

THE THIRTEENTH  
DALAI LAMA

TOKAN TADA

THE CENTRE FOR EAST ASIAN CULTURAL STUDIES

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THE THIRTEENTH DALAI LAMA 1875-1933.

EAST ASIAN CULTURAL STUDIES SERIES, No. 9

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DALAI LAMA**

**TOKAN TADA**

THE CENTRE FOR EAST ASIAN CULTURAL STUDIES  
TOKYO

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## Note

The Tibetan words used in this book should be pronounced as in English, subject to the following limitations and exceptions:

*ä* as *ai* in French *paix*.

*e* as the French *é* in *été*.

*ö* as *eu* in French *peu*.

*ü* as *u* in French *tu*.

*ts* as *z* in German *zehn*.

*dz* is voiced *ts*.

*c* as *ch* in English *church*.

*j* as *g* in English *gem*.

*h* after *p*, *t*, *k*, etc. signifies aspiration.

*ny* as *gn* in French *ligne*.

*ng* as *ng* in English *king*.

*sh* as *sh* in English *shine*.

*lh* is voiceless *l*.

## PREFACE

This book is an outgrowth of my personal reminiscence about the XIIIth Dalai Lama of Tibet. He was on the throne in both spiritual and secular spheres in Tibet from 1895 to 1933. He reigned during the most crucial period during which Tibet suffered pressures from British India, Russia and China. He was even obliged to exile himself to Mongolia and then to China to avoid the invasion of the British army and again to India, forced by the Ch'ing dynasty of China.

I have been in Tibet between 1913 and 1923, in studying Tibetan Buddhism, i.e., Lamaism. During my stay in Tibet, I enjoyed the patronage of the Dalai Lama with whom I was acquainted in India where he was in exile, and it was he who gave me Lamaist commandments. In Tibet, I acted as an informal foreign advisor to him and frequently attended in his court. Since I left Tibet, I made a correspondence with him until he passed away in 1933.

As is well known to learned circles, there is a biography of the Dalai Lama titled "*Ngo mtshar rin po che'i phreng ba.*" (A Rare Rosary of Jewel), written by the Rev. Phurcoo Thubtän Campa who is the incarnation of the Phurcoo, chief preceptor of the Dalai Lama. It is a matter of course that I referred to the biography in



writing this book, but, on the other hand, I had to consult the memoranda which I had made during my stay in Tibet and other materials in order to give the reader the image of the Dalai Lama as a historical personality, because the description of the biography is of a theological nature.

In this book, I have given the date of the Tibetan calendar shown in the biography and its European equivalent by putting it in parentheses. I have enjoyed the help of Mr. Zuiho Yamaguchi, my colleague of the Toyo Bunko, in calculating the European equivalents.

March 1965

Token Tada

## BIRTH

The XIIth Dalai Lama Thrinlää Gyaatsho passed away at the Potala Palace in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, on the 20th day of the third month of the Wood-Pig year of the Tibetan calendar, the first year of the reign of Emperor Kuang Hsü of the Ch'ing dynasty, that is, on April 25, 1875. As the sad news spread through Tibet, the people were overcome with grief, but, on the other hand, they wanted to find the next Dalai Lama as quickly as they could. According to the deeply-rooted belief among the Tibetan people, the land of Tibet is a utopia of Cänrääsii (Avalokiteśvara in Sanskrit), the Buddha of Mercy, and a Dalai Lama, both spiritual and temporal ruler of Tibet, is an incarnation of Cänrääsii. Therefore, even if a Dalai Lama dies, his spirit, the mercy of Cänrääsii, does not perish with him and is inherited by his reincarnation, the next Dalai Lama, who is to give happiness and prosperity to the people.

After the death of the XIIth Dalai Lama, the Council of Ministers called *Kashaa* in Tibetan took care of cur-

rent affairs for some months. Then the National Assembly (*Tshondu*), composed of the higher ranks of officials and monks, nominated as regent (*Desii*) the Tatshaa Qutuqtu, abbot of the Künde-ling Temple, named Ngawang Pändän Chööki Gyäntshän. He had the duty to govern the country until the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama could be found and mature to assume ruling power.

The method by which the reincarnation is found is unique. The Tibetan people analyze inspirations and visions and consult oracle in order to knowing the direction where the new Dalai Lama should be sought.

It is the Panchen Lama who is next to Dalai Lama in religious authority in Tibet. At the time of the Dalai Lama's death, there was the VIIIth Panchen Lama Tämpää Wangchuu. He earnestly hoped that the next Dalai Lama would be found soon, for the sake of the country and in order to have Buddhism disseminated more widely. One day when he was meditating, he had the inspiration that the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama would be found in the southeast of Lhasa. Also, when the oracles of the Näächung Chöökyong, the patron spirit of the Tibetan government, and the Samyää Chöökyong, the patron spirit of the Samyää monastery, were invoked, both of them designated that the next Dalai Lama would be born in the southeastern region of Tibet. Besides, the latter gave more detailed explanation on the location; i.e., that behind the back of the house where the next Dalai Lama would

be born, there was a mountain shaped like a lying elephant. The Näächung Chöökyong takes possession of the oracular Lama whose habitat is the small shrine Näächung near the great state monastery Dräapung. The Samyää is the famous first monastery of Tibet which was completed at the end of the 8th century. In important political matters, the Tibetan government traditionally consults these oracles.

After the XIIth Dalai Lama passed away, his body was placed facing west; however, the next morning, it was facing southeast. Those who were close to him encountered this kind of strange happening often, so that it occurred to them that these incidents might be an indication that the new Dalai Lama would be born southeast of Lhasa.

Another clue to find the new Dalai Lama came from the holy lake of Lhamöö Lamtsho in Chönkhorgyää, not too far away from the house which was to be the birth-place of the next Dalai Lama. Before the above-mentioned predictions took place, there was an auspicious phenomenon seen on the lake. In this lake there lived the Maasorma, the tutelary spirit of the lake, and it was believed that whenever there was an important national event or natural calamity going to happen, it attracted the attention of the people by some sign or another.

There was a strong gale blowing on the snow-bound Lhamöö Lamtsho about this time, scattering away the snow on the lake and breaking the ice which covered

the lake. Under the ice, there appeared on the surface of the lake which now looked like a mirror, the reflection of a suckling baby in the arms of his mother. The miracle did not end there. To indicate that the new Dalai Lama was already born somewhere near the lake, there were reflections of the Potala Palace in Lhasa and a rustic house on the lake. These remained on the lake for a week, so that it is said that many pious people came to watch these auspicious signs even from afar. The rustic house on the lake was the very house where the Dalai Lama was born. After these very significant indications, Losang Thargyää, who held the rank of the *Sharpa Chööje*, happened to pay a private visit to the house and had an opportunity to see a baby and judged that this was the reincarnation of the XIIth Dalai Lama. The *Sharpa Chööje* is the rank next to the *Gandän Thripa* in the great monastery Gandän which is the highest rank of all non-incarnate lamas in Tibet. Later on, the inquiries of the baby were set on foot by the Tibetan government.

