र्देरःगर्दरःयहेग्रायेदःग्रेयःगर्स्यया

**न्ये** अर्देन विरामितान

## र्भर भुवाषयायम्।

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र्नेट्रिशस्यरःया

Tibetans

# ब्रे'ॐदि'ऄॣॕॸॱॿॖ॓ॖॖॖनास'नस'नाविस'नदि'न्गान'ऋन

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## विवाया. इ.ज्यायायाय्या

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य्यस्त्रं व्यस्त्रं व्यस्त्यस्त्यस्त्यः व्यस्त्यस्त्यस्त्रं व्यस्त्यस्त्यस्त्यस्त्यस्

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धीच्यः हुः छुः (वं. क्रैः लुप्त) चयः ग्रीः अधियः प्रचीयः ग्रीयः प्रचायः ग्रीयः ग्रीयः प्रचायः ग्रीयः ग्रीय

चुंबासाम्। क्षरामे। त्येः अहॅ्त्रत्य। बाद्यः प्रचेश्वाहॅ्त्र्। इस्राम्च्यः व्याः व्याः

पर्नर-त्रीम्यान्ययाः श्रीम्याः हेळे. बुं न्य्यां या प्राप्त मार्थः विमान्ययाः श्रीम्याः हेळे. बुं न्यां या प्राप्त मार्थः विमान्ययाः श्रीम्याः हेळे. बुं न्यां या प्राप्त मार्थः विमान्ययाः विमायः विमान्ययाः विमान्ययाः विमायः विमायः विमायः विम

રૂપ્યું ત્રાસ્ત્રાના સંત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું મું ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રાપ્ત મું મું ત્રા

श्ची. श्ची. प्राच्या प्राच्ची का स्वाच्या स्वच्या स्वाच्या स्वच्या स्वाच्या स्वाच्या स्वच्या स्वच्या

ત્રેંત્ ત્રદ્યને મુંન શ્રાંત્ર ત્રાવશ્ચાન શ્રાનું ત્રાન લેના ને શ્રાન શ્રાન શ્રાને સ્ત્રાન સ્ત્રાન

प्राणाः तर्षे प्रमुद्धान्य मुद्द्या म्यान्य प्रमुद्धान्य प्रमुद्धान्य

ક્રી:શ્રું'લિવસઃદના-દ્વદઃક્રું'સાર્જીતઃવામાં છે માર્ગ્નેના સુવામાં માર્ગ ક્રું તે તે માર્ચ ક્રું તે તે તે માર્ચ ક્રું તે તે સે તે માર્ચ ક્રું તે માર્ચ ક્રું તે તે માર્ચ ક્રું તે તે માર્ચ ક્રું તે માર્ય ક્રું તે માર્ચ ક્રું માર્ચ ક્રું તે માર્ચ ક્રું તે માર્ચ ક્રું તે માર્ચ ક્રું તે માર્ય

श्राचेतिः त्येत् हिं न्तुंत् क्ष्यं मुद्दे न्तुं न्त्रं न्तुं न्त

ક્ષ્મા-चશ્ર ક્ષાં ત્રા ક્ષ્માન્ય ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષ્માન્ય ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષ્માન્ય ક્ષ્માન્ય ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષ્માન્ય ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષમાન ક્ષમાન્ય ક્યાન ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષમાન્ય ક્ષમાન્

भ्रम्य त्राच्च क्षा विषय क्षा विषय

क्षा सं अं श्वा का क्षेत्र त्या का श्वे का सं सं स् त्र त्य स् श्वा का क्षेत्र का क्षेत्र त्या का श्वे का स् वा त्य का स् वा त्या का श्वे का स् वा त्या का स्व वा त्या का स्व वा त्या का त्या का स्व वा त्य

四至

বশ্ৰ:প্ৰথা

# यर्-श्रेर-ज्रुक्षक्षक्ष्यक्ष्यक्ष

रटाची प्रवास स्थान द्वा प्रतास स्थान स्था

ત્વલા કે.પ્ર્યાના છે ટે.જ્રી દાવાના સર્વા છે લાક્ષ્યા છે વે.સૂર્યા છે વે.જ્રા ત્યાના ત્યાના ત્યાના છે વે.જ્રા ત્યાના ત્યાન ત્ય

