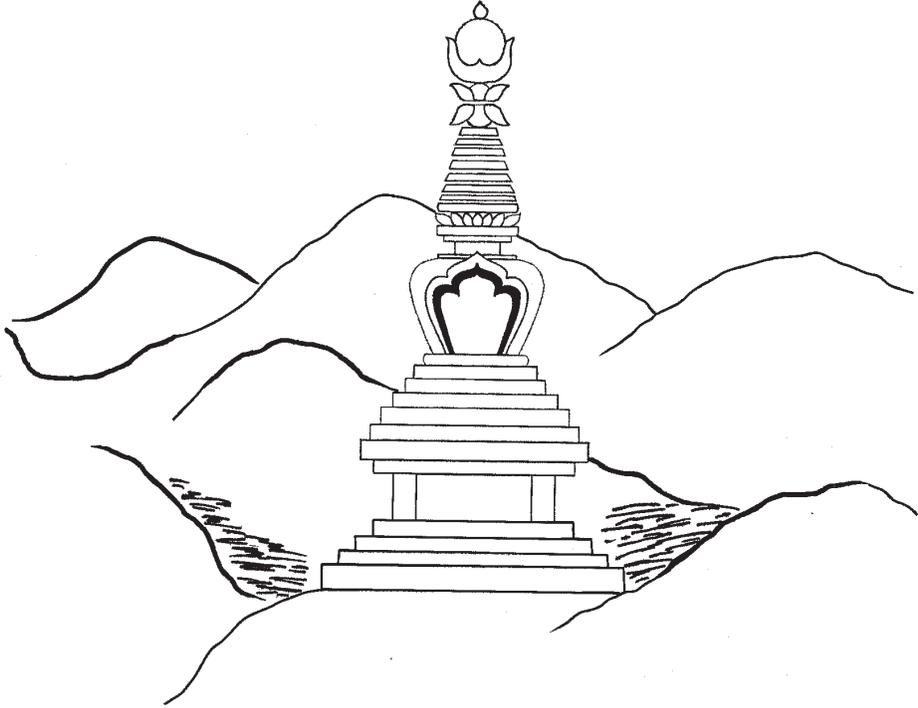




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A WORD FROM THE GUEST EDITOR

When in November 2011 I was asked to be guest editor of the *Bulletin of Tibetology*, this was an opportunity for me to continue a work I had happily accepted in the past for other journals from the Himalayan region. I have always been of the opinion that the local journals should play a significant role as a source for the study of the cultures they represent. Although places of learning in the west or other countries of Asia have structures and facilities to do very well, the material coming from the indigenous regions, despite many difficulties, keeps on inspiring research and writing.

To pursue this line of thinking I planned to ask a few authors who hang around the place in the Himalaya where I have been living for a good number of years to take out from their drawers some of their writings and contribute to this issue of the *Bulletin* I was asked to take care of. They are voices of the Himalaya for a Himalayan journal. I am grateful to them for answering to my call for papers.

This issue mainly focuses on Sikkim, owing to the work of Emma Martin and Tashi Tsering, who both transfer to the reader the great fascination of a past season in the history of the land that I find quite peculiar. Their work conveys the sense of a mix of antiquity, colonialism, post-colonialism and embryonic experiments with modernism, all combined together in early 20th century Sikkim like in no other Himalayan territory.

The other article in this issue, penned by me, steps out of Sikkimese culture, although vaguely related to it. It is an attempt to see how Tibetan culture treasures the cult of important Buddhist icons not directly related to it but still treated with supreme reverence. Being written from a perspective restricted to Tibet, the topic I have chosen offers ample historiographical opportunities for a study from the Sinological angle.

Roberto Vitali
November 2012







SIDKYONG TULKU AND THE MAKING OF SIKKIM FOR THE 1911 DELHI DURBAR

EMMA MARTIN

Head of Ethnology

National Museums Liverpool

Abstract

In the volumes published to acknowledge the centenary of the 1911 Delhi Durbar one looks for familiar faces in the masses of Indian Princes, British India soldiers and Political Officers that thronged the Durbar camp. In amongst all these images the Sikkim delegation is nowhere to be seen.¹ While Sikkim was of enough interest to the Anglo-Indian-speaking press to warrant several mentions regarding their attendance at the Durbar, very few photographs of the Sikkim party's involvement in the Coronation Durbar are now in circulation.² This makes photographs recording Sidkyong Tulku and the Sikkim tent at the 1911 Durbar, now in the collections of National Museums Liverpool, UK, of particular interest. This article will reinstate Sikkim into the Delhi Durbar by piecing together the delegation's place in the coronation of George V as Emperor of India. Alongside this, some light will be shed on Sidkyong Tulku's own role in creating the Sikkim tent and interiors for arguably the greatest ceremonial show constructed during the British Empire.

INTRODUCTION

[t]he rulers of Sikkim and Bhutan, evidencing their Mongolian connection, brought home impressively the frontier responsibilities...
in days when no State is isolated

The Times of India, 13 December, 1911

- 1 There are however several wonderful images of the Sikkim delegation's escort taken during the 1903 Durbar.
- 2 Charles Bell (Political Officer Sikkim, see later in this paper) owned several cameras and recorded or instructed others to record the major diplomatic events that he was involved in as a Political Officer, including the Bhutan Treaty signing of 1910 and his mission to Lhasa in 1920-21. There are very few images of the 1911 Durbar, while surprising, this can be explained by a comment made by Bell in a letter to his future wife, Cashie Fernie dated 17 December 1911, 'I could not get the verascope open, till a photographer turned up yesterday, who understood it, so have taken hardly any photographs'. A verascope was a camera designed to take a simultaneous double image, thus creating a three-dimensional picture. Bell was not the first, nor the last man to invest in new technology to record a major event in his life only to be defeated by it on the day.



From the 7 to the 15 December 1911, a visit by King George V and Queen Mary saw 250,000 people pour into Delhi. They were there to celebrate not only the coronation of King George as the Emperor of India, but also to invest in Delhi its new capital city status. Invitations to the Delhi Durbar were sent to every Indian Prince of any consequence across the length and breadth of India and for those wishing to enhance their British India credentials it was an eagerly anticipated ticket. With international attention on the Durbar and in order to ensure that the maximum obeisance would be paid to the new Emperor, it was clear this would not be the stage to test new alliances. Their Holinesses, the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama having requested a ticket to the Durbar were in fact both refused access to this show of colonial power and reach,³ instead it would be the small Himalayan states of Bhutan and Sikkim, who would be asked to take a seat at the imperial table.

Our main focus is Sidkyong Tulku (1879-1914), he was no stranger to the imperial shock and awe tactics of a British India Durbar; having already attended the Delhi Durbar held in 1903, and on that occasion he had led the Sikkim deputation. That 1903 invitation had originally been meant for his father, the ninth Chogyal of Sikkim, Thutob Namgyal (1860-1914), but something of a last minute decision, meant that it would be his son, and British India proclaimed heir, who would present himself at the Durbar audience; the first member of Sikkimese royalty to do so.⁴ John Claude White (1853-1919), Political Officer in Sikkim, appeared unsure of the Chogyal's motives for pulling out of the 1903 Durbar in his book *Sikkim and Bhutan*, when he attributed his absence to several mitigating factors,⁵

I think he was afraid of venturing so far from his own country, and though he has since quite grown out of it, he was at that time still conscious of and very sensitive about his hare-lip, which is a great

3 The Foreign Department files in the National Archives of India show that the Panchen Lama requested Rs. 20,000 to enable him to attend the Durbar, (NAI External, December 1911 Nos 8-9 Part B). He was categorically turned down by the British as they were now cautiously courting the exiled Dalai Lama. In order to retain some semblance of impartiality neither Lama was in the end invited to the Durbar.

4 Thutob Namgyal's father, Sidkyong Namgyal (1819-1880), the eighth Chogyal of Sikkim, had himself refused an invitation to the 1877 Durbar organised by Viceroy Lytton (White 1909: 48).

5 Beryl White, White's daughter, pasted a newspaper report into her 1903 Durbar album that cites the Chogyal's absence to illness. See Renate Dohmen's on-line exhibition of Beryl White's photographs and watercolours, of which some illustrate the 1903 Delhi Durbar, at: <http://www.kingscollections.org/exhibitions/archives/a-daughter-of-the-empire>.

disfigurement. His lamas also, whom he consults on every important subject, gave it as their opinion that he would probably fall ill and at any rate the result was he declined to go.

White (1909: 45)

But White, in his paternalistic and ever so slightly patronising tone, forgets to mention that there were other politically motivated reasons for the Chogyal not attending the Durbar.

While the Chogyal and Maharani, Yeshe Dölma (1867-1910) were now back in their rightful positions as monarchs of Sikkim, their particular relationship with the British had been a strained one. Between 1893-1895 the Chogyal and Maharani had been placed under house arrest in Kurseong and Darjeeling with White becoming the de-facto ruler of Sikkim during that time, a time in which he brought about a series of controversial land reforms that still have ramifications for the Sikkimese people today.⁶ White's relationship with the Sikkim monarch took a further turn for the worse in 1899 when British India officially recognised Sidkyong Tulku as the rightful heir to the Sikkim *gadi*,⁷ a privilege that should have been the right of the Chogyal's eldest son, Tsodrak Namgyal, who resided in Chumbi (or Dromo) Valley, Tibet. White unable to countenance the possibility that with Tsodrak Namgyal's accession to the *gadi* there would be another generation of opposition to British India in Sikkim duly promoted the pro-British and compliant Sidkyong Tulku above the ever obstinate Chogyal and his eldest son. The extent of this favouritism becomes clear in both Singh (1988) and McKay (2003) who show that it was White himself, who put an end to the Chogyal's thoughts of leading his state at the 1903 Durbar, insisting that the face of the future, Sidkyong Tulku, should represent Sikkim.

By 1911 there had been a sea-change in the diplomatic outlook of the British India Residency in Sikkim epitomised in a later memo from Viceroy Hardinge directed at the man who would take over from White in 1908, Charles Bell. 'I hope Mr Bell understands that when a Ruling Chief is not a minor I am not in favour of many restrictions or interference in the administration of the State'.⁸ The kind of interferences that White had taken to be his political right were a thing of the past, and Bell in the early part of his tenure stepped lightly across the diplomatic minefield that now constituted the Anglo-Sikkim relationship. Sidkyong Tulku was keen to impress on Bell in the early months of his occupancy that he was a

6 Thanks to Dr Anna Balikci-Denjongpa for supplying the dates and background information for Thutob Namgyal when the photographs at National Museums Liverpool were first being catalogued.

7 See, NAI Internal, April 1914 Nos. 24-46 Part A.

8 See NAI Internal, April 1914 Nos. 24-46 Part A.



true British ally and that his father, Thutob Namgyal was unfit for office. Bell's notebooks recorded meetings with Sidkyong Tulku in February 1909 that recount tales of threatened beatings unless bonds were signed in the Chogyal's favour and of political intrigues undertaken by the Maharani in the form of letter writing to Tibet, indicating that Sidkyong Tulku was now in fact a Christian (Bell, Sikkim & General Notebook: 25 February 1909). The desired effect, the Maharaj Kumar suggests, no doubt to increase tensions between himself and the Lhasa aristocracy and government.

Bell duly recorded all the salacious gossip he was offered, but he had watched the situation, and most pointedly White's handling of it, for several years from his various postings in Kalimpong and the Chumbi Valley and White's reliance on a very small group of Sikkimese monastic and political elites was not something that he wished to repeat (Bell, Sikkim & General Notebook: 16 and 28 March 1909).⁹ Despite Sidkyong Tulku's overtly pro-British stance, Bell was well aware that any further favouritism of the Tulku might see the Chogyal look to build closer ties with Tibet and by extension China and so he advised Sidkyong Tulku, 'to go slow and especially to interfere with the M'raja's concerns as little as possible' (Bell Sikkim & General Notebook: 5 April 1909). The softer more nuanced diplomacy of Bell would mean that there would be no question in 1911 of anyone but the ninth Chogyal heading the Sikkim delegation.

THUTOB NAMGYAL: KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

With five-months still to go before the 1911 Durbar the Anglo-Indian press was already speculating on who would attend. Amongst the high profile names listed on 11 July in the *Times of India*, we see the 'Rajah of Sikkim'. This time Sidkyong Tulku was not to be paraded as the Maharaja-in-waiting, this time, with White out of the picture and the more conciliatory Charles Bell in post, it would be the Maharaj Kumar's father, Thutob Namgyal who would lead the delegation. With not some note of irony there was an extra incentive for him to do so. Despite his imprisonment by the British and his anti-British leanings he was about to be incorporated into that truly British hierarchy, the honours system. Chogyal Thutob Namgyal was about to become Maharaja Sir Thutob Namgyal, Knight Commander of the Indian Empire and with it he would officially receive his permitted 15 gun salute.¹⁰

9 See Tashi Tsering's insightful article on the writing of the 1908, 'The History of Sikkim' for information on the privileging of certain Sikkim families over others by the British.

10 The Durbar investiture took place at 9.30pm on 14 December, with Thutob Namgyal, featuring on page 16 of the Master of Ceremonies programme. He was followed



While this was a fairly low-level honour, the implications of the title were far greater than the sum of its parts. This was a very visible reward for his increasing collaboration with the British, which began with the sending of interpreters and negotiating officials during the Younghusband Punitive Expedition of 1903-04 (although, White would have undoubtedly used his power and position to sanction this). But more than this, it would signify that Bell as Political Officer, Sikkim recognised the Chogyal as the leader of his state and was therefore likely a further strategy employed by Bell to build closer relations between the two men. While Bell was acknowledging Thutob Namgyal's right to rule, the Chogyal's acceptance of the honour also had implications, which Cannadine clearly lays out, 'the acceptance of an honour did not merely elevate someone in the social and imperial hierarchy; it also put them formally in direct, and subordinate, relation to the monarch' (2001:86). And what better place than the 1911 Durbar for the Chogyal to truly comprehend exactly what it was he was being incorporated into. Of the many rulers who had an audience with George V on the 12 December 1911 very few were noted in dispatches, but in the official record of the visit we find the 'Maharaja of Sikkim' (Fig. 1),

Most reverential of all were the chiefs of Bhutan and of Sikkim, who, after bowing profoundly and throwing earth by gesture seven times on their heads, drew from their breasts two white shawls, such as they use only to drape the most sacred images of their gods, spread them before the King and Queen, and finally raising their quaint caps from their heads, passed on. Their homage was a solemn religious ceremony.

Fortescue (1912: 155)¹¹

From the various records, files and archives there does not appear to be a note pertaining to how this audience and the gestures involved were negotiated

towards the end of the programme by his son Sidkyong Tulku, who would receive a Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire or CIE for short.

11 This gesture should normally involve three or, in the case of appearing in front of the Qing Emperor, nine prostrations. Called *phyag dgu phrug* in Tibetan, although known in China as the *koutou*. This act has then either been wrongly recorded by the British Indian government, or there was a clear manipulation of the practice by the British in order to meet their comprehension of subservience. It should be noted that the most high ranking India Prince, the Nizam of Hyderabad gave three prostrations, so it is likely that the Chogyal was ordered to give more. Grateful thanks to Tashi Tsering for making this observation on the prostration and for his observation on the *khata*. See Hevia (2005) for a critique of the British manipulation of the *koutou* during the Macartney Embassy's visit to Qianlong in 1793.



and constructed.¹² The act of laying the ceremonial scarf, the *khata* at the feet of George V as he sat on the Durbar throne is an extraordinary one. In order to show, in the British context, complete submission to the Emperor the Indian Princes had been instructed to lay their bejeweled ceremonial swords at the feet of George V (Raman and Agarwal 2012: 135). However, this was not possible for the Chogyal, his ceremonial dress only allowed for a ceremonial dagger. A decision therefore seems to have been made that the *khata* would be laid at the feet of the Emperor by the Chogyal in order to bring some parity to the proceedings. What appears not to have been appreciated by the British was that a *khata* should always be offered either on a table in front of the king or lama or given into the recipient's hands, it should never be left on the ground, which was an act of great disrespect.

From British Indian perceptions here was a clear acknowledgement by the Chogyal of his position vis à vis the Emperor of India, its significance was to be clear not only to the Emperor and the Chogyal, but also to the Chogyal's delegation who would have witnessed the British understanding of submission from the stands. But in fact this act from the Sikkim perspective was more disrespectful than anything the Gaekwad of Baroda could have hoped to achieve in turning his back on the Emperor as he walked away from his own audience in 1911.¹³ One wonders if the Chogyal hid a wry smile as he obediently performed this dreadful slight to the satisfaction of the British empire.

There is much to speculate over regarding this act, did Thutob Namgyal contest it, did he negotiate to present the *khata* into the hands of George V, or in fact did he know of the act he was expected to perform much before the rehearsals began? While this was an imperfect sign of submission, the intention was that the Chogyal would now understand where the British placed him in the greater imperial scheme of things, never mind that the act he had been instructed to perform was for him a show of utter disrespect.

This was one of several moments of ceremonial contact between the King and the Chogyal, including a fleeting private audience and return visit and attendance

12 Neither the records in the India Office, National Archives of India, the Sikkim State Archive, the Sikkim Palace archive catalogue nor Charles Bell's notebooks and diaries shed any light on the run up to the 1911 Delhi Durbar (this may be due to the fact that Bell was on leave from September - November 1911) or Thutob Namgyal's knowledge of his role in the proceedings. However, Bell notes in a letter from the Durbar camp to his fiancé, Cashie Fernie, dated 7 December 1911 that, 'The State Entry today was a fine sight; my two Chiefs as per previous arrangement laid scarves at the feet of the King + Queen'.

13 See Nickolls, Charles W (1990) 'The Dubar Incident', in *Modern Asian Studies* Vol 24, No 3, pp.529-559 for an account of the furore over the Gaekwad of Baroda's actions at the 1911 Durbar and the subsequent fallout for the Gaekwad.





[Fig. 1] Sir Ugyen Wangchuk, Chogyal Thutob Namgyal, Charles Bell and Tashi Wangyal returning from the Coronation Durbar Audience, 12 December 1911
Courtesy of Private Collection



[Fig. 2] Sidkyong Tulku (seated), surrounded by Sikkim officials, right to left: not identified, not identified, not identified, Rai Sahib Lobzang Chhoden, Yangthang Kazi, Namkha Gyatso, not identified. December 1911
Charles Bell Collection 50.31.137, Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool



at the state banquet.¹⁴ Sidkyong Tulku was also present on these state occasions ensuring his affirmation as the heir to the throne. Bell, ever sensitive to Sidkyong Tulku's need for social as well as ceremonial appearances, gave the Maharaj Kumar access to a very different network. Listed on 1 December 1911 in Bell's tally of present giving and receiving we find, 'Tickets for polo tournament at Delhi + tea' for Sidkyong Tulku (Bell Sikkim & General Notebook: 203), there is no such gift for anyone else from the Sikkimese or for that matter the Bhutanese delegation. White had noted that in 1903 the delegation had spent many of their afternoons watching the polo, 'where the polo was magnificent and where all the Delhi world would congregate' (White 1909: 47). Bell was keenly aware of the need to introduce the Maharaj Kumar to colonial society and to provide him with the means to make contacts that he might one day need when he became Chogyal himself, and the polo at the Delhi Durbar was an ideal way for the Tulku to make these less formal connections.

THE SIKKIM DELEGATION

In November His Highness accompanied by the Maharaj Kumar, the Kumar Trashi Wangyal, the Kumari and Chozed Kusho, three members of Council, several Kazis, Lamas and Nepali Thikadars with a large following attended the Coronation Durbar at Delhi¹⁵

The Chogyal and his son had not of course come alone to the Durbar, but unlike the enormous contingent from Madras, which spread itself over two separate camps and numbered 110 delegates from five Princely States, the Sikkim encampment was a much more modest affair and officially numbered just 26 men.¹⁶ The delegation list copied from the Durbar records in full here (spellings as shown in the Coronation Durbar programme) contains many familiar names from

14 The Sikkim delegation was most likely thoroughly underwhelmed by the time they actually met the King and Emperor. The pomp and ceremony of the occasion was no doubt undermined by the constant practicing of the protocols and procedures that went before the actual event. Bell writing to Cashie Fernie sighed, 'I have been working off my feet since coming here; we have had daily rehearsals of the chief ceremonials to be performed by our Ruling Chiefs, one has to go early + stay till late, + do a lot of waiting about. We have rehearsed the Durbar itself...3 times; the State entry twice' (ibid.).

15 See Sikkim Administrative Report IOR/V/23/89, No 450.

16 Several individuals recorded as being in Delhi do not make the official delegation list, including Rinpoche Chozed Kusho (chos mdzad sku shog), who was later and more commonly known as Taring Rinpoche, who as the son of Lhase Kusho and the Maharani Yeshe Dölma was the step-son of the Chogyal (Who's Who in Tibet, 1920).

Sikkim's aristocratic and monastic lineages (See Fig. 2),¹⁷ listed alongside them, we also find their British India officers, the staff of the Gangtok Residency, who would stage-manage every move made by Sikkim during the Durbar ceremonies.

His Highness Maharaja Thotub Namgye

The Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim.	Kumar Trashi Wangyal of Sikkim.
Barmiak Kazi.	Lambodar Pradhan, Rai Sahib.
Cheepa Lama.	Lingmo Chotenpa.
Dawsandup Kazi.	Living Kazi.
Gyaltsen Kazi.	Lobzang Chhoden, Rai Sahib.
Kharagsing Pradhan, Babu.	Pem Tsering, Babu.
Kincho Gyalpa. ¹⁸	Rhenok Kazi.
Lachminarain Pradhan, Rai Sahib.	Shamlal Subba, Babu.
	Tasang Lama ¹⁹
	Yangthang Kazi.
Mr. C. A. Bell	Political Officer in Sikkim.
Achuk Tsering, Rai Sahib.	
Gyaltsen Tsering, Babu.	
Hickley, Mr. A. D.	State Engineer, Sikkim.
Hodges, Mr. W. H.	Superintendent, Agency Office.
Thapa, Babu H. B.	
Turner, Asst. Surgeon J. N., I.S.M.D.	Civil Surgeon, Sikkim Agency.

The delegation list highlights the new political order that had come to Sikkim in 1910. Not only do we see long-standing and well-established Sikkimese families represented here, but also the Newar landlords/contractors who had just the previous year begun to serve as officials on the Sikkim council and at the Palace (Shrestha 2005: 33). The most familiar names are those of the Kazis. Barmiak Kazi, (personal name, Barmiok Athing Tenzin Wangyal) (d.1926), was

¹⁷ It is interesting to note that the British India publication, *Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet: List of Chiefs and leading families*, Calcutta: Govt of India [Political Officer Sikkim] 1933 makes no mention of any of the men attending the 1903 or 1911 Durbars.

¹⁸ His actual title was Munshi Konchok Gyalpo.

¹⁹ According to the Administrative Report for Sikkim 1912-1913 the Taksang Lama was also a member of the State Council and had previously been a councillor to the Chogyal. This was prior to White sending him, along with several others influential men, to their respective estates ensuring that the Phodang Lama, a trusted ally of White's, would gain prominence (Singh 1988: 225).

one of the most influential landlords in Sikkim, Chief Steward at the Palace and also a Sikkim Council member. Rhenock Kazi, (personal name, Sonam Dadul) had succeeded his father in 1908; he also sat on the Sikkim Council and became the manager of the Chogyal's private estates. There was also Yangthang Kazi, (personal name, Namkha Gyatso) another Sikkim Councillor and furthermore Writer in the Chogyal's household who was a member of the influential Brag dKar pa family; they having provided state officials from the family for the past eight generations. We then have Dawsandup Kazi, or Dawa Samdup Kazi, the well-known translator and Head Master of the Bhutia Boarding School in Gangtok and then finally Gyaltsen Kazi. He was from one of the leading families in Sikkim, the Tsugshing-Athing family. At the age of 19 he served as an interpreter on the Younghusband Expedition of 1903-04, receiving the Tibet medal for his efforts. In 1906, he escorted Sidkyong Tulku to England, while he undertook his studies there, and on their return in 1907 Gyaltsen Kazi was given a post in the office of the Gangtok Residency, alongside this he also held the post of Private Secretary to the Maharaj Kumar.²⁰

Amongst the new arrivals to the Sikkim State's inner circle we find listed here, Rai Sahib Lachminarain Pradhan or Laksminarayan Pradhan and Rai Sahib Lambodar Pradhan the sons of Laksmidas Pradhan,²¹ the first Newar settler in Sikkim and subsequently powerful landlord. Both men would continue the family line and become influential landlords in Sikkim in their own right, their influence ensuring they would both be appointed to seats on the Sikkim State Council in 1914. Last but not least from the Sikkim delegation we see Rai Sahib Lobzang Chhoden. He had been educated in the Bhutia Boarding School in Darjeeling after which he joined the Survey Department at Simla from where he was sent to Sikkim as Settlement Surveyor. He would serve as Court Surveyor in the Deputy Commissioner's office at Darjeeling and then as surveyor and interpreter in the Gangtok Residency Office. In 1903 he joined the Younghusband Punitive Expedition as interpreter and translator and in recognition of his services he received the title Rai Sahib. Thutob Namgyal also created him a Kazi and in October 1908 he became the Chogyal's Private Secretary followed in July 1912 by an appointment to the State Council.

20 Many thanks to Tashi Tsering for giving me access to his personal collection of the various volumes of, *Lists of Leading Officials, Nobles, And Personages in Bhutan, Sikkim, and Tibet*, Calcutta Superintendent Government Printing, India, from which much of this information is taken from.

21 Charles Bell describes Rai Sahib Lambodar Pradhan as one of the most enlightened landlords of Sikkim, in the Administrative Report for 1911-12.



From the Gangtok Residency we see Charles Bell of course; who at this moment in time also had one eye on the events taking place in Darjeeling, where the thirteenth Dalai Lama was still in exile.²² He was supported by his trusted right-hand man Rai Sahib Achuk Tsering (1877-1920), he too had gone to the Bhutia Boarding School in Darjeeling and had been selected by Bell as interpreter for the Ammo Chu Valley expedition in 1904, after which Bell had appointed him to the post of Confidential Clerk when he himself came into post. He had made an important contribution to the signing of the Bhutan Treaty in 1910, for which he was awarded the title Rai Sahib and he would also support Bell as key advisor at the Simla Conference in 1914. Tragically, he would die only days after arriving with Bell into Lhasa in November 1920.²³

What this delegation list shows us is that the group of men selected to travel with the Chogyal was a decidedly pro-British (pro-Bell is perhaps a more accurate turn of phrase) contingent. Although the men were working on behalf of the Chogyal many had been schooled or had associations with the British India Bhutia Boarding Schools, while others had joint roles that ensured they had allegiances to both the Palace and the Gangtok Residency. Some, like Barmiak Kazi had had personal disputes with White, but with the arrival of Bell the strength of the Sikkim State Council and its members rose and men who had previously played key roles as advisors to the Chogyal, roles that had been outlawed by White, had now been reinstalled (Singh 1988: 225). Furthermore, the Newar landlords had also been given a place at the political table, ensuring sectarian and landlord disputes would be discussed and settled during Council. This was to be the first outing for the new political order now operating in Sikkim and while some of the men had seen what the British were capable of before, for others including the Chogyal, this would be the first opportunity to truly take in what the British India government was capable of and what displays of pomp and ceremony it was willing to create for such an occasion.

PREPARING FOR DURBAR CAMP

Gorgeous Scenes and Dramatic Statements

The Times of India, 13 December 1911

-
- 22 He was also preparing for a personal milestone, his marriage to Cashie Fernie that would take place within the month.
- 23 11 December 1920. 'Achuk Tsering died today, of heart failure, brought on by a combined attack of influenza and gout. His heart turned out to be weak, which I did not know before. His death is a great shock to us all, + we shall all miss him terribly. He was a man of great political acumen, my right hand man in Tibetan, Bhutanese and Sikkimese politics' (Bell Diary Vol. VII).





The Delhi Durbar camp of 1911 was something of a temporary wonder of the colonial world. Covering 25 square miles of Old Delhi, it began at the Red Fort and reached its pinnacle at the now almost forgotten Coronation Park on the edge of today's NH1 Bypass (Raman and Agarwal 2012).²⁴ Delhi Junction, what we now know as Old Delhi Railway Station, had a major refurbishment with eleven new platforms constructed in order to simplify the logistics of bringing together the Princes of India in Delhi. If that wasn't enough, a light railway system was built, taking passengers on a scenic ride of the many hundreds of Durbar camps and local attractions.²⁵ The camps themselves had complex telephone and postal systems, were lit with electric lighting and there was a carefully laid out system of metalled roads and pavements all of which were bordered by iron railing fences punctuated with castellated entrance pillars to each camp. When looking over the Durbar pictures of this utopian creation, one feels as if one has stepped into a colonial Disney World, but while the British wanted their Durbars to be of a sumptuous and regal nature, they didn't necessary want to pay for every small detail.²⁶

This need for grand sumptuous displays delivered on a budget had also been expected during the 1903 Durbar and this had proved to be quite a worry for White who found Sikkim at a distinct disadvantage to other Princely States. Many of them, as long-time supporters of the British, had procured over many years the symbols of ceremonial colonialism that were expected to be displayed on such occasions including, the carriage and horses, processional elephants, furniture, tents and camping equipment. Sikkim, however, had none of these, and while the processional elephant was borrowed from the Bettiah Raj of Bihar, everything else had to be procured from the State coffers while keeping, 'the expenditure down to the lowest possible sum' (White 1909: 46). The creation and maintaining of the Sikkim Camp in 1911 would also come out of the Sikkim State budget and while elephants processions would not be a pre-requisite for the 1911 Durbar

24 Although Codell notes in her essay that the park is now in the process of being marketed and turned into a tourist attraction (Codell 2012: 42n).

25 During the build up to the 1911 Durbar, regular updates on the preparation of the camp were printed in the Anglo-Indian press. A typically laudatory report on the railway construction can be found in 11 July *The Times of India*, 'the railway systems were a mere matter of detail and will, as it has now developed be a marvel of mobility and convenience'. The mere detail they failed to mention being the many hundreds of Indian men and women who would undertake back-breaking work during the intense heat of the summer and the debilitating humidity of the monsoon to complete this 'marvel'.

26 See, NAI Internal, August 1911 Nos. 127-130 Part B, as the *tosha khana* office begins to assess what can be found, restored, dusted down and reused from the 1903 Durbar for the upcoming Coronation Durbar of 1911.





costs still spiralled, with the total cost of the Sikkim delegation's attendance at the 1911 Durbar reaching a grand total of Rs.68, 808/-6/-6, a major financial burden for this small, developing state.

Sidkyong Tulku had of course been here before. Heading the delegation and managing a tight but not insubstantial budget in 1903 had given Sidkyong Tulku a unique opportunity to shape the representation of Sikkim not only for the princes of India, but also for the many British subjects from across India and the Empire who would be making the trip to Delhi to witness the spectacle. In 1903, 'The Kumar took this entirely into his own hands, drew out the designs, selected the colouring, and superintended the whole of the details of the manufacture with the best possible result' (ibid.). As can be seen in Beryl White's watercolour of the Sikkim camp,²⁷ the red, blue, green and yellow prayer flags and banners lining the entrance to the camp and the identifying feature of the bold blue appliqué tent designs would have been quite a contrast to the plain white canvas camps of the other Princely States and as a result, 'The camp attracted many visitors, amongst others Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught' (ibid.).²⁸

The 1903 Durbar had been the perfect preparation for Sidkyong Tulku's later involvement in the 1911 Durbar. Not only did he have some idea of what to expect and what expectations would be placed upon him, but the event had introduced him to the highly impressive workings of British India. Although he would later further his education at Oxford University and take a tour of North America, Japan and China between 1906-08,²⁹ this would have been the first opportunity for White to truly persuade Sidkyong Tulku of the power the British had across this immense region and if there had been any slight doubt in Sidkyong Tulku's mind as to which mast he should pin his colours to (the British or the Tibetan), the matter would surely have been settled by his attendance at the Durbar of 1903. His involvement in the creation of the 1903 Sikkim camp would ensure he would gauge the level of expected spectacle in 1911 perfectly.

THE SIKKIM CAMP OF 1911

The principal event of the year was His Majesty the King-Emperor's Coronation Durbar at Delhi. Preparations for His Highness the

27 See <http://www.kingscollections.org/exhibitions/archives/a-daughter-of-the-empire/durbar/tents>.

28 The type of prayer flags seen in the watercolours of Beryl White and the photograph of 1911 are indicative of those found specifically in Sikkim and Bhutan and the borders with Tibet.