As was predicted, the house where the Dalai Lama was born, was in the Thagpo region, southeast of Lhasa. It was a farm house in the small village of Langdün, at the foot of the Thaglha Gampo, a mountain revered by the Tibetan people. The father of the baby was a courageous peasant, called Künga Rinchen, and the mother is said to have been a very pious woman, Losang Drööma by name.

In the early morning of the 5/v/Fire-Rat (June 26,

1876), the new Dalai Lama was born, just when the mountain top was shining crimson in the morning glow. Five-coloured rainbow circled the house where the Dalai Lama was born, and thanks to the protection of the tutelary deities of the land and the clan, the mother had suffered no labour pain. Besides the rich harvest, there were many auspicious signs, so that the people in the region were overjoyed. The baby was named Losang Thabkhää Gyaatsho. The rumour then spread that the baby as predicted was born in Langdün village, so that an increasing number of pilgrims visited the Lhamöö Lamtsho and the village. Losang Thargyää, who judged ahead of others that it was the very baby, stayed on in the house and never left the baby's side, for fear of any contingency.

The investigation commission of the government was some time later dispatched to the house in order to confirm whether this was really the holy baby. When they showed to the baby a set of clothing and belongings which were genuinely in the possession of the late Dalai Lama and another set which were not, he could indicate which was the authentic one. Not only that, his way of speech and even his gesture resembled those of the former Dalai Lama. Besides, many other things corresponded exactly to what was predicted, so that it was ascertained that he was the genuine reincarnation of Dalai Lama. It is said that he had the inborn dignity as Dalai Lama. On the 25/1/Fire-Ox (March 9, 1877) the Tibetan government presented the infant



with a gilt bronze image of the White Tāra. All the people, beginning with the Panchen Lama, the Tatshaa Qutuqtu, monks of the three big monasteries in Lhasa (Gandän, Dräापung, Sera) and the Trashii-lhünpo monastery, the residence of the Panchen Lama, ministers and officials of the Tibetan government, unanimously requested that this infant, who was the true reincarnation of the late Dalai Lama, come to the Potala Palace as *Chöösii-nyiidän*, the ruler in both religious and secular spheres, for the peace and the prosperity of Tibet.

Since the time of the Chinese Emperor Ch'ien Lung, there had been used a device for the selection of Dalai Lama by lot, making use of a golden urn presented by the Emperor in 1792. Scrolls of paper, bearing the names of several Dalai Lama candidates, were put into the golden urn, and the first picked out with a pair of ivory chopsticks was regarded Dalai Lama. If the Chinese had been in power in Tibet, the Tibetan government would have used this device in the presence of the Amban, the resident minister dispatched from the court of the Chinese Emperor to Lhasa. However, this device was not adopted this time, and the Tibetan government represented to the Chinese Emperor that there was no doubt about the identity of the new Dalai Lama. The Amban issued the proclamation that Losang Thabkhää Gyaatsho, son of Künga Rinchen, was recognized to be the reincarnation of the XIIth Dalai Lama, there being no need of making use of the golden urn. The *Biography* shows that the joy of the

Tibetan people was comparable to the poor's getting undreamt of treasure, or a person destined to die suddenly regaining his life. Since the successor to the former Dalai Lama was officially determined, the Tibetan government made a start on the preparations to welcome him in Lhasa.

On the 15/IX/Fire-Ox (October 21, 1877), Dokhar, representative minister of the Tibetan government; Losang Chönpee, Lord Chamberlain at the Potala Palace; Samtän Sheerab, Chief Guardian of the Court; Ngawang Nyima, Chief of the Palace Cuisine, etc. went to pay a visit to the birth-place of the new Dalai Lama. The throne was newly made there and the living-room of the new Dalai Lama was newly furnished. Tables were laden with cake, tea, rice, meat dishes, etc., in accordance with the old custom of the Tibetan ceremony. The ceremony of designating Dalai Lama took place then. First of all, the Tibetan government presented him with the maṇḍala and the three religious symbols, i.e., the Buddha's image, the sutras, the small stupa, and food, clothing, five taels of gold, three silver horse shoes, 50 silver taels, Chinese brocade, Tibetan weavings etc., which were dedicated to him were shown him. Next, his parents were presented with scarfs of salutation called *khataa* in Tibetan. Since they bore the Dalai Lama, they were allowed the title of *Khung*, the peerage of the highest rank, and clothing befitting the new title were given them. Prior to this, they were given 200 silver taels, with

many leather boxes of tea etc., for board and lodging of the government envoys. To Losang Thargyää also, special gifts were presented. It was he who was with the infant Dalai Lama constantly since his birth, and kept watching him even when he could not yet speak, and judged that he was qualified to become spiritual and secular ruler in the future. The government recognized his merit in contributing such important data for the selection of the Dalai Lama. Remunerations to such wonder-working temples as the temples of Oöga Dzingchi and Chönkhorgyää, etc., were given as a proof of gratitude for their protection because the new Dalai Lama could now be safely transported to Lhasa.

## ENTRY INTO THE POTALA

A group of monks and officials from the Potala Palace came to Langdün on the 20/x/Fire-Ox (November 24, 1877), in order to welcome the Dalai Lama to Lhasa. Among them there were three old monks who were to be close attendants of the Dalai Lama. It was the *Simpön Chenmo*, the Master of Robes, who would attend to the Dalai Lama, to act as his mother at the Potala Palace, while he was still young. The *Chööpön Chenmo*, the Master of Religious Ceremonies, was going to take care of religious affairs for him and the *Sööpön Chenmo*, the Master of Tables, was to wait on him at table. Besides these three, there were the representative of the chamberlains, the Yuthoopa, minister who represented the *Kashaa*, high officials of finance and interior, high military officers, etc. and functionaries in charge of palanquin, ceremonial umbrella, tent, horses, etc. to serve the Dalai Lama, when he makes his official entry into the Potala.

On the 1/xi/Fire-Ox (December 5, 1877), the auspicious day, he left the house of his birth at Langdün.

In the morning, his parents went up the Thaglhā Gam-po and worshipped the local deity. Burning the fragrant wood, they tried to please the deity with the aroma, and serving the holy beer, they tried to cleanse the unholiness of the mundane world. On top of the hill there stood many flags, so that the native deity would be pacified. They prayed that the deity would keep protecting and blessing the Dalai Lama, even if he was to move to Lhasa.