धेवः भ्रम्मन्यः वयः देः तद्वेः मययः भ्राः तिवरः श्रीटः धटा। यदः श्रुदः स्वाः क्रुवः तद्वेः क्व. ट्रे. ट्रेट. ट्रंब. च्रंट. क्वे. क्वंत. रचब. ज्रं. क्वंब. ब्रं. चवाया स. ही वायपा हि. वया ट्रं बारि.र्यायक्षेत्रकी.यर.रटा बाङ्गी त्वाची रुषःश्रीटबारा वर्षिटाबा न्वातःस्वःस्वः च्वातः च्यातः च्वातः च्यातः च्वातः च्वातः च्वातः च्वातः च्वातः च्वातः च्यातः चयातः च्यातः चयातः च्यातः तक्षान्त्रेम्।याःयान्त्रं नात्रीःयां क्रूमास्यत्रं नायः स्वात्रे त्रात्रे स्वायः यने स्वायः यने स्वायः यने स्व ठिटा कुर्नेट्रिन्चेन्यम्बुस्यायाच्चराबेटा याम्ब्याय्यायान्यरावे याक्क्या र्थे भेदायते कुष्यक्षदायर (वृष्ठ्व स्त्रम्य वि नेन न्त्र कुष्येन निन्नि नेन नि প্রথানার ব্রী ঐ সনা বিনা শিষ্টার বর্ষী ঐসংস্থান রাম্বর প্রথা রাম্ব सानस्याञ्चानन्दान्त्रमाधीनाधानायाः स्याप्तान्त्रमा विषापशेषान्त्रमा देवे के नाम र्यापाल देर तर्मे निष्य मिया भेर क्षेत्र मे हिरा क्षेत्र मे स्व राःक्षेःतुःचुरावन्। बीःमवावयनार्श्वेदारुवःतुःसरःदेवेःक्क्षेरःर्ग्वेयार्श्वेयावुनः भ्रम्या रेट.यट.चूर.कु.क्र्य.रट.र्म्या.विट.झे.क्र्म्यय.कु.श्रट.व्रीय.यथ्य यदेः क्रिन्यान् राष्ट्राच्यान् राष्ट्रम्य प्रति व्याप्ति वार्यान् वार्याः चगातः अटगः न्टः सुगानाः रे तदे सूरः अः गावटः चरा हिनः रटः यः सुगानाः रे.वावर.च.रर.वी.चर्बर,वयब.ररी वर्ट.ज.चब्रयार्झे.वार्ट्रर क्रु.के.लर स्तिना सामा न में ता में त <u> २ च ८ मः मु के मः शुरा सु मः तम् द राम व मः भू तमः अः र रः</u>  $ag{1}$  મું કુરાવદેવ કુંગાળ જાળવા તેવા તરી તર્ફ્યું તા કુંતા કુંતા કુંતા કુંતા સ્થાપ તરી તર્ફા તાલું તાલ 

त्त्रण्यात्रात्त्रीर्म् वित्त्वात्र्यात्र्याः क्ष्र्याय्याः क्ष्र्याय्याः क्ष्र्याय्याः वित्त्र्याः क्ष्र्याय्याः वित्त्र्याः क्ष्र्याय्याः वित्त्राः क्ष्र्याय्याः वित्त्राः क्ष्र्याः वित्त्राः वित्तः वित्राः वित्

ૹાત્વના કૂર ત્વૂર ત્રાર્થના ક્ષેત્ર કરી કુર વધ્ કે માર્ગ સાલ ક્ષેત્ર ત્રાપ્ત ક્ષેત્ર ત્રાપ્ત ક્ષેત્ર ત્રાપ્ત કે માર્ગ ક્ષેત્ર ત્રાપ્ત ક્ષેત્ર ત્રાપ ક્રાપ ક્ષેત્ર ત્રાપ ક્ષેત્ર ત્રા

বর্ষর্মন্ত্রী মার্টি প্রক্রান্ত্র্যালয় বর্ষ্যার্ট্র বর্ষ্যার্ট্র প্রক্রান্ত্র্যার্ট্র বর্ষ্যার্ট্র বর্ষ্যার বর্ষ্ট্যার বর্ষ্যার বর্ষ্ট্যার বর্ষ্যার বর্যায বর্ষ্যার বর্ষ্যার বর্ষ্যার বর্ষ্যার বর্ষ্যার বর্ষ্যার বর্ষ্যা

ते. ब्रम्माया प्रति में मान्य प्रत्य मान्न प्रत्य मान्न प्रत्य मान्न प्रति प्रति मान्न मान्न प्रति मान्न प्रति मान्न प्रति मान्न प्रति मान्न प्रति

ત્રાં ક્રિયાના ત્રાસ્ત્રેના માત્રા મુંત્રા માત્રા માત્રા મુંત્રા માત્રા માત્રા મુંત્રા માત્રા મુંત્રા માત્રા મુંત્રા માત્રા માત્રા મુંત્રા માત્રા માત્રા મુંત્રા માત્રા મુંત્રા માત્રા મુંત્રા માત્રા માત્રા

यात्रार्च्च स्थाद्य १ क्ष्माण्ट्र । स्वाप्त स

$$\begin{split} & = \sum_{i=1}^{N} a_i \cdot \sum_{$$

घ्यम् त्यम् विष्यः मृत्यं युप्तः मृत्यः मृत्यः युप्तः मृत्यः मृत्यः युप्तः मृत्यः युप्तः मृत्यः युप्तः य

મું ત્રિંદ્ર ત્રાપ્ત ક્રેંત્ર ત્રે ક્રેન્સ ત્રાપ્ત મું ત્રે ત્રાપ્ત ક્રેન્સ સ્ત્ર ત્રે મું ત્રાપ્ત ક્રેન્સ સ્ત્ર ત્રે મું ત્રાપ્ત સ્ત્ર ક્રેન્સ સ્ત્ર સ્ત્ર

च्चार्या प्रदेश्याविद्द्याविद्याम् स्थान्त्र स्थान्त्र

स्वार्था में व्यार्थ प्राप्त में स्वार्थ में स्वर्थ में स्वार्थ में स्वर्थ में स्वर्य में स्वर्थ में स्वर्थ में स्वर्य में स्वर्थ में स्वर्थ

क्ष्यः कर् ग्रीः के त्यां व्याः क्ष्यः म्याः में व्याः में व्या

सीच्यात्रात्त्रम् सीच्या क्षेत्रम् क्षित्रम् क्षेत्रम् कष्टिम् क्षेत्रम् क्षेत्रम् क्षेत्रम् क्षेत्रम् क्षेत्रम् क्षेत्रम् कष्टिम् कष्टिम