29 See, McKay (2003) for a record of Sidkyong Tulku's English education and subsequent tour.





Maharaja's camp in Delhi were begun in March. Every one took a keen interest in them, and worked hard to make it a success. The result proved very satisfactory, and the camp attracted much attention by its richly embroidered Reception tent...³⁰

With the approaching Durbar of 1911, Sidkyong Tulku's first-hand experience of creating a tented encampment for an imperial Durbar ensured that yet again in 1911 the Maharaj Kumar took control of constructing or 'making' Sikkim for the rest of British India to gaze upon and in some cases to consume. The delegation arrived on the 30 November by special train. Allocated site 317, Sikkim pitched camp alongside its neighbours Bhutan (Camp 316), the Political Officer's (Camp 318) and the then Punjabi Princely State of Bilaspur (Camp 319). As Camp 1 was ascribed to George V's camp with subsequent camp numbers allotted in order of proximity to the King's camp, it is clear that the Sikkim camp was on the peripheries of the 'Native Chiefs' camp' and the official map shows us that the camp was situated on the very edges of the camps allocated to the Princely States, equidistant from the King's camp and the Durbar Amphitheatre. As in life Sikkim was situated on the outer limits of empire.³¹

This peripheral positioning would be something the Maharaj Kumar would play on in creating the tent and interior for the Sikkim camp. Following a request by W H Hodges for a record of the Sikkim compound, for the official account of the Durbar to be published in 1913,³² a dossier of information (now archived in the Sikkim State Archive, Department of Darbar SI No: 81 File No: 13/1913)³³ was compiled by Sidkyong Tulku and Kazi Dawa Samdup which gives a detailed pen picture of the encampment. In its compilation Sidkyong Tulku's involvement in its making is drawn for us. From the outset, it seems clear that Sikkim at the

30 See, Sikkim Administrative Report IOR/V/23/89, No 450.

31 The camps appears to have been allocated in terms of honours and gun salutes, physically and geographically expressing the importance and the influence of the camp in question, but this was undoubtedly coupled with colonial geography and it is interesting to note that only three camps along from Sikkim was the Chamba camp, another peripheral Himalayan state.

32 Unfortunately, the India Office Records only hold volume two of the sumptuous, *The Imperial Coronation Durbar (illustrated). Delhi, 1911. Lahore: The Imperial Publishing Co, [1913]*, which includes detailed biographies of the Indian Princes, their contributions to British Indian rule and studio portraits of the chiefs in their finery (often worn at the instigation of the British), alas, it seems Sikkim was included in volume one.

33 Unless otherwise stated this archive is the source for the following account of the tent, its interiors and the Tulku's comments.





Delhi Durbar was to place itself at odds with the colonial order of the castellated entrance pillars of the vast majority of the other Princely States.

This difference was apparent before the visitor even entered the Sikkim encampment, as the camp's entrance did not include a ceremonial archway or fountain as many of the other Princely States did (aping the Saracenic architecture of late nineteenth century British India), but instead there stood a chörten or stupa, the first of many objects to represent Tibetan Buddhist culture that had been designed and made under the supervision of the Maharaj Kumar specifically for the Durbar display. As we shall see with the camp's interiors, the Tulku wished to stress the distinctive Himalayan culture that he represented, but there were occasionally small concessions to British India, the first being the inner workings of the chörten. Instead of a space reserved for the burning of juniper branches, the chörten would hold four electric lights connected to the grid, lit courtesy of the Durbar camp's drive for modernity. The chörten then would be a mere representation removed from its intended religious use; here at the Durbar it would act purely as an electric lamp post. A further visual sign that British India had made its mark on Sikkim would be in the displaying of the new flag of Sikkim. Flags, banners and standards had become an important part of British and British Indian pageantry, reflecting an increasing British interest in handmade arts and crafts and the medieval guilds of artists that were in stark juxtaposition to what was considered the over engineered and vulgar culture of Britain that had been so heavily criticised at the Great Exhibition held at Crystal Palace in 1851. In previous Durbars, standards had been created en masse for the attending Indian Princes (Codell 2012: 21), but in 1911 Sidkyong Tulku was given the opportunity to create his state's own national flag, 'newly designed by myself, bearing the gem wheel in the centre and the seven minor gems...with the sun and the moon, with flames as the border', this brief description listed in the inventory of items sent to the Durbar is easily recognisable as the flag that continued to be Sikkim's national flag until the state's annexation in 1975.

The reception tent itself did however brush off any British Indian interventions and stood in contrast to the ubiquitous white canvas tents of the Raj (see Fig. 3).³⁴ Sidkyong Tulku described his creation in fine detail and so it seems fitting to allow the Tulku to explain his design to us.

34 Another photograph in the Liverpool collection (50.31.150, page 23) shows that the Bhutanese reception tent was also constructed along the same lines as the Sikkim tent with appliqué work, but to my mind it does not show the same originality as Sidkyong Tulku's design. A photograph of the Burmese encampment shows statues of guardian lions at the entrance to their camp, although they did retained the standard issue white canvas tents.





The reception tent, unique in shape and design from all other tents in the Durbar consisted of three separate pieces. The design of the tents too were my own, and they were all done under my own direct supervision.

They were: (1) The Reception Camp, consisting of a roof or outer covering tent called Jayab. (2) The inner tent which served as the real reception tent called (Ding-gur) (3) The courtyard in the front adjoining the Ding-gur called Yolgur...

The Yolgur has the seven lesser gems embossed on them on the sides. The Ding-gur bore the design of Garuda on the front and back-roofs and the sides bore the sign of the phoenix birds. The Garuda was surrounded by the 8 auspicious signs...The outer tent Jayab only bore the auspicious Tranga design-signifying a coin

It goes without saying that tents and canopies play an integral part in Tibetan society from *lingka* tents used for picnicking, to monastic encampments that house entire Buddhist schools. In this case from the description of the tent and what we can see in the solitary photograph of its exterior, the general design principles appears to have been based on a modified high monastic or state reception camp, a majestic example of which was the 'Great Peacock' reception tent, photographed by Hugh Richardson in October 1939 being used to house the throne of the fourteenth Dalai Lama as he was finally escorted into Lhasa.³⁵ One further detail not described by the Maharaj Kumar is the appliqué design of a pair of *seng ge* at the entrance to the outer tent, which as symbols of Buddhist protectors act as a further sign of what the tent contained and what was the real draw for the Durbar crowds.

TRAVELLING TO THE HEART OF SIKKIM: THE TENT INTERIORS

This much can be said of it, that even at the Durbar amidst all the display of wealth and riches of India, the little altar attracted some notice of the visitors

Sidkyong Tulku

The effort and expense that was poured into the making of each of the camps clearly shows that this tented city was not just merely a place for the attending delegations to eat and sleep. In many respects what we see here is a living, breathing exhibition. The already mentioned Great Exhibition in 1851, whose halls and corridors had (poorly) represented the indigenous arts and crafts

35 See The Tibet Album. "Dalai Lama's Peacock Tent at Doguthang, Rikya" 05 Dec. 2006. The British Museum. Accessed 03 Jun. 2012, http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/photo_BMR.6.8.222.html.





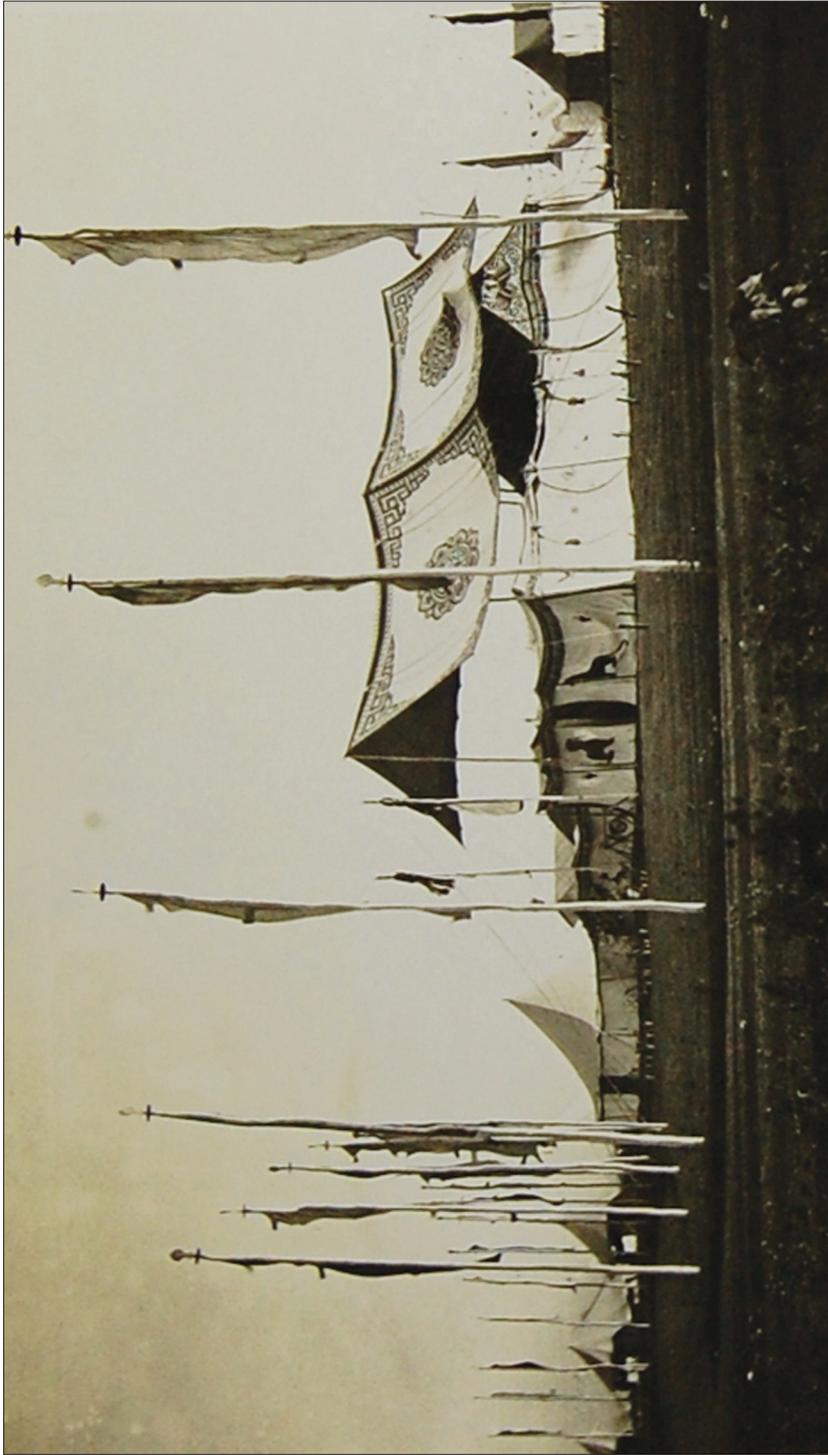
of many of the colonies within the British empire had been the catalyst for a growing phenomena in Europe that would be much later termed as cultural mega-events (Roche 2000). These events encompassed large-scale expos, travelling circuses, the re-emergence of the Olympic Games and temporary experiential museums that often included a 'living element' in the shape of the participation of peoples from across the colonies, in many cases 'living' in their 'natural habitat'. While a number of princes contested their participation and adornment at the Delhi Durbars,³⁶ the archives do not show any such protests from Sikkim on the necessity of having a reception tent that would be manned by the Maharaja and his delegation for the European contingent of the Durbar to visit.

My argument here is that the Raj-era British, whether in England or in India understood what was expected of them at a cultural mega-event, it was an opportunity for visitors to travel the colonial world without the actual risk of making the difficult journeys themselves. We get a sense of this when Bell, in writing up the Administrative Report for Sikkim at the end of 1912, recalls the entrance to the camp and the impact it made, 'Tibetan prayer flags on tall masts placed at intervals on either side of the road from the main gate of the camp to the Reception tent were characteristic of the country and added to the picturesqueness of the Camp'. The inclusion of the term 'picturesque' is important here, the notion of the picturesque, that is, in seeing pleasure in a scene and capturing it, possessing it, on canvas or later through photography whilst travelling, had become an important feature of European aristocratic travel in the nineteenth century and while it had begun with tours of the Lake District in northern England, the romantic and rugged attractions of the landscape had moved on to the Swiss Alps and had finally settled in the Himalayas. For some a visit to the Sikkim camp would be their only opportunity to take in the picturesque nature of the Himalayas, in a sense the Durbar visitors would be the precursors of the virtual tourist. There were of course strong colonial overtones to these camp visits too, Thomas and Ryan note that, 'As European visitors took the opportunity to "tour India" within the tented city, the separation of camps in fact subliminally reinforced the metaphor of colonial conquest, exploration and appropriation' (Thomas and Ryan 2012: 57).

The Sikkim encampment was not however sited on the main tourist route; that is, the main processional route of the Durbar camp. Those encampments were allotted to the states that had long shown allegiance to the Crown including, Hyderabad, Baroda and Mysore. The spatial hierarchies that had placed Sikkim on the peripheries of the imperial Durbar would not however present visitors to Sikkim in the Durbar world with the same challenges that Sikkim did in the real world.

36 As Mathur notes, 'Gandhi viewed the medals on the Indian maharajas as "badges of impotence", and "insignia not of their royalty, but of their slavery" (2012: 79).





[Fig. 3] The Sikkim Reception Tent at the Delhi Coronation Durbar, 1911
Bell Album 3, p.23
Charles Bell Collection 50.31.150, Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool





[Fig. 4] The Sikkim Reception Tent Interior, December 1911
Charles Bell Collection 50.31.138, Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool



Sikkim camp, unlike its real life counterpart, had a light railway station just two camps away. The railway as we have already heard was designed to guarantee European visitors to the Durbar a comprehensive view of the sights and sounds of the Durbar camps and could in true Great Exhibition fashion ensure that they could step into every colonial corner of the British Indian empire without leaving the confines of the camp.³⁷ Considering Sikkim's relatively inaccessible position in reality, the Sikkim camp was clearly an attraction to many, but what would the visitor gaze upon having finally made it to 'Sikkim'?

Then just as the visitor entered into the Din-gur [sic] the first object to catch his eye was the altar, the design of which was all my own. I had to superintended the execution of the artistically delicate and intricate carvings and paintings myself.

Sidkyong Tulku

Comparing the photograph of the Sikkim reception tent taken by Johnston and Hoffmann (Fig. 4) with other photographic records of the various reception tents it suggests that a similar layout was prescribed for each tent. These photographs were destined for the souvenir album of the imperial visit and would sit alongside the studio portraits of the respective delegation heads. These official photographs once assembled in the souvenir guide were just another way for the armchair tourist to take the India tour, here was all of British India captured and contained within the pages of a book, a record of the empire's possessions. For many of the Princely States, the reception tents themselves, and the portraits taken to coincide with the publication, offered a further opportunity to advertise and display their wealth and more importantly their British India credentials. The reception tents illustrated these ideas well displaying a healthy mix of over-stuffed Victoriana furniture coupled with the trappings of an Indian audience hall.

This was not the case with Sidkyong Tulku's creation, having whetted the appetite with his description of the altar, which will be discussed shortly, he expressly states,

that all the objects exhibited and laid out in the tent, from the tent outside to the carpets and Chuddars arranged on the floor, were either all Sikkim, Tibetan, Bhutanese, Nepalese, or Chinese made. There were very few European manufactured things there.

The Maharaj Kumar had not only shied away from the penchant of India princes to display all things British, but he had also decided not to create a raised

37 It seems that these privileges of virtual travel were only open to the European factions of the Durbar delegations. Ryan and Thomas note the positioning of sentry guards at the entrance to each enclosure, ensuring the movements of the Indian inhabitants of the camps were strictly controlled (2012: 58).

dais on top on which was the government sanctioned 'durbar chair', instead the Tulku would exhibit and display a Buddhist altar.

The centre piece of the Sikkim reception tent was a large wooden altar or shrine (*mchod gshom*). From the partial view we have of the altar we can see that the base unit was beautifully painted and that above the two tiers of shelves there were three large glazed niches for the chief images and above this a further set of niches for vessels. The supporting poles for the altar were deeply and elaborately carved with undulating dragons which were each crowned by a phoenix. The cornice or crown featured a carving of *sang gye o pame* Amitabha Buddha, who was flanked by two *shang shang*, the mythical bird-men who appeared from swirling clouds. Sidkyong Tulku was obviously delighted with the end result as he notes to Hodges that, 'They may be said to be the best products of Sikkimese carving ever done hitherto'. Although it is difficult to see the quality from the photograph a carved and painted folding table (*lteb lcog*) in the Charles Bell collection at National Museums Liverpool (number 50.31.3),³⁸ which was given to Bell by Sidkyong Tulku in around 1912 and is described as being, 'made and painted by a Sikkimese', shows the fine quality of the deep carving and gilding that the Sikkimese craftsmen were capable of in the early twentieth century.

Not everything in the reception tent had been especially commissioned for the Durbar, and the Maharaj Kumar curated a display that brought together new pieces with state treasures. Seated within the glass niches, for example, was a large silver figure of Padma Sambhava or Guru Rinpoche surrounded by a copper gilt mandorla or halo and at each side sat equally large silver figures of his consorts, Mandarava and Yeshe Tsogyal. Sidkyong Tulku described these as 'very old rare images and family heirlooms'. Rare too were the Eight Auspicious Symbols and the Seven Symbols of the Chakravartin (seen on the side table in Fig. 2), which the Tulku notes are, 'heir looms and used during the installation ceremony of the Maharaja to the guddi'.³⁹

The museum curator in me finds the construction of the altar, and the ritual objects selected to populate it, fascinating. I would suggest this is one of the first recorded displays of Tibetan Buddhist objects (by a Himalayan man) that brings together ritual objects for a relatively general public and places them in their cultural context. The altar doesn't appear to be in use, there are no butter lamps (or electric lights for that matter) burning, no offerings apparent, no incense

38 See, the folding table in the on-line Charles Bell catalogue at: www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/item.aspx?tab=summary&item=50.31.3&coll=1&page=1&themeId=3.

39 The spelling of *gadi* or throne was not standardised until later in the twentieth century and so a variety of spellings can be found for this term in the archives.

burning. Added to this we see that the Tulku has created a display structure for the Mahakala and the Kanchenjunga masks and their respective costumes that are still used today in museum displays, as the masks were, ‘dressed out in the rare old silk dancing dresses, which were stretched out on frames so as to look as if someone actually wore them’. The importance of dressing the set was clearly important to him as he also used, ‘several other knick-knacks too numerous to be mentioned; but all of native Sikkim manufacture, which tended to give the Sikkim tent quite a unique feature, and which quite attracted the visitors’. The Maharaj Kumar, was not just presenting Sikkim and wider Tibetan culture to the British and the Indian Princes, but he was doing so with a strong sense of aesthetics and drama by bringing together unique objects and the best of contemporary craftsmanship, in doing so he had created a show-stopper.

The audience’s reaction to the display can be gauged by the wish the visitors had to take home with them a small part of what they had witnessed, a souvenir to testify to the fact that they had come into contact with something not seen before, something inaccessible to so many. As the Maharaj Kumar recalls, ‘there would have been quite a scramble for the curios if they had been for sale’. In order to satisfy this compulsion to take away something material from the Sikkim tent, the numerous carpets that covered the tent floors, and the few western-style chairs that had found their way into the tent, were sold off ensuring that a small piece of Sikkim was carried off to England or some distant corner of India.

THE DURBAR CONCLUDED

After the many carriage rides, polo games and the Durbar itself were over, the Sikkim delegation left Delhi on the 17 December, with Bell and his entourage following on the 19 December after tying up final details. The Durbar and what it represented had entered the Sikkim consciousness, not just in the men and women who had made the trip to Delhi, but also throughout the more general population. It was not enough for the British India government that a group of 26 men from the Himalayan state had come to show their allegiance, this allegiance was also expected of the wider Sikkim population too. Sidkyong Tulku would play an instrumental part in making this happen by writing and distributing a prayer that was to be offered at every Sikkim monastery to the King Emperor and his consort to mark the royal couple’s visit,⁴⁰ while he also distributed to every school boy in a Sikkim State School a commemorative medal. Finally, to ensure the big day itself would not go unnoticed in Sikkim a sports day was held on 12 December 1912, the actual Durbar Day, in Gangtok.

40 A translation of the full prayer can be found in IOR/Mss Eur/F80/144.



While the party had been preoccupied with matters of state during their stay in Delhi as they turned for home their thoughts became much more personal with the Chogyal deciding to travel to Benares (now Varanasi) and Bodh Gaya to making offerings for the late Maharani Yeshe Dölma who had died the previous year. He was accompanied on this trip by the Kumar Tashi Wangyal (later Tashi Namgyal), the Kumari, Chozed Kusho (later Taring Rinpoche) and a few of the Kazis and Lamas, but notable in his absence was Sidkyong Tulku who instead travelled to Calcutta to stay with the Maharaja of Burdwan before returning home. The last official duty before finally reaching Gangtok on the 13 January 1912 was for the Chogyal to pay a visit to the thirteenth Dalai Lama in Darjeeling.

The participation of the Sikkim delegation at the 1911 Durbar offers up several conflicting conclusions. We see Thutob Namgyal, ninth Chogyal of Sikkim, reported in 1908 to still be pro-Chinese, heading up a delegation that would see him and his state personally and politically acknowledging their position under the umbrella of the British Indian government. His medal of honour would label him as a part of (a possession of) the British India government. This acknowledgement being witnessed by his, in some cases, long-standing inner circle of advisors who were increasingly, due to the diplomatic aplomb of Bell, coming to terms with British Indian intervention in Sikkim.

In sharp contrast we see Sidkyong Tulku, pro-British, desperate to succeed to the *gadi* and keen to implement state reforms as quickly as possible, who welcomed his participation in these British India mega-events and through prayers and sports days encouraged the people of Sikkim to embrace them too. However, unlike his Indian counterparts from the plains he would not countenance filling his reception tent with over elaborate Anglo-India furniture that said nothing of his state's and his own identity. Instead he chose to ensure his reception tent was 'Made in Sikkim', the manufacturing and constructing of his altar display illustrating Sikkim's separation from the rest of British India.

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A SHORT COMMUNICATION ABOUT THE 1908 'BRAS LJONGS RGYAL RABS*

TASHI TSERING

Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamshala

This short communication is dedicated to the memory of my friends, Yapa Tashi Tobgye Tobden Wookja Lingpa IAS (1948–2009) of Libing Kazi¹ and to Yapa Tsering Wangchuk Barphungpa IAS (1953–2009) of Gyendzong Kazi. From 2002 onwards both of them told me constantly that after retiring from their government service, all they wanted to do was devote their lives to studying Sikkimese history and culture. They even asked me to come to Sikkim for 6 months or a year and help them carry out their projects. They planned to take a jeep or ride horses to the remotest corners of Sikkim and visit all the monasteries, *mani lhakhangs*, Khabi Longtsok and all the sacred and historical places, the Four Great Caves, and also Tashidhing and its environs. They wanted to make an inventory of their ancestral archives and to ask other Kazi families to share their documents with them. Every time I made the trip to Gangtok, we discussed all these future projects over a delicious lunch or dinner with fine home-brewed *toongpa*. Since their untimely demise, every time I visit Gangtok, I sorely miss my friends and their enthusiasm in disseminating and preserving their culture and heritage.

There is little doubt in Sikkim, among the aristocrats and learned people who are familiar with it, that the Tibetan original of the 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*² (Denjong Gyalrab) was the work of the 9th Chogyal, Maharaja Sir Thutob Namgyal KCIE (1860–5/12/1914) and Maharani Yeshe Dolma (Namgyal), née Lhading (1867– d. on the 30th day of the tenth month of 1910 according to the Tibetan Calendar),³ despite the text being without any indication of its authorship.

It was translated into English by Kazi Dousamdub (Dawa Samdup)

* I am most grateful to my friends Dr Roberto Vitali and Emma Martin for painstakingly editing this short communication. However, I take full responsibility for any errors that may be found herein.

1 '*Ug bya gling pa*'/'*Ug pa lung pa* are the descendents of the *Zur* lineage of the illustrious late 10th century Nyingmapa masters originally from Khams.

2 Dan Martin, *Tibetan Histories, A Bibliography of Tibetan Language Historical Works*, Serindia Publications, London, 1997, p.172.

3 See their Royal Highnesses' marriage contract in Sarat Chandra Das, *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, Calcutta, 1915, Appendix ii, pp.2–3; Alice Travers, 'Women in the Diplomatic Game: Preliminary notes on the Matrimonial link of the Sikkim Royal Family with Tibet (13th –20th century),' *Bulletin of Tibetology (BT)*, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology (NIT), Gangtok, 2006, Volume 42, No. 1 & 2., pp.98–99.



(17/6/1868–22/3/1922),⁴ a former Chief Bhutia Interpreter to the Rajshahi Commissioner and Head Master of the Bhutia Boarding School, Gangtok, under the title: *History of Sikkim, Compiled by their Highnesses the Maharaja Sir Thutob Namgyal, K. C. I. E., and Maharani Jeshay (sic) Dolma of Sikkim in 1908.*⁵ It still lies unpublished.

I Xeroxed the copy belonging to Burmiok Rinpoche Tashi Densapa in 1979. This volume consists of 216 typed foolscap pages with an additional 38 pages. The English version is more comprehensive than the Tibetan original. In the additional 38 pages, the work has sections dedicated to, “The Pedigree of Sikkim Kazis”; “Regards to the existence of the various races, tribes and castes of people of Sikkim, – their origin and how and from where and when they settled in Sikkim”; “Customs relating to marriage amongst Sikkim Bhutias”; “Pujahs for living persons for warding off evils etc.”; “The origin and history of Lepcha race” and “About the Tsong or (Limbu and Mangars)”.

4 Dasho P.W. Samdup, ‘A Brief Biography of Kazi Dawa Samdup (1868–1922)’, *BT*, Volume 44, No. 1 & 2, NIT, Gangtok, 2008, pp.155–158; W.Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1960, pp.80–81.

5 A carbon copy of the History is kept at The British Library, London, in the India Office Library and Records, under the reference: MSS Eur E 78 and another copy is kept at the Manuscript Department Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, reference: Ms 380072; also see Amar Kaur Jasbir Singh, *A guide to Source Materials in the India Office Library and Records for the history of Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan 1765–1950*, The British Library, London, 1988, p.145. See Jo sras bkra shis tshe ring, ‘Sngon du gleng ba’i mtshams sbyor gyi gtam pu shel rtse sil ma’ in *Sbas yul ’bras mo ljongs kyi chos srid dang ’brel ba’i rgyal rabs lo rgyus bden don kun gsal me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, Gting skyes dgon byang mkhan po chos dbang gis brtsams, NIT, Gangtok, 2003, p.47.

Generally, the copy of the English translation was not readily available in other western libraries. For example, even Linda G. Schappert does not mention it in her *Sikkim 1800–1968: An Annotated Bibliography*, Occasional Paper No. 10, East West Center Library, East West Center, Hawaii, 1968 and neither does Julie G. Marshall in her, *Britain and Tibet 1765–1947, A Annotated bibliography of British relations with Tibet and the Himalayan States including Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, Revised and updated to 2003*, Routledge, London, 2005. In his 1984 work, *Smash and Grab: Annexation of Sikkim* (Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi), Sunanda K. Datta-Ray demonstrates a great deal of understanding and sympathy for the Chogyal and the affairs of Sikkim. It is then somewhat surprising that Kazi Dousamdub’s English translation of the 1908 *’Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* is not included in his bibliography. Datta-Ray has been consistently reporting on Sikkim in the Indian media since 1960. During this long lapse of time he should have had opportunities to consult the works of a number of people who have quoted from Kazi Dousamdub’s English translation between 1960–1983.

All these sections are missing in the Tibetan version. Today, no one in Sikkim has any idea whether these additions were originally penned in English or translated from Tibetan. I am inclined to think that they were first written in Tibetan and then translated into English for two good reasons. Firstly, in his translation, Kazi Dousamdub writes the words “Seal of Maharaja” at the end of the 38 additional pages to indicate that the Tibetan edition was officially issued by the ruler. This was the standard practice for the British in India when translating native languages. While the seal was not usually literally translated, its presence was always recorded by the British when it came at the end of a letter or document. This particular seal was appended at the end of the additional 38 pages and not at the end of the 216 pages (therefore this was not the end of the document). These words being present at the end of the additional section in the English version are proof that the sections were originally written in Tibetan.⁶

Secondly, given that the Sikkimese royal family was not happy with H. H. Risley's (editor) *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, (1894),⁷ the royal couple went on to write their own account. The Sikkimese royal family did not want to reinforce any lingering misunderstandings with the British India government due to the discord and intrigues of the Khangsar Dewan (Dronnyer Lhundrup) and his brother Phodang Lama (Khangsar) Karma Tenkyong along with two other Sikkimese dignitaries from Aden Butso families, Shew Dewan (Sholdron Phurbu) and Cheebu Lama (Tsidron Aden).

Another underlying reason for writing the 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*' was the uneven treatment of a number of the genealogies of certain Sikkimese Kazis in *The Gazetteer of Sikkim* (1894). The *Gazetteer* concentrates more on the Aden Butso families, e.g. the Garmipa Tendook—Gar mi Don grub dpal 'byor, later, Raja Tendook Pulger (?-1902)⁸—and Cheebu Lama family, and does not give details about the Barphung Butso,⁹ and other leading families. The intentions of the Sikkimese royal family with regard to those extra sections was to definitely set the record straight.

In my opinion, the most important reason or factor behind compiling the 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*' was that both their Highnesses witnessed first—

- 6 It is tempting to suggest that the descendents of the Kazi Dousamdub in Sikkim and Bhutan may have the complete version of the 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*'.
- 7 See also Sarat Chandra Das, 'History of Sikkim', *Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society of India*, Calcutta, 1896, Appendix 2, pp.vi-xvi.
- 8 *Family History of Raja Tenduk Pulger (Clan: Adenpuso)* by Yapa Dr Tsewang Tenduk Pulger (unpublished manuscript) p.12. I am most grateful to him for generously sharing his work with me before publication.
- 9 To the best of my knowledge, today the most senior patriarch of Barphung Butso clan is Yapa Jigdal Tenpe Gyaltzen Densapa (b.1928).



hand the 1888 and 1903–1904 Anglo–Tibetan Wars in Tibet. The Royal couple also suffered much hardship themselves, including maltreatment and detention, between 1887–1905. By 1908 they realised that the Tibetan government regarded them as *'Bras ljongs mgo gnyis pa* (two–faced) and mistrusted them. So, it was much more advantageous for them to whole–heartedly be a protectorate state of the British India government and cut off their relations with Tibet and remotely China too. In doing so the Royal couple wanted to demonstrate how sincere they were, they wanted to start a new relationship on a friendly footing with the Political Officer, Sikkim, the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division, the Commissioner for Darjeeling, the Governor–General of Bengal and finally, the Viceroy of India.

I assume that the Sikkimese Royal family did not keep their documents properly after 1908, and in addition to this, members of the Sikkimese Royal family and other leading Kazi families who received their education in India and abroad, in the 20th century had no interest in learning Tibetan or details about their heritage. They were rather busy pursuing Western culture, hence the loss of the original appendices to the 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*.

One or two page from the genealogical tree regarding Chogyal Tsugphud Namgyal (1785–1863) were also lost in the Tibetan original. In the 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* there is a sentence which says: “mi rabs kyi sdong bu dpe’u ris bkod pa ltar yin”, but the genealogy does not follow.

Kazi Dousamdub added notes for two purposes: to clarify certain points and to attest to activities in which he was actually involved. His translation in English contributes considerably to identifying all the foreign individuals and place names correctly. For example War Saheb is White Sahib (John Claude White 1853–1918) and Dpal Saheb is Paul Sahib (Mr. A.W. Paul d.1912).

In 1909 the Political Officer, Sikkim, Charles A. Bell, Esq., ICS reported: “His Highness the Maharaja and the leading kazis and lamas are writing a History of Sikkim, which Kazi Dowsamdub, the Head Master of the Bhutia Boarding School, is translating into English. This book is likely to be of some interest and to throw some light on the earlier history of the country and its relations with its neighbours, Nepal, Tibet and Bhutan.”¹⁰

Emma Martin of Liverpool’s World Museum who is familiar with Sir Charles Bell’s collection and his activities in Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan observes

10 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London, IOR/V/23/87 No 440 – Charles Bell, *Administration Report of the Sikkim State for 1908–09* (Foreign Dept serial no. 175). Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1909, Chapter 9, Miscellaneous, p.9. I am grateful to Emma Martin for bringing this to my attention.



concerning his private diaries and notebooks: “Bell had only come into the post of Political Officer, Sikkim in 1908 and in the early period of his tenure his notebooks particularly, but also his diaries, show him collecting intelligence on the Sikkimese Royal family and also the Sikkimese landlords and monastic leaders. He speaks to the Maharaj Kumar, Sidkyong Tulku regularly during this period, but there is not even one occasion that shows the conversation turning to the writing of the *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*. Bell was a diligent note keeper and diarist and so it would be highly surprising that if the writing of the *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* came up in conversation that Bell would not record it. I have no doubt if it had arisen in conversation that he would have made notes, as this would have been an important source of historical data for a Resident based in Sikkim and would also have been an interesting piece of intelligence to record for future notes to the Political Department of the Government of India”.¹¹

Yet again in 1910 Bell officially reports that the “The history of Sikkim, which is being prepared under the direction of His Highness the Maharaja, is not yet complete.”¹²

Much later Sir Charles Bell made detailed inquiries about the work. I append here three letters written by Rai Sahib (later, Rai Bahadur) Lobzang Chhoden (1871–d. on the twelfth day of the seventh month of 1935 according to the Tibetan calendar) for Sir Charles Bell, one written by request in 1916 and two in 1934.

