

Khra ring bog gi bshad pa **and Other Material** **on the Matchlock**

Tashi Tsering Josayma

Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamsala, India

Abstract By analysing a large variety of historical and literary sources, this article attempts to determine when the matchlock came into use in Tibet and presents an overview of the different names of the *bog*/matchlock muskets in various dialects and regions of Tibet from the early seventeenth century onwards. It illustrates how matchlock enthusiasts among the Tibetan nomads cherished their weapons. It examines several panegyrics (*bshad pa*) on the *bog*, as well as rituals to summon the war god onto the *bog*, and provides both their original Tibetan texts and a translation into English. The analysis also delves into many other different aspects of the culture of firearms in Tibet, such as the terminology (with sketches of *bog*), taboos and superstitions and a tentative tracing of the etymology of the word *bog*.

Keywords Tibetan Weapons. Firearms. *me mda'*. Matchlock. *bog*. *bshad pa*. Armoury. Tibetan Nomads. History of Tibet. *Dga' ldan pho brang*. *Khams*. *A mdo*. *Mgo log*.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Folk Forms of Gun Culture in Tibet. – 3 Sketches and Descriptions of *bog*. – 3.1 Sketches. – 3.2 Descriptions by Western Travellers to Tibet. – 3.3 Tibetan Written Sources on *bog*. – 3.4 Early Translations of Indian Texts and Possible Etymologies of Terms Related to Firearms. – 4 Information on *bog* and *me mda'* from Various Historical Sources. – 5 Armouries. – 6 Classifications of the Different Types of *bog*. – 7 More Mentions of *bog* and *me mda'* in Tibetan Literature. – 8 Folk Ways with Guns. Taboos, Superstitions and Use as Religious Offerings. – 9 Depictions of *bog* in *khram glu* Nomad Songs. – 10 Seven Recitals (*bshad pa*) Dedicated to the *bog*. – 11 A Few Traditional Lists of Warrior's Equipment. – 12 Two Texts to Summon War Deities into a Firearm. – 13 A Prophecy on Weapons' Technology. – 14 Conclusions.



Edizioni
Ca' Foscari

Peer review

| | |
|-----------|------------|
| Submitted | 2021-04-21 |
| Accepted | 2021-04-21 |
| Published | 2021-12-10 |

Open access

© 2021 | Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International Public License



Citation Tsering Josayma, T. (2021). "*Khra ring bog gi bshad pa* and Other Material on the Matchlock". *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie orientale*, 57, supplement, 861-932.

DOI 10.30687/AnnOr/2385-3042/2021/02/004

861

1 Introduction

Living in an alien culture for nearly sixty years, Tibetans in the diaspora have become uprooted from many forms of indigenous practices, knowledge and beliefs that descend from their age-old heritage and traditions. Inevitably, globalisation and modernity invade everyday exile life, and this added further challenges and had a destructive effect on the continuity of Tibetan culture in exile. There is then a noticeable epidemic of collective amnesia in Tibetan exile society.

Diaspora Tibetans must also be law-abiding citizens in their host countries and, as a result, they are not able to sport guns and swords on special occasions as they once did in Tibet.¹ The inherently gun-toting and sword-wielding culture of Tibet is rarely found nowadays either inside or outside Tibet. At most, the younger generations who are now in Tibet and in exile can play with plastic BB guns made in

This article is published in an issue edited in the context of the 'TibArmy' project, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement 677952). A shorter version of this paper was presented at the workshop *Defence and Offence: Armour and Weapons in Tibetan Culture* [an event of *The Tibetan Army of the Dalai Lamas 1642-1959* ('TibArmy' project)], organised by Alice Travers and Federica Venturi and held on Thursday 29 November 2018 in Paris. I am most grateful to my friends Dr Roberto Vitali and Dr Emma Martin for ironing out my English initially and Dr. Sonam Tsering Ngulphu for translating some of the more eccentric quotations from Tibetan to English. His translations, both within the article and in footnote, are followed each time by his initials within square brackets [S.T.N.]. Final editing of my article before the publication has been thoroughly undertaken by Dr. Alice Travers and Dr. Federica Venturi. I am very grateful to all the friends mentioned above who helped me to finish this paper. However, any mistakes and unintelligent narratives that remain are entirely my own. The translations included in this article require a fair amount of technical knowledge on firearms and their parts and pieces. It should be noted that both the Author of the article and the translator of some of the Tibetan passages into English have no direct physical or working knowledge of the matchlock. In addition, as the Author is quoting from various sources that come from different parts of Khams, Mgo log and Byang thang, all the technical terminology associated with the matchlock can vary. Currently, there is little possibility of working with any elderly Tibetan informant in exile who has personal experience and practical knowledge of Tibetan matchlocks. Therefore, notwithstanding the best efforts of the Author, translator and editors, inaccuracies, misunderstandings and mistranslations may be present. This is a very preliminary step in writing about and understanding the matchlock and related subjects. We are more than happy to welcome any corrections and suggestions to this article. Unlike the rest of this issue, this article uses Wylie transliteration; the only exceptions are the terms for people from A mdo and Khams, which have been rendered as Amdowas and Khampas in order to be able to use the 's' of the plural.

1 In exile, the Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala understands Tibet to encompass the "Tibet Autonomous Region" (TAR) as well as Tibetan regions included in other provinces presently governed by the People's Republic of China (PRC), such as Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan; broadly speaking this additional area includes half of Khams and the whole of A mdo, which was under local Chinese rule in the pre-1959 era. It is not then as the PRC and their loyalist Western Sinologists or Tibetologists understand Tibet: Tibet does not only mean, and is not restricted to, the TAR.

China or immerse themselves in phubbing. Today, most Tibetans under the age of sixty do not have any knowledge or understanding of how to use and wear their traditional arms and ammunitions. They also do not know how to appraise them. Tibetans have forgotten about matchlocks, their use, and the related technical terms.

Tibetan culture has a grand tradition rich in oral and written material in the genres of *bshad pa* (“recital” or “oratory”), *'bod pa* (calling/invocation of a presence to be manifested) and *bstod pa* (eulogy). I have found seven *bshad pa* on *bog*² (matchlock) that are recited in four different areas in Tibet, as well as two *me mda' la dgra lha bkod pa* or “to don/direct the war god (*dgra lha*) to a *bog*” (reproduced in Appendix 1 and 2 of this paper). Therefore, in this paper I will offer some material and related ideas on the cultural significance of the *bog*.

2 Folk Forms of Gun Culture in Tibet

At present, I am unaware of any early Dga' ldan pho brang period (1642-1959) *bshad pa* (recitals on *bog*). One can speculate that *bshad pa* were uttered at least around the time of the introduction of the matchlock, which must have excited the people of Tibet. Even after the introduction of modern guns, *bshad pa* were still recited and considered important mostly in nomadic areas during the twentieth century. It seems that the term *bog* is used for matchlocks. Commonly, Khampas call them *bog*³ and Amdowas name them *bo'u*,⁴ while Goloks tend to call them *me bo'u* or more commonly *rgyugs bo'u*.⁵ Sometimes, the thirty-nine Hor tribes (Hor tsho so dgu) of Khams and the Byang rigs sde bzhi use the term *sbod*⁶ or *sbos*.⁷ Also, in one instance *bos*⁸ is

2 La Rocca, *Warriors of the Himalayas*, 198-213; Jones, *Tibetan Nomads*, 171-2.

3 Kar rgyal don grub, *Mdo khams cha phreng gi lo rgyus*, 31; Dkon mchog bstan 'dzin et al., *Bod kyi lag shes kun 'dus chen mo*, 324-6.

4 Chos 'phel, *Rme'u sa dbang chen po*, 42 (I am indebted to my friend Sman bsher blo gros for reminding me of this reference); Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 46, 48, 50-2, 55-6, 58-9, 65-6, 68-9, 70, 72-5, 77-85, 87, 89, 91-4, 96, 98-9, 100, 181-2; *Mgo log lo rgyus deb ther*, 63-9; Dme tshang padma tshe ring, *Rta bo gong zhol*, 24, 370, 373-4; Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 118.

5 Dme tshang padma tshe ring, *Rta bo gong zhol*, 373.

6 Klu zog rigs gsum, Lji dbang drags, “Gnyis pa bod sbos kyi bshad pa”, 151; *Nag chu'i byang rigs tsho pa'i lo rgyus*, 107; Bkra ba, Tshe dbang 'gyur med et al., “Hor ga rgya 'gram nag gi lo rgyus”, 95, 105, 115-6, 126; Skal bzang bkra shis, Nyi lza, “Ri bo dang ga rga 'khrugs pa'i skor”, 130-4, 139, 148.

7 *Bod ljongs nag chu sa khul gyi lo rgyus*, vol. 5, 61; Bgres song dbang grags et al., *Rdza dmar ge mo dpal ldan*, 10, 13, 19, 20, 31, 56.

8 Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 60, 70, 85.

spelled *bhor*.⁹ With the introduction and use of the modern-day rifle in Tibet in the early twentieth century, people sometimes call matchlocks *bod mda*¹⁰ instead of *bog*, referring to the Tibetan-made gun¹¹ rather than the modern foreign-made gun. Modern rifles are sometimes called *phrul mda*¹² (magical/miraculous arrow) or *rang 'bar*¹³ (self-fired) and, in honorific, *phyag mda*¹⁴ irrespective of whether it is a matchlock or a modern gun. Likewise, the honorific term for the *ral gri* (knife/sword) is *phyag shan* and that for the *mdung* (spear) is *phyag mdung*. Based on records in literary writing, when one is riding a horse and sporting (even a modern) gun this is still called *rta bog rang 'grig*.

Gun culture is part and parcel of Tibetan life, particularly in Khams, A mdo and for the A pho Hor byang thang and Mnga' ris byang thang nomads. It is largely a part of the nomadic cultural heritage. In pre-1959 Tibet, a young man paid a handsome sum of money or used other forms of wealth to acquire a good gun. A good gun was always a most prized and treasured item, and a *bu dpa' bo* or "brave man" who possessed a prized gun commanded much respect from his tribe. Therefore, possessing a good gun was the envy of every young man. In Cha phreng, in southern Khams, there is the saying *mi rta bog gsum tshang ba*,¹⁵ meaning that "a man is complete when he possesses a horse and a *bog*", or when "he is sporting good dress, a *bog* and a spear" (*chas gos bog mdung gsum sprod*).¹⁶

3 Sketches and Descriptions of *bog*

The *bog* is integral to Tibetan attitudes, habits and practices. In the upper part of Khams, in Nags shod, Ri dbang bstan 'dzin relates:

People believe that the "notable accessory" (*dmigs gsal gyi rgyan cha*), which here refers to a gun, is one of the primary accessories for men. In Tibet, there is the saying, "A hundred men, be of one

9 Tulku Pema Lodoe, *The Collected Rediscovered Teachings of Rig 'dzin Nyi ma grags pa*, 267.

10 Ri dbang bstan 'dzin, *Nags shod 'bri ru'i lo rgyus*, 63; Rin chen dpal bzang, *Mtshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag*, 65; Sle zur 'jigs med dbang phyug et al., "Sa byi dmag 'khrug", 14.

11 Regarding the Tibetan Dga' ldan pho brang government's production of guns, refer to Dwang slob mda' zur spyi 'thus rgyal rtse rnam rgyal dbang 'dus, *Bod rgyal khab kyi chab srid dang 'brel ba'i dmag don lo rgyus*, vol. 1, 32-3.

12 Ri dbang bstan 'dzin, *Nags shod 'bri ru'i lo rgyus*, 63.

13 Bgres song dbang grags et al., *Rdza dmar ge mo dpal ldan*, 2-3, 7, 9-11, 13, 18-19, 22, 27, 33-6, 38, 41, 49, 52, 62.

14 Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor, *Rdo ring pañdi ta'i rnam thar, stod cha*, 500; *smad cha*, 767.

15 Kar rgyal don grub, *Mdo khams cha phreng gi lo rgyus*, 31.

16 Kar rgyal don grub, *Mdo khams cha phreng gi lo rgyus*, 216.

mind; a hundred horses, be in one file; a hundred guns, held and struck at one time” (*mi brgya blo sems gcig 'dra dgos, rta brgya kha ru mnyam 'then dgos, mtshon brgya yu lung gnyam 'ju dgos*).

Therefore, we see men, horses and weapons [guns] expressed together in one breath.

The earliest firearm used by Tibetans was the Tibetan matchlock (*bod mda'*), which has two wooden horn-like prongs, the ends of which were covered in metal, and it was sometimes decorated with flags. There are features such as smoke exhaust (*du len*), tinder (*spra ba*), flash pan (*ting dkar*), butt pad (*dpung yu*), stock (*sgom shing*), spark plug (*sbi di*), spark plug cover (*sbi shub*), barrel cover (*sna khebs*), trigger (*skam gnon*), and stock plates (*'gram shan*). There are other accessories such as the powder horn (*rdzas ru*) and the shell pouch (*mde'u khug*) which usually hung from the waist. With the subsequent introduction of modern guns, people began beautifying their guns by affixing silver plates on the sides of the stock and sporting a cartridge belt (*sked 'khor*), which carried anything from as few as five rounds to as many as twenty or forty rounds. During summer picnics, major festivals, and propitiatory incense ceremonies for protector deities, men and horses would congregate, and on such occasions, the men were seen strutting around with their horses and weapons as a sign of courage and valour. The horses were clad in full saddle and tack, and the men ornamented themselves with complete sets of the three called *'khor gsum*. [S.T.N.]¹⁷

In short, here, the “notable accessory” is styled as the *'khor gsum lus la btags* (lit. ‘the three weapons appended to the body’).¹⁸

A number of photographs taken during the first half of the twentieth century allow to have an idea of what the Tibetan matchlock looked like (see the photographs reproduced as [figs 4-9] in the Appendix 3 of this paper).¹⁹ This weapon was composed of a number of elements referred to with a specific Tibetan terminology.

3.1 Sketches

A number of sketches help us understand the exact terminology of the different parts of the *bog*, as well as the related objects and the way they are worn. The first one [fig. 1] is a sketch of an old Tibet-

¹⁷ Ri dbang bstan 'dzin, *Nags shod 'bri ru'i lo rgyus*, 63.

¹⁸ Zhabs drung tshen ring dbang rgyal, *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, 195, 464, 475.

¹⁹ Also, on the last page of *Tibetan Treasures. Selections of Production Tools and Weapons of Successive Dynasties* (2001) there is a studio photograph of a beautiful old Tibetan *bog*.

an *bog* that was drawn for me by Lha btsun phyag mdzod blo bzang bstan 'dzin in 1989.²⁰ Lha btsun phyag mdzod's technical terms for the accessories of the *bog* are only applicable to the nomads of the area north of Lhasa, the A pho Hor pa.

Before the introduction of the *me mda'*, the traditional '*khor gsum* comprised an arrow, a sword and a spear.²¹ But after *me mda'* came into use, the '*khor gsum* comprised a gun, a sword and a spear.²² The different parts of the *me mda'* and its accessories are clearly explained in images found in a recent publication by Tshul khrims blo gros [fig. 2] and in a sketch showing how Khampas of Cha phreng were properly dressed and equipped with arms and ammunition before 1906 [fig. 3].

20 An "Illustration Section, Drawing by Losang Tendzin" is found in Thubten Jigme Norbu and Colin M. Turnbull, *Tibet*, 75. There is no further information about the illustrator, but pages 97-8 show a sketch of how *bog* were hung in the "Interior of a tent showing two sides", and page 102 displays a sketch of a *bog* and its accessories. The text reads: "Gun (*menda*) for hunting and fighting. The gun support of antelope horn can be swung into position underneath, or left along the barrel when firing from the shoulder. The stock is inlaid with silver and turquoise". All illustrations, including the *bog*, are marked with numbers which suggests that there was a legend or identification and explanations that went along with them. Yet nothing of the sort is printed in the book itself. Another work, Ekvall, *Fields on the Hoof*, contains sketches of *bog* on three pages (10, 32, 89). The book states that: "Lobsang Tenzing, the Tibetan artist who drew the sketches used in this book, is a refugee from Central Tibet who now lives in India and supplements his income by illustrations and pictures". At the Fifth Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies organised by Naritasan Shinshoji in Japan in summer 1989, I asked Prof. Thubten Jigme Norbu (Taktser Rinpoche, 1922-2008) about the illustrator of his book *Tibet*. Rinpoche said it was Lha btsun Phyag mdzod, who was then in Dharamsala! Lha btsun Phyag mdzod Blo bzang bstan 'dzin (1919-2003) was a native of 'Dam, north of Lhasa. In his later years he joined the Library of Tibetan Works & Archives (LTWA) and its Department of Oral History projects, and I came to know him fairly well myself. I asked Phyag mdzod la about the illustrations, and he said he not only drew the sketches but also wrote around eighty pages of explanation to go with the illustrations which he sent to Taktser Rinpoche from Paris, where he was working with Prof. R.A. Stein and Mme M. Helffer in the mid-sixties. He was not a painter or illustrator before 1959 while in Tibet and he only made the sketches at the behest of Taktser Rinpoche and others after moving into exile. Taktser Rinpoche told me he could no longer find the texts written by Lha btsun phyag mdzod. When Rinpoche died, his books, papers and photographs were given by his wife and son to Latse Contemporary Tibetan Culture Library, New York. They are not in that collection either.

21 *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 463: "Three sets [of weapons] ('*khor gsum*): [firstly,] in ancient battles, besides wearing helmet and body armour, the three sets of weapons are essential. The term applies to the sets which comprise, firstly, a bow [and arrows] (*mda'* [*gzhu dang mda'*]) to kill enemies from a distance, [secondly,] a sword (*gri*) to kill enemies when the two sides combat, and [thirdly,] a spear to throw at enemies after one had dismounted from a horse" [S.T.N.].

22 It is interesting to note that already in 1693 Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705) differentiated between the '*khor gsum* of Tibetan custom and that of Mongolian custom; Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, *Drin can rt-sa ba'i bla ma ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho*, vol. 10, 138-42, 302, 385.

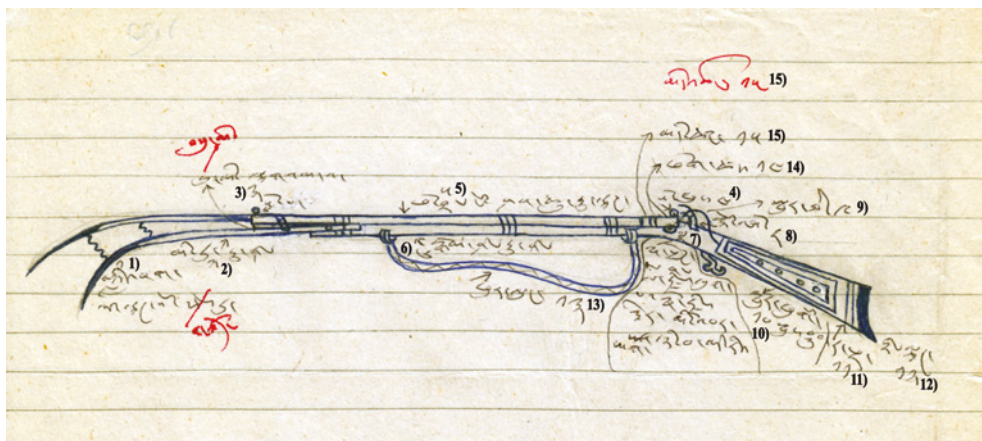


Figure 1 Sketch of an old Tibetan *bog* drawn by Lha btsun phyag mdzod blo bzang bstan 'dzin (1989). Arabic numbers on the sketch have been added by the Author and correspond to the following Wylie transcriptions: 1) *bklel [=klad] nag 'di lcags sam gtsod ru*; 2) *me ru gnyis rgyu shing*; 3) *bsu mo lcags mda'*; 4) *so pa*; 5) *pho brang ngam shan chu / rgyu lcags*; 6) *sgom shing / rgyu shing*; 7) *rna phyogs dang nang la rdzas lug pas rna rdzas zer me 'bar yag lte ba 'di red*; 8) *skam 'go*; 9) *sbur thig*; 10) *sbur khug gam sbur shub*; 11) *ra phra*; 12) *phreng lcang*; 13) *khur lung*; 14) *phog tshad*; 15) *mdo tshang*

3.2 Descriptions by Western Travellers to Tibet

Non-Tibetans in Tibet often commented on the Tibetan guns in their writings. While travelling in parts of A mdo and Khams between 1884-85, the American diplomat William Woodville Rockhill remarked:

The Tibetan's gun is his most valued possession. It is a matchlock with a long fork which pivots around a screw through the stock. The barrel and the iron work are made by the Chinese, but the Tibetan often makes the stock, using very light wood which they cover sometimes with wild-ass skin. They manufacture their own powder and slow-matches, and buy from the Chinese the lead for their bullets. They use no wads in loading, and the bullets are much smaller than the caliber of the guns. They can make very good shooting with them at the average range of about 100 yards, but I never saw them hit a moving object, although some said they could.²³

²³ Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, 78.

In the late thirties, the American missionary Robert Ekvall noticed and witnessed the following practice regarding guns in A mdo:

With the exception of girls and women, all – even teen-age boys – on this duty are armed. Each tent possesses firearms. Even the poorest has one or two muzzle-loading matchlocks, and a tent of modest affluency has at least one breech-loading rifle. To defend the herds, gunfire can come from any of the daylong herder campfires surrounding the tent community.²⁴

Around the same time, the German Matthias Hermann made note of similar incidents in A mdo. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Frenchmen Abbé Huc and Father Gabet, as well as the Russian Colonel Prjevalsky in the late nineteenth century, also witnessed such matchlocks in their travels through parts of Tibet. In short Tibetans believed it is *dang dod chen po* or “stylish and fashionable” to own a *bog*.

3.3 Tibetan Written Sources on *bog*

An interesting statistic is noted in a book published in 2006 on the Mgo log gser rta population records during the “Reform Period”, i.e. 1958 (?): the counting of families included counting the number of *bo’u* that a family possessed. It records that there were 4,736 families, 17,574 persons and 3,342 *bo’u*.²⁵ Here they do not mention the number of head of cattle or other valuable belongings, but only the cherished *bo’u*. It does not specify whether *bo’u* refers to matchlocks or modern rifles.

The gun is also mentioned in numerous historical writings. The autobiography of the First Panchen Lama (1570-1662) contains the following references: “As the second unit of the Mongolian cavalry began to charge, it was time to release a rain of guns [i.e. bullets] and arrows”.²⁶ This eyewitness account details the bloody skirmishes between Sde pa Gtsang pa and Mongols in 1618-19, when the First Panchen Lama was mediating a truce between them. After 1620, during the reign of Sde pa Gtsang pa Karma bstan skyong dbang po (1606-1642), he promulgated the *Khrims yig zhal lce bcu drug* (Legal Code in Sixteen Articles). The first article reads *Dpa’ bo stag gi zhal*

24 Ekvall, *Fields on the Hoof*, 40.

25 Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 43-100. In case of Nyag skor ma, 30 families are documented, but the population and number of *bo’u* are missing. Additionally, the upper, middle and lower Stong bza’ ra skor tribes have listed more than 1,000 families, but the population and number of *bo’u* are also missing. Kos tsha sde ba too has 35 families and more than 100 persons, but the number of *bo’u* is missing.

26 *Pañ chen blo bzang chos rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 117 [S.T.N.].

Ice and the second *Sdar ma wa yi zhal Ice*. These two articles are introduced and roughly translated by John Claude White as the “General rules to be followed in the time of war” and “For those who are being defeated and cannot fight”.²⁷ In the first article we find a mention of *me mda*.²⁸ After 1642 the first two articles were written off by the Dga’ ldan pho brang government.

An important question remains when the matchlock came into use in Tibet. The nineteenth-century Nyag rong lamas, Nyag bla Pad ma bdud ’dul (1816-1872) and his direct disciple Tshwa nyag shes rab mthar phyin, write:

Then the people of the Snow Land, being inferior in learning, introspection, and intelligence, and blinded by the symptoms of fleshy eyes, they the ignorant ones maintained that guns are like [as in] the Treasure texts (*gter ma*). As it is stated in the scriptures, “When ignorance can preclude us from seeing even visible forms, what need be said about doubtful things”. Similarly, for instance, the prospects of having a good or bad harvest, grain yields, and livestock, or even the odds of having a good or bad rainfall in the sixty-year *rab byung* calendrical cycle, are well determined. Hence, the generous rainfall, the good harvest in the valleys, or the rich yields in dairy products of nomads in a particular year is but natural. However, each place or region attributed these to the grace of their principal lamas, respectively. Whenever good or bad things occur, there were even those, who, skilfully and motivated by the eightfold “worldly concerns” (*jig rten chos brgyad*),²⁹ attributed them to prophecies of the lamas of the past.

