

Tibet's Political Landscape: The Role of Dharma in Shaping State Authority through 'chos-srid gnyis -ldan or chos-srid zung-bsdrel'

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Introduction

Since the introduction of Buddhism in the seventh century AD, significant transformations in ideological and power structures have emerged, not only in Tibet but across Inner Asia. This revolution fostered a unique Tibetan civilization influenced by Buddhism, affecting political and social institutions.⁴⁰ The civilization of Tibet cannot be characterized merely as a synthesis of the distinct features of Chinese and Indian civilizations.⁴¹ However, the conflict between Bonpo/local indigenous tantric practitioners and Buddhist followers resulted in the collapse of the Tibetan dynastic regime around the mid-ninth century AD, leading to a decentralization of power and authority until the rise of lama hegemony initiated by Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen under his school of Sakya lineage which in a way amalgamation of both lamas and aristocratic Tibetan royal families. This era was characterized by rule under Mongol oversight rather than military dominance.⁴² Subsequently, various lineages of traditional Tibetan Buddhism maintained hegemonic control under Mongol, Chinese and Manchu support from the twelfth century AD onward, with Tibet functioning as a vassal state until China's takeover in the 1950s.

Historical Context of Tibetan Governance: Origins and Development

Tibet was once a distinct and sovereign state with a rich cultural heritage and abundant mineral resources in Central and Inner Asia. It repository of wealth comprising military capabilities, geological resources and water supplies positions it as a vital 'third pole' region.⁴³ The identity culture of Tibet, expressed through its religion, language, unique governance and strategic location, is marked by its unique civilization. The powerful kings of Tibet wielded significant territorial authority, sovereignty and military strength beyond its boundaries particularly in Central and Inner Asian regions in middle 8th to early 9th centuries. As native common people regarding them as dharma rajas (chos rgyal). This comparison to king Harshadeva(606-47) of India and Asoka, revered for their dedication to their people, highlights the essence of leadership in Tibetan culture.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ .Norbu Dawa,(2001) China's Tibet Policy, Curzon Press Richmond Surrey, UK, p.137

⁴¹ .Bina Roy Burman, (1979) Religious and Politics in Tibet. Vikas Publishing House Pvt,Ltd Delhi, pp.v-iv

⁴² .Shakabpa Tsepon,W.D,(1976) Tibet, A political History, New Haven and London, Yale University press, p.54, (Bod kyi srid don rGyal rabs, Vol.1&2 Kalimpong, West Bengal Shakapa House

⁴³ . David B.Madsen, Conceptualizing the Tibetan Plateau: Environmental Constraints on the peopling of the "third pole", *Archaeological Research in Asia*, vol.5, 2016, pp.24-32 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ara.2016.01.002>

⁴⁴ .Chosphel Gedun,(1978) The white Annals(Deb-ther dkar-po) Translated from the Tibetan by Samten Norbu, Library of Tibetan Works& Archives, Dharamsala pp.202

The Concept of Dharma Raja

The concept of the 'dharma raja' (chos rgyal)⁴⁵ significantly influenced Tibetan culture. This title was also conferred upon Srongtsen Gampo, the first emperor who unified Tibet, representing the king's dual identity as both a political leader and a religious figure. The term 'chos' sanctifies the king (rgyal po) as an embodiment of religious as well as political authority. As such, the functioning of the Tibetan government illustrates the intertwined nature of the king's religious and political authority, reflecting a governance system that deeply rooted in Buddhist doctrinal teachings and principles.⁴⁶

Tibet has a recorded/documentated history spanning over 2,000 years, with a civilization that can be traced back more than 6,000 years. Particularly significant was the introduction of Buddhism in the seventh century AD, from India, which provided Tibet with the framework of an advanced civilization, facilitating its evolution into a distinct nation state characterized by a rich cultural heritage and abundant resources. A critical examination of Tibet's early history reveals pivotal events, such as the reign of Lha sras Dharma, which incited a revolt among his subjects, leading to political turmoil and the subsequent disintegration of the Tibetan dynastic regime. (Gedun 1978,20) Moreover, the revival of Buddhism during the late 9th and early 10th centuries saw limited establishment of temporal power by rulers, predominantly concentrated in Central Tibet, and specifically in Lhasa.

In the period characterized by decentralization, Tibet fragmented into various kingdoms, ruled by approximately twelve dominant chieftains controlling different regions. This fragmentation fostered significant discontent, resulting in internal conflict due to the absence of capable leaders to unify the territory into a cohesive political entity. Consequently, these regions remained under the dominion of disparate chieftains. Tibet's historical emergence in the global narrative occurred significantly later than that of neighboring India and China. The earliest reliable historical traditions in Tibet are traced back to the end of the sixth century AD, and the commencement of the seventh century AD, particularly during the reign of Srongtsen Gampo (600-650 AD), the 33rd emperor, who is recognized as the first pivotal leader to unify the Tibetan populace under a singular sovereign authority, despite ongoing allegiances to regional tribal chieftains enmeshed in inter-regional conflicts.⁴⁷

The sentiment of Tibetan nationalism is intricately linked with religious ideologies and identity.⁴⁸ This foundational ideology was established by a formidable monarch, who laid the bedrock for Tibet to emerge as a formidable power in Central and Inner Asia. A notable challenge was the staunch resistance from the Bonpos, adherents of the Bon religion a Tibet's indigenous belief system. Characterized by animistic tenets, the Bon religion encompasses ritual practices involving animal sacrifices to appease deities, alongside customs entrenched in blind faith. This belief system asserts the existence of supernatural phenomenon interwoven in the material universe, positing that all entities possess a life force. Eventually, lamas, representing monastic lineages and communities, managed to ascend to state power, configuring Tibet's political landscape to align with their interests. This influence persisted until the Chinese incorporation of Tibet in the 1950s. As a result, Tibet's unique dynamic stands apart from other Buddhist nations, where lama communities were politically

⁴⁵ . In Tibetan connotation, it's referred to an epithet of three powerful kings of Tibetan dynastical regime, who were manifestations of Buddhas, who appeared in human form in order to transmit the teachings of Buddha.