The monks and officials who came from Lhasa formed a file, in accordance with their ranks, and followed the yellow palanquin of the new Dalai Lama. The parents and relatives also followed in the big column which proceeded to Lhasa. There were huge crowds of pious people awaiting them on their way to worship the young Dalai Lama.

On the 12/XI/Fire-Ox (December 16, 1877), the party arrived at a temple of Dechen. There were many nobilities and high monks waiting for them and presented the Dalai Lama with suitable presents befitting their ranks. The Tatshāa Qutuqtu, the Regent, had an audience with the Dalai Lama for the first time.

On the 14/XI/Fire-Ox (December 18, 1877), the party arrived at Khungthang in the region of Tshää, from Dechen. Khungthang is on the opposite side of Lhasa across the river Kyiichu. From the near-by monasteries, many Lamaist monks congregated and the road to Lhasa was beautifully decorated. Chief monks of the three big monasteries in Lhasa, incarnated lamas,

officiating monks of the Palace, high monks of esoteric sects, the heads of the four *Ling* in Lhasa (the monasteries Künde-ling, Tängyää-ling, Tshechoo-ling, and Tshomo-ling) etc. came to welcome the Dalai Lama and his troupe part of the way. Here, the regent performed the ceremony of welcoming the Dalai Lama formally. While the music peculiar to Lamaism was being played by the monk musicians, the Dalai Lama was transferred to another palanquin and entered his temporal palace of Khungthang. The regent made the welcoming speech and presented the Dalai Lama with many gifts. They made the stay at Khungthang for about two months.

On the 4/1/Earth-Tiger (February 5, 1878), the VIIIth Panchen Lama Tämpää Wangchuu, came from the Trashii-lhünpo monastery in Tsang province, in order to perform the Buddhist ceremony of tonsuring and naming the new Dalai Lama.

On the 7/1/Earth-Tiger (February 8, 1878), the Dalai Lama was tonsured, to become new adherent to Buddhism and was given the clerical name. Before that, he was still called Losang Thabkhää Gyaatsho, by his secular name, but now he had the new name of Ngawang Losang Thubtän Gyaatsho Jigträä Wangchuu Choolää Namgyää or Thubtän Gyaatsho for short. Before his hair was shaven, he wore secular clothes, but now he wore monk's robe. The government held gala ceremony and banquet placing the new Dalai Lama at the honoured throne. He was still three



years old at that time.

On the 18/1/Earth-Tiger (February 20, 1878), the party left Khungthang, crossed the river Kyiichu, and arrived at the bungalow temple of Rigya on the opposite side. The temple was situated about three miles east of the Potala, with the hill in the north, and the river in the south, and the Lhasa plains spreading east to west. It commanded a marvellous view, and was a very quiet temple. Here the Dalai Lama made more than a year's stay to rest and prepare himself for his future role. The Phurcoo Champa Gyaatsho, who was the preceptor to the former Dalai Lama, taught the new Dalai Lama as chief preceptor his daily activities as Lamaist priest, such as sutra-chanting, etc. and on how he should behave as Dalai Lama. It is said that the regent came to visit the Dalai Lama from the Potala Palace from time to time, and educated him to become the *Chöösii-nyiidän* together with the Phurcoo. The education the Dalai Lama received here must have been a very strict one, and when I had an audience with the Dalai Lama in his later years, he told me of his respect for the Phurcoo.

The Tibetan government was in the habit of reporting to the Chinese government on the process of selection of the Dalai Lama through the Amban. On being informed of the news that the new Dalai Lama and his party left his birth-place for the Potala Palace, the Chinese court sent the following letter. It was the letter ap-

pointing two preceptors to the Dalai Lama, from the Emperor Kuang Hsü.

“His Majesty’s personal letter, dated 23/vi, the year of Earth-Hare, the 5th year of his reign (August 10, 1879): Thungshän Jedrung Qutuqtu Ngawang Pändän Chööki Gyäntshän shall be made the chief preceptor to the Dalai Lama and the Phurcoo his assistant. The orders from the resident minister to Lhasa shall be obeyed concerning this matter.”

The Dalai Lama who had been staying at the temple of Rigya became four years old. In the sixth month of that year (July/August, 1879), he was to sit on the Lion’s Seat as *Chöösii-nyidan* at the Potala Palace. Prior to that, the Chinese minister to Lhasa went over to the Potala Palace to see the regent and attested the letter of recognition of Dalai Lama and the gold seal given by the Emperor. He gave the regent permission to hold the enthronement ceremony on the 13th day of the sixth month (July 31, 1879).

On the day of the Dalai Lama’s accession, the citizens of Lhasa swept the parade road clean from early morning and drew a white line in paint on it. On the roofs were there banners hung and five-coloured festoon buntings stretched. They took pains to make their welcome as complete as possible. On both sides of the road from the temple of Rigya to Lhasa, the monks from the three big monasteries of Lhasa stood in a file and the procession of the Dalai Lama continued from the temple of Rigya to the Potala Palace amidst the playing

of music. The regent, ministers, aristocrats and other distinguished personages, and chief monks of the four *Ling* at the head of the procession were followed by Chinese high-ranking officials and generals, and representatives of the peoples of Nepal, Kashmir and other outlying regions, each wearing their formal ethnic costumes. Thus peoples with different languages and in their native costumes participated in the ceremony in a dignified manner. In the center of the procession, the Dalai Lama sat in the palanquin decorated with yellow brocade. Young as he was, he looked self-confident and graciously received the welcome of the people. The *Biography* shows that the gladdening sun shone at the time and that the people were overjoyed. When the procession entered the city of Lhasa, *Mipön*, i.e., the mayor of Lhasa, took the lead with a bundle of incense rods held up high by his hand. The palanquin was lowered at the entrance of the Chokhang Temple, which is in the center of Lhasa and houses the image of Śākyamuni. The Dalai Lama bowed deeply in front of the image. Next he stopped at the image of Avalokiteśvara, which was 1,300 years old, and made a bow to it. After a brief recess, he was on the palanquin again, entered the front gate of the Potala Palace and went up the stone steps to the top. On the roof, at the Shrine of Cänrääsii (Avalokiteśvara), he worshipped the image usually called Lokeśvara by Tibetans. It is the very symbol of the Potala Palace and is said to have flown there from another Potala Palace in the south of

India when the former palace was being constructed 1,300 years ago, and has been believed to possess miraculous power. Then he bowed in front of the portraits of the Chinese emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty which were housed at the Sunshine Hall of the Palace.

