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Letter from the Editors

Taxing Moon grew out of conversations between the two of us and a number of interlocutors in Beijing, Lhasa, New York, and many other now distant international locales. In the summer of 2017 we held a seminar for young Tibetan and Inner Asian studies scholars at Renmin University where we were graciously hosted by Oyunbilig Borjigidai. The conclusion of the spirited program brought American, Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese participants to a banquet table singing folk songs over libations. Later that year, we hosted the Beyond Empire and Borders: The 3rd International Conference on the Qing Dynasty and Inner Asia at Columbia University, where established scholars, junior faculty and graduate students participated in a truly global conversation. The spirit of intellectual exchange and camaraderie provided the seed of the project; Waxing Moon is envisioned as a platform for young and established scholars in Tibetan and Himalayan studies from both sides of the Pacific and Atlantic to share their work, with a strong commitment to diversity, multilingualism and meaningful dialogue. With guidance from Gray Tuttle and Lauran Hartley, we partnered with the Columbia University Libraries, and received endorsement from the Weatherhead East Asian Institute. Having worked closely over the past two years with the team at the Center for Digital Scholarship we are now finally able to bring this project into fruition.

We are proud that the line-up for our inaugural issue is testament to these aforementioned values. It is our pleasure to share with you the work of scholars working in English, Tibetan, and Chinese, based around the world. While the future of international research is an imperiled one, we hope that Waxing Moon will serve to fortify existing ties of community in our field and perhaps even nurture new forms of collaboration for the times ahead.

Friends and colleagues who have assisted us in our endeavor are innumerable but special thanks must be reserved for Michelle Wilson, Digital Publishing Librarian without whom this project would not have been possible. We are also most grateful for the work of our production and translation assistants; Celia Bùi Lê, our primary typesetter; and Tiffany Yang, our graphic designer who has rendered Nyema Droma's artwork so beautifully for our cover.

Ling-Wei Kung and Riga Shakya, Editors, Columbia University

Introduction to the Issue

Eveline Washul, Columbia University

t is with great pleasure that I write for the inaugural issue of Waxing Moon. Waxing Moon, as its name so poetically illustrates, L marks the coming into its own of a new direction of Tibetan studies scholarship. This new direction is one that takes steps toward the challenge of engaging the Tibetan studies community in "genuine dialogue" in spite of differences in native language, disciplinary training, or socio-political histories (Jacoby 2019). In her keynote address to the 14th International Association of Tibetan Studies Seminar in 2016, Sarah Jacoby raised a series of questions that pressed the international Tibetan studies community to consider who we engage with in dialogue and what our motivations are for doing so. She challenged us to push beyond our typical "monologue disguised as dialogue" (Buber, as cited in Jacoby 2019), in which we seek out those who are familiar and similar, and to engage in "genuine dialogue" that establishes active, mutual relations with those whom we may not otherwise easily interface due to linguistic, disciplinary, geographic, social, or other differences (Jacoby 2019).

Waxing Moon rises to this challenge with its commitment to multilingual publishing. This first issue brings together authors writing in English, Tibetan, and Chinese, from universities and academic institutions in the US, China, and the Tibetan Plateau. It is significant to note that these emerging scholars represent a new generation of Tibetan studies scholars who are fluent not only in multiple languages, but in navigating academic and social networks across Asia, Europe, and North America. Perhaps even more exciting is the fact that these authors reflect the rise of young Tibetan Tibetologists, who dominate the pages of this issue and hopefully future issues to come. Many, if not most, of the scholars represented here have spent time engaging in meaningful ways with their colleagues on both sides of the Pacific and Atlantic. Such engagements have been made possible, in pre-pandemic times, through the relatively open environment of scholarly exchange of the last several years, as well as the improvements in multilingual training of Tibetan studies students in programs in the US as well as China. International study, exchange programs, visiting scholar positions, and international research opportunities have created spaces for emerging and established scholars alike to deepen their engagements with one another through mutual dialogue, immersive studies, sharing resources, and collaborating in formal as well as informal ways. Waxing Moon brings to the fore some of the voices that have emerged from these multilingual, multicultural engagements.

It is also one of the hopes of the journal to be a platform to continue these exchanges, even in a post-pandemic world.

The contributions in this first issue take us from Tibet's imperial period up to the present day and cover topics as varied as religio-politics, material culture and history, local and clan histories, autobiographical writings, borderland studies, photography, decolonial studies, and contemporary film and literature. A common theme running through many of the research essays in this issue is one that breaks down our modern-day notions of ethnicity, language, and statecraft to see the various cosmopolitan and complex political engagements that characterize earlier historical periods. For instance, Tenzin Yewong Dongchung and Urgyen Gyaltsen each contribute close studies of 17th and 18th century material objects and their associated institutions that reveal the ways in which the Qing extended its influence in Inner Asia and the Ganden Phodrang consolidated its power in western Tibet, respectively. Meanwhile, Marnyi Gyatso and Drolma Choekyi examine local histories of regional powers that shed light on the lesser understood aspects of how secular and religious authorities negotiated their relations to lay claim to people and places in Amdo and Kham. Yungdrung Gyurme discusses an autobiography of Surkhang Sichö Tseten that has recently come to light in Amdo Trika, which highlights the dynamic relations between Tibetan, Chinese, and Muslim religious and political figures of 18th and 19th century Lhasa. Finally, Pema Dhondrup in his essay traces how royal clan and family names in the Tibetan Empire evolved from names of individual tsho ba. Each of these studies complicates our understandings of how power was negotiated and exercised between various secular and religious centers of authority from imperial metropole to the Ganden Potrang hegemony to the Sino-Tibetan borderlands.

Other contributions in this issue include Xiaobai Hu's review of the recent publication Frontier Tibet, which collates the results of an important multi-year, international project studying the Sino-Tibetan Kham borderlands. Victoria Liu's review of a photographic exhibition from the National Art Museum of China introduces an Englishreading audience to Chinese photographers documenting eastern Tibet in the 1930s and 1940s and provides a thoughtful analysis of their works. Liu also contributes an interview with Lhasa-based contemporary artist, photographer, and entrepreneur, Nyema Droma, whose work provokes questions of self-representation, culture, and Tibetan manifestations of globalization and is featured on the cover of this issue. Contemporary Tibetan film is also represented in this issue with Palden Gyal's insightful review of filmmaker Sonthar Gyal's recent film, Ala Changso (2018). The conference report makes accessible to a broader audience the proceedings of a roundtable session on decolonial approaches to Tibetan/Buddhist Studies from

the 2019 meeting of the American Association of Religious Studies. Such a topic could not come at a more apt moment and provokes our field to think deeply about our own embedded practices that might perpetuate structural inequities and how to take steps to redress them. The issue closes with an example of its dedication to multilingual publishing: two pieces of Tibetan contemporary literature written by two prominent Tibetan writers, Tsering Dondrub and Pema Bhum, translated into English by Christopher Peacock and Tenzin Dickie, respectively.

Waxing Moon, with its focus on interdisciplinary and transregional engagement and dialogue, is a welcome addition to the at-present small number of journals dedicated to Tibetan studies and will broaden the scope of scholarship represented in the field. With such diverse offerings found within this first issue, Waxing Moon now challenges readers to step outside our typical zones of comfort and interest and engage in meaningful "genuine dialogue" with topics, scholars, and languages we may not otherwise easily encounter.

Works Cited

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An Eighteenth-Century Textual Labyrinth: The Nature of Tibetan Buddhist Printing in Qing Inner Asia during the Kangxi period (r. 1661 -1722)

Tenzin Yewong Dongchung, Columbia University

Introduction

rinting the Buddhist canon was a continuous imperial practice that transcended dynastic changes. As early as the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), the ruling Khans supervised the printing of Xixia canon in Hangzhou.¹ Later, in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the Yongle emperor (r.1403-1424) printed the first Tibetan-language canon in 1410. In 1606, the Wanli emperor (r.1572-1620) edited this canon and produced a new copy.² Despite this precedence, records illustrate that it was under the Qing emperors Kangxi (r.1661-1722) and Qianlong (r. 1735-1796) that the frequency of canon printing reached its highest peak. Only under Kangxi, the canon was edited and printed five times: 1684, 1692, 1700, 1717 and 1720.3 This was followed by further editions printed in 1737 and 1765 under the Qianlong emperor. Both the emperors also wrote prefaces for the canons.⁴ Compelling statistics such as the one presented above have led historians to the consensus that patronage of Tibetan Buddhist printing projects under the Qing dynasty was unprecedented in its scale.

In this paper, I seek to map out the key institutions that undergirded this patronage in the form of a Tibetan Buddhist printing network. Conceptualizing the printing activities as a network allows us to see that while the imperial palace and the inner court were driving this patronage, temples in Beijing city and individual monasteries on the Inner Asian borderlands formed the main circuits through which texts were sold and distributed on a mass scale. Recognizing the role of the other institutions outside of the palace shows that the nature of Qing imperial patronage and authority was not absolute that operated solely out of a singular center. The imperial patronage created an

¹ Heather Stoddard, Early Sino-Tibetan Art (Bangkok: Orchid Press, c2008), 42.

² Michael Hahn and Helmut Eimer, eds., *Suhrllekhäh: Festgabe für Helmut Eimer*, Indica et Tibetica 28 (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1996), 155.

³ Hahn and Eimer, *Suhrllekhā*ḥ, 155.

⁴ David M. Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in The Governance of The Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38, no. 1 (1978): 5–34, https://doi.org/10.2307/2718931, 23.

environment that was conducive to prolific publishing. Smaller institutions in Beijing were able to fill the demands for religious texts for visiting monks by opening their own bookstores. Further away, individual monasteries emulated the model of imperial patronage and independently worked with local stakeholders to start printing projects. It would therefore be more fitting to see the nature of imperial authority as fluid with multiple mobile centers in different parts of the empire.

To demonstrate the High Qing emperors' personal interest and patronage of Tibetan Buddhism, I begin by first describing the institutional development of new workshops and printing offices that started under their reigns. I then take the case study of the 1667 Kangxi Dragon Canon to demonstrate the human and material resources such projects demanded. I will then move outside of the palace and explain how temples in Beijing and adjacent bookstores printed smaller religious texts for visiting Mongolian and Tibetan monks and nobles, who in turn took these texts home and expanded this network from Beijing to the Qing borderlands. Finally, I will touch on how local monasteries worked independently to start their own canon productions which would lead to an increasing number of permanent printing houses on the Sino-Tibetan borderlands.

Literature Overview

How did this topic of studying Tibetan Buddhism at the Qing court emerge? Broadly speaking, until the 1980s, the conventional narrative of Chinese history in the United States was told through the Sinicization thesis which assumed there was a uniform Chinese culture from time immemorial. The peripheral regions of China were assumed to have assimilated to the influence of the Imperial center.⁵ The opening of central archives of the Imperial dynasties in the late 1980s and the availability of sources other than Mandarin, such as Manchu and Mongolian, led to an approach that was popularized as New Qing History.⁶

Calling for the importance of identity and ethnicity, these scholars saw that Qing was not just the last Chinese dynasty, rather it was a pluralistic and a multi-ethnic empire. Beginning with works that examined the Manchu identity of the Qing rulers, New Qing History

⁵ Pamela Crossley, Helen Sui, and Donald Sutton, eds. *Empire at the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

⁶ Evelyn Rawski. *Early Modern China and Northeast Asia: Cross-border perspectives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

has expanded to include studies of borderlands and Inner Asia.⁷ It is in this context that Tibet finds an intellectual space in Chinese history, albeit through the discussion of Tibetan Buddhism. From the architecture of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in Beijing to the Qing emperor's relation to Tibetan Buddhist hierarchs, Tibetan Buddhism became one of the topics through which the idea of a multi-ethnic Qing empire was expanded upon.⁸ The study of Tibetan Buddhist printing network falls under the purview of this topic. However, as stated in the introduction, I will seek to use the imperial patronage as a way to better understand the nature of Qing imperial authority.

Development of Printing Institutions Under the Kangxi Emperor (r.1661-1722)

Beginning with Kangxi Emperor's reign, many new institutions and infrastructure were built to support the printing of Tibetan Buddhist works. By printing activities, I refer to three specific forms: carving, printing and dissemination. The first phase is most labor intensive for it is in this initial stage that wood is procured, artisans are recruited and then carving commences. Once the woodblocks are ready, the second stage involves the production of xylograph copies that are formed by pressing sheets of paper on the inked woodblock. In the final stage, compiled Buddhist texts circulate, either in the form of imperial gifts by the court or through purchases by monks for their monasteries. What these three stages demonstrate is the need for both material and human resources to complete such projects. Some of the texts such as Kangyur (Wylie: Bka' 'gyur) and Tengyur (Wylie: Bstan 'gyur) were each 108 and 226 volumes respectively and therefore would require significant investment.

The diagram below is a simplified form of Qing governance in which I have highlighted and categorized three main forms of institutions that were involved in the printing activities. First is the Imperial household department (Chin: *Neimufu*) which was part of the palace and separate from the state. The palace usually comprises "the emperor, his immediate family, his empress and consorts, eunuchs and personal advisors."⁹ Second is the state bureaucracy which contains six formal ministries. Based on the original bureaucratic framework from

⁷ Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.

⁸ Ruth W., Dunnell, Mark C. Elliott, Philippe Foret, and James A. Millward. New *Qing Imperial History: The Making of the Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*. New edition. Routledge, 2004. Patricia Ann Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003).

⁹ Endymion Porter Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual*, Rev. ed., Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 84 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012).Wilkinson, 270.

the Han dynasty, the ministries were sometimes known as Boards during the Qing. The ministries were involved in appointments of staff and division of revenue as required under their jurisdiction.¹⁰ The last category includes semi-independent offices such as Censorate or the Court of Colonial Affairs.



Figure 1: Three forms of Qing institutions



Figure 2 & 3: Six Ministries based on Jianze Song and Christine Moll-Murata's work cited below.

¹⁰ Wilkinson, 273.

One of the main shifts that occurred during the transition from Ming to Qing was the transference of religious work from the state to the Imperial palace. Under the Ming, religious rituals inside the Forbidden City were handled by eunuchs attached to three Scripture Printing Workshops, which was under the Ministry of Rites.¹¹ By Qing, the responsibility shifted to the Imperial Household department.¹² Primarily responsible for manufacture of goods for palace use, the Imperial Household department was created in 1661. Using rents from court's own estates and tribute gifts as their income, the household probably spent at least 15,000 ounces of silver every year on regular religious expenses.¹³ It was one of the most significant imperial infrastructures that facilitated the printing projects. Kangxi was initially a minor in the first five of his reign but beginning in 1667, he reordered and expanded the organization of the Imperial Household Department. Between 1662 and 1722, the total number of officials at the Imperial Household Department increased from 402 to 939.14



Figure 4: Based on The Ch'ing Imperial Household Department: A Study of Its Organization and Principal Functions, 1662-1796 / by Preston M. Torbert, P30-37.

Under the Imperial household department, there were seven main sections. Guangchusi, which was the Section of Supply, administered craftsmen who manufactured goods for court use. Inspired by Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) who was one of the six Jesuit

¹¹ Naquin, Peking, 54.

¹² Naquin, Peking, 51.

¹³ Naquin, Peking, 332.

¹⁴ Preston M. Torbert, *The Ch'ing Imperial Household Department : A Study of Its Organization and Principal Functions, 1662-1796 / by Preston M. Torbert* (Cambridge, Mass: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University : distributed by Harvard University Press, 1977), 28-29.

sent by the King of France and a member of the Académie Royale des Sciences, Kangxi began establishing workshops in 1693 under the administration of the office of manufacture, Zaobanchu. He had craftsmen from all over China be brought to the capital to staff these factories.¹⁵ The workshops were based on a number of buildings across western section of the forbidden city. One was Yangxindian which had 3,279 craftsmen/workers and 196 artisans. The second location was Wuyingdian, which Kangxi established around 1680 in the southwestern section of the forbidden city. Wuyingdian also housed the Imperial Household Department printing office, book binding office, storehouses and the imperial library Yushuchu.¹⁶ These offices were famed for publishing the finest editions of scholarly works. For instance, the Imperial manuscript library had 36,000 volumes of Siku quanshu.¹⁷

The creation of these new workshops such as Wuyingdian was important because beginning in 1645, the system of hereditary artisan households was reported as abolished. During the Ming dynasty, the construction trades were under government control. Workers were registered as artisan households in the population registers and were obliged to do labor service. However, in the course of Ming, most artisans were relieved of their core obligations, and service was replaced by tax payment.¹⁸ All construction work for the dynasty was assigned by contract to private workshops and enterprises. This meant that the ministries no longer had access to artisans who could be recruited to work on printing projects. The creation of palace workshops fulfilled the vacuum created by lack of skilled laborers in the government registry.

At the same time, this is not to delineate a clean separation between the state bureaucracy and the Imperial palace/court. For instance, the Ministry of Works, which was one of the main ministries under the state bureaucracy and thus used the fiscal budget of the Qing state, was in charge of buying up materials and objects for the use of the Imperial palace. Their works also include management of stateowned agricultural lands as well as exploitation of mountains and lakes.¹⁹ For huge woodblock printing, there is a possibility that the

¹⁵ Pagani, Eastern Magnificence & European Ingenuity, 182.

¹⁶ Torbert, 32.

¹⁷ Torbert, The Ch'ing Imperial Household Department., 39.

¹⁸ Song and Moll-Murata, "Notes On Qing Dynasty 'Handicraft Regulations and Precedents' (Jiangzuo Zeli), with Special Focus on Regulations on Materials, Working Time, Prices, and Wages," 102-103.

¹⁹ Jianze Song and Christine Moll-Murata, "Notes On Qing Dynasty 'Handicraft Regulations and Precedents' (Jiangzuo Zeli), with Special Focus on Regulations on Materials, Working Time, Prices, and Wages," *Late Imperial China* 23, no. 2 (2002): 87–126, https://doi.org/10.1353/late.2003.0004, 89.

ministry was involved. In fact, in the "Technical Instruction for Handicrafts" which was compiled by Yunli (1697-1738), the 17th son of Kangxi, the team listed wages for different works. The report has 74 chapters, 27 of which focuses on different types of wood constructions. In the *gonggong zhenben congkan*, different types of wood such as pine timber, wei timber and pine timber are listed.²⁰

Production Cost of Printing a Canon

Indeed, the first canon produced under Kangxi's reign exemplifies the involvement of multiple departments. Although Kangxi was only 14 in 1667, his grandmother, Borjigit Bumbutai (1613-1688), also known as Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang, ordered the production of what would later be known as the Kangxi Canon or the Tibetan Dragon Canon.²¹ Below is the instruction that Empress Dowager gave on the Tibetan Dragon canon.

"The Grand Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang gave imperial orders that it be produced; that it be inlaid with pearls and gems, be done on midnight-blue paper, be written in gold ink, and have the Tibetan Dragon Canon in western Tibetan script, making for a total of 108 volumes, including various scriptures orally transmitted by Buddha Shakyamuni."

- First Edition of the Palace Collection of Religious Works (Juan 24)²²

Of the 108 volumes, each volume had pages ranging from 300 to 500 leaves. This would be 50,000 leaves in 108 volumes. Moreover, each of the volumes would also have cover plans that were exquisitely designed with Buddhist miniature paintings.²³ The working team was divided into two groups. First was the lama team, who handled the scripture transcription. The three lamas at Imperial court: Emci, Mergen Corji and Coinpul Gelung led a group of 171 lamas. The laymen were high officials such as Imperial managers who instructed bureau directors and vice-directors of the Ministry of Works, supplies

²⁰ Jianze Song and Christine Moll-Murata, "Notes On Qing Dynasty 'Handicraft Regulations and Precedents' (Jiangzuo Zeli), with Special Focus on Regulations on Materials, Working Time, Prices, and Wages," 92-93.

²¹ 馮明珠 and 盧雪燕, 殊勝因緣: 內府泥金寫本藏文龍藏經探索 = A wondrous occasion predestined : unveiling the kangxi kangyur (臺北市: 國立故宮博物院出版: 國 立故宮博物院故宮文物藝術發展基金總代理, 2015), 6.

²² 馮明珠 and 盧雪燕, 6.

²³ 馮明珠 and 盧雪燕, 9.

office and palace storehouses.²⁴ As the Empress Dowager decreed, the canon was to be written on blue paper with gold ink. Therefore, the monks had to first write on white paper with regular ink and only then could copy it on the blue paper. Records show that they took one meal and two tea breaks. The Ministry also had to arrange for food and drinks of monks on a daily basis.²⁵ Another less obvious cost of the canon came from clothing that would be used as a protective wrap for the canon. Empress Dowager instructed the Imperial manager Bake and Tuba to use gold and velvet thread to weave the silk wrappings. In total, 1080 curtains of fabric were sourced from Jiangnan. The satin curtains had flower patterns with Sanskrit script in gold thread.

Perhaps, the most expensive part of Imperial canon production was the use of expensive raw materials. In the memorial submitted by Imperial manager Misihan on December 12, 1667, he estimated that the sum of gold powder required for the canon cost 371, 175 taels (forty grams) and 5 mace (four grams). This calculation was based on the number of flying gold pieces, which was a thin gold foil mixed with glue to make gold ink.

Pieces	Amount
108 pieces of front cover plank	540 pieces of flying gold
50,3000 pieces of paper	37,725 pieces of flying gold
756 Buddhist miniature on the cover plank	1,782 pieces of flying gold

Table 1: Breakdown of flying gold cost

The Tibetan canon was produced three more times by the imperial court: 1684, 1692 and 1700. Given the huge scale of each canon production, these projects also led to more infrastructure and institutional changes. For instance, between 1684 and 1692, a new set of wooden blocks were carved in Beijing for Kangyur.²⁶ This could either signify that the earlier wood blocks were well used or that the new blocks would allow for multiple productions to commence simultaneously. In 1690, Imperial Household Department created a new office called the Sutra Recitation office in Zhongzheng Dian, a

²⁴ The Imperial managers were named as Misihan, Baka, Tuba, and Hailasun. *馮明* 珠 and 盧雪燕, 8.

²⁵ *馮明珠* and *盧雪燕*, 8.

²⁶ Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, "Book Culture in Qing Inner Asia," in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Kai-wing Chow, Studies on China 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

hall in the northwestern corner of Forbidden city. The office became the emperor's primary office for dealing with Tibetan Buddhist matters. One name that was featured in the directory of this office was Gombojab, a polyglot who was born to a Mongol noble family in southern Mongolia and is known for writing a book on the spread of Buddhism in Mongolia. He headed the Tibetan language school under the Court of Colonial Affairs. He was one of the officials who supervised the Beijing edition of Tibetan Buddhist canon translation.²⁷ It is possible that similar to the 1669 Kangyur, there were other court lamas actively involved in transcribing the scriptures. Susan Naquin writes that there were six Buddhist halls in the Imperial palace, six in the Imperial city and seven in suburban villas.²⁸ The growth of Buddhist institutions signifies that they were plenty of lamas that the court could recruit for the projects.

The Role of Temples and Monasteries in Printing:

The printing of Tibetan Buddhist texts also occurred in languages other than Tibetan. One prime example is the Mongolian canon that Kangxi produced between 1718 and 1720.²⁹ It was originally translated from Tibetan in the seventeenth century and the main sponsor was Emperor Ligdan.³⁰ In 1718, the Kangxi emperor decided to revise and edit it. The text was first collated in Dolonor in Mongolia, which was the seat of Lcang skya reincarnation line. Kangxi is believed to have recruited a commission of scholars from all the banners.³¹ Banners were the main socio-political unit created by the Qing to rule over Mongols, which was led by a "Jasagh," a title given to Mongol nobles who had surrendered to the Manchus.³² In terms of the wood blocks required to print the copies, this occurred in Beijing at the famous Miaoying Si or the White Stupa. Kangxi wrote the preface for the Kanjur.³³ Once the 108 volumes of Kangyur were printed in the Imperial city, it was stored at Songzhu Si.

²⁷ Wu, 157.

²⁸ Susan Naquin, *Peking : Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c2000), 309.

²⁹ Vladimir Uspensky, "The Beijing Lamaist Center' and Tibet in the XVII-Early XX Century," in *Tibet and Her Neighbors* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1937), 109.

³⁰ Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in The Governance of The Ch'ing Empire,"17.

³¹ Rawski, The Last Emperors [Electronic Resource], 255.

³² Frédéric Constant, "The Legal Administration of Qing Mongolia." *Late Imperial China* 40, no. 1 (2019): 154-155.

³³ Patricia Berger, Preserving the Nation: The Political Uses of Tantric Art in China. In *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, 1st ed

⁽Lawrence, KS : Honolulu, Hawaii: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas ; University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 112.

What the Mongolian Kangyur demonstrates is that apart from the Imperial Household Department and the Ministry of Works, temples and monasteries also played a key role in the printing process. This was even more common for smaller texts that would not require extensive budgets. For instance, a new version of a Buddhist guidebook to Mount Wutai and its temples was edited by Blo bzang bstan pa in 1701. The blocks were cut at a government financed monastery at Mount Wutai, the Pusating and later carried to Beijing.³⁴ At the same time, the use of temples as printing workshops does not appear to be a new phenomenon. In fact, the site of the Songzhusi Temple had been the location of printing workshops in Ming dynasty, called Hanjing Chang (Chin.: 漢經厰) (Eng: Han canon) and Fanjing Chang (Chin.: 番經厰) (Eng: Barbarian, Tibetan canons).³⁵

One of the main differences between canon and other Buddhist production was also in terms of its dissemination. Given the scale of the project, the canons were usually printed by the Imperial printing center at Wuyingdian or by big monasteries such as Derge, Narthang or Chone. The books on the other hand were often made at smaller temples and monasteries. Vladimir Uspensky has written that while the temple bookstores in Beijing had a strong market in Mongolia, the copies of the Buddhist canon were not for sale and were only distributed as imperial gifts. Although the canon was fewer in number and not sold, it does not necessarily imply that it did not travel widely. Using the Emperors' wide network, copies of the canon were distributed throughout its geographical reach and also reached Central Tibet.³⁶ For instance, two editions of 1410 Yongle canon was given to Chos rje Kun dga' bkra shis (1349-1425), head of lha khang of Sakya in 1414 and Byams chen chos rje shkya ye shes (1325/54-1435), founder of Sera monastery in 1416.37 Evelyn Rawski had found through a twentieth century survey that Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu Tripitakas were present at eight great temples built by the Qianlong emperor at Rehe.³⁸ The survey also found Narthang imprints of Kangyur and Tengyur at Chengde. This points to the active gift making of canon that was happening across the Inner Asian network and also possibly points to the political currency of canon as gift making among powerful stakeholders.

³⁴ Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in The Governance of The Ch'ing Empire,"30.

³⁵ "Lamas-and-Emperors - Canon Printing," accessed October 24, 2018, <u>https://lamas-and-emperors.wikischolars.columbia.edu/Canon+Printing</u>.

³⁶ Uspensky, "The 'Beijing Lamaist Center' and Tibet in the XVII-Early XX Century," 110.

³⁷ Silk, Suhrllekhāh, 156.

³⁸ Rawski, 7.

The Tibetan Buddhist book market, on the other hand, functioned as a market in its original sense. Expansion of Tibetan Buddhism had already led to a demand for religious works. As Mongol groups were incorporated into the Qing banner system, schools were established in each jasagh, the administrative banner unit and in centers such as Beijing, Urga, Uliastai and Kobdo, students learned to read and write Mongolian and Manchu.³⁹ The Mongolians learned Tibetan during their schooling at Tibetan Buddhist monasteries. Given that there were more than 2,000 monasteries and temples in Mongolia and Qinghai province, the audience for religious books was vast to say the least.⁴⁰ With 221 Mongol language books published, Beijing was the center of Mongol language publishing. The books printed in Songzhusi Temple also had an adjacent bookstore called Tianqi. The Mahakala miao also printed religious texts. Mongolian books, along with Manchu and Chinese were also sold at Longfusi and Huguosi.⁴¹ As the temples and their book stores played a pivotal role in the distribution and sale of these books, they were often bought by either visiting Mongolian lamas for their home monasteries or by Mongol nobles.⁴²

Moving Beyond the Center: Printing outside of Imperial involvement

In studying the Inner Asian printing network, Beijing was undoubtedly an important center. However, not all religious works coming out of Beijing were directly related to the imperial court. Some of the texts found from Tianqi bookstore or the Mahakala miao had individual carver names written on them. Similarly, Lan Wu has shown that important Buddhist texts were also printed in Inner Asian centers farther from Beijing. For instance, In 1721, a monk called Jingjue, who came from a Tusi family in Gansu called the Yang was the abbot of Chone (Chin: Chanding) monastery. During his abbotship, he ordered the production of Kangyur from engraving to final printing. He employed 100 Buddhist scholars, craftsmen, painters and staff.⁴³ The Chone Kangyur took ten years to complete.

Similarly, in Mongolia, Charles Bawden has shown that many monastic printing houses developed that functioned without the patronage of Qing emperors.⁴⁴ In fact, just as the rich Mongol men and nobles bought the books in Beijing, they were the ones who also

³⁹ Rawski, "Book Culture in Qing Inner Asia," 304-305.

⁴⁰ Rawski, 305.

⁴¹ Rawski, 5.

⁴² Rawski, "Book Culture in Qing Inner Asia," 221.

⁴³ Wu, 156.

⁴⁴ Bawden, *Modern History Mongolia*, 23.

patronized local printing. For instance, between 1779 and 1783, Khorchin noblemens raised 140 taels of silver to pay for woodblocks of 130 texts of the collected works of the 18th century cleric called Mergen Gegen.⁴⁵

As historical evidence clearly demonstrates the role of monasteries and temples in facilitating the Inner Asian printing network, it also helps us to reconsider these institutions and shift our perspectives on monasteries, which as Weiwei Luo articulately states, are not merely public spaces and recipients of patronage but also "active agents with political and social power." ⁴⁶ They had their own bookstores, their workshops and often found local sponsors to build their influence as independent institutions. If the monasteries could exercise a certain degree of freedom and power, it also helps us to evaluate the implication of Qing sponsored Buddhist institutions and their impact on imperial authority. While this paper does not focus on construction of monasteries or conversion of existing institutions into Tibetan Buddhist sites, as briefly mentioned in the beginning, the sponsorship of monasteries was another important form of Imperial patronage. Of the 57 Imperial founded monasteries, 25 were of Tibetan Buddhists. The Kangxi emperor built monasteries in Wutaishan, Dolonor and Jehol.⁴⁷ Before him, Hong Taiji had built temples for Mahakala and Kalachakra in Shenyang. After him, Qianlong would build replicas of Potala and Tashilhunpo at Rehe.⁴⁸

Sabine Daringhuas has argued that building of Tibetan monasteries was a way of turning Tibetan eyes towards China by symbolically transgressing cultural boundaries between Inner Asia and China.⁴⁹ Pamela Crossley, on the other hand, has written of imperial sponsorship and regulation as a political strategy to neutralize institutions that could challenge "the ideological, political, or financial preeminence of the court."⁵⁰ Crossley argument rests on the rationale that imperial institution opposed any formation of solidarities based on common features which she lists as below:

⁴⁵ Bawden, 84.

⁴⁶ Weiwei Luo, "Land, Lineage and the Laity: Transactions of a Qing Monastery," *Late Imperial China* 36, no. 1 (June 29, 2015): 88–123, https://doi.org/10.1353/late.2015.0003, 1.

⁴⁷ Xiangyun, "The Qing Court's Tibet Connection: Leang Skya Rol Pa'i Rdo Rje and the Qianlong Emperor," 127.

⁴⁸ James Louis Hevia, "A Multitude of Lords: The Qing Empire, Manchu Rulership and Interdomainal Relations," in *Cherishing Men from Afar [Electronic Resource] : Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 251.

⁴⁹ Dabringhaus, *China and Her Neighbours*, 131.

⁵⁰ Crossley, A Translucent Mirror [Electronic Resource], 228.

"common descent, common age, common gender, common status, common habitat, common religion, common proximity, common skills, common pastimes, common occupation, common avarice, common security, common recreation, common indebtedness, or common dissoluteness."⁵¹

However, in studying the printing activities of monasteries and temples, it in fact shows that the Qing while sponsoring some of these monasteries did not have direct influence on them all the time. Thus, Jonathan Hay's description of Qing imperial authority fits better with the findings of this research. Hay writes that beginning from Kangxi, "imperial authority was reinvested in a mobile center, responsive to emperor's movements and to contingent political needs. Power was free flowing, crystallizing in specific places around the emperor's physical present."52 His research is based on the emergence of multiple palace centers or the use of garden complexes as alternative seats of government.⁵³ Emergence of printing centers outside of the imperial palace in Beijing and in Inner Asian capital illustrate a wide and a complex network. This network was undoubtedly supported by the Qing emperors and spurred by their financial contribution but also had spaces and layers where smaller local powers could engage in printing activities independently.

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⁵¹ Crossley, A Translucent Mirror [Electronic Resource], 228.

⁵² Jonathan Hay, "The Diachronics of Early Qing Visual and Material Culture," *Lynn Struve Ed. The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*, accessed October 16, 2018,

https://www.academia.edu/25757962/The Diachronics of Early Qing Visual a nd Material Culture, 210.

⁵³ Hay, "The Diachronics of Early Qing Visual and Material Culture," 311.

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The Legacy of Bla ma dkar po: An Unsettled Dispute between Chone and Labrang on the Inner Asian Frontier

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Introduction

do smad is a massive geographic region straddling Central Tibet and China proper. From the tenth century onward, the steppes, alpine meadows and valley alluviums nourished several powerful polities that took place through political, military and religious reconfigurations of hundreds of Tibetan tsho ba (group, clan or tribe). Historical accounts concerning such phenomenal powers are found rather scattered. Tibetan monastic narrative usually focuses on the history of eminent dharma and patron lineages instead of local political conflict and social change. Tibetan genealogical records construct idealized spiritual and secular lineages instead of reflecting the exercise of authority in reality. Chinese sources emphasize the Sino-centric political-cultural order on this frontier while paying little attention to the Tibetan management of community and the Tibetan principle of rulership on the ground. Hence, few available works in the academic literature on Mdo smad delve into the interactions between the coexisting regional polities and their respective control of *tsho ba*. However, a confrontation between the Chone Kingdom (1418–1950) and the regional authority centered in Labrang (1709–1950) showcases the complex politico-religious intercourse traversing tsho ba and the two polities' central administrations.

After decades of expansion, the religious influence of Labrang had infiltrated into Chone's jurisdictional borderland by the late nineteenth century.¹ Although the two Tibetan powers abutted each other and maintained an amicable relationship, the death of a lama, who was born in the Chone-Labrang borderland and spectacularly ascended to power in Xinjiang, brought his hometown and the two regimes into an intricate contestation over his material and immaterial legacies. The dispute, which was concealed and reinterpreted by local Tibetan communities, was witnessed by several Gospel missionaries. Their accounts, in addition to diverse genres of historical document,

¹ For Labrang's expansion and the change of religious identity affiliation of *tsho ba* and their communal monasteries from Chone to Labrang, see Marnyi Gyatso, "Home on the Margins: Tsho ba Societies of the Chone Kingdom on the Sino-Tibetan Frontier, 1862-1952," PhD diss., (The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2020), 139–51, 184–94.

illuminate an inter-polity struggle for managing a federation and a monastery caught in-between Chone and Labrang, reveal the initiative of *tsho ba* against temporal and ecclesiastic authorities, and imply the social, political and religious rationales behind the scenario. This article draws attention to the dynamic relations between the politico-religious centers, namely Chone and Labrang, and the eighteen *tsho ba* in the lama's hometown. It examines how an influential religious rulers exerted control over a place, how the confrontation between Chone and Labrang was constrained in a covert and indirect way, and how *tsho ba* as agents of social-political changes navigated themselves on the turbulent Sino-Tibetan frontier from the late Qing to early Republican period.

Politico-Religious Structures of Chone and Labrang

From the eighteenth century onward, Chone and Labrang were the most dominant Tibetan political-religious-trading centers in Mdo smad. The two regimes managed over 1,200 tsho ba that neighbored the diverse Han Chinese, Mongol and Hui Muslim groups in the borderland of today's Gansu, Qinghai and Sichuan.² Although Chone Monastery (Ggon chen dga 'ldan bshad grub gling, Ch. Chanding si 禪 定寺) and Labrang Monastery (Gge Idan bshad sgrub dar rgyas bkra shis gyas su 'khyil ba'i gling) were considered institutional extensions of the Lhasa Dge lugs monastic universities, the Lhasa government had no control of the two religious institutions and local Tibetans. The hierarchical governmental structure in China proper also reached the limit here. Although Chone and Labrang fell under the nominal jurisdictions of Taozhou 洮州 and Xunhua 循化 subprefectures (Ch. ting 廳), which were respectively administered by Lanzhou 蘭州 and Xining 西寧 prefectures (Ch. fu 府), the Chinese administration staffed by circulated officials (Ch. linguan 流官) was never established in either places before the late 1920s.³ The Qing and Republican political influences became even weaker westward. For centuries the region was

² Ma Dengkun and Wanma Duoji, *Kan lho'i bod kyi tsho shog lo rgyus mdor bsdus* (Hezuo: Gannan baoshe, 1994).

³ Tibetan settlements ruled by the Chone kings were under the nominal jurisdiction of Taozhou Garrison 洮州衛 (Sub-prefecture since 1748) from 1418 onward. Tibetan groups in the realm of Labrang were managed by Hezhou 河州 (present-day Linxia 臨夏) in name only. In 1762, the Qing set up Xunhua Subprefecture to govern this region as it was too far away from Hezhou. From 1823, Xunhua was subordinated to Xining. Zhang Yandu, *Taozhou tingzhi* (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1970), 838, 842. Gong Jinghan, *Xunhua tingzhi* (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1968), 20–1.

governed by local Tibetan lay and religious authorities with various titles.⁴

Undeniably, the official recognitions from Lhasa and Beijing were crucial for frontier rulers to accumulate politico-religious capital. It is also noteworthy that secular and ecclesiastic powers were often associated with each other and not strictly distinguished by Tibetans.⁵ Both regimes promoted the centralized Dge lugs monastic education, institutionalized the hierarchical relation between central and communal monasteries with the prime-subordinate/mother-son monastic system (ma bu dgon gyi 'brel ba), and constructed the charismatic lineage to consolidate temporal and spiritual rule. Hence, Chone and Labrang are typically considered theocracies (chos srid zung 'brel) differing only in that Chone's secular power outshined its religious authority, while Labrang's religious power was absolutely dominant.⁶ This observative assessment, however, is quite overgeneralized. As this article will illustrate, the nature of the power held by the Chone and Labrang ruling lineages, respectively, differed in nature. They rose to power in disparate circumstances and set up dissimilar political infrastructures. Even though Buddhism was inseparable from the formation of local authorities, monastic leaders possessed varying political statuses and worked with lay officials differently. In contrast to what has been identified by Yudru Tsomu as the three categories of Kham polities, namely, the merging of religion with politics, the alliance between secular and religious powers, and the share of authority by secular ruler and monastic institution, Chone and Labrang offer two additional types of political structures in the eastern Tibetan Plateau.7

⁴ The titles include *rgyal po, dpon po, dgon po, sa skyong, nang so, mkhan chen, mkhan po* and *bla dpon* in Tibetan, and *zhihuishi* 指揮使, *zhihui qianshi* 指揮僉事, *tusi* 土司, *tuguan* 土官, *qianhu* 千戶, *baihu* 百戶, *dugang* 都綱, *senggang* 僧綱 and *sengzheng* 僧正 in Chinese. See Gray Tuttle, "Pattern Recognition: Tracking the Spread of the Incarnation Institution through Time and across Tibetan Territory," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, 38 (2017): 29–64; "An Overview of Amdo (Northeastern Tibet) Historical Polities."