લવન્ત્રાન્ટ્રીન્યું સ્ત્રાન્ટ્રીન્યું સ્ત્રાન્યું સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાન્યું સ્ત્રાન્યું સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાન્યું સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાન્યું સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત્રાન્યું સ્ત્રાન્ય સ્ત

ण्टा बेर्ल्यन्त्र्वाक्ष्मरायाः विद्यायाः विष्यायाः विद्यायाः विद्यायः विद्या

प्रच्या कुर्यो स्था स्वा त्या क्षेत्र स्व स्व त्या क्षेत्र स्व स्व त्या स्व त्य स्व त्या स्य

चल्वे त.स्. में च्या व्या क्ष्म का की जाय टा प्रचा ने मान्य प्रचा व्या की प्रचा की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा की प्रचा व्या की प्रचा व्

ગ્રી શ્રુપ્તાં પ્રતૃત્ત પ્રતાસના ત્ર્વેતાના ત્ર્યાના ત્ર્યાના સ્થાના ત્રામાં સામાના સ્થાના સ્થાના

१ में कुषायदेष वटानु क्षेत्र बिटानर्गेन यद्यान बिट्या ग्री क्षेत्र कुष्य क्षेत्र क्षे

ત્રી ત્રાના ક્રાના ક્રિયા ક્રિયાના ક્રિયા ક્રિયા

६। बाचुः नृद्यः स्वायाः स्वायाः स्वयाः स

ચાવવ.જા૮.૮૫.૭૫.૧૨૫.ઌજા.૫૭૧.ૹૢ૿૮.૮૫

ત્રી ખૂર ક્રીયા તાલા ક્રીયા ક્રીયા ક્રીયા ક્રીયા ક્રીયા ક્રીયા ક્રીયા ક્રીયા ક્રીયા કર્યા કર્યા ક્રીયા કર્યા ક્રીયા ક્ર

ત્રાં માંચારાત્રા ભૂતાસારા સંવામાં ત્રાં  $\frac{1}{2}$  માંચારા ત્રાં મું માંચારા સંવામાં ત્રાં મું માંચારા સંવામાં ત્રાં મું માં માંચારા માંચા માંચા માંચા માંચારા માંચારા માંચારા માંચારા માંચા માંચા માંચા માંચા માંચા માંચા

त्र इत्र चुर्र्यं कुष्र दरक्षण व्रवायक्षय क्षित्र कुष्य कुष्य

#### XXXVIII

अ:५र्षेष:य:ग**र्रे**न:५र्देव:५॥

१०। स्.क्ष्य.मी.चवयःक्ष्यःचन् स्यान्यःस्यान्यःक्ष्यःस्यान्यः विवायःमीरःम्यान्यःस्यान्

क्षेःक्ष्र्नः नुष्णेः अर्थे दः र्यः मश्चिष्यः यः द्या । ध्याः श्रेषः पदः र्यः तः र्थे तः र्यः यदे त्या विद्यः द्या । श्रेष्टः र्थे रः र्थे यः पद्ये त्यः प्रेष्टः प्रेष्टः प्रेष्टः र्थे रः र्थे यः पद्ये त्ये तः स्थितः प्रेष्टः प्रेष्रेष्टः प्रेष्टः प्रेष्टः प्रेष्टः प्रेष्टः प्रेष्टः प्रेष्टः प्रे

८ यायः यद्ग्याच्याः याः व्याः व

त्व'ग्र-र्रेभ'कुर'धै'न'ञ्चर'त्र्वंगश'द्र'। । त्र-ळव'रुन'त्र्द्वेश्चश'ठे'ठेंदे'धै्गश'र्श्चेर'द्ग। । त्र-र्श्वेर'ळव'र्येदे'गवश्च'ग्वेश'प्रेन्'प्र'चेश'हे। । इट'र्श्वेट'ळेव'र्येदे'त्र्द्ब्य'ग्रीश'प्रेय'चर'छेऽ। ।

बेयाक्रीर्मिर१००५ ह्याप० क्षेत्राक्ष० वेता ईवायार्मित्रा

## Acknowledgements

Because I have devoted nine years to completing this historical research project, it has involved the cooperation of many people, on both an individual and public level. It is almost impossible to record here the names of each and every person who offered help in the course of writing this book. Nevertheless, I would like to note that, irrespective of whether their names appear here or not, everyone whose contributions are reflected in this work should rightly deserve to feel quiet satisfaction.

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The names of the paid assistants in this project have already been introduced in the preface and repeating their names in this section has therefore, been dispensed with.

Tibetan Medicine teacher Mr. Khyenrab, Tibetan Medicine doctor Mr. Choelo Thar and Sahra history teacher Mr. Sonam Gyaltsen proofread the draft of the history of Trika and Chentsa. Sheja Kuntue Editorial Centre's officials Mr. Yangkho Gyal, Mr. Gyarig Thar and Poet Zungchug Kyil proofread the draft history of Mangra.