After that the Dalai Lama was enthroned, attended by many monks and government officials, while music was played. The Amban, Chinese minister to Lhasa, presented him with the five-coloured *khataa*, scarfs of salutation. All attendants were entertained with butter tea, rice, cakes and fruits. The regent, high-ranking lamas, the Phurcoo, the chief preceptor, the Dalai Lama's father, ministers, Lord Chamberlain, and other officials offered the *khataa* to celebrate his enthronement, each in accordance with his rank.

The Emperor Kuang Hsü sent his personal message and gifts to congratulate the accession of the Dalai Lama. The Emperor also sent word to the Dalai Lama's father that he and his family would be conferred the highest rank of *Khung* and suitable treatment although he had been only a peasant. A family name Langdün was also given to his family after the name of the birth-place of the Dalai Lama.

The personal letter sent by the Emperor Kuang Hsü, at the selection and enthronement of Dalai Lama in the year of Earth-Tiger, the 5th year of his reign (1879), is as follows:

“To the Throne of Dalai Lama Reincarnated: It is Our greatest pleasure that you have been selected

Dalai Lama and enthroned on the Lion's Seat as *Chöösii-nyiidän* of Tibet on the 13/vi of this year (July 31, 1879). To the Dalai Lama will be given one yellow *khataa*, one portrait of the Emperor Kuang Hsü, one set of holy bells and a holy pestle called in Tibetan *Dorje Triibu* and *Dorje*. To the new Dalai Lama will be given the permission to use as before the gold seal presented to the former Dalai Lama, from the time when, having been enthroned, he writes a letter of thanks to us. He may feel at ease to use the colour of yellow for his palanquin, coach, saddle, bridle rein, etc. as did the former Dalai Lama. On the Dalai Lama's father, Kunga Rinchen, will be bestowed the *Khung* robes, a jewelled ornament for the head, peacock feathers for the ornament of the hat, etc., which he shall accept with pleasure."

There was a regulation at the Potala Palace that no woman should be allowed in it after noon. The regulation had to be complied with even by the Dalai Lama. There was no exception even if he was barely four years old. In the morning he was allowed to be with his mother, but she had to leave the palace the moment when the big drum at the great outer gate was beaten at noon. After that the *Simpön Chenmo* had to act as his mother and at times had to sleep with him. Until the Dalai Lama became of age, there were regular *abhiśeka* rites of pouring holy water on his head on the 8th and 15th of each month. These were the rites to drive away the sickness and other devils which might

attack him, and to pray that he would grow up in good health.

Now that there was a new Dalai Lama at the Potala Palace, the Panchen Lama hosted the ceremonial banquet in his honour on the 15/vi/Earth-Hare (August 2, 1879), placing him at the honoured seat. The *khataa* and many other gifts were presented to him to celebrate his enthronement and to pray for his future prosperity. For days similar celebrations were held by the representatives of the Künde-ling, the Sakya, the Näächung, the Tängyää-ling monasteries, etc. and officiated by the King of Sikkim, all ministers of the Tibetan government, etc., either as an organization or individuals. Many people came to Lhasa from as far as Kham district in the east and Ngarii district in the west, in order to be at the celebration. It was partly because they wanted to praise the virtue of the Dalai Lama and partly to pray that their own happiness be increased. Thus the ceremony of enthronement was finished. The regent reported on the event to the Emperor Kuang Hsü as follows:

“His Reverence Dalai Lama entered the Potala Palace on the 13/vi/Earth-Hare (July 31, 1879) for the first time and, at the same time, he bowed before the portrait of the Emperor Kao Tsung (Ch’ien Lung). On the 14/vi/Earth-Hare (August 1, 1879) he read your letter written in golden ink, gratefully recognizing that such a gracious message had come from none other than Your Majesty. His Reverence Dalai Lama



wishes to express his respect and gratitude for your benevolence from the golden country. Since the weather was observed and the auspicious time was chosen before he was enthroned to the Lion's Seat, I am happy to be able to report to Your Majesty that all went well."

## LEARNING IN THE POTALA

After he came to live in the Potala Palace, Dalai Lama's life was supervised by the three old monks mentioned above who were constantly at his side. Under the Phurcoo, chief preceptor, he was given instructions on how to behave himself as the *Chöösii-nyiidän*. The Phurcoo took the utmost pains to have boy Dalai Lama acquire self-confidence as the *Chöösii-nyiidän*. Almost every afternoon he had to give audience, sitting on the throne, to the believers who came not only from various parts of Tibet but also even from as far as Mongolia. When he saw the respect paid him by the pious people, the faith that he was the very incarnation of Dalai Lama must have been gradually nurtured in him.

He became 7 years old. It was time for him to receive commandments of *śrāmaṇera* (novicehood). Many officials and functionaries at the Potala Palace had been making preparations for the ceremony already. On the 6/1/Water-Horse (February 23, 1882), at the Central Palace of the Potala, the Tatshaa Qutuqtu

(the regent at the time and Dalai Lama's preceptor at the same time) officiated at the ceremony and the Dalai Lama received commandments of *śrāmaṇera* in an august ceremony. On this occasion the Emperor Kuang Hsü sent the following message and gifts:

“From the Emperor, who is the reincarnation of Mañjuśri, the Bodhisattva of wisdom, and the Lord All Mighty like Brahmā on the earth, the Imperial Script written in golden ink is sent to Tibet: We are rejoiced at the news that the Dalai Lama would be engaged in his learning more studiously than ever, so that the ‘Yellow-hat’ (Geluupa) sect would spread more widely and flourish in the world. It is Our sincere wish that Buddhism would remain on the earth as long as possible. To the Dalai Lama are presented, herewith, one emerald rosary and one jade ricebowl, etc.”

The *Mönlam*, the Prayer Festival, takes place in the first month every year for three weeks at Lhasa. This is the biggest national event and is said to have been traditionally held since the time of the historic Buddha Śākyamuni in India. Since the boy Dalai Lama became a novice officially, 20,000 monks from Sera, Dräापung, Gandän and lesser monasteries participated in the ceremony of the year at which the Dalai Lama officiated. It is recorded in his *Biography* that the people rejoiced beyond measure at the event.

There was a special school newly established for the Dalai Lama's learning at the Potala Palace. The

head of the school was the Tatshaa Qutuqtu, Regent, and the Phurcoo was appointed assistant head of the School. Losang Sonam from the Sera monastery and Sangpo Phüntshoo from the Gandän monastery were appointed as monks in waiting. Besides, ten monks were selected from the three big monasteries of Lhasa to serve the new Dalai Lama. All of them belonged to the Geluupa sect and were noted scholars at the time. These ten monks, who were to teach the Dalai Lama at the new school, were generally called *Tshännyii Khänpo*. Among them was a Buriat Mongolian monk called Dorjiev who later became a close attendant of the Dalai Lama. I shall write more about him under a separate section.