⁴⁶ . Wangal Phuntsog, Influence of religion on Tibetan politics, *The Tibet Journal*, July/September Vol.1, No.1, 1975, pp.78-86 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43299785>

⁴⁷. Pedro Carrasco. (1959) *Land and Polity in Tibet*, University of Washington Press. p.15

⁴⁸ Here the term ideology is used for Buddhist ideology means non violence that influenced the political structure of Tibet

subordinate to royal authority, even while preserving a regime of non-coercion spiritual governance.(Norbu 2001,137)

Tibet, referred to as Cholka–sum⁴⁹, consists three primary regions: U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo. Engaging in discussions about Tibet is complex, necessitating a multifaceted consideration of its political history, culture and religion. The political history of Tibet is substantially intertwined with its religious narrative; one cannot be fully discussed in isolation from the other. (Burman 1979) The intertwining nature of these components illustrates the deep connection between religion and politics within Tibetan culture. Historically, Tibet was split into several provinces, governed by different kings, clans and religious leaders until approximately 1951, when it faced invasion and occupation by China. Geographically and ethnographically, Tibet is delineated into four principal traditional provinces, with U-Tsang, emerging as the most significant. Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, is situated in U-Tsang, representing a central hub of Tibetan culture and political activity since the seventh century AD Its prominence persisted until China's exertion of control in the 1950s. The other three regions, located beyond central territory, include Amdo to the north, Kham to the east, and Guge, Purang and Ladakh to the west, collectively identified as Ngaris khor sum. Western Tibet emerged as a distinct historical region post Langdarma's death, with his successors governing these areas from the early eleventh century until the closure of the twentieth century AD (Shakabpa 1967,55)

Significantly, this region marks the inception of the second transmission of Buddhism (bstan ba phyi dar) into Tibet. There are diverse interpretations regarding Langdarma's actions and his expressions aligning Buddhism with the Bon religion. Some sources present inconsistencies, particularly among liberal Tibetan scholars. For instance, Acharya Tshultrim Kelsang Khangkar, a Professor at Otani University in Japan, vehemently challenges the narrative that Langdarma sought to eradicate Buddhism in Tibet, proposing an alternative perspective that questions the historical understanding of his reign. He contends that Langdarma was considerably advanced in age during that era and, in fact, a bewildered advocate of Buddhism. Among non-Tibetans, he was often seen as an Asian Julian the Apostate, reflecting his steadfast commitment to preserving the Bon religion in Tibet as a genuine uncompromising Bonpos sovereign.⁵⁰

Tibetan society is stratified into three primary categories: the aristocracy, theocracy and the common populace. Religion serves as the fundamental basis of life and work in Tibet, intricately woven into the cultural fabric following its adaption of Buddhism in the late seventh century AD. The paramount importance of religion renders other socio-cultural dimensions secondary, leading to a synergistic relationship between religion and politics. In this context, the role of religious authorities, particularly the Dalai Lama, transcends spiritual leadership, positioning him as the political head of Tibet and establishing it as one of the most prominent theocratic states globally.⁵¹

The propagation of Buddhism throughout Tibet gave rise to various movements, each fostering distinct interpretations and subsequently developing into sects or schools with unique monastic organizations and lineage systems. During this diffusion, Tibetan

⁴⁹ This term basically referred to the territory assigned by Kublai Khan (1215-1294) to the administration of Phagspa Lotus Gyaltzen(1235-1280) in the 13th century, when Tibetan Skaya Lamas gained power for the first time with Mongol rulers.

⁵⁰ Maraini Fosco,(1993) Secret Tibet, Book Faith India, Delhi, p.121

⁵¹ Palakshapa T.C, (1978) Tibetans in India: A case study of Mondgod Tibetans. Sterling Publications, New Delhi, p.32

Buddhism assimilated elements of the Bon religion; Tibet's indigenous belief system. This integration resulted in a distinctive evolution of Tibetan Buddhism, characterized by unique practices and philosophical inquiries. Consequently, Tibetans take pride in the originality of their interpretation of Buddhism.

The phenomenon serves as a notable illustration of Buddhism's inherent adaptability across diverse cultural landscapes, a process exemplified by syncretism, where local traditions intertwine with Buddhist practices. A parallel can be drawn with Hinduism, which similarly functions as an ideological framework that evolves through social contexts and interpretations. Thus, rituals associated with significant life events, such as death, marriage, and initiation, exhibit notable variation across Buddhist cultures, despite sharing a common foundational religious ideology.

Religious Authority and Political Power: The concept of 'Chos-srid Gnyis Ldan'

The concept of 'Chos- srid gnyis- ldan/ Chos- srid zung- bsdrel' serves as a critical ideological of conceptual framework that systematizes the interplay of social structure or organization or institution, law and political authority, while simultaneously defining its intrinsic relationship with Buddhism. This model of perspective delineates a confluence of the prevailing religious authority and political power, articulating a synergistic relationship between the institutions of Buddhism and governance. The historical evolution and enduring significance of Tibet's socio-religio political system underscore a dynamic equilibrium between religious and secular governance an interconnectedness that persists in contemporary Tibetan society and the global Tibetan exile movement. The roots of this framework can be traced to the establishment of Buddhism in the seventh century AD, which catalyzed not merely the introduction but a profound embedding of Buddhist principles within Tibet's political structure. This intertwining shaped the governance framework and the structural outline of socio- religious institutions based on core Buddhist teachings, allowing for a rich tapestry of interpretation and adaptation among individuals across different contexts.

The term 'Chos-srid gnyis-ldan' epitomizes a political ethos wherein spiritual and political methodologies coexist harmoniously, devoid of inherent conflict.(Norbu 2001, 137) Nevertheless, this framework, while ideally promoting the renunciation of coercive political mechanisms, acknowledges the necessity of employing such measures for state survival. Historically, Tibet's lack of an independent military has compelled reliance on external military support, particularly following the decline of dynastic powers such as the Mongols and the Chinese imperial regime. Tibetan lamas traditionally prefer engagement in political affairs without recourse to violence, yet this principle is nuanced when external powers provide military assistance. Accepting external support to counter aggression or curb internal dissent is not viewed as antithetical to Buddhist ideology. Between the 13th to 20th centuries, Tibetan leaders often sought military aid from Mongolian and Chinese factions during conflicts, which included confrontations with internal faction and neighboring territories such as Bhutan, Nepal and Ladakh.

This dynamic can be illustrated through the analogy that lamas do not oppose the consumption of meat as long as someone else undertakes the butchering; similarly, they accept the imposition of force on their behalf from external sources.(Norbu 2001,138) This distinction elucidates the differentiation between Tibetan and non Tibetan practitioners of Buddhism, a divergence deeply embedded within cultural identity. Tibetans identify themselves as 'nang pa',(insider), contrasting with 'chipa'(outsider) for non-Tibetan

regardless of their origins. Linguistically, 'bod', signifies Tibet, encapsulating the Tibetan way of life. The term 'Chos' meaning 'Religion' provides a cultural framework rich in symbols that contribute to collective identity. Overall, Tibet is recognized as a specific territorial unit intricately linked to cohesive system of Buddhist doctrinal teaching, intertwined with indigenous beliefs, notably the Bon tradition. This synthesis has culminated in what is currently acknowledged as Tibetan Buddhism.