⁵ Joseph Fletcher suggested that "religion in Tibetan eyes was not clearly distinguishable from political allegiances." Based on this point, Paul Nietupski elaborates how the Qing-Labrang relation was perceived by Tibetans. See *Labrang Monastery: A Tibetan Buddhist Community on the Inner Asian Borderlands, 1709–1958* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2011), xvi–xvii.

⁶ Yang Shihong, Zhuoni Yang tusi zhuanlüe (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1989), 1.

⁷ Yudru Tsomu categorizes the Kham political systems into three precise types whereby the ultimate power respectively lay in the hands of a religious leader, secular ruler, or both. See *The Rise of Gönpo Namgyel in Kham: The Blind Warrior of Nyarong* (New York, London: Lexington Books, 2015), 8–9.

By obtaining ratification from the Ming-Qing emperors, sponsoring eminent lamas, expanding Chone Monastery and founding the Chone mkhan po lineage, the Chone kings (mgon po/rgyal po) or Yang chieftains (Ch. Yang tusi 楊土司) steadily ascended to power in the Klu chu (Ch. Taohe 洮河) and 'Brug chu (Ch. Bailongjiang 白龍江) valleys. From the 1680s, they superposed a central political structure upon a layer of local authorities and exerted control over six hundred tsho ba in the present-day southern Gansu. This system had a secular government comprising the yongs 'dus Palace, also known as Chone chieftain yamen (Ch. tusi yamen 土司衙門), twelve inner base-villages (nang grangs ka ben gnyis), four outer base-villages (phyi grangs ka bzhi) and forty-eight banners (dmag ru, Ch. qi 旗). The royal lineage's estates were concentrated in the base-villages. A banner comprised six to twentyfive settlements known by locals as village (sde ba) or tsho ba. It consisted of one, two or three sub-units. Local Tibetans used different names, which combined khag, tsho ba or sde ba with number, to call their sub-units.8 In addition, the lay power was secured by a religious administration constituted of the Senggang vamen (Ihag gi nang), Parish-Assembly Office (spyi khang, Ch. shangshulou 尚書樓) and estates (nang chen or bla brang) of eighteen reincarnations (sprul sku) in Chone Monastery. The abbot or *mkhan po* position at the apex of the religious administration was held by either the king or his younger brother who utterly appointed the dharma throne holders (khri pa) to communal monasteries. The abbot managed four colleges (grwa tshang), seventeen religiously affiliated communities (chos sde), fifty-four son/subordinate monasteries (bu dgon) and several dozens of hermitages (ri kbrod). This political structure is characterized as the merging of politics with religion in which the royal family held the ultimate secular power and relatively dynamic authority in the religious domain. It had a centralized secular government and a loose religious administration, supervising and working with *tsho ba* leaders.⁹

⁸ Each banner roughly coincides, in terms of its population and territory, with what are today recognized as town (Ch. *xiang*).

⁹ Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (Lanzhou, Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982), 660–66; Ma and Wanma, *Kan lho'i bod kyi tsho shog lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, 265–314. For a description of Chone's politico-religious system, see Marnyi Gyatso, "Home on the Margins," 81–95.



Map 1. Chone and Labrang in Cultural Tibet

In Labrang, the reincarnation lineage of the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa received recognition from the Dalai and Panchen lamas and gained political and financial support from the Manchu emperors. With the patronage of Henan Mongol princes and Tibetan local chiefs, the First 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa rdo rje (1642–1721) built a monastery on the northern bank of the Bsang chu River (Ch. Daxiahe 大夏河). A monastic bureaucracy on the model of monastic universities in Lhasa was adopted at the outset for the purpose of internal governance. From the mid-eighteenth century on, the 'Jam dbyangs lineage allied with hundreds of *tsho ba* between the Dgu chu (Ch. Longwuhe) valley and northern Rnga ba (Ch. Aba 阿垻) grassland, forming a religious realm with over a hundred subordinate monasteries and thirty reincarnations' estates. According to Paul Nietupski and others' investigation, these *tsho ba*, which formed villages or larger federative units/military alliances (*shog pa* or *shog kha*, nomadic in most cases),

were arranged into divine communities (*lha sde*), human communities (mi sde) and religiously affiliated communities based on their relations with Labrang Monastery. The religious, political and military affairs of a divine community were managed by a Labrang-appointed administrator (sku tshab). A human community usually had its own lay or religious leader, and managed local affairs without direct interference of Labrang. The community occasionally donated money and goods to Labrang. For a religiously affiliated community, its communal monastery was often a subordinate/son institute of Labrang, the prime/mother monastery (ma dgon) that supervised local monastic education and religious affairs.¹⁰ Up to the 1890s, the monastic bureaucracy had evolved into a complex administrative body that managed the monastery's estates, arranged regional Buddhist dharma education, designated throne holders, maintained reincarnation lineages and exercise authority over lay people. Labrang's political system was based on the alliance between local secular and religious powers, which was supervised by the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa. It was an ecclesiastic polity resembling a mandala structure.¹¹

Speaking of the governmental systems, Chone and Labrang had few similarities. The Chone king inherited his official title and held a military position in the Qing bureaucracy. The yongs 'dus Palace was designed like a Chinese sub-prefectural yamen. The bureaucratic apparatus consisted of the secretariat, revenue and administrative departments that were respectively in charge of 1) advisory and clerical works, 2) revenue management, 3) and tax collection, militia conscription and judicial issue. The advisor (Ch. shiye 師爺), the head of the secretariat department, was a reputable Chinese intellectual from a near county. He and his clerks were responsible for drafting official documents. The revenue department was staffed by the superior manager (Ch. da zongguan 大總管), second manager or treasurer (Ch. er zongguan 二總管) and third manager or chamberlain (Ch. san zongguan 三總管). They decided issues concerning fiscal, trade and the royal revenue. Employees in the administrative department were in five ranks. A superior headman (Ch. da toumu 大頭目) and a vice superior headman (Ch. fu toumu 副頭目) in the highest two ranks took charge of most administrative and judicial issues in the kingdom. The thirdrank official was a chief messenger (Ch. chuanhao toumu 傳號頭目) who

¹⁰ Here I borrow Nietupski's translation of the terms used in Labrang. Labrang Monastery, 66–80. Ma and Wanma, Kan lbo'i bod kyi tsho shog lo rgyus mdor bsdus, 165–264. Li Anzhai, History of Tibetan Religion: A Study in the Field, translated by Chie Nakane (Tokyo: The University of Tokyo, 1982), 8–16.

¹¹ Ma and Wanma, *Kan lho'i bod kyi tsho shog lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, 165–264. For considering Tibet as a "galactic polity," a metaphoric description of polity that resembles mandala structure, see Geoffrey Samuel, *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 62.

supervised three messengers to deliver messages, collect information and issue orders on behalf of the king, and administered two wardens (Ch. bantou 班頭) to manage the yamen prison with ten jailers (Ch. banyi 班役). The fourth-rank officials consisted of thirty-two accountants (grangs shes). They were also called banner-chiefs (Ch. *gizhang* 旗長) and had the power to handle taxation, lawsuit and militia affairs for the forty-eight banners. The sixteen minor headmen (Ch. xiaotou 小頭) of base-villages were the fifth-rank officials. They dealt with communal affairs and assisted the five branches of royal lineage to run estates in the base-villages. All Tibetan officials were selected by the king from capable men of the twelve inner-base villages. In addition, there were seventy-two local managers (tsung gon, Ch. zongguan 總管), who were originally local leaders and recognized by the king, worked for banner-chiefs to manage affairs of the seventy-two subunits in the forty-eight banners. Local managers, who did not receive any forms of salary from the king, were regarded as local representatives instead of yamen officials.¹²

The situation was more complicated in Labrang, as Li Anzhai, Ma Dengkun, Wanma Duoji and Paul Nietupski illustrate in detail, the political structures were dynamic and full of local variations across the expanding ecclesiastic realm of the 'Jam dbyangs lineage. Labrang exerted power in cases of religious affair, legal disputation, tax collection, corvée levying and militia enlistment primarily through the Central Office (vig tshang) of the aforementioned complex administrative body. The main estate of the 'Jam dbyangs was managed by his chief attendant (sku bcar mkhan po), treasure (phyag mdzod), internal affairs manager (nang mdzod) and tutor (yongs 'dzin). Under them were the representatives (sku tshab) nominated from the eighty monkattendants (zhabs phyi) and assigned for three-year to manage divine communities. In addition, reincarnate lamas at Labrang were arranged into four ranks based on their achievements and influences. They were known as golden throne reincarnations (gser khri), teacher/vows-giver reincarnations (mkhan po), abbot reincarnations (dgon bdag bla ma) and normal reincarnations (sprul sku). With few exceptions, they owned estates (nang chen) at Labrang and properties elsewhere. According to the monastic regulation, these estates were managed by varying numbers of attendant of the sprul sku without any interference by the main estate. In each divine community, the representative assigned by

¹² Although messengers were likely unranked officials, they were considered more powerful than banner-chiefs by local people. The forty-eight banners were "eighteen banners within the pass" ('og sgang mar nang dmag ru bcu brgyad), "twelve banners' beyond the pass" ('og sgang mar nang dmag ru bcu gnyis), "Brug chu four banners" (rol bad mag ru bzhi), "Upper The bo six banners" (the bo stod ma dmag ru drug) and "Lower The bo eight banners" (the bo smad ma dmag ru brgyad). See *Zhuoni wenshi ziliao*, vol.1, 4–6; vol.3, 32–5; Zhang Yandu, *Taozhou tingzhi*, 273, 943–51.

Labrang managed most communal affairs for three years. In human communities, *tsho ba* were the noncompulsory sponsors of Labrang and its lamas. Local secular authorities held substantial power. Labrang might ratify hereditary headmen or *gowa* (*'go pa* or *'go ba*) in human communities but did not appoint representatives to directly handle local affairs. The religiously affiliated communities sent local reincarnations and monks to study at Labrang and accepted the throne holders assigned by the 'Jam dbyangs.¹³

Apart from the central administrations, the mandala-like structures of local politico-religious authorities were identical in Chone and Labrang. On the one hand, for the physical distances between the central administration and different *tsho ba*, the direct and systematic control was largely restrained within a day's horse-riding radius. Tsho ba in this category were the base-villages of Chone or divine communities of Labrang. They were bonded to the lay or monastic estates. On the other hand, in areas reckoned as a three-day to oneweek horse-riding trip, local leaders and communal councils either managed their tsho ba independently, or cooperated with expatriate officials such as Chone banner-chiefs and Labrang representatives. Local leaders obtained power through inheritance, election and selection. They were either nobles, hereditary leaders, elected prestigious figures or appointed and served in rotation. Normally, the mandala-like structure of authorities consisted of chiefs (*dbon po*) and minor chiefs (dbon phran, nomadic gur gang bo and sedentary ming btags) of tsho ba, religious mediators and lords (mgon po) of larger units, elder (rgan po) councils of temporary or fixed federative units such as shog pa and shog kha, as well as leaders of seasonal organizations like the encampment-circle (ru skor) and mutually obligated communal helping (*u lag*) group. They practically coped with various local matters.¹⁴

Tsho ba and Regional Rulers

Systematic research on *tsho ba* is scarce in comparison with its significance to understand Mdo smad Tibetan societies. Limited historical references and ethnographic data obstructs contemporary scholars from precisely examining this organization. The scattered

¹³ Nietupski, *Labrang Monastery*, 60–70. Ma and Wanma, *Kan lho'i bod kyi tsho shog lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, 165–264. Li Anzhai, *History of Tibetan Religion*, 35–42. For the detailed account of the reincarnation lineages at Labrang Monastery, see Zha zha, *Labulengsi huofo shixi* (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 2000).

¹⁴ Based on field research in Taozhou and near Amdo Tibetan areas during 1923– 1927 and 1929–1935, the pioneering missionary anthropologist Robert Ekvall depicted the social organizations and political structures of the Tibetan communities in the Gansu-Amdo borderland during the 1920s and early 1930s in detail. See *Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 4–82. For a survey on Amdo nomadic social organization, see Matthias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet* (Wien: Verlag Herold, 1949), 231.

accounts up to date depict an oversimplified, idealized and inconsistent picture of *tsho ba*. What is *tsho ba*? When non-Tibetan anthropologists and historians raise this question, their informants often give descriptive answers mixing with the origin legends, migration histories and functions of *tsho ba*. These responses corroborate neither premodern Tibetan accounts nor historical works produced in the twentieth century. It is not easy to find written records showing that *tsho ba* comprised related patriarchal/matriarchal lineages, or households shared same founding ancestor. Few ethnographic data conform to the Tibetan conclusion that *tsho ba* is clan and the membership is primarily assigned through kinship.

In general, historians and anthropologists translate *tsho ba* loosely as lineage and clan, or cautiously as political unit, social group and territorial division.¹⁵ As some scholars notice that the Tibetan communitarian base of territory and practices of intimate relation in Mdo smad resemble a tribal society, they regard *tsho ba* as tribe.¹⁶ Since

¹⁵ For a review of the different translations of the term "tsho ba," see Reinier Langelaar, "Descent and Houses in Rebgong (Reb gong): Group Formation and Rules of Recruitment among Eastern Tibetan tsho ba," in Mapping Amdo: Dynamics of Change, edited by Jarmila Ptáčková and Adrian Zens (Prague: Oriental Institute CAS, 2017), 155-83; "Historical and Social Organisation on the Eastern Tibetan Plateau: The Territorial Origins and Etymology of tsho-ba," Inner Asia 21 (2019): 8. For accounts on tsho ba as descent-based groups, see Katia Buffetrille, "Some Remarks on Mediums: The Case of the lha pa of the Musical Festival (Glu rol) of Sog ru (A mdo)," Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia 1, no.2 (2008): 15-6; Samten Karmay, "The Social Organization of Ling and the Term phu nu in the Gesar Epic," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 58, no.2 (1995): 303. Emily Yeh, "Tibetan Range Wars: Spatial Politics and Authority on the Grasslands of Amdo," Development and Change 34, no.3 (2003): 510. For considering tsho ba as clan, see Robert Ekvall, Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 79. For studies regard *tsho ba* as social groups and territorial units, see Graham Clarke, "Aspects of the Social Organisation of Tibetan Pastoral Communities," in Tibetan Studies, Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989, (Narita, Japan, 1992), 399; Stobs stag lha, "A Multi-Ethnic Village in Northeast Tibet: History, Ritual, and Daily Life in Chu cha," Asian Highlands Perspectives 24 (2013): 33. Marie-Paule Hille, Bianca Horlemann and Paul Nietupski suggest that more detailed local ethnographic research needs to be done instead of simply translating the term. See Muslims in Amdo Tibetan Society: Multidisciplinary Approaches (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), 4-5.

¹⁶ For studies that generally treat *tsho ba* as tribe, see Fernanda Pirie, "Feuding, Mediation and the Negotiation of Authority among the Nomads of Eastern Tibet," *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Paper* 72 (2005): 10. Lawrence Epstein and Peng Wenbin, "Ritual, Ethnicity and Generational Identity," in *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*, edited by Melvyn Goldstein and Matthew Kapstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 120–138. Nancy Levine, "From Nomads to Ranchers: Managing Pasture Among Ethnic Tibetans in Sichuan," in *Development, Society, and Environment in Tibet. Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, edited by Graham Clarke (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998), 69–76.

the twentieth century, Chinese scholars under the influences of social Darwinism and Marxism replaced the terms clan (Ch. zu 族) and federation (Ch. bu 部) with tribe (Ch. buluo 部落). The term connotes a strong sense of primitiveness and backwardness in the Chinese ethnopolitical context. Some Tibetan scholars in China also use "buluo" to translate *tsho ba, tsho shog* and *tsho khag.*¹⁷ In addition, Langelaar employs Lévi-Strauss' concept of "house society" (*société à maisons*) to analyze the internal structures and relations of Reb gong Tibetan *tsho ba*. Focusing on household (*khang*), the most basic social unit, Langelaar demonstrates that *tsho ba* is social networks overarching households.¹⁸ In short, the overall academic debate is about the presentation of *tsho ba* as a unilineal descent-based unit, territorially defined unit or village intra-network centered unit.

Based on my fieldwork in Kan lho (Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, it seems that unilineal descent group(s) formed the base of tsho ba. A tsho ba consisted of several to around thirty households (tentholds in nomadic area). The households identified themselves as being descended from a legendary ancestor or brothers serving as frontier soldiers of the Tibetan Empire. Aside from such fictious kinship, within a *tsho ba*, there is a full category of terms for inter-household relation to explain Tibetan epistemologies of inclusion and exclusion. It is evident for all members that agnatic sibling (sha nye, sha khrag, spun mched and gnyen nye) and reciprocal assistant (*u lag*) relations among households played a crucial role in forming sub-tsho ba organization-group of related houses (tshang). The subgroup was critical for related households to organize agricultural or pastoral production. Households of a subgroup usually shared the same bone-lineage (rus pa) and bore the same lineage name (rus ming). They worshipped the same protector deity (srung lha) and the same mountain gods (yul lba). The lineage origin, mostly idealized, is typically traced back to the oldest four/six ancestral clans and their branches as referenced in Tibetan imperial histories from the seventh to ninth centuries. Keeping these mundane and divine relations alive was extremely important to define tsho ba membership.¹⁹ Through

¹⁷ See Chen Qingying ed., Zangzu buluo zhidu yanjiu (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2002), 1–21. For a brief comment on the Chinese translation of *tsho ba*, see Marnyi Gyatso, "Home on the Margins," 29–36. The two well-known books about *tsho ba* in Mdo smad and particularly Kan lho by Zhouta ('Brug thar) are mainly based on the accounts of Ma Dengkun and Wanma Duoji. The authors also consider Tibetan local communities as tribes. See Zhouta, *Mdo smad Rma khug tsha 'gram rong 'brog yul gru'i sngon byung mes po'i ngag gi lo rgyus deb ther chen mo zhes bya ba bzhugs so* (Pe cing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005); *Gannan zangzu buluo shehui lishi yu wenhua yanjiu* (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2013).

¹⁸ Langelaar, "Descent and Houses in Rebgong (Reb gong)," 156–79. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Way of the Masks* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982), 173– 74.

¹⁹ Marnyi Gyatso, "Home on the Margins," 63–80. For studies examining the *rus*, see Jonathan Samuels, "Are We Legend? Reconsidering Clan in Tibet," *Revue d'Etudes*

kinship, marriage, religion, political alliance and other strategies for resource management and self-preservation, subgroups were overarched by the *tsho ba*. When it comes to inter-*tsho ba* feuds, political matters and religious affairs, *tsho ba* served as a basic organization. In the moment of a regional war, the *shog pa* of several *tsho ba* became a basic fighting unit.²⁰

Although territoriality was significant for *tsho ba*, the relationship between tsho ba and territory was not unalterable. Social unrest and natural catastrophe oftentimes disturbed the stability of the tie between tsho ba and land. A tsho ba could move to a new place, recruit new households and even restructure (merging or dividing) itself after conquering adjacent tsho ba or being defeated in feud. This practice of changing alliance from one *tsho ba* or *shog pa* to another also applied to subgroup and single household. Turbulent nature of the Sino-Tibetan-Muslim-Mongol frontier led to the fluid relation between tsho ba and land. As Hans Stübel found in Dme bo, which was common across Mdo smad, "often a certain family strives to shift from a less influential group to a more influential one; they can do this by presenting the group leader and several respected members of the group with a sheep and several chin (*jin* 斤) of wine and inviting them to a meal."²¹ In general, tsho ba in agricultural area was more stable than those in pastoral area. External causes such as a regional ruler's suppression, Mongol invasion, Manchu incorporation, Tibetan-Muslim conflict and Chinese integration all triggered territorial changes and internal reconfigurations of tsho ba in Mdo smad. Territory was defined by not only the practical management of land, water, forest and pasture, but also the relations with territorial deities who were relevant to the communal good. Consequently, reserving the average number of households and maintaining diverse relations with the immaterial

Tibétaines 37 (2016), 293–314. Nancy Levine, "The Theory of Rü Kinship, Descent and Status in a Tibetan Society," in *Asian Highland Societies in Anthropological Perspective*, edited by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1981), 52–78.

²⁰ For how the small units were organized into *tsho ba* or lager alliance in Rma lho and Songpan, see Dpal ldan bkra shis and Kevin Stuart, "Perilous Novelties: The Amdo Tibetan Klu-rol Festival in Gling-rgyal Village," *Anthropos* 93 (1998): 38–40; Kang Xiaofei and Donald S. Sutton, *Contesting the Yellow Dragon: Ethnicity, Religion, and the State in the Sino-Tibetan Borderland* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 25–6. Jack Patrick Hayes, *A Change in Worlds on the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands: Politics, Economies, and Environments in Northern Sichuan* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 22–3, 37–8. Emily Yeh notices that there are clans overarching *tsho ba*. See "Tibetan Range Wars," 510.

²¹ Hans Stübel, *The Menu Fantzu: A Tibetan Tribe of Kansu* (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1958), 56. For a similar account on Rma chu and Mgo log Tibetans, see Fernanda Pirie, "Feuding, Mediation and the Negotiation of Authority among the Nomads of Eastern Tibet," 12.
world were crucial for a *tsho ba* to bond with new land and reestablish territoriality after relocation.²²

The notion that territory belonging to a regional ruler such as the Chone king or the 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa, which was an assumption of Chinese frontier officials and gazetteer compilers, was uncommon among Tibetans. Similar to other Tibetan frontier polities, the political sway of Chone and Labrang was defined by a center instead of a fixed border. Spatial distance and mountainous topology were the major obstacles for the development of systematic and centralized control. The power of a ruler was based on his governance of, or broadly speaking, relationship with *tsho ba* rather than the size of territory. The ruler's influence on the number of tsho ba was pivotal to determine the scale of his realm.²³ To be specific, the relation between regional politico-religious center and tsho ba in Chone and Labrang was usually fourfold. First, tsho ba accepted the control of a regional ruler to receive military or political protection against Mongol raiders and other Tibetan marauders, as well as ward off Manchu, Chinese and Muslim integrations. Second, *tsho ba* joined the Chone banner system/Labrang alliance to benefit from trade that was managed by the ruler. Market activity was organized outside Chone and Labrang monasteries, Tibetans also combined trade with religious purposes. Third, tsho ba often forged ties with the ruler through patronizing a prestigious lama and branch monastery to fulfill the pragmatic and karma-oriented needs of rituals. Fourth, some tsho ba were absorbed into the regional polity through military conquest. The establishment of these relations were on the basis of Tibetan social, political and religious norms, historical precedents and local practices. Both regional rulers and tsho ba acknowledged certain rules. Leaving communal affairs in the hands of *tsho ba* leaders and elder councils was the principal base for regional authorities to exercise rulership. With the exception of large-scale range wars, open challenge to Chone/Labrang regime or revolts against Manchu-Chinese authorities, the regional rulers would not directly meddle in tsho ba matters. Even in extreme cases, the highest rulers more often than not were mediators instead of arbitrators.²⁴

²² For specific cases, see Marnyi Gyatso, "Home on the Margins," chapter 2–4.

²³ Many early twentieth century travelers noticed this situation. See Ekvall, *Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border*; Joseph Rock, "The Amney Ma-Chen Range and Adjacent Regions: A Monographic Study," in IsMEO 12 (1956); Reginald Farrer, *On the Eaves of the World* (London: Edward Arnold, 1916), vol.1, 164; Eric Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in North-West China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 134.

²⁴ This is elaborated in my dissertation. See Marnyi Gyatso, "Home on the Margins," 68–100. For the Qinghai Mongols' influence on Mdo smad, see Marnyi Gyatso, "The Ming, Tibetan and Mongol Interactions in Shaping the Ming Fortification, Multicultural Society and Natural Landscape in Mdo smad, 1368–1644." In *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 55 (2020): 371–74. For an analysis of Tibetans' different needs of rituals, see Samuel, *Civilized Shamans*, 177–212.

The relation of regional ruler and *tsho ba* was conditioned by the long self-ruled character of *tsho ba* and federative units in Mdo smad. Since households of a *tsho ba* had more or less equal social, economic and political status, in spite of the regional variations, the ruler had to pay attention to the self-managing power of *tsho ba* members as a whole. The collective will and action of a tsho ba or federative unit were not neglectable. Serious conflict between local alliance and regional ruler was not rare. Thus, the ruler-tsho ba relation was not necessarily unilateral and dominated by regional ruler. A tsho ba could separate itself from a military alliance, political federation, religious sovereign and kingdom according to the traditional norm and communal decision.²⁵ To sum up, *tsho ba* was the basic Tibetan social, religious, political, economic and territorial organization in Mdo smad. It affected the formation of societal structure, political system and local politics on the Tibetan frontier. It was a non-negligible agent of local social and political change.

1. The Rise of Bla ma dkar po Kun dga' rgyal mtshan

Bla ma dkar po Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1835-95) was born into a household of Zhing khams, one of the eighteen tsho ba along Chas pa valley (Chas dpal zhing or Chab bu gshis, Ch. Chebagou 車巴溝/ 扯霸溝) in the northwestern corner of the Chone Kingdom. The eighteen tsho ba constituted two semi-pastoral federative units: Ya 'gag and Ma 'gag.²⁶ Like elsewhere in Mdo smad, such units co-organized militias in moments of crisis and collaborated to tackle religious affairs. Meanwhile, inter-tsho ba friction was quite common. Around the 1700s, the eleventh Chone ruler Dmag zor mgon po (Yang Rusong 楊汝松, b. 1686) incorporated these tsho ba into Chone and organized them into one of the forty-eight banners. Chas pa Tibetans became the king's subjects (mi ser, Ch. baixing 百姓). In Kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar, the hagiography of Bla ma dkar po justified by Tibetan Buddhist values, the author Skal bzang legs bshad indicates that Bla ma dkar po's parents, who were devout Dge lugs pa followers, sent him to Chone Monastery in 1843. A local tale suggests that he ran away from his home after injuring a neighbor's vak with a spear. As the case was implicated in a three-year feud, he hid at Yid dga' chos gling Hermitage to avoid punishment. Afterwards, he became a disciple of Dge shes

²⁵ Kang and Sutton, *Contesting the Yellow Dragon*, 25. Pirie, "Feuding, Mediation and the Negotiation of Authority among the Nomads of Eastern Tibet," 12. Stübel, *The Menn Fantzu*, 56.

²⁶ The eighteen *tsho ba* were Brgya chad, Rme ru nin pa, Rme ru srib pa, Dga' tshang, Ske rgas and Yul dza tshe in Ya 'gag unit, and Dgon pa, Rgod tsang, Zhing khams, Gong gcod, Brag rtsa, Mra rtsa, Lung mdo, Mdo khog, Bya bug, Phan khyim, A rgyu nang and Stag 'gag in Ma 'gag unit.

Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin and received elementary monastic training at the hermitage.²⁷

At that time, Chone Monastery's Eighty-eighth khri pa Mkhyen rab bstan pa, who was later recognized as the First Dbyi li tshang, established the patron-priest relation with Oirats Mongols in Dzungaria 準噶爾, or Lower Mongol (smad phyogs sog yul). He made routine trips to preach and collect donations in northwestern Xinjiang (Lower Mongol). In 1847, Bla ma dkar po was selected as an attendant to the aged Dbyi li tshang and to visit Hoboksar (Ch. Huobokesaili 霍 博克賽里). In contrast to the time-consuming trip, his stay in Lower Mongol was brief. He returned to Chone and started to learn Tibetan medicine and healing rituals.²⁸ At this point, the Second Tshe smon gling ho thog thu 呼圖克圖 Ngag dbang 'jam dpal tshul khrims rgya mtsho (1792-1860), who was then serving as the Seventy-first Dga' ldan khri pa and the regent of Tibet, was deposed from all of his positions by the Daoguang 道光 Emperor (1782-1850). He was ordered to spend the rest of his life under surveillance in Chone.²⁹ Bla ma dkar po did not have any meaningful contact with the Second Tshe smon gling yet. In 1852, he embarked on the long journey again and travelled extensively in today's Ili 伊犁 and Altai 阿爾泰. He received abundant alms from two Uriankhai 烏梁海 Mongol banners and became known for magical rituals and efficacious Avalokiteshvara pills (mani rilbu). The healing skills brought him great fame after he stemmed the plague in Tarbagatai (Ch. Tacheng 塔城), the treaty port opened for Russia at the western edge of Qing China. The local jasagh (Ch. zhasake 扎薩克) became his sponsor and Mongols referred to him as the "White Master" (Tsha gan dge rgan). However, because of the

²⁷ Based on *Rje btsun byams pa mthu stobs kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar*, Lobsang Yongdan gives a detailed chronological description on his life experience and the invention of a new reincarnation lineage by war. Here I use, in addition to the hagiographic account, Qing official documents and various local records to supplement Lobsang Yongdan's paper, illustrate his life experience in Mdo smad and introduce the legacy he left to his hometown. See Lobsang Yongdan, "The Invention of a Tibetan Lama General: a Biographical Account of Bla ma dkar po (1835–1895)," 67–92.

²⁸ Skal bzang legs bshad, *Rje btsun Byams pa mthu stobs Kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar* (hereafter *Rnam thar*, Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 1994), 249–268. Gannan zhou wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui, *Rje btsun byams pa mthu stobs kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar nor bu'i 'khri shing las mdor bsdus khrigs chags su bsdebs pa bzhugs so* (hereafter *Rnam thar nor bu)*, 7–8; *Lama garao huofo zhuanlüe*, 4. This version of Bla ma dkar po's biography is extracted from *Rnam thar*, and trimmed by the *wenshi ziliao* committee. For a brief account on the Dbyi li tshang, see Danqu, *Zhuoni zangchuan fojiao lishi wenhua* (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 2007), 197, 227. His source is from the co-authored book of Luosang Dunzhu and Bingjue Ciren, *Anduo gucha chandingsi* (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1995).

²⁹ *Qingshilu (QSL)*, Xuanzong, j410.5a–7a; j414.2a; Wenzong, j142.13a–b; j154.6b.

Khoja Wali Khan's attack of Kashgar 喀什 (1851) and the increasingly strong presence of the Russian Empire along the border, tensions were high among the Manchu officials, Mongols, Russians and Kazakhs in Dzungaria in the early 1850s. Bla ma dkar po returned to Chone again for safety consideration.³⁰

Neither the hagiography nor Chas pa oral history gives too much detail about his experience in Chone, where his reputation among Mongols could easily incur critics from the local sangha with respect to his poor monastic training. Bla ma dkar po tried to elevate his position in the monastic community, as his biography shows, by building personal connections with famous lamas in Mdo smad. The narrow path for him to elevate his religious status was through advanced training, which required a series of ordinations.³¹ He managed to take the full vows of bhikkhu (*dge slong*) from the Second Tshe smon gling. Afterwards, he spent near ten years in Chone Monastery and a Chas pa hermitage, and joined Medical College (*sman pa grwa tshang*) of Labrang. He seemed to be uninterested in scholastic, philosophical or esoteric training. Whilst, he was incredibly sensitive to regional political circumstances.³²

In 1862, the Old Teaching (Gedium, Ch. laojiao 老教) and New Teaching (Jahrivva, Ch. xinjiao 新教) Muslim groups clashed in Xunhua (Ya rdzi), a subprefecture to the north of Labrang. As the Qing officials juristically discriminated against the Jahriyya followers and suppressed them with a joint force of official troops, Tibetan cavalries and Chinese militias (Ch. mintuan 民團), the Salar 撒拉 and Huasi menhuan 華寺門宦 Muslims began to massacre their non-Muslim neighbors. Worse yet, the Shaanxi Hui revolt quickly spread to Gansu. Rumors poured into the Sino-Tibetan borderland and caused extreme social anxiety. The interethnic tension simmering in Minzhou 岷州 (Minxian 岷縣), Taozhou, Lintao 臨洮 (Didao 狄道) and Hezhou soon evolved into vengeful reciprocal massacres. Nonetheless, in Xinjiang, the three assaults of the Khoja Wali Khan against Kashgar were defeated by the Qing force. Bla ma dkar po thereupon took up a mission to seek patrons for Labrang in Dzungaria and departed for the seemingly peaceful Xinjiang on the third time. In late 1863, he arrived at Tarbagatai and ushered his spectacular military-

³⁰ For the Khoja Khan's invasion of Kashgar and the Qing vengeance, see James Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (London: Hurst & Co, 2007), 115. Christian Tyler, *Wild West China: The Taming of Xinjiang* (London: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 68–9.

³¹ In Dge lugs monasteries, the basic requirement of each stage of monastic training strictly corresponds to the specific stage of one's ordination.

³² In accordance with his letter, Lobsang Yongdan suggests that Bla ma dkar po was a good writer. See "The Invention of a Tibetan Lama General," 72.

political ascendency along with the full eruption of the Dungan (Hui-Muslim) Revolt.³³

In 1864, Hui refugees who fled from Shaan-Gan brought Huielimination (Ch. *miehui* 滅回) stories to their Xinjiang compatriots. Many believed that the Qing court instructed Xinjiang officials to massacre Hui people as a precautionary measure. Their panic rapidly flared up revolts to forestall Qing garrisons across southern Xinjiang. Being provoked by the Islam-extermination (Ch. *miejiao* 滅教) tales, the Turkish-speaking Muslims of Kuqa 庫車, Urumqi 烏魯木齊, Aksu 阿克蘇, Kashgar and Yarkant 莎車 strengthened local Hui insurrections. Meanwhile, the situation in northern Xinjiang was at stake. On the excuse of the ineptitude of the Qing in suppressing rebellion and protecting foreign traders, a Russian force attacked the Qing army in Dzungaria, looted Tarbagatai and sequentially besieged Ili. When the Qing and Russian plenipotentiaries finalized the Treaty of Tarbagatai 塔城議定書, local Muslims were bracing for revolt.³⁴

In the Chinese New Year of 1865, Tarbagatai Muslims killed the Manchu amban, looted the weapon depot and besieged the Qing garrison soldiers and non-Muslim civilians within the city. Witnessing ruinous battle scenes, Bla ma dkar po gave up the bhikkhu vows in front of the Maitreya statue at Zh'i ne yang Monastery (possibly a Chinese Buddhist temple) and organized a militia to counterattack the insurgents. Due to the long distance between Xinjiang and Beijing, the court confirmed the siege of Tarbagatai three months later. By then, Bla ma dkar po had raised the siege and rescued the garrison troop. Learning his success in battle, the emperor entitled him "ho thog thu." Considering the Qing force in Xinjiang almost collapsed, the court instructed him to command non-Muslim militias. The court may be unclear about the secular identity of Bla ma dkar po since the ho thug thu title was only granted to the most outstanding Tibetan and Mongolian reincarnate lamas. This unusual reward likely followed the precedent of the Dbyi li tshang, who shortly acted as the leading commander when the Ili general 伊犁將軍 died in the critical moment of the War of the Seven Khojas 七和卓之亂 three decades ago.35

³³ Yang Yuxiu et al., *Pinghui zhi* (Guangxu jichou edition, 1889), j3, 1a–2b. *QSL*, Wenzong, j347.15a–b; Muzong, j16.11b–12b; for local officials' "faults", see j18.32a–34a.

³⁴ Skal bzang legs bshad, *Rnam thar*, 284–334. Ming Xu, "Zoubao hasake defang 奏 報哈薩克地方," 4 June 1863, National Palace Museum (hereafter NPM), Taiwan, 090528; "Zhaolu ji eguo zhaohui kanding liangguo bianjie shi 照錄給俄國照會勘 定兩國邊界事," 29 July 1863, NPM, 090228.

³⁵ QSL, Muzong, j134.14a–b; Skal bzang legs bshad, Rnam thar 281–82; Rnam thar nor bu, 11–2; Lama garao huofo zhuanlije, 7–8.

However, the situation continuously deteriorated as Yaqub Beg (Agubai 阿古柏, 1820-77) unified the revolting forces in Khashgar, Khotan 和田 and Urumqi and established the emirate to replace the Qing control of Muslims in Xinjiang. In the second month of 1866, the Hui and Kazakh insurgents besieged Tarbagatai again.³⁶ The remaining Qing troops and local militias in Ili and Tarbagatai withdrew to Uriankhai, Kobdo 科布多 and Uliyasutai 烏里雅蘇台, the only region in Xinjiang that was under the Qing control. The following years observed that Bla ma dkar po's influence on Mongols became irreplaceable. He was concerned with the conservative strategy adopted by Ulivasutai General and Temporary Ili General 署伊犁將 軍 Li Yunlin 李雲麟 (1834–97). The relationship between Bla ma dkar po and this Han Plain White Banner 漢軍正白旗 official worsened when they had divergent opinions over the recapture of northern Xinjiang, the reinforcement of Bavandai 巴顏岱, and the acceptance of Daur (Suolun 索倫), Sibe (Xibo 錫伯) and Kazakh refugees from the Russia occupied areas. After Bla ma dkar po accepted these refugees without any imperial permission, the Ili general reported in the fifth month of 1867 to the emperor that the ho thog thu had centralized power for his own sake. To weaken Bla ma dkar po, Li suggested endowing the lama with Eleuths (Oirats) 厄魯特 Mongols and instructing him to resettle the Eleuths and Torghut 土 潮 屆特 Mongols along the Irtysh River 額爾齊斯河, the Qing-Russian borderland. Ideally, the Mongols would form a defensive line between Russia and Uliyasutai. The emperor turned down Li's suggestion while assuring him that the employment of Bla ma dkar po was an expedient.37

From 1868 to 1871, the *ho thog thu*'s militia of several thousand horsemen was repeatedly recruited to the battlefields in Tarbagatai and Bayandai. He also fought against the Muslim insurgents in Uliyasutai and the mutinied Chinese garrison soldiers in Burultokai 布魯爾托海. The war seemed not to cease in a short time. To settle his nomadic followers and ensure them pasture to herd, Bla ma dkar po obtained an Uriankhai grassland from the Qing court in the name of building monasteries. In the 1870s, he restored two monasteries known as Bkra shis chos 'khor gling and Bshad grub dar rgyas gling, where were named as Chenghua si 承化寺 and Puqing si 普慶寺 respectively by the Tongzhi 同治 Emperor (1856–75) and the Guangxu 光緒 Emperor (1871–1908). He invited religious teachers from Labrang to establish complete monastic curriculums. As he became the most influential figure among Eleuths and Torghut Mongols as well as Daur

³⁶ *QSL*, Muzong, j177.1b–3b.

