र्देरःगर्दरःयहेग्रायेदःग्रेयःगर्स्यया

इ.ब.च्र.की.रच.बाह्र्रावरकीबार्धरा

### र्धर भूव मुषय प्रवर्

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Tibetans

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### विवाया. इ.जावायावार्या

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বশ্ৰ:প্ৰথা

## यर्-श्रेर-ज्रुक्षक्षक्ष्यक्ष्यक्ष

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ત્વ્યાલે. મુંત્રાં તા કેટ . શ્રેં દાવાયા સંચા શ્રેયા ક્ષેયા સંચા શ્રેયા ક્ષેયા કેટ . શ્રેયા સંચા સંચા શ્રેયા ક્ષેયા કેટ . શ્રેયા સંચા સંચા શ્રેયા ક્ષેયા ક્ષેયા

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 $\mathfrak{F}$ ્યાજ્ય તેતે. ત્વરાની શા ક્રેંચા પાર્વા સું ત્વારા છે. તે સાળાના સ્ટ્રાયા તે ત્યારા સ્ટ્રાયા સ

चिर्त्यः त्रायत्रायं त्रार्ट्राच्याः चेत्रः च्याः च्याः चित्रः त्राय्यः च्याः च्

ત્રાં ક્રિંત્રાજ્યાલે ત્રાં ક્રેંત્રાજ્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા કર્ત્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા કર્ત્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા કર્ત્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા કર્ત્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા ક્રિંત્રાજ્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્યા કર્ત્યા કર્ત્યા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કરા કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા કર્યા કરા કરા કર્યા કર્ય

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યું.પર્વિત્યાનું.ક્રિંપક્ટી.ક્ષેત્ર.પર્ક્યુયાયાનું.સ્ત્રાન્યાનું.સ્ત્રાન્યાનું.સ્ત્રાન્યાનું સહ્યાન્યાનું સહ્યાન્યાનું સહ્યાન્યાનું સહ્યાન્યાનું સહ્યાન્યાનું સહ્યાન્યાનું સ્ત્રાન્યાનું સ્ત્રાનું સ્ત્રાન્યાનું સ્ત્રાનું સ્ત્રાન્યાનું સ્ત્રાનું સ્

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यवित्रः स्वाप्त्रः स्वाप्तः स्वाप्त्रः स्वा

ગ્રી શ્રુપ્તાં પ્રતૃત્ત પ્રતાસના ત્ર્વેતાના ત્ર્યા શ્રુપ્તાના સ્ત્રામાં સ્ત્રામા સ્ત્રામાં સ્

भ र्थे क्रुब्य तदेते वदः पुः क्षेते बिदः चर्मे प्रत्वे प्रवे द्वा ग्री क्षेत्र पुः क्षेत्र बिदः चर्मे प्रत्वे प्रवे प्रवे प्रत्वे प्रवे प्रत्वे प्रवे प्रत्वे प्रवे प्रवे प्रत्वे प्रवे प्रत्वे प्रवे प्रवे

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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 चुर्रे क्ष्याच्यायते वा सुर्रे क्ष्याच्या स्त्र क्षया स्तर्भे वा स्तर्भे क्ष्या स्तर्भे क्षय स्तर्भे क्ष्या स्तर्भे स्तर्य स्तर्भे क्ष्या स्तर्भे स्तर्य स्तर्भे स्तर्य स्तर्भे स्तर्य स्तर्भे स्तर्य स्तर्भे स्तर्य स्तर्भे स्तर्य स्तर्य

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अ:८र्मेष:धःगर्रेंत्र:यर्दे**द**:घुष:धा

ગળ મેં જ્યું માં ગું નવસ રહું ભાવત ન સંત્રા માર્ચન માર્

८ यायः यद्ग्याच्याः याः व्याः याः व्याः याः व्याः याः व्याः याः व्याः व्याः व्याः व्याः व्याः व्याः व्याः व्या देवः देवः व्याववः यद्यः युदः देवावः देवः व्याः व वयः यदः प्रवाववः यद्यः युदः देवावः देवः व्याः व्यः व्याः व