When a patron king of Rgya zhang khrom faced a confrontation due to a disagreement and dispute, he gained access to guns, which had spread through the demonic power of the past from beyond the oceans and through materialisation of the demonic prayer. It is held that around fifteen generations had passed since the gun was first used. Relying on the guns, the king was able to overcome his enemies. Extremely overjoyed, the king exclaimed: “This is my lama’s compassion, power, blessing, and strength!”. Regardless of Rgya zhang khrom’s instructions, the king put the

27 Riskey, *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, 46-7. The Tibetan ruler *ta’i situ* Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-64) also introduced the “Legal code in fifteen articles” (*khriims yig zhal Ice bco lnga*). The first and second articles differ in length and content compared to the legal code of the *sde pa gtsang pa*.

28 *Gtsang pa sde srid zhal Ice bcu drug*, 106.

29 The eight worldly concerns include the eight primary concerns that govern life in an ordinary world according to the Kadampa tradition. Classified into four hopes and four fears concerning four coveted and four detested experiences, respectively, they include hope of pleasure, fame, praise, and gain, and fear of pain, disregard, blame, and loss.

[technology of gun making] in writing, from which the use of guns gradually became popular.

Similarly, when Tibet faced enemy invasions in several regions, it was successful in thwarting these assaults by using guns, which have developed from beyond the oceans. However, writings containing the use of guns were falsely attributed to Rdo rje gling pa, who became the target of criticism. Therefore, it is evident that it has not been very long since guns were first introduced into Tibet. If guns were first introduced by Rgya zhang khrom and Rdo rje gling pa in the *gter ma* teachings, then not only the guns of present, but also the hundreds of techniques for chemicals [weaponry] relating to guns will spread. Could they have spread into Tibet before they had spread outside [if gun techniques were first introduced in Tibet]? For example, is it possible to see in this world the growth of branches, leaves, and fruits without the roots? Similarly, is it possible for the traditional use of nutmeg (*dza ti*), clove (*li shi*), yellow myrobalan (*a ru*), beleric myrobalan (*ba ru*), and emblic myrobalan (*skyu ru*) as medicine to spread from Tibet before it had spread from India? [S.T.N.]³⁰

In short, Nyag bla Pad ma bdud 'dul and his disciple record that this destructive weapon was believed to have been discovered as *gter ma* some fifteen generations earlier. They also state that unidentified people wrongly attribute knowledge of the existence of this *me mda'* in Tibet from beyond the oceans, which was found in a *gter ma* unearthed either by Rgya zhang khrom (early eleventh century)³¹ or *gter ston* Rdo rje gling pa (1346-1405).³² This claim that Rdo rje gling pa was acquainted with the existence of the *bog* is not historically reliable, for the matchlock was invented in Europe only in the following century, the fifteenth century, after the *gter ston* had died. Moreover, in the twenty-one existing volumes of published works of the *gter ston* Rdo rje gling pa, no reference to *me mda'* or any ballistics can be found.³³

30 Tshwa nyag shes rab mthar phyin, *dmyal ba so so'i gzigs snang las / yang sos nang nas me mda'i nyes dmigs khol du phyung ba bzhugs so //*. In *Collected Works of Padma Bdud 'dul Rdo rje Chos skor*, 544-6.

31 Jamgon, *The Hundred Tertöns*, 77-8; Kong sprul karma ngag dbang yon tan rgya mtsho, *Gter ston rgya zhang khrom rdo rje 'od 'bar*, 57-8.

32 Jamgon, *The Hundred Tertöns*, 149-52; Kong sprul karma ngag dbang yon tan rgya mtsho, *Gter ston rdo rje gling*, 101-4.

33 *Texts of the Rdo rje Gling pa tradition from Bhutan*; see also Karmay, *The Diamond Isle*, 138-58.

3.4 Early Translations of Indian Texts and Possible Etymologies of Terms Related to Firearms

The Tibetan term *me mda'* appears in the Tibetan translation of the eleventh-century Indian text *Kālachakra Tantra*. It reads:

Should enemies defeated in battles unexpectedly retreat into the fortress, aim machines from outside and assail them incessantly with stones and *aginshar* (*me mda'*) [= fire arrow/fire archery]. Set slicing machines equipped with swords, and pitch tents and tepees in the area. Having razed their castle to ashes, the destruction is accomplished in a matter of days.³⁴

Explosives and fireworks (*khyogs kyi 'phrul 'khor*) are discussed in the commentaries on the *Kālachakra Tantra*. They mention not only fire arrows (*aginshar*) but also prototypes of cannons (*khyogs/sgyogs*).³⁵

When firearms were introduced into Tibet in the late fifteenth (?) century, the older name *me mda'* was kept. The Shaivite tantra *Swarodaya Tantra* was translated into Tibetan by Glo bo lo tsa ba Shes rab rin chen (early thirteenth century), and in it we find similar use of the word *sgyogs*.³⁶ In the famous Tibetan medical text *Man ngag bye ba ring bsrel* by Zur mkhar ba mnyam nyid rdo rje (1439-1475), there is a small manual on how to make *sgyogs*, entitled *Drag po me rdzas kyi 'khrul 'khor 'bum phrag 'brug gi nga ro* (lit. 'the thunderous roar of 100,000 fierce gunpowder machines'). Here the author provides the following explanation: "A 'fire arrow' (*me mda'*) burns (*sreg pa*) that which one targets".³⁷

34 Kha che'i pañdi ta so ma nā tha et al., *Mchog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba*, 88 and 192: "a mace (*rdo rje*), a sword (*ral gri*), a trident (*rtse gsum*), a sickle-sword (*gri gu*) that destroys the world, and a firearm (*me yi mda'*)". Also see "Dus 'khor 'grel bshad dri med 'od", vol. 99, 256.

35 *The Collected Works of Bo-doñ Pan-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal*, vol. 2, 393-416. In the introduction of *The Collected Works of Bo-doñ Pan-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal*, vol. 2, 13-14, Gene Smith writes: "Das (*Tibetan-English Dictionary*, 855) enumerates the seven offensive types of 'phrul-'khor:

1. *Rdo' i 'phrul 'khor* - missiles and bombardment to capture a fortress.
2. *Gru' i 'phrul 'khor* - the naval use of boats and men.
3. *'Bru mar gyi 'phrul 'khor* - the use of burning grain and butter to smoke out a defending army.
4. *Gri gug gi 'phrul 'khor* - the deployment of armed swordsmen.
5. *Rlung gi 'phrul 'khor* - the use of wind and gales to blow away the top of the hill where the enemy fortresses have been constructed.
6. *Rdo rje gur gyi 'phrul 'khor* - the use of magical tents to batter down fortifications.
7. *Lcags mda' i 'phrul 'khor* - the magical cycle of iron arrows to kill the war enemies that have been armored with mail".

36 *Bstan 'gyur*, vol. 114, 1168.

37 Zur mkhar mnyam nyid rdo rje, *Man ngag bye ba ring bsrel pod chung rab 'byams gsal ba'i sgron me*, 399-405 [S.T.N.]. Also see in particular 404, l. 12.

Here one can suggest that Tibetans coined the term *me mda'* by translating and tracing it back to Indic literature, while the later Tibetan vernacular terms *bog*, *bo'u*, *sbod*, *sbos*, *bos*, and *bhor* derive from the Chinese *pào*.³⁸

4 Information on *bog* and *me mda'* from Various Historical Sources

The *Ladakh Chronicle* records that during the period of Seng ge rnam rgyal (?-1642) and his son Bde ldan rnam rgyal (?-1694) there were twenty-five *me mda'* among the list of offerings made to Stag tshang Ras pa (1574-c. 1651).³⁹ The biography of *Zhabs drung* Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (1594-c. 1651) contains the following references:

During that period [between 1633 and 1637], guns, cannons, and ammunition were offered by Purdhu kha [Portugal], a land from beyond the vast ocean. The envoy of the king of the land had sailed on a ship with people of different kinds and appearances for over twelve months. Having passed Goa and the lands of demons - Asirya (*a bzirya*) and Asirka (*a'abzir ka*), via Bengal (*za hor*) in the East, and the Indian Gataka (*gha ṭa ka*), they reached *Sku zhabs rin po che*. They offered guns, cannons, and ammunition, as well as fascinating things such as an optical device that lets distant images appear very close. They said: "If you, O Lama, have contending enemies, I can summon a huge army of my kingdom". Thinking that inviting barbaric (*kla klo*) armed forces will incur transgression of refuge-taking precepts, the Lama claimed to have refused the offer. Before that, guns had not spread anywhere in the land. Because their use was not known, the mere sound of guns brought terror to the hordes of enemies. Furthermore, the *Kālacakra tan-*

³⁸ Werner, *Chinese Weapons*, 29-33. The *Skad lnga shan sbyar gyi manydzu'i skad gsal ba'i me long*, attributed to Emperor Qianlong and Lcang skya, and compiled or written between 1771 and 1790, contains interesting entries on *me mda'*. See *me mda'i dmag (niao qiang bing)* or "Musket" (vol. 1, 857); *me mda' dgu rgyag byed (fang jui jin lian huan qiang)* or "gun with nine bullets" (vol. 1, 907); *me mda' mig gsum pa (Sanyan Chong)* or "three-barrel gun" (vol. 1, 1077); *me mda' me lcags can (Zilia Huo qiang)* or "automatic firearm" (vol. 1, 1078); and *me mda' stabs bde (Xian Qiang)* or "Rifle" (vol. 1, 1078). I am grateful to Byams pa bstan 'dzin la of LTWA, Dharamsala, for translating and writing these in pinyin. It is interesting to note that even after the Qianlong emperor's first Rgyal rong Rabten/Chuchen war (1747-49) and the second Chuchen war (1771-76) the Manchu court did not manage to gain or did not have the knowledge of the local names of muskets, matchlocks, and guns in Tibetan; the terms we find in the present entries look like haphazardly coined terms.

³⁹ Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. 2, 40; *La dwags rgyal rabs*, 54. The last dated entry of the chronicle was 1910. One can speculate that the mention of *me mda'* could be a later addition too.

tra states: “Much weaponry against enemies such as the production of cannons, guns, etc”.⁴⁰

Michael Aris has correctly dated and identified the above-mentioned Portuguese persons. He writes:

The Jesuits were the first Europeans to enter Bhutan, and the *Relação* which Cacella [with Cabral] sent from Lcags-ri to his superior at Goa [is] dated 4th October 1627.⁴¹

Aris adds that the party of Portuguese

presented the Zhabs drung with a gift of guns and cannons, and a telescope, and made him the offer of an army which, however, he declined.⁴²

In the *gar glu* notation book of 1688, there is a song which was brought to Lhasa by La thag [Ladakh] O rgyan bu khrid, the text of which reads as follows:

Produced from the middle of the La thag [Ladakh] [plateau]
Me mda' with bas relief goldwork and *me mda'* with bas relief silver work
[We will] offer it to Mi dbang chen po [= Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho] [When] we see him
We will offer it with a scarf.⁴³

In 1706 while the Sixth Dalai Lama was kept under house arrest by Lha bzang Khan, monks of 'Bras spungs and Se ra forcefully retrieved the Dalai Lama and a reference to using *me mda'* (gun) while doing so is recorded in the account of Bkra shis 'khyil monastery written in 1800:

Those who gathered there alleged that the Sgo mang [monks] sowed the [seeds of] discord and decided to wage a battle. Two Sgo mang monks - Bsam blo dkar ding and Hal kha dge 'phel - who had sided with them commanded the force and indulged in the wrongful act of firing guns from the roof of Bde yangs monastery building. [S.T.N.]⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Gtsang mkhan chen 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan rgya mtsho, *Dpal 'brug pa rin po che*, 518-19, 553, 597.

⁴¹ Aris, *Bhutan, the Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*, 217.

⁴² Aris, *Bhutan, the Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*, 219.

⁴³ Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *Mig yid rna ba'i dga' ston*, 35.

⁴⁴ *Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil gyi gdan rabs lha'i rnga chen*, 317.

An interesting reference to the Tibetan government offering gifts at the enthronement ceremony of the Ninth *Chos rgyal* of Sikkim, Mthu stobs rnam rgyal in 1874 provides further information. Among other presents, there was a “Lahore gun” with a powder flask.⁴⁵

In addition to the references to *me mda'* in sources on the Tibetan government and Central Tibet noted above, various sources allow us to understand how the Tibetan matchlock reached other Tibetan areas. For instance, *Lha thog rgyal rabs* of 1852 mentions the following:

After having conferred titles of *taiji* to seven kings and ministers of Lha thog, Dhā ching ba dur hung taiji led the “priest-patron” (*mchod yon*) army as a back-up force against Rab brtan rgyal po [Qianlong’s first Rgyal rong Rab brtan/Chu chen war (1747-49) and the second Chu chen war (1771-76)]. In appreciation for “crushing the enemy realms to tatters”, the king’s silver-headed seal, a sandalwood statue of Buddha, a golden statue of Amitāyus, the “La pho shel dkar” sword, the “Rgyab ya ma” gun of Khang gсар bla ma, and a *sprul sku* seal[ed] dagger were given to the chieftains and their aides for their accomplishments in the foreign country. [S.T.N.]⁴⁶

Dme tshang Padma tshe ring (2004) gives the following explanation regarding the weapons’ history of the area he comes from, i.e. Rta bo dme tshang, quoting from a narrative contemporary with Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho (1607-1677):

In general, Tibetans are very fond of weapons. In particular, Tibetan nomadic tribes such as the Rta bo dme tshang, who inhabit the nomadic areas, living throughout the grasslands, mountains, and valleys; they are therefore constantly exposed to danger and harm from bandits, robbers, and thieves, as well as from wild and ferocious animals. For people from these areas, armour and weapons are both objects of one’s penchant as well as a necessity.

Therefore, even before the period of the Rta bo bu bzhi [lit. “four horseman sons”], in the past, there were accounts of people using ancient weapons such as *khra b* [body armour] and *rmog* [helmet]; *tshem* [chain mail] and *bem* [breast plates]; *mda' gzhu* [bow and arrow] and *mdung mo* [long spear]; and *ral gri* [sword]. According to the locals, the body armour of Rta bo bu bzhi was preserved until as late as 1958. From the time of the Rta bo bu bzhi, a *me bo'u* [fire matchlock] or *rgyugs bo'u* [tubular matchlock] became popular. As regarding Rta bo bu bzhi, each person was said to possess

⁴⁵ *La hor me mda' rdzas khug cha tshang gcig* ('Bras ljongs rgyal rabs, 180).

⁴⁶ *Lha Thog Rgyal Rabs*, 64.

a matchlock, each bearing a unique name. Their accounts are well recounted in the third section of the first chapter. [S.T.N.]⁴⁷

Dme tshang Padma tshe ring adds more about the Rta bo bu bzhi and their furnishment of matchlocks to the tribe. He writes the following:

In those days, there were no other weapons aside from *mda' mdung gri gsum* [arrow, spear, and sword] and *khra b' khor gsum*, [body armour, helmet, arrow, sword, and spear]. One day, Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho (1607-1677) said [to the four brothers]: "As there is a danger of Rgya chu dkar mig waging battle in the upper region, if you four could each buy a matchlock, you can thwart the assault". As was predicted, they bought four matchlocks and gave these names: Rgya rdo ba'i bya bo'i sgong len, Bod sgar ba'i bo'u dmar a stong, Hor bo'u nag shwa ba rgyugs 'ching, and Sog rgya khab rgya zir brgyus 'dra. By virtue of the meeting of the four sons, four horses and four matchlocks, people lauded them with this expression - *Rta bo'u bu bzhi, rgyal chen sde bzhi, gnam sa ka bzhi, stag mo mche bzhi* [the four horseman sons, the four guardian kings, the four pillars of earth and sky, the four fangs of a tigress]. Others still lauded:

In the sky above, it is the four guardian kings;
In the deep gorges, it is the four-horned 'brong [wild yaks];
In the jungle, it is the four-fanged tigress;
And, on the earth, it is the four horseman sons.

From that time when the matchlocks were first used, the chief-tain family of Rta bo assumed the name of Rta bo'u sde pa. Even though people articulate the word *rta bo'u*, it is written as either *rta bo* or, at times, *rta bor*. [S.T.N.]⁴⁸

Dme tshang Padma tshe ring further continues by saying:

As regards the matchlocks, people have all seen the red matchlock called Bod sgar ba'i bo'u dmar a stong can in the possession of the Rta bo zhol mo household. Also, there are many families possessing comparable *rgyugs bo'u can*, and they have made good use of them when fighting enemies. There are also those matchlocks that were put into great use for hunting and were highly regarded for their accuracy and precision in hitting the targets. Matchlocks such as Dme tshang bo'u khyi and Ru ngan bo'u khyi are good examples of these. [S.T.N.]⁴⁹

47 Dme tshang padma tshe ring, *Rta bo gong zhol*, 373-4.

48 Dme tshang padma tshe ring, *Rta bo gong zhol*, 24-5.

49 Dme tshang padma tshe ring, *Rta bo gong zhol*, 374.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, modern guns (*khel bo'u*) gradually came into use and became widespread. They include various types of foreign guns such as *ma'i hri*, *krung tre hri*, *san pa hri* with cover (*rna khebs*), *dgu grags*, *kher grags*, *pu ra go ring*, *pu ra go thung*, *che'i cu'u 'brug thel ma*, *lung bzhi*, *rgya gar g.yas 'khyil*, *rgya gar mo tsa* (Indian Mauser), *grul bo'u*, etc. As regarding their prices, there were many cases in which 300 to 400 white sheep and 50-60 head of cattle were given in exchange for a single *me mda'* [these prices are for modern guns] and these specifics shall be discussed later.

When the Chinese communists entered the region in the fifties and established a district (Chinese *qu*) administration, their report said: "In the Upper Rta bo and Lower Rta bo, the three-fold Dme tshang pha yog, the six clan groups of Sgur ru, and the territory under the G.yon zhi'u sde pa, there are around a thousand long and short matchlocks (*bo'u*)."⁵⁰

In short, Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho predicted that the Rgya chu dkar mig (a neighbouring Chahar Mongol tribe?) would soon wage war on the Rta bo tribe, and that the Rta bo tribe should arm themselves by purchasing matchlocks in order to repel this attack. The Rta bo tribe bought four matchlocks named the Rgya rdo ba'i bya bo'i sgong len, Bod sgar ba'i bo'u dmar a stong, Hor bo'u nag shwa ba rgyugs 'ching, and Sog rgya khab rgya zir brgyus 'dra. Here we find four types of *bog*: from China, Tibet, Hor and Sog. This tells us what vintage and what make of matchlocks were used by the Rta bo in the seventeenth century before they surrendered to the Mgo log Khang gsar dpon in the mid-eighteenth century.

Yet Bse mgon po don 'grub of Bse nya lung, from Reb gong in A mdo, writes (2010) that in 1732, during the time of the Second Shar skal ldan rgya mtsho and Rong po nang so, the Bo'u rgyag mdung skor performance and display of *bog* and *mdung* was introduced during the *smon lam* prayer festival at Rong po dgon chen.⁵¹ Thus, many types of *bog* must have been introduced into Tibet and its peripheries. They could have come from Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan, Mongolia, China, 'Jang (Naxi), Russia, Nepal and even Mughal-period India.

50 Dme tshang padma tshe ring, *Rta bo gong zhol*, 374 [S.T.N.].

51 Mtsho lo bse mgon po don grub, "Bse nya lung gi mdung bskor bo'u rgyag skor mdo tsam gleng ba", 55-6.

5 Armouries

Go rtsis (*go chas rtsis bsher*)⁵² is the official term of the Dga' ldan pho brang government for the act of making an inventory of arms. *Go mdzod*⁵³ is the term for the armoury. In pre-1959 Tibet, the *go deb* or "inventory of the armoury" was kept by the Dga' ldan pho brang government and even by the more influential semi-independent aristocratic families, such as the Lha rgya ri family.⁵⁴ Some *go deb* of the Dga' ldan pho brang government are kept in the Tibet Archive in Lhasa. We will see some of these archives one day soon, hopefully.

The term *me mda'* is mentioned in the inventory of Dorjéling armoury (*Go mdzod rdo rje gling*), by the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1667.⁵⁵

52 Shan kha ba 'gyur med bsod nams stobs rgyal, *Bod gzhung gi sngar srol chos srid kyi mdzad rim*, 22.

53 Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor, *Rdo ring paṅḍi ta'i rnam thar, stod cha*, 422; Shan kha ba 'gyur med bsod nams stobs rgyal, *Bod gzhung gi sngar srol chos srid kyi mdzad rim*, 46, 50; Bod rang skyong ljongs srid gros rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha u yon lhan khang, *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs*, vol. 4, 53: "An Office of the Chief Army General (*drag po'i spyi 'doms las khungs*) was established at Nor gling Armoury at Zhol in front of Rtse po ta la". *Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 19, 275-83: "Sections from *The Inventory of Armours and Weapons at Rdo rje gling Armoury at the Great Potala Palace* (*Pho brang chen po po ta la'i go mdzod rdo rje gling gi g.yul chas rnam kyi deb ther*) include 'The Rainfall of Wrath' (*gtum po'i char 'bebs*), etc". Rnam grwa thub bstan yar 'phel, *Lcags po ri'i go mdzod rdo rje*, 250. *Go mdzod* owned by the Dga' ldan pho brang government in the twentieth century are listed in Dwang slob mda' zur spyi 'thus rgyal rtse rnam rgyal dbang 'dus, *Bod rgyal khab kyi chab srid dang 'brel ba'i dmag don lo rgyus*, 65: "The warehouses for storing armour and weapons include the Rdo rje gling Armoury, the Potala Palace and its adjacent Dgra 'dul khang (Office for the suppression of enemies), the Zhol dungul khang (Zhol mint), the basement at Bde yangs shar in the Potala (*rtse bde yangs shar*), Nor bu gling kha, the Sman chu Armoury (*sman chu go mdzod*) at the foot of Lcags po ri, the armoury of the [headquarters of] Mdo spyi at Chamdo, Stod sgar dpon, Dga' ldan chos 'khor Monastery, and Lha rtse rdzong. In 1949, when Skyid shug, a lay official (*shod drung*), and I were deputed at Rgyal rtse rdzong, our government issued many boxes of ammunition for British handguns, which we impressed with *rdzong spyi* seals and stored at our official granaries and storehouses" [S.T.N.].

54 Lha rgya ri'i khri 'dzin bco bryad pa, *Sde dpon lha rgya ri'i khri 'dzin bcu gcig pa*, 438-9.

55 In the edition of the Drepung Monastery Printery (*Chos sde chen po dpal ldan 'bras spungs par khang chen mo'i spar ma*), the preface (*'Go brjod*) of *The Inventory of Battle Weapons at Rdo rje gling Armoury in Potala Palace* (*Pho brang chen po po ta la'i go mdzod rdo rje gling gi g.yul chas rnam kyi deb ther le tshan*), in the *Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 19, 275-81, reads:

1. "About Rdo rje gling armoury; classes of weapons; dresses, armour, horse[armour], and weapons of the lay government officials (*drung 'khor*); ensembles of four central units (*dbus tsho*); lightweight armour and weapons (*yang chas kyi go cha*) for long-distance missions; government-regulated Mongolian, Hor, Khams pa, and [Northern] Nomadic (*byang' brog*) armour and weapons; and, chiefly, other essential weapons including swords, bows [and arrows], spears, and firearms, and military shelters and utensils including central command tent (*dkyil sgar gyi gur chen*), cloth fencing (*yol skor*), platoon tents (*lding gur*), and platoon copper cauldrons (*lding zangs*)" (*'Go brjod*, f. 233v6).

In his autobiography, references to *me mda'* are found in the years 1665⁵⁶ and 1679⁵⁷ as well. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama also wrote extensively on this topic in his *The Excellent Lily Garland*.⁵⁸

2. "The second highest grade ceremonial costumes from among the most excellent armour for group warfare that enable one to evolve unhindered from the four-fold divinely-formed cavalry flanks of a Universal Monarch, whose cavalrymen comprise the finest that were selected from among the brave and skilful men across all great regions including Mongolia (*sog po*), the Tibetan territory, Hor, the Northern Nomads, and Mdo khams" (*'Go brjod*, f. 237r4).

3. "Convenient battle equipment, armour, and weaponry in the early portions of the inventory on lightweight equipment (*yang chas*) used for long-distance missions, on the classification of ceremonial costumes (*bzabs mchor*) and an inventory of armour of the great flanks of the White Banner division (*ru mtshon dkar po can*)" (*'Go brjod*, f. 237v6).

4. "Convenient battle equipment of greater armed divisions are as follows... in the classification of ceremonial costumes of the Yellow Banner division (*ru mtshon ser po can*)" (*'Go brjod*, f. 238r6).

5. "Convenient armours and weaponry with [division] engravings are as follows... in the classification of ceremonial costumes of the Red Banner division (*ru mtshon ser po can*)" (*'Go brjod*, f. 238v4).

6. "Inventory of the armour and weapons of India, China, Hor, Mongolia, Khams, and [Northern] nomads" (*'Go brjod*, f. 239r3).

56 Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, vol. 2, 11.

57 Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, vol. 3, 243, 262.