³⁷ *QSL*, Muzong, j196.42a–b; j197.10b–12b; j201.9b–11b; j203.22a–b; j209.21a–22a.

and Sibe refugees, he controlled a huge military force in Dzungaria. Xinjiang officials regarded him as a threat to Qing control of northern Xinjiang. Consequently, Bla ma dkar po confronted the escalating political exclusion of Manchu and Chinese authorities. His reputation soared but his political career went nowhere.³⁸

Meanwhile, the Qing court preoccupied by the multifocal revolts across China proper finally arranged the expedition to recapture Xinjiang. By 1873, Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-85) suppressed the Shaan-Gan Muslim revolts in multiple locales. Due to Russia reoccupied Ili and overtly penetrated into Tarbagatai and Altai, Zuo was concerned by the Russian Empire in the western borderland. He insisted on "inland frontier defense" (Ch. saifang 塞防) and debated with Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901) who tended to pour resources into "sea defense" (Ch. haifang 海防). Wining the court debate and gaining the support of the Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧太 后 (1835–1908), Zuo directed the expeditionary force to pacify Xinjiang unrest in 1876. Bla ma dkar po was required to contribute provisions to the Qing army. His militia was dismissed for "wasting grains without merits" in the course of Zuo's campaign against the emirate of Yaqub Beg. After the Qing force seized Xinjiang by 1878, the lama general's political career and even personal safety faced more serious risk. Especially when the Qing government tackled the Russian occupation of Ili through diplomatic means, he was caught in the swirl of the Qing-Russian negotiation.³⁹

In the midst of treaty negotiation with Russia to return Ili, the Russian government demanded the Qing representatives in Livadia to investigate a dusted incident. Two years ago, the Russian officer Potanin 坡塔甯 led an armed delegation to investigate the issue of Kazakh residents who fled from Russia to Altai. Because these Kazakhs were received by Bla ma dkar po, Potanin urged him to return the Russian residents. The delegation entered Chenghua si without dismounting from the horse in sign of respect. Such behavior was considered violating the basic etiquette to visit monastery. The offended disciples incited a fight. Two companions of Potanin were killed in a brief exchange of fire. Potanin was arrested and unarmed, then, expelled by Bla ma dkar po. Later, Tarbagatai Councilor Minister 參贊大臣 Yinglian 英廉 appointed the translator Bugai 布該 to assist

³⁸ *QSL*, Muzong, j249.17b; j269.17a–19a; j232.19b–20b; j316.13a–14a; j348.12a–13b; j366.24a–b.

³⁹ Zuo Zongtang, *Zuo wenxiang gong zoudu xubian* (Guxiangge, 1902), j74.1a–4a; j75.1b–5b; j76.3b–6a, 8b–10a. For using Chenghua si as a case to examine the Qing politics in this period and the relation between the lama and Xinjiang officials, see Ma Yun, "Chenghua si sengzhong qianxi shulun," *Journal of Xinjiang Normal University* 29:3 (2008):26–9.

Russian official Wulasufu 烏拉索付 (Vlasov?) to investigate the case. Wulasufu arrived at Chenghua si earlier than Bugai and experienced a similar hostile treatment. As the Qing was busy in seizing Xinjiang, the case was shelved. In 1878, Russian officials intended to use this incident to bargain for the best political and economic interests with the Qing government. The Russian government urged the Zongli Yamen 總理衙門 (Office in Charge of Affairs of All Nations) to investigate the case and punish the leader who insulted Russian officials and detained their weapons.⁴⁰

The Qing court was quite cautious in dealing with this issue. As Xilun 錫綸 (d. 1886) was Bla ma dkar po's old acquaintance, the court appointed him as the new councilor minister of Tarbagatai to inquire into the case and seek a proper solution. The investigation was completed by the sixth month of 1878. The case was clear from the Qing court's point of view. It was the fault of the "vulgar and reckless" Bla ma dkar po, whose well-known anti-Russian attitude and actions gave Russia a vantage point to bargain in the treaty negotiation. He should be better ousted from Xinjiang. However, it was a difficult matter for Xilun to handle, for, the lama was honored by several hundred thousand of Dzungaria inhabitants. To prevent the imperial opinion from causing estrangement and enmity among the lama's followers, Zuo Zongtang, Jinshun 金順 (1831-85) and Xilun came up with a sophisticated solution. They implicitly persuaded Bla ma dkar po to petition the emperor for permission to leave Xinjiang and offer tea in Tibet. In the eleventh month of 1879, the Guangxu Emperor granted the lama general a three-year leave to visit Lhasa.⁴¹

It seems that an exchange of political interests was involved as well. In 1866, the religious authorities of Chone and officials of the Tshe smon gling estate in Lhasa identified Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1861–1919), a five-year old boy from Zho tshang village near Chone town, as the Third Tshe smon gling.⁴² They petitioned the emperors time and again via the Lhasa amban and influential Ü-Tsang religious leaders for restoring the Tshe smon gling.

⁴⁰ *QSL*, Dezong, j60.22a–23a.

⁴¹ *QSL*, Dezong, j104.13a. For the imperial order to instruct Bla ma dkar po to offer tea in Tibet, see "Gunga Zhalecan fengzhi ruzang aocha 棍噶札勒參奉旨入藏熬 茶," 1883, Qingdai gongzhong dang zouzhe ji junjichu dang zhe jian 清代宮中檔奏 摺及軍機處檔摺件, NPM, 408010038. For a similar account in the lama's biography, see Skal bzang legs bshad, *Rnam thar*, 330. This record is not included in the shorter version of the biography.

⁴² The Second Tshe smon gling was prohibited from rebirth by the Qing government and his property was confiscated by the bKa 'shag in 1845. Utilizing the religious connection with Torghut princes, the Chone monastic authorities attempted to extricate the Second from custody, relocate him to Dzungaria and restore his position in 1860. However, the lama passed away before making the move.

lineage and his *nominhan* 諾門罕status. Repeatedly declined by the Imperial Household Department 內務府 (*dorgi yamen*), they secretly enthroned Ngag dbang blo bzang at Chone Monastery. Since Bla ma dkar po was ordinated by the Second Tshe smon gling and cherished this momentous relationship defined by the sangha tradition, he coordinated a petition from Xinjiang in 1879. The imperial memorial of Jinshun and Xilun indicate that Torghut Mongol princes contributed 1,000 horses and requested an imperial permit for Ngag dbang blo bzang to study in Lhasa. Although a similar petition sent through Lhasa Amban Songgui 松淮 (1833–1907) was just turned down by the *dorgi yamen*, surprisingly, the request from Xinjiang was approved by the emperor.⁴³

In 1881, Bla ma dkar po departed for Tibet with a huge fortune. He generously donated cash and religious objects to famous Buddhist sites along his slow pilgrimage journey en route to Lhasa from Lanzhou, Xi'an and Chengdu. He spent over 100,000 taels of silver on gilding the brass roof of an assembly hall and several hundred religious artifacts to Labrang Monastery. The story of his wealth had circulated among Lhasa residents before his arrival by the New Year of 1883. As he would deliver an imperial edict to the Dailai Lama on behalf of the emperor, the Bka' shag officials welcomed him with a high-standard protocol despite the fact that the basis for his official rank as *ho thog thu* was unclear. Having considerable political importance, Bla ma dkar po was immediately involved in Lhasa politics.⁴⁴

In the second month, a quarrel between a Nepalese jewelry dealer and two Tibetan women evolved into a Tibetan riot against all Nepalese traders in Lhasa, ending up with the destruction of their stores. The traders requested for the intervention of the Gurkha army. When the Nepalese king planned for an attack, the Bka' shag authorities consulted Bla ma dkar po about a solution. Learning the traders' demand of economic compensation, he suggested to pay off the Nepalis and contributed his own silver. His biography indicates that the lama borrowed 80,000 taels from the Sichuan general governor to settle the incident, and clarified that the compensation was paid by those who damaged Nepalese stores.⁴⁵ The Qing record suggests that the traders demanded for 183,000 taels. Sichuan Province paid 80,000 tales.⁴⁶ To reward his contribution to the resolution of the Tibetan-

⁴³ *QSL*, Dezong, j206.6a.

⁴⁴ Skal bzang legs bshad, Rnam thar, 334-49.

⁴⁵ Skal bzang legs bshad, Rnam thar, 376–78; Rnam thar nor bu, 31–2; Lama garao huofo zhuanlüe, 23–5. For a more detailed record of this event, see the imperial memorial of Amban Selenge 色楞額 in *Guangxu chao zhupi zouzhe* vol.111 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 404–5.

⁴⁶*QSL*, Dezong, j186.13b–14a.

Nepali dispute, the Guangxu Emperor bestowed him the title of Devout Chan Preceptor (Ch. *duxin chanshi* 篤信禪師). Around the same time, Bla ma dkar po met the Third Tshe smon gling Ngag dbang blo bzang in Lhasa. In the principle of exchanging favors, he urged the Bka' shag government to return the Second Tshe smon gling's estate to the successor, the future Dga' ldan khri pa and regent of Tibet.⁴⁷

The pilgrimage of Bla ma dkar po was fruitful as well. The *Rnam* thar portrays him as a humble and devoted Buddhist. With the witness of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1876–1933), he took the bhikkhu vows and rejoined the monastic community. He patronized famous incarnations and reputable scholars, and even made the jeweled crown (*jo bo o rgyan*) to the precious statue of Jowo Shakyamuni at Jokhang Monastery. Yet, his stay in Lhasa was costly. He donated over 210,000 taels of silver in various occasions. A Lhasa complimentary saying highlights his presence in Central Tibet:

The 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa satisfied Lhasans' need of dharma. The Khalkha Rje btsun dam pa satisfied Lhasans' need of silver. The Chone Nomen khan satisfied Lhasans' need of justice. Bla ma dkar po satisfied Lhasans' need of dharma, silver and justice.⁴⁸

In 1885, the lama general left Lhasa and travelled across southern China to Beijing. He met provincial governors, powerful Chinese officials and eventually had an audience with the emperor in 1886. A clear image of the collapsing Qing Empire emerged in his vision. For almost two years, he visited the central yamens from one to another and waited endlessly for the imperial appointment. The court was unwilling to give Bla ma dkar po a formal official position in Xinjiang. His political status was not decided even when he was permitted to return to Dzungaria in 1888. Yet, the journey to Xinjiang was suspended for another year because of the British campaign on the southern border of Tibet. Two years previously, Sichuan Governor General Liu Bingzhang 劉秉璋 (1826-1905) and his predecessor Ding Baozhen 丁寶楨 (1820-86) had suggested the emperor to assign Bla ma dkar po to deal with the Tibetan-British issue. Now, the lama general was recommended to serve as the regent of Tibet. Nevertheless, on the basis of the imperial bureaucratic evaluation that lasted for several months, it was decided the ho thog thu was not qualified. The Zongli yamen officials asserted that he was reckless and war-oriented, and therefore could spark trouble in Tibet. In spring 1890, Bla ma dkar po embarked on a trip across China from end to

⁴⁷ Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2002), 1707–08.

⁴⁸ Rnam thar nor bu, 35–6; Lama garao huofo zhuanlüe, 28.

end. En route to Altai, he planned to return to the homeland that he had left nearly thirty years ago.⁴⁹

2. The Legacy of Bla ma dkar po

At this point, Bla ma dkar po's economic wealth, political achievement and religious reputation were well known by fellowtownsmen and religious authorities in Mdo smad. In the fourth month of 1890, he arrived at Lanzhou, where two opposite attitudes awaited him. On the one hand, the Fourth 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa Skal bzang thub bstan dbang phyug (1856-1916), an enthusiastic traveler and progressive leader who had rapidly expanded the ecclesiastical realm of Labrang, dispatched a huge escort cavalry to greet the lama general. On the other hand, the Eighteenth King Tshe dbang bood nams stobs rgyal (Ch. Yang Zuolin 楊作霖, d. 1902) was the least interested in this religious figure. Bla ma dkar po was a mi ser in his Chas pa Banner, registered as a monk in one of the seventeen parish residences (khang tshan), and ordained at Chone Monastery. Expecting recognition from his home institute, the lama general declined Labrang's protocol escort. Instead of using the northern road from Lanzhou to Labrang via Hezhou, he took the southern route and returned to Chone via Minzhou, where the etiquette team of forty-eight banners customarily welcomed prestigious religious teachers to visit Chone. Nonetheless, he was disappointed again. Only the escort cavalry of Labrang was in Minzhou.

Bla ma dkar po abided by traditional norms to visit the Chone king. The politico-religious atmosphere was intense in Chone. In 1880, the Eighteenth King, a complete layman, obtained the ratification of senggang from the Qing government. His predecessor was the founder of several colleges and monasteries in Chone. In contrast to this established monastic scholar, the new mkhan po barely spoke Tibetan language. He was cultivated into a Confucian scholar-official. His pose writing shows a sophisticated Chinese taste. He favored Chinese culture but condemned Tibetan tradition. His enthronement thus was strongly opposed by the local sangha, which was reputed to value systematic training over fancy titles. Yet, Tshe dbang bsod nams inherited the position of abbot anyway, which caused the segregation of the ecclesiastic power at Chone Monastery. The seven major and ten minor reincarnations organized themselves into five factions. Inter-faction quarrels and feuds erupted frequently. Without any prestige in the monastic community, the king scarcely ran Senggang yamen and mediated conflicts.⁵⁰ Therefore, Bla ma dkar po stayed

⁴⁹ *QSL*, Dezong, j235.6b–7b; j240.13b; j.261.17a–b. Skal bzang legs bshad, *Rnam thar*, 348–60; 455–59.

 $^{^{50}}$ Based on the conventional inheritance law, the king's elder son held the secular authority and his younger son joined Chone Monastery to become the *mkhan po*. See

briefly at the *yongs 'dus* Palace. The king and religious authorities did not attach him enough importance. They treated him as a Chone lama working among the Dzungaria patrons of the Dbyi li tshang. They were unsatisfied with his association with the 'Jam dbyangs and his decision to transform Chenghua siand Puqing si in Xinjiang into the subordinate institutes of Labrang Monastery. Bla ma dkar po left Chone town for his *tsho ba* with disappointment. In a causal conversation with his disciples later, he clearly belittled Chone as a small place without foresight and erudite people. He further commented that Chone Monastery had no well-educated lama to properly teach the king so that Tshe dbang bsod nams simply gave up learning Tibetan texts.⁵¹

In the six month of 1890, Bla ma dkar po sojourned to Labrang and received a ceremonious welcome. The Fourth 'Jam dbyangs requested him to reside at Labrang and endowed him with a secondrank *nang chen*. Bla ma dkar po accepted the offer and sponsored the construction of a Shakyamuni hall. In the following year, the 'Jam dbyangs surveyed geomancy and chose a site inside the monastery to construct the residence for Bla ma dkar po. From the viewpoint of Labrang authorities, Bla ma dkar po studied in its Medical College, became a leading authority below the rank of the four gser khri lineages and naturally belonged to its monastic community. It was a *de facto* practice for some Chone monks to study at Labrang in this period. Although advanced monks of Chone traditionally pursued higher degrees in Lhasa, joining Labrang was an understandable personal choice. However, being a *ho thog thu* from the parish of Chone, Bla ma dkar po's choice inevitably created regional political consequences. Tension between Chone and Labrang had risen in the religious domain.52

In years when Bla ma dkar po was away from Xinjiang, local officials considered the lama as a political opponent and strived for weakening his influence in the Altai region. They reported to the court that Bla ma dkar po's followers concentrated around Chenghua si would eventually be in conflict with local Kazakhs. The Uriankhai leaders intended to take back their grassland and expel the Tarbagatai nomads. This event coincided with the power struggle between the Ili general (Manchu) and the newly installed Xinjiang governor (Chinese) in the course of the establishment of Xinjiang Province in the late 1880s. The demarcation of the administrative boundaries in Ili and Tarbagatai also made the Qing implementation of many policies

Taozhou tingzhi, 910. For the details of the reincarnation lineages in Chone, see Luosang Dunzhu and Bingjue Ciren, Anduo gucha chandingsi.

⁵¹ Skal bzang legs bshad, Rnam thar, 649–54; Rnam thar nor bu, 107; Lama garao huofo zhuanlüe, 81.

⁵² Zhazha, *Labulengsi huofo shixi* (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 2000), 240–43.

inefficient in northern Xinjiang. Hence, the Qing court designated him to resolve the brewing grassland dispute between the lama's Tarbagata followers and the Uriankhai and Kobdo Mongols and Kazakhs. In the ninth month of 1890, Bla ma dkar po left Gansu for Urumqi to carry on the imperial mission. He commanded Tarbagatai Mongols to be resettled. His monastery was relocated to Bayingou/Bayinggou 八音/ 英溝 that was subordinated to the Kharausu 庫爾喀喇烏蘇 Subprefecture. Bla ma dkar po lived among the Mongol patrons and followers as an eminent lama, a ritual master and a Buddhist teacher.⁵³

In the sixth month of 1894, he departed for his new monastery in Chone, which was given the name Bkra shis chos 'khor gling by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. He had first started planning for this monastery ten years earlier during his stay in Lhasa. At that time, his fellow townsman, a dge shes who studied in Lhasa, informed him that Chas pa Monastery built and expanded since the fifteenth century was burned to the ground by Hui insurgents in the 1860s. This monastery had belonged to the Chas pa monk preceptor vested by the Ming and Qing governments. As the Muslim revolt severely disrupted the society and economy in Chone like elsewhere, neither the preceptor nor the local tsho ba could afford to rebuild the monastery. The dge shes requested a donation from the ho thog thu, who immediately made the decision to sponsor the construction. Bla ma dkar po conducted a fasting ritual at Pha bong kha Hermitage and consulted the highest religious authorities in Lhasa about the location and building protocol in the spring of 1884. He envisioned it as a Dge lugs university with four colleges and complete training systems. The Dalai Lama and the Oracle Gnas chung chose a site on the geomantic map of Chas pa valley and suggested to build the Kalacakravajra College (sa ris grwa tshang) first. Later that year, Bla ma dkar po gave the certificate letter and the authenticating objects of the Dalai Lama and "greet three monasteries" to his elder brother Dkon mchog bstan 'dzin, and entrusted him with the task to construct the Kalacakravajra College. In Chas pa, local monastic representatives, elder councils, *tsho ba* headmen and two Labrang reincarnated lamas organized the communal meeting to decide the building materials and labor to be apportioned for each tsho ba. In the eighth month of 1885, Chas pa people started the construction.54

When the *ho thog thu* traveled across China, he sent funds time and again to support the construction. However, a shortage of funds occurred in 1888. With the completion of Kālacakravajra College, he planned to unify all hermitages along Chas pa valley, and established the other three colleges. After this plan was revealed to the public, it

⁵³ QSL, Dezong, j267.8a–9b. Skal bzang legs bshad, Rnam thar, 550–68.

⁵⁴ Rnam thar nor bu, 57–66; Lama garao huofo zhuanlüe, 47–53.

was immediately challenged by tsho ba leaders and local monks of different hermitages. Since Chas pa was located among three huge university monasteries, namely, Chone, Labrang and Lhamo, the necessity of a new central monastery was questionable. The villagers were also concerned that the plan would move their hereditary religious objects and monks the new monastery in the territory of Dgon pa tsho ba. The countless inter-tsho ba feuds and enduring mutual hostilities impeded the formation of a religious unity on such a scale. At this time, Bla ma dkar po could not secure a stable income in Beijing. Because the construction stopped, he requested the Qing royal family to offer alms by stating that the monastery under construction was for the celebration of the sixtieth birthday of the Empress Dowager Cixi. The emperor assigned Encheng 恩承 (1820-92) to inquiry into the matter. The investigation report from Taozhou confirmed that the monastery was being built in Chas pa Banner under the jurisdiction of Chone Chieftain Yang Zuolin. The ho thog thu thereby was bestowed with long-life tablets (Ch. changsheng painei 長生 牌位) of Guangxu and Cixi, a plaque with "Longevity Monastery" (Ch. wanshousi 萬壽寺) in the emperor's handwriting, and 7,000 taels of silver. The dissenting voices of some tsho ba were silenced. The project was carried on with the imperial funds flowing in. In the early 1890s, Bla ma dkar po also send the donations of the Mongol patrons back to hometown. By 1895, the construction of the exoteric, esoteric and medicine colleges were all completed.⁵⁵

In the tenth month of 1894, the ho thog thu returned to Chone and waited at the newly established Bkra shis chos 'khor gling for the coming sixtieth birthday of Cixi. He held a huge ceremony for the Empress Dowager and performed Buddhist initiation rituals in the eleventh month. Afterwards, he fell ill and anticipated recovery. In the fifth month of 1895, the Qing court instructed him to return to Xinjiang. Coincidently, a sectarian conflict between the Yihewani and Khafiya orders led to a massive Muslim revolt in Xining and Hezhou. The Gansu-Xinjiang transportation was paralyzed. The Chinese, Tibetan and Muslim groups were coerced into revengeful killings again in Gansu and Qinghai.⁵⁶ Bla ma dkar po waited for a clear situation. A month later, however, the emperor ordered him to handle the issue concerning British trade with Tibet. At this point, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama assumed complete ruling power. The enmity between the amban and the Bka' shag officials became irreconcilable. Lhasa authorities largely ignored the imperial instructions. As Qing China's sway over Tibet declined sharply, the court needed a reliable Tibetan middleman. The "recklessness" of the lama general seemed no longer relevant for

⁵⁵ *QSL*, Dezong, j254.9b–10a. Rnam thar nor bu, 57–66; Lama garao huofo zhuanlüe, 47–53.

⁵⁶ Jonathan Lipman, Familiar Strangers: A History of Muslims in Northwest China (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 142–54.

the Qing government. From the seventh month to the tenth month, the Guangxu Emperor sent telegrams frequently to urge Bla ma dkar po to depart for Lhasa. The latter was prepared to make the long trek when his illness lightened. Unfortunately, his condition deteriorated again. He died on the thirtieth day of the tenth month, leaving behind the *ho thog thu* title, Bkra shis chos 'khor gling and a series of unsettled matters as his legacy.⁵⁷

3. Dilemma of the Chas pa Eighteen Tsho ba

The Glu shod eight-tsho ba, A la five-shog pa and Zam tsha six-tsho ba neighboring Chas pa were all subdued and donated to Lhamo Monastery (dga' ldan bshad sgrub pad dkar grol ba'i gling, Ch. Langmu si 郎 木寺) by the Chone kings in the eighteenth century. These *tsho ba* used to be a buffer zone between Chone and Labrang. From the early nineteenth century onward, Labrang swayed religious opinion and waged wars to integrate Tibetan tsho ba and federative units across Mdo smad. After Lhamo Monastery was incorporated into Labrang's primesubordinate monastic system, local tsho ba became the religious communities of Labrang Monastery.⁵⁸ Hence, Chone and Labrang shared a jurisdictional border drawing from the Dme bo pasture to upper Klu chu valley. The borderline was superposed on many controversial territorial boundaries of the tsho ba separately ruled by Chone and Labrang. Owning to the seasonal mobility, land dispute and robbery/theft/raid practice of the pastoral and semi-sedentary tsho ba in this region, inter-tsho ba feuds often broke out along the border. Peculiarly, no direct confrontation erupted between the two centers. As the Chone kings patronized every 'Jam dbyangs in the past two centuries, Chone yamen never meddled in local conflicts. In contrast to its aggressive incorporations elsewhere, Labrang also did not launch military campaign to capture the tsho ba along the outskirt of the Chone Kingdom. Most disputes were mediated by esteemed local leaders and lamas, and settled by involved tsho ba in accordance with traditional customs.59

⁵⁷ *QSL*, Dezong, j368.12b; j372.8b; j375.12a; j376.2b–3a. Skal bzang legs bshad, *Rnam thar*, 568–683; *Rnam thar nor bu*, 100–126; *Lama garao huofo zhuanlüe*, 76–103.

⁵⁸ In 1747, the Chone king donated these *tsho ba* to the First Lha mo Gser khri rgyal mtshan seng ge (1678–1756) when he founded Stag tshang lha mo Monastery. See Grags pa mkhas grub, *Khri thog lnga bcu nga gsum pa khri chen rgyal mtshan seng ge'i rnam thar* in *Dga' ldan khri rahs rnam thar*, 1–7b; Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu'i phreng ba* (Lanzhou: Lanzhou guji chubanshe, 1990), 233, 240; Mgon po dbang rgyal, *Co ne sa skyong gi lo rgyus klu chu sngon mo'i gyer dbyangs ba* (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1990), 43–6; *Xiahe xianzhi* (Lanzhou: Gansu wenhua chuabanshe, 1999), 38–54.

⁵⁹ Ma and Wanma, *Kan lho'i bod kyi tsho shog lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, 120–24; *Zhuoni xianzhi* (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1994), 158–61.

Yet, Labrang was the most attractive monastic university, pilgrim destination and market in the nineteenth century Mdo smad. By this time, the religious dominance of Chone had declined considerably. In the Chone-Labrang borderland, a shift of religious identity affiliation occurred among tsho ba under the jurisdiction of the Chone king. Tibetan householders and communal monasteries in 'Brug chu, The bo, Gzhong pa and Chas pa preferred to send pupils and advanced students to Labrang. Conventionally, prospective Dge lugs students in the Chone Kingdom furthered their studies at Chone Monastery and obtained the highest Buddhist degrees at the central monastic universities in Lhasa. The Parish-Assembly Office and the seventeen parish residences managed pupil monks from different chos sde across the kingdom. As receiving ritual and scholastic trainings at which institute was a personal choice, the Chone Parish-Assembly Office did not interfere with the decision of local monks like Bla ma dkar po. Although Labrang absorbed Chone monks, it never announced any subordination of Chone communal monasteries. There was never a problem as long as Labrang did not designate abbots to manage religious affairs in Chone. However, the spectacular ascendency of Bla ma dkar po and the establishment of Bkra shis chos 'khor gling altered the policies of Chone and Labrang towards Chas pa.⁶⁰

Within three decades, the lama general accumulated remarkable military merit, economic wealth, political power and religious capital. In 1865, the Qing government conferred the *ho thog thu* title on Bla ma dkar po for his defense of Tarbagatai. The title was designed by the Qing to be bestowed only on the highest rank Buddhist sprul sku. Being confused by the imperial award, Bla ma dkar po sent an attendant to consult Labrang authorities about the unprecedented case. The 'Jam dbyangs confirmed that Bla ma dkar po was a reincarnation of the sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705), the regent of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–82). Thereby, the Thorgut and Eleuth Mongols revered the lama general as a *sprul sku*. In tales about his life experience, the line between legends and believed facts is unclear. He is usually portrayed as a spiritual figure with supernatural power. Following his death, the Mongol followers requested the Qing to ratify the search of an incarnation in 1896. The Shan-Gan governor-general forwarded their petition to the emperor, who issued an edict that approved the lama to reincarnate as the *ho thog thu* of Chenghua si in Xinjiang.⁶¹ The Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama performed rituals to supplicate an early rebirth of Bla ma dkar po and predicted that the birthplace would be in Mdo smad. In the process of legitimizing the reincarnate lineage,

⁶⁰ For the cases of changing religious identity affiliation in the Chone Kingdom, see Marnyi Gyatso, "Home on the Margins," 139–51, 184–94

⁶¹ The attendant was sent to Labrang from Xinjiang much later mainly because the Hui Mulism Revolt was fully repressed in Gansu in 1872. Skal bzang legs bshad, *Rnam thar*, 322.

twenty-eight famous kings and saints were identified as the previous lives of Bla ma dkar po. Hence, as Lobsang Yongdan concludes, a *sprul sku* lineage was invented.⁶²

A new spiritual lineage meant the inflow of political, religious and economic capitals and the reconfiguration of local human, material and immaterial resources. In such a border area, the situation was more complicated and sensitive. Chone authorities were long dissatisfied with the lama general for his generous donation of statues, silver, bronze roof and the construction cost of the Sakyamuni hall to Labrang while offering nothing to Chone.⁶³ After all, he was from Chas pa, a parish and a banner of Chone. Religious influence could easily turn into political power in the Tibetan areas. When Labrang led the construction of the new monastery in Chas pa, the lay and the ecclesiastic authorities in the Klu chu valley were alarmed. They were concerned with the interference of Labrang in all matters regarding Bla ma dkar po. Notwithstanding, the King Tshe dbang bsod nams could administer neither the reincarnation estates nor the Parish-Assembly Office. The brutality of factional feuds escalated time and again at Chone Monastery. The five factions also had no intention to contend with the issue and offend the Fourth 'Jam dbyangs. As a result, Chone authorities were discontented with Labrang while tolerating its religious infiltration.64

In 1895, the concealed Chone-Labrang friction evolved into a multifaceted contention. The lama general never explicitly indicated the ownership of Bkra shis chos 'khor gling. In an official meeting with the *ho thog thu*, Encheng asserted that the emperor sponsored the construction and the monastery belonged to the Great Qing. He instructed the lama to treat it as a project of the state, build an enormous compact of halls and temples, and recruit all yellow-hat monks of the region to recite sutras for the emperor and empress dowager. What was being articulated by Encheng was the bureaucratic and euphonic cliché, but it seems that Bla ma dkar po took these words seriously. He was inclined to Chone or Labrang⁶⁵

However, local reality was complex. Driven by intricate rationales, Chone authorities, Labrang Monastery and the Chas pa eighteen *tsho ba* all seized some space to interpret the status of Bkra shis chos 'khor gling. The eighteen *tsho ba* and their Buddhist priests

⁶² Lobsang Yongdan, "The Invention of a Tibetan Lama General," 87–9.

⁶³ Zhazha, Labulengsi huofo shixi, 240.

⁶⁴ David Ekvall, *Outposts or Tibetan Border Sketches* (New York: Alliance Press Co., 1907), 148–49.

⁶⁵ Skal bzang legs bshad, Rnam thar, 423–25.

insisted that the monastery was their communal monastery. They contributed land, material and labor to build the monastery and dedicated it to the ho thog thu. The monastery was not a reconstruction of the old Chas pa dgon pa previously owned by the Chas pa senggang and subordinated to Chone Monastery. It was a regional Buddhist institute sponsored by the Qing emperor. For Labrang authorities, the ho thog thu was a second-rank reincarnation. The new monastery adopted the educational system, curriculums and monastic regulations of Labrang. It was established as a branch institute and managed by Labrang reincarnate lamas and religious teachers. Therefore, the 'Jam dbyangs assigned a dharma throne holder to Bkra shis chos 'khor gling after Bla ma dkar po passed away.⁶⁶ The appointment of the khri pa would transform the Chas pa eighteen tsho ba into a religiously affiliated community of Labrang, effectively dissociating them from the banner system of Chone. Chas pa monks and villagers welcomed the decision of Labrang. Because the Chone king fielded militia time and again to assist the Qing army to repress the Muslim revolts, the eighteen tsho ba like elsewhere in Chone, lost many fathers and sons in battle and suffered miserably in the aftermath of the war. They wished to exempt themselves from the militia corvée by altering the religious identity affiliation.67

The king and ecclesiastic authorities in Chone were alerted by the allied action of Chas pa Tibetans and Labrang leaders. The eighteen tsho ba were the subjects of the king and the chos sde of Chone Monastery, which granted the Senggang vamen unquestionable right to administer the communal monastery of Chas pa Banner as a subordinate institute. Moreover, the emperor granted an annual supply of 600 dan 石 of grain to Bkra shis chos 'khor gling from 1897 onward. Given that the grain was provided by Taozhou Subprefecture, the monastery became a registered monastery in Taozhou. It was a long tradition that Chone managed the Qing-vested Tibetan monasteries in Taozhou, not to mention that the *dgon pa* was built by congregating the hermitages managed by Chone Monastery. Chone authorities believed that the Fourth 'Jam dbyangs broke the oral assent on politico-religious boundaries agreed by his predecessor and the sixteenth king in the 1840s. Even though the contemporary Chone king barely maintained the patron-priest relation with the 'Jam dbyangs lineage, Labrang authorities could not tread on this agreement and transgress the politico-religious border. Thus, the khri pa sent by Labrang retired from the contest. Chone appointed a throne holder straightaway in the

⁶⁶ Zhazha, Jiayang hutuketu shixi, 243.

⁶⁷ *QSL*, Muzong, j109.25b–26a, j137.15b; j138.23a–b, j145.38a–40a, j153.8b–9a, j213.15a–16b; Pinghui zhi, j3.7a, 10a–b, 21a–b, 24a–b, 27b–28a, j4.2a; j5.7b, 21a; Zhang Yandu, *Taozhou tingzhi*, 985–86; *Zhuoni wenshi ziliao*, vol.7, 130.

late 1890s, which provoked a decade long resistance by Bkra shis chos 'khor gling and the Chas pa *tsho ba*.⁶⁸

The dispute was far from any foreseeable solution. Because the direct incorporation of Bkra shis chos 'khor gling was not an option, Labrang authorities tended to employ the Bla ma dkar po lineage to control the monastery and the eighteen tsho ba. Three years after the ho thog thu's funeral, the 'Jam dbyangs divined that the reincarnation was born in the Datong River valley. He urged the lama general's estate officials to seek the new reincarnation. In 1901, Skal bzang tshul khrims bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1896–1911) from Xining was recognized as the Second Bla ma dkar po and enthroned in Chone. However, the monks and Mongols in Tarbagatai learnt the news and requested the reincarnation to ascend the dharma throne at Chenghua si in accordance with the imperial edict. Urged by Gansu officials, the young sprul sku had to depart for Xinjiang in spite of Labrang's unwillingness to let him go. The influence of the imperial government was not absent from this frontier. Chas pa community and local monks could not count on Labrang to settle the case. They turned to Taozhou officials for help. Nonetheless, the Taozhou magistrate acquired plentiful gifts from the Chone king and dismissed the petition of the Chas pa eighteen tsho ba.69

Opportunity knocked for Bkra shis chos 'khor gling when the first Gospel Church was erected in Taozhou by 1905. In order to free themselves from the Chone rule, the eighteen *tsho ba* sought help from the Gospel missionaries. In the local context, these foreign priests were clearly respected by the king and Chinese officials. Chas pa monks reached out to the church. David Ekvall commented on this bold move with a boastful tone:

A bitter animosity has for years existed between the lamaseries of Chone and Cheh pah kuh [Chaspa valley], for the heads of the former insist on exercising temporal power over the latter, which is the smaller *Gomba* [dGon pa]. This feeling was intensified when Chone *Gomba* authorities attempted to appoint the religious heads of Cheh pah kuh *Gomba*. Such authority was stoutly denied and resisted, and rather than yield to numbers and monies influence, Cheh pah kuh appointed a delegation to wait upon the missionaries at Tao cheo [Taozhou], for the purpose of offering, with properly drawn up deeds, the lamasery and all the property connected with it, to the *Fuh yin Tang* [Gospel Hall].⁷⁰

⁶⁸ David Ekvall, Outposts or Tibetan Border Sketches, 188–93.

⁶⁹ Robert Ekvall, *Gateway to Tibet: The Kansu-Tibetan Border* (Camp Hill, Pennsylvania: Christian Publications, Inc., 1938), 54; Howard Van Dyck, *William Christie: Apostle to Tibet* (Shelbyville: Bible & literature Missionary Foundation, 1956), 64–7.

⁷⁰ David Ekvall, Outposts or Tibetan Border Sketches, 148–49.

Nonetheless, Ekvall and his colleagues knew the covert wrestling between the two predominant Tibetan political powers in this new horizon of evangelism. Another intention of Chas pa monks was to disgust and threaten Chone Buddhist authorities, who were antagonistic to the church and its workers. As the Tibetan mission relied on the acquiescence of the Chone king and the 'Jam dbyangs, the missionaries could not risk their Tibetan outposts to help Chas pa Tibetans. They turned down the delegation's request despite it being a dreamy opportunity for them to set up a station in the Tibetan hinterland beyond the Gansu-Amdo border.⁷¹

The case remained unsettled until a new twist emerged in 1911. On the one hand, the Second Bla ma dkar po died of an unclear cause in Ili (a source indicates in Xining).⁷² Following another round of divination, the Fourth 'Jam dbyangs engaged in the search of the sprul sku again. In 1915, Skal bzang 'phrin las lhun 'grub chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1911-1954) from Gla le'u khog of Chone was identified as the Third Bla ma dkar po. By then, the Manchu Empire had come to an end. Seeing no obligation to abide an order of the former dynasty, the Chas pa eighteen tsho ba never let the ho thog thu return to Tarbagatai. Local tsho ba monastic leaders needed the incarnation to manage the precarious situation of the valley, which was still caught in the midst of a covert conflict between Chone and Labrang. They enthroned the Third Bla ma dkar po as a local *sprul sku* at Bkra shis chos 'khor gling, and immediately escorted him to study at Labrang Monastery. They appropriated the Bla ma dkar po lineage of Chenghua si and expected the new incarnation to bargain with Chone authorities in the future.⁷³

On the other hand, the Chone King Tshe dbang bsod nams died without a male heir in 1902. Embracing the Chinese advisor's suggestion, he had utilized the Chinese inheritance rule and chose Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal 'phrin las rdo rje (Ch. Yang Jiqing 楊積 慶, 1889–1937) of the royal lineage's third branch to be his successor in both political and religious titles. O rgyan rnying ma (Ch. Yang Ying 楊英) of the fourth branch, who was the nephew of the previous king and the uncle of Blo bzang bstan 'dzin, was dissatisfied with this testament. Based on Tibetan inheritance rule, he was the rightful successor. Meanwhile, as the nineteenth king was still a child, Consort Yang, Tshe dbang bsod nams' wife from a wealthy Chinese gentry family in Lintao, acted as the regent of the kingdom. She trusted the Chinese advisor and restrained the political influence of Chone Monastery. Abiding the official instruction to protect missionaries, she

⁷¹ David Ekvall, Outposts or Tibetan Border Sketches, 149.

⁷² Danqu, *Zhuoni zangchuan fojiao lishi wenhua*, 194; Lobsang Yongdan, "The Invention of a Tibetan Lama General," 89.

⁷³ Danqu, Zhuoni zangchuan fojiao lishi wenhua, 195.

allowed the evangelists to establish a Gospel outpost at the foot of Chone Monastery in 1905. The consort infuriated religious leaders in Chone. Their divergence became so extreme that some monastic factions supported O rgyan rnying ma to seize the throne.⁷⁴ The fourth branch thus provoked fights within the royal lineage and reported the arrogation of Blo bzang bstan 'dzin to Gansu officials. The report was ignored by the Taozhou magistrate who favored the first branch for gifts. After the Qing collapsed and the local official was displaced, O rgyan rnying ma requested the Republican government of Gansu to appoint him as the chieftain and depose his nephew in 1913. He went to Lanzhou and appealed for an investigation. Yet, his request was declined again. The provincial government did not wish to change the status quo and instigate chaos in the border region.⁷⁵

Already preoccupied by the discord concerning a legitimate successor, Consort Yang and the adopted heir also encountered other internal challenges. Over two hundred *tsho ba* of the The bo Eighteen Banners often organized themselves into small looting parties to raid caravans, travelers and Chinese villages. When the White Wolf (Ch. Bailang 白狼) insurgents swept across Shann-Gan and devastated the Klu chu valley in 1914, the 'Brug chu Four Banners were also in trouble with Xigu 西固 officials and Western botanists.⁷⁶ In 1915, The bo Tibetans clashed with the missionaries of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, China Inland Mission, Swedish Pentecostal and Assemblies of God at Ta rge dgon pa (Ch. Luba si錄巴寺). The king and his militia were preoccupied with these events, which often turned into external troubles and led to the interference of Chinese officials.