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I owe special thanks to the Latse Contemporary Tibetan Cultural Library in New York. The library was not merely a place where I sought materials for my historical work, but was a vital influence, providing a fertile forum for lunchtime discussions with fellow researchers and visiting scholars during the course of my research. I spent many years there like a member of the Latse 'family' and it was of great benefit to my work. I, therefore, take this opportunity to thank its Director, Mr. Pema Bhum, as well as Kristina Dy-Liacco and Dekyi-la. They generously loaned me texts, provided photocopies without charge, liberally served me tea and coffee and supplied all kinds of playthings for my children so that I would not be disturbed. Because of their strong support for my work, I offer my heartfelt thanks to them all.

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generous in lending me numerous priceless, historical books. Drugbe-la brought many books out of Tibet along with a substantial number of illustrations. To all of these people who provided me with abundant historical reference materials in their private or official capacities, I offer wholehearted thanks.

Considerable assistance was provided by many friends and scholars living in Tibet and I undoubtedly owe them gratitude. Regrettably, due to the overly rigid position of the Chinese government at present I will, for the time being, refrain from mentioning their names.

At different stages during the course of this work, I was offered assistance of various kinds by the following: for nearly two months I stayed at Gomang Library, who went out of its way to arrange services for me like a power generator, whilst being exceptionally generous in providing photocopying facilities and printing my draft manuscript. The Librarian, Geshe Konchog Gyatso, supplied me with meals free of charge. The Southern Messenger newspaper put at my disposal two computers during those two months, while the Loseling Principal, Ven. Ngawang Gyatso, was ever willing to provide me with a computer. Ven. Lobsang Monlam of Sera Mey was exceptionally cooperative, especially in designing the book cover. To all of them I express my gratitude.

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For all these years, granny Nyima Choedon-la did the laundry, looked after my children, and cooked without a murmur of complaint. In particular, my wife Dorje Lhamo ignored hardship to feed our large family; she single-handedly took care of my three children's educational needs, their health, and everything else connected with our family responsibilities. Her support for this work is therefore unrivalled. I offer heartfelt thanks to them both.

### The genesis of The Greater History of Amdo

On 11 November 1999, I had the good fortune to be granted an audience with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I sought the private audience as I wanted to brief His Holiness about the services I had been able to render to our society – in my limited capacity - since coming into exile as a refugee in 1992. Besides, I had been so frustrated after being repeatedly annoyed by contempt for rectitude shown by some in our society that I had decided to seek an opportunity to study abroad.

After I presented my thoughts and ideas, His Holiness told me: "In our society today there are many people studying English. Compared to the situation in the past, the number of those graduating with a good standard of knowledge in English is not insignificant. Nevertheless, even if we go to Western countries and learn English, it is difficult for us to gain opportunities such as professorships and Ph.Ds. On the other hand, you are already very good at Tibetan. So, wouldn't Tibetan society be better served if you could work in an area related to Tibetan culture?"

I replied that this was indeed, true. However, I also recounted that when in a meeting I had sought on an earlier occasion with Professor Samdhong Rinpoche I had expressed a desire to take leave from my membership of the Standing Committee of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile in order that I may pursue research in Tibetan culture, his reply had been: "It is good that this is what you are interested in. But, while you research Tibetan culture, who will take care of your livelihood?" I spoke to His Holiness about the veracity of these concerns.

His Holiness then asked me about the depth of my interest in Tibetan history. I replied that while I had consulted and read quite a number of documents on the early histories of Tibet, I had no special interest as such.

His Holiness then asked me, "Well, how about the possibility of you researching the history of Amdo?" To this, I replied: "I had the occasion to entertain such a thought back in 1994 when I was teaching Tibetan culture at the Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute. However, writing the history of Amdo is not as straightforward as writing what is popularly viewed today as the history of Tibet, which involves writing a fair amount of narrative about the status of the many principal historical characters from the time of Nyatri Tsenpo to Darma Wudum Tsen, and about the periods during the Sakya, Phagdru, Rinpung, and Ganden Phodrang governments of Tibet. One needs to be fluent in Chinese, Tibetan and English and have a profound knowledge of many regions and territories. Without these, it is extremely difficult to write a history of Amdo."

His Holiness replied, "It is not difficult these days to find people with a good knowledge of English and Chinese. You don't need to worry about funding. It is extremely important that we have a history of Amdo. So, think this over for the next three days and bring your response to this office."

I felt extremely happy at being an object of such personal attention and hope for His Holiness. Nevertheless, it put me in a state of indecision as I was already scheduled to leave for the USA on the 18<sup>th</sup> of the month. I conferred with a number of experienced elders. They told me that it was a matter of good merit for me that His Holiness was placing his hopes in me rather than assigning the work to one of the many associations that are continuously being set up these days in the name of religion or culture. There was, therefore, no reason to hesitate, 'You must commit yourself to it forthwith,' they advised. Thus, in view of their unequivocal and unanimous advice, I postponed my plan to go to the USA and resolved to fully commit myself to the task. I informed the Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of my decision accordingly.

In another private audience I sought afterwards, I received the following instructions: "Your work on this history research project should be independent of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile; it should also be independent of any particular group or religious sect. Your job is to put into writing the outcome of research into historical records from the perspective of a historian. The language you employ should be Tibetan. The main subject should, of course, be Amdo in terms of its origin, development and status. In terms of research methodology, the best course would be to adopt the approach of Western research scholars." Being granted instructions to approach my research with such freedom and openness, I felt great happiness and willingness to accomplish the work.