58 See in *The Excellent Lily Garland*: 1. "Inventory of Tibetan-made Mechanical Guns (*'khrul mda'*) Manufactured in the Fire Dragon [year] by the Office of the Tibetan Military Headquarters (*bod ljongs dmag sgar las khungs*)", ff. 11r1-12r5.

2. "Inventory of Mechanical Guns Newly Procured by the Office of the Tibetan Military General (*bod ljongs dmag spyi las khungs*)", ff. 12r5-12v7.

3. "Inventory of Mechanical Guns Gifted by Great Britain to the Office of the Tibetan Military General", ff. 12v7-13v7.

4. "Inventory of Weaponry, Armour, Uniforms, Funds, Grain, Money, etc., for Officers and Soldiers [published by] the Office of the Tibetan Military General", ff. 13v7-15r7.

5. "Opening the Door to a New Dawn of Excellent Benefits and Happiness (*Kun bzang phan bde rdzogs idan gсар pa'i sgo 'byed*): An Inventory of Long English Rifles (*dbyin mda' ring ba*) and 'Parts and Accessories' (*le lag*) Gifted by Great Britain to the Prime Minister Bshad sgra ba dpal 'byor rdo rje during the Peace Treaty between Great Britain, Tibet, and China in Shimla in the Wood Tiger Year". This is compiled in *The Infinite Treasury of Science and Technology at the Gra bzhi Office of the Electricals and Machinery* (*Gra bzhi glog 'khrul khang ngo mtshar mtha' klas rig 'phrul gter mdzod*) – *Water-Monkey* [Year], ff. 15r7-18v2.

6. "The Jewel Rosary that Enchants the Wise (*Mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog nor bu'i mgul rgyan*): Inventory of Essential English Military Handguns (*dbyin mda' thung ba*) Issued to the Tibetan Military Headquarters by the Tibetan Cabinet (*bka' shag*) and the Issuance and Delivery Seals". This is compiled in *The Infinite Treasury of Science and Technology at the Gra bzhi Office of the Electricals and Machinery – Water-Monkey* [Year], ff. 18r2-19v2.

7. "The Diamond Weapon that Grounds the Destructive Enemy Forces into Ashes (*Yid srubs bdud sde'i dpung tshogs phye mar 'thag pa'i rdo rje'i mtshon cha*). Inventory of Mechanical Guns and "Parts and Accessories" One of the Four Weapons to Overcome the Enemy Forces – Newly Procured from the British Government", as compiled in *The Infinite Treasury of Science and Technology at the Gra bzhi Office of the Electricals and Machinery – Water Monkey* [Year], ff. 19v2-22r4.

6 Classifications of the Different Types of *bog*

Many different kinds, types, and makes of matchlock are mentioned in Tibetan literature. In official functions and papers, frequent reference is made to the *'dzam grags* type (see [figs 7-8] in the Appendix 3 of this paper). The *go rtsed*⁵⁹ (display and performance of arms in general and the *bog* in particular) took place during the annual Great Prayer (*smon lam chen mo*) celebration in Lhasa, and *'dzam grags*⁶⁰ matchlocks were sported and used during these *go rtsed*. This practice could well go back to the seventeenth century since Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's writing contains a reference to the *me mda' dzam rag* in 1690.⁶¹ In addition, there are also old matchlocks

8. "The Sound of Lion's Thunderous Laughter that Terrifies the Pack of Enemy Wolves (*Gzhan sde wa tshogs spa bkong ba'i gdong lnga'i ngar skad kyi gad brgyangs*). An Inventory of BL 10-Pounder Cannons (*sbi ri el kran pa'un kran ka non*), "Parts and Accessories, and Tools Newly Procured from the British Government", as compiled in *The Infinite Treasury of Science and Technology at the Gra bzhi Office of the Electricals and Machinery - Water-Monkey* [Year], ff. 22r4-24r4.

9. "The Clear Lapis Lazuli that Reflects Your True Self (*Rang ngo rang 'phrod sde wa tshogs spa bkong ba'i gdong lnga'i ngar skad kyi gad brgyangs*). An Inventory with Names and Details of [BL] 10-Pounder Cannons, Machine Guns (*me shen ghan*), English Rifles, English Handguns, Ammunition, and Tools", as compiled in *The Infinite Treasury of Science and Technology at the Gra bzhi Office of the Electricals and Machinery - Water-Monkey* [Year], ff. 24r9-25r5.

10. "Diamond-like Armour and Weapons that Effortlessly End Battles and Bring Benefits and Happiness of the World and Beyond (*Srid zhi phan bde'i rtsa lag rtag brtan gyul ngo rang chas su 'joms pa'i rdo rje'i go khrab*). An Inventory of Lewis Guns (*lu si ghan*) and Accessories and Tools Procured from the British Government", as compiled in *The Infinite Treasury of Science and Technology at the Gra bzhi Office of the Electricals and Machinery - Water-Monkey* [Year], ff. 25r5-27r3.

11. "The Terrific Adamantine Thunderbolt of the Fourfold Strategies (*Las thabs rnam bzhi'i gzer rnon rdo rje'i thog rgod*). Inventory of Mechanical Tools and Accessories that Suppress the Enemy Forces", as compiled in *The Infinite Treasury of Science and Technology at the Gra bzhi Office of the Electricals and Machinery - Water-Monkey* [Year], ff. 21r3-27v6. I am grateful to my friend Dr. Sonam Tsering Ngulphu for translating into English all the items listed in this footnote.

59 Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor, *Rdo ring pañdi ta'i rnam thar, stod cha*, 1226; Shan kha ba 'gyur med bsod nams stobs rgyal, *Bod gzhung gi sngar srol chos srid kyi mdzad rim*, 10, 25, 28; Richardson, *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year*, 39-51.

60 Krang dbyi sun, *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, 2341: "*'dzam grags* - a short and thick rifle". Shan kha ba 'gyur med bsod nams stobs rgyal, *Bod gzhung gi sngar srol chos srid kyi mdzad rim*, 25, 27-8; Skal bzang bkra shis, Nyi lza, "Ri bo dang ga rga 'khrugs pa'i skor", 137. There is a photograph of three *gzims pa* soldiers on the roof of the Jo khang resting on their *'dzam grags* matchlocks. See Stag lha phun tshogs bkra shis, *Mi tsh'e'i byung ba brjod pa*, deb gnyis pa, two pages after page number 384. This image is reproduced in the Appendix 3 of this paper as [fig. 8].

61 Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, *Drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho*, vol. 9, 413. See also a photograph in the *Pho brang po ta la'i ldebs bris ri mo'i 'byung khungs lo rgyus gsal ba'i me long*, *A Mirror of the Murals in the Potala*, 102. The original caption reads: "Style: the Menthang Times: 1690-94, Monks of Namgyal Dratsang in the Potala at a performance of "driving out evil spirits"". Author's note: this is a depiction of *me mda'* in the late seventeenth cen-

called Stag gzig⁶² and 'Bar thang.

According to the recent (1993?) writings of the Klu zog rigs gsum and Lji dbang drags from A mdo stod ma, there were some fourteen types of *bog* in Tibet, which comprise roughly 1. "Mongolian youthful cascade" or "falling water on ice" (*sog po dar thog chu 'babs*), 2. "Mongolian lotus-barreled *rung*" rifle (*sog rung padma kha*), 3. "Sino-Mongolian *bye ma dkar ling*" (*rgya sog bye ma dkar gling*), 4. "White *rung la*" (*rung la dkar po*), 5. "Black *rung la*" (*rung la nag po*), 6. "Variegated *rung la*" (*rung la khra bo*), 7. "Chinese white *shis rab*" (*rgya shis rab dkar po*), 8. "Chinese black *shis rab*" (*rgya shis rab nag po*), 9. "Chinese variegated *shis rab*" (*rgya shis rab khra bo*), 10. "*Me dzu lcags* from 'Jang" (*'jang me dzu lcags*), 11. "Blade-splitter from Stod mnga' ris" (*stod mnga' ris 'jag ma kha gshag*), 12. "Mongolian *gru gu rgya lug*" (*sog gi gru gu rgya lug*), 13. "Chinese *le bu chus gser*" (*rgya'i le bu chus gser*), and 14. "Russian *bya dmar byis rjes*" (*bya dmar byis rjes o ru sog*).⁶³

Here again one can say roughly that the *bog* comes from Mongolia, China, 'Jang (Naxi), Mnga' ris and Russia.

'Bri ru dkon mchog thub bstan (2013) offers additional classifications of *me mda'* as follows:

1. Gun (*me mda'*) - *Bo'u* is an old-style gun (*me mda'*) produced by Sde dge in Khams. There are other kinds such as *mnga ris lug sug* and the Mongolian *gam 'jug* (*sog po gam 'jug*).
2. "Variegated" gun (*me mda' khra bo*) - Variegated *rang* (*rang khra bo*, also *rung khra bo*). There are three types of *rang*: variegated, white, and black. According to folklore,

A Variegated *rang* (*rang khra bo*) is like a deer's neck,
A Black *rang* (*rang nag po*) is like a teardrop from crying,
A White *rang* (*rang dkar po*) is like a white tooth in a smile
[these *rang* are same as *rung* in the previous list]. [S.T.N.]⁶⁴

tury in Lhasa and a mural painter's conception of them. This photograph is reproduced in Appendix 3 of this paper as [fig. 10].

⁶² Bgres song dbang grags et al., *Rdza dmar ge mo dpal ldan*, 18, 23, 25; Bkra ba, Tshes dbang 'gyur med et al., "Hor ga rgya 'gram nag gi lo rgyus", 107. I vaguely remember that my grandfather had a prized *bog* called Stag gzig in the late fifties.

⁶³ Klu zog rigs gsum, Lji dbang drags, "Gnyis pa bod sbos kyi bshad pa", 151-2 [S.T.N.].

⁶⁴ 'Bri ru dkon mchog thub bstan, *Dmangs khrod tha snyad ris 'grel srol rgyun gal ba'i me long*, 20. I am quite sure that if we interview locals from A mdo stod ma or in Khams today, some could still identify all the different types of *bog* that were used in pre-1959 Tibet, as even now people are using them for decoration. See also Tshul khrims blo gros, *Bod kyi srol rgyun tha snyad ris 'grel ming mdzod*, 246-9. Terms used here are mostly from the Rdza chu kha area, Mgo log Gser rta and nomads of Brag mgo in Khams. I am grateful to Ms. Tenzing Sedon la Ukyab Lama for sending me copies of the three images in [fig. 2].

One can see that both Klu zog rigs gsum and Lji dbang drags from A mdo stod ma and 'Bri ru dkon mchog thub bstan used nicknames for the matchlock.

Nor nang ngag dbang nor bu (c. 1911-1989), one of the longest serving military secretaries to the Dga' ldan pho brang government in the office in charge of military affairs in the mid-twentieth century, writes that Tibetan government soldiers were known to have used the "Mongolian youthful cascade" (*sog dar ma chu 'bab*), "Mongolian right-oriented" (*sog g.yas gcud* [*/gcus*]), "Mongolian left-oriented" (*sog g.yon gcud* [*/gsus*]), "Mongolian square-pointed" (*sog sgam mda' ma*), "Hor fish-eyed" (*hor nya mig ma*), and "Mongolian four continents" (*sog gling bzhi ma*) matchlocks.⁶⁵ Phreng ring (Taring) 'Jigs med gsum rtsen dbang po rnam rgyal (1908-1991) called them by slightly different names⁶⁶ and suggested that these matchlocks were most probably confiscated or taken from Dzungar Mongol soldiers in the early eighteenth century. He further says that in 1890 the Dga' ldan pho brang government produced a rifle called *Gorkha yang can*.⁶⁷

7 More Mentions of *bog* and *me mda'* in Tibetan Literature

The writings of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama reveal that after the expulsion of the Manchu armies from Central Tibet in 1912 the Dga' ldan pho brang government managed to confiscate the following kinds of Manchu/Chinese rifles and pistols: *me mda' U'u shang*, *cu'u shang*, *ru shang*, *hri rtse lan gru*, *'ber btang* and *krob mda'*.⁶⁸

Until now, I have not seen any reference to, or record of, the matchlock marksmanship skill by Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho even though several records of his archery skills exist. In Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's work on the *Legal Code in Twenty-One Articles* of 1681 issued by the Dga' ldan pho brang government, there is one entry for *me mda'*.⁶⁹ The biography of Mi dbang pho lha (1689-1747)

⁶⁵ Dwang slob mda' zur spyi 'thus rgyal rtse rnam rgyal dbang 'dus, *Bod rgyal khab kyi chab srid dang 'brel ba'i dmag don lo rgyus*, vol. 1, 63 [S.T.N.].

⁶⁶ "The names of the guns are Mongolian "[Youthful] Cascade" (*sog [po dar thog] chu 'bab*), Mongolian "Right-oriented" (*sog pho mo g.yas gcud*), Mongolian men's and women's "Left-oriented" in Dwang slob mda' zur spyi 'thus rgyal rtse rnam rgyal dbang 'dus, *Bod rgyal khab kyi chab srid dang 'brel ba'i dmag don lo rgyus*, vol. 1, 32.

⁶⁷ Dwang slob mda' zur spyi 'thus rgyal rtse rnam rgyal dbang 'dus, *Bod rgyal khab kyi chab srid dang 'brel ba'i dmag don lo rgyus*, vol. 1, 33.

⁶⁸ See *The Excellent Lily Garland* by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, "Bod ljongs dmag spyi las khungs kyis spus sgrub zhush pa'i 'phrul mda'i deb kyi 'go brjod", vol. thi, *shog deb* 12ba5.

⁶⁹ *Blang dor gsal bar ston pa'i drang thig dwangs shel me long nyer gcig pa*, *shog ldeb* 15ba4.

Mi dbang rtogs brjod, which was written in 1733 in an ornate Tibetan poetic language, renders the *me mda'*⁷⁰ as *me'i 'khrul 'khor*,⁷¹ *me'i mda' bo che*,⁷² and *gnam lcags 'brug gi nga ro can*.⁷³ It also tells us about Mi dbang pho lha's skill and mastery as a teenager in firing *me'i 'khrul 'khor*⁷⁴ while on a galloping horse.

The autobiography of Mdo mkhar zhabs drung tshe ring dbang rgyal (1697-1763), *Bka' blon rtogs brjod*, does not say much about matchlocks despite his being a witness to the Dzungar occupation of Lhasa in 1717-21 and his participation in the disturbances of Dbus gtsang in 1727-28.

In the autobiography of the Rdo ring Paṇḍita (b. 1760), we find out how he was trained: "At times, going to places such as the riverbanks near Nor[bu] Ling[ka] for practice in target shooting at a gallop with archery and guns, which later came to be called shooting while galloping (*zhar 'phen*) exercise session".⁷⁵

The autobiography of the Zur khang *bka' blon* Sri gcod Tshe brtan (1766-1820) offers references on game hunting some time in 1795 where he discussed the interesting names of the hounds and of various weapons: *me mda'*⁷⁶ and *me'i mda' 'o che*,⁷⁷ *me'i mda' 'o che lcags ru can*.⁷⁸

In Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's account of the funeral ceremonies and entombment rites of the Fifth Dalai Lama, which took place between 1691-96, we find that among the objects offered frequently by the donors there were musical instruments, animal pelts, armour, helmets and *me mda'*.⁷⁹

In later periods too, similar practices are noted in the autobiography of the Rdo ring Paṇḍita where there are references to *me mda'*

70 Zhabs drung tshe ring dbang rgyal, *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, 419, 540, 545, 774, 833-4.

71 Zhabs drung tshe ring dbang rgyal, *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, 21, 32, 43, 54, 221, 233, 235, 241, 279, 419, 464, 471, 505, 560, 571-2, 580, 583, 600, 626-7, 630, 668, 701.

72 Zhabs drung tshe ring dbang rgyal, *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, 408, 418, 464-5, 475, 493, 507, 538, 545, 550, 588, 600, 607, 630, 651.

73 Zhabs drung tshe ring dbang rgyal, *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, 583, 600, 607.

74 Zhabs drung tshe ring dbang rgyal, *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*, 34, 125, 195, 204.

75 Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor, *Rdo ring paṇḍi ta'i rnam thar, stod cha*, 182; also see 427: "At times, they undertook a training called "shooting practice while fast galloping on the horse" (*zhar 'phen*) around Bye rags ("sand embankment" to the north of Lhasa) and Nor gling", which included horse riding and shooting mechanical guns (*phrul 'khor me mda*) [S.T.N.].

76 *Bka'i gung blon gyi khur 'dzin pa'i rtogs brjod bung ba'i mgrin glu*, folio 32na, 76na.

77 *Bka'i gung blon gyi khur 'dzin pa'i rtogs brjod bung ba'i mgrin glu*, folio 31na, 32na.

78 *Bka'i gung blon gyi khur 'dzin pa'i rtogs brjod bung ba'i mgrin glu*, folio 31ba.

79 *Mchod sdong 'dzam gling rgyan gcig gi dkar chag*, 845, 852-4, 856, 858, 860, 866-7, 873, 885, 887-90, 898; Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, *Drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (glegs bam lnga pa'i 'phros drug pa)*, 136, 138, 141-2, 302, 385, 413, 444, 455.

being offered to the officials for restoring the Bsam yas monastery.⁸⁰ Also in the later references dating to 1849-54 we find offerings of *me mda'* as a donation for the restoration of the Bsam yas monastery.⁸¹ Here we even find the lone offering of the long barrel of a *me mda'i lcags hreng*.⁸²

Rdo ring Paṇḍita, who led the Tibetan army and was the head of the Tibetan signatories of the Nepal-Tibet treaty of 1791, was equipped with an “old, Russian-made ‘dzam gun” (*me mda' dzam o ru su rgyu rnying*), the old ‘dzam grags from Russia, named “suppressor of enemy force” (*dgra dpung zil gnon*), and the *phyag mda'* belonging to Dbang da la'i bha dur 'Gyur med rnam rgyal (?-1750), plus some thirty other odd ‘dzam grags.⁸³ This fact demonstrates that the ‘dzam grags was the most sought-after matchlock at that time.

In the *Chronicle of Sikkim*, the following references regarding the *me mda'* are recorded for the period of the Gorkha invasion of Sikkim in 1774-88:

When a large Gur[kha] (*gor [kha]*) army arrived [1774] and waged a battle, a gunshot injured Phyogs thub and almost killed him. [...] At that time [1775], the army led by the army commander Brag dkar tshang rig 'dzin killed 300 Gurkhas and handed their heads and hands, two “thunderbolt” (*gnam lcags*) guns, and three “big bang” [*spag chen* (*spag* is a Tibetan onomatopoeia imitating gun sound)] guns to the government. [...] The heads and hands of Gurkhas, the captive soldiers, guns, and many other things were presented at that time. [...] After waging a battle from the tenth to the fifteenth day of the first month of the Iron Rat year [1780], the heads and hands of a commander and one hundred soldiers killed during the battle, as well as guns and five captive soldiers, were handed over to the commander and the Sde pa. [...]⁸⁴

In 1788, Phyogs thub brothers, having defeated the Gurkha army, presented [the regions of] Tsong and Shu 'phags, heads and hands of Gurkhas, captive soldiers, guns, etc., to the government. Similarly, relatives of the late Brag dkar dmag dpon tshang also presented heads and hands of Gurkhas and many weapons including firearms (*me stobs*) to the government. [S.T.N.]⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor, *Rdo ring paṇḍi ta'i rnam thar, stod cha*, 188-9.

⁸¹ *The Samye Monastery*, 225, 247, 249-51, 263, 280-1. On page 247, among the gun offerings, one is specified as *rgya mda'*. Does this mean the rest of the guns were Tibetan made?

⁸² *The Samye Monastery*, 275, 277, 288.

⁸³ Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor, *Rdo ring paṇḍi ta'i rnam thar, smad cha*, 767-8.

⁸⁴ 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs, 114.

⁸⁵ 'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs, 121-2.

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama writes in 1916 that before the introduction of modern British rifles (*dbyin mda'*) into the Dga' ldan pho brang government army (in 1914), they had cherished the *dbang mda'* of Mi dbang pho lha and *'dzam grags* matchlocks.⁸⁶

It is interesting to note that it was the consistent custom and habit of the privileged Tibetan rulers and aristocrats to enjoy the archery contest above any other arms. Plenty of references to their skill and their ability to show off their archery skills can be found, but not to their skills with a matchlock. Yet the annual firing of a gun at a target while on a galloping horse was always performed with a matchlock, even after the introduction of the modern-day rifle. This was because they could perform all the acrobatic flourishes with the lighter matchlock, but not with a heavy modern rifle.

A prominent example of this practice takes place among the Mgo log during the annual Gsangs gsol ritual of the fourth month of the Tibetan calendar when young, energetic and acrobatic men display their skills and sharp shooting with the *bo'u*. I recall a description of these events once told to me by Mkhan po 'Ju bstan skyong:

The Fourth-Pushya of the Ox Month (*glang zla'i bzhi rgyal*) [meaning "the fourth day during a Pushya constellation in the fourth Tibetan lunar month"] is one of the major festivals dedicated to the invocation and propitiation of gods in the nomadic communities of Mgo log. When the male members in these Mgo log communities attended a "Fourth-Pushya of the Ox Month" event, they decorated the horns of their matchlocks (*bog rwa*) [a pair of horns that function as a bipod on a traditional Tibetan matchlock called a *bog*] with streamers and scarves. They also tied a small incense pouch on one of the horns. The men made incense rounds (*bsangs skor*), chanted invocations, and said prayers. After the incense rituals were complete, the men, dressed in their best attire and carrying their matchlocks, stood in a line. Then they chanted a eulogy called "Hail to the Warrior Gods" (*dgra lha dpang bstod*). As they ended each stanza with the verse - "May the Warrior Gods never forsake their people", they gave out a shrilling war cry (*ki sgra*). Then those who had offered incense participated in a horse race at a nearby foothill. In the past, the horsemen also conducted "an enemy suppressing ritual" (*dgra mnan*) on a small plain at the foothill. However, this practice has lost its popularity in recent times.

Then, the men returned to their camps and participated in various shooting games such as *tshang rag* [a horse-riding game that

86 *The Excellent Lily Garland* by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, "Me 'brug bod ljongs dmag sgar las khungs kyi bod bzos 'khrul mda'i deb kyi 'go brjod dge", vol. thi, *shog ldeb* 11ba6.

includes shooting]. They drew a *liṅga* [an effigy] on a paper and mounted it on a bamboo frame. The agile and skilful young riders mounted their horses. And, then in order, the riders competed in shooting by performing *mgo skor rgyab len*, a manoeuvre whereby a rider swung his gun around his head and back to shoot. They also displayed other manoeuvres such as passing the gun under the horse or swinging the gun in different ways during the competition.

Similarly, men in the Rnga ba region of A mdo fired matchlocks on the twenty-ninth day before the Tibetan lunar New Year [New Year's Eve] to remove obstacles. During the *gtor ma*-hurling ritual procession, monks stood in a long line, followed by musketeers (*bo'u ba*), who fired their loud muskets. At the end of the ritual, the musketeers competed in target shooting of *liṅgas*. These days, however, the Chinese have imposed restrictions on the carrying of guns. As a result, the firing competitions have been discontinued, and people today indulge only in the firecrackers. Nonetheless, these festivals mark important events where men showed off their guns, dresses, and ornaments. In some regions, the parishioners took turns participating as musketeers during the celebrations, where they dressed and equipped themselves in their best to represent their monastic and lay communities.⁸⁷

As far as I know, *bog* and *me mda'* are items that are not included in the appraisals of the *brtags thabs* or *dpyad don* literary works available today. They are not included in the *bzo rigs pa tra* genre, either.

8 Folk Ways with Guns. Taboos, Superstitions and Use as Religious Offerings

A number of taboos (*'dzems bya*) and superstitions (*rnam rtogs*) are linked with *bog*. *Bog* enthusiasts made sure that no monk or woman touched their gun at any time as they widely believed that if monks or women touched the *bog* it became *me mda' kha log* (lit. 'a blunted weapon'). During this period of time, sharp shooters tended to miss their target, whether human or game. At best the shooter could only manage to wound the game. To ward off this curse one had to shoot crows (*khwa ta*).

During times of trouble, one had to be constantly alert and could not afford to relax, laying down the arms one carried all the time. But there were particular ways which Tibetan men used to approach

⁸⁷ On the annual *gsangs gsol* ritual and sharp shooting practices of Glang zla bzhi rgyal among the Rdza chu kha nomads of Khams, see Namkhai Norbu, *A Journey into the Culture of Tibetan Nomads*, 99-113.

their lama while remaining armed. When approaching to receive a blessing, an armed Tibetan did two things. Firstly, he carried the *bog* with the stock pointed towards the lama, so that the barrel pointed away. Secondly, the Tibetan man would also let down the braid of his hair usually wrapped around his head, so that it fell on the front of his chest, and then bend to receive the blessing. At no time did one point a gun at friends or foes as this was taken very badly.