[Thus] in recent years the neighboring Chinese mandarins have been unmercifully bleeding the present chief of Chone, who is but an unprincipled boy. The constant troubles between Chinese and Tibetans give the former many occasions, when hard up for money, to supply themselves from this never-failing source, and a systematic method of squeezing, facilitated by means of intimidation, is the result.⁷⁷

Hence, Chas pa Banner faced less strict control from Chone. Under the pressure of the Labrang reincarnations who closely worked with Bla ma dkar po, the *khri pa* assigned by Chone was elbowed out of

⁷⁴ Robert Ekvall, *Gatemay to Tibet*, 54; Dyck, *William Christie*, 64–7.

⁷⁵ Zhuoni wenshi ziliao vol.4, 5; Taozhou tingzhi, 841; Yang Shihong, Zhuoni Yang tusi zhuanlüe, 82–8.

⁷⁶ For the activities of the White Wolves and local reactions in south Gansu, see Mu Shouqi, *Gan qing ning shiliie* (Lanzhou: Guji shudian, 1990), j28.23b–33b; Jonathan Lipman, "The Border World of Gansu, 1895–1935," PhD diss., (Stanford University, 1981), 191–203.

⁷⁷ David Ekvall, Outposts or Tibetan Border Sketches, 125.

Chas pa. Local monastic leaders even thwarted the banner-chief who was appointed by the king to collect tax. The Labrang regime slid into Chas pa valley again. The Fourth 'Jam dbyangs designated the second throne holder for a three-year term to Bkra shis chos 'khor gling. The eighteen *tsho ba* became *de facto* religious communities of Labrang.⁷⁸

Coincidently, the Ma family warlords 馬家軍閥 dominated northwestern China at this point. To expand territory and increase revenue, they initiated the integration of Tibetan and Mongol areas in Gansu and Qinghai. After the Fourth 'Jam dbyangs passed away in 1916, a dispute between the Labrang Regent, who was the Third Dbal mang tshang (1854–1918), and Treasurer Li Zongzhe 李宗哲 gave Xining-based Muslim warlord Ma Qi 馬麒 (1869-1931) an excuse to seize this political center and regional market. His interference was strongly opposed by Labrang monks and the family of the Fifth 'Jam dbyangs 'Blo bzang 'jam dbyangs ve shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1916–47). Labrang authorities had been busy organizing a pan-Amdo Tibetan alliance to fight against Ma Qi for a decade. At the same time, Consort Yang transferred the official seals of the Chone chieftain and senggang to Blo bzang bstan 'dzin. In his early 20s, the nineteenth Chone potentate increasingly accumulated power to hold together the collapsing kingdom. The young ruler upgraded the cruel methods of punishment and intimidation to consolidate control over his subjects. He launched punitive campaigns against the disobedient *tsho ba* on the margins of his realm. The narrow Chone dungeon imprisoned Tibetans (including monks) who troubled the king by attempting to change religious affiliation. Prisoners were physically abused, sometimes crippled or beheaded. In doing so, he sustained considerable deterrence against troublesome tsho ba and defecting monasteries.⁷⁹

The Fifth 'Jam dbyangs' family (also known as the Huang 黃 family) was from Kham and thus new to the region and unfamiliar with the intricate politico-religious relationship between Chone and Labrang. With the Labrang militias being vanquished by Muslim troops several times, the 'Jam dbyangs' family requested the Chone ruler for military support. Knowing the political circumstances on the Sino-Tibetan frontier very well, and because of the religious incursion of Labrang, the nineteenth king refused to assist Labrang. He treated Labrang as a rival and a powder keg. Nonetheless, he was expected to respect the patron-priest relationship between his lineage and the 'Jam dbyangs bzhas pa. Similar to the retreat of Labrang from Chas pa in

⁷⁸ Dyck, William Christie, 90-5; Robert Ekvall, Gateway to Tibet, 58-66.

⁷⁹ Miao Zishu, Labuleng si gaikuang (Lanzhou: Gansu minzu chubanshe, 1987), 17–24, 139–41; Gannan wenshi ziliao xuanji vol.3, 9–12. Nietupski, Labrang Monastery, 174–82.

the late 1890s, polite gesture was shown by the king in 1925. When the Fifth 'Jam dbyangs' family was under the tight pursuit of Ma Qi, Blo bzang bstan 'dzin allowed them to take refuge in northern Chone. Yet, the king did not meet the 'Jam dbyangs in person nor offered further help. To avoid souring relations between Chone and the Ma family warlords, he deployed all yamen officials and local managers to arrest whoever among his subjects were fighting for Labrang. Peculiarly, the Chas pa eighteenth *tsho ba* who had strived for the exemption from militia corvée were conscripted by the banner-chief and local manager to stop any The bo Tibetans from joining the war.⁸⁰

4. Further Remark: Unsettling as a Solution

To conclude, the ascendency of Bla ma dkar po created a hot spot of local politics. His legacy was a pool of resource for Labrang to continue its politico-religious expansion, for Chone to maintain the hereditary control of a banner, and for the Chas pa eighteen *tsho ba* to obtain better religious support and resist the military corvée. The situation showcases the ways in which local authority took shape, local politics functioned and local tsho ba navigated themselves. The development of this case was conditioned by the politico-religious structures of Chone and Labrang, the dynamics of the changing regional ruler-subject relations, and the ebb and flow of powers in northwestern China. In years when the kingdom was disturbed by internal and external unrests, Chas pa monks succeeded in warding off Chone religious authorities. When Labrang was invaded by Muslim troops, Chas pa Tibetans failed to avoid the king's recruitment although they had a Labrang khri pa in residence. When the eighteen tsho ba were caught between Chone and Labrang, they sought solution from external authorities. The Qing magistrates, Republican officials and missionaries, instead of being frontier passengers, were never absent from local politics in Mdo smad.

Even though the dispute remained unsettled, like many unsolved local dissensions, an expedient practice was carried on until it became a tradition-wise solution. It is hard to know whether Chone and Labrang reached any new agreement prior to the 1950s. Neither side ever raked up the issue of Chas pa valley. Although Labrang Monastery appointed dharma throne holder to Bkra shis chos 'khor gling and recognized it as a subordinated institute, it never openly claimed that Chas pa Banner was its *chos sde*. Meanwhile, Chone yamen kept levying tax and corvée on the Chas pa eighteen *tsho ba*. This arrangement seemingly conformed to the needs of Chone and Labrang. Perhaps it has also served the needs of these two communities to avoid any mention of their awkward relations during this period in local history.

⁸⁰ Li Zhenyi, *Gannan jianzhi* (Hezuo: Gannan ribao, 1986), 139.

Buddhist records, as usual, omitted the intertwined violent scenario, social-political struggle and long-lasting resentment in local society. Oral accounts, despite containing profound social and cultural meanings of the event, deep memory of the communal feeling, judgement based on the reinterpretation of the past, and justification of the present, often obscured and reconstructed the "historical fact." As a result, the contest has been concealed from the outside world. The eighteen *tsho ba* no longer regard it as a dispute. The latter generations have a new interpretation. Chas pa Tibetans nowadays assert with pride that they receive "Buddhist teachings from Labrang, political administration from Chone, and grain from Taozhou (*chos 'go blab rang, srid 'go co ne, 'bru 'go the rgyu*)."

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वर्षेन् पर में र्श्वेन नम्म मुम खुर के राषेन

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૱યા ઘરા રેશું ન ગાયે ગામ સૂંચ શું બાયુ રાયદ્વ રાય બું સું ગાય સ્વાય સ્વાય સ્વાય સું શું ગાય સું સું શું બાયુ રાય 150બેંની નવે અવ્ય સું ગાય બું ગામ સું શું બાયુ રાય સ્વાય સ્વાય સ્વાય સ્વાય સું શું ગાય સું સું સું શું શુ સું સું સું સું ગયા સું ગય સું સું ગય સું ગય સું ગાય સું સું ગાય સું શું ગાય સું સું શું ગાય સું સું ગાય સું શુ શુત્ર અદ્યત 'તેય સું સો ન સું 'સં' સું શું ગાય સું ગય સું ગાય સું સું ગય સું સું ગાય સું શું ગાય સું ગાય સું ગાય સું શું ગાય સું ગાય સું ગાય સું ગાય સું ગાય સું શું ગાય સું શું ગાય સું શ સું ગાય સું શ સું ગાય સ સું ગાય સ સું

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न्मार्ये क्वान्नावान्ये

अन्त्रवायट वयान्ट्रेया खुर्यर अनुव छ्या

 \hat{v} ਾਪੱਟਕਾ ਡ਼ੁੱਨ੍'ਨ੍'ਆਗੂਨ। 2017ਪੱਨ'ਨੇਧਾਨਧਾਨ ਸ਼੍ਰਾਗੁਕਾ ਸ਼੍ਰੇਂਧਾਨ੍ਯਾ ਬ੍ਰੇਕਾਬਨਾਨੇ ਸਿੱਧੱਨ ਕਿਹਾਨਵਧਾ ਧੀ ਲੱਘਾਨੂ ਅਸੱਾ ਡੇਂਨ ਤੁਕਾ ਤੁਨਾ। ਨੇ ਵੇਕਾਰੇਨ ਧਾਰੇਕਾ ਗੁੇਕਾ ਬਣਾ ਕਰੇ ਕੇ 'ਤੇ ਸ਼ਬਨ ਲੇ ਹਨ ਅਬੇਨ ਕੁਣਾ ਕੇ 'ਕਿਹਾਨਵਧਾਨ' ਸ਼ੁੱਧਾ ਸ਼ਨਾਨ 'ਕਾ ਪੋਨੇ 'ਝਾ ਧੋਕ ਲੱਧਕਾ ਡ਼ੁੰਪੱ2017 ਕੁਕ2018 ਹਨ ਸਿੱਧੱਕ ਬੇਨਕ ਕਨ 'ਕੁ'ਨ੍ਧਾ ਹਨ ਵੇਕਾ 2019 ਪੱਠੇ 'ਭੁ12 ਹਨ 'ਹੱਨ' ਵੇਂਨ ਕੇ 'ਨੁਕਨਕਾਨ ਹੇ '

गनियाना जनायनाष्ट्रियाज्जना

هُم تَعْ تَعْجَم (1891-1953) بْلَام مَعْلَم مَا تَعْلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ عَلَى اللهُ ع

สุมพาสุพายังฤพายิศพาสูากฏพานาฮ์กพานดารุกพายิศา) ภายิกาศกพายินักาชิกา ฤพพาศพัสารากภาษิพาสุทพา રવ મુલાવતા સુભા આ અદ્દ ને ગા જાય છે. તે મે છે મે છે. તે મે છે મે છે. તે મે ન્દા ર્ગ્ને નાય તાર્ય તે સુધાય સુ रत्रवा हे मुति वृत्तः तुरावत् के कुत् क्या ग्रेवा देवा राते हे पहुंव तह्य तहा का प्राहेत् पा तृत्त राते ग्रेवा यायर यहें त ^ऒ॔ॱग़ॱॸक़ॖॖॖॖॖ॑ॖॱड़ॖॏॱड़ॖॖऺऺऺॸॱॿऺॺॱज़ॾॣॖॱॖॖज़ॸॱक़ॖऺॺ(1917-1940)ॹॖॖऀॺ1940ऄ॔ॸॱड़ऀॺॱॸॱॎॖॖ॔ॎऒ॔ॱड़ऀॸॱॺॕॱॸऀॸॱॻऻऀऀऀऀऀ॑ॵॺॱॾॖ॓ॺॱॸज़ॱ

ज्रुषायते देवा झे नेषा नहेषा थेन राम हेवाषा खुना

अन्तर्भयाय्योव म्वयात्री न्यया क्षत्र क्षां न्या क्या प्या मेया के के रेटा या पठ्या योर्यन यत्या ये वा यान्य की मेया के यहिया यो नट्टें न येट्ट प्रदेश महेता अर्द्ध न राजे के राज र्वेन्टिया थेया ॺऻञ्चयाषायायम्याषावानेविः सवावरार्योनान्दाध्येयायाव्याव्येयाध्येवायम्याना छेषासुः विनयाञ्चनाञ्चास्य स्रुयाययराञ्चेवा

¹⁰ क्रवाहरायान्दी झनाळा मा 21

 $^{(6)}$ અર્તે આવર લવસ કુંદ રે 'રેન' દ્વન જીય શે દ્વન 'ર્ફે વાય વર્દ્સ શે લોવ સે પ્લેસ છે દ્વન્ય દ્વને વસ્તુર વાન (2002 તેનું સેવા દેશ 168

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- 第二章注释 608 条, 152 页。
- 。 ②[意]毕戴克著,沈卫荣、宋黎明译,邓瑞玲校:《1728-1959 西藏的贵族和政府》,中国藏学出版社,1990(12),

⁵ त्रुवाहर जान्दी विवार्ट्रका 10, 11

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¹⁰ क्रुवायर का दिया देखा 7

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社 1990(12),第二章注释 608条, 152页。

- [®] 1893बॅन्द्रप्रगावः ब्रेंब्र-ट्रु-प्रभूषा कुवः द्ववः भुष्ट्रेन्द्र प्रष्टुः वाष्ट्रियः प्रवेः क्वाः वर्गा विपा देवा 260 [®] 1943बॅन्द्र-प्रगावः ब्रेंब्र-ट्र-प्रभूष 参见毕戴克著,沈卫荣、宋黎明译,邓瑞玲校 《1728-1959 西藏的贵族和政府》中国藏学出版
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गहाकाया जुरावराष्ट्री पर्छेत कें पहुवा

(1910-1977)³ ਹਤਕਾ ਘੇਗ੍ਰ
ૡ૽ૼૼૼૼૠૼ૽૽ૢ૾ૺૢૼૼૼૼૼૡૡ૱૽૽ૢ૿૿ૺૡૢૺૼૢ

[®] અર્કે 'ગ્રુપ્ટ ફેંદ-'ગે'ર્ફ્રે' ફુપ્ [®] તેવઃ વેત્ર 'રેત્ર' રુત્રે ત્વે બહેદ-'ગર'ગ્નુ'ગβભ'ચર બર્ભેદ-'ઍંદ 'ગુદ-'[કેટ્ટ-'ગર્ટન' રું 'ગફત્ર 'ત્વર, 'ત્વર' ગ્રુપ્ય તે 'ત્વર' બહેદ-'તે '' 'સે' 'ગ્રુપ્ટ '' 'બહેદ-' તે ''સે' '' અંદે '' અ

释 608 条, 255 页。

^① 毕戴克著,沈卫荣、宋黎明译,邓瑞玲校 《1728-1959 西藏的贵族和政府》中国藏学出版社 1990(12),第二章注

૬ેટ્રેસાફ્રેંદર્ગ્યુ બાજારેસાવવીં રહેવાયી સુદરક્ષવાયું ૨ (1794) દરાયા કેંદર ⁽³દેવીલય કુંદરે સાથે છે. કેંસીના

नवीया त्र्रेया येन के क्षान में कुका में क के त्याया

नछुःगठियाःगीःळेखःनेनःगठियाःनेनःन्वॉन्द्यायाः स्याया

[®] દે સેં ર્ઝે ર્શેવા શુ.સું સેંદર પદ્વ પ્રાપ્ત વર્ષ્ટ્ર સંવાર સુર પદેવાય એંદ્ર કુ અર્ટ્સ (177-18819)ધેવા 1808ઍંસ વૅન્ડ અંદે પ્રગત સુર કુબ દ્વર સું સેંદર દ્વા પંતે પેંદય વદ્વ અર્દ્ય વર્ષ્ટ સ્વાય ઍંસ વર્ષ્ટ વ્યાય સ્વય & સ્વાર્ઝે સવા રું સવા શુર્વા લગ્ય સેવ સાફેબ સ્વ પ્રાપ્ત સ્વ સુર કુબ દ

[®]查姆克什米尔 artifragal

[®] ग(वृत्त-तग्रदश्य-संग्र्य-संग्र्य-स्प्रिय-स्रॅग)यात्रवाण्ची यॉन्देवान्त्रेन्य केत्र स्वेत-प्रावेषान्द्य स्वायाय-प्रीयान्धीयावा स्त् बूत्त्रान्धे-स्वर-व्य-संग्र्य-स्वाय्य-स्वाय्य-संग्रीयायव्याण्ये यॉन्देवान्त्रेन्य केत्र स्वेत-प्रावेषान्द्य स्व बूत्त्रान्धे-स्वर-संग्रीय-स्वर-संग्रीया-स्वाय्य

- 页。引自《九世达赖传》,103b,107b页。
- [®] क्रां प्रराया र्रोते अन्यार्रे [58-59 [®] [意] 毕戴克 著,沈卫荣、宋黎明译,邓瑞玲校 《1728-1959 西藏的贵族和政府》中国藏学出版社 1990(12), 49
- पगातः र्व्वेव न्द्राय्य्रेषाः २४ न्यवा वुरायतः क्वावरावतः पानुगविषाय वियायव्यात्रे स्ति क्वेवार् न्द्रायत्या हो न्दाविषाय्यावा सुं भयेवन्त्रा स्वाया सुं भयेवन्त्रा स्त्राया स्त्र स्त्राया स्त् स्त्राया स्त्
- [®] क्वांवर वान्त्रे क्यून को क्यान्स्य 82 [®] क्रॅन्स्ट-संह्रेन्ट पञ्चन प्रहेन न्दाय प्रद्येर (1760-1806)धेन न्वॉया यान प्रायय विष्त्र 1808यंते भ्रायय क्टेंन्स्ट पञ्चन प्रहेन प्रायय प्रद्येर ख्रीन ज्यून प्रवान न्द्राय प्रद्येर

यनिषा भ्रानबानेदे ये कुषानेव केवायान के नावया

f، گەم، ھەقەرا بېرىغان سەھەر ئەر ئەرىرىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىرىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىرىغان ئەرىرىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىرىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىرىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىرىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىي ئەرىيەن ئەرىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيە ئەرىيەن ئەرىيەن ئەرىيەن ئەرىيە ئەرىيەن ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغان ئەرىيىغىغىغىيە ئەرىي ئەرىيەن ئەرىيەن ئەرىيەن ئەرىيەن ئەرىيەن ئەرىيەن ئەرىيەرىيەرىيە ئەرىيىيەرىيىغان ئەرىيەرىيىغىغىغىيىغىيىغىغىيىغىيى

المان المان مراح الحارم الحمار الحارم الحمار المحمد ا

ત્રા અદ્વે ત્યાં ત્રેન્ અચ્ચે ત્યાં ત્રેન્ અપ્યાય તે સ્વે પ્યાપ તે સ્વે પ્યાપ તે સ્વે પ્રાય પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ્રાપત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ્રાપત પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપત પ પ પત પ્રાપત પ્રા

 $a^{A^{3}}$ અત્તુરા તેનું તે

ยาย อากุลาลีสากาาขอดิาอีสาการบิาลิกาลีขา

¹⁰ สุลายสาลารุณิาฐราช ฮุลารัณ 114

 $^{\circ}$ \mathfrak{F} ઢ્ય સ્વર અપ્તરે જ્યુપ્ત સ્થા સેવા \mathfrak{F} જ્ય \mathfrak{F} જ્ય \mathfrak{F}

तुगान्ध क्वावर्त्र में) र्हेका रेगाछन् केंबा

ଞ୍ଚମ୍ୟ'ମି'ଅଁଡିଁଶ୍'ଶ୍ରମ୍ବା

and the term is the term in term in the term in term in term in the term in term in the term in term in term in the term in the term in term in the term in term in term in the term in term in the term in term in term in the term in term

2018(10) ݣْݣْْسْ ݣْمْلْ 138

²⁰ क्रन्स'ग्री'स' हे'न्यसे'र' क्रुस'मा र्वन'' ब्र्न्स्स' र्वन' थेपा'न्ये' क्रेन्ट'न्ये' क्रुक'प्रन' 2013(2) क्रीपा स्त्रा 7

নদ্যুৰামা মন্ত্ৰামন্থা

ุราวีเป็น เรา

[7] મુખ્ય નવન સુંચેન વસું વાયુય પારે સ્થા થન [8] કે વદ્દય નવા મુખ્ય તે નું સુંખયાત્વ છે સુંવાન વો નુકુન વસુયા તે નું સુંખય કે ત્ર ત્યા વાયુન નુય તે નું સે ન્યા વાયુય ના

ন। র্বন্' \widetilde{e} দেম'র্বন'धेग'ন্दो'ङ्केन'न्दो'ङ्क्षेत्र'तिन्' 2018(10)

[5] ईंर्नेट न्व्रन्न्नव प्रदेव न्दयया पर्युत्त द्यापा प्रवि प्वति हुट पा पहेंद पा र्वेया के प्याप्त का यी र्वेट हिंट का की द्वया प्रवा के मुन्दे का की प्रा के प्

[4] ลรังสุขนาลาลาลารูระชังนาสุขาฐขา สิ่าการรัชสุขาน สี่รุง สิ่านี้สุรมารุงระหารุงานสูง (การ 2002(3)

1990 (12)

 $\begin{bmatrix} 1 \end{bmatrix} = \exists x \cdot a x \cdot \hat{a} - x \cdot \hat{a} - x \cdot \hat{a} + y \cdot \hat{a} + \hat$

न्छन् यांबेदि धेया क

भ्रान्तरान्तरे रेगायावया ग्री रेंग तहें व वया अट व नेट भ्रानया ग्री रेगाया बुट बिन तह या यी छिन विट रा हो देया तहें व छेट

᠍ᡬ᠄ᡇᢆ᠋᠉ᡬᡗ᠄ᠹ᠋ᠯ᠋᠆ᡏ᠋᠊᠋᠆ᠵ᠋᠋᠙ᠺᡆ᠋᠉ᠴᡆ᠉ᢅ᠋᠊᠋ᡸ᠋᠃ᠴ᠆᠆᠉ᢜᡆ᠋ᢂ᠋᠃ᠴ᠉ᠴ᠋ᢋᢋ᠂ᡍ᠂ᠵᡄ᠄ᢓᢩᡄ᠋ᡆ᠋ᢂ᠋᠉᠋᠊ᡍᢆ᠋᠘ᢄ᠋᠋ᡆ᠋᠉ᡧ᠉ᡆᢩᢂᢅ᠆᠂ᡆᠵ᠄ᢓᡃᢋ

न्नार्थे मेन्यवरार्यकर्तुकाग्री उका केन्यी हुन्य देव

गवन केंग हा उला केना वन झन

 \mathbf{q} नर्च्दर रोते मुला र्ह्वे न वर्ष्ट्दर कें निया यी केल लहे या का स्थल से लग हो का से से का से से से से से से से स अर्ळत्र गोर्बेल र्ळुल र्वेगावाला प्रमुन राख्य रहे राजना राजना

শদ'ঝ'র্দ্ববান্থ্রন

^①牟钟鉴《中国宗教通史》上卷【M】中国社会科学出版社,2007年12月第1版,第23页。

ग्रच्या ब्रुति तरु, नेषा हेट उषा हुट पते यी रेषा

ন্তুদ'র্তঝ'র্ষ্র্রাম'রা

શું ને દ્વારા માર્ગ માર્ગ મુદ્ય સુધાય સુધ્ય સુધાય સ ari रूट्युटावम्राक्षेत्र क्रेंदे प्रदेश दिनार्यत्य का क्रिया के रूट्या विकार के कि का का का का क्रिया के का क्र ঈনঝ তব শ্রী র্য়বা ক্র্যাঝ দ্বো ২০ শী শ্র্যাবার্জ্য দেশ্যুবা বর্ষ ২০ শে গ্রুল স্ক্রিব শ্রুন দ্বে দেরো স্ক্রিনঝ শে দেন মি মন্দি দেনে স্ক্রিনঝ न्दः र्मेषाया छेन् र्या रे या या या रे य तहेंत्र निर्मेश्वर्यायययां रित्र द्वीरा द्वी केंग्रीयां राज्य सेंग्रीयां केंग्री निर्मेश केंग्री केंग केंग्री केंग्र केंग्री क केंग्री क केंग्री ᠵᡄ᠊᠋᠊᠋ᢓូᠵ᠂ᠬ᠈ᢍ᠋᠋᠋᠊᠋ᢆ᠋᠊ᡯ᠆᠋ᠵ᠋᠋ᡰ᠆ᡬᡬ᠄᠊᠍᠊᠋ᢄ᠊ᠬ᠊ᡜ᠃ᡏ᠆᠆᠗᠊ᠬ᠈ᡬᠴ᠈ᢍᢅᠲ᠂ᡅ᠋᠆᠆᠂᠋ᡎ᠋᠋ᠯᢂ᠉ क्रुरूरध्येषा'ळॅटरनु'यायया'ने। 《तत्तात्र वया'के दिरत्याय》 हा "क्रुटर्नटरक्मटर्नटर्म्स्टर्नटर्म्स्हर्म्स्टर्न्टर्म्स्हर्म्स्टर्न्ट्र्याह्यका विद्यायॉर्थेका पद्यात्रा ข้าสูาสีขาว่า ซัตาข้ายาว กลีดาขผข สีขามิตา สีขางขา สีบุรอีตเขอยาเอาสาติมางเลื่า เมื่อง เกาสี่เมื่อ เรา เมื่อ เ

 $^{^{(1)}}$ ୡଵୖ୵ୄୠୖ୶ୖଽ୵୵ୖୄଽୄ୕ୄଽ୲ଌ୕୶୶ୠ୶୶୵୵୵୳ୡୖ୶ୄୠ୵୕ୠୖ୶ୢୄ୕ୠ୶ୄୖୢୠ୲ୖୄଽୠୄୗ M ୖୖୢ୲ୖଽ୶୶୵୵ୖଽୄ୲ୡ୲୵୶୶୵୵ୖ୲ୄୢୠ୶୲୶୵୲ 2010୶୲ୖଡ଼୶୲୵ଽ୕୶232

[®] Samten G.Karmay/Yasuhiko Nagano, *The Call of the Blue Cuckoo*, [M] The National Museum of Ethnology Osaka, 2002, pp.113.

[®] Samten G.Karmay/Yasuhiko Nagano, *The Call of the Blue Cuckoo*, [M] The National Museum of Ethnology Osaka, 2002, pp.113.

᠆᠋ᢅ᠆᠁᠋᠆᠌᠉᠆ᡣ᠉᠋᠂ᠺ᠋ᢤ᠆ᡊᡭ᠆᠋᠋᠋᠋ᡏᡏᢂ᠆ᡪᠴ᠆᠋᠋᠋ᠯᢂ᠉᠀ᠯ᠕᠂ᢓ᠆᠄ᡱᢋ᠂ᡷᢔ᠆᠄᠍ᢖ᠆᠃ᡅᡬ᠂᠋ᡷᡆᢂ᠂᠊᠍᠊᠍᠊ᡀᢓᠳ᠋᠃ᡅᡬ᠂ᢋ᠆᠂ᢂᢋ᠂ᡏᢩᡠᢋ ૡથન ૡદેન ન ન બાયુવાય એન છેન સંગંજા નગામ ન બે સાંસાય ના સામ ન બે સા ळ्याबाप्रणाण्यातर्चेन् र्यते केन्द्र राज्या उत्पाद्य प्रदेश प्रदेश प्रियाय के प्राहे प्राहेण प्रदेश के प्राहे के प्राहेण के प्राह अन्तित्त्रीत्त्र्यत्त्र्यत्त्र्यत्र्याः भ्रेत्रः भ्रेत्रः भ्रेत् भ्रेत् भ्रेत्त्र्यत्र्यां स्त्र्यत्त्र्याः भ्रेत्त्रं भ्रेत्रः भ्रेत्यां भ्र भ्रेत्यां भ् भ्रेत्यां भ ન્વન્યં ગેલા શ્રેન્ય લેવાયા રહેયા ભારતા છે. આ પ્રાંથીયા છે. આ પ્રાંથીયા પ્રાંથીયા છે. આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં છે. આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં છે. આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આવ્ય છે. આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આવે આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્રાયં આ પ્રાયં આવ્યું આ પ્ર . उ.ष.ग्री. इ.न. नवर. . विव. मु. याषाया लेन. उ.ष. ग्री. में षा प्रहेंव वे किन. याषा झेया ने क्षेत्र. उ.ष. या के के वा ही त. उ.ष. के वा पले न न <u> न</u>ुणार्डेयाप्तवेन पांकी अक्षुव पांकन केंना देव मुण्धिया क्रेना «ननुः वयाक्रीयायनुः कयाय» सुंक्रीया यनुनः नुया क्षेण भूगों भूया पेंग ૹૠૻૹ૽ૢૺ*ઽ*૱ૡૡૻઌ૱ૹ૱૱ૡૡ૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱૱ <u>ઽ</u>ૡ૾ૻઽૻઌ૽ૢૻ૾૾ૹ૾ૼૹૻૻઌ૱ૢૻઽૻૡૻૻૼૻ૱ૢૢૼૹૻૻૻઽૻૻઌૼૻૻ૱

୩ଟିଷ୍ୟା ଟ୍ୟାନ୍ୟର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ୟର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ଥର୍ମ ଅନ୍ଥର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଅନୁସ୍ଥାରୁ ଅନ୍ଥର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଅନୁସ୍ଥରେ ଅନୁସ୍ଥରେ ଅନୁସ୍ଥରେ ଅନୁସ୍ଥରେ ଅନୁସ୍ଥ

ดิจางจารยุราร์ |

ૹૢૢ૿ૡૻૼૢૻૻ૽ૼૢ૾ૺૻઌૡૼૼૼૼ૱ૡૻૻૻૻૢૻૼૡૼૡૻૻૡૻૡૡૢૻૡૻઌ૾ૺૡૻ૽ઌૡૼૼૼ૱ૡૻ૽ૼૡ૽ૺૹૢૢૻૻઌ૽ૡૺ૱૽૿ૢ૽ૺૡૻૹૢ૿ૻઌૡૡૡૢૼૻૡૺૡૻૡ૽ૡૻૡૡૡૡ नर्ड्वार्येरार्दे अषाष्तुषाय्वेभियत्वि क्वव्यायम्याषायान्ता "हेर्ये देखेत्ता यात्र्यायाया क्वयाया के प्रायाये क षावतः र्रोते र्त्तेव प्रस्नुव प्रतः त्रि यावतः र्रोते र्त्तेव ्रस्नुतः स्रितः पश्चिया शुः स्रियः त्र्युयः पुः यावायः यः 🕺 धेव र विषः यश्चित्र या "ષાવૃત્ર દ્વિ ન જ તે માં આવ્ય છે. તે માં આ પ્રત્યુ ન જ તે માં આ પ્રત્ય પ્યત્ય પ્રત્ય પ્ય પ્રત્ય પ્યત્ય પ્યત \check{a} જ્યાઅદ્દ. દુ: સ્વ દ્યાદ્દ દાયવા અલ્યા અદ્દારા તે પોત્રા પ્રથમ પ્રજ્યા પ્રજ્યા પરિ દે દે દ્વારા દ્વાદ્વ પાલા પ્રાયગ્ય પ્રાય પ્રાય પ્રાયગ્ય પ્રાયગ્ય પ્રાય પ્રાય પ્રાય પ્રાયગ્ય પ્રાયગ્ય પ્રાય પ્રાયગ્ય પ્રાય પ્ય પ્રાય પ્ય પ્ય પ્ય પ્રાય પ્ય પ્રાય પ્ય પ્રાય પ્રાય પ્રા द्रत्र प्राणवितः मिः वेषायाँग्याः ² वेषाञ्च वेषायां के यावितः मित्य के रायिः धुषा द्वीं रायते अत्य का यात्र रायि का सा শন্তন'শ্রি'নর্তব'র্ন' ૾ૡઽ૾૾ૻૡ૽૾૾ૻૡૺૹઽઽઙૺ૱ૡઙ૱ૢઽૻૡ૽૾ઽૡ૽૾ૺઽૡ૾૽ઽૡૢૼઽૻઌ૽૾ૢૺ૱ૹૼ૱૱ૢૻઽૼ૱ઌ૾ૹ૱૱૱ <u>અષ્ય એન્ટ ક્રે</u>બ નારે ક્રેબ ગુન ખેન าพูสารอัญารางสุขายสายสายสายเการายุสายเกาะพีรา "เริ่าสารอัสารับริเพารายามิเพรียาสายเรารายสาย पत्रदाय्याः २४ मित्रायम् वर्ष्वर्यते कुः २४ मे राष्याः देत्र हे वा खेत्र अत्य खेत्र का कित्या की का खेत्र प्र ગુદ્દાદ્વે તે મેં દ્વારી સંચાય માર્ગે મુખ્ય મેં મુખ્ય Marana tar and the second term and (Pharaoh)લેષા સુતે જ્યાર્થે મેં માર્ગ્ય થવા લે બેના વા વા તે વે તે મુખ્ય છે. છે. આ પ્રે મુખ્ય સુત્ ખા અર્દ્ધ વ તર સુતે મેળયા છે. છે. આ પ્રે મુખ્ય સુત્ ખા અર્દ્ધ વ તર સુતે મેળયા છે. છે. આ પ્રે મેળયા છે. છે. આ પ્રે મેળયા છે. આ

¹⁰ व्यव्यान्त्रप्तः त्वत्रः व्यव्ये याह्युदः यत्युव्यः यत्तः याद्वियः या क्रुदः स्वेदः याह्युव्यः यीः याह्युवः यीः व्यत्तः प्राध्यः व्यत्तः व्यव्यः व्यत्यः व्य

[®] Research Materials from The Ye she De Project. TIBETAN HISTORY SERIES (Ancient Tibet). [M] Dharma Publishing 1986, pp.143.

નર્જવ `ર્રા`ર્શેઽ'નર્જવ 'બર 'ર્શેવ'ગ્રે) મુભ' ર્ટ્સેવ નર્જુવ 'ર્સે' દ્વા'યે 'અર્ઠ્ઠવ 'ર્સે દ્વા'યે 'સ્ટ્રેટ્સ' બ' બેંદ્ર જો છે નર્જવ 'ર્ય

พัญญางพาอีนามนะเพิ่มหายนะเพิ่มหายนะเพิ่มหายนะเพิ่มการสายเหล่าเพิ่มมีระบุไ

ર્ષેષાષા અષા વૃત્ત સુત્ત સે મૈષાષા ગુન શું મૈષા યાલુન નુ શુભા મેં સુતે ભતુ વેષા લદ્દેવ લેના અર્થન અલન ને સુત્ર નુ ભર્મનુ પ્ ર્ષેષાષા અષા "દ્વિ"નન " સ્વે"ર્ષેષાષા ગુન ને અષા આવનથા થા | ષાવૃત દ્વા નર્થન મેં લે એન ધી અર્થે ત્ર રુષા નર્મે ષા સુવાષા હે જે જે બાળ સુન આવ્યા મંત્ર નથા તે સુવા જે બાળ " સુવાષા

યાજાવ્યાલેના "પજવ" વે ર્વે વ્યુન્ડ એ પતુના પાર્વ મેં વા પ્રજ્યા છે વા પ્રજ્યા છે વા પ્રજ્યા છે વા પ્રાયમાં પ્ર ગષાને ક્રાયે પ્રુવાયક્રિય ગ્રીયા નવેન્ષા પરિષ્ઠાય તર, ગેષાને ન્યાયા ગ્રી સંવાયા વાય ત્યુર કેવા જેવા જેવા જેવાયા જેવા. वत्तः र्वेगाय्यरायां द्रां पान्ता प्रहेन्। ते वया मुया राते र्थे वत्ता वता खुया तु नरा वेता द्रीया खुया र्थे या ही य नङ्गवान्तरामा व्याग्धेवायमा नर्द्धवायतमा न्योग्वह्नेवान्यामा न्या में यामे व्याग्धेया के साम क्या न्या स्थाने न क्रु'गळंत्र'ते' केषाकेरान्रायां सुष्य नयन्या हिन्नु हा हरा पविषाये के राम्रे सुयाया केरान्या प्रिया के साम के राम्रे के राम्र ૡુષાષા સરપ્ત વિત્ર રે છે. તા અર્જીત વિત્ એત્ . બેત્ પા સ્ટ્રેન્સ ગ્રાપ્ત સરપત્ર વિત્ર ' સેંત્ર . બુષાય. સુષાય. સે વા પા સ્ટ્રેન્સ સુયા ન સ્ટ્રેન્સ સુયાન સ્ટ્રેન્સ સ્ટ્રેન્સ્ટ્રેન્સ સ્ટ્રેન્સ સ્ટ્રેન્સ સ્ટ્રેન્સ સ્ટ્રેન્સ સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્ટ્રેન્સ્સ્ટ્ર <code>ᡆᢆ</sup>ᠯ᠗᠆᠃ᠬᡊ᠆᠄ᢆ᠋᠊᠋᠋᠊᠋᠊᠋ᢁᢆᢋ᠉᠗᠆᠄᠊ᠬᢦᢂ᠄ᢩᡩ᠆᠙ᢙᢩᠬ᠆ᠴ᠋᠋᠋ᠶᡆᢂ᠋᠊᠋᠘᠋ᡩ᠋ᢩ᠘᠋ᢋ᠉᠋ᡚ᠗᠆᠄ᡬᡆ᠋᠉᠋᠘ᠼ᠉᠋᠘᠋ᢋ᠉᠋᠋</code> राते. त्यात. र्झेत्रे अग्य. "रेयाया ख्या त्तुः क्रुत्रा न्युः याद्येया विया दुः याद्येता विया दुः याद्येया विया द्या विया दित्य क्रिया विया दित्य क्रिया विया दित्य क्रिया विया दित्य क्रिया विया विया द्या विया व र्रो'ले'ग'तज्जून'पते'भ्रेर'तज्जेनग'पग । आ'ग्रे'न्नु'झेते'लेभ'ग्रमेंन'भ्रेर'पश्चन'पग । मुभ'ज्जु'त्ज्जालेग'श्चन'पर'ग्वायाग'र्भ' भूता त्यातः क्रेंब त्यगाय्ययायां ज्ञातुः यत्र मुखा विः क्रेंतः पर्ववावेया यक्वतुः तुः गर्वेयायाया विंधवान् वागुवा स्वानेवः मुवानुः

⁽¹⁾ Research Materials from The Ye she De Project. TIBETAN HISTORY SERIES (Ancient Tibet). [M] Dharma Publishing 1986, pp.210.