[1] Gangtok
25.12.1916.

Sir,

In obedience to your verbal enquiry the other day, asking me, if I knew what were the authentic books, and other sources of authority on which the newly compiled Sikkim History was based, I beg to inform your Honor that to the best of my recollection and knowledge, the undernoted books, were the authorities cited to establish the ancestral line of the Sikkim Maharajas, and to trace it right up to the Sakya Race. But about the real history of Sikkim after the line of Maharajas had been established, old Sanads, letters, Deeds of Grant etc etc in the possession of every one in Sikkim were called up and returned after reference. For more recent events, several old people living (sic) were invited and asked to narrate what they knew personally in their times.

11 Email correspondence, “History of Sikkim Information” from Emma Martin on 11th February 2012.

12 The British Library, India Office Library and Records, IOR/V/23/88, No 446-*Administrative Report of the Sikkim State for 1909–1910*, (Foreign Dept serial no. 180). Superintendent Government Printing, Calcutta, 1910, Chapter 9, Miscellaneous, p.7.

The History of Sikkim was compiled by the late Maharaja, Sir Thutob Namgyal and the late Dowager Maharani, Yeshey Dolma, with permission of Mr. J. C. White, I think. I was then working in the Agency office.

The object of writing the History, I understand from the late Maharani, was to clear up some misunderstanding that was created by some of the old Kazis of those days, between some high British officials and the Raj family and also to remove some discrepancies in Mr. Resley's (sic) Sikkim Gazetteer in connection with the old history of the line of Raj family.

The materials of the history were gathered from some old books of Lhatsun Chemo and old records collected from different monasteries and people and also from oral information's gathered from old Sikkim folks.

The actual writing of the history was done by the late old Yangthang Kazi, Burmiok Lama and some Lamas of Phodang and other monasteries. The late Dowager Maharani herself also participating in it to a large extent.

I remain

Sir

Yours obediently

Lobzang Chhoden

Rai Bahadur

[3] Gangtok, Sikkim.

The 9th April 1934.

To

Sir Charles Bell, K.C.M.G.

Bellevue Hotel, Darjeeling.

Dear Sir,

Kindly refer your honour's letter of 29th March last. As far as I remember Their late Highnesses the Maharaja and Maharani took upon themselves to write the History of Sikkim primarily with object of supplying certain deficiencies in Mr. Resley's (sic) report in his Sikkim Gazetteer.

Your views about the Tibetan custom of writing any important report appears to be correct, and I have no doubt but that this custom was largely followed by Their Highnesses. From information gathered by me, it appears that Their Highnesses called up a meeting of some Kazis, Lamas and old folks in the big Durbar Hall of the old Palace, to examine old records and books dealing with scraps of historical events of Sikkim. These scraps were collected and put in historical form by the combined efforts of Their Highnesses and others gathered at the meeting, which was



continued for several days. The actual writing of the History was entrusted to the late Yangthang Kazi and Barmiok Lama, both Tibetan Scholars of repute, who had their composition corrected and approved by Their Highnesses from time to time.

I also understand that after the completion of the work in Sikkim, it was sent up to Tering Raja for further correction, before the History was finally accepted in its present form.

Thanks. I am much better now and have rejoined to my work from the 17th of March last.

With respects,

Yours obediently,

Lobzang Chhoden

9.4.34

(Rai Bahadur)¹⁴

In the first letter from Rai Bahadur Lobzang Chhoden, he mentioned nine sources for the writing of the 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*. Time and space do not allow me to discuss at length each of these sources but I can not help making a couple of remarks here. (1) *Bod kyi rgyal rab (sic) rnam thar* is a very generic title and it is not clear at all, which rgyal rabs and rnam thar he is referring to. Secondly, (4) *Bod gzhung yig tshang gi deb tho*, I think this is just an assumption. At that time the Sikkimese royal couple would have had absolutely no access to the Tibetan Government's official documents. Most probably it means all the proclamations/edicts from the Tibetan Government and copies of the petitions and letters were sent by the Sikkimese royal family to the Tibetan Government. Finally, (5) *Dgongs 'dus* (6) *Lun bstan gsal ba'i sgron me*. It is tempting to suggest that these two mean the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus lun bstan bka' rgya ma* of Tertön Sanggye Lingpa (1340–1396) which has a sizeable account or guide book to the hidden land of Sikkim.¹⁵ In short if time permits someone should read the 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* carefully and find the sources they have used.

Again, in the letters of Rai Bahadur Lobzang Chhoden it says that while writing the 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* their Highnesses collected all the

14 'List of Authorities on which the Maharaja and Maharani of Sikkim's History of Sikkim is founded'. British Library, India Office Records, Mss Eur F80/28 and Mss Eur F80/158 1916 and 1934. My heartfelt thanks go to Emma Martin for supplying me with photocopies of these three letters. Also see *Tibetan Catalogue* by E. Gene Smith, Volume ii, University of Washington, Seattle, 1969, pp.189–190.

15 See Collected, Compiled and Edited by Tashi Tsering, *Collected Guides of the Sacred Hidden Land of Sikkim*, (Mkha' spyod 'bras mo ljongs kyi gnas yig phyogs bsdebs bzhugs), Published by NIT, Gangtok & Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamshala, 2008, pp.166–236.



available records, old Sanads, letters, Deeds of Grant in the possession of every one in Sikkim, which were then returned after they had been referred to. In the case of the archives from Phodang monastery, Densapa (Burmiok Kazi) and the Yangthang Kazi family, these can now be easily accessed using the facsimile reprint in Dieter Schuh and L. S. Dagyab, *Urkunden, Erlasse und Sendschreiben aus dem Besitz sikkimesischer Adelshauser und des Klosters Phodang*, published in West Germany in 1978.¹⁶

Five prominent personalities are mentioned in Rai Bahadur Lobzang Chhoden's letters. Maharani Yeshe Dolma (1867–1910) seems to be the main driving force behind the project to write the 1908 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs. She was a person of letters and an astute politician. Burmiok Athing once told me that when the British Political Officer, Sikkim used to invite the Maharaja Sir Thutob Namgyal either to his Residence or his Office, the Maharani, busy doing the Maharaja's hair, would gently whisper in his ear enquiring about the reasons for the invitation and would advise her husband on political matters.

John Claude White, CIE., who was Political Officer, Sikkim from 1889 to 1908, has this to say about the Maharani Yeshe Dolma: "He (Maharaja Sir Thutob Namgyal) was entirely under the influence of the Maharani, his second wife. This lady, the daughter of a Tibetan official in Lhasa, is a striking personality".... "She is extremely bright and intelligent and has been well educated, although she will not admit that she has knowledge of any language but Tibetan. She talks well on many subjects, which one would hardly have credited her with knowledge of, and can write well. On the occasion of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee, she personally composed and engrossed in beautiful Tibetan characters the address presented by the Sikhim Raj, which runs as follows:

To the most exalted and beautiful white lotus throne of Empress Victoria—the incarnate—Sri Devi—the glorious Goddess—who has been ruling and conducting the affairs of the great Empire, being Victorious in every quarter of the globe by the dint of her accumulated virtues and merits.

"The Memorial.

"Gracious Majesty,

"From the ocean of merits has sprung your glorious self, whose fame has spread all round the world like the rays of the sun. Your Majesty's reign in respect of Government, defence, of light, and in increase of prosperity has been perfect.

¹⁶ Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abreilung iii. Band 3, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag—St. Augustin.



“It is our fervent prayer that Your Majesty’s glorious reign may with fame encompassing the world, extend to many happy years more.

“This humble vassal being extremely happy, with all his subjects, has been rejoicing at the Jubilees of Your Majesty’s reign, and prays that Your Majesty shedding lustre of good, just and benign rule, shall sit on the throne for a hundred great periods of time.

“With a pure white scarf, to represent the sincerity of wishes.”¹⁷

Her disposition is a masterful one and her bearing always dignified. She has a great opinion of her own importance, and is the possessor of a sweet musical voice, into which she can, when angry, introduce a very sharp intonation. She is always interesting, whether to look at or to listen to, and had she been born within the sphere of European politics she would most certainly have made her mark, for there is no doubt she is a born intriguer and diplomat” “Her common sense and clear-sightedness were on many occasions of the greatest assistance to me in my task of administering and developing Sikhim, and when I had various schemes before her she was quick to see the material advantages to be obtained and gave her support accordingly”.¹⁸

17 ཨྱ། རྩོལས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་བསོད་ནམ་ (ནམས་) དཔུངས་ (དཔུང་) བའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱི་ (ཀྱིས་) རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གསེར་གྱི་ཤིང་རྟའི་ལ་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བར་མཛད་པ་དཔལ་ལྷན་ལྷ་མོའི་རྣམ་པར་སྐྱུལ་པ་གཞུང་མ་རྒྱ་རྩེ་བླ་འདུར་ (རྒྱར་) ཆེན་མོ་མཚོགས་གི་རབས་ (རབ་) དཀར་ཀུ་སྐད་རྣམ་པར་བཤམ་བའི་སྲིད་པ་དུ། རྒྱ་གསལ་དང་བསོད་ནམ་ (ནམས་) རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྒྱ་གཉེར་ལས་འབྲངས་པའི་མངོས་སྐུ་ཤེལ་གྱི་དབང་པོ་ཉི་གཞོན་སྟོང་གིས་འབྲུད་པ་ལྷར་མཚན་དཔེའི་གཟེ་བྱིན་རབས་དུ་ (རབ་དུ་) འབར་བཞིན་མི་འཇིག་ (འཇིགས་) རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་འཕང་མཐོན་པོར་འཇིན་སྐྱོངས་ (སྐྱོང་) སྤེལ་གསུམ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་གྱི་ལོ་གངས་དུ་མར་འཇིན་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་པའི་སྐྱ་དབྱངས་ཀུན་དུ་བྱབས་ (བྱབ་) ཅིང་བཞུགས་འཇགས་ནི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་དང་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཤིན་ཏུ་ནས་ཆེ། སྤན་ཀྱང་དགའ་བ་དཔག་མེད་བྱུང་བའི་སྐད་ཆར་ཡང་ཞབས་པད་ལྷན་བཞུན་དུ་འཚོ་ཞིང་ཆབས་ (ཆབ་) འབངས་ཡོངས་ལ་དགའ་སྟོན་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཀྱི་དཔལ་དུ་སྦྱོད་ཚོག་པའི་མཛད་འཇིན་བཟང་པོ་ཉི་འོད་ཀུན་དུ་བྱབས་ (བྱབ་) ཅིང་གསེར་ཁྲིར་བསྐྱལ་བརྒྱར་འཚོ་བཞུགས་ཡོངས་ (ཡོང་) བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱིས། གཟེགས་རྟེན་རབས་ (རབ་) དཀར་ལྷ་ལོས་བཅས་སྐང་ཏོག་པོ་བྱུང་ནས་འབྲས་ལྗོངས་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཐུ་སྟོབས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ནས་མེ་བུ་ལྷ་ ༡ ཆོས་བཟང་པོར་སྤུལ།

Many thanks to Emma Martin for locating this letter and procuring a copy for me. It is to be found in The British Library, India Office Records, Mss Eur G55. Addresses, on loan from the Royal Collection, chiefly to Queen Victoria on her Golden and Diamond Jubilee, and to George V on his visit to India. No.54. Diamond jubilee address in Tibetan to Queen Victoria from the Maharaja of Sikkim. 1897. Please see the facsimile of the said letter on page 61 of this volume.

18 *Sikhim and Bhutan*, Vivek Publishing House, Delhi, 1971, (first edition 1909), pp.22–24.



This short, positive evaluation coming from a late 19th century English colonial officer about a woman, and moreover a native Maharani is unusually bold.

Concerning the other four prominent personalities involved in the book, Yangthang Kazi should be identified as Yangthang Athing Namkha Gyatsho (1870–?) and Burmiok Lama as Burmiok Jedrung Karma Palden Choegyal/Banyak Tulku Kunsang Tenpai Nyima (b. on the sixteenth day of the sixth month of 1871 according to the Tibetan calendar–25/3/1942). The second letter also says that some Lamas of Phodang and other monasteries were involved in the writing. Among the Lamas of Phodang, the one who was most probably involved was Phodang Lama Tenpa Gyaltzen (?–1914) and it is also likely that Radugpa Sherab Gyatsho, the Council of Pema Yangtse monastery and Donsang, the Chikhyab of the Ralang Monastery were involved too. In the third letter from Rai Bahadur Lobzang Chhoden, he says “Their Highnesses called up a meeting of some Kazis, Lamas and old folks in the big Durbar Hall of the old Palace”. It is tempting to suggest that the following Kazis were involved: Burmiok Athing Tenzin Wangyal (1845–1926), Lasso Athing Donsang (?–22/12/1923), Big Zithang Yapa Dogyal, Maling Yapa Drukdrak, Maling Athing Rigzin Namgyal (?–1/11/1923), Namtse Yapa Tenzin Wangyal, Garmi Kumar Palden, Libing Athing Apo, Munshi Konchok Gyalpo, Enchay Athing, Yangthang Yapa Yishin Wangyal, Taten Athing Norsang, Garmi Yapa Apang, Libing Yapa Atob, Maling Yapa Rabten, Tsidrung Namnag and Yapa Chodrub. These dignitaries were photographed with Chogyal Tashi Namgyal after his coronation in 1916.

Terling Raja was none other than Taring Raja Tsodrak Namgyal (1878–1946?), elder brother of Maharaja Sidkyong Tulku (1879–1914). The Government of India conferred the title of Raja upon him in 1922. It is widely believed by the present older Sikkimese Kazis that Yangthang Athing was exceedingly dominant (*kha shugs*) in compiling the 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*.

There are two surprising aspects. Burmiok Lama was a close confidant, and a most able and resourceful advisor to Bell, but the British officer chose not to ask Burmiok Lama about the 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*. Moreover, Bell collected many Tibetan books, particularly those historical and legal, but he does not seem to have collected a copy of the 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*, in the original Tibetan, certainly he did not reference it in his published works.

On closer inspection, there is evidence that Bell did have access to the English version of the 1908 *History of Sikkim* as he quotes from it verbatim in a government memo the list of gifts received from the Tibetan government for the installation of Thutob Namgyal in 1874.¹⁹

19 See, NAI, Foreign Department, Internal June 1916, Nos 122-134 Part A and

However, despite this lack of referencing it seems he intended to quote from the English translation extensively in a typed book that he wrote towards the end of his life (undated). Within the pages of this manuscript he uses the *History of Sikkim* verbatim in his chapters on the Lepcha people. In addition, when discussing the Himalayas Bell notes, ‘But why attempt to describe the indescribable? in the history of Sikkim compiled partly by the Maharaja, but in great measure also by his talented spouse there is, indeed a long description’.²⁰

The original Sikkim Palace copy of the 1908 *’Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* was in *dbu can* script (the book being in the *lteb mgo ma* style), wrapped in yellow *mdzod gos* brocade is lost.²¹

The present Tibetan version of the 1908 *’Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* comes from the collection of Rai Bahadur Burmiok Athing Tashi Dadul Densapa OBE (14/3/1902–22/2/1988), Burmiok Athing had two different copies. The first one was inherited from Rai Bahadur (Tsidron) Yanggang Orgyen Gyatsho (1851–22/5/1915). At the bottom of that copy there is the signature of Rai Bahadur Yanggang Orgyen Gyatsho, dating to 1911. The copy is written in *tshugs ma ’khyug* script on a register/ledger book and was wrapped in Bhutanese paper.

The second one was copied in 1951 on a register book in *’khyug* script. It has 166 pages mostly with 32 lines.²² This is the copy I found in December 2002 rather than Rai Bahadur Yanggang Orgyen Gyatsho’s copy, which Yapa Jigdal T. Densapa wanted me to trace at that time from his father’s collection. He wished to pass it to HM the Royal Grandmother, Ashi Kesang Choeden Wangchuck (b. 1930).

There are rumours that another copy of the 1908 *’Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* is with the Yangthang Yapa la family. Captain Yongda once told me that the late Chogyal secretly sent him a copy of the 1908 *’Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* in *dbu can* through a Palace butler, a Bengali, while the captain was in detention in 1975. Captain Yongda returned it to the palace after reading it.

History of Sikkim, p.101. I am grateful to Emma Martin for bringing this to my attention.

20 See, British Library, India Office Records, Mss Eur F80/218. Many thanks to Emma Martin for pointing out this reference to me.

21 Communication with Queen Dowager of Sikkim, Kunsang Dechen Tshomo (Namgyal) née Dhokhar (1905–1987), on 7th December 1982 in Dharamshala.

22 I included this version in the revised catalogue of Burmiok Athing’s collection in 1979. Its accession number is Ka 30 and the tentative title is “’Bras ljongs rgyal rabs: Sbas pa’i yul mchog ’dir dge bcu’i khirms kyis skyong ba’i chos kyil rgyal po rim pa dag gi gdung rabs ’phreng ba tshar du dngar ba mams yig mying dang rgan rabs kyil gna’ gtam dag las ’thor bsdus kyil tshul du bkod pa”. The first inventory of Burmiok Athing’s collection at Cherry bank was compiled by Chodpon Lama Jamyang Lodoe of Jamyang Khyentse Chokyi Lodoe (1893–1959) in the early 1960s.

I have come to the conclusion that the 1908 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs is rare and is owned only by elite and interested Sikkimese families. In 1983 Pema Rinzin Takchungdarpa wrote 'Bras ljongs chags rabs (for Bhutia Rapid Reader for class ix and x of the Central Board of Secondary Education, Delhi) in Lho skad. In the preface written by N. Tshering J. D. then the consultant for the text book it states that Takchungdarpa did a good job of translating the works of (phab bsgyur) Sikkimese history. I read this as the author only having access to some of the English materials and therefore only these were translated into Lho skad. In short the author did not have access to or make use of the original 1908 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs.

The present Sikkim Palace copy of the 1908 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs was scribed either in 1961 or 1962 by Drungyig Tenzin Namgyal and Lama Kyab from H. H. the 16th Gyalwang Karmapa's Rumtek Monastery after the Burmiok Athing copy at the behest of the Crown Prince (later 12th Chogyal) Palden Thondup Namgyal OBE, Padma Vibushan (22/5/1923–5/2/1982). This version was in 'khyug script and has 135 pages with 32 lines each. Sampho Jigme Rinpoche, the brother-in-law of the late Chogyal, proofread it.

The Tibetan version of the 1908 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs was quoted for the first time as 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs (Chronicles of Sikkim) in 1967 in Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa's (1907–1989) *Tibet: A Political History*.²³ Later it was again mentioned in his much enlarged Tibetan version, *Political History of Tibet* by W.D. Shakabpa.²⁴

Both Tibetan and English versions of the 1908 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs are without a title. This is reported for the first time in the Tibetan version of Tsepon Shakabpa's *Political History of Tibet*. The work is referred to as *Mkha' spyod 'Bras mo ljongs kyi rgyal rabs gsal ba (bar?) bkod pa dwangs shel me long*²⁵

23 New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1967, pp.147, 160, 196, 210, 335.

24 Shakabpa House, Kalimpong, 1976, Volume i, p.551, and Volume ii, pp.89, 91, 113, 617. See the English translation, *One Hundred Thousand Moons, An advanced Political History of Tibet*, Volume 1 & 2 by Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa, Translated and annotated by Derek F. Maher, Brill, Leiden, 2010. See the book review by Jamyang Norbu 'Shakabpa and the awakening of Tibetan History' posted on December 6, 2011 at www.jamyangnorbu.com.

25 *Political History of Tibet, Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*, Volume ii, p.617. An important point to note here is that when I saw the two different versions or copies of the 1908 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs at Cherry Bank, Burmiok Athing's residence in Gangtok, both copies were wrapped in the Bhutanese paper ('Brug shog) and on the front cover of the books there was no title. I did not open the wrapping to see whether there was a proper title on the book itself, but probably there was a title beneath the wrapping. If one may suggest, did Tsepon Shakabpa coin the said title? After all, Burmiok Athing had generously shared with him many rare Tibetan historical and biographical texts between c.1956–75, which Shakabpa readily acknowledges. If at some point someone could see the Yangthang Kazi family's copy or the descendents of Kazi Dousamdup's

Burmiok Athing told me in 1976 that Rani Chonyi Wangmo Dorji (1897–26/3/1994) (Younger sister of the 11th Chogyal, Maharaja Sir Tashi Namgyal KCSI, KCIE 26/10/1893–2/12/1963) of Bhutan House (Migyur Ngongse Phodrang), of Kalimpong made a copy of the 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* from the Athing collection. I myself saw a letter from the Rani, addressed to Athing la thanking him for letting her copy the history. In her letter she also spells out her displeasure for the indiscriminating logging of the forests and the ubiquitous construction of roads, which were spoiling the sacred geomancy of Sikkim and adjacent areas.

Between March 1976 and March 1979, Burmiok Athing loaned many books to me but he did not let me either have or take notes from the 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*. He thought it was too sensitive at that time, so soon after the annexation of Sikkim into India. His two different copies were not kept with the rest of his collection. During more peaceful times, Burmiok Athing was happy to share both the original Tibetan and its English translation with the young Japanese scholar Chie Nakane (b.1926) sometime between 1955–1965.

The English translation of the 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* was updated in English up to 16th May 1975 by a son of Rai Bahadur Lobzang Chhoden (1871–1935) of Lingmo House, Yapa Dorji Dahdul Sangpodar (i.e. Zhang po dar) (?/7/1912–28/2/1990), former Chief Secretary of the Government of Sikkim, under the title: *Sikkim–The Hidden Land of Rice*, Lingmo House, Gangtok, 1979. It has 447 typed foolscap pages.²⁶ Lingmo Yapa la updated the genealogical tree of the Sikkimese Kazis and leading political families from 1908 to 1975 in a remarkably complete manner! His work still lies unpublished. A prompt publication of this work written by an author who was an especially keen observer of the events unfolding in front of his eyes is highly recommended. He was the witness of all the political phases in the history of modern Sikkim even after its annexation into the Indian confederation. He inherited written sources and oral accounts concerning secular Sikkim from his family records and this is why he was one of the most competent specialists in assessing the late events taking place in his land.

In the mid 1990s, Dr Michael V. Aris (1946–1999) of Scotland was interested in finding a copy of the original 1908 '*Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* and wished to work

copy, maybe then we will solve the puzzle once and for all.

26 I had heard of such a work back in 1979, but I did not try to get hold of it. Years later upon enquiring, Tenzin Chuki Tashi (Sem Tina la) showed me a copy of this unpublished document in December 2002. I am most grateful to Agya Sonam Wangdi, IAS (Retd.), former Chief Secretary of Sikkim for generously giving me a photocopy of this rare manuscript in October 2008. I am also indebted to Dr Khenpo Chowang for giving me in December 2003 a photocopy of the same history, which he painstakingly copied in his beautiful handwriting.

on it. He was most probably doing so at the behest of HM the Royal Grandmother, Ashi Kesang Choeden Wangchuck.

In the early 2000s the 13th Chogyal Tenzin Wangchuk Namgyal (b. 1/4/1953) sent a photocopy of the Sikkim Palace copy to Bouddha, Kathmandu, and had this inputted into a computer by Amdo Gomang Computer Centre. It was finally published as *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*, Chos rgyal mthu stobs rnam rgyal dang Rgyal mo ye shes sgröl ma gnyis nas rtsom sgrig mdzad, Chief Trustee, The Tsuklakhang Trust, Tsuklakhang, Gangtok, Sikkim, First Published: 2003. This lengthy text (it counts has 391 pages),²⁷ is unfortunately marred by the publisher's censorship and inaccurate punctuation on almost every page, which makes this edition rather objectionable.

In 2003, Dr Khenpo Chowang of Tingkye Gonpajang, a Professor of the Nyingma Shedra in Gangtok, compiled a History of Sikkim in Tibetan, making good use of the 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* and its English translation by Kazi Dousamdub, plus the 1979 *Sikkim—The Hidden Land of Rice*. His book (in 402 pages) was published in the same year by the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok and is entitled *Sbas yul 'Bras mo ljongs kyi chos srid dang 'brel ba'i rgyal rabs lo rgyus bden don kun gsal me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, Gting skyes dgon byang mkhan po chos dbang gis brtsams.

27 Once the Sikkim Palace copy was published, scholars started quoting from it. Rigzin Ngodup Dokhampa, 'Sbas yul 'Bras mo ljongs: The Hidden Valley of Sikkim', *BT*, NIT, Gangtok, May 2003, p.86; Saul Mullard, 'Brag dkar bkra shis sdings kyi sku'bum: The text, the author, the Stupa and its importance in the formation of religious polities in Sikkim', *BT*, NIT, Gangtok, May 2003, Volume 39, No.1., p.22; Tsultsem (Tshultrim) Gyatso Acharya, 'A short biography of four Tibetan Lamas and their activities in Sikkim' *BT*, NIT, Gangtok, November 2005, Volume 41, No. 2., p.74; Blo bzang Shastri, 'Rgyal ba thams cad mkhyen pa sku phreng rim byon dang sbas yul kun gyi rgyal po mkha' spyod 'bras mo ljongs: dus rabs 17 nas 20 bar', in Tashi Tsering and Chab ngom Tenpa Nyima (eds.), *Buddhist Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture, Volume III: The Tibetan Papers*, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok 2011, pp.53–92 and Jo sras bkra shis tshe ring, 'A short note on the visit of Gter ston Rdo rje 'gro 'dul of Rgyal rong in 1880–1881 during the reign of the 9th Chos rgyal Maharaja Sir Mthu stobs rnam rgyal (1860–1914) K.C.I.E. and that of Mdo mang gter ston Bde chen rdo rje gling pa of Brag mgo, Tre hor, Khams in c.1925–1928 during the reign of the 11th Chos rgyal Maharaja Sir Bkra shis rnam rgyal (1893–1963) KCSI, KCIE of Sikkim', see 'Mdo smad rgyal rong gter ston 'gro 'dul rdo rje mchog dang Mdo khams tre hor brag mgo mdo mang gter ston bde chen rdo rje gling pa rnam gnyis sbas yul 'bras mo ljongs su zhabs kyis bcags tshul skor rags tsam gleng ba' in Tashi Tsering and Chab ngom Tenpa Nyima (eds.), *Buddhist Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture, Volume III: The Tibetan Papers*, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok 2011, pp.129–154.

In the mid 2000s Dr John Ardussi of America and Dr Per K. Sorensen of Denmark contacted me both directly and indirectly regarding the whereabouts of the original Tibetan sources of the additional pages from the English translation by Kazi Dousamdub's 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*. Later I found out both of these scholars were studying (retranslating it into English?) the History at the behest of HM the Royal Grandmother, Ashi Kesang Choeden Wangchuck.

Kazi Dousamdub's English translation of the 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* is frequently used by foreign and local scholars. In 1953 Joseph F. Rock (born Austrian, naturalised American) wrote 'Excerpts from a History of Sikkim',²⁸ based on the English translation of the 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* and then three years later the Polish scholar René von Nebesky–Wojkowitz also made use of the English translation in his famous book *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*.²⁹ In 1966, a Japanese scholar Chie Nakane,³⁰ in 1974, Lal Bahadur Basnet,³¹ and in 1979, P. N. Chopra³² all had access to Kazi Dousamdub's English translation of the 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*. More recently, in 1998 Dr Brigitte Steinmann of France made use of Kazi Dousamdub's English translation of the 1908 *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* (a copy obtained from Captain Yongda's family) and wrote an article entitled: 'the opening of sBas Yul 'Bras mo gshongs according to the Chronicle of the Rulers of Sikkim.'³³

Since 2000, more and more western scholars and students have used and still continue to use Kazi Dousamdub's English translation: Dr Anna Balikci–

28 Revue Internationale d'ethnologie et de linguistique (Fribourg), *Anthropos*: 1953, XLVIII, pp.925–948.

29 *Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*, The Hague: Mouton, 1956, p.218; René von Nebesky–Wojkowitz, *Where the Gods are Mountains: Three years among the people of the Himalayas*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1956, p.118.

30 'A Plural Society in Sikkim, A Study of the Interrelations of Lepchas, Bhotias and Nepalīs' *Caste and Kin in India, Nepal and Ceylon*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966, pp.215, 263.

31 *Sikkim, A Short Political History*, S. Chand & Co. (Pvt) Ltd, New Delhi, 1974, p.210.

32 *Sikkim*, S. Chand & Co. (Pvt) Ltd, New Delhi, 1979, p.98.

33 A. McKay (ed.) *Pilgrimage in Tibet*, Curzon Press, Surrey, pp.117–142.

Denjongpa,³⁴ Saul Mullard,³⁵ Heleen Plaisier,³⁶ Dr Mélanie Vandenhelsken,³⁷ Dr Alex McKay,³⁸ Jackie Hiltz,³⁹ R. Moktan,⁴⁰ Sophie Bourdet–Sabatier,⁴¹ Dr R.K. Sprigg,⁴² Alice Travers,⁴³ Dr John A. Ardussi,⁴⁴ Prof. Elliot Sperling,⁴⁵

- 34 'Kangchen dzo nga: Secular and Buddhist perceptions of the mountain deity of Sikkim among Lhopos', *BT*, NIT, Gangtok, November 2002, p.36; Anna Balikci–Denjongpa, *Buddhism and Shamanism in Village Sikkim*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis in Social Anthropology. London: School of Oriental and African Studies 2002 p.352. (published as Anna Balikci, *Lamas, Shamans and Ancestors: Village Religion in Sikkim*, 2008, Brill: Leiden).
- 35 'Brag dkar bkra shis sdings kyi sku'bum: The text, the author, the Stupa and its importance in the formation of religious polities in Sikkim', *BT*, NIT, Gangtok, May 2003, Volume 39, No.1., p.24.
- 36 *Catalogue of Lepcha Manuscripts in the Van Manen Collection*, Leiden, Kern Institute, 2003, p.252.
- 37 'Secularism and the Buddhist Monastery of Pemayangtse in Sikkim', *BT*, NIT, Gangtok, May 2003, Volume 39, No.1., p.73.
- 38 'That he may take due pride in the empire to which he belongs': the education of Maharaja Kumar Sidkeong Namgyal Tulku of Sikkim', *BT*, NIT, Gangtok, November 2003, Volume 39, No. 2., p.49.
- 39 'Constructing Sikkimese National Identity in the 1960s and 1970s', *BT*, NIT, Gangtok, November 2003, Volume 39, No. 2., p.71.
- 40 *Sikkim: Darjeeling Compendium of Documents*, Compiled & Edited: R. Moktan, Kalimpong, 2004, p.272.
- 41 'The Dzumsa of Lachen: An example of a Sikkimese Political Institution', *BT*, NIT, Gangtok, May 2004, Volume 40, No. 1., p.104.
- 42 'An appeal to Captain Lloyd by Kazi Gorok, of Ilam (1828)', *Sikkim: Darjeeling Compendium of Documents*, Compiled & Edited: R. Moktan, Kalimpong, 2004, p.226. There may be other local and western scholars who have worked with Kazi Dousamdub's translation in relation to Lepcha studies, but as I am not a Lepcha studies student, I do not have a bibliography for this. I am merely an infrequent student of Sikkim History, therefore there are likely to be other references to Kazi Dousamdub's translation within other articles and publications that I have missed, particularly in languages other than English and in disciplines other than History.
- 43 'Women in the Diplomatic Game: Preliminary notes on the Matrimonial link of the Sikkim Royal Family with Tibet (13th–20th century)', *BT*, NIT, Gangtok, 2006, Volume 42, No. 1 & 2., p.127.
- 44 'Sikkim and Bhutan in the Crosscurrents of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Tibetan History', Anna Balikci-Denjongpa, Alex McKay (eds.), *Buddhist Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture, Volume II: The Sikkim Papers*, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, 2011, pp.41-42.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p.43.



Pema Wangchuk Dorjee,⁴⁶ Sonam B. Wangyal,⁴⁷ John Bray⁴⁸ and Dr Tirtha Prasad Mishra⁴⁹, all of whom have worked on a wide array of topics concerning the culture and history of Sikkim.

In 2009, Saul Mullard of England (Oxford University) submitted his Ph.D. thesis, “Opening the Hidden Land: State Formation and the Construction of Sikkimese History” and published by Brill (Leiden) in 2011 with the same title as his Ph.D. thesis. In it he used the Tsuklakhang Trust, Tsuklakhang, Gangtok edition and Kazi Dousamdup’s English translation amongst several other rare texts from Sikkim.

In November 2008 the present 13th Chogyal, Tenzin Wangchuk Namgyal passed his palace archives to the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. These records complement the 1908 *’Bras ljongs rgyal rabs* as they were sourced for the writing of that History. The catalogue of the palace archive has subsequently been published by Saul Mallard and Hissey Wongchuk in 2010.⁵⁰ Now we have access to the English and Tibetan *’Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*, the palace archive and other historical documents. There are many students, researchers and scholars now focussing their work on Sikkim and with the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology in place the future for Sikkimese studies looks bright.