This exploration underscores a pivotal aspect of Tibet's historical narrative, wherein the conjunction of political, religious and cultural elements is fundamentally interwoven. These dimensions are deeply ingrained within the consciousness and identity of the Tibetan people. In this framework, 'Chos' signifies Buddhism, while 'srid' denotes the political authority of the Tibetan government. Here, 'srid' refers to material governance, in contrast to 'Chos' which embodies spiritual pursuits. (Wangyal 1975, 78-86) Thus, it is contextually accurate to designate it as 'Bod-gzhung ch'o-srid-gnyis-ldan' translating to the Tibetan Government of Religion and Politics. The Tibetan governance system, characterized by 'Chos-srid gnyis-ldan,' emerges as a distinctive theocratic polity prior to 1959. The concept also encapsulates a foundational tenet of Tibetan Buddhism, emphasizing the union and synergy of dharma and rule, or the intertwined domains of faith and power (Chos srid zun'brel). This interplay has historical antecedents traceable to Indian roots.⁵² The dual focus on temporal and spiritual well being continues to guide the Tibetan government principles.

Within this framework, the Dalai Lama emerges as a central figure, embodying the synthesis of these dual principles within into an institutional framework largely defined by the institution of the Dalai Lama. This subtle interplay of worldly and spiritual governance persists as a defining characteristic of Tibetan identity and socio-political organization.⁵³

In the case of Tibet, the interplay between the physical landscape and the profound spirituality of its inhabitants creates a sanctified environment that remains largely distinct from external influences. This spiritual essence has enabled Buddhism to permeate and shape multifaceted aspects of daily life and governance, establishing Tibet as the 'Land of Religion' the 'Land of Monasteries', and the 'Land of Lamas'. These designations underscore the sacred character of the region, encapsulated in the Tibetan concepts of 'Chos-srid gnyis-ldan' or 'Chos-srid zung-bsdrel' which denotes the dual system of religious and secular governance. Notably, this synthesis of dharma with temporal authority represents a relatively novel framework within modern political science, one that was not extensively recognized in traditional Tibetan society.(Norbu 2001,137)

However, this religio-political system has proven problematic, particularly in reconciling the complexities of religion and politics. The contemporary situation in Tibet exemplifies these tensions, especially as the region has been rendered invisible on the global political stage. The fifth Dalai Lama's assertion of a unified Tibet often manifests as a political construct rather than a sincere embodiment of unity, revealing motivations rooted in governance rather than genuine religious sentiments. The formal establishment of the 'Chos-srid gnyis ldan' system during the fifth Dalai Lama's reign positioned the Dalai Lama as a pivotal figure, emblematic of 'Chos-srid zung 'brel' and deeply intertwined with Tibetan identity.⁵⁴ This

⁵² Ruegg Seyfort, *The Temporal and the spiritual and the so called patron-client relations in the governance of Inner Asia and Tibet*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp.67-79, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107296930.004>

⁵³ Sinha N.C, (1969) *Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity*, Calcutta, p.57

⁵⁴ Nowak Margaret, *Tibetan Refugees: Youth and the New Generation of meaning*, *The Tibet Journal*, 1985, Vol,X,No 4, p.98-99

historical framework has significantly shaped Tibet's unique governance model for centuries, intertwining religious and civil authority, particularly from the 17th century until the mid 20th century. The stated goal of this system was remained to promote Buddhism and the government always worked to maintain and done it accordingly all across the periods.

Dharma in Contemporary Governance

Buddhism, recognized globally as a transformative way of life, promotes happiness and prosperity while emphasizing the minimization of harm to others. Consequently, various political systems draw upon Buddhist principles, which serve as a fundamental source of legitimacy. However, the intersection of religion and politics extends beyond mere legitimization. The socio-religious framework in Tibet unveils unique dimensions of Tibetan culture and society, particularly illustrated through concepts such as reincarnation among lamas and ‘tulkus’, (referred to high ranking reincarnated lamas, phantom bodies) alongside the political influence exerted by diverse religious factions throughout Tibetan history, especially following the dissolution of the Tibetan dynastic regime. This dual governance system in Tibet exemplifies a nuanced principle of social organization within Tibetan society and culture. The global relevance of such a system is underscored by the persistent institution of reincarnated lamas and ‘tulkus’, which has emerged as a defining characteristic of Tibetan Buddhism over time.⁵⁵

In contrast to other Buddhist majority nations such as China, Mongolia, Korea, Japan and India, where Buddhism holds notable significance but does not dominate the cultural or political spheres, Tibet's human landscape is profoundly molded by its religious framework. The trans- formative conversion to Buddhism represented a seminal moment in the evolution of a sophisticated culture in Tibet, which prior to this transition, lacked established human settlements. With Buddhism's establishment around the 8th century, Tibetan society and culture underwent radical transformations, culminating in the formation of a distinctive, civilized society. In this context, Buddhism functioned as a civilizing force, delineating a markedly different influence in Tibet compared to the varied interpretations of Buddhism found in India and China. In those regions, Buddhism coexists with other faith systems within a more competitive cultural milieu, necessitating navigation through a complex interplay of diverse beliefs. (Dreyfus 1995,117-138)

The Tibetan theocracy, characterized by religion-based governance, is inherently connected to Tibet's historical trajectory, emerging alongside the region's unification in the mid seventh century AD under the reign of Srongtsen Gampo. (Dreyfus 1995, 117-138) Buddhism played a significant role in this unification process, facilitating not only the consolidation of Tibet into a coherent political entity but also the introduction of linguistic and literary frameworks. This led to the establishment of a corpus of novel writing system, which was instrumental in nurturing a more centralized political authority. Consequently, Buddhism became deeply embedded within all facets of Tibetan society, including legal systems and monastic codes, thereby providing a structured foundation for governance and social order.⁵⁶

The interactions between Tibet and Mongols were predominantly concentrated around the Sakya lineage of Tibetan Buddhism, which governed Tibet with the patronage of the Mongol

⁵⁵ Dreyfus Georges, Law, State and Political Ideology in Tibet, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*,(JIABS) Vol.18,Nov.1, 1995, pp.117-138

⁵⁶ Uray G, The Narrative of Legislation and Organization of the mKhas pa'i dga ston, *Acta Orientalia Scientiarum Hungaricae* 26, 1972, pp.11-68

Yuan dynasty. During this era, highly erudite lamas, recognized for their spiritual enlightenment and termed 'tulku' an appellation derived from the Tibetan Buddhist concept of enlightened reincarnation were bestowed with comprehensive political authority.