Now, what sort of education did the Dalai Lama received at the new school? First of all, he learned the Buddhist logic, which is the basis of all studies. In Tibet the debate method was adopted for the study of Buddhist doctrines, to which the logic practiced in India was applied. This is essential for the right understanding of the true meaning of any Buddhist doctrine and, therefore, he had to learn, as the very first step, the elementary logics at the class called '*düüra*'. Next he entered a class where he learned the doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā, the perfection of wisdom, from the *Abhisamayālamūkāra*. In the meantime he had to study the doctrine of Vijñapti-mātratā, the consciousness only, as well. Then he entered a class where the doctrine of Madhyamaka, the middle path, was taught.

The textbook for this class was the *Mūlamadhyamakārikā*, through which the doctrine of Śūnyatā, the emptiness, was thoroughly taught. The next thing he had to learn was the Vinaya, or the rules of the order, according to the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*. It is necessary to learn the Vinaya completely in order to lead a dignified and strict life as a monk. To finish up the learning of all the essential doctrines of the Hīnayāna or Lesser Vehicle Buddhism by reading the *Abhidharmakośa*, a compendium of the Hīnayāna. It was only after this that he obtained the qualification for the study of the esoteric doctrines which were considered the most important in the Tibetan Buddhism or Lamaism. As a prerequisite for it he had to yield to rigid religious disciplines. For example, he had to go through regular rituals such as the *abhiśeka*. These courses of learning and practising were specially organized for the Dalai Lama and rightly carried out at the new school. It must be emphasized that his teachers, all of them being authorities on the Pramāṇa, the Buddhist logic, taught him so that he would become able to analyze the subjects in every sphere of his study and to grasp their essence through discussions on the Pramāṇa. Naturally, these subjects, being highly philosophical and abstruse, are beyond the comprehension of an 11-year-old boy. Therefore, he could not participate in the discussions with his learned monks in an ordinary way. These must have been conducted with due consideration to his age. It may be also that these

were carried on in such a manner that he would gain self-confidence as Dalai Lama, reincarnation of a Bodhisattva ('Buddha-to-be'). In the last analysis their method of teaching caused for him to understand the abstruse Buddhist philosophy, and his confidence that there was nothing he could not achieve, too, must have driven him on further efforts to grasp it. His *Biography* says with admiration that his achievement was "due to the marvelous wisdom of Avalokiteśvara which is beyond the capabilities of common people."

By the way the debate method, based on the Indian logic composed of proposition, cause and allegory, was a very complicated one, so that the Phurcoo, chief preceptor of the Dalai Lama, wrote a manual named *Düüra*, simplifying and consolidating the debate method, in order that it should be put to the use of the Dalai Lama. Later on it was printed by engraved wood, so that it served as a very good guide to beginners' study.

Soon after the new school for the Dalai Lama was established, the Regent Tatshaa, who was in the service of the head of the school, suddenly passed away on the 8/IV/Fire-Dog (June 9, 1886). The government recommended, therefore, as his successor the Demo Qutuqtu of the Tängyää-ling Temple, which was one of the Four *Ling* in Lhasa. When the Amban reported the Tibetan government's wish to the Chinese government in Peking, it gave its approval, and the Demo Qutuqtu was appointed Regent and chief pre-

ceptor to the Dalai Lama.

Before the loss of his original chief preceptor, the young Dalai Lama had the first sad experience in his life. In the year of Iron-Snake (1881), he lost the VIIIth Panchen Lama who had performed the Buddhist rite of tonsuring and naming him and also had watched over him as his guardian. The Panchen Lama would have given the Dalai Lama the commandments of monkhood also, had he continued to live.

The Dalai Lama's own father, Kunga Rinchen also died in the ninth month of the year Fire-Hog (October/November, 1887). The Dalai Lama was 12 years old at that time.

At about this time, the relationship between Tibet and British India worsened, and a British force was sent to the frontier of the Chumbi valley and Sikkim. This was a big trial for the young Dalai Lama who had lost both his father and respected teacher.

On these occasions, what the Phurcoo, the assistant preceptor, did for the Dalai Lama was, besides giving him guidance on academic subjects, superintending the esoteric rites of bathing, etc. on three days in each month, the 8th, the 15th and the 30th, so that the Dalai Lama could maintain his health, both physical and mental, and accomplish his learning.

Even though he was not of age and while he was still learning, he attended religious rites as *Chöösii-nyiidän*, the religious and secular ruler. At that time, a baby born in the village of Thobgyää

in Tsang province was selected as the IXth Panchen Lama. The Dalai Lama invited the baby to the Potala Palace on the 15/I/Earth-Mouse (February 26, 1888), and officiated at the rite of tonsuring and naming him. The name the Dalai Lama gave the new Panchen Lama was Jetsün Losang Chöoki Nyima Gelee Namgyää.

While gaining these experiences, he made steady progress in his learning at the school. He now was admitted to the three great monasteries of Gandän, Sera and Dräापung, where he had to attend congregational debates at the seven colleges of these three monasteries, so that he could further improve his learning. In the debates his opponents were learned monks who were selected from all the monks of the seven colleges.

On the 5/III of the same year (April 15, 1888), he went over to Dräापung, one of the three great monasteries. Up to the time of the Vth Dalai Lama, there was the palace belonging to Dalai Lama in this monastery, and the then living room and library were maintained intact there. The Dalai Lama made his stay at the room for some time. There were three colleges, called Losää-ling, Gomang, and Deyang. The scholar-monks competed for the honour of debating with the young Dalai Lama who was the reincarnation. After the debates at these three colleges he went up to the college of esoteric Buddhism called Ngagpa, and observed the special rites performed there. On the 15/IV (May 25), he went to Sera. At this monastery



there were two colleges, Määpa and Cheepa. The Dalai Lama again answered the many brisk questions put to him during the debates held at these colleges.

These visits to the two monasteries were his first experience and were meant to celebrate the progress of his learning. The Dalai Lama's Palace gave banquets to the monks of these monasteries. All the participants were given butter rice gruel, butter tea, and a great deal of money equally divided among them. One of the old monks who participated at the banquet told me that the monks were overjoyed at the hospitality.

