions, and six groups of heroes in addition to the six laws. These are called the thirty-six necessities of Tibet.²¹ They are inscribed on a rock near Kongpo Buchu River.²²

The king was healthy, and people made offerings to him. He kept control of Gö from above, who was in turn supported from below. Thus, he did not fall under the control of either extreme. He did not bind women in jail. He protected the border and did not cut through farmers' fields with his horse. He vanquished his enemies and protected the public. He achieved the ten virtues and abandoned the ten non-virtues. Through all of these efforts, he was an unequalled protector of the government.

In the meanwhile, the territory of the upper part of Burma was brought under the authority of the Tibetan government.²³ In 640, Nepal was also subjugated.²⁴ It is said that a consequence of this occupation was that such families as the Tsang, Lama, Sherpa, and Tamang families in Nepal are descended from those Tibetans. In addition, the Nepalese king, Narendra Devi, erected a stone pillar called the Śiladeva, which reports that he paid taxes to Tibet. In 643, Zhang Zhung's King Lekmi became a subject of Tibet.²⁵

In 645, Songtsen Gampo sent a minister to the capital of China with instructions to construct temples at Riwo Tsenga in Shanxi. The Chinese king granted permission, and the temples constructed at Riwo Tsenga were called Wutai Shan in Chinese.²⁶

Songtsen Gampo's youngest queen had a daughter. The Mong Consort Tricham of Tölung had a son named Gungsong Gungtsen, and when he reached the age of thirteen, he ascended to the king's throne. However, he died at age eighteen. Thus, his father, Songtsen Gampo, once again took over the protection of the country.²⁷

In 648, the Chinese king sent his representative Wang Yuance along with thirty cavalrymen to establish harmonious relations with King Harsha of India (606–47). When they arrived in India, King Harsha was already dead; since he did not have a son, his minister Arjuna took control. However, Arjuna did not have faith in the Buddhist religion, so Buddhists lost all influence among the general population of India. Arjuna commanded that the members of the delegation from

the Chinese king be attacked and robbed. Wang Yuance and one of his assistants escaped; they reached Nepal, which was under Tibetan authority. Wang appealed to Songtsen Gampo for protection and assistance. Accordingly, the king sent twelve thousand cavalry from Tibet and seven thousand from Nepal.

The armies fought for three days at Hirahati, Bihar.²⁸ Arjuna's forces were defeated,²⁹ and Arjuna himself was captured by the Tibetan troops and taken to Tibet. His enemy, the king of Kamarupa, praised the Tibetan king and was so thoroughly happy that he sent horses, cattle, and other objects to him. The king of China was also utterly overjoyed at the assistance the Tibetan king had provided. Thereby, in return for the kindness he had shown, the Chinese king ordered that an image of Songtsen Gampo should be erected next to both the palace in which he continually resided and next to his final resting place. Despite these accounts, I have not seen any account of the arrival of Tibetan forces in India within Indian dynastic histories.

Accordingly, this Tibetan king had an inconceivably great influence on both the religion and politics of Tibet and its neighboring countries. If his life is examined from the uncommon religious perspective, which is the perspective available to those with spiritual insight, then when Songtsen Gampo was eighty-two years old, he arrived at the Rasa Trülnang Tsuklakhang along with the Nepalese Consort Queen Tritsün and the Chinese Consort Gongzhu. He explained his plans to the Mong Consort Tricham and Minister Zhangna Chenpo, saying that he and his two wives would be absorbed in meditation on the image of Avalokiteśvara and would thereby transform their aggregates into light. In the common perspective of the world, while the king and his wives were staying in Penyül, they caught an infectious disease from a servant girl of the Nepalese consort; the king and his two queens died.³⁰

Since there are so many traditions with regard to Songtsen Gampo's life, I have relied upon the large number of histories that I have seen myself. They state that he was born in 612, and given that he lived for eighty-two years, he must have died in 693. Though there is dispute over the years when Mangsong, Dusong, and others ascended to the throne, *The Concise Genealogy of Tibetan Divinities*³¹ authoritatively explains that Songtsen Gampo ruled for eighty-two years and lived for ninety-four years. Even if those facts are considered reliable, there are still other important inconsistencies among the accounts of his life.

Also, if one relies upon the records recovered from Dunhuang, which say he lived at the temple when he was thirty-two, and *The White*

Annals, which says he was thirty-six, then there is some agreement between these sources and what I have written. However, I can neither know what is correct nor give a reason not to trust other religious histories. I posit this as a basis for analysis, and other historians must investigate the matter in more detail if they wish to determine the facts with greater certainty.

The tomb in which Songtsen Gampo's remains lie is at Dönkhanda in Chonggyé. A traditionally cotton-wrapped body at the Pabongkha mountain retreat is said to be the remains of the Chinese consort.

After the death of Songtsen Gampo, Chinese troops arrived in Lhasa, setting fire to the Red Palace. According to the last will of the Chinese consort, the image of Jowo Śākyamuṇi was concealed behind the southern door of the Tsuklakhang called the Melongchen. Thus, it was not found. Many Tibetan histories report that the image of Jowo Mikyö Dorjé was carried away a distance of a few miles.³² However, there is not even a slight mention in the dynastic history of China or in the Dunhuang records that this happened. What follows will detail the extent of Tibetan military might during this time, and from this I think that those histories reporting the arrival of the Chinese troops in Lhasa are not correct.³³

Also, this may be just an unreliable rumor. Whatever the case may be, *The Mirror of the Southern Door* says that the images were buried. It also says that the Chinese consort wanted to have the two Jowo images switched in their places. More research is needed to resolve these questions.³⁴

Songtsen Gampo's son was named Gungsong Gungtsen, although some people call him Düsöng Dütöen or Mangsong Mangtsen. He ascended to the throne as a minor, and so until he reached majority, Gartongtsen took over political responsibility.

The internal ministers and governors of the border region met in 654; they resolved that the king, the internal ministers, and the petty kings and governors in the border regions should meet every year to confer on political and military preparations.³⁵ The following year, a vast number of Tibetan troops gathered in order to expel the Tuluhun people who were on the Chinese border. Gartongtsen also went to a place called Azha (Tuluhun) or Drugu; he stayed there for eight years commanding and overseeing the border armies. While the Tibetan armies that had made preparations entered into combat, Tuluhun's senior minister, Suhogui, took refuge in Tibet. He revealed the positions of his people to the Tibetans, who thereby were able to defeat the

Tuluhun people easily. Muyung Nohopo, the prince of Hoyuan, had to escape to Liangzhou at that time.

Gartongtsen returned to Lhasa from Azha or Drugu in 666. Several histories report that Gartongtsen died at the conclusion of the war with China.³⁶ Others explain that he died of a fever the following year.³⁷ Gartongtsen had four sons: Gartsen Nyadombu, Gartri Dringtsendro, Garlön Zidoyé, and Gartsen Nyensungtön (Garlön Belön). The oldest, Gartsen Nyadombu, became the senior minister and governor, and the other three became military leaders. During the seventh century, the Gar family was the pillar of the government of the great Tibetan Empire.

As a consequence of the defeat of the Tuluhun by the Tibetan army, a great number of refugees poured into Liangzhou. The Chinese king held a meeting of his senior ministers to discuss whether they should absorb the Tuluhun people or launch a war against Tibet. Minister Yen Lipen said that it would be unsuitable to fight against Tibet until the famine then present in China was over. General Chipi Holu expressed his opinion that there would be severe difficulties in transporting troops and supplies in a war with Tibet because of the great distances. Minister Yen said that they should wait and not be greatly concerned about the Tuluhun refugees.

He went on to say that if they waited until there were internal disputes among the Tibetans and their power thereby diminished, the Chinese king would then be able to drive them out all at once. Minister Jiang Ke disagreed with this approach, suggesting instead that if they delayed their attack on the Tibetans, there was a danger that the power of the Tibetans would increase even more. Thus, he concluded, they must fight immediately. Because they could not come to any agreement, they did not reach any decisions about either making war preparations or providing for the Tuluhun refugees.

In 668, a large military fortress was built at Drimakhöl.³⁸ The following year, the Tuluhun swore an oath of loyalty as subjects of the Tibetan king. In 670, the Tibetan army entered the Daram Valley, capturing four units of the Anshi army. The Chinese king sent the famous Chinese General Xue Jengui along with one hundred thousand troops with the charge of securing the return of the four units of the Anshi army. When they fought at Dafei Chuan, the Chinese army suffered a terrible defeat, and General Xue was demoted because of this military failure. In 1954, when the great fourteenth Dalai Lama was traveling to Beijing from Tibet, the Chinese Communist General Mao Zedong briefly mentioned this story.³⁹ In 671, Jiang Ke was appointed as the military leader, and

another Chinese army was sent to confront the Tibetans. However, he died on the way, and the Chinese army returned.

Subsequently, the Tibetan King Mangsong Mangtsen dispatched a minister named Jinjin, who knew how to speak and write Chinese, to inquire about the formation of harmonious relations with China. The Chinese king received him respectfully and asked him about Tibet. Tibetan Minister Jinjin said that his king was tremendously powerful and was able to concern himself with the welfare of his country. He continued, saying that the king's acute wisdom was greater even than that of his grandfather, Songtsen Gampo.

After saying a few things about the Tibetan way of life and manner of dress, he proclaimed the essential point that all of the Tibetans were in complete harmony, and even if taking a certain course of action seemed necessary, it was still always deliberated on beforehand. And only after such deliberations were those actions carried out. This approach, he concluded, was the source of Tibet's great strength. The Chinese king asked why Suhogui, who had deceived his own Tuluhun people and then revolted against China, had appealed to the Tibetan king for asylum and been given protection. Jinjin angrily replied that he had been sent to China to inquire about establishing harmonious relations and had not been given any instructions about such political affairs.⁴⁰

In 676, the Tibetans raided Shanzhou and Kuozhou in the province of Gansu; they killed many officers and people and carried the wealth they acquired back to Tibet. In response, the Chinese king dispatched Prime Minister Liu Jengui and his forces to Taoho and General Li Yu to Liangzhou. Yet, before these armies arrived, the Tibetan army looted the cities of Tiezhou, Migong, and Danling in Gansu. As a result, the Chinese emperor called his generals into his presence and berated them, saying that as a consequence of their carelessness, many cities in the northeast had been lost to Tibet. He demoted them and then gave the rank of commander in chief to his political secretary, Li Qingwen. He also ordered that reinforcements be called up from the provinces of Chiennan and Shannan and sent them to expel the Tibetan forces.

Li Qingwen attacked the Tibetan troops who were at Longji, defeating them. Again, the Chinese received new reinforcements and also attacked the Tsongön (Kokonor) region, where the senior Tibetan Minister Tsennya Dombu was residing. General Liu Shenli, who was under the command of Li Qingwen, and his troops crossed too far into the Tibetan forces and were killed by the Tibetan soldiers. After losing their military leader the Chinese troops fled in disarray and were

forced to make a break for it. But Heichi Changzhi, who was under Li Qingwen's command, led five hundred troops in an attack upon the Tibetan camp under the cover of night. Although he was able to disperse the Tibetans, Li Qingwen and his forces returned to Shanzhou. The Chinese king also berated him and demoted him in rank.

Even though they were China's most effective and capable military leaders, they lacked the ability to confront the Tibetan army. Consequently, the Chinese King Gaozu once again summoned all of his ministers to a meeting to confer on important military and political matters. He said that in the past they had easily overcome Gaoli (Korea), and yet presently they were being defeated continually by the Tibetan army. To this extent, he said, they must come up with some effective ideas. Most of them responded that it would be best if they held peace talks with the Tibetans. Others counseled that China make massive military preparations for the next several years after which time they would be able to overtake the Tibetan army. In the end, they resolved to build military camps along the border.⁴¹

The following year, the Tibetan King Mangsong Mangtsen died. However, this fact was concealed for three years, since the Tibetans thought the Chinese would attack if they knew there was no one in Tibet to carry on the king's lineage. When King Mangsong Mangtsen died, his queen was about to give birth to a son. The child is said to have been born seven days or one month after his father's death; there is no certainty as to the duration of the intervening period. At any rate, it is certain that he was born not long after his father's death. Prince Dusong Mangjé⁴² was called the "King Who Manifested from a Black Wind." When he reached the age of three, he was told of his father's death.

The people of Zhang Zhung, who were Tibetan subjects, revolted in 677. However, the uprising was completely suppressed the following year. Throughout this time, the Tibetans' fearful power was displayed toward its neighbors. At this time, there were seven military leaders who were famous in Tibet. All of them were skilled in horsemanship, fighting, archery, swordsmanship, and military strategy, and they could race with wild asses and wrestle wild yaks. By name, these tremendously capable heroes were Ngok Drongshor, Ngok Lingkham, Nön Gyeltsen, Bagö Dongchen, Gö Yakchung, Chokro Drongshor, and Nöntri Tönyüljin.

The Governor-Minister Gartsen Nyadombu died in 685; his brother Gartri Dringtsendro took over his responsibilities. The two younger brothers headed up the military protecting the border and continued

to campaign against the Chinese. However, since the power of the Gar brothers was becoming so great, the oaths sworn between the king and the ministers began to suffer. Gartsen Nyensungtön revolted against the king and so was killed by the Tibetan military.

The Gar minister Zindosé was captured by Chinese forces in 694. Consequently, in 698 Governor-Minister Gartri Dringtsendrö was demoted. The following year, he was summoned by the king and chose to take his own life. This is clearly shown in the Chinese records.⁴³ There is nothing of the sort in Tibetan records. According to the oral tradition transmitted by government officials, most of the very capable ministers and others in Tibet who have done important things for Tibet have eventually been punished; this goes on even now. Minister Gar's descendants were punished even for his kind deeds. Government officials always say that this is true.

When Dusong Mangjé was overtaken by a severe illness, a very beautiful bird brought him the leaf from a tree and gave it to the king. Tea was made from it. The custom of drinking tea from leaves initially began at this time. There are also stories that porcelain cups and saucers for drinking tea began to be manufactured at this time.⁴⁴

Chinese records say that the Tibetan King (Dusong Mangjé) was killed when he personally conducted troops to Nepal and northern India in order to suppress a revolt.⁴⁵ However, most Tibetan religious histories agree on the single issue that Dusong Mangjé, the King Who Manifested from a Black Wind, died in Jangyül. The Dunhuang records say that he died in a place called Mayva (*sme ba*) in 704.⁴⁶ These days this place is called Nanzhao⁴⁷ and is located in the Yunnan Province. This is indicated by many histories of foreign countries. In addition, the records of Thai or Siam, presently called Thailand, say:⁴⁸

The entire Province of Yunnan that had previously been part of China was enveloped by the Thai Kingdom. The Chinese continually attacked Thai territory during the eighth century. As a result, the Thai king requested the assistance of the king of Tibet. Tibet provided continual military assistance.

Accordingly, there is a clear indication that when the king of Tibet went to assist the Thai king's army, he died in Jang or Mewa (*sme wa*). Dusong Mangjé's son, who was known as Tridé Tsuktsen or Tridé Tsukden, was born at Denkar Palace in 697. At the age of seven, his father died, and he ascended to the king's throne. However, his grandmother Trimalo served as regent until he attained majority. Thereby the

government was preserved. Tridé Tsuktsen had several wives; one of them was from Thailand. Tibetans called her the Jang Consort Tritsün. His primary ministers were Bekyé Sangtongtsen, Chimgyel Zikshuting, and Drochung Zangorma. Later, when he was old, this king had a long beard and mustache. Thus he was also known as the “Bearded Grandfather” (*mes ag tshom*).

He oversaw new construction such as Lhasa’s Khardrak, Chimpu Namrel (Namtre), Darmar Khadrak, Lingchu Tritsé, Drakmar Karu or Gangchu Sharlho, Pangtang Kamé, and Drakmar Drinzang.⁴⁹ Many sūtras, medical treatises, and other such documents were translated.

A daughter was born to another queen. The Jang Consort Tritsün bore a son named Jangtsa Lhawön, who was physically and spiritually superior to other humans. When this prince died, a request had already been made to the Chinese king that Chinese Princess Jincheng Gongzhu (Kemshing Kongjo) be sent to Tibet to become the prince’s queen, just as queens had previously come from China in the time of Songtsen Gampo. The Chinese king agreed to give a princess before the vitality of the Tibetan Royal House was exhausted and went as far as Shi Pingxian himself to see off the princess. Out of respect for the princess he changed the name of that place from Shi Pingxian to Jincheng Gongzhu. A Chinese military leader named Yangju accompanied her as far as the Tibetan border along with his army. The Chinese king had to send Princess Jincheng Gongzhu to Tibet to be married to maintain peace and avoid conflict between Tibet and China along their border. But events did not develop as the Chinese king had wished.

While Jincheng Gongzhu was on the way to Tibet, Prince Jangtsa Lhawön died when, in the middle of the night, he was struck by a mantrika’s magical arrow at Jangtang Gera. Some people say that he was killed through the power of Nyaktri Zangyang. For whatever reason, the prince died. As a result, the Chinese consort was told, “You may return to China or be married to the prince’s father. Whatever you want to do, you can do.” She decided that since one only gets married once, she would go with the prince’s father. Both the Dunhuang records⁵⁰ and Chinese accounts⁵¹ say that the Chinese consort went to Tibet in 710.

But even though the Bearded Grandfather had just reached only the age of twelve, and it is said that Jincheng Gongzhu was given a reception as the queen of Jangtsa Lhawön. Needless to say, these accounts are inconsistent and further detailed research should be done to determine the correct chronology of events.

While Princess Jincheng was in Tibet, she could not be consoled. Because the senior queen was very jealous of her, she was terribly unhappy. Thereby, she secretly wrote a letter to a petty Tibetan lord named Gohi Fiwang, the leader of Azha; she said that he must provide her with refuge should she be able to escape. However, Gohi Fiwang was unable to offer asylum to her out of fear that this would result in a war with the Tibetan king. However he did pass along the contents of the Chinese consort's message to the king of Jang, Go Lofang, who was an ally of Tibet and who was called Shé Thaigau (*shi'i tha'i goo*) in Chinese. (He was from the Thai kingdom.) Though he also was unable to accept the request, Go Lofang reported the situation to the Chinese king.

As soon as this news reached the Chinese king, he became very frightened. He was terribly concerned that if his daughter fled, warfare would erupt between China and Tibet. Consequently, he sent a special fast courier to Tibet with a letter urging that whatever happiness or suffering, benefits or faults, arose, she must remain in Tibet for her own welfare and for the welfare of her country. Her only choice was to remain in Tibet. There are also accounts that because of her agitated state of mind, she destroyed several excellent maps in Tibet.

Before long, in 742, a son was born named Trisong Detsen.⁵² The Chinese consort said:

When a boy was born to me, I repented because the auspicious signs had been annihilated. However, there is a way to restore the signs that have degenerated.

Thus, auspicious signs were restored.

The Chinese consort wanted to reveal the image of Jowo Śākyamuṇi that had previously been brought from China as a support for Wencheng Gongzhu's religious practices.⁵³ It was taken out from where it had been concealed behind the Lhogo Melong Door of the Rasa Trül-nang Tsuklakhang and was positioned as the primary image of the Tsuklakhang. The image of Jowo Mikyö Dorjé, which had been a support for the religious practice of Songtsen Gampo's Nepalese consort, had been taken to Mangyül by ministers who had been partial to the Bön religion. After having been brought there, it was positioned as the primary image of the Ramoché Tsuklakhang.

During this period, increased cooperation developed between Tibet and the Arabs. Thus, in 719, the Chinese King Xuanzong had to increase his military vastly. Formerly, authors of the dynastic history of the Arab

lands were very concerned about Tibet; in their writings they referred to the country as “Tüpüt” and “Tüpüt-Kaghan,” and Barthold says that these names are found as early as the Orkhon inscriptions.⁵⁴ During this period, Tibetans established extensive trade relations with Muslims in Arabia, trading musk and other commodities.

In 730, the Tibetan Lord Tridé Tsukten (the Bearded Grandfather) wrote a letter to the Chinese king requesting many texts on increasing military strength and on protecting a region. Minister Yu Xiulie wanted to prevent the books from being sent, saying that it would be unsuitable to give this information to the Tibetans. However, the Chinese king sent the texts that the Tibetan king wanted. Yet, there is a report that many sūtras and medical texts were sent in place of each of the books mentioned above.

A Tibetan mission was sent to the Chinese Palace to report that the Chinese Consort Jincheng Gongzhu had become ill and died. While there, the mission also expressed that it was necessary to hold peace talks between China and Tibet. The Chinese king did not assent to this proposal. Thus, before long, four hundred thousand Tibetan troops seized control of a city in China called Chengfeng. They then moved into China's interior. The massive forces of a Chinese general named Sheng Xiye stopped the Tibetan army at the Changning Bridge. The city called Shipu was recaptured by the Chinese only in 748.⁵⁵

The Tibetan Lord Tridé Tsuktsen died in 755. Most religious histories report that he died while riding a horse in Yardrok Batsel. The inscription on the stone pillar erected during Trisong Detsen's time in the Zhöl village below Lhasa's Potala Palace says:

Although Bel Dongtsap and Lang Mezik were both senior ministers, they had no regard for the king. Thus, it was under their authority that King Tridé Tsuktsen was beaten to death.

It is absolutely certain that he was killed by the two ministers.

As soon as the Bearded Grandfather was killed, his son, Trisong Detsen, who was fourteen years old, ascended to the throne. As his father and grandfather had done in the past, he wished to make finding a way to enhance the Buddhist religion a priority. However, temporary difficulties emerged for the king in putting his ideas into practice because of the great authority of his ministers such as Mazhang Drönpa Kyé and Takra Lugong who were partial to the Bön religion.

Minister Takra Lugong will be gradually discussed below. Many scholars have made the mistake of confusing the latter with the Takdra

Lugong who is mentioned on the stone pillar in the Zhöl village below the Potala Palace, sometimes known as Ngenlam Lugong. Let it be known that Takra Lugong was an opponent to religion, whereas Takdra Lugong was an ally of the king's plans. It is also necessary to investigate ministerial orders that say such things as "Ngenlam Tara Lugong."

Accordingly, ministers who took joy in religion made efforts to fulfill the wishes of the king. Yet they were obstructed by the more powerful ministers. The former ministers thought that if two ministers who had previously been powerful were eliminated, then it would be easier to accomplish certain goals. The religious ministers said that Gö Trizang⁵⁶ was going to try to eliminate the other two ministers, and they thereby requested assistance to help him achieve this. Bribes were given to fortune-tellers and people skilled in reading signs who then agreed to report a prophecy saying that because of the emergence of inauspicious signs with respect to the increasing threats to the king's welfare and to the country, there was no alternative but to substitute a hostage for the king. Thus, one day all of the senior and junior ministers met to discuss this issue. While they conferred about the alternatives, Gö Trizang and Zhang Nyamzang said, "Both of us have the greatest and most enduring respect for the king and also we have the capacity to give our lives for the benefit of the king and the government. Therefore, at this time, we are going as ransom for the king's life."

They were praised by the other ministers. Mazhang Drönpa Kyé and Takra Lugong, who became terribly angry and ashamed, countered by saying, "We are the senior ministers and have continually been concerned for the welfare of the government. Because of our closeness to the king, it would be unsuitable for anyone but ourselves to go as ransom for the king's life."

All of the ministers praised them and were able to be supportive by saying that this was eminently suitable and would be tremendously important. The senior ministers Mazhang Drönpa Kyé and Takra Lugong were sent as ransom for the king's life to Tölung and Penpo respectively, where they were put in a grave alive.⁵⁷

As for the tradition of "being placed at a graveyard alive," most people think that being concealed alive means that the person is killed, but this is not the case. An order of the king says:

With regard to the tomb,

The king's tomb is to be protected by whatsoever internal ministers there are.

Pretending to be dead, they are subjects of the king's corpse.
 They are set apart from society, the living being separate from the dead,
 Being committed as a subject of the corpse.

Accordingly, "being placed at a graveyard alive" or "being committed as a subject of the corpse" means that a person stays at a graveyard or a tomb.

It was impermissible for anyone to meet with the "living dead." People making offerings at the graveyard, such as members of the royal family, would go there carrying necessary provisions, such as food and clothing, for those living at the graveyard. From a great distance, a horn would be sounded, and the so-called dead would conceal themselves in their dwellings and wait. When those making offerings and bringing provisions had withdrawn, the horn would be sounded again. Then the so-called dead could come out and take possession of the food and clothing. Since the livestock of these people also had the signs of being dead, no one would ever seize them. However, if a cow wandered into the graveyard, it was seized by the so-called dead and given marks of death. Its owner could not kill it, and so it was sent back to the graveyard. This is evidently similar to what happened to Mazhang Drönpa Kyé and Takra Lugong.

After the ministers opposed to religion were eliminated, King Trisong Detsen dispatched Minister Baselnang⁵⁸ to Nepal; he invited to Tibet the great Indian scholar Śāntarakṣita,⁵⁹ who arrived at the Drakmar Palace (Samyé) by way of Lhasa. With a Muslim serving as translator, the Great Abbot Zhiwatso Śāntarakṣita gave religious teachings on the ten virtues, the eighteen constituents, and the twelve links of dependent-origination. The demons were angered and flung lightning upon the Red Hill in Lhasa, flooded Pangtang Palace, and afflicted people and livestock with illnesses. Thus, the Tibetan people said that these unpleasant consequences were caused by the practice of Buddhism. Therefore, Śāntarakṣita explained that his master Padmasaṃbhava⁶⁰ must be invited, and then he temporarily departed for Nepal.

Following the Great Abbot's advice, the king dispatched Minister Baselnang and six other ministers and servants⁶¹ to India to invite the Tantric Master Padmasaṃbhava; at that time, the Master Rinpoché was going from Nepal to Mangyül, where they met him. The minister offered him gifts of gold, and he agreed to go to Tibet. The ministers were sent on ahead, and the master followed later. He arrived as if he intended to exorcise the wicked demons of Tibet. The master met

with Trisong Detsen at Zungkhanda and stayed at Drakmar Trinzang. It is said that in order to inspire faith in the king and his ministers, the master caused one of the deities of the four great kings to descend into the body of a young child who then said:⁶²

The Tanglha deity has struck the Red Hill with lightening;
The Yarlha Shampo deity has moved Pangtang Palace in the water.

This was the first time a deity was tamed in Tibet. Thereafter, the Great Abbot Zhiwatso was again invited; thereby, the Great Abbot Śāntarakṣita, the Master Padmasaṃbhava, and the Religious King Trisong Detsen met with each other.

Thereafter, according to the king's wishes, the Master Padmasaṃbhava performed a consecration ceremony, and in 764 the Great Abbot laid the foundation of the Samyé Mingyur Lhüngyi Drupé Tsuklakhang, with Odantapuri Tsuklakhang in Bihar serving as a model.⁶³ Twelve years later, the structure and its contents were completed, including the peak ornaments on the temples dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, the four wings like the four continents,^f the subcontinents, and the Jomo continent. It was also known as the Mingyur Lhüngyi Drupé Tsuklakhang of Three Styles.⁶⁴ While several texts call it the Unchangeable Zenyang (*zan yang*) Style, Changkya Rinpoché asserts that Chinese sources called it Senyang (*san yang*) Style. The Great Abbot Bodhisattva and the Master Padmasaṃbhava consecrated it, and a magnificent festival was held. Detailed accounts of the way in which Samyé was constructed are to be found in Ba Yeshé Wangpo, *The Religious History of King Trisong Detsen*, *The Crystal Cave Chronicles*, *The Copper Continent*, and *The Golden Garland*. As for English sources, one should investigate those mentioned in this note.⁶⁵

Having invited twelve monks to come to Tibet to teach all that exists, the king selected seven faithful and intelligent men in order to evaluate whether or not it was possible to train men to be monks in Tibet; they were Pagor Vairocana, Chim Shakya Dewa, Ba Yeshé Wangpo, Ngenlam Gyelwa Chokyang, Ma Rinchen Chok, Khönlui Wangpo, and Tsang Lekdrup. As the Great Abbot Bodhisattva bestowed vows on

^f In Buddhist cosmology, the world of comprised of Mount Meru in the center and four continents spread out in the four cardinal directions. They are: Purva Videha (*shar lus 'phags po*), Jambudvīpa (*lho 'dzam bu gling*), Aparagodaniya (*nub ba lang spyod*), and Uttarakura (*byang sgra mi snyan*). There are also eight subcontinents.

them, they became the initial group of monks in Tibet. The behavior of these monks fulfilled expectations, and eventually, many sharp-minded children became monks. The king founded twelve great monasteries as far away as Dokham. Contemplative monasteries were founded at Yerpa and Chimpu. A school was established at Samyé Monastery for the study of Sanskrit, and many translators arrived. A tremendous number of Buddhist texts on tantra and dialectics were translated. In the eleventh century, when the great Bengali scholar, the glorious Atiśa, arrived at Samyé Monastery, he said:⁶⁶

Since I saw the original texts before, I know there are many texts here that do not exist in India. As a result, such a dissemination of religion as is occurring now is not even like what took place in India.

Although several texts describe how the seven original monks were ordained before the construction of the Samyé Tsuklakhang, most of them say that Samyé was built first.

The last words of the Great Abbot Bodhisattva, who died after being kicked by a horse, were:

When a debate occurs between two divided camps of Buddhism, my student Kamalaśīla ought to be invited to enter the fray. He will pacify the religious dispute.

Just as the Great Abbot had predicted, a monk named Hoshang Mahāyāna arrived from China. He said that it was not necessary to engage in verbal or physical religious activities because people were purified not by verbal and physical virtues but through a meditation that consists of unconsciousness and mental inactivity. His beliefs gave rise to a significant religious dispute. Yeshé Wangpo appealed to the king on the basis of the Great Abbot's last will. Thus, Paṇḍita Kamalaśīla was invited from India, and for two years (792–794), the paṇḍita and Hoshang Mahāyāna debated. At the end of this time, Hoshang Mahāyāna was defeated, whereupon he presented a garland of flowers to Paṇḍita Kamalaśīla.

Thereafter, everyone—the king, his queen, the royal family, the petty kings, and the internal and external ministers—swore an oath to respect, protect, and love the true Buddhist religion so long as they lived. Thirteen copies of a proclamation were written on blue paper in gold ink, and they were announced throughout Tibet. A condensed version of the proclamation was inscribed on a stone pillar that was erected at the threshold of Samyé Tsuklakhang.⁶⁷

Thereafter, Samyé Tsuklakhang was consecrated and completed. Since the trial monks had thoroughly accomplished everything as the king had

wished, a magnificent celebration, with dancing and horse racing, was held. Throughout the festival, the king and all the ministers participated in countless games, with singing, dancing, archery contests, horse racing, and so forth. Meanwhile, the king sang the following song:⁶⁸

All five precious things⁶⁹ are produced in the Land of Tibet.
 The five grains are enjoyments used by humankind.
 This land, in the midst of the sun, is equally warm and cold.
 I am pleased to have become the king of Tibet.
 Thus, being joyous, the action of collecting among the dust has resulted in wealth.
 The action of thinking day and night has resulted in understanding.
 The actions of heroic nobles have resulted in this plan.
 I, King Trisong Detsen, am happy.
 Buddhism was initiated under my ancestor Tori Nyentsen.
 Buddhist traditions were introduced under Songtsen Gampo.
 The foundation for Buddhism was laid by Trisong Detsen.
 Since the good is being promoted, I am happy.
 The gods, demons, and people of Tibet have been bound with vows.
 The walls of Samyé built during the day were raised higher by gods and demons at night.
 It is joyous that the three styles of pinnacles on my Samyé
 Seem to have produced different walls.
 In the perspective of our parents, do not perform sinful actions.
 For the purpose of life, do not abandon the supreme religion.
 For the benefit of this life, protect the government and religion likewise.
 For the benefit of the next life, take joy through holy religious actions.
 I will protect the government externally, like cattle and sheep.
 I will protect the government internally, like a grandson.
 I will protect the government in the middle, like a servant.
 There is joy in the King's power through religious behavior.

Since 750, there were continual conflicts along the border between China and Tibet.

Consequently, the Tibetan Lord Trisong Detsen ordered a massive force of two hundred thousand troops from Tuluahun (Azha or Drugu) to China under the leadership of his ministers Shangyel Lhanang, Shangchim Gyelzik Shuteng, Takdra Lugong, and Lhazang Pel in 763. They attacked the Chinese city of Qingzhou; the governor of the region, Gaohui, surrendered to them. Before long, the Tibet army seized Feng Sihuen, a city in Binzhou. The Chinese King Taitsung, who held power

⁶⁹ The five precious things (*rin chen sna lnga*) are gold (*gser*), silver (*ngul*), turquoise (*g.yu*), coral (*byu ru*), and pearl (*mu tig*).

in China from 763 to 804, dispatched his senior minister, Guo Ziyi, along with a massive army to confront the Tibetans. However, since he was unable to forestall their advance, he fled. Since the governor of the region, Gaohui, was forced to guide the Tibetan army, the Tibetan soldiers flooded into the Chinese capital Xi'an with great speed. Even the Chinese king had to flee in the direction of Sinku (*sin ku*) from the capital; the senior minister Guo Ziyi escaped to Niuxingu in the south with his family and many civilians.

Having reached the capital, the Tibetans appointed Chenghong (Gaowang), Prince of Kuangwu (*kong hu*), as the emperor of China; he was the brother of Kemshing Kongjo (*kem shing kong jo*) and adopted the title of Trashi. According to the tradition of starting a new year when a new Chinese emperor was enthroned, it was proclaimed throughout China that the year of Emperor Trashi had begun. The Tibetans received a letter from China that tribute would be paid to Tibet each year. Fifteen days later, the Tibetan army withdrew from the Chinese capital.⁶⁹

During Trisong Detsen's reign, the events mentioned above were inscribed on the southern face of the stone pillar below the Potala Palace in Lhasa. Over the many years since then it has been struck by stones, and so some of the words are unclear. Except for the marks, the remainder is as follows:⁷⁰

During the reign of the Tibetan King, Tridé Tsuktsen (the Bearded Grandfather), Ngenlam Lukhong served his Lord with devotion. Although Bel Dongtsap and Lang Mezik were senior ministers, they were not devoted to the Lord. Thus, they killed the powerful father, Tridé Tsuktsen. They also beat the powerful son Trisong Detsen and involved the people in political conflict. Besides that, Lukhong reported his dissatisfaction concerning Bel Dongtsap and Lang Mezik to the powerful son Trisong Detsen. Thereby it came to be known as fact that Bel Dongtsap and Lang Mezik did not respect the Lord. The two of them were punished and affection was shown toward Lukhong.

During the reign of the powerful son Trisong Detsen, Ngenlam Lukhong was included in important discussions, since the king regarded him with affection and he was included among the internal ministers. He understood the political situation and he was initially appointed as the military commander of the war effort in Khartsen (China).

Since he was skilled in warfare and strategy, he subdued the people of Azha (Tuluhun), which was under China's authority. Tribute was received from China. The power of Chinese forces was diminished because the border region was cut off. Yarmotang, which was part of China... and in the direction of Tsongka... and so forth, from... Ngapochel. Lukhong... war

enemies...made the kingdom great...gave superior advice...he was an trustworthy and he worked for the benefit of the government.

King Trisong Detsen was a very profound man and he had extremely important ideas. Thus, everything he did on behalf of the government was faultless. He conquered many areas and castles that had been part of China and brought them under his control. The Chinese Lord He'u Giwang (he'u 'ik wang) and his ministers paid tribute to Tibet each year in the form of fifty thousand rolls of silk. The Chinese had to pay this tax.

Subsequently, the Chinese Lord He'u Giwang died and his son Wang Pengwang took the throne. When the king became angry because he did not pay the tribute to Tibet, Ngenlam Lukhong had great plans for leading the attack by the Tibetan army against Kengshi Palace, in the middle of China. Zhang Chimgyel Gyelzig Shuteng and Minister Takdra Lukhong were appointed as the two chief commanders for the campaign against Kengshi. In the Kengshi campaign, there was a tremendous battle with the Chinese on the banks of a great river called the Chowchi. The Tibetans gained victory and many Chinese were killed. Thus, even the Chinese Lord Pengwang left the Kengshi Castle, escaping in the direction of Sinku. Tibetan forces seized Kengshi. The Chinese Emperor, Wang Pengwang, left the fort in Kengshi and fled to Sinku.

The king's internal ministers, Chewu...Keng, Don Kyan, and So Kyan...subjects of the (Tibetan) King...Tibet...Gaowang, the younger brother of Kemshing Kongjo, was made emperor of China...Minister...vassals, great and small...the (Tibetan) Empire was firmly established and it became famous far and wide. Lukhong was trusted by the king and made tremendous efforts for the benefit of the government.

Except for those places where ellipses have been placed instead of the missing words, the remainder has been transcribed correctly, and the archaic terms have been updated. If ancient reliable sources are ever located, then these ellipses should be filled in.

If you compare the text of the inscription on the south face of the stone pillar mentioned above and Chinese historical texts, they agree in most of the phrasings. However, they do have some disagreement in the spellings of several personal names, city names, and place names. For example, whereas the stone pillar has Kengshi, Chinese records say Jincheng.⁷¹

The east side of the pillar, dedicated to Minister Takdra Lukhong, has a brief account of the deeds of the senior internal minister. On the north face, a long record is inscribed that explains the special privileges granted to Minister Takdra Lukhong and his descendants for as long as they lived.

Peace negotiations between Tibet and China began in 783. Upon completing this treaty at a place called Qingshui, the border between

the two kingdoms was established. The territory to the west of the Taozhou and the Tatu rivers in the Tsongön region was included within Tibet.⁷² Beneath the desert occupied by the Deng Xinjiang people, the remains of a Tibetan castle, many personal articles, and several old texts have been found. From among these, two texts that are also included in Gendün Chöpel La's *White Annals* are recorded here. The first one is as follows:⁷³

Text of the order issued from the Denkar Palace to the district officers of Shachu during the mid-winter of the Dragon year:

The subjects have petitioned:

There is a tradition of making rich offerings for an annual tribute of tongli [fruit] to the palace and to the military general each year. The king's garden has several yards; but still it is not enough. Through the kindness of the incarnate lord, those of us from the upper classes in Lhobel are also able to cultivate gardens outside our houses. As we have not paid the annual tribute, the district officers have perpetually oppressed us and are now considering how to steal from us. We ask that you issue an urgent order to forestall the theft of the people's garden produce and to prevent their grief now and in the future.

Signed by the Ministers Tromzher and Lhabzang under the great Minister Zhang.

It was impressed with a square seal with a design.

Regarding this quote, Denkar Palace is known to be the place where the initial printing of the Buddhist Canon was undertaken, the Tongtang Denkar Palace. Shachu seems to be the name of a district in Liyul Tongkhyab. The Tibetan word tsejé (*rtse rje*) means the regional minister or district officer, and the Tibetan word tromchen (*khrom chen*) means military general. I think that lotang lakyé (*lo thang bla skyes*) means the annual tribute and tongli (*tong li*) is the name of a fruit.^h

The second text is as follows:⁷⁴

The decree issued by the great minister from Dünsa Longchu in the spring of the year of the Hog:

We have received petitions from different leaders of the Gya and Dé saying that in the past, Bösum, and Minister Shang Yaya had requested daughters from the Gyasha Chuba family under the pretext of marriage, when in fact they were frequently used as servants. They have been forcibly taken from the king's subjects.

^h Shakabpa follows this with a further gloss which I have employed in rendering the translation. It would be redundant to include it here.

It is hereby ordered that the daughters of Tongkhyap, for example, should not be taken as wives to other places. They should marry who they like within the Tridé region. It should always be like this. They request to be allowed to marry among their own people in their own province. Like Buzang, they are entrusted with the seal.

It was impressed with a square seal having the design of the winged lion.

There are many names for the places where the Tibetans fought against the Chinese to the north and east of the Machu River, such as Gyatrak Tang (the field of Chinese blood) or Gyatur Tang (the field of Chinese graves).⁷⁵

During the time of the Tibetan Lord Trisong Detsen, responsibility for the various regions of the four directions was given to different military leaders. In the northern region, responsibility was given to nine famous generals. The king asked them if they would be able to protect the northern region steadfastly and if they needed reinforcements. The nine generals said that they accepted full responsibility for protecting the north region. Consequently, the area they were bound to protect was known as Gutup (*dgu thub*, i.e., the Capable). Many years later, the nine generals asked the king if they should return from the frontier. He told them not to return until they had received his orders. Thus, they settled in that region as nomads. The descendants of those who remained are called those who don't return without orders.⁷⁶

During the reign of King Trisong Detsen, the Tibetans formed several different military alliances. In 750, Ko Lofeng, the son of Pilawko, ascended to the throne as the king of Siam (Thailand) or of what is presently called Thailand. While he was king, China perpetually harassed Siam. Consequently, he sought asylum from the king of Tibet, and Tibet and Siam formed a military alliance.⁷⁷ In 754, a place called Nanzhou, which was under the control of Siam, was invaded by the Chinese. Tibet sent an army, which expelled the Chinese troops. In 778, Imohsun, who succeeded Ko Lofeng as Siam's king, requested military assistance from the Tibetan king. Tibet and Siam jointly crossed into Sichuan. Tibetan troops remained in Siam for eight years, and when agreeable relations were concluded between Siam and China, the Tibetan army returned to Tibet.⁷⁸

In order to recover a Buddhist statue, King Trisong Detsen sent troops into Bhadarwah. The king was pursuing an image of Pehar that had been stolen from a contemplative monastery in the region. When it was recovered, it was entrusted with the protection of the wealth of Samyé Monastery. Several sources report that the Great

Abbot Śāntarakṣita, the Master Padmasaṃbhava, and the Religious King Trisong Detsen conferred with one another and dispatched a messenger saying that Pehar would arrive at Samyé Monastery after a turquoise image, a mask, and Dharmapāla's dynastic history of Zahor had been installed there.⁷⁹

Moreover, King Ajāsattu's share of the relics of the One Gone Thus was within the Mahabodhi Stūpa of Magadha, India. In order to obtain a portion for the five great stūpas at Samyé Monastery, the king gathered all of the maned animals (horses) and fixed a time for meeting at Gö's Pakri.⁸⁰ The cavalry at Pelmo Peltang numbered 140 million. Being led by the master, they arrived in India. When the king of that region saw the cavalry he became alarmed, saying that if the cavalry of this barbarian king was so large, then what would his infantry, chariots, and his herds of elephants be like? He placed the shoes of the king of Tibet above the threshold of the palace. Then he said, "I place my kingdom beneath your power. I will offer annual tribute."

Thereafter, the king crossed the Ganges River, leading his army to Magadha. All of the people of Magadha delivered their wealth to Odantapuri Monastery and then escaped to the east. Without having to do battle, the Tibetans went to Bodhgaya, where they made offerings to the bodhi tree. They opened the stūpa and took six measures of Buddha's relics from within. Then they sealed it as it had been before. They erected an iron pillar at Jé Khung that said:

Having appointed four Tibetans on the shore of the Ganges River, Tibetan territory extends to this point. Thus, the stone pillar should be placed here.

By the time they returned to Tibet the army had greatly diminished; many of the soldiers may have chosen to stay in India because of that country's warmer climate. Because those who have advanced spiritual capacities are able to manifest physical bodies wherever they wish in order to accomplish spiritual purposes, the king was able to manifest emanations in order to bring the relics back from India. The master said that they didn't have anything more than this first army.⁸¹ There is an explanation of this in Gendün Chöpel's *White Annals*. However, in fact the purpose of that army was not to stir up conflict between the two countries or to seize territory. Rather the king, by means of his emanations, had sent that army to make offerings at Bodhgaya and to obtain relics of the One Gone Thus.

At the end of the powerful Trisong Detsen's life, Tibetan power had reach far to the east and west. In 692, the Chinese Prince Wu had lead a massive army that seized four Tibetan battlefields in Jenshi (Anshi); those areas were recovered by the Tibetans in 790. Likewise, a powerful unit of the Tibetan army went to the Pamirs in the west, even crossing the Oxus River into Arab lands. A sign of the Tibetans having been there is that there is a lake on the north side of the Oxus River that bears the Arabic name Al-Tubbat (the Little Tibetan Lake).⁸² Also at that time, not only was there a small lake called Al-Tubbat, but the name also appears on old maps. Just a few years later the Arab caliph, Harun al-Rashid, realized that the Tibetans were becoming increasingly powerful and therefore formed an alliance with the Chinese in order to obstruct the Tibetan army.⁸³ Thereafter, the Arabs and the Chinese attacked the Tibetans; despite some defeats, the Tibetans managed to avoid any loss of territory. Thus, this was as far as they would be able to expand their territory. Petech says:⁸⁴

The very fact that nothing less than the coalition of the two most powerful empires of the early Middle Ages was necessary for checking the expansion of the Tibetan state is a magnificent witness of the political capacities and military valor of those sturdy mountaineers.

Also, Bretschneider says although the Tibetans had been continually engaged in launching attacks to the east between the years 785 and 805, from that time on, their military attention was diverted to the west. The reason for this is that hardships diminished in the Chinese provinces on the border. Tibetan sources do not describe these matters clearly. Aside from that, reports reached the west of the tremendous ferocity of the Tibetans.⁸⁵

Although I have not found any clear account of the Tibetan army's incursion into Arab territory within Tibetan records, throughout the lifetime of Tibet's Lord Trisong Detsen, he formed alliances with foreign kings. With regard to the military preparation in Tibet, Desi Sangyé Gyatso's *Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary* says:⁸⁶

I have heard that in histories about the occasion of suppressing enemy spirits, many parts of India and China, as well as many parts of Nepal, Kashmir, Persia, and so forth were brought under [Tibet's] control. The authority of Tibet was enhanced by seven times what it had been in ancestral times. Lihara, the king of the Northern Gesar army, became king over the entire world, thereby overcoming the country of Gesar.

The regional armies gathered together and rushed off in the four directions on foot. Thus, they realized that the kings of the four tribes had not been subjugated. Deceptive messages were sent to each of them.

To the east, there was the astrological king of China. To the south, there was the religious king of India. To the west, there was the wealthy king of Persia. To the north, there was Gesar, the military king. These are the great powers in the four regions of the world.

However, Tibet was established in a wilderness called the Land of Snows. Ignorant people gave him the name "king." Now he was overcoming the power of the kings of the four directions. They thought that if they didn't subdue him quickly, then he would run free like a monkey, and he would attack like a heroic tiger. Thus the evil plan was launched that the armies from the four directions gathered together.

It was decided that eight hundred thousand Chinese troops would enter from Tsongkha in the east, three Kodöl units of Eastern Indians would enter from the midst of southern Nyel, eight hundred thousand Tazik Gartrom troops would enter, having slipped in from Marnyel in the west, and one million soldiers of Trom Gesar would enter from near the Chakpo Snow Mountains to the north.

At the end of the spring of the Bird Year, war was in the air. The king and all of the ministers gathered in Samyé to discuss matters. Since people were anxious, various opinions developed. Some people said they should fight, but most of them said they should escape to the south.

A religious minister said, "How many are we going to kill, one hundred or one thousand? How many will be able to escape, one hundred or one thousand? The entire country would have to escape. Only ten people have ventured an opinion. We must ask the Three Precious jewels in whom the people of Tibet have faith."

Thus, people went into the presence of the Master Padmasambhava at Samyé Chimpu to ask him. He replied, "Listen! If you fight against the four directions, it will be a bad omen for Ü. If you fight a powerful army, all life will be destroyed. If many people agree on the plan, then it is possible to move the entire mountain. You must be very careful. You must search around for the skullcaps of various living beings,

He wrote the names of the army leaders of the four directions and their troops and placed them in four skullcaps. He said a prayer and buried them in the four directions.

The armies of the four directions were delayed. Thus, they asked each other, "What is the lineage of this Tibetan king? What are his deeds?" They heard the reply, "He came from the lineage of Indian kings and his deeds are virtuous." The enemies said, "Then, his lineage is good, and he has faith in the Three Jewels. His strength is not based on the size of his army or on wicked deeds. Through faith and belief, he has consolidated power. Thus, others will be unable to affect him. Thus, we will pull our armies back to our own places."

One wonders whether the Arab Caliph Harun al-Rashid mentioned in the Tibetan records cited above might be the king of the army in Gesar, Lihara. Also, many scholars of foreign kingdoms recognize a reference to “Trom Gesar” in old Tibetan records as “Rome’s Caesar.” However that may be, during this period the strength of Tibet was increasing pervasively in the four directions, and the kings of the four directions formed strong alliances. Subsequently, the army brought about peace. All of the earlier and later records are in complete agreement on this period.

The clearest evidence of the events discussed above comes from a stone inscription on a bridge built at Chonggyé Taktse; it was built during the lifetime of the Religious King Trisong Detsen. It said:⁸⁷

King Trisong Detsen, because of the efforts of your father and grandfather, our country is powerful and our religion gains in strength.

I have written this inscription to commemorate your great work. You have carried out everything that your father and grandfather desired for the peace and welfare of our country and the improvement of our places of worship.

I have written a detailed report on your valuable work and on the expansion of your Empire. That report is now in your archives.

King Trisong Detsen, you are very different from other neighboring kings. Your great prestige and power is known from Razhik in the west to Longshen in the east, and even in the north and the south.

The extent of your magnificent Empire has brought greatness to Tibet. We are a happy people, peacefully practicing our religion because of your compassionate heart. You are generous and kind not only to your human subjects, but to all living creatures as well. That is why men have given you the name Trülgyilha Jangchup Chenpo (Great Enlightened, Miraculous, Divine Lord).

Up to the border in the western region of Tibet, the area called Razhik mentioned above, is Alib Hahön. During the time of Relpachen, the lord of the region from Elrazhik border region to Longshen, there was a source of dispute around the Chinese-Tibetan border; it is possible to express this as direct evidence that the might of the Tibetan king extended as far as Longshen in Shanxi, China. In addition, this point can even be discerned in Tselpa Kunga Dorjé’s *Red Annals: A History of the Early Kings of Tibet*.⁸⁸

At that time, the extent of Tibet extended many thousands of miles encompassing Shardu Cheu, Mujiu, and Su Jiu in the east, the land of Drazé in the south, and the land of Hor in the north. Thus, the heroes

and champions that came from Tibet did not emerge even in the time of the Chinese emperors Han (hān), Yu (g.yu), and Jiu (lci'u).

King Trisong Detsen married five queens. Chimza Lhamo Tsün subsequently went off to perform religious practices. Kharchenza Tsogyel was offered to Guru Rinpoché Padmasaṃbhava. Those two queens had no sons and left no legacies. Droza Tri Gyelmo Tsün had no son. Later, she took religious vows, seeking an increase in the signs of purity. She also founded Gegyé Lima Ling Temple as a legacy. Tsepongsa Metok Drön (Zamar Gyen) bore four sons. She founded Khamsum Zangkhang Ling, taking Utsé Riksum as a model; Po Yongza Gyelmo Tsün was born to a poor family in Zungkhar. She was the reincarnation of Guru Rinpoché's mother, and so it was prophesied that she had to be taken into the kingdom. They had no offspring. She also founded Butsel Serkhangling Temple as a legacy. The other queens were jealous of her, since she was beautiful and young. Because the king thought that she would be uncomfortable in this situation he gave her as queen to his son Muné Tsenpo.

King Trisong Detsen and Queen Tsepongsa had four sons: Murup Tsenpo, Muné Tsenpo or Mutri Tsenpo, Mutik Tsenpo, and Tridé Songtsen or Senalek Jingyön. Several records say that they had three sons: Muné Tsenpo, Muruk Tsenpo, and Mimuk Tsenpo.⁸⁹ Other records say that the cited histories apply four names to one person as though Mutik Tsenpo, Tridé Songtsen, Senalek Jingyön, and Muri Tsenpo are one and the same person.⁹⁰ Also, following Chinese records, several sources say that Jutsé Tsenpo ruled the kingdom for eight years following Muné Tsenpo.⁹¹ Pelliot's *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* also says this. Without correctly identifying the actual name of the king, Chinese dynastic historians mention Jutsechen, the Chinese transliteration of Jutsé Tsenpo.⁹² Recently, Erik Haarh also investigated this subject.⁹³

The fact of the matter is that the older son, Murup Tsenpo, died at a young age, and the father, Trisong Detsen, died at the age of fifty-five. In 797, the second son, Muné Tsenpo or Mutri Tsenpo, took responsibility for the kingdom. His father, the king, actually moved to Zungkhar and died the following year in 798. There are also many varying traditions on the year of his death.⁹⁴ In addition, there are also various disagreements in the histories with regard to Muné Tsenpo's assumption of responsibility. For example, several sources say that he held power for a year and seven months.⁹⁵ Others say it was a year and nine months.⁹⁶ Others say it was seven years and nine months.⁹⁷ Still other sources even say

it was seventeen years.⁹⁸ However that may be, Muné Tsenpo married two queens, Poyongza Gyelmo and Ruyongza Dogyel. Following the tradition of his father and grandfather, he served Buddhism respectfully. He initiated the worship of the three scriptural collections. And the poor and the rich people of Tibet were made equal.

Through these histories, it is possible to say that Tibet was the first nation in the world to undertake land reforms. Efforts were also made to assemble a massive army in the north. Although his legacies were considerable, he was poisoned by his mother and died. Thus, he could not have retained his kingdom for more than one year and nine months.

As for the queen's motive in poisoning her son, *The Luminous Mirror: A Dynastic History* says that at the time Muné Tsenpo's father, Tridé Songtsen, died, Poyongza would not give up her jewelry, giving as her reason that having the jewelry did not do any harm, Queen Tsepongza became jealous. She hired an assassin and sent him to kill Poyongza, one of Trisong Detsen's other queens. But the latter was protected by Tsepongza's son, the new King Muné Tsenpo. Queen Tsepongza began to develop perverse ideas, and she gave poisoned food to her son, who died. Most of the histories agree with this account. Also, beyond merely recounting the births of sons, most of the histories also make absolutely no mention of the births of daughters or of what they did. Yet, where is the place that no daughters are born? I think this issue should be researched further.

Since Muné Tsenpo had no sons, the third brother, Mutik Tsenpo, was a suitable candidate to become king. However, during a conference between King Tridé Songtsen and the ministers in the middle floor of Samyé, Prince Mutik Tsenpo pounded on the door of the meeting room; the door was opened from within by his cousin Uring, who said, "Right now, the king and his ministers are having a discussion. Thus, you cannot come in for the time being." In anger, Mutik Tsenpo stabbed Uring to death with a dagger. According to the Law of the Three Pleasures and the Three Sufferings, he was exiled to Lhodrak for nine years and thus was unable to become king.

When I was young, I went to the place to which Mutik Tsenpo had been exiled. In Lhodrak Kharchün, all of the mountains and valleys are covered with dense forests. I found three rock caves of varying sizes on the side of an expansive high rock face in the steep and narrow mountains. It is said that Mutik Tsenpo lived there during his exile. There are many disheartening accounts about him during this time.

For these reasons, the fourth son, Tridé Songtsen or Senalek Jingyön, ascended to the throne. He was served by four experienced ministers: Drenkha Pelgyi Yönten, Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo, Zhangdo Trisher, and Ngenlam Trigyel. The first two of these ministers were also called Bandé, since they were Buddhist monks. They worked with the ten virtuous laws founded by King Trisong Detsen and offered extensive services in the tsuklakangs that had been constructed by his grandfather Tridé Tsuktsen.

Buddhist masters such as Vimalamitra and Jñanasena were invited from India, and Hungkara was invited from Nepal. Many religious texts were translated, and the Karchung Dorjé Ying Temple was constructed on the Kyichu River near Lhasa. A law was proclaimed to all of the ministers and citizens that they were to serve the Supreme Religion and the Three Precious jewels; people swore such an oath. Many letters with the vital words of this oath were written and placed in the treasury under seal. Such words were also inscribed on stone pillars.⁹⁹ Because the royal court was protected by the Buddhist religion, the public benefitted and was content.

Purchok Ngawang Jampa's *The Voice of Brahmā: The Catalog of the Nartang edition of the Canonical Commentarial Literature* says:

During that king's time, Bandé Peltsek, Chökyi Nyingpo, and so forth placed the scriptures in the Pangtang Kamé Tsuklakhang, the verses, chapters, and indexes; initially they were collected into one canon called *The Catalog of Pangtangma*. Subsequently, Bandé Peltsek, Lu Wangpo, Yeshé Dé, and others gathered scriptures and placed them in the Tongtang Denkar; it was called *The Catalog of Denkarma*.

Through the sixteen years of rule by Senalek, he led his troops against the Chinese several times. In addition, the Tibetan armies also extended their influence to the west.

Leifer's *Himalaya: Mountains of Destiny* says:¹⁰⁰

In about 715 the two allies, Tibet and Arabia, even jointly established a king in Iranian Ferghana, who served as a link between the Tibetan king and the Arab caliphs.¹⁰¹

But Hārūn al-Rashid,ⁱ the most popular of all the Abbassid caliphs in Baghdad, looked to the west rather than to the east, and neglected the

ⁱ Hārūn al-Rashid (763–809) was the fifth caliph of the Abbassid Caliphate based in Baghdad. He is known to have had a friendship with King Charlemagne.

Tibetan alliance. Militarily, of course, he relied upon Iranian troops from Khorasan and Ferghana in modern Turkestan. The Arabian empire's uncertainty as to whether political or military goals were primary hastened that empire's dissolution. In Morocco the Idrisids made themselves independent, as did the Aghlawids in Tunisian Kairwan. At the same time, Charlemagne sent an embassy from Aix-la-Chapelle to Baghdad.

The western part of Islam, which received political preferences from Baghdad, showed its gratitude for this preference by political decay. The eastern part—Khorasan—although it still took the lead, especially in military matters, replied militarily by instigating a revolt that Hārūn himself set out to quell. He died on this punitive expedition in the town of Tus. The Tibetan flank, where the neglected former allies of the Arabians were passively watching the rebellion in Khorasan, was exposed, and therefore the question of Turkestan could not be decided. Then Hārūn's successor, Al-Maimun, remembered the Tibetans and asked for a renewal of all treaties. That was in 810.

According to Al-Ya'qubi, Tibetan soldiers surrounded the Arabian capital, as well as Transoxania, and Samarkand. The second son of Hārūn al-Rashid, Al-Mai'mun, also formed an agreement and signed a treaty with the Tibetan governor of Turkestan (the Land of Li). At that time, a Tibetan deputy gave a golden image ornamented with jewels to al-Mai'mun as a remembrance. Today it can be found in Mecca, the city of the Ka'ba.¹⁰²

Sakya Jetsün Sönam Gyeltsen's *The Luminous Mirror: A Dynastic History* says that Dengtri, Senalek's son, had five sons of his own. Dengtri protected the kingdom for forty-one years. That volume says that he lived to the age of fifty-one, although other records disagree. Since there are also inconsistencies among the chronologies, I have taken the side of the many religious histories. They explain that the Sovereign Senalek had five sons: Tsangma, Darma, Tritsuk Detsen or Relpachen, Lhajé, and Lhündrup.¹⁰³ The father, Senalek, protected the kingdom for sixteen years, passing away at the age of fifty-four; he died of a disease in Drak in 815. His ministers gathered and conferred on who would be a suitable candidate for king. Senalek's son Tsangma was a monk and the youngest brothers, Lhajé and Lhündrub, died as children. Although Darma was a potential candidate, he was not appointed because of his violent character. Tritsuk Detsen or Relpachen was enthroned as king. In a ceremony filled with splendor he then married his queen.

During the reign of the Sovereign Tri Relpachen, Indian paṇḍitas, such as Srilendrabodhi, Dānasila, and Jinamitra, were invited to Tibet. Kawa Peltsek, Chokrolu Gyeltsen, Bandé Yeshé Dé, and others served as their translators. A modernized orthography was established whereby the religious texts that had already been translated during the time of Relpachen's ancestors in Kyipen Gyikawa Namoché were corrected, and those translations yet to be made were standardized. Three people made these judgments. Since there was no standardized vocabulary in Tibetan, he used the lexicon, called the *Mahāvīyutpatti*. Conventions for weighing and measuring gold, silver, and grains were made to conform with the Indian system that uses dré (*bre*) and sang (*srang*).¹⁰⁴

Through the compassion of those kind religious kings, translators, and paṇḍitas, all of the words and the entire meaning of the tantric commentaries were able to be correctly used—without error, without eliminating anything, and without mistake—for the welfare of future generations. The essential point is that we must always recall their profound kindness in completing this enormous task. The Chinese and Tibetan paṇḍitas, adepts, and translators who did this were quite numerous, and they translated the extent of Buddha's word and their commentaries and collected them in the Buddhist Canon and the Commentarial Canon respectively. This is discussed at greater length in Butön Rinchen Drub's *The Religious History of the Treasury of Precious Discourses*.

During that time, the monks who taught the Chinese religion and the Tibetan monks met, as if they were an uncle and his nephew, in order to discuss agreeable relations; as a result, a peace treaty was reached between China and Tibet. A stone pillar was erected at Gugu Meru on the border to commemorate this treaty. Recently, the Chinese scholar Wangchung investigated the *Dufang* chapter about those events. In regards to that book, the Czechoslovakian scholar Yeshé Karma (Josef Kolmaš) says that China extended its influence into Tibet during the times of the Chinese kings Tetsung, Shungtsang, and Sayetsung.¹ From among the records of Po-Chu-I, the four letters cited below have not been published by Western scholars up to this point. Even more so, they are not to be found in Tibetan records. Thus, here they are briefly

¹ Josef Kolmaš, *Tibet and Imperial China: A Survey of Sino-Tibetan Relations Up to the End of the Manchu Dynasty in 1912* (Canberra, Australia: Centre of Oriental Studies, 1967).

set forth. Accordingly, the large area called Gansu continued to be held under Tibet's authority between 755 and 850. In addition, the region between Yunnan in the north and the western province of Sichuan, China, called the mountain of the west or in the Chinese language Nen Toyé Shiden, China, was under Tibetan control. On February 20, or the fifteenth day of the first Chinese month of 783, a treaty between China and Tibet was signed at a place called Ching Sudzong (Sayen), whereby they remained for twenty years and set the border at Ten Chingdzong (Sayen) within Longchao on the western edge of Tang Chingchao. The place called Longchao is the place called Longshan in modern-day Shaanxi.¹⁰⁵

Thereafter, it was possible for the Tibetans to bring many regions under their control, including Fengrao in the west, the Tātao Hoyé River in Tuku Dzong (Sayen) Shannan Toyi within Jangrao,¹⁰⁶ Wirao, Yu Yenrao, Hu Werao, Sinrao, Daorao in the west, Chinrao in the east, and Channan Toyé a great distance to the south. The areas included Sinju Wenjun north of the Machu River, leading to the north of the great Tāchi Desert, and the region up to a place called Dā outside of the Gobi Desert, leading to the mountaintop of Hao Lanshan in the south not occupied by either China and Tibet. However, because troops were not stationed in those places a war broke out in 786; the Tibetan army invaded Jingchao, Lungchao, Yinchao, Nenchao, and other such places. Thereafter, the territory of Jinchao was called Bing-len.

A ceremony was held to consummate a peace agreement in the mountains and valleys along the border between China and Tibet in the month of June or the fifth Chinese month of 787. At that time the Tibetans supported the Chinese in expelling the Ruzi rebels. The Chinese promised recompense, but they did not keep their word. Consequently, tempers flared, and immediately fighting broke out. Several Chinese officers were killed. About sixty Chinese soldiers, including Shuru and Lusayé, were captured alive. Once again, in 788, Tibetan troops attacked Ching, Sin, Ning, Chaying, Chao, Huchao, and other such places. In 801, they seized Lingchao. The governor of the city was killed, and the wall of the city was destroyed. The Chinese emperor sent delegates, including a negotiator and the civil-military governor, Suyé Yōn. They recounted that the Tibetans had violated the treaty.

When Ruzi¹⁰⁷ revolted against China, the rebels sought the assistance of Tibet through the Tibetan deputy. But Tibet helped wipe out the rebels, so the Chinese vowed to present some territory to Tibet in gratitude. However, since China did not fulfill those objectives, the Chinese claim that we seized control over just those areas.

In 805, the Chinese King Dezong was killed. Thereafter, Shunzong held the throne for six months. At the same time as the new King Yöndzung took the throne, the Tibetan King Senalek Jingyön died and the Sovereign Relpachen took the throne. Deputies from both China and Tibet were sent back and forth to offer condolences for the deaths and to offer congratulations for the ascensions to the golden thrones. As a result, relations became more extensive and enmity declined. The Tibetans returned the territories of Jin, Yun, and An; thereby a suitable agreement was reached between the Chinese and Tibetan Wönzhang, which refers to descendants of the former Tibetan king Tridé Tsuktsen and his queen the Chinese Consort Jincheng Gongzhu. (In Chinese, the term Wönzhang is Shangjiu.) Their descendants were called Wönpo by the Tibetans and Zhangpo by the Chinese.

At that time, the Chinese deputies Tuchu Jungla Ying and Wangbi sent four letters to the Tibetan deputy. All these letters contained words of great praise and blessings and were marvelously surprising. Sometimes, the words in the letters were honeyed; at other times they were harsh. And these letters were also accompanied by extensive gifts. Since all these letters are very long, I have cited only their essential meaning. The first says:

To the Senior Internal Minister of Tibet Drenka Pelgyi Yönten:

In an effort to improve relations between the Wönzhang of China and Tibet, you should reflect. Accordingly, we also seek an agreement from the bottom of our hearts. Entering into a new treaty between our two sides would be like opening a gate.

Please return the Jinchao, Yunchao, and An Tochao areas of China that were taken over by Tibet in the past. It has been clearly explained that of the deputies who took hold of the territory that was the subject of the 787 treaty, Jen Shuru [Shuru] died and Lu Bayé [Lu Sayé] was captured alive. Please hand over the corpse and the remaining prisoner to us.

The essence of the second letter is as follows:

To Zhang Chezan, the Governor of both civil and military duties residing on the border:

If you wish to form agreeable relations with us, a landmark must be placed on the new border. In particular, all three of the areas where there have been troubles must be returned. In the absence of their return, it will not be possible to mark the new border. If you resist in this small issue, then important and enduring undertakings will also be spoiled. Since we rely on the important provisions of the treaty, you must reflect with precision. Although you are delaying, you have now sent our deputies. The coffins of Shuru and Lu Bayé, and the remainder of those who are

alive have arrived. Please examine the enclosed copy of the letter that was written to the Lord about the other issues. Send Liten, the one who carried those petitions. He is the subordinate official of the Investigating Office. His presence is being offered as a gift.

Thus there was direct correspondence between the Chinese and Tibetan kings on important issues. If one examines the previous letter, it says that the corpse of the Chinese officer Shuru, who was captured alive by Tibetans, and Lu Bayé must be released. However, the second letter speaks of the arrival of both of their coffins as well as the remaining living captives. The essence of the third letters is as follows:

To Gunglung, the Tibetan military governor in the Tao region:

Since you have shown yourself to be impulsive and have a senseless attitude, are you a little deceptive? We are also suspicious because you frequently burn grasslands. Also, why have you built a wall near the border? That construction is to be undertaken by the Chinese, but there is construction on a hill in Chinese territory.

If you generate doubts that there is no foundation, then troubles will emerge. Please give consideration to this from afar and respond. The Chinese farmers are always revolting. More recently, several unsuitable residents among the evil people of Su and Shu have revolted. Now, we are unable to harm them. However, without indicating the strength of the emperor, it is possible to completely eliminate that turmoil. Tibet has no plans to offer military assistance. I have made appointments to this border area of Chung Layen without error, and I am not renowned among the soldiers and officers of China. There is no lack of capable people in China. I have reported this to you directly in order to clear away doubt. In pursuit of the good path of mutual agreement and in an effort to promote a positive concept of peaceful and happy situation, both you and I must be able to express our strength.

I wonder whether there wasn't some question from the Tibetan side at that time over the necessity of Tibet providing assistance in the ejection of Chinese farmers who were revolting.

The fourth letter said:

To Lung Tsenpo, the governor of the Tao region:

Since the letter you wrote and the gifts you sent have arrived, I have been happy. Your king has sent representatives to reach a decision on peace terms. Meanwhile, the emperor has sent orders to us saying that we must work to find a peaceful arrangement on the Tibetan side also. Do you understand that the Tangkhupa are duplicitous? As we understand things, you are not deceived by them or have not acted. Although there are several clear situations, we are unable to inquire into all of them. Their military strategies are known by us.

Our present request to you is that when you go to Tangkhu, please do not be deceived by anyone. Even if they apologize, do not fall in with them. The agreement between our two sides has been eliminated. Since positive diplomatic steps have been taken, we have a strong hope that you will not go in the wrong direction. Except for seeking relations through mutual assistance, we will be able to send what is needed to Tibet. We understand how to profit from Tibet. There is shame in thinking in this way. The rebels in the southwest and the south of China have no wish for us to receive assistance from Tibet. If there is victory or defeat in your sending a military mission to Urga and if there are no difficulties, we want to hear about that. We have sent letters.

As for the efforts of Urga, there have been absolutely no discussions from above us over a new unprecedented undertaking. Thus, without our being able to take possession, react to them quickly. When they reach the border, please investigate matters. Their presence together with gifts and a government order are offered.

The Tangkhupas live in the area on the north side of Tsongön and on the south side of Nyingshā; Tangkhu Minak or the Tibetan Minak are the Tibetan people called Minyak. Later, they were destroyed during the time of Genghis Khan and split into two groups. One group is known to have settled in Dartsedo and nearby Minyak in Kham.

If one examines what comes out in these letters, there are indications that China was continually showing itself to be strong, whether or not they needed Tibet's military assistance to suppress the rebels in China. It is clear that there was also a war in the Mongolian territory called Urga during this period. However, we do not know the Tibetan response to these letters, or if there was any response. Those interested in further historical research could check the available records to see if any such documents exist.

A result of both the relations between China and Tibet over just more than two years—as evidenced by the previously mentioned letters, the release of the prisoners, and so forth—and the emerging harmonious cooperation between the Chinese and Tibetan monks, all of the regional civil and military officials gathered at Gugu Meru on the border, where they held a deliberative conference.

The result was the formation of a treaty on the fourteenth day of the second month of the Water-Female-Rabbit Year (823), that is, in the ninth year of the reign of the Tibetan King the Sovereign Tri Relpachen and the third year of the reign of the Chinese King Shunshu Hwangti (Sayé Dzung).^k The arrangement that emerged from the talks on both

^k Emperor Changqing or Mu Zong ruled from 821–824.

sides was written in both Chinese and Tibetan, and then was inscribed on stone pillars. One of them was placed at Gugu Meru on the border. A second stone pillar was erected in front of the Tsuklakhang in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa. The third was erected before the Kengshi Palace¹ in Chang'an. The east side of the stone pillar in Lhasa says:^m

The Great Magical King Tritsuk Detsen [Relpachen] and Gyajé Wen Wu Xiaode Wangdi (Sayön Zung) have conferred together for the alliance of their kingdoms. When they formed an agreement, China and Tibet agreed on the present circumstance; the important points that arose from the agreement are written on this stone pillar. During the time of the Magical Divine Sovereign Ödé Puyel [Nyatri Tsenpo], the country of Tibet emerged. His descendants, without interruption, became kings of Tibet. Also, he became King of Humankind from the divine Land of Brahmā, the cool Pure Land on the edge of the high snow mountains, at the headwaters of the great river.

Scholars of good qualities saw him at a great distance and taught a path for living beings through the good customs that accord with religion. They were thoroughly protected through Maitreya's kindness. People skilled in conquering enemies subdue foreign enemies. The government was increasingly enhanced. He is a great king of perpetual stability, not permitting any decline whatsoever in strength and resources. Therefore, there isn't anyone in the neighboring kingdoms all around, India to the south, Razhik [Arabia] to the west, Drugu Nomel [East Turkestan], and so forth who lacks respect for the power of the Great Magical King or for his excellent traditions. Thus, hearing his command, they are mutually pleased.

To the east, there is the king of China. He is the lung of the region where the sun rises as far as the great foreign ocean. To the south, Nepal and so forth are not like the others; scholars adept in the excellent practices and the essential points of knowledge are capable with respect to Tibet's opponents and friends.

Initially, the Chinese King Li lived in the capital. The Great Magical King Tri Songtsen [Songtsen Gampo] and the Chinese Lord Daitzung Busheng Huangdi came to a harmonious agreement. In the Year of

¹ Here (volume 1, 212.17), the name of the palace is spelled *keng shi*, whereas it is spelled *king shi* below (volume 2, 144.1). See p. 692 below.

^m Shakabpa first cites the actual text on the east side of the Lhasa stone pillar (212.17–215.17). That version is cryptic, uses antiquated terms, and is rather inaccessible. He writes (216.1–2) that since several expressions in this [pillar inscription] are difficult to understand, I have written a version that is easier to understand, [as follows]. In his amended version (216.1–219.3), he updates many words, makes many phrases more explicit, and gives occasional commentary. Thus, I have merely translated the second version. Specialists interested in the precise wording of the original inscription or those who are interested in old terminology can consult the original, according to the references notes above.

Changken, Kunsheng [Munshing] Kongcho was married to Tibet's lord. Subsequently, the Great Magical King Tridé Tsuktsen [the Bearded Grandfather] and the Chinese Lord Salang Kaidenshing Wunshin Wuhao came to an agreement and became friends. In the Year of Genglung, Chincheng [Munshing] Kungchu came to marry the lord of Tibet, the two sovereigns becoming like a nephew and uncle. Several times while they were living peacefully, the officials of ministers on both sides acted to undermine the agreeable atmosphere.

With deep and profound consideration, it was decided that one thousand soldiers were needed and every time one side makes a mistake, amends must be made without interruption. If they had been close relatives in that way, they did not enter into considerations of the nature of nephew and uncle. Beyond that, the fame of the wisdom of the king's father, Tridé Songtsen [Senalek] was spread far and wide. When he met with all of the kings of the four directions and made agreements with them, it was necessary to make certain in China; not only did he always have a friendly relationship, but they were in harmony in their actions. Through the mutual consideration of the relationship of nephew and uncle, the Tibetan king developed a good agreement with the Chinese King Shengshing Wenwu Huangdi.

Old enmity was eliminated and a new agreement was produced.

Throughout the lifetime of the nephew king of Tibet and through the reigns of three descendants of the uncle Chinese king, no disputes arose. Opportunities on both sides, representatives to the agreement, fascinating letters, and valuable gifts were continually exchanged. However, the treaty was never formulated. Thus, because work went undone by both the nephew and the uncle, the old enmities began to surface a little. Consequently, the good customs were delayed. Thus, enemies were fought and wars were waged on many occasions; thereby, unhappiness increased.

However, the Great Magical King Tritsuk Detsen [Relpachen] enhanced his knowledge as if by magic and the kindness of the good practices that accord with religion spread to all parts. Through his great majesty and firmness, he came to an agreement with the Chinese King Wenwu Xiaode Wangdi over the government of the nephew and uncle. The thrones of China and Tibet formulated an excellent arrangement in accord with happiness and joy.

A meeting was held in front of Sangshi on the west side of Chang'an Palace in China on the tenth day of the tenth month of the Iron-Female-Ox Year [821], that is, the seventh year of the reign of the Tibetan King Relpachen called the Joyous Sign [*skyid rtags*]¹⁰⁸—the name of the year in Great Tibet—and the first year of the reign of the Chinese

King Wenwu Xiaode Wangdi called the Janggeng—the name of the year among the Chinese. The Chinese came to an agreement on the terms of the treaty listed below.

A meeting was held in Dratötsel on the east side of the Lhasa Palace in China on the sixth day of the fifth month of the Water-Male-Tiger Year [822], that is, the eighth year of the reign of the Tibetan King Relpachen called the Joyous Sign—the name of the year in Great Tibet—and the second year of the reign of the Chinese King Wenwu Xiaode Wangdi called the Janggeng—the name of the year among the Chinese. The Tibetans came to an agreement on the terms of the treaty listed below.

The terms of the treaty were inscribed on stone pillars on the fourteenth day of the second month of the Water-Female-Rabbit [823], that is, the ninth year of the reign of the Tibetan King Relpachen called the Joyous Sign—the name of the year in Great Tibet—and the third year of the reign of the Chinese King Wenwu Xiaode Wangdi called the Janggeng—the name of the year among the Chinese.

Also, the west side of the pillar reads as follows:ⁿ

The Magical Divine Sovereign, king of Tibet and the Great Chinese King Gyajé Huangdi, being in the relationship of nephew and uncle, have conferred together for the alliance of their kingdoms. They have made and ratified a great agreement. Gods and men all know it and bear witness so that it may never be changed; and an agreement has been engraved on this stone pillar to inform future ages and generations.

Trülgyilha Tsenpo Tritsuk Detsen and the Chinese King Wenwu Xiaode Wangdi, nephew and uncle, seeking in their far-reaching wisdom to prevent all causes of harm to the welfare of their countries now and in the future, have extended their benevolence impartially over all. With the single desire of acting for the peace and benefit of all their subjects they have agreed on the high purpose of ensuring lasting good; and they have made this great treaty in order to fulfill their decision to restore the former ancient friendship and mutual regard and the old relationship of friendly neighborliness.

ⁿ As above, Shakabpa first cites the text from the west side of the Lhasa stone pillar (219.3–220.18). Then he goes on to give his own modified version (220.19–222.20), simplifying difficult terms and clarifying sections that are unclear. I have modified the version in H. E. Richardson, *A Short History of Tibet: An Authoritative History from the Earliest Times to the Red Chinese Invasion* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1962), 244–245. To avoid redundancy, I have merely provided the clearest version. Scholars can consult the Tibetan text using these references.

Tibet and China shall abide by the frontiers of which they are now in occupation. All to the east is the country of Great China; and all to the west is, without question, the country of Great Tibet. Henceforth on neither side shall there be waging of war nor seizing of territory. If any person incurs suspicion he shall be arrested; his business shall be inquired into and he shall be escorted back.

Now that the two kingdoms have been allied by this great treaty it is necessary that messengers should once again be sent by the old route to maintain communications and carry the exchange of friendly messages regarding the harmonious relations between the nephew and uncle. According to the old custom, horses shall be changed at the foot of the Jiangjun pass, the frontier between Tibet and China. At the Suiyung barrier the Chinese shall meet Tibetan envoys and provide them with all facilities from there onwards. At Chingshui the Tibetans shall meet Chinese envoys and provide all facilities. On both sides they shall be treated with customary honor and respect in conformity with the friendly relations between nephew and uncle,

Between the two countries no smoke nor dust shall be seen. There shall be no sudden alarms and the very word "enemy" shall not be spoken. Even the frontier guards shall have no anxiety nor fear and shall enjoy land and bed at their ease. All shall live in peace and share the blessing of happiness for ten thousand years. The fame of this shall extend to all places reached by the sun and the moon.

This solemn agreement has established a great epoch when Tibetans shall be happy in the land of Tibet, and Chinese in the land of China. So that it may never be changed, the Three Precious Jewels of Religion, the Assembly of Saints, the Sun and Moon, Planets and Stars have been invoked as witnesses. An oath has been taken with solemn words and with the sacrifice of animals; and the agreement has been ratified.

If the parties do not act in accordance with this agreement or if they violate it, whichever it be, Tibet or China, nothing that the other party may do by way of retaliation shall be considered a breach of the treaty on their part.

The kings and ministers of Tibet and China have taken the prescribed oath to this effect and the agreement has been written in detail. The two kings have affixed their seals. The ministers specially empowered to execute the agreement have inscribed their signatures and copies have been deposited in the royal records of each party.

Because of the significance of this subject, I have written just a little about it in a way that is easy to understand in order to make it easy for the novice to understand.

Moreover, the names and offices of seventeen Tibetans, including the great ministers who were instrumental in reaching the agreement, were recorded on the north side of the stone pillar, and the names and offices of eighteen Chinese, including the great ministers who were instrumen-

tal in reaching the agreement, were recorded on the south side of the stone pillar; these names were written in both Tibetan and Chinese.

Because of the great importance of the two texts from the stone pillars cited above, I have transcribed them from the original stone pillar in Lhasa. However, since more than one thousand years have elapsed since it was erected, several syllables have deteriorated; I have substituted an ellipsis for each syllable. If people find sources in the religious histories and records on the stone pillars, they should correct what I have written. In particular, I received a copy of the inscription on the stone pillar at Changngen (Shingen), China, through a representative of the British government who had lived in China at the time of the Simla Conference of 1914. Moreover, I have compared the inscriptions in many foreign books,¹⁰⁹ and I have striven to correct the deteriorated syllables. However, I am still not certain that these transcriptions are correct.

Banyak Ating, who is from a monastery in Sikkim, previously transcribed the text of the stone pillars, without identifying who had written it. I borrowed the copy, which completely lacked any faulty syllables. It is as, follows:

Accordingly, five hundred and ninety-nine years have passed since the erection of the stone pillar in the Water-Rabbit Year [823].

Upon calculating the date when the transcription of the stone pillar was made, I found it must have been in 1422. Now, in 1968, another five hundred and forty-six years have passed. Through these old sources, I have been able to reconstruct the deteriorated words without doubt and without difficulties. As a result, I have completely cut the web of uncertainty about this treaty; this increased confidence about the accuracy of the content of the text written on the stone pillars is like building a firm foundation made of gold. Thus, its accuracy can now be trusted by everyone. In relying on these rare records to confirm this information, I am especially grateful to Banyak Ating for what he has said above.

Accordingly, religious people from both Tibet and China met with all of the civil and military ministers; horses, donkeys, monkeys, and other animals were sacrificed. Upon piling up the internal organs of those animals, a monk or a Bönpo priest performed a ritual, calling local deities, the sun, moon, and planets as witnesses. An oath was sworn that if any actions contradicted this important matter, then the local deities who had been called to witness the present sacrifice would

cut the life breath of the one who confounded it. Not only does Desi Sangyé Gyatso's *The White Lapis Lazuli* recount the tradition of oaths in this way, but there are also similar customs in foreign countries like China.

Jamyang Zhepa's relative Apa Alo, who had previous experience in Nanjing, China, looked into the stone pillar on the border, but did not find the Gugu Meru pillar. He told me that his father said the pillar had fallen from the banks of the Mechu River onto a rock ledge at a place called the border with the Tibetan house with a wooden door. Grass had grown up all around it. On the banks of that river, there is also a very ruined temple and an image that appeared to be representations of Tibetans and Chinese. The local people report that the image is a likeness of the Tibetan and Chinese ministers who formulated the treaty. It is said that some years later, several French religious scholars and pilgrims made copies of the inscriptions on those pillars. Subsequently, when local people went to that area, they found that the pillar was not there. According to what local people say, the pillar might have been taken to France. The place on the Zangchu River called Hortsang Shinggochen is inside Tibetan territory; it is not the Chinese-Tibetan border.

Moreover, several people familiar with the Choné area say that its capital is on the main road above the Luchu River and that it is the general name for the region where a small stream from the road to Watsel joined the Luchu River, just above there on a mountainside, there is a place called Merugu. It is said that a barren place there with a stone pillar and many ruins is the location where the treaty was signed. It is also said that there is a cave called Akhu Gugé by that stone pillar, and if one goes through the cave, one will arrive at a village called Watsel some distance from the main road. By virtue of the similar place names,^o this seems to be the place where the talks were held. Beyond that, however, it is definite that it is not the place where the stone pillar on the Chinese-Tibetan border was erected. I recognize the place called Gugu Meru from the records of the Simla Conference. However, Sumpa Khenpo says:¹¹⁰

Great benefit is said to have accrued to Tibet through such things as the swearing of an oath at the three stone pillars in each of China and Tibet (Gugu of China) and at the intermediate point of Meru. Gugu and Meru are not the same.

^o In other words, Gugu Meru, the site where the pillar is said to have been placed, and Merugu, the site of the ruins visited by the French, may be the same site.

Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa's *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History* (133-na-4) says:

The Tibetan-Chinese border was set at a place called Gungbu Meru. One Tsuklakhang of each of the Tibetan and Chinese kings was constructed there. There was no relationship between the kings except being like a nephew and uncle on the earth, as the sun and the moon are in the sky.

By virtue of these discussions, the image of a sun and moon were placed on a big rock. From that point, Tibetans were to be happy in Tibet, and the Chinese were to be happy in China. Tibet was to take its soldiers as far as Meru on the border, and if they did so, remaining long enough to read the passage on the stone pillar in front of the Chinese kings palace three times, all of Tibet would be destroyed. Similarly, China could conduct troops up to the border at Meru, but if they remained long enough to read the words on the stone pillar in Lhasa three times, then all of China would be destroyed. These truths were set out on the stone pillar called the Tsenpo Wönzhang. There are some slight disagreements in this. I have not seen the original texts of the oaths; it is clear that each side swore to them.

The Sayings of Ba quotes this stone inscription as saying "a moon and a sun were inscribed on the stone," but others sources do not mention this. Several histories speak of an image of a sun and moon, saying there was a sun and moon by a thousand-spoked wheel. There are also people who say they saw these symbols at Gugu Meru. Thus, leaving aside that tradition in one history written during the time when the Chinese queen arrived,^p that is definitely not the place where the treaty pillar was erected.

On the north side of the border by the Julakchu River, which is just below the Mechu River that comes from the snow-capped Meru Mountain, is a grassy plain called Meruwa or in Chinese it is called Tātung. It is said that in the past this great steppe was the meeting place of the Chinese and Tibetan negotiators; that might have been Gugu Meru. From among the Amdo histories, I have encountered various contradictory oral traditions. So at this point I am still not totally certain of the actual location of where the stone pillar was erected on the Chinese-Tibetan border. Thus, there is a definite need to investigate this further.

^p This seems to be a reference to Princess Wencheng Gongzhu who came from China to marry King Songtsen Gampo in the early to middle of the 7th century.

The Sovereign Relpachen dispatched his minister Ga Yeshé Dargyé to the Domé region in order to collect taxes and survey the border. He reported that at present, there is an extensive region in Upper Dzogé called Lingngö in which there are three great rivers, the Machu, Mechu, and Kachu rivers. He said he had seen the beautiful grassy plain himself; he then took possession of that place and said that he would be the leader of Tibet and the adversary of China. Those Tibetans and Chinese who were placed in charge of those estates were highly praised and given the honorific title of "Chief" (*dpon po*). Changti and Ngoti from their lineages became the chiefs of Upper and Lower Dzogé. Since they were clever and intelligent, they took possession of pasturelands in Upper and Lower Dzogé. The former owners decided to search for a place and took a place called Tagopu in the Choné region; thus arose the lineage of the Choné chiefs.¹¹¹ Many lineage histories report that most of the people of the Amdo region came from Ü Tsang as border guards during the time of the ancient religious kings.¹¹²

Thereafter, the king put into place a legal system originated by his ancestors. It was divided into the legal code of King Songtsen Gampo,⁹ the legal code of the golden tanka on deer, the sixteen civil edicts,^r the principles for deciding cases, the law of the religion of the Three Precious jewels, and the law of the Jomo Sovereign. Thus through these laws people hoped to eliminate evil and increase goodness. The excellent custom of humbling the lofty and protecting the humble became widespread.

Homes were glorious, people were relaxed, and livestock increased every year and every month. Sleeping people were raised by non-humans. The dri did not need iron rings in their noses. There were no dogs indoors. The king was kind, the public was respectful, friends had good manners, relatives loved one another, men were heroic, and women were shy and well-dressed. All Tibetan citizens experienced the greatest measure of happiness and joy.^s

Since the king did not like to cut his hair, he liked his locks (*relpa, ral pa*) of hair. Thereby, he came to be known as King Relpachen.¹¹³

⁹ There are thirty-six sections to this code: the six items for Tibet, the six great consultations, the six documents, the six symbols, the six royal honors and dishonors, and the six symbols of heroism.

^r Géza Uray, "The Narrative of Legislation and Organization of the *Mkhas-pa'i Dga'-ston*," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 26 (1972), 11–68.

^s Some of these lines are obscure, but the main import is that it was a favorable time.

The king would sit in the center while to his left and right monks would sit on good mats. Silk threads that were wound around two braids of his hair would hang down onto the mats, and the monks would sit on them. Because of being metaphorically carried on the king's head, these two groups of monks were known as head monks. Each monk was also offered seven households that acted as his benefactor.

As a foundation for his religious practice, the king resolved to build the Ushang Dopemé Trashigepel Tsuklakhang at a place near the Kyichu River, about forty kilometers to the west of Lhasa; expert workers skilled in gold, silver, iron, copper, and woodworking were summoned from Nepal, Liyul (Yarkhen), and China. The lowest three floors were built of stone, the middle three were built of brick, and the highest three were built of wood. The marvelous craftsmanship of the residence and its furnishings were brought to completion.

After this, three-story temples were built, but no more nine-story temples. I have not found clear sources about why building plans declined during this period. Also, this Religious King built temples in all the outlying areas: in Gar-ru and Meru to the east of Lhasa, in Gawa and Gawe Ö to the south, and in Drenkhang to the west. Restorations were made at the localities where the religious ancestors had their centers, including Lhasa, Samyé, and Tradruk.¹ By virtue of their involvement with Buddhism, the entire Tibetan public was happy and content, and the government at that time enjoyed great resources. Thus, the kings between Lhato Tori and Tri Relpachen are known as the Thirteen and a Half Members of the Joyous Lineage; because Muné Tsenpo's reign was short, his is considered to have been a half reign. The kings between the Bearded Grandfather King Tridé Tsuktsen and Tri Relpachen are known as the Five Members of the Very Joyous Lineage.

Because of the tremendous service the king had undertaken on behalf of religion, evil ministers devised schemes to destroy Buddhist law. Thus, the king's brother Tsangma, who was a monk, was exiled to Dromo. Several people also say he was sent to Mönpadro. Betakna falsely accused the king's minister Drenkha Pelgyi Yönten or Ban Dechenpo and the king's wife, Queen Pelgyi Ngengetsül, of having had a child together; thereby, Ban Dechenpo was killed in the Jangtang.¹¹⁴

¹ Lhasa, Samyé, and Tradruk probably refer respectively to the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa, Samyé Monastery in Samyé, and the temple in Lhodrak built by Songtsen Gampo to house a pearl-adorned image of Avalokiteśvara.

The groundless rumor smeared the queen's name; she leapt from a wall of the palace and died. One day in 836, when King Tri Relpachen was thirty-six years old, Wetoré and Chokro Lekdra snuck up behind him while he was sitting in the sun at Zhama Palace.¹¹⁵ His neck was broken, and he died.¹¹⁶

The Sovereign Tri Relpachen had ruled to protect religion, and the harmonious society produced by religion, throughout Tibet, but after he was killed, the spirits of everyone throughout Tibet came to be like a lamp whose oil has been exhausted. The law of the ten virtues was considered to be like a frayed group of grass ropes. The benefits and contentedness that the people received from the government vanished like a rainbow in the sky. The concept of good behavior was forgotten like the three dreams from last night. Perverse behavior arose like a fierce storm.

The ministers who took joy in evil conferred, and Tri Relpachen's brother Darma Gyelpo was enthroned. Bikyel Toré, Betak Nachen, and Nyanam Gyatsa Trisung became interior ministers.

The public called the king by the name of the ox (Lang, *glang*) because of his coarse violent nature and his aversion to good conduct; ever since, he has been known as Lang Darma. For three years, those who were thoroughly devoted to the pure religion were harmed while the faithless were not.

However, from about 838, evil demons were called into the king's heart. Along with the ministers, he made plans to destroy the Buddhist tradition; the images in the Lhasa Tsuklakhang, Samyé Monastery, Tradruk, Ushang Dopemé Trashi Gepel Tsuklakhang, and other places were cast into a river. Some were concealed by the river's silt. Others were put under the throne. Several scriptures were concealed in rocks in Lhasa, and most of the rest were thrown into fires or water. The doors of temples were plastered shut, and drawings were made of monks drinking beer. A butcher shop was set up in the Tsuklakhang. The best monks were killed, the ones in the middle were disrobed, and the rest were forced to carry arrows and whips on hunting expeditions.

Bandé Nyang Tingdzin Zangpo and Marin Chenchok would not abandon the discipline, and so were killed.¹¹⁷ Paṇḍitas who had been invited from India were expelled. Some were sent to their own country; most of the translators escaped to several different places. The remaining translated texts and those in Ushang Dopemé Trashi Gepel Tsuklakhang were put aside without being consecrated. Through many methods, even the names of monks were eliminated; plans were launched to destroy the Buddhist religion at its very foundation.

However, when King Lang Darma heard that a religious figure named Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé was in Tsangrong, the king sent a messenger. When he tried to kill Nupchen, the latter displayed the dikdzup mudrā hand gesture,^u and a nine-headed iron scorpion the size of a yak came from his fingertips. The king became very frightened and resolved that he would not harm the mantrikas. It is reported that through his kindness, white-robed mantrikas went unharmed.

At that time, Tsang Rapsel, Yo Gewajung, and Mar Śākyamuṇi were staying at a mountain retreat in Pelgyi Chubori when they saw monks hunting. Learning that King Lang Darma had abolished Buddhism, they loaded a mule with various texts on monastic discipline, such as the *Karmasataka*, and so forth. Hiding in the mountains during the day and traveling at night, they finally reached Mangyül Ngari. Because they couldn't stay there, they left for Horyül, leaving from Garlok¹¹⁸ (Liyül or Yarkhyen) in the northwest. However, they could not understand the language, and so they traveled on, not knowing where they should go. Finally, they went to Dentik Shelgyiyang Monastery on the shores of the Machu River in Domé, where they remained.

Three years passed without any such activities. Some people report that in 842, a man named Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé, who was staying at a meditation retreat in the caves of Yerpa, was summoned by Pelden Lhamo. Others say that Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé told him, "Since I am afraid of the sinful king, you must liberate the people." For whatever reason, Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé summoned the courage to go and kill the sinful King Lang Darma. He wore a hat and cloak that were black on the outside and white on the inside and smeared his face and his white horse with charcoal, making them black. Then he went to Lhasa with a bow and arrow in his sleeve. Upon arriving, he tied his horse to a stūpa on the bank of the Kyichu River. Because King Lang Darma was standing by a stone pillar and seemed to be reading the inscription, Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé had a clear shot. Firing his arrow, he struck the king in the heart. The king said, "I am dead! Three years later! Three years earlier!"¹¹⁹ Just then, he died.

Immediately, Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé rode away. He forded the Kyichu River, washed off the charcoal, and turned his horse white again. Reversing his cloak and hat, he and his horse became a white man and a white horse. He left the Kyichu River ascending back to the Yerpa cave

^u This is a threatening gesture made by wrathful deities, particularly when holding weapons.

where he remained, as before. The ministers dispatched messengers in all directions, and while they were searching all of the mountains and the river valleys, several people arrived in Yerpa. Because there were no signs of activity at the threshold to the cave where Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé was staying, it appeared as if no one had come into or out of the cave. Almost everyone turned back without worrying whether anyone was inside. However one person did go inside and saw Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé in the back of the cave. He placed his hand on his heart, felt it beating quickly, and knew that he was guilty of the assassination. Yet he did not announce his discovery to the search party. When he returned home, he told his family that the guilty party was in the Yerpa Cave. He is known to have said that for the benefit of others he would not reveal this fact. As rumors began to spread, it became clear that Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé could not remain where he was; thus, he fled to Kham, carrying texts such as Asanga's *Compendium of Knowledge*, the *Prabhāvatī*, and the *Karmasataka*.

There is a famous traditional legend about Lang Darma. He is said to have had animal horns on his head and a black tongue. In order to conceal his horns, he supposedly grew his hair long and braided it, tying it around the places where his horns grew. In order not to arouse people's concern, all ministers also began the custom of wearing braids. The tradition in which the lay officials of the Ganden Podrang Tibetan government had to braid their hair stems from that time. Similarly, when Tibetans meet someone of higher rank than themselves, they stick out their tongues as a form of respect and rub the hair on their heads with one hand. This is a way of saying, "I don't have a black tongue like the demonic king Lang Darma; there are no horns on my head." Since Lang Darma attempted to abolish the Buddhist religion, Tibetans traditionally call King Lang Darma a demon.

Accordingly, after Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé killed Lang Darma, the lineage of Tibetan kings that had ruled over the Tibetan populace was exhausted.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Tselpa Kunga Dorjé, *Red Annals, a History of the Early Kings of Tibet*, 15-ba-2.

2. This is recounted in the fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth*. However, Butön Rinchen Drub, *Religious History of the Treasury of Precious Discourses*, 111-na-2 and others say that he was from the lineage of Selgyel, the king of Kosala. (*Translator's Note*: E. Obermiller's translation of that text, *The History of Buddhism*, (Heidelberg: O. Harrassowitz, 1931–1932), 181–82, describes King Nyatri Tsenpo as a freakish descendent of King Bimbisāra, possessed of overhanging eyelids and webbed fingers.

In a powerful resonance of the biblical story of Moses, the story continues as follows: His father “was frightened and ordered him to be put into a leaden box and thrown into the Ganges. The boy was however found by a peasant who brought him up.”)

Nelpa Paṇḍita says:

The five sons of Kyap Senggé of Ridrak were burned. This is reported in the commentary on Master Sherap Goché, *Praises More Wondrous than the Gods*. But Nartangpa Rikrel said that was a lie because there is no explanation about that event. Since it is explained on the stone pillars that this sky god became the lord of men, he descended at the Nyelrong Gitidi.

3. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth* says that they were the six paternal clans Tsenpolho, Nyak, Tsünpa Khyung, Nup, Nyenpasé, and Pong, as well as, Lhawo Lhasé, Sebön, Mabön, Choklabön, Zhang Zhungbön, and Tsemibön. Following this account, it seems that the Bön religion existed in Tibet at the time of Nyatri. However, Tuken Chökyi Nyima, *Crystal Mirror of the Good Explanations Showing the Sources and Assertions of All Systems of Tenets*, described how Tridé Tsenpo, the sixth dynastic line came from Nyatri Tsenpo.

4. Also, there is a little story in Tāranātha's *Religious History of Nyang, A River Ford for Scholars* saying that the palace where Drigung Tsenpo lived is in Shambu Tsegu in the Nyangdö region. Alternatively, it is said to be at Tsechen.

5. Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1876), 32–35. *Translator's Note*: The spellings for the place names are taken from Howorth except for Porhen Geltön (*por han gal twon*), which does not appear in that passage.

6. Jamyang Gyepé Shenyen, *Royal History of the Great Hor*, 61-ba-2.

7. In regards to the Fierce Secret, Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*, vol. Ja, 9-ba-4, says

The first sūtra in Tibet was the *Zamatok Sūtra* and the first mantra was a sandalwood inscription of “Om ma ṇi pé mé hung.” There was the *Zamatok Sūtra*, a four-leveled golden stūpa, and a mudrā hand seal... The self-arisen six syllable mantra appeared as jewels in a stone with letters the size of an arm-span... The mold for making the mantra is called the mold of the eleven-faced Wish-Fulfilling Jewel.

Nelpa Paṇḍita says, “The ‘Fierce Secret’ exists in the White Stūpa at Samyé Monastery.” *Translator's Note*: Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, 1902), 1089, says the *Zamatok Sūtra* is:

A religious treatise describing the good services done by Avalokiteśvara to all living beings, including the account of Balāhaka the miraculous cloud horse and of the significance of the mystic formula *om mani padme hum*.

8. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Collected Works*, vol. Tsa, 216-ba-1.

9. As for the name “Togar,” foreign scholars of Tibetan history say that it is a place the west of Liyül called Samar Kentra. However, some say that it is close to Khoten in Liyül.

10. Butön, 111-ba-4, *Red Annals*, 16-ba-3, *Mirror*, and the *Chronicles*.

11. Several dynastic histories say this preceded the reception of the Nepalese Consort, while several others say it occurred afterwards. I have not been able to ascertain the time-lapse between these events. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Catalog of the Choné Edition of the Canonical Commentarial Literature*, says that Tönmi Sambhoṭa was sent to India to learn the language after the reception of the two queens. *Red Annals*, 17-na-1, reports something similar.

12. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, Religious History*, 10-ba-5. H. Desmond Martin, *The Rise of Chingis Khan and His Conquest of North China* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1950), p. 53, says:

Those areas in the northern region of Tsongön that had been under the control of Druguhün over four centuries was seized by the Tibetans in 672. The Druguhüns fled to China. (The Tibetans called the Druguhüns or Tuluhüns Azhas.)

13. S. W. Bushell, “The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII, 1880, 444. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet*

(Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1961), 4, says that during this time, the city called Sungchou (sung chu) was the one called Sungpen (sung-phan) in Sichuan Province. *The White Annals*, 33-ba-l.

14. In the *Last Will of Songtsen Gampo*, *A Religious History*, Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned*, *Religious History*, and so forth, there are accounts that signs and omens were displayed indicating that the members of the reception committee came from the four directions of Lhasa. However; the fifth Dalai Lama's *Festival of Fulfilled Youth* says:

There were various sorts of visions that appeared to people positioned in different parts of Lhasa by the power of magic. However, in fact, they arrived from the northern direction. A silk curtain on top of the Abode of the Nāgās was withdrawn and the image of Jowo was there. Since the sounds of religious music resounded, people wondered whether it was from the Nepalese consort. This could be seen from the top of the palace. Therefore, the arrival of the [Chinese] princess, her officials, and servants could be seen.

There are many different oral traditions, such as the report that there was no reception whatsoever.

Also, the *Last Will of Songtsen Gampo* says that the chambermaid of Gar's* princesses wrote the extensive *Perfection Of Wisdom In One Hundred Thousand Lines* on the rocks of Denma. These accounts indicate how long it took for the Chinese women to build the mountain roads and so forth. There are accounts which indicate that the Chinese consort lingered on the way, along mountain traverses, and so forth. As for the statement that the *Perfection Of Wisdom In One Hundred Thousand Lines* is inscribed on the rocks of Denma. Situ Rinpoché Tenpé Nyinjé, *Stainless Crystal Mirror*, *Honestly Expressed*, 34-na-4, says:

At a place called Bi in the Den area, I encountered rock inscription made by the [Chinese] princess concerning Vairocana and his retinue, the *Heart Sūtra* in Sanskrit, and the prayers for good deeds. I was able to read these inscriptions. When analyzed in detail, it was determined that it was created during the reign of the Bearded Grandfather (b. 697).

It is clear in the *Religious History of Amdo*, the *Ocean Annals*, that there are a hundred thousand Maitreya figures inscribed in the rocks of the lower part of Amdo. *Autobiography of Katok Khenpo Ngawang Pelzang*, *Illusory Dance*, 136-na-6, says this is in front of the Maitreya image in Drakypap.

* Translator's note: The family name of the minister sent to China to acquire a bride for him is Gar (*mgar*). Hugh Richardson (*High Peaks, Pure Earth* [London: Serindia, 1998], 114–115) says that Gar himself was given a bride by the Chinese emperor who admired the minister greatly.

Leonard van der Kuijp discusses the *Last Will of Songtsen Gampo* as a historical source in "Tibetan Historiography," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson, eds., (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1996). For more on the Bearded Grandfather, see p. 127 above.

15. At that time, the Zhang Zhung king lived in Puhreng, and so forth in the region of Upper Ngari.

16. According to the explanation in Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned*, *A Religious History*, of era of the Minyak King, the Minyak were known to be a great power that arose on the border between China, Hor, and Tibet. In particular, there are accounts of them in various foreign records. Those people called Tangkhu Minak who live in the border region called Nyingshā are from Minyak. However, during the time of Genghis Khan, they were destroyed by the more powerful people; thus, they were split into an upper and a lower group. Essentially, they are known to be of Tibetan stock. One wonders whether the people called Minak came to be called Minyak due to a drift in the pronunciation. Also with respect to divisions of Tibet, the lineage of the Minyak King came to be called the right flank and similarly, the family of the King of Sikkim is called Minyak. There are many such stories.

17. Maru (*ma ru*) is a Nepali word meaning red.
18. Fifth Dalai Lama, *White Crystal Mirror, a Catalog of the Three Images of Lhasa's Tsuklakhang*. *Translator's Note*. There are two notes numbered as 17. Thus, the enumeration of the remaining endnotes in this chapter differ by one in the original Tibetan text.
19. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*, says that the Rasa Tsuklakhang was built based on the example of the temple of Vikramaśīla in India. This is thought to be true. *White Annals*, 32-ba-5. The great scholar-adept Tendzin Gyeltsen said that in Tibetan, Vikramaśīla is called Nampar Nönpa, "Suppressor." That is the monastery where the Lord Elder Dipamkara lived. These days, it is said that you can see a monastery on the banks of the Ganges River. When Chak Chöjé went to India, he said the Garlokpas threw the monasteries foundation stones into the Ganges River, and it was no more. It was primarily destroyed mainly between 1190 and 1216.
20. The names of the ministers are in *Minister's Orders*, vol. Cha (*ca*), 7-na-5.
21. There is a detailed account of each of these Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*.
22. Ngawang Yönten Tayé, *Supplement to "Autobiography of Pema Karpo, Drama of Great Compassion," Abandonment of Great Illusion*, 17-na-4.
23. H. E. Richardson, *A Short History of Tibet* (New York: Dutton, 1962), 29–30, and Charles Bell, *Tibet: Past and Present* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 23.
24. Gendun Chöpel, *White Annals*, 12-na-5.
25. *Dunhuang*, 97–99. *Translator's Note*: It is unclear what source Shakabpa has in mind. The most obvious possibility, *Documents de Touen-Houang: Relatifs a L'Histoire du Tibet* by J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint makes no mention of relevant themes on the pages indicated.
26. Butön Rinchen Drup, *Religious History of the Treasury of Precious Discourses*, 112-na-6, says, the king said he should construct one hundred and eight temples upon arriving at the Five Peaks.
27. Tselpa Künga Dorjé, *Red Annals*, 17-na-4.
28. When Chaklo Chöjé went to India from Nepal, he traveled through Tirahati. These days, that name is also applied to a black mountain chain to the north of the Ganges River. It is also near the great city of Patna.
29. Gendun Chöpel, *White Annals*, 34-ba-1. Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), 304. S. W. Bushell, "The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII, 1880, 446.
30. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth, A Dynastic History*, 29-na-4.
31. Katok Tsewang Norbu, *Mirror of the Mind Briefly Clarifying the Descent of the Kings of Tibet*.
32. Sakya Jetsün Sönam Gyeltsen, *Luminous Mirror, A Dynastic History*, 81-ba-4. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth, A Dynastic History*, 30-na-4. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned A Religious History*, vol. Ja, 70-na-1.
33. In this regard, there is also an explanation in Gendun Chöpel, *White Annals*, 8-na-4.
34. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*, vol. Ja, 54-ba-6.
35. Gendun Chöpel, *White Annals*, 38-na-5.
36. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*, vol. Ja, 70-na-2.
37. Gendun Chöpel, *White Annals*, 40-na-1.
38. J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint. *Documents de Touen-houang: Relatifs a L'Histoire du Tibet* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940), 14.
39. Tenzin Gyatso, fourteenth Dalai Lama. *My Land and My People* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), 117.
40. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1961), 7 and Gendun Chöpel, *The White Annals*, 43-ba-6.
41. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1961), 9.

42. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Catalog of the Choné edition of the Canonical Commentarial Literature*, explicitly says “Dusong Mangjé and the King who Manifested from a Black Wind.”

43. Wintintrin.

44. Taktsang Lotsāwa, *Festival of Learning Chinese and Tibetan Writing*.

45. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1961), 12.

46. J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint. *Documents de Touen-houang: Relatifs a L'Histoire du Tibet* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940), 40.

47. Not only is this discussed in *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet*, but it is also discussed on the following page here, p. 123. Translator's note: In the Tibetan, the relevant passage occurs on p. 166.

48. *Siam Society*, Vol. III.

49. Butön Rinchen Drup, *The Religious History of the Treasury of Precious Discourses*, 112-ba-3. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *The Catalog of the Choné edition of the Canonical Commentarial Literature*, says, “In addition to the five palaces mentioned above, it is clear there were also fortresses where his banner was flown (*dar 'phur mkhar ltag*) and a place called Kachu Wenchung. It is in Lingchu Tritsé, China.”

Sayings of Ba says that instead of calling the one place Pangtang Kamé, it is called Masa Gonggi Temple.

50. J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint. *Documents de Touen-houang: Relatifs a L'Histoire du Tibet* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940), 20.

51. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1961), 13, and Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth, A Dynastic History*, 31-na-4.

52. With regard to the birth year of Trisong Detsen, Ogyen Lingpa's *Biography of Padmasambhava*, the *Golden Garland*, Nyima Özer's *Copper Continent*, and *Sayings of Ba* all say that it was the Wood-Horse Year; thus, this question must be further researched. *Translator's Note*: The closest year designated as Wood-Horse would be 754. This is to be contrasted with 742, the Water-Horse year, which Shakabpa seems to regard as authoritative. Oddly, Shakabpa does not explain why he regards that earlier date as more reliable given that several notable sources agree on the 754 date.

53. Thirteenth Dalai Lama, *Catalog of the Restoration of Lhasa's Tsuklakhang Temple, Lake of Milk in which One Hundred Thousand Appearances of Faith Dawn*, vol. Bi, 3-ba-3.

54. W. Barthold, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1913–1936), 742.

55. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1961), 27.

56. Minister Götrizang was also called Pema Gungtsen. That name is used in Fifth Dalai Lama, *Collected Works*, vol. tsa, 105-na-4.

57. *Sayings of Ba* says:

At that time, Mazhang was placed in his grave. Subsequently, when Samyé was constructed, there was disagreement. Thus, Tara Lugong was placed to the north.

58. *Sayings of Ba* says that Baselnang offered the vow of generating bodhicitta to the abbot, and he received the name Yeshé Wangpo.

59. Śāntarakṣita was also called the Great Abbot Bodhisattva or Zhiwatso.

60. Padmasambhava has many names in Tibetan, master Pema Jungné, Ogyen Rinpoché, Guru Rinpoché, and so forth.

61. Segong Lhalung, Nanam Dorjé Düjom, Jé Dzana Nyasiddhi, Chimshakya Drawa, Drati Dzayarakṣita, and Shubu Pelgyi Sengé.

62. *The Sayings of Ba*. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*, vol. Dza, 86-na-6, says Lhalung Tsozher Nyenlek was consulted in a divination; ten members of the entire excellent lineage gathered together the next day, and the divination was performed.

63. Otantapuri Tsuklakhang was the greatest monastery in Bihar. It was completely destroyed by the Muslim General Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Muhammad. These days nothing remains of the monastery.

64. The temple was of Tibetan style below, Indian style in the middle, and Chinese style at the top.

65. Giuseppe Tucci, "The Symbolism of the Temples of *Bsam-yas*," *East and West* 6 (1956), no. 4, 279–81. Erik Haahr ["The Identity of Tsu-chih-chien, the Tibetan 'King' who died in 804 A.D.," *Acta Orientalia*, 1961] says, "The construction of Samyé Monastery was completed in 766 and its consecration was performed in 767. The Tibetan King died in 804."

66. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönupe, *The Blue Annals: A Religious History*, 8-ba-1.

67. The proclamation and the inscription of the stone pillar are in Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*. They are translated into English in Giuseppe Tucci, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (Rome: Is. M. E. O., 1950), 94–5 and 43, respectively. Arthur F. Wright's *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959) described the two year long debate.

68. This recorded in the "Queen" (*btsan mo*) section of Ogyen Lingpa's *Biography of Padmasambhava*.

69. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1961), 30.

70. This was copied from the stone pillar.

71. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1961), 30.

72. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1961), 43–44.

73. Gendun Chöpel, *White Annals*, 10-na-5. *Translator's Note*: See Samten Norboo's translation, Gedun Choephel, *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 34–6.

74. J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas, and Ch. Toussaint. *Documents de Touen-houang: Relatifs a L'Histoire du Tibet* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940). Gendun Chöpel, *White Annals*, 11-na-5. *Translator's Note*: See Samten Norboo's translation, Gedun Choephel, *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 36–7.

75. Gendun Chöpel, *White Annals*, 5-na-6. *Translator's Note*: See Samten Norboo's translation, Gedun Choephel, *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 25.

76. Taktsang Lotsāwa, *Festival of Learning Chinese and Tibetan Writing*, and the foreword of *The Ocean Annals*, 432/2.

77. W. A. R. Wood, *A History of Siam from the Earliest Times to the Year A.D. 1781 with Supplement Dealing with more Recent Events* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1926), 33.

78. Oscar Frankfurter. "Narratives of the Revolutions which took place in Siam in 1688," *Siam Society* 4 (1908), Bangkok.

79. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth, A Dynastic History*, 39-na-3. The forward of *Ocean Annals*, 355/2, say that the ruins of one wall and the meditation building can still be seen in Bhadarupa, Yugur.

80. Nyangtö, *Treasury of the Precious History of Nenyang Monastery*, vol. Kha, 3-na-2, says that Gö took possession of the area from Mönkyechu Temple to Tsozhuk and to Dritsam Dzamukpo; so it is called Pakri of Gö or Gö's three thousand lands.

81. *Sayings of Ba*. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*, vol. Ja, 97-na-1. Gendun Chöpel, *The White Annals*, 12-ba-6. [Translator's Note: See Samten Norboo's translation, Gedun Choephel, *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 38.] Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Boat for Crossing the Ocean to the Island of Liberation, Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary*, 387-ba-6.

82. Philip Khuri Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan, 1937), 208–209.

83. George N. Roerich, *Trails to Inmost Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), 100.

84. Luciano Petech, *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh* (Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Press, 1939), 73–4.

85. E. Bretschneider, *On the Knowledge Possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Other Western Countries* (London: Trübner & Co., 1871), 10.

86. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Boat for Crossing the Ocean to the Island of Liberation, Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary*, 371-na-3.

87. A copy of the stone inscription is included in *Compilation of Records. Translator's Note*: This is modified from Tsepon Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 45–6.

88. Tselpa Künga Dorjé, *Red Annals, a History of the Early Kings of Tibet*, 9-ba-7.

89. Sakya Jetsün Sönam Gyeltsen, *Luminous Mirror, A Dynastic History*, 93-na-1, says that Muruk Tsenpo was a son before the religious king and Queen Zamargyen met. Since he was very ugly, people called him Khyikha Ratö (*khyi kha ra thod*, “Dog Face, Goat Skull”). Although he was sent into exile in Khenpa Jong, his descendants still live on in Bumtang, South Bhutan.

90. *Royal Orders*, vol. Kha, 2-na-4, and Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary*, 107-na-5.

91. Tselpa Künga Dorjé, *Red Annals*, 11-na-9, and Gö Lotsāwa Zhönupel, *Blue Annals, Religious History*, vol. Ka, 25-na-2. Translator's Note: See George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949–53), 52.

92. Luciano Petech, *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh* (Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Press, 1939), 77.

93. Erik Haarh, “The Identity of Tsu-chih-chien, the Tibetan ‘King’ who died in 804 A.D.” *Acta Orientalia*, 1961.

94. With regard to the year of Trisong Detsen's death, the ninety-seventh chapter of Yarjé Ogyen Lingpa's *Crystal Cave Chronicles*, says that he died in Zungkhar in [the year] of the dragon at the age of fifty-nine. The ninety-fourth chapter of *Golden Garland* says:

In the year of the Ox (797), at age fifty-six, the king was going to die. However, by performing lots of longevity practices, his lifespan was prolonged for thirteen years. In the year of the Tiger (798), he died at age fifty-nine.

Also, the Ngadak Nyangrel Nyima Özer's *Copper Continent Chronicles* says something similar:

Although the king was not more than fifty-six years old, his life was prolonged by three years because of the performance of services. His death was kept secret for ten years, whereupon the secret was revealed in the year of the tiger.

95. Butön Rinchen Drup, *Religious History of the Treasury of Precious Discourses*, 116-ba-7, and Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth, A Dynastic History*, 40-na-4.

96. Tselpa Künga Dorjé, *Red Annals*, 18-na-2, Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of Learning: Religious History*, vol. Ja, 126-ba-3, and Sakya Jetsün Sönam Gyeltsen, *Luminous Mirror, A Dynastic History*, 93-ba-4.

97. *A Religious History of Kokonor* and Panchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, 15-na-4.

98. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönupel, *Blue Annals: A Religious History*, vol. Ka, 25-na-2. *Translators Note*: See George Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949–53), 52.

99. A detailed record of the important oaths and the stone pillar inscriptions is to be found in Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*, vol. Ja, 128-ba-1. An English translation is in Giuseppe Tucci, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (Rome: Is. M. E. O., 1950), 100–4 and 151–5.

100. Walter Leifer, *Himalaya: Mountains of Destiny* (London: Galley Press, 1962), 29.

101. The title caliph is applied to kings in that region.

102. Luciano Petech, *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh* (Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Press, 1939), 78.

103. Butön Richen Drup, *Religious History of the Treasury of Precious Discourses*, says there are four sons: Relpachen, Darma, Lhajé Lhündrup (being treated as one name), and Tri Chenpo. Tsewang Norbu, *Concise Geneology of Tibetan Divinities, the Mirror of the Mind of Clear Meaning*, says that Relpachen was older than Darma. Although Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa's root text of the *Festival of Learning A Religious History* says Relpachen is the older, the commentary says he is younger. Thus, I have a headache.

104. The people who undertook the task of making these decisions are clearly identified in *The Sun that Spreads over the Garden of Buddhism, A Religious History*, they are the three translators Ka, Chok, and Zhang. That is to say, Gawa Peltsek, Chokro Lugyeltsen, and Bandé Yeshedé respectively.

105. The stone pillar erected at the time of Trisong Detsen at Chonggyé Zamné is at Longshen.

106. This is the Mechu River or Julak River in Domé Amdo.

107. Paul Pelliot, *Histoire Ancienne du Tibet* (Paris, Librairie d'Amèrique et d'Orient, 1961), 115 and S. W. Bushell, "The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII, 1880, 141. After the Tibetans killed the rebels Tsu (tsu'u) and Tsu (tshu'u), the Chinese promised to give territory to Tibet in gratitude. Since they did not do so, the Tibetans violated the treaty.

108. "The Joyous Sign is the year that the Sovereign Relpachen took the throne." Not only does Tsewang Norbu, *The Concise Geneology of Tibetan Divinities, the Mirror of the Mind of Clear Meaning*, say this, but Li Fang-Kuei, "The Inscriptions of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821-2," *T'oung Pao* 44 (1956), no. 1-3, 4, says the same thing.

109. H. E. Richardson, *A Short History of Tibet* (New York: Dutton, 1962), 244-5. For a comprehensive study of both Tibetan and Chinese versions of the treaty, see Li Fang-Kuei, "The Inscriptions of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821-2," *T'oung Pao* 44 (1956), no. 1-5, p. 44.

110. Sumpa Khenpo, *Excellent Wish-Fulfilling Tree, A Religious History*, 2/23.

111. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Treasury of Wish-Fulfilling Jewels, the Catalog of the Choné edition of the Canonical Commentarial Literature*.

112. Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé, *Ocean Annals, a Religious History of Domé*, 65/12, and Gendun Chöpel, *White Annals, the Dynastic History related to the Political System of Greater Tibet*, vol. 1, 5-na-5. *Translator's Note*: See Samten Norboo's translation, Gedun Choephel, *The White Annals* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 25.

113. The remains of Bandé Chenpo took place in the city of Nyetang.

114. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, Religious History*, vol. Ja, 133-na-1.

115. Zhama Palace is at the Katsel Monastery in Meldro.

116. Neu Paṇḍita, *Religious History of Nel* says that since the merit of sentient beings in general had been exhausted, Betak Nachen sowed dissension. The great minister Drenkha Pelgyi Yönten and the sovereign's queen Chokroza Pelgyi Ngengtsül were punished. Employing the human flesh of [some other] dead person, Chokro was accused of having killed the king. However, *Religious History of Tagna* says that when Chokro Lekdra was staying at Zhamma Temple in Meldro, she was killed by Lekdra Lhadengjen. *Translator's Note*: The passages are obscure, but it appears that Chokdro Lekdra was framed for regicide using another person's corpse.

117. Butön Rinchen Drup, *Religious History of the Treasury of Precious Discourses*, 118-na-3, says that they wanted it that way. However, Düjom Rinpoché, *Religious History of the Nyingma School*, 104-ba-3, says that Nyangting Dzinzangpo vanished into the Drak Lhalu Cave in the form of a Rainbow Body.

118. Up to the time that place came under the authority of the Muslims, it was called Karlok. Subsequently, when Magadha was destroyed by the Muslims, the chronologies say that the Garlokpas conquered the Magadhas. *Royal History of the Great Hor* says

that ever since the people of Liyül were seized by Karlok, travel between Liyul and Tibet was severed.

119. “Three years late!” means that if he had been killed three years earlier, he would not have had the opportunity to harm Buddhism. “Three years early!” means that if the assassin had waited three more years, the king would have been able to completely destroy the teachings.

CHAPTER THREE

ERA OF THE FRAGMENTATION OF TIBET TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

More than most chapters in the book, this one concentrates almost exclusively on religious history, demonstrating that in addition to being a broad-reaching political history, this work does much to detail the evolution of Tibet's religious life. Covering the 9th to 11th centuries, this chapter describes the beginnings of what Tibetans call the Era of Fragmentation,^a during which centralized political control declined and centralized religious authority had yet to emerge. It was a tumultuous time in which a great many cultural forms were in flux. This chapter, like the previous one, includes detailed information on the transmission of Indian Buddhism to Tibet. Extending the account of the early religious history, Shakabpa explains how the ordination lineages that had come from India were perpetuated and extended throughout Tibet by Tsang Rapsel, Yo Gewajung, and Mar Śākyamuṇi, among others. As was mentioned in the introduction to chapter two, contemporary historians have argued that Buddhism was probably not suppressed as thoroughly as the legendary accounts would have it. But Shakabpa does not interrogate those traditional accounts; instead, he indicates that monastic Buddhism was virtually unknown in Ü Tsang for seventy years.

Lama Yeshé Ö (b. middle third of the 10th century), a monk born among the remnants of the royal family in the emerging petty kingdom of Gugé in western Tibet, played a significant role in the revitalization of Buddhism. Depicted as regarding Buddhism to have become corrupted—a recurrent theme in Tibetan history—he sent twenty-one young men to India to restore the purity of the Buddhist teachings in Tibet. Led by Rinchen Zangpo (958–1055), this later dissemination (*spyi dar*) of the teachings is said to have surpassed the earlier dissemination (*snga dar*). Shakabpa examines some rival accounts of the two disseminations,

^a Shakabpa says this period endured from 842 when Pelgyi Dorjé killed Lang Darma until 1253 when Drogön Chögyel Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen gained control over the three provinces of Tibet. See p. 190 below.

seeming to accept that the later dissemination commenced in 978 when ten people were ordained in Ü Tsang. Throughout that period, paṇḍitas continued to arrive from India to assist in translating core Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Tibetan.

Still, few of these figures are well-known in Tibet. However, it is safe to say that most Tibetans in the past thousand years could tell the story of Jowo Atiśa (982–1054), a noted Bengali abbot from Vikramalaśīla Monastery. When the fame of this guru reached Yeshé Ö, he resolved to invite him to purify and revitalize Buddhism in Tibet. When the initial invitation was declined due to Atiśa's responsibilities at his monastery, Yeshé Ö decided to renew his request with an even greater offering, an amount of gold equal to his own body weight. When a Muslim king from Garlok to the north of his kingdom kidnapped him in the midst of his labors to procure this offering, his own nephew, Lama Jangchup Ö (b. 11th century), continued the sacred task, finally securing Atiśa's assent and redirecting Tibet's religious history onto a new trajectory.

Atiśa spent much of the remainder of his life in Tibet playing a pivotal part in establishing the form of monastic Buddhism that would continue to thrive thereafter. An examination of the colophons of canonical literature attests to his vigorous efforts to help Indian Buddhism take root in the Land of Snows. He also wrote an extremely important text on Buddhism, called *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment*, which was meant to reform practices that were regarded as degenerate and corrupt by clearly specifying the various stages of progress and by identifying the vows to be taken at each level.^b He died in Tibet at the age of seventy-two.

Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné (1004/1005–1064), the foremost disciple of Atiśa and the founder of the Kadampa tradition, founded a monastery at Radreng in 1047 that would become the primary seat of the Kadampa School that would spring from him and would continue to figure in Tibetan history into the 20th century.

Shakabpa argues that during the Era of Fragmentation, Tibetans were preoccupied with religious matters and both political affairs and economic development were disregarded:^c

^b Geshe Sonam Rinchen and Ruth Sonam, *Atisha's "Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment"* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1997) and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *Atiśa and Tibet* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967).

^c See p. 191.