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46 Ibid., p.64.

47 Ibid., p.76.

48 Ibid., pp.91-92.

49 Ibid., pp.96,101.

50 *Royal Records: A Catalogue of the Sikkimese Palace Archive*, 2010, International Institute for Tibetan Buddhist Studies GmbH–Andiaat.



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Chogyal Thutob Namgyal KCIE
27th January 1912, Th. Paar Photographer, Darjeeling
Charles Bell collection, 50.31.135
Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool





10507

Queen of Sikkim

Maharani of Sikkim, Yeshe Dolma
c.1900, John Claude White collection, possibly by Johnson and Hoffmann
Charles Bell Album, 50.31.149
National Museums Liverpool





Group at Hastings House, Calcutta, 1906

Back Row: Bhutan Soldier, Captain Henry Hyslop, Rai Bahadur Kazi Ugyen Dorji, Rai Sahib Lobzang Chhoden, Jerung Dewan, Burmiak Kazi Tenzin Wangyal, Bhutan Soldier, Sikkim Soldier.

Front Row: D.E. Holland, Sir Ugyen Wangchuk, K.C.I.E., J. Claude White, C.I.E., H.H. the Maharaja Thutob Namgyal of Sikkim, H.H. the Maharani Yeshe Dolma of Sikkim.

Photograph after *In the Shadows of the Himalayas* by Kurt Meyer and Pamela Deuel Meyer, Mapin Publishing, Ahmedabad, 2005, p.14.







TIBETAN PERCEPTIONS OF A FOREIGN CULT: THE SANDALWOOD STATUE OF BUDDHA SHAKYAMUNI, KNOWN AS THE TSAN DAN JO BO

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The cult of the Tsan dan Jo bo has not received much attention from the people of Tibet, even though its popularity is ancient and widespread in Central Asia and China, for it was diffused in many of the latter lands already during a time that corresponds to the proto-history of the Tibetan plateau. Despite a conspicuous number of shifts in location, the sandalwood statue of Buddha Shakyamuni never found a home in Tibet, unlike other wondrous statues that were brought to the plateau during its imperial period and thereafter.

Knowledge of the Tsan dan Jo bo in Tibet has remained rather marginal. The Tibetan literature talks about it cursorily; most authors who dealt with the image and its worship belonged to the late periods, bar one earlier case which, however, is only apparently an exception to this state of affairs (see below). Indeed the sources associate the statue's worship with India and China, and there are few traces of its cult on Tibetan soil, where awareness of this statue was mainly confined to literary accounts.

The study of this image is intriguing, then, because it gives a researcher the opportunity to see how Tibetan culture handles a topic extraneous to its direct domain.

In the few literary cases in which it appears, the image has been relegated to brief references in encyclopaedic works, such as sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's *Bai du rya g.ya 'sel* or Kong sprul's *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod*. The only major monographic work on the Tsan dan Jo bo is that of lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, which is published here.

Most of what these few Tibetan texts talk about concerns the statue's legendary origin. They somewhat accept as beyond dispute that the sculpture is a likeness of the Buddha executed during his lifetime and describe the legendary circumstances of its making in heaven while the master was there to impart teachings to his mother.

This is hardly tenable in the light of the archaeological evidence documenting the creation of the Buddha image at Mathura and in Gandhara after centuries of symbolical representations of Shakyamuni. Therefore, one cannot but consider the hypothesis that the tradition of depicting of the Buddha had developed anthropomorphically already during his lifetime as pure fancy.



Also in consideration of the fact that the Tsan dan Jo bo has nothing to do with the creation of the Buddha image, the physiognomic traits of the Tsan dan Jo bo seem to me to betray a post-Gandharan origin (see fig.1), perhaps not much predating the period in which the sandalwood statue is said to have been transferred to Central Asia from the Indian North-West.

The tradition holds that the statue, after remaining over 1,000 years in India, was taken to the Silk Route oasis of Kucha by the Kashmiri master Kumārajāna, the father of the great Kumārajīva (344–409), hence sometime before 344, when the latter was born at this locality chosen by his father as the family residence.

The Tsan dan Jo bo was then transferred to metropolitan China after Kumārajīva was taken prisoner in Kucha in 384, in a war that another legend says was waged by the Chinese in order to acquire Kumārajīva's teachings and to take possession of the statue (see Terentiev, *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana* p.20).

mGon po skyabs favours another account of the Tsan dan Jo bo's transfer to Central Asia, similar to the other legends in spirit but not in letter. He summarises his version of those events in *rGya nag chos 'byung* urging the reader to consult his monograph dedicated to the sandalwood statue (*Tsandan Jo bo'i lo rgyus*), which remains untraced. He says that the ruler Hphu ki yan waged a war against India in pursuit of three objectives: to win rig 'dzin Ku ma ra shri (i.e. Kumārajīva's father) and the Tsan dan Jo bo for his kingdom and to conquer Indian territories. Hence it is not question here of taking Kumārajīva captive in Kucha and of seizing the statue in the process.

mGon po skyabs's *rGya nag chos 'byung* (p.73 lines 4–11) reads:

“Rig 'dzin Ku ma ra shri zhes pa rig pa'i gnas lnga mthar son cing mngon shes dang rdzu 'phrul thogs med mnga' ba de'i grags pa Hor rigs kyi rGya rgyal Hphu ki yan gyis thos pas mi ring ba zhib na blon po ltas mkhan gyis bkra shis pa'i skar ma shar ba'i rgyu mtshan zhu bar mtha' khob pa chen po zhib phan grogs su 'byung bar lung bstan pas/ zhor la rGya gar gyi yul khams 'ga' zhib 'thob tu 'dod pas dmag dpon Lu'i kwang dpung chen po dang bcas btang bas pandi ta dang Tsandan Jo bo gdan drangs pa sogs (line 11) phal cher bdag gis Tsandan Jo bo'i lo rgyus su bshad zin//”;

“Rig 'dzin Ku ma ra shri brought his knowledge of the five sciences to the ultimate stage (*mthar son* sic for *mthar song*). Hphu ki yan, ruler of China of Hor extraction, heard the fame of his clairvoyance and miracles, and not long thereafter, owing to [the advice of] a discerning minister, while wondering about a cause that could make his lucky star shine, ordered to avail of the help of that one great barbarian. Since he wished to conquer some regions of the land of rGya gar, he sent the great general Lu'i kwang off with a huge army. The latter indeed drew the *pandi ta* and

the Tsandan (spelled so) Jo bo [to China], [events] that are mentioned in the *Tsandan Jo bo 'i lo rgyus* penned by me”.

Kong sprul records another version of the legend, one which makes a marvelous claim for the Tsan dan Jo bo as belonging to the category of flying statues, for it says that it crossed the sky in order to reach China.¹ There are several stories in Tibetan literature of flying objects which went from India to the plateau. To mention here a couple of instances I have cited in my past work, Rin chen bzang po's flying mask depicting Gur mGon crossed the sky, from Kha che to mNga' ris skor gsum, following Lo chen on his way back to his lands (see my “Sa skya and the mNga' ri skor gsum legacy: the case of Rin chen bzang po's flying mask”). A Thugs rje chen po, the image destined to become the principal statue at Zhwa lu, flew behind the monastery's founder lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas while he was returning to gTsang from rGya gar (*Early Temples of Central Tibet*, see the work entitled “Zhwa lu and the Newar Style of the Yuan Court”).

It should be noted that the Tibetan tradition obviously tends to focus on the objects that flew to the plateau. It is interesting then that, among the many that concern magical flights in the traditions of India and China, at least one case of a religious object that flew from the Noble Land to Central Asia and China is mentioned in the Tibetan literature.

The belief that the statue was carved during the lifetime of the Buddha found again its way into the most important work on the sandalwood statue preserved in the Tibetan canon. This work, mentioned above, is much older than, for instance, those of the *sde srid* and Kong sprul consequently—an indication that a remarkable gap occurred on the plateau within the literary interest shown for the statue. This short work on the history of the Jo bo, bearing the title *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul* (*bsTan 'gyur, rGyud lxxxv*) is included in the 1681 Peking edition of the Canon (see Suzuki's catalogue).

Its colophon says that it was translated from the Chinese to Yu gur by one Am chang in fire pig 1227 (the year of the definitive capitulation of Byang Mi nyag to Jing gir rgyal po (Gengis Khan)), and from the latter language into Tibetan by one Da na si (seemingly not a Tibetan, perhaps an Indian?) in water pig 1263.

1 Kong sprul Yon tan rgya mtsho, *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod* (stod cha) (p.572 lines 15–18): “rGya nag dge phyir bzhud ces bcom ldan 'das kyis bskul bas mkha las gshegs te lta da'ang rGya nag du bzhugs pa Tsan dan Jo bo zhes 'dra bshus kyis Si thang yang mang du 'byung ba 'bur sku'i thog ma ni 'di dag go//”; “Owing to the exhortation of the Buddha that [the statue] should go to China to promote virtue, it crossed the sky and even now is kept in China. The depiction of the Tsan dan Jo bo having been copied, there are many Si thang of the first tridimensional image [of Buddha Shakyamuni]”.



The text is an enumeration of the whereabouts of the statue, as it was transferred from place to place over many centuries, giving the length of stay in each place. It was kept at a good number of localities in Central Asia and China, and received remarkable royal reverence. The history of the Tsan dan Jo bo documents that, in the regions of Central Asia and China through which it was moved throughout the centuries after its transfer from India, the role of the statue was to sanctify royal power by its very presence.

Cung, the Chinese original translated from the Yu gur language into Tibetan under the title *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul*, tells the history of the Tsan dan Jo bo in rather different terms from the legend mentioned above. It says that the statue was transferred from India to Khotan (Li yul), and from there to the Ordos region (Byang ngos) before ending in China. It adds that it was taken to eleven different countries in this land.

Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul (f.154a line 1–f.155a line 4) reads:

“Om Swasti Siddham. bCom ldans ’das sku bltam sa nas Sangs rgyas kyi bar dang/ Tsan dan sku’i ’byung tshul rGya’i lugs kyi mDo rabs bsdus pa la/ rgyal rabs Tshe’u zhes bya ba’i ring la rgyal bu bzhi pa Ce’ung bang zhes bya ba rgyal sar bton nas lo nyi zhu rtsa bzhi lon pa’i dus su/ shing stag lo kyi nyi nang/ zla ba bzhi pa’i tshes brgyad nyi nang/ rab bltams nas zhag bdun lon pa’i dus yum sKyum chen mo ’das nas lha’i yul du skyas/ rgyal po Ce’u dbang gyal sar bton nas lo bzhi bcu zhe gnyis lon pa’i dus su/ rgyal bu Donn grub lo bcu dgu lon nas khyim dor nas grong khyer gyi phyi rol tu gshegs nas gangs kyi ri la dka’ ba mdzad nas/ Ce’u dbang gi rgyal rabs lnga pa Mu dbang zhes bya ba rgyal sar bton nas lo gsum lon pa’i chu lug lo la rgyal bu Don grub lo sum cu lon pa’i dus su Sangs rgyas nas lo brgyad lon pa’i tshe yum gyi drin dgongs nas gSum bcu rtsa sum lha’i yul du gshegs te yum la chos bshad nas lha’i yul du dbyar zla ba gsum bzhugs pa la/ rgyal po U tra ya nas bcom ldan ’das dran nas Mou dgal gyi bu la zhus pas/ Mou dgal gyi bus rdzu ’phrul gyi zo bo sum cu gnyis dang/ tsan dan dmar po smug po dang bcas pa blangs nas lha’i yul du khyer te/ bcom ldan ’das sku bltan tshig mi zhes pa mtshan sum cu rtsa gnyis yongs su rdzogs par bzod nas mi’i yul gdan drangs te/ rGya’i yul gyi Ce’u mu dbang zhes bya ba rgyal sar bton nas lo bcu gcig lon pa’i dus su lcags yos lo la bcom ldan ’das lha’i yul du dbyar zla ba gsum mi’i yul du byon pa’i dus su tsan dan gyi sku mchog ’di (f.154b) bcom ldan ’das la dbu bkug nas sku khams ’dri ba’i tshul du bzhengs te/ de nas bcom ldan ’das phyag brkyang te sku mchog de nyid lha mi’i don rgya chen po mdzad par gyur ro zhes bka’ stsal te/ de nas zung nas tsan





dan gyi sku mchog 'dis rGya gar du lo stong gnyis brgya brgyad cu gya lnga bzhugs/ de nas Byang gNam lo brgya dun cu don gsum la bzhugs/ de nas Ha nam gyi yul du lo sum brgya drug cu re bdun bzhugs/ de nas yang Byang gNam du phyir gshegs nas lo nyi shu rtsa gcig bzhugs/ de nas Thin ho zhes bya ba'i lo dgu pa dus su lcags phag lo la Byang phyogs su byon nas/ Cung do'i Su'i Sang shi zhes bya ba'i sder lo bcu gnyis bzhugs Su'i Sang shi'i sde ding sang Shing ngag si 'di yin no/ de nas Sang kying zhes bya ba'i mkhar du de'i Cung kying si zhes bya ba'i sde ru lo nyi zhu bzhugs/ de nas Cung ci'i rgyal rabs kyi Dai thing zhes bya ba'i rgyal po rgyal sar lo gsum lon pa'i dus su/ chu lug lo la yang Cung Hor gdan drangs nas rgyal po'i pho brang du lnga bcu rtsa lnga bzhugs/ de nas Da'i cha 'u zhes bya ba'i rgyal po'i dus su Hor byung nas me glang lo zla ba gsum pa'i tshes dgu pa rgyal po'i pho brang shigs pas/ Cang shus ja 'khun kyi tshi gis yang blangs na sngon gyi gnas Shing ngan si'i sde la bzhugs nas/ ding sang bar du mtshad pa (f.155a) byas so/ me glang lo nas chu phag yan cad la lo bzhi bcu zhe bdun lon/ tsan dan gyi sku mchog 'di bzhengs nas chu phag yan cad la lo nyi stong lnga bcu rtsa lnga lon pa yin no/ 'di'i lugs kyi bcom ldan 'das mya ngan lan 'das nas chu phag yan cad la lo nyi stong dang bcu gsum lon pa yin no Cung zhes bya ba'i lo rgyus kyi nang du rdzogs par yong par snang/ mdor bsdud pa 'di chu mo phag zla ba gnyis pa'i tshes bcu gsum la rGya'i skad las Yo gur skad sgyur mkhan A mchas zhes bya ba dang/ Yo gur skad las Bod du sgyur mkhan Dan si zhes bya ba gnyis kyes legs par sgyur ba'o// ”.

“As for a brief treatment of the Chinese version concerning how the Tsan dan Jo bo statue came to exist [during the period] between the birth of the Buddha and his enlightenment, during the time of the Tshe'u dynasty, in the twenty-fourth regnal year after the fourth prince Ce'u dbang took over the throne, [Shakyamuni] was born on the eighth day of the fourth month of the year of the wood tiger. His mother, sGyum chen po, died seven days after [delivering] and passed to the land of the gods. Forty-two years after King Ce'u dbang's took over the throne, Prince Don grub, having reached nineteen years of age, abandoned his household and went to practise penance in the snow mountains. In water sheep, three years after Mu dbang, the fifth generation in the Ce'u dynasty, took over the throne, rgyal bu Don grub attained enlightenment at thirty years of age. Eight years later, thinking of his mother's kindness, he went to the paradise of the Thirty-three Gods and preached the religion to his mother. He stayed in the paradise for three months. King U tra ya na [of Wa ra na se] asked Mou gal bu about making an image of the Buddha.





Mou gal bu gathered thirty–two miraculous artists along with dark red sandalwood,² and brought them to the paradise. They made a statue of the Buddha complete with his thirty–two distinctive marks, which was brought to the world of the humans. Eleven years after Mun dbang, [ruler of] the Ce’u of China, took over the throne, in the year of the iron hare, having completed his three month summer retreat, [the Buddha] returned to the world of the humans. This extraordinary Tsan dan statue

- 2 The dark red variety of sandalwood used for the statue of Buddha Shakyamuni is named *tsan dan gor shi sa* by the Tibetan tradition (spelled *go shirsha* in Dung dkar Blo bzang ’phrin las, *Tshig mdzod chen mo* p.1652b lines 16–17).

On the issue of the various kinds of sandalwood, the most precious or perhaps the one with the most legendary properties is the *tsan dan sbrul gyi snying po*, apparently called so because snakes seem to be attracted by its scent. It seemingly is found in South India and a piece of it, together with the statue of sPyan ras gzigs bCu gcig zhal with eight arms in the same species of tree, the *yi dam* of Srong btsan sgam po, was collected by the miraculous dge slong Shri la a ka ra ma ti and placed as consecrational object inside the clay statue of bCu gcig zhal of Licchavi manufacture, made for installation in Ra sa ’Phrul snang during the time of Srong btsan sgam po (*Nyi ma’i rgyal rabs* p.359,5–p.360,3): “The miraculous monk Shri la A ka ra ma ti, who had been sent to rGya gar, came back carrying with him a sPyan ras gzigs bCu gcig zhal with eight arms, one *khru* in size, made of *tsan dan sbrul gyi snying po* which spontaneously came from a great sandalwood tree in South India; one piece of *tsan dan sbrul gyi snying po*; one piece of *tsan dan gor shi sha* from the Po ta la; one bundle of grass from rGya mtsho Glo; a *mchod rten* with a *bum pa* coming from grong khyer Ke ru; (p.360) a relic from the Sangs rgyas gsum; [a piece of] the Bodhi tree and sand from the *gnas chen brgyad* as much as one *bre*; the sand from the bank of the Ne ra dza ra (spelled so for Na ra dza ra), wetted by the water from bCom ldan ’das’s bowl; and jewels, as much as one *bre*. These were used to fill the interior of the bCu gcig zhal statue that was made”.

Among the several sources dealing with these miraculous findings, the earlier Bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan’s *rGyal rabs gsal ba’i me long* (completed in 1368) tells a slightly dissimilar story (ibid. p.79 lines 5–16). It says that this self–originated *yi dam* statue of Srong btsan sgam po, made of *tsan dan sbrul gyi rnying po*, was found in South India on the shore of the ocean deviding it from Singga la, but does not talk about the piece of the same material used as consecrational object inside the Ra sa ’Phrul snang image and the other findings.

The Ra sa ’Phrul snang’s bCu gcig zhal statue survived until the Cultural Revolution when the temple was desecrated. My friend Tamdin Dorje Tuladhar, who was a young man in those days in lHa sa trying to do what he could to help his fellow Tibetans, has told me in one of our conversations that, when the statue was torn to pieces, the heroics of the rGyud smad monk Byams pa rgyal mtshan saved the main head, a secondary head and the piece of *tsan dan sbrul gyi snying po*. They were eventually taken to Dharamshala for safe keeping.





(f.154b) was made in the act of bending one's head to the Buddha and enquiring about his health (*bcom ldan 'das la dbu bkug nas sku khams 'dri ba'i tshul du bzhengs*). Then the *bcom ldan 'das*, after prostrating to the extraordinary statue in sheer delight, uttered the following prophecy: "1,000 years after my *nirvana*, [my statue] will go to the great realm of China and will render a great service to both the *lha*-s and the humans". The extraordinary statue stayed in India for 1,285 years starting from that point. It remained in the land of Li yul, known as Ku sen, for eighty-six years. Then it remained at Byang ngos in Mi nyag for forty years. Then it remained in Kyin cha ja zur for seventeen years. Then it remained in Byang gNam for 173 years. Then it remained in the region of Ha nam for 367 years. [The statue] then went back to Byang gNam and remained there for twenty-one years. After it had been at Thin ho for nine years, it went to the north in iron pig year**. It stayed with the community known as Sang shi in Cung do. The Zhang si community of the Su is nowadays the Shing ngan. [The statue] remained twenty years in the castle of the Cung kyin si, known as Sang. Then while it was for the third year at the capital of rgyal po Thing of the bCung ci dynasty, it was taken to Cung in water sheep 1163 and remained in its royal palace for fifty-five years. Then during the time of the king known as Da' cha'u, the Hor came and destroyed the royal palace on the ninth of the third month of fire ox 1217. Since it remained with the Shing ngan si community at a place where it had been previously received by the Cang shus ja 'kun gyi tsi even at present, veneration (f.155a) is paid [to the statue]. Forty-seven years elapsed from me glang (fire ox 1217) up to [the present] chu phag (water pig 1263); 2,055 years elapsed from the making of this excellent Tsan dan Jo bo statue up to this chu phag (water pig 1263) (i.e. made in 791 BCE). On the basis of this system, 2,013 years elapsed from the *parinirvana* up to this chu phag (749 BCE). [This account] in the historiographical text known as *Cung ends* [here]. In brief, on the thirteenth [day] of the second month of fire female pig (1227) [this work] was translated from Chinese by the Yo gur translator Am chang, and [then in 1263] from the Yo gur language into the Tibetan language by Da na si, two [translators] in all".

Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul is essentially a *bstan rtsis* (or "chronological table") of the sandalwood statue's presence in various localities within a widespread stretch of lands of Central Asia and China after it was moved there from India. It can be subdivided into two spans of time of remarkably uneven duration. The first one covers a very long period (seemingly some one millennium and a half). The second one concerns events happening



during the 100 years or so preceding the writing of the Chinese chronicle, namely *Cung*, from which *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul* draws information.

The first chronology covering centuries and centuries is questionable, for it does not match the shorter and successive chronology which seems to be reliable. One and a half extra *rab byung* or sexagenary cycle seems to have been added to it. There is a further small discrepancy of five years, which does not help again to harmonise the two chronologies with one another. These five years should be discounted from the calculations possibly because calendrical peculiarities must have occurred in that long span of time.

I wonder whether the number of years during which the Tsan dan Jo bo remained in India is at the basis of the excess in the computation. This would bring the date of the transfer of the Tsan dan Jo bo from India to Central Asia—to Li yul according to *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul*, to Kucha according to the legends mentioned by Terentiev—closer to the life time of Kumārajīva (344–409). However, a substantial difference in time remains between the two sets of accounts, for *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul* would fix the transfer of the statue from India to the beginning of the 5th century even after the amendment that deduces one and a half sexagenary cycle, while the above mentioned legends place it during the 4th.

Dubious chronology

(covering the earlier period in the existence of the Tsan dan Jo bo)

- made in 791 BCE, the statue was kept in India for 1285 years;
- $91 - 1285 = 493$ CE, year of its transfer to Li yul;
- $493 + 86 = 578$, year of its transfer to Byang ngos;
- $578 + 49 = 614$, year of its transfer to Kyin cha ja zur;
- $614 + 17 = 630$, year of its transfer to Byang gNam;
- $630 + 173 = 802$, year of its transfer to Ha nam;
- $802 + 367 = 1168$, year in which it went back to Byang gNam;
- $1168 + 21 = 1188$, year of its transfer to Thin;
- $1188 + 9 = 1196$, year of its transfer to the north; it stayed with the Sang shi community in *Cung do*;
- $1191 + 19 = 1210$, year of its transfer to the capital of *rgyal po Thing* of the *bCung ci* dynasty.

Souder chronology

(covering events in the years 1131–1263)

- iron pig 1131, year of its transfer to the north, where it was kept by the Sang shi

community in Cung do; it stayed twenty years in the Sang castle of the Cung kyin si;

- 1131 + 19 = 1150, year of its transfer to the capital of rgyal po Thing of the bCung ci dynasty;
- water sheep 1163, year of its transfer to Cung, at the royal palace;
- 1163 + 55 = 1217, year of its transfer to the Shing ngan si community, at a place where it had been previously kept by the Cang shus ja 'kun gyi tsi (i.e. Cung do?), after the Hor destroyed the royal palace of King Da' cha'u on the ninth of the third month of this year;
- 1217 + 49 = 1263 it has been kept at the same locality for the last forty–seven years and it was still there at the time of writing.

In approaching the material on the Tsan dan Jo bo I have proceeded chronologically, beginning with the earliest document. I first translated *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul* before considering the modern article by Hwang sMin zhin bSod nams rgya mtsho (“Tsan dan Jo bo'i lo rgyus”, *sBrang char* 1986,2 (originally in Chinese), see Appendix Three) which makes use of both this text and the short monograph on the Tsan dan Jo bo by ICang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786) (*Tsan dan Jo bo'i lo rgyus skor tshad phan yon mdor bsdus rin po che'i 'phreng ba*, see Appendix Two). Hwang sMin zhin bSod nams rgya mtsho's article, based on an analysis of the 1263 document, is an excellent compendium of the two texts: it deals with *Tsan dan gyi sku rGya nag sa na bzhugs pa'i byon tshul*, which ends its treatment in 1263, and with the historical excursus penned by ICang skya for the centuries thereafter. It calculates the length of the Tsan dan statue's stay at the localities mentioned in both works and attempts geographical identifications. The works of Hwang sMin zhin bSod nams rgya mtsho and ICang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje have been accordingly appended below for the reader's perusal. Devoting some attention to them is highly recommended.

TIBETAN CULTIC EVIDENCE: THE GNAS RNYING SCROLL

Hardly any major evidence is available that the sandalwood image was worshipped in Tibet. Unlike the plethora of replicas of the Po ta la's 'Phags pa Lokeshvara and sKyid grong's 'Phags pa Wa ti bzang po, the Tsan dan Jo bo seldom appears in the religious imagery of the plateau, its depiction being confined to scanty and rather insignificant pieces of statuary.³

3 I am indebted to my friend Amy Heller for sending me, besides old and recent pictures of the scroll, the photograph of a small bronze that bears a striking resemblance to the Tsan dan Jo bo (fig.2), enough to be legitimately considered a replica of the sandalwood statue.

The exception to this almost complete neglect is a single but significant religious specimen documenting, besides the above mentioned literary references, that the cult of the Tsan dan Jo bo did reach Tibet. This object is preserved in a monastery of Tibet with steadfast links to Sikkim during the centuries before the loss of Tibetan independence. It is, therefore, fitting that the present article should be published in the *Bulletin of Tibetology*, a journal that deals with Tibetan culture often from a 'Bras ljongs-oriented perspective.

In the early days of my studies of the Tibetan culture I tended to approach the Tsan dan Jo bo in terms of the tenuous historical implications that derive from the phases the statue underwent in the course of centuries owing to Vostrikov's work, who dedicates a few sentences in his volume (*Tibetan Historical Literature*) to the Tsan dan Jo bo in connection with the dates of the life of the historical Buddha.

Years ago Andrey Terentiev gave a lecture on great Russian Tibetologists at the LTWA (Dharamshala). This was a good occasion for me to talk with him about Vostrikov, one of the true pioneers in the studies. We ended up briefly speaking about the Tsan dan Jo bo. Terentiev did not spend too many words about it. He only said that the statue would make a perfect topic for another lecture. Knowing that he had dedicated several years to the study of the Tsan dan Jo bo, I asked him if he could teach me something about it. I am obliged to him for spending one afternoon talking to me about it.

There was a follow-up to this in November 2011 in Delhi, when he gifted me a copy of the monograph on the statue (*The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana*) he had published in 2010.

Just after conceiving the idea of working on a piece dedicated to a great Jo bo statue for the *Bulletin of Tibetology*, a picture of the famous gNas rnying scroll caught my eye while perusing publications. It took only a few seconds to realise that the painting was a depiction of the Tsan dan Jo bo. This identification was facilitated by the visual documentation published by Terentiev in his book. The features which made me realise that the gNas rnying scroll (cm. 250x130) is a portrait of the sandalwood statue of Buddha Shakyamuni (see fig.3, 4 and 5) are:

- the Buddha's physiognomy;
- his eyes which are slightly *gnam gzigs* (or "staring at the sky", in search of spiritual inspiration) (see fig.6 and 7);⁴
- the *mudra*-s;

4 The *gnam gzigs* pictorial solution is an old Buddhist tradition that has found its way in Tibet, too. Proverbial are, for instance, the portraits of the Great Fifth Blo bzang ngag dbang rgya mtsho (1617–1682), whose most accurate depictions are those with his eyes staring at the sky.

- the shape and folds of the robe;
- the overall post-Gandharan style of the image; and
- the reddish-white jewel secured to the front of the *ushnisha*.

There are many depictions of standing Buddha-s in Tibet with the same *mudra*-s as the Tsan dan Jo bo, but the Tsan dan Jo bo is stylistically different from the Buddha statuary that flourished there. Despite the many layers of restoration applied to it down through the centuries, it has a general Gandharan look that makes it quite recognisable in comparison with other renditions of Shakyamuni.

The silk scroll depicts the Tsan dan Jo bo in a red robe standing on a lotus pedestal against a greyish background. One *bla ma* is placed in each upper corner. Two inscriptions (one in Chinese on the actual left of the statue, the other in Tibetan on the actual right, as prescribed by bilingual etiquette) are written on either side of the image.

An extremely brief description of the sandalwood statue is found in sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's *Bai du rya g.ya sel* (p.644 line 5). It says that the image has a robe with folds and brocade borders, the *ushnisha* displays a flaming crystal resplendent with light, and the hands and feet bear the mark of the wheel; and concludes that the statue is endowed with the power to stop the movement of 100 suns in the sky. The term adopted in the text to refer to the jewel (*me shel*) is rather mysterious and Tibetans, knowledgeable for their command of the language, are hesitant to identify it with any precious stone.

Indeed the gNas rnying scroll translates pictorially the *sde srid*'s description of the gem in the *ushnisha* of the Jo bo scroll. The jewel ornamenting the head of the Tsan dan Jo bo has a transparent core that renders well how a crystal (*shel*) looks like, surrounded by a vibrant red area that aims at reminding one of flames (*me*). This visual solution shows that there was a tradition about the manner of portraying the Tsan dan Jo bo, which travelled the centuries from the early 15th to the late 17th at least. Elsewhere outside Tibet the jewel was rendered in the artist's vision in a different way (see below fig.8 for a painting of the Tsan dan Jo bo in the Seryoji, Kyoto, wich has a red jewel in his crown).

Despite my conviction that the gNas rnying scroll depicts the famed sandalwood statue of Buddha Shakyamuni, I was not immediately able to confirm my intuition. My pictures of the scroll, taken way back in 1986 and more importantly my 1986 transcription of the Tibetan inscription were momentarily inaccessible to me, kept as they are inside a container in Europe, while I am living in the Himalaya. I had not paid much attention to the gNas rnying scroll in the past, even during my study of bSwi gung nyams med Rin chen's *gNas rnying skyes bu rnams kyi rnam thar*, also known as *Gyen tho chen mo* (see, for instance,



my article for the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, entitled “The history of the lineages of gNas rnying summarized as its “ten greatnesses” (a survey of the period from the second half of the 8th century to the beginning of the Sa skya pa rule”). In the 1980s I considered the scroll a fascinating work but not enough to write an article about it. The fact that I had in the meantime developed interest in the Tsan dan Jo bo lately sent me back to it.

It was the benevolent unfolding of *karma* that Thomas Laird was in Dharamshala in those days, and we bumped into one another. I found out that he had pictures of the scroll’s inscriptions with him, which he generously put at my disposal. I was also eventually able to get my transcription of the gNas rnying scroll inscription from Europe, and it is that which I am publishing here (see fig.9 for a picture of the Tibetan epigraph on the scroll and the Appendix below for my transcription). That the contents of the Chinese inscription, which I did not transcribe then (I do not read Chinese), are similar to the Tibetan epigraph was confirmed by my friend Elliot Sperlberg to whom I am grateful (see fig.10).

The first line of the Tibetan inscription states that the image on the scroll is indeed a Ta Ming depiction of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue, conceived as a praise to the sandalwood image. It reads:

“Ta’i Ming rgyal pos mdzad pa’i Tsan dan gyi Jo bo’i sku gzugs la bstod pa ni//”;

“This is an encomium of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue, composed by the Ta’i Ming emperor”.

This attribution has significant consequences. Both the 1263 text included in the Peking edition of the *bsTan ’gyur* (already showing that more attention was paid to the statue outside the borders of Tibet) and the Ta Ming scroll are cultural imports into Tibet rather than autochthonous or spontaneous expressions of a Tsan dan Jo bo cult.

The scroll dates to 1412 (the tenth Yung-lo year) and was painted and donated under the imperial patronage of Cheng-tzu, for the last line of the inscription reads:

“Yung lo bcu pa lo’i zla ba bzhi pa’i bcu bdun gi (sic) nyin//”;

“The seventeenth day of the fourth month of the tenth Yung lo year”.

The scroll’s inscription is a eulogy of the Tsan dan image. Despite the fact that comes from the imperial throne, the genre relates to the religious sphere, so that the typical features of an edict—the expressions of secular authority—are absent altogether. It does not open, then, with the typical official formulae of imperial court pronouncements, only one line attributing patronage of both the painting and the inscriptions to the emperor. The epigraph goes on to describe the legendary circumstances surrounding the creation of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue.



