

THE DALAI LAMAS OF LHASA  
AND  
THEIR RELATIONS  
WITH  
THE MANCHU EMPERORS OF CHINA.  
1644-1908.

BY

W. W. ROCKHILL.

I.

1407—1653.

When relations between Tibet and China first became regular, in the VIIth, VIIIth and IXth centuries of our era, Tibet was at the height of its power. During that period of its history it carried its victorious arms far into India, Central Asia and China. In the last named country it had time and again overrun a large part of the present provinces of Kan-su, Ssü-ch'uan and Yün-nan, had even entered Ch'ang-au-fu, the capital of the T'ang emperors, and placed, for a time, on the throne of China a prince of its choice. During that period the Tibetans were the allies of the Caliphs of Baghdad and supported them with their arms. This period is marked, on the part of the rulers of China, by extreme friendliness for Tibet; its Kings were given imperial princesses as wives, treaties of alliance were made with them, and every assistance rendered to introduce Chinese culture into the country and draw closer its political and commercial relations with the Empire.

# T'OUNG PAO

## 通 報

OU

### ARCHIVES

*CONCERNANT L'HISTOIRE, LES LANGUES,  
LA GÉOGRAPHIE ET L'ETHNOGRAPHIE  
DE  
L'ASIE ORIENTALE*

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Revue dirigée par

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During the next two centuries, in which the power of Tibet was waning, the relations between the two countries became less frequent, less cordial. China had nothing to fear from Tibet, and Tibet had nothing to give the outside world, its religion had not yet extended beyond its borders. Towards the end of the XIIth century however, the Buddhism of Tibet began to spread among the Mongols. Somewhere about 1215 the famous lama Sakya Pañch'en visited Mongolia, and in the middle of the XIIIth century the Flemish Friar William of Rubruck found red-clothed lamas at Karakorum, the Mongol capital, and he heard of re-incarnate lamas who had been there before his arrival; even as far west as Kailak, near the modern Kopal in Central Asia, he saw temples which, from his description of them, I think were lamaseries<sup>1</sup>).

So great was then the fame and the influence of the Tibetan lamas that in 1260 Kublai made Drogon-p'agspa, the nephew of Sakya Pañch'en, and who had also come to the Mongol court, "Imperial Adviser" (御師), recognized him as head of the Buddhist faith, conferred on him the title of "Great Precious Prince of the Faith" (大寶法王), besides giving him offices of great profit and rich presents. He returned to Sakya in 1275 where he died in 1279<sup>2</sup>).

The Mongol dynasty's claim to a vague suzerainty over Tibet was solely based on the relation in which Drogon-p'agspa and his successors stood to it; the forces of the Yüan Emperors never advanced nearer Tibet than the western borders of Kan-su, Ssü-ch'uan and Yün-nau<sup>3</sup>).

1) See *Journey of William of Rubruck*, 1253-55. (Hakluyt Soc. edit.), 199, 221, 232. Conf. Jigmed namkhü, *Hlor ch'ös chyong* (Huth's *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*) 118. 167.

2) Huth; *Op. sup. cit.*, 157, 159.

3) Sarat Chandra Das, *Contributions on the Religion, History, etc., of Tibet* (In *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, 1891), 240-242, relying solely on Tibetan authorities, of doubtful

After Drogon-p'agspa many other high lamas of Tibet received from the sovereigns of the Yüan and Ming dynasties long, pompous titles, seals of office and rich presents. They in turn sent presents to the Court of China, bringing at the same time the products of their country to sell to the Chinese; but here the relations stopped; there is not a single reference in the histories of those dynasties to political relations having been established at any time with the temporal rulers of Tibet.

Towards the end of the XIVth century a great religious reformer appeared in Tibet, Tsongk'apa, a native of Amdo near the Koko-nor. His teaching met with rapid and wonderful success at Lhasa; in less than three centuries the Gélupa sect, which he founded, was to become the established church of Tibet and all Mongolia.

Tsongk'apa, or Jé Rinpoche' é as he is usually designated, established the center of his church at Lhasa, where, it seems fair to assume, he met with less opposition than he would had he gone to some town of Ulterior Tibet, the center of the older or Red-capped sect. A few miles from Lhasa he founded in 1407 the great Gadän lamasery, and eleven years later the Séra lamasery, also in the neighbourhood of that city <sup>1</sup>). In Gadän he lived, and there he died in 1418 or thereabout, leaving as his successor Gédundub <sup>2</sup>), then a man of about 30.

In 1446 the new church felt powerful enough to take its stand

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value on foreign questions, says that the Emperor Kublai conferred on Drogon-p'agspa the sovereignty over all Tibet, Wu, Tsang, Khams and Amdo, and that the country remained under the Mongols nominal rule till the middle of the 14th century.

1) Gadän, Séra and the older Débung lamaseries are still the most powerful, politically as well as spiritually in Tibet. They are collectively called Sen-de-gyé-sum.

The dates of Trongk'apa's birth and death are uncertain. Jimed namkhü says he was born in 1356 and died in 1418. See Huth *Op. sup. cit.* 176, 184.

2) Gédundub was a native of Ulterior Tibet, born at a place called by the Chinese Sha-pu-to-t'ê (沙卜多特). *K'uo-erh-k'a-chi-lüeh* (欽定廓爾喀紀畧). Introductory Ch. IV. 10.



in the stronghold of the older faith, and Gédundub went to Shigatsé, some 45 miles from Sakya, the capital of the Red-capped lamas, and there founded the lamasery of Tashilhunpo, which in the XVIIth century became the abode of the second grand lama of the Gélupa church, the Panch'en Rinpoch'é.

With the death of Gédundub, which occurred in 1474, the system of infant re-incarnations, which we have seen was already known in the Tibetan Church of the XIIIth century <sup>1)</sup>, was introduced into the Yellow Church, and Gédundub became re-incarnate in an infant born in 1476, and to whom was given the name of Gédun-gyats'o.

On his death in 1542, the pontifical succession fell on a child born the same year <sup>2)</sup>, and who received the name of Sonam-gyats'o. The early part of his life was devoted to strengthening and spreading the teachings of Tsongk'apa throughout Tibet, over which he appears to have travelled extensively; and his success in this work must have prepared him for his great missions to the Mongols, which occupied the latter part of his life, and which were to have such momentous and lasting influence on the later history of his faith.

In 1566, a chief of the Ordos Mongols, the Kung-Daidji Kutuktai-Sétzen became a convert to the Gélupa faith, and through his influence his uncle, the terror of northern China for the last 50 years, Altan Khan, the titular Prince of the Tumed, and all his people were soon won over to the Yellow

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1) Conf. Waddell, *Lamaism*, 230—254. On Gédundub, see Sarat Chandra Das, *Contributions, etc.*, (J. B. A. S., 1881), 24—25. Gédun-gyats'o was, like his predecessor, a native of Ulterior Tibet; he was born at a place called by the Chinese Ta-na-t'ê to-erh-chi-tan (大那特多爾濟丹 Danat dorjédän). *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, loc. sup. cit.

2) In Anterior Tibet, at a place called by the Chinese Tui-lung (對隴). *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, loc. sup. cit.

Church<sup>1</sup>). In 1575 these Princes invited the head of their new faith, Sonam-gyats'o, to come to visit them in Mongolia. The Lama responded promptly, and in 1576 he came to the Ordos country, where he was received with great honours and where his teaching established for all times the supremacy of his faith<sup>2</sup>). It was then that Altan Khan conferred on the Lama the title of *Dalai Lama Vajradhāra* "The All-embracing Lama, the Vajra-holder", a title which all his successors have since borne<sup>3</sup>).

So great became the fame of the Lama that the Ming Emperor conferred on him a title, and sought to have him visit his court. Besides spreading his faith among the Mongols, he was able to extend it greatly in eastern Tibet, where the Red-capped lamas and the Bönbo had till then been supreme.

In 1579 the Lama returned to Tibet, leaving with Altan Khan the lama Yontän-gyats'o of Tongk'or, who was the first of the Cháhan Nomenhan, and who became known among the Mongols as the Dongkur Manjusri Hutuketu.

In 1585, at the request of Altan Khan's son and successor, Sengé Dúgurun Témur, the Dalai Lama made again the journey to

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1) Altan Khan passed most of his long life warring against the Chinese in the provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Chihli, from Ning-hsia-fu to T'ai-yüan-fu and Pao-ting-fu and the gates of Peking, plundering and devastating everywhere he passed, and defeating all the troops sent against him. In 1571 he made his peace with China, but to the day of his death he remained the terror of the northern border. Little wonder that the Chinese should have sought to propitiate the Lama to whom Altan Khan rendered humble and absolute obedience. See de Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine*, X 305—334, and Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I 416—425.

2) The Tibetan historian Jigmed-namkhä (Huth, *op. sup. cit.*), 221—222, says that the Lama told Altan Khan that in three previous existences he had been his teacher; in one of these the Lama was Drogon-p'agspa; a most politic statement, connecting as it did the famous "Adviser" of Kublai and a Red-capped lama, with the present head of the Yellow church.

3) In Tibetan *Dorjé-ch'ang Tālai lama* or *Khyab-bdag dorjé-ch'ang*. This title was rendered in Chinese *Chin-kang Ta-shih* (金剛大士). See Huth, *Op. sup. cit.*, 223 and *infra*, 11. On Sonam-gyats'o, see Sanang-Setzen, *Geschichte der Ost Mongolen*, 211, 237, and Huth, *Op. sup. cit.*, 215 et seq.

Mongolia, and visited the Khan at his capital Koko-Khutun, the Kuei-hua-ch'êng of the Chinese, in the northern part of Shansi province. And there Sonam-gyats'o appears to have died in 1587, to re-appear again the following year in the infant son then born to his late powerful follower, Sengé Dúgurun, chief of the Tumed.

This most fortunate and timely event established a permanent and indissoluble bond between the church of Lhasa and the Mongols. Its beneficent effect must have been immediately felt, and it unquestionably led to the rapid extension of the practice of infant re-incarnation of Tibetan saints in Mongol princely families, which shortly after we find such a marked peculiarity of the Yellow Church, and which has since then been used by it with admirable results to maintain the faith and strengthen its influence among the Mongols, among whom there are probably more re-incarnations (*hubilhan*) than among the Tibetans themselves.

Sonam-gyats'o's successor was called Yontän-gyats'o. He remained among his Mongol kinsfolk till 1600, when he went to Lhasa. There he studied under the abbot of Tashilhunpo Ch'ösgyi gyaltsän, who was called to Lhasa for that purpose. To console the Mongols for having left them, he sent to Koko-Khutun to represent him there a re-incarnation of Chamba-gyats'o, who became known among the Mongols as Maitri Hutuketu<sup>1</sup>).

Yontän-gyats'o died in the Débung lamasery at Lhasa in 1615 or 1616, and became re-incarnate the same year as the son of a high Tibetan officer in the service of Palp'adub, chief of Shüng-gochän. The child was named Lozang-gyats'o. When aged six he was placed in the Débung lamasery, and soon began his studies under Ch'ösgyi gyaltsän, the preceptor of his predecessor<sup>2</sup>).

1) Huth, *Op. sup. cit.*, 58, 240, 247

2) Huth, *Op. sup. cit.*, 255, 369, *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, Introduc. Ch. 4. 10 says he was born in Ch'ung-ch'ai (崇寨) in Anterior Tibet.

At this time Tibet was divided into three principal divisions, Khamdo in the east, Wu or Central Tibet with Lhasa as its capital, and Tsang or Uterior Tibet with Shigatsé as its centre. All of these divisions were subject to the rule of the Kings (*Tsanpo*) of the P'agmo-du dynasty, which had come into power in the early part of the XIVth century. Lhasa was their capital.

Though nominally united under one rule, a religious war was desolating the country; in Central Tibet the Yellow Church ruled supreme, the Tsanpo followed its tenets and had its support; while in Tsang and the remoter parts of the country the Red-capped lamas, under the Sakya Pontiff and the Karma lamas, were still preponderant, and the ambitious Regent (or *Dési*) of Tsang was an adherent of the Sakya lama.

Somewhere about 1630 the *Dési* of Tsang, whose name was P'unts'og-namgyal, captured Lhasa, dethroned the king and assumed sovereignty over all Tibet<sup>1</sup>). This revolution threatened the very existence of the Yellow Church; the supremacy of the Red-capped lamas in Lhasa meant, not only its overthrow there, but the destruction of its present supremacy among the Mongols, where the Red-capped lamas had still many supporters. Lozang-gyats'o after enduring some years of persecution, called on the Oelöt Mongols of the Koko-nor, to come save the sanctuary of their faith and maintain the supremacy of their church.

Gushi Khan, the chief of these Oelöt, had but a few years before, in 1636, driven the Khalka Mongols from the Koko-nor or Amdo region, where they, belonging to the Red-capped lamas, had greatly persecuted the Yellow Church, which Gushi and his tribe were followers of, probably since the days of Sonam-gyats'o. After this Gushi had made the pilgrimage to Lhasa, and, on his return to the

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1) He is called in Tibetan *Dési* Tsangpa P'un-ts'ogs Namgyal. Huth, *Op. cit.*, 52, 252. Chandra Das, *Contributions, etc.*, (J. A. S. B. 1882) 64, 72.

Koko-nor, he had undertaken (in 1638) an expedition into Khamdo, by which he had brought all that part of Tibet under his rule and that of the Yellow Church<sup>1</sup>).

The call of Lozang-gyats'o, the head of the Yellow Church, was responded to promptly by Gushi, and, his kinsman Batur Kung-Daidji of the northern Oelöt, and the Torgöt Oelöt. At the head of these forces, he invaded Tibet, in 1641 or thereabout, defeated and captured the Dési Tsangpa, and imprisoned him in the fort of Néhu (*Sneu*) in Central Tibet<sup>2</sup>). Gushi was declared ruler of Tibet — under the supreme rule of Lozang-gyats'o — to whom he shortly after transferred his authority, retaining only the command of the Mongol troops of occupation. The old Tibetan office of Dési or "Prime Minister" was maintained.

The Dalai Lama, who had till then lived in the Débung or Gadän lamasery, transferred, on becoming sovereign of the country, his residence to the former palace of the Kings of Tibet, situated on a hill to the west of the city of Lhasa, and called Marpori. Here he began to erect the vast agglomeration of buildings which now covers this hill, and he called it Potala, a name associated among Buddhists with the cult of the god Avalokita, whose incarnation Lozang-gyats'o had now come to be regarded.

His old preceptor, Ch'ösgyi gyaltsän, at first abbot of Tashilhunpo and later of Gadän, he made (probably before Gushi's conquest) the second grand incarnate lama of Tibet, the first Pauch'eu

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1) Sarat Chandra Das, *Contributions* (J. A. S. B. 1882), 71—73, Huth, *Op. cit.*, 248—253.

2) Chandra Das, *Contributions*, 246, places this event in 1645. Wei Yüan in the *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 5, says "10th year *ch'ung-té*". There was no 10th year with this name; had there been it would have corresponded with 1645. Huth, *Op. cit.*, 252, appears to place the event in 1640. As appears from an official document quoted further on (*infra*, 12) the Emperor of China, writing in 1644 to the Dési Tsangpa and to Gushi Khan, knew of the defeat of the former and of the role played in Tibet by the latter. The conquest must therefore have taken place between 1641 and 1643.

Rinpoch'é of Tashilhunpo, and he was declared to be an incarnation of Amitabha, whose spiritual son was the god Avalokita, incarnate in the Dalai Lama himself.

Such was the condition of affairs in Tibet when the Manchus established their rule in China. Already in 1638 the three Khans of the Khalka Mongols had suggested to the Emperor Ch'ung-té the advisability of inviting the Dalai Lama to visit him at Mukden, and in 1640 letters were received by the Emperor from the Dalai Lama, from the Panch'en Lama, from the Dési Tsangpa, and "Gushi Khan of the Koko-nor", all asking that relations be opened with them<sup>1</sup>). From this it would seem that the Tibetans were the first to seek to enter into friendly relations with the new power in China. This is however doubtful; a Chinese work of great authority<sup>2</sup>) states that in the latter part of 1640 the Emperor sent the Ch'ahan Lama<sup>3</sup>) and others with presents to the "Khan of the Tibetans" and to "the Great Lama Head of the Buddhist Church", to "invite the Holy Priest (聖僧) to come visit him".

Just about the same time the Ch'ahan Lama was sent to Lhasa, the Dalai Lama and the Panch'en Rinpoch'é Lama conferred on a high lama, an eastern Tibetan of Minyag, called Gusri Séch'en chösjé, the title of Ilakusan Hutuketu, and sent him to the Emperor of China with rich presents and a letter bearing the seals of both of them. This letter, the text of which has been preserved by the Mongol historian Sanang Setzen, glorified the Emperor and the rising power of the Manchus, and besought him to take under his protection the Yellow Church. The Dési Tsangpa sent also by

1) *Shéng-wu ch'i* (聖武記), 5. 4.

2) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu* (東華全錄), Ch'ung-té IV. 15<sup>b</sup>. Conf. Edict, *infra*, 14.

3) Ch'ahan Nomenhan is still the title of the successor of the Dongkur Manjusri Hutuketu, the disciple of Sonam-gyats'o, mentioned previously, (*supra*, 5). See Sanang Setzen, *Op. cit.*, 243, Mayers, *Chinese Government*, 110.

this mission a letter to the Emperor asking him to look with favour on the Karmapa Red-capped lamas<sup>1</sup>).

It took the Ilakusan Hutuketu's mission several years to make the journey to Mukden; it arrived there in the winter of 1643 (10th moon, 7th year *Ch'ung-tê*)<sup>2</sup>). The story of its arrival and of its reception by the Emperor Ch'ung-tê is told as follows by the Chinese<sup>3</sup>). "In the winter, in the 10th moon, the Ilakusan Hutuketu Tai-ch'ing-ch'o-erh-chi (代青綽爾濟) and others sent by the Dalai Lama of Tibet arrived at Sheng-king (Mukden). The Emperor went out of the Huai-yüan gate (懷遠門) to meet them, going beyond the Ma-kuan (馬館). On the way back, when before the Ma-kuan, the Emperor led all present in worshipping Heaven, after doing which he entered the Ma-kuan, took his seat, and the Ilakusan Hutuketu and the others entered to see him.

"The Emperor rose to receive him, advancing to the threshold; the Ilakusan Hutuketu and the others entered, he carrying in both hands the letter of the Dalai Lama and yellow *p'u-lu* (氍毹)<sup>4</sup>).

"The Emperor received (the letter and present of *p'u-lu*) standing, and then led him (*i. e.*, the Ilakusan Hutuketu) by the hand (遂携手相見) into the hall. The Emperor then took his seat on a couch (榻), and placing two seats (座) to the right of

1) Huth, *Op. cit.*, 261. Sanang Setzen, *Op. cit.*, 287, 289.

2) The Emperor K'ang-hsi in his inscription of 1720 after the pacification of Tibet, referring to this mission, said "it was only able to reach Mukden after passing through hostile countries, and after several years journeying". Rockhill, *Tibet from Chinese sources* (J. R. A. S., 1891), 185.

3) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ung-tê VII. 13. Conf. Saung Setzen, *Op. cit.*, 289.

4) Lamas, as well as all other teachers of religion, were exempted from kotowing in the presence of royalty. When the Emperor Ch'ien-lung received the Panch'én Rinpo-ch'é in 1792, the latter asked to be allowed to kotow. See *infra*, 48, note 2. *P'u-lu* or *pulo* is native Tibetan cloth; it is still at the present day the ordinary gift made by Tibetans of all ranks on occasions of ceremony. I fancy that in the present case, it was not a piece of yellow *pulo* which was presented the Emperor with the letter of the Dalai Lama, but a yellow silk scarf, a *katag*.

his couch, ordered the two lamas (i. e., the Hutuketu and another) to sit down on them<sup>1</sup>).

“After this the envoys (使臣) of the Oelöt who had accompanied the Lama, and all their suite, in obedience to the order of the Court herald, performed the ceremony of the three kneelings and nine head-knockings.

“After this Ku-shih-an-pu (古式安布) was ordered to read aloud the letters of the Dalai Lama and of the Tsangpa Khan of the Tibetans.

“Tea was (then) served, the Lama (first) saying prayers, after which they all drank. They were then given a great banquet (大宴).

“The Ilakusan Hutuketu and the lamas who accompanied him each presented to the Emperor camels, horses, Tibetan *p'u-ti* beads (番菩提數珠), black fox skins, felt rugs, woollen serge (絨褐), rugs with patterns (花毯), robes of fox-skin breasts (狐腋表) and wolf skins.

“In the 5th moon of the 8th year Ch'ung-tê (July 1644) when the Ilakusan Hutuketu Tai-ch'ing ch'o-erh-chi, the Oelöt and the others who had been sent (to Court) by the Dalai Lama of the Tibetans (圖白忒部) departed on their return journey, the Emperor led all the Princes and Beilé in escorting them as far as the Yen-wu-ch'ang (or “the drill-grounds” 演武場), where he gave them a farewell banquet.

“He also sent an Imperial message to the Dalai Lama in the following terms: “The K'uan-wên-jen-shêng (寬溫仁聖) Emperor sends this letter to the Chin-kang Ta-shih (金剛大士) Dalai Lama<sup>2</sup>). The present Lama has at heart the salvation of all creation,

1) Another proof of the Emperor's desire to show the highest honours to the Lama's envoys. The Oelöt envoys sat on the floor and had to comply with the usual ceremonial.

2) The Emperor Ch'ien-lung says, in the Introduction to the *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, 4, 9. that the first Manchu Emperors gave the Dalai lama and the Panch'en lama the title of “Commander of the Yellow Church of China and abroad” (統領中外黃教).



and wishes to exhalt the religion of the Buddha. He has sent envoys to Us with letters. We rejoice greatly, and now respectfully offer Our greetings and good wishes. We have ordered the Ch'ahan Gélong (察干格龍) and his companions to explain orally to you all that We have to say".