त्व'ग्र-र्रेभ'कुर'धै'न'ञ्चर'त्र्वंगश'द्र'। । त्र-ळव'रुन'त्र्द्वेश्चर्याकेरेंद्वेश्चेणयार्श्चेद'द्वा । त्र-र्श्चर'कव'र्यते'णवयात्रुपम्पिट्-च्वा'हे। । इट'र्श्चर'केव'र्यते'तर्द्वा'ग्रीय'चर'द्वेता ।

विषाश्ची में १००५ ह्वा १०० केंबा १०० वेवा ईंबा पार्चेबा

#### 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.

Throughout the writing of this book, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the lifeline of all the people of the Snowland of Tibet, was unrestrained in meeting the expenses. His dispensing of substantial funds for this project, without any restraint, was not for my personal enjoyment but was to facilitate the provision of a gift of a new historical work to the entire people of the Snowland of Tibet. In view of this, we are beholden to express gratitude to him a hundred times.

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.

Ven. Mogri Tenpa the Director for the Southern Messenger's Pen Association and other members at such as Shonngwo Tenzin Thogmey, Achog Zoepa, Trika Khedup, Kelsang Dorje and Serta Tsultrim Tenzin helped to proof-

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read draft texts. For over a month, Ven. Kelsang Tenpa and Serta Lobsang Tenzin corrected, on computer, the drafts that had already been proofread.

Ven. Hor Zhide Gyatso was diligent in providing help in proofreading. Geshe Shitsang Trinley, Geshe Tsekhog Konchog Gyamtso, Rebtsawa Tsondue Gyatso, Welbentsang Konchog Shatri, Welbentsang Konchog Kyoglog and Sangkhog Geshe Jigme also helped to proofread a considerable number of draft texts.

Norling research head Mr. Dorje Wangchuk and Norling traditional arts researchers Mr. Lhachab Jinpa proofread the histories of the principalities of the Tso-ngon area. Sherig Joint Secretary Mr. Tashi Dhondup proofread the histories of the principalities in the Gyalrong and other areas. Additional Secretary Mr. Tashi Gyatso of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile's department without portfolio and Norling Higher Studies Institute's teacher-cumresearcher Mr. A-Jamyang Tsultrim proofread the first volume of this work. Secretary at the Private Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Mr. Ngawa Tsegyam, carried out an overall corrective reading of the histories of the monasteries. Sanskrit-fluent Mr. Jholeb Choephel and researcher Mr. Rahula helped to proofread specific histories of the monasteries. Editor of the Biography of His Holiness the Dalai Lama project at Norling Mr. Tenzin Jamyang, Norling researcher Mr. Choezong Tenpa, Chitsog Melong editor Mr Ajig, freelance writer Gangkar Gyalsey, Zoege Kathab Tsering and Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile member Mr. Serta Tsultrim Woeser all helped with proof-reading. To all of them, I owe my heartfelt gratitude.

As instructed, Ku-ngo Jamten-la at the Private Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama carried out substantive proofreading of the entire history text for a full year and made important suggestions. Ku-ngo Jam-tson-la helped to seek out some essential research documents and former Secretary at the Private Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama Mr. Lobsang Jinpa along with Secretary Dresang-la leant their full assistance from time to time. To all of them I extend special thanks.

Mr. Lobsang Shastri and other staff at the Tibetan section of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala sought out and loaned numerous historical research materials over many years. The library of the Menri Bon Monastery, the Kirti Jhepa Dratsang Library, the Sahra Tibetan College Library, the Namgyal Monastery Library and the library of the Buddhist Dialectics School loaned a significant number of research materials. I express my thanks to all of them and to Ms Susan Manheit, head of the Tibetan Section at the Library of Congress, USA.

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.

At various times, I was loaned numerous books and reference materials by Jonang monastery at Shimla, and Shingsa Labrang; the Speaker of the Tibetan-Parliament-in-Exile, Mr. Penpa Tsering; Department of Security Secretary at the Tibetan Government in Exile, Mr. Dongchung Ngodup; Secretary at the Private Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Mr. Ngawa Tsegyam; His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Representative in Taipei, Mr. Dawa Tsering; Joint-Secretary at the Department of Security's Research and Analysis Centre, Mr. Phagpa Tsering; Joint-Secretary of the Tibetan Government in Exile's department without portfolio, Mr. Bhuchung; Achog Jinpa; Rebdo Sengge; teacher at the Ganden Monastery in Mongolia, Mr. Ngawa Tsondue; Kirti Jhepa Dratsang teacher, Soruma Dhargay; Cholsum history writer Golog Dhamchoe Pelsang and Khenpo Tenkyong; Ariwa Dorje Tseten; Sogtsang Negen and Sogtsang Legshey. Mr. Ladrang Kelsang was

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.