Thus, commencing in 1242 with the advent of Sakya rule and extending through the thirteenth Dalai Lama's tenure in the 18th century until 1935, the Tibetan administration functioned under ecclesiastical governance. This paradigm underscored the intricate interplay between religion and politics, initiated by Sakya Lama Kunga Gyaltsen, (1182-1242), also referred to as Sakya Pandita, and perpetuated up to the thirteenth Dalai Lama. This societal model, known as the priest⁵⁷-patron⁵⁸ (mchod-yon) relationship, persisted for seven to eight centuries. It bears striking similarities to the patronage systems observed in earlier Inner Asian and surrounding Himalayan societies, where historical figures such as Asoka and Kaniska championed the proliferation Buddhism across Central and Southeast Asia.

The Role of Buddhism in Shaping Tibetan Statecraft and Society

The 'Chos-srid gnyis ldan' translating to the dual system of Dharma and governance, emerged as a formalized political structure under the fifth Dalai Lama, marking a significant consolidation of the Ganden Phodrang's authority from 1642 to 1959. However, from a theoretical standpoint, this dual governance framework can trace its origins to the seventh century AD, coinciding with the royal dynastical period initiated by the 33rd king, Srongtsen Gampo (629-710 AD). The 'Ganden Phodrang'⁵⁹ has henceforth been recognized as the institutional embodiment of the 'Chos srid gnyis ldan', for the first time under the leadership of Nawang Lobzang Gyatso(1617-1682).

This governance system effectively integrated both lay and monastic officials; as lay representatives were typically sourced from traditional aristocratic and royal lineages, their duties assigned in accordance with their social standing or ranks. On the other hand, monk officials predominantly stemmed from all major sects of traditional Tibetan Buddhism, mainly the Nyingma, Kagyud, Sakya and Gelugpa of which Dalai Lama is a central figure.

Fundamentally, this governance structure sought to promote and propagate Buddhism, extending its influence beyond Tibet to regions like Mongolia and the Trans Siberian territories of Buryatia, Tuva and Kalmykia, as well as parts of Russia. Peculiarly, the Dalai Lama assumes the role of head of state, a position that remains exclusive to him, thereby precluding any other head lama from different sects from becoming the head of government. This appointed hierarchy has endured since the seventh century, until the People's Republic of China dismantled it following Tibet's incorporation into the mainland in the 1950s.

Subsequently, Tibetan leadership has persisted in exile under the guidance of the fourteenth Dalai Lama. During transitional periods between the demise of one Dalai Lama and the recognition of the successor, the role typically falls to a regent, known as 'sde srid' who

⁵⁷ 'Priest' is the spiritual leader who provides spiritual authority and other related religious sermons, which one can witness what Tibetan lamas did for Mongols.

⁵⁸ 'Patron' is the 'Yon bdag' or 'sbyin bdag' secular ruler who provides political, military and other support, which one can see in the case of Mongol Tibet religio-political history.

⁵⁹ Ganden Phodrang is like a parliament the main Central Tibetan government instituted by the fifth Dalai Lama in the 17th century, though it was a rigidly hierarchical organization, with four main grades of officials headed by Dalai Lama. Moreover, the Ganden Phodrang rule did not extend over the entire territory of Tibet. As some parts in the southern and some parts of eastern Tibet Kham and Amdo provinces remained independent and they were handling their own affairs and controlled by local hegemony.

assumes the Dalai Lama's responsibilities and often serves as a 'rgyal tshab'. Historically, this arrangement has proven critical, particularly after the fifth Dalai Lama's death, when the regent managed to govern Tibet while concealing this significant event to protect the public's emotional stability.

The theocratic government in Tibet functioned within a monastic framework, while the secular authority was administered by noble officials exerting political power. This dual governance system was successively embodied in the Sakya, Kagyud, and ultimately Gelugpa lineages, in due course, all united under the leadership of the Dalai Lama, who assumed the roles of both spiritual and temporal authority. The intellectual foundations of Buddhism in Tibet can be traced back to the seventh century, during the reign of Srong tsen Gampo, (629-710 AD). Tibetan chronicles designate him as the principal architect of Buddhism's introduction in the region, earning the title 'Chos-rgyal' or 'Dharmaraja'. Srong tsen Gampo's influence was crucial in establishing both Buddhism and the political frameworks of Tibet. (Burman 1979) The title 'Chos-rgyal' signifies the intrinsic link between religious and political power, with 'Chos' reflecting the established religion and 'rgyal' denoting sovereignty. This intertwining of religious and political functions endured even after the Tibetan Empire began its decline post 842 AD, following Langdarma's assassination, which fragmented central authority.

A critical factor in the fusion of religion and politics in Tibet originated from a significant matrimonial alliance with China. In 641 AD, the marriage of the Chinese princess Wencheng from the Tang Empire to Srongtsen Gampo facilitated the introduction of Buddhist practices. Wencheng brought not only silk worm eggs and skilled Han artisans but also a sacred statue of the Buddha, which played a seminal role in Buddhism's integration into Tibetan culture. The Tibetan populace revered her as an incarnation of the goddess Tara (sGrol ma), a belief that bolstered Tibet's economic and cultural development. Throughout the Tang dynasty (618-907 AD), diplomatic relations between Tibet and China flourished, with over 100 missions and eight treaties formalizing their interactions. These exchanges significantly contributed to the development of Tibetan culture, characterized by cordiality.

Furthermore, in 710 AD, the marriage of the Han princess, 'Jincheng'⁶⁰ to Tibetan leader Tride Tsugden during Tang emperor Zhongzong's reign further solidified the bonds between these two powerful states of Inner Asia. Jin Cheng's dowry included vast quantities of silk, brocade, and skilled entertainers, illustrating the mutual respect and cooperation. Consequently, the historical relationship between Tibet and the Tang Empire can be characterized as familial, with their matrimonial alliances fostering substantial social, economic and cultural exchanges. Ultimately, the diplomatic ties among the imperial monarchs of Tibet and China were marked by courtesy and mutual respect, reinforcing their interconnected history.