On the 16/v of the year Earth-Dog (July 4, 1888), he went over to Gandän for the first time. Gandän was the highest ranking monastery of the Geluupa sect, established by Tsongkhapa, the founder of the sect. His mummified body was entombed in the golden pagoda of the monastery, and many believers in Lamaism came to worship at the monastery, not only from within Tibet, but also from as far as Mongolia. The Dalai Lama paid his respect to the relic, and sat in the golden seat, which used to be occupied by the founder. At this monastery there were two colleges, called Shartse (east top) and Changtse (north top) respectively. At these colleges, debates were held, and the Dalai Lama gave clear-cut answers to the questions put to him by the scholar-monks.

Most Tibetan pupils who aspired to be scholar-monks were taught in their monasteries according to

the traditional system. To begin with, they learned the major scriptures by heart, and then they developed their mental faculties and got on with their studies by the debate method. In debating, the major scriptures and treatises had to be quoted to defend their own opinions and refute their opponents. But there were so few copies of the scriptures and treatises that they suffered considerable inconvenience in their study. Therefore, the school established for the Dalai Lama published new editions of many major works; for example, a commentary on Prātimokśa by Chim Jampää Yang, commentaries on Prajñāpāramitā and Madhyamaka by the Vth Dalai Lama and selected writings of the 1st Dalai Lama. Each of these new editions have a supplement written by the Phurcoo, in which is stated how its original text came to be written.

Since the young Dalai Lama finished his regular learning of the Five Great Treatises: i.e. Prajñāpāramitā, Madhyamaka, Vinaya, Abhidharma and Pramāṇa, mainly by the debate method at his school and the three big monasteries, he started hearing two kinds of lectures from the Phurcoo for the advanced study and practice of Buddhism. One of them is called *Thrii* and the other *Kachöö* in Tibetan, both of which are lectures handed down for many generations and revived only by a monk of virtue. The *Kachöö* is the lecture on a step-by-step-way to Enlightenment which Tsongkhapa described originally in his major work

*Lamrim Chenmo* in 1403. This book is the most important one for the Geluupa sect as a general introduction to the whole system of the sect and constitutes a synthetic description of the esoteric doctrines fundamental to Buddhist studies. On the other hand the *Thrii* is a lecture on various esoteric doctrines based on traditional practice and personal experience. In this lecture is told how an ascetic came to a state of *Sāmā-dhi* i.e., of intense concentration through meditating and making invocations to various deities in reading the *Kālacakra-tantra*. *Hevajra-tantra*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, and *Vajra Bhairava*. In Lamaism, it is a prerequisite to receive the *Thrii* in order to practice esoterism, so that it was deemed necessary for him to learn all of this in order to superintend the general mass as the religious and secular ruler in the future.

Since the Dalai Lama finished the necessary learning and reached 20 years of age, he was now to receive the 371 commandments for monkhood. Though he was already shaven, wore monk's robe and received commandments of *śrāmaṇera* (February 23, 1882), he still needed the qualification of a monk, in order to become a perfect member of the Lamaist order. All the preparations had been made at the Potala's Bureau to perform the solemn rite of his receiving the commandments for monkhood. On the 11/1/Wood-Sheep (March 7, 1895), he received the rite in front of the image of *Śākyamuni*, in the Temple of Chokhang in the centre of Lhasa. It was only Dalai Lama who could receive

such a rite there, for among the Tibetans, the image of Chokhang was considered to be none other than Śākya-muni alive. As was prescribed, the Phurcoo officiated at the rite and the Ling and many other high monks took charge of the details of the rite. The rite was performed in the most solemn atmosphere, to give the Dalai Lama the 371 commandments for monkhood.

Now that he had finished the rite, he became the full-fledged Dalai Lama. It so happened that all the monks of the three big monasteries participated in the ceremony, gathered in Lhasa for the *Mönlam* festival (February 25 - March 21, 1895). It can be easily imagined what a big event that was.

The Emperor Kuang Hsü sent the letter of congratulation in the v/Wood-Sheep (June/July, 1895) which reads as follows:

“The Emperor Kuang Hsü writes to the XIIIth Dalai Lama: I heard that the Dalai Lama received the commandments for monkhood on the 11/1 (March 7) of this year. I am extremely rejoiced at the happiest event. I do hope that the Dalai Lama will strive forward in furthering his learning of Buddhism and pursuit of his duties, so that the teaching of the Yellow-hat sect will be disseminated to the world. I now take pleasure in presenting with him a coral rosary, a rosary pouch embroidery with gold thread and a jade rice bowl, etc. To his preceptor, the Phurcoo, one roll of white silk will be given.”

## ACCESSION TO POWER AND THE REGENT

As Tibet was a theocratic country since the 17th century, the Dalai Lama, Pontiff of Lamaism, was the Monarch of the country at the same time. The country was, however, under the regency until the Dalai Lama reached his full age. In the case of the former Dalai Lamas, it was when they were 18 years old that they ascended the throne. In the case of the XIIIth Dalai Lama, the transmission of power from his Regent was delayed somewhat, until he reached the age of 20, after he received the commandments for monkhood. The ceremony of his accession was formally held on the 8/VIII/Wood-Sheep (September 26, 1895). According to the *Biography*, however, he had already taken part in politics when he was 18 years old. His accession was delayed not only because of the complicated internal affairs, but also due to the wish of Regent Demo, abbot of the Tängyää-ling Temple, not to relinquish the political authority for some time yet, with a view to acquiring many privileges. In fact, there were Dalai Lamas who, about the time of accession, were either

poisoned or cursed to death by socery. Though he himself did not seem to possess such an ambition, Norbu Tshering, his nephew and secretary to him, and others close to him were blinded by the lust for power and were committed in various political plots in which Demo also got involved. It is believed that they tried to work out something with the Amban in Lhasa by currying favour with him (see Appendix II).

Here came the day of his accession. The Dalai Lama worshipped at the image of Śākyamuni in the Chokhang and the image of Cānrāsii (Avalokiteśvara) at the Potala Palace to pray that the land could remain in peace and the people could enjoy their living. On this very auspicious day, the 8/viii/Wood-Sheep (September 26, 1895), he was welcomed by many officials and functionaries, abbots of many monasteries and reincarnations, and was enthroned as the Monarch to reign over the whole land of Tibet, the Snow Country. He was now revered by the common people as both political and religious sovereign, the Cakra-varti-rāja\* of this world. In order to signify that fact, he was presented with the gold ring of which radius was 30 centimetres long, with fine engravings on it, and made with 1.7 kilogrammes of solid gold. Also, four silver rings of the same size and another one made from an amalgam of gold and silver were presented to him to celebrate his accession.

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\* A ruler the wheels of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction, sovereign of the world, ruler of a Cakra.