"An Imperial messenger was also sent (at the same time) to the Pan-ch'an (班禪) Hutuketu with a letter of the same tenor<sup>1</sup>).

"An Imperial messenger was also sent to the Red-capped Lama Karma (噶爾馬) with the following message: "We reflect that from the time when the ancient Emperors and Kings established their dominions, the religion of the Buddha has endured without interruption. Now We greatly revere the mighty Sages who wish to be a help to all living beings; so We are sending the Ch'ahan Gélong and others to explain orally all that We have to say<sup>2</sup>).

"Imperial messages were also sent (at the same time) to the Ang-pang Sa-ssü-ha (昂邦薩斯蝦), to the Chi-tung (濟東) Hutuketu, to the Lo-ko-pa (羅克巴) Hutuketu, and to the Ta-ko-lung (達克龍) Hutuketu, in the same words; and to all were sent gifts of different sorts<sup>3</sup>).

"An Imperial message was also sent to Tsangpa Khan (臧霸汗) in the following words: "Your letter (to Us) speaks of the blessings brought to Our country by the religion of the Buddha. We are

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1) According to Sanang Setzen, *Op. cit.*, 299, on the departure from Mukden of the Ilakusan Hutuketu — which he places in 1643, the Emperor sent his Chief Lama with rich presents and letters to the Dalai Lama and the Panch'én Rinpoche' é saying that as soon as he had captured Peking and subdued Western China, he would invite them to visit him, and that he would then begin propagating their religion. *Gélong* is the Tibetan title of a monk who has taken all the orders; it is reserved in practice for those of established learning and sanctity.

2) The Karmapa sect was that to which the Dési Tsangpa belonged. (*suprà*, 6).

3) Ang-pang Sa-ssü-ha is probably the Pontiff of the Sakyapa, the head of the Red-capped lamas. The Lo-ko-pa Hutuketu was presumably a Red-capped dignitary of Southern Tibet, and the Ta-ko-lung Hutuketu may have taken his title from the district of Taklung, also in Southern Tibet.

sending an envoy bearing a letter. We have recently heard that you have suffered defeat at the hands of Gushi (顧實), Beilé of the Oelöt, but We do not know the details of it. We are consequently sending you this letter bidding you henceforth to devote yourself unceasingly to good works. Whatever you may stand in need of We ought to send you. We now bestow on you one hundred taels of silver and three pieces of gold brocade”.

“A letter was sent to Gushi Khan saying: “We hear that some have been guilty of disobedience and rebellion against the religion (of the Buddha), but you have already re-established order. We reflect that from the time when the ancient Holy Kings established government, the religion of the Buddha has endured without interruption. Now We wish to show Our great respect for the Eminent Sages (高賢) among the Tibetans, so We are sending envoys with the Ilakuksan Hutuketu to all alike, regardless of the colour of their robes, whether they be red or yellow, seeking everywhere for the religion of the Buddha for the protection of the Empire. This you should know. We are sending you with this letter a complete suit of armour”<sup>1)</sup>.

Chinese historians consider this mission to Tibet as that which first established relations between the Ta Ch'ing dynasty and Lhasa<sup>2)</sup>.

In the 5th moon of the year 1648 the Chinese Government sent the Hsi-la-pu Gélong (席喇布格隆) and others with letters to the Dalai Lama and the Panch'en inviting them to visit the Emperor. The envoy took them presents from the Emperor of girdles of gold set with jade, and tea urns (筒)<sup>3)</sup>. It was presumably in response to this invitation that the Dalai Lama undertook

1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ung-te, VIII 3<sup>b</sup>—4<sup>a</sup>.

2) *Shéng wu chi*, 5. 4<sup>b</sup>.

3) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Shun-chih, X. 13.

the journey to Peking, the Panch'en declining the invitation on account of his advanced age.

By the middle of 1652 the Dalai Lama and his horde of followers had reached the Ordos country, whence he sent to the Emperor a letter, which reached him in the 8th moon, asking him to come to meet him either at Kuei-hua-ch'eng or at Tai-k'a (代噶), presumably a camp on the shore of Taik'a-nor, a good sized lake about 45 miles N. N. W. of Ta-t'ung-fu in Shansi.

The Emperor appears to have been considerably perturbed by this message of the Lama. In his perplexity he consulted his Princes, the officials of the various Courts and the Censors, asking what he had better do under the circumstances. The question apparently raised a serious controversy among the officials; the Manchus advised the Emperor to go meet the Lama, that such an act of extreme condescension would certainly cause the Khalka Mongols to finally submit to the Imperial rule. The Chinese on the contrary, advised the Emperor not to allow the Dalai Lama to enter China proper, and not to go to see him; it was quite enough to send him presents by some Prince.

The Emperor made known his perplexities and the conflict of opinion among his Manchus and Chinese advisers in the following Edict:

"An Edict addressed to the Princes of various ranks, to the Officials of the Imperial Courts and to the Censors:

"In the time of the Emperor T'ai-tsung (1627—1644) the Khalka (Mongols) had not submitted. Considering the fact that all the Tibetans (藩) and Mongols obeyed the words of the Lamas, the Dalai Lama was sent for, but before the envoy had reached him the Emperor T'ai-tsung died.

"Later, during the Regency of Prince Jui, the Dalai Lama was (again) invited (to visit Our Court), and promised to come. In the *ch'én* year (*i. e.*, 1652) he was sent for after We had assumed

personal rule, and he (now) approaches, accompanied by 3,000 men. We would like to go outside the border to meet him, but reflect that if he enters the country in a year of poor harvests (such as the present one) with such a multitude (of followers), the country may suffer injury. On the other hand, if We do not go to meet him, after having invited him to come, he may go back (to Tibet) after having come part of the way, and the consequence will be that the Khalka will not render their submission. All of you are to memorialize Us expressing your opinions, whether We (should go) meet him or not.

“The Manchu officials (say) that as We have invited the Lama and he has come, We should go outside the border to meet him and order him to remain outside. If the Lama enters the country he should be ordered to bring only a small retinue, otherwise he may remain outside the border, if he prefers it. If the Emperor (they say) meets him in person, the Khalka will make their submission, from which great advantage will result, but if the Dalai Lama is invited and then not met (by the Emperor), it will be improper. What objection can there be to Our reverencing the Lama without entering the lama sect?

“(On the other hand) the Chinese officials counsel that the Emperor, being the Lord paramount of the whole world, ought not to go meet the Lama, and, as the latter is accompanied by some 3,000 men, he ought not to be allowed to enter the country. (Considering however) that he has been specially invited, some of Our Princes or Ministers of State may be deputed to meet him as Our representatives. If the Lama is ordered to remain outside the border, Our reverence for him may be shown by presents of gold and silver.

“Both these opinions have been submitted to Us by Memorials. We must consider them”<sup>1</sup>).

1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Shun-chih XIX, 6.

The Emperor appears to have replied promptly to the missive of the Dalai Lama saying that, in view of its being necessary for him to be in constant communication by courier with his troops, then operating in the south-west part of the Empire, he could not go so far away to meet him outside the frontier. He was sending however, some of his Princes and Ministers of State to meet him, and escort him in safety to a point just inside the frontier, where He, the Emperor, would meet him<sup>1</sup>).

A few days later he wrote the Dalai Lama a second letter saying "You have written to Us that the climate within the borders is bad for your health, and that it is better we should meet outside the border. We will consequently proceed to Taik'a and await you"<sup>2</sup>). It would seem from this that it was then the intention of the Dalai Lama not to proceed further than the Taik'a lake and that the Emperor had agreed to this arrangement.

Less than a month after (in the 9th moon) Shuo-sai (碩塞) Prince of the first rank, and others were ordered by the Emperor to go meet the Dalai Lama, give him the two letters above mentioned, and escort him to Taik'a where the Emperor had stated he would meet him.

Although it does not appear from the records that the Emperor did not make this journey, there is good reason for believing that he finally decided not to, for, when we next hear of the Lama, in the following month, he was in Peking, where he had taken up his residence in the Hsi-huang-ssü (西黃寺), which the Emperor had built for his accommodation in the northern suburb of the city<sup>3</sup>).

1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Shun-chih XVII, 6.

2) *Ibid.*, Shun-chih, XIX, 7<sup>a</sup>.

3) This temple, known to foreigners as the Yellow Temple, is about a mile north of the north wall of the Tartar City. In this temple the Panch'en Rinpoché died in 1792, and the present Dalai Lama dwelt in it in 1908, during his sojourn at Peking.

The first audience which the Emperor gave the Lama appears to have taken place about two months after his arrival in the capital (in the 12th moon of 1652). He was received by the Emperor in the Nan-yüan (南苑). The Emperor showed him every honour, and gave him a seat (賜坐). The Lama presented the Emperor with horses and various objects. After this a state banquet was given him in the Tê-shou-ssü (德壽寺)<sup>1</sup>).

Whether the climate of Peking really did not agree with the Lama, or whether it was that he did not think his reception by the Emperor sufficiently ceremonious and hearty, at all events, less than a month after his audience in the Nan-yüan, he memorialized (奏) the Emperor to the effect that the climate of Peking did not suit him, that he and his followers were suffering from it, and he asked permission to take his leave.

The Emperor replied that he might return to Taik'a and there await the spring. This spot seemed an excellent one, the Emperor added, for the Pontiff could have the Mongol Princes, Beilés and others come to meet him there<sup>2</sup>).

In the first part of the 2nd month of 1653, the Lama had his farewell audience in the Winter Palace, and a state banquet in the chief hall of the Palace, the T'ai-ho tien. The Emperor presented him afterwards with saddles, horses, gold, silver, pearls, jade and satins. He also conferred upon him a gold tablet inscribed with the title he had given him (大善

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1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Shun-chih, XIX, 15<sup>a</sup>. *Sheng-you chi*, 5. 4<sup>b</sup> says that the first audience was in the T'ai-ho tien (太和殿) the principal audience hall in the Winter Palace, and that it was his audience just before his departure which took place in the Nan yüan. It seems very improbable that the Lama had to wait two months for his first audience. The ceremonial followed appears to have been similar to that of the audience to the Ilakusan Hutuketu (*suprà*, 10).

2) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Shun-chih XX, 6<sup>b</sup>.

自在佛領天下釋教普通鄂濟達賴刺麻)<sup>1)</sup>).

A few days afterwards the Lama left for Taik'a, escorted by the Chin-wang Shuo-sai, the Pei-tzū Ku-erh-ma hung-wu ta-hai (顧爾瑪洪吳達海), and a detachment of Manchu bannermen. The Emperor gave orders to his uncle the Chin-wang Chi-erh-ha-lang (濟爾哈朗) and the President of the Board of Ceremonies, the Jioro Lang-chiu (朗球) to give him an entertainment at the Ch'ing-ho (清河), a few miles outside of Peking on the road to Nank'ou and Kalgan<sup>2)</sup>).

And so ended the visit of the Dalai Lama Lozang-gyats'o to Peking. He had been treated with all the ceremony which could have been accorded to any independent sovereign, and nothing can be found in Chinese works to indicate that he was looked upon in any other light; at this period of China's relations with Tibet, the temporal power of the Lama, backed by the arms of Gushi Khan and the devotion of all Mongolia, was not a thing for the Emperor of China to question. Notwithstanding the advice of his Chinese councillors, who had intimated to him that he was the Lord Paramount, the Emperor fully realized that the Dalai Lama was the most powerful ally he could secure in establishing firmly Manchu rule among the Mongols, and he treated him accordingly<sup>3)</sup>).

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1) *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 4<sup>b</sup>. This title may be approximately rendered "Most Excellent, Self existing Buddha, Universal Ruler of the Buddhist Faith, Vajradhāra, Dalai Lama" Conf. *infra* the title conferred in 1908 on the present Dalai Lama.

2) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Shun-chih XX, 12.

3) According to Tibetan authorities (Huth, *Op. cit.*, 156, 268) the Emperor gave the Dalai Lama, or rather renewed for him, the title given to his predecessors, of Vajradhāra, and gave him a seal of crystal, similar to that which had been given Drogon-p'agspa in 1269 by the Emperor Kublai, and which had on it the Six Syllables (*i. e.*, *Om mani padmé hūm*).

## II.

1656—1700.

In 1656, shortly after the Dalai Lama's return to Lhasa from his journey to Peking, Gushi Khan the Protector of Tibet died, and in 1662 the great Panch'en Riupoch'é Ch'ösgyi gyaltsän, the ablest and most powerful supporter of the Dalai Lama's church and government, passed away at the age of 93<sup>1)</sup>.

Gushi Khan was succeeded in his office of Commander of the Mongol army in Tibet by his son Dayan who, dying in 1670, was succeeded by his son Dalai Khan. At this time the Dési of Tibet was a lama by the name of Sanggyé-gyats'o, a man of undoubted ability, an active administrator, a writer of merit, and, it is generally believed in Tibet, a natural son of the Dalai Lama Lozang-gyats'o<sup>2)</sup>. After the return to Lhasa of the Dalai Lama, the Dési, possibly fearing that the Manchus might use him to increase their influence in Tibet, appears to have intrigued with and lent some support to the enemies of the Empire. Thus Wu San-kuei, Prince of Yün-nan had for some years sent people to Lhasa to offer presents to the lamas and to cultivate friendly relations with the Tibetans and Mongols. When he rebelled in 1674 and the Emperor K'ang-hsi ordered the Koko-nor Mongols to send troops by Sung-pau (松潘) into Ssü-ch'uan to attack him, the Dési sent a letter, in the name of the Dalai Lama, to the Emperor requesting him to pardon Wu San-kuei. A little later (in 1680) when Wu's son Wu Shih-pau

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1) Sarat Chandra Das, *Contributions*, etc., 27. This Tashi Lama was succeeded by Lozang-yéshes who lived until 1738.

2) Csoma, *Tibetan grammar*, 191. *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 5 says that Sanggyé-gyats'o was already Dési when Tsangpa was overthrown in 1642 (*suprà*, 7). This seems unlikely as he only died, or rather was killed, in 1705 (see *infra* 33); it is difficult to believe that he held the office of Regent for over 65 years. Desidéri, however, agrees with the *Sheng-wu chi*, see *infra*, 33.



(吳世璠) was hemmed in by the Imperial forces in Yün-nan, a letter from him addressed to Lhasa was seized by the Chinese troops in which he offered to cede to the Dalai Lama the two districts of Chung-tien (中甸) and Wei-hsi (維西), both in Western Yün-nan, if the Tibetans would get him safely through to the Koko-nor<sup>1</sup>). The Chinese distrust of the Dési dates probably from these incidents; events were soon to occur which greatly strengthened it.

In 1666 the young Emperor K'ang-hsi had taken the government of the Empire out of the hands of the Regents who had controlled it since his father's death in 1661. In 1675 there was a movement among the Mongols, who thought the moment favourable for a raid into China. Prompt measures adopted by the Emperor stopped it, his power was thereby somewhat affirmed among the Mongols, but the condition of affairs in Mongolia portended serious trouble. The danger was the ambitious schemes of the young chief of the northern Oelöt, Galdän Daidji, the son of the Batur Kung-Daidji who had aided Gushi Khan in his conquest of Tibet<sup>2</sup>). This young chief conceived the plan of uniting under his rule the Oelöt tribes of the Koko-nor and, by availing himself of the dissensions then existing between the Khalka, of reducing them also to acknowledge his rule. In other words he sought to found once more a united Mongol empire.

The news of Galdän's projects against the Koko-nor Oelöt led the latter to appeal to the Dalai Lama, for whom Galdän professed great reverence, and to see whom he had made the pilgrimage to Lhasa some years before. The appeal was not in vain, Galdän was persuaded to give up his enterprise against the Koko-nor, and the

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1) *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 5.

2) de Mailla, *Histoire de la Chine*, XI, 79 et seq.

Dalai Lama conferred on him the title of Poshetu Khan. In 1679, Galdän was received by the Emperor in his quality of vassal of the Dalai Lama.

But while Galdän's enterprise against the Koko-nor was stopped, the probability of his turning his restless activity in another direction remained none the less, and the danger to China of the unification of all the Mongol tribes under a warlike chief, filled the mind of the Emperor with the most serious apprehension; furthermore the Khalka had become his vassals, and their defence devolved on him.

Such was the condition of affairs in Mongolia when in 1680 the first Dalai Lama King of Tibet Lozang-gyats'o, died in the 66th year of his age<sup>1</sup>). The Dési Sanggyé-gyats'o, unwilling to lose during the minority of his successor the great influence attached to the name of the deceased Lama among both Chinese and Mongols and which insured to Tibet a commanding if not even a controlling influence in eastern Asiatic affairs, kept the death of Lozang-gyats'o secret, and continued to rule in his name, announcing that the Lama had become a recluse (*sgon-ch'en*), and was living in seclusion in a high closed building in his palace of Potala<sup>2</sup>).

The regular succession to the Pontifical throne was however insured. About a year after the Dalai Lama's death he became again incarnate in an infant in southern Tibet, who was shortly after recognized by the head of the Gélupa Church, the Panch'en Lama, as the veritable *tulku*. He received, at the age of 13, the name of Ts'angyang-gyats'o, and his early education was carried on in Norbu-khang, a day's journey from Lhasa, the Dési, with the assistance of the Panch'en Lama, ruling the country. The death of Lozang-gyats'o and the

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1) Huth, *Op. cit.*, 267. See also *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 5. *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, K'anghsi LIX, 14. Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, 249, 330, given the date of Lozang-gyats'o's death as 1672 (MDCLXXII), but I think this must be a misprint for 1682 (MDCLXXXII).

2) *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 5-6. See *infra*, 29.

discovery of his successor seem to have been known to the Tibetans generally, but were not officially published in Mongolia and China, presumably for the reasons previously suggested<sup>1</sup>).

During the ten years following Lozang-gyats'o's death the Dési continued successfully the peaceful policy of that Lama, using the influence attached to the name of the deceased Lama, to settle the dissensions among the Khalka Mongols and to curb the ambitious schemes of Galdän. In 1684 K'ang-hsi asked for and secured the co-operation of the Dalai Lama's government in bringing about an understanding among the Khalka, and in 1686 it was unquestionably through the influence of Lhasa that the Khalka ended for a while their internal feuds<sup>2</sup>).

Galdän did not however give up hope of submitting the Khalka to his rule; he began sowing discord among them and threatened them with a large body of troops which he concentrated near the north-east bend of the Yellow River not far from Kuei-hua ch'eng. The Emperor mobilized a large force of Mongol bannermen near the same place, but at the same time he kept negotiating with Galdän, appealing particularly to the fact that, by his threatening attitude, he was disregarding the express wish of the Dalai Lama who was staunchly supporting the policy of the Empire.

Things remained in this unsettled condition until 1689, the

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1) Georgi, *Op. cit.*, 250—252, says that Ts'angyang-gyats'o was born in the Mon country of Southern Tibet, some ten months after the death of Lozang-gyats'o. When 13 years old he took the vows of the priesthood before the Panch'en Rinpoche at Norbu khang near Nyet'ang (less than a day's journey from Lhasa on the road to Gyantse). After this he was duly enthroned as grand Lama. Chandra Das, *Contributions*, 28, says, quoting of course Tibetan authorities, that the Panch'en Rinpoche Lozang-yeshes when aged 35 (*i. e.*, in 1696) received the vows of the priesthood of the Dalai Lama. It is apparent that the Tibetans considered the selection of this Dalai Lama perfectly regular. The *official* ignorance of the Chinese government of his existence is all the more difficult to explain.

2) de Mailla, *Op. cit.*, XI. 107, 108.

Lhasa government co-operating with perfect loyalty with the imperial government in its efforts to insure peace among the Mongols; but towards the end of that year a mission from Lhasa arrived at Peking, and suggested, in the name of the Dalai Lama, the advisability of the Emperor ceding to Galdän on one point to which he attached particular importance, the surrender to him of his personal enemies the Tushetu Khan of the Khalka and his brother, their Grand Lama, the Jébitsun-damba Hutuketu<sup>1</sup>).

The Emperor expressed profound surprise at this apparent defection on the part of the Lama. His old suspicions of the Dési's duplicity may also have been strengthened at about this time by rumours reaching him that the Dalai Lama Lozang-gyats'o had been dead for some years, and that the Dési was won over to the cause of Galdän. At all events he sent to Lhasa some lamas from Peking, who had seen the Dalai Lama when he was there in 1652, and he gave them orders to report to him whether the Dalai Lama was alive or dead. When they returned they stated that the Dési had only allowed them to look from afar off at a lama at his prayers on the top of a high building; he was behind a dark red gauze screen and wrapped in the fumes of incense, so they could not distinguish his features<sup>2</sup>). The Emperor clung, however, to the hope that Lozang-gyats'o was still alive; he continued to address numerous letters to him, calling in the most appealing terms for his aid to bring about peace among the Mongols; and in all his letters to Galdän he continued to use the name of the Lama as that of his most active supporter.

In 1690 K'ang-hsi came to the conclusion, forced on him probably by a bad defeat of the Khalka by Galdän, that the imperial

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1) de Mailla, *Op. cit.*, XI, 135.

2) *Sheng wu chi*, 5, 6. Conf. *infra*, 26.

forces must be used before peace could be restored in Mongolia. In the early autumn of that year (29th of 7th moon), Galdän was defeated at Ulang-putung by the Imperial army, but his power was not broken<sup>1</sup>). While he made his peace with the Emperor, he did not cease warring with the Mongols, raiding as far as the Koko-nor, and quarreling with his nephew Tséwang-rabtan, whose promised wife he had a few years before stolen from him, and whose brother he was thought to have put to death<sup>2</sup>). And on all occasions Galdän professed his profound veneration for and obedience to the Dalai Lama!