I initially set out a draft three-year schedule for carrying out the project. I sought out my Machu friends Jamyang and Tseten Gyal as assistants and began my work. But because of my lack of familiarity with the subject of history, I found it difficult to define a detailed outline within which to build a framework for the historical work. Hence, for about eight months, I was unable to accomplish anything substantive. My two assistants also had no special qualifications in historical studies; as a result, it was not easy to allocate work between them, yet they acquired experience as they worked and set out to build a framework for the project. Jamyang noted down, sought out and collected periodicals and related materials. Tseten Gyal began translating into Tibetan a section of the relevant documents. With the work thus divided, the first foundations were laid.

In the meantime, for several reasons, I also had to hire Kunthar Dhondup as an assistant. For about ten months he translated into Tibetan some Chinese documentary materials.

Later on, when the need arose, I also hired Lhachab Jinpa. For a little over a year, he took notes about the mountains, rivers and geographical details of Amdo. After that I hired Sangay Dhondup to translate a large number of documents into Tibetan. I engaged Akhor Soepa to draw up an index of the histories of the monasteries in Golog and Ngawa and Zoege Kathab Tsering

to translate into Tibetan numerous short documentary items related to the history of Gyalrong.

At about the end of 2003, there was a great change in this project. The initial plan had been to compile the entire history of Amdo within three years in two, or possibly, three volumes. A new plan was now formulated to compile it into about six volumes and this was duly reported. The new framework seemed to be a natural development which had evolved from years of experience of being engaged in actual historical research.

Consequently, I held a discussion with the writer Lutsang Lobsang Yeshe to whom I assigned, without pay, the work of recording brief histories and biographies of all the monasteries in Amdo, its learned Lamas, Tulkus, and Geshes, and the prominent historical figures based on findings from the religious histories of the region and other relevant documents. In the beginning of 2004, with permission from the Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama I hired Lutsang Lobsang Yeshe and Datsenpa Tsering Dhondup. I instructed them to review everything that had been done up to this date. This they did for more than a year and their achievement was significant. However, before the work was completed, my very dear friend Lobsang Yeshe died suddenly, having succumbed to poor health. His death was a disaster not just for my historical work, but also for my friends in the Tibetan intellectual community.

For nine years, I gave up everything else to devote myself fully to this project, which also meant totally ignoring my family affairs, not sharing responsibility with my spouse, nor paying attention to my children's education. These past few years have finally culminated in the successful completion of this project. Words cannot suffice to express my joy at being able to contribute this unprecedented six-volume work of history as a common resource for everyone.

Of the six volumes, the first represents the main beams and pillars of the history of Amdo. Consisting of more than 750 pages of body text, it chronicles the history of Tibet from the time humans first emerged there until 1958, the

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status of Tibet as a whole under each of the different government powers, and the status of Amdo during each of those periods. Instead of following well-established positions on matters concerning the status of Amdo during those periods, and refusing to be cowered by what the lama-tulkus, local chiefs, and other strict adherents to local positions say, I strived to follow the guideline provided by his Holiness the Dalai Lama. In line with this, I tried to exercise a completely independent course of judgements. Nevertheless, there are many places in this work where on a few particular matters, I did not have the confidence to fully record all my fully independent ideas.

The second volume contains over 640 pages. It brings together the histories of Lho Gyalmo Tsawa Rong, Upper and Lower Ngawa, the Twelve Wings of Zoege, the Three Divisions of Golog, Whelshul Serta, Whelshul Mewa, the Three Divisions of Zangkar, Zungchu, Drugchu, Chone, Batse and Thewo.

The third volume, with over 690 pages, covers the histories of Ladrang Sangchu Dzong and its jurisdictional areas, Luchu Dzong, Machu Dzong, and the Mongol Yulgan Dzong.

The fourth volume deals with the histories of the Tibetan areas of Tso-ngon Province in the Rebkong region and of Pari in over 650 pages.

The above three volumes (second to fourth) cover the histories of the Amdo region and of the particular areas within it. It encompasses 53 Dzongs from Gyalrong in the South to Tso-ngon in the north, and from Kachu in the east to Golog in the west. I have presumed to have written a detailed history of these and the numerous other inhabited areas not included in them. Nevertheless, in the case of some places, I could neither lay my hands on any written records, nor find any person to interview. There have, therefore, been many instances in which I have been left with nothing to write about. Hence, with regard to the people residing in these areas I have nothing to offer and must seek their forgiveness.

In the fifth volume, I have compiled whatever information I could gather on the histories of the monasteries of the four great Buddhist religious sects and of the Bon religion, the hermitages and tantric centres in the Amdo region. It consists of over 900 pages of body text. They include information about the establishment of the monasteries, the names of their founders, the places where they were set up and their religious affiliations, clarifying the history of those years to whatever extent I could gather the details. I have written very brief footnotes of importance relating to their histories, so that readers will not be irritated by lengthy commentary, retaining crucial and beneficial information that can be viewed at a glance. Nevertheless, because there were many instances in which the original, old documents contained absolutely no information about dates and other details, it was impossible to render everything complete in every respect. Accordingly, it could be considered a drawback of this volume that because of the constraints of time, it was not possible to carry out completely satisfactory research, with the result that some errors cannot be ruled out.