गठिंग र्नेव केन नन लन झन ग्री केन

 $^{^{(1)}}$ न्दातः र्येंग्वार्स्डवा 'अया'सेन्दाना कॅरू' तहुन् 'अयरू' द्वातः ङ्ग्रॅंग्वा (M) ये 'छेन्दा के' देवारु' न्द्र्यें 'सुम्रा 'वर्य' सुम्रा 'वर्य' सुम्रा 'वर्य' सुम्रा 'वर्य' स्थ5 र्युवा' स्थ5

गनिषा कॅबान्तायेगवा हुरा ग्री केता

गुन् ग्रुस कॅंब केन् न्न न्य र्यो ।

આપત ક્ષુન્સ ક્ષેયું હ્યું પરે ત્યાવે કુપ્ય ચેં સેં સેંતે અઠવ શે થોં મેં દ્વ પોવ ત્ય કે યાયા કુપાયા કુપાયા કે સામ ત્યાવ સાથ સાથ ત્યા કે સે પાયા કે સાથ ત્યા કે સે પાયા કે સે પાય કે સે પાયા કે સે પાય કે સે પાયા કે સે પાય કે સે પાયા કે સે પાયા કે સે પાય કે સે પાય કે સે પાયા કે સે પાય કે સે સે પાય કે સે પાય પાય કે સે પાય

² द्रध्यः र्घें यास्तुया भयाः खेदः या केंस्र यहाः स्वायः स्वायः स्वायः क्षेत्र [M] येः केंद्रा केः त्रेयासः द्रयेः झुत्र ायदः । 2017में। र्वेयाः देस्रार्ड व्याः देस्रार्ट् या केंस्रायः द्रयाः स्वायः द्रयाः यास्तुयाः या व्यायः द्रयाः द्रयाः द्रयाः द्रयाः यास्तुयाः या क्रियाः द्रयाः द्रयाः द्रयाः द्रयाः यास्तुयाः द्रयाः व्यायः द्रयाः व्यायः यास्त्रयाः यास्त्रयाः यास्त्रयाः द्रयाः द्रयाः द्रयाः द्रयाः द्रयाः द्रयाः यास्त्रयाः यास्त्रयाः व्यायः द्रयाः व्यायः यायाः यायाः यात्रयाः व्यायः द्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः व्यायः द्रयाः द्य व्यायाः व्यायाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः व्यायाः यात्रयाः द्रयायाः व्यायाः व्यायाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः य व्यायाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः व्यायाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्रयाः यात्र

¹ มกละ รุจราสมามกลิ: สัส: मु ดราวัร : ภัา ซูล: ริ : พิมิ : วิ: ซิรา มาราวัติ: วัส : สิมาน : รุง : มาราวัติ: วัส : มาราวัติ: วัส : มาราวัติ: ม

ฃๅดฺณฺ๚ฺิวาฮสฺานีาสุณฺา๛ฺฐ๛ฺานี้ณิฆสสฺาฏิาฆช์ๅฺ๛ฺรฺณาฐิ๎๛ฺฆัณฺาฌิาฆฺ๛ฺ๚๛ๅ สัสานณาสิวนณิฆสงฏิา અર્થે મ.રે.આ ર્શે મ.તાપુ સાથી આ ભૂત ત્યાને મ.ત. તે આ બુલ્ય સાથે તે તે આ બુદ્ધ માર્ચ તે આ બુદ્ધ મારે તે આ બુદ્ધ માં સંગ્રે તે આ બુદ માં સંગ્રે તે આ બુદ્ધ માં સંગ આ બુદ્ધ માં સંગ્રે તે આ બુદ્ધ માં સંગ્રે આ બુદ્ધ માં સંગ્ર योर्डया'त्रस'येयात्रा छन् राग्रे के योने स'नन् राग्रे साम्या आवस' आईन्स' हुन् राग्रे केन् रनु 'धेत्रा' हीयात्रा यावित विया त्रस' भ्रवाग्वत्रिवाषाग्रीः कर्षायावतः पत्रा वाधुलाला यद्दिवाषाः पायेत् स्त्रेत् प्रित् म्ह्रेत्व स्त्रेत् भ्रित् भ् ભષાયયાયવયા સેંચા સુંબાસુયા સંગતમાં અવે અંચા સાંચાયાયથા ના સુંવાય ખોવા નેમાન કેવા સુયા છે. તે આ સુદા સુમારી મુખય नर्ट्रत् श्रयान्त्र योहना वालनार्वत्र राश्चेया केन्य्यो छे केवा वन्यकेवया कुवानर्ट्य यावेन्य्येयाया वीयाया उत्त हे द्वेत् ાયુંદા જીત્યા જેવા સંવાર્ત્ર મું સાથે સંગ્રે સાથે સંગ્રે સાથે સુધાર સુધાર સુધાર સુધાર સુધાર સુધાર સુધાર સુધાર સ

าสาสาสารณ์

શેુ ઢન કેંદ્ર ચદ્ર ર્યો યાત્ર જા યાત્ર છે છે છે છે છે છે. આ પ્રસંદ ન આ પ્રસ वन्यह्न'हेराके'न'धेवा થોવા નિર્દ્યવાર્શ્વાયું છે. આ ગામ પ્રાપ્ય છે. તેથું માલે પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય છે. તેથું માલે પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય પ્રાપ્ય છે. તેથું માલે પ્રાપ્ય પ્ $a^{q_1} - q_2 - q_2 - q_3 - q_1 - q_3 - q_2 - q_3 - q_3$ र्धे'न्द'प्द'प्पे'क्र्य'श्चेद'ग्री'श्रेषा'ग्रुट'रेट'ल'र्ह्वे'विंषा'न्ट'र्श्वेय्र्य'य। प्रहेंब'कुष'के'च'अर्ळेब'य'या'इट'यर्देद'य्र्ये'ह्वरे' २५...नेषा झेट छुट पति अधु कुषा दट द्वा र्येवाषा गुट अर्ळेक थेंदा वावक "विं विं विं विं विं विं विं त्व का स्व रा कुपा ત્રેયાષા બાષા ગુદ્દ ન્વત્ર આ બાદ ના બાદ ના વા તે પોલા મુન્ના ગી જાણ છે. આ બાદ ના બાદ ના પાલા ના બાદ ના બાદ ના બા . શું પ્રગ્ન લેયા ગોર્યે બાપ્ય કે પે વાયા રહ્યા ન માં આ પ્રાણમાં છે. આ પર્સ પ્રગ્ન માં પ્રાથમાં આ પ્રાથમાં આ પ્ ૬૮ અઝેઅર્ભા પાત્રત્ર સું મુખ્ય અઝેઅર્ભા પાત્ર તે સું આ અઝેઅર્ભા પાત્ર તે પ્રાથમિક સાથે તે પ્રાથમિક સાથે તે સું સ

ગલી ગર્કવ સેં'૬૬'ગર્ફુ સેંતે એ૬' માકુ સ્ટેંગ

¹⁰ न्दातः तॅंग्वार्स्तवाय्याः झेन्द्रात्व कॅका तसुन्दा आपका प्रातेः न्दावारः भ्रेंत्रा [M] देंग्डेन्दा के त्रिवाका न्दोः सुन्ना वार्याः मेवा देवा देवा के वार्या के वार्य वार्या के वा वार्या के वार्य वार्या के वा के वार्या के वार्या के वा वार्या के वा वार्या के वार्या के वार्या के वार्या के

অন্তব্যস্থিঁআ

ન્વન્યોય ખેત્રા નિયેમ્યત્રા કુભાવેં મેત્ર કેંત્ર શું અઠ્ઠત ભાખેત્ય છુવા મુાદ્વે ન્ટર કે વર્જવાય છુન્યો ન્યાનુના અદ્વન્ય ૻવર્જુન સંવે દ્વિન નુન નુન કે કે કે નુન નુન સુધાય છે. તે સુધાય મુખ્ય સુધાય સાથે તે સાથે તે સુધાય સાથે તે મુખ્ય સુધાય સ ऀत्रेयायःगोॖॱसुन् रयेन् रयर्द्ध्व र्थेन् रत्रक्षयर्थयार्थात्वन् रवयाः यो रद्ध्यायः पत्नित् द्ध्यायः यावव्यः विया वयः र्यद्ध्व रथें प्यतन् रव्यः श्चेन् क्रेंतरा मुगरा अर्था याया भी भी भाषा याया मार्ग के मुन्द्र सुरा मा किया के हिये जिन्दा मार्ग के कि मार्ग के मुन्द्र में मार्ग के मुन्द्र में मार्ग के मुन्द्र में मार्ग के मुन्द्र में मार्ग के मा শ্বম্ব স্ম স্কুর কাঁ

श्च ह्ये केंगरा में गवरा ग्रे अर्कें न ह गरा

थेव र्वे।

નર્જુવ સેંગ્ડના માંગ અર્ઢવ સુરાદ્ર મુગા બેવાયા નર્જવ ડડ્ડ સાથે મુંગ જેવાય સુરાગ વે ડ્રાટ્ટ સાંહ વર્ષા છે છે ગાય દેવાય છે છે ગાય છે ગાય છે ગાય છે ગાય છે છે ગાય છે. ગાય છે ગાય છે. ગાય છે ગાય છે. ગાય છે ગાય છે. ગાય છે ગાય છે. ગાય છે ગાય છે. ગાય છે ગાય છે. ગાય છે ગાય છ ગાય છે ગાય છ ગાય છે ગાય છ

मुला रेग	ਸ਼ੁੱਕ ' ' ਸ਼ੁ' ਧ ਸੇ ਕ ' ਸ਼ੁ' અ ಹ ਕ	নৰ্ন্ত্ত্ব ৰ্ম	J. J. J.	र्ह्तेन'८८''भु'गमेन'धु' बर्ळ्न	ગર્સુન `ચેં
1 শান্তন:শ্রি'মর্তব' শ্বা	র্বি নিমান্য তব নন্ত যান্তিমা	यात्रव्य'सुया'सुया	૧૧ લે જ્વે જેવા	ૡઽૡૢઽૡૢૻૡૻૹૻ	ଡ଼ି'ମର୍ଷ୍ପ୍ 'ୟମ୍ମ'ୟ'ଛି
૧ શુ'દ્વે'ગર્જ્વ'ર્યો	য়ঽ৾৾৻ঀৢ৾৽ঀ৾৾ঀ৾৾৾৾	٩٠٦٢٠٦٢١	११ में रे में में मंद नह	য়৾৾য়৾৽ঀ৾ঀ৾৾৾৾৾৾ৼ৾৾য়ৣ৾৽ঀ	র্ম'ঝ'স্ট্র'র'ট্রি'নর্স্তৃক'স্ত্রন' মা
ঀ ঀ৾৾ঀ৾৾ঀ৾৾৽ঀ৾৾ড়৾৾ঀ৾৾৾ঀ	শইন্ত শ্বিব দেশান।	র্ঝারঝারঝা	<i>৭</i> ৬ শ্রি'দর্ন্তুব'বৃষ্ণ	ञ्चुन्गर्थःगवितः दॅनःगर्द्ध्याः र्वेन्।	ষ্ক্রব:র:শ্রি:দৃশ্যম্
৬ র্মিন্ট্রি'বর্ল্ব'র্যা	المركب المحالية	र्देण'सेर'सेर।	१५ দ্রি:শ্রু:শ্রুদ্র দ্বর	ॺॺॸॱॹॖॱॾऀॱख़ॖॺ	ञ्चव 'गशुव्र',सु';झे⊏'।
૫ ત્રેત્ર દ્વે ગાઇતુ ગો	ષષ્ઠે.શુ.ર્વે.સંચી	यान्त्यात्वाःग्रीःझुःर्वेष	१८वि॒'র্হ্রযা'हे'র্হ্রযা' মন্ডব।	व्यग्नर पर्वत गवित्र हेवा सु	रु'र्थे८'नत्रत'र्झे८'कुल'र्छ' बर्ळे
৫বাদবান্ধ:ন্রি ঘর্ত্বর:র্যা	न्ग'म'से'ळेत्रा	শ্বিনন্দ'ট্য'স্কু'র্মা	૧૭) સુ'ર્વે'ર્વે'ર્સે' ગણન' ગર્સ્લ	गर्हेतु'गण्द'झुेषा	कॅं'र्झें'च'ग्रू 'च'ग्रू
৶ শ্রীনম'ন্রি'নর্স্বর' শ্	শইন্ত ৰেশ দশাস	শ'নর্ত্ত্ব'য়্র'ই	१५ দ্রি'শন্তর' গর্র্দম'দর্জ্ব	ষন্ম-দ্রি'বের্রুদ'।	५ईॅ:पत्रद'र्बे:टुर'ਘट' यवित्रा
﴿ শ্বী'শ্বৃষ্ণ নন্দ্ৰৰ হাঁ	Ắ'́ГМ	શુ'શૈંદ'એંદ'ભ્રુથ	२/ २. २. इ. म.	श्रुग्राय: वट पा थर हे	୶ଌୖ୶୶୳୳୕୕୕୕୕୕୕ୠ୷
(খ্রু. রু. ব্যুম্ ক্রিমা	गठेंदु:गवित:चलेन्	র্নুমান্দ্র-জ্লুর্ব্ব স্বর্জ্ব	৫০ স্থি যা নি'যান্তর' যহিযাম্য	ଞ୍ଝ'ଗ୍ୟ'ୟ୮:୩୨୯	ক্ট্রিন্-াবর্ত্তর'নেই'নিশ্বনা
<i>?</i> ° জ'র্ন'ন্দ্র্যামা	झ.स. व्यॉ. ८ गर।	ર્શ્વ.લંગ્ર.શ	११ गववारी हॅन्. रार्चवा	न्यतयाञ्चन प्रविम	ଜ୍ଞି'ସ୍ସ୍ୟ'ହିଁର୍'ର୍ମ୍ୟୁ ।
११ दे. द्व. जेवासा	ઐ'ર્થે:હુ∽'	શુ:સુચગ્રેમ:અ	ঀঀ য়৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾ঢ় ঽ৾৾ঀ	ঝল্যন:ক্ট্লేদ্র'নার্ক্তর'ঞ্জেঝ' ক্রুদা	অদ্র'দার্র'দার্স্তব্য
१२ मे. मे. जेगग	এইব'র্বব'র্যিযা	ঝর্চ্চব র্টা ন্য্রান্- শ্লেব	ধৃণ্ণ মন:র্ছন:মন: নর্ন্তরা	ঝল্বন'ঈ্লন'নর্ভর'ড্রেন্ম' ব্রন্না	୳ୖୢୠ୕୳ୠ୶୳ୖୢୖୠ୲୶୲୷ୖୣ୷ୄ
१३ वॅद्रिः दुः त्येवास	अळेंष:दायाविव्य:५5ुषा	ૹૹૢૼ.ૹ૿૾ૺૺૺૺૼૼૺઌૡ૽ૢૼૻ૾૾ૹૺ	१६ ५८ ता रा होता होता होता. रा हे।	तगर्न-गलन-गलित-होस-सु	মক্টমম্ব'নর্র'নর্জ্ব'রे' র্দৃশ
এলালা প্রান্থা	^{क्ष} 'र्चेन'गमेन, पर्ट न' पर्ट ला	শবিশ-শ্লব-দ্রে'র্মা	२५ विं से गर्हग यहना	শ্বম'স্ক্ৰীম'নাল্ল-'স্ক্লিন'নাৰ্ডব।	য়্রীঝ'রিদ'র্যাদ'র্লি
१५ छि में लेगग	क्ष'ल'र्च्या'स्थ्य	હ્યું'સ્થઍ'&⊏'વોયાષા	46 দ্রি'র্হ্রদ-শ্রি'বর্ত্তবা	ষ্ণবা'শ্ৰ:শ্ৰ'ৰ্যাদ'। অ'ৰেদ' যিঅ'শ'স্ক্ৰিদ্য	ജ'व्रुष:पत्रत:यूट:र्रे'हे' यवि'्हेट'।
१८ ज्ञ'वय'ज्ञेव'झे	ar.ar.amer.zr.an.r	য়৾৾ঌ৾৾৾য়ৣঀ৾৾৽ঀৣ৾৾৽৴য়৸	१२) सु'वे'नर्छव'र्ये	ឌିଂଞ୍ଚୁକ୍ ଅଟି ଓ ଓ ୮୦୦	สิ ซีร์ ราวสุด ลิ รัการ์สา
१२) झे: तसुना ववा गविन् ।	विन्तविन्त्रम् कु.थु.धीव.झेन्त	र्षे'गलेत्र'सेन्'र्से	११ सु हेग राहव रो	र्वेव'विन'नतुःर्नन'।	ळे'र्झेन'यत्रत्।
14 શે.ર્જે માનવા છે	<i>ঀ</i> ८'ঀৢ८'र्ने व 'र्हेग्राय'क्रुय'र्ये।	ક્ષુ'ર્સે'સેમ્'ર્સે	ঞ্ব দ্রি:শ্রু:শ্র্রন্দ নর্তব	ঀ৾৾৾ৡ৾৽ঢ়৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾৾ঀ৾৾৾৾৾য়৾	র্ষথা ই'বরম'নর্জ্ব ক্রুথা
१९ झे. र्वे र वया	वन्ति खालान्तु है।	দ্রি:স্কব:ই:র্মা	৬০ শ্রি'যার্ন্তব্য'শ্রি' মর্ব্তব্য	শ্রন্থা,শ্রা প্ররা, প্রা, প্	ชัญ รั นลง รุงคม
૧૦ સે જેવારો	ঀ৾৾ঢ়৾ঀৢঢ়৾৾৾ঢ়৾৾৾৾ঢ়৾৾৾য়৾৾য়৾৾৽য়৾৾৽য়৾৾৽য়৾৾৽য়৾৾৽য়৾৾৾য়৾	দ্রি'ম্ব'নর্ন্তব'শন্টিব' র্ন্যা	<) विं'ट्रूर'ब'ख' ट्रुब'यर्च्वा	न्नितसाः झ्रेगाः झः ठवा	ଞ୍ଝ'ଗ୍ୟ'ସମ୍ବଦ୍ଧ ଝି'ର୍ହ୍ଧିକ' ସମ୍ବଦ୍ଧ
११ हे.मुलारी	ૡઽ [.] ૡૢઽ [.] ઽ [.] ઽ [.] ૪ [.] ૪	শ্ধব'ম্ব্র্র্ব'শ্রুযা' র্ন্নিদ্যা			

સુર પર્ગોની વેંન શે મુખ્ય સેંત પર્શ્વ સેં નવા વી અર્જ્ય

न्धन् गविति धीया क

[1] 牟钟鉴: 《中国宗教通史》上卷,中国社会科学出版社,2007(12)

[2] מִבָּרִיָּקַישׁ׳ אָרִידָ בו שָׁמִיאַיַמוּמירָדימִמִישָרִיקמיש בָרִיקמיישָריז מַיאַשָּיבָאי בו איז אַמוּמירָדי 2010

[3] Samten G. Karmay/Yasuhiko Nagano, *The Call of the Blue Cuckoo*, The National Museum of Ethnology Osaka, 2002

[4] ฟାଦଷାମ୍ସମମ୍ୟୁ କ୍ଷାଆହରି ଗିଁ ସ୍ଥିରି ସାକ୍ଷ୍ୟୁମାର୍ମ୍ବର ଅନିମ୍ୟାନ୍ତିଷାଦ୍ୟା କ୍ଷ୍ୟୁମାଙ୍କିତ୍ତ ସିଶ୍ୱ ସାକ୍ଷ୍ୟ କ୍ଷି ସାନୁଆ କିଂଲିମା ଅଚ୍ଛି ହିଁଶ୍ୱ ଭିଂସିସାଷାମ୍ବର୍ଦ୍ଧ କ୍ଷୁଣ ସମ୍ଭା 2015

[5] Research Materials from The Ye she De Project. TIBETAN HISTORY SERIES (Ancient Tibet). Dharma Publishing 1986

[6] અભયાન્વન્યત્વર અભાવે ર્વેત્ર સંવે ગાંસુન્ય વસુયાર્થન ગાંજીયાયા ક્રુન્ય સેલ ગાંસુયા છે. ગાંજી ગાંજી કો બેન્ય અર્જે કેંચ્વ સે ત્રે ગાંસુવ (ત્રિન્ય 2015

[7] אומאיקקרי אומולי אדי וו פרידק יאי שאי ליאלי לקן לי פרין ארי דעו גערי אין פרידק יאי שאי ליאלי אילי אין אי איין גערין 2009

ষ্ট্রী ন্য শালী

\mathbf{q} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{s} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{s} \mathbf{y} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{q} \mathbf{x} $\mathbf{x$

สู้ญาสาชัสามูิรา

(3) કેંત્ર રેંત્ર કેં તે તે સાથ તે સ સાથ તે સ સાથ તે સ

१ र्हेन्-न्वेंब्र प्रहुःग्रुअन्न कुवन्त्र हुव्य न्य

শক্ষ্ম বিশ্ব শ্বামাশা

[®] ڔۧڂڹڂؚ؆ٳڂ؞ؿۼڹؗؾۼڂٮڡۼٳ؇ڕڂڂ؆ٳڂ؞ڠؙ؆ٳ؆ڿڂٳ؆ۛ؆ڹۛڂ؞؆ڷۄڹڂڔ؞ڂ؆ڹڂڔڹۼۼ٢ڡڂٵ 2002ۿٳ ۼٚڡٳ؞ڡڂ؆2140ڡٳڡڡٳ ٥.

¹⁰ దధినాదుద్ద స్రార్ధాలు స్పర్ణ స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణ స్పర్ణాలు సంగాధాలు సంగాధాలు సంగాధాలు సంగాధాలు స్పర్ణ సంగాధాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణ సంగాధాలు స్పర్ణ సంగాధాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణ స్పర్ణ స్పర్ణ స్పర్ణ సంగాధాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్రార్ణ స్పర్ణ సంగాధాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణ స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణ స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణ స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణా స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్ణ స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్లా సారాలు స్పర్ల స్పర్ణాలు స్పర్లం స్పర్ల స్పర్లా స్పర్లా స్పర్లా స్పర్లా స్పర్లా స్పర్ల స్పర్లా స్పర్లం స్పర స్పర్లం స్పర్లా స్పర్లం స్పర్లా స్పర్లం స్పర్లా స్పర్లం స్పర్లా స్పర్లం స్పర్ల స్పర్లం స్పర్లా స్పర్లా స్పర్లం స్పర్లా స్పర్లం స

१२ न्यातः स्वार्थे चनः ननः नयो खयाया राते कु नक्केना

हे:ईंटायर्प्रशन्यात्रः स्वर्ग्वात्रायात्रवेत्रः वेटः र्झेवर्य्य्यः केवर्वेः तर्ळेयायाः प्रयान्योः युवायायतेः शुनः

উদ্য

इत्रः ध्रुग्सें 1639 सॅन्यावय्र राषय्र यात्र महाय दिया दिया दिया दे दिया है के स्वर्थ के स्वर्थ के स्वर्थ के स

แขพลาเชิงา.ณ์อุณาพิว.ว.อิพโ มีนพ.ป.ว.2พ.มีน.พธบ.ณ(อย.ก.ช.น)อย.เนช.เนลี่ม.สุพล.ป.ม.เชินไลเนินไม่.เนมี.

 झे८.८यट.य€.४४.ग्री.८४.८८.८४% वेष.घंगेत.श्रह्य.४४४.४४% विष.घंगे.४४.४% विष.घंगे.४४.घु८.४४% विष.घंगे.

康区的势力扩展及其寺院空间分布》,《历史地理》,2011年第0期,第225页。

[®]᠂ᡈᡊ</sup>ᡆᡭᡃᠭᡆ᠙ᡃᢦᡆᢩᢂᡃ᠋᠊ᢧᢆᡆ᠋᠉ᡚ᠖᠋ᠯ᠋ᡦᡆ᠋᠆ᠴᡏᢅ᠆ᡝᡅᢅ᠆᠋ᡃᡅ᠆᠋ᢋ᠈᠋ᡆᢙᢆᡎᢂ᠂ᢋ᠂ᠭᢩ᠗᠆ᠴᡆ᠉ᠴᠲ᠋᠋᠆ᠴ᠖᠋᠆᠘ᠺ᠋ᠴ᠋ᠴᢂ᠋᠆᠘ᡬ᠘᠃ᠴᠴᢂ᠋᠆᠘᠘᠘᠘ अषाप्तगुं वै'वदी'कुवि'तुव' कुन'नून' कुन'नु' क्षे कर्णाषा नेवि'वन'नु' के कॅन्गों करा के नगान अहें भाषा ना करें किया के किया क किया के क किया के क किया के किया क किया के किया क किया के क abarbi子qi末iqi嶺云iẤ云'石ǎǎa'uià'嶺云iẤ云'ā'ui如wawa'ᡚa'云a'云aa'aṣʿṣག'u云'aゐca'u'aaca'u'aaca'u'aaca'u'aaca'u'aaca'u'aaca'u

⁶⁷ঝন্ম'যাম্বাঝা ◎ 冯智:《理塘寺早期政教史初探》,《西藏大学学报》,2005 年第1期,第26-31页。

૬ નગમ અદેશા ભુગ એવા સુરાસ્કૃ 'વસ્યા બયા ભુદય 'વલે વધા વર્ષુ સુવા છયા 🤇 નગમ અદેશા ભુગ છે' નવેવ શે સંગંધા ગયા વર 'વન નવા છે' વર્ષ વધા વર 'વન નવા છે' વર્ષ વધા વા 1995થાં વેવા દેશ

મુંત્ર ગાંતેયાં ગું શુવા લગ્ન પંધે ન પારે સુવા છે ન કેવા જ લગ્ન ગાંતા સુધા

૬૮. શ્વા.જાર્યો ૬ઉ.વાશ્વેજ્ઞ.વેજ્ઞ.વેદ્ય.વેદ્યોય.વે.શ્વેત.જાજ્ય.વાયુજ્ય.ત્વુન.શ્વે.ત.વુ.ત.તે.ત.ત.ત.ત.વે.જ્ય.જ. ત્યાત.ત્વર્ક્યની ત્રૂવ.દ્ય.ભુવ્યે છે! તટી.વુ.છૂ.દ.ટ્યૂવ.વર્જી.વાંશેજ્ઞ.તાલુપ્ય.શે.વ.કેટ.ત.ટેજ્ઞ.તટી.દ્યુવાય.જી.કુ ત્યાત.ત્વર્ક્યે દ્યુવાય.

᠊᠋ᠭ᠋᠊᠋ᢂ᠂᠋ᡏ᠋ᡰᠹᢂ᠂ᡚᡃ᠋ᢣᢆ᠍᠋ᠿ᠄᠗ᡃᡆ᠋ᡃᠭ᠋᠂ᡆ᠈ᡏᢅ᠋᠋ᡏ᠋᠂ᡃᡆ᠋ᠴ᠄ᡩᠴ᠄ᡍᢆ᠂ᢅᡷᠴ᠍ᡃ᠍᠍᠍᠍᠍ᡐ᠋᠋᠉ᠺ᠋ᡬᡬᡬ᠋ᡆᢅᡄ᠋ᢂ᠄᠍ᠼ᠋᠋᠋ᢋ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ᢤ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠉ᢄᢄ᠋ᢤ᠋᠁ᢄᢄ

ॺॊ॔ऀॣॱॺॊॱॺ॒॒ॣॺॱऄॖॺॱॶॺॱऄॖॖऀॺऻॺॱय़ॸॖऀऀॸॱॺॖॖॖॖऺॸॱॺॿय़ॱॺॎॺऻॱॺॊॱॸॣॺॕऻक़ॱॾॖ॓ॱॺॖॖॖ॑ॱॱॶॖॸॱॶॸॱक़ॖऺॸॱक़ॕॺॱक़ॖऀॸॱक़ॱॸॖॸॱऻ



रेक् स्त्रेया पर्गेति पा यान्त्र यान्त्र भाषा हा हो 🗍

 [॥] गान्तराव भाषा त्रियाय के स्वाप्त के स्वापत के स्वाप्त के स्व स्वाप्त स्वाप्त के स्वापत के स्वाप्त के स्वापत के स्वाप्त के स्वापत के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वापत के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वापत के स्वापत के स्वापत के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप यात्र स्वाप्त स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के से स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वाप्त के स्वापत के स्वाप्त के स्वापत के यात्र स्वापत के स्वापत के स्वापत के स्वापत स्वापत के स्वापत के स्वापत के स्वापत के स्वापत के स्वापत के स्वापत क स्वापत के स्व स्वापत के स्व स्वापत के स्

१२ ईनःर्केषः हे प्टयान्त्रप्टः खुवः र्केयायाः ग्रीःयाह्तः कुन्

୩ନିଷ୍ୟ ନିନ୍ଦ୍ୟ କିନ୍ଦ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ଥାରେ ଅନ

হ্ট'ৰ্কৃশ	য়ৢ ^{ঢ়} ৾য়য়য়৾৾ঀ৾৾য়৾৾ঀ৾৾৾ঀ৾৾৾য়৾৾য়৾৾য়৾৾য়৾৾য়৾৾য়৾৾য়৾								
	<u>ير. کیا</u>	न्त्वो'ख़्वाह्य	নশান'নক্তুদ্বা	क्रिू-'व्य	ৰ্নন	নই্ইমন্য			
৸৸৲য়৾য়	7	19	5	11	1	43			
न्नग'र्थ्यो	1	5		12	3	21			
<u>দ</u> ন্ধ		11		11		27			
	8	35	5	34	4				

જ્વ સ્વાય છે સ્વાય સ્



[®] Karl Debreczeny. "Imperial Interest Made Manifest: sGa A gnyan dam pa's Mahākāla Protector Chapel of the Tre shod Maṇḍala Plain." Roberto Vitali, ed. *Trails of the Tibetan Tradition: Papers for Elliot Sperling*. Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute, 2014, pp. 129-66., 2014.p140

[®] พรายพราย เมื่อ เม

1995वॅति'ञ्च'10राते'र्डेस'25य'यर'पक्षुत्र| वैंग[ग्रन्स'5पर'गक्ष्य] [®] 噶玛降称,泽仁邓珠:《康北 "霍尔"及霍尔十三座寺院》[J],《中国西藏》(中文版),1999 年第 2 期,第 43 页。 ^⑤ वाठा'द्वग'भ्रेय'पवन्द'इठा'कुर'ग्रेख'' हेर'न्गॅद'शे'पकु'गतुर'गत्र्य'', विंग'गुर'गत्र'', विंग'गुर'', विंग'गुर'', विंग'गुर'', विंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग', वेंग', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'', विंग'', विंग'', वेंग'',

ર્ઝૅંગ ર્ಹેષા દ્વે 'પ્રવાન પ્રત્યા શું' એં 1644 બા બધુ પ્રાણ ³ વા ગવા વા ગવા પ્રાણ શું' એં 1685 એં પ્ર દુત્ત પ્રાણ ગું વા ગવા પ્રાણ શું' એં 1644 બા બધુ પ્રાણ ³ વા ગવા સાથુ છું' એં 1608 એં પ્ર બધુ પ્રાણ પ્રાણ ગું છે. બગ્ર ચું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું છે. એં 1668 બા બધુ પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્ર તગ્ર ચું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું છે. આ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્ર ચું પ્રાણ ગું પ ગું પ્રાણ ગું ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રા પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગું પ્રાણ ગુપ ગુ ગુ ગુપ્ય ગુલ ગુપ ગુ ગુ ગુપ ગ ગુ ગ ગુપ ગુપ્ય ગુ

२२ ईनःर्केषः हे प्त्यान्त्रप्तः सुव र्केवाषा ग्री झु केंदे र्थे कुषा

ଌୢୄୖ୵ଽୄୢ୵ୄୖୠ୶ୄୠୣ୶ୄୢ୷୷ୢୄ୷୶ୄୢୠ୶୲ୢୠ୶

मूर्स 31155 361 वर यासवा [®] ၎Ҕഺॺॱठสॱॺॢ॓ॺॺॱଽ୲ଘୖ੶୶୷ॱಱॕॺॱॻ₭ॺॺऻ 《क़ॕॸॱक़ॕॺॱॾॖ॓ॱॠॖॖॱय़ऄ॒ॸॱॺॕॸॎॵज़ॵक़ॱॻॖऀॱक़ॣ॓ॺॴॵॱक़ॾॣॺॱय़ॾ॔ॺॱख़ॖॖॖॖऀय़ॱॻऻऄॸॱॻॖऀॱक़ॣ॓ॱॺऻ》 ऄऀॸॱॱय़ॸॱॺऻॱऄ॔ॺऻॱॻ॒ॸॺॱ36ॸ॒ॸॱ37∾ॸॱ বাঝন্য

ะๆารุกราลีากละาฐางธังา(1617-1682)งสุรานนิ่า 《รๆารุกราลีากละาฐางธันิาสุมายรารูาขูาณนิาทัพา ₹ॺॱॿॸॱॺॸॕॸॱॸॾॣॺॱढ़ॾ॔ॺॱज़ॖॖऺऺऀॱॻॺ॓ॸॱॻॖॖऀॱॾॢ॓ॱॺ》 ৢढ़ॸॱख़ॖॱॡज़ॖॖॻॱॾॖॻॱज़ॷॸऀॱड़ॻॱज़ग़ढ़ॱॸख़ॖॱॸ॔ॱड़ॖ ᠊ᢅᡷ᠋᠊᠈᠊᠋᠋᠊᠋᠋᠊᠋᠋᠋᠋᠊᠋᠋᠊᠋ᡔ᠋ᠴ᠋᠋ᡵ᠆᠋᠋ᠴ᠋᠋ᢟ᠋ᢋ᠂ᠺ᠋ᢄ᠊ᠯ᠋᠋᠋ᡎᢙᢆ᠋ᢂ᠂᠊᠋᠋ᢩᠳᡎ᠃᠆᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠆᠋᠋ᠴ᠋᠊᠋ᢓᢂ᠃ᡏᢩᡆ᠉ᡩᢂ᠂ᡦᢩ᠉᠋᠄ᢓ᠆᠋᠋᠄ᢓ᠕᠋᠁ᡚ ર્શેઢ્યાયાયવેઢ્યાયમયાયું અન્યાયું ત્યાયાયું સુધાયાયું સુધાયું સ

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⁵⁵নতঝ'ঝ্র'যাঝঝ

<u>এ</u>প্রথ্য sGa A gnyan dam pa's Mahākāla Protector Chapel of the Tre shod Mandala Plain." Roberto Vitali, ed. Trails of the Tibetan Tradition: Papers for Elliot Sperling. Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute, 2014, pp. 129-66., 2014.p148)

ૹ૽૾ૢૺઽ૱૱ૹૹૻૹૼૹૹઽ૽ૹ૽ઽઌ૽૽૽૾ૺઌૡૢઽૹઽૢૹૻઌ૽ૼ૾ૻૹ૾ૻઌૹૻઽૺૹૹ૽ૣૢૺઌૻઌૼૹ૽ૢૢ૿ઌૻૻ૰ૺૺૺૺૺ668ઍૼૼઽઽઌૣૡૻઌૡૢઌૡૢઌૡૢઌૡૢઌૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ पग्राःविषान्तराक्तुषान्तर्गत्रां शुं छूट् प्रत्येषायाययाय्या कृत्या क्रियाय के क्रियाय क्यां के प्रत्या के क्रि कुषान्त्र्येत्र ग्री'झून प्रत्यायाषण्यप्र 'क्रेंत्र प्रते'ञ्चन ग्रेजे 🕅 1999व्यं। तद्यषाञ्चन्त्र'याषण्य ग्रीन्द्र'याषण्य ग्रीत्य प्रत्या में या देवा देवा प्रत्यायाषण्य ह्या प्रकृत' त्या न पत्य 'क्रें ୍ (ନ୍ରି'ନ୍ରି'ନ୍ୟ'ସ୍ମା'ନିଷ'ମ୍ୟ'ଲୁଷ'ମ୍ଗ୍'କୁଷ'ନ୍ତିଆସି'ମ୍ମ୍ୟ'ସ୍ମ୍ୟ 🖉 1996ଁଜ୍ୱା ନ୍ୟା'ମ୍ୟ'ସ୍ୟାଏକା Karl Debreczeny. "Imperial Interest Made Manifest:

ૹ૾ૼૹૻૡૻૺૻૡૼૻૻૡૻઌૻૹૼૻૻૹ૽૿ૢૺૡૻૹૺૹ૾૽ૺૡ૽૾ૡૻઌૡૻૹ૾ૡૻ૽ૡ૽ૻૡૡૻ૱ૡૻૡૼ૱ૹ૾ૼૹૻૹ૾૾ૡૡ૽૾ૡૡ૽ઌૡૻઌૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૻૡૼૡૻૡૼૡૡ૽ૼૡૡ૽ૼૡૡ૽ૼૡૡ૽ૼૡૡ

ฐ๛ารกรายเกาลสายัสายากลิสารสารัราชัสายกิจรูวัรรัฐากสรากผลากยัสารสารการสายางคลา 551 $\alpha [g \subset \alpha' \tilde{\alpha}' \tilde{g}' \tilde{\alpha}' 1644 \tilde{\omega} a' \prec \tau \eta a' \alpha' \tilde{a} \subset \tilde{g} a' \tilde{a} ' g a' \tilde{\eta} a' \tilde{$ ॺॺॎॣॵढ़ऀॸॱऻ^{॒®}ॾॖॖऀॱऄ॔ॱ1654ऄ॔ॸॱग़ॖॱय़ॖऀॱज़ॺॱॺऻय़॓ॺॺॱॸऺढ़ॱॸऺॺॕऻ॔ॸॺॱॾॕॺऻॺॱख़ॖॱॸऺऀॺ॓ॺऻॺॱॸॖ॓ॱॸऺॺॕऻॺॱॾ॓ॱॸॡॱॺख़ॖॺॱॸॸॸॱ પતિ'ન્સ'નરુત'લુગ'ન'ધેa'ak'utek'ગ્રુગમાં સુ'નનન'ને' સ્નાનસ'ને'નુ સ' ર્દ્યુ' તેં' 1608 તેં મ'તલુન સ' પતિ' ગ્રુ નિ ठेटः ह्यु 'र्ये 1668 यें र 'तयु द स य 'पीव 'व' दे 'पर्य गुट 'रेगव'यर की तर्ये हिं 'यें '1661 यें र 'र्हे र 'र्ळे स'हे 'टग' द पर 'सुव' $\exists \exists \forall \forall \forall d \in \mathcal{A}_{2}^{\mathcal{A}}$ ત્ર્યુય રાંતે અર્ઢે ન પોંત્ર શું ભાગ તા તે સુવયા ત્રા સુવયા ત્રા ત્યા ત્રા ત્યા ત્રા ત્યા ત્રા (ψ)

শ্রদর্ষ:615দদ। 619অস:শ্রুর্মনা [®] ମ୍ବଳଷାରଷ୍ଟାକ୍ଷିଷଷାଂସରି ଉଦ୍ଦାଞ୍ଚିଷଣା 🕺 ନିର୍ମାଜିଷା 🗧 ମୁନ୍ଦ୍ର ସିସାହାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସିସାହାର ଅନ୍ତର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥିୟ ସ୍ଥାନ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାନ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାନ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ତ

दनदः र्न्ते 'वज्ञद' क्रु' अर्केंदे' द्वयः घरः दु: गुः 'वदे' र्वेषा पत्रदर्भः विद्यार्थः देवा प्रति क्रियः विवा यत्तरः भिषा प्रति क्रियः याययः । 1989र्थे। विवा यत्तरः भिष्यः याययः । य [®] ଶୁଦ୍ୟମ୍ମମମ୍ବାଥ୍ୟାମ୍ଦ୍ୟାମ୍ମସମ୍ବାର୍କ୍କ୍ୟୁର୍ଭ୍ଞ୍ୟୁର୍କ୍ଷ୍ୟ 🕺 ମୋମ୍ମମ୍ବ୍ରାର୍କ୍କୁର୍ବ୍କ୍ୟୁର୍କ୍କ୍କ୍ରାର୍କ୍କିନ୍ସ୍କ୍ରାର୍କ୍ର୍ୟୁର୍କ୍ର୍ର୍କ୍ର୍ୟୁର୍କ୍ର୍ୟୁର୍କ୍ର୍ର୍