Antique *bog*, swords and the old items of *dgra' lha'i go mtshon sna dgu* (nine types of weapons/arms of the War God) can be found in the *mgon khang* of monasteries throughout Tibet, as well as in Bhutan, Nepal, and the Himalayan regions in India. They are treated as *spyang gzig*s,⁸⁸ objects offered to the protective deities of the monastery.⁸⁹

The autobiography of the First Panchen Lama records two cases of offering *me mda'* as *spyang gzig*s around the year 1658: "Many seized items such as guns were offered"⁹⁰ and "guns as offerings".⁹¹ There is also a mention of offering *me mda'*, among other items, as a display of thanks (*gtang rag*) to the Gnas chung oracle in 1690.⁹²

In old Tibet there are many cases of lamas tying knots on needles and swords; this act is a magical performance to neutralise the potential harm the weapon can cause. I am unaware of any accounts of lamas tying knots onto the long barrel of the *bog*, but there are similar cases in which a *bog* belonging to a greatly sinful person was placed under (called *mnan pa rgyab pa*) a *mchod rten* for the same purpose. Nyag bla Padma bdud 'dul (1816-1872) destroyed some 800 *me mda'* alone, including 300 from the Lcags bdud ri nang in Nyag rong.⁹³

9 Depictions of *bog* in *khram glu* Nomad Songs

References to *bog* and horses are found in a number of songs belonging to the *khram glu* genre of nomads' songs. I have collected forty-seven such songs but will only quote eight of them here due to limitations of space. The respective passages read as follows:⁹⁴

88 Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor, *Rdo ring pañdi ta'i rnam thar, stod cha*, 122; *The Collected Works of Cha-Har Dge-Bśes*, vol. 9, 254.

89 Lozang Jamspal, "The Gonkhang, Temple of The Guardian Deities", 43-9; also see 11-14.

90 *Pañ chen blo bzang chos rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 302-3 [S.T.N.].

91 *Pañ chen blo bzang chos rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 305 [S.T.N.].

92 Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, *Drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho*, vol. 9, 413.

93 *Collected Works of Pad ma Bdud 'dul Rdo rje Chos skor*, 563: "Dmyal ba so so'i gzigs snang las / yang sos nang nas me mda'i nyes dmigs khol du phyung ba bzhugs so".

94 I am grateful to my friend Dr. Sonam Tsering Ngulphu for translating all eight *khram glu* into English for me.

1. If I should ride my horse, I am ready to ride,
 For, on her, I have fastened the saddle, the golden saddle.
 If I should not ride, I can opt not to,
 For I have not snapped the bridle, the golden saddle.
 If I should fire my *bog*, I am ready to fire,
 For I have stuffed greyish primer in the barrel (*khog*).
 If I should not fire, I can opt not to,
 For I have not placed a slow match on the serpentine (*rkam*).
 If I should join an alliance, I am ready to join,
 For I can form it in just three words.
 If I should not join an alliance, I can opt not to,
 For I have exchanged neither wealth nor riches.

2. This “long variegated” *bog* (*bog khra ring*) might fail!
 This long variegated will never fail
 Until the bluish bullets (*mdel*) fail.
 This gentle mule might fail!
 This gentle mule will never fail
 Until her slender legs fail.⁹⁵

3. My hometown is far, far away;
 Without a horse, you cannot reach it.
 My hometown is where enemies clash;
 Without a variegated *bog* (*bog khra ris*), you cannot live.⁹⁶

4. A good stallion is [like] a bird,
 And the golden saddle, its plumage.
 When the bird assumes the plumage,
 Its flight will need nothing more!⁹⁷

5. Variegated *bog* are of two kinds – a long and a short.
 How do my hateful enemies deserve them?
 Allies are of two kinds – the past and the present.
 How do the shameless slanderers deserve them?⁹⁸

6. With a long variegated *bog*, I need a short variegated (*khra thung*) *bog* too,
 For I need two – one to take and one to leave!
 With a dapple-grey horse, I need a buckskin horse too,
 For I need two – one to ride and one to rest [my *bog* to shoot]!

⁹⁵ Ldum khang phun tshogs rnam rgyal, *Skyid sdug mi tshe'i phyi bltas*, 229.

⁹⁶ *Rma khams kyi glu tshan la yi zhes pa'i skor*, 555-6.

⁹⁷ *Rma khams kyi glu tshan la yi zhes pa'i skor*, 576-7.

⁹⁸ *Rma khams kyi glu tshan la yi zhes pa'i skor*, 580.

With a vanguard flank, I need a rearguard flank too,
For I need two – one for the tea and one for the wine!⁹⁹

7. This long variegated *bog* – the “shooter of thousand stars”
(*skar ma stong shar*),
Is not my father’s gun and has too many [accessories] to
carry.
Yet, when shooting hawks on the rocky cliffs,
I miss my “shooter of thousand stars” over and again.¹⁰⁰

8. The clear, blue sky is A mdo’s ceiling,
The “right-twirling masculine lotus-faced” (*pho gdong padma*
gyas ’khyil) is their gun (*bo’u*).
Red lightning is A mdo’s adornment,
The “thunderous hailstorm” (*thog ser ba*) is A mdo’s long gun
(*bo’u ring*).¹⁰¹

10 Seven Recitals (*bshad pa*) Dedicated to the *bog*

I have collected seven *bog gi bshad pa* (see the Tibetan original in Appendix 1 of this paper). The first is from the ’Brong pa smad ma tribe in Nang chen, Khams. Every sheep year the ’Brong pa undertake a one-day journey to Southern Khams to circumambulate Rong btsan kha ba dkar po, where they picnic for a day or so. They first fire their *bog* blank (*stong mda’*) into the air. Afterwards they aim at targets to find out who is the sharpest shooter. This practice is called *sgar mda’ ’phen*. The next day the pilgrims pack their bags and begin walking towards Rong btsan kha ba dkar po mostly begging (for food). Everyone, rich and poor, continues like this until they have returned home. This particular *khra ring bog gi bshad pa* (lit. eulogy to the “long muzzle Tibetan matchlock”) was told to me by ’Brong smad be hu Rgyal po (1939-2018), the chieftain of the ’Brong pa smad ma at the Bir Tibetan Society, Bir, Himachal Pradesh in 1979. It goes like this:¹⁰²

1.
Om Svasti!
May goodness thrive!
While many have heard of the long variegated *bog*,

⁹⁹ *Rma khams kyi glu tshan la yi zhes pa’i skor*, 580.

¹⁰⁰ *Rma khams kyi glu tshan la yi zhes pa’i skor*, 59.

¹⁰¹ *Mdo khams stod smad kyi la yi’i glu rigs*, 672.

¹⁰² I am grateful to my friend Dr. Sonam Tsering Ngulphu for translating all seven *khra ring bog gi bshad pa* into English for me.

Those who know them well are rare!
If everyone knows, then who do we call an “expert”!

When, in the past, the gods clashed with the demigods,
There were the nine armours and weapons of the *dgra lha* [war gods],

But not that “meteorite gun” (*gnam lcags me mda'*)!

When humans fought in the intermediary world,
There were the nine armours and weapons of the *dgra lha*,
But not that “meteorite gun”!

In the final aeon, when the lifespan was five hundred years,
The Chinese and the Mongols indulged in sinful killings.

The Chinese forces being unsubdued,

The frontier Turks (*du ru sha*) found a means to subdue.

There appeared the “single wisdom-eyed” Mongol (*sog po ye shes spyan gcig*),

Who was the mind-emanation of Guru Padmasambhava.

He forged the “white wish-fulfilling bog” (*bog dkar bsam pa'i don grub*).

With iron from China, Tibet, and Mongolia, he forged the gun;

With iron from Nepal, he shaped its muzzle (*kha*) and strap buckles (*khur lung*).

He forged this (*bog*) from diverse kinds of iron!

On the muzzle, he engraved a lotus *hri*.

To sustain the Buddha’s teachings, thus he engraved!

In the middle frame (*sked*), he engraved a vajra.

For the happiness of the “black-headed” Tibetans (*bod dbu nag*),
thus he engraved!

On the breech (*klad*), he engraved the “sea-monster” *gre* (*chu srin gre*).

To annihilate the detested enemies, thus he engraved!

To [defeat] enemies, he forged a serpentine (*bkon bu*) and sulfur[-pan] cover (*rmu gab*),

To kill enemies, he shaped clamps (*mkhregs mthud*),

To splash enemy blood, he moulded a flash-pan (*wa sbyor*),

To kill male enemies, he forged a right[-hand] screw (*gyas gcus*),
and

To kill female enemies, he forged a left[-hand] screw (*gyon gcus*).

The right horn (*ru*) [bipod rest] has the nature of “skilful means” (*thabs*);

There, *dgra lha* [war gods] of the Nātha (*mgon po*) class
gather.

The left horn has the nature of “wisdom” (*shes rab*);

There, the banner (*dar thag*) of the class of female [Dharma-] Pāla (*srung ma*) is tied.
The horn-stretcher (*ru zam*) [horn bridge] represents the Five Lineage Buddhas;
There, *dgra lha* of the class of Kṣetrapāla (*zhing skyong*) gather.
The screws are made of hardened meteorites;
There, the [Dharma-]Pāla of the red and black Tvāṣṭṛ (*mgar ba*) [smith] gather.
The stock [*rgum*] is made of the redwood from Rngu chu [river];
There, *dgra lha* of the Kākāmukha (*bya rog gdong*) gather.
The stock-plates (*gram lcags*) are engraved with a pair of golden fish and
The tip of the serpentine (*gzer mgo*) is like the morning star (*skar ma bkrag*);
There, the ninety thousand Varma (*wer ma*) [armour (deities)] gather.
The butt (*steng yu*) is engraved with a scorpion;
There, a thousand [Dharma-]Pāla of the Piśāca (*sha za*) class gather.
The hole in the peep sight (*so khung mig*) is like the self-rising sun;
There, the *dgra lha* of the eyes [*mig*] gather,
As the foresight (*so kha*) annihilates the core red and crimson enemies.
The muzzle pin (*so gzer*) is like the big star on the mountain pass;
There, the divine scouts (*lha'i so ba*) gather.
To the right, there is the powder pouch (*rdzas khug*) called “the great bandit sound” (*jag pa sgra chen*);
To the left, there is the bullet pouch (*mdil khug*) called “the one hundred thousand sins” (*sdig pa 'bum gsog*).

The origin of gunpowder, I shall now explain.
In a cast iron [vessel], he blended these three:
The yellow ground-salt [sulfur] (*sa'i lan tsha ser po*),
The white water-salt [saltpetre] (*chu'i lan tsha dkar po*), and
The black wood-salt [charcoal] (*shing gi lan tsha nag po*).
He stored it in a leafy sac made of a poisonous plant,
Out of which he rolled many poisonous balls (*ril bu*).
The bluish bullets (*mdil*) are made from iron ore
And are ever anxious to burst enemies' hearts.

Having set the two horns (*ru*) [bipod rest] on the ground
And rolled the poisonous ball into the barrel,

The firing will blast the enemies' bodies
Like a thunderbolt that wrecks a lofty, red cliff.

It is like an impartial messenger
And like a fast, gushing wind.
With force and power that is unrivalled,
It is like the meteorite bolt from the sky.
This machine (*'khrul 'khor*), the powerful meteoric gun,
Is fired by the one who has the coveted grace of the *dgra lha*.
It terrifies the sinful, malignant, inimical, and adversarial,
And razes enemies' realms to ashes.

O! Let this hit the enemies and opponent forces - the jackal
[like] Mgo log in the east, Spo mi in the south, Brag yab in the
west, and Dge rtsé in the north, as well as the forces of armies
and the bands of robbers and thieves.
Hooah! Hooah! Hail! Hail! May the gods prevail!
Ki ki swo swo lha rgyal lo! [S.T.N.]¹⁰³

The second *khra ring bog gi bshad pa* was written by Cha phreng Kar rgyal don 'grub (1929-?) from Cha phreng, Southern Khams in 1992.

2.
About the *khra ring bog* ['long variegated' *bog*]

There are many descriptions, such as of the sword worn across the waist, the "long variegated" *bog* (*phra ring bog*, i.e. 'long, slender';

103 "There is an excellent tradition in the 'Brong bar smad nomadic communities of the Great Kingdom of Nangchen of the A lcags 'bru [clan] in the Mdo stod region of Great[er] Tibet. During each New Year of a sheep year, people undertook a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain of Rong btsan kha ba dkar po (white snow valley deity). Before heading to their pilgrimage destination, they first travelled to a pleasant spot nearby and halted for a day. They set up tents, held a picnic, and enjoyed recreational shooting with firearms. They prognosticated on the success and challenges of their planned pilgrimage based on the firing sound of a *bog* called *sgar mda'* (camp gun). This *bog* is fired into the empty sky without setting up any specific target (*'ben*) or stone-stack (*tho btsugs*). Also, people sang panegyrics on *bog* (*sbog bshad*), extolling their firearms. Then having set up targets and stone-stacks at a distance, men at the camping site actively participated in the shooting competition. The next day, the pilgrims then set forth on their journey towards the sacred Kha ba dkar po mountain, halting wherever they could find a favourable site, grass, and water (*sa chu rtsa gsum*)". This historical account and the panegyrics on firearms were composed by Be'u rdo rje rnam rgyal, also known as Vajra Vijaya and more popularly as Rgyal po lags, who was a minister (*mdun na 'don*; Skt. *purohita*) overseeing civil and military affairs for the subjects of King 'Bru in the region of 'Brong bar smad. Even now, he clearly remembers the panegyrics on *Sgar mda'* that he had heard all local elders sing. During our conversation on past Tibetan historical accounts, I immediately put these down in writing in my room at Bsam gtan gling on 10 July 1979.

also *khra ring bog*, i.e. 'long variegated'); the bow and arrows (*nyag phran mda'*); the horse (*li'u rkyang*); the green-slivered barley; the fine Chinese cloth; the blue water; the red fire; and the wandering wind.

The description of *khra ring bog*, for example, is as such. The three kinds of iron – iron from Smar khams sgang, iron from Tsha ba rong, and iron from Ko 'go rong [i.e. Kong po rong] – are mixed to make a *bog*.

If you do not know the smith,
He is the "Oath-bound Tvāṣṭṛ" (*dam can mgar ba*).
If you do not know his smithery apprentice,
He is the *mthe'u rang mgar ba* [thumb(-sized) blacksmith elf].

He set the anvil (*steng*) on the ocean floor,
He placed the bellow (*spe ba*) on the mountain ridge,
He swung the hammer (*tho ba*) in the sky.

With the first drawing of the iron for hammering,
He treats the effects of the poisonous gunpowder.
With the second drawing of the iron for hammering,
He treats the iron to contain the effects of the bullet.
With the third drawing of the iron for hammering,
He treats the iron so that men can guard their land.
With the fourth drawing of the iron for hammering,
He treats the iron so that it suppresses enemies in the four directions.

Like a spyglass that discreetly sees its object,
There is a foresight (*so pha*) that is as small as an anther.
There is a twisting slow-match cord (*me skud sbrul thag*).
There is a trigger (*skam pa*) that resembles a dragon's mouth.
The wooden frames of the *bog* are like smitten gold.
There is a *bog* buckle and a strap that are colourful too.
The sound is loud, like the roar of a thousand dragons.
The bullets are like thunderbolts that shoot from a meteor.
[When fired,] The animals on that mountain will scurry
And those on this mountain will tumble upside down!
Hooah! Hooah! Hail! Hail! May the gods prevail!
Ki ki swo swo lha rgyal lo! [S.T.N.]¹⁰⁴

104 Kar rgyal don grub, *Mdo khams cha phreng gi lo rgyus*, 44-5: "There are descriptions, such as on the "Long Variegated" *bog*; the bow and arrows [*nyag phran mda'*]; the sword across the waist [*sked phran gri*]; horses and asses [*li'u rkyang rta*]; the green-slivered barley; the fine Chinese cloth; and the wandering wind. For example, the panegyric on "Long Variegated" *bog* or *me mda'* states:

The third *khra ring bog gi bshad pa* was written by Klu zog rigs gsum and Lji dbang grags from A mdo stod ma near the Nag chu kha area in 1993:

3.

About the Tibetan *sbod*-Klu sog rigs gsum and Lji dbang grags

This *sbod* [i.e. gun, also *bog*] is an ironsmith's son (*mgar gyi bu*) and iron's nephew (*lcags kyi tsha*), thus its name "smith's son, iron's nephew" (*mgar bu lcags tsha*). When you carry this "long variegated" *sbod* (*khra ring sbod*), "smith's son, iron's nephew", the *dgra lha* [war gods] hover around you. When you fire the gun, it destroys the four-fold enemies. There are seven types of *sbod*: 1. Mongolian "youthful cascade" (*sog po dar thog chu 'babs*), 2. Mongolian "lotus-barrel *rung*" rifle (*sog rung padma kha*), 3. Sino/Mongolian *bye ma dkar ling* (*rgya sog bye ma dkar ling*), 4. *rung la* - white, black, and variegated (*rung la dkar nag khra gsum*), 5. Chinese *shis rab* - white, black, and variegated (*rgya shis rab dkar nag khra gsum*); 6. *Me dzu lcags* from 'Jang (*'jang me dzu lcags*); and 7. "blade splitter" (*'jag ma kha shag*) from Stod mnga' ris.

One

Youthful cascade (*dar thog chu 'babs*),
Variegated and flowing like a youthful cascade,
It looks as if it is sprinkled with gold dust.
Forged in a brownish iron, it has a coarse metal surface.
When this Mongolian youthful cascade is fired,
A wild yak (*'brong*), lying on the ground, shall not rise,
And the one, on its legs, will not walk without a stagger.

Two

Lotus-barrelled *rung* (*rung padma kha*),
It is variegated and looks like a ripple on the water,

Firstly, the iron from Rmar [Smar] khams sgang;
Secondly, the iron from Tsha ba rong; and
Thirdly, the iron from Kong po rong.
Having mixed these three, a *bog* was forged.
If you do not know the smith,
He is the Black Oathbound Tvāṣṭṛ [*dam can mgar ba nag po*].
If you do not know the smithery apprentice,
He is the Mthe'u rang mgar ba.
It sounds like a thousand claps of thunder [*'brug*, also 'dragon'] in the sky,
The bullet is like a striking thunderbolt.
The animals will scurry on the other mountains.
And those on this mountain will tumble upside down!
Hooah! Hooah! Hail! Hail! May the gods prevail!
Ki ki swo swo lha rgyal lo! [S.T.N.]

Its beauty enhanced by the repeated light hammerings.
The muzzle of this *sbod* resembles a lotus.
When beheld, it is irresistible;
When fired, it quashes all adversaries.
Thus, it is the lotus-barrelled Mongolian *rung* (*padma kha'i sog rung*).

Three
Sino-Mongolian *bye ma dkar ling* (*rgya srog bye ma dkar gling*),
A shape that is a blend of Chinese and Mongolian,
It is made from white and, sometimes, mottled iron.
With a narrow barrel and forestock (*kha gzhung*), it has a thick breech.
A gun for hunting wild yaks in the nomadic regions,
It is powerful and can reach far.

Four
Chinese *shis rab* (*rgya shis rab*),
The “twilight” (*skya rengs*) is a white Chinese *shis rab*,
The “meat lover” (*sha dga' ma*) is a black *shis rab*,
The “loud blaster” (*ngar gas can*) is a variegated *shis rab*,
These three *sbod* are called “chunky meat”, and “chunky bullet” (*sha rdog mdel rdog*).

Five
Me dzu lcags from 'Jang (*'jang mda' me dzu lcags*),
Square in shape, the iron barrel is wound with bright wire.
With a black upper cover, its barrel resembles a wailer's mouth.
The square parts bear a lighter hue,
And the cover has a darker hue.
With no studs or inlays and the metals subdued,
This gun from 'Jang called *me dzu lcags* [also *'jang mda' man dzu lcags*]
Can shoot a stag on the high grasslands.

Six
White-, black- and variegated *rung* (*rung dkar nag khra gsum*):
The white *rung* (*rung dkar*) is like a jester's teeth,
The black *rung* (*rung nag*) is like a mourner's tear,
The variegated *rung* (*rung lcags khra*) is like an older man's windpipe.
It is a *sbod* that shoots weasel
Both near and far, and without fail.

Seven

“Blade splitter” from *Mnga’ ris* (*mnga’ ris ‘jag ma ha [g]shag*),
This gun called “blade splitter” (*‘jag ma kha [g]shag*)
Is made of premium iron with short effective range.
The barrel is levelled, and the forestock is raised.
It can hit passerines in shade and crevices.

Also,

The Mongolian *gru gu rgya lug* (*sog gi gru gu rgyalug*)
Resembles the “notched-twisted” *gru gu rgya lug* (*khram gcus*
gru gu rgya lug).

Also,

The Chinese *le bu chus gser* (*rgya yi le bu chus gser*) is a *sbod*
That is not forged, but cast centrifugally.
It is a gun carried on a Tibetan brocade robe.

Also,

Bya dmar byis rjes is a Russian gun (*bya dmar byis rjes o ru*
sog).

The Russian [gun] that “misses when fired” and
“wastes loads of gunpowder and bullets”, thus it is said.
[This is a gun of inferior quality]. [S.T.N.]¹⁰⁵

The fourth *khra ring bog gi bshad pa* is from Khrom tshang, one of the thirty-nine Hor tribes in upper Khams, as recently as 2012. This narrator is from the Bonpo School.

4.

About *sbod*

Om svasti!

May goodness thrive!

When the celestial gods clashed with the demi-gods, there were “the nine armours and weapons of the war gods” (*dgra lha’i go mtshon sna dgu*), but it was impossible for the “long variegated” gun (*khra ring me mda’*) to have existed at that time. When the *gn-yan* spirits clashed with the humans in the middle realms, there were “the nine armours and weapons of the war gods”, but it was impossible for the “long variegated” gun to have existed at that time. When the Nāga (*klu*) clashed with the Bhūpāla (*sa bdag*), there were “the nine armours and weapons of the war gods”, but it was impossible for “the long, mottled gun” to have existed at that time. Finally, in the realm of the humans or [to be more spe-

¹⁰⁵ Klu zog rigs gsum, Lji dbang drags, “Bod sbod kyi bshad pa”, 151-2.

cific] the land of the red Turks (*du ru kha*), “the one wisdom-eyed” Mongolian (*sog po ye shes spyan gcig*), through his views (*lta ba*), emptiness (*stong nyid*), power (*stobs*), and miracles (*rdzu 'phrul*), forged the “long variegated” gun.

With white iron from the Deva (*lha*) of the higher realms,
He forged a barrel with a lotus *hri* on it.
For the happiness of the “black-headed” Tibetans (*bod dbu nag*),
this he forged!
With mottled iron from the *gnyan* of the middle realms,
He forged the middle part and engraved a vajra *hri*.
For the spread of the virtuous Dharma, this he forged!

With brownish iron from the Nāga of the lower realms,
He forged an excellent breech and engraved a Makara *gras* (*chu srin gras*, also *gre*)
For the suppression of enemies and malignant spirits.

The “right-oriented” (*g.yas gcus*) gun is forged by Chinese and Mongolian men,
The “left-oriented” (*g.yon gcus*) gun is forged by Mongolian women,
The Chinese “youthful cascade” (*rgya dar thog chu 'babs*) has a water design (*chu ris*).

The “niner” gun (*dgu mda'*) made of red sandalwood
Is fitted with a white iron barrel.
There, *dgra lha* of the male and female Kṣetrapāla gather.

One
On the tip of the right horn (*rwa*) [bipod rest] of “skilful means”,
The *dgra lha* of a thousand Vīra (*dpa' bo*) [bravehearts] encircle.
On the tip of the right [*sic.* left] horn of “wisdom”,
The *dgra lha* of a thousand descendants of Vīrā (*dpa' mo*) encircle.
On the screws (*gcus 'dzer*), nuts (*gcus gdan*), and bolts (*gcus phor*),
The *dgra lha* of the three principal bodhisattvas (*rigs gsum mgon po*) encircle.
On the horn bridges (*ru zam*) are the Buddha-Mandalas,
The thousand red and black *dgra lha* encircle.
The muzzle bead sight (*so 'dzin*) is like “the great star on the high mountain”.
There, the “unflinching-unbeguiling” *dgra lha* encircle.

The muzzle opening (*so khung*) is like “the self-rising sun” (*nyi ma rang shar*)

There, the *dgra lha* of the eyes (*mig gi dgra lha*) encircle.

On the forestock (*ngang ske*) [duck-neck] with “sun and moon” engraving,

Affix the strap eyebolt (*khur lung*) for cross-patterned leather [straps].

There, the “eight voluntary” *dgra lha* encircle.

In the touch hole, which is like “a wild boar’s belly”,

There are a hundred white nails that twinkle like stars outside

And a black serpentine match-cord (*sbi di*) [*Hin. batti*] within.

There, *dgra lha* of the eight Agni (*me lha*) encircle.