In concentrating on the significance of the sandalwood statue, it says next to nothing about the background to the making of the gNas rnying scroll. There is no indication of the recipient of the scroll, which suggests that the scroll was not painted with a specific future owner in mind. This may mean that more than one scroll of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue was painted and sent out (to Tibet or elsewhere?). The only other historical allusion in the epigraph to the circumstances of its making, besides its imperial origin, is the date of the inscription (and the painting) in its last line.

The epigraph can be subdivided into the following parts:

- the above mentioned opening, which attributes the encomium of the Tsan dan Jo bo and the making of the scroll to the Ta Ming emperor Cheng-tzu;
- verses in honour of the sandalwood image, other eulogistic expressions and religious admonitions;
- dates in the life of the historical Buddha related to the reign of Chinese emperors;
- the circumstances that led to the making of the statue and the identities of the Chinese rulers reigning during the life of the Buddha;
- a reference to its transfer to China;
- succinct (and insignificant) statements on the circumstances surrounding the making of the scroll;
- further eulogies of the teachings and the statue;
- the date of the inscription.

The scroll is an early Tibetan appraisal of the statue. Its making falls after the end of the Yuan dynasty, whose most important emperor, Khubilai Khan, is documented as having been especially devoted to the Tsan dan Jo bo (see ICang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's text included in this article). This means that, at least in this case, the Ta Ming did not subvert cultural values established during the rule of the Mongols of China.

Another major point about the gNas rnying scroll is that, apart from the 1263 text in the *bsTan 'gyur* which is not originally Tibetan, the painting predates the indigenous literature dedicated to the statue by several centuries. This establishes that the cult of the Tsan dan Jo bo in Tibet, although perhaps restricted to some enclaves, was sensibly earlier than most of the local literature which focus on it. However, the gNas rnying scroll must have not been an isolated donation to a Tibetan monastery during the Yung-lo reign, given this emperor's munificence in favour of Tibetans.

The Tibetan inscription neither records the involvement of Chinese or Tibetan religious masters nor does it mention the name of the artist who painted the image or the person who penned the eulogy.



In the absence of accompanying epigraphs, the two *bla ma*-s in the top corners of the gNas rnying scroll are difficult to identify. They seem to be Tibetan and this would mean that the scroll was made for a Tibetan destination, but the matter is more complex than at first glance (see the postscript below).

A FEW REMARKS ON THE SI/ZI THANG GENRE OF THE GNAS RNYING SCROLL

In his work on artistic styles entitled *Kun gsal tshon gyi las rim me tog mdangs ster 'ja 'od 'bum byin*, De'u dmar dge bshes bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs (b.1665?) associates the Tsan dan Jo bo with the Zi/Si thang (also Si'u thang) style of China. He says that the idiom, whose creation he assigns to Zi thun phu sa then, a minister who served under an unspecified Chinese ruler, was originally formulated when he painted a picture of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue.

De'u dmar dge bshes's description of the style echoes features of Chinese landscape painting in Western understanding but ones with a more articulated colour palette, and adds that the idiom underwent developments after the Tsan dan Jo bo's basic depiction. This is supported by his description of such stylistic developments in the Si/Zi thang style as do not in fact matching the features of the gNas rnying scroll.

The Tsan dan Jo bo painting at gNas rnying is thus an early 15th century specimen of the Si/Zi thang style, which in turn goes back to remarkable but imprecise antiquity. Hence the "famous gNas rnying si thang" mentioned by David Jackson (*A History of Tibetan Painting* p.111–112) is the Yung-lo scroll of 1412, although he thinks it was a different one. Coming from China and depicting the Tsan dan Jo bo, the gNas rnying scroll is a rare extant specimen of the Si/Zi thang style in Tibet, in a formulation that is close to the original conception of this idiom.

With reference to the adoption of the Si/Zi thang style on the plateau, De'u dmar dge bshes says that it was first diffused in Tibet during the time of Khri srong lde btsan. Although this may be another stereotypical association of religious activities undertaken during the imperial period (in this case a style used to depict images of the deities) with that king, it is possible that the Tibetans relied on an artistic tradition of China during the period of this king's reign.

However, the little that exists in what literary references say it is the Si/Zi thang style, are works of art which seem to have been executed in China itself. No specimens of the related and derivative Si/Zi thang style from Tibet which allegedly arose during the reign of Khri srong lde btsan are mentioned in the literature, although there may be cases in the sources that have escaped my attention.

In his autobiography, Si tu Pan chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas defines as in the Si/Zi thang tradition a painting of the *mdzad pa bcu gnyis/gnas brtan bcu drug*,



which was especially inspirational for him when formulating his own unique style (*Dri bral shel gyi me long*, f.78b line 3ff).

The wondrous visionary scroll painting created at the Chinese court and offered in fire pig 1407 to the fifth Karma pa De bzhin gshegs pa (1384–1415) by the the Yung–lo emperor Cheng–tzu (the same ruler who had the gNas rnying scroll painted) belongs to the genre is known as the Si thang ngo mtshar 'ja' sa (see *Precious Deposits Volume Three: Yuan Dynasty and Ming Dynasty* p.94–137). *Thang ka–s* donated by this emperor to dGa' ldan are considered to be Si/Zi thang–s.⁵

All this indicates that the physical support of these paintings is not the determinative criterion for qualifying as a Si/Zi thang. Indeed De'u mar says that Si/Zi thang were painted on silk, cotton or paper. The first of the three supports was the most favoured choice, given that Si/Zi thang itself is the Chinese term for this type of material. Neither is the pictorial genre the decisive factor, there being a wide range of subjects. Rather it is the style, applied in different themes and on different supports, although principally on silk.⁶ The use of the Si/Zi thang pictorial technique and related material support underwent an evolution in the Si/Zi thang style down through the centuries, the assessment of which is a task for Sinologists and art historians.

Structurally the gNas rnying scroll is related to at least one specimen from China published by Terentiev (see fig.11) with lengthy inscriptions occupying the entire space left free by the statue's image on both sides, and one short epigraph

5 In the group of Si'u thang–s donated to dGa' ldan by the Yung–lo emperor there were works depicting the gNas brtan bcu drug (Phur bu lcog Ngag dbang byams pa, *Grva sa chen po bzhi* f.15a line 3: “gNas brtan bcu drug sogs kyi si'u thang ngo mtshar ba nyis shu rtsa drug”), and also the rGyal chen bzhi and gSang 'dus. These *thang ka–s* were unveiled in the *gtsug lag khang* for a few days on the sixth month of every year during a festival named the dGa' ldan Si'u thang, manifestly called so after the type of paintings on display.

6 Do Si/Zi thang–s embody the transfer of the *patra* style from India to China, based on a rendition that has features of a post–Gandhara idiom? Is Si thang corresponding to *patra*? Rather than an original Chinese style, as De'u dmar says, does it represent the adoption of an Indian pictorial genre in China? This possibility cannot be ruled out, however remote. From the little that is known about the ancient Indian painted scrolls, one can say that *patra–s* were eminently religious, whereas Si/Zi thang–s dealt with natural and secular themes. Indeed there was reluctance in the Indian tradition to include details of nature and everyday life in paintings during the periods prior to the advent of the Pala dynasty, during which restrained use of naturalistic details was made to fill limited areas in the background. However, the original Si/Zi thang style, represented by the Tsan dan Jo bo paintings, seems to have been devoid of naturalistic or daily life details.



in Tibetan reading “dGa’ ldan khri ba bzang”. However, the gNas rnying scroll’s is a much more faithful rendition of the statue in that it echoes the Gandharan style distantly and does not display Chinese physiognomic traits, unlike the work published by Terentiev.

The presence of two *bla ma*-s in the upper corners of the gNas rnying painting directly links the scroll to the world of the plateau given the masters depicted on it, a typical feature of the Tibetan art lexicon. In the absence of comparative works, it is difficult, however, to suggest an artistic paternity of the painting, whether a Chinese Si/Zi thang or the opus of a Tibetan painter in China.

It is a vivid and realistic depiction of the statue and contains Tibetan elements of the type one would expect of a Tibetan adaptation of the Si/Zi thang style of China painted beyond rather than on the plateau, the latter case said by De’u dmar to be rare.

FAINT HISTORICAL SIGNS

The scroll inscription does not devote a single word to the circumstances surrounding the donation of the painting to gNas rnying. This seems to indicate that the painting was not commissioned specifically for its abbot or the monastery.

No reference to the scroll is found in the sources that deal with gNas rnying, including *Myang chos ’byung* and Si tu Chos kyi rgya mtsho’s *dBus gTsang gnas yig*, not to mention the *gNas rnying gdan rabs* monograph dedicated to this monastery, entitled *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar*. One would be led to doubt that the scroll was originally meant for gNas rnying, were it not for a passage in *Rab brtan kun bzang ’phags kyi rnam thar* that links its abbot with activities undertaken by the Yung-lo emperor of benefit to this monastery’s throne holder soon after the completion of the scroll.

Rab brtan kun bzang phags kyi rnam thar (p.49 line 18–p.50 line 18) says:

“In particular, during that year (i.e. 1413), upon the occasion of the emperor Ye wang sending an invitation to chos rje pan chen Sha ri pu tra, [appointments] were announced to many *sde dpon* of dBus gTsang [note in the text: [what was sanctioned were] offerings to chos rje Theg chen [and] the Karma pa; (p.50) a golden roof cover at mTshur phu; the title of *ta’i gu shri* to bdag po bZhi thog pa, a *’ja’ sa* [granting] the *dbang* [rank] to bdag po dBang pa and [the title of] *gu shri* to his younger brother, an order [bestowing the title of] *gu shri* on the sNar thang *mkhan chen pa* and the gNas rnying *mkhan chen pa*, a *si tu’u ’ja’ sa* for Hor bSod nams dpal ba and lHo pa Grags pa dpal; a whitewashing of the ’Phags pa Shing kun *mchod rten*; and a *’ja’ sa* for the dBus pa to take over the abbotship of lHa khang chen mo]. Five *ta bzhin*, headed by the *ha ho ta bzhin* and the



gsung ta bzhin, together with a retinue of 500, left from the great palace on the eighth day of the fifth month of that year [to convey the orders] and reached [their destination] during the twelfth month.

Having received the [imperial] order, the *chos kyi rgyal po* (i.e. Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags) and his brother (i.e. Rab 'byor bzang po) went to Pho brang rtse (i.e. rGyal mkhar rtse). They escorted [one of the] *ta bzhin* from Tshong 'dus [gur mo]. On the fifth day, a 'ja' sa was read out. Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags was given the rank of Yung lo Ho ta si tu and awarded the great distinction of a *tham ga* (spelled so) with a knob, made of one *bre chen* of silver. Arrangements were made [for him to use] a red personal seal from that year on. Likewise an order was issued for the benefit of his younger brother Rab 'byor bzang po bestowing upon him [the rank] of *nang chen* and a *tham ga* (spelled so). The grants [for the *sde dpon*-s of dBus gTsang] were sanctioned [by] the various *ta bzhin* in the presence [of Sha ri pu tra, when he,] the *chos rje pan chen*, was in [La stod] Byang. Although in a few documents it is stated that the above mentioned orders were announced in the second month of the year of the horse 1414, [the dates mentioned by me] are correct".

The date 1412 that appears in the inscription of the Tsan dan Jo bo scroll helps to attribute both the making of the painting and its donation to gNas rnying within the abbotship of 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan (1364–1422), an important *gdan sa* of this monastery.

Rin chen rgyal mtshan was born at Byang gi phug pa of gCung mChog dkar gnas 'og;⁷ was ordained to the *rab tu byung* vow in 1373, and ten years later, in 1383, to the *bsnyen rdzogs* vow at mDon rtse.⁸ He ascended the abbatial throne of

7 *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.41b lines 3–4): "[Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] was born, amidst extraordinary signs, at Byang gi phug pa of gCung mChog dkar gnas 'og on the eighth of *tha skar zla ba* of wood male dragon 1364, under the waxing moon. When he was three months old, rnam mkhyen Rin chen bsam gtan named him Chos skyed rgyal mtshan".

8 *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.42b line 3–6): "Upon reaching twenty years of age (1383), according to the saying: "One cannot receive the next [teachings] without the *bsnyen par rdzogs pa* vow", in order to enter into the successive stages of teachings [Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] was ordained to the *bsnyen rdzogs* vow at mDo rtse by gu ru Shes rab byang chub [acting] as *mkhan po*, mkhas grub lHa dbang as *slas slob*, Rong pa bSod nams lhun grub as *gsang ston*, rTogs ldan Grub pa dpal mgon as *dus go ba*, [and in the presence of] chos rje Ba ri ba, chos rje Chos rgyal etc., in the middle of twenty-five *dge slong*, on the fourth of *dbyug pa zla ba* of water male rat (i.e. wood male rat 1384?), with the waxing moon".

gNas rnying in water female ox 1373,⁹ and held it until his death.¹⁰ He was a master calligrapher of the eighteen forms of Tibetan script, an erudite in the disciplines of palmistry, mathematics, linguistics (*sgra'i sa rig*), all astrological sciences, medicine and pharmacology. He was a great abbot, a patron of the literature and the arts,¹¹ and had a special knack for assisting the secular elite of his day in the

9 *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.42a lines 2–6): “When he was eight years old (1371), [’Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] received many teachings from rnam mkhen dKa’ bzhi pa, such as *bKa’ gdams Lam rim* and *Chos spyod thar rgyun*. He received *rTa mgrin yang gsang* from mkhan po Rin chen blo gros. When he was aged ten (1373), thinking to go to dGa’ ba gdong to be ordained, dpal ldan bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan said: “Today a noble being will come. I dreamt last night that the *bka’ srung*—s were surrounding ’phags pa Don yod shags pa”. After that, this *rje* arrived. He was ordained by Sa skya pa chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan [acting] as *mkhan po*, Brag thog pa gZhon nu tshul khriims as *slas slob*, rdo rje ’dzin pa bSod nams dpal as *grib tshad pa* and slob dpon Kun ’byung as *dus go ba*, in brief, in the midst of many thousands of monks who came from our own gNas rnying—residents and visitors. He was given the other name Rin chen rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. Then, in water female ox (1373), on the occasion of taking *dnegos grub* on the fourteenth of *tha skar zla ba* at dpal gNas rnying, with ta’i si tu ’Phags pa rin chen as sponsor, the *yon mchod* (i.e. ’Phags pa rin chen) having been convened (*zhal rgyas*), the *rje rin po che* was elevated to the great throne”.

10 *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.45b line 5): “In water male tiger (1422) when he was fifty–nine years old, [’Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] died on the tenth of *Hor zla [ba]*, at dawn”.

11 *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.45a line 2–f.45b line 1): “On one occasion, [’Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] made editions of rare or damaged manuscripts of Tantric texts belonging to *sngags rnying ma* and *gsar ma*, *rGyud* and *rGyud sde bzhi*, translated both before and after pandi ta sMri ti and lo chen Rin chen bzang po; of the three Vehicles—long, middle length and short—all of them accurately made; as well as authentic works from rIndia and China. [All these collections] were complete editions. They were made for Zha (spelled so) lu, Chos lung, bSam yas and La stod Byang, for sTod and sMad. He offered beautifully decorated wrappers, wood covers [for those books], and *rkong rdzes* (sic for *bskang rdzas?*, i.e. substances used to appease the protective deities?). He appointed a keeper [and] an administrator [to look after these items]. These were installed in Zur spe lha khang. Moreover, with dedicated effort, he collected precious materials from far and near, precious brocades from rGya [and] Hor, gold and silver, a beautiful shining image of the *ston pa rin po che* (i.e. Buddha) with decorations and a robe, and an auspicious banner. He bought them with no thought to the price. Having summoned mthep dpon (“chief thumb”, i.e. supreme artist) dPal ’byor rin chen and dpon bKra shis dpon, master painters and stitchers, he restored their vows and blessed their instruments. The *appliqué* masters involved in the work (*lag len pa*) rendered great service, under the guidance of this *rje*, concerning the measurements (*bso’i chag tshad*), the placement of the gods (*lha’i gral bkod*); the colour combinations (*kha rtog gi spel*); the cutting (*gras*) and tailoring

handling of political affairs. Given his skills in the field of religion and politics and his widespread knowledge, I think of him as a second *bla ma dam pa*. By the way, he did indeed take the *rab tu byung* vow from the great Sa akya master bSod nams rgyal mtshan himself.

Rin chen rgyal mtshan was the catalyst of a gTsang pa alliance for decades, the political sympathies of which leaned towards Sa skya and had ambitions to exercise its rule over the region before the surge to power of the Rin spungs pa princes,¹² despite being largely subservient to the Phag mo gru pa of rTsed thang. A passage in *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.44a line 7–f.44b line 6) illustrates the political make-up of this alliance, composed of fifteen members of important families that included three generations of Shar kha pa princes (ta'i si tu 'Phags pa rin chen, nang chen Kun dga' 'phags and Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags); rulers of rTse chen (such as ta'i si tu bSod nams dpal *yab sras*, i.e. this ruler and his sons rGya mtsho and Rin chen 'phags pa; see *rGya Bod yig tshang* p.384 lines 5–7); Hin du lHun grub rgyal mtshan, the lord of Ya 'brog; the Thar pa mkhan chen (i.e. of the dPyal family from Man lung) and Zhwa lu mkhan chen (i.e. of the lCe family from this locality).¹³

(*tshem*) of the images of the *ston pa rin po che* and the gNas brtan bcu drug, bearing *mantra*–s painted in saffron and the *gso sbyong gi mdo* (the “*mdo* to restore vows”), with 102 bundles (*yug*) of brocade, 60 bundles (*yug*) of silk, two times four *gan chung* (?), two times seven *ber thul* (?), one *gsang lam* (?), two bundles (*yug*) of *thon ti* (?), a number of squares of *gros* (?) and silk, and uncountable pearls for the robes. This aesthetically pleasing *gos sku chen mo*, which is worth seeing, hearing of, remembering and venerating by everyone, must be traditionally praised, for it leads people on the great path of virtue. Because of his wide-ranging compassion—a great chariot of the teachings—(f.45b) [’Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] was enthroned as the *chos kyi rgyal po* of the three realms”.

- 12 *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.43a line 2–3): “When [’Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan] was twenty-two years old, in the ox year (wood female ox 1385), [a disagreement] arose between Shar kha ba *snga gsar* (the “earlier and later generations” [of the Shar kha pa family]). Despite his being compelled to sit as mediator at their meeting place in mDa’ rdo, they did not listen to him and there was a misconception that he was taking sides. He did not pursue matters further (*thugs cung sgyid lug* (“lazy, passive”) *pas*), and confined himself to hermitages”. But he was eventually called back (ibid. f.43a line 3).
- 13 *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.44a line 7–f.44b line 6): “He was a master of *yig rigs bco brgyad* (the “eighteen types of scripts”), palmistry, mathematics, *sgra’i sa rig* (idiomatic expressions?), the whole science of *rtsis* (“astrological calculations”) and medical science which are important. Through his a great contribution to pharmacology, people were freed from diseases. First of all, in order to benefit sentient beings, he was the abbot of dpal gNas rnying, the *gdan sa gong ’og* (“upper and lower main seat”) and of its branch monasteries. He [gave assistance to wielders of]

The religious masters with whom he interacted included rje btsun Red mda' pa, Tsong kha pa, gZhon nu rgyal mchog, rGyal ba bSod seng, lHo rGyam pa, Byams chos pa, mkhas btsun Yon tan grags, the La ston, the Kong ston, the dGas rong dka' bcu pa, Grangs chen Kun dga' dpal, mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal (1385–1438) and the four abbots of the Tshogs sde bzhi.¹⁴

He was the last *mkhan po* of gNas rnying doctrinally affiliated to the Sa skya school. In 1427, a few years after Rin chen rgyal mtshan's death (1422), mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal took refuge at gNas rnying after his falling out with Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags at rGyal rtse. He was visited there by rGyal tshab rje Dharma rin chen (1364–1432), the great disciple of Tsong kha pa, and the dGe lugs pa history of the monastery began around that time.

The circumstances surrounding the 1413 grant are another point that is not elucidated in the literature. The gift of the basics of a royal cult (the sandalwood statue itself was kept in the palace of the Yung-lo emperor) to religious practitioners of Tibet in the form of a painting depicting the Tsan dan Jo bo apparently took place without the involvement of any local secular power. The scroll inscription does not say a word in this regard, leaving open the possibility that the donation occurred under the auspices of the Shar kha principality of rGyal rtse, given that its chieftains (Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags and Rab 'byor bzang po) under whom gNas rnying was at the time, were awarded patents. The biography of the rGyal rtse prince does not provide reasons for such entitlements.

All one can surmise is that the present affair was a typical case of the Ming policy to extend recognition to religious masters (e.g. the *gu shri* title to the gNas

political power [including] the Shar kha ba members (*zhal ngo*) ta'i si tu 'Phags pa rin chen and nang chen Kun dga' 'phags *yab sras* (i.e. himself and Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags), rta'i bsri tu (spelled so) bSod nams dpal *yab sras*, altogether fifteen *zhal ngo* ("members of noble families"); Ya 'brog pa Hin du lHun grub rgyal mtshan, Thar pa mkhan chen, Zha lu mkhan chen and mkhan chen g.Yag.pa Sangs rgyas dpal, and the *tshogs dpon* of many monks and disciples".

- 14 *sKyes bu dam pa rnam kyī rnam thar* (f.44a line 7–f.44b line 6): "rJe btsun Red mda' pa, Shar Tsong kha pa, chos rje gZhon nu rgyal mchog, rGyal ba bSod seng, lHo rGyam pa, Byams chos pa, mkhas btsun Yon tan grags, the La ston, the Kong ston, the dGas rong dka' bcu pa etc.; and Grangs chen Kun dga' dpal, mKhas grub dGe legs dpal, the four abbots of the Tshogs sde bzhi, and the *chos dpon*-s ("religious leaders") of the communities had religious relations with him. Moreover, among his direct disciples and the *dka' bcu*, *dka' bzhi*, *sum sbrel*, *nyis sbrel*, more than 5,000 *dge bshes*; the disciples and sponsors connected with sde dpon sTobs po che, La stod Byang pa'i bdag po 'Jam dbyangs chen po and bdag po chos rgyal chen po dKon mchog legs pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, all of them, received the empowerment of *bDe mchog* [according to the system of] *Dril bu pa* [from him]".

rnying *mkhan po* and the award of the scroll) and the promotion of a policy of minimal political interference in Tibet. But several of those who received titles on the occasion were lay dignitaries.

As mentioned above, *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* is not profuse on the subject of contacts between the monastery and the Chinese court during the abbotship of 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan or at any other time in the history of the former, but it does contain one account that links these events to the gNas rnying abbot.¹⁵ Following the conferral of the *gu shri* rank in 1413, Rin chen rgyal mtshan's emissary dNgos grub rin chen went to gCong rdo, one of the imperial residences in the area of Peking, and met the emperor Cheng-tzu on his master's behalf.

Although *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* does not refer to the Tsan dan Jo bo scroll specifically, it says that the Yung-lo emperor Cheng-tzu bestowed unidentified lavish gifts upon the gNas rnying abbot. It is possible that the scroll travelled to Tibet with dNgos grub rin chen.

One wonders whether the succinct enumeration of objects awarded to Rin chen rgyal mtshan by the emperor may contain a veiled reference to the Tsan dan Jo bo scroll. The expression *gos phyi nang* used to refer to some items gifted by Cheng-tzu could speculatively be taken as works in brocade (framed in brocade?) of secular (*phyi*) and religious (*nang*) subjects. *sKyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.45b lines 1–2) reads:

“Moreover, it is well known that the emperor of China heard of the immaculate fame of this *rje* (i.e. Rin chen rgyal mtshan). Pursuant of an order of the *chos kyi rgyal po* of China, the great dNgos grub rin chen went to rGya nag gCong rdo. On behalf of the gNas rnying abbot, he was given a crystal seal empowering [Rin chen rgyal mtshan] over the great land [of gNas rnying] and the grant of this kingdom (i.e. gNas rnying)

15 The scroll is not included among the “ten greatnesses” of gNas rnying (*gNas rnying gi skyes bu dam pa'i rnam thar* f.8a lines 5–6) which are:

- 1) the 'ja'sa of the religious king, lord of the earth;
- 2) the prophecy of the *sngags 'chang grub thob chen po* (i.e. rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba);
- 3) the prophecy and consecration of Di pam ka ra;
- 4) the signs of siddhahood [displayed] by the Yol ston brothers;
- 5) the prophecy of rje btsun sPyan ras gzigs;
- 6) the lineage of transmission of Phyag drug Ye shes mGon po;
- 7) the abbotship of 'Bre chen po Shes rab 'bar;
- 8) the promise made by bstan srung Ma ha ka la;
- 9) the three *grub thob* who were the best disciples;
- 10) the Sems can-s who came in succession as [holders] of the excellent lineage.



through [the bestowal of] a *'ja 'sa*. [dNgos grub rin chen] received secular and Buddhist (*phyi nang*) [works in] brocade. This was because of the noble power of the *rje's* (i.e. Rin chen rgyal mtshan's) deeds".¹⁶

The passage is material to the issue of the gift of the Tsan dan Jo bo scroll to gNas rnying because the conferral of the *gu shri* rank upon Rin chen rgyal mtshan in the last month of water snake 1413 is a *terminus post quem* for the ensuing mission of dNgos grub rin chen. No details are given concerning the circumstances of the latter's journey, whether he travelled alone or the length of his sojourn.

He was the only Tibetan mentioned in the sources dealing with the history of the Shar kha pa principality and gNas rnying, who went to the imperial court in connection with the bestowal of the 1413 ranks.¹⁷ The probable date of dNgos grub rin chen's presence in gCong rdo is 1414, sometime after the scroll had been finished in 1412. It is unclear when dNgos grub rin chen reached back to gNas rnying, probably carrying the gifts for the monastery's abbot. In any case, there seems to be a link between the 1412 painting of the Tsan dan Jo bo, the 1413 granting of ranks and privileges, and the 1414 mission of dNos grub rin chen.

Apart from the many issues surrounding the Tsan dan Jo bo, which impinge on the domain of Sinologists, several questions concerning the gNas rnying scroll need be asked, whose answers are not easily forthcoming. Was the scroll painted in China by a Tibetan or by a Chinese artist? Was the Si/Zi thang style adapted to

16 Tucci (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls* p.665b and p.703 n.827) and Jackson (*A History of Tibetan Painting* p.135 n.267) read the passages in Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags's biography that report these events in two remarkably different ways. Tucci has it that Rab brtan did not go to China; Jackson believes he indeed did so. I think that Tucci is correct. There is nothing in the 1413 episode mentioned in *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* indicative of a journey on the part of Rab brtan and his younger brother Rab 'byor bzang po to the imperial court. That the two received awards and privileges at their own seat rGyal rtse is evidence against such a journey.

17 It should be stressed that these endowments from Cheng-tzu to Tibetan dignitaries were coeval with the invitation extended by the emperor to Sha ri pu tra. He was the great master of Dus 'khor from rDo rje gdan, who preceded on the plateau Vana ratna, the other great Indian master who visited Tibet in those years. INga pa chen po Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho confirms the association of Sha ri pu tra with La stod Byang, mentioned in the passage of *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* under study. *dPyid kyi rgyal mo 'i glu dbyangs* (p.14 lines 8–12) says that the La stod Byang ruler rNam rgyal grags bzang received teachings from Sha ri pu tra and the great Bo dong pa master Phyogs las rnam rgyal.

Judging from the narrative in *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* one should come to the conclusion that there was no specific relation between the grants to Tibetan dignitaries and the invitation of Sha ri pu tra to China, if not that two different tasks were assigned to the same mission.





a Tibetan audience, as the *bla ma*-s painted in the upper corners seem to indicate? Was the painting consequently executed with its Tibetan destination in mind? What was the purpose of donating a painting of the Tsan dan Jo bo? Was it to diffuse the popularity of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue in Tibet? Does this imply, as it seems to do, that the cult was popular in China but much less so in Tibet? Why was the portrait of the Tsan dan Jo bo statue meant for gNas rnying in particular? Was there some undescribed reason that gNas rnying would have been especially receptive to the cult of the statue? Answers may be perhaps found in Chinese imperial documents.

POSTSCRIPT

Details of the two monks in the top corners of the scroll reveal that they have been left unfinished. Code letters of the Tibetan alphabet, customarily used as guidelines in order for the artist to apply the selected colour shades, are visible around the faces of the monks and other anatomical details that have been fully painted. Every letter corresponds to a different shade. This lettering, for instance, is found in the halos and the sword and book implements (see fig.12 and 13).

It is somewhat stunning to realise that a painting originating from the Ming imperial court and bearing the name of the emperor in person has not been completed in these minor details. In the absence of any historical clue useful to explain why the painting is in such an awkward state, there is no other alternative than to venturing into the realm of conjectures.

Two contrasting alternatives come to mind. The first, based on the idea of the possibility of a unfinished painting sent out from the imperial court of China by an emperor such as Cheng-tzu who was especially keen in the promotion of the arts as tokens given to religious masters, is that the two monks are a later addition, whose completion was abandoned for unknown reasons. Originally the scroll would have had the top corners empty.

Pursuing this line of thought in historical terms, one could envisage that the two monks were painted at any later time after the scroll came into the possession of the gNas rnying abbot. I dare here to attempt an art historical remark that needs confirmation and approval by experts. Given the kind of hat worn by the two monks, a wide range of school affiliations should be ruled out. One school which seems to remain valid in this exclusion process is the dGe lugs pa. Again in the opinable realm of aesthetics, one could see in the monks the adoption of an art style that is posthumous to 1412. If the history of gNas rnying is taken into consideration, one needs to realise that, as mentioned above, the monastery underwent a sectarian reform after 1427, when mKhas grub rje went to reside in its premises for a few years before becoming the dGa' ldan *khri pa*. gNas





rnying, which experienced several changes of religious affiliation throughout its long history, became dGe lugs pa. I wonder whether the scroll, following the monastery's conversion to the school of Tsong kha pa, betrays visually a dGe lugs pa appropriation of the imperial painting. Especially during the formation period of dGa' ldan pho brang there have been several cases of fictitious links to a glorious heritage that did not exist originally.

On the other hand, one is led to think that hardly anyone would have dared to alter a scroll depicting a remarkably holy image, and moreover issued by an emperor of China himself. If this hypothesis is credited, one should conclude that the scroll is an unfinished work.

The painting is thus even more interesting, for it carries with itself a piece of unsolved history.