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[®] ମ୍ବଳ୍ୟାତ୍ତର ଞ୍ଚିରଣାଂଧରି ଉଦ୍ୟଞ୍ଚିଷାଦଙ୍କରଣା ଏନିମାନ୍ତି ଞ୍ଚାରଣିକାହିଁ ମାନ୍ତ୍ର ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ତି କୁରା ଅନ୍ୟାର୍ଥ ଅନ୍ୟାରଣ ଅନୁସାର କୁରା ଅନ୍ୟାରଣ କୁର୍ଯ୍ୟା ଅନ୍ୟାରଣ କରୁ କୁର୍ଯ୍
[®] ၎၌<<p>สามารถ เมื่อสามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสาม สามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการถึง เป็นการถึง เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสามาร สามารถ เป็นการถึง เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการถึง เป็นการถึง เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการถึง เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการ สามารถ เป็นการถึง เป็นการถึง เป็นการถึง เป็นการถึง เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการถึง เป็นการ เป็นการถึง เป็นการถึง เป็นการถึง เป็นการถึง เป็นการถึง เป็นการถึง เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการสามารถ เป็นการถึง เป็นการ

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	ळयाषा र्स्त्या गांव याषाया से विंद्र 🕅	อูต หาย เป็น เป็น เป็น เป็น เป็น เป็น เป็น เป็น	及霍尔十三座寺 院》	
		<u>भूर-'मुर्न</u> , मुंब'खे		
1	<u> नगमा अहें अप्तेर्व</u> ेत्र	<u> नग</u> नः अहें अ'न् र्गेति।	नगम अहें ९ नर्गे वा	ন্স:ক্রুম্ম:ন্র্র্ণার্বা
2	<i>स</i> 'नर्गेव'गश्रर'नर्गेव।	चया'दर्या'द्यांव।	<i>स्</i> "न्वॅांब्"ग्वरू-'न्वॅांब्।	नगार अहें अर्गवी
3	<u>ह्</u> द्र प्रथ्य मुन्द्र प्	নম:ক্রুমানবাঁবা	ायन: नुबान: नुर्योत्र।	चे रे न्याँम्।
4	<u> इया र्ख्या द्यां</u> त्रा	<u> শ</u> ্রন্যমন্য্রন্য-দ্ব্যুব্য	# নমম শ্রুন দ্র্যারা	ঈঁশ সাঁশ পূৰ্ণা

१२ र्हेन्र-पूर्वेविः झेंग्वरुग्विश्वर्यायम्- र्खुया

यह्युत्याच्य कॅरान्यॅविग्वर्ख्यायुव्यख्याख्युत्मर्ख्यायुः झॅरा

[◎]格勒著:《康巴史话》,四川美术出版社,2014年,第150页。

स्तिंग्वार्वेत्रः श्रीं : श्रें : आ) नित्र : यात्रा स्वा मिया : यात्र : या विया : यात्र : या विया : यात्र : या

uren यान के कि कि कि कि कि कि कि कि के कि के कि के कि के कि कि के के के के र्वेट्राया मुराया में का महराय हिंग पर्या पर्या में का महेता प्राये की महेता में का महेता प्राया प्राय्या पर्या के का में देवा में के का मे के का में के का मां के का में के का मां क ऑन् ऑन् ग्राम् न्वीत्र रा यान यान भीत्र रा नर्गनि के तर् या

5	ন্ম ক্রুঝ নের্গারা	ङ्गे आपर अनुव द्वाँव।	<u> </u>	चग'र्ख्याय'न्यॅवि
6	ायन: नुम्बर: नुर्ये] व]	विन्नार्वेया'(ञ्चियाखार्स)हॅं र्से'न्वीत्र	হ্ৰদা-স্থিঁদাম-দুৰ্দাৰা	নম্ময়ন্মন'ন্য্র্যিন
7	বিদ'র্বিশ'র্স্থিশ'র্ন'র্ন্বাবা	इ.स्रग. र्झ्रग र्ग्रेची	चया'दर्यो'न्यॉम्	ायट'न् अर'न्येंबि
8	ञ्चे आयत यानुत र्योत्र।	हुटु ज ठाई द्वींवा	: পিদ'র্শিবা'ন র্বারা(স্থিঁবাম' ই'ন্র্বারা)	স্থিঁগম'ন্ট'র্নগ্রা
9	चग'दर्गे'दर्गेत्।	ायमःन्मनःन्धेवा	व्यायर यानुत र र्योत्।	हुछ ज मर्कें द्वीवा
10	हुदुःगवृतः कर्छः द्वेंवि।	ने'र्ने'र्न्यॉम्	<u> </u>	ষণ্য- প্রমান্ত স্থান্য শ্বনি
11	ने ने ने ने ने ने	<i>स</i> -न्यॅवि-याखर-न्यॅवि।	$\hat{\mathfrak{H}}$ 'र्च'र्च'र्ने'र्ने'र्न्ग्	र्द्धेया:र्ळ्ट्र'ट्यॉवा
12	हेरू:र्ळन:न्यॉन्	(वृ'त्वो'त्रॉक्) च्चेन् रे'त्रॉक्।	र्रेष'र्ळन'न्यॅवि	ন্ট্যার'যাম্মস'ন্ট্যারা
13		खुःशुल्यः ह ेषः ळॅटः निर्योत्र	ঈঁশ ঈঁশ দেশীৰা	चग'दर्गे'न्गेंत्र

म्निन्दर्भः झुत्रायना 2003 वीं

१२ ईंग्र-न्यॅ्व-झेन्दुःगह्युयःहु-र्ह्वय

सुत्र र्स्वयाषा ग्रीषा पालेन्या पा भोत्र कोत्र र्सेया नेते कु उ र्सुन मा

$$\begin{split} & \left\{ \widetilde{\eta} \overline{q}_{1} \widetilde{\Re}^{*} \widehat{\Gamma}_{1}^{*} \overline{\eta}^{*} \sqrt{\eta} \overline{q}_{1}^{*} \overline{\Gamma}_{1}^{*} \widetilde{\eta} \overline{q}_{1}^{*} \widehat{\Gamma}_{1}^{*} \widehat{\eta} \overline{q}_{1}^{*} \widehat{\Gamma}_{1}^{*} \widehat{\eta} \overline{q}_{1}^{*} \widehat{\Gamma}_{1}^{*} \widehat{\eta} \overline{q}_{1}^{*} \widehat{\Gamma}_{1}^{*} \widehat{\eta} \overline{q}_{1}^{*} \widehat{\eta} \widehat{q}_{1}^{*} \widehat{q}_{$$

[©] नगातःस्वराष्ट्रीः तुरुः चुरुष्याः पार्केषः ग्रागाषाः ग्रीषा अर्ह्सन् ((पादः गायरः भ्रीनषाः अर्थोवः क्रिंग्वियः ग्रीयव्यः ग्रीः व्यवनः प्रतिः प्रक्रेंग्ववनः प्रतिः विवनः चुन्) त्रायाः क्रिंग्वाययायाययः

[®] ﴿ङ्ग्रेंग् ङ्ग्रेंग ज़ुवा कर्क्व झु: झेन फे के के स्वार्थ के स्वार के स्वार्थ के स्वार्थ के स्वार्थ के स्वार्थ के स्वार्थ के स्वार्थ के स

ইবা'শ্রদঝ199ঘম'বাঝঝা

<u></u>᠊᠋᠆᠋᠃ᠴ᠋ᢦ᠋᠈ᡩᠴᢄ᠊᠋ᢁ᠆ᡩᠯ᠋ᡆ᠄ᢓ᠋᠈ᠺ᠋ᠲ᠂᠆᠋ᡏ᠋ᡎ᠈ᡬᡆ᠋᠈ᡸᡆ᠅ᡩ᠆ᢓ᠋᠉ᠴᠺ᠂ᢖᠴ᠈᠋᠊ᢢ᠆᠆᠆ᢧ᠉᠆᠋᠋ᠴ᠆ᢓ᠃ᠺᡬ᠊᠍ᡜ᠆᠈ᢔᢅᡆ᠈ᡬᡆ᠋

न्वेन्सायाधेवावेन्। न्वॅवायानेन्वानर्देसासुग्वस्यावेन्सान्त्रसायास्यास्य स्वेन्यान्न्यास्य स्वाववाग्रीन्वेवाया નવો બુવાયા અન્ય ન કે બુવાયા અન્ય સાથ માં બુવાયા તે તે બુવાયા તે તે બુવાયા તે તે બુવાયા અને તે બુવાયા બુવાયા બુ

न्द्रेव नगुरान्दा युटा क्रुंच छेन नगेवा परि प्रमाय का खेना

<u>ध</u>ुभादेते ख़िभाग्री क्रेट अन्त्र नगात नक्तुना र्वेव रों र्सेग्वयाग्री नगीव गविया की क्रिट न वियाद यो ख़ेयाया रादे शुना अवरा ସ୍ଥ୍ୟୁମ୍ ଅଁଶ୍ୟାଷ୍ୟ ୩୧୦ ଅଟିମ୍ୟୁ ଅନ୍ମାର୍ଥ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ମାରଥିବା ଅନ୍ମାର୍ଥ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ମାରଥିବା ଅନ୍ $[Q_{M}, M_{m}] = [Q_{M}, M_{m}] = [Q_{$ न्यो खुयाका स्वरि न्यॉवर सा क्रु मक्रेन जिला के खटान्यॉवर से विषयका नगार यहे का खिला क्री नयो खुयाका स्वरि न्यॉवर सा नटा से ધોવ લેન્ડને વે મુખ્યત્વન્ડ સુધેન્ડ વાલુયાના વર્ષેન્ડ વચ્ચ છે. આ આ આ બેન્ડ વ્યુપ્ય ત્વન્ડ વાલુયાનું આ આ બેન્ડ વ भ्रतमान् मान्युत्तर्भन्ते द्वारा स्थायाया स्थायाय के स्वर्ग के स्वर्ग के स्वर्ग के स्वर्ग स्वर्थया के स्वर्ग के स แขมลา:भूम-'र्द्युय].अवत'न्या'न्नम्'र्य्युल"¹ हेर्ब्राण्येव्र'ल'र्विन्'यीबाण्य्यबार्ख्ययाबार्ख्यायाः खुर्यायाः वी'र्झ्रेनबा'र्युयाबा'ग्री'न्नम्'खाप्तक्व'

দ্র্যান্ব:মা	ळगषा.ଲିଆ	নন্দিম:দূম	ଅଜିମ୍ୟ'ୟାସ୍ମ	<u>ม</u> ี่ป.ชยน
 नगानः अहें आनुर्योव। 	नगार अहें आ	1662	ᡷᢅᠵ᠂᠋᠋ᢆ᠋᠋ᢆ᠋ᢆ᠋ᢆᢌᡊ᠄ᢄᢩᡰ(᠊᠋᠊ᡍᡃ᠆᠋ᠬᡍᢆ᠆᠋ᡪ)	न् मे श्वम्बन्धः स्व
2. इ. न्यॅंब याखरा	शे'न्यो' <i>स</i> ार्येय	র্ম'যামন্দ্র	हॅर-क्रेंश-हे।(पर्वेट्रण)	न्त्वो शुवाह्य ग
3. तलम्र मुन-दर्गेम्	नगान अहेलः हार्विवा	1662	र्हेन्र:क्रेंश:हे (क्रु:पक्केन्)	শ:স্ত্রা নশান'নক্তুনা র্বার'
	~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~			यसिंश्व:2्यो.लेगेया.थी.टाझ्ची. र
$4.$ झया'ञ्चेंगरू'न्वेंत्रा $^{\circ}$	नगानः अहेंबाः हां विवा	1410-1474	न्यो'तनुमु'र्केष' त्रयेव्या(त्रवेन्ष)	न्वो सुवाषाय
<ol> <li>5. न्र: क्रुश: न्र्वेवि।</li> </ol>	नगामः अहेर्षा में दाया	1662	र्द्रूम.क्रेस.हे।(त्रावेट्स)	न्यो.अयम्भ
	هزا			
<ol> <li>ग्वम् न्यू म्यू व्या विकास का का</li></ol>	৸য়ৼয়৾য়ঀ	1147-1207ईग [.]	1662ૡૻૼૣૻ੶ૢ૾ૼૣૻૼ૾ૻ૾૾ૼૹ	ସମ୍ବାର-ସକ୍ତୁକ୍ର-ଗ୍ରକ୍ଷ-ମୁଦ୍ଧି-ପ୍ରଦ୍ୟାକ୍ଷା
		<u>अत्तः</u> त्तवित्त्या	हे(मु'नक्नेन्)	
7 ~ ~ ~ ~		755 790	1((2) ~~ ~	Pristant Polymon
7. र्ह्वेग'रे'र्न्योत्रा	चया पर्या	755-780 รัญารัญายุสิกษา	1663र्ह् र.कॅश्र'हे।	क्रेन्ट वा ज्वयान्यो खुयावा
8. अष्यतःयान्नतः द्वींत्रा	<u>झ्या दर्वे</u> ।	ৰ্ষন্থান্দৰ্শনা নিৰ্চিত্ৰ নিৰ্চিত্ৰ	(त्रङ्खुर) र्हेर:र्हेष:हे।(त्रङ्खुर)	षःभ्रुः दयः द्वीः श्ववाया
9. ราขา	नया पर्या	1663	हॅन.कॅर्याहे।(पञ्चन)	क्रेन्ट व्यावयान्यो खुयाव्य।
^{10.} મુદ્ય લ અર્જે ન વાંત્ર	<u>59</u>	1663	हॅर-कॅलाहे।(पर्वेटल)	न्यो.जयाबा
11. चे'र्ने'त्र्वीब्र	नगानः अहें रागरोन्ः	1648झु'हे'न्या'न्यन	1662র্শন'র্নুন'র্টঝ'	न्वो अवाब्य
		<u>ଧୖ</u> : ମିଷ: ଅର୍ବିକଷ୍ୟ	हे।(जुरुष गयाँग)	
12. हेस्र कॅट ट्वॉव	नगान अहें ला झें न्या	1662	र्हेर केंग हे।(पर्वेट्स)	न्यो'ख्याब्य

[ા] 《નયાત સ્વરાર્ક્સ તાસુદ પૈતુરુ સેમ ચં》 રાગ્રવા ગ્રિંવા નર્યોવા 'વાંવા 'વ 302યમ વાયત્વા

र्श्जेम् भगवायायत्र भुमित्र

ৰিয়া.লা

ᡆᢅ᠆᠋᠂ᡆ᠋ᡰ᠊᠋ᡷᢙ᠈ᢓᡆ᠋ᠠ᠂ᡍ᠂ᡆᢂᠬᠴ᠂ᠴᢙ᠋ᢋ᠆ᡏ᠋ᠯ᠋ᡒ᠄ᢓᡃ᠂ᠴᠲ᠋᠈ᡆᢂ᠗᠉ᠬᢂ᠄ᢅᡷᢣ᠂᠋᠋ᢆᡠᢂᢄ᠋᠆ᡔᡆ᠋᠆ᠭᠴ᠆ᢣᡧᢋ᠂ᢅ᠋᠋ᢁᡏᡆᢂ᠂ᢙ᠆ᢧᢆᢧᢂ᠂ᡆᢂ᠊ᠵ

ᠲ᠋ᡃ᠋᠁ᡄ᠆ᡪ᠋᠋᠋ᡎ᠋᠋ᡔ᠉ᢄ᠊ᢅᢂ᠆ᡩᠯ᠋᠋᠋᠋ᡜᢃ᠂ᢅᡩᠵ᠂᠋ᢆ᠋ᢆᠣᢂ᠄᠊ᢅ᠋ᡓ᠆ᠵ᠋᠋᠋᠋ᡎ᠆ᡪ᠋᠋ᠴ᠆᠙ᢋᡆ᠉ᡬᡀ᠋᠋ᡳ᠆ᢋ᠋ᢤ᠋ᠴ᠄ᠺᡜ᠋ᢂ

ฮะาาารุ่มาร์มาลรัฐานที่มีเราะารัลิ (1580-1639)สุมายรามพาโล้ยาชิรามรับสมพาพูานิกพารุ่ม""ภู่

ર્વેતે સુઃગ્રાન્નભા કેંત્ર અંદ ગો'દ્વો'બુવાય ગોું વાય સંદેદ્વેવ પંતે બદ્દદ્વ સારા સુઃગ્નુત્ર અલ્દ્વ સાચા વહેવાય"  20  બેયા પ

. १२. र्धेयाबा र् राप्ता में त्या प्राया अया दगार अहे वा दर्गा दा या का के प्राया का के प्राया की की का पर दा प

ૻૹૼૹૻૡ૱ૢઽ૾૾૾ૢૢઽૡઽૻૼ૾૾૾ૻૢૼઽૻઽૢૡૻૼૡૻૹૻઌઌૢઌૻૡૡૺૹૣૻૹૻ૽ઽૡૼૼૡૼૡૻૹૻૻૹૻૻૡૼૡૻૹૻૹ૾૽ૡૻૡ૿ૡૢૻૡૻૡૻૡ૾ૻૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻ૽ૡૻૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡૡ

- नु'त्त्वित्सायते'न्र्योव'रा'वे'स्'न्येव'यासर'न्त' मुद्र'व'ग्रंकें'न्येवा हैसाळं न्येवा न्याव्यायेव'या यावव'ययां केंकेवे'

^ૹ એર '୩&୩' વર પ્રસ્તુધ' પ્રસ્તુધ' પ્રસ્તુધ' પ્રસ્તુધ નાય છે. આ પ્રસ્તુધ પ્રસ્તુધ પ્રસ્તા પ્રસાય પ્રસાય પ્રસ્તા પ્ય પ્રસ્તા પ न्देः सुवायना 2009 में वियायन्त्र 528 भरायवाया

শ্রদক্ষ 304 মন্য ব্যব্ধমা

गूम गों में न गो के र मा में मा में मा में मा में मा में में मा में मा में मा में में मा में मा में मा में में म

[《]त्यादाञ्चतार्क्तसाद्धूट्राचेतुमुग्राकेराये》 रु'लाखर्यान्यांत्र विषायार्थायां विषायत्र विषाययार्थ्या अत्यायत्र प्रत्ये क्राय्यां द्यांत विषायां विषाय विषाय क्राय्या विषाय क्राय 1 

^{13.} क्रॅंट्र'क्रॅंट्र'ट्रॉवा नगार अहें शा क्लेंट 1474 রু'ব'র্ন্যুন্শ' ন্যা প্রিযামা آ^ آ यक्ष्य (यत्वेम्र) 14. नु'द्यो'ट्यॉ्स् *सॅ* केंश' हे' नग' नगन' र्श्र'दग র্ঝ'যাঝন্য দ্বশী প্রিশাম্ম ধ্রব ক্রিঁযামা(ত্রার্বিদম)

 वे⁻भ्र⁻कॅंन्ट्रॉव् भोव बिट फ्रेंग कट ज निया प्राय का का स्वाय के प्राय की का क न्दः झुग्गन्द्र प्वराय्य प्वराय्य का के हो </ प्रगाय गान्य पान्य प्याय प्याय के के प्याय के प्याय के प्याय प्याय के प्याय के प्याय के के प्याय प्याय के प् मर्ङ्ग्यायः ² विषः चेषा धॅन् रगषा ने नन् ग्वीन गीया से न्यांत्र मात्रा से विषाया या दिषा यो के प्राय या या ये विना यहा ळेव पर्वेत वय्य मायाया हो के 1529 वा ते प्रह्म राज्य के प्रति या राष्ट्र के प्रा के राज्य के प्रा के राज्य के राज ୄୖୢୄୠୖ୲ଈ୕୳1749ୖଈ୕ଽୄୢୠ୶୲୕୕୕୲୕ୠ୷୲୰୲୕୕ୖ୕୕୕ୠୄ୲ୡୖୖୖୖୖ୕ଈ୶ୄୡ୲ଈ୲ୠ୶ୖୄୖୖ୶୷ୖୄୄୖୄ୰୷ୖୠୄୖୖୖୖୖ୷ୄୄୖୄୖ୳ୠୄୖୄୖ୴୷ୄୖ୶୲୶୲୰ୡ୲ଽ୶୲ୡ୲୶୲ୡ୲ୡ୲ୄୖ "3 विषाम्रमायरा द्राप्त्रीत् पर्याप्रमा हे'र्येते न्येमायगत्या मुभान्त्र स्थाप्ते म्मायरात्ता यहा केम्भु सेन् साय <u>ક</u>્વાપાંતે પંચ્છા છે સુષ્ય ઘર દુ ઘેદ્ર બાબદાર્યે છુદ પ્વયા તે દુધાવા છે બાબદાદ્વે વા છુ લાગદા છે દુવા પાંતુ પ્ ळंटरन्वेंवि भवायाविव खेटर्यवर्षा देवटर्डे रार्केवा हे त्या न्यटरक्षुव केंगवा ग्रीका नहें का खुर्या वेत्वा थें द खेटर्या र्केन्र'

¹⁰³ নাম বামানা

নন্তগ্রমার্ম্ব্যস্থ্রিনা

ર્ફેંત્ર શુંપ્ત્વૅૅૅૅૅૅૅૅ સુંત્ર શુંગાહાઅ પ્લેત્ત્વાય પુંચાય શુંચાય ગુરુવા વૃષ્ય ત્વે ભુવા માય પ્રદેશ્યુપ્ત ચાય પ્રદેશ પ્રાપ્ત સ્વાય છે. ત્યાં સુંચા અથ્યા છે. ત્યાં સુંચા અથ્યા છે. ત્યાં સુંચા અથ્યા છે. ત્યાં સુંચા અથ્યા છે. ત્યાં સુંચા પ્રાપ્ત સુંચા પ્રાપ્ત સુંચા પ્રાપ્ત સુંચા પ્રાપ્ત સુંચા પ્રાપ્ત સુંચા પ્રાપ્ત સુંચા છે. આદ્ર પ્રાપ્ત પ્રાપ્ત સુંચા છે. આદ્ર પ્રાપ્ત સુંચા સુંચા સુંચા પ્રાપ્ત સુંચા પ્રાપ્ત સુંચા સું સુંચા સું સુંચા સુંચ સુંચા સુંચા

### র্ষুম'দ্রিম'

[®] ၎ર્ષોન્ન''દાન્વા'પ્રવેદન્ય'પ્રવેદ્ધ'' અપ્રસ્નેચ પ્રવેદ્ધ''પર્યું છેવે થે દેશ છેવે સ્વત્પાત્ત પ્રતુપ્ત પ્રત્ય પ્ર ત્ય પ્રત્ય પ્ર્ય પ્રત્ય

୴୶ୄୢଽୖ୶୶୲ୖୄୄୖୄଽ୶୵ଵୄୗୄୄଊୣୣ୶୶୰୳ୖୖୖ୶ଽ୳ୢୄଌୢ୶୲୵୵ୖୣୄୖ୷୳୶୰୳ୖୖ୷୰୷ୖ୶୰୷ୡ୲୳ୄୡ୶୰୷୰୶୷ୄୢୡ୲ୡ୲୶୲ୡୄ୲ क्रेंश'हें'प्रिंट'ल' ने'बे'र्ज़र' त्रवित्र रात्रे शुत्र अवतः यावतः शुः त्यॅत्र रा पया ज्ञ्यू वार्ये त्तः मुरा सुनि र गुरा रात्र वार्या वेषा र्जेन-न्येंन-झे-नरुः यश्जियां त्रे जि. तत्त्रयाः ग्री सुत्ता यावता यावता ग्री त्यों तर्हे । यया तत्य अलुवा त्यात्र यात्र य พา स्वभाविंग् न भाषा अर्कें न न मार अहें भार में न मी मार कर के भाषा से साम के भाषा से साम के मार के मार के मार र्टन्द्रमेवि ग्री त्याया द्वर्या स्वर्थ से स्वर्थ याय स्वर्थ याय स्वर्या द्वया द्वया द्वया द्वया द्वया द्वया द न्र्वेति पठरू भाषा प्राप्त के प्रा ૡદેવ આવવ ગોંદ શુવા પોંવ મુવા શુા અર્છે દ્રદ શે મુ દેવ રો છે વદ્ય દ્વારા સાવેવ તાર છે તે તાર છે તે તાર છે તે તાર 

ज़ॕॸॱक़ॕॺॱॾॖ॓ॱॸॺॖॱॸज़ॸख़ॖॺॱख़ॕॺॺॱॺॖ॓ॱक़ॖॖॖॷॱॸज़ॸॱख़ॱय़ॱॺक़ॕॺऻॱॺऀऻॱॸऀॕॺॱऄॣज़ॱऀऀऀॺॵॴक़ॖॵज़ॶॾॵॵॶॱॸज़ॱ

नेषार्त्रेगान्दे सुतायना 1995 में

ત્વન્ ત્વન્ ત્વન્ ત્વન્ ત્વેયાય છે. ત્વેયાય છે. ત્વેય છે. ત્વેય છે. ત્વેય છે. ત્વેય છે. ત્વેય છે. ત્વન્ ત્વેય ત્વેય ત્વેય છે. ત્વેય બેય ત્વેય વ્યુ જે ત્વેય વ્યુ વ્યુ વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વે ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ ત્વેય વ્યુ

ર્જેયાષા રેંદ્ર ૧૮૮માં આવર વયા ર્જેલ લગ્ગુદા ક્ષુ લા 2016ર્યો [4] દગ્રદ્ય જ્વા ક્ષેગ્રેઅલ અંતે બદા ર્જેલા કેંદ્ર ર્જેલા ફેંક્ષુ લક્ષેદ ર્યોદ અ ત્વઅલ ગ્રી ત્વે અવર અદેંત્ર વક્ષુલ લદ્દ અ સુંતે યાલેર ગ્રી ક્ષેગ્ગ ક્ષેલ આ

 $\mathbb{R}^{3}$  આવર ત્રવા માં જૂં ન ન્યત્ય તર્ફે ર ત્રુ અર્દ્ધ ચેર વર્ષ્ણવા તા ન સ્ટ્રે તે સ્ટે ત્ર સ્ટ્રે તે સ્ટે સ્ટે તે સ્ટે સ

 $- \frac{1}{3} = \frac$ 

[7] สูพากุจกาษัณากฤการ์ส์ จาการ์ส์ จาการ์ส์ สูพากุจกาษัณากฤการ์ส์ จาการ์ส์ จาการ์ส์ จาการ์ส์ จาการ์ส์ จาการ์ส์ จัการ์ จัการ์ จัการ์ สี่ จาการ์ส์ จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์ จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส์จาการ์ส

[9] Karl Debreczeny. "Imperial Interest Made Manifest: sGa A gnyan dam pa's Mahākāla Protector Chapel of the Tre shod Maṇḍala Plain." Roberto Vitali, ed. *Trails of the Tibetan Tradition: Papers for Elliot Sperling.* Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute, 2014, pp. 129-66.

[10] 陈庆英. 帝师八思巴传. 中国藏学出版社, 2007年.

### 甘丹才旺白桑布收复阿里与所立"经幡杆"的象 征符号及蕴意

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#### 引言

关于 17 世纪末阿里社会秩序研究方面,国内外众多学 者作过专题研究,如国外学者图齐(1985)[1],毕达克(1985) [2],罗布特·维塔利(1985)[3],洛桑(1987)[4],国内学者 格隆·丹增旺扎(1996)[5],岗日瓦·曲英多吉(1996)[6],古 格·次仁加布(1994)[7],齐光(2007)[8],黄博(2007)[9]和 阿旺金巴(2017)[10]等。另外,其他学者的作品中也有反映 阿里社会秩序的内容。但是,专门研究 17 世纪末甘丹才旺白 桑布的历史功业及其阿里社会秩序建构的著作比较少见。因此, 本文拟以西藏阿里地方社会秩序建构为研究对象,通过梳理其 历史背景,考究经幡杆¹,试图探讨阿里基层行政体系的起初 构成及其历史演变。

#### 甘丹才旺前的阿里地方历史地域概述

据相关史书记载,阿里王吉德尼玛贡有三子,长子白日 巴贡,二子扎西贡,三子德祖贡。三个儿子年长后,为避免重 蹈王室相残的悲剧,吉德尼玛贡把整个阿里分为三个行政区域 分给三子,并形成三个地方割据势力。²具体区域和边界等据 《拉达克王统记》记载:"长子白吉贡统辖阿里玛域,二子扎 西贡所属领地为普兰、古格、亚孜等;三子德祖贡则占据了桑 嘎、比地、比角等地"³。如上所述,阿里三围的行政模式形成, 后世才出现了"阿里三围""的说法。只有客观认识甘丹才旺白 桑布之前阿里三围的历史地理概念,才能进一步探讨 17 世纪 末的阿里地方历史背景及其演变过程,并以地方社会秩序建构 加以研究。因此,笔者就此列举一二进行说明,但不易一一赘 述。

#### 17世纪的阿里历史背景

17世纪甘丹颇章政权时期,因教派之争,拉达克王森 格朗杰进犯古格,占据阿里普兰、扎达、日土等地。五世达赖 喇嘛和达赖汗派甘丹才旺率领以蒙古骑兵为主力的蒙藏联军, 经过三年的激战,终于收服古格,攻破拉达克国,迫使其签订 协议,拉达克所占领的古格、日土、普兰等地收归甘丹颇章政 权管辖。1686年,蒙古将领甘丹才旺在阿里建立噶本政府,设 立包括普兰、日土宗等在内的"四宗六本"⁵,即阿里地区有四 宗六本,最高地方官员即噶尔本必须由地方政府委派,由于阿 里地处边境,战略地位十分重要,所以其官员的品第相当高, 为外台吉四品顶戴嘉奖后不久,甘丹才旺前往自己拼死搏斗、 功成名就的阿里,当了阿里历史上的第一任噶尔本,"噶尔"

²周伟洲:《唐代吐蕃与近代西藏论稿》,北京:中国藏学出版社,2006年,第152页。 ³《拉达克史》(藏文),西藏人民出版社,2001年,第23页。

⁴ 在珍贵的藏文古籍《拉喇嘛沃传记》记载: "菩提祖师拉喇嘛沃就出生在'阿里三围':亚泽、 普兰和古格中部。"另外, "吉德尼玛贡不仅有其极显赫的吐蕃赞普后裔之荣耀,而且他本人智勇 双全,德高望重,很快受到当地百姓的拥戴和尊崇。并且,在此地政事等各方面打下了十分牢固的 基础,也很快与老家有了联系。故而,其原来的两名忠臣按他们原先的许诺,把各自的女儿送往噶 尔冻做为其妃子。于是,焦日列扎勒的女儿焦日萨氏先后生了个儿子,他们就是阿里历史上有名的 "上部三贡"即长子拜吉日巴贡,次子扎西贡,幼子德祖贡。吉德尼马贡生前为了避免重蹈其祖先 之覆辙,为了不使他的三个儿子争夺其位而自相残杀,便把阿里分成三个势力范围,让个儿子各掌 其政。长子拜吉日巴贡统领南自芒玉、帮库那赞,东自日土、色卡廓、囊廓典角噶布、日瓦马布、 弥杰帕彭雅德、朵普巴钦等地,北自色卡工布,西自卡奇拉泽加等范围;由次子扎西贡统辖普兰、 古格、亚泽等范围。由幼子德祖贡统辖桑噶古松、毕帝、毕曲等范围,至此阿里历史上第一次形成 了三个较大的势力范围,藏族历史上有名的'阿里三围'亦由此而扬名。"详见:古格次仁加布编 著:《阿里史话》,西藏人民出版社,2003年3月,第12页。

⁵古格·次仁加布编著:《阿里史话》,西藏人民出版社,2003年3月,第35-36页。

(新·啊)亦即军营。因为在拉藏战争期间,这里是甘丹才旺大 将统率的蒙藏军队的驻扎营地,故得此名,当甘丹才旺大将再 次返回阿里后,原军营驻地成为阿里地方政府的行政机构驻地, "噶本"(新写顿)便是这个地方级行政机构的首领名称,阿里 历史上曾有过五十余名噶尔本,都由噶厦政府直接派遣,刚开 始一次一名俗官,后来一次两名,一僧一俗。首府设在"噶达 克"(新潮),是阿里的政治、经济、宗教和军事的中心。下 属机构有四个宗 (*ǐ*rì),分别为普兰达瓦、杂布让、日土。 有六个本(5%),分别为曲木帝、朗如、邦巴佐措、萨让。 邦巴本又称邦巴罗强,其头领称噶伦,此官,相当于在改则的 外四品官。"宗本"(美云词)是七品级的流官,直接从拉萨的 甘丹颇章地方政府的一百七十五名僧官和一百七十五名俗官中 委派,一般对政府立功不大者,派到边沅偏僻地,带有一定的 惩罚性。可'本'(云云)一级的均系世袭官,是在此次战争中立 功最多的当地人,他们都持有政府的令文,有很多特权,带有 一定的军官性质,在举行一年一度的噶尔恰钦盛会时,按战功 大小排位就坐。

1788年,尼泊尔以噶夏增加边界商贸税收为由,派兵侵 占吉隆、聂拉木、宗喀、绒下和普兰等地,大肆抢劫。1792年, 清乾隆五十七年,清朝派兵收复所失领地,在《西藏志》中记 载:"颇罗鼐长子朱尔玛特策登驻防于'阿里噶尔栋'。1841年, 道格拉王室森巴人派倭色尔为将,率森巴人、拉达克人和巴尔 蒂斯坦人组成的联军,以朝拜神山圣湖为名,分三路侵入阿里。 先后攻占日土、札达、噶尔昆沙、普兰等地方。清中央政府和 西藏地方政府获悉后,派代本笔喜等率军赴阿里,经一年多战 争,彻底消灭入侵之敌,收复阿里。""这一点西方藏学家伯戴 克先生中论述:"前藏、后藏、康区和阿里是四个具有悠久历 史的大地区。前两个不是行政单位,而只是地理上和民族上的 名称;地区长官(第巴)7首属于西藏政府。阿里具有特殊的地位。 这个大地区是后来(1684 年)并入西藏的,仍被认为享有特殊地 位的地区。但阿里地区的行政和西藏其它地区仍然大有区别。 在这四个地区不设两名宗本,而只有一名宗本管理军政事务。 在四个宗本之上,有两个噶尔本。因此,阿里是唯一保留自已

⁶陈家璡主编:《西藏森巴战争》,北京:中国藏学出版社,2000年9月,第199页。另外,普 兰县地方志编委员会编:普兰县志(内部资料),2010年,第411页。

⁷ 针对阿里地方行政长官则是阿里噶尔本,尚未查找到"第巴"的藏文资料和口述内容。对此不作 纠正,则会影响其他学者的误解。总之,噶尔本的称谓不能代替第巴,因为它历史的特殊意义。

特点的较大的地区。""国内外资料显示,阿里边境稳定后,构 建社会秩序制度,设置了以阿里三围噶尔本"两名、宗本四名、 本六名构成的基层行政体制。这里的"四宗"分别为:在吉德尼 玛衮来到阿里后最早行使管理职能的普兰地方设立的普兰宗; 在原象雄八大城池之一的达卡城设立的达卡宗;在阿里古格王 宫所在地札布让城建立的扎布让宗;在原象雄四宗之一日土宗 设立的日土宗。以上四宗县令悉由西藏地方政府直接委派。而 "六本"为:1、萨让本,为六本之首,管理邓巴部落的土地、 庶民事宜,在现札达县境内;2、"佐佐本",管理米色尔(现 门市镇)三部落的土地、庶民事宜,在现噶尔县境内。3、"曲 底本",管理曲底四部落,在现札达县境内。4、"纳木如本", 统辖其四部落的"本",管理土地、庶民事宜,在现噶尔县境内。 5、"仲巴本"(亦称博翁巴),管理仲巴三部落的"本",在现 噶尔县境内。6"朵盖齐本",为朵盖齐的僧俗五部落的"本", 也是日土县自卫武装首领。后来还有改则本及其庶民。

#### 象征甘丹才旺历史功绩的经幡杆

国内外学者对相关阿里和拉萨两地树立的两处经幡杆进 行过概述,对此,阿里著名藏学家古格·次仁加布在《阿里文 明史》里写到:"甘丹才旺收复历史的是非凡功绩,故西藏地 方政府特此为他在大昭寺北面竖立经幡杆,号称为甘丹经幡 杆"¹⁰与此同时,据笔者在阿里实地考察时,当地人对此经幡 杆有着诉说不完的故事,以及对此经幡杆的历史来源持着共同 的观点。对此笔者访谈了阿里岗底斯藏医学院,学校坐落于阿 里神山冈仁波齐附近。并从事多年阿里政协古籍整理和主编阿 里藏医院《岗底斯》期刊的普布加参先生,他讲述道:关于神 山冈仁波齐转经道上"瑟雄"(qixrqfr) 25幡,据说是甘丹颇章 政权初期,甘丹才旺英勇善战收复阿里三围而立下的经幡杆,

 ⁸ (意) 伯戴克.(周秋有译):《十八世纪前期的中原和西藏》,拉萨:西藏人民出版社,1987年8月,第一版,第296页。

⁹古格·次仁加布:《阿里文明史》(藏文),西藏人民出版社,2006,年12月,第67页。另外, 冈日瓦·曲英多吉:《雪域西部阿里廓松早期史》(藏文),拉萨:西藏人民出版社,1996年第1 版,第97页。

¹⁰古格·次仁加布: 《阿里文明史》(藏文),西藏人民出版社,2006,年12月,第69-70页。另

外,笔者在实地采访时民间广为流传的历史传说和早期阿里学者阐述的内容极为相似。原文:

⁽พรัสาสารุทุณาษุสาชัสราราราทิสาทผูญาายัญาพยุรารัสามสามารายสายการการสายสารการการสายสารการการการการการการการการกา

此后每年藏历四月十五日在此举行隆重的更换经幡杆仪式,我 也自小目睹了三十多个春秋¹¹。另外,笔者在拉萨有幸拜访了 主编《原西藏地方政府公文用语选编》的冷文·白玛格桑先生 也讲述:"马年转山是藏历四月十五日,基恰噶尔本和阿里各 宗宗本、个僧院的主管人、地方头人、卫藏和康区以及印度教 的朝圣者都相聚在神山的转经路上进行竖立经幡杆仪式"¹² 这 一口述资料和文史资料阐明了竖立经幡杆仪式的庄严性,以及 它所定期举行时噶尔本必须出席的重要环节。这些不仅仅是传 统文化的一部分,更是体现甘丹颇章政权下阿里噶尔本的权力 象征。此外,维也纳的巴菲陲利·凯特瓦记述:"17世纪甘丹才 旺白桑布在拉达克出征后获胜,并竖立了两处经幡杆:一在拉 萨,另一在岗仁波。两处处于高大而统称为巨大的经幡。"¹³

12 冷文•白玛格桑先生访谈录. 访谈时间: 2020 年 3 月 26 日. 访谈地点: 政协退休基地。 第57553

¹³Katia Buffetrille and Robert Kostka, Kailash--Map of the Holiest Mountain in the World, Vienna, 2002, p8.