During the time that Tibet did not have a king who had power over the entire country, the regional leaders, land-holders, and monasteries protected their own respective territories. No attention whatsoever was given to the continuous protection of the country or to the improvement of the economy... Besides those people [involved in a border war with China between 1048 and 1089], the Tibetan people were not concerned with political matters in any way; the people in the Ü Tsang region were only interested with the supreme religion.

In an ironic counterpoint to that peaceful depiction, it is at this point in the narrative that Shakabpa recounts something of the legendary king of Ling, Gesar Kyechok Norbu Dradül, the heroic martial figure about whom so many tales are told. Shakabpa urges that ordinary people not make judgments about the veracity of the stories.

CHAPTER THREE

ERA OF THE FRAGMENTATION OF TIBET

King Lang Darma, who attempted to abolish Buddhism, ruled Tibet for six years. Not long before he was assassinated in 842, his youngest queen had a son. The elder queen became jealous of her, and so the child was protected by the light of the sun during the day and by the light of a lamp during the night. Therefore, he was given the name Namdé Ösung (*gnam lde 'od srung*).^a Immediately, the elder queen located a child who could achieve the position of king and proclaimed, "I also have given birth to a son [of the king's] lineage." The child, who was supposed to have been born the previous day, already had teeth. However, when she presented him to the high government officials, they said that the mother's words should be believed. Thus, this son was named Ngadak Yumten (*mnga' bdag yum brtan*).^b

When both of the sons had come of age, following the advice of their virtuous religious counselors, they reintroduced the tradition of worshipping in the Tsuklakhang by having the two Jowo images, the prayer wheel of Maitreya, and other religious treasures removed from their secret hiding places in seats and mud and arranging them in their various places. However, the two sons argued over Ngari without ever settling matters. Hence, the descendents of Ösung exercised dominion over Tö and Ngari, while Yumten's descendents exercised dominion over Ü.

The revolutionary subjects rose up, and the people who lacked respects for their lords destroyed their tombs and so forth.¹ These conditions caused Tibet to dissolve into many small kingdoms. Without a king who had authority over the entirety of Tibet, each district was ruled by a local lord, and each local lord erected a mighty fortress, had authority over just a few subjects, and also kept a small army to protect his district. After hearing about the situation in Ü Tsang, civil, military, and revenue officials maintained their authority over their respective areas instead of returning to their homes. Even though they yearned

^a I.e., The One Protected by the Light of the Sun.

^b I.e., Relying on the mother's authority.

for their native homes, these officials remained in places like Domé, Amdo, Gyelrong, Gyeltang, and Lhodruk.² It is clearly indicated in the respective biographies of the honored officials of those lords that they were the descendents of the high officials of other Tibetan kings.

In Ü Tsang, even though the teaching of the monastic discipline had ceased, the situation was that those people who secretly kept the lock of hair that is a sign of a tantric practitioner were not discovered by the high officials of King Lang Darma. Thus, even though there is no evidence of people becoming monks, it is not the case that the roots of religious teaching did not exist. Gö Lotsāwa said:

Indeed, there had been a partial eclipse in the teaching of the monastic discipline, but up to the present, there has never been a decline in the teaching of the Great Vehicle Secret Mantra.

In fact, this state of affairs has remained.

As has been previously explained,^c three mendicants, Tsang Rapsel, Yo Gewajung, and Mar Śākyamuṇi, traveled to the Domé region and settled there. In the Machukha region, they were seen by herders, who explained what they had seen to their family that evening. Upon hearing of these events, Muzusel, a young Bönpo boy who possessed good karma and was fortunate, went to see them in the morning. He became a monk, generating firm faith in Buddhism. With Tsang Rapsel acting as abbot and Yo acting as his instructor, he took the vows of a novice monk. He was given the monastic name Gewa Rapsel. Later, he became known as Lachen Gongpa Rapsel because of his tremendous wisdom.³

Subsequently, when he requested the full monastic ordination, he was told this was not possible without five fully ordained monks. He was told that Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé was staying at Longtang. Even though he had been told by people he met that full ordination was impossible for him because he had killed a king, by sending for Chinese monks in each of Kabé and Gyiben Jawa, he received the full ordination, with Tsang Rapsel acting as abbot, Yo Gewajung acting as the ritual teacher, Mar Śākyamuṇi acting as the secret preceptor, and the two Chinese monks fulfilling the required number of five monks.

Upon hearing of the existence of a lineage of vows in the Domé region, Yumten's descendents, Tridé Gönnyen, and so forth, sent ten

^c See p. 163 above.

faithful and wise people from Ü Tsang at the time that Samyé Tsepo or Tsana Yeshé Gyeltsen was alive.⁴ When they asked Tsang Rapsel to bestow vows upon them, he declined saying he was too old. He asked them to inquire of Lachenpo. The latter said, "Since I have not been fully ordained for more than five years, I would not be able to serve as abbot." However, Tsang Rapsel said that Lachenpo would be able to serve as abbot on this exceptional occasion, and all ten people received the complete ordination with Lachenpo serving as abbot, Tsang Rapsel and Yo Gewajung serving as the ritual teacher and the secret preceptor, and with Mar Śākyamuṇi and a Chinese monk completing the required number.

Since Lumé was returning to Ü Tsang, he invited the abbot to be the teacher there. The former removed his Bönpo hat and was presented with a hat that was dyed with yellow earth; the abbot told him to wear it and thereby to remember him.⁵ Then, when Lumé arrived in Samyé on his way to Ü Tsang, Tsana Yeshé Gyeltsen passed away and Lumé was welcomed by his son, Ngadak Tripa. At that time, an old woman said that she could remember encountering such people [i.e., monks] when she was six years old. When someone asked her present age, she responded that she was seventy-six. Accordingly, this is one reason for the account that there had not been any teaching of the monastic discipline in Ü Tsang for seventy years. Thereafter, the teaching of the monastic discipline flourished again and a great number of monastic centers were founded. Thus, it is said that the embers of the teaching in Domé reignited the fire of Buddhism.

The sons of Ösung produced many descendents, such as Ngadak Pelkhor Tsen and Trashhi Tseka. *The Religious History of Domé* says:⁶

Trashhi Tseka's son, Ö, had four sons. The second of these, Tridé became the prince, after traveling to Do Kham, ruling over Tsongön Lake. His descendents, such as Chennga Dönchenpa, were made famous throughout Domé, including the eighteen great regions of Tsongkha. Even beyond that, the descendents of that prince were in the area of Amdo Pelri, where Penyül was invited to become the myriarch by virtue of his elegant language.

Peldé Rikpa Göñ seized control over Mangyül (Dzongga), Trashhi Degön over Buhreng, and Dedzuk Göñ over Zhangzhung. Dedzuk Göñ had two sons, Khoré and Songé. The first son was given the religious name, Lama Yeshé Ö when he became a monk.⁷ Yeshé Ö erected the golden temple of Toding (Toling) at Shangshung Gugé; later, upon seeing Samyé, he jokingly commented:

I, who am a petty king in the outskirts of Tibet, have made a mark that is greater than the mark made by my paternal ancestors who ruled over the entirety of Tibet.

He understood that the Perfection Vehicle was taught by the Buddha, but because mantrikas, such as the eighteen Artso monks⁸ and so forth, engaged in union and deliverance,^d he developed doubts as to whether those practices were indeed derived from Buddha's teachings. Upon gathering together all of the honored sons of good lineage, who were not younger than ten years old and not older than twenty years, he investigated the intelligence of the members of this large group. Thereby, he selected twenty-one of them, seven who were intelligent, seven who were of average intelligence, and seven who were of little intelligence. He paid some money to their parents and, bestowing great sums of gold on them, dispatched them to Kashmir to become scholars.⁹ However, nineteen of his companions perished because of the great heat there.

Rinchen Zangpo and Lekpé Sherap^e studied many of the doctrines of sūtra and tantric and returned to Ngari. In particular, the great translator Rinchen Zangpo, heard a great deal of profound and extensive religious teachings from Pañchen Nāropa (1016–1100),^f Kamalagupta,^g and Jinamitra.^h In addition, relying upon seventy-five other paṇḍita lamas, he was guided to the far reaches of the ocean of scriptures and was without a peer in two languages at the time of the later dissemination [of Buddhism to Tibet] (*phyi dar*). The Translator Gö praised him by saying that it was just by the kindness of Rinchen Zangpo that the tantric teachings spread more widely in the later dissemination than in the earlier period (*snga dar*). Similarly, Yeshé Ö invited a great many paṇḍitas from India such as Dharmapāla, and the monastic discipline

^d See Samten G. Karmay, "The Ordination of IHa Bla-ma Ye-shes-'od," *Tibetan Studies in honour of Hugh Richardson*. eds. Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1979), 151. These are code words for ritual sex (*sbyor*) and ritual murder (*sgrol*).

^e I.e., the remaining two monks who had not died in India.

^f Nāropa was an important India yogi who taught Marpa (1012–1097), the teacher of the famous Milarepa (1052–1135).

^g Kamalagupta was a noted collaborator of Rinchen Zangpo's. Together, they translated many books from Sanskrit to Tibetan.

^h Jinamitra was one of the compilers of the *Mahāvīyutpatti*, an extremely important 8th and 9th century Sanskrit-Tibetan glossary. See I. P. Minaev, ed., *Mahāvīyutpatti* (Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1992).

was introduced into Tö. Hence, it is said that the embers of Buddhist teaching which were cherished in Domé reignited in Tö.

Furthermore, there are many disagreements among the various scholars concerning the different reasons for the earlier and later dissemination of Buddhism into Tibet, and there are disagreements over the number of years that Buddhist teachings were absent from Ü Tsang. It is the opinion of the Translator Gö, the author of *The Blue Annals*, that Buddhism emerged in Ngari earlier than it did in Ü Tsang. He thought this because Rinchen Zangpo received his monastic vows from Khenpo Yeshé Zangpo in 970, and it wasn't until 978 that the ten people from Ü Tsang received their full ordination from Lachen. This is also in complete agreement with Pañchen Sönam Drakpa's account that since the elder Rinchen Zangpo had become a monk eighteen years earlier; Buddhism had initially arisen in Ngari. Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné, the founder of the Kadampa tradition, views the intervening period during which monks were unknown in Ü Tsang in the light of the statement by the old woman in Samyé and in the light of the reasons for the later dissemination of Buddhism. In addition, he pinpoints the later dissemination to the year 978, when the ten people from Ü Tsang received their vows of full ordination from Lachen. This was 1522 years after Buddha passed into nirvāṇa and 746 years after the holy religion initially found its way to Tibet.

At this time, the Nepalese scholar-translator Lerutsé (Padmaruci) came to Tibet, having invited Paṇḍita Trala Ringwaⁱ and Paṇḍita Smṛtijñānakīrti with him from India. However, when they were in transit, the translator died from a stomach illness. Since neither of the paṇḍitas understood Tibetan, they wandered about for a long time and experienced tremendous hardships. For example, Smṛti had to work as a shepherd in Tanak for many years. Later, Jel Lotsāwa Sönam Gyeltsen received religious instruction from them, having invited them to stay at Menlung. Upon moving to Kham, they performed many exceedingly beneficial actions, such as giving an explanation of Vasubandhu's *Treasury of Knowledge*. Trala Ringwa said that even though the people of India had let the excellent religion die out, they continued to produce many religious teachers.

ⁱ His Sanskrit name is given as Sūkṣmadīrgha in E. Obermiller, trans., *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* (Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1999), 215.

Lha Lama Yeshé Ö entrusted his dominion to his younger brother, Songé, and then having invited many paṇḍitas to Tibet, he thoroughly analyzed both sūtra and tantra. Still, his mind was not satisfied. At the end of his life, having heard of the fame of Jowo Atīśa, who was born the son of a king in Bengal, India, he resolved to invite him. He dispatched the translator Gya Tsöndrū Sengé together with many young Tibetans with an offering of one large block of gold and many smaller pieces. In his letter of invitation, he wrote:

Your compassion is impartial and,
 You have taken the essence of Buddha's teachings to mind.
 Although previously, the Land of Snows was marvelous,
 Now the merit of its people has deteriorated.
 Because of that, I, the king of Tibet,
 Am caused to suffer by the heat of this desert.
 Mental contemplation is like discovering water.
 Day and night, when I think of you, my benefactor,
 I beseech you to have love for me.

He dispatched his representative, Gya Tsöndrū Sengé, with the mission of inviting Atīśa.

When he and his retinue encountered the paṇḍita at a monastery called Vikramalaśīla,¹⁰ he offered the letter of invitation and the gold to him. Since this gift was made to induce Atīśa to go to Tibet, he declined the gold without even touching it. The translator returned to Tibet, gave the gold back to Lha Lama Yeshé Ö and explained that he had been unable to induce Atīśa to come with him. The translator explained that through hardship, great risk, or even casting away life and limb, still the arrival of Atīśa would be merely a wish. Lha Lama Yeshé Ö responded that he would certainly come to get Atīśa. Again, the translator Gya Tsöndrū Sengé journeyed to his protector in India in order to increase his learning.

Having resolved to gather still more gold in order to get Atīśa to come to Tibet, Lha Lama began the task. However, the king of Garlok threw him in prison, knowing that he was the king of Tibet. Lha Lama's younger brother had three sons named Lhadé, Ödé, and Zhiwa Ö. Zhiwa Ö was given the monastic name Lama Jangchup Ö when he became a monk. Upon hearing the news that his uncle Yeshé Ö had been seized, he went to Garlok together with one hundred horsemen. He decided that if he fought with the king of Garlok, causing a war throughout Tibet, he would be able to win, and it would involve sinfulness. If he himself was killed, then he would be unable to invite Atīśa,

and he would be unable to free his uncle from prison. Hence, having thoroughly considered the alternatives, he decided to negotiate. The king of Garlok said:

Since [Lha Lama Yeshé Ö] is a Buddhist king, either abandon your attempts to bring Atiśa to Tibet or gather an amount of gold equal to the weight of the king's body. Otherwise, I will not release the king.

Choosing to collect the gold, the nephew levied a tax on the lower robe of the monks in Ü Tsang, and he collected a gold tax from the subjects of the nine realms of Tibet on three occasions. Once he had converted most of his wealth into gold, he returned to Garlok¹¹ for his uncle. Although he was able to raise an amount of gold equal to the weight of his uncle's body by these measures, he fell short merely by the weight of the head and because of this, the king of Garlok would not hear of releasing Yeshé Ö. Jangchup Ö went to the door of the prison where his uncle was being held and called out to him:

Benevolent One! Our previous actions have befallen us. If I release you by fighting a war, then having wreaked destruction on a large number of people, I would have to be reborn in negative circumstances. If I postpone bringing the paṇḍita to Tibet, I would have to turn my mind from religion and that is not possible. Thus, I selected the alternative of collecting an amount of gold equal to the weight of your body, but in my quest for gold, I have fallen short by the weight of your head. The king of Garlok will not hear of letting you go. Therefore, I will find the remainder of the gold and return with the ransom. Until then, you must consider your previous actions, make prayer petitions to the Precious Jewels, allow your great courage to enter your heart, and generate merit.

Recognizing his nephew's voice, the uncle, Yeshé Ö raised a smile and said:

Beloved child, yours is the conscientiousness of one who was raised well. I did not imagine that you could confront such difficulties and persevere. Even if I should die, you will be able to protect the traditions of our ancestors. I understand your situation well, but please permit this to me: in my mind, I have thought that if I died without being able to remove the faults in the monastic discipline here in Tibet, it would be tragic. Now you will be able to accomplish this. I am an old man and my body is overcome with the fire element. Thus, my mind is also unclear. Even if I don't die soon, I don't have more than ten years to live. For these reasons, if you were to get more gold merely to free me, it would be disrespectful to the Precious Jewels. From beginningless time, in my previous lives, I have not sacrificed my life for the sake of religion, but now if I die for the sake of Buddhism, it will be just. Do not give even a speck, a *sewa* (*se ba*) or a

ra ti), of gold to the king.¹² It is a great hardship to find my body's weight in gold. Where would you be able to find the additional weight of my head now? Take all of the gold to India, and once again, ask Atiśa to come. Deliver this message into Atiśa's ear:

I have given my life and limb to the king of Garlok in order to entice you to Tibet and for the sake of Buddha's teachings. Have compassion for me in the entire continuum of my lives. Since my primary aspiration is that you will cause Buddha's teachings to spread by coming to Tibet, please do just that. I ask to be blessed by encountering you in this life.

Jangchup Ö, may you strengthen the holy religion, which my ancestors held to be of utmost importance. Make large offerings in Lhasa, Samyé, Toding, and so forth for the benefit of the Buddhist teachings that have not already disappeared. If you do that, my heart will be at ease. Thus, please make a solemn promise before me.

Since the nephew could see his uncle through a crack in the door, he knew that his hands and feet were bound with silk rope. Yeshe Ö's physical strength had been stolen, the timber of his voice was broken, and he was completely exhausted. Still, he had faith because he held the Tibetan people, Buddha's teachings, and especially Atiśa in his heart.

An immeasurable repulsion for the affairs of the world arose in Jangchup Ö's heart. He became choked up and was unable to speak. Then, while shedding tears, he addressed his uncle three times, saying, "Your Majesty! Compassionate One!" Then he made his solemn promise:

If you can sacrifice your life for the sake of Buddha's teachings, then likewise I vow to do this also.

Feeling unable to depart, he bowed down to his uncle for the last time, and then departed.

Lha Lama Jangchup Ö searched for a suitable messenger to invite Atiśa from India, but could not find anyone. Then, thinking that Geshé Gungtangpa was traveling in India, he left Shangshung for Mangyül Gungtang. Arriving there, he told Lha Tsendong, "When the Bearer of your Discipline returns from India, ask him to send a message to me." When Gungtangpa arrived in Tibet, the message was given to him by the monks, he left for Lha Tsungam. Lha Lama placed Gungtangpa Tsültrim Gyelwa on a high throne.¹³

With respect he said:

My ancestors, who were bodhisattva kings and ministers, introduced the Buddhist religion in Tibet; they established its traditions and spread it far and wide. However, these days, the teaching has declined. In particular,

the eighteen Artso monks have perverted the Secret Mantra Vehicle, thereby destroying all of the monks and making them into lay people. They have obscured the Buddhist religion by teaching various perverse practices such as union and deliverance.

As a result, when my uncle Lha Lama Yeshé Ö heard about the great bodhisattva Paṇḍita Dīpaṃkara¹⁴ (the Butterlamp), who was living at Vikramalaśīla Monastery, he sent a messenger to invite him. However, the messenger was unsuccessful. Once again, he set about gathering gold, but was captured by the king of Garlok. Now, according to the wishes of my great uncle, there is no alternative but for you, the Bearer of the Discipline to go and invite Paṇḍita Dīpaṃkara for the welfare of the Buddhist religion and of the suffering people of Tibet. You know the way there, the customs, and the language. You also know how to invite Jowo Atīśa.

He described his uncle's history in detail with tears falling.

The Bearer of the Discipline said:

Since I wish to continue studying, this task would interrupt my plans. Yet, if the king of Tibet decides to sacrifice his life for the welfare of Buddhism, then I certainly must go to invite Jowo Atīśa according to his wishes. Please prepare what I am to take with me.

Since he had accepted the charge, Lha Lama was overjoyed. He arranged for five people to assist Naktso Lotsāwa. As gifts for the paṇḍita, he sent a bar of gold weighing sixty sang, seventy sang in loose pieces, one dré in gold dust, and seven sang of gold for traveling expenses. He also sent a letter inviting Jowo Atīśa.

Thereafter, Naktso Lotsāwa went to India together with a petty king of Nepal, arriving at Vikramalaśīla Monastery on the shore of the Ganges River. He met with Gya Tsöndrū Sengé and explained the story to him. Thus, Gya Tsöndrū Sengé told him:

Although there are many paṇḍitas under Jowo Atīśa, it would be difficult for them to be of benefit to Tibet. Now, you must supplicate Jowo Atīśa himself. Without revealing that you have come to invite Jowo Atīśa, you must pretend that you have come to study.

Accordingly, he remained there.

Later, one day, Gya Tsöndrū Sengé spoke to Naktso Lotsāwa in a deserted place, and then conducted him to Jowo Atīśa's chambers. He presented the letter from Tibet's king as well as the gifts of gold. Then Lotsāwa Gya Tsöndrū Sengé recounted the entire story about how Tibet's king was a bodhisattva, how Buddhism had spread in Tibet during the reign of the great religious kings, how Lha Lama was prepared to sacrifice his life to

invite Jowo Atiśa, how he had sent a message from prison, how a gold tax had been collected in Tibet, and how at present a perverse form of religion was being spread throughout Tibet. Without mentioning the previous year's invitation, he asked that Jowo Atiśa regard Tibet with compassion. Both Gya Tsöndrū Sengé and Naktso Lotsāwa wept.

Thus, Jowo Atiśa said:

It is true that these Tibetan kings are bodhisattvas, and also the three great religious kings^j must have been emanations of bodhisattvas. Also Lachen Gongpa Rapsel must have been an emanation of a bodhisattva. Otherwise, he would have been unable to light the embers of Buddhism. All of these Jowo Lha lamas must have been bodhisattvas, and it is not possible to violate the commands of bodhisattvas. I would also be ashamed toward that king [Lha Lama Yeshé Ö]. He has suffered many losses in men and wealth. There also must be compassion for you Tibetans.

But I am also of an advanced age, hold a great deal of responsibility, and have many unfinished tasks. Therefore, I must determine whether I will be of benefit in Tibet. If so, then I will go. However, there are difficulties in my being permitted to go because of the situation here at Vikramalaśīla Monastery. Therefore, it is necessary to craft a skillful plan. Naktso, you should behave as a student here for the time being.

Jowo Atiśa consulted a tutelary deity and a yogini who practiced in Bodhgaya. Since there was agreement between the gods and the sky-goers that it would be beneficial for him to go to Tibet, he resolved to go no matter what happened. In particular, they prophesied that his going would bring benefit through a certain upāsaka.^k Even when he was told that his lifetime would be diminished by twenty years, he still resolved to go in order to benefit Buddhism and living beings.¹⁵

Jowo Atiśa reported that he was going on a pilgrimage to Bodhgaya and then to see the Swayambū Stūpa in Nepal and that the two lotsāwas would serve as his attendants. The senior monk Śīlākara spoke to Naktso as follows:

Āyuśmānta!¹⁶ You are stealing our paṇḍita even though you came here under the pretense of studying. Now since the paṇḍita seems to take joy in the journey, we will not block your way. However, he must not remain for more than three years. Then, you must accompany him back here.

^j The three great ancient religious kings were Songtsen Gampo, Trisong Detsen, and Tri Relpachen.

^k A tutelary deity (*yi dam gyi lha*) is the particular deity a practitioner propitiates. A sky-goer (*mkha' 'gro*) is a female deity who inspires tantric practitioners. An upāsaka is a lay disciple who vows to follow the five precepts (*pañcasīla*) refraining from killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, false speech, and being intoxicated.

Naktso Lotsāwa accepted this.

Jowo Atiśa was fifty-nine at that time. Thereafter, the Master Jowo Atiśa and twenty-four students, Naktso Lotsāwa and six servants, along with Gya Tsöndrū Sengé and two servants left Vikramalaśīla Monastery for Tibet in the Male-Tiger-Earth Year of the first cycle, in 1038.¹⁷ Having made magnificent offerings at Bodhgaya, they proceeded on to Nepal where they stayed for a year. Jowo Atiśa founded the Stham Vihar Monastery.¹⁸ A reception committee came from the king of Tibet. Gya Tsöndrū Sengé passed away in Nepal.

Thereafter, in 1040, the teacher Jowo and his retinue were received at a large celebration by Lhatsün Jangchup Ö at the Golden Temple of Zhangzhung Toding. The long horns presently used by Tibetans are said to have been invented for that occasion. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa's *Festival of the Learned* says:

Although previously there had not been any long horns, they were produced in order to invite Jowo. Thereby, it is known as the horn for invited translators and paṇḍitas.

The preceptor and patron met there.¹ With great joy, Lhatsün spoke at length about how his wishes had been fulfilled. A magnificent festival was held at the arrival of the paṇḍita. Lha Lama said that since there were perverse doctrines in Tibet, he prayed Jowo Atiśa would compose a treatise that would be easy to put into practice, that combined all of Buddha's scripture, the sūtras and tantras, as well as the commentaries, and that would refute those perverse practices. Thus, he wrote the *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment*.^m

At that time, Lotsāwa Rinchen Zangpo invited him to his home. He was eighty-five years old and had waited on many lama-scholars in India in the past. Since he had received many teachings, he was a little prideful. However, he took joy in Jowo's wisdom and prostrated to his feet. It is known that until he died at age ninety-seven, he regarded Jowo's teachings as being foremost.

Jowo Atiśa was preparing to return to India as he had already spent the three years bringing magnificent benefit to the living beings of Ngari. When he was staying at Buhrengi Gyelzhing, he met with Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné, the upāsaka that had been prophesied at Bodhgaya.

¹ The preceptor and patron are Jowo Atiśa and Lhatsün Jangchup Ö, respectively.

^m For a commentary and translation, see Geshe Sonam Rinchen and Ruth Sonam, *Atiśa's "Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment"* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1997).

The latter supplicated Jowo to go to Ü. Thus, Naktso pulled on Jowo Atiśa's robes saying:

Since I made a promise to the monks at Vikramalaśīla Monastery, you must return to India lest I descend into the hell realms.

Jowo Atiśa told Naktso Lotsāwa that there was no fault in not doing what cannot be done.¹⁹ It seems that he was thinking of a war that was going on between three kingdoms in Nepal at that time due to which the road to India was blocked.

Subsequently, Dromtönpa sent a message to the important figures of Ü, indicating that since he was being invited to come to Ü by Jowo, they must come to receive him saying, in part, "...Zhang Wangchuk Göñ, Kawa Shakya and so forth, in the chariot-shaped world..." Kawa took responsibility, conferring with Gyelzhang Chenpo and so forth. Meanwhile, as the preparations were being made to receive him, Khutön said, "My name is not in the letter from Dromtönpa." Kawa told him that he was included in the "and so forth." He replied, "The person who must be included in the 'and so forth' is not me." He reflected that he should go see Jowo first come what may, and he left. Thus, the rest of the people also felt moved, as if they were inspired to do the same.

When the senior figures of Ü arrived in Peltang, the Tibetan teachers wore long-nosed hats and great silk robes, and from a great distance, Jowo could see many horses coming. He said, "Upāsaka! Many non-humans are coming!" Then he covered his head. When the Tibetan teachers got close to Jowo, they dismounted and removed their cloaks and hats, revealing that they were wearing monk's robes. Joyfully, Jowo greeted the monks. By saying that many non-humans were coming, he meant that he was displeased with the Tibetan monks' ostentatious display. Thereafter, the Tibetan teachers proceeded on, with Jowo and his retinue following. When they came to Nawola Pass, flags were raised and the horns that Lhatsün had made were blown. Thus, not knowing what the sound was, the people of the region said a war had begun. Having crossed the river at Pelmar, the party arrived at Samyé. Lhatsün Bodhi Raja provided them with excellent hospitality.

As a result of this turn of events, a message was sent to India to report that although Jowo Atiśa had been invited with the indulgence of the monks at Vikramalaśīla Monastery, he could not return to India except through war torn Nepal. Jowo Atiśa had composed a treatise in Tibet, the message continued, and he had provided great benefit for living beings; thus, their consent was requested to allow him to remain

in Tibet. A copy of the *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment* handwritten by Jowo was sent along with a large amount of gold. When the paṇḍitas saw the book, they were astonished. They were unanimous in saying that not only was it was good for Tibetans that Jowo had gone to Tibet, but it was also good for Indians. If he had remained in India, they said, he would not have composed such a treatise because of the wisdom and diligence of the Indian people. The implied meaning is that the Tibetans were indolent simpletons. They said many things of this sort. Thus, the senior monk Śīlākara (Ratnākara) said:

The paṇḍitas have expressed great praise. If Jowo is pleased by remaining in Tibet and has also been of benefit to living beings, he may now remain there. In his stead, please send a commentary of the *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment*.ⁿ

When this letter arrived, Naktso Lotsāwa, who was overjoyed, said that from that day on he was free from the mountain of responsibility that the senior monks had placed on him.²⁰

Kutön Tsöndrū Yungdrung invited Jowo Atiśa to Tangpoché. However, he did not serve him in an adequate manner. Thus, Jowo and his retinue fled. When they were about one third of the way down the Tsangpo River, Kutön followed after them. He begged forgiveness in a loud voice and asked Atiśa to return again. However, he would not do so. He flung his hat back, giving it as a blessing. The master stayed at Ön for a while and then went on to Samyé.

While he was examining some texts, Jowo Atiśa saw several that he had never seen before, even in India. Such teachings as have emerged in Tibet, he said, are difficult to find even in India. In general, he took great joy in turning the wheel of religion [i.e., teaching], and he was happy to remain in Tibet for a long time. Yet, Bangtön and two hundred cavalry had come to escort him; they left for Nyetang by way of Gökarla Pass.

Except for his countless trips to Lhasa, Yerpa, Penyül, and so forth for the benefit of living beings, he made his base at Nyetang. Countless students came to receive teachings from him. His primary students, Dromtön Gyelwé Jungné, Ngok Lekpé Sherap, Lhatsün Jangchup Ö, Lochen Rinchen Zangpo, Naktso Tsültrim Gyelwa, Lho Drakpa Chak

ⁿ The root text by Atiśa and his auto-commentary is translated in Richard Sherburne, trans., *The Complete works of Atiśa Śrī Dipanikara Jo-bo-rje: the Land for the Path and Commentary*. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2000.

Trichok, and others had inconceivable capacities to protect and increase the teachings. They provided the foundation for the Kadampa religious tradition.

On three occasions during the time he was in Tibet, he sent lamas and students to India with great offerings. Jowo Atīśa had reached the age of seventy-two when he died at Ganden Yiga Chödzin on the eighteenth day of the eighth month of 1040, the Horse-Wood Year.²¹ Geshé (Drom) Tönpa constructed a tomb at Nyetangi Namoché for his remains; they are in a stūpa at Ö Tsuklakhang.

Thereafter, Geshé Tönpa was invited by Trengkha Berchung. Accordingly, he went north along with the great yogi Amé. In 1047, they founded the main seat of the Kadampa lineage at Radreng. In 1073, Kön Könchok Gyelpo founded Sakya.^o At the same time, Ngok Lekpé Sherap founded Sangpu Neutok Monastery. Buddhism spread far and wide due to such occurrences.

Between 842, when Lhalung Pelgyi Dorjé killed Lang Darma, and 1253, when Drogön Chögyel Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen gained control over the three provinces of Tibet, in other words, for four hundred and eleven years, there was no king who exercised authority over the entirety of Tibet. Thus, this period is known as the Era of the Fragmentation of Tibet (*bod zil bu'i skabs*).

During this time, there were many superior beings of indisputable renown, such as: the ten figures of Ü Tsang like Lumé Tsültrim Rinchen, Ngok Lekpé Sherap, Drokmi Śākya Yeshé, Gökhugpa Lhetsé, Nanam Dorjé Wangchuk, Lhajé Zur Śākya Jungné, Zur Chungpa Sherap Drak, Gyijo Dawé Özer, Marpa Chökyi Lodrö, Zangkar Pakpa Sherap, Nyen Darma Drak, Minyak Tsami Sangyé Drak, Trewo Lotsāwa Sherap Pel, Bari Rinchen Drak, Lokya Sherap Tsek, Mel Lodrö Drak, Dro Sherap Drak, Barak Töpa Ga, Maben Chökhör, Tsur Lotsāwa, Jel Künga Dorjé, Ra Lotsāwa Dorjé Drak, Zhang Sherap Lama, Zhama Senggyel, Marpa Dopa Chökyi Wangchuk, Majik Lapkyi Drönma, Drapa Ngönshé, Jel Chökyi Zangpo, Patsap Nyima Drakpa, Milarepa of Gungtang, Chak Chöjé Pel, Kawa Śākya Wangchuk, Garma Yönten Yungdrung, Yöl Chöwang, Chak Trichok, the three Kadam brothers,²² Nyang Yeshé Jungné, Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo, Kön Könchok Gyelpo, Ngok Loden Sherap, Nyamé Dakpo Lhajé, Zhanguy Drakpa, Drogön Pakmo Drupa,

^o See p. 200 below.

Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa, Ling Repa Pema Dorjé, Kyopa Jikten Gönpö, Tsangpa Gya Repa Yeshé Dorjé, Sakya Paṇḍita Künga Gyeltsen, and Töpu Lotsāwa Jampa Pel.

Some of them went to India to study and translate the profound teachings of sūtra and tantra into Tibetan. Several of them invited superior beings, that is to say, paṇḍitas and adepts. Some of them also engaged in listening, thinking, and meditating in Tibet itself and then produced important religious works through explaining, debating, and composing. They built great monastic institutions, such as educational monasteries and retreat centers, and they guided innumerable students to liberation. I have only mentioned a few of those who were instrumental in increasing, like the dawning sun, the Buddhist religion in Tibet, the Land of Snows. If one wished more detail about these people can be found in Butön Rinchen Drup's *Religious History of the Treasury of Precious Discourses*, Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel's *The Blue Annals: A Religious History*, and so forth. If one wishes to know more about their activities, one should refer to the biographies of the individual superior beings.

One may examine Sakya Jetsün Sönam Gyeltsen's *The Luminous Mirror, A Dynastic History, The Religious History of Yarlung Jowo*, Neupāṇḍita's *A Garland of Flowers of Previous Speech, A Religious History of Nel*, and so forth. During the time that Tibet did not have a king who had power over the entire country, the regional leaders, land-holders, and monasteries protected their own respective territories. No attention whatsoever was given to the continuous protection of the country or to the improvement of the economy. These issues can be clearly understood from the sources mentioned previously. The Chinese scholar Wintindin (*win thin drin*) says:

From 1048 to 1089, there was a war between China and Tibet in the Lendru region. A Chinese officer during that period, Hro Chang (*hro'o chang*), killed about sixty thousand Tibetans over time. The officer himself was also killed in the war.

If one relies upon that account, then it would seem that this war was against the officers and soldiers at the various places along the border during the time of the powerful Tri Relpachen. Besides those people, the Tibetan people were not concerned with political matters in any way; the people in the Ü Tsang region were only interested with the supreme religion.

However, during this period, a powerful and magical lord named Lingjé Gesar Kyechok Norbu Dradül emerged in the region of Dotö and Domé.^p There are many fascinating stories about his wars with neighboring kingdoms; he had various types of marvelous sorts of armor, arrows, bows, swords, and so forth. Not only are description of these objects given in reliable sources, but I have seen them with my own eyes. If we were able to discover corroboration for the texts, chronologies, and places that would induce faith in sources that did not exaggerate, then the cycle of stories associated with Gesar could make an important contribution to understanding the political history of that period. Thus, I have put a little effort into this investigation. When I consulted just ten different books on folklore (*sgrung dpe*), including the *Birth of Ling*, the authors' names were unclear except for those that were thought-treasures^q or orally transmitted. In particular, Cabinet Minister Doring Tendzin Peljor's autobiography (224-na-7) says:

One particular story about Gesar in my books recounted that he had overcome the Hor and tamed them; that is all it said. The occasion being narrated took place when that lord (Yapjé Gung Paṇḍita) was campaigning in Kham. Thus, thinking it would be auspicious to fill in the details of this incomplete account, Junpa fabricated a new supplement in order to fill up the long day. More than one hundred pages were written in this way.

This assertion that it was fabricated introduces a great basis for doubt. In addition, Trotung's song about the occasion of the Hor-Ling war says:

The one who stabbed a dagger into rock
Was Ögyen Pema [Padmasambhava] and me.
Between the two of us, it was me.
This Buddha who came to the earth
Was Sakya Paṇchen [Sakya Paṇḍita] and me.
Between the two of us, it was me.
The one who built bridges over rivers

^p Gesar of Ling is a legendary heroic and semi-divine king thought to have ruled in Kham in eastern Tibet in the 10th century. The classic studies are still those undertaken by R. A. Stein: (1) *l'Epopée Tibétaine dans sa Version Lamaïque de Ling* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1956) and (2) *Recherches sur l'Epopée et le Barde au Tibet* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1959).

^q There are people who fall into trances and spontaneously recite Gesar's exploits. All-night recitations of story tellers constitute a common form of entertainment among Tibetan nomads.

Was Tangtong Gyelpo^r and me.
Between the two of us, it was me.

Since there is no certainty even in the chronology [about Gesar's life], this inspires great doubt.^s

It is widely reported that Gesar lived in Gulok, on the border between Dotö and Domé. However, old people who have received the stories through the oral tradition also cite other places such as Markham, Kongpo, Tanak, Öyuk, and Panam.²³ Still, this discrepancy only increases the doubts.

Changkya Hotoktu Yeshé Tenpé Drönmé says:²⁴

These days, many stories are being told about Gesar; however, by examining them, it is seen that most of them are false. I have a source that is not tinged with false accounts.

Thus, since it is possible to find such reliable accounts, I have applied my efforts to many texts. Yet I have not found one that is reliable.

I asked the scholar-adept Wangchuk Tanak Tupten Kenzur Ngagi Wangpo Rinpoché about it. He said:

In the latter phase of Tibet's Era of Fragmentation, there was a yogi on the edge of Gulok who was able to perform various sorts of magical feats; his name was Gesar Norbu Dradül. I think that these stories are elaborations and exaggerations of his life.

I also asked an experienced person from the Kham area about the Gesar stories. He explained that he had asked Katok Situ Rinpoché and Jamgön Khyentsé Rinpoché about the period in which Gesar lived. Both of them said that during Drogön Chögyel Pakpa's later trip to China and Mongolia, there was a war in Hor-Ling; thus, they were in agreement that it was impossible to pass through Dotö.

Consequently, once again I examined several Sakya lineage histories, but I did not find anything definite. If what the two rinpoché's said is correct, then Drogön Chögyel Pakpa's later trip to China and Mongolia must have been in 1267. Kyapjé Düjom Rinpoché's *The Religious History of the Early Transmission of Tantrayāna* says:²⁵

^r Tangtong Gyelpo was a charismatic lama who build iron bridges in Tibet in the 15th century. See p. 268 ff. See Cyrus Stearns, *King of the Empty Plain: The Tibetan Iron-Bridge Builder Tangtong Gyalpo* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 2007).

^s Since these three famous Tibetan figures lived in different centuries, he thinks the chronology of Gesar is even more confused.

Gesar was born in the Earth-Tiger Year of the second cycle (1098). There is cause to rely on that report in *The Biography of Taklung Sangyé Wön* which says that when he was going to Kham, there was a war in Hor-Ling. Beyond there having been a superior being named Gesar, there are qualms about such reports as exist in the stories. I have heard many fantastic stories of forts in Kongpo Draksum that are said to be the palaces of the demon Akhyung. Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé's *The Oceanic Annals, a Religious History of Domé*, (Volume 1, 562/13) says:

Moreover, in the past, the entire region of Madramdö was under the control of Lingjé Gesar. The year of his birth was either the Iron-Bird Year or the Water-Snake Year. In any event, it was early in the first cycle.¹ He invited Lang Jangchup Dreköl and Smrtijñānakirti, and he received religious teachings from them. Through their explanations, he was able to learn how to build a Tsuklakhang. Also his birthplace was at Dzasip near Chaptsa Monastery, where the Dzachu River meets the mouth of the Tsogorkha. He also is supposed to have been born in the lineage of the Darsa Naklung. It is evident that there are a variety of accounts, however true they may be. At present, this place is most likely held by Gulok.

If he was born in the Iron-Bird Year or the Water-Snake Year, then that would have been 1060^u or 1053, respectively. Thus, if this is compared with the chronologies mentioned in the Nyingma religious histories, they do not differ by more than thirty years. Therefore, this period is quite certainly the time that he lived. Also, if this is compared with the year of Drogön Chögyel Pakpa's second trip to China and Mongolia, there is a difference of about two hundred years. Thus, it is not possible to place confidence in that correlation.

Once again, I asked the king of Lingsang (a petty kingdom under Tibetan jurisdiction) Püntsoke Gelek Raptan about this matter. He said:

Gesar's birthplace was a place called Kyisö Yak Khado near Satsa Monastery; that in turn is near the Dzachu River within Dotö Lingsang. Today, Gesar's palace Sengtruk Taktsé is Guzi Monastery. His palace Jakhar Ringmo is the Lingsang king's Zangdrak Palace. Likewise, today Ngülchu Trodzong, the castle of Gesar's brother, Gyatsa Shelkar, is the Dergé king's palace Ngülda Gönchen Lhupteng. I do not have certain knowledge about Gesar's era.

Except for the thought-treasures or orally transmitted stories about his birth, such as Duling, Horling, Jangling, Mönling, Takling, Drugu, and

¹ This remark is problematic because the first sexagenary cycle ran from 1027–1086. The Iron-Bird and Water-Snake years were 1053 and 1081, neither year particularly early in the cycle. See p. xlv above for information on the sexagenary calendar.

^u The Iron-Bird Year of the first cycle is 1081 and not 1060.

so forth, there is nothing certain to say about the root source of those texts. However, the Great Ju Mipam said:

In dependence upon Gesar, there have been many yogi-lamas and many prayer offerings have been made.

Since there is thorough agreement with Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé's *The Oceanic Annals, a Religious History of Domé*, one is able to posit Gulok as his birthplace, and Gulok seems to have been in Lingtsang. Whatever may be the case, there are profound words, beautiful examples, and excellent physical attitudes of the various heroes in these stories. For that reason, they continually inspire tremendous patriotism and forceful conviction in their audience.

Beyond that, in *The Jewel Mirror, the Secret Sign Recounting Marvelous Realizations* by the great scholar-adept Ju Mipam Gelek Nampar Gyelwa who is undifferentiable from Jetsün Mañjuśrī, there is an eleven verse poem of praise which says, in part:

Just as music brings benefit and happiness to the world,
May the supreme being, the Great King Sengchen, bestow auspiciousness!
With the light rays of the brilliant wisdom jewel,
He is highly powerful in overcoming the dark side enemy.

And also:

Then, the body of the wish-granting jewel, which plunders without
resistance the complete essence
Of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa,
I pray he will promote the welfare and happiness
Of the teaching and beings, remaining steadfast forever, without signs of
aging and decline!

Thus, through the impact (*rten byung*) of such a supplication,
May the king of Dralha, the emanation of the Lotus of the Three Lineages,
Reside in the center my young utpala heart
And grant me the yogic ability to achieve the desired result!

These verses of praise were spoken by Mipam Rinpoché. There are many approximations, practices, and rituals of Gesar. With regard to them, sūtra says:

The One Gone Thus manifests as Brahmā to those who can be trained
by the appearance of Brahmā, and he manifests as Īśvara to those who
can be trained by the appearance of Īśvara.

Accordingly, Kündü Guru Tsokyé Dorjé displayed himself with his three secret forms to all trainees in the image of the royal war god Sengchen, as is indicated in the secret doctrines of Mipam Rinpoché.

It is not fitting for ordinary people to make judgments based on the fact that there are so many different sorts of legends about Gesar. In the past, there was definitely a being named Gesar Norbu Dradül who was the play of a Form Body, having powerful spiritual capacities and having a great heroic aspect able to defeat demons. Clever people have gradually introduced interpolations, fabricated additions, and so forth into the marvelous stories about Gesar, the oral traditions which are influenced by gods and spirits and the thought treasures that dawn in the minds of yogis. Thereby, contradictions have infected all of the essential points. Since discriminating beings seem to get drawn into distortions, those people with an expansive perspective and great diligence, following what Changkya Rinpoché said, i.e., that falsities are blended in the sources, must be urged to undertake a detailed study. This is extremely important.

During the Era of Fragmentation in Tibet, China was under the authority of the Song Dynasty (960–1279). Meanwhile, there were no kings with general authority over India or Nepal. Consequently, there were continual wars on both sides [of Tibet]. Because of the extreme religious partisanship, it was a period of dissatisfaction, like the swirling of a tempest. Tropu Lotsāwa Jampa Pel sent a letter to the Kashmiri mendicant Śākyaśrībhadrā, inviting him to Tibet. It read:^v

Such centers of learning as Magadha have been ravaged by the sinners' war. Heretics have filled Ögyen, Kashmir, and also Nepal.

These days, the excellent Buddhist traditions have expanded here in Tibet. Please Your Holiness, come to the north!

During this period, Paṇḍita Gayadhāra, was engaged in religious practice, also said:

In Tibet, the water is better, the climate more moderate, the wild animals are less common, and the food is more desirable than they are in India. Thereby, I will remain in Tibet rather than return to India.

Until he died, he remained on the edge of Jomo Kharek. The account of the history of the Era of Fragmentation is complete.

^v Magadha was an ancient Buddhist kingdom that stretched from Varanasi to the Bay of Bengal. It included some traditional centers of Buddhist learning, including Bodhgaya, Nālandā Monastery, and Vikramaśīla Monastery. The "sinners' wars" mentioned in the verse refers to the Muslim incursions into India. As Islam became more prevalent through the 10th to 12th centuries, Buddhism fell into sharp decline. Thus, prominent Buddhist masters remaining in India were invited to the more welcoming environment of Buddhist Tibet.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. *Treasury of Riches, Precious Treatise of Khutön.*
2. *The Religious History of Lho, the Garland of Prayers to Mañjuśrī*, 6-ba-4, says that during the time of King Tri Relpachen, soldiers from the nine region of Kham, Tibet gathered together. The Chinese emperor, his ministers, and the people were expelled. Most of the soldiers, since they liked the region, founded estates in those areas, where they remained. Thus, even today this place is called "Never Returned" (*mi log*).
3. Sakya Jetsün Sönam Gyeltsen, *Luminous Mirror, A Dynastic History*, says that if one stays in Penyül, then one is called Muzapen (*rmu za 'phan*), the son of the Bönpö Musel Shinbar School. Thus, having gone to Dokham, he met Tsang Rapsel, Yo Gewajung, and Mar Śākyamuṇi, whereupon he received his vows. Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, refutes this saying, "This is absolutely not correct. Some old dynastic histories are not reliable."
4. As for the ten Ü Tsang people who received the lineage of vows from Domé, they were Lumé Tsültrim Sherap, Dring Yeshé Yönten, Rakshi Tsültrim Jungné, Ba Tsültrim Lodrö, and Sumpa Yeshé Lo from Ü and Gurmowa Dorjé Wangchuk, Shapgö Tsongtsün Sherap Sengé, the two brother of Ngari Ogyé, and Bodongpa Upa Dekar from Tsang.
5. Most previous teachers wore yellow hats. There is a tradition that this great Lord, being concerned with the conditions of increasing the teachings of the monastic discipline, also wore a yellow hat.
6. Dragön Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé, *Ocean Annals, Religious History of Domé*, 65–7.
7. Most sources say, "The name Yeshé Ö is applied to the Khoré monk." However, Sakya Jetsün Sönam Gyeltsen, *The Luminous Mirror, A Dynastic History*, says, "The name Yeshé Ö is applied to the Songré monk."
8. Tāranātha, *Religious History of Nyang in The River Crossing for Scholars, Good Explanations of Marvelous Speech for Nyangyül, Do, and Mé*, 117-na-1, has an account about the spread of the practice of deliverance among the eighteen Artso Bandé monks. Some religious histories mention Paṇḍita Shamtap Ngönpo Jawa and Artso Marpo Jawa. Geshé Jayülwa Chenpo's stages of teaching mentioned a tradition called *Seven Nights to Buddhahood*.
9. Geshé Tendzin Gyeltsen Rinpoché says that Khaché Dripten is the land of the Muslims, Rahor Penḍi. Previously, there was a very large community of Buddhists there; these days, the people are practitioners of Islam.
10. The scholar Gen Tendzin Gyeltsen told me that "Vikramalaśīla" meant "obstacle" (*rnam par gnon*) in Tibetan. Its ruins are said to be at Patar Ghaṭa on the banks of the Ganges River.
11. For further information of the Garlok region, see Helmut Hoffman, "Die Qarlug in der Tibetischen Literatur," *Oriens* 3 (1950), 190–208. He identifies it as being in the Yarkhyen region. I also think that this is the case.
12. Sewa is a standard weight of gold and silver in Tibet. Ten sewa has the weight of a kargang (*skar gang*). Rati is an Indian standard weight.
13. He was also known as Naktso Lotsāwa. He was a student of Gya Tsöndrū Sengé.
14. In general, it is customary to call him Atiśa. When that name is translated into Tibetan, Gen Tendzin Gyeltsen Rinpoché said it meant "The Highest."
15. I have gathered information about Jowo Jé Pelden Atiśa's journey to Tibet from *Renowned Biography of Atiśa*, Jowo Atiśa's travel records, Tsongkhapa, *Great Exposition of the Stages of the Path*, Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel, *Blue Annals*, and so forth.
16. Geshé Tendzin Gyeltsen says that this means "endowed with life."
17. Although Jowo Atiśa's travel records note the year as the Tiger-Earth Year (1038), *Blue Annals* says the Male-Dragon-Iron Year (1040); thus, they disagree by

two years. In my English language book, *Tibet: A Political History*, p. 58, I used the chronology of *Blue Annals*.

18. Vihāra means monastery. Thus, Bihar came to be used as the name of the region by virtue of the many Buddhist monasteries and temples there since Buddha's time. *Translator's Note*: Buddha lived most of his later life living and teaching in the Indian state now called Bihar.

19. Lozang Yeshé Tendzin Gyatso, *Essential Nectar, the Outline of the Stages of the Path* (Varanasi-Sarnath, Mongolian Lama Guru Deva, 1965), 30-ba-5.

20. Lozang Yeshé Tendzin Gyatso, *Essential Nectar, the Outline of the Stages of the Path* (Varanasi-Sarnath, Mongolian Lama Guru Deva, 1965), 30-ba-7.

21. *Biography of Atīśa* and *Blue Annals* say he was seventy-two when he died on the eighteenth day of the eighth month of the Male-Horse-Wood Year. However, Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa's *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*, says he was seventy-three and died on the eighteenth day of the ninth month of the Horse Year.

22. They were Puchungpa Zhönu Gyeltsen, Potowa Rinchensel, Chenngawa Tsül-trimbar.

23. Tāranātha, *Religious History of Nyang in The River Crossing for Scholars, Good Explanations of Marvelous Speech for Nyangyül, Do, and Mé*, 115-na-1.

24. Tuken Lozang Chökyi Nyima, *Beautiful Ornament of the Virtuous Religion, The Biography of Changkya Hotoktu Yeshé Tenpé Drönmé*, 352-ba-4.

25. Dudjom Rinpoché, *Religious History of the Early Transmission of Tantrayāna, the Drumbeat of Victory through the Power of the Gods*.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRECEPTOR-PATRON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENGHIS KHAN AND SAKYA *TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION*

The chapter opens with a discussion of the life of Genghis Khan (1162–1227), his rise to power, his family's conquests, and the emergence of a relationship between Mongolia and Tibet.

Here, Shakabpa begins to unfold the central argument of the book. He recounts the events that led to the creation of the preceptor-patron (*mchod gnas dang yon bdag*) relationship that he sees as animating the rest of Tibetan history. According to this view, in the thirteenth century, the great Tibetan lama Sakya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) and the powerful conquering Mongolian Goden Khan (d. 1253)—grandson of Genghis Khan and youngest son of Genghis Khan's successor Ugotai Khan (1186–1241)—formed a special formal relationship that was repeated and deepened by Sakya Paṇḍita's nephew Pakpa Rinpoché (1235–1280) and Kublai Khan (1215–1294) the next great Mongolian leader. This potent bond was based on the lama serving as the spiritual guide and preceptor of the khan, while the khan played the role of the protector and patron of his lama. When Pakpa Rinpoché provided Kublai Khan with particular religious teachings in the middle of the thirteenth century, the khan reciprocated by giving him a series of lavish gifts, as was customary. Significantly, one of these gifts was the entirety of Tibet, which had only recently submitted to Mongol rule at the urging of Sakya Paṇḍita. According to Shakabpa, Tibet was autonomous from that point, not even being required to pay tribute to the Mongolians.^a

As Shakabpa sees it, the essentially religious preceptor-patron relationship continued henceforth to describe the actual bond between a free and independent Tibet and the paramount political power in Asia, either the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368), to a lesser degree the Chinese Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), or the Manchurian Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). When Chinese historians claim that Tibet was assimilated

^a See p. 219 below.

into China, they are, according to him, failing to understand these basic historical facts at any point throughout history.

The chapter recounts Tibetan history throughout the remainder of the Yuan Dynasty during which the Mongols ruled China. By the end of that era, even the Mongols in China, having become thoroughly sinified, had lost all interest in Tibet, while a well-established Tibetan ecclesiastical government ruled the land.

Könchok Gyelpo (1034–1102) founded Sakya Monastery in Tsang in 1073, and his heirs, both monks and laymen, continued to lead the monastery up to the present time. He was a member of the well-established Khön clan, an extended family thought to have divine origins and a history as advisors to kings in the imperial period. By the time the leadership of Sakya passed through the family to his great grandson, Jetsün Künga Gyeltsen or Sakya Paṇḍita, Genghis Khan was the most dominant ruler in Central Asia. Tibet formally submitted to Mongolia and paid the requisite tribute in order to avoid being invaded and destroyed. However, after his death in 1227, Tibetans stopped transmitting the payments that Genghis Khan's heirs continued to expect. Consequently, Goden Khan attacked Tibet, causing significant destruction in Central Tibet. The khan also issued an invitation to Sakya Paṇḍita to visit Mongolia.

Although he was already in his sixties, Sakya Paṇḍita agreed to go, taking with him his nephews, ten-year-old Wönpo Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen and six-year-old Chakna (1239–1267). Sakya Paṇḍita did much to promote Buddhism among the Mongols, and his work was carried forward by his nephew Pakpa Rinpoché who established a preceptor-patron relationship with Kublai Khan, or Sechen Gyelpo (*se chen rgyal po*), as he is called by Tibetans. This relationship was of particular importance to the fate of Tibet because Kublai Khan conquered China and became the first emperor of the Yuan Dynasty. His support of Pakpa Rinpoché brought greater attention to Tibetan Buddhism and established him and the Sakya School as potent forces in Tibet. When a lama transmits precepts to a disciple, it is customary for the student to offer gifts in accordance with their capacity; Kublai Khan offered the entirety of Tibet as one of these gifts to his preceptor. Moreover, Pakpa earned the concession from Kublai Khan that in religious contexts, the khan would take a seat on a lower throne than the lama. Shakabpa takes these facts to be significant evidence that the relationship between Mongolia and Tibet was purely religious, and that Tibet was entirely independent at this time. In 1254, Kublai Khan

issued two important edicts that Shakabpa says “clearly establishes the origins of the preceptor-patron relationship.”^b

Pakpa Rinpoché, like his uncle Sakya Paṇḍita, expended considerable efforts to cater to the spiritual needs of the Mongolians. He spent a considerable amount of time there, briefly returning to Tibet from 1265 until 1268 before returning to Kublai Khan’s court again, and he was not able to return to Sakya until 1276. This sustained attention paid off in the form of generous patronage and the sort of political and military support that enabled the Sakya lineage to gain in prestige.

With Mongolian support, a massive temple was constructed at Sakya Monastery, marking it as the nexus of power in Tibet. Sakya and the government that ruled from there were under the control of the abbot of the monastery, a religio-political figure who held the title of Pönchen. Under him were thirteen myriarchies (*khri skor*) ruled by regional rulers called myriarchs (*khri dpon*).

When Pakpa returned from Mongolia at the end of his forty-six year life, Kunga Zangpo was serving as the Pönchen. Shakabpa tells several versions of a disputed series of events that is said to have resulted in the death of both Pakpa and the Pönchen. There was ill will between the two men, apparently inspired by Pakpa Rinpoché’s personal attendant, Nyené Chenpo. The attendant involved Kublai Khan in the conflict by writing a letter falsely accusing the Pönchen of disrespecting Pakpa. When a Mongolian army approached to protect the lama, Nyené Chenpo realized his falsehoods would be revealed. According to this account, he poisoned Pakpa Rinpoché in the hopes of escaping punishment. Pönchen’s innocence later became evident when, reportedly, white blood issued from the fatal wounds inflicted on him as punishment.

Pakpa Rinpoché’s younger brother, Drogön Chakna, had been very popular with the Mongolians, and Kublai Khan had permitted him to marry one of his daughters. Chakna’s son, Dharmapāla, ultimately became the Pönchen of Sakya, and he also spent time at the Yuan court. Because of his pronounced influence over the khan, Dharmapāla was able to persuade him to abandon plans to invade India by way of Tibet, given that such an eventuality would result in suffering and dislocation for his people.

^b See p. 220 below.

Shakabpa sees this as further evidence that Tibet was truly autonomous in the later 13th century, one of the key moments in history that Chinese historians identify as the time when Tibet is supposed to have become a part of China. He argues:^c

Tibet was required to send tribute to Mongolia. Because of that, it appears that it was under Mongolia's authority. Yet, the power to issue proclamations in Tibet was in the hands of the Tibetans themselves. Moreover, Kublai Khan offered Tibet's three provinces to Pakpa Rinpoché as payment for his initiations. From that point on, there was an enormous change.

If we compare the edict presented to Sakya Paṇḍita by Goden Khan and the edict presented to Pakpa Rinpoché by Kublai Khan, it appears that the first is like something a leader issues to common people and the second is like something a sponsor presents to his lama. That is the way our people in Central Asia reflect on these matters.

He concludes that since Pakpa Rinpoché had "final authority" in Tibet, Tibet had not been assimilated into Kublai Khan's Mongolian empire then being elaborated in China. Shakabpa takes great pains to fortify this point as he regards the preceptor-patron relationship developed between the Sakya hierarchs and Kublai Khan as establishing the precedent followed by later generations, including most notably the fifth Dalai Lama and Gushri Khan in the mid-17th century.^d

In the following generations, twenty Pönchens ruled from Sakya Monastery, and both the monastery and the eponymous school experienced the height of its authority and influence. With their power, they were able to marginalize other religious schools and rival poles of powers. A conflict between the Sakyapas and the Drigung Kagyüpas during the 1280s and 1290s provides one of the more significant examples of this sort. The conflict emerged during the lifetime of Sakya Paṇḍita when he was thought to have made disparaging remarks about a recently deceased Drigung lama. Enduring tensions were episodically inflamed, eventually resulting in the burning of much of the flagship monastery of the Drigungpas in 1290.

In 1337–8, the Sultan of Delhi, Muḥammad Tughluq (1300–1351), hoped to expand his empire by crossing the Himalayas to attack Tibet. He aspired to use this attack as a launching point for the conquest of China. His attack failed by virtue of the difficult terrain and the forbid-

^c See p. 230 below.

^d See p. 347 below.

ding weather. An avalanche resulted in the loss of much of his army. It is notable that Shakabpa narrates a failed attempt to invade China by India and a decision not to invade India by the China-based Mongol empire. In each case, Tibetans are portrayed as playing the decisive role in avoiding conflict between Asia's superpowers of the time.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRECEPTOR-PATRON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENGHIS KHAN AND SAKYA

As has been discussed above, during Tibet's era of fragmentation, groups of the senior lamas, regional leaders, and local chiefs ruled their own small holdings according to their own laws. At that time, groups of regional leaders fought small intermittent wars among themselves. However, there was no single person who could protect Tibet's borders by unifying the regional groups; instead, each of them protected their own boundaries.

While this arrangement was operative, from about the year 1200, the fierce and powerful Genghis Khan from Mongolia appeared all around the border regions to the northeast and northwest of Tibet. Initially, groups of monastic officials and local chiefs from these districts met with the Mongolians and gave them presents, averting immediate attack by flattering the Mongolians. Gradually thereafter, the Tibetans gave the Mongolians small religious articles called "dapnor" (*'dab nor*).^a For the duration of this time, Mongolian troops and envoys did not oppress these various regions, and the situation continued on in this way. In this context, the preceptor-patron relationship between Sakya and Genghis Khan and his descendants developed. The way in which Sakya came to rule freely over the entirety of Tibet, known as the three provinces, is clearly expressed in many different Tibetan,¹ Mongolian,² and other foreign history books.³ By consulting these sources, I will describe this period in some detail.

It is said that the king of the Hor and the Mongolians, Bokta⁴ Genghis Khan was a descendant of Nyatri, who was the Tibetan King Drigum Tsenpo's son.^b Someone else says that he was descended from a king called Pōgo Hātik (Bodön Charmugen), who was born to a widow called Alōngo, through her association with a god in a dream. Others say he was the descendant of Bortaché, a child of the sky. Still others say that he was descended from the Mongolians called the Tatars.

^a "Dapnor" were tribute gifts given to placate the Mongolians.

^b Drigum Tsenpo was a famous ancient king of Tibet. See p. 116.

Whatever is the case, Genghis Khan, who was renowned throughout the world, was born in 1162 and was given the name Temüjin. When he attained majority, he married a woman named Börte Jishin, and when he turned twenty-eight, he became king over Peté near Lenchulung in Hor, with a population of four hundred thousand people. On the third day of his coronation ceremony, a beautiful and attractive bird which had never been seen before perched atop a large square boulder in front of the palace. For a long time it sang in a melodious voice, "Genghis!" Many ministers and common people saw and heard these things. Temüjin received the name Genghis Khan as he took the rank of king (*rgyal po*).

He took pleasure in wars and was himself able to travel or stay together with all of his forces. Although he captured countries as he wished, he was able to formulate righteous laws in those places. Weak people particularly loved him and whenever someone sought his protection, he guarded them lovingly, without distinguishing them from his own people. People who were captured while making war on him were afflicted with great hardship.

Genghis Khan had four sons and one daughter, who were received just like their father. He acquired nine senior ministers each of whom had the three qualities of bravery, wisdom, and cunning.⁵ Bokta Genghis Khan's power and ferocity became more and more extensive as he enlarged his domain. To the west, Kabul, Persia, Turkey (Turkish), and so forth were gradually captured. In about the year 1207, the khan's authority extended all the way to Hungary. Even the people of Italy, Germany, and France displayed terror at his fearfulness. Western people were apt to induce fear in their children by saying, "The Mongolians are coming."

He made many territorial gains in Russia to the north and gradually progressed to the east in Manchuria and to the south in Shingen and Sichuan, finally extending his authority over the entirety of China. In addition, the force of his power even reached into Tibetan territory and the Indian regions of Ghilgiṭa and Peshāwar.⁶

Bokta Genghis Khan's first son, Juché (Jorji), was appointed king of a place called Tomok (Khung Geré). His second son, Chaghatai, was made king of Russia and Tokar (Tökar) and was given the title Chingwang Taiji. He lived at Yarkhyen Castle and had five sons and one daughter. Chaghatai's oldest son, Apto, served as his deputy, and his second son, Imam Huli became the king of the Muslim countries, Turkey (Turkish), Kabul, and so forth, living at Samarqand Castle. Chaghatai's third son,

Ātir Mahātamat was appointed king of India and lived at Palasha Castle. His fourth son, Kongkhar, lived at Tambala Castle upon being appointed king of Hungary and Rome. His fifth son, Temūr, was appointed as the Orö king and resided at Babuhara Castle. Chaghatāi's daughter, Qutlug Nigar Khanum, married Umar Shaikh Mirza, in whose lineage was born Bābur, the first king of Mughal India.⁷

Genghis Khan's third son, Ugotai, was anointed as Bokta Khan's deputy and was given the rank of "khan." He lived in Mongolia itself. His elder son, Goyuk, and his younger son, Goden,⁸ followed in the footsteps of their father, being king of Mongolia itself. Goden ruled Nyingshā and the Tsongön Lake region of Tibet. He also took over some small Tibetan territories near there.

Genghis Khan's fourth son, Tolo Noyön, was king of China and Manchuria and lived at Mukten. He had four sons. The first of these was Mungkhe and the second was Hoppolai (Kublai). Tibetans call him Sechen Gyelpo. He took over his father's position and became a great king, ruling over the entirety of China.⁹

In 1195, after Bokta Genghis Khan's ferocious power reached Tibet, the border monasteries bribed the khan's military leaders with great wealth. They sent a letter saying, "Acting as the hands of the Bokta king, we will pay tribute and taxes." In an effort to prevent the Mongolian armies from coming into Tibet, regional leaders decided to give a few precious articles called "dapnor" to Bokta Khan. Also, the *Marvelous Gold Annals in which the Learned Rejoice, the Great Treatise Expressing How the Great Hor Royal Empire was Realized* says (69-na-6):

When Genghis Khan reached the middle of Tibetan territory in 1207 at the age of forty-five, Desi Joga Tselpa Kunga Dorjé and so forth became aware of his presence and went to greet him accompanied by three hundred people. Before holding a large festival, they sent a courier to tell the khan, "We present ourselves as your subjects." Thereupon, they met with Genghis Khan. Since they offered the khan the three provinces of Ngari, the four districts of Ü Tsang, and the three areas of southern Kham, he gave great rewards to them in return. Thus, he consolidated all of Tibet under his rule.

That same text goes on to say: (69-ba-6)

However, at that time, Bokta Khan sent a proclamation to Lama Sachen Kunga Nyingpo and his son along with his tidings. It said:

I intend to invite Your Holiness. However, right now I will not be able to do so for some time because I have some unfinished state duties. From my side, I will arrange for us to meet. From your side, you must

defend me. Later when I have fulfilled my purposes, you and your son must come and spread Buddhism through the Hor country.

Although they never met directly, Genghis Khan considered Sachen Kunga Nyingpo to be his lama from afar. Thus, he released all Tibetans from their burdens. Genghis Khan became a great sponsor of Buddhism, showing respect toward the three supports^c of Ü Tsang.

Other than this report, I have not seen any history texts that say Genghis Khan himself came to Tibet. Tselpa Kunga Dorjé was a contemporary of Butön Tamjé Kyenpa. Thus, he was born about one hundred years after Genghis Khan died. Sachen Kunga Nyingpo died in 1158 and Bokta Genghis Khan was born four years later in 1162. Since it appears that these two passages about him conflict with the facts and seem a little unpleasant to the ears, historians ought to undertake a detailed investigation.^d

Jamyang Zhepa's *Chronological Tables* says, "Tselpa taught about the Precious Jewels in the Hor country in the Iron-Snake Year (1221)."¹⁰ Within five years of Bokta Genghis Khan's death, seven petty chiefs of Tsangpa Dungkhurpa, who were students of Shang Tsöndrü Drakpa, arrived in Mongolia from Tibet. While they were staying at a mountain retreat, the Hor army entrusted their sheep herds with them. One day there was a violent hailstorm and a flood. Other people's sheep were killed, but the seven concentrated meditatively on the hail. Since no hail fell on the sheep, no harm came to them. The herders in the area asked them how they had created such a marvel. The seven did not understand their language, but they pointed to the sky. Thus, it was said that they had gained power over the sky. The news passed from one person to another, and hence, their fame increased.

Bokta heard about it and he said that since they had power over the sky, their qualities were truly great. Due to this, their status was

^c The three supports are the elements that uphold one's practice: statues, scriptures, and the mind of a teacher. The three are connected to the body, speech, and mind of Buddha, respectively.

^d Shakabpa is pointing out that the first passage cannot be right because it says Genghis Khan came to Tibet, whereas he did not. The second passage claims that Genghis Khan was received by Desi Joga Tselpa Kunga Dorjé, but the latter was only born a century after the Mongolian died. Finally, the source claims that Genghis Khan wrote to Sachen Kunga Nyingpo and had some sort of relationship with him from afar. However, Sachen died four years before the Khan was born. For these reasons, this source conflicts with the facts.

enhanced. A translator was hired from Minyak to explain the magnificence of the Precious Jewels. He exorcised a sky spirit from a minister, and thus, the king and the minister both presented him with gifts. They made pleasurable prophecies. This is how the early meetings between Hor royalty and Tibetan monks took place.

Bokta Genghis Khan was afflicted with a disease at the age of sixty, whereupon he died in 1227. His third son, Ugetai,^e assumed the rank of khan. News of Genghis Khan's death reached Tibet, due to which the Tibetans no longer sent offering objects for several years. Hence, Goden became enraged, sending thirty thousand Mongolian soldiers under the commanders Liji and Dorta.¹¹ They burned Radreng, Gyel Temple, and so forth.¹² Five hundred nobles including Sotön were killed. At that time, Chennga Rinpoché¹³ from Drigung arrived in Lādüntang as a mediator to meet with Mongolian representatives. Gompa Shakrin was sent to provide hospitality to the Mongolians, but they arrested him. At the point that he was to be killed, Chennga Rinpoché supplicated Jetsün Drölma, due to which stones rained down upon the Mongolian army.¹⁴ As the Mongolians were frightened, they confessed their wrong-doing and offered a great deal of gold in order to restore the destroyed temples and monasteries.

Thereafter, most of Tibet submitted; fortified castles from above Kongpo in the east, to Nepal in the west, and to Mön in the south were relinquished. Regional leaders and individual communities endeavored to offer small religious articles. Beyond that, the internal administration of the monasteries continued as before. Except for the Hor Golden Calligrapher^f and government debt collectors, no other Mongolian authorities stayed in Tibet. Thereafter, Goden Khan needed a good lama who knew how to teach the essential path of Buddhism in Hor and Mongolia. Thus, he asked for the name of the person in Ü Tsang who would be the best choice. Dorta responded:

Kadampa is the largest of religious schools. Taklungpa is the most learned in non-religious matters. Drigungpa is the most elaborate. Sakya Paṇḍita is the most learned in religion.

^e Just above, Shakabpa referred to him as Ugotai. Goden is his youngest son.

^f The Golden Calligrapher (*gser yig pa*) was an office of the Mongolian Empire, something akin to an envoy. Such people would carry orders, golden letters, from the khan. Later, during the 18th century, the title designated the senior advisor to the Qoshot king in Tibet. See p. 410 below.

Goden Khan delegated the Golden Calligrapher Dorsigön and Wönjodar to extend an invitation for Sakya Paṇḍita Kūnga Gyeltsen Pel Zangpo to visit Mongolia.

Regarding Jetsün [Sakya] Paṇḍita's lineage, when the gods and demons were widespread throughout Tibet, there were seven siblings of Masang. The youngest of these, Toktsa Pawo Takjung, married a woman named Mönsa Tsomogyel, and they had a son called Yapang Kyé. He killed the demon Kyareng without losing any blood. Having captured Yadrup Silma, he married her, and they had a son. Since he was born as an unhappy mixture of a demon and Masang, he was called "Born between a master and malice" (*jo bo 'khon bar skyes*). His descendants came to be called the Khön (*'khon*) lineage.

The unbroken succession of this line of scholars and adepts included such people as Khönlü Wangpo. Khön Śākya Lodrö, who came from this line, bore two sons; the elder was Khön Sherap Tsültrim, and the younger was Khön Könchok Gyelpo. The latter studied with many lamas, including Drokmi Lotsāwa, Bari Lotsāwa, Mar Lotsāwa, Puhreng Lotsāwa, and Namkhauwa Kuché, and he founded a small monastery at a place called Drawo, where he stayed for many years. Thus, it was called Sakya Gokpo. He surveyed the area from the top of a hill, and considering a white fertile patch of land on the side of Pönpori Hill to be an auspicious sign, he bought the land from the owner, Jowo Dongnakjen, paying the price in horses and rosaries made of jewels. He founded Pelden Sakya Monastery there [in 1073], and thereafter he was known as Sakyapa.^g

Khön Könchok Gyelpo's son, Jetsün Kūnga Nyingpo heard, considered, and meditated upon many teachings about sūtra and tantra, perfecting his understanding. He became a Buddhist master of the Secret Vajra Vehicle and had four sons: Khön Könchok Bar, Jetsün Sönam Tsemo, Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, and Pelchen Öpoché. The youngest of these, Pelchen Öpoché, had two sons; the elder was Jetsün Kūnga Gyeltsen^h and the younger was Zangtsa Sönam Gyeltsen.

Jetsün Kūnga Gyeltsen was born in 1182. Since he studied under many scholars and adepts, he became learned in the five sciences^h and the entirety of the sūtras and tantras. Hence, he became widely known

^g Sakyapa means "the one from the place of white or gray earth."

^h The five sciences (*rig pa'i gnas lnga*) are: Buddhist philosophy (*nang gi rig pa*), dialectics (*gtan tshigs kyi rig pa*), grammar (*sgra'i rig pa*), medicine (*gso ba'i rig pa*), and arts and crafts (*bzo gnas kyi rig pa*).

in all quarters as “Sakya Paṇḍita.”ⁱ When he was twenty-five years old, he was ordained at Nyangmé Gyengong Tsuklakhang before Khaché Paṇḍita Chenpo Śākya Śrībhadrā.¹⁶ He completely defeated a heretical teacher called Trokjé Gawo by way of both debating on scriptural knowledge and displaying miracles. This superior being, whose great fame was as thoroughly pervasive as the extent of the great earth, received a letter from the royal realm of the great Hor Goden Khan, the youngest son of the king, Ugotai Khan, dispatched the Golden Calligrapher, Dorsi, with a letter of invitation.

The letter of invitation arrived at his monastery along with gifts from Hor. The letter read:

By my great merit and in dependence on my magnificence, I, the king, proclaim the following to Sakya Paṇḍita Kūnga Gyeltsen Pel Zangpo: In order to repay my parents and the world for my gratitude, I need a lama who knows how to teach a method for adopting the good and forsaking the evil, without error. During my investigation, I have determined that you are that lama. You must come without relying on the excuse of the difficulty of the journey. If you say you are too old, remember that Buddha gave his life countless times in the past for the benefit of living beings. If you make excuses, then to that extent you would contradict the vows of your religion. If I threaten you with a large army, don't you fear that many living beings would be harmed? Therefore, you must come here immediately out of consideration for Buddha's teachings and for many living beings. I shall do what is best for the monks from the western lands. As gifts, I have sent five dré of silver, a silk monastic robe with six thousand two hundred pearls set in groups or alone, together with a cloth monastic vest studded with minerals, two pieces of perfect satin fabric with the khati pattern,^j two pieces with a blue pattern, and twenty pieces of five different types of silk. This message is being carried by Dorsi Gön and Wönjo Darma.¹⁷ I have written it on the new moon of the eighth month of the Dragon Year. (1244)¹⁸

Since the invitation arrived when Sakya Paṇḍita was sixty-two, he was already old and Mongolia was a great distance from his monastery. Even still, he decided to go, remembering a prophecy his Uncle Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen had made:

ⁱ “Paṇḍita” is Sanskrit for “scholar.”

^j Khati (*kha thi*) is a pattern woven into cloth. It consists of a circle with a square inside.

At a certain time, an invitation will come for you from the east. You must go without questioning the timing of the journey and tremendous benefit will accrue to Buddhism and to sentient beings.

He took Zangtsa's two sons, ten-year-old Wönpo Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen¹⁹ and six-year-old Chakna as his attendants. On the way from Sakya, he went to Lhasa where he offered extensive prayers at the Tsuklakhang Temple. Wönpo Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen took monastic vows with the masters Chöjé Khenpo and Zülpuwa in the presence of the image of incomparable Jowo Rinpoché.

Thereafter, they traveled gradually. In places like Minyak²⁰ and Julang, people had not heard of the Three Precious Jewels, and they did not know how to adopt the virtuous and abandon the sinful. In these places, he converted the people whose behavior was like that of demons. In 1247, he was enthroned at Lingchu (Langju).²¹

While Sakya Paṇḍita was staying at Lingchu, Goyuk Khan, King Goden Khan's older brother arrived on his way to Hor territory in order to return to the capital. The two met coincidentally, and a scholar from Uighur translated.²² Thereby, Sapaṇ^k taught the king, his ministers, and the people about going for refuge, about adopting the good and forsaking the evil in terms of the law of cause and effect, and about the generation of the altruistic attitude of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He performed ceremonies for the Precious Jewels, achieved benefit for living beings, and urged people to move from non-virtue towards goodness. In particular, people in each of Tibet, Uighur, Minyak, Mentsé (Gyayül) became monks and yogis. Out of respect for them, they were released from the obligations of taxation, military service, and labor.

The Chinese realm was very populated, and there was fear that quick-thinking people would revolt. For this reason, every twelve years, some people above the age of nine were gathered into groups and killed by driving them into the ocean in order to prevent them from rising up. It is said that out of love for those people in particular, Sakya Paṇḍita urged the king to stop this practice. Sakya Paṇḍita cured Goden Khan of leprosy.

In order to test the lama, the khan had a magician create a beautiful illusory temple. He then told Sakya Paṇḍita:

^k Sakya Paṇḍita is often called Sapaṇ, a nickname that derives from joining the first syllable from each name.

I have invited you to be my lama because you are very learned and since I see that you are possessed of special good qualities, I am delighted. Now, I have a marvelous monastery in a secluded place. I would like to offer it to you, so please go there.

Chöjé Sapaṅ went there with the king and many ministers. As soon as he saw it, he realized that it was an illusion. On the threshold, he seized the wrathful spirit who was the doorkeeper and threw consecration flowers onto the images within. Thus, this magical temple has never been destroyed. Even at present, this beautiful temple,²³ called the “Illusory Monastery,” is known to exist.

Thereafter, the great Chöjé Sakya Paṇḍita sent many gifts and offerings to the monks and teachers in Tibet. For the purpose of cultivating religion, he also sent them a book he had written called *The Stages of Entering the Bodhisattva's Path, Buddha's Clear Intention*. In his accompanying message, he enjoined the clergy and the laity of Ü, Tsang, and Kham to take his advice to heart. It read:

Sakya Paṇḍita has sent this to the virtuous religious teachers and donors. Upon considering the welfare of Buddhism, living beings in general, and particularly all the Tibetan-speaking people, I have come to Hor. My great patron joyously told me:

You have brought your little nephew, Pakpa,¹ arriving together with your attendants out of consideration for me. I regard you with my head, while I regard others with my feet. I called you, while others come here out of fear. How could I not recognize this? Brother Pakpa already understands the Tibetan religion. Even still, he studies it. Chakna Dorjé studies spoken and written Hor. If I look after the affairs of men and you look after the affairs of the gods, why wouldn't Śākyamuṇi Buddha's teachings be extended to the ocean's shore?

This king is extremely respectful towards Buddhism in general and towards the Three Jewels in particular. He governs all of his attendants with kind laws, and in particular, his affection for me is even greater than for other people. He told me:

You should feel comfortable and then teach. I will give you whatever you require. I know that your behavior is correct. How well I behave is for you to judge.

He is particularly attached to brother Pakpa. He has the excellent insight that if all of us learn to follow the laws, that all people in the kingdom will be benefitted. In particular, he said:

¹ Pakpa is Wönpo Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen.

Teach your lay people in Tibet how to uphold the law. I know they will enter into happiness.

Everyone should strive to perform prayer ceremonies for the long life of the king and his descendants. At the present time, the Hor have countless armies. I think that all people in the world will become his subjects. People who form agreements with him are treated as his equals. If someone does not obey what he says with sincerity, then he will destroy that person, without even permitting him to surrender.

The Uighur domain was not destroyed and benefitted under his rule. Having seized people and wealth, he provided for the scribe, the treasurer, and civil administration. China, Minyak,^m Mongolia, and so forth did not listen even though messengers told them not to resist and to submit to Hor. Hence, they were attacked. Being unable to find a place to go, they were forced to submit. However, those important figures who had obeyed him were appointed as civil administrators, treasurers, military commanders, and scribes in the respective regions. Because the lay people are fierce and stubborn, they have tried to escape by various methods, perpetually wishing to be free from the khan. Others continually hoped that the khan would not come because of the great distance. Whether they utilized craftiness, cunning, or deceit, they were destroyed, and many people from all quarters have submitted.

Because of the force of desire among evil Tibetans, I do not see more than a few hundred people who would be appointed to the leadership. Otherwise, people would become slaves and servants.²⁴ Although many Tibetans have surrendered, some important figures did not like it because they had not been given many religious gifts. For several years now, armies have not come to Tö. I persuaded Beri to submit. Since this went well for him, Tö, Ngari, Ü, and Tsang also submitted. Since Pirita and Tso are also likely to submit, and since there have been no attacks in the meanwhile, those places have benefitted. The people in Tö waited, not understanding this. Although they did submit, they did give sufficient tribute. Untrustworthy people who are attacked have people and wealth taken from them. Having heard this, you dally?

Those places that have been attacked are secure, have heroic people, many soldiers, strong armor, and skilled archers, and hence those people hope to be victorious. Yet still they are destroyed.

People think that the Hors themselves have less servitude and lower military taxes than others do, whereas they are greater. If you join with the Hor, your servitude and taxes will be smaller than for other people. Even so, if you obey what you are commanded, the chiefs of your region, whatever leaders there are in your respective areas, will be reappointed. I will summon the Sakyapa Golden Calligrapher²⁵ and Silver Calligrapher. Hence, they will identify who is suitable to be appointed as the Dara

^m Minyak is also known as Tangut.

Khaché.²⁶ They will determine who will be useful as the couriers needed to travel here and there.

Thereafter, record the names of the leaders, the population of the laity, and the calculation of the tribute in triplicate. Send one copy to me, leave one in Sakya, and one should be kept by the respective leaders. Carefully record who has submitted to the khan and who has not. If no distinction is made, then there is the fear that those who have submitted will be attacked, along with those who have not submitted.

The Sakyapa Golden Calligrapher should consult with the leaders of relevant areas, should work for the benefit of living beings, and must not increase his own authority. The regional leaders also should not undertake their own designs without consulting with the Sakyapa Golden Calligrapher. It is a violation of the law to act on one's own without consultation. If someone incurs this fault, it would be difficult to resolve from here. Everyone there must cooperate. If you follow Hor laws, then good will come of it.

The Golden Calligrapher should be greeted, seen off, and served well. Also, before all other questions are put to all the Golden Calligraphers who come here, they shall be asked if leaders and Golden Calligraphers have been consulting, if there has been an absence of conflict, if the Golden Calligrapher has been well received, and if people have been performing their servitude and paying their taxes.

If he is not satisfied, then information about the injury shall be solicited. If he is satisfied, then there would be a possibility of advancement. Anyone who does not obey the dictates of the Golden Calligrapher will see difficulties. Those nobles who come here carrying tribute are being treated well. If each of us decides to act properly, then all of our Sakya leaders should come here as a group bearing their good tribute. You should confer with each other as to how much tribute to pay and I will discuss the matter here. Thereafter, upon returning to your own places, both you and other people will benefit. In general, just as I have behaved in this way since last year, through sending messengers, show your consideration by acting properly. You should also reflect that I rode to Hor in order to benefit all Tibetan-speaking people. Now if you obey what I have said, you will benefit. You have not seen the situation here. It is difficult to believe what you hear. For that reason, you still might think that it will be possible to resist the Hor. I am afraid that while you are happy, suddenly, as though a spirit pressed down upon you, a nightmare will overcome you, and the people of Ü Tsang and their descendants would be overwhelmed by the Hor horsemen.

Hence, whatever good or ill arises, I have no regrets. Through the blessings and kindness of our lamas and the Precious Jewels, it is also still possible that our situation may turn out well. All of you should also pray to the Precious Jewels.

The king considers me differently from other people. By virtue of that fact, lamas, important figures, and people from different areas such as China, Tibet, Uighur, and Minyak all seek religious teachings from me

and offer their respects, considering me to be extremely marvelous. These days, those who come here need not fear what the Hor will do. It will be good since everyone is considerate. Hence, from my side, everyone will be able to live in happiness.

As regards tribute, gold, silver, elephant tusk, very large pearls, vermilion dye, red dye, the medicinal root ruta (*ru rta*, *saussurea lappa*), tigers, large leopards (*gzig*), small leopards (*gung*), otters,ⁿ and Central Tibetan wool blankets are good. If you bring these, the Hor will be pleased. In general, wealth is highly regarded here. However, it will be good if you bring what is best from each individual region. If you have gold, it can be in any form you like. May the Buddha's teachings increase in all ways! Good fortune!

This was the communiqué in which Sakya Paṇḍita clearly indicated what to do and what to avoid in religious and political affairs,²⁷ and all the monks, teachers, and sponsors in Ü, Tsang, and Kham were pleased and overjoyed with its contents. People praised his advice.

At that time, Genghis Khan's descendants had extended their authority over many realms to the east and to the west and had been appointed as kings over them. The Mongolians kept a measure of authority over civil and military affairs in their own hands. However, they did not exercise any authority in Tibet, other than the visiting Mongolian Golden Calligrapher and the officials who collected the tribute. The Hor made no decisions in Tibet except for saying that the respective leaders should analyze the extent of the tribute. This can be seen from Sakya Paṇḍita's communiqué.

Sakya Paṇḍita completely transferred the essence of his knowledge to Wönpo Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen, like pouring water into a pot, whereupon he was pleased with his complete knowledge. Thinking that he could now carry the burden of the faith, Sakya Paṇḍita gave him his famous white religious conch and his begging bowl. Having entrusted the assembly of disciples to him, Sakya Paṇḍita also entrusted the teachings to him saying, "The time had come for you to accomplish the purposes of Buddhism and of a great number of living beings." Sakya Paṇḍita achieved so much himself in both the religious and political sphere. In 1251, at the age of seventy, he died in a state of bliss in the city of Langju. His death was accompanied by many miracles. Not long

ⁿ Presumably, Sapaṇ is suggesting that pelts of these animals be offered, not the animals themselves.

after, King Goden Khan also died. Thereafter, Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen performed the complete funeral ceremonies for Chöjé and the khan.

Upon the death of Goden Khan, Kublai Khan—or Sechen Gyelpo as they Tibetans called him—succeeded him in 1253. He was enthroned as king of the Nyingshā and Gansu regions. At that time, when Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen was nineteen, the khan issued an invitation to him. He questioned the lama over the course of many months about important topics of which he was ignorant. Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen's responses were made without hesitation. As the khan believed that Tibetans were wild, Pakpa recounted the chronology of the Tibetan dynasty from Nyatri Tsenpo to Lang Darma, and he elucidated Tibet's religious history. He also explained in detail how Tibetan kings had on two occasions captured princesses from the Chinese emperor and taken them as wives and how during a Chinese-Tibetan war, the Tibetans had deposed a Chinese emperor. As the khan was skeptical, he said that if such a king existed in Tibet, certainly it would be recorded among all the Chinese records. Thus, he ordered that Chinese and Uighur scholars undertake detailed research. They found that the particular events were just as they had been recounted by Pakpa, and so he came to believe the Tibetan.

Kublai Khan asked Pakpa to bestow the consecration of compassion of the Vajrayana Vehicle of Secret Mantra on him. He responded, "Even in general, you are unable to keep the vows of the teaching you have requested and as there is not even a skilled translator here, it will have to be done later." Kublai Khan asked what vows he would have to observe. Pakpa responded:

Once you received the consecration, your lama would have to sit at the head of the assembly. You would have to prostrate yourself to him with your body. You would have to obey whatever he said with your speech and you would have to behave in a manner that did not contradict his intentions with your mind.

Kublai Khan replied:

During religious teachings and even otherwise, the lama should sit in the position of honor. When there is an assembly of the royal family, in-laws, leaders, or the public, the king must take the place of honor as I must maintain control over the realm. In matters relating to Tibet, commands will be received from the lama. Without the lama's consent, the king will not issue commands. In other matters, great or small, that have to do with China or Mongolia, it is requested that the lama, out of his great compassion, not say anything since if he makes mistakes, it may harm the realm.

They agreed on these terms. Pakpa went on to say:

Just as you Hor, who are continually fighting for supremacy,²⁸ do not place just anybody in a position of great authority,²⁹ so also I would be unable to consecrate you if you have not made preparations for the ceremony. Hence, you must prepare for the worship.

Thereupon, he performed the ceremony.

Speaking through a learned translator from Uighur, Pakpa conferred the four complete and profound initiations of Kyé Dorjé—the glorious distinguishing feature of the Sakya lineage—on Kublai Khan, his wife, and twenty-five senior ministers on three occasions.³⁰ In this way, he introduced the Vajrayana Vehicle of Secret Mantra into the Hor realm.

In payment for the first initiation, Kublai Khan offered Pakpa authority over the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet.³¹ For the intermediate initiation, he offered all of the three provinces of Tibet³² together with King Magadha's share of the sacred relics of Buddha [Āṅgīrasa].^o For the final initiation he offered Pakpa the Gyai Miyur Chenmo.³³ Pakpa received the designation Tiśri, or the king's primary lama. Henry H. Howorth's *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century* says, "Kublai Khan agreed that he would sit on a lower seat than his lama during religious teachings or initiations and that while dealing with government affairs, they would sit on thrones of equal height."³⁴

At this same time, Kyechok Karmapa Pakṣi Chenpo had also arrived in Hor. Displaying inconceivable magical illusions, he converted countless trainees. He was praised as a great scholar by being called Pakṣi. His real name was Chökyi Lama. Karmapa Pakṣi's incarnation, Jé Rangjung Dorjé, traveled to China and is said to be the first incarnation in Tibet.^p A detailed explanation of his life story is given very clearly in Karma Kamtsang Gyupa Rinpoché's biography, *The Garland of Profound Crystal Jewels*.

Thereafter, Pakpa Rinpoché appointed his close attendants Śākya Zangpo and Kūnga Zangpo as senior leader and senior aid respectively,

^o In 1642, this gift and others that had been given to Pakpa by Kublai Khan were given to the Fifth Dalai Lama by Gushri Khan. A conscious effort was being made to evoke the parallels between these two preceptor-patron relationships. See p. 347 below.

^p Karma Pakṣi was the second Karmapa. See Turrell V. Wylie, "Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism," in *Proceedings of the Csoma Körös Memorial Symposium*, ed. Louis Ligeri (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1984), 581–6. "Pakṣi" means "master."

whereupon Sakya exercised authority and issued commands over the three provinces of Tibet. From that point, it was unnecessary to pay tribute to the Mongolians. A myriarch was appointed in each of the thirteen myriarchies, and each of them took a census of his area in order that annual taxes could be calculated and paid to Sakya, following the Hor system. In other areas, a suitable combination of lay and religious leaders was appointed, and gradually military leaders were appointed in order to guard the borders.

The *Sakya Lineage Chronicles* relates the method of calculating the number of households. One household consists of a residence with six pillars, six people including a husband, wife, son, daughter, male and female servant, domesticated animals such as horses, donkeys, cattle, goats, and sheep, and enough land for planting twelve khel of grain. Twenty-five households constitute a düchen (*dud chen*). Two düchens (*dus chen*)^q make up a tago (*rta mgo*), two tagos make up a gyago (*brgya mgo*).^r Ten of those constitute a tongo (*stong mgo*)^s and ten of those make up a myriarchy.^t Ten of those make up a lu (*klu*). Ten lu make up a zhing (*zhing*) or a trikor (*khri skor*).^u In another example, a trikor is calculated as consisting of four thousand monks and six thousand lay people. All other areas were counted as minor kingdoms from which laws and edicts could be issued and taxes levied.

In 1254, the Golden Calligrapher issued a decree in Sakya called *Bandé Shekyé* relating to the welfare of monasteries, mountain retreats, and the religious estates that depend on them.³⁵ The Golden Calligrapher decided where all of the officials would stay.³⁶ It said that respect should be shown to them by not requiring servitude of them and by not requiring them to pay taxes. Kublai Khan said that a proclamation should be issued that throughout Tibet, people should not be permitted to follow any religious tradition except the Sakya School. Pakpa Rinpoché responded that people's wishes to follow their own religious system had to be protected. Hence, through his kindness, people had religious freedom.

^q Likely, this is a spelling mistake. Shakabpa switches from *dud chen* to *dus chen* for no obvious reason [284.13].

^r I.e., a hundred heads.

^s I.e., thousand heads.

^t I.e., ten thousand people.

^u There is an inconsistency in the terminology. Ten lu should equal one million people, whereas a trikor ought to mean a population of ten thousand people.

Thereafter, the khan recognized that the northern part of the world had enjoyed benefit and happiness in both religion and happiness in dependence on Pakpa Rinpoché's incomparable kindness. Out of recognition of these kindnesses, Hor granted both the *Pearl Edict*³⁷ and the *Bandé Shekyema* or the Tibetan edict. The *Pearl Edict* said:

Through the power gained from abiding in the sky through a long life and in dependence on the glory of great merit, we two kings issue this proclamation to the monks and laity. If we follow the legal system of Genghis Khan, the marvels of this world will arise, but beyond this life, we must depend on religion. Upon thoroughly discriminating various religions, the path of Buddha Śākyamuṇi is seen to be supreme. Moreover, since Pakpa has realized Buddhism well, he teaches it without error. Since he is a superior master, I have received initiations from him. I have offered him the rank of "gushi."³⁸

The master also served Buddhism, provided for the monks, explained and learned religion, and performed well at the head of ceremonies. Also the monks, without violating their master's precepts, are the root of Buddha's teachings. Hence, those who have understood the religion well should teach it, the young monks with firm minds should study it, and those who have completely understood the essence of the religion and who are unable to teach or learn any more should meditate properly. Indeed, behaving in this manner is what Buddha taught. There is also a purpose in my fulfilling the duties of a sponsor and in serving the Three Precious Jewels. If you monks do not teach, learn, and meditate properly, then what are Buddhist practices? Also Buddha said:

My teachings are like a lion, the king of the wild. If nothing from within your body causes harm, then nothing outside it can destroy you.

If I completely understand this religious system, staying on the great path and achieving what I have pronounced, then there will be impartial respect and service.

Accordingly, monks who behave in this way cannot be touched by anyone, even including other military leaders, soldiers, district leaders, Dara Khaché, or Golden Calligraphers. They will not be subject to military service, taxes, or labor. They will not stray from Śākyamuṇi's path. They will perform ceremonies for the sky³⁹ and offer prayers for my welfare. I have given this edict that it may be considered and adopted.⁴⁰

The Golden Calligrapher may not oppress the monk's temples and buildings. He may not impress them into servitude. Whatever land, water, waterwheels, and so forth that are included in the temple holdings are not to be stolen. Power which is not specified in this system cannot be brokered. How can one violate the system taught by Śākyamuṇi, saying they own the edict. This is written at Shongto on the first day of the middle summer month of the year of the Rat.⁴¹ (The first day of the fifth month of the Water-Rat Year in the Tibetan Calendar—1252).

The *Bandé Shekyema* or the Tibetan edict reads as follows:

I make obeisance to Buddha Śākyamuṇi, who is completely realized, who is possessed of omniscience that cannot be taken away and compassion that cannot be limited, who has brought to completion the collections of merit and wisdom like the moon, has triumphed over the sphere of the darkness of ignorance like the sun, has conquered all demons and heretics like a lion, the king of the wild. By the force of my belief and Chabugaten's⁴² belief in his good qualities, activities, and teachings, we have become sponsors of Buddhism and Buddhist monks in the past. Now, we also have gained faith in Chöjé Sakyapa and the Master Pakpa. Having belief in the religion, we were initiated in the Female-Water-Ox (1253) year. We have also received many teachings and in particular have also decided to be patrons of Buddhism and of the monks.

By virtue of this, as a religious offering I have given Master Pakpa this good edict which protects the Tibetan images of the Precious Jewels and the monasteries from harm. Moreover, I gave the master a mantle adorned with gold and pearls, a ceremonial robe with precious ornaments, monastic clothing, precious hats and boots, a seat, and so forth. Also, I have given him possessions such as a golden umbrella, a golden throne, a golden cup, a silver teapot, and a dagger with a precious handle. Also, I have offered various valuable things like a large dré of gold, four large measures of silver, a tool for use when riding a camel, and a golden saddle seat and bridle for a mule. In this year of the Tiger (1254), I have offered fifty-six dré of silver for images, two hundred blocks of tea, and one hundred and ten rolls of silk. In brief, this edict and all of these enjoyments are present for the religion. You monks should know this. If you do not, why should I issue this edict?

You monks also should not dispute over the leadership. It is not good to have many leaders. Do not think yourselves better than others because you have this edict. Do not participate in wars or other conflicts. You should study religion in the manner of Śākyamuṇi, and you should teach it. Those who have not learned should listen. You must strive to write and read about religion, meditate on it, and accomplish it. Pray to the Precious Jewels and for my welfare.

Some people say that education is not necessary, and that only meditation is necessary. However, what will they meditate upon if they do not learn? Through learning, one can indeed meditate. Older monks should teach religion to the young monks in order to guide them. The young monks should listen to the old monks. If you monks do not realize that you're being relieved of military service, taxes, and work due to the kindness of the lamas and the Precious Jewels, or if you do not behave according to Śākyamuṇi's code, then why should we Hor come to you who bear these faults, asking about Śākyamuṇi's system. Don't think that Hor people are ignorant. Even if we do not know about one or two occasions, eventually we will find out. You monks must not undertake evil activities.

Do not make me ashamed of you. You must behave in harmony with religion. Worship the Three Precious Jewels, offer prayers, and I will be your sponsor. This royal edict is explicit. It was written on the ninth day of the middle summer month in the Male-Wood-Tiger Year. (The ninth day of the fifth month of 1254.)⁴³

This edict clearly establishes the origins of the preceptor-patron relationship.

Since the previous two edicts were copied from originals in a Sakya sealed document, there is no difference between them and the ancient sources. The copies of the edicts which are found in the *Sakya Lineage Chronicles* mainly agree with the edition I have used, therefore you can rely on it.

Above, where I wrote “a ceremonial robe with precious ornaments,” this is a cloak worn by important Tibetan lamas these days. It is a shawl that is fashioned from brocade with trim and ornaments made of precious stones. Its shape is similar to the shape of clothes that are worn at important ceremonies by senior Christian preceptors in the west, such as the pope. Consult p. 43 above for a detailed explanation of how this connection occurred.

Kublai Khan became king of China and Manchuria after Mungkhe Khan died in 1260. At that time, Pakpa Rinpoché performed the benediction at the coronation ceremony. Reverberating throughout China, Tibet, and Hor like the wind was the refrain, “In the sky there is the one pair, the sun and the moon. On the earth, there are the two aspects, the preceptor and the patron.”

Around that time, Zur Śākya Ö’s student, Minyak Gharé, displayed his power and miraculous capacities before the khan, Sechen Gyelpo, with Pakpa Rinpoché as a witness. Since he directly focused on the king’s personal enemies, the king was pleased with him. Minyak Gharé told the khan about a treasure of life-giving waters at a rock in Tsang called Jé Tseten. Thus, the khan sent an edict to Zur Śākya Ö directing him to acquire it. It was brought to a meeting of the senior leader Śākya Zangpo and the Golden Calligrapher Agayana, and since it was sent to the khan, his life was preserved. The khan issued an edict granting Zur Śākya Ö the title of “Pakṣi” and presented him with great offerings, equal to the khan’s own lama.⁴⁴

Pakpa Rinpoché returned to Tibet in 1265 along with a great many possessions. He was greeted by the senior lamas and all the important leaders of the three provinces of Tibet and was established on the throne of Sakya Monastery amidst a magnificent festival. He erected

countless images and put gold roofs on temples. He taught Buddhism in the three provinces of Tibet, and he brought contentment to important figures, nobles, monks, and lay people in both religious and secular affairs. After about two years of performing good religious and political activities, the Golden Calligrapher was sent from Hor to invite Pakpa Rinpoché to return.

Arrangements were made for thirteen officials who would be able to make preparations for the return to Hor.⁴⁵ Moreover, the clothing of Pakpa Rinpoché and his retinue were of a Hor style, whether they were riding horses or in an encampment. As this disturbed some teachers, people began to talk about it. At that time, Chomden Rikpé Reldri from Nartang said:

Buddha's teachings and religious practices have been obscured by the clouds.
The happiness of living beings has been lost to the hands of human leaders.
In this degenerate era, ascetics adopt the fashions of worldly leaders.
One who has not realized these three facts is discovered to be a non-superior.^v

In response, Pakpa Rinpoché said:

The Buddha said that his teachings would undergo expansion and decline;
The happiness of all living beings depends upon their own karma.
Whatsoever discipline one employs, that fact must be taught.
One who has not realized these three facts is discovered to be a non-scholar.

Drogön Pakpa Rinpoché and his large mounted retinue went through Lhasa on their way from Sakya.

At that time, when he saw Ütögyer Tsuklakhang, he said, "Such is a useful activity for the faithful." Meanwhile, among the people who had come to see him off, the senior leader, Śākya Zangpo, heard what he had said. As soon as he returned to Sakya, he requested laborers from the thirteen myriarchies and began to construct a temple which was to be more splendid than the Gyer Tsuklakhang. Before the temple had been sanctified, Śākya Zangpo died. His successor as senior leader, Kūnga Zangpo, continued with the construction of the temple, completing it and a strong fence around it. When labor was beginning on the project, nobody was able to raise the major pillars. However, it was known that Gyebumsak, a descendant of Minyak Gyelpo, raised them.⁴⁶ The temple

^v This a pun on Pakpa Rinpoché's name since "Pakpa" means "superior," a term that describes someone with spiritual realization.

was exceedingly large, and so it was called the Great Sakya Temple. It was famous as far as the rays of the sun and the moon fall.

When Pakpa Rinpoché and his attendants arrived at the Hor Mongolian border in 1268, he was received by Kublai Khan's queen Chabuga, Prince Tuwo Jimgin, ministers, and an assembly of soldiers. At length, the preceptor and patron met at Taitukhar Palace, and a joyful celebration was held.

Just as the khan had previously requested, Pakpa Rinpoché presented him with a script for the Hor language which it had hitherto lacked. It was based on the Tibetan alphabet, although the Hor letters were squarish and read vertically. The khan was extremely happy. Those letters are called the Pakpa script.^w Inaugurating the script, the king wrote an edict called *Bandé Shekyé Takdrupma* and presented it to Pakpa Rinpoché. The Hor script was used for very important official proclamations, but it was extremely time consuming to use. Thus, after Kublai Khan died, it was only used for inscriptions on seals and on some important edicts. Later, during the time of Kuluk Khan, Dharmapāla's son, that script was improved by Sakyapa Künkhyen Chöku Özer, augmenting it with features from the Manchurian and Uighur scripts. That script is still used today.⁴⁷ Books in foreign libraries that collect various types of scripts show the vertical, square shaped Pakpa script.

Again in 1270, Pakpa Rinpoché bestowed initiations of the Vajrayana Vehicle of Secret Mantra on the king, queen, prince, and senior ministers. At that time, Kublai Khan presented his lama with a crystal seal with six facets that had been made from Minyak Gyelgö's royal crystal seal and with a special edict in which he offered his praise:⁴⁸

Below the sky, upon the earth, son of the Indian god, emanation Buddha, composer of the script, the one who places the royal realm in happiness, paṇḍita of the five sciences, Pakpa Tisri.

Also in offering material objects, he presented Pakpa Rinpoché with a thousand large measures of silver and fifty-nine thousand rolls of silk. Kublai Khan continually received religious training from his lama and also sought his advice on important political questions. The author Genyen Śrī Bhutibhaṭa writes:⁴⁹

^w For further information on the Mongolian script developed by Pakpa Rinpoché, see "Phags-pa Script," <http://www.babelstone.co.uk/Phags-pa/index.html>, accessed.

When Sechen Gyelpo seized the realm of Möntsé, he sought Drogön Rinpoché's counsel. By following it, not only did he gain territory, but he also took Bayen Ngakpa and so forth. Hence, the king's intentions were completely fulfilled. What need is there to mention the advice the khan requested from Lama Pakpa? This is one source saying that advice was offered with regard to significant worldly affairs.

I used to think that Möntsé's realm was in Manchuria. However, Kyapjé Yongdzin Trijang Rinpoché told me "When there was an internal conflict within the Sakya lineage, Daknyi Chenpo Zangpo Pel lived in Möntsé for many years. There is another story that Möntsé is on the ocean's shore in southern China."

Endless religious and political actions like the preceding were performed, but at length, Pakpa Rinpoché resolved to return to Tibet. By virtue of the fact that the preceptor and patron might not meet again, Kublai Khan, not wanting to be separated from his lama, delayed the departure from a day to a month, and from a month to a year. The khan traveled together with his lama—the preceptor and patron, like the sun and the moon—into Tibet, to Pomra Lhejadap, Maguri Lhazhöl, and finally to a bend in the Machu River. They were accompanied by one hundred thousand troops in four columns. They stayed in that place for many days and held a joyous festival. The patron gave his preceptor tremendous material gifts.⁵⁰ Thereafter, the khan and his armies saw Drogön Pakpa Rinpoché and his attendants off and returned to Hor. The lama gradually traveled on to Sakya accompanied by Kublai Khan's third son, Chinggim, and many of his attendants.⁵¹ In 1276, Pakpa Rinpoché was again enthroned at the glorious great monastery.

He gave profound and extensive religious teachings to assemblies of monks, lay people, and the great and powerful there. He also gave great quantities of material gifts. In 1277, with Kublai Khan's sponsorship, Pakpa Rinpoché gave a special teaching called *The Enduring Turning of the Wheel, the Fountain of Tsang*. More than seventy thousand monks came to worship for a period of fifteen days and two gold coins and a woolen pouch were given to each monk. Chim Tamché Khyenpa Namkha Drak was also invited to sit at the head of the assembly. One hundred thousand monks and lay people arrived and developed the altruistic attitude of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Although Chomden Rikpé Reldri had been a little disrespectful toward Pakpa Rinpoché on a previous occasion, he was extremely remorseful. Thus, he touched the lama's feet and presented a poem of complete respect to the Royal Buddhist Lama called *Brahmā's Thunder*.

Early in 1279, Kublai Khan, upon gaining complete authority over China, was enthroned over both China and Hor. At that time, Pakpa Rinpoché offered a benediction of congratulations; he also made hand signs, and so forth. Having pursued extensive religious and political affairs, Pakpa Rinpoché passed on to nirvāṇa at the age of forty-six in 1280 at Sakya's Lhakhang Labrang.

There is not much clear information in the *Sakya Lineage Chronicles* about Pakpa Rinpoché's death. I have studied the ancient and venerable oral traditions and several sourcebooks.⁵² Pakpa Rinpoché's close personal attendant (Nyené Chenpo) and Pönchen Künga Zangpo could not cooperate, and hence, Nyené Chenpo made charges against Pönchen to the lama. As a result, the lama disliked Pönchen. Nyené Chenpo subsequently sent a slanderous letter to Kublai Khan, representing it as having come from Pakpa Rinpoché. As a result, the khan said, "It is unforgivable for Pönchen to show disrespect towards my lama." He sent a Mongolian leader along with some soldiers to investigate. Hence, when the Hor troops were nearing Sakya, out of fear that his evil lie would be disclosed, Nyené Chenpo killed his lama by feeding him bad food. Not long after, he is thought to have died by gulping poison himself.

At that point, the Mongolian forces arrived at Jarok Castle. They arrested, bound, and interrogated Pönchen. He said:

Not only have I not shown disrespect to my lama or acted in a manner contrary to his intentions, but I have not even dreamed of it. I have not committed any offense against him and I have no regrets for my behavior towards him. Accordingly, even if you cut my throat white blood will come out.

The Mongolian leader did not perform any legal investigation. On the day on which Pönchen's throat was to be cut, the customary large drum was beat, and he was conducted out to the courtyard. At that time, Pönchen arrived wearing a stainless white garment and a black hat. The Mongolian leader read the charges. When Pönchen's throat was cut, it is said that initially, blood like white water came out for a while. Later, actual blood came out.

At that time, the Mongolian troops thoroughly oppressed Tsang. Kublai Khan questioned the Mongolian leader when he returned to Hor. He explained what had transpired, due to which the khan understood that Pönchen had been blameless. It is known that he tried the Mongolian leader and sentenced him to death himself. The oral tradi-

tion says that the maxims, “Even if you cut my throat white blood will come out” and “A black hat is placed on my white (i.e., pure) body,” came from that situation. They mean that blame has been attached to the innocent. The *Sakya Lineage Chronicles* say that when his corpse was being offered faithfully, his bones had turned black; thus ivory had to be added. If one follows that account, then one wonders whether he had been poisoned. Also the author Genyen Śṛi Bhutibhaṭa writes:

The lama did not like Pönchen Künga Zangpo and so the khan designated Samgha Chingsang to try him. One hundred thousand Hor troops came to Tibet, whereupon Pönchen was judicially executed. Not much later, Lama Pakpa died.

When Pönchen was killed, Pakpa Rinpoché was still alive. This account and the preceding one disagree. Also, Genyen Śṛi Bhutibhaṭa continues:

This man called Samgha Chingsang, from the lineage of Amdo Kamalok^x was a senior minister of Sechen Gyelpo. In the end, he was killed by the khan’s pronouncement.

From what is set down in that source, it is evident that he was judicially executed for the fault of murdering the blameless Pönchen.⁵³ Jé Barawa Gyeltsen Zangpo’s autobiography says:⁵⁴

Drogön Chögyel Pakpa’s tea attendant and relative, Küngabum, urged Chief Zamkha to conquer Shang with his forces. At Öyük, he piled up limitless quantities of gold, silver, silk, and cotton cloth before Zamkha. Then he said:

Since we were well acquainted with each other from meeting before the khan in the past, I have appealed to you, a man of influence. Find me a way to proceed.

Zamkha replied:

There is a way to go through Gowa Pass.

Küngabum said:

If any harm comes to a single man or a horse there, you will be brought before the courts. Hence, you will lead us on the road. If you value your life, you will go to Shang. Shang is Künga Zangpo’s private estate. Thus, you cannot protect him.

Zamkha responded:

There is no price for my life. I will lead you on the road to Gowa Pass.

^x It would seem that Amdo Kamalok is another name for Nyené Chenpo.

They went and not even a blister appeared on the feet of any men or horses. Kunga Zangpo's private estate, Taktsang, was conquered. Zamkha observed:

When Taktsang was fully conquered, we went to pillage Jarok Castle.

That no harm came to Shang is a kindness.

The name of the Mongolian leader in that source and in Taktsang Lotsāwa's *The Festival of Learning Chinese and Tibetan Writing* is spelled differently, *zam kha* and *sam gha*, respectively. However, they sound alike.

I wonder if the Hor army conquered Öyuk and from there moved on to Lhabu and then conquered Taktsang from the Shangpu. Then they seem to have crossed the Gowa Pass, went to Tsedong, and then crossed the Tsang River. Finally, it would seem they went to Panam. Tsetang Pañchen writes:⁵⁵

Nyené Chenpo slandered Pönchen Kunga Zangpo to Pakpa Rinpoché due to which the lama also came to dislike Kunga Zangpo. Having engaged in such divisiveness, Nyené Chenpo went on to write a covert letter to Kublai Khan. As a result, the lama died. (Out of fear that Mongolian forces had been summoned to Tibet, Nyené Chenpo assassinated him.) Late in the Iron-Snake Year (1281), the Hor army slipped into Tibet according to Sechen's order. They attacked Nyangmé Jarok Castle, killing Pönchen. When Kublai Khan heard that Pönchen had worn white clothes and a black hat at the point of death, he understood this to be a sign of his innocence. For this reason, he rebuked his military leaders.

The great fifth Dalai Lama writes:⁵⁶

At that time, Nyené Chenpo slandered Pönchen Kunga Zangpo to Emperor Sechen, saying that he had done several things that contradicted the lama's intentions. The Hor army attacked Jarok Castle and Pönchen was killed. They beat the martial drum at Jarok Castle. Those of little heart threw their gold dust into the river. These events fulfilled an earlier prophesy. In the previous year, Pakpa died in peace at the Lhakhang Labrang. Some said that Nyené covertly assassinated him out of fear that his lama would realize that he had brought the Hor army to Tibet. During this time, the actions of a few senior leaders caused a great deal of unhappiness in Tibet. This was the leash that pulled the Hor army into Tibet. Such suffering does not exist even in a bad migration. It was a time during which prophecies came true.

Some people say that Jarok Castle was Namling Castle in Shang. However, both Taktsang and Namling were Kunga Zangpo's private estates. Subsequently, they were seized by the Sakya government. Thus, Taktsang was granted to Bönpo Rinchen Tsöndrü and his descendents for his

achievements and Namling was granted to Bönpo Gönpö Kyap and his descendents. This is recorded in Masang Trülpa Takna's and Nöjin Trül Panam Gyellingpa's description. Nyangmé Jarok Castle appears to be Panam Norbu Khyungtsé.

Those stories about Nyené's slander, the lama's assassination, Pönchen's innocence at death, and so forth agree with the ancient oral tradition. However, I have not seen any records which say that white blood came out when Pönchen's throat was cut. Whatever may be the case, such mercurial events, the great oppression upon the arrival of the Hor army in Tibet, and so forth are not set forth in the *Sakya Lineage Chronicles*. One wonders whether the authors of the *Chronicles* were faced with some difficult situations.^y

Pakpa Rinpoché's younger brother Drogön Chakna had gone to Hor with his brother, and he found favor with Sechen. In order to perpetuate the Sakya lineage, Kublai Khan had given him his own daughter, Mekha Dün (Mamgha Lhünzang) as his queen. However, Drogön Chakna died before he was twenty years old.^z He died during Pakpa Rinpoché's lifetime, and hence, his son, Dharmapāla, took the Sakya throne. The khan gave him the title Tiśri. Zhangtsün and Chukpo Benkarwa held the positions of senior leader and internal minister, respectively.

Around 1286, an adept called Ögyen Sengé was in India, where he saw that the enlightenment stūpa at Bodhgaya had been destroyed by the Karlok or Muslim armies. The king of Ceylon and the adept restored it together. He stayed there, serving as master for five hundred monks and yogis. Hence, Bodhgaya's northern gate is known as Tibet's gate.

In order to attack Nepal and India, Sechen Gyelpo hoped to cross through Tibet. His Golden Calligrapher came to Tibet so that he could survey the roads. The Pönchen urged that if the Hor army were permitted to cross Tibet, the Tibetan people themselves would be scattered and afflicted. In particular, the adept Ögyen Sengé said that taking armies to Nepal and India by way of Tibet and attacking would precipitate harm both to the lives of countless beings and to the roots of happiness. The effect of that sin would be experienced by the king himself.

^y The implication is that the authors were afraid of reprisals should they truthfully record events that would have been politically embarrassing to the prevailing authorities.

^z Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press), 70, gives his age at death as twenty-nine. TBRC.org lists his dates as (1239–1267).

The Pönchen wrote a courageous letter in beautiful poetic verse and presented it to Kublai Khan. In this way, the attack was delayed, and India, Nepal, and Tibet were preserved from the fear of war.

Sechen Gyelpo invited the adept three times. He finally went to China, where he taught Buddhism to the khan. Kublai Khan offered him a title of praise and extensive gifts. However, Ögyen Sengé said:

What will a yogi, who just does religious practices, do with a name and some things? For me, all that appears exists as gold. Thus, I have no desire for worldly treasures.

He then transformed nickel into silver and iron into gold.⁵⁷

Having gone to Hor, Dharmapāla went back to Tibet. At that time, in 1286, he died at a place called Tré Maṇḍala in Kham. Zangtsa's son, Lopön Rinchen Gyeltsen succeeded him to the throne. Jangrin was then appointed Pönchen, but he was killed by his servants at Dengmö Tang in Shang. Thereafter, during the reigns of Künzhön and Zhönwang, a census was taken and the laws of the country were investigated; this document was called *The Thorough Clarity of Ü Tsang*. In 1294, Kublai Khan, or Sechen Gyelpo to the Tibetans, died.

One can understand clearly how the relations between Tibet and Mongolia evolved through the preceding accounts. In 1242, Goden Khan and Sakya Paṇḍita met. At that time, Tibet was required to send tribute to Mongolia. Because of that, it appears that it was under Mongolia's authority. Yet, the power to issue proclamations in Tibet was in the hands of the Tibetans themselves. Moreover, Kublai Khan offered Tibet's three provinces to Pakpa Rinpoché as payment for his initiations. From that point on, there was an enormous change.

If we compare the edict presented to Sakya Paṇḍita by Goden Khan and the edict presented to Pakpa Rinpoché by Kublai Khan, it appears that the first is like something a leader issues to common people and the second is like something a sponsor presents to his lama. That is the way our people in Central Asia reflect on these matters. The [preceptor or] lama had to provide the services of providing extensive teachings on religion and giving instructions on the happiness of sentient beings. The patron had to provide material resources from time to time. Such is the preceptor-patron relationship between Tibet and Mongolia.

However, westerners' manner of approaching political affairs cannot explain this situation. If westerners would carefully examine the history discussed above, then they would see that the khan endeavored not to

contradict Pakpa Rinpoché's intention. For this very reason, Pakpa Rinpoché himself held final authority in Tibet. The khan promised this.

It is clearly indicated that except for offering mutual respect, one capital was not under the rule of the other. Evidence for this includes the manner in the khan requested teachings, the manner in which he offered his respects to the lama, the manner in which he asked for advice when he had seized Mentsé, the particular wording of the seals and proclamations granting titles of respect to the lama, the manner in which he received the lama, the fact that the khan came out to greet the lama in Amdo, the manner in which the khan sent investigators into Tibet based on what he presumed to be the lama's letter, and so forth. Accordingly, the preceptor-patron relationship was founded on this premise. Even the relationship between Tibet and China up to the end of the Qing or Manchu Dynasty in 1911, was likewise a preceptor-patron relationship.

Zangtsa Sönam Gyeltsen's son, Lopön Yeshé Jungné, had a son called Daknyi Chenpo Zangpo Pel with Nekyi Zurmo, a female disciple. Dharmapāla disliked him, saying that he was not actually in the Sakya lineage. As a result, he was forced to live in Mentsé, China for a long time. However, since the lineage was in decline, he was invited to return again from China in 1298. Sharpa Jamyangpa held the throne at that time. Daknyi Chenpo Zangpo Pel took over the throne in 1306. In order to increase the lineage, he married seven women and had many sons to carry on the lineage. He reigned for seventeen years. After he died in peace, his eldest son, Lopön Namkha Lekpa held the throne for ten years. During this time, the third queen's son, Tiśri Künga Lodrö, divided the monastic residences for his younger brothers. The residences were called Zhitok Labrang, Rinchen Gang Labrang, Lhakang Labrang, and Duchö Labrang. He also established the tradition that the Sakya throne would be held by the eldest member of the lineage in a rotation system.

His brother Lama Khetsün was given a crystal seal and Zhitok Labrang. His brother Tiśri Lekjung was given a golden seal and Lhakang monastic estate. His brother Jamyang Dönyön Gyeltsen was given a crystal seal and Rinchen Gang monastic estate. His brother Wang Künga Lekpa was given a golden seal and Duchö monastic estate.

Between the time of Drogön Chögyel Pakpa and Tawön Lodrö Gyeltsen, there were twenty Pönchen that were appointed in turn as ordered by the throne holders, one of them having served twice. They held

authority over the extent of Tibet's three provinces. Drogön Chögyel Pakpa's secretary-general, Lhawang Trülpa Denma Wönpo Zangpo Gyeltsen, had three sons; the eldest was called Pakpa Pelzang, the middle Pakpa Rinchen, and the youngest Pakpa Darpo. During Daknyi Chenpo Zangpo Pel's time, Pakpa Pelzang held the position of secretary-general.

At the same time, in order to subdue Shardung and Lhodung, Khampa Gendün Gyeltsen was made the leader, and seven extremely brave Tsang secretaries were also sent. Meanwhile, Pakpa Pelzang was sent as his ally. Through his glorious plans and his wisdom, Pön Döndrup Dargyé and his followers from Shardung and Lhodung were subjugated. Hence, in recognition of this, Pakpa Pelzang was promoted to the rank of Situ and he was given the responsibility of securing the mountains of Gyangkhar. He is said to have constructed the great castle of Gyangkhar on the ruins of King Pelkhor Tsen's Palace.⁵⁸

Also, Pelden Sharkawa's *Lineage Chronicles* says that according to the last wishes of Lhamo Pel, three great castles should be built for her three sons. The castles were called Nyangtö Gyangkhar Tsé, Shaptö Sengé, and Drongtsé. The older two brothers took Nyangtö Gyangkhar Tsé and Shaptö Sengé, and their father Zangpo Gyeltsen took Drongtsé. The youngest son, Darpo, lived at Gyadrong for a while. However, he later built Kalakhyung Castle, where he died. His son, Achen Zangpo Pel, built Gang Pass Castle and eventually the great castle of Tingkyé. There are well-known stories that he erected limitless objects of worship.⁵⁹

We have already recounted the period between Pönchen Śākya Zangpo and Zhönwang above. During the reign of Pönchen Jangdor and Aklen, Sakya Monastery and Wönpo Mountain were circled by walls. During the time of Zhönwang, Jangrin, and Aklen, they fought with Drigungpa. In particular, during Aklen's time, in 1290, an army from the thirteen myriarchies threatened Drigung two years after Rinchen came to the throne there. A tremendous struggle and subsequent defeat is said to have resulted in the overthrow of Drigung Ling,⁶⁰ and the entire area of the monastery was set on fire. Many monks and lay people died, and the rest of the people were driven to Kongpo. Thus, when the frightful Pönchen Aklen arrived at Kongpo, he inscribed his name on a rock outcropping on the border. A small incident produced very great efforts, which in turn created tremendous misfortunes.

The particular conditions surrounding the Sakya and Drigung war are usually not explained very well in religious histories, but they do give scattered hints. We can recount these events a little more clearly

by drawing together the various things that are said about this time period.

First, let us discuss the circumstances surrounding Drigung's overthrow. Upon the death of the Drigung's leader, Rinpoché Sönam Drakpa went to Sakya along with a group of Drigung mountain hermits who were on their way to Mount Kailash.⁶¹ *A Religious History of the Karma Kamtsang* says:⁶²

Chöjé Sakya Paṇḍita asked the hermits:

Has Rinpoché departed for "okmin"? What omens of his death have emerged?

One hermit replied:

What is okmin? Indeed he departed to the highest heaven.^{aa} [As for omens,] a rain of relics has fallen and a golden image of Mahāmudrā measuring one arm length has arrived.

Thus, Sakya Paṇḍita did not say anything. On the following day, amidst the monks, Sakya Paṇḍita said:

I have no obligation [to show deference] to you because of your being a scholar or a noble. I made no response to such drivel as you uttered yesterday; this was my kindness.

Since Telpa heard about this exchange, he was unhappy. As a result of the hard feelings relating to those events, when Pön Dorjé became a leader, horses were raced through Sakya Paṇḍita Monastery, horse urine was poured into the copper pots, and a hundred villages had to be rebuilt as grass huts were destroyed. The Sakyapas were resentful over these assaults. Later, since Pakpa Rinpoché had such a positive disposition and since he only thought of how he could benefit and bring happiness to everyone, there was no way for Sakyapas to seek revenge. However, immediately after his death, a pretext arose for fighting with Drigung. It appears that this is written in the *Red Annals*.

Another circumstance that contributed to the war between Sakya and Drigung concerns Drigung Rinpoché Drakyé's request for tantric teachings and religious advice from Lama Pakpa. Tselpa Künga Dorjé's *Red Annals* says:⁶³

^{aa} The hermit is playing on a pun in which there is a double meaning of okmin (*og min*). Sakya Paṇḍita intends it to be taken as the name of the highest heaven. *Og* means below, bottom, under. *Min* is a negative particle. Thus, the compound signifies "not low," and it is in this sense that it has come to be the name of the highest heaven. The hermit purposely misconstrues it to mean "none lower," and in this way feigns anger that Sakya Paṇḍita has maligned his lama. He goes on to say that Rinpoché has gone to *steng min*. The first syllable means upon or high, so continuing on with his misreading of the first compound, he takes this to mean "none higher."

Naktsa Draklewa was related to Lama Sharpa Yerinpa. Since Sakyapa planned to appoint Naktsa Draklewa as the abbot there, he was protected by Jung Gyawo. Later Rinpoché Drakye died. Then, Rinpoché Jung Gyawo Drakpa Rinchen became the abbot. Sakyapa promoted Draklewa's cause, but Drigung suppressed it with Jung Gyawo's backing. This was the beginning of the fighting between Sakya and Drigung.

By virtue of Pön Dorjé Pel's contempt, animosity gradually increased and open conflict between Sakya and Drigung erupted over Draklewa. That may have been at a time when Goden Khan's authority in Tibet was unlimited.

According to Taktsang Lotsāwa, at the initiation of hostilities, Pön Śākya Zangpo (at a time prior to his becoming Pönchen), Geshé Rinchen Tsöndrü, and Rinpoché Töntsül were appointed for the purpose of bringing both sides to a legal decision. Out of consideration for the lamas, Buddhism, and monasteries, they took up that responsibility. Relying on the law, they left Tsel Gungtang for the Shangto Palace on foot, bearing the burden. The proceedings were successful.