The young Dalai Lama proclaimed an edict of five articles to meet the expectations of the people as follows:

1. *sa cha rang mtshan* (Clarifying the image of the country itself),
2. *mi rigs rang mtshan* (Clarifying the image of the Tibetan people),
3. *shes rigs rang mtshan* (Clarifying what Tibetan learning is),
4. *chos lugs rang mtshan* (Clarifying what Tibetan religion is) and
5. *gshis lugs rang mtshan* (Clarifying the national characteristics).

The Dalai Lama intended to deal with domestic politics and foreign policy, based on the unique characteristics clarified by these five articles.

In *Article 1* he proclaimed his rule all over Tibet, whose boundaries were traditionally drawn by the Himalayan ranges with India in the south, by the Kunlun with Sinkiang province in the north, with Ladak and Kashmir in the west and by Thartsedo with Szechwan province in the east. The territory within these boundaries is the traditional Tibet, and he hoped to conduct the affairs suitable to these areas to promote the welfare of the Tibetan people.

In *Article 2* he emphasized the individuality of the Tibetan people. According to the old myths, the Tibetan are descended from Heaven, or the Indo-Aryans, but the fact remains that they are of Tibet-Burmese race, quite apart from the Chinese or other

peoples. At times, the Mongols or the Manchus held Tibet and took suzerainty over the country, but naturally that was not the proper condition of the Tibetan people, and that was the reason why the truly peaceful world could not be realized. The Dalai Lama wished to establish with pride the Tibet by the Tibetans without being controlled by other nations.

In *Article 3* he proclaimed the necessity of clarifying the characteristics of Tibetan civilization which had been fostered through its own language. Tibetan people have their own language, quite different from the Chinese, Mongolian or Indian languages. They created Tibetan letters in modifying one of the forms of Sanskrit calligraphy about 1300 years ago. The Dalai Lama wished to reaffirm the value of the Tibetan language and the Tibetan letters which served for the dissemination of Tibetan culture for a long time in the past. It was also his wish that Tibet's own civilization will make further improvement and development in the future.

In *Article 4* he proclaimed that the unique and excellent characteristics of Tibetan Buddhism should be fully developed. The Tibetans said that there was Lamaism, therefore there was Tibet, and that their cultures, political system, etc. had an inalienable relationship with Lamaism itself. All the policies of the Dalai Lama's government were based on Lamaism, so that two-thirds of the revenue of the government was allocated for the development of the Lamaist order



and for the promotion of Lamaism.

Finally, in *Article 5* he proclaimed the superior quality of Tibetan people; for instance, they are very compassionate and very hospitable.

About 10 years before the Dalai Lama's accession, the Emperor Kuang Hsü sent the following letter to the Dalai Lama concerning Nepal:

“Letter written in gold ink, from the Emperor, King of Brahmā, Reincarnation of Mañjuśri, the Boddhi-sattva of wisdom, to the Dalai Lama: Concerning the incident in which the Nepalese merchant residing in Lhasa suffered the loss of his fortune in the Year of Water-Sheep (1883), I ordered to pay, on behalf of the Dalai Lama government, 67,579 taels from the treasury of Szechwan province, for indemnity, in accordance with the agreement signed between China and Tibet. At the request of the Amban stationed in Tibet, we have taken this step, in order to assume the security of the whole land of Tibet. It is our wish that the Tibetan people, in conformity with the old practice, remain a peaceful and law-abiding people and that everybody be circumspect in his actions.

Date: 6/xi (December 30, 1886)

Emperor's Seal”

The particulars of the incident concerning this Nepalese merchant are not known, but it can be surmised that the Tibetan government had neglected to make the payment despite the request for indemnity made by Nepal, in accordance with Article 9 of Tibet-

Gurkha (Nepal) Treaty concluded in 1856, so that the Ch'ing court, afraid of the ensuing troubles, took it upon themselves to pay the indemnity for the Tibetan government. The Ch'ing dynasty, therefore, must have deemed it wiser to win over the goodwill of Tibetan government, which had hesitated to make the payment, and give it the necessary amount.

. At that time, the Ch'ing government had been losing the authority to order Tibetan government around any more. However, the Ch'ing government, as an annex to the Cheefoo Convention concluded in 1876, gave its approval to the British explorers' entering Tibet. Based on this approval, Colman Macaulay, of the Bengal government of the time, received permission to dispatch the British mission, through the British legation in Peking in 1885. However the program had to be given up, just before the departure of the mission, on orders from the home government. On July 24, 1886, the Convention relating to Burma and Tibet was concluded between Great Britain and the Ch'ing government, in which Great Britain renounced the privilege of entering Tibet, which had been granted by the Treaty of Cheefoo in order to get more favorable interests in Burma. That was the reason why the Macaulay program was aborted. All this took place without the Tibetan government being let in on the thing. However, the record shows that in the ninth month (October/November) of 1886, the three big monasteries requested the permission of the Dalai Lama to hold a special

rite praying for driving away the foreign enemies, and therefore Tibet must have been alerted for the emergency. They were feeling a new anxiety and were wary of the British demand to trade with Tibet. Under these circumstances, the Emperor Kuang Hsü wrote the above letter to Tibet. However, the Emperor's wish was betrayed and Tibet advanced into Sikkim, crossing Dzaleb La (Pass), in 1887. Since 1861 Sikkim had become a protectorate of Great Britain, so that it requested Tibet to withdraw its force, but was not listened to. British forces advanced as far as the Chumbi valley in March, 1888, although it withdrew to Natöö afterwards. The Ch'ing government was aghast at the ensuing strife and dispatched the Amban stationed in Tibet to India for negotiation. After many and various negotiations, the convention relating to Tibet and Sikkim was concluded and signed in Calcutta between Great Britain and the Ch'ing government on March 17, 1890, without any representation from Tibet. The collateral treaty on trade, etc., was signed on December 5, 1893, at Darjeeling, to determine concrete measures. And yet the conditions stipulated in the treaty remained on paper and there was no actual progress in the matter. Instead, Tibet, which did not participate at the signing of the treaty, simply did not carry out what it was supposed to do. Great Britain began to realize that there had to be some other measures to cope with the situation, where China's suzerainty over Tibet was becoming meaningless. At

about this time, the Ch'ing dynasty was defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), and the XIIIth Dalai Lama declared the above-mentioned five principles of autonomy and independence concerning the Tibetan regime.

Under the circumstances, great Britain decided to negotiate with the Tibetan government directly. Lord Curzon, Viceroy in India at the time, sent a letter to the Dalai Lama in 1899, and requested that a suitable high official be sent from Tibet in order to discuss the problems of trade and the border. The messenger was Ugyän Kazi of Bhutan. However, the viceroy did not receive any favorable reply to his letter, and the negotiation which did take place afterwards was not a fruitful one.