Two

As regarding the origin of the black chemical (*nag po rdzas*) [gun-powder], it is produced by mixing ingredients such as red fire-salt (*me'i lan tshwa dmar po*), yellow ground-salt [sulfur] (*sa'i lan tshwa ser po*), white water-salt [saltpetre] (*chu'i lan tshwa dkar po*), the fibrous material from willow tree or animals (*gseb chung glang ma'i tshar bu*), the pith of juniper (*nyin chung shug pa'i rgyu ma*), shale oil (*brag ri dkar po'i stod tshil*), and fat from a king’s heart (*sa bdag rgyal po'i snying tshil*). After the ingredients are gathered, they were taken to “the flint scorpion” (*sdig pa bir gzugs*) chemical warehouse. Then, shoved into “the dungeon of darkness” (*mun rub bang mdzod*) chemical mortar, they are placed under “the beast’s skull” (*srin po ya thod*) chemical pestle and pounded by “the broad-shouldered savage” (*mi rgod dpung pa*). After having faced east, the mixture and the moving creatures are crushed for seven days of poundings. Scrunch! Scrunch!

Three

The “twenty *hala* poisons” (*nyi shu ha la'i dug rdzas*), “the nine alternate turnings of the thirty” (*sum cu'i res mo'i dgu skor*), “the alternate turnings of the eighty” (*brgyad cu'i res mo'i skor stangs*), etc.

Four

Add the poisonous pills at the bottom. Then, fill the bullet shells halfway with the molten mix.

Five

The firing bullets are made of crushed chemicals.

There, the eighteen *rol po dgra lha* (*rol po bco brgyad kyi dgra lha*) encircle.

Take the chemicals compounded in the “iron ear” mortar (*rna cog lcags kyi gtun khungs*)
And pour them in that [brech] engraved with the “sea-monster gre” (*chu srin gre*).
There, “the swift-moving *dgra lha*” (*myur mgyogs can gyi dgra lha*) encircles.
Wherever the gun is pointed, there shall fall a rain of blood.
Wherever the horns are fixed, there shall form a fog of evil.
With a speed that rivals the swiftest wind,
It is like an unwavering strike of a wild thunderbolt.
I did not fire at the gods above,
Yet, the gods bend their legs.
I did not fire at the Nāga below,
Yet the Nāga duck their heads.
I did not fire at the *gnyan* in the middle,
Yet they dodge and turn their body.

The enemies at whom I fire are the Spo bo of the south, the Mgo log of the north, the Nyag rong, who are the enemies of Dharma, and the Yellow Hor. Like a hailstorm, may it hit the heart of the evil enemies! *Hom ma ya!*

On the stock butt (*dpung yu*), where “Bon guardians” (*bon skyong gi sku 'dus*) assemble,
The Kākamukha-nātha (*mgon po bya rog*) encircle.
On the trigger (*skam pa*), where “the envoy of the Ge sar Khrom” (*ge sar khrom gyi pho nya*) gather,
The *dgra lha* of the thousand red and black ironsmiths (*mgar bu dmar nag gi dgra lha*) encircle.

Having mixed the poisonous herbs in the skull cup (*par bu*),

Roll many balls of this toxic mix.
Measure them with “the beast-faced measuring cup” (*'jal phor srin po'i gzugs can*)
And put them in the evil bullet shells. [S.T.N.]¹⁰⁶

The fifth *khra ring bog gi bshad pa* comes from recent Gesar epic literature. It was written by Lha dge or Bdud 'dul rnam rgyal (1916-91), the Chieftain of 'Brong pa stod ma of Nang chen, Khams whilst in Rma ri la kha in (then) Punjab, India, in 1962.

106 Dge legs grags pa et al., *Sbra chen rdzong khongs sngon ma'i tsho shog so so'i lo rgyus*, 336-9. I am indebted to Ven. A Krong rin chen rgyal mtshan for providing me with a copy of the book.

5.
For this variegated meteoric bolt (*gnam lcags khra bo*) in my hand,
The Mongol king Gnam khri btsan po
Snared the black and brown Garuḍa (*khyung*)
From Brag dmar leb chen mountains of Mongolia.
Then, the three *mthe'u rang* - white, black, and variegated,
Gave him three "spirit-stones" (*bla rdo*) - white, black, and variegated.
After three days had passed,
He brought the nine types of iron -
The three upward-twisted white irons,
The three downward-forged black irons,
And the three placed-inside variegated irons.
When the twenty-ninth darkness shrouded them,
The "thumb elves" and the Nine Tvāṣṭṛ Siblings (*mgar ba mched dgu*) struck
The white iron with soft strikes (*mnyen rdung*),
The mottled iron with beautifying strikes (*mdzes rdung*), and
The black iron with hardening strikes (*ngar rdung*).
Having mixed nine kinds each of poison, blood, and medicine -
Three times nine, twenty-seven in all -
They used the solution as quenching water (*ngar chu*).
Having prayed solemnly that no enemies shall escape or survive,
They compound the poisonous mix.
Firstly, borax (*lce tsha*) to infuriate the demonic māra (*bdud*);
Secondly, sulfur (*mu zi*) to infuriate the Mātrika (*ma mo*); and
Thirdly, coal (*sol ba*) to infuriate the Nāga and Rākṣasa (*srin*).
Then, again, the three poisonous liquids are mixed -
Alcohol, the root of anger;
Clarified butter, the root of ignorance; and
Mātrika blood, the root of desire.
Having mixed these in a precious golden vessel,
Fill the shells made of copper, iron, and silver.
Then, loading the bullet on the horse of red light,
Activate the blue iron machine.
When fired, the unfailing thunderbolt
Will hit the white and black points without fail!
Ho ma ya! [S.T.N.]¹⁰⁷

107 *Rmi li gser rdzoñ*, 277-9: "Dzam gling ge sar rgyal po'i rtogs brjod las rmi li'i gser g.yang blang ba'i smad kyi le'u khra mo ngo mtshar gtam gyi phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs pa'i dbu phyogs lags so".

The sixth and seventh *khra ring bog gi bshad pa* are also written by Lha dge or Bdud 'dul rnam rgyal (1916-1991), the Chieftain of the 'Brong pa stod ma of Nang chen, Khams. These two are tentatively thought to belong to the *khra ring bog gi bshad pa* genre.

6.

This "long variegated" gun called the "slender pack of 100,000 sins" (*sdig pa'i 'bum rdzong*)

Is made of iron of ninety-nine kinds.

With a barrel (*gzhung lcags*) of dark-greyish metal

And a white breech (*klad lcags*) of softer iron,

It has nineteen mechanical parts that pull or push.

The white front sight rivet (*so 'dzer*) is made of silver,

The bullets (*mdel*) are made of precious gold,

The bullet tips (*mdel rtse*) are made of cast aluminum (*stong*),
and

The killer shells (*rme phor*) are made of precious copper.

Thus, they are loaded on the horse of red lightning.

The toxic black *ha la* (*ha la nag po*) poison

Is mixed with nine different poisons.

Firstly, white borax (*zil dkar*) is procured through baneful
prayer

And from the amniotic fluid of a terrific male Māra (*bdud*);

Secondly, yellow sulfur (*mu ser*) comes through violating
commitments

And from the amniotic fluid of a terrific female Māra (*bdud mo*);
and

Thirdly, [black] coal (*sol ba*), which results from bad Karmic
curse

And the terrific evil Nāga.

The nine poisons, nine types of blood, and nine herbs -
Twenty-seven in all,

Come from the prayers of the Māra Surati (*dga' rab*).

It triggers Karma and damnation

To destroy the trichilocosmic universes.

When fired, it is unfailing like a thunderbolt,

And can shatter dry cliffs and cast them in the ocean.

But today, it is on you! *Ho ma ya!* [S.T.N.]¹⁰⁸

7.

This thunderbolt-like gun (*thog mda'*) that destroys nine cliffs

Is brought from beyond the endless ocean.

Firstly, the white molten iron (*zhun lcags*) from the sky;

108 *Rmi li gser rdzong*, 351-2.

Secondly, the brown essence from molten lava (*rdo zhun*);
 Thirdly, the spirit metal (*bla lcags*) of the nine *mthe'u rang*
 siblings (*mthe'u rang spun dgu*):
 From nine types of metal, it is forged.
 Then on the pitch dark of the twenty-ninth [night],
 The nine skilful blacksmiths forged [the bullets]
 Using nine types of blood as *ngar chu* [quenching water]
 And nine herbs and nine poisons.
 Then loading on this horse [i.e.] of “the essence of four elements”
 (*'byung bzhi'i bcud*)
 With the Māra Surati's (*dga' rab*) damnation,
 All factors for destroying the four continents (*gling bzhi*) are
 ripe.
 When fired, it is an unfailing demonic weapon. [S.T.N.]¹⁰⁹

In general, the *khra ring bog gi bshad pa* tell us roughly when the *bog* was introduced in Tibet, that its first maker was in the Snow Land, what the features and properties of the *bog* are, and the parts comprising them, as well as the accessories and materials used to make them. Finally, they describe how to target the traditional enemies of the tribe in the four directions and to visualise firing at them.

Two of the *khra ring bog gi bshad pa* mention that the first people to forge/strike (*brdungs*) a *bog* are *sog po* or Mongol. Here the narrator does not use the usual verb *bzos* to designate the making of the *bog*.

11 A Few Traditional Lists of Warrior's Equipment

The early Tibetan idea of equipping oneself with items to be worn on the body while using weapons is known as *dgra lha'i go mtshon sna dgu*.¹¹⁰ This comprises the clothing and paraphernalia worn by a brave man, thus known as *dpa' chas* attire. Their purpose is twofold: to protect oneself and to harm others.

According to a Mongolian scholar, Cha har dge bshes Blo bzang tshul khirms (1740-1820), the nine basic items to protect the body

¹⁰⁹ *Rmi li gser rdzoñ*, 599-600.

¹¹⁰ A warrior should be protected by nine *Dgra lha gnyan po mched*, war gods on his right shoulder. They are *Gtso bo dpa' brtan dmag dpon*, *Mthu chen dgra 'dul*, *Snang grags 'brug ldir*, *Drag rtsal thog 'bebs*, *Skyes pa srog 'don*, *Sdang ba srog gcod*, *Skyes bu rang chas*, *Bya khra ngon mo* and *Dgra smang shog rtsal dkar mo*. At the same time, he should be protected by the five *Rang la 'go ba'i lha*. They are *Mo lha*, *Srog lha*, *Pho lha*, *Yul lha* and *Dgra lha*; or, alternatively, *Pho lha*, *Mo lha*, *Zhang lha*, *Brag lha* and *Le'u lha*. Cf. “*Dgra lha dpang bstod bzhugs so*”, in *Bdag chen rgya dkar ba shes rab bzang po*, *Bsangs yig dgos 'dod kun 'grub*, 118-26 (*dgra lha dpang bstod don gnyis lhun grub ces bya ba bla chen 'phags pa rin po ches mdzad pa rdzogs so / mangga lam /*).

are the helmet, armour, the mirror plate on the heart, breast plate over the abdomen, the vambraces and rerebraces, the cuisses, the poleyns, the greaves, and the shield.¹¹¹

The nine basic weapons to annihilate others are the wheel with one thousand swords, the battle axe, the dagger, the sword, the arrows, the bow, the spear, the lasso, and the sling.¹¹² In later times, one finds a slightly different list of the *dgra lha'i go mtshon sna dgu*, for example, 1. helmet (*rmog*),¹¹³ 2. armour (*khra*),¹¹⁴ 3. bow [and arrows] (*mda'*),¹¹⁵ 4. spear (*mdung*),¹¹⁶ 5. sword (*gri*),¹¹⁷ 6. axe (*sta re*), 7. protection cloth (*tshe gos*), 8. protection cord (*tshe mdud*), and 9. lasso (*zhags pa*), which are quoted from *Gling sgrung gces btus (deb gnyis pa'i sha 794.6)*.¹¹⁸

111 *Dgra lha'i rten dar btsugs nas mchod ba'i cho ga 'dod don kun 'grub ces bya ba bzhugs so* in the *The Collected Works of Cha-Har Dge-Bśes*, vol. 9, 252): “The nine essential components of armour: helmet (*rmog*) for the head, armour (*khra*) for upper body, breastplate (*snying khebs*) to attach a mirror-plate (*me long*), tassets (*smad g.yogs*) that cover up to the [lower?] abdomen, winged spaulders (*lag shag*) to cover the shoulders, cuisses (*brla 'dril*), poleyns (*pus khebs*), greaves (*rkang shag*), and the shield (*phub*)” [S.T.N.].

112 *Dgra lha'i rten dar btsugs nas mchod ba'i cho ga 'dod don kun 'grub ces bya ba bzhugs so* in *The Collected Works of Cha-Har Dge-Bśes*, vol. 9, 252-3): “The nine essential [*rang byung*, “self-risen”] weapons to destroy opponents: thousand-spoked “wheel of swords” [*ral gri 'khor lo*], double bit axe [*gshog pa'i dgra sta*], dagger [*chu gri*] for cutting, sword [*ral gri*] for slicing, arrows with vulture-feather fletching [*rgod sgro can gyi mda'*], a strong bow, a spear with streamers [*ba dan*], a black Vajra lasso [*zhag pa*], and a nine-eyed [patterned/string] stone sling [*imig dgu ldan 'ur rdo*]” [S.T.N.].

Dgra lha dpang bstod bzhugs so, in Bdag chen rgya dkar ba shes rab bzang po, *Bsang yig dgos 'dod kun 'grub*, 118-26 (*dgra lha dpang bstod don gnyis lhun grub ces bya ba bla chen 'phags pa rin po ches mdzad pa rdzogs so / mangga lam/*).

113 Tshangs dbang dge 'dun bstan pa, *Gzi dmar*, 23-32; La Rocca, *Warriors of the Himalayas*, 68-91; *Brtag thabs padma dkar po'i 'chun po*, 63-4; Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 175-6.

114 Moon, “Tibetan Arms and Armour”, 14-18; Tshangs dbang dge 'dun bstan pa, *Gzi dmar*, 33-58; La Rocca, *Warriors of the Himalayas*, 51-65; *Brtag thabs padma dkar po'i 'chun po*, 50-9, 75-80; Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 177.

115 La Rocca, *Warriors of the Himalayas*, 187-97; Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 178.

116 La Rocca, *Warriors of the Himalayas*, 174-86; Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 179-80.

117 La Rocca, *Warriors of the Himalayas*, 146-73; *Brtag thabs padma dkar po'i 'chun po*, 59-63, 75; Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 178-9; G.yas ru stag tshang pa dpal 'byor bzang po (Author listed as G.yas ru stag tshang pa shākya'i dge bsnen Śrī bhu ti bha dra [=Dpal 'byor bzang po], *Rgya bod kyi yig tshang mkhas pa dga' byed chen mo 'dzam gling gsal ba'i me long*, 330-41; Stag tshang pa dpal 'byor bzang po, *Rgyal rabs mang po'i legs bshad*. The latter work is missing three texts: “1. Origin of the Tibetan Sword (Bod kyi gri byung tshul gyi lo rgyus), 2. Origin of Tea in Tibet (Bod du ja byung tshul gyi lo rgyus), and 3. Treatise on Examining Good and Bad Porcelain (Dkar yol legs nyes brtag pa'i bstan bcos)”.

118 Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 180; Nor brang o rgyan, *Chos rnam kun btus*, 1961: “The nine armours and weapons of Dgra lha (*dgra lha'i go*

The *bog* is not included here, which may indicate that the concept and family of *dgra lha'i go mtshon sna dgu* date before the fifteenth century, when the matchlock was invented in Europe. In earlier versions of the Gling Ge sar episodes, there is no reference to the *bog* in the hero's various expeditions. It was the age of the *mda' gri mdung gsum* (arrow, sword and spear) or more correctly, the generation of the *dgra lha'i go mtshon sna dgu*.

The most beloved and famous ceremony that includes the presentation of the *dgra lha'i go mtshon sna dgu* or *go gsol* to a warrior in Central Tibet is found in the biography of Chos rgyal Nor bzang, the *A lce lha mo* libretto written in the eighteenth century by Sding chen nas tshe ring dbang 'dus. Most of the elders who watch the Chos rgyal Nor bzang opera play anticipate the *go gsol* episode of the play with bated breath.¹¹⁹ In later days, some lamas tended to add *me mda'* to the *dgra lha'i go mtshon sna dgu*.

12 Two Texts to Summon War Deities into a Firearm

I will now present two such examples of texts that explain how to transfer the war deities into the firearm or place the war god (*dgra lha*) onto the *bhor* or *me mda'* (*me mda' dgra lha bkod pa*, see the Tibetan original in Appendix 2). In one case *dgra lha* is spelled *sgra lha*, which is perhaps more archaic.¹²⁰

mtshon sna dgu) are: 1. helmet (*rmog*), 2. armour (*khrab*), 3. bow [and arrows] (*mda'*), 4. spear (*mdung*), 5. sword (*gri*), 6. axe (*sta re*), 7. protective cloth (*tshe gos*), 8. protective cord (*tshe mdud*), and 9. lasso (*zhags pa*). A modern text enumerates them differently:

Describing the nine armours and weapons of *dgra lha*, the *Mahākāla Sādhana* states, The armour and weapons blessed by the Victor include:
Body armour (*go khrab*) that is like emptiness (*stong nyid, sūnyata*),
Protective cord (*tshe mdud*) of love and compassion,
Adamantine helmet (*rdo rje'i rmog*) that is immutable and indestructible,
Secret cloak Ber (*gsang gos ber*) that avoids the extremes of eternalism and nihilism (*rtag chad mtha' bral*),
Swastika shield (*gyung drung phub*) that is indestructible,
Bow and arrows (*mda' zhu*) that unite wisdom and skilful means,
Sword (*ral gri*) that is like wisdom to the [mis]conceptualisations (*rnam rtog, vikalpa*),
Sharp spear (*mdung*) that pierces the core of the mental afflictions (*nyon mongs, kleśa*),
And lasso (*zhags pa*) that ensnares all [false] appearances (*snang ba, drśya*). [S.T.N.]
(*Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas, Gser thal gyi lo rgyus*, 174)

See also Padma rgyal, "Gling ge sar rgyal po", 97-106.

¹¹⁹ Nor bzang gi rnam thar, 98-9.

¹²⁰ For the term *sgra lha*, see Nam mkha'i nor bu, *Sgrung lde'u bon gsum gyi gtam e ma ho*, 140-2. I am grateful to my friend Dr. Sonam Tsering Ngulphu for translating into English these two texts of "Summoning of the Warlike Deity into the Firearm".

The first one was written by a certain Gñub 'od skyes sprul 'dod ñi sha dha of the Chags ru Nyi ma grags pa (1647-1710) tradition. As of now, I have no additional information regarding the author.

1.

Interstitial Passage

Hūm

On a *bhor* [gun], the positions of the *dgra lha* are as such.

On the tip of the right horn (*rwa*) of “skilful means” (*thabs*),
The *dgra lha* of the male Nātha (*mgon po*) lineages are placed.

On the tip of the left horn (*rwa*) of “wisdom” (*shes rab*) are
The *dgra lha* of the female Devi (*lha mo*) lineages are placed.

On the barrel (*sbu gu*) made of hardened iron,

The *dgra lha* of the Kākamukha (*bya rog gdong can*) are
placed.

On the front sight (*so pa*) that seals the enemies’ hearts,

The *dgra lha* of the male and female Kṣetrapāla are placed.

In the opening of the muzzle,

The *dgra lha* of the male and female Vānaramukha (*sprel gdong*)
are placed.

On the trigger (*pho nya*) that controls the slow-match lock (*me skam*),

The *dgra lha* of the red and black Tvāṣṭṛ (*mgar ba*) are placed.

On the poisonous serpentine (*dug sbrul 'gug yag*) of the excellent
gun,

The *dgra lha* of the black nāga demons (*klu mdud*) are placed.

In the flashpan (*rna phor*), where the borax [gunpowder]
sparkles,

The *dgra lha* of the *har len btsan rgod* class are placed.

In the gunpowder (*me mdes rdzas*) of the firing bullet,

The *dgra lha* of the eighteen Rol pa are placed.

In the red meteorite thunderbolt[-like] lead core,

The *dgra lha* of the spirit guardian *shel ging* (*srog bdag shel ging*)
are placed.

In the turquoise dragon[-like] sound,

The *dgra lha* of the Kim kam Gṛha demons (*gza' bdud*) are
placed.

In the gunpowder case (*kho tho*), which is a storehouse of
poisons,

The *dgra lha* of the eight great Gṛha deities (*gza' chen brgyad*)
are placed.

In the [powder] dispenser (*sha khag*) is an embracing pair of *gre*
sea monsters (*chu srin gre 'tham*),

The *dgra lha* of the four Mukha (*gdong can bzhi*) are placed.

In the measuring horn (*gzhal phor*) of fierce, sharp[-horned] wild
goat,

The *dgra lha* of the Piśāca (*sha za*) are placed.
In the pouch (*hur thum*) for the igniting powder (*mgyogs rdzas*),
which is its chief vitality,
The *dgra lha* of the twenty-eight Nakṣatra (*rgyu skar*)
[constellation] are placed.
In the end of the wild wooden stock,
The *dgra lha* of the Dūtikā (*pho nya*) class are placed.
In the hard thunderbolt screws (*kyus 'dzer*) [also *gcus 'dzer*],
The *dgra lha* of the well-established Vīra are placed.
In the smooth, rainbow-patterned carrying strap (*khur lung*),
The *dgra lha* of the protector Deva are placed.
In the slow-match wick cover (*bhir shub*) with its poisonous wick
(*khur lung*),
The *dgra lha* of the evil Māra (*bdud*) are placed.
In the lethal *sber*-shaped gunpowder bag (*rdzas khug*),
The *dgra lha* of the Bhūpāla (*sa bdag*) are placed.
In the bullet case (*mdel kheb*) that is like a pair of tortoises
conjoined at their bellies,
The *dgra lha* of the eight trigrams (*spar kha*) [Chinese *bagua*],
nine square (*sme ba*), years and months are placed.
In the bullet pouch (*mdel khug*) with a bending fish [design],
The *dgra lha* of the Caṇḍāla (*rdor*) [also *gdol*], Māra and Nāga
are placed.
When this cannon (*me sgyogs*) composed of the five elements
(*'byung ba*)
Is fired at the enemies replete with five poisons (*dug*),
The five [psycho-physical] aggregates (*phung po*) are turned into
ashes
And dissolve into the five wisdoms (*ye shes*).
Having placed the *dgra lha* in their positions,
If one wages war against the corruptors,
One can annihilate the enemies in all ten [directional] places.
Hail, Hail, Hail (*dgra lha*)!

As an ancillary to the eight-fold instructions (*bka' brgyad*),
This *dgra lha* propitiation was written by Gñub 'od skyes sprul
'dod ḡi sha dha
In a light-hearted way and with whatever my mind could grasp.
For any error there may be, I confess to the protector deities.
May I never be separated from the *dgra lha*
Who descend as annihilators of the disruptive enemies!
[S.T.N.]¹²¹

121 Tulku Pema Lodoe, *The Collected Rediscovered Teachings of Rig 'dzin Nyi ma grags pa*, 267.

The second part is loosely attributed to a certain Shākya'i dge slong Rakṣa go mi sa mu ṭa whose biography and dates are unknown to me, though there is speculation that he lived in the nineteenth century and was from A mdo. In 2010, the A mdo scholar Padma rnam rgyal reprinted the text but without mentioning its author.

2.

Furthermore, the placing of *dgra bla* on a gun is as follows.

O! O! O *dgra lha*, whom I have invoked before! Heed me!

For the sake of blessings of extended offerings to you,

The generous patrons have thus placed

The *dgra bla* on their guns.

The golden-hued sulphur (*mu zi*) is yellow,

The conch-like shiny borax (*ze tshwa*) is white,

The donkey-cumbering coal (*sol ba*) is black.

Formed from four proportions,

This gun sounds like the “turquoise dragon” (*gyu 'brug*)

And can enervate the intensity of a mighty thunderbolt.

On this “Great Sound” (*sgra chen*) that splits enemies' hearts,

The *dgra lha* of the [thunder]bolt, thunder, and lightning are placed.

Elegantly shaped, its casing is adorned with nine-fold jewel inlays.

It has two raised, riveted (*gcus phur*) horns,

A front sight (*so 'dzin*) for aiming at the target,

A rear sight through which you calibrate [your aim],

A splendid pouch (*shubs*) to store the igniting tinder (*me rta*),

A camel-shaped iron trigger (*lcags skam*), and

An ignition flashpan (*me len sna*) and the flashpan cover (*sna kheb*),

On these, place the inner-, outer-, and secret-*dgra lha* (*phyi nang gsang ba'i dgra lha*).

[Then,] On the barrel of this gun,

Which is made of steel and whose lifespan is infinite,

Place the enduring and invincible *dgra lha*.

Swo! Swo! For the [downfall of the] enemies!

Chas! Chas! For the [downfall of the] enemies!