The integration of politics and religion in the formation of the Tibetan government has been significant throughout various periods of Tibetan history, particularly from the seventh century AD. A close examination of Tibet's ancient political landscape, especially prior to the introduction of Buddhism during the reign of 27th king, Nyati Tsangpo, (Arya 2019) through to Lha-thori-gyan-bstan the 28th king, reveals that the Yarlung dynasty was supported by three Tibetan indigenous religions: Drung (Sgrung), Deu (Ld'u) and Bon.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Wolfgang V.E, (1992), Uncompromising Tibet. Paljor Publications New Delhi, p.52

⁶¹ Phrim-Las D.B, (1991) The merging of Religious and Secular Rule in Tibet. pp-1 Foreign Languages Press, Beijing

Drung signifies an ancient Tibetan narrative tradition encompassing both historical accounts and allegorical tales, often enriched with poetic embellishment. Prominent examples include the legendary epic of king Gesar of Ling and various other mythical narratives intrinsic to Tibetan culture.⁶² Deu, on the other hand, pertains to the specialized knowledge of secret symbolic languages utilized for encoding and disseminating information, a practice well documented in the rich corpus of Tibetan literature and cultural heritage. (Namkhai 1995,21), Bon, as the era's ancient indigenous belief system, embodies magico-ritual practices that predate Buddhism in Tibet and continue to be observed in some regions today.

In subsequent periods, a political vacuum emerged in Tibet, leading monastic groups to establish their own political frameworks. Over time, power became increasingly centralized within these monastic organizations, particularly as the Sakya and Kagyudpa sects vied for religious and political dominance and hegemon. The Sakya sect achieved prominence and governance in Tibet, supported by external forces such as the Mongols. Sakya is the only school of Tibetan Buddhism whose leaders are drawn from a single aristocratic clan called Khon. This clan is one of the most ancient Tibetan clans, tracing their lineage beyond the world of humans to the realm of the gods.⁶³ Originating from the Tibetan royal clan known as Khon, the Sakya sect effectively facilitated religious transmission. Meanwhile, the Kagyudpa sect distinguished itself by introducing the concept of reincarnation into its teachings, notably influenced by the third Karmapa. Eventually, this idea of transmitting religious authority through reincarnation was adopted by nearly all schools of traditional Tibetan Buddhism, significantly extending its influence beyond the confines of Tibetan culture.⁶⁴ As time progressed, the incarnate lamas not only preserved religious authority but began to acquire political power. This monastic dominance effectively governed Tibet from 1242, commencing under the leadership of the esteemed ecclesiastic Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen (1182-1251) and continuing through to the current fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso(b.1935).

Monastic establishments have long served as the foundational pillars of Tibet's distinctive religio-political structure.⁶⁵ This interconnection became particularly pronounced during the second revival of Buddhism in Tibet, which commenced in 1264. It was during this period that the influential Mongolian ruler, Kublia Khan (1215-90), appointed the Tibetan Phagspa Sakya Lama (1235-80) the nephew of the esteemed Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen, as his chief royal adviser. This appointment conferred upon the Phagspa Lama substantial authority in both religious and political matters, effectively initiating a close interdependence between the two domains in Tibet. The formal consolidation of religious and political authority was solidified in 1275 during Kublai Khan's reign when he invited Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen, then head lama of the prominent Sakya monastery, to his court. This strategic move was pivotal in granting support for his efforts to propagate Buddhism throughout both Tibet and Mongolia. Moreover, the Phagspa lama left a significant imprint on Kublai Khan, who ultimately converted to Buddhism and ceded sovereignty over Tibet to Sakya lamas.

⁶²Norbu Namkhai (1995), Drung, Deu and Bon. Library of Tibetan works and Archives.pp-3

⁶³ Schaik sam vam(2012) Tibet , A History, Amaryllis, p.88

⁶⁴ Wylie .T,(1978) Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism. Proceeding of the Csoma de koros memorial symposium, Legiti, Budapest Akademiai Kaido,pp.579-586

⁶⁵ Saklani Girjia, Tibetan Refugees in India: A Sociological study of an uprooted community, *The Tibet Journal*, vol.No.4 1978, pp.41-46

This development marked the onset of priest patron rule in Tibet, as the Sakya Lamas governed the region under a theocratic system until the ascendancy of the Gelugpa Lamas, who sought to revitalize the traditional teachings of the Kadampa sect. It served as the foundation for a political religious relationship between the Tibetans and the Mongols, which evolved with changes in regime until the end of the Manchu Empire in 1911. (Shakabpa 1967,71) This shift introduced a new dynamic force in Central Tibet. Additionally, the Chinese rulers of the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties consistently supported the Mongolian monarchs, appointing and installing lama leaders as the most effective means of overseeing Tibetan governance. Thus, for nearly 700 years, both political and religious authority remained firmly entrenched in the hands of the lamas. This hegemony eventually evolved with the emergence of the Gelugpa sect, founded by the illustrious scholar Lama Tsongkhapa Lobzang Dragpa. In 1577, Sonam Gyatso, the third Dalai Lama, was invited to Mongolia by Altan Khan, where he assumed both religious and political leadership over Tibet, supported by the Tumed Mongolian chief.

The cultural legacy of a theocratic government in Tibet endures through various historical interactions between religion and politics, with these spheres remaining intertwined during tumultuous periods. The current fourteenth Dalai Lama, (Nawang Eshey Stanzin Sherab Gyatso), embodies both spiritual and temporal leadership for the Tibetan cause. He is perceived as a manifestation of ‘Chen ras Zig’, the protectoral deity of Tibet, and regarded as the reincarnation of this divine figure, embodying the principles of a compassionate Buddha and the altruistic ideals of a Bodhisattva. The lineage of ‘Chen ras Zig’ is rooted traces in the mythological religious kings of Tibet, connecting to the origins of the Tibetan people, who are believed to descend ethnically and racially from monkeys. (Arya 2019) Consequently, the Dalai Lama serves as a pivotal symbol of Tibetan nationality. His dual role as a spiritual and secular leader establishes a profound connection between him and both the religious community and the political landscape of the region.⁶⁶ Despite the considerable ethno-linguistic diversity among the Tibetan population, it is imperative to acknowledge that ethnographic Tibet encompasses a cultural and geographical scope that transcends the confines of contemporary political Tibet. (Burman 1979)

This duality of significance where these religious and political reflects the deep seated relationship between Tibetan spirituality and governance throughout history. Particularly in the case of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso, engaged Sir Charles Bell, a British political representative in Tibet, as his principal tutor in political affairs. Under Bell's influence, many Tibetans were sent to England to receive a modern education, highlighting the intersection of Tibetan tradition with external political dynamics.⁶⁷