The sixth volume is devoted to the life stories of all the great scholars of Amdo that I could source. Presented in chronological order, it consists of over 720 pages of body text. It elucidates their names, birthplaces, dates of birth and death, and their religious affiliations to whatever extent it was possible to determine them. A brief biography of each of them appears in the footnotes and their informative value is not insignificant. Nevertheless, there have been many cases in which I could not find any dates of birth or death, places of birth, nor – apart from their names – any life stories. It should be possible for those able to carry out more in-depth research to supplement these missing details.

In the course of writing this history, I also put aside a list of historical terms, as I found it pertinent to compile a collection of them in order to create a dictionary later on. I assigned Ghangkar Gyalsey to accomplish this within six months. However, there is still much work to be done in terms of obtaining a comprehensive list of terms and with limited time, the project remains incomplete. I remain hopeful, however, of eventually publishing this work.

One of the major difficulties from the very beginning to the tail end of carrying out this research project was that the Chinese works of history were in stark opposition to the contents of the Tibetan historical archives. The Chinese documents speak of Tibet being under Chinese rule even before the beginning of the current Anno Domino years. The Chinese have published a pile of books a mountain-high telling shameless lies about Tibet having had only a visage of an identity as a country during almost 200 years of rule under the Tsenpo kings while being fully under Chinese rule in every respect. For example, in *Notes on the Ming Dynasty* published by the Chinese government there are three volumes on Tibet while in the Notes on the Manchu Qing Dynasty - consisting of over 100 volumes - there are 11 exclusive volumes on Tibet. In addition, today there are Chinese government establishments in every part of Tibet, whose output of articles and books falsifying the history of Tibet is so voluminous that it is impossible to read them all, much less to examine their contents' claims. Even copying down the addresses of the publishers alone would require a strenuous amount of effort.

It is particularly worth noting that the outlook towards the writing of history on the part of early scholars in Tibet and China (not including most of the Tibetan historians writing Tibet's history under Chinese rule today) had been totally different. The Chinese scholars had written history from the perspective of long-term political objectives with the result that their efforts were directed at trying to render the entire details of their works in political connotations. On the other hand, the Tibetan scholars of history, lacking interest in politics to any great degree, had devoted their expertise and skill to exalting the miraculous powers of lamas and their clairvoyance and dreams.

The reference sources of the Chinese and Tibetan historians were also totally different. For example, the Chinese had an inherent habit of describing as their own, any and every piece of neighbourhood, land and territory they saw or heard about, whether actual, or on maps. In addition, most of them were family men with interests in ensuring the security of their food, clothing and reputation. On the other hand, most of the Tibetan historians considered all the pleasures and fame enjoyable in this world as merely dreamlike

fleeting moments of happiness; they were dedicated religious scholars to whom the promise of joy in the life hereafter was more important. Thus, there was absolutely no commonality between the historians on the two sides in terms of their outlook towards life. Because of this lack of meeting of minds, their historical works too were marked, on the one side, by the viewing of politics as the wall of their historical building work, and on the opposing side an attitude of contempt for politics. Such were their back-to-back views of history writing.

The most illuminating impression I gathered during my nine years of researching historical works was that although the old lama-historians had either no grasp of the importance of politics, or did not attribute any importance to it, there was very little evidence that they were guilty of distortions or falsifications. Conversely, it was difficult to rely on the credibility of most of the historical works by Chinese scholars. In view of this, I find most instructive the suggestion of the modern scholar of Tibet, Muge Samten: 'rely mainly on Tibetan sources when writing Tibet's history, and rely mainly on Chinese sources when writing Chinese history.' In writing each section of this history, I first approached Tibetan sources and took as reference the materials that were amenable to examination. Regarding the corresponding Chinese sources, which differed from the Tibetan versions, I sought to analyse them on the basis of their reliability and authoritativeness.

However, we, the mountain people of Tibet, have an innate habit of trying to be evasive when it comes to embarking on major projects, of dreading greatly the initiation of potentially controversial new projects, and of being reluctant to acknowledge the fruits of efforts made by others. Being very familiar with these habits, I, a man of humble bearing, having accomplished this work after years of enduring hardship without complaint, do not entertain any great hope for generating applause. Nevertheless, it would be very difficult for the fruits of the continuous day-and-night struggle of my nine years of labour on this project, to be equalled by a person who worked regular office hours for twenty years. This I can say with utmost confidence. It is, of course, inevitable that these volumes are subject to some deficiencies such as a lack of clarity, incompleteness, incorrectness or incoherence,

resulting from inherent human limitations, failure to find relevant research documents, the inadequacy of knowledge and lack of experience of the author, and of time constraints in undertaking the research. Nevertheless, as the product of an effort of monumental proportions, conducted across continents, I can claim to be in a position to state that more than 95 percent of its contents are accurate. It therefore, deserves requisite recognition for whatever positive outcome it generates.

One important thing I must clarify here, is that although His Holiness the Dalai Lama has a wide knowledge about the subjects of this historical research work from beginning to end, and I perceived it as a great fortune that His Holiness had given a general assent to write its foreword, upon reflection, I deemed it proper not to ask him for his contribution. In my view, history is, unlike other works, directly concerned with a great many historical figures, and it is impossible that every historian has a similar appreciation of the virtues and vices of each one of them. Consequently, there is no certainty that the positions on historical events and developments I have adopted in this work necessarily conform to that of His Holiness. In addition, there is no certainty that in the case of some general and specific sections in this work, future readers and researchers will agree with the views adopted here. I could not bear to live with the thought that as a result of others' critical views on this work, the name of His Holiness too should be denigrated. With this in mind, my desire to seek a foreword from him progressively diminished. I remain hopeful that whatever the shortcomings of these volumes are, the responsibility should be attributed to me alone, not to others for any reason, including by association for having borne its expenses.

