

The Kingdom of Lo (Mustang)

A Historical Study



RAMESH K. DHUNGEL

About the Book

THE KINGDOM OF LO (MUSTANG) A Historical Study

This book is a historical study of one of the prominent medieval kingdoms in the trans-Himalayan region of Nepal. The core territory of this kingdom is known today as 'Mustang' of North-western Nepal. This is the first effort of a Nepali scholar to sketch a full-fledged historical outline of the kingdom by employing both Nepali and Tibetan sources.

The book is based on several fieldworks conducted in Mustang and surrounding districts of western Nepal during 1982-84 and 1995. This research work has also utilized extensive published and unpublished archival sources, both in Nepali and Tibetan.

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RAMESH K. DHUNGEL

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for
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*Dedicated to the late Dhanavajra Vajracharya,
prominent epigraphist,
Sanskritist and historian of Nepal,
who inspired me to plunge into the quest of
Nepali history in general
and cultures, history and languages
of the Himalayan region of Nepal in particular*

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Ramesh K. Dhungel

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- DMR Kun-dga' rdo-rje, Tshal-pa (14th century), Hu-Lan-deb-ther or Deb-ther-dmar-po (The Red Annals), Gangtok: 1961.
- doc. document
- docs. documents
- GDR Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, Kah-thog-rig-'dzin (1698-1755), Bod-rje lha-btsad-po'i gung-thang du ji-ltar byung-ba'i tshul-deb gter-dwangs-shel-'phrul-gyi-me-long (Genealogy of Gung-thang Rulers, composed by the author in Lo in the year 1749)
- GRGM Tshe-dbang-nor-bu (1698-1755), Glo-bo rgyal-po la-gdams-pa'i-mgur, Selected Writings of Kah-thog-Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu. Darjiling: 1973
- GSH Rgod-tshang-ras-pa Sna-tshogs-rang-grol (1452-1507), Gtsang-smyon-he-ru-ka-phyogs thams-cad-las mam-par-rgyal-ba'i mam-thar rdo-rje theg-pa'i gsal-byed nyi-ma'i snying-po bzhugs-so (The Life of the Saint of Gtsang, Gtsang-smyon-He-ru-ka, 1452-1507). New-Delhi: 1969, also another mam-thar (biography) of Gtsang-smyon-he-ru-ka by Lha-btsun Rin-chen mam-rgyal
- JKK Wa-gindra karma [bi-dza-ya]=(Ngag-dbang-'phrin-las-mam-rgyal), Jo-bo rin-po-che Dngul-sku mched-gsum-rten brten-par bcas-pa'i dkar-chag rab-dga'i glu-dbyangs (The Kho-char dkar-chag)
- KGJ Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, Jo-nang (c. 1507-1566), Dpal-ldan bla-ma 'Jam-pa'i dbyangs-kyi mam-par thar-pa legs-bshad khyad-par-gsum-ldan, (Biography of Glo-bo mkhan-chen, a manuscript from Mustang)
- KZNT Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rgyal-ba rdo-rje-'chang Kun-dga'-bzang-po'i mam-par thar-pa legs-bshad chu-bo 'dus-pa'i rgya-mtsho yon-tan yid-bzhin-nor-bu'i 'byung-gnas, (Biography of Kun-dga'-bzang-po), New Delhi: 1976 and Dehradun: 1983
- Lo-Khen (a) Mkhas-pa mams-'jug-pa'i sgo'i nam-par bshad-pa'i rig-gnas-gsal-byed, (a manuscript composed by Glo-bo mkhan-chen), Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, Vol. 43)
- Lo-Khen (b) Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532), Bka'-bum-gyi dkar-chag gsal-ba'i me-long (from Collected Works Vol. 3), New Delhi: 1977

- Lo-khen (c) Bla-ma'i mam-thar rin-chen phreng-ba, (Biography of Rgyal-tshab Kun-dga' dbang-phyug, a manuscript from Mustang)
- Lo-Khen (d) Chos-rgyal-chen-po Bkra-shis-mgon gyi sa-skyai dgongs-rdzogs kyi mchod-brjod (from Collected Works Vol. 3), New Delhi: 1977
- Lo-Khen (e) Gzhi-khar gnang-ba'i phyag-dam zhal-shu-ma (from Collected Works Vol. 3), New Delhi: 1977
- Lo-Khen (f) Mi-dbang Mgon-po rgyal-mtshan gyi dris-lan rgyal-sras bzhad-pa'i me-tog (from Collected Works Vol. 3), New Delhi: 1977
- Lo-Khen (g) Rin-po-che Bde-legs rgya-mtsho'i brgyad-stong-pa'i dkar-chag (from Collected Works), New Delhi: 1977
- Lo-Khen (h) Rje-btsun bla-ma'i mam-par thar-pa ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho, (autobiography of Glo-bo Mkhan-chen, a manuscript from Mustang)
- MHR (Mustang History Report) Ramesh Dhungel's "Lo (Mustana) rajyako aitihasika rupa-rekha" (Historical Outline of the Kingdom of Lo (Mustang), text in Nepali, research report submitted to the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Nepal, VE 2044 (1987)
- NChB Dkon-mchog lhun-grub, Ngor-chen (1497-1557) [and Sangs-rgyas Phun-tshogs], Dam-pa'i chos-kyi 'byung-tshul legs-par bshad-pa bstan-pa'i rgya-mtshor 'jug-pa'i gru-chen, (History of Sa-skyai Ngor-pa line of Tibetan Buddhism, also known as Ngor-chos-'byung), New Delhi: 1973
- NKZP Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po (1382-1456), Lam-'bras-bu dang bcas-pa'i man-ngag-gyi byung-tshul gsung-ngag rin-po-che bstan-pa rgyas-pa'i nyi-'od, sa-skyai bka'-'bum, (The text of Sa-skyai-bka'-'bum), Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1968-69
- NSDR gNyas ston-pa'i gdung-rabs dang gdan-rabs (recent Tibetan publication)
- PRR Padma 'phrin-las, Rdo-rje-brag Rig-'dzin (II) (1640-1728), Dus-pa mdo-dbang-gyi bla-ma brgyud-pa'i mam-thar ngo-mtshar dad-pa'i phreng-ba, (Biography of Lama Brgyud-pa), Leh: 1972
- RCPT Bco-brgyad Khri-chen, Thub-bstan legs-bshad rgya-mtsho, Rin-chen phra-tshom and its Nepali version (Mustanako rajaitihasa), (Genealogical history of Mustang, manuscripts from Mustang palace)

- SDR Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bsod-nams, Ames-zhabs (1597- c. 1662), 'Dzam-gling byang-phyogs-kyi thub-pa'i rgyal-tshab chen-po dpal-ldan sa-skyapa'i gdung-rabs rin-po-che ji-lta: byon-pa'i tshul-gyi mam-par thar-pa ngo-mtshar rin-po-che'i dbang-mdzod dgos-'dod kun-'byung, (Genealogy of Sa-skyapa Lamas of Tibet) New Delhi: 1975.
- TR Bstan-'dzin ras-pa (1646-1723), Rnal-'byor-gyi dbang-phyug Bstan-'dzin-ras-pa'i zhal-gdams mgur-du gsungs-pa-mams, (Autobiography of Lama Bstan-'dzin-ras-pa, a xylograph from Mustang)
- TsBN Brag-dkar rta-so Sprul-ku Rig-'dzin chos-kyi dban-phyug (b. 1775), Dpal-rig-'dzin chen-po rdo-rje Tshe-dbang nor-bu'i zhabs-kyi mam-par thar-pa'i cha-shas brjod-pa ngo-mtshar dad-pa'i rol-mtsho, (Biography of Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, a manuscript from the personal collection of Lama Pad-ma of Gar-phug dgon-pa, Mustang and a transcription from the library of Gene Smith, now at Trace Foundation, New York).
- VE Vikrama Era, Nepal's official calendar system
- SE Saka Era, an old calendar system once used in Nepal and some parts of India.
- MS Manuscript.

FEW IMPORTANT POINTS FOR READERS

- ◆ In order to save time the initial numbering of historical documents, which was used in the report submitted to CNAS, Tribhuvan University is used for the citation of documents. The documents related for this book has new numbers but the old number of each documents has been given in parenthesis immediately after the new number.
- ◆ Since there is no separate section for sources, terms and names of different languages and cultural background under bibliography and index sections, only the English alphabetical order is used. There is no Tibetan order in this case
- ◆ Having considered the importance of original sources in historical writing, wrong spelling of Tibetan and Nepali words and sentences in the documents is left as it is. In some cases, the correct form is given in parenthesis.
- ◆ In order to give priority, the order of importance and geographic location, no chronological order has been adopted under 'document section' of the book.
- ◆ Considering the importance of Photo-plates and facsimiles to general users of the book, mostly phonetic system is adopted in captioning.

Lo is a prosperous land adorned with the beauty of the Himalayan Mountains and sources of river jewels. This is a land blessed with the preaching of the second Buddha, Padmākara (Padmasambhava), the excellent translator [Lo-tsa-ba], Rin-chen bzang-po, and the great lord of yoga, Mi-laras-pa through various precepts of the teaching of Lord Buddha. The land of Lo arose from the lotus feet of great personalities such as [Ngor-chen] rDo-rje-'chang Kun-dga' bzang-po.

- *Byams-pa dkar-chag*, fol. 6

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This is a historical study of a kingdom, located in the trans-Himalayan region of western Nepal, popularly known today in Nepal as *Mustang*, and *Lo* in Tibet. The kingdom, still "remote" by most purposes today, remains a vibrant, and accessible center of western Tibetan culture. A small region situated along Nepal's border with Tibet, Lo/Mustang was once on one of the main north-south routes linking India, China, Nepal, and Tibet. Its location along the banks of Kālī Gaṇḍakī ensured that it was an important entrepot for trans-Himalayan trade from the fifteenth to the early twentieth century. During much of this period it flourished on the basis of this trade.¹ Despite its importance for the study of Tibetan and other Himalayan cultures, few scholars have been able to focus upon Lo/Mustang itself. Nevertheless, there exists a wealth of local documents in Nepali and Tibetan which, taken together, reveal the chief stages of Lo's emergence and development, in the Himalayan region.

The study primarily employs detailed genealogical documents to show how Lo/Mustang emerged as a kingdom in 1440, and how key geographical, cultural, and political realities had earlier shaped its regional identity. On the one hand, Lo/Mustang remained a stronghold of classic western Tibetan Buddhist culture well into the 1700s. On the other hand, it was a definable, well-traveled, and even strategic trans-Himalayan way-station for traders. Its mercantile population facilitated this trans-Himalayan trade and gained a trans-regional visibility. Although at times it enjoyed some semblance of autonomy, it usually was subject to the designs of stronger neighbors who have shaped its borders. Still, by dint of its situation as a locus for trans-Himalayan trade, and its vigor as a center of Buddhist culture (or both), Lo/Mustang has remained an identifiable entity from at least the seventh century, up to its incorporation, in 1789, into the kingdom of Nepal, and into the present day. From the earliest sources available pertaining to Lo/Mustang (*La-dvags rgyal-rabs*, translated as 'Chronicles of Ladakh', *Tun-huang Annals*, and *Deb-ther dkar-po*, translated as 'White Annals'), we know

¹ Although this kingdom was known by different names such as Lo, Lo-bo (written *Glo bo* or *Blo bo* in Tibetan), Mustang, Mastang, Monthang, Mosthang, the most popular and well established among them until Jumlā's occupation of the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley was Lo or Lo-bo. After the domination of Jumlā in the lower Lo region, the name Mustang became dominant. After becoming a dependency of Nepal, Mustang became the official name of Lo. Thus, the name Lo/Mustang will be used throughout this dissertation.

that Tibetan influence was in full force by the seventh century. This was a time of rapid cultural and political change both in Tibet and South Asia. Later, as the early Tibetan empire disintegrated in the tenth century, the Lo/Mustang region came under the influence of a local power, the Gung-thang (Gung-thang) principality.²

During the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, Lo/Mustang came under the domination of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom (in Tibetan *Ya-tshe* or sometime *Ya-rtse*), whose center was in the Karnali basin and extended into western Tibet and the Kumaun-Garhwal region of present-day northern India.³ After the fall of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom, Lo/Mustang gradually emerged as a separate kingdom, finally proclaiming its independence in 1440. By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, Lo/Mustang formally came under the rule of the kingdom of Jumlā, one of the many successors of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom. By that time, the kingdom of Lo/Mustang was called "*mustāng rājya*", for it was dominated politically by the Indo-Aryan speaking Khaśas of Jumlā.⁴

The ethnic affinities of the people and authorities of Lo/Mustang with those of greater Tibet forged close links culturally and administratively. Lo/Mustang, however, was eventually incorporated into Nepal in 1789 just as the *bāisī* and *caubisī* states (twenty two and twenty four principalities) of western Nepal were incorporated, although Lo/Mustang continued to maintain its cultural identity. It adhered strictly to an agreement of dependence made with Nepal after the Gorkhali conquest of Jumlā in 1789, and became a dependent tributary of Nepal. From that time on, Lo/Mustang adapted to its dependent status until the implementation of the Dependent Principalities Act of 1961 (*rājya rajautā aina 2017*) of the government of Nepal, which officially abolished the four remaining dependent principalities of Nepal, one of which was Lo/Mustang. However, in its case, the "*rājā*"

² Gung-thang was one of the three major powers of the Ngari region of western Tibet, popularly known in Tibetan as *mNga'-ris skor-gsum*, the 'three districts of Ngari'.

³ Tibetan sources refer to this kingdom as *Ya-tshe* or *Ya-rtse*, whereas the inscriptions of the rulers of this kingdom acknowledge this kingdom as *Khaśadesa* (Khaśa Kingdom). Thus, the names Khaśa or Khaśa/Ya-tshe are used in the present study.

⁴ Because of hegemonic tendencies and the lack of a proper knowledge of Lo's local language and culture among the authorities of the surrounding bigger powers such as Jumlā and Parvat, the Kingdom of Lo found it difficult to retain its original name. An irony is that this centuries-old, trans-Himalayan kingdom, after all, came to be known as *mastāri* or *mustāri rājya*. Later, when the kingdom became a dependent tributary of Nepal, Nepali authorities also recognized the same corrupted name, *Mustang*. It was at that time that the ruler of the dependent state of Mustang also came to be known as the *rājā* of Mustang, instead of his original title *Glo sde-pa, A-ham rgyal-po, A-mgon rgyal-po, Khiri-thog-pa, Sa-dbang, Mi-dhang, and Chos-rgyal*.

title, with some traditional rights, allowances, and honorary positions of *rājā* were left untouched.

Including the present *rājā* (king), Lo/Mustang has been ruled continuously by twenty-one generations of rulers of the same dynasty, known in Tibetan as *rGyal-po*, *sDe-pa* or in Nepali *rājā*. Constitutionally, the present *rājā* has no authority other than bearing the traditional title and receives a nominal monetary allowance and some recognition from His Majesty's Government of Nepal. In practice, however, he exercises power within the Tsho-bdun area of upper Mustang.⁵ Today, because of the sealing of Tibetan border by China and the total collapse of trans-Himalayan trade, Lo/Mustang became one of the most remote trans-Himalayan regions. In addition to this, the Lo/Mustang region has been affected by the lack of its natural resources.

The introductory chapter underway will discuss the physical setting of the Lo/Mustang region. This section establishes that Lo/Mustang was a region devoid of natural resources but blessed with an advantageous location, which was crucial during its centuries as a trans-Asian trade conduit. A brief statement about the history of Tibet and Nepal is also included in order to delineate the complexity of Lo/Mustang region on the Himalayan frontier. This section is followed by a description of the study's methodology. The study then proceeds to review the modern literature on the region. The record of academic production on Lo/Mustang is spotty. This dearth of reliable information has made Lo/Mustang a place not easily defined. This contrasts sharply with the growing popularization of the image of Lo/Mustang as a remote, pristine land at which tourists worldwide are now being exhorted to look.

The second chapter, called "Political and Cultural Affiliations With Tibet and the Ngari (mNga'-ris) Region," covers the history related to emergence of Lo/Mustang as a historical entity, beginning from the seventh century to the time of its independence in the year 1440. It covers early political, religious, and cultural foundations of the region, and describes its eventual inclusion within the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom and later, the Gung-thang principality of western Tibet.

The third chapter, "The Foundation, Rise, and Struggle for Existence of the Kingdom of Lo/Mustang" assesses events from the middle of the fifteenth century to the late eighteenth century, when Lo/Mustang was subjugated politically by Gorkha-Nepal. This chapter highlights the efforts of the rulers of Lo/Mustang toward achieving the independence and territorial integrity of their kingdom. Chapter Four, "Lo/Mustang Under

⁵ In practice, the Lo tsho-dun (Glo tsho-bdun) area of upper Mustang is still considered the traditional domain of the *rājā* of Mustang.

Gorkha-Nepal (since 1789)," discusses significant changes in the condition of Lo/Mustang as a distinct place, from its inclusion in Gorkha-Nepal up to the present time. In addition to a summary-conclusion, a bibliography and appendices supplement the study. An etymological discussion of Tibetan and other place names and selected historical documents are included in the appendix.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss the methodological approaches of the authors of previous works on Himalayan studies. Some anthropologists who have studied Tibetan religion and society have provoked criticism from Tibetologists, who accuse the anthropologists of gross errors stemming from a lack of Tibetan language skills (Snellgrove 1965). Criticisms of Haimendorf's work on Sherpas are instructive in this regard (Snellgrove 1965, Oppitz 1968). Certainly, criticism exchanged between "Tibetologists" and anthropologists is linked to differences in their working methods and skills. This difference may also be considered an epistemological one.

Generally, the aim of Tibetan-language scholars has been to study various aspects of culture such as history, myths, legends, art, and religious history of the Tibetan civilization. Their research works are therefore based on literary and other written documents and archaeological sources. By contrast, anthropologists and ethnographers have mainly used direct observational techniques for producing objective and synchronic accounts of given communities. Some prominent Himalayan anthropologists believe that actual socio-cultural practices may be at variance with textual content (Ortner 1989). Himalayan studies in Nepal have come to include, and integrate, both Tibetological and anthropological methodologies (Oppitz 1968). Employing this approach, scholars use literary and documentary evidence for historical analysis and community observation and field data for the study of cultural practices (Oppitz: *ibid.*, Cooke 1985: 303-310). Some anthropologists have also called attention to the importance of this method in their works on myths, legends, and oral traditions of Tibetan communities in Himalayan Nepal (Vinding and Gauchan 1977, Levine 1976).

FIELD WORK AND PRIMARY SOURCES

Major field work for the present research was done in 1982 and 1983 between April and September of both years.⁶ In 1982, the field research covered the area between Kāgbenī and the Tibetan border. During this first

⁶ The project was sponsored by the Research Center for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS), Tribhuvan University, Nepal and the author of this work was the researcher working for the university. As a outcome of this research a seven volume detailed report in Nepali was submitted to CNAS.

field study, the researcher spent approximately nine weeks exclusively in Lo/Mustang palace reading, copying, and photographing old government documents related to Tibet, Nepal, and Lo/Mustang itself. After that, he spent four additional months visiting historical forts, temples, monasteries, palaces, caves, and other historical monuments and conducting interviews, viewing historical documents and literary sources of political and socio-religious importance from virtually every Lo/Mustang village. Repeating this approach, the second year's fieldwork covered the area between Muktināth and Thāk. This second year's field survey also covered the neighboring Districts of Parvat, Bāglung, Myāgdī, and Manang. Another very brief supplementary field work of upper Mustang and the Bāragāun area was done in 1995.

Among the documents collected in the field work, about thirty per cent are from upper Lo, and rest from lower Lo and surrounding districts. About ninety per cent of the documents collected from the upper Lo region are written in Tibetan, and only ten per cent in Nepali language. However, in the lower Lo and Thāk area, about seventy percent documents are Nepali and only thirty percent Tibetan. Among the Nepali documents collected from Lo/Mustang, more than a dozen are royal orders from the rulers of Jumla and Parvat. Documents from the Tibetan government and influential Lamas were found mainly in upper Lo and some were found in Thāk. Pānchgaun and Bāragāun areas of lower Lo. Some of the documents also concern agreements on regional political and trade issues. The work of collecting historical documents was also supplemented by an archival survey at the Foreign Ministry archives (old *jaisī kothā*) of Nepal.

The field study included the work collecting important historical manuscripts such as biographies (*rNam-thar*) of religious personalities, accounts relating to monasteries, shrines, forts, palaces, villages, main cultural and religious objects and other written governmental, social, and religious documents. In addition to biographical literature and government documents, the field study also covered the work of consulting old written records of Lo/Mustang such as *dKar-chag* (official account), *Bemschag* (account similar to *dKar-chag*), *phyag-yig* (royal orders), *Phyag-tham* (royal orders), *Deb-yig* (a register or information or record book), *mChings-yig* (an official agreement), *'Gan-rgya* (responsibility or promise letter with official seal), *Srol-deb* (written record related to tradition and custom compiled in a book form), *bKa'-rgya-ma* (formal order of a ruler or administrator), *sProd-yig* (document related to financial, trade or other account), *bCa'-yig* (document related to rules and regulation approved or given by an official or a king), *Khral-deb* (tax register), and *Molla* or *Mol-gtam* (royal genealogy).

The field research mainly applied the methods of identification, copying, and content analysis of historical documents. The documents collected in the

field research in Tibetan and old Nepali languages. Most of the Nepali documents are written in old Jumli, Parvate, and Gorkhali-Nepali and concern government orders or administrative correspondence.

Work with documents was supplemented by informal open-ended interviews with learned monks, religious personalities, and other key informants, such as the *Glo rgyal-po* and *rgyal-mo* (rājā=king and Rānī=queen), social workers such as *Am-chi* (traditional medical practitioners), *rTsis-pa* (astronomers), *lHa-bris-pa* (painters and artists), and heads of households (*Drung-pa*) of the traditional administrative authorities like *sGo-pa*, *sDe-pa*, *rGan-pa*, *sPyi-kyab-pa*, *Khri-thog-pa* etc., mainly in the upper Lo areas. In almost every village, special meetings with traditional village assemblies resulted in their granting permission to examine village records and document boxes.

PHYSICAL SETTING

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

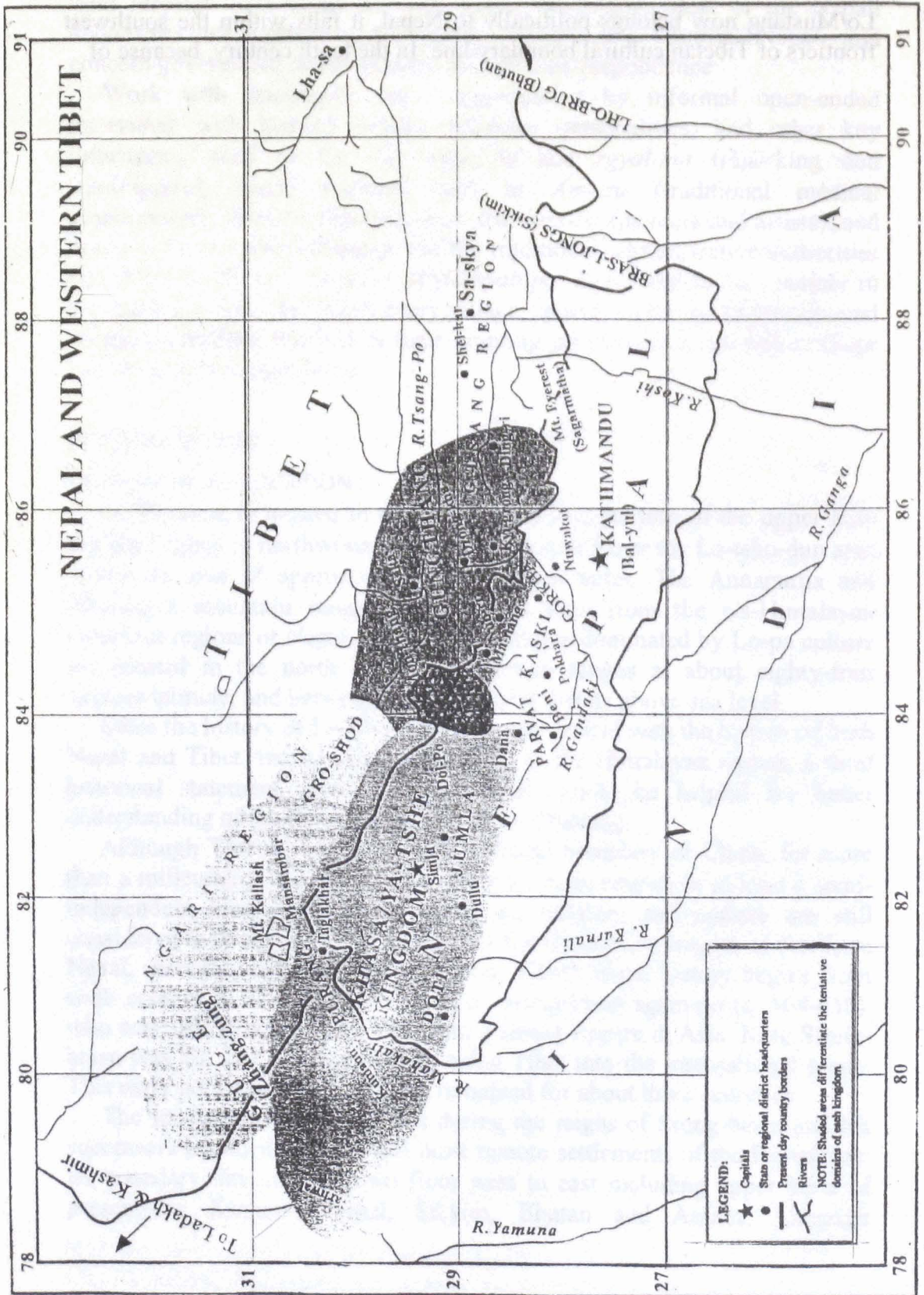
Lo/Mustang is located in the trans-Himalayan portion of the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley in northwestern Nepal. The upper Lo or the Lo-tsho-dun area covers an area of approximately 780 square miles. The Annapurna and Dhaulāgiṛī mountain ranges separate this area from the cis-Himalayan mountain regions of Nepal. Most of the villages dominated by Lo-pa culture are located in the north of these mountain ranges at about eighty-four degrees latitude, and between 2400 and 4500 meters above sea level.

Since the history of Lo/Mustang is directly linked with the history of both Nepal and Tibet, two powerful kingdoms in the Himalayan region, a brief historical statement about these countries would be helpful for better understanding of the historical picture of Lo/Mustang.

Although Tibet is now within the political boundary of China, for more than a millennium and half, it was either a strong empire or at least a semi-independent kingdom. Tibetan lanGu-ge, religion, and culture are still considered to be the inspiring sources for the Himalayan peoples of Northern Nepal, including the Lo/Mustang region. Tibet's dated history begins from sixth century A. D. with its strong ruler, Srong-btsan sgam-po (c. 569-650), who was able to consolidate Tibet into a strong empire in Asia. King Srong-btsan was the first Tibetan ruler to bring Tibet into the international scene. This early political picture of Tibet remained for about three centuries.

The southern territory of Tibet during the reigns of Srong-btsan and his successors included the southern most remote settlements of the Himalayas. Its boundary line curved down from west to east including upper parts of present-day Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam. Although

Lo/Mustang now belongs politically to Nepal, it falls within the southwest frontiers of Tibetan cultural boundary line. In the tenth century, because of



KINGDOM OF LO/MUSTANG

and Areas Under Its Influence



the internal conflicts between the Bon and Buddhist aristocrats, the early Tibetan empire disintegrated, causing the emergence of numerous principalities within the ancient territory of Tibet. Among the three major political regions of the early Tibetan empire (mNga'-ris skor-gsum, dBus and gTsang), the mNga'-ris skor-gsum was the collective name for the three major political districts of western Tibet popularly known as Mar-yul (the Ladakh region), Gu-ge-Pu-rang (the Mānsarobara and Kailāśa regions), and Mang-yul (the Gung-thang region).

After the political disintegration of Tibet in the early tenth century, the Lo/Mustang region became one of the southern most frontier districts of Ngari (mNga'-ris). Then, from time to time, the major powers of Ngari were able to claim and maintain their domination up to the Lo/Mustang region. These dominating powers of Ngari included the rulers of Gu-ge, Gung-thang, and Ya-tshe. Among these three, the Ya-tshe, also known as the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom, emerged in the twelfth century in the northwestern corner of present-day Nepal. Until the fall of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers of the Karṇālī region and the rulers of Gung-thang during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, this political situation remained in the southern frontier region of western Tibet and the high Himalayan region of western Nepal.

Although Nepal has a history of about two thousand years or more, the political picture of modern Nepal was drawn only after the Gorkhali conquest of the Kathmandu Valley in 1769. Gorkha's campaign of consolidating mountain kingdoms was stopped only after the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814. Until then, the political territory of Nepal was not clearly defined. Although during the reign of the Licchavi rulers (c. third to ninth century A. D.), Nepal's territory was expanded up to the Koshi region in the east and the Gandaki region in the west, the fall of the Licchavi dynasty in the center caused a greater political disintegration of the Ancient Kingdom of Nepal. Consequently, different petty principalities emerged within and around the Kathmandu valley. By the thirteenth century, a powerful ruling dynasty known as 'Malla' appeared in the valley and for about three hundred years it ruled the Kathmandu valley and the surrounding areas as an undivided political entity. In the late fifteenth century, this kingdom was divided into three branches: Kantipur, Bhaktapur, and Lalitpur. Similarly, different powers appeared in both eastern and western regions of Nepal. The major kingdoms in eastern and western regions with their powerful ruling dynasties such as the Khaśa/Ya-tshe, Karṇāṭa, and Sena emerged, developed and declined. After the disintegration of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe and Sena kingdoms, and the total fall of the Karṇāṭas, many principalities collectively known as *bāisī* and *caubisī* in western Nepal and dozens of others in central and eastern Nepal also emerged. Finally, launching its ambitious military

campaign, the Kingdom of Gorkha consolidated the entire territory between the river Tista in the east and the river Satlaj in the west within a fifty years time.

During their most ambitious military campaign, the Gorkhali rulers were also able to consolidate the entire territory up to the northern Himalayan frontiers of Tibet. During the process of consolidating the high Himalayan frontier settlements, the Gorkhali force was able to bring a couple of important trans-Himalayan Tibetan cultural areas under its control. Lo/Mustang was one of them.

Although Lo/Mustang now lies within the political boundary of Nepal, the area inhabited and dominated by the Lo-pa people and their culture had not been included within the territory of Nepal until 1789. Until around that time, other major high Himalayan settlements of present-day Nepal, such as Dolpo, Manāng, Nubri, Nar, Nyishang were not incorporated either. Even after the consolidation of these high Himalayan settlements into Nepal, socially and culturally, they were not considered a part of mainstream Nepali territory until very recent times. They were rather called by a general term *bhot*, a popular Nepali name for Tibet, such as *mustānbhot*, *manānbhot*, *chārkābhot*.

During the medieval period of Nepali history (between tenth and eighteenth century A. D.), as a result of the complex nature of the rise and fall of the major medieval kingdoms and the emergence of more than fifty petty principalities within the territory of present-day Nepal, Nepal's territory was not defined clearly. In earlier times, the Malla kingdom of the Kathmandu valley, Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom of the Kaṇāli region, Kaṇāta kingdom of Tirahut or Simraungarh, Sena kingdoms of Palpa and Makawanpur were the dominating forces in Nepal. Among these medieval forces, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe has left a deep and enduring influence in political and social history of modern Nepal. It is pertinent that the present-day linguafranca of Nepal originated and developed under the influence of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers. The Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers have also left their profound influence on the political and cultural history of western Tibet.

CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

Most of Lo/Mustang lies in the trans-Himalayan region and does not have the humid monsoon climate of the rest of Nepal. Consequently, Lo/Mustang is dry: there is not enough rainfall to support regular and sustained crops, even in the summer season, and only an occasional drizzle can be seen in the summer months of June, July, and August. It is one of the coldest areas in Nepal. In the winter season, Mustang's temperature drops up to -20 to -30 degree celsius and in summer, it remains between 10 to 0 degree celsius.

Because of the intensity of the sun, the strong winds that blow northwards through the narrow passage between the two giant mountain ranges, and the lack of rainfall, Lo/Mustang today is virtually barren. Some lower river valleys produce some vegetation, and are cultivated through traditional irrigation systems. As Lo/Mustang receives lots of winter snow every year, its mountains and valleys are often covered with snow, and the melting of the snows in summer helps water the alpine mountains and aids the production of grasses.

Local traditions present a different picture of the past. According to these sources, until around the sixteenth century, most of Lo/Mustang had an abundance of water from the surrounding snow-covered mountains, diverse vegetation, and dense forests from which the Lo-pa people built monumental structures, such as the majestic Buddhist monasteries of *Byams-pa* and *Thub-chen*, and great palaces like *bKra-shis dge-'phel* of Monthang and *bSam-'grub dge-'phel* of Tsarang (MHR doc. 20, tib., *Byams-pa dkar-chag*: fol. 6, KGJ: 7a-7b). Although the exact cause of this great difference is not known, it can be guessed that climatic change may have adversely affected the natural resources of the Lo/Mustang region.

THE PEOPLE

Although greater 'Lo/Mustang today is settled by a mix of Lo-pa, Bāragāunle, Pānchgāunle, and Thakālī people, the Lo tsho-dun area of upper Lo/Mustang is inhabited mainly by Lo-pa people, who are culturally, linguistically, and ethnically similar to the people of western and central Tibet.⁷ Historical sources show that the people from rDzong-kha, gZhis-kar-tse), Gyantse (rGyal rtse), Lhasa, Kuti, Gu-ge (Zhang-zhung), Pu-rang (sPu-rang or Pu-hrang) and even Kham (mDo-khams) migrated to Lo/Mustang at different times and blended into the Lo-pa culture (MHR: 291-293, docs. 105-106 Nepali, Snellgrove 1967: 91-92, TR 2b-3a). Until the late eighteenth century, some of the settlements, such as Khar-rag, Bod-grub-pa (near Gelung village), Chungjung (cung-chung), Samdzong (bSam-rdzong), Chodzong (Chos-rdzong), and Dar-chog in upper Lo, were still known as settlements of Tibetan migrants (MHR: 292, doc. Bems-chag 3: 85a-b). Migration of 'Brog-pa (Tibetan nomads) and Na-ka (descendants of nomadic and sedentary Tibetans) to Lo/Mustang was a frequent phenomenon even until the nineteenth century (MHR: 292).

Lo-pa society is composed of three main classes of people: sKu-drag-pa (ruling class), Phal-pa (ordinary working class), and mGar-pa (outcast or low

⁷ Etymological explanation of names Lo, Lo-bo, Monthang, Mustang, Se-rib, Lo-smad (lower-Lo), Kag-Baragaun, Thag or Thaksatsae, Sum-po or Thini-Panchgaun is given in the appendix.

class). In addition to these, there is a small but significant migrant group in Monthang known as the Thehu-thare (a new Tibetan migrant community known after their old family name or identity); this group is situated between the Phal-pa and mGar-pa socially. Among those groups of nomadic origin from the northern reaches of Lo/Mustang, the Na-ka community is considered higher in status than the 'Brog-pa. However, three classes--the thehu-thare, naka, and 'Brog-pa--are usually treated today as one class wedged between the Phal-pa and mGar-pa; (that is, between ordinary working classes and the lower to outcast classes). The traditional drinking bowl known as *Phuru* is one of the signal objects whose use reveals the difference in status among various classes. According to the Lo-pa tradition, in public festivals and meetings, a single *Phuru* (a drinking bowl) is used among the people of equal status (which means that a *Phuru* used by a low ranking person can't be passed to a person belonging to a higher status). In general terms, the Lo-pa people recognize the critical distinctions by calling it a tradition of *Kha-thug* and *Kha-mi-thug*.⁸

The lower Lo/Mustang region, including Kāg-Bāragāun, Thini-Pānchgāun, and Thāk is ethnically more complex. Linguistically, the people of Dzar-dzong, Kāg, Phen-lag, Brag-dkar rdzong, Klu-brag are similar to the Lo-pas of upper Lo, whereas inhabitants of Chuk, Te, Tangbe, Chelep, rGya-dkar, Thini-Pānchgāun, Thāk etc. are distinctly different. No detailed study on the languages and cultures of the entire Lo/Mustang region (both upper and lower) has been attempted. Nevertheless, on the basis of simple observation, the ancestors of a large segment of Mustang's current population--Thakalis, Thini-Pānchgāunles, and the inhabitants of the above-mentioned five villages of Bāragāun (lower Lo)--apparently migrated not directly from Tibet, but from other high-mountain regions of Nepal.⁹ As with other Lo-pas today, they also belong to the same broader Tibetan civilization.

Although Thakalis and Thini-Pānchgāunles have now been deeply influenced by the middle hill culture of Nepal, most Bāragāunles and Lo-pas of upper Lo still actively follow the old Tibetan tradition, including Buddhism and to a more limited extent, the original shamanistic Bon religion. However, it must be mentioned that the dominant religion in the entire Lo/Mustang region today is indeed Tibetan Buddhism of the Sa-skyapa line. Since Lo/Mustang is one of the few remaining centers of classic Tibetan civilization, no monasteries of the newest reformed sect of dGe-

⁸ These two terms together can be translated unofficially as "touching of (food by) mouth is accepted or not accepted." This is an old Tibetan tradition and it does not have any link with the Nepali "pānī calne and nacalne" tradition.

⁹ Hajime Kitamura has done a preliminary work on Lo dialects based on his field study done only in lower Lo (Kitamura 1977).

lugs-pa can be found there. Just as in Tibet before the Chinese occupation, religious practice is the major focus of life of the people of Lo/Mustang. Old palaces, Buddhist monasteries, and temples are dominating structures in each village. Similarly, in terms of social hierarchy, after the ruler and his close relatives, Buddhist scholars and monks are always considered higher than the lay people. Contrary to earlier Buddhist practice, however, no low-class mGar-pa people in Lo/Mustang are allowed to be ordained as monks in Lo. This discriminatory tradition was not originated in Lo/Mustang but borrowed from Tibet.

OCCUPATIONS

Until the Chinese annexation of Tibet in 1950, North-south trade was a crucial source of income for the people of Lo/Mustang. Animal husbandry and single-season agriculture, however, were never disturbed and have continued to sustain the people of Mustang until today.

Transit trade favored Lo/Mustang for centuries because the Kālī Gaṇḍakī river valley was one of the important trade routes connecting Tibet, western Nepal, and northern India. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, Monthang, the capital of Lo/Mustang was a center of a salt-collection industry in Nepal (MHR: 411, doc. 262 Nepali). Monopoly of Lo/Mustang in the transit trade of the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley, nonetheless, was frequently disturbed in the seventeenth century by the presence of Jumlā in lower Lo. The main trade and customs centers of the Kagbenī and Thāk areas were lost to Jumlā and Parvat, and Lo-pas' freedom of transit trade were severely curtailed by the eighteenth century (MHR: 412). Toward the early nineteenth century, the Thakali traders of Thāk became very powerful and controlled both transit trade and the main government customs apparatus in the region (MHR: 424-25, Haimendorf 1975: 142-146). The Lo/Mustang rulers, nevertheless, procured the traditional privilege of collecting extra duty (in kinds and or cash) at the custom centers of Thāk and Kāk (MHR: 425-427, docs. 10, 12, 17, 22, 37, 39-40, 42 Nepali).

The most important enduring form of trade pursued by Lo-pas until the nineteenth century was bartering grain for Tibetan salt. Besides that, other goods such as hot pepper, turmeric, onion, cooking oil, honey, tobacco, copper and brass wares, wooden and tin boxes, wood and other wooden objects, bamboo and bamboo objects, ropes, brooms, and cotton cloth, were bartered in Lo, for Tibetan salt, sNam-bu (woollen cloth), Gos-chen (woollen robes), horses, wild lambs, various kinds of leather, musk, gold, Chinese tea, precious and semi-precious stones, Himalayan goats and lambs, Chinese silk, yak tail, herbal medicines, etc. (MHR: 427, doc. 7 Tibetan, Haimendorf 1975: 184, 186-87).

Because Lo/Mustang in the fifteenth century controlled the areas between the river gTsang-po and the Ghasa region of the lower Thākkholā, it occupied a strategic position accessing two distinct geographic regions, western Tibet and the middle hills of western Nepal. Relatively low passes (not higher than 15000 feet) between the Tibetan border and the capital of Lo/Mustang and comparatively easy trail access to the southern hill areas along the Kālī Gaṇḍakī river, enabled Lo-pas to transport goods between Tibet and the lower hill areas around Dānā and Benī. Although Lo-pas could not maintain their leadership in this transit trade after the seventeenth century, they were the leading trading people before that time. Since there is no mention of the Thāg area as having been a strategic trade center in the earlier days of the history of Lo/Mustang, it can be assumed that the area between Thini and Dānā was not very important from the point of view of trading activities, population density, and regional power. However, the Lar-dzong (sMad-kyi lha-khang) area is noted to be one of the minor meeting points for north-south trade (Snellgrove 1967: 7).

The important entrepot of Tukche in Thāg was developed only in the nineteenth century. Historical documents refer to either Dānā or Kāg as major trade or custom centers of lower Lo in earlier times (MHR doc. 4, 7, 21 Tibetan, Gauchan VE 2037: 11-17).¹⁰ In those days, possibly, Kagbenī was the final destination for traders from the lower hills, and Dānā for the traders from Lo/Mustang. For Tibetan traders, the capital of Lo, Monthang, may have always been the most frequent southern destination. Since the lower hill area beyond the limits of Kāg and Thāg was not climatically suitable for Tibetan traders, they seldom descended all the way down even to Kāg and Dānā. However, because of geographic location of Lo/Mustang, its people were fully adapted to travelling back and forth between Dānā and the Tibetan border.

The second important economic resource of the people of Lo/Mustang was animal husbandry. Lo-pas' livelihood is still based equally on the herding of domestic animals such as the Yak, Dzo, Ba-lang (cow), horse, mule, donkey, goat, and lamb. Since Lo-pas have always had very limited arable land, individual or family property was calculated mainly on the basis of livestock holding. Lo/Mustang was an important place for producing and trading good quality horses, so much so that a portion of yearly tribute from Lo/Mustang to Jumlā and Nepal included five horses. Just as in Tibet, Lo-pas use their livestock for many purposes including transportation, wool, leather, meat, dairy, fertilizer, fuel (from dung), and above all as medium of wealth or exchange.

¹⁰ In old days, Dānā was popularly known as Liphum among the Tibetan-speaking people of the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley (MHR doc. 7 Tibetan).

Although the scope and importance of animal husbandry in Lo/Mustang has diminished now, the old system of collective care of animals by rotation is still in practice.¹¹ Lo/Mustang has some alpine pastures of its own in the surrounding mountain areas, that is not enough to support a large number of animals. Thus, every year, a large number of animals from Lo/Mustang are still being taken for grazing to the frontier regions of Tibet. For this purpose, agreements were also made between Lo/Mustang and local Tibetan authorities. Similarly, permission letters were acquired from Tibetan authorities for particular times, occasions, and sometime even for a certain person or community (MHR docs. 8, 13, 31, 37, 82 Tibetan). After the inclusion of Lo/Mustang into Nepal as a dependent principality, the issue of the access of Lo/Mustang to Tibetan grazing lands became one of the perennial topics of talks between Nepal and Tibet (MHR docs. 31, 37 Tibetan).

The third important occupation of the people of Lo/Mustang has been agriculture. Although agriculture is the permanent source of livelihood, not even fifty per cent of Lo-pas have enough farming land to support themselves. Although David Jackson describes Lo/Mustang as a place of abundant agricultural lands and water for irrigation (1984: 2), on the contrary, in upper Lo, we find the opposite. Because of lack of rain and overuse by animals and humans, vegetation in upper Lo seems to have diminished in the last couple of centuries. This desertification process continues today. Scarcity of firewood is a major problem in Lo/Mustang and this has been the major cause of gradual desertification. Consequently, small streams deepened and irrigation became very difficult. Once cultivated lands and once flourishing settlements were abandoned. Such abandoned settlements, forts, and lands can be seen everywhere in Lo/Mustang, especially in the area north of Samar. Settlements and agricultural lands with easy access to irrigation are also undergoing the effects of floods from melted glacier lakes located to the north. Such incidents in the Lo/Mustang region occurred almost a couple of times in the century. The western (Tsho-nub) and eastern (Tsho-shar) districts of upper Lo/Mustang are comparatively better in terms of irrigation but have suffered repeatedly from such glacier floods.¹² Nevertheless, Lo-pas grow some barley, buckwheat

¹¹ The size of the livestock supply in Lo/Mustang has been utterly diminished after the close of Tibetan border by China. However, thousands of domestic animals can still be seen in each major settlement in upper Lo. Grazing of yaks and mDzo in the northern mountain areas of upper Mustang and the return of animals (horse, mule, Ba-lang, sheep, goat, donkey etc.) to the village of Monthang at dusk is still an interesting sight for an outsider.

¹² One such devastating floods washed away most of the settlements and agricultural fields of the Tsho-shar area in 1982 while I was conducting field research. About a century ago, the Tsho-nub area was also washed away almost entirely, including an old 'Brug-pa monastic center near Namashung.

(Uwa), and peas in summer by employing at least a millennium-old method of agriculture i. e. using wooden plough, yoke and other equipment, Yak or Jo-pa.

MAJOR SETTLEMENTS AND HOUSING

In the present discussion, we have been focussing on two main subdivisions of Lo: upper and lower (Glo-bo-stod and Glo-bo-smad). This is the historic division, which both Tibetan and local writers have generally followed (GDR: 7b, Jackson 1984: 6, 9). Later, after the Jumla's occupation of lower Lo, upper Lo itself was divided into two major political districts known as Dhar-lha-yos and Dhar-lha-smad (districts south and north from Dhar-lha) (MHR: 127). Within the 780 square miles of the Lo-tsho-dun (seven districts) of upper Lo, there are three major settlements, Monthang (the capital of Lo/Mustang), Tsarang (old headquarters), and Gami. Besides these three, there is another important settlement in upper Lo known as Gelung, which was sometimes considered as part of upper Lo's traditional Lo-tsho-dun area and sometimes, viewed as a different political jurisdiction known as Tsho-bar (middle region). Although the Lo-tsho-dun area now is inhabited by about seven thousand people, at the height of Jumli suppression in Lo/Mustang, its total number of taxpaying households was only 437 (MHR doc. Bems-chag 3: 84a-b). Because of frequent external attacks and economic exploitation, life in Lo/Mustang had become very tough and a big number of Lo-pa people were compelled to move to Tibet. In this process, numerous small settlements in upper Lo were totally abandoned.¹³

Monthang, the capital, which dates from the fifteenth century, is located about five hours horse ride (about 18 km) south of the Tibetan border, at an elevation of 3700 meters above sea level. This town now accommodates about two hundred households, including one five-story palace, some Buddhist Stupas, and four major Buddhist monasteries and temples.¹⁴ Divided into five different administrative units, Monthang is a settlement of very compact houses built of pressed mud. Streets inside the settlement are very narrow with frequent turns. Since practice of polyandry was popular in

¹³ On the basis of this figure, and the approximate number of non-taxpaying ruling class sKu-drag-pa families, it can be assumed that the Lo-tsho-dun area contained only about 500 households and about 3000 people altogether.

A tax document of 1751 records the total tax-paying households from each village of the Lo-tsho-dun area of upper Lo, which is as follows: Gami 56, Tsarang 63, Mon-thang 62, Brag-mar 15, Dhi 19, Yar-ra 18, Grong 9, Dhe 16, Tangye 15, Namgyal 14, Phug-phag 15, Khar-nag 10, Ngyamdo 12, Bragkyab 16, Cen 17, Samdjong 7, Nhenyol 4, Darchog 25, Khe-stod 10, Sag-song 5. The tax document of Lo also records that the entire Lo-tsho-dun area grew by only twenty households in sixty years (MHR doc. Bems-chag 3. 85a).

¹⁴ In the summer of 1981, our research team counted 187 households inside the walled township of Mon thang.

Lo/Mustang, population growth was controlled naturally. Thus, from the earliest time to the present day, the population of Monthang seems to have increased very slowly. However, from time to time, migratory activity in Lo/Mustang was common, and that affected the size of population. As a capital town, Monthang always has had a relatively larger ruling class population. Around the eighteenth century, when Lo/Mustang was under pressure from Jumlā, tax-paying households in Monthang were only 62, which is even smaller than the number of households in Tsarang, the second biggest settlement in Lo/Mustang (MHR doc. Bems-chag 3: 84a-b).

Monasteries, temples, palaces, and forts are the dominant structures in Lo/Mustang. The walled capital town of Monthang is dominated by a fifteenth century palace, locally known as bKra-shis dge-'phel, two almost five hundred year old Buddhist temples of Byams-pa and Thub-chen, and monastic buildings that belonged to the Monthang chos-sde monastery. The ruling class of sKu-drag-pa and a couple of other Phal-pa families also live in relatively large houses but which are not as big as the palace, temples, and monastic buildings. More than one thousand people now live inside the walled town of the capital of Lo/Mustang, using a single gate.

Tsarang is the second most important and second largest settlement in Lo/Mustang. It is located thirteen kilometers south of Monthang at 3500 meters above sea level. Tsarang accommodates about one hundred households, a couple of monastic buildings, a four-hundred year old five-storey fort palace, and several other structures of religious and cultural importance. The housing and settlement pattern looks the same as in Monthang, except that Tsarang does not now have a wall surrounding it. With few exceptions, the same compact houses and narrow streets are characteristic of the settlement pattern in the entire Lo/Mustang region, including Thāg and lower Lo.

Although Tsarang was the main settlement and headquarters of Lo/Mustang before its independence, during the Jumli military suppression it became the target of their attack. Because of such pressure, perhaps, the population of Tsarang sharply declined. A record of 1751 shows only sixty-three tax-paying households living in Tsarang at that time, though it excludes ruling class families (MHR doc. Bems-chag 3: 84a-b).

The third major settlement in Lo/Mustang is Gami (sGad-smad) village, which is located about 11 kilometers south of Tsarang at 3520 meters above sea level. Like Tsarang, it accommodates a partially ruined sixteenth century palace, a monastery, and close to one hundred households. Gami is recorded as having had only fifty-six tax-paying households in the eighteenth century (MHR doc. Bems-chag 3: 84a-b). Settlement patterns and houses look the same as the other two settlements. Like Monthang, Gami was also surrounded by a strong compact mud wall, though it can be seen now only in

few places as ruins. Like Tsarang, Gami palace was used as the occasional residence of Lo/Mustang rulers. It was also a residence of the local governors (sDe-pa), i. e. the king's brothers or nephews.

Although politically, it does not belong to the Lo-tsho-dun area, Gelung (dGe-lung) is the fourth important settlement of upper Lo. It is located between Gami and lower Lo (about six kilometers south of Gami) at 3500 meters above sea level. There is not much difference in size and settlement patterns between Gelung and Gami. However, during and after the Jumli supremacy in the Lo/Mustang region, Gelung was separated from Lo/Mustang. Consequently, even today, there is confusion as to whether or not this region should be under the authority of the ruler (rājā) of Lo/Mustang. The old palace and forts of this village have totally collapsed. However, culturally, linguistically, and ethnically Gelung can not be separated from the Lo-tsho-dun area.

Today, the major settlements in lower Lo are: Dzar ('Dzar). Dzong (rDzong), Chuk (Tshug), Tetang (Te-tang). Tangbe (Tang-be). Kag (sKag). Thini, Jomsom (rDzong-gsar-ma), Marphag (dMar-phag). Tukche (Gru-tse), and Kobang (Ko-mangs). These settlements are located between 2400 and 3600 meters above sea level. Since the district headquarters (Jomsom) of present day Mustang and the old transit trade entrepot (the Thāg region) of the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley are located in lower Lo, the population density in this area now is higher than upper Lo. However, settlements and housing patterns in the area between Jomsom and Samar look the same as upper Lo. Settlements in the Thāg region, however, appear to have been influenced by the style of urban bazaars (two lines of houses with small stores and shops) of the middle hills of Nepal. Use of stone and wood for building houses and other structures is common in the Thāg region, even though the old compact mud style of Lo/Mustang is still in use alongside it. However, the Pāṅchgāun and Bāragāun (villages between Marphag and Samar) have still maintained only the old compact mud style. Jomsom bazaar is the exception of it because since the 1980s it has been highly influenced by the modern world, including housing styles.

PUBLISHED SOURCES ON LO/MUSTANG AND NEPAL HIMALAYA

The history of scientific research on the history and culture of the high Himalayan regions of Nepal is not more than five decades old. Although this research was started by "Tibetologists", most of the research work in the Nepal Himalayas in the seventies and eighties shows the domination of anthropologists from Europe and America. The number of "Tibetologists" working in the Himalayan regions of Nepal remains small.

Prior to the 1950s, research in the Nepal Himalayas was limited because Nepal was not open to foreign researchers. Only a few orientalist and British colonial strategists were able to do some work, mainly based in the Kathmandu valley. Even at the height of British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in South Asia, Nepal's northern Himalayan region was almost entirely shielded from the activities of foreigners. Usually foreigners were not allowed to go outside of the Kathmandu valley. At the same time, however, this does not mean that British agents in India were not interested in strategically important information about the region. In Nepal, they focused mainly on central political power and the cultures and history of the people of the Kathmandu valley and the middle hills. The British strategists saw that the middle hill people of Nepal were the source of Nepal's central political agency and were also a source of mercenary soldiers for their empire. Therefore, the ethnographic informations collected by British officials/explorers were centered mainly on the middle hill people.

European scholars carried out some noteworthy general exploratory works on Nepal. The works of Kirkpatrick (1811), Hamilton (1819), Hodgson (1819), Smith (1852), Montgomerie (1875), Oldfield (1880, 1882) are the pioneering works. These works provide information on politics, natural resources, trans-Himalayan trade and commerce, important places, routes, forts, and other points relating to defense considerations. Atkinson also studied the Himalayan regions, which included Kumaun-Garhwal of India, bordering areas of western Tibet, and far western Nepal (1882/1886). Atkinson's focus was not on Nepal, but his work on northern India covered some areas of far western Nepal. This is important for the study of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe domination in Kumaun, Garhwal, and northwestern Nepal. Since the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom was the leading power in the western Himalayan region during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, Atkinson's study of the history and culture of those areas is useful. Similarly, on the basis of his brief journey to Lo/Mustang S. Hedin has referred to the name *Lo* and its ruler *Lo rgyal-po*, and included a brief description of his encounter with the local people (1909: 77-82, 1916-1922 Vol. II: 115, 320, Vol. III: 153). From his description, it appears that he crossed the Kora pass (Kora-la) at the Tibetan border and entered into the Tsho-shar area of upper Lo to reach the capital of Lo, called Monthang. Hedin describes Lo/Mustang as an old principality in the Tibetan frontier dominated by Lamaistic culture and Tibetan dialect (ibid.). Furthermore, he included a brief story about the subjugation of Lo/Mustang by Gorkha, and names a few other places en route such as Namashung and Nyanyul (ibid.).

Most of those early colonial works were written according to the interest and the sponsorship of British government in India. In his recent book

entitled *Lords of Human Kind*, Victor Kiernan captures this idea. Discussing British colonial writers' attitude to South Asia he notes that "the British were bound to see the local history from a standpoint of their own" (1995: 70).¹⁵ The accounts of explorers, as such, have influenced the flavor of the many less-than-rigorous investigations of the Himalayas available today. European explorers have apparently followed a common "romantic orientalist trope" (Riccardi 1995: seminar paper). We know that the works of the early colonial writers were suited to the interests of the British Empire in the region. Ekai Kawaguchi's work had a similar basis (Kawaguchi 1909), showing that the orientalist perspective is not necessarily confined to "Westerners". A Buddhist scholar trained in both Japanese and English, he assumed the role of a romantic, impressionistic explorer and adventurer and tried to link Tibetan Buddhism to Japanese Buddhism, as the early European missionaries had done with Christianity in Tibet and China. Like most orientalist scholars of that time, he saw the Lo-pa society from his particular Japanese Buddhist perspective and even denigrated the Lo-pas and Tibetans, remarking that they are "dirty" (Kawaguchi 1909). Hedin, Francke, and Roerich are prominent European explorers and philologists working in the field of Tibetan studies (Hedin 1909, 1916-1922, Francke 1926, Roerich 1949). Their works in Tibet (claimed to be discovery, adventure, and exploration) and other areas of the Tibetan cultural world were also designed, either directly or indirectly, to provide raw materials for stylized orientalist academic industries in Europe.

It was only after the Chinese annexation of Tibet and the opening of Nepal to the outside world in 1951 that both "Tibetologists" and anthropologists of Europe and America began to study the northern Himalayan areas of Nepal.¹⁶ The romantic fascination of "western" scholars

¹⁵ The speculations of a famous Jesuit Father, Antonio de Andrade, concerning Tibetan Buddhism supports such an idea. Of de Andrade, his chronicler, John MacGregor, writes "...He [Father Antonio] saw in Tibetan worship a recognition of the Trinity of God... The tunics and miters worn by Tibetan Lamas could, with some imagination, be compared with the robes of Christian priests, and elements of baptism, confession, and communion seemed to have been present in Lamaism" (MacGregor 1970: 15). Most of European missionaries' writings were based on such a clearly culturally biased attitude. Either they had to establish their speculative and imaginary idea of Christian universalism as operating in a particular region, or to criticize the traditions and cultures of the "East" (Feigon 1996: 14-19, Kiernan 1995: 64-69). Similar kinds of speculative statements on regions comprising modern-day Nepal can be found in the reports of Christian missionaries such as Father Desideri and Father Giuseppe in the eighteenth century (Regmi 1965, Fillippi 1937, Giuseppee 1801).

¹⁶ Although in general, research work in Nepal was restricted until the 1950s, special permission was given to the British writers from time to time. General accounts and research work on Nepal by Kirkpatrick (1811), Hamilton (1819), Smith (1852), Montgomerie (1875), Oldfield (1880), Bendal (1883, 1886, 1903, 1905-1906, Landon 1928, Wright (1877) etc.

with Tibet and Himalayan subject matter entered Nepal studies, and the northern frontier region of Nepal began to be viewed as an alternative location for Tibetan studies. In the 1950s, a few scholars, who belonged to European orientalist schools, led this work.

The first to study the history and cultures of the Himalayan regions of Nepal in the 1950s was Giuseppe Tucci, a scholar of Buddhism and Sanskrit and Tibetan languages. Tucci remarked that his trips to Nepal before 1952 were almost incidental to his eight explorations of Tibet (Tucci 1977: xiii). But those explorations enabled him to realize the importance and the need for exploratory and research work in Nepal, particularly to acquire further knowledge of its Tibetan and Indic cultures (Tucci 1977: xiii). Tucci, as a pioneer of Himalayan studies in Nepal, performed some remarkable explorations particularly in northwestern Nepal, Jumilā, Dolpo, and Mustang (Tucci 1956, 1962, 1977). At practically the same time, Tucci's student from Britain, David Snellgrove, followed suit with the publication of several books and articles (Snellgrove 1961, 1965, 1967a and b, 1976, 1979). His works mainly concern Dolpo, Mustang and the Manāng areas of northwestern Nepal.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the number of anthropologists working in the Himalayan regions of Nepal became many times greater than the number of Tibetologists. C. Von Furer Haimendorf was the first scholar to work in the field of Himalayan anthropology in Nepal. Apart from ethnographic works such as that of Haimendorf on the Sherpas (1964), anthropologists in Nepal have mainly concentrated on rituals, religious and social values, and myths and legends relating to the history of various high-Himalayan people of Tibetan origin. Sherpas of Solukhumbu and Helambu, Nyingpas of Humla, the Thakali of Thākkholā, and various people of Nar (sNar), Nyishang (sNe-shang), Ma-nang, Bāragāun, Dol-po, and Limi are the Himalayan peoples mainly studied by foreign scholars between the 1960s (Haimendorf 1964, 1966, 1975, Ijima 1960, Jest 1964-65, Cooke 1985, Ortner 1978, 1989, Levine 1976, 1988, Oppitz 1968, Heide 1988, James Fisher 1986, 1990, William Fisher 1987).

Influential Tibetologists who have continued to contribute to the history and cultures of northern Nepal and western Tibet after Tucci and Snellgrove include Michael Aris (1975, 1979), Michel Peissel (1969, 1975), David Jackson (1976/77, 1978, 1979, 1984). Of these, Peissel's and Jackson's works have focused on Lo/Mustang.¹⁷ Aris's important works on the Nub-ri

resulted from such permission. A French scholar, Sylvain Lévi, was also allowed to conduct research in Nepal in 1898 (Levi 1905-1908).

¹⁷ The early European orientalist and colonial authors who have written about Nepal were not even concerned with Mustang's old name, Lo or Lo-bo. They have referred to the Nepali name *Mustang* and the Nepali title of its local ruler, *rājā* only in various corrupted

and Ku-tang area deal with Tibetan historical documents, which include canonical treatises on Buddhist religion, biographies of local Lamas, records relating to the founding of monasteries, monastic orders and injunctions, official records, or hymns and mantras (in xylographic or inscribed form) relating to different Buddhist deities (1975).

WORKS ON LO/MUSTANG

Tucci: Tucci made a short visit to upper Mustang up to the capital of the old Kingdom of Lo, Monthang. Snellgrove, on the other hand, traveled through the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley up to Tsarang, the second major settlement in Mustang. From Tsarang he turned his exploratory journey towards Dolpo area in the west. Tucci brought to light some of the historical events and genealogical information related to Lo/Mustang and its early rulers; he did not provide a focused view. Using local documents, including monastic regulation records (*bCa'-yig*), description written on walls (with painting) of *Thub-chen* and *Byams-pa gtsug-lag-khang* temples and his personal field observations, he published three works on northwestern Nepal, including Lo/Mustang (Tucci 1953, 1956, and 1962). Besides these three, other Tucci publications discuss the history and cultures of this region (Tucci 1966, 1973). Among the three most prominent works, *Journey to Mustang* (1953) is an exploratory travelogue of his journey beginning from Kathmandu to Monthang and from Monthang to India via Palpa and the Nepal's Tarai. The other book by Tucci is *Nepal: The Discovery of Malla* (1962). It focuses on the early history of the Karṇālī region of western Nepal and provides a few cross-references on the history of Lo. The book entitled *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (1956), is an excellent introductory historical survey of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom, Jumlā, and Lo/Mustang. However, here also, Tucci does not focus his study on Lo/Mustang but on the Jumlā area. His description of the history of Lo/Mustang is only peripheral. His contribution to the study of Lo/Mustang is based mainly on Tibetan texts collected earlier from Tibet such as *Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma*

spellings (Kirkpatrick 1811, Hamilton 1819, Smith 1852: 53-54, Montgomerie 1875: 355-360, Oldfield 1880 Vol. I: 8, 175). The first foreign writer to identify this land with its traditional Tibetan name, Lo, was Ekai Kawaguchi, who used both the Nepali name as "the state of Mustang" and the Tibetan name as "the province of Lo" (Kawaguchi 1909). Similarly, the first European explorer to introduce Mustang with its Tibetan name, Lo and its ruler with his original Tibetan title, *Glo rgyal-po*, is Sven Hedin (1909: 77-82). Prior to the publication of these two books in 1909, the name *Lo or Lo-bo* was known to some European orientalist scholars who were working on original Tibetan written documents and texts from Tibet and Ladakh. However, they were not able to identify Lo with the present day Mustang (Francke 1972, Bacot 1940-46, Roerich 1976).

(*New Red Annals*) (Tucci 1971) and the biographies of Sa-skya-pa abbot Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po (Tucci 1956: 17, Jackson 1984: 14).

If we look critically at the objectives and activities of Tucci through his published works, we would be able to show that he is also an adventure-driven European antiquarian. Tucci himself has written of acquiring various antique objects, including religious and historical texts (Tucci 1956: 14, 30, 117 etc.). He proudly tells of his discovery and journey to the Himalayas as the continuation of the tradition of Italian missionaries of the eighteenth century, who in fact, were attempting to undermine the values and customs of the "East" (Tucci 1953). Thus, for Tucci, these exploratory journeys were an adventure, even a romantic one. While describing the objective of his work in the oriental field he says: "I never saw myself as a lonely pilgrim in a foreign land, but imagined that I had with me all the Italians who still possess the restless spirit of *adventure*---the spirit which keeps on driving us forward in the footsteps of Dante's Ulysses, in the almost *desperate desire to know new people*... [emphasis mine]" (1982: xvi). He managed to travel throughout the Himalayas as one of the most privileged and sophisticated European of explorers, receiving special treatment as if he were a royal guest.

On the one hand, while conducting such explorations, Tucci always enjoyed the services of a large number of local people as his servants, porters, and cooks, on the other hand, he was grabbing cultural objects belonging to the same people, in the name of discovery. Tucci himself claims that all such investigations were done in the name of "new people" and their cultures. He has even claimed that his work of exploration is not based on any personal or chauvinistic purpose. However, his statement is consistently opposed by his reference to adventure among those so-called "new people." No wonder; for a European orientalist, even the oldest human civilization can be a "new" one, if it has not already been exposed to European industrial media and markets.

If indeed, such works are not motivated by any personal interest, one could ask why Tucci claims that "They [his works on so-called discoveries] bring prestige to the country which carries them out" (Tucci 1982: XVI). One could also ask why he did not develop or establish curatorial institutions locally, in the same country or region where those cultural and historical objects could be collected, processed, and preserved while maintaining their intrinsic value, instead of throwing them onto European markets, where supply and demand set their new value. Still, Tucci complains of local Nepali people's suspicion toward foreigners like him (Tucci 1956: 152). One can also wonder why he did not discuss his beliefs about the preservation of significant objects with the people involved, and try to enlist them in the effort. Apparently, Tucci would rather claim himself to be a grand

discoverer or a sole authority on and preserver of the "other," or "otherness." The body of Tucci's work, seminal as it is, must be viewed in light of his vaunted commitment to enhancing the prestige of his country.

Snellgrove: In the early 1950s another European "Tibetologist", David Snellgrove, took interest in studying the Buddhist traditions of Dolpo, Lo/Mustang, and the surrounding areas. Consequently, he published three books and one article in this field (Snellgrove 1957, 1961, 1967a, 1967b). His first book, *Buddhist Himalaya*, was the product of his visit to Nepal in 1954 (Snellgrove 1957). In this work, he focused his narrative on Tibetan Buddhism and its penetration in the Himalayan regions, relating its origin and development in India and its subsequent spread through Nepal and Kashmir. This publication was followed by *Himalayan Pilgrimage* (Snellgrove 1961), which describes his seven-month journey covering the northern regions of Dolpa (*Dol-po*), Mustang (*Lo*) and to as far as the Manāng valley, Nubri, and the Kutang areas in the upper Budhī Gaṇḍakī basin. In the preface of his next book entitled *Four Lamas of Dol-po*, Snellgrove claims that the *Himalayan Pilgrimage* is a general survey of all the Tibetan-speaking Buddhist regions of northwestern Nepal, drawing special attention to Dolpo (Snellgrove 1967a: viii). In many respects, this book is a fascinating travelogue providing a bird's eye picture of the region. He has provided information concerning the condition of Tibetan Buddhism, religious objects such as Buddhist paintings, manuscripts, and *mChod-rten*. The only weakness of this book is the one sided emphasis on Buddhism and the exclusion of a general study of the history and people of the area.

So far as the historical exploration of Lo/Mustang is concerned, Snellgrove at least intended to draw a general political picture of the region but not adequate for a reliable history. His analysis has rather misled other chroniclers. He told a story based upon hearsay. About the origin of the Lo/Mustang ruling line he writes, "The present dynasty only dates from the end of the eighteenth century, the time of the Gorkha-Tibetan wars, when a younger son of the Gorkha rājā was sent to this part of the frontier as general commanding. He established himself as a ruler and married a Tibetan wife" (Snellgrove 1961: 196).¹⁸

Written sources available in Mustang, however, categorically refute Snellgrove's statement. Still, despite his errors, Snellgrove's identifying the

¹⁸ Different kinds of fables and stories attributed to Janga Bahadur and his so-called visit to Lo/Mustang during the Nepal-Tibet war of 1855 are popular in upper Mustang. However, it was Captain Ambarsing Rana (a relative of Janga Bahadur Rana), who as a leader of a Nepali army battalion had visited Lo/Mustang on his way to attack Tibet from the direction of rDzong-kha (MHR doc. 18-19, Nepali). No single record is found to tell about Janga Bahadur's visit to Lo/Mustang.

present Dolpa and Mustang regions of Nepal with ancient Dol-po and Lo of the Ngari (mNga'-ris) province of western Tibet is a valuable contribution.

Snellgrove's third and most useful book for the construction of the history of the region is *Four Lamas of Dolpo* (Snellgrove 1967). Although it focuses on the biographies on Lamas of Dolpo, it also elucidates those Lamas' connection with the people of Lo/Mustang and Se-rib (lower Lo). Promoting the usefulness of this book, Snellgrove writes, "Their (Lamas of Dolpo) relations with the ruling families of Lo/Mustang and the kings of Junlā are of considerable historical interest" (1967: ix). By citing these biographical sources and reviewing the work done previously by Tucci, Snellgrove attempts to sketch the history of Lo/Mustang but with limited success. Some of the useful information he brought to light concerns the dependency of Lo/Mustang within the old Ngari region of western Tibet, disputes with Junlā, and the history of Buddhist monasteries and religious activities in the Lo/Mustang region. However, Snellgrove has narrowed the scope of his study by focusing only on the field of Buddhism. Unlike Tucci, Snellgrove seems comparatively restrained and never uses grandiose and romanticizing terms such as "discovery", "successful expedition", "adventure", "lost world", "new people", etc. Also unlike Tucci, Snellgrove is interested only in Buddhism but not in drawing a general historical picture of the society. While discussing the cause of the destruction of Buddhist monasteries of northern Nepal, he relies on imagination and writes, "... monasteries [of the Himalayan regions of Nepal] were destroyed and villages impoverished, but the conquerors [Gorkhali kings] stayed nowhere long enough in sufficient numbers to disturb the established order" (Snellgrove 1961: xii). Even though the Gorkhali rulers were aggressive conquerors in earlier times, they never intervened and destroyed the Buddhist order. They rather had established special relationships with the Lamas and Gompas of northern Nepal by giving large donation of land grants, and inviting different incarnate and tantric Lamas to their palaces (Dhungel 1989: 171-179).

Michel Peissel: Peissel, a French adventurer and ethnographer at-large is the first to write books and articles devoted fully on Lo/Mustang. He is also the first European to interview the Lo/Mustang ruler (father of the present rājā), intending to investigate the history of Lo/Mustang, the land, and its people.

Peissel's work was the first to highlight the importance of the political history of the kingdom of Lo/Mustang. It is also the first attempt to discuss the connection between Mustang's present rājā and the first independent rulers of the kingdom of Lo/Mustang, A-ma-dpal and his son, A-mgon-bzang-po. Peissel also has corrected some of Snellgrove's earlier misconceptions about the origin of the ruling dynasty of Lo/Mustang.

Although the Garphug Molla (a manuscript related to an oratorical tradition of Lo/Mustang collected by Peissel from a Lama of Garphug monastery of Mustang), which Peissel has highlighted as his "wonderful discovery," has now been deemed a forged copy, Peissel has nonetheless informed the world of the existence of a historical source known as *Molla*. This revelation eventually opened the door for finding an original *Molla* document such as the *Tsarang Molla*, which was first published by David Jackson in 1984 (1984: 157-170).¹⁹ Thus, we now know that the *Molla* is a document, which is unique to the historical traditions of Lo/Mustang.

After visiting Lo/Mustang in the spring of 1964, Peissel published four books and three articles on Lo/Mustang (Peissel 1965, 1966, 1967, 1969, 1972, 1977, 1975). Despite his claim to being a Tibetan scholar and an anthropologist, no serious academic contributions are contained in his books and articles. Indeed, Peissel's works reveal serious deficiencies.

Peissel's style itself is confusing, because he presents many anecdotes apparently critiquing colonial and orientalist scholars. At the same time, he romanticizes Tibetan and Himalayan subject matter. Showing his support for the Tibetan cause, he writes, "In the meantime, in Tibet proper, death was rampant, as the nation stood alone, fighting China. Communism was liberating central Tibet, apparently from itself, while at Oxford--as elsewhere-- few people cared that a lonely civilization was falling victim to a political fury engendered by an European School of Thought" (Peissel 1967: 24). Yet, contrary to his own critique of European nationalism, Peissel shows a similar tendency, conveying romantic excitement in his disquisitions on Himalayan cultures. Even the titles of Peissel's books show this approach to his subject matter. The first edition of his book on Mustang is called *Mustang, The Forbidden Kingdom, Exploring a Lost Himalayan Land* (1967). He produced another reprint edition of essentially the same work by changing the title to *Mustang: A Lost Tibetan Kingdom*.²⁰ Adopting the same romantic theme as other European orientalists, Peissel writes:

What I saw was beyond description-- as were the emotions that flooded me as I stood in the howling wind that raced through the narrow corridor.

¹⁹ Peissel claims that he found the *Molla* through the help of a young Lo-pa named Pemba Gyaltsen (bsTan-pa rgyal-mtshan) (1967: 249-250). During my 1981-82 fieldwork in Mustang, I asked bsTan-pa (not Pemba as Peissel introduces him) about the *Molla* which Peissel claimed that he bought from bsTan-pa. bsTan-pa explained that the *Molla* he sold to Peissel was not the original one, but a forged copy prepared by him and a Lama, including some information from Namgyal *Molla* and local legends. In comparison to the *Tsarang Molla*, the *Namgyal Molla* and other *Mollas* of Mustang are neither reliable nor updated sources on the genealogical history of the rulers of Lo (MHR docs. 27-30)

²⁰ This edition was banned by His Majesty's Government of Nepal for political reasons, particularly because of the Tibet-biased narration and the title itself.

At first, I could not believe my eyes, and felt like the incredulous medieval travelers looking for the first time at Rome. Not even my wildest flights of imagination could have pictured what lay before me. It seemed that I, too was living a legend, the age-old legend that has haunted the mind of man for generations and that in our times of modern stress has increased as a form of escapism: the legend of a lost city- of a lost fortress hidden in the folds of the Himalayas- of a Shangri-la, the paradise lost, the land where ageless men thrive beyond the borders of our busy, unromantic world, a place where time hangs frozen upon an enclosed secret universe.

I now felt that this was a land far more impressive than I had been led to believe, and one that surely held many valuable secrets. Here in Mustang, I now felt, existed a world even older than Tibet... I had found this closed universe, and the mythical fortress of a lost planet; for there a lunar landscape of barren crests, with jagged contours, stood, serene, majestic, and awe-inspiring the great mass of a fortified town (Peissel 1967: 110-111, 115).

This passage exemplifies the rhetoric and fiction common in Peissel's work presented in the name of discovery. While Peissel was waxing poetic about a strikingly beautiful land, the people inhabiting it were, and still are today, dying of chronic tuberculosis, a situation probably exacerbated by inadequate nutrition and an overall poor infrastructure. Still, Peissel compares his so-called discovered land to paradise. Instead of analyzing the subject matter within the strictures of any discipline, he seeks to mystify it. Peissel believes that his study of the Himalayas is a romantic addition to his experience of a so-called "secret universe."

Peissel has titled his books and articles in such a popular orientalist manner: they include *The Story of an Extraordinary Adventure on the Roof of the World* (1975), *Himalayan Continent Secret* (1977), and "Remote Realm in Nepal" (1965). Like many unscrupulous European antiquarians and agents of the modern museum industry, Peissel has appropriated cultural and historical objects from the people of his area of study (1967: 246-47, 258).

David Jackson: After the first mention of a document called *Molla* of Mustang in 1966 by Peissel, other versions (sometime even more verifiable) have been reported by another scholar of Tibetan language and culture, David Jackson. Jackson has written two articles on the early history of Lo/Mustang and one book on the *Molla* itself with the help of the *Tsarang Molla*, *Lo dung-rab (Glo gdung-rabs)*, and Tibetan literary sources (Jackson

1976/7, 1978, 1979, and 1984).²¹ Jackson's close and critical study of the *Mollas* (1979, 1984) has established their worth as historical source material for the construction of the early history of Lo/Mustang to an extent that no other single document has done. Although Jackson has never been to the north of Kāgbenī, he has attempted to sketch at least a preliminary outline on the early history of Lo/Mustang. Besides *Mollas*, *Gdung-rabs*, his sources also include local Tibetan materials accessed earlier by Tucci and Snellgrove. His first contribution in this area is an article on the early history of Lo/Mustang and Ngari (Jackson 1977: 39-55). A year later, he published another article dealing with the history of lower Lo, known historically as *Se-rib* or *Glo-smad* (Jackson 1978: 195-227). After the publication of these two articles, he turned his focus to the *Mollas*, about which he produced his Master's thesis (1979), then, finally, a book named *The Mollas of Mustang* (Jackson 1984).

Although Jackson states that his works on Lo/Mustang are just the beginning of an investigation, using evidence of several important local traditions, he has demonstrated a sincerity and rigor unusual thus far. Jackson is the first scholar to work on old Tibetan literature in Nepal and to emphasize the historical and cultural importance of Lo/Mustang as a distinct entity. Highlighting the limitations and main goal of his work on the *Mollas of Mustang*, Jackson writes:

Though its [Lo's] history is now more accessible than ever before-- thanks to the survival of various writings- much more research remains to be done on Lo, past and present. This book being an investigation of only a few facts of local traditions is just a small beginning. Ultimately, what we would like to see is a systematic survey of the major buildings, artworks, books, and other important artifacts that survive in Mustang. Though such a project would disperse some of the romantic haze that still clings to the mountain principalities, it would also certainly establish the cultural and historical importance of Lo-Mustang in the eyes of the world (Jackson 1984: xii).

²¹ The *Glo-gdung-rabs* is a seventeenth century manuscript related to the genealogical information of the Lo ruling line. Jackson says that he has a copy of the *Glo-gdung-rabs*. No copy of this document was available for the present research. However, in his *Mollas of Mustang*, Jackson summarizes the historical information given in the *gDung-rabs* (Jackson 1984: 114-132). Jackson also promises to publish this document in future but has not been published yet (ibid.: 115). During my fieldwork in 1982, one manuscript copy of the *Tsarung Molla* was made available to me, which now is in the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS), Tribhuvan University, Nepal. A xerox copy is also with me.

Although Jackson's work is fragmentary, he admits frankly that much has yet to be done to complete a systematic study on Lo/Mustang. His own work, however, is very disciplined and useful. Almost eight years after the publication of his first two articles, Jackson acknowledges their weakness as "early and imperfect essays" (1984: 9). His works lack the use of local Nepali and Jumli sources. He has become dependent on biographical and other sources of a panegyric character particularly related to the rulers and princely Lamas of Mustang. He surprises his readers by denying the need for standard field observation and collection of written sources dealing with political and local socio-economic activities.

Regarding whether a visit to upper Mustang is essential for historical research on Lo/Mustang, Jackson writes, "I did not consider this to be an impossible handicap... I could also see that many valuable historical sources were available outside Mustang" (Jackson 1984: x). This question evokes methodological and even epistemological issues. It may be possible to write or publish a fragmentary work without conducting standard fieldwork, but a comprehensive research work is impossible without it. In this matter, Jackson claims he is content to compare his work with the works of earlier explorers and travelers. This is not a fair comparison, because those early scholars' objectives were oriented toward general exploration, but not toward the disciplined scholarly research.

Besides the aforementioned works on Lo/Mustang, there are numerous other travelogues and fragmentary works. Some of them have also been written by native Nepali scholars, government officials, and development activists (Kshatri 1987, Dahal 1988, Dhungel 1987a, 1987b, 1988, Gurung 1986, Panta and Pierce 1989, Thapa 1992). Among the most recent publications on Lo/Mustang available are Mathiessen and Laird's *East of Lo-Manthang: in the Land of Mustang* (1995), Marullo and Boeye's *The Last Forbidden Kingdom: Mustang, Land of Tibetan Buddhism* (1995), Crossette's *So Close to Heaven: The Vanishing Buddhist Kingdoms of the Himalayas* (1995), and a video documentary published by the Discovery Communications called *Journey to a Remote Himalayan Kingdom-Mustang: The Hidden Kingdom* (1994). Besides these, the works by E. G. Smith (1970), Roberto Vitali (1996), D. B. Bişta (1972), Luciano Petech (1980), A. H. Francke (1914 and 1926 reprint 1972), C. F. Haimendorf (1975), C. Jest (1964-65), S. Ijima (1960), A. W. Macdonald (1975), M. Vinding and S. Gauchan (1977), M. Vinding and C. Thakali (1978), H. Kitamura (1977), Wolf Donner (1968), M. Sackley 1995), Merritt Cooke (1987), William Fisher (1987), also throw light on different aspects of Lo/ Mustang. Still, most of these works deal with lower Mustang, more accessible region of Lo/Mustang, or else with the Thāg area particularly. None of these publications discussed are devoted to only, or to any particular aspect of,

Lo/Mustang. Most of them relate either exploratory journeys to the Lo/Mustang region at large, or cover a specific regional subject matter. Similarly, some of these works have covered this region not as their main focus of study, but with the intention of collecting useful and important information concerning more general Tibetan and Himalayan subject matter.

Scholars of Tibetan studies such as Luciano Petech, A. H. Francke, E.G. Smith, and Roberto Vitali have made supplementary contributions to the study of the history of Lo/Mustang. Luciano Petech, in his long article concerning the history of western Tibet and the Kamālī region of northwestern Nepal, also explores the various historical facts of Lo/Mustang (Petech 1980: 85-110). Similarly, Francke's work on Ladakhi chronicles also throws some light onto Lo's past (Francke 1926 pt. I: 230). Another scholar of Tibetan studies, Gene Smith, has made an important contribution to the study of the literary traditions of Lo/Mustang. Although his works do not focus on Lo/Mustang, Smith has commanded the attention of scholars of Tibetan studies by highlighting the importance and prospect of historical research in Mustang. He has written introductions and prefaces to Tibetan-language reprints of some of the old literary works collected from upper Mustang. These texts are related to the religious and literary personalities of Lo/Mustang and western Tibet (Smith 1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1973). Smith illuminates the history of some of the leading Buddhist scholars of Lo/Mustang who were famous not only in their land but also in Tibet. They were Glo-bo mkhan-chen bSod-nams lhun-grub (1456-1532), Glo-bo Lo-tsa-ba Shes-rab rin-chen (thirteenth century), mNga'-ris-Pan-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487-1542), and his younger brother Rig-'dzin Legs-ldan bdud-'joms rdo-rje (1500-1577). With the help of literary evidence, he sketches a general picture of the history of Lo/Mustang in his "Preface to Glo-bo-mkhan-chen ..." (1970a: 2). He asserts that the rise of Gorkhas was one of the two major factors of Buddhist and economic decline in the kingdom of Lo/Mustang. This assumption however, is not supported by local sources. Local sources show a different picture of Lo/Mustang, particularly after the establishment of its dependency on Nepal. Lo's fortune had been totally destroyed earlier, first by the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom and later by the state of Junilā, and to some extent even by Parvat (Jackson 1978: 222-224, Shrestha 1976 72-76, MHR: 217-221, 263-66, docs. 4, 6, 7, 27 rTse-drangs Molla, Khräl-gyi bems-chag 1-3 Tibetan, and docs. 1-3, 272-273 Nepali). Contrary to Smith's assumption, after the incorporation of Lo/Mustang into Nepal, at least for a couple of generations, it became able to exercise more local power along with control over north-south trade.

Although it has focused on the history of Gu-ge and Pu-rang (Pu-hrang or sPu-rang), Vitali's recent work based on Tibetan chronicles and biographical literature has also highlighted the early history of Lo/Mustang and produced

a general picture of relationships among neighboring kingdoms (Vitali 1996).

After the restoration of democracy in Nepal in 1990, and the opening of Lo/Mustang (north from Kāgbenī) to foreigners in 1992, thousands of tourists, development activists, and scholars visited this region. But until today, only a few travelogues, coffee-table books, and one religious propaganda-based video documentary have been published. We also should mention about a dozen travel articles in different magazines and papers such as *National Geographic* (Caputo 1997: 115-128), and *Readers Digest* (Raffaele 1997: 144-157). One of such travelogues is the work of Manjushree Thapa (Thapa 1992). Although she claims that she has sorted out fact from fiction in her travel-book (1992: 137), it does not contain any historical and cultural facts about the kingdom of Lo/Mustang. With the exception of some stories related to her *bikase*²² encounter with the people of different villages of Lo/Mustang (both upper and lower), dealing with mini-electricity projects and monumental restoration plans, not much can be learned from this work. Thapa's three page narration about the status of Mustang and its general historical background is not supported by proper evidence (1992: 122, 124).

In 1995, Barbara Crossette, an American journalist, published a book entitled *So Close to Heaven: The Vanishing Buddhist Kingdoms of the Himalayas*. She has devoted part of a long chapter called "Buddhist Nepal" to the kingdom of Lo/Mustang. But she is unsuccessful in presenting any argument in the acceptable analytical manner. She includes a summary of Manjushree Thapa's work (Crossette 1995: 145-147). She has completely ignored the history of the rise, development, and fall of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom (a Buddhist kingdom) in the Himalayas, which dominated a vast territory including northwestern Nepal, the Kumaun-Garhwal region of India, western Tibet. This kingdom has left a direct and profound impact in the Ngari region of Tibet, Lo/Mustang, and even to the formation of Nepal as an independent Himalayan kingdom. Regarding the history of Lo/Mustang she writes:

In upper Mustang, the Buddhist kingdom of Lo, with its walled capital, Lo Manthang, broke free of Tibet in the fourteenth century, reached its height about a hundred years later on the strength and income of trade with Tibet, and enjoyed an independent existence for nearly four hundred years. Although the

²² So-called modern or western-style development activity is generally called *bikas* in Nepal. Thus the word *bikase* can be translated as things or activities related to modern western style development.

kings of Mustang had lost all their residual powers and the formal use of titles in the 1950s, Mustang was a wild card as late as the 1960s.... (Crossette 1995: 146)

Although Crossette's book, taken in its entirety, is a problematic of discourse on culture and politics, our purpose here is not to offer a critical review of the whole book but to focus only on her chapter devoted on Lo/Mustang. None of her assertions can be verified with historical facts, neither those concerning the date of the emergence of Lo/Mustang, nor those about its independent existence.

Now, let us discuss briefly three other very similar recent publications, whose intent is basically to capture a picturesque panorama of the Lo/Mustang region, or to highlight the so-called *mysteries* related to authors' romantic imagination (Miller, et. al. 1994, Boeye and Marullo 1995, Matthiessen and Laird 1995). Among these, the earlier two, *The Last Forbidden Kingdom: Mustang: Land of Tibetan Buddhism* (Boeye and Marullo 1995) and *Mustang: The Hidden Kingdom* (a video documentary by Miller and others 1994), are more problematic works. For example, showing their romantic passion or sympathy for Tibetan Buddhism, Boeye and Marullo write:

In practice, these men (Nepalis from the middle hills) are neither physically nor culturally adapted to the mountains of Mustang. They have little respect for Buddhist customs, and antagonize both trekkers and villagers (Boeye and Marullo 1995: 130).

Despite ever more pervasive pressure from Kathmandu to take shelter under the cultural umbrella of Nepal's Hindu majority, Mustang still remains staunchly Buddhist; its people retaining their Tibetan identity and customs (ibid: 8).

In fact, the real effect was more insidious: with the new schools stressing Hindu ideology, and an influx of police and aid workers from the low lands, the government was aiming to draw the Tibetan Buddhists of Lo into the Nepalese mainstream (Ibid: 22-23).

Nepalese police force stationed in Lo Manthang in an effort to pull the Lo-pas into the Hindu mainstream (Ibid: 46).

It is difficult to agree with these statements because not all Nepalis from the middle hills and the Kathmandu valley are necessarily Hindus. For example, different ethnic communities of Nepal such as Gurung, Tamang, Kirati, Magar and a portion of Newar are Buddhists. Historical sources clearly indicate that a Newar artists and scholars from the Kathmandu valley

were involved in writing Buddhist scriptures and making cultural and religious objects in Lo/Mustang (MHR docs. 16,17). Historical tradition and practice prevailed in the temple of muktināth (Chen-re-sik in Tibetan), where Tibetan Buddhist nuns and Brahmin priests worship the same idol together is an example of religious coexistence in the Lo/Mustang region. In reality, the small number of poor low-ranking police or school teachers stationed in upper Mustang, do not have much influence there, where the rājā and other religious and cultural institutions still have a pervasive influence on traditional order. Modern school system in Nepal is playing a very influential role in bringing "western" consumer culture into Nepal rather than strengthening the Hindu traditional order. Thus, contrary to the statements of Boeye and Marullo, the Lo-pa society is under a threat of the influence of the modern consumer culture. Western style hotels and restaurants are being opened and cultural objects are constantly disappearing from the monasteries of Mustang .

In order to draw a general picture of the kingdom of Lo/Mustang, Boeye and Marullo include several independent chapters entitled "The Land of Lo," "King and Commoners," and "Epilogue: Into the Future" (1995: 6-33, 46-49 126-133). However, about eighty per cent of Marullo's description in these chapters is a collection of hearsay and self-indulgent interpretation. Besides some examples mentioned above, a couple of similar examples would suffice to prove their ignorance and idiosyncratic interpretations:

Although Mustang had become a protectorate of Ladakh at the end of the sixteenth century, Jumlā's rulers remained undeterred. Such was their persistence that they even tried to ransom the Lo-pa queen. In 1719, the king of Mustang had arranged to marry a Ladakh princess but on her way to Lo Manthang for the wedding she was captured by Jumlān bandits and imprisoned at KāgBenī. Although her husband sent his finest warriors to free her, their efforts failed, and she was forced to remain incarcerated for many months, until troops from Ladakh and Parbat came to her rescue.

...Just forty years later (since 1740), Jumlā itself was obliterated by Prithivi Narayan Shah-the first of the great Gorkha kings who united Nepal. Despite its strategic position, Mustang was largely ignored by the Gorkhas. The treaty of 1802, which demanded annual tribute in exchange for protection, allowed the kingdom to retain a large measure of autonomy (Boeye and Marullo 1995: 20).

In fact, disputes between Jumlā and Mustang were a common phenomenon during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The incident assumed by Marullo to be just a 'ransom of Ladakhi princes' by the Jumlis,

was actually a major dispute that occurred in 1723. According to a Ladakhi document, the father of the king of Lo/Mustang violated an agreement, and about forty dignitaries including the king's father and queen mother (not the new royal bride) were captured and detained by the Jumli army in Kāg fort (Francke 1972: 230).²³

Similarly, the Gorkhali conquest of Junlā and the incorporation of Lo/Mustang occurred in 1789, not during the reign of Prithvinarayan Shah, who died fifteen years before this incident. Marullo's argument about the so-called treaty of 1802 and Mustang's annual tribute to Nepal are also speculative stories, because Lo/Mustang king dBang-rgyal rdo-rje had already agreed to pay yearly tribute to Nepal in exactly the same amount that Junlā collected from Lo/Mustang until 1788 (Yogi VE 2022: 55, MHR docs. 1-3, 45).

Not surprisingly, one can also find a lack of proper knowledge and sincerity in the recent video documentary work on Lo/Mustang. The narrator of this work is Harrison Ford, a celebrated Hollywood actor, famed for making movies imagining the east in fabulous and grotesque ways (specifically, the popular *Indiana Jones*). The main theme of this recent production is the religious missionary journey of a high-ranking Lama of the Dalai Lama's dGe-lugs-pa school to Mustang. But it seems that this project was designed particularly to romanticize Lo/Mustang and make propaganda in support of the "campaign for free Tibet." The other problematic issue behind this grand project of cultural politics is the potential to foment ethnic strife in Nepal. For example, the screenplay narrated by Ford states: "Mustang faces a difficult future despite the visit of Rinpoche, this last outpost of Tibetan culture may have been engulfed by Hindu nationalism."

Let us examine the situation; Lo/Mustang came under the Hindu rulers of Nepal in 1789. It has remained one of the most intact Buddhist cultural centers, which has been an engaging romantic imaginary location for "western" travelers and even for celebrities. First of all, we have to understand that the Hindus of Nepal and other Himalayan regions are distinct from Hindus of India. One could ask why, if the Hindu rulers of Nepal have intended to destroy or endanger the Buddhist cultures of Lo/Mustang or of other Himalayan regions of Nepal, have these cultures remained so well preserved for over two centuries? The other important issue involves the pervasive influence on Lo/Mustang of the Sa-skyā-pa line of Tibetan Buddhism. Most of the monasteries in Lo/Mustang still belong to this line, and the entire history of the kingdom is pervaded with the ideals of *Ngor* and *Sa-skyā* monasteries in Tibet. Researchers in Tibetan studies now wonder why these modern celebrities of the "west", and even the Dalai

²³ A detailed discussion on this incident is included later in chapter three.

Lama, do not want to encourage a celebrated Sakya Lama or even Sakya abbot to visit Lo/Mustang for the promotion of Lo's Sakya-pa tradition of Buddhist culture. Lo-pa culture is in fact, struggling against the industrial consumer culture. The irony is that even in this video documentary, a young Lo-pa (father of one of the two Lo-pa boys, selected by the rājā of Lo/Mustang and approved later by the envoy of the Dalai Lama to be taken to Dharmshala for Buddhist education) is wearing a tee shirt bearing the image of American pop star Michael Jackson. One can doubt whether Harrison Ford, Tony Miller or other members of the video production team were able to find any such evidence of Hindu mass culture in Lo/Mustang. It does not mean that there is no Hindu influence in Mustang at all, but Hindu influence is way less than the pervasiveness of the consumer's culture in Lo/Mustang today.

Regarding the book by Matthiessen and Laird, one may be surprised by the title, *East of Lo Monthang in the Land of Mustang* (1995). The actual content, text, and photographs included in this book show that the authors have attempted to cover the entire Lo/Mustang region. Although this book claims to be a work of non-fiction, Matthiessen is unable to sketch even a general reliable outline of the history and culture of Lo/Mustang. This work is simply a collection of good photographs. Laird introduces himself as an ethnographer and writer but does not observe Lo-pa society according to any standard ethnographic method. It is ironic that they have not used research-based books or articles already published in this field.²⁴ Similarly, regarding serfdom, Matthiessen and Laird write, "though serfdom was formally abolished in 1956, the villages still supply some unpaid labor for the raja's field and other community duties" (1995:16). It is difficult to understand what they are trying to say by "the abolition of serfdom". One wonders whether they were referring to the abolition of the old *jhara* and *bethi* system of Nepal, or trying to indicate something else. In 1961, the Government of Nepal formally abolished the petty principalities of Nepal, leaving four rājās, including the rājā of Lo/Mustang, as traditional titleholders by passing an act known as *rājyarakautā aina-2017* (Nepal

²⁴ Researchers of Tibetan studies may also question their spelling of Tibetan place names. Matthiessen and Laird seem so naive, in fact, that they do not even capture the Tibetan spelling of the old name of the Kingdom of Lo (*Glo* or *Blo*) and its capital, about which David Jackson has already published several works (Jackson: 1976/77, 1978, 1984). Matthiessen and Laird assume that the old name Lo was derived from lHo (south). They also do not know that the name Mustang was derived from the Tibetan words *smon* and *thang*. Both of these spellings and the title of the book itself are thus very confusing. Likewise, they think the name Mustang is a British corruption of the name of the region's capital (Matthiessen and Laird 1995: 86). In fact, it was corrupted earlier by the Jumlis and Parvates to deny recognition to Lo as an independent Kingdom (for further etymological description related to place names of the Lo region see appendix).

Gazette [extraordinary], Vol. X, No. 30: 14-16). Until that date, some local rulers of western Nepal were free to execute their own local rules concerning the traditional system of free labor.

It seems that most of the narratives in Matthiessen and Laird's book, at least in spirit, are borrowed from the works of Michel Peissel (1967) and Toni Hagen (1961). Both of these books are impressionistic and very preliminary. Therefore, as with other pictorial books, this too provides fine photography but little else.

Some reliable historical information can be found in Haimendorf's *Himalayan Traders* (1975), Dhungel's two articles on Muktināth (1988a and 1988b), Dahal's *Muktiksatra* (1988), Kshatri's *mustāng digdarśana* (1989), Panta and Pierce's *Administrative Documents* (1989). Of these, the works of Dahal, Dhungel, Kshetri, Panta and Pierce are helpful particularly regarding Nepali government documents from the lower Mustang area. Haimendorf's *Himalayan Traders* has good coverage of the history of the Thak-Dan Custom Office and the north-south trade activity in Mustang.

Four major research reports of the Mustang Integrated Research Program at CNAS, Tribhuvan University, submitted by a research team in 1986-87, constitute the only extensive research work done on Lo/Mustang (upper) to date. CNAS's research has covered the four major areas, economy (published), anthropology, history, and cultural heritage (published). The author of this book did the history section of this project.²⁵

In summary, one cannot say that published sources on Lo/Mustang are few. To date, however, there are only a handful of books and articles, or even portions of such, which can be considered as rigorous academic work.

²⁵ The historical data that I collected for that project is used for the present book.

CHAPTER TWO

**POLITICAL AND CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS WITH TIBET AND THE NGARI
(MNGA'-RIS) REGION**

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THE LO/MUSTANG REGION UNDER THE EARLY TIBETAN EMPIRE (SEVENTH THROUGH TENTH CENTURY)

According to Chinese, Tibetan, and Ladakhi sources, the history of the Lo/Mustang region dates back to the seventh century A. D. The chronicles of Ladakh (*La-dwags rgyal-rabs*), for example, indicate that the Lo/Mustang region, together with the Zhang-zhung (later Gu-ge) area of Ngari (mNga'-ris) in western Tibet, was an object of Tibetan emperor Srong-btsan sgampo's territorial ambition (Francke 1926: 32, Petech 1939: 51, Jackson 1976: 40, Das 1983: 1066). The *White Annals* (*Deb-ther dkar-po*) refers to another incident of Tibetan recapture of Lo/Mustang during the reign of king Mang-srong, the grandson of Srong-btsan, in the water-mouse year (676 A. D.) (Gedun Chos-'phel 1978: 83). In order to recapture Lo/Mustang and the gTsang-rkya region, a Tibetan minister known as mGar, was commissioned by the king (ibid). Thus, for about sixty or seventy years, the Lo/Mustang region, including lower Lo, seems to have remained under Tibetan rule. After the untimely death of the Tibetan emperor Dus-srong in 705, the southwestern frontier regions, including Lo/Mustang, began to revolt against the Tibetan authority. Not long after the death of Dus-srong, lower Lo demanded its independence (Bacot and others 1940-1946: 41). The confrontation between Tibet and lower Lo (se-rib) lasted about five years. Finally, Tibet used its army to bring the area back under its control. In 709, the local ruler of lower Lo was captured by the Tibetan army and the entire Lo/Mustang region was once again subdued by Tibet (ibid.: 42). Since a Ladakhi source clearly indicates that both upper and lower Lo were under the political influence of Tibet, the revolt may have been organized jointly by the rulers of upper and lower Lo.

The records found at Dun-huang, the Silk Route trading center, also describe the Tibetan expansion up to the Zhang-zung frontier of western Tibet; the areas taken also included Lo/Mustang (Bacot and others 1940-1946: 29-30, Francke 1926 pt. II: 83). The Dun-huang source refers to lower Lo in particular as one of the newly conquered southwestern frontier areas of the Tibetan empire (Stein 1972: 60, Bacot and others 1940-46: 42 n.3).¹

¹ Se-rib (Se-rib) is the ancient name of the lower Lo region, which has also been called Baragāun, Kag-Bāragāun, and Muktiṣetra. At one time, this region included the entire area

Some earlier Chinese literary sources identify this region as Sili (hsi-li) and describe it as a place with a climate warmer than Tibet (Pelliot 1912: 357-85, Jackson 1978:199). A Tibetan biographical source dated 1241, *Mar-lung-pa rnam-thar*, confirms Se-rib to be the area including and surrounding Muktināth in lower Lo. The source describes how a Mongol army headed by Bhara-dandur of Ya-tshe (the upper Karṇālī region) reached the Muktināth area in lower Lo during a military campaign in the early eleventh century (Kun-dga'-rin-chen and Byang-chub-'bum 15a-15b).²

The name Se-rib was used widely until the thirteenth century (Jackson 1978: 200-205). After the thirteenth century, however, only a few sporadic references to this name can be found. One such example is the reference given in the biography of Lama Cho-kyab palzang (Chos-skyabs dpal-bzang, 1536-1625) of Dolpo, in which Se-rib is listed together with three main districts of the Kingdom of Lo/Mustang, Tsarang (rTse-drangs or rTsa-drangs), Gami (Gad-smad), and Gelung (dGe-lung) (Snellgrove 1967: 166-167).³ Similarly, another Dolpo Lama, Sonam Wangchuk (bSod-nams dbang-phyug 1720-1791) describes Se-rib as a place very close to Lo/Mustang (Snellgrove 1967: 250-252).⁴ This may be the last reference to the name Se-rib found in the historical sources.

Prior to the seventh century, the Lo/Mustang region was under the influence of the pre-Buddhist, shamanistic Bon tradition of Zhang-zhung (Dpal-ldan tshul-khrim 1972: 568-583, Jackson 1978: 198-200). Bon literary sources also indicate that in ancient times, Lo/Mustang (both upper and lower), Dolpo (Dol-po), and Tshero (Tshad-ro, probably present-day Chairö village in Thak) were included in the southern reaches of Zhang-zhung

of Thak, Pānchgāun, and Bāragāun. Thus, in the preceding chapter, the term "lower Lo" was adopted as the standard place name. However, when original source material is cited, the name "Se-rib" is also included. Similarly, in most recent histories, current names such as "Käg-Bāragāun," Thinī-Pānchgāun," and "Thak" have been used. The etymological description of place names is given in the appendix.

² According to *Mar-lung-pa rnam-thar*, the Mongol (Sog-po) army under Bhara-dandur's leadership reached as far as lower hill areas of Ngari such as Se-rib. Around the early eleventh century, the Mongol Bhara-dandur ruled Ya-tshe, or the upper Karṇālī region (Kun-dga'-rin-chen and Byang-chub-'bum 15a-15b, Vitali 1996: 287). The tentative date of this event can be calculated on the basis of the meeting between Āchārya Atīśadīpanikara and Lochaba Sherab (Lo-tsa-ba Shes-rab), the son of Thon Kunga gyatso (Thon Kun-dga' rgya-mtsho) of the Marlungpa family of a place known as To (sTod) in 1045. At that time, Āchārya Atīśa was traveling to the U (dBus) and Tsang (gTsang) region (Kun-dga'-rin-chen and Byang-chub-'bum 19a, Vitali 1996: 287).

³ Since there is a description of Lama Cho-kyab palzang's quick trips (one or two days' stay in each) to Gami, Gelung, and Se-rib from Tsarang, the Se-rib region would be none other than the area south of Gelung.

⁴ According to the biography of Lama Sonam (bSod-nams), there was a conflict between two high-ranking teaching Lamas (dGe-bshes) of upper Lo and Se-rib. The dispute caused a war between upper Lo and Se-rib. Finally, the dispute was settled by removing both Lamas following a meeting of religious representatives from eighteen villages of Lo/Mustang and Se-rib.

(Tenzin-mam-dag 1983: 34, Vitali 1996: 446-47). Besides the description provided by Bon literary sources, there are two other indicators that identify Lo/Mustang as one of the bordering regions of Zhang-zhung. These are: (a) the absence of any identifiable major power in the region between the center of Zhang-zhung and Lo/Mustang, and (b) the abundance of pre-Buddhist Bon elements in Lo-pa society and the identification of dozens of ancient Bon sites in upper Lo (MHR: 327-28, 372-374). As an important center of Bon religion and culture, Zhang-zhung must have wielded political and cultural influence over its frontiers, which included Lo/Mustang and Dolpo.

The enduring popular legend (believed to be collected by Lama Urgyan Lingpa in the fourteenth century) about the revered Buddhist Tantric from India, Padmasambhava, his eighth-century visit to Lo/Mustang, and his subjugation of the local demoness, may be linked to the fall of Zhang-zhung's Bon influence and the advent of Tibetan Buddhism in the upper Lo region. We know that the annexations of Zhang-zhung (the most popular center of Bon religion) and areas adjacent to Tibet, had largely been completed by the eighth century A. D. (Jackson 1977: 39-41). Historical sources and legends mentioned above suggest that the Lo/Mustang region had already been inhabited by the followers of Bon religion, who possibly migrated from different parts of Zhang-zhung and central Tibet. We also know that as early as the seventh and eighth centuries the Lo/Mustang region had a distinctive local identity. Tibet's defeat of lower Lo in 709 may have revived its supremacy in the region. The signal change in Lo/Mustang, which followed the Tibetan conquest, was the introduction of Buddhism and the eventual replacement of the earlier Bon order.

After the aforementioned conquest, Tibet maintained its influence in Lo/Mustang for more than two centuries. The early Tibetan empire, expanded and strengthened by Srong-btsan-sgam-po in the seventh century, expanded further through the reign of his sixth descendant, the famous religious king Tri-song de-tsen (Khri-srong-lde-btsan, b.c. 711, d. 780). This early Tibetan kingdom remained integrated and powerful until the reign of king Ralpa-chen (Ral-pa-can, b. c.806, d. c.836). After the assassination of the anti-Buddhist king Langdarma (Glang-dar-ma) in 901, the Tibetan empire disintegrated (Richardson 1984: 29-30).

In addition to the historical sources mentioned above, several other literary sources, as well as a popular local tradition, augment the early history of the Lo/Mustang region (MHR doc. 20 Tibetan). Among them, the biographical literature concerning Padmasambhava, an eighth-century Buddhist tantric, is important in this regard. These sources are popularly known as *Padma bka'-thang*, *Mani-bka'-'hum*, *Padma-thang-yig* or *Padma bka'-chems* (bKra-shis stobs-rgyal n. d., O-rgyan gling-pa 1987, Douglas and Bays 1878, Tucci 1956: 14-15, Vostrikov 1970: 32-49).

Other sources on early Lo/Mustang are Tibetan pilgrim guidebooks describing Padmasambhava's visit to the region and his religious services

there (Tucci 1956: 10-11, Jackson 1976: 41, *Padma bka'i thang*, cantos- 60, 62). The guidebook *Chu mig brgyad sku-tshab gter-Ingā mu-le gangs-gu-ru gsang phug sogs kyi dkar-chag gsal ba'i me-long ngo-mtshar can rnams* mentions several religious sites in the lower Lo region, which are still believed to have been visited and blessed by Padmasaṁbhava (Tucci 1956: 11). These include Thak, Bāragāun, and Dol-po (the bhar-rong khola area). Most of these sources deal mainly with the spiritual activities of Padmasaṁbhava in Tibet, which include the services of founding Buddhist centers and subduing anti-Buddhist elements in the Lo/Mustang region (Tucci 1956:11-12). It is commonly believed that after Padmasaṁbhava subdued the local demoness, he founded the Lo Gekar (Glo-bo dge-dkar) monastery in upper Lo, where he concealed some of the important tantric Buddhist texts (bKra-shis stobs-rgyal 1967: 344, Jackson 1976/77: 50 and notes 9-10, Das 1983: 525, *Padma bka'i thang*, cantos: 60, 62, Douglas and Bays 1978 pt. II: 374, 385).⁵

A careful examination of literary sources, popular legends, and the historical geography of Padmasaṁbhava's journeys, including his journey to Lo/Mustang, all produce historical evidence. As the Lo/Mustang region was one of the important centers of Bon religion, a need existed for a powerful and magical tantric master like Padmasaṁbhava to bring the Bon priests and followers under control and replace the Bon religion with tantric Buddhism. The stories about Padmasaṁbhava's victory over the demoness and his concealment of the Buddhist tantric texts in Lo/Mustang describe both the conflict between Bon and Buddhist people and the eventual victory of Buddhist doctrine over Bon belief. Thus, these Padmasaṁbhava stories may be interpreted more generally as Padmasaṁbhava's Buddhist mission to establish a long-lasting Buddhist influence in Lo/Mustang.

It is also widely believed that the Lo Gekar (present-day Gar Gonpa) area in Lo/Mustang is the first among the forty-nine Tibetan Buddhist pilgrimage spots where concealed textual treasures of Buddhism were unearthed (Das 1983: 525). Padmasaṁbhava's biography tells us that the Lo Gekar

⁵ The existence of legends about Padmasaṁbhava's activities in most of the major historical Tibetan settlements is not an uncommon phenomenon. Position of Padmasaṁbhava in Tibetan Buddhism is possibly even loftier than that of lord Śiva or Śaṁkara in Hinduism. Thus, at the outset, the most difficult task of a historian of Tibetan culture and society is to determine the historicity of Padmasaṁbhava from amidst the many myths and legends identified with him. After the long and painstaking efforts of a handful of historians and philologists, the historicity of this Buddhist tantric guru has been tentatively established. From such historical and philological works, it appears that the historical figure, Padmasaṁbhava of India, visited Tibet in the middle of the eighth century and founded Tibet's first Buddhist monastery, bSam-yas, around 779 (Roerich 1976: 43-44, Richardson 1962: 31). This tantric master of India is believed to have been invited by the Tibetan King Khri-srong lde-btsan, and arrived in Tibet after traveling through Nepal and Mang-yul in c. 749 (Roerich 1976: 44-43, bKra-shis stobs-rgyal pp. 332-335, *Padma bka'i thang-yig*, canto 62, Douglas and Bays 1978 pt. II: 362-370).

monastery was founded by Padmasaṁbhava earlier than the foundation of the famous bSam-yas monastery in Tibet (ibid. Canto: 62). The legend also claims that the first construction work on the Samye monastery was repeatedly obstructed by local demons (nāgas), who attacked from the Mal-dro (Mal-gro) and Lo/Mustang regions until Padmasaṁbhava subdued them (ibid. Canto 62, MHR: 14-15). Padmasaṁbhava reached Lhasa in the year 747 and went on to play an important role in establishing an enduring tradition of tantric Buddhist doctrine in Tibet. He ultimately succeeded in gaining the support of the Tibetan authorities and people for establishing Samye, the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet, in 779. Considering the description of the *Padma bka'-thang* and the local tradition of Lo/Mustang, Padmasaṁbhava's first visit to Lo/Mustang can be dated to 746 or 747, around the time he arrived in Lhasa. Supporting the veracity of the legend, the Lo Gekar monastery still exists with virtually its original name. Local sources of later times such as the seventeenth-century text of *Byams-pa dkar-chag* still refer to Padmasaṁbhava's visit to Lo/Mustang (MHR doc. 20 Tibetan, doc. 16 Tibetan in the appendix).

After the disintegration of the Tibetan empire in the early tenth century, numerous principalities and feudatories emerged throughout Tibet (Richardson 1984: 29-30). Among them, major powers such as Zhang-zhung (known as Gu-ge by the tenth and eleventh centuries), Pu-rang (sPu-rang or Pu-hrang), and Gung-thang (Gung-thang) in Mang-yul were able to maintain their full independence in western Tibet. Lo/Mustang, as a comparatively smaller and less populated frontier region, could not immediately emerge as an independent kingdom. For about three hundred years (spanning the tenth through the twelfth centuries), Lo/Mustang was controlled by Gu-ge, except for several short-lived Ladakhi invasions.⁶

LO/MUSTANG UNDER NGARI, KHAŚA/YA-TSHE KINGDOM, AND GUNG-THANG (TENTH THROUGH FOURTEENTH CENTURY)

The persecution of those who followed Buddhism, especially that of the Tibetan king Glang-dar-ma and his eventual assassination by Buddhists brought more than a century-long dark age to central Tibet (Jackson 1976/77: 43). Still, its Buddhist legacy did not disappear from Tibet as a whole; it developed further in the western Tibetan region of Ngari (Petech 1980: 86-88). The major cultural and political center of this region was Zhang-zhung (the latter-day Gu-ge). Besides this region, several other important Tibetan cultural and political centers existed in western Tibet, including Pu-rang, Mangyul (Gung-thang area), Maryul (Ladakh), and Ya-

⁶ King lHa-chen utpala (1080-1110) was the first Ladakhi ruler to penetrate most of Ngari, including both upper and lower Lo up to Muktināth (Chu-la-me-'bar rdo-la-me-'bar sa-la-me-'bar) (Frāñcke 1972: 96, Jackson 1977: 42-43).

tshe (the Sirnjā area of the upper Karnālī region in western Nepal). Among these centers, Gung-thang was the meeting point of two Tibetan cultural areas--the more recently influenced area in the west (Ngari) and the older one in the center of traditional Tibet (dBus and gTsang). The far western areas of the gtsang region, however, including Gung-thang, Dzongkha (rDzong-dkar), and Kyirong (sKyid-grong) were considered lower or eastern bordering districts of Ngari as well (GDR: title page). The Lo/Mustang region (along with most of Dolpo and Manāng) was also known to be part of lower or eastern Ngari (mNga'-ris smad) (KGJ: 7a, TR: 3a, PRR: 723).