The Sakyapas' objectives were completely fulfilled. On their return, they became known as "The Exultant Three" (*yus che ba'i mi gsum*).⁶⁴ Accordingly, Sakya became victorious in the dispute. However, since Drigung felt defeated, Drigungpa's uncle Tsülgyel attacked Jayül. (Jayül Monastery was included within Sakya.) Nine monks were killed. As there was a rumor that some torma offerings had been secretly placed within the walls of the temple, the Sakyapas searched and found them. They pulled one of them out and threw it down. Thus, Tsülgyel and all of his sons fell into their enemies' hands. It is reported that when they extracted the torma offering, it was still wet.^{ab} Following Kham Lungpa, the abbacy of Jayülpa was assumed by Tsang Tönpa from 1283 until 1285. In 1285, Drigungpa assassinated Tsang Tönpa and burned Jayül.⁶⁵ As a result, the likelihood of a confrontation increased, and Pönchen Aklen summoned an army from the thirteen myriarchies in 1290. An enormous conflagration occurred in which all Drigung buildings were completely burned except for the grass huts in which they slept.

When Drigungpa came to defeat Sakya, leading one hundred thousand Töhor troops, Pönchen Aklen moved his forces to Pelmo Peltang.

^{ab} A torma (*gtor ma*) is a cake made of butter and barely flour that is employed in rituals. It is formed into a conical shape, and it represents the Buddha's body. That it was still wet indicates that the ritual had only recently been conducted. It would seem the ritual was an act of attack sorcery.

Meanwhile, Sakya performed rituals, due to which, the Hor were defeated. Thirty thousand troops are said to have been subdued by an avalanche.

In the *Explanation of the World*, it says:⁶⁶

One day north of Sakya, Lama Khaupa meditated on Gönpo Zhal, and hence that place is called the Khau Stone Castle. In the north, behind a long mountain range, there is a Tö Hor clan descended from demons. However, in the past when there was a conflict between Sakya and Drigung, the later were said to have incited the army of the barbarian Kasikara, known as Hashiha. Even today, we see some indication behind those mountains in Sakya. It is written that the head and arms of a barbarian, found in Khau Monastery, are said to be those of Kasikara.

And Pönchen Aklen was the chief attendant of Nagartsé in Yardok. Thus, the so-called “relics for destroying the ten subjects”^{ac} which are kept in the shrine of Mahākāla Zhal at Nakartse is explained to be the relics of the Drigung enemies. Such a huge misfortune had happened owing to a small reason!

Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel's *The Blue Annals: A Religious History* says:⁶⁷

As Tokden Drakpa Sengé (the first incarnation of Zhamarwa) was meditating at Gün Dechen, he gained skill over the illusory body and dreams.^{ad} Thus, although there were rumors about the Tö Hor armies, he had a vision that they would return from Tsoma Dröpa. After half a month, it was reported that there was no necessity for war.

The fact that it was widely rumored that the Tö Hor troops were on their way and then they suddenly turned back makes it certain that some problem arose, such as an avalanche. However, there is a little discrepancy in the dating of these events, so doubts remain. In addition, several texts call Pönchen Aklen by the name Anglen. There are accounts that both of those names were given to him by Chögyel Pakpa.⁶⁸

^{ac} The ten objects of destruction are: (1) destroyer of Buddhism (*bstan pa bshig pa*), (2) those who revile the Three Jewels (*dkon mchog la smad pa*), (3) those who steal from the monastic community (*dge 'dun gyi dkor 'phrog pa*), (4) those who slander the Mahāyāna (*theg chen la smod pa*), (5) those who harm the lama's body (*bla ma'i sku la bsdo ba*), (6) those who come to disbelieve the other disciples of their tantric teacher (*rdo rje spun grogs sun 'byin pa*), (7) those who hamper others yogic achievements (*sgrub la bar gcod byed pa*), (8) those who deny compassion (*brtse ba snying rje gtan nas med pa*), (9) those who are free of vows (*dam tshig sdom pa dang bral*), and (10) those who offer perverse views of cause and effect (*las 'bras la log lta*).

^{ad} These are yogic capacities achieved through religious practices.

With respect to the so-called “barbarian” Kasikara (*ka si ka ra*), during that time the word “barbarian” (*kla klo*) referred to people who do not practice Buddhism, such as Muslims. Likewise, “Garlok” is also widely used. “Kasikara” may be a people called Kashi Gar (*ka shi sgar*) from the Yarkhyen area. Again and again, for many years, I have closely examined Yarkhyen, Afghanistan, Turkestan, and Turkish histories to see if they had any references to this event, but I have not found anything.

Recently, I studied the four-volume *Cambridge History of India*. In the third volume, (pp. 154–6) the author, Wolseley Haig, says that the Muslim King of Delhi, Muḥammad Tughluq, sent a force of one hundred thousand cavalry and a large number of foot soldiers into Tibet. Since there was a huge downpour on the edge of a mountain area, a great number of deaths and injuries were suffered by the soldiers. Thereby, they were forced to retreat. I am quite certain that this story relates to the Tö Hor or the barbarian Kasikara war.

The Indian King Muhammad Tughluq had aspirations of becoming a great king of the entire world. During his tenure, he made several costly mistakes, the most serious of these being in 1337–8. After Muḥammad Tughluq’s aspirations vis-à-vis Transoxania and Persia had been frustrated, he directed his attention to Tibet, the marvelous country beyond the Himalayas to the north and east of his imperial kingdom, and to the large country beyond it, China. He thought that if he were able to cross over the Himalayas with a large military force, he would be able to seize both countries suddenly. He did not even consider what sorts of weather there was in Tibet, what sorts of people were to be found there, what the condition was of the mountain passes, roads, or cliffs, how the soldiers who had grown up in India’s heat would react to the cold winter weather, and other difficulties they would encounter in their travels there. He thought that if he dispatched the order, his soldiers would successfully execute his plan, overcoming any difficulties and fatigue they might encounter.

Therefore, preparations were made in Delhi for the military commander, Malik Nikpai, to lead one hundred thousand cavalry and a large contingent of foot soldiers. As the armies went, they captured the villages of Nagarkat or Kangra. There is an allusion to their march in Badr-i-Chāch’s poetry.^{ae} They conquered and pillaged villages that

^{ae} Badr-i-Chāch was the court poet of Muhammad Tuḡhluq (1300–1351), the sultan of Delhi.

were in mountain encampments beyond Kangra as they proceeded on to the Himalaya region. Thereafter, they arrived at a severe place called Warangal, having crossed through narrow passages along precipices. They had to pass through these in single file. During their stay there, a great number of soldiers and horses were struck with illness and limitless numbers died because of an unprecedented and tremendously powerful downpour. During the downpour, the military leaders began to move to a warmer region, thinking that they would be able to continue on to their destination by way of that territory when the rain had stopped.

While they were retreating, carrying the loot they had captured, the people who lived in the mountain region were waiting. At the moment that the soldiers came from where they had been, the people started an avalanche of rocks, casting trees and other things down upon them and blocking the narrow passages. Almost all of the remaining soldiers were wiped out, and all of the things that had been stolen were retrieved.

Other than the military commander, Malik Nikpai, two other leaders, and ten soldiers, no one was able to return to Delhi. Therefore, King Muḥammad Tughluq was extremely ashamed. He was forced to make a peace agreement as equals with the mountain people. Since the king's armies had caused such destruction to the farmland on the boundary of the mountains and plains, he was also forced to make efforts to give a little annual payment in order to compensate for the farmer's needs.

Tremendous harm was caused to the king's authority because his military adventures had failed. A large contingent of his army was completely eliminated. A host of armor, weapons, and so forth were lost, and also, his reputation was severely tarnished. Thereafter, many areas which he had forcefully seized in the past and which remained resentful, subverted his authority. Since that defeat, he could not form a complete army, as he had when he had been preparing for the previous invasion.

According to scholars of Indian dynastic history, King Muḥammad Tughluq did not have any great aspiration of seizing Tibet and China. However, in the reliable estimation of a leader called Barni and another man named Ibn Batutah, he was continually aspiring to capture a place called Karajol between Tibet and India.⁶⁹

Although there is a disagreement of thirty years between the Muslim and Tibetan accounts of this war, there are a variety of points on which the accounts agree such as the numbers of troops and the fact that the Muslims had no recourse but to retreat before the Tibetans could engage them due to the bad conditions. Moreover, the Indian texts mention a heavy downpour and the Tibetan texts mention a blizzard. It can be

known with certainty that if heavy rain falls on the south side of the Himalayas, then snow could fall on the north side. During that period, Tibetans called everyone who practiced a non-Buddhist religion a barbarian (*kla klo*) and those army troops were Muslims. In the main, these two accounts are in agreement.

One wonders whether Karajol was an incorrect pronunciation for Sakya. These facts make it possible to believe that these people are the barbarian armies who came to Drigungpa's aid. There would be no need to entertain any doubts at all if a reliable source were found which indicated such things as the names of Drigungpa's messenger to King Muhammad Tughluq and what route they took.

After Pönchen Aklen's tenure, Shönwang was made Pönchen once again. He was succeeded in turn by Pönchen Lekpa Pel, Sengé Pel, Özer Sengé, Künga Rinchen, Dönyön Pel, Yöntsün, Özer Sengé once again, Gyelwa Zangpo, Wangchuk Pelam, Wangchuk Relpa, Sönam Pel, and Gyelwa Zangpo once again. Thereafter, Wangtsön, Namkha Tenpa, and Pelbum in turn became Pönchen.

During Khetsün Zangpo's reign, Pönchen Gyelwa Zangpo and Wangtsön had a disagreement, and there was a war with Pakmo Drupa's myriarch. Hence, early in 1354, Sakya lost most of the Ü province to Pakmo Drupa. In 1358, when Sönam Gyeltsen was on the Sakya throne and Wangtsön and Namkha Tenpa were his Pönchens, Sakya's authority was completely lost to Pakmo Drupa or Nedongpa. From that point, Sakya's political influence gradually declined.

Finally, they came to have just two monastic residences, Drölma Podrang and Püntsok Podrang. When Ganden Podrang came into power [in 1642], Sakyapa continued to hold the estates that they had always held. As before, the condition for holding the position of respect is a rotation between the senior and the junior throne holders, the Tridzin Dakchen and the Dunggya. The lord of the glorious Sakya religious lineage still endures.

Around this same time, Karmapa Rangjung Dorjé went to the Chinese-Mongolian region twice, becoming the head lama of Togen Temür, the last emperor of the Chinese-Mongolian Yuan Empire. The lama was given the title of praise, "The Buddha Karmapa who has realized the emptiness of all phenomena." During his subsequent journeys, he displayed incomparable magical emanations and tantric feats. He died in China itself. An earthquake in 1353 killed and injured people and livestock and destroyed land and buildings in Ü Tsang and the Jangrik area.

Throughout this period, there were all sorts of people, superior beings who were accomplished scholars and adepts, heroic people possessed of valor, bravery, and courage, regional leaders who were experienced with worldly pride, and so forth. At this time, I am reluctant to collect the material about all of them as there is no room to record them. However, if one wishes to consider and understand them in more detail, one should consult their respective biographies, monastic chronicles, and lineage chronicles.

Accordingly, Künkhyen Yezang Tsewa said:⁷⁰

Sakya was the lord of the world for seventy-five years: Nangtsen Zhitokpas, Sharpas, and Khangsar Chenmos, each holding the position for twenty-five years. After twenty-five years, Situ Jangchup Gyeltsen became the Lord of the earth from the Female-Earth-Ox Year.

When one calculates the actual dates in detail, one finds that Kublai Khan offered Tibet's three provinces to Drogön Chögyel Pakpa in 1253, and Nyené Śākya was appointed as Pönchen. Situ Jangchup Gyeltsen seized complete control in 1358. Sakya's control authority over the three provinces endured for one hundred and five years. The fourth chapter, about the preceptor-patron relationship between Genghis Khan and Sakya, over this period of time is complete.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. Kunga Lodrö's *Treasury of Precious Marvels of the Sakya Lineage*, Dorjé Gyeltsen's *Geneology of the Sakya Lineage*, Tselpa Künga Dorjé's *Red Annals*, Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel's *Blue Annals: A Religious History*, and Sönam Wangchuk's *Garland of Wish-Fulfilling Jewels, a Catalog to the Commentarial Literature*.

2. Jamyang Gypé Shenzen, *Royal History of the Great Hor and Taktsang Lotsāwa, The Festival of Learning Chinese and Tibetan Writing*.

3. Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols, from the 9th to the 19th Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876) and Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949).

4. Bokta means crown ornament, hat, or an official's head ornament in Tibetan. It is a Mongolian word. An explanation of the word Genghis follows. The word "khan" is a Mongolian title. *Translator's Note*: I have been unable to locate any passage in which Shakabpa explains the name Genghis.

5. The nine senior ministers were Khumukpor Gaché, Mugulai Sechen, Hara Khirugé, Chapa Chino, Purgala, Shigi Chubuk, Chilna Patar, Torgen Shara, and Chuwa Mergen.

6. William Wilson Hunter, *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903), 121.

7. Richard Burn, ed., *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 4 (Cambridge: University Press, 1928).

8. In the *Lineage*, Tolo Noyön's son is enthroned with the name Goden. *Translator's Note*: The citation is to a text merely called *gdung rabs*. Two texts cited just above in note 1

of this chapter employ this word in their titles: Kunga Lodrö's *Treasury of Precious Marvels of the Sakya Lineage* and Dorjé Gyeltsen's *Geneology of the Sakya Lineage*. A similar confusion exists below, where I merely translated the title as *Lineage*.

9. Wherever the brothers went, they exercised their authority; in this regard, I have gained understanding from both *The Garland of Wish-Fulfilling Jewels, a Catalog to the Commentarial Literature*, 182-na-3, and *The Royal History of the Great Hor*.

10. Jamyang Zhepa, *Chronological Tables*, 7-na-5. *Translator's Note*: See Alaka Chattopadhyaya and Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan, *Tibetan Chronological Tables* (Sarnath, India: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993), 72.

11. *Lineage*, and Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Peljor, *Excellent Wish-Granting Tree*. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth, A Dynastic History*, says "Dorta Nakpo and Gyelmen." However, Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century* (London: Longmans Green, and Co., 1876), says, "Amado's Dorta Darkhen."

12. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth, A Dynastic History*, says Hor troops at Reting and Gyel Lhakhang killed many monks; Geshé Potowa lived at the time of that war. One wonders if he wasn't born between 1195 to 1207.

13. Chennga Drakpa Jungné was the throne holder of Drigung at that time. Gompa is a title for a treasurer.

14. The place where the stones rained down is said to be Penpo Chakla.

15. Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, *Fulfilling All Desires, Valuable Treasury of the Sakya Geneology*, 40-ba, says that Jetsün Künga Nyingpo's third son was named Künga Gyeltsen. However, this account does not agree with all others. Sakya Paṇḍita took care of his uncle Drakpa Gyeltsen when he was ill and so his knowledge increased. Kyapjé Trijang Rinpoche told me.

16. The next year, Khaché Pañchen calculated at Sölnak Tangpo that one thousand seven hundred and fifty years after Buddha passed into *nirvāṇa*. Except for one year, there is no difference with the old *Sthavira Sūtras*.

17. Jamyang Gyepé Shenyen, *Royal History of the Great Hor* says Dorsigön and Dorta were sent to reply.

18. Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, *Fulfilling All Desires, Valuable Treasury of the Sakya Geneology*, 62-na.

19. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned*, says that he was nineteen.

20. As for the name Minyak, in old records, Tangkhü Minak or Black-faced (*gdong nag*) Tibetans are said to live north of the Tsongön Lake sea. When Genghis Khan was at his peak, the Minyak were all scattered. The northern Minyak went into Mongolia and the lower Minyak went to an area near Sichuan. I think that the term Minyak has come to be pronounced as Minak. The root is Tibetan.

21. Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*, vol. 1, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876), 505–506. They met in "a district west of Ziling called Shira Talas, within Lien Tsu. *The Ocean Annals*, 340/21, recognized Nyingsha as being called Langju (Langdru Dezhi).

22. Uighur is presently called Xinjiang.

23. It is in Langju Dezhi and is called the Illusory Monastery.

24. The tribute can be, for example, religious objects.

25. The "golden calligrapher" is a deputy who oversees part of a region. Sometimes, he is also called a senior secretary.

26. Dara Khaché is the leader of the common people of a certain dominion. It is like the rank of a Nedöpa (*sne sdod pa*).

27. Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, *Fulfilling All Desires, Valuable Treasury of the Sakya Geneology*, 72-na-1.

28. The word shemong (*gshed mong*) means "supremacy."

29. *The word gokpa (gog pa)* means a rank or status.

30. Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, *Fulfilling All Desires, Valuable Treasury of the Sakya Geneology*, 81-ba-5.

31. The thirteen myriarchies are six myriarchies in Tsang consisting of both southern and northern Latö, both Chumik and Zhalu, both Jangdrok and Gurmo, six myriarchies in Ü consisting of Drigung, Pakdru, Gyama, Tselpa, Yazangpa, and Jayülpa, and the myriarchy of Yardrok which is between Ü and Tsang.

32. The three provinces (*chol kha*) of Tibet are (1) the origin (*chol kha*) of the supreme religion, the Ü Tsang region from Ngari Korsum up to Sokla Kyawo, (2) the origin of men, Dotö from Sokla Kyawo to Machu Khukpa, and (3) the origin of horses, Domé from Machu Khukpa to the Chinese White Stüpa. I wonder if the word this word *chol kha* isn't Mongolian. Yangchen Drupé Dorjé, dbyangs can grub pa'i rdo rje. *Biography of Jé Dharmabhadra, Beautiful Ornament that Reveals the Yellow Hat School*, 14-ba-3, says that in Tibetan this means the origin ('byung khungs).

33. As for the place called Gyai Miyur Chenmo, several people, such as Sumpa Khenpo, say that a Chinese place was being offered. I have seen that this is not reliable. Previously, Chöjé Sapaṇ made them stop driving so many young Chinese people into the sea. Subsequently, these sinful deeds were completely discontinued. Thus, Tsang Jampa Dorjé Gyeltsen, *Ornament of the Principled Geneology of the Sakya Lineage*, says that the lama was pleased. Previously, the sky had been red, like the color of blood, and the ocean had been filled with corpses. Sumpa Khenpo said that the virtue generated by putting an end to such practices was dedicated to the satisfaction of Khyenrap Wangchuk (Chöjé Sapaṇ) and to the long life of Miwang (Kublai Khan).

34. Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*, part 1 (London: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1876), 507.

35. *Praising Monks Who Practice Religion*.

36. This is a permission slip saying where one is to reside. *Translator's Note*: When the Dalai Lama went to stay somewhere, an advance party was sent to make arrangements for all of the attendants, government officials, and so forth.

37. These are rights or authorization.

38. Gushi is a rank of religious and political authority.

39. This means offering worship to the Precious Jewels.

40. The word dé (*zlas*) means that having studied it, they are to take it to mind.

41. Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, *Fulfilling All Desires, Valuable Treasury of the Sakya Geneology*, 84-ba-2. Shongto is the place where the third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso passed into nirvāṇa. At this time, Genghis Khan's Palace was called Shongto.

42. This is Sechen Khan's great queen.

43. Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, *Fulfilling All Desires, Valuable Treasury of the Sakya Geneology*, 86-na-2.

44. Dudjom Rinpoché, *The Religious History of the Early Transmission of Tantrayāna, the Drumbeat of Victory through the Power of the Gods*, 188-ba-2.

45. The thirteen officials consisted of food attendant, the clothing attendant, ceremonial attendant, receptionist, secretary, treasurer, the kitchen attendant, the courier, the furniture attendant, gardener, and the caretakers of the horses, dzo, and dogs.

46. Tutop Namgyel and Yeshé Drölma, *Dynastic History of the Heavenly Sikkim*.

47. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Treasury of the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel, Catalog of the Canon of Choné edition of the Canonical Commentarial Literature*.

48. Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, *Fulfilling All Desires, Valuable Treasury of the Sakya Geneology*, 105-na-3.

49. Taktsang Lotsāwa, *Festival of Learning Chinese and Tibetan Writing*.

50. Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, *Fulfilling All Desires, Valuable Treasury of the Sakya Geneology*, 112.

51. Jamyang Gyepé Shenpen, *The Royal History of the Great Hor*, 112.

52. Paṇchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, 28-na-5.

53. Taktsang Lotsāwa, *Festival of Learning Chinese and Tibetan Writing*.

54. Jé Barawa Namkha Gyeltsen, *Autobiography of Jéba Rawa Namkha Gyeltsen*.

55. Paṇchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, 28-na-5.

56. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth, A Dynastic History*, 52-ba-2.

57. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*.

58. Taktsang Lotsāwa, *Festival of Learning Chinese and Tibetan Writing*, says that although that great fort used to be called Gyangkhar, it later came to be called Gyantsé Fort.

59. Pelden Sharkawa, *Garland of Ornaments, Lineage Chronicles*.

60. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel, *Blue Annals: A Religious History*, Paṇchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, and Jetsün Drakpa Gyeltsen, *Fulfilling All Desires, Valuable Treasury of the Sakya Geneology*. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth, A Dynastic History*, it says:

There was a big civil unrest within the Nup Monastery. Since the temple was set on fire, about ten thousand monks (magically) flew over the rooftop. Zhelngo fled to Kongpo.

61. Ever since the time of the Drigung protector Jikten Sumgön and Lingrepa Pema Dorjé, there has been a tradition of the Drigungpa and the Drukpa Kagyüpa monks beings sent to Mount Kailash, Tsari, and Lachi to meditate. Thus, they are called mountain men.

62. Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Festival of the Learned, A Religious History*, chapter 3 and *A Religious History of the Karma Kamtsang*, 625.

63. Tselpa Künga Dorjé, *Red Annals, a History of the Early Kings of Tibet*, 32-na-5.

64. Taktsang Lotsāwa, *Festival of Learning Chinese and Tibetan Writing*.

65. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel, *Blue Annals: A Religious History*, Chapter Ca, 28-na-5.

66. The Royal History of the Great Hor, 54-ba-6.

67. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel, *The Blue Annals: A Religious History*, Chapter 55-na-1.

68. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 27-na-6.

69. J. Allan, T. Wolseley Haig, and H. H. Dodwell, *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan, 1934), 154–6.

70. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel, *Blue Annals: A Religious History*, Chapter Nga, 7-na-1.

CHAPTER FIVE

PAKMO DRUPA, RINPUNGPA, AND TSANGPA TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the period of time beginning in the middle of the 14th century and ending in the early 17th century. On a religious level, it recounts the origins and maturation of a number of religious orders in Tibet, notably including the Kagyü and the Geluk Schools of Tibetan Buddhism, headed by the Karmapa and the Dalai Lama, respectively. Shakabpa describes the relationship between prominent lamas, particularly the Karmapas, and the Ming emperors, and he maintains that these connections were of a purely religious nature. It was during this time that the religious landscape took on the form that is recognizable today.

On the political front, Shakabpa endeavors to show that throughout the period of the Ming Dynasty, Tibet was a distinct nation that was thoroughly in control of its own political affairs. He argues against a view expressed in many pro-Chinese sources^a that claim Tibet was integrated into China by that time. As he phrases it in the opening to the chapter:^b

It is said that the rights connected with Tibet's relationship to China's Ming Dynasty, which lasted from 1368 to 1644, derive from the time of the Mongolian Genghis Khan's reign. But examining in detail the political motivations of those who promote this account can be very instructive.

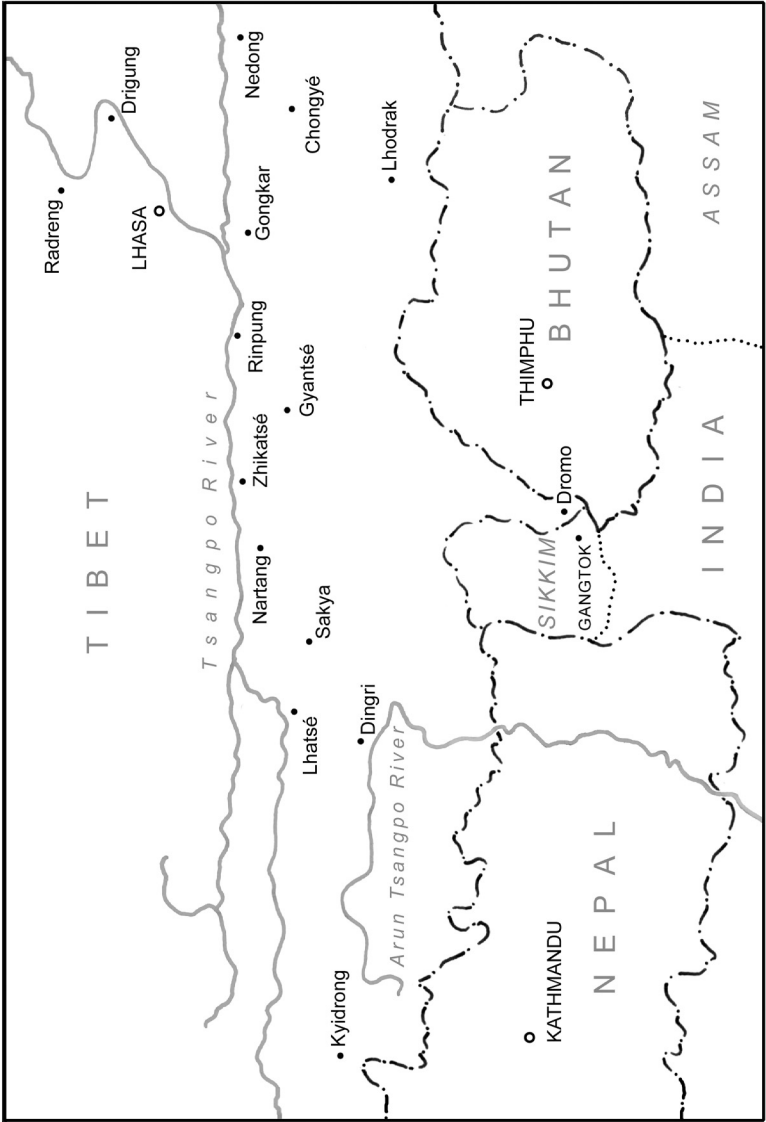
The claim is that through the conquests of Genghis Khan and his heirs, a single unified empire emerged that was based in China, the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1386). When that dynastic lineage came to an end, Chinese sources say, the singular authority passed to the Ming Dynasty.

^a For example, an anonymous text from the "Series of Basic Information of Tibet of China" called *Tibetan History* [(Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2003), 44], represents the Ming emperor as having had broad control over Tibet during this time:

After the bulk of the lay and religious leaders of Tibet had submitted to the Ming court, Emperor Taizu decided to make some adjustments to the administrative system of the Tibetan areas, for he realized that "(sic.) it was a better way to adopt pacification policy to exercise rule over Tibetan areas instead of heavily garrisoning it...

^b See p. 249 above.

Ü Tsang and border regions of southern Tibet



Map 1 Southern Tibet—Portions of Tibet's border along its south are also in dispute between the People's Republic of China and India. This map follows McMahon Line described in chapter 16.

In sharp contrast, Shakabpa maintains that from the 1253 meeting between Genghis Khan's descendent Kublai Khan and the Tibetan lama Pakpa Rinpoché, Tibet remained "completely independent" (*rang btsan gtsang mar thon*). Moreover, he denies that China could have inherited rights over Tibet during the Yuan period because a generation before that the Mongolian empire collapsed in China, the religio-political rule of Pakpa Rinpoché's heirs came to an end in Tibet, giving way to the rule of a series of strongmen. In other words, since a new political reality had already taken shape in an independent Tibet even before China was able to formulate its own post-Yuan authority, Shakabpa asserts that it would be nonsensical to suppose that China maintained control over Tibet in some continuous sense.

Additionally, for Shakabpa, it is significant that throughout the Ming Dynasty—the only truly Chinese rule in almost six and a half centuries (1271–1911)—the emperors demonstrated only intermittent interest in Tibet. Shakabpa regards these facts as firm evidence that, contrary to the rhetoric of both Chinese Nationalists and Chinese Communists in the twentieth century, China did not inherit any rights over Tibet from either the Yuan or the Ming dynasty periods.

With that argument as the subtext, Shakabpa narrates the sequence of rulers during the period. As we have seen in the previous chapter, political power in Tibet was concentrated at Sakya during the 13th and early 14th centuries. Under the Sakya hierarchy, thirteen myriarchs operated as distinct constituent states.^c The leader of the Pakmo Drup or Nedong myriarchy, Tai Situ Jangchup Gyeltsen (1302–1363), drew the ire of some of his fellow regional rulers, and a conspiracy was directed at him. Living just to the southeast of Lhasa, Jangchup Gyeltsen came from a well-established political family with strong connections to the Kagyü School's Tel Monastery and to the Drigung Kagyü lineage in particular.

Tai Situ ascended to power in Nedong in 1322, whereupon he fought to regain some territories that had previously been part of his domain. This resulted in a conflict with the myriarchs of Tselpa and Yazang. By 1345, those allied against Pakmo Drupa Jangchup Gyeltsen had enlisted members of the Sakya court, including Sönam Gyeltsen. They

^c See Luciano Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 50–61, and Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), 691.

arranged to have Sönam Gyeltsen replace Jangchup Gyeltsen, a result to which the latter did not acquiesce. The plan could not be realized because Jangchup Gyeltsen's military commander, Hor Zhönu Zangpo, maintained control over his castle. While he resisted, he was arrested, and although he was eventually released, the enmity between the parties endured. Eventually, Sakya itself stepped in to resolve the dissension once and for all. Both of the main disputants, Jangchup Gyeltsen and the Yazang myriarchs, were arrested and their domains were to be consolidated into one region that was to be ruled by Sakya itself. The former managed to get a secret message back to his castle urging his subordinates never to surrender, and he destroyed his seal, thereby making it impossible for his captors to forge a message in his name. He was subjected to whippings, humiliations, and exile, but by 1352 he was permitted to escape as a consequence of yet other splintered loyalties within the Sakya hierarchy.

Nangchen Wangdzön, who was under the protection of the Sakya king, became the focal point of Jangchup Gyeltsen's resentment, and he resolved that he would have to overthrow Sakya rule in order to eliminate the injustice Wangdzön had perpetrated. By 1358, he was able to achieve his objective; the throne holder of Sakya Monastery, Tabön Lodrö Gyeltsen, was deposed, and Pönchen Wangdzön was captured. Shakabpa represents Tai Situ Jangchup Gyeltsen as an ideal ruler. Once he usurped Sakya authority, he enacted legal reforms, constructed fortifications around his territory, sponsored religious instruction, and ruled a content land.

Drakpa Gyeltsen (1618–1655) eventually became the king of Nedong, following in Jangchup Gyeltsen's footsteps. However, unlike the earlier leader, who was a staunch supporter of the Kagyü School, Drakpa Gyeltsen became a generous patron of Tsongkhapa and a great advocate of the emerging Geluk School. While the political and religious fortunes of that school were bound to ascend, the house of Nedong itself became thoroughly mixed with the Rinpung family starting in 1434–1435. King Drakpa Jungné (d. 1445) and his younger brother who succeeded him, Künga Lekpa (d. 1483), both nephews of Drakpa Gyeltsen, were transitional figures, being descended from both families. By the 1480s, sectarian and regional divisions had become more dominant features of life in central and western Tibet. As Shakabpa observes:^d

^d See p. 273 below.

The chiefs of Ü, Tsang, and Ngari each maintained large private standing armies. Each had his own lamas for worship, his own territory for each monastery, and his own source of wealth for religious purposes. Each religious school (*chos lugs*) felt superior. Since they were continually attacking one another with varying alliances, there were incessant internal conflicts.

Shakabpa points out that both Rinpung and other prominent rulers in Tsang were closely allied to Kagyü religious figures and for reasons of regional identity, even in the later 15th and early 16th centuries, they resented being dominated by Nedong, an authority based in Ü.

Since the Nedong rulers had been patrons of Geluk all the way back to Tsongkhapa himself, this factionalism had a sectarian dimension that would turn to open warfare in the 16th century and especially the 17th century. Already in the last decades of the 15th century, Gelukpa monks had destroyed a Karma Kagyü Monastery being constructed at Sanakma near Lhasa, and retaliatory incursions into Ü by Kagyü-allied forces prevented Gelukpas from participating in the signal public event of the Geluk School, Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival, which had been inaugurated by Tsongkhapa in 1409 under the sponsorship of King Drakpa Gyeltsen.

Despite ongoing internecine conflict throughout much of the 16th century, the Rinpung family became a dominant force in central and western Tibet. However, they found themselves in continual conflicts with others throughout the region. Rinpung authority was challenged in the 1550s and 1560s by someone from Upper Tsang who had worked within their court, Zhingshakpa Tseten Dorjé or Kündün Zhing (d. circa 1566). Shakabpa depicts the conflict between the two sides as being undertaken through tantric magic. Despite overthrowing Rinpung authority, Zhing himself was killed. His heirs Tensung Wangpo (b. 16th cent.) and Püntsok Namgyel (1597–1632) followed in his footsteps as the *depa* (*sde pa*) or governor of Tsang. The latter was the primary patron of the tenth Karmapa Chöying Dorjé (1604–1674). As will be seen in chapters six and seven, these figures would become the central focus of the regional and sectarian conflict that continued apace with Geluk forces in Ü. Püntsok Namgyel sponsored the construction of a joint Kagyü and Nyingma monastery above the flagship Geluk monastery in Tsang, Trashī Lhünpo Monastery near Zhikatsé. This was regarded as an exceptionally provocative act, particularly when boulders tumbled down to damage the Trashī Lhünpo. When pro-Geluk Mongolians stole the Karmapa's yak herds in retaliation, Depa Püntsok Namgyel attacked

Sera and Drepung monasteries, resulting in the death of hundreds of Gelukpa monks and the temporary exile of many others. These events set in motion the actions that would result in a series of significant wars and the political ascent of the Geluk School.

CHAPTER FIVE

PAKMO DRUPA, RINPUNGPA, AND TSANGPA

It is said that the rights connected with Tibet's relationship to China's Ming Dynasty, which lasted from 1368 to 1644, derive from the time of the Mongolian Genghis Khan's reign. But examining in detail the political motivations of those who promote this account can be very instructive. While the descendants of Mongolia's Genghis Khan were extending their influence and power, they visited their destruction on several areas of Tibet, destroying many fortified castles, seizing a great deal of wealth, and committing other such acts. Thus, Tibet existed under Mongolia's shadow.

However, ever since Kublai Khan presented the three provinces and Ngari to Drogön Chögyel Pakpa in 1253, Tibet has remained completely independent (*rang btsan gtsang ma*). As a result of the preceptor-patron relationship between Tibet and Mongolia, high lamas have gone from Tibet to China and Mongolia. The invitations extended to Tibetan lamas by China's Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang after he gained China's freedom from Mongolia in 1368 are not the same as the invitations extended by Mongolia. Although the Ming emperors (1368–1644) tried to invite the sovereigns of Desi Pakmo Drupa's royal house, who were the religious and political lords of Tibet, they could not induce them to visit. Instead, they invited several high lamas for purely religious purposes. Except for seeking peaceful and harmonious cooperation between the two imperial governments of Tibet and China in dependence on their preceptor-patron relationship, there was no thought of the Ming emperors exercising control over Tibet.

Desi Pakmo Drupa or Nedongpa gained power as follows: under Sakya's rule, there were thirteen myriarchs; among them, Drigung, Pakdru, and Tselpa not only had the largest territory, but they were also included among the inner circle of Sakya attendants. However, several important ministers incited other myriarchs to adopt deceitful methods. They repeatedly violated the law and directed hostility towards Pakmo Drupa. Because of their many assaults on him, the courageous Jangchup Gyeltsen (1302–1363) usurped Sakya authority when the time was right (in 1358).

Jangchup Gyeltsen's autobiography, *The Rhinoceros Book, Descent of the Lang Divine Lineage*, gives a detailed account of the eighteen great races, the three colors of rice, white, black, and variegated, and six original lineages (*mi'u gdung drug*) of Tibet.^a

Among the descendants of his clan, Mangdom Taktsen, who was the fifth of eight sons of a sky deity, and his wife, Rongsa Kyechem, were unable to bear a son. Through having sex with a medicine woman, a son was born within a year. The mother took him to the top of a sacred hill and placed him upon a stone block; then she prayed that if the child was Mangdom Taktsen's son, he would become a human child stronger than a god, and that if the child was not his son, he would be eaten by carnivores. She explained her reasons for doing this to Mangdom Taktsen.

Hence, early the next day, both the mother and father went to the sacred hill to see what had happened. They saw that the child had a lock of turquoise hair and that there was white steam on the crown of his head. And although he was surrounded by carnivores and wild animals, he was covered by the wings of bird up to his head. The father was overjoyed, saying, "Steam, steam, three times steam." Thus, he is called the "Progeny of Steam" (*rlangs gyi rgyud*). Many heroes and adepts who could see with the eyes of gods were born in this lineage. Hence, his descendants were known as the "Steam Divine Seers" (*rlangs lha gzigs*).

Ever since the time of their ancestor, Jangchup Drekhöl, the succession of the family's lineage continued without interruption. Yönten Gyelwa Kyap had three sons: Chennga Drakpa Jungné, Pön Gönpö Gyel, and Yönten Sangyé Kyap. When the eldest, Drakpa Jungné was young, he became a disciple of Jikten Gönpö, the protector of Drigung. Since he served his religious master without being separated from him between the ages of eighteen and thirty-four, he was given the name, "The One in the Presence."

When the glorious headwaters of the Kagyü School, Pakmo Drupa's seat at Tel Monastery, had declined, Chöjé Jikten Gönpö appointed Chennga Drakpa Jungné as Tel's abbot in 1208 and praised him saying, "I will spread the influence of my lama one hundred-fold and then a

^a The book in question contains much more than that. It is also an invaluable resource for the history of the rule of Tibet by the Sakya lineage and by Jangchup Gyeltsen himself.

thousand-fold.”¹ Chennga Rinpoché achieved unrivaled progress during the twenty-six years that he held the seat of Tel Monastery through his activities of renunciation, study, and practical effort. Thereafter, when he went to Drigung for the cremation of the senior lama who had died, Jung Rinpoché, Drigunglingpa, and so forth made urgent appeals, saying that he must assume the seat of Drigung.²

Yönchen Sangyé Kyap’s son, Gyelwa Rinpoché Drakpa Tsöndrü or Gyelsé Tokdukpa, held the seat at Tel Monastery. His relative, Nyené Dorjé Pel, who was the leader of Kazhi, was designated as the myriarch upon being called to service by Gyelwa Rinpoché. Since he held the seat at Tel, he was called Pakdrupa, and since his capital was at Nedong, he was called Nedongpa. Lang Lhasik’s descendants mainly became monks and made great efforts to learn about religion. They took the name Chennga upon ascending to the seat of Tel, becoming lords of religion and politics. Some of them received authorization from Sakya to be myriarchs and thus implemented laws.

The lay descendants married, taking charge of the surrounding estates and perpetuating the lineage. However, sometimes the lineage decreased, causing great volatility in the Pakdru’s political authority. When Dorjé Pel was myriarch, he wore a meditator’s hat on his head and wore the three religious robes on his body. Without dispensing with the appearance of a monk, he labored in both political and religious activities. He founded thirteen districts at specified distances: Nedongtsé, Tsongdü Drakha, Jaktse Drigu, Yardrok Chötenling, Mönkhar Gyatang, and so forth. During the reign of the twelfth Chennga Rinpoché, Dorjé Pel died and his younger brother, Gyeltsen, became the myriarch. At that time, he wore a reed hat and Mongolian clothes and boots. Because he was somewhat irresponsible—singing and dancing until midnight and sleeping until noon—he caused great harm to Pakdru’s authority. The subsequent myriarchs, Ringyel, Jangzhön, Zhönu Yönten, and others similarly compromised their position; the only thing they wanted to do was drink black beer. Moreover, they lost many territories, like losing the end of a thread.

After Chennga Drakpa Rinchen became Tel Monastery’s abbot, but before he had been appointed myriarch, he had the joint responsibilities of being a religious teacher and a temporal leader. Since he regained most of the territory that had been lost by his predecessors, such as Dongön, Gyeltang, and Mönkhar, he was a great boon for the status of Pakdru. Subsequently, when Gyeltsen Zangpo and Gyeltsen Kyap had gained the rank of myriarchs, they were universally despised because

they were not as effective as Chennga Drakpa had been. Thereby the influence of the Pakdrupas declined. Tai Situ Jangchup Gyeltsen succeeded Gyeltsen Kyap as myriarch.

Pön Rinchen Kyap had two wives. In 1302, the younger wife, Bum-kyi, gave birth to Jangchup Gyeltsen.³ At the age of nine, he became a monk under Khenchen Tsüldarwa and the Master Purangpa. In 1313, when he was twelve,⁴ he arrived in Sakya for the purpose of studying civil administration and religion. He moved into the monastic dormitory with such people as Pönchen Özer Sengé. The latter said, "It would be best if Dakchen (Daknyi Chenpo Zangpo Pel) were to take the Pakdru leader as a student. If that is not possible, then he should be given a position in the administration of Zhitok Labrang." As a result, he was given confidential responsibilities as the manager of Zhitok Labrang. However, Jangchup Gyeltsen himself indicated that because of Dakchen's fierce temper he would continually reprimand Pakdru over his handling of the kitchen and the sleeping quarters. When this happened, Pakdru became concerned about whether he would be able to remain in his administrative position and whether this would damage the reputation of the Pakdru family. Hence, he went to study with Lama Jampel, Künwang, and especially Lama Nyamepa, thereby becoming a wide-ranging student of a variety of texts on philosophy and tantra.

During New Year's celebration of 1315, the administrators were having a beer party; Jangchup Gyeltsen, who was in the eastern part of the lama's estate was moist with beer, when Dakchenpa's master repeatedly summoned him from the other side of the estate. Even though he was drunk and could only walk unsteadily, he reached there with great determination. Dakchen gave him some food, and moreover, he gave him a present in a golden plate. Jangchup Gyeltsen took it with his bare hand. Dakchen said that since he would become the myriarch, he should study military strategy,⁵ and he made many other prophesies. By virtue of that, Jangchup Gyeltsen wrote in his autobiography, *The Rhinoceros, Book of the Lang Family* that he understood this to mean that Dakchen considered him to have great merit and to be unequaled. He felt an inconceivable sense of faith and respect towards Dakchen.

At that time, many of the students were sons of myriarchs and rulers or other prominent people. Jangchup Gyeltsen did not respect the sons of the rich people or the sons of those of high station; he always associated with the humble students, cooperating with them and offering them protection. The Master Namlo and Jangchup Gyeltsen argued

over this unusual behavior. One day, in the midst of an assembly of the students, Lama Nyamepa said, "You are all a pile of sand driven by the wind. Pakdru is like a snow mountain, and hence he will become a government leader." Thus, from that point onward, everyone had great respect for him and called him "Pakdru the Leader" (*phag gru dpon po*).

When they went to a religious meeting at Tönchu Mik:

Lama Nyamepa told the students that before they could become good leaders, it was important that they first know how to do things themselves. Thus, he assigned jobs to each of them, such as sweeping their quarters, carrying water, gathering firewood, and preparing food. In addition, he primarily instructed his students in their religious studies, and secondarily he taught them such worldly crafts as horsemanship, archery, slings, jumping, how to speak with those of higher or lower station in public, and how to lead a group of people. Thus, he was said to be tremendously kind.

Once, when it was Jangchup Gyeltsen's turn to do those tasks, his friends and the servants prepared to help him, but he would say, "Even if your share is a stone, you should chew on it.^b Thus, I will deal with it myself." He performed all of his duties himself, without even briefly considering them to be difficult or wearisome.

When Jangchup Gyeltsen reached the age of twenty, he had completed his studies, and he was made the Pakdru myriarch under Sakya. He was given the rank of "Tai Situ⁶ and a sandalwood seal embossed with the words, "Jeweled Tiger Commander." In 1321, he arrived in Ü from Sakya and brought gifts to Dakchen Rinpoché. Hence, having brought Lama Khetsünpa⁷ and Situ together, Dakchen Rinpoché advised them that Khetsün should take care of Situ and that Situ should be of service to Khetsün.

In the eighth month of 1322, Gyeltsen Kyap still refused to relinquish the office of myriarch. Subsequently, Sakya forced him to step down. On the ninth day of the ninth month of 1322, Situ issued a legal ruling⁸ and assumed responsibility for the fourteen areas of Nedong. Zhönu Ö was appointed as his storeskeeper.

In 1328, Pön Atulé came to Yarlung and stayed for a long while. One day, Pön Atulé took Situ to the corral. The wooden fences were very unstable. The myriarch thought about it and said that it would be

^b This means people should take care of whatever tasks they are called to perform.

suitable if he placed three bricks at a certain place. He explained how to avoid injury to horses. He advised that the best horse is worth a dré of silver, and a dré of silver is worth eight sang of gold. He gave advice on many great and small issues that are important to know about in worldly affairs. Situ said:

Being directed by Atulé's⁹ influence, I have enjoyed the greatest benefit. Ever since then, I have been inspecting broken fences.

Subsequently, Situ appointed Chongyepa Hor Zhönu Zangpo¹⁰ as his storeskeeper. He refurbished his estate, planting huge trees in each corner of the land and constructing a bridge over the Shamchu River. He increased the extent of the Neudongsé Castle, transforming it into the pure house of a conqueror.

When Situ's uncle had been the myriarch, Yazangpa had captured the land, houses, and people of 280 households that had been under Nedong's control. As soon as Situ gained the myriarchy, he forcibly regained what had been lost. However, the Yazang myriarch Tsülbum Ö made several incursions against the Pakdrupas. Tselpa was on Yazangpa's side. Due to the crookedness of the senior ministers, the dispute was settled in favor of the Yazangpas. Yet the roots of the quarrel were not cut, and thus, the two sides fought at Bartang. Pakdru was defeated with thirteen of its most beloved sons being killed, including Tönpa Zhönu Ö.

Except for fifteen people, most of the troops escaped, including Tai Situ himself and his military commander Hor Zhönu Zangpo. However, the dispute between Yazang and Pakdru endured. In 1337, the new Sakya senior minister, Özer Sengé, was to analyze the situation in detail once again. However, he also was bribed, and so he said the dispute was groundless.

In 1345, the case between Yazang and Pakdru was heard by Judge Wangchuk Pelpa. Although the Pakdrupas were more truthful, since the Tselpa minister Kündor had initiated the lawsuit,¹¹ Yazangpa emerged victorious. However, Pakdru ministers did not recognize this result. Sönam Gyeltsen, a ranking member of the Sakya cabinet, claimed to be a member of the Lang lineage and made a claim to the myriarchy. Tai Situ was furious and refused to become involved in the dispute. The Sakya hierarchs disagreed with Tai Situ's response to the situation. So the Sakya chiefs held a conference in which they appointed Sönam Gyeltsen as the myriarch of Pakdru, backed by the strength of the Nangchen Wangdzön. The proclamation was sent to Nedong, but Tai Situ refused to relinquish control.

After several months, Nangchen Wangdzön, speaking deceitfully, invited Jangchup Gyeltsen to a festival at Doklumpa, and the latter was arrested. He was forced to give up his position as myriarch to Sönam Gyeltsen, who manipulated Jangchup Gyeltsen by introducing doubt as to whether he would retain the title of Jeweled Tiger Commander. Situ responded, "Why should I relinquish my myriarchy. I have successfully served the Sakya king, and I have been responsible to the common people." He was unshakable in saying that they would be unable to take his position from him, so he was put in prison in Gungtang for ninety-three days.¹² Finally, Nangchen Wangdzön came to him, reassuringly saying, "If you bow to our wishes now, I promise that after two or three years, you will be restored to your position as myriarch."

Situ replied, "If this course is difficult for you, then put a seal on my neck and on Sönam Gyeltsen's neck and let the great Sakya court evaluate the truth. Otherwise, kill me and seize the myriarchy." Dokha Yukpa said that Nangchen Wangdzön had no choice, and he was forced to permit Situ to return to Nedong. However, because Nangchen Wangdzön was unsatisfied, he told the Sakya king that the Nedong myriarch (Situ) was insubordinate and had no understanding of the interests of the people he ruled. The myriarchs of Tselpa, Yazang, and Tangpoché formed an alliance, backing up Nangchen Wangdzön's position.

At the same time, Tai Situ and the myriarch of Yardrok, with whom he had formed an alliance, suffered a great defeat by the combined forces under Tangpoché, who also had reinforcements from Nangchen Wangdzön. Jangchup Gyeltsen's autobiography, *The Rhinoceros, Book of the Lang Family*, says:

During a meeting of the myriarchs of Yazang, Tselpa, and Tangpoché, the Yazang myriarch boastfully explained that he was going to spend his summers in Yardrok and his winters in Nedong. Upon hearing this, it was as though an arrow had been shot into Situ's heart.

In 1351, Situ Darma Gyeltsen went to Yarlung, and a confrontation ensued between Yazang and Pakdru. Tai Situ was victorious, but even as the outcome of the case was settled, Yazangpa appealed to Enyel's army and fighting erupted at Dokpo Gyu, due to which Pakdru was victorious again. Out of vengeance, twenty commanders were killed, while Yazang Monastery and its estates were seized.

It seemed that the conflict between Yazang and Pakdru was just becoming more intense, as though there were no room for peace. However, Gyelwa Zangpo then replaced Pönchen Lekpa Pel in Sakya.

He said that the best course for Yazang and Pakdru would be to come to peaceful terms and that if they could not do so, Sakya itself would resolve the matter by force, eliminating even the names of the two combatants. Tai Situ's lamas, Nyamepa Chenpo and Nangso Sösong, who were universally liked, were appointed as negotiators. As soon as Jangchup Gyeltsen heard about this turn of events, he sent a message to Lama Nyamepa which said:

Lama Rinpoché, if you come as a mediator now, Yazangpa, seeing the situation, will not accept your words.^c Accordingly there is no need for you to come. There is no need for you to become tired. Please do not come!

However, before the messenger arrived in Sakya, the mediators had already departed. Hence, there was no way to intercept them on the way. Thereafter, Jangchup Gyeltsen asked to meet with Nyamepa Rinpoché. He said, "You have already come to mediate in this dispute. Thus, in order that Yazangpa not oppose the settlement, I will not object if he gains some small advantage." However, since the relationship between Nyamepa and Jangchup Gyeltsen was like that between the head and neck, the Yazang myriarch was afraid the lama would not be impartial. Thus, he decided to avoid the site of the talks. Since the mediators were unable to stay for long, they returned to Sakya.

Because they had been unsuccessful in mediating a peaceful resolution, Sakya's Pönchen Gyelwa Zangpo was to settle the matter decisively by the force of arms. It was decided that if the disputants would not hear of a settlement, Jangchup Gyeltsen was to be killed and the myriarchs of Yazang and Tangpoché were to be captured; Yazang, Pakdru, and Tangpoché would be united in one mighty state, which would be ruled directly from Sakya.

As soon as Tai Situ heard about this development, he wondered whether the Nedong army that was operating in its own backyard would have the fortitude to confront the Sakyapas if they were to attack his government. He examined the security of the estates and the enthusiasm of the many government workers, urging them to be efficient. He sent a message to the myriarch of Yardrok saying that he should make whatever arrangements were needed so as to be prepared for any upcoming confrontations.

^c The implication is that since Lama Nyamepa was Tai Situ's lama, Yazangpa would object to having him serve as the negotiator out of suspicion of favoritism.

When Pönchen Gyelwa Zangpo and his troops arrived in the region under dispute in order to investigate, Jangchup Gyeltsen sent him a bar of gold and a bar of silver as a gift. He also sent a proxy to the meeting location to say, "If the decision is reached honestly and with restraint, I will pursue the common good, and I will give due respect." When Pönchen arrived in Gongkar, Jangchup Gyeltsen himself came out to receive him and offer him salutations. At that time, Gyelwa Zangpo's servants were more respectful than usual towards Jangchup Gyeltsen, as a result of which he became suspicious that there might be an element of hypocrisy. Thereafter, a large celebration was arranged at the encampment of Pönchen and his troops at Namgyel Tang near Nedong Castle. When Jangchup Gyeltsen went to meet Pönchen and pay his respects during the evening of the day the latter had arrived in Nedong, he thought that there would never be peace and prosperity in Tibet, considering how the Sakya chiefs were behaving. When he left, having offered salutations, Jangchup Gyeltsen told Pönchen:

If you are able to effect a clear conclusion to this quarrel in an honest manner, it would raise Sakya's reputation up to the sky. However, if you kill me, subverting the law, then lords from the east, west, and everywhere will reach out for my remains. Accordingly, there will be difficulties for Sakya. You ought to remember these things.

Jangchup Gyeltsen's *The Rhinoceros, Book of the Lang Family* says:¹³

At that time, Pönchen Gyelwa Zangpo did not venture any reply, affirmative or negative, but showing his unhappiness, he nodded his head once.

The next day, the Yazang myriarch arrived along with many other neighboring myriarchs and camped near the investigators. Jangchup Gyeltsen instructed his close confidants such as Hor Zhönu Zangpo that:

If I am arrested tomorrow at the meeting, protect the Nedong Castle and hold it as best you can until the truth is discerned. You must not let control of it out of your hands.

On the day appointed for the investigation, both the Yazang and the Pakdru myriarchs were arrested.¹⁴ Since it was decided that they should be supervised separately, they were taken to Nedong Mountain, where they neither received nor sent anything from the Sakya people, whether they were civilian or military, lay or monastic, great or humble. Jangchup Gyeltsen thought that his captors might seize his seal of authority and produce a false document with it, instructing

his followers to relinquish the castle. Thus, he burned the sandalwood Jeweled Tiger Commander seal, making this impossible.

For many days thereafter, he was cajoled and threatened in an attempt to make him write a letter that would insure the capitulation of the castle. However, there was no way to do this, since he had burned his seal. When Jangchup Gyeltsen thought about the foolhardy action undertaken by the Sakyapas, he thought that there would be no resolution without staging a revolt against Sakya. He drew a picture of his vow in his heart. At the same time, he thought that since he was unable to get a note to Zhönu Zangpo and the other people in Nedong Castle, he would have to devise a scheme. Jangchup Gyeltsen suddenly feigned a sharp pain in his chest. He told his guard that the sharp piercing pain was coming continuously, and he asked that one of his servants be fetched to massage his chest. His servant was brought in, and Jangchup Gyeltsen told him, "When you can go to Nedong Castle, secretly carry this message to Hor Zhönu Zangpo." The secret message said, "I have burned my Jeweled Tiger Commander seal. Henceforth, even if you hear that they have flayed my skin raw and dragged me about, do not relinquish Nedong Castle."

One day, Jangchup Gyeltsen told his guard that he must meet Pönchen. When the latter's audience attendant came to inquire, Jangchup Gyeltsen said, "I have had a great change of heart, and so, I must meet with Pönchen." Thus, Jangchup Gyeltsen was taken to Pönchen. As soon as he saw Pönchen, he pretended to be fearful and terrified, seeming to show great remorse for his previous actions. He said, "Now, if you do not^d multiply the harm to my officials, then I will send a letter telling them I have capitulated. Moreover, if I do not send my personal servant, the officials in the castle will not believe the message." Pönchen was happy. He said, "It would be unsuitable if you don't give your message in front of someone related with the mediation. If you have really had a change of heart, then you must give your message to your servant in front of the investigator." Accordingly, in front of the investigator Jangchup Gyeltsen dictated this message to the officials of Nedong Castle led by Zhönu Zangpo:

^d I have added a negative term not in the text (327.16). Both context and a similar phrase on the following page confirm that it is necessary (328.3).

I have already promised that the Nedong Castle will be relinquished to Sakya. Thus, they have promised that if you comply in handing over authority, no harm will come to you. Please do this.

The message was received in the meeting room of Nedong Castle by the cabinet, Zhönu Zangpo and so forth. Having doubts as to what should be done, Zhönu Zangpo wondered if there could be any other message than the one given in the letter. The messenger explained that one day when he had gone into the prison to massage the myriarch, he had given him the other message. Hor Zhönu Zangpo said, "Ah! This is the real message. Given that he has said this, so much more should we secure the castle and hold on to it." The servant was not sent back but was kept in the castle.

Since he did not return that day or the next, some of the Sakya nobles went there and from the threshold of the castle they called out, "If you do not surrender Nedong, Jangchup Gyeltsen will meet his death." From within, they responded, "The ruler is more important than the chief attendant." Upon realizing that they had been tricked by untrustworthy people, Jangchup Gyeltsen was given one hundred and thirty-five lashes. He was dressed in prison clothes and a hat with a long animal tail attached. Then, surrounded by a large military guard, he was mounted backwards on an ox and taken across the Shamchu River Bridge by way of lower Nedong. Thereby, he was sent into exile in Tsang. Through lower Nedong, when the many people looked on with resignation, he said, "Don't be so wretched. Soon I will come back. Since I am mounted backwards on this ox, it means that the conditions for my quick return are close at hand." He said this in a loud and clear voice.¹⁵

When he was on the bridge, he shook his head, casting the hat with the tail into the water. Thereafter, when he and his military guard initially arrived in Nyuk, many people who were inclined toward Sakya picked up clods of dirt and pushed them in his mouth. He replied, "This is a good omen that there will come a time when the gray earth^e itself is eaten."

He stayed at Chö Castle for two and a half months and at Kotrel for one month. During that time, he was physically attacked frequently.

^e This is a pun on the name Sakya, which means gray earth. See p. 210. In other words, he was predicting the demise of Sakya rule.

However, without even thinking about it, he endured whatever hardships came his way, and he was not overwhelmed by all these events.

In the meanwhile, Pönchen Gyelwa Zangpo deposed the myriarchs of Yazang and Tangpoché. It was proclaimed that Nedong, Yazang, and Tangpoché would be unified as one state and administered directly by Sakya. In actual fact, Nedong had not capitulated, but instead extensive war preparations were still ongoing. Since the time had come for Gyelwa Zangpo to return to Sakya, he left an appropriate contingent of troops at Jasa on the far side of the Shamchu River, whereupon he returned.

Then something strange happened. Pönchen Gyelwa Zangpo and Nangchen Wangdzön had a disagreement. Wangdzön was under the protection of the Sakya king, and he had received a commendation¹⁶ from the Hor king. In addition, there were rumors that Wangdzön had aspirations of succeeding Gyelwa Zangpo as the senior minister. Hence, Gyelwa Zangpo thought that if such a struggle emerged, there was no one more suited to be his ally other than the courageous Jangchup Gyeltsen. Upon the advice of Lama Nyamepa, Pönchen and Jangchup Gyeltsen became allies to the benefit of both. Pönchen pretended that Jangchup Gyeltsen had escaped at the end of 1352. After three and a half months in the Kotrel prison, the forces stationed in Jasa were also gradually withdrawn.

What previously had seemed so inconceivable now came to pass. As if in a dream, Jangchup Gyeltsen returned to Nedong, and his cabinet and many other people, monks and lay people came out to greet him, showing unlimited happiness. At a celebratory gathering of his domestic and foreign ministers on the day he arrived, he heaped praise on Zhönu Zangpo and the rest of the retinue who had stayed in the castle, remaining unified. Afterwards, he explained:

The internal disputes within Sakya have been clearly articulated and now it the best time for us to not offer excuses that we are too aged, that we are weakened by heat, cold, or illness, or that we are obligated to perform some religious act. All of us must become a powerful unified force.

Yazangpa estates and the monastery were seized as before. The remainder was captured by force of arms. Moreover, before long Tangpoché was also conquered.

When the great Lama Künpangpa went to Gongkar in 1354, Pönchen Gyelwa Zangpo was also there. Having made the invitation to Tai Situ in order to resolve their previous hostility, he went to Gongkar.

Thereupon, in front of Lama Künpangpa, Gyelwa Zangpo confessed and repented to Tai Situ for imprisoning him and for interrogating him. They also resolved that in the future, they would hold to the same purpose. Jangchup Gyeltsen's *The Rhinoceros, Book of the Lang Family* says, "At that time, I just displayed a little respect toward Pönchen." In view of this, one wonders if there wasn't also a lack of respect and if this indicates that he also disliked Pönchen a little. However it may be, when Gyelwa Zangpo returned to Sakya, Jangchup Gyeltsen offered to have a group of soldiers from Nedong accompany him as security. However, Pönchen said, "Now is not the right time. When it is necessary, I will do as you desire." Since he said this, it seems that there were armies in Shang and Tanak who were backing him and that this was on his mind.

When Pönchen Gyelwa Zangpo went to Sakya, Nangchen Wangdzön arrested him and threw him in prison. Wangdzön then went to Yarlung at the head of an army drawn from all thirteen myriarchies. As soon as the news of Pönchen's arrest reached Nedong, Hor Zhönu Zangpo went out by way of the main road, at the head of the Pakdru army. He encountered the Sakya army in the Mönkhar Valley. Hor Zhönu Zangpo repelled them, overwhelming ten thousand Sakya soldiers. Another group of soldiers went through there led by a man called Trönpa Lhatsün. They encountered a Sakya army at Janglakhar, and Lhatsün gained the upper hand. Both sides were reported to have had winning strategies, and both arrived in Nedong at the same time with war trophies and their enemy's war banners as gifts.

Thereafter, Tai Situ also led an army on campaigns to Drachi, Gongkar, and so forth. Hence, the Sakya soldiers were killed, were captured, or killed themselves in the river while Tai Situ was victorious.

Lama Dampa and many important figures from Ü Tsang came to Dum, arranging for Gyelwa Zangpo's release from prison and so forth. Jangchup Gyeltsen had seized some areas up to Jomo Kharek in Tsang.

Previously, when Pönchen Gyelwa Zangpo had apprehended Situ, Hor Zhönu Zangpo had protected the castle, and more recently, he had brought misfortune and defeat on Sakya's army from the thirteen myriarchies led by Wangdzön. Also, whereas other leaders had been completely destroyed by the enemy's methods, he had developed the strategy for Pakmo Drupa's victory. Thus, Jangchup Gyeltsen's autobiography, *The Rhinoceros, Book of the Lang Family* says:

Since he did not allow Nedong to fall into enemy hands, he saved my life. It is for this reason that this state has taken its present form. Thus, he is extremely kind. Still, since this comes up from time to time, whether he is alive or dead, his actions must be discussed. Even now that his brother Zhönu Gyeltsen is the commander, there is consideration for all lay people and monks. This is the reason for trusting his family.

In the meanwhile, although Tselpa, Drigungpa, and Yazangpa occasionally attacked Pakdru, the Pakdru were advancing in all directions, gradually conquering them completely, just as sunlight completely dispels darkness. Senior lamas and important figures from Ü, Dotö, and Domé greeted him with words of encouragement. Jangchup Gyeltsen came to understand the responsibilities of a governor, such as appointing and dismissing people, and he was granted a seal.¹⁷

Later in that year another civil conflict was precipitated by the assassination of Lama Künpangpa in Sakya. Pönchen Wangdzön was backed up by Lhatsewa and Nangchen Namkha Tenpa was backed up by Jangpawa. At the same time, it was said that while Gyelwa Zangpo was staying at Lhatsé, Abbot Namkha Yeshé and Wangdzön poisoned him. But others claimed that his death was due to drinking too much. Whatever the case, because of his death, Situ made a solemn vow, as if he inscribed it in stone that the Ü forces would rise up against Sakya. He recruited a new army under Yarlam Zhika Rinchen, and as he was leading his army directly toward Sakya, many monks, lay people, and nobles in Upper Tsang arrived to plea for reconciliation, but he would not hear of it.

[Jangchup Gyeltsen] seized Sakya without even having to fight; their army surrendered to him when they saw the angry faces of his troops. The throne holder of Sakya Monastery, Tabön Lodrö Gyeltsen, was deposed,¹⁸ and Pönchen was captured. Four hundred of the senior government officials were censured, punished, and exiled from their homes, and new people were appointed. He enjoined Namkha Zangpo to accept the single responsibility of preserving the general state of Sakya and the religious pursuits of Lhakhang Rinchen Pungpa Monastery from the effects of war. He also sent a delegation to Latö Lhojang and to the three regions of Ngari to investigate the situation there. He had to do all of these important activities because Sakyapa's descendants were not able to do them. In particular, Pönchen Wangdzön violated the law and tormented people without limit. Jangchup Gyeltsen's autobiography says:

In former times, the glorious Sakyapas
 Reached the height of power.
 There was an abundance of wealth.
 Pönchen Namkha Tenpa was responsible
 Due to his youth.

Accordingly, Nangchen Namkha Tenpa was not a fit ruler. In 1358, Tai Situ Jangchup Gyeltsen had gained complete control over the entirety of the three provinces of Tibet.

Since Dakpo Kagyü Monastery had no tradition of having a scriptural college for studying sūtra, Tai Situ Jangchup Gyeltsen founded a large scholastic monastery, Tsetang, charged with this new responsibility. Thereafter, he provided the resources required at the Tel meditation center. He erected many images of Buddha, the One Gone to Bliss, and he had the entirety of the scriptures copied in gold. Moreover, he worshipped at Rasa Trülnang, Tadül, and Yangdül temples.^f He prohibited hunting and fishing, built bridges across the larger rivers, and introduced a new type of boat made of hide. He protected travelers from fear in narrow passages and solitary places. He provided tea and beer for all the pilgrimage sites like Tsaritra and Mount Kailash. It was decided that the farmers and the nomads should be taxed one-sixth of their produce, in contrast to the arbitrary Hor-like system.¹⁹

A chain of thirteen large fortresses was constructed around Tsang and Ngari. There were three inner and outer gates at the great palace of Nedongtsé, within which the prohibition on black beer was enforced. Formerly, under Sakya rule, punishments were determined according to the individual discretion of the attendants. Since even the senior ministers were often shifted around, the law was applied indiscriminately, in the manner of the Hor, and one's sentence depended in part on the strictness of the judge and one's own social status. As this system was worse than sinful, Jangchup Gyeltsen took up the system of Tibet's former religious kings, which was based on the ten moral precepts of Buddhism. Previously, the poor were neglected, while the well-off stood tall. In contrast to that, he established the fifteen codes by which questions were to be decided in the hopes of providing a good legal system in which justice is served. They are as follows:

^f All three of these temples were founded during the lifetime of King Songtsen Gampo (617–650). See p. 119ff.

1. The code of the heroic tiger.
2. The code of the timid fox.
3. The code of government officials.
4. The code of gathering evidence.
5. The code arresting, restraining, and imprisonment.
6. The code of the punishment of the guilty.
7. The code on punishment in material fines.
8. The code on the reception of government officials.
9. The code on the fine of one thousand sang of gold for murder.
10. The code on the infliction of bloody wounds.
11. The code in which those who are mad with greed are made to take an oaths.
12. The code on reparations for theft.
13. The code on the dissolution of families.
14. The code on the punishment for adulterers.
15. The code on the trade in domestic animals.

Questions were to be decided based on these fifteen codes.

Moreover, uncivilized people were overcome and enemies were undercut. In order to implement his strategies, a military department was to be organized. The district was fortified for defensive purposes. All of the appointed officials were enjoined to behave virtuously. Most importantly, people were to make the service of their government their objective, without playing favorites. In cases of murder, people were prohibited from sinfully seeking revenge. Those who committed murder had to pay one thousand sang of gold.

These careful considerations protected everyone under one single fabric of law. This period is called the time of an old woman carrying gold.⁸ From far and wide, this period was called the new era of fulfillment.^h Jangchup Gyeltsen continued in this manner and died in peace in 1363 at the Nedong Castle. He was sixty-two years old.²⁰

Just before then, the third Karmapa Rangjung Dorjéⁱ (1284–1338) had been teaching extensively in Uighur and Hor areas. Similarly, in

⁸ I.e., Society was so safe during this time that an old woman could walk around carrying gold without concern.

^h This is the new dzokden or the new age of fulfillment (*rdzogs ldan*). The old one was during the wise rule of the ancient religious kings.

ⁱ Turrell V. Wylie asserts [Turrell Wylie, "Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism," in *Proceedings of the Csoma Körös Memorial Symposium*, ed. Louis

1333, he went to Taitu Palace. He gave the benediction when the [Yuan] Emperor Togen Temur Khan was established on the Chinese throne. After going back to Tibet again, he returned to the Taitu Palace in 1336, conferring the Long Life Empowerment on the Hor king. Because he had done this, the king lived for a very long time. The Karmapa gave advice on the peaceful rule of the kingdom. His kindness extended to Drigungpa, Pakdru, and Tselpa. When he died in China in 1339, there were limitless magical apparitions, such as the display of his face in the sphere of the moon. The king and many ministers witnessed these events.

Subsequently, the fourth Karmapa Rölpe Dorjé was invited to the Chinese palace. The monks received an edict for the strengthening of Buddhism to the effect that they need not prostrate before the emperor. At that time, twenty-eight years had passed since Togen Temur had ascended to the royal throne. The Karmapa gave subtle and extensive religious instructions to the emperor and his sons, yogic empowerments and so forth. He cured the afflictions which were continually visited upon the Chinese and Mongolian crops and livestock, and he pacified epidemics. Since he had brought about a positive environment filled with fortune and auspicious signs, the emperor and all of his ministers appealed to him to remain in China and Mongolia. However, he said:

It would be wondrous if one forestalled games at the time of the great market.¹ I have no knowledge whatsoever pertaining to matters of civil government. Whatever activities the monks undertake brings them to happiness if they are done in order to benefit Buddhism and living beings.

With the intention of passing through the Hor kingdom, he left for Tibet.²¹

After Jangchup Gyeltsen's death, Jamyang Śākya Gyeltsen or Jamyang Gushri Chenpo ascended to the throne as the Nedong king. He administered both the religious and political affairs as his predecessor had done. The omniscient Butön served as his teacher, and Jamyang Śākya Gyeltsen founded Nedong Chökhör Chenpo.

Ligeri (Budapest: Akademias Kiado, 1984), 581–6] that the concept of reincarnation originated only in the lifetime of Rangjung Dorjé, the third Karmapa.

¹ This means that it would be best to do what is necessary rather than what one wishes to do.

In 1368, the Chinese capital was lost by the descendents of Mongolia's Genghis Khan, who escaped to Mongolia. The first Ming emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang, was enthroned in China.

The founder of the Yellow Hat School, Jamgön Lama Lozang Drakpa,^k went to Ü Tsang to continue his studies, even though his understanding of Buddha's teachings was as great as the ocean. Wishing to make Buddhism shine like the sun, and resolving to make that happen, he left from Domé Tsongkha in 1372, traveling to Ü on foot.²²

The following year, the great Jamyang Gushri died. In 1374, Chennga Sönam Drakpa ascended to the Nedongtsé throne. Through his twelve-year reign, both the crops and livestock were excellent, and so he was known as a meritorious king. When he retired to Tel Monastery in 1385, Lord of All Beings, Drakpa Gyeltsen was enthroned at Nedongtsé.

At just about the same time, the adept, Jakzampa Tangtong Gyelpo collected alms of iron in Kongpo and so forth. Thereby, he constructed fifty-three large and small iron bridges over the great rivers of Ü Tsang, Dotö, and Bhutan. Drakpa Gyeltsen is known to have sworn a vow to this adept to govern the kingdom with laws that accorded to Buddhism.²³ At that time, there was jealousy among the ministers toward Dzingchipa Drakrin, Drakpa Gyeltsen's uncle. Accordingly, Dzingchipa Drakrin was assassinated, seriously destabilizing the situation. However, Lhodrak Khenchen Chakdorpa and the great Lord [Tsongkhapa] intervened day and night with profound advice, saying that Buddha's teachings depended on the rule of Pakmo Drupa. Taklung Rinpoché Trashi Peltsepa brought great quantities of wealth to bribe people to be peaceful. Thus, before long the conflict was resolved.²⁴

When the omniscient Bodong Choklé Namgyel was on pilgrimage to Tsetangdra, Drakpa Gyeltsen invited him to Nedongtsé Palace, offering him the most marvelous homage. He in turn praised the king, his retinue, and the palace in his poem, *The Melody of the Victorious Swan*.²⁵

The second Da Ming emperor of China, Yongle,¹ adorned the senior Tibetan lamas with great praise and made offerings to the monasteries, assigning a special delegate for the purpose. Although Miwang

^k I.e., Lama Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Geluk School or the Yellow Hat School.

¹ The second Ming emperor, called Jianwen, reigned 1398–1402. The third was called Yongle and reigned 1402–1424. It would seem that Shakabpa meant the third emperor Yongle.

Drakpa Gyeltsen was invited to China, he declined. Consequently, the fifth Karmapa Dezhin Shekpa was invited in 1406. Having come by way of Dotö, he was accompanied by a large contingent from the border region of China, with the Chinese emperor himself coming out to receive him at the outer wall of Nanjing, the Chinese capital. The emperor presented him with a greeting scarf and a thousand-spoked wheel made of gold. The Karmapa also presented a greeting scarf and a right-hand spiraling white conch to the emperor.

More than a thousand civil and military leaders, such as Dachen, and many tens of thousands of Chinese monks, wearing shawls and bearing bundles of incense and bouquets of flowers, came out to greet the Karmapa. No distinction was made between the Chinese emperor and the Karmapa in terms of the height or proximity of their thrones during a great ceremony of blessing and praise. A great many religious teachings were given. In the end, when the Karmapa left, the emperor presented him with a golden plank inscribed in Chinese and Tibetan with the words, "The One Gone Thus Rinpoché, King of Religion, Great Compassionate One from the West, The Buddha whose Wealth is Peace." Inconceivable offerings were presented at that time. The third chapter of Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa's *Religious History, Festival of the Learned* gives a detailed account of the practice lineage of the Karma Kamtsang School.²⁶

At that time in 1407, Dezhin Shekpa and the Da Ming Emperor Yongle met each day from the fifth to the eighteenth days of the second Chinese month and also from the third to the eighteenth days of the third Chinese month. During each day's reception, Chinese and Tibetan artists would come before them to paint on a panel. Inscribed in five languages—probably Chinese, Hor, Tibetan, Uighur, and Turkish—the panel measures about 250 kumtru.^m It was offered to the Karmapa and is presently to be found at Tsurpu Labrang.²⁷

Over and again, the Da Ming Emperor Yongle also sent messengers with golden letters inviting the omniscient Lord Tsongkhapa Lozang Drakpa to come to the Chinese palace. However, Jé Rinpoché did not like veneration and fame as much as he enjoyed being alone. He particularly disliked the recognition of important personages. Thus, initially, he would not meet with the emperor's messengers. Subsequently, a delegation bearing a gold-lettered invitation, consisting of

^m A kumtru (*skum khru*) is equal to the length of the forearm.

four Dachen, led by Taigyen Houkyen,²⁸ appealed to the lama's followers, the Tibetan King Drakpa Gyeltsen, Neu Namkha Zangpo, and others. At their urging, Tsongkhapa agreed to meet with the Chinese delegation, and he accepted their offerings. However, he refused to accept the invitation since there were great obstacles to going to China and only a small necessity of doing so.²⁹ Since they requested that he send one of his students to China to teach Buddhism, he sent Jamchen Chöjé Śākya Yeshé,ⁿ who arrived in China in 1408. He was received in just the same way as when the Karmapa Dezhin Shekpa had visited. He was definitely praised, and having taught Buddhism to the Chinese emperor, he became his senior lama. By virtue of his great faith in the lama, the emperor offered praise of his character calling him, "The Great Intelligent Omniscient One, Universal Defender, Great Compassionate One, Thorough Conqueror who Bestows Welfare, Son of the Conqueror Who Consecrates All Beings and Lives in the West, Great Lama Who Maintains the Immutable Empire of Happiness, Tākau Śrī Jamchen Chöjé." He founded several monasteries.

Both the Tibetan King Drakpa Gyeltsen and Neu Namkha Zangpo supplicated the great incomparable Jé Tsongkhapa. Accordingly, he refurbished Lhasa's Tsuklakhang and its contents in 1409. Many precious jewels, symbolizing the five Buddha families, were set in the crown ornament of the pure gold Jowo Śākyamuṇi image. Both the Jowo Mikyö Dorjé image of the Gyetap Ramoché Temple and the five self-arisen images of Great Compassion were given crown ornaments fashioned from white silver and so forth. He also introduced the custom of the annual Great Prayer Festival during the Month of Miracles.³⁰

Prior to that time, in 1076, at the time of Ngadak Tsedé, who was a descendent of Tibet's divine kings, there had been a festival called the Great Turning of the Wheel of Ngari. In Drogön Chögyel Pakpa's time (1235–1280), the Turning the Wheel of the Enduring Fountain Festival was held in Tsang. In Gushri Jamyang Śākya Gyeltsen's time, the Great Turning of the Wheel was held at Tsetang. Many histories use the highest praise to describe these events, but Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival is one hundred or one thousand times greater than they were.

This tradition was forcibly suppressed by the Chinese Communists in 1959. [Ever since 1409,] the Ganden Podrang government had con-

ⁿ Jamchen Chöjé founded Sera Monastery. See p. 269 below.

ducted it without being disrupted.^o It was held each year from the first day until the twenty-fifth day of the Month of Miracles. Each day, ten thousand groups of the five kinds of offerings were presented to Buddha and the bodhisattvas. Offerings were made to more than twenty thousand monks. Great alms and barley were offered, and many thousands of gifts were distributed to beggars.

Additionally, there was an offering ceremony on the fifteenth day, a great tormo offering was thrown,^p Maitreya was invited, and so forth. This great festival of good fortune was celebrated without a break and people experienced a greater variety of things than they usually did. Everyone says, "Throughout the duration of the festival, day and night, during the six periods of the day, religious sounds were continually heard without even a little break." The details of the Great Prayer Festival itself are inconceivable and inexpressible.

In the year that Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival was begun, the omniscient lord Tsongkhapa founded Ganden Nampar Gyelweling Monastery, the original seat of the Gelukpa School, on a hill in the wilderness.³¹ In 1416, his disciple, Jamyang Trashi Pel Tenpa, founded Pelden Drekar Pungpa Monastery.³² Jamchen Chöjé Śākya Yeshé founded Sera Tekchenling Monastery in 1419.³³

During the reign of King Drakpa Gyeltsen, ministers and nobles wore traditional Tibetan clothes. The king didn't like people who violated his command by wearing hats and cloaks, such as Mongolian clothes. He introduced the custom of having the cabinet ministers and nobles wear the clothing and ornaments from the time of the previous Tibetan religious kings, especially during major ceremonies, such as the New Year.

^o This phrase is problematic for several reasons. While Ganden Monastery was founded in 1409, the same year as the Great Prayer Festival, Ganden Podrang itself came much later. In 1518, the Nedong King Tashi Drakpa offered his home at Drepung Monastery to the second Dalai Lama Gendün Gyatso. Renamed Ganden Podrang, it served as a sort of monastic estate of the Dalai Lamas. When the fifth Dalai Lama came to political power in 1642, he named his government after this institution. Thereafter, it could be said that the Ganden Podrang government conducted the Great Prayer Festival.

Furthermore, as a consequence of Kagyü-Geluk conflicts in the, monks from Sera and Drepung monasteries were not permitted to attend the Great Prayer Festival for a period of twenty years, from 1498–1518. See p. 294 below. During that time, the festival was controlled by Kagyü interests.

^p See p. 234 above.

Moreover, he made provisions for the assemblies of monks at the retreat centers and monasteries of Tel and Tsetang. The provisions he made were so extensive that they are difficult to imagine. He received teachings from and offered his respects to many exalted figures, such as the omniscient Lord Tsongkhapa, Chennga Künpangpa, Tsungmé Rinzhön, and Karma Dezhin Shekpa. With his crystal seal, he ordered the leaders of the large castles and their families to apply themselves to learning. All people throughout society were fond of him, and he became known as the great supreme religious king.

Ever since, out of respect for his name, it has become customary to seal any contract of agreement or commitment by marking it with the words, “The Supreme Precious Lord of the Law in Religion and Politics,” as though it were between the great supreme religious king and the two people making the contract.

Rapten Künzang Pak, the lord of Pelkor Tsen Palace in Nyangtö Sharkhawa, Gyantsé became the king’s attendant and was very powerful. When Künzang Pak was twenty-five, he offered his respects to the superior lama, Khedrup Gelek Pelzang.⁹ He then founded Pelkor Monastery in Nyangtö in 1418.³⁴ His knowledge in both religion and worldly affairs was tremendous. Although his great power came through the kindness of the king, small improprieties that Rapten Künzang committed offended the king, and the latter launched two incursions into Nyangtö. Beyond that, there was no great civil conflict. Since Ü Tsang and Dokham were unified under his gentle rule, his power was towering.

Among his senior ministers were Namkha Gyeltsen who was the castle leader of Rinchen Pung estate, the myriarch of Chumik, the senior leader of the great Sakya Temple, Chongyepa Hor Peljor Zangpo who was the castle leader and the military leader of Samdruptsé. There were also Neu Namkha Zangpo, Ölkhawa Trashi Gyeltsen, Namkha Gyelpo of Rinpong, Drakar Gyao Kuché, Rinpel Khuwön, Gongkar Anak Zhidzom, Yargyap Genyenpa Kuché, Ja Trashi Pelzang, Dawa the myriarch of Gyama, Gomlok Chögyel, Tsetang Pöngé, Tsé Sharpa Raptan Künzang Pakpa, Tsé Nupa Situ Sönam Pel, Sam Depa, Pen Nampa, Ling Karwa, Butselwa, Gyelchen Tsepa, and a great many others. The superior King Drakpa Gyeltsen died at the age of fifty-nine.³⁵

⁹ Khedrup Gelek Pelzang (1385–1438) was among the foremost disciples of Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), the founder of the Gelukpa School.

King Drakpa Gyeltsen's younger brother, Sangyé Gyeltsen, governed Khartok Gönsar. He had married a woman from Rinpung, and they had two sons: Drakpa Jungné and Künga Lekpa. Upon the death of the great supreme religious king, there was disagreement among the chiefs and leaders as to whether the king's father or the king's brother should ascend to the throne.³⁶ At that point, Rinpungpa Norzangpa said that Drakpa Jungné's mother is Rinpungpa's sister, and by some trick he said that the opinion of Chennga Rinpoché Sönam Gyeltsen of Tel Monastery should be solicited. He advised that whatever the lama said should be done. Therefore, Chenngapa said, "The young boy is more suitable to be on the throne because an old married man would not come." Hence, it being impossible to go beyond his dictate, Drakpa Jungné ascended to the throne, taking up the responsibilities of state at the age of nineteen. Chennga died the next year. Since he had aspirations to the throne, Drakpa Jungné's father, Sangyé Gyeltsen, reached out to the leaders and ministers, promoting the interests of a variety of his family members.

It was a time of great turbulence in Yarlung Tel, with many of the high-ranking leaders and ministers being given provisions and then forced to leave for Yargyap.³⁷ During this time, unhappiness continued to grow, and this era is known as either the "Tiger Year of Civil Conflict" or the "Year of Pakdru's Destruction from Within" (1434). Because of these events, from 1435 the strength of Rinpung continually increased while the power of Pakdru declined.

In 1437, King Drakpa Jungné went to Kyishö, where the great Nangso Wensha³⁸ made sincere respectful offerings to him. By virtue of the unhappy times, the king was unable to complete his pilgrimage around Tsang.

Around that year, there was a serious famine in Ü, Tsang, and Kham. Hence, the Jakzampa adept, Tangtong Gyelpo, begged for alms of gold. He then fashioned the gold into a begging bowl, filled it with various grains, and offered it the statue of Jowo Rinpoché in Lhasa. Finally, he prayed for compassion. Through these efforts the harvest increased, and people were saved from the horror of famine.³⁹

During King Drakpa Jungné's reign, the Tsetang and Tsé Tsuklakhang, the Lhakhang Chenmo, and the gold inscribed edition of Buddha's word were all restored. He established the legal prohibition on black beer and founded many retreat centers. He bowed respectfully toward and generously provided for many religious teachers, including Pañchen Nakyi Rinchen, Gyama Chenngawa Zhönö, Götruk Repa, and especially, Khedrup Gelek Pelzang, Sang Neu Chöjé, and Drungchen Pönlop.

In order to protect the northern lookout posts, he constructed Öyük Lingkar Castle. The indisputable great scholar, Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel, was his long-time attendant. The affairs of state were conducted by Norbu Zangpo of Rinpung and Hor Könchok Rinchen of Chonggyé. He also invited his father to come from Yargyap to live at Tsetang Nangso, where he performed religious services. At the age of thirty-two, the king died in peace. Since he died on the fifth day of 1445, he is also called Chennga Tsenga.^r

King Drakpa Jungné's younger brother, Künga Lekpa, ascended to the king's throne in 1446. He married a woman from Rinpung, and they had a son called Rinchen Dorjé Wangi Gyelpo. All chiefs and leaders respected Künga Lekpa tremendously. In particular, when he arrived for a pilgrimage around Tsang, Rinpungpa was of immediate service, providing great feasts consisting of meat, butter, and cheese and presenting him with incomparable offerings. Similarly, Panampa, Ling Karwa, Latö Lhojangpa, and others also gave him great offerings.

Norbu Zangpo of Rinpung did not like the way the king, Künga Lekpa, conducted his affairs. Since the king only listened to the Kazhipa family, there was very severe discord between the king and the queen; this in turn meant that there was disagreement between the king and Rinpung. Gongkarwa Senga Gyelpo, Japa Trashī Dargyé, Yargyap Rinchen Gyelpo, Sam Depa Drakpa Tayé,⁴⁰ and so forth took up the queen's cause, siding with Rinpungpa. Neu Peljor Gyelpo, Ölkha Khenchen, and so forth sided with the king. The situation was extremely unpleasant.

Dorjé Tseten of Chonggyé did not side with either the king or the queen and tried to resolve the dispute in various ways. After the queen died, Khartok was seized by Rinpungpa Tsokyé Dorjé. King Künga Lekpa retired and Pel Ngagi Wangpo, who was known to be in the lineage of King Drakpa Jungsé, was enthroned.⁴¹ As the strength of Rinpung was increasing at that time, all of the religious schools competed to request its support. Rinpung seized several castles and estates from the Neu region. Because that lineage was declining, several leaders advised that King Ngagi Wangpo be offered a daughter of the house of Dzongkhawa as his queen. The couple had a son named Ngawang Trashī.

^r Chennga Tsenga (*spyān snga tshe lnga*) means "Chennga of the fifth day."

Not much later, King Ngagi Wangpo died. As his son was very young, Rinpung Tsokyé Dorjé took responsibility for issuing orders. His office proclaimed a law requiring that the people of Tsetang wear red hats. Monks did not wish to do this and so wore red patches as a protest. Goyu Jépa⁴² and others were known to have very great dislike for this.

A gathering of experienced ministers from Rinpungpa, Chongyepa, and so forth conferred and invited Ngawang Drakpa, the descendent of King Ngagi Wangpo, to the throne. During his reign, Ngawang Namgyel, the son of Tsokyé Dorjé from Rinpung, launched a fierce assault on Enyel. Zhamar Chökyi Drakpa worked out an agreement that settled matters for a while. However, Rinpung again inflamed tensions. In 1480, Rinpung leaders Dönyö Dorjé and Yungpa Tsewang conducted a campaign, reaching the heart of Yarlung without waiting for either Yargyap or Gongkar. They expelled people to the east and west from Kazhi.

The war spread to Kyishö, with several places, such as Drakar and Chushur Yarsum Lhünpo, being captured. In 1481, a large group of leaders from Ü Tsang, such as Rinpung Khuwön, assembled in Nedong during New Year's. Because of a conference between the king and Khuwön, the throne was wrested from Chennga Ngagi Wangpo, and he was exiled to Lhokha. His paternal uncle, Künga Lekpa, was enthroned once again. Nangso Tsokyé Dorjé became the senior minister, and Tönpa Rinchen Dargyé captured Kazhi.

In that year, the brilliant scholar Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel, the author of the *Blue Annals*, died in Önda Selkhang.

During this time, the chiefs of Ü, Tsang, and Ngari each maintained large private standing armies. Each had his own lamas for worship, his own territory for each monastery, and his own source of wealth for religious purposes. Each religious school (*chos lugs*) felt superior. Since they were continually attacking one another with varying alliances, there were incessant internal conflicts. The king remained as the general leader, and since he disliked these regional conflicts, he directed the parties to come to terms with each other.

He heard a great many religious discourses on Mahāyāna Buddhism from his royal teachers or tutors, Künkhyen Yezang Tsepa (Gö Lotsāwa), Pel Chökyi Drakpa, and others, and he provided marvelous conditions for the scholars and ritual officiants from Tsetang. He supplied the necessary provisions for the great adept, Tangtong Gyelpo, to build a large iron chain bridge at Nyangpo Druka. During the construction of

this project, in 1483, King Kunga Lekpa died. Since his son was much too young to take over the affairs of state, at the king's death and in fulfillment of his wishes, Chennga Rinpoché Chökyi Drakpa continued with his responsibilities at Chennga until the son attained his majority. Chennga Rinpoché Chökyi Drakpa also performed the duties of governing Tsetang, even though he became extremely tired. Thereby, the government's operation was not disrupted. As all of the functions of leadership had been delegated to Rinpung Tsokyé Dorjé, he did not consult with other ministers. The other regional leaders disliked this arrangement, due to which civil conflicts erupted continuously.

When Rinpungpa attacked Upper Tsang in 1485, Chonggyé Rinchen Gyelchok and so forth led the king's army as far as Nyangtö and the Gandenpa^s military commander Sönam Gyelpo led the Kyishö and Penpo forces as far as Shang. Thus, the strategy for imprisoning Yungpa failed. That year is called the "Year in which the Strategy for the Ascendancy of Gyangro Failed." Subsequently, Rinpung was forced to return the Gyeltsopa and Panam territories that had been lost.

During New Year's of 1499, Rinpung assembled the regional leaders at Nedong, at which time the twelve-year-old heir, Ngawang Trashī Drakpa Rinpoché, was installed on the throne. One of Rinpung's sisters was offered to him as a wife in 1504, and after four years, they had a son called Drowé Gönpö. The latter's son, the final⁴³ Drakpa Jungné, and his sons, Kagyü Namgyel and Mipam Wangchuk Drakpa, were born and ascended to the throne in turn.

Up to the time that Ganden Podrang gained authority over the three regions of Tibet [in 1642], the Pakmo Drupa Regency came to be known throughout the entirety of Tibet as but a shadow in matters of politics. However, the Rinpungpas operated through their kinsmen, transforming legal traditions to their private use in such places as Tsangrong. Subsequently, the Tsang governor also rose up against Rinpung, seizing power in Upper Tsang. Both Rinpung and Tsang had a particularly great dislike toward Ü due to which they turned to all of the religious schools.

Around this time, the Karmapa and his spiritual son were supported by Rinpungpa, King Serkangpa of Kongpo, Kyenpa Gyelpo Pelzang,

^s The word Gandenpa refers to those who follow Ganden or Ganden Monastery. Eventually, the designation of the religious school connected to Tsongkhapa would shift to Gelukpa, i.e., followers of the virtuous system.

and Zingpo Tülmi Yudruk. Drukpa Künkhyen Pekar was supported by Japawa, Chongyepa, Kurap, and others. Thereby there were continual conflicts in the environs of Tsari and in the Dakpo and Kongpo regions. There were always minor violations of the peace in which various sorts of leaders would be kidnapped and held as hostages.

Occasionally, the Nedong king received messengers from Hor and China bearing tremendous offerings and signs of respect as a result of their preceptor-patron relationship. At such times, he would immediately return comparable offerings and signs of respects. These were the only relations of any kind between Tibet and China or Hor at this time.

Just about then, large groups of Khelkha and Orö people from Hor and Mongolia began to arrive and ever larger groups of Mongolians were moving to Domé Amdo in such places as Arik, establishing homelands in the wilderness where they could find water and grass. It is not clear in the histories of these events whether an analysis was made to determine how beneficial or harmful this immigration was for Tibet.

Rinpungpas⁴⁴ were included in the Nedong kings' inner circle of attendants. As discussed above, the heir Sangyé Gyeltsen married Norzangpa's sister, and they had two sons, King Drakpa Jungné and Kunga Lekpa. In addition, even later, there were other marriage alliances between Rinpung and Nedong, due to which the former's power increased a great deal. In particular, when the [Nedong] throne holders were minors, Rinpungpas were deputized as leaders and held the seals for issuing proclamations and conducting other such business. Hence, their influence increased in Tsangrong, gradually in Tö, and finally even in Ü. If one wishes to know about these matters in more detail, Khepa Karshak has written about the Rinpung lineage.

A brief recounting of the origins of the Rinpung lineage begins with a woman named Masang Lakha who had a baby called Pel Lekö of Ger, who was endowed with special marks during the ancient time of Tibet's King Shatri Tsenpo.[†] Since Pel Lekö's time, the family had split into three branches, the Chiger (Outer Ger), the Nanger (Inner Ger), and the Druptop Kyiger (Ger who is an accomplished master). The ancestors of these families were ministers of the three ancestral religious kings of the past. In 1408, King Drakpa Gyeltsen appointed

[†] Shatri Tsenpo is a king from Tibet's mythic past. He was one of the sons of Drigum Tsenpo, the first fully human king of Tibet. See p. 116 above.

Gerkar Śākyabum's son, Namkha Gyeltsen, as the Rinpung district commander, the myriarch of Tsang Chumik Ringmo, and the senior leader of Sakya Lhakhang Chenmo. Subsequently, his descendants were made the perpetual bearers of the crystal seal of Rinpung Castle. Namkha Gyeltsen's descendants were known as Rinpungpas.

His son, Namkha Gyelpo, was a high ranking attendant under both King Drakpa Gyeltsen and Drakpa Jungné. Namkha Gyelpo's son, Norbu Zangpo, submitted himself to the service of the king, and according to the ancient tradition, he was given a castle in which to live, as well as the post of myriarch. He subjugated many petty kings, unifying the region, like joining links of a chain.⁴⁵ He was made the leader of the Nyangmé Samdruptsé district in 1435, and he founded Rong Jamchen Monastery, providing resources for the welfare of the monks.

Jamchen Serku Chenmo constructed limitless numbers of religious images in Ü. He invited Paṇḍita Nāgī Rīchen from India, scattering flowers about his home. Due to his relationship with the Pakmo Drupa lineage through his uncle and grandfather, he was highly regarded among the important government deputies. Also among the king's closest attendants were Rinpung Norzang and Chongyepa Hor Könchok Rīchen, who held significant positions of responsibility.

Norbu Zangpo had five sons, Upāsaka, Künzangpa (Küntu Zangpo), Döndrup Dorjé, Tsokyé Dorjé, and Śākya Gyeltsen. Upāsaka died when he was young. Künzangpa submitted himself to King Drakpa Jungné's service and was given a traditional certificate and an office. He formed a preceptor-patron relationship with Künkhyen Sangyé Pel, the hierarchy of the glorious Sakya School, and with Gorampa Sönam Sengé. Moreover, he founded the Dreyül Kyetsül monastic university and provided resources for the construction of Tanak Tupten Monastery.

The son Döndrup Dorjé received the office of castle commander of Samdruptsé estate. Tsokyé Dorjé, the brother younger than Döndrup Dorjé, seized control of Yarlung Khartok by force. Upon the death of King Ngagi Wangchuk, while the heir was a minor, Tsokyé Dorjé was deputized as the leader of Nedongtsé Palace and held the authority of the seal. As a result, Rinpung's authority grew ever greater. However, there was discord within the king's cabinet, and hence, there were always struggles in Yarlung. As he was under the influence of the Kamtsang Kagyü School, he incited sectarian conflict in the Neu area, seizing several estates. Tsokyé Dorjé died in 1510.⁴⁶ His descendants increased their influence. His youngest son, Śākya Gyeltsen, defeated

Lord Gyelkhar Tsepa and lived at Nyangkhok Castle. He was renowned as an expert in military strategy.

Künzangpa had two sons, Dorjé Tseten and Dönyö Dorjé. No stories are recorded about the elder son. The younger son, Dönyö Dorjé, held twelve castles. He established a preceptor-patron relationship with Zhamar Chökyi Drakpa in 1479, whereupon he constructed a monastery at Yangpajen. According to the seventh Karmapa Chödrak Gyatso's wish, he founded a Karma Kagyü Monastery at Sanakma, on the outskirts of Lhasa, but the monks of Sera and Drepung monasteries destroyed it.^u A great conflagration ignited in this disagreeable time. Dönyö Dorjé and Yungpa Tsewang led an enormous assault, reaching Til in Yarlung. They fell upon Kazhipa from the east and west. Such places as Drakarwa estate and the Chushur Lhünpotsé Castle were confiscated from Neu. Within the campaign, Jangdakpa Namkha Dorjé reached as far as northern Latö, Chögyel Norbu reached as far as southern Latö, and so forth. As the war was beginning to enter the Kyishö area, Künkhyen Mönlam Pel performed a ceremony in which great offering were presented to the six-armed protector deity Mahākāla. As a result, the warring parties were forced to retreat twice through the force of Mahākāla's power.

After Künkhyen's death, Nangtsé Khuwön was murdered in Kyishö. As a consequence, a large Tsang force drove into Ü again in 1498. This incursion was met by Depa Gandenpa Namkha Gyelpo. Karmapa, Taklungpa, Ölkhawa, and so forth came to mediate a settlement. Thus, Sakyong Ngawang Lhündrup and his siblings were provided with a pension and forced into exile at Kyormolung. The Neu estate was seized and Tsang exerted control over Lhasa, the Potala,^v and elsewhere. From that year, the monks of Sera and Drepung monasteries were not permitted to attend Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival.

As Tsangnyön Herukapa was dying⁴⁷ he visited Lhatsün Riné Namgyel⁴⁸ and others and provided extensive offering ceremonies to many hundreds of disciples. In 1499, Drukchen Ngawang Chökyi Gyelpo was invited to a Rinpung estate called Kyetsel Kharu, where he was given a marvelous reception. A tent was pitched at Relnga Jangsep, and Miwang Dönyö Dorjé and his wife performed extensive offering

^u See p. 277 above.

^v Construction on the Potala Palace was not commenced until 1645. See p. 350.

ceremonies. Drukchen Rinpoché composed a variety of songs saying such things as the following:⁴⁹

May this estate, a pile of great jewels,
Become the most prosperous of all palaces!
May all of the lay officials and nobility in this assembly
Gain the prosperity of being vajra brothers!

The glory of Drukchen Ngawang Chökyi Gyelpo, known as Depa Garpa, became as well-known throughout Ü Tsang as the sound of thunder.

Dönyö Dorjé died in 1512 at the age of fifty. Thus, two of the most vocal and popular people within the Rinpung leadership died within three years.^w At the point of death, Dönyö Dorjé requested that Zilnönpa Bö from Nakartsé be promoted to be the Zhelngo. Accordingly, Dönyö Dorjé's death was not kept secret, and extensive ceremonies were performed, such as the Daptön. Subsequently, Depa Zilnönpa went to Rinpung from Natsé Taklung. Having offered himself to the king's service, he continued in Miwang Dönyö Dorjé's job. Reflecting on that, it seems that his mature descendants and those who were not yet mature did not have the ability to run things.

Tsokyé Dorjé's son, Ngawang Namgyel, received a position with the king, and he engaged himself in studying the wisdom of the five lesser sciences and the sixty-four arts.^x He introduced the custom of Rinchen Gyencha^y at large Rinpung ceremonies, as had been the tradition under the Nedong kings. During the reign of this king, the famous curtained large silk painting of Ngak Drupma called Rikden Yölwa was painted.

In 1510, Ngawang Namgyel led an army against Enyel. Because this disturbed the king, Ngawang Namgyel tried not to be too disruptive, at least as far as external appearances were concerned. In consequence, he lost several castles and estates such as Neu in Ü. Though his power declined a little, he did subjugate Sengetsé in Tsang and southern Latö.

^w I.e., Just above (p. 276), Shakabpa recounted that "Tsokyé Dorjé died in 1510."

^x The five lesser science (*rig gnas chung ba lnga*) are poetry (*snyan ngag*), rhetoric (*mngon brjod*), composition (*sdeb sbyor*), drama (*zlos gar*), and astrology (*skar rtsis*). According to Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979), 329, the sixty-four arts (*sgyu rtsal drug cu rtsa bzhi*) include thirty related to handicrafts, eighteen in music, seven in singing, and nine in dancing.

^y Rinchen Gyencha (*rin chen rgyan cha*) is the practice of wearing the clothing and ornamentation of the ancient religious kings. See p. 364 below.

Ngawang Namgyel had three sons. The senior son, Pema Karpo (d. 1565), was murdered by a family member, and hence, this time is called the “Year of Rinpung’s Bad Blood.” I have not seen a detailed account of these events. The middle son, Döndrup Tseten Dorjé, received a position from the king and was promised the supervision of Panam Lhündruptsé Castle, a territory his forefathers had never held. He served the eighth Karmapa Mikyö Dorjé (1507–1554) in the founding of Sungrap Ling Monastery, and he invited Drukpa Künkhyen Pema Karpo^z (1527–1592) to his castle in 1549, establishing a preceptor-patron relationship with him. He was very knowledgeable in religious and political matters. Since he managed to maintain good relations with Nedong, Rinpung, and Tsang, he was able to calculate the capacities of regional leaders.

The youngest brother, Ngawang Jigten Drakpa, was accomplished in all the sciences. He composed many treatises on poetry such as *An Ornament of a Monk’s Thought* and the *Good Path of Fortunate, the Biography of Sakya Paṇḍita*. He was much respected by virtue of his discriminative knowledge of both religion and politics.

Rinpung supported Sakya in a disagreement between Sakya and Jangdakpa. In 1563, Rinpung’s right flank converged on Jang. At that time, Depa Ngawang Jikdrak marched on Samdruptsé estate in Zhikatsé by way of Gawa Dong with his own seasoned troops. On the way, they pummeled the Jagö Valley, and thus even monks suffered great difficulties.

In that very year, Rinpung’s own attendants, including his chief groom and Zhingshakpa Tseten Dorjé, the commander of Samdruptsé Castle, murdered the son called Pema Karpo,^{aa} seizing Nedong as a result. In response, there was a general uprising against Rinpung. War broke out in the Tsangrong region, and subsequently Rinpung also attacked Gyangtsewa, Drongtsewa, Nartangpa, and other places. Zhingshakpa came to their assistance. Since Rinpung had so many enemies, the leaders and all the subjects were as worn out as an old bird’s feathers.

During this time, Künkhyen Pema Karpo frequently attempted to separate the parties and to formulate an agreeable treaty. Although Rinpungpa and his nephew had received great kindnesses from him

^z This Pema Karpo, the well-known Drukpa Kagyü lama, is different from the person of the same name mentioned as having been killed earlier in the paragraph. Here and on the following pages, the lama is referred to as Künkhyen Pema Karpo.

^{aa} This is Ngawang Namgyel’s son.

in all religious and worldly matters, they failed to show their gratitude and instead held an offering ceremony for their victory. People they considered to be their enemies, including chiefs, were investigated and punished. Because of such evil undertakings, Künkhyen Pema Karpo⁵⁰ and Dorjé Dzinpa Chökyi Gönpö were ashamed, and hence their protector deities were enraged.

Just as cause and effect come to fruition, so impurity descended on the house of Rinpung. A cloud in the frightful form of Rāhula^{ab} came from the east, and from this cloud very powerful thunder, lightning, and hail came down. The crops became so damaged they had to be abandoned. The roof of Jamkhang Chenmo crumbled. Dried torma offerings also fell on top of the castle. Meteorites fell. The estate's own Drölma Temple was destroyed by fire. Dissension emerged between his leaders and ministers. A host of such evil omens continually appeared.

In the past, Rinpung territory had never been invaded by military enemies, but at this time, the Kongpo traders would come to do circumambulations, travelling in the heat, and so forth.^{51 ac} Rinpung power was gradually diminishing, like the exhaustion of fuel in a butter lamp. Rinpungpa had two sons, Dawa Zangpo and Gewa Pel, but I have not seen anything recorded about them in the histories.

The first chief of Upper Tsang, Zhingshakpa Tseten Dorjé, owned a piece of land that provided for his livelihood, and he had a home. It was a known fact that this was all he had. He was, however, related to Rinpungpa. He worked among the attendants of both Rinpungpa and Nedongpa, having feet in both camps. Initially, during Rinpung Desi Ngawang Namgyel's reign, he held the post of chief groom, and later he held other posts in turn. He was the tax collector in the Shang and Nyangmé provinces for many years. In 1548, he gained the leadership post at Samdruptsé Castle.

During Desi Ngawang Jikdrak's reign, Zhingshakpa murdered his older brother, Pema Karpo. As no reprisal was forthcoming, Zhingshakpa Tseten Dorjé rose up against Rinpung, emerging out from under its domination. When in 1557, Rinpungpa and Samdruptsepa were conceiving the plans for their forces vis-à-vis their territorial objectives

^{ab} Rāhula is a planetary deity that is one of a set of eight wrathful deities (*sde brgyad*).

^{ac} The text of this line appears to have been altered in the proofs of Shakabpa's text, and it appears to have been corrupted. *Kong po tshong pas dang bstod kyi bskor rgyag tsha 'grul can byas pa sogs* (357.17).

in the Shangdön Rapa region, Drukpa Künkhyen Pema Karpo arrived hoping to prevent hostilities. Fulfilling his objective, Dön Rapa's life was saved, and he was handed over to Kündün Zhing. From that time, Zhingshakpa Tseten Dorjé came to be called Kündün Zhing. In 1565, Kündün Zhing himself acted as the military commander, seizing Panam Lhündrup Kyungtsé and Pakmori Gold Castle. He couldn't tell whether he would lose Lhündruptsé one day or the next, and he wondered whose side Nyangtö would take. Rinpung itself was largely responsible for the danger it was experiencing. At that time, Rinpungpa solicited Künkhyen Pema Karpo's help in reaching a reliable settlement between the master and his servant, and for a while the conflict was quelled.

However, again just after New Year's of 1566, war broke out between Tsang and Rinpung in lower Nyangtö. Once again, Künkhyen Pema Karpo came to intervene between the parties. Zhingshakpa insisted forcefully and deceptively that he must receive everything above Jomo Kharek. However, he was urged that the resolution between the parties had to be honest, and so it was agreed that he would merely take the entirety of Panam. Rinpungpa presented Künkhyen Pema Karpo with the Sakya Temple in gratitude, and Kündün Zhing presented him with a very special image of Gyelpo Döndrup.⁵²

Jangdakpa Namkha Rinchen had two sons, Namkha Gyeltsen and Trashi Topgyel, and there was a disagreement between the older and the younger. Zhingshakpa's older son, Künpangpa Lhawang Dorjé, supported Dönnying Namkha Gyeltsen. Kündün Zhing refused to permit the younger son, the Rikdzin Trashi Topgyel, to live on his own private estate, forcing him into exile in Ü.⁵³ At that time, Kündün Zhing said:^{ad}

You, who are called "Powerful"

Are just a powerless drifter.

I am expelling you to the realm of the hungry ghosts.

As he spoke these words, the Great Rikdzin Trashi Topgyel, became extremely furious. When he was staying at Chonggyé, he performed wrathful tantric rites such as the sword-bearing Viṣṇu rite. Before long,

^{ad} The third syllable of Trashi Topgyel's name, i.e., *stobs*, means power. Asserting that someone will be expelled to the realm of the hungry ghosts is a threat since that is one of the six realms in which a being can be reincarnated upon dying. The six are the realms of the hell beings, hungry ghosts, animals, human beings, demigods, and gods.

Kündün Zhing died with the sharp pain from Viṣṇu's sword. With respect to that, the Great Rikdzin said:

You who are called Zhing
Are endowed with the ten factors;^{ac}
I have placed you into Rāhula's mouth.

In addition, he sent a letter to [his teacher],^{af} Rikdzin Pema Chögyel, explaining his reasons for doing what he had done:⁵⁴

I faithfully practice Padmasaṃbhava's reliable perception and the vajra words, difficult to transgress, which have been spoken by you, the supreme Rikdzin. As a result, I have command over Rāhula. The non-virtuous predispositions from the past are completely ripe. Thus, one who engages in perverse practices hates those who engage in virtue. "Zhing" means the person who fulfills all of the ten factors [to be an enemy of Buddhism]. Powerful One, the Lord of the Planets, Rāhula, eat him now.

Thus, he was harmed by the power of the planets, and he died. Zhingshakpa had two sons, Künpangpa Lhawang Dorjé and Tensung Wangpo. Lhawang Dorjé lived at Samdruptsé, where he worked in the government. The biography of the ninth Karmapa Wangchuk Dorjé (1556–1601/3) biography says that Tensung Wangpo lived at Panam Norbu Kyungtsé.⁵⁵ Whether Lhawang Dorjé died or something else happened, for several years Tensung Wangpo, the younger brother, held the position his father had held. Khewang Könchok Lhündrup's religious history has a little information on this.⁵⁶

When the second Dalai Lama Gendün Gyatso (1475–1542) went to Tsang, he stayed at Trashī Lhünpo. Throughout his stay there, Tensung Wangpo provided him with basic necessities, tea, food, and firewood. However, Depa Tensung Wangpo and others displayed a disrespectful attitude toward the Dalai Lama through many sectarian avenues. The second Dalai Lama asked that he not do anything to disturb his meditation.⁵⁷ Except for this little bit of information, I have not located a detailed biography of Tensung Wangpo. Thus, I would like to look into this period if more information emerged.

^{ac} The verse makes a pun on the name "Zhing" (*zhing*), which is both the name of the figure being criticized and part of the term, "ten factors" (*zhing bcu*). For the ten objects of obstructions, see p. 235 above.

^{af} Trashī Topgyel (1550?–1603) was the disciple of the Nyingma Lama Jampa Chökyi Gyeltsen (b. 16th century).

When Tensung Wangpo's son or brother, Püntsok Namgyel, was fourteen in 1611, he took over responsibility for the government. His reign came to be called the Rat-Ox Civil Wars because during 1612 and 1613 (Water-Rat and Water-Ox years respectively), Depa Püntsok Namgyel attacked the Ngari king, Lhopa, and Jangpa, subjugating them. He was favorably inclined toward the Dakpo Kagyü School, and in particular he was primary patron of the [tenth] Karmapa [Chöying Dorjé] (1604–1674). Gathering stones and dirt from the hill behind Trashi Lhünpo, he constructed a new Kagyü and Nyingma monastery between Trashi Lhünpo and the town of Zhikatsé. It had high gates and walls and somewhere on the wall the words “Suppressor of Trashi Lhünpo” were written.

This incited a host of [pro-Gelukpa] Chokhur Mongolian pilgrims to come and steal the Karmapa's yak herds. As a result, a vast number of Tsang troops came down into Ü, and many hundreds of monks and Ü soldiers were killed on the hill behind Drepung Monastery. The monks of Sera and Drepung monasteries were forced to flee to the north. Pönsa Taklungpa intervened, appealing to Tsangpa (i.e., the Tsang chief). All of these bad things that happened, such as sending the monks out, will be discussed in the chapters dealing with the succession of the Dalai Lamas.^{ag}

In my English book, *Tibet: A Political History*, I wrote that I did not understand the reasons for the war between Tsangpa and Bhutan.^{ah} Since I wrote that, I have found an opportunity to do a more detailed investigation. There were two candidates for the reincarnation of Drukpa Künkhyen Pema Karpo: Ngawang Namgyel was born in Ralung Gadrang and Paksam Wangpo was born in Tölbu, which was under the jurisdiction of the Chonggyé chief. There was a disagreement between the lama's disciples and his sponsors on which child should be recognized. Thus, those from Bhutan, Ralung, and others were mainly inclined toward Ngawang Namgyel, and they invited him to be enthroned at the Ralung Monastery in Bhutan. With the Tsang chief's backing, Chöjé Lhatsewa Ngawang Zöpa and many sponsors were inclined toward Paksam Wangpo. There were continual delays. Jetsün Tāranātha (Künga Nyingpo) from Jonang indicated that it would be

^{ag} See p. 327 below.

^{ah} Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press), 99.

good if Depa Püntsok Namgyel did not come into conflict with Bhutan because their protective deities were so ferocious. When Depa Püntsok Namgyel was nineteen and Ngawang Namgyel was twenty-two in 1615, they met at Samdruptsé estate. Despite having extensive consultations, they were never able to broker an agreement.

A fight broke out between some Bhutanese campers at Takdrukha and some Lhodrak Pawo campers over a yak skin coracle boat, resulting in the death of two people; several other people died when their boat overturned. Accordingly, the Tibetan chief made heavy demands for compensation on the Bhutanese camp. By virtue of these occurrences and such events as the suppression of the southern valley, Ngawang Namgyel had to escape to southern Bhutan in 1616. Afterwards, Tsang troops were sent into Bhutan twice. However, the Tsang forces could never gain any advantage because of the security afforded Bhutan by its ravines.

Drukchen Ngawang Namgyel secretly received all the wrathful tantric practices from Ralung and Drupkhung Chenpo Tönak, thereby gaining the capacity to perform destructive rites. As a result, when Püntsok Namgyel from Upper Tsang came upon the forces in Ü in 1631, he encountered many inauspicious signs; in the end, Depa Püntsok Namgyel and his wife were afflicted with smallpox and died.⁵⁸ However, Jangpa Rikdzin Ngagi Wangpo's biography gives a little detail on these matters, saying that during that year, when the chief of Upper Tsang fought against Kurapa, Rikdzin Ngagi Wangpo and Depa Püntsok Namgyel met in Dölda.⁵⁹ Examining this evidence in detail, it seems likely that Depa Püntsok Namgyel died in 1632.

As soon as Püntsok Namgyel died, his son, Karma Tenkyong Wangpo, took over his father's responsibilities. Since he was very knowledgeable about everything in both religion and politics, there was a chance that he would be recognized as the reincarnation of Ladakh Ngari Paṇchen. However, as it is said, "If one is driven by the force of karma, even intelligent people can follow a wrong path." Accordingly, there were continual wars between Ü and Tsang as a result of sectarian disputes.

There is a maxim, "When you have two enemies, take one of them to your bosom." Accordingly, in 1639, Depa Tenkyong Wangpo's younger brother, Künga Raptan, held a series of peace talks with Drukpa Ngawang Namgyel. Finally, Drukchen, in an attitude of purifying the malice he had previously held, tantrically overturned all of Drupkung Chenpo Tönak's wheel spells (*'khor lo*) and purified all of his sorcery

(*ngan gtad*).^{ai} He employed torma offering objects and magic weapons and so forth. He said, "During a time of enmity, be an enemy; and in a time of friendliness, be a friend."⁶⁰ Everything worked out. Nonetheless, he frequently attacked Trashi Lhünpo, Ganden, Sera, and Drepung monasteries, and he imprisoned the great fifth Dalai Lama's father, Hor Dudül Rapten. The latter died while in prison.⁶¹

The Kyishö Taktsé chief and his son were unable to stay in Ü and were forced into retirement in Hor and Mongolia. Because of the widespread news that the Choktu Mongolians leaders and the Dotö Beri leaders had formed an alliance, a conference was held between the Regent Sönam Chöpel, who was under the influence of Drepung Zimkang, and the Taktsé chief and his son, who were Gelukpa sponsors. They made offerings to the Lamo Tsangpa Oracle. They sought a prophecy, which said that because of their powerlessness, they should seek the assistance and friendship of the four Orö Mongolian tribes.

In 1642, Gushri Khan's armies uprooted the authority of the Tsang government, placing the entirety of Tibet under the legal authority of Ganden Podrang's rule. Except for some intermittent hostility from the Karmapa government, there were absolutely no conflicts based on sectarian struggles. Sakya, Geluk, Kagyü, Nyingma, and Bön could freely follow their respective religions as they pleased. For a while, all people, monks and lay people, of high or low station, lived in happiness.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel, *Blue Annals*, vol. nya, 75-na-6.
2. Chennga held the seat at Drigung for twenty-two years. During the seventh year, in 1240, he was attacked by Hor Dorta and so forth.
3. One can rely on the many stories about Tai Situ Jangchup Gyeltsen in *The Rhinoceros Book, Descent of the Lang Divine Lineage*.
4. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth*, says he was fourteen years old.
5. As for the term "military strategy" (*g.yul rgyal*), *The Appearance of the Vowels* explains the manner of calculating military victories astrologically. *Black Astrology* mentions "the military strategy of Drangsong Gowa Puchen and Pumé." Dakchen must have been saying that Jangchup Gyeltsen should study those texts.
6. Tai Situ is a Mongolian word meaning "tutor."
7. Khetsün Namkha Lekpa was the oldest son of Daknyi Chenpo's fourth wife.
8. A *bka' shog bcu hu* is a legal ruling or a judicial decree.

^{ai} A *té (gtad)* is a material object employed in casting a spell. The paper placed in the shoe of the thirteenth Dalai Lama was a *té*. See p. 638 below.

9. I investigated the issue of whether he was a very important Sakya leader or a senior Hor Mongolian leader. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Clear Crystal Mirror Showing what to Adopt and What to Discard*, 25-na-3, says “On the occasion of the leaders of the horses and dzo, Atula Tongchen...” It seems then that he was either a leader of the horses or of dzo.

10. He is from the lineage of Dharmapāla, through the King of Zahor. Since he was subsequently made the inner assistant of Nedong, the latter was very fortunate. The fifth Dalai Lama is descended from his line.

11. “Creating distortions” means “initiating the lawsuit.”

12. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth*, says it was nineteen days.

13. Nodding one’s head is a gesture of understanding.

14. Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, 37-ba-4, says, “Pönchen Gyelwa Zangpo induced the armies of the thirteen myriarchies to Yarlung. Situ and two contingents assembled at the Great Bridge. When it was related that a treaty was desired, Situ was seized through the deceitful methods of Sakya.”

15. Nakchen said that when someone was exiled, there was a custom of sending them mounted on an ox.

16. I.e., an official document expressing a blessing.

17. As for appointing and dismissing people, he appointed the castle hierarchs, leaders, and commanders, and he could also dismiss them. Tai Situ himself was able to do this.

18. Tuchen Drupta says that Tapön Lodrö Gyeltsen was made the last abbot of the monastery. However, Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, says, “Tishri Künga Gyeltsen was most probably the last. However, I have not seen any records.”

19. The term “Hor-like” signifies an attitude like that in the Mongolian system, where there are no legal documents to restrain behavior.

20. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth*, 80-na-5, and Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, 38-na-6, says it was 1364, whereas *Blue Annals*, 7-na-3, says 1373.

21. Gö Lotsāwa Zhönu Pel, *Blue Annals*, 43-ba-4, and Karma Tsewang Kunkhyap, *Garland of Moon Crystals*, 93-ba-7 to 161-na-5.

22. Darhen Khendrül Lozang Trinlé, *A Garland of Marvelous Jewels, A Beautiful Ornament of the Subduers, A Biography of [Lama Tsongkhapa] the Omniscient Jé Rinpoché*, 112-2.

23. Tsünpa Gyurmé Dechen, *Mirror of Jewels Illuminating All Marvels, A Biography of Chakzampa Tangtong Gyelpo*, 125-na. *Translator’s Note*: See also Cyrus Stearns, *King of the Empty Plain: Tibetan Iron-Bridge Builder Tangtong Gyalpo* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 2007).

24. Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, 41-na-6.

25. *The Festival of Marvels*.

26. Bawo Tsuklak Trengwa, *Religious History, Festival of the Learned and Karma Tsewang Kunkhyap, Garland of Moon Crystals, Jewel of the Scholars, A Biography of the Precious Lineage of the Karma Kamtsang*, 232-235.

27. Kyapjé Trijang Rinpoché said he had seen the tanka (*thang kha*) in Tsurpu Monastery and that “Most of this wonderful painting was executed by the Chinese.” I personally went to Rumtek Monastery in Sikkim to see it. When I asked for permission to see it, I was told that it was left in Tibet because it was too heavy to carry to Sikkim.

28. Taikyen is a term applied to a very powerful favorite of the emperors, a eunuch in the Chinese interior ministry. Heu khyen is a Chinese name and Dachen is a rank.

29. Darhen Khendrül Lozang Trinlé, *Biography of [Lama Tsongkhapa] the Omniscient Jé Rinpoché, A Beautiful Ornament of the Subduers, A Garland of Marvelous Jewels*, 286/18.

30. Darhen Khendrül Lozang Trinlé, *Biography of [Lama Tsongkhapa] the Omniscient Jé Rinpoché, A Beautiful Ornament of the Subduers, A Garland of Marvelous Jewels*, 298/16. *Translator's Note*: The Month of Miracles is the first month of the Tibetan lunar calendar.

31. Ganden Monastery, the primary seat of Gelukpa, had three thousand three hundred monks in two monastic colleges, Shar and Jang.

32. Ganden Drepung, the largest Gelukpa Monastery in Tibet, had seven thousand seven hundred monks in four monastic colleges, Gomang, Loseling, Dé, and the Tantric College.

33. Sera Monastery had five thousand five hundred monks in three monastic colleges, Jé, Mé, and the Tantric College.

34. Tāranātha, *Entrance for the Learned, the Religious History of Nyang* says that Künzang Pak built eighteen marvelous religious objects according to Khedrup Jé's advice. *The Excellent Wish Granting Tree*, p. 178, mentions a dispute between Khedrup and Rongtön Sheja Künrik. Thus, there was a little disharmony between the preceptor and the patron.

35. Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, Gö Lotsāwa Zhönupel, *Blue Annals*, and Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth*.

36. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth*, says, "The father and his son." Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, says, "The paternal uncle." If one extrapolates from these, one can eliminate doubt as to whether it is the father and his son.

37. Yargyapa these days has become Gendün Gangpa's monastery and is called Gyeling Tsokpa. It was once Yargyapa's estate. Situ Rinpoché Tenpé Nyinjé, *Stainless Crystal Mirror, Honestly Expressed*, 45-na-5. It is part of the Yardrok Peldi estate.

38. This man, also known as Drakpa Pel, was the chief attendant of Tselpa. Du Wensha is a Hor title.

39. Tsünpa Gyurmé Dechen, *Mirror of Jewels Illuminating All Marvels, A Biography of Chakzampa Tangtong Gyelpo*, 99-na.

40. Ngadak Yumten's descendants in succession were the owners of Elha Gyari territory.

41. Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals* also explains that he was enthroned on the seat of the lineage of Rinchen Dorjé. Since these records say this, I will follow it here.

42. He is called the one who went without a hat.

43. There had been three Drakpa Jungnés born in the Pakmo Drupa lineage. This one was the final one.

44. I have relied upon Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, and Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth*, for a great deal of what I have written about Rinpungpa.

45. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Complete Festival of Youth*, gives a detailed account of these areas. Pañchen Sönam Drakpa, *Magical Key to the Royal Lineage, the New Red Annals*, says, "Norbu Zangpo subdued many castles and estates such as the castles of Takyak." If one follows this account, they seem to be Natsé in Taklung and Nyemo Partang in Yakdé.

46. Other histories from around this time are like this account that Tsokyé Dorjé led the army in Kongpo and so forth. He was the chief attendant of Depa Japa.

47. Lhatsün Rinchen Namgyel, *Having the Objective of Seeing Marvels*.

48. *Biography of Lhatsün Rinchen Namgyel, Luminescence of the Transcendent Truth Body*.

49. *Biography of Pelden Lama Dampa Ngawang Chökyi Gyelpo, One Hundred Marvelous Lights*.

50. Drukpa Künkhyen Pema Karpo, *Drama of Great Compassion*, 89-na.

51. *The Play of Adepts*.
52. Drukpa Künkhyen Pema Karpo, *Drama of Great Compassion*, 95-na-1.
53. Jangdakpa Rikdzin Trashi Topgyel and his disciples went to unknown places like Ewam Chokgar. His son, Rikdzin Ngagi Wangpo, just built his residence at Dorjé Drak. He was the founder of Dorjé Drak Monastery.
54. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Biography of Jangpa Rikdzin Wangpo, Arrangement of Marvels*.
55. Karma Tsewang Kunkhyap, *Garland of Moon Crystals, Jewel of the Scholars, A Biography of the Precious Lineage of the Karma Kamtsang*, 117–18.
56. Khewang Könchok Lhündrup, *Great Boat for the Ocean of Buddhism, A Religious History*.
57. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Garland of Jewel*, 39-ba-1.
58. Zhapdrung Ngawang Namgyel, *Southern Preface to the Discoursing on the Sphere of the Great Cloud of Religion*, and *The Religious History of Lho, the Garland of Prayers to Mañjuśrī*.
59. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Biography of Jangpa Rikdzin Wangpo, Arrangement of Marvels*.
60. *Excellent Condensation of the Essence of Pelden Gyatso's "Biography of Bhutan's Ngawang Namgyel, Song of the Cloud of Dharma," Drop of Nectar*.
61. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, vol. 1. Peltrül Ogyen Jikmé Chökyi Wangpo, *Sun Illuminating Chronology*, 13-ba-1.