If someone asked for elucidation of the special features of this work of history written in the 21<sup>st</sup> century - though perhaps better provided by its readers, especially historical researchers - they are as follows:

1) There has been no overall history of Amdo until now, apart from Draggonpa Konchog Tenpa Rabgey's book on the religious history of Amdo written in 1865.

- 2) In this work, the deities' planning and building of abodes and realms have been replaced by giving pre-eminence to narrating the actual history of human society.
- 3) Instead of accepting as truth everything seen in writing and ignoring one's own initiative, the main focus in reading texts has been to interpret and analyze their facts.
- 4) In more than a few cases, there have been instances of findings and chronological explanations of events where, for example, only the years Earth-Bird and Fire-Rabbit were mentioned in the original documents without any mention of their corresponding *Rabjung* (the sixty-year cycle in the Tibetan calendar) or where, in numerous cases, the animal symbols of the years were not mentioned at all. Subsequently, recourse was taken to use alternative means of research.
- 5) In order to resolve problems arising from the troublesome confusion of facts in historical data or in the life stories of lama-tulkus or the histories of the status of monasteries, each was separately dealt with.
- 6) Every effort was made to ensure brevity and economy of language by avoiding, to the greatest extent possible, the use of obscure, archaic and elaborate linguistic terms that render it difficult to discern actual historical facts. Also, the use of distorting terms possessing only symbolic local meanings were dispensed with. Thus, the tone of the work is that of a universal language ensuring that any Tibetan-literate can read and understand it.
- 7) A conscious attempt was made to avoid disrespecting the accomplishments of other scholars through plagiarism of their work. Where quotes were required, they were clearly attributed without corrective adulteration. The sources of these quotes are clearly recorded in the footnotes.
- 8) The prevalent practice of the corrective adulteration of names and terms for local areas, regions, and so on, was avoided. Rather, research opinions

were recorded regarding the possible connotations for these names. No conclusions were drawn on the basis of mere surmise.

- 9) High priority was given to maintaining the names and terms clearly recorded in earlier standard historical and biographical works, no recourse having been taken to obliterating the wordings of earlier scholars in order to win credit for oneself.
- 10) Efforts were made on the part of the author, to ensure objectivity and impartiality, avoiding the interference of personal feelings in the narration of historical events.

The Author 30 October 2008

# क्रिंयापार्यायळ्ययाक्ष्यिताक्ष्या

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ब्र्टा क्रुंथालुवीवित्वयान्यावयान्याक्रुंबाक्र्याञ्चर क्रुंबायाच्यापटाटटावीया बह्यादर्नि नुदा ही सं १००० से स्राक्षा हो सा से केवा ही सा में हो ना दर्शे वा दर्शे न તલુવે.સૂર્તે.  $\widehat{\mathbb{A}}$ બ.ભૂદયા.કૂજા.તા.સૂષ્ટુ.કૂપ્તેય.જૂપે.જૂપે.જુવે.કૂપે.તજૂર.  $\widehat{\mathbb{A}}$ છે. ત્યું. સેત્ય.  $\times$  ય भ्रम्य भ्रम् र भ्रम् अव स्थापित प्रमानित स्थापित स्थाप र्यें दे द्वार्देश राधिवा ही र्यें १००० व्यव स्ववालिया से दे राव दि ता शासित र्चर्गीःग्रम्बर्गःचारविदेश्चरार्झेटरम्ब्राह्मराम्बराय्यायवारच्याःस्ट्रिंद्र्यार्सेव्याः नुःश्चेनबार्बेटानानेवी दबार्केराम्डटायहेम्बाश्चेन्यह्यानाभेटबान्दार्थः ट्रे.लुची क्र्रिट.मी.क्षेष्ट.क्रुवा.क्रिया.काट.च्रु.खुची.चर्याच्याच्यात्र.तया.क्रयाया.ग्री.च्र्या रजा. यः क्वरः तृः तसुर वः यः प्रदा वाषा स्वाः स्व त्राश्रम् न्यूप्त श्रीत्र द्र्या सहया नयदे । इत्या स्था न त्तृवःक्रॅंबात्वेवाधरात्तेव्यांविषाधिराश्चेत्रःश्च्यायार्टरामेवावरा श्चेःविषावरा स्र-्रम्थः वर्ष्ण्या निष्ण्या श्रीता वर्षा वर्ष म्रीटर्सेलातनातालेना मुनामनार्वेटानाली द्रमार्ट्स मन्त्रीटा तरी दे दे दे दे रामर्स्टर तहेन्या सेन्द्रित्रं सुन्तुन्य स्त्रित्ये वा सेन्द्रित्यं स्तर्या सेन्द्रित्यं स्त्रे स्त्रित्यं सेन्द्रित्यं सेन्तित्यं सेन्द्रित्यं स धेवा दे व्यापञ्चर देण पते में न्या पति स्थाप स् न्यास्य स्वार्श्व तेषा वा श्रीवार्य त्या स्वार्थ विषा मिन् ग्री सेषा पवि ता निर्मा ति विष्य **चॅर्गे** ग्रेट : ५८ : कॅन्या त. ५५ : ५८ : अहे त. त. ह्रें अया ग्रीया स्नेचया तना त. यह व विटा यवःतन्रः ईर्पः रॉन्यायः ग्रीयः विद्युत् स्थ्ययः वनाः तेः पदेः ग्रेन्याया विंटःमी'न्डअबःक्रबाचिं मर्चनं चेंवार्नुः निंश्त्रुवार्न्टातमेवाबाः श्वेवाः