The Emperor kept on negotiating with Galdän for several years, notwithstanding the strongest misgivings, and an ever growing belief in his duplicity and in that of the Lhasa Government, with which he knew Galdän was in constant communication.

Again he sent lamas from Peking to endeavour to see the Dalai Lama or to ascertain his death, but all to no effect. Finally in 1695 the Emperor determined to lead an expedition in person into northern Mongolia against Galdän, and in the summer of 1696 the Imperial forces inflicted a crushing defeat on the Oelöt at a place called Térélgi in the Chaomoto country (somewhere between the Tulan and the Kérulun rivers south of Urga<sup>3</sup>), and Galdän fled west with a few followers. From some of the prisoners the Emperor claims to have first learned (and that in confidence) that the Dalai Lama Lozang-gyats'o was dead. They also threw all the responsibility for the war upon the Dési Sanggyé.

Fearing lest Galdän should still have influence enough among his fellow Oelöt of the Koko-nor to stir up trouble, the Emperor had the following proclamation sent at once to the chiefs of the

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1) de Mailla, *Op. cit.*, XI, 140—149.

2) *Ibid.* XI, 224.

3) *Ibid.* XI, 208—212.

Koko-nor. "Galdän has been defeated and fled, and the Dalai Lama has been dead for already nine years. The Tipa (*i. e.*, the Dési) has kept this event secret and by his lies has inveigled Galdän into making trouble.

"We order you to make search for Galdän, and, if he should happen to have gone westward (among you), to seize him, his wives and family, and also the son of the Po-shih-k'o-t'u chi-nung (搏碩克圖濟農 *i. e.*, Galdän) and all Galdän's followers in the Koko-nor. Seize them and hand them over"<sup>1</sup>).

A month after the battle at Térélgi there was received in Peking a communication from an envoy sent from Lhasa to the Emperor asking permission to come to Peking from Hsi-ning in Kan-su, where he then was. By order of the Emperor the following imperial proclamation was sent him at Hsi-ning.

"After Galdän's defeat at Ulan-putung, he placed a most holy image of a Buddha on his head and took an oath saying: 'I will never again attack either any of the subjects of the Emperor or any of the Khalka who have given him their allegiance'.

"Notwithstanding this he violated his oath last year, going to the Kérulun country, harrying the Khalka and plundering Our liegeman Namchar-toyin (納木札爾陀音). We consequently assembled a great army to punish him. Galdän fled in haste, but he fell upon Our troops who wiped out his forces. Galdän and a few only escaped, all the rest submitted. The Oelöt were exterminated.

"The Oelöt prisoners said: 'The Dalai Lama has long since been dead. All the Mongols obey the commands of the Dalai Lama. If he is dead, it should be announced, and the Lords Protectors of the Faith (諸護法王) informed of it, so that the Pauch'en

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1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, K'ang-hsi LIX, 18<sup>b</sup>. de Mailla, *Op. cit.*, XI, 216—221 gives another and much fuller text of this proclamation.

can take over the government of the lama church and of the faith of Tsongk'apa'. But the death of the Dalai Lama has been concealed, and his great name used to incite Galdän!

"We have several times sent envoys to see the Dalai Lama, but the Tipa (第巴 *i. e.*, the Dési Sanggyé) has not allowed any of them to see him, pretending that he was living (in seclusion) on a high building.

"The Tipa in the first place was a little domestic officer (下管事人) of the Dalai Lama; in Our bounty We raised him up, conferring on him the title of King of Tibet (土伯特國王)<sup>1)</sup>, but while openly he honoured the doctrines of Tsongk'apa, in secret he and Galdän deceived the Dalai Lama, and the Panch'en and brought ruin on the faith of Tsongk'apa.

"Recently his envoy the Chi-lung (濟隆 Kirung) Hutuketu went to Galdän and, after having read the Sacred Books (誦經), advised him to give Us battle.

"(Again) We sent to summon the Panch'en to Our Court in the interest of all mankind, but (Our envoy) was stopped (by the Tipa) and not allowed to proceed on his mission.

"We do not hold the Dalai Lama, or Dalai Khan, or the Daidji of the Koko-nor responsible (for all that has happened).

"We are now sending an envoy to the Dalai Lama to see him, if he is still alive. Our envoy will publicly notify Galdän to obey Our commands. We have fully made out Our plans, nothing has been overlooked. If Our envoy is lied to and not allowed to have an interview with the Dalai Lama, it will certainly have the most serious results (for the Tipa). Can he deny Galdän's oath, and that the Chilung Hutuketu saw him in his country? Where is the lie!

"We are on the point of sending an envoy to this man

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1) The title of *Wang* "King" was finally abolished in 1751, but the Regent in Tibet is still popularly called *Böd-gi gyäbo* "King of Tibet".

(*i. e.*, the Tipa). His men who have come here (on this mission) can do as they like, they can all go back at once (to Tibet), or they can send a number back ahead (with Our Edict, and the rest may follow later")<sup>1</sup>).

Tibetan histories tell the story differently. We gather from them that the construction put by the Chinese Government on the events which had taken place at Lhasa was, not only erroneous, but deliberately distorted to suit the political ends of China in Tibet. The Tibetans state that the young Dalai Lama Ts'angyang-gyats'o, having attained in 1696 the proper age for ascending the pontifical throne, was duly and regularly installed by the Panch'en Rinpoché Lozang-yéshes, then aged 35, and that the Emperor of China was represented at the ceremonies by the Changchya Hutuketu of Peking, whom he had sent to Lhasa for that purpose with rich presents for the Panch'en and the other lamas. It seems impossible to reconcile the Chinese and the Tibetan narratives on this point<sup>2</sup>).

Whatever the truth may be, we know that in the 8th moon of 1696 (*i. e.*, three months before the Dalai Lama was installed in Potala) the Emperor sent letters by an official called Pao-chu (保主) to the Dalai and to the Panch'en Lama, to the Dési and to Dalai Khan, the Commander of the Oelöt forces in Tibet<sup>3</sup>).

The only reasons that suggest themselves for the Emperor continuing to write to the Dalai Lama, of whose death he must

1) *T'ung-hua ch'üan-lu*, K'ang-hsi LVII, 19—20.

2) Sarat Chandra Das, *Contributions, etc.*, 27, 28. Jigmed-namkhü (Huth, *Op. cit.*, 175), says that in 1696 "The Emperor sent the Changskya Hutuketu Lozang-ch'ösdän (a native of Amdo) to Lhasa to put on the throne (*gdan-sar mngah gsol*) the Sixth Gyalwang Rinpoché (*i. e.*, Dalai Lama). He brought to the Panch'en Rinpoché and to the other lamas presents in great quantity; and, having enquired concerning the happenings of the Church (*ch'ö's hgyur*) he left again (for Peking)".

3) *T'ung-hua ch'üan-lu*, K'ang-hsi LVIII, 4. See also de Mailla, *Op. cit.*, XI, 227—231, who gives the text of these letters, or rather of the letter to the Desi. It follows closely the lines of the Edict sent the Desi's envoy at Hsi-ning translated above.



already have had absolute certainty, were his belief that the influence of Lhasa was the most powerful he could command to re-establish peace among the Mongols and prevent the founding of a great and united Mongol empire, and his hope that by so doing he would maintain that influence unimpaired. It was, it seems, the Chinese Government not the Lhasan, that sought to delude the Mongols in this matter, to make them believe, against all evidence, contrary to all reports or rumours that reached them, that the Dalai Lama Lozang-gyats'o, the tried and trusted supporter of Chinese policy, was still alive, and that the Emperor's policy was still that of the Yellow Church. Certainly the Chinese Government had more to gain by fostering as long as possible the belief in the existence of Lozang-gyats'o, than had the Government of Lhasa, which continued, however, to support Chinese policy in Mongolian affairs after the Dalai Lama's death as before.

Before the end of 1696, the Emperor's envoy Pao-chu reached Lhasa, saw the Dési and handed him the Emperor's letter, to which he promptly gave a reply. The Dési denied all the charges brought against him. He said that the Dalai Lama was still alive, as the two lamas whom the Emperor was sending from Peking would be able to affirm. He had not prevented the Panch'en Rinpoché going to Peking when summoned by the Emperor; on the contrary he and the Dalai Lama had urged him to, but evil councils had prevailed. As to his having, through the Kirung Hutuketu, urged Galdän to fight the Emperor at Ulang-putung in 1690, the charge was baseless, the Hutuketu only met Galdän after the battle, and then urged him to make his peace<sup>1</sup>).

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1) *T'ung-hua ch'üan-lu*, K'ang-hsi LIX, 4. See also de Mailla, *Op. cit.*, XI, 258—260 Pao-chu reached Lhasa about New Year, consequently a month after the enthronement of the Dalai Lama. He must have known that the Lama and people of Tibet had accepted cheerfully the new Pontiff, and that there were no dissensions in the country concerning

On the receipt of the Emperor's letter — perhaps a few days before, but at all events very soon after the enthronement of the sixth Dalai Lama, the Dési sent in all haste a messenger, the Nima-tang Hutuketu, to the Emperor, to explain to him what had appeared mysterious in his conduct during the last few years. The envoy made such haste that he met the Emperor in the early spring of 1697 near Ning-hsia in Kan-su, where was also his army, which he was moving westward for a final attack on Galdän. The communication he made to the Emperor was, so say the Chinese, a secret one, but why secrecy should have been sought by the Tibetans it is difficult to conjecture. Sanggyé said that it was quite true that the Dalai Lama Lozang-gyats'o had been dead for sixteen years, and that his young successor was now (*i. e.*, in 1696) fifteen years of age. On the 25th of the 11th moon of 1696 he had "come out of retirement" (出定) and had begun to take part in the government of the country<sup>1</sup>). He, the Regent, had awaited this event before reporting the Lama's reappearance in the world to the Emperor and all the faithful; he now besought the Emperor to lend his support to the inexperienced young Pontiff and himself. The envoy also handed the Emperor a package said to contain an image of the (late) Dalai Lama and a document (章) which, at his special request, the Emperor had sealed

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him. It does not appear, however, that the envoy called the Emperor's attention to these facts. The whole purpose of his mission seems to have been to convict the Regent of treachery, presumably in the hope of preparing the way for intervention. According to *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 7<sup>b</sup>, the Dési said the Panch'en feared to go to Peking as he had never had small-pox. Conf. *infra*, 47, n. 1.

1) On the death of the Dalai Lama Lozang-gyats'o the Regent had announced that he had "entered into retirement or meditation" (入定), see *suprà*, 21; Conf. *infra*, 73, he now stated that the Dalai Lama — in the person of his reïmbodiment of course, but still the same Dalai Lama, had "come out of retirement". — From the Desi's point of view, the Dalai Lama had only been dead during the period which had elapsed between the demise of Lozang-gyats'o and the discovery of Ts'angyang-gyats'o, in other words about a year.

without opening, promising to open it only some months later<sup>1</sup>).

At the same time as the Dési Sanggyé sent Nimatang to China, he sent other messengers to all the Mongol tribes announcing the death of the Dalai Lama Lozang-gyats'o and the enthronement of his successor. To Tséwang-rabtan of the Oelöt, who was preparing to finally crush Galdän's now diminished forces, he sent a special envoy, enjoining on him to stop hostilities, which he appears to have at once done. To Galdän he also sent a messenger. The Emperor heard of the despatch of these messengers to the Mongols a few days after the arrival of the Nimatang Hutuketu, through one of his own officers, called Ying-ku (英古). He chose to imagine that the Dési had only taken these steps in the interest of Galdän, to save him from capture. He saw fit to consider as another very serious cause for distrust of the Dési, that, when he had opened the packet containing the clay image left with him by Nimatang Hutuketu, he had found the head of the image severed from the body! Was the Dési mocking him, or was this also part of some deep scheme of this arch-traitor!

In all haste the Emperor despatched Pao-chu, who had just returned from Lhasa, together with the Nimatang Hutuketu, to see if the Dési could not be induced to come to Court to explain his conduct. Pao-chu received also orders to make known everywhere along his route that the Dalai Lama Lozang-gyats'o was dead, that a new one had arisen, and that the Dési was a traitor. He was also instructed to ask the Dési what was meant by sending the Emperor an image with its head off, to ascertain all the facts connected with the death of the former Lama and the birth of the young one<sup>2</sup>).

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1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, K'ang-hsi LIX, 14—15. Conf. de Mailla, *Op. cit.* XI. 263. Note 2. The image the Hutuketu gave the Emperor was probably that of some god, a customary present of high Tibetan lamas. This whole story seems to me highly improbable.

2) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, K'ang-hsi LIX, 14—15. Conf. de Mailla, *Op. cit.*, XI, 263, 268.

In June 1697 news reached the Emperor, then at Pu-ku-t'u (布古圖) in Kan-su, that Galdän had died the month before at a place called A-ch'a-a-mu-t'a-t'ai (阿察阿穆塔台), that his troops were disbanded, some of them coming to surrender to the Emperor, the others fleeing to Tséwang-rahtan in Sungaria<sup>1</sup>).

The death of Galdän furnished the Chinese Government with the necessary pretext for closing the troublesome imbroglio with the Lhasa Government, the Dési did not go to Peking, and the question of his duplicity or treason was dropped. The incident was closed, and Chinese intervention in the internal affairs of Tibet deferred for a season.

### III.

1700—1793.

Somewhere about 1700 — probably a little before that date — Dalai Khan the Commander of the Oelöt forces in Tibet died and was succeeded by his son Latsang Khan. Sanggyé-gyats'o the Regent, now aged at least 80, with the support of the able Panch'en Rin-poch'é Lama, a peace loving, conciliatory man of forty, greatly revered by all Tibetans and enjoying the confidence of the Emperor of China, Lozang-yeshes, by name, governed the country. The young Dalai Lama Ts'angyang-gyats'o was busy beautifying the palace and gardens of Potala, and adding to his popularity among the people — if not to his fame among the best element of the lamas, by the songs which he loved to write, and which have remained popular to this day. He had grown up a youth of high intelligence, liberal to a fault, fond of pleasure, of wine and of women<sup>2</sup>).

Some years before serious doubt was already entertained whether

1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, K'ang-hsi LIX, 20—21. Conf. de Mailla, *Op. cit.*, XI, 278—280.

2) Orazio della Penna, *Breve notizia del Regno del Tibet* (1730). Klapproth's edit., 39.

this young man was really the re-incarnation of the revered Lozang-gyats'o. It was said that the Regent had been influenced by these doubts in deferring until 1696 to announce to the world the Dalai-Lama's reappearance <sup>1</sup>); the Lama's worldly life and his wilfulness strengthened these doubts among the lamas of the Yellow Church, and caused special anxiety to Latsang and the Emperor of China, who feared for the future peace of Tibet, should he remain on the throne.

So strong did the apprehension become that in 1701, when the Lama was in his twentieth year, he was informed by both the Oelöt (Sungan) princes Tséwang-rabtan of Ili and Latsang Khan, and by the Emperor of China that he could not be recognized as the true re-incarnation of his predecessor on the pontifical throne. Hereupon, without a word of protest, Ts'angyang-gyats'o renounced, in the presence of the Panch'en Rinpoch'e, all his rights as supreme pontiff of the Yellow Church, while retaining all his temporal privileges and dignities, and gave himself up to a life of pleasure, in which he persisted, notwithstanding the repeated admonitions of the Emperor of China, of Latsang, and of the Mongol princes <sup>2</sup>).

Latsang Khan, the Commander of the Oelöt forces in Tibet, was, according to the Capuchin friars who knew him well, a most liberal prince, very enlightened, and broad-minded in matters of religion, extremely fond of foreigners, and an administrator of rare wisdom <sup>3</sup>). He appears, however, to have gained the enmity of Sanggyé-gyats'o

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1) de Mailla, *Op. cit.*, XI, 267.

2) Georgi, *Alphab. Tibetanum*, 250. The Chinese sometimes omit from the lists of Dalai Lamas, both Ts'angyang-gyats'o and his successor Yeshes-gyats'o, neither of whom received any formal recognition from the Emperor. The Dalai Lama Nagwang-kalzung gyats'o, who was placed on the pontifical throne in 1720, is therefore often considered as the immediate successor of Lozang-gyats'o.

3) The Capuchin friars arrived in Lhasa in 1707. Georgi, *Op. cit.* 331. See also P. Ippolito Desideri, *Relazione*, etc., (1715—1721), 339, 340. Georgi calls Latsang Khan Cing-kir khang; Desideri gives the name as Cinghes-khang. Both forms represent the words Sungan Khan.

the Regent. The cause may well have been the Khan's policy in regard to the Dalai Lama, whose ardent supporter the Regent must have been, and also his devotion to China.

After several years of covert hostility, followed by two attempts by the Regent to poison the Khan and Sonam-gyäpo of Khang-ch'en, one of his ministers, and another to drive him from Tibet by force, Latsang attacked the Dési in 1705 in his palace, whence, however, he was able to flee to a fortress not far from the city. Here he was finally persuaded to surrender, being assured that the Dalai Lama so ordered it, but he was forthwith put to death.

The Emperor of China rewarded Latsang for ridding him of his old enemy the Dési by making him Regent of Tibet, and conferring on him the title of I-fa kung-shun Han (翊法恭順汗 "Religious, helping, submissive, Khan")<sup>1</sup>).

While these events were going on in Lhasa, the Chinese Government had been strengthening its position on the Tibetan frontier and preparing for armed intervention in Tibet as soon as circumstances favoured it.

In 1700 Ta-chien-lu, the key to the high-road from Ssü-ch'uan to Lhasa, was permanently occupied by the Chinese, and the whole of the principality of Chagla (Ming-ch'eng), which extends as far as the Nyalung river, was incorporated into Ssü-ch'uan and garrisoned<sup>2</sup>). The following year an iron chain bridge, known as the Lu-t'ing ch'iao, was built over the T'ung river to facilitate communication with Ta-chien-lu from Ch'eng-tu, the capital of Ssü-ch'uan.

Latsang Khan, in the hope of bringing about the deposition of the Dalai Lama without using violent means, appealed to the lamas

1) Desideri, *Op. cit.*, 339. *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 8. Orazio della Penna, *Relazione*, 40, says the Dési was killed in 1706; *Sheng-wu chi*, places the event in the 44th year K'ang-hsi, i. e., 1705.

2) *T'ung-hua ch'üan-lu*, K'ang-hsi LXVI, 2, 4. See also Rockhill, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1892, 34, 35.

of the great monasteries to pass sentence on him for violating all the rules of the priesthood and for living a life of open licentiousness. A council was held, but no unanimous decision could be reached; the majority of the lamas gave it as their opinion that the sinful life of the Lama was due to there being no "spirit of enlightenment" (*chang-ch'ub*) in him, but none ventured to suggest his deposal, or declare that he was not the true Dalai Lama <sup>1</sup>).

Peaceful methods failing, Latsang, with the approval of the Emperor, who was, it seems, kept well advised of every step of this intrigue, determined in 1706 to depose by force and put to death the young Lama. He induced him, in the name of the Emperor, to take the journey to Peking under a Mongol escort, and in the company of one of the Khan's most trusted ministers. As the caravan passed before Débung lamasery, the lamas attacked it and rescued the Lama, and it was only after a sharp fight and the capture of the monastery that the Lama was got back. On arriving at Nagch'uk'a, the northern pasture lands assigned ever since the days of Gushi Khan to the Oelöt forces in Tibet, the Lama was put to death, according to the Tibetans and the Capuchins, but the Chinese narratives say that he died of dropsy between Nagchuk'a and the Koko-nor <sup>2</sup>).

Latsang took immediate steps to have the Pontifical throne filled by the true re-incarnation of the 5th Dalai Lama, who must perforce have been at the time a man of about twenty-five. Some of the oracles (*chös-gyong*), probably the same who had gone so far as to condemn the murdered Lama, and apparently that easy going opportunist the Panch'en Rinpoche, said the real *tulku* was a lama of Chakpori called Yeshes-gyats'o, and the Khan had him at once enthroned in Potala. But the anger of the people and especially of the lamas

1) Georgi, *Op. cit.*, 251.

2) Orazio della Penna, *Op. cit.*, 41. Desideri, *Op. cit.*, 340. *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 8<sup>b</sup>.

against Latsang and the Chinese was deep and universal; they refused to recognize the new Dalai Lama, and sought by every means to bring about the downfall of Latsang, the Lama's murderer, the tool of the Chinese<sup>1</sup>).

The Tibetans' refusal to recognize as the true Dalai Lama the one now enthroned in Potala, was opportunely strengthened by reports which, at this juncture, reached Lhasa that a child had been born in Lit'ang to a former lama of Débung who had settled in those parts, and that the infant had spoken and declared that he was the Dalai Lama and wished to return to his former home in Lhasa<sup>2</sup>).

Great was the excitement and joy in Lhasa and throughout Tibet, Amdo and the Koko-nor, but it may readily be believed that K'ang-hsi and Latsang did not share in the universal rejoicing. They could not but view another long minority of the Dalai Lama with the deepest concern, for it would be seriously prejudicial to the maintenance and the hoped for extension of Chinese influence in Tibet. The memory of the Regent Sanggyé-gyats'o was fresh in their minds. Chinese policy required not only an adult in the Pontifical chair, but one who owed his position to China and whose chief support was Chinese.

Latsang took prompt measures with the new re-incarnation; he sent lamas to examine the child and see whether he presented, as claimed, the indubitable signs of the re-incarnate Lama. They reported adversely on the child's claim: they could not find sufficient proof to definitely settle the question. The parents with the infant claimant fled to Amdo, but here they were arrested by order

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1) Desideri, *Op. cit.*, 340.