CHAPTER SIX

HOW THE DALAI LAMAS LINEAGE EMERGED TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Tsepon Shakabpa's narration of the incarnation lineage of the Dalai Lamas provides a backbone to the remainder of the text. In this chapter, he explains how the lineage emerged and provides the historical context that frames the lives of the first four Dalai Lamas, from the birth of first Dalai Lama (1391–1474) in 1391 until the death of the fourth (1589–1617) in 1617. In the process, he sketches the arc followed by the early Dalai Lamas, from a politically insignificant and essentially religious figure to a lama most notable for the fact that he had been born into the powerful Mongolian royal family. The chapter serves as an introduction to the pivotal seventh chapter in which the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) comes to be a potent political figure by calling on his Mongolian patron Gushri Khan to overcome his enemies, consolidating rule under the person of the Dalai Lama for the first time in 1642. Thus, Shakabpa sets the stage for those events here by demonstrating some of the tensions, rivalries, and grievances that animated the political developments that culminated in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The chapter opens by invoking the name of Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), the charismatic founder of the Geluk School that will eventually become a potent religious and political force under the guidance of the Dalai Lama lineage. He is mentioned in the context of being invited to teach at Trashi Dokhar by King Drakpa Gyeltsen in 1415, and Shakabpa reports that the first Dalai Lama Gendün Drupa attended those teachings and became Tsongkhapa's "primary disciple" (*slob ma'i gtso bo*). This claim is doubtful, but Shakabpa is trying to elevate the Dalai Lama's status by associating him with Tsongkhapa's unquestionable authority.^a By founding Trashi Lhünpo Monastery in Zhikatsé in 1447, the first Dalai Lama helped extend the influence of the nascent Geluk School from Ü into Tsang, a traditional stronghold of the Kagyü School.

^a Derek F. Maher, "The Dalai Lamas and State Power," *Religion Compass* 1 (2), 262–263.

Almost immediately, a rivalry began to emerge between these two schools. The Kagyü School had a long history, and it was headed by several prominent incarnations, including most notably the lineage of the Karmapa lamas. The rivalry between the schools also took on a regional dimension as the prominent patrons of the Kagyüpas included the king of Tsang, while the Gelukpa patrons were centered in Ü. Likewise, powerful family alliances, like the Rinpung and Nedong families, were aligned with the Kagyüpas and the Gelukpas respectively. Just as the Gelukpas had made inroads in Tsang by building Trashī Lhünpo Monastery, the Kagyüpas sought to establish a monastery in Lhasa with Rinpung patronage. Gelukpa monks from Sera and Drepung monasteries destroyed it in 1479, thereby fortifying the divisiveness.^b

A generation later, Tsang troops attacked Geluk-affiliated interests in 1498. As a punishment to the vanquished, the monks of Sera and Drepung monasteries were barred for twenty years from attending the Great Prayer Festival, a massive public religious observance. Gelukpa monks felt particularly aggrieved by this prohibition as the festival had been inaugurated by Tsongkhapa in 1409. In 1517, the second Dalai Lama (1475–1542) left Trashī Lhünpo for Lhasa, where he became abbot of both Drepung and Sera monasteries. He lived at Ganden Podrang, a monastic estate at Drepung Monastery that would remain a formal residence attached to the Dalai Lama lineage. When the fifth Dalai Lama eventually became a political leader, his government was named after this compound. The third Dalai Lama (1543–1588) attempted a rapprochement with the Kagyü School by entering into friendly relations with Künkhyen Padma Karpo (1527–1592) of Bhutan. However, just a few years later Rinpung forces once again attacked Ü in 1575, reigniting the conflict.

The Mongolian leader Altan Khan invited the third Dalai Lama to visit Mongolia, and his departure in 1577 marked the beginning of a prolonged absence from the troubled landscape of Central Tibet. Instead, he spent most of the remainder of his life ministering to new Gelukpa converts among the Mongolian tribes in the borderlands between Mongolia, China, and Tibet. Altan Khan was a descendant of Kublai Khan with whom Pakpa Rinpoché had established a preceptor-

^b See Georges B. J. Dreyfus, “Drepung: An Introduction,” <http://www.thdl.org/>. Accessed December 1, 2008.

patron relation in 1253,^c and he, the third Dalai Lama, and subsequent historians made much of the symbolic parallels between these pairs of figures. The Dalai Lama stood to gain a powerful patron who could help pacify obstacles in Tibet, and the khan expected to gain in prestige by tracing the paradigm of his predecessor. In addition to the religious teachings he transmitted to the royal family, he gained tremendous allegiance among these warring tribes through his caring attention to their spiritual needs over a period of more than a decade, earning enduring support among Mongolians for the Geluk School in general and the person of the Dalai Lama in particular. The third Dalai Lama also took every opportunity to establish relationships with other powerful figures in Central Asia, China, and the easternmost Tibetan lands, founding monasteries, formalizing systems of patronage, and gradually assuming a more political resonance as he negotiated peace amongst warring parties.

When he died, his incarnation was identified in a child born into the royal lineage of Genghis Khan, one of the most cunning and brilliant political maneuvers in Tibetan history. The fourth Dalai Lama (1589–1617) eventually traveled to Tibet as an adolescent in 1601. The profound devotion of the Tibetan believers and the political and military allegiance of the Mongolian armies meant that he was destined to elevate the Geluk School to new heights.

Shakabpa catalogs a series of situations in which it might have been possible for the Geluk and Kagyü schools to transcend their conflicts, but each of these opportunities was bypassed. When he was enthroned in Lhasa, the youth received a congratulatory message from Zhamar Garwang Chökyi Wangchuk (1584–1630), an important hierarch in the Kagyü School. Shakabpa blames some joking attendants for sending a response that alienated the two lineages. The fact that the Zhamarwa and Dalai Lama lineages would frequently find themselves at odds in the future is foreshadowed by this brief remark. Later, a greeting scarf offered by Zhamarwa was inscribed with an enigmatic verse that was interpreted as a slight to the Dalai Lama. Similarly, Shakabpa records another episode in which it might have been possible for an important Kagyüpa, Chöjé Trechungpa, to reconcile with the Dalai Lama, and once again, he blames short-sighted Ganden Podrang officials. Through all of this turmoil, Shakabpa represents the Dalai Lama as advocating peace and

^c See p. 218 above.

harmony between both the religious schools and the political factions. When outright warfare erupted, religious figures performed wrathful tantric practices intended to summon spiritual forces to influence the outcome of the conflict. Finally, Shakabpa indicates that an important Kagyü patron, the king of Tsang, Püntsok Namgyel, was prevented from establishing religious relations with the Dalai Lama by one of his aides. In 1616, instead, Püntsok Namgyel invited the Karmapa to teach, fortifying his connection to the Kagyü School.

The Throne Holder of Ganden,^d Gendün Gyeltsen (1532–1605/1607), decided to appoint the abbot of Trashi Lhünpo Monastery, Lozang Chögyen Gyelwang Rinpoché (1570–1662), as the Dalai Lama's teacher. This long-lived lama would also serve as the principal teacher of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), whereupon he would be declared to be the first Pañchen Lama. Thenceforth, the Dalai Lama and the Pañchen Lama lineages would run along parallel lines as the two most significant incarnations in Tibet, each acquiring complex and ever-evolving political and religious connotations as the centuries unfolded. Throughout the succeeding generations, the elder of the two figures would frequently play a mentoring role to the younger.

The Pañchen Lamas were based at Trashi Lhunpo Monastery, a significant monastery that had been founded by the first Dalai Lama Gendün Drupa (1391–1474) in Zhikatsé in Tsang. The Dalai Lama lineage came to be based in Lhasa in Ü, beginning mainly with the second Dalai Lama Gendün Gyatso (1476–1542). By the time the fifth Dalai Lama attained political power over a significant portion of Tibet in 1642,^e the two incarnation lineages would represent Geluk authority in Ü and Tsang. The increase in patronage and authority of the Geluk School through the sixteenth century was read as a threat to the more established Kagyü. At the same time, the emerging rivalry between the two schools took on the character of a regional contest, with the Kagyüpas being better positioned in Tsang and the Gelukpas being stronger in Ü.

^d The first Throne Holder of Ganden (*dga' ldan khri pa*) was Tsongkhapa, regarded as the founder of the Geluk School. As the school became more established, this position grew into being the official leader of the Gelukpas. For a full list of the Throne Holders, see Appendix Two, pp. 1134–1137.

^e The events surrounding the life of the fifth Dalai Lama will be recounted in Chapter 7 below.

CHAPTER SIX

HOW THE DALAI LAMAS LINEAGE EMERGED

We must recount, in a little detail, the biographies of the series of the protector Dalai Lamas and how they gained religious and temporal authority over all of Tibet. In order to understand this, we must return to the fifteenth century. The first incarnation of the protector Dalai Lama was born in 1391 at Shaptö or Gurmo Jawé Yül in Tsang. When he was fourteen, he became a monk before Drupa Sherap at Nartang, received the name Gendün Drupa, and took the vows of a novice monk. He was always diligent in listening to religious teachings and in thinking about them. In particular, he made great efforts in the study of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras*.

The great Lama Tsongkhapa, the glorious lord protector and founder of the precious Gelukpa School, was invited to teach at Trashī Dokhar by King Drakpa Gyeltsen in 1415. Having heard of the fame of this precious lord, Gendün Drupa went to meet him there and became his primary disciple. *The Excellence Era*, a prayer celebrating his birth, says:¹

Paṇchen Jikmé Drakpa rejoiced in his knowledge, unsurpassed by another.
Thereby, since he is appropriately called the “Omniscient One,” I supplicate Gendün Drupa who exemplifies that meaning.

Since Gendün Drupa had studied most fields of knowledge and there was nothing he did not know, Bodong Jikdrel was impressed with him in accordance with what is said in that prayer. For that reason, he called him the “omniscient one.”

Having offered to be Gendün Drupa’s patron, Dargyé Pön Pelzang presented him with Trashī Lhünpo, the great monastery in Zhikatsé, Tsang in 1447.² More than three thousand monks were assembled, and Dargyé Pön Pelzang made Gendün Drupa the abbot of Trashī Lhünpo Monastery. He was widely known as Paṇchen Gendün Drupa. From that point, whoever held the seat at Trashī Lhünpo was known by the name, “Paṇchen.”^a In 1474, he passed into nirvāṇa at the age of eighty-four³ at Labrang Gyeltsen Tönpo.

^a The first syllable of the name Paṇchen is derived from the Sanskrit word Paṇḍita, which means scholar. The second syllable is the Tibetan word “chen,” which means great. Hence, the term means “great scholar.”

The second incarnation of the Dalai Lama, Gendün Gyatso, was born at Tanak Sekmi, Tsang in 1475. Having been recognized as the incarnation of the omniscient Gendün Drupa, he was taken to Trashī Lhünpo Monastery. Since the sovereign of Rinpong Dönyö Dorjé held power, Karmapa Chödrak Gyatso hoped to establish a group of monks at Lhasa's Tsuklakhang as a consequence of his relationship with the former. However, the Depa of Neu balked at this plan, and so in 1479, construction of a new Karmapa Monastery was begun at Sanakma above Lhasa.^b As a result, monks from Sera and Drepung monasteries raised a force, and in a single day they destroyed the monastery under construction. This resulted in some very unfortunate situations, such as the fact that although Karmapa Chödrak Gyatso was teaching and had a retinue of students, they were compelled to escape to Lhasa's Tsuklakhang. Although Japa Tripön, Kongpo Karsi, Sakyong Dönyö Dorjé, Jakmowa Özer, and others then asked if they could bring an army against the [the Dalai Lama's] Gelukpas, Karmapa Chödrak Gyatso would not hear of it, saying they must only act peacefully.⁴

In 1495, the victorious Gendün Gyatso went to Drepung Monastery to receive full ordination from Nenying Rinpoché.

During that year, it was reported that Nangtsé Khuwön was killed in Kyishö (Lhasa). On this pretext, a large force of Tsang troops marched on Lhasa in 1498. Taklungpa, Ölgawa, and the Karmapa arranged a

^b Since this Kagyü Monastery was constructed at the heart of what the Gelukpas perceived as their core territory, it inflamed underlying animosities. Georges B. J. Dreyfus, "Drepung: An Introduction," <http://www.thdl.org/>, describes how these events altered the course the Geluk School in significant ways:

In 1479, the Ringpung established a Kagyü monastery in Yangbachén, near Lhasa. Geluk monks, particularly those from Drepung, the leading monastery of the tradition, saw this as a provocation, an encroachment on their zone of influence and attacked the monastery. The Ringpung forces retaliated and eventually occupied Lhasa in 1498. In a deliberately provocative act, they forbid the monks from Drepung and Sera to attend the Great Prayer Festival whose oversight had been their privilege since the early days of the festival. These difficult events brought considerable changes to Drepung and the Geluk tradition in general. In particular, it transformed the nature of monastic leadership and the transmission of authority, as is evident in the changes of the nature of the abbotship at Drepung. Whereas the first nine abbots were ordinary monks who had reached their position through their qualities of scholar and practitioner, the tenth abbot is none other than Gendün Gyatso, the retrospective Second Dalai Lama (Talé Lama Kutreng Nyipa). Henceforth, Drepung's fate is going to be associated with this charismatic figure and his reincarnated successors. This marks a dramatic shift in the transmission of authority within the Geluk tradition and Tibetan Buddhism in general, obviously a reflection of the troubled times. Henceforth, reincarnated lamas (*triülku*) will take precedence over others as leaders of the tradition.

settlement, whereby Nelpa Sakyong Ngawang Lhünpo and his relatives were forced into exile in Kyormo Lung. Rinpung Sakyong Dönyö Dorjé took possession of the entirety of Neu and so forth. Although no harm came to the estates of Sera and Drepung monasteries, the monks of Sera and Drepung monasteries were not permitted to go to the Great Prayer Festival for twenty years—from that year until 1518. The situation became as fluid as quicksilver.

In 1509, the victorious Gendün Gyatso founded the Chökhör Gyel Metok Tang Monastery about ninety miles to the southeast of Lhasa. About five miles to the northeast of that monastery, in the Yatró Mountains, there is a divine lake in which the course of future events is clearly displayed.

While the omniscient Gendün Gyatso held the seat at Trashī Lhünpo, he was invited again and again by Pön Sami Wangpo,⁵ the Lha Gyariwa patron from Shelnga, and by Drepung Monastery in general. As a result, in 1517, he appointed a deputy at Trashī Lhünpo and went on to Ü. There he was enthroned on the Snow Lion Throne of Jamyang Chöjé^c at glorious Drepung Monastery.⁶ Subsequently, he also became the abbot of Sera Tekchenling Monastery. So that he would have a residence at Drepung, Ganden Podrang was renovated.⁷ Later, when the great fifth Dalai Lama took control over all the religious and political affairs throughout Tibet, the name of that residence was applied to the government. Thus, it was called Namkö Zhungsa Ganden Podrang.

Through 1516, the authority of Rinpung was gradually declining, and the Gelukpa monks from Sera and Drepung monasteries wished to attend the Great Prayer Festival. They were permitted to do so beginning in 1518. Each year, the Dalai Lama sat at the head of the assembly, but because of the tensions among the religious schools, there were ongoing conflicts. In 1537, when the omniscient one was staying at Chökhör Gyel, Drigungpas launched an assault of Ölkha. Since Dzingchi Monastery was lost, eighteen Gelukpa monasteries were snatched by the Drigungpas, including Öna.⁸ At the age of sixty-five in 1542, the omniscient Gendün Gyatso passed away at Drepung Ganden Podrang.

The third incarnation of the protector Dalai Lama, Sönam Gyatso, was born in 1543 at Karpo Tsekha Khangsar Gong in Tölungda near

^c Jamyang Chöjé (1379–1449), a direct disciple of Tsongkhapa, founded Drepung in 1416.

Lhasa.⁹ The responsibility of identifying the incarnation was delegated to the attendant Sungrap Gyatso and Panchen Sönam Drakpa, along with Zhapdrung Dungyu Rinpoché and Miwangpo Sönam Drakpa Gyeltsen and so forth from Kyormo Lung Monastery. After being recognized as the Dalai Lama, the child was installed at his residence. One night in 1546 when a Flower Offering Ceremony was being performed at Tselgung Tang, a fire broke out in the Tsuklakhang. Thus, many things were utterly consumed, including the representations of Buddha's Body, Speech, and Mind. In addition, the Taklung Tsuklakhang also caught on fire, causing extensive damage.¹⁰

Around that same time, the name Tsangtö Depa began to be heard a little. In 1553, Döndrup Gyelpo from Nangso Ganden sent his troops to Kyormo Lung. A very serious civil conflict erupted. For this reason, the Great Prayer Festival in Lhasa and the Flower Offering Ceremony in Gungtang had to be postponed.

Sönam Gyatso was an excellent student and was very intelligent. He mediated disputes between different parties, issued legal judgments, and performed other duties. When more civil strife arose because of a disagreement between Nedongpa and Chonggyé Nangso in Yarlung in 1556, the Dalai Lama went to mediate between them and peace was restored. In general, everyone felt gratified with him.

In 1559, Ngagi Wangchuk Trashi Drakpa Gyeltsen, the great leader of Nedong, Lord of the Earth, conferred the title of Kending Tai Gushri Honghang on the omniscient Sönam Gyatso and decreed that he was permitted to use a red seal. He also invited the Dalai Lama to Nedong. Accordingly, when the Dalai Lama went to the great palace of Nedongtsé, the former came out to meet him in the presence of the curious, according him all the honors suitable to the great lama of a governor. The Dalai Lama gave him extensive teachings and conferred empowerments on him, such as the long life empowerment of the seven-eyed White Tāra. The next year, when the Dalai Lama was staying in Chökhör Gyel, a conflict erupted within the Nedong governor's cabinet. In order to mediate an agreement, the Dalai Lama went to Yarlung. However, the ministers would not listen, and although the Dalai Lama gave extensive advice to the officials, no agreement was reached. They merely agreed that they would put a halt to their fighting.¹¹

Further dissension among the governor's advisors arose in Kyishö, and Ganden Tri Rinpoché Gelek Pelzang, Drigung, Taklung, Pakmowa, Ölkhawa, Tölung Dechenpa, and others attempted to reach a settlement.

However, since an agreement was not achieved, the conqueror Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso was urged to come to Kyishö from Gyel. While staying at Denpak Rinchen Gang, he established prohibitions on the mediators so that they would not take sides with the factions in coming to an agreement and the factions would not violate the agreement. These possibilities were avoided by having all parties swear oaths to the protector deities. Both sides put these orders into practice. At last, a resolution was reached, and the armies withdrew.

In 1562, a severe downpour threatened Lhasa, the magnificent sphere of religion. Thus, a new dam was built, and in subsequent years, it became a custom that the monks attending the Great Prayer Festival in Lhasa would carry stones to fortify the Jowo Dam.

In 1569, the Dalai Lama went to the great seat of Trashi Lhünpo where he gave extensive religious teachings to monks and lay people. He put officials to work at Labrang Gyeltsen Tönpo, gave them detailed instructions on what they should do, and appointed Nenyinpa Chökyi Gyeltsen to the throne of that monastery. He also visited pilgrimage sites such as Shang, Tanak, Zap Pulung, Nartang, Jangchen, Tro Pulung, Sakya, Khau Kyelhé, Zhalu, and Gyantsé. At Gyeljä Tsel in Drongtsé, the Dalai Lama met with Künkhyen Padma Karpo of Bhutan; out of respect, they prostrated to one another simultaneously. The fifth Dalai Lama's biography of the third Dalai Lama describes this meeting:¹²

The Kagyü Lama, Trülku Ngawang Norbu,^d was untouched by any pretensions of being a great yogi. The two masters engaged in a detailed discussion of religious and political matters. Thereafter, the Gelukpas and the Drukpa Kagyüpas maintained good relations... This Drukpa Kagyü incarnate lama was not only adept in such matters as the old and new secret tantras and the conventional knowledge of the sūtras, he was also able to discriminate between what was necessary and what was unnecessary, he was always resolute, and he could distinguish between friends and enemies within the world.

Künkhyen Pema Karpo's autobiography says:¹³

The precious incarnation (Sönam Gyatso) went from Drepung to Trashi Lhünpo, but since the Sakya and Kagyü Schools were so spread out, he was unable to conduct much important business with them.¹⁴ Based on his survey of people in the area who were obstructing all Buddhist tenets,

^d Ngawang Norbu is another name for Padma Karpo (1527–1592).

the Dalai Lama considered some people at Nyangtö in Gerdu to be harmful. Previously, relations with them had been all but non-existent. When I was able to obtain a meeting for him with the monks of Nyangtö, the Dalai Lama made some friends among them. In particular, when he went to Drongtsé Gyelje Tsel in Panam, he was given a very large and special reception, including having people come out to greet him.

Although he was received [by others], I myself went to greet him in person. Since he appears as the supreme jewel of the Yellow Hat school of Gedenpa (i.e., Gelukpa), I went out to meet him in front of the temple. As evidence of our mutual respect, I regarded this incarnation as cordial, and he saw me as a good geshé. From a great distance, he removed his hat. It seems that he respected me. Since I reciprocated immediately, without hesitation, it was quite wonderful... There was an uncommon closeness between us, as is evidenced by such occurrences as our having sat together on the same couch.

Later, that biography praises and refers to him enthusiastically because of his wisdom in not making distinctions among different schools. Many other histories explain that before important figures meet for the first time, they would dispute about whose rank is more important and thereby deserving of respect. Since that appears in many biographies, it must have been an established custom for important rulers who were intoxicated by pride in their worldly authority. But this is not seen in the biographies of superior beings.

Having raised an army of nearly ten thousand Tsangrong people in 1575, the chief of Rinpung attacked Tölung Gelpo Nakha, destroyed Gelpa, Jang, and Mönga, eventually reaching Kyishö. He tried to gain a victory over Tsangchen Dönyö Dorjé, but the latter's uncle, Künzang Tsepa, who was in his service, performed a tantric ritual. Consequently, lightning, thunder, and a great storm were brought down on Rinpung's camp. He said, "Although I can defeat men, I cannot defeat gods," and so he turned back.

Dzogé Aseng Lama told the Mongolian Halha or Chahar¹⁵ Alten Khan about the life story of the conqueror Sönam Gyatso, due to which the khan developed faith in the Dalai Lama. Thereby, the latter was invited to Mongolia, and he eventually promised to go. In the interim, however, the Dalai Lama delegated the excellent Dülwa Lama Tsöndrü to be Alten Khan's religious teacher until he would be able to go himself. Again, Alten Khan sent a letter to the Dalai Lama, saying that if he would come to Mongolia, the khan himself would come to meet him at Tsongön Lake. The invitation was brought by a large delegation.

On the twenty-sixth day of the eleventh month of 1577, the Dalai Lama rode out of Drepung and also made a pilgrimage to the great seat

at Ganden and Radreng. Ganden Tri Rinpoché, the important teachers of the different monasteries of Ü, the deputies of Gongkar Palace, and the different great and powerful people of Tibet gathered at Radreng to see the Dalai Lama off. Thereafter, when he had mounted his horse, Sakyong Trashai Rapten¹⁶ took hold of his stirrup, and recited two lines of poetry:

You, lotus-footed lama, who are the splendor of Buddha's teachings,
May you be embraced by all Buddhists on the earth!

Because he was shedding tears, he stopped and became unable to speak. Thus, the Dalai Lama recited these lines:

You, the patron of Buddhism, may your authority increase!
May the good fortune of Buddhism endure for a long time!

Since these poems were composed in a single moment by the preceptor and patron, their profound meanings are renowned to have great blessings.

Thereafter, the Dalai Lama progressed through many nomadic communities of the northern tribes, across large rivers such as the Drichu and the Machu, and through the unpopulated steppes of the Jangtang. Near Machen Pomra, he was received by Alten Khan's initial reception party, consisting of Yongsha Buwa Ku Taiji, Khaten Batur, Mazin Pakši of Tumé, and about eight hundred cavalry. When they reached Arik Karpö Tang, a second reception party arrived, consisting of Sechen Hong Taiji of the Urdu royal family, Dayen Noyön of the Tumé royal family, and about three thousand cavalry. Over a period of three days, the third reception party arrived, consisting of Joriktu Taiji, Ching Batur, and so forth together with three hundred cavalry. Chöjé Tsöndrü Zangpo who had previously been sent from Gyelpö Gam, Lotsāwa Gushri Pakši, and others came out to meet him together with about five hundred cavalry.

On the fifteenth day of the fifth month of 1578, the region was transformed from a realm of conflict. Alten Khan alone wore white garments as a sign that the teachings of the Dalai Lama would transform a place of darkness on the outskirts into a place of purity. The queen arrived together with ten thousand attendants and was welcomed by the faithful. The preceptor and the patron met for the first time. Alten Khan presented the lama with numerous gifts, and the preceptor and the patron proceeded as a pair, like the sun and the moon, into the middle of an assembled crowd of perhaps one hundred thousand people. Hong Taiji made a speech, which was translated by Gushri Pakši:¹⁷

Since the Chahar people are descended from a race that comes from the sky, we are very powerful. China, Tibet, and Hor have been subdued with our ferocity. Having developed a preceptor-patron relationship with the Sakyapas, Buddhism was propagated [in Mongolia]. But once again, the Yemur king terminated the practice of Buddhism. We gained our enjoyment from sinful activities and the consumption of just flesh and blood, as if in a lake of dark red blood. The path of the supreme religion was revealed through the kindness of the sun and the moon, the preceptor and patron. The lake of blood is transformed into milk through their great kindness.

Thus, all of the Chinese, Tibetan, Hor, and Mongolian people who live in this area also must abide by the ten moral precepts. From this day, particularly in the Chakar area of Mongolia, new religious principles are to be followed. The custom of killing someone in retaliation for the death of a Mongolian is to be completely discontinued. If a person is killed in that way as in the past, then the murderer is to be judicially executed. If horses and cattle are sacrificed, then all of the sacrificer's wealth is to be legally seized. If anyone follows the practice of beating lamas and monks wearing monastic clothes and so forth, then their camp is to be dispersed.

Formerly, there was a ritual known as ongkō in which images were made for all dead people, they were given names, and the blood of sacrificed horses and cattle was offered to them on the days of the full moon, the new moon, and on the eighth day of the month. A great many other types of strong and weak sorts of animals were sacrificed during the year. From this point on, the images shall be burned and the annual and monthly sacrifices shall be completely discontinued. If anyone engages in such practices, then the legal punishment shall be that ten times more than what they spent in horses and in wealth shall be taken from them. Once their ongkō images have been burned, their households shall be dispersed. A statue of the six-armed wisdom protector is to replace the ongkō images. Also with respect to that, except for the rite of the three purities,^e meat and blood offerings shall be completely discontinued.

Moreover, all people shall strive to live virtuously, and they shall observe a fast on the days of the full moon, the new moon, and on the eighth day of the month. There shall be no unprovoked attacks in all of China, Tibet, and Mongolia. In brief, as things are done in Ü Tsang in Tibet, so they should be done in this country.

Many laws were promulgated.

^e The three white or pure offerings are sugar, butter, and barley. They are almost literally white, but figuratively, they are white or pure because they do not involve killing.

The Dalai Lama gave the transmission of Avalokiteśvara's mantra^f of great compassion. His teachings were translated into Mongolian so that everyone would understand them. People everywhere strove to recite the six syllables of that mantra. Thereafter, the site where the preceptor and patron met was sanctified so that a large temple could be constructed there. Many Chinese and Tibetan artisans were summoned and the large temple and a palace were constructed in one compound. It was called Tekchen Chökhörling.¹⁸ From that point, all Mongolians burned their ongkō images.¹⁹

In the midst of a gathering of many races of people, Alten Khan presented the omniscient Dalai Lama with a seal fashioned from one hundred ounces of gold and embossed with five dragon's talons and the words, "Dorjé Chang Dalai Lama Gyel" written in Mongolian. In addition, he gave him suitable clothing adorned with pearls as a sign of his status and so forth. He offered praises of the teacher of the essential knowledge as an inconceivable type of jewel, the all-pervading lord Dorjé Chang, by calling him "Dalai Lama Vajradhāra." The Dalai Lama in turn conferred the title, "Chökyi Gyelpo (i.e., Religious King), Brahmā of the Gods," on Alten Khan.

Ever since that time, all of the incarnations of the supreme conqueror have been renowned throughout the three worlds as the Dalai Lama.²⁰ "Dalai" is a Mongolian word which means "great ocean," and the significance of this appellation is that his exalted wisdom and his renown is praised as being as thoroughly pervasive as the extent of the great land of the world, like the ocean which is without boundary or limits. Subsequently, at the time of the great thirteenth incarnation, he was also called by the title "Gyatso Lama" (Ocean Lama) again and again in different official proclamations and letters.

Thereafter, many hundreds of Mongolians, including three people from the royal family, became monks. During the winter, the Urdu king, Windu, invited the Dalai Lama. He founded a monastery there called Püntsok Shenpen.²¹ Messengers came from the Chinese Emperor Hong-kyi-tul (*hong khyi thul*)^g bearing a letter of homage. A ruler called Genju Dutang,²² who held power over thirteen provinces, also invited the Dalai Lama. He gave teaching at such places as the location where a magical

^f The six-syllable mantra of the Bodhisattva of Compassion, Avalokiteśvara is "Om ma ñi pad mé hung." For a discussion of its meaning, see Fourteenth Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso, *Kindness, Clarity, and Insight* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1984), 116–117.

^g The Ming Emperor on the throne at that time was Wanli (ruled 1572–1620).

emanation of Sakya Paṇḍita had appeared and at Matisi. The ruler of that region together with ten thousand soldiers came out to receive him and escorted him to the Kyidé Puk Palace. The Dalai Lama gave the tantric empowerment of Avalokiteśvara to a crowd of people, which was translated into the Chinese, Uighur, and Mongolian languages. Many hundreds of Chinese and Mongolian people became monks. Thereafter, he returned again to Tekchen Chökhörling Monastery.

Previously, Helha (Chahar) Mongolians had done great damage to the region within the Great Wall of China.²³ The Dalai Lama established religious relations with the Mongolians. Ever since then, the Chinese have had the Dalai Lama as their peerless protector and thus were no longer afraid of the Mongolian raids.

In 1579, a disturbance erupted between the Urdu and the Orö Mongolians, but the Dalai Lama counseled them and thus restored happiness and prosperity.

During the Dalai Lama's stay in Mongolia, Labrang Ganden Podrang at Drepung, which had been in disrepair, was enlarged. Previously, the second Dalai Lama, Gendün Gyatso, had lived there, and it had been a part of Depa Neu's estate Dokhang Ngomo. Kündün Rinpoché Chösang Trinlé was the overseer, and Sakyong Trashī Raptan gave advice. Ganden Podrang was refurbished by the efforts of indentured servants.

Alten Khan invited the Dalai Lama to come to Helha in Mongolia. However, he was already committed to going to Dotö (Kham) to establish a monastery at Litang. Thus, he promised that if he could accomplish that and if nothing urgent arose that would take him back to Ü-Tsang, he would also travel to Mongolia. The patron Alten Khan and the preceptor the Dalai Lama conferred and decided that in order to maintain good relations between Tibet and Mongolia, ambassadors should be appointed. The leader, Kholo Cheching Bātur, and his entourage from Mongolia were established at Tsongön Lake, and Deputy Tongkhor Yönten Gyatso from Tibet was appointed and sent to Mongolia for a while.

In the eighth month, messengers arrived from the Chinese Emperor Wanyi²⁴ with an invitation that greatly venerated the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama was praised for fulfilling each of the religious needs of the people near the forty great lakes in Mongolia and the royal family of Genju Dutang. The Dalai Lama, in turn, was invited to the great palace. The custom was initiated that religious tribute, which would be paid in horses, should be offered to the Dalai Lama in Gongkar from the Mongolians at Tsongön Lake. Thereafter, the great encampment of the

Dalai Lama headed in the direction of Dotö (Kham), and Alten Khan and his attendants returned again to their home.²⁵

In 1580, the Dalai Lama moved to Litang. Jangsa Tam Gyelpo was given the responsibility of assembling the indentured servants, carpenters, and other workers to construct the monastery. Ü Tsang masons, carpenters, and artisans who worked with iron, copper, gold, and silver were summoned. Craftsmen who sculpted images arrived safely from Nepal. On the twelfth day of the fourth month, workshops were established for creating the images and the residence of the temple. The main image, fashioned from gold and copper, was of Tupchen Khamsum Zilnön^h and measured sixty-four hand spans in height. The name of the monastery was Tupten Jamchen Chok Tamjé Lé Nampar Gyelwé Dé. The Dalai Lama received an urgent invitation from the Gowo leader, and so he sent a message to Kükýé Rinpoché Sönam Yeshe Wangpo asking him to take over the guardianship of the monastery of Litang. Having made these arrangements, the Dalai Lama left during the eleventh month.

In 1581, on the day the Dalai Lama had arrived in Chamdo by way of Markham and Drakyap, Jedrung Chökyi Gyeltsen, the important lamas of Tokdrang Monastery, and many nobles came out to receive him, whereupon they proceeded to Chamdo Jampaling. Having ascended the throne of Jangsem Chöjé at Chamdo Jampaling Monastery, the Dalai Lama gave extensive teachings to all the monks and lay people. Thereafter, in accordance with the invitation from Chöjé Lungrikpa, the Dalai Lama proceeded to Den Chökhör Monastery. While he was staying there, Alten Khan's son, During Gyelpo,²⁶ sent a message to the Dalai Lama, asking for his blessing as Alten Khan had died. The khan's last request was for the Dalai Lama to come to Mongolia, and many messengers arrived from the royal family. Accordingly, the Dalai Lama rode off to the Tsongön Lake region once again.

At the end of the New Year's ceremonies of 1583, the Dalai Lama went to Kumbum, the birthplace of the conqueror Tsongkhapa. He founded a new scholastic monastery there. Thereafter, journeying by stages, he went to the Dzomo Castle where Jamchen Chöjé lived. In 1584, he pilgrimaged to Jampa Bumter, and crossing the Machu River, he went to Shingkün. In the Tsongkha region, he mediated a peaceful

^h "The Great Subduer, Suppressor of the Three Worlds," is an appellation of Buddha.

resolution to a significant conflict that was occurring between the Chinese and the Hor.

Thereafter, he proceeded across the great desert that has no water, whereupon Dayen Noyön and a thousand cavalry arrived to greet him. He went on to the province of the Urdu leader whose name was Sechen Hong Taiji. He founded a monastery there, and a thousand people became monks. When he went to Sechen Taiji's province in 1585, he established the monastery Püntsok Dargyeling. Junang Gyelpo, the lord of the forty Mongolian lakes came to greet him and invited him to come to his region.

In 1586, Alten Khan's son, Düring Khan arrived to invite the Dalai Lama, and accordingly, he rode off with him. Having crossed the Machu River, he gradually proceeded to Alten Khan's capital, known as the Blue Castle, where a very large number of Tibetan nomads were encamped. He consecrated holy sites, such as the silver image of Buddha which had been erected by Alten Khan, and he gave the empowerments of Hevajra Tantra and the five deities of Cakrasaṃvara Tantra to Düring Khan and others. The remains of Alten Khan were offered into the cremation fire, and the Dalai Lama offered prayers and constructed a stūpa fashioned from silver for the benefit of the khan's next life.

In 1587, the Dalai Lama arrived in Yeru, and a prayer festival was held. He stayed on for a bit more than a year at the offering place of Düring Khan. But Düring Khan died suddenly, and the Dalai Lama went to all of the monasteries for prayers. The Dalai Lama himself was feeling a little ill. When this news was heard in Ü Tsang, an assembly of the faithful there appealed to him that he must return to his own country. Karachin Gyelpo arrived with these messages. Accordingly, just as the Buddha went to Kusinārā to die, so the Dalai Lama rode off in the direction of Karachin, coming finally to the ruins of Shangto, a palace from the time of Genghis Khan. He gave religious teachings to the king and many ministers. After celebrating the New Year of 1588 and holding a prayer festival, he indicated that he was a little ill towards the end of the first month. Messengers from the Chinese emperor arrived with a great number of offerings and an invitation to come to his palace. The Dalai Lama considered the situation, and again he resolved to go. In the third month, he became seriously ill and dictated his final words to his attendants. On the twenty-seventh day of the third month, he passed into nirvāṇa. His body was cremated there, and his remains were taken by his attendants, Changdzö Gushri Pelden Gyatso, Gyalé Kündün Rinpoché Chözung Trinlé,²⁷ and others to the great and glorious Ganden Monastery.²⁸

As for the fourth incarnation of the supreme conqueror, Yönten Gyatso, attendants such as Changdzö Gushri Pelden Gyatso went to many areas where he might be found. They listened to reports, consulted the Lamo Tsangpa Oracle, and so forth. The indications agreed that the reincarnation had taken birth in Mongolia itself. In particular, a letter was sent from Mongolia to the previous Dalai Lama's cook, Tsültrim Gyatso on the fifteenth day of the tenth month of 1589. It said:²⁹

In regards to the reincarnation of the supreme lama, the birth of a boy to the younger wife of a Sechen Chökhur on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month of the previous year was accompanied by favorable signs and conditions. The father has kept these matters a secret even from his own household. When I beheld him, although it was not evident to others, it was certain for me that he was different from other young boys, despite being only ten months old. Still, the child clearly spoke out, saying that it was necessary that deities and lamas should be consulted through divination, scriptures, and so forth. Now such consultations indicate a positive conclusion. The father, Tumé Taiji, is a descendent of Genghis Khan and a nephew of Alten Khan. The mother is a noble-woman of the Taiji family. He was born on the first day of the first month of 1589.

About a year later, the cook, Tsültrim Gyatso, and Nangso Kajuwa went to examine the child and it became completely clear that Yönten Gyatso should be recognized as the fourth Dalai Lama. As a result, when he turned two years of age, his Mongolian patron and the leaders invited him to come to the Blue Castle. Also, when the Tibetans had eliminated all doubts, all the great and powerful held a celebration. Officials such as the ritual officiant Rinpoché Künzang Tsepa, Tsültrim Gyatso, who was both the secretary-servant and the treasurer, and several others traveled from Tibet to take up permanent residence. Although a series of invitations had been sent from Tibet, the father and mother continually found ways to delay their departure due to their great love for their son.

In 1592, a variety of people went to Mongolia in order to receive the supreme incarnation Dalai Lama Rinpoché, including Changdzö Gushri Pelden Gyatso and his entourage from Ganden Podrang, King Wangchuk Mipam Wangyur Gyelpo from Nedong, deputies from Lhasik Ngawang Sönam Drakpa Gyeltsen from Podrang Gongri Karpo, and so forth, as well as the chiefs and patrons from Ü Tsang and representatives of the monasteries. At that time, the former Ganden Tri Rinpoché Gyelkhang Tsepa Peljor Gyatso sent a letter in which he gave the young Dalai Lama the name the "Omniscient Yönten Gyatso". This delegation gradually made their way to the Blue Castle.

Since the father and mother had such great love for their son, they could not bear to have the incarnation go to Tibet, so they continued to delay matters. He stayed in Mongolia until he had reached the age of fourteen, but at that time, all the monks and lay people, the people of high or low station, all of them separately appealed to the Mongolians to permit the Dalai Lama to travel quickly to Tibet. In particular, Lhasik Kagyü Namgyel sent an appeal in the form of a poem of thirty-three verses. In essence, it said:

This Lhasik is a sage of the Lang clan.
 In former times, I was harmed by the effects of a powerful illness for a long time
 And made attempts to see the other world.
 Yet, the essence of the compassion of the three non-deceptive excellencies
 Have become the basis of my life and the vital force of my body.
 These days, I am radiant with health.
 I continue to live because I am sitting upright,
 Meditating on the exalted status of the conqueror, possessed of both religious and political wisdom.
 Oh! With whole-hearted altruism, the harmonious minds of the elders
 Have shunned insincerity from the beginning and with great emphasis.
 Again and again, we have discussed this.
 The wondrous smiling waves on the great ocean of meritⁱ of all Tibetans
 Are everlasting.
 The ocean of good qualities^j is a blossoming of virtues.
 I wonder whether I will see him directly in the future.
 Alas! Since this is a time of decline in the degenerate era,
 Even the moon-like light of the Buddha's teaching waxes and wanes.
 A long time has passed since the good-hearted doctrine has been covered over by darkness.
 Therefore, hasn't the time come for you to rise from the mountain's summit in the east,
 Engaging in the inconceivable deeds of a conqueror,
 Whose compassion is like the rays of the sun,
 When the sun is completely full?
 I will never be satisfied by looking at you
 With the long braids of your hair as black as a bee, twirled to the right.
 An ordinary lama would not be suitable
 To cut your hair and receive you as a monk.

ⁱ This is a pun on the name of the third Dalai Lama, Sönam Gyatso. Sönam means virtuous merit and Gyatso means ocean.

^j This is a pun on the name of the fourth Dalai Lama, Yönten Gyatso. Yönten means good qualities.

Being born of the highest status upon a mountain,
 With the unflagging fortitude of a hero,
 You are as youthful and dynamic as a mighty lion.
 Why should you follow after ordinary beasts?
 There is a sign that the hundred rays of benefit and happiness
 Will gradually but surely be radiated in the four directions.
 The white dawn, which is at the beginning of the good path,
 Will completely eliminate the darkness of suffering.
 Please become a monk and come here,
 To this temple where apparitions are displayed,
 To Ü Tsang, the purified land that has been cleansed hundreds of
 times,
 By the river current of words of Indian and Tibetan scholars.
 Take the place of your previous incarnation
 On the fearless Snow Lion Throne,
 And ceaselessly turn the wheel of dharma through a hundred eons.
 Please arrange this array of profound conditions.

Having offered this glorious and melodious letter, Lhasik Kagyü Namgyel repeatedly supplicated the family. Once more the king and the mother devised means of delaying the departure of the Dalai Lama in many ways. Undaunted, Changdzö Gushri Pelden Gyatso is said to have changed their minds by the compassion of many magical emanations, and in 1599, when it became possible to bring the Dalai Lama towards Ü Tsang, the party was accompanied by a very large escort of Mongolians. After ten days, both of the incarnation's parents were also able to come, and they followed after the escort.

Traveling gradually by way of Tsongön Lake, the party finally reached Radreng in the first month of 1601. A reception party consisting of the religious teachers and officials from the monasteries such as the former Ganden Tri, Sangyé Rinchen, Kündün Rinpoché Chösang Trinlé from Ganden Podrang, Gandenpa King Miwang Yülgyel Norbu, and the latter's son came out to receive him. At Penpo, he was received by Ganden Tri Rinpoché Gendün Gyeltsen. Initially, the Dalai Lama went to the great monastery of Ganden. Thereafter, he pilgrimaged to the Lhasa Tsuklakhang. He stayed at Ganden Khangsar, the estate of Sakyong Ganden Taktsepa. The following day, he was established on the golden throne of the great and glorious Drepung Monastery at Ganden Podrang where an array of monks from Sera, Drepung, Ga, Kyo, and Zöl³⁰ monasteries filed past him bearing offerings. Subsequently, in the presence of the statue of Jowo Śākyamuni in the magical Tsuklakhang in Lhasa, Yönten Gyatso took the novice vows, becoming a monk, with the former Ganden Tri Sangyé Rinchen serving as abbot.

At that time, the omniscient Zhamar Garwang Chökyi Wangchuk sent a message of congratulations in verse. It had a positive tone to it and discussed how the Dalai Lama would have to listen hard and think well about the five inner and outer sciences including sūtra and tantra.³¹ Although the response to that message should have been consistent with its tone, in a joke contrived by the previous Dalai Lama's nephew, Chöjé and Zhukhang Rapjampa Gelek Lhündrup are known to have made a reply which served their own secret purposes without being related to the positive message from Zhamarwa.

The fifteenth hierarch of Trashi Lhünpo, Pönlop Lozang Chögyen Gyelwang Rinpoché³² went to Ü to offer his salutations. At that time, Ganden Tri Rinpoché Gendün Gyeltsen proposed that he become the Dalai Lama's teacher. Accordingly, the supreme conqueror heard a great deal of religious instruction on sūtra and tantra in the presence of Pönlop Lozang Chögyen. As has been explained in detail above, all of the hierarchs of Trashi Lhünpo Monastery were called Pañchen.^k Accordingly, Lozang Chögyen came to be known as Pañchen Rinpoché,³³ when he ascended to the throne of that monastery. In addition, he gained great acclaim upon being appointed as the primary teacher of the Dalai Lama. Thereafter, the name Pañchen Rinpoché was always only been given to the reincarnations of that particular lama.

In 1604, the Dalai Lama went on a pilgrimage to Meldro, Dzingchi, and so forth, and then went to Gyel Metok Tang Monastery, where he toured and then gave extensive religious teachings. On the advice of the supreme protector Dalai Lama, Ön Gyelsé Dönyö Chökyi Gyatso founded Gönlung Monastery in the Domé Amdo region. In 1606, while on a pilgrimage to holy sites in Yarlung, the Dalai Lama received an invitation from Gongma Lhasik Mipam Wangyur Gyelpo. Accordingly, since he stayed at the Nedongtsé Palace of the imperial government of Tibet, Land of the Wooden Doors, he took this opportunity to hold extensive discussions with Zhangkha Jampel Dorjé the paṇḍita of Drakpa Dönden and Kharnak Lotsāwa Chödzé Peljor Gyatso. He established religious relations with Lhasik by conferring upon him the Mahākāla long-life empowerment and other teachings. The most vital regional chiefs at that time were considered to be Chongyepa, Yargyapa, Gyariwa, Lhünpo Tsepa, Japawa, Kurapa, Gyelchenlingpa, Kyishö, among others.

^k See p. 293.

Because of the appeals of the Tsang patrons and the arrival of such people as Shartsé Lopön Dradül bearing invitations from Trashī Lhünpo Monastery, the Dalai Lama left his home at Drepung and traveled north to Garnyuk. From Öyuk, he sent the bulk of his retinue ahead by a route to the south of the Tsang River. Meanwhile, he made a pilgrimage to Zap Pulung, Shang Riwo Gepel, and so forth, with all of the remaining attendants. When he arrived in Trashī Lhünpo Monastery on the first day of the sixth month of 1607, the glorious and good Paṇchen Lozang Chögyen came out to greet the Dalai Lama amidst a grand celebration. The Dalai Lama proceeded to the great monastic school of Trashī Lhünpo accompanied by a procession of more than three thousand monks. The Dalai Lama presented a hundred different gifts to Paṇchen Rinpoché, his teacher. During the more than two and a half months of the Dalai Lama's stay at Trashī Lhünpo, he heard many religious discourses.³⁴

Before that, while Pönsa Yargyapma, the mother of the Tsang governor's son, Püntsok Namgyel, was on the way to Drepung Monastery on a pilgrimage, she visited the Jowo statue and met with relatives. At the same time, she heard religious teachings from the Dalai Lama. Since her life soon came to an end, she was unable to invite the Dalai Lama to her district. Yet she provided whatever useful requisites she could, such as tea, food, and fuel. Despite that, it is said that people such as Depa Karma Tensung Wangpo, through their sectarian prejudice, engaged in behavior that was disrespectful toward the Dalai Lama.³⁵

The Dalai Lama then toured sites in the province and made offerings to the monks. Thereafter, he undertook a pilgrimage to holy places, such as Gangjen Chöpel, Tropu, and Lhünpotsé. Traveling across Ü on horseback, the Dalai Lama pilgrimaged to Pelkhor Chödé, Nenying, and other such places on the way. Since he was displeased with Depa Tensung Wangpo's behavior, while he was in Nenying, he offered prayers of propitiation before the relics of the great Indian mantrika, mentioning the Tsangpa and his chief attendant by name.³⁶ This made the Nenying government servant nervous, so he told the Dalai Lama, "Although you, master, do not consider the fact that you will be going to Ü, remember that we must stay here in this confined place. Thus, please do not do this."¹

¹ The Dalai Lama criticized the Kagyü-allied leaders of Tsang, who he felt had disrespected him. The local government servant apparently was afraid that the Kagyüpas

The Dalai Lama went on to Ralung in Bhutan and was given a huge reception by the noblemen Ngawang Tenpé Nyima, Wön Ngawang Namgyel,³⁷ and the latter's son. At that time, since Chöjé Trechungpa admired the omniscient third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso from the depths of his heart, he served the fourth Dalai Lama with great veneration. He said, "I myself am greeting you respectfully." Thus, he behaved without any expectations of reciprocation. Yet, the Drepung incarnation did not even stand up because of the excessive disturbances within the Karma Kagyü School. Some said that Chöjé ought to have prostrated to the Dalai Lama and that his supposedly respectful gesture was merely an effort to drive the Dalai Lama from the camp. Some boastful officials of Ganden Podrang concluded that the Kagyüpas were unable to display their [true] hatred toward the Dalai Lama because of the great heights reached by the previous Dalai Lama and because of this Dalai Lama having been born in the family of Genghis Khan. Thus, it became impossible for Chöjé Trechungpa and the Dalai Lama to meet. At that time, Chöjé could not sing as he was all choked up with sadness.³⁸

Thereafter, the Dalai Lama gradually progressed toward Gongkar. At that time, the sixth Zhamar, Pelden Chökyi Wangchuk, lived at Tel Monastery. It was thought that if they could meet, it would be tremendously beneficial for the public and private practice of Buddhism and for the people of Tibet.^m Keeping these considerations in mind, the advisors of the two lamas were supposed to establish relations in order to discuss a meeting. The attendants spoke poorly of the proposed meeting, and thus an agreement was not reached. They said, "Even now, since the Lord Zhamarwa is acting duplicitously, the situation is as it was before [when there was such conflict between the Gelukpas and the Zhamarwa.] Even if we send a message, he won't listen. Thus, if we go to Yarlok, there would be no way for the meeting to take place."

would retaliate against pro-Gelukpas in Tsang once the Dalai Lama had returned to Lhasa in Ü.

^m The sixth Zhamar incarnation Pelden Chökyi Wangchuk was an important Kagyü incarnation. Eventually, in the late 18th century, a significant conflict would emerge between a future member of his lineage, the tenth Zhamar incarnation Chödrup Gyatso (1741/1742–1792), and the eighth Dalai Lama, a fissure that would contribute to a war with the Gurkhas of Nepal, the incursion into Tibet of Qing forces, the issuance by the Qing emperor of the *Twenty-Nine Article Imperial Ordinance*, and the loss of a degree of autonomy for Tibet. (See p. 508 ff.)

The implication here is that the enduring enmity between these two lineages in particular and between the Geluk and Kagyü schools in general might have been mitigated if the third Dalai Lama could have met with the sixth Zhamarwa.

Except for Dechangpa Nangso Pulungpa and Drungtso Tsedzin, the attendants all returned to Drepung. The meeting was as improbable as a cloud during the dry season.³⁹

Thereafter, the Dalai Lama went to Drepung Monastery. Thinking that someone might bring a letter proposing a meeting with Zhamarwa, some attendants, such as Denpa Tsojé and Orpa Chödzé, beat and seized the mail carriers from that region and some people who had come for an audience with the Dalai Lama. Such people tried to flee from the palace, but encountered difficulties even more severe than Lhodrak Marpa encountered in going to India.ⁿ As mentioned above,^o the Dalai Lama had been unable to meet with Chöjé Trechungpa at Ralung and, after that, he was prevented from meeting with Lord Zhamarwa from Gongkar. Ganden Tri Rinpoché Könchok Chöpel was distressed by these occurrences in which a small number of dull and rapacious Ganden Podrang servants acted in a small-minded way, and he felt shame. Kharnak Lotsāwa wrote:

Thereafter, the Dalai Lama was invited in turn to Gongkar.
 Miwang and his son
 Had a discussion saying,
 If he had been able to meet with the Garwang incarnation,^p
 They would have discussed the welfare of the Tibetan people.
 The altruistic attitude that wishes for the benefit of others
 Was completely obstructed by the group of sinners.

The great fifth Dalai Lama also wrote a concise poem of reprimand about this situation:

From the peak of the Potala Mountain, the one who holds a white
 lotus^q
 Has abandoned a long garland of precious ornaments,
 And is putting on saffron monastic robes.
 Who does not have faith in a field of merit in the midst of the world?

ⁿ Marpa (1012–1097) was a charismatic Kagyü lama whose lineage was transmitted to Milarepa and from him to Gampopa. Marpa visited India three times during his life, encountering notable difficulties, such as going to an island in a lake of poison to receive special teachings from Kukuripa. See Thrangu Rinpoche, *The Spiritual Biography of Marpa, the Translator*. Translated by Ken and Katia Holmes (Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 2000).

^o See p. 310 above.

^p Garwang is part of Zhamarwa's name. See p. 291 above.

^q I.e., Avalokiteśvara. The Dalai Lama is regarded as an emanation of this bodhisattva who embodies Buddha's perfect compassion.

Irritated people create inner and outer obstacles binding words and deeds,
 Engineering their transformations into many forms, both as friends and foes.
 Protector, you are not at fault for those who display their faults in five hundred ways;
 That would be like comparing Suddodhana's son [i.e., Buddha] to Sunakṣatra.^r

His criticism appears to be completely correct.

A large party of travelers and soldiers arrived from the Tsongön Lake including Pön Khorlo Ché's older son and Sechen Taiji. In addition, in 1605, Pakmowa, Zhokarnak, and so forth plundered the home of the Kyishö chief. Wide-ranging civil disorder erupted in which many of Kyishö's attendants lost quarrels. The source of these problems was that previously, when the Dalai Lama Rinpoché came from Mongolia and was enthroned with authority over Central Tibet, Zhamarwa sent a congratulatory letter, mentioned above.^s However, since it was misunderstood, Zhukhang Rapjam and others responded to it inappropriately. With respect to that, Zhamarwa and his secretary Jamyang had written negatively about how the attendants at Ganden Podrang had no good qualities. Having not received any reply for a long time, Zhamarwa went to Lhasa where he offered a greeting scarf at the Jowo statue upon which some enigmatic lines were written. This scarf was taken to Drepung Monastery by the monk in charge of the monastery. The lines said:^t

^r Suddodhana (*zas gtsang ma*) was the father of Śākyamuṇi Buddha. Sunakṣatra (*legs skar*) was the Buddha's cousin. He served as the latter's attendant, but could not penetrate his teachings. Thus, just as it would be ridiculous to compare Buddha to his cousin, so the Dalai Lama himself cannot be blamed for the bad behavior of his attendants.

^s See p. 310 above.

^t As Shakabpa indicates, the text of the poem is enigmatic and subject to multiple interpretations. I have provided only one possible reading in my translation. The Tibetan is as follows: *brag tig zhag gsum gyi grong khyer na/ kho rwa gan tshogs pa'i ru rnon tsho/ rje chos dbyings rid wags thang bzhugs la/ ra rno rtul 'gran pa ci rang yin/ de mi 'byung jo bo khyed rang shes/ rna ba rna yi a long de/ sor phyed kyis 'jal rin mi gda' yang/ nam zhig khyab 'jug gi 'doms pas kyang/ mi 'khyad pa zhig byung na cug rang byed/* [391.12–16].

In the city of the three, drak, tik, and zhak,^u
 There are sharp horns amidst the gathering of horned beasts,
 Who live in the steppes among wild animals, the lords of the sphere of
 reality.
 Why are they competing over whose horns are sharper?
 Jowo, you know this cannot be successful.
 For the ear there is an earring,
 [So small] it is not worth measuring with the span of half a finger.
 If something changes such that at some point, even Viṣṇu
 Will not be able to embrace the difference,
 What will you do?

Many extremely wise people sifted through the poem. It was thought that the three, drak, tik, and zhak, were supposed to signify Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries. The Geluk School was thought to be likened to a yak, while the Karma School was likened to a lion. Even though the difference in the relative influence of the Karma School and the Geluk School was at that time so small that there was no purpose in measuring it even with one's fingers, if it increased in the future it would increase until not even the god Viṣṇu would be able to embrace it.^v

In brief, the attendants read too much into what was written on the greeting scarf. Even though it was not known whether it related to the Gelukpas or not, many conjectures were formulated. People replied:

A great plan of conquest for the benefit and happiness of sentient beings and Buddhism will be elaborated by dispatching the horses and mules of the Mongolian cavalry.

Formerly, Chöjé Chödrak Gyatso had requested that Rinpung Dönyö Dorjé evict all of the people from the Nelpa estates, and a monastery was founded at Sanakma. These actions were undertaken in an effort to drive Sera and Drepung monasteries to the point of desperation. As a result, it began to seem that as some people [i.e., Gelukpas] were

^u Aside from the suggestion below that the three, drak (*brag*), tik (*tig*), and zhak (*zhag*), might refer to Sera, Ganden, and Drepung monasteries, it is quite unclear what else they might mean.

^v In the *Rg Veda* (1.154.1–6, for example), Viṣṇu, the sustainer of the universe, strides across the world in three steps. See Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *The Rig Veda* (New York: Penguin, 1981), 225–227. Hence, he is seen as having a tremendously wide reach. The image is meant to signify that the Karma School is much greater than the Geluk School.

coming to religious prominence, others were gradually trying to restore an old, obscured picture that was slowly vanishing. Anyhow, it became advisable to do whatever peaceful or wrathful acts were required to respond to previous civil conflicts.

Out of compassion for all the people of the world, Zhapdrung Yülgyel Norbu,⁴⁰ the Dalai Lama, and others agreed that efforts should be made to engage only in peaceful actions since doing so would be helpful not only to oneself, but also to others. However, many people, such as the Depa of Kyishö Sönam Namgyel and Denpa Tsojé, advised that it would be best if civil war erupted. Since their opponents were provoked, huge armies from Yargyapa and Tsang went to Kyishö. Territory, castles, and estates were seized, and the people were punished. A large force of Hor and Mongolians were spun about, as if by the cyclone at the end of time, and were expelled back to their own country.

At that time, master Pañchen Rinpoché sent Lampa Rapjampa Sönam Drakpa [to Lhasa] with a message. The essence of his petition was as follows:

The Yargyapas and the Tsangpas have inflicted a very serious wound to our religion. With respect to this, it has become necessary for people like me to undertake purification ceremonies. Since I am under the authority of Samdrupsé, he would be unhappy if I did so. Thus, I have asked Rapjampa to render this service and have related detailed reasons why these ceremonies must be done.

Rapjampa Sönam Drakpa conducted the ceremonies. For rituals propitiating deities, several high-ranking monks and scattered senior monks from Pendé Lekshelingpa Monastery formed one assembly, performing the Torma Offering ritual. Moreover, Yanggön Rinpoché and others performed many different types of rituals. The loud beating of drums resounded throughout the entire region. One old man called Kaju Akyak who was an expert in philosophy said, "The Subduer Buddha tamed demons by generating a meditative stabilization on love. Whose practice is this, which is like a nomad praying to gods?"

Each individual group of ritualists performed the rite in which an offering object is thrown. Many signs emerged from these rites, such as strong tornados in the west. At one point, Gungru Yang Pönpa became agitated as he wondered whether he should perform the Casting Torma Ceremony. He said:⁴¹

I have scrutinized all of the essential instructions of this protective deity with my former lama and with Baso Jedrung. I have completed the required amount of preliminary practices for this rite. I have also recited

the mantra more than ten million times. Just as people at the bottom of a hill must rely upon stairs to get to the top, if I don't do this ritual, how will I achieve enlightenment? If I do not perform this tantric ritual here and now, when else should I do it?

He was forced to speak like this out of desperation.

While the Dalai Lama was staying at Drepung in 1611, he invited Pañchen Rinpoché to visit; thereby he was able to learn a great many religious discourses, including the teaching on the *Vajramālā Tantra*. In that same year, a large number of Tsang troops came to Yargyap because of a disagreement between the nephew and uncle of the Tsang leader. The leader, Yargyap Zhapdrung Ngawang Dudül Drakpa, and his ministers were forced to remain in a particular area of their territory.

These various disharmonies were regarded as ominous signs, as a consequence of which the Dalai Lama Rinpoché came to be called Tutop Gyatso.^w

The Tsang Governor, Püntsok Namgyel, went to Lhasa, where he requested the Dalai Lama bestow the hundred root vows and the eight secondary vows of the Long Life Rite. If he had been able to receive the vows, it seems that great benefit would have accrued to both the preceptor and the patron. However, Rapjampa Sönam Drakpa prevented this eventuality, saying "Such an arrangement would be unsuitable because the Tsang governor is an enemy of Buddhism. He should be banished immediately."⁴²

When the Dalai Lama was staying at Chökhör Gyel, he stated in passing that in recent times, the border armies were on the verge of bringing great harm to Tibet, but that in each case he had been able to suppress this aggression. He continued, saying so long as the present situation remained agreeable, the Mongolians would not bring harm to Tibet. Chöjé Zhamarwa admonished him saying, "He must not give birth to the children of quarrelsome speech." There was no need for the Dalai Lama to respond to this offense. He just joked, "If I claim to be like Padmasaṃbhava, this would be boastful. However, I am able to

^w Glenn H. Mullin, *The Fourteen Dalai Lamas: A Sacred Legacy of Reincarnation* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2001), 181, remarks on the nickname:

The Panchen Lama sent a letter to the Fourth Dalai Lama in which he stated that the Yarpa and Tsangpa kings were killing Gelukpa monks and destroying monasteries in Tsang, and that the Fourth should do some tantric rituals to mitigate the harm. All the Gelukpa monasteries of central Tibet began an intense regimen of wrathful tantric rituals. The Fourth Dalai Lama's rituals were very successful, and after that he became known as Tutob Yonten Gyatso, or "Yonten Gyatso the Great Shaman."

say that I am a little like him.”⁴³ Although he had the ability to respond with fierce measures, all that happened was that the Tsang governor castigated Rapjampa Sönam Drakpa in a harsh and severe manner.⁴⁴ There is nothing more in the sources than that. However, he surely received a punishment.

As he had been receiving invitations from Bhutan for many years, the master Paṇchen Rinpoché Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen went there in 1612. As he traveled through Padro, Timpu, and Darkar, he established extensive religious relations in those places. People gathered to do prostrations and to recite mantras, and many also came to take vows to abandon killing and so forth. People who relied on Chinese nobility had killed many hundreds and thousands of people, and people were carrying out reprisals. Paṇchen Rinpoché gave them preliminary practices to do, and hence he cut the root of sin by extracting vows from people that they would not avenge past deaths. He placed his rosary upon their heads as they swore their oaths.⁴⁵

In 1614, the Dalai Lama took the vows of a fully ordained monk before the master Paṇchen Rinpoché. In 1616, the Chinese Great Ming Emperor, Unzhu Wang^x conferred the title “Pervasive Lord, Dorjé Chang” on the Dalai Lama through the intermediary, Lama Sönam Lodrö. Having presented offerings to him, he asked the Dalai Lama to consecrate the temple the emperor had built in China. The consecration was undertaken from Ganden Podrang right away, with the Dalai Lama facing toward the temple. Since his health was not good, the Dalai Lama went to the hot springs at Sangyip.

At that time, most of the Kyishö area was under the control of the Tsang governor, due to which all the monks and lay people were unsettled. As a result, Pön Khorlo Ché’s two sons marched from Mongolia with a large force. They planned to make tremendous preparations for a massive assault against other schools, against the Tsang governor and so forth. When they reached a place near the Dalai Lama, he sent a messenger to them. In a serious and forceful voice, he said, “All activities undertaken in the immediate area during this troubled time should be peaceful.” While he was alive, no harmful conflicts would occur in Tibet. It is one of the greatest deeds of his life.

^x Ruling from 1575 until his death in 1620, the Ming emperor on the throne at this time, Wanli, was born in 1563.

In 1616, Desi Püntsok Namgyel invited the Karmapa and his father to his estate at Samdruptsé. All of the monks and nuns from throughout Tsang received religious teachings from him and people assembled to form a monastic procession.

In that year, the reincarnation of the omniscient Pema Karpo was to be selected between the two candidates: Ngawang Namgyel, who was born in Ralung, and Paksam Wangpo, who was born at Tölbu in the jurisdiction of the Depa of Chonggyé. Since Desi Püntsok Namgyel preferred Paksam Wangpo, Ngawang Namgyel was unable to remain in Ralung, and he had to go to Bhutan.

In the same year, the omniscient Yönten Gyatso had reached the age of twenty-eight. On the fourteenth day of the twelfth month, the Dalai Lama died for the benefit of other people. From that year and for a long time afterwards, the master Pañchen Lozang Chögyen held the abbot's throne of Sera and Drepung monasteries and took the lead at Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Boat for Crossing the Ocean to the Island of Liberation, Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary*, 268-na-8.

2. Subsequently, this monastery became the seat of successive Pañchen Lamas. It is the fourth largest monastery in Tibet. Three thousand monks lived there in the three monastic colleges, which include Shartsé Tö Samling Kyilkhang.

3. It is stated in Pañchen Yeshé Tsemo, *Biography of the First Dalai Lama, Jewel Garland*, in Jé Künga Gyeltsen, *Marvelous Deeds*, and so forth that he was seventy-four. Kadrung Nornangpa, *Record of Ten Thousand Years*, says that he was eighty-two.

4. Karma Tsewang Kunkhyap, *Garland of Moon Crystals*, 280–282.

5. I.e., the Nedong leader Ngawang Trashi Drakpa.

6. Dzaya Paṇḍita Lozang Trinlé, *Collected Works*, vol. Ga, 119-ba-5.

7. Pañchen Yeshé Tsemo's biography, *Jewel Garland*, 26-na. Initially, the estate of Neu Castle was an enlargement of a small building known as the Blue Stone House. Thus, the center of the Palace was insufficient. However, subsequently, Ganden Podrang was refurbished when the third Dalai Lama, Sönam Gyatso, went to Mongolia, with Kündün Rinpoché Chözung Trinlé serving as the contractor, King Tashi Rapten giving verbal instructions, and Ülmi also serving.

8. Sumpa Khenpo Yeshé Peljor, *Excellent Wish-Granting Tree, History of Buddhism in India, China, Tibet, and Mongolia*.

9. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Chariot of an Ocean of Feats*, 12-na-3.

10. Jamyang Zhepa, *Chronological Tables. Translator's Note*: See Alaka Chatto-padhyaya and Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan, *Tibetan Chronological Tables of Jam-dbyanis bzad-pa and Sum-pa mkhan-po* (Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993), 192.

11. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Biography of the Conqueror Sönam Gyatso, Chariot for an Ocean of Feats*, 63-ba-5.

12. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Chariot of an Ocean of Feats*, 81-na-5.
13. Künkhyen Pema Karpo, *Drama of Great Compassion*, 81-na-5.
14. Sakyapa and Kagyüpa.
15. The Mongolian Lama Guru Dewa Rinpoché says that it is better to say Halha than Chahar.
16. He was the main patron of the Gelukpa School and the district official of Jeri Taktsé.
17. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Chariot of an Ocean of Feats*, 95-na-1.
18. Sumpa Khenpo Yeshé Peljor, *Excellent Wish-Granting Tree*, 218/12, and *The Annals in Praise of the Ocean*, 67/15, explain that this monastery, which is to the southwest of Lake Kokonor, is called Chaptsa.
19. The objects to which meat and blood are offered in the ritual called “ongkö” are such dead people as one’s father, mother and so forth.
20. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *The Chariot of an Ocean of Feats*, 96-ba-4.
21. Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé, *Ocean Annals, Religious History of Domé*, 69/2, says, “The site for the founding of Püntsok Zhenpen could not be identified.”
22. Sumpa Khenpo Yeshé Peljor, *Excellent Wish-Granting Tree*, 291/2, and Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé, *Ocean Annals, Religious History of Domé*, 39/6. Previously, this place was close to the Bedhahor Retreat Center, which is presently call Kenstrung by the Chinese.
23. Previously, the Chinese Emperor Jinshi (*jin shi*) said that the boundary which separated China from Mongolia was the length of the Great Wall.
24. He was also known as the Taming Emperor Wanli.
25. He lived at Kokokhoten (*ko ko kho tan*) or the Blue Castle.
26. In Hāwadri’s book, he is called Sengé During Drimo.
27. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Golden Lapiz Lazuli*, 103-ba-6. “A silver stūpa of thirteen cubits was built by the Treasurer Gyaseng for the third Dalai Lama’s crypt at Drepung.” If one wonders whether there was another treasurer called Gyaseng, I have asked this question. “Gya” is Gyalé Kündün Rinpoché Chözung Trinlé and “Seng” is Gushri Pelden Gyatso. *Golden Lapiz Lazuli*, 104-na-6. The treasurer is called Pelden Gyatso or Senger Drakpa.
28. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Chariot of an Ocean of Feats*, 105-ba-1.
29. Most of this information about the fourth Dalai Lama is based on *Jewel Garland*. There is a difference of one day in the timing of his birth.
30. Gawadong, Kyormo Lung, and Zölpuwa.
31. The letters are clearly recorded in *Jewel Garland*, 29-ba-1, but I have not seen how he replied to them.
32. Pönlop Lozang Chögyen was the reincarnation of the hermit Lozang Döndrup.
33. The word “pañchen” indicates that someone is a great scholar.
34. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Jewel Garland, Clearly Indicating Behavior, Biography of the fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso*, 42-na-4.
35. At that time, it was thought that it was an occasion when Karma Densung Wangpo was increasing his authority in Upper Tsang, and it was at that time that Püntsok Namgyel was fourteen years old.
36. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Jewel Garland, Clearly Indicating Behavior, Biography of the fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso*, 39-ba-1.
37. At this time, the Bhutanese Zhapdrung Ngawang Namgyel was seventeen.
38. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Jewel Garland, Clearly Indicating Behavior, Biography of the fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso*, 39-ba-4.

39. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Jewel Garland, Clearly Indicating Behavior, Biography of the fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso*, 40-na-6.

40. This is the person also known as Kyishö Apel, who had offered the image of Avalokiteśvara to King Tumé Sechen as a war bribe.

41. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Jewel Garland, Clearly Indicating Behavior, Biography of the fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso*, 43-na-6.

42. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Jewel Garland, Clearly Indicating Behavior, Biography of the fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso*, 44-ba-5.

43. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Jewel Garland, Clearly Indicating Behavior, Biography of the fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso*, 45-na-2.

44. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Jewel Garland, Clearly Indicating Behavior, Biography of the fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso*, 45-ba-4.

45. Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, *Jewel Garland, Clearly Indicating Behavior, Biography of the fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso*, 52-na-3. When it says “gung wang la den ba” in that source, it refers to the fact that due to a rift in the royal family, there was a struggle for power. The titles of Zhapdrung and Desi did not exist in Bhutan at that time.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GREAT FIFTH DALAI LAMA ASSUMES POLITICAL POWER OVER TIBET TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

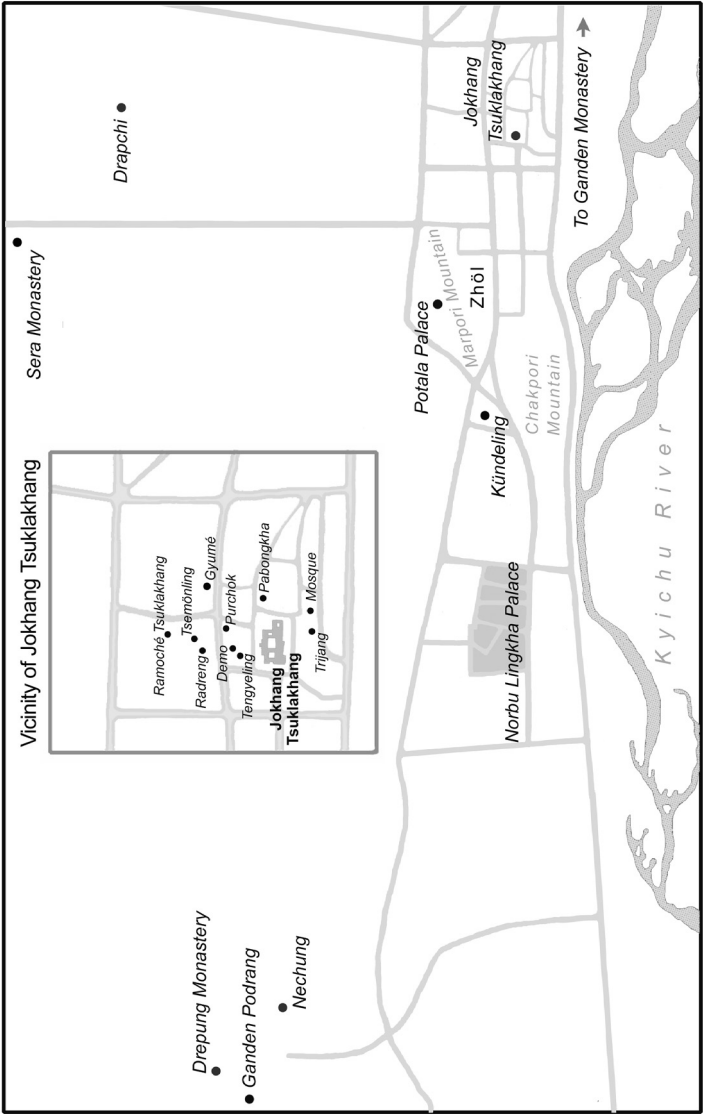
This chapter provides the foundation of Tsepön Shakabpa's case for Tibet's political status in that the central argument of the book is rooted in events that unfolded during the life of the fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso (1617–1682). It was during his lifetime that significant portions of Tibet were unified through the military conquests of the Mongolian Gushri Khan, and in 1642, the khan presented the territory he had won as an offering to his revered spiritual teacher, the fifth Dalai Lama. Shakabpa argues that the Dalai Lama became the actual ruler of Tibet, despite the fact that the Qoshot Mongolian^a Gushri Khan and his heirs maintained the title of king of Tibet. The khan's gift of Tibet was intended to echo the preceptor-patron relationship (*mchod gnas dang yon bdag*) that had been established in 1254 between Pakpa Rinpoché Lodrö Gyeltsen and Kublai Khan.^b For Shakabpa, the essentially religious nature of this relationship did not diminish in any way the Dalai Lama's political authority over Tibet, and since his rule ought to be taken as paradigmatic of Tibet's political status up to contemporary times, any interruption of religio-political rule under subsequent Dalai Lamas or their regents should be regarded as a merely temporary disturbance in an enduring order.

In this chapter, Shakabpa has several parallel objectives. He outlines the birth, discovery, enthronement, and rise to power of the fifth Dalai Lama. He contextualizes the Dalai Lama's emerging political career within the religious and political history he developed in chapter six, and he constructs a careful justification for the sequence of events that culminated in the Dalai Lama's ascent to political power. Shakabpa describes key episodes in the Dalai Lama's rule of Tibet, including his construction of the Potala Palace in Lhasa, and the chapter ends with

^a A large variety of different Mongolian tribes make an appearance in Tibetan history. The Qoshots were part of a larger coalition called the Oirats.

^b See p. 269 above.

Lhasa City



Map 2 The inset map shows the area of Lhasa surrounding the Jokhang Temple, a region dense with important monastic estates, temples, monasteries, and notable historical sites.

an account of his death. Throughout, he is concerned to demonstrate that Tibet conducted its own affairs independently without involvement from China.

Building on the evidence adduced in the previous chapter, Shakabpa legitimizes the military conquests that placed the Dalai Lama at the apex of power in Tibet by recounting the grievances suffered by his Geluk School. He describes a series of events in the early seventeenth century that were experienced by Gelukpas as sectarian oppression. During the construction of a combined Nyingma-Kagyü monastery that was built above Trashi Lhünpo Monastery called Trashi Zilnön, "Suppressor of Trashi," boulders rolled down, damaging the Gelukpa institution. Persecution at the hands of the Tsang Governor Püntsoq Namgyel—allied to the Kagyü School and particularly the Karmapa—resulted in running battles at Sera and Drepung monasteries near Lhasa in 1618 and the temporary exile of many of the monks. In the following decade, the young Dalai Lama's family was harassed and his father died under suspicious circumstances. All of these events in western and central Tibet were coupled with similarly troubling occurrences in the east. Choktu, who was the leader of the Halha (Khelkha) Mongolians in the Tsongön Lake region, and the Bönpo leader Dönyö Dorjé in Amdo resolved to eliminate the Gelukpa presence in their region. As a consequence, Shakabpa observes, "The Gelukpa School was at the edge of extinction, like a butter lamp in the wind."^c When those opponents combined forces with the Tsang governor, events came to head.

Gushri Khan volunteered to protect the Gelukpas from all their opponents, and between 1635 and 1642, he conquered the Gelukpas major enemies and placed the Dalai Lama on the throne. When Choktu's son, Arsalang Taiji, was leading ten thousand troops with orders to harass the Gelukpas in Central Tibet, the khan was able to deflect him from his purpose and recruit him as an ally. Before Arsalang Taiji was assassinated at his father's command, Gushri Khan was able to gain valuable intelligence that permitted him to fathom the depth of the conspiracy against the Gelukpas. In 1637, he defeated and killed Choktu. As he planned to expand the conflict to oppose Dönyö Dorjé, the Beri king in Kham, and the Tsang governor, the Dalai Lama declined to support the latter of these actions on the grounds that if he was unsuccessful, it could compromise the Gelukpa position in the future. In transmitting

^c See p. 335 below.

these views to Gushri Khan, his regent Sönam Chöpel exceeded the Dalai Lama's instructions, advising the Mongolian to march on Tsang after defeating their enemies in eastern Tibet. By the time the Dalai Lama realized what had transpired, it was too late to halt the warfare. In the end, however, the Geluk-Qoshot alliance triumphed and the Dalai Lama was enthroned as Tibet's political leader in a carefully staged ceremony at Samdruptsé castle in Zhikatsé.

Shakabpa compiles a diverse array of evidence to support his contention that the Dalai Lama enjoyed international recognition. He cites numerous cases in which the Dalai Lama or members of his administration played mediating roles, engaged in diplomacy, wielded armies, or acted in other ways that are characteristic of sovereign powers. For example, he details military conflicts between Tibet and Bhutan in 1644, 1648, and 1668, a small war with Gurkha armies from Nepal in 1661, and a more sustained conflict with Ladakh that was settled with the Treaty of Temisgom in 1684. We learn that the Dalai Lama conferred with the king of Sikkim in 1669 and the king of Khunu swore an oath of friendship to the Dalai Lama about a decade later. The narration of all of these events serves to enhance the image of the Dalai Lama as the leader of an independent nation, as Qing representatives are entirely absent.

An important theme developed in earlier chapters concerns Shakabpa's assertion that China did not inherit rights over Tibet either from the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) or the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). Elsewhere he showed that while Tibet was subservient to the Mongols during the early Yuan period, it had become independent by the end of that empire, prior to the time when China emerged from Mongol rule.^d He had also argued that the Ming evinced little interest in Tibet.^e In this chapter, he develops the case further, endeavoring to show that Tibet was not a part of the Manchu Qing Empire. He demonstrates that the Qing did not seize control in China until two years after the Dalai Lama had come to power in 1642, and in the outlying regions, the Qing were not able to exercise authority for a matter of decades. Based on details of protocol during the fifth Dalai Lama's journey to China in 1652–1653 and his encounters with Emperor Shunzhi (1638–1661), Shakabpa argues that the Tibetan lama was accorded honors indicative

^d See p. 230 above.

^e See p. 249 above.

of his status as an independent ruler. Moreover, as part of its efforts to consolidate rule, the Qing court appealed to Tibet for assistance on at least two occasions, in 1665 and again during the War of the Three Feudatories (1673–1681). In the latter case, Shakabpa reports that the Dalai Lama declined to send troops in support of the Qing, remarking, “Therefore, the Dalai Lama was able to make the determination of sending or not sending Mongolian troops by himself during this period. What need is there to ask whether he had control over Tibetans?”^f

^f See p. 368 below.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GREAT FIFTH DALAI LAMA ASSUMES POLITICAL POWER OVER TIBET

On the twenty-third day of the ninth month in 1617, the great fifth Dalai Lama was born in Chingwar Taktsé Castle at Chonggyé to Hor Dudül Dorjé, his father, and the noblewoman, Künga Lhadzé, his mother.¹

The governor of Tsang, Desi Püntsok Namgyel, was inclined toward the Dakpo Kagyü School. In particular, having offered to be the principal patron of the Karmapa and his disciple, he built a new monastery for the Kagyüpas and Nyingmapas in between Trashi Lhünpo and Zhikatsé. As new stones and earth were collected for this monastery from the mountain behind Trashi Lhünpo, many large stones rolled down the mountainside, damaging the common rooms of the Trashi Lhünpo monks. On the side of the stone wall above the gate of the new monastery were written the words, “Trashī Zilnön,” which means, the “Suppressor of Trashī Lhünpo.” Ultimately, a host of Mongolian Chokhurs who had come to Ü on pilgrimage that year retaliated by stealing all of the Karmapa’s herds of cattle.

As a result, in the seventh month of 1618, the army of Upper Tsang and large contingents from Dakpo and Kongpo under the leadership of Kurap Namgyel marched on Lhasa. Members of the royal lineage of Tumé—such as the two young princes who were the sons of Tumé Taiji—Sechen Taiming, members of the royal lineage of Halha—such as the Harhula, Khündulung, and Chokhur—and the governor of Kyishö Sönam Gyeltsen consolidated their forces in order to free Sera and Drepung monasteries.

Although Ganden Podrang^a attempted to forestall warfare, their warning was not heeded because the others were under the influence of the Tsang governor. In the end, the Mongolians and Kyishöpa’s lay troops fought in Lhasa,² and over several days more than a thousand

^a Ganden Podrang was, at this time, the name of the monastic estate of the Dalai Lama that was located at Drepung Monastery. Subsequently when the Dalai Lama gained a formal political role in 1642, the government came to be named after this estate.

soldiers from Tsang were massacred in Lhasa. Many brave Tsang soldiers reached the top of the hill behind Drepung Monastery in their attempt to conquer it. Taiching galvanized his troops, and the Mongolians struck into the center of the Tsang forces, killing them without permitting even one Tsang soldier to flee.

The following day, the Tsangpas established a military camp even larger than before on the banks of the Kyichu River. The Mongolian forces were frightened and began to flee. Suddenly, there was chaos among the Sera and Drepung monks and the local lay people, including Governor Kyishö. People fled to Penyül and northern Taklung. Dakpo and Tsangpa troops looted Sera and Drepung monasteries, killed countless monks and lay people on the hill behind Drepung, and captured all the Kyishö estates. Even the governor of Kyishö Chöjé and his son had to go to Tsokha. Many Gelukpa monasteries were converted [to Kagyü institutions].

Chöjé Taklung sought a resolution, and thereby Sera and Drepung monks were permitted to live in their monasteries as before. As a ransom for the monasteries, Drepung Monastery was to give two hundred gold coins, and Sera Monastery was to give one hundred. Ganden Podrang's representative, Sönam Chöpel, had to go to Tsang in order to present the ransom. Sera and Drepung monasteries, having been attacked in the war, were unable to pay the ransom because the resources of each had been exhausted. It is said that the gold had to be taken from the previous Dalai Lama's secret treasury in Gyel. When Sönam Chöpel was going to Gyel with the Tsang representative, he escaped from the road and went to Mongolia by way of Nyangtö and Kongpo.³ Dorjé Dzinpa Peljor Lhündrup's biography says:⁴

Chöjé [Sönam Chöpel] went to Lhasa during the uprising there. He wondered how to save people's lives, but the people he saw there, with their angry dispositions, only wanted to kill their enemies. This did not agree with his own wish for people's happiness. Also, in general, because the five impurities had increased,^b people had to endure strife and the like. In particular, even the mention of the term "monk soldier" obscured religious teachings. Thinking of such an evil time in which there is great harm to

^b The five impurities (*snyigs ma lnga*) are: (1) degeneration of philosophical view (*lta ba'i snyigs ma*), (2) degeneration in afflictive emotions (*nyon mongs pa'i snyigs ma*), (3) degeneration of sentient beings (*sems can gyi snyigs ma*), (4) degeneration in lifespan (*tshe'i snyigs ma*), and (5) degenerate eon (*bskal ba'i snyigs ma*).

people's happiness and benefit, Chöjé's heart was in conflict. He went to Sera Monastery, feeling sadness and compassion.

Most of the Sera and Drepung monks departed in the direction of Taklung Monastery while Chöjé, being afraid that he would eventually have to go to Mongolia, stayed in Yerpa. Fearful that the Taklung steward would send Tsang spies to Yerpa, the master and his students were concealed in an inner room. It was locked from the outside, under the pretense that it was a treasury. Karma Tsöndrü, a Yerpa monk who was familiar with these arrangements from before, passed the information on to a messenger. Because of that, the Yerpa Monastery lost all of its wealth.

Thereafter, [Yerpa Monastery] was placed under the jurisdiction of Taklung, and monks of the various monasteries were able to stay there on their own. Chöjé walked through a ravine from Yerpa to Sera Monastery. One morning, he went to the ritual assembly where tea was served and found that there were no doors and so forth in the monks' quarters. The monks had to carry their few possessions along with them. He could not even find an unbroken bowl to borrow. He became completely overwhelmed because of these circumstances.

Similarly, Desi Sangyé Gyatso's religious history of the Gelukpa School, *The Garland of Golden Lapis Lazuli*, also says:⁵

Monks were forced to move to Taklung at the time of Tsang dominance because their monastery was attacked. Subsequently, when the monks were able to return to their respective monasteries as the conflict ebbed, they found that not only had the Tsang forces destroyed and torn apart the prayer halls and the monk's quarters, but they had wrecked the doors and windows. For these reasons, when they assembled for tea, the monks had to carry whatever they possessed on their backs. They had to arrive just like poor beggars.

Some monks were forced to go north, some deciding to go to Tsokha, for example. However, at that time, the Sera and Drepung monks were permitted to return to their former homes through the intervention of the ruler of Taklung, who was the daughter of the Tsang governor.⁶ This was a very good and significant event. Before the settlement had been achieved, the Drigungpas asked for the primary Kyishö ancestral estate, Jeri Taktsé. Hence, when that place was made a part of the newly enlarged estate of the ruler of Taklung, the Drigungpas were disappointed.⁷

In the meanwhile, either due to the actions of a dharma protector or for some other reason, a serious disagreement arose between the Tsang governor and Depa Kurap Namgyel. There are clear indications that initially the Tsang governor, Püntsok Namgyel, had largely protected and looked out for the Dalai Lama's father, Hor Dudül Dorjé. However,

since Hor Dudül Dorjé and Depa Kurap were allies, the Tsang governor had many apprehensions. In a deceptive stratagem, he presented Chingwar Taktsé to Zukponé, while Chushur Lhashong was given to Kunga Lhadzé, the Dalai Lama's mother, for her upkeep. Powerless, she was forced to [leave Chingwar Taktsé and] go to Chushur.^c

Upon hearing of these events, Hor Dudül Dorjé wanted to leave Dakpo Kurap for the Barkham region, but he had to go to Tsang since his passport had not been issued. In 1619, the Tsang government sent out a proclamation stating that both the Dalai Lama and his mother had to travel to Tsang immediately. However, the chief of Nakartsé, Kunga Lhadzé's chamberlain, appealed to Tsang, and because he took responsibility for them, both the Dalai Lama and his mother were permitted to stay in Nakartsé.

Because the Tsang governor had behaved poorly toward most of the chiefs and rulers, including the leader of Nedong and his own maternal uncle, Yargyapa, everyone was always disconcerted. In 1621, the Mongolian armies of Lhatsün Lozang Tendzin Gyatso and Guru Hong Taiji arrived in Lhasa with more than two thousand troops. At the same time, a large host of Tsang forces were camped out in a field. At sunset of the eleventh day of the seventh month, the Mongolian horsemen suddenly struck into the heart of the Tsang camp. It is said that many hundreds of Tsangpas were killed.

Just then, the first Pañchen Lama Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen heard about these events while he was undertaking a retreat at Drepung Monastery. His mind became so agitated that he immediately left there and quickly arrived by foot in the middle of [the nearby village called] Denbak. When he arrived, the Tibetan Tsang troops were blocked in at the edge of Jakpo Hill, and the second column of Mongolian horsemen were about to attack, as bullets and arrows were raining down on the Tsang troops like dust. The Pañchen Lama made earnest pleas directly to Lhatsün, as he presented Lhatsün with great quantities of gifts. The Pañchen Lama was successful in influencing the Mongolians, due to which they discontinued their attack. Thereby, the deaths of almost two thousand soldiers were prevented. Both the Tsangpas and

^c Chingwar Taktsé, near the Dalai Lama's birthplace, was the estate where his family lived. When the Tsang governor gave the estate to Zukponé, the Dalai Lama's family was compelled to move to Chushur Lhashong. The transfer of the estate is seen as an effort by the Tsang governor to undermine and control the Dalai Lama and his family.

the Mongolians offered the city of Lhasa to Paṇchen Rinpoché in order that all people could worship there.⁸

After negotiations between Paṇchen Rinpoché, Ganden Tri Rinpoché Tsültrim Gyatso Chöpel, Lingmé Zhapdrung Könchok Chöpel, and Taklung Zhapdrung Khuwön, a decree was issued. Lhasa and the surrounding area were newly placed under the jurisdiction of Ganden Podrang. The estates of Sera and Drepung monasteries were restored, the Geluk religious institutions that had been taken over in Ü Tsang were transferred back to the school, and lost estates were returned to their previous owners. Jeri Taktsé was given back to the Kyishöpa chief, and in place of Dechen, he was given Penyül Khartsé. All these things occurred.⁹

[Earlier,] Zhelngo Sönam Chöpel, residing at the estate at Ganden Podrang at Drepung, had been anxiously searching for the reincarnation of the omniscient fourth Dalai Lama. In order to identify the reincarnation unequivocally, both Paṇchen Rinpoché and Lingmé Zhapdrung went to Radreng and performed a divination by drawing lots before the image of Jowo Jampel Dorjé, examining the candidate from Chonggyé Chingwar Taktsé and two others. It was determined that the child from Chonggyé was the reincarnation.

As they had not gone to Nakartsé to offer recognition to the child, they had to appeal to the Tsang governor for help. The governor himself was not very powerful at that time. However, the interior minister Bong Gongpa and the foreign minister Gangzukpa were contending for power. Relying on those distractions, the Paṇchen Rinpoché and Zhapdrung hoped to outwit them. They said that the incarnation would have to be at the Paṇchen Lama's side at Trashī Lhünpo in order to be educated. They pretended as if he would have to make extensive preparations, gathering the resources and preparing to receive the Dalai Lama.

Nonetheless, through making their appeals with skill and wisdom, they were able to obtain permission to have the Dalai Lama invited to Drepung Monastery. In 1622, a party consisting of Lhokhüpa, Tsawa Kaju, and master Paṇchen Rinpoché went from Tsang to Nakartsé, and another party went from Drepung to Nakartsé. On the twenty-fifth day of the second month, a large band of people came out to receive the incarnation, and he was enthroned in the place of the previous Dalai Lama. Paṇchen Rinpoché performed the rite of cutting the Dalai Lama's hair and bestowed upon him the name, Ngawang Lozang Gyatso.

A man named Kyishö Zhapdrung Apel, feigning helpfulness, advised that the incarnation should be invited to Mongolia for a while. Accordingly, as the time of the proposed journey approached, the Dalai Lama escaped secretly and was taken to Erigo. The Tsang governor sent a representative in order to allay people's fears, and the latter searched travelers for a letter from the Mongolians, even going to the extent of checking inside a bag of barley. From one perspective, Mongolia's internal affairs were perpetually in turmoil. These problems resulted in tense relations between Mongolia and Tibet.^d

Soon, however, the Dalai Lama was able to return to Drepung Monastery, where he was primarily educated by Lingmé Zhapdrung. In 1625, the Dalai Lama took the vows of a novice monk before Pañchen Rinpoché.

Depa Chonggyé, who was allied with a group of Nyingma lamas accomplished in the practices of secret mantra, made a request to the Tsang governor saying, "Since the Dalai Lama is the lineage master who holds the sacred knowledge, it would be auspicious if we were able to meet with him." He did not give his consent, however, because of his concern that this would lead to disaster.

The Dalai Lama's father died, and his corpse was discarded behind Zamkhar Castle. A sage from Chonggyé took the body away. Around that time, people wondered whether the father had been murdered.¹⁰ Just after these events, Zhelngo Depa Sönam Chöpel arranged for funeral rites to be performed discretely at nearby monasteries.

At just about that time, several foreign Christian missionaries went to Tibet and stayed for a few years in the Tö Tsahreng area. In 1627, two Italian Christians called P. P. Cacella and Cabral arrived in Zhikatsé by way of Bhutan. They stayed for more than a full year, and throughout that time, they received good care from the Tsang governor. Karma Kagyü monks, however, objected on religious grounds. As a result, they were soon forced to leave by way of Nepal. Three years later, Cacella returned to Zhikatsé. He was unwell when he arrived and died after just one week. Someone was dispatched to call on Cabral who was living in

^d According to Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 102), some Tibetan and Mongolian partisans wanted to protect the young Dalai Lama by taking him to Mongolia. Personal attendants of the incarnation instead took him to Erigo in southern Tibet, where he was hidden away for a year. Evidently, the Tsang representative calmed the concerns of the attendants by preventing the Mongolians from even communicating with the Dalai Lama.

Nepal. He stayed in Zhikatsé for just one year and then returned to his own country. The Tsang governor sent escorts to accompany him back to Nepal. These two Italians are considered to be the first westerners to have gone to Zhikatsé.¹¹

In my English language book, *Tibet: A Political History*, I wrote that the Tsang Governor “Püntsok Namgyel died in 1621.”^e However, after more detailed research, I have found that around 1631, the Tsang Governor Püntsok Namgyel sent his forces up to Yartö in order to oust Dakpo Kurap Namgyel. However, the Zhapdrung of Bhutan, Ngawang Namgyel, afflicted him with smallpox by casting a tantric spell on him. Within a month the governor Püntsok Namgyel and both of his wives had died. Even though their deaths were supposed to be kept secret for three years, it came to be known from internal, external, and secret signs; preparatory offerings were made to the protector deities.¹²

Dodrak Rikdzin Ngagi Wangpo’s biography says:¹³

All the monks from Ewam Jokgar Monastery remained in Topgyel in order to perform ceremonies for Governor [Püntsok Namgyel]. Meanwhile, Pönlop Nyungdü went to Ü. At that time, great civil conflict broke out in the town of Kurdö in Tsang. Pönlop met with Governor Püntsok Namgyel at Yarlung, and he was presented with a suitable estate. Having decided upon his strategy and dispersed the contending forces, he went to meet the governor at his previous fortress at Dongdöl in Tsang. He was left idle all day because the governor was so busy. When he finally came to meet him after dark, the governor said, “I don’t know if I like meeting with a mantrika at night.” However, a serious conflict arose between the preceptor, Nyungdu, and his patron, the governor. The governor mistook bad omens of a master as the profound advice of Penup,^f due to which he was afflicted with smallpox. Since no pus had formed by the end of the month, the doctor found it very difficult to treat. Finally, he died in the city of Towa in Chidak Baiwasatwa.

Hence, it is clear that Governor Püntsok Namgyel died in the latter part of 1631 in the Lhokha region. His son, Karma Tenkyong Wangpo, immediately assumed responsibility for the government.

Since Hortöpa and Ami Geru were conquered by Halhapa Mongolians in 1632, the Tsang governor assembled an army from the thirteen myriarchies in the hopes of preserving himself. Meanwhile, he sent a

^e Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press), 102.

^f Penup (*pad gnubs*) was the ninth century tantric adept Nup Sangyé Yeshé who was a disciple of Padmasambhava. His advice would be paradigmatically wise and reliable.

mounted messenger to carry an appeal to Paṇchen Rinpoché and to ZheIngo, instructing them to go to Ching in the midst of the Mongolians. Conforming to their essential instructions, the Mongolians returned to their own country. Upon the arrival of the news, the Tsang ruler demonstrated his happiness by smiling and rejoicing with his ministers. The large numbers of Mongolian troops set out for their homes in Dam once again. The Tibetans went their separate ways, without their renown or their dignity being tarnished. On the way, ZheIngo Trashī Sönam Chöpel said:¹⁴

Everyone was happy and smiling, knowing that they were returning to Drepung. Even though sooner or later the Mongolians might return, this was the situation.

By virtue of these occurrences, Ganden Podrang made an appeal to Paṇchen Rinpoché, and the fine details were worked out with the Tsang governor. In accordance with the terms of the settlement worked out at the Jakpo Hill,⁸ Ganden Podrang was given jurisdiction over Lhasa.

Previously, whenever the Dalai Lama would visit Lhasa, he would stay at the private residence of Gomo Nangpa. However, at this time, he came to reside in Lhasa in quarters that were built for him in the western part of the Tsuklakhang. Except for a few people, like Kagyé Nangpa, most of the Lhasa nobility presented the Dalai Lama with gifts marking the fact that Lhasa had been granted to him by the Tsang governor. Although since 1618, butter lamps had been restricted, the practice of making such offerings was restored at Ganden Khangsar as it had been before.

Ganden Khangsar had been Kyishö Taktsewa's estate in the past, and although by this time it consisted of only a large house in the middle of a field, it was subsequently rebuilt. The Dalai Lama was asked to come and live there. The fifth Dalai Lama says:¹⁵

It was a pleasant manor, with the city of Lhasa in front of it and secluded around the rest of it. It was flanked by the village of Nyangdok Deshi and the larger community of Ongsep; the scenery was distracting.

The senior teachers from Sera and Drepung monasteries came and blessed the hearth, and such nobles as Wöñchödzé were invited to the estate for tea. A large party was held, and a tent was pitched at Chukormé Park where the senior cavalymen were served alcoholic beverages.

⁸ See p. 330. That agreement, brokered by Paṇchen Rinpoché, was reached in 1621.

In considering this account, keep in mind that at that time Lhasa was extremely small and that even Gyetap Ramoché Tsuklakhang was eventually included within Ongsep itself.

In the past, some Mongolians had lived at a place with six large lakes, where they formed a government and had a treaty. When their towns were destroyed by King Chahar Lekden, they escaped, and some of them went among the Halha Mongolians. Because of a dispute among their leaders, Halha Choktu was expelled from his home along with his commanders, and he went to the Tsokha Lake. For a while, his power and resources increased tremendously until he became the lord over the entire region of the Tsongön Lake. Since he disliked Buddhism in general and the Gelukpas in particular, he killed or imprisoned a great number of lamas and monks. Like those sorts of great disturbances, Dotö Beri Chökhör Pön Dönyö murdered many Buddhist lamas and monks and cast others into prison due to being a follower of the Bön religion. The sacred objects of Litang Tupchen Monastery were thrown out and the lotus seats and thrones were destroyed.

Both Halha Choktu and Bön Dönyö attempted to join forces with the Tsang governor to obstruct commercial traffic and the pilgrimage routes and to steal from pilgrims. Consequently, the Gelukpa School was at the edge of extinction, like a butter lamp in the wind. Two wise people who were said to be of sound mind and great courage, a Tibetan called Sönam Chöpel and a monk from Amdo Gönlung called Garu Lotsāwa Naché, went to Ü. They sought counsel with the Chief of Kyishö Jeri Taktsépa, Tsokyé Dorjé, and others and asked for instructions from the dharma protector Lamo Oracle. The oracle prophesied that a leader from a northern region would be able to suppress their enemies. This prophecy was kept secret.

In order to find allies, Garu Lotsāwa, together with several Beri soldiers, went in the direction of Dzüngar and explained in detail to the Mongolian king and his ministers how the Tsang governor hated and afflicted the Gelukpa School. The Mongolians assembled and discussed the fact that the two previous Dalai Lamas, Sönam Gyatso and Yönten Gyatso, had provided tremendous benefit to the people in Hor and Mongolian provinces, thereby establishing strong religious and secular relations. Additionally, they noted that special provisions were provided to the Mongolian monks who were always in different monasteries in Ü Tsang. In the end, it was resolved that someone would have to go to Tibet in order to preserve the Gelukpas. Gushri Khan vowed, "I will go." The Tibetan Sönam Chöpel went to Ü, and Garu Lotsāwa went to Tsang in order to spy.

The Tsongön Lake leader Choktu mentioned just above, who had a close relationship with the Tsang Governor, sent his son, Arsalang Taiji, together with ten thousand soldiers, to Ü Tsang in 1635 in order to harass the various Gelukpa monasteries. It seems that when they arrived at the upper reaches of the Drichu River, Gushri Khan heard about it, and he traveled from Dzöngar to Lhasa with a small band of well-armed servants disguised as pilgrims in order to discover if it was true. On the way there, he met Arsalang Taiji, and they became traveling companions. Through many days of conversation with him, the disguised khan learned of Arsalang Taiji's schemes. He explained in detail that it would be unsuitable for Arsalang Taiji to consider the Gelukpas as enemies. The latter, having agreed, proceeded on to Tibet, while Gushri Khan returned to his own country.¹⁶

However, the fifth Dalai Lama's *The Good Silk Cloth* says:¹⁷

Based on discussions between Zhamar Rapjam and Choktu Pön of the Tsang faction, Arsalang Taiji and Tsang were to form a unified government at that time. Zadampa was to seize Lhasa and Baprongpa was to take over Radreng. Ordinary people were to treat religious systems such as the Sakya with indifference, and the Gelukpa were to be destroyed without a trace. The Karma Kagyü and the Drukpa Kagyü religious systems were to be patronized. Since many people felt trepidation towards Arsalang Taiji, he arranged to meet with Tsurpu Garpa.¹⁸ Throughout Ü Tsang, because of the infamy of the Mongolian army, Garpa was unable to show his face, and he fled for Dölgyedra. However, this was a slap in the face to Arsalang Taiji. The accord with Zhamar Rapjam came to be as fanciful as a rainbow in space. Arsalang Taiji went to the Gelukpa side with even greater determination.

Arsalang Taiji did not follow his father's instructions, and at the end of winter, his forces struck into the Drigung area on the right flank and northern Tsang on the left. Taiji himself held the middle at Yardrok with the largest group. Meanwhile, Nakartsepa had to make a strategic retreat from Bapté, Gyantsé, and Zhikatsé, preparing to hold onto the fort alone. As if there was an earthquake, the entirety of Ü Tsang trembled with fearful rumors.

Tarlang Lama spread a rumor among the Mongolians that a Tibetan army would soon fill the land. From the top of Gampala Pass, an army was seen coming into the center of the valley. When the Mongolian forces arrived in Kyishö on New Year's Day of 1636, Arsalang Taiji invited the Dalai Lama to come from Drepung to meet at Ramoché Temple. Thereafter, Arsalang visited the Dalai Lama at Drepung Monastery, where he received an initiation and was given permission to

perform a rite. Subsequently, he gathered up the remainder of the Mongolian troops he had brought to the area and moved to Namtsokha.

The Tsang Governor raised an army of ten thousand soldiers in Ü Tsang and deployed it near Legung in Namtsokha. Simultaneously, the Tsang Governor and his ministers issued an order saying that a settlement might be reached if the Garpas, both the father and son, Taklung Zhapdrung, the Drukpa Incarnation, and the Dalai Lama would go among the Mongolians and mediate.

The respective representatives proceeded to the Mongolian encampment, but initially the point to be discussed did not emerge. However, after a while the Karma Kagyü and Nyingma lamas were magically able to bind the eight classes of violent deities as servants.^h They brought lightning and thunder down onto the Mongolian camp. Arsalang Taiji was suddenly afflicted with a temporary delirium, and thus, the point to be discussed did arise. But since Arsalang did not recover from his affliction, there was no treaty. All that arose was a mutual agreement that combat was not necessary. Like untying a knot, the Tibetan troops dispersed. Thereafter, Zhamar Rapjam and the official Taichin conferred and dispatched a messenger to Choktu at Tsongön Lake. Choktu became furious when he learned what had transpired because Arsalang Taiji (i.e., the son of Choktu) had failed to follow his father's instructions. He sent out trusted couriers to say that Arsalang Taiji and his two confidants should be assassinated. Thus, while he was distracted by his quest for victory at Beri, Arsalang Taiji and his two trusted generals were killed in a single moment.

As soon as Gushri Khan heard about this situation, he consolidated his forces and formed a military alliance with the army of Bātur Taiji.¹⁹ Trudging through mud and over ice, they arrived at Nebu Lungé at the Tsongön Lake. The men and the horses rested and spent the duration of the winter there. This remote area and the nearby mountain were called Merken Yambu. After Gushri Khan brought his forces down to

^h The eight classes of violent deities (*sde brgyad*) are in three series of eight: (1) enchanter (*'gong po*), teudrang (*the'u brang*), ngayam (*nga yam*), earth owner spirit (*sa bdag*), local gods (*yul lha*), female demon (*sman*), tsen (*btsan*), and la (*kla*), (2) ruler of life (*srog bdag*), evil demoness (*ma mo*), lord of death (*gshin rje*), māra (*bdud*), yakṣas (*gnod sbyin*), mu spirit (*dmu*), war god (*dgra lha*), and enchanter (*'gong po*), and (3) zachok chyihipahra (*gza' mchog byi hri pa tra*), jangngön drakpo (*ljang sngon drag po*), comet (*du ba mjug ring*), barwa ratsa (*'bar ba ra tsa*), drajen dzin (*sgra gcan 'dzin*), byinu ratsa (*byi nu ra tsa*), Rahūla (*ra hu la*), and khyabjuk chenpo (*khyab mjug chen po*).

the Tsongön Lake in the first month of 1637, the hill upon which his army of ten thousand fought Choktu's army of thirty thousand turned red with blood. Because his army was thoroughly defeated, Choktu fled. When he was discovered hiding in a hole, he was killed. The remnants of his army immediately ran away, scattering in a flash, as if a pile of peas were hit with a stick.

When Arsalang Taiji's forces in Tibet heard about these matters, they realized there was no place for them to go in Ü Tsang. They also couldn't find a place to live in the Tsongön Lake region. They longed for a home, and it is known that they finally settled in Dzamar and Atrak in the north. Thereafter, Gushri Khan's clan, which had lived in Orö Dzüngar, moved to the Tsongön Lake region. A host of pilgrims and travelers, including Gushri Khan, Joné Chöjé, and Sakyong Tokgö Namgyel Khuwön, arrived in Lhasa. At Ganden Khangsar, they received an initiation and permission to perform a rite from the Dalai Lama Rinpoché. Before the image of Jowo Rinpoché at the Tsuklakhang Monastery, Gushri Khan was praised as the patron of the Gelukpa School. He was also granted the title "Dharma King, Holder of the Faith" and presented with a seal. He was given a magnificent gold image of the conqueror Tsongkhapa as a support for his devotions.

It was an auspicious portent of the enhancement and benefit that was to come for Buddha's teachings. Titles appropriate to their status were also granted to Gushri Khan's son and the other dignitaries. Gushri Khan also conferred titles, such as Ulching Depa upon Zhelngo (Depa Sönam Chöpel), Changdzö of Ladala, Sang Depa of Laja from Drongmé,²⁰ and Trashí Püntsok, who was from the north. After a dialogue between the patron, Gushri Khan, and the preceptor, the Dalai Lama, it was decided to send Darhen Nangso Gendün Dargyé Dzongda to the Harha Orö region in order to spread the Buddhist teachings there. Thereafter, Gushri Khan went to the Tsongön Lake. In the same year, in Lhasa, the Dalai Lama received the vows of full ordination from Pañchen Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen before the image of Jowo Rinpoché.

Around the same time, Dönyö Dorjé, the Bönpo partisan from Den Chökhör Beri in Dotö, sent a message to the governor of Tsangtö, Tenkyong Wangpo, through the merchant Dralha Jengyidong. He wrote:²¹

Next year, I will come to Ü Tsang with an army; you and I shall form an alliance. Since the copper statue called Jowo Rinpoché seems to be causing all of these wars, we should caste it into the river. We should build

one stūpa each on the ruins of Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries. Then throughout Ü, Tsang, and Kham both Buddhist and Bön monks should be considered worthy of respect.

Having agreed with these proposals, the Tsang king also made extensive preparations for war.

In 1639, Gushri Khan sent his messenger Shidi Bātur Khiwa to the Dalai Lama and to Zhelngo with a message expressing his intentions of initially destroying Beri of Kham and later crushing the governor of Tsang once and for all. After the Dalai Lama discussed this matter with Zhelngo, he said:ⁱ

It seems to me that we cannot forestall civil unrest simply by relying on the special qualities of the altruistic attitude that considers oneself and others to be equal. Thus, even if I had pretended that were the case, I could not behave in a way that would be shameful in others' eyes. Shartsö Tsangpa, who has great love for me, is searching for sponsors for Gelukpa monasteries out of his sincere regard for religion.

As for the attacks on Sera and Drepung monasteries, already there has been too much dissension in Lhasa and Rigo [for us to consider retaliation]. As for the Sakya Gongma, the Karmapa, and the Jonangpa, they are the root lamas of the Tsang governor. Thus, why should I challenge them? That being settled, the traditions of the Gelukpa School and especially the vitality and integrity of Ganden Podrang have been consolidated. Thereby, if we involve ourselves in more machinations, the old pretexts could be brought out again. Accordingly, even the status quo could be in great jeopardy.

Zhelngo questioned the Dalai Lama. Although what he had said had relevance for the situation of the Gelukpa monks, Zhelngo recalled the circumstances at Chonggyé.²² The Dalai Lama said that he was different from the Chonggyepas in regards to their contentiousness with the Tsang governor and so forth.²³ There was no reason, he continued, to be resentful toward the Tsang governor. If revenge were exacted for the way the Dalai Lama's father had been treated, then it would demean his status as a monk and his position as the Dalai Lama. He then gave a detailed discourse to Zhelngo, explaining to him what he could not see. He stayed on at Riṣi River, afterwards going to Luguk Lingka. Messengers were sent to Kham. The great fifth Dalai Lama writes:²⁴

ⁱ Much of this material is paraphrased from the fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, pp. 96–97. I have put it in a block quote because Shakabpa represents this as first person speech.

That night in the camp, Zhelngo gave instructions to the messenger, Kaju Genyen Döndrup, in my presence. He said that Beri should be cut by the roots by all necessary means. Thereafter, Gushri Khan himself should return to the Tsongön Lake. His two queens and groups of pilgrims were invited to come to Lhasa. He gave extensive advice against fomenting any civil conflict. The next day, when Kaju Genyen Döndrup was departing, Zhelngo rode out to Ganden Khangsar to give him provisions. Just the two of them rode along speaking for the time it takes to prepare tea twice. However, it hadn't occurred to me that the trill of the flute didn't change into the whistle of an arrow.

In the fifth month of that year, Gushri Khan together with the Mongolian army and the forces of Amdo Parik moved into the Beri region in Dotö, and without needing to wage a large war, many divisions of Beri's forces surrendered.

In the summer of 1640, a great battle was waged at Beri's headquarters. Since Dönyö Dorjé, the Beri leader, was surrounded on all four sides, he was unable to hold his position and made his escape along with a few members of his family. However, those who commit evil actions eventually reap the consequences, and religion is protected. According to people like Damjen Gyatso Trinlé, Dönyö was surrounded on the battlefield, like a moth that dies in the light of a fire. On the twenty-fifth day of the eleventh month, the leader, Dönyö Dorjé, was captured alive and imprisoned at Chamdo. People who had previously been held in that prison, such as lamas from the Sakya, Geluk, Karma Kagyü, Drukpa Kagyü, Drigung Kagyü, and Dakpo Kagyü Schools, and many people that had been imprisoned for taking up collections for the monasteries, were freed, and they no longer had to fear for their lives. The leader, Dönyö, and others who had committed serious crimes were executed. The entire region of Do Kham, from Dartsedo in the east to territory of the king of Jangsatam, were brought under central control and restored to peace.

There is a traditional story which says that a Beri leader existed among the five Hor tribes and that his castle still exists even today. After having inquired into the location of this Beri leader, I agree, taking this as authoritative. In the first edition of my English language book, *Tibet: A Political History*, I explained that it was in the Tehor district.¹ Subsequently, Kyapjé Yongdzin Trijang Dorjé Chang explained

¹ Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History*, p. 105, notes that "Beri is a small district near Kanzé in the province of Kham." However, I have been unable to find any mention

in detail that the Beri leader who was beaten by Gushri Khan was from the Den Chökhör district. At the same time, Dergé Zhuchen Tsültrim Rinchen says:^k

The Beri leaders called Lutsen and Apen Gyel paid their respects at places such as Denyul Chökhör. Although the latter's son, Dönyö Gyel, constructed temples at Chökhör Monastery, subsequently the elder leader of Beri was deceived by a Bönpo, Nangzhik Bönpo, and thereby, he embarked on a mistaken path. He undertook many activities counter to religion, and finally, he was brought before the courts in Chamdo. It was known that he was executed for his accumulated evil actions.

Since this book was shown to me, I found an informed source which indicated that Beri was in Den Chökhör in Amdo. Furthermore, there was an article in the Darjeeling newspaper *Tibetan Freedom*, about the history of Gojo.²⁵ It said that an old servant of the king, Beri Dungdung, met with Gushri Khan and spoke with him about Kyishö Depa Sönam Chöpel's defeat of the Beri king. When the Beri leader, Dönyö, had more powerful armies, he had held control over many areas of Kham and had continually gone to places like Hor Serkhul, Gojo, and Litang Khul. He had built castles and so forth. However, Den Chökhör was his real home.

During the Great Prayer Festival in Lhasa in 1641, Kaju Genyen Döndrup arrived bearing reports of Gushri Khan's victories in Kham. Sechen Opa Shijen arrived with news of the well-being of Gushri Khan's elder queen. The six regions of Do Kham were brought under his control. Although in the end, the Beri king had escaped, it is clear how the effects of actions irrevocably return to the perpetrator, just as a moth inevitably falls into a flame. All of this news was transmitted around the monastic colleges, the tantric colleges, and the Nechung Jok, the seat of the state oracle.²⁶ Depa Sönam Chöpel hoisted flags of good tidings in the four directions around Lhasa, and at the same time, it is said, he raised the great banner of power and fortune.

of Tehor (*dre hor*) in that section of the book. Nonetheless, Tehor is a significant district in Kham.

^k While Shakabpa typically includes reference material in a footnote, on this occasion, he provided that information in the body of the text. He indicated that the relevant passage is to be found in volume thirty of the Dergé Zhuchen Tsültrim Rinchen, *Collected Works*, 25-na-6. However, according to the TBRC file P801, his collected works had contained only thirteen volumes.

After that, some people wondered whether Gushri Khan would return to Tsokha Lake. Some other people wishfully spread the rumor that his troops would come to the vicinity of Lhasa. And whatever ZheIngo said to the Tsang ruler and his ministers left them feeling fearful and skeptical. Sectarian people were the only ones that said Ganden Podrang was definitely inclined towards Tsang. People thought that if they were not freed from the oppression of Tsang laws through the kindness of Gushri Khan, then it would be unlikely that another occasion would come when they would become free.

ZheIngo admitted to the Dalai Lama that when Genyen Döndrup had been sent to Gushri Khan, he was given a message discussing the manner in which war was to be waged. The Dalai Lama said that, first of all, this went beyond the plan to which he had consented, and further, that if the Mongolians did not turn back from Dam, he himself would be willing to go there to persuade them to do so. He told ZheIngo, "By virtue of what you have said in the past, if your efforts are not satisfactory, I will go to Dam myself." He told ZheIngo to abrogate whatever secret deals he had made with Gushri Khan. ZheIngo advised him that it would be good for the Dalai Lama's reputation and the actual situation if he were to give his consent to having Gushri Khan come to Tsang, and the Dalai Lama instructed him to do a divination. He did a dice divination before the deity Pelden with regard to the advisability of widening the war. The divination indicated the strategy would succeed, but that in the long run, it would be harmful. ZheIngo said, "If the strategy is successful, that is enough because in the long run everyone dies." Thus, they made no attempt to forestall the war.

ZheIngo told Pañchen Rinpoché that he would be in danger if he were to remain at Trashi Lhünpo. Since Gushri Khan's elder queen was unable to come to Tsang by virtue of her advanced age, he was informed that he would have to come to Ü. According to the plan, Kaju Yeshé Gyatso was sent out to meet the Pañchen Lama with a short note written by ZheIngo. When Pañchen Rinpoché arrived in Rinpung, word came from Taklung explaining that it was untrue that Gushri Khan had to return to Tsokha Lake.

For a while, Pañchen Rinpoché was forced to stay at Kharuteng. Since ZheIngo was anxious about what might happen, he went among the Mongolians. A few days later, a letter arrived bearing Gushri Khan's seal. Appealing to Tardongné's servant, it indicated Gushri Khan, his ministers, and servants were on their way to Tsang. The letter said, "My queens and I are coming." This message was also given to the

main teachers of Sera and Drepung monasteries. "Until then," it said, "Take care of yourselves." At that time, Rongpa Tamdrinpa arrived with official papers from the Tsang governor, asking Zhelngo why he had left and requesting that he come to his encampment. It had become necessary to tell a lie to Rongpa; Zhelngo replied that he had come in order to see whether he would be able to stop the tide of the Mongolian forces, and he told the Tsang governor, "It would be beneficial if you also would go." Afterwards, he wondered if he should feel shame for telling this lie. He wondered if, after just six or seven months, it would not come to pass that he would have to wander about vainly in the empty plains where no one had been before. These thoughts continually tormented him. Unhesitatingly, deceitful ploys had been employed. At the full moon, Zhelngo arrived, having traveled with Gushri Khan's two queens.²⁷

Paṇchen Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen's *Autobiography* has the following to say about these matters:²⁸

At the end of the autumn of 1640, the Dharma King, Holder of the Faith [i.e., Gushri Khan] sent messengers to Ganden Podrang because both the patron, Gushri Khan, and the preceptor, the Dalai Lama, were unable to go to Trashi Lhünpo due to the very advanced age of the queen. Therefore, we were urged that we must arrive in Ü before Gushri Khan and his queens in order to meet them. It was also said that the Tsang governor's cooperation would be required. The Tsang governor urged me to go. Accordingly, without even concerning myself with the auspiciousness of my travel date, I left Trashi Lhünpo on the eighteenth day of the fourth month. When I arrived in Rinpung, a communiqué arrived from the Tsang governor asking why the Mongolians had come to Dam. Since he said I must return, I turned back.

On the outskirts of Bumtso, another courier arrived saying that I should stay in Rinpung for a while. For about ten days I stayed there without anything to do. Since it seemed that the Mongolians were heading for Tsang, I was told that when they came down, I should meet with them and persuade them to turn back. Accordingly, on the day that we met, Depa Kyishö arrived with one hundred attendants to bring me to the castle.

The next day, Gushri Khan and some soldiers arrived at Panam. Other soldiers followed behind separately. Initially, I tried to go to Trashi Lhünpo and saw the Mongolians come down to Pengön Nakhar. Escorted by one hundred horsemen, I was taken against my will into the midst of the Mongolians from the east end of the large bridge. I wondered what wrong ideas the Tsang governor had that he should be blamed. Additionally, I was concerned about a very large monastery that was newly built near Trashi Lhünpo Monastery. A high-walled monastery had been constructed behind Trashi Lhünpo, and because of the foolishness of many people, it was called the "Suppressor of Trashi Lhünpo."

I definitely wanted to have my advice included in the discussions on the causes of this war. In general, the discrimination of cause and effect is little known. The supreme scholar, Vasubandhu, says:

Because there is just one purpose in war,
Everyone engaged in it is the same.

The day before I arrived among the army, I did not consult with the khan, the treasurer, or anyone else. The Three Precious Jewels know this well. The Tsang chief and his minister asked again and again for me to negotiate, and they also asked Gushri Khan. I told the Tsang chief to vow that he would not return for seven years. Without thoroughly listening to me or considering what I had said, now they said I should go to Drepung Monastery. Accordingly, I went to Ü by way of a northern route. During this time, people's disagreements gave rise to their respective aspirations. By virtue of the compassion of the gods and the lamas, I traveled safely.

Accordingly, the troops from Upper Tsang, who had come out before Gushri Khan's troops, opposed and resisted them on the banks of the Namtso Lake, at Öyuk, and at Shangmang Ralukdong.

However, some of them were frightened in the pre-dawn darkness and surrendered, while most of the rest fled back to their respective homes. Several of the remainder, who had gathered together, fortified the line and moved to Zhikatsé. The Tsang governor had abandoned Zhöldröng, and the other nearby Tsang forces seized Zimdrak Druknyi Dzong, Chödé, Pangjel, and Luding. There was great concern about their security. When the Mongolian army arrived, they were unable to force a surrender with guns and arrows because the Tsangpas had sufficient food to last a long while.

The Mongolians seized villages on either side of the Tsang stronghold as well as secure areas, and they waited. Zhelngo Sönam Chöpel dispatched a Namgyel monk called Lozang into the Tsang stronghold in disguise where he was to determine how to overthrow them. He reported back that since the castle was very secure, they would have to hope for an internal revolution against the governor or for the Tsang governor himself to die. Unless they waited until their food ran out, there was no way for them to succeed. Because Zhelngo Sönam Chöpel was frightened, he explained matters to the Dalai Lama, telling him that he had expected the mere arrival of Gushri Khan to frighten and disperse the Tsangpas. As hostilities had already gone beyond that point, he asked if the Dalai Lama would go to Tsang to mediate an agreement. The Dalai Lama said:²⁹

Previously, I have been kind and gentle, without being able to speak stern words to you. Now, my mind has become completely irritated. There is no chance of defeating the Tsangpas, unless you are able to kill them by depriving them of food. I have expressed how such unpleasant business has arisen, but you did not listen. Now, it is evident to everyone that Ganden Podrang is the instigator in this war due to our role in causing the revolt. Everyone knows this. In such a situation, what hope is there for mediation? Although the Tsang Governor might, by subterfuge, accept an end to hostilities by pretending to be satisfied, what will happen in the end, when the Mongolians comply by returning to their own land? As soon as the messenger arrived to say that Gushri Khan had reached Tsang, my mind was settled on this dismal outcome. It is certain that both feet are not the first to walk. How can I undertake both worldly and religion affairs? Do what is fitting for you. If it succeeds, that is fine. If it doesn't, then I have decided not to live under Tsang domination.

A group of Drepung monks who had not yet taken full ordination and an army of people who lost their traditional estates prepared to assault Dongkar on the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month.

It was taken as a given that they would not be able to succeed in just one day given the strength of the castle. Yet without needing more time than that between the morning and afternoon tea, they were able to take both the castle and the nearby village. Thus, their fundamental strategy must have been effective. Because of outshining their enemy in that battle, those who commanded Dechen and Neu proclaimed their victory. Because Dongkar had been captured, the leader of Dechen Castle invited both the master Pañchen Rinpoché and Zhelngo, offering himself in defeat. Likewise, the fortresses of Neu, Ölga, Öndrakha, Chonggyé, Lhagya Riwa, and Gongkar gradually admitted defeat one after another.

Separately, Chayulwa and Kurapa, like one who has a great thirst for water, were determined to stage a revolt. Neu Dongpa and Chögyel Podrang, like bees who die in a flame, followed after the Tsang troops, without considering the consequences. Kongpo Karsipa attacked Shokhawa and others at Gyel Metok Tang, and from the left about one hundred Orö Mongolian troops, together with Nyerpa Ngöndrup and Chöjé Tsepa, led their armies into the area. When the Mongolians reached E, Kongpo temporarily returned to his own region. Lhajawa and an army from the southern region, together with Zhelngo and his attendants, reached Nyangtö in Tsang. Tardongné served as Zhelngo's deputy, and his son, Raptén, gathered provisions such as food and firewood for the Mongolian troops. Drongmené seized Gyok and Rigo and other such places. Everyone had to assume new responsibilities.

A major campaign was being planned for the ninth month. However, it is said that it could not be very comprehensive because of a shortage of provisions. Again and again, the Tsang governor sent letters bearing his seal to Taklung Zhapdrung, Paṇchen Rinpoché, and Gyeltsap Drungpa saying that they must come to mediate. Although it seemed that the Tsang governor would be defeated, no one knew when that would happen. However, in accordance with the entreaties of both the patron Gushri Khan and the preceptor the Dalai Lama, Paṇchen Rinpoché spent the rest of the winter at Öyuk Lingkar.

On the twenty-fifth day of the second month of 1642, Mongolian forces captured the new monastery.¹ At the beginning of the third month, Gushri Khan, Dharma King, Holder of the Faith, had succeeded in bringing all of Tibet, the Land of Wooden Doors, under his control. Offerings were made to the protector deities. There was rejoicing and flags were raised at Sera and Drepung monasteries and in Lhasa.