Ku-ngo Lobsang Jinpa sanctioned the expenses for my trip to the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. Mr. Tseten Wangchuk sent me the invitation. Mr. Bhongyal provided me with accommodation and free meals for more than two months of my stay there. Mr. Palden Gyal, Mr. Dorje Tseten, the Lama Kyab couple, Chagmo Tso, Tsering Dhondup and Pema Dorje Tsang provided me with all kinds of assistance. During the months in New Jersey, Ms. Lisa Hochman and Pema Choedon were especially generous in offering me free accommodation and meals, introducing me to Dr. Richard Guard's a wondrous collection of books acquired over a period of more than 50 years at the Chunyang Monastery. To all of them I offer my utmost appreciation..

My fate-destined friends Mr. Bazar Trinley and the Norling Centre for the Preservation of Tibetan Culture's administrative head Mr. Dolma Kyab were extraordinary in providing me food, clothing and accommodation over many months. In particular, Dolma Kyab worked hard on this project, right from its beginning in correcting computer malfunctions. I take this opportunity to offer my thanks to them.

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

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.

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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

# क्रियापार्यायळ्ययार्झ्या

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स्वायान्य स्वायाच स्वायान्य स्वायाच्य स्वायान्य स्वायान्य स्वायान्य स्वयायान्य स्वयायान्य स्वयायाच स्वय

ત્ર્વાં. શ્રેન્યલ્ય ત્રાફ્રેન્યલ્ય ત્રાફ્રીના ના વ્રત્યાના ના વ્યવસ્થાના ના વ્યાપ્યાના ના વ્યાપાના ના ના વ્યાપાના ના ન

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. સેતજા. જ્યા भ्रम्य भ्रम् र भ्रम् अव स्थापित प्रमानित स्थापित स्थाप र्यें दे द्वार्देश राधिवा ही र्यें १००० व्यव स्ववालिया से दे राव दि ता राधिद र्चर्गीःग्रम्बर्गःचारविदेश्चरार्झेटरम्ब्राह्मराम्बर्गःस्वराद्यसार्स्यसार्स्यसार् नुःश्चेनबःबॅदःनःनेवी दबःब्रूनःबद्दःवहैनबःबेन्ःबह्यःनःवेदबःन्दःवंः टे.लुची व्र्ट.मी.क्षेत्र.क्ष्र्वावया.व्रट.त्र्वयी.चयाय्ययाव्यत्त्रं,चया.क्यायाग्री.ह्या रजा यः क्वरः तृः तसुर वः यः प्रदा वाषा स्वाः स्व त्राश्रम् न्यूप्त श्रीत्र द्र्या सह ता नवि द्र सार श्रीत्र ता वि सार वि त्तृवःक्रॅंबात्वेवाधरात्तेव्याविषाधिराश्चिराश्च्यायार्रा वैष्वावाद्या स्र-्रम्थः वर्ष्ण्या निष्ण्या श्रीता वर्षा वर्ष म्रीटर्सेलातनातालेना मुनामनार्वेटानाली द्रमार्ट्स मन्त्रीटा तरी दे दे दे दे रामर्स्टर तहेन्याक्षेत्रप्रदर्देवासुन्युन्यस्त्रिक्षास्त्रेत्रास्त्रेत्यास्य स्वर्षाप्रद्याप्रे धेवा दे व्यापञ्चर देण पते में न्या पति स्थाप स् न्यास्य स्वार्श्व तेषा वा श्रीवार्य त्या स्वार्थ विषा मिन् ग्री सेषा पवि न न न ति हो ता नि **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

विंद्राची प्रस्वास के बावि वा चेर्य में में प्रवेश में का मेंद्रा प्रमान के क्या में माने माने माने प्रवेश में में में प्रवेश में में प्रवेश