¹⁴ வாலா ரு பா ரு பி கு கு க்கா மல்லாற்கா ரொ பி கா கா கா பி கா கா பி கா பி

¹¹ 普布加参, 男, 藏族, 阿里普兰人, 1979, 采访时间: 2019 年 8 月 8 日, 采访地点: 阿里岗底 斯藏医学院。

¹⁵देंदग्री द्वीराधीसदाराणभ्या पराभ्रारानरभूति वहरापति क्रम्स् हित्या देवी प्रताष्ट्रसारि वाध्य प्रतार्था क्रम्स् क्रम्य क्रम्प्या क्रम्स् क्रम्या प्रतार्था क्रम्या क वित्रय विवाय क्रम्या वित्र वित्रा क्रम्या क्रम्या क्रम्या क्रम्य क्रम्य क्रिप्र्या क्रम्या क्रम्य क्रम्य क्रम्य वित्रय विवाय वित्रय व्यावया क्रम्या वित्र त्य क्रम्य क्रिम्या क्रम्या क्रम्य

相关。同时,在一些早期的西方学者的绘画和藏族传统的壁画 上有着相关经幡杆子的象征寓意。故此,借用藏学家图齐先生 在《西藏的画卷》中的一句话:"对于佛教图案任何形象都是 象征性的。我们应将这种图像诠释成,如同一部用神秘符号写 成的书,惟有已接受其奥义者方可解读。""来解读该壁画再适 合不过了。藏传佛教象征符号"不仅形式繁杂多样,内容深奥 难懂,涉及范围之广,包括社会生活到思想意识的方方面面。 随着社会的不断发展和人们思想意识的不断变化,使得象征符 号所呈现的寓意,也随之变的更加丰富多彩,更具特征性。意 大利藏学家图齐说:"西藏文化是宗教文化,西藏艺术也以同 样的方式包容了独有的宗教内容。通过符号象征,它表述了复 杂的直观直觉。"18因此,通过对布达拉宫和大昭寺的壁画实地 考察,笔者认为,文献资料和绘画实践虽然解析了有关经幡杆 子的由来,但都未能对其象征符号进行深入的探究。经幡杆子 不仅是普通的象征物,目是很值得研究的历史性的象征物。探 讨经幡杆子的普遍性知识层面,要从个案分析的角度来试着解 读此图蕴涵的特殊历史大背景及其所象征的符号意义。因为 "这种绘画是对藏族灵魂、宗教生活及其历史全貌的一种展 示。""

众所周知,布达拉宫和大昭寺始建于7世纪松赞干布时 期,起初宫殿和佛殿的规模不大。后来,于17世纪五世达赖 喇嘛时期重建。就在重建之时壁画情景中的大昭寺背后绘有经 幡杆,况且相关研究人员断定该壁画的年代是17世纪即甘丹 才旺收复阿里的时间。由此可见,该壁画所描绘的经幡杆子的 则是文中所述的拉萨竖帜的经幡杆。因此,笔者初步推断,这 与蒙古将领甘丹才旺有着密切的历史渊源和文化关系。同时,

¹⁷强桑:《藏传佛教象征符号研究》,西藏大学硕士研究生学位论文.2011年,第6页。参见: "藏传佛教象征文化应该属于藏族传统文化体系五大明之一工巧明当中。工巧明分为身、语、意 三大系统。藏传佛教象征文化跟所有的身、语、意三大系统都有着至关重要的联系,因此象征文 化在藏传佛教和藏族文化领域中占有非常重要的一席之地。藏传佛教象征符号按照其意义、形 状、色彩、数字、结构、加持等作为定义的基础,有着特殊的理解和独到的解释。"
¹⁸(意大利)图齐等,向红笳译:《喜马拉雅的人与神》,北京:中国藏学出版社,2012,第 314页。详见(意大利)吉塞佩•图齐:《西藏画卷》导言部分。
¹⁹(意大利)图齐等,向红笳译:《喜马拉雅的人与神》,北京:中国藏学出版社,2012,第 313页。详见(意大利)吉塞佩•图齐:《西藏画卷》导言部分。
¹⁹(意大利)图齐等,向红笳译:《喜马拉雅的人与神》,北京:中国藏学出版社,2012,第 313页。详见(意大利)吉塞佩•图齐:《西藏画卷》导言部分。详见:"当我们仔细观看一 件又一件作品时,我们能从他们展示的肖像中看到他们的文化及民族精神的历史。这个民族长久 以来一直生活在宗教的统治下,现在依然如如此。因此,这种绘画是对藏族灵魂、宗教生活及其 历史全貌的一种展示。出于这一原因,如果我们没能使这些肖像在它们所处的环境中形象化的 话,就不可能透彻地理解其含义。"

¹⁶Giuseppe Tucci: Tibetan Painted Scrolls. SDI Publications. 1999:269.

想要重构历史原貌,这确实很难,我们只能通过传统的文献资料、壁画题记和现代的文化人类学等方法进行探索性地研究与观察,并努力解读它所蕴含的文化符号渊源及其象征意义。 结语

17世纪左右竖立经幡杆等同于早期藏族历史上的立碑 及其盟誓文化的功能和象征意义,并体现出战争中的历史背景 及其事件。据研究盟誓在阿里的社会生活和政治运行中占据特 殊重要的地位。作为阿里社会一种颇为悠久的文化习规,盟誓 在观念和法律两个层面受到格外的信重。尚且处于或继续处于 初始形态的盟誓,在历史传说和档案资料之中屡屡得见,体现 出调解社会关系、稳定社会秩序的重要机能。伴随着地方政权 的稳固和政治的统合,盟誓逐步具备了比较完整的制度内涵, 在某种意义上成为甘丹颇章地方政权的构成要素。本文在总结 以往国内外研究成果的基础上,以期从文献研究跃进到实地研 究、从局部研究过渡到整体研究。通过详细整理与经幡杆有关 的藏汉英史料,包括地方档案资料、历史文献和传统藏文史籍, 并以同期的英汉史料作为补充和呼应,力图较为系统展现阿里 地方历史背景,以及蕴含其中的只有通过史实解说方能澄清的 文化象征意义。研究探讨阿里社会秩序建构,对了解西藏西部 边疆的历史发展、社会经济生活及其文化习俗有着重要的意义。 笔者对国内外相关文献资料和民间传说等进行梳理,尽量阐释 了与甘丹才旺白桑布相关的独特的经幡杆子所折射出的时代背 景、民族文化和象征意义,也即一种特殊的边疆历史、社会形 态以及与甘丹才旺白桑布相关的阿里地区的文化特征。本文通 过初步的实地调研并作了可行性的对比研究,笔者认为,在特 殊历史文化环境下产生的经幡杆子不仅赋有一定的宗教文化意 义,其自身也具有独特的历史象征意义。正是出于如上理由, 本文在结构上将整体研究与个案研究相结合,将原始材料统合 在整体性的框架之下,以求为还原阿里和拉萨经幡杆的历史全 貌奠立基础。

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*Frontier Tibet: Patterns of Change in the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands.* Edited by Stéphane Gros. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019. 554 pp. € 109,00.

#### Book Review by Xiaobai Hu, Nanjing University

**Frontier** Tibet is one of the newest additions to Amsterdam University Press's Asian Borderlands Series. Supported by the European Research Council-funded project "Territories, Communities, and Exchanges in the Sino-Tibetan Kham Borderlands," this edited volume presents cutting-edge scholarship in the field of Kham studies and can be understood as a follow up to the project's previous publications, such as the *Cross-Currents* special issue, "Frontier Tibet: Trade and Boundaries of Authority in Kham."¹ Stéphane Gros, the editor of *Frontier Tibet*, states that the publication's goal is to foster an "understanding of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands in their historical, geographical, and multi-ethnic complexities, and in a relational sense of boundaries of identity re-construction between neighboring Tibetans and Chinese" (9).

The fourteen articles in *Frontier Tibet* are categorized into three groups. Part One-"Borders Inside Out"-includes three pieces that challenge the trend of naturalizing Kham as a spatial, cultural, or geopolitical unit. Instead of continuing to situate Kham in binaries such as core/periphery and Sino/Tibetan, Stéphane Gros's "Frontier (of) Experience" proposes a focus on Kham's relative location and multifaceted internal composition. The author uses the metaphor of the Möbius strip and its two-sidedness to suggest that a topological perspective best captures the malleability of Kham, of which the geopolitical dynamics, social constructs, and cultural characteristics are constantly produced in a relational manner. Revisiting existing frameworks, Katie Buffetrille further questions the scholarly tradition of identifying Kham and Amdo as "Tibetan Borderlands." Drawing examples from the revitalization of Buddhism, participation in politics, and cultural revival in Kham, Buffetrille claims that what we see in contemporary Kham and Amdo is "a process whose dynamics no longer radiate from the center to the periphery but, on the contrary, from the periphery to the center" (87). The third piece in this section is a case study that examines the tension between the physical and conceptual boundaries of Gyelthang in southern Kham. Author Eric Morgan takes an ontological approach to scrutinize how the locals conceptualize Gyelthang in relation to Kham, eastern Tibet, and the Tibetan world in general, arguing that for locals Gyelthang is primarily

¹ "Frontier Tibet: Trade and Boundaries of Authority in Kham," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review*, Issue.19, 2016.

an idea of place that is vague in definition and meaning while its physical territory is of less importance.

Part Two-"Modes of Expansion and Forms of Control"contains five articles concerning how different social groups adopt various modes of expansion to achieve, maintain, and consolidate onthe-ground authority in Kham. John Bray's piece focuses on the operations of the Missions Étrangères de Paris in late 19th and early 20th century Kham. According to Bray, on the one hand, the missionaries were outsiders who took advantage of the Qing and Lhasa authorities' fear of Europeans' power to infiltrate the regional trade networks; but on the other hand, they also secured the livelihood of their local followers and thus gradually integrated into the fabric of local society. Patterson Giersch also frames commercial activities in Kham in a transnational context. He argues that the establishment of powerful trade institutions introduced Kham's highland products to the booming global market, and it was the unstable geopolitical situation of the region in the early 20th century that allowed space for new commercial entities to rise and, ultimately, disempower local non-Han communities, creating economic inequality across ethnic lines.

The other three pieces in Part Two shed light on the role agriculture played in 20th century Kham. Scott Relyea's article examines how the early 20th century Chinese authorities used settler farmers to extend state control to the borderland regions. Providing detailed accounts of how the Sichuanese farmers settled down in an unfamiliar environment, Relyea situates the borderland settlement project in the empire-to-nation-state transition, during which a global trend of linking territory claims with assertions of sovereignty emerged. Similarly focused on connections between agriculture and the nation-state, Mark Frank's "Wheat Dreams" locates the Chinese state's agricultural expansion in a different context in which food was closely associated with nationalism. By investigating two scientific endeavors of Republican China's Bureau of Agricultural Improvement in Kham from 1937 to 1949, Frank argues that experiments using wheat and a sedentary mode of yak production to replace highland barley and nomadic yak production were both conducted in light of the state's discourse on improvement in which wheat and sedentism were seen as more positive indicators of national strength than barley and nomadism. Gillian Tan extends the discussion on the agriculturepastoralism binary into the post-1949 context. She claims that the binary was created by the state with the goal of characterizing sedentism as superior and civilized. Yet in practice, the ideal types based on the opposition between mumin (牧民) and nongmin (农民) became quite vague as animal husbandry in eastern Kham was often combined with a wide array of activities, including agriculture. The article thus joins Relyea and Frank in pointing out the modernist

ideology associated with the promotion of agriculture in 20th century China's Kham borderland.

The third section—"Strategic Belongings"—shifts attention to the on-the-ground repercussions of various modes of expansion in Kham. Four of the six articles in this section center on individual figures to highlight their agency in shifting geopolitical dynamics. In the first piece, Lucia Galli focuses on Khatag Dzamyag, a merchant who wrote a travel journal documenting the tumult of mid-20th century Kham. Following the journal's detailed accounts, Galli traces how the economic interests of Khampa merchants intertwined with local religious and political powers and eventually contributed to the emergence of a proto-identitarian awareness among the Khampas. Fabienne Jagou relies on Academia Sinica's archives to reveal how the Trokyap king responded to the dispute between Sichuan and Xikang over his kingdom's territory. Taking pragmatic concerns such as taxes and corvée labor into consideration and ignoring relatively abstract ideas such as nationalism and ethnic equality, the Trokyap king was able to influence the Republican government's decision on border demarcation. Yudru Tsomu examines the rise of Jagö Topden, a political strongman in early 20th century Dergé. Unlike traditional Kham rulers such as Gönpo Namgyel who benefited from Kham's distance from powerful political and religious centers, Jagö Topden and other open-minded Khampa elites acquired legitimacy and authority not from hereditary status, but from their savvy participation in regional geopolitics and ability to keep up with the times as modern and progressive rulers. Paying attention to another capable figurehead, Dáša Pejchar Mortensen studies the colorful life experiences of Wangchuk Tempa as a monk, bandit, anti-Communist rebel, and eventually a party official in the 1950s. The author argues that by studying powerful individuals like Wangchuk Tempa, who was able to transform outside powers into local authority, we can revisit concepts such as collaboration and complicate the notion of the "Chinese state" in rural ethnic minority areas.

The other two articles in this section revolve around placemaking. Maria Turek's work on kingship construction among Yushu Tibetans since 1951 provides a good example of the tension between official and local history writing. Although the Nangchen kings wielded little political authority historically, contemporary Nangchen historians deliberately highlight the kings' power and hegemony in order to promote the consolidation of local identity which, in turn, helps justify the claim for regional autonomy. In her article "Yachen as Process," Yasmin Cho focuses on female Buddhist practitioners. The author investigates the encampment of Yachen Gar to understand how nuns across Kham relied on architectural freedom and material maneuverability to shape their Buddhist space when faced with an unstable political environment. The collection concludes with Carole McGranahan's discussion of Chinese settler colonialism in contemporary Tibet. Claiming that questions about frontiers, empire, and sovereignty are keys to understand Kham, McGranahan proposes treating Communist China as an empire and thus conceptualizing its relationship with Kham in a colonial context. Drawing on observations of recent events and changes in Kham, the author comments that peripheral people "have created new practices to re-center what has been lost" (529).

Taken together, the articles in this collection indicate three trends in Kham studies. The first is glocalization. The contributors tend to situate historical events in Kham in a trans-national context and hence mapping local history onto global events. John Bray's piece demonstrates how European colonial powers infiltrated the deep mountains of Kham and even reshaped local social structures, the religious landscape, and inter-community relationships. Patterson Giersch and Lucia Galli's articles chart the process of how traders and trade institutions took advantage of shifting geopolitics in South and Southeast Asia to build trans-national links that knitted Kham into a worldwide commercial network. While previous paradigms mainly show how China got access to the global market via coastal areas, especially the treaty ports, this volume reminds us of the importance of the overlooked western China-South Asian channel. In this regard, Kham is not only a Sino-Tibetan contact zone, but also a nexus of cross-continental competition. The idea of treating Kham as a contentious zone for global power dynamics is also shown in the "Chronology of Major Events" section of the book, in which Kham history is juxtaposed with events of global significance.

The second trend highlighted in this volume is the comparative potential of Kham studies. Many themes discussed in Frontier Tibet are key issues across the discipline, and Kham's ethnic, religious, and environmental characteristics can provide insights and promote dialogue beyond Kham studies. For example, several pieces in the volume consider borderland agricultural development, but Kham was not the only region during the late Qing where the empire promoted settler migration for wasteland reclamation and land usage conversion. To what extent was the situation in Kham different from Mongolia, Manchuria, or Taiwan? Did the empire modify imperial policies because of Kham's ethnic features, inhospitable climate, and rich religious atmosphere? Comparing various local ramifications could deepen our understandings of the Qing's imperial expansion and borderland governmentality. Moreover, Mark Frank's piece points out that many foreign agricultural specialists, especially those from Japan, were invited to Kham to oversee borderland productivity improvement. Considering the fact that Japan was dispatching many

agricultural technicians to Hokkaido for natural resource exploitation at the same time, the cross-regional connections could even open up possibilities for comparative studies in the history of science.

The third trend I see in this volume is that the level of scholarly engagement with the discipline of frontier studies is deeper than ever before. This development is exemplified by Stéphane Gros' theoretical discussion aimed at promoting "Kham" to a Zomia-like paradigm. Claiming that existing notions such as 'middle ground' and 'matrix' are not sufficient to explain the particularities of Kham and that it should be understood as a process but not a place, Gros identifies Kham as having a topological character "in which [it] appears neither simply distant nor proximate and neither outside nor inside" (41). This approach, in which categories in the frontier are, by nature, relational-featuring relativity and interchangeability-allows us to understand frontier regions from a different perspective by rendering binaries core/periphery, externally imposed such as collaboration/resistance, and Sino/Tibetan meaningless in the context of the frontier. In this regard, "Kham" as process could indeed encourage frontier scholars to perceive frontier social relations and power dynamics from a different dimension as "we are faced with the shaping of a topology of belonging whereby the merging between the internal and the external creates possibilities for emerging social forms and events" (70).

To nitpick, scholars who are interested in pre-modern Kham history may not be satisfied with the chronological scope of the volume. Nearly all of the pieces are about post-19th century Kham, while events that happened prior are, at best, mentioned as historical background. Understandably, this is due to the scholars' personal research interests as well as the limited availability of source materials, but pre-modern Kham history could in fact further complicate the picture. In terms of the trans-regionality of Kham, the Mongols in 17th century Kham played important roles in establishing the power dynamics that, to a great extent, contributed to the region's complex ethnic composition. In a similar regard, the religious competition between Bönpo followers and Tibetan Buddhist practitioners, as well as among various Tibetan Buddhist schools, since the 15th century are also worthy of our attention as such internal diversity not only laid the foundation for the region's religious landscape but also pushes us to further grapple with Kham's heterogeneity. Adding more historical dimensions to the picture could help to answer what exactly Kham, as an analytical unit, encompasses.

*Frontier Tibet: Patterns of Change in the Sino-Tibetan Borderlands* is certain to be a captivating read for scholars of Kham history. Those who are interested in Amdo as well as other Tibetan peripheries are

also likely to be inspired by the various modes of expansion and bottom-up approaches. I would further recommend the theoretical pieces in the volume for inclusion in any syllabus on frontier studies. *Frontier Tibet* is positioned to become a model for the field, and I look forward to seeing what this scholarly community produces in the future. The Chinese Revolution on the Tibetan Frontier. By Benno Weiner. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020. pp 312. \$45.00.

# Reviewed by Elizabeth Reynolds, Washington University in St. Louis

enno Weiner's The Chinese Revolution on the Tibetan Frontier opens in 1958 on the eve of the Amdo Rebellion, an earth-shattering event in Sino-Tibetan history. Heralded by Chinese sources as a moment of historical rupture, whereby the Amdo Tibetans cast off their feudal, backward past and joined the modern socialist nation-state of China, the rebellion's swift and violent pacification in fact witnessed the imprisonment, displacement, and death of over one hundred thousand people. Amdo is the northeastern region of cultural Tibet that encompasses current day Qinghai and portions of Gansu and Sichuan provinces. Prior to the arrival of the Communists, Amdo was a decentralized space, governed largely by local headmen and religious hierarchs, "operating within an integrated, syncretic, often conflictridden, but mutually authenticating web of personal and institutional relationships" (26). This is what the Communists encountered upon their arrival on the Tibetan Plateau. Weiner's story, however, is not about the arrival of the Communists nor the building of the Communist state on the Tibetan Plateau, but instead about the CCP's attempt at nation building in the region during the 1950s.

The CCP's nation-building project was bestowed upon the United Front (tongyi zhanxian), which forms the core of Weiner's study. The United Front is broadly defined as a bureaucratic network and theoretical platform for creating allies out of non-Party and nonproletarian elements. It was institutionalized in the form of the United Front Work Department whose job it was to promote this cooperative principle on the frontiers. While the United Front immediately brings to mind the alliance between the CCP and the KMT against the Japanese, the story that Weiner covers gives an entirely different meaning to what the United Front meant for the PRC after its establishment in 1949. A surprisingly understudied institution and ideology, the United Front, in Weiner's own words, was not a "cynical ruse" meant to placate the Tibetans as others have argued before, but a platform that should be studied and understood on its own terms and by its own logic. Faced with the difficulties of convincing the ethnic minorities in Amdo of their socialist subjecthood, the CCP adopted the United Front to "gradually,' voluntarily,' and 'organically' bridge the gap between the empire and nation" (4). The primary objective of the United Front in the Amdo grasslands was therefore of persuasion rather than compulsion.

The United Front was essentially the Communist and socialist answer not only to Western forms of nation building, but also to longstanding Han forms of exploitation. The CCP recognized that beyond the all-encompassing rubric of class exploitation, there also existed nationalities exploitation, and that there were deep antipathies between nationalities. This alienation among the nationalities, according to the CCP, was caused by the existence of "great Han-chauvinism," which had over the long term impeded the growth of subjugated minority peoples (16). By this logic, intra-ethnic conflict was also a function of Han chauvinism, and the goal of the United Front was to eradicate it under the rubric of a new socialist nation. If carefully and conscientiously implemented, the United Front ideology would gradually foster both mass consciousness and patriotic consciousness, eliminating the exploitation of the nationalities (181). Weiner's contextualization of the United Front in Tibet demonstrates our blind spots in conceptualizing the early PRC period and the ethnic frontiers.

The Chinese Revolution on the Tibetan Frontier centers around the Zeku (Tib. rtse khok) grasslands, a nomadic pastoral region with an altitude over 3,500 meters and lying roughly 250 km south of Xining, the provincial capital of Qinghai Province. Chapters One and Two are devoted to the CCP's reliance on the Qing and Republican-era tactics in the transition from empire to nation-state in Amdo. These "subimperial" tactics, a term coined by Uradyn Bulag, describes the use of former imperial modes of rule as a means to establish nationalism, such as courting the local headmen and lamas into the party apparatus despite their "feudal" nature. While the purely imperial tactics did not foster a notion of nationhood, the CCP realized that employing subimperial tactics was a necessary step in the creation of national consciousness among the Tibetans in Amdo. While these earlier chapters provide the necessary background, it is in Chapter Three that we begin to witness the everyday dealings of the CCP in Zeku.

Chapters Three to Six constitute the heart of the book and contain Weiner's invaluable contribution to the study of the CCP in Tibet. Here, he introduces the readers to the contents of the rare and now exceedingly difficult-to-access Zeku archives that show how the CCP officials brought their high modernist agenda to local Amdo Tibetans, and the immediate conflicts that emerged. This agenda and the scripted nature of the United Front is perfectly encapsulated in the naming of Zeku County in Chinese. Despite the CCP's insistence on "meaningful" democratic engagement, not even the county name was up for genuine discussion (71). The name Zeku, "ze" from Mao Zedong and "ku" from treasure house (baoku), i.e. "Mao Zedong's Treasure House" was decided before the democratic meeting of the Party and the county headmen (71). This dynamic is neatly contained within the phrase "masters of their own home, under the leadership of the Party," which also serves as the title of Chapter Three. This inherent contradiction, Weiner shows, generated the main tension underlying CCP efforts in Amdo. Despite the CCP's desire for meaningful participation from the Tibetans (mostly headmen and lamas participating under varying degrees of volunteering and paid work) and making the Tibetans the "masters of their own home", the latter's choices and opinions were not given genuine value, as captured in the caveat "under the leadership of the party." The critical point that Weiner makes, however, is that instead of disregarding the notion of autonomy as an empty promise to veil the true desire to dominate and control in 1950s Amdo, "nationality autonomy was considered the key mechanism by which non-Han people would be both administrable and psychologically integrated into the new state and nation" (66-67). This "minoritization" of the Tibetans within a new nation, ridding them of their intra-ethnic conflict, and bringing meaningful change with the minorities' input was an intrinsic part of the "high modernist" ideology espoused by the United Front. As Weiner describes, 1956 is what marked the turning point, prior to the Amdo Rebellion. With the coming of the "High Tide," a crack in the United Front ideology crystallized for all Tibetans to see.

Chapter Six chronicles the initial crack in the United Front's high modernist ideological practice, when the High Tide of Socialist Transformation (1955-1956) sought to rapidly establish agricultural and pastoral cooperatives. With the High Tide push to collectivization, the former logic of attacking Han-chauvinism was discarded, and instead attacking local nationalism came to the fore. This is what initially and prematurely laid bare the final agenda, the inherent contradictions between the United Front policies and socialism. Here Weiner explains, the "revolutionary impatience" was released and the rhetoric used to describe the Tibetan elites shifted from being "covictims of nationality exploitation" to being the exploiting class (124). From this point on, Weiner shows the slow but steady build to the 1958 Amdo Rebellion. With the High Tide, the tone and terminology subtly but significantly shifted among the party cadres. The High Tide unveiled the contradictions between the United Front ideology and the operating mechanisms (one could say the final goal) of the Communist Party (145).

Despite a short respite in revolutionary fervor following the High Tide, by 1958 the Great Leap Forward began, and with it came the rapid failure of United Front ideology. While there is no evidence to suggest that party or military leaders purposely stoked the flames of rebellion in order to manufacture an excuse to rid the plateau of the old elite, once the uprising began, the party saw it as a "fortunate event," allowing them to finally take forceful action against the old "feudal" class. What followed was, according to the CCP, "a life-ordeath class struggle" (172), in the form of the Amdo Rebellion. Weiner devotes the eighth and final chapter to the rebellion itself, providing one of the first histories of the rebellion in the English language. It is in this chapter that we witness how the United Front pragmatism finally lost to the revolutionary impatience of the CCP, as the rapid establishment of communes was followed by rebellion and brutal suppression in 1958. Here the fear and frustrations of the Tibetan people finally come to the forefront and all the horror as well as structure of the rebellion is laid out before us.

The Chinese Revolution on the Tibetan Frontier revolves around the rise and fall of the United Front, but it is not exclusively an institutional and intellectual history of the CCP in Amdo. While Weiner's major contribution lies in his clear presentation of the little known (and even less understood) role of the United Front in early-CCP frontier policies, his ability to present this study while never diving into a "stateled" narrative is one of the most impressive aspects of his work. At no point does one lose sight of the tension underlying the CCP's endeavor, and Weiner convinces us to take seriously the United Front's directive and mission while not making invisible the very people this affects. Weiner's work is a superb example of reading against the grain in the archives-a necessary tactic in Tibetan history and one well practiced in histories of Native Americans. And despite a near complete lack of sources directly stating the local Tibetans' position (apart from their chronic practice of showing up late or not at all), we still feel their confusion and are sucked down into the chaos and fear as the narratives reaches a climax in the Amdo Rebellion.

Weiner openly heads off the immediate questions of most critical readers with a "Note on Sources" at the outset of the book. His sources constitute nearly twenty-five hundred folios from the Zeku County Communist Party Committee Archives and the Zeku County People's Government Archives covering 1953 to 1960, the majority of which were generated at the district and county levels and sent upwards through the prefectural and provincial levels, while the remaining documents were those received from the higher authorities (xv). In summarizing the limitations of his sources, he explains the lack of Tibetan local accounts and the political sensitivity of conducting interviews. This preface is referenced periodically throughout the book. Even so, the only major problem that I, as a reader, felt difficult to see past is that of translation practices. Even a small amount of information regarding how specific terminology was translated and understood by Tibetans in the Amdo language would have gone a long way in helping the readers understand the limitations of the United Front's "high modernist ideology." Possible tactics to overcome the dearth of sources could have been contemporary local accounts or

memoirs, published interviews, or CCP pamphlets translated into Tibetan. While the difficulties of this type of research are clear, a couple of examples would have aided the readers' ability to fully comprehend the vast ideological canyon separating the Tibetans and the Communists of the early 1950s. This would have further helped the readers' understanding of, for example, Chapter Four where we start to see the party plan unraveling under the apparent miscommunication or misunderstanding of what the local people are supposed to do. Weiner himself is indeed aware of this problem (118, 122), and I second the question he raises: why were translation issues left so unremarked in the Zeku archives?

Apart from translation issues, Weiner's narrative left me wondering what was different about the United Front in Tibet. Was the United Front operated across the borderlands in the same way? Or was there something distinct about Amdo? Additionally, I was surprised to see that Weiner did not engage with the historiography on colonialism in narrating the history of the United Front. Weiner's argument about the United Front as an alternative to Western capitalist exploitation is well put. Its purpose was to disrupt the Western model by promoting a socialist alternative and encouraging national liberation based on equality. And, in the face of the absence of a proletariat (like in Amdo), the United Front's objective was to be the progressive, uniting force meant to bring unity to a socialist nation (17). Ostensibly, the United Front was there to transform, not to occupy. Yet, despite all of this, the United Front *did* set the stage for settler colonialism in the following decades. What then is the conceptual overlap between "transformation" and "colonialism"?

My final comment about the book concerns the overarching theme of transition from empire to nation-state. The use of subimperial tactics as an explanatory device for this transition period is convincing, but Weiner takes the analysis a step further by noting that the nation-state's use of these subimperial tactics signaled the death of empire at the hands of the nation-state. The key issue, however, is that the use of these subimperial tactics did *not* create a nation. What we are then left with is a historical anomaly, whereby the transition from an empire to nation-state in fact never took place in Amdo. How much further, then, can we push the notion of this transition from empire to nation-state when that transition did not fully transpire?

Overall, *The Chinese Revolution on the Tibetan Frontier* represents a substantial contribution to Tibetan studies, Amdo studies, and the history of the early PRC. Weiner demonstrates through his history of the United Front that there was a whole world the CCP could not see through the high modernist ideology they strived for. Over the

following sixty years, the United Front would be dismantled and reassembled time and again under different directives. Far from a defunct historical entity, the United Front continues to be relevant in the Communist propaganda machine today, sponsoring Confucius Institutes and the "co-opting of overseas Chinese willing to quietly promote CCP interests" (17). While an argument for the earnestness of the Communist cadres and the United Front ideology in the early PRC is not necessarily new, Weiner's work represents the most indepth lens into the minds and workings of these officials on the Tibetan frontier. Understanding the ideology of the United Front and the CCP while never losing sight of the deep-seated tensions and horrors of the 1958 Amdo Rebellion is the most important contribution of Weiner's book. It should be a required reading for anyone seeking to understand the history of the CCP in China's borderlands. The Story of Light and Shadow: 20th Century Chinese Photography from Huang Jianpeng's Collection (2019). Exhibition at the National Art Museum of China.

#### Review by Yuyuan (Victoria) Liu, Columbia University

t an exhibition of 20th century Chinese photography at the National Art Museum of China, I encountered a collection of photography of Tibet and Tibetan people, taken by multiple Han Chinese photographers. As a researcher of 20th century photography of Tibet, I have read about some of the photographers featured in this exhibition who took photos in Tibet and Tibetan regions throughout the 20th century under a variety of possible motivations such as documentary, journalism or propaganda photography. But it's the first time that I've see in person a sizable collection of existing original photographs, shot and processed by the photographers themselves regarding Tibet-related themes.

This exhibition *The Story of Light and Shadow: 20th Century Chinese Photography from Huang Jianpeng's Collection* opened in December 2019 and is the very first exhibition dedicated to a private collection of Chinese photography at the National Art Museum of China. It covers extensively the development of Chinese photography of the 20th century with a special focus on its multiple stages ranging from its early sprouting to the artists' awakening to creative consciousness.

Over the past few decades since 1992, Huang Jianpeng has been collecting works of photography and has grown an interest in Tibetrelated themes captured by photographers in and out of Tibet, including Tibetan aristocrat Jigme Taring (active since the 1920s), Japanese Traveler Aoki Bunkyo (active 1913-1916) and Han Chinese travelers and journalists such as Zhuang Xueben (active 1930s-1940s), Lan Zhigui (active 1950s-1970s) and Liu Lijia (active 1970s). These photographs supplement the currently known works of early Tibetan photographers such as the Tsarong family and the tenth Demo Rinpoche, and British photographs from 1920 to 1950 at the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford.

There are many elisions in the history of photography in Tibet and the scholarship on photography in Tibet is still at a stage of infancy. As it is rather difficult to paint a comprehensive picture of the apparatus of image-making in Tibet during the early 20th century, some of the possible frameworks we could borrow from are the study of 20th century photography in India and West Africa. When putting together a visual history of India, Nathaniel Gaskell and Diva Gujral defined that "from the start 'Indian photography' has also meant the photography of India by outsiders, framing a sustained and often fraught dialogue between the country and the rest of the world"¹ and called attention to photography's double-sided relationship with colonialism. In Giulia Paoletti and Yaëlle Biro's work on photography in West Africa, the two authors looked at a variety of media on which photographs are printed, and managed to argue that although it was the western photographers who had introduced photography, they did not always have full monopoly over photographic technology and local photographers have also subsequently formed their own "distinctive and spectacular photographic vernacular." As Paoletti and Biro proposed, "how do we reconcile interpretations and uses of photography particularly in the colonial context, where it served both as a tool of surveillance and a means of emancipation?"² Thus in a Tibetan context, how do we understand photography as a foreign technology and the relationship between the represented Tibet and its influx of outsiders and photographers?

Perhaps through a close reading of Zhuang Xueben's photographs, we may gain some insight about the photographic experience during the republican era and complicate the issue of vision mediated between the self and other in portrait photography. Born in Shanghai in 1909 and started learning photography since 1928, Zhuang grew to be one of the most prominent pioneers of visual anthropology and photographic art in China. This exhibition contains the most comprehensive private collection of Zhuang Xueben's works.

In a frame, there neatly organized nine photographs of 6x6cm and 6x4.5cm by Zhuang Xueben. Though small in size and slightly worn, these photographs that survived till today did not lose much detail in their only existing original points. Zhuang has captured moments of Cham (Tibetan ritual dance). The ritual performance was photographed from multiple angles, including close-ups of masked figures and an aerial view of the spectacle that showcases the venue and its gathering of audiences.

¹ Gaskell, Nathaniel. *Photography in India: A Visual History from the 1850s to the Present*, (New York: Prestel, 2018), 9.

² Giulia Paoletti, and Yaëlle Biro. "Photographic Portraiture in West Africa: Notes from 'In and Out of the Studio." Metropolitan Museum Journal 51 (January 2016): 185-186.



Zhuang Xueben, *Cham Series in Xikang Ba'an (present day Batang, Sichuan)*, single existing originals printed and processed in 1940. Image Courtesy of Huang Jianpeng Gallery

Photography as a medium has its own specificity. As Susan Sontag argued, "To photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed" and "a photograph can [only] be treated as a narrowly selective transparency."³ While the mechanism of camera devices is designed to truthfully reflect the likeness and existence of the subject behind its lens, it also grants the photographer an ability to control, manipulate and even produce perceptions that are beyond what our eyes perceive. In the case of portrait photography, it is further complicated as Richard Avedon said, "A portrait is not a likeness. The moment an emotion or fact is transformed into a photograph it is no longer a fact but an opinion. There is no such thing as inaccuracy in a photograph. All photographs are accurate. None of them is the truth."⁴ When Paul Bowman summarized Rey Chow's work on film (including photography) and modernity, he pointed out the importance of "facing" in all cultural encounters as a starting point. Such act of

³ Sontag, Susan. On Photography (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).

⁴ Fuqua, Paul. *Faces: Photography and the Art of Portraiture* (Burlington MA: Focal Press: c2010), 16.

"facing" fundamentally pervades any form of contact (which means both real-life and metaphorical engagement) and in the context of portraiture, "facing" especially indicates an exchange of gaze and a process of imaging when a face is being seen and looked at. "Even when photographers are most concerned with mirroring reality, they are still haunted by tacit imperatives of taste and conscience."⁵ Thus, photographic portraits, individual or group, personal or social, artistic or commercial, showcase a favored choice of identity representation and a singular or collaborated effort of projection from the figure and the photographer. Furthermore, as Bowman elaborated, the participants in these cultural encounters "represent themselves and their others to themselves; they 'look' and 'contemplate' the other in ways that always entail both imaging and imagining."⁶

Among the Tibet-related photographs in this exhibition, which occupy around one fourth of the total images exhibited, many of them are close-up portrait depictions of Tibetan people. In one enlarged portrait, a Tibetan youth looks directly into the camera with slightly narrowed eyes as if he was squinting under the glaring sun. Zhuang's portraits reveal an attempt at humanist photography where the figure is ennobled with a sense of dignity. The young boy is in relatively calm and unhurried posture - his facial expressions relaxed and his gaze gentle and yet attracting attention. Through controlling the subject distance from the camera, Zhuang heightens the sense of spatiality between figure and ground and manages to create portraits that have unique visual tensions. At the same time, Zhuang seems to eliminate the interpretations of the photographed subject from both himself and the exterior, bringing the viewers into the inner psyche of the photographed. These visual techniques in Zhuang's close-up portraits manage to render an atmosphere of visual power and empathy that is beyond space-time and cultural boundaries. Such visuality is closely associated with Zhuang's close interaction and living experience with the local residents. Zhuang usually would give printed images to the photographed figures as gifts. His way of scheduling photoshoots is also very localized – the chief of one region would send a letter to the chief of the next region with photographs attached and Zhuang would then continue his expedition to the next region.

⁵ Sontag, Susan. On Photography (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).

⁶ Bowman, Paul. "Part 1. Modernity and Postcolonial Ethnicity" in Rey Chow, *The Rey Chow Reader [Electronic Resource]* (New York: Columbia University Press, c2010), 2-3.


Zhuang Xueben, *Tibetan Youth*, taken in Shiqu, Sichuan, 1937. Image Courtesy of Huang Jianpeng Gallery



Zhuang Xueben, *Tibetan Nomadic Girl*, taken in Litang, Sichuan, 1939. Image Courtesy of Huang Jianpeng Gallery

However, Zhuang's photographs are by no means examples of absolute neutrality – due to the specificity of photography and the intrinsic aporia of gaze within portraiture. Other than the multiple approaches through which people attempt to analyze Zhuang's works – speaking highly of his humanist qualities and skills as a visual anthropologist, how do we contextualize and investigate Zhuang's photography, his motivations of traveling to western China and the implications of his expeditions to the borderlands? In an era of great uncertainty about the nation's future, Zhuang Xueben was deeply captivated by the newly introduced photographic technology. From 1931 to 1934, Zhuang served as a clerk at Nanjing International Savings Society and Nanjing Datong Real Estate Company, became friends with a staff at a nearby photo studio, and thus gained knowledge and experiences of photo taking and processing. From 1934 to 1942, Zhuang spent almost ten years at borderland regions of western China taking photographs, especially portraiture in multiple areas where Tibetans reside.

Zhuang's photographs had been selected by publications such as Liang You pictorials and Science Magazine. In September 1940, Zhuang as photographer and writer, published a special edition of Liang You dedicated to Xikang called Xin Xikang Zhuanhao.⁷ Liang You, through its incorporation of diverse images and bilingual format, is an embodiment of the magazine's cosmopolitan visuality and international vision and has been deemed as a "visual emporium"⁸ for its creation of information and commercial value via visual exchanges. It has been argued by Susan Sontag that to photograph "means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledgeand, therefore, like power."9 Such visual culture is partly associated with the concept of aesthetic modernity and the thirst for knowledge radiated from urban centers in China. As Menglan Chen also argued, Zhuang is using photographic technology to "produce visual knowledge" about this country and that photography becomes "a tool for the production and transmission of knowledge."¹⁰

⁷ Exhibition Catalogue, Reviewing the Masterworks: A Selection of Ethnic Tibetan Related Photographic Artworks by Master Photographer Lan Zhigui and Zhuang Xueben (Nanjing Museum), 8-11.