Paradoxes of Authority: Balancing Authority and Evolution in Tibetan Politics

The dynamic interplay between rigidity and adaptability within Tibetan socio-political identity reflects a multifaceted historical synthesis that has been significantly influenced by Buddhist doctrinal teachings. This relationship highlights the intricate ways in which religious and political narratives have evolved, shaping the formation and expression of Tibetan identity over time. This paradoxical nature of Tibetan governance practices, which prioritise traditional principles while integrating modern political strategies, facilitates

⁶⁶ Kolas Ashild, Tibetan Nationalism: The Politics of Religion. *Journal of Peace Research*, Sage Publication. Ltd ,(1996) Vol.33, No. 1 Feb. pp 64

⁶⁷ Gross A. Ernest, Tibetans Plan for Tomorrow. *Foreign Affairs*, Council on Foreign Relations, (1961) Vol. 40, No. 1 oct. pp.137

nuanced responses to contemporary challenges and encourages resilience in the Tibetan diaspora's advocacy efforts outside Tibet.

The strategies of Tibetan governance have been significantly shaped by Buddhism throughout its history, especially later through the Dalai Lama's embodiment of both spiritual and temporal authority, referred to as 'Chos-srid gnyis ldan' in traditional usage and practices. In such a way, such duality has created a governance framework which is an organisational structural model which is fundamentally rigid in its adherence to religious principles and practices yet adaptable to external compulsions. Before the 1950s, Tibet's theocratic system manifested this coexistence, with political decisions frequently framed in religious terms, thereby affirming the moral legitimacy of rulers. (Shakya, 1999) After the 1950s, with Tibet's integration into the People's Republic of China (PRC), this governance model faced substantial challenges in each and every sphere of its functional norms. Over time, the Chinese governments centralized, unique secular governance structure, founded on communist ideology, has often conflicted with Tibet's preserved cultural identity shaped by Buddhism.⁶⁸ This situation gives rise to a paradoxical relationship between rigidity and adaptability in Tibetan political identity. The reincarnation issue of higher lamas, including the Dalai Lama, is a classic example that is currently capturing the world because of his advanced age.

The rigidity of Tibetan political identity is rooted in a profound adherence to Buddhist principles and structural norms. This fundamental link influences the socio-political dynamics within the region, shaping both the governance and cultural identity of the Tibetan people. This resoluteness is apparent in the strong commitment to traditional governance practices that emphasize compassion, non-violence, and harmony not within but for entire humanity. The Dalai Lama's leadership embodies these values and wisdom, representing both spiritual authority and the Tibetan people's aspirations for sovereignty and cultural preservation. (Dalai Lama, 1991) Even in the midst of considerable external challenges, there is a strong commitment to upholding these principles. Tibetan exile movements have consistently engaged in non-violent resistance against Chinese rule, emphasizing their adherence to traditional values. Nevertheless, this strictness may limit adaptability and flexibility in political negotiations and prevent engagement with the international community. As a result, their governance style may appear impractical in today's rapidly changing political landscape. (Goldstein, 2007)

The political identity of Tibetans reflects a unique capacity for adaptability and resilience in the face of external pressures and historical turmoil. This vibrant feature is essential for understanding the evolution of Tibetan political discourse and the enduring significance of cultural autonomy within the context of contemporary geopolitical challenges. The formation of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) in exile serves as a model of a governance structure that aims to preserve cultural identity while meeting the practical needs of the Tibetan community both inside and outside Tibet. Operating within a democratic governance model, the CTA reflects a commitment to modern political practices. (Harker, 2009)

The Tibetan diaspora has skillfully utilised international advocacy to publicise about human rights violations in TAR and other parts of Tibet. This adaptability shows an understanding

⁶⁸ Mehra Parshotam (2004) *From Conflict to Conciliation Tibetan Polity Re-visited*, Harrasso witz Vetlag Wiesbaden, p.118

that effective governance today requires engagement with regional and global actors, preferably relying solely on traditional methods and systems. (Baker, 2015) The current shifts related to the ‘Middle Way Approach’ (Tib. dbu mai Lam), which advocates genuine autonomy within the Chinese system, further highlight this adaptability. While deeply rooted in Tibetan cultural and religious identity, this approach seeks to find a path that acknowledges current geopolitical realities. The Central Tibetan Administration's (CTA) resilience in endorsing self-governance highlights not only a pragmatic response but also a creative blend of traditional values with modern political strategies. (Shakya, 2000)

The interplay rigidity and adaptability in Tibetan socio-political identity raises important questions about today's governance context. The strong commitment to Buddhist principles provides a moral and ethical foundation for governance. However, this rigidity may alienate potential allies who view it as impractical. By examining this perspective, we can gain a deeper understanding of the complex paradoxes inherent in Tibetan governance and its evolving political identity.

Tibetan Political Structures and Governance

The traditional religio-political structure of the Tibetan governance, both within, Tibet and in exile (Kasha /bKa shag), encompasses several key components. At the apex is the Kalon Tripa, serving as the Prime Minister. The Gyal-tsab, or Regent, acts as the deputy to the ‘Kalon Tripa’ assuming leadership responsibilities in their absence. The Ka-shag- (bka'shag) representing the Cabinet or Council of Ministers, integrates voices from both the religious and secular realms, where historically, monk ministers have wielded greater influence relative to their lay counterparts within decision making processes. The Tsog-du (Tshogs-du) or National assembly (Jo-khang), further epitomizes the democratic facets of this governance structure.

Historically, the Dalai Lama has embodied a dual leadership role, merging spiritual and temporal authority, up until the formal relinquishment of political power in 2011. This transition reflects a broader initiative to democratize the Tibetan movement, marking a pivotal departure from the tradition of a monk (Lama) occupying the highest government office. (Burman 1979) The research highlights the multifaceted implications of the intertwining of religious and political authority in Tibet, particularly against the backdrop of regional turmoil. The governance of Tibet has traditionally conformed to a model that integrates religious and political affairs, underpinned by a strong emphasis on Buddhism and the pursuit of collective happiness and merit, aimed at benefiting all sentient beings. The concept of ‘Chos-srid nggis ldan’ encapsulates this dual aim, striving for both temporal contentment and spiritual fulfillment.

Religion, as evidenced in Tibetan society, significantly shapes individual well being, resulting in a governance model that adheres to ethical norms and values. The ideal governance structure is characterized by a balance of authority between Lamas (monks) and lay noble officials, reflecting a political compromise that accommodates the influence of both societal segments.