Sakya Zhapdrung and Paṇchen Rinpoché immediately left in order to ask that the Tsang governor's life be spared. By meeting with Gushri Khan for this purpose, they did what they could on behalf of the precious governor, but because of strict prohibitions previously established, they were unable to bring him much benefit, beyond sparing his life. Since the governor lacked enough provisions for even one day, he was given a tea cook and so forth. Also, his possessions were brought in about a thousand loads.³⁰ Eventually, Desi Karma Tenkyong Wangpo, Drönnyer Bön Gongpa, Tanak Olönpa, and Gangzukpa were surrounded by Mongolian forces and sent off to Neu Castle.

According to Gushri Khan's wish, Tardongné took a petition to the Dalai Lama asking him to come to Tsang immediately. When the invitation arrived, sturdy horses were gathered, and the party left Drepung Monastery on the eleventh day of the third month. On the day they reached Dechen below Topgyel, a great crowd of monks and lay people came out to greet the Dalai Lama. This party included Gushri Khan, Dharma King, Holder of the Faith, Zhelngo Sönam Chöpel, Gushri Lama, Garu Kaju, Ertini Daiching, and Kyishö Zhapdrung Machen. When Gushri Khan initially met the Dalai Lama, he presented him with Pakpa Rinpoché's agate bell, an offering object fashioned from

¹ Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press), 110, confirms that the monastery indicated here is Trashi Zilnön.

emerald, and other treasures that were famed throughout Mongolia. He also offered the Dalai Lama the thirteen provinces of Tibet. He gave whatever was to his left and to his right.

The Dalai Lama was received by Tsedong Zhapdrung below the monastery. Subsequently, having only gone part of the way, Nenying Zhapdrung, the teachers and students of Trashī Lhünpo Monastery, and about six hundred cavalry with Tibetan and Mongolian commanders came to escort him. On the twenty-fifth day, he arrived at Trashī Lhünpo in the company of a monastic procession. The Dalai Lama entered with Pel Pakmo Drupa. He also went to Zhikatsé to have tea with Zhapdrung Rinpoché of Nedongtsé and receive his congratulations.

Two thousand one hundred and eighty-six years after our teacher, the Compassionate One [i.e., Buddha], thoroughly passed beyond sorrow, or in the Christian year of 1642, on the fifth day of the fourth month of the Water-Horse year in the eleventh sexagenary cycle of the Tibetan calendar, the Dalai Lama was in the great audience hall of Samdruptsé Castle in Zhikatsé amidst a limitless overflowing crowd of monks and lay people, important Tibetan and Mongolian lamas, and so forth. He was raised up on the high golden fearless snow lion throne, where he was invested with the leadership as the honorable fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lozang Gyatso. Gushri Khan and Zhelngo Sönam Chöpel were seated on two thrones that were lower by one-fifth than the throne of the supreme sovereign.

The khan gave the Dalai Lama a variety of gifts including of a special long greeting scarf, a maṇḍala of body, speech, and mind, and three great offerings that had been given to Pakpa Rinpoché by Kublai Khan were led around. This latter set of three gifts consisted of King Magadha's share of the sacred relics of Buddha Āṅgīrasa,^m the divine mirror which had belonged to Khandro Yeshé Gyatsoⁿ and which had been discovered as a treasure by Chöwang Rinpoché, and the marvelous stitched image of King Rikden^o commissioned by Rinpung Ngawang Jikten Wangchuk. Thus, the earth, the tribes, and the people from

^m Āṅgīrasa is the clan name of Buddha Śākyamuṇi. According to Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), p. 946, the king of Magadha (*ma skyes dgra*) was the son of King Bimbisāra, the great patron of Buddha during his lifetime. In 1253, these relics had been given to Sakya Paṇḍita by Kublai Khan. See p. 218 above.

ⁿ I.e., Padmasambhava's Tibetan consort.

^o I.e., a king of Shambhala.

Dartsedo in the east to Ladakh in the west were offered as subjects to the Dalai Lama. Moreover, it was said that Gushri Khan together with all of his descendents would always be prepared to offer services for the religion. Zhelngo Sönam Chöpel, also known as Sönam Raptan,³¹ assumed the leadership of the government as the regent (*sde srid*) under the Dalai Lama. This was proclaimed all over Tibet.

The Dalai Lama declared that monasteries and boundaries should be restored to their former condition. Henceforth, people were to exhibit fidelity towards the religion, and there were to be no resentments over previous disputes. He said it would be best if all religious institutions were restored to their previous affiliation. The Dalai Lama concluded by saying that they must follow the example of the Dharma King Kublai Khan and Pakpa Rinpoché. When the Dalai Lama made these remarks to the preceptor and patron,³² Gushri Khan joined his hands at his heart and nodded his head. The Regent Sönam Chöpel was skeptical, not knowing where events would lead. Other people looked forward to their possessions and their land since the civil conflict had come to an end; aside from that, there were no extensive discussions about enhancing the resources of the religion and the Tibetan people. In the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month, the Dalai Lama left Zhikatsé, touring around Zhalu, Gyantsé, Nakartsé, Gongkar, Sangpu, and so forth. On the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month, he arrived at Drepung Monastery.

Meanwhile, the lay people and monasteries who remained faithful to Tsang were plotting. According to the plot, more or less all of them were to rise up at one time. The castles at Namling and Rinpung were seized by the Tsang forces in the ninth month and Panam was surrounded by soldiers. Nangso Norbu escaped, having abandoned Gyantsé Castle. Forces made up of yak herders and so forth reached Zhikatsé and Samdruptsé under the leadership of Tanak O Lönpa. Because of these and other occurrences, the Tsang side met little resistance. Zhokhawa's troops set fire to Dzingchi Monastery. In light of the critical situation, Gushri Khan and Sönam Chöpel departed in the direction of Dakpo and Kongpo along with Mongolian and Tibetan troops. Due to this, the corpses of some five or six thousand pro-Karma Kagyü troops from Kongpo, including Zhokha Nangso, were burned. Subsequently, about eight thousand troops of Jupa Purtsé Lhagangpa turned back. In retaliation, Drönnyer Tsoksokpa and Dröngmené surrounded about three hundred Mongolian troops led by the Halha minister's younger brother, Dayen Noyön. Mongolian and Tibetan troops deployed under

the leadership of Adar Khoshichi, the aide of Gushri Khan's elder queen, gradually captured various Tsang districts and estates.

Among the people who were incarcerated at the military prison at Kongpo was a man named Jama Chöying. A letter found in his amulet box reads as follows:³³

Gushri Khan and Desi Sönam Chöpel should be assassinated, and both Pañchen Rinpoché and the Dalai Lama should be imprisoned in Kongpo. The Gelukpa monasteries should be destroyed. For his fidelity during the civil turmoil, Kurapa should be given an estate through the Iron-Monkey year (1680). The three areas, Chonggyé, Rigo, and Ölga should be held by Tsé, Kur, and Zhöl.³⁴ Money should be taken from the treasury of the Gongkar camp. Those who are responsible for the revolt should be pacified, as before.

Kurapa should be given a small piece of land from someone else in Nyel and Öldak. A deputy should be appointed over the resisters in Rinpung, Lhatö, and elsewhere. The Tsang governor, who is at the estate in Neu, should be freed. Thereafter, you, who have patronized the Sakya and Jonangpa schools, should shift to patronizing only the Karma Kagyü. Zhikatsé, Shangnamling, and Panam should be liberated.³⁵ Arrangements should be made to keep Chief Kyishöpa in our camp by giving him Dechen and Tsel, since it is desirable to keep him from straying to others.

The original letter which was attached to an order of the Karmapa was put in the hands of the preceptor and patron, Sönam Chöpel and Gushri Khan.

Gushri Khan became furious and issued a decree saying that the Tsang governor and his two ministers who were staying at Neu must be executed with the poison called monkshood (*bong nag*). The one essential point for Gushri Khan was that the followers of Kagyü teachings were to be pursued and destroyed. Again, the preceptor and patron went to Kongpo with their troops, crushing the army commanders and troops. After attaining total victory in this battle, there were no more regional or sectarian conflicts in Tibet at that time; religious and political elements existed under one silk flag. Thus, for a while, the common people experienced a little peace. Having become the religious and temporal head of all Tibet, the Dalai Lama received delegations from India and Nepal that had been sent to offer greetings.

That same year, Desi Sönam Chöpel toured various localities in Tsang and Dö, making a detailed survey of the land and the population. He gradually appointed officials to assess the taxes. In 1643, when Gushri Khan and Desi Sönam Chöpel went to Lhodrak, the Karmapa was staying at Lhodrak Nyidé. Meanwhile, taking advantage of the opportunity,

Taklung Zhapdrung went to see whether he could bring about some mutual agreement. However, the Karmapa felt that he could not stay, and so he escaped to Kham.³⁶

Since in the previous year there had been disagreements between the five upper regions of Mönpa and the Bhutanese. In 1644, Gushri Khan and Desi Sönam Chöpel sent a force of about seven hundred Mongolian troops into the middle of the war in Bhutan while they remained in Lhodrak.³⁷ Since the southern passages were well fortified, these soldiers suffered many losses, and various leaders were imprisoned, including Nangso Ngödrup, Drongtsené, and Duchungné. Even the small number of the Mongolian troops that remained free suffered there. Thus, this strategy turned out to be a poor one. That was the first war between Ganden Podrang and Bhutan. Zhapdrung Ngawang Namgyel writes about this war in his biography:³⁸

Then, although the Gelukpas also seized Kawang Castle in a cunning manner, it was no great loss. When the story was related to the leaders, a large force of Bhutanese came. Thereby, many thousands of pieces of armor, guns, and so forth, and countless bladed weapons, great tents, horses, mules, and so forth were seized. By virtue of having love for Jetsün Sakyapa Chenpo and all the sentient beings of Avalokiteśvara's Land of Snow (Tibet), there were no deaths, and the military commanders were apprehended in order to guarantee nonaggression. All the soldiers were escorted up to the southern border of Tibet and were happily returned to their own country. In that way, it is said, the captured armor of Ganden Podrang and Mongolian³⁹ troops were taken to other villages such as one at Bumtang Monastery.

Another story says, "The armor and bladed weapons are now kept inside a building maintained by Bumtang Monastery."

The protector Dalai Lama, the regent of Ganden Podrang Sönam Chöpel, and Gushri Khan, together with their attendants had a meeting and decided to construct a palace that would be unrivaled in this world. It was to be built on the site where the stone walls of the ancient Tibetan King Songtsen Gampo's Red Palace still remained. Having come to an agreement on the plans, the Dalai Lama, Sönam Chöpel, and Gushri Khan rode out to the site on the twenty-eighth day of the third month of 1645. The retired Künkhyen Chöying Rangdröl drew the geomantic lines pacifying the earth spirits with his own hand. The ceremonial horn of the Conqueror Tsongkhapa from Ganden Monastery and the ceremonial horns of Lhajik Dīpaṃkara Atiśa and Sakya Paṇḍita were brought out and sounded in all directions.

On the twenty-ninth day of the third month, the ritual dance that tames the earth was performed. The image of Avalokiteśvara that had

been used by King Songtsen Gampo in his practice had previously been given to Tumé Chechen Taiji by Kyishö Depa Apel⁴⁰ as a reward for his military alliance. It was kept in Mongolia at that time. Yet, on the twenty-second day of the fourth month, it was effortlessly brought to the site and conveyed in a religious procession through the magical powers of Gushri Khan's queen, Dalai Kunji (Sunji).⁴¹ Indentured laborers from the estates of Ü Tsang were requested to serve three-year terms, and thereby, the entire palace was constructed.

Subsequently, Desi Sangyé Gyatso oversaw the construction of the Red Palace and gathered together its contents. It was entirely complete in forty-three years and was known as the incomparable second house of Avalokiteśvara, the Great Palace, or the Potala Palace.^p Primarily, it was a temple where the images of Buddha and the bodhisattvas could reside. It was also an archive for housing the discourses of the ten thousand collected works of Indian and Tibetan scholars and adepts on the corpus of Buddha's word (sūtras).

There were private chambers in which the Dalai Lama was to live and public chambers for religious teachings and festivities. Various government and commercial offices were located there. A treasure room was built to house such things as jewels, gold, silver, and silk garments which are rare in the world. There were pantries in the outer halls for storing tea and the like. The monks of Pendé Leksheling Monastery lived in the west wing. It was enormous and beautifully constructed throughout. This durable, secure, and marvelous palace, which is renowned throughout the entire world, was constructed in this way. If one wishes to know about these matters in more detail, one should consult the records of the great palace.⁴²

As previously stated,^q Tibet and Bhutan fought a war in which several of the Tibetan commanders were captured and held as a guarantee of peace. Pañchen Lozang Chögyen and Sakya Dakchen Sönam Wangchuk

^p The Potala Palace was constructed in two stages. The first part, built between 1645 and 1648, was called the White Palace, and it served as the fifth Dalai Lama's home from 1649 until his death in 1682. The second part of the Potala, the Red Palace, was built by Desi Sangyé Gyatso between 1691 and 1694. For information on the origins and symbolic significance of the Potala Palace, see Anne Chayet, "The Potala, Symbol of the Power of the Dalai Lamas," in *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century: The Capital of the Dalai Lamas*, ed. Francoise Pommaret (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 39–52.

Geomancy is defined as "the divination of the landscape" in Keith Dowman, *The Sacred Life of Tibet* (London: Thorson, 1997), 147. In an extensive discussion of pilgrimage, he describes how the reading of the landscape as sacred is deployed in Tibetan religious life.

^q See p. 350 above.

beseched the Bhutanese, asking for a peace treaty. According to the provisions of the agreement:

The people of Mönpa and Bhutan should not go to war, and their borders should return to what they were previously. They must coexist harmoniously. The rich offering of rice given to Tsang in former times should be given to Ganden Podrang. The soldiers who were held as collateral should be returned to their native lands immediately.

They agreed to this advice, but it was not long before, in 1648, the Tibetan armies again made inroads into Bhutan in three places. One unit from Ü arrived at a place half a day's journey from Punakha, and another unit from Tsang forces seized the Sindokar Valley. Then, they undertook a long journey surrounding Hungrel. After one month of campaigning, Sadro and Tsetré sent a petition to the regent recounting that their military strategy had developed well. However, Norbu's military encampment of people who had come to Patro^r from Pakri escaped in terror. Most of their supplies and armor were lost, and they were forced to find shelter in the center of Pakri instead of camping. When exaggerated accounts of this defeat began to be circulated, the other forces from Ü Tsang returned home. Consequently, all three units were embarrassed.⁴³

In regards to that, Zhapdrung Ngawang Namgyel's biography, *The Southern Retinue, Discoursing on the Sphere of the Great Cloud of Religion* says:⁴⁴

All of the Tibetan leaders who were held as a guarantee against attack were sent back to their own country with presents, thereby fulfilling the terms of the treaty. The following year,^s however, the Tibetans sent an even larger force than before into Bhutan. For three months, many catapults and firearms bombarded the area. However, the Bhutanese performed a great religious ceremony, and the blessings from that ceremony are said to have protected the religious images and paintings from harm.

Since they couldn't find even a small opening, the Tibetan soldiers returned. At their encampment on the Tibetan border, they lit a cooking fire, from which a great cloud of smoke suddenly spread. A rumor spread through the camp that the Bhutanese had arrived in front of them. The Tibetan forces escaped without even using the road, leaving behind their armor and provisions. A great quantity of armor, guns, and so forth that

^r Patro is the Bhutanese seat of government.

^s The cited text indicates the two conflicts took place a year apart. However, Shakabpa's account places the first war in 1644 and the second one in 1648.

had been left was brought to the Bhutanese treasury. Having captured and imprisoned many soldiers and troops commanders, they were victorious in the battle.

From about that year, several Kagyü monasteries that had been seized in Tibet were converted into Gelukpa monasteries.⁴⁵

At the same time, the Dalai Lama sent his representatives, Lhakhangpa and Bakdro,⁴⁶ personally to make a detailed study of the land and the people between the Dri Chu River in Dotö and Dartsedo in such places as Jakla Pass, the five regions of Horser—Gyelrong, Gyeltang, Ba, Litang, and Jün—Muli, Garkok, Lingsang, Lhatok, Den, and Nangchen. They appointed new government officials who were to perform a census, and they arranged the payment of annual taxes with the leaders of the farmers and the nomads. Those taxes were used to provide for the monasteries that existed in the respective regions as well as to enhance and to feed the people who lived in those areas. A certain amount had to be allocated for the local militia to protect the different areas, and the remainder was deposited in the government treasury. Fifty-six separate new ten-page books were made to record these transactions.⁴⁷

The Chinese Da Ming emperor was unable to protect the various Chinese districts sufficiently. As a result, internal political disputes arose, and the wealth of the nation declined. Thus, China was vulnerable and lost its security when confronted by the cunning tactics of a group of Mongolian people from the east called the Manchurians. The kingdom of the Chinese emperor was lost along with full control over the Chinese people. Thus, Shunzhi (Dri-i), the first Manchu emperor, convinced all of the great and powerful people to join in his government.

He was told that the Chinese-Tibetan border was very extensive, particularly to the northeast of Tibet where China and Mongolia meet. The emperor was advised that the Mongolians continually attacked the Chinese border, and since they received religious instructions from the Dalai Lama, they might be dissuaded from harming and persecuting the Chinese and the Manchus if good preceptor and patron relations existed between the China and Tibet. After thoroughly considering this history, the emperor clearly understood the great benefits that would accrue to China, and it was universally agreed that it was very important to have the Dalai Lama Rinpoché Lama visit Beijing and to display great respect and praise toward him.

In previous years, messengers had been sent from China asking the Dalai Lama to come in order to fulfill this purpose. Again in 1650

and 1651, invitations from the Manchu emperor had come on different occasions by way of Nomchi Lama, Taön Norbu Wönpo, Ngonö Khoya, Sechen Wangpo, Sherap Lama, and so forth. On the twenty-fifth day of the third month of 1652, a group of riders came to see him off as he left in a procession from the glorious Drepung Monastery for China. Pañchen Rinpoché and all sorts of important central Tibetans accompanied him as far as Damtö Trashitang, and Desi Sönam Chöpel went as far as Nyuklé Lating. All the monks and lay people from the monasteries in the northern part of Tibet came out to greet him. In the seventh month, he reached Kumbum, and in the ninth month, Yung Taiching and Nyinshā. Throughout that time, he was greeted and seen off by many thousands of Chinese and Mongolian leaders each day, and it was requested that this arrangement not be terminated.

When the Dalai Lama arrived in a place called Usu Turu, the emperor's representative, Jorik Tupwang, arrived to say that the emperor himself would come to greet the Dalai Lama at a place called Khotor, one day from Beijing. Again, when he came to a bridge called Chinghong, a delegation with an escort of three thousand Ujing Chingwang cavalry arrived from the emperor. He respectfully explained that the next day the emperor would come to greet him at Khotor.⁴⁸ On the sixteenth day of the eleventh month, there was a grand reception at Khotor at which the emperor greeted the Dalai Lama.

The emperor took the Dalai Lama Rinpoché by the hand and presented him with a greeting scarf. They each asked after the other's health through translators and exchanged gifts. Extensive preparations were made. On the seventeenth day, a procession consisting of the emperor, the nobility, an army too large for the eye to see, Chinese monks, and the common people accompanied the party into Beijing. The Dalai Lama Rinpoché was enthroned at the Yellow Palace, a distance of a couple of miles from the emperor's palace. The Yellow Palace with its garden had been newly constructed for the Dalai Lama Rinpoché at a cost of ninety thousand ounces of silver. Several Chinese books report things like the following:⁴⁹

The emperor at the time of the Dalai Lama Rinpoché's arrival was out hunting deer and did not send out a delegation to meet the Dalai Lama on the road.

That is absolutely untrue. Nothing more is required to verify this than the previously mentioned reports that Jorik Tupwang had gone to the Usu Turu region and Ujing Chingwang cavalry had been sent to the

bridge called Chinghong, respectively, to greet the Dalai Lama Rinpoché. Moreover, one is able to see this clearly from Tieh-tseng Li's account which says:⁵⁰

Not only did the Emperor happily go out to meet the Dalai Lama at a mutually agreed upon place and offered him Chinese silk, praise and so forth, but in order to show his esteem, he wanted to go to meet him at the Chinese-Tibetan border, only being dissuaded from doing so by his senior ministers.

The emperor then offered a gold maṇḍala and other suitable objects to the Tiśri (the Dalai Lama). He also sent several ministers to call on the Dalai Lama, including Kapala Ama and Asken Ama.⁵¹ On the Tibetan New Year of 1653, a great celebration was held, and the civilian and military ministers, all the great and powerful people, and the Mongolian leaders from afar came to meet the Dalai Lama.

The formal meeting with the emperor was to take place on the eleventh day of the first month. The capital was surrounded by a series of three stone walls of white, yellow, and grey. All around the outer fence, the entire city was vast and extensive. Chinese troops were arrayed outside the main gate of the palace's private chambers. The seven royal symbols,^t various weapons, silk military flags, umbrellas, and banners were raised. The sound of glorious music that came from the front of the palace filled the air, and the aristocrats rose up respectfully. The Dalai Lama Rinpoché entered in a side door of the palace's private chapel and processed on a carpet of gold silk.

At the same time, the emperor entered from a back door, and upon presenting the Dalai Lama with a greeting scarf, the two proceeded together. In the center of the audience chamber was the emperor's golden throne with a sitting bench on top of it. To the right of that, the Dalai Lama's gold throne was arranged. Tea and many different sorts of food and fruits were arranged on gold plates. They asked after each other's health by way of translators, and then dances, music, and so forth were performed. Tea was also served to the Demo Incarnation, the abbot of Pelkhor Chödé, Jaisang Depa, Mergen Kaju, and to the fifteen private servants for the three duties pertaining to wardrobe, sleeping, and ceremonies.

^t These seven symbols are depicted in the back pages of *The Great Treasury of Chinese and Tibetan Words*, (Beijing: Nationalities Publishing, 1993).

After dismissing their subordinates, the emperor invited the Dalai Lama into his private chambers where they had relaxed and detailed discussions. Having again delegated Kapala Ama to accompany the Dalai Lama back to the Yellow Palace where he could rest, the emperor offered the Dalai Lama great gifts adorned with pearls, a priceless rosary made of pearls the size of two thumbs, and other such gifts. After that, the preceptor and patron⁵² met several times. On the eighteen day of the second month, there was another large reception for the Dalai Lama at the palace, at which time he was honored with a beautiful group of gifts made of gold, silver, silk, and so forth. The emperor's mother and uncle also met with the Dalai Lama at his residence, the Yellow Palace, and presented him with extensive offerings. Sir Charles Bell examined the manner in which the great fifth Dalai Lama and the first Manchu Emperor Shunzhi met and greeted each other to see if there was mutual recognition of sovereignty and independence. With regard to the question of whether one was higher than the other, Charles Bell's *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* says:⁵³

W. W. Rockhill, to whose scholarly work I have already referred, was for some years American Minister to China. He dealt with the question of Tibetan independence of China, and obtained his information for the most part from Chinese sources. As a result of his enquiries, he came to the conclusion that the fifth Dalai Lama, when visiting Peking in A.D. 1652, came there as an independent monarch, being at that time neither under China nor under any other nation.

Tieh-tseng Li also has made such assertions with respect to Rockhill's explanation:⁵⁴

At this period of China's relations with Tibet, the temporal power of the Lama, backed by the arms of Gushri Khan and the devotion of all Mongolia, was not a thing for the emperor of China to question.

However, Li goes on to say "During the audience, the Lama knelt before he was given a seat." All the Tibetan records only mention that before and after the different meetings, the Dalai Lama and the emperor exchanged greeting scarves. The story of the Dalai Lama going down to his knees cannot be correct at all. Hugh Richardson, the representative in Lhasa of the British and Indian governments, says:⁵⁵

The only suggestion that Li can produce of any treatment of the Dalai Lama as a vassal is that it is reported in Chinese records that he bent the knee in his reception by the Emperor. On such points one may have doubts of the veracity of Chinese reporting. I have personal knowledge of

similar unfounded claims in regard to the ceremony at the enthronement of the present (fourteenth) Dalai Lama. In the case of the Vth Dalai Lama it should be remembered that the Emperor was not only a newcomer from the robust and informal Manchu court to the ancient ceremony and make-believe of the Chinese court; he was also an ardent Buddhist and there are stories that he resigned the throne and ended his life as a Buddhist monk. It is probable that his reception of the (fifth) Dalai Lama was so sincerely effusive that his Chinese court annalists, with an eye to their rigid and artificial conventions, were compelled to add some favourable embroidery to the facts.

The emperor supplicated the Dalai Lama Rinpoché to teach the Buddhist monasteries in China how to repair the defilements to the good rules of their religious system and how to increase what was not defiled. At the same time, his Mongolian patrons also made such a request. Accordingly, the Dalai Lama issued instructions suitable to this purpose affixed with his seal. All the high ranking monks in the Chinese and Mongolian Buddhist monasteries were told to observe the monastic code and to adopt and abandon behaviors accordingly. Subsequently, the civilian and military leader of high rank in the emperor's government came to see the Dalai Lama off, and on the twentieth day of the second month, he rode away from Beijing toward Tibet.

A very large reception was held when the Dalai Lama arrived at a place called Taikha on the fifth day of the fifth month. Through his representatives, the emperor presented gifts, including a gold seal and fifteen gold bars equal in size to the thickest religious text, four fingers high and the span of the hand in width. On each of the bars, words of praise were embossed in relief in the Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan scripts.⁵⁶

To the unchangeable Dorjé Chang, the Dalai Lama, the virtuous one from the great abode of the gods in the west, where all the people under the sky are united in one religion, the precepts of the Buddha who abides in bliss.

The Dalai Lama, also expressing his admiration, gave similar gold bars to the emperor. They were inscribed with the Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan words in relief saying,⁵⁷ "God of the sky, Jamyang, the Great Lord Emperor."^u

^u See David M. Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38 (1978), no. 1, 5-34, for an account of the depiction of the emperor of China as an emanation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.

When the Dalai Lama arrived at the Blue Castle (Koko Khoten), Alten Khan's capital and the place where the remains of Jamchen Chöjé Śākya Yeshé rested,^v he sent most of his party on to Ziling to the east of Tsongöñ Lake. Meanwhile, he and a few of his attendants went to the monastic centers and other places in Domé (Amdo), where he had been invited. After fortifying their religious bonds, they went to Kumbum, joining up with the group of attendants that had arrived previously. Also, messengers arrived there from Ü Tsang from the preceptor and patron—Gushri Khan and Sönam Chöpel—and from Pañchen Rinpoché and the different monasteries and so forth. The Dalai Lama pleased the sponsors of Tsongöñ Lake by giving them religious teachings and material gifts, and then he gradually proceeded onward.^w The different lamas, leaders, chiefs, and monasteries of the Kham region, such as the Chamdo Zhisang Incarnation, and the chiefs and ministers of the four northern peoples all came out to welcome the Dalai Lama and to bid him farewell.

Likewise, on the fifth day of the tenth month, the supreme Desi Sönam Chöpel, the lamas and incarnations of the greater and lesser monasteries, Drigung Kagyü and Taklung Kagyü, and so forth and the different government officials came out to receive the Dalai Lama. He toured Radreng, the headwaters of the Kadampa School. Gradually, he proceeded on. The people of Lhasa came out from all directions to receive the Dalai Lama on the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month. A monastic procession was held and festive dancing was performed for the Dalai Lama. Having arrived back in the Lhasa, he was re-established at the great Rasa Trülñang Tsuklakhang on Tibet's vajra seat.

The Dalai Lama met with the aging Pañchen Rinpoché and toured all of the areas around Tsang. At that time, word came that Gushri Khan, Dharma King, Holder of the Faith, had become ill. Although every available medicine and physician was employed, his illness could not be reversed. At age seventy-two, on the seventh day of the twelfth month of 1654, he died. Gushri Khan had defeated Beri and the Tsang Governor, whereupon he had offered the earth, the tribes, and the people

^v Jamchen Chöjé Śākya Yeshé (1354–1435) was a disciple of Tsongkhapa and the founder of Sera Monastery.

^w For a discussion of this journey, see Gray Tuttle, "A Tibetan Buddhist Mission to the East: The Fifth Dalai Lama's Journey to Beijing, 1652–1653," in *Power, Politics, and the Reinvention of Tradition*, eds. Bryan Cuevas and Kurtis Schaeffer (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 65–87.

of the three provinces of Tibet to the Dalai Lama. The khan explained that he himself, together with his descendents, would always offer their faith as the Dalai Lama's servants.⁵⁸

Thus, Gushri Khan had been the "King of Tibet" in name only. Also his throne (and therefore his rank) was of a height equal to that of the Desi. He and the Desi used to discuss matters in order to maintain their harmonious understanding. He did not interfere in political matters at all, but he provided leadership for the Mongolian army in case the Tibetan government should need them. In the summer, he stayed at Dam, and in the winter, he moved to Lhasa. In return, the Tibetan Government helped the Mongolians by making provisions for a group of estates and pastures for livestock.⁵⁹ Gushri Khan and his son came to be called "the father and son kings of the Mongolian government," and the Mongolians who lived in Ü Tsang, Tsongöñ Lake, and elsewhere who were associated with them came to be called the "Mongolian government".

Gushri Khan's elder son, Tendzin Däyen Khan, his younger son, Könchok (Tendzin) Dalai Khan, and the latter's son, Lozang Khan were called kings. Hence, one wonders about the extent of the Mongolians' actual authority within Tibet. Since it is possible for negative doubts to occur, one must clearly examine the original documents. In addition, even though eventually during the thirteen years of Lozang Khan's rule, there were power struggles within his family, this did not constitute an external threat to Tibet.

The great Litang Monastery, which was destroyed by Beri, was to be rebuilt. Zerchenpa Namgyel, who lived in the Ba district, was sent for the purpose. Darkhen Kaju of Tehor was the construction supervisor, and Pön Khandro was the sponsor. The assembly hall was extended, and sixty-four new pillars were built. More than one hundred bushels of copper were donated by Ba, and the lotus throne of the statue of Maitreya, the future Buddha, was restored. The Demo Incarnation was sent in order to consecrate the newly constructed story that had an assembly hall with one hundred frescos painted on the walls and eight temple rooms that housed images of Maitreya fashioned from clay and medicinal herbs. New monastic taxes were levied, and more than five hundred fifty monks were immediately placed there. Typical customs included the offering ceremonies, the payment of monks' stipends at the eight scholastic semesters, the provision of daily tea, prayers commemorating Buddha's miracles, the five offerings commemorating Tsongkhapa's death, and the twenty-seven offerings.

Hence, an endowment and the support arising from household rents were granted in order to provide for these requisites.^x

The middle son of India's Bengal King Śākya Raja, Hashasujé Mahāmāsi was sent to Tibet, where he made extensive offerings of Indian products, cloth, and so forth. According to Shumo, the Dalai Lama paid his respects by giving him crystal rocks which were mined from a white crystal cavern in Shündongkar and also many different types of naturally-occurring stone. Just after that time, Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇa Udaya, Paṇḍita Kūla and Balabhata from Varanasi, Khathun and Khundulen from Maghadha, and so forth came to study Tibetan medicine. Moreover, many young people from Mathura were engaged in studying the Buddhist religion. All of them stayed for a long time. The Dalai Lama provided them with whatever resources they required. They could study anything they wanted, and learned teachers were provided for them. Upon returning to their own lands, each was given gifts of gold and so forth or things like passports, according to what they desired. There are many such stories.

In 1657, while Chöjé Tendzin Drukgyé was the Desi of Bhutan, Chöjé Namkha Rinpoché, who maintained good relations with Tibet, and twenty members of his family were wounded or killed under suspicious circumstances. Both before and after the Tibet-Bhutan War, Dakpo Sengé Namgyel was sent into Bhutan to find suitable allies. Tibet considered sending its forces into Bhutan and consulted several oracles.⁶⁰ Initially, the Nechung Oracle said the troops should be sent forward, and the Samyé Oracle said, "If you listen to me, the Tibetans must stay in their own country and seek a peace treaty."

However, Mongolian and Tibetan troops entered Bhutan and gradually made their way from Pakri. It was decided that if the larger part of their forces were immediately to ambush from Hungrelkha, then the other Mongolian and Tibetan troops, with all of the troops from Kham and Kongpa, would be able to overwhelm the castle while the enemies screamed; and when all of those troops also entered Bumtang, they would be able to bring it under their control.

However, Depa Norbu from Pakri failed to play his role in the plan, and because such people as Begé and Lhotsé were sick, many of their

^x Some aspects of the life of a monk and their support are described in Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

companions were killed. The Mongolian leaders, Dalai Batur and Majik Taiji, were incompatible with Depa Norbu and so forth. For all of these reasons, the troops were forced to halt at Pakri where they were stuck through the summer. In addition, various oracles were consulted and divinations were performed. These confirmed that what people said was correct. However, the oracles said the forces should not have made a large incursion and hence there would also not be a settlement. Thus, they ought to withdraw to their own lands. About these matters, the disciple of Minling Monastery's Terchen Rinpoché, Dorjé Dzinpa Chechok Dupa, tells the following story about the oracular deity being furious:⁶¹

Afterwards, when they met the oracle at Samyé, it said:

Since I knew that your strategy would not work, I asked you not to undertake it. After that, do not ask me what to do. Henceforth, ask the geshé whether you should stay or go or what should be done. I do not know at all.

This source also cites many famous stories told by the soldiers concerning the magical capacities of the Bhutanese tantric masters. Ngawang Namgyel's verse biography has very little information on the history of Bhutan around the time of this war,⁶² so how matters turned out is inconclusive.

There were a great number of stories about Depa Norbu's failed strategies and defeats both before and after these events. But at that time, he was not punished. Since he was the nephew of Desi Sönam Chöpel, the latter pretended not to hear about these matters for a while. Ultimately, he was compelled to react. Eventually, Depa Norbu and Gona Shakpa were censured because of the proliferation of negative reports about their time in Zhikatsé and about their deceptive behavior. These stories are recorded in the great fifth Dalai Lama's *The Good Silk Cloth*.

Gushri Khan's son, Tendzin Dorjé,⁶³ assumed the title of king in 1658. He also undertook the leadership of the Mongolian army, as his father had. Desi Sönam Chöpel, who had exerted a great influence on Ganden Podrang, died on the third day of the third month, but his death was kept secret for an entire year. On the thirteenth day of the seventh month of 1660, Jaisang Depa or Drongmepa Trinlé Gyatso assumed the position of regent (*sde srid*), and at the same time, the Mongolian King Tendzin Dorjé increased his responsibilities, taking on the title of Tendzin Däyen Khan. Both the preceptor and patron came to the throne at the same time.

Meanwhile, the Mongolian king and the Mongolians who lived in the Tsongöñ Lake region did not have good relations among themselves, each not wanting to be under the other's authority. Thus, they were apprehensive about the future. Due to the loss of food and other harms, the Dalai Lama Rinpoché sent deputies out of concern for the Mongolian people. The different Mongolian leaders were told to vow that they would mutually resolve the discord, which had existed up until then, and to promise to conform to the essence of Buddhism in the future by not having such disagreements. The powerful leaders swore a legal oath to this effect. This is a clear indication of the Dalai Lama's religious and political influence.

In 1661, Nepalese armies launched an unprovoked offensive into the Tibetan region of Langbukhar. Tsang regiments under the control of Trashi Tsené, Gyang Drongné, and Mechakné were dispatched. Gurkha forces were finally ejected from the border region, and they returned to their own land. The following year, representatives from the three imperial governments of Nepal attended the New Year's celebration in Tibet. This would seem to indicate that relations between Nepal and Tibet had improved by that time.

By 1662, Pañchen Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen had reached the advanced age of ninety-one. On the twelfth day of the second month, he passed into nirvāṇa at Labrang Gyeltsen Tönpo.⁶⁴ In that year, King Tensung Namgyel, the son of King Püntsock Namgyel of Sikkim, assumed the throne and came to Lhasa to meet with the Dalai Lama Rinpoché. He also met with the regent, with whom he discussed many things, including *The Code of Laws in Sixteen Chapters*.^y

In 1665, the second Manchu emperor, Kangxi, sent an urgent message to the Dalai Lama by way of the Delgel Gelong and Sherap Özer, appealing for protection. It read:

The Mongolians are violating the Chinese border, due to which the Chinese border villages are always being harassed. Please help by sending a deputy to instruct them to desist.

Accordingly, the abbot of Jamling Monastery, Tsültrim Gyeltsen, and Khangsar Raptenpa were delegated to instruct the Mongolian chiefs who were found on the Chinese-Mongolian border that they must keep to their own districts and they must take a sincere oath to conduct their

^y For a list of the contents of this volume, see Sarat Chandra Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), p. 1068.

trade relationship as before, without harassing the Chinese chiefs on the border. Both parties were told to consider these instructions and adopt them. Since warfare had been averted and trade relations were restored, both China and Mongolia were extremely grateful.

Paṇchen Lozang Chögyen's reincarnation was found in 1667. He was brought to the Labrang Gyeltsen Tönpo College of Trashi Lhünpo Monastery and was given the name Lozang Yeshé. In the following year, Desi Drongmepa Trinlé Gyatso died, having served for nine years. Not much later, the life of King Tendzin Dayen also came to an end.

Since the time of the Chinese consort, the mountain range between the Red Palace and Jakpo Mountain, had been cut off.^z In order to correct the geomantic disturbance that interruption had caused, the decaying ruins of the stūpa upon Kaṇi Rock were to be restored. As a result, eighteen Nepalese stone masons, carpenters, coppersmiths such as Amarasidé, and thirty other people were to undertake the construction. The Dalai Lama and Zurchen Chöying Rangdröl personally drew the geomantic lines, consecrated the area, drew the maṇḍala, and so forth.^{aa} The beautiful ornamentation of the place, such as the thirteen prayer wheels, the wind chimes, and so forth were completed.

Bhutanese forces attacked Mönpa Ajok in 1668. Ajok then personally asked the Tibetans for support. In the eleventh month, the commander Tardong Lozang Tseten attacked Tsona, the commanders Mechakpa, Bhumpané, Mikpané, and so forth attacked Bumtang, and the commander Takruwa Namgang attacked the capital of Bhutan. During that year, action was widespread and a suitable settlement was reached by year's end.

Since it was discovered that the Bhutanese, who had not been released from the treaty, planned to renew the war against Ajok, Lak Ngagyok caused a great deal of destruction on the twenty-sixth day of the first month of 1675, such as setting fire to Tengdung Castle. As a result, Bhutan sent a clandestine force to assault Sikkim in 1676. Not only did they seize Dromo, Mön, and Zhölwa with about three hundred families, but the clandestine forces assassinated Ajok at Daling Amdrok Tang. Thus, the Tibetan government came to their aid. Three separate divisions of Tibetan and Mongolian troops were sent to Bhutan.

^z She was the Chinese queen of King Songtsen Gampo. Hence, the author is saying that the passage between the Red Palace, built by King Songtsen Gampo, and Jakpo Mountain had been obstructed since the mid-seventh century.

^{aa} See Samten Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama: The Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection*, 2nd ed. (London: Serindia Publications, 1998).

Thereby, the Bhutan forces fled back to their homes, while the Tibetans and Mongolians took back the lost territories and expelled the Bhutanese from Sikkim. A great number of people were killed on both sides of the war.

Again, the Tibetans and the Bhutanese decided to negotiate. In 1678, the Tibetan deputies Kyishö Depa and Tsagurwa and Bhutan's negotiators Gendün Chöpel from Pung Castle and Lama Chödrak assembled at Pakri. Bhutan said that Mönpa Ajok was a part of Bhutan and that Bhutan and Sikkim were to be unified, even including Gangtok. Consequently, no settlement was reached. Business activities from Shelkar to Tsona were suspended, and a constant guard along the border was established. This led to heavy losses on both sides.⁶⁵

In 1669, Chöpön Lozang Tutop was appointed to the office of regent. The following year, the well-being of the khan's family was disturbed, and hence civil dissension erupted among the Orö Mongolians. In response, the Gangjen Abbot Könchok Rinchen was sent with messages from the Dalai Lama and the regent, admonishing both of the parties. A mutually satisfactory arrangement was achieved.

The Paṇchen Lama's incarnation, Lozang Yeshé, received his novice vows from the Dalai Lama and moved to Lhasa so that he could receive intensive religious instruction in sūtra and tantra. Gushri Khan's younger son, Könchok Dalai Khan, ascended to the throne at his father's rank, with the title of Tendzin Dalai Khan.⁶⁶

During a ceremony at the beginning of the winter of 1672, the custom of "Rinchen Gyencha" (literally, precious ornamentation) was instituted. Moreover, men who wore turquoise earrings were called Polhakhor. This custom of Rinchen Gyencha, which was practiced by officials during the leadership of Desi Pakmo Drupa, Jangpa Rikden, Gyelkhar Tsepa, Rinpungpa, and so forth, consisted of adopting the costume current at the time of the ancient Tibetan kings.

These items include gold amulets, Mongolian earrings, round Mongolian earrings, long earrings, red and white silk sash, brocade shirts, brocade cloaks, and small hats. When Rinchen Gyencha was introduced, its fame became extremely widespread. Afterwards, during the time of the Tsang governor, the custom was maintained, but it gradually declined during the civil unrest. Then people wore whatever clothes were comfortable, whether the clothes were Chinese, Hor, or Tibetan. Some people began wearing whatever haphazard set of clothes suited their fancy, non-Mongolian, non-Tibetan, and so forth. Aside from these indications, after about a hundred years, it was difficult to identify more

than the mere names of these items. Therefore, Desi Lozang Tutop took special care. He consulted with the senior attendants and nobles of Ü Tsang about the newly inaugurated custom of Rinchen Gyencha.

There were forty-five aspects to this style, including the seven royal ensigns, the eight auspicious signs, the offerer of the eight substances and so forth, the cook, the guide, the steward, and the incense holder. Hence, the forty-five customs of Rinchen Gyencha were instituted for the second day of New Year's and other major functions. Not only that, but the proclamation was widely publicized that when different chiefs and ministers met to work, they would have to dress according to the Rinchen Gyencha custom.

At the same time, a system was developed for arranging seating. The area around the sovereign was divided into five sections in which one's position indicated one's rank. Hence, in brief, the arrangement of lamas and incarnations, petty rulers, chiefs and ministers, government workers, pilgrims, and sponsors was determined. This seating custom was also newly instituted.⁶⁷

The Khelkhas (Halhas) Lhatsün Ngawang Tendzin, Söpa Yeldeng, and so forth appealed for assistance from the Tibetans, requesting a lama who could advise them on how the Mongolian government could be of benefit to Buddhism. Accordingly, Dedruk Khenpo Lozang Dargyé was sent with instructions for his work.

The unified forces of Pön Khandro⁶⁸ and Garpa Kunyer in Barkham were harassing religious groups and the government. Dalai Hung Taiji and his army from Tsongön Lake assumed responsibility for rectifying these misfortunes. The armies of Ganden Dargyé Tsewang Raptan and so forth arrived in the Barkham area. Just their arrival convinced all the enemy forces to capitulate, and they were sent as a unit to Tenpa Jamdar in the east. The main force returned to Tsongön Lake, while the minister Dalai Hung Taiji and his servant went to Lhasa to inform the authorities about the situation in Barkham.

In 1674, either because he was under the sinister influence of China or Jang or for some other reason, Dokham Gyeltang refused to submit to the edicts of a Tibetan government deputy. Thus, Uljö Taiji sent out his military commander with the forces of Kagyé Norbu and Mechakpa as his allies. Accordingly, they engaged the enemy where they were, and a furious battle ensued. In the first month of 1675, all of the conspirators were captured, and from among them, the twenty most serious offenders were conducted to the royal court to be executed. The Dalai Lama saved them from death, and they were sent to different castles

in Ü Tsang to be imprisoned for the remainder of their lives. All those whose crimes had been less serious were put on probation, and others were given over to various monasteries and estates in upper and lower Amdo and Kham.

Desi Lozang Tutop was relieved of his responsibilities because he had consorted with a woman from Nedong. But for his severance, he was given one place at Sangri and a second place at Tsetang, where he retired. Drongmé Awar Sangyé Gyatso was appointed as the regent. However, since he was still rather young, he was temporarily placed under the care of scholars. Accordingly, the storekeeper of Namgyel Monastery, Lozang Jinpa, was temporarily appointed to the position of acting-regent.

In 1677, approximately three hundred monks from Ba Monastery were given management over some estates in addition to the stipend they always had been given. The taxpayers on those estates were enjoined to take care of the monastery. Dechap Lama Jamyang Trashi's incarnation and the Rapjampa of Muli were jointly granted the revenue from about three hundred households connected to Muli (Mili) by way of Minyak. In that era, an annual tax was still paid in gold to the government treasury from the general area of Muli. Dartsedo, on the eastern border between China and Tibet, was a major trading center and had become an excellent place where, more than other places, many things were available and a great many desires could be satisfied. Yet, it lacked temples or monasteries. A new monastery called Ganden Drogenling was constructed, a stipend was made available for about fifty monks, and an endowment was established for their provisions.

For the performance of the Ngachöpa ceremony^{ab} at Tongku, the administration of Belo Monastery was set up separately, on top of which, Dumrawa's eight fields and a total of about three hundred and thirty loads of grain were provided from Trijam Monyé Zhap and from a group of Tsotok houses. For the Ngachöpa ceremony in Nego, more than two hundred and seventy loads of grain were provided from Sönam Yudrung's fields and from Peldzin Rongdurap's house. For the Ngachöpa ceremony in Do, about a hundred loads of grain were provided from the houses and fields of Dumrawa administration

^{ab} The Ngachöpa ceremony (*lnga mchod pa*) is performed to commemorate the death of Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Buddhist Geluk School. Consequently, it is notable that at least one Bön Monastery was made to subsidize an essentially Buddhist religious observance.

of a Bön monastery. Various masters were appointed to these respective centers.⁶⁹

Because of the small size of the estates at the new Golok Monastery, provisions were expanded the following year. About fifty families involved in the revolt provided three hundred and fifty loads of grain. Support for about five hundred and thirty monks from Ganden Sumtsenling Monastery in Gyeltang was raised from about three hundred families.⁷⁰

The Manchu Emperor Kangxi sent Tāchi Lama and Ladu Jarko Chiché of the Blue Castle from Beijing to Lhasa bearing a letter which said:

Since a Chinese internal minister, Ping Xiwang,^{ac} has revolted against my government, there is a great internal disruption. Your Excellency, Dalai Lama, please assist by supporting us with Tibetan and Mongolian troops.

^{ac} In Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1967), 120, he comments on the identity of this figure, a Ming general who rose up against the relatively new Qing royal house:

The dissident minister is called Pice Chiang Wang in Tibetan records. Rockhill states that Wu San-Kuei (Wu Sangui), Prince of Yunnan, rebelled in 1674 against the K'ang-hsi (Kangxi) Emperor and sought friendship with the Tibetans and Mongols (Rockhill, p. 19). It appears that Wu San-Kuei and Pice Chiang Wang are one and the same.

I have provided the pinyin spelling of the relevant figures in the parentheses. Shakabpa is referring to a passage in W. W. Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China: 1644-1908* [Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1910 (reprinted: Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1998), p. 16].

Rockhill goes on to say that:

After the return to Lhasa of the Dalai Lama, the Dési, possibly fearing that the Manchus might use him to increase their influence in Tibet, appears to have intrigued with and lent some support to the enemies of the Empire. Thus Wu-San-kuei, prince of Yün-nan, had for some years sent people to Lhasa to offer presents to the lamas and to cultivate friendly relations with the Tibetans and Mongols. When he rebelled in 1674 and the Emperor K'ang-hsi ordered the Koko-nor Mongols to send troops by Sung-pan into Ssü-ch'uan to attack him, the Dési sent a letter, in the name of the Dalai Lama, to the Emperor requesting him to pardon Wu San-kuei. A little later (in 1680), when Wu's son Wu Shih-pan was hemmed in by the Imperial forces in Yün-nan, a letter from him addressed to Lhasa was seized by the Chinese troops in which he offered to cede to the Dalai Lama the two districts of Chung-tien and Wei-hsi, both in western Yün-nan, if the Tibetans would get him safely through to the Koko-nor. The Chinese distrust of the Dési dates probably from these incidents; events were soon to occur which greatly strengthened it.

For a detailed account of these events and their impact on Sino-Tibetan relations, see Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), 205-229. According to Ahmad (206-216), the Dalai Lama did dispatch troops to pursue Wu Sangui in 1674 under Dalai Khung Taiji, the sixth son of Gushri Khan. For an overview of the rebellion, which is known in Chinese history as the "War of the Three Feudatories," see Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York, Norton, 1991), 49-53.

The Dalai Lama Rinpoché responded as follows:

Tibetan and Mongolian soldiers would be unable to bear the heat in China and it would be difficult for them to be helpful since smallpox has not yet run its course. Mongolian forces in particular would be incapable of being very supportive; even though they are very powerful against their enemies, they are difficult to control.

At the same time, Ping Xawang^{ad} sent Shayu Pei Chengku (*she'u pe'i cheng ku*) seeking to establish a military alliance with the Tibetans. However, the Dalai Lama instructed him about the necessity of the emperor and the minister coming to an agreement amongst themselves. Again, the Dalai Lama said that neither the Tibetans nor the Mongolians would be able to come to China. In addition, because the Orö Mongolians were such fierce fighters, he warned that using them might result in increased destruction for everyone, and thereby no benefit would come from their intercession.

The Dalai Lama prayed that an agreement between the two sides would be reached and that this internal conflict would be resolved quickly; he performed services at various monasteries.⁷¹ Although the Dalai Lama had always supported the emperor, in this situation, he did not take sides and thus kept to himself. Therefore, the Dalai Lama was able to make the determination of sending or not sending Mongolian troops by himself during this period. What need is there to ask whether he had control over Tibetans?

In 1679, Desi Lozang Jinpa made an urgent appeal to be relieved of the job of regent, having served three years. Even though he was still very young, Drongmé Awar or Sangyé Gyatso took up the responsibilities of regent, continually following the advice of his root lama, his tutelary deity, and the ḍākinīs. Since it was clear that he was unlike previous regents, a decree was issued saying that an action undertaken by Desi Sangyé Gyatso was no different from one undertaken by the Dalai Lama. There was no difference in rank between the two. This was written at the top of the triple steps of the Potala Palace, and sealed with an impression of the Dalai Lama's handprints.^{ae} He was installed in the office of the regent on the sixth day of the sixth month of that year.

^{ad} Presumably, this figure is Ping Xiawang that was mentioned just above (*phing sing wang*, 453.10). However, the name is spelled slightly differently in Tibetan here (*phing sang wang*, 453.15).

^{ae} This decree is translated and discussed in detail in Hugh Richardson, "The fifth Dalai Lama's Decree Appointing Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho as Regent," *Bulletin of the*

Ladakh had been a stalwart patron of the Gelukpa School in the past, but at this time, harmful influences had created discord there, and Ladakh had become involved with the Drukpa Kagyü School as a result. Still it was thought that Ngari was not much of a threat to Tibet and no special attention was paid to it. However, not only were different monasteries in Upper Ngari harassed again and again by Ladakh, but disputes also arose in Saga and Droshö. Thus, Hor Taiji's son, Ganden Tsewang Pelzang, who had become a monk at Trashi Lhünpo just the year before, offered to go to protect the area. He had to give up his monastic vows. Again, about twenty leaders, including Lhawang Pelbar—who was Ganden Tendzin Boshok Tuji Nong's son—Taiching Kholo Che Erté Taiji, and Jaisang joined the alliance and were sent to repel the Ladakhi forces.

At that time, they confronted the Ladakh ministers Nono Śākya, Jora, Nono Biṭa Dzoki, and their armies at a place called Khangmar. In one day of hand-to-hand fighting, the Ladakhis were defeated and retreated to the fortresses they held, Takla Khar Castle in Puhreng, Tsahreng Trashi Gang, and so forth. The Mongolian forces were unable to find a way to overtake them. However, once again about five hundred troops were sent from Lhasa under the command of Ngam Ruwa, Kongpo Apo Trashi, Pema Gyelpo,⁷² and Taktsé Jedrung. Without even trying to take the fortresses, the Tibetans and Mongolians immediately stole into Ladakh itself. Although the Ladakh army left the castles and attempted to defend the gorges, they were unable to do so. The Tibetan and Mongolian forces made it all the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh.

After several days of fighting there, the king of Ladakh and his ministers escaped to a place called Timur Gang. The Tibetans took control of Leh. The Ladakhis appealed to the Muslim king, Nawab, for assistance. Having conducted the soldiers to Petup, the Ladhaki and Muslim soldiers attacked a Tibetan camp located there, and a large number of Tibetan troops were captured and taken to a prison in Kashmir. Again, fighting erupted in Leh, lasting for one day. Many Ladakhi and Muslim forces were wounded and killed. At that time, Drukpa Tamjé Khyenpa (Mipam Wangpo) mediated. The Ladakh king, Sengé Namgyel, and the descendents of Deden Namgyel came to prostrate at the feet of Ganden

School of Oriental And African Studies 43 (1980): 329–344. A photo of a portion of the decree, including the impression of the Dalai Lama's hands, is to be found in the book of photos, Ngapo Ngawang Jigmei, *Tibet* (London: Bracken Books, 1981), 39.

Tsewang Pelzang. Deden's son and nephew were sent to Lhasa and the Orö as pledges of the king's future fidelity.

With this settlement, the fortresses and estates of Leh, Petup, Triksé, and so forth were distributed. Lozang Pema, who was descended from the ancient dharma king of Ladakh, was appointed as the new king, and he was instructed to defend his own region and to remit an annual tribute to Ganden Podrang. Having received the king's oath to meet these annual obligations, Ganden Tsewang Pelzang returned to Ngari with his army, where he continued to hold the leadership position in that province.⁷³

When Ganden Tsewang Pelzang was in Ngari, he met with the Khunu king, Kyerseng, who governed the northern region, at Pünling Tang in Gugé. The king swore an oath to maintain good relations between the two:⁷⁴

Until the snow on Mount Kailash melts, until the water in Lake Manasarovar dries up, until the black feathers of the raven turn white, until the end of this eon, those of us who are sincere will remain as one. There will not be taxes on each other's traders or pilgrims and there will be no disagreements. We have resolved to live in peace and happiness.

The great teacher Śākyamuṇi Buddha was invoked as the witness.

Since the previous year, the great fifth Dalai Lama had been feeling a little unwell. In the second month of 1682, he set aside the mental activities of lecturing, debating, and composing. He then went into retreat, becoming absorbed in a profound and luminous, non-dual meditative stabilization. Having suddenly been overcome by illness on the twenty-fifth day of the second month, he immediately called Desi Sangyé Gyatso to Lhasa. Accordingly, he went into the presence of the Dalai Lama. The latter instructed the attendants who were present and especially the regent on both religious and secular matters. In particular, he told his vajra son (i.e., the regent) to preserve the loyalty of China, Tibet, and Mongolia. For a while, his death was to be kept secret. The regent was to always consult the [Pelden] Lhamo Oracle through the dough ball ceremony about all great or small matters that he was unable to decide for himself. These were his final exhortations.^{af}

^{af} According to Glenn H. Mullin [*The Fourteen Dalai Lamas: A Sacred Legacy of Reincarnation* (Santa Fe, Clear Light Publications, 2001), 240–242], when the Dalai Lama became ill while in retreat, he told his main attendants:

After that he took in his hands the very sacred statues, such as the representative of the second Buddha Padmasaṃbhava, prayed to them, and blessed himself with them by placing them on his own head. He then turned to face the west. With his left hand in the posture of meditative equipoise, his right hand placed on his knee, and his eyes half closed, he passed into nirvāṇa.⁷⁵

The great omniscient fifth Dalai Lama was accomplished in the religious practices of his monastery and was able to recite the prayers of his monastic college because he had relied upon the Tutor Lingmé Zhapdrung Könchok Chöpel from the time of his youth. Thereby, taking hold of the Buddhist teachings and reciting them, he was able to ascend through the stages of the vehicles. He intensively studied all types of conventional knowledge with Möndro Lotsāwa, his son, and Zurchen Chöying Rangdröl. He relied upon many tutors who were scholars and accomplished practitioners of sūtra and tantra from both the old and new translation schools without regard for their affiliation to any school, including Paṇchen Lozang Gyeltsen, Lingmé Zhapdrung, Pabongkhapa Köntön Peljor Lhündrup, Zhalu Sönam Chokdrup, Menlungpa Lochok Dorjé, and Chögyel Terdaklingpa. By taking these teachings to mind, he became completely skillful in abandoning harmful thoughts and activities and in realizing beneficial thoughts and activities. Since the Sakyapa lamas—both the father and son—Drigung, Taklung, and Drukpa Kagyü lamas, and the reincarnated supreme Paṇchen Lama extensively taught

All collected phenomena are impermanent This is not something to be feared. In my present condition, you need not listen to anything my doctors say to you, for medicine has its limitations. The time for me to pass away could be close. Should I suddenly die, keep my death secret for some years. Do not be saddened. Conditions will ripen and before long you will find my reincarnation. The place and parents of my rebirth will become clearly known...

As Mullin remarks, he apparently “feared that public knowledge of his death might result in the breakdown of his newly established Tibetan administration.” As the present Dalai Lama tells the story orally, something he often does in the context of condemning the worship of the deity Dorjé Shukden, he says that after expressing a vote of confidence in his regent, the fifth Dalai Lama died. When the Desi burst into tears, he came back to life to offer advice to the regent. In part, Mullin says that the content of the fifth Dalai Lama’s advice to his attendants was that they should rely on the counsel of the oracle, Pelden Lhamo:

All the Dalai Lama incarnations relied upon Palden Lhamo, the Oracle Goddess, for the inspirations during times of doubt. Also from my side Palden Lhamo has been one of my main guardian angels throughout my life. Therefore, whenever you have doubts on what course to follow, perform a [dough] ball divination in front of an image of Palden Lhamo.

Thereupon, he died, and Desi Sangyé Gyatso collapsed on the floor.

sūtras and the tantras of both the old and new schools, he received teachings from many great lamas.

There were none among a host of very learned people—from among the Tibetans who understood Buddhism as well as the great lamas from China, Mongolia, and Tibet—who had not learned from the great fifth Dalai Lama. In the thirty volumes of his *Collected Works*, his profound and extensive explanations are assembled indicating his commentaries on Buddhist knowledge.⁷⁶ His activities in the religious sphere pass far beyond what can be expressed or conceived.

The adept Longdöl Lama Rinpoché writes:⁷⁷

The great omniscient fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang was the leader and the teacher of Tibet. Therefore, he received all of the teachings of the Nyingma school and composed a volume on Nyingma teachings. He received all of the teachings of the Sakya and the Gelukpa schools and having combined them, he wrote three volumes. In general, outwardly, he acted as the caretaker of Gelukpas. Internally, he did practices relating to the Sakyapa tutelary deities. Secretly, from the depth of his heart, he respected the secret Nyingma tantras. Consequently, he was skilled in guiding innumerable monks and lay people.

He wrote *The Crystal Mirror of Instructions* about the relationship between government and ethics, *Advice of the Ancestors* which teaches about religion and government, and *The Pearl Garland* about the religious and political systems all people of whatsoever capacities require.

Moreover, he issued instructions and so forth for the benefit of the great figures of China, Mongolia, and Tibet. His insight was such that he did not rely on others in order to know what was to be done in government, but instead understood these matters by way of his own direct experience. Having increased people's confidence in the government, he eliminated any preference for particular religious systems, and since he did not place any chief under the authority of any other, there were no internal disputes or wars. Buddhism thrived in Tibet, the Land of Snow, and all people were able to live together peacefully. In particular, the Mongolian kings and all of the petty princes were given instructions on both religious and political matters.

The Chinese Manchu emperor had a relationship of preceptor and patron with the Dalai Lama. Through the Dalai Lama's compassionate activities of helping to protect the emperor, there was unprecedented prosperity for the Chinese and Mongolian farmers who lived in the border region of northeast China. Agreeable religious, intellectual, and

trade relations in the border areas of India, Nepal, and so forth were also enhanced. In brief, the Muslims, Nepalese, Chinese and others living in Lhasa were also permitted to practice their own religions as they liked. For example, the Muslims who had come from Kashmir were given some land in Lhasa on which to build their mosque, an area for celebrations, and another extensive park at Kyangtang for the purpose of burying their dead. Similarly, the Chinese were also given a temple at Trashig and a place for burying their dead at Tsangrel. All people, Buddhist and non-Buddhist, high status or low, were generally pleased with the great fifth Dalai Lama.

In general, he balanced the duties of his religious and political leadership in his official activities. During ceremonies and assemblies, he would wear special clothes and have many attendants. Otherwise, he would wear casual clothes, a yellow jacket and upper and lower robes. He would wear his upper and lower robes without changing them for seven or eight times longer than one normally would without changing them. He would then be covered in soot, and his clothes would stick to his hands. But he was always effusive in his concern for his attendants. He did not enjoy unusual styles of clothing and forcefully admonished those who wore them.

When the nobles and the rich people would ride their expensive horses between Lhasa and the Potala Palace, they would make a great deal of noise. He was not fond of such things, but did not make any direct efforts to prevent them. On occasion, the Dalai Lama, having donned his robes and hat, would walk, perspiring as he went, from the Potala to either Lhasa's Tsuklakhang or to Ramoché temples with only a few attendants. He demonstrated his skill in means with marvelous activities. Although he could rely on a treasury as great as the sky, with monastery treasuries and storerooms being full from top to bottom, he did not waste resources, as in utilizing the branches and trunk of a tree and throwing out the middle. He did not eliminate what was needed, nor did he expend what was unnecessary.

For example, when several monks were sent out to wash his clothes, the Dalai Lama himself would distribute tea to them in a small room in his chambers. He would take out handfuls of the finely ground Mongolian tea from a bag and say, "This is for you. This is for you." Sometimes, if he gave too much, he would take back the excess. Putting the extra tea back in the container shows that he was very careful and prudent in his religious and worldly dealings. Though he could do work himself, he was very skilled in delegating authority. Publicly

the great fifth Dalai Lama was very effective and privately he was very easy to work with.

Since he enjoyed playfulness, the master and his servants were always heartily laughing in his inner chambers. The attendants posted at the door of his chambers would joke around, composing spontaneous poems. Sometimes, he would invite them in and laugh with them. During evening tea time, he would give gifts to his close attendants. Then, they would snatch them from each other. A typical joke of his was when he used to say to one of the monks, Jamyang Drakpa, "You are very strong, so you will get all of the gifts."⁷⁸

Dzünkar Tsering Döndrup and Chöpel did not like the fact that the great fifth Dalai Lama had taken an interest in the teachings of the Nyingma School. For that reason, they engaged in a lot of rumor-mongering.⁷⁹ Alternatively, some people have reversed the meaning of the words of "child of the Drongmé family."^{ag} Perhaps it was for one of these reasons that it was rumored that Desi Sangyé Gyatso was the Dalai Lama's son. Some western scholars have written about this assertion,⁸⁰ but it is quite mistaken. The Dalai Lama Rinpoché made great efforts to guard and keep the Buddhist discipline and ethics pure. Even at a trifling fault, he would consider it and refresh his vows.

Although he had previously taken the vows of a monk and of an abbot, he went further, like testing gold by burning, cutting, and filing it, by taking the pañchen vows.^{ah} He was very careful with the rules of the monastic discipline.

It is clear from all Tibetan records that there was not an important lama in China, Mongolia, or Tibet who did not learn from him. The rumor that Desi Sangyé Gyatso was the Dalai Lama's son is one of the perverse views about him.

^{ag} This is the family name of Desi Sangyé Gyatso.

^{ah} The pañchen vows constitute a lineage of tantric vows that is separate from the set of promises undertaken in conventional monastic ordination. It derives from the 13th century Kashmiri scholar Śākya Śrī.

Notes to Chapter Seven

1. My account is based on the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography, *Good Silk Cloth*, and minor details are added from other texts.
2. Dorjé Dzinpa Peljor Lhündrup's biography, *The Chariot of Faith for Those in the Fortunate Aeon*, 28-na-5.
3. Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé, *Ocean Annals*, vol. 1, 70-3.
4. Dorjé Dzinpa Peljor Lhündrup, *Chariot of Faith for Those in the Fortunate Aeon*, 28-ba-6.
5. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Garland of Golden Lapis Lazuli, Religious History of the Yellow Hat School*.
6. At that time, the queens of both Taklung and Drigung were daughters of the Tsang governor. This is clarified in the fifth Dalai Lama's *Biography of Zurchen Chöying Rangdröl, Chariot of the Supreme Vehicle's Teaching*, 55-ba-5.
7. Drigung Rikdzin Chögyi Drakpa, *Autobiography, Festival of Integrity*.
8. Panchen I Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen, *Autobiography, Garland of Jewels which Clearly Indicates Codes of Conduct*, 66-na-6.
9. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 26-ba-3. The meaning of the phrase *bkag po tshags su tshud* is "All these things occurred."
10. Peltrül Ogyen Jikmé Chökyi Wangpo, *Sun Illuminating Chronology*, 13-ba-1, says: At this time, the so-called Tsang governor did have great influence, but primarily it was the patrons of Karma Kagyü and of Jonang. They had tremendous hatred for the Gelukpas and they particularly caused great harm to Tashi Lhünpo which was in close proximity. Also the father of Fifth Dalai Lama died in prison.
Translator's Note: It would seem that a negative particle is missing from this quotation. In order to conform to the author's point, this ought to read "The so-called Tsang governor did not have great influence."
11. Ippolito Desideri, *Account of Tibet* (London: G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1937), 19-26.
12. Pelden Gyatso, *Extensive Biography of Bhutan's Ngawang Namgyel, Song of the Cloud of Dharma*, 29-ba-3.
13. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Biography of Rikdzin Ngagi Wangpo, Record of Wonders*, 40-ba-1.
14. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 68-na-6.
15. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 76-na-2.
16. *Religious History of Lake Kokonor*.
17. Black Hat Karmapa Chöying Dorjé.
18. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 78-ba-5.
19. Bätur Taiji, also called Trashi Bätur, is the youngest of six sons of Gushri Khan's oldest queen.
20. This figure, Trinlé Gyatso, served as regent after Sönam Chöpel.
21. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 99-na, and *Religious History of Lake Kokonor*.
Translator's Note: The passage appears to be a paraphrase.
22. As has been made clear above, the estate of the Dalai Lama's father at Chongyé Chingwar Taktsé was seized by Tsang, he was imprisoned, and he died. See p. 330 ff. above.
23. In saying that "He was different from the Chongyepas," the Dalai Lama meant that his father, Hor Dödül Dorjé had made an alliance with Kurapa, who was an enemy of Tsang.
24. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 96-ba-1. When the Dalai Lama wrote, "I wondered if the trill of the flute did not change into the whistle of an arrow," he was speculating that Zhelngo had told the messenger that "After defeating Beri, Gushri Khan should return to the Tsongön Lake," meant that he should wage war on Tsang.

25. *Tibetan Freedom*, December, 26, 1966. vol. 8, no. 242, p. 4.
26. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 99-na-6.
27. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 100-na-4.
28. Panchen Lama I Lozang Chögyen, *Autobiography, Garland of Jewels which Clearly Indicates Codes of Conduct*, 112-na-4.
29. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 101-ba-1.
- Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press), 110, confirms that the monastery indicated here is Trashi Zilnön.
30. Panchen Lama I Lozang Chögyen, *Autobiography, Garland of Jewels which Clearly Indicates Codes of Conduct*, 114-na-5.
31. Kadrung Nornang's *Record of Ten Thousand Years* says:
At that time he was known as Chakdzö Sönam Rapten or Tsenzhen Gyalé Chödzé. Subsequently, he changed his name to Sönam Chöpel. So the three names refer to one person. When he became the regent he was called the emperor of the world.
- During the end of the third Dalai Lama's life until the fourth Dalai Lama attained majority, there was someone called Gyalé Kündün Rinpoché Chözang Trinlé. At that time, it seems he was called Gyalé Chödzé. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Golden Lapis Lazuli*, 103-ba-1, says, "The orders given to Gyalé Chödzé..." Therefore, this should be verified.
32. The patron and preceptor are Gushri Khan and Sönam Chöpel.
33. I.e., Tsé Lhagangpa, Kurapa, and Zhokhawa.
34. The Tsang governor, having been released from Nayu, expressed the faults in being the patron of Sakya and Jonangpa. He said that it was unsuitable henceforth to offer patronage to any school other than Karma Kagyü. The essential point was that he should be given Zhikatsé, Shangnamling, and Panam. Because of Chief Kyishö's good relations with the Mongolians, Dechen, Tsel, and so forth should be given to someone else, together with an immediate endowment.
35. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 114-na-2.
36. The Karmapa, Chöying Dorjé, was forty-seven years old at that time. From Lhodrak, he went to Dokham Satam and the Jün region where he lived for a long time, promoting the welfare of living beings. Since he had very good handwriting, he is said to have invented a script called Kardri. He also composed a great deal of poetry, such as *The Life Story of Tsukna Norbu*.
37. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 120-ba-1.
38. Pelden Gyatso, *Extensive Biography of Bhutan's Ngawang Namgyel, Song of the Cloud of Dharma*, 114-na-4.
39. The term *dge sog* means Ganden Podrang and the Mongolians.
40. It is made clear in *Crystal Mirror Records of Lhasa*, 19-ba-5, that this is Kyishö Depa Yülgyel Norbu.
41. This is Gushri Khan's elder queen.
42. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Boat for Crossing the Ocean to the Island of Liberation, Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary* says that the palace was completed within three years. However, the Red Palace was yet to be built. When Fifth Dalai Lama died, the Red Palace was only two-thirds complete. Hence, the inscription on a large stone in the wall read "The Possessor of Wisdom and Love." It can be inferred from this that [the Red Palace was not complete]. The remains of the fifth through the thirteenth Dalai Lamas are entombed in the golden reliquary in this palace.
43. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 140-ba-5.
44. Pelden Gyatso, *Extensive Biography of Bhutan's Ngawang Namgyel, Song of the Cloud of Dharma*, 135-ba-6.
45. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Garland of Golden Lapis Lazuli*, 314-na-5.
46. The two who were sent to make the surveys were called Samyé Lhakhangpa and Gakdrong Bakdro.

47. In 1914, during the Simla conference between China, Tibet, and England, which took place on equal terms, twenty-six of these tax books were presented as proof of the Tibetan's territorial claim. British Foreign Minister McMahon signed each of these books to verify them. See p. 770 below.

48. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 197-ba-4.

49. Shih-tsu Shih-lu, Chapter 68, p. 5.

50. Tieh-tseng Li, *Historical Status of Tibet* (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1954), 34.

51. I wonder if "Ama" doesn't mean Amban. Amban is a rank which has significant importance in the leadership of the Manchu dynasty.

52. The patron and preceptor are the two, the Dalai Lama Rinpoché and the Manchu Emperor Shunzhi.

53. Charles Bell, *Portrait of a Dalai Lama: The Life and Times of the Great Thirteenth* (London: William Collins, 1946; reprinted London: Wisdom, 1987), 396. *Translator's Note*: I have restored the full quote from Bell.

54. Tieh-tseng Li, *Historical Status of Tibet* (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1954), 37. *Translator's Note*: The passage Mr. Shakabpa selected from that book was itself a citation from William Woodville Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China*. (Leyden: Oriental: E. J. Brill, 1910), 18.

55. H. E. Richardson, *Tibet and its History* (Boulder, Col.: Prajña Press, 1962.), 45. *Translator's Note*: I have added additional material from Richardson's book and some parenthetical information for greater clarity.

56. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 209-na-6.

57. *Preliminary Report of the 1914 Simla Conference*, p. 18, says: "When the Dalai Lama went to China, establishing a preceptor-patron relationship, they gave praises, an edict with a golden seal, and so forth." Based on that, one can know with certainty whether the Dalai Lama also gave the emperor a golden seal.

58. A signed order printed on the three steps of the Potala Palace said:

With the power to live for a long time, famed throughout the world, and with the altruistic attitude, Tendzin Chökyi Gyelpo's courage, commitment, and the teachings of the great Conqueror Tsongkhapa have been raised higher and higher. In the Water-Male-Horse year (1642), he continually presented religious gifts to the subjects of such places as Samdruptsé Palace, and the king's descendents have continually been religious patrons, having created an endowment.

59. *Su hrug* is a Mongolian word meaning the pasture of female yaks and sheep.

60. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 246-na-2.

61. Chechok Düpa, *Clearing Away the Darkness of Torment*.

62. The verse biography of Ngawang Namgyel does not discuss this matter clearly, only saying, "The forces of evil who attacked Bhutan in 1657 were annihilated in the end, and we emerged from the war victorious."

63. He was the oldest son of Gushri Khan's younger queen and was called Tsik Shitu Tendzin.

64. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Pañchen Lama Pelden Yeshé, Light of the Sun*, 15-ba-5, says that Pañchen Lozang Chögyen was ninety-three years old; adding the intercalary month, he would have been greater than one hundred. Those who say he died on the thirteenth day of the second month of the Earth-Tiger year disagree by two years and one day. *Translator's note*: Mr. Shakabpa writes Earth-Tiger Year when he probably meant Water-Tiger year. The years designated Earth-Tiger that are closest to the time in question are 1638 and 1698, twenty-four years before and twenty-six years after 1662 respectively.

65. *History of Bhutan* says:

During Desi Mingyur Tenpa's time, Zhelngo Achok, the chief of the three regions of Mön, between Tegong Pass in the west and the Rangchu River, appealed to

Ganden Podrang for support. The armies of Drönyer Dolek and Awo Tsering killed him and took his head and hands. As a result, Gampopa and Lhagya Riwa arrived with their troops at Tsagur and so forth. However, a peace treaty between Tibet and Bhutan was made at Pakri.

Rinchen Tenpé Seljé, *Brief Biography of the Mahasiddha Kōnchok Gyeltsen, Stream of Marvelous Nectar*, says:

Lord Kōnchok Gyeltsen went to Sikkim and stayed in Damzang for several years. His compassion spread throughout this area. Due to Mōn Achok's rough behavior and his many infamous activities, the lama said, "In general, you make enemies everywhere, but you should especially avoid making enemies in Bhutan." Achok responded, "You don't know anything but religion. Just practice that." He did not want to listen. Kōnchok Gyeltsen was so upset that he did not stay in Sikkim, but returned to Tibet, staying at Bara.

However, the people of Mōn who live in Kalimpong consider him one of the heroes of their clan. Even now they sing traditional songs of praise to him.

66. Since the titles of these two kings are so similar, a mistake could be made. The king's second son was Tendzin Dayen Khan and his third son was Tendzin Dalai Khan. It seems that the latter was Gushri Khan's younger son. This is how it is set forth in *Good Silk Cloth*. However, Gadrung Nornangpa, *Record of Ten Thousand Years*, says, "Gushri Khan's eldest son was Tendzin Dayen Khan and his son was Kōnchok Dalai Khan."

67. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 140-ba-3.

68. Gushri Khan's descendant, Pön Khandro, was sent to suppress local rulers in Dokham. In addition, during the dance in the Chartreng Gutor Cham ritual (*char phreng dgu gtor 'cham*), there used to be a person who dressed in Mongolian clothes called Jindak Khandro (Sky Sponsor). Later on, that tradition was discontinued as it was no longer meaningful. The biography of the tenth Karmapa says:

In the Year of the Bird (1669), the Mongolian king, Khandro Lozang Tenkyong went before the Karmapa in Gyeltang. Soon, Dalai Hung Taiji's army arrested him. He died in prison. [186-ba-3]

Translator's Note: From among the various biographies of the tenth Karmapa, it is unclear which one Shakabpa had in mind.

69. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 50-na-3.

70. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 88-ba. *Translator's Note:* These families were of two types; vassals who paid their tribute with money or goods (*lag 'don*) and those who paid by performing tasks (*rkong 'gro*).

71. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Good Silk Cloth*, 211-na-1. The Chinese leader who came separately is called Ping-sing Wang in Tibetan texts. William Woodville Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China* (Leyden, Oriental: E. J. Brill, 1910), 19, says:

In 1674, the Prince of Yunnan, Ku-sen-hu, fomented an uprising against Emperor K'ang-hsi. In addition, he formed a military alliance with Tibet and Mongolia.

72. Pema Gyelpo was Miwang Sōnam Topgyé's father.

73. Fifth Dalai Lama, *Collected Works*, vol. tsha, 243-na-6, and Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Tawngyel, *Biography of Miwang, Speech Pleasing throughout the World*, 11-na to 19-ba.

74. After Ganden Tsewang Pelzang died, the Khunu king Kyerseng sent a letter of offering to the deputy-attendant Pelzang in Lhasa. I asked Khewang Gen Tendzin Gyeltsen Rinpoché about this letter. He said:

A hundred generations of the kings of Khunu were called King Kyerseng. This was decided based on Ganden Tsewang Pelzang's advice. I have seen that very letter.

He told me what it said.

75. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Biography of the Victorious Tsangyang Gyatso, Thoroughly Clear, Golden Ears of Corn*, 25-na-3 and *Boat for Crossing the Ocean to the Island of Liberation, Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary*, 138-na-6.
76. Dudjom Jikdrel Yeshé Dorje, *Religious History of the Early Transmission of Tantrayāna, the Drumbeat of Victory through the Power of the Gods*, 300-ba-6.
77. Drupwang Longdöl, *Collected Works*, vol. Cha, 20-na-5.
78. Rikdzin Lozang Trinlé, *Biography of Dorjé Dzinpa Chechok Düpa Tsal (Terdak Lingpé Nyené Lozang Gyatso), Clearing Away the Darkness of Torment, An Historical Supplement*.
79. Rikdzin Lozang Trinlé, *Autobiography, Festival of the Fortunate*, 183-na-4.
80. H. E. Richardson, *Tibet and its History* (Boulder, CO: Prajña Press, 1962), 96.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE SIXTH DALAI LAMA, THE REGENT DESI SANGYÉ GYATSO, AND LOZANG KHAN *TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION*

When the powerful fifth Dalai Lama died in 1682, his regent Desi Sangyé Gyatso hoped to retain the authority and allegiance that only the “Great Fifth” could inspire. He felt that if the public remained unaware of the passing of the charismatic figure, it would be possible to maintain streams of patronage from abroad, foster harmony among Mongolians and Chinese in the borderlands to the east of Tibet, and retain control over the Tibetan government. For these reasons, he masterminded an ambitious conspiracy to conceal the death of the Dalai Lama for a full fourteen years.

In the meanwhile, he oversaw the identification and education of the sixth Dalai Lama. The child was raised in secret, without even his parents coming to suspect that their child had been identified as the incarnation of the most powerful man in Tibet. The peculiar circumstances of his early years seem to have prevented him from forming an attachment to the monastic life. In the end, he became a libertine, given to hunting expeditions and dalliances with Lhasa maidens, and he is remembered as Tibet’s greatest secular poet. When he was twenty, he returned the novice vows he had received as a youth and declined to assume to vows of full ordination, despite protestations from the Paṇchen Lama, the Gomang Abbot Jamyang Zhepa, and others. When he proved unable to play the role expected of a Dalai Lama, Lozang Khan—the Mongolian strongman and grandson of Gushri Khan—declared that the young man had been misidentified as the reincarnation of the fifth Dalai Lama.

Lozang Khan first arrived in Tibet at the turn of the eighteenth century in the wake of a family dispute in the border region between Mongolia, China, and Tibet. In his quest to assume the prerogatives that had been enjoyed by his esteemed grandfather, he had to displace the powerful Regent Desi Sangyé Gyatso, who had ruled Tibet by himself since before the fifth Dalai Lama died in 1682. By 1705, the conflict between them became acute, and Lozang Khan was able to rally opposition to the Desi. He was sent into internal exile at a rural

estate, but it was plausibly claimed that he continued to manipulate events through the new regent, his own son, Ngawang Rinchen. Consequently, Lozang Khan returned to Lhasa from Dam with a large force. As Sangyé Gyatso fled, he was captured and executed by the khan's queen, Tsering Trashî.

With Lozang Khan then firmly in command of Tibet, he sought to remove the one potential rival for the affections of the Tibetan people, the original sixth Dalai Lama. Sadly, the unfortunate youth died in 1706 while being led into exile in China. In his place, the khan imposed his own hand-picked substitute, Pekar Dzinpa, a figure that failed to inspire devotion among Tibetans.

In 1708, the child who would ultimately be identified as the seventh Dalai Lama was born in Litang, Kham, resonating with a formerly obscure allusion in a poem by the sixth Dalai Lama: "I will circle Litang and be right back." The child was the subject of intense interest from many sides. While his existence threatened to undermine the credibility of Lozang Khan's substitute sixth Dalai Lama, both the Tibetan people and well-placed Mongolian and Tibetan patrons in eastern Tibet aspired to protect him until he could be enthroned as the legitimate incarnation. In order to curry favor with those patrons, the Manchu Emperor Kangxi moved to secure the boy's safety without taking a position on whether he was the true seventh Dalai Lama. Ultimately, the Pañchen Lama would be induced to sanction the identification of the new seventh Dalai Lama, even though it contradicted his own earlier legitimization of the original sixth Dalai Lama and his endorsement of Lozang Khan's substitute.

The khan's rule was never popular within Tibet or beyond, and it was ultimately cut short by the Dzüngars, another faction of Mongols intent on restoring a pure rule by Geluk hierarchs. Shakabpa suggests a variety of causes for the Dzüngar invasion, but finally narrates it within the context of an inter-Mongolian marriage alliance. As the Dzüngar forces attacked in 1717, Lozang Khan retreated to the Potala Palace, only emerging to die in combat when all was lost. The Dzüngars launched an intolerant pogrom, focusing their fury on Nyingmapas and Gelukpas they regarded as having facilitated a mixing of extraneous elements into the pure Geluk liturgy. As an indigenous Tibetan opposition began to form behind such figures as Khangchené Sönam Gyelpo and Polhané Sönam Topgyé, the Manchu emperor opened a second front against the Dzüngars. As their strength was sapped, they were compelled to leave Tibet in 1720, and they nearly encountered the seventh Dalai Lama as he traveled in the opposite direction towards Lhasa.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE SIXTH DALAI LAMA, THE REGENT DESI SANGYÉ GYATSO, AND LOZANG KHAN

The regent, Desi Sangyé Gyatso, had to keep the death of the great fifth Dalai Lama secret for a long time for several reasons. The foremost of these is that the Dalai Lama had so advised him in his last will. Moreover, it was thought that if the Mongolians believed that the Dalai Lama was still alive, it would be easier to maintain agreeable relations between Tibet and the Mongolians, including the donors who lived in Mongolia and at the Tsongön Lake. This was important because those Mongolians were helping to regain possession of Tibetan lands that had been lost in the Langdru region. In addition, whenever there were disagreements within the Mongolian royal family, everyone would act according to the Dalai Lama's instructions. By keeping the Dalai Lama's death secret, it would be possible to keep the factions united, bringing great benefit to the Mongolians in particular and to Tibetan Buddhism in general. If people knew the Dalai Lama Rinpoché had died, Chinese provocations might interrupt the Mongolians. Finally, given the great dangers that would come from internal disharmony and the fact that the Potala Palace had not yet been completed, it was necessary to keep the Dalai Lama's death a secret.

The secret was maintained by making it appear as if the Dalai Lama was in retreat. Food was continually brought to his room as it had been in the past. Religious instructions and decrees continued to be issued by his audience attendant as they had been in the past. During ceremonies, his clothes were carried in procession. Desi Rinpoché, along with the lamas, incarnations, and attendants who were under the former's influence, also appeared to visit his chambers just as they always had.

At different times, hand drums and bells would be sounded within his chambers and ceremonial offerings would be carried out. Government officials who lived outside of the Potala Palace saw and heard these things, as a result of which, no suspicions emerged. In addition, several important Mongolian sponsors were given special audiences. On those occasions, the visitors would meet with a monk from Namgyel Monastery, Depa Trerap; he doubled for the deceased Dalai Lama because his complexion was similar and he was the same age. The double, who

was a terribly intractable man, would say, “This old man has done nothing for which he should be imprisoned. Release me!” Then everyone would have to seize him. Sometimes they would threaten him, and sometimes they would cajole him, referring to him as “Honored One, Great Scholar.” Because of these difficulties it was very challenging to keep the death of the fifth Dalai Lama a secret.¹

Since the secret was maintained for such a long time, a few government officials eventually began to be suspicious. The medium of the Nechung Oracle, Tsewang Pelbar, having had a vague intimation about the death of the Dalai Lama, explained the situation to his sister. After that it was feared that the secret would become widely known. At that time, Minling Tertön Rinpoché and the great regent conferred about this problem. Dungsé Pema Gyurmé^a was to go to Lhasa in order to have the hair on the crown of his head cut by the Dalai Lama in his ordination ceremony. Tertön Rinpoché’s attendants told Dungsé Rinpoché:

This is a good opportunity to see if this is really the Dalai Lama. If it is, he will be fat, his complexion will be fair, his beard will be disheveled, and he will have a broad forehead.

Having instructed him in this way, they interfered with events.^b Tertön Rinpoché himself had written the instructions and given them to the double, Depa Trerap. The latter wore a large eye shade² and behaved like the Dalai Lama.

Tertön Rinpoché and his son traveled to Lhasa together. When Dungsé Rinpoché returned, he indicated that the man he had met was like the one that had been described; all of the signs the attendants had instructed him to look for had been present. Thus, everyone was satisfied. It was like pouring water into boiling milk.³ Although they learned how to safeguard the secret, many such deceptions became necessary. All of these activities were undertaken in the hope of bringing benefit to the general population of Tibet.

Meanwhile, Desi Rinpoché gave the responsibility of searching for the new incarnation to trusted people like Chöjé Zilnön Dorjé and Dopa Sönam Gyeltsen. In the eyes of the public, they were presumed

^a It can be inferred from what follows that he is Minling Tertön Rinpoché’s son.

^b The intention was that people who were in on the secret, such as Tertön Rinpoché, could trick others into believing the Dalai Lama was still alive, and those people would then reassure others.

to be going to pilgrimage sites for the benefit of Tibet, and they also traveled under the pretense of searching for the incarnations of Dingpoché Ngawang Nyendrak Pel Zangpo and Sharkhang Nomihen. Again and again, positive reports were sent by Tawang Lama, Ayé Dongpé Lama Sangyé, and from Gyayakpa and Pashöpa who were living at Tsona Castle.

It was told how on the first day of the third month of 1683, a child was born under wondrous circumstances in Ogyülsum in Mön to the father, Ngagyu Rikdzin Trashī Tendzin, and the mother, Tsewang Lhamo. Accordingly, Chöjé Zilnön Dorjé examined the hidden signs and found clear reasons to acknowledge him as the reincarnation of the great fifth Dalai Lama.

The supreme Desi covertly sought divinations from lamas and deities and performed the dough ball test,^c all of which were in good agreement. Since the birthplace was near Bhutan, he was afraid of interference from that quarter. However, people simply supposed the child was the incarnation of Dingpoché because the secret of the fifth Dalai Lama's death was so well kept from outsiders.

Since inviting even a small party to Tsona would draw attention immediately, a large group would have to be particularly clever and discrete. An order expressing these things was sent along with accompanying relic, whereupon the two rulers in Tsona issued invitations. This helped to overcome people's suspicions about the situation. The father, mother, and son were taken into custody for a long time as though they were in a pleasant prison, due to which they were able to overcome their exhaustion. The boy was subsequently "recognized" as Dingpoché, and since that lama had been a teacher of the previous Dalai Lama, the two district commanders of Tsona were ordered to serve the family without permitting them to become tired.

The father and mother were given personal presents, and attendants were gradually assigned to them. The young incarnation learned to recite the alphabet from his personal physician, Namkha Chöden, and others were sent specifically to perform ceremonies.⁴

From the year 1690, extensive preparations were made—including the establishment of a workshop—for building *The Ornament of the*

^c In this method of divination, names or words are placed into balls of dough, mixed up, and drawn out at random.

World, a reliquary [for the remains of the fifth Dalai Lama] to be fashioned from pure gold. Preparations were also made for great collective ceremonies and related monastic processions.

Since about 1684, the Chinese had been provocatively causing disturbances in Mongolia, offering bribes, granting titles, and so forth. Subsequently, the Chinese had also instigated various conflicts between the Tibetans and Mongolians by, for example, saying that the Desi had been working to preserve his customary authority when he had kept the fifth Dalai Lama's death secret for a long time and that this had been insulting to the Mongolians who lived in Ü Tsang and Tsongön Lake. Consequently, Mongolian donors became extremely suspicious.

Other types of extremely difficult situations had to be dealt with, such as when the Manchu emperor sent a letter to the Tibetan government inviting the Paṇchen Rinpoché Lozang Yeshé to come to China. Immediately, the Desi Rinpoché made appeals to Trashī Lhünpo Monastery. Paṇchen Rinpoché himself refused to go to China out of fear of a smallpox epidemic there. Negative doubts emerged as to whether the Desi had posed obstacles, but he declared that he would protect Paṇchen Rinpoché from having to go to China. The Chinese emperor was forced to relax the pressure on Paṇchen Rinpoché.

From the time that the Dalai Lama turned thirteen years of age, the secret of the previous Dalai Lama's death had gradually been penetrated. At that time, prophesies had been sought as to when it should be revealed. Initially, on the tenth day of the fifth month of 1696, the secret was explained to the new Dalai Lama's mother and father, and the secret about how their son had been determined to be the reincarnation was penetrated. That very year, in dependence on the customary preceptor-patron relationship between China and Tibet, the Zhapdrung of Nyima Tangpa, Ngawang Zhönu,^d was sent to China to explain the situation.⁵ He arrived to explain to the Manchu Emperor Kangxi how the supreme incarnation Dalai Lama Rinpoché had been born and how he had been invited without delay. His response was as good as possible.

During a war between the Mongolian Boshoktu and the Chinese, Boshoktu's younger brother was killed on the thirteen day of the fifth month. Meanwhile, the Chinese Manchu Emperor Kangxi arrived from the east. Because of widespread rumors that the lamas and leaders of

^d This may be Desi Sangyé Gyatso's son, Ngawang Samten.

the Tsongön Lake would have to meet the emperor, a deputy arrived from Lhasa to advise that the leaders of Mongolia and the Tsongön Lake region should not go to meet him. Although a meeting with several messengers and lamas would be agreeable, it was said that it would be unsuitable for the king and his family to meet with anyone in power beyond that. The most important issue, according to his advice, was that the Mongolians and Tibetans everywhere must maintain local customs. In addition, it was explained that the previous Dalai Lama had died for the benefit of others, and that this had been kept secret according to his own advice. At the present time, his incarnation had attained majority, and without delay, he had been enthroned at the Potala Palace. Due to such matters, the secret seal had been unbound. After the deputy delivered this message, extensive services were conducted in order that the foreign army would be pacified and their objectives would be achieved quickly.

When the secret was still being maintained, on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of 1697, the incarnation and his parents left Tsona for Tsel with an inconspicuous escort. Thus, he was invited to Nakartsé to the home of Yardrok Tripön, the uncle of the previous Dalai Lama.⁶ Meanwhile, on the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month, the Desi's secretaries, Tendzin Wangpo and Könchok Rapten, revealed the secret to the teachers, throne holders, and retired leaders of Sera and Drepung monasteries in the old assembly hall of the Potala Palace. Chakarwa Pema Sönam revealed it to the monk and lay government officials in the assembly hall. He and Dranang Pema Tsering revealed it to Drepung Monastery, Lhakhangpa Dorjé Norbu and Drangyé Shakpa Chakdor Pelbar to Sera Monastery, Chushur Üzhiwa to Ganden Monastery, and Mipön Zhangdrongpa Dorjé and Shar Trashî revealed it to the assembly of all the people of Lhasa in the open area of the flower gardens.

The secret was completely revealed, the news that the great fifth Dalai Lama had transferred into the body of the sixth Dalai Lama became widespread. Except for a few obstinate attendants, everyone of high or low rank, whether they were monastics or lay people, collapsed powerlessly in tears, like someone caught between visions of sorrow and joy. Some old people in Lhasa said:

Through all the years that the omniscient fifth Dalai Lama has not been alive, the suffering of people on earth and the religious burdens of the world have been placed at the feet of the Desi. Without our knowing that the sun had set, we have seen it dawn.

A group of officials could not accept the fact that the secret had been kept through the intervening period, and so they hissed as an expression of their dissatisfaction.⁷ The news was proclaimed far and wide throughout the castles and estates.

The master Paṅchen Rinpoché Lozang Yeshe, having been invited to Nakartsé from Trashī Lhünpo, met with the Dalai Lama in the Tendzin Podrang Chambers on the seventeenth day of the ninth month of 1697. Paṅchen Rinpoché bestowed the monastic vows on the Dalai Lama and gave him the name Lozang Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso.⁸ Desi Sangyé Gyatso's son, Ngawang Samten,⁹ was appointed as the Dalai Lama's general attendant, Drungtso Darmowa and Kokpa Püntsok Wangpo were appointed as the joint chamberlains and secretaries, Drilungpa Lozang Peljor was appointed as the master cook, Tara Dopa was appointed as chamberlain, and Lhasa Rakpa was appointed as storekeeper. Hence, they were sent off to Nakartsé.

The cabinet issued orders concerning arrangements for the temporary encampment and for the impending festivities, and Cabinet Minister Darjung Dradül Rapten was assigned the responsibility for overseeing all the preparations. The great tent needed for the celebration, which was an ornament for the world, was pitched at Nyetang Trashī Camp, and arrangements were made for a large encampment.

On the twenty-first day of the ninth month, the sixth Dalai Lama and his party left Nakartsé, arriving in Nyetang on the twenty-seventh day of the month. At that time, Desi Sangyé Gyatso, Tendzin Dayen Gyelpo, nobles from Kyishö, Gyari, and so forth, and lamas and incarnations of the great monasteries, along with monk and lay government officials came out to receive him. He was enthroned in a large reception tent called Trashī Püntsok. Desi Rinpoché gave the Dalai Lama oral explanations on the maṇḍala, together with informing him of the last will of the previous Dalai Lama. He completely explained the essential motives behind the necessity of the keeping secret the great fifth Dalai Lama's death. He explained in detail that since the actual incarnation had now definitely been found, he would be formally installed on the golden throne.

Having stayed in Nyetang for a little more than a month, he left there on the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month. He stayed one night in Kyitsel Luding, and early on the morning of the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month of 1697, after performing the ceremony of winter clothing, he was processed before an assembly consisting of representatives of China, Tibet, and Hor, an entourage of monk and lay government

officials, a monastic procession, ceremonial singers and dancers, and so forth. Thereby, he was established on the golden throne of the great Potala Palace, which is the second abode of Avalokiteśvara.

The all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché, the first incarnation of Changkya—Ngawang Chöden, who was the representative of the Manchu emperor—the Ganden throne holder, great lamas, and various other important figures made ceremonial offerings on this blessed occasion. On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month, the supreme sovereign sixth Dalai Lama and the master Paṇchen Rinpoché together performed the benediction of the golden reliquary of the fifth Dalai Lama, an ornament for the world. Other ceremonies were also performed. During that year additions had to be made to Tibetan maps to indicate the widespread new construction of stūpas in honor of both Buddhism and the government. In addition, new temples, together with images of the protectors of the three Buddha families^e in the form of eight-year old boys, were constructed at the Tsongön Lake, Gyeltang, and Dartsedo.¹⁰

In 1699, Tendzin Wangyel, the elder son of Könchok Dalai Khan or Tendzin Dalai Khan, had a disagreement with the younger son, Lozang Khan. Desi Rinpoché intervened without undermining either civil or religious customs. After the mediators arrived from the Tibetan government, Lozang Khan left for the Tsongön Lake, together with his due share of gifts. Since there were disagreements among the rulers of the Tsongön Lake, Bātur Taiji had to go to China. Through subterfuge, Dalai Taiching killed Dayen Hong Taiji and so forth. For all of these reasons, the conference was unsuccessful.

There are many accounts that Tsewang Rapten from Orö found fault in whatever the Desi did. In addition, people even had wrong views of the Dalai Lama, and the Chinese had tried to replace the Changkya incarnation. It is now said that the supreme sovereign Dalai Lama was upset about all of these internal and external events, due to which, he was weaker in his studies; being indolent in the performance of his duties, the Dalai Lama would not listen, no matter how the Desi Rinpoché or his attendants reminded him.

Various people from the government and the great monasteries had to be delegated as mediators, giving advice to the respective authorities in the Tsongön Lake region and Mongolia, and separating the parties.¹¹

^e The protectors of the three Buddha families are Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, and Vajrapāṇi.

In considering a way to maintain friendly religious and political relations between China and Tibet, Desi Rinpoché sent a letter of entreaty to Paṇchen Rinpoché suggesting that he travel to China, as he had been invited. But Paṇchen Rinpoché felt in his own mind that although the Manchu emperor had spoken in good faith and although his going to China would be of benefit to Buddhism and to sentient beings and in furthering the cause of Tsongkhapa's teachings, still it would be difficult for him to be of any help because of his own inferior understanding of sūtra and mantra. Not only that, but also he felt that if he went it would give the appearance of someone following after renown, wealth, and haughtiness. As Geshé Kharakpa says:

Fame is an oblation for demons.
Worldly gain is a noose for hanging.
[The pursuit of] religious merit is a hindrance to religious practice.
Do not view poison as medicine.

And Trobu Lotsāwa says:

If you do not know how to go your own way,
Even though you are entrusted with the leadership over others,
You are a slave without wages to benefit you.
How sad to have a dry empty name!

Accordingly, because Paṇchen Rinpoché stayed true to his purpose, he declined the invitation, offering the pretext that it was necessary for him to exercise caution since China had not become free from smallpox.¹² The Chinese became suspicious that Desi Sangyé Gyatso was raising obstacles. For these reasons, he became exhausted dealing with Tibet's internal and international problems.

A delegation arrived from Kathmandu, Nepal to offer congratulations to the sixth Dalai Lama. Consisting of about forty people, it included Rameshor, Maṭam, and Jinateu, as well as their servants. The Tibetans were hospitable to them while they were in Tibet and gave them farewell gifts when they left.

Tendzin Dalai Khan died on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month after suffering a severe illness based in his water element.^f The government requested that various lamas and incarnations dedicate the

^f In Tibetan medicine, there are five elements—earth, water, fire, wind, and space. Illness, in part, consists in an imbalance between these. See Yeshe Donden, edited and translated by Jeffrey Hopkins, *Health Through Balance: An Introduction to Tibetan Medicine* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1986).

merit from their practice to the departed khan, and to fulfill this wish, extensive ceremonies were performed. Tendzin Dalai Khan's older son, Tendzin Wangyel, had become the adopted son of Hong Taiji and thus was living in Mongolia. The younger son, Lozang Khan Lupel, having traveled to Ü, was given the status of a king, being called Lozang Khan in the manner of his paternal ancestors.

Dartsedo had been a Tibetan territory since the earliest time. Because it was on the Chinese-Tibetan border, from the time of Sakya and Pakdru, the collection of taxes, the administration of law, and so forth had not been strictly enforced. The people there had always been left alone. However, since it had been wrested from the control of Lama Rapjampa during the time of Sakyong Trinlé Gyatso, it had been placed under the direct protective administration of the government. Although it had not been lost to the subordination of the Manchu emperor, there were debates as to whether Dartsedo was under China's control based on some of the activities of Chinese and Tibetan leaders. There were also serious conflicts with respect to the Minyak area. More recently, two important Tibetan leaders named Lamo Tsepa and Jakla Döpa were thought to have been murdered; something had to be done to cool down an inflamed situation, as war preparations were underway around Litang and Ba. A divination was performed to determine who should be assigned as the local resident. Accordingly, Tsedrön Lozang Döndrup and Shödrön Jamyang were appointed and sent to the region.¹³

When the supreme Desi used to remind the sixth Dalai Lama of his obligation to study, the latter would become irritated to the point that it became almost impossible to speak to him about the topic. When the Dalai Lama reached the age of twenty, which was the traditional age for one to become fully ordained, he was repeatedly reminded that Pañchen Rinpoché ought to be invited to the Potala for that purpose. Yet the Dalai Lama would hear nothing of it. Then one day, he relented, saying he would go to Trashī Lhünpo Monastery to receive his instruction and vows. The Desi replied that it would be good if he were to take the vows, and he began to make all of the preparations necessary for a journey to Trashī Lhünpo, sending a detailed private letter to Pañchen Rinpoché. A party consisting of Lozang Khan, Kyishö Depa, the medium of the Lamo Oracle, the abbots and incarnations of the monasteries, and nobles were selected to ride with the Dalai Lama to Tsang in the sixth month of 1702. They served as his entourage and could send messages when something was needed.

Pañchen Lozang Yeshé has written about this situation in detail in his autobiography:¹⁴

In the first month of 1702, Desi Sangyé Gyatso performed a religious ceremony at his home altar and, as before, sent me a private letter of supplication urgently requesting me to instruct the Dalai Lama on how to behave... The junior audience attendant Lozang Dargyé was dispatched along with offerings.

Desi Rinpoché's sent the Paṇchen Lama an appeal explaining the difficulties he faced, which read as follows:

The present Dalai Lama has the compassionate predispositions of the previous Dalai Lama, as is evidenced by his equanimity even towards me. But he will not listen even though I question him about his behavior. I gave instructions, which was difficult for him to endure. Since he has great affection for you (i.e., the Paṇchen Lama), which is different from the way he regards other people, you could make a request to him directly. I have asked him again and again, advising him that he consider taking the vows of full ordination since he had attained the age of twenty. He wondered whether there would be any use in meeting a lama. Beyond that, he has not made clear when he would receive the vows, and so there have been delays. More recently, he has consented to do just that, saying, "I will send a letter of invitation, setting my youth behind me." It is difficult to analyze what he said.

At the end of the month, the omniscient [Dalai Lama] sent the Paṇchen Lama a note from the hidden city [Lhasa], which said:¹⁵

As I have indicated in my replies to the series of messages from you, I have no wish to do such things as leading an assembly in the place of the previous Dalai Lama. The Desi has told me that I must receive teachings from you by inviting you to come here. It would not displease me to meet with a lama. Hence, I have issued this invitation. You should be able to return before the heavy rains. Thus, you must come.

However, it did not sit well with him. Not wanting to go, he conveyed that he was a little unwell, but would be able to come in a short while.

Again, the Paṇchen Lama received a letter saying the Dalai Lama planned to pilgrimage to the relics of the first Paṇchen Lama Lozang Chögyen. The monk Darpa was dispatched to Lhasa with a letter saying that since it was not a good occasion for the Dalai Lama to make the journey, the Paṇchen Lama would immediately come to meet him. Having left on the third day of the sixth month, the latter planned to go by way of the north. However, when he arrived in Ganden Rapgyé (Topgyel), Darpa was returning. He explained that, "Without my being able to prevent him from leaving, the Dalai Lama had decided to begin his journey."

Immediately, at the end of two days of traveling through the ravine area, the Paṇchen Lama met the omniscient one at Yardrok Daplung. The omniscient one was to travel by way of Nyang (Gyantse), and the Paṇchen Lama returned by way of the ravines, arriving at Trashī Lhünpo Monastery on the fifteenth day. On the twentieth day, the omniscient one was enthroned at Trashī Lhünpo Monastery along with his attendants. When the teacher asked the Dalai Lama how long he would stay in order that he could arrange for teachings, ceremonies, and so forth, he did not receive a decisive reply. The Kuzhap Rinpoché^g [i.e., the Dalai Lama] had displayed his actual mode of behavior to the Paṇchen Lama in person. He appealed to the young lama from all sides.

Not only that, but Desi Rinpoché, the Dali Lama's mother, and lamas from Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries made urgent appeals, just as the Paṇchen Lama had already done. They said, if the one who sees with exalted wisdom would analyze whether or not there was benefit to Buddhism in general, to the teachings of the Great Lama Tsongkhapa for the sentient beings of the three worlds in particular, and to the local customs of the government and religion, then he would accept that he should adopt the behavior of the previous great omniscient ones, whose liberated activities were for the benefit of all beings, teaching according to the capacities of disciples in the central and border regions, without abandoning compassion toward them. Three times, the Paṇchen Lama urgently supplicated him to teach people about Buddhism in that way, and he made three prostrations.

The Dalai Lama did not adopt the Paṇchen Lama's advice. Instead, he left in a noisy manner and, making three prostrations outside in the sunlight, he confessed that he was violating the words of his lama. Behaving in this contradictory fashion, he left. There was nothing to do. Even afterwards, although the Paṇchen Lama sent a series of letters and made urgent appeals, nothing came of it. The Dalai Lama said that if he could not give back the novice vows, which he had previously taken, or the vows of full ordination, he would be forced to commit suicide while facing in the direction of Trashī Lhünpo. Desi Rinpoché sent Demo Trülku, Sempa Trülku, Taktse Zhapdrung, Gyelsé Lozang Khan, the senior teachers at Sera and Drepung monasteries, and the

^g "Kuzhap" (*sku zhabs*) is a fairly low-level title of respect, something akin to "Mister," that would ordinarily never be employed with respect to a Dalai Lama. Its use in this context is a clear indication of the ambivalence people felt toward this reluctant figure.

general storekeeper to plead with him as friends; having agreed on what to say, each supplicated the Dalai Lama with one voice. They pleaded with him privately one by one, supplicating him with one voice in accordance with the Desi's advice. Yet, nothing more came from their efforts; instead, things got worse.

The situation had already been presented to the clerk of Drepung. Desi Rinpoché found it difficult to decide what to do. Various other stories are related concerning how the Dalai Lama was tormented over the choice he had to make. What need is there to mention the issue of taking the vows of full ordination? Although he had previously taken novice monastic vows, he gave them back because he was unable to maintain them strictly. In the end, he was asked not to change into the clothes of a layman, to keep his monastic vows for a short while, and to teach religion. Even though the Paṇchen Lama and all the people from Ü pleaded with him, it had no effect. The situation that had emerged was related in detail to Desi Rinpoché. Having stayed in Zhikatsé for seventeen days, the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa.

The abbot of Gomang Monastery, Jamyang Zhepa, was among those present at that time. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's biography of him, *The River Crossing of the Marvelous Fortunate Eon*, says:¹⁶

Having prostrated to the Dalai Lama Rinpoché three times, Jamyang Zhepa said, "Since you are the only source of refuge in Tibet, think compassionately toward Buddhism and toward all sentient beings, and do not behave in this way." Even though he appealed to him with great earnestness, the Dalai Lama would not listen because of the low merit of his training.

One day, prostrating three times on the threshold of Paṇchen Rinpoché's room, the Dalai Lama shouted, "Now I give up the teachings on the vows of full ordination." Hence, from that point on, he wore the clothes of a layman. At the same time, several other people among the ranks of the attendants, such as Demo Trülku Namkha Jamyang, also gave up their vows. Since Demo Trülku was a student of the Gomang abbot, there is a story that Jamyang Zhepa, looking wide-eyed with astonishment, scolded his student saying, "Even if others behave in this way, how are you able to forsake Brahmā's code of conduct (i.e., his monastic vows)?"

Thereafter, the Dalai Lama Rinpoché continued living in the Potala, having changed into the clothing of a layman. Yet he took up the practice of a rule of discipline. In taking pleasures, he acted according

to whatever desire arose in such places as behind the fort near Lhasa, Ölga, Chonggyé, and Gongkar. Most days, he would lead his young attendants behind the fort to the hunting grounds. His nights were spent in the homes of women in the cities of Lhasa or Zhöl. Although most of the houses in Lhasa are painted white, a few are painted yellow. It is reported in the oral tradition that the young Dalai Lama was well acquainted with those yellow houses.

If one wonders about the Dalai Lama's manner of dress, Lelung Jedrung Lozang Trinlé records what he had seen in his biography. When he was young, he had gone to the Potala to have the hair on the crown of his head cut by the Dalai Lama in an ordination ceremony. He writes:¹⁷

The abbot who was the steward said, "Since the Dalai Lama has gone to Namsé Gendzö, go there to meet him. If questions arise, say that the younger incarnations could not come, but the older ones could." Since I indicated that I would, he was pleased, and we went for the audience. The Dalai Lama wore a fine upper garment of pale blue. He wore his hair to just below his ears and had rings on every finger. Attendants stood on either side of him wearing various unsightly costumes and holding quivers of arrows and bows. The Dalai Lama jokingly said to the steward, "Right now, I am going to bind Ané Tingting Drölma to Jedrung Trülku." Having made this jest, he immediately went to the area behind the fort to hunt.

At that time, many types of Tibetan and Mongolian people had improper conceptions about the activities of the Dalai Lama Rinpoché, and various sorts of accusations were circulating. On the one hand, Desi Rinpoché sent a message to the senior teachers and the monastic officials instructing them to appeal to monks at the assemblies and in the debating courtyard in order to undo the wrong notions about the Dalai Lama's behavior.¹⁸

On the other hand, the Desi said that there would be great benefit to getting rid of the attendant Drungkhor Targyé, who was leading the Dalai Lama astray. A meeting was called consisting of the great Desi, Dapön Gachakpa, Darjungné, Drungyik Tendzin Wangpo, Apo Ngadzom, and so forth. The Dalai Lama had gone to hunt behind the fort. At twilight, he and his companions returned, singing as they came. The plan was to kill Targyepa along the road. On that particular day, however, the Dalai Lama had gotten Targyepa to wear some of his own clothing, while Targyepa's clothing was worn by his servant. Hence, having mistaken their identities, Gachakpa stabbed the servant to death.

Upon realizing the mistake, another person wounded Targyepa with a knife. Although Targyepa fell, the attacker was unable to kill him. The results of this bungled scheme became widely known.

The Dalai Lama consulted various oracles hoping to discover the identity of the attacker. The Lamo Tsangpa Oracle presented him with an silk-wrapped arrow^h tied with ribbons of five colors, as well as a quill. The Dalai Lama took this as a sign that Dapön Ngadzom and Drungyik Tendzin Wangpo were responsible.ⁱ Eventually, he came to realize what had happened; Apo Ngadzom was put on a blazing copper horse, and led around the fort [in humiliation]. The other conspirators' blood was shed. After this there was tremendous divisiveness and conflict among the leaders, and in particular, the Dalai Lama came to dislike the great Desi.¹⁹

The Dalai Lama came to see fault in all of Desi Rinpoché's well-intentioned efforts and disliked the kind Desi. For these reasons, starting in 1704, Lozang Khan, who had been searching for opportunities, continually fostered serious conflicts in the relationship between the preceptor (i.e., the Dalai Lama) and the patron (Desi Sangyé Gyatso). When false rumors spread that Lozang Khan had been poisoned, even greater dissension grew in people's hearts.

On the basis of the pronouncement of the oracle and the wishes of the omniscient one, a meeting was held in front of the golden reliquary during the Great Prayer Festival of 1705. It was attended by the Dalai Lama, the medium of the Lamo Oracle, Kyishö Depa, the abbots of the great monasteries, various key government officials, Drönyer Kachen Dorjé who was Pañchen Rinpoché's deputy, and various Mongolian sponsors. They consulted with each other about the well-being of the preceptor-patron relationship. The essence of their decision was as follows: Desi Rinpoché should relinquish the responsibilities of his government post but should be given Gongkar Castle as compensation. The title of

^h A "silk-wrapped arrow" (*mda' dar*) is a length of wood around which colored strands of silk are woven.

ⁱ The objects given to the Dalai Lama by the oracle hinted that these people were the attackers because; (1) the word for arrow, *mda'*, is the first syllable of Dapön Gachakpa's rank, (2) the word for silk, *dar*, is the first syllable of Darjungné's name, (3) the third syllable in Apo Ngadzom's name, *lnga*, is the number five, symbolizing the number of arrows, and (4) the quill hinted at the role of the secretary, *drung yig*, Drungyik Tendzin Wangpo, in the plot. Initially, the Dalai Lama only blamed only two of them, but eventually he understood all four were involved. Three were executed, and Ngadzom was humiliated by being led around on a horse.

king should remain with Lozang Khan as before, and he should live in the Tsongön Lake region. Lozang Khan should receive the income of the estates of the royal government and from Suhruk (Shekhak).

Both the preceptor and the patron accepted the terms of the agreement. Thereby, upon Desi's resignation from the duties of state, his son Ngawang Rinchen²⁰ was appointed as the regent. Lozang Khan pretended to leave for the Tsongön Lake. However, he lingered at such places as Yangpajen, Nyedrong, and Dam. When he arrived at the Nakchu River, he prepared to return to Lhasa with the Mongolian forces he gathered from the surrounding area. He charged that Sangyé Gyatso was not abiding by the agreement since he was still living at the Potala and directing all of the affairs of government. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo's biography of Jamyang Zhepa says:²¹

The lamas of Sera and Drepung monasteries had to intervene in the disagreement between Sangyé Gyatso and Lozang Khan. Jamyang Zhepa also came. In accordance with the pronouncements of the Lamo Oracle, it was decided that Lozang Khan should go to the Tsongön Lake region. Sangyé Gyatso asked the lamas (abbots) what would happen if Lozang Khan were arrested. The lamas said nothing at all. Jamyang Zhepa said:

If Lozang Khan is to be seized, then I will have no part in this discussion. All of the khan's close family members are in the Tsongön Lake region, and they will not come to us in goodness.

The other lamas indicated their agreement, and thus Sangyé Gyatso was unable to make the arrest.

If we follow this account, then one wonders whether the subject of this secret meeting leaked out and influenced Lozang Khan to lead his forces back to Lhasa in violation of the agreement. Not only that, but it is also said that Targyé, having fabricated a letter in the name of the Dalai Lama, appealed to Lozang Khan that Sangyé Gyatso must be killed.²² Whatever the case might have been, Lozang Khan led two armies from Dam in the fifth month. The senior teachers from various monasteries and the Tantric colleges, as well as Pañchen Rinpoché's deputy, gathered to confer on how to avert warfare. Lozang Khan said, "I will certainly come as far as Penpo Langtang." Ü Tsang troops were dispatched by the government to confront the Mongolians.

At the same time, however, the common people endured terrible difficulties such as the efforts to complete the construction of the Potala Palace, which had been ongoing for many years and the new work on the golden reliquary. Other causes of dissatisfaction and disruption include the fact that the previous Dalai Lama's death had been concealed for

so long and the disagreeable feelings between the present Dalai Lama and Sangyé Gyatso. All of these factors made it seem like a time of ill omens had gathered. As a consequence, the residents of Ü Tsang were disingenuous in their war efforts.

When the khan's forces had almost arrived in Kyipen, the mediators determined that Sangyé Gyatso should go to Gongkar and the government should be handed over to Lozang Khan. Desi Sangyé Gyatso left for Gongkar with great trepidation. Meanwhile, the khan was on his way to Lhasa by way of Penyül with his troops. The khan's queen Tsering Trashi, the treasurers, and a division of forces arrived in Tölung Nangtsé by way of Yangpajen. Immediately upon hearing that Desi Sangyé Gyatso had gone to Gongkar, several special troops were dispatched. Some say that Sangyé Gyatso was arrested in Gongkar, and others say that he was arrested on the road.

Whatever may be the case, the people at Drepung Monastery heard that Desi Rinpoché was in custody and was being taken away. The leadership of the monastery came out to appeal to the important Mongolians one by one. When they arrived at Nyenkharnak Hill, they heard that the Mongolian troops were taking the Desi by way of Kyormo Lung. At this point, they returned to their monastery. Some people thought that it would be good if they went to Nangtsé by way of Trizam. But the Gomang abbot, Jamyang Zhepa, said it would be better if they followed after the Mongolian troops. As a result, the Drepung monks went by way of Kyormo Lung.

Even though the heavy summer rains were upon the banks of the Lawa Treng,^j the monks crossed over without any reservation. They went before Queen Tsering Trashi in the Mongolian camp at Nangtsé and asked, "Where is the Desi?" She said, "He isn't." The monks said, "Do not speak like that. We must meet with him today." The queen replied, "Since he has been killed, that is not possible." It was said that most likely, his corpse had not even lost its warmth.^k She went on to

^j Tsepön Shakabpa identifies this place as *la ba 'phreng*. Turrell V. Wylie, *A Place Name Index to George N. Roerich's Translation of the* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1957), 37 has an entry for *la ba 'phrang*. I have been unable to locate either of these places on a map.

^k Hugh Richardson ["The Fifth Dalai Lama's Decree Appointing Sang-rgyas rgyamtsho as Regent," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLIII, no. 2 (1980), 343] retells an amazing story about a game of chess played between Lozang Khan and Desi Sangyé Gyatso. Apparently, they were "rivals for the favors of a lady," and they wagered that the loser of the chess game would relinquish his romantic pursuit of

ask if they would like to stay there and leave after lunch. With a flaming heart, the Gomang abbot scolded the Mongolians, "There is no one lower than you. If you have assassinated the Desi, why are you afraid to tell me what you have done?" That day, Jamyang Zhepa was so upset that it is said that he was unable to recite his usual daily prayers.²³ It is related in some oral traditions that Jamyang Zhepa was led on a wild goose chase because he and Lozang Khan had a preceptor-patron relationship.¹

Master Paṇchen Rinpoché Lozang Yeshe's autobiography says:²⁴

From this quarter also, there were urgent appeals to the khan that he must avoid being harmful to Buddhism and to sentient beings by doing such things as deploying armies. My audience attendant, Kachen, was dispatched with such a message and an accompanying offering. Since Lozang Khan would not listen to the leadership of Sera and Drepung monasteries, he and his forces left the Nakchu River. Thus, when the messenger met the khan at Dam, he presented the message and the offerings, urging Lozang Khan to halt his movement.

Also the government positioned Ü Tsang troops around the vicinity of Lhasa, whereupon they learned that the khan and his forces had arrived in Tölung and Penyül. For whatever reason, in the interest of the benefit of sentient beings and in the interest of restoring the faith and fealty in the preceptor-patron relationship, those Mongolians who had an altruistic attitude averted their course on the ninth day and proceeded on to the Shokbu Pass by way of Serdok Jen and Topgyel Drülsang. At that time, my audience attendant, Kachen, arrived from Lhasa in an effort to straighten out the situation. He explained that in fact Sangyé Gyatso had retired from power and all of the troops had been sent back to their posts.

Thereafter, a decree reached me from the Dalai Lama. In it, he said that Sangyé Gyatso had left the throne and because Lozang Khan had resolved not to engage in any destruction, the respective forces had been withdrawn. From this point, it was unnecessary for me to proceed on a journey that would only tire me out. Thus, I changed my course. As I was sick, a doctor told me that it would be good if I could go to a hot spring, so I spent five days at Zamtsé Hot Springs on the way.

The Dalai Lama Rinpoché sent a message saying that high lamas and senior secretaries were hosting negotiations, and so I should consider how to foster an agreement by offering my own advice and the like. In

the woman. Lozang Khan won the game. If the story is true, it is a bitter irony that the woman in question turned out to be Tsering Trashi, Sangyé Gyatso's executioner.

¹ Under this theory, it would seem that the khan did not want to implicate his lama in the murder of the regent. Thus, he purposely led Jamyang Zhepa far away from the place where the murder was committed.

spite of this, on the way, I had to send a messenger as a result of my health. Accordingly, I stayed in the Öyuk Drakar area. I waited there for about twenty days for instructions to come from the Dalai Lama, but none came. In the meanwhile, being wrought with doubt, I sent a messenger to inquire about the situation. When the messenger came back, he said I could return. Lozang Khan was preparing to stay at Dam for a while. However, the area from Tölung to Gongkar was under the Desi's control. Since I could not stay in this region, which was under dispute, I had to go to Gongkar. The order to this effect arrived with the Dalai Lama's seal. I did not arrive there immediately as I was delayed in the intervening region.

Out of fear that the khan would overstep the boundaries dictated by the present situation, my messenger traveled day and night without interruption to present him with a letter urging him to not be the sort of person to exceed the intention of the Dalai Lama's declaration or my embassy. He was also urged to listen to my representative. However, when the messenger arrived at the khan's camp, he had already gone to the north. Desi Rinpoché died on the seventeenth day of that month.²⁵ Things might have turned out differently if there had been no delay at Shokbu Pass. Whether it was due to karma from a previous life or a result of the pervasive increase in the five impurities, my message did not reach the king. Hence, there was no chance for my wishes to be fulfilled.

At that time, there was a poor monk named Purchok Ngawang Jampa. Upon attaining the kingship, Lozang Khan gave Nyangdren Drongmé, the ancestral home of Desi Rinpoché, to the monks of Sera Monastery. Hence, everyone began looting his property, but this monk, having generated compassion, did not participate.²⁶

When I was young, I used to go to Nangtsé Kyangmo estate with my kind mother. There was a large earthen mound in the middle of a little field near the main road to the north of the Nangtsé estate. There is a story that the Mongolian soldiers decapitated Desi Rinpoché at that place, whereupon they cast his head into the Tölung Tsang River. Reportedly, it remained below Trizam Bridge for several days and was seen by a traveler from Shungang.

Desi Sangyé Gyatso had lived with his maternal uncle, Desi Drongmepa Trinlé Gyatso,^m from an early age, studying all fields of knowledge. In particular, he attended to the study of sūtra and tantra and studied the affairs of state at the feet of the great fifth Dalai Lama. When he had brought these studies to completion, people called him Drongmé

^m Desi Drongmepa Trinlé Gyatso served as the fifth Dalai Lama's regent from 1660–1668.

Awar.ⁿ When he was twenty-seven, he took over the responsibilities of the government, as was prophesied by the three roots—his root lama, his tutelary deity, and the *ḍakīṇis*. He was given special powers beyond that of other regents. A proclamation was issued which said that an action undertaken by Desi Sangyé Gyatso was no different from one undertaken by the Dalai Lama.

Again and again, he would hurry around all of the offices of government himself, and he would investigate important issues. He carefully followed the political affairs of the government and the income and expenditures of the treasury. He was even-handed in the administration of justice. He went everywhere in disguise in order to see how ordinary people lived and felt, to the upper and lower regions, to the south and the north, to Ü Tsang, Dakpo, and Kongpo. Also, ordinary people had to measure their words, saying, “The flat-headed Desi could come along.”²⁷

Under the pretense of completing the masonry of the Potala or of offering prayers for the great fifth Dalai Lama, large ceremonies were held.^o In particular, if the cost of constructing the golden reliquary, the ornament of the world, were summed up and exchanged into grain, it would add up to 30,507,056 *khel* and 12.5 *dre*.^p If the cost of performing the great ceremonies and religious processions were reckoned and exchanged into grain, it would come to 8,854,513 loads.²⁸ There are extensive records of these sums being collected from all quarters.

Also, with regards to politics, Desi Sangyé Gyatso had a preceptor-patron relationship with the Chinese Manchu emperor and took immeasurable responsibility for keeping all of the members of the Mongolian imperial government unified. Before the Chinese began to interfere in the internal political affairs of Mongolia, the latter were as one with the Tibetans.

He investigated scholastic controversies in ten difficult commentaries—both published and unpublished—that he composed on such topics as hagiography, chronicles, music, poetry, white and black astrology,

ⁿ “Awar” (*a bar*) could be read as meaning “up to the end,” since “a” is the last letter of the alphabet.

^o Presumably, the prayers were actually being offered for the completion of the Golden Reliquary of the deceased fifth Dalai Lama, whereas people were told that the prayers were for the completion of the Potala.

^p A *khel* (*khal*) is equal to thirty pounds, and twenty *dre* (*bre*) are equal to one *khel*. See p. 65 above for more information on the Tibetan system of weights and measures.

and medicine. It appears that he pursued these studies on his own throughout his life.

Moreover, he was skilled in shooting both long and short arrows, and in particular, he was able to shoot arrows further than anyone else. He was skilled in playing such stringed instruments as the dranyen and the piwang.⁹ He wrote the fundamental treatise called *Festival for the Eye, Mind, and Ear* in which he collected melodious songs. During his entire life he enjoyed dancing and playing cards, go, and chess. In his religious and worldly accomplishments, Sangyé Gyatso was unrivaled, and hence those accomplishments were inexpressible and incomprehensible. Picking up from where it was quoted last, Chechok Dupa Tsel's biography says:²⁹

The supreme Desi was a strict authoritarian and he placed an order on the three big sets of stairs of the Potala Palace. It read, "Such things as taking after indiscreet women are impermissible." Yet he himself took after the two ladies of the Duchi Chimé Gatsel and Pelrap Khangsar families. Thereby, he became widely renowned for his behavior as he came of age. At that time, there was not a single woman of noble manners in Lhasa and the surrounding region who had not been pursued by the Desi.