The new name Ngari (mNga'-ris) refers to the Tibetan conquest of this region; the precise meaning of mNga'-ris is "region under control" or "subjects under the control of a king" (Chos-'phel 1979: 24-25, Jamspal 1985: 152-153). This etymological reference suggests that the name Ngari was established only after the central Tibetan conquest of Zhang-zhung and the surrounding areas of western Tibet. In later times, this Tibetan term became the predominant name for a huge area of western Tibet covering the entire territory between Maryul (Ladakh) in the west and Mangyul (Gung-thang) in the east.

After the Bon rebellion in Lhasa and the assassination of king Langdarma (Glang-dar-ma) by Buddhists, the Ngari region, particularly the Gu-ge and Pu-rang areas, adopted the early Buddhist traditions of central Tibet. About a century after the disintegration of Tibet, under the leadership of the ruler of Gu-ge, the Ngari region began a most ambitious project for reviving Buddhism in Tibet in response to the spread of Islam in India and particularly to incidents of Tugluq attacks on monasteries in Northern India (Petech 1980: 85-88). The early tenth-century political disintegration of Tibet did not completely destroy its ancient ruling line; rather, divided it into many branches, creating a large number of principalities under the control of the descendants of these early Tibetan rulers, their relatives, and even their powerful ministers (ibid.).

By the middle of the tenth century, one of the descendants of the old dynasty through Langdarma's legitimate son, Namde-o-sung (gNam-lde 'od-srung), gained control of a major portion of Ngari. King Tashigon (bKra-shis-mgon) of Pu-rang, as he was known, played an important role in consolidating the political power of almost all of Ngari (Roerich 1976: 37).⁷ It is widely believed that the Lo/Mustang and Dolpo regions of present-day Nepal were among the important centers of King Tashi-gon's domain (NKZP Vol. 9: 113, Jackson 1976/77: 41). |

⁷ Although King Kyi-de nyima gon (sKyid-lde nyi-ma mgon) was the first to escape from central Tibet to settle in Ngari, King Tashi-gon (bKra-shis-mgon) was one of the first of Langdarma's great-grandsons to establish his strong rule in Ngari, or the old Zhang-zhung region.

At that time, there were three or four major political centers in Ngari, namely Maryul (Ladakh), Gu-ge, Pu-rang, and Mangyul (Gung-thang). All these political centers one of the major powers in lower Central Asia, including most of western Tibet and all of Ladakh (Tucci 1956: 73). This was the time at which the lost prestige of the old Tibetan dynasty was restored in western Tibet.

The descendants of Tashi-gon, Lha-lama Yeshe-o and his nephew Jyangchub-o, worked strenuously to restore Buddhism in western Tibet.⁸ As rulers, they invited the most renowned Buddhist luminary of the time, Ācārya Atīśadīpaṅkara, of Vikramaśīlamahāvihāra in northern India, into Tibet (Dhungel 1986: 183-185, Chattopadhyay 1981: 414-420).⁹ Upon Atīśa's arrival in Gu-ge in the year 1042, the "Buddhist renaissance," as some scholars have called it, initiated under the leadership of the scholar Rinchen zangpo (Rin-chen bzang-po, 958-1055), gathered even more momentum in western Tibet. For about three years the Ācārya promoted Buddhism in and around Gu-ge and Pu-rang. Eventually, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, these two areas of Ngari became the major centers of the Buddhist resurgence. During this period, the great monasteries such as Tholing (Tho-gling) flourished, and newer ones were established. Also, great Sanskrit translators, such as Rinchen zangpo, had the opportunity to receive an important degree of spiritual instructions from Ācārya Atīśa (Tucci 1988: 74). Although the Qarluq Turks aggressively threatened western Tibet, the Buddhist rulers of Gu-ge and Pu-rang were not discouraged from restoring Buddhism in Tibet (Tucci 1956: 106). King Yeshe-o (Ye-shes-'od) of Gu-ge chose to sacrifice his life for the re-establishing of Buddhism in his land. This king did not even wish to be released from his imprisonment by the Qarluq Turks. Instead, he instructed his nephew, Jyangchub-o, then the acting ruler of Gu-ge, to use the gold collected to pay his ransom for inviting leading Buddhist Paṇḍitas of India and Nepal. This included Ācārya Atīśadīpaṅkara (Chattopadhyay 1981: 414-15), Roerich 1976: 244-45, Dhungel 1986: 182-84).

As one of the bordering provinces of Ngari not far from Gu-ge and Pu-rang, Lo/Mustang also participated in the activities of Buddhist revitalization in western Tibet. During his three-year stay in the Ngari region Atīśa managed to train dozens of Tibetan disciples in Buddhist scholarship (Roerich 1976: 262, MHR: 15). Lama Tonpa yang-rab (sTon-pa yang-rab) of Lo/Mustang was one of them (ibid.). Eventually, this Lo/Mustang Lama was able to earn fame as one of the greatest scholars of western Tibet. Today, local people of Lo/Mustang believe that Ācārya Atīśa (also called Jo-bo-rje

⁸ Lha-lama Yeshe-o (lha-bla-ma ye-shes-'od), ruler of Gu-ge, was later captured by the Qarluq Turks. Afterward, his nephew, the governor of Pu-rang, became Gu-ge's acting ruler.

⁹ Because of the nature of sources available to us covering the period between tenth and fourteenth centuries, the study focuses mainly on the activities of religious personalities.

or Dīpaṅkara sṛījnāna) himself paid a visit to Lo/Mustang with his Lo-pa disciple, Tonpa yang-rab. The geography of Atīśa's pilgrimage in western Tibet substantiates this legend because Atīśa travelled to and from Gu-ge via Gung-thang, and Lo/Mustang is situated between these two settlements (Roerich 1976: 254).

In addition to Atīśa's contacts with Lo/Mustang and the visits he probably paid to the area, local Lo officials had many opportunities to invite nearly every prominent Indian Buddhist scholar and the great Tibetan Lamas during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

Other important scholars to visit Lo/Mustang during the eleventh century included Lama Sangye (Sangs-rgyas), Tulku Lato marpo (sPrul-ku La-stod dmar-po), Lotsaba Rinchen zangpo (Lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen bzang-po, 958-1055), and the Yogi Lama Milarepa (Mi-la-ras-pa, 1040-1123). Lama Sangye of Tibet is acknowledged as the discoverer of the first textual treasure (gTer-ma) near the Lo Gekar monastery in Lo/Mustang (Roerich 1976: 68-69, Jackson 1976: 42, 51).¹⁰ Tulku Lato Marpo, or Dampa Marpo (Dam-pa dmar-po), a contemporary of Marpa Lotsaba (Mar-pa lo-tsa-ba, 1012-1099), paid a visit to both upper and lower Lo in the early eleventh century during the Qarluq Turks' invasions (Roerich 1976: 1025-1029).¹¹ It is held that this Lama demonstrated his talent for archery by shooting an arrow at the Qarluq enemy, which pierced through a large boulder (ibid.). This incredible-sounding legend reveals that (a) the Lo/Mustang region was becoming an important Buddhist center in western Tibet and (b) that the Qarluq Turks attacked the Buddhist rulers of the Ngari region of western Tibet, even marching their army as far as the Lo/Mustang region to destroy Tibetan Buddhist centers. The most esteemed translator and Buddhist scholar, Rinchen zangpo of western Tibet, and the Yogi Lama Milarepa also visited and sermonized the people of Lo/Mustang, reinforcing various Buddhist precepts (MHR doc. 20 Tibetan, *Byams-pa dkar-chag* fol. 6, *Rus-pa'i-rgyan-can* 1981: 365-369). Milarepa visited Lo/Mustang on his pilgrimage to Kailāśa-Mānaśarovara, spending one year there. On his departure, the Lo/Mustang-pa people, both men and women, traveled with the great Lama up to the northern frontier area of Lo/Mustang, known as Korala (Ko-ra-lha) (*Rus-pa'i-rgyan-can* 1981: 365-369).

¹⁰ Lama Sangye's (sangs-rgyas) discoveries were found in the capital of a pillar of the old Gekar (dGe-dkar or locally known today as Lo Gekar or Gar gonpa) monastery and also beneath a rock in the vicinity of the monastery. These *Terma* (gTer-ma) texts included the Buddhist *sutras* originally translated from Chinese. One of the *terma* texts from Lo/Mustang is *rTsa-gsum-drii-sgrub*, which is still in common use in Nepal (Jackson 1976: 51, note 19).

¹¹ Based on the description given in the *Mar-lung-pa mam-thar*, we can tell that this must refer to the same invasion discussed earlier, because the Turks were also sometime known in Tibet as Sog-po. At that time, the local Sog-po ruler, Bhara dandur of the upper Kamāli and western Tibetan region, was a powerful military strategist who had invaded many Tibetan frontier areas, including upper and lower Lo (Kun-dga'-rin-chen and Byang-chub-'bum: 15a-15b, Vitali 1996: 287).

We are also told of a visit to Lo/Mustang by one of the major disciples of Sa-chen Kun dga' snying po (1092-1158). This was Lama Rong-gom (Rong-gom) of Tibet, who also resided at the Samdup-ling (bSam-'grub-gling monastery) in upper Lo, probably for several years (Jackson 1976: 43, 52). This source indicates that by the middle of the twelfth century, the Sakya tradition had already established a special link to Lo/Mustang and achieved a level of influence within it.

An early thirteenth-century reference describes a renowned Buddhist scholar's visit to Lo/Mustang; this was the Mahāpaṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127-1125) of Kashmir, who was the reigning dominant figure in Indian Buddhism. On his return journey to Kashmir from Tibet in the year 1212, by way of Gung-thang, he visited Lo/Mustang with a number of his Tibetan disciples. While in Lo/Mustang, he conducted several religious services and instructed his main disciple, Thophu Lotsaba (Khro-phu lo-tsa-ba), to confer upon the local monastic institutions most of the gold he had collected as donations in Tibet (Roerich 1976: 1071). After remaining in Lo/Mustang indefinitely, he returned to Kashmir, crossing the mountain passes of the Tsharka (Tshar-kha) area of Dolpo; Thophu Lotsaba had escorted him up to a nearby mountain pass (Roerich 1976: 1071).¹² It is believed that Thophu Lotsaba, the Mahāpaṇḍita's favorite and primary Tibetan disciple, also performed religious services in the region (ibid.). For several centuries, Buddhist scholars of Tibet, India, and Nepal continued to make pilgrimages to Lo/Mustang. Nevertheless, references also describe the activities of Lo's own, native scholars, who were famed abroad during these centuries.¹³

Thirteenth-century documents indicate that Lama Sherab Rinchen (Shes-rab rin-chen), a member of upper Lo's elite-class family, was a learned master of the Vajrayāna school of Buddhism in Tibet. Popularly known in Tibet as Lobo Lotsaba (Glo-bo lo-tsa-ba), Lama Sherab was one of the finest and most respected scholars and translators of his time (Smith 1970: 2-4). A disciple of Sakya paṇḍita and also a religious preceptor of Sakya Phagpa (phags-pa) of Tibet (Jackson 1976: 45-46, 54), he had received the teachings of *raktayamantaka* (gShin-rje-gshed-dmar-po) from a Nepali scholar named Darpaṇa (Roerich 1976: 1046). Lama Sherab Rinchen had worked with a famous scholar of Simjā (Ya-tshe) named Paṇḍita Jayānanda in several translation projects concerning tantra and astrology (Jackson 1976: 45, 55). Paṇḍita Jayānanda was once associated with Chag Lotsaba Choje-pal (Chags lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal, 1197-1265), a very prominent Buddhist translator and scholar in Tibet (ibid.). From the fact that Sherab had worked with

¹² Because no mountain pass in the north leads west, this must refer to the unnamed pass located southwest of Tsarang, the second largest township in Lo/Mustang.

¹³ Lo/Mustang's native scholars such as Lobo Khenchen (Glo-bo mkhan-chen bSod-nams lhun-grub, 1456-1532), Ngari Penchen (mNga'-ris pan-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal, 1487-1542) are among these prominent figures. Activities of such Buddhist scholars of Lo/Mustang, including these two, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Jayānanda, it can safely be assumed that he may have seen or even worked with Chag Lotsaba as well. This assumption is supported by a reference to the association of Chag Lotsaba and Sherab rinchen as scholars and devotees of *raktayamantaka*, who was both their guardian deity and subject of specialization of study (Roerich 1976: 379, 1046). On the basis of these references it can be said that the thirteenth century was the important age of direct participation of Lo/Mustang on the later Buddhist translation movement in Tibet.

Around the same time, the Digung-pa ('Bri-gung-pa) monastery of Gyangdhak (rGyang-grags) in the Kailāśa-Mānaśarovara area established close contacts with the people of Himalayan frontier districts, including Lo/Mustang (Jackson 1977: 33, 44, 1978: 213, n. 66). Even centuries later, a nineteenth-century Drigung literary source recounts the establishment of a branch of the Drigung Monastery in lower Lo's Chumig gyatsa (Chu-mig-brgya-rtsa or present-day Muktināth) area (ibid.). This late reference states that around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Kagyu-pa (bKa'-rgyud-pa) line of Tibetan Buddhism was flourishing in the Lo/Mustang region. Yogi Lama Milarepa's yearlong stay in Lo/Mustang in the eleventh century must have influenced the Kagyu tradition in and around the upper and lower Lo/Mustang region. Quite possibly, the thirteenth-century activities of the Digung Kagyu ('Bri-gung bka'-rgyud) line throughout the Ngari region and including Lo/Mustang was a renewal of the older link already established by Mi-la-ras-pa in the late eleventh or the early twelfth centuries. It is also possible that the Lopa followers of the Digung Kagyu tradition of the Gyangdhak monastery promoted such activities in Lo/Mustang.

Another important aspect of the history of Lo/Mustang between the tenth and thirteenth centuries is the resurgence of Bon culture. The Lo/Mustang region had been influenced by Zhang-zhung/Gu-ge, which was one of the prominent centers of old Bon religion until Tibetan expansion into the Ngari region. Despite Buddhism's important successes in Lo/Mustang, the deeply rooted Bon order was not completely eradicated. After the disintegration of the Tibetan empire in the early tenth century, the Bon religion began to regain its influence in the entire Ngari region, including Lo/Mustang and Dolpo. While Buddhism was declining during and after Langdarma's misrule, prominent Bon scholars were invited by the rulers of Pu-rang, Zhang (Men-zhangs), and lower Lo (Se-rib) to reinvigorate the Bon religion in their respective domains. Bonpo masters rigorously devoted themselves to reestablishing Bon by traveling extensively in and around Ngari (Jackson 1978: 200-201). The first Bon master to visit and work in lower Lo was Sangye (Sangs-rgyas or Klu-skar-rgyal), who was known as the main adversary of the great Buddhist translator Rinchen Zangpo of Tibet (Jackson 1978: 201). This Bon master has been identified as Shenchen Luga (gShenchen klu-ga', 996-1035) of Tsang (Smith 1970 vol. 80: 6 n. 13).

Although the Bon religion was not established in the lower Lo region until the eleventh century, it was already well rooted in the upper Lo region even before the advent of Buddhism in that area. In the eleventh century, the lower Lo region became an important center of Ya-ngal (Yan-ngal) Bon (Jackson 1978: 202-203). In the second half of the twelfth century, a place in lower Lo known as Ludhak (Klu-brag), near the present-day Kāgbenī, became one of the main Bon pilgrimage centers (Jackson 1978: 202-203). Prominent Bon figures who devoted considerable time and effort in promoting Bon religion and culture were Nyel Thulme zigpo (sNyel 'khrul-med zhig-po), Ludhakpa Tashi gyalchen (Klu-brag-pa bKra-shis rgyal-mtshan, 1119-c.1203), Nyelton Thulme zigpo (sNyel-ston-'khrul-med-zhig-po), Lobpon Gyalchen-bum (Slob-spon rGyal-mtshan-'bum), and Duchén Tshulthim Gyalchen (Bru-chen Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, 1239-c. 1302) (Jackson 1978: 204-206). Among them, Ludhakpa Tashi gyalchen remained the most important figure. He founded a large and well-managed Bon monastery in Ludhak or Lubrak (Klu-brag), where about fifty monks were gathered within one year (Snellgrove 1967: 4 n. 4, Jackson 1978: 205). Ludhakpa was well educated, having received instruction from at least half a dozen high-ranking Bon scholars, including his older brother and his father Yangton (Yang-ston, 1077-1141), who was one of the most prominent Bon scholars of his time. Ludhakpa's main fields of expertise were tantra, known as *rDzogs-chen snyan-brgyud* and medicine (dPal-ldan tshul-khrims 1972 vol. II: 344.2). Ludhakpa's father had visited upper Lo and extensively studied the transmission of the *Zhang-zhung snyan-brgyud* with another Bon master of Tibet. Rongom Togme zigpo (Rong-sgom rTogs-med zhig-po), as this master was known, was one of the most prominent Bon figures to work extensively in the upper Lo region. Yangton had also corresponded with Nyel Thulme zigpo, a Bon scholar of lower Lo (Jackson 1978: 203-4).

Duchen Chulthim gyalchen (Bru-chen Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, 1239-1302) was another great Bon master and also one of the most prominent figures to work in the lower Lo region. At the invitation of his first disciple, Lobpon Gyalchen-bum, a Bon scholar of Lubrak, Duchén Chulthim visited lower Lo, performed religious services, and promoted tantric teachings (Namdak 1972: 442.7). Besides working at Lubrak, this Bon master traveled to many other important Bon centers of the three regions of Ngari, including upper Lo, Dolpo, lower Lo, Pu-rang, Limi (li-mi), and northern nomadic areas (dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims 1972: 470.2). In the lower Lo region, in addition to teaching at Lubrak, he spent about nine years living in various places such as Tinyug (Ti-snyug, present-day Tiri, near Kāgbenī), the seat of Lama Nyelton Thulme (sNyel-ston 'khrul-med zhig-po) (Namdak 1972: 442.7). In upper Lo, he visited various Bon monasteries and settlements such as Donkya (gDong-skya) and Jyibakhar (Byi-ba mkhar, now Byi-phug

rdzong area) (ibid.).¹⁴ After twelve years of service in the Ngari region, including both upper and lower Lo, and Dolpo, Duchen returned to his home, Yeru Wensakha (g.Yas-ru dBen-sa-kha) in Tsang. He then recognized these three locales as the ones where he had accomplished his goals. His biographer even states that this Bon master claimed to have laid the foundations of the Bon doctrine in Lo/Mustang, lower Lo (Se-rib), and Dolpo by establishing a Bon monastery (at Pag-gling in lower Lo)¹⁵ and initiating 543 disciples from throughout the three areas (Namdak 1972: 452.1).¹⁶ Thus, after the decline of Buddhism in Tibet in the late ninth or the early tenth century, the Lo/Mustang region, together with the neighboring districts of Dolpo and Limi, came under the direct influence of the resurgent Bon religion and culture of western Tibet for several centuries.

Buddhist scholars of the time were also working hard to reclaim and extend their doctrinal influence into Lo/Mustang, and they largely succeeded. After the establishment of direct cultural and political contacts between Lo/Mustang and Gung-thang in the thirteenth century, the entire Lo/Mustang region was newly influenced by the Buddhist tradition. Only a few places, such as Lubrak, were relinquished to the ancient Bon tradition. Still, many cultural elements of Bon tradition in Lo/Mustang persisted. Even today, the role of old Bon tradition in Lo-pa society is very strong, although most Lo-pas claim to be Buddhist (Peissel 1967: 66, 217).¹⁷ Dozens of old monuments and historical sites of Bon centers in both upper and lower Lo remain and some of the older settlements in what were lower Lo and Dolpo still preserve the Bon tradition. Today, in upper Lo, only a few households identify with Bon. Still, the tradition of religious pilgrimage in the Lo/Mustang region, observed by both Buddhist and Bon scholars from Tibet and by Buddhists from India and Nepal, evidently continued into subsequent centuries as well (MHR: 15-16).

LO UNDER THE KHAŚA/YA-TSHE KINGDOM OF WESTERN NEPAL AND THE GUNG-THANG PRINCIPALITY OF WESTERN TIBET (TWELFTH THROUGH FOURTEENTH CENTURIES)

Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, the entire Lo/Mustang region was under the political domination of either the Khaśa/Ya-tshe

¹⁴ The fort palace known as Jyibakhar (Byi-ba mkhar) near the capital town of Monthang was in active use until around the middle of the fifteenth century (please refer to the next chapter for further information).

¹⁵ Pagling is now known as Pigling village, which is located near the bank of the Kāligandakī river in the vicinity of Kāgbenī, just below the Phallak village.

¹⁶ According to the biography of this Bon master, the distribution of his disciples within those three frontier regions of Ngari was as follows: Se-rib 246, upper Lo 198, and Dolpo 99.

¹⁷ For photographs related to Bon practices in Lo/Mustang, see Matthiessen and Laird 1995: 121-122, Boeye and Marullo 1995: 69, 72, 114.

kingdom or the principality of Gung-thang. The cultural and political dominance of Gu-ge and Pu-rang in Ngari declined after the early twelfth century. Regional competition erupted between the three major kingdoms of western Tibet--Maryul (Ladakh), Gu-ge, and Gung-thang (Mangyul). These kingdoms were established by the three main branches of the old Tibetan ruling line. Tibetan royal dominance in Maryul (Ladakh) in the far western frontier region of Ngari, was established by Palgyigon (dPal-gyi mgon), the older brother of the famous Gu-ge ruler, Tashi-gon (bKra-shis-mgon) (Petech 1980: 85-87). Around the beginning of the twelfth century, during the reign of king Lhachen Utpal (lHa-chen utpal (a descendant of dPal-gyi-mgon), this kingdom grew stronger. Gu-ge, as a major power center of Ngari, weakened in comparison to Ladakh to the west and Gung-thang to the east of Ngari. As a result, the adjacent Lo/Mustang region became a target of conquest for these two stronger powers. Although Ladakh was aggressively expanding its territory, Gung-thang's supremacy over the Lo/Mustang region was eventually carried more influence and was long-lasting. Nonetheless, Ladakh did not miss a single opportunity to mobilize its army along the southeastern frontier areas. The chronicles (rGyal-rabs) of Ladakh tell of a twelfth-century Ladakhi conquest of Lo/Mustang and the entire territory between Pu-rang and Lo/Mustang during the reign of lHa-chen utpal (Francke 1926: Vol. I, Tibetan text: 36, English tr.: 96). According to this source, Ladakh expanded its conquest at least as far as the Chu-la me-'bar (Muktināth) area of lower Lo (ibid.). Therefore, it can be assumed that Ladakh must have fought armed conflicts against Gung-thang in order to conquer Lo/Mustang and the surrounding areas, because the Lo/Mustang region at that time was one of Gung-thang's far southwestern frontiers (GDR: 7b). The Gung-thang principality in Mangyul was identified as one of the regions of greater Ngari because the Gung-thang rulers were also descended from the same old Tibetan royal line (ibid.). The Gung-thang kings descended directly from bKra-shis brtsegs-pa-dpal, the uncle of the Gu-ge King Tashi-gon. Although in earlier times, Gung-thang was a small provincial state, by the end of the twelfth century, it had gained independent status under the leadership of its local ruler lHa-mchog-lde (GDR: 2b).

Due to this weakening of Gu-ge and Pu-rang in the twelfth century, there emerged a new and strong political order in the center of Ngari. This new order ultimately ended the old ruling line of Gu-ge and came to dominate Lo/Mustang for some two hundred years. Although the origin of this new ruling line is not quite clear, the founder of this dynasty, according to both Tibetan and Nepali sources, was Nāgarājā or Nāgadeva (Kun-dga' rdo-rje, DMR: 19b-20a, Tucci: 1962: 43, 49-50, 65-71, Petech 1980: 86-102, Adhikary 1988: 22-23, 33-39). Later, this dynasty was known as the Khaśa/Ya-tshe, or the Calla/Malla (ibid.) Most non-Tibetan sources found in Nepal and India have acknowledged these rulers as the Khaśa/Ya-tshe or Khaśiya kings (Vajracarya VE 2028: 11-15, Bihari 1913-1914: 30, Adhikary

1988: 24-30, appendix B-4, *Gopālarājavarṇśāvalī*: 26, 42, and 48). In the beginning of their rule in the twelfth century, the Khaśas were established as the succeeding ruling dynasty of Gu-ge and Pu-rang in western Tibet (Tucci 1956: 51-60, Roerich 1976: 37). Later, when king Tsangchuyug-de (bTsangphyug-lde), the son of Nāgarājā, moved his capital to Ya-tshe or Sirijā, these rulers also came to be known as the Ya-tshe or Ya-tshe-pa kings.¹⁸

The very emergence of this dynasty as the strongest power in Ngari, and its military campaigns, seems to have played an important role in influencing the history of western Tibet and the Himalayan regions of Nepal and India. After the Khaśa/Ya-tshe emergence, the formerly ascendant powers of Ngari's eastern and western frontier regions, Ladakh and Gung-thang, retreated. King Krācalla (Grags-pa-lde of Tibetan sources) is the first recorded Khaśa/Ya-tshe ruler to subdue the Lo/Mustang region from his capital at Sirijā (*mNga'-ris-rgyal-rabs of Ngag-dbang-grags-pa*: 78-79, Vitali 1996: 446). It is recorded that king Kraācalla, while capturing the major north-south trade "doors" (brJe-sgo) of the entire western Himalayan region, brought the Lo/Mustang region, up to Muktināth, under his control, even appointing one of his sons as commissioner (*ibid.*)

Because of the absence of another stronger power between Gung-thang (Mangyul) and Ladakh (Maryul), most of the western Tibetan feudatories, including Kumaun, Garhwal, and the western Himalayan districts of Nepal, came under the supreme jurisdiction of these Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers. Even the Nepal valley (Kathmandu and surrounding areas) had been attacked at least seven times by these Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers between 1288 and 1334 (Adhikary 1988: 46 *Gopālarājavarṇśāvalī*: 26-27, 40, 43-44, 46, 48). After establishing their capital in Sirijā, these Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers divided their kingdom into two major administrative divisions, *Jadān* (the high Himalayan region settled by the Tibetan speaking people) and *Khaśān* (lower hill areas settled by non Tibetan speaking people) (Vajracarya VE 2028: 11).¹⁹

Beginning in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, Gung-thang (Mangyul) began to expand its territory and grew stronger again in the Ngari region. A violent rivalry for regional power then erupted between the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom and Gung-thang. A war broke out during the reigns of the Gung-thang king mGon-po-lde and the Khaśa/Ya-tshe king Krācalla

¹⁸ This region has become identified with Sirijā of the Karnāli region of Nepal. Ya-tshe (ya-tshe or ya-rtshe) is an old Tibetan name for the upper Karnāli region; in Tibet, the region's rulers were always known as the Ya-tshe-pa. Before the founding of the Khaśa capital in Sirijā, this area was ruled by one of the Mongol or Turk chieftains known as Sog-po (or Hor) Bhara dan-dur (kun-dga'-rin-chen and byang-chub-'bum: 15a-b). The biographical source cited has clearly introduced Sog-po Bhara dan-dur as the ruler of Ya-tshe, who was able to capture the entire Tibetan frontier area, including the Lo/Mustang and Manāng area (*Ibid.*).

¹⁹ According to a seventeenth century royal order of King Sāhibam Malla of Parvat, the Thak-Pānchgāun area of lower Lo was still known by the old geographic term, *Khaśān* (Khaśāntapradeśa) (MHR doc. 272, 273 Nepali).

in the year 1235, which lasted for about four years (Kun-dga'-rin-chen and Byang-chub-'bum: 10a-140b, Vitali 1996: 447). Ultimately, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe army crushed Gung-thang, compelling its ruler to flee to Kyirong (sKyid-grong), near the Nepali border. Ultimately, he was killed there by the Khaśa/Ya-tshe army (GDR 1749: 3a). At that time, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom was strong and unchallenged in the entire territory, covering Ngari, the western Himalayan hill districts of Kumaun and Garhwal, and western Nepal. About twelve years prior to this Khaśa/Ya-tshe-Gung-thang war, Khaśa/Ya-tshe king Krācalla had already conquered the territory of Kumaun and Garhwal and appointed local rulers (Adhikary 1988: 40). This was also the period in which Lo/Mustang and the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom were closely linked through religious and cultural activities (Jackson 1976: 45-55).

The important translation activity of Paṇḍita Jayānanda of Siñjā and lo-tsa-ba shes-rab rin-chen of Lo were commissioned around this time. It is important to note again that the Lo region and its surrounding areas were already under the political and cultural domination of Gu-ge, from which the Khaśa rulers had begun their military campaign in western Tibet and the western Himalayan region, and had proven to be the actual successors of the old Tibetan ruling line of Gu-ge.

The dominance of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom in and around Ngari would have remained undisturbed if matrimonial relationships between the ruling family of Gung-thang and the Khon house of Sakya (Sa-skya) had not been established in the thirteenth century (GDR: 3a, SDR: 285, NChB: 251, Jackson 1977: 52). After the establishment of matrimonial relationships between Gung-thang royal family and Khon family, with the help of Sakya Khon rulers and the influence of the Mongols, Gung-thang successfully attacked the Khaśa/Ya-tshe forces and regained power in the region and brought back the territories lost earlier to the Khasas. Gung-thang did not miss even a single opportunity to take revenge on the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers for Gung-thang's destruction and the demise of its king (Jackson 1976/77: 44-46).

In this context, it is important to know that around this time, the Sakya Khon family gained both religious and political power in Tibet through their relationship with the Mongols. The Mongol power in the region had already reached its peak by the early thirteenth century, and Tibetans were also familiar with the results of Mongol power in Central Asia. Eventually, the Tibetan fear of a possible Mongol attack was realized, when the Mongol forces of Koden threatened Tibet in 1240. Sakya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251) was thus commissioned and sent to negotiate with the Mongol authorities. The most learned and influential Buddhist leader of his time in Tibet, he managed to convince the Mongol authorities to spare Tibet, and ultimately received an official recognition from the Mongol ruler as the

official spiritual representative of Tibet to the court of the Mongols (Jackson 1976/77: 45-46).

Although regaining local power from the Khaśa was a remarkable achievement for Gung-thang, the crucial position already occupied by the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom in western Tibet, western Nepal, Kumaun, and Garhwal could not be eroded by this small local defeat. The first peak of the Khaśa expansion remained unchallenged until around the end of the thirteenth century (Adhikary 1988: 46-48). It appears that Gung-thang's counterattack against the Khaśas was confined only to the core territory of Gung-thang. It also appears that this second Khaśa-Gung-thang war was fought during the reign of King Aśokacalla.

Still, with the help of the Sakya Khon clan in Tibet, Gung-thang was able not only to regain its lost power and glory but also play an important role in obstructing the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom's aims toward eastern expansion. Even at the height of Aśokacalla's reign (c.1250-1278), the Khaśa/Ya-tshe army was prevented from crossing the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley.²⁰ Therefore, it can be assumed that the eastern border of the Khaśa kingdom during the reign of Aśokacalla must have comprised the lower or southern hill areas of the Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley. The Khaśa kingdom did not reach as far as the Tibetan frontier areas, including both upper and lower Lo, Nar, Nyeshang, Manāng, Nubri, and Rui; Gung-thang was able to claim these Tibetan settlements as its frontier provinces. Gung-thang remained closer to the Sakya family and through them, to the court of the great Mongols of China. The recognition of Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga gyalchen as the spiritual ruler of Tibet by the Mongol lord Koden was strengthened by the gestures of Sakya Phagpa Lodo gyalchen ((Phags-pa Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, 1235-1280), a nephew of Sakya Paṇḍita. Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga gyalchen had also been favored by other Mongol leaders, and ultimately by the great Mongol Emperor Kubalai Khan. Eventually, Kubalai recognized Sakya Phagpa, the nephew, as the "Imperial Preceptor" and Tibet as his hereditary donation for their service to the Mongol imperial court. Kubalai's recognition made Gung-thang the most powerful center in Ngari because the rulers of Gung-thang were among the closest relatives of the Sakya rulers of Tibet. Phagpa

²⁰ Aśokacalla was the most powerful ruler of the Nāgarāja (i.e., Khaśa/Ya-tshe) dynasty. He was one of the most successful conquerors in the region and controlled a powerful force known as the *sarvagaminivahini*, a body of armed forces equipped with all sorts moving things viz. soldiers, chariots, horses, elephants etc. (Atkinson 1974: 111-112). He also regained his hereditary suzerainty over the Gu-ge, Pu-rang, and Gangri (Gangs-ri or Kailāa) regions to the northwest of his kingdom. Although he could not maintain the traditional control over Gung-thang and its surrounding eastern areas attained by his father, Aśokacalla was able to subdue hundreds of new principalities in the west and make his kingdom the strongest in the entire Himalayan region (Adhikary 1988: 41-42). Thus, he was known as the supreme ruler (*rājādhirāja*) of *sapādalaksaśikharadeśa*, a kingdom of one hundred and twenty-five thousand mountain regions (Bihari 1913/14: 30).

was formally appointed ruler of Tibet by Kubalai Khan in the year 1260 (Shakabpa 1967: 65).

King Bumde-gon ('Bum-lde-mgon, 1253-1280), successor of Gung-thang king Tashi tseppal (bKra-shis brtsegs-pa-dpal), is acknowledged by some local Tibetan sources as the most powerful and successful ruler in Gung-thang's history. His power and fortune was derived from the blessings of Sakya Phagpa and the Mongols. Thus, during this era of Sakya and Mongol support, most of Ngari, including Lo/Mustang, Dolpo, Nyeshang and Manāng came under the subjugation of Gung-thang (GDR: 7b). It was at that time, with the intention of protecting the newly regained and conquered areas of his kingdom that the Gung-thang king Bumde-gon ('Bum-lde-mgon) founded a dozen forts at different strategic points (ibid.). These forts were in upper, middle, and lower Lo, Dolpo, Manāng, Gu-ge, Pu-rang, Lato (Lato, both north and south), the Nubri area (northern bordering areas of present day Manāng and Gorkha districts of Nepal), and in Kyirong were among them (ibid.). Of these, the Lo/Mustang (both upper and lower), Dolpo, Gru (lower Thākholā and near by areas of present day Myāgdī district), and bZang-brgyud-pa (?) were considered newly conquered territories of Gung-thang.²¹

As the Gung-thang rulers were able through their Sakya Khon relatives to extend their contact with the great Mongol power of China, Gung-thang's overlordship in most of western Tibet became unchallenged. In the later years, king Bumde-gon attempted to please the Mongol authorities and win their favored recognition directly. Consequently, one of the two sons of Bumde-gon was invited by the Mongol Emperor on an official visit to China. Similarly, the next king of Gung-thang, Thi-de bum (Khri-lde-'bum, b. 1268), also visited China and won the favor of the Mongol emperor, who helped him establish his rule over a large territory of Ngari, including the thirteen major districts of western Tibet (Jackson 1978: 211-212, GDR: 5b). In 1307, this king became one of the Mongol's most favored partners in Tibet (Jackson 1978: 45). By that time, Thi-de bum also developed a relationship with the Sakya rulers of Tibet by marrying a daughter of one of the major Sakya ruling elites, Zangpo-pal (bZang-po-dpal, 1262-1324). This was the third generation to continue a matrimonial relationship between the ruling dynasty of Gung-thang and the Sakya Khon family.

In the early fourteenth century, the entire Lo/Mustang region was virtually a part of Gung-thang and an important center of Sakya thought. By the middle of the thirteenth century, having crossed Garhwal, the Khaśas reached the Sutlaj valley in the southwest and the provinces of Gu-ge and Tsaparang in the northwest (Adhikary 1988: 34). Still, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe

²¹ The statement concerning the newly conquered areas in the original text is *Ral-gris bcad-pa'i sde* and it is translated as "the regions carved out by the sword (conquered)" (GDR: 5b).

forces were prevented from expanding eastward by the allied forces of Gung-thang, Sakya, and the Mongols. Since the entire area of Lo/Mustang, some parts of Parvat (Gru in Tibetan)²² and even Dolpo were newly captured by Gung-thang, there was a need to construct strong garrisons to protect these occupied territories. As a result, we can surmise that due to Gung-thang's strong presence in the area the Khaśa/Ya-tshe army was blocked, at least temporarily, from crossing into the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley. Therefore, the eastern frontier of the Khaśa kingdom at that time was confined to the west of the Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley. The force of the Khaśa kingdom was thus directed to western hill areas of Garhwal and reclaimed with their ancestral domain in western Tibet (the Gu-ge, Pu-rang and, Mt. Kailāśa or nang-s-ri regions). During the reign of king Aśokacalla (c. 1251-1280), the Khaśa force captured these areas and enlarged the Khaśa/Ya-tshe empire (Adhikary 1988: 41-43).

After the death of Aśokacalla, the Khaśa force under the command of his son Jitārī Malla (Dzi-dar-smal of Tibetan sources) was diverted towards the east but most probably advanced along the lower or southern middle hill areas. Until that time, the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī and upper Marsyāngdī valleys, including the areas between Dolpo and Kyirong, remained under the control of Gung-thang (GDR: 5b, Jackson 1978: 211-212). Despite controlling the high Himalayan regions near Gung-thang, the Khaśa army was able to invade the Nepal (Kathmandu) Valley. King Jitārī Malla was the first to invade the Nepal valley three times, in the years 1288, 1289, and 1290 (Gopālavamsāvalī: 26, 40). Thus, we can assume that the Khaśas, after the reign of Aśokacalla, were not satisfied to confine themselves to the western territory. Rather, they expanded their conquest towards the east, this time mainly through the middle hills of the Gaṇḍakī region. Until this time, Lo and the surrounding areas of Dolpo and Nyeshang valley must have remained under Gung-thang's control. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, particularly after around 1315 to 1320, Gung-thang's power was in decline because by that time, Sakya rule in Tibet had been weakened by the challenge of the Digung-pa order and several other groups. Consequently, in 1290, the Sakya authorities were forced to ask for the Mongols' assistance in bringing their internal situation under control. In fact, by that time, the Sakya power in Tibet was in a state of gradual decline and it was too weak to provide continuous support to Gung-thang. Because by the end of the thirteenth century, Sakya rule in Tibet had been challenged by the Digung-pa order and several other groups. Consequently, in 1290, the Sakya authorities were forced to ask for the Mongols' assistance in bringing their internal situation under control. In fact, by that time, the Sakya power in Tibet was in

²² Generally, the Kingdom of Parvat was known as *Gru* in Lo/Mustang and Tibet. Some parts of Gru probably comprised the southern frontier areas of lower Lo, which includes Thaghkholā, Dānā, and the Beṇī areas and was once ruled by the kings of Parvat.

a state of gradual decline and it was too weak to provide continuous support to Gung-thang.

The Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers on the other hand, were aggressively expanding their conquests towards the east. They were able to access the Nepal (Kathmandu) Valley. In 1313, more than two decades after Jitārī Malla's destructive invasions of 1288-1280, another Khaśa/Ya-tshe king, Ripu Malla, is recorded to have entered the Nepal Valley (Gopālarājavarṃśāvalī: 26, 27, 40, 43).²³

King Āditya Malla (reign c. 1314-1328) was the next Khaśa/Ya-tshe ruler to invade the Nepal valley, in two different years, 1321 and 1328 (Gopālarājavarṃśāvalī: 27, 46). In these campaigns, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe armies were directed to march through the high Himalayan frontier regions (Khanal VE 2030: 1-3). Because the Khaśa/Ya-tshe army crossed Nubri (Nub-ri) and Tshum valleys several times, we can glean that most of the Himalayan districts of the upper Gaṇḍakī region, including Lo/Mustang, Dolpo, Manāng, Nyishang, Nubri, Rui, and Tshum were reoccupied by the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers.²⁴ Āditya Malla's 1321 inscription also describes the Khaśa/Ya-tshe army's common practice of two-way travel through the Nubri or the present-day Aṭhāraśayakholā region.²⁵

This time, The Khaśa force was advanced along the lower or middle hill areas. We are told by Tibetan sources that the Sakya power in Tibet had not fully declined but was still comparatively strong. Its rapid weakening had begun only after the division in 1327 of the titles and seals of the Sakya among four branches of the family (SDR: 300, 305). We also know that the long-standing relationship between the Gung-thang ruling family and the Sakya leaders had not ended. Here, the question arises as to why even at the height of their power, the Khaśas were not able to subdue these eastern Himalayan districts. Also, what enabled them to recapture these territories

²³ The lower hill districts of the Gaṇḍakī region were already annexed to the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom during the reign of Jitārī Malla. A document (kanakapatra) from Jurilā states that the Kāśkikoṭ (near Pokhara) area was one of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom's eastern districts until 1360s (Tucci 1956: 109, 112). This time, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe force was advanced along the middle hills.

²⁴ Several crucial documents describe this and strongly suggest this interpretation. The first of these is the copper plate inscription of Āditya Malla dated SE 1243 (1321) and the other is a copperplate inscription of Puṇya Malla dated SE 1250 (1328) (Khanal 1973: 1-3, 9-10). Both of these inscriptions were issued to protect a Buddhist monastery known as Tagbai gonpa (original Tibetan ltag-pa'i ?) in the upper Buddhī Gaṇḍakī valley near the Tibetan border. In these inscriptions, army generals and other officials of the Khaśa kingdom, assigned in order to conquer the eastern territories, are directed by the king not to disturb the monastery. As far as the inscription of Āditya Malla is concerned, the king himself is said to have been a donor (*Dānapati*) to the monastery (Khanal VE 2030: 1-3).

²⁵ The original text of this portion of the inscription says "Do not harm the monastery during the army operation [in the east] or when returning after the invasion" (कटक आउंदा-जौंदा गुम्बा घच् नकिय).

later? To answer these questions, we must observe the relationship between the Sakya monastery and the Khaśa rulers. As a powerful successor to the kings of Gu-ge and Pu-rang, the Khaśa rulers had supported the old Digungpa line of Buddhism. They presumably were known as the enemies of the rising Mongol power in western Tibet. Some Tibetan chronicles have presented a different version of Aśokacalla's land grant of forty-two (in some chronicles forty-four) villages to Vajrāsana or Bodhgayā (in Tibetan, rDo-rje-gdan). According to these chronicles, those forty-two villages were originally offered to Vajrāsana by Emperor Aśoka of Magadha during the third century B.C. and later seized by the Mongol (Mugal ?) rulers known as Sogpo (Sog-po) in Tibetan chronicles. Therefore, king Aśokacalla of Khaśa kingdom had to purchase those villages in order to offer the regular yearly income from those villages to Vajrāsana (Tucci 1956: 55). Thus, even from this story, we learn that the Khaśa rulers of earlier time did not enjoy an easy relationship with the Mongols. By the time of Jitārī Malla's reign the situation and intention of the Khaśa rulers had changed. The Khaśa began seeking better relations with the Sakya rulers of Tibet, with the particular intent of gaining territory in the east. King Jitārī thus decided to send his second son, Āditya, to the Sakya Monastery to study Buddhism, and through that link, to establish a good relation with Tibet's Sakya rulers (Tucci 1956: 68, Roerich 1976: 605, Francke 1972: 169).

Still, this was only the beginning of the Sakya-Khaśa relationship. King Jitārī must have successfully expanded his conquests further in the east, presumably deploying his army through the middle hills, and may have captured the areas up to Nuwākot; he is recorded to have invaded the Nepal (Kathmandu) Valley three times and collected tribute (Gopālvarṇśāvali: 26, 40). Yet, he was not able to resume control over the Lo region and other surrounding areas. These were lost earlier to Gung-thang during this father's reign while the main Khaśa force was aggressively engaged in conquering the western territory.

After studying at the Sakya monastery, Āditya Malla returned to Sirñjā (Ya-tshe) and by marrying, abandoned his monkhood and assumed the ancestral throne of the Khaśa kingdom (Adhikary 1988: 43-44). His reign (c. 1315-1328) inaugurated the second phase of the Khaśas' territorial expansion. His father Jitārī and elder brother Akṣaya both died while he was at Sakya and the succession to the throne had gone to the family of Jitārī's brother. Some historians also argued that an internal dispute for the succession erupted (Adhikary 1988: 43-44, Vajracarya VE 2028: 35-40), but available sources do not support this interpretation. We are sure that the Khaśa kingdom weakened during the reigns of Ānanda, Ripu, and Saṅgrāma Malla (c. 1300-1314/15). Because of his study at Sakya monastery, king Āditya Malla was considered a disciple of the Sakya, the spiritual head of Tibet. Through this connection, he was able to handle the

critical situation on the Tibetan frontier by mollifying the Sakya authorities of Tibet and the local religious personalities of the newly conquered northeastern territories.

A copperplate inscription of Āditya Malla, dated 1328, issued to Lama Tashi-gapa (bKra-shis dga'-pa) of Tagbai (rtag-ba'i?) monastery of the Nubri area (once considered an integral part of Gung-thang), somewhat clarifies this matter.²⁶

This inscription establishes that the eastern Himalayan settlements of Nepal and the nearby frontier regions of Tibet, including the entire territory between Lo/Mustang and Kyirong, were re-conquered by Āditya Malla. This was the territory once usurped by Gung-thang from the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers with the help of Sakya and Mongol powers during the reign of Āditya's grandfather, Aśokacalla. Most of this territory, including Nar, Nyeshang, Nubri, and Kyirong was considered a part of Gung-thang's integral or core territory. In this inscription, king Āditya Malla claims to be the destroyer of his enemies and a protector and donor to the monasteries (thana=devasthana). Through this inscribed royal order, king Āditya Malla instructed his army and other officials assigned to the military operation in the east not harm the monastery during wartime. Perhaps, one can infer that the king was attempting to please the Tibetan-speaking people of his domain. He also demonstrated his attachment to the Tibetan people by establishing a new tradition of issuing bilingual (Khaśa=old Nepali and Tibetan) orders (Khanal VE 2030: 1-3).

King Āditya Malla was the first Khaśa ruler to retain most of the newly conquered eastern territories. During his first incursion into the Nepal (Kathmandu) Valley, he pressured the rulers of the eastern regions, including the kings of Kathmandu, to agree to pay a yearly tribute (Gopālavarṃśāvalī: 27, 44, 48). This king retained control over the conquered areas in the east by deploying his army often (Gopālavarṃśāvalī: *ibid.*, Khanal VE 2030: 1-3). For example, in the year 1328, he recaptured the areas around the Nepal Valley, including Nuwākot, and demanded that the new ruler of Kathmandu pay yearly tribute to the Khaśa kingdom according to an agreement the former Khaśa ruler Jitārī had reached earlier with Kathmandu's previous rulers (Gopālavarṃśāvalī: 27, 46).

This time, since Āditya was able to issue his orders up to the areas near Kyirong, it can be inferred that the Khaśa army successfully challenged Gung-thang and maintained its overlordship in most of the northeastern border settlements between Kyirong and Dolpo. Furthermore, Āditya Malla

²⁶ This monastery and the area occupied by it had been part of unified Nepal after the Betravati Treaty signed between Nepal and Tibet in 1792. Again, after the China-Nepal border agreement of 1962, this area has been incorporated into the territory of the People's Republic of China.

may also have dominated Lo and its vicinity, including the Dolpo, Nar, Nyeshang, Manāng, Tshum, Nubri, and Rui areas.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, the Sakya ruling line in Tibet was seriously weakened by such internal disputes. More than two decades after these internal disputes began, Jyangchub Gyalchen (Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan) of Phagmo-dru (Phag-mo-gru) finally acquired the ruling and other honorary titles of the Sakya-pa political order. But the Mongol patrons of the Sakya rulers themselves were not able to maintain their once-unchallenged power in the region. Although the Mongol authorities recognized the Sakya chief of Phagmo-dru as the head of the Sakya-pa line and ruler of Tibet, they did so only to continue the earlier established tradition. By that time, neither the Mongols nor the Sakya-pas were in a position to control all of Tibet. Gung-thang no longer relied upon any meaningful help from Sakya; between Gung-thang and the Sakya head of Phagmo-dru, only their formal traditional alliance remained. On the other hand, the Gung-thang royal house itself had become very close to the Mongol court, and was given a prestigious honorary official title, Tabunsha (Ta-dbun-sha) by the Mongol imperial administration in China (SDR: 449, GDR: 449).

Leaving most of its southern areas in the hands of the Khaśas, the entire Ngari region of western Tibet was disintegrating. The Sakya's seat at Phagmoru was too distant and weak to control the western territories, and the Ngari region was so vast that even at the height of Sakya power in Tibet, it was not fully included in Sakya rulers' direct jurisdiction. Even Gung-thang was excluded from the direct administration of the Sakya rulers (Tucci 1949 Vol. II: 681, n.52). However, because of Mongol support and the Sakya's dominating power in Tibet, the rulers of Gung-thang benefited for about half a century through their matrimonial relationship established with the Sakya Khon family. After the rise of Āditya Malla, the Khaśa kingdom also became one of the favored allies of the Sakya rulers of Tibet. As former monk of Sakya monastery, king Āditya was considered a disciple of the Sakya head. Thus, Gung-thang's long time monopoly in winning special favor from the Sakya rulers was ended.

The Khaśa/Ya-tshe king Āditya Malla died in 1328, immediately after his second successful raid in the east, which included the Nepal (Kathmandu) Valley (Adhikary 1988: 44). Āditya Mala further strengthened the relationship established with the Sakya monastery by sending his grandson, Pratāp Malla, to take the vows of a monk and study Buddhism there (Tucci 1956: 68). Because of Muslim invasions and their anti-Buddhism and anti-Hindu activities in northern India, the study of Buddhism, particularly of the Tibetan Sakya line, became especially popular among the traditional ruling elites of the region for several reasons. First, the Sakyas emphasized the study of *Hevajratantra*, which teaches tantric techniques for destroying enemies. Second, for the Khaśa rulers, Buddhism worked (a) to attract the

Tibetan people by using their faith and knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism to promote an image of an ideal monarch, and (b) to win the support of the highly respected and powerful spiritual ruling family of Tibet. King Āditya was able to maintain productive relationships with key religious personalities and with people of Tibetan descent living within his domain.

Dated historical sources acknowledge Puṇya Malla (bSod-nams-lde of Tibetan sources) of Pu-rang as king Āditya Malla's successor (Tucci 1956: 48).²⁷ As the husband of Āditya Malla's daughter, he was invited to assume the throne of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers because king Āditya's son had died and his grandson was a monk at Sakya (Tucci 1956: 48). Puṇya Malla (reign 1328-1338) and his son Pṛthvī Malla (reign 1338-c. 1360/65) were among the most successful rulers of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom. Taken together their reigns marked another phase of the height of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom in the region. Since Puṇya Malla himself was the local ruler of Pu-rang, he had no difficulty handling border disputes with Gung-thang (Tucci 1956: 50-60). He also maintained a cordial relationship with the Sakya monastery established by his father-in-law, Āditya Malla. Āditya Malla's grandson, Pratāpa Malla, had already accepted monkhood at Sakya and had therefore relinquished his right to the throne of Khaśa. Thus, the customary role of a dānāpatimaharājā (a great donor king) had been properly played by Puṇya Malla together with his wife, princess Śakunamālā. The *Red Annals (Deb-ther dmar-po)* of Tibet tells of a Khaśa king ordained at the Sakya monastery and of the other king within the same family who assumed the role of dānāpati, offering a golden umbrella (chatra) to decorate the religious throne (dharmāsana or Chos-khri in Tibetan) of Sakya Paṇḍita (Kun-dga' rdo-rje 1961: Fol. 20.6). This dānāpati King and the royal monk must be Puṇya Malla and Pratāpa Malla respectively. Pratāpa Malla thus appears to have been a celibate monk who spent most of his life at Sakya (Tucci 1956: 68).

As Puṇya Malla also issued a copperplate inscription dedicating and guaranteeing protection to the Tagbai monastery, we can assume that he continued to maintain the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom's supremacy over the Himalayan regions once captured by Gung-thang. It appears that the major portion of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe army assigned earlier by Āditya Malla to

²⁷ The Dullu pillar inscription of Pṛthvī Malla introduces Puṇya Malla as the descendant of a *germlā* dynasty.

One known and available record describes King Āditya Malla's invasion of the Kathmandu Valley in the year 1328. On the other hand, we also see King Puṇya Malla issuing orders as an independent ruler of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom in the same year (Khanal VE 2030: 9-10). Two other names, Kalyāṇa Malla (son of Āditya Malla) and Pratāpa Malla (son of Kalyāṇa Malla) are also listed on the dynastic list of the Khaśa rulers. But it appears that neither of them became king. It can be assumed that Kalyāṇa Malla died during his father's lifetime. So far as Pratāpa Malla is concerned, a Tibetan source indicates that he was a monk at the Sakya monastery in Tibet.

conquer and secure the eastern territories had not returned to Sirn̄jā until Puṇya Malla was king. As a result, he issued another order for protecting the same monastery from the threat of his army assigned to the east (Khanal: VE 2030: 8-10).

In the year 1334, Puṇya Malla re-invaded the Nepal Valley to subdue the entire eastern territories once again. This time, his Khaśa/Ya-tshe force was detained for about six months in and around the Nepal Valley (Gopālarājavarṃśāvalī: 48). On the basis of information obtained from the *Gopālarājavarṃśāvalī* and the inscriptions of Puṇya Malla and his son, we can tell that the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom once again became a powerful empire in the Himalayan region (Adhikary 1988: appendices B-18-B-22, Gopālarājavarṃśāvalī: 46). Although the historical geography of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom refutes Puṇya Malla's claim of that he ruled a vast portion of the Indian subcontinent, his domain certainly included the entire territory between Garhwal and the Kathmandu Valley in the middle hills and between Pu-rang and Kyirong in the high Himalayan regions (Yogi VE 2022: 762, Adhikary 1988: appendix B-20).²⁸ The Lo/Mustang region was thus under Puṇya Malla's rule.

Puṇya Malla was succeeded by his son Pṛthvī Malla (1338-1360/65), who was also a very successful ruler. Historical evidence of his control up to the Kāskī (Pokhara) area shows that he was able to maintain most of the territories conquered by his father and maternal grandfather. A written record known as the *kanakapatra*, found in Jurnlā, identifies Kaskīkoṭ (near Pokhara valley) as part of Pṛthvī Malla's domain (Tucci 1956: 109, 112). Like his father, he became a dānāpati, and maintained a traditional relationship with the Sakya monastery. A Tibetan chronicle elaborately describes king Pṛthvī Malla and his Prime Minister, Yaśovarman (dPal-Idan grags-pa), offering gifts along with golden pinnacle and religious services to the eleven-headed Avalokitesvara (sPyan-ras-gzigs) in Lhasa (Tucci 1956: 56).

Until around 1360 to 1365, much of Gung-thang's southern territories, including Lo/Mustang, remained under the control of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe. Gung-thang proper (or greater Gung-thang) was growing weak. The Sakya authorities in Tibet could no longer assist Gung-thang because they themselves were not strong enough to maintain their traditional hereditary power (SDR: 300, 305, Tucci 1949 vol. II: 681, n. 52, Jackson 1977: 46-47). Furthermore, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers had also developed a new intimate relationship with the Sakya monastery. This alliance was established through the tradition of sending Khaśa/Ya-tshe crown princes to the Sakya

²⁸ In an order (*kanakapatra*) dated SE 1259 (1337), Puṇya Malla claims that he was able to collect taxes from states as far as Kokarna, Karnāta, Lāṭta, Murala, Kerala, Dahala, Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Mithilā, Gurjāra, Jālandhara, Āndhra, Nepāla (Kathmandu valley), etc. (Yogi VE 2022: 762).

monastery to study Buddhism, as well as through the king's role as a *dānāpati* to the monastery. Therefore, we can assume that the Sakya authorities at that time were acting as mediators between the rulers of Gung-thang and the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom. By the 1340s, having lost most of its western and southern territory again to the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers, Gung-thang had contracted into the limited local precincts of Zongkha (rDzong-kha). This situation apparently lasted until the final years of the reign of King Pṛthvī Malla (c. 1360/65). Only after Pṛthvī Malla's reign was it possible for Gung-thang to reassert its influence over the lost southern and southwestern areas, including Lo/Mustang, Pu-rang, Dolpo, Manāng, Nubri, and most probably Kyirong.

It can be assumed that Gung-thang must have recaptured at least some of the western and southern areas lost earlier to the Khaśa/Ya-tshe and which included Lo/Mustang. This must have occurred following the sudden collapse of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom, around the late 1360s (Tucci 1956: 46-49, Adhikary 1988: 53-57).

THE FALL OF THE KHAŚA/YA-TSHE KINGDOM AND LO'S MOVE TOWARD INDEPENDENCE FROM BOTH THE KHAŚA/YA-TSHE KINGDOM AND GUNG-THANG (LATE FOURTEENTH THROUGH THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

An inscription of Pṛthvī Malla tells that he actively ruled from his summer palace in Dullu until the year 1358 (Yogi VE 2013: 69-71). About nine years later, in the year 1367, we find a king named Sūrya Malla issuing orders from Sirñjā, the old capital of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom (Adhikary 1988: appendix B-33). From the titles and panegyrics mentioned in the inscription, we learn that this king was far less powerful than the earlier Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers, as the titles that adorned the names of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers Puṇya Malla and Pṛthvī Malla (such as *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *parameśvara*) are not present among the more modest ones designating Sūrya Malla (ibid.). On the other hand, beginning with the reign of Pṛthvī Malla, two ministers from the same family, Devavarman and Yaśovarman, were active and powerful in the Khaśa/Ya-tshe administration.²⁹ Although the ancestors of these men had entered the Khaśa/Ya-tshe court as early as king Aśokacalla's time, they were not granted ministerial positions as their family right until around 1350 (Adhikary 1988: appendices B-15-B22).³⁰

²⁹ Different historical sources show that *Varman*, *Vrahma*, *Varma*, *Vanma* or even *Bamma* and *Bam* are interchangeable.

³⁰ Aśokacalla's Bodhgaya inscription of 1255 is the earliest reference to the *Varman* family, which includes the name of his minister (patra) Trailokyavrahma (Bihari 1913-14: 29).

We know from different sources that king Pṛthvī Malla was always assisted by his chief minister (*mahāmātya*) Yaśovarman, who was also known by his Tibetan name dPal-ldan grags-pa (Tucci 1956: 45-46, 55-56, 60). Besides being the chief minister to the central administration of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom, he was also distinguished as *mahāmaṇḍalesvara*, a title usually reserved for the local ruler of an important provincial state (Adhikary 1988: appendix B-23). Another of Pṛthvī Malla's important ministers from the Varman family was Devavarman, who may have been the younger brother of Yaśovarman (Tucci 1956:45, Yogi VE 2013: 45, Adhikary 1988 appendix B-28). As Pṛthvī Malla retired without producing an heir, his chief minister Yaśovarman became the de facto ruler of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom. From the nature of his highly respected position mentioned in the inscription of 1354, and also from the fact that he was so close to the king, it can be inferred that he was a close relative of the ruling family, probably a brother-in-law of Pṛthvī Malla. Descendants of Yaśovarman and Devavarman had maintained their ancestral positions, including the titles of *amātya* (minister), *mahāmātya* (chief minister), *maṇḍalika* (district or zonal governor), *mahāmaṇḍalika* (governor of a larger territory or a minister of higher or special status), etc. (Adhikary 1988: 55-57, appendices B-23-B-24, B-29, B-33-42). At least fourteen or fifteen officials and ministers of the Varman family, working under the administration of later Malla rulers, Sūrya and Abhaya Malla, are mentioned. Among them, Malayavarman and Medinīvarman even claimed to be independent rulers (Adhikary 1988: appendices B-38, B-40, B-42).

The lack of male progeny in the main ruling lineage produced a power conflict inside the Khaśa/Ya-tshe administration. Local rulers and governors of different suzerain states began to claim independence. At the apex of the Khaśa's power in the region, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom was comprised of many smaller provincial states (about fifty in western Nepal only), governed locally by their own hereditary rulers. Those states were successfully subjugated by the strong military force of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom and brought into tributary status. But when Pṛthvī Malla retired and the central administration of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom was shaken by a power struggle afterward, various male descendants of the former Malla rulers, including the powerful Varman ministers, apparently claimed the right to the throne. This complicated struggle eventually led to the disintegration of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom and the emergence of smaller powers in the region.

After the 1360s, when the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom could no longer maintain control over its powerful feudatories, even the small state of Doṭī (situated in the core territory of the Khaśa/Yashe kingdom) rose to challenge its Khaśa/Ya-tshe authorities and demanded independence (Adhikary 1988: 54, 58). Therefore, the Gu-ge region of western Tibet, which was much stronger and even more likely to succeed in such a bid, must surely have also

challenged the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers. The new rulers of Simjā (Ya-tshe) also lost possession of all the territory between Lo/Mustang and Kyirong in the east.³¹ Thus, Gung-thang once again regained suzerainty over most of the south and southwestern territories of Ngari. Gung-thang only regained its lost territories, however, because of Khaśa/Ya-tshe's decline, and not because of any resurgence in its own internal strength.

We know that Sakya power in Tibet was faded after the Sakya Phagpa's death or murder in 1280, and the subsequent assumption of Tibet's rule by Tai Situ Jyangchub Gyalchen (Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan, b.1302-1364), the revolutionary governor of Nedong in 1358 (Shakabpa 1967: 81). Similarly, in the year 1368, the Mongol (Yuan) ruling line of China was overthrown and formally replaced by the Ming dynasty (Shakabpa 1967: 73). Gung-thang, therefore, lost its two major traditional sources of strength. Still, even though Gung-thang lost its traditional support, it maintained its independence because it was never included among Tibet's thirteen traditional myriarchies (Khri-skor), or provisionally hereditary local rulerships granted by the central power. Gung-thang remained outside of Jyangchub's Tibetan consolidation and new administrative reforms.³²

Much of the history of Gung-thang at this time is not known. Still, it is unlikely that Gung-thang, as one of the southern frontier regions, could have remained completely unaffected by Jyangchub's political activities. At the very least, Gung-thang must have maintained its independence. On the other hand, by the late 1350s or early 1360s (Shakabpa 1967: 81-82), the Gu-ge or Kailāśa-Mānaśarovara portion of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom's territory was lost (temporarily) to Jyangchub's consolidated administration, and The Khaśas/Ya-tshe's capital, Simjā, had utterly declined. The very existence of the kingdom was at risk. Gung-thang, on the other hand, remaining independent from Tibet and comparatively stronger in the frontier region, was able to recover its lost territories from the weak successors of Simjā's Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers, who were badly divided by power politics and court intrigues. Without missing a single opportunity, around 1370, when king Sonam-de (bSod-nams-lde, 1371-1404) occupied Gung-thang's throne.

³¹ At that time, the local commissioners of Lo/Mustang, Sherab Lama (Shes-rab bla-ma) and his son Chokyongbum (Chos-ṣkyong-'bum, were working for Gung-thang (Tsarang Molla 8a-8b, Lo-Khen-h: 1b, GDR: 14a, 16a, Tucci 1971: 170). At precisely the same time, Lo/Mustang stopped paying tribute to Simja, and King Malayavarman, also known as Gagani of Simjā, had to deploy his army in order to collect the tribute from Lo/Mustang, which was overdue by more than twelve years (Yatri VE 2039: 61). Finally, in order to reclaim the Lo/Mustang region, Simjā had to relinquish the Pu-rang region to Gung-thang (Nepal VE 2042: 361, MHR: 91).

³² Jyangchub Gyalchen reformed his administration by dividing Tibet into numerous administrative districts (rDzong) and then appointing new commissioners to each of those. Under his rule, most of the Tibetan feudatories were consolidated and Tibet was made a strong state of a vast territory, which included most of the Upper Ngari, U, and Tsang regions.

Gung-thang began to reclaim its lost territories between Pu-rang and Kyirong, including Lo/Mustang, Dolpo, and Manāng (Jackson 1977: 48).

It was during Gung-thang's recapture of the aforementioned southwestern territories that the family of the future ruling dynasty of Lo/Mustang established themselves in and around the Lo/Mustang area as Gung-thang's regional army commanders, and later, as its governors (rdzong-dpon). Both the father and grandfather of Lo's first independent king, Ama-pal (A-ma-dpal), were Gung-thang's army generals and commissioners for the Lo/Mustang region (Tsarang Molla: 8a-8b, GDR: 16a). Nevertheless, the successors of Prthvī Malla, the last Khaśa/Ya-tshe Malla king, also tried to preserve their territories in western Tibet, including the Pu-rang region in the west, the Nar, Nyeshang, and Manāng valleys in the east, and Lo/Mustang and Dolpo in between. Despite political complications at court in Simjā, the later Simjāpati rulers (successors of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe or Malla), maintained their hold over the territory between Pu-rang and Dolpo for at least several decades. However, Lo/Mustang and the more eastern Himalayan and Tibetan frontier regions were probably retaken by Gung-thang.

Although this period has produced no reliable known sources, traditions recorded even much later recount important incidents. An eighteenth-century Nepali document from the Foreign Ministry Archives (old jaisī koṭhā) describes a dispute between Gung-thang and the later Simjāpati rulers over the possession of Lo/Mustang and Pu-rang (Nepal VE 2042: 361). According to this source, the dispute was finally settled with a bilateral agreement between Gung-thang and Simjā, in which both parties agreed to exchange the two territories. Accordingly, Pu-rang (the ITag-la-mkhar area) was ceded to Gung-thang and in return, the Lo/Mustang region was returned to the Simjāpati rulers.³³ This exchange indicates that by around the late fourteenth century Pu-rang in western Tibet was still controlled by the later rulers of Simjā, whereas the Lo/Mustang region was still nominally under the authority of Gung-thang.

Until around 1360, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers controlled the Lo/Mustang region and many other eastern districts. After the fall of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe (Malla) rulers, Gung-thang recaptured a vast frontier territory of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom, including Lo/Mustang. The Simjāpati rulers were too weak to bring these areas back under their control. Instead, they agreed to relinquish their traditional hold over Pu-rang-Taglakhar (ITag-la-mkhar) in exchange for Lo/Mustang. The Simjāpati rulers, both the later Mallas (Sūrya Malla and Abhaya Malla) and the Varmans, were becoming weaker because of internal conflicts among courtiers and between the provincial governors (Adhikary 1988: 58-59).

³³ अधि सिजापति राजाका पालामा ताक्लाखार भोटलाई दिई मस्तां जुम्लामा गरायाको... (Nepal VE 2042: 361, MHR: 91).

After Malayavarman (c. 1375-1392), the remaining territory of the old Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom was divided into a number of small principalities under the local authority of Malayavarman's sons and Balirājā, who was probably Malayavarman's son-in-law (ibid.). Consequently, the Simjāpati rulers lost control of eastern districts, including Dolpo and Lo/Mustang. It was at that time that local commissioners in Lo/Mustang began to enjoy near-autonomous regional power. Ultimately, in 1440, Ama-pal, the third hereditary commissioner of Lo/Mustang, declared his domain to be an independent kingdom (MHR doc. 20 Tibetan, Tsarang Molla 8b-9a). Ama-pal and his ancestors had been formally appointed by the rulers of Gung-thang. Yet because of the rulers' own military tactics and the weakening of Gung-thang and the fall of Ya-tshe (Simjā), Ama-pal was able to declare Lo's independence. Likewise, by the early fourteenth century, the central power of Gung-thang was threatened by one of its own local governors, Zhangpa (Men-zhang-pa) of the bordering western area of Gung-thang (Vitali 1996: 484-485). The sudden fall of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers and the rapid disintegration of their kingdom produced a very unsettled situation in the region, and consequently no more than three decades elapsed before the Simjā Khaśa/Ya-tshe powers collapsed totally at the eve of the fifteenth century.

By the early 1400s, a new and comparatively stronger power emerged in Jumlā as an independent kingdom, which at first overshadowed the old Khaśa/Ya-tshe capital of Simjā and eventually consolidated the entire territory between Taglakhar and Dolpo under the leadership of Balirājā, one of Malayavarman's successors. This signaled the extinction of the old Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom by the year 1404 (Adhikary 1988: 59, appendix B-13). Out of this shattered political situation eventually emerged the *bāisī-caubisī* (twenty two-twenty four) principalities in the Kamālī and Gaṇḍakī regions of Nepal, which included the kingdom of Jumlā. As one of the major successors of the Simjāpati Varman rulers, Balirājā and his descendants may have ruled the territory between Pu-rang and Dolpo and may also have sought to control the Lo/Mustang region immediately after Jumlā's emergence. Jumlā, however, was too new a state, and, until around the mid-sixteenth century, was not politically mature enough to subdue and control all the lands between itself and the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley to the east.

Toward the end of the fourteenth century, a power vacuum occurred in the region, and it was especially pronounced after the fall of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe (Malla) dynasty in Simjā and the Menzhangpa's challenge in Gung-thang. This vacuum ultimately led to the emergence of Lo/Mustang as a separate kingdom. The kingdom of Lo/Mustang emerged concurrently with the formation of the *bāisī* and *caubisī* principalities in western Nepal, following the fall of Simjā (Ya-tshe). Although the late-fourteenth century commissioners of Lo/Mustang were originally appointed by the rulers of

Gung-thang, they were well acquainted with the historical agreement signed between Gung-thang and the Siṃjāpati rulers, exchanging the territories of Lo/Mustang and Pu-rang.

An account known as the *rājā gaganirājako vijaya yātrā*, translated as *King Gaganirājā's Victorious Expedition*, originally written in Khaśa language (old Nepali) in 1393, tells an interesting story of an attempt to collect a twelve-years' overdue tribute from Lo/Mustang by the Siṃjāpati ruler Malayavarmana, also known as Gaganirājā (Yatri VE 2039: 61, MHR: 218).³⁴ The local commissioners of Lo/Mustang knew that it was no longer a part of Gung-thang, although it was culturally closer to Gung-thang than to Siṃjā. Still, at that time, Gung-thang's traditional supremacy over Lo/Mustang was only symbolic, as Gung-thang had already relinquished control of the Lo/Mustang to Siṃjā in exchange for Pu-rang, and its power was also being challenged by the Zhangpa. The dominant cause of the emergence of Lo/Mustang as an independent kingdom was the fall of Siṃjā and the disintegration of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom. Both the Kingdom of Lo/Mustang, as it came to be known, and Lo/Mustang as a cultural area, were emerging as a single inheritor of old Ngari, Gu-ge, Khaśa/Ya-tshe, and Gung-thang traditions and history.

³⁴ It seems that the name of the local ruler of Lo/Mustang in the account is a corrupted one. Presumably, the non-Tibetan writer from the court of Siṃja was not able to understand the Tibetan name properly and mistakenly wrote the name *cyām-cu-rāj bhotyā* (च्याम्-चु राज भोट्या). A commissioner (rDzong-dpon) named Ponchang Chokyong (dPon-chang chos-skyong) was apparently the local ruler of Lo/Mustang that time. As a result, it is possible that the Tibetan name, particularly the *chang-cho* portion of it was corrupted by the author of this account as *cyam-cu* or *cyam-co* (च्याम्-चु or च्याम्-चो). The Nepali words *rājā* and *bhotyā* are used for the words "king" and "Tibetan" respectively. It appears, therefore, that the Khaśa writer of this account intended to identify the local ruler of Lo/ Mustang as a Tibetan king (*bhotyā rājā*).

CHAPTER THREE

**THE FOUNDATION, RISE, AND STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE OF THE
KINGDOM OF LO/MUSTANG**

CHAPTER THREE

THE FOUNDATION, RISE, AND STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE OF THE KINGDOM OF LO/MUSTANG

THE EMERGENCE OF THE KINGDOM UNDER KING A-MA-DPAL AND HIS DESCENDANTS (EARLY FIFTEENTH THROUGH MID-FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

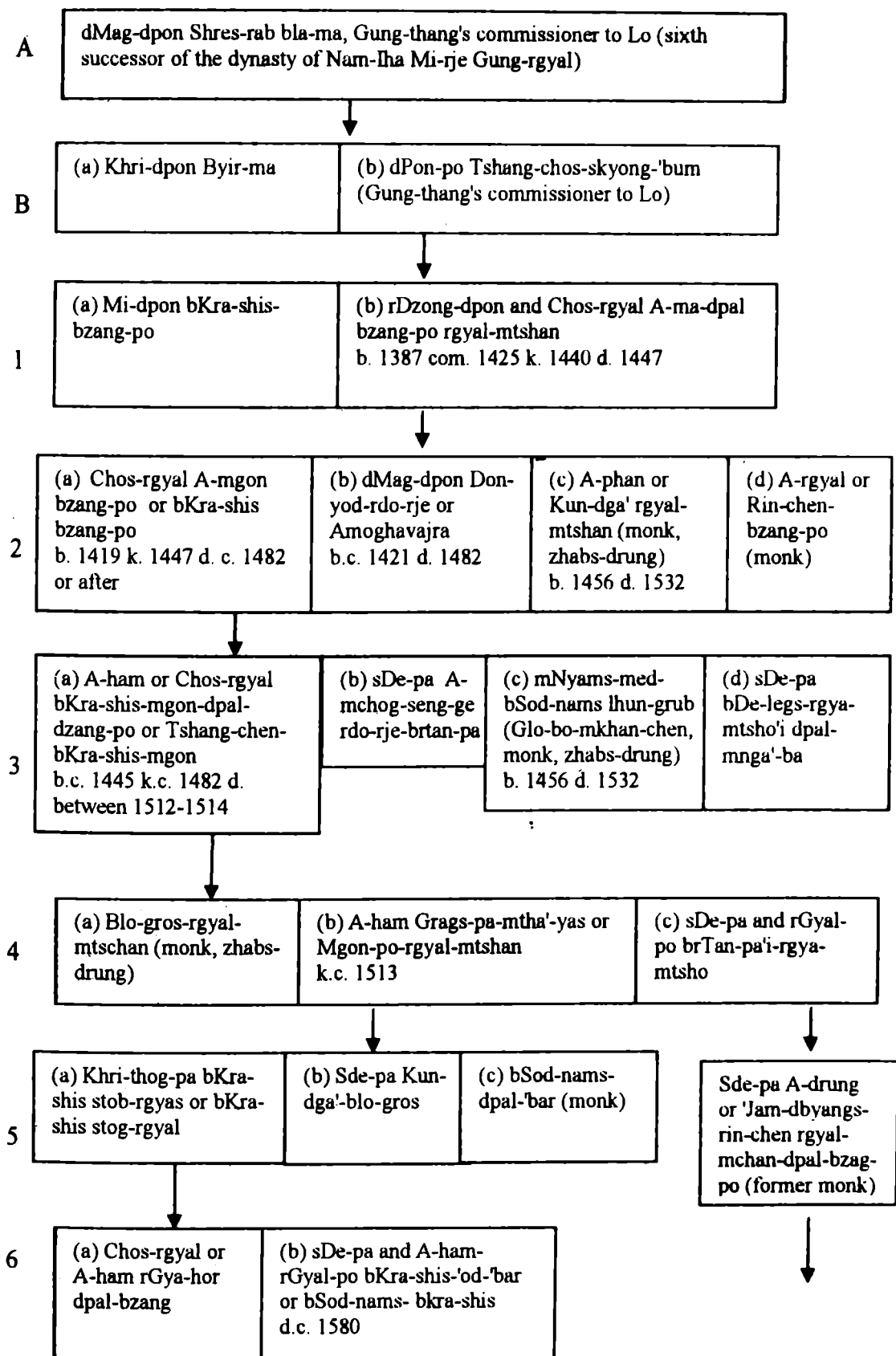
The kingdom of Lo/Mustang emerged in the same historical context and at the same time as the *bāisī-caubisī* (twenty two-twenty four) principalities in western Nepal.¹ The sudden collapse and disintegration of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom was followed by the rise of the kingdom of Lo/Mustang in the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī region. The neighboring Tibetan principality of Gung-thang had weakened, meanwhile, because of internal disputes and a lack of support from its greater allies, the Mongol (Yuan) power of China and the Sa-skya rulers of Tibet. Lo/Mustang became an independent kingdom only in 1440, even though its local governors had been seeking independence from Simjā and Gung-thang since the late fourteenth century. A descriptive, official historical account (dKar-chag) of a local monastery of Mustang known as Byams-pa or Byams-chen Tsug-lag khang, has helped enormously to identify the exact date at which A-ma-dpal, then the commissioner (rDzong-dpon) recognized earlier by the rulers of Gung-thang, founded the independent kingdom of Lo/Mustang.

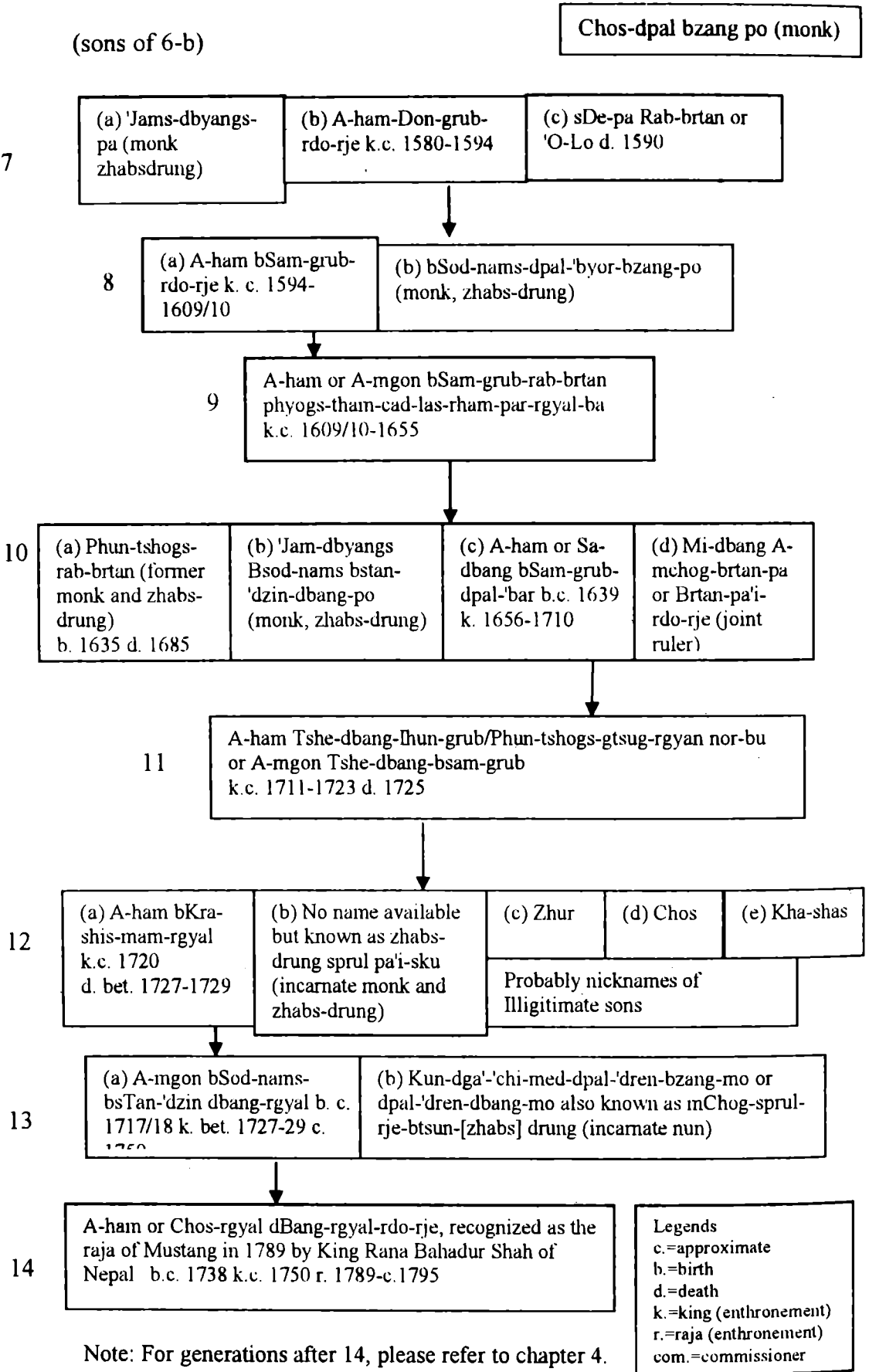
Because of the sudden collapse of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe or Malla dynasty in Simjā in the 1360s, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom could no longer maintain its traditional supremacy in its eastern frontier regions. Consequently, Gung-thang once again reclaimed its western territories previously lost to the Khaśas, including Lo/Mustang. Still, the successors of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kings (later, called the Simjāpati rulers, after the capital at Simjā) were not willing to lose their territories along the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley frontier. Instead, they launched several military expeditions and demanded yearly tribute from the rulers of Lo/Mustang. The rulers of Simjā even surrendered the ITag-la-mkhar area of their kingdom's western frontier in order to maintain their supremacy in the Lo/Mustang region. For this purpose, the Simjā rulers cultivated a cordial relationship with the Ngor monastery in

¹ After the disintegration of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom of the Kamālī region in the late fourteenth century, dozens of smaller principalities were emerged in western Nepal. By the seventeenth century, the total number of such principalities became over fifty. Among them, the major twenty-two were from the Kamālī and Mahākālī region and twenty-four from the Gaṇḍakī region. They were collectively known as *bāisī* and *caubisī* states. Jumla, Doti, Parvat, Palpa, Lamjung, and Kaski were the dominating *bāisī-caubisī* states (Regmi 1961: 4, 11).

Tibet, which at that time, enjoyed profound religious and cultural influence in Lo/Mustang (Tucci 1956: 14-15).

GENEALOGY OF LO RULING DYNASTY





A famous Siṃjāpati King, Malayavarman, also known as Hastirājā or Gaganirājā, is recorded to have worked hard to revive Siṃjā's lost prestige, but the local governors of the western territory originally appointed by Gung-thang's rulers had gained additional power because of Siṃjā's already diminished position.

Upon their arrival in Lo/Mustang, these ambitious governors sought to create their own feudatory state in the Lo/Mustang region by further supporting Gung-thang, and thereby subduing Pu-rang and other western Tibetan areas. The Lo/Mustang region was their location of choice for establishing their hereditary rule. A-ma-dpal's father and grandfather had both made Lo/Mustang their regional headquarters, and after launching several military expeditions on behalf of Gung-thang, they recaptured large territories in western Tibet, including Pu-rang. Their service to the Gung-thang rulers helped secure their possession of the Lo/Mustang region, which had formally been given over to Siṃjā as part of the Siṃjā-Gung-thang agreement of the 1370s or 1380s. These local governors of Lo/Mustang were cognizant of the virtual power vacuum in the region that followed the collapse of Siṃjā and the emergence of Jumla in the early 1400s. Gung-thang's rulers, on the other hand, were also aware that they were recapturing lost territories not with their own internal military strength but with the aid of the powerful commissioners of Lo/Mustang. Gung-thang, therefore, had nothing to lose by recognizing Lo/Mustang as the hereditary feudatory of A-ma-dpal's ancestors; by doing so, rather, the rulers of Gung-thang also gained strong military support in western Tibet.

Still, by the late fourteenth through the early fifteenth century, the small vassal states and provinces of the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī and upper Karnālī regions previously subdued by the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers had, for all practical purposes, grown somewhat independent. Having witnessed all these events, the local commissioners of Lo/Mustang were well prepared for announcing Lo's independence. Even the first commissioner of Lo/Mustang, Shes-rab bla-ma, a military commander of Gung-thang for the western territory, was able to exercise his authority virtually like an independent ruler. He had almost no obligation to Gung-thang except to placate the Siṃjā rulers. This was his main strategy for avoiding an invasion of Lo/Mustang. It is possible that because of cultural and ethnic differences, the Siṃjāpati rulers of the late fourteenth century were content to accept Lo/Mustang as a tributary province or state, and not to push for conquest or integration. The rulers even recognized Lo's local commissioners as provincial rulers by calling them *mastāngī bhoṭyā rājā* (Yatri VE 2039: 61). The Siṃjāpatīs and their predecessors, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers, seldom tried to appoint Khaśa commissioners to the Lo/Mustang region because it was settled by people of Tibetan descent with a distinct culture and different traditions. As a result,

the main interest of the *Simjāpatis* was limited to maintaining the formal suzerainty of *Simjā* in Lo/Mustang and collecting yearly tribute and the revenues from custom duties from the north-south trade route.

The first well-known commissioner of Lo/Mustang, *Shes-rab bla-ma*, is believed to have come from the family of Gung-thang's military chief (*dMag-dpon*) named *Byir-ma*, who had been appointed provincial governor of the Mt. Kailash area in *mNga'-ris* and had successfully governed the regional territory under Gung-thang kings during the late thirteenth century (GDR: 14a, 16a). *Shes-rab bla ma* was commissioned by Gung-thang to control the western Tibetan territories, including Lo/Mustang, and was very successful. In return for faithful and courageous service in recapturing the western territories, the king of Gung-thang officially recognized him as the zonal commissioner of Lo/Mustang (Tucci 1971: 170, *Tsarang Molla*: 8a-8b, *Lo-Khen-h*: 1b). The local sources affirm that *Shes-rab bla-ma* was Lo's first recorded local ruler and that he nurtured a favourable situation for his descendents to establish an independent kingdom in Lo/Mustang. During his own time, he enjoyed semi-independent authority over both upper and lower Lo and set the stage for his family rule there. In order to secure his family fortune in Lo/Mustang, *shes-rab* developed a special relationship with the local ruler of Zhang (*Men-zhang*), in Tibet near Gung-thang, during the early days of his career. *Shes-rab bla-ma* is also acknowledged in some sources as the minister of Zhang and Bla. In *Glo gdung-rabs* (geneology of Lo/Mustang,), he is described as an ally of the Zhang-pa rulers during their conflict with *Shi-sa-pa*, another local power under Gung-thang (Jackson 1984:153).² However, the *Tsarang Molla* (oratorical or oral tradition of Lo/Mustang originally transcribed in the sixteenth century and later updated and preserved in the *Tsarang* monastery) supplies evidence that after Gung-thang's conquest of Lo/Mustang under *Shes-rab bla ma*'s military leadership, he had to break his old alliance with the Zhang-pa. Furthermore, the *Molla* tells of a war between these two noble families (*Tsarang Molla*: 8a-8b). According to the biography of *Bla-ma Chos-legs* (*Chos-legs rnam-thar*), the Zhang-pas were able to capture the whole of Gung-thang and the throne of the Gung-thang king (Vitali 1996: 484-85). However, both the *Glo gdung-rab* and the *Tsarang Molla*, portray the Glo-pa chiefs (*Shes-rab bla-ma* and

² A biographical text known as *Chos-legs rnam-thar* describes the family of *Shes-rab bla-ma* of Lo/Mustang as subordinates of the Zhang-pa chiefs of Gung-thang in earlier times, who then, became their chief enemies by the time of Lo's independence (*dPal-ldan bla-ma dam-pa*: 22a, 26a-28a). A new theory has also appeared that a Zhang-pa chief had ultimately been able to occupy the main throne of the Gung-thang king and the force of Zhang-pa was finally destroyed in a war with the Lo/Mustang army in 1441 (Vitali 1996: 478, 483-85). An inscription collected during the present research from the *Byams-pa* temple of Lo Monthang acknowledges the Gung-thang king and princes to have been among the sponsors of several paintings in Lo/Mustang dated around the same time (MHR doc. 17 Tibetan). This suggests that until around 1441, relations between the rulers of Lo/Mustang and Gung-thang were cordial.

his descendants) and the Zhang-pa chiefs as powerful nobles working under the nominal control of Gung-thang kings.³ Despite Shes-rab bla-ma's solid triumph in that conflict, until the independence of Lo/Mustang, the Zhang-pa nobles retained some control over several monastic institutions, forts, and villages in the upper Lo region, including the Namgyal monastery to which the Glo-pa had provided sanctuary to Zhangpa in earlier times (dPal-ldan bla-ma dam-pa: 14a, Lo-Khen-h: 6a, Jackson 1978: 215-216, Vitali 1996: 478, 484-485). These activities of Shes-rab bla-ma occurred in or just before the 1380s, when he was close to retirement.

Shes-rab bla-ma's descendents maintained their overlordship of the Lo/Mustang region into the fifteenth century. His younger son, Chos-skyong-'bum, succeeded him sometime in the 1380s (Tsarang Molla: 8b). He is said to have solidified his authority in the region. In the 1390s, this noble general had led the allied forces of Gung-thang and Lo/Mustang to reconquer Pu-rang and the surrounding areas. As a reward for this service, the Gung-thang ruler, bSod-nams-lde (1371-1404), officially recognized Chos-skyong's local rule in Lo/Mustang, Dol-po, and surrounding areas (GDR: 16a, Jackson 1978: 214). In addition to Lo/Mustang (both upper and lower), the eastern neighboring districts of Nar (sNar), Nyishang (sNye-shang), Manāng (Ma-nang), Phug, and Nub-ri were most likely also included within Chos-skyong's new domain. Those areas were physically closer to Lo/Mustang and very often ruled by the forces to the west. For example, in earlier times, areas as far as Kyirong, were often controlled by Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers and their successors.

From the aforementioned historical events, it appears that for about three decades, from the 1370s through about 1405, a dispute raged between the Siṃjāpati rulers and commissioners of Lo/Mustang over Pu-rang, Dol-po, Lo/Mustang, and the eastern areas, including Nar, Nyishang, Manāng, Nub-ri and Rui. The dispute ended only about fifty years after the collapse of Siṃjā's power in the 1350s or 1360s, with the emergence of the kingdom of Jumla under the leadership of a new ruler known as Balirāja. Balirāja was one of the closest relatives, perhaps a son-in-law, of the last Siṃjāpati king, Medinivarman (also known as Jagati or Jagatibum). Balirāja shared the Siṃjā power with Medini until the beginning of the fifteenth century. A copperplate inscription of Balirāja dated SE 1322 (1400 A. D.) states that he acquired a portion of the remaining territory of the domain of the Siṃjāpati rulers. This inscription is the first known acknowledgement of Balirāja as a king (Sanskrit, *srī nṛpa*) of the eastern territory of the old kingdom of Siṃjā (Adhikary 1988: Appendix B-43). On the other hand, a different copperplate

³ S. C. Das has identified Zhang with modern-day Shangs, near bKra-shis lhun-po (Das 1983: 1065) but it is not quite clear whether these Zhang-pas were from the Shangs of that day. Citing the description of the biography of Bla-ma Chos-legs, Roberto Vitali describes Zhang-pa as the ruling family of Byang in western Tibet (Vitali 1996: 484).

inscription dated VE 1461 (1404) acknowledges Medinivarman as the supreme king of kings of forty-four vassal states in the region and Balirāja as a secondary ruler. Taken together, these two inscriptions indicate that Balirāja had acquired a certain portion of the kingdom as a hereditary gift from the main Simjāpati ruler Medini but that at the same time, he was also assisting Medini as a de facto ruler of Simjā. As stated earlier, the former king of Simjā, Malayavarman, also known as Gaganirājā, attempted to collect yearly tribute from Lo/Mustang until 1393 (Yatri VE 2039: 61). This source goes on to explain how in the 1370s, under the local rule of Shes-rab bla-ma, Lo/Mustang had agreed to become a nominal tributary state of Simjā. This concession might have occurred in order to obtain the return of the ITag-la mkhar region near Pu-rang to Gung-thang. However, only a couple of years after the date of this agreement, Shes-rab bla-ma broke its terms by denying yearly tribute to Simjā. In return for violating the agreement, the Simjā ruler Malayavarman revoked Gung-thang's permission to control the ITag-la-mkhar region. Later, in the 1380s, after the death of Shes-rab bla-ma, his son Chos-skyong 'bum recaptured the entire Pu-rang region, again on Gung-thang's behalf. Afterward, Chos-skyong was recognized by the king of Gung-thang as the hereditary governor of Lo/Mustang and its surrounding territories. The king of Simjā then took aggressive action, and invaded Lo/Mustang with a well-armed force, bringing its governor back under Simjā's control and forcing him to agree to pay the yearly tribute which had been overdue since his father's time, from 1371 to 1393 (Yatri VE 2039: 61-62, MHR: 219-224).

This was Simjā's final claim over the Lo/Mustang region as its tributary state. Written and local oral historical sources confirm that the next and last Simjāpati ruler, Medini, was not able to maintain the inheritance from his father (Malla VE 2033: 42-43). He was a modestly effective ruler but not as successful. Still, Medini was also overshadowed by that most ambitious and manipulative de-facto ruler, Balirājā. By the time of Medini and Balirājā's official joint rule, Simjā was so weak that it could no longer maintain its traditional supremacy over Lo/Mustang and Pu-rang. Although Medini's weak rule from the Simjā palace had lasted until about 1404 or 1405, Balirājā had already begun to proclaim himself independent ruler of an eastern portion of the kingdom. He even dared to assume a royal title, much higher than any ever claimed by Medini. The inscriptional sources related to Medini have acknowledged him as a powerful provincial ruler (pratāpamaṇḍeśvara), but the inscription of Balirāja introduces him as the glorious king (srī nṛpa) of Jumla (Adhikary 1988: appendices B-42, B-43).

Hence, it is certain that after the late 1390s, Lo's local ruler, Chos-skyong-'bum, was still a provincial governor (rDzong-dpon) under the nominal authority of the Gung-thang ruler. Still, the local ruler of Lo/Mustang, having gained much more power in the region, began to

consider himself the unchallenged ruler of Lo/Mustang and its traditional domain.

A-MA-DPAL (B.1387-D.1447, COMMISSIONER (RDZONG-DPON) AND FIRST INDEPENDENT RULER (CHOS-RGYAL) OF LO/MUSTANG

As a result of the sudden collapse of Simjā and the demeaning positions of Gung-thang and Zhang-pa (Men-zhang), the local commissioners of Lo/Mustang gained additional strength. In fact, after the final fall of Simjā, Lo's position became so strong that even A-ma-dpal's father could have plausibly made a bid for the independence of Lo/Mustang. Nevertheless, anticipating possible alliances among or between Zhang-pa, Gung-thang, Tso-tsho-bar-pa, and other minor local powers of western Tibet against Lo/Mustang, did not take such great risk at that time. Rather, he chose to demonstrate his traditional symbolic loyalty to Gung-thang and thereby enjoy his almost absolute authority in Lo/Mustang and its expanded areas.

After the death of his father, A-ma-dpal inherited the title of rDzong-dpon, becoming the hereditary local ruler of Lo/Mustang in about 1425 (Jackson 1984: 133).⁴ A document known as the *Byams-pa dkar-chag*, the formal or official account of the temple of Maitreya supplies important information about the dates of six major historical events in the history of the kingdom of Lo/Mustang. Among them, A-ma-dpal's birth and death (1387 and 1447), completion of the construction of the royal palace of Monthang, and A-ma-dpal's declaration of Lo's independence in 1440 are important early markers of the political history of Lo/Mustang (MHR doc. 20 Tibetan, Gurung 1986: 216-217, 219, 222). This *dKar-chag* indicates that A-ma-dpal was fifty-three years old and had fifteen years' of experience in local rule when he finally challenged the Zhangpa power of Gung-thang and declared the full independence of Lo/Mustang. Immediately after that, he constructed a new palace known as bKra-shis dge-'phel in sMon-thang (renamed as Lo Monthang) and transferred the old headquarters of Lo/Mustang from Tsarang, declaring Monthang to be the official capital (rGyal-sa) of the kingdom of Lo/Mustang (MHR: 30)⁵

When he was recognized as the commissioner of Lo/Mustang by the Gung-thang king in 1425, A-ma-dpal was already mature and astute enough

⁴ Although A-ma-dpal was his well-established and commonly acknowledged name, it is believed that his original name was dBang-phyug yon-tan) (RCTP). The complete name, A-ma-dpal bzang-po rgyal-mtshan, was conferred by Kun-dga' bzang-po, the founder of Ngor after A-ma-dpal's ordination (MHR doc. 20 Tibetan, Jackson 1984: 119, *Glo gdung-rabs*).

⁵ Two other important palaces and forts, Phred-mkhar and Byi-ba mkhar, now known as Byi-phug rdzong, existed near Lo manthang. These served as administrative centers prior to the establishment of the new capital in sMon-thang proper (Vitali 1996: 484-485, no. 817, dPal-ldan bla-ma dam-pa: 22a, 24a, 26a, 27b). These centers however, were mostly associated with bon-po people at least until that time.

to handle Lo's provincial administration.⁶ Although he was too young to have witnessed the military activities of his grandfather, A-ma-dpal had certainly heard first-hand stories about those exploits. He definitely would have experienced the tremendous military successes of his father, who was actually fabled to be as strong as the war god, Ge-sar (Tsarang Molla 8b, Jackson 1984 153 n. 9). A-ma-dpal, therefore, was well acquainted with the geopolitical situation of Lo/Mustang. Still, it took fourteen years for him to bring about the independence of Lo/Mustang, largely owing to his enmity with the Zhang-pa ruler. Although the Zhang-pa authorities were long-time allies of the Lo/Mustang ruling family, they apparently resisted A-ma-dpal's authority, and later that of his descendants. Subsequently, A-ma-dpal and his Lo/Mustang force fought and defeated the Zhang-pa army in 1440 (Vitali 1996: 485).⁷

A-ma-dpal had no dispute with the main rulers of Gung-thang over Lo's independence in 1440--it was granted rather willingly.⁸ However, he clashed with Zhang-pa chiefs, who in earlier times were among Lo's local chieftains under Gung-thang jurisdiction. According to the biography of Bla-ma Chos-legs, Lo/Mustang defeated and destroyed the Zhang-pa army of Gung-thang in 1441 (although this must refer to the Lo/Mustang-Zhang-pa war of 1440), including its chief and generals (Vitali 1996: 485). A passage written on the wall of the Jyampa temple in Monthang however, indicates that the rulers of Gung-thang and Lo/Mustang had maintained a cordial relationship until 1447 (MHR doc. 17 Tibetan). Some important frescoes of this temple were also officially sponsored by the king, queen, and princess of Gung-thang just before the consecration ceremony of the temple in 1447 (ibid.).

On the other hand, Gung-thang's central power was so weak by that time that the recently founded kingdom of Jumla in the west was awaiting an opportunity to extend its territory in the east. In Lo/Mustang, A-ma-dpal was

⁶ A-ma-dpal was thirty-eight years old when he advanced to the position of Lo's Commissioner.

⁷ Vitali calculates the date of the Glo-pa-Zhang-pa war to be 1441. But there is also a possibility that the date given in the *Chos-legs nam-thar* is either miscalculated or the writer of the *rNam-thar* himself confused the exact date of the incident because the account (dKar-chag) of Byams-pa temple confirms the date of A-ma-dpal's victory over Zhang-pa and the official announcement of the independence of Lo/Mustang to 1440 (MHR doc. 20 Tibetan).

⁸ When Lo/Mustang declared its independence, A-ma-dpal was known as rDzong-dpon of Lo/Mustang (Tucci 1956: 20, MHR: doc. 18 Tibetan). The local rulers who preceded A-ma-dpal were also known by similar titles, such as dPon-tshang, Khri-dpon, dPon-dbang, sDe-pa, dPon-chen etc. (Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma: 39a, Tucci 1956: 170, Jackson 1984: 118-120, 200, MHR doc. 17 Tibetan). Only a handful of documents from later times acknowledge A-ma-dpal as Chos-rgyal (skt. Dharmarāja), or independent ruler; after A-ma-dpal, however, the royal titles, including Chos-rgyal, A-ham, A-mgon, Sa-dbang, Mi-dpon, seem to have been conferred more freely. A-ma-dpal probably held the title of rDzong-dpon as head of a provincial state in earlier times. After Lo's emergence as a sovereign kingdom, however, his officials and subjects addressed him Chos-rgyal, a common Tibetan title for an independent ruler.

enjoying high regard of the people of Lo, as he and his ancestors had worked diligently to make Lo/Mustang a prosperous, safe, and peaceful place.

Immediately after the independence of Lo/Mustang, A-ma-dpal sought to extend its territory. A-ma-dpal's forces conquered areas of western Tibet, including Gu-ge and Pu-rang (Jackson 1978: 216, TR: 1.2, MHR: 33). These areas of western Tibet had been taken earlier by his father Chos-skyong 'bum on Gung-thang's behalf. After A-ma-dpal gained more power in the region and became an independent ruler, he probably conquered those areas in order to expand the territory of Lo/Mustang, and Lo/Mustang alone-- and not for the prestige of any other ruling entity.

According to a variety of sources, A-ma-dpal and the royal line he produced soon emerged as powerful leaders within their realm. The autobiography of Bla-ma bsTan-'dzin-ras-pa reports that both A-ma-dpal and his son were able to appoint and remove the governors of the dKar-dum fort, which was then the administrative center of Pu-rang and Gu-ge, and that A-ma-dpal appointed Rab-brtan mgon-po, one of the most trusted officials of his court, as the first governor at dKar-dum.⁹ Other sources acknowledge A-ma-dpal as a powerful myriarch of mNga'-ris (Tsarang Molla: 9a, Jackson 1978: 217, notes 79-80), and in the south, A-ma-dpal extended his territory to the region bordering Thag (present-day Thakkhola). He also appointed a close official of his court as a regional commissioner (Khri-thog-pa) to administer this southern territory, lower Lo from a fort near Muktināth (TR: 2b-3a). According to the *Glo gdung-rabs*, A-ma-dpal was able to subdue 'Ko' (main territory of Lo/Mustang), the southern villages of lowland Mon people, perhaps the villages south of Thakkhola and the the Dol-po area. From the late 1100s through the 1360s, except the 'Ko' region, most of the southern areas were controlled by the Khaśas and settled increasingly by people of non-Tibetan origins (Jackson 1984: 154 note 18).¹⁰

Seemingly, A-ma-dpal successfully expanded his kingdom's territory up to the Gu-ge-Pu-rang region in the west and down to the bordering hill areas of lower Thakkhola in the south. The Dolpo region in the west had already been annexed by the Lo/Mustang rulers during the governorship of A-ma-

⁹ After serving six years as governor, Rab-brtan mgon-po was discharged and eventually executed by the king (probably A-ma-dpal's son, A-mgon bzang-po), for allegedly having an illicit relationship with the queen of Lo/Mustang (probably the queen mother) (Jackson 1978: 216, TR: 1.2, MHR: 33). Jackson also refers to a serious conflict between the ministers and the king of Lo/Mustang during the reign of A-ma-dpal's son, in which several other ministers and their family members were suppressed and killed. Rab-brtan was the son of dPon-drung Khro-rgyal rdo-rje of sKye-kya sgang, whose family people were summoned earlier by A-ma-dpal from Gu-ge (TR 2b-3a, Jackson 1978: 217). Bla ma bsTan-'dzin ras-pa's family and the governors of lower Lo were known as the descendants or relatives of dPon-drung Khro-rgyal rdo-rje. Local historical sources confer on them the title of *Khro-rgyal*. The governors of lower Lo were also widely known as *Khri-thog-pa*.

¹⁰ The *Tsarang Molla* acknowledges A-mgon bzang-po as the subduer of Mon, Ko and Dol.

dpal's father and brought under Lo's jurisdiction. Textual documents of the northern frontier of A-ma-dpal's domain are incomplete where available at all. However, people of Mustang argue that the northern border of Lo/Mustang under A-ma-dpal included the areas up to Gro-shod and the gTsang-po river. A biographical work of Milarepa asserts that a place called gTso tsho-bar, halfway between Ko-ra-la (a pass at the present border of Mustang and Tibet) and the Tsang-po river was a part of Lo/Mustang even before Lo's independence (Rus-pa'i rgyan-can 1981: 368-369). The biography of Bla-ma Chos-legs also recounts the Lo's final defeat of the Tsho tsho-bar people around 1446 (Vitali 1996: 485-486).¹¹ Although two of A-ma-dpal's sons actively participated in this war with gTso tsho-bar, A-ma-dpal must have claimed the historical supremacy of Lo/Mustang over those areas even earlier; the princes were probably enlisted to help retain them. Since the biography of Lama Chos-legs describes this war and Lo's defeat of gTso tsho-bar as the "final" one, Lo/Mustang had probably defeated the gTso tsho-bar army at least several times before. Even though he was an independent ruler only for six years, A-ma-dpal's reign has been described as the age of Lo's administrative development, as well as its apex of religious and cultural development. He was the only king in Lo's history to be venerated by his people as the incarnation of a Bodhisattva, particularly because of his tremendous efforts to promote Buddhist belief and culture in Lo/Mustang (Tsarang Molla: 8b, 9b). A-ma-dpal received religious instruction from Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po, first abbot of the Ngor monastery and was even ordained a monk in 1427 (KZNT 1983: 537-538). He also received important assistance from his skillful chief minister (bKa'-blon) Tshe-dbang bzang-po. This king sponsored the founding of the new Thub-bstan bshad-'grub dar-rgyas-gling monastery in Lo's old headquarters, Tsarang, which has remained Lo's most active religious and educational center from the time of its independence to the present. As the *Tsarang Molla* asserts that this monastery accommodated more than two thousand monks for lodging, study, worship, and prayer, it was probably a major center of religious activity and learning (Tsarang Molla: 8a-9b). A-ma-dpal also founded a great monastery inside the fort-palace of mKha'-spyod-rdzong near sMon-thang (MHR doc. 1 Tibetan).¹²

Even before becoming the first independent ruler of Lo/Mustang, A-ma-dpal sponsored several other projects involving the construction or

¹¹ In *Chos-legs mam-thar* Glo-pa people are referred to as *sMos-thang-pa*, which surprisingly resembles the present name 'Mustang.'

¹² To augment the scholarly and pastoral gifts of his chief spiritual guru, Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po, A-ma-dpal also invited to Lo/Mustang 'gig mkhan-po Ratnaśrī, a former Lama of Bumoche ('Bum-mo-che), and the Lamas mKhan-po Rin-chen bSod-nams of Piti (sPi ti), mKhan-chen Chos-nyid-seng-ge of Gu-ge, Chos-rje rin-po-che of sPu-rang, Bo-dong Phyogs-las mam-rgyal (b.1366-1447), and the Sa-skya pan-chen Lama (Lo-Khen-h: 6a, Tucci 1956: 19, Jackson 1978: 216).

renovation of Buddhist monasteries. In the 1430s the old Namgyal (rNam-gyal) monastery of the western district (Tsho-nub) of upper Lo was re-built under A-ma-dpal's sponsorship (KZNT: 238.6, Jackson 1978: 216 n.77). During this time, Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po visited Lo/Mustang for a second time, at A-ma-dpal's invitation. Several years earlier, mKhan-po Ratnaśrī had been invited to become the head of the Namgyal monastery by A-ma-dpal (Lo-Khen-h: 6a, Jackson 1878: 215-16).

A-ma-dpal achieved several administrative reforms through creating important positions to which he appointed competent and trustworthy noblemen of Lo/Mustang.¹³ A-ma-dpal also promoted immigration (particularly from different parts of Tibet) and founded several new settlements and forts. As external tributes and levies on trade fed a strong local economy, A-ma-dpal was able to release his subjects from taxes. Consequently, significant numbers of people from different parts of Tibet enthusiastically migrated into Lo/Mustang (ibid.).

A-ma-dpal also reconstructed and renovated existing forts and sponsored the new walled capital township in Monthang and constructed the lofty and splendid fort-palace of mKha'-spyod rdzong, near the new walled township (ibid.).¹⁴ He also sponsored many other religious monuments, images, and objects, such as Buddhist sculptures, Stupas and texts including *bKa'-sgyur*, or direct translations of Buddha's words, and *bsTan'-gyur*, or commentaries on Buddha's doctrine (MHR doc. 1 Tibetan, Tsarang Molla: 9a).¹⁵

Even today, people of Lo/Mustang (or Glo-pa) consider A-ma-dpal, his chief minister (bKa'-blon) Zla-ba or Tshe-dbang bzang-po, and the religious preceptor, Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po, as the three great heroes, or gems, of the kingdom.¹⁶ Many Glo-pas still note that the kingdom of Lo/Mustang

¹³ These new positions included three *Khri-dpon* (regional commissioners), four *rGyal-ba sgos* (heads of higher gates) four *Bu sgos* (heads of smaller gates) of the royal palace, and other officials such as *lHa-dpon* (head of the religious arts and religious affairs), *rDzong-dpons* (commanders or garrison chiefs), and *Tsho-dpons* (chief of smaller districts) (Tsarang Molla: 9a). Among them, the three commissioners (*Khri-dpon*) were probably appointed to oversee the local administration of three major districts of Lo/Mustang, upper Lo (Tsarang and other northern areas), middle Lo (Gami, Gelung and nearby areas), and lower Lo (old Serib or modern Kag-Baragaun, Panchgaun, and the Thak areas).

¹⁴ As the word *mKha'-spyod* is translated as "heaven" or a "celestial object" (Das 1985: 181), we know that this fort was thought to possess attributes of a heavenly structure.

¹⁵ The *Tsarang Molla*, a genealogical description of the ruling family of Lo/Mustang, was updated from a sixteenth century text originally recorded from an official oral tradition and compiled by a native scholar from Monthang, named Kun-dga' grol-mchog 1507-1566). The activities of A-ma-dpal and his descendants described in the *Tsarang Molla* can be considered an official record of Lo as a state (Jackson 1984: 60-62, 72). Another document known as the *Bems-chag* (literally, "content," but more accurately translated as "account,") of Tsarang also describes the secular and religious accomplishments of the early Kings of Lo/Mustang, including A-ma-dpal (MHR doc. n. 1 Tibetan).

¹⁶ Various sources from around the same time include the names of two chief ministers with same last name, bZang-po (these are Zla-ba bzang-po and Tshe-dbang bzang-po). A document from Gelung village on the speechmaking tradition states that A-ma-dpal's chief

itself was borne of the efforts of these men, who shared the same last name, bZang-po Glo-pa people still acknowledge them by the collective name bZang-po mam-gsum. King A-ma-dpal died in 1447. That year, his son A-mgon bzang-po invited Ngor-chen to consecrate the great temple and the huge (about fifty feet tall) statue of Maitreya Buddha (Jampa) (MHR: doc. no. 20, 17, Tucci 1956: 19).

LO/MUSTANG UNDER CHOS-RGYAL A-MGON BZANG-PO AND THE TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF THE KINGDOM (1447-LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

A-mgon bzang-po became the king of Lo/Mustang in 1447 as A-ma dpal's eldest son and successor.¹⁷ After the formal independence of Lo/Mustang, A-ma dpal began to prepare for his retirement and the power transition by gradually delegating the responsibility of the royal house (Drung-pa) to both of his sons, A-mgon zangpo and his younger brother, dMag-dpon A-mo-gha or Don-yod rdo-rje. A biographical source describes A-mgon as having been Drung-pa chen-po (senior authority) of the ruling family of Lo/Mustang, and his brother as the chief of the army (dMag-dpon) by 1446 (Vitali 1996: 485). As the Byams-pa dkar-chag confirms the year of his birth to have been 1419, A-mgon was twenty-eight years old when he ascended the throne (MHR: 36-37, doc. 20, Gurung 1986:216-17).¹⁸

Despite his prominence in the history of Lo/Mustang, not a single source is available to tell the actual length of A-mgon zangpo's reign. On the basis of his recorded deeds and the dates of his brother and sons, we can estimate that he ruled for about thirty-five years.¹⁹

minister was named Zla-ba bzang-po (The *Gelung Speech* p. 8, quoted from Jackson 1984: 30, 35). The *Tsarang Molla* however, states that A-ma-dpal's chief minister was an individual named Tshe-dbang bzang-po (9b). The biographical source on Kun-dga' grol-mchog, a native Lama of Lo/Mustang acknowledges a famous minister (Blon-po named Tshe-dbang bzang-po (b.1450), who was in his fifties during his service in 1507, and that he was the father of Tshe-dbang bzang-po (Jackson 1984: 154, n. 17). It appears that these two names belong to different ministers of different eras. The former bZang-po thus was the chief minister (bKa'-blon) of King A-ma-dpal and the latter of his son, A-mgon, and grandson, Tashi-gon (bKra-shis-mgon). Tshe-dbang bzang-po may have begun his ministerial service at the time of King A-mgon bzang po.

¹⁷ He was also known by another name, bKra-shis bzang-po) (MHR doc. no. 7 Tibetan).