द्यान्तर त्रहेन का के द्यान्तर क्षेत्र क्षेत्

ড়नस्यानेश्वान्त्रम् इंश्वर्ष्णम् श्रीम् विष्याने स्वान्त्रम् विष्याने स्वान्त्रम् विषयान्त्रम् विषयान्त्रम्यान्त्रम् विषयान्त्रम्यत्त्रम् विषयान्त्रम् विषयान्त्रम्यत्त्रम्य

ষ্ট্রীর্নে: ব০০৫ র্ট্র-'বার্হন'রেইল্বান্ডার্র'রে'র না ক্রন'র্ম্বান্ত্র'র' क्षेत्रः क्रेंद्रायायायायाया व्याप्याया इयवादी प्राप्यायाया ह्यायायायाया वर्षेत्र ब्रॅंबबर-८म. क्रिट. संबुट. तपुर्वे ची. ब्रीट. सिम्बाय. प्रायाय. दग्रैयमः क्षें के नमः विवास विवासे दार्सिन्। दे स्वास प्राप्त क्षाम स्वराखा से स येवमायावी क्रेंत्रानुःश्चेश्यमानुःभ्रेंत्राचारतः रेत्राचम्रमानेता वितायत्रास्ता चविषःश्रेषः श्रुट्यः रेटः र्वेटः। विः यटः विषः र्वेषः र्वेषः विषः स्रेट्यः विषः स्रेट्यः विषः स्रेट्यः विषः स्रेट्यः चरः अप्यादा व के प्राप्त व के प्राप्त के प् च£.धीवो.पत्त्रटे.खे.भी.चीबाराक्षेत्री क्र्रिटा-यह्ताः श्रेचवा क्रा.षिःचेथाः क्री.हुटः นฐมพาฏีนานานาน นฐมพาฐพาน้านามทั้งพมู้นางเพลูนามู้เพลาผู้สา वयात्रहेता. क्रियानक्रिया चियान्य राग्नी क्रियान्य या या व्यापनिवास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास व રે·口ᠵઃફ્રૅસઃઐનાઃવર્દેઃૠૼઃૠતેઃૡિઌઃઐઃઌૣ઼઼ૹ૾૽ૹ઼<sup>ૹ</sup>૾૽૱ઌૣૢ૱ઌૹ૽૱ૢૡૺૡ૽ૺ૱ૢૡૺ૽૱ नक्ष्यान्त्रेषान्त्रार्द्धन् ग्रीषान्तु दायार्षेद्रा धेवावतदार्धेन् ग्रीषान्यार्देन् ग्री स्ति-कुची-चार्यूट-व्यूच-कि.स्चार्याची स्ति-कुच्यू-चिचा-द्रूच-क्ष्यू-विद्रा ट्रि.ब्रेच.च्रे.च्रे.च्रे.च्रेच.घचया.चल.लट.ऱचया.चर्द्रया.च्रेच.चर्द्रया.चर्या चर्षु. वनार्क्रम्म् वर्षायहेन् नायो प्राप्त स्थान नाया (B.A.) विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास विवास व र्से म्बर्भिकार्से दारुदार्से छारी रायमें पान विकाय हा का से पान विकास है पान विकास क्रेव-र्रामार-र्मिनेम्बरम्पर-रुप्। मिलव-र्रेव-श्चित्यः श्चीर्पर्येर्पर्येर्पर्य-र्प् यक्तेवर्धेनिर्न्त्रस्वयम्यावायम् । विकर्क्तेवर्धेन्द्रस्यायित्रस्त्रपर्देत्रस्य देःग्रेबि'क्षानेषाँ चुरा र्थे क्रुषाग्री देवाचे राक्षेत्रार्थे प्रदेश द्वापाया सर्वेत्रा चुरा न्। क्रुचार्ट्र्याग्रीत्रज्ञाताक्रवायाना श्रुचार्यूट्याग्रीत्युट्यटाचा श्रुव्यक्ष्याग्रीर्येच्या

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इं.क्.संत्र.त्यं विवयात्तर्त्तः वेत्रः व्या इं.क्.संत्रः विवयात्तर्त्तः व्या इंत्रं त्यं त्यं व्याच्यं त्यं व्याच्या इंत्रं त्यं व्याच्यं व्याच्यं त्यं व्याच्या व्याच्यं व्

शु-र्य-१००० हुए केषा (पवर-र्य-पद्ध-पर्देशकानीः)देव-इत्यापिकः

# यर्रे.श्चर.जू.क्वर.क्वर.क्व.या

यःष्ट्रीयःगुःचितेते स्वान्यते त्यात्रे स्वान्यत् व्याप्ते स्वान्यत् व्याप्ते स्वान्यत् स्वान्यत

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द्रवाबार्यते, प्रणाची तम् रात्रीय प्राप्त रात्री वा । विष्ण क्ष्या प्राप्त क्ष्या क्ष्या प्राप्त क्ष्य क्ष्या प्राप्त क्ष्या प्राप्त क्ष्य क्ष्या प्राप्त क्ष्य क

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