 ક્ષેતા. તું આ ત્યાન અલા તે મું આ ત્યારે પ્રાંક્ષેત્ર તે તું પ્રદેશના સુધાન સ્ત્રાના સ્ત્રાના સ્ત્રાના સ્ત્રાના સ્ત્રાના સ્ત્રાના સુધાના સુધા

ষ্ট্রীর্নে: ব০০৫ র্ট্র-'বার্হন'রেইল্বান্ডার্র'রে'র'রে'র্রান্তা ক্রুন'র্ম্বান্তা ्रेतिःर्श्चेत्राययायायायावाच्या यावयायाः इययावे प्राम्यायाया हेता वर्षेत्। ब्रॅंबबर-८म. क्रिट. संबुट. तपुर्वे ची. ब्रीट. सिमेबर जाया संबंधिया है. दग्रैयमः क्षें के नमः विवास विवासे दार्सिन्। दे स्वास प्राप्त क्षाम स्वराखा से स येवमायावी क्रेंत्रानुःश्चेश्यमानुःभ्रेंत्राचारतः रेत्राचम्रमानेता वितायत्रास्ता चब्रिन्श्रीमा क्ष्या मा विष्या में विषया में विष्या में विषया में विष च£.धीवो.पत्त्रटे.खे.भी.चीबाराक्षेत्री क्र्रिटा-यह्ताः श्रेचवा क्रा.षिःचेथाः क्री.हुटः นฐมพาฏีนานานาน นฐมพาฐพาน้านามทั้งพมู้นางเพลูนามู้เพลาผู้สา वयात्रहेता. क्रिया तर्वेत्रा विया तर क्रिक्ट प्रिया र व्याप्त व्याप्त हेया प्राप्त हैया प्त हैया प्राप्त हैया 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 म्बर्भ से व्याप्त स्वतः स्वाप्त स्वर्भ स्वय्य स्वर्भ स्वय्य स्वय्य स्वयः स्वर्य स्वयः स्वर्य स्वयः स क्रेव-र्रामार-र्मिनेम्बरम्पर-रुप्। मिलव-र्रेव-श्चित्यः श्चीर्पर्येर्पर्येर्पर्य-र्प् यक्तेवर्धेनिर्न्त्रस्वयम्यावायम् । विकर्क्तेवर्धेन्द्रस्यायित्रस्त्रपर्देत्रस्य देःग्रेबि'क्षानेषाँ चुरा र्थे क्रुषाग्री देवाचे राक्षेत्रार्थे प्रदेश द्वापाया सर्वेता वा चुरा  $\chi$ ସ. ୬). ପର୍ଯ୍ୟ ନ୍ୟା କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ପ୍ରଥିଲି । କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥିଲି । କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥ । କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥି । କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥିଲି । କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥ । କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥ । କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥ । କ୍ୟାଷ୍ଟ କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥ । କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥ । କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥ । କ୍ଷାପ୍ର ସ୍ଥ । କ୍ୟାଷ୍ଟ କ୍ଷାଷ୍ଟ କ୍ଷାଷ୍ଟ । କ୍ଷାସ୍ୟ କ୍ଷାଷ୍ଟ କ୍ଷାଷ୍ଟ କ୍ୟ । କ୍ଷାଷ୍ଟ କ୍ୟ त्री कु.च.ट्रेंब.की.पड्रांज.क्ष्यंबाता भियार्जूटबाकी.जीटाश्चराया भीत्राक्ष्यंकी.प्रांचा

યાલ મું સ્થાન મું લે ક્રિયાન સંત્રાને સ્થાન સ

हीं त्र.४००७ ध्र.३ क्ष.४ (च वट.त्र.पर्वे.पहूंशथ.ग्री.)धुव.र्वे.य.व्यत्य

# यर्रेश्चर्यं क्रुबंक्षेत्र्यं त्रीम्बर्यं या

ब्रेव्ह्न्-पृष्णःश्चेत्र्यं न्याने न्यान्यः यात्र्यः । ब्रेक्षः स्ट्रेत्रः स्ट्रेत्यः प्रदेशः प्रदेशः प्रदेशः । ब्रेक्षः स्ट्रेत्रः स्ट्रेत्यः प्रदेशः स्ट्रेत्यः । स्टर्मेषः तर्नुः प्रदेशः स्ट्रेत्यः प्रदेशः ।

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