¹⁸ David Jackson gives a tentative date of A-ma-dpal's death and A-mgon's ascendance to the throne as around 1450 (Jackson 1984: 133). After a careful assessment of the Byams-pa dkar-chag the most important dates of the history of Lo/Mustang, including those of A-ma-dpal and A-mgon bzang-po, have been confirmed. According to this document, the temple of Maitreya was constructed under the command of A-mgon bzang po, 216 years before its first major renovation in the water-rabbit year (1663) commissioned by King bSam-'grub dpal-'bar, his brother, and their wife (MHR 37-38, doc. 20 Tibetan, Gurung 1986: 216-17).

¹⁹ His brother, Amoghavajra (d. 1482) was a joint ruler of Lo/Mustang who enjoyed the title of dMag-dpon translated as army chief (Jackson 1984: 133). Since Amogha died in 1482 and he never became the king of Lo, it seems that his brother A-mgon was still Lo's primary

A-mgon's long reign is considered the most important period of Lo's territorial expansion. Although Lo/Mustang had already subdued the territory between Gu-ge, Pu-rang and the Nubri region during the reign of A-ma dpal. A mgon seems to have re-subjugated those areas even more effectively. According to the account of Khochar (Kho-char or in Nepali Khojarnath), king A-mgon zang-po commissioned Nepali and Kashmiri artists to renovate the old Buddhist sculptures and images at Khochar in Pu-rang (Tucci 1956: 61-62). The Khochar account (dKar-chag) also states that king A-mgon extended his political authority northwestward, toward the Pu-rang and Gu-ge region (Petech 1980: 109, Tucci: *ibid.*). While subjugating Gu-ge and Pu-rang, and having seized control of the Digungpa order, A-mgon donated the monastery of Khochar to the Ngor abbot. Kunga zangpo (Petech 1980: 109). Like his father, A-mgon was also able to extend Lo's authority up to the Gu-ge and Pu-rang areas by appointing the commissioners of the Kar-dum fort, the administrative center founded earlier to dominate these western areas (TR: 1b, Jackson 1978: 216-217).

Because of its geographic location, Lo's authority from the 1450s through the 1580s must have extended into some of the bordering Himalayan settlements of the Kaṃḷāli region. The geopolitical situation of Lo/Mustang was a favorable one for an ambitious ruler like A-mgon because Gung-thang was not in a position to maintain control of the Pu-rang region without Lo's support. Thus, the power vacuum resulting after the fall of Simjā had not yet been filled, as the newly-emerged kingdom of Jumla was still young and inexperienced. Consequently, A mgon bzang-po became quite powerful and was able to directly subjugate the distant regions up to Gu-ge and Pu-rang in the west. He was able to remove the old ('Bri-gung-pa) order from the monastery of Kho-char in Pu-rang and donate the monastery to the Ngor-pa school. In light of this, A-mgon probably also controlled the nearby high Himalayan settlements including Dol-po, Ta-rap, Tshar-kha, Bar-rong, Bi-cher, Mu-gum, Hum-la etc. The *Tsarang Molla* vividly describes A-mgon's territorial expansion up to the domain of the lowland "Mon" (areas settled by the non-Tibetan Indo-Aryan origin hill people) and the areas of "Dol" (Dol-po), and "Ko" (Tsarang Molla: 9b). In addition, other local sources such as traditional treaty and agreement documents and annals from the lower Lo and Thak regions also acknowledge A-mgon as the ruler of those respective areas (MHR doc. 7, 21 Tibetan, Gauchan VE 2037: 11-15).

A-mgon bzang-po took on even more responsibilities than his father, who had focused on making Lo/Mustang an independent and self-sufficient kingdom. A-mgon had to protect the newly emergent kingdom from threatened external attacks, as well as expand it and further shape an

ruler until around that time. A biographical source on a tantric saint gTsang-smyon he-ru-ka suggests that A-mgon's son, bKra-shis mgon, was the ruler of Lo/Mustang while the saint-visited Lo/Mustang in the early 1480s (probably after 1483) (GSH: 67, Vitali 1996: 532).

effective administration. Lo's immediate enemies, the Zhang-pa and gTso tsho-bar-pa), had already been crushed by the Lo/Mustang army in two different wars fought in 1441 and 1446. Although those wars occurred during A-ma-dpal's reign, both A-mgon and his brother were the main commanders at that time (dPal-ldan-bla-ma dam-pa: 27b-28a). About two decades after the final defeat of the Zhang-pa and gTso tsho-bar-pa armies, between 1461 and 1466, Lo/Mustang fought other wars, this time against the allied forces of La-stod lho-pa and Gung-thang (Vitali 1996: 531). Strangely, no information about their outcome has come to light.²⁰

By the 1460s, as Gung-thang and La-stod-lho were still trying to resist the expansion of Lo/Mustang in the north, the northern frontier of A-mgon's domain may have only expanded to around gTso tsho-bar. However, until Gung-thang and La-stod lho began to resist the forces of Lo/Mustang in the north, A-mgon likely controlled the areas up to around gTsang-po valley.²¹ Hence, in terms of military success and territorial expansion, A-mgon bzang-po's reign was the most distinguished time in Lo's history. Subduing and maintaining control over such a vast territory between Gu-ge-Pu-rang and the Nubri area near Gung-thang, was not a simple task for an emergent kingdom such as Lo/Mustang, and the *Tsarang Molla* describes him as the most famed king in the history of Lo/Mustang. According to the *Molla*, his fame had reached to the distant lands of people of unfamiliar languages and ethnic origins. Apparently glorifying him, the authors of the *Molla* declare that the entire populace living under the light of the sun accepted a-mgon's order (Tsarang Molla: 9b). In context, this description of the *Tsarang Molla* can only be interpreted to mean that A-mgon bzang-po was a strong and successful ruler of a vast territory and that chroniclers wished to portray him as such.

King A-mgon bzang-po was also famed for his patronage of culture and religion as well as for his organized and enlightened governance (ibid.). Local written sources such as the *Glo gdung-rabs*, *Tsarang Molla*, and *Tsang-drang bems-chag* describe the unprecedented contributions of this king in making Lo/Mustang one of the better-administered and most militarily and economically vigorous kingdoms in the Himalayan and western Tibetan regions. Moreover, these sources describe a condition of peace and prosperity reaching every corner of the kingdom.

²⁰ Nevertheless, the forces of Lo/Mustang were extremely powerful at the time, and as the villages in and around Manāng and Nubri were mostly controlled by a weak Gung-thang, we can surmise that they probably came under Lo's rule after this war.

²¹ One of the major portions of the domain of Lo, known as "Ko," had not been located by recent scholars. It might, however, refer to the original core domain of Lo/Mustang already subdued by A-mgon's ancestors. The word 'Ko' is usually translated as "entire," or "same" (very original) territory (Das 1983: 32). Thus the 'Ko' region discussed in the *Tsarang Molla* must be the core territory of Lo/Mustang, and "Mon" and "Dol" were presumably the territories occupied by Lo/Mustang at a later time.

In order to further refine and reform the administration, A-mgon is said to have created thirteen high-ranking official positions, and then systematically appointed qualified nobles to those positions (Tsarang Molla: 10a). A-mgon's younger brother, Amoghavajra assisted in Lo's day-to-day administration and defense management. Amogha was officially designated as chief of the army beginning in his father's time (MHR: 41, Vitali 1996: 486, Lo-Khen-h: 5a, Jackson 1984: 120).²² Still, he never eclipsed his older brother. King A-mgon sponsored large projects of religious importance such as copying sacred scriptures and establishing or renovating monasteries (ibid.).

A-mgon's rule was distinguished by a strong interest in religious matters and he forged strong links with religious dignitaries in the region. At the outset of his rule, he received the sacred advice of Lama Ngor-chen, whom he invited to Lo/Mustang for the consecration ceremony of the temple and giant statue of Byams-pa (the Tibetan name for Buddha Maitreya, the coming Buddha). Kun-dga' bzang-po was the abbot of the Ngor monastery in central Tibet, and not a Lo/Mustang native. Still, he served as the religious preceptor of A-mgon's father and stands as one of the three founding notables of the kingdom of Lo/Mustang. After the death of this Lama, A-mgon venerated the other Ngor abbot, E-wam 'Jam-dbyangs shes-rab rgya-mtsho (1396-1474) as his spiritual mentor. This Lama had visited and worked in Lo/Mustang as the first abbot (mKhan-po) of the new Namgyal monastery during A-ma-dpal's reign (Tsarang Molla: 9b, Jackson 1984: 154). In 1457, he visited Lo/Mustang once again at A-mgon-bzang-po's invitation (Jackson 1984: 42 n. 6). Later, during a large religious council held between 1472 and 1474, he again stayed in Lo/Mustang (Lo-Khen-h: 9b). A-mgon also welcomed two other famous abbots of the Ngor and gSer-mdog monasteries of Tibet, Ngor abbot rGyal-tshab Kun-dga' dbang-phyug (1425-1478) and gSer-mdog-can abbot Shakya-mchog-ldan Dri-med legs-pa'i-blo-gros (1428-1507). Lama rGyal-tshab Kun-dga' visited Lo/Mustang twice, in 1466 and 1477-78, and died there during his second visit. Similarly, the gSer-mdog-can abbot visited Lo/Mustang in 1472 and stayed until 1474 (Lo-Khen-h: 10a-11a, Lo-Khen-c, Jackson 1984: 154).²³

²² In the earlier years of his rule, A-mgon had two other younger brothers to assist him with matters of religion and culture. They were the abbot (Zhabs-drung) Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan of Tsarang monastery and the monk Rin-chen bzang-po (Lo-Khen-h: 5a). These two royal monks were also known by their nicknames, A-phan and A-rgyal respectively (Jackson 1984: 120).

²³ The *Tsarang Molla* acknowledges these two Lamas also to have been honored by A-mgon's son, bKra-shis mgon (fol. 10a). Since A-mgon was the ruler of Lo/Mustang until around the early 1480s, it appears that bKra-shis mgon must have honored them while he was Lo's very active rGyal-chung, junior or deputy king). This interpretation can be supported as Lo's tradition always allowed king's eldest son to be responsible for day-to-day administration of the kingdom as Drung-pa while the father king (Yab-rgyal-po) would go for

Among the most important contributions A-mgon made to the propagation of religion were the completion of the temple of Byams-pa, the founding of Brag-dkar theg-chen-gling monastery, the production of a complete sets of gold and silver letter copies of *bKa'-sgyur* and *bsTan-'gyur* (words of the Buddha, and commentaries), and the compilations of works of the five Sa-skya founders and of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (Tsarang Molla: 9a-10a, Tsarang Bems-chag: 4b-5a-b, MHR doc. 1 Tibetan). According to the biographical source on A-mgon's son, the monk Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Lo/Mustang king and officials arranged and sponsored a three-year-long religious council in Lo/Mustang between 1472 and 1475, which was devoted mainly to Buddhist teaching and debate. The council was so momentous that over nine hundred monks had attended the three-day-long inaugural lecture of mkhan-chen Yon-tan chos-rgyal of Tibet (Lo-Khen-h: 8b-9a).²⁴

Despite the many impressive aspects of A-mgon's rule, the biography of the Dol-po bla ma bSod-nams dbang-phyug (1516-1581) is strikingly critical of him. It relates the story of an internal conflict, which ultimately led to massive killings, looting, and an overall state of insecurity throughout Lo/Mustang (Snellgrove 1967: 235-236). This Lama also records a serious dispute between the king and his officials; at that time, a high Lama of Lo/Mustang, Chos-dpal bzang-po, was also opposed to the king and his brothers. As a result of a confrontation between the palace and a minister from a local elite family, the minister and his relatives from Byi-phug (Byi-ba-mkhar), were killed (*ibid.*).

LO/MUSTANG UNDER CHOS-RGYAL BKRA-SHIS MGON AND MGON-PO RGYAL-MTSHAN (LATE FIFTEENTH THROUGH THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY)

By about the middle of the fifteenth century, Lo's independence as a kingdom was fairly well established. Various sources describe a systematic succession, an efficient administration, and continued efforts to propagate a regional Buddhist tradition. The third independent ruler of Lo/Mustang was A-mgon's eldest son bKra-shis-mgon, who was also known from different sources as Tshangs-chen bKra-shis mgon dpal-bzang-po (Tsarang Molla: 10a, Jackson 1984:120). bKra-shis-mgon was probably born in 1445 or only a couple of years earlier (Lo-Khen-h: 6b-7a).²⁵ Fortunately, accounts (*dKar-*

meditation and spiritual practices. This was also about the time that the three-year-long religious council was organized in Lo/Mustang (Lo-Khen-h: 8b-9a).

²⁴ According to the *Tsarang Molla* the great temple of Thub-chen (Thub-chen rgyal-ba'i-pho-brang in Lo manthang was built under the sponsorship of bKra-shis-mgon (fol. 10b).

²⁵ His father A-mgon was twenty-six years old in 1445 and Glo-bo mkhan-chen was born in 1456 when his father was thirty-seven. Although a tentative birth date is available, not a single available document provides the date of his ascendance to the throne. We are told

chag) of Gami monastery and Mani 'khor-lo provide some information about the dates of his reign (Appendix doc. no. 24 Tibetan). According to this document, the construction of Gami monastery was sponsored by this king in 1512 (water-monkey year) (Gurung, 1986: 234).²⁶ bKra-shis mgon was very active from the early 1470s while his father and uncle remained the kingdom's official ruler and army commander, respectively. Since bKra-shis mgon's uncle Amoghavajra was alive until 1482 (Jackson 1984: 133), and that by all accounts he never ruled Lo/Mustang as his brother's successor, bKra-shis mgon's father must also have lived until about that year. Evidence indicates that bKra-shis enjoyed a prominent official role even before he assumed the throne. Since the system of voluntary retirement at their old age by father kings (Yab-rgyal-po or Yab sde-pa) from the state affair was common in Lo's history, king A-mgon must have been spending his time for meditation and other religious activities in the monastery. The *Tsarang Molla* asserts that bKra-shis mgon sponsored the construction of the great temple of Thub-chen (Thub-chen rgyal-ba'i pho-brang or Great śākyamuni Buddha's palace) in Lo manthang some time between 1470 and 1472 (Tsarang Molla: 10b). The *Tsarang Molla* also states that bKra-shis mgon had honored the Ngor abbot rGyal-tshab Kun-dga', who had died during his stay in Lo/Mustang in 1478. Similarly, at the invitation of bKra-shis mgon, the-gSer-mdog-can abbot Sha-kya mchog-ldan also visited Lo/Mustang and participated in the great religious council of 1472-74 (Tsarang Molla: 10a, Lo-Khen-h: 10a-11a, Jackson 1984:154). These sources concur that bKra-shis mgon was already involved in both political and cultural affairs of the kingdom when he was still a twenty-five or twenty-six year-old rGyal-chung. The tradition of getting retirement by father kings and handing over the responsibility of kingdom's administration to rGyal-chung and his brothers was very popular in Lo's history (see footnote no. 41 below for further proof).

Two more of bKra-shis mgon's brothers, A-mchog seng-ge or rDo-rje brtan-pa and bDe-legs rgya-mtsho, assisted him in the temporal matters of the kingdom; yet another younger brother, mNyams-med bSod-nams lhun-grub (1456-1532), stood apart as one of the most famed Tibetan Buddhist

in the autobiography of this king's younger brother, Glo-bo mkhan-chen, that bKra-shis mgon was a small boy when Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po paid his final visit to Lo/Mustang in 1447.

²⁶ Jackson by using the reference of a *dGongs-rdzogs* written by Glo-bo mkhan-chen calculates the date of bKra-shis mgon's death to be 1489 (Jackson 1984: 123, 141 n.37). However, the date given in the account (*dKar-chag*) of Gami monastery and Gami mani 'khor-lo contradicts this. Although believed to be linked with original historical tradition, the present texts of both *dKar-chags* from Gami were written only in the early eighteenth century and it is also not quite sure whether the available text of the *dGongs-rdzogs* by Glo-bo mkhan-chen is original copy or not so as the date/s described in it. Thus, further intensive work is essential to solve the problem related to the death of King bKra-shis mgon (please also refer foot-note no. 31 below).

scholars of his time, supervising the the religious affairs of the young kingdom. This royal Lama was renowned throughout Tibet by the title of *Glo-bo mkhan-chen*, translated as "mahasthavira" or the "great abbot" of Lo/Mustang (Tsarang Molla: 11a, Lo-Khen-h: 7b). According to this Lama's autobiography, in his earlier days, his youngest brother, bDe-legs rgya-mtsho, was also a monk; however, in the later part of his life, he rejected celibacy (Lo-Khen: *ibid.*). Glo-bo mkhan-chen introduces his older brother, A-mchog seng-ge (A-seng) rDo-rje-brtan-pa, and the younger brother bDe-legs rgya-mtsho as the middle and junior commissioners (sDe-pa bar-pa and sDe-pa chung-pa) of Lo/Mustang (Lo-Khen-h: 6b-7a, Lo-Khen-d: 199.3).²⁷ These two brothers have been addressed from time to time as as Lo/Mustang governor (sDe-pa) (GSH: 153, 185, Lo-Khen-h: 6b-7a, Lo-Khen-d: 199.3).

From the titles these brothers enjoyed, it appears that both were active in the administrative affairs of the kingdom. At that time, a tantric saint known as gTsang-smyon he-ru-ka, established an important relationship with Lo's ruling house (GSH 1969: 153, 177, Vitali 532-537). He visited Lo/Mustang several times and met with king bKra-shis mgon and his brothers, A-mchog seng-ge and bDe-legs rgya-mtsho, between 1482 and 1498 (GSH: 67, 153, 177, 185-186, 195, GSH-b: 102-104, Vitali 1996: 523, 532-536). The new king bKra-shis-mgon also received assistance from a capable minister named Tshe-dbang bzang-po, who was the father of a renowned native Buddhist scholar, Kun-dga' grol-mchog. According to Lama Kun-dga's autobiography, he was born in 1507 when his father, Minister Tshe-dbang was fifty years old and was actively working with the Lo/Mustang ruler (Jackson 1984: 154, n.17).

Although Glo-bo mkhan-chen occasionally acknowledged his brother bKra-shis mgon as sDe-pa chen-po (a title of a head commissioner), it appears that, up until that time, Lo/Mustang was fully independent (Lo-Khen-h: 6b-7a). As Glo-bo mkhan-chen was also a Tibet-trained Buddhist traditional scholar, he conformed to the manner in which high Lamas and authorities of Tibet addressed the Lo/Mustang rulers. However, in other writings, Glo-bo mkhan-chen often introduced the Lo/Mustang king bKra-shis mgon as a fully independent ruler, adorned with a title of *Chos-rgyal* (Lo-Khen-d). The biography of Lama bSod-nams blo-gros (1516-1581) of Dol-po also describes this king as an independent ruler. According to this biography, Lama bSod-nams' father and grandfather were appointed by bKra-shis mgon as high officials in his court, ambassadors to various palaces in Tibet, and military commanders (Snellgrove 1967: 84-85).²⁸

²⁷ Contrary to Lo's tradition, these two brothers married separate wives. A-mchog seng-ge married a princess of Gu-ge (GSH: 153, Vitali 523). As the youngest brother had abandoned the monkhood and plunged into worldly activity rather late in life, we can at least surmise that he also must have had his own wife.

²⁸ To Snellgrove's calculation of the date of this Lama's visit, we must add one more sixty-year cycle of the Tibetan calendar. Certain dating discrepancies might be accounted for

Like his father, bKra-shis mgon also subdued the territory between Ngari in the north and the capital of Parvat (Dhorālthānā or Benī) in the south (Tsarang Molla: 10a). His reign was distinguished by its successful wars against Gu-ge and Pu-rang (GHS 1969).

According to gTsang-smyon he-ru-ka's biography, Lo/Mustang fought at least five major wars with Pu-rang and Gu-ge between 1482 and 1497. (GSH: 67, 184-185, 187-188). The first of these was fought against Gu-ge in about 1483 and established Lo's supremacy over Pu-rang. bKra-shis mgon's second brother, A-mchog seng-ge, may have led Lo's army in this war, for at about this time, he enjoyed a close connection with influential families through his marriage to a member of Gu-ge's royal family (GSH: 153, Vitali 1996: 523). During this campaign, Lo/Mustang destroyed Gu-ge's large force, and severed heads of vanquished Gu-ge soldiers were brought and displayed at the main gate of Lo manthang; gTsang-smyon he-ru-ka had witnessed this display (GSH: 67). After this Lo/Mustang-Gu-ge war, bKra-shis mgon's youngest brother, sDe-pa bDe-legs rgya-mtsho, also known as bDe-rgyam-pa in gtsang-smyon's biography, assumed charge of the western affairs, particularly those of Pu-rang and rGyal-ti (a small area between Pu-rang and Lo/Mustang). During all four wars fought between Lo/Mustang and Pu-rang in the 1490s, he led Lo's army and later acted as its main representative in bilateral talks and agreements (GSH: 184-185, 187-188). Although Lo/Mustang was certainly trying to maintain its supremacy over Pu-rang, the immediate cause of the first war, according to gtsang-smyon's biography, was the supremacy of Lo/Mustang over rGyal-ti, a western Tibetan settlement located some where between Pu-rang and Gro-shod. This dispute was finally settled in an agreement, which gTsang-smyon himself had helped negotiate (GSH: 184-185).

Yet for a long time both rGyal-ti and Pu-rang appear to have disregarded the terms of the agreement. bde-legs again attacked Pu-rang, and Lo's army, headed by the governor himself, was badly defeated by the allied force of Pu-rang and rGyal-ti. Many Lo-pa army men, including some generals, were then tortured and killed (GSH: 187). Still, Lo/Mustang would not concede rGyal-ti to Pu-rang and the yearly tribute it had produced, and again attacked Pu-rang, this time defeating it. Pu-rang was again forced to accept tributary status, agreeing to pay the same amount of yearly tribute to Lo/Mustang that it had once paid to the kings of gu-ge (GSH: 187). The final war between Lo/Mustang and Pu-rang erupted around 1497 when Pu-rang's governor, sNyan-grags-pa, rebelled. Lo's army crushed the entire Pu-rang force

by the conversion of Tibetan dates to other. The Tibetan calendar consists of sixty-year cycles, combining the twelve animal signs of the Chinese calendar and the five Tibetan elements of fire, earth, iron, water, and wood. In traditional dating, a particular year is described according to its place in this cycle, making its identification according to the Roman calendar relatively simple as long as the sixty-year period embracing specific events can be determined.

marking the climax of the Lo-Pu-rang hostility, Pu-rang's governor and his family were brutally slain (GSH: 188).

During peacetime, however, the Lo/Mustang rulers and their high officials paid regular good-will visits to Pu-rang. Between about 1493 and 1503, one of bKra-shis mgon's brothers, several of his ministers, and various high officials of Lo/Mustang visited Pu-rang to inspect and participate in the renovation of the monastery and temple of Kho-char, near the border of Pu-rang and Jumla (JKK: 12a-13a, Vitali 1996: 537). Apparently, between the battles, Lo/Mustang was striving to preserve its conquered distant territories such as Pu-rang and Gu-ge.

Again like his father, king bKra-shis mgon was also accomplished many reforms, both spiritual and secular (Tsarang Bems-chag-MHR: doc. 1, 15 Tibetan). The *Tsarang Molla* insists that the contribution of this king to the spiritual and secular progress in Lo/Mustang was incomparable (Tsarang Molla: 10a). His reign has been widely described and remembered as a time of educational and cultural progress in Lo/Mustang. Lo/Mustang became a meeting place for Buddhist scholars, both native and foreign, and scholars from distant places, including Magadha (India), Simhala (Sri Lanka), Bal-yul (Kathmandu, Nepal), Kha-che (Kashmir), and Bod (Tibet) made pilgrimages to Lo/Mustang (Tsarang Molla: 10a-10b, Tsarang bems-chag: 4a-5b, MHR doc. 1 Tibetan, KGJ: 17b, 19b). Besides the king's own brother, some of the prominent visiting Buddhist scholars who translated texts and taught religious and philosophical discourses at that time were Paṇḍitaśiromaṇi Lokatārā of Magadha, Gu-ge pan-chen Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, Simhalese Paṇḍita dharmadivākara (Chos-kyi byed), sNye-shang lo-tsha-ba, and the Lamas associated with king bKra-shis mgon (KGJ: 17b-19b, Tsarang Molla: 10b-11a, Glo-gdung-rabs, Jackson 1984: IX, 155, n. 26 etc.). During bKra-shis mgon's reign, Lo/Mustang was the site where many scholarly books on Buddhism were written and translated into Tibetan from Sanskrit for the first time (Tsarang Molla: 10b-11a). Most of these scholarly activities were carried out under the energetic monastic leadership of the king's brother, Zhabs-drung Lama Glo-bo mkhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub. As Glo-bo mkhan-chen was a royal abbot of the great monastic and educational center in Tsarang (Tibetan, Thub-bstan bshad-sgrub dar-rgyas-gling, he was able to bring many prominent foreign Paṇḍitas and monks to study at his institution. He himself was a disciplined and highly skilled teacher of Buddhist religion and philosophy and the author of more than a dozen scholarly works, including his autobiography (Tsarang Molla: 11a). Thus, Glo-bo mkhan-chen was recognized as one of the leading contributors to the Tibetan Buddhist writing of his time (Lo-Khen-h: 11a-11b, KGJ: 22a-24a, SDR: 548.3). He was also recognized by key authorities as an incarnation of a former abbot of the Ngor monastery (KGJ: *ibid.*, and Lo-

Khen-h: *ibid.*, Tsarang Molla: 11a, MHR: doc. 1, 15a-15b, 20, Jackson 1984: 123-124, appendix F).²⁹

In spite of the short length of his reign, king bKra-shis-mgon achieved remarkable religious, cultural, and educational gains. After witnessing the range of religious, educational, and cultural activities in Lo/Mustang, a prominent Buddhist scholar from India, Paṇḍitaśiromaṇi Lokatārā, once eulogized this king's fame as having travelled as far as the distant lands near the ocean.³⁰ Still, there is confusion over the date of bKra-shis mgon's death (Jackson 1984: 141).³¹

KING MGON-PO RGYAL-MTSHAN OR GRAGS-PA MTHA'-YAS AND HIS BROTHER BSTAN-PA'I-RGYA-MTSHO (FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY)

King bKra-shis mgon had three sons. The middle one, mGon-po rgyal-mtshan, also known as Grags-pa mtha'-yas, was his father's successor. His elder brother, Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan, was a monk and abbot (Zhab-drung) of the royal monastery of Tsarang. The youngest brother, bsTan-pa'i rgyal-mtsho, was a governor (sDe-pa) (Jackson 1984: 125).³² mGon-po rgyal-

²⁹ bKra-shis mgon is also credited with sponsoring various ambitious projects, like the building of temples and monasteries. Among these are the great temple and image of Thub-chen (śākyamuni), the structure annexed to the monastic center known as Thub-bstan dar-rgyas gling at the old Namgyal monastery site, the monastery of Gami chos-sde in Gami, two huge Ma ni 'khor-lo in Gami and Tsarang townships, and two large Stupas in Lo Monthang (Tsarang Molla: 10b, MHR doc. 1, 15a-b, Gurung 1986:228, 234).

³⁰ Jackson translates the statement of Paṇḍita Lokatrā given in the *Glo gdung-rabs* as "O Dharmaraja, because your excellent fame exists as far as the distant shores of the ocean, to behold your face brings great happiness to the mind. Therefore, I have come in order to look [upon you]" (Jackson 1984: IX).

³¹ Several sources indicate that bKra-shis mgon died between 1512 and 1514, most probably in 1513. According to Lama Kun-dga' grol-mchog, the abbot of Ngor monastery was dKon-mchog 'phel, while Glo-bo mkhan-chen (bKra-shis-mgon's brother) left the monastery to return home (Lo) (KGJ: 48b). A record states that this Ngor abbot died in the year 1514 (Jackson 1984: 141). In his autobiography, Glo-bo mkhan-chen recalls that at the time of his arrival in Lo/Mustang from Tibet, bKra-shis mgon was dead (Lo-Khen-h: 13a). We are also informed by the account (*dKar-chag*) of Gami monastery that bKra-shis mgon sponsored its construction in 1512 (water-monkey year) (Appendix- doc. 24 Tibetan, Gurung 1986: 234). This means that only two years elapsed between the date of the last reference to bKra-shis mgon and the date of his brother Glo-bo mkhan-chen's arrival in Lo/Mustang. bKra-shis mgon must have died in this interval. Please also refer footnote no. 26 above.

³² Some sources refer to this king with two different names. For example, the account of 'Chi-med (Jackson 1984: appendix G) uses the name mGon-po rgyal-mtshan. The *Tsarang Molla* introduces him as Grags-pa mtha'-yas (fol. 11a). bCo-brgyad khri-chen uses both of these names, as if the king were named mGon-po rgyal-mtshan grags-pa mtha'-yas (RCPT: 6). Among these names, the most prominent was mGon-po rgyal-mtshan, because two of the most respected spiritual figures, Glo-bo mkhan-chen (the king's uncle) and the royal nun Kun-dga' chi-med both use it (Jackson 1984: appendix G, 122, 125, 200, Lo-Khen-f: 5-28, Lo-Khen-b: 329-341).

mtshan's elder brother blo-gros was a disciple of the abbot of gSer-mdog-can Shakya mchog-ldan and the famous Tibetan tantric, gTsang-smyon he-ru-ka. Both had been in contact with Lo's ruling family since the time of king bKra-shis mgon (GSH: 177, Vitali 1996: 537). mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan is said to have successfully maintained the system of traditional patronage to the major monastic centers (Tsarang Molla: 11a-11b, Sri-mi'i-dbang-phyug, Jackson 1984: 126). This is corroborated by the latter's involvement in restoring the temple of Kha-char (Khojarnath) in 1495 (Vitali 1996: 537). Besides this royal monk, during the reign of mGon-po rgyal-mtshan, Lo/Mustang produced two other famed scholars of Buddhism, Padma dbang-rgyal (1487-1542) and his younger brother Rig-'dzin Legs-ldan bdud-'joms rdo-rje (1500-1577) (Dudjom Rinpoche and Yese Dorje 1991: 805-808, Smith 1970: 2, Padma-'phrin-las 1972: 305-376). The elder Padma dbang-rgyal was known in Tibet by the title of *mNga'-ris pan-chen*, the great scholar of Ngari (ibid.).³³

mGon-po rgyal-mtshan became the king of Lo/Mustang around 1513, after the death of his father. By that time, the neighboring kingdom of Jumlā had gained power in the region and the relative prestige of Lo/Mustang began to wane. According to the *Tsarang Molla*, mGon-po-rgyal-mtshan maintained his rule over the traditional areas of Lo/Mustang but could no longer assume to control its more outward and recently subdued areas. No new structures of religious importance were constructed during mGon-po rgyal-mtshan's reign, and thus he only maintained the spiritual and secular order already established by his ancestors (Tsarang Molla: 11a-11b).

According to an old document found in the Thak region, the territory between Ko-ra-lha in the north and Ghansa (near the border of Myagdi district) in the south constituted the boundaries of the kingdom of Lo/Mustang during mGon-po rgyal-mtshan's reign, and the territory of Lo/Mustang must have shrunk (MHR doc. 7 Tibetan). Its authority over Purang and other western Tibetan frontier regions was probably abandoned as well. This was a result of the rising power of Jumlā in the upper Karnālī region, and Jumli rulers by then were launching a military campaign against the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley with the intention of capturing the vital north-south trade route that had sustained Lo/Mustang (Snellgrove 1967: 88-91). The local chronicles of Lo/Mustang also indicate, if indirectly, its demeaned condition during mGon-po rgyal-mtshan's reign, especially when compared to the glorious earlier days of the kingdom of Lo/Mustang. For example, the

³³ Padma dbang-rgyal was one of the most prominent scholars of the rNying-ma pa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. Gene Smith has collected information of a text of writings by this scholar entitled *mNga'-ris pan-chen gyi gsung-mams*, a xylograph, 48 pages, rDo-rje brag blocks, catalogue available at the Himalayan and Inner Asian Resource Center, Trace Foundation, New York. Padma dbang-rgyal's one of the most important literary works is known as *sDom-gsum nam-par nges-pa'i bstan-bcos* (Dudjom Rinpoche and Yese Dorje 1991: 808, Padma 'phrin-las 1972: 374).

Tsarang Molla does not eulogize this king as it eulogizes his ancestors, as masters of a multi-lingual and multi-cultural kingdom. Nor is he lauded as king of an extended territory (Tsarang Molla: 11a). The *Tsarang Molla* reports that frequent external attacks forced mGon-po rgyal-mtshan into many defensive wars against local aggressors (Tsarang Molla: 11a). These attackers could be none other than the Jumli. A Lo-born Lama of Dol-po also recounts one of Jumlā's invasions and the loss of Lo's grain and property to Jumlā in 1544 (Snellgrove 1967: 91). We cannot ascertain whether mGon-po-rgyal mtshan was the ruler of Lo/Mustang until that time; still, this event certainly occurred during the reign of either mGon-po rgyal-mtshan (generation four) or bKra-shis stob-rgyas (generation five). The *Tsarang bems-chag* excludes the names of the Lo/Mustang rulers during these two pivotal generations (MHR: doc. 1 Tibetan). Perhaps the situation of Lo/Mustang deteriorated because of the Jumli occupation. Furthermore, the old monarchy had been reduced, for all purposes, to a position of local rulership.

STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE (1540s – 1788)

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the kingdom of Jumlā began to launch its expansion in the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī region, including Lo/Mustang. Jumlā emerged as one of the major successors of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom. Its difficult terrain encouraged its forces to develop flexible, fighting techniques that could overwhelm forces from plateau areas, like much of the Tibetan region. Jumlā's increasing strength in the wake of the Khaśas' collapse, and the sophistication of its fighters, produced over two hundred years of travail for Lo/Mustang.

Lo's genealogical sources also indicate that Lo/Mustang fell after or during the reign of mGon-po rgyal-mtshan (Tsarang Molla: 11a). According to the *Glo-gdung-rabs*, king mGon-po rgyal-mtshan, like his father, had three sons. He reportedly had another male offspring of ambiguous status. This boy was probably the product of the king's brother brTan-pa'i-rgya-mtsho and their common wife or queen, and represented the fifth generation of Lo's ruling line (Jackson 1984:121, 127). This complicated generation is omitted from the *Tsarang Molla*. Compared to the titles of independent rulers, such as *A-ham*, *A-mgon*, *Mi-dbang*, *Sa-bang*, these two less distinguished titles indicate that the ruling brothers of this generation were not able to claim any status higher than that of local chieftains. On the other hand, we are also told by other local sources that the titles *Khri-thog-pa* and *sDe-pa* were granted exclusively to the local governors appointed by or working under the main rulers of Lo/Mustang itself (MHR: 138-41). According to the *Glo-gdung rabs*, the three sons of king mGon-po rgyal-mtshan were *Khri-thog-pa* bKra-shis stobs-rgyas (also known as bKra-shis-stob-rgyal), *sDe-pa* Kun-dga' blo-gros, and Chos-mdzad bSod-nams dpal-

'bar (monk), respectively (Jackson 1984: 120,127). Another royal personality of this generation was sDe-pa A-drung or 'Jam-dbyangs rin-chen rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (Jackson 1984: 126-127, Lo-Khen-b: 329-341).³⁴ The sons of king mGon-po rgyal-mtshan and his brother are not included in most of the sources; also, the *Glo gdung-rabs* introduces the main ruler of this generation only as *Khri-thog-pa*, a title commonly used for a local commissioner.

One explanation is that Lo/Mustang was captured by the Jumli forces, leaving the Lo/Mustang ruler only with a title of local chief. Even the royal abbot of this generation, Chos-mdzad bSod-nams dpal-'bar, is addressed without the traditional title of Zhabs-drung or Chos-dpon (successor of the royal religious throne of the old monastery in Tsarang). Beginning in the early 1540s, the Jumlis intended to capture the most important north-south trade route of the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī region and by the early 1550s, Jumli authorities had probably established a permanent military camp at Kāgbenī in lower Lo.

After mGon-po rgyal-mtshan died, Lo/Mustang was troubled not only by Jumlā's occupation but also by a serious internal power conflict and civil war. While his energetic brother brTan-pa'i-rgya-mtsho took charge of the kingdom, mGon-po rgyal-mtshan's sons were already waiting to succeed their uncle in due course. However, the son of brTan-pa'i-rgya-mtsho, probably born after his uncle's death, apparently grew ambitious and influential. Having given up monkhood, he assumed the title of sDe-pa (local governor), presumably of the southern districts of Gelung (dGe-lung) and Gami (Gad-smad). King mGon-po rgyal-mtshan's eldest son bKra-shis stobs-rgyal must have become the dPon-drung (head of the house hold) of the main palace in Monthang (Lo Monthang), while his younger brother Kun-dga' blo-gros probably became the district governor of Tsarang. Since the youngest brother bKra-shis stobs-rgyas was a monk, brTan-pa'i-rgya-mtsho's son A-drung, must have become the regional ruler of the other two southern districts. Because of his location and position, it is likely that A-drung made agreements with the Jumli governor, opposing his cousins in Monthang and Tsarang. A contemporary biography of Lama Chos-skyabs dpal-bzangs also describes some internal disputes in Lo/Mustang resulting from power conflicts among the regional governors of the lower, middle, and upper districts of the kingdom (Snellgrove 1967: 164-166). These conflicts in Lo/Mustang had given Jumlā a convenient opportunity to invade Lo/Mustang and demote its ruler to the status of a local chieftain. Hence, the

³⁴ Since the *Glo gdung-rabs* introduces this person as sDe-pa (Regional Commissioner) A-drung, and the work of *Glo-bo mkhan-chen* introduces him as a royal monk by another name, we can infer he was a monk in his earlier days and a secular person later. He must have adopted the nickname "A-drung," probably an abbreviation of the Tibetan phrase *A-mgon-gyi drung-pa*. This translates as "noble house-holder of the lineage of the ruling family of Lo/Mustang." As the *Glo gdung-rabs* refers to his son, he must have married at some point.

middle of the sixteenth century was the beginning of Juṃlā's penetration and the decline of Lo's prestige (MHR: 225-28).

After the loss of its heightened status, Lo/Mustang never recovered. Although its rulers, together with their allies and subjects, worked valiantly to win back their independence, they were almost always defeated. Juṃlā annexed the entire western and southern territories of Lo/Mustang, as well as Dolpo, Tarap, Tsharka, Lagumkhola, Bharrong, Gelung, and the Kāg-Bāragāun region of lower Lo. Consequently, the territory of Lo/Mustang shrunk to a small area around its capital, Monthang.³⁵ The Thak region, including most of the Pānchgāun area of lower Lo eventually came under the control of the kingdom of Parvat (Tibetan, gru) (MHR: 256-57).

Still, the Lo-pa authorities sought assistance in regaining their freedom from Juṃlā. They began the effort of seeking external assistance during the lifetime of king rGya-hor dpal-bzang (king c.1560). This phase of Lo's struggle with Juṃlā continued until the incorporation of Parvat and Juṃlā into Nepal by Gorkha in the late 1780s. Within this period of about 240 years, the Lo/Mustang rulers were occasionally able to regain independence for limited periods by joining forces with various allies, including Parvat, Ladakh, Gro-shod (in Tibet), and even Doti. Lo-pa rulers were also able to win the gracious support of the Dalai Lama of Tibet. One example of the resistance of Lo/Mustang involves several wars fought during the reigns of king bSam-'grub dpal-'bar, his son, and his grandson, Tshe-dbang lhun-grub and bKra-shis nam-rgyal, generations ten, eleven, and twelve of the Lo/Mustang ruling line. (MHR: 228-239). Loss of the income previously generated by the north-south trade and custom levies in lower Lo, prevented Lo/Mustang from maintaining a strong military presence along its frontiers. In order to fight against Juṃlā, external support was essential for Lo/Mustang. But after the mid-sixteenth century, external military support was neither constant nor reliable, and Juṃlā, the immediate strong enemy, invaded Lo/Mustang frequently (MHR: 224-239).

Before reviewing the details of Lo-Juṃlā conflicts, let us examine the genealogical history of Lo/Mustang after generation five. According to the *Glo gdung-rabs*, Khri-thog-pa bKra-shis stobs-rgyal's eldest son and successor was rGya-hor dpal-bzang (Jackson 1984: 127-128). He successfully regained the title of *Chos-rgyal* (Dharmarājā) or independent ruler.³⁶ Still, there is a dearth of chronological evidence of king rGya-hor

³⁵ This area comprises the traditional seven core districts of Lo/Mustang, known as *Glo tsho-bdun*, the territory between Ko-ra-lha and Gami.

³⁶ The *Tsarang Molla* skips the *gDung-rabs'* generation five and acknowledges King rGya-hor dpal-bzang and his brother, sDe-pa bKra-shis 'od-'bar (or bSod-nams bkra-shis) as mGon-po rgyal-mtshan's sons (Tsarang Molla: 11b). Similarly, the *Glo gdung-rabs* also acknowledges the grandson of sDe-pa A-grung as a royal monk of this generation. But the sources are silent as to whether he was enthroned on the seat of zhabs-drung at Tsarang Monastery. This confusion arises particularly because a nineteenth-century manuscript,

dpal-bzang's reign. According to Jackson, this king may have ruled around 1550 (Jackson 1984: 1354). But based on the last available date of this king's great grandfather, bKra-shis mgon (1512) and the tentative date of the first Jumli invasion (1544), he apparently became king of Lo/Mustang only around 1560.³⁷ It is clear that the invasion of 1544 was only the beginning of Jumlā's occupation; its military campaigns continued through the following decades.

There is little mention of rGya-hor dpal-bzang's reign, except that he sponsored a large number of religious sculptures, Stupas, and books. According to the *Tsarang Molla*, this king did not make any noticeable contribution to the kingdom's development but simply maintained his ancestors' traditions (Tsarang Molla: 11b). The *Glo gdung-rabs* recounts that the king's younger brother, bKra-shis 'od-'bar, who was a regional commissioner, assisted in ruling the kingdom (Jackson 1984: 120, 128, 134). According to the *Glo gdung-rabs*, king rGya-hor died without producing a son of his own: however, from the union of his brother and their common wife, there were three sons to succeed the throne (Jackson 1984: 128). rGya-hor probably ruled Lo/Mustang only briefly. He was succeeded first by his brother bKra-shis-'od-'bar, who may have ruled until about the 1580s. Until that time, Lo/Mustang had been severely afflicted by the Jumli aggression and the rulers of this generation could not preserve the embattled kingdom. Perhaps this turmoil explains why neither the *Tsarang Molla* nor *Glo gdung rabs* supply any substantial information about this generation.³⁸

bKra-shis-'od-'bar's son, Don-grub rdo-rje, ruled from c. 1580 to 1594, and like his father, uncle, and great-grandfather, he held the title of A-ham (Tsarang Molla: 11b, Jackson 1984: 121). Although the exact date of his reign is not available, from dates of his son's and grandson's reigns, as well as chronological evidence in the biographical literature on Dolpo Lama Chos-skyabs dpal-bzang (1536-1625), we can determine that he ruled between about 1580 and 1594. Lama Chos-skyabs's autobiography mentions this king's brother (sDe-pa rab-brtan, nicknamed 'O-lo) as the Lama's devoted disciple, who died while visiting Dolpo in the spring of 1591, while Don-grub rdo-rje was still the main ruler of Lo/Mustang (Snellgrove 1967:

dealing with the career and achievements of the royal abbots of Tsarang monastery, surprisingly omits this name from the list (Jackson 1984: 198, appendix F).

³⁷ King mGon-po rgyal-mtshan's brother, brtan-pa'l rgya-mtsho (generation four) may have ruled until around 1530s or the early 1540s, and then was succeeded by rGya-hor's father (generation five). If we calculate by giving each generation about fifteen to twenty years, rGya-hor dpal-bzang's time of ascension would fall between 1560 to 1565. This estimate is supported by the available dates of the reign of rGya-hor's nephew, Don-grub rdo-rje and his son bSam-grub rdo-rje, as discussed below.

³⁸ The main difference between generations five and six is the difference in titles of the Lo/Mustang rulers. For example, rGya-hor dpal-bzang (generation six) assumed the high titles of *Chos-rgyal* and *A-ham* but bKra-shis stob rgyal (generation five) was known only as *Khri-thog-pa*, a lower title (Tsarang Molla: 11b, Jackson 1984: 121).

167). In the summer of that year, Don-grub also visited Lama Chos-skyabs in Dolpo with his ministers and servants (*ibid.*).³⁹ Don-grub made his final visit to Dolpo in 1594, during which he performed many spiritual functions under the direction of Lama Chos-skyabs (*ibid.*: 169). Since in 1594, both father (Don-grub) and son (bSam-'grub rdo-rje) were mentioned as ruling kings of Lo/Mustang, bSam-'grub rdo rje must have succeeded his father that year. Don-grub was the ruling king of record when he visited the Lama in Dolpo in the early part of 1594 (Snellgrove 1967: 169).

Lama Chos-skyab's biography tells that by the Jumlā king's request, he had mediated a serious dispute in the early 1580s between the ruler of upper Lo and the Jumli authorities in lower Lo (Snellgrove 1967: 153). Lama Chos-skyab mediated again in about 1591, when the Lo king clashed with local governors, including those of Se-rib, or lower Lo (Snellgrove 1967: 166).

King Don-grub rdo-rje was assisted by his brother, sDe-pa rab-brtan in the secular duties of the kingdom. Religious aspects were supervised by his elder brother 'Jam-dbyangs-pa, the abbot (Zhabs-drung) of Tsarang monastery (Tsarang Molla: 11b, Jackson 1984: 128, appendix F).

The fact that Don-grub rdo-rje occupies a prominent place in various genealogical sources suggests that the position of Lo/Mustang during his reign was improved. The *Tsarang Molla* claims that king Don-grub defeated his enemies and the enemy-host by strengthening Lo's army (Tsarang Molla: 11b). This description probably refers to disputes between Lo/Mustang proper and the governors of lower Lo, including the governors (sDe-pa and Khri-thog-pa) of Gelung, lower Lo and the people of Khang-kar, a village near Gami.⁴⁰ Don-grub is also lauded as a king with great wisdom and intellect (Tsarang Molla: 11b). He sponsored the construction of strong forts and palaces such as bSam-'grub dge-'phel in Tsarang and the renovations of many monasteries, including the venerable one at Lo Gekar (Glo-bo dge-dkar) (Tsarang Bems-chag MHR: doc. 1 Tibetan, Tsarang Molla: *ibid.*). Although Lo/Mustang was still struggling for self-sufficiency at this time, the *Tsarang bems-chag* asserts that don-grub spread the fame of his kingdom to distant places.

According to these sources, Lo/Mustang may have defeated Jumli forces several times in lower Lo under Don-grub's leadership, but not without external help. Around this time, the Ladakhi army of king Tshe-dbang nam-rgyal conquered a vast territory, including Pu-rang, Jumlā, and several other western Tibetan frontier districts (Francke 1926: 105). Although the Ladakhi royal chronicle claims that the Ladakhi army also conquered Lo/Mustang,

³⁹ Most probably, Don-grub visited this lama in order to conduct religious services commemorating the king's brother.

⁴⁰ Lower Lo had always been part of Lo's geography and the greater Tibetan culture, but its location eventually made it an expanded territory of Jumla, and Indo-Aryan, frontier. Although regional politics did not disturb its local culture, this area became a political pawn.

descriptions of Lo's internal situation suggest that Ladakh's army had come to Lo/Mustang simply to assist it. The Ladakhi army was on its way back to Ladakh from a victorious campaign in the eastern frontier areas. At that time, Jumli activity in Lo/Mustang had become unbearable, and the request of the Lo/Mustang ruler brought the Ladakhi army to Lo/Mustang to fight against the Jumli force and to rescue the people of Lo/Mustang from the hegemony of Jumlā. Subsequently in lower Lo, the allied force of Ladakh and Lo/Mustang defeated the Jumli force and the king of Jumlā was compelled to ask for the mediation of the Dolpo Lama. If the relative position of Lo/Mustang to Jumlā had not improved, the Jumli king would certainly not have asked for mediation. It is clear that the Jumli army had invaded Lo/Mustang several times and worked hard to control the entire Lo/Mustang region, but not with lasting success. Consequently, with the help of religious leaders of the region, Jumlā and Lo/Mustang engaged in mediated dialogues and forged diplomatic agreements (Snellgrove 1967:153, 164, 166).

The *Molla* and other genealogical sources do not reveal much about bSam-'grub rdo-rje. However, Lama Chos-skyabs dpal-bzang's biography claims that the Jumli king and his officials were still attempting to gain this Lama's support, presumably for their political designs in Lo/Mustang. Instead, the Lama became highly critical of the suppressive policies of the Jumlis and expressed his hope that the devils, or non-human entities, of Jumlā would be destroyed, and that Jumlā's people would be filled with human wisdom (Snellgrove 1967: 170). Jumlis, therefore, must still have been an active, if threatening, force in Lo/Mustang and Dolpo.

King bSam-'grub rdo-rje was succeeded by his only son, bSam-'grub rab-brtan (also known as bSam-'grub rab-brtan phyogs thams-cad-las nmam-par rgyal-ba) in about 1610 (Jackson 1984: appendix G). This king ruled for more than forty years.⁴¹

bSam-'grub rab-brtan married a highly educated woman, a Ladakhi princess named Nyi-zla rgyal-mo, according to Lama bCo-brgyad khri-chen Thub-bstan legs-bshad rgya-mtsho (RCPT). As the *Tsarang Molla* reports, his wife helped this king reform the kingdom's laws, as well as sponsor the usual plethora of sculptures, religious texts, and Stupas (Tsarang Molla:

⁴¹ On the basis of a 1611 official order, the account of Byams-pa temple of 1663, and several documents regarding the subsequent king, bSam-'grub dpal-'bar, we can estimate the dates of bSam-'grub rab-brtan's reign more precisely. A copperplate inscription of King Virabhadra Shahi of Jumla dated 1656 confirms that, in that year or a year before, bSam-'grub dpal-'bar succeeded his father, bSam-'grub rab-brtan (Vajracarya and Shrestha VE. 2032: 22, MHR doc. 58-59 Nepali). The account of byams-pa temple on the other hand, tells that bSam-'grub rab-brtan was still alive and guiding his sons until 1663 (MHR doc. 20 Tibetan). The Byams-pa account also confirms that bSam-'grub rab-brtan and his wife were very old and the temple of Byams-pa was renovated by their sons, King bSam-'grub dpal-'bar and his brother, dedicating it for their parents' long life. On this basis, we may be able to conclude that bSam-'grub rab-brtan ruled Lo/Mustang between about 1610 and 1655.

12a). He was also lauded as a courageous ruler who defended the kingdom and intimidated its enemies, a leader of wisdom and virtue (Tsarang Molla: *ibid.*, MHR doc. 3 Tibetan). Such praise suggests that Lo/Mustang may have defeated the allied forces of Jumlā and lower Lo, perhaps several times. The biography of Lama bsTan-'dzin-ras-pa (1646-1723) and the royal chronicle of Ladakh describe several Jumli attacks on Lo/Mustang and counter attacks by the allied force of Lo/Mustang and Ladakh. The Ladakhi source claims that both upper and lower Lo were brought under Ladakh's control and that Ladakh also received gifts and other offerings from the rulers of Lo/Mustang. This does not automatically suggest that Ladakh had defeated Lo/Mustang, because no evidence exists of a state of enmity or warfare between them at any time (Francke 1972 II: 110, bSod-nams-tshe-brtan 1976: 375, 389). Rather, the Ladakhi account of Lo/Mustang may gesture to Lo's deference as a weaker ally in the fight against Jumli aggression in lower Lo. At least two or three times during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the royal houses of Lo/Mustang and Ladakh were bound by matrimonial relationships (MHR: 241-253).

Lama bsTan-'dzin ras-pa also recorded a war between Lo/Mustang and Jumlā in 1652, precipitated by a dispute between the Lo/Mustang king and the Jumli-leaning commissioners of lower Lo. (TR: 2a-2b). During a diplomatic conference held at Kāgbenī, a local governor, previously an official of Lo/Mustang, was reportedly assaulted by the Lo/Mustang king himself. Following this incident, a large Jumli force--led by the king of Jumlā himself--occupied Lower Lo, raising local taxes and levies on ordinary people. The occupying Jumlis killed a huge number of Lopa people, and, unusually, even the noble families of lower Lo suffered economically and politically. A disastrous food shortage throughout the entire Lo/Mustang region followed this war (TR: *ibid.*, Jackson 1978: 220).

KING bSAM-'GRUB DPAL-'BAR AND HIS ATTEMPT TO MAINTAIN LO'S INDEPENDENCE

The tenth generation of Lo's ruling line assumed power when bSam-'grub dpal-'bar, the third son of bSam-'grub rab-brtan, took the throne in about 1656. According to *Tsarang Molla*, *Glo gdung-rabs* and other local sources, bSam-'grub dpal-'bar's younger brother, A-mchog brtan-pa, acted as joint ruler. The *Glo gdung-rabs* introduces him as *Sa-dbang* (Sanskrit, bhūpati, or lord of the earth) and the account (*Bems-chag*) written by Princess Chimed acknowledges him as *Mi-dbang* (Sanskrit, nareśa, or lord of human beings) (Jackson 1984: 121, appendix G).⁴²

⁴² bSam-'grub dpal-'bar's second elder brother, 'Jam-dbyangs bSod-nams bstan-'dzin dbang-po, was a monk and abbot of the royal monastery of Tsarang (Tsarang-Molla: 12b, Byams-pa dkar-chag, MHR doc. 20 Tibetan, Jackson 1984: 121, 129, 134, appendices F-G).

The reign of bSam-'grub dpal-'bar and his brother, A-mchog brtan-pa'i rdo-rje, is comparatively well covered by local and external sources. The earliest of them is a copper-plate order of king Virabhadra Shahi of Jumlā dated SE 1578 (1656), which probably marks the beginning of bSam-'grub dpal-'bar and his brother's rule in Lo/Mustang.⁴³ The text of the inscription indicates that there was a popular tradition of issuing a new *dharmapatra* from Jumlā at any time of royal transition in Lo/Mustang.⁴⁴ The main purpose of this order was to renew or reaffirm terms or conditions fixed earlier by former rulers. The inscription apparently expresses Jumlā's refusal to acknowledge Lo/Mustang as a kingdom; even the primary ruler of Lo/Mustang, bSam-'grub dpal-'bar, is addressed merely as a commissioner (MHR Doc. 1 Nepali, Vajracarya and Shrestha VE 2032: doc. no. 26).

The Jumli presence in Lo/Mustang was not only motivated by the ideas of physical conquest, but also of economic interest. Since Lo/Mustang was located along an important north-south trade route, Jumlā's main goal was to capture the major trade centers of the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley. Jumli rulers also intended to increase their revenue by imposing different kinds of extraordinary levies and establishing a tradition of collecting yearly and occasional gifts from Lo/Mustang (MHR doc. Khral-gyi Bems-chag 1-2). Thus, ever since the mid-sixteenth century Jumli occupation in the upper Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley, Lo/Mustang was economically and politically devastated. Jumli aggression in the Lo/Mustang region did not stop in the following centuries. Consequently, the old tradition of sponsorship of religious and cultural objects and structures in Lo/Mustang was adversely effected. Historical monasteries, palaces, forts, stupas, and other cultural objects were torn down and then slowly perished.

By the early 1650s Jumlā had achieved dominance in Lo/Mustang. The 1656 copper-plate inscription describes how a former Jumli ruler, Bhan Shahi (reign c.1629-1650) was also able to subdue Lo/Mustang and issue orders in the former Lo/Mustang ruler's name. The Jumli king, Virabhadra, reminds king bSam-'grub dpal-'bar and his brother to be always prepared to act upon Jumlā's orders, and to be faithful for the betterment of Jumlā. In return for such loyalty, Lo/Mustang rulers were granted the right to collect annual taxes from some of the high Himalayan villages of Dolpo, which

⁴³ This inscription was in the custody of Nuwakot District Court and during my historical field survey of Nuwakot in the winter of 1985, I was able to verify the earlier reading of it through the courtesy of the Nuwakot district judge. In reading the entire text, I found some differences, particularly the date. The date previously read and published by Vajracarya and Shrestha is SE 1588 but I read this date to be 1578 (1656 A. D.) (Vajracarya and Shrestha VE 2032: doc. no. 26, MHR doc. 1 Nepali)

⁴⁴ A *dharmapatra* is an inscribed or written order issued by the more powerful ruler to a protectorate, expounding the rights and responsibilities of both parties.

traditionally had been under the control of earlier Lo/Mustang rulers (MHR doc. 1 Nepali).

During the reign of the Jumli king Prithivipati Shaha (Virabhadra's son), bSam-'grub dpal-'bar also made special agreements with Jumlā, most probably after another of the many Lo-Jumlā wars (Francke 1926: 230, Petech 1977: 90, Jackson 1978: 222). Jumli sources indicate that Prithivipati Shaha ascended the throne of Jumlā only around 1703. Thus, bSam-'grub dpal-'bar must have retired only after that year. Again, a historical chronicle written in 1711 acknowledges this king as the existing ruler of Lo/Mustang (Gauchan VE 2037: 11, 18, MHR doc. 21 Tibetan). Contrary to this information, an official order of bSam-'grub's son, Tshe-dbang lhun-grub, issued from Tsarang palace in 1710, suggests otherwise (MHR: 65, doc. 5 Tibetan). In this case, we can infer that king bSam-'grub-dpal-'bar may have retired in or just before 1711.⁴⁵

bSam-'grub dpal-'bar's reign, apparently, was marked by dramatic vicissitudes. Lo/Mustang regained and then lost its independent status more than once. The Ladakhi royal chronicle also indicates that Lo/Mustang regained its power with the help of Ladakh's army. A famed Ladakhi minister, Shakya rgya-mtsho (chief minister of king bDe-ldan rnam-rgyal, fl. 1650 and his son, bDe-legs rnam-rgyal), accompanied a large Ladakhi force in order to rescue Lo/Mustang from Jumli control (Francke 1972 II: 243, Jackson 1978: 220). Anticipating more Jumli aggression, Ladakhis helped construct two new forts, in Kāgbenī (lower Lo) and in upper Lo (probably in or around Monthang) (ibid.).

Another agreement was reached after this most recent war, according to the Ladakhi chronicle, and it was favorable to Lo/Mustang. (Francke 1972: 230). As Lo's economy prospered in the early 1660s, we can cautiously infer that Lo's first defeat of Jumli forces had occurred several years earlier, probably in the late 1650s, and with the significant aid of the Ladakhi forces. Furthermore, with help from Ladakh and perhaps from Parvat as well, Lo's military force was reorganized and its entire defense system strengthened. Thus the century-long Jumli hegemony in Lo/Mustang had been resisted, at least temporarily by bSam-'grub dpal-'bar's efforts. The tax record of Lo/Mustang shows that Lo/Mustang was freed from Jumli taxes and levies several times—between the late 1650s and 1666, 1678 and 1684 and 1689, and finally between 1706 and 1710 (MHR doc. Khral-gyi bems-chag, 1.2.3).

This last four-year period was preceded by more sensational Jumli aggression. In 1693, with the help of Mongol force from Gro-shod, just northwest of Lo/Mustang, headed by dGa'-ldan tshe-dbang (also known as

⁴⁵ Like his father, bSam-'grub dpal-'bar' also ruled the kingdom for more than fifty years. His eldest brother Phun-tshogs rab-brtan's birth year (1635), and the first available reference to bSam-'grub dpal-'bar as king (1656), suggest that he ascended the throne at the age of about seventeen or eighteen. We might safely revise David Jackson's calculation of his reign i.e., from about 1675 to 1700 (1984, 134-135), to 1656 through 1710.

Se-chen), Lo/Mustang was again rescued from Jumli hegemony. However, immediately after the return of the Gro-shod force, Jumlā again attacked Lo/Mustang; the Lo/Mustang king bSam-'grub dpal-'bar was forced to bring two gift-laden horses to Kāgbenī and surrendered himself to the Jumli Crown Prince Prithvipati Shah (MHR doc. Kharal-gyi bems-chags 1: 6b, 2: 9b-10a, 3: 35b). This time, Jumlā's supremacy lasted until 1705. In that year, Lo/Mustang enlisted help from Parvat and defeated the Jumli forces again. An agreement signed by the representatives of Jumli, Parvate, and Lo rulers, dated SE 1627 (1705), claims that the order of the king of Parvat was honored by the Jumli and Lo/Mustang leaders (MHR doc. 4 Tibetan). Lo/Mustang recovered the entire territory of upper and lower Lo and traditional rights over the Thak-Thini area were restored. Hence, the reign of bSam-'grub dpal-'bar was the first time since the Jumli occupation of the 1540s that Lo/Mustang proficiently asserted its will for independence.

During the second half of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century, Lo/Mustang rulers and noble families of Monthang sustained a lasting dispute with the noble families of the Muktināth area of lower Lo. These nobles were the descendants of a popular Lo/Mustang official known as Khro-bo skyabs-pa of sKye-skyas-gang in Monthang and they were still known after the name of their old native settlement (Jackson 1978: 220-221). After a dispute with the royal family of Lo/Mustang in the late fifteenth century, completely abandoning sKye-skyas-gang, this noble family had migrated to the Muktināth area of lower Lo, where one of the nobles of this family had been working already as a hereditary commissioner to the lower Lo region. Later, this antagonism produced a convenient opportunity for the Jumlis to divide the people of Lo/Mustang proper and lower Lo and establish their hegemony in the entire Lo/Mustang region. An official order of the Jumli king dated 1671, addressed to the noble families of lower Lo, sheds light on the Jumli "divide and rule" policy in Lo/Mustang. In this letter, the Jumli king recognizes the local authority of the *Khri-thog-pa* noble family of the Muktināth or 'Dzar-rdzong area and eulogizes them for their services (MHR doc. 7 Tibetan). In addition to the sources mentioned above, Lama bSod-nams dbang-phyug (1660-1731) of Dolpo also recalled a dispute followed by a war fought between Se-rib (lower Lo) and Lo/Mustang in c. 1683 (Snellgrove 1967: 250).

During the half-century of bSam-'grub dpal-'bar's reign, Lo/Mustang defeated the Jumli forces no fewer than four times and its economy remained resilient. Cultural and historical monuments were renovated and a number of structures and objects of religious and cultural value were produced (Tsarang Molla: 12b). Among such cultural contributions, the renovation of the great temple of Byams-pa was the most prominent (MHR doc. 20 Tibetan, Tsarang Molla: 12b). The conception, execution, and successful completion

of this project signalled Lo's recovery from Jumli hegemony, and highlighted the importance of king bSam-'grub dpal-'bar in the history of Lo/Mustang.

LO/MUSTANG AFTER BSAM-'GRUB DPAL-'BAR: CONFLICT WITH JUMLA AND THE AGE OF JUMLI SUZERAINTY

Lo's temporary recovery did not endure, however; Jumlā continued its efforts to dominate the Lo/Mustang region. At the end of bSam-'grub dpal-'bar's reign in 1710, Jumlā regained its full control of lower Lo and reinstated its annual tribute demand from upper Lo. bSam-'grub dpal-'bar was succeeded by his only documented offspring, Tshe-dbang lhun-grub.⁴⁶ Aside from reliable and comprehensive genealogical sources such as the *Tsarang Molla* and the *Glo-gdung-rabs*, other local manuscripts relate the times and career of king Tshe-dbang. Among them, a manuscript from 'Dzar, the account of 'Chi-med dpal-'dren bzang-mo (Jackson 1984:136 n. 5, appendices G and I), the biography of Lama rTag-rtse-ba Mi-pham Shes-rab phun-tshogs (pt. Nga: 18), and an agreement (mChing-yig) from Thak, are important (MHR doc. 7). A stone inscription from a Tangya village prayer wall (Ma-thang ring-ma) also mention Tshe-dbang and his wife's sponsorship of that wall, as well as many other objects of religious importance in the eastern districts of the kingdom.⁴⁷

King Tshe-dbang energetically promoted the cultural heritage of Lo/Mustang and standardized laws in the kingdom (Tsarang Molla: 12b). He is also credited with defeating both internal (probably the fractious governors of Gelung and lower Lo) and external enemies. By defeating the Jumli force, Lo/Mustang regained its independence at least twice during Tshe-dbang lhun-grub's reign. A tax record suggests that a war was fought between Jumlā and Lo/Mustang after 1710; Lo's force must have prevailed because this document shows that Lo/Mustang paid no taxes or tribute to Jumlā between 1711 and 1714. Briefly, for about three years, Lo/Mustang lost its freedom again to Jumlā (MHR doc. Khral-gyi bems-chag 3).

The year 1719 was very important in the history of Lo, however, as Lo/Mustang was able to arrange an allied force from Parvat and Doti to fight against Jumlā. The Jumli army was decisively defeated in lower Lo at Garab rdzong, near Thini. The Parvat king Malebam Malla's copperplate inscription of 1719 bears a vivid description of this war (Srestha VE 2038: 76). During

⁴⁶ Tshe-dbang was also known by several other names such as Tshe-dbang bsam-grub and Phun-tshogs gtsug-rgyan nor-bu (Jackson 1984: 129-30). An official order of Tshe-dbang lhun-grub issued from Tsarang palace in 1710 (iron-tiger year), indicates that King bSam-'grub dpal-'bar had retired but until that time was actively advising his son from the main palace of Lo in Monthang (MHR doc. 5 Tibetan).

⁴⁷ The Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University has a copy of this inscription. An ink-rubbing copy with its transcription was collected during my fieldwork of 1982.

this war, the kingdom of Doti sent an army of 500 troops under the leadership of Commander-in-Chief Lal Shah, a brother of the Doti king (ibid.). Both Lo/Mustang and Parvat benefited from the outcome of this war because the Jumlis were driven out of lower Lo. The most important centers of north-south trade in lower Lo, including Thak, Thini and Kāgbenī, came under the authority of the Lo/Mustang ruler. Apparently the Jumlis were unable to rebound from this defeat for several years, during which Lo/Mustang was freed from Jumli taxes and levies (MHR doc. Kharal-gyi bems-chag-3).

Although he did not achieve the number of military victories as his father did, Tshe-dbang lhun-grub was an able military leader. At the same time, he worked diligently to please and include the people of lower Lo and, being more open to religious and noble figures of the region, to undermine the Jumli presence in that area. His order of iron-tiger year (1710) issued from Tsarang palace and addressed to a tantric Lama of Chos-'khor (now Chengur village, near Muktināth) is an example of such efforts. Tshe-dbang guaranteed special privillages to families of a noble Lama (MHR doc. 5 Tibetan). An old treaty document from Thak also asserts that the people of lower Lo, including thāg-pa and som-po (Thakali and Pānchgāunle) were once under the command of this Lo/Mustang king. According to the local regulation, king tshe-dbang's permission was essential for introducing each and every new and important practice in the Thak and Thini areas (MHR doc. 7 Tibetan). After Lo's defeat of Jumlā in lower Lo, King tshe-dbang again held certain traditional powers in Thak-Pānchgāun and full authority over the rest of the lower Lo region. Lo's supremacy in Thak and Pānchgāun was not an absolute one, but was the outcome of Parvat's willingness to recognize the cultural and traditional rights of the king of Lo/Mustang.

Tshe-dbang lhun-grub ruled Lo/Mustang for only about thirteen years. Upon his father's retirement, he assumed charge of the kingdom around 1710. Ladakhi and Tibetan sources indicate that he retired from government immediately after his son bKra-shis rnam-rgyal's marriage, sometime between 1720 and 1723. The autobiography of Lama Si-tu pan-chen and the writing of Be-lo Tshe-dbang kun-khyab both relate possible dates of Tshe-dbang's retirement and death. According to these sources, on their pilgrimage to Mt. Kailash, Si-tu pan-chen and the eighth Zhva-dmar abbot had visited Lo/Mustang and were welcomed in 1724 by king bKra-shis rnam-rgyal and his retired parents. However, at the time of their return from the Mt. Kailash area, probably after 1725, those two Lamas saw only the Lo/Mustang ruler, bKra-shis rnam-rgyal, his wife (La-dvags-pa or the daughter of the king of Ladakh), and their little daughter (rJe-btsun-ma, an incarnate nun), not the retired previous ruler (Jackson 1984: 143, Petech

1977: 90).⁴⁸ It seems that the retired ruler, Tshe-dbang lhun-grub probably died between 1724 and 1725.

Hence, after his marriage in the early 1720s, bKra-shis nam-rgyal succeeded his father.⁴⁹ The *Glo gdung-rabs* presents a list of five sons of Tshe-dbang lhun-grub, among them, bKra-shis nam-rgyal was the eldest. The second was the abbot (Zhabs-drung) of Tsarang monastery but his name is not given in the genealogical sources (Jackson: 1984: 130). The other three sons, known as Zhur, Chos, and Kha-shes, were presumably illegitimate and this may account for the exclusion of their full names or titles in the *Glo gdung-rabs* (Jackson 1984: 121-122, 130).

There are a few other sources such as the the account of the palace of Gami (*Gad-smad mkhar-gyi dkar-chag*), written after 1734, and a literary text written in Sanskrit known as *māllādarśa*, which shed some light on king bKra-shis nam-rgyal and his time (Gurung 1986: 285, Yogi VE 2022: 545, MHR: 258, 259). The biography of Lama Ka-thog rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1695-1755) also provides clues about the dates of bKra-shis nam-rgyal's reign. According to this biography, in the year 1729, king bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal, son of bKra-shis nam-rgyal, invited Lama Tshe-dbang to Lo/Mustang (Jackson 1984: 130, 144 n. 80). bKra-shis nam-rgyal probably died sometime between 1727 and 1729, after a short reign of about five to six years.

Although bKra-shis nam-rgyal did not rule for long, his reign was well known not only within Lo/Mustang, but also throughout Tibet. In 1724 and probably again in 1725, he hosted two leading Tibetan scholars, Si-tu pan-chen and the eighth Zhva-dmar abbot, while they were on their way to and from Kailash-Mānaśarovara (Petech 1977: 90, Jackson 1984: 143). Besides that, bKra-shis nam-rgyal also met with the seventh Dalai Lama in Lhasa (Petech *ibid.*, Jackson 1984 130, 144). The other important historical event widely discussed by the external sources was the matrimonial and political relationship established between the kingdoms of Ladakh and Lo/Mustang. According to the royal chronicle of Ladakh and an official order of the seventh Dalai Lama, bKra-shis nam-rgyal married Nor-dzin bde-legs dbang-mo, the daughter of Ladakhi king, Nyi-ma nam-rgyal. Similarly, bKra-shis nam-rgyal's sister, Nyi-zla dbang-mo, was sent to Ladakh as the royal consort of the Ladakhi Prince bDe-skyong nam-rgyal (son of Nyi-ma

⁴⁸ Petech cautiously suggests that *rJe-btsun-ma* could be the widowed mother of the king of Lo/Mustang. Still, her full name given in the *Glo gdung-rabs*, indicates she was the daughter of king bKra-shis nam-rgyal and the sister of King bSod-nams bstan-'dzin dbang-rgyal. Similarly, the name *La-dvags-pa* can refer to none other than the queen of bKra-shis nam-rgyal, the daughter of the Ladakhi king bDe-skyong nam-rgyal.

⁴⁹ As one leaf (fols. 13a-13b) of *Tsarang Molla* is missing, the *Molla* source cannot provide full historical information on this and next two (twelfth and thirteenth) generations. For these, we must rely on the *Glo-gdung-rabs* and scant other local and external sources.

mam-rgyal).⁵⁰ This matrimonial relationship was established by the efforts of Dro-shod ruler, Da'i-cing ba'-dur and Lo/Mustang king's father, Tshedbang (MHR doc. 6 Tibetan, Francke 1972: 120-21, 133, 230). This connection was, indeed, a renewal of the long-time historical relationship between Lo/Mustang and Ladakh.

The other important event of bKra-shis mam-rgyal's time was the Lo-Jumlā war of 1723, which ended only after eighteen days of continuous fighting at Kāgbenī. As in earlier times, Lo/Mustang, with military help from Ladakh, Parvat, and Gro-shod, once again regained control over the entire Lo/Mustang region (MHR doc. 6 Tibetan, Francke 1972: 120-21, 233-34). According to the royal chronicle of Ladakh and a letter from the seventh Dalai Lama, this war was first fought, and lost, when the Lo/Mustang king and his wife, Nor-'dzin bde-legs dbang-mo, were on their way back home after visiting Ladakh. During this conflict, forty dignitaries from Lo/Mustang, including the retired ruler (father king) were captured and detained by the Jumli army at Kāgbenī fort (MHR doc. 6 Tibetan, Francke 1926: 230).⁵¹ Although the earlier part of the war was lost to Jumlā, after the arrival of king bKra-shis and about seventy Ladakhi army men under the leadership of general Tshul-khrims rdō-rje, about 100 mounted Mongol soldiers led by the Mongol leader se-da'i-cing ba'-dur from Gro-gshod,⁵² and later another 1000 men from Parvat (Gru), the tide turned in the favor of Lo/Mustang. Finally, king Surath Shaha of Jumlā had to come out of the fort and offer a proposal for an agreement. The Jumli king agreed to the terms and conditions previously accepted by his father Prithvipati during the reign of Lo/Mustang king bSam-'grub dpal-'bar.⁵³ The Jumlis were badly defeated

⁵⁰ Although Lo/Mustang benefited politically from these matrimonial relationships, conjugal happiness did not last long. Within a couple of years, the Lo/Mustang princess and the Ladakhi prince divorced, and after only five or six years of marriage, bKra-shis mam-rgyal died, leaving his Ladakhi princess-bride a widow.

⁵¹ A careful treatment should be given here to better identify the two Ladakhi ladies known by similar names and married to Lo/Mustang kings (present and former). Of them, one is addressed on behalf of the Ladakhi king as 'gCes-ma' (lovely younger sister) Nor-'dzin-bde-legs-dbang-mo and the other as his *ipi* (grand mother or queen mother) nor-'dzin. I think the latter must be the wife of a former ruler of Lo/Mustang.

⁵² Gro-shod or Bro-gshod was a small principality in western Tibet located between Gung-thang and Gu-ge. It was under the local rule of a family related to an old Mongol-Tartar general. Local sources of Mustang acknowledge the rulers of Gro-shod as *Se-chen* or *Sog-po* (MHR doc. Bems-chag 1. 7a, 2.9b, 3.34b, 35b). In around 1692, a *Sog-po* chief (of Gro-shod), dGa'-Idan tshē-dbang, is recorded to have arrived in Lo/Mustang with his army to help in its fight against Jumla. Another Mongol ruler of Gro-shod named 'Phang-byi is recorded to have been a benefactor of Dolpo Lama Chos-skyabs dpal-bzang in around 1590 (Snellgrove 1967: 166). A royal chronicle of Ladakh acknowledges these rulers with the reverent title of *sKu-zhogs*, whereas the rulers of Tibet address them as *Se-chen*, or merely as *Se* (MHR doc. 6 Tibetan). The title *Se* or *Se-chen* is directly related to the Tibetan name of the Tartar emperors of China (Das 1902: 1273).

⁵³ The name *Bi-sras* is an abbreviation of *Bira-hadra-gvi-sras*, which is translated as son of Virabhadra, who is King Surath Shaha of Jumla.

in this battle, in which an important Jumli commander is reported to have been killed by an arrow shot by general Tshul-khrims rdo-rje of Ladakh (Francke 1972: 230, MHR doc. 6 Tibetan). The *mallādarśa* of Paṇḍit Premnidhi Panta of Parvat corroborates this incident with the glorification of the power of the Parvate king Malebam, who defeated the Jumli force in Kāgbenī and rescued the king of Lo/Mustang (Yogi VE 2022: 545-547, MHR: 258-59).⁵⁴ Surprisingly, the Tibetan authorities of Lhasa were also alarmed over Jumli occupation of Lo/Mustang. An official announcement by the seventh Dalai Lama, addressed to Tibetan local authorities and Jumli rulers, summarized the story of this war and announced a command to support and protect Lo/Mustang and its rulers (MHR doc. 6 Tibetan). The final outcome of this war was favorable to Lo/Mustang and, by this time, was broadly supported by the major powers in the region, including Parvat, Doti, and Tibet. After the Kāgbenī war of 1723 and for perhaps another decade, Lo/Mustang remained free from Jumli control.⁵⁵

As far as the religion and society is concerned, the royal abbot (Zhabs-drung) of Tsarang monastery provided ample support to his brother, king bKra-shis mam-rgyal (Jackson 1984: 130). This king's wife, Nor-'dzin bde-legs dbang-mo, is also referred to as someone who was highly educated and dedicated to social and religious services in the kingdom (Appendix doc no. 24 Tibetan, RCPT, MHR: 71, Gurung 1986: 235). Innumerable religious objects and structures sponsored by this Ladakhi princess can still be seen in and around the Gami area; some carry inscriptions bearing her name. The longest prayer wall (*Ma-thang ring-ma*) at Gami was renovated and expanded by this queen. In this regard, she is also highly praised by the local sources for bringing a very precious crown known as *rkym-tshen-mo* (??)*from Ladakh as a gift from her father (RCTP). During this time, the Princess Su-ga-siddhi (skt. Sukhasiddhi?) of Lo/Mustang (bKra-shis mam-rgyal's younger sister), and another learned nun of Lo/Mustang royal family, bSam-gtan bzang-mo were also involved in building important religious structures such as prayer walls around Gami and the Muktināth area of lower Lo (MHR doc. 101 Tibetan, Jackson 1984: 110, 129, 136 n. 5).

The *Glo gdung-rabs* reports that king bKra-shis mam-rgyal had two offspring. Of them, the first was his son and successor, bSod-nams bstan-'dzin dbang-rgyal and the second was the incarnate nun Kun-dga' 'chi-med dpal-'dren bzang-mo, or dpal-'dren dbang-mo (Jackson 1984: 122, 130, 200, RCPT). As folio thirteen of the *Tsarang Molla* is missing, we have to rely on

⁵⁴ मुस्ताङ्भूपतिवरं फिलकाकवैण्यां रुद्धंस्वदर्पवशतो जुमलेश्वरेण ।

सम्मोचयन्करुणया स्वत्रमूबलेन । प्रत्यर्थिवृन्दमखिलं जयातिस्म राजा ॥३६॥ (Yogi VE 2022: 545.)

⁵⁵ The tax record of Lo/Mustang does not list the years between 1725 and 1735 under the account of revenues paid to Jumla (MHR doc. Khral-gyi bems-chag 1-3).

different fragmentary sources in order to collect historical information dealing with the reign of bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal.⁵⁶

Although the exact date of bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal's ascension to the throne is unclear, the information given in the biography of Lama Tshe-dbang nor-bu suggests a beginning date for bsTan-'dzin's reign to be either 1728 or 1729 (TsBN: 90a). That Lama Tshe-dbang nor-bu visited Lo/Mustang in 1729, in response to bsTan-'dzin's invitation, suggests that bsTan-'dzin's father may have died around that time (ibid.). We are told by the biographical sources that until Lama Si-tu pan-chen and the eighth Zhvadar-ma's return visit to Lo/Mustang from Kailash/Mānāśarovara in c.1725, bKra-shis nam-rgyal was the King of Lo/Mustang. Similarly, the *Rin-chen phra-tshom* describes that bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal was only eleven years old at the time of his father's death and his widowed mother acted as his regent for the following six years (RCTP: 9-10); bsTan-'dzin was probably born in 1718; he was considered able enough to rule by himself only after his marriage at the age of seventeen. The account of Gami claims that by 1735 (wood-tiger year), bsTan-'dzin was ruling capably without his mother's help (appendix- doc. no. 24 Tibetan, Guring 1986: 235). This document also acknowledges him as the ruler-sponsor of two large projects, the reconstruction of the Gami palace (dGa'-mi-mkhar) and also the construction of a huge prayer-wheel (Ma-ni-'khor-lo) in the same village (ibid.). On the other hand, as a regent of Lo/Mustang, his mother also installed and sponsored various religious sculptures (made of gold and other metals) in Gami and a huge prayer wheel inside the Tsarang palace during the same year (MHR: doc. 15b Tibetan).⁵⁷ By 1735, therefore, the Regent Queen Nor-'dzin bde-legs dbang-mo must have officially handed over responsibility for the kingdom to her son.⁵⁸

A letter of Lama Tshe-dbang nor-bu to king bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal written in the year 1749 verifies that until that year, bsTan-'dzin was still actively ruling (GRGM: 575). Similarly, Lama bCo-brgyad khri-chen mentions that like his father, this king also died at a young age, when his

⁵⁶ Helpful sources for the study of Lo/Mustang during the reign of bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal include the biography of Lama Ka-thog rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, the *Bemis-chag* of Princess Kun-dga' chi-med, documents related to the widowed queen Nor-'dzin dbang-mo, the account of Gami palace, Jumli orders from lower Lo, a 1746 agreement document from Thak, Lo/Mustang tax documents, and a biography of Lama bsTan-'dzin ras-pa.

⁵⁷ Until the years of my field work in 1982-83, most of these sculptures were still preserved inside the room called the *gSer-khang* of the Gami (dGa'-mi) palace.

⁵⁸ Local sources in Mustang maintain that a personal diary, known as the *Phyags-dev chen-mo* of the widowed queen, Nor-'dzin dbang-mo, was written in Lo/Mustang during those years but is no longer extant. It is believed to have discussed the hardships caused by the untimely death of her husband and the continuous invasions of Jumla during the years of her regency and the reign of her son. This information is based on the personal communication between this researcher and the present Raja 'Jigs-med dpal-'bar and Lama bCo-brgyad khri-chen rin-po-che, conducted during the summer of 1982 and the winter of 1983.

son, dBang-rgyal rdo-rje, was only twelve years old (RCTP). bsTan-'dzin probably died sometime around 1750 or a couple of years earlier.

bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal's short reign was full of miseries. According to the writing of his sister, Princess 'Chi-med, after their father and grandfather's time, Lo/Mustang was sunken into the proverbial darkness (Jackson 1984: appendix G). The Lo-Jumlā war of 1723 had been Lo's last successful attempt to remain temporarily free from Jumla.

Shortly after the death of king bKra-shis mam-rgyal, Jumla recaptured the entire lower Lo region, including the fort at Kāgbenī. Under the leadership of bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal, Lo/Mustang continued to resist Jumli dominance, and its demands for yearly tribute and high levies, but without success. Popular folklore in Mustang still recounts the "twenty year conflict" between Lo/Mustang and Jumla and the serious crisis it caused.⁵⁹ This period of twenty years of continuous struggle against Jumli suzerainty, described as such by the folklorists of lower Lo, could be related to the reign of bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal. Oral and written sources tell that during the reign of bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal, Jumlā fully annexed the lower Lo region between Gelung (dGe-lung) village in the north and the Kāgbenī area in the south. Subsequently, even the so-called core area of Lo/Mustang, known as *Glo tsho-bdun* in upper Lo, became a tributary of Jumlā. At the same time, Jumlā also imposed additional levies and compulsory gift giving on Lo/Mustang. In other words, Lo/Mustang lost both its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Contrary to earlier times, Jumli hegemony after 1735 apparently continued until Lo's dependency to Nepal was established in 1788-89. At that time, both the neighboring kingdom of Parvat and the other important old ally of Lo/Mustang, the kingdom of Ladakh, were becoming weaker and were no longer able to lend solid assistance.

The political situation of Lo/Mustang, particularly of the lower Lo region of this time, is well documented by the Jumli sources, written mainly in old Nepali but sometimes in Tibetan (MHR docs. 164-167, 229, 230, 241 Nepali and 2 Tibetan). An old treaty document (mching-yig) from Thak written in 1746 is also a most helpful as a source of information about that time. According to this document, in 1746, Lama Ka-thog rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755) mediated the regional dispute between Jumlā and the allied forces of Lo/Mustang and Parvat (MHR doc. 7 Tibetan). It also described the receding position of Parvat and the story of the unpleasant result of a matrimonial relationship established between Jumlā and Parvat. The document describes how king Sudarshan Shaha of Jumlā refused to

⁵⁹ Such lore was collected by this researcher during field study conducted in the summer of 1983. Similar kinds of oral histories have also been collected by S. Schuler from the Baragaun area of lower Lo and by Omkar Prasad Gauchan from both Thak and Bāragaun of lower Lo (Jackson 1978: 220, Gauchan VE 2037: 11-15, 17-19).

return his daughter Nanaju to Parvat, although she was married to Parvat king Shahibam Malla, and Lama Tshe-dbang had to mediate the matter (MHR doc. 7 Tibetan). The dispute was not only caused by the soured marital relationship, but was linked with several lingering political and financial disputes. Parvat finally agreed to give the village of Klu-brag to Jumlā and the Jumli king agreed to send his daughter back to her husband (ibid.).

Despite Parvat's support, Lo/Mustang was unable to regain its control of lower Lo. Lo/Mustang could not maintain its territorial integrity shrank within the limited area of upper Lo (tsho-bdun) sticking with the name of its capital, Monthang. Then the old name Lo or Lo-bo (Glo or Glo-bo) began to be abandoned.

Most of the disputes with Jumlā in the lower Lo region which occurred during the reign of bsTan-'dzin dbang-rgyal, did not benefit Lo/Mustang. Rather, they served the interests of larger powers in the region. Jumlā and Parvat were fighting for their hold of the bordering territories of Thak and Bāragāun and also for the control of the north-south trade route, including income from custom centers in lower Lo. This situation continued until the annexation of Parvat by Gorkha into Nepal in 1786. An order by the Jumli crown prince, written in 1785 and addressed to the noble families of lower Lo, claimed that region as an integral part of Jumlā (MHR doc. 241 Nepali). Only after the annexation of Parvat did Jumlā's suzerainty in the Lo/Mustang region weaken and it ended within a year of Gorkhali occupation in the Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley. An official letter from a Gorkhali military commander, Amarsingh Thapa dated c. 1786, calls for the formal invitation of the nobles and the commoners of the lower Lo region (known by that time as Bāragāun) to join hands with the Gorkhali force and to fight against Jumlā. Surprisingly, this letter does not mention the position of Lo/Mustang and its king (MHR doc. 154 Nepali). However, we can safely conjecture that Lo/Mustang must have at least verbally agreed to join hands with the military authorities of Gorkha-Nepal to fight against Jumlā and to become a dependent of Nepal. The tax record of Lo/Mustang shows that the authorities Lo/Mustang considered the earth-monkey year (1788) as the year of Lo's inclusion into Gorkha (Nepal).⁶⁰ The Jumli suzerainty in Lo/Mustang was, for all purposes, extinguished immediately after the incorporation of lower Lo into Nepal in the year 1787. It officially ended only after Gorkha annexed Jumlā into Nepal in 1789 (MHR doc. Khral-gyi bems-chag 3, MHR docs. 1-2 Nepali).

⁶⁰ Sources on various principalities in Nepal around the time of Gorkha's military expedition do not mention the name Nepal; instead, they refer to "Gorkha."

CHAPTER FOUR

LO/MUSTANG UNDER NEPAL (SINCE 1789)

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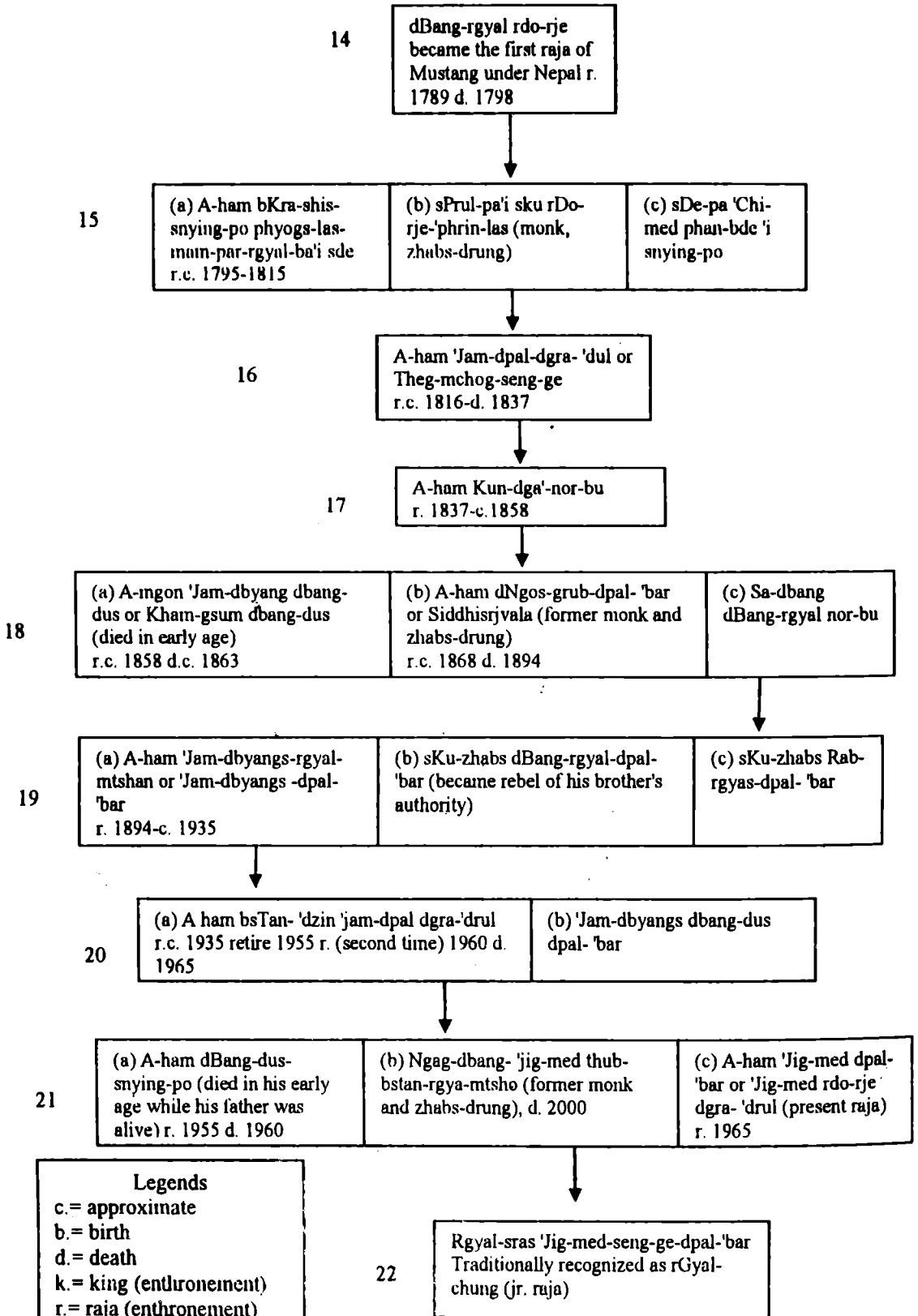
KING (SDE-PA OR RAJA) DBANG-RGYAL RDO-RJE, HIS POLICIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS, AND THE MILITARY CAMPAIGN OF GORKHA (NEPAL)

dBang-rgyal-rdo-rje ruled Lo/Mustang during Gorkha's military campaign of the late eighteenth century.¹ Although the precise span of his reign is not known, dBang-rgyal seems to have ruled for many years. The latest available documents issued under his name are dated 1791 (MHR docs. 2, 45 Nepali) and the earliest available reference to his son bKra-shis snying-po is dated 1799 (MHR doc. 3 Nepali). Therefore, dBang-rgyal rdo-rje must have ruled Lo/Mustang from around 1750 to the late 1790s. A Nepali government order issued from Kathmandu after the death of dBang-rgyal rdo-rje indicates that he ruled Lo/Mustang until he was very old (MHR doc. 5 Nepali). According to the genealogical work of Lama bCo-brgyad khri-chen, after the untimely death of his father, dBang-rgyal rdo-rje had assumed responsibility for the administration of Lo/Mustang when he was only twelve years old. At that time, Jumli pressure in Lo/Mustang was increasing virtually daily. Only six years after his father's death, young dBang-rgyal rdo-rje launched a defensive war against Jumlā after a Jumli force led by king Sudarshan Shah and his son, Crown Prince Shubhan Shahi, invaded Lo/Mustang and demanded increased yearly tribute (RCPT). Lama bCo-brgyad's work describes most of dBang-rgyal's reign as a time of relentless Jumli pressure and threats; it was only after the Jumlā's incorporation into Nepal that king dBang-rgyal began to enjoy his local power by signing the treaty of dependence with Nepal (MHR doc. Khräl-gyi bems-chag 3: 86b, Tsarang Molla: 14a-14b).² Lo/Mustang's terms of dependence with Nepal were nominal (Yogi VE 2022: 55, MHR: 81, docs. 2-3), and after Jumlā's collapse, Lo/Mustang was able to reclaim its lost territories, including all of lower Lo, Manāng, Nar, Nyishang, Phug, Nubri, Rui, Namjar, and Dolpo (ibid.).

¹ To its Jumli overlords, the name *Lo* signified its earlier existence as an independent kingdom. Therefore, they came to call it by the name of its capital, and by the middle of the eighteenth century, *Lo* was abandoned. Although tradition preserved its use, albeit discreetly, in the core area around Monthang, its indigenous rulers avoided using the old name while dealing with Jumla and Parvat. The Nepali authorities continued to use the name Mustang after the Gorkha annexation of Parvat and Jumla.

² In 1786, Lo/Mustang had agreed to join Nepal as a dependency pending Jumla's defeat; Lo/Mustang assisted the Nepali forces in this effort. In turn, Nepal later returned to Lo/Mustang some of the captured Jumli areas. This was consistent with the Gorkhali policy of protecting smaller and weaker states who willingly accept dependency.

GENEALOGY OF LO/MUSTANG RAJAS AFTER 1789



Legends

c.= approximate
b.= birth
d.= death
k.= king (enthronement)
r.= raja (enthronement)
com.= commissioner

Because of Jumli hegemony, Lo's prosperity, both economic and cultural, had ended by the 1730s. At that time, even Lo's close and powerful allies, Parvat and Ladakh, could no longer challenge Jumli forces as they had earlier. Thus Jumli hegemony throughout the region went unchallenged, and Lo/Mustang was engulfed politically and became economically stagnant. Jumlā established permanent regional headquarters in Kāgbenī from where its officials controlled the territory between Gelung (dGe-lung) and Thini-Pānchgāun. Major trade and customs centers in lower Lo were also lost to Jumlā, and before 1789 only the upper Lo's traditional seven districts (Glo tsho-bdun) region remained as the domain of the Lo/Mustang's king. Earlier in the 1720s, it also became a tributary or vassal state of Jumlā and by the mid-1700s had lost its status as a kingdom, along with its original name.¹

Lo/Mustang's economy was systematically devastated by Jumli domination. Lo/Mustang not only lost its yearly income from northern Dolpo and Manāng, but the Jumlis had captured the entire lower Lo region, imposing a heavy yearly tribute obligation on Lo/Mustang itself. Jumlā also imposed various yearly and occasional levies and fees (salāmī). Lo/Mustang's internal and external trade virtually disappeared, and its regular income from external tribute and customs duties was lost. The biography of Lama bSod-nams blo-gros shows that Lo/Mustang also suffered from shortages of food and essential goods, and that Jumli officials frequently abused Lopa traders at the customs centers in lower Lo, through extortion, beatings, and imprisonment (Snellgrove 1967a: 91, MHR docs. 2, 4, 7, 14 Tibetan). In short, by the late 1720s or early 1730s, Lo/Mustang was plunged into a state of genuine alarm and misery (Bems-chag of princess 'Chi-med, Jackson 1984: 129-130, 200).

As a result, both the rulers and people of Lo/Mustang began seeking alternatives to Jumlā's hegemony. Lo/Mustang finally accomplished its goal after formal talks with the rising power of Gorkha immediately after Parvat's incorporation into Nepal in 1786 (MHR: 75 and doc. 1, Nepali). The kingdom of Lo/Mustang pledged to become a dependent tributary of Nepal.

King Prithvinarayana Shah of Gorkha had led the foundation of Gorkha's military campaign (1754-1769) for territorial expansion. This campaign was strengthened and extended later by his son, Regent Bahadur Shah (Vajracarya 1992: 61-76). In order to complete his father's task, Bahadur Shah adopted a new "policy of dependence" in western Nepal, under which many smaller principalities of western Nepal were brought under the leadership of Gorkha, which then collectivized their forces to subdue relatively stronger and larger powers such as Jumlā, Parvat, and Doti. Gorkhali forces were then able to expand the territory of Nepal up to the

¹ The name of its capital "sMon-thang", "sMan-thang" or "Mos-thang" entered into wide use under its corrupt forms, *Mustang*, *Mestang* or *Mastang*, and came to represent all of its territory.

Bheri river to the west by the year 1786 (Yogi VE 2022: 55). To reach this river valley, Gorkhalis traversed the Gaṇḍakī valley, having defeated the kingdom of Parvat earlier that year.

Parvat had been one of Mustang's oldest allies and at the same time the most powerful of Jumlā's enemies. Although the southern Thak-Pānchgāun areas of Lo/Mustang had been seized by Parvat around 1687, the Jumli aggression and dominance in lower Lo (present-day Kāgbenī and Bāragāun) had produced a compelling alliance between Parvat and Lo/Mustang. Jumlā's expansionism also challenged Parvat's territorial integrity as Jumlā laid claim to the northern districts of Thak and Thini, resulting in two wars fought between 1718 and 1723. By the early 1740s, Parvat was weaker than Jumlā. Parvat was not able to challenge the Jumli aggression and provide strong support to Lo/Mustang as it did in earlier times.²

Lo/Mustang was very likely pleased by the emergence of the Gorkhali power to its south, as it was positioned to challenge, Jumlā vigorously. In fact, Lo/Mustang was seeking a new powerful ally in the region, and Gorkha, in turn, was seeking dependent allies who would augment its assaults against the Jumli forces.

After the Gorkhali defeat of Parvat in 1786, the Thak, Thini (Pānchgāun), and Lubrag areas reverted to Gorkhali control. For Gorkhali commanders, the other formidable power in the region was Jumlā. In order to gain Jumlā's cooperation, the Gorkha military authorities courted the attention of the local Khri-thog-pa chiefs of the lower Lo region. These Khri-thog-pa chiefs were also known as "Biṣṭa", a Hindu family name adopted by them. In earlier days, those local chiefs of dzar village used to live in sKye-skye-sgang, near Monthang and at that time, they were the ministers of the rulers of Lo/Mustang. Later, because of an internal dispute, this Khri-thog-pa family moved to dzar (present name Jharkot), near Muktināth and settled there. Again, after the improvement in relationship between the Lo/Mustang palace and this noble family, the Khri-thog-pas were appointed as regional governors of lower Lo. After Jumlis gained control in lower Lo, however, they aligned themselves with Jumlā and were thereafter known in Lo/Mustang as "enemy hosts" (Tsarang Molla: 11b). After Parvat's 1786 incorporation into Nepal, one of the Gorkhali commanders, Shivanarayan Khatri, reached an agreement with these Khri-thog-pa chiefs of lower Lo, and by the end of 1787, they were able to establish direct contacts with the royal palace in Kathmandu (MHR doc. 186 Nepali).³ In order to further

² Largely because of its interest in the trade conducted through Lo/Mustang, Parvat had cultivated cordial relations with it.

³ Those local chiefs were known by their ancestors' title and name, *Khri-thog-pa* and *Khro-bo dpal-mgon*. The reference cited here is a *rukka* order issued from Kathmandu in Magh 14, 1844 VE (January 1888). The order acknowledges that the Khri-thog-pa Khro-bo dpal-mgon's sister had arrived in Kathmandu with a letter describing the political situation in

ingratiate themselves with the palace, they even assigned their young sisters as their messengers (MHR doc. 186 Nepali).⁴ Ultimately, the Khri-thog-pa chiefs were welcomed graciously into the Gorkhali fold and assured of the continuation of their traditional privileges, property, and prestige; and in return, they agreed to bear responsibility for leading the local force of lower Lo assigned to fight against Jumlā, providing staples such as manpower and food (ibid.).

The Gorkhali commanders, meanwhile, were adhering to a set strategy. About a year after reaching agreement with these Khri-thog-pa chiefs, the Gorkha army's commander-in-chief in the west, Sardar Amarsingh Thapa, addressed a letter to the chiefs and the people of lower Lo (including Dolpo and the middle region (Tsho-bar), urging them to join the Gorkhali forces against Jumlā.⁵ In this letter, Amarsingh Thapa assured lives of peace and stability for the people of the Thak, Pānchgāun, and Bāragāun areas, to be guaranteed by the Gorkhali forces, if they cast their lot with the Gorkhali power. The letter then called for their surrender on pain of military occupation. Furthermore, the people should accept the local leadership of the Khri-thog-pa chiefs of Bāragāun and prepare to attack Jumlā. Consistent with classic Gorkhali tactics, Sardar Amarsingh added that they faced violent destruction if they rejected this call (ibid.).

At about this time, Gorkhali commanders also contacted Gelung's local ruler (dGe-lung sde-pa) and secured Gelung's cooperation.⁶ A different letter issued only twenty days after that of Amarsingh announced that an agreement between the Gelung sde-pa and the Gorkhali commanders had already been reached and that the ruler of Gelung and his people were already enjoying special privileges guaranteed by the Gorkhali officials. These included the waiver of customs duties on their goods while traversing the lower hill areas and Kathmandu (MHR doc. 123). That the Gorkhali officials were able to entice, or coerce, the people of Thak, Pānchgāun, Bāragāun, northern Dolpo, and Gelung to their side by the end of 1786 shows the Jumli rule in lower Lo had been challenged by that time. Jumli authorities still controlled the lower Lo region between Gelung and Lubrak until 1785 (MHR doc. 241 Nepali).

the lower Lo region. Furthermore, the rukka also advises the local chiefs to follow instructions from Kaji General Shivanarayan Khatri (MHR doc. 186 Nepali).

⁴ Often these girls would reside at the palace in Kathmandu as official guests for extended periods; their role was likely that of courtesans, or at the very least something of that nature.

⁵ The villages addressed in Sardar Amarsingh Thapa's letter include Lagumkhola, Cyanam, Lakhcya, Tungyan, Tsharka, Samar, Gelung, and others in the Dolpo and Tsho-bar areas.

⁶ Gelung is a village in upper Lo/Mustang, locally governed by cousins of Lo/Mustang rulers. For further geographical information on Gelung, please see the "Physical Setting" section of chapter one.

By 1786, only the core domain (Glo-tsho-bdun) of the Lo/Mustang rulers, in the northern frontier region of Lo/Mustang, had yet to be brought under Gorkhali control. Mustang's tax records show that the yearly and occasional taxes, levies, and fees paid to Jumlā were eliminated by that year. This sudden freedom from Jumli taxation suggests that Lo/Mustang must have at the very least reached an oral agreement with the Gorkhali commanders pledging their cooperation. This occurred immediately after Parvat's incorporation into Nepal.

The main center of Jumlā's strength in Lo/Mustang was in its southern region and the local Khri-thog-pa chiefs were the instruments of its power. Once they had joined hands with the Gorkhali commanders immediately after the defeat of Parvat, Jumlā lost any chance of maintaining its hold on northern Lo/Mustang. A tax record of Lo/Mustang cites 1788 as the year of Lo's incorporation into Gorkha-Nepal; this neatly follows the incorporation of Parvat in 1786 and precedes the Gorkhali defeat of Jumlā in October 1789 (MHR Bems-chag 3: 86b). Another *rukkā* order issued from Nuwakot in VE Phalgun 1845 (March 1789) also indicates that Lo/Mustang was cooperating with the Gorkhali even before Jumlā's incorporation. This *rukkā* order of the Gorkhali king reinstates and affirms the Lo/Mustang ruler's traditional rights or privileges to collect yearly taxes and fees (*salāmīs*) from Ruibhot, from the Namjar area of upper Gorkha, and from the Manāng areas in the east which were previously lost to Jumlā (MHR doc. 1 Nepali).

It becomes clear, then, that Lo/Mustang's king dBang-rgyal rdo-rje was in contact with the Gorkhali authorities and worked to bring the territories of Lo/Mustang back under his hereditary control. On the other hand, Gorkha's main intention was to incorporate the kingdom of Jumlā by persuading the local Khri-thog-pa chiefs of lower Lo, Dolpo, and the king of Lo/Mustang to ally themselves with Gorkha. After their decisive defeat of Jumlā in October of 1789, the Gorkhali commanders Kāji Shivanarayan Khatri and Prabal Rana issued an order from the capital of Jumlā (Chinasim), addressed to the *rājā* dBang-rgyal rdo-rje of Lo/Mustang, declaring the return of the entire territory of northern Dolpo bordering east from a place called Bandarphadka (Yogi VE 2022: 55). About eight months after the incorporation of Jumlā, king Ranabhadur Shah of Nepal formally approved the rights and privileges provisionally offered to the rulers (*rājās*) of Lo/Mustang by the army commanders of Gorkha, issuing a *khalipha-patra* and a *tamra-patra* (MHR docs. 1a, 81 Nepali).⁷ With zeal, dBang-rgyal rdo-rje and his subjects joined the Gorkhali army's invasion of Jumlā; having done so, this *rājā* was able to retain Mustang's existence as a dependent state with greater freedoms and

⁷ A *khalipha-patra* is a sealed order written on a piece of cloth; a *tamra-patra* is an order inscribed on a copper plate.

local authority than when it had faced incessant pressures from its powerful neighbor.

Hence, the policy adopted by Gorkhali authorities and the strategies of the Lo/Mustang ruler are noteworthy. If dBang-rgyal rdo-rje had not accepted Gorkha's command, the very existence of Lo/Mustang, even as a tributary state, would have been jeopardized. For dBang-rgyal rdo-rje and his ministers, accepting Gorkha authority was a pragmatic choice and even a welcome opportunity; for there was virtually no prospect of recovering the vibrancy of old independent Lo/Mustang.

Although Lo/Mustang was culturally very close to Tibet, it had traditionally been its nominal tributary state, paying a modest amount annually to Gorkha-Nepal as a token of respect.⁸ Lhasa, however, chose to support Jumlā during Gorkha-Jumlā war 1789 and it wanted Lo/Mustang not to join the Gorkhali force. Relations between Tibet and Nepal had soured by that time for several reasons, including some trade disputes and a scandal in the 1760s over adulterated silver coins (Nag-tang) issued earlier for Tibet by the former Malla rulers of the Kathmandu valley. Even the Ambans (Chinese advisors and supervisors in Tibet) resented Nepal, probably over the coin fiasco (Stiller 1973: 192-200).

The harshness of the Gorkhali conquest and occupation of Jumlā exacerbated Tibet's resentment of Nepal, and Tibetan authorities granted asylum to Jumlā's defeated king, Shuvan Sahi. Despite vast cultural differences, political realities made Lo/Mustang's decision to side with Gorkha a practical and tactful one. dBang-rgyal rdo-rje knew that Lhasa would not protect Lo/Mustang, which it considered a distant area that had often ignored Lhasa's directives. Jumli pressure had also fragmented and weakened his state. At the same time, dBang-rgyal rdo-rje could not fail to note Gorkha's rising power and position in the Himalayan region.⁹

⁸ An 1724 order of the Dalai Lama mentions that in earlier times Lo/Mustang used to pay a yearly tribute of seventy silver tanka (Rs. 70) to Tibet but this amount was increased later by an additional fifty tanka (Rs. 50) totaling an amount of 120 tanka (Rs. 120) annually (MHR doc. 6 Tibetan). But by 1789, Lo/Mustang was apparently paying only 71 tanka a year (MHR doc. 1a Nepali). In Nepali official documents, this amount is called a "simple tribute" (*sadharana sirto*). The main tribute to be paid to Nepal, as in earlier times to Jumla, was also minimal: Rs. 929 and five fine-quality horses yearly (MHR doc. 1a).

⁹ Rājā dBang-rgyal rdo-rje was instrumental to Nepal during the Nepal-Tibet-China war of 1788-1792. At its onset, he led his Lo/Mustangi force as adjuncts to the Nepali (Gorkha) force, but later helped mediate a settlement between Nepal and the China-Tibet alliance. For his mediation, he was later recognized by the emperor of China and the King of Nepal (Tsarang Molla: 14a-14b, MHR docs. 18-19 Nepali, RCPT). An old tantric neck wear, believed to be protective in wartime and worn by dBang-rgyal rdo-rje during that war, is still reverently preserved in the palace of Lo/Mustang, along with a precious plumed and gold-embossed crown bestowed by the Emperor of China, along with a crest ornament after the war. The current Rājā of Lo/Mustang still wears these crowns during the colorful and energetic three-day-long *Tiji* and *Yar-tong* festivals, held annually. This crown, as well as the

As mentioned earlier, prosperity returned to Lo/Mustang palace after the defeat of Junlā and Lo's dependence to Nepal. The local chronicles of Lo/Mustang note dBang-rgyal-rdo-rje's contributions to the land, mainly through the return of territory and customs revenue. (Tsarang Molla: 14a-14b, RCPT). He was also praised for his religious and cultural reforms, arranging for example, esteemed Lamas to resettle and work there (ibid.). Lo/Mustang also enjoyed the recovery of annual tribute and occasional fees collected from Thak and Pānchgāun to its south, Nar, Nyishang, Manāng, Phug, Ruibhot, and Nubri to the east, and many parts of Dolpo (including Lagum, Bharbung (Bhar-rong), Tsharka, Tarab, Cyanam, Lakhcyo, and Tungyan). The trade and customs centers of lower Lo at Kāgbenī and Thak were also returned (MHR doc. 1a). These revenues brought some prosperity in Lo/Mustang palace, and also enabled king dBang-rgyal rdo-rje to renovate monasteries and other religious monuments (Tsarang Molla: 14b).¹⁰

King dBang-rgyal-rdo-rje's social and religious patronage was not limited to his own domain. He personally made pilgrimages as far as the Kathmandu valley (bal-yul) and to the central and western (Kailāśa-Mānaśaravara) regions of Tibet. He sponsored the golden pinnacle atop the temple of Chos-sku'i mchod-sdong rin-po-che in the monastic center at Mānaśaravara (mTsho ma-pham), and donated an enormous, very costly leather boat in which to ferry Buddhist pilgrims across the river Tsang-po near the place called Ye-ru (Tsarang Molla: 14a-b, RCTP).

Indeed, dBang-rgyal rdo-rje is acknowledged as one of the singular reformers in Lo/Mustang. He is widely credited with reforming older regulations and introducing new, more appropriate ones, according to the demands of the times (MHR doc. 22 Tibetan). Under one new regulation, Lo/Mustang's lay people had to provide the food and other necessities to their respective monastic communities, while monks were restricted from entering households or engaging in other worldly activities. Instead, they were required to provide educational and spiritual guidance (RCPT). Rājā dBang-rgyal rdo-rje was also the first Lo/Mustang ruler to offer land grants and other alternative sources of income to every monastic center in the kingdom, while at the same time issuing more stringent regulations to those

one presented by the King of Nepal, are now collectively known in Mustang as *rTog-gsum* (RCPT and information provided by the current Rājā of Lo/Mustang).

¹⁰ As in earlier days, Buddhist scholars of Tibet such as rNying-ma Lama rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, and Sa-skya pan-chen Kun-dga' blo-gros and his son were invited to Mustang by dBang-rgyal rdo-rje. This king founded two important Buddhist temples at Lo Gekar known as bSam-'grub lha-khang and dBang-'dus lha-khang and several other monastic centers at Khyung-tshang, bSam-gtan chos-gling, and bSam-'grub-gling. He also sponsored the construction of the large Byi-ba mchod-rten in Monthang and a palace called 'Bam-mkhar located between the villages of Phuwa (Phug-phag) and Kimaling (RCPT, Tsarang Molla: 14a-b).

monasteries related to hours of study, chores, private trading by monks, and the like (MHR docs. 103, 104, Tibetan).

This period of dBang-rgyal rdo-rje's rule marked the first in which Lo/Mustang and its ruler were acknowledged widely in Nepali, Tibetan, and European sources. Of course, Lo/Mustang's dependency to Nepal and Nepal's relationship with British India and its military engagements against Tibet and China provided a strong impetus for increased cosmopolitan attention (Kirkpatrick 1811: 105).