2) Orazio della Penna, *Op. cit.*, 41. Desideri, *Op. cit.*, 341. *Wei Tsang t'u chih*, says the child was born at Cha-ma-chung near Lit'ang in 1708. See Rockhill, *J. R. A. S.* 1892, 41.



of the Emperor and confined, first in the Hung shan ssü (紅山寺), and later on in the famous lamasery of Kumbum — both near Hsi-ning in Kansu — and at both of which places the infant pretender was closely guarded<sup>1</sup>).

The Princes of the Koko-nor continued, however, to urge the claims of the infant captive; they carried their complaint to the Emperor, protesting against Latsang and his having enthroned the Chakpori lama as Dalai Lama.

In 1708, as a result of these vehement complaints, the Emperor sent the Grand Secretary La Tu-hun (拉都渾) together with the representatives of the princes of the Koko-nor to Lhasa, to enquire into the matter. The next year the envoy returned to Peking and made the following report: "In obedience to the Imperial orders, accompanied by the envoys of the Daidji of the Koko-nor, I departed for Lhasa. Arriving in the Khamdo country, we met Latsang and enquired of him his reasons for recognizing the Dalai Lama (i. e., the Chakpori lama Yeshe-gyats'o). According to his statement, when the former false Dalai Lama was sent to the Capital, they had written to the Emperor on the subject, and he had ordered that search be made for the real and true Dalai Lama. That had been done, and it had been found out that the P'o-k'o-ta (波克塔) Hubilhan is the real Dalai Lama.

"Not satisfied with this, we furthermore questioned the Panch'en Hutuketu on our arrival in Lhasa. According to his statement the P'ok'ota Hubilhan is the real Dalai Lama.

"We are consequently of opinion that the question has been rightly settled, and we would not venture to reopen it on our own judgment. The facts of the case being as above stated, it only remains to grant the Dalai Lama a patent of investiture; this

1) *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 8. Georgi, *Op. cit.*, 332. Desideri, *Op. cit.*, 342.

should be done after additional information has been secured concerning his exact age.

“Furthermore, considering that the Princes of the Koko-nor are dissatisfied with Latsang and his management of affairs in Tibet, the latter should not be left to manage them alone, and an official should be sent to Lhasa to assist him.”

The recommendation was promptly acted on, and Ho-Shou (赫壽), a Vice-President of a Board, was sent to Lhasa for this purpose; this step marks the beginning of direct Chinese intervention in Tibetan affairs<sup>1</sup>).

Notwithstanding the strong support given Latsang by the Emperor, the Tibetans could not be gained over to accept the new Dalai Lama, or to become reconciled to his rule. It seems likely that they were secretly urged to rebellion against him by the chief of the northern Oelöt Tséwang-rabtan, a relative but a personal enemy of Latsang<sup>2</sup>). In 1714 the tribes of the Koko-nor and the Tibetans, led by the lamas of Séra, Débung and Tashilhunpo, appealed to Tséwang to help overthrow Latsang and his Dalai Lama, and put on the throne of Potala the young Lama still imprisoned in Kumbum.

In great secrecy two bodies of picked troops were got together in Ili; one was sent to the Koko-nor with orders to rescue the young Lama, and then march with him to Nagch'uk'a, the other, some 6,000 in number and under the command of Tséring-dondrub, a former lama of Tashilhunpo, was sent directly through the Chang-

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1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, K'ang-hsi, LXXXIII. 6. Orazio della Penna, *Op. cit.*, 41, says the Chinese envoy brought to Lhasa orders to the Tibetans to accept Yeshes-gyats'o as the true Dalai Lama, and Latsang as the legitimate king of Tibet. This Edict is of great interest in the study of Chinese relations with Tibet, not only as fixing the exact date of the assumption of Chinese control over Tibetan internal affairs, but also that of conferring investiture on the Dalai Lamas. Yeshes-gyats'o does not figure, however, on the official list of the Dalai Lamas. Presumably no patent was granted him.

2) Georgi, *Op. cit.*, 333, calls Tséwang-rabtan “the Sungar king Outacy”. I presume that this last word is Kung-Daidji, which was Tséwang-rabtan's title. See *suprà*, 24.

t'ang to Nagch'uk'a, whence the united forces were to march on Lhasa, where they would be welcomed by the whole nation.

Latsang Khan was early warned by the Chinese Government to be on his guard, the Oelöt of Ili were conspiring with the malcontents in Tibet and might be expected to attack him, but he appears to have paid no attention to this advice; the reason being, according to the Chinese, that by that time he was an old man and much given to drink<sup>1</sup>). It was his habit to go every summer to hunt in the Nagch'uk'a country. In June of 1717 he started with his usual escort, expecting to meet near Dam his son who had gone to Ili several years before to marry Tséwang-rabtan's daughter, and who, he had been told, was now returning to him with his wife and a large Oelöt escort of honour. Hardly had he arrived at Nagch'uk'a when he was joined by his second son, who had come in all haste from the Koko-nor to warn him of the impending attack of the Oelöt. The Khan and his small force appear to have taken up at once a strong position at a bridge in a defile north of the Tengri-nor, which the invaders had to pass to reach Nagch'uk'a, and here he was able to stop the Oelöt until October, when he effected his retreat to Lhasa.

After waiting till November for the arrival of the force sent to rescue from the Kumbum lamasery the young claimant to the Dalai Lama's throne, news came to Tséring-dondrub that these troops had been wiped out by the Chinese, and that the child Lama was still in captivity. Tséring kept the ill-tidings secret, said that the young Lama and his Oelöt escort would soon join him, boldly advanced on Lhasa, and on November 21st was before the city walls<sup>2</sup>).

The first attack on the city was repulsed, but the Ramoché

1) *Sheng-wu-chi*, 5, 9, 10.

2) Latsang had surrounded the city with a wall, which was demolished by order of the Chinese in 1721, Rockhill, *Op. cit.*, 71, and Desideri, *Op. cit.*, 58.

gate having been opened to them, in the night of November 30th the Oelöt entered the city, which they looted for three days treating the people with horrible barbarity.

Latsang and his family managed to escape from the palace of Tashi-khang and sought refuge in Potala. On December 3rd the Mongols and their lama partisans attacked this stronghold; Latsang tried to escape but was unable to and died fighting. In Potala the Oelöt found the Dalai Lama Yeshes-gyats'o; he begged to be allowed to retire to his old lamasery of Chakpori and there pass the rest of his days as a simple lama; his prayer was granted.

The Panch'en Rinpoche was also found in the Palace. Désideri tells us that he boldly reproved his old disciple Tséring-dondrub, now the victorious Oelöt general, for his rebellion against the acknowledged head of the Church, for killing the Regent and the innocent people. It was through this intervention of the Panch'en that the lives of Latsang's consort and of one of his children were saved; but Potala was sacked, its holy of holies desecrated, even the shrine of the revered Lozang-gyats'o was demolished, its priceless treasures looted, and sent to adorn the temples of Ili<sup>1)</sup>.

The sudden and complete success of the Oelöt expedition to Tibet, and the sympathetic support their cause (nominally the replacing on the throne of Potala of the true incarnation of the Dalai Lama) aroused among all the Mongol tribes, created a situation fraught with great danger for China — it might have been the prelude to the successful founding of a Mongol Empire; the dream of Galdän a few years before might have become a reality. The subjugation of Tibet to Chinese rule was decided upon.

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1) Georgi, *Op. cit.*, 334—336. Désideri, *Op. cit.*, 345—349. *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 9. 10. Shortly after the capture of Lhasa, the Oelöt marched on Ulterior Tibet and laid siege to Shigatsé. The Panch'en Lama, who had returned to Tashilhunpo in the meantime, defended the place with great vigour and saved the lamasery and its treasures, but the town was mostly destroyed. Désideri, *Op. cit.*, 49, 50.

Prompt action on the part of the Chinese was imperative, but the difficulty of invading Tibet with a force sufficient to overcome not only the invaders but the large element of the Tibetan population favourable to them, could not be undertaken except after long and careful preparation. It was imagined, however, that a light expeditionary force might be able by a forced march to reach Nagch'uk'a and Lhasa and surprise the Oelöt, as they had Latsang Khan; a bold *coup de main* might save the situation for China.

In the spring of 1718 the Tartar General of Hsi-an-fu left Hsi-ning in Kansu with a column of a few thousand men which was further increased by a contingent from the Koko-nor Mongols. The column advanced by the Tankar-Ts'aidam road, and reached the Nagch'u river in August or September 1719, but in a disorganised and starving condition. Here it was attacked by a large force of Oelöt and Tibetans to whom, after a brief resistance, it had to surrender, when nearly all were massacred, a few stragglers only getting back to China<sup>1</sup>).

On learning of the disaster of the Nagch'u the Emperor ordered the immediate concentration of a force of 10,000 men to invade Tibet in two columns, one from Ssü-ch'uan by the Ta-chien-lu-Bat'ang-Ch'amdo route; the other by the Tankar-Ts'aidam trail; the general command was given to the Emperor's 14th son.

The real object of K'ang-hsi was, not so much to avenge a defeat of his troops, as to put on the Dalai Lama's throne a Pontiff of his own choice and to make Tibet a dependency of the Empire. So as to secure the friendly support of the people of the country — the faithful Latsang being no more — he constituted himself the champion of their faith, the supporter of legitimacy, and had it

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1) *Sheng-you chi*, 5, 9<sup>b</sup>—10<sup>a</sup>. Desideri, *Op. cit.*, 353—354, This latter writer places the Nagch'u massacre in 1719, while the former says that the fugitives from the massacre got back to China in the 9th moon (of 1718 apparently).

proclaimed far and wide in Tibet that he was bringing back the real Dalai Lama, the Kumbum prisoner for whose return they had so often asked, but until now in vain, and he appealed to all true Tibetans, to all faithful subjects of the Dalai Lama to join his army and assist its progress.

The army advanced in 1720, the Ssü-ch'uan column meeting with practically no resistance. The northern column met and routed the Oelöt in the early part of October of the same year, Tséwang-rabtan, his general Tséring-dondrub and less than half his force managing, however, to escape to Ili. A few days later the Chinese army made its entry into Lhasa.

The young Dalai Lama, the prisoner of Kumbum, was accepted as the real head of the Yellow Church, the true re-incarnation of the Dalai Lama by the Panch'en Rinpoch'e, the same time-serving Panch'en who had recognized his two immediate predecessors as genuine *tulku*, and the new Pontiff took up his abode in the Palace of Potala. His predecessor Yeshe-gyats'o, who had saved his life by abdication, and who was living in seclusion in the Chakpori lamasery, was removed from it and sent to China as a further measure of precaution<sup>1</sup>).

The leaders in the recent rebellion captured in Lhasa were promptly put to death by the Chinese, but Father Désideri, who was a witness of these events, tells us that, on the whole, the Chinese behaved with great moderation. The victory, he says, insured their suzerainty over the whole of Tibet including Bhutan; and, we may add, put an end to the autonomy of Tibet and of the Yellow Church.

In the autumn of 1720, by order of the Emperor, the temporal sovereignty of Tibet was conferred on the young Dalai Lama

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1) *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 11<sup>a</sup>, Sarat Chandra Das, *Contributions, etc.*, 28.

Kalzang-gyats'o<sup>1)</sup>, and the four ministers, or *Kalön*, of Latsang were confirmed in their offices and given high Chinese titles, the Prime Minister, the Beilé Sonam-gyäpo of Khang-ch'en was made Governor of Anterior Tibet, and the second Minister, the Daidji Sonam stöbgyal of P'o-lha Governor of Uterior Tibet. A Mongol garrison of 2,000 men was left in Lhasa, and the walls of the city were demolished. The road between Ta-chien-lu and Lhasa was kept open by detachments of troops stationed at Lit'ang, Bat'ang, Ch'amdo and Larégo, and other measures were adopted by which the garrison of Lhasa could be promptly supported, the Chinese government kept informed of passing events, and the local chiefs gradually gained over to China.

No mention is made in any Chinese works of a Chinese Agent or Adviser at Lhasa at this time, but it seems fair to assume that the Agency established in 1709 had not been closed. In 1725 Sonam-gyäpo of Khang-ch'en was made Governor-General (總理) of Tibet, Arbuta Vice-Governor (協理), and Kata near Ta-chien-lu was made the military headquarters for the Chinese troops (總兵官駐紮)<sup>2)</sup>.

For a brief period after the expedition to Tibet the country appears to have enjoyed peace, but it was not long before serious dissensions arose between the Dalai Lama, encouraged, it appears, by his father Sonam-targyé, a maternal uncle and two of the Kalön, and the Prime Minister. These culminated in 1727, when a rebellion, instigated, it is said, by the Dalai Lama and his father

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1) Rockhill, *Op. cit.*, 74. 185—187, 204. The Dalai Lama was henceforth required to send every other year a tribute mission to Peking, the alternate year the Panch'en Lama had to send a mission. The Dalai Lama Kalzang-gyats'o was ordained in 1724—according to Desideri. *Op. cit.*, 337.

2) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Yung-ch'eng VII. 20<sup>b</sup>. The question of the military organization and disposal of troops in the Koko-nor, Amdo and Tibet outside of Lhasa territory received the attention of the Chinese government in 1724. *Ibid.* Yung-ch'eng IV, 34—39.

broke out at Lhasa, and the Prime Minister was murdered<sup>1</sup>).

The vigorous action of Sonam-stöbgyal the Governor of Ulterior Tibet who assembled 9,000 men and marched on Lhasa, promptly quelled the trouble<sup>2</sup>) which might have become general, as an expedition to Tibet by the Oelöt of Ili under the son and successor of Tséwang rabtan formed part of the general plot.

As a reward the Governor was raised by the Emperor to the rank of Pei-tzü and made Governor-General (統管) of Anterior and Ulterior Tibet, and the following year, at his urgent request, a Chinese force was mobilized, entered Tibet by the Hsi-ning-Ts'aidam route, and a portion of it marched to Lhasa. The ringleaders, including the two Kalön and their sons, were tried by the Chinese Ambans and the Chinese general. The Kalön were put to death by the "slicing process" (凌遲), their sons decapitated. The lesser criminals were tried by the Tibetans. After this the Dalai Lama and his father were carried off with all their households to Eastern Tibet, where they were confined in the Kata gomba near the village of Kata where were the Chinese headquarters<sup>3</sup>).

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1) In the early part of 1727 the Chinese government was warned that there were dissensions in the Tibetan government, that the Lama's father was influencing him against the Prime Minister. Two of the four Kalön were reported to be foolish, weak men. The Chinese government thought it could settle the trouble with a few titles and some presents, so it sent a Secretary of the Grand Council to Lhasa with an Imperial message, a title for the Dalai Lama's uncle, and a gift of a thousand taels for each of the Kalön. *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Yung-ch'eng X, 12. See Orazio della Penna *Op. cit.*, 43, and *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 12 etseq.

2) The Gov. Genl. reported to the Emperor that his predecessor had been murdered on the 18th of the 6th moon (about August 1st). He had quelled the actual uprising, but he begged the Emperor to send troops to Tibet to restore order. The leaders of the uprising when he wrote were apparently still at large, *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Yung-ch'eng XIII, 7, 21.

3) See *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Yung-ch'eng XIII, 21, 34<sup>b</sup>—35<sup>a</sup>. *Sheng-wu chi*, *loc. sup. cit.*, says the Dalai Lama was carried off to Kata to protect him against the threatened Oelöt raid. I have followed Orazio della Penna's narrative as it seems more rational. He says, however, that the Lama and his father were confined in a fort near Ch'eng-tu-fu in Ssu-ch'uan; this is certainly wrong.



The temporary government of the Yellow Church was given, by order of the Emperor, to a lama known as the Ti (Khri) Rinpoche, a man of high repute and great authority from the Ch'ös-ding lamasery. He took up his residence at either Potala or Débung, and conducted the affairs of the Yellow Church with great ability<sup>1</sup>).

In 1734, the internal conditions of the country being favourable, the Dalai Lama was brought back to Potala, but shorn of all temporal power which, by order of the Emperor, was entirely vested in the Governor-General, in whose energy and ability the Chinese Government had such perfect confidence that the small Chinese garrison in Tibet was practically withdrawn, and in 1739 he was raised to the rank of Prince of the second class (郡王), when he became known in Tibet as the Mi-wang<sup>2</sup>).

In 1746, or 1747, the Mi-wang died and was succeeded in his high office by his second son Gyurmed-namgyal who received from China on his assumption of office the title of Chün Wang which his

1) A Chinese force of 2000 men was left in Lhasa and Shigatsé as escorts to the two Chinese Ministers (Ta-Ch'en or Amban) who from this time resided permanently in Tibet for the purpose of "keeping the peace" (鎮撫) in the country. A large portion of Eastern Tibet, including Bat'ang and Lit'ang, was annexed to Ssu-ch'uan, and Chang-tien and Wei-hsi to Yün-nan. The strategic importance of Wei-hsi had by then become apparent to the Chinese government, and a large camp was established in 1727 at Wei-hsi with smaller ones at Atuntzu, Pentsala, etc. See *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Yung-ch'eng XI, 55.

The Ti Rinpoche, or rather his reïmbodiment, was again made head of the government by the Dalai Lama in 1904, when he fled from Lhasa at the approach of the British Mission. Orazio della Penna, *Op. cit.*, 43, says the Ti Rinpoche of 1727 was a lama of C'iotin, a convent in the U province four days from Lhasa. He says his name was Kiesri ribocè. Georgi *Op. cit.*, 338, 339 gives his name as Gyäs-shes rinpoche (Kié-sié), and says that he died, probably poisoned, in 1734.

2) This is the Miwang of Georgi, *Op. cit.*, 338. Bogle calls him Mewan. See Markham's *Tibet*, 194. Polonai is the Chinese form of the name of Sonam-stöbgyal of P'o-lha mentioned previously (*suprà*, 42). To commemorate the submission of Tibet to Chinese rule, the Emperor Ch'ien-lung had built in the Tartar city of Peking, somewhere about 1746, a lama temple called the Lung-fu sst (隆福寺 "Temple of surpassing happiness"). The greater part of this well-known temple was destroyed by fire December 3d 1901, and has not since been rebuilt.

father had borne. One of the first acts of his government was the murder of his brother; shortly after this he appealed to the Emperor for the withdrawal of the Chinese Residents and the troops stationed in Lhasa, assuring him of his loyalty and of his ability to maintain order. In this appeal he partly succeeded, some 400 soldiers were ordered back to China leaving in Tibet only 500 who were divided between Lhasa and Shigatsé. He then sought the aid of the Oelöt of Ili which, for the last hundred years had never failed Tibet, and a plan was agreed upon for an uprising in Lhasa, where the feeling against the Chinese was intense, to be supported by the simultaneous arrival of a body of Oelöt.

The existence of the conspiracy at Lhasa was well known, the lives of the Chinese Residents and of their little escort hung by a thread, and Chinese dominion was once more in dire peril<sup>1</sup>). The Chinese Ambans Fu-Ch'ing (傅清) and La-Pu-tun (拉布敦), by an act of extraordinary energy, saved the situation. They invited Gyurmed to visit them in a pavilion (樓蘭) of their yamen on the 13th of the 10th moon (middle November 1750), when Fu-Ch'ing cut him down and killed, with the assistance of La Pu-tun, four of five of his companions, sacrificing their own lives but breaking up the conspiracy and saving Chinese rule, though most of the Chinese in Lhasa were murdered and the yamen was looted. The devotion of these two officials was recognized by the Emperor who conferred on them the posthumous rank of "Po (伯) of the 1st class", and had raised to their memory a shrine in Lhasa known as the "Shrine of the patriotic pair" (雙忠之祠)<sup>2</sup>).

1) See *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung XXXI, XXXII, *passim*, the reports of the Ambans on the events preceding Gyurmed's uprising. The Dalai Lama endeavoured to rescue the Ambans but was unable to, they were both wounded in the fight and committed suicide.

2) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung XXXII, 15—18<sup>b</sup>. *Sheng-ku chi*, 5, 14. See also Huc, *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans le Tibet*, 11, 272, 274, but he wrongly places these events in the year 1771. There is some uncertainty about the exact date of this event. *Tung-hua-lu* gives it in different documents as 13th of the 10th moon and 13th of the 11th.

This abortive uprising resulted in the Tibetans being strictly forbidden to hold any intercourse with the Oelöt. Chinese titles were no longer conferred on the high officials of the country, the office of Prime Minister (*vulgō* "King of Tibet") was abolished, and the administration of the country divided among four Kalön (or Shapé) who governed in the name of the Dalai Lama. The Chinese garrison of Lhasa was again brought up to 1,500 men, and the Amban was given a "limited right to take part in the government of the country" (其國事猶不盡預聞也)<sup>1)</sup>.

In 1758, or perhaps a little earlier, the Dalai Lama Kalzang-gyats'o died, and about a year afterwards he became re-incarnate in an infant in Ulterior Tibet,<sup>2)</sup> who, in due course, was given the name of Jambal-gyats'o. The early part of his reign was not marked by any incident of importance, the country enjoyed peace under the government of the Lama's cup-bearer (*Solpön-ch'enpo*) who was made Regent (*Gyalts'ab*) by the Chinese at the instance of the Panch'en Rinpoche's Paldän-yeshes, whose great authority in Tibet and ever increasing influence at the Court of China were consistently used for consolidating the temporal power of the Dalai Lama, and restricting Chinese interference in and control over Tibetan affairs<sup>3)</sup>.

1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, *loc. sup. cit.* The Demo Hutuketu (第穆呼圖克圖) was appointed by the Emperor Comptroller (管理) of the Treasury (尙上) and of ecclesiastical and lay affairs in 1751. The following year he was given the title of Paldän Nomenhan, and in 1753 he was made "Comptroller of Tibetan affairs" (管理西藏事務). *Ta-Ch'ing Hui-tien*, 737, 13<sup>b</sup>. This dignitary was President of the Council of Kalön, the other members being laymen.