 ⁸ Pickowicz, Paul, Kuiyi Shen, and Yingjin Zhang. *Liangyon, Kaleidoscopic Modernity* and the Shanghai Global Metropolis, 1926-1945 (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2013).
⁹ Sontag, Susan. On Photography (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977).

¹⁰ Chen, Menglan. TAIKANG SPACE. "写作 | 庄学本的摄影图像与西康." WeChat Official Accounts Platform. Accessed August 23, 2020.



Cover of Liang You Xin Xikang Zhuanhao, Issue 158, 1940. Image Courtesy of Cnbksy

Furthermore, publications such as Liang You and Kodak Magazine encouraged young generations to venture and document the society. As Yajun Mo pointed out, Zhuang's first long-distance travel was part of a trip in 1930 with "National Hiking Group" (quanguo buxing tuan) where a group of young people from Guangzhou toured around the Republic of China on foot, in seek of a new sense of nationhood.¹¹ Thus Zhuang's exploration of ethnicity along the borderlands overlaps with the making of a nation at the time. Zhuang applied photography to capture the other while visualizing a utopian nationhood with "imagined community" of ethnic groups along the Xikang borderlands. Furthermore, Xikang to some extent served as an "ethnolaboratory" and was "one of the most written-about and photographed places in wartime China."12 Ethnologists at Academia Sinica taught Zhuang Xueben body measuring skills and provided him with equipment for future measurement of minority people on his trips. Presumably because he was partly in charge of the physical measurements of ethnic population, the front and profile portraits Zhuang took have distinctively ethnographic characteristics. In this particular issue of Xin Xikang Zhuanhao, there also included many maps and ethnographic portraits of ethnic groups along the Xikang border and even a reproduction of a thangka of Palden Lhamo, a wrathful protective goddess of Tibetan Buddhism.

¹¹ Mo, Yajun. "The New Frontier, Zhuang Xueben and Xikang Province," in Yongtao Du and Jeff Kyong-McClain eds., *Chinese History in Geographical Perspective* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2013), 121-139.

¹² Ibid, 122.



Inside pages of *Liang You Xin Xikang Zhuanhao*, Issue 158, 1940. Image Courtesy of Cnbksy

However, although embodying ethnographic qualities, Zhuang's works render the self-and-other relationship differently and do not appeal to magazines at the expense of portraying the ethnic groups as savage. Instead, his relatively "removed" and documentary photographic language and reductionist manner when approaching the self in the photography might have complied with the urge for modern aesthetics in its contemporary visual sphere. Given Zhuang's agency and deep involvement with the local people, it would be rather problematic if we categorize Zhuang's photographs as propaganda photography. As Holmes-Tagchungdarpa furthered this argument, Zhuang's work provides a local perspective of the borderlands.¹³

With only textual biography and ethnography mission of Zhuang in mind, one might relate Zhuang Xueben with American photographer Edward Curtis and be reminded of Curtis's photographs of North American Indians. But Zhuang's approach is considerably different from Curtis's where the subjects are rather visibly romanticized. Through more than forty thousand photographs, Curtis attempted to provide a comprehensive survey of all existing native American tribes. Critics have pointed out that his photographs belong to "the pictorial tradition of photography" and are too romanticized

¹³ Holmes-Tagchungdarpa, Amy. "Depicting Life in the Twentieth-Century Sino-Tibetan Borderlands: Local Histories and Modernities in the Career and

Photography of Zhuang Xueben (1909–1984)" in James A. Anderson, and John K. Whitmore. *China's Encounters on the South and Southwest:* Reforging the Fiery Frontier Over Two Millennia, (BRILL, 2015), 365-366.

and picturesque to be used for anthropological purposes.¹⁴ While Curtis was concerned with staging in a way that utmost preserves what is vanishing, Zhuang aimed to reflect the living conditions of diverse groups along the frontiers and thus contained much information about agricultural production, animal husbandry and economy of western China during the 1930s. As a figure representative of the intellectual and documentary photography in that particular era, Zhuang was bound to act as multiple different agents and is an embodiment of complex, overlapping and if not yet incongruous motivations – a complication of his own independent perspectives and professional responsibilities under the larger contextual influence from the society and its aspirations. One then cannot help but question, what exactly were the assigned missions and Zhuang's own aspirations?

It is beyond the scope of this article to conclusively answer this question. However, as represented by the example of Zhuang Xueben's photographs, the images produced during the early 20th century in Tibet are coded with layered agencies and complex motivations. At an era when we are immersed in the excess of visual information, through the lens of these Han Chinese photographers, we have to some extent gained the prism through which we can imagine Tibet in the eyes of early generation camera-owners. These early images from the twentieth century present to us the aesthetic and social significance of Tibetan visual materials. The private collection of Huang Jianpeng also revealed photographs that are other than early expedition photographs from the west such as collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford. These photographs not only preserve the photographic methods that are met with international technological standards, but also showcase the complex motivations of photographers from the last century. Such a collection paves ways for future visual studies of contemporary Tibet and is of profound significance to Tibetan visual culture, film and photography.

¹⁴ Curtis, Edward S. *The North American Indian : The Complete Portfolios*, (New York: Taschen, 1997), 21.

*Ala Changso* (nga yi chang gsol rogs), directed by Sonthar Gyal. Premiered at Shanghai International Film Festival, 2018.

#### Reviewed by Palden Gyal, Columbia University

ften a personal crisis has the power of changing one's purpose in life. It can prompt earnest reflection on life, a reexamination of the past and a discovery of path forward. Ala Changso, directed by Sonthar Gyal, tells a story where a tragedy initiates the divulgence of a number of secrets that impugn confidence and trust in interpersonal relationships. While Ala Changso's narrative centers on a long-distance pilgrimage to Lhasa from Gyalrong, the eastern fringe of the Tibetan plateau, a psychological drama unfolds of guilt, jealousy, and remorse, relating universal themes of unfulfilled dreams and promises.

In Tibetan Buddhism one of the most physically taxing spiritual practices is the prostration pilgrimage which takes months if not years to complete. Sonthar Gyal returns to the theme of pilgrimage in Ala Changso (2018), which he explored in his debut feature film The Sun Beaten Path (Dbus lam gyi nyi ma, 2010). It follows the prostration path of Dolma (Nyima Sungsung), a remarried widow, who upon discovering that she is afflicted with an unnamed but fatal illness, resolves to undertake a pilgrimage to Lhasa. That is a promise she made to her late husband. Menaced by the same illness that claimed his life, Dolma is convinced that it is her karma. In a solemn moment of retrospection, she persuades herself that the cause of her ailment is her unfulfilled promise to take her husband's ashes to the sacred city. Ala Changso offers a biting commentary on how the notion of karmic justice proscribes deeply held values of social and family relationships in a Buddhist society. Concealing her health condition to her current husband, Dorje (Yungdrung Gyal), Dolma decides to set out on a prostration pilgrimage to Lhasa. After the two girls accompanying her desert, Dolma is joined by Dorje and her son from her previous marriage, Norbu (Sechok Gyal).

Lhasa is to Tibetan Buddhists what Jerusalem is to the Jews and Mecca to the Muslims, and pilgrimage to the holy city is a common practice for all Tibetans across the Tibetan plateau and beyond. But the fact that this story takes place in Gyalrong is noteworthy for several reasons. First, Sonthar Gyal subtly calls attention to the linguistic landscape of Tibet, the diversity of Tibetan languages beyond the simple classification of the three regional dialects. A non-Tibetan observer might not appreciate the variety of Tibetic languages that feature in Ala Changso, from Gyalrongkay to Drogkay and Khamkay. Despite his self-confessed inaptitude at speaking other dialects, Dorje manages to hold basic conversations with Tibetans from across the plateau whom they encounter in passing. Secondly, the fact that Ganden Monastery is their final site of pilgrimage and the destination for the remains of Norbu's father is notable. Gyalrong, ostensibly a stronghold of Bon religion, has historically supplied a disproportionate number of Ganden abbots, and Buddhist scholars hailed from the region for centuries. Therefore, Ganden Monastery, one of three seat monasteries of the Geluk tradition, occupies a special position in the minds of Tibetan Buddhists from the region. Such snippets of historical memory serve as important nodes in both imagined and real institutional networks that connected Tibetan communities across the plateau in the absence of an all-encompassing political state.

Sonthar Gyal's approach in Ala Changso is highly anthropocentric with little attention to the aesthetics of the settings and shifting scenes of the natural environment. The only exception is a long take of the Potala Palace at the end. The camera focuses on the characters who appear plain and unadorned, striving to portray realistic images of the characters. Notable in Ala Changso is the absence of a single protagonist. The would-be protagonist retires halfway through the film leaving a mild sense of shock and suspense. Dolma's death unveils a secret that momentarily blinds the otherwise very patient and considerate Dorje by jealousy. Norbu, the sulky son, suffers from maladjustment after his mother left him with his grandparents for the second marriage. He seems to be unperturbed by the death of his mother yet he remains resolute on continuing the pilgrimage, refusing to take off the backpack that contains his father's ashes. The bereaved Norbu copes with the loss of his mother by embracing and befriending an orphaned foal. The parallelism between the orphaned foal and Norbu is compelling but the symbolism is at times a little overdramatized. The foal accompanies Norbu and Dorje all the way to Lhasa. "Ala Changso" is the title of a song that means "please drink up this cup of good wine," and the song underlines a high point in the narrative, a rare moment and an occasion of reunion and reconciliation. Norbu is finally accepted as a member of Dolma's second family and he is no longer an alienated child seeking refuge at his grandparents' home.

Script: Tashi Dawa, Sonthar Gyal. Photography: Wang Weihua. Editing: Tsering Wangshuk, Sangdak Kyab. Cast: Yungdrung Gyal (Dorje), Nyima Sungsung (Drolma), Sechok Gyal (Norbu), Jinpa (Dandar), Liao Xi (hospital doctor).

# Decolonial/Anti-Racist interventions in Tibetan/Buddhist Studies – AAR Roundtable, Colorado 2019

## Natalie Avalos, Matthew King, Nancy G. Lin, Dawa Lokyitsang, Karin Meyers, Annabella Pitkin, Sangseraima Ujeed, Riga Shakya

his roundtable session held at the 2019 meeting of the American Association of Religious Studies explores how decolonial analytics and praxis can be applied productively in Tibetan/Buddhist Studies. As scholars, it is critical for us to consider how the racialized perceptions of non-Western religious traditions and peoples are tethered to their continued structural dispossession. A decolonizing intervention here means making the material hierarchies among peoples and their knowledge systems legible but also interrogating the politics of knowledge production in light of these overlapping colonial histories. Our discussion explicitly explores how our choices as scholars have effects in the real world, including how we represent Tibet and the Himalayas/Buddhism in our publications and teaching, the current inequalities of access to academic capital for Tibetan and nonwhite students/scholars, etc. We draw from Indigenous Studies approaches that center Indigenous knowledges and voices, given the history of their marginalization and ask how can we better center Tibetan/Himalayan voices/epistemologies in the study of Tibetan Buddhism.

## Settler Colonialism and Tibet

### Natalie Avalos, University of Colorado, Boulder

S ettler colonialism is a kind of colonialism that seeks to eliminate Indigenous inhabitants (through genocide or ethnocide) and replace them with settlers, who seize lands and resources (Wolfe 2006). Settler colonialism is a structure that endures over time by continually reinscribing ideologies and legal structures that naturalize Indigenous dispossession, for instance, using race as a grammar to encode asymmetrical relations with subjugated peoples. Since Tibet's 1959 invasion by the People's Republic of China (PRC), over 130,000 Tibetans now live in diaspora as landless refugees abroad. An estimated 7.5 million Chinese settlers live alongside 6 million Tibetans within the borders of Tibetan. While settler colonial theory developed in European descended contexts, such as the U.S., Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, these projects need not be predicated on white supremacy in order to operationalize the grammar of racialization for the same ends. White supremacist settler colonial projects have instead created a template of modern imperial power that understands civilizing discourses as a means to an end, namely the appropriations of lands. Like U.S. forms of settler aggression, the PRC racialized and criminalized Tibetan lifeways, centrally religious traditions, to justify and naturalize Tibetan dispossession. Although PRC discourses claim their annexation of Tibet was a benevolent act of development and even a response to outside imperial threats by the U.S., we could better understand this annexation as a direct mapping of a settler colonial template of power. Framing Tibet's geopolitical reality as Chinese settler colonialism visibilizes the operations of power at work to keep it subjugated and re-signifies this reality to the greater world.

## If You Meet Buddhology on the Road, Kill It!

#### Matthew King, University of California, Riverside

unique product of colonial relations and forms of power, Buddhist Studies is positioned to not just follow but lead **L** collaborative efforts to think about what Alejandro Vallega calls the "radical exteriority" of the human sciences. Intending to commit "acts of epistemic disobedience," as Walter Mignolo puts it, that "de-link" epistemologies from colonial hierarchies of knowledge, Buddhist Studies scholars are well positioned to chart the otherwise of enduring universals associated with secular humanism, liberal models of human agency, pluralist representations of race, religion, and the national subject, and unilineal models of static History-all fundamental to models in the humanities and social sciences and all tied inextricably to colonial regimes of truth. Few, if any, of the objects, analytics, and topographies of knowledge currently associated with Buddhist Studies could withstand а rigorous decolonial unlinking. Abandoning claims to a unique (ie. transcultural and transhistorical) object, "Buddhism," the ruins of Buddhist Studies ought instead to lead the humanities and social sciences in disaggregating and thinking radically outside that fundamental binary that birthed its problematic terms: West/nonWest. Such a decolonized Buddhist Studies, if it still chose to bear that name, would therefore shift its analysis to the production of disparate categories of people (etc.) through the representational strategies of political discipline: moving beyond a critique of representations of "Buddhist" life as such, or of its supposed inaccuracies, or of the "real" relationship of text and context, to what Ann Laura Stoler artfully describes as "the changing force fields in which these models were produced... from the high gloss print of history writ-large to the space of its production." Without this fundamental, almost geologic, unlinking, how will the doing of Buddhist Studies (or any other humanist endeavor) ever do

more than reproduce the modernist staging of the West as site and source of universal knowledge and History, even if under a proudly raised decolonial flag?

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# What language we dare learn and speak: decolonizing the study of Tibetan poetry

## Nancy G. Lin, University of California, Berkeley

ore than thirty years ago bell hooks wrote of how language is a place of struggle, a site of both oppression and liberative Lpotential.¹ Following her work, I seek to create space for studying snyan ngag, the classical tradition of Tibetan poetry, belletristic prose, and poetics, as a decolonial endeavor. In my remarks I noted the neglect of snyan ngag in western language scholarship, as well as expressions of distaste colleagues have shared with me: that it is contrived, artificial, baroque, pedantic. Repurposing Pierre Bourdieu's social theory of taste, I sketched how Romantic and Transcendentalist movements shaped highbrow tastes in English poetry. Their valorization of subjectivity, naturalness, and freedom from formal verse conventions became hallmarks of authentic poetry that continue to carry weight today. Concomitantly, they shaped western notions that authentic religion is rooted in personal, direct encounters with the divine or with true reality. It is therefore no surprise that western scholars have favored Tibetan poetry that seemingly accords with these aesthetics and values, including songs of Mi la ras pa and the Sixth Dalai Lama, to the exclusion of snyan ngag. In place of such fraught value judgments, I provided an example of

¹ bell hooks, "Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness," Framework 36 (1989), 15–23.

how snyan ngag suggests its own capacity for transformation. A verse by Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1697–1774) praises the goddess Dbyangs can ma for leading sentient beings to omniscient buddhahood through poetry and song. Here wisdom and eloquence are intertwined by the intricately crafted fusion of style and content. By attending to Tibetan sources such as these, we can question biased tastes, assumptions, and values, while furthering our understanding of key Tibetan/Buddhist epistemologies.

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# Decolonizing "responsibility" in Tibetan and Buddhist Studies: A Structurally Decolonizing Praxis

#### Dawa Lokyitsang, University of Colorado, Boulder

That does it mean to be a *responsible* scholar attuned to decolonization as a method? As Mohawk anthropologist Dr. Audra Simpson has pointed out, it's important not to fall into the delegitimizing trap of justifying Native scholarship on the basis of identity politics and justice alone. This matters, but a deeper reason relates to the way in which Simpson engaged the distinction between resistance and refusal, which has to do with distinction between event and structure. This cuts to the heart of the question. Scholars are encouraged to do the right thing through the logic of ethics, but this presumes we all need encouragement to do this. Some of us don't. We are already doing it. However, like refusal, obligation, necessity, and every day realities are the non-episodic qualities that structure the daily lives of Indigenous peoples, researchers or otherwise. By naming refusal, Simpson has not presented a new fashionable anthropological turn (Simpson 2014). While her conceptualization is novel and valuable, the reality of refusal is something that Indigenous peoples have experienced throughout the history of colonization. If colonization was an event, then as Simpson points out, resistance would be enough. It's not. As Patrick Wolf notes, colonization was and remains structural (1999). Therefore, modes of decolonization must too be structural. If we truly want to decolonize, we must reimagine legacies of episodic conceptualization as structural-moving away from the resisting colonial encounters by

ethical outsiders, toward the refusal of colonial structures by obligated stake holders, for whom non-obligatory ethics loses all meaning.

For research to be considered truly decolonial, it must, argues Linda Tuhiwai Smith, prioritize Indigenous voices, histories, epistemologies, and their struggles against settler colonialism (1999: 129). I invite researchers to consider a structurally decolonizing praxis. This would not only involve theories and methods generated by community members with whom you work, it would also employ the genealogy of works produced by other Indigenous scholars dealing with this very issue.

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## **Decolonizing Dependent Arising**

### Karin Meyers, Rangjung Yeshe Institute

I n modern Buddhist studies the categories of "religion" and "philosophy" follow a colonial logic that advances Euro-American cultural hegemony while delegitimating other perspectives and experiences. Aspects of traditional Buddhist worldviews that do not conform to modern naturalism, rationalism or materialist science are cast off as "religion," as topics that might be of some historical or cultural interest but not worthy of serious philosophical or existential consideration. In regard to dependent arising, this enables interpreters to elevate aspects of the doctrine compatible with modern (and colonial) perspectives as having some purchase on reality, while dismissing associated ideas concerning karma and rebirth, cosmology, magic or soteriology. A similar pattern applies to Buddhist devotion and ritual. What would happen if instead of dismissing these ideas and practices we took them as potent challenges to the assumptions, values and ways of life that inform the modern academy? Our climate and ecological crisis demands that we take such challenges seriously. This crisis exposes a catastrophic failure of the modern episteme, as well as the destructiveness of the colonial mindset that informs the ways of knowing and being reproduced in the academy. While modern science and technology may be critical to avert further ecological destruction, in order to deploy this knowledge wisely and repair our relationship to the more-than-human-world, it may also be critical to learn from indigenous communities whose ecological knowledge and relationships have been disrupted by colonialism.

Dependent arising is relevant to this work. Although some modern interpretations of the doctrine are highly ecological, they tend to be naturalistic. By contrast, traditional interpretations accommodate a diversity of worlds and a rich ecology of seen and unseen other-thanhuman relatives, which better support contact, care and responsibility for these relatives. In other words, a decolonized dependent arising provides a potent philosophical framework for repairing our world(s).

# Knowledge and Power: Centering Tibetan and Himalayan Buddhist Epistemic Authority

#### Annabella Pitkin, Lehigh University

iscourses of rationality, secularism, and modernity that emerged within European and North American colonial projects often caricature Tibetan and Himalayan intellectual and religious life, either as anti-modern, trapped in magic and superstition, or as expressing an ideal "rational religion," whose insights mirror those of the natural sciences, but only when "irrational" elements like devotion, ritual, or yogic power have been edited out (Lopez 1998). In this sense, Religion Studies discourses surrounding secularism and rationality position Tibetan thinkers and knowledge systems within exigencies of "epistemic rather than religious conversion" (Mignolo 2012). Lama Jabb has highlighted the epistemic and material erasures that both result from and enable "the scholarly preoccupation and public fascination in the West with Tibetan Buddhism" (2015). Definitions of the legitimate subjects of scholarly inquiry affect who can do scholarship, and what research is funded or published. The stakes of knowledge production are not simply epistemic; they are territorial, pragmatic, economic, and professional. A decolonizing approach must therefore center Tibetan and Himalayan epistemic authority as a part of centering sovereignties of Tibetan and Himalayan social, political and religious power.

Tibetan and Himalayan accounts of yogic power, teacher-student lineage connections, and guru-disciple devotion, articulated in genres

like *rnam thar*, *gsol 'debs, gser phreng*, and *chos 'byung*, are often targets for colonizing and Orientalizing projections. My presentation asked what forms of power Tibetan and Himalayan Buddhist authors exercise when they recount, interpret, or even strategically conceal histories, memories, and vocabularies of yogic power, devotional practice, and teacher-student lineage connection? How do accounts of power and devotion - as practices of recollection, identity and moral personhood - directly intersect with assertions of both territorial and intellectual sovereignty? And in what ways can devotion and accounts of yogic power function most fully as forms of refusal?

## 23 and Me: Tibetan Buddhist Reflections on its "DNA"

#### Sangseraima Ujeed, University of Michigan

Tibetans, Mongolians, Nepalese, and Bhutanese identify as "family" in a shared "Wider Tibetan Buddhist Sphere". Despite the "Tibetan-ness" ascribed by Western Academia, Tibetan Buddhism was not a unilateral transference of a tradition. Rather, it was subject to cross-assimilations over time, in the development of which different ethnicities played a formative hand. The very "Tibetanness" of "Tibetan Buddhism" needs decolonizing, itself a terminology created by the 20th century Eurocentric quest to isolate/define the "other".

My research focuses on the Tibeto-Mongolian aspect of the Wider Tibetan Buddhist Sphere. Throughout history, thousands of Mongolian monk-scholars travelled to Tibet to study Buddhism. They had Tibetan names, composed in Tibetan and often never returned to their homelands. The inter-transmission of Buddhist knowledge owed to the cultural and religious exchanges through generations of masterdisciple relationships, transmission lineages, reincarnation, and travel, contributed to a cosmopolitan and geographically expansive tradition. These individuals did not see Tibetan Buddhism as the intellectual and cultural heritage of another. The very term nang sog "Inner Mongol" originally meant "Mongols who were insiders [of the Buddhist tradition]". Only by reading the works of Tibetan Buddhists from different ethnic backgrounds together as part of a larger whole, can we gain true understanding of the tradition.

Compared to mature fields such as Classics, Theology, or Philosophy, Religious Studies is a rebellious teenager, Buddhist studies a toddler, and Tibetan Buddhist studies an infant –yet to discover and define their identity. "Tibetan Buddhism" as one of the most popular forms of Buddhism being studied and practiced globally today, still remains a partial vision. According to Nye, "decolonization is a process, that works in many different ways... that aims to create large-scale transformation of all levels of the academy" (Nye 2019:25). Here, the insider and outsider must work together, and through collaboration between all those who have stakes in the tradition; western, traditional, and indigenous scholars, we can broaden our understanding of the "Tibetan" Buddhist world.

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## On Vulgar Critique

#### Riga Shakya, Columbia University

y remarks are drawn from a forthcoming article of mine tentatively entitled "The Place of Orientalism in Tibetan Studies" which examines how Chinese and Tibetan intellectuals inside and outside the PRC engage with Saidean colonial discourse analysis. I share examples of colonial discourse analysis in the work of feted New Left literary critic Wang Hui, and more recently in the work of scholars of Tibetan Buddhism in China.¹ These scholars directly invoke Said's Orientalism in a critique of Tibet scholarship in the west. Put briefly my argument is that their critique is vulgar. By which, I point both to a totalizing scope and blindness to Tibetan traditions and cultures as hermeneutic, and a crude reading of power/knowledge that unknowingly (or knowingly) lends itself to the linear narrative of national history. Yet rather than an accusation that Chinese scholars 'vulgarize' Said, it is Said's argument in Orientalism itself that remains vulgar. His problematic critique becomes nothing less than a function of the very discursive formation he purported to critique reinforcing its formation and reasserting its power while so brilliantly exposing it. We might locate the problem in Said's reading of power/knowledge, the place of individual agency in the formation of power discourses. By failing to make the liberal subject and its

¹ Wang Hui "The Tibet Issue Between East and West", Chinese Sociology & Anthropology, 42:4, 7-30, 11, 2010. More recently Shen Weirong follows this logic in: Shen Weirong, "On New Qing History: Manchu Archival Sources? Orientalism." (Xin qingshi de renao he mendao: Man wen wenxian? Dongfang zhuyi), Shanghai Review of Books:

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sovereignty the locus and focus of a restructuring critique, a failure that Islamic legal scholar Wael B. Hallaq has claimed exonerates Orientalism as a "symptom, rather than the cause or chief culprit, of a pyschoepistemic disorder plaguing modern forms of knowledge to the core".² This pervasive logic does not depart from the parameters of stilted colonial discourse analysis, and their critique of the West is vulgar precisely because their approach searches for, to use Foucauldian terms, "immediate struggles" that look not for the "chief enemy" but for "immediate enemies". The preoccupation with Orientalism in both the academy (not limited to China) and popular parlance (activists and community organizers) has occluded the richness of Tibetan historical and literary cultures as a critical hermeneutical resource. Decolonial thought, which seeks to delink from western epistemology in the form of the rhetoric of modernity, necessarily mandates the engagement of Tibetan ways of thinking as hermeneutic in an act of 'epistemic disobedience'.

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² Wael B. Hallaq, *Restating Orientalism: A Critique of Modern Knowledge*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

# Nyema Droma in Conversation

## Yuyuan (Victoria) Liu, Columbia University

Nyema Droma is a photographer and curator born and based in Lhasa. Nyema received her BA in Fashion Photography and Styling from the London College of Fashion. She is best known for Performing Tibetan Identities, a portrait series of 'new' generation of global Tibetans, which was exhibited at the Pitt Rivers Museum in 2018. Nyema's artwork features on cover of the inaugural issue of Waxing Moon and here she shares her most recent projects, future plans and her reflections on her multiple roles in the world of Tibetan visual culture.

## You started fashion photography in university and your early work largely consisted of fashion shoots of Tibetan subjects. How did your early experiences influence your current approach to photography? What inspired your transition to becoming a contemporary photographer?

My early experiences in fashion photography in London have had a great influence on my current work. Working in the fashion industry definitely inspired me in different ways to establish my own brand Hima Alaya. Being exposed to different people from diverse backgrounds in the industry has also taught me how to cooperate with my team members today. As a contemporary Tibetan photographer, I create works that explore issues like cultural identities, selfrepresentation, globalization and social status that play out in contemporary Lhasa. I enjoy being able to present different ideas and concepts through photographs while adding fashion elements and artistic aesthetics to the photographs. Photography has served as a bridge for me to learn more about people and their stories and histories. My camera is a medium through which I express my feelings, thoughts and questions to the audience.

## Could you tell us a bit about your exhibition *Performing Tibetan Identities* at the Pitt Rivers Museum in 2018 and your personal experience of interviewing your subjects for the exhibition?

The exhibition "Performing Tibetan Identities" was a photo series project that includes 30 young Tibetans from diverse backgrounds, class, profession and political status. In 2015 at an exhibition in London, I met Clare Harris who was then the curator at the museum. After many meetings with her at Oxford, I was offered an artist residency at the Pitt Rivers Museum, and we came up with the "Performing Tibetan Identities." As a Tibetan who grew up in a very diverse culture, I often have many questions about my own identity, and sometimes have trouble balancing my cultural identity and modern identity in contemporary society. On many occasions I feel that I am only performing my Tibetan identity, such as when I put on traditional dress in front of the camera. Like I said earlier, my camera is a medium through which I ask questions and learn about stories. This is why I want to interview different people and investigate their answers towards my questions.



Nyema Droma's Self-Portrait from Performing Tibetan Identities project

# Could you tell us about your recent clothing collection for monks and nuns?

Our new collection 'Lhaksum' (lhag bsam) is a monastic clothing series specially designed for the lifestyles of the modern sangha from the perspective of fabric and function, and made from the sincere wish to repay their purity of their faith. This series was something I have been wanting to work on since 2016 while I was studying and teaching in Dromaling Monastery in Yushu. After spending most of my time with monks and nuns that year and getting to know their living environments and daily lifestyle, I wanted to make something that's suitable and functional for them.



You also curate exhibitions, host art festivals and photography competitions. How do you negotiate your multiple roles as a photographer, designer, curator and business owner?

From my experiences as an artist, I had many opportunities to get to know many other interesting roles in the art industry. I love to explore new things and challenges and it is fascinating to see how people react and feel when they come to exhibitions or events we host in Lhasa. I have always aspired to do things that are meaningful and inspiring for my community, promoting an artistic atmosphere in Lhasa and portraying a modern Tibetan image to a wider and more international audience.

#### What's next?

I plan to finish my master's degree and expand my brand to an international market. At the same time, I hope to curate events and exhibitions in Lhasa that are centered on social values. For my MA research, I want to work on helping local Tibetan artists connect with global communities so that they can reach broader audiences and their work can be subject to more diverse interpretations. I also want to collaborate with artists from other backgrounds to create more Tibetan and Himalayan culture-based artworks. I think these works could stimulate new conversations among Tibetan artists and their audiences

as they see ideas, expressions, visions and interpretations surrounding Himalayan culture from the west.

# You have designed the cover of our first issue. What were your creative ideas?

This cover was shot in 2018 during my visit to Tashi Choede monastery in Gonkar county, Lhoka (also known as Gongkar Chö Monastery). Although many wall paintings at the monastery were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, the site has some of its original traces preserved. It is always fascinating for me to see traditional artworks in monasteries and to appreciate them in my own way.

## Which artists and photographers inspire you the most?

I really admire the early generation of Tibetan contemporary artists, such as Gonkar Gyatso, Nortse and Gade. I think these artists create works that truly reflect their communities and comment on their social reality. They are artists who are very expressive and socially aware.

# The Necktie

#### Tsering Döndrup, translated by Chris Peacock

Some say this thing called the necktie evolved from the scarves worn by cart drivers in Europe, while some sources claim that it was first introduced to France by a group of Croatian mercenaries. Regardless of its lowly origins, and regardless of the amount of acclaim or contempt it may have garnered, it's fair to say that in the modern era this thin strip of soft, brilliant cloth has added a magnificent splash of color to men's otherwise drab outfits, like wild flowers blooming on the grasslands. But from its first arrival in Tsezhung through to the present day, the necktie has a history of no more than twenty years. I can personally attest to this piece of history, because it was none other than I who first brought the necktie to the region of Tsezhung.

It was a summer some ten-plus years ago, the kind so beautiful it can't help but bring tears to your eyes. I had just graduated from a university off in the east of China and had returned to my homeland, the grasslands of Tsezhung. At the time, I basically had nothing to my name other than a cheap Western suit with a colorful silk tie, a box of literary texts that would soon prove to be completely useless, a few short poems I had published in some magazines, and a delightful, utterly ridiculous sounding nickname – "The Poet." Nevertheless, I was feeling bright and cheery, because I would soon be bringing in a monthly salary.

I was assigned to a department that had no connection whatsoever to my major of language and literature. The head of the department was a harsh but fair (something I was to learn later) man in his mid-40s. The first time I went to meet him I was terrified, and I thought he was, too, because his eyes went round as plates and he sat there pointing at my chest for what felt like an age, unable to utter a word. I realized that he was even trembling a little.

"Take... take that thing off your neck!" After a long pause, he added: "What the hell!"

I finally realized that he was talking about my tie. Just you think about it for a second – how could a young man with a glorious title like "The Poet" bow down to some country bumpkin, even if it meaning losing his job? Needless to say, my magnificent necktie was going nowhere. Later on, every time he complained about my tie, I recited that great Chekhov quote to myself in my head: "Everything about a person should be first-rate: his thoughts, his clothes, his..."

Following the example set by me, the number of people wearing Western suits and ties in Tsezhung grew and grew.

Around here, however, there's a still big mix of men who've cut off their traditional braids and men who haven't, and for a time people didn't know quite how to treat this foreign import. Some people tied their ties onto the collar of a tracksuit jacket then put a Mao suit on over the top. Some people donned their Western suits and their ties and then topped it off with a green army cap. Some people wrapped their ties around their necks and tied a knot so tight they almost choked to death. Even the lama Alak Drong, whose fame spread far and wide, adopted a yellow tie which he wore beneath a string of ivory prayer beads, then completed his look with a dark brown leather jacket. I thought it looked completely absurd, but the local sycophants all said that the "style of the reverend lama's garments is rich with ethnic characteristics!", which pleased Alak Drong no end. I have no doubt that if the Buddha had stuck around for 2,500 years to witness our modern age and see the state of his disciple, he'd be absolutely aghast.

What surprised me was that my boss finally started wearing a tie. He didn't really know how to tie it properly, but from a distance, at least, he looked a lot more impressive. What surprised me even more was that one time I happened to come across him sleeping shirtless but with the tie still on. When I asked him what was going on, he replied quite candidly that someone had helped him tie a good knot and if he undid it he wouldn't be able to tie it again. *Ah kha*, heaven really knows how to play with people, I thought to myself.

Now it's some ten years later, and I was never able to carve out a career for myself as a poet, but I have become a junior manager at the office – I've turned into what I used to think of as a "country bumpkin." Whether it's because I'm too busy or because I'm getting on in years I don't know, but either way I've been paying less and less attention to my appearance in recent years. Much to my surprise, I actually ended up getting in trouble again because of this. Yesterday morning when I first got into the office, that harsh but fair boss of mine sized me up and said, "The higher ups are coming to do an inspection today, surely you didn't forget? What sort of way is this to show your respect, not even wearing a tie? What the hell!"

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## An Amcho's Recitation

#### Pema Bhum, translated by Tenzin Dickie

n 1970 when I got into Malho Trik National Teacher's College, there were about sixty students in my class. To separate us into L two sections - an Upper and a Lower Section - the school tested our Tibetan language and mathematics. I found the math test easy because it only tested addition and subtraction, multiplication and division. But I had trouble with the Tibetan test. There was only one part to the Tibetan test and that was a dictation, a dictation of Lin Biao's introduction to the *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*. Now Quotations from Chairman Mao was a book that we carried on our persons at all times no matter what we were doing. We needed to study the Little Red Book at least once every day and I could even recite many of the passages from the book word for word. But I had never read the introduction to it. During the test as soon as I heard the word 'introduction', I became totally confused. I still remember writing down 'Introduction.' The teacher began: "Comrade Mao Zedong is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era," and I tried my best to write down the words as I heard them.

The results were posted the next day. I had made it to the Upper Section. At the time I could hardly believe that I had made the Upper Section when I couldn't even spell the word 'introduction' properly. Now when I think back on this incident, of course it makes sense. All the students who sat that test were around thirteen or fourteen. It was just as we were learning to read some Tibetan that the Cultural Revolution began and put a stop to our education. Many of us who were taking that test could hardly get any words down on paper, let alone spell the words correctly. The ones who could scrawl down some words must have made the Lower Section.

A few days after this test, we began our classes. But we had no textbooks for any of our classes. All the compositions of the great Tibetan scholars had been classified as 'poison.' Even the Tibetan language textbooks compiled under Chinese government supervision before 1966 could not be used. So, the text that we used for our Tibetan language class was again "Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong." After some time, the campaign to study Mao's Three Great Essays was launched; these essays were titled *Serve the People; Yugong Moves the Mountain;* and *In Memory of Norman Bethune.* So, we had to study these essays for a while in our Tibetan language class. As soon as this campaign was over, the campaign to study Chairman Mao's Five Essays on Philosophy swept the country. The essays were as follows: On Practice; On Contradictions; On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People; Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Works; and Where do Correct Ideas Come From? The school began using these essays as our textbook for the class. The school had three different grades at the time, but students in all three grades used the same textbook. The first essay On Practice was the text that we had to study and our teacher was to be Mr. Dorje Tsering. It was Mr. Doring who taught us Tibetan for the first time.

My memories of that first day he came to teach our class are as clear and vivid as if it were yesterday. When he stepped inside the classroom, we collectively sucked in our breath and stopped breathing, so awed and intimidated were we by his fame and his majesty. We all sat up straight in our chairs, stared at his face and waited breathlessly for his first words to us. Mr. Doring came in, put Chairman Mao's *Five Essays on Philosophy* down on the desk, looked at each of us and said,

"It smells of shit in here. Open the windows."

Not sure what he meant, some of us looked at each other. Some of us kept staring at him, waiting for him to say more.

"Did you all hear me? Open the windows," repeated Mr. Doring. The students who sat near the windows opened the windows.

"If you must smoke, go and smoke in the toilets, inhaling the smell of piss and shit as you do so. Cigarette smoke in the classroom stings my nose and mouth, and I can barely read a book in here."

Then we understood that he meant the smell of "shit" to mean the smell of cigarettes. As it were, students weren't allowed to smoke at school. The other teachers, when they found us smoking, punished us by giving us a long lecture. Of course, the teachers had gotten used to giving this lecture and the students had gotten used to hearing this lecture. Mr. Doring's way of scolding the students who smoked was so novel that it confused us at first. Our class had a few students who smoked, and these students used to smoke in the class between breaks.

Now Mr. Doring called out some names and had these students read out a few lines from *On Practice*. One or two of them, thinking that a quick reading would impress the teacher, read hastily, tripping over the words and mispronouncing others in their nervousness. If it were another teacher, they would have stopped the student, made the correction and given a scolding all in one go, but not Mr. Doring. He listened to all the students one by one without stopping them, as if they were giving some great reading. Then he asked, "Do you guys know what an *amcho* is?"

Maybe the other students didn't know what an *amcho* was. They just looked at each other and no one said anything. I knew that an *amcho* was a monk who went to people's houses to read scripture, but was that the answer Mr. Doring was looking for? I wasn't sure, so I kept quiet.

No one gave an answer. Mr. Doring said, "An *amcho* is a monk who reads scripture in people's houses."

I felt very sorry that I had not given the answer when I had it.

Mr. Doring continued, "When the *amcho* read a scripture at people's houses, it is not necessary for the host to hear and comprehend the words. Often it is not even necessary for the *amcho* himself to hear and comprehend what he is reading. In fact, the faster an amcho reads, the more skilled he is considered to be."

Now we understood what he was saying, which was that we read like *amchos*.

Next, Mr. Doring wanted to give us a dictation. He told us to mark the words we didn't understand. After he finished dictating, he wanted us to tell him all the words we didn't know.

As he was dictating, he read very slowly. His voice wasn't very loud but he spoke each word very clearly, as if he wanted us to hear that this was the way to read and not the way of the *amcho*. As he read, his voice sounded dewy and full-throated, as if a lump of saliva had lodged in his throat. I kept wondering why he wouldn't just swallow the saliva and then read.

After Mr. Doring finished reading several passages, just as we wanted, we gave him some words that we didn't know like 'explanation' and 'retinue.'

Then he said, "These are the only words that you don't know?" Nobody answered him and the classroom went very quiet. "There are more words I don't know in this essay than you guys," said Mr. Doring. "Who can explain these terms to me?"

He listed a bunch of revolutionary terms such as society, economy, class, production etc. We came across these terms at least once every day, either in our books or in our lives but there was not a single one of us who could explain what they meant. We sat there dumb and silent.

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/ WAXING MOON /