An analysis of Tibetan history post Langdarma's execution reveals that the schisms within monarchical and imperial lineages during the ninth century precipitated the disintegration of Tibetan empires. Subsequently, this fragmentation resulted in local and tribal leaders asserting dominance, which ultimately facilitated the rise of a theocratic regime led by the Tibetan clergy. Consequently, Tibet became widely recognized as the “Land of the Lamas”

and the “Land of Monasteries.” Additionally, this ecclesiastical dominance predates the rivalry between Bonpos and Buddhist followers in the fourteenth century AD, a contention that continued through various revival periods of Buddhism from the tenth century AD onward.

The historical landscape of Tibet is marked by persistent power struggle among its elite, particularly within the Sangha (Lamas) community which were divided on sectarian or factional line but within the concept of same Buddhist doctrinal teachings and practices. This internecine conflict fostered the emergence of distinct sects under the umbrella of religious identity, especially Buddhism, leading western scholars to coin the term 'Lamaism.'⁶⁹ For Europeans, Tibet is often perceived as a unique country, primarily governed by monks. It is closely associated with various religious bodies and sects, which play a significant role in important decision making processes. As a result, these groups constitute a formidable politico-religious force. (Maraian 1993) The collapse of the dynastic regime further exacerbated internal rivalries, precipitating a decline that ultimately facilitated the Chinese takeover in 1950s. Though, Tibet once exercised significant influence, managing to collect tributes from and exert control over vast stretches of Chinese territory. Initially, when Buddhism entered Tibet, there appeared to be a clear demarcation between religious and political spheres. However, prior to the arrival of Buddhism, the indigenous Bon religion played a vital role in the political as well as religious domain. Thus, it becomes essential to critically examine the interplay between politics and religion throughout Tibet's cultural history.

Tibet's history is conventionally segmented into four distinct periods: the Ancient or legendary period (127 B.C.E., 7th century AD), the Medieval/Dynastic period (629-884 AD), the Hegemonic period (884-1642, AD), and the Modern/Theocratic period, 1646-1911/59). Understanding contemporary Tibet necessitates an exploration of this historical trajectory. The ancient period encompasses the pre-historical era, characterized by legends, myths, and pivotal political events leading to the conclusion of the Tibetan imperial realm in the ninth century AD.

The medieval phase emphasizes the intertwining of dharma and governance, often referred to as the religio-political system (*chos srid gnyis ldan*), lasting from the early 12th century until 1959. The hegemonic era culminated in the consolidation of political and religious authority under the fifth Dalai Lama in the 17th century, enduring through the thirteenth

⁶⁹. The term ‘Lamaism’ denotes a distinctive amalgamation of the intricate symbolism and esoteric practices inherent to the Mahayana Tantric tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, while concurrently incorporating elements from the indigenous Tibetan religious framework known as Bon. This native belief system encompasses a diverse pantheon of spirits and formidable demonic entities. From an academic perspective, 'Lamaism' is the term most frequently utilized in Western discourse; however, it is imperative to acknowledge that this iteration of Buddhism diverges from traditional Buddhist paradigms due to its shamanistic and mystical dimensions, significantly shaped by both the Bon tradition and Tantric Hinduism, particularly within the cultural spheres of Tibet and Mongolia. Initially, the term 'Lamaism' was coined by Western scholars to elucidate this unique manifestation of Mahayana Buddhism, especially in the context of the intricate interplay between religion and politics in Tibet. This dynamic facilitated the emergence of a religio political system governed by various sects of lamas, including the Nyigma, Kagyud, Sakya traditions, and the more reformed Gelugpa School. Lamaism, or Tibetan Buddhism, is predominantly practiced in Tibet and Mongolia, as well as in specific regions within the Chinese provinces of Gansu, Qinghai, Yunnan and Sichuan. The designation ‘Lama’ translating to ‘teacher’ in Tibetan, serves as a foundational concept pivotal to this religious tradition.

Dalai Lama in the 19th century. Finally, the modern/theocratic period witnessed significant political transformations influenced by Tibet's geopolitical significance amid the rivalry between Tsarist Russia and British India, commonly known as “The Great Game”. This era concluded with the Chinese annexation in the 1950s, marking a pivotal shift in Tibet's historical context.

The foundation of the Buddhist religio-political governance system in Tibet is deep rooted in the profound spiritual convictions of the Tibetan populace. This intrinsic faith fostered a collective acceptance of the authority inherent within the religio-political framework, perceived as divinely sanctioned through Buddhist tenets concerning human relations. The historical of Tibet is fraught with upheaval, particularly during its dark medieval period, which persisted until the late 19th century. This era was characterized by systematic violence and warfare, primarily attributed to internal power rivalries often cloaked under the guise of religious conflicts. The emergence of what is frequently termed secular power facilitated a significant integration of religious authority with political activism in Tibetan governance. The contemporary milieu in Tibet remain heavily shaped by historical enmities among its communities, tracing back to the discord between the Bonpo adherents and Buddhists, which precipitated the erosion of effective governance. In the aftermath, an authoritative hegemony emerged, characterized by the ascendancy of specific monastic institutions, a transition catalyzed by the introduction of Buddhism, which altered the social order and class structures pertaining to Buddhist monks. Buddhism inherent emphasis on impermanence underscores a philosophy of continuous transformation, advocating for a progressive and rational paradigm that influences both the internal and external dimensions of existence. This concept of change is particularly pertinent in today's rapidly evolving technological landscape.

The current Dalai Lama embodies a distinctive duality, acting as both the spiritual leader and political figurehead of the Tibetan community. Although, he has retreated from active political engagement, delegating authority to a younger demographic through democratic processes, the traditional Tibetan governance model, known as ‘Chos srid gnyis ldan’ continues to garner respect among Tibetans, who regard the Dalai Lama as a custodian of Tibetan cultural identity. Since, his exile to India in the 1950s, has championed democracy, environmental stewardship, and human rights, advocating for a dynamic societal framework. Nevertheless, his role exemplifies a theoretical ‘two-in-one’ paradigm, merging spiritual and temporal governance. This intertwining of religious and political authority is emblematic of a historically negotiated relationship between the Buddhist hierarchy and lay nobility, delineating an institution characterized by dualistic complexities.⁷⁰

In contemporary discourse, the governance structure in Tibet requires a critical reevaluation, particularly in light of the evolving needs of its populace and the pressing demands of modernity. The previously established rigid governance framework appears increasingly obsolete within the context of an advancing society. Thus, it is essential to consider reforms or potential abolition of this governance system to enhance the welfare of the nation and its citizens. Confronted with these emerging challenges, the current Tibetan government in exile acknowledges the imperative for flexibility and innovation in its governance model. This encompasses a commitment to integrating more lay participation, especially from women, in shaping vital social and economic policies for both the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) and the Tibetan exile community in Dharamsala, India.