2) According to *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lieh*, *Introd. Ch.* 4, 10, he was born in a locality of Ulterior Tibet called To-pu-cha la-li-k'ang (托卜勃拉里岡).

3) George Bogle and Captain Samuel Turner speak of this Regent and of a subsequent one as Gesub Rimboché or Rimbochay. Gesub is the Tibetan word *gyal-ts'ab*. Bogle, referring to the year 1774, says that Gesub Rimboché had been recognized as Regent by the Chinese at the instance of Teshu Lama and by the influence at court of the Changchia Hutuketu. He was entirely subservient to the Chinese, and the grand object of his politics was to secure the administration of Tibet to himself and afterwards to his nephews. See Bogle's *Narrative* in Markham's *Tibet*, 110, 131, 151, 165.

The great veneration shown the Panch'en Paldän-yeshes, not only in his own country but throughout Mongolia, the influence he exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he wielded at the Peking Court through his friend the Changchia Hutuketu, the Lama Primate, are more than sufficient reasons to account for the desire of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung that this personage should visit his Court, while the Panch'en unquestionably entertained strong hopes that he could secure from the Emperor a more autonomous government for his country and greater power in Tibet for his Church.

The Tibetans say that the Emperor wrote repeatedly to the Panch'en before deciding him to make the journey to Peking<sup>1</sup>). He started on the journey in the summer of 1779, accompanied by his brother, (the Chumba Hutuketu he is called by the Chinese)<sup>2</sup>), and some 1,500 followers, and took his way by the northern road to the Koko-nor. After passing the winter in the lamasery of Kumbum, he travelled through Shensi and Shansi to Jehol, where he met the Emperor in June of 1780. Later on in the same year he went to Peking, where he took up his residence in the Ssi-huang-ssü, which, as we have seen, was erected in 1650 or thereabout by the Emperor Shun-chih for the fifth Dalai Lama. Here

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1) The Emperor Ch'ien-lung said that the Panch'en Lama had asked permission to come present his congratulations on his 70th birthday. *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, IX, 9. In January 1775 the Panch'en told Bogle that the Dalai Lama was to go the next year to Peking. We are not told of the reason for his not having made the journey. The Panch'en tried at first to be excused from going to Peking through fear of small-pox, the reason given in 1696 by his predecessor for not going (*suprà* 28 n. 1).

2) Ch'ung-pa (仲巴) Hutuketu is the Chinese form. *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 12<sup>a</sup>, 34<sup>b</sup>. Bogle *Op. cit.*, 91, calls him the Chanzo Cusho (*i. e.* His Excellency the Treasurer). He says (139) that he and the Panch'en were brothers by the same mother but different fathers. *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lieh*, 1, 17<sup>a</sup>, agrees with his statement. Turner, *Embassy*, 232, calls him "the Regent Chanjoo Cooshoo". He gives (241—242) an interesting description of this personage. *Ch'ung-pa*, like *Chanzo*, stands presumably for Tibetan *shakdzopa*, *i. e.* "Treasurer."

the Panch'en Lama died of small-pox on November 27, 1780<sup>1</sup>).

Chinese works give no indication of what took place in any of the numerous audiences the Emperor granted the Panch'en<sup>2</sup>). Captain Samuel Turner, who was in Tibet but a short time after the Lama's death, was told by one of the late Lama's attendants during his visit to Peking that he only asked of the Emperor that he "would cause the administration of the different governments, as had been anciently the custom of Tibet, to be restored to the Lamas, that they might be invested with all the powers which, in their respective stations, they had formerly enjoyed, and particularly, that he himself might be at liberty to grant admission into Tibet, to whatever person he chose without control".

The Panch'en, he adds, "obtained a promise from the Emperor to withdraw the officer of his appointment from Lassa, and to commit the government of the country to the management of the Lama. Orders were consequently issued for the recall of Nimoheim,

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1) On the Panch'en Rinpoche's journey to Peking, see the Letter of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung to the Dalai Lama of February—March 1781, *Mém. concernant les Chinois*, IX, 446. Also letter of the Chumba Hutuketu to Warren Hastings, and other contemporary letters, in Turner's *Embassy*, 449—473, see also E. Ludwig, *Visit of the Teshoo Lama to Peking, Ch'ien-lung's Inscription*.

2) The only reference I have found in the *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu* to the Tashi Lama's visit occurs in chapter Ch'ien-lung XCII, 3, (45th year Ch'ien-lung, 4th moon, i.e., May 4—June 2, 1780), which reads as follows: "The Panch'en erdeni from Ulterior Tibet is coming to have audience of the Emperor. In accordance with His Majesty's commands, he will be received in the (Palace hall called the) Ch'ing-k'uang tien (清曠殿). He will be given a seat by the Emperor who will then make inquiries concerning his health, and afterwards offer him tea."

*Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 15 16, after referring to the audience given the Lama at Jehol, says "Formerly on account of the very high rank (高行) of the Dalai and the Panch'en, they only bent one knee (跽) in coming into the Presence, and did not kotow (拜). In the present case the Panch'en insisted upon (固請) kotowing, and the Emperor approving of his profound loyalty (or "sincere dutifulness" 恪誠), he did so. Conf. *suprà*, 10 note 4. The Emperor K'ang-hsi did not require that the Jebtsundamba Hutuketu or the lamas with him should kotow before him. See de Mailla, *Hist. de la Chine*, XI, 159 note, 263 note 2.

who succeeded Gesub Rimpochay, but the decease of Teshoo Lama occasioned their suspension. However, as the time of Raja Nimoheim's government is to cease soon after Teshoo Lama shall be seated on the *musnud* (*i. e.*, throne), it is then expected that the renewal of his application to the Emperor will be followed by the complete performance of the promises made to him in China" <sup>1)</sup>).

Shortly after the return to Tibet of the Chumba Hutuketu with the remains of the deceased Paldän-yeshes, the Panch'en was found to have become re-incarnate in an infant, a first cousin of the reigning Dalai Lama <sup>2)</sup>). The government of Ulterior Tibet in the meanwhile had been entrusted to the Chumba Hutuketu, who without delay took possession of all the great wealth of the deceased Lama. By his refusal to give any portion of it to the other members of his family, to the temples and lamaseries, or to the soldiery, he had not only occasioned much discontent among the people and government of both Central and Ulterior Tibet, but had got into a violent quarrel with his younger brother, a high lama of the Red Church, called in Chinese works Dza-marpa (舍 (or 沙) 瑪爾巴 *i. e.*, "the Red-capped") Hutuketu. The latter intrigued to get revenge for the slight put upon him, to get possession of his deceased brother's wealth and, incidentally, to give a crushing blow to the Yellow Church. To attain these ends he sought the aid of the Gorkhas, among whom he had some time before retired, and encouraged them to invade and plunder Ulterior Tibet <sup>3)</sup>).

1) Turner, *Embassy*, 363, 365. The word or rather title of Nimoheim is a Mongol term, Nomen-khan "Prince of the Faith", in Sanskrit Dharmaraja, in Tibetan Ch'ösgyi-gyäbo. One of the usual titles of the Regent of Lhasa is Nomenhan Ti rinpoche', another, noticed previously, Gyalts'ab rinpoche' — Turner's Gesub Rimpochay. The "Raja Nimoheim" mentioned here by Turner is the same as his Chanjoo Cooshoo *i. e.*, the Chumba (or Jumba). Hutuketu.

2) Their fathers were brothers. Turner, *Op. cit.*, 230, 249. Turner saw the infant in the latter part of 1783, he says (335) he was then 18 months old.

3) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXIX 26<sup>b</sup>—27<sup>a</sup>, Edict of December 1791. *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 16<sup>b</sup>—17. *Kuo-crh-k'a ch'i-lüeh*, *loc. sup. cit.* 'The Gorkhas' memorial on the

In 1769 the countries of Gorkha and Nepal were first united under Gorkha rule, and at once this warlike people began to make their power felt by the Tibetans. They at first, in 1774, attacked Sikkim (Drén-djung), a tributary state of Lhasa, and at about the same time their commercial relations with Tibet became rapidly so strained through their persistent and high handed attempts to force their debased silver coins upon the country, that the Lhasa government called together a large armed force in prevision of possible hostilities. The death of the Gorkha Raja in 1775, caused a truce of three years to be concluded, but the relations between the two countries remained strained<sup>1</sup>).

In the spring of 1788<sup>2</sup>) the Gorkha, taking as a pretext an increase on the part of the Tibetans of custom dues on salt, the currency question, and frauds which they charged against them in connection with the salt exported to Nepal, suddenly crossed the frontier in force and occupied Niélam, Tsongka and Kirung. The Tibetan and Chinese troops were unable to resist them, and the Tibetans, with the approval of the Chinese General Pa-Chung (巴忠), secured their withdrawal by a secret arrangement promising

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origin of the war with Tibet attributes it to the arrogance of the Tibetan government and its refusal to settle a rate of exchange for the Nepalese and Tibetan coins. The first invasion of Tibet was only undertaken, it says, after letters from the Gorkha Raja to the Emperor of China, to the Chinese Amban at Lhasa, to the Lama at Diggercheh (Tashilhunpo) and Sankia (the Sakya Pontiff) had been returned to him from Lhasa unopened. The expedition advanced to Shikargong (Shikar-dzong, some 40 miles S. W. of Lhasé dzong) on the upper Tsang-po river, which point the Gorkhas held for some time. Officials from the Panch'en and the Sakya Pontiff having finally promised to come negotiate at Keeroo (Kirung), the Gorkhas retired to that place. Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, 339—340, *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXIV, 29<sup>b</sup>—30 says the Gorkhas had occupied Niélam. Tsongka (宗喀) and Kirung (濟隴).

1) See Bogle, *Op. cit.*, 128, 144, 157, 164, 197. Also Memorial of the Court of Khatmandu on the origin of the war with Tibet, in Kirkpatrick's *Nepaul* 339, 340.

2) The date is fixed by the Imperial Edict of September 1792 in *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXVI, 10<sup>b</sup>. See also on the origin of the war, *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüch*, 6, 1—2, and particularly, 38, 9 et seq.

to pay an annual tribute. The Chinese General then reported to the Emperor of China that the Gorkha chief only wished to send a tribute mission to China, and that he had settled the little frontier incident without the loss of a single soldier or the spending of a single tael. The Gorkha mission was thereupon allowed to proceed to Peking, and the Emperor in blissful ignorance of the attack on the Tibetan frontier, sent the Gorkha Raja on dismissing it a patent of King (國王) <sup>1</sup>).

The Dalai Lama's government refused, however, to pay the annual tribute to the Gorkhas agreed upon; as a consequence the next year (1791) an army 18,000 strong invaded Tibet from Nielam, turned the positions held by the small Chinese and Tibetan forces, and advancing without meeting with any opposition, captured Shigatsé on September 28th and sacked Tashilhunpo <sup>2</sup>). After this the Gorkhas retreated slowly towards Nielam, having learnt of the

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1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXIV, 29<sup>b</sup>—30, says the secret arrangement was negotiated by Dzamarpa Hutuketu, representing the Gorkhas and the instigator of all the trouble, and one of the Lhasa Kalön and the Dépön of Yut'og (玉陀). The annual tribute was fixed at 300 Tibetan shoes of syccc, equivalent to 9600 Chinese taels. The Gorkha agreed to evacuate Nielam, Tsongka and Kirung, and pledged themselves never to cross the Tibetan frontier. The Emperor on learning of this agreement annulled it and ordered the condign punishment of Pa-Chung; he escaped it, however, by drowning himself. In the Nepalese account of these events, as given in Kirkpatrick's work (345—348) the Dzamarpa Hutuketu figures as the Sumhur Lama. He had fled to Nepal, it says, before the first Gorkha expedition to Tibet. Another document in the same work (312) says that "Shamerpa Lama" represented the Gorkhas in the negotiations of 1788 by which the Tibetans agreed to pay 50 000 (tankas?) a year. The first year's tribute was actually paid. See also *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, 9, 22<sup>b</sup>—26, and particularly 18, 7 *et seq.*

In 1789 the Emperor had appointed the Kirung Hutuketu "a man of great intelligence and a methodical administrator", as adviser to the Dalai Lama on Nepalese affairs and to assist the Kalön in government. He was given the rank of Jassak Ta Lama and the title of Piliktu (畢理克圖) Nomenhan. *Ta-Ch'ing Hui-tien*, 737, 16<sup>a</sup>. He later on became Regent. See *infra*, 56, n. 1, and 64.

2) Being the 1st day of the 9th moon of the 56th year Ch'ien-lung. *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXIV, 16<sup>a</sup>, and see also, *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh* 1, *et seq.*, 5, 18, 14, *et seq.*



approach of a Chinese army which was hastening west along both the Koko-nor and Ssü-ch'uan routes under the general command of the Viceroy of the Liang-kuang, Fu K'ang-an (福康安)<sup>1</sup>).

The Chinese forces came in touch with the slowly retreating Gorkhas near the Nepalese frontier in the spring of 1792, and after several sharp engagements, in which they defeated them, Fu K'ang-an and his army were within a short distance of Kathmandu. The season advancing however, and the Gorkhas being most desirous of concluding peace, the victorious general stopped hostilities on condition of the return of all the loot taken from Tashilhunpo, and of the Gorkhas agreeing to send a tribute mission every five years to Peking. The return march of the Chinese forces began at once, not so soon but that they experienced great hardships in crossing the mountains and reaching Lhasa, a large number of men dying on the march<sup>2</sup>)

Under orders of the Emperor, issued in anticipation of the successful result of the military operations, Fu K'ang-an and the Amban at Lhasa made the most searching inquiry into the conduct of all the Chinese officials stationed in Tibet at the time of the outbreak of troubles, and also into that of the Dalai Lama, the Panch'en Rinpoche, the Kalön and other high officials. Dzamarpa, the chief instigator of the war, had died opportunely in Nepaul before the arrival of the Chinese army, but his nephew and two other relatives,

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1) *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 34 et seq, Fu K'ang-an left Hsi-ning, in Kan-su for Lhasa on the 1st of the 12th moon of the 56th year Ch'ien-lung (Dec. 25, 1792), and made the journey in 39 stages, occupying 50 days in all. His memorials to the Throne narrating his journey, are given in *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, 12, 19—21, 23—26; 13, 24—26; 18, 1—5 (the last a particularly interesting document), and 20, 1—2. After the conclusion of military operations against the Gorkhas, he personally reformed the whole Tibetan administration. See also C. Imbault Huart, *Histoire de la conquête du Népal par les Chinois*, in *Journ. Asiat.* 1878, N<sup>o</sup>. 10, for a translation of the text of the *Sheng-wu chi*.

2) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung, CXV, CXVI, CXVII and CXVIII, *passim*. This mission is still sent to Peking; the last one reached there in the autumn of 1908.

found to be deeply implicated in his conspiracy, were seized and sent to Peking to be decapitated, and seven other relatives were exiled to malarial spots in the Liang-kuang and Fu-kien provinces<sup>1</sup>).

The lesson of the war was too severe for China to leave any possibility of such an occurrence happening again. To preclude such a contingency it was deemed necessary by the Emperor to reform the whole administration of Tibet and to take effective control of the reins of government. On the recommendation of Fu K'ang-an, the Imperial Residents in Tibet were empowered to take part in the administration of Tibet, conferring with the Dalai Lama and the Panch'en Rinpoche on all matters affecting Tibet and "according to the usages obtaining between officials on a perfect footing of equality". The Dalai and Panch'en were not given the right to memorialize the Throne (奏), they were only authorized to "report to the Ambans and ask their orders" (稟命). All Tibetan lay and clerical officials were commanded to submit all questions of importance to the Ambans' decision, including high appointments, judicial, financial, and other matters. The Ambans were made responsible for the frontier defenses, the efficiency of the native levies, the administration of the finances, and, last but not least, they took control of all foreign intercourse and trade, a part of the administration the Tibetans had shown themselves quite unable to properly manage<sup>2</sup>).

To put an end to the difficulties which had arisen between the

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1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXIV, 17—21, CXVI, 28, CXVIII 2 and *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, 43, 20—22. All of Dzamarpa's personal property and estates and which were situated at the Yang-pa-ching (陽八井) lamasery, some 300 li S.W. of Lhasa were confiscated by order of the Emperor and given, a part to the army, a part to the Kirung Hutuketu and lamas. *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, 41, 1—5; 46, 7—8. Dzamarpa died, naturally or by poison it is not clear which, in the summer of 1791. *Ibid.*, 35, 11 22—23; 40, 11—12.

2) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXVI, 13<sup>b</sup>—14<sup>b</sup>, CXVI, 31<sup>b</sup>—33<sup>a</sup>, CXVII, 8. Also *Li-fan yüan tse-li* LXI, LXII. Rockhill, *J. R. A. S.*, 1892, 7—13, and *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, 40, 3—6, 47, 1—13, 48, 10—22 and 49, 3—22.

Gorkhas and the Tibetans resulting from the use of debased coins in Tibet, and from the inability they had heretofore shown to regulate exchange, the Imperial Government ordered the establishment of a mint in Lhasa and the coining of two silver coins of the standard weights of 1 mace and  $\frac{1}{2}$  mace respectively <sup>1</sup>).

The most important change made in 1792 — '93 in the administration of Tibet was that involving the method of choosing the great ecclesiastical dignitaries of that country and of Mongolia. We have seen that already in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Tibetans had found it politic, for the purpose of attaching the Mongols firmly to the Yellow Church, to discover the re-incarnation of the Dalai Lama Sonam-gyats'o in the child of the ruling Prince of the Tumed Mongols. The practice of choosing the great dignitaries of the Church from among the most powerful families in Tibet and Mongolia became so general that these dignities were looked upon as among the hereditary titles and offices of these ruling families.

In the eighteenth century, we are told that the mother of the great Panch'en Rinpoch'e Paldän-yeshes was a near relative of the Raja of Ladakh; two of his brothers were Hutuketu, one in the Yellow Church the other in the Red, while his half-sister was a female incarnation, the Dorjé-phagmo. One of his brothers became Regent of Ulterior Tibet on his death. This Panch'en Lama chose the 8th Dalai Lama, Jambal-gyats'o, from a prominent family in Ulterior Tibet, and the latter in turn made his first cousin Panch'en Lama on the death of Paldän-yeshes. In Mongolia the condition of affairs was just as bad; the climax was, however,

1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXIV, 13—15, CXVII, 8. Rockhill, *Op. sup. cit.*, 244 and S. W. Bushell in *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, XXXIII, 31. On the difficulties between Tibet and Nepal arising from the condition of the currency, see *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, 3, 11—14; 11, 10—11; 13, 1—3; and, on the reform of the Tibetan currency by Fu K'ang-an, *Ibid.*, 13, 1—3, and particularly 47, 13—17 and 54 4<sup>b</sup>—5, 9<sup>a</sup>.

reached in 1791 when the Nach'ung oracle of Lhasa, having declared that the re-incarnation of the Jebtsun-damba Hutuketu of Urga would be the child it was expected the wife of the reigning prince of the Tushot Mongols would shortly bring forth, the child at birth was a girl<sup>1</sup>).

In February or March 1793 (58th year Ch'ien-lung, 1st moon) an Imperial Edict was issued which put an end in a most characteristic way to these very serious abuses: "The Dalai Lama and the Panch'en Erdeni, it stated, are the great disciples of Tsongk'apa; they have for centuries been the rulers of the Yellow Church, and are profoundly revered by all Mongols and Tibetans. Of late years, however, the means employed by the Ku-erh-têng-pa (古爾登巴 *i. e.*, Kurtamba), who point out the re-imbodiments, have not been successful in bringing down the spirit (降神)<sup>2</sup>). Furthermore personal preferences have swayed them, and they have senselessly selected (to fill these offices) either children of female relatives or members of the families of Mongol Khans, Princes or Dukes, so that these offices seem to have become nothing more than hereditary perquisites of Mongol Princes, Dukes or bannermen.

"But the Buddhist Law acknowledges no such principle!

"Again there is (the recent) attempt (made at Lh'asa) to have

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1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXVI, 13—14, CXVII, 11—15. *Sheng-wu chi*, 5, 18, 19. See also *K'uo-erh-k'a chi lüeh*, Introduc. 4, 9—11 and 51, 13—21. These ecclesiastical dignities have remained, however, recognized as belonging to certain districts or tribes; thus the Changchia Hutuketu of Peking and the Achia Hutuketu of Kumbum are always taken from families in Amdo. The Chahan Nomenkhan is hereditary in the Tumed Mongol reigning family; many other cases could be mentioned. The geographical distribution of these honours is not so closely followed in Tibet.

2) The *Kurtamba* are diviners or oracles, the most famous is that of Na-ch'ung, the Na-ch'ung ch'ös-jé at Lhasa. They are also called *Ch'ös-kyong*, which the Chinese transcribe *chui-chung* (吹忠 or 垂仲). Conf. *Kuo-erh-k'a chi lüeh*, 50, 11—14, and 51, 11—12.

declared a re-incarnation the son of the Kalön Tandzin-pangyur (丹津班珠爾)<sup>1)</sup>.

“All this turns the hearts of the people (from the Faith).

“Quite recently Dza-marpa (Hutuketu) took advantage of the internal condition of Tibet to conspire to seize the office of Panch'en Lama, and he stirred up the Gorkhas to take by force of arms Tashilhunpo, thus putting Us to the trouble of sending to that distant region Imperial forces to hunt down and punish the offenders.