Out of his pride, people on the road were not allowed to look upon him or his large party as he came or went. His two wives had authority with respect to all sorts of matters in the monastic leadership, estates, and internal and external offices. When Tertön Rinpoché heard about these things, it inspired both shame and loyalty. He excitedly remarked, "If he behaves in such a reckless fashion now, he will soon disgrace our lama." He wrote a forceful letter advancing his concerns. Thereby, the Desi's faith in Tertön Rinpoché diminished. When the latter heard that the khan had beheaded Desi Sangyé Gyatso at the moment when he had arrived at Tölung, he shed a tear saying, "I could appeal to him now, but he never listened from the beginning." His anguished remark pained him greatly.

This is just a little from amongst all that was written.

Subsequently, a few events were revealed that seemed a little negative, but these sorts of things are only useful for investigating Sangyé Gyatso's life story. As it is said in a prayer composed by the great fifth Dalai Lama:

To remove the darkness of ignorance, this precious religion must be pursued.

⁹ These instruments are like a guitar and a violin respectively.

The two forms of intelligence,^r which enter into liberation,
 Cross to the ends of the ocean, by the boat of analytic wisdom.
 May the sovereign, who brings about the jewel of happiness, be as reliable as the swastika.^s

A prayer composed for the founding of a group of monasteries in Domé says:

Because he has removed the two ignorances and expanded his discriminative powers,
 His knowledge of the great extent of the holy sciences is as deep as the ocean.
 May the sovereign, the incarnated son of a god,
 Be as reliable as the swastika.

And another supplicatory prayer in Sangyé Gyatso's biography says:

By the power of good predispositions in many previous incarnations,
 The extent of whose two manners of intellect is like the sky,
 And are joined like the sun and the moon,
 May the supreme ruler, Sangyé Gyatso, be as reliable as the swastika.

It is stated more than once that bodhisattvas, the sons of the Buddha, take birth intentionally. Thus, there is no limit to the activities of the superior Buddha. Sangyé Gyatso's life passed beyond the judgment of ordinary people.

Before Lozang Khan made it to Lhasa, the new Desi, Ngawang Rinchen, escaped and took shelter. Accordingly, he did not fall into the khan's hands. A few years later Lozang Khan suspected that Desi Ngawang Rinchen was in Mindroling, and so he sent his minister Zungdar Taiji and some soldiers to investigate. At that time, Polhané Sönam Topgyé was there studying the sciences with Lochen Dharma Śrī. He explained that Desi Ngawang Rinchen was not there and so the Mongolian troops left Dolda.³⁰ According to this account, it appears that even at that time, a detailed search was underway.

The records do not show clearly what became of Sangyé Gyatso's older and younger wives or all of his other sons a result of Lozang Khan's duplicity. The common people of Lhasa also did not know what happened to them. In fact, Ngawang Chödrak Gyatso's biography makes

^r I.e., secular and religious.

^s The *swastika* is an auspicious symbol indicating firmness and unchangeableness. If the arms of the *swastika* turn clockwise, it is a Buddhist symbol. Otherwise, it is a symbol of the Bönpos.

it clear that when the khan was living in Mongolia, he expelled Desi Sangyé Gyatso's sons, Depa Ngawang Rinchen, Depa Makzor Tsering (Tsewang), and Depa Ngawang Tsöndrü, one of his daughters, as well as several attendants to the region between China and Mongolia.³¹

It is clearly recorded that when the seventh Dalai Lama, Kelzang Gyatso, was staying at Kumbum in the eleventh month of 1718, Desi Sangyé Gyatso's two older sons had an audience with him, to his great pleasure.³² If one relies on that account, then one wonders whether Lozang Khan was merely pretending to search for Sangyé Gyatso's family in Tibet, whereas they had been exiled to either Mongolia or Domé (Amdo). Subsequently, when Lozang Khan's misfortunes became manifest, the family may have reemerged.

Lozang Khan transformed all of Tibet. As was said before, this was a case of an internal power struggle among government attendants, rather than the usurpation by an external king. Not long after [the demise of Desi Sangyé Gyatso], Lozang Khan gradually began to criticize the Dalai Lama, expressing a lack of faith in his behavior. Following the pronouncements of the oracles, he said that Tsangyang Gyatso was not the incarnation of the omniscient great fifth Dalai Lama. At that time, many common people, monks and lay people, offered their respects to the Lamo Tsangpa Oracle, thereby betraying their lack of respect for the sixth Dalai Lama. Lozang Khan had in fact consulted the Lamo Oracle continually, each time examining the words in detail. The first prophesy said:

Outside there is darkness; inside the burning lamp of exalted wisdom
blazes.

I long for the previous one without distinction.

The next one said:

Now, as he abides in the government, it will be difficult to find him,
Even though he is sought by the gods and the ḍaḳiṇis.

There were no contradictions between all of the earlier and later prophecies.

Finally, on the first day of the fifth month of 1706, Mongolian soldiers apprehended the sixth Dalai Lama and took him to Lhalu, where his short-comings were cataloged and it was proclaimed that he was not the incarnation of the great fifth Dalai Lama. He was told that he would be taken to Mongolia for a time, and Sölpön Drakpa Gyatso was dispatched to his chambers at the Potala Palace to retrieve his things. Whatever was suitable was brought, such as his ritual objects, personal

belongings, and clothing. Since Lozang Khan had authority over the entirety of the civil and military branches of the Tibetan government, nobody could resist him. However, before three days had passed after the Dalai Lama was taken to Lhalu, the ordinary people of Lhasa and Zhöl expressed their suffering and displeasure by shutting down the markets and other businesses.

On the seventeenth day of the fifth month of 1706, Lozang Khan's envoy Pema Bicha and a contingent of Mongolian troops took the Dalai Lama from Lhalu Gatsel. At Denbak Lingkha, the monks of Sera and Drepung Monastery came out, pretending to bid him farewell. They snatched the Dalai Lama from the Mongolian troops without considering the risk to their own lives and took him to Ganden Podrang. Being possessed by the religious protector, Dorjé Drakden,[†] [the medium] went to the middle of the oceanic prayer assembly hall, where the protector swore an adamant oath, "If this master is not the incarnation of the omniscient great fifth Dalai Lama, then I will cut off the head of this formless one, that is, my own head."

At that time, a group of Lozang Khan's troops entered through Gowo Jikhang, at the corner of the courtyard by the main assembly hall, from the direction of the Hardong House. They began shooting burning arrows at the back of the palace, while another group which had come from Sharchu Buk slipped into the main hall from the gorge behind the monastery. The khan, together with some troops, pitched a camp at Jangsung Gang.³³ While such people as Kaju Ngawang Pelgön and Radreng Zhapdrung prepared for the ensuing battle, the Dalai Lama considered the situation. Not being able to bear the thought of the harm that would come to the monastery and to so many monks, he told the Mongolians, "I will go as you wish. It will not be long before I meet these lamas and monks." He blessed the monks and gave advice to them. Without thinking about himself, he went into the crowd of Mongolian troops.³⁴

Had he not done this, [disaster would have ensued since] the Mongolian forces had already slipped into most of the monastery. Several Mongolian monks said, "It is not possible to split the head of a formless being," laughing scornfully and sarcastically. There were even many

[†] Dorjé Drakden (*rdo rje grags ldan*) is the dharma protector that manifests in medium (*sku ldan*) as the Nechung Oracle. For more detailed information on this important oracle, see René De Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (New York: Gordon Press, 1977), 444–454.

false accounts such as that the Gomang abbot had supported Lozang Khan's side. Kōnchok Jikmé Wangpo's biography of the Gomang abbot, Jamyang Zhepa, says:³⁵

For a while, messengers had come from China, inviting Kuzhap Tsangyang Gyatso to the region between Mongolia and China. Lozang Khan convened a meeting to consult with the lamas and monastic officials of Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries and the tantric colleges of upper and lower Lhasa. Some people said that it would be best if he did not go. The khan said, "If Kuzhap is not permitted to go, the Chinese emperor will not be good toward us. Otherwise, if he is permitted to go, it would be beneficial for Kuzhap's own activities and for the local practice of Buddhism there." It is said that the Gomang Lama (i.e., Jamyang Zhepa) did not favor this approach, and he considered it a mistake. Thereafter, preparations were made for Kuzhap Rinpoché to go to China.

Upon changing his course, several Drepung monks who went to bid farewell to the Dalai Lama at Tsenyi Lingkha where he was staying took the initiative in preventing him from proceeding. Instead they took him to Ganden Podrang where they remained. Thereafter, while some bad people were creating a disturbance, there was a great clamor at Drepungling. In the end, however, peace came of itself. Again, Kuzhap set off for China as was desired by the great emperor and Lozang Khan.

The accounts in these biographies disagree with one another. Though it appears that the invitation came from the Chinese, most likely Lozang Khan was just trying to shift the responsibility to the Chinese.

That was an era when the Chinese political intrigues were agitating the Mongolian imperial government. Subsequently, when the seventh Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso was young, he was invited to Kumbum by the Chinese Emperor Kangxi. If the wording of the invitation is examined, it can be determined definitively that there were no formal relations with China during that time. On the one hand, people were concluding that Tsangyang Gyatso was not the Dalai Lama's incarnation; on the other hand, he was greeted and seen off [in a manner consistent with his status as a Dalai Lama]. Even the khan himself accompanied him. I think that these few facts are not unrelated. Still, I think there is a need for further investigation if original documents could be found.

Thereafter, the Dalai Lama's party gradually moved on, and eventually he became ill in Dam. When he reached a place called Kūnganor in the Domé region, his illness became more critical. Finally, he passed into nirvāṇa.^u

^u There is a fascinating account that the sixth Dalai Lama did not perish in beginning of the 18th century, but instead survived in secret for another four decades. Michael

While the external actions of the sixth Dalai Lama, Tsangyang Gyatso, can be considered aberrant, he composed poetry with unrestrained inspiration. He is renowned for the elegance of his verse. For example, he wrote:

From the peak of the hill in the east,
The shining white moon rises.
Turning around in my mind,
I greet the countenance of my mother, unborn.

Last year, young sprouts were sown,
This year, they are just bundles of straw.
A young man's body becomes old,
Bent like the tip of a bow.

If I could come upon
The one who occupies my thoughts,
Like finding a jewel in the depths of the ocean,
What else could compare?

The letters I have written to a youth
Are worn away by drops of rain.
The undrawn picture in my mind,
Although rubbed, cannot be erased.

I have not explained my innermost feelings even to my parents,
But this young one has explained them to love.
Since love has many foes,
My enemies have learned my innermost thoughts.

When I live in the Potala,
I am Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso;
When I am in Lhasa or Zhöl
I am the promiscuous Dangzang Wangpo.

He composed joyful and playful songs for young maidens. Around the time that he was leaving for the north, he wrote a letter to a certain Lhasa maiden saying:

Aris [*Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450–1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683–1706)* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1989), 167–168] summarizes the account given in a book called *The Secret Biography of Tsangyang Gyatso*, as follows:

The author tells a story of how the Sixth Dalai Lama did not die at Kunganor in 1706 at all. He left his escort there and assuming a disguise he began a secret life as a wandering pilgrim. His journeys took him to eastern, central and south-eastern Tibet, also to China, Nepal, India, and his own home in Mönyul.

He is reported in that source to have died in 1746. Of course, if Tsangyang Gyatso continued to live until then, this creates conflicts with the identification of the seventh Dalai Lama.

White crane,
Lend me your powerful wings,
And I will not fly far away.
I will circle Litang and be right back.

He was saying that, before long, his next incarnation would come from Litang. On a visit to Sera Monastery, he left clear footprints on the stone steps of Sera Jé College.

Lelung Jedrung Lozang Trinlé writes about an experience from his own youth:³⁶

While on the way from Chökhör Gyel, the Dalai Lama Rinpoché was invited to Lhündrup Khangsar. At day break, he left Chökhör Gyel on his way back. He traveled to Tsatingkha in Zhöl by way of Chuzang and Chölung. He way delayed there for just that day. I had the good fortune to be able to see him from a rooftop. On all sides of the Dalai Lama, people were full of black beer. People with impure karma were astonished because they could not believe that the Dalai Lama's servants were also involved in such activities. Also that day, such people as the regent (Desi Ngawang Rinchen), Demo Trülku and all of his attendants were drunk with beer, were shamelessly doing various bad deeds, and stumbling into each other. They were unable to get up or lie down. Nevertheless, the Dalai Lama, without even the slightest change, was teaching, writing letters, and singing songs, all without error. He was fully alert. Hence, I encountered his countenance and heard his voice, as I had wished.

Elsewhere in the same autobiography he writes:³⁷

After some years, when Lozang Khan came to the hot springs in the Ölga region, he invited Jedrung to visit. He remained for several days, and so Lozang Khan asked many religious questions. It was said that "the sovereign Tsangyang Gyatso was an exceptional man; he was not like ordinary people. His religious conduct was not like that of the present Gongshap Rinpoché.^v Tsangyang Gyatso had known that he would not live more than twenty-five years...

As it is said, "One cannot have faith in the Buddha if one has not seen hell." Although it appears that [Lozang Khan] had the attitude that regrets ought to be expressed, the time for regrets had passed.

When he was staying at Künganor, the sixth Dalai Lama told his senior attendants, "Unless you load up my bones, I will not be able to leave this place." He also said, "If my health does not become more robust, then I will swiftly go on to my next fortunate rebirth. Hence, any of

^v Likely, this is a reference to Yeshé Gyatso, Lozang Khan's hand-picked replacement for the sixth Dalai Lama, mentioned at p. 410 above and p. 420 below.

my important ritual objects that are here must not be discarded; they should be returned to me in the future.” These are recounted in the biography of the seventh Dalai Lama, Kelzang Gyatso, *The Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*. There are many other such thoroughly marvelous events as well.

The sixth Dalai Lama passed away there, and the necessary offerings were made to his remains. There is a story that his ashes and his possessions were brought to Lhasa by his senior attendants, the teachers Drakpa Gyatso and Lodrö Wangchuk, the ritual attendant Ngawang Pelbar, Doctor Sangyé Sidrup, and the Mongolian Nyima.

However, several people say that:³⁸

Having purchased the corpse of a Mongolian who had just died, the Dalai Lama merely pretended to have passed away. In fact, he had escaped alone and joined up with a party of pilgrims from Arik. Having done so, he remained in Mongolia. Thereafter, he had traveled in the guise of a pilgrim to Litang and Ba by way of Gulok, Gyamorong, Tsakho, and Dartsedo. He arrived in the Lhasa region in 1709 and met with Drupkhang Gelek Gyatso at the mountain retreat of Sera Tse. He must have stayed for more than a month, since he gave and received religious teachings here and there.

Thereafter, he visited the golden stūpa at Ganden Monastery and stayed at the Draksok Mountain Retreat for more than a year. In 1710 and 1711, he stayed at Tsari Mountain. While he was at Ölga, Lozang Khan became suspicious, due to which he was arrested. Thereupon, he was imprisoned for about ten days at Ölga Castle. Afterwards, he was invited to Lhasa by twelve people. He escaped over the Gökarla Pass and traveled to such places as Kongpo. Thereafter, he made pilgrimages to India and Nepal. Again, he made his home at Serkhok, Jakrung, and so forth in Domé Amdo. In the end, he protected the great welfare of sentient beings, dying in 1739 in Alakshak, Mongolia.

It seems that he would have been about fifty-six years old at that time. From the religious and political perspectives, it is difficult to confirm the full range of these accounts. Thus, it is best if one holds to the official biography without always having to recount all of the details.

At the same time, Lozang Khan invited a lama who lived at Jakpori to the Potala and declared that he was the true sixth Dalai Lama. He was established on the conqueror's throne. In the second month of 1707, the master Pañchen Rinpoché was invited to Ü. On the twenty-fifth day, Pañchen Rinpoché gave both the novice vows and the vows of full ordination to the supposed Dalai Lama at the same time. This was done in front of the image of Jowo in the Lhasa Tsuklakhang. He was given the name Ngawang Yeshé Gyatso, and he was officially known as

Yeshé Gyatso the Sixth. However, people from Lhasa and throughout Tibet just called him Kuzhap Pekar Dzinpa.

During the thirteen years of Lozang Khan's reign over Tibet, he had great faith in the monastic schools, without discrimination, and in particular, he had great faith in the Gelukpas.

The khan himself seemed to be interested in both sūtra and tantra, and he had a profound understanding of them. He replaced the old assembly hall at Sera Monastery with a new one, moved the Urgé College founded by Gushri Khan in Dam, and established a tantric college. During the summer, he lived in Dam, and during the winter, he lived in Lhasa. There he lived at Lhasa Ganden Khangsar and Püntsok Raptan Peljor, but mainly, he lived at Tromzik Khang. He had a great number of important attendants, such as Daiching Wadur Sönam Gönpö, Seryikpa Polhané Sönam Topgyé, Bumtangné, Orongpa, Lhagya Risachö, Lhodo Kharwa, Surkhang Guyang Khashakha, Changkhyim Pakši, Petsing, Trashi Tsepa, Drukgyang, and Tarkhom Trashi.

On the nineteenth day of the seventh month of 1708, the seventh Dalai Lama was born in the town by Litang Tupchen Jampaling Monastery in Dotö.³⁹ There were great marvels, including omens of his birth. The Litang Oracle indicated that he was the incarnation of the Dalai Lama. His uncle, Agé Trashi, gave him the name Kelzang Gyatso.

The following year, there was a great earthquake in the direction of Dö, in the Tsang region, and in the Lhadak region. Since it had not been foretold, great harm and loss was suffered by people, animals, land, and homes.

When Lozang Khan was staying in Dam in 1710, there were rumors that Daiching Boshou Chi of the Tsongön Lake was dispatching troops to Ü Tsang. Responding to these baseless reports, the khan's older son advanced toward Nakchu with a thousand troops. A letter of appeal was dispatched all throughout Ü Tsang asking that a large army be raised; for his involvement in publicizing that appeal, Polhawa Sönam Topgyé was appointed as the royal Golden Calligrapher.

It became known all throughout Ü Tsang that the incarnation of the Dalai Lama Rinpoché had been born at Litang, and so Lozang Khan immediately sent envoys Dapön Norbu Ngödrup and Ujing Bichai Chi there to make inquiries. Immediately upon arriving at his residence, they questioned the parents of the child as to which incarnation he was. The father explained honestly that the Litang Oracle had said that their child was the reincarnation of Tsangyang Gyatso. Dapön Norbu

Ngödrup said that since it had already been determined that Tsangyang Gyatso had not been the incarnation of the Dalai Lama, it didn't matter if their child was the incarnation of that figure. When he spoke as if it were well-known, his Mongolian companions were confused.

Dapön himself went to the parents in private, advising them that it would be good if they took the incarnation to a remote location immediately. As a result, that very evening, his father took him to a nomad area. Thereafter, he was secretly taken across the Drichu River. When he arrived in Dergé Dzongsar and Jangra Monastery on the fourteenth day of the third month of 1714, he was received by Dergé Pön Tenpa Tsering, a great patron of Buddhism who had commissioned the carving of woodblocks of the canon of Buddha's word. The incarnation was offered profound and extensive hospitality.

Chingwang Batur Taiji, Jünwang Junang, Lozang Tenkyong Raptén, Ngawang Chöpel, and others who were patrons from the Tsongön Lake region heard about this situation. Meanwhile, Lozang Khan indicated that this child was unsuitable to be the incarnation of the sixth Dalai Lama. Still apprehensive of the harm that might come to the incarnation, the patrons dispatched messengers to invite him. In that same year, he went to the Tsongön Lake from Dergé and was enthroned at Ganden Erteni Junang's residence.⁴⁰ Many important people from within Tibet, including those from the seats of Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries in Central Tibet, and those from Taktse Zhapdrung secretly let it be known that official recognition was being extended to the child as the incarnation of the Dalai Lama Rinpoché. A letter of recognition to this effect was sent along with certain sacred objects. Just then, it became known throughout Tibet and Mongolia that recognition was being extended to the child as the Dalai Lama.

When the father of the contemporary Manchu emperor had ruled in the past, the great fifth Dalai Lama had been invited to the Beijing palace and a preceptor-patron relationship had been established. The great fifth Dalai Lama had received deep respect and faith from all sides. In the year after the recognition [of the seventh Dalai Lama], Emperor Kangxi dispatched Bätung Gingdzang and some staff to Domé. Hence, there were contingents from China, Tibet, and Hor when the supreme incarnation Dalai Lama Rinpoché was established on the throne of the third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso at Kumbum Jampaling Monastery. At a place where the important figures and officials of the Tsongön Lake had gathered, the emperor's pronouncement was proclaimed to all:

My mind has been very happy since the incarnation of the Dalai Lama has come to this area. All of the descendants of [Gushri Khan] Tendzin Chögyel and I are patrons. I will offer all of the requisite resources for 134 monks for three years, summer and winter. Since this incarnation is, without question, the incarnation of the previous Dalai Lama, all people, high or low, should offer their respects to him, and there should be no conflict among the various leaders of Tsongön Lake. The omniscient one is like the sun dawning over the earth, which cannot be obscured by the palm of the hand. Thus, the sunlight of his compassion and his activities will spread over the whole world. Thus, Buddha's teachings will spread and increase.

From this situation, it can be seen that when the previous Dalai Lama, Tsangyang Gyatso, was taken to the area between China and Mongolia, the Chinese court was not involved in Lozang Khan's evil designs, even though he attempted to implicate the emperor.

As a result of depending on Dapön Norbu Ngödrup's excellent counsel, no opposition emerged against the Dalai Lama Rinpoché at that time. He stayed in Nyenyöl in the Tsongön Lake region. The Manchu Emperor Kangxi seized the opportunity, behaving peacefully like a patron of Buddhism in the hopes that conflicts between the Tsongön Lake leaders could be avoided. Through those skillful efforts, the Manchus were also able to establish good relations within Tibet.

Meanwhile, the nomadic tribes of the four areas of Hordranak, following Daiching Khoshou's example, stopped paying the customary annual tax to the Tibetan government. As a result, Lozang Khan dispatched his Golden Calligrapher, Polhané, together with Lhatsé Kyibukpa and some troops. They were reinforced by about one hundred Mongolian soldiers on the way from Horkha Rausu. Suddenly, the troops surrounded the camp of Uiching Taiji, the head of the four areas of Hordranak. Polhané explained:

Ever since the omniscient great fifth Dalai Lama had assumed religious and political authority, the taxes of the Mongolians who lived in this province have been treated as a special case. Other than a nominal payment to the leader of the Tsongön Lake, the civil and military taxes due to Tibet had been paid to Ganden Podrang itself. Yet, in the meanwhile, the payment of the annual tribute had lapsed. For that reason, I had to come here with my army.

Uiching Taiji, having become frightened and befuddled, offered prostrations and said:

We have been deceived by several members of the Mongolian royal family; as a result, we allowed our annual tribute to lapse. Because we recognize

this as a crime, hereafter, we shall exercise caution. We offer our lives as a promise that we shall never show a preference in any way toward anyone but Ganden Podrang.

For their offense, fifty good horses were taken and Taiji and his son submitted themselves to Lozang Khan for the future and left for the Dam Valley with their troops.⁴¹

In 1714, a dispute between Mön Tawang and Ganden Namgyel Lhatsé monasteries was in danger of expanding into a war between Tibet and Bhutan. At that time, Lozang Khan sent a message to the king of Bhutan which said:

You have dominion over Bhutan, and it is appropriate that you enjoy whatever is in your country. There is no jealousy or rivalry from the Tibetan side. Yet, if war breaks out for an insignificant reason like the spurious schisms created by slanderers, then all people will become poor in the currency of happiness. Along the way, even many animals would suffer. Hence, since the fruition of this eventuality would be born by both of us, abandon your jealous attitude henceforth. You should not deviate from the agreements reached by the Tibetan lord, Sangyé Gyatso, in the past. If you turn away from them, then I will send Tibetan and Mongolian armies to demolish your country.

The Desi of Bhutan, Drugyé Gyau, dictated his response hastily, without due reflection. His letter read:

Consider the meaning of the words that were uttered to us by the Mongolian khan. Previously, a series of Tibetan lords, being jealous of the marvelous resources of other people, have made preparations to wage war in our country on occasion. Yet, people heard the false rumors of your victory. This is like a caterpillar being caught in the surface of a piece of wool. Although it might struggle with whatever power it has, it will only tire itself out, causing no harm to the wool. What need is there to respond to the threat that the Mongolian khan will personally conduct his troops in battle? Even if you came here, having summoned your most powerful allies in the world, Brahmā, Indra, Śiva,^w and so forth, you would not be able to disturb even the smallest hair on our bodies in Bhutan. This being the case, do whatever you please.

He put these words of rebuke into writing.

^w Brahmā, Indra, and Śiva are Hindu gods that are particularly known for their great power. Brahmā is regarded as the creator of the world. Indra the god of war and strong weather. Śiva is the paradigmatic yogi, and it is through his dance of destruction that the world is destroyed.

When it came into Lozang Khan's hands, he was furious. Lozang Khan himself proceeded from Padro with his forces, Polhané and Bumtangné proceeded from Pungtang by way of Mönla Karchung, Bāring Taiji and the ruler of Lharik attacked from eastern Bhutan together with their forces. With the arrival of Polhané in Trongsa and the arrival of Bumtang in Jakar Castle, the war was joined.

Deputies of Paṇchen Rinpoché Lozang Yeshé and the senior lamas of Sakya, Karma Kagyü, Drukpa Kagyü, and so forth came to mediate a settlement, whereupon the dispute was resolved. As a result, the Tibetan armies were withdrawn from Bhutan. Lozang Khan went from Pakri to Trashī Lhünpo Monastery to meet with Paṇchen Rinpoché. Thereafter, he returned to the seat of government.⁴²

In regard to the invasions of Tibet by the Orö Dzūngarwa Mongolians, some people say that out of affection for Desi Sangyé Gyatso, several monk and lay government officials and several lamas from Sera and Drepung monasteries sent a letter to Dzūngar Hong Taiji Tsewang Raptén imploring that he avenge the Desi's death.⁴³ However, Desi Sangyé Gyatso's own biography of the sixth Dalai Lama, Tsangyang Gyatso, says that Tsewang Raptén did not like the Desi and criticized him again and again. If we follow this account, then I doubt that the troops were dispatched for the purpose of avenging the Desi's death.

However, if we consider the matter from another perspective, at that time, the Dzūngarwas and the Chinese Manchu government were continually fighting. By virtue of the fact that Lozang Khan lacked the strength to contend with the Chinese in Tibet, Manchu influence gradually spread into Domé (the Tsongön Lake area). Formerly, upon seizing Ü Tsang, Lozang Khan had attempted to entrust the task of forestalling the Manchus to an alliance of Mongolians living in Domé.

In yet another perspective, it was common knowledge that Hong Taiji Tsewang Raptén's paternal ancestors were among the primary patrons of the great fifth Dalai Lama. Consequently, they did not like the fact that Lozang Khan had usurped the position of the sixth Dalai Lama, Tsangyang Gyatso. The khan understood this. At the same time, Hong Taiji understood that Tibetans liked Lozang Khan because he was one of Gushri Khan's male descendants. He also understood that the Tibetans had experienced his power and leadership. Since the outcome of war is never certain, and both victory and defeat are possible, Hong Taiji saw that it was absolutely necessary for him and the khan to exchange hostages as a means of guaranteeing peace.

Lozang Khan's older son, Ganden Tendzin, and Hong Taiji's daughter had been sending letters to each other. Seizing the opportunity presented

by the possibility of a marriage alliance, Hong Taiji sent a messenger to Lozang Khan with a letter which read:

If you actually hope to marry your son to my daughter, then you must send one hundred thousand silver coins as a dowry for my elder daughter, and you must send your son himself to Dzünger to claim her.

Lozang Khan's son, Ganden Tendzin, was very anxious to go to Dzünger in order to retrieve his bride. However, Lozang Khan was always suspicious of the Dzüngerwas. He also considered how beneficial it would be to his dominion if a real marriage alliance came about because the Dzüngerwas were so powerful. His doubts having arisen, he appealed to the Lamo Tsangpa Oracle again and again. It said:

Ponds and canals are choked with grass,
They are bound tightly from the outside [as if] by one skilled with a sieve.
For an intelligent person in this pitiable situation,
Waves crash one after the other.

In dependence on this prophecy, the father made efforts to avert his son's plans. However, because he was smitten with love, he would not listen to his father. A later prophecy said:

If he cannot be diverted from his plan,
It is the nature of things for him to be sent.
If it can be delayed,
All of the plans will be realized.

The father and the son understood this differently. For the son, it meant:

If my father cannot stop me, he has to let me go according to my wish.
The bad conceptions will eventually be known as they are.

For the father, it meant:

If he cannot be persuaded, it is due to his karma. Thus, he should be sent because there is nothing else to be done. Otherwise, as it is now, if I delay my son's departure, very soon the scheme will unfold. The suspicions we have toward the Dzüngers will be realized.

Although they disagreed in their interpretations of the prophecy, the son, driven by his previous karma, left for Dzünger with three hundred attendants. Simultaneously, the khan's younger son, Surya, left for the Tsongön Lake region to take a wife from among their allies. It seems that this was done in order to allay Chinese fears that the Dzüngerwas might be seeking more than a marriage alliance.

Before much time had passed, a petition arrived from Khangchené, the regional minister of Ngari, saying that there were reports that five thousand Dzüngar troops had left Yarkhyen for Ngari. Since it was difficult to determine whether these troops were friends or foes, people wondered if it wouldn't be best to gather forces from the three regions of Ngari and send them covertly into enemy territory. When the khan and his ministers held a conference to discuss the matter, some thought that there was no reason for the Dzüngarwas to prepare for war against Lozang Khan. Lozang Khan's sister's daughter was Tsewang Rapten's queen and her daughter was being brought to be the queen of Lozang Khan's older son. Because of these marriage alliances, they thought it was unnecessary to fear the Dzüngarwas. However, by unanimous agreement, it was decided that they should consult the Lamo Oracle. It responded:

It is the thought of the Formless One that forces must be sent to the border of the enemy territory since there is constriction there.

Shortly thereafter, six thousand Dzüngar cavalry left on a road unknown in former times, saying they were escorting the queen of Lozang Khan's older son to Tibet. Having misled the nomads of the Naktsang region in this way, they also received hospitality from the northern nomads, including yak hair tents, food, and drink.⁴⁴

During that year, the king, Lozang Khan, was then staying in Dam. His younger son, Surya arrived in Dam with his party, having gotten a bride from a royal family in the Tsongön Lake region. During the wedding party, news was received that a large force of soldiers had arrived in the Naktsang area, but that it was difficult to identify them. As soon as people heard this information, the Mongolian Ashita was dispatched with his servants to spy on them. They met with the Dzüngarwas who had arrived on the near bank of Namtso Lake. Upon ascertaining that they were enemies, they reported the situation to the khan. Immediately, forces throughout Ü Tsang were summoned. The armies gradually arrived, and preparations were made for combat. The Dzüngarwas also gradually arrived in the seventh month of 1717, camping on the hills over Dam Khudu.

After that, there was limited fighting between the Dzüngarwas and Lozang Khan's troops, but there were no decisive losses on either side. On the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month, the Tibetan army attacked the Dzüngar camp, due to which Ü Dapön Orongpa was killed that day. Bumtangpa, having been wounded, was brought to his camp, where he also died. Other misfortunes occurred, such as Rapten Sharpa being

wounded. The senior monastery officials of Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries and Pañchen Rinpoché from Trashi Lhünpo arrived, whereupon they undertook mediation talks. However, no benefit ever emerged from these talks. The Dzüngerwas said various deceitful things to the Tibetans. In particular, when the captured Tibetan soldiers were released, the Dzüngerwas haughtily told them:

We did not come to make war on Lozang Khan out of envy or to find a pretense to do so. We have come from Tsongön Lake with Delching Khoshou Ching and his troops, having brought Kelzang Gyatso, the incarnation of the omniscient conqueror Dalai Lama, from Dokhamé for the benefit of the common people of Tibet who are without a guardian and without a protector. Holding the precious Buddhist teachings in mind for the benefit of you Tibetan people, we have come with an agreeable attitude. Thus, you must be joyous and return to your respective places.

This message circulated from one person to another until most Tibetans had heard it, the result of which was that their conviction to fight the war waned. Thereby, the strength of Lozang Khan's armies was gradually broken, and the Dzüngerwas emerged from the war victorious.

Thereafter, the Dzüngerwas changed the course of their armies, heading for Lhasa on the first day of the tenth month. Lozang Khan and his forces had already come out during the night of the third day, placing troops throughout the Lhasa region, on the edge of town and around the Potala Palace in order to protect it. The senior military commanders were the two sons of Ü Dapön Orongpa and Bumtangpa. Tsang's military commanders were Polha Taiji Sönam Topgyé, Samdruplingpa, and Trashi Tsepa, while Rel Taiji served as the military commander of the Mongolian forces.

The commanders of the Dzüngerwa's forces also arrived gradually, as if they were being pursued, establishing camps at Drapzhi, Kumbum Tang, and Lhalu. One day, when the war had commenced, Polha appealed to Lozang Khan, advising him to go to Tsongön Lake by way of Dokham together with a few seasoned fighters and that he ought to return to fight again when he managed to enlist some allies. Meanwhile, Polha himself would make every effort to halt the Dzüngerwas. But Lozang Khan would not listen to this plan since there was no way to reverse the ripening of past karma. At that time, a man named Trashi Tsepa was discovered carrying a secret message for the Dzüngerwas; he was executed that very day.

Afterwards, the Dzüngerwa army slipped into Lhasa because the guard at Ramoché Temple did not hold fast. As a result, Lozang Khan and a small group of servants went to the Potala from Püntsok Raptan

Peljor. The doors of the Potala were locked. However, knowing that they would not be able to hold out in the Potala for very long, Lozang Khan's younger son, Surya, was secretly able to escape to Tsongön Lake along with two trusted servants. On the first day of the eleventh month, Lozang Khan himself and an attendant called Lozang Chöpel came out of the central gate of Zhöl, proceeding to the Dzüngarwa camp in the direction of Tatok Luguk. They were able to wound and kill several Dzüngarwas. In the end, many soldiers rushed in on them, and both the khan and his minister were killed.⁴⁵

The all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché Lozang Yeshe's autobiography comments on these events saying that on the tenth day of the seventh month of 1717, it was reported that Dzüngar Hong Taiji's very large army had arrived in Naktsang. As soon as it was reported that Lozang Khan had likewise gathered a Mongolian-Tibetan army in Dam, Hardong Nyerpa Kachen Jamyang was sent with instructions to determine whether or not they were soldiers and to see that violations did not occur. On the nineteenth day, when Paṇchen Rinpoché rode off, he was seen off by the ruler of Zhikatsé's Castle, Tsipön Lumpa, and others. Upon arriving in Dam Nyedrong, Tri Rinpoché, Gyelsé Trülku, Taktse Zhapdrung, Pönmo Chökyi,⁴⁶ and so forth had come also. A camp was established in Dam on the thirtieth day, not far from the khan's camp. It was said there must be a way to halt the fighting between Lozang Khan and the Dzüngarwa commanders Tsering Döndrup,⁴⁷ Dukar, Chöpel Jaisang, and so forth. Thereafter, negotiations commenced.

The Dzüngarwas said, "There will be no pleasure in speaking unless there is a meeting between the military commander Tsering Döndrup and Lozang Khan, and there will be nothing to discuss other than the religious activities of the great Lord Tsongkhapa." The negotiators planned to go to meet the commander himself in the Dzüngarwa camp. However, as they were leaving, the khan urged them not to go as he feared they might be surrounded and detained. Nonetheless, the Ganden Tri Rinpoché, the Paṇchen Lama, and so forth went there on several occasions, even though nothing came up beyond what had been discussed previously. This endured for more than a month.

In the absence of any opportunity to act, the parties' respective positions were recorded in detail, seals were affixed, and a copy was given to each. [The Paṇchen Lama] returned on the first day of the ninth month. He went to Lhasa briefly as he had been summoned by the sovereign [Dalai Lama].⁴⁸ The khan had also gone to the Potala Palace, and so the preceptor and patron came together. The khan's forces took

possession of Lhasa and the Potala. The Dzüingarwas established camps at Drongmé, Langru, and Kyangtang. The Paṇchen Lama's biography, *Garland of White Light*, says:

Discussions were held primarily to find a mutually suitable arrangement, but no such agreement was reached. Lhasa was lost on the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month. The Tibetan army was scattered and escaped. The khan, his ministers, and servants stayed at the Potala and in Zhöl...

The following day, he went with Ganden Tri Rinpoché to the top of Lhasa Labrang to meet with the Dzüingarwa leaders. They earnestly told them not to harm the khan, his sons, and the Mongolian and Tibetan officials. In particular, the lamas told them they must permit the khan and his sons to remain with the Tibetans. However, they obstinately stated that first the khan himself would certainly have to come with them. The Tibetan lamas replied that he could not go to their place and there would be no purpose even if he did go. There were various such stories. *The Sūtra of Discipline* says:

The end of all collections is dispersal, and
The end of being high is falling down.
The end of meeting is separation.
The end of life is death.

Garland of White Light continues:

Accordingly, [Lozang Khan] came out of the Potala Zhöl on the first day of the eleventh month. The Dzüingarwa killed the khan because they did not recognize him. His queen, his son, and Mongolian nobles were arrested. His son Surya escaped and slipped away with several ministers and servants, but they were captured again. All opportunities were exhausted... The queen, the son, and so forth were given whatever was required, such as food and clothing, and they went to the Potala. The Dzüingarwa military commanders said that they must meet with me (i.e. the Paṇchen Lama). Accordingly, on the fourteenth day, the leaders and about four thousand soldiers gathered in the great reception hall of the Potala, where I gave a sermon.⁴⁹

In a book written by the Christian missionary, Ippolito Desideri, he explains that he was staying in Lhasa's Sera Monastery when the Dzüingarwas arrived. The Dzüingarwas stole into Lhasa on November 13, 1717, and Lozang Khan escaped to the Potala. The Dzüingar soldiers pillaged and looted the city without restraint. Even the Christian Capuchin Father was seriously beaten. Except for the money and other things that he had hidden under some firewood, he was robbed of everything.

On December 3, the Dzüngarwas attempted to sneak into the Potala from the south. However, since this was difficult, in the end they tried to set the gate on fire. Meanwhile, the khan and two servants escaped from the back of the Potala on horses. On the way, his horse sank in the mud, and he was unable to go on. The Dzüngarwas who were following him arrived. The khan killed several of his enemies in hand-to-hand combat, but finally, the Dzüngar soldiers rushed in on him together, and he was killed. Desideri also tells stories about how much the people liked the khan and so forth.⁵⁰

Although this account does not quite agree with the previous story about the way Lozang Khan was killed, Desideri was in Lhasa at that time and wrote about his experiences in detail in reliance upon what he had seen. The differences in the reckoning of the dates are a result of the differences between the Tibetan and the international calendars.

At that time, most of the Dzüngar army held a council and appointed Jeri Taktse Zhapdrung Lhagyel Raptan, who was advanced in years, as the sovereign of Tibet. On the sixteenth day of the eleventh month, Dukar Jaisang led about one hundred leaders and soldiers to the Potala; all of the monks of Namgyel Monastery were taken to the edge of the Kyichu River. They had to remove their robes and put on layman's clothes. Then they were sent off to their respective estates and their parent's homes. On the twenty-second day, all of the important officials from the khan's reign, such as the Zhelngo of Minling and the Zhelngo of Dorje, as well as those from Changkhyim, were taken away at one time, like a butcher leading sheep. Each person was surrounded by six or seven Dzüngar soldiers and thrown in prison.

One day, government officials assembled at the Potala. There was a great deal of consideration of whether or not the lama who was then established on the throne was in fact the incarnation of the great fifth Dalai Lama, and it was unanimously agreed that he was not. Thus, Pekar Dzinpa Yeshé Gyatso was taken from the Potala Palace and sent back to Jakpori Hill.^x

The senior lamas and leaders of Ü Tsang assembled on top of the Labrang [of the Potala Palace] on the twenty-fourth day, when it was judiciously proclaimed that Tsering Döndrup, Dukar, and Chöpel

^x It will be remembered that this man was installed as the sixth Dalai Lama by Lozang Khan in 1707. He had previously lived at Jakpori Hill. Many Tibetans and Mongolians had continued to regard him with skepticism.

Jaisang were not permitted to follow the Nyingma School in any way and that they must dispose of their Nyingma sacred objects. That evening, such people as Mindroling Lochen Dharma Śrī, Dorjé Dzinpa Lozang Tenpé Gyeltsen and his younger son, Pema Gyurmé Gyatso were taken to the bank of the Kyichu River and killed. As he was leaving his home, Lochen Rinpoché began to recite prayers and went without fear. When they got behind Jakpori Hill, he asked if they could stop for a moment so that he could offer prayers. It is said that he died at that moment, and that when he was being decapitated, he had already stopped breathing. Immediately thereafter, many people were killed, such as Mindroling's younger son, Changdzö Zhapdrung Lekdrup, Dodrak Rikdzin Pema Trinlé, the important government officials from the khan's reign, Ngozhiwa, Pema Tsering, Gyantsé Changlochenpa, Changkhyimpa, and Nyanang Changra Bukpa.

At the same time, the doors were sealed shut at many sacred places that the second Buddha of Oḍḍiyāna, Padmasaṃbhava, had founded. Monasteries such as Dor, Mindroling, Chushur Tarpaling, and Sangak Jangchupling were utterly destroyed. The religious books of Mindroling were piled up like an earthen hill, and people were caused to trample back and forth upon them. The villages situated by Sera, Drepung, Ganden, and Trashi Lhünpo monasteries were moved a great distance. Thus, very great hardships and upheavals occurred.⁵¹

All through this time, the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché was living at the Potala; his autobiography says:⁵²

Both the incarnation and his family (Pekar Dzinpa and his siblings) were also taken to Lhasa from the Potala. I sent my treasurer to urge the Dzüngrawas that they must relax the crackdown without taking the lives or property of the public or of private individuals, but I did not get any definite response. I wondered whether I might be able to help the people who had been deposed if I stayed at the Potala and I very much wanted to stay there. However, the Dzüngrawas said that it would be unsuitable for me to remain at that time, but that I should return to Trashi Lhünpo Monastery...

I told them that as I was old and the season was cold, I ought to stay until it was warm. However, as I was not free, I had to ride off to Tsang on the third day of the twelfth month. The senior lamas of Sera and Drepung monasteries, the Dzüngrawa leader Jaisang, Taktsé Zhapdrung, Teshö Drungkhor, and so forth gathered to see me off... Directly and indirectly I told Jaisang that no harm must come to the incarnation (Pekar Dzinpa). He didn't say anything except that he would do what was best. He told a trusted confidant that one had to do as one's lama says throughout all of one's lifetimes. Yet, if one does not act in accordance with the command

of one's leader in this life, then, as a consequence of his great power over this lifetime, both oneself and others may be in jeopardy.

If one relies on this account, then most likely, the incarnation was taken to Dzünger, without being killed.

Pekar Dzinpa was born on the near bank of Dzün Khülkhawa Karpo. When he was young he entered Drepung Monastery; subsequently he lived at Jakpori Hill. Since he served as the ordination abbot of Lelung Jedrung Lozang Trinlé, he was called "Precious Abbot" Yeshé Gyatso. Since his moral behavior was praised far and wide, wherever he went, he was considered a great holder of the discipline.

As we will see later,^y the famous Polhané Sönam Topgyé, Lozang Khan's Golden Calligrapher, concealed himself in Drepung Monastery. When this was discovered, he was arrested and taken to Püntsok Raptan Peljor, where the Dzüngerwa leaders were staying. The leader, Mönlam Jaisang, asked him several questions, and finally, he was dressed in prison clothes and placed within a felt tent at Sengé Shak. After many days of intense interrogation, sometimes gentle and sometimes harsh, he was on the brink of death. A good friend of Polha, Desi Taktsé Zhapdrung, and the abbot of Drepung Gomang Monastery, Ngawang Püntsok, who was a Dzüngerwa, assumed responsibility for appealing to the Dzünger leaders. They were able to secure permission for him to stay at his own estate.

When Desi Taktsépa and the Dzünger leader, Tsering Döndrup, went to Tsang in the sixth month of 1718, Polhané came out to greet them at Jangchung Nakha near his own estate, offering them extensive hospitality. Although he had a great desire to be of service to the Dzüngerwas, he lacked the strength to be sent very far, still being wracked with pain in his upper body. Thus, he asked Desi Taktsépa and the Dzünger leader that he be appointed to govern in the Nyanang Castle for the time being. When he regained his strength, he would be able to work closer with the central government as an attendant. They explained that if he left his wife and children at his own estate, he could go to Nyanang Castle. Accordingly, he went there with a few servants. This was the first action that brought fame to Polhawa.

Through the nearly four years since they had occupied Ü Tsang in Tibet, the Dzüngerwa military leaders had been skilled in portraying themselves as protectors of the Gelukpas, and they had an especially

^y I have been unable to identify the passage Shakabpa has in mind.

deep hatred for the Nyingma School. Many people appealed to them to have the incarnation of the Dalai Lama brought to Ü; this was the primary dispute Tibetan monks and lay people had with the Dzüngarwas, but they did not respond to these appeals. In fact, as the Tibetans realized that there was no way this objective could be achieved, their respect for the Dzüngarwas gradually waned. Meanwhile, the Mongolian sponsors who lived in Mongolia and the Tsongön Lake region and in particular the Manchu emperor were trying to bring the incarnation of the conqueror to Ü.

The forces of Dzüngar Hong Taiji Tsewang Rapten and the Manchu emperor were always fighting in the Öro region. Understanding this, the inner circle of government attendants appealed to Desi Taktsepä to establish personal contacts with Kumbum. Not only had this been agreeable to the Desi, but he had already established such contacts during Lozang Khan's reign. Likewise, it was the primary objective of the government at that time. Before the cautious Dzüngarwas became upset, several Tibetan government officials, such as Tsepön Lumpa and the monastic officials of Sera and Drepung monasteries, secretly established relations with Kumbum. According to what was said before,^z it seems that Polhané Sönam Topgyé was then pretending to cooperate with the Dzüngarwas in Nyanang Castle, even though he actually regarded them as enemies. He had also sworn an oath of fealty with whatsoever of his close attendants were suitable, having Yeshé Gönpö serve as their witness.

Not much later, while several people who had been attendants of Lozang Khan were being taken to Dzüngar, Ngari Garpön Khangchené Sönam Gyelpo sent troops with great courage to snatch those former attendants away from the Dzüngarwa forces. As soon as Polha heard about this situation, his confidence increased. He had one thousand pairs of horseshoes sent to the Ngari leader along with a letter, which said:⁵³

Since I heard the news that you have defeated the Dzüngar army, I have been overcome with joy. I have also calculatedly feigned that the evil Dzüngarwa was my leader, but knowing that I am not really his servant, I have sworn an oath with some local people, a copy of which is enclosed. Now, this body of mine, which is difficult to find,^{aa} for better or worse,

^z See p. 422.

^{aa} A common Buddhist teaching that is intended to motivate practitioners asserts that birth as a human being provides a rare and precious opportunity to practice the

has but two ambitions: to expel the Dzūngarwas who are opponents of Buddha's teachings and to work propagating an ecumenical religion. If you think of nothing else, please keep these objectives in mind.

When Khangchené received this letter, it was like the sun had penetrated a crystal. Being overjoyed, he sent a reply with presents, and the two subsequently became friends.

At that time, Khangchené's troops, who had gathered from around Ngari Korsum, overthrew the Dzūngarwas first in Gampala Pass, Tsang and gradually extending their influence into Saga, Droshö, Shelkar, Lhatsé, Ngamring, Püntsokling, Sakya, and other such places.

In 1719, Xunjun Wang Yinti, the fourteenth son of Emperor Kangxi, went to Orö Dzūngar with reinforcements. On the way from Ziling, he had an audience with the incarnation of the Dalai Lama in Kumbum. During that year, there was a meeting of the primary sponsors, Tendzin Chingwang, Ganden Junang, the leaders of Mongolia and the Tsongön Lake, and all the concerned parties. They unanimously resolved that not only should the precious incarnation at Kumbum be offered the same respect accorded the fifth Dalai Lama, but that he should be taken to Ü. On the twenty-second day of the fourth month of 1720, he and his retinue left Kumbum Jampaling Monastery for the golden imperial capital, Lhasa.

Xunjun Wang Yinti, the fourteenth descendent of Emperor Kangxi, came out to meet him at Gyayak Tang and to see him off on his journey. A large number of other people came including the sponsors of Mongolia and the Tsongön Lake, his disciple Tuken Hotoktu, Kangyur Tā Lama, Khelkha Döndrup Wang who was a descendant of the royal lineage of Genghis Khan, Gung Tsewang Norbu, Taiji Lhawang Gyatso, Ebu Pili who was a descendant of Gushri Khan, Chingwang Lozang Tendzin, Junwang Ganden Erdeni Junang, Erdené Erkhé, Erdeni Dälé Boshoktu, Mergen Taiching, Ching Hong Taiji, Jikjé Kyap who was Erdeni Junang's son, Erdeni Boshoktu, Ganden Trashī, Daipung Taiji, Gelek Junang, Khiya who was the emperor's scriptural functionary, Jarkoji, Bichaichi, Dzalang Dzangki, a great number of attendants, and

religion and to make spiritual advances. This is because, as a human being, one has enough intelligence to reflect meaningfully on life, enough suffering that one bothers to wonder about spiritual matters, and not so much suffering that one is distracted. The human life situated in a land in which Buddhism prevails is said to be particularly "difficult to find." See Khetsun Sangpo Rinpoche, *Tantric Practice in Nying-ma*, trans. Jeffrey Hopkins (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1982), 45–56.

both Chinese and Mongolian cavalry escort for security. The emperor's son Xunjun accompanied the party as far as the banks of the Drichu River, at which point he returned.

All the senior lamas, leaders, and headmen from Dotö (Kham), and the four northern regions had audiences with the Dalai Lama. Among them Situ Rinpoché Tenpé Nyinjé also came. In his autobiography, he writes:⁵⁴

When the Dergé's ruler and I, together with an entourage, went to meet with the Dalai Lama at Togol Tolé in Beugo on the banks of the Drichu River, we stayed at Depa Ngapö's home since we were acquainted with him from before. We submitted a respectful request for an audience. Our meeting took place the following day. There were three military checkpoints outside of the Dalai Lama's chambers. We were received at the outer one by Gakpa Rapten and Dronyer Lozang Könchok. The Dalai Lama's father came to the curtain of the tent; we offered greeting scarves and requested his blessings.

Thereafter, in the tent I first encountered the maṇḍala of the countenance of the Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso, the leader, the master of the peaceful world. Graciously, as a sign of respect, Kündün had seen to it that seats and so forth were provided for us in his presence. He also asked several questions to which I responded. That night, his father came to ask that I go to Lhasa in order to be Dalai Lama's attendant. Since I had not consulted in Dergé and since I was unprepared, I respectfully declined. The next afternoon, the Chinese troops began to depart. At dawn, the Dalai Lama's party left. The last of the many troops left at just about noon. The other leaders left earlier and later indiscriminately. The troops were divided into three groups for the march: left, right, and center. Everyone did not follow in individual groups, but rode in a line, like a waterfall, with the Dalai Lama in the center. I accompanied them for just a few miles. I prostrated, received the Dalai Lama's blessing, and supplicated him that I not be abandoned from under the protection of his compassion.

I have cited this because it explains a little about the arrangement of the camp and about the manner of the party's procession.

At that time, Khangchené and Polhané began conscripting soldiers from Dö and Tsang, while the Chinese and Mongolian sponsors were leading the Dalai Lama Rinpoché from Domé. Conflicting rumors about what was happening became widespread. Within Ü, Depa Ngapö and so forth rose up against the Dzüngarwas, seeking the protection of Kumbum. As a result of these events, the Dzüngarwa commanders and soldiers who were in Ü had no way to maintain control. They took religious statues and many similar exalted and precious objects from Tibet and fled in two groups. One group went by way of Naktsang, the

same route by which the Dzüngarwas had initially invaded. The other group went by way of the main road.

Khangchené's army, which was following the group that was going through Naktsang, attacked under the cover of night at Jangtar, two days from Naktsang. Several Dzüngar leaders and many soldiers were killed. Since many precious objects, such as an image of Avalokiteśvara and ornamental jewels, were recovered, it seems that they must have inflicted heavy casualties on the Dzüngarwas. The group of Dzüngarwas who had fled by way of Nakchu River on the main road came very close to the camp in which the Dalai Lama Rinpoché and his entourage were staying at Nangbok, on the western side of Dangla Pass. Seeing them, all of the attendants were concerned that a battle might break out and they had to post sentinels day and night. However, as neither side was attacked by the other, no breach of the peace occurred.

As the Dalai Lama's party was traveling, the rulers, leaders, headmen, and lamas of Dotö (Kham) and the northern region and later many monastic officials of the monasteries, leaders, and government officials of Ü Tsang came out to greet him. Countless people arrived with offerings. Near Taklung, a government reception was arranged. Tsetrel Dewa Zhangkhar Dzongpa and Chipön Pukpo Chepa arrived with umbrellas, great horses, musicians, and so forth. Supplicants arrived from near and far.

The Ganden Throne Holder Rinpoché Gendün Püntso, the previous throne holder Lozang Dargyé, the deputy of the all seeing Pañchen Rinpoché, the senior lamas and monastic officials of Sera, Drepung, and Ganden monasteries, and whatever monk and lay government official were suitable came out to receive the Dalai Lama at Lhündrup Castle. Various senior lamas and incarnations such as Taktse Gyelbu, Ön Gyelsé Trülku, and Jedrung Trülku and many sorts of leaders, such as Lhaja came out to greet him at Ngödrup Lingkha. The entire government, led by Desi Taktsewa, formed a procession at Dromtö.

On the fifteenth day of the ninth month of 1720, the party rode in from Ganden Chugo. They were greeted by a monastic procession composed of members of the major monasteries and the monastic estates, clergy, laity, dancers, female singers, and so forth, and they were accompanied by a great variety of Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian officials. The incarnation was established on the exalted golden throne in the great palace, the Potala, the second inconceivable mansion of Avalokiteśvara. At the same time, the clergy, the laity, and all of the important figures from the three provinces of Tibet made extensive

offerings in the traditional manner to the excellent one who had ascended the throne.

Notes to Chapter Eight

1. Lelung Jedrung Lozang Trinlé, *Clearing Away the Darkness of Torment, An Historical Supplement*. In my English book, *Tibet: A Political History*, (p. 126, fn. 4.), I mentioned Ngawang Norbu's diary in connection with these events. That same man is the private attendant Kharekpa Zilnön Dorjé's teacher.

2. An eye shade (*spyang rwa*) is a strip of material that reduces sunlight and glare. It is made from the black tail of a horse.

3. Lelung Jedrung Lozang Trinlé, *Clearing Away the Darkness of Torment, An Historical Supplement*. *Translator's Note*: That is, the strategy calmed people's suspicions.

4. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Thoroughly Clear, Golden Ears of Corn*, 43-ba-4 to 120-ba.

5. Panchen II, Lozang Yeshé, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, 158-ba-4. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Thoroughly Clear, Golden Ears of Corn*, 287-ba-5. William Woodville Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China* (Leyden: Oriental: E.J. Brill, 1910), 29. Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols, from the 9th to the 19th Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876), 420. The Manchu emperor came to receive Nyima Tang Zhapdrung at the second door of the palace. He showed his great respect for him and Zhapdrung accepted the presents.

6. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Thoroughly Clear, Golden Ears of Corn*, 144–155.

7. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Thoroughly Clear, Golden Ears of Corn*, 162-na-2 to 174.

8. Panchen II, Lozang Yeshé, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, 160-na-4.

9. Ngawang Samten, also known as Pelrap Khangsarwa, was the son of the Desi's younger wife.

10. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Thoroughly Clear, Golden Ears of Corn*, 175-na-5 to 233-ba-5.

11. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Thoroughly Clear, Golden Ears of Corn*, 352-na-2 to 433-ba-2.

12. Panchen II, Lozang Yeshé, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, 191-na-3. *Translator's Note*: This passage is a paraphrase of 191-na-3 to 192-na-1. The two precious verses are quoted from the biography as well.

13. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Thoroughly Clear, Golden Ears of Corn*, 464-na-3.

14. Panchen II, Lozang Yeshé, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, 208-ba-3.

15. Here, the term "holy opinion" (*thugs dam*) is used to mean "letter" (*bka' yig*) or "note" (*phyag bris*). *Translator's Note*: Ordinarily, the term is used to refer to the seeking of a divination.

16. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Künkhyen Jamyang Zhepa, River Crossing of the Marvelous Fortunate Aeon*, 47-na-6. *Translator's Note*: Könchok Jikmé Wangpo was the second incarnation of Jamyang Zhepa.

17. Rikdzin Lozang Trinlé, *Festival of the Fortunate, Autobiography*, 33-ba-2. In this regard, Kyapjé Yongdzin Trijang Dorjé Chang provided me with a detailed account of this topic saying:

Among the sacred articles within the chamber of the sixth Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso, there was a light blue man's garment with brocade. Upon examination, it had trim on the edges about four or five fingers widths in length and vermilion, like the color of otter's pelt. He also had an ivory comb. I saw these myself.

As for the terms, “lapashak” (*la pa shag*) and “tselchu” (*tshal phyu*), they were fashionable Mongolian clothes at that time. Those with a collar, we call tselchu. Those men’s dresses with trim are called lapashak.

18. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Künkhyen Jamyang Zhepa, River Crossing of the Marvelous Fortunate Aeon*, 48-na-6. Desi Rinpoché appealed to the Gomang Abbot Jamyang Zhepa, writing:

The common people are having misconceptions about the His Excellency’s (*sku zhabs*) activities. These days, you are the great axis of Buddhism. Thus, when you give public religious teachings, you must give special advice to them.

During the summer, when Jamyang Zhepa was giving general explanations at Lingsé, he gave reasoned advice:

Snowy Tibet is the special realm in which Avalokiteśvara teaches, and his incarnations, having successively come to Tibet, have sustained Tibetans with kindness. Although the activities of the precious excellency are like that at present, his actions are mostly a consequence of the nature of the times and of the people. Therefore, it is inappropriate to lose faith.

There are many interesting stories from this period, such as the story that Deyang Lama built an enclosure, whereupon he elaborated an etymology of Avalokiteśvara. Likewise, he was persuaded to instruct greatly renowned lamas and numerous government officials.

19. Lelung Jedrung Lozang Trinlé, *Clearing Away the Darkness of Torment, An Historical Supplement*.

20. In Kadrung Nornangpa, *Record of Ten Thousand Years*, the desi is called Tangchel. That person is the elder son of Chimé Gatsel, Desi Sangyé Gyatso’s elder wife.

21. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Künkhyen Jamyang Zhepa, River Crossing of the Marvelous Fortunate Aeon*, 54-na-2.

22. Lelung Jedrung Lozang Trinlé, *Clearing Away the Darkness of Torment, An Historical Supplement*.

23. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Künkhyen Jamyang Zhepa, River Crossing of the Marvelous Fortunate Aeon*, 55-na-2.

24. Kadrung Nornangpa, *Ten Thousand Years*, says, “By the cunning devices of Lozang Khan, Desi Rinpoché was murdered at Tölung Nangtsé on the twenty-ninth day of the seventh month of 1705.” Since there is a difference of thirteen days, more detailed research is necessary.

25. Panchen II, Lozang Yeshé, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, 223-na-2.

26. Panchen Lama, third, Pelden Yeshé, *Biography of Purchok Ngawang Jampa, Sun that Makes the Hundred-Petaled Lotus of Faith Bloom*, 21-na-3.

27. Doring Tendzin Peljor, *Autobiography, Recounting the Geneology of the Gazhi Leaders, Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*, 187-na-2.

28. Desi Sangyé Gyatso, *Boat for Crossing the Ocean to the Island of Liberation, Catalog of the Ornament for the World, the Golden Reliquary*.

29. Lelung Jedrung Lozang Trinlé, *Clearing Away the Darkness of Torment, An Historical Supplement*.

30. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang, Speech Pleasing throughout the World*, 63-ba-3.

31. Ngawang Dorjé Lhündrup Dargyé, Lhatsün, *Biography of the Omniscient Ngawang Chödrak Gyatso (Rinchen Tsyangyang Gyatso), Elegant Saying Without Activity, Tantric Melody of the Divine Tambura*, 69-ba-3.

32. Changkya Hotoktu, *Biography of the Supreme Victor Kelzang Gyatso, Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, 41-na-1.

33. The manner in which the Mongolian troops entered the Monastery is explained in Sölpön Drakgyam’s history.

34. Changkya Hotoktu, *Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, preface, 10-ba-2. *Translator's Note*: The implication from his saying that it would not be long before he met these lamas and monks is that he would be reborn quickly; this was taken as further evidence that he was the actual incarnation of the Dalai Lama.

35. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *River Crossing of the Marvelous Fortunate Aeon*, 56-ba.

36. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *River Crossing of the Marvelous Fortunate Aeon*, 40-na-3.

37. Rikdzin Lozang Trinlé, *Autobiography, Festival of the Fortunate*, 160-na-1.

38. Nomihen Ngawang Lhündrup Dargyé, also known as Lhatsün Ngawang Dorjé, wrote the *Biography of the Omniscient Ngawang Chödrak Gyatso (Rinchen Tsangyang Gyatso), Elegant Saying Without Activity, Tantric Melody of the Divine Tambura*. *Translator's Note*: For an extended discussion of the thesis that the sixth Dalai Lama lived into old age in relative obscurity, see Michael Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: a study of Pemalingpa (1450–1521) and the sixth Dalai Lama (1683–1706)* (London: Kegan Paul, 1989).

39. This is based on Changkya Hotoktu, *Biography of the Supreme Victor Kelzang Gyatso, Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*.

40. The name Urgé (*ur ge*) was applied to the house in which the Mongolian commanders lived at the Tsongön Lake at that time. Subsequently, it was changed to Uger (*dbu sger*). *Translator's Note*: Erteni Junong was the principal sponsor of Jamyang Zhepa as he constructed Labrang Tashi Khyil Monastery in Amdo beginning in 1709.

41. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang, Speech Pleasing throughout the World*, 90-na-2.

42. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang, Speech Pleasing throughout the World*, 101-na-2.

43. William Woodville Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China*. (Leyden: Oriental: E.J. Brill, 1910), 37.

44. Actually, as soon as Lozang Khan's son went to Dzünkar, he was placed under house arrest. Although he was kept as a hostage, the records have nothing clear about what transpired.

45. The situation at this time is described primarily in Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang, Speech Pleasing throughout the World*.

46. One of Gushri Khan's female descendants became the wife of a male descendant of Sakya. Since she lived at Tsedong, she is called Tsedong Queen or queen.

47. The military commander Tsering Döndrup was the younger brother of Dzünkar Hong Taiji Tsewang Raptan.

48. This was Pekar Dzinpa Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso.

49. Panchen II, Lozang Yeshe, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, 277-ba-2 to 280-ba-4. *Translator's Note*: This passage is a good example of the way that Shakabpa freely switches from quoting a source to paraphrasing it, sometime eliding entire sections, substituting words for great clarity, altering spellings, and the like. The three previous blocks quotes, including the sūtra passage, are drawn from this source. Since the folio 277 is missing from the edition available to me at LTWA, it is not possible to confirm where this section begins, but it extends beyond where Shakabpa has indicated, going all the way to 281-na-4.

Interestingly, this text employs a variant spelling to name the Mongolians I am referring to as the Dzünkar (279-na-5, for example). While Shakabpa uses the spelling *'jun sgar*, the Panchen's biography uses the spelling *rjon kar*. I phoneticise this as Dzünkar because it appears to be more commonly accepted in the literature. Scholars of Mongolian religions assure me that either is acceptable. Orthographically, the letters ja and dza are quite alike.

50. Ippolito Desideri, *Account of Tibet* (London: G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1937), 174-5.

51. Rikdzin Lozang Trinlé, *Autobiography, Festival of the Fortunate*, 172-ba-1 to 190; Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Autobiography, Music of a Reliable Voice*, 6-ba-3; and Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang, Speech Pleasing throughout the World*, 133-na-1 to 134-ba.

52. Panchen II, Lozang Yeshe, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, 281-na-6. *Translator's Note*: The section runs from 281-na-6 to 281-ba-6.

53. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang, Speech Pleasing throughout the World*, 166-na.

54. Situ Rinpoché Tenpé Nyinjé, *Autobiography that Reveals, Stainless Crystal Mirror*, 33-na-5.

CHAPTER NINE

ASCENSION OF THE SEVENTH DALAI LAMA TO THE GOLDEN THRONE AND THE BEGINNING OF MANCHU INFLUENCE IN TIBET *TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION*

As we saw in Chapter 8, the first two decades of the eighteenth century were marked by violence, intrigue, and a tumultuous political landscape in Lhasa. People throughout Tibet—as well as interested Chinese, Manchurian, and Mongolian parties to the east—were anxious to discover a political structure for ruling Tibet that would lead to stability and peace. This chapter covers the period from 1721 when initial attempts were made to create such a government up to the death of the seventh Dalai Lama in 1757. It was a period of great flux and uncertainty, and it was during this time that Tibetans, in a quest for normalcy, came to accept some measure of involvement of the Manchu court in their affairs. As Shakabpa opines, “The Manchu emperor knew how to insinuate himself into Tibetan politics. I think it was a very grave mistake.”

As the Dzöngarwas fled for the borderlands in 1721, the second Pañchen Lama Lozang Yeshé endorsed the identification of the seventh Dalai Lama, who had recently reached Lhasa from the east. After receiving novice vows, the Dalai Lama was enthroned in the Potala Palace, and the Manchu Emperor Kangxi sent four thousand troops and his personal representative to protect the Dalai Lama against a potential resurgence of the Dzöngar forces and to help stabilize the political situation in Tibet. There is no reason to think that even the court regarded this as anything more than temporary assistance to Tibet, a view that is buttressed by the fact that most of the troops were withdrawn in 1724 when their continuing presence came to be regarded by Tibetans in Lhasa as burdensome. At any rate, Beijing was preoccupied with the ongoing conflicts in the borderlands with Dzöngarwas and other recalcitrant Mongolians.

Also in 1721, a committee of Tibetan, Manchurian, and Mongolian leaders was assigned the task of purging those who had collaborated with the Dzöngarwas and restoring peace to the region. In the end, the committee decided to vest political authority in a ruling council

of five Tibetans: Daiching Bātur Khangchené Sönam Gyelpo, Polhané Taiji Sönam Topgyé, Pesé Ngapöpa, Gung Lumpawa, and Jara Taiji. Before long, this political council divided along regional lines, with the latter three ministers from Ü coming into opposition with the former pair of Tsang partisans. In 1727, tensions reached a snapping point when the members of the Ü faction assassinated Khangchené in one of Lhasa's main temples. Polhané, who had been out of town when his colleague was killed, found himself having to flee for his life even as he attempted to gather allies and military support from Tsang and Ngari. When he assembled a sufficient force, the two sides met in battle at Gyantsé. A ceasefire that was reached in early 1728 favored the Ü faction. However, when hostilities resumed, Miwang Polhané overcame his opponents and gained control over most of Ü Tsang.

Because the Dalai Lama's father, Sönam Dargyé, was regarded as having been complicit in the Ü schemes, the Dalai Lama was sent into exile in Kham along with his entire family as part of the settlement; they would remain there from 1730 until 1735. After Polhané had consolidated his rule, Emperor Yongzheng dispatched a contingent of troops to aid in pacifying the discord, and it was that moment in history that Shakabpa regarded as a "grave mistake." There would continue to be some Manchu presence in Lhasa until the end of the empire in 1912. In the meanwhile, Miwang Polhané tried and executed the conspirators. Tibetans enjoyed a comparatively stable period of government under Miwang Polhané until his death in 1747. Nonetheless, Shakabpa cites a series of sources that characterize Polhané as a person of mixed attributes, a brave champion of Tibet, who engaged in immoral behavior and lacked faith in the Dalai Lama.

When Polhané died, his older son, Gung Gyurmé Tseden became the governor of Ngari, and the Dalai Lama appointed his younger son, Gyurmé Namgyel, as the leader of Tibet just as his father had been. Like his father, Gyurmé Namgyel seems to have been suspicious of Manchu interference in Tibet. In 1748, he pushed through reforms that shifted to Beijing the burden of paying for the upkeep of Manchu representatives in Tibet. In the end, he was able to compel the emperor to withdraw almost all of his forces from Tibet. Still, he continued to press the emperor to withdraw the remainder of his troops. Out of fear that the Tibetans had come to terms with their mutual enemy, the Dzüngarwas, the Manchu ambans assassinated Dalai Bātur Gyurmé Namgyel towards the end of 1750. In retaliation, many Manchu and Chinese officials and others were killed and many others had to seek the protection of the Dalai Lama.

In 1751, the seventh Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso assumed authority for the government, serving at the head of a group of cabinet ministers who made decisions by consensus. Soon thereafter, the emperor sent his representatives, called ambans, in the company of their own bodyguards. This inaugurated a model of government that existed up until the middle of the twentieth century. In 1757, the Dalai Lama died, leaving behind him a much stronger Manchu presence than had existed in his youth.

CHAPTER NINE

ASCENSION OF THE SEVENTH DALAI LAMA TO THE GOLDEN THRONE AND THE BEGINNING OF MANCHU INFLUENCE IN TIBET

Ngapöpa and Lumpawa, together with Daisi Tsangjung (Manchurian), Gung Tsewang Norbu (Manchurian), Döndrup Wang (Mongolian), Tendzin Chingwang (Mongolian), and Ebö Peli (Mongolian) formed a seven-man joint Tibetan-Chinese-Mongolian investigating committee in order to investigate the Dzüngar partisans and restore the government to its previous peaceful state. Charged with arresting and questioning the Dzüngarwa partisans, including Desi Taktse Zhapdrung, they convened for several months under the protection of the government. Desi Taktse was advanced in age, but he had a good character. All of the Tibetan people clearly understood that he merely held the title of “desi” for external appearances; beyond that, all of the activities undertaken with his authority were at the behest of the Dzüngarwas.

While Lozang Khan’s son Surya and his servants were escaping, they discovered they were being surrounded by Dzüngarwa forces from the border region at Chakla Pass. They reached a farm belonging to Taktsewa’s subjects during the night as they were returning through the Penyül Valley and took cover there. Not being strong enough to endure a conflict with the Dzüngarwas, the farmers of that region handed over Surya and his servants. The fault for this offense was attributed to Taktsewa, and thus, many people, including Desi Taktsewa Lhagyel Raptan, Gunglön Trashi Tsepa, and Achö were executed on the banks of the Kyichu River. Momentous events followed, including that Taktsewa’s heir, his wife, and his younger son were sent off to China.

The autobiography of the all-seeing second Pañchen Lama Lozang Yeshe says:

Without struggling against the Dzüngarwas, the military officers arrived in Dzüngar by way of Namtso Lake. Mergen Daiching and his retinue went to Trashi Lhünpo from Dotö, and the Dalai Lama arrived in Lhasa from Domé with a Chinese and Mongolian escort. As it became necessary for me to go, I left Trashi Lhünpo for Lhasa on the seventh day of the tenth month, staying in the Dewajen Chamber of the Potala Palace.

I had an audience with the omniscient incarnation and also met with Chinese and Mongolian leaders.

I bestowed novice vows on the Dalai Lama Rinpoché on the fifth day of the eleventh month in the Nyiö Chamber of the Potala Palace and, augmenting the name he had previously been given, I bestowed on him the monastic name Lozang Kelzang Gyatso...

During this tumultuous time, under the influence of the collective karma of sentient beings throughout time, many Orö people¹ were monks in Drepung, Sera, Ganden, and Trashi Lhünpo monasteries. Trashi Tsepa and Jedrung who were among my own attendants,² as well as Desi Tak-tsewa, Cabinet Minister Trashi Tsepa, and Achö were questioned and punished by the Chinese and Mongolian officers. At that time, it seems that people had high hopes that they would not be killed. Yet, it was not possible to save the lives of the Desi and the cabinet minister. People were opposed to such things as having monks and other people taken off to China.

During the New Year's Festival of 1721, Tögar Pön Khangchené Sönam Gyelpo was granted the title of Daiching Bätur, and he was granted Yardrokling Estate for his support.

Subsequently, the seven-member joint Tibetan-Chinese-Mongolian investigating committee decided to institute a new governmental office vested with the country's political authority; it was comprised of Daiching Bätur Khangchené, Pesé Ngapöpa, Lumpawa, Jarawa, and Polhawa. All authority over Tibet was transferred to them. The Manchu and Mongolian officials created a new stone inscription near the outer stone pillar in Zhöl below the Potala. The following was written on it in Manchurian and Mongolian:

The patrons of the Dalai Lama, the Manchu Emperor Kangxi in China and the Mongolian officials ejected the thieving Dzüngar officers and soldiers from Lhasa, whereupon the incarnation of the Dalai Lama Rinpoché was invited to Tibet from Kumbum and installed on the throne.

Because he wished to establish an agreeable preceptor-patron relationship with the Dalai Lama, the Chinese Manchu emperor said that Tsangtsung Tsewang Norbu and four thousand Chinese troops would be positioned in Lhasa as the Dalai Lama's temporary bodyguard in case Daisi Tsangtsung and the Dzüngar army returned. Except for the Chinese and Mongolian officers who had escorted the Dalai Lama, the remainder would return to China. This was the first time representatives of the Manchu emperor or bodyguards were in Tibet. However, the Dalai Lama's patron, the Manchu emperor, had no responsibility for any sort of internal or external political affairs within Tibet except as a

representative of a foreign government posted there in order to uphold the name of Buddhism. Chinese bodyguards were positioned in order to protect against the thieving Dzūngarwa soldiers. During this time, the Tibetan people saw the troops who were stationed there as watching out for other neighboring nations for the peace of their country.

In that era, at the state functions of the Tibetan government, Chinese and Tibetan officers would form the front row, while Mongolian officers formed the back row. Consequently, the Mongolians were displeased over the precedence given to the Chinese; they were also disappointed that their appeals for Desi Taktse's life had not succeeded. Previously, the kings who were descendants of Gushri Khan had pacified Tibet; the Mongolians were resentful that lately this had been discontinued. Thus, the Mongolian officers swore an oath before the golden reliquary, the ornament for the world,^a saying that the day they returned to Tsongön Lake, they would rise up against the Chinese.³

The monks who attended the Great Prayer Festival were primarily from Sera and Drepung monasteries, as well as those from the nearby estates and smaller monasteries. It was not customary for the monks from the seat of Riwo Ganden Monastery to attend. However, beginning in 1723, the monks from Ganden Monastery Nampar Gyelweling also attended. The retired abbot of Tel Monastery, Ngawang Pelzang, led the assembly, and in a meeting of the monks of all three monasteries he issued a proclamation concerning equity in seating arrangements, rights, and the like.⁴

The Chinese troops stationed in Lhasa triggered a severe food shortage for the common people. Also since those soldiers had no concern for public hygiene or for public health, it became extremely polluted in Lhasa. For this and similar reasons, the Tibetan people were continually dismayed. Mongolians and people from Amdo who were settled in the Tsongön Lake region were preparing to revolt against the Manchu emperor. As a result, in 1724, the first year of his reign, the Manchu Emperor Yongzheng withdrew all of the Chinese officers and soldiers from Lhasa, including Asa Amban.^b

^a This was the reliquary of the great fifth Dalai Lama who had enjoyed such a close relationship with the Mongolian leaders, particularly Gushri Khan.

^b This reference is problematic because according to Josef Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1994), the line of ambans did not begin until 1727.

In that same year, Tibetans and Mongolians from the Tsongön Lake region, such as Chingwang Lozang Tendzin, a descendent of the Orö Gushri Khan, launched a revolt against the Manchu emperor. As soon as the Dalai Lama heard that fighting had erupted, he could not bear the suffering and fear that countless beings would experience if the peace was broken. Thus, he advised the Tibetans and Mongolians to seek peace; Ganden Tri Rinpoché Pelden Drakpa and the steward Lozang Könchok were dispatched to effect a settlement between China and Mongolia. The leaders ordered that religious and political traditions should be preserved in the present and the future.

At that time, a large number of Chinese soldiers led by Chinese officers Nen Kenya, Su Yotsang, Nyigung, Yaoteu, and so forth, destroyed and pillaged many monasteries in Amdo, including Serkhok Gön, Gönlung, Kumbum, Juyak Semnyi Gön, and so forth. Many tens of thousands of lay people were afflicted. Tripa Chuzang Rinpoché reported that many tens of thousands of monks and lay people, both male and female were killed or wounded. As a result, the Dalai Lama wrote a letter directly to the Manchu Emperor Yongzheng saying that because of the unsuitability of such actions, the war must be halted. He sent many appeals through Tuken Rinpoché Ngawang Chökyi Gyatso and was grateful when the war stopped. The emperor promised to restore the monasteries from his own treasury. In addition, the Tibetan government also provided extensive assistance, making provisions available for the restoration, providing the many necessary artisans, and so forth. From about that time, Manchu power was extended to the Tsongön Lake region.⁵

Pañchen Rinpoché was invited to Lhasa so that he could bestow the vows of full ordination on the Dalai Lama in front of the image of Jowo Śākyamuṇi at the Saga Dawa assembly^c in 1726. There were peace talks between Tibet and Bhutan during that year. There had also been an agreement eight years before.⁶ In the eighth month, the Dalai Lama decided that if he awarded those who were responsible for government policy, they would be more respected by all Tibetan subjects. Thus, he made Daiching Batur Tsowo and Pesé Ngapöpa his assistants, and

^c This is a particularly potent day in the spring identified as the anniversary of Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and death. See Tsepak Rikzin, *Festivals of Tibet* (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993), 26–36. Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the 18th Century* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1950), 91, identifies the date as May 16, 1726 or the fifteenth day of the fourth month in the Tibetan calendar.

he granted the title of Taiji to Lumpa Bargung, Jarawa, and Polhané. Daiching Bātur and Pesé Ngapöpa were granted ministerial seals.

Meanwhile, the Dalai Lama advised that the political decline that had resulted from the war between Lozang Khan and the Dzüngarwas had to be reversed. Although many desired to follow this advice, there were also some who were opposed to it. With disagreements among the cabinet ministers, there was a significant breakdown within the government. The other three cabinet ministers constantly criticized the policies of Daiching Bātur and Polhané. The ministers were uncooperative, and most notably, those from Ü and Tsang formed into partisan factions. There was a concern that if all of the subjects, not to mention the leadership, suffered because of this dissension, the customs in which people were carefree and assured of protection would continually be threatened.

Although initially the Dalai Lama's father Sönam Dargyé had not done anything beyond his general duties, he unfortunately came to be seen as having allied himself with the Ü faction, thereby hindering the basic functions of the government. The emotions and the enmity of the respective factions were heightened as each side tried to implement its own regional objectives. All of the common people who did not align themselves with either of the two factions were without protection; thus, they were afflicted with terrible difficulties in terms of taxation and transportation obligations. There are many stories that monks from Namdra Pendé Leksheling Monastery moved to Tsetang, pretending to be monks from Sera, Drepung, or the tantric colleges.

As a result, Polha Taiji conceived of a plan to thwart cabinet ministers Ngapöpa, Lumpa Bargung, and Jarawa. As he explained the situation in detail to the Dalai Lama, the father of the Dalai Lama, Daiching Bātur, and others, he urged that they should continually be careful for their lives, especially Daiching Bātur. Although he made this clear on several occasions, they did not pay sufficient attention to him; they perceived fortunate omens that caused them to neglect their own protection temporarily. Polha's wife was ill with a water-element illness,^d such that she appeared to be pregnant with a boy. Thus, he used this fact as an excuse to leave for home estate with his son. Messengers were to be dispatched

^d This (*chab gzhi*) is a disease in which a person becomes swollen due to the inability to pass urine.

immediately to Dapön Lozang Dargyé, the Bönpo Ngawang Dechen, Kyibukpa, and so forth if any new situation emerged in Lhasa.

At that time, a report was heard in Lhasa that the Manchu emperor had sent two Tāshins to offer praises to Daiching Bātur. As Gung Lumpajen had previously given the evil advice that Daiching Bātur and Polha Taiji should be killed, he wanted to eliminate them before the Chinese representatives arrived since he might not be able to afterwards. He and his co-conspirators (cabinet ministers Ngapöpa and Jarawa) agreed that Daiching Bātur, Polha Taiji, and their relatives should be killed. On the eighteenth day of the sixth month of 1727, Daiching Bātur, Pesé Ngapöpa, Gung Lumpawa, and Jara Taiji met in the Chamber of the Three Worlds atop the Labrang of Lhasa's Tsuklakhang. While they were there, a long letter from the Zhöl steward Ngapö Lozang was presented to Daiching Bātur. While he was examining its contents, Drönyer Lozang Dönyö slipped behind Daiching Bātur and seized his head. Immediately, Pesé Ngapöpa, Gung Lumpawa, and Jara Taiji stabbed him. He bled from all parts of his head and body and died while a grumbling sound issued from his throat. Other servants attacked and killed Daiching Bātur's attendant, who was by the door. Immediately, Daiching Bātur's treasurer, Sitar, and his secretary Dongnawa were also killed. The remaining attendants were thrown in prison.

The following day, Trashi Pel Rawa and so forth were sent to Püntsok Raptan Peljor, which was Daiching Bātur's home. When they arrived to kill his older and younger wives, the women held on to one another. The assailants were unable to kill the women there, but they were taken to their respective chambers where they were killed. Thereafter, Jingpawa and Drupgyel Lingpa were sent to kill the abbot of Nakchu and Jaisang. Trashi Pel Rawa and the Kyakhangpa forces were sent to Tsang to kill Polha and his son, but one of their partisans arrived to warn him. The assassins were forced to withdraw.

At that time, while Dujung Kyibuk Wangdu was on the way from Lhasa to his own estate, he heard about Daiching Bātur's murder. It was a Saturday when a servant was sent to warn Polha Taiji about the situation. Immediately, he summoned horses and mules from Gyantsé Latsel and performed a dough ball divination before a religious statue. Following the advice of the prophecy, his sick wife and his daughter⁷ went into hiding. He, his two sons,⁸ and about sixty well-armed servants went to the upper regions where he rallied his supporters from Ngari Korsum and the Tsang Valley. He wrote a letter to Dapön

Changlochenpa and Samdruplingpa in the Shelkar district about the harm that had come to Daiching Batur and said they must avenge his death by raising an army from Upper Tsang. He wrote a similar letter to Dapön Numawa in Ngamring and then moved on to Shangchok without having received a reply. Both Sadru Sharpa, who was the district leader of Lhatsé, and Tsenyülwa conferred with Numawa, but no clear reply was forthcoming.

Thereafter, however, Polha Taiji gained the support of Wönrik Ajo in Porong and about one hundred volunteer cavalry. He conferred with Üching Noyön from the Sanga area, who instructed Künra Sharpa to issue the call in the Ngari region. Since Garpön Genzhipa of Ngari was Delching Batur's elder brother, he gathered forces from Gartok and the Rutok region. Two thousand cavalry from the small border guard that had been established during the Dzünger era reinforced Gapzhiwa's forces. Polha Taiji joined with the Sanga Droshö forces. On the seventeenth day of the seventh month of 1727, they left Sanga to confront the Ü Tsang partisans. Beginning then, people called Polha Taiji by the name "Miwang Kuzhap."^e Some people flattered him in this way, and without building anything, proclaiming any laws, or doing anything, his fame spread throughout Ü Tsang like the wind.

As the first of his highly consequential actions, he restored the Boudanath Stüpa in Nepal. In addition, he ordered that the district officials of Shelkar and Kyirong, Jakdrakpa and Drongpa oversee the project and present religious offerings. The requisite funds were set aside as well.⁹

At that time, Kyipa Tangpa, Kyakhangpa, and so forth arrived in Gyantsé from Ü together with Ü and Kongpo troops. Before long, Lumpawa and Jarawa gradually marched on Tsang with several thousand troops from Ü, Dakpo, Kongpo, and Hor Kazhi. Simultaneously, Jerik Drongtsé Noyön, Nangkarwa, Gawowa, Nyin Kharwa, Namru Pönchen Batur, Kyongawa, Tangmepa, along with private armies and militia, gathered together under their own respective leadership and came to Polha's side. Although Dapön Numawa was a close relative of Daiching Batur, he was being corrupted by Ngapöpa, Gung Lumpawa, and Jara Taiji. After Miwang intercepted a secret document from him,^f

^e I.e., Mr. Leader of Men.

^f Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the 18th Century* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1950), 110, says:

Zhap Tendzin Gökyé gathered some seasoned troops, leading them from Ngamring to arrest him. With his limbs tied by rope, he was taken to Zhikatsé Samdruptsé, driven to an abyss, and killed.

As soon as it was reported that the Ü forces had arrived in the Gyantsé area, Miwang Polha and his forces penetrated Zhikatsé, one day from Lhatsé. Dapön Changlochen and his forces came from the south of the Nyangchu River, while Miwang and his forces came from the north of the river; they arrayed their forces, confronting the Ü army at Drongtsé and Drekhu. But after several days of battle, neither side gained a decisive victory. However, the Ü forces pillaged a variety of towns and villages. Witnessing the severe food shortage, Miwang temporarily withdrew in the direction of Sanga. The Ü and Kongpo forces marched as far as Ngamring, as if in pursuit.

Miwang's troops rested in the Sanga region for about a month, and arrangements were made for salaries, provisions, and other requisites. The officers and leaders from the upper region protested that if they would have to return to fight again, it would be necessary for them to recuperate for as much as a year, but at least six months. Miwang countered that the Ü and Kongpo forces had looted and pillaged Trashi Lhünpo Monastery, Nartang, and other places, and that by virtue of these and similar activities, he and his forces would have to return to the battlefield immediately. He issued an announcement all over Ü Tsang that troops had arrived at Ngamring in the north. At the same time, Ujing Bātur gathered well-armed troops. By advancing day and night, they seized Gyantsé. Two days later, the forces from Ü and Kongpo arrived. The spectacular array of troops established a military camp at a place not far from the castle called Gyangkhar. The Ü leadership and army gradually arrived. Miwang and his forces arrived in Gyantsé on the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month.

Everyday thereafter, the two sides met in fierce hand-to-hand combat. Tögar Pön Gapzhi also joined the fray, and many people on both sides were wounded or killed. The Ü forces had four bronze cannon with which they inflicted terrible damage. Although they fired on Gyantsé Castle from the edge of Ganden Chöpel several times, besides creating a terrible clamor, they were unable to breach it in the vital places. Thus,

The letter was addressed to the Dalai Lama's father in Lhasa, and impressed upon him the necessity of conquering gTsañ before P'o-lha-nas's relieving army from mNa'-ris and the Mongol chieftains of aDam could join hands and crush the Lhasa troops.

while they waited, the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché's steward Sakhupa and Sakya Dakchen Rinpoché's steward Ngawang made tremendous efforts over many days to arrange a truce between the two sides. Thereafter, the Dalai Lama urged that both sides must remain peaceful. As a result, the two sides decided on a temporary ceasefire. Seals were affixed to the agreement, prisoners of war were released, and the armies returned to their own homes. Ngapöpa, Gung Lumpawa, and Jara Taiji became famous for being victorious, and they returned to Lhasa.¹⁰

Although the following passage will repeat some of the foregoing account, Paṇchen Lozang Yeshe's *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior* is very precise on some points:¹¹

By virtue of disharmony in 1727, the cabinet ministers went to kill Daiching Batur in Lhasa. In addition, several soldiers were sent to Tsang to get Cabinet Minister Polha Taiji. Since they could not capture him in the beginning, the soldiers returned and seized Gyantsé Castle. The Gyantsé district leader Zurkhang, Zhikatsé district leader Raptan Sharpa, the Potala steward, and about one hundred functionaries seized Zhikatsé Castle.

Cabinet Minister Taiji strictly enjoined Dingchené, Nyerpa Dargyé, and whoever else was in the castle to remain united. As a result, steward Dong Samṭa Tsendrang Zappa was sent with orders to do what he could to preserve life. Those who had not died were bound, beaten, and then released. In agreement with that order, Kyipa Tangpa and Zhelngo Künzang sent appropriate letters to both sides as Zhelngo Künzang's forces in Gyantsé surrounded the castle.

At the very moment that Daiching Batur's younger brother and his attendants could not hold out in Karpo any longer, an order was sent to the leader Drongtö Khangsarwa not to be excessive. However, not being able to reverse the course of their karma, both sides got carried away. Not long thereafter, Ü forces arrived in Nupling by way of Gyantsé.

Depa Cabinet Minister Taiji arrived with the Upper Tsang army, and although efforts were made both verbally and in writing to bring about a ceasefire, the fighting continued for several days. The cabinet minister and several Tsang secretaries withdrew to Sanga with the Upper Tsang army. The Ü forces had arrived in Nakha on the outskirts of Zhikatsé.

Kushang Depa, Cabinet Minister Gung Lumpawa, and Dzasak Jarané asked that I personally meet all of the soldiers. However, out of fear for smallpox, the meeting was not possible. In order to allay these fears at the Labrang, everyone was nursed and comforted. They were told that there must be no oppression in Tsang. The following day, the Depa, the cabinet ministers, and about one hundred important leaders met for a long time. A feast was prepared and funds were distributed. After several days, they went to the upper region as if being pursued by the remaining Ü forces. Since Cabinet Minister Taiji waited at a remote place high in the upper region, the Ü forces returned from Ngamring...

On the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month, Dzasak Cabinet Minister Taiji and his forces arrived on the edge of Zhikatsé. They were urged to meet their opponents directly, but they delayed out of fear of smallpox. At this point, Dzasak Taiji accepted defeat, saying that he could no longer fight. However, the other side would not listen. Ü forces also arrived in Gyantsé, and hand-to-hand combat ensued. Ngawang, who is the steward of the Sakya Gongma, and Sakhupa, who is my own steward, urged a peace treaty on both sides at Gyantsé. The Dalai Lama, Sakya, and I myself determined that both armies were to return to their respective regions.

On the third day of the third month of 1728, the contending negotiators, that is, Kushang (the Dalai Lama's uncle), Gung (Lumpawa), Dzasak Taiji (Polhawa), and the stewards (of Sakya and Trashi Lhünpo monasteries) affixed their seals. The prisoners who had been captured on both sides were released and both armies returned to their homes. All was peaceful for the time being.

As soon as these peace terms were agreed upon, Ü and Kongpo forces were released, and they returned to their own areas.

Cabinet Ministers Ngapöpa, Gung Lumpawa, and Jara Taiji also returned to Lhasa like renowned heroic victors. Miwang Polha sent three hundred troops to augment Samgya Pön, Zhapdra Pasang Tendzin, and their forces in Tongjak Castle. Noyön Khoshi, Dapön Changlochenpa, and two thousand troops were sent to Gyantsé Castle, one thousand troops of Dayen Hong Taiji were sent to Rinpung Castle, and five hundred troops from Lhatsé were sent to Lingkar Castle. Miwang remained at Panam for the time being.

A man named Ajo Pelzang was said to have instigated problems in the Naktsang region. Pretending that he did not know that a treaty had been reached, a partisan from Ü named Mergen Taiji seized and killed several Tsangpas. Miwang obstinately used this as a pretext to kill in retaliation for those killed by Ü partisans. He thereby violated his lama's instruction, the terms of the treaty, and his own word. He said, "Although we have waited, we cannot tell when they will initiate hostilities. Thus, we can no longer stand by in the future."

Deputies of Pañchen Rinpoché and Sakya were sent to keep the two sides apart. However, Miwang Polhawa said, "Due to the problems created by the conceit of the people from Ü, everyone understands that we cannot remain silent." Miwang's older son (Gyurmé Tseten) came from Shelkar, due to which Dapön Changlochenpa summoned the Tsang forces from the various castles and estates. They were sent to Lhasa by way of Yardrok and Nyasap La Pass. Miwang himself organized about three hundred experienced troops, leading them by way of the northern road to Yangpajen. Lama Kyap, a leader of the Hor and Mongolians,

died, and so, Miwang took his forces under his authority. Together with about two thousand troops from the northern region, they gradually made their way to Penyül.¹² When Gyurmé Tseten—Miwang's older son—Dapön Changlochenpa, and their forces arrived by way of Nyasap La and Dau La passes, there was a tremendous struggle against Ü forces, but they dispersed quickly.

When my kind grandfather, the retired treasury official went to the Shakabpa Estate in Lhasöl, I myself was also in government service. He told me stories about this time period. According to one story, several older servants, including Nyer Gyatso, made a pilgrimage to the mountain behind the estate one day. They pointed out certain things. In the past, during the war between Ü and Tsang, the Tsang troops coming from Dau La Pass made yak-hide and wooden boats for crossing the Tsangpo Tachok Khabap River. Since Shakabpa was loyal to Ü, when the Tsang troops arrived, Pelden Dorjé, who was then living at the Shakabpa Estate, and two of his servants took long rifles, called "gyareng" (*skya reng*), out of the room that is now the storeroom. When the Tsang soldiers arrived from Lhatö Gang, the three men shot and killed many of them. Even to this day, that crossing place is still called "Human Corpse, Horse Corpse" (*mi ro rta ro*).

Thereafter, the Tsang army could not find a way out, and Pelden Dorjé and his two servants escaped among the boulders to the Nyang region. When the Tsang troops reached the estate, they stole many valuables and livestock. They stayed at a camp on a small plain in front of a white boulder. One night, while they were there, various omens appeared indicating that before they left the following day, they had to return to the subjects of the estate the things that were making the gods weep and bellow like trumpets; thus, the copper image of Buddha that is about the size of an eight-year old boy, which is the primary object of worship in the great hall, and a well-used copper water jug in the kitchen were both returned. I remember my grandfather telling stories like that.

At that time, Pañchen Rinpoché's steward from Trashi Lhünpo Monastery and the steward from Sakya Monastery, Ganden Tri Rinpoché from Ü, and masters from Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries and the tantric colleges of upper and lower Lhasa all came to assist in negotiations. Miwang spoke specifically to the mediators of the Ü faction as follows:

Previously, when the Ü army was sent after me in order to bring ruin to me, you came to arrange a treaty. Thereafter, the Ü and Kongpo forces

stayed in the Tsang Valley for two years. Many monasteries, temples, and towns were destroyed, and under these circumstances of oppression and intimidation, you came to arrange a treaty. Henceforth, I will serve the Yellow Hat School and I will avenge Daiching Bātur's death. There will be no justice in a treaty until then.

Marching through Penyül, he established a military camp.

Lumpawa and his forces held the narrow passage at Gamo. However, during the night, they were joined by a unit of the Tsang army from the mountaintop of Jomo Silsil. Miwang himself led a regiment, marching fearlessly along the main road. After close hand-to-hand combat, the Ü forces tried to escape; several troops were killed and wounded as the Tsang troops pursued them. The leaders, including Ngapöpa, Gung Lumpawa, and Jara Taiji, were unable to escape along the road; thereby, they fled into the presence of the Dalai Lama in the Potala, asking him to protect their lives. They then blocked the entrances.

On the twenty-sixth day of the seventh month,⁸ Miwang and his troops, with cooperation with the populace, took possession of Lhasa's Gapzhi Trülñang Tsuklakhang. In order to prevent the ministers from escaping, the Tsang troops surrounded the entrances and all sides of the Potala Palace. They remained there for two nights. Gradually, the remaining Tsang forces coming from the south also arrived, establishing a camp to the north of Lhasa. They took control over the entirety of the three provinces of Tibet. What need is there to mention whether they commanded Ü Tsang? Miwang proclaimed that he would work for the welfare of the people.¹³

At that time, Öñ Gyelsé Rinpoché, Tsenpo Nomihen, Tri Rinpoché, and masters and officials of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries approached Miwang. They said that they were not asking any favors on behalf of the three guilty ministers who had the appearance of monks, but who were in fact under the influence of evil spirits; it is the law of the Buddha to condemn the evil and praise the good. But they appealed to Miwang to be big-hearted and open-minded, especially considering that the protector Avalokiteśvara (i.e., the Dalai Lama) and his father were not involved in Daiching Bātur's murder or in the Ü Tsang war. Miwang said:

⁸ Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the 18th Century* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1950), 123, says that this took place on the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month, even though both he and Tsepön Shakabpa base their accounts on *Discriminative Speech of Miwang*, p. 289.

From the beginning, I have sent appeals many times. Accordingly, since the omniscient Dalai Lama is the unequalled last resort of sentient beings, I have single-pointed faith and respect towards him. However, considering what I have seen, these war preparations were made in an effort to kill Daiching Bātur and myself. If the Dalai Lama gave these orders to the ministers, then not only would there be no certainty about the vows of common beings, but there would certainly even be doubts about Buddha's vows. That is what has been related to me and my forces.

If the Dalai Lama and his father will not be involved in perverse activities henceforth, then it is unsuitable for them to remain with those evil ministers. Thus, the Dalai Lama and his retinue should either go to Sera or Drepung monasteries for the time being. Alternatively, the three ministers and their supporters must be expelled from the gates of the Potala because they have acted against the wishes of the Dalai Lama and his father.

These essential points were communicated to Tsenpo Nomihen and the situation was reported to the Dalai Lama. He said:

My father and I have had loving concern towards Khangchené (i.e., Daiching Bātur), and so we had absolutely no part in the evil plan against his life. If Taiji (i.e., Miwang Polhané) does not harm us, my father and I will go to Drepung Monastery for the time being.

It was agreed that the Dalai Lama and four of his attendants, along with his father and three of his attendants, would go to Drepung Monastery accompanied by two thousand monks from Drepung and Sera. However, once again Lelung Jedrung Lozang Trinlé went to the Potala Palace and pleaded that the ministers' lives be spared. As a result, the protector Dalai Lama sent extensive offerings and said that out of concern for the ministers, Miwang must manifest a compassionate attitude and not harm them. The latter replied:¹⁴

According to the wishes of the Dalai Lama, while we dispute which of the Ü Tsang ministers have violated the law, the Manchu emperor has dispatched upright and impartial investigators to mediate honestly and without taking sides; thus, not only will no harm come to the three ministers before the mediators arrive, but also their families, attendants, resources, and homes will not be harmed. They will be guarded in their own homes and kept safely.

After he had sworn this vow, the ministers left the Potala Palace with their attendants. Three hundred Tsang troops guarded each of them in their homes, and they were unharmed.

According to this account, during the war between Ü and Tsang, Polha Taiji did not seem at all concerned about his own interests.

One wonders whether he even needed the Manchu emperor to send assistance. When those reinforcements had almost arrived, having traveled along the main road through Dotö and Kham, the trill of a flute turned into the sound of the arrow.^h They were called by the pleasant name “investigators.” Aside from performing his duties, the Manchu emperor knew how to insinuate himself into Tibetan politics. I think it was a very grave mistake [for Tibetans to permit the Manchu emperor to interfere in this way].

At that time, Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel was the commander of four regiments of Ü forces. Thus, he was involved in several of the skirmishes during the battle for Gyantsé between Ü and Tsang. In shame, he went to Lhasa’s Ganden Khangsarⁱ in order to resolve matters with Miwang. Not long after their conflict was settled, he became one of the main figures in the political system.¹⁵

Thereafter, Losempa, Lelung Jedrung, Tsenpo Nomihen, the incarnation of Baso, and Tri Rinpoché met in the presence of the Dalai Lama in the great Potala Palace with Miwang. They discussed the fact that in the past there had been enmity between the preceptor and patron.^j They cleared the air between the preceptor and patron in the Nyiö Chamber before Jedrung Trülku, and they swore a vow, placing the images of Jé Trashī Dokhama, a revealed statue representing Guru Padmasambhava, and Pelden Lhamo upon their heads. Before long, Alikhen Amba and Mering Dzamgila, who were sent by the Manchu emperor, arrived with ten thousand troops. A tent was pitched in Lhalu Gatselwa Park. Cabinet ministers Ngapöpa, Gung Lumpawa, and Jara Taiji and their advisors who were under suspicion were interrogated several times. Their necks and hands were bound in chains, and they were thrown into the dungeon. One day, senior Tibetan government officials and the officials who had come from China, along with one hundred people from Lhasa and Zhöl, gathered in a tent that had been pitched by the side of Bama Hill. Ngapöpa, Gung Lumpawa, and Jara Taiji, Kyorlung Lama, the steward of Namgyel monastic college, the

^h See p. 340 above. This is an example of a peaceful intention turning dangerous. In other words, while the emperor’s troops seemed to come to Tibet in order to help, their arrival turned out to be a dangerous turning point.

ⁱ Ganden Khangsar was Miwang Polhané’s residence as it had been the residence of Kyishö Taktsepa, Lozang Khan, and Kangchené. It had even been the temporary residence of the great fifth Dalai Lama. See p. 334 above for a description.

^j In this context, the preceptor was the Dalai Lama and the patron was Miwang Polhané.

wives and children of the three ministers, and a large number of their advisors—nineteen people in all—were executed. Several of the wives and children who were innocent were sent into exile in China.

The two Ambans, Me Dachen and Seng Dachen,^k along with two thousand Chinese troops remained in Tibet in the service of the Dalai Lama Rinpoché, while Alikhen Amba, Mering Dzamgila, and others returned to China along with the remainder of the troops. Though they had been sent for the single purpose of supporting Polha Taiji himself, this incident initiated the wicked custom of having Chinese officers and soldiers permanently stationed in Lhasa. Manchu officers and soldiers remained in Lhasa continuously thereafter until 1912. However, one can understand from this discussion the extent of the ambans' authority in Tibet.

Since everyone in Tibet, monks and lay people, of high or low station, were united in their respect toward the Dalai Lama, it seemed as though he might pose an obstacle to the progress of sovereign Miwang Polha's political plans. As it is done in foreign lands, when the Manchu emperor went on a pilgrimage to the Chinese-Tibetan border the following year, he asked the Dalai Lama to come to Litang in Dotö so they could meet. Officials from Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, government officials, and the people were unanimous in feeling that it would be unsuitable for the Dalai Lama Rinpoché to go to Dotö. However, with

^k The most thorough studies of ambans in Tibet have been undertaken by Josef Kolmaš: (1) "The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet (1727–1912): Some Statistical Observation" in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the international Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes, 1992* edited by Per Kvaerne (Oslo, Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1992), vol. 1, 454–467 and (2) *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: The Oriental Institute, 1994).

For the period in question, Kolmaš indicates the presence of a Manchurian amban named Sengge who resided in Lhasa from 1727–1733. During this same time, three other figures served alongside him: a Manchurian named Mala (1727–1728, a Manchurian named Mailu (1727–1733), and Zhouying of unidentified ethnic origin (1727–1729). See Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study*, 19–20. Shakabpa seems to have meant to indicate Seng Dachen and one of the other figures. Following Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century: History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), 113–118, it would seem the second figure was Mala. Dachen is a Chinese term used to refer to Qing ambans.

Most of the ambans were Manchurians or Mongolians. It is often difficult to positively identify them within texts from different languages, and so they can only be identified by way of the dates they served in Tibet. This situation motivated Kolmaš's extremely valuable work.

further encouragement that he would be invited to stay in Beijing the following year, it was decided that the Dalai Lama, his father, and two hundred attendants should go. Because the time of his return had not yet been determined, Ö Gyelsé Trülku Jikmé Yeshé Drakpa was appointed to lead prayers and perform other such functions.

On the twenty-third day of the eleventh month, the Dalai Lama left for Dotö. Thus, on the eighth day of the second month of 1729, he was received by the monastic and lay leadership, including Depa Abum Trashi and Dargö Namgyel of Litang Monastery. The Dalai Lama was established at Jampaling Monastery in Litang.

The sovereign Dalai Lama Rinpoché and his retinue left Litang for Gartar on the twenty-first day of the first month of 1730. Patronage was provided to Ganden Yang Monastery in Gartar so that a new Tsuklakhang could be founded, and fifty monks were established there. The incarnation Lozang Gelek was appointed as the abbot. The Dalai Lama gave continuous religious teachings in accordance with the wishes of all of the monks and lay people who gathered from all quarters of Dotö. The lay people under the jurisdiction of Gyeltang district were enjoined to discontinue the evil tradition of performing sacrifices during funerary ceremonies. The incarnation of Ludrup Losel Gyatso and the district official Dingpön were sent to convey these instructions. In 1733, according to the wishes of the Dergé ruler and the general public, the Dalai Lama's sister, Tsering, was presented as a wife for the ruler's son Sönam Gönpö. She was invited to Dergé from Ü.

From about 1716, the Capuchin Christian missionaries from Italy (Tibetans called them the Pering Go White Lamas) and one doctor went to Zhikatsé from Nepal and thence to Lhasa. They hoped to spread Christianity, and they gave medicine to poor sick people. Beyond that, they did not involve themselves in business or political matters in any way. As a result, the Dalai Lama permitted them to remain in Lhasa as they wished. They were granted a meadow to the east of Lhasa where they were permitted to build a church, hospital, and residence. And no one could be discontented about the fact that the Capuchins were not required to pay duties and taxes, because an order to this effect was impressed with the Dalai Lama's seal, dated the eleventh day of the twelfth month of 1723.¹

¹ Graham Sandberg, *The Exploration of Tibet: Its History and Particulars from 1623 to 1904* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & co, 1904), 42–3, gives a translation of the presumably

It was ordered that "the newly constructed religious building on the property east of Lhasa is to be twelve pillars in length and eighteen ounces of silver is to be paid for the land as rent." This was dated the eleventh day of the second month of 1725. Also, loads of goods that were required from their country were to be taxed according to the general trade agreement of Nepali traders. Provisions were also made to provide for whatever earth and stone they needed when they constructed their buildings. The steward and leaders of Lhasa affixed their seals to this order on the ninth day of the fourth month of 1725.

The Zhöl steward also affixed his seal to an order on the twentieth day of the eighth month of 1727 prohibiting the levying of new duties, rents, or taxes and enjoining people not to harm the servants of the estate. There was also to be no interference in the construction of the small chapel on their rented lands.

Miwang Peli Polha issued an order on the tenth day of the twelfth month of 1729, saying that others should not encroach on the land of the small convent to the east of the Potala, and that as long as the Capuchins were preaching, people should not interfere. Thereby, the missionaries slowly gained acceptance.

Yet, because the Capuchins were unaccustomed to the water and the climate, they became ill. Thus, they were forced to go back where they had previously been stationed. When a doctor and five subordinates left, they were provided with assistance so they could proceed on the main road from Lhasa to Nepal unharmed, without being taxed, without being suspected, attacked, or robbed, and without being ordered to remain. Miwang Polhané also provided them with excellent assistance by issuing them a travel permit with the government seal on the twenty-third day of the seventh month of 1732; it granted them fodder for five pack horses wherever they arrived for their noon and nighttime rests, firewood for a single cooking fire, passage on yak skin boats, ferries, or iron bridges, and freedom of movement without being obstructed by local guards.

While they had been in Tibet, they abided by the laws of the country. They proselytized Christianity and provided medical treatment, but they did not cause any harm whatsoever to people's welfare or to the country.

Latin version of the original order issued by the Dalai Lama. This document includes the points mentioned here, but gives a different date, "the 17th day of the 12th month in the year of the water-rabbit (that is in our reckoning the 27th February 1724)." Sandberg's book is a detailed chronology of Christian missionary efforts in Tibet.

Moreover, they had carried on a dialogue with the Dalai Lama about Buddhist and Christian ideas.^m Thus, the Dalai Lama, because of his extremely warm feelings, said when the Capuchins were leaving, that it would be best if they had been able to stay longer. The only alternative, he said, was that he hoped they would be able to return quickly. When the doctor and his five assistants left, the Dalai Lama expressed his warm feelings in a letter as follows:¹⁶

The internal disposition of these Pering doctors is very calm. Since the lamas of your country have good intentions and are so compassionate for the welfare of living beings, you have been accepted from all quarters. You lama and doctor, who have been sent to Tibet, have great courage, undergoing the difficulties in traveling such a great distance without concern for the risks to your own lives. Without being hindered you have reached this Tsuklakhang in which deities manifest in the midst of the wealthy land of Tibet. You have found food and drink, and many beings have benefitted from your kind concern, except for women, who have not been treated.

Consequently, Daiching Batur and I have acted out of compassionate concern in the past. Beyond this relationship, you have not required financial assistance for the purchase of necessary things. However, we have protected you with close interest, preventing harm or harassment. Also when the lamas returned here in the past, we provided them with excellent conditions while they lived in Tibet. Yet, the work you hoped to accomplish has not been completed.

Recently, the doctor benefitted many Tibetan Buddhists and would not take any payment, even for the cost of the medicines. Since your excellent altruism is unlike other people's, I wonder if you might remain in Tibet for the time being. However, your preceptor has a chronic illness, and he has returned already. Now, if you plan to depart at the end of the

^m Graham Sandberg, *The Exploration of Tibet: Its History and Particulars from 1623 to 1904* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & co, 1904), 40–1, discusses this ongoing dialogue from the perspective of the Italian missionary Orazio della Penna. The latter would seem to have embroidered his account when he says:

The Missionaries drew up a paper...refuting his arguments one by one. This he studied with close attention and was at length convinced of the palpable truth and sweet attractiveness of our holy religion; he experienced a deep sense of pleasure and an equally deep sense of shame; of pleasure, because his reason could now be fully satisfied, and could rest on firm ground; of shame because he now saw so plainly, how grossly he had deceived himself by thinking that his arguments were as firmly knit together as the Gordian knot and that they could never be undone; but like the famous knot, they were now rent asunder, and all his ideas underwent a total change...

If the young Dalai Lama was swayed by the missionaries' arguments, it does not seem to have been recorded in the Tibetan literature.

seventh month, I will give you a travel permit allowing you to use what you wish. I will appoint guards to watch over the church you have newly built. We will seal the door and safeguard the key. We will not transfer authority over it to anyone but you, the lama and the doctor.

You two have great concern for the welfare of living beings and you cultivate conscientious behavior. As you return to your own distant land in each other's company, I will miss you. Nonetheless our religion says that whatever comes together is separated in the end. Thus, there is nothing to be done. Be assured that I will do whatever I can as your helpful friend in order to fulfill your wishes.

Written on the virtuous eighteenth day of the sixth month of 1733.

A sealed copy of the letter was given to the Capuchins. They had lived in Lhasa for about twelve years.

In 1734, there were two contenders for the incarnation of Zhapdrung of Bhutan. Previously, the ninth Desi of Bhutan, Ngawang Gyatso or Wangpajo, had taken one side and a minister of the eighth Desi of Bhutan Kabi Döndrup Gyelpo and Mipam Wangpo had taken the other. As a result, civil war erupted, and Wang Pajo was driven from Trashi Chödzong. Consequently, he sent a messenger to the Tibetan government seeking protection. Before he received a reply, Wangpajo was killed by his enemies. Since the conflict within Bhutan flared like a fire, a large number of Ü Tsang troops and Dokar Taiji Tsering Wangyel were ordered to the south by the Tibetan government in order to resolve the civil war and to support Wang Pajo. When Pelgong Darhen Drakpa and Mentangpa were sent into Bhutan, Paṇchen Rinpoché Lozang Yeshé, the Sakya Gongma, the Black-Hat Karmapa Jangchup Dorjé, and Zhamar Chökyi Döndrup appealed to the Tibetan government to intervene between the warring parties in Bhutan.

Accordingly, talks were held. The land was to be apportioned, the harm inflicted on one another was to be discontinued, and the prisoners and hostages that both sides had captured during the war were to be sent to their respective homes. The parties reported to the Tibetan government that it was even unnecessary to send troops.

The parties to the dispute vowed and composed a letter signifying their vow that from that time onward, they would pay tribute and seek a summer audience with the Dalai Lama. Part of the agreement was that Tsering Wangchen, the uncle of Sakyong Rinchen Trinlé Rapgyé, was ordered to go to Lhasa, as though he were a hostage. The Tibetan government also sought to protect permanently the representative bringing the tribute, offering them passports and taking care of other worries.

As the conflict was resolved, the Bhutanese government sent Gangteng Lama and Lama Döndrup of Kapé to meet the Dalai Lama in Gartarⁿ and to meet Miwang in Lhasa in order to express their gratitude.¹⁷

Around that same year, Miwang and the Manchu amban in Lhasa continually found themselves at odds, and the Manchurian soldiers were subjecting the people to terrible oppression. Consequently, Miwang and the amban conferred on the extent of the soldiers' activities that would be permitted, and they also discussed the necessity of moving the Manchu residences to Drapzhi,^o some distance from Lhasa. Since the ambans Me Dachen and Seng Dachen returned to China along with one thousand five hundred Chinese troops, Jiutā Loyé^p and the remaining five hundred troops moved to the newly built compound at Drapzhi.

In order to facilitate the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet, the Manchu emperor's seventeenth son, Prince Lianli, Changkya Hotoktu Rölpe Dorjé, and their retainues went to Gartar.^q They presented the Dalai Lama with gifts and a letter from the Manchu emperor; an extensive ceremony was held. The Dalai Lama offered many religious teachings to the emperor's son, such as bestowing the empowerment of Vajrabhairava. The prince returned to China, and on the twenty-first day of the third month of 1735, all of the leaders of Dotö (Kham), including Dergé's Prince Sönam Gönpö, the lamas and officials of the monasteries, and the district and estate officials all came out to bid farewell to the Dalai Lama.

As the Dalai Lama and his retainue proceeded, extensive receptions were arranged by the monks and lay people along the way. At the Nakchu River, he was received by Dalai Bātur Gyurmé Namgyel. At Damtö Uma Trashi Tang, he was received by more than one thousand of the important people throughout Tibet, including Ganden Tri Rinpoché Gyeltsen Sengé, Trülku Namsum, the Chöjés of Ganden Shartsé

ⁿ In the aftermath of the conflict between Ü and Tsang forces, the Dalai Lama withdrew to Kham for seven years (1728–1735). At this time, he was residing in Gartar.

^o Drapzhi (*grwa bzhi*), usually now pronounced "Drapchi," was a military compound used by the Manchu garrison. Later, during the Chinese Communist period, it would be transformed into the Drapchi Prison. See John F. Avedon, *In Exile from the Lands of Snows* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 304–307.

^p It is unclear how to spell Jiutā Loyé in pinyin (*ji'ū tā lo ye*). I have written it according to the THDL Tibetan phonetics.

^q This same son is referred to as Yunli in Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century: History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), 157. He would later become an important advisor to Emperor Qianlong.

and Ganden Jangtsé monasteries, the masters, officials, and retired officialdom of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, Peli Polhawa Sönam Topgyé, Gapzhi Gung, Cabinet Minister Dokharwa Tsering Wangyel, Tönpa Sichö Tseten, and Drongtséwa. The party gradually toured around Radreng and Taklung monasteries, and so forth. On the eleventh day of the seventh month, the Dalai Lama reached Lhasa's Tsuklakhang in the company of a very large procession of important Chinese and Tibetan dignitaries.

During a ceremony marking the conclusion of the journey, Miwang Polha founded a workshop at Shelkar for printing the Buddhist canon. He provided a large endowment so that the wood blocks of the precious Buddhist scriptures could be carved; the blocks were kept at Nartang Monastery.^r

In 1736, the Desi of Bhutan arrived for an audience with the Dalai Lama. Although his relationship with Miwang Polhané had only been characterized by malice, at this point he came to meet the Tibetans in order to overcome resentments. As a result, a welcoming ceremony had been ordered on his behalf in order to make amends. Accordingly, when he was approaching, twenty attendants headed by two stewards came out to greet him, and he was praised and given a vast number of valuable gifts. Even when the Bhutanese Kapé Ngawang, Tsago Gyelpo Śākya Gyeltsen of Shargya Morong, and others came for an audience, elaborate awards and holy relics were granted, appropriate to the occasion.

In 1739, a monk named Lozang Peldrup from Püntsokling Monastery built three iron bridges in the Tsang region; as a result, he was also known as the "Iron Bridge Lama." He also sought and received permission to build an iron bridge across the Kyichu River. However, the oral tradition does not indicate whether any were built near Lhasa other than the iron bridge of Drigung Dzong.

At that time, Lama Püntsok Tenpa was appointed to replace the deceased ruler of Dergé, Tenpa Tsering. He then was given an audience with the Dalai Lama, who gave him extensive advice.

^r Tsepon Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967), 145 reports that the Kangyur was completed in 1732 and the Tengyur was completed in 1742. Hence the project must have been in operation for many years by this time. It may be that Miwang chose the auspicious moment of the Dalai Lama's return to officially sanctify the workshop.

An enclosure was to be newly constructed for the remains of the Omniscient Lord (Tsongkhapa) in Kumbum. Rapten Sharpa and Khar Tsowa were placed in charge of the work, and metal workers and a large supply of materials were sent. The Desi of Bhutan constructed an image of Avalokiteśvara that was two stories high, and Dreu Lhé Trülku was sent to consecrate it.

In 1743, about three hundred representatives of the Dzüngar leader Ganden Tsering Wangpo arrived in order to present magnificent offerings to the Dalai Lama and to the sacred sites in Ü Tsang. It does not seem that the Chinese were able to eject the Dzüngarwas this time. In 1744, the Dergé ruler ordered that someone go to Lhasa to offer the first printing from the woodblocks of the commentarial canon to the Dalai Lama; the delegate was praised and given marvelous gifts.

In the same year, since Namgyel Püntsoḱ, the prince of Sikkim, was still a minor, the Treasurer Tamdrin held the authority. Thus, the Treasurer Garwang appealed for assistance on behalf of the prince, requesting that the Tibetan government provide a guardian for the child while he was a minor. Rapten Sharpa was appointed, and he remained for nearly ten years until the prince was able to assume the duties. Subsequently, when the prince ascended to the throne and assumed his duties, the cabinet dispatched Trashi Lingpa, the district official of Pakri, to offer the customary congratulatory greeting scarf. Rapten Sharpa then returned to Lhasa in 1754.¹⁸

Because the Manchu emperor sought blessings, he founded a dialectics college, a tantric college, and a cultural college in Beijing. The lamas, monks, and officials who were sent to operate them were given a reception. These teachers were important geshés who had taken Buddhist vows and completed their studies of the conqueror's scriptures. Thus, since they were distinctive in their capacities and usefulness, they were directed to work everyday for the benefit of Buddhism in general in that unchangeable land in order to enhance the supreme religion. In particular, the dynasty of emperors in the Land of China had become great patrons of Buddhism, and the time of the ancestor of that emperor (i.e., since the first Manchu Emperor Shunzhi) had been an especially important patron of the omniscient fifth Dalai Lama and the omniscient Paṇchen Lama. Thereby, the Manchu emperors had been great patrons of the teachings of Riwo Gandenpas (i.e., the Gelukpas). This very Emperor Mañjuśrī (i.e., Qianlong) had shown great kindness to one and all.

Meanwhile, the two trülkus (Changkya and Tuken), who were spiritual friends to everyone, also lived in China.^s They taught about proper behavior, what to adopt and what to abandon in all matters, and thus they came to be ornaments of the eye of Buddhism, explaining, listening, meditating, accomplishing the doctrine, and so forth in accordance with the emperor's desire. They served honestly, not involving themselves in religious sectarianism; the Dalai Lama advised that they increase their endurance in order to effect the tremendously important activities that would be of benefit to all.¹⁹

Since Dentik was the monastic seat of Lachen Gongpa Rapsel, an order was issued granting permission for prayers to be offered in that quarter in the hopes that it would benefit many sentient beings. The emperor founded many monasteries in Domé, such as the seat of Chöjé Döndrup Rinchen, Jakhyung Monastery, and he provided the resources for restorations. Moreover, he affected tremendous benefit in both religious and political realms.

At the request of the Manchu Emperor Qianlong, Changkya Hotoktu Yeshé Tenpé Drönmé oversaw the translation of the entire Tengyur into Mongolian.^t Initially, he created a dictionary, determining the meanings of words. Thereafter, several Mongolian translators assisted him. The work commenced at the beginning of the tenth month of 1741 and was completed on the fifteenth day of the third month of 1742. It was accomplished under the auspices of the emperor's treasury. After the first edition of the canon was shown to the Dalai Lama, he praised it highly. Copies were distributed throughout the land of the great Hor. Subsequently, he also translated the precious Kangyur into the Manchurian language; through his work, he enhanced the fortunes of Buddhism, not permitting it to decline.²⁰

Desi Polhawa Sönam Topgyé developed a perilous growth on his neck, and no matter what was done, the illness could not be reversed. On the second day of the second month of 1747, he passed out of the

^s A variety of important Tibetan lamas were ensconced in the Qing court at this time. See, for example, Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 231–263.

^t The two major divisions of the Tibetan Buddhist canon are the Kangyur (*bka'* 'gyur) and Tengyur (*bstan* 'gyur). In the Tibetan versions, the Kangyur consists of about one hundred and eight volumes of the teachings given by Buddha, while the Tengyur consists of two hundred and twenty-five volumes of classic commentarial writings composed by significant Indian scholars.

world. Immediately, the Dalai Lama went to Ganden Khangsar so that he could recite prayers of blessing and protection. During the nineteen years that Miwang had reigned, he had served all the monastic schools respectfully without distinction, and he had made offerings on religious holidays. He had also restored the assembly halls of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries.

At Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival, at prayer assemblies, and other such gatherings, he took responsibility for ritual expenses, donations, pastries, and other things. He initiated the custom each year of having a superior being, such as Shok Dönyö Khedrup or Purchok Ngawang Jampa, explain at the conclusion of the Great Prayer Festival such texts as Tsongkhapa's *Stages of the Path* or Śāntideva's *Engaging in the Bodhisattva Deeds*.^u These explanations would take place in some suitable location such as the Tantric College of Lower Lhasa, Meru, or Zhidé.

Miwang sponsored the creation of the following things: an image of Maitreya fashioned from gold and copper in Lhasa's Tsuklakhang, a maṇḍala for meditating on peaceful, secret, and wrathful deities on a mountain top, an ornamental covering for the golden throne in Ganden Monastery, an edition of the Kangyur written in gold in Ganden Monastery as valuable as the whole world, and other such precious items. In particular, the woodblocks for printing the precious Kangyur that remained to be carved from the time of the sixth Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso were completed. Since there were no blocks of the precious Tengyur in Ü Tsang, there were difficulties. So without concern for the cost, the government completed the woodblocks and deposited them at the glorious Nartang Monastery. Religious charity was thereby dispersed all around. The woodblocks for the dialectical textbooks of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries were also carved.

Since the populace had been impoverished by both taxes and the war during that period of unrest, they could not pay what they owed. Investigators were dispatched covertly and overtly with the task of preventing those whose behavior was wicked from corrupting others, their behavior being as inappropriate as mixing turnips with fish. For those people who were impoverished, it was decided that there would be

^u For English language translations of these classic texts, see (1) Joshua Cutler, ed. *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, vol. 1, 2000; vol. 3, 2002; vol. 2, 2004) and (2) Vesna A. Wallace and B. Alan Wallace, *A Guide to the Bodhisattva Way of Life* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1997).

inexhaustible happiness among citizens if tax exemptions were granted to people who were in arrears in tax obligations for corvée transportation and payment in kind. This applied to the general taxes owed to civil and religious treasuries from the year 1728, including a tax payable in barley during the Great Prayer Festival, a grain tax payable to the Chinese in Tibet, a tax for subsidizing expenses of the Chinese amban, the silver bar tax, the firewood tax, the stored grain tax, and others. It is unclear if the Dalai Lama was involved in these decisions.

Changkya's biography of the seventh Dalai Lama says:²¹

In general, Wang Polhawa became famous as a brave champion by virtue of the tremendous merit of his previous actions. On some occasions, his political efforts were not in harmony with religion. Indeed, it is difficult to understand his ultimate motivation. He was under the influence of many irreligious people or people whose merit had been destroyed. Since he was blessed by the lord of the heaven called Land of Controlling Other's Emanations,^v his high rank and his authority exceeded what they had been. He wondered if there was anyone else of such a high rank. When he found an opening against the Dalai Lama, he would always work against him, and he would disparage and insult those who were respectful of the Dalai Lama. He flattered and corrupted with wealth those foolish people propelled to future lives. When intelligent people investigate his unlawful acts, they compiled all sorts of horrid affairs.

In particular, Secretary Tsangkyé Loden had formerly been Polhané's friend. However, the secretary later came to have faith in the Dalai Lama's life, and so he became devoted to serving the Dalai Lama. Polhané disapproved of this, and he was disturbed. Primarily, he was looking for a way to get at the Dalai Lama, but he directed his displeasure towards the secretary.