Lo/Mustang was one of the three kinds of dependent states under Nepal: tax and levies exempted (*sarvāṅgamāph rājya*), states such as Salyan and Bajhang, simple tributary states (*sirtobujhaunyā rājya*) such as Mustang, and the states under annual contract (*ijārā* or *thekkāmā calekā rājya*). Even though Lo lost its old name and independent status, the people of Lo/Mustang under dBang-rgyal rdo-rje enjoyed a novel sense of peace and security after a hectic and disturbed century. Although Lo/Mustang became a dependent state of Nepal with a new official name, Mustang, its terrain and physical distance from Kathmandu assured that for all practical purposes, the Nepali state did not or could not pressure Lo/Mustang unduly. For about twenty or thirty years, excepting the yearly tribute of Rs. 929 and five horses, Lo/Mustang enjoyed freedom from other obligations. The main responsibility of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang was to apply Mustang's full military strength against Nepal's enemies whenever needed, particularly in the northern region (MHR docs. 1a-3 Nepali).¹¹ Similarly, the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang were charged with defending the northern borders, and they did adhere strictly to the terms and conditions of the treaty of dependence. In two major wars, pitting Nepal against a combined Chinese and Tibetan force (1788-90) and a later one between Nepal and Tibet (1855), Lo/Mustang either mediated successfully, or served on Nepal's behalf (MHR doc. 18, 19 Nepali, Tsarang Molla 14b). In order to assist Nepal militarily, in the late 1780s the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang ordered his people to provide compulsory military service. A Mustangi tax record describes the system of collecting cash (silver coins) and goods from those households, which could not contribute manpower during war-time (MHR Bems-chag 3). For such duties as border defense, the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang were awarded honorary military titles by the kings of Nepal.

We have mentioned that Lo/Mustang paid a nominal amount of traditional yearly tribute of 70 to 120 silver Rs. (*tanka*) to Tibet. At the time of the Gorkha-Lo/Mustang dependency agreement, this traditional tribute was fixed at seventy-one silver *tanka* per year. In 1789, when relations were fairly cordial between Nepal and Tibet, the central authorities of Nepal urged

¹¹ The Nepali text of the letter says: उत्तरमा र कतै काज चल्दाको घरी जिउ धन समेत लगाई मुस्ताको आफ्नो दलदल खजाना नेपाली फौजसँग सामेल गराउनु... (MHR doc. 1a Nepali).

the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang to pay that nominal tribute and other traditional fees to Tibet. Still, at the same time, they warned the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang not to allow Tibetan officials to visit Lo/Mustang for collection (MHR doc. 45 Nepali).¹² Mustang's main responsibility as a dependent state, therefore, was to manage problems along its northern border and to provide Nepal with its full manpower there if and when necessary.

Despite its military commitment to Nepal, Lo/Mustang revelled in its new-found freedom from crippling taxes, levies, and fees. The yearly tribute to Jumlā of Rs. 929 and five horses was a fixed one; in practice however, Jumlā had freely imposed additional levies and occasional fees. Jumli authorities, including kings and members of the royal family, had paid frequent ceremonial visits to Lo/Mustang, further draining Lo's coffers. By about the 1720s or early 1730s Jumlā had also captured almost seventy per cent of Lo/Mustang's main and tributary territory, including all of lower Lo's trade and customs centers. Thus, to provide only Rs. 929 and five horses a year to Nepal and enjoy virtually full authority over areas once mastered by his early ancestors was a great gain for the Mustangi *rājā*.¹³

STATE OF LO/MUSTANG UNDER THE LOCAL LEADERSHIP OF THE RAJAS AFTER DBANG-RGYAL RDO-RJE (SINCE C. 1795)

Unlike most of the other dependent states of Nepal, Mustang's physical conditions--its temperature extremes, high winds, and lack of natural wealth--as well as its remote trans-Himalayan location, have enabled it to maintain

¹² At the time of the Nepal-Tibet-China war, Nepal's government advised the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang to stop paying this nominal tribute to Tibet. The practice was revived after the 1790 agreement between Nepal and Tibet, and ended again after the Nepal-Tibet war of 1855.

¹³ Beginning in 1824, the tribute of Rs. 929 was reduced to Rs. 898, in compensation for Lo/Mustang's loss of yearly income from the levies and fees collected earlier from the monks of Bhutanese monasteries at Chodzong (Chos-rdzong) and Namazhung (sNa-ma zhung) in Mustang. These had been waived by the government of Nepal as a token of friendship to the Dharmā Lama (Chos-bla-ma) of Bhutan (MHR doc. 11 Nepali, Dhungel 1989: 179). About twenty-three years later, the government of Nepal also reduced Lo/Mustang's horse liability from five to two, to compensate for distribution of state lands to high-ranking government officials under *birtā* (untaxed lands in lieu of salary) and *khuvā* (freedom from taxation). An order from Kathmandu palace issued in VE 1900 (1843) shows that Rs. 896 and five horses were still being collected from Lo/Mustang. An order from Prime Minister Janga Bahadur dated VE 1916 (1819) states that Lo/Mustang's yearly tribute to Nepal was Rs. 896 and now only three horses. This document also reports that because the eastern districts of Nar, Nyishang, Manāng, Nubri had been brought under the jurisdiction of Kaski and Lamjung districts, and taken away from Lo/Mustang, one more horse was eliminated from the total bill (MHR: 89). From this point on and until 1870s, Mustang paid Rs. 896 and two horses annually to Nepal (MHR doc. 84 Nepali). This arrangement ended after the establishment of the Thak-Dan Customs Office under the authority of the *bhansārī subbās*. All of lower Lo, and the adjacent areas of Kag-Bāragāun and Thak-Pānchgāun, were placed under the authority of the chief subbā of the Thak-Dan Customs Office.

its traditional culture and practices. In terms of local administration, the *rājās* have remained powerful and have always issued their own orders as if they were independent rulers. Lo/Mustang's local chronicles and other literary sources since 1789 often acknowledge them as the Chos-rgyal (Dharmarājā) of Lo/Mustang. This old local tradition is strong even today. People of upper Lo believe that the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang is the true, actual ruler of their land and that the king of Nepal rules the people of the lowlands (rong).¹⁴ This constancy, or consistency, warrants a study of the Mustangi *rājās* after dBang-rgyal rdo-rje.

RAJA BKRA-SHIS SNYING-PO (REIGNED C.1795- C. 1815)

bKra-shis snying-po was *rājā* dBang-rgyal rdo-rje's the eldest son and successor (Tsarang Molla: 14b).¹⁵ He must have succeeded his father some time between 1792 and 1797 and retired around 1815 or 1816 (MHR docs. 7-8 Nepali, doc. 8 Tibetan). Documents dated after 1817 acknowledge him as an advisor to his own son, who began to rule in about 1716 (MHR doc. 53 Nepali).

During the early years of bKra-shis snying-po's reign, Lo/Mustang was still relishing its recovered freedoms and prosperity after accepting dependency to Nepal. But later, the Khri-thog-pa chiefs of lower Lo began to challenge this ruler's power, after establishing closer contact with the central authorities in Kathmandu. Lama bCo-brgyad khri-chen reported that *rājā* bKra-shis snying-po was famed not in his own right but simply through his father's prestige (RCPT). By the time bKra-shis snying-po retired, his domain consisted only of the upper Lo (Lo-tsho-dun) area (Tsarang Molla 14b), and even internal criminal matters were escaping the *rājā*'s personal adjudication and being reported to Kathmandu.

Even the Lo/Mustang palace was troubled once by a serious murder case that occurred in Monthang (RCPT). Although details are sketchy, the case involved a woman, probably from Mustang's royal family and certainly of questionable reputation, who later married a former monk (Gra-log). This

¹⁴ In local dialects, the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang is called *Glo rgyal-po*. To acknowledge the raja of Lo/Mustang as their ruler, the Lo-pa people call him *Nga-tsho-gyi rgyal-po* (our king). They call the king of Nepal *Rong-gyi rgyal-po-che* (the great king of the people of lowlands). This data is based mainly on personal discussions with Lo-pa traders and herders.

¹⁵ His two brothers were Lama rDo-rje'phrin-las and 'Chi-med phan-bde'i snying-po (Jackson 1984: 122). Although the *Glo gdung-rabs* places Lama rDo-rje 'phrin-las in third position and 'Chi-med in the second, an official order (lālmohar) of King Girvanayuddha (of Nepal) dated VE 1865 (1808) confirms that the third lay son--probably 'Chi-med phan-bde'i snying-po, was born when dBang-rgyal rdo-rje was quite old (MHR doc. 5 Nepali). The *Mollas* of Namgyal and Monthang mention only two sons of dBang-rgyal rdo-rje. The so-called second son of dBang-rgyal, also named 'Jam-dpal rdo-rje and described by these sources, must have been the son of bKra-shis snying-po, not his brother (MHR docs. 28, 30 Tibetan).

woman or her relatives have apparently murdered the former monk. The case could have been settled quickly under the traditional jurisdiction of the *rājā* himself, but apparently Lo's old antagonists, the Khri-thog-pa chiefs of lower Lo (Bāragāun), learned of the case and reported it to Kathmandu. The case ultimately became very costly for the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang and strategically very beneficial for the Khri-thog-pa chiefs. Lama bCo-brgyad khri-chen also describes this as the event, which destroyed the financial strength of the palace of Lo/Mustang (RCPT). bKra-shis snying-po's rule is not remembered as a distinguished one, or even a successful one.

RAJA 'JAM-DPAL DGRA-DUL (REIGNED C. 1816-1837)

bKra-shis snying-po was succeeded by his son 'Jam-dpal dgra-'dul, probably in 1816. He was also known by another name, Theg-mchog sengge (RCPT: 13-14). As his reign is better-documented than his father's, by his own orders and the orders and letters issued from Kathmandu, it probably boasted more successes. He was the first of Lo/Mustang *rājā* to ask for a special passport from the king of Nepal for trade and transit privileges with Tibet (MHR docs. 23-24, Panta and Pierce 1989: 77-79). He ruled Lo/Mustang for about twenty or twenty-one years. (MHR doc. 59 Nepali).

'Jam-dpal's highly educated wife, *rānī* (rGyal-mo) Pad-ma bu-khrid, who came from a prominent Tibetan family, assisted him in day-to-day administration. Records show that she visited Kathmandu several times in order to solve local problems (MHR doc. 15, 57, 59).¹⁶ After her husband's death, she acted as regent for her son, Kun-dga' nor-bu. Because of her exceptional educational background, *rānī* Pad-ma bu-khrid's influence in Lo/Mustang's administration often exceeded that of her husband. Local orders from her husband often bear her name, as if she were a joint ruler--not a common practice in Lo's patrilineal tradition.

Still, 'Jam-dpal dgra-dul himself has been credited with great wisdom, intelligence, and righteousness (Tsarang Molla 14b). He ordered the renovation of Lo/Mustang's most important temples and monasteries, including Byams-pa and Thub-chen (RCPT: 13-15), and ordered a merger of the old Brag-dkar theg-chen gling monastery¹⁷ with the newer sMon-thang chos-sde monastery in Monthang township (RCPT: 14). He also invited religious figures from Tibet to give him religious instruction, although his formal, and primary, spiritual preceptor remained Lama Chos-kyi-nyi-ma of bSam-'grub-gling monastery (Tsarang Molla 14b, RCPT: 13-14). 'Jam-dpal sometimes even meditated inside remote caves (RCPT).

¹⁶ Rānī Pad-ma bu-khrid was born into the family of the rNying-ma-pa master Rig-'dzin rGod-kyi ldem-khru-can in the monastic residence (Bla-brang) of gTsang-phu stod at Shiga-tse (gZhis-ka rtsé) (RCPT: 13-14). The Nying-ma-pa order permitted monks to marry.

¹⁷ Ruins of this monastic center can still be seen in a place called Brag-dkar, which is located across the stream running past Monthang township.

At the petition of *rājā*'Jam-dpal and his politically talented wife, the king of Nepal established a tradition of granting an audience to the *rājās* and *Rānīs* of Lo/Mustang every two years in Kathmandu, enhancing Lo/Mustang's recognition and prestige in the region (ibid.). The *rājā* was even granted additional powers in imposing and collecting local levies, fees, and taxes in lower Lo and the surrounding areas of Dolpo, Manāng, Nar, Nyishang, and Nubri (Panta and Pierce 1989: 49), and to issue official orders even in the long-estranged lower Lo region (MHR doc. 10 Tibetan). Consequently, collections from these southern areas subsidized improvements in monasteries and other cultural edifices, and cultural and religious activities proliferated, but only in the north. Lama bCo-brgyad khri-chen also claims that 'Jam-dpal dgra-'dul had assigned several scribes to write a book about activities in Lo/Mustang during his time, and to record his ideas about governance. The Lama claims that *rājā* 'Jam-dpal's prime intention in producing such a book was to guide his son and grand-sons during their reigns (RCPT: 14).

RAJA KUN-DGA' NOR-BU (REIGNED 1837– C. 1858)

After *rājā*'Jam-dpal dgra-'dul's untimely death in 1837, his only son Kun-dga' nor-bu succeeded him (MHR doc. 59). Only fragmentary information of his childhood can be obtained from the *Molla* source.¹⁸ Nonetheless, Nepali foreign ministry archives and the genealogy compiled by Lama bCo-brgyad khri-chen record events in Lo/Mustang during his reign.

The *Tsarang Molla*'s concluding sentences describe the young Kun-dga' nor-bu as the junior *rājā* or crown-prince of Lo/Mustang, and say that he mastered two important meditations of Mahayana Buddhism, *bsKyed-rim* and *rDzogs-rim* at a very young age. Because of his righteous character and kindheartedness, he was also compared with a Bodhisattva therein (Tsarang Molla: 15a). Until his maturity, Kun-dga' nor-bu's astute and formidable mother and regent nurtured and instructed him. Official orders issued from Kathmandu after 1857 are addressed to both *rājā* Kun-dga' nor-bu and his mother, Pad-ma bu-khrid. Like his father, Kun-dga' nor-bu also married a woman from a renowned Tibetan monastic family whose name was bKra-shis bu-khrid (MHR doc. 71 Nepali).

It was during Kun-dga' nor-bu's time that Nepal experienced a violent political turmoil in Kathmandu which established the strong family rule of the Ranas in 1847. This cataclysmic alteration in Nepali court politics directly affected the local administration of the entire nation, including all dependent principalities. Lo/Mustang faced serious difficulties in adjusting

¹⁸ The *Tsarang Molla* had ceased to provide thorough and reliable accounts during the reign of this raja's father. This was probably a result of the political Nepalization of the area; earlier, it was an important state document, commissioned by the *rājā*.

to the changes. Although Mustang's relationship with the center was sound during Pad-ma bu-khrid's regency, Kun-dga' nor-bu could not maintain direct relations, even though his traditional privileges and rights as the Lo/Mustangi ruler were extended during his mother's lifetime, which lasted at least until 1857 (MHR doc. 18 Nepali, Panta and Pierce 1985: 83). The Khri-thog-pa family (local rulers of lower Lo)¹⁹ of 'Dzar and the Thakali subbās of Thak (Thakali traders who were appointed by the government of Nepal to the position of chief administrator and contractor of the Thak-Ḍān Customs Office) were more astute in this respect, and this eventually eroded the prestige and position of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang. In 1855, Nepal was engaged in a war with Tibet, and Lo/Mustang joined with the *srivarakha* battalion of the Nepali army led by Captain Amarsingh Rana to attack Tibet from the direction of rDzong-dkar (Jhunga in Nepali) in Gung-thang (MHR doc. 18-19 Nepali). Kun-dga' nor-bu personally led the Lo/Mustangi forces on behalf of Nepal.²⁰ As the sources containing his son's name begin from 1859 (VE 1916), Kun-dga' nor-bu apparently died around 1858 (MHR docs. 20, 71 Nepali).

RAJA 'JAM-DBYANGS DBANG-DUS (REIGN C. 1858-C. 1853) AND RAJA DNGOS-GRUB DPAL-'BAR (REIGNED C. 1868-1894)

Rājā Kun-dga'-nor-bu had three recorded and legitimate sons. Among them, his successor was 'Jam-dbyangs dbang-dus, also known as Khams-gsum dbang-dus (MHR doc. 20 Nepali). 'Jam-dbyangs dbang-dus must have succeeded his father at some point between 1857 and 1859 (MHR docs. 20, 71 Nepali) but then died at a young age without legitimate male offspring to succeed him.

The prestige and power of the Mustangi *rājās* declined dramatically during the reigns of 'Jam-dbyangs dbang-dus (c. 1858-1863) and his brother and official successor, dNgos-grub-dpal-'bar (c. 1868-1894). In turn, these brothers were dogged by the Thakali traders of Thak, who had gained additional power through their relations with the Ranas. Usually, government officials took the ready advice of the Thakali subbās, who, reputedly, affected shameless flattery and a false servility toward them. One

¹⁹ For more information about this Khri-thog-pa family please refer pp. 5-6 and footnote no. 5 of this chapter.

²⁰ The aftermath of the Nepal-Tibet war of 1855 led to changes in the regulation of border trade and transit. An official letter from the Nepali foreign department (*jaisī koṭhā*) dated VE 1913 (1856) and addressed to *rājā* Kun-dga' nor-bu details changes brought about by the bilateral agreement signed after the war. According to the new regulations, the customs duties and related fees collected earlier by Tibetan authorities in Bhot-Patan from Lo-pa or Mustangi traders and from surrounding areas of Nepal would now be paid to Nepal alone. The *rājā* of Lo/Mustang was authorized to collect the duties and fees in Lo/Mustang, and a receipt of payment would then be shown to the Tibetan authorities in Bhot Patan (MHR doc. 70 Nepali).

result was that Rana officials would not travel beyond Thak; instead, in imperious language they ordered the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang to meet them there. The impolite and hectoring language used indicates that the convenience of the location mattered less than the chance for Rana officials to assert their power (MHR doc. 73 Nepali).

The symbolism of these demoralizing arrangements was not lost on Lo/Mustang's rulers, or its observers. The *Monthang Molla* does not even acknowledge 'Jam-dbyangs dbang-dus as a formal ruler but as prince (rGyal-sras) (MHR doc. 28). 'Jam-dbyangs dbang-dus died at a young age after a short reign, and he is not recorded to have accomplished any remarkable reforms, or else achieved anything significant, in Lo/Mustang.²¹ One recorded incident, which occurred during his reign, was the loss of revenue traditionally collected from the eastern districts of Manāng, Nar, Nyishang, Phug, and Nubri. In 1859, the Rana administration in Nepal included those areas in the jurisdiction of Kaskī and Lamjung, areas newly recognized as the hereditary property of the Rana family. The central administration of Nepal compensated for the loss of Mustang's yearly income previously collected from those areas by deducting one horse from the yearly tribute it demanded from Lo/Mustang.²² After ruling briefly, 'Jam-dbyangs dbang-dus died, and after his able widow, the *rānī* Tshe-mchog, had acted as regent for about five years, he was succeeded by his younger brother, the monk dNgos-grub dpal-'bar.

Written sources on this *rājā* and social and monastic regulations under his authority are available in most of the villages of upper Lo; various Nepali official sources mention him as well.²³ A Zhabs-drung, or royal abbot of Tsarang, dNgos-grub dpal-'bar forsook his vow of a celibacy and assumed the position of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang (MHR doc. 77 Nepali).²⁴ Lama bCo-brgyad khri-chen recounts that ministers, dignitaries, and even ordinary

²¹ Nepali official orders related to Lo/Mustang after 1865 were issued in the name of mi Tshe-mchog grol-ma and her ministers, whereas the orders issued until 1862 are addressed to 'Jam-dbyangs (MHR docs. 72, 74 and 76 Nepali). 'Jam-dbyangs must have died before 1865, after which the administration of Lo/Mustang was handed over to the *rānī* (rGyal-mo) and her ministers.

²² Two official orders sent from Kathmandu dated VE 1919 (1862) and addressed to 'Jam-dbyangs were recorded during the author's field-work (MHR docs. 72-73 Nepali).

²³ The first document to acknowledge dNgos-grub as the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang is the *sanad* order dated VE 1926 (1869) (MHR doc. 77 Nepali). This *rāja* was also known by his Sanskrit name Siddhisrijvala, which was used primarily in local orders written in Tibetan and issued from the palace of Mon-thang (MHR docs. 36, 140 etc.) The lives of dNgos-grub and his grandfather 'Jam-dpal dgra-'dul were heavily documented in local written sources. A document dated VE 1950 (1893) announces dNgos-grub's death that year after a rule of about 26 years (MHR docs. 30-31 Nepali).

²⁴ A *sanad* order of Rana Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh dated VE 1937 (1880) indicates that dNgos-grub dpal-'bar was the younger brother of *rājā* 'Jam-dbyang dbang-dus (MHR doc. 25 Nepali).

people of Lo/Mustang pressured dNgos-grub dpal-'bar to abandon celibacy and embrace his brother's widow as his own wife, for the sake of continuing the royal line (RCPT: 14-15). Yet at that time, *rānī* Tshe-mchog and the ministers rDo-rje nu-nu and Kun-bzang-lags were ably conducting the affairs of Lo/Mustang (MHR doc. 74-76).²⁵ 'Jam-dbyang's younger brother, named dBang-rgyal nor-bu, who was even given the royal title of Sa-dbang, was also alive and well (MHR docs 74-76 and docs. 21, 31 Nepali).²⁶ Nonetheless, it was the Lama dNgos-grub dpal-'bar who finally succeeded his elder brother, and then promptly married the regent Tshe-mchog (MHR doc. 77 Nepali). But the *rānī* died suddenly in 1871 (VE 1926), and *rājā* dNgos-grub dispatched his minister and other officials to Tibet to find him an appropriate girl to marry. This attempt was not successful.²⁷

Border problems in the north, which had festered since the Nepal-Tibet war of 1855 despite post-war adjustments, continued to trouble dNgos-grub. In 1878, Tibetan administrators of De-pung in Ding-ri expelled Lo/Mustang's chief minister Kun-bzang-lags and other officials while they were seeking a new bride for their *rājā*. Later, following brief diplomatic discussions with Nepali and Tibetan authorities, a Lo/Mustangi mission, including the chief minister, went to Tibet again, bearing an official Nepali passport and a Tibetan visa, but the results were even worse--the entire party was looted and then killed by Tibetans in a place called Holing (MHR doc. 24 Nepali). Later, the case was forwarded to the central administration in Kathmandu and finally, it had to be handled by Nepali and Tibetan foreign departments.²⁸ Lo/Mustang's tradition of direct relations with Tibet ended after the recent Nepal-Tibet war; this incident typified its closure.

To maintain Lo/Mustang's status and prestige, *rājā* dNgos-grub had to struggle with pleasing the Thakali subbAs, Tibetan officials, and the central authorities of Nepal. An order of Prime Minister Dev Shamsher dated 1892

²⁵ An order issued from Kathmandu dated VE 1922 (1865) authorizes the Chief Minister (Blon-chen) Kun-bzang lags to travel to Kathmandu to pay the yearly tribute from Lo/Mustang (MHR doc. 74). In 1867 (the year VE 1924), the Lo/Mustangi *rānī* herself visited Kathmandu to pay the tribute (MHR doc. 75 Nepali).

²⁶ A sanad order of Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher JBR dated VE 1958 (1901) states that the title of *rājā* of Lo/Mustang was officially given to his brother dBang-rgyal nor-bu's son (MHR doc. 31). A local order of *rājā* 'Jam-dbyangs dbang-dus provides the title and full name of his younger brother Sa-dbang (bhūpati, or lord of the earth) (MHR doc. 21 Nepali).

²⁷ An official order sent from Kathmandu in VE 1926 (1869) refers to *rājā* dNgos-grub and *rānī* Tshe-mchog (sgrol-ma) as husband and wife (MHR doc. Nepali). As dNgos-grub was a celibate monk and Tshe-mchog was his brother's widow, he must have forsaken his celibacy and married his brother's wife. In Mustang, forsaking one's celibacy has always been considered somewhat disreputable, but adopting one's elder brother's wife was and still is very common there. Tshe-mchog apparently died during the winter of 1871, only a few years later, and dNgos-grub then had to remarry (MHR doc. 24, 79 and 91).

²⁸ Lhasa eventually paid compensation, and blamed the attack on ordinary Tibetans and the negligence of their local administrations.

(VE 1949) reveals the Lo/Mustangi *rājā*'s dwindling position. The *rājā* was called to appear forthwith in Kathmandu, even though officials knew that one of his hands was broken and he was unable to ride a horse (MHR doc. Nepali). He also had to deal regularly with three Thakali subbAs, Balbir, Kabiraj, and Ramprasad, who were among the Ranas' favorites (MHR doc. 93 Nepali).

dNgos-grub's reign is not remembered as one of power, prestige, or glory for the state of Lo/Mustang. Still, this *rājā* achieved considerable monastic reforms within his domain. Among these, a complete renovation of the temple of Thub-chen in Monthang is the most important (MHR doc. 18 Tibetan). Like his great-great-grandfather dBang-rgyal rdo-rje, this *rājā* made special arrangements for regular financial contributions to almost all the monasteries in Lo/Mustang, especially Tsarang.

RAJA 'JAM-DBYANGS RGYAL-MTSHAN (1894 - c. 1935)

'Jam-dbyangs became the *rājā*/king of Lo/Mustang after dNgos-grub died in 1894 without having produced a legitimate son and heir. 'Jam-dbyangs was the eldest son of dNgos-grub's younger brother, Sa-dbang dBang-rgyal-nor-bu, who had died earlier. This king was known by two interchangeable names, 'Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan and 'Jam-dbyangs dpal-'bar (MHR docs. 28, 98b Tibetan, 30-43 and 109-118 Nepali).²⁹ In the beginning of his rule, his brothers sKu-zhabs dBang-rgyal-dpal-'bar and sKu-zhabs Rab-rgyas dpal-'bar assisted him in administration (MHR docs. 31-32, 34, 111, 114 Nepali). However, the second brother, dBang-rgyal, later rebelled, seeking equal status and power, and the Nepali government had to adjudicate the matter (MHR doc. 30, 31). Despite dBang-rgyal dpal-'bar's insurgence, the youngest brother Rab-rgyas always worked cooperatively with 'Jam-dbyangs (MHR doc. 34 Nepali). As the latest Nepali government documents regarding 'Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan are dated until 1933, he must have ruled Lo/Mustang until the early 1930s (Doc. 43 Nepali).³⁰

During 'Jam-dbyangs-rgyal-mtshan's forty-year reign (c. 1894-1935), six Rana Prime Ministers served in Nepal's central administration. Among them, Chandra Shamsheer (1901-1929) was the longest-serving (Sever 1993: 237). Among the Thakalis, the Sherchan family had always been the most prominent customs contractors in Lo/Mustang during the Rana administration.³¹ Because they were the leading trading families in the

²⁹ About twenty-five Nepali and fifty Tibetan documents related to this *rājā* were collected during field-work (MHR, pt. II and III).

³⁰ When addressing local issues within their dependencies, documents were often issued by the Nepal government in the name of local rulers.

³¹ Earlier, the Thakali contractors were not known by their last name, Sherchan. Their ancestors were known by their original Tibetan names such as Pad-ma rig-'dzin (MHR doc. 8 Tibetan).

region and had command of the Tibetan and Nepali languages, no one else in the region could compete with them in winning the customs contract of the Thak-Dan Customs Office, and after winning this contract the Thakali subbās were very seldom removed.³² The Gurung contractors seemed less aggressive to the Mustangi *rājā* at first, but they were also considered uncouth. Imitating the tactics of Thakali contractors, Subba Manilal Gurung eventually established a ritual friendship (*mita*) with 'Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan (MHR docs. 105, 115 Nepali), but then went on to intimidate and harass both the *rājā* and the people of Lo/Mustang (MHR docs. 115, 116).³³ Chandra Shamsheer's term as Prime Minister, during the first three decades of the twentieth century, marked the zenith of the rule of the Ranas in Nepal, and during that time, Subba Hitman Thakali established an irrevocable tie with him and the Nepali government. (He is also said to have established a ritual friendship (*mita*) with Chandra Shamsheer.) As a result, the traditional power and prestige of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang was utterly undermined during this time. Meanwhile, Subbā Hitman Sherchan for all purposes controlled the lower Lo and Thak region from the Thak-Dan Customs Office, claiming most of the traditional rights of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang as if he were its legitimate ruler. Although people of lower Lo largely respected their nominal *rājā* in Lo/Mustang, they recognized the power of Hitman for all practical purposes. (MHR: 117)

RAJA BSTAN-'DZIN 'JAM-DPAL DRA-'DUL (REIGNED C. 1935-1955, 1960-1965)

After 'Jam-dbyangs-rgyal-mtshan's death in 1935, his younger son, bsTan-'dzin 'jam-dpal dra-'dul, assumed the hereditary seat of the Lo/Mustang *rājā*, as his elder brother 'Jam-dbyangs dbang-dus dpal-'bar had already died. This deceased brother had been recognized as the future *rājā* of

³² Following continuous reports of monopolies and corruption among the Thakali subbās, the contract was offered to two powerful Gurungs of Lamjung, Manilal and his son Narajang, between about 1903 to 1908 (MHR docs. 105, 111, 115, 117, 174, 213 Nepali and doc. 105 Tibetan). This arrangement was implemented on a trial basis because subbā Balbir's descendants (the Sherchan family) were very powerful, not only through their contacts with the government, but also through wealth accumulated from the north-south trade. Even before Balbir, the ancestors of these Thakalis had established a special relationship with the Tibetan authorities of different trade centers, and later around 1748 were given an official letter from the central authorities of Tibet, stating appreciation and granting formal privileges (e.g., herding livestock into Tibet, and freedom from ferry and grazing fees) (MHR doc. 8 Tibetan). The new Gurung contractors were unable to handle the competition from these Thakali traders, and the Rana administration of Nepal again offered the contract back to Thakalis (MHR: 116, 430).

³³ Perhaps exemplifying the Gurung subbās' practices, two letters dated VE 1965 (1908) sent from Thāk-Dān Customs Office to the raja of Lo/Mustang demonstrate subbā Manilal Gurung threatening the raja with direct consequences unless he followed all Gurung directives.

Lo/Mustang not only within Lo/Mustang but also by Kathmandu; the government of Nepal had already offered him the honorary position of captain, and a yearly salary, in the Nepal army (MHR doc. 34 Nepali).

Lama bCo-brgyad khri-chen describes the internal problems within the Lo/Mustang palace after 'Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan's death. He writes that bsTan-'dzin was only twelve years old when his father died (RCTP). Yet other records do not support this; bsTan-'dzin's father is recorded to have ruled Lo/Mustang until around the 1930s. bsTan-'dzin's uncle dBang-rgyal had opposed the family of 'Jam-dbyangs rgyal-mtshan, as he was claiming equal rights and powers with his brother. However, he was restricted officially by Nepal's central authority and made to stifle his dissent until his brother's death. After this event, he agitated again to make his own son the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang on the basis of seniority. As sKu-zhabs dBang-rgyal's son was older than bsTan-'dzin, his claim to the royal succession was more valid. According to Lo/Mustang's tradition, joint rule of two or more brothers and age-based seniority were the deciding factors in royal succession. In fact, lay brothers of the king were considered as junior or deputy kings in Lo/Mustang, and in most cases, two or more brothers shared a single household and wife. The eldest brother of the king used to succeed immediately.

sKu-zhabs dBang-rgyal, however, lived in the age of Rana autocracy in Nepal and Lo/Mustang's traditional rule of succession was dictated by the central authorities of Nepal, as mediated through the Thakali subbās. Unfortunately and unnecessarily, the Nepali tradition of royal succession was imposed on Lo/Mustang. As only the king's son can succeed the throne in Nepali tradition, the former *rājā*'s son bsTan-'dzin 'jam-dpal dgra-'dul was named official successor. During bsTan-'dzin's rule in Lo/Mustang from 1935 to 1955 and 1958 to 1964 Nepal underwent many changes; no fewer than three Rana Prime Ministers (Judda Shamsheer, Padma Shamsheer, and Mohan Shamsheer) served. More important, the successful democratic revolution of 1950-51 ended the 104-year-old family regime of the Ranas. Under the command of King Tribhuvan and King Mahendra, interim governments ruled Nepal for about eight years. Finally, in 1958, an elected democratic government was formed, to be crushed by a royal coup and the institutionalization of the Panchayat system in 1961.³⁴

Rājā bsTan-'dzin actively managed the local administration of Lo/Mustang until 1955, when he announced his official retirement, and his administrative responsibilities passed to his elder son, dBang-dus snying-

³⁴ During these eight years the key political figures and king promised a parliamentary system but never implemented one; no elections were ever actually held. No legislature was ever convened and the king freely re-arranged his government without checks.

po.³⁵ bsTan-'dzin then moved to an old, small palace at Phre-mkhar (now known as Thengkar), but could not remain in retirement long--dBang-dus snying-po died in 1958 and his younger brother 'Jigs-med dpal-'bar suffered debilitating poor health (Peissel 1967: 257). Therefore bsTan-'dzin reassumed the title and administrative power of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang, but he never moved back to the main palace of Monthang (ibid.)

During *rājā* bsTan-'dzin's reign western industrialization and modern trends made significant inroads in Nepal. Although Lo/Mustang was and still is a remote land of inhospitable terrain, the influence of modernity traveled into the upper Lo region through the so-called "new Nepali" (really, English-patterned) school system. bsTan-'dzin himself advocated bringing this educational system, and outlook, to Lo/Mustang. As records show, he was attracted to Nepali language and literature and even used his personal income to patronize literary works published in Kathmandu (Tiwari VE 2012).³⁶ Another impact of modernity was the revolution of 1951, in which the younger generation of educated Thakalis, while working under the leadership of the Nepali Congress party, influenced the local people of Lo/Mustang to oppose the *rājā* and old Lo-pa traditions and culture. bsTan-'dzin, therefore, can best be viewed as a transitional figure--one who adhered to tradition by retiring to spiritual life and by issuing orders in exactly the same way as his forefathers had on one hand, and on the other, was attracted to the so-called new Nepali (western) education system.

After the introduction of King Mahendra's Panchayat rule in Nepal, *rājā* bsTan-'dzin established direct contact with the king of Nepal and was able to revive his local traditional rights, including celebrating the cultural and religious festivals banned after the revolution of 1951. Slowly, Lo/Mustang regained its status and prestige under the Panchayat regime. Because the old north-south trade had dwindled after the Chinese occupation of Tibet, the Thakali subbās' importance and power had virtually ended as well. After the revolution of 1951, new land acts abolishing the old contract system were introduced and the local administrative power of Thakali contractors had officially ended. Again after 1961, in the process of administrative reform and under the new land reform laws, the remaining traditional powers and rights of such contractors (jimmāvāls and jamindārs) were completely abolished. On the other hand, the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang was made an ex-officio member of the *ṛājāsava* (Royal council), an honorary colonel of the Nepal army, and the Coordinator of ten village panchayats of Lo/Mustang located

³⁵ Official orders issued by dBang-dus snying-po from the main palace of Monthang in the late 1950s can be found throughout upper Lo and are readily available in village boxes, or the records of local governments, usually kept by village headmen. Copies of several of them were collected during the field-work supporting this project (MHR doc. 150 Tibetan).

³⁶ bsTan-'dzin expresses his realization of the need for "New Nepali" schools in Lo/Mustang in the preface of a book written by a prominent Nepali poet Bhimnidhi Tiwari and published by the *rājā* himself (ibid.).

in the north of Kāgbenī. Such recognition of the *rājā* and the demeaned position in which the Thakalis were placed certainly elevated the prestige of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang.

In 1964, *rājā* bsTan-'dzin died and was succeeded by his youngest son, 'Jigs-mied dpal-'bar (Biṣṭa), the current *rājā* of Lo/Mustang. bsTan-'dzin's second son, Ngag-dbang 'jigs-med thub-bstan rgya-mtsho, was a celibate monk and Zhabs-drung of the royal Monastery of Tsarang. However, he broke his vow of celibacy by establishing sexual relations with a woman of a noble family in Tsarang. After a brief connubial life she died suddenly, and he moved to Dolpo and lived there with another wife for more than two decades. Later, he moved to upper Mustang's Choshar area, near Monthang and after living for a few years with his family in an old palace at Phremkhar died in 2000.

This monk and the noblewoman produced a son, 'Jigs-med seng-ge dpal-'bar, who today is the designated successor to the traditional throne of Lo/Mustang.³⁷ He is the only male successor in the Lo/Mustang royal family and also the adopted son of the present *rājā*. A businessman and social worker in Kathmandu, he is recognized as the rGyal-chung, or junior *rājā*, of Lo/Mustang. The people of Lo/Mustang currently address him as such.

MUSTANG'S POSITION AFTER DEPENDENCY TO NEPAL

After its dependency to Nepal, Mustang enjoyed about twenty years of relative freedom, economically better situation, and even influence in adjacent areas. But political reversals and turmoil in Kathmandu slowly affected all of Nepal; Lo/Mustang was no exception. Mustang's southern, eastern, and western territories, which were once seized by Jumlā and returned to Lo/Mustang in 1789 by the Gorkhalis, were again being harassed.³⁸

³⁷ The paternity of this "junior raja," as he is still called, went unrevealed until he was a young boy, and his mother named his father. In the wake of the scandal, the royal monk left the monastery and lived with the woman and the boy until the woman's sudden death.

³⁸ For example, the northern regions of Dolpo, including the sizable villages of Tsharka and Lagumkhola, were taken from the *raja* of Lo/Mustang and given to the Khri-thog-pa chiefs of Baragaun under contract (MHR doc. 207 Nepali). These areas were under the local authority of the Khri-thog-pa Biṣṭas for a considerable period of time, perhaps about fifty years, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (MHR doc. 250 Nepali). Also, local Khri-thog-pa chiefs of Baragaun (mainly of Jharkot or 'Dzar) had worked energetically with the Gorkha army commanders to defeat Jumla and incorporate it into Nepal. Administrative responsibility for Baragaun, including the customs office at Kagbeni and authority over Nar, Nyishang, Marāng, and other smaller townships was given to the Khri-thog-pa chiefs under yearly contract (MHR docs. 186-187 Nepali, Dhungel VE 2044a: 10-15, VE 2044b: 25-30, Pant and Pierce 1989: 23). Later, during the administrations of the Thapa and Pande families in Nepal, from the late 1700s to 1846, the Khri-thog-pa family became very powerful in lower Lo (Baragaun). Still, some of the traditional levies and fees demanded by the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang continued, according to custom. However, as close associates of

By about the 1820s, Kathmandu had begun to view Lo/Mustang as a comparatively ungainly acquisition. Nepali authorities therefore decided to exchange seven districts of upper Lo for Pu-rang (lTag-la mkhar) in Tibet, located along its own northwestern frontier; and a flurry of official correspondence between Kathmandu and Lhasa followed. Nepali authorities were eager to relinquish Lo/Mustang to Tibet and the Tibetan authorities considered the proposal seriously and favorably; the Dalai Lama is thought to have asked his officials to investigate the revenues generated by the areas considered for this exchange. But the Chinese representatives known as Amban, in Lhasa directed Tibetan authorities to approach the Chinese emperor in Beijing and Beijing then rejected the idea, citing a traditional Chinese dictum that "the territory of a kingdom cannot be exchanged" (Nepal VE 2044: 361).

Even today, this incident is widely viewed by the people of Lo/Mustang as the greatest diplomatic insult in Lo/Mustang's history. Once a close ally and a faithful dependent state which had eagerly assisted in the Gorkhali military campaign, Lo/Mustang had practically been discarded by Nepali authorities for reasons of political expediency.

The Khri-thog-pa families of lower Lo (Bāragāun) had often opposed the Lo/Mustang rulers. Earlier, they had fought against the royal court of the Lo/Mustang kingdom and migrated to lower Lo from Monthang, and later joined with Jumlā, becoming Lo/Mustang's main "enemy hosts." Now, in the 1820 and 1830s, they were circulating inflammatory stories about the Lo/Mustang rulers. Their intention was to end the dependent status Lo/Mustang, incorporate it, and extend their contracted territory up to the Tibetan border. A petition (binti-patra) drafted in Jharkot ('Dzar), the center of the Khri-thog-pas, and addressed to king Ranabahadur Shah of Nepal, details one such plan (Nepal VE 244: 251-53). This letter claimed that the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang commissioned a tantric ritual intended to produce Ranabahadur's death. The letter details the history of the alleged conspiracy and produces the supposed verifications by a Nepali official, Indraman Khatri, and the conspirator Lama Norbu of Jharkot (possibly a brother or cousin of the Khri-thog-pa Biṣṭas). It petitions for the dismissal of the Mustangi *rājā* from his hereditary position, the abolishment of Lo/Mustang's tributary status and the appointment of Lama Norbu as the new administrator of Lo/Mustang on a yearly contract basis (ibid.). Endorsing this position, one

Nepal's central administration, the Khri-thog-pa chiefs usurped the authority of the Lo/Mustangi raja and eroded Lo/Mustang's traditional authority in northern Dolpo, Manāng and Nyishang valleys during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Khri-thog-pa chiefs even claimed the right to collect occasional fees and levies (*salamis*) from those areas. Their contracts (*salbasal sirto*) with Nepal during this time exceeded the yearly tribute derived from Lo/Mustang, whose annual tribute was fixed. Thus at that time, for the central authorities of Nepal, the Khri-thog-pa chiefs were more important than the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang.

Nepali historian argues that the Lo/Mustangi *rājā* was working with the defeated king Sudarshan Sahi of Jumlā against the Nepali maharājā and the Gorkhali authorities in the region (Nepal VE 2044: 251-54). This accusation, however, is insupportable.

Except for that particular petition letter, every other single local and government document contradicts these accusations against the *rājā*. First of all, Lo/Mustang suffered greatly under Jumlā's pressures; that it might enter into a secret alliance with Jumlā later is highly questionable. Furthermore, it had joined the Gorkhali campaigns against Jumlā with great zeal. A variety of accounts indicate that Lo/Mustang followed the terms and conditions of the treaty of dependence scrupulously, and enjoyed material and cultural prosperity during the post-Jumli era of *rājā* dBang-rgyal and his son bKra-shis snying-po. Thus, the accusations of Mustang's conspiracy against the king of Nepal appear to be little more than duplicitous, even spiteful, tactics by the Khri-thog-pa Biṣṭas of Bāragāun.

When Lo/Mustang was an independent kingdom, it always included the northern region of Dolpo, lower Lo (Bāragāun, Pānchgāun, and Thāk), and most of the settlements of Manāng and Nyishang valleys, sometimes even up to Ruibhot of Northern Gorkha in the east. Later, Jumlā gained control of lower Lo. The areas between Gelung and Lubrag, including the eastern areas of Manāng, Nar, and Nyishang and the western districts of northern Dolpo, came under Jumli administration; meanwhile, the entire area of Thāk and Pānchgāun was lost to Parvat. Gelung at the same time was controlled by the cousins of the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang. Following Parvat's incorporation into Nepal, all of lower Lo, including Thāk, Pānchgāun, Dolpo, and Manāng, Nar, Nyishang in the east, were given to the local Khri-thog-pa chief of Jharkot by contract. Although lower Lo was distributed among the local contractors, the government of Nepal had retained the hereditary rights of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang to collect regular levies, occasional fees and traditional and customary tokens of respect from those areas. Gelung was freed from such fees and levies, as the local rulers of Gelung belonged to the old ruling family of Lo/Mustang. Therefore the local ruler of Gelung was asked to pay only a nominal yearly tribute of Rs. 70 to the central government of Nepal, even while Jumlā occupied Lo/Mustang (MHR doc. 149 Nepali). Later, around 1837 or 1838, when the Commissioner (sDe-pa) of Gelung died leaving no male offspring to succeed him, Gelung's local ruling line eventually ended and the contract of Gelung was given back to the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang for a yearly tribute of Rs. 101.³⁹ After the death of sDe-pa Khams-gsum rgyal-po of Gelung, no local ruler was appointed in

³⁹ A document dated VE 1892 (1835) shows that sDe-pa Khams-gsum rgyal-po of Gelung was paying Rs. 70 annually to the government of Nepal. Another document dated VE 1896 (1839) tells that the Lo/Mustangi *rājā* was asked to pay a yearly contract amount of Rs. 101 from Gelung (MHR doc. 61 Nepali).

Gelung until it was given under contract to the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang, and at that time, the yearly tribute was collected from the village headmen (rGan-pa) of Gelung. An official receipt from VE 1892 (1835) indicates that the elderly sDe-pa of Gelung was unable to travel to Kathmandu to pay the yearly tribute to Nepal. The document dated VE 1896 (1839) affirms that the old sDe-pa had died in that year or a couple of years before; in that year, Gelung was given to the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang on yearly contract (MHR doc. 61 Nepali). By the late 1830s, therefore, the territorial authority of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang seems to have extended again down to the village of Sa-mar or even up to Chelep.

At any rate, after its formal dependency with Nepal, Lo/Mustang maintained its improved status for approximately twenty years, until it was again eroded by the rise of the Khri-thog-pa chiefs of Jharkot. After that, Lo/Mustang hardly maintained even its former status of a provincial dependency.

In 1847, Nepal experienced an upheaval in its central administration. The family-based autocracy of the Ranas was established by Janga Bahadur Rana (Sever 1993: 61). This change in the central administration affected Lo/Mustang adversely. In the earlier days of Mustang's dependency, the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang were addressed with respect and suitable salutations even by the maharājā of Nepal. The Rana Prime Ministers and generals, however, dispensed with such courtesies.⁴⁰

Despite the machinations and pressures of the powerful Khri-thog-pa Biṣṭas of Bāragāun, the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang maintained their traditional right to collect customs duties, fees and, levies from the people of lower Lo, Dolpo, and the Manāng and Nyishang areas until 1847 (MHR doc. 7 Nepali, Panta and Pierce 1989: 83).⁴¹ This situation did not last after the establishment of the Rana regime, because the subbas of Thak-Dan established special contact with the Rana Prime Ministers of Nepal and their relatives in Kathmandu.⁴² After that, Thāk, Pānchgāun, Bāragāun, Manāng, Nar, Nyishang and most of northern Dolpo were gradually included into the jurisdiction the subba of Thak-Dan.

⁴⁰ For example, the first copper-plate inscription of King Ranabahadur Shah of Nepal uses the second high-grade honorific, *timi*, to describe *rājā* dbang-rgyal rdo-rje (आगे मोस्तांगीराजा वांग्याल दोर्जेके. तम्हा (तिम्हा) बाबु बराजु देषि. आजसम्म षायाको देश...). The lower-grade honorific, *tā* (तैं) became common only later.

⁴¹ An order of King Rajendravikram Shah dated VE 1898 (1842) renews the traditional right of the *rājā* of Mustang to collect such duties, levies, and fees (...हाम्रा मुलुकमा रैति बेपारीहरूसँग अघि परापूर्वदेषि तेरा बाबु बाज्याहरूले षाईपाईआयाको दैदस्तुर तैले पनि षानु...).

⁴² The Thak Customs Office was formally reestablished in Dāna around 1816 and awarded its contract to an official named Hemakarna Khadga (MHR doc. 331 Nepali). During the Rana Period the position of contractor Subbā was replaced by the more locally influential Thakali merchant Balbir. Thereafter the Dānā Customs Office was known as the Thak-Dān Bhansār.

Consequently, the traditional levies, fees and other income of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang were lost to those Thakali Subbās. As the Thakali Subbās became more powerful, influential, and wealthy in the region, they adopted high-handed tactics, even insulting the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang; once, Subbā Balbir even detained *rājā* dNgos-grub dpal-'bar's (1868-1894) very trustful people in the Thak-Dan Customs Office for fourteen days (MHR doc. 91 Nepali). The Rana administration relied upon these Subbās so much, and permitted them excessive authority, that the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang were virtually denied access to the central administration in Kathmandu (MHR docs. 72, 73 also see above, under *rājā* 'Jam-dbyang dbang-dus and dNgos-grub dpal-'bar). In addition, as the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang did not speak or understand Nepali, they had to rely on bilingual Thakalis while meeting with the Nepali authorities in Kathmandu.

The Rana period in Nepal was the climax of the distribution of tax-free lands to high officials and the relatives of Rana Prime Ministers. Lo/Mustang's Tsharkabhot and Gelung areas were turned into private sources of income (*khuvā*) for the chief priest (*baḍāguruju*) of the Rana Prime Ministers and the commanding general of the northern region (one of the brothers of the Rana Prime Minister) (MHR doc. 130-140 Nepali). Even Lo/Mustang proper was registered under the salary (*Khangi*) of the commander-in-chief (the next-youngest brother of the Rana Prime Minister) (MHR doc. 75 Nepali).

Meanwhile, the Subbās of Thak-Dan dominated the *rājā* and the people of Lo/Mustang in an authoritarian, even harassing manner, and frequently interfered with its trade. In order to benefit from trade with Tibet, the Subbās feigned good relations with the Lo/Mustang *rājās*, even conducting a ritual friendship ceremony establishing "mita" (ritual friendship) from time to time.⁴³ Still, for the duration of the Rana regime in Nepal, lasting until 1951, the political alliance between their Prime Ministers and the Thakali Subbās eroded Lo/Mustang's prosperity and morale. It had been, for all purposes, diminished from a respected dependency to a subjugated and marginalized locality.

After the revolution in Nepal in 1950-51 (VE 2007), Lo/Mustang's position dwindled further. The younger, educated generations of the Thakali Subbā families who were active in the Nepali Congress party enjoyed such influence in Lo/Mustang that even the low-ranking workers and servants of

⁴³ These displays of friendship were entirely cynical. After Subbā Balbir had imprisoned his "mita" *rājā* dNgos-grub in the customs house and confined him to a damp and cold room (*chimdi*) the *rājā* had to petition Kathmandu for relief from the subbā's cruelty (MHR doc. 81 Nepali). Some key informants from the Thak and Mustang areas even told of a conspiracy between Rana Prime Minister Chandra Shmsher and Thakali Subbā Hitman Sherchan to dismiss the Lo/Mustangi *rājā* from his hereditary position and replace him with the subbā.

the palace of Lo/Mustang rebelled against the old, traditional system.⁴⁴ These young activists not only distributed letters and pamphlets calling for the abolition of Lo/Mustang's feudal system; they even convinced poor *Phal-pa* and *mGar-pa* people to stop paying customary fees and levies to the *rājā* and to boycott the main festivals of Lo/Mustang. These traditional festivals, including *tiji* (brTan-spyi'i-rim-gro) and *Yar-tung* (dByar-tong), were portrayed as the main instruments of feudal exploitation.⁴⁵ By 1951 these festivals were officially banned and the *rājā*'s traditional rights to free labor and occasional levies were abolished. These changes dismantled Mustang's traditional internal administrative system.

Still, despite such anti-traditional and pro-modern activism and the changes they brought in Lo/Mustang, several honorary awards, and medals, and duties bestowed on the *rājās* were retained even after 1951. These included the honorary rank of colonel of the Nepali army, for example, and prestigious responsibilities related to border issues--namely intelligence work.⁴⁶

Nepal experienced another political alteration in 1961, when King Mahendra of Nepal demolished the elected parliament and introduced Panchayat rule. Exerting his absolute powers, King Mahendra reinstated certain traditions and practices, including the suspended festivals and some traditional rights of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang were also revived, including occasional compulsory labor as well as levies of cash and grain at festival time. Although the hereditary old states (*rājya-rājāuta*) of Nepal were officially abolished in 1961, the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang was awarded with membership in the Royal Council (*rājjsavā*) of Nepal, the honorary title of colonel in the Nepali army, and made coordinator for ten Panchayats of the Lo/Mustang and *Bāragāun* areas.

Hence, the social prestige of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang improved again after the introduction of Panchayat rule in 1961. The present *rājā* of Lo/Mustang exercised almost absolute power within the seven traditional districts (Lo

⁴⁴ Personal communication with the current *rājā*, 'Jigs-med dpal-'bar of Lo/Mustang.

⁴⁵ Papers and pamphlets documenting such activism have been preserved in the villages of upper Lo. I was permitted to see a paper issued from the Thak office of the Nepali Congress party. It featured an illustration of M. K. Gandhi on Nepali Congress Party letterhead in the Dhi village public document box in the custody of the village assembly. This particular letter calls for a social change in Lo/Mustang, condemning the traditional rights of the *rājā*. Other information mentioned here are collected from the personal communication with the present *rājā*, the head Lama bKra-shis bstan-'dzin, and other key informants from Monthang, particularly high-ranking Lamas and Amchis (traditional pharmacists and medicine men).

⁴⁶ The tradition of offering honorary positions to the *raa* and his eldest son or younger brothers was established in the late Rana period and it continued even after the revolution of 1951. In 1955, the honorary position of army captain, awarded to the *rājā*'s eldest son, was accompanied by a salary of Rs. 3,400 a year--higher than the salary of a genuine captain in the Nepali army (MHR doc. 323 Nepali).

tsho dun) of upper region until the legalization of political parties in 1990. After 1951 the new land reform act officially ended the *rājā's* traditional unlimited rights to land. In practice, however, the old system has always persisted, because the *rājā's* approval is still required after any transaction involving the transfer of land. In addition, virtually no legal cases in Lo/Mustang, both civil and criminal, are ever presented in the government court at Jomsom; rather, they are heard exclusively at the court of the *rājā* himself (MHR: 188-89). Very seldom do the Lo-pa people attempt to evade the *rājā's* justice and his traditional rights. In sum, the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang is still the de facto ruler of Lo/Mustang, although such practice is now limited within the Lo-tsho-dun region in upper Lo.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The lower Lo or old Se-rib region, popularly known today as Bāragāun, Pānchgaun, and Thākkhol, has been dominated by the political culture of its southern neighbors. When Lo/Mustang was founded as a kingdom, this region was an integral part of it, and in traditionally cultural terms, it was an area influenced more by Tibet than by its Indo-Aryan-speaking neighbors. Later, after the establishment of contract system in Nepal, the Bāragāun, Pānchgun, and Thāk areas were included under different yearly contracts, whereas the Lo/Mustang proper (Lo tsho-dun) always remained as a dependent tributary state.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It is remarkable that the history of an important frontier province and kingdom, famed at one time as one of four major centers of the Bon and Buddhist cultures in western Tibet, is so little known. Even within the kingdom, fewer than a handful of educated monks and members of the old ruling family know that Lo/Mustang was once so distinguished.

Lo's early historiography is dominated by genealogical, chronological, and Tibetan biographical sources, preserved by monastic and ruling elites but not generally transmitted outside of monasteries and palaces. These richly-detailed, sources have shaped the present study, producing a genealogical and political perspective.

In order to discuss the history of the kingdom up till the Jumli occupation in the 1540s, this present work has utilized the sources on Lo/Mustang such as the *Tsarang Molla*, the *Glo-gdung rabs*, the *Byams-pa dkar-chag*, and the *Tsarang hem-chag*. In dealing with the history of Lo/Mustang after Jumlā's occupation, this study has benefited equally from Jumli, Parvate, Nepali and other local documents written both in Tibetan and old Nepali, housed in the Lo/Mustang palace, in monasteries, in village assembly boxes, and with elite families.

When Lo became a vassal state of Jumlā in the mid-sixteenth century, this kingdom's original name began to fade from usage after more than a thousand years. In order to demean this proud old kingdom, the Jumlis renamed it Mustang, reducing it symbolically to the area around its capital. By the time Mustang became a dependent tributary of Nepal in 1789, the original name Lo had been completely erased from the political geography of the region, to the extent that Nepali authorities in Kathmandu were probably not even aware that Lo had been an independent kingdom. No available records on Lo/Mustang's dependency acknowledge it. Within Lo-pa society, however, the name "Lo" continued.

Much of Lo/Mustang's past is now forgotten, not only by the people of upper Lo but also by the settlers of the lower Lo region. Similarly, a collective name for the entire lower Lo region (including Bāragāun, Pānchgāun, and Thākkholā), "Thags-Se," has been corrupted and Nepalized into "Thāksātse" or even "Thāksātsaye."¹

¹ The name "Thags-se" was originally derived from two different Tibetan words, *Thags* and *Se-rib* (for an etymological description please refer to the appendix).

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Using early Tibetan biographical literature and chronicles, we have been able to sketch a general political picture of the Lo/Mustang region until its emergence as an independent kingdom. A careful review of such biographical and chronological sources suggests that the Lo/Mustang region, until its emergence as an independent kingdom in the middle of the fifteenth century, was one of the major cultural centers of western Tibet, also called Ngari. We now also know that the sporadic references to Lo/Mustang at that time suggest that there was a general trend of describing the whole Ngari region, including Lo/Mustang, as a single cultural world. Thus, the early history of Lo/Mustang is directly linked with the history of Zhang-zhung (Gu-ge), the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom, and Gung-thang. Even before its independence, as one of Ngari's major cultural centers, Lo/Mustang played an important role in promoting Buddhist scholarship and traditions by producing esteemed Buddhist scholars such as Lama sTon-pa yang-rab and Lobo lo-tsa-ba Shes-rab-rin-chen. Lo/Mustang also produced several great Bon masters, who were renowned not only in Lo/Mustang but also throughout greater Tibet. Politically as well, prior to the early Tibetan Yarlung conquest of Ngari in the seventh century, Lo/Mustang was one of the bordering provinces of Zhang-zhung and an area of Bon influence. After the Tibetan expansion into Ngari, Lo/Mustang eventually became one of the prominent centers of Buddhist culture in the region.

Until the beginning of the Lo/Mustang ruling line in the late fourteenth century, we find only a few sporadic references to the local rulers of upper and lower Lo (Se-rib). In the 1370s, however, the grandfather of king A-ma-dpal, the first recorded local commissioner of Lo/Mustang, began a distinguished military career in and around the Lo/Mustang region. One conclusion that emerges despite limited earlier sources is that even before its independence in 1440, Lo/Mustang had established a local political and cultural identity under various names such as Lo/Mustang, lower Lo (Glo-smad) or occasionally even Se-rib.

Lo's rise as a region and as a separate cultural and political entity was primarily a result of its north-south trade. The Lo-pas controlled virtually all of the north-south trade between India, Tibet, and Nepal, through a famed old route running along the bank of the Kālī Gaṇḍakī river.

In earlier days, Lo/Mustang's location protected it from frequent outside attacks. Until the rise of the kingdom of Jumlā in the sixteenth century, Lo/Mustang was either an independent Tibetan frontier kingdom or a provincial region under the loose control of stronger neighboring powers. Lo/Mustang's location and its trans-regional trade enabled its rise as a separate regional political and cultural entity. However, because of its small population and limited territory the Lo/Mustang region was unable to claim full independent identity until 1440. Stronger powers of the region such as Ya-tshe's Mongol chieftains, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom, Gu-ge, Gung-thang, and even Ladakh claimed, time after time, that Lo/Mustang was either

their tributary or a provincial state. However, because of its remoteness from the powers surrounding it, its rulers could exercise the equivalent of absolute local power.

Lo/Mustang's location and frontier status decided its various political affiliations with stronger powers in the western Himalayas and Tibet. As discussed earlier, prior to the Tibetan conquest of Ngari, Lo/Mustang was a political and cultural extension of Zhang-zhung, or Gu-ge. After the seventh century, it became one of the bordering provinces of Ngari. By the tenth and eleventh centuries, different local Mongol warlords dominated this area. Later, when Gu-ge became Ngari's main political and cultural center, the Lo/Mustang region came under Gu-ge's influence. Under Gu-ge's political and cultural umbrella, Lo/Mustang actively took part in the Buddhism revitalization movement in western Tibet. Toward the end of the eleventh century or at the beginning of the twelfth century, one of the three major branches of the old Tibetan ruling line in Ngari established a separate kingdom in Gung-thang. As it was situated at Gung-thang's southwestern frontier, Lo/Mustang became one of its vassal provinces. However, beginning in the late twelfth century, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe power appeared to be the major political force in the western Himalayas and western Tibet. Having overthrown the local rulers installed by Mongol warlords and the Tibetan rulers of Gu-ge, the dynasty of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe chief Nagarājā established itself as the strongest trans-Himalayan power in the region. As one of the bordering provinces located between western Tibet and the western Himalayan region, Lo was then included under the political umbrella of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom.

The rulers of Gung-thang, however, did not tolerate the Khaśas' domination of Lo and the surrounding Himalayan frontier areas, and a power struggle emerged. Both of these powers claimed Lo, Dolpo and other frontier areas as their tributary provinces. Although Gung-thang alone was not strong enough to challenge the rising power of the Khaśas, the matrimonial relationship established between the ruling family of Gung-thang and the Sa-skyā 'Khon family of Tibet enabled Gung-thang to acquire military support from Tibet and the Mongol rulers of China; consequently, various wars were fought between Gung-thang and the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom for regional supremacy.

As Lo was situated between these stronger powers, it bore the pain of political uncertainty and was compelled to accept the overlordship of one greater power after another. Finally, around the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Sa-skyā power in Tibet began to wane, Gung-thang lost Tibet's support. By then, however, the early Mongols in China had been succeeded by the Yuan dynasty and the Khaśa/Ya-tshe power in the western Himalayas and western Tibetan frontier regions went once again unchallenged. All of the Himalayan frontier provinces, including Lo, were recaptured and turned into tributaries of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom.

During the 1360s, the Khaśa/Ya-tshe kingdom collapsed, mainly because of a succession conflict. Then, for about twenty to thirty years, the primary successors of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers, the Chatyal Varman family (also known as Siinjāpatis), struggled to maintain Siinjā's power and prestige in the region. Still, they could hardly rule a small territory in the upper Kamālī region. Having noted the diminishing power of Gung-thang, these Varman rulers of Siinjā tried to reclaim supremacy over Lo/Mustang and the surrounding areas. But the outcome of that effort was all too temporary.

Hence, the sudden collapse of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe power in the western Himalayas allowed Gung-thang to reopen the door of its western expansion. Although at this time Gung-thang was not as strong as it had been, the power vacuum resulting from the fall of the Khaśa/Ya-tshe rulers enabled the Gung-thang ruler to once again dominate the Lo/Mustang region and its adjacent areas of Dolpo, Manāng, and the Nyishang valley. However by this time the Lo/Mustang rulers wanted to create their own independent kingdom, and after crushing the local force of Men-zhang and defeating the forces of the Shi-sa-pa, Lo/Mustang's commissioner, A-ma-dpal, declared Lo/Mustang as his own sovereign domain. This was also about the time at which dozens of smaller principalities emerged in Nepal's western hill districts. This trend toward fragmentation of a once-strong power into smaller principalities certainly influenced A-ma-dpal in declaring Lo/Mustang's independence.

For hundred years and perhaps slightly more, Lo/Mustang emerged as a very strong power in the region. Beginning in the 1540s, however, Lo/Mustang lost its southern territories to its neighboring kingdoms of Jumlā and Parvat and eventually became a small vassal state of Jumlā. This ushered in a long period of harassment, exploitation, and frustration.

The people and the rulers of Lo/Mustang worked hard to free themselves from Jumlā. Having called for outside military support, Lo/Mustang fought many wars against Jumlā, restoring its status time after time but without any lasting result, and Lo/Mustang mostly remained a tributary state of Jumlā. Ladakh, Parvat, Doti, Gro-shod, and even Tibet, were Lo/Mustang's main supporters, and all of them but Tibet repeatedly sent their armies to Lo/Mustang. However, Lo/Mustang's proximity alone enabled Jumlā's army to achieve the strongest presence. It finally occupied lower Lo and established its regional headquarters in Kāgbenī. Jumlā exploited Lo in many ways, fixing a heavy yearly tribute, demanding regular gifts for its officials and members of the royal family, and levying supplies for the occupying Jumli army. Lo's income from the north-south trade and customs duties were also lost to Jumlā.

In 1786, the Gorkha army defeated Parvat and by 1787 it incorporated the entire Kālī Gaṇḍakī valley, including most of lower Lo/Mustang, into Gorkha/Nepal. Jumlā simply withdrew its grasp on the lower Lo region. The

Lo/Mustang ruler committed his forces to the Gorkhali army commanders and in 1788 Jumlā was crushed, and it too forcibly incorporated into Gorkha/Nepal. Lo/Mustang was then declared a dependent tributary of Nepal. The Gorkhali authorities guaranteed regional local rule for the Lo ruler, if provided a nominal tribute of Rs. 929 and five horses a year.

Hence, despite its long-standing cultural links with Tibet, incessant political pressures from the upper Karnālī region's stronger powers, the Mongol chiefs of Ya-tshe, and the Khaśa/Ya-tshe and Jumli rulers, Lo/Mustang eventually became an integral part of Nepal. Still, Lo/Mustang's cultural dissimilarity from that of the main middle hill culture of Nepal shielded it from the direct socio-cultural influence of Nepal. Nepali authorities have always allowed the Lo-pa rulers and people to maintain their traditional cultural link with Tibet. Consequently, until the Chinese occupation of Tibet, the Lo-pa people were culturally linked with Tibet as in earlier times. However, when the Chinese army occupied the length of the Tibetan border, a new and impenetrable barrier was erected against Lo/Mustang's ability to conduct trade.

Lo/Mustang is now undergoing a period of cultural isolation. In the north, the Lo-pas deal with Chinese army personnel and provide them with useful goods. In the south, a brand of western modernity, in the name of tourism development, is penetrating this "Shangri-la." After the opening of upper Lo to foreigners, cultural artifacts have been stolen, and presumably directed into European and American markets (Shackley 1995: 178).

After the incorporation of Jumlā into Nepal both the rulers and the people of Lo/Mustang felt free, as if they were really emancipated from the clutches of a devil. Local chronicles and tax records of Lo/Mustang clearly attest to such feelings. To become a dependent of a stronger power, however, cannot constitute real emancipation. Changes in the central administration in Kathmandu began to affect the status of all of the dependent states in Nepal, and Lo/Mustang was no exception. When Gorkha/Nepal's territorial expansion campaign ended after the Anglo-Nepal war of 1815-1816, the power elites in Kathmandu felt they would no longer need military help from dependent principalities, including Lo/Mustang. Kathmandu's main interest after 1816 was its financial resources. As Lo/Mustang's yearly tribute to Nepal was so small, Kathmandu paid little attention to it. Consequently, Lo/Mustang had to struggle with the challenges of the local power elites of lower Lo, the Khri-thog-pa chiefs of Jharkot and after the establishment of the Rana regime in Nepal, with the Thakali Subbās of the Thak-Dan Customs Office. The yearly income generated from lower Lo and the Thak-Dan Customs Office was much higher than the amount of yearly tribute collected from Lo/Mustang proper to the north. Furthermore, both of these local elites had maintained closer contact with the central administration of Nepal by means of their financial strength and, reputedly, their flattery. Lo/Mustang thus lost both its status and income accumulated from trade and

custom duty from lower Lo. The Rana regime in Nepal proved even worse for Lo/Mustang. During a century-long Rana autocratic regime, the traditional local power of the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang were diminished even further. The Thakali Subbās of Thak-Dan Customs appeared to be the actual regional powers in Lo/Mustang. Many of the traditional economic and political powers of the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang were gradually seized by the Thakali Subbās.

The revolution of 1951 further shook the establishment of upper Lo/Mustang. The *rājā* again lost his traditional status. Being backed by the young and educated Thakalis, the low-status Lo-pas fought against the *rājās*' traditional right to levies and compulsory labor. One result of this activism was that even the old festivals of Lo/Mustang such as Tiji and Yartong were banned.

After Nepal's royal coup of 1961, King Mahendra established closer and more direct links with most of the traditional institutions in the kingdom. The Lo/Mustang *rājā* was one recipient of these attentions. Mahendra offered several higher honorary positions to the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang. Through a special royal decree, the festivals of Lo/Mustang, which were banned earlier, were also revived.

As the custom contract system was already abolished after the revolution of 1951, the Thakali elites were no longer the competitors of the *rājās* of Lo/Mustang. The *rājā* then reassumed his traditional status and power within the region. He was made a Pancha Coordinator (a new position designated by the Panchayat Government of Nepal) for ten village Panchayats of Mustang located north of Jomsom. After the democratic revolution of 1990, the local position of the *rājā* of Lo/Mustang has been, to some extent, diminished again. On the other hand, after the opening of upper Mustang to foreigners in 1992, the *rājā* of Mustang has been famed internationally as a symbol of very old and important historical Tibetan ruling dynasty. Locally too he still has a profound traditional influence within the Lo-tsho-dun area of upper Mustang and it is not of much surprise because the Lo/Mustang region has been continuously ruled for more than five hundred years by the same dynasty.²

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present study cannot claim to be more than the political picture of a small frontier province and kingdom, which emerged, developed, and survived in a trans-Himalayan river valley and was often controlled by the

² In 1982, when this researcher and colleagues informally interviewed the *rāja* at the palace, the cries of a man being disciplined traditionally in another room could clearly be heard. Afterwards, members of the palace staff quietly informed us that the man had taken a legal matter to the local Nepali court at Jomsom, without informing the *rāja*. Later, we learned that he was heavily fined.

stronger powers of western Tibet and the Himalayan areas of Nepal. Although this study is the first attempt to draw an overall picture of the political history of the Lo/Mustang region, other important aspects can, and should, be studied.

Future research on Lo/Mustang will have to include separate studies on surface archaeology. These should examine the art and architecture of forts, palaces, monasteries, and caves housing marvellous Buddhist paintings. These Buddhist and pre-Buddhist paintings and related structures might even constitute the most important venues for future research on Lo/Mustang. In order to construct a comprehensive picture of the region's religious history, such a study would also need to be supplemented by a matching study of contemporary Tibetan biographical literature. Many manuscripts containing the biographies of Buddhist scholars and Bon masters of Lo/Mustang are still preserved in Lo/Mustang, mainly in the Lo-tsho-dun area.

A separate economic survey can also be undertaken along with an investigation of nineteenth and twentieth-century trade activity in the Thāk region. In terms of anthropological work, however, some of Mustang is perhaps oversubscribed. It is true that over the past thirty years or so, European and American scholars have shown tremendous interest in the Thāk (Thākholā) region and the Thakalis of Thākholā. Consequently, dozens of academic works (articles, dissertations, and books) on Thakalis and the Thāk region are now available in libraries. However, until today, not a single research work covering the Lo-tsho-dun area of upper Lo and its links over time with the people of lower Lo has been produced. In order to investigate the cultural practices of the Lopa people and to elucidate the distinctions between the peoples of lower and upper Lo a separate ethnographic survey is essential. In addition, a more comprehensive work using the voluminous bibliographical sources available could follow. In short, various sources and approaches have yet to be tapped in studying aspects of Lo/Mustang, and of Himalayan studies more generally.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I
ETYMOLOGY OF PLACE NAMES

LO OR LO-BO

The name Lo or Lo-bo has been in use for over fourteen hundred years. Although the Lo region is now known as Mustang, this name has no etymological link with the name 'Lo' or 'Lo-bo.' Tibetan sources provide at least five different spellings of the name Lo or Lo-bo: *Glo*, *Glo-bo*, *Blo* or *Blo-bo*, *Klo*, *Klo-bo*, *Klo-yul*, and *lHo* or *lHo-bo*. Of these, *Klo*, *Klo-bo* or *Klo-yul* are comparatively recent and less common (Wylie 1962: 10, 63; Jackson 1984: 6-7, 11 and notes 29-30, Vitali 1996: 532-536). The word *Klo* may likely have derived from the spelling of a different place name, *Klo-yul* in the southern frontier of Tibet. Authors of these sources in which the spelling *Klo*, *Klo-bo* or *Klo-yul* have been used for the names Lo or Lo-bo thus seem to have been confused with different place names.

In identifying the Lo region as one of the southern frontiers of the Tibetan speaking domain, the Ladakhi scribes used the name *lHo*. It is true that Lo was situated in the southern frontier of Tibet and the meaning of the Tibetan word *lHo* is south. However, Lo's local literary and Tibetan historical sources do not use this spelling. The pronunciation of *Lo* in most Tibetan dialects is quite distinct from that of *lHo*.

The two other spellings, *Glo* and *Blo* are used commonly in old Tibetan and local historical records. Of these, *Glo* is the oldest and most extensively used by both Tibetan and local scholars (Jackson 1984: 6-7, MHR: 3-10).

To determine the standard spelling of the name Lo or Lo-bo, one has to know the exact meaning of the original Tibetan word *Glo* and try to establish its relationship with the geo-political history of the kingdom. The Tibetan-Sanskrit translators (*Lo-tsa-ba*) have translated the Tibetan word *Glo* as frontier or a side of a larger object-state, country, region or even human body (Das 1979: 26, 712, Dhungel 1987: 6). Both Tibetan and the local people of Lo commonly identified the Lo region as a bordering area to the Tibetan cultural domain. The particle or suffix *po* and its spoken form *bo* with the name *Glo* may have been used to identify the state, rulers, and the people of Lo because in Tibetan, this particle signifies the agent. Thus, the meaning of Lo-po or Lo-bo would be the people, rulers, or state of Lo.

The other variety of spelling of the name Lo is *Blo*. Historical records related to Lo suggest that the trend of using this spelling is not as old as *Glo*. Tibetan writers never used the word *Blo* to identify the Lo region. In fact, the spelling *Blo* was adopted later by the local Lo-pa scholars. The word spelled in this manner is defined in the dictionaries of classical Tibetan by the terms 'mind,' 'intellect,' 'self' or 'soul' (Das 1983: 902-903). It seems likely that the spelling *Blo* was introduced at a later date by local scholars of Mustang, who, in fact, were trying to glorify their native land and its people.

However, some seventeenth-eighteenth century Ladakhi chronicles and the biographical scriptures from Dol-po have also used this spelling (Jackson 1984: 6, Namdak 1972: 455, Francke 1972: 83, 90, 96, 105, Snellgrove 1967: 286). In these cases, it seems that the authors were copying the spelling initiated earlier by the native scholars of Lo/Mustang, who were influential throughout both Lo/Mustang between the fifteenth and seventeenth century (Chapters 2 and 3).

In any case, both of these spellings *Glo* and *Blo* were in common use and they are identical in pronunciation. Both of them are meaningful in terms of Lo's geographical situation, cultural and historical background. Because of the intensity of Buddhist religious and cultural activities in the region, Lo may have been identified with the word *Blo* or *Blo-bo*. In other respects the spelling *Glo* or *Glo-bo* is equally meaningful as a geographical demarcation.

MUSTANG OR MONTHANG

The present name Mustang is a corrupt form of the original Tibetan name of the capital of the Kingdom of Lo, which is traditionally spelt in Tibetan as *sMon-thang* and pronounced commonly in standard Tibetan as *Mon-thang* or in local dialect, *Mondang* or *Modang*. The name of the medieval capital township of Mon-thang now has been renamed as Lo manthang. There is no doubt that the name Lo manthang is derived from two different old Tibetan words Lo (*Glo*) and Mon-thang (*sMon-thang*). It is important to understand that the name Mustang was not synonymous with the name Lo as a region or kingdom. The older designation *sMon-thang* can not be equated with the Nepali district of Mustang as it appears on the map of modern day Nepal, though this covers the major part of the territory of the old kingdom of Lo.

The Indo-Aryan speaking Jumli and Parvate authorities later corrupted the original Tibetan name *sMon-thang* to either *Mastang* or *Mustang*. They intended to restrict the use of the older name *Lo* because Jumla and Parvat had snatched away the southern territory of Lo, leaving only a small area of upper Lo (the Lo-tsho-dun area) under the local administration of the Lo rulers. Jumlis and Parvate authorities then recognized the Lo rulers just as local governors (*sde-pa*) of upper Lo, which by then was more commonly known as *Mostang* or *Mustang* (MHR doc. 2, 4, 6-8 Tibetan).

With respect to the designation, *sMon-thang*, two Tibetan spellings appear in old written sources: *sMon-thang* and *sMan-thang* (Tsarang Molla: 9a, Wylie 1962: 10, 63. MHR docs. 15, 17, 20, 26-28, 30, 97, 154-155 Tibetan). The literal meaning of the Tibetan word *sMon* is "aspiration", "blessing", or a "good desire" (Das 1983: 992) and the word *Thang* means plain or flat land or surface (Das 1983: 568). Thus, the meaning of these two words together would be the 'flat land of aspiration.' In order to further glorify the history of their capital, local authors of Lo introduced their capital as *Yid-smon-thang*, which can be roughly translated as 'flat land of mind's aspiration' (Tsarang Molla fol. 9a, Jackson 1984: 11, n. 34, Das 1983: 1134).

This spelling has been supported by a popular legend of Mustang. The legend says:

Once when king A-ma-dpal was meditating, he saw the God (Buddha) blessing him. Having blessed the king, Buddha instructed the king to send his auspicious white goat with a bagful of gold towards the flat field near the residence of the king and to follow the goat until the goat would take a rest in the field. Then, the lord Buddha advised the king to build a palace in the spot where the goat took rest and slept. The king followed the divine advice accordingly. He freed his white goat to wander around the flat field with a bagful of gold. The goat began to descend from the mKha'-spyod-rdzong (where the king had his residence at that time) down towards the field. The king followed the goat. Having reached the field, the goat began to wander from one place to

another. After grazing for several hours the goat got tired and took a rest in the middle of the field and fell asleep. Then the king ordered his people to build his palace there. The place then became popularly known as the place of divine blessing and the king's fulfilled aspiration (the story is transcribed and translated from an old legend retold by Lama bKra-shis bstan-'dzin, the abbot of Monthang chos-sde monastery).

The other spelling *sMan-thang* does not provide such a direct correspondence to Lo's geographic reality. In Tibetan, the word *sMan* means "medicine" (Das 1983: 989). If we accept this spelling, the meaning of *sMan-thang* would be 'the plain or flat land of medicinal herbs.' But no historical evidence has been discovered that suggests that Mon-thang area had an abundance of medicinal plants in history nor do the local traditional medicinal practitioners (*Am-chi*) believe that their ancestors were able to fulfil the demand of herbal plants from their own land. On the contrary, they say that the local traditional herbal/medical practitioners of Lo/Mustang have been collecting and importing medicinal herbs mostly from the mountain areas across the Tibetan border and in few cases, from distant mountains of Lo itself but not from the vicinity of Mon-thang proper. The local herbal practitioners believe that this practice has been followed by their ancestors for many centuries. Local historical sources of Mustang also supply ample information that Lo did not even have abundance of grassy fields. People of Lo had to take their grazing animals (cattle, yaks, mules, goats etc.) across the border to the Tibetan areas (MHR docs. 8, 31, 37 Tibetan). Furthermore, the word *sMan-thang* is not even close to the local pronunciation of the original name of Mustang because most of the Lo-pa people pronounce it as *Mo-dang*. Besides these, some authors of outside sources have spelt the name Mustang as *Mon-thang* or *Mo-sdang* (Francke 1926: 120). But these spellings are corrupted just to make easy to write and pronounce. In Tibetan,

the word *Mon* can be used to identify the people of other cultures especially the cis-Himalayan or southern mountain people (Das 1983: 976). It is clear that the people of Lo never considered themselves outsiders from the broader Tibetan cultural world. The other spelling, *Mo-sdang* is western Tibetan slang, used by the Ladakhi scriptures, but for a long time, it has been very common in local spoken dialect as well. Even though the Lo-pa people pronounce the name *sMon-thang* as *Mo-dang*, they never write it this way.

OTHER PLACE NAMES

After the incorporation of Lo/Mustang into the Kingdom of Nepal as a dependent state, the upper Lo region was also known as *Mustangbhota*. Nepali government documents dating between the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries describe this name frequently. This name can also be seen in the maps prepared and published by the Survey of India. Early editions of Nepali maps have followed the same name. The appendage *Bhota* is a Sanskrit and Nepali name for Tibet and other places where ethnic Tibetans reside and maintain their cultural traditions.

The Mustang or Lo region has also been known to some outsiders as *muktiksetra* or *Grol-ba'i-zhing* (place of liberation), *Chu-mig-brgya-rtsa* (the hundred and some springs), *Sa-la-me-'bar*, *rdo-la-me-bar*, *chu-la-me-'bar* (place of blazing earth, stone, and water) (Jackson 1984: 7-8), 11-12, n. 39-41, MHR doc. 6, Dhungel 1987b: 1-15, Dhungel 1987c: 19-30).

The lower Lo area was also known by some other old names. Of them, *Se-rib* is the most ancient one. During and after the seventh century, the entire area of present day Baragaun, Panchgaun, and Thag or Thakkhola was known by a single symbolic name *Se-rib* (Jackson 1984: 198-99, Bacot 1940-46: 29-30, 41-42, Francke 1926: Pt. II: 83, Stein 1972: 60, Snellgrove 1967: 166, 250). But after the rise of Lo/Mustang as an independent kingdom, the name *Se-rib* of lower Lo faded from use. Today, the local people of the region are unfamiliar with its old name. Yet, at least remains of this name can be found in the oral tradition of the Hindus of the middle-hills of Nepal. These middle-hill people still use a common term *Thagsebhote*, for all longhaired and *Phyu-pa* (bakhkhu in Nepali) wearing Tibetan or Tibetan origin *Bhotia* people. As most of these middle-hill people migrated eastward from the Karnali region, they were quite familiar with places and people of Thag and Se-rib (abbreviated together as *Thag-Se*) of the upper Kali Gandaki valley. In course of migrating to the east, these Indo-Aryan Hindus, seemed to be confused whether the old word *Thag-Se* was related to the place and people of Thag and Se-rib of the upper Kali Gandaki valley or it was just a derogative word used by them to identify all the Tibetan and high Himalayan Bhotiya people.

It is interesting to note that some Tibetan scholars of the eighteenth century have used a word *Ta-mang-se* in order to identify the people of the Thag area (Jackson 1978: 212, GDR: 5a-5b). The Thakali people of Thag

still introduce themselves by an old term *Ta-mang*. Similarly, the Tibetan speaking Lo-pa people of both upper and lower Lo still call the non-Tibetan language of the Thag area and several villages of Baragaun as *Se-skad* or *Se* dialect. Thus, the ethnic names *Tamang-Se*, *Thag-Se*, and the name of the dialect *Se* of Thag-Baragaun or lower Lo must have original link with the old regional name *Se-rib*. The Nepali name *Thakasatasaya* or *Thukasatasae* of the Thag region may have also been corrupted from the same old Tibetan name *Thag-Se* or *Thag-Se-rib* because the meaning of the Nepali word *satasaya* is "seven hundred." But not a single satisfactory logic behind the renaming of the Thag region as *Thakasatasaya* can be found in historical sources. This name may have arisen during the period of enforced Nepalization of the area through the ambitious Thakali custom contractor *subbas* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These Thakali *subbas* tried their best to identify themselves as a distinct ethnic group, and always tried to link their origin with the Khasa rulers of the Karnali region. To prove their ancestral link with the Khasas, they invented different stories and pretended to be of Indo-Aryan Hindu origin. In doing so, they distinguished themselves from other Tibetan origin communities of Lo/Mustang. However, as the Thakali people of Thakkhola are still known as *Ta-mang* and the name *Ta-mang* has direct link with the name *Se*, they are still identified with the descendants of the people of old *Se-rib*, who probably had ancestral link with one of the six early tribes of Tibet, popularly known in Tibet as *Se* (Das 1983: 1273). An official letter issued from Potala palace in 1747 to a Thakali chief named Pad-ma rig-'dzin introduces the Thakali community as the people of pure Tibetan descent and followers of Tibetan Buddhism (MHR doc. 8). However, it is also possible that they have crossbred throughout their migration to the south.

Other names of Tibetan and Nepali origin such as Kag-Baragaun, Thini-Garab-rdzong, Sum-po or Panchgaun were also popular in the lower Lo area.¹ Of these, the names Baragaun and Panchgaun are Nepali numerical terms originally used by the Jumli, Parvate, and later by Nepali administrative authorities in order to identify the area of twelve major villages between Samar and Klu-brag and the area of five major villages between Klu-brag and Tukche. The *Baragaun* area thus includes the major villages known as Samar, Chelep, Chuksang, Tetang, Tangbe, Dzar (including the Muktinath area), Dzung, Choskhor, Purang, Tiri, Kag, Klu-brag etc. Kagbeni, Dzar, and Dzung were the major administrative centers in Baragaun. All of these village names are Tibetan by their origin and that were adulterated later in Nepali writing. In different historical times, Kag (Nepalized as Kagbeni) was famous for its north-south trade and custom check post established by the rulers of Lo/Mustang and Jumla. The name of this place is a Hinduized form of Tibetan word *bKag* (MHR doc. 2 Tibetan),

¹ For map, please refer p. 11.

which means a checking or blockaded place on a major transit route (trail) (Das 1983: 59). Though this name alternatively appeared with the spelling *sKag* in local and Tibetan sources (Francke 1972: 230), etymologically, the spelling *bKag* offers a more meaningful reference to Kagbeni's history as a place of local check-post and custom office.

The collective name, *Panchgaun* is simply a Nepali name for five local villages: Thini, Shang, Marphag, Chero (Tshad-ro), and Nabrung. The custom of naming regional entities according to the total number of encompassed villages in that area was Tibetan rather than Nepali. For example, until the early nineteenth century, the Panchgaun area did not have five villages and Thini-Garab area was known as a district of three villages (in local writing *Sum-po*, a corrupted spelling of Tibetan numerical word *gSum-po*). In some sources this name is also written as *Som-po*.

Like Kagbeni, Thakkhola is also a Nepalized version of the original Tibetan name *Thag*. The latter part of this name *Khola* is a pure Nepali word for river. In Tibetan, *Thag* means 'a distant, remote, or abandoned place' (Das 1983: 566). It is quite understandable that, in the eyes of central Tibetans, the Thag region cannot be other than a remotest frontier district of the greater Tibetan cultural world. An official order concerning the Thakali trading community, issued from the Potala palace in 1748 identifies the Thag region as one of the "remote and abandoned province of darkened frontier" of Tibetan cultural world (MHR doc. 8 Tibetan).

APPENDIX II
NEPALI DOCUMENTS

Document No. 1 (MHR document no. 154, Nepali)

An order of Sardar Amarsimha Thapa to the people of Upper Mustang and Upper Dolpo area concerning general order to join hands with the Gorkha Army, date: circa 1788 (1845).

१. स्वस्ति श्री सर्दार अमर सिंह थापा कस्य पत्रम्
२. आगे लांषच्यो. च्यान्हाम्. पाल्लेमा यो लागुम्. तुग्यां का घा
३. टु वुढा सभ प्रजा प्रति. गोर्षा को प्रताप बढन्थैछ. आज
४. ताहा अनप्रतापि पछि. लाग्या. हाम्रो अम्बल हुदाको
५. दिन. लस्करकामु हुदामा. जोगवन्. सकिन्या छै
६. न. तसर्थ आज अधि तिमि हेरुले हाम्रा षामिको
७. पाउ भनि पिछ्छा पर्न आया. पर तिम्रा धन जिय मान म
८. ज्यादा. स्थिति विति पनि पाउला. रहला. षतृ काजि को
९. दसषत् पनि अधि तिमि हेरु लाई पठायैकोहो पु
१०. ग्यो हो. पत्र देषत. एक मन एक चित गरी ठिटुवा र
११. भँडारी मार्फत. गरायो गरि. आव सर्वथा ३ वाह
१२. गाउल्याले फौज डोय्याइ. लैग्या अधि मान्या र. उन्को
१३. वन्याकै छ आज पनि तिम्रा तस्तै गरी वन्त्या छ. वैसा
१४. ष शुदि ५ रोज ७ शुभम्

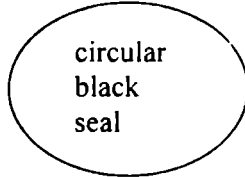
Measurement: 18.5 x 22.5 cm

Collection: Tharchin Ghale, Samar, Mustang

Document No. 2 (MHR docuemnt no. 164, Nepali)

An order of Jumli King Virabhadra Shahi regarding free labour (porter) from Chuksang and Tetang villages, dated 1701 (SE 1622)

श्री वदरी नाथौ जयति
श्री मुक्ति नाथ साहाय



१. (स्वस्ति) श्रीशाके १६२२ चैत्र मासे दिन गता श्रावन
२. कृष्ण पक्षे अष्टाम्यायां तिथौ उत्तराषडा नक्ष
३. त्रे शुक्रवासरे छिनाशिम रजस्थाने श्री मा
४. हा राजा विर भद्र शाहि ज्यु कि मया: छुकाल
५. उपर मया येशि भैछ इसका आदि:

६. का अन्त लगु बक्शि दियाछौ: जस्ता गरि
७. तेताल: ताइति: पुन्जनको हुलाक् दिन्ना: उ
८. स्तौ गरि छुकाल ले दिनु छ: गन्नकि उवो फि
९. रि जा: काग् शेतो होइ जात: यो आग्या फि
१०. रि जा विन्त्या रु ज्यु सांइ ज्यु: ठिटोप्का नम्
११. ग्याल् विष्टया लिषित शाछि पशुपति जोइशि

Collection: Traditional Village Assembly, Chuksang

Document No.3 (MHR document no. 165, Nepali)

An order of Jumli King Surath Shaha concerning the dispute related to the use of natural salt by Chuksang and Tetang villages, dated 1725 (SE 1646).

श्री वद्वि नाथो जयति
श्री मुक्ति नाथ सहाय

Black
Conchshell
Seal

१. स्वस्ति श्री शाके १६४६ मा
२. तिथौ १२ वासरे २ नक्षत्रे १३
३. छिं ना शिम् रजस्थाने श्री माहा
४. राजा शुरथ साह ज्यु कि मया
५. येशि भैछ छुकाल तेताल उ
६. पर छुकाल तेताल् को नुं
७. न्यां पानिको लागि को राडो फे
८. दि मया भैछ नुन्यां पानि दु
९. हुं कै शाजि को राषि म या भैछ
१०. नुन्यां पानि वेचि षानु भया दु
११. हुइले वेचि षानु छ नु
१२. न्या पानि को पाउनु षानु छुका
१३. ल को षानु छुकाल ले षानुं
१४. तेतालको षानुं तेताल ले षानुं
१५. पिटा पिट् राडो दुइले नगर्नु
१६. षोलाका पानि लागि र नौ कु
१७. लो तेताल् ले नकाडनु पुरां
१८. नु कुलो छुकाल ले नठेक्नु
१९. जो ठिटोक्पा शैत् विष्ठान ले गरि
२०. दियोछ त्येइ राषनु मिलि जुडि षां
२१. नु शेहा शइवा गर्नु जो तलिहप्रि

२२. गरतछ शये तानु नुन्यां पानि

२३. (written vertically on the border of the document) शर्कार रांजु राडो भांडो नगनु मिलिजुडि षानु शुभमस्त ।

Measurement: 37 x 16 cm

Collection: Chuksang Village Assembly, Chuksang.

Document No. 4 (MHR document no. 166, Nepali)

An order of Jumli Prince Suryaman Shahi to the people of Chhuk Village concerning the decrease of yearly levy payable in grain, dated 1765 (SE 1686).

१. (in Tibetan letters) र्यल्-पो छेन्-पो-यी स्नङ्-प सङ्-च छग्-गी यि-गे यिन्
२. स्वस्ति श्री साके १६८६ श्री सुर्ज मान साहेव
३. ज्यु को आग्या पुराना धान बाला मा न
४. रि येस छाप पात को सैराषि मया भैछः ज्या
५. केइ वात् दस का आठ पांचका चार गरि
६. डुवा रोपा दुषाउनु हुकम् तानु छः या दे
७. षि अदिकि कनैले गर्नु नाइः हुक्या ठिटु
८. क्पा विष्टान भडारि ले षां देषि अदिकि
९. गर्नु नाइः विन्त्या रुवौरां ज्यु शुभम्
१०. लिषित साछि विशुपाध्या

Measurement: 34.5 x 15.1 cm

Collection: Village Assembly, Chucksang.

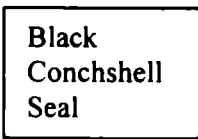
Note: This order is written at the bottom of an old order of Virbhadra Shahi, dated 1701 (SE 1622).

Document No. 5 (MHR document no. 167 'ka' Nepali)

An order of the Prince of Jumla concerning special custom facilities to the traders from Tetang, dated 1782 (SE 1703).

श्री वद्री नाथो जयति

श्री मुक्ति नाथ साहय



१. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री शाहेवजु को आग्या
२. श्री शाके १७०३ दिन माशेः तेताल उपर म
३. या येसिः ९ वर्स षे मा दिया को जी छाप
४. मछत्ः तस् छा । त को शैछः त्योछाप
५. पात् कसिले फालनु नाइः थाक नुन् तान

६. जादा: दानिले: मानु गाड्नु नाइ: भोवा
७. वा: गदाहा जान दिनुछ: घास् दा
८. उरा: ज्युन् त्युर्न: नाटि दिया छौ: र: दिनु नाइ
९. शुभमस्त _____

Additional lines written vertically in the left hand side of the document

१. दानंका मानिषमा दिया हौ
२. चा वर्स लगु दुष नदिया थाक ब्यापार षेल्या नुनको मा
३. नु गानु नाइ

Measurement: 30 x 16.5 cm

Collection: Nherpa, Tetang.

Document No. 6 (MHR document no. 167 'kha', Nepali)

An order of the Prince of Jumla concerning special privilege to the residents of Tetang village.

Black
Conchshell
Seal

श्री वद्वि नाथो जयति
श्री मुक्ति नाथ साहाय

१. ओम् स्वस्ति श्री शाहेव ज्यु को आग्या
२. शघरि: हुक्म्या: ठिटुप्का: उपर
३. आग्या येसि: तेतालका छाप्पात
४. का अर्थ कन: परार का दिन: तिन् शय
५. रुपियां वेनि गिरि का ताच्या र: त
६. व भलो सद्धा गन्यो भन्युं र : ९ वर्स षिं
७. मा दियुं यो थिपन: भलो अट्को
८. शान्यो छ तनुकन: दुष् कष्ट दिनु नां
९. इं: तस नव वर्स का छाप् पात को शै
१०. राष्नु छ: तस् छाप् पात को अशै ग
११. रि तेताल. दुष् दिनु नाइ शुभमस्त

Measurement: 25.5 x 16 cm

Collection: Nherpa, Tetang.

Document No. 7 (MHR document no. 186, Nepali)

An order of King Ranabhadur Shah of Nepal concerning special privilege to Thithogpa Palgon of Jharkot, dated 1788 (VE 1844).

श्री दुर्गा
भवानी

१. स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजा धिराज कस्य रुक्का
२. आगे श्रीठवो पांगुङ् ठिटुपा पुर्जी ताहाको हाल विस्तार आफ्नु
३. दर्दालि तेरि वैन्हि लाइ पठाइछस्. षत्रिकाजि मार्फत्
४. वाट तेरि वैन्हि ले विति गरि विस्तार मालूम भयो. उप्रांत ष
५. त्रि काजिका मार्फत् वाट ज्या काम लायाको छ. अहाया
६. माफिक. तैले काज पुन्यावनु तेरो. हिजो देषि षाया
७. पायाको मान् मर्ज्यात्. धनमाल् जिउ. परर्ज्यान्
८. त संम. थामि वक्स्यौ आफना षातिर्जामा सित. सोभो
९. चिताई हाम्रो हुकुं भयाको काज पुन्यावनु. इति संवत्
१०. १८४४ साल मिति माघ वदि १४ रोज ४ शुभम्

Measurement: 15 x 17.9 cm

Collection: Chhimi Dorje Bista, Jharkot.

Document No. 8 (MHR document no. 194, Nepali)

Document concerning monetary and slave transaction between Thakali Subba Balbir and Thithogpa Subba Dorje of Jharkot, dated 1857 (VE 1914).

१. लिषीतम् सुवा वल्वीर आगे मेरी स्वास्नी छयाक् तो ढोल्लु लाइ
२. रिन वोकायाकः मोहर रु २२०० हो येस मध्ये मैले रिन तिरी दी
३. याको रु ५०० हो वांकी १७ सये हया मा स्वास्नी मर्दा सु
४. वा घोर्ज्या ले दस्षत् लीड आउदा दस्षत् वमोजीम् मैले
५. स्वास्नी लाई दीयाको अंस फिर्ता गरी सुवा धोर्ज्ये लाई
६. दि मैले तीन्याको रुपैया मध्ये अंस मध्ये दियाको त
७. पसिल् वमोजीम् का कमारी कमारो थोरा थोरी भोवा
८. लुलु गाई ली वांकी भारकोट का घर र छोछेम्बु का
९. ष्येत् कमारी दवा पल्मु १ फुर्च्यो इ फिर्ता दिज्युं तस्को
१०. फारक लेषी दिज्युं शुभम् _____

तपसील

१. वाली लियाको तपसील _____
२. कर्मा तन्जिं कमारो तोपक्याल् कमारो _____ २
३. कमारी मिन्दो पेम्वा ल्हमो आमा छोरी ३ टसि पल्मु आमा छोरी २ छिरी वुटि १
ज्मा _____ ७
४. थोरी वछेरी स्मेत् _____ ४

५. भोवा लुलु गरी ज्मा . _____ ४

इति सम्बत् १९१४ साल मीति मार्ग वदी १ रोज ३ शुभम्

Measurement: 28 x 17=7cm

Collection: Chhimi Dorje Bista, Jharkot.

Document No. 9 (MHR document no. 196, Nepali)

Document related to monetary transaction and slave between Thakali Subba Balbir and Thithogpa Subba Dorje of Jharkot, dated 1861 (VE 1918).

१. लिपितं सुब्बा वल्वीर आगे सुब्बा धोर्जे विष्ट ले अधि पेम्वा ल्हमो कमारी
२. आमा छोरा २ ज्यू मलाइ घटक गरी दीया मा नीज कमारी ले उजुर ग
३. दा कमारी सहर गराइ दीनु सकीनौ भन्या नीज कमारीका आमा
४. छोरी ४ ज्यू को रु ३०० तिरौला भनी सुवा वल्वीर लाइ तम्सुक लेषी
५. दीया मा आज कमारी सहर गरी मलाइ दीदा निज कमारी आ
६. मा छोरी बुझि लि तिन सये रुपैया को तम्सुक नपाउदा तमसु
७. क वेसदर गरी फारष लेषी दी यू साछी सुब्बा ठोपकेल् को
८. पंच कचहरि समुचे १९१८ साल मसिर वदी १ रोज ३ शुभम्

Measurement: 13.2 x 18.8 cm

Collection: Chhimi Dorje Bista, Jharkot.

Document No. 10 (MHR document no. 229, Nepali)

An order of Jumli King Surath Shah concerning the regulation related to the use of common grazing field occupied by Chhengur and Jharkot villages, dated 1733 (SE 1655).

Black
Conchshell
Seal

१. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री महाराजको राजइश
२. श्री शाके १६५५ श्रावन मासे दिन गता ११ येका
३. दश्या तिथौ अनुराधा नछेत्रे बुधवासरे किलुं
४. ग टुवा डांडा रजस्थाने श्री महाराजा सुरथ साह
५. ज्यु कि मयायेशि छिंगोरि उपर मयायेशि भैछ
६. कटूकको माफ गरि मयाभैछ मुगशिर पुडा
७. वैशाग वोडाका छमाशषिमा मया मयाको
८. छ वर्षका छमाश ठिटोक्पा ले जोल्याहाल्
९. नु छिंगोरिले हिडनु घाशदाउरा घोडा गो
१०. रुवाछा पाठा वाप्रा ज्याके इ लछिमि वाछा यो
११. ज्या गयादिन विष्टयानको छिंगोरि दियाको थि
१२. यो त्येइ गर्नुछ अघ्यालि नौलो गर्नु छैन प
१३. त्र शाछि शत्यधन् शाइ गोशांइ हितराज भ
१४. क्ति राजा विष्टा जलाल महत्र हुक्या नाथु पा

१५. द्या थानि जक्तु पाद्या दिशालि गोकुल भंडारि
 १६. धन भंडारि माधु भंडारि खवाश नद्यामाना भं
 १७. डारि पभ्त्या महरिज शुमल कठाइत् लिषित
 १८. शाछि माहादेव जोइशि ठिटोक्पा ठोटुडु
 १९. प् विष्टा षुमशिग् विष्टा राज्यको भंडारि दुगा
 २०. उ भंडारि शुभमस्तु ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

Measurement: 34 x 17cm

Collection: Chhengur Village Traditional Assembly

Document No.11 (MHR document no. 230, Nepali)

An order of Jumli Prince giving special privilege to the people of Chhengur village concerning the regulation related to grazing field, trail etc., dated 1751 (SE 1673).

श्री वद्विनाथो जयति
 श्री मुक्तिनाथ शहाय

१. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री साहेव ज्यु को आग्या
 २. श्री शाके १६७३ आषाड माशे दिनगता १६
 ३. छिगोरि उपर मयायेशिभैछः ठूलो त
 ४. हुक्मः नानुतः ... शैर दाउरा लगुः ज
 ५. स्तो पुरानु वाटो शोः तस्तै गरि छिगोरिले
 ६. दिनुः माग्न्याले मागनुः पुरानु वाटो
 ७. छिगोरिले नघटाउनुः पुरना बाटादेशि
 ८. अदिको गरि छिगोरि कन कशिले दुष् दि
 ९. नु छैनः हुक्म्या कन येक भिल्लाप् काक
 १०. पुग्यां दुइनु छः येक् भिल्लाप् हुक्म्या मु
 ११. गु छेत्र गया होलि गाउल्याले दुइनु छ अ
 १२. रु केइ दुइनु नाइ भन्दाछन् दुर्षानि
 १३. गाइ थपालाको लेषोगरि मुबाकोटवाट
 १४. आउन्त्याहो; छिगोरवाट गाइ आउन्त्या हो
 १५. इन भन्दा छन्; लिश्यां जान्या जोल्या वटा
 १६. ला; पुरां शरहन्या हुन् छिगोरः रहन्त्या
 १७. हुइन भन्दाछन्; पांजो उघाइना को; थ
 १८. पाला पांजो हुन्त्याहो; गाउं पांजो हुन्त्या हो
 १९. इन भन्दाछन् र; जस्तो पुरानुवाटो हो
 २०. त; छाइनु नाइ; पुराना वाटादेशि अर्
 २१. घ्यालि गरि; छिगोरि कन दुष दिनु नाइ
 २२. शुभ मस्तु

Measurement: 38.5 x 21 cm

Collection: Chhengur Village Assembly

Document No. 12 (MHR document no. 241, Nepali)

An order of Jumli Crown Prince dated 1786 (SE 1707) giving custom privilege to the people of Kagbeni particularly to import grain from south.

श्री वद्वि नाथो जयति
श्री मुक्ति नाथो सांय

१. ॐ स्वोस्ति श्री गोंसाइ ज्यु को आग्या
२. श्री साके १७०७ जेष्ठ मासेः काकि गाउल्या उपर भं
३. यां येसि भैछः ९ छं बर्स लगुः दान को मान्युः उदा ले
४. ष को नुन को मान्यु भर्न्युः उवा लेषको : अन को मान्यु
५. नं भर्न्युः दानि ले ये कुरै मान्यु षानुछः काकि गाउ
६. ल्या दुष दिन्यु चाइदैन छि मा हामिले दिहन्याछौः जो
७. का कि गाउल्या दुष देलाः त्यो राजाको साइदयो छः शुभम्

Measurement: 18 x 15.5 cm

Collection: Angyal Bista, Kagbeni.

Document No. 13 (MHR document no. 264, Nepali)

An order of Jumli Prince known as Hitaraj Bhaktiraja Bista dated 1740 (SE 1661) concerning disputes between different villages of Baragaun.

Black
Conchshell
Seal

१. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री शाके ॥१६६१॥ फाल्गुन मा
२. शे दिन गता ॥१३॥ नक्षत्रे जेष्टा वासरे ॥
३. १॥ कृष्ण पक्षे नौम्यां तिथौ नि रज
४. स्थाने हित् राज् भक्ति राजा विष्ट ज्यु शि
५. त्व राम शर्दार देवानन्द पाध्या थानि
६. हुकुम्या परान महत्र गर्मु पाध्या ठ
७. ठोपका षिभजोग् विष्ट देशालि जे
८. दे त्व विष्ट वार को वान्त राजा
९. वाइ श् टपुष्यालि षोलाका जेष्ठ
१०. ठा बुढा वशिन्या यशोगन्यु विष्टा
११. न को र मुगा कोटि को ठूलो त् टशि
१२. नानु तघांश् दाउरा पानि शेराको
१३. को का मु वन् को मल् घट् टपि
१४. न्नु पुरानु वाटो सवै गर्नु छनउलो
१५. वाटो गर्नु छैन मुगाकोटका मोयाल्हा थपा
१६. ले रोष् पोष् शुदा ॥६०॥ तीर्नु टशि छ भिं

१७. लाप् कशि थै त्वैडो हाल लु छैन देश
१८. देषि ल्यायाका मन्स केटा केटि ग
१९. नुं छैन घां गांहाल् लांछन् अपुतालि
२०. या त विष्टान ले त्वाइत् गांउल्या ले
२१. कनै नषानु षोजि लोडि धांग हाल
२२. लु छ भौत् क्या लेषउ ॥ शुभमस्त॥
२३. (किनारामा) जो यो न्यान राषत ॥८०॥ पाउला ज्युन् शर्ना छन्

Measurement: 31.1x 16=3 cm

Collection: Village Assembly, Zong Village.

Document No. 14 (MHR document no. 265, Nepali)

An order of Jumli Crown Prince concerning dispute between Muwakot (Zong) and Tetang villages.

श्री वद्वि नाथो जयति
श्री मुक्ति नाथ साहाय
वडाज्यु

१. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री साइज्यु को आग्या
२. सर्दार सहित् सर्व जान्या परंत्वा
३. नि उपआग्या येसि वंन लगि मुत्वा
४. को टि तेताल राडिया का छन् भनि सु
५. न्यु र, जस्तो गरि पुर्षा षायि आंन्या
६. थियौ तस्तै गरि षानुछ, जव येस
७. थल नजुडया होलिर, अध्यार
८. को वगसित् भयाको छाप् पात्
९. मुत्वा कोटिपन् छ भन्दा छन्; ते ता
१०. ल् पंनछ भन्दा छन् र; तिं छाप्
११. पात् हेरि दिनु छ, छाप पात् हेन्या
१२. उप्रान्ति जस्तो निकल् हां मुथि भं
१३. नि हाल्या शुभमस्त

Measurement: 22.2 x 13.3 cm

Collection: Ghemba and Katuwal, Zong Village.

Document No. 15 (MHR document no. 266, Nepali)

An order of Jumli King concerning dispute between Muwakot (Zong) and Tetang.

१. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री माहाराजका रजाइश्
२. ठिटोकपा हुक्या भंडारि दानि प्रति याका शामा
३. चार किकिर्पाले भला छन् तां का शामाचार भ
४. ला चाइन् तेतालै र मुगाकोटिका राडा का अर्थ

५. कन तेतालका भुइ माथि पउ च्योडयो त तेताल क
६. न भुचाइ दिया जव शौजा भुइ माथि पउ चेडयो त
७. मुगा कोटि कन मुया को भगाइ दिया शाद का अर्थ क
८. न पुराना शादं माथि मिलन् त मिलाइ दिया
९. निमलन् त मुगा कोटि तेताल तनु दुहै उंदा
१०. लाइ दिया शुभमस्तु

Measurement: 17 x 17 cm

Collection: Village Assembly, Zong Village.

Document No. 16 (MHR document no. 272, Nepali)

An order of King Shahibam Malla of Parvat concerning regulation over Thini-Panchgaun and pilgrims to Muktinath, dated 1667 (SE 1589) [This document is written in Tibetan and Nagari scripts but language is parbate (old Nepali)].

१. लक्ष्मी नारायन सहाय देफता (देवता) मान्नु
२. देवदा गो शेवा गर्नु ॐ सति श्री माहाराजा
३. धिराज साही मलग्गी (को) आग्या छो ठीन्याल, पां
४. च, दीयांच थिए सो खो होए लागोछ पांच
५. ले हावाको छ राजा मान्नु ज्या आक्या (आग्या) हो
६. सो माननु ब्रामन् मान्नु लामा मान्नु श
७. न्याशी जोकी (जोगी) मान्नु तीर्थ मान्नु अन्
८. न दारुक्का दिनु भाक्काद गर्नु मीठो कुरा गर
९. नु यो निति चल्नु येसो गरे ना (मा) जी
१०. हा होला सुग (सुख) पाउला खेती वेपार सप्रला
११. येसै निति चल्नु छ । राजा रानी आहुँ
१२. ता (दा) रांमोरी गरी पर्छन्नु लामां ले छुटी (छुट्टै)
१३. पर्छन्नु ठीनयाल, लो(मुस्तां) कोह्योलि छुटि (छुट्टै) पर्छ
१४. नु सोस्नीलि छुटि (छुट्टै) पर्छन्नु लस खस
१५. नही गन (गर्नु) जोहो सो गरी पर्छेन दुयूई
१६. से रुइसे डान्नु राजा आये भन्
१७. ने सुन्दा ढा दुयूई तीतीं दिन् अगियन (नै) टोसामा
१८. गर्नु तस पर्छन्नु उ सरन ना(मा)

(text after this line can be completed properly from Nepali section)

Nepali section (text above this line is missing but it can be completed from Tibetan script section)

१. (जो मा) निस् (मारला जो वचा चो) रि लुकाई वेचला उ एकै हो
२. उस कन मारन्नु उसका परीवार डुमदिनु भाडदिनु यो म
३. न्याको पाप उसैका सिर रांसिग्यू छिरीको विति गर्दा थाक्
४. सि पाच् अंतर पस्याछन् जो जिच्याइ गर्लान् वुडा वुठां उनी (क)
५. न मारन्नु धारन्नु. यो पाप उनैका सिर एस् नितिमाहा जो र

६. हैन उइ साइदुवो सुभं पांचका पदको कुरो एसो हा
७. त्पात् गरी नषानु माग्या पांचले दिनु नमाग्न्या
८. भला मांसकन उचितै दिनु षसांतै पाच जहि गर्नु वर्ना
९. लो सराउनि तिउन् वल्याका वोल्ग् नुवागि दिनु ॥
१०. जसले (ठिन्याल तिब्बतीमा) पाचकन हात् पात् गर्ला तसकन ठूलो विरा ग
११. न्या कन मारुला हात्का दूरा विराको हात्का ठूला
१२. डाइन्या विराको डाइ गरुला गयाको षोजरहया
१३. को रक्षा गर्नु षसांतै डोहि गर्नु जाहाका पाचले
१४. श्री शाके १५८९ आषाडमासे दिनगता २५ थाकने पत्र मीदं लितं शुभ मस्तु

Vertical lines written in the left hand side of the document:

१. राजाका वहसका भाति वहस मानु सोइका भातिसोइ मानु थरका भाति थर मानु गौरौका भाति गौरो मानु जोल्या मां
 २. नु दिसालि मानु एस निति चल्नु यीगे (लिखत) गरे अनुसार पर्री न द (?)
- (These two vertical lines are also written in both Nagari and Tibetan scripts)

Measurement: 61.2 x 17 cm

Collection: Village Assembly, Thini Village.

Document No. 17 (MHR document no. 308, Nepali)

An order of Parvate King Kirtibam Malla concerning land grant to Sangliram of Thak, dated 1766 (SE 1688).

श्री

१. किर्ति वमल्ल देव तामा पत्र
२. चीम षोला देशी उधो चोषा पानि देशि उभो पाषो छो
३. डि गहो घोरं च्यांको माटो संग लिराम्ले २०० रूपै
४. यां अशेरे पि दुसये रूपे जा राषि विन्ती गन्यो र
५. वक्सनुभयो एस वातका साछी काजी रमेश मल्ल
६. षोलाका ठाकुर. कल्ली मर्दन मल्ल दिसाली: नवीह म
७. ल्ल रसौ मल्ल: पिताम्बर: भडारी: रामदास वोहोरा: ज
८. सवन्त वहीक: सीउरु कपर्दार: दावाघर. कलिया
९. कालु षजंची: वाकचन: सन्या: भान दान्या: साके १६८८
१०. अश्वीन मास्ये लेषितं श्री कलु जोइसि शुभम्

Collection: Chairi Village Assembly

Document No. 18 (MHR document no. 323, Nepali)

An official letter issued by the Department of Finance to Gulmi District Land Revenue Office concerning the position and privilege of Mustangi Raja, dated 1955 (VE 2012).