May all enemy realms be completely vanquished! [S.T.N.]¹²²

¹²² Shākya'i dge slong rakṣa go mi sa mu Tas (?), *Rlung rta'i ka 'dzugs bsod nams dpung bskyed*, 78-9 (*shog ldeb*, 39ba5-40ka5); Padma rgyal, *Sgra lha'i go mtshon sna dgu yon bdag la 'god tshul*, 234-39. In this text, of the nine *dgra lha'i go mtshon sna dgu* only *ber gos*, *khrab chen*, *gzhu*, *me mda'*, *ral gri* and *rta* are mentioned. See particularly page 237 for *me mda'*. See also *Rlung rta'i ka 'dzugs bsod nams dpal skyed kyi zur 'debs legs tshogs 'bras kyi snye*, 885-92.

The *Dgra lha bkod pa* to the *bog* implies the ritualistic preparation of directing the war god (*dgra lha*) to each part of the *bog* in order to make it become magically empowered.

13 A Prophecy on Weapons' Technology

Tibetans have a great deal of literature on the faults of drinking alcohol, eating meat, smoking cigarettes, and snubbing others. There is also a rare piece on the faults of using *me mda'* entitled "The Ills of Guns" from the section on "The Reviving Hell", taken from *The Vision of the Hell Realms* (*dmyal ba so so'i gzigs snang las / yang sos nang nas me mda'i nyes dmigs khol du phyung ba bzhugs so //*). This passage is from a discourse by Nyag bla Padma bdud 'dul¹²³ and transcribed faithfully by Tshwa nyag Shes rab mthar phyin, a direct disciple of his. It goes as follows:

Regarding guns, there will also be spread of techniques of chemical [weaponry] from beyond the ocean of the nonhumans.¹²⁴ There will be times when fifteen to twenty bullets can be fired at the same time from a single gun, with fifteen to twenty sounds produced simultaneously. There will be times when the sound of a single gun can explode into the ears of living beings as far away as up to one league.¹²⁵ There will be times when a big gun that is able to destroy an entire town becomes available. There will be times when a single magical gun that can burn an entire town will become widely available. There will be times when a gun will produce no sound other than a mild hitting sound of the bullet on its target.¹²⁶ There will be cases when a person is shot by a gun, his or her death is certain, and no fire, smoke, or sound is produced. There will be times when a gun can cause the firing to spiral into the sky. There will be times when a gun can fire even without gunpowder (*mu zi*), soda (*ba tshwa*), etc. There will be times when a gun can fire automatically without the need for a flint. There will be times when a gun becomes impervious to water, and people swimming in water like fish are able to launch a projectile from the middle of the ocean. There will be times when a projectile can

¹²³ *Mdo khams nyag rong gi grub chen nyi zla kun mdzes sam / 'khrul zhiig byang chub gling pa'am / khang brtsegs padma bdud 'dul /*

¹²⁴ *Mi ma yin*: this term applies to a wide range of non-humans such as ghosts, spirits, demons, zombies, etc., or anyone possessing characteristics associated with a class of non-humans.

¹²⁵ *Dpag tshad*: loosely translated as "league", *dpag tshad* is equal to 4,000 fathoms according to Abhidharma and Kālachakra tantras.

¹²⁶ This refers to the use of a silencer on guns.

move by itself in the sky. There will be times when a projectile will move automatically and hit the troops, at which point it will discharge ten munitions towards the four and ten directions as well as above and below while producing ten different sounds. Thus, as a sign of the degeneration of virtues in this world, there will be times with immense proliferation of guns of all kind. [S.T.N.]¹²⁷

The great *gter ston* who died in 1872 thus seems here to predict, among many other warlike developments of the future, the forthcoming appearance of the first fully automatic weapon or machine gun, the Maxim. Prior to its invention, the first gun to fire many bullets continuously was the Gatling gun, invented by George Gatling in 1862 (after the even earlier but much slower Puckle gun created in 1718, however, both not being truly automatic weapons). The British used the Maxim machine gun (invented in 1884) during the Younghusband invasion, which was the first time Tibetans encountered such a devastating weapon. To quote from the Royal Irish Rifle's website: "Following continuing Tibetan refusal to negotiate and further fighting, reinforcements arrived from India, including a Machine Gun detachment, commanded by Lt. J.C. Bowen-Colthurst RIF, from the 1st Battalion, The Royal Irish Rifles. The advance continued. The Tibetan force twice tried to arrest the column's progress on 28 June and again on 6 July; each time the Tibetans lost several hundred casualties. A third battle started on 14 July at a height of 20,000 feet. In these three skirmishes, the Machine Gun detachment fired 2,097 rounds".¹²⁸ Perhaps the French used it in the 1890s against Morocco and Algeria!

14 Conclusions

For nearly a quarter of a century, i.e. between 1959 to c. 1985, across the whole of Tibet, all brands of modern guns and Tibetan matchlocks were confiscated by the PRC. The PLA also confiscated all the firearms and ammunitions from regular Tibetan soldiers, monks, ordinary Tibetan civilian families, freedom fighters and guerrillas, and this included Tibetan matchlocks of varying kinds and differing vintages. After Dga' ldan pho brang dignitaries escaped to India haphazardly and hurriedly, all the firearms and ammunitions that were kept

¹²⁷ *Collected Works of Padma Bdud 'dul Rdo rje Chos skor*, 546-8.

¹²⁸ <https://www.royal-irish.com/events/1-rir-detachment-to-the-tibet-war>. See also there an image of the Maxim gun. Note: Lt. J.C. Bowen-Colthurst is on the left; the barrel is inside a metal tube or housing which contains water to cool it. I am grateful to my friend Jamyang Norbu for sharing this information.

at the main *go mdzod* (armoury) in Lhasa and other smaller Tibetan government *go mdzod* in many different districts (*rdzong*), headquarters and monasteries were also confiscated. At the same time in all the monasteries, big and small, 100 to 1,000 or more years old, firearms and other accessories offered as *spyang gzig*s to the *mgon khang* were also removed by the PRC.

It was only after the introduction of a period of relaxation in late 1979 that Tibetan people in Nag chu, Skye dgu mdo, Gser shul, Li thang, Gser tra and Mgo log could start their annual horse racing (*rta rgyugs*) event again. At such gatherings, people wear overly exaggerated jewellery and clothing, and one feels incomplete if one cannot posture and swagger without a *bog* on one's back. At the same time, horse racing alone does not provide full satisfaction; one needs to show off one's sharp shooting skills using a *bog* while galloping. Nowadays, matchlock-toting and sharp-shooting contests are in full swing during all *rta rgyugs*. There is even a new trend of the bridegroom and his friends sporting *bog* just before the main ceremony starts. These incidents prove that Tibetan matchlock-making skills are very much alive. As of now I have no knowledge of whether or not one needs a licence from the authority to make matchlocks and/or to own one. In any case, one can see that the Tibetan peoples' passion and enthusiasm for the *bog* has never died.

Only a few photographs (that unfortunately cannot be reproduced here for copyright reasons), provide a glimpse of the occurrence of *bog* in modern times. One is on the inside cover of the journal *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal* (Tibetan Literature and Art)¹²⁹ and shows that in the mid-nineties Khampas were already making *bog* for sporting and decorative purposes. Another, in *Tibet Today*,¹³⁰ shows a Tibetan militiaman, while in another publication entitled *Tibet*,¹³¹ a nomadic woman is shown carrying a matchlock with its characteristic prongs. Its caption reads:

The pride and independence of the people of remotest Tibet are eloquently expressed in the bearing of this nomadic woman. The rifle slung on her back is most unusual. Note the two prongs at the end, which are placed on the ground when firing. This type of rifle is thought to have been invented by the Mongols.

The photo was probably taken in the seventies. It would be a challenging and interesting task to compare the old *bog* that are now in

¹²⁹ Lhundup Namgyal, *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal*.

¹³⁰ *Tibet Today*, 112.

¹³¹ A book published by Jugoslovenska Revija, Belgrade and the Shanghai People's Art Publishing House, authored by Ngapho Ngawang Jigme et al., 120.

Western museums with those recently made in Tibet, as comparing the quality, method and materials would surely yield interesting findings. It is time for wealthy Western museums and galleries to begin collecting the modern-made Tibetan *bog*.

Last but not least, it is known that the Tibet Archives in Lhasa hold some military records (*dmag deb*) of the Dga' ldan pho brang (1642-1959) period, as well as armoury registers (*go theb*). They also hold the military records of Byang bdag myriarchy and of the Sde pa gt-sang pa rulers. It is quite tempting to say that one day, maybe soon, an enlightened Chinese museologist and connoisseur may have the wisdom and wit to curate an exhibition of Tibetan firearms and ammunitions. If such an occasion arises, it would create the conditions for supporting bright students in serious research on the firearms of pre-1959 Tibet.

Appendix 1. The Seven Bog gi bshad pa

ཀྱི ལྟ་འདྲ་ལོག་གི་བཤད་པ།

ལྟ་འདྲ་ལོག་གི་བཤད་པ་(གྲུར་) ཅིག་ལྟ་འདྲ་ལོག་གི་བཤད་པ་དེ། གོ་མི་མང་སྟེ་
ཤེས་མི་དགོན། ཀུན་གྱིས་ཤེས་ན་མཁས་པ་དེ་སྲུ་ལ་ཟེར། དེ་ལ་སྟོན་ཚེ་ལྷ་དང་ལྷ་མིན་འབྲུགས་
པའི་དུས། དཔལ་དག་ལྷའི་གོ་མཚོན་སྲ་དགུ་མ་གཏོགས། གནམ་ལྷགས་མེ་མའདུང་ཟེར་བ་ཡོད་མ་
སྲིད། པར་གྱི་མི་ཁམས་འབྲུགས་པའི་དུས། དཔལ་དག་ལྷའི་གོ་མཚོན་སྲ་དགུ་མ་གཏོགས། གནམ་
ལྷགས་མེ་མའདུང་ཟེར་བ་ཡོད་མ་སྲིད། ཚེ་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་དུས་ཀྱི་མཐའ་མ་ལ། རྒྱ་སོག་སྲིག་པའི་སྲོག་གཅོད་
ཚོ་རྒྱ་མ་ཐུབ་མཐའ་དམག་དུ་བྱུ། །དེ་ཉིད་འདུལ་བའི་གཉེན་པོ་ལ། སོག་པོ་ཡི་ཤེས་སྲུན་གཅིག་
དེ། ལྷ་བྱ་བ་དང་འབྲུང་ཐུགས་ལས་སྐྱུལ། དེས་པོག་དཀར་བསམ་པའི་དོན་གྲུབ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་
བོད་ལྷགས་སོག་ལྷགས་གསུམ། ཁ་དང་འབྲུར་ལུང་བལ་པོའི་ལྷགས། ལྷགས་མི་གཅིག་ལྷགས་སྲུ་
དགུ་ལ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། ཁ་སྟོད་པད་མ་ཉིལ་ལ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། ཚེས་སངས་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་
སྟོད་པ་རྟོ་རྟེན་འགྲོལ་ལ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། བོད་དབྱེ་ནག་བདེ་ལ་འཁོད་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། ལྷ་དུ་ནས་རྒྱ་སྲིན་
གྲོ་ལྷར་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། ལྷ་དག་པོ་ཚམས་ལ་བབས་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། དག་ལྷ་གལ་བཀོན་པའི་བཀོན་ལུ་
བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། དག་སོག་གཅོད་པའི་མཁའ་གསལ་མཐུན་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། དག་ལྷ་ལྷག་པའི་ལྷ་སྲོར་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། དག་
པོ་སོག་གཅོད་པའི་གཡས་གཅུས་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། མོ་སོག་གཅོད་པའི་གཡོན་གཅུས་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེ་ལ། ཅུ་གཡས་
པ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་ལ། མགོན་པོ་པོ་བརྒྱད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དག་ལྷ་འཁོར། གཡོན་པ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་རང་
བཞིན་ལ། ལྷ་དམ་པོ་བརྒྱད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དར་ཐག་འབྲེན། ཅུ་ཐམ་རྒྱལ་བ་རིགས་ལྷ་ལ། ལྷ་ཞིང་སྲོང་
ལལ་ལྷ་མ་གྱི་དག་ལྷ་འཁོར། གཅུས་སྲིམས་གནམ་ལྷགས་རར་མ་ལ། མགར་བ་དམར་ནག་སྲུང་
མ་འཁོར། རྒྱུ་ལོང་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུའི་ལོང་དམར་ལ། མགོན་པོ་(ཚ་བ་) ལྷ་སོག་གཏོར་གི་དག་ལྷ་འཁོར།
འགམ་ལྷགས་གསེར་ཉ་ཁ་སྲོད་ལ། གཟེར་མགོ་སྐར་མ་བཀྲག་འདྲ་ཡོད། རེར་མ་དགུ་ཁྱི་དགུ་
འབྲུམ་འཁོར། ལྷ་དམ་ལྷ་སྲིག་པའི་ར་ལྷམ་ལ། ལ་ཟན་སྲོང་གི་དག་ལྷ་འཁོར། སོ་ལྷ་འཁྲིག་གི་ཉི་མ་
རང་ཤར་ལ། ལྷ་བ་མིག་གི་དག་ལྷ་འཁོར། སོ་ཁ་དག་སྲིང་དམར་པོ་དམར་མེ་བརློག། སོ་གཟེར་
ལ་ཁའི་སྐར་ཚེན་འདྲ། རང་སྲུང་ལྷ་ཡི་སོ་བས་བསྐྱོར། གཡས་སྲུ་རྒྱས་ལྷག་རྒྱལ་བ་སྐྱ་ཚེན་དང་།
གཡོན་དུ་མའི་ལྷག་སྲིག་པ་འབྲུམ་གསོག་ཡོད། དེ་ཞི་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་ཅན། ས་ཡི་ལན་
ཚ་སེར་པོ་དང་། རྒྱ་ཡི་ལན་ཚ་དཀར་པོ་དང་། ལིང་གི་ལན་ཚ་ནག་པོ་བཅས། ལན་ཚ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྲོ་
སྲོར་ནས། དུག་ལིང་སྲར་བུའི་ནང་དུ་བརྒྱུག། དུག་རྒྱས་རིལ་བུ་དགུ་བསྐྱོར་བྲལ། མའི་ལྷ་མོ་ཐིམ་
རོང་ལྷགས་ལས་བྱས། དག་སྲིང་གཏོར་ལ་ཕྱེལ་རྒྱབ་རྒྱབ། ཅུ་གཉིས་གཡས་གཡོན་ས་ལ་གདབ།
དུག་གི་རིལ་བུ་ཁ་ནས་ལྷུང། དག་བལྟགས་གཞུགས་ལ་རྒྱབ་ཅན། བྲག་དམར་ཐོགས་ཀྱིས་(ཐོག་
གིས་) གཏོར་བ་འདྲ། ཉེ་རིང་མེད་པ་མངགས་པའི་བང་ཚེན་འདྲ། ལྷུར་མཁྲོགས་ཚེ་བ་སྲི་སེར་རྒྱང་
དང་འདྲ། ལྷོ་བས་རྒྱལ་འགྲན་མེད་ནམ་མཁའི་ཐོགས་(ཐོག་) དང་འདྲ། ལྷོ་བས་ཚེན་གནམ་ལྷགས་
མེ་མའདུང་འབྲུམ་འཁོར་འདྲ། འཕང་བ་དག་ལྷ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ཡིས་འཕེན། སྲིག་པ་གཅོད་བྱེད་དག་

བཞེགས་གཞུགས་ལ་ལྗོད་ཀྱི་དབྱ་ཁམས་ཐལ་བའི་རྩལ་བཞིན་བརྒྱགས་པར་ཤོག། ཤར་དབྱ་སྤྱང་
མོ་མགོ་ལོག། སྤོ་དབྱ་སྤོ་མི། ལུབ་དབྱ་བྲག་གཡབ། འུང་དབྱ་དགེ་ཅེ་གཙོས་བྱས་པའི་དམག་སྤྱ་
ཇག་སྤྱ་རྒྱ་སྤོན་པའི་གནོད་བྱེད་ལམ་དབྱ་འབྱུང་བའི་ཕྱིང་དུ་དོ་མ་ཡ། ཀེ་གི་སོ་སོ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ལོ།

ཤེ་ཁྱ་རིང་བོག་གི་བཤད་པ།

ཆད་ཕྱན་གྱི་བཤད་པ། སྤོ་(ཁྱ་)རིང་བོག་གི་བཤད་པ། ཉག་སྤྱར་མདའ་ཡི་བཤད་པ། ལི་ལུ་
རྒྱང་གི་བཤད་པ། སྤོ་ལོ་ནས་ཀྱི་བཤད་པ། རྒྱ་རས་དར་གྱི་བཤད་པ། སྤོན་པོ་རྩལ་ཡི་བཤད་པ། དམར་
པོ་མའི་བཤད་པ། འབྲེ་མ་རྒྱུང་གི་བཤད་པ་སོགས་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་དཔེར་ན་ཁྱ་རིང་བོག་གི་བཤད་
པ་རྣམས་པ་ཡིན་ན། སྤྱར་ཁམས་སྤང་གི་ལྷགས་དང་གཅིག། ཚ་བ་རོང་གི་ལྷགས་དང་གཉིས། ཀོ་
འགོ་རོང་གི་ལྷགས་དང་གསུམ། ལྷགས་དེ་གསུམ་ལེབ་ནས་བོག་གཅིག་བརྒྱབ་སྤྱང་སྤྱང་སྤྱང་སྤྱང་སྤྱང་
སྤྱ་ཡིན་མ་ཤེས་ན། བརྒྱབ་མཁན་དམ་ཅན་མགར་བ་ཡིན། མགར་གཡོག་སྤྱ་ཡིན་མ་ཤེས་ན།
མགར་གཡོག་ཐེུ་རང་མགར་བ་ཡིན། སྤོང་བརྒྱགས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གདན་ལ་བརྒྱགས། སྤོ་པ་རི་བོའི་
སྤོང་ལ་འཇུགས། ཐོ་བ་ཀ་སྤོན་དགྲུང་ནས་གཡུགས། དང་བོ་ཐོ་གང་འཐེན་པ་དེ། རྩས་ཀྱི་འདུག་
པའི་ཐོ་གང་ཡིན། དེ་རྩས་ཐོ་གང་(དོ?) འཐེན་པ་དེ། མདུའུ་ཀྱི་འདུག་པའི་ཐོ་དོ་ཡིན། དེ་རྩས་ཐོ་
གསུམ་འཐེན་པ་དེ། ཐོ་རང་ས་བསྐྱང་བའི་ཐོ་གསུམ་ཡིན། དེ་རྩས་ཐོ་བཞི་འཐེན་པ་དེ། སྤོགས་
བཞི་དབྱ་བཞི་གནོན་པའི་ཐོ་བཞི་ཡིན། འཇབ་ལྟར་བལྟ་བའི་རྒྱང་ལེབ་ཡིན། ཟེ་འབྲུ་ལ་ཁའི་སོ་
པ་དགོས། མེ་རྒྱུད་སྤྱལ་གྱི་ཐག་པ་དགོས། སྤྱམ་པ་བྱ་ལུང་མཚུ་འདྲ་དགོས། བོག་ཤིང་གཤེར་གྱི་
(གྲིས་) བརྒྱབ་པ་འདྲ་དགོས། བོག་ལུང་ཆན་ཐག་སྤོ་ཚོགས་དགོས། སྤྱང་ནི་ནམ་མཁའི་འབྲུག་སྤོང་
འདྲ། མདུའུ་གམ་ལྷགས་ཐོགས་(ཐོག) འདྲ་དགོས། སར་ཁ་(ཁའི) རི་ལ་རྒྱགས་(རྒྱག?) པ་
དང་། རྒྱར་ཁའི་སེམས་ཅན་གན་ནས་ལྱེལ། (འབྲེལ།) ཀེ་གི་སོ་སོ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ལོ།

ཤེ་བོད་སྤོད་གྱི་བཤད་པ།

(སྤྱ་ཐོག་རིགས་གསུམ་དང་ལྗོད་དབང་གྲགས།)

མགར་གྱི་བྱ་དང་ལྷགས་གྱི་ཚ། མགར་བྱ་ལྷགས་ཚ། ཁྱ་རིང་སྤོད་ལུང་སྤྱད་དུས་དབྱ་སྤྱ་རང་འཁོར་
དང་། འཕང་གཏོང་ན་དབྱ་བཞི་གཟེལ་(ཟེལ) གནོན་ཟེར། དེའང་། སོག་པོ་དར་ཐོག་རྒྱ་འབབས་
དང་། སོག་རུང་བརྒྱ་ཁ་དང་གཉིས། རྒྱ་སོག་བྱེ་མ་དཀར་ལིང་གསུམ། རུང་ལ་དཀར་ནག་ཁ་དང་
བཞི། རྒྱ་ཤིས་རབ་དཀར་ནག་ཁ་དང་ལྷ། འཇང་མདའ་མེ་རྩ་ལྷགས་སྤོ་དབྱ་སྤོད་མདའ་རིས་འཇག་
མ་ཁ་གཤག་བརྒྱན། ཉམ་དབྱིབས་དར་ཐོག་རྒྱ་འབབས་འདྲ། གསེར་ཕྱེ་སྤོ་མ་བརྒྱབ་པ་འདྲ། ལྷགས་
མདོག་ཁམ་ལ་ལྷགས་ཤ་རྒྱབ། སོག་གི་དར་ཐོག་རྒྱ་འབབས་དེས། འཁོང་ཉལ་ནས་ལངས་ལོང་མི་
གཏན་ཟེར། ལངས་ནས་འདྲོད་(འཕྲོས་) ལོང་མི་གཏན་ཟེར། ཉམ་དབྱིབས་རྒྱ་བོའི་གཉེར་མ་འདྲ།
ཐོ་རྒྱང་མང་པོས་(མིའི) རྩས་མཛེས་ཅན། སྤོད་རྒྱ་པད་མའི་དབྱིབས་དང་མཚུངས། ལྷས་ན་ཡིད་
དབང་འཕྲོག་པ་དང་། འཕང་ན་པ་རོལ་ནོན་པ་ཡི། བརྒྱ་ཁ་ཡི་སོག་རུང་ཟེར། རྒྱ་སོག་དབྱིབས་

འདྲེས་ལྷགས་རྒྱ་དཀར། ལྷ་ཡང་མི་གསལ་ལྷལ་མ་འབྲེལ། ལ་གཞུང་ཕྱེལ་ལྷ་དྲུང་ཚང་སྐྱོམ། བྱང་
གི་འབྲེག་ (འཕྲོང་) ལྷ་བདེའ་ལ་མཁོ། ཤོད་རྒྱུང་འཛོམ་པའི་སྤོད་ཅིག་ཟེར། ལྷ་ཞེས་རབ་དཀར་
པོ་སྤྱི་རངས་མ། ལྷིས་རབ་ནག་པོ་ཤ་དགའ་མ། ལྷིས་རབ་ལྷ་བོ་དར་གས་ཅན། སྤོད་དེ་གསུམ་ཤ་
རྟོག་མའེལ་རྟོག་ཟེར། (གྲུ་བཞི་ལྷགས་སྟེ་རྒྱལ་དཀྱིས་ཅན། ལེབ་ཚེ་ནག་པོ་ལྷས་མོ་ལ། ལྷ་བཞིའི་
རིགས་དེ་དཀར་ལ་ཤས། ལེབ་ཚེའི་རིགས་དེ་ནག་ལ་ཤས། ལྷ་མེད་ལྷགས་རྩལ་ལོག་ལ་སྤྲུལ། འཇར་
མདའ་མན་རྩ་ལྷགས་སྟེ་དེ། སྤང་གི་ཤ་ལོ་བདེའ་ལ་མཁོ། ལྷ་དཀར་བགད་པའི་མོ་ཞོ་ཞོ་འདྲ། ལྷ་
ནག་རྩལ་པའི་མཆི་མ་འདྲ། ལྷ་ལྷགས་ལྷ་ཤ་མན་ཨོག་ལྷང་འདྲ། གཟེ་ཉེ་འགྲུང་རྩལ་པའི་སྤོད་ཅིག་
ཡིན། གཤུང་པའི་འབེན་ཡན་མི་ཤོར་ཟེར། རྒྱལ་དང་རིས་འཇག་མ་ལ་གཤུག་དེ། ལྷགས་རྒྱ་བཟང་
ཞིང་གོ་ཚད་བྱང་། མདེལ་ཚང་སྤོམས་ཞིང་ (ལིང་) གཟེ་ལ་སྤྱུན། སིབ་གསེང་འཛོལ་མོ་བདེའ་ལ་
མཁོ། ཟེར་བ་བཅས་ཡོད། ཡང་། སོག་གི་སྤྱ་སྤྱུ་ལྷག་དེ། ལྷ་མ་གཅུས་སྤྱ་སྤྱུ་ལྷག་འདྲ། ཟེར་བ་
དང་། ལྷ་ཡི་ལེ་སྤྱ་རྩལ་གསེར་དེ། མ་རྩུང་དྲུག་པས་སྤོད་ཅིག་ཡིན། ཤོད་གོས་ཚེན་ཐོག་གི་འཕྲུར་
མདའ་ཡིན། ཟེར་བ། ཡང་། ལྷ་དམར་གྱིས་རྩེས་ཨོ་རུ་སོག། འཕང་ན་མི་སོག་ཨོ་རུ་སོག། རྩས་ལྷང་
མདེལ་བརྒྱགས་ཨོ་རུ་སྤྱ་ཟེར་བ་ (དེ་ཞན་གས་ཡིན་) བཅས་ཡོད།