At this time, Polhané was out behind the Potala practicing archery when he saw a servant of the secretary was taking a horse around to graze. Suddenly and without any reason, the servant was arrested. Through many deceptive stratagems, he was compelled to lie by claiming the secretary had sent him to obtain some of Polhané's bodily waste [for use in a harmful charm]. By bribing other people, through other deceptive means, and so forth, the secretary was supposed to have placed a curse on Polhané. The attendant Drakpa Tayé, who had unchanging faith in the Dalai Lama, was drawn into the plot, implementing a whole series of wicked deceptive lies. When these were declared to many people,

^v In Buddhist cosmology, the Land of Controlling Others' Emanations is a location in cyclic existence in which a being can take rebirth. Within the six realms (See p. 29 above), it is within the god realm. See Lati Rinpochoy, Denma Lochö Rinpochoy, Leah Zahler, and Jeffrey Hopkins, *Meditative States in Tibetan Buddhism: The Concentrations and Formless Absorptions* (London: Wisdom Publications, 1983), 40–41.

Secretary Tsangkyé was placed in a dungeon at Shelkar, even though he was innocent. He said:

Malicious partisan people who don't think at all about the future lives of foolish beings stitch together strings of words that take them to their lower rebirths. Intelligent people who seek to improve themselves, expressing amazement, ponder in their hearts how someone could engage in such improper activities toward a peerless protector who protects them.

With both aversion for and renunciation of this world, the secretary died.

Dokhar Zhapdrung's autobiography says:²²

As previously mentioned, if in the Wood-Ox year (1745), the preceptor and patron (i.e., the Dalai Lama and Miwang Polhané) had been in complete agreement about resolutely working to increase benefit and happiness of Buddhism and sentient beings and if they had decided on an auspicious course in accord with their status, then there would have been unparalleled stores of merit for Buddhism and the living beings of Tibet. However, on the one hand, it is the nature of the degenerate era that sentient beings have little merit. On the other hand, those who are afflicted by demonic beings destroy benefit and happiness now and in the future. Some people who have consciously achieved the power of their prayers sow discord. It seems that many people persuaded the great Miwang to follow perverse advice. It is like the saying:

Even intelligent people continue to be living beings.

If they are possessed, they will travel on a perverse path.

Accordingly, Miwang sent a representative to advise Trichen Nomihen²³ about how Secretary Tsangkyé had worked to make a harmful charm and how the [Dalai Lama's own] great attendant Drakpa Tayé had been involved. He further claimed that Drakpa Tayé said that Secretary Tsangkyé had requested in a hand-written note bodily waste to be used for making a harmful charm.

I have still not grasped the truth in this matter. However, since the issue has arisen, either I should meet with Tsangkyé or leave the matter alone.

Since he was the primary person in the service of the Dalai Lama, I can express the reason that there is no benefit in regarding him as perverse. As it is said, in conferring before Trichen, Drakpa Tayé said:

Polhawa had been very kind to me. That's all there is to say. Even in a dream, I do not have such disturbing thoughts. Whatever I am told, I will accept. However, I have not spoken to anyone in prison. If Polhané is satisfied, then that is okay.

He felt that his case had already been decided. Meanwhile, the next day, the Dalai Lama summoned him [Drakpa Tayé] to his quarters. He said:

I heard that yesterday Miwang sent you to ask questions of Drakpa Tayé. In this regard, beyond fabricating charges against Drakpa Tayé, you are merely placing blame where it does not belong. The real issue is that he does not like me. Thus, I am just living simply in my houses without doing anything. If this is not enough, then I will just go to Drepung Monastery or to a mountain retreat. You go to Miwang to explain these reasons.

The small son [Drakpa Tayé] prostrated towards [the Dalai Lama], fervently imploring him:

Presently, the increasing misfortunes of our government are being brought about by magical spirits. These days, there are lots of bad omens. Thus, since the power of these magical spirits is not known, you should enhance your courage and pacify things. Thinking of the benefit to Buddhism and the happiness of sentient beings, please do this!

He expressed all the pleasing things he had heard from the Dalai Lama to the supreme sovereign [Miwang], without leaving out anything. In reply, Miwang said, "The previous causes are finished, as if they had been severed in the realm of reality." From now on, it is as the verse says:

In this Buddhafeld surrounded by snowy mountains,
May it be that the lotus-footed lifetime of
Avalokiteśvara Kelzang Gyatso, the foundation from which all benefit
and happiness arise,
Endures for one hundred eons.

Aside from the great kindness of being concerned for the benefit and happiness of Buddhism and sentient beings in Tibet, there was no other subject to be expressed separately. Upon presenting this reply, he became auspiciously peaceful.

Also, Tuken Lozang Chökyi Dorjé's biography of Changkya Rölpé Dorjé says:²⁴

In general, the sovereign of Tibet, Polha Sönam Topgyé, was earnestly devoted to both Buddhism in general and to those who bore the teachings, and it is fitting to praise him as a brave champion in both the religious and political spheres. However, like Lekpé Karma, who regarded all of Buddha's actions as a mass of faults, he did not have faith from the depth of his heart in the omniscient Dalai Lama. He performed many perverse deeds.

He was utterly unable to come under his direct influence as the spiritual son of the omniscient Dalai Lama, whose activities extended in all directions. However, people skilled in using evil mantras, such as Lama Katokpa, secretly intervened by casting many sorts of spells. Previously, the Dalai Lama had forgotten about a slight illness. When very bad signs appeared, he dreamed that he was staying on the top floor of Kardzong Castle.

Polhawa served as the military leader. Many Tibetan troops surrounded the castle, whereby cannon shots fell like rain. Thus, it seems that the castle was not secure because the fierce women of the village below it came carrying daggers. Having immediately departed on a mule, it became obvious that Polhané would be driven away a great distance, like a small bird being pursued by a falcon.

At this time, a servant of Jé Lama had a clear dream, which coincided with what is said above. There was a woman wearing blue clothes who was supposed to have been sent from Tibet by the omniscient Dalai Lama. A bloody head of a man was hanging on a strap tied to the saddle of the mule; one wonders if it was Polhawa's head. She was coming to meet with Jé Lama.

The day the dream occurred was the same day that Polhawa died. It is definite that the (war goddess) Pelden Makzor Gyi Gyelmo sent this dream as an omen that actions would be undertaken to destroy the enemies of the conqueror and the bodhisattvas.

Also around this time, an invocation made before the Dalai Lama Avalokiteśvara said:

Alas! The supreme religion is like the rays of the sun dawning quietly on a mountain; the mighty struggle against those who try to implement their own plans and inflict harm on the weak. It is difficult for the lowly to find even coarse food to eat, even though they are always searching.

If one relies upon these discouraging accounts, then again and again, there were perverse views with respect to the Dalai Lama, and so as a result he was forced to stay in Dokham for a long time in the intervening period.

In order to maintain his authority, Miwang himself continuously went overboard in reaching agreements with China. Consequently, there were many political problems, such as the Manchu amban and the Chinese soldiers who had been posted as if to guard the Dalai Lama. For these reasons, wrong interpretations of the rights pertaining to the preceptor-patron relationship emerged. Finally, in light of the present conflict between China and Tibet, this seems like the first call of the rooster in terms of the essential cause of the unhappiness of the Tibetan people.^w

However, ultimately Polha's considerations had to do with the character of the preceptor-patron relationship between China and Tibet, without there being any thought that Tibet was under the control of

^w In other words, this period should have served as a warning to Tibet.

China. In this regard, Purchok Ngawang Jampa's *The Catalog of the Nartang Edition of the Canonical Commentarial Literature*, the wood-blocks of which Miwang commissioned, is cited as proof. It says:²⁵

May the lifetime, the power, and the descendents
Of the patron of Buddhism, the celestial emperor, be extended.

Also on the back of that very page, it says:

May the lifetime of the patrons of Buddhism, headed by the celestial
Jamyang Emperor, endure, and may the religious objectives be fulfilled.

Moreover, there is no doubt that evil consequences resulted from a lack of unity among the cabinet ministers from Ü and Tsang. However, Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel's *Biography of Miwang* says that Miwang, unlike others, is to be praised extensively in all ways. Since that book was written during Miwang's lifetime, it definitely had to flatter Miwang by collecting together all of his good qualities.

According to Miwang Polha's wish, his elder son Gung Gyurmé Tsenden²⁶ became the governor of Ngari, and the younger son Gyurmé Namgyel held the rank of "Wang,"^x taking over his father's inheritance. Accordingly, as soon as Miwang died, the omniscient Dalai Lama granted the title of Dalai Bātur to Wang Gyurmé Namgyel, authorizing him to work for the government as his father had. His manner of political rule was different from his father. The relations between the protector Dalai Lama and the ruler were in fact not very good, although they had the outward form of the relationship between the Dalai Lama and his father. However, he regarded the Manchu government, officers, and soldiers as utterly unsatisfactory and as his main enemies.

In 1748, the ruler Dalai Bātur said that the Manchu emperor should pay the public for the upkeep of both the amban who supposedly was there to serve the Dalai Lama and the Chinese officers and soldiers stationed in Tibet who were nominally supposed to protect against the Dzūngarwa spies; these payments were to include such things as providing mules, horses, and transportation. If any losses were suffered, replacements were to be forthcoming, and if the animals were weakened, then fines were to be imposed. He also complained that young women were snatched away and even married women were taken by

^x The title "Wang" (*wang*) was a traditional designation granted to a king or prince. It was occasionally also granted to Tibetan figures, thereby ennobling the recipients.

force. When traveling to and fro, a government permit came to be required in order to obtain horses, transportation, firewood, and so forth. Levied taxes that were paid through providing transportation or taxes that were paid in kind had been terribly oppressive.

Because they could not bear the perpetual political intrigues in Tibet, the Manchu officers, soldiers, and officials who were in Tibet had to withdraw to the last man. There was a Tibetan army that would be able to protect against the thieving Dzūngarwas and others. A six thousand man Tibetan army had been instituted. Thus, Dalai Bātur explained to the Manchu emperor and the two Dachens in Lhasa, both verbally and in writing that each district would be able to protect itself.

As a result, the Manchu Emperor Qianlong (Lhakyong) withdrew all of the Chinese troops except for one hundred soldiers who were to serve as the amban's bodyguard, and the amban was prohibited from involving himself in Tibet's politics. The amban, his assistants, and the remaining Chinese troops had to be paid a salary so that they would not steal from the Tibetan people or oppress them. These funds were supposed to come from the emperor's treasury.²⁷

During that year, Sikyong Dalai Bātur went on a pilgrimage in the Tsang region together with his very large entourage consisting of his three wives, Gapzhi Gung Paṇḍita serving as his attendant, Jam Deden Drölma, Cabinet Minister Dokharwa, Drongtséwa, Dapön, Lamö Künten, Radreng Elchi, and so forth. After meeting in Trashī Lhünpo with Lozang Pelden Yeshé, the third incarnation of Paṇchen Rinpoché, he made extensive offerings, and in particular, he offered woodblock prints depicting the wish-fulfilling tree of Buddha's one hundred and eight deeds, Tsongkhapa's eighteen deeds, the sixteen Sthaviras, and the birth stories of the Dalai Lama and the Paṇchen Lama.²⁸

In keeping with the tradition of trying to foster harmony, the Dalai Lama, his spiritual son (i.e., the Paṇchen Lama), and Sikyong (Dalai Bātur) wrote a letter saying that the three kingdoms of Nepal and the Gurkhas must not fight between themselves. They were instructed not to obstruct the customary passage of Nepali and Tibetan traders, pilgrims, craftsmen, and so forth. The deputy Tseḍrön Lotsāwa Kachen Yeshé Chöpel was dispatched with the letter.

In 1749, the incarnation of Paṇchen Rinpoché,^y the third Paṇchen Lama Pelden Yeshé, went to Lhasa in order to receive his monastic

^y According to Changkya Hotoktu, *The Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, 232-na, the second Paṇchen Lama died on the fifth day of the seventh month of 1737.

vows from the seventh Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso. On the fifteenth day of the fourth month, he received his vows before the image of Jowo Rinpoché in Lhasa. It was the fond desire of both the Dalai Lama and the Paṇchen Lama to establish strong religious connections. However, the Lamo Tsangpa Oracle prophesied that it was important for Paṇchen Rinpoché to leave for Tsang immediately because of events occurring outside of Tibet. Since this was in conflict with the wishes of the Dalai Lama and the Paṇchen Lama, the latter incarnation was told that when he had reached the age of majority, he should return for religious teachings; after only three weeks, he had to leave. Since Sikyong's behavior was so inconsistent, there was no way the Paṇchen Lama would not leave immediately. The biography of the third Paṇchen Lama Pelden Yeshé says:²⁹

When he left Lhasa in 1749, the Dalai Lama told the Paṇchen Lama:

At present, it would be best for you to travel to this region (Ü) and in the future, you must reside temporarily at the seat in this place (Lhasa). Here, you will be able to receive all sorts of teachings on tantra and rituals, such as (1) the complete teachings on tantra and rituals that had had been bestowed by Khenchen Tenpé Wangpo (i.e., the second Paṇchen Lama Lozang Yeshé) and (2) the teachings from the other Tutor Yongdzin Dampa. Beyond explaining the hundred thousand religious teachings to many living beings, it is necessary to gather the limitless collection of good fortune and merit which arise from a single word to the supreme incarnation, and so you will have to remain for a while.

He became overjoyed at the pleasing words.

The great treasurer said, "In this way, (the Dalai Lama's) advice was a display of his unsurpassed gracious regard for the (Paṇchen Lama). However, according to a prophecy of the Lamo Oracle, the Paṇchen Lama merely received the empowerments of the tantras and rituals and then returned to his monastery soon thereafter. Later, when he was older, he was to return to (Lhasa) to receive the complete teachings.

If one follows this account, then beyond the concerns raised by Lamo's prophecies, Sikyong Dalai Bātur found a way to prevent the incarnation of the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché from remaining in Lhasa for long.

A contentious dispute instigated by the Manchu deputy arose between the Sikyong Dalai Bātur and his elder brother the Ngari Governor

Shakabpa does not mention his death, but this seems to have been an oversight since he gives detail on the deaths of all of the other Paṇchen Lamas and all of the Dalai Lamas.

Gung Gyurmé Tsenden at that time. The Dalai Lama, out of concern for the traditions of the people of Tibet, continually offered advised about the problems that had to be overcome to enhance the agreeable relations between them. The Dalai Lama planned to send his personal attendant, Tsendrok Kenpo to Ngari with a letter to this effect, but it didn't happen. Suffering resulting from the conflict increased more and more because of the misfortune of Tibetan Buddhism in general and because of the experience of karma.

Meanwhile, the Sikyong requested that the throne holder of Ganden Monastery Namkha Zang intervene in the dispute with wrathful [tantric] activities, thereby destroying Ngari's Gung Gyurmé Tsenden like dust. The lama replied, "Without having an important motivation, I would not be able to kill a man since I am the throne holder of Ganden Monastery." Thus, the angry king deposed him from the golden throne of Ganden Monastery, and he entrusted the throne to Gyupa Drimé. The former Ganden Throne Holder's attendant said, "If an enemy to Buddhism emerges, then those who are friends of Buddha must perform wrathful actions; the king must be killed." The lama was astonished.

The former Ganden Throne Holder Namkha Zang said, "I am sitting on this golden throne of Ganden. Wearing the three monastic robes, I will go to the place where the protector Maitreya, who is the regent of Tuṣita, and the Father Jé Lozang Drakpa (Tsongkhapa) are discussing the supreme religious vehicle. You cannot speak that way." The lama left his residence Tritok Khang and gave his final teaching to the monks from the golden throne of Ganden. While performing the dedication, he said, Damjen Chögyel,^z you are my witness as to whether I have benefited or harmed Tsongkhapa's religion. He immediately went to Tepo House, where he displayed the manner of gathering the Form Body of a Buddha (i.e., he died).³⁰

Also, Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel's autobiography says:³¹

One time, both Noyön Paṇḍita and I advised Drön Lozang Trashī and Pel Shakpa Gyuwang in the private chambers of Ganden Khangsar. But Dachen spoke to me saying, "Lama Jampa, Bumo, Gung, and Zhapdrung threatened war against Gung in Ngari." I was to be sent to see what would come from their efforts. In response, Tāzhin said:

^z Damchen Chögyel (*yama, dam can chos rgyal*) is an important dharma protector of Ganden Monastery.

From my side, I would not incite problems for anyone, whether strong or weak, and even in my dreams I would not engage in this perverse plan. However, if it is the case that I have to suffer my own karma because of my own actions, then I have arrived at such a stage of life. Up until now, I have only experienced conditions powerlessly. Now, there is a proverb which says, "The life of a monk lasts for three years at most, but if something happens suddenly, it could only be three nights." Thus, I have no regret whatever; I ask you to do what you decide.

The animals in the northern region would wander without fear of being hunted, but because of the great threat of war in Ü Tsang at the end of the year and in the Female-Earth-Snake Year (1749) and the Male-Iron-Horse Year (1750), there was a danger that they would be killed. Countless wild yaks, donkeys, antelope, and other animals were killed. Thus, although initially, there was compassion and considerable fear, gradually people became insensitive. Thus, how could they be compassionate? The leader's enthusiasm was exhausted, there seemed to be just joy when an animal such as a deer was captured or killed.

I traveled to Tsang in the Iron-Horse Year. Thus, at that time, while staying at Rinchentsé, I was summoned to the threshold of the chamber. Dzasak Taiji, the Ü Dapön, and Lamo Chöjé served as witnesses. Sangbukpa and Pelshak translated. All of this came about because of the conflict between the two brothers (Sikyong Dalai Batur and Gung Gyurmé Tsenden). Lama Jampa, Bumo, Gung, and Zhapdrung sent a letter to the Ngari Governor Gung that had been written by Tsering. It was asked whether the letter would be accepted or if the two sides would have to meet face-to-face.

There is no reason at all for even trifling disturbances among family member, fathers and son, lamas and leaders within a family lineage of one's ancestors. These days also I am among the senior leadership of attendants, and my knowledge is not inconsiderable. If it is said that he sent a disturbing letter like this, then it must be permissible to meet Tsering and verify this.

In reply, he said, "Since I have already given some anesthesia³² to Tsering, you cannot meet him. If you didn't do anything, then that will be revealed. Or in reality, was Tsering's handwriting forged. What is the truth in this affair? People are just looking for an opportunity to fault Tsering's actions. Nobody was in authority during the subsequent hunt. As he accused me of not protecting the wildlife, Wang aimed an arrow at me. Initially, the arrow struck the horse's neck, and a great deal of blood dripped down. Then, he fired a second which hit the young and skilled servant Püntsok Döndrup in his upper body; he fell from his horse and died.

Thus, Wang was relieved. Having not been harmed, he wondered whether it had been possible to fight by wearing a protective amulet. In the evening, he went back to his house, and Wang sent a donation of

three dotsé^{aa} to compensate of the death of my servant Püntsok Döndrup. People did not make a distinction of whether he was an enemy or a friend; this is a strange story.

Ngari Gung Gyurmé Tseden had already been killed at the end of 1749, but it seems there was an occasion when Gapzhi Gung Paṇḍita, Dokhar Zhapdrung, and others were investigated for their guilt or innocence.

In 1750, Sikyong Dalai Bātur, pretending he regarded the Ngari Gung as virtuous, asked the Dalai Lama to bless his brother's virtue by sitting at the head of the assembly at Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival. During the New Year's celebration, he arrived to present blessing objects to the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché. Beyond that, he did not reveal the circumstances of his brother's death. However, Chöjé Ögyen Ngawang Yeshe's biography says:³³

At that time, the supreme ruler of Tibet had inauspicious regard for his brother Gung Wang. Consequently, their conflict made for an unhappy time. A large army consisting of the people of Ngari, together with the military camp in the Sanga region and troops from Ü, went to the upper region. Control over Kyirong shifted three times. The tortured strong and weak people of Kyirong were exhausted by the tremendous hardships from the war. But Chöjé Rinpoché advised and assisted the military leader. He indicated the need for having concern for the dearness of others, doing such things as protecting life and freeing prisoners from prison. Thus, without considering his own fatigue, his resources, and so forth, he realized tremendous benefit for others. Gung himself went to Kyirong, and received the long-life initiation from this lama. However, before long Gyurmé Wangyel died because of the disagreement between the brothers.

Also, Tieh-Tseng Li's *Historical Status of Tibet* says that he murdered his brother Ngari Gung when he was going to Lhasa for talks.³⁴ The Manchu amban in Lhasa reported on the situation to the emperor. I myself wonder whether he was murdered.

From 1750, Sikyong Dalai Bātur Gyurmé Namgyel appealed to the Manchu emperor and the two Dachen residents in Tibet once again saying that the Manchu officers in Tibet and the remaining Chinese troops were causing tremendous oppression to the Tibetans, such as food shortages, and reporting that they had provoked problems among Tibetans. Thus, he said, they should be withdrawn immediately, without

^{aa} A dotsé (*rdo tshad*) is a unit of Tibetan currency equal to fifty srang (*srang*), which is one ounce of silver.

even a single man remaining; his appeal went on to say that all of the Buddhist monasteries and ritual traditions in Mongolia and China that were in decline must be revitalized by the Tibetan government according to an order issued during the time of the great fifth Dalai Lama. The abbots were also to be appointed by the Tibetan government. Dalai Bātur Gyurmé Namgyel said that these traditions ought to be continued. In addition, he said he planned to recruit a new Tibetan army to stabilize the border regions. The Chinese side realized that a representative had been sent in order to come to an agreement with the Dzūngarwas; the Dachens in Lhasa sent a secret report to Beijing, but before a reply returned, they worried when several of the important officials in the Tibetan government became dissatisfied toward Sikyong Dalai Bātur.

On the thirteenth day of the tenth month of 1750, Dachens Fuqing and Laptu invited Dalai Bātur Gyurmé Namgyel to Tromsikhang, their residence in Lhasa, saying, "The Manchu emperor has issued a high rank and extensive gifts to Sikyong, and so he must come." He went without any suspicion. Two of his servants entered the chamber with him, while the remainder stayed outside. Chinese soldiers were stealthfully lying in wait; many of them rushed in upon the master and his two servants, killing them. As soon as the remaining servants waiting outside understood what was happening, they fled to Ganden Khangsar; Dalai Bātur's steward Lozang Trashi, Sangbukpa, Pel Drongshar (Shak) pa, Dingkha Chödzé, Yarsor, and so forth immediately summoned the Tibetan army.

They surrounded the two Manchu Dachens and their bodyguard in Tromzik Khang; whatever Chinese they saw were killed, including the civil and military officials resident in Lhasa, the traders, restaurant owners, and beggars. As a result, two hundred and forty-seven men and women donned disguises and sought protection in the Potala Palace, including the amban's two wives, bičāči,^{ab} the paymaster, traders, restaurant owners, and the remaining soldiers.³⁵ Besides them, all of the other Chinese civil and military officials including the two Dachens and the rest of the traders were assaulted for several hours.

Still, many Tibetan troops and civilians went to the Deyangshar Courtyard and to the backdoor, forcefully insisting that the Chinese who were seeking refuge there be handed over to them. However, the

^{ab} According to Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the 18th Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), p. 13, this term means "writer." It seems to be Mongolian title.

Dalai Lama personally went to the head of the stairs in the Deyangshar Courtyard, advising everyone that they must remain peaceful. He also issued wall posters to be posted around Lhasa and Zhöl insisting on peace. When the Tutor Trichen Nomihen Rinpoché went to advise the people, some of them hurled abusive words at him and tore down the posters.

As soon as the Dalai Lama heard of the deceitful methods the two Dachens employed to kill the Sikyong Dalai Bātur Gyurmé Namgyel, he appointed Gapzhi (Doring) Gung Paṇḍita Ngödrup Raptan as the leader of the government during that critical time. Out of respect for the Dalai Lama's orders, the people of Lhasa and Zhöl gradually became calmer, and the violence ended.

Dalai Bātur's steward Lozang Trashi and others naturally were unable to remain, and so they fled to the Dzünkar region.^{ac} As they prepared to depart, Gung Paṇḍita ordered that the entire country must be peaceful. In addition, he ordered that Dalai Bātur's steward Lozang Trashi, Pel Drongsharpa, Sangbukpa, and so forth were to be seized wherever they arrived. Accordingly, they were captured and the main culprits were subjected to capital punishment at the Changlochen Gates. Dalai Bātur's son Dargyé Tsering, his older and younger wives, and others were sent into permanent exile.

The Regent Nomihen Ngawang Tsültrim's biography has this to say about Sikyong Wang Dalai Bātur:³⁶

Dalai Bātur ruled for four years until 1750. He constructed the new Geden meeting hall and the assembly hall of Sangpu Neutok Monastery. He built a gold and copper roof ornament for the Lamo Jangchup Jok Temple. He paid his respects to groups of monks and newly founded the Taktsé Drupchö at Ganden Monastery. Laws were strictly enforced by virtue of the great luster of his authority, and he would do heroic actions without hesitation. He was judicially executed as a result of being involved in sensitive matters.

^{ac} There appears to be a gap in Shakabpa's narration of these events. At the point in the preceding discussion where Dalai Bātur Gyurmé Namgyel was murdered by the Chinese Dachens and their bodyguards, Dalai Bātur Gyurmé Namgyel's steward Lozang Trashi and several other Tibetans summoned the Tibetan army. They appear to have been acting out of a sense of Tibetan patriotism.

Here though, after the Dalai Lama discovers the treachery of the Chinese representatives, we read that these same Tibetan figures are unable to remain in Lhasa. They flee for the territory of the Dzüngars, the enemies of China and of many Tibetans. The Dalai Lama's point man overseeing these affairs ordered their arrest, and they were executed. The clear implication, although Shakabpa does not explain this point, is that they were complicit in the Chinese plot to murder Dalai Bātur Gyurmé Namgyel.

Moreover, even though he was possessed of wisdom and courage and he had a virtuous character with respect to the general welfare of Buddhism and living beings, ever greater changes were taking place in this time in which the five degenerations were increasing and the merits of living beings was low. On the other hand, agitated people with the pain from the five arrows of the spirit Dakpo and perverse views disrupted the present and future happiness of living beings. Based on this bad influence, Dalai Bātur's work was not finished when he died.

Through the four years of Sikyong Dalai Bātur Gyurmé Namgyel reign, he suppressed the high ranking people, and he was always forceful in all of his actions. In addition, since he regarded the public with love, he investigated the taxes and laws.

Not only did he serve the Buddhist religious groups in Tibet without distinguishing between them, but he took responsibility for restoring religious groups that had declined even in China and Mongolia. In particular, during the short time dating from his father's era, a large number of Chinese officers and troops had been able to return, as the thread began to unravel. Those who remained received a letter from the Manchu emperor forbidding them from getting involved in Tibetan politics in any way. Still, efforts were underway to get the remaining Chinese troops to leave before long. Although they had a fervent desire to have the proper measure of military force in their own country, important Chinese and Tibetan officials, who had caused agitation between the brothers, had a very bad reputation for killing Ngari's Gung Gyurmé Tsenden. The government officials who came into power at this time were incapable of upholding Tibet's interests during this important time. This was their fault. There was absolutely no doubt that Dalai Bātur was a courageous hero of the country who could have protected the interests of Tibet's religious and political system.

At the supplication of the monastic and lay public of Tibet, the omniscient Dalai Lama accepted responsibility for religious and political affairs in 1751. Four cabinet ministers were required to serve; the appointees were Gapzhi (Doring) Gung Paṇḍita as the senior figure, Dzasak Dokharwa (Rakha Shak) Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel as his assistant, Dzasak Tönpa (Labrang Nyingpa) Sichö Tsenden, and the monk Steward Darhen Nyima Gyeltsen (Drongtsewa). As a sign of the high status of the cabinet ministers, cabinet secretaries Trashig Tongpa, Tsatsülwa, and Trönpa Kyapa of Zhikatsé, Lhasa, and Meldro respectively, and Dekyi Lingpa, the cabinet steward of Nyetang, were appointed to the respective cabinet ministers with responsibility over Samyé Temple and other such places. They initially met on the first

day of the second month of 1751. The Dalai Lama presented the Dekyi Mar³⁷ cabinet seal to the cabinet ministers jointly. As he presented the seal to them, he prayed and advised them as follows:

Gung Noyön Paṇḍita is to continue in his role. Together with Cabinet Minister Zhapdrung, a third monk or lay person is to be appointed, having been selected from a noble family; aside from that, there should be no faulty selfish behavior. The responsibilities of the cabinet ministers will not be compartmentalized; there must not be any dishonest or disruptive actions, as had been the case among cabinet ministers in the past,³⁸ such as regional conflicts or maliciousness. You are all to remain united in your efforts to serve the government and protect the lives of the people. From another perspective, you are to act to protect the virtues of this life and in subsequent generations.

Especially, it is harmful to Buddhism for a religious person to give political advice. Henceforth, except in special circumstances, the rest of you should honestly and frankly discuss things and decide based on your unquestioned motivation.

In response, they supplicated him and made promises to him, together with prostrations:³⁹

We, your devoted servants, are utterly without any capacity of intelligence to serve effectively. We supplicate the supreme lama; to the extent that we have the mental capacity to conform to his considerations of how to do things, we will act with a very pure altruistic attitude of self-reliance. Otherwise, we will surely be annihilated by the fierce command through the power of the Dalai Lama's protector deities. The protector Dalai Lama must act compassionately in all ways and without end when extending his blessing to bring about good qualities as we accomplish our service.

Ever since then, the cabinet⁴⁰ has held the general responsibility for civil and military, internal and external affairs of Tibet. It is like the pillar of the Ganden Podrang government of Tibet.

As to the functioning of the cabinet department, during that time, the assembly of ministers of the government and their associates conferred collectively on the important issues. As far as other issues were concerned, the respective ministers did not have authority to make decisions with regard to their own particular spheres of influence. Whether affairs were internal or external, civil or military affairs, whether they were of great or little importance, they were decided collectively by all of the ministers. This form of government has endured for two hundred years, with its benefits and shortcomings. During times of crisis, there were delays because immediate decisions could not be made. A benefit of this system was the cabinet's regard for the general welfare, but there

were often disagreements among them. Unfortunately, these disagreements sometimes prevented the cabinet ministers from performing their duties. The good qualities of this arrangement were that a single cabinet minister could not reach a decision on selfish grounds, and whether or not they were upright, they were able to act appropriately. Also, the absence of bribery and greed was tremendously beneficial.

The cabinet recognized the army Wang Gyurmé Namgyel had founded by supplementing the property owners of Ü Tsang as the permanent guard attached to the amban. Two Ü Dapöns were appointed to the one thousand-man Ü army and two Tsang Dapöns were appointed to the two thousand-man Tsang army. They built the first permanent military camp.

Before long, Aliha Amban, Dzongtu Tsé Gungye, Namgyel Amban, Jou Amban, and a five hundred-man guard arrived from China.^{ad} A small commemorative temple was built to the south of Tromsik Khang for Ambans Fuqing and Labudun, the officials, and the soldiers who had been killed. Aliha Amban and Namgyel Amban, along with some officials and one hundred and fifty soldiers remained in Lhasa in recognition of the preceptor-patron relationship between China and Tibet, while the remaining officers and troops returned. An effect of Dalai Bātur's reports on the decline of Buddhist monasteries, temples, and religion in China and Mongolia was that Emperor Qianlong made a request to the Dalai Lama that the Tibetan government send some lamas and monks to China to promote and uphold the religion. Accordingly, eleven very wise geshés were sent to China with orders to promote Buddhism; they included Rapjampa Lozang Sherap of the Tantric College of Upper Lhasa, Rapjampa Lozang Raptén of Sera Mé Monastery, and Rapjampa Tsültrim Dargyé of Jangtsé Monastery.

As there were many impure Nepali coins in circulation in Ü Tsang, an order was issued to the three kingdoms of Nepal requiring that coins with impurities put into circulation by dishonest people be withdrawn and that coins free of impurities be issued.

^{ad} It has not been possible to identify these figures: Aliha Amban (a li am ban), Dzongtu Tsé Gung-ye (*cong thu tshe gung ye*), Namgyel Amban (*rnam rgyal am ban*), and Jou Amban (*jo'u am ban*). At the time in question, 1751–1752, Josef Kolmaš [*The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: The Oriental Institute, 1994), 24–25] indicates that four different people served as ambans in Tibet. They are Bandi (1750–1752), Namuzhhaer (1750–1752), Duoerji (1752–1754), and Shutai (1752–1756).

As soon as it was learned that there was a slight disagreement between the Ladakh King Trashī Namgyel and his minister Tsültrim's two sons, an order was issued requiring that agreeable and peaceful relations be maintained by the king and all of the ministers in that region. In order to effect an agreement among them, Lama Katokpa or Drukpa Trülku arrived to foster discussions. Accordingly, Katokpa⁴¹ was sent to Ladakh together with his associates.

Since the incarnation of the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché had no opportunity to receive religious teachings when he had received his monastic vows previously, it was declared that he could meet as necessary to receive these religious teachings. Accordingly, he went to Ü in 1752. The Incarnation Rinpoché received instructions, empowerments, and permission to practice rites in the presence of the Dalai Lama, like pouring water into a pot. Out of concern for the benefit of Buddhism and of sentient beings, he had to study, reflect upon, and bring to completion the general sciences, and especially the five great texts and the major tantric traditions, as his predecessor had done. Moreover, in the way that a parent exhorts a child, he was advised on what to adopt and what to abandon in both religious and political affairs. His servants also were given the very profound advice that they must uphold the general welfare altruistically without permitting any sort of conflict between the government and the Paṇchen Lama's monastic estate.

Since Sherap Wangchuk, the Desi of Bhutan, had great respect for the Buddhist religion and since he was extremely anxious to preserve harmony between the two neighbors, he offered religious services on behalf of the Dalai Lama and made a gift of fine silk images that were newly printed; his secretary Pemajen and his assistants arrived, giving great quantities of fine material and other gifts. Later that year, his representative, Sengé Namgyel, arrived to present valuable articles made of gold, copper, and mercury, including a newly fashioned roof ornament for Pungtang Tsuklakhang. They also presented tremendous priceless gifts of fine quality, as well as gold and copper. An array of monk officials, including Zhidé Norbu Gyatso, were sent subsequently so they could consecrate a silk image, roof ornament, and the whole group of vast pure newly created objects. They also made presents of twenty-three excellent offerings including brocades images of the sixteen Sthavira monks measuring one story high, gold, silver, silk banners, tea, and so forth. Commendations and gifts were also given to two senior lamas, the council, district leaders, and so forth, and gifts were distributed to the monks.

Just after that, the Bhutan Desi sent his personal representative with a memorial praising Buddhism, saying that Buddha's compassion had spread Buddhism throughout the world and that sentient beings were sustained with the happiness of diligence. Hence, he continued, the protector will continue to promote the interests of Buddhism and living beings for another one hundred eons. A vast quantity of offerings were made including a golden image of Mañjuśrī; the *Collected Works of the Religious King Songtsen Gampo*, a notched iron dagger, a right-hand spiraling conch shell from nyalé (*nya klas*), a very powerful pellet of nāgā clay, riches such as the pill from the crown of the king of the Nāgās, a stem of coral, a golden arrow with turquoise, feather, and coral, a pair of silver arrows, a bow fashioned of mixed gold and silver with turquoise and coral inlay, a golden thimble, a bracelet of gold and coral beads, a complete set of clothing in the style of King Songtsen Gampo, gold and silver coins, and also treasures such as cotton and so forth from the southern country and India, the land of superiors.

In response to these meritorious offerings, the Dalai Lama composed a poem called "The Sound that Opens the Door to Eternity." Just after that, many high ranking leaders greeted the Dalai Lama, and their meeting together to make offerings at holy sites, such as the two Jowo images in Lhasa,⁴² tremendously strengthened the harmonious relations between Tibet and Bhutan.

Traders from the Domé Amdo region customarily had to pay heavy taxes to the capital on all goods; they were paid out of respect for the incomparable field of merit, Kumbum Monastery, which was the root of benefit and happiness. Thus, an order was issued that they should be given a tax exemption. In 1753, all of the materials, such as gold and copper, the artisans, the pay for the workers, and other requisites were provided by the government for the creation of a top ornament for Tup-chen Jampa in Litang, Dotö. Ngak Rampa Lozang Söpa and Nangzen Tsewang Lhündrup were also sent to be in charge of the work.

For many years in the past, teaching and learning about culture in Tibet has been enhanced by the kindness of the translators, paṇḍitas, and bodhisattvas. However, these contacts had been in tremendous decline more recently. Many schools were founded during the time of the great all-seeing fifth Dalai Lama and Desi Sangyé Gyatso. Of course, if a diligent person took joy in learning, good would come of it. However, because of the great changes in the government since that time, learning had declined, which was unfortunate because all of such knowledge is valuable, whether it pertains to religion or to the world.

In particular, the capacity to design and construct sacred images is a science particular to Tibet. These unparalleled traditions of proportions would be difficult to rediscover if they fell into decline.

In the second month of 1754, a new school was founded for the study of many branches of the arts, including music, poetry, astrology, calligraphy, lanyatsana script,^{ae} watru (*wa tru*). Tsakgurwa Kelzang Trinlé was appointed as master of the school. Similarly, a workshop, where images were designed, called Döjō Pelkhyil, was opened in the village below the Potala Palace. The proportions used in their designs became standardized all over, and those people who were called to teach the crafts were provided with a salary, a beginning rank, and a place to live. They were placed in charge of factories with special responsibilities. This was through the kindness of Desi.

Gelungpa Ogyen Düjom, a relative of Lowo Mentangpa, was a trusted ally of Dzumli; Mentangpa was jealous of this, and so he murdered Ogyen Düjom in 1755. The latter had enjoyed the support of Dzumli,⁴³ and so a war had erupted between Lowo and Dzumli in 1754. The Dzumli government sent many petitions to the Tibetan government asking it to arbitrate the dispute immediately. Lowo also sent deputies to request military assistance from the government saying Dzumli had attacked them without provocation. The government sent representatives but said that they would not send military assistance. Reports updating the situation arrived continually. However, there was no pleasing way to proceed with such unsuitable activities as providing military assistance, and anyway, both sides of the conflict were under the jurisdiction of the government.

In addition, since the benefit and happiness of people on both sides had to be considered, deputies were dispatched to advise that virtuous actions be enhanced while harmful deeds were eliminated. Accordingly, Ngor Abbot Letokpa and the leader of Sanga, Deyang Rapjampa Gendün Yarpel, were sent along with orders. Their efforts proved to be beneficial. When the king of Dzumli died, his son, named Ju, was enthroned. When Ngor Abbot Letokpa and the leader of Sanga arrived to meet with the parties in an effort to put them on a virtuous path, they urged the opponents to regard with love the enthroned conqueror

^{ae} The lanyatsana script can be seen in Nicolas Tournadre and Sangda Dorje, *Manual of Standard Tibetan: Language and Civilization* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2003), 71. This ceremonial script is often employed in architectural decoration.

of Tibet, the omniscient Dalai Lama; they said it was through the Dalai Lama's kindness that the hostilities had ceased.

They urged Dzumli to consider the welfare of others, and the two deputies were sent to preside over the installation of the king and present awards at the enthronement. He was given an order which said that henceforth he was to protect his area peacefully in accordance with the ten religious virtues. He was given a square seal that said, "The Auspicious Seal of Dzumli, Who Peacefully Protects His Great Land." The inscription was translated into the lanyatsana script. A round seal with the word, "Lakṣim" inscribed in red was written in lanyatsana. They were given to the Dzumli's son, his ministers, and Lowo Gelungpa along with some fine clothing and some gifts. Because Ngor Abbot Letokpa and Sanga Leader Deyang Rapjam had come to reconcile the opposing sides, they gave plentiful and marvelous gifts.⁴⁴

Because Tehor Khangsar and Mazur in Dotö both claimed certain territory, each side lined up supporters, and a war erupted. A general order was issued that urged the benefits of peace. This brought about beneficial internal agreement even among the primary leaders, the allies on each side, the Dergé ruler, Trokyap Pön of Gyelrong, and others. Profound advice was given that taking sides only perpetuated the war, and so peace was thereby enhanced.⁴⁵

Because the great omniscient sovereign seventh Dalai Lama was continually in poor health, many highly skilled Chinese, Tibetan, and Hor doctors examined him and prescribed medicines. He took medicinal drinks, and extensive religious services were performed not only by the government, but also by his faithful private students. However, he did not improve. The practices of taking a fasting vow, having an enclosure for religious teachings, the prayer offering ceremony uninterrupted by tea service, and debating had been initiated at Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival in 1757, and the Dalai Lama stubbornly participated in these practices every day. Since he would not rest, his illness increased. He had reached the age of fifty. He dissolved into the sphere of reality on the third day of the second month, while his Form Body sat in the Potala Palace.

Because of his broad familiarity with all of the doctrines of sūtra and tantra, the supreme Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso composed many religious sermons, religious songs, and books of advice. In particular, he had tremendous respect for the rules delineated in the monastic discipline, and he always finished his own religious practices before noon. Upon finishing his morning meal, he would pass all of his time giving

religious discourses. It was his custom each day to remain continually concentrated on things concordant with his religious practice. He was the sort of person who was simply humble and who was resented by no one, high or low. It was difficult for the earlier or later regent to blame or malign him.

In addition, he constructed images representing Buddha's body, speech, and mind. He preserved the cultural traditions particular to Tibet and promoted harmonious religious relations with all of the neighboring countries. And he protected the public in the way that a mother shows concern for her child. Thus, there arose in this marvelous land the single voice of all people, monks and laity, exalted and humble, praising him as the One with a Lotus in his Hand, the Single God of the Snowy Land.

Notes to Chapter Nine

1. Orö or Olö are the Dzüngerwa Mongolian people.
2. Pañchen II Lozang Yeshé, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, 294-na-2 to 299-na. When it says "Cabinet Minister Trashī Tsepa" and "Jedrung," the former was a member of Pañchen Lozang Yeshé's family. His ancestral estate was in a vast empty area in Shang Gyatso called Lhalung Tashi Tsepa. The birthplace of Pañchen Lozang Pelden Yeshé, Zhi Trashī Tsé, was also called Shang Dadram Trashī Tsé. Also Jedrung Lozang Trinlé, *Autobiography, Festival of the Fortunate*, 254-ba-2, says:
When Chinese and Mongolian troops arrived in Dromtö, they were preparing to enter Taktse Dzong. Jedrung Rinpoche went to give advice to Desi. Desi met with Tsangjün. Thus, later all people called Jedrung by the name, "Deceived by Desi."
3. Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé, *Ocean Annals, Religious History of Domé*, vol. 1, p. 97, and Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), 63–4.
4. Changkya Hotoktu, *Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, 92-na-3.
5. Changkya Hotoktu, *Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, 96-na-5, and Drakgön Könchok Tenpa Rapgyé, *Ocean Annals, Religious History of Domé*.
6. Pañchen Lozang Yeshé, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, 343-ba-4.
7. Polha's daughter Deden Drölma was subsequently married into the family of Gapzhi Gung Pañdita. That is the same person who was known as Zhapdrung Deden Drölma.
8. The older son Gyurmé Tseten subsequently became the governor of Ngari and the younger son Gyurmé Namgyel, known as Dalai Batur, was the king of Tibet after his father died.
9. Chöying Dorjé, *Biography of Ogyen Ngawang Yeshé, Excellent Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, says that when this lord was in Kyidrong, troubled times arose as a consequence of the murder of Cabinet Minister Daiching Batur in Lhasa. At that time, Polha Sönam Topgyé sent a letter to this lord saying that in order to advance both his religious and political interests, he must go to restore the Boudhanath Stüpa in Nepal. District official Chaktrakpa was to be sent with the necessary provisions and assistance. Accordingly, he went to Nepal and spoke to the king.

From New Year's of 1728, he led the restoration project. Thirteen lamps were lit on the fifteenth day of the second month and the consecration took place on the fourth day of the third month. Thereby, the restoration was completed in two months. At that time, Katok Rikdzin Tsewang Norbu was a famous great scholar according to everyone. Moreover, it is recorded that he made a pilgrimage to Nepal.

10. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang*, 222-na to 281-ba. *Translators Note*: The second page number is unclear.

11. Panchen Lozang Yeshe, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, 363-na-1 to 366-ba-6.

12. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang*, says that Miwang himself indicated to Pañchen Rinpoche that since there had been such serious violations of the treaty at that time, it was not possible to abide by the treaty. He directly violated the treaty. Panchen II, Lozang Yeshe, *Garland of White Light, Clearly Indicating Behavior*, says, "There were slight disagreements like the problems instigated by Ajo Pelzang in the Naktasang region."

13. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang, Speech Pleasing throughout the World*, 289-ba to 291-ba.

14. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang, Speech Pleasing throughout the World*, 289-na.

15. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Autobiography, Music of a Reliable Voice*, 13-na-6.

16. The Tibetan language originals of the seal edicts and orders impressed with seals are included in Luciano Petech, *I Cappuccini Marchigiani* (Rome: La Libreria Dello Stato, 1952 and 1953).

17. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Biography of Miwang, Speech Pleasing throughout the World*, 344-ba, Changkya Hotoktu Rolpe Dorje, *Biography of the Supreme Victor Kelzang Gyatso, Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, 155-na-3, and *History of Bhutan*.

18. *Clear Crystal Mirror, Clearly Setting Forth the Dynastic History of Celestial Sikkim*, and Changkya Hotoktu, *The Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, 396-ba-4 to 442-ba-5.

19. Changkya Hotoktu Rolpe Dorje, *Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree, Biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso*, 310-ba-1.

20. Tuken Lozang Chökyi Nyima, *Biography of Changkya Hotoktu Yeshe Tenpe Drönmé, Beautiful Ornament of the Virtuous Religion*, 115-na-6. *Translator's Note*: See Jeffrey Hopkins, *Emptiness Yoga* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1987), 15–35, for a more extensive overview of Changkya's life. Hopkins derived his account, in part, from this same source.

21. Changkya Hotoktu Rolpe Dorje, *Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree, Biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso*, 334-ba-4.

22. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Music of a Reliable Voice, Biography in Dokha*, 27-na-5.

23. Trichen Nomihen was the Dalai Lama's Tutor, Ngawang Chokden.

24. Tuken Lozang Chökyi Nyima, *Biography of Changkya Hotoktu Yeshe Tenpe Drönmé, Beautiful Ornament of the Virtuous Religion*, 131-na-2.

25. Purchok Ngawang Jampa, *Voice of Brahmā, Catalog of the Commentarial Canon of Narthang*, vol. Tso, 6-na-4.

26. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Rays of Sunlight, a Biography of Pañchen Pelden Yeshe*, refers to him as Gung Yeshe Tseten.

27. Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), 187.

28. This image, which resides at Nartang, was made with the correct dimensions.

29. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Rays of Sunlight, a Biography of Pañchen Pelden Yeshe*, 79-na-5.

30. Eighth Dalai Lama Jampel Gyatso, *Biography of Yongdzin Yeshé Gyeltsen, Sun that Opens the Lotus of Buddhism*, 26-ba-3. *Translator's Note*: Namkha Sang died on the spot, rather than be complicit in the anticipated tantric assassination of Sikyong Dalai Bātur.

31. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Autobiography, Music of a Reliable Voice*, 30-ba-5. 1. Lama Jampa means Purchok Ngawang Jampa. 2. Bumo means Zhapdrung Deden Drölma who was the ruler's own wife. 3. Gung means Gazhi Gung Paṇḍita. 4. Zhapdrung means Dokhar Zhapdrung. 5. It should be clear from above that the Dachen, who was the Chinese deputy in Lhasa, was the instigator of the contentious dispute between the younger and older brothers.

Translator's Note: When Shakabpa says it should be clear from above, he is referring to a specific passage at p. 465 just above this note, which says, "A contentious dispute instigated by the Manchu deputy arose between the Sikyong Dalai Bātur and his elder brother the Ngari Governor Gung Gyurmé Tsenden at that time." (See volume 1, p. 564.12 in the Tibetan text.)

See Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), 189–97. He castes the emperor and his proxies in Tibet as playing a more constructive role and instead blames Dalai Bā-tur (aGyur-med-rnam-rgyal) for the ensuing conflicts. The proverb, "The life of a monk lasts for three years, but if something happens suddenly it could only be three nights," means that the moment of death is unpredictable.

32. The langchen nyönpa (*glang chen smyon pa*) is a medicine mixed with a poison. When people were to be judicially executed in the past or if they were being operated upon, this medicine was given to them so that they did not suffer.

33. Chöying Dorjé, *Biography of Ogyen Ngawang Yeshé, Excellent Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, 84-ba-4.

34. Tieh-tseung Li, *Historical Status of Tibet* (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1954), 47.

35. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Paṇchen Lama Pelden Yeshé, Light of the Sun*, 90-ba-3.

36. Sera Mé Monastery's retired Abbot Depa Khenpo Lozang Tukjé, *Biography of Tseling Nomihen Ngawang Tsültrim, Opening the Door of Faith*, vol. 2, 10-ba-1.

37. The pro-Chinese faction says that the name of the cabinet's seal, Dekyi Mar seal, comes from the name of the Chinese Emperor Dekyi Gyelpo. Some people have asked me about this, and I have said that this is a very great mistake. The second Manchu Emperor Kangxi, called Dekyi Gyelpo by Tibetans, ruled 1662–1722. His grandson, the fourth [Manchu] Emperor Qianlong, called Lhakyong by Tibetans, ruled 1736–1795. Thus, the cabinet was begun during the time of Qianlong or Lhakyong. That other view is mere gossip, absolutely without any analysis. The design in the seal said "Dekyi" because it was the Dalai Lama's prayer when he presented the seal that all throughout Tibet, people would be happy (de, *bde*) and joyous (kyi, *skyid*).

38. Dalai Bātur, Polhané, Ngapöpa, Gung Lumpawa, and Jara Taiji, for example.

39. Dokhar Zhapdrung Tsering Wangyel, *Autobiography, Music of a Reliable Voice*, 35-ba-3.

40. This assembly of the cabinet ministers was called the cabinet (*bka' shag*). Sometimes the cabinet ministers were called the lotus-footed ones (*zhabs pad*) and at other times they were called sovereigns (*sa dbang*).

41. Chöying Dorjé, *Biography of Ogyen Ngawang Yeshé, Excellent Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, says, "The great scholar-adept called Katokpa Rikdzin Tsewang Norbu was the representative at the talks in Ladakh."

42. Changkya Rolpé Dorjé, *Biography of the Supreme Victor Kelzang Gyatso, Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, 476-na-5 to 479-na-1.

43. The Dzumli king is called the Yatsé king in old histories. He was a descendant of the religious kings of Tibet and offered the golden umbrella to cover the head of the

image of Lhasa's Jowo Rinpoché. Drigung Könchok Tendzin, *Explanation of the Sacred Sites of Kailash Mountain and Lake Manasarowar, White Crystal Mirror*.

44. Changkya Hotoktu, *Biography of the Supreme Victor Kelzang Gyatso, Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, 480-na-3.

45. Changkya Hotoktu, *Biography of the Supreme Victor Kelzang Gyatso, Sprouts of the Precious Wish-Fulfilling Tree*, 484-ba-5.

CHAPTER TEN

EIGHTH DALAI LAMA AND THE GURKHA WAR *TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION*

Focused on the period of time corresponding to the life of the eighth Dalai Lama (1758–1804), this chapter narrates events that largely do not concern him. Throughout his life, the eighth Dalai Lama evinced little interest in political matters, and he passed his time more concerned with his own education and spiritual practice. At the same time, however, momentous events swirled beyond his chamber doors in the Potala Palace, and Tibet's place in the world would change dramatically as a consequence.

With the death of the seventh Dalai Lama, a new practice was initiated, whereby incarnated lamas called *trülkus* (*sprul sku*) were appointed to serve as regents during the Dalai Lamas' minority. Denmo Trülku Ngawang Jampel Delek Gyatso was the first to serve in this fashion, and along with the Pañchen Lama, he played a critical role in identifying the new incarnation of the Dalai Lama. Moreover, it was the regent who was primarily responsible for overseeing the education of the incarnation, formulating government policy in his name, and providing the inspirational focus for the Tibetan people until the Dalai Lama came of age.

The regent also authored a variety of government reforms and public works projects, including improvements in transportation. When Denmo Trülku died in 1777, the twenty-year-old Dalai Lama was asked to assume authority over the government; when he declined, Tsemönling Ngawang Tsültrim was recalled from Beijing, where he had been in the service of the emperor, and appointed as the new regent. In 1781, the Dalai Lama fleetingly assumed political power, but he continued to rely on his regent, and when international events became too complex, he withdrew from a public role once again. When Changkya Hotoktu Yeshé Tenpé Drönmé died in 1786, Regent Tsemönling was recalled to Beijing to be the court's lead religious teacher and "to advise all of the Buddhist monasteries in China." One wonders whether the Chinese were not simply trying to get rid of a strong figure so they would have

a freer hand in Central Tibet. He was succeeded in the regency by his assistant, another trülku called Tatsak Jedrung Tenpé Gönpö.

All of these peregrinations by Tibetan lamas signified that Emperor Qianlong (1711–1799), the long-lived and long-ruling fifth sovereign of the Manchu Dynasty, hoped to build more substantial relations with the great Tibetan lamas. One result of this policy was that he was inspired to build monasteries in Zheho (Chengde), northeast of Beijing, that were modeled on both the Potala Palace and Trashi Lhünpo Monastery.^a When they were complete, the emperor invited the Pañchen Lama Lozang Pelden Yeshé (1737–1780) to visit China. He agreed to go, but only after much anguished deliberation. His fears of the prevalence of smallpox turned out to be justified, as he seems to have contracted the disease between Zheho and Beijing, where he died. Before expiring, however, the Pañchen Lama was able to develop a close bond to the emperor, due to which he was given extensive offerings, a storehouse of wealth that was brought back to Tibet after his demise.

This period saw the expansion of international contacts between Tibet and her neighbors. Tibetans maintained their customary religious relationships with their Himalayan neighbors, Bhutan, Sikkim, and Nepal, not to mention both Mongolia and China to the north and east. But Shakabpa also labors to assemble evidence that Tibetan leaders exercised political authority within traditional Tibetan territory and beyond. For example, he cites a case in which the Tibetan government was able to express its authority over Sangen, Kham in eastern Tibet in 1779–1780, suppressing lawlessness that threatened transportation routes. Shakabpa cites Tibet's support for Sikkim in a war against Bhutan and its Gurkha supporters in 1775 as evidence for Tibet's international role in the Himalayas.

It was also during this time that Tibetans had their first close contact with the ever more significant force in South Asia, the British, who were then elaborating a presence in India and across the map. Warren Hastings, the governor-general of India, sent his personal secretary, George Bogle, and Doctor Alexander Hamilton to Tibet when the Pañchen Lama arranged for their visit to Trashi Lhünpo Monastery in

^a Zheho, in Chengde, Hebei Province, was the summer capital of the Qing Court. The location is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. See "Mountain Resort and Its Outlying Temples, Chengde: UNESCO World Heritage Center," <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/703>, accessed January 30, 2009.

1774–1775. In the following years, the court in Beijing, the regent in Lhasa, and neighbors throughout the region took note of this new actor in the Himalayan region. For the Chinese, in particular, the emergence of Britain on the westernmost reach of their sphere of influence was matched by the emerging British influence on China's eastern shores as missionaries, opium, and gunships made their way to Chinese ports. These facts caused the emperor to seek opportunities to enhance his position in Tibet.

Meanwhile, the Gurkhas were on the rise in Nepal. In the early 1740s, a dispute arose between Tibet and Nepal over the purity of silver coins that were minted in Nepal. Since Tibet did not mint their own coinage, they were compelled to use Nepalese-produced currency. When the Gurkha King Prithvinarayan Shah seized control over the entirety of Nepal in 1769, Tibet requested that the debased coins be withdrawn from circulation by the Gurkhas. Since they did not feel they ought to pay for the dishonest practices of their predecessors in Nepal, the Gurkhas refused to bear the cost. At the same time, they refused to honor the old coins in circulation in Tibet. The Gurkhas also took the opportunity to complain about impurities mixed into Tibetan salt being sold to Nepal. Other trade conflicts over pricing, tariffs, and the like simmered on both sides. These issues destabilized a relationship that had already been strained by the Sikkim-Bhutan war of 1775, in which Tibet and the Gurkhas found themselves on the opposite sides. Finally, the brother of the recently deceased Pañchen Lama, an incarnation from the Kagyü School, called Zhamar Trülku Chödrup Gyatso, traveled to Nepal in 1786.

Unhappy that he had not received a portion of the patronage his brother had been given in China, Shakabpa depicts Zhamarwa as urging the Gurkhas to attack the Tibetan border region. In 1787, Gurkha troops suddenly attacked Nyanang, Rongshar, and Kyidrong along the border. The Manchu amban reported the situation to Beijing, while Tibetan troops rushed to Tsang. As the emperor's troops arrived in 1789, the Chinese leaders on the ground are described as refusing to engage the invaders, while the Tibetan leaders called for a swift and decisive strike. The Chinese generals then negotiated a treaty in which the Tibetans were obliged to pay an indemnity. Tibetan officials were also held captive in order to ensure Tibetan compliance. The Tibetans were extremely unhappy with this result, and they were even more dissatisfied with the many hardships that Tibetans had endured because of the war and the presence of so many Chinese and Gurkha troops.

Mu Amban,^b the Manchu representative in Lhasa, had helped to formulate the treaty and had signed it as a witness. Not only were the Tibetans dissatisfied with it, but the Manchu internal minister Chin Trabā Darin, who had belatedly arrived from Beijing, was so critical of it that he tore the page off where the amban has signed. Still, the Gurkhas finally withdrew their troops after three years in the border towns. Because of all of the losses Tibetans had suffered in recent years, the cabinet invited the previous regent, Tsemönling Trülku, back from Beijing so that he could restore strong leadership. As the cabinet, notably Cabinet Minister Doring, attempted to renegotiate some of the terms of the previous agreement with the Gurkhas, the latter deceptively attacked the town where the negotiations were to take place, capturing two Tibetan cabinet ministers and others.

Meanwhile, Gurkha troops drove all the way to Trashi Lhünpo in Zhikatsé, looting it of valuable religious objects and treasure. The Manchu amban in Lhasa, Baotai, reported recent events to Beijing and urged the Dalai Lama to retreat to Chamdo for the time being. The Dalai Lama refused and rallied the Tibetan people to resist. Ten thousand Tibetan troops were conscripted from all over Tibet in 1791, and the following year twenty thousand troops arrived from China. As their combined forces skirmished with the Gurkhas along the border, the latter troops, and even their king, fled in the face of the combined Tibetan and Chinese forces. Lama Zhamarwa ate poison and died in Nepal.

Shakabpa pays great attention to these battles with the Gurkhas. He is careful to argue that the assistance offered by the Manchu court was based solely on the essentially religious preceptor-patron relationship. He also says that the generals from China negotiated bad agreements on behalf of the Tibetans because they did not want to fight, that their help was essentially unnecessary, and that the Manchu officials were corrupt and self-serving, committing crimes for which they were pilloried and sent back to China. In the end, Shakabpa remarks, "The Chinese actually did more harm than good in sending military assistance."^c

^b This may be Shulian, who was a member of the Mulu tribe of Manchurians and served as Amban from 1788 to 1790 before being discharged by the emperor. See Josef Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1994), 31–32.

^c See p. 545 below.

Shakabpa writes that after the Gurkha wars, the emperor instituted various reforms, including enhancing the status of the amban, directing all communications from the Dalai Lama and the cabinet through the office of the amban, instituting border inspections by the ambans, and so forth. What Shakabpa does not mention is that these policies were embedded in a sweeping document issued in 1793 called the “Twenty-Nine Article Imperial Ordinance,” a set of innovations intended to construe Tibet as thoroughly subservient to Manchu rule.^d Most controversial among them is the dictate that henceforth the incarnations of both the Dalai Lamas and the Paṇchen Lamas were to be selected by drawing lots from a golden urn the emperor provided for the purpose.

Towards the end of the chapter, Shakabpa opines, “Since Chinese and Tibetan records clearly indicated that the Mongolians and the Manchurians had no right to interfere in Tibet, Manchu and Chinese civil and military officials ought to have been withdrawn immediately without even a single one remaining behind.”^e He then recounts that Regent Tatsak Nomihen registered his objections to Manchu incursions in Tibetan life to Emperor Jiaqing, who sent a series of officials to investigate. A series of scandals erupted in which Manchu and Tibetan officials were found to have colluded in illegal actions. Tibetan cabinet ministers and Manchu ambans were implicated and punished.

Following these potent events in the 1790s, Shakabpa narrates just a couple of events towards the end of the Dalai Lama’s life, thereby demonstrating how uninvolved the Dalai Lama had been in political affairs. He notes that the Dalai Lama presided over the ordinations of the fourth Paṇchen Lama in 1801 and the Dalai Lama’s own kinsmen who was identified as the high incarnation of Mongolia, Jetsün Dampa, in 1803. The Dalai Lama then died the following year. He had never been very involved in the political leadership of the country, but the practice of appointing trülkus as powerful regents became well-ensconced during his lifetime. Shakabpa is also keen to cite evidence of the Tibetan government operating on an independent basis. For example, he sets

^d For the full text in Chinese, Tibetan, and English, see *A Collection of Historical Archives of Tibet, compiled by the Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region* (Peking: Wen wu chu ban she, 1995), document #50. Shakabpa does allude to this issue in the next chapter. See p. 562 below.

^e See p. 550 below.

forth the quite minor story of the king of Lowo Mentang returning to compliance with customary tax agreements with Lhasa that had lapsed. Through accounts of this sort, Shakabpa is concerned to emphasize the autonomy of the Tibetan authorities.

CHAPTER TEN

EIGHTH DALAI LAMA AND THE GURKHA WAR

Just after the Dalai Lama Kelzang Gyatso died for the benefit of other beings, the cabinet ministers, the Dalai Lama's personal attendants, the masters of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, and the monk and lay officials gathered for consultations in relation to inviting the incarnation of the Dalai Lama.^a They also discussed the suitability of appointing an incarnate lama as regent (*rgyal tshab*) until the Dalai Lama's incarnation could take over political responsibility. By unanimous consent, Denmo Trülku Ngawang Jampel Delek Gyatso was granted the title of "nomihen" and consecrated as the regent of the protector Dalai Lama. He was the first incarnate lama to serve as Tibet's regent.

It was decided that a reliquary in which the [seventh] Dalai Lama's remains would rest undefiled should be constructed from refined gold. When a workshop was established, Pañchen Rinpoché from Trashi Lhünpo Monastery gave seven thousand ounces of gold dust for the construction of the reliquary, and eight Nepali goldsmiths were selected to do the work. Fashioned from the finest gold and 15,950 ounces of silver, this ornament for the world, called Trashi Öbar, was richly decorated. It sits in the right side of Ganodhala Temple in the Potala Palace.

^a After describing some ancient prophecies concerning the possibility that the lineage of Dalai Lamas would come to a conclusion after the seventh, Glenn H. Mullin, *The Fourteen Dalai Lamas: A Sacred Legacy of Reincarnation* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2001), 325, comments on this meeting:

There is no doubt that a conference was held after the death of the Seventh with the purpose of deciding whether or not to look for and enthrone the Eighth Dalai Lama. The possibility that the tradition had run its course and should be discontinued was certainly discussed. In the end, the decision was made to continue the legacy, and a search committee was formed with the objective of identifying a reincarnation.

In the same section (p. 326), Mullin refers to intriguing remarks made by the present fourteenth Dalai Lama raising the suggestion that beginning with the eighth Dalai Lama, the lineage of the first seven Dalai Lamas was disrupted because the reincarnation of the seventh could not be located. Instead, the eighth "Dalai Lama" was actually in the reincarnation lineage of Jamyang Chojé, the founder of Drepung Monastery.

From 1758, auspicious signs that accompanied the birth of children throughout Tibet were investigated, and lamas and deities were consulted. Extensive services were performed in expectation that the supreme incarnation would appear quickly and without error. In 1760, districts, estates, and monasteries from throughout Tibet sent to the government the names of boys born under auspicious circumstances. Because of the importance of the issue, Pañchen Rinpoché was invited to Lhasa. Various incarnate lamas, such as Changkya Hotoktu Yeshé Tenpé Drönmé, who had come from Domé for the purpose, and Regent Nomihen, as well as the Lamo, Nechung, Gadong, and Samyé oracles were consulted. Excellent indications arose from all of these efforts. Delegations were sent to investigate candidates in Kham, Tsang, and Ölga; personal possessions of the previous Dalai Lama were shown to them, and the signs were examined. It was agreed that the most likely candidate was the child who had been born on the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of 1758 in Topgyel Lhari Gang in Tsang. Consequently, the Dalai Lama's chief cook Drakpa Tayé, Steward Yönten Lekdrup, and Tsepön Jorawa Püntso presented him with the ritual objects, personal possessions, robes, and so forth of the previous Dalai Lama, along with facsimiles. As he recognized the correct items without error, it was agreed that he should be recognized as the incarnation of the Dalai Lama. Thus, Regent Nomihen and the cabinet announced this news throughout all of Tibet.¹

During the first month of 1761, the young incarnation born in Topgyel Lhari Gang went to Trashi Lhünpo. On the eleventh day, the all-seeing Pañchen Rinpoché ceremonially cut a lock of his hair and gave him the name Lozang Tenpé Wangchuk Jampel Gyatso. Regent Denmo Nomihen, Cabinet Minister Gung Paṇḍita, Cabinet Minister Dzasak Dā Lama, Manchu Court representative Jifu Amban, and others arrived in Trashi Lhünpo on the fifth day of the third month to accompany the Dalai Lama Rinpoché to Ü. Extensive traditional ceremonies were performed, and the party left Trashi Lhünpo on the fifteenth day.

Having come by way of Ronglam, the Dalai Lama was established at Nyetang Dewajen where he stayed temporarily. With Purchok Ngawang Jampa and Jakhyungpa Ngawang Chödrak as his tutors, he began studies that were suitable to his tender age. On the ninth day of the seventh month of 1762, there was a tremendous procession of the senior Chinese, Tibetan, and Hor figures, in the midst of which, the all-seeing Pañchen Rinpoché established the Dalai Lama on the Golden Throne

of the Potala. Three years later, the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché went to Ü and gave the Dalai Lama his novice vows.

Bhutan's Desi Sherap Wangchuk sent a letter to Regent Nomihen and the cabinet. The letter, which expressed his wish for Buddhism to continue, was brought to Lhasa by Tsenyi Lopön Gyatso and four monks from noble families who had arrived to study language and poetry. Thus, in 1764, a special school was established at Wangden Pelbar in Lhasa where Bhutanese students in the area could meet. Lama Chödzongpa and Rakshak Gegen were appointed as the teachers. Through the kindness of the Bhutan Desi, necessities were continually sent to the students and a residence was provided.

Because the people who lived at the way stations along the main roads in Ü Tsang and Kham were obliged to pay taxes and serve in the military, they were worn out, like the feathers of an old bird. Since they fled those areas, travelers had to travel from one district town to the next [with no way stations in between]. As a result, in 1767, the regent and the cabinet ministers ordered that the religious estates of the great monasteries, the paternal estates, and the personal estates of ministers and generals, that is, government, private, and religious estates, must share equally in the responsibilities of providing transportation. A public order was issued explaining the reforms. It stipulated that someone traveling on official government business could receive more than others. Important officials in all directions would require a special permission slip to obtain horses for transporting goods. Aside from that, restrictions were put in place in regards to the limits of the fodder and firewood that could be requisitioned. At the end of every three months, elders at posts along the roads had to submit expense accounts for horse loads to the cabinet, and they had to reconcile permission slips and expense accounts. In the past, people had forcibly taken transportation services, fodder, and firewood even without a permission slip. People were not to take more of these than their permission slip allowed, nor to give fewer than they are required. This policy enacted drastic measures, and so the poor people who bore these taxes along the travel routes experienced some welcome relief.

Emperor Qianlong sent a request asking that several people possessed of learning, determination, and good character be sent, such as an abbot, a prayer leader, and so forth in order to construct new monasteries in Zheho on the model of the Potala and Trashī Lhünpo. Accordingly, since Tibet and China enjoyed a relationship of preceptor and patron

and since there was an earnest wish to increase the influence of Buddhism in the borderlands, Gomang Monastery's Geshé Segyu Abbot Sangyé Özer, Gomang Monastery's Dungenak Zhapdrung Ngawang Chödrak, Loseling Monastery's Lozang Chödrak, the prayer leader of the Tantric College of Lower Lhasa Gelong Ngawang Rinchen, and Gelong Ngawang Kelden were sent as teachers.

In the meanwhile, the Manchus attacked the Orö Mongolians (Dzüngarwas). About fifty of their leaders and about ten thousand families were staying near the Russian border. They had strong religious and political connections with Tibet, and Tibetan ranks and titles had been given to their leaders. In addition, because of the extremely strong religious relations [with the Geluk School], there was always a very large number of Dzüngar monks in Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries. As a result, in 1771, the Tibetan government advised both the Chinese and the Mongolians to improve the situation. The Dzüngar Mongolians were able to stay in their own region in a peaceful manner and were not harassed in any way by the Manchu military officers. Both sides expressed their gratitude.

In 1771, there was fear of a smallpox outbreak in the Zhikatsé region. Thus, Pañchen Rinpoché stayed at a remote monastery in order to avoid the disease. During that time, Bhutan's Desi Zhidarwa dispatched a representative to make offerings to the medium of the oracle; the reply was that he ought to make a silk appliqué scroll and he should construct an image of Buddha, fashioned from gold and copper. Bhutan and Ghaṭiga Raja (Cooch Behar) had a preceptor-patron relationship. After the death of the raja, there was disagreement as to which of the siblings should ascend to the throne. Thus, Bhutan's Desi Zhidarwa deposed Prince Drajen and exiled him to Bhutan. Another prince, who was partial to Bhutan, was placed on the throne. Since the Indian government had supported Drajen, they objected, and a conflict ensued. Bhutan's army was expelled from Cooch Behar and driven to Buxaduar. In addition, the foreign army (i.e., India) took possession of a great deal of Bhutan's territory.

When the Pañchen Lama heard of this, he sent instructions for the assembly of monk who were making the appliqué and constructing the image for Bhutan's Desi Zhidarwa. He said that since it was unsuitable to imprison the king of Cooch Behar, he should be released immediately; he wrote his deputy and his attendants that it would be best if they could counsel peace. Because of the turmoil within Bhutan at that time, Desi Zhidarwa had retired and the new Desi Künga Rinchen sent a representative to Trashī Lhünpo. He received a letter

of instruction from the all-seeing Rinpoché saying that there must be no warfare between Bhutan and the foreigners. Likewise, Paṇchen Rinpoché dispatched a messenger with a letter to the Governor-General of Bengal Warren Hastings in Calcutta saying there must be agreeable relations between India and Bhutan. He also sent a letter to the desi of Bhutan requesting his assistance in obtaining the immediate release of the Ghaṭiga Raja (Cooch Behar). He said that the foreign government should return the Bhutanese territory they had captured. Accordingly, Bhutan voluntarily released the king of Cooch Behar and the Indian and Bhutanese governments held talks in Calcutta.

On the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month of 1774, both India and Bhutan put an end to the war and signed an agreement on trade relations. Warren Hastings, considering that to be an excellent opportunity to establish agreeable relations between Tibet and Bengal, sent his representatives George Bogle and Doctor^b Alexander Hamilton to Trashi Lhünpo Monastery to express his gratitude for facilitating the talks with Bhutan.²

Bogle and Hamilton waited for three months in Bhutan until Paṇchen Rinpoché could secure permission and permits from the Tibetan government for them to enter Tibet. When they arrived in Zhikatsé during the tenth month of 1774, Paṇchen Rinpoché was staying at the remote Dechen Rapgyé Monastery³ in Shang in order to avoid smallpox, and so he received them there. Bogle presented him with a letter and presents from the governor-general of Bengal. Several months after arriving in Tsang, the Tibetan government ordered them to return to India quickly. On their way, they accompanied Paṇchen Rinpoché to Trashi Lhünpo Monastery, attending banquets and festivals.

When they returned to India from Tibet in 1775, Paṇchen Rinpoché made a request to the governor-general of Bengal that guest houses be established for Tibetan pilgrims along the shores of the Ganges River. Accordingly, Warren Hastings newly constructed a temple and guest houses across from Calcutta on the Hooghly River.⁴

The book written by Bogle^c says that he and Paṇchen Rinpoché spoke Hindi; Paṇchen Rinpoché's biography also says that he spoke

^b Since the term "doctor" dates to the 19th century, Shakabpa probably means "surgeon."

^c See Alastair Lamb, *Bhutan and Tibet: The Travels of George Bogle and Alexander Hamilton 1774–1777*; Vol. 1, *Letters, Journals and Memoranda* (Hertingfordbury, England: Roxford Books, 2002), Kate Teltscher, *The High Road to China: George Bogle, the Panchen Lama & the First British Expedition to Tibet* (London: Bloomsbury Books 2006), and Clements R. Markham, *Narratives of the Mission Of George Bogle To Tibet And Of The Journey Of Thomas Manning To Lhasa* (New Delhi: Mañjuśrī Publishing, 1971).

with Bogle in the Nagara language.⁵ Since Paṇchen Rinpoché's mother Nyida Wangmo was the daughter of a Ladakhi king, it seems he learned to speak the Indian language from her. Subsequently, in 1783, Captain Samuel Turner and Thomas Saunder were sent to Trashi Lhünpo Monastery to fortify the relations that had already been established between Bengal and Tibet.

At that time, the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché sent Drongtsé Drung Rampa Chödzé Lozang Tsering and four servants in order to present clouds of offerings at major pilgrimage sites in Bodhgaya, India. Upon arriving in Varanasi, the local king (rāja), Tseté Singh Bhadur, provided various sorts of assistance, including providing guides and a palanquin. As a result, they were able to present tremendous offerings at all of the important sites. When they returned, the Raja Tseté Singh Bhadur and the Kashmiri General Lela both sent letters and presents to Paṇchen Rinpoché. Both Kishipuri and Sowaram arrived at Trashi Lhünpo while making offerings at Drongtsé. Since that coincided with Bogle's arrival, the conditions were positive.⁶

The History of Bhutan says:

A great deal of Bhutan's territory was seized by the foreigners because Desi Zhidarwa had arrested the king of Cooch Behar. As a result, war broke out in Bhutan. When Desi Zhidarwa escaped, he was killed on the road.

However, Paṇchen Rinpoché's biography says that the old Desi Zhidarwa went to meet Regent Denmo at Samyé in the ninth month of 1774.⁷ If one follows this account, then one wonders whether the death of Zhidarwa was only announced by the new Desi of Bhutan in order to promote agreeable relations with the foreigners.

Regent Denmo Nomihen Ngawang Jampel Delek Gyatso had held responsibility for the government for twenty-one years.^d He had constructed the reliquary of the seventh Dalai Lama, Trashi Öbar and then had invited the precious incarnation of the Dalai Lama to return. In particular, since he had great concern for the beleaguered peasants, he relieved their burden of providing transportation for the powerful people, and he gave detailed consideration to offering relief of other incidental taxes. He founded the Bentsang College of Tengyeling Mon-

^d Khetsun Zangpo, *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 6, 351, says that he was the regent for twenty years. The latter indicates that his service was from the first day of the fifth month of the Fire-Ox Year to the Fire-Bird Year.

astery, and he stayed at Samyé Monastery for three years, executing a peerless restoration project. He died at Tengyeling on the twenty-third day of the first month of 1777.

Immediately thereafter, the cabinet, the Dalai Lama's personal attendant, the abbots and officials of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, and the monk and lay government officials unanimously requested that the Dalai Lama assume the religious and political responsibilities since he had reached the age of twenty. However, he said that he would be unable to take up these responsibilities for the time being, as he wished to continue with his studies. Because they could not persuade him, they sent an invitation to the retired abbot of the Tantric College of Upper Lhasa Tsador Ngawang Tsültrim who was spreading Buddhism in China. He was granted the title of "nomihen" and appointed as regent (*srid skyong*).⁸ Lacking a special residence, he was offered Ganden Khangsar, the residence of Dalai Bātur.^e Since he lived at Tsemönling thereafter, he was the first Tseling Gyeltok.

This regent's birthplace was the Joné region of Domé (Amdo). When he became a monk in Ü, he lived in the Tsador House of Sera Mé Monastery. Upon completing the monastery's curriculum, he went to the Tantric College of Upper Lhasa. Eventually, he became the prayer leader and then the abbot; he was called Tsador Abbot. Subsequently, the government sent him to Beijing to teach Buddhism. While in Beijing, he was highly regarded even by the Manchu Emperor Qianlong as a consequence of the strength of his strong relationship with Changkya Hotoktu Yeshé Tenpé Drönmé. When he returned to Lhasa on the fifth day of the seventh day of 1777 to become regent, many tens of thousands of people came out to greet him against the traditional custom. Among the assembly of onlookers were the geshés and monks from his former tantric college; since he immediately became the regent, the people who had come to see him were astonished. This is described in his biography.⁹ When the regent subsequently was also made the throne holder of Ganden, he was called "Regent Tri Rinpoché." During this period, Gapzhi Gung Paṇḍita, Gung Künga Tendzin, Tönpa Sishi Wangdu, and Dokhar Sönam Wangyel were the cabinet ministers.

According to the *Kao-tsung Shih-lu*, the Manchu Qianlong Emperor escaped the summer heat at a place called Zheho; he had constructed new temples there on the model of the Potala and Trashī Lhünpo. On

^e Dalai Bātur was the youngest son of Polhané.

the occasion of his seventieth birthday, it was necessary to offer congratulatory prayers and extensive religious teachings. Thus, the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché Lozang Pelden Yeshé was invited to China. Letters of invitation continually arrived through the Tibetan government in this regard. The all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché considered, along with the sovereign Dalai Lama, Regent Nomihen, and the cabinet, whether it would be best for him to go to China or stay in Tibet. On the one hand, there would be some risk to his well-being because of the heat in China, the smallpox epidemic, and so forth. However, he would be able to visit pilgrimage sites in China, he could spread Buddhism in the hinterland, and in particular, he could establish religious relations with the emperor in dependence on the beautiful ornament of Buddha's teachings. It was agreed that this would be best.

Thus, he promised that he would leave Trashī Lhünpo in 1779, spending the winter at Kumbum Monastery and that he would reach Zhehor in 1780. Accordingly, on the seventeenth day of the sixth month of 1779, he rode out of Trashī Lhünpo together with a very large cavalry escort. The Dalai Lama and Regent Nomihen accompanied the party as far as Trashī Uma Tang in Upper Dam from Yangpajen. Longdöl Lama Rinpoché of Nyetang has written about Paṇchen Rinpoché's stay in Yangpajen as follows:¹⁰

[The third Paṇchen Lama] Gelong Pelden Yeshé sent a letter to the peerless master, the Dharma Lord Ngawang Lozang Rinpoché asking after his well-being. It said that he was well and that he had gone on a pilgrimage to the heavenly sites of Jetsün Mañjuśrī and the superior Avalokiteśvara at the edge of the great ocean in the east. He had also met with the great adept-master Changkya Rölpé Dorjé. He said that he had met the emperor, his army, and the city in order to experience religious happiness. This chief cook was supreme among his confidants. Thus, he said to [Ngawang Lozang Rinpoché] that he must pray for the increase in the lifespan and the merit of the cook. He gave a greeting scarf three dom^f long as a present. He also sent one hundred Nepali coins and brown sugar.

Jetsün Mañjuśrī's realm is Wūtai Shān^g and the superior Avalokiteśvara's realm is the Potala Palace. Changkya Rölpé Dorjé's chief activity was to increase joyous religious feelings. But incidentally, he was also con-

^f A dom is the length of an arm span, making this an exceedingly long greeting scarf.

^g Wūtai Shān is the five mountain peaks where the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is thought to dwell in western China.

cerned with visiting the Manchu Emperor Qianlong, the army, and the city.

At this time, although it is a measure of the extent of Chinese Manchu power in Lhasa, this letter also provides a clear understanding of the preceptor-patron relationship between China and Tibet and the situation in Tibet. In addition, there is otherwise no clear explanation of the emperor's letter of invitation and the praises he offered on various occasions, although I have made a detailed investigation. If one reads this letter, one should be able to understand the character of the preceptor-patron relationship.

Thereafter, Paṇchen Rinpoché went to Kumbum Jampaling Monastery where he stayed throughout the winter. At that time, the emperor sent a letter through Amban Wangpu, Asahen Amban of the Mongolian prison, Buté,^h and so forth:¹¹

The wheel of doctrine will be turned throughout the world through the powerful scripture foretold to endure as long as the sky. The words of this emperor descend upon Paṇchen Ertini. While I pilot with discipline all beings in the world without exception, the welfare of sentient beings everywhere is nurtured. I want my political influence to spread and increase throughout the kingdom. Thus, in accordance with my final wish to increase Buddhism and the welfare of sentient beings, it would be very good if you, Lama, would make efforts to increase, explain, and enhance the teachings of the Yellow Hat School (i.e., Gelukpa).

Next year, you will come to honor the day of my birth, enhancing my state of mind. I am enjoying thinking about your swiftly impending arrival. On the way, Paṇchen Ertini, you will bring about happiness through spreading Buddhism and affecting the welfare of Tibet and Mongolia. I am presently learning the Tibetan language. When we meet directly, I will speak with you with great joy. As I have heard that you have arrived in Kumbum, Amban Wangbu, Asahen Amban of the Mongolian prison, Buté, Kyāyu, Anshay Tanga, Tusa Bagchi Minister Shu Lende of the Mongolian prison, and Timtik Lokché Minister have been sent to receive you.

Accompanying the letter written in gold are a string of pearls, a complete set of specially made riding tack, the best sort of horse, a churn made of thirty ounces of silver, a ritual vase, a goblet, twenty articles of clothing, and ten large and small greeting scarves.

^h It was not possible to identify these figures. The Ambans serving around this time were Hengrui (1776–1780), Suolin (1779–1780), Baotai (also known as Fuxihun) (1780–1783), and Boqing'e (1780–1785). See Josef Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1994), 29–30.

Twenty-first day of the first month of the summer of the forty-fourth year of the reign of the Emperor Qianlong.

After the letter arrived, provisions, clothes, and so forth for the journey also arrived several times. The party stayed at Kumbum Monastery for four months and twenty days, finally leaving for Beijing on the tenth day of the third month of 1780.

At that time, Jamyang Zhepa's incarnation, Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, offered his assistance; thus, the Pañchen Lama's uncle, the great treasurer Drungpa Hotoktu Lozang Jinpa, his chief cook, his chamberlain, and about three hundred of his servants, who had not escaped smallpox, provided assistance seeking to forestall the disease by offering prayers at Alasha Gön Tengyeling. They completed all of the rites, but Pañchen Rinpoché offered prayers to take smallpox onto himself, as though he could not bear anyone else taking on the burden. This is why he developed the sores.

The Chinese and Mongolian leaders and the people along all of the main roads came out to greet Pañchen Rinpoché in great numbers. Several times letters and traveling provisions arrived from the emperor. The emperor's sixth son and Changkya Hotoktu arrived at a place called Taika with letters and gifts. From that point on, they accompanied the party to Zheho and Beijing. In addition, they acted as hosts during Pañchen Rinpoché's meeting with the emperor, and so forth. They reached Zheho on the twenty-first day of the seventh month. Many thousands of Chinese and Manchurian civil and military leaders, including the most important of all of the emperor's internal ministers (Prime Minister) Engu Bugung, Hosa Darin, Gutsa Gungping Hezai, as well as incarnate lamas of Tibet such as Tsenpo Nomihen,¹² Tatsak Jedrung, and so forth held an inconceivable reception. When the internal minister presented a greeting scarf, which the emperor had sent, Pañchen Rinpoché declined to ride in a palanquin. He finally consented to be transported in the palanquin according to the emperor's instructions.

When they arrived a little further on, the party proceeded to the emperor's tent in a field in front of Tāpusi Monastery along with regimental flags, the royal ensign, and a monastic parade. Tea, food, and so forth were served. Thereafter, the emperor himself came in a palanquin in a special procession. Accommodations were prepared at Changkya Rinpoché's residence in Tāpusi, and the emperor's sixth son stood by to facilitate the swift meeting between the emperor and

Paṇchen Ertini. As soon as the signal was given that the party must proceed, the Trashi Lhünpo attendants, the groups in the procession, and many tens of thousands of soldiers lined both sides of the road in a respectful attitude. The riders dismounted near the gates of the emperor's palace. A special palanquin brought the supreme lama to the threshold of the chamber.

Once they were inside together, the Emperor Qianlong rose carrying a special greeting scarf; immediately, the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché presented him with a greeting scarf and an image made of a very valuable alloy adorned with a precious string of pearls. The emperor presented the greeting scarf to Paṇchen Rinpoché, and in Tibetan he said, "Is the lama healthy? He must be weary after the long journey." Paṇchen Rinpoché replied, "Through the kindness of the emperor, there is no fault. I am not tired in the least." Since the emperor invited him, the two entered the expansive chamber together and sat on decoratively ornamented thrones of equal height. Changkya Rinpoché presented greeting scarves to both the preceptor and the patron. When tea was served, the emperor asked, "Paṇchen Rinpoché, would you like some tea?" They both accepted. They spoke for a while about their health and the Paṇchen Lama's journey. The emperor spoke of Changkya Rinpoché as bringing about as much good as Bayé.¹ When the preceptor and patron met, the weather and other conditions were pleasant.

Thereafter, the supreme lama and the emperor toured the inner chambers of the palace as well as the gardens. The Paṇchen Lama consecrated all of the chambers. Tea and food were served while they discussed the finer points of religion. Subsequently, Paṇchen Rinpoché was carried by eunuchs¹³ in the emperor's small palanquin; he was taken to the residence modeled on Trashi Lhünpo Monastery that was newly constructed at the [Yellow] Palace. It was about four miles from the emperor's palace. The emperor's ministers went there to present traditional Chinese offerings.

On the twenty-second day, the emperor, the senior leaders, and many attendants went to meet Paṇchen Rinpoché at "Trashi Lhünpo." They sat in golden thrones of equal height. When tea was served, the emperor himself took the supreme lama's porcelain teacup from the

¹ Bayé (*sba ye*) or Yeshé Yang of Ba (*sba ye she dbyangs*) is one of the twenty-five main disciples of Padmasambhava.

chief cook's hand and offered it to the lama in a respectful attitude. The emperor said:

It is fitting that I have studied religion a little with Changkya Hotoktu over many years.¹ The profundity of Buddhism is as deep as the ocean. I have not been able to generate a meditative realization of the religious topics Hotoktu has taught because I have had no respite from my political duties. However, I have worked diligently. At this time, with the patron meeting his preceptor directly, the time has come for the definite ripening of this good relationship through my previous prayers and my faith. I beg the lama to teach me religion and grant me permission to perform many practices.

Also, when the fifth Dalai Lama came here in the past, my grandfather constructed the Yellow Temple for him. According to that tradition, at present, I have constructed this temple for Pañchen Rinpoché modeled on Trashi Lhünpo Monastery...

Although in the past I did not know the colloquial Tibetan language, as soon as this lama decided to come here, Hotoktu has taught me the necessary words with great effort. Even so, I am not clever. With Hotoktu serving as translator, may the subtleties of religion be translated?

On the twenty-third day, five of the divine emperor's sons, including the sixth, eighth, and eleventh and seven of his daughters had an audience with Pañchen Rinpoché. On the twenty-fourth, the emperor hosted a great celebration. For ten days, starting on the twenty-fifth, a traditional Chinese opera was performed. On the twenty-sixth, they went to tour the building modeled on the Potala Palace.

On the seventh day of the eighth month, the all-seeing Pañchen Rinpoché performed services marking the emperor's seventieth birthday. During this time, sometimes the emperor would visit him, and at other times, he would visit the emperor's palace. They discussed ceremonies, food, drama, and so forth without interruption. In the intervening period, Pañchen Rinpoché bestowed monastic vows, empowerments, permission to practice, and scriptural transmission to many Chinese, Mongolian, and Manchurian aspirants. On the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month, Pañchen Rinpoché, his retinue, and a large number of Chinese officials left Zheho Trashi Lhünpo for Beijing. As they were leaving, the emperor came to visit the all-seeing Rinpoché. As the emperor was to remain there for three days, he went to prostrate to his spiritual father at a place called Tungling. The preceptor and patron

¹ Changkya was nineteen years older than Emperor Qianlong.

were to meet in Beijing; since Paṇchen Rinpoché had to consecrate the emperor's chambers and provide many religious teachings, he was to remain in Beijing.

Many senior and junior officials and many thousands of soldiers were arrayed on bended knee at the gate of the stone wall called Hulekhur to receive Paṇchen Rinpoché on the twenty-eighth day. Everywhere along the road, he established religious connections with the people. He was received by so many civil and military officials in Beijing on the first day of the ninth month that the people entirely covered the ground. A regiment of troops and a monastic procession accompanied him to the Yellow Palace that had been the residence of the great fifth Dalai Lama. When the emperor reached Beijing on the ninth day, Paṇchen Rinpoché left from the royal gate called Yimen to receive him at the Yungmozi Temple in a grove called Sharka, where the preceptor and patron met. On the third day of the ninth Tibetan month and the tenth Chinese month, a grand ceremony was held in the assembly hall called Pohotin. A dramatic show was also presented. The two met at every opportunity. The emperor supplicated Paṇchen Rinpoché, saying, "Since you are now leaving for Chinese-Mongolia, you must compose a new book of religious teachings." At the same time, he also presented the lama with a maṇḍala. Accordingly, Paṇchen Rinpoché composed a text called the *Good Bowl of Nectar, the Means of Achievement and Feats of the Supramundane Victor Sitātapatrā*.^k

On the twenty-second day, the preceptor and patron went to Yonghe Monastery together where they presided. On the twenty-fourth day, all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché told his treasury secretary that he was not in good health. Even though his physician examined his pulse, he did not discern any contrary symptoms at all. When he made a pilgrimage to Sungdrusi Monastery on the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, he had no appetite. On the twenty-seventh, he went to Yingshug Gung, the emperor's palace; he entered the emperor's presence in his private chambers to teach him and to perform rituals for him. When the emperor came, Paṇchen Rinpoché presented a golden maṇḍala and performed the Mahākāla rite. Changkya Rinpoché translated this into Mongolian. He presented a maṇḍala of gratitude to Paṇchen Rinpoché. On the twenty-eighth day, the meeting came to an end.

^k This title is not listed separately on the TBRC record for the third Paṇchen Lama, P168. Sitātapatrā is a goddess with influence over smallpox. Given his preoccupation with smallpox, it is ironic that he would die of the disease.

While the lama was resting, the chief cook checked on Paṇchen Rinpoché's health. He had small rashes in the warm spots of his body and lacked an appetite. Everyone was upset, and so Changkya immediately informed the emperor, going to see him on the morning of the twenty-ninth day. As soon as the emperor returned to Paṇchen Rinpoché, the Interior Minister Hö Dachen and a Chinese doctor arrived; they checked his pulse and evaluated his condition, whereupon they reported that his smallpox worsened. Although he was given medicine, he dissolved into the sphere of reality (i.e., he passed away) at sunset on the first day of the eleventh month of 1780. The following morning, the emperor came into the presence of his remains; as soon as he saw the body, he cried out, "My Lama!" as he fainted. Upon regaining consciousness, he presented a greeting scarf with his prayers, and he presented offerings. Accordingly, for many days and nights, extensive religious offerings were made according to both Chinese and Tibetan traditions.¹⁴

The all-seeing Third Paṇchen Lozang Pelden Yeshé was extremely knowledgeable of the general tenets of the sūtras and both the old and new tantras and in the five inner and outer sciences. He had countless students, and he ascended to the highest levels of accomplishment. Both the previous [seventh] and the present [eighth] Dalai Lamas had been his students; they had great respect and love for him. Whatever great or small political issues arose, he would always offer his considered evaluation to Lhasa. He did not do anything with haste. As a result, all of the servants of the government and his monastic estate praised his name and the sight of him for the purity of his vows. By exhibiting a harmonious attitude in public and so forth, he also maintained agreeable relations with neighboring nations such as India, China, Mongolia, Nepal, and Bhutan. In addition, he had the incomparable respect of the Chinese Manchu emperor. Without merely being an object of worship, he was an incomparable object of praise of all people, high and low.

However, at that time, in the perspective of ordinary people, the Dalai Lama was related to the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché. In addition, there are a few reports that since many high ranking incarnate lamas—such as treasury secretary Hotoktu, Zhamar Hotoktu, Helha Jetsün Dampa Hotoktu, Samding Dorjé Pakmo—were related to him, a variety of silly notions began to occur to poor people began.¹ Manchu

¹ The implication is that poor people were suspicious that he had been identified as the Paṇchen Lama merely as a result of his family connections.

officials seized this opportunity, saying that if the golden urn lottery were used to select the incarnation, people's belief would be enhanced. It was like honey on a razor's edge. [The Manchu court] continually recommended this method, passing the suggestion along among the common people. Thereby, it is said with sustained effort, they were able to realize a significant political victory.

The Rikha Shipas in Sangen, Dotö (Kham), who were responsible for transporting the government's tea, including the commander of Dartsedo, robbed many traders and pillaged pilgrimage sites. Hence, for a while, it became difficult to travel freely. In particular, they endlessly pillaged Ba, Litang, Gojo, Markham, and Drakyap, as a result of which, reportedly, the leaders, lamas, monks, and people in various localities suffered. Thus, in order to confront the leaders of those brigands, a general military command under Cabinet Minister Gapzhi Gung Paṇḍita, Ü Dapön Changlochenpa Trashī Püntsoḳ, Tsang Dapön Pajo Lhakhangpa Tendzin Namgyel, the Markham functionary Drakshar Taiji, the Dö commander Mikyap Taiji, Lhabu Langchenpa, and a host of Ü Tsang soldiers left for the region from Lhasa on the eleventh day of 1779.

Although Sangen was secure and the enemy was strong, the government forces attacked from three directions. Thus, in the first month of 1780, the Sangen Castle and the surrounding buildings were set ablaze. The senior leaders Derong Atsok Jen who was the main culprit, Rushö Tagö Jampa, and his son were executed. Those people whose crimes were less severe were sent into exile in Sangdzong Rima Jangra, Dartsedo, Dergé, and Powo. Thus, from that point, the poison of these rebels was purified.¹⁵

The lamas and leaders of the four regions of Helha as well as Jetsün Dampa's treasurer nomihen and so forth arrived to search for Helha Jetsün Dampa's incarnation. Investigations were made all throughout Ü Tsang, Dotö, and Domé. Finally, faith was generated in Yapzhi Lhalu Gatselwa's youngest son, and he was recognized. The Dalai Lama ceremonially cut his hair and gave him the name Lozang Tupten Wangchuk Jikmé Gyatso. Titles and ranks were granted to the senior lamas and leaders of Helha, Jetsün Dampa's father, his treasurer, chief cook, steward, and so forth. The child went to Mongolia during the second month of 1781.

As the Dalai Lama had completed his studies, he took up the religious and political responsibilities on the first day of the sixth month, according to the unanimous wishes of the gods and people of Tibet. Since he continued to be strongly inclined towards religious concerns, he directed Regent Trichen Nomihen to continue serving him. In addition,

the following year, he appointed the scholar-adept Wangchuk Kachen Yeshe Gyeltsen from Kyidrong Samtenling Monastery as his tutor.^m He continued to live at the Potala.

The Manchu emperor in Beijing sent an amban as his representative; he brought excellent offerings to mark the Dalai Lama's assumption of the two-fold responsibility, (religious and political). He also sent a commendation inscribed on seventeen planks fashioned from seventy ounces of gold. It was inscribed in Manchurian, Chinese, Mongolia, and Tibetan with the words, "The Omniscient Dorjé Chang Dalai Lama, Lord of all of Buddha's Teachings throughout the World, the Conqueror who is a Supreme Field of Virtue in the West." Excellent offerings marking the event also arrived from all directions.

Due to the great importance of the monasteries on the border of China and Tibet at places like Mili in Dotö (Kham), extensive arrangement were made for them in 1783, such as the provision of religious estates, tax exemptions, and so forth. When the Mili incarnation had completed his studies and departed for his home region at this same time, Panzha Naring praised him with titles and gifts, including lama's robes, a saddle and bridle, an equestrian banner, and so forth. Orders were given to all of the monasteries in his region to provide all necessary protection and provisions. They were told to remain firm in the signs of Buddha's religion.

Previous Dalai Lamas had customarily ridden to a place about two miles to the west of the Potala Palace to bathe in the nectar-like medicinal springs at the end of the autumn. When they would take the waters at a place called Norbu Lingkha, there was nothing more extensive than the tent they would erect and the small pool. In 1784, Kelzang Palace was built there, and a tremendous ceremony was held at the baths. Ever since that time, the successive Dalai Lama stayed there, mainly at the end of summer. It was gradually expanded.

Very large inner and outer stone walls were built. Inside there were the chambers of the Dalai Lama Rinpoché, which were surpassingly beautiful, quiet, and satisfying all around. The Nyiö (Sunlight) Chamber, where the exalted celebrations are held, is a place where all of the marvels of the four directions gather in one location. There is also a temple and a retreat house where all common and supreme blessings are effortlessly granted and where the two obstructions [to omniscience

^m It seems that this appointment must have taken place considerably earlier.

and liberation] are overcome by merely entering. There is a library that is filled to the top with all of Buddha's scriptures and all of the treatises written by India and Tibetan scholars and adepts. There is a Mahākāla Temple in which the ten tantric obstacles and obstructions are smashed to bits. In the debating courtyard, the rain of profound and extensive religious teachings falls and the nectar of peace and happiness is bestowed by the sound of debating. There is a small treasury, which outshines the wealth of Ngel Solbu.ⁿ

There is a pool in which geese, ducks, spoonbills and other creatures live in happiness. Changing through the four seasons, there is a variety of blooming flowers with glorious scents and various colors and shapes; bees and butterflies of gold and turquoise flutter and fly there. Peacocks dance about in an enclosure with fruit trees whose fruit is of a supremely marvelous taste. Large and small birds sing their pleasing songs. In between the two enclosures, langur monkeys, other monkeys, and deer cheerfully move about without fear.

There were rooms for the agencies and the officials with authority in the various governmental departments, including those relating to civil affairs, economic enhancement, political power, and military affairs—these being the offices of the prime minister, the cabinet, the monk officials secretariat, and the office that provided for the Dalai Lama's needs. The attendants who had the supreme fortune of being permitted to stay in and move around the palace were beautified by clothing that accorded with their status. Thus, they strove to show the proper respect by way of ornamenting themselves with correct behavior. Beyond that, they wore unusual clothing, played games, and debated. I have never seen or heard of anyone smoking or becoming intoxicated there.

The great wall that surrounded the area was high, firm, and secure. The east, south, and north sides have two major gates. The west side was beautified by seven gates and was secured by armed bodyguards who work in six shifts. On the south and west sides of the outer wall, there were military camps of units of the bodyguard trained in modern methods. The Norbu Lingkha Kelzang Podrang Palace was renowned all throughout the world as a place where wondrous omens were collected in the past.

If one viewed it, the palace and the gardens were beautiful to behold. If one stayed there, one would become peaceful and relaxed. If one

ⁿ Ngel Solbu is the wealth god, Vaiśravaṇa.

listened, one would hear the vivid sounds of religion being taught without interruption. If one smelled the air, the sweet smell of flowers and incense was everywhere. If one reflected, it was a place where one could generate especially strong faith thinking of the suchness of the Pure Land of Sukhāvati;^o one could firmly remember the special qualities of the pilgrimage places possessed of the five great distinguishing qualities.^p In my own limited capacity, I have written a little about the Norbu Lingkha Palace. Beyond this, although the complete qualities of virtue of the residence and its residents could be expressed by the water god Varuṇa,^q it otherwise surpasses conception or expression.

Now, to continue with the history, as they searched for the new incarnation of the Paṇchen Rinpoché, the attendants and functionaries of Gyeltsen Tönpo—the Trashi Lhünpo monastic estate—investigated the auspicious signs of boys born throughout Tibet. There were some qualms, so the question was submitted to the great Dalai Lama for his investigation and opinion. The candidate from Panam Kyishong had favorable indications. He recognized various personal articles of the previous Paṇchen Rinpoché, and so the Dalai Lama bestowed upon him the name Jetsün Lozang Pel Tenpé Nyima.

The Dalai Lama's assistant, Regent Tsemönling Trichen Nomihen, was extremely knowledgeable in both religious and political matters and decisive in all of his efforts. He had the nature of rectitude. He resolved divisiveness among government officials, including problems that arose within the cabinet, and he was extremely forceful in rebuking wrongdoers, and so forth. He was particularly experienced in Beijing. The emperor cared for him a great deal. By virtue of his connections with the great Buddhist leaders, including Changkya Hotoktu, he maintained agreeable relations with the civil and military officials,

^o Sukhāvati is the Pure Land of Amitābha Buddha. For more information on Pure Land Buddhism, Amitābha, and Sukhāvati Heaven, see Luis O. Gomez, *The Land of Bliss: The Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

^p The five great distinguishing qualities (*khyad chos chen po lnga*) are: immateriality (*gzugs med*), unobstructedness (*thog med*), permanence (*rtag pa*), changelessness (*mi 'gyur*), and indestructibility (*mi pho*).

^q Varuṇa is a Vedic god of the weather and the oceans. Shakabpa mentions him in this context because he has one hundred tongues; Shakabpa is saying that it would take a god with that many tongues to catalog the marvels of Norbu Lingkha Palace.

including the Manchu amban who lived in Lhasa, inviting them to ceremonies, dramatic performances, and festivals. Beyond that, they resisted interfering in politics.

In addition, the regent prevented people in authority from oppressing people or taking luxuries for themselves. He would obstruct any oppressive or contemptuous actions. As a result, when Lama Changkya Hotoktu Yeshé Tenpé Drönmé passed into the other realm [in 1786], Regent Tsemönling Trichen Nomihen was granted the honor and respect as his replacement in Beijing as the leading religious teacher and bearer of the seal. It was thought that propitious omens would emerge if he were invited to China to serve as the leading religious teacher in Beijing and to advise all of the Buddhist monasteries in China. This was discussed in Beijing; since the emperor held him in high regard, a special invitation arrived for him.

Consequently, just before he left [for China], he took his leave of the Dalai Lama, and he told the cabinet that during the ten years of serving as the regent assisting the Dalai Lama, he had worked for the benefit of the government. He also recounted in detail how he had placed the government's wealth in a treasury and so forth.¹⁶ The regent left Lhasa for Beijing on the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month of 1786. He was made the leader of the *Office of Religious Translations*, called Zengzung Kuan, and was granted the title of Samadhi Pakṣi. He made people happy while he stayed in China. Before he left for China, the regent's assistant, Tatsak Jedrung Tenpé Gönpö, was appointed as the Dalai Lama's assistant and was given the title of "nomihen."¹⁷

I have examined several different texts on the earlier and later war between Tibet and the Gurkhas, including Gapzhi (Doring) Cabinet Minister Tendzin Peljor's *The Emergence of the Lineage of the Chief Gapzhiwa, Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*. In my writing, I have mainly relied upon this text because of its great detail; I have filled in the gaps by consulting other texts.

There were three kingdoms in Nepal—Kathmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon; the three had very extensive relations with Tibet in terms of trade, the construction of objects of worship, and so forth. Silver coins used by the three Nepali kingdoms were in circulation in Tibet. In this period, deceitful traders gradually introduced copper impurities into the coinage. During the time of the seventh Dalai Lama, in 1741, a representative was sent to Nepal with a letter insisting upon an investigation into the improper coins. Subsequently, as a result of the unrest among the

three Nepali kingdoms, the Gurkha King Prithvinarayan Shah seized control over the entirety of Nepal in 1769.^r The following year, the Tibetan government sent a delegation to construct religious images in Nepal; they brought gifts and a letter of congratulations to the newly constituted Gurkha kingdom. The letter explained the traditional relations between Nepal and Tibet and proposed that the former excellent relations be restored, with the Tibetan constructors of religious objects, pilgrims, traders, and so forth being permitted to travel in Nepal freely each year, with Nepalis being permitted to sell their good in Tibet, and with the gold, silver, and coppersmiths also being allowed into Tibet. Also, the letter asked that an order be issued to withdraw corrupt Nepali coins from circulation in Tibet.

The Gurkha king replied with a letter saying that silver that was newly minted into coins in Nepal would be withdrawn and that he wanted harmonious relations to exist between Nepal, Tibet, and India. His deputies Bharmachari Bhagirtha and Jayasaramtha along with about thirty servants arrived with the letter and presents. They met with the Dalai Lama, the regent and the cabinet, and there was a good atmosphere between the two sides.

However, before many years had passed, a war erupted between the Gurkhas and Tibet. There are three different accounts of the causes of that war. First, in 1775, Bhutan called on the Gurkhas to invade Sikkim. The Tibetan government was Sikkim's ally, and so, against the wishes of the Gurkhas, Tibet later sent Zhalu Khenpo and Tsang Dapé Tselwa to Walung to hold talks with the Gurkhas on the question of Sikkim.¹⁸

Second, it seems that the all-seeing Paṇchen Pelden Yeshe's brother, treasurer Hotoktu Lozang Jinpa, brought the great mass of Paṇchen Rinpoche's gold, silver, and other valuable possessions from Beijing. Most of it was deposited at his monastic estate at Trashi Lhünpo Monastery. Great quantities of his treasure were also held at the regent's monastic estate. Although the Paṇchen Lama's [other] brother, Zhamar Trülku Chödrup Gyatso, expressed his desire to have a share, this did not take place. Thus, Zhamarwa called upon the Gurkhas to invade Trashi Lhünpo.¹⁹

^r Gurkha King Prithvinarayan Shah is considered to be the founder of modern Nepal. Rishikesh Shaba, *Modern Nepal: A Political History 1769–1955* (Riverdale, Maryland: Riverdale, 1990), vol. 1, 70.

Third, when Cabinet Minister Dokharwa Sönam Wangyel arrived in the upper region to investigate, lawlessness reigned at the border trade centers. The tariffs on Nepali goods were not being collected. It is reported that he forcibly restrained the Nepali traders and took other measures.²⁰

However that may be, in 1786, Pañchen Rinpoché's brother Chödrup Gyatso—the tenth incarnation of Zhamarwa, and the incarnation of the Drukpa Kagyü Monastery Gongkar Dechen Chökhör—was in Nepal on a pilgrimage while the Tibetan government restored the three stūpas in Nepal.^s As was customary, two Tibetan doctors, Tsedrung Ganden Kaju and Tsetrel Denang Zen, also arrived in Nepal to construct objects of worship and to gather materials for incense and medicine. Since the person who had authority over the three provinces of Nepal during the time they were there, Gurkha King Rana Bahadur Shah, was young, his uncle Bahadur Shah Sahib undertook all domestic and foreign responsibilities; consequently, he granted permission for the construction of sacred objects in Nepal.

The Nepali coins issued by the old king of Kathmandu were all impure, but the new coins issued by the Gurkha king were without impurities. Thus, a few letters were sent to the Tibetan government saying that it would not be fitting if in the future, there were coins of higher and lower quality in Ü Tsang, Tibet, and that henceforth, no one should make use of the impure coins. The Tibetan government did not give a clear response.^t There were also many discussions about such things as the impurities mixed in with the Tibetan salt being traded at the markets and the heavy tariffs being levied by the Tibetan government on the Nepali traders. At that time, the Gurkha king said that if the Tibetan government did not accept his terms on coinage, he would seize Nyanang, Rongshar, and Kyidrong, which had been part of the Kathmandu kingdom in the past. In addition, he indicated that he would be unhappy if he were forced to send troops. Thus, the petition was sent immediately with the two Tibetan statue makers. In

^s The three primary stūpas in Nepal are Swayambhunāth (*'phags pa shing kun*), Boudhanāth (*bya rung kha shor*), and Namobuddha (*stag mo lus sbyin*). Swayambhunāth and Boudhanāth are both located in the Kathmandu Valley, while Namobuddha lies about 25 miles to the east.

^t The implication is that the Gurkha wanted the Tibetan government to withdraw the coins of inferior value at their own expense. The Tibetan government felt that the fault lay with the previous government in Nepal and so the Tibetans should not bear the cost of the deception.

the absence of a clear satisfactory reply, the king said he would keep [Zhamarwa and Dechö Trülku] as hostages, and there would be tremendous hardship.

Ultimately, Zhamarwa offered to mediate between the two sides. Both of the statue makers left to report the situation to the Tibetan government. Zhamarwa himself and Dechö Trülku were told to remain as hostages. That very night Dechö Trülku and his retinue secretly left for Tibet while Zhamarwa promised to remain as a hostage. As soon as the two statue makers arrived back in Lhasa in the third month of 1786, they reported his situation. Also, they conveyed that the impure coins should not be circulated in Tibet according to the Gurkha king's wishes or else he would seize Nyanang, Rongshar, and Kyidrong. Aside from that, Zhamarwa sent a petition to both the Dalai Lama's office and the cabinet saying, "You must find a way for me to leave Nepal where I have remained for the general welfare and where I did not come for personal interests."

At that time, since the Regent Nomihlen had gone to China, the cabinet ministers held a conference. They determined that since Zhamarwa and Dechen Trülku had gone on a pilgrimage and had not been sent to Nepal on official business, there should be no obstacles to their returning to their own homes as they wished. First of all, they had gone to Nepal without being dispatched by Tibet. Secondly, they remained in Nepal even though no one told them to stay, neither the Gurkha king and his ministers or the Tibetan government statue makers. This is like the maxim which says, "Knowing how to shoot the arrow, he bought the bow."^u Finally, because of their incitements against the Gurkha king, the master-builder suffered many difficulties. Zhamarwa made the excuse that he had remained in Nepal in place of the statue makers out of concern for the welfare of living beings and Buddhism; he asked that someone come quickly.

Even if his account is taken at face value, there was no way to know what the plotters would do on the border. Thus, orders were issued that reconnaissance units in all of the border districts and estates must work ceaselessly. If warfare were to erupt, soldiers would have to be discretely assembled to form an army as orderly as a bird's feathers.^v

^u In other words, they knew what they were getting themselves into.

^v This simile means that just as bird's feathers are ordered in ranks, so the soldiers should each perform according to his own rank and position.

Orders were issued to the respective military commanders in Tsang that they must practice military games and produce both gunpowder and bullets. It was decided that people from all schools had to initiate extensive religious services to repel the army immediately.

Lama Zhamarwa received the following reply from the cabinet:²¹

Since an equal exchange rate has been set for the old and new coins, if an agreement is reached, there will be no difficulties in sincere Tibetans and Gurkhas establishing a positive environment, overcoming disruptions. Otherwise, an important edict has been issued that harmonious intentions should be kept in mind, absolutely avoiding contentious words.

Besides this, no clear response was given to the Gurkha king.

In the sixth month of 1787, Gurkha troops suddenly attacked Nyanang, Rongshar, and Kyidrong with Zhamarwa's servant Karma Chokjin serving as the guide to the various areas. The Tibetan district commanders resisted to the extent that they were able; several people that could not hold out, such as District Commander Rambu Lungpa, were lost in battle. The Gurkha forces gradually reached the Dzongpa region, while the Gurkha troops who marched through Nyanang and Rongshar reached Shelkar.

The Tibetan government sent Tsang units to Nyanang and Shelkar under Tsang Dapön Changlochenpa and Tsang Dapön Betselwa, and their forces went into the Dzongkyi region. Detailed appeals were made to the troops from Ü, Kongpo, and Kham. The General Cabinet Minister Yutok Trashi Döndrup arrived along with cabinet functionaries, each with their respective helpful subordinates, several junior and senior secretaries, and so forth. General Cabinet Minister Yutokpa received reports from Shelkar that the Gurkha army had seized Sanga and planned to attack Shelkar Castle. However, they were unable to take it because of the great strength of the Tibetan resistance. The Gurkhas stayed in Zhöl, Luding, and so forth while the struggle continued.

The Manchu amban living in Lhasa reported the situation to the Manchu emperor. Thus, out of consideration for the preceptor-patron tradition, the emperor ordered Ngao Changchun, Trin Taidu, Trangdā Loyé, Mū Dārin, and so forth along with their Chinese forces under Sichuan's Trin Tuhu to reinforce the Tibetans.

The Dalai Lama sent Cabinet Minister Samdrup Podrangpa Trashi Namgyel to bring the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché and a few of his attendants. They went to Lhasa by way of Shang, Öyuk, and Markyang and stayed at Norbu Lingkha Palace. Pakpa Wagi Shvaré from Kyidrong was also invited to stay at the Pakpa Temple in the Potala.

Shen Taidu and a small number of troops had previously arrived, whereupon it was said:

Because of the necessity of repelling the thieving Gurkhas and because of the terrible oppression by the Gurkha army in the Upper region, it is necessary to pursue both diplomatic and military approaches. To implement this plan, Cabinet Minister Doring Tendzin Peljor must come as a guide.

Accordingly, his assistants, Tsipön Dongna Tsadip Sönam Trashī, Kadrung Dekharwa as functionary, and Dölpor Dongpa, who knew the geography of the area, arrived with Shen Taidu. As they reached the various regions, preparations had to be made for food, drink, accommodations, transportation, and animal feed for the Chinese troops; thus, the farmers suffered terrible shortages. As news of their arrival spread around the battle site, the Gurkha army withdrew from Shelkar. Even now, they remain in Nyanang, Rongshar, Kyidrong, and Dzonga.

Thereafter, Ngao Changchun, and so forth gradually reached Lhasa from Beijing with reinforcements. Upon arriving in Zhikatsé, preparations were made to provide for transportation and fodder. However, the search for food caused oppression; this continued for five days. In addition, Trin Tuhu, Trangdā Loyé, Gyelrong Mutar, Taitu Drödön Siyi, and so forth, conferred in private, deciding that if they just pushed on, without waiting for further Chinese reinforcements, they would be broken up because of their small numbers, in which case the emperor's reputation would be tarnished; thus, they waited. Further, they said that if they all traveled together, it would be difficult to arrange transportation and so forth because of the large size of the regiments.

The cabinet minister solicited ideas on ways to resolve the situation without requiring great efforts in raising reinforcements, gathering provisions, and so forth. As it was clear the Chinese troops did not appear capable of fighting the war, Cabinet Minister Doring said:

If my plan is implemented, the Gurkha army will be driven from Tibetan territory. When talks are held upon the arrival of the other reinforcements, the Gurkhas will have to listen to whatever we say. Yet, if we attack Nepal itself, I think they will be utterly destroyed. If we attempt to fortify the peace now while the district commanders are in the hands of the foreigners, I wonder if we would undermine our own objectives. However, the Tibetan people have no training to resist her enemies. Thus, it is necessary that we consider all manner of civil or military means because of the difficulties seen in the future.

The necessity of bringing about a peaceful solution became the only focus of the talks. If the cabinet minister himself did not take respon-

sibility, he did strongly urge his advice on the Dalai Lama Rinpoché. Aside from wishing to assign blame, he said he did not want to take responsibility for submitting the petition to the Dalai Lama without a good reason. The cabinet minister obstinately urged that they proceed to the battlefield immediately.

Although Shen Taidu and his assistants did not actually fight against Cabinet Minister Doring, Tsikza Kolong bound all of the officials, including their allies and the district officials, with chains around their necks and punished them, even though the preparations that had been made for transportation and accommodations were not inconsiderable. It was unbelievable.

As they gradually arrived in Shelkar, the Chinese troops met up with the Tibetan troops who continued to protect the area at Dingri; both parties remained there. The Tibetans had not even the slightest intention of seeking a treaty arrangement, but the officials on the Chinese side wanted to bring about a treaty between the Gurkhas and the Tibetans. As a result, the all-seeing Paṇchen Lama's father Pelden Döndrup and the steward of Sakya arrived to attempt to formulate an agreement. Meanwhile, no incursions were made into Nepal as the pass to Nyanang was obstructed by snow; for eight months, the enemies did not meet each other.

Gradually, the Chinese reinforcements arrived in the Shelkar region through 1789. As the pass opened during the fourth month, the mediators from Trashi Lhünpo and Sakya sent delegates to meet with the Gurkhas and Lama Zhamarwa. According to a document sent by Zhamarwa:

Having held the kindness of the Dalai Lama in my heart up to this point, I am free of shame over my consideration for the general welfare of Tibet or the government. Just as the statue makers have constructed a bridge across the river, the government, lamas, and leaders, without making an investigation of what is true and false, have prejudged the situation on the government's terms. I have been abandoned in Nepal like a lost child.

As a result, whatever risks or benefits accrue to my health and my property now, the Gurkha king will not have the ability to affect me. If something positive comes from this, then whatever the lamas and leaders say or intend, I will disregard it. All of the Trashi Lhünpo stewards who are acquainted with Lama Zhamarwa from among the conferees of the Chinese and Tibetan who are on the battlefield should immediately come to Shelkar. Since there are plans for the old Trashi Lhünpo steward, Lama Namgyel La, he should reach Shelkar for that purpose. As he was an old man and in poor health, it would be difficult for him to travel

in Nepal. Thus, Lama Namgyel, who seemed to be a close friend, could carry a letter to Zhamarwa.

These days, if the arrival of the countless Chinese and Tibetan troops to be arrayed is forestalled, then it will actually result in enhanced sufferings for all the Chinese, Tibetans, and Nepalis. Thus, before hand-to-hand combat erupts, the commanders of the lost districts on the border must return to the Tibetan government. Then the plans by the representatives of Sakya and Trashī Lhünpo to effect a settlement between Tibet and Nepal must be fulfilled. He sent a letter saying that if talks are held in which private concerns from the past are set aside, then he would take personal responsibility to see that these provisions will be respected; the letter was both encouraging and threatening. Zhamar's steward, Yeshé Gyeltsen, carried the letter and returned with a reply.

If that can be done, the Sakya and Trashī Lhünpo mediators, acting as the deputies of the government should come to the Dzongkyi region. From my side, I will lead the Gurkha leaders there without delay. In the meanwhile, soldiers on both sides must be ordered not to fight. While I have explained the reason that the border leaders must return before an agreement is reached, no one has listened. If a settlement is reached, then it is possible that the commanders of the lost districts will not fight. This is like the maxim, which says, "If one catches the beautiful Lhamo, then riches will be naturally endowed by karma."

At that time, all of the Chinese and Tibetans were suspicious. The Chinese had been fooled by Lama Zhamarwa strategies, and evil omens subdued their hopes. They sought a way to bring out the commanders of the district that had previously been stolen without having to fight, and the Tibetans regarded Zhamarwa as just hypocritical without seeing any good side.

There was tremendous apprehension over what might happen in the end. At that time, the Chinese leaders themselves tried to bring about an agreement. As a result, the cabinet minister, the dapöns, and the district commanders and their deputies who were on the battlefield explained to the Chinese leaders that by virtue of the respect based on the preceptor-patron relationship, the emperor had sent an army to confront the enemy that had previously stolen Tibetan territory. There had been oppression because of the difficulties of arranging horses, mules, and people in Tibet. If they sought a peace treaty on their own terms without even a single day of military action as they arrived on the edge of enemy-controlled territory, then it would be an agreement in name only; beyond that, they said that going from day to day without seeing any fortunate omens was like going to an enemy to beg.

However, the Chinese leaders discussed treaty terms themselves without listening to the Tibetans. Cabinet Minister Doring Tendzin

Peljor^w and Tsang Dapön Changlochenpa, as well as Tsipön Debukpa, Tsedrön Döndrup Püntsok, and the deputies from Sakya and Trashī Lhünpo who arrived from Lhasa all went to Dzonga to confer on a suitable treaty.

The Gurkha troops who had previously reached Dzonga extracted ornaments from the religious objects in the Dzonga Monastery and in particular, they had peeled the external silver plating from the tombs of the ancient religious kings, carrying these valuables away with them. The wooden coffins were destroyed and their contents stolen. As the monastic officials recounted what had happened, they became nauseous. A Ladakhi woman named Öma Jikpa, who was fluent in the Indian and Gurkha languages, was bribed; disguised as a beggar, she went to the monastery where she stayed for several nights. According to the monastery's Catalog, eight or nine preserved bodies are kept in the monastery, which are identified according to the posture of the hands and feet. The woman gathered many extremely rare things, such as the remains of Lha Lama Jangchup Ö,²² a cloak of Oddhiyana's Padmasaṃbhava, a yellow scroll handwritten by Yeshé Tsogyel, and the copy of the *Heap of Jewels Sūtra* from Milarepa's household. Thus, on the fifteenth night of the fourth month, these were carried away to a place three times the distance of an arrow shot to a rock outcropping, where the people who bribed her were waiting. The mediators took it from there to the place where they were staying and eventually back to Lhasa.

Zhamarwa's guard, Gelek, arrived in Dzonga by way of Kyidrong. Leading the Gurkha representatives, Lama Zhamarwa reached Kyidrong; since they were nearby, the Tibetan government delegates had to go to Kyidrong. That area is crossed with ravines. The Tibetans reported that if the Gurkha army in Dzonga did not withdraw, the senior Gurkha government deputy would have to come to Dzonga since the Tibetans did not relish having to enter into their midst. If the Gurkhas in Dzonga did withdraw, they said, the Tibetan government deputies would come to Kyidrong.

In response, the Gurkha representatives said they were unable to come because of the severe cold. They said they could not overcome their suspicion that China and Tibet would do something deceitful, and also there was no way for the Gurkha troops in Dzonga to withdraw

^w Rishikesh Shaba, *Modern Nepal: A Political History 1769–1955* (Riverdale, Maryland: Riverdale, 1990), vol. 1, p. 55, indicates that Doring was Lama Zhamarwa's nephew by marriage.

in the absence of a treaty. As Lama Zhamarwa was supposedly not involved with the deception of the Tibetan government deputies, he would be responsible. Moreover, if the Tibetans did not trust him, then Yangpajen Monastery and its monastic estate would be responsible. In dependence upon this supposedly friendly report, the Tibetan deputies went to Kyidrong.

The Gurkha deputies, the king's relative Bhim Sahib, Achab Subidar, and Hasing Dzamadar, as well as the respected Gurkhas who were to negotiate the treaty, Brahmin Taksar Letokpa Hariha, and Drugyelpö Kachi Shingtapa, and so forth arrived. The site of the meeting was prepared, and a tent was pitched there. The seating arrangement had Lama Zhamarwa on a chair with the deputies from Sakya and Trashī Lhünpo to his right and the Gurkha negotiators Taksar and Kachi to his left. Also on the right were the cabinet minister and his assistant, and on the left the Gurkha deputy and his assistant. Wishing to inspire fear and caution, about five hundred Gurkha soldiers surrounded the tent.

There are many explanations about the basis for the dispute between Tibet and the Gurkhas. According to the Gurkhas, throughout the long history between Tibet and Nepal, there had been excellent and sincere relations. In more recent times, Tibetans had come to the assistance of the Sikkimese, a fact that had created disharmony between Tibet and the Gurkhas. The Tibetans did not respond to the many pleas concerning the use of pure coins and impure Nepali coins that had been minted during the time of the Kathmandu king. Heavy taxes were levied against Nepali traders and craftsmen. Recently, soldiers had been conducting war games at districts and estates in the Upper Tsang region, and the Tibetans had stockpiled weapons, ammunition, and so forth. As a result, the Gurkha army was dispatched without any difficulties. From that point, the Gurkhas held that since Nyanang, Rongshar, Kyidrong, and Dzonga were in their hands, they would not retreat. While they wanted a peace agreement, they insisted that the following terms must be accepted:

The Tibetan government is not allowed to assist Sikkim. In Tibet there had to be a ten percent tax on the value of salt and gold mining; mixing impurities into the salt is not permissible. It is not permissible to institute non-standard measuring devices. Nepali and Gurkha people in Tibet are taxed improperly while trading and doing crafts in Tibet; crafts cannot be taxed. The old Nepali coins can no longer be circulated in Tibet. We will withdraw our troops from the four regions where they are stationed,

but an annual tribute of three hundred dotsé of pure silver must be paid to each of the districts.^x

In response, the Tibetan deputy said:

Since Sikkim and Tibet are like a head and neck, we have in the past provided mutual assistance to each other. Thus, we will do so in the future. Since the salt and gold mines in Tibet have arisen through the good fortune of our land, we do not at all understand why we should initiate such innovations as imposing a ten percent duty. A council of deputies in the respective areas can come to an agreement as to whether there are impurities in our salt and inconsistency in our measuring devices. There is no way that these issues can be settled except through the traditional means of adjusting to local market conditions.