“We, therefore, as Protector of the Yellow Church, being desirous of correcting these long-standing abuses, have had fashioned a golden *bumba* or urn and have appointed officers to carry it to Lh'asa and to set it up in the Jokhang (大招). When, in accordance with custom, either the Dalai Lama or the Panch'en Erdeni Lama or any of the great Hutuketu become re-incarnated, a selection shall be made among the children reported (as likely to be the re-embodiment), and the name, the day, the month, the year of the birth of each shall be written upon a slip (籤) which shall be placed in the urn. The Dalai Lama shall then hold a

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1) Tandzin-pangyur was son of Duke Pandita who had been “King of Tibet”. *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXIV. 5—8. Pandita had married the sister of Gyurmed-namgyal and, after the latter's death in 1751 (see *supra*. 45) he was put at the head of the Tibetan government by the Dalai Lama and confirmed in this office by the Chinese Government. *Ibid.*, Ch'ien-lung XXXII, 13. The wife of Tandzin-pangyur was a niece of Dzamarpa. He had been made Kalön in 1789, his father being then too old to discharge his duties. His son's name was Mingyur-sonam-pangyur. As a result of his mismanagement of the early negotiations with the Gorkhas, all his lands were confiscated by order of the Emperor and transferred to the Dalai Lama, the revenues to be used for the support of the Tibetan troops. *K'uo-erh-k'a chi-luch*, 28, 23 et seq.; 46, 26—29. The property of the Chumba Hutuketu, the brother of Dzamarpa, and Regent of Ulterior Tibet, was also confiscated. *Op. cit.* 47, 13. The father of the Panch'en Rinpoche, Paldün Kundrupa was also implicated in the negotiations with the Gorkhas, but he does not appear to have been held guilty, nor was the Kirung Hutuketu Lobzang, who was made Chief Kalön of Lhasa, or “Comptroller of the Treasury”. *Op. cit.*, 20, 1 et seq.

religious service, after which he, assisted by the Amban, shall, in the presence of all the people, take a slip in the urn and hold it up so that all may see, and this shall be the re-embodiment (*hubilhan*)" 1).

In the case of Mongol dignitaries of the Church, the Edict went on to say, on the death of any one of them, the Jassak of the tribe shall report to the Board of Dependencies (Li-fan-yüan) at Peking the names of the children supposed to be the re-incarnation, after which the Changchia Hutuketu, in the presence of the Ministers of the Li-fan-yüan and at the Peking lamasery called Yung-ho-kung (雍和宮), shall draw, in like manner as above described, a slip from a golden urn kept for that purpose, and the child thereby designated shall be the re-embodiment.

Considering that all the ecclesiastical dignitaries in Tibet and Mongolia had, after having been chosen by the drawing of lots, to be approved of and receive patents of investiture from the Chinese Government, and were liable to impeachment, deprivation of rank, banishment, and other forms of punishment, China seems to have taken every necessary precaution to effectually control the Lama Church, and prevent the establishment of an oligarchic government in Tibet 2).

The Chinese official history of the Gorkha war tells us of the relations it brought about between the Chinese representatives in Tibet and a tribe of foreign Barbarians in India, vassal of the Great Moghul, and whose capital was a town called Calcutta. The Chinese General-in-chief Fu K'ang-an and his coadjutors reported this incident to the Emperor in a memorial which they addressed

1) *Tung-hua ch'uan-lu*, Ch'ien-lung CXVII. 11—15. Conf. *Ibid.* Ch'ien-lung CXVI. 13—14 and Sheng-wu chi, 5, 18—19, also *K'uo-erh-k'a chi lüch*, 40, 2—3. See also *Ibid.*, 45, 12—13, and 22—23, 52, 5—11.

2) See the case of the Galdan Silet'u Nomenhan given below, p. 67—68.

to him in 1793, on the 8th of the 3d moon (April 18).

We learn from this document that, on arriving in Lhasa in the early part of 1792 to take command of the expedition against the Gorkhas, Fu K'ang-an sent summons to various tribes, whom the Tibetans told him lived in proximity of Nepaul, to send their troops to assist the Chinese in subduing the Gorkhas. He summoned Bhutan (布魯克巴), Sikkim (哲孟雄), the people of the Chumbi valley (宗木); but they replied that, as a result of the warm, enervating climate in which they lived, their troops did not dare attack the Gorkhas who had been robbing them and plundering them for a long time, so that they had driven them out of a part of their country.

He summoned also the P'i-lêng (披楞)<sup>1</sup>. "As to these Pëling, the memorial proceeds to say, they live very far away, beyond the country of the Gorkhas; so the Dalai Lama and the Pauch'en Erdeni sent an *atsara* lama (阿雜拉)<sup>2</sup> by the name of Sunakoli (蘇納格哩) and a Tibetan interpreter to carry the despatch. For nearly a year no letter was received from them, but the day before yesterday (April 17, 1793) news was received concerning Sunakoli's mission. His nephew, a lama by the name of Tachikoli (達齊略哩) had come from the Pëling country, reaching Tibet on the 13th of the 1st moon (March 24, 1793). He said the Tibetan interpreter fell ill on the road, and that Sunakoli now lies ill among the Pëling who are taking care of him. He was unable to come back, so he sent him ahead to report".

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1) Fu K'ang-an uses the Tibetan names of these countries, Brugpa, Drendzong (Drémo dzong) and Tomo-P'i-lêng is Tibetan *phyi-gling* (pr. *pëling*) and means "foreigner"; at the time it was exclusively employed to designate the British in India. The Lhasa Ambans during the Chia-ch'ing reign frequently used the word *p'i-lêng* to designate the British in India. See *Tung-hua hsü-lu*, Chia-ch'ing, XII, 10<sup>b</sup>; XIV, 11<sup>a</sup>; XXXIX. 3<sup>a</sup>; XII, 2<sup>a</sup>; 5<sup>b</sup>.

2) *Atsara* is a Tibetan term in common use to designate a Hindu mendicant, many of whom visit Tibet.

“We, Your Majesty’s memorialists, have carefully questioned Tachikoli, and his statements are very lucid. He says that Sunakoli and the others left the Pari-dzong (帕克哩) frontier in the 3d moon of last year (March-April, 1792), and, after following a long and difficult route through Bhutan and other countries they arrived in the 6th moon (July-August) in K’a-li-k’a-ta (噶哩噶達 Calcutta). The Pëling tribe is a vassal of the Ti-li pa-ch’a (第里巴察 Delhi Padishah, the Great Moghul). They themselves call the place K’a-li-k’a-ta, but the other tribes call it Pëling. The barbarous people (other than the Pëling) of this place follow the Mohammedan religion. The headman Kuo-na-erh (部長果那爾)<sup>1)</sup> belongs to another religion permitted by the Delhi Padishah, and which is not Buddhism. Furthemore the *atsara* lamas have a Buddhist temple not far from the headman’s fort (官寨), and every day one lama is on duty at the fort to translate official documents sent from Tibet”.

Tachikoli then went on to say: “In the 5th moon of last

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1) *Kuo-na-erh*, a transcription of “Governor”. A communication sent in 1816 by the Ambans in Tibet to the Government of India, and preserved in a MS. volume in the Library of the Imp. University of St Petersburg (Chin. N°. 2113) is addressed to “the Pëling Chief Governor-General” (披楞部長格臥爾奈爾遮爾奈哩). Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, 348 *et seq.*, gives the texts of a number of letters, which are presumably those referred to. — He does not mention any letter received from Fu K’ang-an, but (p. 348—349) he gives the translation (from Persian) of one from the Dalai Lama, which was received August 3<sup>d</sup> 1792, warning Lord Cornwallis against the Raja of Nepaul. Lord Cornwallis’ reply is under date September 25. 1792 (p. 351—352). He refers to the Company’s trade at Canton, and offers his mediation; it agrees in general with the statements of our text. Lord Cornwallis wrote also, under the same date, identic letters to the Panch’en Rinpoché lama and to “the Chinese Vizier”.

Under date September 15. 1792 Lord Cornwallis wrote to the Raja of Nepaul (*Ibid.*, 349—350). He refers to the dependency of Tibet on China, to the Company’s trade in China, etc., and offers his mediation, which he says he will undertake when the rains are over, then he will depute a person to him for that purpose. — Lord Cornwallis sent Captain (afterwards Colonel) Kirkpatrick to Kathmandu to mediate. He so advised the Dalai Lama, the Panch’en Rinpoché lama and “the Chinese Vizier” by letters of October 15. 1792 (*Ibid.* 354). He wrote to the same effect to the Raja of Nepaul, on September 30. 1792 (*Ibid.* 353).



year (June-July), before Sunakoli and the others arrived in Calcutta, there came a messenger sent by the Gorkhas, who had heard of the arrival of the Imperial forces in Lhasa, to solicit the Pëlings' aid. It happened that I was on duty that day at the Fort as Tibetan interpreter, so I was able to hear what Kuo-na-erh ("the Governor") said to the Gorkha envoy. "Tangut (唐古忒 Tibet), said he, is a dependency of China, it is Chinese territory. Do you not realize the seriousness of a quarrel with Tibet? You are offending against the Empire of China! We here have regular trading relations at Canton. The Great Emperor's graciousness is extreme; how could I show my appreciation of it and turn round and support you? We do not profess the same religion as the Tibetans, but even so we do not quarrel with them. How much more reason in there for you to live in peace with them, you who inhabit the neighbouring country of Nepaul, which had originally the same religion and laws as they! Why did you go and stir up a war in Tibet!"

"Then the Gorkha chief answered him and said: "We know that the Imperial troops are advancing in great numbers against us. We Gorkhas cannot resist them, we shall be exterminated. If you do not help us, we shall have to turn round and beg the Chinese Commander-in-chief to pardon us our crime and accept our submission".

To this the Calcutta headman replied: "If you will in all sincerity try to make your peace, I will write a petition (to the Chinese General, which you can take with you). Hereafter you must be diligent in discharging your duties to the Throne, frequently sending tribute; it will certainly be to your advantage". So the Governor wrote a letter (to the Gorkha Raja to this effect) <sup>1)</sup>.

1) The text of this letter of Lord Cornwallis to the Raja of Nepaul, bears date September 15<sup>th</sup> 1792. It agrees with the statements in the Chinese version. See Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, 349.

A month after it had been sent, Sunakoli, the messenger sent from Tibet, arrived in Calcutta, and the Pëling headman asked him to come to see him. "You arrive just at the right moment", he said. "The month before last a Gorkha messenger came to solicit our aid. Considering that the people of Calcutta are constantly going by sea to Canton to trade, and have for a long time past experienced the kindness of the Great Emperor, we certainly could not offend China by giving aid to another country against it. I know how great and mighty is the fame of the Heavenly Dynasty, and I am not willing to stir up trouble. I have already sent a letter (to the Gorkha Raja) telling him that the Gorkhas must sue for peace and must stop hostilities, if the Great General pardons them this once. Just now the rains are very heavy and I cannot send an envoy to the Chinese general, but as soon as the cold weather sets in he shall be sent to Tibet to ask his favour and to exhort the Tibetans and Gorkhas to make peace. In the meantime I will give you three letters to take back with you <sup>1)</sup>, and will also ask you to present my compliments to the Commander-in-chief".

(Tachikoli then went on to say:) "Just as Sunakoli was on the point of setting out on his return journey he was taken seriously ill. As this would prevent his travelling for a month or two, fearing further delay in discharging of his mission (he asked me to come), and I started in the 8th moon (Sept.-Oct. 1792) to come to Lhasa to deliver the letters".

"We, Your Majesty's memorialists, will have the letters of the headman of the Pëling translated, and compared with what Tachikoli has said. We beg respectfully to submit that the domains of the

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1) As appears from the last paragraph of this memorial, one of these letters was addressed so the Dalai Lama, one to the Panch'en Rinpoche' é lama, one to Fu K'ang-an. The text of these letters, which bear date September 25. 1792, is given by Kirkpatrick, *Op. sup. cit.*, 351—352.

Delhi Padishah are the most vast of all the countries of Chia-k'a-erh (甲噶爾 India) and that K'a-li-k'a-ta is the largest of the dependencies of the Delhi Padishah. It is adjacent to the southern frontier of the Gorkhas, and is the extreme frontier beyond our borders. The barbarous people who live there trade at Canton, and we are under the impression that they are connected with the peoples of the countries of the Western Ocean. When we, Your Majesty's memorialists Fu K'ang-an and Sun Shih-i, were in Canton, we did not know of the Calcutta people, nor had we any certain knowledge of their name, or from what part of the world they came.

When last year I summoned all the chiefs of tribes to send troops to stop the trouble, I had only in view the desirability of diminishing the strength of the Gorkhas, without counting particularly on the aid of the foreign barbarian soldiers. But here we have this headman of the Pëling receiving the summons from Your Majesty's Minister with every sign of the profoundest respect. The greatness of our Emperor's fame has been proclaimed afar, it is wafted back from the most distant seas! This tribe which trades at Canton and has always experienced the gracious kindness of the Imperial Court, spontaneously tells the Gorkhas that Tibet has been for ages a dependency of China and that they must not seek a quarrel with it. How profoundly just and right are these words!...

In regard to the disposal of the letters to be brought by the envoy of the Governor of Calcutta, the memorialists state that the Dalai Lama, the Panch'en Erdeni and the Shagdzopa (商卓忒巴<sup>1)</sup>) have sent letters of the same tenour to the Shagdzopa and Solpön (歲琿) of Ulterior Tibet, and who are officers of the Panch'en Erdeni, telling them that they should not correspond with Barbarians from abroad, but should forward all letters to Lhasa there to be answered by

1) "Comptroller of the Treasury", the Kirung Huteketu Lobzang, see *suprà*, 51, n. 1.

the Ambans. "We have also ordered the Dalai Lama and the Pauch'en Erdeni to draft a joint reply to the letters brought them by Tachikoli which we, Your Majesty's memorialists, will look over, correct, and dispatch" <sup>1)</sup>).

## IV.

1804—1908.

Chinese interest in Tibet began to wane after the Gorkha campaign and the administrative reorganization of the country immediately following it.

In 1804, or thereabout, the Dalai Lama Jambal-gyats'o died, and the following year the Tibetans chose his successor without conforming to the rules laid down ten years before with such precision, and to the observance of which such great importance was at the time attached by the Imperial government. In the second month of 1808, however, the Grand Council decided to condone the irregularity. The Emperor justified his decision by saying that the new incarnation, a child born in Eastern Tibet in 1805, presented so many unmistakable signs of being the real re-incarnate Dalai Lama, his precocious intelligence was so wonderful, and all the characteristics qualifying him for his office had been so thoroughly inquired into and convincingly established by the proper Tibetan authorities, that there could be no doubt that the right choice had been made. In consequence a special envoy, Tê Ch'ing-ê (特清額), was sent from Peking to Lhasa to present the newly discovered

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1) *Kuo-erh-k'a chi-lüeh*, 51, 3—9. The above memorial was "approved in every detail" by Imperial orders issued by the Grand Council. *Ibid.* 51, 10<sup>1)</sup>. A little later on in the same year, under date of the 26<sup>th</sup> of the 5<sup>th</sup> moon (July 26) the Amban reported that he had been informed by Ratnabatur of Nepal, that the envoy from Calcutta had arrived in Kathmandu. *Ibid.*, 53, 1—2. According to Kirkpatrick (p. 367), he arrived in Kathmandu about March 20, 1793.

Pontiff "then just past two years of age" with gifts from the Emperor. He was ordered also to inform the Panch'en Lama and the Regent, the Kirung Hutuketu Lobzang, that, while the Emperor was willing to admit that in the present case the right choice had been made, nevertheless this could not serve as a precedent, and that the mode of selection by the drawing of sealed slips from the golden *bumba* vase, as ordered by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, must in all future cases be strictly followed.

Té Ch'ing-ê was also directed to have his interpreters make a careful personal examination of the infant's surprising intelligence and of him generally, after which he was to make a detailed report to the Throne. He was finally ordered to make public the orders of the Emperor throughout Tibet<sup>1</sup>).

In due course (Nov. 10. 1808) the infant was enthroned in Potala and received the name of Lungtog-gyats'o. Thos. Manning, the eccentric English traveller, saw him when in Lhasa in 1811. The child, he says, was then seven years old. He was much impressed by his "simple, unaffected manner and his graceful smile"<sup>2</sup>).

This promising child died, however, in 1815. I can learn nothing concerning his death; rumors were current, at a later date, that he had been put to death by hostile members of the priesthood, but no documentary proof seems to exist — certainly none has been published — throwing any light on the subject<sup>3</sup>).

In 1818 a attempt was made by the then Démo Rinpoché and the

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1) Supplement (續) to *Tung hua lu*, Chia-ch'ing XXV, 2. These orders of the Emperor were embodied in a long inscription in Tibetan which was placed in front of the Cathedral or Jokhang of Lhasa, where it still stands. A translation of it was first published in the *London Times* of Dec. 1<sup>st</sup> 1909, and a revised translation by Col. L. A. Waddell in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, 75—86. The inscription bears date "8<sup>th</sup> moon of the 13<sup>th</sup> year Chia-ch'ing", i. e., September—October, 1808.

2) Markham's *Tibet*, 265. Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalaya*, 1, 326 says he was "intoxicated and bewitched" by the personality of the present Panchen Rinpoché who received him in 1907 in Tashilhunpo. See also *Ibid.* i. 355.

3) Huc, *Souvenirs d'un voyage*, ii, 286.

Amban, Yü-Lin, to repeat the proceedings of ten years before and put a child of their choice on the Pontifical throne. We do not know all the details of this intrigue, but the following Imperial Decree, issued in the spring of 1818, enables us to form some idea of what must have happened.

“Yü-Lin (玉麟) and others have memorialized concerning the appointment of the re-embodiment (*hubilhan*) of the Dalai Lama. This is highly improper. In former times sundry places would report that the re-embodiment had appeared, and all sorts of exaggerations were indulged in. Discussions gradually arose and abuse grew apace.

“The late Emperor Kao-tsung-shun (*i.e.* Ch'ien-lung) exposed the whole matter and instituted the practice of drawing sealed names from the golden *bumba* (*i.e.*, urn). This wise plan was far-reaching and politic and should be followed for all times.

“Now, what proof is there of the marvellous intelligence of the infant of Lit'ang? If hearsay report only is to be depended on, what is the difference from the old method of selection?

“In not sternly forbidding this, Yü-Lin and the other memorialists have been greatly at fault.

“Let a decree be published that the Lit'ang infant shall be the number one to be drawn for from the vase. When another is discovered, let him be the number two. Three sealed names must be put in the urn to make a choice certain. The lots must be drawn in the presence of the people, to the chanting of prayers.

“Let this Decree be widely published, and let the Démo Hutuketu make no more trouble! If he comes to Peking, let him be arrested and punished 1).”

In 1822 the Dalai Lama was chosen in the manner prescribed by law, and received the name of Tsultrim-gyats'o. He was given as guardian and preceptor the Gadän Silet'u Nomenhan, Samadhi

1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Chia-ch'ing, XLVII. 3.

Bakshi by name, who had been made Regent on the death of the Kirung Hutuketu. This lama was a native of Amdo, a man of learning and, as events proved, of great ambition. His predecessor in the dignity of Gadän Silet'u Nomenhan, Nagwang-tsultrim by name, had proved himself a loyal subject of the Emperor and an able official. He had been Regent, presumably in Lungtog-gyatso's time, and had held the title of Gadän Ti Ripoch'é; consequently the Chinese government had good reason for believing that Samadhi Bakshi would render equally good and loyal service.

In 1838, however, the young Dalai Lama died when he was nearing the age at which he would assume personal control of the government of the country. His untimely death, it was generally thought in Lhasa, had been hastened, if his murder had not even been instigated, by the Regent, who hoped thereby to insure his rule over the country during the minority which must follow.

In 1851 a successor to the deceased Dalai Lama was found in the child of a poor Tibetan living on the Ssü-ch'uan border, near the lamazery of Tai-ling in the vicinity of Ta-chien-lu. He received the name of Khäsgrub-gyats'o, and in May 1854, he was duly enthroned in Potala, being then six years old <sup>1)</sup>.

The rule of the Regent, now made sure for the next twelve years, bore heavier than ever on the country; he ignored the wishes of the Shapé, of the Panch'en Rinpoche', and violated the laws and

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1) See F. W. Mayers. *J. R. A. S. n. s.*, IV. 284—308, for translations of the despatches of the Lhasa Amban to the Imperial Government concerning the discovery, election and enthronement of Khäsgrub-gyats'o, the 11<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, and other valuable information on Tibetan affairs from 1840 to 1844. Mayers speaks of the Gadän Siletu Hutuketu as the "Chancellor", or the "Comptroller of Councils." On p. 299 he confounds him with another lama, mentioned in another passage (p. 298), and there called Jambal-yeshes-tümpé-gyats'o, who had been given the title of Nomenhan for the admirable way he had discharged the duties of preceptor to the Dalai Lama Tsultrim-gyats'o, and who, on January 6<sup>th</sup> 1844, had been appointed by the Emperor preceptor of the new Dalai Lama.

customs of the country. He plundered the people, taking their money, their lands, their dwellings, harboured criminals, seized traders goods. He even went to the length of presuming to use a sedan-chair and have carried before him an umbrella of state, a privilege only conceded by the Chinese government to the Dalai Lama and the Panch'en Lama. Backed by the lamas of Séra, ever ready to fight or to bully the government, he defied all opposition. In 1843 the Shapé and the Panch'en Rinpoch'é got a petition before the Emperor, stating their unendurable sufferings under the Regent, and asking his intervention to reestablish order and prevent greater troubles. As a result a new Amban, Ki-Shen, was sent to Lhasa with orders to investigate the matter and deal promptly and sternly with the Regent, if the charges against him were proved true.