༧།

སྤོད་བཤད་སྐྱོར། ཨོམ་སྟེ་སྟེ་ (ཨོ་སྟེ་སྟེ་) བདེ་ལེགས་སྤྱ་སྤྱུར་ཅིག། ལྷ་དང་ལྷགས་རྩ་དང་ལྷ་མིན་
འབྲུགས་པའི་དུས། དག་ལྷའི་གོ་མཚོན་སྤྱ་དགུ་མ་གཏོགས་པའི་ལྷ་རིང་མེ་མདའ་ཟེར་བ་ཡོད་མ་
སྟེ། བར་གྱི་གཉན་འམ་ (ནམ་) མི་དང་འབྲུགས་པའི་དུས། དག་ལྷའི་གོ་མཚོན་སྤྱ་དགུ་མ་གཏོགས་
པའི་ལྷ་རིང་མེ་མདའ་ཟེར་བ་ཡོད་མ་ཡིན། འོག་ལྷེགས་སྤྱ་དང་ས་བདག་འབྲུགས་པའི་དུས། དག་
ལྷའི་གོ་མཚོན་སྤྱ་དགུ་ (མ་) གཏོགས་པའི་ལྷ་རིང་མེ་མདའ་ཟེར་བ་ཡོད་མ་སྟེ། མཐའ་མ་མི་འམ་
དུ་རུ་ལ་དམར་པོ་ནས། སོག་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྤྱན་གཅིག་དེས། ལྷ་བ་དང་སྤོད་ཉིད། ལྷོབས་དང་རྩ་འབྲུལ་
གྱི་དང་ནས་ལྷ་རིང་མེ་མདའ་ཟེར་བ་དེ་རྩུང་། ལྷ་དེ་གི་སྤྱ་ལྷགས་དཀར་པོ་ལ། ལྷ་སྤོད་པད་མ་ཉིལ་ལ་
རྩུང་། ཤོད་དབུ་ནག་ས་ལ་བཀོད་རྩུལ་རྩུང་། བར་གྱི་གཉན་ལྷགས་ལྷ་པོ་ལ། ལྷ་དང་པོ་རྩི་རྩིལ་ལ་
རྩུང་། ཚོས་དཀར་པོའི་བསྟན་པ་དར་རྩུལ་རྩུང་། འོག་གི་སྤྱ་ལྷགས་སྤྱུག་པོ་ལ། ལྷ་དང་བཟང་རྩ་སྟོན་
གས་ལ་རྩུང་། གཤོན་དག་པོ་འཆམ་ལ་འབབས་བྱེད་རྩུང་། ལྷ་སོག་པོས་རྩུང་ལེ་དེ་གཡས་གཅུས།
སོག་མེས་བརྩུང་ལེ་དེ་གཡོན་གཅུས། ལྷ་རྩུ་རིས་དར་ཐོག་རྩུང་བབ་ཡོད། ཅན་དན་ཤོད་དམར་གྱི་
དགུ་མདའ་ལ། དར་ལྷན་ལྷགས་དཀར་གྱི་སྤྱ་སྤྱུ་བཞག་ཡོད། ལྷ་ཞིང་སྤོད་ཡབ་ལྷུམ་གྱི་དག་ལྷས་
སྐྱོར། གཅིག། ཐབས་གྱི་རྩ་ཚེ་གཡས་པ་ལ། དབའ་པོ་སོ་རྒྱུད་སྤོད་གི་དག་ལྷས་སྐྱོར། ལྷིས་རབ་
ར་ཚེ་གཡས་པ་ལ། དབའ་མོ་སོ་རྒྱུད་སྤོད་གི་དག་ལྷས་སྐྱོར། གཅུས་འཛོར། གཅུས་གདན། གཅུས་
པོར་གསུམ། རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོའི་དག་ལྷས་སྐྱོར། རུ་ཟམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལ། གོ་
ལོད་དམར་ནག་སྤོད་གི་དག་ལྷས་སྐྱོར། སོ་འཛོན་ལ་ལའི་སྐར་ཚེན་ལ། ཡོ་འཇུལ་མེད་པའི་དག་
ལྷས་སྐྱོར། སོ་ལྷང་ཉི་མ་རང་ཤར་ལ། ལྷ་བ་མིག་གི་དག་ལྷས་སྐྱོར། དང་སྟེ་ཉི་ལྷ་ལ་སྤོད་ལ། ལྷར་

ལུང་རྒྱ་རམ་གོ་དམར་བརྒྱབ། ལྷ་རང་འཁོར་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་དབྱ་ལྷས་སྐོར། མི་ཚང་པག་ཚོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་བ་
ལ། ལྷི་འཛེར་དཀར་སྐར་མ་བརྒྱ་ཤར་ཡོད། བད་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་སྤྱུལ་ནག་ཞག་པ་ཡོད། མེ་ལྷ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་དབྱ་
ལྷས་སྐོར། གཉིས། ཉག་པོ་ཇེས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་ཅམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན། མེ་ལི་ལན་རྩ་དམར་པོ་རྩ་
ལི་ལན་རྩ་སྐོར་པོ། ས་ལི་ལན་རྩ་སེར་པོ། གསེབ་རྩུང་ལྷང་མའི་ཚར་བ། ཉིན་རྩུང་ལྷག་པའི་རྒྱལ།
བྲག་རི་དཀར་པོའི་སྤོད་ཚེལ། ས་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྤོང་ཚོལ་སོགས་བསྐྱུས་ནས། ཇེས་ཚང་སྤྱིག་
པ་པིར་གཟུགས་ལ་བཀྲག་སྤྱེ། ཇེས་གཞིང་ལུན་རུབ་བང་མཛོད་ནང་དུ་རྒྱུགས་ཏེ། ཇེས་རྟོ་སྤྱིན་
པོའི་ལ་ཚོད་དེ་བཞག། མི་ཚོད་དཔུང་པས་རྩུང་ཞིང་ཁ་ཤར་དུ་བསྐྱར་ནས། སྤྱིག་ཆགས་དབྱགས་
འགྲུལ་ཐམས་ཅད། རྒྱག་དང་རྒྱག་ཟེར་ཞིང་ཉིན་མ་བདུན་ལ་འདུལ། གསུམ་ཉི་ཤུའི་དུལ་དུག་ཇེས།
སུམ་རུའི་རེས་མོའི་དབྱ་སྐོར། བརྒྱད་རུའི་རེས་མོའི་སྐོར་སྤངས་སོགས། བཞི། དུག་ཇེས་རིལ་བུ་དེ་
འབས་ལ་ལྷུག། མདེལ་པར་རིག་པ་ཁ་སྐྱོར་བའི་ནང་། མདེལ་ཁོ་རྩེ་ཆོལ་མ་དེ་ལྷུག། ལྷ། སུ་མེ་
མདེལ་ཇེས་སྤྱིག་བྱེད་དེས་རྩུང་སྤྱེ། རོལ་པོ་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་དབྱ་ལྷས་སྐོར། རྩ་རོག་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་གཏུན་
ཁུངས་ནང་དུ། ཤ་ཁག་རྩ་སྤྱིན་བྲས་བའི་ནང་ན་ཇེས་ཚ་ཚ་འབྲུལ་བ་དེ་ལྷུག། ལྷུར་མཁྲོགས་ཅན་
ཀྱི་དབྱ་ལྷས་སྐོར། མདེལ་ཁ་གར་གཏད་ཁག་གི་ཚར་པ་འབབ། རུ་གར་འཇུགས་སྤྱིག་པའི་ན་བུན་
འཁྲིགས། ལྷུར་མཁྲོགས་སེར་བུ་རྩུང་ལ་འགྲན། ཡོ་འཇུལ་མེད་པ་གཞམ་ལྷགས་ཐོག་ཚོད་འདྲ། དས་
སྤོང་སྤོགས་ལྷ་ལེ་མི་འཕན་ (འཕེན་) ཀྱང་། ལྷ་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འབས་སྐྱུམས། འོག་སྤོགས་སྐྱུ་ལ་
མ་འཕོངས་ཀྱང་། ལྷ་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དབྱ་ཚེམས། བར་སྤོགས་གཉན་ལ་མ་འཕོངས་ཀྱང་། གཉན་
རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱུ་གཟུར། དས་འཕན་ (འཕེན་) བར་བྱེད་པའི་དབྱ་པོ་ནི། ལྷོ་དབྱ་སྤོ་བོ། ལྷང་
དབྱ་མགོ་ལོག། བསྐྱར་དབྱ་ཉག་རོད། རྟོར་སེར་ཞིག་ཐོག་སེར་པ་བཞིན་དོན་དང་གདོན་དབྱ་པོ་
ཚེ་གེ་མོའི་སྤོང་ལ་རྟོབ་ (རྟོམ་) མ་ཡ། དཔུང་ལྷ་བོན་སྤོང་གི་སྐྱུ་འདུས་ལ། མགོན་པོ་བྱ་རོག་གདོན་
(གདོད་) ཅན་ཀྱི་དབྱ་ལྷས་སྐོར། ལྷམ་པ་གེ་སར་ཁོམ་ཀྱི་མེ་ཉལ། མགར་བུ་དམར་ནག་སྤོང་གི་
དབྱ་ལྷས་སྐོར། དུག་ཤིང་པར་བྱའི་ནང་དུ་བཏབ་ནས་དུག་ཇེས་རིལ་ལེ་དབྱ་སྐོར། འཇལ་པོར་སྤྱིན་
པོའི་གཟུགས་ཅན་ལ་འཇལ། སྤྱིག་སྤོང་མདེལ་དེ་ཁ་ལ་བཞག། ཅམ་རེ་ཞིག་དེ་ཅམ་མོ། །

༥༡

དའི་ལག་གི་གནམ་ལྷགས་ཁྲ་བོ་འདི། ཁོག་རྒྱལ་གནམ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ་དེས། ཁོག་རིགས་དམར་
ལེབ་ཚེན་ནས། ལྷང་ནག་རོག་པོ་ཞགས་ལ་བཀྲག། ཁྲེའུ་རང་དཀར་ནག་ཁྲ་གསུམ་གྱིས། ལྷོ་རོ་
དཀར་ནག་ཁྲ་གསུམ་བྱིན། འགས་གསུམ་འདས་པའི་ནང་མོ་ལ། ལམར་ལ་འགྲིམ་པའི་ལྷགས་དཀར་
གསུམ། ལམར་ལ་རྩུང་པའི་ལྷགས་ནག་གསུམ། ཁོག་པའི་ནང་གི་ཁྲ་ལྷགས་གསུམ། ལྷགས་སྐྱ་དབྱ་
དེ་ལག་ན་རྒྱང་། ཁྲེའུ་རང་མགར་བ་སྐྱར་དབྱ་དེས། ཉིར་དབྱའི་སུན་པ་འཁྲིགས་པའི་དུས། རྒྱུ་
པོ་གསུམ་ལ་མཉེན་རྩུང་བྲས། ཁྲ་བོ་གསུམ་ལ་མཛེས་རྩུང་བྲས། ཉག་པོ་གསུམ་ལ་དར་རྩུང་བྲས།
ཤུག་སྐྱ་ཁག་སྐྱ་སྐྱོན་སྐྱ་དབྱ། དབྱ་གསུམ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙ་བདུན་གྱིས། (གྱི།) རང་རྩུང་ཏེ་སྤོན་ལམ་
བཏབ། རྒྱག་གསོན་ལ་མི་ཤོར་བདེན་ཚོག་གྲུབ། རྟོལ་དུག་གི་སྤོར་སྤེབ་རྒྱབ། རབྱུང་པོ་ཁོས་

པའི་ལྷོ་ཚ་གཅིག་ལ་མོ་ཁྲིམ་པའི་ལྷ་ཟླ་གཉིས། ལྷ་སྤྱིན་ཁྲིམ་པའི་སོལ་བ་གསུམ། ལེ་སྤང་ཚ་བ་
ཨ་རག་དང་། ལག་ཏུ་སྤྲུག་ཚ་བ་མར་ཁུ་དང་། འདྲེད་ཆགས་ཚ་བ་མ་མའི་ཁྲག་དུག་གསུམ་རྩམ་
ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ལྟེ་བ་བྱས། རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་སྤོད་ལ་བཅུད། རངས་ལུགས་དདུལ་གསུམ་མདེུ་སྤྱད།
དམར་པོ་སློག་གི་རྟ་ལ་སྤྱོན། སྤོ་མཉེན་ལུགས་ཀྱི་འཁྲུལ་འཁོར་སྐྱོར། འཕམང་ན་ཐར་མེད་གནམ་
ལུགས་ཐོག་དཀར་ནག་མཚམས་ལ་རྟོ་མ་ཡ།

ཧྲ

ཁྲ་རིང་སྤྲིག་པ་འབྲམ་རྫོང་འདི། ལུགས་སྤྱོད་དགུ་བཅུ་གོ་དགུ་ཡོད། འཕམར་བྱེད་འཕེན་བྱེད་
བཅུ་དགུ་ཡོད། ལག་ཁུང་ལུགས་སེ་རོང་ནག་པོ་ལ། ལྷ་དང་ལུགས་བྱས་དཀར་གཉེན་ལ་བྱས། ལོ་
འཛེར་དཀར་པོ་དདུལ་ལ་བྱས། ལམ་ལུགས་རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་ལ་བྱས། ལམ་ལུགས་ཚེ་དཀར་པོ་སྤོང་
ལ་བྱས། རྩེ་པོར་རིན་ཆེན་ཟངས་ལ་བྱས། དམར་པོ་སློག་གི་རྟ་ལ་སྤྱོན། དུག་རྩམ་ཉ་ལ་ནག་པོ་
ལ། དུག་སྤྱོད་ལྟེ་བ་སྤྱོད་བྱས། ལོ་བདུད་ཁྲིམ་པའི་མངལ་ཚུ་ལ། སྤོན་ལམ་བཏབ་པའི་ཟླ་
དཀར་དང་། ལོ་བདུད་དར་བའི་མངལ་ཁྲག་དེ། དམ་ཚིག་ཉམས་པའི་ལྷ་སེར་གཉིས། ལྷ་བདུད་
ཁྲིམ་པའི་རུས་པ་ལ། ལམས་སྤོན་ལོག་པའི་སོལ་བ་གསུམ། དུག་སྤྱོད་དང་ཁྲག་སྤྱོད་ལྷོན་
སྤྱོད་བཅས་ཉེར་བདུན་དེ། དགའ་རབ་བདུད་ཀྱི་སྤོན་ལམ་བཏབ། སྤོང་གསུམ་འཛེམས་པའི་
ལས་སྤོན་འགྲིག འཕམང་ན་ཐར་མེད་གནམ་ལུགས་ཐོག་ཁྲག་དཀར་གཏོར་ལིང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྷ། ད་
ལེན་ཁྲོད་ལ་རྟོ་མ་ཡ།

ཧྲ

ཐོག་མདའ་བྲག་རི་དགུ་གཏོར་འདི། ལམ་ཐའ་མེད་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཕ་རོལ་ནས། ལགས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་ལུགས་
དཀར་པོ་གཅིག་དྲོ་ལྷན་སྤྲུག་མའི་ཁུ་བ་གཉིས། ཐེུ་རང་སྤྲུན་དགུའི་རྒྱ་ལུགས་བཅས། ལུགས་
སྤྱོད་ལ་རུབ་བརྟུང་བྱས། ཐེུ་མགར་མཁས་པ་མི་དགུ་དེས། ཉེར་དགུའི་སྤྲུག་ལ་ལུན་བརྟུང་
བྱས། ཁྲག་སྤྱོད་ལ་ལར་ཚུ་བྱས། ལྷོན་སྤྱོད་དང་དུག་སྤྱོད་ལྷ། འཕུང་བཞིའི་བཅུད་ཀྱི་རྟ་ལ་
བསྤྱོན། དགའ་རབ་བདུད་ཀྱི་སྤོན་ལམ་བཏབ། ལྷིང་བཞི་འཛེམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་འགྲིག འཕམང་
ན་ཐར་མེད་བདུད་ཀྱི་མཚོན།

Appendix 2. The Two Me mdar dgra lha bkod pa

༡༡

།མཚན་མཚན་སྐྱུར་ནི། ལྷོ་རྩོམ་ལ་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད་ (བཀོད་) ལ་ནི། །གཡས་ལ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་རུ་ཚེ་ལ།
།མགོན་པོ་མོ་རྒྱུད་ (བརྒྱུད་) དག་ལྟ་བུ་བཀོད། །གཡོན་པ་ཤེས་རབ་རུ་ཚེ་ལ། །ལྷོ་མོ་མོ་རྒྱུད་ (བརྒྱུད་
) དག་ལྟ་བུ་བཀོད། །རང་ལྷན་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱུ་གྲུ་ལ། །བྱ་རོག་གཤོང་ཅན་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) ལྷ་ལ་
(སོ་ལ་) དག་སྐྱོད་དམ་འབྲིན་ལ། །ཞིང་སྐྱོད་ཡབ་ཡུམ་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) ལྷ་ (སོ་) མིག་མཚོང་
བ་དབུག་ (དབུགས་) ལྷ་དལ། །སྤྲེལ་གདོང་པོ་མོའི་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) མེ་སྐྱམ་ཚོང་འཛིན་
པོ་ཉ་ལ། །མགར་བ་དམར་ནག་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) རབ་མདའི་དུག་སྐྱུལ་འགྲུག་ཡག་ལ། །ལྷ་
བདུད་ནག་པོའི་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) རྩ་པོར་ཚ་ཚ་འབྲུག་པ་ལ། །དར་ལེན་བཅོན་ཚོད་དག་ལྟ་
བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) ལྷ་མེ་མདེས་རྩམ་འཕྲོར་བྱེད་ལ། །རོལ་པ་བཅོམ་བརྒྱུད་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།)
།ཁོ་མདེལ་གནས་ལྷགས་ཐོག་དམར་ལ། །སྲོག་བདག་ཤེལ་གིང་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) ལྷ་སྐྱོད་
གཡུ་འབྲུག་ར་རོལ། །ཀྱི་ཀམ་གཟམ་བདུད་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) །ཁོ་ཐོ་དུག་གི་བར་མཚོང་ལ།
།གཟམ་ཚེན་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བཀོད། །གཡག་ཚུ་སྲིན་གྲེ་འཐམ་ལ། །གདོང་མོ་བཞིའི་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད།
(བཀོད།) །གཞལ་པོར་གཟན་སྲིག་ར་ཚོད་ལ། །གཟ་སྲིན་པོའི་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) །མཚོགས་
རྩམ་དུར་བུམ་སྲོག་བདག་ལ། །རྒྱ་སྐར་ཉེར་བརྒྱུད་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) །དབ་པོ་ཤིང་གི་དུག་
མཐའ་ལ། །པོ་ཉ་ལས་བྱེད་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བཀོད། །ལྷུས་ (གཙུས་) འཛོར་གཞམ་ལྷགས་རར་མ་ལ།
།དཔའ་བརྟེན་རྒྱག་པའི་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བཀོད། །ལྷུང་ལྷུང་འཇའ་ཚོན་གར་ཡག་ལ། །རང་བསྐྱུང་ལྷ་ཡི་དག་
ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) །ལྷིར་ལྷུང་དུག་གི་ཞགས་ཚོད་ལ། །ནག་པོ་བདུད་ཀྱི་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།)
།རྩམ་ལྷག་གདུག་པ་སྐྱེར་གྱི་གཟུགས། །ས་བདག་གཉན་གྱིས་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བཀོད། །མདེལ་ཁེབ་རུ་སྐྱལ་
ལྷོ་སྐྱུར་ལ། །སྐར་སྤེལ་ལོ་ལྷའི་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) །མདེབ་ (མདེལ་) །ལྷག་ཉ་མོ་འབྲུག་ཡག་འདི།
།ལྷུ་བདུད་རྩོམ་ (གཤོམ་) བའི་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱོད། (བཀོད།) །འབྲུང་བ་ལྷ་འདུམ་མེ་སྐྱོགས་འདི། །དུག་
ལྷའི་དག་ལ་བདབ་པའི་ཚེ། །ལྷུང་པོ་ལྷ་པོ་ཐལ་བ་བརྒྱག། །ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷའི་སྐོང་དུ་བསྐྱེམས། །དེ་ལྷར་
དག་ལྟ་རྟེན་བཅུག་བཞིན། །དམ་ཉམས་དག་ལ་དམགས་ (དམག་) འདྲེན་ན། །ཞིང་བཅུའི་དག་
པོ་ཚམས་ལ་ཐོབ། །གསོལ་པོ་གསོལ་པོ་ལྷ་གསོལ་པོ། །བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ལྷ་བསང་དག་ལྷའི་ཆ་ཅན་
དུ། །གཞུབ་འོད་སྐྱེས་སྐྱུལ་འདོད་ཀྱི་ག་རྩ་ཡི། །ཉམས་མཚར་རྒྱལ་དུ་གང་དུན་གྱིས་པ་ལ། །གཞོང་
(ཞོངས་) བར་མཚིས་ན་དམ་ཅན་སྐྱུང་མར་བཞགས། །དགོ་བའི་དག་ལྟ་བུ་མི་དང་མ་འབྲལ་ཅིག། ས་
རོལ་དམ་ཉམས་སྲོག་གི་གཤེད་མར་ཤོག།

༩

༡༡ ། དེ་ནས་མེ་མདའ་ལ་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་འབོད་པ་ནི། གྲེ་གྲེ། བོང་དུ་སྐྱུན་བྲངས་དག་ལྟ་གསོན། ལྷོད་
རྣམས་མཚོད་པའི་བྱིན་རྒྱལས་གྲིས། ལྷ་སྐྱོར་ཡོན་གྱི་བདག་པོ་ཡི། མེ་མདའ་དག་ལྟ་བུ་བཞོད་པ་ནི།
གསེར་གྱི་མདངས་ལྡན་ལྷ་ཟེ་སེར། དུང་གི་འོད་ལྡན་ཟེ་ཚྭ་དཀར། བོང་བའི་དཔལ་འཕྲོག་སོལ་བ་
ནག། ཚད་བཞི་སྐྱར་བའི་འཕྲུལ་འཁོར་གྱི། ལྷ་ནི་གཡུ་འབྲུག་ཁེངས་པ་འདྲ། ལྷོ་བས་གྱི་གནམ་
ལྷགས་ངར་ཡང་འཕྲོག། བ་རེལ་སྤོང་འགམས་སྐྱ་ཆེན་ལ། དག་ལྟ་ལོག་འབྲུག་སློག་གསུམ་བཞོད།
དབྱིབས་ལེགས་ལྷུབས་ལ་སྐྱ་དགུ་མཛེས། གཉུས་འཕྱར་ལྡན་པའི་རུ་གཉིས་གཟེངས། དམིགས་
པར་གཏད་པའི་སོ་འཛིན་དང་། དེ་ནིད་བལྟ་བྱེད་ན་ལྷང་སྤ། མེ་རྟ་གཞུག་པའི་མཚོར་པོའི་ལྷུབས།
འཛིན་བྱེད་ལྷགས་སྐྱམ་རྩ་མེང་དབྱིབས། མེ་ལེན་སྐྱ་དང་སྐྱ་ཁེབ་ལ། ལྷི་ནང་གསང་བའི་དག་ལྟ་
བཞོད། སྤིད་ཚད་རེས་མེད་རྣོ་ལྷགས་ལས། ལྷུབ་པའི་མེ་མདའི་སྐྱབ་ལྷུ་ལ། ལྷ་བརྟན་མི་ཞིགས་
དག་ལྟ་བཞོད། བསྐོ་བསྐོ་སྤང་བའི་དག་ལ་བསྐོ། ཆས་ཆས་སྤང་བའི་དག་ལ་ཆས། དག་ཁམས་
མ་ལུས་ཆམས་ལ་པོབ། །

Appendix 3. Photographs



Figure 4 Photograph by Alexandra David-Neel, “Chefs Kampa de la région de Ling”, DN 723,
© Ville de Digne-les-Bains



Figure 5 Photograph by Alexandra David-Neel, “Chefs de la région de Kanze”, DN 766a2.
© Ville de Digne-les-Bains



Figure 6 Photograph by Sven Hedin, 1901, "Tibetaner i Transhimalaya", 1027.2433, published with the permission of the Sven Hedin Foundation at the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm

Figure 7 Photograph by Heinrich Harrer, 1949-50, "Soldaten in alter Riterrüstung bedanken sich bei den Ministern, nachdem sie bei der Siegerehrung weisse Schleifen erhalten haben", VMZ 400.07.84.001, Ethnographic Museum at the University of Zurich. Author's note: I believe that the *smon lam rta pa* are carrying 'dzam drags matchlocks



Figure 8 Photograph by Frederick Spencer-Chapman, 1936, "Soldiers in old-fashioned armour [Lhasa]".
© The British Library Board 1043(320). Author's note: this photograph shows three members of the *gzim chung pa* (traditional Tibetan foot-soldiery) on the roof of the Jokhang at Lhasa, supporting themselves on their *'dzam grags* guns



Figure 9 Photograph by Joseph Rock, "Five Tibetans, armed for defence and hunting, wearing only single tunic-like garments. They are from Pashetenga in the Tebu region of Gansu. 1926", N-2006-C, W124098_1, Harvard-Yenching Library. Author's note: from left to right, the second, fourth and fifth men are sporting matchlocks. The others have added prongs to modern rifles

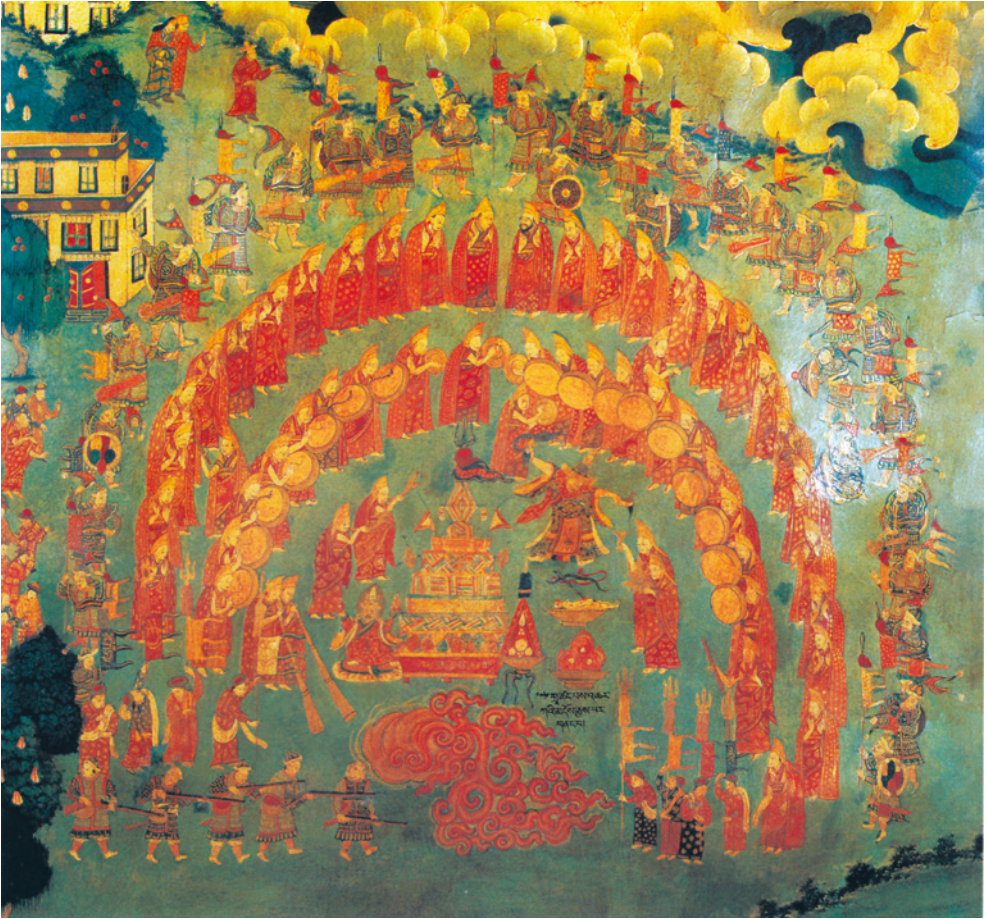


Figure 10 Photograph from *Pho brang po ta la'i ldebs bris ri mo'i 'byung khungs lo rgyus gsal ba'i me long*, *A Mirror of the Murals in the Potala*, Beijing; Jiu zhou tu shu chu ban she, 2000, 102. The original caption reads: "Style: the Menthang Times: 1690-1694, Monks of Namgyal Dratsang in the Potala at a performance of 'driving out evil spirits'". Author's note: this is a depiction of *me mda'* (at the lower left) in late seventeenth century in Lhasa and a mural painter's conception of them

Bibliography

Tibetan Language References

- 'Bri ru dkon mchog thub bstan. *Dmangs khrod tha snyad ris 'grel srol rgyun gsal ba'i me long*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2013.
- Bdag chen rgya dkar ba shes rab bzang po. *Bsangs yig dgos 'dod kun 'grub*. Bir: Tsondu Senghe, 1982.
- Bgres song dbang grags et al. *Rdza dmar ge mo dpal ldan gyis dwags po'i nang la dgra rgyab pa dang rdza dmar dpon shwa sgra 'chi med kyis kha mchu 'dum pa'i gtam rgyud*. Edited by Thogs med rnam rgyal. Tibet: Self published, 2006.
- Bka'i gung blon gyi khur 'dzin pa'i rtoqs brjod bung ba'i mgrin glu, dbu med* [unpublished].
- Bkra ba; Tshe dbang 'gyur med et al. "Hor ga rgya 'gram nag gi lo rgyus rag bs-dus dang ga tshab 'khrug pa'i skor". *Nag chu sa gnas srid gros dbu brnyes nas lo sum cu 'khor bar rten 'brel zhu ba'i ched bsgrigs*, vol. 2. Nag chu: Nag chu sa gnas srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas rtsom sgrig khang nas bskrun, s.d., 92-128.
- Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil gyi gdan rabs lha'i rnga chen = Dbal mang pañdi tas. Bshad sgrub bstan pa'i 'byung gnas chos sde chen po dga' ldan bshad sgrub dar rgyas bkra shis 'khyil gyi gdan rabs rang bzhin dbyangs su brjod pa'i lha'i rnga bo che zhes bya ba*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, [1800] 1987.
- Blang dor gsal bar ston pa'i drang thig dwangs shel me long nyer gcig pa*. Lhasa: Zhol par khang chen mo.
- Bod ljongs nag chu sa khul gyi lo rgyus rig gnas*, vol. 5. Nag chu: Nag chu sa gnas srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha rtsom sgrig khang nas bskrun, [1992].
- Bod rang skyong ljongs srid gros rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha u yon lhan khang (ed.). *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs*. 4 spyi'i 'don thengs 13 pa. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991.
- Brtag thabs padma dkar po'i 'chun po = Brtag thabs padma dkar po'i 'chun po. A Reproduction of an Incomplete Manuscript of a Verse Work on the Appraisal and Appreciation of Omens, Precious Objects, Weapons, and Other Possessions by Śnags-chañ Hūm-ka-ra-dza-ya, with an Introduction to the Manuscripts by Tashi Tsering*. Dolanji: Tashi Dorji; Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Community, 1979.
- Bstan 'dzin dpal 'byor. *Rdo ring pañdi ta'i rnam thar*. Stod cha-Smad cha. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1987.
- Bstan 'gyur*, vol. 114. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang gis dpe bsdur zhus. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2004.
- Chos 'phel. *Rme'u sa dbang chen po rje 'bangs mnyam 'brel gyi byung ba gang des mdo tsam brjod pa phyi rabs rna ba'i bdud rtsi zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Self published, [1993].
- Chos rgyal mthu stobs rnam rgyal dang rgyal mo ye shes srol ma. *'Bras ljongs rgyal rabs*. Gangtok: The Tsuklakhang Trust, Tsuklakhang, 2003.

- Collected Works of Pad ma Bdud 'dul Rdo rje Chos skor = *The Collected Works of Pad-ma Bdud 'dul Rdo-rje Chos-skor*, vol. 4. New Delhi: Ngawang Topgyal, 1993.
- Dbal shul bsod nams dar rgyas. *Gser thal gyi lo rgyus dang srol rgyun*. Pe cin: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2006.
- Dge legs grags pa; Khri shes nyi ma; Bru rgyal ba. *Sbra chen rdzong khongs sngon ma'i tsho shog so so'i lo rgyus dpyad gzhi phyogs bsgrigs don ldan ngag gi rgyud mang*. Edited by Nag chu sa gnas sbra chen rdzong srid gros. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2012.
- Dkon mchog bstan 'dzin; 'Phrin las rgyal mtshan; Padma g.yu sgron. *Bod kyi lag shes kun 'dus chen mo*. Smad cha. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2010.
- Dme tshang padma tshe ring. *Rta bo gong zhol dang dme tshang sgur ru tsho drug sogs sbra nag sde pa'i lo rgyus skor*. Mgo log rig gnas lo rgyus, vol. 4. Mgo log: Srid gros mgo log khul u slob sbyong lo rgyus dang tshan slob rig 'phrod u yon lhan khang, 2004.
- Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* = Mkhas dbang dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las. *Bod rig pa'i tshig mdzod chen mo shes bya rab gsal zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2002.
- “Dus 'khor 'grel bshad dri med 'od (Vimalaprabhā-nāma-kālacakra-tantrārāja-ṭika)”. *Bka' 'gyur* (Dpe bsdur ma), 109 vols. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 2006-09, 146-84.
- Dwang slob mda' zur spyi 'thus rgyal rtse rnam rgyal dbang 'dus. *Bod rgyal khab kyi chab srid dang 'brel ba'i dmag don lo rgyus* (A Political and Military History of Tibet, vol. 1). Dharamsala: Bod dmag rnying pa'i skyid sdug, 2003.
- G.yas ru stag tshang pa dpal 'byor bzang po (G.yas ru stag tshang pa shākya'i dge bsnyen Śrī Bhu ti bha dra [=Dpal 'byor bzang po]). *Rgya bod kyi yig tshang mkhas pa dga' byed chen mo 'dzam gling gsal ba'i me long*. Vol. 1, Bhutan, 1979.
- Gtsang mkhan chen 'jam dbyangs dpal ldan rgya mtsho. *Dpal 'brug pa rin po che ngag dbang bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa rgyas pa chos kyi sprin chen po'i dbyangs*. (The Detailed Biography of the First Ḍabs-druñ Rin-po-che of Bhutan, Ḍag-dbañ-rnam-rgyal [Ḍag-dbañ-bdud-'joms-rdo-rje], Reproduced from a Print from the Punakha Blocks (carved about 1800) by Topden Tshering). Ochghat: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1974.
- Gtsang pa sde srid zhal lce bcu drug* = Bod rang skyong ljongs spyi tshogs tshan rig khang gi bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang (eds). “Gtsang pa sde srid karma bstan skyong dbang po'i dus su gtan la phab pa'i khriims yig zhal lce bcu drug”. *Bod kyi snga rabs khriims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs. Gangs can rig mdzod* 7. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1989.
- Kar rgyal don grub. *Mdo khams cha phreng gi lo rgyus gser gyi snye ma*. Dharamsala: Bod kyi dpe mdzod khang, 1992.
- Kha che'i pañḍi ta so ma nā tha dang bod kyi lo tsA ba 'bro dge slong shes rab grags (eds). *Mchog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba. Bka' 'gyur*, vol. 77. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang gis dpe bsdur zhus. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008.
- Klu zig rigs gsum; Lji dbang drags. “Gnyis pa bod sbos kyi bshad pa”. *Byang rigs a mdo'i rgyud 'brong sogs ri dwags rngon tshul skor dang yul srol gom gshis nang gi tshwa glu gnyen bshad sogs 'ga' shas*. Nor bsam et al. (eds), *Bod ljongs nag chu sa khul gyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha*, vol. 6. Nag

- chu: Nag chu sa gnas srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad yig khang gnas (nas) bskrun. Bod dmag khul khang dpar 'debs bzo grwas par brgyab.
- Kong sprul karma ngag dbang yon tan rgya mtsho. *Gter ston rdo rje gling pa / zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsodus su bkod pa rin chen baiḍūrya'i phreng ba zhes ba bya ba bzhugs so*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2007.
- Krang dbyi sun. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993.
- La dwags rgyal rabs*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang; Rtsom sgrig 'gan khur ba chos 'dzoms, 1986.
- Ldum khang phun tshogs rnam rgyal. *Skyid sdug mi tshe'i phyi bltas*. A myes rma chen bod kyi rig gzhung zhib 'jug khang, 2018.
- Lha rgya ri'i khri 'dzin bco brgyad pa rnam rgyal dbang phyug; Skyes (skyed) ma phun tshogs sgröl dkar. *Sde dpon lha rgya ri'i khri 'dzin bcu gcig pa / bde chen 'phrin las rol pa'i chab shog phyogs bsdebs tshangs sras lha mo'i rgyud mangs rang sgra zhes bya ba bzhugs so// (lha rigs khri skyong zla bsring dgyes pa'i lang tshor 'bod pa'i chab shog sogs ngo mtshar ba 'ga 'zhig phyogs su sdebs (bsdebs) pa rab snyan tshangs sras lha mo'i rgyud mangs rang sgra zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, 2008.
- Lha Thog Rgyal Rabs* = A History of the Lords of the Lha-Thog-Principality of Khams by A-gro sgra-rams-pa 'gyur-med rnam-rgyal (Sgra-dbyangs-zla-ba-'chi-med-lang-tsho-bzhad-pa'i-sde). Edited from the original manuscript preserved in the library of Burmick Athing by the 8th Khamtul (Don-brgyud-nyi-ma), The Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang. Tashijong: Tibetan Craft Community, 1971.
- Lhundup Namgyal (ed.). *Bod kyi rtsom rig sgyu rtsal* (Tibetan Literature and Art). Lhasa: Tibetan Literature and Art Editorial Department, 1999.
- Mchad sdong 'dzam gling rgyan gcig gi dkar chag = Mchad sdong 'dzam gling rgyan gcig rten gtsug lag khang dang bcas pa'i dkar chag thar gling rgya mtshor bgrod pa'i gru rdzings byin rlabs kyi bang mdzod ces bya ba bzhugs*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1990.
- Mdo khams stod smad kyi la yi'i glu rigs / chos rgyal nam mkha'i nor bu'i gsum 'bum bzhugs so// pod gnyis pa*. Zi ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2015.
- Mgo log lo rgyus deb ther* = Don grub dbang rgyal dang nor sde. *Yul mgo log gi lo rgyus deb ther padma dkar po'i chun po zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Zi ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992.
- Mtsho lo bse mgon po don grub. "Bse nya lung gi mdung bskor bo'u rgyag skor mdo tsam gleng ba". *Mang tshogs rgyu rtsal*, vol. 3, 2010.
- Nag chu'i byang rigs tsho pa'i lo rgyus dpyad gzhi phra rags bgres po'i tshe skra. Nag chu sa gnas srid gros dbu brnyes nas lo sum cu 'khor bar rten 'brel zhu ba'i ched bsgrigs*, vol. 3. Nag chu: Nag chu sa gnas srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas rtsom sgrig khang.
- Nam mkha'i nor bu. *Sgrung lde'u bon gsum gyi gtam e ma ho*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1989.
- Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho. *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*. Vols 2, 3. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1991.
- Nor brang o rgyan. *Chos rnam kun btus, bar cha*. Pe cin: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008.
- Nor bzang gi rnam thar*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1999.

- Padma rgyal. *Sgra lha'i go mtshon sna dgu yon bdag la 'god tshul, Dgra lha'i ka 'dzugs skor gyi cho ga phyogs bsgrigs*. Lanzhou: Kan su'i mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010.
- Padma rgyal. "Gling ge sar rgyal po'i sgrung las byung ba'i dgra lha'i go mtshon sna dguvi skor gyi dogs gcod". *Bod ljongs zhib 'jug*, vol. 3, 2009.
- Pañ chen blo bzang chos rgyal gyi rnam thar = Chos smra ba'i dge slong blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan gyi spyod tshul gsal bar ston pa nor bu'i phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1990.
- Pho brang po ta la'i ldebs bris ri mo'i 'byung khungs lo rgyus gsal ba'i me long* (A Mirror of the Murals in the Potala). Beijing: Jiuzhou tushu chubanshe, 2000.
- Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum = Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang* (ed.). *Rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum bzhugs so*. Gangs can khyad nor, vol. 19. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009.
- Ri dbang bstan 'dzin. *Nags shod 'bri ru'i lo rgyus*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dman-gs dpe skrun khang, 2002.
- Rin chen dpal bzang. *Mtshur phu dgon gyi dkar chag kun gsal me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1995.
- Rlung rta'i ka 'dzugs bsod nams dpal skyed kyi zur 'debs legs tshogs 'bras kyi snyema*. *Gser tog blo bzang tshul khirms (1845-1915) kyi bka''bum*, vol. 5. Sku 'bum byams pa gling gi spar ma (TBRC W29702).
- Rma khams kyi glu tshan la yi zhes pa'i skor / chos rgyal nam mkha'i nor bu'i gsung 'bum bzhugs so / pod gnyis pa*. Zi ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2015.
- Rmi li gser rdzoñ. An Account of King Gesar of Glin's Conquest and Capture of Rmi li and His Gold Treasure by Lha-dge alias Bdud-'dul-rnam-rgyal (b. 1916)*, vol. 2. Edited by Tashi Tsering. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1985.
- Rnam grwa thub bstan yar 'phel. *Lcags po ri'i go mdzod rdo rje gling / lha sa'i dn-gos byung bden dpang*. Dharamsala: Rgyal sa lha sa'i mthun grogs, [2009].
- Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho. *Mig yid rna ba'i dga' ston*. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1991.
- Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang (eds). *Drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i thun mong phyi'i rnam thar du kU la'i gos bzang glegs bam lnga pa'i 'phros drug pa bzhugs, gangs can khyad nor, rgyal dbang lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum bzhugs so*, vol. 10. Lhasa: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009.
- Shākya'i dge slong rakṣa go mi sa mu Tas (?). *Rlung rta'i ka 'dzugs bsod nams dpung bskyed dang kong tshe gsung gi ka 'dzugs g.yang 'bod 'ga' zhigs* (zhig) *rlung rta'i bsang mchod cha lag rgyas pa gtor 'bul bzod gsol brtan bzhugs gshegs gsol shis brjod rnam dang dgra lha'i ka 'dzugs bsod nams stobs bskyed sogs phyogs gcig tu bsgrig pa bzhugs so* (A Collection Of Rites Connected With Tibetan Prayer Flags (Lungta) Used in Amdo, Eastern Tibet). *Sman rtsis shes rig spen dzod*, vol. 80. Leh, Ladakh: Dondup Tashi, 1976.
- Shan kha ba 'gyur med bsod nams stobs rgyal. *Bod gzhung gi sngar srol chos srid kyi mdzad rim*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1984.
- Skad lnga shan sbyar gyi manydzu'i skad gsal ba'i me long*, vol. 1. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1957.
- Skal bzang bkra shis; Nyi lza. "Ri bo dang ga rga 'khrugs pa'i skor". *Nag chu sa gnas srid gros dbu brnyes nas lo sum cu 'khor bar rten 'brel zhu ba'i ched bs-*

- grigs*, vol. 2. Nag chu: Nag chu sa gnas srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas rtsom sgrig khang nas bskrun, s.d., 129-55.
- Sle zur 'jigs med dbang phyug; Ser grong dbang rgyal; Bde zur rin chen dbang dus'; Chab tshoms chi med rgyal po' (eds). "Sa byi dmag 'khrug". *Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs*. 'Don thengs bdun pa. Lhasa: Bod rang skyong ljongs chab gros rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha zhib 'jug u yon lhan khang nas bskrun, 1985, 4-62.
- Stag lha phun tshogs bkra shis. *Mi tsh'e'i byung ba brjod pa*. Dharamsala: Bod kyi dpe mdzod khang, 1995.
- Stag tshang pa dpal 'byor bzang po. *Rgyal rabs mang po'i legs bshad rnam grangs yid 'dzin nor bu'i phreng ba, Mes po'i shul bzhag* 28. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang Series. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007.
- Texts of the Rdo rje Gling pa tradition from Bhutan*. Reproduced from Rare Manuscript from O-rgyan- chos-gling Monastery in Bumthang, Bhutan, vols 1-21. Thimphu: Kunsang Topgyel, 1984-85.
- The Collected Works of Bo-doñ Pan-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal = S.T. Kazi* (ed.). *Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi gsung 'bum bzhugs so* (The Collected Works of Bo-doñ Pan-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal, vol. 2). *Encyclopedia Tibetica. Introduction and Contents by Gene E. Smith*. New Delhi: Tibet House, 1969, 393-416.
- The Collected Works of Cha-Har Dge-Bśes = Dgra lha'i rten dar btsugs nas mchod ba'i cho ga 'dod don kun 'grub ces bya ba bzhugs so. The Collected Works of Cha-Har Dge-Bśes*. New Delhi: Chatring Jansar Tenzin, 1971-74.
- The Excellent Lily Garland = TA la'i bla ma 13 thub bstan rgya mtsho. Gsung 'bum*, vol. TH1: *Rten gsum mchod rdzas kyi dkar chag dang / mchod rtsa thebs sbyor sogs deb ther 'go rgyan gyi rim pa phyogs bkod utpala me tog phreng mdzes*. (The Collected Works of Dalai Lama XIII, vol. 4. The Excellent Lily Garland. A Compilation of Inventories of the Three-fold Representations, Ritual Artefacts, Funds, Endowments, Bequests, and Others). Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra, from the Collection of Prof. Raghu Vira. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1981.
- The Samye Monastery = Dga' ldan bshad sgra ba gung dbang phyug rgyal po. Rab 'byams dag pa'i zhing gi yon tan kun tshang dpal lugs gsum mi 'gyur lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang rten dang brten par bcas pa legs gso'i srid zhu ji ltar bsgrubs pa'i tshul gyi khyad par brjod pa'i dkar chag skal bzang dad pa'i sgo 'byed ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i lde'u mig ces bya ba bzhugs so*. Edited by Dr. Lokesh Chandra, with a Foreword by Prof. Giuseppe Tucci. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, [1854] 1961.
- Tshangs dbang dge 'dun bstan pa. *Gzi dmar, deng rabs bod kyi lhug rtsom phyogs sgrig tsh'e ring rnam drug dpe tshogs*. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2018.
- Tshul khriims blo gros (ed.). *Bod kyi srol rgyun tha snyad ris 'grel ming mdzod*, Stod cha. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2016.
- Tulku Pema Lodoe (ed.). *The Collected Rediscovered Teachings of Rig 'dzin Nyi ma grags pa*, vol. 2. India: Pema Lodoe, 1979.
- Zhabs drung tsh'e ring dbang rgyal. *Mi dbang rtogs brjod*. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981.
- Zur mkhar mnyam nyid rdo rje. *Man ngag bye ba ring bsrel pod chung rab 'byams gsal ba'i sgron me*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993.

Western Language References

- Aris, M. *Bhutan. The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*. Warminster (UK): Aris & Phillips, 1979.
- Ekvall, R.B. *Fields on the Hoof. Nexus of Tibetan Nomadic Pastoralism*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.
- Francke, A.H. *The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles, Texts and Translations, with Notes and Maps*. Vol. 2, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*. New Delhi: Chand, [1926] 1972.
- Jamgon, K.L.T. *The Hundred Tertöns*. Transl. by Y. Gyamtso. Woodstock (NY): KTD, 2011.
- Jones, S. *Tibetan Nomads. Environment, Pastoral Economy and Material Culture*. New York: Thames and Hudson; Copenhagen: Rhodos International Science and Art Publishers, 1996.
- Karmay, Samten G. *The Diamond Isle. A Catalogue of Buddhist Writings in the Library of Ogyen Chöling, Bhutan*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 56. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2003.
- La Rocca, D.J. *Warriors of the Himalayas. Rediscovering the Arms and Armor of Tibet*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Lozang Jamspal. "The Gonkhang, Temple of The Guardian Deities". *La Rocca, Warriors of the Himalayas*, 2006, 43-9.
- Moon, A.A. "Tibetan Arms and Armour". *Tibetan Review*, 25(10), 1990, 14-8.
- Namkhai Norbu. *A Journey into the Culture of Tibetan Nomads*. Arcidosso: Shang-Shung Edizioni, 1983.
- Ngapho Ngawang Jigme et al. *Tibet. A Book by Jugoslovenska Revija, Belgrade and the Shanghai People's Art Publishing House*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.
- Richardson, H. *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year*. London: Serindia Publication, 1993.
- Risley, H.H. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1894.
- Rockhill, W.W. *The Land of the Lamas. Notes of a Journey Through China, Mongolia, and Tibet*. London: Longmans Green, 1891.
- Thubten J.N.; Turnbull, C.M. *Tibet*. Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1968.
- Tibet Today*. Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1974.
- Tibetan Treasures. Selections of Production Tools and Weapons of Successive Dynasties*. Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 2001.
- Werner, E.T.C. *Chinese Weapons*. Bangkok: White Orchid Press, [1932] 1986.