अर्थ खर्च विभाग
सिंह दरवार

२०१२।४।....
प १९-७ २२ १

गुल्मी माल

श्री ५ महाराजाधिराजको प्रिन्सिपल सेक्रेटरीको नं. का ७-८९ मिति ४ वैशाख ०१२ को पत्र बमोजिम मुस्तागी राजाका छोरालाई कप्तान दर्जा गरी तलव खुवाउने बारे, अधि त्यस मालका नाउमा भै आयेको यस विभागको नं. ५ फा ६६१ मिति २५।६।२००९ को आदेशको सिलसिलामा लेखिदैछ। निज कप्तान वाड् दिं डिङ् परवललाई निजले खाइरहेको वार्षिक मो. रु. १९०० उन्नाइस सयेंमा वार्षिक मो रु १५८० पंद्रह सये असी रुपैया थपी आर्मीका नयां पेस्केल वमोजिं कप्तानले खान पाउने महिना १ को तलव मो रु २९०। का दरले वर्ष १ को मो रु ३४८०। चौतीस सये असी रुपैयाका दरले २०१२ वैशाख ४ गतेका मिति देखि साल बसाली खान पाउने गरी दियेको छ हाललाई १२।१३ सालको र पछिलाई साल सालको रक्षा बजेटको अफिसर देखि फागवर सम्मको तलव रकमबाट कट्टा गर्ने गरी अधि भै आयेको आदेशको रीत पुन्याई खर्च लेखी दिनुहोला ।

Additional note on the border of the document

७३ मस्तागेराजाका छोरा कप्तानलाई तलवदिने सालबसाली सनद अ.ने. ५६४

यसमा अर्को निर्णय भै नआए सम्म
माथि लेखिए वम्मोजिम गर्ने गरी अरु
सदर

दस्तखतः कृष्णराज भण्डारी

गङ्गाबहादुर

१८।४।०१२

ए.ज. अफिस

परराष्ट्र विभाग

रक्षा विभाग

Collection: Baglung Land Revenue Office

Document No. 19 (MHR document no. 308, Nepali)

An order of Parvate King Kirtibam Malla concerning border dispute between Marpha and Thak villages, dated 1763 (SE 1685).

१. परवत राजाले लेषीदीयाको नकल
२. स्वस्ति श्रीमाहाराज कीर्तिवम्ममल्लज्यूकोऽ आज्ञा
३. सब आठ हजार वसी थाकसी पुडयालको साद हेरी षोलो सु
४. धाई थारो छुवाई सांध सच्याई दीजम् फत्ये ववांग साजा गरी च
५. ढनु थालीमको थाला थाकसीले ओडनु थालीमको षोरी सोषात
६. षुस पुडयारीले कमाउनु दोचामाको डांडाको सांध रहयो फत्ये
७. व वांग जान्या बाटो पुडयारीले नथुन्नु पुडयालले हीजो दीयाको
८. वर्ष दीनको दुइ रुपैया दीनु भनी साध रहयो येस वातमाहा जो

१. नरहृत तीन धार्मी रुपै राजाले लीनु येस वातका साछी काजी रमेश
१०. मल्ल षोलाका ठाकुर रिपुमर्दनमल्ल शत्रुभंजनमल्ल थाकका
११. दीसाली रिपुमर्दनमल्ल रणैमल्ल जयेवंत वहीक पीतांबर भ
१२. डारी दीर्घो-बोहोरा कलुवा भंडारी पुंडीका दीसाली हें
१३. कन वहीक गर्भुराम भंडारी ठीनीका दिसाली मानसिंह षडका ना
१४. रायण काकी पुटली दुदाती जोल्या जोषु काकी सुतो षवर बालक ।
१५. लीया जुटु षत्री दान्या मनबोध षडका अरु साछी माच्याबुढा वु
१६. बुढा छीरीं बुढा सुनां बुढा चठरु वहीक गोपीचंवहीक मेगुव
१७. हीक हर्क थापा लाटु भंडारी बलवीर भंडारी कालु धनी ईछा
१८. राम भंडारी श्री शाक १६८५ आषाढ शुक्ल १ रोज २ मोकाम
१९. थाक थरपु लेषक साक्षी काजी सुभं भूयात्

Collection: 13 Mukhiyas of Thakkhola, Kobang

Document No. 20 (MHR document no. 326, Nepali)

An order of Parvate King Kirtibam Malla concerning the settlement of a case related to adopted son, dated 1784 (SE 1706).

श्रीरामः

(ताम्रपत्रको)

१. स्वस्ति श्री ५ मन्महारजधिरा
२. ज कीर्ति बन्ध मल्ल देवज्यू तेः
३. आगे दा वाबूले छोरोः छैन भणि २४. रु
४. पैजा अंकेपी पाया राखि विंती गन्यो र आ
५. न्फु दाज्यू षंडुको छोरो सुभारामकन दावत्
६. बुढा को छोरो गरी बक्सनु भयो ध्यांत
७. ध्यां सुभारामले थाम्नु एस् वाराभाको
८. ... उन्त्या पणि कसैले छुन्त्या पनि न सु
९. न्नु एसवात्मा कल तगरालगरा भगरा
१०. नास्ती एस् वातका शाखि काजी गरुडध्वजम
११. ल्ल रिपुमर्दमल्ल छापदार प्रजिविर र ष राषी सू
१२. क्लाम्बर गंगाप्रशाद कपर्दार प्रदत्त वंक्स चो
१३. प्दार सुरजसंज्या देशाली चोषाल् आत्मरा
१४. म् श्रीभक्तजीरु वहिक सर्दार दममल्ल बल वि
१५. र कृष्ण कार्कि श्रीसाके १७०६ श्रावण सु
१६. क्ल रोज ४ मुकाम् दोराल्ठाना लेखित
१७. म् श्रीकृष्ण जोतीविंदा शुभम्भूयात्मस्तु
१८. (किनारामा) षोलाका ठाकुर चामूमल्ल - ६

Collection: Mekyi Lhakhang Store (Courtesy of two Thakali nuns living in the Monastery)

Document No. 21 (MHR document no. 334, Nepali)

An old document concerning the agreement between Lhasa and Jumla to exchange territories of Taglakhar and Mustang.

१. हाम्रा वाज्या विरवत साहि र ल्हासाका राजा कालछिरि ल्हासा
२. मा वसि ताक्लाषार मस्ताको व्यहोरा मिलाउन्त्या जुमला लाई दिन्त्या
३. वुसाउन्त्या कुराको वन्दोवस्त र धर्म गन्याका व्यहोराका षोजी पछि
४. लर्गयन, हामि सन्यासिले अधि हाम्रा पुर्षाले । गन्याको वन्दोवस्ता
५. भोट्याले राष्याको रहेन छ भन्या हामि संन्यासिले गन्या को कुर
६. केहि पुगि आउन्त्या छैन, संन्यासिका ग्रिस्ति तुल्याइ वक्सनु भो भन्या
७. दिया को षान्या र अह्नायको गन्या हजुरकै हो, आफ्ना वुद्धि अन्सार
८. जाजत भरको टहल गरिन्थे छ ।

Source: Yogi Naraharinath *Itihas Prakash*, No. 2, pt. I, p. 344.

Document No. 22 (MHR document no. 45, Nepali)

An order of King Ranabahadur Shah to Mustang Raja Wanggyal Dorje concerning yearly tribute to Kathmandu and Lhasa.

१. स्वास्त श्रीगिरिराज चक्रचूडामणि नरनारायणेत्यादि विविधविरुदावली
२. विराजमान मानोन्तत श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराजे रण-
३. वहादूर शाह बहादूर सम्सेजङ् देवानां सदा समर विजयीनाम् - - -
४. स्वास्त श्रीसर्वोपमा योग्येत्यादि राजभारासामर्थ, श्रीमुस्तागिदेवा वांग्या-
५. ल् दोर्जेके सलाम पूर्वक पत्रमिर्द जाहां कुशल ताहां कुशल चाहि
६. ये आगे जाहांको समचार भलो छ उप्रांत लासा चीनसंग घा भयो
७. तसअर्थ तिम्रा तेस् देसका हिजो परंपरादेषि लासालाई केहि द-
८. स्तूर दि आयाको भया हिजोका रितसंग लासालाई दिन्त्या गर परं-
९. तु लासाका मानिस् तिम्रा अम्बलमा आईकन तहसीलन नपा-
१०. उन् लाग्याको तिमिले दिन पठाउन्त्या गर जो जुमलालाई दिं-
११. थ्यां षसोषास् साल् बसाल् हाम्रा हजूर ल्याउन्त्या गर हिजो दु-
१२. वैतिरको हाम्रा हजूर ल्याउनु गरि पट्टावक्स्यां थ्युं आज लासाति-
१३. र जो जांछ, तस्को मिनाहा उस्पट्टामा लेषियामध्ये वक्सौला कि-
१४. मधिकं मिति श्रावण सुदि १२ रोज १ मुकाम कान्तिपूर शुभम्

Collection: Raja of Mustang, Currently at CNAS, T.U.

Document No. 23 (MHR document no. 64, Nepali)

A letter of P.M. Phatyajang Shah to the Village Heads of Nar and Nyshang villages concerning yearly tribute from those villages to Mustang, dated 1846 (VE 1902).

श्री

१. स्वास्त श्रीमच्यौतरिया फत्यजं साहाकस्य पत्रम्
२. आगे नार निस्यान्का थरि मुषिया भला मानिस गैह्रके यथोचित उप्रान्त परापुर्व दे

३. षि तिमिहेरुले मस्तांगि राजालाई सीतो दीन्या रित रहेछ गाउँघरमा डंडजिताउरि
४. भयामा पनि पांच ५ भागमा यकभाग पनि मस्तांगि राजालाई दियाको रहेछ आ
५. ज दियन भनि मस्तांगि षजांचि जाहां कराउन आयो तसर्थ वेहोरा यहो भन्या प
६. रा पुर्व देषि सेष्टामा आज मेटन हुदै न अटकायाको भयापनि हीसाप गरि दे
७. उ वेहोरा अकैछ भन्या जोरि आउ इति सम्बत् १९०२ सालमिति फालगु
८. न शुदि ३ रोज ७ शुभम्

Collection: Raja of Mustang, currently at CNAS/TU.

Document No. 24 (MHR document no. 73, Nepali)

A letter of Thakali Subba Balbir to Raja Jyang Wangdi, dated 1862 (1919)

श्री

श्रीजनरल श्री मुक्तिनाथ

१. स्वस्तिश्री मुस्ताङ्का राजा ज्यम्यां औदीका चरण सुच्वा वल्वीरको सला
२. म् उप्रान्त तपाइवाट चिठ्ठी र मानीस समेत पठाउनु हुंदा स्वचीठि बमो
३. जीम मित् डिङ्गालाई विंतीपत्र लेष्यौ र ... का दर्सन निमित्त्या जाहा
४. पालन्नुभो घिलुंमा र जान्नु भन्नुहुन्छ: साक्ये लामालाई आवोल
५. नलाग्न्या मुस्तांगि राजालाई थाक्मा आवोल लाग्न्याभो ।
६. साहेवको दस्षत् समेत षोसीन्या भयो: मलाइ नमान्याको हो
७. इन २ साहेवलाइ नटेन्याकोहो भनी भन्नु हुन्छ तपाईका
८. नाउमा वेहोरा वरावर अर्जिलेष्याको पनी रहेछ: इष्ट जानी मै
९. ले थुन्दा ४५ दीनलाई मा थामीराष्याको छु आजका
१०. ३४ दीन सम्म मा तपाइ पाल्नु हवस् अर्जिगयापनी था
११. म्न्या वेहोरा गरुंला भ्रगडापनी असर्ज्या केही छैन जाहा पा
१२. ल्नुहुन्छ भन्या तपाइलाइ केहीकुरोमा पनी गाहोपन दीन्या छैनौं भ
१३. गडा पनी ४५ दीन मा छीन्या वेहोरा गरुंला: पालनु भयेनौ भन्या पछी
१४. तपाइलाई विध्यास पर्नलाजा स्व वुभनुभै: आजका ३४ दीन
१५. मा मा पाल्नु होला ज्यादा कहातक लेषु १९१९ साल:
१६. श्रावण सुदी १० रोज ३ काकवेनी शुभम्

Collection: Raja of Mustang, Currently at CNAS/TU

Document No. 25 (MHR document no. 91, Nepali)

A petition letter to Subba Chandrakanta Arjyal from Mustangi Raja Ngodup Palbar concerning Thakali Subba Balbir's suppression against Lo (Mustang).

श्री

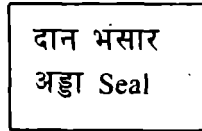
१. स्वस्ति श्री ब्रह्माकर्म चारवेद म न्त्र माडेपु श्री ३ वाजे सुध्वा चन्द्रकान्
२. दका चरन इत श्रीमस्तांगी राजा डेटूपपर्वलको कोटि सेवा पा
३. उ लागी सतम् पुर्वकापत्र मीघं इत नीका तथा चरनका पाउ

४. छेम कुसल आनन्द मंगल हुनुभया मेरा सर्वकामको उहा
५. रन होला आगे जाहाको समाचार भलो छ उप्रांत छर्कालि र
६. मेरो दीडिन् भन्य दसतुरमा चरनका बाहुलिमा मेरा रा
७. नी भाइ चम्पा सीका नौमा छिनी देउ भन्ये इजाह दि तो
८. कुवा रुक्का गरि ली याका कुरामा : अैले हकवाल थाकका
९. अमाली डेटूको मीत हुदा सारै धुष दीरहेछ तैजी कौने स
१०. नत् मागी वक्सनु होला भनी अगी वीन्ती पत्र लीइ अमृते
११. आले पठायको हो नीज आले पठायको दिन ४ पछि आ
१२. मा ली वल्वीरेले तीमीले फेरि इजाहर दिनुपछ भनी नी
१३. जले वन्दा मैले रुक्कामाथी इजाहर दिन्न मेरा कुरा जो भयाको
१४. तेहि रुक्काले फेरि फेरि इजाहर दिन्न भन्दा क्षेडिमा १४ दी
१५. न् सम्म हाली राष्यो र रुक्का वमोजीमको इजाहार दि
१६. युं र सनत् पत्र वेस्य जाजि पर्पछे गरि देउ भन्य रुक्कामा
१७. प्रमान् छधा छदै पर्मान
१८. नभुजि तीमीलाइ जहा दिनु पछ भन्दा.....(document is not complete)

Collection: Raja of Mustang, Currently at CNAS/TU

Document No. 26 (MHR document no. 116, Nepali)

A letter from Thak-Dan custom office to Mustangi Raja Jamyang Palbar concerning the order of presence, dated 1909 (VE 1965).



श्री

१. थाक् दान् भंसार अडावाट मोस्तांगी
२. राजां भेम्यां परवल लाइ लेषेको
३. उप्रान्त भोट १२१५ गाउका रैतीले वींती चढाउदा ताहालाइ र येस
४. अडालाई स्मेत भैयाका वडापत्र वमोजीका वेहोरावाट वुभ्नु
५. पन्याको र उसैमा पनी तम्रा उपर स्मेत उजुरपर्न गयाको र ताकीती
६. स्मेत भयाको मुद्धा हुनाले तीमीलाइ लीन लेफटें मानवहादुर थका
७. ली स्मेत पठायको छ तसर्थ नीजलेफटें ताहा आइपुग्ना मात्र आ
८. फना नाउमा भयेका सनद सवाल लालमोहर स्मेत ली तुरंतयेस
९. अडामा आउने कां भया वेसहोला नआई नीचमानामा लाग्नु
१०. भो. भने अटेर गरेको भनी जाहेर भैजानेछ इती सम्बत् १९६५ साल
११. भाद्र १९ गते रोज ५ शुभम्

Collection: Raja of Mustang; Currently at CNAS/TU.

APPENDIX III

TIBETAN DOCUMENTS

Document No. 1 (MHR doc. no. 1, Tib.)

Tsarang Bemschag (An Account of the Temple of Tsarang)

ཅ་ཏུངས་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་གྱི་ལོ་མཇུག་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་བཞུགས་སོ།

༡། ཨོ་ལྷ་སྟི་སྟི་རྒྱུ། རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་མཚུན་བཅུ་ལྷུས་པའི་འཕེལ། འུས་འདིར་བཞེས་གཉིན་
 ཏུར་སྟེག་འཛིན་པའི་གར། །སྟེ་སྟོང་གསུམ་དང་རྒྱུད་སྟེ་ཀུན་གྱི་བདག་ །འཇམ་དབྱངས་གྲུ་ཚར་ཚོས་གྱི
 རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བཞུགས། །མཚན་དཔེས་རབ་བརྒྱན་སྟོན་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་དང་། །ཡུང་རྟོགས་བདག་ཉིད་བསྟན་
 པ་དམ་པའི་ཚོས། །རྒྱལ་སྐུ་ཚོགས་མཚོག་འཕགས་པའི་དགེ་འདུན་ལ། །ཡུས་དག་ཡིད་གསུམ་གུས་
 པས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །རང་བཞིན་སྟོབ་བྱལ་ཚོས་སྐྱ་ནམ་མཁའི་དབྱིངས། །སྐུ་ལྟོང་རོ་བོ་ལོངས་སྐུ་ལ་
 ཉི་རྒྱའི་གཟུགས། །འཕྲིན་ལས་བྱེ་བའི་ཚ་བྱིལ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས། །སྒོ་གསལ་པ་དང་ཀུ་ལུང་བཞེད་མཁའ་སྐུ་
 པའི། །སྐུ་གསུམ་རོ་བོར་སྦྱིང་ནས་ཕྱག་བཞུགྱོ། །བྱངས་མེད་བསྐྱལ་བར་ཚོགས་གཉིས་བསྐྱབ་པ་ལས།
 །སྐུ་ལྟོང་བདག་ཉིད་རིན་ཚེན་ཁམས་ལས་གྲུབ། །འཕྲིན་ལས་བཞི་ཡི་བར་རིམ་འཕྲེང་བསམ་མཛེས།
 །ལྷུབ་དབང་རིན་ཚེན་ལྷན་བོདེ་ལ་འདུད། །

༢། རུ་སྟོང་རྣལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུད་དང་སྒྲ་མེད་དང་། །བྱང་པར་དབྱེས་རྡོར་བདེ་མཚོག་གསང་འདུས་སོགས།
 །སྒྲ་མེད་རྒྱུད་གྱི་ཡི་དམ་ལྟ་ཚོགས་ལ། །གུས་པས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་དངོས་གྲུབ་རྣམ་གཉིས་བཙལ། །དོན་དམ་
 རང་བཞིན་སྟོབ་པའི་མཐའ་དང་བྲལ། །ཀུན་རྗེ་བ་སྐྱེད་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་གཟུགས་གྱི་གར། །རྒྱལ་དང་རྒྱལ་
 སྐུ་མཐའ་ཅད་བསྟེད་བྱེད་པའི། །ཡུམ་ཚེན་པ་རོལ་ཕྱིན་ལ་ཕྱག་བཞུགྱོ། །བསྐྱལ་བཟང་འདི་ལ་མཛོད་
 པ་མཐའ་ཕྱིན་པའི། །རྟོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་དང་མཚེད་གཉིས་སོགས། །རྒྱལ་དང་སར་གནས་
 བྱང་སེམས་མཐའ་ཅད་ལ། །གུས་པས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཕྱགས་ཇེ་འགོ་རྣམས་སྟོངས། །མཚུན་པའི་སྐུ་
 གསལ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དག་གི་དབང་། །བཅུ་བས་འགོ་ཀུན་སྟོབས་མཛོད་སྐུ་ན་རས་གཟིགས། །འུས་པས་
 མི་མཐུན་ཚར་གཅོད་གསང་བའི་བདག་ །མཚུན་བཅུ་ལྷུས་གསུམ་རིག་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བར་འདུད། །རྒྱ་གར་
 མཁའ་པ་རྒྱན་དུག་མཚོག་གཉིས་དང་། །འབྲི་

༣། རུ་པ་སོགས་བསྐྱབས་ཚེན་མཐའ་ཅད་དང་། །རིན་ཚེན་བཟང་དང་འགྲོག་མི་ལོ་རྣམས། །མར་
 འགོས་ལ་ཚོགས་ལོ་ཚེན་རྣམས་ལ་འདུད། །ཁ་བ་ཅན་ལྟོངས་ལུགས་གཉིས་སྟིད་གྱི་བདག་ །ས་ཚེན་ཀུན་
 སྟིང་འཇམ་དབྱངས་བདུན་བརྒྱད་དང་། །གསང་བདག་སྐུ་ལ་པ་འགྲོ་མགོན་ཕྱག་ན་ནས། །ཀུན་དགའ་
 བསོད་ནམས་བར་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་པར་འདུད། །བྱང་པར་འཇམ་དབྱངས་མགོན་པོ་སྐུར་བྱོན་པ། །ས་སྐུའི་བཙེ་
 ཚེན་ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་དཔལ། །བྱགས་པའི་གདུགས་དཀར་སྟིད་ན་མཚོ་བཞེད། །སྟིང་ནས་དཔེ་ནོ་

འདིར་བོན་ལྷག་གི་གནས། །པདྨ་དཀར་སོགས་མཛད་སྡེ་དུ་མ་ལས། །ཡུང་བསྐྱོན་ཇི་བཞིན་དུར་སྤྲིག་
 འཛིན་པའི་གཙོ། །ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོ་ལ་སོགས་ཨེ་ཤྲི། །བརྒྱན་པར་བཅས་ལ་གྲུས་པས་ལྷག་
 འགྲོའོ། །ས་སྐྱའི་འཇམ་མགོན་ཇེ་བཅུན་གྲགས་པའི་ཞབས། །སྐར་ཡང་མདོ་ལམས་འབོམ་གྱི་སར་
 འབྲུངས་ནས། །བོད་ཡུལ་བསྐྱོན་དང་བསྐྱོན་འཛིན་ཀུན་གྱི་བདག་། །གོ་རམ་ལ་སོགས་བརྒྱན་པར་བཅས་
 ལ་འདུད། །ས་སྐྱའི་པམ་ཚེན་སྐྱོན་པའི་གྲགས་དཀར་དེ། །སྐར་ཡང་མངའ་རིས་སྐྱོ་བོའི་ཚར་འཕེས་པ།
 །བསོད་ནམས་ལྷན་གྲུབ་ལེགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཞེས། །སྐྱོན་པའི་གྲགས་པས་སྲིད་གསུམ་པ་མཐར་
 བཀལ། །རྩྭ་ཡིག་ལས་བྱུང་དཔལ་ལྷན་ནག་པོ་ཚེ། །གར་དགྲའི་ཉམས་ལྷན་བསྐྱོན་དགྲ་ཀུན་གྱི་གཤེད།

༧། བསྐྱོན་དང་བསྐྱོན་འཛིན་སྐྱོངས་པའི་མཐུ་བརྒྱལ་ཚན། །གྲར་ཞལ་ལ་སོགས་བསྐྱུངས་མའི་ཚོགས་
 ལ་འདུད། །ཤྲི་དངས་པའི་མཚོ་ལས་གསེར་གྱི་པདྨ་སྐྱོང། །བྱུང་བའི་མངའ་ལྷས་དག་དང་ཇེས་
 མཐུན་པར། །བརྒྱལ་བཟང་འདི་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་སྐྱོང་བོན་ཞིང། །ཚོ་ལེ་བཞི་ཁྲིའི་དུས་སུ་འབོར་བ་འཛིག་
 །ལུ་མ་གྲིར་བབས་ཚོ་སངས་རྒྱས་གསེར་ལྷབ་དང། །ཉི་ཁྲི་དུས་སུ་འབོད་བསྐྱུངས་ཚེན་པོ་དང། །བརྒྱ
 པའི་དུས་སུ་སྐྱོན་པ་བྱུ་ལྷབ་བྱོན། །ལྷབ་དབང་ས་པོ་འབྲུག་ལ་སྐྱུ་འབྲུངས་ནས། །ཉི་བུ་རྩ་དགྲའི་བར་
 དུ་ལབ་དུ་བཞུགས། །རྩ་དགྲའི་ལོ་ལ་བར་མ་རབ་བྱུང་མཛད། །སོ་ལྷ་བཞེས་པ་རྒྱ་པོ་སྐྱུ་གི་ལོ། །ས་
 ག་ཉ་བའི་ཡར་ཚོས་བཅོ་ལྷ་ལ། །སྲིད་ལ་བདུད་བརྱུལ་ཐོ་རངས་མདོན་སངས་རྒྱས། །དེ་ནས་བཟུང་སྡེ་
 དགྲའ་ལོ་བརྒྱན་བརྱའི་བར། །བརྒྱལ་བཟང་རྣམས་ལ་ཚོས་འཁོར་ན་རིམ་བསྐྱོར། །བརྒྱན་བརྱའི་དུས་སུ་
 རྟག་པར་འཛིན་པ་རྣམས། །ཞེན་པ་ལྷོག་སྲིར་ལྷུང་དན་འདས་པར་སྐྱོན། །མཛད་པ་དེ་དག་ཚུལ་བསྐྱོན་
 ཡིན་པར་བགད། །སྐྱོན་པ་ལྷུང་དན་འདས་པའི་སྤྱི་མོ་རང། །འཕྱི་བ་གསལ་སྲིར་བཀའ་བསྐྱུ་དང་པོ་
 མཛད། །བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱ་ནས་བསྐྱུ་བ་གཉིས་པ་མཛད། །བཞི་བརྒྱའི་དུས་ཙམ་བཀའ་བསྐྱུ་གསུམ་པ་མཛད།
 །བསྐྱུ་བའི་བསྐྱོན་པ་རྒྱ་གར་

༨། འཕགས་ཡུལ་དུ། །བྱུ་སྐྱུ་བལ་སོག་པམ་ཚེན་མང་པོ་དང། །དཔལ་ལྷན་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་ཀུན་དགའ་
 སྐྱོང་པོ་སོགས། །དཔལ་ལྷན་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་ཀུན་དགའ་སྐྱོང་པོ་སོགས། །གྲུབ་པའི་སྐྱེས་ཚེན་བགྲངས་ཡས་
 དཔག་མེད་གྱིས། །སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱོན་པ་སྤྱི་ཡི་དབུ་བསྐྱེས་ཟེར། །སྲིད་བཅོན་སྐྱམ་པོའི་དུས་སུ་སྐྱོལ་
 བསྐྱོད་ཅིང། །ཁྲི་སྲིད་ལྷེ་བཅོན་སྐྱུ་རིང་དར་བར་མཛད། །གསང་བདག་སྐལ་པ་མངའ་བདག་ཁྲི་རལ་
 གྱིས། །དུར་སྤྲིག་འཛིན་པའི་ཞབས་པད་སྤྱི་བོས་གྲངས། །རབ་བྱུང་རེ་ལེ་མི་ཁྲིམ་བདུན་བདུན་ལུལ་
 །མཛད་པ་དེ་དག་ལ་མཚན་རྒྱ་མའི་གར། །དེ་ལས་བརྒྱད་པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་མང་པོ་ཡིས། །སངས་རྒྱས་
 བསྐྱོན་པ་འདེགས་པའི་ཀ་ཚོན་མཛད། །ཤྲི་དོ་མཚར་ལྷན་པ་བོད་གྱི་རྩྭ་རྩེ་གདན། །དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱུ་
 གྲགས་དཀར་ལྷན་པའི་སྲིར། །སྐྱོན་རས་གཟིགས་མགོན་ས་ཚེན་ཀུན་སྐྱོང་གི། །གསུང་དག་ཡིད་བཞིན་
 རོར་བུའི་བར་མཛོད་རྟེན། །སྲོབ་དཔོན་རྩེ་མོས་ཟབ་དོན་ཐང་མར་བརྟལ། །ཇེ་བཅུན་གྲགས་པས་མན་
 དག་བརྒྱ་མཚོ་བརྟལ། །ས་པམ་མཁའེན་པས་དམ་ཚོས་སྐྱོ་མང་འབྲེས། །ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པས་ལམས་

གསུམ་དབང་དུ་བསྟུང། གོང་མ་ལྔ་ཚོགས་ས་སྐྱའི་གདུང་འཛིན་རྣམས། འིགས་གསུམ་སེ་མའི་སྐུལ་
 པར་གདོན་མི་ཟ། གོང་མའི་སྐྱོན་བརྒྱད་ཟབ་དོན་དུང་ཕྱི་མཚོ། ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོས་སྐྱོ་གྲོས་ཡུལ་
 ཅེ། བར་དུངས། བཅའ་དཔལ་ཚོན་པོས་བསྐྱལ་བཟང་འཛིན་མར་ཕབ། བསོད་ནམས་སང་གེས་
 སྤངས་རྟོགས་ལོ་འབྲས་བསྟུང། གོང་སྟོན་གྲུབ་པས་སྐྱ་གསུམ་འབྲས་བུའི་མཚོག། ཚོས་གྲགས་ཀྱི་
 མཚོ་སོགས་ལ་ལོགས་བརྒྱད་ནས། རྒྱུ་བོ་འཛིན་རྣམ་དཔྱད་སྟོང་ཡངས་པོར། བྱེད་དུ་འཕུར་བར་བྲས་
 པའི་དོ་མཚར་གནས། གང་དེའི་སྟོབ་བྱ་སྐྱར་སྐྱར་གྲངས་མཉམས་ལ། གང་ལ་གང་འདོད་ལོགས་
 བཤད་དུང་ཕྱི་མཚར། གཡེལ་མེད་བརྟོན་པས་ཕབས་དེ་ཨ་མེས་མཚོ། གྱི། དཔལ་གྱི་འབྲུང་གནས་
 མངའ་རིས་སྟོ་བོའི་ཚར། ས་སྐྱོངས་སྐས་མཚོག་མུར་བུར་འཛིན་པའི་བདག། བསོད་ནམས་ལྷན་གྲུབ་
 ལོགས་པའི་འབྲུང་གནས་གྱིས། མཁའ་སའི་བྱ་བ་རྣམ་གསུམ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ཅིང་། བསྐྱེད་རྟོགས་ཟབ་
 མོའི་རིམ་པ་མ་དོན་གྱར་ནས། འཚད་བརྟེན་བརྟེན་པས་གཞན་དོན་མཐར་སོན་པའི། མཁའ་སའི་བྱ་བ་
 པའི་སྟོབ་མ་གྲངས་མེད་བསྟན། བྱེད་པར་མཚོག་གྱུར་བྱེད་ཀྱལ་མཚན་དང་། མཁའ་སའི་བྱ་བ་
 བརྟེན་ཀུན་དགའ་སྟོལ་མཚོག་དང་། གནས་ལྔ་རིག་པ་རྟོ་རྟོ་སྟོལ་མ་དང་། འདུལ་འཛིན་དབང་པོ་
 ཚོས་སྐྱོང་བཟང་པོ་དང་། བྱུབ་པའི་གཙུག་བརྒྱན་བསོད་ནམས་ཚོ་བརྟན་སོགས། །

༡། དུལ་སྐྱོངས་འདིར་ཡང་བཤེས་གཉེན་གྲངས་མེད་སྟེལ། དབྱུས་གཙང་སྐྱོངས་སྐྱོབ་མའི་
 མཚོག་གྱུར་བ། ས་ལོ་ཀུན་དགའ་བསོད་ནམས་སྐྱ་མཚེད་བཞི། ཨེ་ཨོ་མཁའ་སའི་སྐྱོབ་བྱ་གྲགས་ལས་
 དང་། དཀོན་མཚོག་ལྷན་གྲུབ་སངས་རྒྱལ་སང་གོ་སོགས། མཁའ་སའི་འཛིན་པའི་སྟོབ་བྱ་གྲགས་ལས་
 འདས། གྱི་རྟོ། བཞེངས་པའི་བརྟེན་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་གནས་པ་ཡི། ཚོག་བཟང་པོ་དུག་ལྷན་དགོས་སོཞེས་
 རྒྱུད་དང་གོང་མའི་གསུང་ལས་འབྲུང་བ་བཞིན། ལོགས་པར་གྲུབ་པའི་རབ་གནས་མཁའ་སའི་མཚོག་
 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གདུང་འཛིན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚོན་པའི་སྐས། འཇམ་དབྱུངས་མི་གཟུགས་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱུངས་གང་གི་
 སྐྱེ་གནས་སྐྱེ་བའི་ལྷ་ཕྱོག་ལྔ་ཡི། རྗེས་གཟུང་རྗེས་དང་མཛེན་པའི་སྐྱོ་གྲོས་ཅན། བསོད་ནམས་བསྟན་
 འཛིན་བསྟན་འཛིན་དབང་པོ་མཚོད། གྱི་རྟོ། དམ་ཚོས་དཔལ་གངས་རི་ཅན་གྱི་སྐྱོངས། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་
 རིམས་པས་བསྟན་པ་སྟེལ་བའི་ས། ཨུ་རྒྱན་པརྒྱལ་འདྲེ་སྟོན་བརྟུལ་བའི་གནས། ས་སྐྱ་གོང་མས་ཚོས་
 སྐྱོ་འབྲེད་པའི་ཡུལ། གངས་ཅན་སྐྱོངས་གྱི་མཚོག་གྱུར་སྟོང་གི་ཚ། སྟོན་ཐང་ཞེས་བྱ་རྒྱལ་པའི་པོ་བྱང་
 དེར། ས་སྐྱོང་ཚོན་པོ་ཨ་མ་དཔལ་ཞེས་པས། བསྟན་པ་དམངས་ནས་འདེགས་པའི་ཀ་ཚོན་བརྟུགས་
 རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་འགྲུར་ཚར་གསུམ་བསྟན་འགྲུར་གཅིག། གཞན་ཡང་གསུང་རབས་

༡། བསྐྱེད་སའལ་འདས་པ་བཞེངས། དཔར་རྒྱས་སྤིང་དུ་བཤད་པའི་བྱ་བརྟུགས་པའིང་། སྐྱོང་ཚོན་
 དགོན་པར་འདུལ་བའི་བསྟན་པ་བརྟུགས། མཁའ་སའི་སྐྱོང་པོ་བྱང་གཙུག་ལག་འང་དང་བཟུངས། ལོགས་
 པར་བཞེངས་པས་སྐྱ་ཚོའི་འཇུག་དག་ཏུ། ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོའི་དུང་དུ་བསྐྱེད་རྟོགས་མཛད། ཟབ་དོན་
 ཐུགས་རྒྱུད་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བརྟུགས། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དེའི་སྐས་ཨེ་མའོན་སྐྱ་མཚེད་བཞི། ཨེ་

མགོན་བཟང་པོས་ཚོས་སྡེ་ཚེན་པོ་རུ། །བྱོམས་ཕྱག་སྡེ་བཙུགས་བྱམས་ཚེན་ལྷ་ཁང་བཞེངས། །བྱམས་
པ་སྦྱིང་དུ་བསྐྱབ་སྡེ་ལེགས་པར་སྐབས། །བཀའ་འགྲུར་མང་བཞེངས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་དུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱོངས། །སྐྱ་
ཚོའི་འཇུག་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དམ་པའི་དུང་། །རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ཞིང་རིམ་གཉིས་ཐུགས་སྡུ་རྒྱུད། །དེའི་བཙུང་
དམག་དཔོན་ཨ་མདོ་གྲུ་ཞེས་མ། །དོན་ཡོད་རྗེ་ཞེས་བའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དེས། །ལུགས་གཉིས་སྤྱི་
རྒྱལ་འགྲན་རྒྱ་མེད་པར་བསྐྱངས། །སྐྱ་ཚོའི་འཇུག་ཏུ་ལེས་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་དུང་། །བསྐྱབ་པའི་སྦྱོར་
ལུགས་བསྐྱབ་འཛིན་སྤྱི་དུ་ཞེས་པར་བཞེངས། །ཨ་མང་ཞེས་གྲགས་སྤོབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས། །ལམ་འབྲས་བུ་དུ་
པའི་སྐྱ་བརྟེན་མང་བཞེངས་ནས། །བསྐྱབ་འཛིན་འདུས་པའི་བསྐྱེ་གནས་དུ་མར་ལུལ། །ཨ་མགོན་བཟང་
པོའི་སྲས་ནི་སྐྱ་མཚེད་བཞི། །

༩། བཀྲ་ལིས་མགོན་གྱི་སྐབ་ཚེན་ལྷ་ཁང་དང་། །བཀྲ་ལིས་སྦྱོམ་ངལ་སོགས་མང་དུ་བཞེངས།
།དབང་ཚེན་པོའི་དོན་གྲུབ་རྗེ་ཞེས། །པོ་བྱང་ཚེན་པོ་བསམ་གྲུབ་དགོ་འཕེལ་བཏབས། །རང་སྤོགས་
བསྐྱབ་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཕྱོགས་བཙུར་བཙུགས། །སྐྱ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་མཚོག་དུ་མ་བཞེངས། །དེའི་
སྲས་ཁྱད་པར་ས་སྐྱ་པའི། །བསྐྱབ་འཛིན་ཐམས་ཅད་བཀའ་བསྐྱེ་མཉེས་པར་མཛད། །ཞེས་ལིས་པར་
བརྗོད་ཅིང་། །དོས་པོ་དེས་པར་བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཚོག་གི་མེ་ཏོག་མཚུར་དཀར་པོ་སྤོགས་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཀྲམས་ཏེ།
སྦྱིང་བར་བྱ་བའི་གཞི་ནི། །འཛམ་གླིང་ཡི་སྡེ་བ་འཕགས་ལུལ་རྗེ་ཞེ་གདན་གྱི་གནོད་སྦྱིན་གྱི་སྤོགས་
འཕགས་མཚོག་འཛིན་རྟེན་དཔེང་སྤུག་གི་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་གདུལ་བའི་ཞིང་དུ་གྱུར་པ། །བོད་ཁབ་ཅན་གྱི་
སྦྱོངས། །གྲུབ་པ་ཐོབ་པ་དང་། །བརྟེན་ཏེ་དང་། །རིག་པ་འཛིན་པ་དང་། །ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མེས་དཔོན་རྣམ་
གསུམ་གྱིས་གདུང་བརྒྱུད། །ཤིང་ས་ལ་ལྷ་བའི་རིམ་པར་བྱོན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞབས་ཀྱི་བཅག་ཅིང་། །སྤོན་
ཀྱིས་བསྐྱབས་པའི་གནས་མཚོག་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་གྱི་ནང་གསེས། །ཨོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྦྱོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོའི་བོད་
འམས་སྤྱི་ཡི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་གོ་སྐབས། །གཏེར་

༡༠། སྦྱོབ་རྒྱུ་ཕྱག་མང་པོ་སྐབ་པར་མཛད་པའི་ཡ་གུལ། །གནས་ཚེན་སྦྱོབ་ལོ་གསར་གྱི་ཉེ་ཞེས། །རི་
མཚོམ་ཚགས་ལ་ཟིང་བ་འདུ་བས་སྡེ་ལ་དྲངས་ཏེ་ཚོས་རྗོང་དཀར་དམར་རྒྱང་འབྲེལ་བཏབ་པས། །ལུལ་
གྱི་མིང་ཡང་དེ་སྐད་དུ་ཚགས་པ་འདི་ནི། །ཨོ་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་པོའི་ལྷང་ཟིན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཨ་མེ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་
རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཞེས་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱབ་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ལྷག་པའི་བྱ་བ་མཛད་
ཅིང་། །ཁྱད་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་སྐབ་པའི་དབང་པོའི་ལྷང་བསྐྱབ་པའི་སྦྱོས་བུ་ཚེན་པོ་དོར་ཚེན་རྗེ་ཞེ་འཆང་ཀུན་
དགའ་བཟང་པོ་ལན་ལྷར་སྦྱོབ་དྲངས། །རྩ་དྲངས་དུ་སྐབ་བསྐྱབ་བཤད་སྐྱབ་དར་རྒྱས་སྦྱིང་ཞེས་པའི་ཚོས་གྲུ་
བཏབས། །དགོ་འདུན་སྦོང་ར་ཅན་ཁ་བསྐྱེན་བཀའ་མཛད། །སྦྱོག་པ་ཐོས་བསམ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྦྱིང་བ་
བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ། །བུ་ཚ་ཚོས་སྦྱོང་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཏེ། །འཁོར་ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྦྱོན་ས་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་
བསྐྱབ་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་པས་ཕྱག་རྗེས་བཟང་པོའི་སྤོན་ལས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྤྱི་དུ་སྦྱོངས་བ། །ཚོས་རྒྱལ་
ཚེན་པོ་ཨ་མགོན་བཟང་པོའི་རིག་སྲས་ཨ་མེ་པའི་གདན་རབ་བརྒྱུད་པ། །སྦྱོབ་ལམ་ཚེན་མཉམ་མེད་
ཐོས་དེ་ནམས་སྦྱོབ་གྲུབ་ལེགས་

Document No. 2 (MHR doc. no. 3, Tib.)
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༡༽ བུ་མ་ལག་སྐྱུ་ལྷོ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཨ་དུ་ར་མ་དུ་སྐྱུ་
སྐྱོན་པ་སྐྱབ་པའི་དབང་པོ་ལ་གསལ་པ་ཆེན་པོས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།

༢༽ བུ་མ་ལག་གྲུ་ར་མེ། འགྲོ་བའི་སློམ་སྐྱོན་པ་རྫོགས་སངས་རྒྱལ། །རྒྱལ་སྐྱེས་སྐྱུ་བུ་མགོན་པོ་འཇམ་
དཔའི་དབང་སྐྱེ། །དེ་ཡི་རྗེས་བཟུང་རྗེ་བཙུན་ས་སྐྱུ་བ། །སྐྱུ་བས་མཚོག་མཚུངས་མེད་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་
བགྲིའོ། །ཀུན་གསལ་ལ་རྒྱ་ལེམ་ལྷོན་པའི་སྤངས་སྐྱོན་ལྟར། །

༣༽ སྐྱིབ་གཉིས་གདོད་ནས་དག་པའི་འོད་དཀར་ཅན། །མཛོས་སྐྱག་ཨུ་དུལ་འདབ་བརྒྱའི་འཇམ་འཕྲོང་
གིས། །ཕྱག་གཡོན་མཛོ་པ་གང་དེའི་དགེ་ལེགས་སྐྱོལ། །འགྲོ་ལ་ལོན་ཏུ་མཉེས་པའི་ཕྱགས་ཉིད་ལས།
ལོག་པར་བྱེད་པ་གཞིམ་ལ་ཆེར་བྲོས་པ། །སྐྱེ་བ་མེད་པར་སྐྱེས་པའི་མཐུ་བོ་ཆེ། །བགོགས་ཚོགས་མ་
ལུས་འདུལ་བར་མཛད་པ་འདུད། །ཅེས་མཚོན་པར་བརྗོད་པའི་ཚིག་སྐྱོན་ཏུ་བཏང་ནས། །ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་
ལུགས་བརྒྱུ་མ་འདྲེས་པ་སོ་སོར་མཐུན་པའི་རྣམས་སྐྱོད།

༤༽ ཀྱིས་སྐྱུན་རས་རབ་ཏུ་ཡངས་པའི་མིའི་དབང་པོ་ཨ་མགོན་བསམ་འགྲུབ་རབ་བརྟན་སྤོགས་ཐམས་
ཅད་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་གང་དེའི། །སྐྱེས་སུ་སྐྱུ་འཕྲུངས་པའི་གོང་མ་ཕུན་ཚོགས་རབ་བརྟན་ཞེས་པ་དེ་
ཉིད། །གུང་ལོ་ལྷ་བརྟུ་པ་ལོད་སྤང་རྒྱབ་སྐྱེས་པའི་ཚོས་བརྒྱད་ཉིན་ཞི་བར་གཤེགས་པ་ལས། །ཞབས་
དུང་དཔོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་གཙོ་མཛད་དེའི་གཙུང་པོ་བསམ་འགྲུབ་དཔལ་འབར་དང་། །ཨ་མཚོ་བརྟན་པའི་
རྗེ་རྒྱ།

༥༽ མཚོན་ལལ་ཡུམ་རྣམས་ཀྱི། །དགོངས་རྫོགས་མཚོན་སྤྱིན་ཇི་ལྟར་སྐྱུ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ལོ། །དེའི་ཉིན།
དཔལ་མངའ་བདག་པ་མཐུ་སྐྱོབས་ཀྱི་དབང་ཕྱག་བཀའ་ལོས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཞབས་དུང་དུ་གསོལ་བ་བྲག་ཏུ་
འདེབས་པའི་ཞུ་ཡིག་དང་བཅས་ཕྱགས་དམ་བསྐྱེལ་བྱེད་དུ། །དུལ་ཞོ་དོ་རྩ་དར། །འཛོད་དཀར། །སྐྱོན་
བརྒྱན། །སྐྱོན་ཅེ། །འཐགས་བཅས་ཕུལ་མི་གཏང་ཞིང་དཔོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཞབས་དུང་། །གསེར་སྤང་གང་
། །འཐགས་བཅས་ཕུལ། །སློམ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཀུན་

༦༽ དགའ་སྐྱོན་ཚོགས་དུང་། །ཆིབས་གཅིག་འགྲུར་ཞོ་གང་། །སྐྱོན་ཅེ་སྐྱུ་ལ་ཞིང་། །སྐྱུ་གཏུང་དུང་།
སློམ་ཚོན་པ་གནད་པའི་བྲག་དཀར་སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་དཀོན་མཚོག་བཟང་པོ་བཅས་གྲུ་པ་བཞི་ལ། །བསྐྱེལ་སྐྱུ་ལ།
བསྐྱེལ་ཟན་རྒྱ་ཚོས། །འཐགས་ཅིག་སྐྱོན་འཇམས་ཕུལ་ཞིང་། །གྲུབ་ཆེན་ཀུན་དགའ་དཔལ་བཟང་གིས།
སྐྱུ་གཏུང་གིས་ཕྱག་ཆེ་སྐྱུ་བ་པར། །སྐྱོན་ལ། །དུལ་འཁོབ་ཞི། །འགྲུར་ལེམ་སྐྱེས་གཚོང་བྲེ་རྒྱ་བཅས།
ཕྱག་འཕྲོང་།

༡། གཉིས། དར་གྱིན་བཟའ། བསྐྱམས་རྒྱལ། དར་མེན་སོགས་ན་བཟའ་སྐྱོར་བཅས་ལུལ་ཞིང་།
རབ་འབྱམས་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ། རས་གྱིན་བཟའ་གཅིག་ལུལ། སྐྱུ་གདུང་ལ་ཐུབ་བསྐྱེད་བཤད་
སྐྱུ་བ་སྤིང་གི་ཀ་བཅུ་པ་དབལ་བསམ་ལྷན་གྲུབ་གྱི་གཙོ་མཛད། ཀ་རམ་བསྐྱེད་སོང་བཞིའི། དཔལ་གྱི་དོར་
ལ་རྩོད་པའི་མེ་མཚོད་ལུལ་པ་ལ། སྐྱེན་བསྐྱེད་གཞུང་ནས་ཇི་ལྟར་བཤད་པའི་བསྐྱེད་རྣམས་དང་། དྲི་བཟང་
གི་ཚོས་པའི་ཕུར་རས། དྲི་བཟང་།

༢། པོ་འི་མེང་དང་བཅས་བསྐྱེད་སེའིང་། སྐྱུ་གདུང་ལ་དོ་རྩེ་མི་འབྲུགས་པའི་ཚ་ཚ་འདེབས་པ་སོགས་
མཛད་པའི། གཙོ་བོ་ཀ་བཅུ་པ་ལ། །ཕྱུ་ཁ་ཐགས། སྐྱེན་ཁ་དདུལ་འོ་ལ། གཞན་གསུམ་པོ་དདུལ་འོ་
དུག སྐྱེན་ཁ་གསུམ་མེ་གཡོག་ཀ་བཅུ་པར་འོ་ཁ་ལ། སྐྱེན་ཁ་སྐྱུ་གསུང་གི་རྩོ་རྩོ་ལ་དདུལ་ཚབ་
སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་བསམ་འགྲུབ་པའི་ཕུལ་བར། འོ་ཁ། སྐྱེན་ཁ། དེའི་ཉིན་ག་ག་གྲུབ་

༣། ཚེན་པར། དདུལ་འོ་དུག ཁ་ཐགས སྐྱེན་ཁ། གོས་ཁ། ཐོབ་རས་ལུག་གཅིག་བཅས་ལུལ།
འདི་སྐབས་གདན་ས་རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱེད། །ལམ་གསུམ་ཚོས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་དག་དབང་གུན་དགའ་བུ་གི་ས་
གསལ་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་ཞབས་དུང་དུ། གུར་གུམ་སྤོང་ཉི་ལུང་ལུ་བཅས་ལུལ་ཞིང་། དཔལ་འབྱམས་མོ་གཤོང་དུ་
མངའ་བདག་པ། སྤང་སྤོང་ཡོན་ཏན་མ་ལུས་པའི་དག་གི་སེམས་དཔའ་ཚེན་པོ་རིན་ཚེན་མགོན་པོ་ཞབས་དུང་དུ་གསེར་ཚོ་བཞེ་དང་
བཅས་པ་ཡང་འབུལ་རྒྱ་འཕྲིན་ལས་སུལ།

༤། ལུ་སྐྱི། ཚ་བ་རྒྱུད་པར་བཅས་པའི་སྐྱེ་མ་དང་། དགོན་མཚོག་གསུམ་དང་ཡི་དམ་ལུ་ཡི་ཚོགས།
།འཕམ་མཛད་བསྐྱེད་མི་ཚོགས་དང་བཅས་པ་ཡི། །འགོ་འདིར་བདེ་ལོགས་མ་ལུས་སུལ་དུ་གསོལ།
།ཞེས་མཚོད་པར་བཞེད་ནས། ཚོས་བཅུ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཉིན་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་གྱི་དགོངས་རྩོགས་ན་
བཟའ་འབུལ། །བྲག་དཀར་མ་འབྲ

༥། ཚེན་པའི་གཙོ་མཛད་སྐྱོ་བའི་ལུ་དགོན་རྣམས་གྱི་དགོ་འདུན་བཅུན་རྒྱུང་། དགོན་འག་དུག་གི་
བཅུན་མ་དང་བཅས་པར་སེར་ཚོགས་དང་། སྐྱོ་བའི་ཚོགས་ལ་ཁྲིམ་འབྱེད་ཇི་ལྟར་བསྐྱེད་པའི་རྩོལ་ན་བྲག་
དཀར་མ་འབྲ་པོ་ལ། གསོལ་བ་ཞེས་སྤེར་བཅོ་ལ། བུར་ཉག་གསུམ། དབུ་མཛད་ཚོན་མོ་དང་། ཚོས་
ཁྲིམས་ཚོན་མོ་གཉིས་ལ། གསོལ་བ་སྤེར་ཁ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱད། །བུར་ཉག་རེ་རེ། །བྲག་དཀར་སྐོབ་དཔོན་
རབ་འབྱམས་པ་དགོན་མཚོག་བཟང་པོ། ཐུབ་བསྐྱེད་

༦། བཤད་སྐྱུ་བ་སྤིང་གི་སྐོབ་དཔོན་རབ་འབྱམས་པ་མགོན་པོ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། དཐུབ་བསྐྱེད་དར་རྒྱལ་སྤིང་
གིས་སྐོབ་དཔོན་རབ་འབྱམས་པ་ཐུགས་རྗེ། དགོ་ལུང་ཚོས་རྗེ་ཤེས་རབ་གྲུ་མཚོ། །བྲག་དམར་ཚོས་རྗེ་
བསོད་ནམས་དབང་པོ། ཉི་ལུག་བུམ་འཛིན་པ་ཀ་བཅུ་རིགས་ལྷན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། གཉེར་པ་དགོ་སྤོང་སྤོ་
གསལ་རྣམས་ལ། གསོལ་བ་སྤེར་ཁ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱད། །བུར་ཉག་ཀོག་པ་རེ། སྤེར་ཐོབ་དབུ་མཛད་རྒྱང་
བ་གཉིས།

༧། ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུང་བ་གསུམ། དུང་མ་འབྲ་གཉིས། མཚོད་གནས་བཞི། དགོན་གཉེར་བཞི།
སྐྱི་ཚེན་བརྒྱད། རོར་པའི་དབུ་ཚོས་གཉིས། མ་འབྲ་པོའི་གསོལ་དཔོན། མཚོད་གཡོག་པ་རྣམས་ལ།

གསོལ་བ་སྲེར་ཁ་དུག་དུག་ ལུ་རམ་ཚེ་པ་ལེ། ལྷ་པ་བྱིན་ལ། གསོལ་བ་གསེར་ཅང་ངོ་རྩལ་པའི་
ཤོས། ལུ་རམ་ཉག་སྲིད་སྲིད། སྲེར་ཁ་བཞི་རེ་རྩོམ་འི་སྲེར་ཐོབ་བཅུ་གཉིས། གསོལ་པ། སྲེར་ཁ་བཞི་
རེ། རྩོམ་བྱིན་ལ་གསོལ།

༧༩། བཞི་སྲོམ་མའི་ལུ་རམ་བཞི་ལྷི་གཤོས་དང་། ལུ་རམ་གསུམ་ཐོག་ སྲེར་ཁ་གསུམ་རེ། ཀུན་ལ་
གོངས་གསོལ་དེའི་འོན་ཀྱང་ མང་ར་གཉིས། ཉུང་ར་གཉིས། སྲོང་ར་གཉིས། ཚག་གཞེས་ལྷམ་བཞི་
བཞི་བསྐྱབ་ཤིང་། འབྲུལ་བ། ལུ་མས་ཚེ། གཟེ་འཕོད་འབར་བའི་དུང་དུ། དཀར་མེ། སྐྱབ་དར་ཁ་
ཐགས། དུང་དར་སྐྱབ་ཁ་དོ། མཁའ་ཚེ་ཀུན་དག་འཕུན་ཚོགས་པའི་དུང་དུ། སྐྱ་རྩེན་འོད་དཔག་མེད་
ཀྱི་སྐྱ་བྱ་ཚོང་མ། གསུང་།

༨༠། རྩེན་ལམ་འབྲས་སྐྱེགས་བམ། ཐུགས་རྩེན་ལྷ་བབས་མཚོད་རྩེན། གསོལ་དཀར། གསོལ་
འཛོན། དུལ་འོ་བརྒྱད། ཚིབས་གཅིག་ རས་དཀར། རྩུ། སྐམ་ལུ་དཀར་མེ། སྐྱབ་ཚེ་ཁ་སྲེལ།
ཁ་ཐག་བཅས་སུལ་ཞིང་། དུལ་མཛོད་ཚེ་མོལ་ཚེ་འབྲུལ། སྐམ་དཀར། རས་ལྷུ་དུག་ སྐྱབ་ཁ།
ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་ཚེ་མོ། རབ་འབྲམས་བཀྱ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་གྲུབ། ཐུབ་བསྐྱབ་བཤད་སྐྱབ་སྲིད་གི་སྲོབ་དཔོན་རབ་
འབྲམས་པ་མགོན་པོ།

༨༡། ཐུག་དཀར་སྲོབ་དཔོན་རབ་འབྲམས་པ་དགོན་མཚོག་བཟང་པོ། ཐུབ་བསྐྱབ་དར་རྒྱས་སྲིད་གི་
སྲོབ་དཔོན་རབ་འབྲམས་པ་ཐུགས་རྩེ། ཉི་ཤུག་བུམ་འཛོན་ཀ་བཅུ་པ་རིགས་ལྷན་རྒྱམ་རྒྱལ། གཉེར་ཚེན་
དག་སྲོང་སྲོ་གསལ་རྣམས་ལ། ཚེ་འབྲུལ་སྐམ་དཀར་རེ་རེ། རས་ལྷུ་ལྷ་པ་རེ། སྐྱབ་ཁ་རེ་རེ། སྲོན་
ཐོབ་བྱེན། དུལ་མཛོད་རྒྱུད་བཀའི་སྐམ། ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་བཀའ་སྐམ། དུང་མཁའ་གཉིས། མཚོད་གནས་
བཞི། དགོན་གཉེར།

༨༢། གསུམ། སྐྱི་ཚོན་བརྒྱད། རོར་པའི་དུལ་མཛོད། ཚོས་ཁྲིམས། གསོལ་དཔོན། མཚོད་
གཤོག་རྣམས་ཚེ་འབྲུལ། སྐམ་དཀར་མེ། སྐྱབ་དམར་གོན་ཐུབ་གཅིག་ ཁའོ་ཁ། རས་ལྷུག་
སྐྱབ་ཁ་རྣམས་སུལ། ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་པའི་མོལ་དར་ལ། རས་ལྷུག་སྲིད། སྐྱབ་ཁ། ལྷ་པ་བྱིན་ལ་སྐྱག་
འགྲོད། ལྷ་པ་དུག་དུག་ལས་དུལ་འོ་རེ། སྐྱབ་ཁ་རེ། སྐྱི་འབྲུལ། རྩུ་གཅིག་ སྐམ་ལུ་དཀར།
མེ། རས་དཀར་ལྷུག་

༨༣། རས་ལྷུག་སྲིད། སྐྱབ་ཁ་སྐམ་སྲེལ་སུལ། དགོན་ཁག་དུག་གི་རྩོམ་བྱིན་ལ་སྐྱག་འགྲོད། ཚེ་རས་
ཁ་རེ། སྐྱི་འབྲུལ་སྐམ་ལུ་དཀར། མེ། རས་ལྷུག་སྲིད། མཛོམོ་གཅིག་ བཀའི་གཅིག་ སྐྱབ་ཁ་རྣམས་
སུལ། རྩོམ་འི་སྲེར་ཐོབ་བཅུ་ལ་ཚེ་འབྲུལ། ཐོབ་རས་ཁ་རེ། ཁྲིམ་ལ་སྲོ་ལྷ་སགར་ཅང་ངོ་རྩལ་པ་རེ།
ནས་གསེར་ཅང་རེ། གོ་གསེར་ཅང་རེ། ཕ་བམོ་ཕོང་གལང་རེ། མི་སྐྱ་རྒྱས་པ་ལ་བཞུགས་གལ།

༨༤། ཐོག་ ཁྲིམ་འབྲུལ། རྩུ་ མོག་ ཞིབ། ཐུག་མེར་ཁ། རས་ཀྱི། རས་དཀར་ལྷུག་ ཚེ་
རས་ལྷུག་སྲིད། སྐྱབ་ཁ་སྲེལ་རྣམས་སུལ། འདི་སྐབས་འཛུམ་ལང་རྒྱལ་པའི་སྐྱེའོ་བ། བད་སྲོན་ཚེན་མོ་
འཛུལ་ཏུ་འབྱོར་བའི་གཙོས་སྲེད་ཚེ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཤུག་ཅི་བཅས་བཞུགས་པ་ལ། འབྲས་ལས་གསུམ། གོ་ཁལ་བཞི།

མར་གོང་གཅིག་གི་ལོ་ལོ་གཅིག་ འོ་མ་བཟངས་སྐྱེན་གང་རྣམས་ཕུལ་ཞིང་། སྤྱག་གཡོག་ཚོ་ལ་ཁྲིམ་
ལྟར་བཏང་། དེའི་ཉིན་པ་

༡༠། རྩོམ་གཞིལ་གཞོན་བྱས་པར། སྤུ་ཕུང་ཅང་བདུན། མཚོང་འབྲུ་ཅང་བཞི། ཀར་རྒྱན། སྤུ་
ལག་རས་ཁོང་གི་གསུམ། སྐྱེན་ལ། སྐྱང་མགོ་གཅིག་ ཀོ་སྤུབས། འབྲུལ་བཞུགས་ལལ་གཅིག་
རས་ཚོལ། སྐྱེན་ལ་ཕུལ། ལས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ལས་སྒོ་བཟང་པོའི་སྤོངས། ཀོ་སྤུབས་གསུམ། རས་
ཡུག་སྤེད། སྐྱེན་ལ་

༡༡། ཀུན་ལ་ཕན་པའི་དགའ་སྤོན་སྤུལ་མཛོད་ཅིང་། ཟང་དང་རྒྱ་ཚེའི་འགོ་རྣམས་ལམ་བཟང་ལ།
བོད་མཛོད་གྲུབ་པའི་སར་བཞུགས་ཕན་དང་བདེའི་འབྲུང་གནས་མཚོ་ཚན་གྱི་མའི་ཞབས་ལ་འདུད། ཅེས་
མཚོང་པར་བརྗོད་ནས་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྗོད་གསུང་དང་པོ། ཚོས་བཅུ་བཞི་ཉིན། སྤྱག་
དཀར་སྤོབ་དཔོན། ཤེས་བྱ་རིག་པ་གནས་ལ་སྐྱེངས་པ་ཐོགས་པ་མེད་པ་སྤྱི་བའི་དབང་མོ་རབ་འབྲུམས་པ་
དཀོན་མཚོ་ག་བཟང་

༡༢། པོའི་གཙོ་མཛོད་གྲུ་དགོན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཤར་ཤེབས་ཀྱི་དགོ་འདུན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སེར་ཚོགས་ཇི་ལྟར་སྤྱོད་
པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། གཙོ་བོ་ལ་སོལ་བ། ཞེས་སྤོ་སྤེར་ཁ་བཅུ་གསུམ། མང་ཉག་དོ། དབུ་མཛོད་ཚེན་མོ་དང་
། ཚོས་བཅུ་བཞི་ཉིན་མོ་གསོལ་བ། སྤེར་ཁ་དུག་ཤེ། མང་ཉག་གང་ཤེ། དགོན་ཚེན་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤོབ་
དཔོན་གསུམ། ཚོས་རྗེ་གཉིས། ཉི་ཕུག་བྱུམ་འཛིན། གཉེར་ཚེན་དགོ་སྤོང་རྣམས་ལ་གསོལ་བ། སྤེར་
ཁ་ལྟ་ཤེ།

༡༣། མང་གྱུར་ཉག་གོག་པ་ཤེ། ཚོས་བཅུ་བཞི་ཉིན། དབུ་མཛོད་རྒྱུང་པ་གཉིས། དུན་
མཁན་གཉིས། མཚོང་གནས་གཉིས། དཀོན་རྗེར་གསུམ། སྤུ་ཚེན་བརྒྱུད། དོར་པའི་དབུ་ཚོས་གཉིས།
མཚོང་གཡོག་རྣམས་ལ། གསོལ་བ་སྤེར་ཁ་བཞི་ཤེ། མང་གྱུར་ཚེན་ཤེ། སྤུ་པ་ཁྱིལ་གསོལ་བ་ཞེས་
སྤོམ་མའི་བྱུར་ཤོས། བྱུར་མ་ཉག་སྤེད་ཤེ། སྤེར་ཁ་གསུམ་ཤེ། མང་རྗེ་གཅིག་ ཉུང་རྗེ་གཉིས།

༡༤། གོངས་གསོལ་ལ་དེའི་འོན་ཏེ། ཚུག་ག་བཞེས་སྤུམ་བཞི་ཤེ། འབྲུལ་བ། ཐོག་མའར་གནས་
བརྟན་བཅུ་དུག་གི་གཙོ་བོ་སྤུབ་དབང་གཙོ་འོར་གསུམ་གྱི་དུང་། དཀར་མེ། སྐྱེན་དར། སྐྱེན་ལ།
དུང་དར། དར་ཁ་ཤེ། གཙོ་བོའི་དུང་དུ། སྤུ་སྤེན་སྤུབ་དབང་གི་སྤུ་ཤོག་ གསུང་རྟོན་སྤུབ་པའི་དགོངས་
གསལ། སྤུགས་རྟོན་སྤུབ་པའི་གནས་བཅུའི་སྤུ་ཐང་གཅིག་ གཙོ་བོར་གཅིག་ སྤུམས་བྱུ་དཀར་
སེར། རས་དཀར་ཡུག་སྤེད།

༡༥། འབྲུམ་ལ་པ་གཅིག་ སྐྱེན་ལ་དོ་སྤེལ། ཨ་ལྷ་ཁ་ཐག་རྣམས་ཕུལ། དབུ་མཛོད་ཚེན་མོ་ལ་ཚེ་
འབྲུལ། སྤུམ་དཀར། རས་འབྲུབ་ཞི། སྐྱེན་ལ། ཚོས་བཅུ་བཞི་ཉིན་མོ། ཚོས་རྗེ་གཉིས། སྤོབ་དཔོན་
གསུམ། ཉི་ཕུག་བྱུམ་འཛིན། དགོ་སྤོང་གཉེར་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཚེ་འབྲུལ། སྤུམ་དཀར་ཤེ། རས་འབྲུག་གསུམ་
ཤེ། དར་ཁ་ཤེ། གོང་གི་སྤེར་ཐོབ་ཉི་ལྷུ་རྩ་བཞི་ལ། ཟངས་ཁོར་ཚེན་པ་ཡུག་སྤེད།

༡༤། ལྷ་མ་བུ་དཀར། སེར། ལྷ་མ་ཁ། ལྷ་པ་བྱིན་ལ་ལྷ་གའ་བྱེད་ཚོའ་དར་ཁ་མེ། ལྷི་འབྲུལ་ཚོང་མ་
རྒྱལ་གཉིས་མ་གཅིག སེར་ལྷ་ག ལྷ་མ་བུ་དཀར། སེར། སག་ཉིབ་གཅིག ལྷ་མ་ཁ། ལྷ་མ་གས་
རྒྱམས་ལུལ།

༡༥། དེའི་ཉིན་རྒྱམ་འིན་ཚེན་ཀུན་དགའ་རྗེ་རྗེའི་སྐབས་ལ། རྗེ་བཙུན་བསོད་ནམས་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་འདྲ་
གཅིག་ འོད་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཐང་གཅིག་ གཙོ་བཟང་གཅིག་ སག་ཉིབ་གཅིག་ དདུལ་འྲོ། སེར་
དཀར། ལྷ་མ་ཁ། ལྷ་མ་གས་རྒྱམས་ལུལ།

སྐར་དགོན་པར་རྒྱན་བཞགས་པའི་མ་ཉི་སྐུབ་སྡེའི་རྗེ་མོ་བརྒྱན་ལ་སྐབས་ལ་དང་། ལྷི་འབྲུལ་བྱིན་ལྷར་
ཐོག་ ཚེ་འབྲུལ། སེར་ལྷ་བརྒྱན། ལྷ་མ་ཁ།

༡༦། ཚོས་རྗེ་དགོན་པར་མང་མའི་ཐོག་ ལྷ་ཚོགས་སུན་མོངས་དུ། ཟངས་ཤོར་གཅིག་ སག་ཉིབ་
གཅིག་ ཚེ་སེར་ལྷ་གཅིག་ ལྷ་མ་ཁ་རྒྱུ་ལུལ། ཡང་དེའི་ཉིན་རྒྱམ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཟང་པོའི་དུང་
རྒྱམ་ཟན་ལྷ་གའ་དམར་གཅིག་དདུལ་འྲོ་གཉིས། ལྷ་མ་ཁ། ལྷ་མ་གས་རྒྱམས་ལུལ།

དདུལ་འྲོ་གཉིས། ལྷ་མ་ཁ། ལྷ་མ་གས་རྒྱམས་ལུལ། དུང་ཡིག་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ལ་སྐབས་ལ།

༡༧། མ་ལྷོན་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཉི་ལྷ་ལྷར་གསལ་ཞིང་། ཚུ་བའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྷོན་པོ་ལྷར་བརྗེས་ལ། ལྷ་ས་
མཐུའི་དཔལ་འབྲོར་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྷར་ཡངས་པའི་འདྲན་མཚོག་དབང་པོའི་ཞབས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་འདུད། ཚེས་མཚོན་
པར་བརྗེས་ལ། བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དགོས་རྗེས་གཉིས་ལ། དཔོན་འིན་པོ་ཚེའི་ཞབས་དུང་
དུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐུ་ཞོགས་གནས། སུབ་བསྐྱེད་བཟང་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་སྐོབ་དཔོན་པ་ལུང་དང་སྐོབ་པའི་
བདག་ཉིད་མ་ལྷོན་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་མཐའ་ཡས་པའི་མ་ལན་

༡༨། ཚེན་ཚོས་ལྷོན་གྲུབ་པའི་དཔོན་པོ། རབ་འབྲུམས་སྐུ་བ་འིན་ཚེན་ལྷོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི། གཙོ་མཚན་གྲུ་
དགོན་གསུམ་ཀྱི་ཤར་པོབ་དགོ་འདུན་རྒྱམས་དང་། དགོན་ལག་དུག་གི་བཙུན་མ་དང་བཅས་པར་སེར་
ཚོགས་གནང་བལ། གཙོ་བོའི་དུང་དུ། གསོལ་བ་སྡེར་ལ་བཙུན་བཙུན། ལྷར་ཉག་གསུམ། དདུལ་མཚན་
ཚེན་མོ། ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་ཚེན་མོ་གཉིས་ལ་གསོལ་བ། སྡེར་ལ་དགུ་མེ། ལྷར་ཉག་དེ་མེ། སྐོབ་དཔོན་
གསུམ། ཚོས་རྗེ་

༡༩། གཉིས་ ཉི་ལྷ་ག་ལྷ་མཚན་རྒྱམས་ལ་གསོལ་བ། སྡེར་ལ་བརྒྱན་བརྒྱན། ལྷར་ཉག་སྡེད་དང་དོ་
མེ། སྡེར་ཐོབ། དདུལ་མཚན་རྒྱུང་བ་གཅིག་ ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུང་བ་གཉིས། ལྷི་ཚེན་བརྒྱན། མཚོན་
གནས་བཞི། དགོན་གཉེར་གསུམ། དོར་པའི་དདུལ་ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་གཉིས། དུང་མ་ལན་གཉིས། མཚོན་
གཤོག་པ་རྒྱམས་ལ། གསོལ་བ། སྡེར་ལ་བདུན་མེ། ལྷར་ཉག་མེ། ལྷ་པ་བྱིན་པ། བཞི་སྐོབ་མའི་
ལྷར་ཤོས། སྡེར་ལ་ལྷ་མེ།

༢༠། ལྷར་ཉག་སྡེད་མེ། བཙུན་མ་རྒྱམས་ལ་གསོལ་བ་གསེར་ཐང་ལྷར་ཤོས། ལྷར་མ་གསུམ་ཐོག་
སྡེར་ལ་གསུམ་མེ་དགོངས་གསོལ། ལྷ་བཙུན་ཀུན་ལ་གོང་ལྷར་གྱི་འོན་ལྷ་ག མང་མ་གཅིག་ ཉུང་མ་
གཉིས། སྡེད་མ་གཅིག་ གོངས་མོ་ཚག་གཞིས་སྐུ་པ་ལྷ་མེ་སྐུ་བས་ཤིང་། འབྲུལ་པ། ཐོག་མའར།

བུམས་ཚེན་གཟི་འོད་འབར་བ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ཞོར་བུ་འཛིན་པས་དུང་དུ། ཀར་མཉེ། མཚོན་མན། སྐྱོན་དར།
༣༤༽ དུང་དར་སྐྱོན་ཁོད། གཙོ་བོ་འོད་དུང་། སྐྱུ་རྟེན་བུམ་པའ་སྐྱུ་སྐྱོན། གསུང་རྟེན་དཔོ་ཚོས་རིན་
པུངས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཉི་གཅིག་ སྤྱགས་རྟེན་མཚོན་རྟེན་ལྷགས་རྟེན། གཙོ་བོར་གཅིག་ དུལ་འོད་དུག་
སྐུམ་བུ་དཀར། སེར། རས་དཀར་ཡུག་ རས་ལྷ་ཚོལ་བ་གཅིག་ སྐྱོན་ཁ་ལ་མཐགས་རྣམས་ལུལ་ཞིང་།
དབུ་མཚོན་ཚེན་ལ་ཚེ་རས་ལྷ་ལྷ། སྐྱོན་ལ། སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་གསུམ། ཚོས་རྟེན་གཉིས།

༣༥༽ ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་ཚེན་མོ། ཉི་ལུག་བུམ་འཛིན་རྣམས་ལ། སྐུམ་དཀར་རེ། རས་ལྷ་གསུམ་པ་རེ།
དར་ཁ་རེ། སྐྱེར་ཐོབ་ཉི་ལུ་རྩ་བཞི་པོ་ལ། ཟངས་འོར་གཅིག་ སྐུམ་བུ་དཀར། སེར། རས་ལྷ་གསུང་།
སྐྱོན་ཁ། ལམགས། སྤྲུལ་བྱེན་ལ། དུལ་འོད་ཉི་ལུ་མཐའ་ལ། ཉི་ལུ་མཐའ་ལ། སྐུམ་བུ་དཀར། སེར།
རས་ལྷ་གཉིས། ཚོགས་ཐིབ་ཚེན་མོ་གཅིག་ སྐྱོན་རྩེ་ལ་སྐྱེལ། ལམགས་རྣམས།

༣༦༽ ལུལ་ དགོན་ལག་དུག་གི་ཚོ་མོ་རྣམས་ལ། རྟེན་འཚར་གི་སྐྱུ་སྐྱོན་གཅིག་ ཞོ་རྒྱུ་རིན་པོ་
ཚེ་ལྷ་མཚན་གཅིག་ མཚོ་མོ་གཅིག་ རྒྱུ་ལྷ་གཅིག་ སྐུམ་བུ་དཀར། སེར། རས་ལྷ་གསུང་། སྐྱོན་
ཁ། སྐྱེར་ཐོབ་ཚོ་མོ་བརྩལ། ཚེ་འབྲུལ་ཙབ་རས་ཁ་རེ། བར་པོར་སྤོགས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་པ་ལྷ། གསོལ་བ་
སོགས་ལྷ་བ་སྐྱོན་ལྷར་དང་། འབྲུལ་བ་འོད་ལ་གཅིག་ རས་ཚོལ། སྐྱོན་ཁ། སྐྱེར་མ་ཚེ་སྐྱེལ་སྐྱེལ་ཚོ་མོ་
རྣམས་ལ།

༣༧༽ སྐྱུ་བཀལ་ཚོ་མོ་བྱིན་ལྷར་དང་། ཚེ་འབྲུལ། རས་ཚོལ། སྐྱོན་ཁ། གཤམ་གྲུམ་ཚེན་ལ།
དུལ་འོད། ལོང་གི། གོས་ཁ་གང་རྣམས་ལུལ།

༣༨༽ ཡིད་འོད་མཚན་དཔོ་འོད་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྐུས་པའི་སྐྱུ་ཡིད་འཕྲོག་ཚངས་པའི་དབང་ལྷར་སྐྱོན་པའི་
གསུང་། ཡིད་བཞིན་ཞོར་ལྷར་འགོ་ལ་སྐྱོམས་པའི་སྤྱགས། ཡིད་ལ་རེ་བའི་འབྲས་བུ་རྩོའོད་འོད་འདུང་།
ཅེས་མཚོན་པར་བཞེད་ནས། བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་

༣༩༽ ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྟོགས་གསུམ་པ། རྐབ་དེ་ཉིད་གསུམ་ཀྱི་ཉིན་རྒྱུ་མོ་བསོད་ནམས་ལུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་
རབ་འབྲུམས་སྐྱེལ་རྣམས་རྒྱས་བཟང་པོའི་གཙོ་མཚན་ལྷ་དགོན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དགེ་འདུན་དང་། དགོན་ལག་
དུག་གི་བརྩམ་མ་དང་བཅས་པར་སེར་ཚོགས་སྐྱེལ་པ་ལ། གཙོ་བོར་གསོལ་པ། སྐྱེར་ལ་བརྩམ་བདུན་།
བུར་ཉིག་གསུམ། དགོན་ཚེན་གསུམ་ཀྱི་སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་གསུམ། དབུ་མཚོན་ཚེན་མོ། ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་ཚེན་མོ།
ཚོས་རྟེན་གཉིས། ཉི་ལུག་

༤༠༽ བུམ་འཛིན་པ་རྣམས་ལ། གསོལ་པ། སྐྱེར་ལ་དབུ་དབུ། བུ་རམ་ཉིག་དེ་དོ། སྐྱེར་ཐོབ་དབུ་
མཚོན་རྒྱུང་བ། ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུང་བ་གཉིས། དགོན་ཚེན་གསུམ་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ཚེན་བརྒྱུང་། དུང་མཚན་གཉིས།
མཚོན་གནས་བཞི། དགོན་གཉིར་གསུམ། རོར་བའི་དབུ་མཚོན་གཅིག་དང་། ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་གཅིག་
མཚོན་གཡོག་རྣམས་ལ། གསོལ་པ། སྐྱེར་ལ་བདུན་རེ། བུ་རེ་ཉིག་རེ། ལྷ་བ་ཡིན་པ་ཞི་སྐྱོམ་མའི་
ཤོར་པོས། སྐྱེར་ལ་ལྷ་རེ།

༧༠། བྱར་ཉལ་སྤྱོད་པེ། བུའུ་མ་རྣམས་ལ། གསེར་ཅང་བྱུར་ཤོས། སྤེར་ཁ་གསུམ་པེ། བྱར་མ་གསུམ་ཐོག་ཀུན་ལ་སྤྱི་གསོལ་དེའི་འོན་ཀླག་མང་ཇ་གཅིག་ཉུང་ཇ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆབ་ཀ་ཞེས་ལྟམ་བཞི་བཞི་བཅས་སྐྱབས་ཐོག་འབྱུང་པ། ཐོག་མར། ལམ་འབྲས་ལྟ་ཁང་གི་རྟེན་གཙོ་རྩི་རྩི་འཆང་གི་ལྷ་ལུང་དུ་སྐྱོན་དར། དཀར་མེ་དུང་དར་སྐྱོན་ཁ་དོ། གཙོ་བོ་རབ་འབྱམས་པར་སྐྱེ་རྟེན་མར་མེད་མཛད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་སྐྱོན་

༧༡། གསུང་རྟེན་སྐྱབས་པ་གོངས་གསལ། སྐྱགས་རྟེན་མ་གོན་པོའི་སྐྱེ་ཐང། གཙོ་བོ་རབ་འབྱམས་སྐྱམ་བུ་དཀར་མེ། སེར། དདུལ་འོ་བཞི། རས་དཀར་ལུག་སྤྱོད། རྩ་ལྷོ་ལ་བ་གཅིག་སྐྱོན་ཅེ་ཁ་གསུམ་སྤྱོལ། ཁ་ཐགས་བཅས་སྤུལ་ཞིང། སྤུལ་བྱིན་ལ་དདུལ་འོ་ཉི་ལུ་ཅུ་ལ། ཙོ་མ་གཅིག་སྐྱོན་བུ་དཀར་མེ། རས་ལུག་གཉིས། སྐྱོན་ཁ་སྤྱོལ། ཁ་ཐགས་རྣམས་སྤུལ། དདུལ་མཛད་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་ཆེ་འབྱུང། སྐྱམ་དཀར། རས་ལྷ།

༧༢། དུག་སྐྱོན་ཁ། སྤོབ་དཔོན་གསུམ་ལ་སྐྱམ་དཀར་པེ། རས་ལྷ་གསུམ་པེ། སྐྱོན་ཁ་པེ། བྱག་དམར་ཆོས་རྩེ་ལ་ཆེ་འབྱུང། སྐྱམ་དཀར་རས་ལྷ་གསུམ། སྐྱོན་ཁ། ཉི་ལུག་བུམ་འཛིན། ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མོ། གཉེར་པ་གསུམ་པ་ཆེ་འབྱུང། སྐྱོན་དཀར་པེ། རས་ལྷ་གསུམ་པེ་དར་མར་ཁ་པེ། སྤེར་ཐོབ་ཉི་ལུ་ཅུ་བཞི་པོ་ཆེ་འབྱུང། གཙོ་བོ་རབ་འབྱམས་ཆེ་བ། སྐྱམ་བུ་དཀར་མེ། སེར།

༧༣། རས་ཆོལ་སྐྱོན་ཁ། ཁ་ཐགས། རྩི་གཤམ་བྱུ་བ་ཆེར་པར། དདུལ་འོ། རས་ལུག་གཅིག་སྐྱོན་ཁ་སྤུལ། དོལ་པོའི་སྤུལ་ལྷ་ལ། འོ་ཁ་སྤྱོད། རས་ཆོལ་སྐྱོན་ཁ། རྩི་དཔོན་ལག་དུག་གི་རྩི་མོ་སྤྱི་དུ་དདུལ་འོ་ལ། སྐྱམ་བུ་དཀར་མེར་ཤག་བུམ་གཅིག་རས་ལུག་གཅིག་སྐྱོན་ཁ། ཁ་ཐགས། དདུལ་མཛད་མ་དང། མཛོད་དཔོན་མ་རྣམས་ལ་ཆེ་འབྱུང་ཙོག་རས་ཁ་པེ་པེ། མ་ཉི་སྐྱབ་སྤེའི་རྩི་མོ་བརྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱབ་ཀལ་དང། འབྱུང་པ་སྤྱི་ལྷར། ཆེ་འབྱུང། རས་ཆོལ་སྐྱོན་ཁ་རྣམས་སྤུལ།

༧༤། བསོད་ནམས་ལེ་ཤེས་ཚོགས་གཉིས་ལུང་འཇུག་གིས་རྒྱལ་སྐལ་སེམས་དཔའི་རིང་ལུགས་ཉེར་ལུང་ནས་འགོ་མང་དོན་དུ་སྐྱེ་བྱི་སྐྱབ་པའི་མཚོག་ལེགས་པའི་འབྱུང་གནས་ཞབས་པད་སྤྱི་པོས་མཛོད། ཅེས་མཚོད་པར་བཛོད་ནས། སྐྱེ་ཚོག་གསུམ་པ་ནས། བཞི་པའི་བར། རྒྱུད་སྤེན་སེའི་ལྷ་རྩི་བཤའ་པའི་དཔལ་གྱི་རྩི་ལྷོ་སྐྱབ་མཚོད་པ།

༧༥། སྐྱབ་བསྐྱོན་བཤའ་སྐྱབ་སྤྱིར་གི་རབ་འབྱམས་མཛེན་རབ་ཀྱི་འདབ་བརྒྱ་བཞད་པ་བུམ་པ་བཀ་གིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཚོ་མཛད། དགོ་འདུན་གསུམ་ཅུ་མོ་ལ། དགོ་ལུང་ཆོས་སྤེའི་སྤུལ་དང་བཞི་བཅུ། དཔལ་རྣམ་སྐྱེད་ཆེན་པོའི་སྐྱབ་མཚོད་པ། སྐྱབ་བསྐྱོན་དར་རྒྱས་སྤྱིར་གི་སྤོབ་དཔོན་རབ་འབྱམས་ཤེས་བུའི་དབང་པོ་སྐྱགས་རྩེའི་གཙོ་མཛད་ཆོས་ལྷ་གོང་འོག་གི་དགོ་འདུན་སུམ་བཅུ། རྩི་མི་འཇུགས་པའི་སྐྱབ་མཚོད་པ། དག་འམི་ཆོས་སྤེའི་སྤོབ་བཞིའི།

༧༦། བསྐྱོན་པ་སོགས་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གཙོ་བོ་མང་པོའི་བསྐྱོན་པ་ལོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པ་ཐར་སྤྱིན་པར་སོང་བའི་མཚོད་གནས་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོའི་གཙོ་མཛད་དགོ་འདུན་ཉི་ལུ། རང་བྱུང་རང་ཤར་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ཆེན་པོ་ནས་བཤའ་པའི་ན་ཤག་དོང་དཀྱགས་ཀྱི་ཚོག་སྐར་བ་བུའུ་མ་དདུལ་མཛད། མཚོད་དཔོན་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བུམས་

པའི་བཅུན་མ་བཅུ་སོགས་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པའི་རྒྱན་བཞུགས་མཛད་པ་ལ། བསྐྱེན་བཀའ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་ལ་སྤྱི་གསོལ་ལ། གཙོ་བོ་གསུམ་ལ། གསོལ་བ་མར་ཉག་

༩༡། སྤྱད་དང་དོ་རེ། སྤྱེར་ཁ་དགུ་རེ། དབུ་མཛད་གསུམ་ལ། གསོལ་བ། ༘། སྤྱེར་ཁ་བདུན་རེ། མར་ཉག་རེ། སྤྱེར་ཐོབ། གྱི་རྩོམ་པར། དབུ་མཛད་རྒྱུད་བ། ཚོས་བྲིམས་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་གཉིས། མཚོག་གཡོག་པ། དགོ་ལུང་དགོ་རྒྱན་གཅིག་ ཀུན་རིག་པར། དབུ་མཛད་རྒྱུད་བ། བྲག་དཀར་སྤོབ་དཔོན་རབ་འབྲུམས་པ་དགོན་མཚོག་ ཉི་ལུག་བྲུམ་འཛིན། མཚོད་གཡོག་པ། མི་ལུགས་པ་ཚོ་ནས། ཚོས་བྲིམས་པ་

༩༢། དགོ་རྒྱན་དགོ་སྤོབ་དཔལ་འབྱོར། མཚོད་གཡོག་པ། རོ་མོ་དབུ་མཛད་མ་དང་། མཚོད་དཔོན་མ་གཉིས་རྣམས་ལ། གསོལ་བ་སྤྱེར་ཁ་དབུག་དབུག་ མར་ཉག་བཀོག་རེ། རྒྱ་པ་བྱིན་ལ། གསོལ་བ་བཞི་རྒྱུ་མའི་བྱུར་བཤེས། སྤྱེར་ཁ་ལྟ་རེ། མར་ཉག་སྤྱད་རེ། རྒྱུན་པར་སྤྱོད་གོ་འཇམ་ཙམ་བཞེས། སྤྱི་གསོལ་ལ། གཙོ་བོ་གསུམ་ལ་གསོལ་བ། སྤྱེར་ཁ་དབུག་རེ། དབུ་མཛད་གསུམ་ལ་གསོལ་བ། སྤྱེར་ཁ་ལྟ་རེ།

༩༣། སྤྱེར་ཐོབ་རྣམས་ལ་གསོལ་བ། སྤྱེར་ཁ་བཞི་རེ། བྱིན་ལ་འབྲས་ཤོས་བཟང་བ། ཀམ་ཚ་རེ། བྲུབ་གསུམ་གསུམ། ཚོ་བྲུར་གསུམ་གསུམ། དགོངས་མོ་གཙོ་བོ་རྣམས་ལ་སྤྱད་ཅང་བཞི་རེ། སྤྱེར་ཁ་བཞི་རེ། དབུ་མཛད་གསུམ་ལ་སྤྱད་ཅང་གསུམ་རེ། སྤྱེར་ཁ་གསུམ་རེ། བྱིན་ལ་སྤྱད་ཅང་དོ་རེ། ལྷུ་མ་བྲུར་ཅེ་བྲུར་ལྟ་རེ། ཉིན་ཁོངས་སུ་གཙོ་བོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཇ་བདུན་བདུན། དབུ་མཛད་སོགས་སྤྱེར་ཐོབ་ལ་ཇ་

༡༠། བཞི་བཞི། བྱིན་ལ་མང་ཇ་གཉིས་རེ། གོངས་མོ་ཚག་ཀ་ཙམ་ཞེས་སྐབ་ཤིང་། འབྲལ་བ། ཐོག་མར། གནས་བཅུ་རི་གཙོ་བོ། རྒྱལ་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བྱུང་བྱུང་དཀར་མོ། ལྷན་དར། གྱི་རྩོམ་མཚོད་པའི་གཙོ་བོ་རབ་འབྲུམས་པ་བཀའ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དུང་དུ། བྲུམས་པའི་སྐྱ་སྐྱན་གཅིག་ མན་དག་གསལ་སྤྱད་སྤོབ་དཀར་གྱི་སྐྱ་ཐང་གཅིག་ ཟངས་ཁོར། ལྷན་བྲུ་དཀར་མེར། དུལ་འོ་བཞི། རས་དཀར་ཡུག་

༡༡། སྤྱད། རས་བྲུ་ཚོལ་པ་གཅིག་ ལྷན་ཁ་དོ་སྤྱེལ། ཁ་ཐགས་རྣམས་སྤྱད་སྤྱབ་མཚོད་པའི་གཙོ་བོ་རབ་འབྲུམས་པ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ལ། རྗེ་བཅུན་རྣལ་འབྱོར་མའི་སྐྱ་བརྒྱན་གཅིག་ ལྷན་ཁ་དོ་སྤྱེལ་གྱི་སྤྱག་དཔེ། ས་པམ་གྱི་སྐྱ་ཐང་གཅིག་ ཟངས་ཁོར། ལྷན་བྲུ་དཀར། མེར། དུལ་འོ་བཞི། རས་དཀར་ཡུག་སྤྱད། བྲུ་ཚོལ་པ་གཅིག་ ལྷན་ཁ་དོ་སྤྱེལ། ཁ་ཐགས། བྲག་

༡༢། དཀར་སྤོབ་དཔོན་ལ་ཚེ་འབྲལ། འོ་ཁ་སྤྱད། ལྷན་ཁ། ༘། མི་ལུགས་སྐབ་མཚོད་པའི་གཙོ་བོ། མཚོད་གནས་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་ལ། ཚོ་དཔག་མེད་གྱི་སྐྱ་བརྒྱན་གཅིག་ རོ་རྗེ་འཚང་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོའི་སྐྱ་ཐང་གཅིག་ ཟངས་ཁོར་གཅིག་ ལྷན་བྲུ། དཀར། མེར། དུལ་འོ་བཞི། རས་དཀར་ཡུག་སྤྱད། ལྷན་ཁ་སྤོབ་བྲུ་ཚོལ་པ་གཅིག་ ཁ་ཐགས་རྣམས་སུལ་ཞིང་། དགོ་འདུན་གསུང་མཚོག་ཚོར། རྒྱ་པ་

ལ་ཐགས། ཨ། སྐབ་བསྐྱེད་དར་རྒྱས་སྤྱིང་གི་སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་རབ་འབྲམས་པ་ཐུགས་རྗེ། སྐབ་དཀར་སྒྲིབ་
དཔོན་པ་རབ་འབྲམས་དཀོན་མཚོ་ག་བཟང་པོ། སྐབ་བསྐྱེད་བཤད་སྐབ་སྤྱིང་གི་སྒྲིབ་དཔོན་རབ་འབྲམས་པ་
རིན་ཚེན་ལྷུན་གྲུབ། དབྱུ་མཛད་ཀ་ཚེན་ཀུན་བཟོད་ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་ཚེན་མོར་རབ་འབྲམས་པ་བཀའ་བུ་ལྷུན་
གྲུབ། དག་ལུང་ཚོས་རྗེ་དག་དབང་།

༡༧། ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱམ་ཚོ། སྐབ་དམར་ཚོས་རྗེ་ཀ་བརྩུ་ཤེས་རབ་དབང་པོ། ཉི་ཤུག་བུམ་འཛིན་ཀ་བརྩུ་
རིགས་ལྷུན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། གཉེར་ཚེན་དགོ་སྒྲོང་གསལ་ལྷུ་མས་ལ་ཆེ་འབྲུལ། སྐན་དཀར་མེ། རས་ཁུ་
ལྷ་ལྷ། འྲོ་འབྲུང་མེ། སྐན་ཁ་མེ། སྐར་ཐོག་གོང་ལྷུ་ལྷི་ཉི་ལྷུ་ཚུ་གཉིས་པོ་ཆེ་འབྲུལ། དབྱུལ་འྲོ་འ
གཉིས། སྐམ་བུ་དཀར། སེར་རས་ཡུག་ སྐམ་བུ་གོན་སྐབ་གཅིག་ སྐན་ཁ། ལ་ཐགས། ལྷ་པ་བྱིན་

༡༨། ལ་སྐབ་འབྲུང་གྲུབ་གསུམ་གསུམ་ནས་དབྱུལ་མེ་དང་། སྐན་ཁ་མེ། སྐྱི་འབྲུལ། སྐམ་བུ་
དཀར། སེར། རྟག་ཅིག་ རས་དཀར་ཡུག་ ཆེ་རས་ཡུག་ སྐན་ཁ་སྐྱིལ་ལ་ཐགས། མོལ་དར།
རས་ཡུག་གཅིག་དང་། སྐན་ཁ། བརྩུན་མ་རྣམས་ལ་སྐབ་འབྲུང་ཅིག་རས་ཁ་མེ། བརྩུ་བརྩུ་ནས་དབྱུལ་
འྲོ་མེ། སྐྱི་འབྲུལ། སྐམ་བུ་དཀར་སེར། ཆེ་རས་ཡུག་ སྐན་ཁ། དཔོན་ལག་དུག་གི་ཚོ་མོའི་སྐར་
ཐོབ་བརྩུལ་ཆེ།

༡༩། འབྲུལ། དར་ཁ་མེ་མེ། ར། ཁྲིམ་ལ། སྐྱིལ་ལྷ་གསེར་ཅང་དོ་གྲུས་པ་མེ་ནས་གསེར་ཅང་མེ།
གྲོ་གསེར་ཅང་མེ། བརྩུ་ཅང་མེ། ཅོབ་མོ་པར་གཡང་མེ་བཅས་ཐོག་ མི་སྐྱ་རྣམས་པ་ལ་བརྟུགས་གལ་ཟབ་
སྤྲེངས་ཁྲིམ་འབྲུལ། རྟག་ཅིག་ ཁབ་མོ་ག་ གོ་ཚེན། སྐབ་སེ་ཁྲམ་ཆེ་བ་ཤིག་ དར་སྐབ་གཅིག་
རས་ཡུག་ སྐན་ཁ། དེའི་ཉིན་གྱི་ལས་པ་སྐམ་བརྩུ་སོ་གསུམ་ལ། སྐབ་སེར་ཁུ་རྒྱུང་བ།

༢༠། ཤིག་ རས་ཡུག་སྤྲེད། རྟུ་སྤྲེད། སྐན་ཁ། ཁྲི་དཔོན་ལ་ཆེ་འབྲུལ། སྐན་ཁ། ཨ། ཞེས་སྐྱོ་
ཚོམ་འབྲུ་རྣམས་དང་། ཆང་མ་གཅིག་བཅས་དུག་ལ། རས་ཁུ་ཡུག་གཅིག་ དཔོན་མོལ་ཆེ་འབྲུལ་རས་
ཚོལ། བིས་བུ་མོ་སྤྱིན་ལ། ལྷུ་མ་གྲངས་པ་གཅིག་ ཀོ་སྐབས་གསུམ། རས་ཚོལ། དེའི་ཉིན་ཁྲིམ་
གཟིལ་གཞོན་དུང་པ་ལ་སེར་ཚོགས་ཀུན་གྱི་སྐྱབ་ཀལ་འྲོ་གཅིག་ རས་ཡུག་སྤྲེད། སྐན་ཁ། ཁྲིམ་གཟིལ་
གཞོན་དང་ལྷ་སོལ་བུས་པར།

༢༡། མགོ་རས། མད་འདར། རས་ཁ་གསུམ། མད་འགསུམ། སྤེ་སྤྲེད། མཚོང་འབྲུ་དཀར་རྒྱན་
ཚོགས་འཁོར་སོགས་དང་། འབྲུལ་པ་འྲོ་སྤྲེད། རས་ཡུག་སྤྲེད། སྐན་ཁ། མཚོང་གཡོག་པར་སྐན་ཁ།
དེའི་ཉིན་ག་གྲུབ་ཚེན་པ་ལ་སྐྱབ་ཀལ། ར། མགལ་སྐྱོམ་གཅིག་འྲོ་ལྷ། སྐན་ཁ་བཞི་སྤེལ་ཞིག་
སྐབ་གཡོག་ལ་འྲོ་སྤྲེད། སྐན་ཁ། སྐབ་བསྐྱེད་བཤད་སྐབ་སྤྱིང་གི་ལོ་གསུམ་པ་རབ་འབྲམས་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་
རྣམ།

༢༢། རྒྱལ་དང་། རབ་འབྲམས་པ་བསམ་གཏན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་ལ། རས་ཁལ་མེ་མེ། མར་ཤེལ་
རེ་བཞི་གསལ་མེ། འྲོ་ལ་མེ། སྐན་ཁ་མེ། བསྐྱེད་ཚེན་པ་དགོ་སྒྲོང་འཛམ་དབྲངས་ལ་ནས་ཁལ། ར།

གཞིགས། རས་ཡུག་སྤེད། སྐྱེ་བ། འཕྲོ་བ་བསྐྱེད་ལྟུན་ལ་སྐྱེ་བ་ཏེ་རྒྱུ་དེ། ལོ་ལ་ལག་དང་།
སྐྱེ་བ། འཕྲོ་བ་གཞན་གསུམ་ལ། སྐྱེ་བ་ཏེ་རྒྱུ་དེ། སྐྱེ་བ་གསུམ། འཕྲོ་བ་ལ་ལྟུན་ལ་འཕྲོ་བ་ཏེ་རྒྱུ་དེ།
སྐྱེ་བ། མ་ཇ་སྐྱེ་བ་སྤེད་ཅོ་མོ་རྣམས་ལ།

༥༧། སྐྱེ་བ་ལ་དང་གསོལ་ཟས་སྤྱིར་ལྟར་ཐོག་ ལུག་འབྲེད་ཀྱི་དབུ་གཅིག་དང་། རས་ལ་བརྒྱད།
ཆེ་འབུ་སྐྱེ་བ།

༥༧། ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཀུན་མཁུན་དག་འབའི་ལམ་བརྟེན་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཐོག་པའི་ལམ།
དཔལ་ལྷན་མཁུན་བརྟན་བཟང་པོ་འགྲོ་བའི་དཔལ། །གང་གི་འབས་བཟུང་འཁོར་ལོ་སྤྱི་བོས་མཚོད།
འཕེམ་མཚོད་པར་བརྟེན་ནས། བདེ་བར་གསེགས་པ་གང་དེའི་དགོངས་རྗེས་ལྟུང་། ཆོས་རྗེ་དག་དབང་
ལོས་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གཙོའི་མཛད། །ལྷ་དགོན་གསུམ་གྱི་ཤར་ལེབས་ཀྱི་དགོ་འདུན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཤར་ཆོགས་ཇི་
ལྟར་སྐྱབ་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། གཙོ་བོ་

༥༧། ལ་གསོལ་བ། སྤེར་ལ་བཅུ་བདུན། ལུར་ཉག་གསུམ། དབུ་མཛད་ཆེན་མོ་དང་། ཆོས་
ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མོ་ལ། གསོལ་བ་ཅེ། སྤེར་ལ་དགུ་དགུ། ལུར་ཉག་དོ་དོ། དགོན་ཆེན་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤྱོད་དཔོན་
གསུམ། འགྲུབ་པར་ཆོས་རྗེ། ཉི་ལུག་ལུ་འཛོལ། དགོ་སྤོང་གཉེར་པ་རྣམས་ལ། གསོལ་བ། སྤེར་
ལ་བདུན་བདུན། ལུར་ཉག་ཤེ་ཤེ། སྤེར་ཐོབ། ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུང་བ་གསུམ། དབུ་མཛད་རྒྱུང་བ་གཉིས།
དུང་མཁུན་གཉིས་སྤྱི་ཆེན་བརྒྱད། རོར་པའི་

༥༧། དབུ་མཛད་གཉིས། དགོན་གཉེར་གསུམ། མཚོད་གནས་བཞི། མཚོད་གཡོག་རྣམས་ལ།
གསོལ་བ། སྤེར་ལ་ལྟུང་། ལུར་ཉག་ཤེ་ཤེ། ལྷ་པ་བྱེན་ལ། བཞི་སྤོམ་མའི་ལུར་ལོས། ལུར་ཉག་སྤེད་
སྤེད། སྤེན་ལ་བཞི་ཤེ། དགོངས་གསོལ་ལ་དེའི་འོན་ཏག་། མང་ཆ་གཅིག་། ཉུང་ཆ་གསུམ། དགོངས་
མོ་ཆག་། ཞེས་བཏུམ་བཞི་རེ་བསྐྱབས་ཤིང་། འབུལ་བ། ཐོག་མར་ཡུ་རྫོབ་ལྟུང་གི་ཉེན་གཙོ།

༥༧། ལུག་དབང་དུང་དུ། ལྟར་མོ། ལྟར་དམ། གཙོ་བོ་ཆོས་རྗེའི་དུང་དུ། ལྟུང་བ་སྐྱེ་བ་རས་
གཟིགས་ཀྱི་བཞེངས་སྐྱ། གསུང་ཉེན་སྤང་སྤྱུ་མཛོས་རྒྱུ། ལུགས་ཉེན་སྤྱོལ་མའི་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་། རྗེ་རྗེ་
འི་ལུ་སྤྱུས་གཙོ་བོ་གཅིག་། ཟངས་གོར་གཅིག་སྐྱེ་བ་དུང་དུ། སེན་རས་ཡུག་སྤེད། རས་ཁྲུ་ཚུལ་པ་
གཅིག་། ལྟུང་ལ་དོ་སྤྱེལ། འཐགས་ཆེ་བ། ལྟུང་སྤྱུལ་ཞིག་། ཆོགས་ཆེན་ལ། འི་ལུ་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་
ཟངས། ལྟུང་དུང་དུ།

༥༧། ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་མོ། ཆོས་རྗེ་གཉིས། ཀ་བཅུ་པ་རིགས་ལྟུང་། དགོ་སྤོང་སྤོ་གསལ་རྣམས་ལ།
ལུར་ཉག་དོ་དོ། སྤེར་ལ་ལྟུང་། སྤེར་ཐོབ་དབུ་མཛད་རྒྱུང་བ། ཆོས་ལྟུང་གཉིས། ཉེར་པའི་ཆོས་
ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུང་བ་ཆོས་ལྟུང་བའི་ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་གཉིས། མཚོད་གནས་བཞི། དུང་མཁུན་གཉིས། ཆོས་ལྟུང་བའི་
སྤྱོད་བཞི། ཉེར་གཅིག་པའི་སྤྱོད་གཉིས། དཔོན་པོ་ཆོས་མཛད། དག་འམི། དགོ།

༥༧། ལུང་གཉིས་ནས་སྤྱི་པའི། དག་འམི་དབུ་མཛད། དགོ་ལུང་ཆོས་ཁྲིམས། གསོལ་དཔོན།
མཚོད་གཡོགས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ལུར་ཉག་སྤེད་ཤེ། སྤེར་ལ་བཞི་བཞི་ལྷ་པ་བྱེན་རྣམས་ལ། ལོས་ཞེས་

སྐྱེས་མའི་དབང་གུས་ལ། བྱ་རྒྱལ་ཉལ་སྤོང་ལ། ཚེ་ལྷུང་གསུམ་གསུམ་ལྷུང་བ་གསུམ་ལ། ཀུན་ལ།
གོངས་གསལ་དེའི་འོན་ཏེ། མངའ་གཅིག། ཉུང་གཅིག། ལྷོང་ལུང་གཅིག། གོངས་མོའི་ཆབ་ཀའི་ས་
ལྷུས་བཞི་རེ།

༥༤༽ བསྐྱབ་ཤིང་། འབྲུལ་བ། བྱམ་པའི་དབང་དུ། ཀར་མེ། སྐྱེད་དར། གཙོ་བོ་ལ། ལྷུས་བྱ་
དཀར། སེར། རས་དཀར་ཡུག། དར་ཁབ་བཞི་སྐྱེལ། སྐྱེད་ཁ་དབྱེད་བཞི། ཚོགས་ཚེན་ལ།
ཟངས་ཁོར། ལྷུས་བྱ་དཀར། སེར། རས་དཀར་ཡུག་གསུམ། སྐྱེད་ཁ་གསུམ་སྐྱེལ། དབྱེད་འོ་ཉི་བྱ་
དབྱེད་མཛོད་ཚེན་མོ་དང་། ཚོས་བྲིམས་ཚེན་མོ་ལ། ལྷུས་དཀར་རེ། རས་ཚལ་རེ། སྐྱེད་ཁ་རེ་སྐྱོབ་
དཔོན་གསུམ། ཚོས།

༥༥༽ རྩེ་གཉིས། ཉི་ཕུག་བུམ་འཛིན། དགོ་སྐོབ་སྐོབ་གསལ་རྣམས་ལ། ལྷུས་དཀར་རེ། རས་ལྷུ་
གསུམ་པ་རེ། དར་ཁབ་རེ། ལྷུར་ཐོབ་རྣམས་ལ། ཟངས་ཁོར་གཅིག། རས་ཡུག་གཅིག། སྐྱེད་ཁ་
མོ་ལ་དར། རས་ཡུག་སྤོང། སྐྱེད་ཁ།

༥༦༽ སྐྱུ་མའི་གམ་ཐིང་ནག་སྐྱེས་པའི་རིམ་བཞི་དལས། དུག་ལས་འབར་བའི་གྱི་ལྷུག་དག་གཅིག་ས་
འགོམ། གཡོན་པ་ཐོང་ལྷག་སྐྱེད་འཛིན་འགལ་འི་འདེགས། བསྐྱེད་དགའི་གཤེད་མས་བར་ཆད་བཞི་བ་
མཛོད། ཚས་མཚོད་པར་བཞི་དནས། བར་བར་ཤེགས་པ། རེན་ཚེན་ལྷུན་གྱུབ་ཀྱི་གཙོ་མཛོད། ལྷུ་
དགོན་རྣམས་དང་། དགོན་ཁག་དུག་གི་ཚོམ།

༥༧༽ རྣམས་ལ། སེར་ཚོགས་རིམ་ལྷུར་གྱུབ་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། གཙོ་བོ་ལ། གསོལ་བ་མར་གྱུར། ལྷུར་
ཁབ་ཚོལ། དབྱེད་པོ་དགོག་ སྐྱེད་ཁ་རྩེ། ཡོངས་འཛིན། ཚོས་རྩེ་གཉིས། ཉི་ཕུག་བུམ་འཛིན།
གཉེར་པ་རྣམས་ལ། གསོལ་བ་མར་གྱུར། ལྷུར་ཁ་བདུན་བདུན། དབྱེད་མཛོད་ཚེན་མོ་དང་། ཚོས་
བྲིམས་ཚེན་མོ་ལ། མར་གྱུར། ལྷུར་ཁ་བཙོལ། དབྱེད་པོ་དགོག་ སྐྱེད་ཁ་རྩེ། ཡོངས་འཛིན། ཚོས་
རྩེ་གཉིས། ཉི་ཕུག་བུམ་འཛིན། གཉེར་པ་རྣམས་ལ། གསོལ་བ་མར་གྱུར། ལྷུར་ཁ་བདུན་བདུན།
དབྱེད་མཛོད་ཚེན་མོ་དང་། ཚོས་བྲིམས་ཚེན་མོ་ལ། མར་གྱུར། ལྷུར་ཁ་དགུ་དགུ། ལྷུར་ཐོབ། ཚོས་
ལྷུ་བའི་དབྱེད་མཛོད་གཅིག།

༥༨༽ ཉེར་གཅིག་པའི་དབྱེད་མཛོད། ཚོས་ལྷུ་བའི་ཚོས་བྲིམས་གཉིས། མཚོད་གནས་བཞི། དབྱེད་
མཁལ་གཉིས། སྐྱེ་ཚེན་བརྒྱུད། དགའ་མའི་དབྱེད་མཛོད། དགོ་ལུང་ཚོས་བྲིམས། མཚོད་གཡོག་རྣམས་
ལ། མར་གྱུར་ཚེན་རེ། ལྷུར་ཁ་དུག་ཞི་རེ། ལྷུ་པ་བྱིན་ལ་གསོལ་བ་གསེར་ཚན་དོགས་པ་རེ། མར་
གསུམ་ཐོག་ལྷུར་ཁ་བཞི་རེ། ཚོམ་རྣམས་ལ། བཞི་སྐྱོམ་འོས། མར་བཞི་ཐོག་ ལྷུར་ཁ།

༥༩༽ གསུམ་རེ། དགོངས་གསལ་ལ་དེའི་འོན་ཏེ། མངའ་། ཉུང་གཅིག། ལྷོང་ལུང་གཉིས།
ཆབ་ཀའི་ས་བཞིས་སྐྱབས་ཤིང་། འབྲུལ་བ། ཐོག་མར། སྐྱེད་ཚེན་གསེར་གྱི་ལྷུན་པོའི་དབང་དུ། ཀར་
མེ། སྐྱེད་དར། གཙོ་བོ་ལ། ཀའི་དམར་པོ་གཅིག། ལྷུས་བྱ་དཀར། སེར། རས་ཡུག་གཅིག།

མས་བྱུག་ལྟེང་། མོ་ག་གཅིག་ དངུལ་འོ་དུག་ ལྷན་ཁ་སྤྲེལ་། ཁ་ཐག་སུ།
10། དབྱུ་མཛོད་ཚེ་མོ་དང་། ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་ཚེ་མོ་འབྲུལ། ལྷམ་དཀར་། མས་བྱུ་ལྟེང་། ལྷན་ཁ་
མེ། སློབ་དཔོན་གསུམ། ཚོས་རྩེ་གཉིས། ཉི་ཕུག་བུམ་འཛོལ། དགེ་སློང་སློབ་གསལ་རྣམས་ལ། ཚོ་
འབྲུལ། ལྷམ་དཀར་མེ། མས་བྱུ་བཞི་པ་མེ། ལྷན་ཁ་མེ། སྤར་ཐོབ་སྤྱི་རྒྱ། ཀའོ་མེ། ལྷམ་བུ་
དཀར་མེ། དར་ལོང་ཁ། མས་ལྷུག་གཅིག་ ལྷན་ཁ། ཚོགས་ཚེ་ལ་ཕུག་འགྲེང།

19། མས་ཁ་མེ་དང་། ལྷ་བ་བཞི་བཞི་ནས་དངུལ་འོ་འབབ་རྩེ་གི་བམིལ་སྤུས་གཙང་གཅིག་ལ་འོ་ཁ་
བཞི་བཅུ། གོས་ཚེ་ལྷུག་ལེ་རྩེ་མའི་ཐོངས་བུས་པའི་སྤྲེལ་ཚེ་ལོ་ཞིག་ལ་འོ་ཁ་བཅུ་དུག་ ལྷམ་བུ་དཀར་
མེ། མས་དཀར་ལྷུག་ མས་བྱུ་ལྷུག་ ལྷན་ཁ་ཁ་ཐག་སུ་བཅས་ཕུལ་ཞེང་། དགའ་ལའི་རྩོམ་གསུམ་
བཅུ་ལ། རྒྱ་རྩ་གཅིག་ ལྷམ་བུ་དཀར་མེ། མེ། མས་ཚོལ། དར་ལོང་མ་ཉི་ལྔ་ཕ་དུག་ལ།

19། ཟངས་ཁོར་གཅིག་ ལྷམ་བུ་དཀར་མེ། མེ། མས་ཚོལ། ལྷར་བམ་ཉི་ལྔ་ཕ་དུག་ལ། ཟངས་
ཁོར་གཅིག་ ལྷམ་བུ་དཀར་མེ། མེ། མས་ཚོལ། བསམ་གྲུབ་སྤྱིང་མ་བསུམ་བཅུ་མོ་བདུན་ལ་བམིལ་
ལྷན་གཅིག་ ལྷམ་བུ་དཀར་མེ། མས་ཚོལ། དགེ་སློང་མ་ལྟ། ལྷ་རིམ་དང་། ལྷ་མཚོས་ལུག་གི་རྩོ་
མོ་དང་། དུང་འོ་བའི་སྤྲེལ་བཅད་ཀྱི་རྩོམོ། ཚོས་ལྟ་གོང་མའི་རྩོམོ་ཀུན་ནས། བཞི་བཅུ་ཞེ་ལྟེལ།

13། དུང་དཀར་གཅིག། རོལ་ལྷམ་བུ་དུག། མས་ཚོལ། ལྷན་ཁ། རྩོམོ་སྤར་ཐོབ་བཅུ་ལ། ཚོ་
འབྲུལ་དར་ཁ་མེ་མེ། དེའི་ཉིན་མང་འཛབས་མཚོ་བདུན་ལ། ལྷམ་ཁོས་གི་རྒྱུར། ཚོ་དཀར་ལྟེལ་གིས།
བསྐྱམས་ཁབ་ལ་ཞོ་བཞི། བསྐྱམས་ལག་དབྱེ་མོག་གཉིས་ནས་ཞོ་སྤྲོད་དང་དོ། ཞིབ་སློབ་མོལ་ཞོ་སྤྲོད་
དུག་ བསྐྱམས་ལག་གཉིས་ལ་ཞོ་དོ། བསྐྱམས་གཞུ་ལ་ཞོ་དོ། ཕུབ་མེར་ཁྲུ་མ་གཉིས། དར་ཕུབ་གཉིས་
དང་།

10། སློང་ལྟ་བུ་ཉི་ལྔ། ཀུན་རིག་གིས་ཚོག་ཚར། ཉི་སློང་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་དང་གཅིག་ལ། དུ་རྒྱ་ཀ་
ལྟེ་བ་དུག་ ས་ལ་གསུམ། དགུ་འབྲུམ། གཞི་ཁྲི། བཞི་སློང་མི་ཁྲུག་པའི་ཚོག་ཚར་དུག་བརྒྱ་ཉི་ལྔལ་
ཀི་ཀུ་ཞོ་འབྲུམ་ཕུག་གཅིག་ ཁྲི་དུག་ན་རྟལ་གདོང་ཀུག་སུ་གི་ཚོག་སློང་བཞི་བཅུ་ཟང་སློང་ཁྲི་ཚོག་སུམ་སྤྱི་
སློང་། ལྷམ་ཚུ་མོ་བརྒྱད། ལྷུང་བཤགས་བཞི་སློང་གོ་གཉིས། ལྷམ་སློབ་སློང་དུག་བརྒྱ། ཞེ་གཅིག་
བཀྲ་ཤིས་དང་བཅས་པ་མོང་།