Traders seeking profit and craftsmen seeking skill are not only found among Nepalis, but the same sorts of people are among the people of Lhasa. If, aside from those law-abiding people who continuously pay their taxes, someone does not wish to pay the taxes that are due, they may not come to Tibet; otherwise, there is nothing left to say but to cite the example of a cataract on the eye.^y

Since Tibet does not produce coins and only uses those made during the reign of the Nepali king, they are the responsibility of the Gurkha authority in Nepal. Therefore, if the old Nepali coins are used in trade, you cannot say anything. It is utterly impossible to inflict such a terrible hardship on the religious institutions, including Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries.

Trashī Lhünpo monastic estate and Sakya hoped to find a way to bring about a sincere improvement in the relations between Nepal and Tibet; besides the peace talks, a massive Tibetan army gathered. Out of consideration for the preceptor-patron tradition, the Chinese Manchu emperor also dispatched a massive Chinese army to the border. In addition, as the large number of Chinese troops continued to arrive, there was no certainty what the Nepalis would do, not to mention what the district commanders might do. On both sides, there were all sorts of viewpoints on such matters as the size of the ransom to be paid. Finally, the negotiators came to terms on the issues, like clearing dzo through a narrow ravine.^z The minor issues were resolved through the confluence of many rivers, and they planned to make an original and a copy of the treaty.

^x Other sources, including Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press), 161, records the tribute as three hundred dotsé in total.

^y The example means that such a person doesn't see things clearly.

^z This simile means that a group of dzos cannot go through a narrow ravine as a group. They must be sent through one by one. Thus, the points of contention were dealt with in sequence.

Dechö Yongdzin Trülku, Tsedrön Zhalu Khenpo, and Tsang Dapön Betselwa had previously gone to the edge of Nyanang to confer a little on terms such as the following: without getting into the utterly unnecessary discussion about circulating the old coins, the exchange rate between the old and new coins can be discussed a little. The prices of trade goods sold between Tibet and the Gurkhas can be set. Customs duties and taxes on saddled animals can be set. The impurities mixed in salt can be discussed. From the beginning of the discussion of the treaty terms, we have said that if it is necessary to increase or decrease these factors a little, a solution can be found. There is serious disagreement over the ransom being asked for the district commanders. If it has to be paid, it will be difficult to get from the government treasury. There are tremendous problems with the phrase “annual tribute.” If these are not dispensed with directly, then it will be necessary to proceed to warfare. The Chinese army would provide whatever assistance was needed to achieve the goal.

This ought to have been reported to the Dalai Lama directly, but it was thought that nothing good would have come from it, and it would have led to more disputes.

The Tibetan delegates to the treaty discussion and their assistants sent a horse messenger to the Dalai Lama’s uncle with advice on the terms of the treaty. In reply, his uncle said:

By virtue of the unparalleled preceptor-patron relationship between China and Tibet, the Chinese emperor will dispatch a large militarily force. Given the maxim which says, “Although you have the merit to own a cow, your power to milk it has dried up.”^{aa} How could the Chinese officers already in Tibet extend a request to the emperor. Generally one should not entrust weapons to one’s enemy. With the Chinese traveling back and forth over Ü, Tsang, and Kham in Tibet, it is like the saying that there are two methods for dying, through the gods stopping the breath or through the evil spirits taking the poor; still, these methods are the same in that the person dies.^{ab}

Traveling provisions, horses, loads, and so forth owned by the government treasury and the people were destroyed. Thus, there is no hope of paying such a large compensation. They said that each district and estate should be given one hundred Chinese dotsé. Therefore, up to four hundred dotsé should be paid. Alternatively, five hundred dotsé could be paid for all of them together. Whichever is done, the money must be given. The funds must come from the government treasury and the Dalai Lama’s private treasury; whatever deficit remains will be borrowed from

^{aa} This is a mixed blessing to invite the Manchu because then one will not have control over events.

^{ab} This means that both the Gurkhas and the Chinese cause destruction, the former as invaders and the latter as invited allies. Still, in both cases, there was destruction.

Trashī Lhünpo, Sakya, and so forth. All of it must be sent immediately. The relevant offices, such as the cabinet, should be informed.

All of the records are in agreement that the Chinese not only expelled the Gurkha troops, but they had caused serious food shortages in Tibet. It was as if the Tibetans were not permitted to keep even five hundred dotsé of Chinese silver in the government treasury.

Tsemönling Regent Nomihen Ngawang Tsültrim had gone to China to be the leader of prayers.²³ It seems that during the ten years of his regency, the Dalai Lama and the cabinet had stored many valuables in the treasury. On the other hand, one wonders whether that wasn't used to provide for the grain provisions, horses, loads, and so forth.

Discussion about reducing the ransom for the district commanders continued from day to day. Finally, although no changes were made to the original treaty, a side agreement was reached whereby a sum of three hundred dotsé was set aside to pay the ransom. Thereafter, the districts and estates were to be transferred back to Tibet without reservation and the cost of the ransom was to be as it had been set down in the original agreement. The following year, when a committee of capable monk and lay people arrived in Kathmandu, Nepal, to request a reduction in the payment, the Gurkha and Tibetan parties considered a suitable arrangement. A side agreement was agreed upon which said that Lama Zhamarwa undertook the responsibility of obtaining an exemption from the above-mentioned payment. Representatives on both sides signed the original treaty and the side agreement. Both sides requested that the Chinese government representative affix his neutral seal, acting as a guarantor for both parties. Consequently, someone was sent to Shelkar to summon him.

Mu Amban and Trang Amban^{ac} arrived together with the official Nyentsongyé. They ordered that:

Both the Tibetan and the Gurkhas must continually protect their own separate area according to the terms of the treaty as detailed above. If anyone directly violates these provisions, the Chinese government will eject the violator.

^{ac} It was not possible to identify these figures. The Ambans serving around this time were Shulian (1788–1790), Bazhong (1788–1789), and Pufu (1789–1790). See Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Lhasa (A Chronological Study)*, 31–32.

This was impressed with their seals.²⁴

Since Tibet and the Gurkhas had reached agreeable treaty terms, they wanted the Chinese government to serve as the witness; Mu Amban suggested that it would be most auspicious if they sent a representative with presents to the Manchu emperor to express their gratitude on behalf of the Gurkha kingdom. Several days later, the Gurkhas received a reply from Bhim Sahib. Whether it was because they sought advice from the Gurkha kingdom in secret or for some other reason, it was decided that the best course was to send a delegate to present offerings after several days. Since the Gurkhas had never been to China, they did not know what to offer; thus they asked Mu Amban to come to Nepal immediately to advise them. The Chinese officer Nyentsongyé and several assistants left with Zhamarwa's steward Yeshé Gyeltsen as a guide. The ransom for the district commanders was paid to the Gurkha deputy in the form of a horseshoe shaped ingot of Chinese silver and three hundred dotsé. All of the Gurkha soldiers who were in Nyanang, Rongshar, Kyidrong, and Dzonga were withdrawn, and the government officials from the districts who were hostages were returned.

The internal minister Chintra Pādarin, together with whatever Chinese troops were suitable, went to have an audience with the emperor's preceptor, the Dalai Lama, in Lhasa, whereupon they returned to China. Ngao Changchung, accompanied by the representatives who were to convey the Gurkha tribute to the emperor, stayed in Zhikatsé. When the Gurkha representatives, Hari Sahib, Bala Bahadur, and ten assistants, arrived along with Nyentsongyé, the Chinese rushed them. Since this was against the wishes of the Gurkhas, they returned to Shelkar Ling for the night. Once again, Mu Amban, his assistants, and those residing at the Shelkar district gently urged them to follow from Nyanang to a place called Zhing. Ngao Changchung led them to China. According to Cabinet Minister Doring's biography, the Chinese officer disliked the Tibetan treaty and was ashamed of the ambans role as witness; thereby, since he had to present the original and the copy of the treaty to the emperor, he cut off the lower section of the paper with the witness's seal. The Tibetans did not have a copy of the treaty.

Hasadharma Sahib of Keptren Bam Sahi and forty assistants, including Śrī Kaśaupardhya, arrived from the Gurkha Royal House to offer gifts to the Dalai Lama and were given an elaborate reception. They presented the gifts to fortify agreeable relations with the Gurkha kingdom. According to the terms of the treaty, Tsedrön Döndrup Püntsoḱ and Shödrung Dölpo personally went to Nepal to deliver the ransom

for the district commanders. Tsang Dapön Betselwa demoted those responsible for losing Dzonga and Sanga. As the Gurkhas had been in the four districts of Upper Tsang for more than three years, there had been looting and destruction. Consequently, people were sent to investigate the needs of the public. Because of the circumstances under the Gurkhas, most of the monks from Kyidrong Samtenling Monastery had fled to the environs of Lhasa; Yongdzin Yeshé Gyeltsen called for the government's assistance. Thus, in 1790, they were settled at Driptsé Chokling Monastery on the south side of the Kyichu River near Lhasa.

While Tsemönling Trichen Nomihen Ngawang Tsültrim had been in China, he had done whatever he could to spread Buddhism. He also taught Buddhism to Manchu Emperor Qianlong and gave him consent to do certain practices. When troops had been sent to seize the small island called Taiwan (Formosa) in 1787, Fusi (Hesi) Trungtang and his soldiers were sent across the ocean, but could not reach the island due to a lack of wind. Thus, the emperor asked the regent to help by performing a ritual. As soon as he performed the rite of a wrathful deity, the desired wind rose up. The fact that the Chinese were able to seize the area is one of the great acts that made him famous.

The Gurkha troops in Tibet had caused destruction to the people of Upper Tsang, and the Chinese troops had disrupted everything along the road through Ü Tsang, Dokham, and elsewhere. In addition, there had been a decline in the government's political and economic fortunes. Consequently, the Dalai Lama and the cabinet gathered for a meeting in which they decided to send a representative to Beijing to invite Tsemönling Nomihen to return to his position as the Dalai Lama's assistant. Accordingly, on the ninth day of the tenth month of 1790, he returned to Lhasa to continue with his duties. Tatsak Nomihen Tenpé Gönpö was sent to Beijing temporarily to serve as the leader of prayers.²⁵

Regent Tsemönling Nomihen investigated negative occurrences that had transpired in the capital in his absence. Two servants who were the Dalai Lama's younger brothers, as well as Tsechak Lozang Khechok, Tsipön Risumpa, Chippön Munpawa, Norbu Lingkha's manager Dretsang Geshé, Lhalu Gatselwé Amchö, Chushur Trengdongpa of Zé Estate, Drakhangpa of Önsam district, Tsadi Lozang Döndrup, Tax Collector Lepjangpa, and Kyöngawa had committed crimes of varying severity. Thus, several of them were exiled. Since Cabinet Minister Dokhar (Rakshak) Sönam Wangyel had already died, it was decided that, because of his role in the Gurkha-Tibetan War, none of his sons

would be permitted to hold high public office unless they were specially appointed.²⁶

When a monk and a lay person with the rank of deputies were sent to ransom the district leaders, the Gurkha kingdom objected that they were of insufficient rank. Thus, they returned. Once again, the Dalai Lama's attendant Kenché Tokmé who was the retired lama of Sera Mé Monastery and Tsipön Debukpa were dispatched. The Gurkha king, his uncle Bahadur Shah, General Bhim Sahib, and Taksar Hari Lama Zhamarwa sent an urgent sealed letter about the necessity of sending someone to ransom the district officials. Thereby, the two former officials were sent to Nepal.

During the first month of 1791, Kenché Tokmé and Tsipön Debukpa arrived in Nepal. Although they engaged in talks according to their orders, in the absence of someone of a cabinet minister's rank, they were told there could be no substantive talks. Not only were there needless delays of that kind, but Kenché Tokmé became ill and died. The Gurkhas would not agree to hold talks with Tsipön Debukpa. They said that it was not necessary for Cabinet Minister Doring, and so forth to come into the center of Nepal, but that when they arrived at the market in Nyanang on the border, Lama Zhamarwa, Bhim Sahib, and so forth would come, and they could meet directly there. They would consider all of the issues between the Gurkhas and Tibet, including the ransoming of the district officials. At the same time, they could discuss the necessity of permitting Lama Zhamarwa and his attendants to return to their own land without any of the former malice exhibited by China and Tibet.

These proposals were sent to Lhasa where the cabinet and important government officials discussed them; they decided that it would be best if Cabinet Minister Doring and his assistants went to Nyanang immediately. However, Regent Trichen Nomihen said that previously both China and Tibet had been drawn into the Gurkhas' evil plans; thus, he responded privately that if they wanted to receive the ransom, it was unsuitable for Tibetans to be sent to Nepal. If the Gurkhas came to Tibet to receive it, they could not come as they had in the past. If the Gurkhas could be obstructed, then anything would be possible. Otherwise, if they could not be obstructed, then an army could be called up from Ü, Tsang, and Kham; he himself would directly lead the struggle, in reliance on his status as the holder of the golden throne of Ganden.

However, if enemies to Buddhism emerged, then it would become necessary to come to the support of the Tibetan army, like the example

of the monk who replaced his walking stick with a spear. As in the past, since it is not suitable to mix good and bad, like turnips and fish, the Gurkhas would have to be pursued and annihilated. In order to enact this right away, it would not be suitable for representatives to be sent. Because he said this, there was a delay. However, as if a demon wanted to interrupt Tibet's religious and political affairs, Regent Tri Rinpoché Nomihen suddenly died in the Potala for the benefit of others on the twenty-seventh day of the third month of 1791.

Regent Trichen Nomihen Ngawang Tsültrim became a monk in Domé (Amdo). Rising from amongst the ordinary monks, he progressed through his religious studies. He gradually became a Geshé Lharampa, then the prayer leader of the Tantric College of Upper Lhasa, and then finally the abbot. Subsequently, he became the central religious teacher in Beijing and because of his superior qualities, he entered the presence of Changkya Rölpé Dorjé and the Manchu Emperor Qianlong. Thereafter, he continued with his responsibilities as regent-assistant to the great emperor. He also served as the Ganden Throne Holder. After ten years of work as regent, he simultaneously acted as the prayer leader teaching Buddhism in China and as the emperor's lama. He stayed in Beijing for four years. Once again, he served as the regent for almost a year.

When trouble arose, and there was dissatisfaction over the exchange of the old and new Nepali coins between the private and monastic concerns and the traders, an order was issued in 1777 saying that they could be used in trade temporarily. Subsequently, a seventeen-point proclamation concerning the government treasury, storeskeeper, and revenue collection was issued. Among the offices of government, people in charge of districts, estates, stewardships, treasury, storeskeeper, revenue collection, measurements, accounting, the camp commander of Domé and Dotö, horse boys, and muleskinners were to be taxed. Powerful lay and religious institutions were enjoined from earning illicit profits by charging simple interest and compound interest on debts held by people from government, private, and religious estates. People were called upon to use corvée transportation only if they had official permission.

The Regent Trichen had issued a seven-point proclamation in 1780, following up on it firmly. The main image of Sera Mé Monastery's Tösamling, a statue of great enlightenment, was newly constructed, and the Tsemönling monastic estate and monastery were founded. The Shedrupling monastic estate of Sera Monastery was constructed in 1783.

The Potala was refurbished, and the wall murals of Lhasa's Tsuklakhang were restored in 1786. During this time, the government residences paid actual wages and did not conscript workers, as was customary.

The road around the palace that had been built during Desi Sangyé Gyatso's time was customarily populated by government officials performing their civil duties, people making religious offerings, and travelers performing rites of blessing. That road was restored and protected during his tenure. Silver and copper ritual implements for the two prayer gatherings were newly made. In 1783, the Dalai Lama's personal physician Rongpa Emchi Khutsen prescribed medicines of all sorts through thirty famous and skilled physicians throughout Ü Tsang, Kham, and Amdo; they were used to counteract illnesses due to cold, heat, excesses, poison, and so forth and were valued at four hundred thousand sang of silver. As a consequence of the trouble over the old and new Nepali coins, the Tibetan government issued their own new coins. Such efforts are among the regent's inconceivable activities in the religious and political spheres.

As an example of the perpetual nature of his religious devotions, he would rise at midnight and recite prayers until daybreak. At dawn, he would eat breakfast and then work hard at his political responsibilities, issuing orders impressed with his seal and so forth. He would take his lunch in the afternoon and perform two sessions of mantra recitation until the evening. Then, foregoing sleep in the evenings, he would perform one more session; he practiced the four session yoga continually.^{ad} He always kept his head in Tsongkhapa's *Great Exposition on the Stages of the Path of Sūtra* and his *Great Exposition on the Stages of the Path of Secret Mantra*.^{ae} They were kept by his pillow; whenever he had free time, he would study them. He passed beyond a limited awareness.²⁷ He had an honest character, and he could become angry easily, but then he would become calm down easily. He had a very loud voice.

^{ad} Four session yoga (*thun bzhi rnal 'byor*) does not identify a particular meditative practice. Instead it indicates that whichever practice is being done will be performed during four separate sessions during the day.

^{ae} Jeffrey Hopkins has translated Tsongkhapa's massive *Great Exposition on the Stages of the Path of Secret Mantra* and published a series of books with his own introductions and commentary by the present Dalai Lama. The books are as follows: (1) *Tantra in Tibet* (London: George Allen Unwin, 1977), (2) *Deity Yoga in Action and Performance Tantra* (London: George Allen Unwin, 1981), (3) *Yoga Tantra: Paths to Magical Feats* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 2005).

Sometimes, when he would become angry, he would grab whatever was in front of him and throw it without hesitation.

One time, Cabinet Minister (Doring) Tendzin Peljor, Cabinet Minister Dzasak Lama Kelzang Namgyel, Cabinet Minister (Yutok) Trashi Döndrup, and Cabinet Minister Dzasak (Horkhang Sarwa) Sönam Trashy met with him to give advice about the payment of tribute to the Gurkhas according to the treaty. The regent became terribly angry over the discussion. He picked up a cup of barley flour before him and threw it at the cabinet ministers. Thus, all of them had the appearance of flour millers. There were many funny stories like that. In addition, the Chinese Manchu emperor praised him very highly, speaking of his great loyalty to China.

As soon as the Dalai Lama ordered him to Beijing to serve as the leader of prayers, Tatsak Nomihen Tenpé Gönpö went. A horse courier was sent to explain this. Thus, he had already left Tsongöñ Lake and traveled to the capital. As was customary, he was made the emperor's assistant, and he assumed his administrative responsibilities.

Threatening reports continually arrived from Lama Zhamarwa in Nepal about the dire situation. Accordingly, the regent and the ministers conferred about the ransoming of the district leader. Cabinet Minister (Doring) Tendzin Peljor, Cabinet Minister (Yutok) Trashy Döndrup, and seven monk and lay officials were appointed to oversee the matter.²⁸ When they reached in Zhikatsé, a letter arrived by way of the horse bridge. It said that Lama Zhamarwa and Tshipön Debukpa, along with Gurkha General Bhim Sahib and Kazi Kalo Pādé,²⁹ who were coming from Nepal, had reached Littipakot near Nyanang. However, Tshipön Debukpa had become ill and so the Tibetan government should send a doctor immediately. The Tibetan deputies decided that if they waited without immediately proceeding to the Nyanang Market, they had no certainty of what would happen. Accordingly, the matter was quickly explained to Doctor Tsarong Jedrung and the official Dölpor Dongpa of Zhikatsé. They left, but Tshipön Debukpa was already dead by the time the doctor arrived in Nyanang.

When messengers reached the Potala Palace in Lhasa and the cabinet ministers and their assistants were apprised of the situation, they presented a letter written by the Nyasho deputy and Nepo Kotangpa. According to this letter, Lama Zhamarwa, Bhim Sahib, and Kazi Damdar Pādé had reached Littipakot; the Tibetans had heard that the Gurkha faction was making extensive military preparations and stockpiling rice. The cabinet said that the Nyanang Market was too small to hold

talks there; if they were unsatisfied with going or staying, they should just stay together at Pelgyeling if they liked. Without sufficient reserve troops to back up the Tibetans, they were instructed not to trust the Gurkhas.

The party had waited in Shelkar for several days for the cabinet's reply to arrive. Their large forces were not to make preparations immediately; instead, they were to gradually disperse whatever troops had gathered. If they led soldiers to Nyanang, then the foreigners would be apprehensive and this would disrupt the negotiations. They should be prepared to move when necessary. They were to stop at Dingri; otherwise, it would unsuitable if they cross Tongla Pass. Rather the Tibetans had to make immediate preparations to hold talks in the Nyanang Market itself, according to the wishes of the foreigners.

When the soldiers backing up the negotiators arrived, they would be able to stay at Shödrung Namseling. The two cabinet ministers and their functionaries arrived at the Nyanang Market and stayed at Shokhang. The Gurkha Zamidar and several troops arrived to say that several Tibetan deputies should be sent to Dram in the Nya region in order to hold preliminary talks. Accordingly, Tenling Dza Lama, Kanda's representative, and the district official of Nyasho left for Dram with the Gurkha Zamidar.

From the afternoon of the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month of 1791, the Gurkha Dzamidar and many troops began to arrive to make preparations at the Nyanang Market. Since the people of Rongpa who dealt in salt and rice celebrated the important holiday of Mahādeva at that time, they asked permission to hold the affair in the Shokhang courtyard, performing religious dramatic performance, playing stick games, and so forth. Many of the people from Rongpa were beating drums and playing in all sorts of ways.

The Tibetan cabinet ministers and dapöns were watching the festival from their chambers; while they sat there, at daybreak of the twenty-second,^{af} Dzamidar sent many disguised soldiers into Shokhang under the pretense of offering ritual food to the cabinet ministers. At the same time, the Rongpas that were celebrating also turned out to be soldiers. They filled Shokhang, and Gurkha troops surrounded the building from all directions. They captured Cabinet Minister Gapzhi Doring, Cabinet

^{af} The date should perhaps be the twenty-eighth in order to correspond to the previous date.

Minister Yutok, and Dapön Changlochenpa. In fighting against the Tibetan functionaries and servants, thirty-five of the servants of the cabinet ministers and dapöns were killed, including Shödrung Gokharwa, Bentsa Lhopa, and the Shelkar district's Jangbukpa. About ten others were wounded. More than one hundred Gurkha soldiers were killed or wounded, and thus, Shokhang was filled with blood and the bodies of the dead and wounded.

The hands of the cabinet ministers and the dapön were bound behind their backs with rope. Surrounded by Gurkha soldiers, they were led off to Nepal. On the way, several of the attendants were severely wounded, including the Yutok treasurer Gepo, the Gazhi treasurer Gashakpa, and Sönam Tsewang of Dujung Mönkyipa. They were taken to Dram along with the cabinet ministers and the dapön. Speaking with gravity and with tears, they said they were not guilty of being cowards, and there was no concern that they would run away or capitulate to their enemies. Through deception and because of the disparity in numbers, this horrible thing had happened. Fortunately, nothing further happened to these officials. It is like the verse which says, "In life, we have no owners, but in death, our bodies do." One shouldn't have regrets. They remarked that however long people have in this human world, they should not act like people of the Kali Yuga,^{ag} but should try to be helpful to each other and be friendly.

It seemed that the Gurkha army had planned this hypocritical scheme beforehand. Tenling Dza Lama and so forth were also captured from Dram and taken to Nepal. One division of the Gurkha forces attacked Shelkar from Nyanang by way of Dingri, another attacked by way of Kyidrong, and a third by way of Rongshar.³⁰ Reports of the Gurkha's treachery—the arrest of two cabinet ministers, how they were taken away to Nepal, and how the Gurkha had attacked Shelkar and Dingkyé in large numbers—gradually reached Lhasa. The cabinet immediately recruited troops from districts and estates throughout the country, and services were performed for the religious and political system by all monasteries without regard to school, including Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, the tantric colleges of upper and lower Lhasa, Sakya's Ngordzong, Dorjé Drak, and Mindroling.

^{ag} It is both a Hindu and a Buddhist belief that the universe is presently in the Kali Yuga or the Era of Decline (*snyings dus*), a time of diminishing lifespans and ever greater corruption.

It was necessary to achieve important military objectives, such as bringing the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché to Lhasa. The Manchu amban in Lhasa Baotai sent a letter to Beijing reporting that the thieving Gurkha army had returned to Upper Tsang and that a Chinese army must be sent to back up the Tibetan troops immediately. In addition, as the Gurkha army had reached the environs of Trashi Lhünpo Monastery, the amban suggested that it would be best if the Dalai Lama and the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché went to Chamdo for the time being.

Several of the senior government officials, such as Nomchi Khenpo, took care of the most important images in the chapels, the gold and silver, and so forth. Thus, they concerned themselves with Lhasa's Tsuklakhang and the area around the palace. Beyond that, no consideration was given to how the foreigners should be confronted and obstructed. The conqueror's son Śāntideva said:^{ah}

Some, seeing their own blood, show extraordinary valor,
While some faint even at the sight of others' blood.

Accordingly, several timid Ü soldiers including the regional commander Gyariwa, and so forth began to spread rumors about the foreign forces, without having actually seen them. It was reported that the Gurkha army had utterly destroyed Trashi Lhünpo, and they were supposed to be coming to Lhasa by way of both Gang and Rong on the twenty-third day of the eighth month. As a result, the attendants urgently appealed that the Dalai Lama and his spiritual son, the Paṇchen Lama, must go to Chamdo immediately.³¹

In seeing this, the people of Lhasa, monks and lay people, old and young, were like blind people misled by their guide or like motherless children. Hence, that time was called the "Year without Our Protector." Whatsoever people had, wealth, jewelry, and so forth, was offered to propitiating deities for protection. They raised a clamor in supplication for a speedy audience with the golden countenance of the Dalai Lama. Being unable to bear this, the Dalai Lama went to Lhasa's Tsuklakhang and offered prayers before the two Jowo images. In particular, he relied upon and earnestly called upon Pelden Lhamo. Drops of perspiration fell from Pelden Lhamo's forehead; all of the people there saw it. After

^{ah} Śāntideva, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 6:17. See Vesna and B. Alan Wallace, *A Guide to the Bodhisattva Way of Life* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1997), 63.

having finished his pilgrimage, the Dalai Lama addressed the people from the threshold of the courtyard, saying:

The Gurkha army will not be able to come to Lhasa. Everyone should be careful. In particular, the government officials must not be in such a hurry, but must work to stabilize matters.

However, lacking faith at the time, both of the Manchu ambans in Lhasa came before the Dalai Lama saying that because of the great strength of the Gurkha army, there was no saying what would happen to him if he remained, and thus it would be best if he went to Chamdo for the time being.³²

However, the active and retired officials and masters of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries gathered at the Potala where they planned to collect the valuable religious articles including those in the Tsuklakhang and the Potala Palace; they hoped to escape with them. They told people to protect the permanent name of the government, ranks, regional leaders who gained their livelihoods from paternal estates, dapöns, monk and lay government officials, and family estates that had been given by the government. If Tibetan society is not protected, they were told, it could be lost forever. Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries were to maintain themselves through the grace of the government. Thus, they said:³³

We should take responsibility for reversing the tide of the military and the monk soldiers should take responsibility for protecting the Dalai Lama, the area around the palace, and the Tsuklakhang. The Gurkhas are humans and we Tibetans are also humans. What is there to be frightened of? We don't pay attention to the amban alone. Since they are Chinese, they cannot conduct Tibet's policy. Also in the previous year, beyond just oppressing Tibet, the Chinese relied upon the enemy. Without fighting for even a single day, they had pushed a peace agreement on us. The current situation is a consequence of that peace agreement. The Dalai Lama has said that the enemies of Buddhism, the Gurkhas, will not come to Lhasa. We must take hold of his adamantine instructions. Thus, his departure for Chamdo is being delayed.

The biography of the Gomang Abbot Chödar discusses these events:³⁴

The Abbots of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries met before the Dalai Lama, and the Gomang Abbot said:

Compassionate Conqueror, the monks of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries want to know if you are going to go elsewhere.

The Dalai Lama responded:

I would be happy without doing that. However, because of his great power, the amban will not listen.

However, we, all of the lamas, asked permission to go and explain the matter to the amban. The abbot said:

If the conqueror and his son do not stay, there will be no way to preserve Buddha's teachings in the land of Tibet. Those of us from Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries have not encouraged him to go to another place; thus, if he does not leave, we take responsibility for preventing any harm from coming. What is there for you to consider?

The several tens of thousands of monks at Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries would be able to protect the Dalai Lama and the Pañchen Lama. That was the idea. Thus, the amban became angry; he refused to permit such a plan. Since the responsibility for this was our own, there was nothing for him to do without being invited. Thereafter, the abbot himself became more vehement, saying:

However, it was decided not to issue an invitation. Why don't you go to Kumbum Monastery for the time being? First, I must have your decision.

Since this was spoken with such courage, the amban had no recourse. He was concerned for what might happen if he recounted the turn of events to the emperor. However, all of us, the lamas from Sera and Drepung monasteries could not encourage the conqueror to go. The amban reported to the emperor that he had tried in all ways, but he could find a way to get the Dalai Lama to go to Eastern Tibet, and so the Dalai Lama and the Pañchen Lama would remain in Lhasa. The abbot issued orders to the young monks of the various monasteries that they must protect the Potala Palace and obstruct the road before and behind it. Everyone volunteered to do whatever he said.

An army consisting of ten thousand volunteer troops was called up from Ü Tsang, Dakpo, Kongpo, the four areas of the northern region, Dimchi Nyernga, and the six valley of Dokham. Three thousand Chinese-trained Ü Tsang troops were placed under the command of Cabinet Minister (Horkhang Sarwa) Dzasak Sönam Trashi and the official Pokhang. The Chinese-trained Ü Tsang troops and the regional armies from Panam, Tingkyé, and Shangchok gradually reached Sakya, Lhatsé, Püntsok Ling, Zhé, and Tanak. Thus, the Gurkha's supply of provisions, weapons, and so forth was cut off, and reinforcements were sent to Zhikatsé by the set time.

The two cabinet ministers, Tenling Dza Lama, and Dapön Jang Jenpa, who had been deceptively seized by the Gurkha troops from Nyanang

and Dram, were imprisoned in a village not far from Kathmandu. Divisions were posted in remote outposts at a place called Tsenkun Ṇarṇa. A great number of Gurkha troops marched on Zhikatsé and stole whatever important possessions there were in the Trashi Lhünpo monastic estate, the crown, ear, and other ornaments on the images in the temples, ornaments on the reliquaries, golden ritual vessels, and other ritual items, and so forth. Valuables from the Zhikatsé Castle, the residences in the town, and all of the resources of the traders were also looted without restraint.

At the same time, through the activities of the glorious Lhamo, lightning struck near the palace in Kathmandu. Thereby, several people were burned. People did not use mules in Nepal, but that night a mule came out from within the small Lhamo chapel in front of the precious stūpa. It rushed into the center of the city and brayed. Each night, a pack of jackals wailed at Lama Zhamarwa's residences in Dram. Many such inauspicious omens arose. Also in Zhikatsé, a naked woman constantly ran through the Gurkha camp, and the sound of crying was heard.

Immediately, dysentery spread through the Gurkha ranks. Many of them died or went insane; the Tibetan troops surrounded them from all sides. They had an angry countenance as they approached. In any case, the Gurkha army stayed in Zhikatsé area for about four months. On the sixth day of the eighth month of 1791, they pillaged and destroyed Trashi Lhünpo and Zhikatsé, and then they withdrew to the Shelkar and Nyakyi region.³⁵

As explained above,^{ai} there were disputes over the exchange rate of the old and new Nepali coins, the worn out smooth coins, those whose designs were marred, those with frayed edges, those with copper and zinc impurities, and so forth; the problem was over whether or not these aged coins should be traded. In the end, the Tibetans and Gurkhas met in war.

On another front, there had been serious losses in the monastic endowments and in trade for the government, private, and religious concerns in Tibet. Money was needed for transporting provisions and fodder for both Chinese and Tibetan troops, and so forth. As a result, the Tibetan government considered issuing new coins itself, and so, the Zhölingül Mint was newly built.

^{ai} See p. 473 ff.

Thus, Tibetan silver coins having a value of five ngül, sho, gang, and gar were newly distributed with the number 13/46 in the design; that number stood for the forty-sixth year of the thirteenth sexagenary cycle (1792). There were fifteen lotus petals on the outermost edge of the coin. It was possible to cut the coins, each section being valued at one karma. Thus, their values were standardized. The lotus petals were also on the back. A proclamation with the Dalai Lama's seal was announced along with the introduction of these coins in 1792, saying that they were to be traded for the genuine old and new Nepali coins in all places without needing to set any special exchange rate.

According to a foreign source written by interior minister Fusi Gungdā Truntang (*phu zi gung rdā krung thang*), in that same year, twenty thousand Chinese and Solong³⁶ troops, having come from Nakchu River, Namru, Nam Tsokha, Naksang, Yakpa, and so forth by way of Domé (Amdo) under the leadership of Fu Kangan³⁷ and the Solong Bahadurs, the interior ministers Hay and Gung, joined up with the Tibetan forces in the Shelkar region that had come from Ngamring. The Manchu emperor sent the troops from China because of his unsurpassed devotion to his preceptor, the Dalai Lama. Likewise, under the leadership of the Manchu Bahadurs, Ngao Dārin and Trintu Changchun (*khrin thu cang cung*), ten thousand Manchu and Chinese troops³⁸ gradually reached Lhasa by way of Dotö (Kham), Dartsedo, and Chamdo on the third and fourth days of 1792. After offering greetings to the Dalai Lama, they joined up in Shelkar with the Tibetan troops who had come from Gangrong by way of Zhikatsé. Thus, there was a small skirmish with the Gurkha troops in Nyanang, Kyidrong, and Rongshar, where the Gurkhas suffered terrible losses. Since the Chinese and Tibetan troops pursued those who escaped, they ended up in Nepali territory.

The battlefield where the Chinese and Tibetan troops had reached within Nepal became their base camp, and they made exaggerated threats about the destruction of the three Nepali kingdoms. As a result, they immediately coerced the Nepalis to provide accommodations, food, and drink for the two cabinet ministers, Gapzhi Doring and Yutok, who were in prison.

The Gurkhas had asked Lord Cornwallis,^{aj} the British viceroy in India, for military assistance. However, beyond providing mediators,

^{aj} Lord Charles Cornwallis, who was the Governor-General of India from 1789 until his death in 1805, had served earlier as an important British general during the American Revolutionary War, where he lost a notable battle at Yorktown.

they would not agree to provide military assistance.³⁹ Thus, the Gurkha king himself, Rana Bahadur Shah, fled for the Indian-Nepal border under the pretense of going hunting. Lama Zhamarwa, unable to bear the shame for what he had done, ate poison and died. It had become a tremendously disagreeable place to stay. Bahadur Shah, the uncle of the Gurkha king, sent two Nepalis who had been to Lhasa, Machen Dara and Zhönpa Langchen Gyenden, to call on Cabinet Minister Gapzhiwa. Bahadur Shah said:

There is no way we should avoid considering the unity of Gurkhas, Tibetans, and Indians. However, since Zhamarwa was the Pañchen Lama's brother, he was frustrated that he had not been given his recently deceased brother's possessions. Thus, he insisted that an army be sent to Trashi Lhünpo. Consequently, since the Gurkha king had high regard for Zhamarwa's intellectual work, he complied, feeling it was difficult to refuse. Now, [Zhamarwa] was also forced to take poison and die.

All of the Chinese, Nepali, and Tibetan troops suffered terrible oppression. Now, you Tibetans should take the wealth that had been stolen from Trashi Lhünpo. It will be brought to a meeting place where the Chinese and Tibetan troops are camped. Hence, instructions must be issued so that your troops do not cross the Nepali border.

Bahadur Shah made many excuses for the situation, like the barking of a lost fox. Cabinet Ministers Gapzhiwa said:

Although we certainly could go to the Tibetan camp to convey this appeal, it would be best if the Gurkha king himself went along with us. In the alternative, you Bahadur Shah, the king's uncle, should go to the place where the Chinese and Tibetan troops are gathered. You should adopt this straightforward approach. Otherwise, if we go along there could be difficulties in blocking the advance of the Chinese and Tibetan troops.

Three Gurkha ministers—Kazi Ratna Pāḍé, Taksar Letok Narayan Sinha, and Śrī Kṛṣṇa—were sent on behalf of the government. Dapön Changlochenpa Trashi Püntsoḱ had already passed away because of the heat. Cabinet Ministers Gapzhiwa and Yutok arrived to halt the progress of the Chinese and Tibetan troops who were coming from Nyanang, these being the Chinese officers who had recaptured Nyanang and Kyidrong and the cabinet deputies who secured Dram; all of them had previously been sent from the Kyidrong region, Nyanang, Shobo Takla Pass, and Nedong.⁴⁰

The commotion of the war meant that the roads were congested with new reinforcements who were on the move and with Gurkha soldiers who were carrying many of the wounded. They came into the midst of

a cacophony of sound of the “po ki swa,”^{ak} the beating of drums, and the blowing of conch shells among the Chinese and Tibetan troops at a place about thirty miles from Kathmandu called Nepal Castle. The Gurkhas made signs of peace and met with the commander of the Ü troops, Dapön Pajo Lhakhangpa Tendzin Namgyel, and the leader of Solong Bātur Hegung. They discussed the movement of troops below their district, and they were told that they must go to meet with the commanders-in-chief of the Chinese and Tibetan forces. The Manchu commander-in-chief, Fu Kangan, was at a place called Depung⁴¹ on the side of Chupari Mountain that day. Since the Tibetan commander-in-chief, Cabinet Minister Dzasak (Hor Khangsarwa) Sönam Trashi Rongtsé, had died, he was replaced by Cabinet Minister Hor (Shedra) Kunga Peljor.

That night, they stayed at Nepal Castle and thus did not arrive at Fusi Trungtang’s camp until the following day, the afternoon of the twenty-seventh day of the sixth month of 1792. Cabinet ministers Gazhiwa and Yutok met with the Chinese officer, and the king’s uncle Bātur Shah recounted the situation in detail. Subsequently, when the Gurkha deputies met the Tibetans and Chinese in a special reception tent, the two cabinet ministers sat on one side while Trungtang spoke through a Manchurian translator as follows:

Since the Gurkha ministers have accepted their own shame, they should in fact bow in a respectful manner. Tselharap, the Gurkha king, or some other responsible officers must come. The corpse of the deceased Lama Zhamarwa, his wife Bumo La, and his servants must be turned over as hostages, and the wealth that had been stolen from Trashi Lhünpo and Zhikatsé must be returned. If that is done then the attack forces will be withdrawn. Otherwise, Nepal will be utterly destroyed. Thus, Kazi Ratna Pāḍé and Taksar Narayan Sinha are to be kept here as hostages. Upon returning to Nepal, you must send a suitable reply within two weeks.

At the same time, the Chinese and Tibetan troops who had come from the Nyanang region gathered at a place about twenty miles from Kathmandu called Nawakot.

The Gurkha representative Śrī Kṛṣṇa immediately left to go to the capital to explain things, and as a result the king and the ministers of Nepal conferred. Thus, the most responsible figures in Gurkha

^{ak} This is a shortened version of an utterance often heard in ritual contexts, “Ki ki so so lha gyal lo” (*ki ki so so lha rgyal lo*), which means “The gods are victorious!” On special days, such as Losar, this line is articulated just before a small handful of tsampa flour is tossed into the air.

politics, Bhim Sahib, Kula Bātur, Juta Bātur, and others, sent letters to the Gurkha king himself and to his uncle Bātur Shah. The cremated remains of Lama Zhamarwa as well as Gakpa Gelek had already been sent to Tibet. The chief cook, Jedrung, ate poison on the road and died. Zhamarwa's steward, Yeshé, and Zhamarwa's wife, Bumo La, about twenty monk officials, and the religious articles that had been stolen from Trashi Lhünpo and Zhikatsé arrived at the camp along with about three hundred Rongpa porters.

The Tibetan government's newly appointed commander-in-chief, Cabinet Minister (Shedra Hor) Kūnga Peljor, had also arrived. The Nepali officers and Zhamarwa's servants met with the Chinese and Tibetan officials. The essence of their discussions was as follows:

The government of Nepal wanted to reduce the unnecessary reparations due to the Chinese and Tibetan armies, and the Tibetan government also wanted to discontinue paying the tribute to the Nepal government for the ransoming of the district officials according to the terms of the treaty of the previous year. The old Nepali coins, the new Gurkha coins, and the new Tibetan coins would be exchanged on an equal basis. The old Nepali coins that had impurities of copper and alloys would not be exchanged. New inscribed stone pillars would be erected designating the Nepal-Tibet border in accordance with the agreement between the records and the recollection of older people living in the area.

Likewise, the Gurkhas also would not attack Sikkim, Lobo, Dzumli, and other such places. Rice that came from Nepal and salt that came from Tibet were to be sold in the various markets such as Nyanang, Kyidrong, and Rongshar without impurities. The prices of products that were produced in the respective countries were to be determined by representatives of the Gurkha and Tibetan governments, taking into account the effect those prices would have on both parties. Tibetan master builders of sacred structures, people collecting medicines, pilgrims, and others were to be allowed to enter Nepal, and no improper taxes were to be applied. Similarly, Nepali craftsmen and traders were to be allowed to enter Tibet and no improper taxes were to be applied. The Gurkha government was to send a representative to China every five years to make offerings.

Both sides decided such issues in a mutually agreeable manner, but they did not sign the same protocols and treaties.

I have not obtained copies of such things as the treaties. In my English-language book, *Tibet: A Political History*, I wrote that the records:^{al}

^{al} Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press), 168.

...do not reveal the decisions arrived at concerning the reduction of tribute, the conditions governing trade between the two countries, or the devaluations of the old coinage.

However, the points discussed above were set down in Cabinet Minister Doring's autobiography, *The Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*. I am still searching for a source so that I can include it here.

During this time, while Cabinet Minister Doring Tendzin Peljor was in Nepal, he heard that his paternal grandparents had died. He composed a poem about the arrival of the Chinese and Tibetan troops in Nepal, as follows:^{am}

The Gurkha army that wears Benares muslin
Prepared to wage war in Upper Tsang in Tibet.
Out of their conceit, in one moment, they stole
The wealth of Trashi Lhünpo Monastery that had no peer anywhere.

The group of enemies who were injured in the noisy battle
Waged war against strangers in an unknown land,
Wasting all food, drink, and amenities,
And returning home, like fish in the desert.

The Six-armed Protector Mahākāla who protects the doctrine of the One
Gone Thus [the Buddha],
Manifesting implicitly as a pair of ordinary crows,
Led them to safety, without their being injured or killed,
As if calling, "Come this way, on the quick and secret path."

Like the entwined pattern of an endless knot
Suspecting the dreaded opponents would come to U from Tsang,
Like a banner is blown by the wind,
Everyone scattered in all directions—four cardinal and eight intermediary.

^{am} This poem, written by Cabinet Minister Doring Tendzin Peljor (b. 1760) of the Gazhi family, summarizes events recounted in the previous pages. It is an extremely difficult poem to understand and to translate because it follows a strict convention; each consecutive line of verse begins with the successive letter of the alphabet. After running through the alphabet's thirty consonants, the thirty-first and thirty-second lines begin with the twenty-ninth and thirtieth letters once again. The second time running through the alphabet, the twenty-ninth and thirtieth lines both commence with the twenty-ninth letter, and the thirty-first and thirty-second lines begin with the thirtieth letter. Both patterns are repeated again in the third and fourth procession through the alphabet, respectively. Several letters of the Tibetan language are not used in many words. Hence, this imposed rule results in both an awkwardness of expression and unnaturalness of word choice.

At that time, close by Tsari Mountain, in Jayül (*bya yul*),
 When the local inhabitants moved hastily,
 Like the Daughter of Zahu [i.e., the Ganges River],
 They were relieved, like someone who had given birth.

Like a mysterious vision, the magical reincarnation
 Of Jampa Mönlam, a master of the Yellow Hat sect,
 Was born in my family, the Gazhi family;
 Wonderful clear signs of his authenticity appeared.

During the time of the Kyapgön Tatsak,^{an}
 The regent of the land surrounded by the snow-capped mountains,
 The Chinese and Mongols, the blood-thirsty carnivores, invaded from
 Gyalrong
 And reached Tibet at the command of the emperor.

Though not very learned in the affairs of the world,
 Taiji Pasang Tsering was a devotee of the true teaching,
 And his merit was amazing.
 His father died on his way back home.

In front of the inner minister Trungtang,^{ao} to my ancestor who was the
 crown jewel of Tibet,
 And who carried the weight of his duties like a pillar,
 The celestial emperor expressed
 His condolence for my falling into the enemy's hands.

Without measuring it on a balancing scale, forty thousand loads (*khel*)
 of clean non-defective grain
 Was offered from the carefully guarded reserves
 To make tsampa for the Chinese army in Jayül
 In order to repay the kindness of the Chinese emperor.

Whenever he received an order to continue his work
 The minister obedient to the Dalai Lama,
 The scholar of the humanities, the paṇḍita,^{ap}
 Accepted the assignment, despite his age and ill health, withstanding
 the hardships.

^{an} Tatsak Nomihen Tenpé Gönpo (1760–1810), the third Kündeling incarnation, served as the eighth Dalai Lama's assistant, the leader of prayers in Beijing, and most importantly, the regent of Tibet. He held the latter post for most of two decades surrounding the turn of the 19th century.

^{ao} Trungtang is the name of the Chinese general who commanded the troops to Tibet.

^{ap} Likely, the person being referred to here is Trichen Nomihen Ngawang Tsültrim (1721–1791), who had served as the previous regent (1777–1786). He was old at the time and died of a heart attack in the middle of these events. See Tsepon Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press), 163.

Migyur Sönam,^{aq} a little son of his father,
 Favored more than his father by Trungtang,
 Overcame the evil thoughts and works of unworthy people,
 Through his unwavering effort, as strong as a mansion.

Though residing on top of mountains, like partridges,
 People suffering as if in the hot hells, Ten[gye]ling,
 Dza[sak] La[ma Kelzang Namgyel], Ka[lôn Cabinet Minister] Yu[tok
 Trashi Döndrup], Da[pön] Changlochen, and myself [Cabinet Minister
 Doring]
 Were trapped like foxes.

Because of the disastrous advice of Zhamar Lama,
 Provisions of food and drink were rare and far away;
 But due to some blessings in disguise for us,
 We continued to practice the peerless profound points of mind training.

Many goats, buffaloes, oxen, boars, and bulls
 Were sacrificed
 In the place of the Hindu god [Viṣṇu]
 Who covered the three realms of existence in one step at Viṣṇupada.^{ar}

Ah! From the vast land of Tsangkunṇaraṇ,
 We reached Boudhanāth Stūpa pilgrimage site,
 The great stūpa built by Ama Jazi,
 Wonderful, like the fragrance of hari sandalwood!

Calling out “Kisva!” when the Gurkha soldiers returned home from Tibet,^{as}
 Like the cuckoos returning home to Mön,^{at}
 Displaying their heroism like [King] Gesar,
 A share of the marvelous treasure was given to Zhamar Lama.

Why did they melt down gold and silver statues rarely found in the universe
 To make jewelry, as if they were only means of exchange?
 Like water flowing downhill,^{au} these evil plans
 Will lead to the experience of the ripening of ever greater suffering.

My grandfather, Noyön, with a very pure altruistic attitude, as white as
 Mount Kailash,
 A keen intellect like that of Tönmi Sambhoṭa,
 And an understanding of the meaning of reality,
 Dissolved his Form Body into the sphere of reality [i.e., he died].

^{aq} This figure is unidentified in Shakabpa's narrative.

^{ar} The allusion is to an event recounted in the Rg Veda in which Viṣṇu strode across the entire universe in three steps. See p. 313 above.

^{as} “Kisva!” is an exclamation of triumph.

^{at} Mön can connote Bhutan, a smaller area in southern Tibet, or the general region that includes those and Sikkim.

^{au} Just as it is inevitable that water will flow downhill, so the ripening of karma is irrevocable.

The Beijing king [i.e., the emperor] provided the requisites for the funeral ceremony;

Extensive observances were conducted everywhere.

The sorrow of Beri people was universally felt by relatives,

Regardless of their gender.

Fearing that the forces of China and Tibet, the Land of Snows

Might come crashing onto the Nepalese side,

Ten[gye]ling Dza was sent in pursuit

To stop the despairing and confused Zhamar.

An ordinary biased person like me

Performed the visualization accompanying the introduction of the “emé” prayer

To the late Da[pön] Chang[lochen] Ta[shi] Pun[tsok],

And elevated his consciousness to a more appropriate birthstate.

Relying on grass and water, like deer,

When we continuously strove toward virtue,

A share of doe-colored sacred relics appeared from the stūpa

Was obtained by those of us with merit.

The arising of laughter, “He he!” is not a mistaken dream.

Yet, it is a dream omen that purifies us children of sins and obscurations.

Through the kindness of the excellent lama, Heruka,

We received the blessing of Ogyen [Padmasaṃbhava] before the stūpa.

Uttering “Kisva!” when the victorious Tibet-China army

Marched like Gesar’s army when subduing demons,

Striking with a multitude of weapons and fists,

The shameful Gurkha king and ministers

Tried their best to engage in plenty of discussions.

However, when it became like a dam being flooded,

Even though their wish to fight increased,

They asked me to come over, thinking they would be hurting themselves.

A man in an iron hat and an elephant were sent to receive me;

And I was summoned before the contemptible Gurkha king.

“Leave within the next few days without delay!”

Howled the evil ox-like king in his fox voice.

When the army of the celestial emperor of Beijing

Surrounded from all sides, high, low and middle

The hard-headed and hard-hearted Zhamar

Acted like Moton Pakgo.^{av}

^{av} Motön Pakgo (*mo ston phag mgo*) is a stock figure in stories and dramatic plays. He is a devious and fake mendicant, not actually possessed of spiritual powers, who nonetheless goes around bilking unwitting people of their money. In the stories about him, he is eventually unveiled and beaten.

Like a helpless rat emerging out of its flooded hole,
 And dying in a field on the other side,
 He issued a cry of lament with his broken voice and instantly
 Left for the show of the next world, despondent!

When no peaceful and forceful methods worked,
 Enemy and friend were reversed;
 Pleasant songs of praise were given to us,
 And we continuously offered wealth to the Trungtang army camp.

Like an eagle soaring above a rabbit
 Or a wolf chasing lambs, the Gurkha army
 Were pushed to the border by the brute force
 Of the heroic army of Solong Barthur of Gyalrong!

With derisive laughter "He he!" the might of the enemy forces
 Were swallowed whole with great force;
 Wonderful! I offer respectful and undivided faith
 To the skilled soldiers of the emperor!

Through this poem, one can gain a clear understanding of the situation at that time.

Lama Zhamarwa's associates, including his wife, Bumo La, were met by the Chinese troops and taken to China. Some of the possessions stolen from Trashī Lhünpo had already arrived, although most of them were still missing. They were returned without any way to transport them. Former Manchu officials such as Chintra Pächung (*chin khra'i pā cung*) and Trin Taitu (*khriin tha'i thu*) deceived Cabinet Minister Doring about the treaty of Kyidrong between Nepal and Tibet and the treaty payment to be returned; thereby they drew him away from the border. As a result, Cabinet Ministers Gazhiwa and Yutok also were sent to Beijing against their will by way of the northern route. Gradually the truth was revealed. Thus, Chintra Pächung, being unable to bear the shame of his actions, took his own life. Trin Taitu was legally executed. Cabinet Minister Yutok became ill with smallpox in Beijing and died. Doring Tendzin Peljor returned to Lhasa and went into retirement.

At the end of 1792, Fusi Trungtang and Cabinet Minister Shedra Hor arrived in Lhasa together. A newly constructed stone pillar outside of Zhöl below the Potala Palace was inscribed in Manchurian and Chinese letters with a description of how the Chinese had come to the assistance of Tibet, ejecting the Gurkhas, and how, as a result, Fusi Trangtang had completed his ten great labors. The inscription is as follows:^{42aw}

^{aw} The footnotes that are embedded in this treaty were written by Charles Bell. Shakabpa did not cite all of Bell's notes, however, so I have included the others in footnotes below.

Defeat of the Gurkhas in 1792 C.E.
 Recorded on a stone slab below the Potala.
 Written by the king.⁴³

The monument of the deeds fully accomplished ten times.

Now that the Gurkhas have submitted to me, the Imperial army has been withdrawn, and the completion of this brilliant tenth achievement has been set out in the Letter. Though the fame of this matter was great, it has not been fully manifested. Therefore the proclamation has been inscribed on this monument, that the monument may serve as a moral for the minds of men.

It comes to my mind that my mind was formerly attached to the Uigur⁴⁴ writing. According to the writing of Chei Uigur, the acts of the respectful and sympathetic Amban, and of the owner of the country, able to perform all things, are set down here. It is written in a chapter of the Lü Au that, when the mind is in a good state, the mind and the deeds are joined together. However, he who acts in accordance with the above precepts will obtain the approval of the Heavenly Protector⁴⁵ and will gain reward. As my conduct was on those lines, I gained all the merits necessary for carrying out the ten wars to a successful conclusion. It is fitting that they should be carved on this monument.

The merits of the ten times are as follows:

Two victories over the Dzungar.^{ax}

One victory over Hui Si.

Two victories over Tsala and Chuchen.

One victory over Taiwan.

Two victories over Mihantan and Antan.

Now I have fought twice with the Gurkhas. I have made an end of them, and they have tendered their submission to me. This completes the ten times. Three of the internal victories are of lesser importance.

Now as regards the submission of the Gurkhas in the Female Earth-Bird year.^{ay} Although they brought troops for looting Ü and Tsang,^{az} the Äu Hui⁴⁶ not daring, Pächung⁴⁷ did not go into the matter thoroughly, but arranged it in a hurry. So the Gurkhas were not frightened.

^{ax} Apparently the Oëlet Mongols.

^{ay} In the Tibetan system of chronology five elements are joined to twelve animals. Each element is repeated once to indicate male and female. Thus:

1924. Male Wood Rat year.

1925. Female Wood Bull year.

1926. Male Fire Tiger year.

1927. Female Fire Hare year.

The first round of elements ends at the tenth (Female Water Bird) year, and is recommended immediately, so that the eleventh year is the Male Wood Dog, and the twelfth the Female Wood Pig. At sixty years the two series end together, the animals have run five times and the elements six times. We then get the Male Wood Rat year again and the series runs through as before.

^{az} The two main provinces of central Tibet. Lhasa is in Ü; Zhikatsé in Tsang.

Again, having obtained loot last year, they came back. The wicked Minister was degraded, and the famous Changchun⁴⁸ was sent. The latter arranged on a large scale for provisions and wages. Fukang⁴⁹ men appreciated my gifts highly, and did not consider fatigue or fear.

During the winter of last year additional soldiers of Solong^{50ba} and Si-chuan came quickly, batch by batch, along the Ziling road, and arrived in the country of the thieves⁵¹ during the fifth month of this year. Immediately on their arrival they retook the country of Ü⁵² and Tsang, and captured the territory of the thieves. They traversed the mountains, so difficult to push through, as though they were moving over a level plain. They crossed rivers with great waves and narrow gorges, as though they were small streams. They climbed up the peaks of mountains and descended again in the pursuit. They captured the important places and at the same time captured the roads in the gorges. Not considering injuries to hands or feet, they fought seven battles and gained seven victories. The thieves were panic-stricken.

After that, when the troops arrived close to Yambu,^{bb} the chief leaders of the thieves were sent. They submitted respectfully and represented that they would conduct themselves according to our orders. Although they carried out the orders of the great Commander-in-Chief, they were not allowed to enter our encampment. The reason for this was that last year they seized Tendzin Peljor^{bc} and those with him by means of a falsehood; and so they were not allowed to enter.

Owing to the great heroism of the mighty army the thieves were helpless. He could have had them removed from his presence, and could have made an end of them, letting not even one of them escape. However, that was not the wish of the Heavenly Protector. Even if all those territories had been obtained, as there are more than a thousand distances from the frontiers of Ü and Tsang, it would have been difficult to cultivate them and to guard them. As for ordinary, simple people, even if they obtain a thing, the end will not be gained.⁵³ Therefore orders were given, the respectful submission was noted, and the army was withdrawn. Thereby, the work was completed.^{bd}

^{ba} A district in the upper part of the Tibetan province of Gyelrong, annexed by China in 1863. It is therefore evident that there were Tibetan troops in this army that conquered the Gurkhas. It appears also that several Tibetan officers took part, including Doring Shapé, Tutok Shapé, and Janglojen Depön (Colonel).

^{bb} I.e., Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal.

^{bc} The Doring Shapé. It is said that the Chinese sent him with the Yutok Shapé and Janglojen Depön as peace envoys to the Gurkhas, and that the Gurkhas seized them and carried them off to Nepal.

^{bd} European writers, following Chinese authorities, put the Gurkha army at 18,000 men and the Chinese at 70,000. Tibetans in general put the Gurkha army at about 4,000, and the Chinese army at about 9,000, of whom half or rather more were Tibetan.

Formerly, in the time of King Thang Thaitzung, there was a conference with the foreigners.^{54be} As it was shown that they [the Gurkhas] were conquered and powerless, the foreigners said^{bf} that they would always remain on good terms [with China]. It is not fitting to take the foreigners as an example.^{bg} The frontiers of Ü and Tsang are not near to China. They [the Gurkhas], fearing to lose their lives, were compelled to submit respectfully. A pretended submission, made in order to obtain peace, will not suffice. A great victory has now been obtained. The thieves have offered a heartfelt submission, and this is believed and accepted. Affairs have been arranged in accordance with the three points of King Thaitzung of Tanggur.

Need I write the former affairs of the Torgu,^{55bh} how they became afraid of us and followed us? How they came to agree with us and to follow us, this has all been written already. Now the Gurkhas having admitted their fault, and wishing to save their lives, fear us and follow us. Thus agreeing with us and following, the two qualities are complete. The failing was theirs, and they have admitted their fault: that is how the matter stands.

If this matter be considered, it will be seen that the people of Ü, abandoning military pursuits, devote themselves solely to literature. Thus they have become like a body bereft of vigor. This is unfitting. If a people abandon military pursuits and make literature their chief object, they become unable to safeguard their former position. This should be known.

The manner of going and the manner of returning^{bi} are clearly written in the book entitled *The Planets and Stars*. Now understand this and do not forget it.^{bj} It is to be considered again and again at the time of making war, that it may be of advantage.

Owing to the knowledge gained during fifty-seven years of warfare these ten deeds have been fully completed. This is the gift of the Heavenly Protector. Thus the kindness of the Heavenly Protector is exceedingly deep. I also have faith in it. They⁵⁶ thought they could achieve a great deal by violence, but the favor of the Heavenly Protector remained. It is hoped that this will tend to turn people into men of complete justice. Besides this, there is nothing to be said.

^{be} Apparently the British. The Tibetan word for "foreigners" of European extraction in "chiling" (*phyi gling*).

^{bf} The non-honorific word for 'said' is used here—the word applied to the common people—to indicate contempt for the representative of the chiling.

^{bg} *Semble*, in keeping Indian territory for themselves, after conquering it.

^{bh} A Mongolian tribe conquered by the Chinese.

^{bi} I.e., the rules of human conduct.

^{bj} As a matter of fact the Tibetans, with but few exceptions, do not even know that this inscription relates to the campaign against the Gurkhas. They know only that it was erected by a former Amban.

This has been written by the king⁵⁷ on an upper date^{bk} in the first month of winter in the fifty-seventh year of the reign of the Heavenly Protector, that is to say, in the Male Water-Rat year.

Ivan Chen, the Chinese representative during the 1914 Simla Conference, used the foregoing history and the words of this inscription to justify his contention that Tibet was part of China. The practice of sending military assistance from one nation to an ally is a general custom in the world. Since there was nothing beyond merely sending such assistance, one cannot speak about subjugation in this case.

Fusi Trungtang's ten fully accomplished deeds were known by everyone through this stone pillar inscription. It was erected for the purpose of memorializing his deeds; it was not recorded to imply that Tibet was part of China.

During the initial conflict between the Gurkhas and Tibet, China sent friendly assistance, due to which the people of Ü, Tsang, and Kham suffered terrible oppression. In particular, the Chinese tried to reach a peace treaty without fighting against the enemy of Buddhism, the Gurkhas, for even one day. Because of their efforts, the ransom for the district officials had to be taken from the Tibetan government treasury. For these reasons, the monk and lay people of Ü, Tsang, and Kham, finding this situation to be intolerable, placed many wall posters on the brow of Lhasa's Jowo image, Yutok Bridge, the Zhöl stone pillar, and the Drako Kaṇi image. They said that there was absolutely no need for the Chinese army to support the Tibetan army. However, the Manchu Amban Baotai in Lhasa temporarily pretended to have goodwill. Beyond that, he engaged in obstructive actions out of a malevolent hunger for Tibetan territory. Without even the slightest consideration being given to asking the Tibetan government, the monasteries, and so forth, he sent a mule messenger to Beijing to summon the Chinese army on his own initiative.

Subsequently, a pair of monk and lay military officials, the Manchu Ambans Shu and Fu,^{bl} and others conspired together. It later became clear that they had extorted a large amount of resources and government grain and funds. Once again, while Fusi Trungtang was in Lhasa,

^{bk} I.e., during the first half of the month.

^{bl} These figures may be Shulian and Kuilin, who was a member of the Fucha clan. See Josef Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1994), 33–34.

a unanimous petition from the monks and lay people of Tibet was offered, saying:

There was no way that the Tibetan army would be unable to eject these enemies of religion, the Gurkhas, from Tibet. Yet, the Manchu and Chinese soldiers have come in the meanwhile as uninvited guests. The harm visited upon the Tibetan people by the Chinese troops as they passed through the country was one hundred or a thousand times greater than the destruction caused by the Gurkha troops. Tibet is a land under the protection of the superior Avalokiteśvara. Thus, from this point onward, the Manchu officers and soldiers must be withdrawn from Tibet down to the last man.

Inquiries were made at the time in an attempt to determine who had sent the Chinese army, but the vast Chinese army was united—dogs and wolves have similar faces. The Tibetan people could not endure the fear and turmoil, as the time for the Chinese to leave never arrived. Yet in an effort to placate the Tibetan people, Fusi Trungtang removed the Lhasa Manchu Amban Baotai from office and pilloried him in the Lhasa market for three months. Both Shu and Fu were pilloried and sent back to China. Understood in that way, the Chinese actually did more harm than good in sending military assistance.

In addition, during the previous civil unrest, the Dalai Lama's uncle wrote a letter of advice, which included the phrase, "The gods killed by suffocation." The Manchu emperor sent soldiers as if they were Tibet's allies; the army wrought utter destruction on the Tibetan people. "The demons killed by blocking the anus."^{bm} Since the Gurkhas regarded the Tibetan people as their enemy, their practices of both killing and robbing Tibetans is no different from their reputation. In fact, the example is very much in accord with the damage that was visited upon Tibet and the Tibetans.⁵⁸

As mentioned above, Gungtang Tenpé Drönmé's biography of the Gomang Abbot Chödar, *Festival of the Learned*, says:⁵⁹

Subsequently, a reply came from the emperor by way of a mule messenger:

Tomorrow, all of the lamas from Sera and Drepung monasteries must go to Nordzin Gatsel at sunrise.

At a meeting the following day, the emperor's senior minister said:

^{bm} The point of these adages is that in both cases, Tibetans were killed.

The proclaimed order of the king is that you lamas of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries will not interfere by inviting the Dalai Lama and his spiritual son. Thus, remain happily at your monastic seat and in Lhasa; this would be a kindness. You should be like Hearers (*śrāvaka*, *nyan thos*) during the time of Buddha. Amban Baotai, who is like a stupid sheep, invited the Pañchen Lama to Lhasa, due to which Trashi Lhünpo was put in peril.

If someone violates this command, there will be nothing to prevent their death. However, there will be no capital punishment for those who offer to protect the teachings of Amnyé Jé Rinpoché's teaching. The amban has been placed in the Lhasa market for three months.

Gifts were bestowed upon the lamas and the rank of Norbu Khenpo was granted to the Gomang Abbot.

If one follows this clear account, it is obvious that any involvement of the ambans had was merely nominal and that they had no practical involvement. The emperor was frightened that the preceptor-patron relationship between China and Tibet would be severed, such that the ambans and their bodyguards should have absolutely no involvement in Tibet; thus, to persuade the Tibetans, he punished successive ambans. This will be explained later.

On the twenty-fifth day of the third month of 1793, Fusi Trungtang and his troops returned to China. Kazi Dewa Tāpa and his assistant traveled with him to China to make offerings on behalf of the Gurkha kingdom. When the Gurkha representatives returned from China, the Manchu emperor bestowed the "Wang" rank and a peacock feather decoration on the Gurkha king, Raṇa Bātur Shah. Offerings were to be made every five years; this custom was observed until 1908, three years before the authority of the Manchu Empire declined.⁶⁰ At the same time, the Gurkha king sent presents, offerings, an elephant image, and the like to the Dalai Lama in order to develop a preceptor-patron relationship. The Gurkha representatives were provided with a marvelous reception and a great send-off.

Because of the criminal actions of Lama Zhamarwa, his monastic estate, mansion, and holdings were seized by the government. It was decided that it was impermissible to search for his incarnation, and Yangpajen Monastery was also seized by the government. Taxes and the charging of interest were still permitted, even for the people of Upper Tsang who had been responsible for the problems. But it was decided that government grain should be loaned without excessive compound interest. Similarly, new horse, yak, and transportation bridges were constructed in the areas where the Chinese had traveled through

Ü-Tsang and Kham. No compound interest was to be charged there. The necessary reforms were implemented.

In 1794, Regent Tatsak Nomihen continued to remain at Bongwari Mountain (Bamari), where he founded Kündeling Monastery called Chökhör Ling, along with a monastic estate. After several years, Fusi Truntang, who had previously been to Lowo Mentang, said that since the military mission had been completed, the arbitrary gold tax that had accrued to the Tibetan government treasury ought to be reduced. Continually, throughout the conflict between the Gurkhas and Tibetans, military assistance had been sent as a result of the harmonious preceptor-patron between China and Tibet. Beyond that, the Manchu officers did not pay adequate respect to the Tibetan government tax system.

An order was issued to Lowo Mentang. The king and ministers of Mentang remembered the former kindnesses of the government and paid their tax in full. The interrupted taxes were offered to Tsang, and they also promised to make offerings in the future without problems. They made a contract that in the future they would pay without any sort of dispute. In addition, the Lowo king also offered a small umbrella for the image of Jowo Rinpoché in Lhasa fashioned from pearls and iron.

In 1801, the all-seeing Pañchen Rinpoché Tenpé Nyima went to Ü, and thus, on the day of the assembly marking the triple blessing of Saga Dawa, he was given the vows of complete ordination in front of the image of Jowo Rinpoché, with the Dalai Lama serving as abbot. In 1803, Helha Jetsün Dampa Hotoktu went to Tibet and received the vows of complete ordination from the Dalai Lama. Moreover, he came to receive teachings and empowerments on sūtra and tantra. These actions were in an effort to fortify the former preceptor-patron relationship between Tibet and Mongolia. In particular, as this incarnation of the supreme Jetsün Dampa was the Dalai Lama's nephew, the latter's personal attendant, Ngapö Jedrung, went to Nakchu and his chief attendant, Pelden Trashi, went to Jakri Tramo to receive Jetsün Dampa. When he met and prostrated to the Dalai Lama, he was given a warm reception.

Since the Dalai Lama was in poor health, all he was able to do was to provide profound religious teachings, such as ordinations and important empowerments. His regent, Radreng Trichen Tenpa Rapgyé, advised him on what to do with regard to the remainder of his responsibilities. The Dalai Lama also sent Kenchung Jedrung Lozang Rapgyé before the

supreme Trichen with orders that he must act to increase Buddhism in the border regions as though he were filling a pot with the profound religion. When Jetsün Dampa was going to Mongolia, he was given seven extremely valuable Indian cast images as a foundation for his practice and daily prayer recitation. The Dalai Lama advised that in the northern area of Mongolia, Buddhism should be enhanced where it had not diminished and renewed where it had declined and that Tibet and Mongolia must continually observe their harmonious relationship of one friend helping another. Jetsün Dampa performed a full-length prostration, saying:

May you live long! Until all beings have attained enlightenment, I will remain your follower and promote Buddhism. I will do what I am commanded in service of the common religion of Tibet and Mongolia.

He touched his head to the Dalai Lama's feet.

After the ceremony marking his departure, Jetsün Dampa's servants, his chief cook Dā Lama, Khurel Treasurer Dā Lama, Gung Dzasak, and others were granted titles and ranks and clothing that accorded with those titles and ranks, as well as seals and objects of worship.⁶¹

Ever since the previous year, the Dalai Lama had been coughing continually. His doctor, Tsarongpa, and others prescribed medicine, and rituals were performed. However, his coloring did not improve. On the eighteenth day of the tenth month of 1804, his form dissolved into the sphere of reality.

Regent Rinpoché immediately composed a prayer supplicating the Dalai Lama to return swiftly. Since copies of the prayer were distributed to Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, Lhasa, Zhöl, and the entire area, it was recited everywhere. At that time, the primary senior and junior military posts among the Dalai Lama's attendants were passed from generations to generation. Thus, when the eighth Dalai Lama, Jampel Gyatso, passed into the Pure Land, most of the experienced people no longer remained. His illness lasted for a very long time. Since this eventuality was not anticipated, the records that I investigated do not explain what happened during this period.

Throughout Tibet, banners and flagpoles were brought down, none of the officials wore new clothes, the ornaments customarily worn on people's hats and on horses were removed, none of the lay officials wore special clothes, the Mongolian-style earrings of lay people and the other ornaments worn by women were removed for a period of one week,

and the large and small bells worn by horses and mules were untied. People marked the event by dancing, singing, and practicing archery.

Extensive rituals were performed according to each person's religious tradition in order to fulfill thoroughly the profound instructions to pay respects to all of the monasteries without distinction, including Drepung, Sera, Ganden, and Trashi Lhünpo monasteries and the tantric colleges of upper and lower Lhasa.

During the New Year's ceremonies for 1805, the celebration on the first day and the joyous parade of the Dalai Lama's clothing on the second day were performed only briefly. Other than that, various traditional events such as the wearing of valuable ornaments, dancing, singing, purification, and other activities were not performed. Ceremonies related to the Great Prayer Festival, such as carrying offerings by horse, conducting images by palanquins, and the horse races, were performed only nominally. The contest behind the castle and the primary concluding ceremonies were not performed at all.

At that time, the cabinet, the Dalai Lama's personal attendant, Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, and the monks and lay people of Tibet beseeched Regent Datsak Nomihen Rinpoché to take up the religious and political responsibilities in place of the Dalai Lama and to undertake a search for the as yet unborn incarnation of the Dalai Lama Rinpoché; they supplicated him to fulfill all of the civil and military duties of the government.

Following the Gurkha-Tibetan conflict, the Manchu emperor adopted a strategy of enhancing the authority of the amban resident in Lhasa; thereby, he granted a rank to the amban similar to Sichuan's Tsungtu. Although it had been customary for the Dalai Lama and the cabinet to write to the emperor directly when necessary, a new practice was instituted whereby the amban initially investigated the issue and then sent a report on to Beijing. Because the Gurkha army had continually made incursions, new units of about one hundred Chinese troops were established in Zhikatsé and Dingri, and a new custom was initiated whereby the amban would personally inspect those areas every three years. Consequently, the monk and lay government officials, the monks of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, and the Tibetan people were terribly disturbed. They met separately; as before, wall posters were put up, and although an appeal was presented to Fusi Truntang, he refused to accept it. Still, given that the destruction caused by the Chinese in Ü, Tsang, and Kham exceeded the looting resulting from the

Gurkha-Tibetan conflict, the promotion of the amban and the placement of Chinese troops in Zhikatsé and Dingri was unprecedented, like the maxim that speaks of an intercalary month on top of a famine.^{bn}

Several high-ranking government officials conspired with the Manchu amban. Many of their paternal estates were used to paying the salaries of Chinese soldiers.⁶² Vast surrounding regions were seized to augment these funds. Through these actions, the people in these territories lost their homes. During the reigns of the religious kings and the series of Dalai Lamas, Tibet had been protected only by Tibetans. Since Chinese and Tibetan records clearly indicated that the Mongolians and the Manchurians had no right to interfere in Tibet, Manchu and Chinese civil and military officials ought to have been withdrawn immediately without even a single one remaining behind. A report outlining these issues reached the emperor by way of the offices of Sichuan's Chin Tuhu. In addition, a great number of protest posters and pamphlets were distributed. The people of Ü Tsang, Chamdo, Drak, Markham, Ba, Litang, and Chatreng also indicated their growing dissatisfaction with the Chinese; the main horse route was cut off, and there were continual problems because of the passage of the amban, Bayer, and others.

As a result, Regent Tatsak Nomihen issued orders through the stewards and leaders of Lhasa and Zhöl, Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, and the district and estate officials everywhere saying that the people must remain peaceful and that they must concern themselves with how unfortunate it would be if the preceptor-patron relationship between China and Tibet were disrupted. He also wrote a letter to the Manchu emperor saying that he must accept the demands of the people.

The new Manchu emperor, Jiaqing (r. 1796–1820), who ascended the throne on the death of Emperor Qianlong, sent a Chinese officer named Tseu⁶³ and his assistant, Shen, to investigate. They advised that except for the Chinese soldiers customarily deployed as the amban's bodyguard, those in Zhikatsé and Dingri should be withdrawn, with Tibetan troops taking their place. Further, the Chinese soldiers and

^{bn} In order to make the Tibetan lunar calendar track more closely with the solar calendar dictated by nature, an extra month is added on a regular basis, approximately once every 32.5 months, according to Edward Henning, *Kālacakra and the Tibetan Calendar* (New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies at Columbia University, 2007), 15. These extra months are regarded as inauspicious.

functionaries in Tibet who had been responsible for the oppression should be withdrawn immediately.

Upon reaching Lhasa, the investigators identified many of the Chinese officials and soldiers who were responsible for the oppression and destruction. Thus, all of the Chinese returned to China except for a variety of civil and military officials and 250 members of the amban's bodyguard. The Tibetan government also established new Tibetan army units to protect Zhikatsé and Dingri instead of being protected by Chinese troops.

As regards the popular petition that was presented, the primary petitioners did not have to involve themselves in a great deal of leg-work; they were Tsedrung Gomang Ngawang Zöpa, who was the abbot of Tölung Chuzang Monastery, and Gonying Taiji Tenpa Tsering of Markham. They set the unresolvable matters to the side.

However, there were concerns due to rumors that the retired Cabinet Minister Gazhi Tendzin Peljor, who was staying at his summer house, was in continual contact with the amban, offering secret advice about the Tibetan people. Suddenly, his son Tsipön Sönam Peljor, who had just reached the age of thirteen, was appointed as a cabinet minister. This aroused great suspicion, particularly among the monks and lay people. Once again, they gathered at the Yutok Bridge, near the image of Jowo Rinpoché, at the upper market, at the stone pillar in Zhöl, at Drakgo Kaṇi, and elsewhere, and they placed posters of protest along all of the main roads asserting that:

This evil person called Tseu Amban^{bo} has been sent by the Manchu emperor to investigate the Chinese officials in Tibet; he was not sent to interfere with Tibetans. Cabinet Minister Doring and his son, Cabinet Minister Lama Gashar, and others have taken a great deal of gold and silver, and thus, have served their own ends. People who have made honest appeals reflecting the will of the public to the Manchu and Tibetan governments have been forcefully imprisoned. Farmers search for food while the people who have emptied the government treasury are commended and so forth. Thus, except for regarding the Manchu emperor as Tibet's patron and offering respect to him, all of the monks and lay people of Tibet, both rich and poor, will henceforth take pleasure in the protection of the Gurkha king. Thus, this will definitely be done.

^{bo} "Tseu Amban" is probably Amban Cebake. See Josef Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1994), 38.

Many monks and lay people met secretly. This resulted in serious disruptions, and looting erupted against the Amban Yamön, his very close associates, the payroll office, and other places. Regent Datsak Nomihen called a meeting. The retired Cabinet Minister Gazhi Tendzin Peljor, his son Cabinet Minister Taiji Sönam Peljor, and Cabinet Minister Dzasak Lama Gashar were placed under house arrest to the south of Lhasa. A contingent of one hundred monks from Sera and Drepung monasteries was placed in charge of guarding them. Monks and lay people were appointed to investigate, and as a result, all of the Chinese and Tibetan figures involved were questioned.

Tseu Amban and his assistant, Shen,^{bp} who had come to investigate the Chinese officials, began to criticize and blame each other. By virtue of the reports sent to Beijing, once again, two representatives, Yuan Dārin and his assistant Liu Dārin, were sent to make special efforts in investigating the previous amban and the Chinese officials. Although the investigators did not publicize the extent of the oppression, Amban Tseu was bound in chains and conveyed to Beijing. His assistant, Shen, was demoted and sent into exile in Yili (Urumqi, Xinjiang). Tseu also was demoted from Beijing and sent into exile in Yili.

The Tibetan government exiled Cabinet Minister Lama Ganden Shar. Nangzhi Dzinwang in Dakpo was seized by the government, and Tse-drung Yeshé Lekdrup was appointed as the estate head. Beyond that, there is nothing in the records about the extent to which Gazhi and his son and the popular leaders, Tse-drung Ngawang Zöpa and Taiji Tenpa Tsering, were punished or commended.

Notes to Chapter Ten

1. I have mainly relied upon Regent Demo Tupten Jikmé's biography, *An Ornament for the Entire World*, for information on the eighth Dalai Lama Jampel Gyatso. "Nomihen" is a Mongolian title meaning "religious king" (*chos gyi rgyal po*). *Translator's Note*: In Shakabpa's bibliography this text is attributed to Nakshö Lama Tendzin Sherap. I have made separate bibliographic entries under each author, but I have been unable to determine if these authors are the same person.

2. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Panchen Lama Pelden Yeshé, Light of the Sun*, 294-na-3 to 324-na-4. Clements R. Markham, *Narrative of the Mission of George*

^{bp} "Shen" is almost certainly Amban Chenglin, who was serving as assistant to Cebake at the time. See Josef Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1994), 38.

Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa (London: Trubner and Co., 1879), 1–14, 82–9, 130–71.

3. Dechen Rapgyé is a branch monastery of Trashi Lhünpo below the Namling Castle in Shang; it is twenty-five miles to the north of Zhikatsé. During the period that the British held India, George Bogle was the first delegate of the British government to visit Tibet.

4. When I went there on a pilgrimage in 1949, the temple and guest houses were in disrepair. In the temple, there was a stone image of Buddha, an image of Cakrasaṃvara made of Tibetan bronze, and an image of Pelden Lhamo measuring the height of an arrow; there were also several Hindu images. The caretaker, who was an old Indian man, said, “Since the caretaking of this site has passed from one hand to another, there is some disagreement these days over who initially held it. Thus, the case has reached the Supreme Court, but it remained undecided.” *Translator’s Note*: See Toni Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage and the Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 215–31, for more information on this site and the ongoing legal action regarding it.

5. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Paṇchen Lama Pelden Yeshé, Light of the Sun*, 331-ba-6, says, “Gen Tendzin Gyeltsen Rinpoché said that ‘Nagara language’ means a city’s language or a country’s language.”

6. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Paṇchen Lama Pelden Yeshé, Light of the Sun*, 326-na-4.

7. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Paṇchen Lama Pelden Yeshé, Light of the Sun*, 329-ba-5.

8. Regent Demo Tupten Jikmé, *Biography of the Conqueror Jampel Gyatso, Ornament for the Entire World*, 80-na-3.

9. Sera Mé Monastery’s retired Lama Depa Khenpo Lozang Tukjé compiled *Biography of Tseling Nomihen Ngawang Tsültrim, Opening the Door of Faith*, vol. 2, 90-na.

10. Tenpé Gönpö, *Biography of Longdöl Ngawang Lozang Pelzang, Ornament of a Prince’s Activities*, 54-na-2, and vol. A of Longdöl, *Collected Works*, 15-ba-2. Kyapjé Yongdzin Dorjé Chang says that shakhara (*sha kha ra*) means sweet food. *Translator’s Note*: The reference to the Collected Works appears to be in error as the passage cited concerns some basic points on mind training.

11. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Paṇchen Lama Pelden Yeshé, Light of the Sun*, vol. 2, 85-ba-5.

12. Tsenpo Nomihen was the senior lama of Domé Amdo. Tatsak Jedrung, who subsequently became the regent, was the protector of Tatsak Tenpa.

13. The eunuchs (*nyug rum pa*) were castrated men who served the queen in the palace.

14. Könchok Jikmé Wangpo, *Biography of Paṇchen Lama Pelden Yeshé, Light of the Sun*, vol. 2, 211-na-2 to 226-na.

15. Doring Gung Paṇḍita, *Records of 1780*.

16. Lama Depa Khenpo Lozang Tukjé, *Biography of Tseling Nomihen Ngawang Tsültrim, Opening the Door of Faith*, vol. 2, 248-na.

17. Regent Demo Tupten Jikmé, *Biography of the Conqueror Jampel Gyatso, Ornament for the Entire World*, 179-ba-1. If one follows that source, Tatsak Jedrung Tenpé Gönpö was appointed assistant and was given titles of Hotoktu and Samādhi Pakṣi in 1789. Since there is a little difference in the chronology and titles, a detailed study should be undertaken.

18. Cabinet Minister Shehor Künga Peljor, *Record of 1792*, and Clements R. Markham, *Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (London: Trubner and Co., 1879), lxxvi. *Translator’s Note*: According to the referenced passage in Bogle, the Gurkhas invaded Sikkim in 1788.

19. Doring Kalön Tendzin Peljor, *Autobiography, Recounting the Geneology of the Gazhi Leaders, Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*, 486-ba-6 to 489-na-4.

20. Lama Depa Khenpo Lozang Tukjé, *Biography of Tseling Nomihen Ngawang Tsültrim, Opening the Door of Faith*, vol. 2, 250-na-2.

21. Doring Kalön Tendzin Peljor, *Autobiography, Recounting the Geneology of the Gazhi Leaders, Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*, 315-na-7 to 318-na-6.

22. This was the corpse of Lha Lama Jangchup Ö, the kind patron who had invited Jowo Jé Pelden Atiśa to Tibet. In the intervening period, his corpse had been placed in a wooden coffin. Although it was placed before the Golden Reliquary, the Ornament for the World, the thirteenth Dalai Lama had it placed in a newly constructed silver reliquary, upon visiting the lustrous and auspicious Golden Reliquary. *Translator's Note*: The Golden Reliquary, the Ornament for the World, is the tomb of Fifth Dalai Lama.

23. Lama Depa Khenpo Lozang Tukjé, *Biography of Tseling Nomihen Ngawang Tsültrim, Opening the Door of Faith*, vol. 2, 248, says:

The emperor invited Regent Nomihen to replace the deceased Lama Changkya in Beijing. Accordingly, as he was leaving, he told the Dalai Lama and the cabinet that during his ten years of service as the regent, he had newly brought sixteen estates to the government. Since he had issued orders to the Potala Namsé Gendzö Treasury, charging all of the treasurers with their duties, significant sums had accrued: 847 gold sang, a combination of silver tamik ingots and hrok valued at 2,303 dotsé, a combination of Chinese coins and jau valued at thirty-eight dotsé, and twenty-one dotsé worth of Nepali coins. From the remainder of what was being handed over and from the surplus, 200 dotsé more was given than had been spent. Moreover, there were such things as inconceivable silk clothes, medicines, and greeting scarves.

24. Doring Kalön Tendzin Peljor, *Autobiography, Recounting the Geneology of the Gazhi Leaders, Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*, 367-ba-3 to 364, discusses all aspects of this treaty.

25. Lama Depa Khenpo Lozang Tukjé, *Opening the Door of Faith*.

26. Lama Depa Khenpo Lozang Tukjé, *Opening the Door of Faith*, vol. 2, 340-na.

27. Lama Depa Khenpo Lozang Tukjé, *Opening the Door of Faith*, vol. 2, 207-ba-4 to 242.

28. The assistants consisted of Tenling Dzasak Lama Kelzang Dargyé, Tsang Dapön Changlochenpa, and functionaries Shödrung Namselingpa, Bentsa Lhopa, Chikhang Chakdrongpa, Dölpor Dongpa, and Yardrok Gokkharwa.

29. Although the sources clearly say Kaji Kalo Pädé, below, it says Kaji Dam Pädé. One wonders whether these names refer to the same person. This should be investigated.

30. Tibetan records do not indicate the number of Gurkha troops. However, William Woodville Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China*. (Leyden: Oriental: E. J. Brill, 1910), 51, and Clements R. Markham, *Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (London: Trubner and Co., 1879), lxxvi, say that at that time the Gurkha army numbered eighteen thousand.

31. Regent Demo Tupten Jikmé, *An Ornament for the Entire World*, 197-ba-6.

32. Cabinet Minister Shehor Künga Peljor, *Cabinet Record of 1792*, says that Amban Baodai explained that the Dalai Lama and the Pañchen Lama must go to Gartar Monastery.

33. Regent Demo Tupten Jikmé, *An Ornament for the Entire World*, 198-na-5.

34. Gungtang Tenpé Drönmé, *Impartial Biography of Gomang Abbot Chödar, Festival for Scholars*, 27-na.

35. Doring Kalön Tendzin Peljor, *Autobiography, Recounting the Geneology of the Gazhi Leaders, Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*, 484-na and Tenpé Gönpö, *Biography of Longdöl Ngawang Lozang Pelzang, Ornament of a Prince's Activities*.

36. Not only was Fusi Trungdang (*phu zi krung thang*) or Fu Kangan a relative of Emperor Qianlong, but he was the regent of an area called Liangguang.

37. Since the army called Solong was from Gyelrong Somang, it could be called a Tibetan army.

38. Clements R. Markham, *Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (London: Trubner and Co., 1879), lxxviii, says there were seventy thousand Chinese troops. However, it is renowned in Tibetan records that there were thirty thousand troops from Gyelrong Somang. Ngao Dārin (*nga'o rdā rin*) was called Ngao Changchung (*nga'o cang cung*) in the preceding material.

39. William Woodville Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China*. (Leyden: Oriental: E. J. Brill, 1910), 50.

40. Doring Kalön Tendzin Peljor, *Autobiography, Recounting the Geneology of the Gazhi Leaders, Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*, 493-na-5. Before people such as Cabinet Ministers Gapzhiwa and Yutok arrived at the site where the Chinese and Tibetan armies were, Gurkha deputies went to investigate whether Lama Zhamarwa had actually died. Several monks performed funerary services over his corpse in a house near the precious stūpa. Since a few days had passed by the time of the investigation, the color had changed and there was an awful scent; however, he was identified from a wart on his right hand and a birthmark on his face.

41. Doring Kalön Tendzin Peljor, *Autobiography, Recounting the Geneology of the Gazhi Leaders, Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*, 497-na-3. Richardson, 69. William Woodville Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China*. (Leyden: Oriental: E. J. Brill, 1910), 52.

42. The original text of the stone pillar inscription is included in the Compendium of Records. The English translation is available in Charles Bell, *Tibet: Past and Present* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 275–278. *Translator's Note*: I have employed Bell's translation with slight amendments in spelling to conform to the phonetics system employed in this book. Shakabpa translates many of Bell's original footnotes. I have left those as endnotes. Those that were not translated by Shakabpa will be rendered as footnotes to the text.

43. Where it says, "written by the king," it is referring to Fusi Trungtang (Fu Kangan), a relative of Emperor Qianlong. It seems that the inscription says "king" (*rgyal*) because he was the regent (*rgyal tshab*) of a place called Liangguang.

44. I.e., Xinjiang.

45. Bell: I.e., the emperor of China.

46. In Doring's text, he is called Trin Taitu.

47. In Doring's text, he is called Chintra Pādārin.

48. In Doring's text, he is called Trintu Changchun.

49. He calls himself Puzi Trungtang.

50. The Tibetan army of Gyelrong.

51. Bell: I.e., the Gurkhas.

52. Although no Gurkha soldiers reached Ü, I have written it as it is.

53. Bell: I.e., 'Even if Nepal be annexed to Tibet, the Tibetans will not be able to hold it.'

54. It seems this is referring to the "foreigner" (*phyi gling*) under whom India is ruled.

55. One wonders whether it isn't the Mongolian tribe called the Torgö (*thor rgod*).

56. The Gurkhas.

57. I.e., during the first half of the month.

58. There is a story that the original of what the Dalai Lama's uncle wrote was investigated by the Manchu officials; Doring Gung Paṇḍita presented the original to Fusi Trungtang. Tendzin Peljor, *The Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*, 506-ba. That account is evidence that the Manchu officials paid great attention to it.

59. Gungtang Tenpé Drönmé, *Impartial Biography of Gomang Abbot Chödar, Festival for Scholars*, 28-na.

60. William Woodville Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China*. (Leyden: Oriental: E. J. Brill, 1910), 52.

61. Regent Demo Tupten Jikmé, *An Ornament for the Entire World*, 315-ba-4.

62. It seems to be the case that the leader Gazhiwa wished to conceal from Cabinet Minister Tendzin Peljor what was coming from the enemy hands or to feign gratitude due to which the salaries of the Chinese soldiers were drawn from the estates of Yarlung Tongmön Chukhor, Gyantsé Khul Polha, Gonkar Khul Peling, Tökar, and Drakzur.

63. Although it says Tseu (*tshe'u*) in Doring Kalön Tendzin Peljor's *Autobiography, Recounting the Geneology of the Gazhi Leaders, Music of Non-Deceptive Speech*, Tieh-tseng Li, *Historical Status of Tibet* (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1954), 59, refers to Ts'e (*tshe'u*), the two tsepas (*tshe pa*) are different.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

NINTH AND TENTH DALAI LAMAS TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

This chapter and the next cover the period of the minor Dalai Lamas, the ninth through the twelfth. Between the end of 1805 and the beginning of 1875, four Dalai Lamas were born, identified, enthroned, and then mourned. These ill-fated youths lived as few as ten and as many as twenty-two years. Since none of them ever became strong and accomplished leaders, they were unable to serve as rallying points for the Tibetan people during a time in which foreign powers were encroaching upon Tibetan lands from all sides. This era also witnessed a series of particularly ineffectual regents and comparatively inconspicuous Pañchen Lamas. In that environment, the Manchu ambans endeavored to dominate Tibet by advancing the influence on and control over Tibetan affairs that the Manchu court had realized during the tenure of the seventh and eighth Dalai Lamas.

As mentioned in the previous chapter,^a Emperor Qianlong issued the *Twenty-Nine Article Imperial Ordinance* in the aftermath of the Second Gurkha War of 1792–1793. This document consisted of a set of reforms that were intended to solidify Manchu control over Tibet and to preclude the necessity of dispatching costly expeditions in its defense. Among these reforms, it was declared that the reincarnations of the Pañchen Lamas and the Dalai Lamas should be selected from among the likely candidates by drawing lots from an ornate golden urn supplied by the emperor. This provision was resented by both the common people and the Tibetan elite as an encroachment on a singular Tibetan institution.

Consequently, as he sought the new incarnation after the eighth Dalai Lama died, Regent Tatsak Tenpé Gönpo (1760–1810) hoped to avoid ratifying the entire concept of the golden urn lottery. He managed not to comply with the provisions dictating its use by declaring swiftly that the identification was absolutely unquestionable and inspiring public

^a See p. 487 above.

opinion that the lottery was unneeded. Hence, on the first occasion that the golden urn might have been used, the regent, the previous Dalai Lama's attendants, and others demonstrated the Manchu court's inability to control the identification process. Shakabpa sees the question of the use of the golden urn as being of fundamental symbolic importance, and throughout the remainder of the book, he discusses in detail whether and how it was employed with the transition to each new Dalai Lama. In fact, he denies that it was employed in the identification of the tenth Dalai Lama, claiming that the regent only said it had been in order to placate a Tibetan public that had been provoked by the ambans. Shakabpa asserts:^b

The golden urn lottery had not been used. The pretense of having employed it seems to have satisfied the ambans. In dependence on the false announcement, it is even reported in biographies.

This is in contrast to other sources,^c which, after all, rely on the very biographies Shakabpa says are in error. Unfortunately, he does not cite the sources that persuaded him that the lottery was not conducted.

In this chapter, Shakabpa is also concerned to convey to the reader that the influence of the Manchu court and the ambans in Tibetan affairs was minimal. He explains:^d

During this time, there was a patronage relationship between China and Tibet. Beyond this agreeable relationship, a stable situation had emerged in which [the amban] had absolutely no influence in the Tibetan government's political affairs.

Shakabpa continues, remarking that when the amban was returning to Beijing, the Dalai Lama gave him religious advice, whereupon the amban "fully prostrated on the ground while shedding tears." This representation of the relationship would be anathema to pro-Chinese narratives, such as Ya Hanzhang's mentioned above, which uniformly depict the Dalai Lamas as subservient to the amban. Elsewhere, Shakabpa asserts that the amban's main function in Lhasa was "to deliver praises and

^b See p. 569 below.

^c Ya Hanzhang, *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991), 90, and Glenn H. Mullin, *The Fourteen Dalai Lamas: A Sacred Legacy of Reincarnation* (Santa Fe: Clear Light, 2001), 358.

^d See p. 564 above.

memorials to officials and monasteries in Tibet. Otherwise, they had absolutely no functions in Tibetan affairs.”^e

Similarly, Shakabpa is at pains to reinforce the general notion of Tibetan autonomy by citing examples of ways in which the Tibetan government exercised authority over the far-flung regions of Tibet. Thus, he explains that in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Cabinet Minister Shedra Döndrup Dorjé and others quelled civil disturbances in Gulok. Tax reforms and travel infrastructure were advanced in the Tsongön Lake region. The government performed a census of areas in eastern Kham. Tibetans are even in a position, he notes, to discipline Chinese traders in Tibet during the Great Prayer Festival of 1810. Shakabpa burnishes Tibet’s international standing by describing the appeal from the Gurkhas to Tibet when they went to war with the British in 1814. In the 1820s and 1830s, the government mediated disputes, performed censuses, suppressed a revolt inspired by the amban, and sent a delegation to the enthronement of an important incarnation in Bhutan.

Shakabpa notes that both China and the emerging South Asian power of British-India were interested in keeping Tibet isolated and sidelined. He asserts that they both, for their own unique reasons, worked to prevent Tibet from having relations with other nations. He laments that Tibetans were unable to counter the misrepresentations those countries promoted about Tibet because they did not know what was being said about them or their beloved country.

^e See p. 569 above.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

NINTH AND TENTH DALAI LAMAS

To facilitate the search for the incarnation of the Dalai Lama, the names of possible candidates throughout Tibet were to be recorded. Two candidates emerged: one from Dotö (Kham) and the other from Domé (Amdo). The regent dispatched representatives to investigate both of the boys. The candidate from Dotö (Kham) was born on the first day of the twelfth month of 1805 near Den Chökhör Monastery. His father and mother were Tendzin Chökyong and Döndrup Drölma respectively. As he was clearly recognized as the incarnation of the Dalai Lama, the candidate who was born in Domé (Amdo) was invited to Lhasa along with his mother and his “father.” Since his real father had died before he was born, his father’s brother, Migyu Dorjé, came to be called his father.

They went to Mönyang Monastery in Zhokgu on the tenth day of the tenth month of 1807, where they met with the Dalai Lama’s chief personal attendant Pelden Trashi and his attendants for food, clothing, and rituals; they continually examined the two candidates. There was no need for even the slightest doubt that the candidate from Den Chökhör Monastery was to be recognized when he remembered his previous life.

On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month, the party left Zhokgu, spending one night at Dechen Sangak Khar. They went to Gungtang Tsuklakhang on the sixteenth. On the twentieth day of the tenth month, the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché Tenpé Nyima, Regent Nomihen, Lhasa’s Manchu Amban Wu,^a and the cabinet ministers had reached Gungtang. The incarnation was brought to the place they were meeting, and while they tested him for recognition, the child from Den Chökhör Monastery did not make even a single mistake in selecting the previous Dalai Lama’s effects from among similar, more beautiful alternatives. For this reason, he was recognized with utter certainty. This was proclaimed throughout Tibet. On the fourteenth day of the second month

^a This may be Amban Yuning. See Josef Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1994), 39.

of 1808, the all-seeing Paṇchen Rinpoché ceremonially cut the Dalai Lama's lock of hair before images such as Tupwang Tazurma and Jé Trashī Dokhama, which had been an object of worship for all of the previous Dalai Lamas. He gave the Dalai Lama the name, Lozang Tenpé Wangchuk Lungtok Gyatso.

According to Regent Demo Hotoktu Jikmé Gyatso's biography, *The Allure of Faith*, (p. 609), there were some doubts among the people as to the manner of recognizing the senior lamas and incarnations, such as the Dalai Lama, the Paṇchen Lama, and Hotoktu; thus, the Manchu amban called for a period of investigation. In 1793, the Manchu emperor introduced a new tradition for recognizing senior Mongolian and Tibetan lamas and incarnations, such as the Dalai Lama, the Paṇchen Lama, and Hotoktu; in order to engender universal faith, the names of the candidates would be written on paper and one would be drawn from a golden urn. However, at this time, since there was a clear belief that the incarnation of the Dalai Lama had been found without error, there was not even the slightest thought of using the golden urn lottery; the traditional religious investigation was made and the final determination was announced. The Chinese author, Tieh-Tseng Li, writes:

In the case of the ninth and the thirteenth Dalai Lama, the emperor, by special decree, suspended the drawing of lots, because there had been but one claimant.

During the time of the great ninth Dalai Lama, the candidate and about a three hundred person retinue traveled from Amdo to Lhasa, as is clear from the biography. During the time of the great thirteenth Dalai Lama, two candidates from the Dakpo region and one from Lamo were considered.

On the nineteenth day of the ninth month of 1808, the incarnation of the Dalai Lama Rinpoché left Gungtang for Lhadong Shenkha with his party. They stayed at the great private residence at Pel Dzektang for two nights and then traveled on in the traditional procession consisting of an array of the senior figures, valuable ornaments, dancers, musicians, equestrian decorations, royal ensigns, and so forth. They were received by a monastic procession from Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, the tantric colleges, Meru and Zhidé monasteries, and so forth, as well as dancers from Lhasa, Zhöl, and the estates. The ninth Dalai Lama was then enthroned at the Potala Palace, the inestimable second mansion of Avalokiteśvara. On the twenty-second day, he was established on the high golden throne, which is free of fear of the mar-

vels of cyclic existence and nirvāṇa, amidst an assembly of the great figures from Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, who had raised a white umbrella representing his religious and political activities.

At that time, congratulatory missions came from throughout Tibet. In addition, the King Tendzin Namgyel of Sikkim, Kanam Depa Nyima Gyelpo from Powo, Michen Sewön from Jakla, the king of Dergé, Relpön from Tehor, Nangchen Pön Döndrup Tsering, Nangchen Qing Hu's deputy, a deputy of King Hemi of Ladakh, Lowo, and the king of Dzumli also came. Moreover, Chin Taiching^b the amban representing the Chinese emperor, Long Amban, Yu Amban, a deputy of the Gurkha king, two Nepali leaders, Qingwang Manchuvajra of Horchen, Chingwang Opashi of Torgön, representatives of Urduusi, the treasurer of Bhutan's Tamjé Khyenpa, and a delegate of Bhutan's Regent Lama Chödrak also attended.

In order to investigate disobedience in the areas under the jurisdiction of Khangsar and Khangen in Gulok in that year, Cabinet Minister Shedra Döndrup Dorjé, functionary Pokpön Yeshé Gyatso, Zhöl Steward Dekharwa, Cabinet Secretary Drongsarpa, and Cabinet Official Lamowa, along with Ü Dapön Palhawa and his forces left for the area. After the Ü forces arrived, the militia gathered in whatever locations were suitable on the east and the west of the river in Dergé. Since they merely entered Gulok without needing to fight an extensive battle, the guilty parties escaped to the Tögertsé and Yarkhyen regions by way of the north. They were pursued and driven away. The leaders of the people who capitulated swore a unanimous oath^c that they would do as they were required and fulfill the orders from Lhasa.

People were sent to collect taxes in the Tsongñön Lake region, Dranak Khaksum, Tsoloma, Shangti, Kormo, and so forth and others were sent

^b It was not possible to identify this figure. Around this time, the Ambans were Wenbi (1805–1808), Yuning (1805–1808), Wenbi (1808–1811), and Longfu (1808–1809). See Josef Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1994), 38–39.

^c Tsepon Shakabpa himself describes how significant this oath is in Melvyn C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989), 292. He explains:

The “great oath” (in Tibetan *mna’ gan mthu mo che*) is the strongest document the assembly can send. It cannot be altered, since it requires, in addition to the seal of the assembly and the Three Seats, the seals of the Ganden Thripa and of the two tutors of the Dalai Lama, who do not usually attend the assembly meetings.

Although Goldstein is narrating a 20th century event, the sense of the terminology of this oath can be generalized. Above, I have translated this as a unanimous oath.

to gather horses and mules in Tongkhor and Ziling that were required by the government. Similarly, tea and greeting scarves were collected in Yatrukhlül. At those times, the government's representatives were kept safe by soldiers in each of their destinations. However, when private traders, pilgrims, and traveling monks would go from one place to another, they would continually be robbed by groups of fifty well-equipped horsemen from places in Kham or Mongolia in the empty northern area. Thus, ever since that year, trade agents were appointed by the local government in both Dotö and Domé to oversee the routes through the wilderness. Arrangements were made for seasonal traders, pilgrims, and traveling monks to be conducted through these dangerous areas in the company of well-armed soldiers. Thereby, the helpful tradition was begun of protecting these travelers with the trade agent's well-armed soldiers. Travelers could proceed on their journeys with confidence, and necessary commodities could be traded easily.

During Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival of 1810, several Chinese traders had been disrespectful towards the disciplinarian of the virtuous assembly. The population of monks from Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries proclaimed that if the chief Chinese traders were not punished, then every last Chinese person could be wiped out. As a result, the Tibetan government explained this to the Chinese amban; four of the Chinese traders were punished and sent back to China. Their goods were sold and the proceeds were distributed at the Great Prayer Festival. In this way, the situation was settled.

Yuan Amban^d was resident in Lhasa for a long time. During this time, there was a patronage relationship between China and Tibet. Beyond this agreeable relationship, a stable situation had emerged in which he had absolutely no influence in the Tibetan government's political affairs. When traveling from one place to another or staying somewhere, he took his own provisions as the resources of the people were so limited. When he was returning to China, in light of the preceptor-patron relationship, he was blessed by the Dalai Lama in the Zimchung Wangkhang Chamber, and he was given tea and profound instructions. He was told to have continual unflinching faith in the Three Precious Jewels and to abandon sinfulness, while adopting virtues. Moreover, he was to rely upon the Ganden Podrang government, the source of Buddha's teaching,

^d In 1810, the Ambans were Wenbi and Yangchun. See Josef Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1994), 39.

and when he went to Beijing, he was advised to increase and expand the harmonious preceptor-patron relationship between China and Tibet. They had such profound and resolute discussions. Since Yuan Amban had very strong faith and happiness, he fully prostrated on the ground while shedding tears. When he took this advice fully to heart, he also asked for the Dalai Lama's blessings so that he might subsequently be able to maintain his commitments in all ways.

The Regent Tatsak Bilik Hotoktu Tenpé Gönpo died at Kündeling Monastery on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month of 1810. As a result, the cabinet, the masters and retired officials of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, and the monk and lay government officials unanimously agreed that Demo Erdini Nomihen Tupten Jikmé should be appointed in his place. Accordingly, he took over the responsibilities on the eleventh day of the fourth month of 1811. In my English language book, *Tibet: A Political History*, I wrote that:^e

Regent Demo was susceptible to occasional mental disorders, but these did not prevent him from administering the country well.

That statement was mistaken. The person referred to as the “crazy Demo” seems to have lived from 1825 until 1860. He did not serve as the regent.

As the political influence of the Manchu emperor began to decline, like a waning moon, the Manchus looked for new ways to exert influence in Tibet.^f A great number of Chinese monks in the great Tibetan monasteries vigorously promoted the idea that the Buddhist religion would be in danger if foreigners were permitted to enter Tibet. Because of this appeal, Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries continually said that foreigners must be prevented from coming to Tibet; the government announced this policy to all of the border regions. This had such a deep influence on the Tibetan people that there was even a custom of parents telling their children that if they used soap or ate sweets imported from India, they would become accustomed to the foreign attitudes and Buddhism would be harmed.

^e The quote is from Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press), 173. In the earlier book, Shakabpa was under the impression that the person referred to as “crazy Demo” was the same person as the one who served as the regent. Here, he is correcting that error.

^f Many such strategies are narrated in the excellent history of the period, Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

Eventually, after about a century [of relations with Tibet], the British government in India also wanted to prevent Tibet from establishing relations with other nations, although for different political reasons. They said that such contacts would harm Tibet's welfare, happiness, and religion, citing as an example, the assertion that there was absolutely no peace or happiness in foreign nations. Both China and Britain in turn had harmful plans to keep the Tibetans isolated from the world.

Since Tibet had no relations with the nations of the world, cultural, economic, and military developments which other nations were experiencing at the time did not occur in Tibet. In addition, other nations merely believed the version of Tibet's political situation that was put forth by the British or the Chinese. In fact, Tibetans did not know anything about this. There was no one from the Tibetan perspective to refute what the Chinese and British were saying. The reason for this is that Tibetans did not know what was being said. These days, since Tibetans have been forced to leave Tibet against their will, they have come to understand the deceptive books and the many maps that misrepresent Chinese authority in Tibet. In addition, people have clearly understood the extent to which Tibet was isolated from other nations of the world from that time onwards. Many old Tibetans still do not believe that people have traveled to the moon.

In 1811, Cabinet Minister Trimönpa, the functionary Rubön Ngapöpa, the steward of Zhöl Gyatsowa, Cabinet Official Shakapba, and so forth were sent to perform a census in Ba, Litang, Jakla, and Horser Khaknga. Accordingly, they toured around the area and published their report. At evening tea time on the twenty-second day of the eighth month of 1812, a tremendous crash sounded in a cloudless sky over Lhasa, as though a one hundred cannon were fired simultaneously. At the same time, reports were received from many regions that the same sound had been heard in Nakchu River, Naktsang, and Tsangdö.

On the auspicious twenty-second day of the ninth month of 1812, Pañchen Tenpé Nyima gave monastic vows to the Dalai Lama.

In that year, because of inauspicious discussions over the ownership of the Mön region between the two female leaders of Lhautso and Seruwa, the latter led her troops against the former. Thereby, Chödze Rinchen, a member of the family of the sixth Dalai Lama's uncle, was murdered. This was investigated, and at the same time, a census was to be taken in Trashigang in Ampatak. For these reasons, Cabinet Minister Gapzhiwa, the Steward Lozang Tenpa, Cabinet Secretary Yarpel, and

Rupön Künga Tendzin traveled through these areas. Straightening out what was crooked, they applied the law and investigated the border.

In 1814, war broke out between the Gurkhas and the British in India; the Gurkha King Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah reported the situation to the Tibetan regent and the cabinet through the Nepali trader Tsendatsen and Dharpijen. Since a foreign power had attacked the Nepali border, they came to request protection from Tibet, saying Tibet's assistance was necessary. Although I have not seen any texts indicating the response or the extent of assistance that was offered, the Dalai Lama's close confidants were sent to Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries and the tantric colleges of upper and lower Lhasa with instructions calling for the prayers assemblies to pray for the speedy victory of the Gurkha army and for a state of peace and happiness to arise for both sides. Based on these facts, it seems clear that at the time, the Tibetan government and the Tibetan people were solidly supportive of Nepal.

While the ninth Dalai Lama Lungtok Gyatso was traveling to the monastery where the assembly for Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival was being held, he developed a slight cold. Doctors Tendzin Lhündrup, Tarling Emchi, and Chamdo Zhizang Trülku prescribed medicine for him and services were performed. Even as these efforts were made, his health declined and he passed into nirvāṇa on the sixteenth day of the second month of 1815; he was ten years old. All of his teachers and followers could not overcome the suffering involved in his sudden departure, the sun of Buddhism and of living beings falling below the mountain to the east. All private citizens or people in government were completely taken by this profound wish: once again, supplicatory prayers were made that the Dalai Lama's incarnation would return quickly for the benefit of Buddhism and of living beings. Tremendous offerings were made.

After two or three years, all of the lamas and gods agreed to investigate in the east for the incarnation of the Dalai Lama according to the traditional manner. It was announced that remarkable children should be identified throughout the country from Lhasa to Dartsedo. Six candidates were found; they were from Litang, Atang Gendrong in Chamdo, Sagang in Chamdo, Khyungpo Karu, Jangdrong in Kongpo, and Rong Rinpong. Delegates were sent to investigate. Accordingly, it was agreed that the candidate who was born on the twenty-ninth day of the third month of 1816 in Shokdruk Drodong Drongtö Norbu Tsang in Litang was the most likely choice; this was agreed upon by

the oracles. Regent Demo Nomihen, the cabinet ministers, the masters of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, and all the monk and lay government officials issued an edict bestowing certain recognition on the young incarnation from Litang.

Unfortunately, Regent Demo Rinpoché suddenly became ill with smallpox on the third day of the third month of 1819. When he died, he was replaced as regent by Tsemönling Gyeltok Nyipa Samadhi Pakṣi Ngawang Jampel Tsültrim; since his experience in government was limited, the power of the regency declined. Thus, through the machinations of the two Manchu ambans Yul and Kao,⁸ from among the five candidates mentioned above, the most promising one from Litang and the two from Chamdo were brought to Lhasa to be examined. They stayed at Ratö Dewajen, Sepak, and Rigang respectively. Thereafter, the three candidates were brought before the all-seeing Paṅchen Rinpoché, Regent Samadhi Nomihen, and the cabinet ministers on the eleventh day of the first month of 1822. They were presented with religious articles, robes, and personal items of the previous Dalai Lama as a means of identifying the actual incarnation. The child from Litang was recognized beyond any doubt.

Through the interference of the ambans, the parents of the other two candidates made an appeal for the use of the golden urn lottery. During Lhasa's Great Prayer Festival, the monks of Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries and the people of Lhasa vigorously protested the young incarnation from Litang should be identified with certainty. As a result, the Manchu ambans, not being able to bear the situation, secretly visited the Regent Rinpoché at night. They said that although he must be certain which child to select as the incarnation, it should be according to his own investigation; there would be no difficulties from China. Yet, in his considerations, he should think about how to improve matters between China and Tibet. If the regent were to become certain of the incarnation from Litang, then without regard for the political implications, all of the monks and lay people throughout Tibet would be satisfied. Thus, on the fifteenth day of the first month, the regent announced that the candidate from Shokdruk Drodong Tsang in Litang had been confirmed by the golden urn lottery. This calmed the feelings

⁸ At this time, the Ambans were Yulin and Keshike. See Josef Kolmaš, *The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet: A Chronological Study* (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1994), 41–42.

of the people of Tibet, like pouring cold water into boiling milk. In fact, however, the golden urn lottery had not been used. The pretense of having employed it seems to have satisfied the ambans. In dependence on the false announcement, it is even reported in biographies.

Immediately thereafter, on the eighteenth day of the first month, the all-seeing Pañchen Tenpé Nyima ceremonially cut a lock of hair from the tenth Dalai Lama's crown at Dewajen in Nyetang. He bestowed upon him the name Ngawang Lozang Jampel Tsültrim Gyatso Pel Zangpo, and the child received his monastic vows on the thirteenth day of the second month.

Upon completing the restoration of Samyé Tsuklakhang and its contents, Cabinet Minister Shedra Döndrup Dorjé was rewarded by the government. A letter of praise, called the "Peacock's Feather," also arrived from the Manchu emperor. During this time, the primary function of the Manchu amban was to deliver praises and memorials to officials and monasteries in Tibet. Otherwise, they had absolutely no functions in Tibetan affairs.

After the traditional procession on the fifth day of the eighth month of 1822, the Dalai Lama's party left Dewajen in Nyetang. Thus, they stayed overnight in Tölung Gang and were received by a large bodyguard in Gyeldetsel. A monastic procession and a parade of lay dancers and singers from Shündongkar received the Dalai Lama. Another reception was held for the Nechung Oracle on the mountainside. The party stayed at Tsenyi Lingkha for a night. On the sixth day, a procession of horses and a monastic parade of dancers and singers received him as on the previous day. Precious ornaments, banners^b appropriate to such a great figure, equestrian decorations (*chibs 'chang*), and so forth were displayed. At Kyitsel Luding, the Nechung Oracle, and representatives of foreign nations such as China, Mongolia, Nepal, and Bhutan also received the Dalai Lama together with the regiment of the Tibetan troops attached to the Chinese amban. Thereby, the tenth Dalai Lama was established at the Potala Palace, the inestimable second mansion of Avalokiteśvara.

For a period of twenty days starting from the enthronement on the eighth day of the month, government and private parties attended the customary enthronement services, including representatives of

^b The banners are described as *skya dar rdo bdar*, the meaning of which is obscure. The first two syllables could mean grey silk, while the last two.

Tsemönling monastic estate, Sakya Monastery, Trashi Lhünpo, the four cabinet ministers, treasurers and secretaries, Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries, the senior figures of Ü Tsang, and so forth. At that time, congratulations were also offered by deputies from Jakla, Satam, Dergé, Sikkim, Ladakh, Lowo Dzumli, Gyelrong Tsakho Pön, Golok Pön Tseten and Ngawang, the Chinese Manchu emperor's deputy Chintrai Luho Däring, Changkya Hotoktu, the Lhasa ambans Wen'gan and Baochang, the Desi of Bhutan Chökyi Gyeltsen himself, Patro Pönlop, a deputy of the Gurkha king, the leader of the Nepalīs in Lhasa, Halha Jetsün Dampa's deputy Darhen Khenpo Jaisang, a representative of the four regions of Kharkha, the steward of Khelkha's Wangchen Nomihen, the deputy of Torgö Pön, and so forth.

In 1823, Cabinet Minister Shedra Döndrup Dorjé and his assistants investigated the dispute between Markham and Sengen. Since Gyelrong Lhateng Monastery was in terrible disrepair, the government restored it in 1824. The rites of the one day vow, the summer fasting vow, and the seven day vow were newly instituted. The abbot of the Mé College of Sera Monastery, the retired master Jamyang Damchö, and fifteen monk assistants were sent to the region to minister at Yarden Monastery. Gyelrong Tsakho Pön and Bhato Dharo began to protect the different regions, and an order was issued that the religious traditions should be enhanced.

In 1825, Cabinet Minister Gapzhi and his assistants went to perform a census in the Powo region. In 1827, Tsedrung Tokmé Chöjor went to Bhutan to offer congratulations on the ascension to the throne of Bhutan's great incarnation Tamjé Kyenpa. Cabinet Minister Shedra, the functionary Dapön Zurkhang, Nangkarsé, and Dingjawu went to perform a census of the Upper Ngari Korsum, Shangshung, and the Gugé region. In the same year, government officials Jokpé Tseten Trashi and Taiji Gönpö Dögya forcibly suppressed a revolt without official sanction. Since both the father and son of Jokpé were ejected under the wicked influence of the Chinese amban, it was tremendously harmful.

Cabinet Minister Shedra Döndrup Dorjé, the Dalai Lama's personal attendant Chöpön Khenpo Lozang Trinlé Namgyel, functionary Tsipön Palhawa, and Kugerdrön Kelzang Ngawang toured all around the various government, private, and religious estates in Ü in order to investigate the land and the taxes paid in transportation duties and in kind by the residents of those lands; the purpose was to make them more fair. The district leaders, main military officers, elders, and landlords of the respective regions took an equal share of responsibility in the begin-

ning, middle, and end. A new book was published called the *Revenue Office Record of 1830* in which the taxes in kind were calculated for the private and religious estates and the taxes in transportation were calculated for the government.

In 1831 and 1832, Junang Dzasak ceaselessly harassed ChidroK Dranak in the Tsongön Lake area. As a result, the Dalai Lama's personal attendant Kuchar Khenché Lozang Trinlé Namgyel and his assistants were sent to investigate, due to which, Tsadam Buyen Dzasak was ordered to send his army to assist. Accordingly, as they passed through the region, Junang Dzasak could no longer carry on violating the law. At that time, the government army forcibly moved in with reinforcements from the Dimchi Nyernga, Rakshül, and Yülshül regions, together with General Dapön Sarjungpa, Regiment Commander Rampawa, and Ü troops. The militia from Ngöndzong and Dergé was also called up as reinforcements. The Commander-in-Chief Cabinet Minister Tönpawa, functionary Tspön Poshöpa, Pokpön Gyatsowa, Cabinet Secretary Sarjungpa, and Tsedrön Treshong Tokmé Chöjor were also sent. Thus, on the day the cabinet minister arrived at the Nakchu River, Tsongön Lake's Junang agreed to capitulate. As a result, the leader and the soldiers returned home and Junang Dzasak himself, his son, and several of his commanders were taken to offer their respects in Lhasa.

Two years later, the Powo Kanam ruler refused to pay his annual taxes to the government. Although he was ordered to pay them, he disobeyed and began securing his territory. Thus, Cabinet Minister Shedra Döndrup Dorjé went to the Powo region with an army to investigate. Through both peaceful and military overtures, the Powo Kanam ruler and all of his leaders gave their word that they would accept the government orders henceforth. However, once again, in 1837, he wrongly violated the terms to which he had agreed. Cabinet Minister Palhawa led reinforcements that had been called up in Ü Tsang and Kham; the guilty parties were sent into exile, an agreeable situation was restored, and the problem was resolved.

Because of an epidemic in Lhasa, the Dalai Lama was prevented from going outside of the Potala Palace for two years, in 1833 and 1834. His robes were taken in his stead to all of the ceremonies. However, because of the importance of the Dalai Lama's ordination ceremony, the all-seeing Pañchen Rinpoché was invited to Lhasa, and thus, he rested at Norbu Lingkha Palace for several weeks. Leaving the Potala, the ordination took place at Trungrap Lhakhang Temple. Likewise, Khelkha Jetsün Dampa and Torgö Gyelpo sent delegates who traveled

for many months to offer their salutations. Thus, they rested at Lukhang behind the castle for three weeks. They had a special audience in the Dalai Lama's personal chamber in the Potala Palace, and the Dalai Lama established religious relations with them. In addition, advice was given to the monks Ngawang Döndrup and Menlop Jakri Menpa Jamyang Kelzang on the initiation of the practice of the Kālacakra Tantra at Torgöyül at the behest of Torgö Gyelpo. the ritual objects were also produced and sent there for that purpose. Perpetual attention was being paid to the Dalai Lama's health.

In the meanwhile, there was constant civil dissension in the Tsongön Lake, Kham, and Powo regions; thus many officers and soldiers had to be sent back and forth. The nobles and farmers suffered tremendous oppression. In particular, one wonders whether these events undermined the service of government officials. *Garland of Jewel Wonders* says:

I hope that Buddhism will endure for a long time, that living beings will be joyous, enjoying the greatest happiness, and that the benefit and happiness of the Ganden Podrang government will increase! Even if I work hard at implementing these things, I will not be able to take away the luster of the defilements; all monks and lay people enter the path of non-virtue spontaneously and take up [negative actions. They only engage in perverse actions of adopting [bad behavior] and abandoning [good behavior], abandoning virtuous actions like grass. Through accumulating such causes, undesirable effects arise from all directions, as if piling up, one after the other. Happiness, however small, is diminished, like starlight at dawn. The good collection of the dual religious and political government of Ganden Podrang becomes increasingly insignificant, like a pond cut off from its source. [The Dalai Lama's] thorough sadness will be understood in what is to be recounted gradually below. Relying on these truths, before long, he exhibited the last actions of his life.

Some aspects of this will be clarified below.

Accordingly, the Dalai Lama became a little unwell in the morning of the twentieth day of the seventh month of 1837. Although he was not in a great deal of pain, he did not want to eat any food. He became short of breath and so medicines were administered. Yet, even though he was medicated, his appearance did not improve. The government sought prophecies from gods and lamas, and services were performed. Having previously been examined by his personal physician Khenpo Drukdrak, and so forth, the government pharmacist, Tenling Emchi Pelgyel, and Yutok Emchi, and so forth examined the Dalai Lama's pulse and his urine and administered medicines. Once again, exten-

sive services were performed. The Dalai Lama's personal attendant supplicated him to remain alive. In response to all of these efforts, the Dalai Lama said:

As you perform extensive prayers, good results will come because of the great merit. However, as the saying goes, you can only build an image to the extent that you have material.

Formerly, in the annual survey of the treasury of the Iron-Tiger Year, I think a very large amount of silver was found. Thus, for the time being I had not planned to use all of the vast resources given by the patrons of Helha and Torgö during the past two years. Yet, because of the military problems in Powo and because of my ill health, the money was nearly exhausted. In this way, one would think that there would be great benefit to the religious and political government and to the general welfare of Tibet. However, there hasn't been improvement. It seems that whatever I have done, there has not been any improvement.

During these comments, the regent, the ministers, and the Dalai Lama's personal attendant prayed for his well-being. However, with a laugh, he would not agree to live longer. At the age of twenty-two, while sitting on a bench in the Püntsok Dökhyl Chamber in a posture of love, he passed into nirvāṇa.

Immediately thereafter, the Regent Tutor Rinpoché, the cabinet, and the Dalai Lama's personal attendant held a meeting after which extensive offerings were made on behalf of the completely profound mind of the Dalai Lama, as was customary. Prayers were intoned for the speedy return of the precious incarnation. Deputies were appointed to construct a new reliquary. Before long, representatives of the various monasteries and from the various neighboring nations, China, Nepal, Bhutan, and so forth arrived to make funeral offerings.

Volume One is complete!

Notes to Chapter Eleven

1. I have relied upon Regent Demo Hotoktu Jikmé Gyatso's biography, *The Allure of Faith*, for information on the ninth Dalai Lama. In Shakabpa's bibliography, he attributes a text by a similar title to Gyümé Lama Udzé Jampel Tsültrim and Deyang Rapjampa Kelzang Tsültrim.

2. Tongkhor Rinpoché says that hotoktu is a Mongolian term meaning superior.

3. Tieh-t seng Li, *Historical Status of Tibet* (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1954), 58.

4. Regent Demo Hotoktu Jikmé Gyatso, *Biography of Lungtok Gyatso, Allure of Faith*, 35-ba-6 to 45-ba-3.

5. *Cabinet Records of 1808, Thoroughly Clear Mirror.*

6. *Cabinet Records of 1809, Thoroughly Clear Mirror.*

7. Regent Demo Hotoktu Jikmé Gyatso, *Biography of Lungtok Gyatso, Allure of Faith*, 115-ba-3.

8. Thomas Manning arrived in Lhasa in 1811, traveling in disguise, and he met the ninth Dalai Lama. He “was received by (the Tibetans) without hostility. He has left confirmation of the bad quality and conduct of the imperial representatives at Lhasa.” H. E. Richardson, *A Short History of Tibet: An Authoritative History from the Earliest Times to the Red Chinese Invasion* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1962), 72.

9. *Compilation of Records*.

10. A sealed version of this order about the Gurkha War is at the Pelden College of the Tantric College of Lower Lhasa.

11. Kuchar Darhen Lozang Trinlé Namgyel, *Biography of the Victorious Lord Tsültrim Gyatso, Garland of Jewel Wonders*, 34-na-4.

12. *Cabinet Records of 1822, Completely Joyous Speech*.

13. Kuchar Darhen Lozang Trinlé Namgyel, *Garland of Jewel Wonders*, 63-na-3.

14. *Compilation of Private Records*.

15. *Compilation of Private Records*.

16. *Compilation of Records*.

17. Kuchar Darhen Lozang Trinlé Namgyel, *Biography of the Victorious Lord Tsültrim Gyatso, Garland of Jewel Wonders*, 300-na-2.

18. Kuchar Darhen Lozang Trinlé Namgyel, *Biography of the Victorious Lord Tsültrim Gyatso, Garland of Jewel Wonders*, 318-ba-1.

19. Kuchar Darhen Lozang Trinlé Namgyel, *Biography of the Victorious Lord Tsültrim Gyatso, Garland of Jewel Wonders*, 320-ba-5.

20. Kuchar Darhen Lozang Trinlé Namgyel, *Biography of the Victorious Lord Tsültrim Gyatso, Garland of Jewel Wonders*, 327-ba-5.