This Ki-Shen did. In conjunction with the Panch'en Rinpoch'é and the Council of Shapé, all the charges were inquired into and proved. The probable complicity of the Regent in the death of the Dalai Lama in 1838 was fairly well established, his ambitious schemes disclosed. The Amban had him seized and carried off to Ssü-ch'uan, notwithstanding the armed attempt of the lamas of Sera to save him. The Regent was degraded, stripped of all his honours, and sent to the Amur province to be kept there in rigorous confinement. The Emperor commanded furthermore, that on the decease of the Silet'u Nomenhan he should be forbidden forever the privilege of re-appearing again on earth in human form, as a warning to those who bring disgrace upon the Yellow Church<sup>1</sup>).

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1) Mayers, *Op. sup. cit.*, 307 charges Huc (*Souvenirs d'un voyage*, II, 286—295) with having given a purely imaginary account of the career and downfall of the Gadan Silet'u Nomenhan; he thinks it "a pure invention." Mayers was, of course quite wrong, as is shown by the Memorial addressed to the Emperor in 1877 by the Li-fan yüan, and published in the *Peking Gazette* of September 7<sup>th</sup> of that year. This document refers to a wound in the neck of the Dalai Lama Trultrim-gyats'o, and to the strong suspicion entertained by the Amban and the Panch'en Rinpoch'é, who made the inquiry into the conduct of the Regent, that he had very likely been guilty in that event of something more than simple inactivity.



In the latter part of 1852 the venerable Panch'en Rinpoche Tanpé-nyima died at the age of 70. He had done much during his long life to maintain peace and order in Tibet, and his loyalty to the suzerain power had never wavered. The Emperor sent a present of Tls 5,000 "for tea and wine" for the priesthood at the funeral ceremonies, which took place during 1853, and rendered his memory other marks of respect <sup>1</sup>).

In the summer of 1856 the Amban asked the Emperor to authorize the selection of a successor to the Panch'en Rinpoche who had died four years previously, and, permission having been granted, on the 18th of January, 1857, the Amban went to Potala where, assisted by the Regent the Loch'en (喀徵) Ach'it'u Hutuketu, the Solpön Noménhan (色喀本), and their suites, and in the presence of the people, the name of La-mu-chieh wang-ch'ui-chia-mutsan (拉木結旺推嘉木參 Lamgyé wangchuk gyamsän) son of a Tibetan "man of the people" (番民) Tan-tse-wang-chieh (丹澤旺結 Taudziu wanggyé), was drawn from the golden *bumba*

The memorial does not say that the Dalai Lama died from this wound. — Perhaps he did not, and only succumbed to another later attempt against his life. I have drawn from this document, and from another memorial, from the Lhasa Amban in 1877, and published in the *Peking Gazette* of May 28, 1879, for the facts stated above concerning this Nomenhan.

*Tung-hua ch'üan-lu* does not mention the trial and downfall of the Nomenhan, nor does it contain any documents on Tibetan affairs referring to the period in which the events above narrated took place. It contains, however, a reference to this dignitary, under date of the 5th month of 1858, which, in view of subsequent memorials, I do not quite understand. It gives (Hsien-fêng, LI, 8) a memorial from T'u-chieh-pu (圖伽布) asking that the incarnation (*hubilhan*) of the Gadän Silet'u Hutuketu be permitted to come to Peking and have audience of the Emperor. This request, it is stated, was granted.

A few years later, in 1855, another very high dignitary of the Church at Lhasa, the then Démo Rinpoche, was impeached by the Amban for violating the rules of the priesthood and as being "a man of evil reputation." He was tried by the Regent and the Kalön, found guilty, and exiled to the Nepalese border. See *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Hsien-fêng XXIV. 15<sup>b</sup>, 31.

In the *Peking Gazette* of March 31, 1877 appeared a Decree restoring to a Hutuketu, who had been deprived of his title and his right to reappear in the world, his titles and other rights. This particular Hutuketu bore the title of Huchêng Hutuketu.

1) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Hsien-fêng XX, 21<sup>b</sup>.

and declared as that of the re-embodiment. The Ach'it'u Hutuketu, after consulting the Sacred Books, gave him the name of Lobzang Panch'en Ch'ögyi-drapa tan-pé-wangchuk<sup>1</sup>).

In 1855 the Dalai Lama Khäsgrub-gyats'o died when about eighteen. Although it has been said that he, like his two immediate predecessors on the pontifical throne, was put to death, there seems little or no ground for this opinion. The Ach'it'u Hutuketu, who had been Regent since the removal from office of the Gadän Silet'u Nomenhan, remained in charge of the affairs of state after the death of the Dalai Lama, and appears to have continued to enjoy, not only the favour of the Chinese government, but the confidence of the people of Tibet<sup>2</sup>).

On the 26th February 1858, a new Dalai Lama was chosen, and the lot fell on the son of a Tibetan man of the people, Pöntso tséwang by name.

The Panch'en Rinpoche, being at the time a child, was not competent to give him a name, this was again done by the Regent, the Loch'eu Ach'it'u Hutuketu, and he received the name of Nagwang lobzang tampé-jamdzin Trinläs-gyats'o. On August 19th, 1860, he was duly enthroned<sup>3</sup>).

We know less of the history of Tibet during Trinläs-gyats'o pontificate than of any other period falling within the scope of this study. So far as can be ascertained, no Chinese documents

1) *Ibid.*, Hsien-feng XLI, 1, XLII. This Pontiff died in 1882, he was a narative of Takpo, the country of the present Dalai Lama. Hissu ccessor the present Panch'en Rinpoche Ch'ögyi nyima, was born in 1882, but his parentage is obscure.

2) In 1854 he had been given a title by the Emperor for his distinguished services. *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Hsien-feng XXIV. 15. In 1855 there was some frontier trade trouble between the Gorkhas and the Tibetans in the neighbourhood of Tsongka; it led to a small Nepalese force crossing the Tibetan frontier. The following year the Amban met a Gorkha Kazi (噶箕) called Tsangko Batur (藏格巴都爾) at Tsongka, and a convention was concluded regulating trade relations and demarcating the frontier more clearly than had been done in 1793. *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Hsien-feng XXXII, 11—12, XXXIII, 6.

3) *Tung-hua ch'üan-lu*, Hsien-feng XLVIII. 5, I, 1, LIX, 8—9.

relating to Tibetan affairs from 1859 to 1877 have been published. From this we may conclude, either that during these nineteen years the administration of Tibet was farly well managed by the Regent and the Council of Shapé, conjointly with the Ambans, or that the internal troubles — if there were any — were not so serious but that they could be settled locally and knowledge of them kept from the public, if not even from the Peking government.

Trinlās-gyats'o died in 1875, when aged about eighteen, and again the report was spread that he had been put to death by the Regent's party, so that the latter might continue to rule the state during another minority.

Considering the confined and unnatural lives the Dalai Lamas are forced to lead from their earliest infancy, the rertraints of every kind put upon them, the terrible strain upon their nascent minds to fit them from infancy to the role they must play, it is evident that only children with the most robust constitution can pass through such a test and attain to healthy, vigorous manhood. It may well be that the three Dalai Lamas who in the nineteenth century died on reaching manhood, were by that time physical and perhaps mental wrecks and died from natural causes. However this may be, the successor to the deceased Trinlās-gyats'o was not to meet with the same fate; physically and mentally strong, he has already lived to twice the age of any one of his four immediate predecessors.

Some little distance to the north-west of the small town of Nam (or Nong) dzong in the district of Takpo, through which flows the Tsangpo, and which is situated S. W. of Lhasa some 100 miles, is the village of Perchösdé, a place of some little note with a lamasery of 150 monks. In the autumn of each year there is a fair held here which is attended by many Tibetans from the north and north-east who come to barter their salt and wool, while those

from the south bring rice and products of the Ts'arong and Bhutan <sup>1</sup>).

In this village in 1876, Ka-rinch'en the wife of a poor Tibetan called Gunga-rinch'en, said by some to have been a wood-chopper <sup>2</sup>), bore him a son at whose birth various signs and portents, such as only occur when a Holy Man has come to life again, made the people think that the child might possibly be the re-embodiment of the Dalai Lama who had died the year before, and whose re-appearance was anxiously awaited by the people of all Tibet. A report was made by the local officials to the Regent at Lh'asa, in accordance with custom and precedent, of the portents and signs, of which there had been many witnesses, both before and after the birth of the child.

The following year the name of Ka-rinch'en's child, and those of two other infant competitors, were placed in the golden vase in the great Jokhang of Lhasa, in the presence of the Amban and all the Tibetan authorities, and a slip was drawn from the vase. The lot fell upon the Takpo child, and he was declared the re-embodiment of the Dalai Lama. His father, in accordance with precedent, was raised to the rank of *Kung* by the Emperor, and permitted to wear a button of precious stone and a peacock's feather. The child and its parents were given a residence a short distance outside of Lhasa, where they dwelt till the infant was four years old, when he was enthroned in the palace of Potala. This ceremony took place as the 14th June 1879. His parents then left him, and his education began under the direction of a learned lama, the head of the Tséchog-ling monastery.

On his enthronement he received the name in religion which

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1) See *Report on the explorations in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet*, 8.

2) Waddell, *Lhasa and its mysteries*, 395. See Memorial of Sung Kuei, Amban at Lhasa, dated August 29. 1879. The Lama has an elder brother, who has received the title of *Kung* from the Emperor. He took some part in bringing about a satisfactory conclusion of the negotiations with the British Mission in the summer of 1904. He is a man of robust constitution — to judge from his photograph, which I have seen. The parents of the Dalai Lama died before 1901, See Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 576.

he now bears, Nagwang Lobzang Tohtän-gyats'o. The Regent, the Kirung Hutuketu Ch'ösgyi-gyaltsän, remained in office<sup>1</sup>). On his death a few years later, the Démo Rinpoché of Tengyé-ling was appointed in his stead, and held this office until the Dalai Lama reached his majority in 1893.

Trivial misunderstandings in the early eighties between the Tibetans and the people of Sikkim, principally concerning pasturage rights along the imperfectly marked frontier between the two countries, culminated in 1886, when a small Tibetan force, under orders from Lhasa, crossed the Sikkim border and occupied a corner of that country.

This provocative action on the part of the Tibetans forced the Indian government to send a small expedition to Sikkim in 1888 - '89 and drive the invaders back across the border. In 1890 (17th March) a convention was signed by the British government and China, (represented by the Lhasa Amban), providing for the delimitation of the frontier between Tibet and Sikkim, recognizing the direct and exclusive control of Great Britain over Sikkim<sup>2</sup>), and agreeing to the regulating of trade between the two countries.

There were no Tibetan representatives at the negotiations, nor does the Tibetan government appear to have been consulted by the Amban at any stage of the proceedings. The Chinese government took no steps to carry out the terms of the Convention or the Articles and Regulations for trade which it subsequently signed in 1893 (December 3d) with the British government, nor did it enforce respect of these conventions on the Tibetans; so the responsibility for the Convention of 1890 remaining a dead letter and for the events

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1) *Peking Gazette*, May 8, 13., August 29. 1879, Memorials of Sung Kuei, Amban at Lhasa Also *Report on explorations in Bhutan and Tibet*, 8, 31.

2) The Tibetan Government thought that it still had some shadowy kind of overlordship or suzerainty in Sikkim, not affected by the treaty between Sikkim and Great-Britain of 1861.

which soon followed must rest solely on the Chinese; the Tibetans were helpless, and as ignorant of international responsibilities as children.

The regency, which terminated in 1893, seems to have been an oppressive one, recalling somewhat that of the Silet'u Nomenhan in the early forties; confiscations, imprisonments and probably executions of political opponents, occurred; finally there was a conspiracy to dethrone or put to death the Dalai Lama — which was, however, nipped in the bud. The Regent was held directly responsible for most of these occurrences, but he appears to have been more sinned against by his greedy relatives and supporters than sinning. At all events the Dalai Lama on reaching his majority did not at first take any steps against him. Some time after, however, an intrigue, led by a powerful family which had suffered under the regency, was the means of involving the Démo Rinpoch'é and all his principal supporters in a charge of conspiracy against the life of the Dalai Lama, and brought about their imprisonment and the confiscation of their property, with all the usual cruelties attending such trials in Tibet as in China.

In 1899 the British government decided to open direct negotiations with the Dalai Lama's government for putting into effect the arrangements of 1890 and 1893 which had remained dead letters, and a letter was sent the Dalai Lama for that purpose. The receipt of this communication must have caused extreme embarrassment to the Lama and his Council. Without a doubt they recalled to mind the signal mismanagement by the Lhasan government of Nepalese affairs in the last years of the 18th century, the sacking of Tashilhunpo by the Gorkhas, the advent of the Chinese army, the degradation of the Shapé, and the ultimate tightening of Chinese control over the country.

The Dalai Lama sent the only answer he could send to the

Indian government. "The Ambans, he said, when they first came here made an arrangement forbidding us to correspond direct with your government. I can send a man, but think that if it is done without the consent of the Chinese they will be displeased. Not knowing what they would do, I think it advisable not to send one now . . . ." <sup>1)</sup>

Nevertheless, in 1901, another letter of similar purport was sent by the Indian government to the Dalai Lama; this time it was returned unopened — the Gorkha Raja had had the same experience with a letter he had sent to Lhasa before the war of 1791!

Finally, in 1903, the British government decided to send a "Commercial Mission" with an escort of 200 men and a support of 300 more, to Khamba-dzong to there negotiate with Chinese and Tibetan delegates, — none with authority came — "the Tibetan government following solely a policy of drift", as the Amban himself had to admit a little later in a letter to the British Commissioner," and the Chinese officials being engrossed in self-seeking" <sup>2)</sup>.

The inevitable sequel promptly followed. Acts of hostility on the part of the Tibetans transformed the Commercial Mission into a Military Expedition, which marched to Lhasa, which it reached August 3d 1904, after some 1700 Tibetans had been killed in the operations along the line of march <sup>3)</sup>.

The Dalai Lama's government in the meanwhile, though evidently anxious for a settlement, did everything it could to retard it or make it impossible. Following well established Chinese precedents in such emergencies, the Dalai Lama imprisoned his councillors (Shapé) and put untried men in their places; these, ignorant of

1) *Papers relating to Tibet* (Parliamentary Blue Book, 1904) 119. Extract from a letter from J. C. White, dated Dec. 1st 1899.

2) See letter of the Amban Yü-Tai to Col. Younghusband, March 27. 1904. *Further papers relating to Tibet*, 117.

3) *Ibid.*, 182.

affairs, vacillating and impractical, without any strong hand to guide them, lost completely their heads, did nothing, suggested nothing.

When the British expeditionary force was a few miles from Lhasa, the Dalai Lama sent it word that he had "gone into religious retreat" <sup>1)</sup>, left his seal with the Gadän Ti Rinpoçh'é Lozang-gyaltsän, and, following a precedent set him four years before by his suzerain, fled from Lhasa, accompanied by his personal attendants and a small body-guard. He took the road to Nagch'uk'a and made with all haste for Urga (Ta Kuren) in northern Mongolia, the home of the third lama pontiff the Jébtun-damba Hutuketu, where he arrived on the 27th November following.

At Lhasa the crisis had come, the long pending difficulties had to be settled, a convention had to be signed. The Amban authorized the Ti Rinpoçh'é to use the Dalai Lama's seal of office, and the heads of the three great lamaseries of Débung, Séra and Gadän, and an unrecognized, irresponsible body called the "Assembly" (*Tsongdu*) <sup>2)</sup> were associated with him for the purpose of negotiating

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1) When the 5th Dalai Lama died, the Regent announced to the world that he had "entered into retreat". — See *suprà*, 29, Kawaguchi, *Op. sup. cit.*, 336 says the father of the present Ti Rinpoçh'é was a Chinese. The seal the Lama left with the Ti Rinpoçh'é was his Tibetan seal, not the seal conferred on him by the Chinese Emperor.

2) The Amban Yü-Tai speaking of this so-called "National Assembly" said: "it is an old Tibetan custom that, when there is official business with the Chinese, a meeting of clerical and lay representatives of the three great monasteries must be called to deliberate, and then make an official answer." *Further papers on Tibet*, 132. Col. Younghusband (*Ibid.*, 214) calls it "a body of irresponsible men" — "I asked who presided, what was the number of representatives, and whether the decision was arrived at by votes. He (i.e., the Shapé Ta lama) said no one presided, that there were about 500 representatives, and that they arrived at a decision by discussing till they were all of one mind." Elsewhere (p. 219, 236) he says that the Ti Rinpoçh'é presided over the meetings. — Perhaps this was exceptional, on account of the great seriousness of the situation. The Chinese Government has never officially recognized the existence of this "Assembly."

On August 21. the Amban sent a telegram to Peking denouncing the Dalai lama and asking that the Panch'en Rinpoçh'é be called to Lhasa to act as spiritual head of the Church. An Imperial Decree was reported to have been issued August 26th which "temporarily confiscated" the rank of the Dalai Lama and appointed in his place the Tashi lama. See



with the British. Counilled by the Tongsa-penlop of Bhutan, the Agent of Nepaul at Lhasa, and in a leesser degree by the newly arrived Chinese Amban, an arrangement was made with the British Commissioner, and a convention was signed on September 7th 1904.

A week later the Amban received orders from Peking not to sign an Adhesion Agreement to the convention, and it was only on April 27th 1906 that the Lhasa arrangement was finally confirmed by China in a convention signed at Peking, when the suzerain power took over also the payment of the indemnity of 25 lakhs of rupees which Tibet had previously agreed to pay.

The Dalai Lama remained in the vicinity of Urga till the late spring of 1907, changing his residence from one to the other of the three principal monasteries in the neighbourhood, receiving the presents of the faithful Mongols, who swarmed there to worship him, and at the same time getting in touch with affairs in Lhasa and also in Peking, where he sent an agent in the spring of 1905.

After the signing by China and Great Britain in April 1906 of the Adhesion Agreement to the Lhasa convention of 1904, the Lama decided that he might with safety come a little nearer to Peking, as a first step on the return journey to Lhasa. He left Urga in the summer of 1907 and, crossing Mongolia, came and took up his residence in Kumbum monastery near the Koko-nor, arriving there in the month of November.

An intimation was there conveyed to the Dalai Lama by the Peking government that he should come to Peking, and as soon as possible

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*Further papers on Tibet*, 225, 227, 228, 274. No action appears, however, to have been taken to carry out the Imperial commands. No representative of the Panch'en Rinpoche took part in negotiating the Convention or signed it. The decree was subsequently ignored by the Chinese Government.

The British Commissioner under date of Sept. 5. 1904 reported to the Government of India that there was a precedent for the deposition of a Dalai Lama by the Chinese, and cited the case of the 6th Pontiff (*Ibid.*, 241). This is incorrect, the 6th Dalai lama was murdered by Latsang Khan when on his way to visit the Emperor. See *suprà* 34.

thereafter return to Lhasa, his personal authority being needed in Tibet, where signs of unrest were numerous, especially in Chinese Tibet, which, it was thought, his presence and influence might allay.

As an indirect but effective means of inducing the Lama to come to Peking, the Chinese government announced in the early spring of 1908 that the Panch'en Riupoch'é had asked permission to come to the capital to have audience of the Emperor. The arrival in the capital of the chief steward (Donyer-ch'enpo) of the Panch'en Lama at this time gave semblance to this report, and may have hastened the Dalai Lama's decision to visit the capital.

In the spring of 1908 the Dalai Lama and his followers, some 250 in all, left Kumbum and came to the great buddhist sanctuary of China, the Wu-t'ai-shan, the Riwotsé-na of the Tibetans. He took up his abode in the principal monastery of that place, called P'u-sa ting (菩薩頂). Urgent messages were now sent him from Peking to hasten his visit there; hostilities had broken out in Chinese Tibet, and the small Chinese force available on the spot was hard pressed; the Lama's influence with his people was now necessary to the Imperial government. In July the Lama informed the Chinese government that he would visit Peking in the latter part of September.

In the month of August the Grand Council drew up a complete programme for the journey to, and reception at, Peking of the Lama, and the Governor of Shansi was ordered to send a high official to the Wu-t'ai to hand him the Imperial "summons" to an audience.

On the 22d September the Lama left the Wu-t'ai with his followers and a large Chinese escort with high civil and military officials, and proceeded to T'ing-chou on the Peking-Hankow railway, from which point he proceeded to Peking by train, arriving there on the 28th September. When the train bearing the Pontiff arrived at Pao-ting-fu, the capital of the metropolitan province, he was

welcomed by one of the Ministers of the Presence sent by the Emperor to greet him, by all the High Provincial Authorities from the Provincial Treasurer down, and by the whole garrison.

At Peking he was received at the station by the higher officials of the Board of Dependencies (Li-fan Pu) and of the Imperial Household (Nei-wu Fu), by the Governor of Peking, the generals commanding the troops and the Lama Primate, the Changchia Hutuketu. The Lama took up his residence in the Huang ssü, erected by the Emperor K'ang-hsi for the 5th Dalai Lama, and which had been hastily repaired for his use. The Empress Dowager and the Emperor sent him on the day of his arrival presents of saddle-horses, satins, jade objects, and numerous other valuable gifts.

The Lama was at once informed that the Emperor would receive him in audience on October 6th, and the ceremony to be followed was communicated to him. It provided that the Emperor would receive him standing, the Lama would kotow (叩首), the Emperor remaining standing, and then thank him for his gifts. After enquiring concerning the Lama's health, the Emperor would sit down and the Lama would be given a seat on a low couch near the Throne. Tea would then be served, and an informal conversation on Tibetan affairs would ensue<sup>1</sup>).

On learning that he would be required to kotow in disregard of all precedents, the Lama refused to go to the audience. It had to be countermanded, and the Vice-President of the Board of Foreign Affairs and the Vice-President of the Board of Dependencies, who had been specially appointed to "look after" (照料) him, were ordered to endeavor to overcome his contumacy. A compromise was

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1) Conf. the audience of the 5th Dalai Lama and of the Panch'en Lama, *suprà*, 17 and 48. See also *infra*, 82.

finally effected; the Dalai Lama would have separate audiences of the Empress Dowager and of the Emperor, and he would only be required to make genuflexions (跪) <sup>1)</sup>.