14། དེ་ལྷར་ལྟ་མའི་འགོ་བམ་ལུས་པའི། བསོད་ནམས་ཞིང་གྲུར་མཚོག་གསུམ་དམ་པལ། བདེ་
བར་གཤེགས་པའི་དགོངས་པ་རྩོགས་པའི་ཕྱིར། མཚོང་སྤྱོད་རབ་སྤྲེལ་དགེ་ཚོགས་གང་ཡོད་དེས། བདེ་
བར་གཤེགས་པའི་དགོངས་པ་ཡོངས་རྩོགས་ནས། ཉལ་གཞུགས་ཀུན་གི་སྤྱོད་རབ་བརྟན་ཞིང་། འགོ་
ལ་བདེ་སྤྲོད་ཕུན་གསུམ་ཚོགས་པ་དང་། ལྷ་མེད་བྱང་རྒྱུབ་མཚོག་ལ་འགོད་པར་ཤོག། ལྷམ་ལྟ་དང་
བགའ་བསྐྱེད་སུ།

16། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཚོགས། འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པས་སྤྲོད་བཞིའི་དཔལ་རྩོལ་ཞིང་། བར་ཚད་དགྲ་
འགོགས་ལོག་འདྲེན་ཚོགས་བཅོམས་ནས། བསམ་འཕེལ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལྟ་བུའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག།

བོ་ཚང་མ་ལུག་རྟལ་ཚན་ལ་གནས་ཀྱི་ཡིན་པ་མེན་དང་བོད་ཀྱི་..... ཀ་པར་འབྲུང་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ ཚ
 ལུང་སྟོན་པའི་དུས་ལུག་ནས་ཀྱི་འབྲུག་གི་ལུ་ལུག་ཡིན། ཚ་ལུང་སྟོན་པ་..... དང་བཀག་ཏུ་དཔོན
 དུང་པར་གོང་པ་ལུ་གོས། སྟོན་ལུག་སྟོན་སྟོན་གི་སྟོན་པོ་གི་དཔོན་གི་རིགས་དཔོན་དུང་གི་མོག་པ་
 མོགས་སྐུར་གང་པའི་ཞལ་དོགང་ཡོད་ཀུན་ལག་པ་ ཀན་པ་ སྟོན་ཐང་ཚང་གང་སྟོང་དང་འབོར་དུག
 རིགས་ཁར་ཀར་སྟོན་པོ་..... དུག་རིགས་སོགས་ལ་ཡོད་ དཔོན་སྟོན་ཀུན་ པ་
 དང་སྟེ་པ་ཚང་མ་འཕེལ་བས་སྟོར་མན་ ས་རྟེན་ཡན་དོལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཚོད་པ་སོགས་ལ། སྐར་གི་སྟོང་མན་
 པ་ བར་སྐབས་..... སྟོལ་དན་ཁྲིམས་མེད་སོགས་ སྐྱི་བུ་མ་ཐག་སོམ་སོགས་གང་དུ་ཡ་བྱེད་
 རྒྱུ་མེན་སོམ་བུན་སྐྱིར་སྟེ་པའི་གསུང་བཀོད་དང་། དེ་རྗེས་དཔོན་དུང་པ་སོགས་སྟོན་སྟོན་སྟོང་དཔོན་
 ཚ་ལུག་པ་ལ་སྟོལ་མེན་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་མཚན་སྟེ་བའི་གོར་སྟལ། ཐག་སོམ་ནས་ཡོད་པར་ སྐྱི་སྟོལ་ལྟར་བོག་མེད།
 རས་ཚ། རྒྱ་བོད་། མདུང་བོད་། མདུང་སྐྱུག་ གཞུ། བོད་སོགས་སྐུས་གཙང་ལུག་རྒྱ་ཡིན། དེ
 ལྟར་བྱས་སྟོན། སྟོན་ཐང་གཙང་གང་སོགས་རྗེད་མགོ་ཀུན་ཏུ་གཉེར་པ་ལས་འཛོལ། རྟོལ་སྐྱེའོ་བ
 སོགས་ཀྱི་ཐག་སོམ་གི་ཚོད་པར། རོར་ནང་ཆེ་རྒྱུང་གང་ལ་ཡང་། སྟོག་ཆོམ་ཁྲིམས་མེད། སྟོལ་མེད་
 བྱེད་རྒྱུ་མེན་དུལ་ཅང་སྐུམ་ཅང་སོགས་བར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུང་མ་བཞག་ནས། བར་ལ་སོགས་སྟོང་པར་
 གནས་ཀྱི་ཡིན། བཙུན་..... རྗེད་པའི་ནང་ལ་བཏང་རྒྱུ་མེན། བོད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ལེན་སོགས་སྟོན་རྒྱུ་མན།
 ཐག་སོམ་དང་པོར་པའི་ནང་ལ་བོག་དང་། འབྲུག་ལ་བོད་པ་སྟེ་སྐུ་མེན། འབྲུག་པ་གང་སྐྱེའོ་བ་ཀྱི་
 ལམ་ནས་ཁ་ཐག་ཅིང་ཆ་བར་གྱུང་གནས་ཚང་གིས་ལམ་ནས་གཏེར་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། བཀག་ཏུ་ཡང་། སྟོན་དཔོན་
 ཀྱི་ཐོབ་སྟངས། སྟོལ་གི་སྐྱུག་ཡར་བསྟོན་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ལག་པ་གཉིས་ཆར་གིས་སྟོན་རྒྱུ་མེན། དུགས་སྐྱེད་
 སྟོན་པའི་དུས་མཛོག་ལག་ལ། ལྷག་ཡར་གཉིག་གི་སྟོན་ནས་ གཉིག་ཏུ་ཉལ་བ་བསྟོན་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ ར་
 ལུག་ལ་སྐར་ཀུམ་པ་སྟོན་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། སྟོལ་སྟོང་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། འདི་ལྟར་ལ་མ་གནས་ན་ ཡར་མར་སོང་
 སྟོང་། དེ་ཚམས་ཐགས་སོམ་ལ་ཅི་གོས་པ་བྱེད་པ་ ཐག་སོམ་སྟོན་བསམ་བཏོང་། བདེ་ལྟར་གི་ལམ་དཀར་
 པོ་མཛོད་མཁན་ འཛུམ་ལང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐྱེའོ་བ་ ཀ་ལི་ས་རྟེནི་ལུག་རྟལ་ སྟེ
 ལུག་རྟལ་ སྟེ་པའི་སྐྱེའོ་བ་ ཁི་དཔོན་གི་རྟལ་ དཔོན་གསུང་གི་རྟལ་
 རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱེའོ་བ་ བ་རན་ཐན་པ་ཀོ་རྟལ་སྟེ་པ་ལི་སོར་སོ་བོ་ཀ་ལི་རྟལ་
 ཡོར་ཏོ་འབའ་ཡིག་གོ་རྟལ་ ཐགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་པའི་རྟལ་
 སོམ་བུའི་སྐྱན་པ་ལྟ་གི་རྟལ་ སྐང་ཁིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་པ་གཙུག་ལའི་རྟལ་

པའི་གྲས་སུ་མ་བཟང་། བྱའི་འཛིན་རྟེན་དུ་ལ་དུགས་ཀྱི་གཙམ་མ་འབྱོར་པ་བཅས་པའི་སེ་དའི་ཅིང་བྱ་དུར་
 གྱིས་འཛིན་དཔུང་ཤེད་ཀྱིས་འཛུམ་ལང་པའི་ལག་ནས་སློབ་སྡེ་པ་སླངས། སློབ་རང་གི་བཞེད་པ་ལྟར་
 སྲར་གྱི་སྲོལ་འཇགས་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཕྱི་ཁའི་མཐའ་འདྲམས་ཀྱིས་འཆུན་པ་བྱས་ལམ་བདེ་གཤིས། སློབ་
 པས་ལོ་ལོ་བཞིན་སྲར་ནས་གཞུང་དུ་དུས་བྱའི་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ལ་བདུན་ཅུ་རེའི་ཐོག་གསར་འཕམ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་
 བཅས་ལོ་ལྟར་དུ་བྱུང། སྤོན་སུས་ཀྱང་སྲར་སྲོལ་ལས་སྤྲད་གཙོ་མེད་པ་དང་། སློབ་པས་གཞུང་དུ་སློབ་
 གཏད་ཞུས་པ་བཞིན་ཁ་སྤོགས་མ་ལོག་པའི་གྲས་འདུད་བྱུང་རྗེས་འདི་པའི་ཅུ་འཛིན་རྒྱབ་གཉེར་གཞུང་ནས་
 རྟེན་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་པར། འཛུམ་ལང་སོགས་རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་ཆེ་རྒྱུང་གང་གིས་ཀྱང་བདག་ཚོད་འཛུགས་ཀྱིས་མཚོན་མི་
 རོར་མངའ་ཐང་ལ་རས་གཙོ་མི་འཚམས་པ་བྱས་ན་འཕྲུལ་རྒྱ་མིན་པས་རྒྱུད་བཅས་བདེ་བར་གནས་འཇུག་
 པ་གྱིས། ཞེས་ཤིང་འབྲུག་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་ཚེན་པོའི་དུས་ཚོས་དག་བར་རང་བྱུང་འཕགས་པའི་གཞུང་མེད་ཁང་
 ཚེན་པོ་སོ་བྱང་པོ་ཉ་ལ་ནས།

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 Jumla, Thak and Panchgaun**

སློབ་གསོ་མོམ་གྱི་དང་འཛུམ་ལང་བཅས་ཀྱི་མཚོངས་ཡིག་སྲོལ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གན་རྒྱ་བཞུགས་སོ།

གསུམ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལྟ། སློན་ཐང་བུམས་པ། རྒྱ་མིག་བརྒྱ་ཅ། སྲུ་རི་འོང། འབག་ལུང་སྡེ་པའི།
 འཛུམ་ལང་ཙན་སྟག་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་ལྟ་སྤྱི་པོའི་གཙུག་ཏུ་བཞུགས་སྟེ། མེ་མོ་སྟག་ལོ་རྒྱ་དགུ་པའི་
 ཚོས་ལྟ་གཟའ་ཉི་མ་ལ། འཛུམ་ལང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ས་སྲུ་རྩ་ལོ་གི་སྲས་མོ་ཆ་ཆ་འཇུ་འགོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ས་ལི་འབུམ་
 སྲུ་ལི་གི་སྲས་མོ་གི་རྒྱུ་ཉེ་འབུམ་སྲུ་ལ་ལ་གནང་ཞིང་ལུ་ལ་མ་ཚམ་པར་བསྟན་ནས། རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་མཚོན་སྲིད་
 ཀྱིས་རྣམ་སྲུལ་སྤྲུལ་ལས་ཀུན་གྱི་འཛིན་ཚེན་པོ་ནས། ཚོ་དབང་རོར་བུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འཚོངས་སྤྱིགས་ལ་
 སེབས་ནས་སྐྱགས་འབི་ཆེའི་མི་གྲགས་ལྟན་རྒྱས་དང་བཞུགས། རྒྱ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནས་འཛུམ་ལང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་བུ་
 རིན་རྒྱ་བྲག་ཡུལ་དང་། སྤྲད་གོ་འཕང་ལུལ་གནང་བར་མཛོད་ནས་འཚོངས་འགྲིག་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། འཛུམ་
 ལང་སྲས་མོ་ཆ་ཆ་འཇུ་འགོ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྲས་ཀྱིར་སྡེ་འབུམ་སྲུ་སྲུ་གནང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་སྐབས་སུ་གོར་
 འཕལ་བ་ཆས། སྤྱི་འཕུམ་ཡན་མཚོད་སྲར་བསྐྱལ་པའི་སྲོལ་འཛུན་གནས་པར་མཛོད་དགོས་ཞུས་ནས།
 བྱེད་རང་ལུལ་སྟོད་སྤྲད་བདུན་སྲོལ་ཇི་འདྲ་ཡོད་པར་བཀའ་གནང་པའི་དེ་ལུལ་སྲོལ་སྲར་འཇུལ་ལ་བྱུང་
 བས་དམག་བྱུང་ན་ཐག་སོ་གཉིས་ནས་ཅུ་རང་སྡེ་རས་སྤྲད་དགོས་དང་། སྡེ་ནས་དམག་བྱུང་ན་སློབ་སྡེ་
 ཐང་ནས་རེས་སྤྲངས་སྡེ་རས་བསྤྲངས་རྒྱུ་དང་སློན་ཐང་གི་མི་གྲགས་བྱི་དཔོན་གྱི་རྒྱུད། རྒྱལ་པོ་པ་རྒྱུ་
 འཚོངས་འགྲིགས་ལ་སེབས་ན་གྲུང་བཅད་ཐུག་ཏུ་ལག་སྟར་རྒྱུ་དང་། ཐག་ཀྱན་པ་ལྟ་ནས་ཀྱན་པ་ཅིག་གྱི་
 རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་། ཐག་སོམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དོན་ལ་སྟོད་གངས་རིལ་འགོ་ན་སློབ་སྡེ་འཕྲང་བར་བུ། སྤྲད་ལྟ་ས་ལ་

བཅུ་གསུམ་ལ་ལུགས་གཅིག་ར་གཅིག་ རྒྱལ་པ་ལྟ་ལྟ་ལྟ། ལྷོ་བས་ཚུ་ཐོ་བ་ལྟ་སྟོན་ཐང་ནས་སྟེར་
 དགོས་སོ། །བྱང་ལ་འགོ་ན་ལུ་སྟོན་མེད་དོ། །ཡོ་གསུམ་ནས་ཡོ་གཅིག་ལ་ལུ་སྟོན་མེད་དོ། །ཡོ་
 གཅིས་ལ་ལུ་སྟོན་མེད་དོ། །སྐྱགས་སྟེལ་བྱས་པ་མེད་དོ། །སྟོན་ལ་ཐག་སོམ་གཅིས་བྱང་ལ་འགོ་རྒྱ།
 དེ་ནས་སྟོ་ལོ་སྟོན་པ། སྐ་མི་དཔོན་པོའི་སངས་རྒྱས་བརྒྱ་མཚོ་མར་གནས་སྟོར་ལ་ཐེབས་དུས་མི་ལས་དུ་
 དུར་ཁོང་མཐོ་པ་ཅིག་ལོ་རྒྱུ་རིན་པོ་ཚེའི་ཞབས་རྗེས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ལ་གང་ཟག་གཉན་བསམ་རྒྱུ་དཔ་སྟོབ་
 དཔོན་གྱིས་སྟེལ་བཞེངས་ན་དག་བ་ཚེ་བ་དང་སྟེལ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐོབ་པ་འདུག་པ་གསུངས་པ་ཐག་པ་མི་
 གྲངས་རྣམས་དང་དུང་པ་དེན་ལྟལ་གསུངས་ནས། ཞབས་བཀོད་སྒྲུ་མ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཡུལ་པས།
 ལག་པ་དུང་དེན་ལྟལ་གསུངས་ནས་སྟོན་གྱི་ལྟ་ཁང་དང་སྟོབ་དཔོན་གྱི་སྐུ་བཞེངས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་རྣམས་
 བཞེངས་པའི་རྒྱལ་བ་སྟོན་ནས་སྒྲུ་མ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ནས་སྟོན་ཐང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལེ་མགོན་ཚེ་དབང་བསམ་
 འགྲུབ་ལ་དཔལ་ངས་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྟོན་པ་དར་བའི་ལྟ་ཁང་ཞིག་བཞེངས་ནས་ཡངས་ཡོད་པས་ཚ་ཡུད་
 སྟིག་ཚོད་ཁར་ནས་གནང་ན་འཕོར་ཚེན་པོ་ཡོངས་བ་འདུག་པས་ལུས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པས་སྟེར་གྱི་ཚུ་ཡུད་སྟེལ་ནས་
 ཅ་གཅིས་སྟེར་སོ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཡེད་དེ་ཡི་རྗེས་སུ་དུང་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱིས་བྲུག་ལྷ་བུ་པའི་སྐུ་བཞེང་
 སལ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དུང་པ་ཚེ་རིང་དང་རིང་སྒྲུ་མ་གཅིས་ནས་རབ་གནས་གནང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལེ་
 མགོན་ཚེ་དབང་བསམ་འགྲུབ་ལ་ལུས་ནས་དུས་འགོ་མི་ཁྲུང་ལ་རྒྱ་ཡུད་ཅང་གསུམ་གསུམ་གཚོ་བོ་བཅུ་
 གསུམ་ནས་ཡེན་གསུངས་ནས་གནང་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །སྐྱགས་འབི་ཁི་མདའ་ཁི་ནས་རྩམ་ཡོ་གི་འི་སྟེ་ཚིའི་སྟེ་
 ལ་སྐྱགས་གདམས་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ནོ། །རྩི་ལང་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱགས་སྟང་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ནོ། །གཡུལ་ས་རུ་སྟེབས་པ་
 དང་སྐྱགས་སྟང་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ནོ། །སྐྱག་སྟེལ་སོང་ཟེར་ནས་སྟེལ་སྟོན་མེད་ཁི་ནས་དུལ་འབྲུ་སྐྱགས་པ་མེད་དོ།
 སྐྱག་དམ་ཀྱང་སྟོན་དེར་ཡོག་སྟོར་སྟོན་ཚེ་ལན་ནས་ཚེ་བདེ་བར་དགོས་སོ། །དེ་འདྲའི་ལུས་པས་ཐམས་
 ཅད་འབྲུང་འདུག་ཀྱང་ཚུ་ཡུད་ལས་མ་འབྲུང་འདུག་པས་བྱིམས་གཙང་བྱས་ཚོགས་པ་གསུངས་པས། དེ་
 རྣམས་བཀའ་གནང་ན་དེད་རྣམས་ཉན་ཚོགས་པས་དེ་འདྲའི་ཟེར་ན་གཡུག་མཚོ་གཅིས་ཀྱི་ཁྲུང་པོ་ལ་ཅང་གཅིས་
 རེ་ཡིན་ནོ། །མི་ཁྲུང་ལ་ཅང་གང་། ར་ལུག་ལུ་བལ་གཅིས་ལ་གཙང་རེ་ཡིན་ནོ། །མི་ཁྲུང་ལ་ཅང་གང་།
 འདི་རྣམས་རྒྱ་ཡུད་སྟོན་དགོས་པ་རྣམས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །སང་དག་ནས་རྩི་བུ་ཡེན་དུ་འགོ་ན་རྩི་བུ་ལྟ་ཡིན་ནོ།
 །སྐུལ་དུ་ཡོང་ན་བཞི་ཡིན་ནོ། །པན་ལ་གནས་དུལ་མདའ་ས་སྟེལ་གཅིས། ལྷུ་གུ་ནས་བལ་ལོ་ཐོབ་
 སགུ་མདའ་ས་སྟེལ་དུལ་། སྐྱགས་ཐག་པ་རྟེན་ཐེས་ནས་གོང་པ་གསུམ་ལ་དུལ་མདའ་ས་སྟེལ་
 དུག་ གཞན་མ་ཚོ་སྟེལ་དགོས་ནས་སྟོན་ཐང་མཁའ་གཉེར་ཚེས་ནས་ཚ་སྟེལ་ ཚོ་རིང་ནས་དུལ་
 མདའ་ས་སྟེལ་དང་། ཡར་ལ་ཡོང་ན་རྩི་བུ་དང་། སྐུལ་ཁང་ཁང་། དཔོན་པོ་རྒྱུད་པ་རྒྱ་ལུ་ ཀྱི་ཡིང་
 མཁའ་གཉེར་ཚེས་ལ་ཚ་སྟེལ་། སྟོ་ལོ་སྟོན་གྱི་བྱི་ཐོག་པ་ལ་རྒྱ་ལུ་། སྐྱག་གཉེར་པ་ལ་ཚ་སྟེལ་། རྒྱ་
 མདའ་ཉེང་ལ་ལྷས་ན་སྟོན་དགོས་སོ། །ཡེད་ལ་སྟོན་གཉེངས་པ་བཏངས་པ་མེད་དོ། འབི་སམ་། དམར་
 ཚོ། སྐྱེལ་གང་བྱུང་རྗེས་ནས་བཀའ་དགོས་སོ། །སྐྱགས་མདའ་ཞི་ལ་ནས་ཡེན་རྒྱལ་པས་ལུག་༣༠
 ནས་བར་བ་གཅིག་ཡན་དགོས། ལུག་༣༠ ལ་ལུག་བར་པ་གཅིག་ཡེན་རྒྱ། མགོ་རྣམས་ལུག་ལ་རྒྱ་༣

- 10) སེའ་འབྲས་དགའ་གསུམ་ལ་མང་ཚའི་བསྐྱེན་བཀའ་སྲོལ་དང་། ལྷག་པར་ཁོ་པ་པ་བུ་ནས་
གོས་ཀྱི་དགོས་ཀྱི་བྱེད་ཀྱི་མན་དག་ལོན་མཐར་སོན་པའི་ཀུན་ལ་འགྲོ་པུན་གྱི་བསམ་པ་བཟང་།
- 11) སོ་བུ་གིས་འདུན་ཡོད་འདུག་པར། ཚོང་ལེ་སོགས་ལྷག་གཡོ་འཛུན་གཞན་འདྲེས་ཞོར་གྱི་མེད་པའི་
སྐུམ་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཀྱི་དཀར་སྐབ་ཐེབས་ཀྱི་འགྲོ་གཡལ་བུ་བུ་ཡོད།
- 12) རིགས་ལ་ལོ་མཁོ་པ་མཚོ་ས་ཕྱོགས་དེས་མེད་དུ་གཞན་པན་སྐུམ་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཀྱི་དཀར་དང་འབྲེལ་
བར་ལུགས་གཉིས་བྲིམས་མཐུན་གྱི་འགྲོ་འདུག་བྱེད་པར་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་རྩ་རིན་སྲི།
- 13) འགྲེ་ལྟར་སྐྱ་པའི་ཟ་སྐྱོག་བྱས་ཚོག་པ་དང་། གཞན་ལ་ཁྲལ་རིགས་ལ་མ་ཐོག་ལ་སྐྱོད་པ་དང་།
འབེབས། སྒོ་བྲལ། ལ་ཁྲལ། རྩ་བ། ལོ།
- 14) བསྐྱེད། བཅུ་ག་ ཚོང་ཁྲལ། ཀོ་གྲུ་ལམ་སྲེང་བཀག་བསྐྱིལ་སོགས་སྲུང་མེད་གསར་བོད་
བྲིམས་འགའ་འོས་མིན་རིགས་བྱས་མི་ཚོག་པའི་ལོ་བམ་སྐྱིན་པ་ཡིན།
- 15) པས། ཁྱོད་གོང་འཁོད་རྣམས་ནས་པན་ཆར་རིགས་རམ་རྣམ་དཀར་གྱི་གྲོ་གསུ་གང་འགྲོ་ལས།
གཞོན་འགའ་ལོག་སྐབ་རིགས་བྱས་ན་མི་འབྲས་པས་དེས་པའི་སྲུང་བྲངས་ཚུལ།
- 16) བཞིན་སྲོང་བ་གིས། ས་འབྲུག་རྒྱ་མཚོས་པ་ལ་གྲུ་འཛིན་གཉིས་པའི་གཞལ་ཆེན་པོ་ལོ་ལ་ནས་
བྱིས།
- 17) གོང་གསལ་སྐབས་མགོན་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ནས་སྐུལ་བའི་གཏན་ཚིགས་ལོ་བམ་དང་།
བཀའ་བོག་དུ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཚོག་ཀྱི་ལྷས་དེས་འགྲོང་སོང་། ས
- 18) འབྲུག་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ལ། །

This letter is from the collection of Shankarman Sherchan of Tukche.

Document No. 8 (MHR doc. no. 10, Tib.)
An Order of King 'Jam-dpal gra-'dul Issued to the Royal Priest Family of Chengor Village Asking to Perform Special Rituals for the Long Life of the King's Family

༄༅ ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དགའ་འདུལ་ལྷན་ནས་རང་ལྷབས་སུ་རྟོགས་པའི་སེར་སྐྱ་དྲག་གཞན་སྲི་དང་བྱེ་བྲག་
 གཉིས་པ་ལས་བྱེད་རྒྱན་བཅུ་མི་དམངས། མདོར་ན་སྐབ་གཞི་དྲག་གི་སྐྱེ་མེར་སྲགས་སྲོབ་མཐའ་དག་ལ་
 སྲིངས་པ་ཚོས་འཁོར་སྲགས་བརྒྱུད་དེ་དེ་བཞིན་ནས། སྲོན་སྲོ་བའི་ཚོས་ལུས་སྐྱུ་མཚེད་བདུན་ཡོད་པ་ལ་
 རྩང་བ་ནས་སྒྲ་ཆེན་ཚོས་འཕེལ་གྱིས་མཐུ་སྐྱད་བྱས་ནས་སྐྱུ་མཚེད་གཅིག་ལ་ལུག་ནས་གཙོ་བརྒྱུད་པ་རྩི་
 ས་ཀྱི་སྐྱུ་ཚོ་སྲིང་ཐབས་གྱི་བརྒྱུག་པ་རྣམ་མཚོ་སྐལ་ནས་སྐྱད་སོགས་ཐོན་ནས་གདུང་ལ་གཟམ་མ་ཆད་པ་

ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དགའ་འདུལ་ལྷན་ནས་རང་ལྷབས་སུ་རྟོགས་པའི་སེར་སྐྱ་དྲག་གཞན་སྲི་དང་བྱེ་བྲག་
 གཉིས་པ་ལས་བྱེད་རྒྱན་བཅུ་མི་དམངས། མདོར་ན་སྐབ་གཞི་དྲག་གི་སྐྱེ་མེར་སྲགས་སྲོབ་མཐའ་དག་ལ་
 སྲིངས་པ་ཚོས་འཁོར་སྲགས་བརྒྱུད་དེ་དེ་བཞིན་ནས། སྲོན་སྲོ་བའི་ཚོས་ལུས་སྐྱུ་མཚེད་བདུན་ཡོད་པ་ལ་
 རྩང་བ་ནས་སྒྲ་ཆེན་ཚོས་འཕེལ་གྱིས་མཐུ་སྐྱད་བྱས་ནས་སྐྱུ་མཚེད་གཅིག་ལ་ལུག་ནས་གཙོ་བརྒྱུད་པ་རྩི་
 ས་ཀྱི་སྐྱུ་ཚོ་སྲིང་ཐབས་གྱི་བརྒྱུག་པ་རྣམ་མཚོ་སྐལ་ནས་སྐྱད་སོགས་ཐོན་ནས་གདུང་ལ་གཟམ་མ་ཆད་པ་

དང་། དཔོན་དུང་སྐྱེ་ཀྱི་གང་པ་རྣམས་ནས་ཀྱང་ངོར་ལྷན་གྱི་དགོས་པའི་བཀའ་ཐམ་ཡང་ཡེ་མགོན་ཚོ་
 དབང་ལྷན་གྲུབ་ནས་རྩལ་འདུག་པས་དེ་ཐུག་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གདུང་ལ་ཕུ་རྒྱུག་མེད་ཀྱང་། གིས་དུང་པ་བསྐྱེན་
 འཛིན་ནས་བཟུང་ཞབས་བརྟེན་གྲུབ་ཡི་མ་གྱུང་འདུག་པ་དེ་ཚེ་སྲིད་གི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་རྣམས་ལ་འཕྲོད་འབྱོར་ལ་
 བརྟེན་ནས་དུང་པ་ཀྱན་དགའ་རབ་བརྟན་བཅས་ནས་ཞབས་རྟེན་གྲུབ་པས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དགའ་འདུལ་
 རྟེན་ཞལ་ལ་གདུང་ཟམ་ཚད་མེད་པར་དུང་སྲགས་སྡེ་རྣམས་ནས་གྱེད་དགོས་། རང་ལུལ་གཞན་ལུལ་གང་
 དུའང་ལ་ཞེ་མེད་པའི་ཞབས་བརྟེན་གྲུབ་། ལྷ་བསྐྱེད་རྣམས་ལོ་རང་གི་བཤོད་དུ་འཕྲོགས་གཅིག་འདི་ནས་
 ཀྱང་ཞབས་བརྟེན་གྱི་རིམས་པ་གང་སྤྱི་བུང་ཀྱང་ཡི་གེ་སྲིད་དུས་མཐོ་ལྷལ་ཡོངས་རྒྱ། དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་
 རྩུར་ཅང་སྲིད་དགོངས་པ་གནང་བ་ཡིན། རྗེས་སུ་ཡང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ལུམ་སྲས་ལ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱང་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྐྱེ་ཚོ་
 སྲིད་སྲིན། རྩུར་རྩུ་ཡང་བཏང་དགོས་དང་གོ་བཞིན་དུང་མོ་བུང་སྲིན་གང་འོས་གཅོད་མཚམས་གྱེད་རྒྱུ་ནས་
 དེ་དོན་བཞིན་དུང་པ་ཚོས་འཁོར་པ་རྣམས་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དགའ་འདུལ་ཡབ་ལུམ་ལ་རིགས་གདུང་
 ཟམ་མི་ཚད་པ་ཡབ་ལུམ་སྲས་བཅས་སྐྱེ་ཚོ་སྲིད་ཐབས་སྲིན་དུ་ཐམ་འབྲིན་པས་དྲག་ཞན་ཚང་མས་བརྒྱན་
 བཅས་བདེ་བར་རྒྱབ། ཞེས་གོ་པར་གྱེད་པའི་ཡི་གེ་འདི་ཡང་སྲོན་ཐང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷན་གྱི་འགྲུབ་པའི་
 སྲིད་ནས་རྒྱ་རྩ་ ༡༠ པའི་ཚེ་ས་ ༡༩ ཚོས་ལ་གིས་པ་དགའོ། །

This document is from the collection of the traditional village assembly of Chengor.

**Document No. 9 (MHR doc. no. 13, Tib.)
 A Letter from Sa-skya Abbot 'Jam-dbyangs bstan-pa'i rgyal-
 mtshan Related to the Construction of the Smon-chos dgon-
 pa in Lomanthang**

- ༡། གུང་འཇམ་ལ་དབྱེད་ས་བསྐྱེན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་མཚོག་ནས་ས་སྐུའི་དགོན་ལག་སྡེན་ཚོས་དགོན་
 གསར་སྲིར་དུ་ཞལ་འདེབས་སྲོང་མཚོག་པའི་བཀའ་རྒྱལ་བཞུགས་སོ།
- ༡། སྲོང་མངའ་རིས་སྲོང་གསུམ་དང་། བར་དབུས་གཙང་རུ་བཞེར་གཏོགས་པའི་བསྐྱེན་པའི་མཚོང་
 སྲིན་སྡེ་དཔོན་མི་དྲག་སོགས་སེར་སྐྱེ་ཚོག་དམན་མཐའ་དག་ལ་ཚེད་འབུལ།
- ༢། འདི་གའི་དགོན་ཁོངས་སྲོང་སྲོང་སྲོན་ཐང་དགོན་འདི་ཉིད་མཐའ་མཚམས་ས་གནས་ལ་བརྟེན་
 ཉམས་བཟོ་ཕུགས་འཕེར་གཞིག་ཞིག་དགོས་གནས་ལོ་གོང་གསལ་ཁོངས་སུ་སྲོང་མོ་དང་འབྲེལ།
- ༣། བའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱེན་དགོས་གསལ་དེ་དོན་དགོས་རྒྱུའི་བཀོད་མངགས་སོང་བ། དེས་ན་རང་གཞན་ཀྱན་གྱི་
 ལེགས་ཚོགས་འབྱུང་སྲིར་མཐུན་རྒྱེན་དངོས་འབུལ་གང་ཟབ་དང་འདི་གའམ།
- ༤། ཕུལ་མཚན་དེས་བཀོད་དང་། སྲོང་མོ་བར་ལོ་སྲིད་ཀོ་གྱུའི་སྲོལ་འདོག་གནས་སལ་གཟན་ལིང་
 བཅས་དམ་དོན་ཡོང་བ་གྱེད། དཔལ་ས་སྐུའི་ཕུན་ཚོགས་སོ་བྱང་ནས་མཁོན།
- ༥། གུང་འཇམ་དབྱེད་ས་ཀྱན་དགའ་བསྐྱེན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ནས་སེ་སྐྱེས་རྒྱ་ཚོས་ལ། །

This document is from the collection of the Monthang Chodhe Monastery of Lomonthang.

Document No. 10 (MHR doc. no. 15, Tib.)

The Tsarang brGyad-stong-pa dKar-chag (Preface to the Manuscript Text of the Prajñāpāramitā)

༄། ལྷོ་བོ་རྩ་དངས་མཁར་ཡོད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་སྟོང་པའི་དཀར་ཆག་བཞུགས་སོ། །

༥ ཤེས་རབ་པ་ལོལ་ཏུ་སྤྱོད་པའི་བརྒྱུད་སྟོང་པའི་དཀར་ཆག་བཞུགས་སོ། །༥ ལོ་སྟ་སྟེ་སིད་རྒྱུ་
 དག་ཡིགས་ས་གཞི་ཚོགས་གཉིས་ས་བོན་བཏབ། །ཐབས་མཁས་སྐྱུགས་མེད་ཚུ་རྒྱུར་གྱིས་བརྒྱན་པས།
 །སྤྱུ་གསུམ་འབྲས་བུའི་དཔལ་གྱིས་རབ་བཞིད་པའི། །ཀུན་དགའི་མཚན་ཅན་གྲ་མའི་ཞབས་ལ་འདུད།
 །རང་གཞན་དོན་གཉིས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་རྫོགས་སངས་རྒྱས། །ཐོག་མཐའ་བར་དག་གསུང་རབ་དམ་པའི་ཚེས།
 །ཁིང་གི་མཚོག་གྱུར་ཚོགས་མཚོག་དག་འདུན་ཏེ། །སྐབས་གནས་དཀོན་མཚོག་གསུམ་ལ་གུས་པས་
 །འཚལ། །དབག་ཡས་ཚོགས་གཉིས་རྒྱ་གཏེར་ཆེ་ལས་འབྱུངས། །བྱང་རྒྱུ་སྟོང་པའི་རིན་ཆེན་ལམས་
 །ལས་གྲུབ། །མྱེད་བྱེད་སྐྱབ་ཞིའི་བར་རིམ་གྱིས་མཛེས་པ། །ཐུབ་དབང་རྒྱན་པོའི་ཞབས་ལ་སྤྲུག་འཚལ་
 ལོ། །དེས་སྟེང་བརྒྱུད་བྱི་བཞི་སྟོང་མཚོག་གྱུར་པ། །དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱེད་པའི་
 །ཡུམ། །སྤུས་ཡུམ་བཅུ་བདུན་ཀུན་གྱི་སྟོང་པོ་མཚོག། །ཡུམ་མཚོག་བརྒྱུད་སྟོང་པ་ལ་སྤྲུག་འཚལ་བསྟོད།
 །ཁྱེད་སྐྱུགས་སྟོས་པ་ཀུན་དང་བྲལ་ཡང་འཕྱིན་ལས་སྟོབས་དཔག་མེད་མཛོད། །ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མཁྱེན་པས་ཚོས་
 ཀུན་འབད་ཀྱང་ཡོག་སྟེའི་ཀུའུ་ཟུམ་པར་བྱེད། །ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྐྱུགས་མེས་འགོ་ཀུན་སྟོང་ཡང་བདུད་དཔུང་མ་
 །ཡུམ་འཛེམས་མཛོད་པའི། །བསྐྱེད་པའི་མངའ་བདག་འཛམ་དབྱངས་གྲ་མ་སྐྱོ་རྒྱ་ཀུན་གྱི་གཙོག་ན་རྒྱལ།
 །ཕྱོད་བྱུང་པད་མ་སྟོང་གི་སྤྱུ་ལ། །བསྐྱུལ་བཟང་འདི་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་འབྱུང་ཞེས། །དམ་ཚོས་
 པད་མ་དཀར་ལས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན། །སྟེ་དགའི་ཚོའད་བཞི་ཁྱེད་དུས་དང་ནི། །སྤུས་ཁྱེད་ཁྱེད་དུས་
 ལུ་རིམ་པ་བཞིན། །འཁོར་བ་འཛིག་དང་གསེར་ཐུབ་འོད་སྤུང་བྱོན། །རྒྱས་པའི་དུས་འདིར་སྟོང་གསུམ་མི་
 མཛོད་ཞིང་། །སྤེ་བ་སྤྲུག་བརྒྱའི་ཁིང་མང་མཚོག་གྱུར་པ། །འཛམ་གྱིང་དབྱུས་ཀྱི་དོ་རྩེ་གདན་སྟོལ།
 །ཟས་གཙང་སྤས་མཚོག་ཤུ་ཀྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱིན། །གང་དེས་རིགས་གསུམ་གདུལ་བུའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ལ།
 །རིམ་གསུམ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱོར་བྱས་ནས། །ཐོག་གསུམ་བྱང་རྒྱུ་གསུམ་ལ་རིམ་པར་བཀོད།
 །སྟོན་པ་ལྷ་རན་འདས་པའི་རྩེས་ཐོག་སྤ། །བསྐྱེད་པ་ཡུན་རིང་གནས་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར། །དག་བཅོམ་བྱང་
 རྒྱུ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཚོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། །བཀའ་བསྟུ་རིམ་པ་གསུམ་དུ་མཛོད་པ་དང་། །ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་པོ་
 སྤྲུག་ན་རྩེ་ཡིས། །ཐོག་ཚེན་སྟེ་སྟོང་མ་ཡུས་སྤུས་པ་དང་། །བརྒྱན་དུག་མཚོག་གཉིས་ལ་སོགས་
 མཁས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། །དགོངས་འགྲུལ་བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་རྣམས་ནི་མཛོད་པའི་མཐུས། །རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་པའི་
 །ཡུལ་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེད། །ལྷ་བརྒྱ་སྤྲུག་རྒྱ་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་གནས་པར་གསུངས་པ་ཡིན། །བོད་ཡུལ་
 སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེད་པ་འཕེལ་རྒྱལ་ནི། །ཟས་གཙང་སྤས་པོ་བྱང་རྒྱུ་ཐོབ་པ་ དང་། །དུས་མཚུངས་
 དག་ཏུ་ཁ་བ་ཅན་སྟོངས་འདིར། །མང་པོས་བཀའ་པའི་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་དེ་མ་མེད། །གཉེན་ཁྱི་བཅོན་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་

མོག་མར་བྱང་། །དེ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཁྱི་བདུན་སྟེངས་ཅིག་དང་། །ལོགས་དུག་ལྟ་བུ་བརྒྱུད་བཅོམ་བཞི་ཞེས་བྱ་
 པ། །ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་དུག་སྟོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི། །མི་རྗེ་ལྷ་ས་མཛད་པོད་ལམས་བདེ་ལ་བཀོད། །འོན་ཀྱང་དུས་
 དེར་དམ་ཚེས་འགྲུར་བ་མེད། །དེ་ལྟར་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་དུག་སྟོན་རྗེས་སུ། །ཡུལ་དབུས་མཚོག་གྲུར་ཡར་ལུང་
 མང་པོ་ཚེར། །ཐོ་རིམ་སྐྱོན་ཞལ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚེས་རྒྱལ་བྱུང་། །དེ་ཚེས་གངས་ཅན་བསྐྱེད་པའི་དབུ་བརྒྱུས་
 སོ། །དེ་ཡི་གདུང་འཛིན་རྒྱུད་པ་དུག་པ་ལ། །སྐྱུན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་སྤུལ་པ་ཚེས་རྒྱལ་ཚེ། །སྤོང་
 བཅོམ་སྐམ་པོས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྤུལ་བསྟོད་དོ། །དེ་རྗེས་གདུང་རབས་ལྟ་ནས་ཚེས་རྒྱལ་མཚོག་གི། །བྱི་སྤོང་སྟེ་
 བཅོམ་ཞེས་བྱའི་སྤུལ་མཚོག་དང་། །བོད་ཡུལ་བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་བྱས། །སྤུལ་བཞི་ལས་ལུ་
 བག་བཅོམ་པོ་དང་། །སངས་ན་ལོགས་ཞེས་སྐྱེ་མཚེད་གཉིས་གྱིས་གྲང་། །དམ་ཚེས་སྤུལ་བྱིར་བསྐྱེད་པ་
 རྒྱས་པར་བྱས། །དེ་སྤུལ་གསུམ་གྱི་གཙུང་པོ་ཚེས་རྒྱལ་ཚེ། །གསང་བདག་དེ་བོ་རལ་པ་ཅན་ཞེས་པས།
 །སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེད་པ་འོན་ཏེ་རྒྱུས་པར་མཛད། །དེ་ལྟར་སྤྱིད་པའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་བཅུ་བཞི་ལ། །བསྐྱེད་པ་
 དབུ་བརྒྱུས་སྤོལ་བསྟོད་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས། །འོན་ཏེ་རྒྱུས་པར་མཛད་ཅེས་གྲགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་། །ཐུགས་རྗེའི་
 མངའ་བདག་ས་སྤོང་ཚེ་རྣམས་གྱིས། །ཞི་འཚོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ན་ཚེད་བརྒྱ་ལྟ་ནི། །དུ་མའི་བར་དུ་སྐྱུན་
 དངས་གུས་པས་བསྐྱེད། །སངས་མི་མི་བདུན་བཀའ་བཅོམ་གཉིས་ལ་སོགས། །བོད་ཡུལ་ལོ་རྒྱའི་སོགས་
 གྲང་ལོགས་བསྐྱེད་ནས། །མདོ་སྤགས་གསུང་རབས་བསྐྱེད་བཞེངས་དག་པར་བྱས། །བཤད་རྒྱུ་བ་
 གཉིས་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྟེལ་བ་ནི། །གངས་ཅན་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྤྱི་དེ་ལོ་རྒྱལ་ལགས། །སྤོན་ས་མི་མཐུན་རྟོན་
 འབྲེལ་དགའ་ཞིག་རྒྱས། །རལ་པ་ཅན་གཅེན་རྒྱལ་པོ་དར་མ་ཡིས། །འོ་གཅིག་རྒྱ་བསྟེང་དུ་རྒྱལ་གྱིད་
 བཟུང། །ཐུགས་སུ་གདོན་གསོལ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེད་པ་བསྐྱེད་པས། །དེ་ཡི་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་གངས་པའི་འོང་
 འདིར་ནི། །འོ་གངས་བདུན་བཅུ་ཅུ་ལྟེ་བར་དག་དུ། །བསྐྱེད་པ་ཉམས་སྤྱོད་ཞེས་ནི་མ་ལས་རྣམས་
 གསུང། །འོན་ཀྱང་མཐུན་པའི་རྗེན་འབྲེལ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། །སྤིས་གྲང་བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་རྒྱལ་འདི་ལྟ་སྟེ།
 །རལ་པ་ཅན་དུས་དུར་སྤྱིག་འཛིན་པའི་མཚོག་ །དམར་གཡོ་གཅོང་གསུམ་ཞེས་བྱའི་དགེ་སྤོང་རྣམས་
 །མདོ་སྤྱང་ཨ་ན་རྒྱུང་དགོན་པར་བྱོན་ནས་ནི། །སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྟེལ་བར་འདོད་པའི་ཚེ། །སྤུལ་ལྟན་
 རབ་གསལ་ཞེས་བྱའི་སྤུལ་ཚེན་དེ། །བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་ཞུགས་བསྐྱེད་པ་མདོ་ལམས་དང་། །དབུས་གཅོང་
 གཉིས་སུ་རིམ་པར་སྟེལ་བ་ནི། །སྤི་དར་སྤྱང་ནས་དར་བའི་རྒྱལ་ལུགས་ལགས། །སྤི་དར་མཚོག་གྲུར་
 སྤོང་དར་བརྗོད་པ་བྱ། །དར་མའི་སྤུལ་གཉིས་གཅེན་ནི་འོད་བསྐྱེད་སྟེ། །དེ་སྤུལ་དཔལ་འགོར་བཅོམ་
 ཞེས་སེམས་དཔལ་ཚེ། །གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྒྱུད་བཞེངས་ཞིང་ཚེས་ལ་གུས། །དེ་སྤུལ་གཅེན་ནི་བཀྲ་
 འིས་བརྟེན་པ་དཔལ། །གཙུང་པོ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་དང་རྣམ་གཉིས་འབྱུངས། །བཀྲ་འིས་བརྟེན་པ་པ་
 དཔལ་ལ་སྟེ་གསུམ་སྟེ། །དཔལ་ལྟེ་འོད་ལྟེ་སྤྱི་ལྟེ་རྣམ་གསུམ་པས། །མཚེད་པར་གྲུར་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོ་སོ་
 ཡིས། །གྲང་མང་ཡར་ལུང་ལུས་འབྱུང་ལྱང་སྤོང་སོགས། །ལོགས་བཟུང་ལུགས་གཉིས་མཛད་རྒྱལ་
 གཞན་དུ་ཤེས། །དཔལ་འགོར་བཅོམ་གྱི་སྤུལ་མཚོག་ཉི་མ་མགོན། །མངའ་རིས་སྤོང་དུ་བབས་ནས་སྤུལ་

གསུམ་གྱིས། །སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པ་སྲེལ་ཚལ་འདི་ལྟ་སྟེ། །སྲས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོད་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན་གྱིས་ནི།
 །རྒྱ་གར་ཁ་སྲེའི་ཡུལ་དང་འདར་ཉེ་པའི། །མང་ཡུལ་སྤྱིད་པའི་འབྲུང་གནས་ཤིང་ཕྱོགས་དེར། །ཡུགས་
 །གཉིས་སློན་ནས་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད། །དེ་ནས་གདུང་རབས་བཅུ་བདུན་མཚམས་སུ་ནི། །ཡངས་པ་
 ཅན་མཚུབས་ལྟ་བུའི་ཤོང་ཤོར་དུ། །ཇི་ལོ་བཤོད་ནམས་ཞེས་བྱའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་བུད། །དེ་སྲས་སྲེལ་མཚོག་
 །བྱི་བཅོན་སྟེ་དང་ནི། །དེ་ཡི་སྲས་མཚོག་ཇོ་བོ་བཅུ་དང་ཉེ། །ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཡབ་སྲས་རྣམས་གསུམ་དེ་དག་
 །གིས། །མདོ་སྲགས་བསྟན་པ་ལྷག་པར་དར་བར་མཛད། །བཅུ་དྲུག་སྲས་བདུན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚོག་གྱུར་
 །པ། །མི་མཐུན་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམས་པར་རྒྱལ་གྱུར་ཅིག་ །སྤྱི་རབས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚོག་ །རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྲགས་པ་
 །ཞེས་བྱའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དེས། །མངའ་རིས་སྟོང་འདིར་ཡུགས་གཉིས་ལེགས་བསྐྱངས་ནས། །སངས་རྒྱལ་
 །བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད། །ཉི་མ་མཚོན་ཅན་སྲས་ཅུང་ལྡེ་གཅུག་མགོན། །ས་སྟོང་དེས་ཀྱང་.....
ལ་སོགས་པ། །བོད་མོན་མཚམས་སུ་བསྟན་པ་སྲེལ་ཞེས་ཐོས། །བར་པ་བརྒྱ་ཤིས་མགོན་ཞེས་
 །བུ་བུ་དེས། །གྲུ་གོ་བུ་རྒྱངས་སྟོང་ལ་ལ་སོ་ལ། །དབང་བསྐྱར་མཛད་ཅིང་སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པ་སྲེལ་
 །དེ་སྲས་འོད་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་ཞེས་བྱའི་..... །དེ་རང་དུ་བྱུང་བས་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད། །ཞེས་བྱའི་
 །ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེ་ངས་ལྟ་རྒྱ་དང་། །བསྐྱ་ག་སོགས་པ་ཆ་ཚེན་.....ཞིང་། །སྲུ་བསྐྱར་དབང་ལུག་རིན་ཚེན་
 །བཟང་པོ་སོགས། །གུས་པས་བསྟོན་ནས་ལེག་ཚོས་སུ་རྒྱུང་ཞིང་། །དེ་དཔོན་མཚོག་གྱུར་བྱུང་རྒྱབ་འོད་
 །གྱིས་ཀྱང་། །འཕགས་ཡུལ་པར་ཆེན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚོག་གྱུར་བ། །ཨ་རྩི་ཤ་དེ་གུས་པས་སྐྱུ་རྒྱངས་རྣམས།
 །གངས་ཅན་ཤོང་འདིར་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད། །དེ་ཇི་སྲས་འབ་ཅན་ལྷོངས་ས་ཡི་དབུས། །བོད་གྱི་དོ་ཇེ་
 །གདན་དུ་རབ་གྲགས་པ། །དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱའི་གནས་མཚོག་དམ་པ་དེར། །འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་འཕྱུལ་ཇེ་
 །བཅུ་ན་ས་སྐྱུ་པ། །གོང་མ་བཞི་སོགས་སྟེས་ཆེན་རྣམས་བྱོན་ནས། །མ་དག་གྲུབ་མཐའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་
 །སུ་རྒྱུང་བཞེངས། །ཡང་དེ་ག་ལམ་རྣམས་ལེགས་པར་སྲེལ་བྱིར་དུ། །བཤད་སྐྱབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པའི་
 །སྲོལ་བཅུགས་ཤིང་། །ས་སྐྱ་བཀའ་འབྲུམ་ལ་སོགས་གསུངས་རབས་རྣམས། །ལེགས་པར་མཛད་པས་
 །དེང་སང་བར་དུ་ན། །བསྟན་པ་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་པ་གང་དེའི་རིན། །སྤྱིས་ནི་རྒྱ་རྟེན་འདུས་པའི་སྟེ་གནས་
 །མཚོག་ །སྟོ་བོ་ཞེས་བྱའི་ཞིང་མཚོག་དམ་པ་དེར། །ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྲུལ་པ་བསྟན་པའི་སྟེན་བདག་ཆེ། །ཨ་
 །ཡི་མཚོན་ཅན་ཡབ་མེས་སྲས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། །བསྟན་པའི་མངའ་བདག་ཇེ་བཅུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཇེ། །ཀུན་དགའི་
 །མཚོན་ཅན་ཡབ་སྲས་རྣམས་གསུམ་དང་། །གངས་ཅན་མ་ལས་པའི་དབང་པོ་གཞན་འགའ་ཡང་། །ལེགས་
 །པར་སྐྱུ་རྒྱངས་གུས་པས་བསྟོན་ནས་ནི། །པལ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཤིན་ཏུ་དཔག་དགའ་བའི། །སྐྱུ་གསུང་
 །ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་མཚོག་གྲངས་ཡས་བཞེངས། །བཤད་སྐྱབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྟེ་རྣམས་ལེགས་བཅུགས་ཉེ། །མདོ་
 །སྲགས་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་པ་ནི། །སྟེགས་དུས་འགྲོ་ལ་བཀའ་རིན་ཆེ་བར་སེམས། །ཁྱུང་པར་སྤྱི་
 །སྟོང་ལྡེ་བཅོན་སྟོན་པའི་མཚོག་ །དམ་ར་ཟེའེས་ས་སྟོང་ཆེན་པོ་ཡི། །གདུང་འཛིན་དཔོན་མོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་
 །མཚོག་གྱུར་པ། །དཔལ་གྱི་འབྲུང་ནས་དཔལ་གྱི་མཚོན་དང་ལྷན། །འཇིག་རྟེན་ཐམས་ཅད་དཔལ་གྱིས་
 །སྟོང་པ་ཡི། །ས་སྟོང་ཆེན་མོ་

བྱང་སེམས་དཔལ་སྐྱོང་དང་། །དེ་སྤྲུལ་ལྷག་.....ལྷག་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྐྱོང་ལ་མཁམས། །མིམས་གཉིས་
 བདག་པོ་ཨ་སེང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི། །ལྷགས་བཟང་སྐྱོང་བའི་ཡུམ་སྤུལ་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས། །རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྲགས་
 པ་ཞེས་བྱ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དེ། །སྤུལ་མང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་མཚོགས་གྱུར་པ། །རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་དུང་ཚོས་ཀྱིས་སྐྱོང་
 ཞིང་ཚོས་ལ་གུས། །ཚོས་སྐྱོང་རྒྱལ་མེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་མཚོན་ལྡན་མ། །བཅུན་མ་རིན་ཚེན་དམ་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་
 ལྡན། །ཚོས་དབྱིངས་ཟབ་མོར་གཤེགས་པར་གྱུར་པའི་ཚེ། །གནས་སྐྱུག་འབྲེལ་པའི་གཞུང་བཟང་སྐྱོང་
 སྤྱིར་དང་། །གདན་གྲོགས་སྤྱི་ཐག་སྤྱི་དམར་བྱ་བའི་སྤྱིར། །གཤེགས་རྩོགས་རྣམ་དག་བསྐྱབས་རྒྱལ་འདི་
 ལྟར་ཉི། །མདོ་སྤྲུགས་ལུང་རིགས་སྤྱི་བ་འདུ་བའི་གནས། །ལེ་མོ་ཚོས་ལྡན་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཚོས་གྲུ་དེ།
 །རྫི་རྫི་འཆང་དབང་གསེར་སྐྱུའི་དཀར་མི་ལ། །གསེར་གྱི་དབུ་ལམས་གཡུ་ཡི་སྤུ་མངས་ལྡན། །གཞན་
 ཡང་གསེར་གཡུ་བྱི་རུ་མུ་ཉིག་སོགས། །རྣམ་དག་དད་པའི་སྤོབས་ཀྱིས་སུལ་བ་དང་། །ཚོས་རྗེ་ལབ་
 སྤུལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དྲུང་དྲུ་ཡང་། །གསེར་སོགས་རིན་ཚེན་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡང་དག་མཛད། །སྤེ་སྤྱོད་འཛིན་པའི་
 དགོ་འདུན་སྐྱོང་སྤྲུག་ལའང་། །མང་མཚོ་གོ་འབྲེལ་བ་རྒྱ་ཚེན་བསྐྱབས། །སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་མངའ་
 བདག་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ། །ཡོན་ཏན་མཚོན་ཅན་ལ་སོགས་སློབ་ཡིས། །ཡོན་གནས་མཚོགས་ཀྱུར་ཚོས་རྗེ་སྤུལ་
 དང་། །བྱུར་ཚེན་ཚེ་སོགས་བཅུ་སྤྲུག་བདུན་རྣམས་ལ། །བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་མའི་མཁམས་ཆ་རྣམ་བཟའ་
 ཡིས། །ཐོགས་གྲངས་གསེར་གཡུ་མུ་ཉིག་སྤོས་ཤེལ་དང་། །ཟེའོག་གོས་དར་རྒྱ་མཛོལ་བཟང་མས་
 སོགས། །རྣམ་དག་དངོས་པོའི་ཚོགས་ནི་རབ་མང་གིས། །འབྲེལ་བ་རྒྱ་ཚེར་དཔག་མེད་བསྐྱབས་པ་དང་།
 །ཞིང་འདིའི་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྐོར་ཞུགས་གང་དག་ལ། །བསྐྱེད་བཀུར་འབྲེལ་བ་དུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པོ་ནི། །ལན་
 གྲངས་གཉིས་སུ་ལེགས་པར་བསྐྱབ་གྱུར་ཅིང་། །སློབ་པའི་སྤྱོད་ཡོད་དེ་ཚོགས་རྣམས་ནི། །གྲུ་ཚོས་སྤྱི་ན་
 གཉོང་དག་གིས་ཚོམ་པར་བྱས། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་དན་སེང་སྐྱོང་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི། །ཚོ་གཉི་སྤྲུག་ལྟག་
 ཚོམ་བསྐྱབས་གྱུར་ཅིང་། །བཟང་སྤྱོད་བྲམས་སྤོན་སྤོན་ལམ་འབྲུམ་སྤྲུག་ནི། །དུ་མའི་བར་དུ་ལེགས་པར་
 བསྐྱབས་པ་དང་། །སྤྱི་ཡི་རྟེན་དུ་རྗེ་བཅུན་སྤོལ་མ་ནི། །རིན་ཚེན་ལས་གྲུབ་གཡུ་ཡི་སྤུ་ཚོམས་མཚོགས་
 །སུམ་བརྒྱའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ལེགས་པར་སྤྲུལ་པ་དང་། །གསུང་རྟེན་ཤེར་སྤོན་སྤོགས་བམ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱོང་པ།
 །རིན་ཚེན་གསེར་ལས་ལེགས་པར་བསྐྱབ་པ་ཡིན། །བསྐྱེད་གནས་སེམས་ཅན་བདེ་དང་ལྡན་སྤྱིར་དུ།
 །རྟེན་གྱི་རབ་གནས་ལེགས་པ་རབ་བསྐྱབ་རྒྱལ་ནི། །བཤེས་གཉེན་མཚོགས་ཀྱུར་བརྒྱ་སྤྲུག་གསུམ་དག་གིས།
 །བཅོམ་ལྡན་དགོས་གཉོང་ཚོ་གསེར་ལེགས་པར་བསྐྱབས། །དེ་ལྟར་རྣམ་དགར་དགོ་ཚོགས་རྒྱ་ཚེན་རྣམས།
 །སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བདུན་པོའི་ཞིངས་སུ་བསྐྱབས་པ་ལ། །ཡུལ་ལམས་གཞན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་དང་རྒྱལ་སྤུལ་རྣམས།
 །རབ་དུ་མཚར་ཞིང་འབྲན་པར་བཟོད་མ་ཡིན། །ཡུམ་སྤུལ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རྗེ་ལྟར་བཀུར་སུལ་བཞིན། །སྤེ་
 བྱང་སྤོན་པོའི་ཚོགས་ནི་རབ་མང་དང་། །བཀའ་རྒྱུ་སེམས་ཤེད་བ་མཁམས་གྱུར་པའི། །ཉེར་མཁོའི་སྤེ་
 བོ་བརྒྱ་སྤྲུག་དག་གིས་ནི། །ལེགས་པར་གྲུབ་གྱུར་འདྲེ་འདྲེ་དོ་མཚར་ཆེ། །སྤོག་བམ་མཚོགས་འདིའི་ཡིག་
 གཉོར་དོ་དམ་པ། །སྤོ་ལྡན་དབེན་ཡིག་ཀུན་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་བྱས་བཤིས། །བཀོད་ལེགས་ཡི་གའི་མཁམས་པོར་

གུར་པ་ནི། །ཚུལ་གྲགས་ཚོས་འཕར་བུམས་གྲགས་ཞེས་བྱ་དང་། །དངོས་གྲུབ་བཟང་པོ་ཤེས་རབ་
 གྲགས་པ་སོགས། །སློང་ལ་ཡ་གོ་མཁན་མཚོག་བརྟུ་དུག་གིས། །ཟབ་མུར་ཚུལ་གྱི་ལོགས་པར་འགོད་
 པ་ཡིན། །བརྒྱ་སྟག་སངས་རྒྱལ་བཞུགས་གནས་སྟོགས་ཤིང་འདྲི། །མཁས་པ་སྲི་བཙན་ལག་པའི་འདུ་
 རྱེད་ལགས། །དག་སྲེད་པ་ནི་མང་ཐེས་སློང་གོས་ཙན། །བསོད་ནམས་དཔའ་འབོར་ཤེར་བཟང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ།
 །བཀའ་བརྟུ་སྲུ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས། །ཡུང་རིགས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལོགས་པར་གཉན་ལ་ཕབ།
 །མཚོད་གནས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་ཏོག་ཚུལ་བཞིན་དུ། །གཉེར་ཆེན་བུ་རྒྱུང་འགར་དཀྲུག་དང་པས་སྲུལ།
 །དཔལ་གྱི་མཚན་ལྡན་ཚོས་སློང་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཡིས། །དཀར་ཆག་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལྡན་པད་ཚོམས་ཅིག་པའི།
 །བཀའ་སྲུལ་གང་ཡོན་དེ་ནི་ལྟར་གངས་ནས། །མང་དུ་ཐོས་ཤིང་སྐྱབ་ལ་མདུན་པ་ཙན། །འཤྲུའི་དགོ་
 སློང་ནམ་མཁའི་མིང་ཙན་གྱིས། །བསྟན་པའི་བྱུང་ཚུལ་དག་དང་མཐུན་པར་བགོད། །དེ་ལྟར་བསྐྱབས་
 པའི་དགོ་བཀའ་གའི་རྒྱན། །རྣམ་པར་དཀར་བའི་གངས་རི་ལས་བྱུང་བ། །དུས་གསུམ་དགོ་བཀའ་ཞན་
 དང་ལྡན་ཅིག་ཏུ། །ཀུན་མཁུའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོར་འཇུག་གྱུར་ཅིག། །དཀོན་མཚོག་རིན་ཆེན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྱིན་
 རྒྱལས་དང་། །དགོ་ལོགས་ཚོགས་གཉིས་སྟེལ་བའི་.....། །བསྟན་པའི་སྤྱིན་བདག་ཡུམ་སྲས་
 འབོར་བཅས་རྣམས། །སློའི་གཏན་འཛིན་དཔལ་འབྱོར་འཕེལ་བར་ཤོག། །འབྲུར་མེད་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་མ་བཅོས་
 ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ། །འགག་མེད་སྟན་པའི་སྐྱ་ལྡན་ཚངས་པའི་དབྱངས། །དྲི་མེད་ཤེས་བྱའི་ཚོས་ཀུན་གསོལ་
 བའི་ཐུགས། །སློའི་དུས་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ཤེས་ཤོག། །མི་གྲུ་ལོ་གྲུ་མུ་རྒྱ་ལུ་བོ། །

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Account of the Great Prayer Wheel from Tsarang)

༄༅། །ཙ་དྲངས་མ་ཆི་འབོར་ལོ་ཆེན་པོའི་དཀར་ཆག་བཞུགས་སོ། །

མ་ཆི་འབྲུ་གངས་ལ་བྱེ་བ་བརྒྱུད་ས་ལ་གཉིས་འབུམ་ཚོ་གསུམ་ཁྲི་གཅིག་ །བརྗོད་ཀྱི་ལ་བྱེ་བ་གཅིག་ས་ལ་
 གཉིས་འབུམ་ཚོ་གཅིག་ཅིག་ཁྲི་དབུ་སློང་སྟག་བདུན། །ཡིག་བརྒྱ་འབྲུ་ས་ལ་ཉིས་བརྒྱ། །ཀྱི་རྩི་རྩེའི་སྟགས་
 ཁྲི་གསུམ་སློང་ལྷ་གསུམ་བརྒྱ། །འབོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོག་སྟགས་ཁྲི་ཚོ་གཅིག་ །འཕགས་མའི་སྟགས་འབུམ་
 ཚོ་དུག་ཁྲི་བདུན། །ཚོ་གཟུངས་འབུམ་ཚོ་གཉིས་ཁྲི་གཅིག་སློང་སྟག་གཉིས་དུག་བརྒྱ། །ཆེ་མཚོག་དེ་དུ་ཀ་
 འཇམ་དཔལ་ལ་བརྒྱ་གསུང་ཡང་དག་བདུད་ཅི་ཡུར་པ་རིག་འཛིན་འཇིག་རྟེན་མཚོད་རྟེན་སློང་པ་སྟེ་བཀའ་
 བརྒྱུད་སྟགས་སློང་དབུ་བཀའ་འབྲུར་སྲུས་པའི་གཟུངས་སློང་གཅིག་ །ཀློག་ཀའི་ས་ལ་གཅིག་འབུམ་ཚོ་
 གསུམ་ཁྲི་ཚོ་ལྷ་སློང་སྟག་གསུམ་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་བཞི་བརྒྱ། །གཙུག་ཏོར་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དྲི་མེད་བྱུང་རྒྱུབ་བརྒྱན་
 འབུམ་གསང་བ་རིང་བསྟེལ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་སླིང་པོ་སོགས་ཚར་བརྟུ་རེ། །སྤྱི་གླིབ་ཀུན་འཛོམས་སོགས་ཀྱི་
 གཟུངས་ཚར་བརྒྱ་རེ་བཞུགས། །འབོར་ལོ་འདི་ལོན་གཅིག་བསྟོར་ན་དུང་ཡུར་གཅིག་ས་ལ་གསུམ་འབུམ་

དགུ་མི་ཚིག་སྒོར་དགུ་བརྒྱ་བཞི་བཅུ་འགོ་གིན་ཡོད། །འཁོར་ལོ་བ་སྐྱོར་པའི་ཕན་ཡོན་རྒྱལ་པ་མདོ་དང་
རྒྱུད་སྡེ་རྣམས་དང་བསྟན་བཅོས་རྣམས་ནས་ལེགས་པར་གསལ་བ་བཞིན་ཤིང་སྤྲུག་ལེའི་ནང་དུ་འོ་བོ་ཨ་
མགོན་བསྟན་འཛིན་དབང་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ལེགས་པར་གྲུབ་པའི་དགོ་བས་བདག་སོགས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་
ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ཚྲོགས་སྤྱི་བ་གཉིས་སྤྱད་སྒྲན་མེད་པའི་བྱང་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུར་དུ་ཐོག་པར་རྒྱུར་ཅིག ། །

**Document No. 12 (MHR doc. no. 16, Tib.)
An Inscription from the Beginning Page of the brGyad-
stong-pa Deposited in the bKa'-gyur Lha-khang of the
Palace of Mustang**

ཨོ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་མཚན་དཔེས་རབ་མཛེས་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྤྱ། །གསལ་འོད་འབྱུང་པའི་ཡིག་འབྲུའི་གཟུགས་།
།རུ་བ་ཉེ་ཚེས་བུ་སོགས། །བལ་ཡུལ་མཁས་པའི་སྤྲུག་རྗེས་ལགས།།

**Document No. 13 (MHR doc. no. 17, Tib.)
Inscriptions from the Wall Painting of the Byams-pa lha-
khang (Maitreya Temple) in Lomanthang**

**Ground-floor (southern wall of the circumambulatory
passage, from right to left)**

- ༡ །ལྷ་མོ་འོད་ཟེར་ཅན་མ་ལ་.....ཡ་ལ་འདི། །.....གནས་ཁྲོ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་བུས་པས་བསྐྱབས། །.....
ལག་པའི་འདུ་བྱེད་.....ཆེ་བྱ།
- ༢ །གཙུག་ཏོར་གདུགས་དཀར་ཅན་གྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་འདི། །སངས་རྒྱལ་འོད་ཟེར་ཞེས་བྱའི་གུས་པས་
བསྐྱབས། །ལག་པའི་འདུ་བྱེད་གང་ཐང་དཔོན་མོ་ཆེ། །དགོ་འདི་འགྲོ་རྣམས་བྱང་རྒྱུ་ཐོབ་པར་ཤོག
- ༣ །གཞན་གྱིས་མི་ཐུབ་པའི་ཞིང་ཁམས་འདི། །དཔལ་མགོན་བསོད་རྒྱལ་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཞེངས།
།རི་མོའི་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་གང་ཐང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཡིན། །དགོ་བས་འགྲོ་ཀུན་སངས་རྒྱལ་སར་བཞོད་ཤོག །
- ༤གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དང་པས་བཞེངས། །རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་རི་མོ་གང་ཐང་དཔོན་མོ་ཆེ། །དགོ་བས་སངས་
རྒྱལ་རྒྱུར་དུ་བཞོད་པར་ཤོག །

**Ground-floor (frontside of the northern wall of the
circumambulatory passage)**

- ༡ །བེ་བྱ་བ་ཆ།
འཕགས་པ་འད་.....སྤྱལ་ཞིང་ཁམས་འདི། །ནམ་མགོན་འཇམ་དེར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གུས་པས་བཞེངས།

ལག་འདུ་བྱེད་དོལ་པོ་.....འདུ། །དགོ་བས་དོན་གཉིས་མཐར་སློན་བགྱོད་པར་ཤོག། །

Ground-floor (eastern wall, righthand side of the main gate of the circumambulatory passage)

༡ སངས་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེད་གྱི་ལྷ་འོ་ཞིང་ཁམས་འདི། །སྤོང་མཚན་སྐྱེད་ནང་སེས་སྐྱེད་བདག་མཛད། །རི་
མོའི་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་ཚོས་དང་ཀྱུ་ཐང་ཇ་ཞེས་བྱའི་ཡིན། །དགོ་དེས་འགོ་རྣམས་སངས་རྒྱལ་སར་བགྱོད་ཤོག།

༢གྱི། མཉན་.....ལོ། །.....འཚི་.....ད་ལྟར་བསྐྱེད་པ་..... །.....པ་ལ་
མདོ་ཚམ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཡི། །དག་པས་འགོ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་སྤྱོད་པ་ཡང་།ད་མཚངས་པར་ཤོག།

༣ཚོས་ནང་དུ། བྱེ་བོ་བས་སོགས་སྐྱུ་དག་ལ་གྲོལ། །རོ་ཏ་ནང་འགྲུ་དུ་བུད་ཅི་ས། །ལ་
སོ་སྐྱུ་དུག་གིས་མ་.....དགོན་.....འི་རྒྱ་ལི་བ་.....བཟང་མ་འགལ་བ་.....ཁང་ཚེན་.....།

**Inscriptions from first-floor
The Dkar-chag with golden letters, righthand side of the door**

༡ ལོ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི། རྣམ་དག་ཚོས་སྐྱའི་རྣམ་མཁའ་ཡངས་པ་ལ། །ཚོགས་གཉིས་རྒྱུང་གི་འགས་གྱིས་
ས་སྐྱེ་ཞིང་། །མཁའ་བརྟེན་ཆེན་མོས་ལྷ་ལྷ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྒྱུགས། །ས་གསུམ་གསལ་མཛད་སྐྱེ་རྒྱུ་གཉིས་
ན་རྒྱལ། །གང་གིས་དང་པོ་བྱང་རྒྱུ་ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ། །བསོད་ནམས་ཡོ་ཤེས་ཚོགས་གཉིས་མཐོར་སློན་
ནས། །འོག་མིན་སྐྱེ་པོ་བཞེད་པའི་ཞིང་མཚོག་ཏུ། །འཇར་ལུས་རྩ་རྩེ་སྐྱེ་རུ་མངོན་སངས་རྒྱལ།
མཚན་དང་པོ་དཔེ་སྤོ་ཡོངས་སུ་སྐྱེས། །གདུལ་བྱས་བཅུ་དེ་དབང་ལྷུག་འབའ་ཞིག་ལ། །ཟབ་དང་རྒྱ་ཚེའི་
ཐོག་ཚེན་ཚོས་འཁོར་བསྐྱོར། །འཆར་ལུས་མི་མངའ་རྒྱན་དུ་རྟག་པར་བཞུགས། །

༢ མ་དག་ཞིང་གི་འགོ་བ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཤིར། །སྐྱེལ་སྐྱའི་མཛད་པ་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་བསམ་མི་བྱེད། །བྱེད་
པར་མི་མཛད་འཛིག་རྟེན་ཞིང་ཁམས་འདིར། །འཇོམ་བྱའི་སྤྱིང་མཚོག་བྱེ་བ་ཐུག་བརྒྱུ། །མཛད་པ་བཅུ་
གཉིས་བྱེ་བ་ཐུག་བརྒྱུ་བསྐྱེད། །སྐྱེལ་སྐྱེ་.....ཐུག་བརྒྱུར་མངོན་བྱང་རྒྱུ། །ཐུན་མོང་ལམ་ལ་མོས་པའི་
གདུལ་བྱ་རྣམས། །བྱས་སུ་བཟུང་བྱེད་པའོ་རྣམ་གསུམ་སྐྱོར། །སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་པ་རོལ་སོན་གྱུར་གྱང།
དེ་བཞིན་གྱི་རི་བོ་འང་མཐོང་མིན་ན། །ཐར་འདོད་རི་བོ་མཚོག་རབ་བྱང་རྒྱུ་གྱི། །གཞལ་མེད་ཡིད་འོང་
བརྟེན་པར་གལ་ཤིན།

༣ བྱུ་རྒྱུ་.....གསེར་.....མ་མཐོང་རྒྱ། །སྤྱོད་ རྒྱ་.....འི་རོལ་མཚོན་གལ་ཤིན། །རྣལ་འབྱོར་
བང་རིམ་ས་ལི་མཐར་སོན་པས། །བླ་མ་ད་ལྷན་པོའི་ལྷོགས་གྱང་མཐོ་མིན་ནོ། །འབྲས་བུའི་ལམ་ལ་མོས་
པ་རྩེས་འཕྲག་ཤིར། །འདུལ་དཀའ་མཐའ་དུང་ཞིང་ལྷུར་པའི་ལམ། །གསལ་བར་མཛད། །སྤྱོད་པར་
རྒྱལ་བའི་རིགས་རྣམས་ལས་བཟུང་ཤིར། །.....དེ་བོན་པོ་.....རྣམས་ཆ་འདར་སྟོན། །རྣལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུད་གྱི།

སོགས་སུ་རྟོགས་བྱ་ཡི། །ཚུ་བཤད་ཆ་དང་མཐུན་པའི་རྒྱུད་རྣམས་གསུངས། །

༤ དེ་ཡི་དགོངས་གྲོ་ལ་ཟབ་རྒྱས་སྐྱབ་ཀྱིས་སོགས། །རྒྱལ་སྐོན་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔལ་དང་། །ལོ་པའ་
སྐྱེས་མཚོག་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་། །དུ་བསྐྱར། །བྱང་ནས་བྱང་གི་སྤོགས་སུ་རྒྱས་འགྲུལ་ཞེས། །རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད་ལ་བ་
ཅན་འཛིན། །བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྐྱོང་པོ་མཁའ་སྐྱབ་བསྐྱེད་པ། །བསྐྱེད་འཛིན་མདོ་སྤོགས་འཆལ་རྣམ་ལྟག་པ་
འཕེལ། །བྱང་པར་མངའ་རི་གཡལ་རུ་སྤྱིའི་སྤྱོད། །དགོ་བཅུ་འཛོམས་པའི་གནས་བཟང་པོ་འདིར།
གསང་བའི་བདག་པའི་རྣམ་འགྲུལ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི། །ཨའི་མཚན་ཅན་ལ་བ་སྤྱིས་སྤྱོད་འབྱུངས། །

༥ གཞན་སྟེན་གཤམ་པའི་སྤོགས་རྣམས་པམ་མཛད་ཅིང་། །རང་སྟེ་དཀར་པོའི་ས་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་མཛད་པའི་
སྤོབས་ཚེན་གང་གིས་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ནི། །འདམ་དུ་བྱིང་འདྲན་རྒྱན་དུ་འདགས་སྤིར་དུ། །ཐམས་ཅད་
མཁྱེན་པ་སྤོགས་། །རྗེ་འཛིན་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་བཤད་པོ་སོགས། །མཁའ་གྲུབ་། །དམ་རྣམ་
བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པའི་འཕྱིན་ལས་མཛོད། །བསྐྱེད་པའི་རྩ་བ་གཏུག་ལག་ཁང་ཚེན་དང་། །བཀའ་
། །དབསྐྱེད་བཅོས་གྲུར་རི་སྤོགས་རྒྱས་དང་། །མདོ་རྒྱུད་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྤོབས་གྲངས་མེད་བཞེངས།
། །བསྐྱེད་དང་བསྐྱེད་པ་འཛིན་པ་གུས་པས་མཚོད། །

༦ རྩུགས་རྗེ་ཅན་གྱིས་སྤིང་བ་གསུམ་ལ་གཟིགས། །ཤེས་རབ་མེ་ས་ཆ་ཆེ་། །སྤོགས་སྤྱི་། །ཕན་
བདེའི་ལམ་ལ་འགོད་མཛད་པ། །རྒྱལ་ཚབ་མི་པམ་མགོན་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི། །། །ཕྱུ་ལྷོ་
རྒྱལ་པོ་མདོན་སུམ་སྤོན་པ་བཞིན། །བྱང་པར་བུམས་ཚེན་གསེར་གྱི་སྐྱོན་པོ་བྱའི་སྐྱུ་གཟུགས། །ཕྱུ་ལྷོ་
རྒྱལ་པོ་མདོན་སུམ་སྤོན་པ་བཞིན། །བྱང་པར་བུམས་ཚེན་གསེར་གྱི་སྐྱོན་པོའི་ཞལ་རྣམས་འི་རྒྱལ་པར་གས་
། །ལུ་དམ། །རྒྱལ་འགྲོར་རྒྱུད་ཚེན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་སྤོབས་པ་ཡི། །དཀྱིལ་འབྲོར་ནོར་བུའི་སྤོང་བ་སྐྱར་ལེགས་
ལྷགས། །

༧ སྤོབས་ཚེན་སྤྱི་དུས་གསུམ་དག་ཚོགས་དང་། །བྱང་པར་བུམས་བཞེངས་པའི་མཐུས། །བྱང་པར་
བུམས་བཞེངས་པའི་མཐུས། །རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྤོགས་བཅུར་རྒྱས་པ་དང་། །བསྐྱེད་འཛིན་སྤོབས་བུ་ལ་
། །ས་ཞངས་། །ལལ་དང་ལུམ་གྱི་གཏོ་བུས་པའི། །མ་སེམས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་། །ཚོགས་
། །ས་ཇས་། །ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རྒྱལ་བའི་གོ་འཕང་ཐོབ་པར་ཤོག། །སྤོན་བདག་ཚོ་འཕོས་རྗེས་། །མ་ཐག་
དགའ་ལྷན་ཞེས་བྱའི་གནས་། །མ་། །འབྱུངས་། །ནས། །རྒྱལ་ཚབ་མི་ཡི་མགོན་པོའི་ཞབས་དུང་དུ།
། །འབྲལ་མེད་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ལ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཤོག། །

༨ གནས་སྐབས་སུ་ཡང་སྤོན་བདག་སྐྱོལ་གྱི། །ཚོ་རིང་། །གྲགས་སུ་སྤོབས་ཚོགས། །གཅད་པ་ཐམས་
ཅད་ཞི་བ་དང་། །སྤོབས་སྤྱི་དགོངས་པ་ཚོས་། །ན་ལྷོ་ར་ཤོག། །ཞལ་རས་ལྷོ་ལང་འདི་ཞལ་། །
མང་དུ་ཐོས་པའི་དགོ་སྤྱོ་ཆ་། །རིག་པ་འཛིན་པ་རྣམས་པོ་རས་ལང་། །རི་མོ་འདྲ་ལྟེང་མ་། །རིག་
མཁའ་བཀྲུས་། །ས་གྱིས་ལེགས་པར་བཀོད། །མགོ་བྱུང་ཚེད་གཏོར་ཅི་གནས་བཟང་རར་གྱིས་བཀྲུས།
། །ཞབས་ཏོག་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་ནང་ཚེན་ཐོད་པས་། །

Note: Tucci has published this inscription except line 1 and the last sentence of line 3 (1956: 22) but there is also some difference in reading.

First floor (Inscription from northern wall)

१ མི་བཟང་ནམ་མཁའ་མཛད་ལས་..... རྗེ་རྗེའི་སུ་རུ་སྐྱོན་མཛད་པ། །གསུམ་པའི་ནམ་མཁའ་སྐྱོང་
པོ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །འགྲོ་བ་ཉིད་མཛད་དུག་གིས་གཟིར་བ་རྣམས་། །འོད་དཔག་མེད་པ་སེམས་དཔའི་
ཚུལ་འཛིན་པ། །དུམ་བ་གསུམ་ལའི་འགྲོ་འདུལ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །

२ དཔལ་ལྷན་དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་གཞི། །མཚོགས་གི་ལོང་སྐྱེ་མཚན་དཔེ་ཕུན་.....
།གདུལ་བྱ་དུ་གྲ་ཙམ་འདུལ་བའི་ཕྱིན་ལས་མཛོད། །དཔལ་མཚོགས་གསུམ་པའི་རྣམ་སྲུང་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་
ལོ། །

३ ལང་གསུམ་པའི་ཡིག་ཤེང་རྣམས་སྐོང་མི་སྐབ་པའི་གནས་སུ་གྱུར། (This line is not readable).

༤ ཚོགས་གཉིས་མཐོ་ཞིང་ནམ་མཁའི་དགྱིལ་ཡངས། །ཐབས་ཤེས་ཉི་ཟླ་གཞོན་ལུ་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས།
།སྦྱིབ་གཉིས་ལུན་པའི་རྒྱ་འཛིན་རིང་སྲངས་པའི། །གསང་ལྷན་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།
།

First floor (Inscription from western wall, righthand side from the main deity)

१ ཚེས་རྗེ་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །ཅང་ལ། །རྟལ་ཏུ་གུས་པས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།
२ །པད་རྒྱའི་སྟེང་ན་རྣམ་སྲུང་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས། །རྒྱ་བའི་མདོག་ཅན་བཅུ་དུག་ལོན་པའི་སྐྱ། །ཐལ་
བའི་ཕྱག་བརྒྱད་འགྲོ་བའི་ལུན་སེལ་བ། །ཚེས་དབྱིངས་གསུང་གི་དབང་ཕྱག་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །

First floor (eastern wall, righthand side from the door)

१ །། །འཛིགས་པའི་རྩྭ་སྐྱེ་དེས་སྦྱོགས་ཤིང་། །བགོགས་རྣམས་མ་ལུས་འཛོམས་མཛོད་པ།
།དངོས་གྲུབ་མ་ལུས་བསྐྱོལ་བའི་ལྷ། །བགོགས་ཀྱི་དགྲ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་བསྟེད། །

२ །གང་ཞིག་མཐོང་བས་ཉི་ཟླའི་མདངས་འཕྲོག་པ། །བམས་ཚེན་འགྲོ་བའི་ལུན་སེལ་ལོར་བྱ་འདི།
།དུང་ཚེན་བརྗོན་པའི་གྲུ་གཟིངས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། །གདུལ་བྱ་སྐྱལ་ལྷན་ཚོང་པས་མཐོང་བ་མཚར། །

Note: Line No. 2 of this inscription has also been published by Tucci (1956: 23).

First floor (from the same wall as above)

१ །། །དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱོན་པ་སྲུང་བའི་ཕྱིར། །ཁྱོའི་ཅན་ལ་ཁྱོས་པའི་སྐྱར་བསྐྱོན་ནས།
།འོག་འབྲན་བདུད་དབྱང་འཛོམས་པར་མཛད་པ་ཡི། །ཁྱོའི་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཕྱིན་ལས་གྲུབ་པར་མཛོད། །

२ །། །སྐོང་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྗེ་རྗེ་ཡིས། །དངོས་པོར་ལྷ་བའི་རི་བོ་མཐོན་པོ་རྣམས་། །ཀུན་

ནས་འཛེམས་མཛད་རྗེ་རྗེ་སེམས་དཔལ་ལ། །.....ཆེན་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བསྐྱར་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །
 ༢ དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྒྲིབ་ལས་གཅིག་བསྐྱུས་ནས། །འགྲོ་བ་འདུལ་ཕྱིར་ཐོ་བའི་སྐྱར་སྐྱོན་པ།
 བ་བརྗིད་ཁོ་ཆེན་མེ་ལྷར་འབར་ལ། །གཟའ་བརྒྱུད་རྒྱ་སྐྱར་གྱིས་བསྐྱར་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །
 ༤ ༑། ཁོ་ཆེན་མེ་དུག་ལ་རྣམ་པར་དག་པའི་དངོས། །ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྗེ་དོ་བོས་གཞན་པར་མཛད། །རྗེ་
 རྗེ་སེམས་དཔལ་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀུན་གྱི་བདག་ །ཕྱོགས་སྐོང་བཅུ་ཡིས་བསྐྱར་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །

Note: Tucci has published this inscription but there is quite difference in rading particularly in line no. 1.

First floor (southern wall, from left to right)

༡ ༑། རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་གཅིག་བསྐྱུས་ནས། །འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བའི་གཟུགས་སུ་ལེགས་སྐྱོན་
 པ། །རབ་དཀར་འགྲིང་བག་རྗེ་རྗེ་འུ་བུ་བསྐྱུས་ས། །ཕྱག་རྗེར་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞིས་བསྐྱར་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།
 !
 ༢ ༑། །.....ཆེན་པོ། སེར་སྐྱ་སྐོང་ཕྱིར་ནམ་མཁའ་འཕྲི་སྒྲིང་པོའི་སྐྱ། །མཉམ་ཉིད་བྱ་བུ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དངོས་
 པོ་ཉིད། །དོན་ཡོད་གྲུབ་པའི་ལས་རིགས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །
 ༣ གདུལ་བུ་གདུལ་ཕྱིར་འོད་དཔག་མེད་པའི་གསུང་། །ཀུན་ཁྲབ་སྐྱོན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱར་བསྐྱོན་པ།
 །ལོ་སོར་ཀུན་རྟོག་ཡེ་ཤེས་དོ་བོ་ཉིད། །འགྲོ་བ་འདུལ་བའི་ལས་རིགས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །
 ༤ ༑༑། །རྗེ་རྗེ་སེམས་དཔལ་མི་འགྱུར་རྗེ་རྗེའི་ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་པ། །གསལ་མཛད་མེ་ལོང་ཡེ་ཤེས་དོ་
 པོ་ཉིད། །འམས་གསུམ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལས་རིགས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །
 ༥ རྣམ་པར་སྐྱར་མཛད་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྐྱ་མའི་སྐྱ། །མིག་འཕུལ་ལྷ་བུར་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱར་བསྐྱེད་ནས། །ཆོས་
 ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་དོ་བོ་ཉིད། །དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་ལས་རིགས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །
 ༦ མི་བཟང་ནམ་མཁའི་མེ་དཔྱད་སྐྱོན་ལམ་གྱི། །གདུལ་བུ་མཐའ་ལས་ནམ་མཁའི་ཁྲབ་པ་རྣམས།
 །མཐའ་མེད་འཁོར་བའི་འཛིགས་ལས་སྐོབ་མཛད་པ། །རྩ་རྒྱུད་རྩ་བའི་ནམ་སྒྲིང་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ། !

Note: Tucci has also published this inscription (1956: 23-24).

First floor (western wall lefthand side of the main deity)

༡ གང་གིས་ཁྲིས་ཁྲིད་སྐྱ་མཐོང་བར་གྱུར་བའམ། །ཁྲིད་གསུང་ལན་གཅིག་ཐོས་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་།
 །སྲིད་ཞིའི་རྒྱུད་པ་མཐའ་དག་སྐོབ་མཛད་པ། །རྩ་རྒྱུད་རྩ་བའི་འགྲོ་འདུལ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ། !
 ༢ ༑། །དབང་པོའི་གཞུ་ལྷར་བཀྲ་བ་ཡི། །དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཐབས་ཤེས་བྱུང་འཇུག་འདི། །བལ་པོ་རྩོ་བ་
 །ལྷ་དགའ་ཡིས། །ཡིད་ལག་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཉེ་མས་ཕུལ། །༑༑༑། །ལོ་སྐྱ་སྐྱ།
 ༣ དཔལ་ལྷན་རྣམ་འགྱུར་རྒྱན་ཆད་ཀྱི། །རྩ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་རྗེ་རྗེ་དབྱིངས། །དེ་ཡི་རྒྱུད་པའི་སྐྱ་མལ།
 །སྐོག་གསུམ་གསུམ་པས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།

Note: Tucci has published this inscription except line no. 3.

- ༡༡། །རྒྱལ་བསམ་སྐྱབ་དང་། གཡའ་ར་དཔོན་རྒྱུད་རང་གྲོལ་བཅས་པ་ནས་བརྟན་སྤོང་ཉམས་གསོ་གསར་བཞེངས་འཚོ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོ། །འགྲིམ་པ་ལས་སྐྱབ་དོ་ཚེར་རྟེན་འབྱུང་བ། །སྤྱང་
- ༡༢། །སྤྱོད་བཅིམ་སྤྱན་དང་། གུ་རུ་མཚན་བརྒྱུད་བཅེ་འབངས་ཉེར་ལྷ་བཅས། །ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་པོའི་ཕྱགས་བཞེངས་པ་ལྟར། །རྟེན་ལྡན་ཚེར་འདྲ་སོར་མེའི་རྩ་ལས་སྤུལ།
- ༡༣། །ཟོ་བ་རྩོ་སོ་ནམས་ལ་བ་དར་བར་མ་རྒྱ་སོ་གི། གསེར་བཟང་ཉམས་པའི་ཁྲིག་རྣམས་སྤངས། དེ་ལྟར་གྲུབ་པའི་དངོས་པོ་ཕན་སོར་རྣམས། །རྗེས་འདྲུག་དངས་པ་འདྲེན་སྤྱིར་རྩུང་བཞེད་ན། །མཚན་དང་
- ༡༤། །ས་མི་རྒྱ་བུལ་སྤོ། །སྤོ་ཉི་སྤོང་གཅིག་དང་དུག་བརྒྱ་ཐམས་པ། གཉེར་འག་བཞིའི་རྩུར་སོང་ཚམ་འབྲས་རམར་སྤོང་ཉི་གཉིས་བརྒྱས་བརྒྱ་སོང་། །བདེ་བཞུངས་ལས་མའི་ཕོགས་དོང་།
- ༡༥། །གཞན་ཡང་གཟུར་དུ་ཞལ་འདེབས་སྤྱང་རྩུལ་གྱི། །རྒྱལ་ཡུམ་ཚེན་མོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བུ་ཉིད་ནས་གསེར་ཚོ་སྤྱང་བཞི་དང་སྤོ་བདེ་པོ་དངུལ་སྤྱོ་གཅིག་གསེར་བྱང་གཅིག་།
- ༡༦། །དངུལ་གྲངས་བཅོ་ལྷ་ཟེ་བའི་འགྲུལ་གཡུ་གཅིག་། །ལས་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ཤོས་པ་དན་ལོན་སྤྱང་། མི་རྗེས་དབང་ཚེན་པོའི་དངུལ་སྤྱང་གཟུངས་གོའི་ཚབ་ཀ་སྤྱང་། གཉེར་པ་ཉི་མ་རྩོ་རྩེའི་གསེར་ཚོ་
- ༡༧། །ཉི་མ་ས་གསུམ་སྤྱང་། གཉེར་རིགས་དབང་ནས་གསེར་ཚོ་སྤྱང་དང་ཤོལ་པ་གཉིན་ཉིད་གཅིག་སྤྱང་། །སྤུལ་ཡུམ་ཨ་ནེ་དབང་མོ་ནས་ཤོ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཟེལ་གསེར་དང་དང་ཚོལ་པ་ཉིན་ཉིད་
- ༡༨། ག་ས་སོ་ནས་གསལ་རམ་ཆབ་ག་བཅས་སང་། །བུ་སྤྱང་དཔལ་སྤྱན་ལེ་ཤོས་ནས་གསེར་ཚོ་གང་དང་ཤོལ་པ་ཉིན་ཉིད་གཉིས། །ཞན་མཁྲི་ནས་གཡུ་ཤོ་བརྩུ་གསུམ་ཟེ་པ་ཅིག་དང་ཤོལ་པ་ཉིན་ཉིད་གཉིས། །སྤུལ་ཕུན་ཚོགས་གསེར་ཚོ་སྤོག་དང་ཚབ་ག་མཚན་དགཅིག་སྤྱང་།
- ༡༩། །ཟིམ་འབང་དོན་འགྲུབ་ནས་གསེར་ཚོ་སྤྱང་བྱང་ཆབ་ག་ཤོ་རིན་ཅིག་པོ་སྤྱིང་རྒྱ་མ་སྤུལ་སྤྱིའི་གཉིས་ཞལ་གསེར་ཤོ་གཅིག་། །འགྲུབ་ཀར་ཚེ་ཚོས་
- ༢༠། །ས་བརྩུ་ནས་ཉིན་བརྒྱུད་ཅིག་ད་བརྒྱ་འཚོ་འཕུལ། །གང་ར་རིང་འཛིན་ཞེས་རག་ཤོ་རིག་སྤྱིས་འཕུལ། །དགྲ་སྤྱི་དང་རུར་བུ་མར་ཤོ་རྩོས་འཕུལ། །གཡུང་དུང་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཤུལ་དཔལ་འཛོམས་ཆབ་ག་སོལ་རམོལ་རམོལ་པ་དན་ལོན་།
- ༢༡། །བཅས་འཕུལ་ཚོ་མགོན་པོ་ནས་ཤོ་གཅིག་སྤུལ། །དཔལ་མོ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཚོས་གོགས་བརྩུ་གཉིས་ནས་ཤོལ་པ་ཉིན་ཉིད་ཅིག་། །ཕུན་ཚོགས་ལྷ་མོ་ཚོན་ཚོས་སྤོག་བརྩུ་གསུམ་ནས་ཤོལ་པ་ཉིན་ཉིད་གཅིག་ཨ་ནེ་དབང་མོ་ཚོན་སྤོགས་བརྩུ་གཅིག་ནས་ཤོལ་པ་ཉིན་ཉིད་ཅིག་། །འགྲོས་རྒྱ་ཚོན་
- ༢༢། །པའི་ཚོས་གོགས་བརྩུ་གཅིག་ནས་ཤོལ་པ་ཉིན་ཉིད་སྤྱིས། །ཚོ་བར་ལག་པ་འགྲས་རིན་ཤོ་ཅིག་འཕུལ། །ཚོ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་འབྲས་བཅས་རྩ་འབྲུལ།
- ༢༣། །གར་རྩོ་གཅིག་འཕུལ་ཚོ་སོ་ཤོ་ཅིག་འཕུལ། །ཨ་ཁུ་རྩོ་ཅིག་སྤྱང་། །དཔལ་ཟང་ཚོ་རིངས་ཤོ་གཉིས་སྤུལ། །ཤིང་འར་ཉམ་མེ་མར་ཅང་སྤུལ། །རུར་བུ་ཚོ་རིངས་དང་མ་ཅིག་སྤུལ། །ཚོ་རག་རྒྱི་མ་

ཅིག །

༣༧ ལཱ་ལོ་ཉི་མ་རྒྱ་རྒྱའི་ཅིག ལཱ་ལོ་ཉི་མ་ཟང་མེ་འི་ཅིག ལཱ་ལོ་ཚེ་རིང་ལྷ་མོ་འི་གཅིག ལཱ་ལོ་ཅིག་འི་
ཅིག་གིས་ཚལ། ཀམ་མིག་འི་གཅིག་། ལྷ་མོ་བྱ་བྱིད་འི་གཅིག་། ཀག་ཚེ་སྲོམ་འི་བརྒྱད། ལྷ་ས་བཙུན་
རྩ་འབྲིང་འི་བཅུ། ཡངས་ལིངས་ཉི་འི་གཅིག་ ལུ་པ་རྣམ་

༣༨ སྲིར་ཚལ་དདུལ་སྲོམ་འི་བཞི་བཅུ། ལཱ་ལོ་སྲུང་རམ་འི་དུག འམས་གོང་ཚོ་གསུམ་ནས་འི་བཅུ་
དུག་འཕུལ། ཤིང་སྲུང་ནས་འི་བརྒྱད་ཕུལ། ཚལ་སྲུང་འདས་

༣༩ མེ་འི་དོན་ཟང་སྲོམ་འི་བཅུ་དུག་ཟེ་བཅིག་ཕུལ། དུང་ཡིག་ཏུ་འདུལ་འི་བཞི་ཚལ། ཉིང་གུ་པ་ནས་
འི་དུག་གང་སོམ་ཐག་ས་སོགས་དང་སྲིན་རྣམས་ནས་ལཱ་ལོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྲོམ་ལ་གྱུད་

༤༠ ལས་དམར་ཟེར་སྲོམ་ལྷི་བཅུ་འཕུལ། རྣམ་པར་སལ་འི་ཅིག ཚོས་མཛད་ནས་ཚོན་ཅོ་འི་

༤༡ བཞི་སོགས་པ་རྒྱ་བསྟན་འཛིན་སྲངས་མ་འི་རིན་སྲིད་སོང་། པ་རྒྱ་ཅང་འི་ཅིག་ཕུལ། ལཱ་ལོ་གུ་རུ་
སུ་རྩེ་ཡང་རྒྱ། འདི་ལྟར་གྱུ་བ་པའི་དངོས་དང་འབྲལ་རྣམས་གྱི། འདྲུང་གྱུ་བ་

༤༢ དང་དུས་གསུམ་དགོ་པ་རྣམས། མ་ལུས་ལུས་པ་མེད་པར་གཅིག་ཟེམ་ནས། བན་བདེའི་འབྱུང་
གནས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་ལུན་རིང་གནས་ཤིང་། བསྟན་བཙལ་སྒྲིམ་ཞབས་པད་རབ་བསྟན་

༤༣ ཅིང་། བསྟན་འཛིན་སྲེས་བུའི་འཛིན་མའི་ཁོན་ཁྲུབ་ནས། བསྟན་པའི་སྲིན་བདག་དཔལ་འགྲོར་
མངའ་ཐང་རྒྱས། བསྟན་པ་སྲིད་མཐའི་བར་དུ་གནས་པ་དང་། ལྷག་པར་གསོལ་

༤༤ བ་འདེབས་པའི་འདུས་ཞི་ཞི། མི་ཡིས་ཁྱེ་ཚོག་སི་རྒྱ་རྩེ་ལ་མཚོན། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཞབས་པད་སྟན་
པའི་གལུང་དུང་ཁྱིལ། ལྷ་སྲུང་དབྱར་གྱི་གཞུ་འི་སྟག་ཏུ་གྱུ་བ། ཚབ་སྲིད་

༤༥ གལ་པར་གྱི་རྒྱ་རྒྱར་དགོངས་འཕེལ་སྟེ། བདེ་ལོགས་ཚེན་པའི་ས་ལུང་ཁྲུབ་འགྲུར་ཅིག འདི་སྲོམ་
ལམ་ས་སྟོགས་དཀར་པོ་ཡིས། ལྷ་སྲུང་དགོན་མཚོག་ཏུ་ཕུལ།

༤༦ བ་འདི་བགོགས་མེད་གྱུ་བ་བར་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབ་ཏུ་གསོལ། ལོ་རྒྱ་རེ་རྒྱ་རེ་རྒྱ་རེ་ལེ་སྤྱོད་ལྷ།
ལུལ་སྟོགས་འདི་ཚོན་ཡང་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཞབས་སུ། ལོ་ལོགས་སྤྱོད་ལྷག་བཙུང་ཞི་བ་དང་། འདྲུང་མཚོན་

སྤྱོད་

༤༧ གའི་དམུལ་བ་རབ་ཞི་མེས། རྒྱལ་ཞབས་བདེ་ཤིང་སྲིད་པའི་བཀའ་ཤིས་ཤོག ཚེས་པའི་དཀར་
ཚག་ཉུང་དུར་བསྟུས་པ་འདི། ཚོས་གཞུགས་ཡང་མཐའ་དཀར་མ་ཚོ་རིག་གིས། འདིས་ལ་མ་ག་འབྲས་
སྲིད་ཚལ་མའས་དུང་

༤༨ བགོགས། དགོ་བས་གོངས་སྲོམ་འགྲུབ་པའི་དགོ་ལོགས་སྲོམ། བཀའ་ཤིས། ལས་རྒྱ་ལོ།

Note: In the beginning of this inscription there is a Sanskrit sentence written in Tibetan script which reads "mangalam bhavantu sarvada".

Document No. 15 (MHR doc. no. 19, Tib.)
Inscription from Thub-chen gtsug-lag-khang wall painting

Inner wall, lefthand side of the door (written in golden color)

༡། ཀ། སྤྲིག་པ་ཅི་ཡང་མི་བྱ་སྟེ། །དགོ་བ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པར་སྤྱད། །རང་གིས་སེམས་ནི་
 ཡོངས་སུ་དུས། །འདི་ནི་སངས་ །བྱོ་ རྒྱས་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཡིན། །བདེ་ལེགས་སྐྱེད་..... །ན་མང་.....འི་
 དཔལ་མངོན་ ཀ། བཤོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་ར་ཉམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་..... ལྷུག་དབུའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ཡིན་.....
 ༢། རིན་ཚེན་སྤྱོད་པ་དབང་ལྡན་རབ་གསལ་ལོད་ཀྱི་སྤོང་བས་ལྷུད། ཟུང་ར་བའི་སྤྱོད་ཚལ་དོ་
 རར་སྤི་སྤྱ་པ་ཕུར་ཟུལ། ལའི་ནི་བཟང་རྒྱ་མའི་གོ་སར་དོ་མི་ར་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུའི་དོག་པས་རྩོན། །ལྷ་
 མའི་བདེ་ཚོགས་འབྱོར་པས་མདོག་དགའ་རྒྱ་ཐོས་ཕུའི་གུང་དེའོ། །
 ༣། དེ་ལ་སྤྱིང་རྗེ་ཡུན་རིང་འབྲིས་པ་བཞིན། དེ་ནི་སྤྱིང་རྗེས་ནམས་ཀྱང་ཡོངས་མ་བཟང་། ལས་ཀྱི་
 དབང་གིས་དེ་ལྟར་དེ་ལྟར་ཏམ། དེ་ཉིད་མཐུ་ཡིས་དེ་ནི་དེའི་ལྟར་ཏམ། །
 ༤། ཀྱི་སྤོང་རྒྱུང་ཞིག་སྤོང་ཅིག་སྤོང་སྤྱེད་མི་སྤུན་པ་འདིས་ལྷོས་སམ་ཙམ། །འོན་དེ་རྒྱལ་པོས་པ་བ་
 འམ། །འོན་དེ་འཛིགས་པ་ཕུང་ཟད་ཅིག་ཡིད་དམ། དེས་ཉེ་བདག་ལ་མཐུ་མེད་པར་ཤེས་སམ། ཅིན་ས་
 འདིས་དེ་ལྟར་བསྐྱས་ཤིང་ཞོན། །

Note: Line no. 2 & 3 of these have also been published by Tucci (1956. 22).

Inscription from the same wall describing sutra and deities of the painting, right above the previous inscription

༡། །ལོ་སྤྱི་སྟེ། མར་ཀའ་ཉི་ཟེང་དང་འགྲོགས་སྐྱེ་ལོ་དཔལ་ནི་མངོན་དགའ་ཞིང་། །ཞིང་མཚོགས་
 ལའོ་བོ་སྤྱོད་.....གོང་སུའི་.....དོ་གལ་ན་བཟའ་མཛོས། །མཛོས་སྤུག་འོད་ཀྱིས་འགོ་འདིའི་སྤྱི་བ་སེམས་ཉེས་པ་
 ཀུན་ལས་བསྐྱེད། །མི་དབང་མཚོགས་རྒྱ་མི་བཟང་མཐུ་ལྡན་གང་། །གང་ན་བསོད་ནམས་སུལ་བུང་དར་བའི་མཚོགས་
 མཚོགས་རྒྱ་མི་བཟང་མཐུ་ལྡན་གང་། །གང་ན་བསོད་ནམས་སུལ་བུང་དར་བའི་མཚོགས་ མཚོགས་རྒྱ་
 མངོན་སུམ་གྱི་མཚོན་དགོ་བའི་དཔལ། །དཔལ་འདི་སྤྱོད་བཞིན་ལྷུང་ཉེ་བཞིད་ །ལྷ་དབང་བུང་ན་ཉི་
 དབང་ལྟར་གནས་ཅིང་། །ལེགས་པའི་སྤོད་ལ་རྗེས་སུ་སྤོད་བྱེད་པ། །ལ་རབས་མཚོགས་འདིས་ལ་རབས་
 རི་བཞིན་དུ། །ཚོས་ཉིད་བཟང་པོས་བཟང་པོའི་ལོར་འདི་བསྐྱབས། །རིག་པ་སུལ་བུང་མཁས་པའི་འདུན་
 སར་མཁས་པ་ཡི། །ཡིད་ཀྱི་དགའ་.....སྐྱེ་ལ་བཟང་ཚོན། །འི་མའི་.....བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་ལོ་
 རབ་སྐྱེད་པའི། །ལེ་ཤེས་ཚེན་པའི་དཔག་བསམ་ཤིང་། །འགོ་བའི་རེ་སྤོང་ལོར་བུ་ཚང་། །དགོ་ལེགས་
 དཔག་མེད་སྤྱོད་བར་མཛོད། །

Note: Tucci has published this inscription but there is some difference in reading

Inscription from western wall behind the mChod-rten attached to the wall, lefthand side of the main deity

གདུལ་བའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དགའ་སྟོན་དཔལ་འཛོན། །སྤོང་གསལ་དོས་ཀུན་ཚར་དུ་མངོན་པར་བུང་བའི་མ་གྲིན་

Document No. 16 (MHR doc. no. 20, Tib.)