⁷⁰.Rahul Ram, (1969) *The Government and Politics of Tibet*. Vikas Publications, Delhi, p-5

In 1963, His Holiness the Dalai Lama undertook the monumental task of drafting a constitution for the Tibetan government in exile, aimed at promoting the welfare of the Tibetan people and their aspirations for self determination. Concerns have been raised about the disproportionate landholdings by monastic institutions, highlighted by a relative of the fourteenth Dalai Lama who cautioned, “It is wrong for so much land to be held by monasteries. This not only opens the door to corruption, but it also leads to stagnation, as we become so focused on managing our estates that we have little time left for religious life.”⁷¹ Despite this, there is a popular saying in Tibet: ‘Chos dang jig-rten kha-kha red’ signifying that religion and politics are separate domains, this dichotomy has proven misleading. Since the fall of the imperial regime in the ninth century A.D., Tibet's political landscape has been deeply influenced by a fusion of religious authority and political governance, a trend that endured even following the Chinese takeover in 1950s. Ultimately, the political milieu in Tibet has been profoundly shaped by monastic institutions, which historically have dominated decision making, with administrative responsibilities largely shared between lay and monastic officials. However, the judicial power has remained predominantly concentrated in the hands of lamas, thereby underscoring the necessity for a more balanced and inclusive governance approach.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be both argued and contested that the religious expression embedded in Tibetan governance framework known as ‘Chos srid ngyis ladan’, or ‘Chos srid zung ‘brel’ represents a sophisticated synthesis of Dharma with temporal authority, intricately linking religious and secular realms. This viewpoint aligns with a deeper understanding of the Tibetan governance system, which reveals the inherent complexities of such integration. Moreover, Buddhist traditions frequently advocate a somewhat pessimistic perspective on power dynamics, asserting that politics is fundamentally rooted in the worldly sphere (jig rten), characterized by pervasive sorrow and suffering.

The conceptualization of governance explored herein transcends theoretical abstraction; its practical effectiveness in cultivating a dynamic and responsive regime is contingent upon specific sociopolitical contexts and conditions. The challenge of reconciling religious obligation with political authority is indeed formidable rendering the realization of such a synthesis within a democratic governance model particularly daunting and problematic. This observation resonates with both historical and contemporary instances in global politics, where regimes underpinned by religious doctrines have often faced considerable challenges, leading to their ineffectiveness or failure. Tibet serves as a quintessential case study that powerfully illustrates the complexities and obstacles associated with this phenomenon.

It's true that such a governance system in Tibet has never remained the same or uniform due to various reasons, but primarily, owing to a confluence of internal disunity and external political interference. The Gaden Phodrang faced significant challenges in exercising effective governance, particularly in the southern and eastern regions of the country, due to the geographical and geopolitical nature of these regions, which shared borders with three major powers: the Mongols, the Manchu and the Chinese Empires, which served as external factors. Secondly, the prevalence of internal sectarian conflicts further complicated governance. The sectarianism not only diluted the central authority of the Gaden Phodrang but also created factions that frequently sought for power and influence. Overall, the

⁷¹ Thupten J.N,& Colin M.T, (1972) Tibet: Its History, Religion and People. London, Penguin Books pp.347-48

evolution of the Tibetan governance system highlights the intricate dynamics of religion and politics in the region.

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Хураангуй

Энэхүү өгүүлэл нь Төвдөд шашин–улс төрийн удирдлагын тогтолцоо хэрхэн бүрэлдэн тогтсоныг шүүмжлэлтэйгээр судалсан болно. Уг тогтолцоо нь анхны хаант засаг үүсч, Буддизм МЭ VII зууны эхэн–дунд үед нэвтэрч, хүлээн зөвшөөрөгдсөнтэй холбоотойгоор төлөвшсөн гэж үздэг. “Чос□срид гнийс□лдан” хэмээн нэрлэгддэг уламжлалт Төвдийн засаглал нь шашинлаг болон улс төрийн эрх мэдлийг хослуулсан өвөрмөц бүтэц бөгөөд олон талын үр дагаврыг агуулдаг. Энэ хүрээнд “чос” нь шашны ариун чанар, сүнслэг үйл хэрэгт хамаарах ойлголтыг илэрхийлдэг бол “срид” нь улс төрийн эрх мэдэл, олон нийтийн хэрэг, нөөц баялгийн материаллаг удирдлагыг заадаг.

Судалгаанд “Чос□срид гнийс□лдан” хэмээх ойлголтыг шинжилж, Буддын сургаалаас улбаатай хатуу (rigid) ба дасан зохицох (adaptive) зарчмуудыг нэгэн зэрэг агуулсан засаглалын бүтцэд орших дотоод зөрчлийг тодруулсан. Үүнтэй холбогдон дхарма орчин үеийн засаглалд хэрхэн нөлөөлж, Төвдийн улс төрийн орон зайг ямар байдлаар төлөвшүүлж буйг авч үзсэн. Мөн Буддизм Төвдийн төрийн бодлого, нийгмийн харилцаанд гүйцэтгэсэн чухал үүргийг шинжилж, шашны сургааль засаглалын практикт хэрхэн нөлөөлдгийг онцолсон. Түүнчлэн уламжлал ба орчин үеийн шинэчлэлийн зөрчлөөс улбаалсан эрх мэдлийн парадоксуудыг Төвдийн улс төрийн хүрээнд хэлэлцсэн болно.

Мөн Төвдийн улс төрийн бүтцийг шинжлэхдээ сүм хийдийн эрх мэдэл болон язгууртны удирдлагын нөлөөгөөр баяжсан, олон давхар бүтэцтэй болохыг харуулсан. Энэхүү шинжилгээ нь Төвдийн улс төр, шашны түүхийн өргөн хүрээнд уг засаглалын тогтолцооны давуу болон сул талыг үнэлэхийг зорьсон юм. Улмаар Төвд яагаад дэлхийн улс төрийн тавцанд харьцангуй хязгаарлагдмал байр суурь эзэлсээр ирсэн шалтгааныг илүү гүнзгий ойлгоход ач холбогдолтой.