APPENDIX ONE

TEXT IN TRANSLITERATION OF THE TIBETAN INSCRIPTION ON THE GNAS RNYING SCROLL

// //Ta'i ming rgyal pos mdzad pa'i tsan dan gyi jo bo'i sku gzugs la bstod pa ni/
nged kyi bsam pa la/ de bzhin gshegs pa'i lam ni/ 'jig rten gsum las rnam par
grol ba'i mgon cig po// sprul pa sna tshogs yang dag par mdzad nas/ kun la mthun
zhing thogs pa med pa/ rmongs pa rnam kyi sgrub pa bsal bar mdzad cing/ gzugs
la brten nas sgrub pa yang ma yin/ sgra'i brjod par bya ba yang ma yin te/ sems
nyid kho na sangs rgyas yin/ sangs rgya kyang sems nyid kho na yin te/ sems las
chos gzhan gang yang med/ chos las kyang gzhan du sems nyid gang yang med
do/ 'on kyang gzugs la ma brten na/ rmongs pa rnam kyi sangs rgyas ring du
spong bas/ de'i don gyis na/ de bzhin gshegs pa 'phrin las sna tshogs kyi brgyan
te/ yon tan gyi skur snang ba/ kun gyis mchod pa'i brten du gyur zhing/ gzugs la
brten nas gzugs mang ba nyid la 'jug pa/ gzugs yod pa rnam kyi gzugs med pa
nyid du rnam par grol ba/ dper na gru la brten nas/ rgya mtsho'i pha rol tu grol
nas gru mi dgos pa lta bu 'am/ gdar rdo blangs te mtshon cha btar nas rno phyung
ba dang gdar rdo spangs pa bzhin no/ gal te dam pa'i don la yang dag par ma rtogs
na/ ci la brten nas don dam pa stong nyid rig/ nges pa'i tshul lugs ni khyad par
gang yang med de/ rtag tu de bzhin yin no/ de'i phyir du/ gzugs brnyan la brten
nas/ sangs rgyas kyi zhal mthong zhing/ sangs rgyas la brten nas sems kyi ngo bo
mthong ba/ myu gu btsugs nas 'bras bu skrun pa re ba lta bu/ lam la zhugs nas
khyim la bsnags pa lta bu'o/ mdo' rnam la snang ba ltar na ni/ rgyal ba shakya
thub pa de ni/ rgya nag gyi rgyal po ji'u ja'u wa rgyal sar bzhugs nas lo nyi shu
rtsa bzhi lon pa'i dus/ stag gi lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes brgyad la rgyal po zas gtsang
ma'i sras su 'khrungs nas/ zhag bdun na yum sgyu ma lha mdzes 'das nas/ thabs
bral gyis lhar skyes/ de nas rgyal po ji'u ja'u wang ces pa rgyal sar bzhugs nas lo





bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis lon pa'i spre'u yis lo la rgyal bu don grub dgung lo bcu dgu
 bzhes nas/ rgyal pa'i (po'i) khab spangs ste rab tu byung nas sgrub pa mdzad/ de
 yang rgya nag gyi rgyal po de'i sras ji'u wang ces pa rgyal sar bzhugs nas lo gsum
 lon pa'i lug gis lo la mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas/ de nas ji'u mu wang rgyal
 sar lo brgyad lon pa'i yos bu'i lo la bcom ldan 'das yum gyi drin bskor ba dgongs
 te/ thabs bral du byon nas yum la chos gsungs so/ de'i tshe yul dbu rgyan gyi rgyal
 po sangs rgyas la 'jal bar 'dod na/ de'i thabs gang yang ma byung bas/ tsan dan
 la sangs rgyas kyi sku brko bar bcams pa na/ de'i tshe mi'u 'gal gyi bus dgongs
 pa la sangs rgyas kyi sku ci lta ba 'dra ba mi yongs snyam nas/ rang gi rdzu 'phrul
 gyis bzo bo gsum bcu so gnyis lan gsum du thabs bral du khrid nas sangs rgyas
 kyi sku bltas nas/ de nas sangs rgyas kyi sku gzugs ci lta ba bzhin du tsan dan la
 legs par bsgrub ste/ de la rgyal blon 'bangs la scogs pas mchod pa dang bkur sti
 byas zhing/ de'i lo la bcom ldan 'das kyang thabs bral kyi gnas nas/ 'dzam bu'i
 gling du bab/ de'i tshe tsan dan gyi sku gzugs de nyid bzhens nas bsu ba la byon/
 dbu 'dud pa dang bcas pa mdzad cing/ bcom ldan 'das la sku bab zhus pas/ bcom
 ldan 'das kyi phyag gyi tsan dan sku'i spyi bor bzhag ste/ nga yongs su mya ngan
 las 'das nas lo stong lon pa'i rjes su/ khyod shar phyogs rgya nag gyi yul du song
 la lha mi 'gro ba mang po la phan pa rgya chen po gyis zhes sogs pa'i lung bstan/
 da lta nged kyi chos kyi don la dpyad nas/ sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis/ 'gro
 ba rnam la byams pa sbyin pa dang/ dge ba'i lam la bkod pa dang/ byams dang
 snying rje'i sgo nas kun la byin gyi brlabs pa dang/ thabs kyi dngos po kun la
 phan pa rgya chen po mdzad cing/ de la bstod pa na de'i yon tan brjod gyi mi
 lang/ don dam chos kyi bdag nyid mtshon par byed pa dang/ sems can rnam
 kyi bsod nams bsags pa dang/ skye bo rnam kyi zhal 'jal ba tsam gyis/ de dag gi
 rgyud la phan par bya ba'i phyir/ nged kyi tsan dan jo bo'i sku 'dra bzhengs nas/
 ched du bstod pa ni/ 'di skad du/ bde bar gshegs pa dam pa chos kyi sku/ gsum
 bcu so gnyis mtshan ldan rnam par mdzes/ bai dur rya dang gtso ma'i gser gyi
 mdog/ zhal ni zla ba rgyas ltar 'od zer 'phro/ spyen gnyis pad ma'i 'dab ltar dkyus
 ring/ tshems ni kha ba ltar dkar mnyam thag bzang/ phyag zhabs 'jam zhing
 'khor lo rtsis stong ldan/ sku bstod seng ge rgyal po'i ro stod 'dra/ ye shes dam pa
 rgyas zhing dpal dang ldan/ yon tan kun ldan 'dran zla rnam par bral/ 'gro dang
 'ong ba gnas kyang yod min te/ mchod par 'os zhing bsod nams zhing du gyur/ ye
 shes pha rol phyin dang thams cad mkhyen/ las 'bras snang zhing zhabs su ldan
 pa dang/ byang chub dam pa bde bar gshegs pa dang/ 'jig rten mkhyen dang don
 dam rnam par rtogs/ bla na med cing skyes bu mchog tu gyur/ skyes bu 'dul ba
 byams dang ye shes can/ lha mi ston pa rgya chen 'dren par mdzad/ don dam dag
 pa gzhal nas 'jig rten mgon/ gzi brjid che zhing rdzu 'phrul che ba dang/ zab cing
rnam par dag pa dang/ sems can kun gyi rgyud bstun rnam par 'dul/ bskal pa rdul
 snyed zhing sgröl chos 'khor bskor/ mi g.yo' (g.yo'i) rtag tu gnas zhing de bzhin



no/ 'gro 'ong thogs med kun tu khyab pa dang/ don dam stong pa'i chos nyid rnam par bshad/ sna tshogs gsung dbyangs phyogs bcur rgyas pa dang/ chos kyi sprin ni mnyam pa nyid du sprin/ kun tu char 'bab khyad par med pa dang/ byams dang snying rje thabs ni rnam par spyod/ chos kyi bdud rtsis sgo mo rgyas (SEVERAL SYLLABLE LACUNA)/ mun pa'i gling du rtag tu sgron me spar/ nyon mongs rgya mtsho rnam par dag pa dang/ sdug bsngal gdung rnam bde la rab bkod nas/ mun pa thoms pa rnam kyang 'od zer thob/ nyon mongs gdungs pa rnam la 'ang bsal bar 'gyur/ dri mas gos pa rnam ni dag byed cing/ 'khor ba bying ba rnam la bcom ldan 'das/ bla med byang chub du ni grol mdzad nas/ sngon tshe thabs bral du ni rnam par gshegs/ nyid kyi yan la sa rnam legs ston tshe/ dbu rgyan rgyal pos rgyal ba'i sku dran nas/ sprul pa'i (SEVERAL SYLLABLE LACUNA) sku gzugs bzhengs/ ga (SEVERAL SYLLABLE LACUNA) sku gzugs bzhengs dang gnyis su med pa dang/ sku gzugs dngos dang sgyu ma'i sku gzugs ni/ mi gzugs me long nang du shar ba bzhin/ phan tshun 'dud na khyad par med pa dang/ mi sor me long gzugs brnyan med pa yin/ rdzu 'phrul dam pa bsam gyi mi khyab pa/ zla ba gsal ba nam mkhar 'gro ba bzhin/ skad cig tsam na skal bzang 'das par 'gyur/ sems yod tsam gyi mchod par gyur pa dang/ bdag gi dge ba'i lam chen la bsam nas/ bstan pa dar phyir 'gro la bde ba sbyin/ gtso ma'i gser dang tshon na lna sogs pa'i/ brgyan te tsan dan sku 'drar bzhengs nas/ 'gro ba thams cad bde la 'god pa dang/ nyi ma stong 'ong phyogs bcur khyab pa ltar/ phyogs rnam kun du drin gyi khyab par 'gyur/ ri dang rgya mtsho kun g.yes pa'i/ lha klu la sogs kun gyis skyobs pa dang/ mthong ba tsam gyi kun gyis dang ba skyed/ rtag tu bden pa'i lam la mi ldog cing/ phan yon rgya chen bsam gyis mi khyab pa'o// yung lo bcu pa'i lo zla ba bzi pa'i bcu bdun gi nyin// //

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fig.1. The Tsan dan Jo bo, the sandalwood statue of Jo bo Shakyamuni
(after A. Terentiev, *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana* pl. 17)





fig.2. A small statue being a replica in metal alloy of the Tsan dan Jo bo (photo courtesy A. Heller)

fig.3. The gNas rnying scroll depicting the Tsan dan Jo bo
(Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)







fig.4. An old picture of the gNas rnying scroll depicting the Tsan dan Jo bo (after “Silk Painting of the Ming Dynasty in the Naining Qude Temple, Kangma County” pl. 6)



fig.5. Detail of the gNas rnying scroll (photo courtesy L. Fournier)





fig.6. The face of the Tsan dan Jo bo being slightly *gnam gzigs* (“staring at the sky”) in the *gNas rnying* scroll
(Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird.
Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)

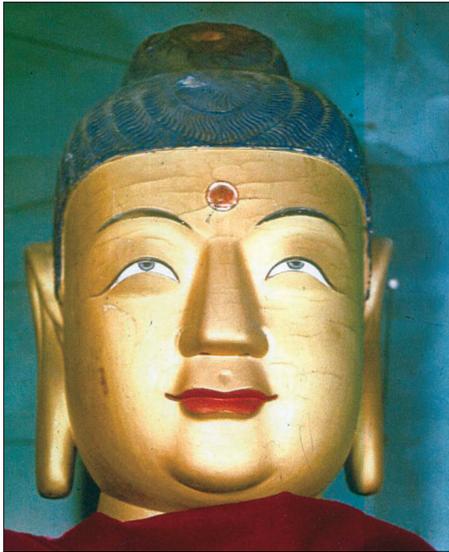


fig.7. The *gnam gzigs* glance on the face of the sandalwood statue
(after A. Terentiev, *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana* pl. 9)

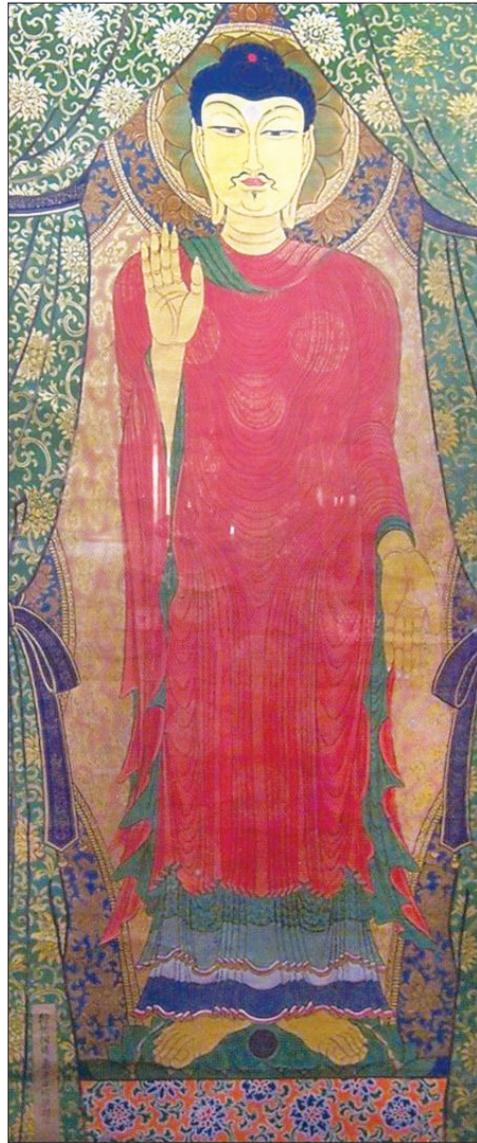


fig.8. The Tsan dan Jo bo portrayed in a painting housed at the Seryoji, Kyoto
(after Terentiev, *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana* pl. 4)



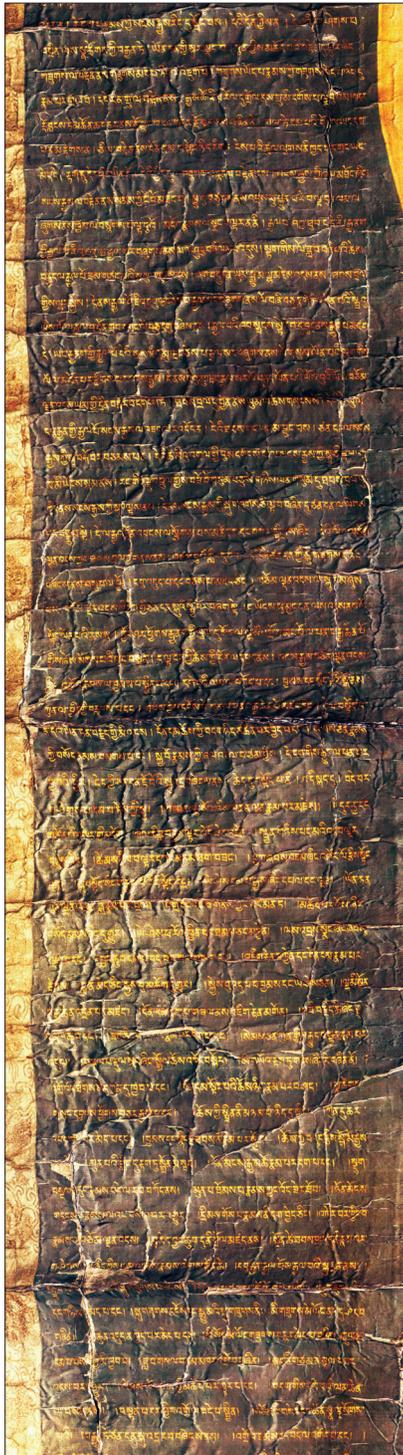


fig.9. The Tibetan text of the inscription on the gNas rnying scroll (Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)

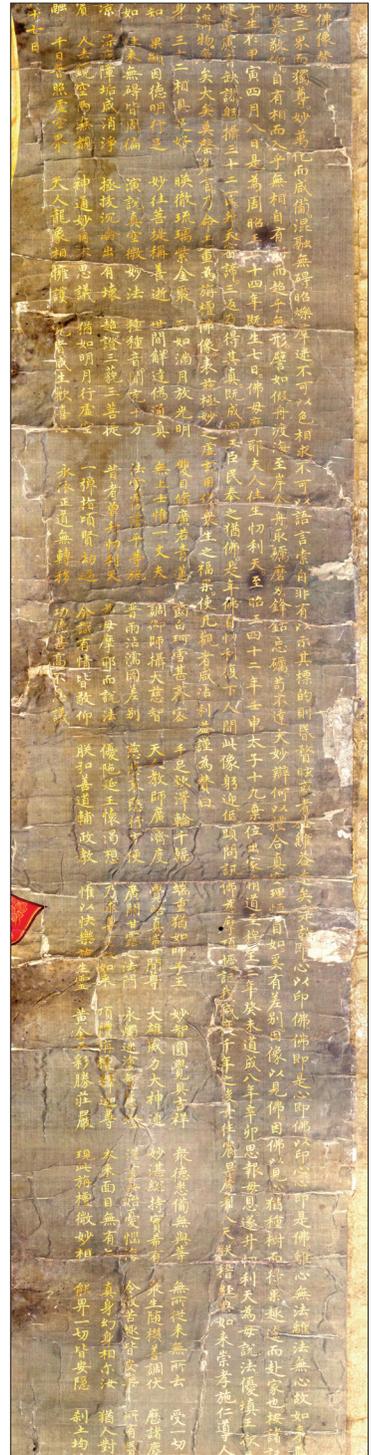


fig.10. The Chinese text of the inscription (Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)



fig.11. A 15th century Chinese rendition in ink of the Tsan dan Jo bo, structurally similar to the gNas rnying scroll (after A.Terentiev, *The Sandalwood Buddha of the King Udayana* (Supplement) p.86–90 and plate on p.92)

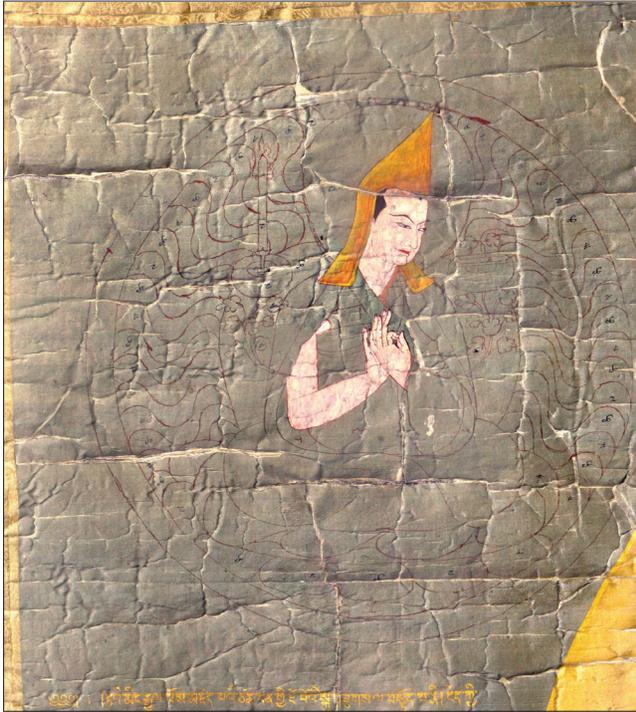


fig. 12. Detail of the monk in the top corner of the gNas rnying scroll (left side) (Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)

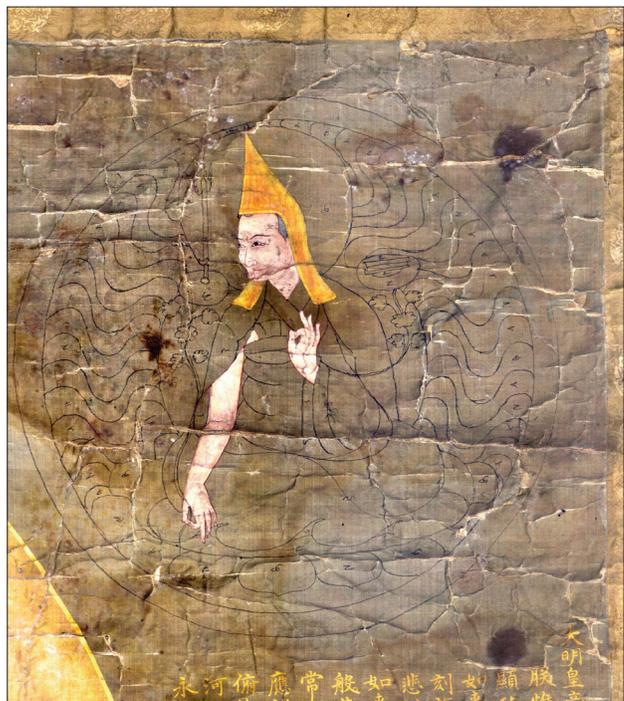


fig. 13. Detail of the monk in the top corner of gNas rnying the scroll (right side) (Copyright, 2010, Thomas Laird. Photography by T.Laird and C.Clemens)



APPENDIX TWO

༡༡། འཛན་དན་ཇོ་བོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐོར་ཚད་པན་ཡོན་མདོར་བསྟུས་
རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་འབྲེང་བ་ཞེས་བྲུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།།

༡༡། འན་མོ་ཤུག་ལྷ་ནི་ཡེ། བཙེ་དང་མཁའའཁུན་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྐོབས་བཅུའི་ཙམ། མཚན་
དཔེའི་སྐྱུ་འཕུལ་དྲ་བར་མངོན་བཞེངས་པ། ལྟར་བཅས་འགྲོ་བའི་གཙུག་ན་ལྷ་འེར་བཞིད།
ལྷུབ་དབང་ཤུག་འཛོལ་སྤྲུག་འཚལ་ནས། མཁོན་དེས་སྤྲིགས་མའི་འགྲོ་ལ་སྤྲུགས་ཇིའི་
འོད། ལྷུག་པར་འབྲོ་བའི་བདག་ཉིད་མངོན་སུམ་དུ། མཇོས་སྐྱུའི་བྲིན་རྒྱབས་སུང་པོར་
ཤར་བ་ལ། ལྷུག་བསྐོར་བསྟེན་བཀའ་བྲེད་ཚུལ་མདོ་ཙམ་བཞིད།

དེ་ལ་འདིར་ལྷ་དང་བཅས་པའི་འགྲོ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་འབྲེན་པ་མཉམ་མེད་ཟས་གཙང་
གི་སྤྲས་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བདེར་གཤེགས་གཞན་གྱིས་འདུལ་བར་མ་ལུས་པའི་ཞིང་འདིའི་
སྤྲིགས་དུས་ཀྱི་གདུལ་བྲུ་རྣམས་ལ། ལྷུགས་ཇི་ཆེན་པོའི་མཐུ་དཔུང་ལྷུག་པར་བསྐྱེད་དེ་འཇོམ་
བྲུ་སྤྱིང་གི་ཡུལ་དཔུས་མ་ག་རྟེན་མཚོག་གི་སྤྱུལ་པའི་སྐྱུའི་བཀོད་པ་བསྟན་ཏེ་སྐྱུ་གསུང་སྤྲུགས་
ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་འཕྲུལ་བ་བསམ་གྱི་མི་བྲུབ་པས་སྐྱེ་རྒྱུ་རྣམས་ལ་མངོན་པར་མཐོ་བ་དང་དེས་
བར་ལེགས་པའི་ལམ་གསལ་བར་མངོད། སྐྱུ་དངོས་ཀྱི་གདུལ་བྲུ་ཇོགས་པའི་ཇིས་སྤྲུ་ཡང་
མཐོང་ཐོས་དུན་རེག་གི་འགྲོ་བ་བགྲང་ལས་འདས་པ་ལ་ཐར་པ་དང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁའའཁུན་པའི་
ས་བོན་བསྐྱེད་པར་བྲུ་བའི་ཆེད་དུ་སྤྲུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཆ་བརྒྱད་དང་སྐྱུ་གདུང་གི་རི་རི་
དང་གསུང་གི་རྟེན་ཚོས་སྐྱུའི་རིང་བསྐལ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་ལོལ་དུ་སྤྲིན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་མདོ་

སྒྲེ་དང་གཟུངས་སྒྲགས་བྱུང་བར་ཅན་དུ་མ་དང་། སྐྱའི་རྟེན་སྐྱུ་དངོས་ཀྱིས་བྱིན་བྱིས་བརྒྱབས་
 བ་དང་། བཀའ་གནང་བ་བསྐྱུལ་ཏེ་བཞེངས་སུ་བཅུག་པའི་སྐྱུ་བརྟན་དང་། ཚོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་
 སུ་གསེགས་པའི་ཚུལ་བསྟན་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་འང་སྐལ་བ་དང་ལྡན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྐྱུ་གསུང་
 ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་བཞེངས་པ་དང་། དེ་ལ་མཚོན་པ་སོགས་བྱས་ན་སྐྱུ་དངོས་ལ་བསྟེན་བཀུར་
 བྱས་པ་དང་འདྲ་བའི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་བསག་པར་ལུང་བསྟན་པར་མཛད་པས་ན།
 ད་ལྟའི་སྐྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་བཞེངས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ལས་དང་སྐལ་བར་ལྡན་པའི་གདུལ་
 བྱའི་རྒྱུད་ལ་བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱིས་བྱིན་བྱིས་བརྒྱབས་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་པས་ཡེ་
 ཤེས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐྱའི་འཕྲིན་ལས་སུ་ངེས་བརྟེན་པ་གལ་ཆེདོ།།

དེ་ལས་སྐྱའི་རྟེན་བཞེངས་པའི་སོགས་མ་ནི། རྒྱལ་བ་རང་ཉིད་ཞལ་བཞུགས་པའི་དུས་སུ་
 རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷན་ཏེ་ཡ་ནས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་པོ་རྒྱུ་འི་ཁྲབ་རིན་ཐང་གཞལ་དུ་མེད་པ་ཞིག་སྐྱེས་སུ་
 བསྐྱར་བའི་ལན་དུ། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཟུགས་ཅན་སྣོད་པོས་སྟོན་པ་ལ་གནང་བ་ཞུས་ཏེ་དབྱས་སུ་
 སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་སྐྱུ་བརྟན། སྣོད་དུ་བཙུམ་པར་བྱ་ཞིང་དབྱུང་བར་བྱ། ཞེས་སོགས་ཀྱི་
 ཚིག་བཅད། རོག་དུ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལུགས་འབྱུང་སྟོག་རྣམས་བཀའ་གནང་བ་ལྟར་བྱིས་ཏེ་
 བསྐྱར་བར་མདོ་ལས་གསུངས་པ་ནི་བྱིས་སྐྱུ་བཞེངས་པའི་སོགས་མ་དང་། བཅོམ་ལྡན་
 འདས་སུ་མ་ཅུ་ཅ་གསུམ་དུ་ལྟ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་གནས་ལ་གསེགས་སྟབས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷན་ཏེ་
 ལས་སྟོན་པའི་སྐྱུ་ཚབ་དུ་ཅན་དན་གོ་ཤིན་ལས་སྐྱུ་བརྟན་བཞེངས་པའི་ཅན་དན་ཇོ་བོར་གྲགས་
 པ་འདི་ནི་འབྱར་སྐྱུ་བཞེངས་པའི་སོགས་ཡིན་པར་དམ་པ་མང་པོས་བཤད་དོ།།

འདིར་སྐབས་སུ་བབས་བ་ཅན་དན་ཇོ་བོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་སྟོན་པའི་འབྲུངས་ལོ་སོགས་ལ་
 རྒྱ་གར་ནག་དང་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་མང་པོའི་བཞེད་ཚུལ་མི་འདྲ་བ་མང་དུ་འབྱུང་བའི་དབང་

གིས་ལྷ་གནས་སུ་ཕེབས་པའི་ལོའི་གྲངས་ཀྱང་མི་མཐུན་པ་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་འགྲུང་ན་
 འདྲུལ་བ་ལྷུང་དང་དྲིན་ལན་བསལ་བའི་མདོ་སོགས་ལས་སྐྱབ་བརྟན་འདི་ཉིད་བཞེངས་ཚུལ་
 མདོ་ཙམ་བྱུང་ཡང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལས་འབྱུང་བ་རྣམས་དེ་ལས་རྒྱུས་པར་སྤང་ཞིང་དེའི་
 རྒྱངས་ཀྱང་ལེགས་པར་སྤང་བས་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བཤད་ན། ལྷོན་པ་དགུང་ལོ་སོ་བརྒྱད་པ་ལ་
 ལྷོན་རང་གི་ཡུམ་སྐྱུ་མ་ལྷ་མཛེས་འཛེམ་བུ་གྲིང་ནས་ཤི་འཕོས་ཏེ་སུམ་ཚུ་ཙ་གསུམ་དུ་
 སྐྱེས་པ་དེའི་དོན་མཛད་པ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་སུམ་ཚུ་ཙ་གསུམ་གྱི་ལྷ་སྐལ་པ་དང་ལྷན་པ་
 རྣམས་ཇེས་སུ་བརྒྱང་བའི་ཆེད་དུ་ལྷའི་ཡུལ་དུ་གཤེགས་ཏེ། དེར་སྐྱབ་པ་གསུམ་དབྱུར་
 གནས་པར་བཞུགས། རང་གི་ཡུམ་དང་ལྷའི་གདུལ་བྱ་མང་པོ་བདེན་པ་ལ་བཀོད་པ་སོགས་
 ཀྱི་དོན་མཛད། དེའི་ཆོ་ལྷ་ར་ན་སའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ཉུ་ཡ་ནས་ལྷོན་པའི་ཞལ་མ་མཇལ་བར་
 ཡུན་རིང་སོང་བས་ཡིད་གདུངས་ཏེ། སྐྱེད་དོས་དང་འདྲ་བའི་སྐྱབ་བརྟན་བཞེངས་པར་བསམས་
 ཏེ་སོའུ་གལ་གྱི་བུ་ལ་སྐྱུ། དེས་ཀྱང་བཟོ་བོ་མཁས་པ་སུམ་ཚུ་ཙ་གསུམ་གྲིང་དེ་རྗེ་
 འདྲུལ་གྱིས་ལྷ་ཡུལ་དུ་སྐྱེ། ལྷོན་པའི་སྐྱེད་དོས་ལ་བལྟར་བཅུག་པས་བཙོམ་ལྷན་འདས་
 ཀྱི་འོད་དང་གཟི་བརྗིད་མཐའ་ཡས་པའི་ཟིལ་གྱིས་བཟོ་བོ་རྣམས་གྱིས་སྐྱའི་མཚན་རྣམས་
 ཇི་སྐྱབ་བཞིན་ཡིད་ལ་གཟུང་མ་ཉུས་པ་ན་ལྷོན་པས་ཚུ་རྒྱང་གི་འགྲམ་དུ་ཕེབས། སྐྱབ་བཞེངས་
 ལྷབས་སུ་བཞུགས་པའི་གཟུགས་བརྟན་ཚུ་ནང་དུ་ཤར་བ་ལ་ལན་གསུམ་བསྐྱར་ཏེ་བལྟས་ལ་
 མཚན་བཟང་གི་བྱུང་བར་རྣམས་ཡིད་ལ་བརྒྱང་བ་ལྟར་ཙན་དན་གྱོ་གི་ཤིར་འུ་ལས་སྐྱབ་གཟུགས་
 བཞེངས་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེའི་ཆོ་ན་བཟའ་ཡང་ཚུའི་གཉེར་མས་བསྐྱོད་པའི་རྣམ་པ་ཙན་དུ་
 ཡོད་པ་ལ་དཔེ་བྱས་ཏེ་རྗེ་རིས་མར་བསྐྱབས། དེ་ཡང་ལྷོན་པའི་བྱིན་རླབས་གྱིས་ཉི་མ་
 གཅིག་ལ་བསྐྱབས་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ཉུ་ཡ་ནའི་མཚོད་གནས་སུ་བཞུགས། དེ་ནས་ལྷོན་པ་

སྐྱུ་མི་ཡུལ་དུ་མེབས་པའི་ཚེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཐེམ་སྐྱུ་གསུམ་སྐྱུལ་ཏེ་གཡས་པར་ཚངས་པ་
 ཚེན་པོ་གདུགས་དཀར་པོ་གསེར་གྱི་ཡུ་བ་ཅན་གཟུང་བ་གཟུགས་ཁམས་གྱི་ལྷ་རྣམས་
 དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། གཡོན་པར་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་རྩ་ཡབ་དཀར་པོ་ནོར་བུའི་ཡུ་བ་ཅན་ཐོགས་པ་
 འདོད་ཁམས་གྱི་ལྷའི་ཚོགས་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་། སྐྱེང་ནས་གནས་གཙང་མའི་རིས་གྱི་
 ལྷའི་བྱ་དང་བྱ་མོ་མང་པོས་མཚོད་རྩས་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་པ་ཐོགས་པས་མཚོད་ཅིང་། མདུན་ནས་
 རྒྱལ་ཚེན་བཞིའི་རིས་གྱི་ལྷ་རྣམས་གྱིས་དྲི་བཟང་པོའི་སྣོན་ཐོགས་པས་བསུས་ཏེ་སྣོན་
 པ་རང་ཉིད་ཐེམ་སྐྱུ་དབྱས་མ་ནས་མཚོན་དཔེའི་འོད་ཟེར་རབ་དུ་འབར་བར་ཉི་མའི་དགྱིལ་
 འཁོར་ལྷར་ལྷམ་མེ་ལྷན་ཞེ་ལྷང་ལེར་ཤེས་རྒྱུ་འདུལ་དང་ཤེས་ཞབས་གྱིས་རིམ་གྱིས་བྱོན།
 དེའི་ཚེ་དགེ་སྣོད་གི་དགེ་འདུན་རྣམས་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་། སྣོན་པོ་དང་། བུམ་ཟེ་དང་།
 ཁྲིམ་བདག་པོ་མོ་རྣམས་གྱིས་རང་རང་གི་ཅི་འགྲོར་བའི་མཚོད་རྩས་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་པ་ཐོགས་ནས་
 བསུ་བ་བྱས་སྐབས་སྐྱ་བརྟན་འདིས་ནམ་མཁར་འཕགས་ཏེ་གོམ་པ་དུག་བསུས་ཏེ། སྐྱ་
 དངོས་དང་མཇལ་སྐབས་དབྱ་གྲག་གྲག་པ་ལན་གསུམ་གྱིས་སྐྱ་ཁམས་འདྲི་བའི་ཚུལ་མཇོད།
 སྣོན་པས་སྐྱ་བརྟན་འདིའི་དབྱ་ལ་སྤྲུག་གཡས་པ་བརྒྱངས་ཏེ་བཞག་ནས་སངས་རྒྱས་དངོས་
 དང་འདྲ་བའི་བསྐྱགས་པ་མཇོད་ཅིང་། ང་ནི་སྐྱ་ངན་འདས་འོག་ཏུ། །འཇོ་ནི་བརྒྱ་སྤྲུག་བཅུ་
 འདས་ནས། །ཤར་སྤོགས་ཅི་ནའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཁྱོད། །བསྐྱུན་དང་འགྲོ་མན་དོན་ལ་བཞུད།
 །ཅེས་ལུང་བསྟན་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ཉ་ལ་ན་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་བྱིན་ཏེ་སྐྱ་གཟུགས་གྱི་ཐོག་མ་བཞེངས་
 པ་འདི་ངའི་བསྐྱུན་པ་ལ་བྱ་བ་བྱས་ཤིང་སྐྱེ་བོ་སྐྱུལ་པ་དང་ལྷན་པ་མང་པོའི་བསོད་ནམས་
 གྱི་ཞིང་དམ་པར་གྱུར་པ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་སེམས་ཅན་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པའི་དགེ་བའི་རྩ་བ་
 བསྐྱེད་པའི་གཞི། སྤྲིག་སྤྲིབ་དག་པར་བྱེད་པའི་ཐབས་སྣ་ན་མེད་པ་བདེ་བར་གསུམས་པའི་