On October 8th the following Memorial from the Board of Dependencies was published <sup>2)</sup>.

“On October 3d the Grand Council transmitted to this Board the oral command of the Throne, by it in audience received, that the date for the audience for the Dalai Lama, which was originally October 6th, had been cancelled, and that he should await the fixing of a new date.

“On receipt of this Edict the Ministers of this Board, in company with the Ministers of the Presence, proceeded in obedience thereto on October 7th to the Huang ssü, so that the Dalai Lama and his Khanpo might be enabled to acquaint themselves with the ceremonial to be followed.

“The ceremonial for the audience of the Dalai Lama we have drawn up and now reverently submit to the Throne. It is also requested that the Throne will fix a date for the said audience....

“On the day fixed, Her Majesty the Empress Dowager having entered the Jên-shou Audience Hall (仁壽殿), the Ministers of the Presence and the Body-guard being in attendance, the Ministers of the Board of Dependencies shall lead the Dalai Lama, two lama interpreters and four Khanpo into the Audience Hall. Entering by the left entrance the Dalai Lama shall ascend by the left flight of steps to the top of the dais (陛) where he shall make a genuflexion (跪), the two lama interpreters making a genuflexion behind the

1) *Kuei* means literally “to kneel,” but at Court at the present time it is merely a genuflexion, touching the ground with the right knee the right arm extended by the side.

2) All the important facts and dates concerning the visit of the Lama to Peking are taken from various issues of the *Official Gazette* 政治官報 published during that period

Dalai Lama, and the four Khanpo doing likewise at the foot of the steps.

"After making a genuflexion the Dalai Lama shall present to the Empress an image of a Buddha and a *katag* (哈達), which the Ministers of the Presence shall receive from him. The four Khanpo, standing at the place where they first knelt, shall there make a genuflexion and present *katag* to Her Majesty, which the Body-guard shall receive from them.

"The Dalai Lama shall then make a genuflexion and shall enquire concerning Her Majesty's health, and thank Her (叩謝) for Her bounty. He shall then make a genuflexion and Her Majesty will speak to him. The Dalai Lama's reply (奏對) will be repeated by the lama interpreters to the Ministers of the Presence, who will repeat it to Her Majesty.

"After this ceremony they shall all be conducted out, to await the moment when His Majesty the Emperor shall enter the Jên-shou Tieu . . . ." 1).

The date for these audiences was fixed for October 14th. The same day on which they took place the Dalai Lama sent the Empress Dowager and the Emperor a quantity of valuable presents, a list of which was submitted to Their Majesties by the Board of Dependencies 2).

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1) The ceremonial for the audience of the Emperor was slightly different. The Dalai Lama entered the Audience Hall by the right door, he did not ascend the steps of the dais, and he did not have to make a genuflexion before enquiring after the Emperor's health.

2) The Memorial of the Li-fan Pu and the list of gifts, bear date October 14th. They were published in the *Cheng-chih kuan-pao* of October 18th 1908. The list of presents is a long one; to each of Their Majesties the Lama presented, in the first place white *katag*, then a copy of the Kandjur (甘珠爾), a gilt image of Sakyamuni Buddha and one of Vadjrapani to the Emperess, two of Sakyamuni to the Emperor, one of them being an old bronze one, then to each a string of 108 coral beads, gold urns, precious wooden bowls, 200 packages of gold dust, each of 1 ounce weight, furs of lynx, fox, bear, panther, otter, tiger, steppe-fox (沙狐), every variety of Tibetan woollen stuff and and of Tibetan incense, dried fruits, gold brocades, etc. etc., and finally to each "a horse of yellow colour."

On October 19th the Emperor directed that a banquet should be given the Dalai Lama on the 30th in the Tzū-kuang Ko (紫光閣), where the tributary princes of the Empire are entertained. In view of the Dalai Lama's very strong objection to kneeling and kotowing, and all precedents being opposed to requiring it of him, it was deemed necessary for the Board of Dependencies to have the ceremonial for the banquet submitted to the Throne for its approval; This was done in the following Memorial:

"We the Ministers of the Board of Dependencies are in receipt of a communication from the Department of the Imperial Household informing us that it had memorialized the Throne requesting that the time and place of the Imperial Banquet to be bestowed on the Dalai Lama be determined upon, and that on October 15th a Rescript had been issued commanding that the said memorial be laid aside for further consideration. Later, however, the members of the Grand Council transmitted the Imperial commands, received by them in audience, to the effect that an Imperial Banquet should be bestowed on the Dalai Lama in the Tzū-kuang Ko on the 30th October, at ten o'clock in the morning. They accordingly, in reverent obedience to the Imperial Commands, apprised us of the above.

"It is stated in the Regulations of this Board that, when an Imperial Banquet in the Tzū-kuang Ko is decreed, all those entitled to be present at the said Banquet shall kneel (跪) in two rows by the side of the way when His Imperial Majesty enters, and that, on His Majesty's return to the Palace, all shall likewise kneel. Such an Imperial Banquet has now been decreed, and we, the Ministers, not daring of ourselves to decide as to whether the Dalai Lama

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The Dalai Lama unquestionably sent valuable presents to the members of the Grand Council and to the Board of Dependencies, and probably to many other influential officials. At a conservative estimate the total value of his gifts while in Peking must have been several hundred thousand taels.

shall or shall not kneel on the Imperial entrance and departure, reverently cite the established rule and humbly await the issuance of an Imperial Mandate for our guidance" 1).

An Imperial Edict in reply to the above appeared the same day. It said: "The Grand Council in audience has received Imperial Commands, for transmission to the Board of Dependencies, to the effect that, on the day of the Banquet to the Dalai Lama, he shall, keeping his place at the Banquet, kneel on His Majesty's arrival and on his departure" (入宴坐次跪迎跪送).

The same day the Imperial commands were issued through the Grand Council to the Board of Dependencies and the Board of Ceremonies that on the occasion of the birthday of the Empress Dowager, which fell on November 3d, the Dalai Lama should go through the ceremony (行禮) customary on that occasion, outside the Ching-fu gate (景福門), and after the Princes and Ministers of State had performed it.

On October 24th, the Empress Dowager decided that, to give additional splendour to the ceremonies of her birthday, the Dalai Lama should conduct in her presence and for her benefit, the ceremony for insuring long life. Orders were consequently issued that the Lama should have audience of Her Majesty for that purpose on November 2d, the day before her birthday, and on October 29th the Board of Dependencies submitted to Her Majesty the following programme for the ceremony:

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1) The established rule under the preceding Emperors of this dynasty had, without one exception, been against the Dalai Lama, the Panch'en Lama or any of the great Hutuketu kneeling or kowtowing. See *suprà*, 10, 17 and 48, note 1. On the occasion of the Imperial banquet given to the 5th Dalai Lama, the Ministers of the Presence on duty received him on their knees and escorted him out on his departure.

“On the day appointed the Ministers of the Board of Dependencies shall escort the Dalai Lama and his suite to the apartment on the east of and outside of the Tê-ch'ang gate (德昌門), where they shall await until Her Majesty has entered the Ch'in-chêng Throne-Hall (勤政殿) and the Ministers of the Presence and the Body-guard have taken their positions.

“The Ministers of the Board of Dependencies shall then conduct the Dalai Lama and his suite through the right gate of the Tê-ch'ang mên and into the Ch'in-chêng Tien through the right entrance. The Dalai Lama shall then ascend the steps of the dais and make a genuflexion in front of the Throne of Her Majesty, the lama interpreters doing likewise behind him. Then, holding in both hands a porcelain plate on which shall be placed a vase wrapped in yellow satin and containing clear water and known as a “longevity vase” (長壽瓶), and also some “longevity pills” (長壽丹), and a yellow *katag* under the plate, he shall chant the service. After this he shall make a genuflexion and hand the Ministers of the Presence the plate and the objects on it to present to Her Majesty<sup>1</sup>).

“Her Majesty the Empress will then bestow on the Dalai Lama a rosary of pearls, a *katag*, an Imperial yellow state umbrella, a horizontal scroll written by herself, a pair of perpendicular scrolls also written by herself, and a coral *ju-i* or sceptre.

“The Dalai Lama will make a genuflexion on receiving these gifts, and will then perform the ceremony of three kneelings and nine head-knockings in thanks for the Imperial bounty.

“After this the Comptroller of the Imperial Household will offer tea to Her Majesty and the (chief of the) Body-guard will pass it,

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1) The “longevity vase”, in Tibetan *ts'é-bum*, and the “longevity” pills, *ts'é-ril* or “pills of life” in Tibetan, are used in the ceremony called *ts'é-grub* “obtaining (long) life”, a portion of which I presume the Dalai Lama went through for the benefit of the Empress. On the *ts'é-grub* ceremony, see Waddell, *Lamaism*, 444—448.



in the name of Her Majesty, to the Dalai Lama. Then the Dalai Lama will make one kotow and will be escorted out of the Presence”.

The following day, being the birthday of the Empress Dowager, the Emperor, the Princes and all the Ministers of State went through the ceremony of three kneelings and nine head-knockings, and after them the Dalai Lama did likewise at the foot of the steps of the Ching-fu gate.

In commemoration of the unprecedented magnificence which had marked the ceremonies of her birthday, due in very great part to the presence at them of the Dalai Lama, the Empress Dowager issued the following Edict on the day of the celebration:

“Last month the Dalai Lama came to Peking, and has had audience. To-day he and his suite offered their birthday congratulations with a degree of sincerity which We highly appreciate. We have therefore determined to confer on him a title to show Our appreciation<sup>1</sup>).

“In past times the Dalai Lama received the title of “Most Excellent, Self-existent Buddha of the West” (西天大善自在佛)<sup>2</sup>. His title shall henceforth be “The Sincerely Obedient, Re-incarnation-helping, Most Excellent, Self-Existent Buddha of the West” (誠順贊化西天大善自在佛).

“The Board of Ceremonies and the Board of Dependencies are hereby ordered to jointly arrange without any delay for the ceremonies of investiture, and to present a memorial on the same.

“Furthermore an annual stipend (廩餼) of ten thousand

1) A few days before this the Dalai Lama had been given the rank of Prince of the First Class (和碩親王), the highest that can be given a subject of the Empire.

2) The title referred to is that given in 1653 to the 5th Dalai Lama. It is not correctly given here. See *suprà*, 17.

taels is accorded the Dalai Lama, to be paid quarterly out of the Ssü-ch'uan (special) Treasury for the Fan-tzū (蕃庫).

"After being invested with his title the Dalai Lama will at once return to Tibet. All officials along the route will furnish him escorts and insure him protection.

"After his return to Tibet he must be reverently submissive to the laws of the Sovereign state (主國之典) and make known everywhere the sincere purposes of the Chinese government (中朝之信義).

"He must induce the Fan (*i. e.*, the Tibetans) to obey the laws and to practise virtue. Anything which he may have to communicate must be reported (報明), as the Regulations (例) require, to the Minister Resident in Tibet, who will then memorialize (奏) for him, and he must await the decision.

"We trust that the border-lands may enjoy perpetual peace, that the differences between the priests and laity may be entirely removed, and that due appreciation will be shown for the firm intention of the Court to support the Yellow Church and bring peace to the frontier.

"The Board of Dependencies is ordered to notify the Dalai Lama to reverently receive the above and respectfully obey it".

While the Dalai Lama was much gratified by the great honours shown his religion in his person by the bestowal of this title and by the declaration of the purpose of the Chinese government to continue unimpaired its support of the Yellow Church, he was greatly disappointed at being denied the right to address direct communications to the Peking government, "to memorialize the Throne" (奏) as it is called, a right which he considered it most important

he should enjoy so as to be able to make known to the Throne his views and the needs of his people. The denial of this right had placed the Dalai Lamas, the Tibetan government and people, at the absolute mercy of the Chinese officials in Tibet, without any possibility of making their complaints known to the Emperor.

So important did the Lama consider this question that, notwithstanding the clear and categorical terms of the Edict of November 3d, he made a strong appeal to the Board of Dependencies to ask the government to reconsider Her Majesty's decision and grant him the right "to address direct communication to the Throne in his own name (自行具奏) or jointly with the Amban at Lhasa, as the case might require". "I earnestly beg", the Lama concluded his letter to the Board of Dependencies, "that this right to memorialize be granted me, in conformity with the old rules (舊制), and that all the officials civil and military be duly notified accordingly" <sup>1</sup>).

On December 3d the Board of Dependencies submitted a memorial embodying the Lama's request. Unfortunately the Emperor and the Empress Dowager were no more, as they might have taken favourable action on it; nevertheless the Regent issued the same day the following rescript to the memorial.

"Let the Board of Dependencies carefully examine in what year occurred the precedents which the Dalai Lama wishes to conform to, and whether there have been any such precedents<sup>2</sup>).

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1) I quote from a draft of the Dalai Lama's letter to the Board of Dependencies, which was communicated to me by a friend. See also *Chéng-chih kuan-pao*, Dec. 3, 1908.

2) The only precedent I have been able to find for the Dalai Lama memorializing directly the Emperor occurred in 1653 during his visit to China. See *suprà*, 16. Under the Regulations of 1793, the Dalai Lama and the Panch'en Lama have only the right to "report and ask orders" (稟命) of the Lhasa Amban. See *suprà*, 52. There can be little or no doubt that the granting of this right would be beneficial to Tibet and in no way prejudicial to China's best interests in that country.

“Let the Board then memorialize Us, embodying the results of its investigations and await Our commands”.

On November 14th the Emperor of China died, and on the following day the Empress Dowager. On the 20th the Dalai Lama made his ceremonial obeisances to the remains of Their Majesties, and a few days later he conducted a great religious service in the Yung-ho kung monastery, much to the gratification of the Chinese government which transmitted to him the Regent's thanks, together with presents, not only for him but for all the lamas who had taken part in the ceremony.

Although there were many questions which the Dalai Lama had hoped to take up with the Chinese government before leaving the capital, the death of the Sovereigns and the period of strict mourning following caused him to give up all hope of presenting them in person, and he decided to start at an early date on his return journey to Lhasa.

He made, however, two requests of the Regent — who at once granted them — that a number of promising Tibetan lads should be sent to Peking there to pursue their studies, and that two of his Khanpo should be appointed teachers of Tibetan in the newly established preparatory school for service in the Dependencies<sup>1</sup>).

On December 3d an Edict was issued informing the Lama that he could leave Peking, and that he should proceed to Kumbum, there to await the delivery to him by the Hsi-ning Amban of the

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1) See *Chóng-chih kuan-pao*, Dec. 19, 1908. In an interview which the Lama had while in Peking with the son of the Maharaja of Sikkim, the Maharaj Kumar, he agreed to become one of the Patrons of the Buddhist Shrine Restoration Society of India and to send a representative to the next annual meeting in February 1909; this promise he fulfilled. The other Patron of the Society is the Panch'en Rinpoche of Tashilhunpo.

Letters Patent for the title conferred upon him by the Empress Dowager; that ceremony not having taken place in Peking an account of the national mourning.

On December 19th the Lama conducted religious services for the last time in the Yung-ho kung, and on the 21st he left Peking. Travelling by way of Ho-nan-fu, Hsi-an-fu, Lan-chou-fu and Hsi-ning, he reached Kumbum on February 26th 1909.

On March 4th 1909 the last ceremony connected with the journey to Peking of the Dalai Lama took place at Kumbum; it was the presentation to him by the Imperial Commissioner of Hsi-ning of the Letters Patent for his new title. This official reported the event to Peking in the following memorial:

“Some time ago I received a communication from the Board of Dependencies in which it was stated that it was in receipt of a notification from the Board of Rites to the effect that the rules of ceremony drawn up for the bestowal of the title of honour on the Dalai Lama had, on the 25th of December, 1908, received Imperial sanction<sup>1</sup>). The Board of Dependencies, accordingly, on the arrival of these rules at the Board, copied them out together with the Memorial and sent them to me, the Imperial Commissioner at Hsi-ning, for my guidance. It was stated in the Memorial under discussion that on their issuance the Imperial Letters Patent should be forwarded by the Board of Dependencies over the military post road to the Imperial Commissioner at Hsi-ning, who should confer them. This it then naturally devolved upon me to do.

1) I have omitted the rules for this ceremony as they are very long and of no particular interest. The Dalai Lama, facing north and in front of the table on which were the Imperial letters, made three kotows and then received, while kneeling, from the hands of the Amban the Letters which he in turn handed to a Khanpo. After this the Lama again made three kotows.

"I received the Board's communication on January 21, 1909, and on the 19th of February the Dalai Lama first arrived at Hsi-ning, where he stayed a few days, — until the 26th of that month — when he removed to T'a-erh ssü (Kumbum).

"I selected the 4th of March as the day when I should reverently confer the Imperial title of honour on the Dalai Lama, and gave him information to make preparations in advance.

"On the day fixed upon, assisted by the Tao-t'ai and the Prefect, and in exact accordance with the rules of the ceremony sanctioned by the Throne, I proceeded to T'a-erh ssü and there bestowed on the Dalai Lama the Imperial Letters Patent. After their receipt, he reverently arranged an incense table and prostrated himself toward the Imperial Palace, returning his thanks for this act of Celestial Bounty. His sincere joy appeared also on his face. He requested that an image of the Buddha and a *katag* be sent herewith on his behalf, that this sincere reverence might be evidenced.

"On the conclusion of the ceremony I returned to my office at the head of the several officials.

"It is incumbent on me, therefore, reverently to report to the Throne at this time the conclusion of the ceremony of presentation of the Letters Patent and the gratitude of the Dalai Lama, their recipient".

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The Dalai Lama Töbtän-gyats'o has been depicted by recent writers, none of whom have, however, ever met him or heard much of him except from Tibetans who had suffered through the acts of officials of his government and who naturally held him responsible

for these acts, as a bloodthirsty, cruel, revengeful tyrant, an intriguer of the deepest dye, a criminal who ignores all law and justice, and who has deliberately plunged his country into the troubles of the last ten years which have resulted in the "loss of Tibet's independence" and the "fostering on it of China's yoke".

The preceding study of Tibet's relations with China for the last three hundred years and more, has, I trust, made clear the real nature and the extent of the autonomy enjoyed by Tibet for the last hundred and fifty years, and with which the Tibetans are, I believe, perfectly satisfied. There has been no claim raised by them for total or even greater independence of China, no wish to deprive themselves of the aid and guidance of China, no dissatisfaction with the reforms of 1793, which were well suited to the requirements of the country and the customs of the people. The complaints of the Tibetans have been against the way in which Chinese officials in Tibet have exercised, or rather have failed to exercise, their duties, against their exactions of every kind, their inability or unwillingness to rightly advise or adequately support them in times of difficulty or trouble, against their failure to help to reform abuses and to insure justice. These have been the grounds for their complaints, the causes of the uprisings which time and again have brought desolation on parts of the country, and alienated the hearts of the Tibetans from the Chinese<sup>1</sup>).

1) Yü-Tai, the Lhasa Amban, in his proclamation of September 10, 1904, (*Further papers relating to Tibet*, 275), to the people of Lhasa, concludes by saying that the Dalai Lama will hereafter be responsible for religious matters and shall only be concerned slightly in the official matters, while the Amban will conduct all Tibetan affairs with the Tibetan officials, and important affairs will be referred to the Emperor. This is absolutely in accordance with the Regulations of 1793, it neither adds anything to the authority of China, nor takes away anything from that then conceded the Tibetan officials by the Chinese government.

Concerning the Dalai Lama Tobtän-gyats'o himself, I passed a week with him during his residence at the Wu-t'ai shan, and I saw him repeatedly during his stay in Peking. He is a man of undoubted intelligence and ability, of quick understanding and of force of character. He is broad-minded, possibly as a result of his varied experiences during the last few years, and of great natural dignity. He seemed deeply impressed with the great responsibilities of his office as supreme Pontiff of his faith, more so, perhaps, than by those resulting from his temporal duties. He is quick tempered and impulsive, but cheerful and kindly. At all times I found him a most thoughtful host, an agreeable talker and extremely courteous. He speaks rapidly and smoothly, but in a very low voice.

He is short in stature, probably about five foot six or seven inches, and of slight build. His complexion is rather darker than that of the Chinese, and of a ruddier brown; his face, which is not very broad, is pitted with small-pox, but not deeply. It lights up most pleasantly when he smiles and shows his teeth, which are sound and white. In repose his face is impassive, and rather haughty and forbidding.

His nose is small and slightly aquiline, his ears large, but well set on his head. His eyes are dark brown and rather large and with considerable obliquity, and his eyebrows heavy and rising markedly towards the temples, giving him a very *narquois* and worldly expression, which is further emphasized by his moustache and the small *mouche* under his lower lip. His hands are small and well shaped; on his left wrist he usually carried a rosary of "red sandalwood" beads with silver counters. When walking, he moves quickly, but he does not hold himself erect, a result of passing most



of his life seated cross-legged on cushions. His usual dress is the same dark red one worn by all lamas, with a waistcoat of gold brocade and a square of the same material covering his *ch'ablu*, and hauging down below his waist in front<sup>1</sup>).

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1) Kawaguchi, *Three years in Tibet*, 528—529 speaks of the Lama as “a man of character, gifted with energy and power of decision . . . thoroughly familiar with the conditions of his own people and who has done much towards satisfying popular wishes, redressing grievances and discouraging corrupt practices . . . Perhaps one of the greatest lama pontiffs that has ever sat on the throne . . .” Due allowance being made for oriental love of hyperbole, this estimate seems true enough.

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