The dKar-chag of the Byams-chen gtsug-lag-khang (mahamaitreya temple) in Lomanthang

༡། རྒྱལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་བྱམས་མགོན་པོ་འཕེལ་གསལ་གྱི་སྐབས་ལ་གཟུངས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་
དཀར་ཆག་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་བཞུགས། །

༡ ཨོ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་། གངས་ལས་བསྐལ་པ་དུ་མའི་སྤོན་དུ་དབྱིངས་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རོ་གཅིག་སྐབས་ཀྱང་།
རིས་མེད་འགྲོལ་མཉམ་དུ་ཆགས་པའི་དམིགས་མེད་སྤོང་རྗེའི་སྐུ་འབྲུལ་བྱ་བ་རྒྱས། རང་རང་མོས་པའི་
སྤོང་དང་འཚོམས་པར་གཟུགས་སྐྱའི་རྣམ་རེལ་རྣམ་པ་དུ་མ་ཅན། ས་གསལ་སྐབས་པ་རྒྱུ་འདི་རང་བཞིན་
སྤོང་མའི་ཚོགས་ལ་སྤོང་ནས་དད་པས་འདུད། རྒྱབས་ཚེན་ཚོགས་གཉིས་རྒྱ་གཏོར་ལས་འབྲུངས་རྣམ་དག་
སྐབས་འདི་བར་རིམ་འབྲེང་བ་ཅན། རྗེ་མེད་བཞི་ཡི་རིན་ཚེན་གྲུབ་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཉི་ལྔའི་འོད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་
མཛོལ། རྒྱབ་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱིང་བཞིའི་དབུས་ན་མཛོལ་མཐོ་སྤོན་གཞན་གསེར་རིའི་དྲེགས་པ་སྤོན་འབྲིན་པའི་
ལྷ་མོའི་སྤོན་པ་ས་འཛིན་དབང་པོ་ཟེས་གཙང་སྤོང་དེར་སྤོང་ནས་གུས་པས་འདུད། གང་གིས་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཉི་
མོར་བྱེད་པ་སྤྱིག་ཏེའི་ལུན་པས་ཟེས་མིན་ཀྱང་། སྤོགས་མའི་ལས་ཚལ་སྤྱིག་པར་མི་སྤོང་དེའིར་རྒྱབ་པ་
ཉིད་བསྐྱེད་ཚེ། མཛོལ་མཚོག་འོད་དཀར་གཞན་པས་སུལ་བྱུང་འགྲོལ་བདུད་ཚི་བམིལ་སྤོན་དུ། བྱམས་
པའི་སྤོང་པས་མངའ་འབྲུང་འབྲུར་རྒྱལ་བ་དགའ་ལྡན་བཞུགས་པ་དེལ་འདུད། མ་པམ་དགའ་ལྡན་སེར་
རིའི་ཐུག་པ་ལ། རྒྱགས་པར་བཞུགས་ནས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྤྱང་བ་བརྒྱད། རབ་བཞི་དེའོད་ཟེར་བྱེད་འབར་པའི་
སྐྱ། རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ཉིན་མའི་

༢ མགོན་ལ་ཐུག་འཚལ་ལོ། ཤེས་བྱའི་གཟུགས་བརྙན་ཇི་སྟེད་འཆར་བའི་གཞི། མ་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་ལེ་
ཤེས་སྤྱང་བའི་མེ་ལོང་དེ། བཟུང་བུ་མིན་ཀྱང་འགྲོ་སྤོང་འཚོམས་པའི་སྐྱ། ཟུར་དུ་ལྷ་བའི་ཞབས་ལ་སྤྱི་
བོས་འདུད། ཇི་ལྟར་ཇི་སྟེད་ཤེས་བྱའི་གནས་ལུགས་དོན། མི་འབྲུར་སྐྱེ་མཛོལ་དབང་སྤོན་དང་
མཚུངས་མ། གཏུག་དང་ཚར་གཙོད་འབར་བའི་རྗེ་ཇི་བསྐྱེད་མས། དཔལ་ལྷན་སྤོངས་ཀྱི་མགོན་ལ་ཐུག་
འཚལ་ལོ། རིམ་གཉིས་བདུད་ཚིའི་ཆང་གི་སྤོང་པ་ལས། མཐུ་སྤོངས་དུག་སྤྱིགས་ཀྱི་བའི་སྐྱུ་འབྲུལ་
གྱིས། མ་ལུས་ནག་པོའི་སྤོགས་ཀྱི་ཀྱང་འགེམས་པའི། བརྒྱ་ཀ་རིའི་ཞབས་དུལ་སྤྱི་བོས་མཚོད།
ཁདེན་གཉིས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་པ་རེལ་ལེགས་གཟིགས་སྐྱུ་གྲུབ་ཞབས་དང་འཛིགས་བྲལ་དཔལ་ལྷན་བེར་མ་པ་དེ་
གཞུང་རྗེས་འབྲང་ཤིང་རྒྱ་ཚེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་འདུགས་ལ་མཁས་རབ་སྤྱངས་སྤོང་ལྡན་མཁས་པས་སུལ། འདོག་
སྤོང་འཛོམས་ཤིང་ཐུབ་པའི་རིང་ལུགས་རྒྱ་ཚེར་སྤོང་བས་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལྷན་རིང་གསལ་མཛོལ། འཕགས་
པའི་ལུལ་གྱི་མཁས་གྲུབ་དབང་པོ་ཇི་སྟེད་སྤོན་རྣམས་ཀྱན་ནས་དང་བས་སྤྱིག་བཞི་དོ། འཕགས་པའི་
ཞིང་ཁམས་ཁབ་ཅན་དུ་བདེ་གཤེགས་མཐའ་ལས་སེམས་ཅན་ཅན་བདེའི་ལམ་དུ་རྒྱགས་པར་གཞོལ་མཛོལ་
ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཅན། སྤོན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་

༣ སྲོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོའི་ཞབས་ཀྱི་པོ་རྒྱུ་འཚལ་ལོ། །ཚོས་ལོན་འདུན་པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེ་རྒྱམས་དང་
 | །བྱང་ཕྱོགས་འདི་ན་རྒྱབ་བསྟན་ཉི་མའི་འོད། །འདྲེན་མཁས་སྐལ་པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེ་རྒྱམས་དང་། །སྐུ་
 བསྐྱར་ལོ་པན་རྒྱམས་ལ་གུས་པས་འདུད། །རྒྱལ་ཀུན་མཁུན་ཚེ་རུས་པའི་ཉི་མ་གང་། །ལྷ་རིགས་མཚོག་
 གི་ཤིང་རྟེལ་ཆེ་བས་ནས། །བཤད་སྐབ་ཨུའུ་ལ་ནགས་ཀྱང་བཞེད་མཁས་པའི། །ས་སྐུའི་འཇམ་མགོན་
 རིམ་པར་ཕྱག་གི་གནས། །མགོན་པོ་གང་གི་སྐུ་འཕྱུལ་འདྲ་བའི་གར། །འཕྱིན་ལས་འོད་དཀར་སྐྱང་བས་
 ས་གསུམ་བྱོན། །ཕྱུར་འབྱུར་འགོངས་ལ་རྒྱ་མེད་མཐུ་གྲུབ་པའི། །ཨོ་མོ་པ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པ་ཉི་མའི་སྐུ།
 །རྒྱམ་དཀར་བསོད་ནམས་ལེ་ཤེས་ལྷན་གྱིས་གྲུབ། །ལེགས་པའི་འབྱུང་གནས་རྒྱབ་བསྟན་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་
 འཛོན། །ལུང་རྟོགས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་བཟང་པོའི་མཛོད་མངའ་བ། །འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཕྱག་
 འཚལ། །རང་བཞིན་རིགས་བཟང་གཡུལ་དེར་འཛིགས་བྲལ་མི་སྐྱག་གཟུགས་འགོག་ལེགས་སྐྱེར་སྟན་
 ཚོག་སྐྱིབ་གཉིས་དྲུངས་འབྱིན་གཏོངས་པའི་ཚུལ། །སྐུ་སྟོག་གཏོང་ལའང་ཞུམ་པ་མེད་ཅིང་དན་

༤ སོང་གཡང་ལྷུང་ཚེ་བས་སྐྱོང་ལ་རྒྱ་གོས་ཐོས་སོགས་ལོན་ཉན་གྱིས། །པ་རོལ་ཟེལ་གཞོན་རང་ཉིང་
 ཁེངས་པའི་ད་རྒྱལ་དང་བྲལ་གར་དགའི་ཉམས་ལྷན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འགོ་བའི་སྐབས། །ཤིང་གསུམ་
 འདུན་བྲལ་འགྲུའི་དག་བསྟེན་རྗེ་རྗེ་འཛོན་ས་ཨོ་མགོན་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེ་སྟེ་གུས་པས་མཚོང་།
 གཞན་ཡང་ལུགས་འདུགས་གཉིས་ཤིང་རྟེལ་ཁལོ་བསྐྱར། །གྲགས་པ་རྣམ་དཀར་ཤིང་ཚེའི་མཐར་འགོ་
 ཞིང་། རང་སྟེའི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ས་གསུམ་ཚེགས་འགོངས་པ་ཡི། །ཨོ་མའི་བརྒྱན་འཛོན་མི་དབང་ཆེ་
 རྒྱམས་མཚོང་། །བསྟན་སྐྱོང་ནག་པོ་དག་དེར་གསུམ་ཚེགས་དག། །ཉ་ཉ་དགོད་པའི་ཞིང་སྐྱོང་ཕྱལ་དགའི་
 གཟུགས། །དམ་ཉམས་སྟོང་དམར་ཟུང་པོ་ཉར་བཅས། །བསྟན་བསྐྱུང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྐྱིན་ཉར་ཉར་འཚོ་
 བསྐྱུངས། །རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱམས་ཀྱི་དབང་བསྐྱར་རིན་ཚེན་བདུད་ཚེའི་མར་སེབས་སེམས་དཔའི་བཀའ་ཤིས་བརྗོད།
 རྗེ་རྗེ་སྟོང་ལོག་འདྲེན་ཚར་གཙོད་ལྷ་མོ་རྒྱམས་ཀྱིས་དགའ་བའི་གྲུ་དབྱངས་ལོང་། །ལྷ་དབང་མིའི་ཅི་
 རྒྱམས་བཙོམ་ལྷན་བསྐྱོད་ཚོག་མེ་རྟོག་སྐྱིམ་པས་མཚོང་དཔར་གྱིས། །བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་གཙོང་ཤིན་ཏུ་མངར་
 བའི་གསུང་གི་སྐྱང་ཚི་སྐལ་བཟང་ལྷན་པས་

༥ འཕྱངས། །དཀར་ཆགས་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཀུན་འབྱུང་ལས། །ཡུལ་ཁྱུང་པར་ཅན་ལ་སྐགས་པའི་སྐབས་ཉེ་
 དང་པོའི་ཞེས་མཚོང་དཔར་བརྗོད་ནས། །བདེ་གཤེགས་འགྲུའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཉམ་མེད་ཟས་གཙོང་སྐས།
 །མཐུན་མོངས་ལྷར་ན་འཁྱུངས་ནས་སུམ་སྟོང་བརྒྱན་བརྒྱ་དོན་ལྷ་འདས་ཤིང་། །རྗེ་རྗེ་ཐེག་པའི་ལུགས་གཙོ་
 བོར་གྲུར་པའི་མཐུན་མོངས་མ་ཡིན་པ་དུས་ཀྱི་འབོར་ལོ་ས་སྐུ་པའི་ལུགས་ལ་འབྱུངས་ནས་ཉིས་སྟོང་དུག་
 བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་དགུ་འདས་ཤིང་། །གྲུ་འཛོན་བདག་པོ་པདྨ་ཅན་མི་རྗེའི་རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་པོ་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་སྟོང་
 བཙོན་སྐམ་པོ་འཁྱུངས་ནས་སྟོང་དང་ཞེ་བདུན་རྗེ་བརྟུན་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་སྐལ་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱི་
 སྟོང་ལྟེ་བཙོན་བསྟེན་ནས་དགུ་བརྒྱ་སོ་བཞི། །དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རོ་འཇམ་བུའི་
 ཤིང་དུ་བརྟུལ་འགྲུགས་ཀྱི་སྟོང་པ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པ། །ཨོ་ཤེའི་ལ་ནའི་སྟོབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་སངས་རྒྱས་གཉིས་པ་
 པདྨ་སྐྱི་བྱུང་བོད་དུ་སེབས་ནས་དགུ་བརྒྱ་བཙོན་ལ། །གསང་བའི་བདག་པོའི་རྣམ་འཕྱུལ་ཨོ་མ་དཔལ་བཟང་

པོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྷམས་ནས་ཉི་བརྒྱ་དོན་དུག། ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་ཨ་མགོན་བཟང་པོ་ལྷམས་ནས་ཉིས་
བརྒྱ་ཞེ་བཞི། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཚེན་པོ་སློན་ཐང་བཏབ་ནས་ལོ་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་ཉེར་གསུམ། དཔལ་བུམས་ཚེན་གྱི་
གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་།

༦ འདི་ཉིད་བཏབ་ནས་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་བཅུ་དུག་འདས་པ། རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་ན་པོ་སློན་ འཛིགས་
བྱེད་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཁོང་ལོ་རྒྱ་ཚུ་མོ་ཡོས་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཨ་མགོན་བཟང་པོ་ནས་རིམ་པར་བྱོན་པའི་
གདུང་རབས་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་པ་དང་སློ་གྲོས་དང་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་མདོན་པར་མཐོ་བ་མིའི་དབང་ཕྱག་ཨ་ཉི་
བསམ་གྲུབ་དཔལ་འབར། ཨ་མཚོག་བསྟན་པའི་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གྱིས། སྤྱིར་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱ་པོ་ཚེ་
དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར་དང་། བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་ཡང་གངས་རིས་དཔལ་དང་ལྷན་པའི་གནས་ཀྱི་ཉེ་བར་
མཛེས་ཤིང་། རྒྱ་བོ་བཞི་རི་པོ་ཚེའི་གཏར་ཁ་དང་བཙས་པ་དུ་མས་བརྒྱན་པའི་ཆ་ལངས་རྒྱས་གཉིས་པ་
པརྱ་ཀྱང་། བསྟར་བྱེད་དམ་པ་རིན་ཚེན་བཟང་པོ་ རྣལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་དབང་ཕྱག་ཡིད་ལ་རས་ཚེན། རྒྱལ་
པོའི་མདོ་སྤེ་དུ་མ་ནས་ལུང་བསྟན་པའི་རྗེ་འཆང་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོ་སོགས་སྟེས་བུ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་
ཞབས་ཀྱི་པརྱས་མདོན་པར་བསྟན་པའི་སོགས་འདིར་སྟོ་དགུ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་། དགོ་འདུན་
གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་སྤེ་དང་བཙས་པ་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་གནས་པར་གྱུར་ན་ཅིལ་སྟུང་དུ་དགོས་ཤིང་། ལྷན་པར་
ཡབ་རྗེས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་སྐྱེ་ཚེ་བསྟན་པ་དང་། འཁོར་འབངས་རྣམས་འདི་སྤྱིའི་དགོ་སོགས་ལ་
བསྟོད་པའི་ཕྱིར། དཔལ་བུམས་ཚེན་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཞིག་གསོ་རྩ་བ་ནས་བཞེངས་པའི་དགོངས་པ་མཛོད་
དེ། ཡབ་རྗེས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོས་གསུངས་བཀོད་གནང་ཞིང་། དད་པ་དང་ལྷན་པའི་སློན་ཚེན་ ཏུང་
འཁོར་གཉེར་པ། ལས་པ་རྣམས་དང་།

༧ བཀའ་ལུང་ནམ་ཡང་མི་བཅོག་པ་བ་ཡུར་ལོགས་ཀྱིས་མཐིམ་ཞུགས་བྱས་ཤིང་། གཞན་ཡང་བཀའ་
བཞིན་འབངས་འཁོར་དང་ལྷན་གྱང་སྤྱིར་བ་དང་བཅོམ་འགྲུས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བས་བྱས་ཏེ་གཙུག་ལག་
ཁང་གི་ཆ་ལག་པལ་ཚེ་བ་བསྟན་བས་ཅིང་། ལྷག་པར་རྗེ་བཅོམ་འཇམ་པའི་སྐབས་ལྷན་བྲུབ་ཀྱི་གཟི་
འོད་འབར་བ་གཙོ་འཁོར་གསུམ་རྒྱབ་ཡོལ་དང་བཙས་པ་བཞེངས་བསྟན་བས་པ་ཡོན་ལོ། དཀར་ཆག་
དངོས་གྲུབ་ཀུན་འབྱུང་ལས། བུམས་ཚེན་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་ཞིག་གསོས་དང་བུམས་པ་གཙོ་འཁོར་
གསུམ་རྒྱ་ཡོལ་དང་བཙས་པ་བཞེངས་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་སྟོས་པའི་སྐབས་དེ་གཉིས་པའོ། འདིའི་གཟུངས་
བཞུགས་ཀྱི་རིམ་ཚུལ་ནི། ཡིད་ཚེས་བསྟོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་ལུངས་སྟོས་པ་ནི། འཕགས་པ་ལུང་བཟང་གིས་
ཞུས་པའི་རྒྱད་ལས། གཙང་ཞིང་དབེན་པའི་ས་ཡི་སོགས་ལུན་ནི། འཛིམ་པ་ནི་ཤེ་མ་ལ་བྱས་པས། བདེ་
གཤེགས་མཚོད་རྟེན་རིང་བསལ་སྟོང་པོ་ཅན། སྟོགས་པ་སྤྱང་བའི་ཕྱིར་ནི་རྟག་ཏུ་གདབ། རིང་བསལ་
ཅན་གྱི་གཟུངས་སམ་མཚོད་རྟེན་ལ་བསྟོད་ཅིང་འབྲེལ་བ་དྲི་དང་མར་མེ་ལུལ། གདུགས་དང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་
བ་དན་རོལ་མོ་སོགས། མཚོག་ཏུ་དད་པས་མཚོད་པར་བྱ། །

༨ ཞེས་ནང་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་དབང་གིས་རྟེན་དེ་མཚོད་སུལ་ལྷན་པར་ཅན་འགྱུར་བར་བཤད་ཅིང་། དཀྱིལ་

མཚོག་རྩོམ་འབྲེང་བལས་གང་གི་ཚད་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱ་གདུང་ལ་བཀར་སྤྱིའི་བྱང་པར་བྱ་བར་
 འདོད་ན། དེའི་ཚེ་སྐྱ་བ་པའི་དུས་ཉིད་དོ། །སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་དབྱེ་རྒྱུ་དང་མཚོན་རྟེན་གྱི་དབྱེས་སྤོང་པར་
 བྱའོ། །ལྷོ་བ་པ་ན་གྲོ་གལ་གུར་མམ། །ལྷི་ལུ་མང་གིས་ན་མོ་སྐྱ་ག་མཉེ་བུ་ལུ་ཞེ་པོད་གཟུངས་ཀྱི་བྱང་
 པར་མང་གིས་ནས་སོགས་ཞིབ་པར་ག་ཤིང་། རིང་སྤེལ་ག་སྤྱིང་པོ་ཅན་ཞེས་པའི་རིང་བསྤེལ་ལ། བྱང་
 རྒྱུ་བ་ཀྱི་སྤྱིང་པོ་རྒྱན་གྱི་གཟུངས་ཀྱི་ཚོག་ཞིབ་མོལ་ལས་སྐྱ་བལ་གྱི་རིང་བསྤེལ་དང་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རིང་བསྤེལ་
 ཡུངས་འབྲུ་ཟས་པའི་རིང་བསྤེལ། དེ་ཞི་ཤེ་པའི་རིང་བསྤེལ་དང་། སྐྱ་བལ་གྱི་རིང་བསྤེལ་དང་།
 ཡུངས་འབྲུ་བཅས་པའི་རིང་བསྤེལ་བཅས་ལུ་བཤད་ཀྱང་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་ལ་བཞི་ཡིན་ནོ། །དཀར་
 ཚགས་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཀྱང་འབྲུང་ལས། ཡིད་ཚེས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་གཟུངས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་བྱངས་སྤོས་པའི་
 སྐྱབས་དེ་གསུམ་པའོ། །ཞེ་ སྤོན་རྒྱབས་ཀྱི་གཟེ་འོད་འབར་བའི་གཟུངས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་མེར་བཏབ་པ་
 ལེ། མོག་མར་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིའི་རིང་བསྤེལ་ནི་གཟུངས་ཡིན་ལ། དབྱེ་གཟུངས་སོགས་གཟུངས་སྐྱགས་སྤོན་
 རྒྱབས་ཅན་བཞུགས་པ་ལ་ལམ་ཟབ་མོ་སླ་མའི་

༩ རྣལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་པ། དཔལ་གྱི་རྩོམ་མན་དག་ལུགས། །འགྲོལ་བ་ལུགས་མཚོ་སྐྱེས་ལུགས་
 རྣལ་པོ་ལུགས་དཔལ་དུས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ། །འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཚོག་ལ་ཡི་ལུགས། །ར་ལུགས་ཀྱང་རིགས་
 ལམ་པ་ཚན་རྩེ་རྟི། སེམས་བསྐྱེད་དབྱེ་ལུགས། །ལོ་སོར་ཟར་པའི་སྤོམ་བརྒྱུད་གུར་གྱི་མགོན།
 ཞལ་བཞི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་བརྒྱུད་པ། སྤོམ་བུ་ལུགས། རྣལ་པོ་ལུགས་། ས་ཕུར་གསང་ལུས་མི་བསྐྱེད་
 པ། རྩོམ་འཛིགས་བྱེད་ས་ལུགས། པན་ཚེན་བསྐྱེམ་བརྒྱུད་བཀའ་གདམས་བསྐྱབ་བསྐྱེད་
 པ། རྩོམ་དུག་འགྲོ་ལུགས། ར་རག་ཚོས་དུག་ཞི་བྱེད་སོགས། ལྷོ་བཞེད་བརྒྱུད་བཅུ་ཅུ་བཞི། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་རིགས་
 ལུན་གསང་སྐྱགས་སྤྲའགྱར། སྐྱ་འབྲུལ་ཚེ་དཔག་མེད་རྒྱལ་བ་འདུས་པ་ལྟ་ཞེར་རྩ་མགྱིན་རྩོགས་ཚེན་
 མང་ཉེག་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་བརྒྱུད་པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱེད་པའི་མཚན་སྐྱག། ཡི་དམ་རྒྱུད་སྤེ་བཞི་ཡི་དཀྱིལ་
 འཁོར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱེད་པའི་མཚན་སྐྱགས། སྤྱིང་པོ་ཉེ་སྤྱིང་འདྲི་ཚོགས་དུ་མ་དང་།
 གཟུངས་ཚེན་ལྷ་ཚོས་སྤྱོད་ས་ལོར་ལྷའི་རྩ་སྐྱགས་དུ་མ་སོགས། མདོར་ན་བརྒྱུད་སྤེ་ཡི་དཔོངས་པ་

༡༠ ལྷན་གྱི་གསུངས་རབས་ནས་བཤད་པ་ལྟར། སྐྱ་གདུང་ཡུངས་འབྲུའི་རིང་སྤེལ་ཞེས་པ། དེ་བཞིན་
 གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱ་གདུང་ལས་འཕེལ་བའི་རིང་བསྤེལ་ལ་བྱེད་པ་ལས། འདིར་རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་སྐྱེས་དགའི་
 གདུང་སྐལ་ལ་འཕེལ་བའི་འཕེལ་གདུང་བྱང་པར་ཅན་དང་། སངས་རྒྱལ་གྲུང་པོའི་གདུང་བཞུགས་ཤིང་།
 སྐྱ་བལ་གྱི་རིང་བསྤེལ་ཞེས་པ་སྤྱོད་པའི་དབྱེལ་ལོ། །ཕྱག་སེན་ན་བཟའ་དལ་བྱེད་པ་ལས། འདིར་
 ལྷ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་སྤོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོ་སྤྱོད་པའི་གསུངས་ཀྱི་དབྱེ་སྐྱ་ཕུང་འོད་ཟེར་དར་གྱི་ཕུང་པོ་མ་མེད་བ་ཅོམ་གྱིས་
 སྤོམ་རྣམས་པ་གཉེར་སྤོབ་བདུད་འདུལ་རྩོམ་པའི་གཉེར་མ། རྩོམ་འཛིན་པའི་གཙུག་རྒྱུན་གསུངས་པ་རྒྱན་གྱི་
 དབྱེལ་ལོ། །འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཚོས་འཁོར་གྱི་དབྱེལ་ལོ། །ས་སྐྱེལ་ལྷ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་རྣམ་སྐལ་བསངས་དབང་
 པོའི་དབྱེལ་ལོ། །མཁན་ཚེན་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུལ་པ་རག་དབང་ཚོས་གསུངས་ཀྱི་དབྱེལ་ལོ། །ལྷ་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་
 ཡུང་བསྐྱབ་སྤེ་བརྒྱུད་བྱེད་ལོལ་སྐྱག་ཤམ་པའི་དབྱེལ་ལོ། སྤང་སེམས་དབང་འདུས་སྤོབ་ཚོགས་རིགས་

འཛིན་གྱི་དབུ་པལ་བྱིསོང་ལྗེ་འུ་བཙན་གྱི་ན་བཟམ། གཉེར་སྟོན་ཞིག་སོགྲིང་པའི་ན་བཟམ། མངའ་
བདག་ཕུན་ཚོགས་རིགས་

༧༧ འཛིན་གྱི་ན་བཟམ་བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དུམ་བུ་རྣམས་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། གཏུང་རིང་བསྐལ་ཞེས་
པ་སྐྱེ་མ་གོང་མ་གྱི་སྐྱ་གཏུང་དང་། དེལས་སྟོན་པའི་རིང་བསྐལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལ་བྱེད་པ་ལས་འདིར་རྗེ་
འཚང་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟམ་པོའི་སྐྱ་གཏུང་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་མཚོད་རྟེན། རྗེ་འཚང་ཀུན་དགའ་དབང་ཕུག་
ཡོངས་འཛིན་དཀག་འཕེལ་ལྟ་མཚོགས་སོ།། དཀག་དཔལ་ལྟན་ས་སྐྱེ་བ་སྟགས་འཚང་སྐྱལ་པའི་སྐྱ་
ཡོའེ་ཡན་པ་དག་དབང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གཏུང་ཚ་ཆ་མང་བ། སྐྱོ་བོ་མཁམ་ཚེན་གྱི་ཞུན་ཐིག་མ་དུ་བརྩི་ད
ཚོས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐྱ་གཏུང་། བུམ་ཟེ་ཚེན་པོ་ས་ར་ད། འཕགས་པ་ལྟ་སྐྱབ་སོགས་ནས་རྗེ་རྗེའི་ཆབ་སེར་
རིལ་བུ་སོགས་དང་གཞན་ཡང་ཐུབ་པའི་རྒྱ་སྐྱ་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་ཅན་མཚོད་རྟེན་ལྟངས་ཅེས། ཡུ་ཉི་

༧༨ བྱགས་པ་མཐའ་ཡས་མགོན་པོ་རྒྱན་གྱིས་བཞེངས་སྟོང་པ་ཚེན་པོ་བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་ཅན་དང་། ས་བྱིན་
བརྒྱབས་ཅན་མང་པོ་ལ། དཔལ་འབྲས་མོ་གཤོངས་སུ་བཞེངས་པའི་ཕྱག་ན་རྗེ་རྗེའི་སྐྱ་བརྒྱན་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་
ཚེ་བལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་བརྒྱན་པར་རྣམས་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། རྒྱད་པར་དཔལ་ས་སྐྱ་ནས་གནང་བའི་
རྟེན་དམ་དཔེ་བྱགས་མའི་དཀར་ཆགས་ནི། ཡང་དག་པར་རྗེགས་པའི་ས་སྐྱའི་སྐྱ་གཏུང་། བྱི་ཟེ་ཚེན་པོ་
ས་ར་ད། འཕགས་པ་ལྟ་སྐྱབ་སོགས་ནས། བཞེ་མཚེན་གྱི་བར་གྱི་མཁམ་གྲུབ་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི་སྐྱ་གཏུང་།
རྗེ་རྗེ་གདན། བྱ་ཚོད་ཕུང་པོའི་རི། དུར་ཁོང་ཚེན་པོ་བརྒྱད། ཡུམ་ཚེན་ཉར་བཞི། གནས་ཚེན་པོ་
སོགས་གྱིས། གཞན་ཡང་འཕགས་ཡུལ་གྱི་བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་ཚང་མ་བསྟུང་པར་མཛད་ཅིང་། བོད་
གྱི་མཁམ་གྲུབ་ཀྱང་། བདག་ཉིད་ཚེན་པོ་ས་པན་ཚན་ཚོད་གྱི་སྐྱ་མ་གོང་མ་རྗེ་སྟོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོ། ཚོས་
རྒྱལ་བྱིསོང་ལྗེ་འུ་བཙན། མི་མི་བདུན་སོགས་ནས་བདག་ཉིད་ཚེན་པོ་ཚང་མ་བསྐལ་བར་མཛད་པའི་རྟེན་
འདམ་དེའི་སོང་དུ་རྗེ་ས་པམ། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པ་སོགས་ནས་ས་ལོ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པའི་བར་གྱི་
དཔལ་ས་སྐྱ་པའི་གཏུང་རྒྱུད་རིམ་པར་བྱོན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་གཏུང་གཤེགས་ཚལ། གཏུང་ཐལ་སོགས་དང་
བྱང་སེམས་སྐྱབ་རྒྱན། དབོན་སྟོན་སྟེར་སྟངས། ཚོགས་སྟོམ་པ། ཉན་ཚེན་སྟངས། ཚོགས་སྟོམ་པ།
ཉན་ཚན་པ། རྗེ་དཔལ་ལྟན་རྒྱལ་བྱིསོང་པ། ཤར་ཚེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱན། ལོ་ཙམ་མཚོགས་ལྟན། ལུས་ཚེན་
ནམ་མཁའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར། བྱ་སྟོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལོ་ཚེན་བྱང་ཅེ

༧༩ པ་བཟམ་མ་ཉི། པ་བཟམ་འཕགས་པ། རྗེ་རྗེ་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟམ་པོ། སེམས་དཔལ་ཚེན་པོ་དཀོན་
མཚོགས་རྒྱན། རྗེ་ཀུན་དགའ་དབང་ཕུག་ ཀུན་མཁྱེན་བསོད་ནམས་སོ།། ཡོངས་འཛིན་དཀོན་མཚོགས་
འཕེལ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་སངས་རྒྱལ་རིན་ཚེན། མཁྱེན་ལྟན་བསོད་ནམས་ལྟན་རྒྱལ། ལོ་ཚེན་ཚོས་སྟོང་
བཟམ་པོ། རོར་ཚེན་དཀོན་མཚོགས་ལྟན་གྲུབ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་གཏུང་གཏུང་ཐལ་ཞུན་སྟེར་ཆ་རྣམས་བསྐལ་པའི་
བྱིན་རྒྱབས་ཀྱི་གཟི་འོད་འབར་བའི་རྟེན་འདི། ལྟག་པར་རྗེ་བཙུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བྱགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་གྱི་སྐྱ་
གཏུང་དབུ་ཐོང་ལ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་འབྱངས་པའི་དུམ་བུ། ཚོམ་གྱི་དུམ་བུ། ན་བཟའི་དུམ་བུ། ཕྱག་

འབྲེང་ལྷག་མའི་དུམ་བུ་རྣམས་དང་། རྗེ་བཙུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཕྱི་མོའི་དབུ་ལོ། རྗེ་བཙུན་ས་པན་གྱི་སྐྱ་གདུང་།
 ལྷ་མ་རྣམས་ཁུལ་པའི་དབུ་མོད་ལ་ཕྱག་རྟོེར་དང་ཨ་ཡིག་འབྲུངས་པའི་དུམ་བུ། ཐེག་ཆེན་ཆོས་རྗེའི་སྐྱ་
 གདུང་ཕྱགས་འཆང་ཆེན་པོ་སྐྱ་གདུང་། ལུས་ཆེན་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དབུ་མོད་དུམ་བུ། སེམས་དཔལ་ཆེན་
 པོ་དཀོན་མཆོག་རྒྱན་གྱི་སྐྱ་གདུང་། རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དམ་པའི་སྐྱ་གདུང་། བུ་མ་ཟེམ་ཆེད་བདུན་གྱི་སྐྱ་གདུང་།
 འཇམ་དབྲངས་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱན་གྱི་སྐྱ་གདུང་། བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་གདུང་། ཡང་དག་པར་
 བརྗོད་པའི་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐྱ་གདུང་གི་སྤུ་མ། པལོ་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་ཁྲེན་པ། བདག་ཆེན་གྲགས་སློབ་
 རྒྱ་གར་ཤེས་རྒྱན་མཁན་པོ་སློབ་ཤེས་རྒྱན་རྣམས་གྱི་སྐྱ་གདུང་བརྟུལ་མ་ཕྱིན་བརྒྱབས་གྱི་གཟོང་འབར་མ་རྟེན་
 འདི་དཔེ་གངས་རྣམས་བཞུགས་ཤིང་གཞན་ཡང་དམ་ཇུས་ཆའི་མེད་རིལ་བུ། སྤོང་ངོ། བརྒྱད་ངོ།
 བསོལ་མ་སྐྱེ་བདུན་ལོན་རྒྱ་མང་བ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ཆོས་སྤྱིའི་མཆོད་རྟེན་གསེར་གྱི་ན་བཟའ་ཅན་གྱི་ལག་
 ལ་ཉེར་བཞུགས་པའོ། །དཀར་ཆག་དངོས་སུ་ཀུན་བྱུང་ལས། སྤོན་རྒྱབས་གྱི་གཟི་ལོད་འབར་བའི་
 གཟུངས་བཞུགས་ཚུལ་ཐོར་བཏབས་དེ་བཞི་པའོ། །དེ་ལྟར་གཟུངས་བཞུགས་གྱི་རིམ་པ་རྣམས།
 གཟུངས་གྱི་ལྗེ་མིག་སྤྲང་བྱེད་སྟོན་མོ། ཐེ་ཏུ་རི་དབྱེལ་ས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་མཛད་པ་དང་། རྗེ་བཙུན་རིན་
 ཆེན་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱན་གྱི་མཛད་པ་དང་།

༧ རྗེ་རྒྱན་དགའ་བཟང་པོས་ཆོས་རྣམས་ཨ་མ་དཔལ་ལ། གསེར་སྐྱ་རྗེ་འཆང་གྲུབ་པའི་གཟུངས་
 བཞུགས་གྱི་རིམ་པ་དང་ཡོངས་འཛིན་དཀོན་མཆོག་འཕེལ་གྱིས་ཞལ་བཀོད་མཛད་པ་ལྟར་དཀོན་མཆོག་
 དཔལ་ལྷན་པའི་སར་དུ་བརྒྱབ་པའི་དགོས་འདོད་ཀུན་བྱུང་གི་ཕྱག་ལེན་དང་པམ་ཆེན་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་ཁྲེན་པ་
 ཆོས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་མཛད་པའི་གཟུངས་བཞུགས་གྱི་ལ་བ་ལེན་དུལ་དཀར་གསལ་བའི་མོ་ལོང་སོགས་གྱི་
 གཟུངས་བཞུགས་གྱི་རིམ་པ་རྣམས། ལྷག་ཆད་འགལ་འབྲུལ་སྟོན་ཟུམ་ཅན་དང་བུལ་བའི་བོད་ཡུལ་བསྟན་
 པའི་མངའ་བདག་རྗེ་བཙུན་ས་སྐྱའི་ཕྱག་བཞེས་རྗེ་ལྟར་བཞིན་བགྱིས་རྗེས། རྒྱ་ལོས་རྟོར་ལ་དགུ་པའི་
 དཀར་ཕོགས་གཟུངས་སྐྱར་སྐྱར་བྱེད་འཛོམས་པའི་ཆོས་དགེ་བལ། ཉམས་རྟོར་གྱི་དབང་ཕྱག་མཁན་པོ་ཆོ་
 རིང་ལྷན་གྲུབ་གྱིས་གཙོ་མཛད། བྱ་དགོན་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤོམ་ཁྲོན་རང་བསྟུས་རྣམས་གྱིས་དཔལ་པ་སྐྱེ་བ་
 ཕྱགས་འཆང་དག་དབང་ཀུན་དགའ་བསོད་ནམས་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་གྱི་རྗེ་རྗེ་བསྟེན་པའི་
 རབ་གནས་གྱི་ཆོ་ག་དོན་གཉིས་ལྷན་སྐྱབ་སློབ་གསལ་དགའ་སྟོན་གྱི་སྟེང་ནས་རབ་གནས་སྤོན་རྒྱས་སོགས་
 མེད་པར་བསྐྱབས་པའི་གང་གིས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་ན་མཆོག་དང་མཐུན་མོང་གི་དངོས་གྲུབ་བདེ་སྲུག་རྒྱ་རྩེལ་
 དེས་པའི་རྒྱ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་སྐྱ་བརྟན་འདི་ལོན་ནོ། །འདི་ལྟར་མ་ལོན་པའི་གཟུངས་བཞུགས་རབ་གནས་
 ཚུལ་བཞིན་མ་ཤོས་ན་རྟེན་དེ་ལ་རབ་གནས་མི་ཆགས་ཤིང་། རབ་གནས་ལ་ཆགས་པའི་རྟེན་དེ་ལུལ་
 བདའི་གཏད་དུ་འགྲོ་སྟེ། རབ་གནས་གྱི་

༧ རྒྱུད་ལས། ཆོག་དམན་པས་མི་བྱ་སྟེ། རབ་གནས་བརྟུག་པར་བཀྲ་མི་ཤེས། འཇིག་རྟེན་འདིར་
 ཡང་ན་ཕྱག་བསྐལ་ཞིང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་པོལ་འཇིགས་པ་ཆེ། དེབས་འབད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི། དངོས་
 གྲུབ་འདོད་པས་ནན་ཏན་བྱ། ཞེས་གསུངས་པའི་ཕྱིར་སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཕྱག་ཆོད་དང་ལྷན་པ་ལ་གཟུངས་

བཞུགས་དང་རབ་གནས་རྒྱལ་ཞིང་བྱུང་ན། ཚོའདི་དང་སྤྱི་མ་དང་། སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བར་དུ་ཡང་ལོགས་
 ཚོགས་བསོད་ནམས་དགོ་རྒྱལ་མི་ཚད་པ་དང་འབྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་ཉིད་ལས་ཚོགས་བདག་ཉིད་རུས་པ་ཡིས་
 རྟོག་པ་ལས་གསུངས་རྒྱལ་ལོགས་པའི། དེ་བྱས་བསོད་ནམས་ཚེ་བཞི། མཐོང་དང་མཐུང་འབྲུལ་སྐྱེ།
 རྒྱ་གཞུགས་གྱི་མི་མཚོན་ཉིད་གྱི། དེ་ལ་གྱིན་རྒྱབས་འཇུག་པར་འགྱུར། ཞེས་དང་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཡང་
 རྒྱགས་གནས་དཀར་ཆག་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཀྱན་འབྱུང་ལས། རྒྱུད་སྤེལས་གསུངས་པའི་གཞུངས་བཞུགས་དང་
 ། རབ་གནས་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་མ་བྱས་པའི་ཉེས་པ། རྒྱལ་བཞིན་བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཕན་ཡོན་བཟང་པོའི་རྒྱབས་དེ་
 ལྟ་པོ། དེ་ལྟའི་སྐྱམ་རྒྱལ་བ་སྐྱུ་བཅས་དང་། ལྷག་པར་བྱམས་པའི་རྒྱ་གཞུགས་བཞེངས་པའི་ཕན་
 ཡོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྲབ་པ་ཞིག་མདོ་རྒྱུད་ས་གསུངས་མོད། འདིར་ཡི་གེར་འཇིགས་ནས་རྒྱས་པར་མ་
 གྱིས་པ་ལ་ཟུར་ཅེ་བཞེད་ན། མདོ་སྤེལ་བླ་དཀར་པོ་ལས། ལ་ལས་དེར་མི་རིན་ཚེན་སྐབ་དུལ་དང་། ལ་
 ལས་དེ་བཞིན་ཟངས་དང་འར་བ་ལས། །བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་རྣམས་གྱི་གཞུགས་བྱས་པ་། དེ་དག་
 ཐམས་ཅད་བྱང་རྒྱབ་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར། རིམ་དང་མི་ལྷགས་སམ་ས་ཡང་དུང་། བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་
 རྣམས་གྱི་གཞུགས་བྱས་ཏེ། ལྷན་སྐྱེལ་པ་འཇིགས་པའི་ལས་བྱེད་བཅུག་ དེ་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱང་རྒྱབ་ཐོབ་
 པར་གྱུར། །གང་གི་ཅིག་དོས་གཞུགས་གྱི་རི་མོ་དག་ བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྟོགས་པའི་རྒྱ་
 བདག་གིས་

༡༦ གྱིས་སམ་འབྲི་རུ་བཅུག་གྱང་རུང་། དེ་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱང་རྒྱབ་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར་ཅིག་ ཞེས་
 མོགས་དང་། རྒྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཐེག་པ་ཚེན་པོའི་མདོ་ལས་གང་ཞིག་སྟོན་པ་མི་མཚོག་གཞུང་བྱེད་པ་
 རས་གྱིས་ཅིག་དངོས་འདྲའི་འཇིགས་ལས་བྱས། དེ་ནི་གཞུགས་དང་ལྷན་པའི་ཁ་དོག་ལྟར། ལུས་བཅུ་རྩ་
 གཉིས་མཚོན་གྱི་གོ་ཆར་འབྱུར། ཞེས་དང་། གསལ་རྒྱལ་མདོ་ལས། བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་གྱི་མཚོན་རྟོན་
 རྣམས་དང་ནི། རྒྱ་གཞུགས་རྣམས་ལ་རུལ་སྤྱན་རིསོང་བ། དེ་ཡི་གྲངས་སྟོང་དེ་བྱེད་འདི་རྣམས་གྱི་
 །ལྷ་ཡུལ་ས་སྟོང་དེས་པར་རྒྱལ་སྤིང་ཐོབ། །ཅེས་གསུངས་ཤིག་ འཕགས་པ་དགའི་བཤེས་བསྟོན་གྱི་
 བསྟོད་པ་བཞེད་པ་ལས། དེ་མི་རྣམས་གྱི་ཚོ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་པར་གྱུར་ན། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་དག་བཅོམ་
 པ་ཡང་དག་པར་རྟོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱལ་བྱམས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འཇིགས་རྟོན་དུ་འབྱུང་བོ། དེ་ཡི་ཚོ་འཇིགས་
 བྱའི་གྲིང་འདིར་སྟོབས་དང་རྒྱས་པ་དང་བདེ་བ་དང་། ལོ་ལོགས་པ་དང་། མི་དང་སྐྱེ་བོ་མང་པོས་ཡོངས་
 ལྷག་འཛིང་། མོང་དང་མོང་བརྒྱལ་དང་། ལྷོངས་དང་། ཡུལ་འཕོར་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྤོང་ཡོང་བར་
 འགྱུར། ལན་གཅིག་ས་ཕོན་བཟབ་པས་ལན་བདུན་གྱི་བར་དུ་འབྲུག་སུམ་རྣམས་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར་པོ། ཉན་
 ཐོས་འདུས་པ་དང་པོ་ཉན་ཐོས་བྱེ་བ་སྤྱི་དག་དག་བཅུ་རྩ་བཞི་ གཉིས་པ་ལ་བྱེ་བ་སྤྱི་དག་དག་བཅུ་རྩ་བཞི་
 གསུམ་པ་ལ་བྱེ་བ་སྤྱི་དག་དག་བཅུ་རྩ་བཞི་གཉིས་གྱིས་འདུས་པ་ཚེན་པོ་འབྱུང་བར་གྱུར་ཏེ་མོགས། ཡང་འདི་ལྷ་
 སྐྱེ། གསེར་གྱི་རང་བཞིན་དང་། དུལ་དང་། ལྷ་དུལ་དང་། ལེལ་དང་། དཀར་དང་། འར་བ་
 དང་། ལྷ་ཉིག་དང་། ལྷགས་དང་། ཟངས་དང་། ཚོན་དང་། ལ་ཀར་དང་། བསོད་དང་། རུ

གསུམ་དཔལ་དེས་སྤེལ་གསུམ་འབྲུངས་པའི་གཞོན་པ་གསུམ་དཔལ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅན་བྱེད་རྒྱ་མིན་ཡོང་
 བསྐྱབས་པའི་བྱ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ལྟ་འོ་རང་ཐམས་ཅད་བཀའ་འགྲོས་འཆམ་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ལྟོངས་བསམ་པ་
 འཕྱོག་དགོས་གསུངས་པས། རྒྱལ་པོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཚེ་རྫོངས་པ་ལྟ། འོ་ནས་གནས་སྤོན་ས་བྱེད་པ་ལ། ཕྱིས་
 པའི་བདག་པོའི་ཕྱི་དཀར། མོ་མ་ཉ་ག་སོམ་པོའི་མོ་རྒྱབ་པས། ས་ཀོག་རྫོགས་ཀོགས་བྱེད་མན་རྫོང་
 དཔོན་ཚོ་དབང་དཔལ་ལྡན་ལ་བབས་སོང་ངོ་། འདི་ནས་རྫོངས་ཅགས་ཚར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། འདྲ་ཅར་ཉི་མར་
 རི་ཉིང་ཐམས་ཅད་བཀའ་འགྲོས་འཆམས་ནས་འབྲིས་འདུས་ད་ས་མཚམས་མར་ཤར་བྱུབ་ཡུར་ཏེ། སྤོ་
 འཚམས་གང་ཡར་ཏེ། ལྷུང་སྤང་འབྲོང་ཡར་ཏེ། གསུམ་པའི་ས་ཡིན་ནོ། འདི་ཡར་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ལུང་མན་
 སྤོན་ཉིང་གཅོད་སྤོམ་པའི་བདག་པོ་མར་གྱའི་ལ་མར་ཏེ། སྤོན་སྤྲག་རྒྱ་མར་ཏེ། གསུམ་པོའི་ས་ཡིན་ནོ།
 རྫོགས་མི་དང་བཀའ་འགྲོས་འཚམས་ནས་ཉི་རི་མཚ་མར་ཏེ། གསུམ་པོའི་ས་ཡིན་ནོ། མི་གསལ་
 རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ས་བཞི་ཡིན་ནོ། །ས་བཞི་ལ་ཙམ་དེ་བྱེད་དག་འམོ་མོ་བྱེད་ཟེར་ནད་གསལ་གང་བར་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ནོ།
 །རྒྱལ་པོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ས་གཞི་ཐོབ་པ་ཡིན། རྒྱ་འདི་ངའི་དབང་ཡིན་རྒྱལ་ཐོབ་དཀར་ཅན་དང་། རྒྱལ་ལུ་རྩ་
 རེས་བཀའ་འགྲོས་འཆམ་སོང་། རྒྱལ་ལུ་རྩ་རེ་ལེ་ལྟ་འབྲུང་འདུག་ཉིད་དབང་ཆ་བ་མན་པ་བུམ་མོ་ཁན་ལ་
 སྤོར་རྒྱ་མི་ཡོངས། རྒྱལ་ཐོབ་དཀར་ཅན་སོར་ཞོག་ཡུལ་པ་ལ་བྱིམ་མེད་ཉགས་མེད་བྱེད་.....བྱེ་
 ཡུལ་གྲིས་ཐོབ། ཡུལ་མི་ཡང་བརྒྱལ་རྩི་ཕྱིས་སོགས་བྱེད་ན་དདུལ་ཞོག་ཡིན་ནོ། །བརྒྱལ་ཐོབ་དཀར་
 ཅན་དང་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྩ་རེ་དཀར་འདྲེས་འཛམས་པའི་སྤོན་ས་སྤྲགས་ད་ཙམ་སོ་ལ་རྩོལ་རྩོལ་གོང་རྒྱབ་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།
 །ཞེ་སྤྱི། མངར་ཡུལ་ཁ་ལྟ་པའི་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱར་མེད་སྤྱན་པར་བསོད་ནམས་ལ་གསུམ་པ་གྱར་
 རྫོངས་གིས་ཞེ་སྤོར་ལུགས་ལ། དང་པོ་ཚོ་སྤོག་ཆག་འཚུལ། རྒྱ་མོ་བྱེ་ལོ་ལ། སྤྲག་ནས་གསུམ་པ་བྱེ་
 ཐོབས་དུས། དེས་ཀྱི་མེ་མེ། མེ་མོ་བྱེ་ལོ་ལ་ཚོ་རོག་ཡུལ་ལ་ཆག་ས་གཞི་སྤོར་ནས་ཆག་འདུས། ཆཀ་
 པ་མར་ཅང་དང་ཆཀ་པ་བརྒྱ་ཚོ་རིང་ཡིན་ཅིང་། འགའ་འདུ་མེད་མེད་སྤོན་པར་བསོད་ནམས་ལ་རྒྱ་དག་
 རིགས་ཉི་ཉལ་ཆཀ་པའི་གནང་བ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། བདེ་ལུག་ཆཀ་པ་བརྒྱ་ཚོ་རིང་གིས་འདུས་ས་པོ་ཐག་ལོ་ལ་
 གསུམ་པོའི་ཆཀ་པ་ཚགས་པ་ལྟ་འབྲུའི། རི་ལྟར་མར་ཏེ། དང་། སྤྲག་བྱར་མར་ཏེ། སྤྲ་དཔའ་མཚོད་
 རྫོན་ཡར་ཏེ། ཐག་ཚོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། སྤོར་ཐག་ལྷན་ཚན་དང་། གསུམ་པ་གྱུབ་ཤིགས་ས་མཚམས་བྱེད་
 པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཅོད་བྱེད་རྒྱལ་ལ། སྤོན་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཐང་མིག་ཅན་གྱི་ཐོང་རྩམས་གསུམ་གྱ་རབ་རྫོངས་གི་
 ས་ཡིན་ཅིང་། ཉིད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐབཀའ་འགྲོས་འཆམས་པའི་སྤོན་ས་ཚོད་འདོན་ལ། གསུམ་པ་གྱ་རབ་རྫོང་
 གིས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྒྱ་གྲུ་རྫོངས་ནས་ཡར་ཤིག་པས། བུ་ཚུ་བེན་དར་སྤྲག་གཡལ་འབྲོག་ཐིག་དེ་དུས་འུ་རྒྱལ་
 པོ་གསུམ་པ་ནས་གཟིགས་པས། ལྷུང་པར་འབྲོང་དང་མར་ཤར་རྒྱ་ཤིང་རྒྱ་ཡང་བཏེ། ལྷུང་པར་འབྲོང་
 ཡར་ཏེ། འུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉལ་འཆམ་ནས་གནས་ལ་སྤོན་མེད་ས་དུལ་མེད་དམར་ཕྱེས་ལོག་སྤོག་པ་སྤོང་
 ཡོང་མེད་པའི་སྤོན་ས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉིད་པའི་སྤྲལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་ས་མཚམས་ཤོད་འཚམས་ཀྱི་སྤོར་རྣམས་འདི་
 ལྟར་ཡིན་ནོ། །རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་མཚམས་རྫོད་འཚམས་འདི་ཚོད་པའི་ལག་རྟགས་ཡང་དེ་ནས་གསུང་པ་གྱུ་

མཚམས་གང་གིས་རྫོལ་བ་ཚེན་པོར་ལྷག་ནས། འེ་ཁྱེད་གསུམ་པོ་མ་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་བ་དང་ཐག་ཁྱེད་ཚན་པའི་ས་
 མཚམས་སྲུང་ལྟར་དེའི་གཞུང་ཅན་པོ་མར་ཤང་ཚུ་དང་རྫོལ་བ་འདི་དང་ཁྱེད་སྲུང་གྲོང་ཡར་གྲོང་གསུམ་
 ཡུལ་ཁ་ལྟ་པའི་ས་མཚམས་ཅོད་ཡོད། རྫོལ་བ་དང་གཅེན་པོ་མར་ཤང་ཚུ་མར་ཏུ་ཁྱེད་ཐག་ཁྱེད་ཚན་
 གིས་ས་ཡིན་ནོ། །གསུང་སྟེ་དཀར་ཆ་ཐག་ཚོད་ནས་སྲུང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་ལ་སྲུའི་ས་བརྒྱར་ས་མེད་དོ།
 །གསུང་བ་ཡིན། ཐག་དང་གསུམ་པའི་སྤྱོད་གཤམ། ཐག་ནས་འཁོར་གཤམ་གསུམ་པོ་འདུ་སྲིབ་ན་འོ་ཟ་
 ཚུ་ཡིན་ནོ། རྩ་རྩེད་ན་ཡང་འོ་ཟ་ཚུ་ཡིན། གཤམ་གཤམ་ལྟེ་རྩ་རྩེད་ཡང་འོ་ཟ་སྲིབ་ཡིན་ནོ། གསུམ་པའི་འཁོར་
 གཤམ་གསུམ་པོ་འདུ་སྲིབ་ན་ཡང་སྲིབ་འདེ་རང་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཆ་འབངས་ཐག་པའི་རྒྱན་པ་པ་སངས་ཚོས་སྲུབ་
 དཔང་པོ་ཡོད། མར་ཐག་ནས་རྒྱན་པ་ལྷོ་གཤམ་ཡོད། སྲུང་ཚུ་གང་མི་ག་ཅན་གྱི་འདུས་སུ་སྲུང་ལྷག་
 མར་ཏུ། ཚུའི་ལ་མར་ཏུ་སྲུབ་དུང་དགོན་པའི་ས་མར་ཏུ། ཚང་པོ་པར་སྐྱེད་ནས་ཚུ་འགོ་གར་མར་
 ཏུ། ཚུའི་ལ་མར་ཏུ་གསུམ་པའི་ས་ཡིན་ཅིང་། ཡུལ་ཁ་ལྟ་བུ་དང་ཚོས་ལུང་གིས་མཚམས་བྱོད་
 ལུགས་ལ་སྲུང་སྲུབ་སྲུབ་ལུང་མེད་པ་ལ། བོན་པོའི་སྒྲིམ་ཡང་དོན། དེ་ལ་པོ་ནས་མེད་ཏེ་གུས་མ་པ་ག་
 ར་མེད་གི་རྒྱན་པ་བརྒྱ་ཚོ་རིང་ལ། སྒྲིམ་པའི་སྲུང་གོས་ལུས་ནས། རྒྱན་པ་ཚོ་རིང་དང་རྒྱན་པ་ལྟ་རབ་
 ཚུ་བ་གིས། སྲུབ་སྲུབ་ཐོག་ནས་ནས་བུ་ལལ་ནས་སྲུབ་སྲུབ་སྒྲིམ་བུ་ལུགས་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ཚུ་ལ་དང་མི་ག་ཅན་གཤམ་
 ཡ་མཚན་དེ་ལྟར་པོ། དེའི་ལྷག་ལ་འདུ་ཚུ་ལ་པོས་སྒྲུབ་པ་ལ། འདུ་ཚུ་ལ་པའི་བུ་མོ་ཚུ་ལ་ཚུ་ལ་པོ་ལ།
 སྲུང་ཏེ་གཏེར་འདུས་འདུ་ཚུ་ལ་པོས་དེའི་ཚོ་ལ་སྒྲིམ་ཡང་འདོན་པའི་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཁྱེད་ཚུ་ལ་ཚུ་ལ་པོས་ལྟ་མོ་
 གཙོ་མཚན་ཟེར་ནས། དམག་མི་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙམ་ཡང་ཁྱེད་རང་བུ་མོའི་དམག་མི་མཚན་ཟེར་ནས་འཚུམ་ལ་ཚུ་ལ་
 པོ་ལ། འདུ་ཚུ་ལ་པོས་སྲུང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། །བུ་གིས་དོན་གྲུབ་པའི་ལྟ་ལ་བུག་འཚུལ་ལོ། །ཐག་ཁྱེད་ཚན་
 མ་ཐེན་མ་བུ་དུག་སྲུབ་གི་འོང་བདག་མོ་གསུམ་གྱིས་མཚོད་ཡིག་གིས་དོན་ལ། མེ་མོ་སྲུང་པོ་སྲུབ་
 པའི་ཚོ་ལ། ཡུལ་གོ་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱན་པ་འུ་སྲུབ་བུ་གའ་འདོན་ཆམ་ནས། ཡི་གེ་གིས་དོན་ལ། གཤམ་ཏེ་
 གསུམ་པ་ལ་ཡུལ་པ་ལ་མི་མཐེན་གྱི་སྲུབ་ཅན་གྱི་དང་འདུང་ན། ཐག་ཡུལ་པ་དང་སྲུབ་དགིས་ཡུལ་པ་ས་
 བརྒྱབ་གྱེད་ཚུ་ཡིན་སྲུབ་འགིས་ཡུལ་པ་ལ་སྲུབ་ཅན་གྱི་དང་འདུང་ན། ཐག་གསུམ་པ་གཉིས་གྱི་རྒྱབ་གྱེད་
 ཚུ་ཡིན། ཚུ་ལ་པོའི་དུང་དུ་ཡུ་བ་ལྟ་དོན་ལ་སྲིབ་གྲང་། སྲུས་སྲུབ་ལ་སྲུབ་གྲང་སྲིབ་འདོན་ལྟ་དགོས་ཅིང་སྲ་
 མ་གྱེད་པ་མེད། ཡུལ་སྲིབ་པ་གང་དུ་ཡང་ཡུལ་གསུམ་ལ། གཞོད་པའི་འབྲམ་གྱི་དུ་ཚུ་བྱུང་ན། ཡུལ་གོ་
 གསུམ་དཀར་གྱི་སྲུབ་གཅིག་གིས་ཏེར་དགོས་པོ། །ཡུལ་གོ་གསུམ་ནང་འདུག་གྲང་ལོགས་སྲུམ་ལྟི་གྱེད་
 ཚུ་མི་ཡོད། ཡུལ་གོ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྲུབ་གཤམ་ཅན་སྲུབ་པ་གྲང་པོ་བརྒྱ་ཡིན། བདུད་འགོ་ཆེ་ཚུང་གང་རྒྱུད་
 གྲང་ནས་ཟེར་བརྒྱ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་ལས་ལྷག་མ་ཟེར་ནས་མི་ལོག་ན། སྲུང་ཡང་མེད་ཅིང་། ཚུན་པའི་
 སྲུབ་ནས་གཏེར་ཚུ་ཡིན་ནོ། རྩེད་ནས་མ་རྩེད་ཟེར་ནས། སྲུའི་སྲུག་ན་རྒྱན་གཏེར་ཚུ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ར་ལུག་
 རྩེད་ནས་ལྷགས་བུ་མོང་ནས་རྩེད་ཅོད་མ་འདུང་ན། བརྒྱ་ཡིན། དེ་ལྟར་གྱེད་པའི་གིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་ནང་
 ལྟར་སྲུའི་མ་གནས་པར་འདུང་ན། གནར་སྲུང་ལ་ཚོས་གྱི་ཚོས་སྲོང་། བོན་གྱི་བོན་སྲོང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་
 གྱི་ལྟ་སྲུ་གཞི་བདག་ གང་སྲུབ་གྱི་པོ་ལྟ་དུག་ལྟ་རྒྱུ་མས་གྱིས་མ་ན་པ་རྒྱུ་མས་ལ་ཆད་པ་འདུག་པོ་ཅོད་ཅིག

གནས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབ་ཏུ་གསོལ་། དེ་ལྟར་ཡི་གེ་གྲིས་འདུས། ཐག་མི་ཚན་པ་དེས་ཐེང་ཚན་
 གལ་བུ་བཀྲིས། བདེ་ཐེང་ལྟར། རྒྱལ་མཛོད་རམ་མི་སལ་མར་བྱས་ལྟར། དེས་ཐེང་གྲུབ་ཤིང་། གྱི
 མོ་ཚེ་རིང་། དར་མ་ཚེ་རིང་། དེ་ནས་.....གྱིས་རྟུག་ གསུམ་པོའི་ཚན་པོ་དེས་ཐེང་བཀྲ་ཤིས།
 བརྒྱ་ཚེ་རིང་། སྤྱིད་མ་ཚེ་རིང་། དར་མ་ཚེ་རིང་། གསུམ་ཐང་ལྟ་བུ་ག་ མས་སྣ་ལ་ཡ་སྤྱིད་སལ་
 ལྟ་སལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས། ཚོ་སྣན་སྣ་རིན་ཚེན། རྒྱལ་ཚོགས་བཀྲ་ཤིས། ཚོས་དར་ཚོས་སྤྱབས། ཚོ་བདུག་
 གར་ཚོས་སྤྱབས་ཚོས་རྒྱད་གསུམ་ཐེང། རིན་ཚེན་ཚོ་དབང་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྟུགས། སྤྱན་གྱི་པོའི་ཚན་པོ་གོ
 བོ་གཡུང་བདུང་དཔོན་པོ་ས་རྟུག། རོ་རྩེ་ཚོ་རིང་། གུ་ཚུ་ལྷ། མི་ན་གར་བཀྲ་ཤིས། ཚང་བུ་ལྟར་
 གོས་ཚོ་རིང་། ལྷ་རྣམས་བཀྲ་ཤིས། འགའ་པོ་རྣམས། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྟུགས། ཡི་གེ་གྲིས་མཐའ་དགེ
 སྤོང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ཚོས་བཟང་དང་བཀའ་ཚེབ་ལེགས་བསྐྱེད་དགེ་སྤོང་ཡིན། སྤོན་སྐལ་པ་གསུམ་པོའི་ཚན་པོ་
 ཚང་གྲུ་དང་། ཚན་པོ་ལྟར་སྤྱགས་དང་། ཚོ་སྤོག་ཚན་པོ་གིར་པ་རི་དང་། བསོད་ནམས་བྱ་བྱིང་ལོང་
 རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱོད་སལ་ལ་གསུམ་པོ་གྲུ་རྩོད་སལ་ལ་ཚོ་སྤོག་ ལྷི་མ་ལ་ལ་གྱིས་བདུང་གོ་རྩེ་རིང་རྒྱ་རིང་གསུམ་
 པོའི་ཡུལ་འདུ་དདུལ་ལྷ་བཅུ་དེར་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ལྷུ་མ་ཡུལ་པ་ལ་དདུལ་བཅུ་སྟེར་ཡོད་པའི་ཐོག་ལ་རས་ཆད་
 གར་བརྩོད་སལ་དང་ཚོ་སྤོག་ཡུལ་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་བཀོས་ཚམ་ནས་ཡི་གེ་གྲིས་དེན་ལ། སྤྱན་ལྷག་མར་དབ་
 མར་ཤང་རྒྱ་ཡོར་དབ་ ལྟར་པ་འབྲོང་ཡར་དབ། སྤྱན་རྒྱ་ཡར་དབ། བདུང་འགོ་ཅི་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་རྣམས་ཟ
 རྒྱ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཡར་མོར་རྒྱལ་རོག་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཡི་གེ་ནང་ལྟར་སྤྱོད་པའི་མི་ནས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་
 བ། ཚད་པ་དདུལ་ཉི་རྒྱུ་ལ་མེད་ལྟ་མེད་ཟ་རྒྱ་ཡོན། གར་བརྩོད་སལ་གྱིས་ལྷ་མོ་གོ་མོ་ཚོ་སྤོག་ཡུལ་པོའི
 སྤོད་རྒྱ་ཡོང་། ཚོ་སྤོག་ཡུལ་པོའི་པོར་ལ་ཇུང་གོག་ལ་སྤྱོད་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་གྲིས་འདུས་ཟའི་ཚན་
 པོ་ཚངས་པ་ལྷ་སྤྱབ། ཚན་པོ་ལྟར་སྤྱགས་དང་། ཚན་པོ་འདོད་ཚོ་རིང་དང་ལར་སྤོན་ཚེན་པོ་ཚན་པོ་
 བརྒྱ་རྣམས་དང་། ཚོ་སྤོག་ཚན་པོ་གིར་པ་རི་དང་། ཚན་པོ་སོད་བྱ་བྱིང་དང་འབྱུང་བྱིང་། སེར་སྤྱི་སྤྱོ
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་སལ་ལ་གྲིས་པ་ཡིན། རྒྱ་བྱི་ཐང་ལ་ཚོ་སྤོག་ཡུལ་གྱི་མིས་ཅི་ཡོད་སྤོད་རྒྱ་མེད། གལ་སྤྱོད་
 བ་དདུལ་བརྒྱ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཡི་གེ་འགྲིས་ཚོ་དབང་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་དང་། ལེགས་ཤེས་དཀའ་ཚན་གཉིས་ཡིན་ནོ།
 བཀྲ་ཤིས་སལ་མཛུ་ལོ། ། །

Note: This very long and rolled document is from the collection of the village assembly of Marpha and it has 153 lines all together.

Document No. 18 (MHR doc. no. 23, Tib.)
A letter from the Sakya Lama of Sa-skya phun-tsoqs pho-brang to the Lo ruler

། དཔལ་ས་སྤྱིའི་ཕུན་ཚོགས་པོ་གྲང་མཚོག་ནས་སྤོ་པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འབོར་བཅས་ལ་ཞེས་རྟེན་
 ལྷ་གོས་དང་སྤྱོད་སྤྱིལ་གནས་རྒྱལ་སྤོར་གྱི་སྤྱིད་སལ་ཡིག་དགེ།

། །ལུགས་བཟུང་མཁུན་སྲིད་ཡང་ཞིང་ལུགས་དམ་མཚུངས་མེད་སྟོལ་པོ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་མཚོགས་ལ་ཚེད་གསོལ། དེང་མངོན་པར་དགོ་བའི་དུས་ཀྱི་ཆར་ཡང་། ཚོགས་གཉིས་གསེར་ལྷན་སྐྱེན་མོའི་སྲིད་ལས་མཚོན་དཔེའི་མཛོས་སྐྱུ་ཡོངས་འདུའི་ལྷོན་རབ་ཏུ་བརྟན་ཞིང་། བན་བདེའི་ལོ་འདབ་སྲོགས་བརྒྱུར་འགོལ་བའི་གྲིབ་བསིལ་ཡངས་པོར་བཞུགས་པ་ནི་ཤིན་ཏུ་སྟོ། །འདིར་ཡང་འདུ་བཆ་སྟོམ་རིང་ནས་། བསྟན་འགྲོར་ཕན་བདེའི་ལྷག་བསམ་དཀར་བ་མཚོན། མཚོམས་གསོལ། སྤང་མར་ཡང་དཔག་མེད་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱལ་གྱི་འབྲུང་གནས་མཚོགས་སྐྱུ་ཡིད་བཞིན་དབང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནམ་ཡང་གཡོ་བ་མེད་ཅིང་། ཟབ་དང་རྒྱ་ཚེའི་མཛོད་བཟང་འདོད་དགུ་ཆར་དུ་བསྐྱེལ་བའི་དགོངས་གཏད་ཟབ་དང་རྒྱ་ཚེའི་མཛོད་བཟང་ནང་མའི་ཕེབས་ཚོགས་ཀྱང་བསྐྱལ་ལྷན་ཤིང་རྟེན་རྒྱུན་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་ལྟ། ཞེས་རྟེན་ལྷ་གོས་དང་། ལྷགས་མཐུད་བྱིན་ཆག་སྤགས་པ། མདོག་ལྗང་བཅས་དཔལ་ས་སྐྱའི་ཕུན་ཚོགས་པོ་བྱང་ནས་རྒྱ་ཚོས་ལ། །།

Note: The original letter is in the possession of CNAS, Tribuvan University.

**Document No. 19 (MHR doc. no. 26, Tib.)
A Royal order of King dNgos-grub dpal-bar issued to the
lamas of Tsarang Gonpa of Mustang (date 1886 A. D.)**

། །ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ལེ་ཏུ་དངོས་ཀྱི་དཔལ་འབར་ནས་སྐབ་བསྟན་འགྲུབ་དར་རྒྱས་གྱི་རྩེ་བའི་ཅ་དྲུངས་ཚོས་སྤེལ་གནང་བའི་བཅའ་ཡིག་བཞུགས་སོ། །
སུལ་ཏུ་རབ་བལྟ་ནི། བོ་རྩོམ་རྩི་རྩོམ་ལྷན་སྐྱེན་པོ་ལྟ་བུ་མི། ས་རྒྱ་ཏི་ལོ་ཀྱའི་ལ་ཏུ། ལས་བཅས་སྤོབས་བརྟུ་མངའ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི། སྤང་དང་རྟོགས་པ་ནོར་བུའི་གཟེ་འབར་བ། །ལུས་ཅན་ཀུན་གྱི་སྐབས་མགོན་ས་སྐྱལ། །འཛིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་ན་རྟག་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་གྱུར་ཅིག། །བྱང་རྒྱལ་མཚོགས་ཏུ་སྤུགས་བསྐྱེད་ཅ་བ་བརྟན། །ཚོགས་ཚེད་གཉིས་རྩོགས་ལལ་འདབ་སྲོགས་བརྒྱུར་གཡོ། །མངོན་སའས་རྒྱས་པའི་འབྲས་བུའི་ཁྱེད་ལྟོ། །སྐབ་དབང་དཔག་བསམ་དཔང་པོ་བརྟུ་ཏུ་མཛོད། །ཀུན་མཁུན་དགའ་མཛོད་འདྲན་པ་བཟང་པོ་ལོ། །ཚོས་དང་སྲིད་པའི་སྲིན་ལས་གདུགས་དཀར་པོ། །སྲིད་པའི་རྩོམ་པོར་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྲིད་སྤོབས་ཅན། །ཞེ་མི་མཁན་རབས་རིམ་འབྲོན་གཏན་གྱི་སྐབས། །མཉམ་པ་མེད་པའི་བསོད་ནམས་ལྷན་གྱིས་གྲུབ། །ལེགས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཀུན་གྱི་འབྲུང་གནས་ཚེ། །བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་སྲིད་པའི་རྩེར་བསྐྱེད་ས་བས། །དཔལ་ལྷན་འདྲན་པ་བཟང་པོར་སྤག་བཞུའོ། །འོད་གསལ་འཆི་མེད་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཐིག་ལེ་ལས། །ལས་འབྲུངས་ལེ་ཏུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་གདུང་། །གདུང་བརྒྱུད་རིལ་མེད་འཛིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་མགོན། །མགོན་པོ་མཚོགས་གྱུར་ཐམས་ཅད་གཙུག་ན་རྒྱལ། །རྣམས་ཀུན་མཚོགས་ལྷན་ལི་དམ་ལྷ་ལི་ཚོགས། །རྣམ་འབྲུལ་ཐོགས་མེད་དམ་ཅན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཚོགས། །རྣམས་མང་འདོད་དགའི་ཆར་འབབས་ནོར་བུའི་ཚོགས། །རྣམ་པར་ཀུན་ཏུ་དགོ་ཞིང་ཤིས་པར་མཛོད། །སྟོ་སྲིད་ཚོས་ལུང་དཀར་པའི་རྩེ་དྲུངས་དུ། །རྩོམ་གདན་ཞེས་ཚོས་གྲ་སྐབ་པའི་བསྟན། །འགྲུབ་སྐབ་གཉིས་ལྷན་དར་སྲིན་རྒྱས་པའི་གྱིང་།

|འདུས་སྡེའི་བཅའ་ཡིག་ཡིད་བཞིན་དབང་རྒྱལ་སྡེལ། |འདི་ནི་འཛིག་རྟེན་ལས་ལ་དོན་གཉེར་ཞིང་།
 |ཡིད་ལ་རྒྱལ་མིན་བྱེད་པའི་དུག་གྲུར་ཏེ། |རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད་མིག་འབྲས་ལྟར་གཅེས་སྟེལ་བུ་ཡི། |ཡིད་
 བསོད་སྐྱེད་མཚོག་ག་བྱར་ཐིག་པའི་རྒྱལ། |ཆགས་དང་ཞེན་པའི་ཚད་པས་མཐར་བ་རྒྱམས། |རྣམ་དག་
 སེམས་མཚོག་རྒྱ་གཙང་དང་སྐྱར་ཏེ། |འཁོར་བའི་ཚད་རིམས་འཛོམས་པའི་བདུང་རྩི་འདི། |འདུས་
 ཚོགས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཞེས་སྐྱད་གསལ་དཔར་ལྟ། |ཞེས་ཤིས་པར་བཞེད་ཅིང་། |དངོས་པོ་ངོས་པར་བསྐྱེད་པའི་
 ཚིག་མེ་ཏོག་མཚུར་དཀར་པོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཀའ་མས་ཏེ། |སྐྱོང་བར་བྱ་བའི་གཞི་ནི། |འཛོམ་སྐྱིད་ས་ཡི་
 ལྟེ་བ་འཕགས་ཡུལ་རྗེ་ཤེ་གདན་གྱི་གཞི་དུ་སྐྱེན་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་འཕགས་མཚོག་འཛིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཡུག་གི་ཐུགས་
 རྗེའི་གདུལ་བྱའི་ཞིང་དུ་གྲུར་པ། |བོད་ཁབ་ཅན་གྱི་སྐྱོངས། |གྲུབ་པ་ཐོབ་པ་དང་བརྗེ་ཏེ་དང་། |རིགས་པ་
 འཛོལ་པ། |ཚོས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མེས་དཔོན་རྣམས་གསུམ་གྱིས་གདུང་བ་རྒྱུད། |གིང་སྐུལ་ལྟ་བུའི་རིམས་པར་
 བྱོན་པ་རྣམས་གྱིས་ཞབས་གྱིས་བཅག་ཅིང་། |བྱིན་གྱིས་བསྐྱབས་པའི་གནས་མཚོག་བྱུང་པར་ཅན་གྱི་ནང་
 བསེས། |ཨོ་རྒྱན་གྱི་སྐྱོབ་དཔོན་ཚེན་པོའི་བོད་ཁམས་སྤྱི་ཡི་བསོད་ནམས་གྱི་ལོ་བསྐལ། |གཉེར་སྤོའ་བརྒྱ་
 སྤག་མང་པོ་སྐྱས་པར་མཛད་པའི་ཡ་གྲུལ། |གནས་ཚེན་སྤོ་བོ་གེ་ཀར་གྱི་ཉེ་ཞོལ། |རི་མཚོན་ཆ་གནས་
 ཟེང་བ་འདུབ་སྟེ་ལ་དྲངས་ཏེ་ཚོས་རྗེ་དཀར་དམར་ཟུང་འབྲེལ་བཏབ་པས། |ཡུལ་གྱི་མིང་ཡང་དེ་སྐྱད་དུ་
 ཆགས་པ་འདི་ནི། |ཨོ་རྒྱན་ཚེན་པོའི་ཡུང་ཟིན་ཚོས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཨ་མེ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཞེས་
 ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་ཡབ་སྐུས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ལྷག་པའི་བྱ་བ་མཛད་ཅིང་། |བྱུང་པར་
 རྒྱལ་བ་ཐུབ་པའི་དབང་པོའི་ཡུང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྟེལ་བུ་ཚེན་པོ་དོར་ཚེན་རྗེ་རྗེ་འཚང་ཀུན་དགའ་བཟང་པོ་ལན་
 ལྟར་སྐྱེད་དྲངས། |རྩ་དྲངས་དུ་ཐུབ་བསྐྱེད་བཤའ་སྐྱབ་དར་རྒྱས་སྐྱིད་ཞེས་པའི་ཚོས་བྱ་བཏབས། |དག་
 འདུན་སྟོང་རབ་ཅན་ལ་བསྐྱེད་བཀའ་མཛད། |སྐྱོག་པ་ཐོས་བསམ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྟོང་བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་
 འཁོར་ལོ། |བྱུ་ཆ་ཚོས་སྟོང་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཏེ། |འཁོར་ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐྱོན་ས་སངས་རྒྱས་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་
 ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་པས་ཕྱག་རྗེས་བཟང་པོའི་བྱིན་ལས་གྱི་ཚོས་སྟོང་སྐྱོངས་བ། |ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་པོ་ཨ་
 མགོན་བཟང་པོའི་རིགས་སྐུས། |ཨོ་མི་པའི་གདན་རབ་བརྒྱད་པ། |སྤོ་བོ་མཐོན་ཚེན་མཉམ་མེད་བསོད་
 བསམ་ལྟུན་གྲུབ་ལེགས་པའི་འབྱུང་གནས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ནས་རིམས་པར་སྐྱུ་གདུང་ཞབས་
 དྲུང་རིམས་བྱོན་རྣམས་ཁྱིར་འཕྲེལ། |ཚོས་སྟོང་ཡར་རྒྱ་ལྟར་རྒྱས་པའི་དཔོན་གནས་སྤྱི་དང་། |བྱེ་བྲག་
 ཐམས་ཅད་དར་རྒྱས་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཚོད་གྲང་། |དུས་ཤིས་ལྟ་བུ་དུང་གོ་ལོག་ཏེ་འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་བདེ་སྐྱིད་དང་
 |སངས་རྒྱས་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་མར་གྱིབས་སུ་སོང་ཏེ་ཉམས་གཏུང་རི་ཚེར་བྱུང་སྐྱབས། |ཚོས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཨ་ཉི་
 དངོས་གྲུབ་དཔལ་འབར་འཛིགས་བྲལ་ཕྱོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྟེ་ཡངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་
 ཐུགས་རྗེ་བཀའ་དྲིན་གྱི་གཟིགས་པས་བྱབས་ཏེ་སྤོ་བོ་ཚོས་སྟེ་པོ་དཔོན་མོ་དཔོན་སྤྱི་དང་། |བྱུང་པར་ཚོས་
 སྟེ་འདི་ཉིད་ལ་དམིགས་སུ་ཐུགས་རྗེས་གཟིགས་དང་གཟིགས་ལུས་དང་། |མ་ཟངས་ལོངས་སྟེ་ལོར་ཨོ་མི་
 པའི་གདན་རབ་དང་བཞི་པ། |བདག་དག་དབང་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སྤོ་བོས་མི་ཟངས་པའི་སྐྱུ་དྲུངས་སུ་

བོད་པས་སྐྱོམས་ལས་ཀྱི་མཐར་ཐུག་པ། རྗེ་གོང་མའི་ཚོས་ཁྱིམ་མངའ་གསོལ་མཛད། སངས་རྒྱས་
 བསྟན་པ་དར་རྒྱས་སྤྱིན་གསུམ་ཡོང་ཕྱིར་མཚོག་རྒྱུན་ཉམས་པ་གསོར་རྒྱུ། མ་ཉམས་གོང་འཕེལ་ཡོང་
 བས་ཐབས་བརྩོལ། སྤོམ་གཉེར་ལ་མཐར་སྐྱབས་ཚོས་སྡེ་ཕོ་མོ་འཚོ་སྐྱོངས། ལྷ་བསྐྱེམ་སྤྱོད་གསུམ་གྱི་
 སྤྱོའདོགས་གཙང་དེ་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྟན་པ་མཚོན་དོན་མཐུན་པས། བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་ཁིང་མཚོག་ཡིན་
 ཡོངས་སུ་སྤྱོདས་བ། ཡིན་བདག་དངས་བ་འབྲེན་ཞིང་། དད་གུས་བསྐྱེད་པ། འདི་ཕྱིའི་ཐུགས་སྒྲིམ་
 བ་ཞིག་ཡོང་བར་གྱིས་ཞེས་བཀའ་ཁྲབ་དང་། ཕུག་ཐམས་རིམ་འཕེལ་མཛད་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་
 པོའི་དགོངས་བཞེད། སངས་རྒྱས་བསྟན་པའི་ལ་རྒྱ་ཐུབ་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ན་སྐྱམས་ཏེ། སྤྱི་མེད་ཀྱང་ཀོམ་
 གདན་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་བྱས་ཏེ་བཀའ་ལུང་གསལ་གྱི་ཚད་པར་སྤྱི་བོར་བཅིང་ཏེ། མི་དབང་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལེ་ཉི་
 དབང་རྒྱལ་རྗེ་རེའི་བརྩམ་པས་བཅའ་ཡིག་དང་། བེམས་ཚགས་གཞིར་བཞག་ཏེ་མཚོད་རྒྱུན་གཏོང་
 ཐེབས་ལ་ཉམས་པ་གསོར་རྒྱུ། མ་ཉམས་གོང་འཕེལ། གསར་འཕམ་རིམས་བཅུགས་བསྐྱོགས་ལམ་
 ཀུན་སྤོང་། བསྐྱབ་གཉེར་སྐྱབས་རྩོལ་བསྐྱོར་ལ་ཁ་ཏ་གང་ཤེས་དང་བཅས་ལུས་པ་དང་། སྤོན་གྱི་བཅའ་
 ཡིད་རིམ་ཅན་དང་། ད་ལྟའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དཀའ་རྒྱུ་མཚུངས་མེད་ནས་ས་སྤྱོད་ལོར་བཅའ་ཡིག་གསར་
 གནང་མཛད་པ་གཞིར་བཞག་བསྟན་དོན་འབས་ཏིག་སུ་དམིགས་ནས་བཅའ་ཡིག་དང་གཏོང་ཐེབ་ཕྱོགས་
 སྤྱོད་ལ་ལྷ་བུའི་ཡིད་རྒྱུང་མཛོད་བསྐྱེད་དོན་མཚོན་བཅུ་གསུམ་གྱིས་རྣམ་གྲངས་སུ་བཀོད་དེ་སུལ་བ་ལ་
 དགོ་འདུན་ཐམས་ཅད་ནས་བསྟན་གསལ་ཏེ་ཐུགས་ལ་འཛོགས་པར་ལྷ་རྒྱུའི་དོན་མཚོན་དང་པོ། རོར་ཚེན་
 རྗེ་རྗེ་འཚང་ཚེན་པོའི་ཞལ་སྤྱན་ས། འགོ་ལ་བདེ་སྤྱིད་འབྱུང་བའི་སྤྱོ་གཅིག་པོ། ཀུན་མཁུན་རྒྱལ་བའི་
 བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཚེ། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། །ལྷ་དང་བཅས་པའི་འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ།
 སན་པ་དང་། བདེ་མ་ལུས་པའི་འབྱུང་གནས་རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་ཡིན་བཞི་སྐྱོས་མ་དགོས།
 རྒྱུ་མཚན་དེའི་ཕྱིར་ན་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་བསྟན་པ། དགོ་འདུན་གྱི་སྡེ་ཕོ་བད་རྒྱུབ་འཁོར་ལོ་གསུམ་ལྟར་གྱི་
 དུར་སྤོན་རྒྱལ་གསུམ་བྱུང་ན། འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་སུ་བདེ་ཞིན་བསྐྱེད་པ་འབྱུང་བའི་སྤྱོ་གཅིག་པོ་ཡིན་
 པས་ན། བསྟན་པའི་རྩ་བ་དགོ་འདུན་གྱི་སྡེ་ཕོ་མོ་ལ་རག་ལས་ཕྱིར། ཚོས་བྱ་འདིར་ཡང་སྤོན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་
 ཡབ་མེས་གོང་མའི་སྤྱི་དུས་སུ་བདག་རྒྱུན་གྱི་འཚོ་བས་ལུགས་སྤོལ་ལྟར། དས་ལྟར་དར་ལྷོགས་གསུམ།
 འཕར་རིས་ལུལ་ཁག་བཞི། བྱག་དམར། རྩ་དངས་བཅས་ལུལ་ཁག་དགུ་ནས་བྱ་གསུམ་བར་པ་ཚོས་ལ་
 འཛུད་དགོས་ཤིང་། དགོ་ཚན་ན་རིམས་ནས་དགོན་མཚོག་དཔང་གསོལ་གྱིས། དུད་ཚངས་བྱ་གཉིས་
 གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་སྤོན་སྤོལ་རམམ་སྤྱད་དེ། བྱས་བདགས་དུས་བབས་ལ་ཞིག་པས་ཚ་གསལ་ཡང་གནང་
 ལྟར་དདུལ་ཉི་དུག་རེ་དངོས་ལུགས་གང་ཐད་ནས་སྒྲུ་ལངས་ཏེ། བཅུན་རྒྱུང་ནམས་སྤྱི་སྤྱད་ལུལ་ལོ་རིམས་
 ལྟར་སྤྱི་པ་རྒྱག་དགོས་དང་། བཅུན་རྒྱུང་ལོ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལོན་དུས། ཚོས་སྤེའི་མཁན་པོ་ལ་རབ་བྱུང་ལུས་
 དེ། ལས་འཛིན་རིམས་བཟུང་དགོས་རྒྱུ་དང་། ལོ་ཉི་ལུ་ལོན་དུས་བྱས་ཚེན་པོ་དོར་དགོན་དུ་ཚོས་ལུལ་
 འགོ་དགོས་པས་སྒྲུ་མ། དབུ་ཚོས་ནས་རྟིང་རྟིང་བྱ་དགོས། རྗེ་སྤེའི་སྤོབ་དཔོན་དབུ་མཛད་ནས་ཀྱང་།
 ལུལ་ཁག་དགུ་ནས་བུ་མོ་གཉིས་གསུམ་ཡོད་གསལ་ནས་སྤྱི་སྤྱད་སྐྱབས་ཏེ། ལས་འཛིན་སྤར་སྤོལ་འཚུགས་

མེད་སྲོད་ཡོན་དགོས་རྒྱུ་དང་། ཚོས་སྲོད་དགོས་ལོ་དུག་རེ་འཁོར་མཚམས་མཁས་སྲོ་ལྷག་དེལ་འོ་བརྒྱ་
 དང་སྲུང་ཅུ་ཐམ་པ་ཕྱུལ་དགོས་རྒྱུ་འོ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚོན་པོ་འོ་བཀའ་བཅད། ལོ་རྒྱུན་དཔལ་འབྱོར་དང་། ཕྱུར་
 པ་རྗེ་རྗེ་ནས་འཇལ་སྐྱབ་ཞུས་པ་ལྟར། དཔྱིན་དགོས་རིམ་མཁས་འཁོར་ནས་སྐྱབ་པ་ཏེ། མཚོན་ཐེབས་
 གནད་ཅུར་སྲིན་པས་སྲོར་དོད་དགོས་ཤིང་། ཅི་སྲེ་སྐྱམ་ལ། དབུ་ཚོས་ལས་འཛོན་ནས་མ་སྐྱབ་པ་ལམ་
 དགོས་ལས་སྐྱོད་ནས་སྐྱབ་པ་ལམ་སྐྱབ་ཚོ་དེལ་འོ་བོ་འོ་སྲོད་ཐོབ་བཅས་སྐྱབ་པ་དེ་བསྐྱབ་རྒྱུ་མཚོན་
 ཐེབས་སུ་པན་པ་འདི་ཡིན་ལ་ཡུང་ཚོ། སྲོད་སྲེ་ནས་ཉེས་པ་གསེར་སྲུང་རེ་སྐྱབ་དགོས་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། རོན་
 མཚོན་གཉིས་པ། སྲོབ་དཔོན་འཕགས་པ་སྐྱུ་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི། ཁྱིམ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་དང་མ་རྒྱུས་པ་ལོན་དུ། ཡོན་ཏན་
 ཀུན་གྱི་གཞི་རྒྱུ་ལོགས་པར་གསུངས། ཞེས་གསུང་པ་ལྟར། སངས་རྒྱས་པ་སྐྱབ་པའི་གཞི་མ་ཡིན་པས།
 དམ་པའི་ཚོས་འདུལ་བལ་བསྐྱབས་དེ། དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་བཞུགས། རྗེས་སུ་བཞིན་དེ། ཐོག་མ་རྒྱ་ཡུང་
 ཕྱུལ་དེ་ཡོངས་རྗེས་དགོས་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱིས་སྲོམ་པ་ཞུས། དེའི་བསྐྱབ་པ་ལྱིག་པ་སྲུང་། དཔོན་བསྐྱབ་པ་
 བཞི་ཚར་དང་བཅས་པ་ལྷ་སྲོངས་དགོས། བར་དུ་རབ་ཡུལ་སྐྱབ་ཏེ་ཁྱིམ་པའི་རྒྱལ་དང་། རྒྱུགས་
 སྐྱབས་ཏེ། རབ་ཏུ་ཡུང་པའི་རྒྱལ་དང་། རྒྱུགས་བཟུང་ལུས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་སྐྱེད་པའི་ལོ་ལོ་བཞུགས་གོས་
 དཀར་སྲོ་ལྷང་གསུམ་སྐྱབས་ཏེ་ཚོས་པའི་གཞུགས་དོད་པར་དགོས། མཐའ་མ་གྲུ་མ་ལ་པྱིན་ནས་དགོ་
 རྒྱུ་དང་། དགོ་བསྐྱེན་བསྐྱེན་པར་རྗེས་པ་དགོས་སྲོང་གིས་སྲོམ་པ་ཞུས། འདུལ་ཁྱིམ་ཉེས་བརྒྱ་ལྷ་
 བཅུ་ཅུ་གསུམ་སྐྱབ་སྐྱབས་མ་ལོར་བར་དགོས་ཤིང་། གཙོ་ཚོན་ནས་ཚར་གནད་དུ་སྲོངས་གང་སྲུང་ཀྱིས་
 དགོ་བསྲོང་ཞིང་། སྲིག་པ་སྲོང་བས། མིང་རོན་དང་མཐུན་པར་བྱ་དགོས། ཅི་སྲེ་འདུལ་ཁྱིམ་ཉེས་ས་
 ཚགས་ལུང་ཚེ་པོ་ལོ་གང་ཐད་ནས་ཉེས་ཚང་། བཤགས་སྐྱབ་སྲོན་སྲོལ་ལྟར་ཚོས་ཁྱིམ་ས་པ་དང་། ལྷ་
 བྱང་གཉེར་པ་གཉིས་ནས་རང་དོ་སྲིགས་ལྟར་མེད་པར་སྐྱབས་ཤིང་། འཇལ་སྐྱབ་དགོས་ཤིང་། དགོ་
 འདུན་བསྐྱིགས་འོག་ནས་འཚོངས་རྒྱ་ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་ར་ར་ ལ ཏུང་སྐྱད་ལུང་འཇལ་ལུག་འཛོམས་ཀྱིས་
 བསྐྱིགས་ལམ་ཀུན་སྲོད་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་འདུལ་པ་དང་མཐུན་པས་གཞན་བཤམས་བསྐྱམས་དགོས། ལ་
 ལྷམས་འཕྱིགས་རྒྱུངས་ཀྱིས། ལའབྱོགས་ཀྱིས་གངས་པ་བརྗོད་ཤི་བ། རུ་ཚོས་སྲོད་གང་ལོས་བསམ་
 སྲོར་རྣམ་དགའ་གི་ཚོས་མཐུན་མ་ཡུང་ཚོ། ཚོས་ཁྱིམ་ས་པས་དོ་བསྐྱེད་དང་གཞན་རྒྱང་རང་སྲིགས་མེད་
 པར་སྐྱད་བྱུག་གི་བཀ་བསྐྱོས་ཏེ། བསྐྱིགས་ལམ་མིག་ལྗོས་ལམ་འདྲེན་པའི་བ་དགོས། དོན་མཚན་
 གསུམ་པ། རྗེས་པམ་ཀྱིས། རིགས་པ་ནང་པ་འཚི་ལང་སྲོབས། ཚོ་འདིར་མཁས་པར་མ་ཡུར་བྱང་།
 'སྲོབ་ཀྱི་མར་བསྐྱབ་པ་ཡིན། རོར་ལ་རང་ལོན་ཤེད་དང་མཚུངས། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། སངས་
 རྒྱས་པ་སྐྱབ་པའི་སྲོད་པོ་ཡིན་པས་སྲོག་པ་ཐོས་བསམ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལེ་ཞེས་པ་བ། རྗེས་སུ་པའི་གནས་ལྷ་
 བྱང་དོན་རིགས་པ་རྒྱུད་དང་། གཞུང་གི་དོན་ལ་བཤད་སྲུང་གིས་ཚོགས་པའི་དོན་བསམ་ཏེ། བསམ་
 ཡུང་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་བརྒྱུད་ལ་བསྐྱེད་བསྐྱེད་སྲུངས། སྲོངས་བསམ་གཞན་གྱི་འཁོར་ལེ་ཞེས་པ་བསྐྱམ་
 བསམ་སྐྱབ་ལ་དབང་ལུང་མན་དག་གཞན་པ་དག་ཚོད་ལུན་ཞུས་ཏེ། རྗེས་ཏེ། འཛིག་ཤེད་ཀུན་རིགས་

སོག་ཚོ་ག་དང་མཐུན་པའི་ཡི་དམ་ལྟ་ཡི་བསྐྱེན་མཚམས་བྱལ་བསོད་ལྟ་མུ་མིན་པའི། ཉམས་མྱོང་བརྒྱུད་
 ལ་བསྐྱེད་བསྐྱེད་བསམ་གཏན་ལ་མཉམ་པར་འཛིག་པ་དུས་རྟུག་ཏུ་བྱ་དགོས་པ་དང་། བུ་ཚེས་སྲོད་ཀྱི་
 འཁོར་ལོ་ཞེས་བྱ། རང་དོན་དུ་སྤོང་ཆུ་གཏོར། ཉིན་མོ་སྐྱུགས་དམ། དགོས་མོ་གཏོར་བསྐྱོད་ཆགས་
 མེད་དང་། གཞན་དོན་དུས་མཚོན་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་གང་ཡིན་གྱི་ཚོ་གའི་སློབ་འཛིན་དང་། སྤག་ལོན་སྐྱུངས་
 བརྩོན། དེ་དག་ལ་མཁོ་བའི་གྲིས་ཐིག་དབངས་གསུ། གཏོར་བཟོ་བརྒྱན་བཀོད། དུང་དཀར་དམར་
 རྒྱ་སྤྱིང་། རོལ་སིལ་སོགས་འབྲུད་དགྲོལ་བསྐྱོར་ལ་སྐྱུངས་པ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པས་མིག་ལྟོས་ཡར་འབྲེན་
 དགོས་རྒྱུ་དང་། མ་ཟད། གྲུས་འཁོར་ནས་བསྐྱེན་མཚམས་མཛད་དེ་འདི་ཁཚོས་སྲེ་དང་། སློན་མཁར་
 གྱི་ཞབས་བརྟན་འཛིག་བྱེད་དུག་ཅུའི་གཏོར་རྒྱལ་ལོ་རིམ་ལྟར་རྒྱག་དགོས་དང་། དབུ་མཛད་འདི་ཡང་
 སློབ་གཉེར་དག་ཐེར་ཕེབ་ཡོང་སྐབས་ལོ་གསུམ་རེའི་མཚམས་ནས་ཇེ་ལོན་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ཅི་སྐྱོ་སྐྱོ་གཏོར་
 རྒྱག་དང་དབུ་མཛད་ལོ་རིམ་མ་བསྐྱབས་ཀྱང་། མ་ལེར་ཚོ་དེ་མཚམས་ཀྱི་ལས་མཚན་ལྟི་ཤེས་རེ་ལྟེན་
 འཕར་ཟེན་དགོས་རྒྱ་ཡིན། དོན་མཚན་འབྲ། རོར་ཚེན་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་ཁྱེན་པས། རང་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་
 ཚོས་རྣམས་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་པས། ལུང་རྟོག་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་དུ་གསོལ། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར།
 རང་སློན་པར་བྱེད་པའི་པ་རོལ་དུ་སྤྱིན་པ་དུག་ལ་བསྐྱབས། གཞན་སློན་པར་བྱེད་པའི་བསྐྱེད་པའི་དོན་སོ་
 བཞི་ལ་བསྐྱབས་དགོས་པས། ས་སྐྱལ་འོར་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་པའི་བཅའ་ཡིག་གནང་དོན་ལྟར། དགོན་
 གནས་འདི་ཡི་གྲ་ལོ་མོ་གང་ཡོད་གནམ་མཁོ་ལོ་ནམ་འཚར་གྲིས། ཅོར་རྒྱ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་ཚོས་ལྟ་ནས།
 ཅོར་རྒྱ་དང་པོའི་ཚོས་ཉེར་དགུ་བར་ཏེ། དགུ་ན་རྒྱ་བ་གསུམ་རང་རང་གི་དགོན་པར་འཛོམས་ཏེ་གྲ་རྒྱན་
 རྣམས་ནས་མཚོམས་དང་། བསྐྱེན་སྐྱབ། བསྐྱོབ་གཉེར་གྲིས་ཞལ་བཀོད་གང་འགྲུབ་དང་། གྲ་གཞིན་
 པ་རྣམས་ནས་ཚོས་སྲོད་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ལྟ་ནས་དབུ་བཟུང་ཏེ་སློལ་ཤེར། སློན་ལམ། ཀུན་རིགས། འཛིག་
 བྱེད། ཀྱུ་རྩོར། བསྐྱེད་གསོ་སོགས་གདོམ་མཚོན་བསྐྱོར་སློབ་འཛིན་རྒྱུ་སྲོད་ཕེར་བ་དགོས་རྒྱུ་དང་།
 བརྩོན་ཆུན་རྣམས་ནས། ཀལ་འབྲེར་བ་བསྐྱོག་ཚོགས་བསྐྱུས། སློབ་འཛིན་སོགས་བསྐྱབས་སྐྱུངས་གང་
 དགོས་རྒྱུ་སྲོད་དང་འབྲེལ་བས་མིག་ལྟོས་ལ་ཕན་པ་དགོས་རྒྱུ་དང་། འདི་དག་གིས་སྐྱབས་སུ་དགོ་ཚུན་
 གཉིས་ནས་དདུལ་སྤྱིང་མང་ཆ་ལྟར་སྐྱེད་བཞིན་ནས་ཚོས་བྲིམས་པ་སྤང་བཞག་གིས་འཚུགས་སློན་མང་
 ར་འཛིག་རེ་དང་། རྒྱོལ་སློན་མང་ཆ་གཅིག་བཅས་དུས་མཁུང་མེད་པར་དཀར་དགོས་རྒྱུ་དང་། གཞན་
 ཡང་དུས་ཚོས་གང་བཟུང་ལ་དདུལ་སྤྱིང་ཞེས་པ་དདུལ་ཏེ་ཉི་ཤུ་རེའི་བདེ་ལ་མང་ཆ་རེ་གཏོར་དགོས་པས་མ་
 ཚུ་དདུལ་ཏེ་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཐམས་པ་ལ་མང་མ་ཆ་བཅུ་གཏོར་དགོས་ཤེ། ཚོས་བྲིམས་སྤང་བཞགས་ཀྱི་
 མང་རེ་ལ་ཆ་བཅུ་ཉག་གཉིས་རེས་དང་། མར་མེར་པོ་ཡིན་ན་མར་ཉག་དགུ་རེ་དང་། དཀར་པོ་ཡིན་
 བ་མར་ཉག་ཅུ་རེ་རྒྱར་དེ། ཆ་བྱལ་དགོས་འདདས་བཅས་ཆགས་ཉམས་མེད་པ་གཏོར་དགོས་དང་། རྒྱབ་
 མཚོན་ལས་འཛིན་རྣམས་ནས་བཞེས་འཇམ་གཅིག་གཉིས་གང་འབྲོར་རེ་ལྟུ་དགོན་ལ་གྲོ་ལ་ལྟེད་ལྟུ་རེ་ལ།
 འཇམས་ལྟེར། ཚོ་སོགས་ནོན་ཤེས་རེ་རྒྱབ་ཏེ་གཏོར་དགོས་རྒྱུ་དང་། དུས་འདིར་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེན་པའི་
 མིག་ལྟོས་ལ་ཕན་པའི་མཛད་དགོས་ལས། འཛིག་རྟེན་དན་པས་མིག་ལྟོས་མར་འབྲེན་གྲིས་འཐབས་བརྩོད།

སྲོང་སྲོང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་རབ་ལས་བྱེད་ཅིང་། ཚོགས་དུས་ལ་འཕར་ཆགས་འདྲེང་ཚོའི་ཁྲིམས་པས་སྲོང་
 དུག་གི་བརྒྱུ་རྩེ་རྒྱུ་བརྒྱུ་མེད་པར་གཏོང་དགོས། དོན་མཚན་ལྟ་ལ། བསྟན་འགྲོའི་རྒྱུ་བསེལ་
 ཡོགས་ལས་སྲོང་སྲོང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚོན་པོའི་ཕྱགས་རྗེ་དང་། རོས་རང་མཁའ་མིང་ལ། དད་རྒྱུན་ལོར་སྲོང་
 རྒྱུ་རྟེན་ཞལ་འདྲེན་ལ་རྟེན་ཏེ། རབ་ཚོས་ཤིས་མོ་བྱ་ཡི་ལོར་གསར་བཞག་བཤིས་ལ། རོར་རྒྱ་བཅུ་
 གཅིག་པའི་ཚོས་བཅོལ་ནས། ཉི་ལུ་བར་གཟུང་ཚོས་གད་བཟང་ཞིག་ལ་སྲོང་རྒྱུ་བརྒྱའི་ཡོ་ཤེས་སེམས་
 དཔའ་མའོན་སྲུང་དུ་བཞུགས་པས། སྲིན་རྒྱབས་ཀྱི་གཟི་ལོད་འབར་བས། ཡོ་ཤེས་སྲི་མགོན་པོ་མ་རྒྱ་ག་
 ལྷ་ལྷ་མ་བྲལ། བཀའ་བསྲོད་དུ་ཉམ་སྲིང་མའོན་སྲུང་དུ་བཞུགས་གནས། ཚོས་སྲོའི་མགོན་འང་བདུང་
 དཔུངས་བ་བེལ་གཞོན་དུ་ལོ་རེ་བསྐོར་གྱི། གྲུ་བ་བསྐོན་སོང་གཅིག་རྒྱན་རིམས་ལྷར་མགོན་རྒྱུར་བཞོང་
 བཞག་གིས། རྟེན་གསུམ། མཚོད་མའི་སྲོད་དེབས་རྒྱུར་གསལ་ལྷར་དང་། ཉིན་ལྷར་ཆགས་སྲུ་རྒྱུན་
 བསྐྱར་ཆགས་མེད་གཏོང་ཐེབས་མགོན་རྒྱལ་ལས་འཛིན་པར་དུལ་པོ་བོའི་བརྒྱ་དང་གཅིག་ལག་སྲོད་ཀྱིས་
 པས་བསྐྱེད་ཐོབ་དང་། རྒྱ་བྱང་གཉེར་པ་ལས་རིམས་ནས་དཀྱིད་ཀ་འབྲུ་ཤོག་སྲོའི་གཞུང་ལ་མའི་འབྲུ་ལས་
 རྐྱེད་བཅུ་བཞི་དང་སྲོན་ཀ་འབྲུ་ལས་སྲོད་བཅུ་བཞི་ཏེ་ཁྲོན་སྲོམ་ལོ་རེ་ལ་འབྲུ་ལས་ཉི་ལུ་རྩ་བདུན་རེ་སྲོད་རྒྱ་
 ཚོད་གསལ་ལྷར་སྲོད་དུས། ཉིན་རེ་ལ་མཚོད་ཙམ་ཟངས་ཅང་གང་། མཚོད་འབྲུ་དང་མཚོད་མར་ལ་
 ཟངས་ཅང་གང་། བསོལ་དོད་ཟངས་ཅང་གང་མེད་ཅེས་བཤོས་ཡིན་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་བ་ནམ་འཚར་གྱི་ཚོས་
 བརྒྱུད་དང་། བཅུ་བཞི། ཉེར་གསུམ། ཉེར་དགུ་ཏེ་དུས་བཞི་ལ། རྒྱ་བྱང་ནས་དུས་བསྐྱར་ཆགས་མེད་
 གཏོང་དགོས་ལ་མཚོད་འབྲུ། མཚོད་ཙམ། མཚོད་མར་གོང་མཚུངས། སྲོམ་གསལ་ལྷར་སྲོད་ཅང་
 ཅང་གང་། གསོལ་ཞིབ་ཙམ་མོར། ར་ཅང་གང་འགྱོར། སག་མ་འོས་མཚོམས་བཅས་ལྷལ་དགོས་
 མགོན་རྒྱ་རིམས་པས་སྲོད་རྟེན་ལ་འཕུར་སྲུགས་དང་། རྒྱུན་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཆགས་ཉམས་། རྒྱ་བྱང་པས་ཤོག་
 འབྲུ་དང་། དུས་བསྐྱར་ལ་ཉམས་ཆགས་གཏོང་བ་ཤོགས་མི་འོས་པ་སྲུ་ཐད་ནས་དུས་ཚོ་བྱང་བྱང་དང་
 བསྟན་པས་ཉེས་པ་གཏོང་དེས་ཡིན་པས་རྒྱུངས་དོར་མ་རོར་བ་མཛོད་དགོས། དོན་མཚན་རྒྱུག་ལ།
 གནམ་ལོ་ནམ་འཚར་གྱིས་རྒྱ་བ་དང་པོའི་ཚོས་གཅིག་ནས། གསུམ་བར་གྲ་གང་བསྐྱིགས་ཤིག་ལ། རྒྱ་
 བྱང་གཉེར་པ་གཉིས་ནས། ཡོ་གསར་ཚོས་མགོའི་ལོ་དུག་སྲུར་ལས་ལྷར། གྲུ་བཅུན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་
 གཏོང་དགོས། ཚོས་ཉི་ལུ་བཞི་ནས། རྒྱ་བ་གཉིས་པའི་ཚོས་གཅིག་བར་སྲོའི་མཁའ་ཚོན་ཉམས་མེད་
 བསོད་ནམས་ལྷན་གྲུབ་ཡོགས་པའི་འབྲུང་གནས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་དུས་མཚོད་ རྒྱ་བྱངས་
 མཁའ་དུ། བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་དཔེས་པ་རྗེ་རྗེའི་དུལ་མཚན་གྱི་དཔྱིལ་འཁོར་བཞེངས་ཏེ། རྒྱ་བ་མཚོད་
 མཛོད་རྒྱའི་གཙོ་བོ། མཁའ་པོ་ཁྲིར་བཞུགས་ཡོད་ན་བཛོད་ཅོད་དང་། དེ་མིན་རྒྱ་བྱང་ནས་དགེ་སྲོད་
 བསྐོན་སོང་དགེ་པ་ཞིག་ལ་རྒྱ་དགོས་དང་། རྒྱ་བ་མཚོད་གྲོལ་ཉིན་ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་པས་མོལ་གཏམས་ཀྱི་དཔེ་
 ཆ་རྒྱུར་སྲོད་ཡོད་ལྷར། རྒྱུར་འཛིན་བཤིས་ནས་གསལ་དག་དག་ཐོག་ནས་བཤེད་དགོས་དང་། གཏོང་
 གཞའི་རྣམས་སྲོན་མཁའ་གཉེར་སངས་མ་ནས། དུག་དེབ་གསོར་བཞག་གི་གནད་རྒྱའི་ ཚོས་

ཁྱིམས་པ་དང་། ཁྱིམ་པ་རྣམས་ནས་བསྐྱེད་བཅག་ལྷུ་ལམ་ལྟར་བྱ་དགོས། དོན་མཚན་བདུན། ལྷུ་
 སྲོལ་ཀུན་རིགས་སྐྱབ་མཚོད་ཀྱི་སྲོད། དབྱུ་མཚན་གཙོས་པས་ལས་མཚན་གྲག་བཞི་ལོ་གསུམ་རེ་བསྐྱོར་
 ཀྱིས་བྱིན་རྒྱུན་ལྟར། ཚེས་སྲོད་དེ་བས་གསལ་པོ་བརྒྱ་དང་གཅིག་འབྲུ་ཁལ་སྲོབ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ཐམས་ཅད།
 ཞིང་གི་སྤྱད་ཐུག་བསྐྱུ་རྒྱུན་གང་ཡོད། རེ་སྲོད་བྱས་ཏེ་རྒྱ་བ་བཞི་པའི་ཚོས་གཅིག་ལ་གྲ་ཆེ་རྒྱུད་ཐམས་ཅད་
 ཏུག་འཛོམས། ཚོས་གཅིས་ལ་ཐིག་གང་བ། ཚོས་གསུམ་ནས་བརྒྱད་སྟེ། བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀུན་རིགས་
 རྣམ་པར་སྤང་མཚན་གྱི་རྣམ་མཚོན་གྱིས་དཀྱིལ་འབོར་བཞེདས་ནས། སྐྱབ་མཚོད་ཉིད་གངས་བརྒྱུད་དགུ་
 བརྒྱ་སོགས་གང་འགྲུབ་ཀྱི་གཏོང་གཞི་ཉིད་ལྟར་མང་ཇ་རེ་དངུལ་སྒྲིང་ལྟར་དང་འཇམས་བསགས་མ། སྲོལ་
 ཚང་བཅས་སྤར་སྲོལ་ལྟར་ལ། ལྷག་པོ་མེད་ཀྱང་། ཚད་པ་མེད་པར་མིག་ལྟོས་ལམ་འབྲེལ་གྱིས་གཏོང་
 དགོས་དང་། འདི་སྐབས་སུ་དགོ་ཚན་གཉིས་ནས་དངུལ་སྒྲིན་ནང་བཞིན་གྱིས་སུགས་སྒྲོན་མང་ཇ་རེ་དང་།
 སྲོལ་ཚང་གང་རྒྱས་རེ་གཏོང་དགོས། དོན་མཚན་རྒྱུད་པ། སྲོལ་མ་འབྲུམ་ཐེར་གཏོང་ཐེབས་སྲོན་དུས་
 ལུལ་ཁག་དགུ་ལ་ཉི་དགུ་རེ་ཡོད་ཚོད་ཡང་། བར་སྐབས་སུ་ལུལ་གཏོང་བོར་བརྒྱག་འགོ་ཉེར་ལ། འདི་
 ལོ་ཞིབ་ཆ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཡིག་འཛིན་རྒྱར་བཀོད་ལྟར། ལུལ་ཁག་བདུན་ལ་དངུལ་ཉི་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་རེ་དང་སྲི་ཐོག་ཏུ་
 དངུལ་ཉི་གསུམ་བཅས་ཁྱོན་སྲོལ་དངུལ་ཉི་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་ཐམས་པ་ཡོད་པས། རྒྱ་བ་བཞི་པའི་ཚོས་བརྒྱ་
 གསུམ་ནས། བཅོམ་ལྷ་པར་ལ་ལུལ་དགོན་སྲི་ལོ་ལོ་རིམས་སྲོལ་མ་འབྲུམ་ཐེར་དང་། རྒྱ་བ་ཉིད་དངུལ་ཉི་
 དུག་ཡོད་ལྟར། ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་དང་། བརྒྱ་དགུ་གཉིས་ལ་གྲ་བའི་ཐམས་བཅོས། ཚོས་གངས་གང་
 འཛོམས་ལ་ལུར་མོ་ཆེ། ཚོས་ཉེར་གཅིག་ལ་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་བསོད་ནམས་སོ་སྐྱེའི་དུས་མཚོད་རྒྱུ་མཚོད་པ་
 གཏོང་དགོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་གཤམ་གསལ་དབྱར་ཐོང་དང་སྲོགས་གཅིག་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་ལས་འཛིན་རྣམས་ནས་
 གཏོང་བཞི་རྣམས་ལ་ཞར་ཆགས་མེད་པར་སྤར་ལམ་ལྟར་གཏོང་དགོས་དང་། སྲུ་བ་ཆེ་རྒྱུད་ཐམས་ཅད་
 ཏུག་འཛོམས་བྱ་དགོས། དོན་མཚན་དགུ་པ། དབྱར་ཉི་མ་ལོག་པ་དང་བསྐྱེད་པས། བ་རོལ་གྱི་བྱུད་
 ལུར་དགུ་བརྒྱུག་ཏུ་འཛིག་བྱེད་དུག་ཅུའི་གཏོར་བརྒྱུག་བྱ་དགོས་ལ། གཙོ་བོ་དེ་རྒྱ་བར་ནས་ལུས་ཏེ། རྒྱ་
 བ་ལྷ་པའི་ཚོས་གཅིག་ལ་གཙོ་བོ་སྐྱ་བསམས་མཚན། ཚོས་ཉེར་དུག་ལ་གྲ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛོམས། ཚོས་
 ཉེར་བདུན་ལ་ཚོགས་ཚོས་ཉེར་དགུའི་ཉིད་གཏོར་རྒྱག་ ཚོས་གནམས་གང་ཉིད་ཚོ་ཚོ་ག་དང་། ཚོ་དབང་
 མཚན་དགོས་བཅས་ཀྱི་གཏོང་སྲོ་རྣམས། དགོ་ཚན་གཉིས་གཏོང་དགོས་ལ། མང་ཇ། གསོལ་ཙམ།
 འཇམ་འཕུག་ བསགས་མ་གཞོག་ མགུལ་སྤར། སྲོལ་ཚང་ཡོན་འབྲེལ་བཅས་གཏོར་ཚོད་མིག་
 གསལ་མི་འདུག་ཀྱང་། དགོ་ཚན་གཉིས་པོ་དགོ་འདུན་སྲི་ལོ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བས། སྲོད་ཡིག་རྒྱར་བཀོད་སྲོད་
 ཉིད་མང་བས་འདི་དང་། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་རྒྱུན་སྤར་ལ་ཐུགས་བསམ་རྣམ་དག་གིས་ལམ་དཔེ་ཞར་
 མགུན་ལས། མར་དཔེ་ལྟར་མགུན་དུ་མ་སོང་བར་བསྐྱེད་དོན་ལ་རྒྱ་མིག་ལྟོས་ལ་པན་པར་བྱ་དགོས།
 དོན་མཚན་བརྒྱུད་པ། མའི་དབང་བཀའ་དྲིན་བཅན་གྱིས་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ལ་རྟེན། རོས་མཁའན་མང་པས་བསམ་
 སྲོར་ཀུན་སྲོངས་སུ། ཚོད་སྲེ་ཚེན་པོ་འདིར་དཔལ་ས་སྲུའི་ཐུགས་དམ་གྱི་སྒྲིང་པོ་ཀྱི་དོ་རྗེའི་སྐྱབ་མཚོད་མི་
 འདུག་པར། གསར་འཕར་བྱ་རྒྱ་ཐུག་ཐབས་རྣམས་དང་། ཚོས་རྒྱན་ཚེན་པོའི་ཐུགས་རྗེས་གཞིགས་བྱུང་ལྟར་

དུག་པ་ཚོས་བཞིན་གྱི་རྩོམ་སྐུལ་མཚོན་ལོང་བུ་ལོར་གསལ་འཇུག་མཛད་པས་སྤོང་དེབས་མ་ཅུ་དུལ་འུ་
 དུག་པ་རྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱུད་མར་བསྐྱེད་ལས་སྤོང་ལས་འཛིན་མི་བཞི་ཚོད་བཤོད་ཀྱིས་ལོ་གསུམ་མེ་སྐོར་གྱི་ཟིང་
 དགོས་བཀའ་དུས་དུས་ཀྱིས། འདུས་ཚོགས་སྤྱི་ནས་གྱི་རྩོམ་མཚོན་གྱི་དུས་ལོར་བཞེངས་དེ་སྐུལ་
 མཚོན་གཏོང་དགོས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལོང་གཞི། ལོང་བུ་ལོར་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་པོའི་བདག་ཡུམ་ནས་དུག་འདོན་གྱིས་
 གཏོང་སྐོབ་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བ་ལྟར། ལས་འཛིན་རིམས་འཁོད་ནས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལྟར་དུ་གཏོང་དགོས་ལ། རྒྱ་བ་དུག་པོའི་
 ཚོས་གཉིས་ལ་ལྷ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛོམས། ཚོས་གསུམ་ལ་ཐིག་གཏང་བ། ཚོས་བཞི་ནས་བརྒྱུད་ཉིན་
 གཏངས་བརྒྱུད་དུག་པོ་གསུམ་ལྟ་གོ་བཀའ་ན་ལས་འཛིན་རྣམས་ལ་རྟལ་ལས། ཉིན་བདུན་ལས་མི་རྒྱུད་བར་
 གཏོང་སྐོབ་བུ་དགོས་ཀྱིས་གཏོང་གཞི་ལ། ཐིག་གཏང་བ་གྱི་ཉིན་མཚོན་ཙམ་ཟང་ཅད་བུར་གང་གི་གཙོས་ཅད་
 བརྒྱུག་སུམ་དང་། མཚོན་འབྲུ་ཟངས་ཅད་བུར་གང་གི་གཙོས་ཅད་བརྒྱུག་ཅིག་ མཚོན་མར་ཟངས་ཅད་
 སྤོང། སྤོས་ཅེང་བརྒྱུ་ཐམས་ལ། ལུས་དར་གཉིས། མར་སུ་བཅས་དང་། དུས་ལོར་མིས་སྐབས་སུ་
 མིས་ཚང་ཅད་བརྒྱུ་སྤོང་དགོས། ཚོས་བཞི་སྤྱི་ཉིན་ཚོགས་པ་ནས། སྐུལ་མཚོན་ནས་ལོ་ལ་བར་ཉིན་
 ལྟར་དུ་མཚོན་ཙམ་ཟངས་ཅེང་ལྟ་ལེ། མར་ལྟ་ཅད་གང་ལེ། ལུས་དར་གཉིས་ལེ། སྤོབ་ཟང་དང་། ལུས་
 རས་འོས་མཚོམས། བསྐྱང་གསུ་ཉིན་གསུམ་ལ་ཉིན་དང་པོའི་ཉིན་མཚོན་འབྲུ་ཟངས་ཅད་ལྟ་དང་།
 མཚོན་ཙམ་ཟངས་ཅད་བུར་གང་གིས་གཙོས་ཐང་བཅོལ་དང་། ཉིན་གཉིས་པ་ནས་མཚོན་འབྲུ་ཟངས་ཅད་
 གཉིས་ལེ། མཚོན་ཙམ་ཟངས་ཅད་གཉིས་ལེ། མར་སུ། ལྷ་གྲུལ། བཅས་འོས་མཚོམས་སྤོང་དགོས་
 དང་། ཚོས་བཞི་ནས་བརྒྱུད་ཉིན་ལྟར་དུ་འདུས་ཚོགས་རིན་པོ་ཚེར་མང་ཆེ་ལ་ཆ་བརྒྱུ་ཉལ་དེ་ལེ། མར་
 ཉལ་བདུན་ལེ། ཚུལ་དགོས་འདདས། བཞེས་འཇམ་ལ་གྲོ་ཤོག་སྤོའི་ལལ་སྤོད་ལྟ་ལེ། འཇམ་རྩོར་
 འོན་ཚོང་། བསགས་མ་འདུས་དུད་མ་ཤོག་སྤོའི་ལལ་སྤོད་བཞི་ལེ། ལོ་ལ་ཚང་ཟངས་ལྷ་ཐོབ་སྐུར་སྤོམས་
 སྤོམས་གསུམ་ལེ་བཅས་གཏོང་དགོས་ཀྱི། ཚུད་པར་ཚོས་ཁྱིམ་ས་པས་མཛད་དེ། རར་ཚགས་འཐོན་ལུར་
 མོད་བར་བུ་དགོས། དོན་མཚན་བརྒྱུ་གཅིག་ལ། དུམ་མཚོང་དང་། ལོང་གསལ་ཉེར་གཅིག་སྤོང་།
 ལེར་ལུབ་གཉིས་སུ་ལེར་པར་དུལ་འུ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞེ་གཉིས་ལས་སྤོང་དང་། ལིང་གི་སྤུང་ཐོག་འདེབས་
 གསལ་ལྟར་དང་། ལུབ་པར་དུལ་འུ་སྤོང་དང་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལོང་ཐོག་ནས། ལོང་གསུམ་ཉེར་གཅིག་དང་
 ། རྒྱ་བ་བདུན་པོའི་ཚོས་བརྒྱ་ནས་བཅོལ་བར་གཟུང་ཚོས་བཟང་བཞིག་ལ་ལྷ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛོམས་
 དེ་དུམ་གཟིགས་མཛད་རྒྱུའི་ལྷ་ཐབ། དེོས་གཞི། དུམ་གཟུང་བཅས་ལེར་ལུབ་གཉིས་ནས་ལེ་བསྐོར་
 གྱི་ཉིན་ལེ་འགན་ལེན་དགོས་ལྟར་མིག་སྤོའི་ལལ་འབྲུན་དགོས་རྒྱལ་ས། སྤོམས་ལོར། འདུགས་བརྒྱུད་
 གྱི་གཞི་བུས་མི་ཚོག་ཅིང་། ཅུ་དངས་གྱི་གོ་བཅུ་ཟེན་མཚོམས་སུ། སྤོམ་ལོ་སྐབས་ལྷ་བརྒྱུན་གཉིས་གྱི་
 ཚོས་ཁྱིམ་ས་ལོ་ལྟར་དུ་ཚོས་གསུམ་ལ་ཐིག་གཏང་བ། ཚོས་བཞི་ནས་བརྒྱུད་ཉིན་གཏངས་བརྒྱུད་དུག་པོ་
 ལྟ་གོ་བཀའ་ན་ལས་འཛིན་རྣམས་ལ་རྟལ་ལས། ཉིན་བདུན་ལས་མི་རྒྱུད་བར་གཏོང་སྐོབ་བུ་དགོས་ཀྱིས་
 གཏོང་གཞི་ལ། ཐིག་གཏང་བ་གྱི་ཉིན་མཚོན་ཙམ་ཟང་ཅད་བུར་གང་གི་གཙོས་ཅད་བརྒྱུག་སུམ་དང་།