སྐྱུ་བརྟན་བཞེངས་པའི་སྲོལ་གསར་དུ་གཏོང་བ་བྱོན་དང་འདྲ་བ་མེད་དོ་ཞེས་བཀའ་སྐྱུལ་པ་
 དང་། ལྷའི་དབང་པོས་ཀྱང་། གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་དགའ་བར་
 གྱོས་ཤིག་རྟེན་པ་ལེགས་པར་བརྟེན་སོ་ཞེས་རྗེས་སུ་ཡི་རངས་བས་གཟེངས་བསྟོན། དེ་
 ཅས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ལོ་སྟོང་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་གྲ་ལྷའི་བར་དུ་རྒྱ་གར་ཡུལ་དུ་སྐྱེ་འགོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་གནས་
 དམ་པར་བཞུགས། དེ་ནས་ཁིུ་ཚེའི་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་མི་ཡུལ་དུ་ལོ་དྲུག་ཅུ་རེ་བརྒྱན་བཞུགས།
 དེ་སྐབས་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་རྒྱལ་ས་ཐང་གུར་གྱི་བྲེ་བྲག་ཆེན་གུར་གྱིས་བཟུང་བའི་སྐབས་ཡིན་ལ་
 དེའི་ཞི་ཅུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སུ་ཀྱན་གྱིས་དམག་དཔོན་ལུའི་ཀྱང་ཞེས་པ་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་མངགས།
 རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡུལ་ཕྱན་འགའ་ཞིག་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱུས། རྩོ་བོའི་སྐྱུ་བརྟན་འདི་དང་སྟོན་པའི་རིང་
 བསྐྱེལ་སྤྱི་རི་རི་ཆེ་བ། བརྗེ་ཏ་ཀུ་མ་ར་སྤྱི་རྣམས་གདན་དྲངས། སྤྱིར་ལོག་བའི་ལམ་དུ་
 བརྗེ་ཏ་མ་འོན་ཤེས་དང་གྲུབ་ཏུགས་མང་པོ་བསྟན་པས་དམག་དཔོན་དང་པ་ཆེར་འཕེལ་
 རིམ་གྱིས་སི་རྒྱན་དུ་སྟེབ་པ་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་སུ་མ་འདས། དུས་གཟིངས་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་བ་དང་
 རྒྱག་པས་བརྗེ་ཏའི་ལུང་བསྟན་པ་ལྟར་ལིའར་ཅེའུ་མཁར་དུ་རྟེན་རྣམས་གདན་དྲངས། དམག་
 དཔོན་འདིས་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ཡུལ་གྲུ་མ་ཞིག་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར། དུས་སྤྱིས་ལོ་ཆང་གི་བྱ་ལོ་
 ཁིང་རྒྱལ་པོས་རྩོ་བོའི་སྐྱུ་དང་འཕེལ་གདུང་བརྗེ་ཏ་རྣམས་ཆང་ཨན་མཁར་དུ་གདན་དྲངས།
 གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གསར་དུ་བཞེངས་པ་དང་རྒྱལ་བའི་གསུང་རབ་མང་དུ་བསྐྱུར་བ། དགེ་
 འདུན་སྟོང་སྟེང་ལོང་བའི་བཤད་སྐྱུ་བ་ཀྱི་སྟེ་ཡར་དུ་བཙུགས་པ་སོགས་བསྟན་པ་ལ་
 བསྟོན་བཀའ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་བྱས། དེ་ལྟར་སྐྱུ་བརྟན་འདི་ཉིད་ཆེན་པོ་ཐང་གུར་སོགས་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ་
 སི་རྒྱན་དང་རྟུའི་ནན་དང་ཀྱའང་ནན་སོགས་ཞིང་ས་དུ་མར་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གདན་
 དྲངས་ཏེ་འགོ་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་པའི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་དུ་མཚོན་པར་བྱས། དེ་ནས་རྩར་

ཚིང་ངའི་གྲིན་གྱི་དུས་སུ་ད་ལྟ་པའི་གྲིང་དུ་གྲགས་པའི་པོ་བྲང་ཚེན་པོར་གདན་དྲངས། མིན་
 ཅུང་སྤྲོ་ཞེས་བྲུ་བའི་ལྟ་ཁང་དུ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་ཏེ་བསྟེན་བཀུར་དང་མཚོད་པ་རྒྱ་ཚེར་
 བྲུས་ཤིང་ངའི་གྲིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྤྱི་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་པོ་བྲང་ནང་གི་ལྟ་ཁང་གཞན་དང་
 གཞན་དུ་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ་མཚོད་པར་བྲུས། དེ་ནས་དའི་ཡོན་ཞེས་པ་ཚེན་པོ་ཉོར་གྱི་དུས་
 སུ་ཞེང་ཨན་ས་ཞེས་པའི་ལྟ་ཁང་དུ་མཚོད་ཅིང་བྲང་པར་སེ་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དུས་སུ་ད་ལྟའི་
 མཚོད་རྟེན་དཀར་པོ་བཞེངས་པའི་གནས་གཞི་འདིར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཚེན་པོ་གསར་དུ་
 བཞེངས་ཏེ་དགོ་འདུན་གྱི་སྡེ་བཙུགས་ཤིང་རྟེན་འདི་ཉིད་ལ་མཚོད་པ་སྐྱ་ན་མེད་པ་བྲུས།
 ཉོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྤྱི་མ་རྣམས་དང་། ཚེན་པོ་མིང་གི་དུས་སུ་ཡང་པོ་བྲང་འདི་གའི་ལྟ་ཁང་
 དག་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་ལས་འུ་ཅག་ཚེན་པོ་ཚིང་གི་དུས་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཀྱི་ལོ་བཞི་པར་འཇམ་དབྱངས་
 ལོང་མ་ཤེད་ཚུ་ཚོས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཅན་གྱིས་གསེར་མཁར་གྱི་ནང་པོ་བྲང་ནང་མའི་ཉེ་འད
 བས་རྒྱབ་བྱང་ལོགས་སུ་སྦྱང་རྗེ་ཚེན་པོའི་ལྟ་ཁང་ཞེས་པ་གསར་དུ་བཞེངས། རོ་བོ་རིན་
 པོ་ཚེ་འདི་ཉིད་དེར་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ་རྟེན་གྱི་གཙོ་བོར་བཞུགས་སུ་བཅུག །རང་དའི་རི་བོ་
 དགོ་ལྷན་པའི་ལུགས་འཛིན་པའི་དགོ་འདུན་གྱི་སྡེ་ཚོགས་པར་བྲུས། བྲུས་སྤིང་མཁར་པོ་
 ལྟ་རྗེ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སྐྱ་མར་བསྐྱོས། རྟེན་རྣམས་ལ་རིན་པོ་ཚེའི་རྒྱན་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་
 དང་མཚོད་པའི་དངོས་པོ་བསམ་གྱི་མི་བྲབ་པས་བསྟོ་སྟང་དུ་བྲུས། དགོ་འདུན་གྱི་སྡེ་ལ་
 བསྟེན་བཀུར་ནར་མའི་རྒྱན་འཇུགས་པ་སོགས་ཐུབ་པའི་བསྟན་པ་ལ་སྤྱི་ཞུ་སྐྱ་ན་མེད་པ་མཛད།
 དེ་ནས་ད་ལྟའི་འཇམ་དབྱངས་དབལ་དབྱངས་ཚོས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བར་ཡབ་མེས་གྱི་
 ཐུག་སྲོལ་བཟང་པོ་གོང་འཕེལ་དུ་མཛད་དོ།།

དེ་ལྟར་ན་སྟོན་པའི་འབྲངས་ལོ་ལ་གོང་དུ་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་བཞེད་ཚུལ་མི་འདྲ་བ་



མང་དུ་སྐྱང་ནའང་རྟེན་འདིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ནག་གི་ཡིག་ཚང་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ལས་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་ན།
 ལྟོན་པ་ཅེ་ཏུ་གྲུང་གྱི་དུས་ཤིང་སོ་སྟག་ལ་འབྲུངས་པ་ནས་བརྗེས་པར་ད་ལྟའི་ཆེན་པོ་ཆིང་གི་
 གནམ་སྐྱོང་ལོ་སོ་ལྷ་པ་ལྷགས་སོ་སྟག་གི་ལོ་འདི་ཉིས་སྐྱོང་བདུན་བརྒྱ་གོ་བདུན་པ་ཡིན་
 པར་སྐྱང་ཞིང་སྐྱུ་གཟུགས་འདི་ཉིད་སྟོན་པའི་དགའ་ལོ་སོ་བརྒྱད་པ་ལྷགས་མོ་ཡོས་ལ་བཞེངས་
 པར་བཤད་དོ།།

དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྐྱུ་གཟུགས་འདི་ཉིད་ཅི་སྐྱུ་རྒྱ་ཚན་དན་གོ་ཤིང་ལས་བསྐྱབས་པ། སྐྱི་གཙུག་
 བཟླར་མི་མངོན་པ་སོགས་མཚན་དཔེ་རྣམས་གསལ་བ། འགྲོ་བ་རྣམས་འཁོར་བ་ལས་
 འདྲན་པ་མཚོན་པའི་སྐྱུ་རྒྱ་ཚན་ལྷན་གྱི་བཞེགས་པ། སྐྱུ་གཙུག་སྐྱུ་བས་སྐྱིན་གྱི་སྐྱུ་རྒྱས་
 སྐྱི་རྒྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྱིད་ཞིའི་འཛིགས་པ་ལས་སྐྱོབ་པ་དང་། གཡོན་མཚོག་སྐྱིན་གྱི་སྐྱུ་
 རྒྱས་འགྲོ་བ་རྣམས་མངོན་མཐོངས་ལེགས་ཀྱི་བདེ་བ་ལ་བཀོད་པ་མཚོན་པ། ཞབས་གཉིས་
 མཉམ་སྐྱབས་ཀྱིས་བཞེངས་པས་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ལ་ནམ་ཡང་སྐྱོ་ངལ་མེད་པ་མཚོན་པ།
 རྒྱགས་ཀ་ན་ཤོད་ཏེ་རྩ་ཅོམ་རྒྱན་དུ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཞབས་མཐིལ་དང་གདན་གྱི་བར་ན་སྐྱུད་པ་
 ཤོང་བ་ཅོམ་གྱི་བར་སྐྱོང་ཡོད་པ། བཟོ་བོ་གཞན་གྱིས་འདུ་སྐྱུ་རི་ལྟར་བཞེངས་ཀྱང་སྐྱུ་
 ཉམས་རི་ལྟ་བ་བཞིན་ཡོང་དཀའ་བ་སོགས་ཁྱད་ཚོས་དུ་མ་དང་ལྷན་ཞིང་། ལྷ་མ་སྐྱེས་བུ་དམ་
 པ་རྣམས་དང་རྒྱལ་སྐོན་སྐྱིན་བདག་དང་ལྷན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཇལ་སྐྱབས་སྐྱུ་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་
 འགྲོ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་མཐོང་སྐྱང་དུ་མ་འབྲུང་བ་དང་། ནད་དང་སྐྱུག་བསྐྱེད་དུ་གསོས་གཙོས་པ་
 རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གསོལ་བ་ཅེ་གཅིག་དུ་བཏབ་པ་ན། ཉམས་དང་མི་ལམ་དུ་སྐྱུ་དངོས་ཀྱི་སྐྱང་བ་
 སྐྱུ་ལ་ཉེ་དབྱགས་འབྲིན་པར་མཇོང་བ་སོགས་སྐྱུ་ཆེ་བའི་ཡོན་ཏན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ད་ལྟའི་
 བར་དུ་ཡང་ཀུན་ལ་མཐུན་སྐྱང་དུ་གྲུབ་པ་དེ་བཞིན་ལགས་སོ།།



དེ་ལྟར་རྒྱལ་བ་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་དངོས་སུ་བྱེན་གྱིས་རྒྱབས་ཤིང་ལུང་བསྟན་པའི་རྟེན་མཚོག་
 འདི་ཉིད་མཐོང་བ་དང་ཐོས་པ་ཙམ་གྱི་སྐལ་བ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་སྐྱེ་བོ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སྟོན་བསགས་
 པའི་བསོད་ནམས་སུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡིན་ན་ཅེ་གཅིག་ཏུ་དད་ཅིང་མོས་པས་སུག་
 མཚོད་བསྟེན་བཀའ་བྱེད་པ་ན་ལྟ་ཅི་སྟོས། དེས་ན་རྒྱལ་བ་ཉིད་དང་བྱུང་བར་མ་མཆིས་པའི་
 རྒྱ་མཚོག་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་ལ་མཇལ་བ་ནི་ཤིན་ཏུ་རྟེན་དཀའ་བར་ཤེས་པར་བགྱིས་ལ་བདག་ལོགས་
 སུ་འདོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཅེ་གཅིག་པའི་དད་པ་དང་གུས་པ་མངོན་དུ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཅི་འགྲོར་པའི་
 མཚོད་པ་འབྲལ་བ་དང་ལུས་ཀྱིས་སུག་དང་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱེད་པ་དང་། དག་གིས་བསྟོད་ཅིང་
 གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་སོགས་ལ་རྣམས་པ་ཅི་ཡོད་ཀྱིས་བཙོན་པར་བྱ་ལ་དེ་ཡང་དེས་འབྲུང་
 དང་བྱང་ཚུབ་གྱི་སེམས་ཀྱིས་ཟིན་པ་དང་སྟོན་ལམ་རྣམས་པར་དག་པས་ཁ་བསྐྱར་བ་ལ་འབད་
 འཚལ་ལོ།།

ཡང་བསྐྱོར་བའི་གྲངས་ལ་སྐྱེ་དངོས་ལ་གཞལ་བའི་བསྐྱོར་ཚོད་ནི། བར་བསྐྱོར་གྱི་གྲངས་
 ཉིས་སྟོང་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་བདུན་ཅུ། བར་བསྐྱོར་མཚོད་རྟེན་དང་བཅས་ན་ཉིས་སྟོང་བཞི་
 བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ། སྤི་བསྐྱོར་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་དང་བཅས་པ་བསྐྱོར་ན་སྟོང་སུག་ཅིག་དང་། ལྷ་
 བརྒྱ་སུམ་ཅུ་བྱས་ན་བསྐྱོར་འབྲམ་ལྷག་དང་བཅས་པ་རྫོགས་པར་སྐྱང་ངོ་།།

དེ་ལྟར་སུག་མཚོད་བསྐྱོར་བ་སོགས་བྱས་པའི་ཕན་ཡོན་ནི། དམ་ཚོས་པར་དཀར་ལས།
 དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རིང་བསྐྱེལ་དང་། །འཇིག་པའི་གཟུགས་དང་མཚོད་རྟེན་དག་
 ལ་འང་རུང་། །རྩི་བའ་ངོས་གྲིས་དང་རྒྱལ་སྤང་མཚོད་རྟེན་ལ། །དེ་ལ་མེ་ཉོག་དང་ནི་
 སྟོས་གསོལ་ཏེ། །དེར་ནི་གང་གིས་རབ་སྟན་ཅང་ཉེའུ་དང་། །དུང་དང་རྩ་ཆེན་རོལ་སོའི་སྐྱ་
 བྱེད་བཅུག། །བྱང་ཚུབ་མཚོག་རབ་མཚོད་པར་བྱ་བའི་སྤྱིར། །གང་ཞིག་རྩ་རྣམས་རབ་ཏུ་



བཅུད་བྱེད་ཅིང་། །མི་མཚང་དང་ནི་མེག་དང་མཁར་ཆེན་རྩ་། །རྩ་རྩ་རྒྱུད་གཅིག་གླིང་བྱ་ཡིད་
 འོང་དང་། །ཨ་གོ་ན་ད་རབ་དུ་སྟན་འབྱིན་པ། །དེ་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར།
 །ཞེས་གསུངས་ཤིང་། །བྱང་པར་དུ་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་པའི་མན་ཡོན་ནི། །འཕགས་པ་སྦྱོན་རས་
 །གཟིགས་གྱི་མདོ་ལས། །སྟོན་ཆགས་ཀུན་ལ་མན་པའི་ཕྱིར། །བྱང་ཆུབ་དུ་ནི་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་
 །ནས། །འཛིག་རྟེན་མགོན་གྱི་མཚོན་རྟེན་ལ། །སྤྱ་ཞིག་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱེད་པ་ནི། །ཆོ་རབས་དག་
 །ནི་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ། །བྱང་ཆུབ་སྦྱང་བ་སྦྱོང་པའི་ཚོ། །དུན་དང་ལྷན་ཞིང་མོ་གྲོས་ལྷན། །བསོད་
 །ནམས་ལྷན་ཞིང་འཛིགས་མེད་འགྱུར། །མཚོན་རྟེན་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་ན་ནི། །ཆོ་རབས་དག་
 །ནི་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ། །ལྟ་དང་སྤྱ་དང་གཞོན་སྦྱིན་དང་། །སྟོན་པོ་རྣམས་གྱིས་མཚོན་པར་འགྱུར།
 །དེས་ནི་གང་དག་བསྟན་པ་ཡི། །མི་ཁོམ་བརྒྱུད་པོ་དེ་དག་སྟོང་། །སངས་རྒྱས་འབྱུང་བ་
 །རབ་མཛེས་པ། །མཉེས་པར་བྱེད་འདི་དལ་བ་གཅིག། །མདོག་ལྷན་གཟུགས་ནི་ཕུན་སུམ་
 །ཚོགས། །མཚན་གྱིས་ལེགས་པར་བརྒྱན་པ་དང་། །མཐུ་དང་སྟོབས་དང་ལྷན་པར་འགྱུར།
 །ལེ་ལོ་ཅན་དུ་དེ་མི་འགྱུར། །དེ་ནི་སྤྱུག་ཅིང་ནོར་ཆེར་འགྱུར། །བསོད་ནམས་ལྷན་ཞིང་
 །རྩི་བ་མེད། །འཛིག་རྟེན་སྐྱོན་མ་མཉེས་བྱས་ནས། །ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་བསྟོ་སྟངས་བྱེད། །བདག་
 །མེད་སྟོད་པའི་ཚོས་ཐོས་ན། །དེ་ནི་ཚོས་ལ་ཚོངས་མི་འགྱུར། །ལྷུང་དུ་དད་པ་ཐོབ་འགྱུར་
 །ཞིང་། །ཚོས་དོན་རི་བཞིན་མཁས་པར་འགྱུར། །ཚོང་དཔོན་བྱིས་དང་རྒྱས་པ་དང་།
 །སྤྱུག་པོ་རྣམས་སུ་སྦྱེ་བར་འགྱུར། །དཔའ་ཞིང་སྦྱིན་པའི་བདག་པོར་འགྱུར། །གཏོང་བ་
 །བཏང་ཞིང་མེར་སྐྱ་མེད། །འཛམ་བུའི་གླིང་ན་གང་ཡང་རུང་། །བྱང་པར་ཅན་གྱི་རིགས་
 །མཛེས་པ། །དེར་ནི་བསྟན་པ་དེ་སྦྱེ་སྦྱེ། །དམའ་བ་དག་ན་རྣམ་པར་སྤངས། །མཚོན་རྟེན་
 །བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་ན་ནི། །སྦྱེ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀུན་དུ་ཡང་། །དབང་ཆེར་གྲགས་པའི་བྱིས་བདག་

དང་། །དཔལ་དང་གཟི་བུ་ལྡན་པར་འགྱུར། །བུམ་ཟེ་སྤུ་ལ་ཆེ་འདྲ་དང་། །ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་
 ལྡན་ཞིང་མང་ཐོས་དང་། །རྒྱལ་རིགས་སྤུ་ལ་ཆེ་འདྲ་དང་། །སྤྱུག་ཅིང་ཉོར་ཆེར་ལྡན་
 པར་འགྱུར། །རིས་བསྐྱོར་གྱི་མཚོ་ཚུན་ཆད་གྱི། །ས་ཀུན་ལ་ཉི་གང་སྐོན་པ། །མྱིང་བཞི་
 དག་གི་དབང་ཕྱུག་གྲ། །རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆོས་དང་ལྡན་པར་འགྱུར། །འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱུར་བ་རྩུ་འཕྱུལ་
 ཆེ། །རིན་ཆེན་བདུན་དང་ལྡན་པར་འགྱུར། །རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གནས་ནས་སངས་རྒྱས་ལ།
 །ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་བསྐྱེད་ལྡང་བྱེད། །འདི་ནས་ཤི་འཕོས་མཐོ་རིས་སྤ། །སོང་ནས་སངས་རྒྱས་
 བསྐྱེད་ལ་དང་། །ལྡན་པོའི་ཐོམ་གྱི་དབང་ཕྱུག་པོ། །ལྡའི་དབང་པོ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་འགྱུར། །ལྡ་
 དབང་ཤིན་ཏུ་འཐབ་བྲལ་དང་། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ནི་དགའ་ལྡན་དང་། །ལྡ་དབང་ཤིན་
 ཏུ་འཕྱུལ་དགའ་དང་། །དབང་སྐྱུར་འཛིགས་པ་མེད་པར་འགྱུར། །མཚོད་རྟེན་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་
 ན་ནི། །དེ་ནི་ཚངས་སའི་འཛིག་རྟེན་དུ། །ཚངས་སའི་དབང་ཕྱུག་མཁས་འགྱུར་ཞིང་།
 །ལྡ་རྣམས་བྱེ་བས་མཚོད་པར་འགྱུར། །འཛིག་རྟེན་མགོན་གྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་ལ། །མི་གང་བསྐྱོར་
 བ་བྱེད་བ་ཡི། །བསྐྱེད་པ་བསྐྱེད་པ་བྱེ་བར་ཡང་། །བརྗོད་བས་ཟད་པར་བྱ་མི་རུས།
 །སྤྱ་ཞིག་བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ནས། །སྐྱོན་སའི་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བ། །དེ་ནི་བསྐྱེད་
 བ་བྱེ་བར་ཡང་། །ནམ་ཡང་ལོང་ཞིང་འཐེང་མི་འགྱུར། །འཛིག་རྟེན་མགོན་གྱི་མཚོད་
 རྟེན་ལ། །མངོན་དུ་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱེད་བ་ནི། །བྱང་བ་སྐྱོན་པོ་མཛེས་འདྲ་ཡི། །རྣམ་པར་དག་
 པའི་མིག་ཐོབ་འགྱུར། །མཚོད་རྟེན་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་ན་ནི། །དེ་ནི་ངེས་པར་རྟག་དུ་ཡང་།
 །མཐུན་སའི་དོན་ཀུན་འཕོབ་འགྱུར་ཞིང་། །དོན་མིན་རྣམས་ནི་སྤངས་པར་འགྱུར། །མཚོད་
 རྟེན་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་ན་ནི། །མཐུ་དང་སྐྱོབས་དང་ལྡན་པར་འགྱུར། །དེ་ནི་ལེ་ལོ་མེད་
 འགྱུར་ཞིང་། །རྟག་དུ་བག་ཡོད་ལྡན་པར་འགྱུར། །མཚོད་རྟེན་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་ན་ནི། །བརྗོད་

འགྲུས་བཏན་ཅིང་མཐུ་བཏན་ལ། །བཏན་ཞིང་ནམ་པར་གཞོན་བཏན་དང་། །དེ་ནི་སྤྱད་དུ་
 མཁས་པར་འགྲུར། །མེ་དང་དུག་དང་མཚོན་གྱིས་དེ། །ནམ་ཡང་འཆི་དུས་བྱེད་
 མི་འགྲུར། །མཁས་པ་ཚོ་ནི་རྫོགས་རྫོགས་སྟུ། །ཟད་པར་བྱས་ནས་འཆི་དུས་བྱེད། །མཚོད་
 ཏན་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་ན་ནི། །མོ་བྱང་འཁོར་དང་ཡུལ་འཁོར་དང་། །གྲོང་དལ་ནམས་སྤྱ་ལོངས་
 སྤོད་དང་། །གཟུགས་གྱིས་ཁྱད་པར་འཕགས་པར་འགྲུར། །བྱང་ཚུབ་སྤྱད་པ་སྤོད་པའི་ཚེ།
 །དེ་ནི་འདོད་པ་མི་སྟེན་ཞིང་། །ལུས་ཀྱང་གཙང་ལ་གོས་གཙང་ཞིང་། །གཙང་མའི་ཚོས་ལ་
 གནས་པར་བྱུར། །ཞེས་གསུངས་པས་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་བཀའ་མི་བསྐྱུ་བ་ལ་ཡིད་
 ཚེས་གྱི་དང་པ་ཤུགས་དྲག་པོས་སྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་ན་འབྲས་བུ་དེ་དག་དེས་པར་འབྱུང་ཞིང་།
 བསྐྱོར་བའི་ལྷགས་ནི། །ན་མོ་བྱ་གམ་ཏེ། །རྟ་ཀེ་དུ་རྩ་རྩ་ལ། །ཏ་སྣ་ག་དུ་ཡ་ཨ་རྩ་ཏེ་སྤྱ་
 གྱི་བྱུ་ལ། །ཏུ་སྤྱ། །ཞོ་རྩེ་རྩེ་མཉུ་རྩེ། །རྩུ་བི་ཇ་ཡ་སྤྱ། །ཡང་ན། །ན་མོ་དག་
 དྲི་སྤྱི་གྱ་ལ་སའ་རྩུ་ཏུ་ཡུ་ལ། །ནམ་ལྷ་དཀྱུ་སྤྱ་ལྷ་དཀྱུ་སའ་བུ་བི་བི་མོ་རྩ་ནི་སྤྱ།
 ཞེས་པ་གཉིས་གང་རུང་འདོན་བཞིན་པས་བསྐྱོར་ན་འགྲུར་ཆེ་བར་གསུངས། དེ་མིན་ཀྱང་
 མི་འབྱུགས་པའི་གཟུངས་དང་མ་ཆི་ལ་སོགས་པ་རང་གི་ཡི་དམ་གྱི་ལྷ་གང་ཡིན་གྱི་
 ལྷགས་སམ་གསོལ་འདེབས་ལ་སོགས་པ་བརྗོད་བཞིན་པས་བསྐྱོར་བ་བྱས་ན་མདོ་ལས་འབྱུང་
 བའི་མན་ཡོན་དེ་དག་གནས་སྐབས་སྤྱ་ཡང་ནད་གདོན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་འཛིགས་པ་ཆེན་
 བོ་རྣམས་ལས་ཐར་པ་དང་། །རིགས་བརྒྱུད་ཚོ་བསོད་དཔལ་འགྱོར་ལུང་རྟོགས་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་
 སོགས་རྒྱས་པ་དང་། །ལས་ངན་པའི་སྤྱི་གླིབ་དག་པའི་མཚན་མ་བཏན་པོ་འབྱུང་བ་སོགས་
 བན་ཡོན་མཐའ་ཡས་པ་ཀུན་གྱི་མདོན་སྤྱད་དུ་གྲུབ་པས་ཚོགས་རྒྱུད་དུས་དལ་བའི་ཏེན་ལ་སྤྱིང་
 བོ་ལེན་པའི་ཐབས་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་དེ་ལྷ་བྱ་ལ་བརྗོད་པར་བྱ་འཚལ་ལོ།།



དེ་ལྟར་རྒྱལ་བ་དངོས་དང་དབྱེར་མ་མཆིས་བའི་སྐུ་བརྟན་མཐོང་ཐོས་དུན་རེག་གི་འགྲོ་བ་
 མཐའ་དག་ལ་འདི་སྤྱིའི་བདེ་ལེགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡིད་བཞིན་དུ་སྦྱོལ་བའི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཀྱི་སྤང་
 བོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཅན་དན་ཇོ་བོར་གྲགས་པའི་རྟེན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བསྐྱོར་ཚད་ཅན་ཡོན་དང་བཅས་པ་མདོར་
 བསྐྱུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྤང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འདི་ཡང་མདོ་སྐགས་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་བསྐྱུན་
 པའི་གསལ་བྱེད་ཆེན་པོ་ཤར་ཅེ་མཁན་པོ་ནོ་མིན་ཉན་པའི་དབང་རྩལ་བྱིམས་ཀྱིས་གསུང་
 གིས་བསྐྱུལ་བ་དོན་ཡོད་པར་བྱ་བའི་སྤྱིར་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་སྤུལ་བའི་སྡེ་སྡོད་འཛིན་པ་ལུང་སྐུ་རོལ་
 པའི་དོ་རྗེས་བཞོད་པའི་ཡི་གེ་བ་ནི་རིག་གནས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྤང་བ་འཛིན་པ་དབྱེད་ལྡན་གྱི་
 རབ་དབང་བསྐྱུན་འཕེལ་གྱིས་བགྱིས་པ་དགེ་ལེགས་སུ་གྱུར་ཅིག །ཅན་དན་ཇོ་བོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་
 བསྐྱོར་ཚད་ཅན་ཡོན་མདོར་བསྐྱུས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྤང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་པར་བྱང་འདི་ཉར་ཆེན་ཨོ་
 ལུ་ཉག་བཟན་ཨ་གི་འ་མི་སྤེད་དང་པས་རྒྱ་སྦྱོར་གྱི་པར་དུ་སྐྱབ་པའི་དགེ་བས། བན་བདེའི་
 འབྲུང་གནས་རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱུན་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་ལ་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་གནས་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག །དགོའོ།
 །ལེགས་སོ། །མདྲ་ལོ།།

ལུང་སྐུ་རོལ་པའི་དོ་རྗེའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ། བོད་ཇ་པ། བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་། རྫ་རམ་ས་ལ། ༢༠༠༢ དབྱེན་ཇིའི་
 ཐོག་གྲངས་ ༩༧༢-༩༧༧ བར་ནས་རྒྱུད་སྤྱུངས་པའོ།།



APPENDIX THREE

ཅན་དན་ཇོ་བོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། བོད་འགྲུང་སྐྱོན་སེལ།

དུང་སྐྱོན་ཞིན་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ།

བོད་ཡིག་གི་བསྐྱེད་འགྲུང་ལེ་ཅན་དབང་མ་རུ་བོད་ཤོག་ངོས་ 154 ན་ “ཅན་དན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བུ་
 ནག་ནས་བཞུགས་པའི་སྐོན་ཚུལ་” ཞེས་བྲ་བ་ཡུ་གུར་སྐྱད་ལས་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྐྱུར་བ་
 ཞིག་བཞུགས། དེར་འབོད་སྐོན་པའི་འབྲུངས་ལོ་ཅེའུ་དབང་གི་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙུ་བཞི་ཤིང་སྐག་སྐྱི་
 ལོ་སྐོན་གྱི་ཆིག་སྐོང་བརྒྱ་མཉེན་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙུ་བདུན་ (1027) དེ་བོད་དུ་འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ཏུ་
 དཔལ་གྱིས་དེབ་ཐེར་སྐོན་བོར་དྲངས་པ་ནས་བཟུང་བྲུབ་བཅའ་དུ་གྱུར་ཏེ། ཅན་དན་ཇོ་བོའི་
 ལུགས་ཞེས་བྲགས། སྐྱ་ཉེན་དེ་རྒྱ་གར་ནས་ལི་ཡུལ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ཞིང་ས་དུ་མར་
 གདན་དྲངས་པའི་ཡུལ་གྲུ་མོ་མོའི་མིང་རྣམས་ཡུ་གུར་སྐྱད་ནས་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བསྐྱུར་བའི་སྐྱོན་
 གྱིས་སྐྱ་གདངས་རྒྱུ་ཆགས་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བས་དེར་སང་གི་ཡུལ་གྲུ་གང་དང་གང་ཡིན་པལ་
 ཆེར་ངོས་འཛིན་དཀའ་བར་མ་ཟད། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ས་ཆ་བཅུ་གཅིག་དུ་སྐྱ་མཚོག་འདི་བཞུགས་
 པའི་ལོ་གྲངས་རེ་རེ་ནས་བཀོད་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། བསྐྱོམས་ཚིས་བྱས་ན་ལོ་ངོ་ཉིས་སྐོང་ཆིག་བརྒྱ་
 དང་བཞི་ཡིན་གྱི། ལོ་རྒྱུས་རང་ཉིད་དུ་གསུངས་པའི་བསྐྱོམས་གྲངས་ཉིས་སྐོང་ལྷ་བཅུ་ཙུ་ལྷ་
 དང་མི་མཐུན། གཞན་ཡང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འདི་བཙུམས་པའི་ལོ་ནི་ཚུ་པག་ (སྐྱི་ལོ་ 1263) ཡིན་
 པར་ངེས་ལ། གལ་ཏེ་གཞུང་དེའི་ཆིག་ཟིན་ལྟར་སྐྱ་མཚོག་བཞེངས་ནས་ཚུ་པག་འདིའི་ཡན་
 ཆད་ལ་ལོ་ཉིས་སྐོང་ལྷ་བཅུ་ཙུ་ལྷ་ལོན་པ་དང་། སྐོན་པ་ལྷ་དན་ལས་འདས་ནས་ཚུ་པག་
 ཡན་ལ་ལོ་ཉིས་སྐོང་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལོན་པའི་དབང་དུ་བྱས་ན། ཉེན་དེ་བཞེངས་པའི་ལོ་ནི་



སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་བདུན་བརྒྱ་དགུ་བརྒྱ་གོ་གཅིག (791) ས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཡིན་པར་ཐལ་བར་འགྲུར་ཏེ། བོད་
 ཏུ་གསུངས་པའི་ལྷགས་ཡོས་ (སྤྱི་ལོ་ 990) དང་ནང་འགལ་དུ་འགྲུར། དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ན་
 སྤྱི་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་གྲངས་ལས། མི་ཉག་མན་ཆད་གྱི་ལོ་གྲངས་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་བཞོད་པའི་
 ལྷ་མཚན་ཡང་འགལ་བ་དེ་ལ་ཐུགས་དོགས་ཡོད་པའི་རྟེན་གྱིས་ཡིན་སྟེ།

ལྷ་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་སྟོན་པའི་ཡིན་མཛོད་བསྟུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་
 འསོ་ལས། “བོད་གྱི་བཀའ་འགྲུར་ན་འདུལ་བ་ལྷང་དང་དྲིན་ལན་བསབ་པའི་མདོ་ལས་སྤྱི་
 བརྟན་འདི་ཉིད་བཞེངས་ཚུལ་མདོ་ཚམ་བྱུང་ཡང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ལོ་སྟོན་ལས་བྱུང་བ་ནམས་དེ་
 ལས་རྒྱས་པར་སྤང་ཞིང་དེའི་བྱངས་ཀྱང་ལེགས་པར་སྤང་བས་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བཤད་ན། ...སྟོན་
 པ་ཅེའུ་གྲུར་གྱི་དུས་ཤིང་སྟེ། (སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ 1027) ལ་འབྲུངས་པ་ནས་བརྩིས་པར་ད་ལྟའི་
 ཆེན་པོ་ཆེད་གི་གནམ་སྟོང་ལོ་སྟོན་བ་ལྷགས་པོ་སྟེ། (སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1770) འདི་ཉིས་སྟོང་
 བདུན་བརྒྱ་གོ་བདུན་ཡིན་པར་སྤང་ཞིང་། སྤྱི་གཟུགས་འདི་ཉིད་སྟོན་པའི་འབྲུངས་ལོ་སྟོན་
 བརྒྱད་པ་ལྷགས་ཡོས་ (སྤྱི་ལོ་ 990) ལ་བཞེངས་པར་བཤད་དོ།” །ཞེས་གསུངས་
 པ་དེ་ནམ་པར་དག་ཅིང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་
 གྱི་ཤིང་རྟ་ལས་བསྟན་འགྲུར་པའི་ཅིན་དཔར་མའི་ཆོག་ཟེན་ལྟར་རྟེན་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་
 སངས་རྒྱས་ལྷ་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་ལས་འདས་ནས་ལོ་སྟོན་ལོན་པའི་ཆོ་ཅན་དཔར་གྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་
 བྱེད་པར་ལྷང་བསྟན་པ་ལ་བསྟན་ནས། སེ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་སར་ཐེབས་ནས་ལོ་སྟོན་དང་གསུམ་
 འགྲོ་བ་རྒྱ་མོ་པག་ (སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1263) ལ་རྩིས་པས་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་ལས་འདས་ནས་རྒྱ་མག་ཡར་
 གཏོགས་པ་ཡན་ཆོད་ལ་ལོ་ཉིས་སྟོང་དང་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་ལོན་ཞེས་འབྲུང་ལ། དེའི་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་
 གྱི་ནས་ད་ལྟའི་ལྷགས་བྱ་ (སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1681) འདི་ཡན་ལ་ལོ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱ་བདུན་སོང་བའི་

མྱེད། འདིའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་པ་ཟུང་ན་ལས་འདས་ནས་ལུགས་བྱ་འདི་ཡན་ལ་ཉིས་
 སྟོང་བཞི་བརྒྱ་དང་སུམ་ཅུ་ཐམ་པ་འདས་ཏེ་ཅན་དན་ཇོ་བོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་སོ།།” (ལྷ་
 སའི་ལུགས་དཔར་གསར་པ་ཤོག་ངོས་ 73) ཞེས་བརྗེས་པ་དེ་ལྷར་ན་སྟོན་པ་ཟུང་ན་
 ལས་འདས་པའི་ལོ་སྟོན་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་ 749 ས་འབྲུག་ཡིན་དགོས་ལ། ཤོང་དུ་བཤད་པའི་འགལ་
 བ་སོགས་ན་གནས་སོ།།

འོ་ན་སྟོན་དེ་ཇི་ལྷར་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཞེ་ན། བསྟན་འགྲུར་ན་བཞུགས་པའི་གཞུང་འདི་ལྷང་དུ་
 ཞིག་ཐིག་སྟེང་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་བདུན་ཅམ་ལས་མེད། བདག་གཞན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཞིབ་དཔྱད་ལ་སྟབས་
 བདེ་བའི་ཆེད་དུ་འདིར་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པ་བཤུས་ན།

༡༡། |ཅན་དན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བུ་ནག་ནས་བཞུགས་པའི་བྱོན་ཚུལ་བཞུགས་སོ།།

ཨོ་སྟོན་སྟོན། བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་སྐྱེ་བལྟམས་ནས་སངས་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བར་དང་། ཅན་དན་གྱི་སྐྱེའི་
 བྱུང་ཚུལ་གྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་མདོར་བསྟུས་པ་ལ། རྒྱལ་རབས་ཅེའུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་རིང་
 ལ་རྒྱལ་བྱ་བཞི་བ་ཅེའུ་དབང་(周昭王) ཞེས་བྱ་བ་རྒྱལ་སར་བཏོན་ནས་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་བཞི་
 ལོན་པའི་དུས། ཤིང་སྟག་ལོ་(སྟོན་ལོ་སྟོན་ 1027) ལྷ་བ་བཞི་པའི་ཆོས་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཉིན་པར་
 བལྟམས་ནས་ཞག་བདུན་ལོན་པའི་དུས་སུ་ཡུམ་སྐྱེ་མ་ཆེན་མོ་འདས་ནས་ལྷའི་ཡུལ་དུ་སྐྱེས།
 རྒྱལ་པོ་ཅེའུ་དབང་(昭王) རྒྱལ་སར་བཏོན་ནས་ལོ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཞེ་གཉིས་ལོན་པའི་དུས་
 ལ། རྒྱལ་བྱ་དོན་གྲུབ་ལོ་བཅུ་དགུ་ལོན་ནས་ཁྲིམ་དོར་ནས་གྲོང་ཁྲེང་གྱི་སྤྱི་རོལ་དུ་གཤེགས་
 ནས་གངས་ཀྱི་རི་ལ་དཀའ་བ་མཛད་ནས། ཅེའུ་དབང་གི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལྷ་བ་ཟུ་དབང་
 (周穆王) ཞེས་བྱ་བ་རྒྱལ་སར་བཏོན་ནས་ལོ་གསུམ་ལོན་པའི་ཆུ་ལྷག་(སྟོན་ལོ་སྟོན་ 998)



ལོ་ལ་རྒྱལ་བྱ་དོན་གྲུབ་ལོ་སྐྱུལ་ཅུ་ལོན་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་རྒྱལ་ནས་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ལོན་པའི་ཚེ།
 དུམ་གྱི་དྲིན་དགོངས་ནས་སྐྱུལ་ཅུ་ཅ་གསུམ་ལྟའི་ཡུལ་དུ་གཤེགས་ཏེ་དུམ་ལ་ཚོས་
 བཤད་ནས་ལྟའི་ཡུལ་དུ་དབྱར་རྩེ་གསུམ་བཞུགས་པ་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དྲ་ལྷ་ཡ་ནས་བཙོམ་ལྟན་
 འདས་དུན་ནས་མོ་དགལ་གྱི་བྱ་ལ་ཞུས་པས། མོ་དགལ་གྱི་བྱས་རྗེ་འཕྲུལ་གྱིས་བཟོ་བོ་
 སྐྱུལ་ཅུ་གཉིས་དང་ཅན་དན་དམར་བོ་སྐྱུག་བོ་དང་བཙས་བསྐྱངས་ནས་ལྟའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཁྲིར་ཏེ།
 བཙོམ་ལྟན་འདས་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བལྟ་ན་ཚོག་མི་ཤེས་པ་མཚན་སྐྱུལ་ཅུ་ཅ་གཉིས་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་
 པར་བཟོད་ནས་མིའི་ཡུལ་དུ་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ། རྒྱའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཅེཅུ་ (སྐུ) དབང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་
 རྒྱལ་སར་བཏོན་ནས་ལོ་བཅུ་གཅིག་ལོན་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་ལྷུགས་ཡོས་ (སྐྱི་ལོ་ 990)
 ལོ་ལ་བཙོམ་ལྟན་འདས་ལྟའི་ཡུལ་དུ་དབྱར་རྩེ་ཆ་ར་ མིའི་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱོན་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་
 ཅན་དན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་མཚོག་འདིས་བཙོམ་ལྟན་འདས་ལ་དབྱ་བ་ཀུག་ནས་སྐྱེ་ཁམས་འདྲི་བའི་
 ཚུལ་བཞེངས་ཏེ། དེ་ནས་བཙོམ་ལྟན་འདས་གྱི་བྱུག་བརྒྱངས་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་མཚོག་དེ་ཉིད་གྱི་སྐྱི་བོར་
 བཞག་ནས་འདི་སྐྱེད་ཅེས་ལུང་བསྟན་ཏོ། །ང་ཡོངས་སུ་སྐྱེ་ངན་ལས་འདས་ནས་ལོ་སྐྱོང་ལོན་
 པའི་ཚེ་རྒྱ་ནག་པོ་ཚེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་སུ་གཤེགས་ཏེ་ལྷ་མིའི་དོན་རྒྱ་ཚེན་པོ་མཚན་པར་
 འགྲུར་རོ་ཞེས་བཀའ་སྐྱུལ་ཏོ། །དེ་ནས་བཟུང་ནས་ཅན་དན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་མཚོག་འདིས་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་ལོ་
 སྐྱོང་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ་གྲུ་ལྷ་བཞུགས། ལྷ་སེན་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ལི་ཡུལ་དུ་ལོ་དྲུག་ཅུ་རེ་
 བརྒྱད་བཞུགས། དེ་ནས་མི་ཉག་ཡུལ་གྱི་བྱང་ངོས་སུ་ལོ་བཞི་བཅུ་བཞུགས། དེ་ནས་གྱིན་ཚང་
 རྩར་ལོ་བཅུ་བདུན་བཞུགས། དེ་ནས་བྱང་གནམ་དུ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་བདུན་ཅུ་དོན་གསུམ་བཞུགས།
 དེ་ནས་ཉ་ནམ་གྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་ལོ་སྐྱུལ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་རེ་བདུན་བཞུགས། དེ་ནས་ཡང་བྱང་གནམ་
 དུ་སྐྱིར་གཤེགས་ནས་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅ་གཅིག་བཞུགས། དེ་ནས་ཐིན་ཉོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ལོ་དགུ་པའི་
 དུས་སྐབས་ལག་ལོ་ (སྐྱི་ལོ་ 1131) བྱང་སྐོགས་སུ་བྱོན་ནས། ཅུང་དོའི་སྐའི་ཞང་མི་ཞེས་བྱ་



བའི་སྒྲེར་ལོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་བཞུགས། ལུའི་ཞང་སིའི་སྒྲེ་དེང་སང་ཤིང་ངན་སི་འདི་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་
 བས་སང་གྲིང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་མཁར་དུ་དེའི་ཅུང་གྲིང་སི་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་སྒྲེར་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་བཞུགས། དེ་
 བས་བཅུར་ཅིའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་དའི་ཐིང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་སར་ལོ་གསུམ་ལོན་བའི་
 དུས་སུ། རྒྱ་ལུག་ལོ་ (སྤྱི་ལོ་ II63) ལ་ཡང་ཅུང་ཏོར་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་པོ་བྲང་དུ་
 ལོ་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཅ་ལྔ་བཞུགས། དེ་བས་དའི་ཆུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དུས་སུ་ཏོར་བྲུང་ནས་མེ་
 གྲང་ལོ་ (སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1217) ལྷ་བ་གསུམ་པའི་ཚེས་དགུ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་པོ་བྲང་དུ་གཤེགས་པས།
 ཅུང་ཤུ་སང་འཇུན་གྱི་ཚིག་གིས་ཡང་གྲངས་ན་སྒོན་གྱི་གནས་ཤིང་ངན་སིའི་སྒྲེ་ལ་བཞུགས་
 བས། དེང་སང་བར་དུ་མཚོད་པར་བྱས་སོ། །མེ་གྲང་ལོ་ནས་རྒྱ་མག (སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1263) ཡན་
 ཆད་ལ་ལོ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཞེ་བདུན་ལོན། ཅན་དན་གྱི་སྐྱ་མཚོག་འདི་བཞེངས་ནས་རྒྱ་མག་ཡན་
 ཆད་ལ་ལོ་ཉིས་སྟོང་ (ཉིས་བརྒྱ) ལྔ་བཅུ་ཅ་ལྔ་ལོན་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །འདིའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་བཙམ་ལྷན་
 འདས་སུ་ངན་ལས་འདས་ནས་རྒྱ་མག་ཡན་ཚོད་ལ་ལོ་ཉིས་སྟོང་དང་ (ཉིས་བརྒྱ) བཅུ་གསུམ་
 ལོན་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཅུང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་ཚོགས་པར་ཡོད་པར་སྟངས། མདོར་བསྡུས་
 པ་འདི་རྒྱ་མོ་མག་ལོའི་རྒྱ་བ་གཉིས་པའི་ཚེས་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལ་རྒྱའི་སྐད་ལས་ལྷ་གུར་སྐད་སྐྱ་
 མཁན་ཨམམཆང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། ལྷ་གུར་སྐད་ལས་པོད་སྐད་དུ་སྐྱུར་མཁན་དན་སི་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་
 གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལེགས་པར་བསྐྱར་བའོ།

དེ་ཡང་ལོ་བྲངས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོན་གང་ནས་བྲུང་བ་རྟོགས་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་ཐོག་མར་གཞུང་འདི་
 བརྩམས་པའི་ལོ་ཚིགས་རྒྱ་མག་དེ་ངོས་འཛིན་དགོས། གཞུང་འདིས་དངོས་སུ་བསྟན་པའི་ལོ་
 ཚིགས་བཞི་ཡོད་དེ།

༡ ཐིན་ཏོའི་ལོ་དགུ་པ་ལུགས་མག་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཚིག་སྟོང་ཚིག་བརྒྱ་སུམ་ཅུ་སོ་གཅིག (II31) ཡིན།



- 2 དའི་ཐང་ལོ་གསུམ་པ་ཚུ་ལུག་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཚིག་སྟོང་ཚིག་བརྒྱ་དེ་གསུམ་ (II63) ཡིན།
- 3 ཉོར་གྱི་དའི་ཚུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་ཇིན་གར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ (སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1206-1227) ཡིན།
དེ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་མེ་ལྷང་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཚིག་སྟོང་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་བཅུ་བདུན་ 1217 ཡིན།
- ༤ དེས་ན་དེ་ཇེས་ཀྱི་ལོ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཞེ་བདུན་པ་ཚུ་ཕག་དེ་ནི་ཉོར་མེ་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁྲི་ལོ་གསུམ་
པ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཚིག་སྟོང་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་ཅུ་དེ་གསུམ་པ་ (1263) ཡིན་པར་གོར་མ་ཆག་གོ། །

ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ་སྟོར་ལ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་གི་དབྱེད་གཞི་ཡིག་ཆ་གཙོ་ཆེ་བ་གསུམ་ཡོད་དེ།

- 1 旂檀瑞像殿记碑刻 ཅན་དན་སྐུ་མཚོག་ལྷ་ཁང་དཀར་ཆག་དོ་རིང་། ཉོར་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་
བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་མེ་འབྲུག་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1316 ལ་བྲིས། དོ་རིང་དེ་དང་སང་མ་བཞུགས་
ཀྱང་ 释氏稽古录 ཞེས་པའི་ནང་བསྟན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སུ་ཆ་ཚང་དངས་ཡོད།
- 2 佛祖历代通载 བསྟན་འཛིན་སྤྱི་ས་བྱ་རིམ་ཕྱོན་གྱི་ལོ་རབས་སྟོང་མཐུན། ཉོར་རྒྱལ་པོ་
པོ་ཅིན་ན་ཁྲི་འཛིན་མཐའ་མ་བའི་ས་སྟག་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1338 ལ་བཅུ་མས།
- 3 旂檀瑞像刻石题记、明代重刊 ཅན་དན་སྐུ་མཚོག་གི་གཟུགས་རིས་དོ་རིང་།
ཉོར་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ཤིང་ལྷང་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1325 ལོར་བཞོས། ཏཱ་མིང་ཕམ་ལི་ཁྲི་ལོ་
བཅུ་བདུན་པ་ས་ལྷང་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1589 ལ་སྐྱར་ཡང་དོ་རིང་བསྐྱར་དུ་བཞོས་པ།
དང་པོ་གཉིས་ཀ་དགོངས་པ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མཐུན་ཅིང་ཁྲངས་ཐུབ་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། གསུམ་པ་ལ་
ཡིག་སྟོན་འགའ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པས་ཁྲངས་སུ་མི་འཕེད།
ལྷང་སྤྱི་ལོ་གསུང་དང་རྒྱ་ཡིག་འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་དོན་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་དེུ་མིག་
ཅིག་བསྐྱོགས་ན།



མདོར་ན་གཞུང་འདི་རྒྱ་སྐད་ལས་ཡུ་གུར་སྐད། ཡང་ཡུ་གུར་སྐད་ལས་བོད་སྐད། བསྐྱར་ཐངས་
 གཉིས་བྱས་པའི་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་བཤམ་གྱིང་སྟེ་སྲུང་རྒྱལ་རབས་བྱང་མའི་རྒྱལ་སར་བཞུགས་
 པའི་ལོ་བརྒྱ་དང་བདུན་ཅུ་དོན་བདུན་ལུས་ཉེ་ཆད། གཞན་ཡང་མི་ཉག་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ལོ་
 བྱངས་བཅུ་བཞི་དེ་བཞི་བཅུར་འོང། ཅུང་དོའི་ཕོ་བྱང་དུ་ལོ་ལྔ་བཅུ་ང་བཞི་དེ་ལོ་གཅིག་
 གིས་མང། སློན་གསུམ་པོ་སེལ་ན་ལོ་བྱངས་ཉིས་སྟོང་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཅུ་ལྔ་ཐོབ། གཞུང་
 ཏུ་གསུངས་པའི་རྒྱ་སྐད་ཡན་ཆད་ལ་ལོ་ཉིས་སྟོང་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཅུ་ལྔ་ལོན་པ་ཞེས་བ་དེར་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་
 ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེའི་ཆད་བ་མིན་ན་སློན་དེ་གང་ནས་བྱང་བ་བརྗོད་དཀའ་ལོ།

ད་ནི་ཡུལ་གྲུ་དེ་དག་གི་མིང་ངོས་འཛིན་ཅུང་ཟད་བཤད་ན།

ཁྱ་སེན་ཞེས་པ་ཁྱ་ཐེན་ཞེས་པའི་ཡིག་འོར་ཡིན་སྟེ། དེང་གི་ཞིན་ཅང་རང་སྲོང་སྲོངས་
 ལྟོ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཉོ་ཐེན་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ཡིན། གནའ་རབས་ལ་ཁིའུ་ཙི་འང་ཟེད།

མི་ཉག་གི་བྱང་ངོས་ཞེས་པ། སྤུས་སུ་ས་པའ་དང་ཁོ་དན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞལ་འཛོམས་ས་ལེའང་
 ཀུའུ་དེ་ཉིད་ཡིན། དེང་སང་ཀན་སུའུ་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བྱང་ངོས་ཉེ། ཞིན་ཅང་ལ་འགྲོ་བའི་ལམ་
 ཁའི་ལྷ་མེ་ཞེས་པའི་ས་ཆ་ཡིན།

ཀྱིན་ཆང་ཏུ་ཞེས་པ་ཏུ་ཐང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ས་ཁྲང་ཨན་ལྷ། དེང་སང་སྐན་ཞི་ཞིང་ཆེན་
 གྱི་ཞི་ཨན་གྲོང་ཁྲེང་ཡིན།

བྱང་གནམ་ཞེས་པ་ཀུའང་ནན། འབྲི་རྒྱུ་ལྟོ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ནན་ཅིང་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ས་སྤོགས་ཡིན།

ཏན་མ་ཞེས་པ་ཏཱའེ་ནན། ཏཱའེ་ཉོ་ཞེས་པའི་རྒྱ་བོའི་སྟོ་རྒྱུད། དེང་སང་ཅང་སུའུ་ཞིང་ཆེན་
 ཡང་ཀུའུ་གྲོང་ཁྲེང་གྱི་ས་སྤོགས་ཡིན།



བསྟན་འགྲུས།	ལྷ་གྲངས་	ལྷ་གྲངས་	བཞུགས་པའི་ལོ་	ལྷ་གྲངས་	ལྷ་ཁང་གྲངས།
ཡུལ་གྱི་	ལྷ་གྲངས་	བཞུགས་པའི་ལོ་	ལྷ་གྲངས་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 991 ལོ་	1285
ལྷ་གྲངས་	1285	1285	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 991 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 294 ལོ་	68
ལྷ་གྲངས་	68	68	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 362 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 362 ལོ་	14
སྤྱི་ལོ་ 40 ལོ་	40	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 376 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 376 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 393 ལོ་	17
སྤྱི་ལོ་ 17 ལོ་	17	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 393 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 565 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 393 ལོ་	173
སྤྱི་ལོ་ 173 ལོ་	173	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 565 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 932 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 932 ལོ་	367
སྤྱི་ལོ་ 367 ལོ་	367	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 932 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 953 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 953 ལོ་	21
སྤྱི་ལོ་ 21 ལོ་	21	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 953 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1131 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1131 ལོ་	177
སྤྱི་ལོ་ 21 ལོ་	21	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1131 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1143 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1143 ལོ་	12
སྤྱི་ལོ་ 12 ལོ་	12	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1143 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1163 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1163 ལོ་	20
སྤྱི་ལོ་ 20 ལོ་	20	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1163 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1217 ལོ་	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1217 ལོ་	54
སྤྱི་ལོ་ 55 ལོ་	55	སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1217 ལོ་			

བསྟན་འགྲུལ་ ལྷལ་གཞི་ལོ་གྲངས་	ལྷལ་གྱི་ ཞུང་ཡན་སི་	ལྷལ་གྱི་ བཞག་པ་པའི་ལོ་	བསྟན་འཛིན་ལོ་རབས།	ལྷ་ཁང་རྫོང་འདྲིའི་ འགྲུལ་གྱི་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་
ལྷལ་གཞི་ལོ་གྲངས་ 46	ལྷལ་གྱི་ ཞུང་ཡན་སི་	བཞག་པ་པའི་ལོ་	སྟེ་ལོ་ 1217 ནས་ 1275	འགྲུལ་གྱི་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་ 59
ལྷལ་གཞི་ལོ་གྲངས་ 46	ལྷལ་གྱི་ ཞུང་ཡན་སི་	ལྷལ་གྱི་ ཞུང་ཡན་སི་	སྟེ་ལོ་ 1275 ནས་ 1289	འགྲུལ་གྱི་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་ 14
བསྟན་འགྲུལ་གྱི་ ལོ་གྲངས་ 2104	ལྷལ་གྱི་ ཞུང་ཡན་སི་	ལྷལ་གྱི་ ཞུང་ཡན་སི་	སྟེ་ལོ་ 1289 ནས་ 1316	འགྲུལ་གྱི་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་ 27
			སྟེ་ལོ་ 991 ནས་ 1316	འགྲུལ་གྱི་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་ 2307
				འགྲུལ་གྱི་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་ འགྲུལ་ལོ་ 2317 མགོ་མཇུག་གཉིས་ ཀ་ ཅིས་པའི་ལོ་བཅུ་ཐམས་པ་སྟེ་ན་ 2307 བསྟན་འཛིན་ལོ་རབས་དང་མཐུན་གོ།

སྤྲོན་ཅིང་ཞེས་པ་ནི་སྤང་རྒྱལ་རབས་བྱང་མའི་རྒྱལ་ས། དེང་ཉི་མཚན་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་ཁའི་རྫོང་ཡིན།
 ཅང་དོ་ཞེས་པ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ། ཉའི་ཀྱིན་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ས་ནི་དེང་སང་གི་པེ་ཅིན་འདི་
 ཉིད་ཡིན། ལྷུང་སྐྱའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སུ། རྩུང་ཆིང་དའི་ཀྱིན་གྱི་དུས་སུ་ད་ལྟ་པེའི་ཀྱིང་དུ་བྲག་གས་
 པའི་ཕོ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོར་གདན་དྲངས། མིན་ཅུང་སྤྱི་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དུ་བཞུགས་གསོལ་ཞེས་
 གསུངས། མིན་ཅུང་སྤྱི་ (憍忠寺) ཞེས་པ་དེང་སང་གི་ནང་བསྐྱན་མཐུན་ཚོགས་འཕྲོགས་
 ས་རྒྱ་ཡུན་སི་དེ་ཡིན།

སང་ཀྱིན་ཞེས་པ་ནི། ཕོ་བྲང་གོང་མ། ཉའི་ཀྱིན་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དབུ་བརྟེན་ས། དེང་སང་བྱང་
 བར་ཉེ་ལུང་ཅང་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་རྫོང་ཁྲེང་ཞན་ཁོངས་ན་ཡོད།

ལྷུང་མག་ལོ་ཚུན་ཆད་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཅུང་ཟད་བཤད་ན།

དེ་ནས་ལོ་བཅུ་གཉིས་སོང་བའི་ཤིང་སྐབས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1275 ལ་མཚན་སུའེ་རུན་རི་པོའི་རིན་གྱེ་
 ཉེན་ཞེས་པའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དུ་གདན་དྲངས།

དེ་ནས་ལོ་བཅུ་བཞི་སོང་བའི་ས་གྲང་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1289 ད་ལྟའི་མཚོད་ཉེན་དཀར་པོ་
 བཞེངས་པའི་གནས་གཞི་འདིར་གསར་དུ་བཏབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཏུ་མིང་ཚོ་མཚན་ཨན་
 སི་ 大聖壽万安寺 ཞེས་པའི་སྤྲེར་གདན་དྲངས།

དེ་རྗེས་ལོ་ཉེར་བདུན་སོང་ནས། སེ་ཆེན་གྱི་ཚ་སྐས་ཡུན་ཡིའུ་ལོ་གསུམ་པ་མེ་འབྲུག་སྤྱི་
 ལོ་ 1316 སྐྱ་རྟེན་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཆེད་དུ་ལྷ་ཁང་ཞིག་བཞེངས། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དོ་རིང་བཅུགས།

དེ་ནས་ལོ་དགུ་ཅམ་ཕྱིན་པའི་ཤིང་གྲང་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1325 ཉོར་གྱི་ཡིག་སློན་ཐོ་དབྱིན་གྱིས་སྐྱ་
 མཚོག་གྱི་གཟུགས་བརྟན་ཇི་བཞིན་དོ་རིང་ཞིག་ཏུ་པབ་ཏེ། ལི་ཀྱང་མེན་ཞེས་པའི་སྤོ་མོ་ཆའི་
 རུབ་དོས་ཉེ་འདབས་ཀྱི་སྐྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ལྷ་ཁང་ནང་དུ་བཅུགས།



སྐྱེ་ལོ་ 1367 མེ་ལུག་ལོར་རྟོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཤོར། ཏཱ་མིང་རྒྱལ་རབས་གྱི་དུས་སྐུ་རྟེན་
 འདི་ཡང་སོ་བྲང་འདི་གའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དག་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པར་མ་ཟད། མཚན་ལི་བྱི་ལོ་བཅུ་བདུན་
 པ་ས་སྐྱེ་ལོ་ 1589 ལྷ་མཚོ་ག་འདི་སྐར་གནས་པའི་ཤིང་ཨན་སིའི་མཁན་པོས་སྐུན་རས་
 གཟིགས་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་རྡོ་རིང་གཟུགས་བརྟན་གཞིར་བཞག་སྟེ་རྡོ་རིང་གསར་བ་ཞིག་བཞེངས་
 པ་དེ་ད་ལྟའི་བར་བཞུགས།

དེ་ནས་ནམ་ཞིག་ན་སྐུ་རྟེན་འདི་པེ་ཅིང་རྩལ་རིའི་ཅིའུ་རྣང་སི་ཞེས་བྱ་བོད་ལུང་པོའི་སྐར་
 གདན་དྲངས།

སྐྱེ་ལོ་ 1644 ཤིང་སྐྱེ་ལོར་ཏཱ་མིང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཤོར།

སྐྱེ་ལོ་ 1664 ཤིང་སྐྱེ་ལོར་བདེ་སྐྱིད་རྒྱལ་པོས་གསེར་མཁར་གྱི་སོ་བྲང་ནང་མའི་ཉེ་
 འདབས་རྩལ་བྱང་ལོགས་སུ་སྣང་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་ཞེས་པ་གསར་དུ་བཞེངས། རྡོ་བོ་རིན་
 པོ་ཆེ་འདི་ཉིད་དེར་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ་རྟེན་གྱི་གཙོ་བོར་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ། རི་བོ་དགོ་ལྷན་པའི་
 ལུགས་འཛིན་པའི་དགོ་འདུན་གྱི་སྟེ་ཚོགས་པར་བྱས་ (ལུང་སྐྱེའི་གསུང་) དེར་བཞེན་སྐྱབས་
 རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་དེ་ཅན་དན་སི་ཞེས་གྲགས།

སྐྱེ་ལོ་ 1770 ལུགས་སྐྱབས་ལོར་ལུང་སྐྱེ་རོལ་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེས་ཅན་དན་རྡོ་བོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐོར་
 ཚད་མན་ཡོན་མདོར་བསྐྱས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འབྲེང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཚོམ་འབྲོ་མཚད།

སྐྱེ་ལོ་ 1900 ལུགས་བྱི་པོར་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་བརྒྱད་གྱི་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་དམག་གིས་པེ་ཅིན་མཁར་
 བཙོམ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་སྟོགས། སྐབས་དེར་ལུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་
 འདི་འང་མེར་བསྐྱོགས། ལྷ་རྟེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འདི་བསྐྱོགས་ཡོད་མེད་དང་གང་དུ་ཡོད་མེད་གོ་ཐོས་
 མེད་པར་གྱུར།



སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1956 ལྷ་བ་བདུན་པའི་ཚེས་ཉེར་བདུན་ཉིན། རྒྱ་གར་ཀྲུ་ལི་ཀ་ཏ་ནས་ལྷ་གོའི་གསར་
འགྱུར་ཁང་ཞིག་གིས་སྐྱུ་གཟུགས་དེ་འཇར་པན་ན་བཞུགས་ཟེར་ཅིང་། དེ་མ་ཐག་དུ་འཇར་
པན་ནང་བསྐྱེད་མཐུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་དར་ཅན་དན་གྱི་སྐྱུ་གཉིས་ཡོད་ཟེར།

དེ་མིན་ཕྱན་གྱི་གོ་ཐོས་ཕྱ་བོ་ལས་གཞན་མ་གྱུང་ལགས།

ཞེས་པ་འདི་ནི། བདག་གི་དྲིན་ཅན་སྐྱ་མ་ལྷ་མོ་ཚུལ་བྲིམས་མཚོག་སྐྱུ་བཞུགས་དུས་
དང་། དེ་མིན་བོད་སོག་གི་དཔོན་སློབ་མང་པོས་ཕྱན་པེ་ཅིན་གྱི་རྒྱ་མི་ཡིན་གཤིས། ཅན་དན་ཇོ་
བོའི་སྐོར་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཡང་ཡང་བཀའ་འདྲི་གནང་ཡང་། ཡུན་རིང་བར་དུ་ལན་གསལ་བོ་
ཞིག་འབྱུང་གྱུ་མ་གྱུང་བས་རང་སེམས་ལ་ནོངས་པ་དང་འགྲོད་པ་ཅིག་ཅར་སྐྱེས། ཉེ་ཆར་རྒྱ་
བོད་ཡི་གེ་དུ་མ་མཇུག་བ་རྣམས་སྤོགས་གཅིག་དུ་བསྐྱིགས་ནས་འདི་ཅམ་གྲིས་པའོ།

སྐྱུང་ཚར། ༡༩༤༩ འདོན་ཐེངས། ༢ ཤོག་གཤམ་ ༤༢-༤༤ བར་ནས་རྩེར་དུ་སྐྱུངས་པའོ།



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