མཚོན་འབྲུ་ཟངས་ཅད་བྱུར་གང་གི་གཙོས་ཅད་བརྟུག་ཅིག། མཚོན་མར་ཟངས་ཅད་སྤེད། སྲོམ་ཤིང་ལྟ་ལྟ་
 མར་ལྷ་ཅང་གང་ལེ། བུམ་དར་གཉིས་ལེ། དྲི་བ་ཟང་དང་། བུམ་ཇུས་འོས་མཚམས། བསྐྱར་གསོ་ཉིན་
 གསུམ་ལ་ཉིན་དང་པོའི་ཉིན་མཚོན་འབྲུ་ཟངས་ཅད་ལྟ་དང་། མཚོན་ཙམ་ཟངས་ཅད་བྱུར་གང་གིས་གཙོས་
 ཅད་བཅོལ་དང་། ཉིན་གཉིས་པ་ནས་མཚོན་འབྲུ་ཟངས་ཅད་གཉིས་ལེ། མཚོན་ཙམ་ཟངས་ཅད་གཉིས་ལེ།
 མར་ལྷ། གུ་གུ་ལ། བཅས་འོས་མཚམས་སྲོད་དགོས་དང་། ཚོས་བཞི་ནས་བཟུང་ཉིན་ལྟར་དུ་འདུས་
 ཚོགས་རིན་པོ་ཚེར་མང་ཆ་ལེ་ཆ་བརྟུ་ཉག་དེ་ལེ། མར་ཉག་བདུན་ལེ། ཚ་བུ་དགོས་འདངས།
 བཞེས་འཇམ་ལ་གྲོ་ཤོག་སྲོའི་ཁལ་སྤེད་ལྟ་ལེ། འཇམ་རྫོང་ལོ་ཚོད་། བསགས་མ་འདས་དུང་མ་ཤོག་
 སྲོའི་ཁལ་སྤེད་བཞི་ལེ། གྲོམ་ཚང་ཟངས་ལྷ་ཐེལ་སྲུར་སྐྱེམས་ལྷོམས་གསུམ་རེ་བཅས་གཏོང་དགོས་ཀྱི།
 ཚ་དཔང་ཚོས་བྲིམས་པས་མཛད་དེ། ཞར་ཆགས་འཐོན་ཁྲར་མེད་བར་བྱ་དགོས། དོན་མཚན་བརྟུ་གཅིག་
 པ། དབྱར་མཛོད་དང་། གོང་གསལ་ཉེར་གཅིག་སྲོད། ཤར་རུབ་གཉིས་སུ་ཤར་བར་དདུལ་འོ་བཞི་བརྟུ་
 ཞེ་གཉིས་ལག་སྲོད་དང་། ཞིང་གི་སྤུང་ཐོག་དེབ་གསལ་ལྟར་དང་། རུབ་པར་དདུལ་འོ་སྤེད་དང་གསུམ་
 བརྒྱ་ཡོད་ཐོག་ནས། གོང་གསལ་ཉེར་གཅིག་དང་། རླབ་བདུན་པའི་ཚོས་བརྟུ་ནས་བཅོལ་བར་གཟུང་
 ཚོས་བཟང་བཞིག་ལ་གྲུ་ཚེ་རྒྱུང་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛོམས་དེ་དབྱར་གཟིགས་མཛད་རྒྱུའི་སྲ་ཐབ། དེས་གཞི།
 དབྱར་གཤམ་བཅས་ཤར་རུབ་གཉིས་ནས་རེ་བསྐྱོང་གི་ཉིན་རེ་འགན་ལེན་དགོས་ལྟར་མིག་ལྟོས་ལམ་འབྲུན་
 དགོས་རྒྱུ་ལས། སྲོམ་ལོར། འབྲུགས་བརྩོད་ཀྱི་གཞི་བྱས་མི་ཚོག་ཅིང་། ཚ་བྱངས་ཀྱི་གྲོ་བར་ཟེན་
 མཚམས་སུ། སྲོ་སྤུང་གི་སྐབས་གྲུ་བརྩོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་བྲིམས་ལོ་ལྟར་དུ་འཕེལ་ལེན་དགོས་ལྟར་
 ཚོས་སྲོའི་ཚོས་བྲིམས་པས་སྲོད་ལ། འདུ་ཁང་བར་བའི་རྟེན་གསུམ། མཚོན་མོ་དང་། སྲོམ་དོ་སྲུས་
 ལེགས་ཆེ་རྒྱུང་། རྩུན་ཀྱི་སྲུང་བྱུག་དདུལ་གཤམ་མ་སྲོལ་ལྟར་ཚོགས་སུར་ལྟར་སྲོལ་གང་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཁར།
 ཚོས་རྫིང་འདྲེས་པ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ནས། ཚོས་གསར་རླབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལ་ཅིས་སྲོད་སྐབས་ནས་བཟུང་རི་
 སྲིད་བར་གསོར་གནས་དགོས་རྒྱུའི། དོས་ན་གསར་སྲོར་སྲོམ་ཤིང་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་བདུན་བརྟུ་བརྟུན་ལྟ་དང་།
 དས་པ་ཀྱི་འདུལ་དང་། འདྲེས་པ་བསྟན་འཛིན་གཉིས་ནས་གསར་སྲོར་སྲོམ་ཤིང་ཉི་བུ་རྩ་ལྟ་བཅས་ཁྲོན་
 སྲོམ་སྲོམ་རེལ་བུ་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ཐམས་པ་དང་། མོལ་གཏམས་ཀྱི་དཔེ་ཆ་གསར་བྲིས་ཤོག་ལྷེབས་ཡོད་པ་
 ཚ་ཚངས། ཚོས་བྲིམས་པའི་ལུག་ཚར་བཅས་ཅིས་སྲོད་བས་ཐོག་སྲོ་སྤུང་ཟེར་བ་རྩ་བྱངས་མཁར་དང་།
 རླབ་ནས་འབྲུ་རེ་སྲུར་སྲོལ་གནང་རྒྱུན་དང་། རླབ་ནས་དདུལ་སྲིང་ནང་བཞིན་ཀྱི་མང་ཆ་གཅིག་
 ཚོས་བྲིམས་གསར་རྫིང་གཉིས་བལྟས་ཀྱི་གྲུ་བརྩོན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་གཏོང་དགོས་བཅས། བརྩིས་སྲོད་ལ་
 ཉམས་ཆགས་དང་། གཏོང་སྲོལ་ཞན་ཆགས་མེད་པ་སྲོན་སྲོལ་གང་ཡོད་ལྟར་བྱ་དགོས། དོན་མཚན་
 བརྟུ་གཉིས་སུ། ཚོས་སྲོའི་འདྲིར་སྲོན་དུས་ལམ་འབྲས་རྒྱ་མཚོད་མེད་སྐབས། བདག་གཞན་སྲིབས་གཉིས་
 སྲུངས་ཡོད། ཚོགས་གཉིས་རྩོགས་ལ་དོན་གཉིས་འགྲུབ་སྲིར་མི་དབང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་ནས་རྒྱ་མཚོད་
 ཀྱི་རྒྱ་རྩེན་དུ་འབྲུ་ཤོག་སྲོད་བརྟུ་གོ་དུག་བརྩལ་བ་དང་། གསོལ་དཔོན་བསོད་ནམས་རབ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་དདུལ་
 འོ་ཉི་བུ་རྩ་བརྒྱུད། དད་སྲོལ་ཁག་གའི་སྲོན་དོད་དདུལ་འོ་ཉི་བུ་ཐམས་བཅས། ཤིང་བྱ་དགུན་ཐུག་ཏུ

གསར་སྐྱོར་མཛད་སྤྱད་བར། མེ་བྱི་རྒྱ་བ་དང་པོ་ནང་སྐྱེ་མཚོན་གཏོང་དགོས་སྐབས། བསྐྱེད་པེམ་མི་
 འཁོར་བས། རོས་རང་དང་། འདྲིས་སའི་གྲུ་པ་བཟང་པོ་གཉིས་ནས་གྲུང་ལེན་ཞུས་ཏེ། ལོ་གཅིག་གིས་
 རྒྱ་མཚོན་གཏོང་རྒྱ་འགན་ལེན་ཞུས་ཏེ། ཟ෍་བརྒྱ་ཡི་གསོལ་ཆས་དང་མཚོན་ཆས་སོགས་ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་པ་
 དཔག་བཟག་གིས་སྐར་ལེན་ཞུས་ནས་གཏང་བས། བདེ་ཐོག་ནས་འབྲུ་ཕོག་སློབ་ཅུ་གཉིས་གསར་སྐྱོར་
 ཞུས་པ་བཅས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོན་གཏོང་ཐེབས་མ་རྩར་འབྲུ་སད་ནང་ལྟར་གྲིས་གྲོ་ཕོག་སློབ་པ་ལ་མ་བརྒྱ་དང་
 བརྒྱད། དངུལ་འོ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཞེ་བརྒྱད་བཅས་ཡོད་པས། གནམས་ལེར་ནམ་འཚར་གྲིས་རྒྱ་བ་དགུ་པའི་
 ཚོས་བརྒྱབ་ཞི་དང་། རྒྱ་བ་དང་པོའི་ཚོས་བརྒྱད། རྒྱ་བ་བཞི་པའི་ཚོས་ཉེར་ལྔ་བཅས། དུས་ཚེན་གསུམ་
 ལ་རྒྱ་མཚོན་ཉིན་གང་རེ་གྲུ་པ་ཚོགས་ཐོང་དུག་འཛོམས་དགོས་རྒྱུའི་སློབ་གྲིས་འབྲུ་གྲུ་པ་དགུ་ལ་ཕོག་སློབ་ཅུ་
 གཉིས་རེ་སྤྱད་པ་ཟེན་དགོས་དང་། དངུལ་གྱི་སློབ། ལས་འཛོན་རྒྱ་ནུ་རིམས་ལྟར་གྲུ་པ་གཉིས་རེའི་བརྒྱད་
 རྒྱུའི་ལོ་ལྟར་རྒྱ་བ་དགུ་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚོན་ཉིན་དངུལ་འོ་བོ་དམར་བསྐྱེད་ལག་སློབ་ཅུ་རྒྱ་བ་དང་། འབྲུ་བསྐྱེད་
 ཕོག་སློབ་གསུམ་རི་རྒྱ་བ་དགུ་པའི་ཚོས་མགོར་བསྐྱས་ཏེ། གཏོང་གཞི་རྒྱ་མཚོན་རེར་མཚོན་ཙམ་ཟངས་ཅན་
 བཅོལ། མཚོན་འབྲུ་ཟངས་ཅན་བཅོལ། མར་ལྷ། བོང་སྐྱ་ཐལ་སྐྱར་གཉིས་གྲིས། ཞོང་བུ་ཚེ་བ་
 གཉིས་དང་། བརྒྱ་མཚོན་རྒྱ་བ་ཚོངས་གང་། ཞལ་བཟས་ཚེ་བ་གང་། མར། སྤོས་ཆགས་གཅིག་
 གི་བཟང་སྤུན་གྲུ། ར་བརྒྱ་ཉིག་སྤྱོད་དོ། མར་ཟངས་ཅན་དོ། ཞིབ་ཟངས་ཅན་བཅོལ། བགས་སྤོ་ཕོག་
 སྤོའི་ཁལ་གཅིག་ འབྲས་དྲུང་མ་ཟངས་ཅན་བརྒྱ་དུག་ གསོལ་བཀག་ འཇམ་སུ་རྟོར། ཆར་ཕོག་སྤོ་སྤྱོད་
 རོ་ལ་གཙོས་པ་བཅས་རྒྱ་མཚོན་རེ་ལྟར་སྐྱོ་ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་པའི་མིག་བལྟས་ཀྱི་གཏོང་དགོས། རོན་མཚོན་བརྒྱ་
 གསུམ་པ། ཅ་དྲངས་མཁར་གྱི་མགོན་ཁང་དུ་མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་སྤོད་ལ། རྒྱ་བ་དགུ་པའི་ཚོས་ཉེར་དུག་ལ་
 ཟ෍་པ་རྣམས་འཛོམས། ཚོས་ཉེར་བདུན་ལ་གཏོར་བརྒྱུ་གཙོས་ཉེར་བརྒྱད་ནས། རྒྱ་བ་བརྒྱ་པའི་ཚོས་
 གཅིག་པར་ཚོགས་ཏེ་བསྐྱར་གསོ། ལུགས་གསོས། ཟུངས་གསོས་སོགས་རིམ་འགྲུབ་མཛད་རྒྱུའི་གཏོང་
 གཞི། ལུག་དེབས་ལྟར་སྤོན་མཁར་གཉེར་ཚངས་ནས་གནང་དགོས་ལ་ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་པས་བསྐྱར་བཅག་ཞུ་
 རུགས་དང་། རྒྱ་བ་བརྒྱ་པའི་ཚོས་དུག་ལ་གྲུ་པ་འཛོམས་ཏེ། ཚོས་སྤོའི་མགོན་ཁང་དུ་མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་
 སྤོད་གཏོང་རྒྱུའི་ རྒྱ་བ་གཉེར་པ་གཉིས་ནས་ཚོས་བདུན་གྱི་ཉིན། གཏོར་བཟོལ་ནས་ནག་གི་རྩན་འཕགས་
 ཕོག་སློབ་ཁལ་བཞི་དང་། མཚོན་མར་ཟངས་ཅན་བརྒྱད་མར་མཚོན་སྤྱེ་སངས། ལུག་ཚེ། དཀར་དུག་
 དགོས་དང་། གཏོར་གཟོབ་ལ་གསོལ་ཆས། མཚོན་འབྲུ་ཟངས་ཅན་བརྒྱད་ མཚོན་མེ་མར་ལུ་སྤོས་
 ཉེར་བརྒྱ། ལུ་གུལ་དང་མཚོམས་བཅས་སྤོད་དགོས། ཚོས་བརྒྱད་གྱི་ཉིན་གང་བསྐྱར་གསོ་བ་གྲུ་གང་
 ཡོད་ལ་མང་རྩ་གཉིས། གསོལ་ཙམ། འཇམ་གཅིག་ བསགས་མ། འདོག་རེ། མགུལ་སྤྱད་གཉིས།
 སྤོལ་ཆར་ཡོན་འབྲུལ་བཅས་སྐར་སྤོལ་གང་རྒྱས་གཏོང་དགོས་དང་། ཚོས་དགུའི་ཉིན་བསྐྱར་གསོ།
 ལུགས་དགེ་ཚུན་དང་། གསུམ་གཉིས་རྒྱ་བ་དགེ་གཏོང་དགོས་ལ་མཚོན་ཙམ་ཟངས་ཅན་བརྒྱ། མཚོན་
 མར་ཟངས་ཅན་གང་། མཚོན་འབྲུ་ཟངས་ཅན་ལ། མཚོན་མེ་མར་ལུ། སྤོས། ལུ་གུལ་བཅས་འོས་

མཚམས། ཟླ་པ་གང་ཡོད་ལ་མང་ཆ་གཉིས། གསོལ་ཚམ། འཇམ། བསགས་མ། འདྲེག་ མགུལ་
 སྤང་། གྲོལ་ཚང་། རྒྱལ་ཚང་ཡོན་འབྲུལ་བཅས་གོང་མ་སྤངས་དང་། ཟླ་པ་རེ་ལ་དབྱུང་མ་རེ་དང་
 ལམ་འབྲས་སྤང་གི་སྤྲུགས་རྣམས་ལ་སྤྲུང་བྱུང་མཚམས་དང་། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་སྤང་གི་སྤྲུགས་
 རྣམས་ལ་དགོ་ཚུན་སྤྲུང་མཚམས་སྤྲུག་མས། སྤྲུག་སྤྲུང་། སྤྲུག་ལྷགས། སྤྲུག་གིང་ཉམས་གསོ་གིང་
 དགོས་བྱུང་དགོས་པ་བཅས་ལྷག་བསམ་ཀུན་སྤོང་རྣམ་དག་གི་འདི་སྤྲིའི་དོན་ཚེ། སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པའི་
 མཚན་དོན། རང་གཞན་ཡིད་སྤོན་བསྤེལ་བ་རྒྱུར་ཐག་བྱུང་དགོས་ལས། གྲོལ་མཚོང་། ལས་གཡོ། དོན་
 འགྲན་དུ་གྱུར་པ་གཏན་ནས་བྱ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་བཅུ་པའི་འཇུག་ཏུ་སྤོན་ཐང་དུག་ཏུ་ལོ་གནང་
 ཚགས་ཀྱི་འགོ་དགོས་པས་དེ་ལྷགས་བཅས། མངོན་ན་ཆེན་སྤྱིད་དུ་འཇམ་མགོན་ས་སྤྲུལ་ནི་ཉམས་བདག་
 བྱིས་ངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པ་ལ། མི་སྤྲེད་པ་ཡི་དད་པ་ཡོད། འོན་ཀྱང་སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པ་ལ། འབྲུལ་
 པར་སྤྲོད་ལ་བདག་མི་དད། ཞེས་རྗེ་རྗེའི་བཀའ་ཡི་ཟེལ་དར། རང་བཅས་རྗེས་འཇུག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རྒྱུར་
 ལྷུང་བ། ཡིད་ཀྱི་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་ལུས་དགོས་གཞིར་བཅས་ལ། མི་ཡི་དབང་ཡུག་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོའི་
 བཀའ་འབྲེལ། ཅུང་ངས་ཚོས་སྤྲིའི་གྲུ་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཡིག་སྤོན་ཡོད་གཞིར་བཞག་ གཏོང་གཞི་
 སྤར་སྤོལ་གསོལ་གནས་པའི་སྤར་བཅའ་ཡིག་བསྟེན་བྱུང་། གཏོང་སྤོ། དུས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་གཏོང་ཐེབས་
 རྩོགས་སྤྲུགས་སུ་དོན་མཚན་བཅུ་གསུམ་གྱི་བཤའ་པའི་དོན་ལ། དོན་མཚན་རེ་རེ་སྤྲུགས་ཀྱི་ལེགས་པར་
 དཔྱད་ནས། སྤྲིའི་ཀུན་སྤོང། བྱང་གི་སེམས་བརྒྱན། གསང་བའི་ལྷ་བསྟོམ་རྣུ་ལྷུ་པའི་བཀའ་དང་།
 འཕགས་པའི་ལུང་། རྒྱམ་འི་གསུངས། དཔོན་པོའི་བྲིམས། ཡུལ་གྱི་ལུགས་ལམ་ལྟར་མི་འགལ་བར་
 བྱ་མིག་གྲན་བསྟེན། ཟླ་བཙུན་པོ་མེ་ཚེ་རྒྱུང་ཐམས་ཅད་ནས་མཛོད་དགོས་གཞིར་བཅས། ཚོགས་རྒྱུའི་
 དུས་ཚོས་གོང་གསལ་ལས་ཞག་དུམ་འབྲངས་བར་རྒྱུང་འཛོམས། ལས་འཛོན་རྣམས་ནས་དུས་ཚོས་ལས་
 སྤྲུང་བྲངས་མེད་པར་གཏོང་སྤོལ་གཏོང་། གཏོང་གཞི་སྤར་རྒྱུན་དང་། གསར་འཕམ་རིགས་ལ་
 འདེགས་གསལ་ལྷག་མ་བྱུང་ཀྱང་། ཚགས་ཉམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་ཏིལ་འབྲུ་ཙམ་གཏང་འཇུས་མིན་ཏེ། སྤོམ་
 གསུམ་རབ་དབྱེ་ལས། སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པ་ལ་པན་ཡང་། རྣམ་པར་ཀུན་ཏུ་གཞོད་མི་བྱ། ཞེས་
 གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། བསམ་སྤྱིར་རྣམ་པར་དག་པའི་སྤོན་སྤོན་ལོད་ཚེད་ཀྱི་སྤངས་བྱུང་། རྒྱངས་
 བྱ་གོ་མ་འཛོལ་བར་བྱུང་དགོས། ཅི་སྤྱེད་རྒྱལ་དེ་ལས་བཞློག་ཏེ། རྒྱུ་ཚེན་འཕགས་པས། མངོན་པར་
 འདུ་བྱེད་ཀུན་གྱི་གཞི། སུལ་མིན་ཡིད་ལ་བྱེད་པའི་རྒྱ། མ་རིག་འཐིབས་པའི་དབང་གྱུར་ཏེ། ཞེས་
 གསུངས་ལྟར། སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པའི་ལ་གྲ། རྒྱམ་འི་བཀའ་དང་དམ་ཚིག་ དཔོན་པོའི་བཀའ་དང་
 བྲིམས་ལུགས། རང་གི་དོ་ཚོ་བྲེལ་ཡོད་ལ་བཅིས་ཤར་མི་གཏོང་བར། རྒྱལ་དང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ཡིད་ཀྱི་
 སྤྲུངས། མ་རིག་པ་དང་། ཉོན་མོངས་པའི་དབང་དུ་གཏང་ཏེ་བྱེད་འཛོལ་ཁོ་ནའི། དགུ་རྒྱ་བ་གསུམ།
 ཡུལ་པོ་ཚེ་ཟམས་བཅོས་རྣམས་ལ་མ་འཛོམས་ རྣེད་པ་བརྒྱ་མཚོད་རི་རབ་མ་རེ་སུལ་དགོས་ལ་ལུ་རོ་མེད།
 ལས་འཛོན་རྣམས་ནས་གཏོང་སྤོན་རྣམས་དུས་ཚོས་ལས་འབྲངས་པ་དང་། ཟླ་པ་རྣམས་དུས་ཐོག་ཏུ་མ་
 སྤོབས་པ་སོགས་བྱུང་ན། བྱེད་པ་བོར་ཚད་པ་བརྒྱ་མཚོད་རྒྱུང་བ་རེ་སུལ་དགོས་ལུ་རོ་མེད། གཏོང་གཞི་

མཚོན་ཐོབ་མ་ཅུ་ལ་ཞར་ཆགས་དང་། གཏོང་སྒོལ་ཉམས་ཆགས་དང་ཚོ་བུས་བྱུང་དང་འབྲེལ་བས་ཉེས་
 པ་མིག་ལྟོས་ལ་མེར་བ་གཏོང་རྒྱ་ལུ་རི་མོད་པ་བཅས་དགེ་གསལ་ཚོད་ཡིན་པས། བཅའ་ཡིག་འདི་བཞིན་ལྷ་
 པ་རྒྱས་འཛོམས་དུས་སུ། ལོ་ལྟར་དབུ་ཚོས་གང་རིགས་ནས་བསྐྱོགས་བྱུང་དང་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བའི་བཞོད་པ་ནན་
 འཇུག་མཛད་དགོས། དེ་ལྟར་བཞད་པའི་དོན་གོ་ཞིང་། སྲངས་སྲངས་མ་ཞོར་བ་བྱེད་པ་སུ་གང་དག་
 བརྒྱད་པ་དང་བཅས་པའི་ཚོ་དང་། བསོད་ནམས་། དཔལ་དང་འོར་པ། ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ལུན་ལུ་མཚོགས་
 སིང་། འདི་སྤྱི་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཀའ་ཉིས་ལ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཅིང་། བདེ་འགོའི་རྟེན་བཟང་ཐོབ་སྲིད་། རོས་ནས་དགོན་
 མཚོག་བདེན་པའི་རང་བཞིན་། ལྷོ་བས་གནས་བསྐྱབ་མེད་པ་ལ། གསོལ་འདེབས། སྒོན་གོལ།
 ལྷོ་བས་འཇུང་གང་ཤེས་ལུ་དང་ལུ་ལུས་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཅི་སྟེ་ལས་འབྲས་ལྷན་བསམ་དུ། ལྷོ་ལ་གཞུང་དོ་ཚོ་
 སྲངས་ཏེ་གོང་གསལ་ཚོགས་རིས་ཐོས་བཞིན་དུ། ཁྲིམས་མཐུན་མི་བྱེད་ཅིང་། བསམ་སྦྱོར་དན་པས་བྱ་
 དེས་འཇུགས་ནས་བྱེད་པ་ཡོད་ཚེ་བྱེད་སྟེ་བརྒྱད་པ་དང་བཅས་པས་ཚོ་སྤོག་དབང་ཐང་ཉམས་སིང་།
 བསམ་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་མི་འགྲུབ་པ། དོན་སྤོང་དམར་པོ་བཞུགས་བྱུན། སྤོང་ལྷོག་དམར་ཚེལ་ལེ་ལེ་ཞལ་དུ་
 སྦྱོབས་པ། ལྷོ་བཟོ་མཚུ་ཀལ་འགྲུབ་འཇུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ། ཞིང་སྦྱོངས་གདོང་གཞི་གཉན་གྱི་མགོན་པོ།
 དམ་བཅན་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ལུ་དུ་མིང་སྤིང་རྣམ་ལ་བཀའ་ཡི་གཉེར་དུ་གཏད་ཡོད་པས། དེ་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་རང་རེ་
 རྣམས་སྤྱོ་ཤེས་དོན་གོ་བའི་མི་ལུས་ཡིན་སྟེ་བས། ལས་འབྲས་ལྷན་གསོས་མི་མཛད་བར་འདི་སྤིང་ལེ་ཉེན་
 ལེགས་པར་ཅིས་ནས་སྲངས་སྲངས་ལ་འཛོལ་བར་རྗེས་ཡོངས་སྤོན་དུན་ལུབ་ཅི་ནས་ཡོངས་བར་མཛད་
 འཚོལ། སྲུང་སྲུངས་པ། ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ། ཐོག་མར་དགོ་བ་བྱིང་བཞིའི་པི་ཤོ་ལ། བར་དུ་དགོ་བ་ཐོས་
 བསམ་རྒྱུད་བསྐྱེད་དུངས། མཐའ་མར་དགོ་བ་བསྟེན་བསྐྱེད་པོར་རྩེའི་བསྟེན། ཏུག་ཏུ་དགོ་བའི་སྤྱོ་སྤྱོར་
 ལྷོང་ལྷོང་དེར། ཀུན་རྫོངས་ཞེ་སྤང་རྫོངས་སེམས་བརྒྱད་བརྟན་ཏེ། ཀུན་ཏུ་བརྟན་བས་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་རྣམ་
 བསྐྱེད་ཡང་། ཀུན་ནས་དགོ་བའི་སྤོ་གོས་སྤོ་གོས་ལྷན་རྣམས། ཀུན་ཏུ་དགའ་བའི་ཡིད་བསྟེན་གར་བརྟེན་
 ལྷོར། རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྟན་པ་ཞིང་ས་གཤིན་པོལ། རྣམ་དག་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཚར་རྒྱན་ལེགས་པ་བས་པས།
 བཞད་སྐྱབ་གཉིས་ལྷན་ལྷོ་གྲུ་བསྟེན་སྤིང་ཏེ། གཤགས་པའི་མོ་དོག་སྤོགས་བརྒྱུད་འབར་གྲུར་ཅིག་ འཛིག་
 རྟེན་སུ་ཡི་ལས་ལ་དོན་གཉེར་ཞིང་། ཞིང་འདིར་སྤོང་པོ་མོད་པའི་བྱེད་བ་ཡི། ཡི་དཔེན་འཁོར་བར་
 གཏན་འཇུགས་བྱེད་པ་རྣམས། རྣམ་ཀུན་དགོ་བའི་སེམས་མཚོག་བསྟེན་གྲུར་ཅིག་ ཚོས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་ག་
 ཚོས་སྤིང་སྤིན་ལས་དང་། ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚོས་བཞིན་ས་སྤོང་བ། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དུང་སྤོས་ཚོས་དུང་
 སྤིང་པའི་ཐོ། ཚོས་བཞིན་སྤོང་པས་ཚོས་ལུགས་རྒྱས་གྲུར་ཅིག་ །དར་གྲུར་གྲུར་ཅིག་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་རིན་
 པོ་ཚེ། སྤོན་པར་གྲུར་ཅིག་སྤོ་འགོ་མ་ལུས་པ། །འཕེལ་བར་གྲུར་ཅིག་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་གདུང་།
 འགྲུབ་པར་གྲུར་ཅིག་སྤོན་ལས་གང་བཏབས་ཀུན། །སངས་རྒྱས་བཀའ་ཉིས་ལུང་དང་རྟོགས་པའི་ཚོས།
 ཚོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ཉིས་ཐོགས་མཐའ་བར་གསུམ་དགོ། དགོ་འདུན་བཀའ་ཉིས་སྤོན་གྲལ་ཡོན་པར་མཚོག་
 ཚོག་གསུམ་བཀའ་ཉིས་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པར་ཤོག་ སྤིང་པའི་རྩེར་སོན་དུངས་དོན་ཞིང་མཚོག་དུ། །ལུབ་དབང་

བསྐྱོན་པ་བཤད་སྐབ་གཉིས་ལྟན་ལ། །ཤིན་ཏུ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱལ་པའི་སྤྱིང་གི་མཚོག་ །རྫོང་འཛིན་གདན་དང་
 གཉིས་མེད་རྒྱལ་པར་ཤོག་ །ཅེས་གོ་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཡི་གེ་བཅར་ཡིག་ཡིད་བཞིན་དབང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་
 འདི་ནི། །ཡུལ་ཉང་སྐད་ཤིའི་ཨེ་མོ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་ཐོག་ང་བཞི་ལ། །མཁམ་ཚེན་ངག་དབང་
 བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སློ་གོས་མའི་ཟད་པའི་སྤྱོད་བྲུངས་སུ་འབོད་པས། །བསམ་པ་དག་ཅིང་། །སྤྱོར་
 བགུས་པས། །རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱོན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ལྷག་པའི་བསམ་པ་བཟང་པོ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བརྒྱུད་བྲུངས་ནས།
 རབ་བྱུང་བཅོ་ལྔ་པའི་ནང་བསེས། །མེ་ཤི་ཁྲི་ཡི་ལོ། །དབྱུག་པ་རྒྱ་བའི་དཀར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་དཀར་བགསུམ་པ་
 ལ་རྩ་བྲངས་ཚོས་སྤེའི་གཟིམས་ཚར་གསང་སྤགས་སྤིན་གྲོལ་པོ་བྲང་དུ་གྲིས་པ་དེ་དེ་ཞིན་དུ་འགྲུབ་པར་
 བྱུར་ཅིག །སང་དུ་ཀུ་ཉི་ལོ་ལ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ། །

Note: This letter is from the collection of the Tsarang Gonpa in Mustang. It has all together 158 lines and its measurement is 66X28.5 cm.

Document No. 20 (MHR doc. no. 31, Tib.)
A document related to the settlement of the border problem
between Tibet and Lo (Mustang), date: c. 1901

༡། །སློ་བོད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་མཐུན་འབྲེལ་སློར་གྱི་ཚིངས་ཡིག་ །

གཅིག་།

༡ ། །ཚུ་སྤྲུག་རྒྱུ་ །ཚོས་ལ་ །ལ། །རབ་འབྲུམས་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཚིག་རྒྱུ་པས། །བརྗེ་ཚེན་
 གཟིགས་པའི་འགོ་ཀུན་མི་གཏོང་ཞིང་། །གངས་ཅན་ལྷ་གཅིག་ཕྱག་ན་པད་དཀར་འཆང་། །ལྷར་བཅས་
 འགོ་བའི་ ༡ །མགོན་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ། །ཞེས་སྐབ་བུའི་འབྲས་བུ་ཐོབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཡུལ་ཁྲུང་པར་ཅན་ལ་
 བསྐྱོད་ནས། །གཞུང་སའི་སྤྱོད་པོན་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཉེ་སྤོམ་གྱིས་ས་ཕུལ་ཁུལ་མི་སེར་ཁྲུང་གཞན་ལ་རྟེན་འདི་ལོ་
 ༢ །བཀའ་ཞིབ་མཁན་སྲས་སྤྱེལ་སོ་ལས་བྱ་བཅས་ཆེད་མངགས་བརྩམ་མདུན་བྱག་འཁྲུང་། །སློ་བོད་ས་
 སུའིང་ཡོས་རྩུན་བྱུང་བའི་གཞུ་སྤྱོད་ས་གསུམ་བོད་མི་རིགས་ཕྱི་སློག་མཚན་དགོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ ༣ །རྒྱ་
 ཚེར་རྩམ་དང་། །ས་འཁུལ་མངའ་ཞབས་ཀྱི་སློ་བོད་ཤེས་འབངས་ནས་གོར་བོར་བེད་དོན་ལས་འགལ་བའི་
 ས་བདག་ལ་རྒྱན་པག་ལ་འགལ་དང་མནར་གཅོད་མང་དག་མཚན་རྩུལ་སོགས་ལུ་དོན་མཚན་བདུན་ ༤
 ཅུ་དང་། །གཞན་ལང་སློ་བོ་མི་སེར་པགས་ལྷན་ཅན་རྒྱལ་གཞན་པམ་གྱི་ལུ་འཛོག་སྤྱོ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བྱེན་.....
 རི་ཞིབ་སྤྱེལ་ནས་ཡིག་འབྲུལ་ལན་ཤས་མཚན་ཀྱང་ཕྱོགས་འཐེན་གྱི་ཞལ་འཛོམ་གཏན་ནས་ ༥ །མ་བྱུང་
 བས་ཡི་བུར་ཐུགས་བཤེར་མཚན་ཐོག་བོད་ནས་ས་བདག་ས་ལ་སྤོན་དང་། །དནས་བཟུང་ཁུལ་བཟོའི་
 འཕགོན་དུད་གསར་འབྲེར་བཅས་ཀྱི་རྩ་པ་ཚོ་མིན་ལ་བརྟེན་སློ་བོད་ཤེས་འབངས་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་རང་སར་ ༦
 །སྤྱོད་སོལ་བྱེད་འདུག་དུར་ལས་བྱུ་ཤེས་སྤིང་། །ཕྱག་ནང་ཕུན་ཚོགས་བཀྲ་ཤིས། །ས་རྗེང་འབྲི་ཡུལ་བ་
 བཅས་འཕེས་སར་སློ་བོད་ས་མནག་འག་ནས་བྱས་ཕན་བྲག་སྤུལ་དང་། །ཀུ་སྤུལ་རུས་ལ་ལེགས་སྤེལ་གྱི་

ཞགསོད་

གཉིས་།

༡ ། ཨེད་སྲོགས་ནན་མོལ་ལ། གུས་རྒྱུལ་འཛིགས་རྟེན་མི་ཚོས་གོམ་འབྲིས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་ཚེན་བུ་མེད་
 ཀྱི་ལན་དགུའི་ཆད་ཐུང་ཡོང་རེ་མེད་ཀྱང་། བོད་མོང་སེམས་ཅན་བསོད་ནམས་དམན་ལ་དུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་
 བརྟེན་ཞིང་ནག་སྲོགས་ ༡ དམ་སྲིས་རྒྱུད་བསྐྱལ་ནས་དུས་ལྷན་ཡོང་ལང་གིས་ངེས་པ་མེད་སྐབས་མི་
 རྒྱུད་བསམ་ཚེའི་སྲོབ་པ་སྲུང་ཞུ་བསོད་གང་ཐུབ་ཀྱིས་ཁས་སྲོངས་སྟེ་སྐྱལ་བརྒྱུད་སྲོ་བོ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་མཚོག་ལ་
 ལྷན་ཞུས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ ༢ བཞེས་ཐོབ་པ་དང་། མཚོ་དཀར་དུའང་གུས་རྒྱུས་ནས་ལས་བུ་རྩོགས་ལྷན་དུ་
 ལྷན་ཞུ་ཕུལ་བར་སྐྱོ་ངོ་མཁན་སྲས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་བབ་མིན་པ་མ་བྱུང་ཚེ་འབྲིགས་ཚུལ་གྱི་བཀའ་ཐོབ་པར་།
 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་མཚོག་ནི་རྒྱུད་བར་དང་ ༣ ལས་ལྷན་མ་མགོའི་ས་མཚམས་བར་ཞབས་བསྐྱལ་ཞུས་ཏེ་ཕྱན་
 རྒྱུས་དང་བཀའ་མཐོངས་སྲ་ཚངས་འབེ་སླིང་བཅས་ནས་ཡར་མར་ལོན་གངས་མང་པོར་ཞུ་བསོད་བཀྱིས་པའི་
 དོན་རྩི་མཛད་སློའི་སླིང་པོར། ས་དགའ་མངའ་ ༥ ཞབས་ཀྱི་ཞུ་བ་གོང་གསལ་དང་། སྲོ་བོ་རྩི་
 འབངས་ནས་ཀྱང་རྒྱན་ཤོར་རྒྱུ་རྩི་རྩམས་ཀྱང་འཕལ་འཕལ་སྲིར་སྲོད་མེད་པའི་རྩིབ་འགྲང་ཁར། བང་
 ཅན་བྲིམ་རྒྱན་མི་མཛད་པ་ཕན་

གསུམ་།

༡ ། མཛད་པ་སྲོགས་ལྷུང་ཕན་བཏང་ ༡ བུ་མ་ཐོ་བར་ལྷར་བཅས་འགོ་བའི་སྐྱབས་མགོན་པོ་རྒྱ་
 དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་ཐུན་པ་ཚེན་པའི་གསེར་ཞབས་སུ་ཞུ་བཤགས་མཚོན་དོད་མཛལ་དར་གནང་མཛོད་དང་།
 མཚུལ་སྐྱབས་ལྷུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན། སྐྱབས་རྟེན་བཅས་འབུལ་ ༢ རྒྱ་སྲོ་བོ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ལའང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ནས་
 དགོངས་དག་རྟེན་དང་དར་བཅས། དཔལ་ལྷན་སྲོ་གོས་རྒྱན་མཛལ་གྱི་འཛིན་པར་ཞུའི་རྟེན་དང་དར་བཅས་
 ཕུལ་བར་དོན་མཚོན་ནང་རོ་ཉིང་ཐོན་ཐོན་གཤིས་སྲད། ༣ ཀྱིན་བརྒྱུར་བརྟེན་སྲུང་སྲུང་མི་འདེད་པ་
 དང་། བོད་སྲོགས་སྐྱོ་ངོ་མཁན་སྲས་སྲུལ་སེར་ཞུ་བསོ་མཚོགས་པའི་ལྷན་ཞུ་སྲུང་མ་ཐུབ་པར་དགོས་
 བརྟེན་དར་བཅས་ཕུལ་ནས། སྲིན་ཆད་ཉམས་ལེན་ ༥ སླིང་འདི་མཛད་ཀྱིས་གསོལ་བ་འདབས་དོན་སྲོ་
 བོ་རྩི་འབངས་བཀའ་དོན་ཤིང་ཡོས་རྒྱན་གྱི་མི་ཙུ་བྱུར་སྲོད་དུ་དཔུང་གིས་མི་གཞུང་དམ་འབྲར་རྒྱར་ཕུལ་
 བང་གསལ་ལྷར་དང་། སྲད་ནས་ཀྱང་བརྒྱུར་བརྟེན་རྟེན་

བཞི་།

༡ བསྐྱེལ་མི་མཛད་པ་དང་། སྲོ་ཁོངས་རྩི་འབངས་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་དུང་སེམས་ཅན་རྩམས་བོད་གུ་ལེགས་རྩེའི་
 རྩལ་ནོར་འཚོ་འཕྲོས་ཙུ་ཁོངས་སུ་རྩི་ཉེས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་འབྲུག་ལ། སྲོ་བོ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གི་ནོར་བཏེ་གུ་ལེགས་
 ༡ རྩི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་སྲོད་པ་དང་ཐོག་ནས་གོར་བོད་བར་དུ་མཐུན་ཞི་ལེགས་ཆགས་དང་། ཚོང་དོན་
 འགལ་མེད་ས་མཚམས་མི་སེར་ལ་ཕན་ཆར་གང་ཚེའི་མཛད་པ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་རང་གི་འབྲོག་དུང་ས་ ༢ ཙུ་
 དིན་མ་བཞེས་པ་ཡིན་པ་ལྷར་སྲད་ནས་ཀྱང་། གོར་ཐོར་བར་དུ་དགོག་དིན་མེད་པའི་མཐུན་ཞིབ་ལེགས་

ཟགས་དང་ཚིག་དོན་འགལ་མེད་ས་མཚོ་མས་མི་སེར་ལ་སོན་ཚར་གང་འགོ་མཛད་རྒྱ་བུར་ ༄ སྤོན་
བསྐྱར་བོས་སུ་རྒྱལ་ཁང་རང་གི་འབྲོག་དུད་གཞིགས་ལ་དེང་ཡོད་སེབ་གཉིས་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ཐམས་པ་
དབུན་རྒྱ་དུག་རིང་ཕ་རིན་མ་དགོས་པ་དང་། དེ་འབྲོ་བྱུང་གི་དུད་བཅས་ལ་ཕ་རིན་སྤྱི་ ༥ འབྲེ་གནང་
རྒྱུ། གོང་གསལ་སེམས་ཅན་དཀུན་དམྱིད་རྒྱ་དུག་རིང་ཚོ་ངོས་ལེགས་

ལྷ་།

༡ ༄། །ཚེ། བོད་གྲུའི་ཕ་འབྲོས་ནང་ལོ་གསུམ་རེ་མོས་ཀྱི་ཕ་བཟའ་མཛད་འཇུག་དང་། སྤོ་བའི་ཕྱིར་
རྗེས་ཀྱང་ཟུར་རྒྱལ་དབང་ཡོད་ཆད་ ༡ འགོལ་མི་བྱེད་པ་དང་། བལ་གལ་པ་ལུག་ཚོང་ལུག་ནམ་བུ་
ནས་ཚོང་འགོ་ནམ་བུར་བར་དུ་གལ་གཞེད་བཏོན་ཚོ་ལོ་ཐོབ་ལེག་རེར་ལྟར་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཞག་ལ་གང་ཐོབ་
ཅིས་ནས་གནང་ ༡ རྒྱ་དང་། རྒྱ་སྤྱོད་བཀའ་ཐམས་དགོངས་དོན་གཉེན་པའི་སྐྱེར་ཕྱིར་ལོར་བསྐྱོམ་ཅེ
རིན་དུལ་སྲང་གསུམ་དང་ལོ་དུག་གི་གསལ་བ་ཕ་དུ་སྲུར་ཉམས་སྤྱི་ནས་གསལ་གཙུག་ལ་ཕ་རིན་ཐོག་
ཕན་འཕེལ་གྱི་ཕ་རྒྱུད་ ༄ བྱང་འབྲོས་ཁའོང་ལོ་གང་སོང་བཅིས་ཐོབ་དང་གྲུབ་པ་གམ་མགུར་མོ་གང་
དང་བསོད་གཏགས་བཅས་སྤྱོད་ཚད་བཀའ་གཏན་ལྟར་ལ་འབྲུགས་བརྩོད་མི་འབྱུང་ཆེད། དེང་
ཡོད་ཁལ་གལ་ག ༥ ཁལ་ལུག་ཕ་རིན་སྤྱི་འབྲེ་བྱེད་པའི་དེ་བྱིང་ལོབ་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱ་ཐམས་པ་ལ་ཕ་རིན་
སྲང་གསུམ་ལོ་དུག་རེ་སྤོད་རྒྱུར་སོ་གནས་མཛད་རྒྱ་དང་། སྤོ་བའི་སེར་འབངས་མི་སེར་གྱི་ཁལ་གལ་ག
ཁལ་ལུག།

དུག་།

༡ ཕ་རིན་སྤྱི་འབྲེ་བྱས་པའི་དེ་བྱེ། གི་ཕ་རིན་གོང་གསལ་ལྟར་དང་། སེམས་ཅན་དེ་བྱིངས་ལ་ལོབ་བརྩོད་
ལོ་གསུམ་རེ་ནས་བྱས་པའི་དགུན་རྒྱ་རེལ་ལོབ་དུག་རེ་དུལ་ལྟར་ལྟ་རེ་དང་། དབུར་རྒྱ་རེལ་ལོབ་དུག་
རེར་སྐྱར་བྱེད་གསུམ་རེས་ཅིས་བསྐྱོམ་ ༡ སྤོད་ཐོབ་ལ་ཕྱིར་ལུག་ལུང་ཐང་དང་། སྤོད་ཐོབ་ལ་དུལ་
སྲང་བཅས་ལོ་ལྟར་རྒྱ་ ༥ པའི་ཚོས་ ༡༥ ཚུན་ལ་སྤོད་ལེན་བྱེད་རྒྱུར་ཐག་ཚོད་པ་དང་། བོད་ནས་
བྱུར་ཁག་འགོལ་མའན་འབོད་ནད་མི་ཐོག་རྒྱལ་དང་སྤོ་བ་པ་ནས་ ༡ རྒྱལ་ལ་ལ་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་མཐའ་
འདོམ་མི་མཛད་པས་ནད་མི་ཐོག་རྒྱལ་སྤོར་རྒྱལ་ཁགས་པམ་རྒྱལ་ཁལ་དོན་ཚོངས་ཡིག་དོན་མཚན་བརྒྱུ་པའི་
དགུ་པ་དང་། བདུན་པའི་གཤོས་འབོར་ལྟར་ལ་རྒྱལ་པའི་ ༄ བཀའ་ལ་འབྱུང་པས་གསེས་ལྟས་ཀྱི་
དཔེ་མ་དགོས་པ། དོན་མཚན་དགུ་པར། ལྟོ་པའི་མི་སེར་ཚོང་པའི་རྒྱ་ཕྱིར་བོད་མི་སེར་ནས་འབྲོག་
བཅོམ་བྱས་ཚེ་ལྟོ་པའི་མི་སེར་རྒྱ་ཕྱིར་གྱི་བདག་པོ་ལ་བོད་མི་ ༥ དམ་དཔོན་རིགས་ནས་བརྒྱུད་གཙོད་
ཀྱིས་སྤོར་སྤོག་བྱེད་འཇུག་རྒྱ། འབྲོགས་བཅོམ་

བདུན་།

༡ ༄། །བྱེད་མི་ནས་རྒྱ་ཕྱིར་སྤོད་མ་སྤོབ་ཚེ་ལེན་དགོས་རྣམས་དུས་འགྲངས་རིན་སྤོད་རྒྱུའི་ཆེད་དོན་བོད་
མི་དུག་ནས་བྱེད་རྒྱ་དང་། ༡ བོད་མི་སེར་ཚོང་པའི་རྒྱ་ཕྱིར་ལྟོ་པའི་མི་སེར་ནས་འབྲོག་བཅོམ་བྱས་ཚེ་
བོད་མི་སེར་རྒྱ་ཕྱིར་གྱི་བདག་པོ་ལ་ལྟོ་པའི་མི་དུག་དཔོན་རིགས་ནས་བརྒྱུད་གཙོད་སྤོག་བྱེད་འཇུག་རྒྱ།

འཕྲོག་བཅོམ་ ༣ གྲེད་མི་ནས་རྒྱ་ལོར་སྤྲོད་མ་ཐུབ་ཚེ་ལེན་དགོས་རྒྱུ་ལས་དུས་འགྲུངས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོད་རྒྱུ་འོང་
དོན་གྱོ་པའི་མི་དྲག་ནས་གྲེད་རྒྱ་དང་དབྱུ་ཞེས་དང་། དོན་མཚན་བདུན་པའི་ནང་གསལ་ལྟ་བུའི་ལྟ་པའི་མི་
ལེར་ཚོང་བ་རྒྱལ་ས་འབྲུག་ས་པ་བྱུང་ཚེ་གྱོ་པའི་མི་དྲག་ནས་བྲིམས་གཅོད་བྱས་མི་ཚོགས་པ་དང་། ལྟ་པའི་
ས་གནས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་གོར་བོད་ཀྱི་མེ་ལམ་བུའི་ཁ་ཚེ་རྒྱལ་ས་འབྲུག་ ༤ པ་བྱུང་ཚེ་བོད་རྒྱལ་ཁང་
ནས་བྲིམས་ལ་གཅོད་བྱས་ཨེ་མཚོགས་པ་དང་། གོར་བོད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མི་ལེར་འབྲུག་ས་པ་བྱུང་ཚེ་བར་གོར་
གཉིས་མི་དྲག་ལྟན་འཛེམས་སར་བྲིམས་གཅོད་བྱེད་རྒྱ། བྲིམས་

བརྒྱད་ཀྱི།

༡ ལ། །གཅོད་སྐབས་བོད་མི་ལེར་གྱི་ཉེས་དཔུལ་བོད་མི་དྲག་ནས་ལེན་རྒྱ་གྱོ་པའི་མི་ལེར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོད་
དཔུལ་གོར་བོད་མི་དྲག་ནས་ལེན་རྒྱ་ཞེས་བོད་སྤྲོགས་ཕྱག་བཞུགས་ཚིང་ཡིག་འདིར་འཁོད་ལྟར་དང་།
སྤྲོ་བོའི་ ༡ ཕྱག་བཞུགས་སུ་ཕྱིར་སྤྲོག་བྱེད་རྒྱ་འཁོད་པའི་བྱུང་པར་ཙམ་ལ་དོན་ལ་བྱུང་པར་མེད་གསལ་
ལྟར་ཕན་མཚན་ནས་སྤོན་ཆར་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱུང་ནའང་ཕྱག་མཉམ་ཞུ་མཛད་ནས་ད་ནས་བརྒྱུད་ ༣ ཚིང་ཡིག་
གཞིར་བཞག་འདི་ཕྱི་རྒྱ་འབྲས་བུ་བྱུང་བས་ད་ཀྱིས་འདི་དོན་ལ་དགོངས་སྤང་བྱུང་ཞུ་བའི་ཞེ་མེད་པ་ ༤ སྤྲོ་
བོ་དཔོན་འབངས་སོ་སོར་ནས་ནན་གཏན་གཤམ་ཆེར་མཛད་རྒྱ་བཅས་དང་། གོང་གསལ་མཚོད་དོན་རིམས་
པ་ལས་འགལ་བའི་དེ་དུས་དེ་མིན། གཤམ་ཞག་གཡོན་དགོ། མི་མང་དཔུང་

དགུ་ཀྱི།

༡ ལ། །བསྐྱེལ། ས་བདག་ལ་ཡ་འགེལ། ཀ་སྟོར་ཉེབ་འགྲུངས། ཚོད་དོན་བྱུང་བས་ད་སོགས་
འགལ་རིགས་ཆ་གས་ཙམ་ཡང་སྤྲོ་བོད་སུ་ཐད་ནས་མི་མཛད་པ་དང་། གཤམ་སྤྲོད་འགལ་བས་རིགས་
༡ སྤོ་ཙམ་བྱུང་ཚེ་གོང་ཞབས་སུ་འབའ་གསེར་སྤང་བཅུ་གཅོད་སྐབས་ཐོག་འདི་དོན་གནས་རྒྱུན་འབྲེངས་
མཛད་དགོས་ཞེས་ཞུས་སར་གཉིས་པའི་དགོངས་བབ་ཐུགས་མོད་ཚོགས་པ་གཉིས་མོས་ ༣ སྤྲོ་བྱུང་གི་
འདོད་དོན་ལས་མི་འགལ་བའི་ཚོད་དོན་བཞག་པ་སྤྲོ་བོ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དང་མི་གཉིས་པ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་རབ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་
ཐམ་ག་སྤྲོ་བོ་མི་ལེར་སྤྲོ་བྱུང་དབང་སྤུས་དང་། དཔལ་ ༤ ཚོན་ཇི་ཇི་ཚོས་འཕེལ་མི་ལེར་ཚན་
དམངས་སྤྲོ་བོ་ལགས་སྟོར་བའི་རྟགས། རྒྱ་དྲག་ཕྱག་གཉེར་གྱི་རྟགས། བཀོད་བཀའ་ཞིབ་ལས་བྱ་ཕྱེལ་
སྤྲོད་ཕྱག་ན་ཞུ་བཀའ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྟགས། ༥ ས་ལྗོངས་འབྲེ་ཡུལ་བའི་རྟགས། ས་དགའ་མངའ་ཞབས་
སྤྲོ་བྲུས་ལག་སྟོར་བའི་རྟགས། བར་མི་ཐུག་དཀར་སྤུལ་སྤྲོ་བོ་རྟགས། སྤྲོ་བོ་སྤང་མར་ཕག་ཐོག་སྤུས་
སྤྲོ་བོ་རྟགས། ༦ བཀའ་ཐོས་འཕེ་སྤྲོད་བརྒྱ་མཚོ་གྲགས་པའི་རྟགས། ཞེས་པའི་ཚོད་དོན་རོ་མ་རྒྱལ་འབ་
བྱེད་པོན་ཚོན་པོར་སྤུན་ཞུས་ཞེས་བའི་དོ་བསུས་ལ་ཞུས་དག་གིས་ཞིབ་དམ་པ་འདི་དོན་ལྟར་རྩ་འཛིན་
༧ རྒྱག་མེད་དགོས་པ་ཡོད། རྒྱ་སྤྲུག་རྒྱ་ཚོས་ལ། །།

Note: This document is from the collection of the family known as gZimkhang in Lomanthang.

བྱེད་ཀྱི་དང་། གོ་མ་པའི་མི་སེར་ཚོང་པར་ཚོངས་སུལ་ལམ་སུལ་རིགས་ཁུང་ཡང་མི་ལོན་པ་དང་། བོད་
པའི་འཛིན་བཟུང་བྱེད་པའི་སིང་པའི་ཡག་ཡི་དང་དཔམ་འཇམགས་ལ་འཛིན་བཟུང་བྱེད་པའི་གོ་མ་པ་དམག་
མི་དཔོན་གཡོག་སུད་མེད། རིགས་སློབ་ཅས་བོད་ནས་གོ་མ་པ་

གསུམ་།

༡༡། །རྒྱལ་ཁབས་གསུམ་ལ་སྲིན་ལོག་བྱེད་ཀྱི། བོད་ཀྱི་དམགས་མི་དང་སྤྱི་དོང་རྒྱལ་གནམ་ཚོང་
ག་སྤྱི་རང་དོང་གར་བཅས་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་ཆ་དམགས་ཆས་གང་ལུས་བོད་པར་སྤྱིར་ལོག་ཀྱི་
དང་། ཚིང་སྤྱིགས་ཚར་རྗེས་སྤྱི་རང་དོང་གར། སྤྱི་དོང་ཚོངས་གསུམ་ནང་དར་སྤྱིང་ལ་ཚོང་ཚུན་སྤྱི་
གོ་མ་དམག་རྣམས་རྒྱུ་འདུས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་སློབ་ཤང་སྤྱིར་ལོག་བྱ་ཀྱི་དང་ལྷ་ལྷན་དུ་ད་ནས་བཟུང་གོ་མ་པ་རྒྱལ་
ཁབས་ནས་གོ་མ་མི་གྲགས་འཛོམས་ཀྱི་དང་། ལྷ་ལྷན་དུ་གོ་མ་པ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་ཚོངས་ཁང་འཛོམས་ཀྱི་
ལོར་རྩ་རྒྱན་བཅས་དང་དགོས་ཆས་ཟོགས་རིགས་རྣམས་འདོད་མཐུན་གྱི་ཚོངས་རྒྱབ་མཚོག་དང་། ལྷ་ས་འི་
མི་སེར་ཚོངས་པ་རྣམས་དང་འབྲུག་པ་འབྲུང་ན་གོ་མ་བོད་མི་གྲགས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་བྱེད་མི་ཚོགས་ལྷ་ས་འི་ས་
གནས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་གོ་མ་པ་མི་སེར་ཚོང་པ་ལམ་བུ་ཁག་དེ་རྣམས་དང་འབྲུག་པ་འབྲུང་ན་བོད་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནས་
ཁྲིམས་གཙོད་བྱས་མི་ཚོགས་པ་དང་གོས་སེར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མི་རེ་འབྲུགས་པ་བྱུང་ན་གོ་མ་བོད་མི་གྲགས་པ་
ལྷན་འཛོམ་བྱས་ནས་ཁྲིམས་

བཞི་།

༡༢། །སྤྱི་དབྱུང་དང་། ཁྲིམས་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་སྐབས་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་བྱ་ཉེས་དངུལ་བོད་མི་གྲགས་ཀྱི་ལོན་ཀྱི་
གོ་མ་པ་མི་སེར་གྱི་ཚོངས་ལ་ཁེ་བྱེད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཉེས་དངུལ་གོ་མ་པའི་མི་གྲགས་ནས་ལོན་ཀྱི་དང་། གོ་མ་པ་
མི་སེར་ནས་མི་བསད་བོད་ཀྱིས་གནས་སུ་གྲོས་ན་བོད་ནས་གོ་མ་པ་ལ་ཅིས་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་། བོད་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་ནས་
མི་གསད་དགོར་ཁའི་ས་གནས་སུ་གྲོས་ན་གོ་མ་པ་ནས་བོད་ལ་ཅིས་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་དང་། གོ་མ་པ་མི་སེར་ཚོངས་
ཀྱི་ལོར་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་རིགས་ནས་འཕྲོག་བཅོམ་བྱས་ན་ཚོ་གོ་མ་པ་མི་སེར་ཀྱི་ལྷན་གཡོག་པོ་ལ་བོད་
ཀྱི་མི་གྲགས་དཔོན་རིགས་ནས་རྒྱུད་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་གི་སེར་སྤྱིར་ལོག་བྱ་ཀྱི་འཕྲོག་བཅོམ་བྱེད་མི་ནས་རྒྱུད་སྤྱི་
མ་ཐུབ་ཚོ་ལོན་དགོས་དུས་འགྲུངས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་ཆད་བསྐྱུང་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་གྲགས་ནས་བྱེད་ཀྱི། བོད་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་
ཚོངས་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལོར་གོ་མ་པ་མི་རིགས་ནས་འཕྲོག་བཅོམ་བྱས་ཚོ་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་རྒྱུ་ལོར་གོ་མ་པ་དཔོན་
རིགས་ནས་ཚུད་གཙོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱིར་ལོག་བྱ་ཀྱི་དང་། ཕྲོག་བཅོམ་བྱེད་མི་ནས་རྒྱུ་ལོར་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་མ་ཐུབ་ཚོ་ལོན་
དགོས་རྣམས་དུས་འགྲུང་གིས་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་ཆད་བསྐྱུངས་གོ་མ་པ་རིགས་ནས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་དང་། དཔམ་འཇམགས་
རྒྱབ་སྐབས་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་གོ་མ་པ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་མཐུས་ནས་ཡོང་མི་ལྷ། གོ་མ་པ་མི་སེར་བོད་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་
དང་མཐུན་ནས་ཡོང་མི་ལྷ་བཅས་འཚིང་འགྲིགས་ཚར་

ལྔ་།

༡༣། །རྗེས་ཁོང་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལོར་བརྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཕན་ཚུན་གཉིས་གནས་གཉིས་ཀྱང་མི་ལོན་པ་དང་། ༡༠ མེ

ལུགས་སྒྲུབ་ལ། །

Note: measurement: 132.5X30 cm.

Document No. 22 (MHR doc. no. 42, Tib.)

An appeal issued by the 16th Karmapa regarding public donation for the renovation of dGonpa bSam-drub gling in Mustang

༡། །དགོན་པ་བསམ་གྲུབ་སྒྲིང་གི་སྒྲིང་ཡིག་ཡིན་མི་རྒྱལ་དབང་ཀུམ་པས་གནང་བའི་སྒྲིང་ཡིག།

- ༡། དཔལ་རྒྱལ་ཀུན་སྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་དབང་ལུག་ཀུམ་པར་འབོད་པའི་སྐྱེ་སྤོང་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་གཏམ།
- ༢། བསམ་པའི་རེ་རུབས་བསྐྱོང་བའི་སྤོངས་སྤྱི་དང་བེ
- ༣། ལག་བསྐྱོར་གསུམ་སོགས་སྒྲོ་བོ་སྤོང་སྤྲད་བར་གྱི་ཆར་འབོད་པའི་ སྤྱིན་བདག་སེར་སྐྱ་མཚོག་
- དམན་མཐའ་དག་ལ་སྒྲོ་བ། ཐུབ་བསྐྱན་ཡོངས་རྫོགས།
- ༤། ཀྱི་སྤྱིང་པོ་དོན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་འཛིན་པ་བཀའ་རྒྱུད་རིན་པོ་ཚེའི་བསྐྱན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་མགོ་འོག་མིན་པ་
- སྤོང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་དཔལ།
- ༥། མཚུར་མདེ་བོ་ལུང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྟེན་དང་བརྟེན་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་གངས་ཅན་སྐྱོ་འགྲོ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་
- བདེ་སྤྱིང་གྱི་འགྲུང་གནས་གཅིག་ལུར་རེས་པ་འདི་ཉིད་སྤོང་བསོད་ནམས་
- ༦། ཀྱི་རྒྱན་ཏུ་མི་ཉམས་གོང་འཕེལ་གྱི་ཚེད་དུ། རྣམ་དཀར་མཚོད་རྒྱུན་གྱི་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་འབྲུལ་བསྐྱུད་དུ།
- འདི་ཁའི་ཚེས་བརྒྱུད་འཁོངས་གཏོགས།
- ༧། བསམ་སྤྱིང་སྤྱལ་སྐྱ་ཀུམ་ཐུབ་བསྐྱན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་སྤྱིས་དཔལ་བཟང་ངོ་གཡོག་རྣམས་བཏང་ཡོད་པར།
- སྤོང་རྣམས་ནས་ཀྱང་དད་མོས་རྣམ་དག་
- ༨། གི་སྒྲོ་ནས་སྐྱ་མར་འཛིན་པའི་བསྐྱར་བསྐྱིས་མཚོད་ཅིང་། དངོས་པོའི་འབྲུལ་སྤོང་མི་དམན་པར་
- སྤོབས་པ་དང་། གནས་མལ་མེའིང་མཐུན་
- ༩། རྒྱུན། རྟེན་ལལ་དཀར་གཡམ། ཅུ་རྒྱུར་བཀག་མེད། བསྐྱེལ་བསུ་རོག་དན་སོགས་གང་སྤྱིར་རང་
- རང་འདི་སྤིའི་དོན་དང་མཚོད་ཡོན་ལམ་རྒྱར་
- ༡༠། གཞིག་པའི་ཕན་ཆ་ཆར་པ་རྒྱ་གྲོགས་སུ་བའི་མཐུན་འགྲུར་ཡོད་པ་གལ་ཆེ། དེ་ལྟར་བགྱིས་པ་རྣམས་
- ཀྱི་དངོས་པོ་རྒྱུད་མི་འཛའ་བར་གཙུག་
- ༡༡། ལག་ཁང་དང་རྣམ་དཀར་གྱི་རྒྱུར་སྤྱིན་རེས་ཤིང་། དོས་ནས་ཀྱང་འདི་གཏན་དགོ་བའི་སྤོང་ལམ་
- དཀར་པོ་ཡང་དག་པ་འདེབས་ཡོང་བ་
- ༡༢། བཅས་གོ་བར་གྱིས། ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་ཨི་རྟ་ར་ཅེས་རྒྱ་པོ་སྤྱེལ་གྱི་ལོར་འོག་མིན། ཚོས་ཀྱི་མདུན་པ་
- ཚེན་པོ་དཔལ་མཚུར་ལུའི་

Document No. 23

The dKar-chag (introductory description) of Gad-smad gongpa (Gami monastery in Mustang)

༡། །གད་སྐྱད་དགོན་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་

༡། །སྲོན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཨ་མགོན་བཟང་པོའི་ཆབ་སྲིད་དུས་སྤུལ་དཀར་དཔོན་པོའི་བརྒྱུད་པ་སྣོད་པ་
ལུང་བསྟན་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་པ་བྱུང་། སྲོན་སྲོབ་དཔོན་པུས་སྲོན་མོ་ལ་རྩི་རྩེ་འཕང་ནས་བཏུལ་བའི་
ལོ་རྒྱུས་གཞིར་བཞག་ནས། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཨ་མ་དཔལ་གྱི་མ་ཡུམ་དགོངས་རྩོགས་ཆེད་དུ་མ་ཐང་རིང་མའི་
སྐྱད་ཆ་རྣམས་ཨ་མ་དཔལ་གྱིས་བཞེངས། སྐྱད་ཆ་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་མོ་ལོར་འཛིན་དབང་མོས་བཞེངས། མ་
ཐང་རིང་མའི་དབུས་སྤུ་གནམ་རྩོད་མཚར་ཚན་ཡོད། བྲག་དམར་སྒྲ་མ་དང་གྲོང་པ་ཞིག་ནས་མ་ཉི་ཤོད་བརྒྱ
ཕྱག་ཕུལ་འདུག་པའི་རྩོལ་དཀར་ཆག་ཡང་ཡོད། ཨ་མགོན་བསྟན་འཛིན་དབང་རྒྱལ་གྱིས། གད་སྐྱད་
མཁར་དང་མ་ཉི་དུང་འཁོར་བཅས་ཤིང་སྟག་ལོར་ (1734 A.D.)

བཞེངས་བཏབ་མཛད་འདུག་པ། རྒྱལ་མོ་ལོར་འཛིན་དབང་མོས་གསེར་ཁང་གི་སྐུ་བརྟན་གསེར་ཟངས་
ལི་མ་རག་སྟགས་མ་ཞལ་ཐང་སོགས་མང་པོ་བཞེངས་སྐབ་མཛད།
སྤུ་དུང་བརྒྱུད་པ་བཅུ་གཅིག་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་འབྱུང་རྒྱལ། ཆེ་བལ་ལྟ་འབྱུམ། བར་པ་ལ་སྐབ་པ་སྲོན་པོ།
རྒྱུང་བལ་ནམ་མཁའ་དཔལ་བཟང་སྐྱ་གཞོན་རུའི་དུས་ནའང་གྱིས་པའི་སྲོད་པ་སྤངས་ནས་ཡོན་ཏན་ལ་
བརྩོན་པ། ཐོག་གསུམ་བྲག་ཕྱག་ཏུ་བསྟན་སྐབ་མང་དུ་མཛད། དྲིས་སྤུ་གད་ཀ་རུ་ཕོ་བྲག་བཏབ་འདུག་པ་
ད་ལྟའི་གྲང་བསྟོད་ལུ་དེ་ཡིན་འདུག །སྐྱོ་ཚོ་སྐྱད་ལ་དེར་ཆེན་དང་མཇལ་ནས་ལམ་འབྲས་ཚོགས་སྲོབ་
སོགས་ཟབ་བྲིད་རྣམས་ལེགས་པར་ཞུས་ནས་ཉམས་ལེན་སྐབ་པ་ལ་བརྩོན་ནས་མཐར་གྲུབ་པ་ཐོབ་པའི་ལོ་
རྒྱུས། ཡང་སྲོན་སྒྲ་མ་བསོད་ནམས་སློ་གྲོས་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་གདུང་རུས་ནི་ཁྲུང་པོ་དུལ་དཀར་ནས་སྐྱ་
མཚོད་གསུམ་མཚད། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་བཀའ་ཤིས་མགོན་གྱི་ཆབ་སྲིད། རྒྱལ་ས་ཆེན་པོ་སྲོན་ཐང་ནས་དཔག་
ཚད་གཉིས་ཙམ་བསྟོད་པའི་ས་གད་སྐྱད་ཕུ་རུ། ས་འབྲུང་དུ་སྲོད་པ་གད་རིང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་དབུས་ཀུ་ཉི་
ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་གནས་བཅས་ནས་ཁང་གཞི་ཆགས། ཨ་རྩོམ་བོན་གྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་
བྱུང་འདུག་པ། བར་པ་རྒྱུང་བ་གཉིས་འཛིག་རྟེན་མཛད་འདུག་པས། རྒྱུང་བ་དེ་སྤི་འཛིག་རྟེན་ཆ་བྱེད་ལ་
ནང་གསང་སྟགས་སྲོད་པ་སྲོད་བ་གཅིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཡི་རྒྱུང་མ་གྲོངས། རྒྱུང་མ་དེ་ལ་སྲས་མོ་ཞིག་ལས་
མེད། དེས་བྲིམ་བཟུང་ཡོད་པ་དང་། སྟག་རྒྱུ་མཛད་ནས་མི་ཀུན་གྱི་འཕྲུ་ས་བྱུང་ནས་སྐྱད་པས། སྲས་
མོ་སྐྱད་དུ་བཟུང་ནས་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འཕྲུར་ནས་ཐོག་གསུམ་ཟེར་བའི་བྲག་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བ་གཅིག་རྒྱོད་པོའི་ཚང་
ཡོད་པར་བྱོན་ནས་གྲུབ་པ་སྲོན་པོ་ཟེར། དེའི་སྲས་དྲུང་སྲོད་སྲོན་ལམ་དང་ཡབ་གཉིས་སྲོ་བོ་ལ་གྲུང་ཐང་
ལུང་སྲོད་པའི་དུས་གཉེར་ཆེན་བཟུང་ནས་འཛིག་རྟེན་བྱ་བ་ཕུལ་སྤིན་པར་མཛད་འདུག །དེའི་སྲས་བདག་
གི་ཡབ་བརྩུར་དཔོན་རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་ཡིན་ལ། བདག་གི་ཡུམ་གཡུང་རུང་འཛིན་གཉིས་ལས་བདག་ཅག་

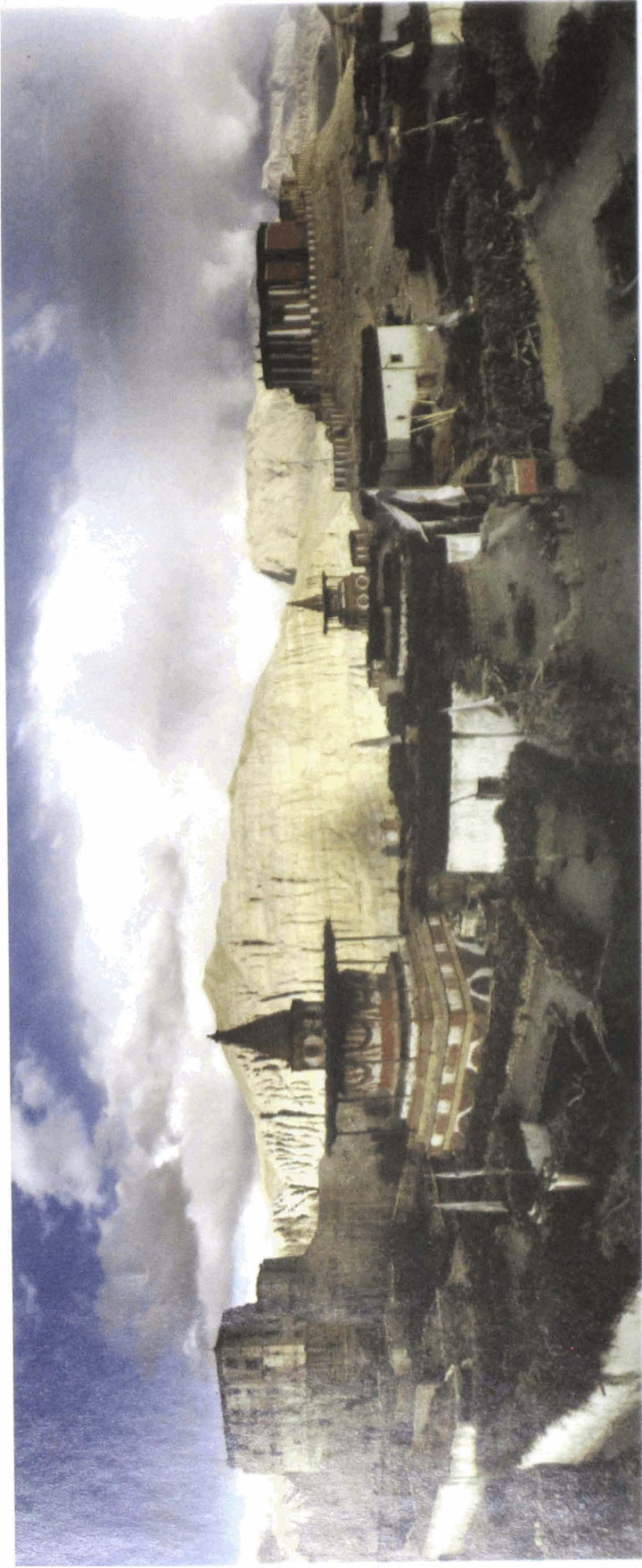
PHOTO PLATES AND FACSIMILES



Township of Lomanthang under the majestic domination of five hundred year old forts, big and small Khachoye.



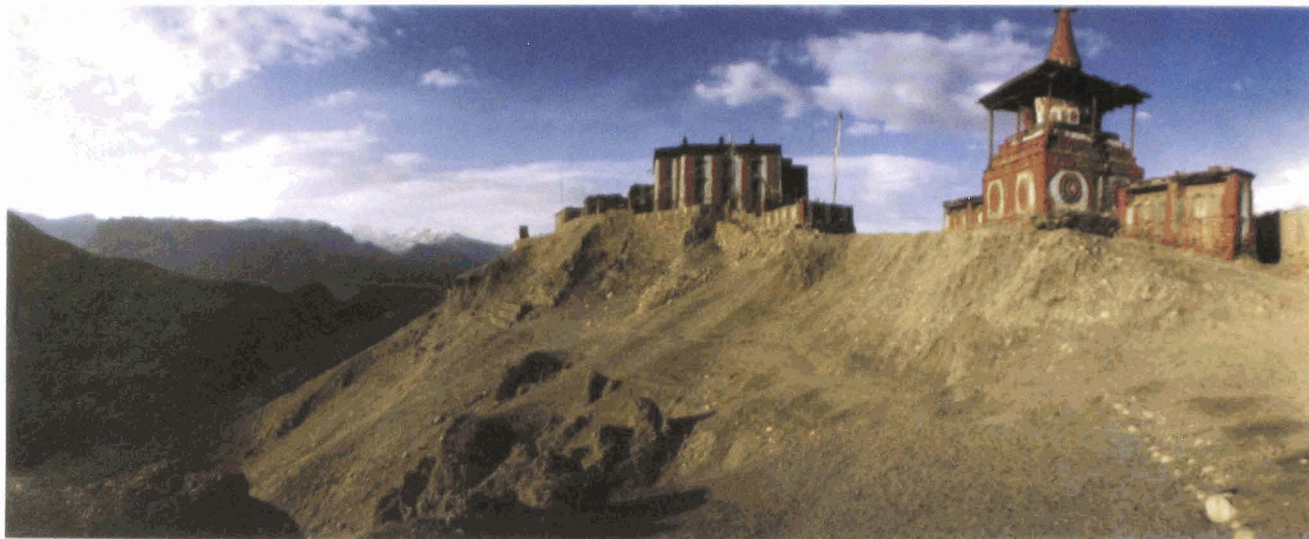
Fifteenth Century Palace of Lomanthang Known as Tashigephel.



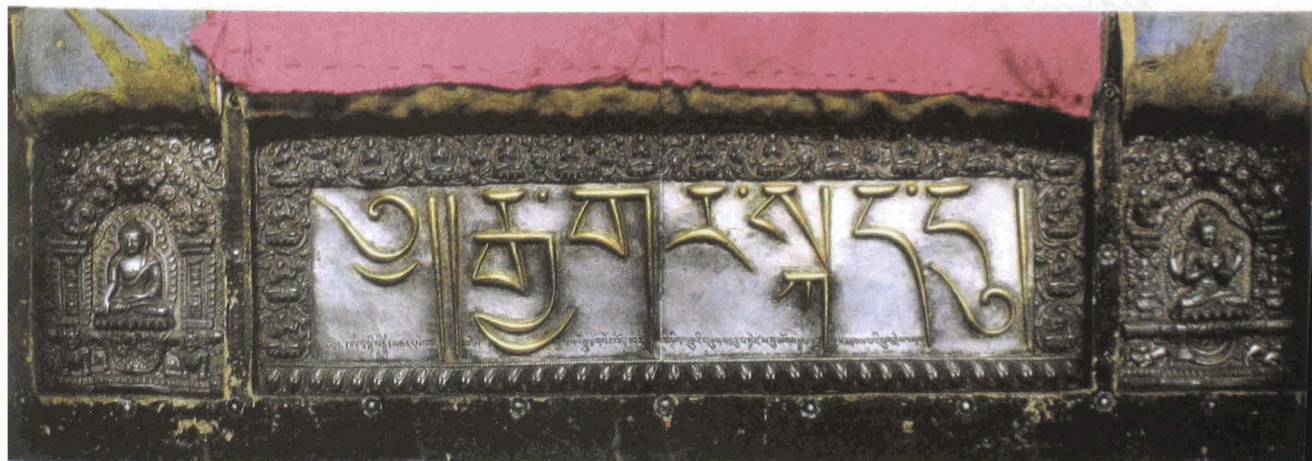
Sixteenth Century palace of Tsarang, Samdup Gephel and The Tsarang Gonpa Shedupdargyeling.



Ghami Mathang (mani wall) believed to be the second longest in the whole Himalayan region and Tibet.



Tsarang Gonpa and old Jyangchub Chorten



Gyetongpa Front page of the
(Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita) from the palace of Mustang



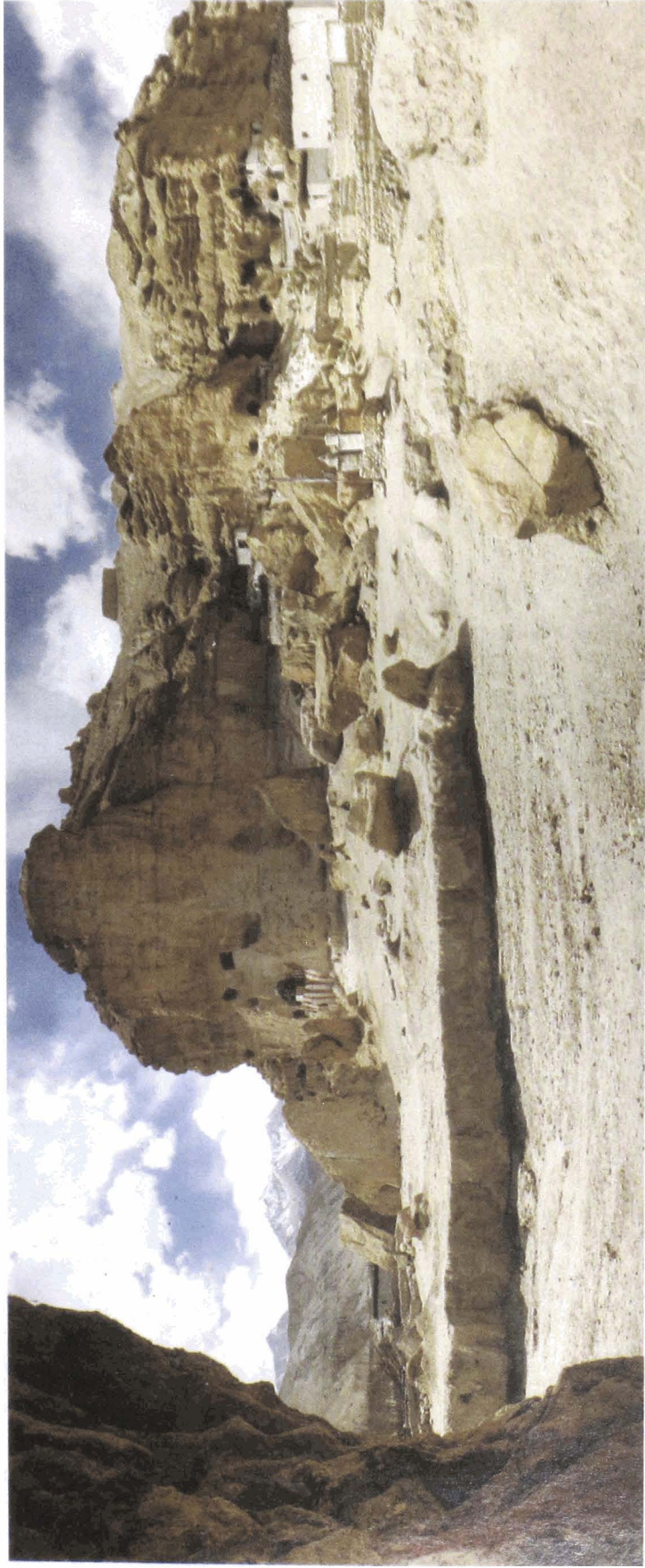
An old sculpture of Lo-bo Khenchen, Royal monk and Zhabdung of Tsarang Gon-pa, brother of the third independent Raja of Lo, sculptured in the 15th century.



An old sculpture of King Agon Sang-po, second independent ruler of Lo, sculptured in the 15th century



Tsarang Old Gonpa wall painting and ground floor structure, Lomanthang



Old but historic caves from the Choshyar area.



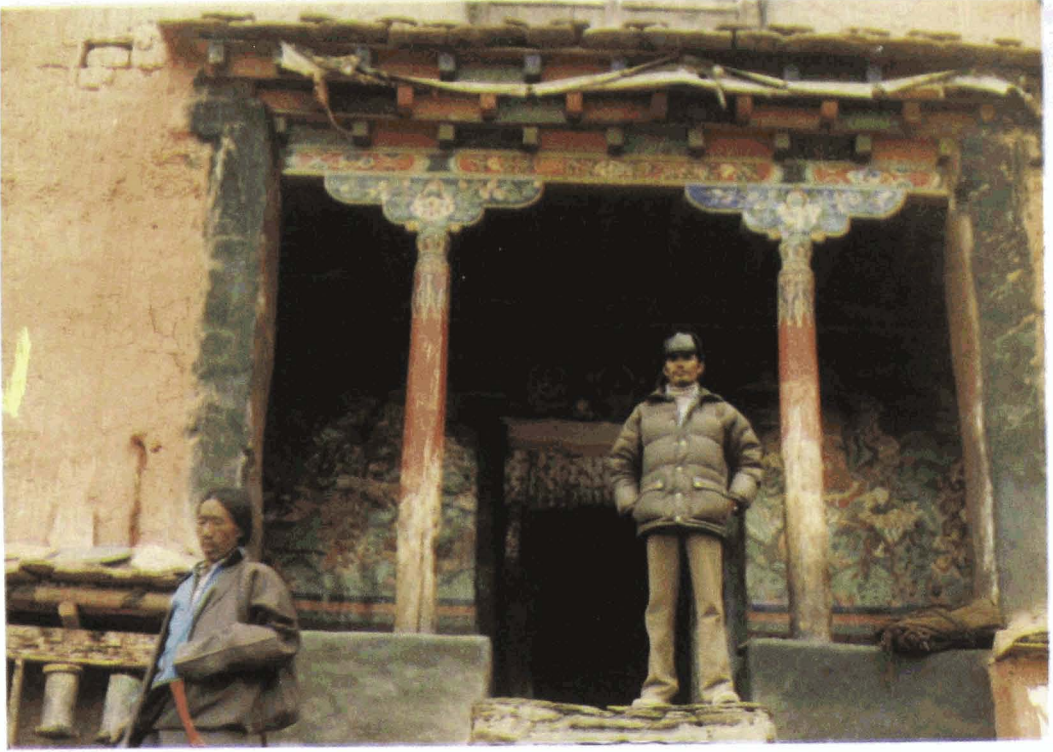
The present Raja Jigme and Rani of Mustang in traditional royal dresses and ornaments.



Present Raja Jigme (in yellow dress and crown) and his security guard Ngodup participating in the Tenchi (Tiji) festival.



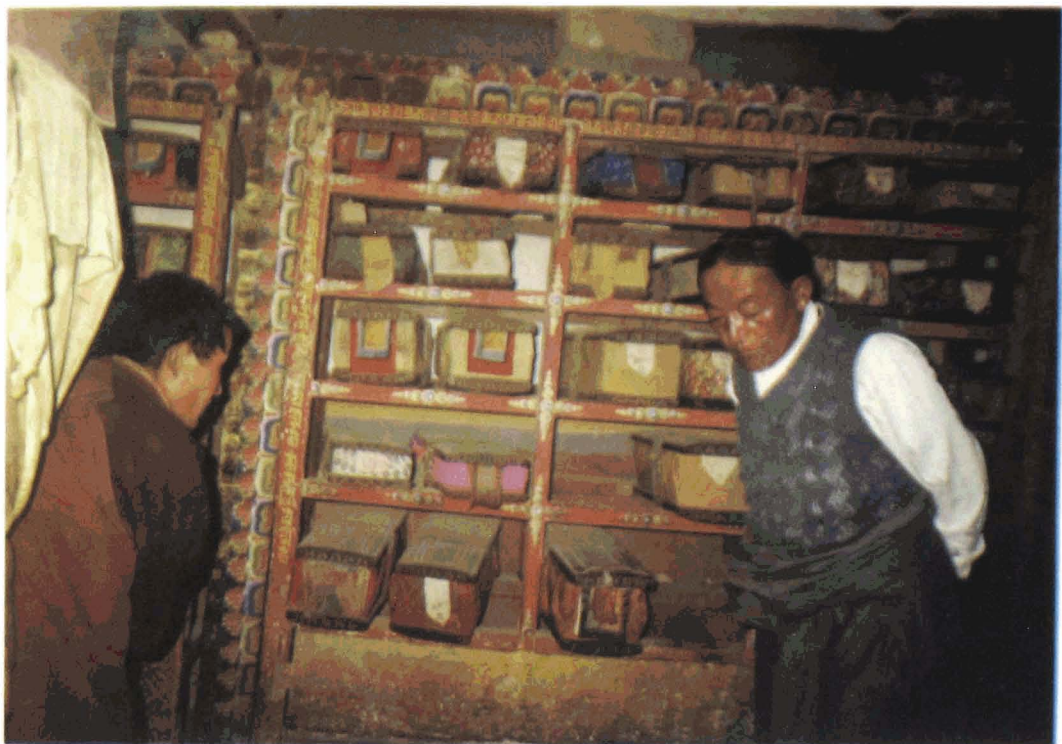
Present Gyalchung (Junior Raja) of Mustang in royal (left) and traditional (right) dresses



The author standing at the main entrance of the Lo-bo Gekar Gonpa.



The author standing at the Darlha pass near Lomanthang; behind the author is the walled township of Lomanthang and the mountains of the border area.



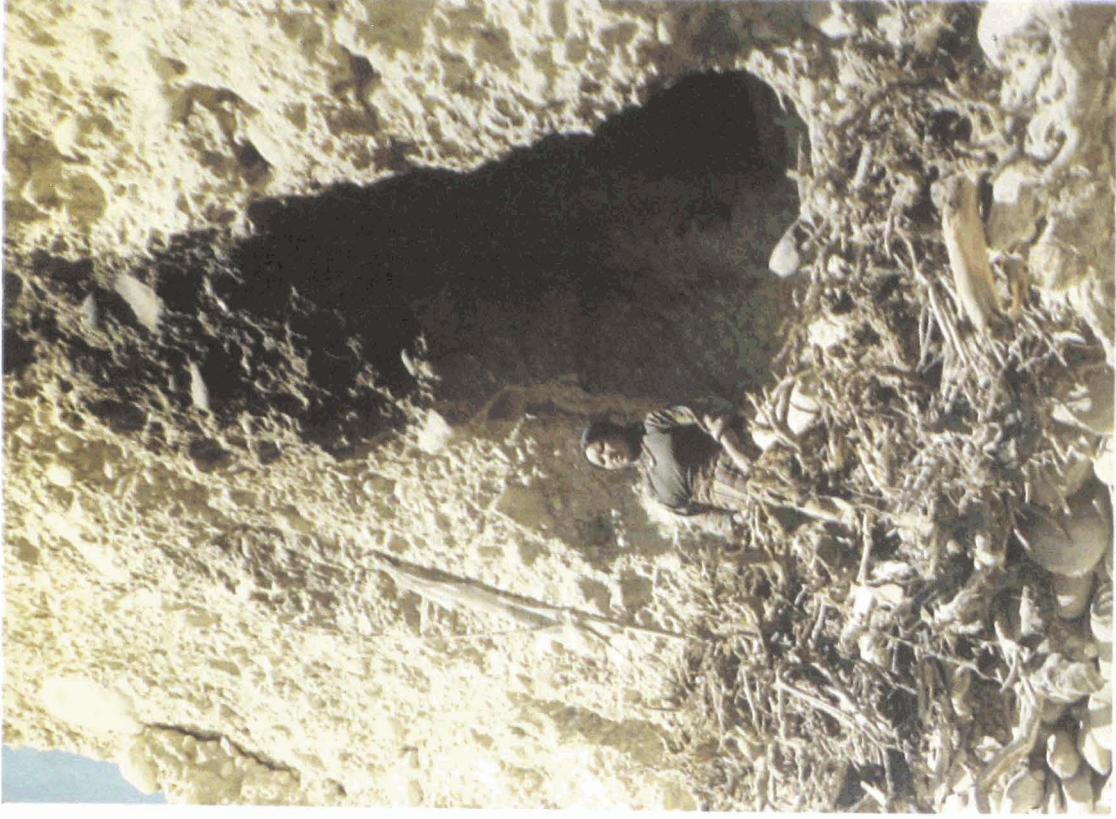
Present Raja Jigme inspecting the Royal library of Lo located inside the Kagyur Lhakhang of the palace in Lomanthang.



The Getongpa (Astahasrika Prajnaparamita) from Tsarang with gold letters.



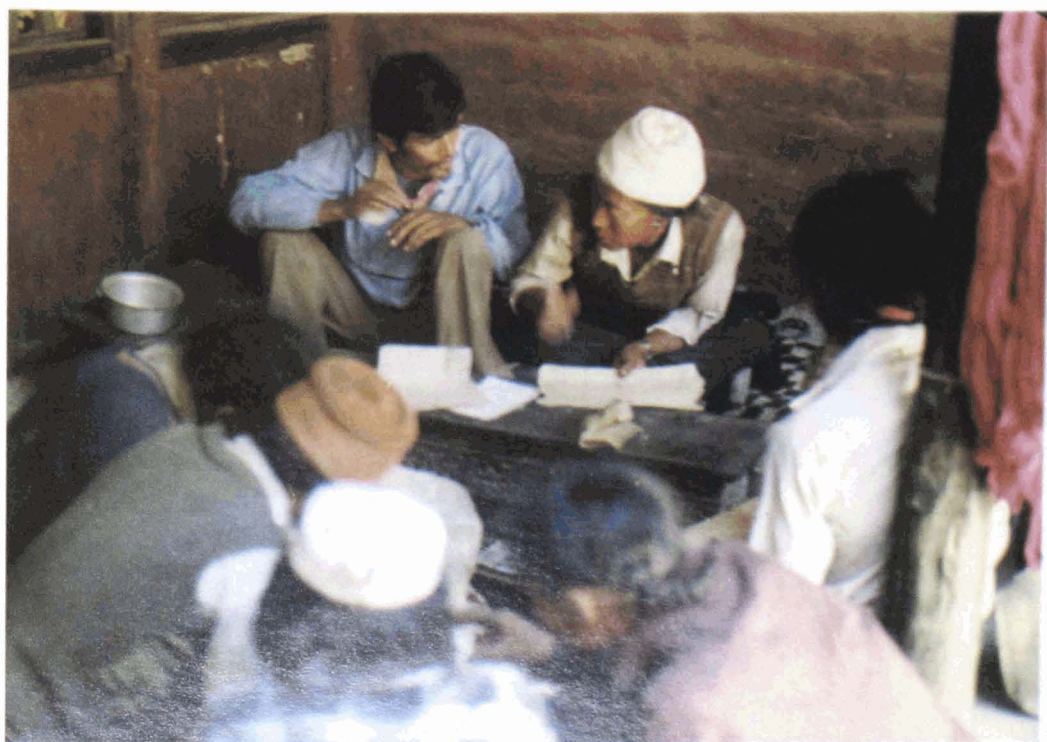
Present Raja Jigme holding mTshon-srung, a protecting
tantric necklace like object used by his ancestors
at war time.



A girl of Mahrang village standing by her cave dwelling
where she was born, raised and is still living.



Remains of old Luri Gonpa, Ghangra Village.



The author examining historical documents of Dhi village with the traditional assembly.



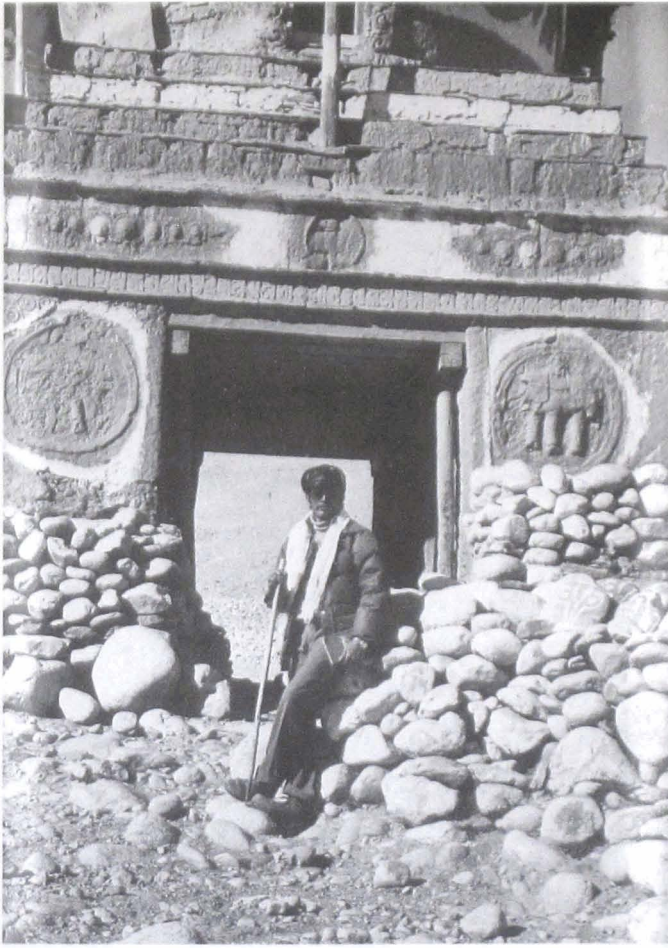
Menchi Lhakhang (cave monastery from seventh/eighth century A.D., Chuksang)



Stone sculpture of Tara from Menchi Lhakhang, Chuksang, 7th/8th century (the oldest sculpture found in the upper Kali Gandaki valley)



Official royal order of the Raja (king) of Lo (Mustang)



The author standing at the gate chorten near
Tsarang village



Village head and assembly members of Chuck village opening the old
record box of the village for the author.

शाला गण्ड १९९ २ बुध

निकु कारवेवला उप
उरकनमानुं उरकनमानुं उरकनमानुं उरकनमानुं उरकनमानुं
याकोपापुठका... नरोसिग्यु... नीको विंतिगदी था
शिपावु अतनप्रस्था... नो जियाइगनी बुडा बुडा
नमानुं धारु... पा... कासिन एस् नितिमाहाजो
हैन उइ साइ... सु भं यवका पदको कुनो एस्
त्रपात्तगनी नपा उमाग्या पावले दिन्तनमा गन्ना
भलामांसकन उ... दिने दुषसांते पावजहि गन्तु वल
लोसना उनि वि उन्व ल्या क्रा वोल्लरनुवा गिदिनु ॥
जसले पावकन हात पाव गलीत सकन हुले विना ग
थ्याकन नाउला हात का इ ना विनाको हात का हुला
डाइन्या विनाका डाइगनुला गथाकोषो जून ह्या
कोनका गनुष सांते जे दिगनु माहाका पावले
कोशाके १५२ आजाउ नाम दिजगता २५ थाकने पत्र
मोदलिते रु भ म रक्त

थिनीका कागज पत्र

शाला गण्ड १९९ २ बुध

शाला गण्ड १९९ २ बुध

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

Order of Shahibam Malla of Parvat to the people of Thini-Panchgaun, dated 1667, doc. no.16 Nepali.

उद्येसिप्रीशाकेछुएसासे
तियो१२वासनेश्रीमोसरा
नाशिमंडास्थानेश्रीमोसरा
जापुरथसारुपु किसयाये
मैछुकुकोलतेतालेउपन
पीयांनिलागिनाडोकेडिसया
मैछुनुन्यापोनिशाडोनाधि
मयांनैछवेसिषनुमया
वैलोषानुछेपिटापेइग
छेननुन्यापोनिवोषाउ
षानुडोपापुषानुषानु
नाडागनछेनषोलोकोपा
निलागिनोकुलोरोतोल
नपाइनुपुसानुकुलो
कोललेनिठकएडोठि
पाशेएविविद्यानलगन्या
उइनाएनुछेगोलिदि
गंनताछययछुइनीनु
न्यापोनिमकीननाधनु
मिपंडुदिसकागनुमन

Order of Jumli king Surath Shah to the people of Chuksang and Tatang village dated 1728 (SE1649), doc. no. 3, Nepali.

Order (Khalitapatra) of King Ranabhadur Shah to Raja Wanyal of Mustang dated 1790 (VE1847)

[The document contains multiple paragraphs of handwritten text in a script, likely Nepali or Tibetan, which is mirrored and difficult to read. The text is arranged in several horizontal sections across the page.]



स्वस्ति श्रीगिरि राजवकवृडा मणिनर नारायणो न्यादि विविध विरुदावली
 विराजमान मानोन्नत श्रीमन्महाराजधिराज श्री श्री श्रीमहाराजैराज
 वहाइर शीह वहाइर सम्मेर्जड देवानां सदा समर बिजयीनाम्
 स्वस्ति श्री सर्वोपमायोग्ये न्यादिराजभारा सामर्थ श्रीमुक्तांगिदेवा वांग्या
 लदीर्जे केसलाम शर्वकपत्रमिर्द आहां कुशल ताहां कुशल खाफि
 धामेजाहां कोण्यार भली कु उग्रान्ता सासावीनसंग धामयो
 रदेखि लासालाई के हिद
 नसंगलासालाई दि न्यागर पर
 तु लासाक राज प्रान्ताम्बलमा आई कन नहसीलन नपा
 उन लाग्पाको निमिले दिन पत्राउ न्यागर जो जुम्लालाई दि
 थ्यो प्रसोधास्त्र साल वसाल हाप्राहृत्तरत्याउ न्यागर हिजो हु
 वेतिरको हाप्राहृत्तरत्याउ नुगरि पडावस्थांथुं आज लासादि
 र जोजाई नस्कोमिताहा उस्पहामाले थिया मर्भे वस्को लाकि
 र देहि थिनि आवरा मुदि परेज सुकाम आनि हर

Order (Ialmohar) of King Ranabhadur Shah to Raja Wangyal of Mustang doc. no. 22, Nepali.



स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महा राजाधिराज्यक स्वस्तिका
आगे सुस्तांगी देवाता न्यो प्रति नुनु काजी कोरते रोमगा राकोनि
साफनभैः उस्को सर्वस्वली राषी छु सुगरेः निस्था फले कायल मुका
यल नगरीः सर्वस्वलि नुनु देनः ते सुमा विच नुनु ज्वाको माली फे
नगरी देः विच नुनु ज्वा कालाई विभ्रा मधत्री कासभा मागेः रूर्पति
गः जस्ताको तस्ते निरोप नुनु गरी छि नि दे भनीः अक्राया को छ इति
सन्वत् १७८६ साल माघ वदि ७ रोज ४ अमस

Order (lalmohar) of King Ranabahadur Shah to Mustang Prince Tanbo, dated 1804 (VE1860).



स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजकस्य रुक्म
आगे छिठुवा विसृष्टप्रति तंला इलाग्पा को वा वतं वृजाउन
कन मुकुसारपठाश्चस आइपुग्पोतस्को निरूपण
ऊनलागीरहेछ वांकी ताहांपठायकासिपाहीलाश्चोलाहट
गरिपठायकोछ तेरामानीस साथलाइकन वछियातुला
रथमालावलालायक जोडातुल्याउन रंगमिलन्या घोडा
गोटा ६ वाटको संभारसीतवां जोवहाइपठतस्कोमोल व
कौंला इति संवत् १८६१ साल ज्येष्ठ सुदि शोभ १ शुभम्

Order (lalmohar) of King Ranabahadur Shah to Thi-thog pa Bista of Jharkot,
dated 1805 (VE1861)



स्वतिथीगिराजवक्रवृक्षमणिरत्नापणोसादि विविधविरुदावलीविताजना
 नमानोनतश्रीमन्महाजाधिपतिश्रीश्रीमहाजागीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रमसा
 हवहाससमेजइदेवानांसदासमविजयिनाम्
 स्वतिश्रीराजभासपथेश्रीपुस्तांगीदेवाजाकेआसीषपूर्वकपत्रमिदंउप
 योक्तुसलेंवउजांतहाआसवारिमिदित्तदंगत्घोशकोकाप्रवाहियोतस
 र्थसलसलदंगत्घोश१०।१२षरिदगरिवोशोहाआहजूवका
 ईपठातंछेउजोभयाकोदंगत्पतीअंतवेवमुकुंदेनवहाईपठाक
 मोलकाअर्थकंनमुतासिवसाफिकतंछेउकाकाछासितीमासोजा
 वकौलाईतिसंघत१८६७सालमितिआषाडवदि१४तेज१मुकाप
 कांतिप्रशमम्

Order of King Girvanyudha to the Raja of Mustang dated 1810 (VE1867).



ने श्रीगिरिगजवक्रवृडामणिनरायणोत्पादिविविधविहदावली
 श्रीमन्महाराजाधिगजश्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराजगीर्वा

... देवानाम्सदासमविजयिनाम
 स्वातिश्री मुस्तागीद... पत्रमिदं उभयोः कुसलेव आगई
 कोसमावारभ... अर्जिआयोअर्थजाहरभयोउप्रांत सरितलेनछा
 पताहाआरुज आउंननसकाकोर मुलुककोजावऊंशलागप्रज्ञ
 हरलेडरमांन्दाजावकोकामथामी २२०१६ पेयाकोक बुलियतव
 ऊईपठयाकोछ मेरो मुलुककादिगिलुग्पातिरगयाकाजगाकोमिना
 हा विंतिगछुभनीलेष्याकाअर्थआफनाउचीतलेआईहाआदसंन
 गरिजांसावषतमाहाओरुकुमगयापछिपनीनआउंदाजगाजाव
 नुभनीमहावीरकार्किनाईपठयाकोहो प्रजाकोटीठमानी हाआनि
 मरुकोसोकोदिताई जावथांमीसितीकोरु बुलियतवऊईपठया
 कोवठियागरिछस हाआसोऊरुहलमातंत परभैकंन प्रजाप्रासि
 कोसह्यारगयापछि सरितलेनछापतां येतिंज्यालआउंनसकीनस
 पनीविंताछेन गिलुग्पातिरगयाकाजगाको २ सरमिनाहागरिह
 पेया २००१ ठकवन्दीकोमोहरवक्षीपठयाकोछ वातिनीमासितप्र
 जाधिराषीआफनामुलुककोकामकाजगनु जोभमाकोषवरहा
 आरुज्जरविंतिगरियठाउंदेहनागनु इति संवत् १८६८ सालमि
 ति... १४... उकासकाति...

Order (lalmohar) of King Girvanyuddha to the Raja of Mustang,



खलिश्रीगिरिराजचक्रचूडामणिनरनारायणोत्पादिविविधवि
रुदावलिबिराजमानमानोन्नतश्रीमन्महाराजधिराजश्रीश्री
श्रीमहाराजाजेन्द्रविक्रमसाहवहादुरसम्वत्स्रजङ्गदेवानांस
दासमरविजयिनाम्

खलिश्रीरानिपैमापुटिश्रीआंगोनूकुंगानुर्वुकेआशिषपू
र्वकंपत्रंउभयोकुशलंचजेष्ठवदि६रोज६कादिनचहाइ
पठयाकोअर्जिभाइवदि७रोज३कादिनआइपुगपोअ
र्थजाहेरभयोउप्रांतमाघमावावुषस्यादुषमापरिरा
छुविवाहभयाकोछैनविवाहधर्चवक्सनुभयाशिरच
हाउदाहुंभंन्यारछार्काकोकुराविंतिगारिपठयाकाअर्थ
वावुषस्याकोमनमाफिकिनगर्नुतेरावाबुलेगारिआयाको
कामकाजवाठियागारिगर्नुविवाहधर्चाछार्काकाकुराला
इ२४सालकोसितोचहाउनआउदाउसैबेलामाजोहृत्वा
बंदोवस्तहोसोगारिवक्तौलाश्रुतिसम्बत१८२४सालमि
तिभाइश्रुदि१०रोज१मुकामकांतिपूरशुभम्



स्वस्तिश्री गिरिपति चक्रवर्तिनः श्रीमन्महाराजगणेशादि विविध विद्वाक्यी
 विराजमान मानोन्नत महेंद्रमाला परम नेपालप्रतापभास्कर वाजस्विराजन्य परम गौरवमय
 तेजस्वी त्रिभुवनप्रजातन्त्रश्रीपद परम उज्ज्वल कीर्तिकम्य नेपालश्रीपद परम प्रोज्ज्वल नेपालवारा
 परम पवित्र वाँ रामपट्ट परम ज्योतिर्मय सुविख्यात त्रिशक्तिपट्ट परम सुप्रसिद्ध प्रकल गोरवा-
 दक्षिणबाहु परमाधिपति अतिरथी परमसेनाधिपति श्री श्री श्री श्री श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज
 महेंद्र वीर विक्रम शाहदेव देवानाम् सदा समर विजयिनाम् ।

वागें श्री फिगमिं परकल के यथोचित, उपान्त निमकको सोफ्रो चिताई नेपाल र
 नेपाली समाजको मलो हुने प्रशंसनीय सेवा गरे वापत हापीवाट तिमिठाई मुस्तांगी राजाक
 सम्मान पाउनाको सुयोग्य ठह-याई कदर गरिवक्सी सो सम्बन्धी मानम्यादा बाजका पिति
 देति प्रदान गरिवक्सेका हों ।

श्री परमेश्वरका अनुग्रहले निरकाल पर्यन्त शान्ति तथा वानन्दपूर्वक प्रचलित नेपालक
 संविधान तथा सेन कानून वमोजिम मातृभूमि, हाप्रो र हाप्रा उचराधिकारी ह्को मलो
 चिताई यो मानको इज्जत कायम राखी उपभोग गर्ने गर । इति सम्बत् २०२२ साल वैशाख
 १८ गते राज कुम्भ ।

कुञ्जक मन्त्र

श्रीमन्महाराज

राजमोहल सदासिनी
 २०२८/११/१६ का
 २२२२

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Old tax register of the Kingdom of Lo popularly known as Bems-Chag.
Sample from Bems-Chag-1

Handwritten text in a rectangular frame on the left page, likely a title or header.

Main body of handwritten text on the right page, arranged in several lines within a rectangular border.

An old land tax record of Lo (Mustang)

Handwritten text in Tibetan script, likely detailing administrative or religious matters. The text is arranged in vertical columns and includes a small square seal or stamp in the lower right quadrant.

Handwritten text in Tibetan script, continuing the details of the document. The text is arranged in vertical columns and appears to be a continuation of the information on the left page.

An old document related to the details of food and material collected and distributed on the occasion of a socio-religious function. The seal at the bottom is the official seal of the Raja of Mustang.

പ്രതിപാദിതവ്യമുപദേശം പരമേശ്വരനാമം
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Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a continuation of the text on the left page.

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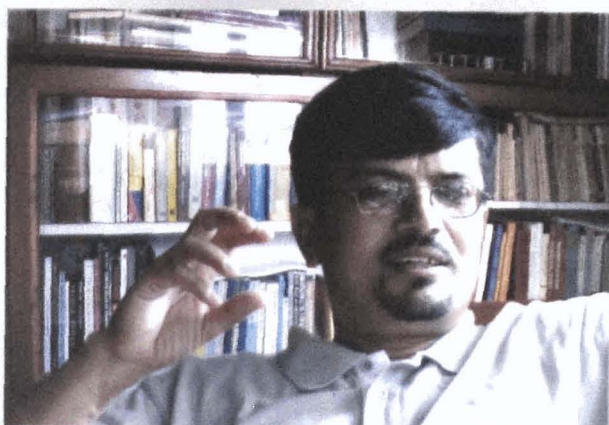
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About the Author



Cultural Historian specialized in Himalayan and South Asian Studies, Ramesh K. Dhungel holds Ph.D. and M. Phil. degrees from Columbia University, New York. Originally trained in Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology (NeHCA) from Tribhuvan University (TU), Dhungel also did M.A. in History at George Mason University, Virginia. His publications include *Economic History of Nepal-1*, *Ancient Economy and Economic History of Medieval Kathmandu Valley*. In addition to these books, there are about six-dozen research and general articles published to his credit in national and international journals.

Dhungel joined CNAS, TU in 1981 as a lecturer of Culture and Himalayan Studies and continues his academic endeavour to date. He taught classes of culture and languages of South Asia and Himalayan Buddhism to graduate and undergraduate students in different universities and colleges in Nepal and abroad. Dhungel is awarded with distinctive recognitions including the Presidential Award of Columbia University, PHI ALPHA THETA History Honor, USA, Gokulchand Shastri Gold Medal, TU Nepal, The Rotary International Graduate Fellowships for International Understanding, USA, etc. Concurrently, Dhungel is a research fellow (Hodgson Project) and adjunct faculty of Languages and Cultures of South Asia at SOAS, University of London. He has recently been appointed as Chairman of the Scientific/Academic Board of the Muktinath International Foundation, an INGO founded in the Netherlands in 2001. Tibetan and Himalayan Studies are his preferred academic fields these days.

Ramesh Dhungel's book on "The Kingdom of Lo (Mustang): A Historical Study" in upper Mustang marks an important milestone in the development of Nepali historiography. It is a laudable attempt by a Nepali historian to attempt to study the history of Nepal's bhot region, with such felicity and a high degree of professional skill for the first time ever, and by tackling the Tibetan documents and other source materials first hand. The study of Nepal's northern regions along the high Himalayas and its trans-Himalayan valleys has remained an exclusive domain of Western Tibetologists and anthropologists by and large. This monopoly is now happily broken by Dhungel's work. His book should be inspirational for future scholars from Nepal to take up research of Nepal's Himalayan regions in an increasing number that is necessary to generate a local perspective. While dealing with the history and culture of Nepal's bhot regions, Western scholars have consciously or unconsciously tried to see a dichotomy in it with the rest of Nepal's history and culture. The mainstream history of Nepal is dismissed usually as comprising the "history of the Gorkhas", making unwanted intrusions into them now and then. Importance is given only to bhot's interaction with centres in Tibet. Ramesh Dhungel's history of Lo, however, amply demonstrates how its history has been intricately intertwined with the history of the Nepali-speaking state of Nepal's lower hills of Ya-tshe (Khasa kingdom based in Semja), and subsequent Jumla and Parbat states later on, thus deeply affecting its political fortunes from early on. Dhungel's historical tools derive from the Indo-Aryan as much as from Tibetan language, which he has deftly handled. This combination, I believe, is what makes an enduring value of the book.

Prayag Raj Sharma

Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology
Tribhuvan University, Nepal.

It is a legitimate attempt to employ hitherto unused sources, Tibetan as well as Nepali, to write a history of the Kingdom of Lo/Mustang, a small but extremely interesting area that is part of Nepal politically but culturally and linguistically part of Tibet.

Dhungel has collected a large number of documents and has used the linguistic tools with command to read them. He has also attempted the difficult task of sifting through much of the collected materials for historically important data in order to give a continuous narrative of the different periods through which Lo/Mustang has passed. Dhungel's attempt of a critical review of the previous literature on this area, an area as with all Tibetan areas, has become the focus of exploratory history. "Mustang" has recently replaced many areas of Tibetan culture as the romantic destination.

Theodore Riccardi Jr.

Professor of Asian Languages and Cultures
Columbia University, New York