The problem of trade between India and Tibet had been a pending issue since the 18th century. Lord Hastings of East India Company dispatched George Bogle, his secretary to the Trashii-lhünpo monastery in 1774, to have an audience with the then Panchen Lama, to ask him that he would work on the Dalai Lama so that friendly relationship would be established between India and Tibet and the trade treaty be signed. However, on the excuse that Tibet was under the suzerainty of the Ch'ing government, the then Lhasa government not only opposed the suggestion, but stiffened its attitude to Great Britain for the fact that it tried to manage things through the good offices of the Panchen Lama. Since that time, Great Britain

kept on with its patient negotiation, through the Bengal government, but Tibetan antipathy to them could not be eliminated. It was then that the situation as described above happened.

At about this time, the Dalai Lama had secret interchanges with the Czar of Russia. After they got the wind of it, both Great Britain and India could not just sit back and look on. Getting impatient, they tried to solve the pending trade treaty matter. However, on the side of the Dalai Lama, there was the secret agent from the Czar of Russia, so that the request made by India could not possibly be taken up by Tibet. Confusion led to another confusion.

What, then, was the secret agent from Russia? It was Dorjiev (born in 1849), who came to Tibet from Mongolia to study. His real name was Ngawang Dorje, and he was actually a Buriyat Mongol from Baikal. He studied in his youth at the Drääpfung monastery near Lhasa and after twenty years of study, he received the degree of *Lharampa*, the highest degree of *Geshee* (Doctor of Divinity). He went back to his home, and later came to Lhasa again, perhaps around 1880. This time, his return coincided with the Dalai Lama's schooling days, as described before, and he was recommended to serve at the Dalai Lama's school and acquired the status of *Tshännyii Khänpo*. Since that time, he was called by his title and came to be known as *Tshännyii Khänpo*. Taking every possible opportunity he talked to the Dalai Lama

about the greatness of the Czar of Russia. He said that although ostensibly the Czar was supposed to be a Christian, in his heart of heart he was a perfect Lamaist. The Dalai Lama was not without some suspicion at first, but gradually came to think that it might be possible. The *Khänpo* went on to persuade him that the Śambhala, the ideal world in the north in Lamaism, was actually the Russian Empire, and that *Rigdän Gyääpo*, the sovereign of this ideal world, was the Czar who came to this world to purify, but temporarily, for expedience's sake, he was concealing the truth, and was pretending to be a Christian. This sort of clever talk moved the Dalai Lama as an entirely new item of knowledge, since he was born in Tibet, barred from the outside world.

Dorjiev went to Russia in 1898, and met Czar Nicholas II at Yalta in 1900, and told him about the situation in Tibet. He had audience of the Czar again on July 6, 1901, the next year. This time he brought the Dalai Lama's letter and presented it to the Czar.

What Dorjiev brought back to Tibet from Russia were: more than 10 Mosel guns, watches, machinery, etc., including a complete set of a monk's habit of the Russian Orthodox Church. It is only natural that the young Dalai's eyes shone with curiosity.

Since that time, he wrote a little book on the idea of Śambhala and lectured about it to the faithful. Prior to this, in the latter half of the 18th century,

the Panchen Lama Pändän Yeshee wrote a famous book called *Byang Śambhalar skye baḥi smon tshig*. However, neither by Dalai Lama nor by Panchen Lama, the idea of Śambhala was emphasized before, and mainly observed in the old sect. Since this time, it was preached among the new sect, with some political significance. It is a very famous event that the IXth Panchen Lama lectured about this, in front of tens thousands of people at the Tzū Chin Palace in Peking, in 1930. With Dorjiev's very clever maneuverings, the Dalai Lama became more and more pro-Russian. Naturally this had great bearing on the negotiations Great Britain and India held with Tibet.

On September 2, 1901, the British ambassador to Russia made a stiff protest against Russia's interference with the Tibetan problem. At that time Russia adopted an expansion policy in Asia. Great Britain was suspicious about the Russian move, and afraid about the rumour that there was a secret agreement between the Ch'ing government and Russia. It sounded Russia's intention through the diplomatic channels repeatedly. Russia always maintained that it had no ambition whatsoever in Tibet, and yet tried to curve the move of Great Britain on Tibet. Great Britain had so much suspicions about Russia's activities for Tibet and influenced by suggestions made by the Indian government. Finally it made up its mind to dispatch a mission accompanied by "guards" to Lhasa. Although this

time the purpose of the mission was merely political, i.e., to make Tibet recognize the interest of Great Britain in Lhasa, it pretended officially that it had no other intention than the commercial one. As a reason for dispatching the mission, Great Britain mentioned that Tibet did not carry out the treaties concerning trade between Tibet and India, concluded between Great Britain and the Ch'ing government in 1890 and again in 1893, and that Tibet sent back the viceroy's letter unanswered three times in succession.

The basic attitude of Great Britain's advance into Lhasa was already firm in February, 1903, and in May the final decision was made, i.e., Colonel Francis Younghusband was to be the chief of the mission, with White, the Political Officer of Sikkim to assist him. Careful steps were taken in order to carry out the project, both in name and action. First of all, Great Britain requested that a representative of the Ch'ing government should meet the British representative at Khampa Dzong, accompanied by a representative of the Tibetan government, on July 7. If that was not carried out, then the mission was to make direct advance into Shikatse or Gyantse.

Tibetan delegates did show up at the designated place on the day designated, but naturally did not bring anything which would satisfy Great Britain; instead, they demanded that the British Mission should withdraw to the territory of Sikkim.

The British Mission was pressing that Tibet would



agree to the negotiation with Great Britain through Nepal. The representative of the Panchen Lama was also at Khampa Dzong and requested the withdrawal of the British delegation.

On November 6, British authorities gave the go-ahead signal to the mission. On November 7, this was notified to the Russian ambassador in London. On December 12, the British mission, accompanied by guards, crossed the Dzaleb La and arrived at Tuna on January 7, 1902. The reinforcements joined the mission at Tuna on March 28, and together they started for Gyantse. At the time the party consisted of 100 British and 1,200 Indians.

The first battle occurred a little after noon on that day. It goes without saying that the Tibetan were no opponent. What harrassed Colonel Younghusband, however, was the difficulty he encountered in securing sufficient number of horses for the transport corps which must cross the Himalayas and the complete preparation to weather the cold in Tibet. The Tibetan military forces had no training and no plan to engage the British forces equipped with modern weapons.

In order to cope with the situation, the traditional 18-60 force was organized in a hurry. That meant the men, between the ages of 18-60, excluding monks, were mobilized with their own food by the Tibetan government without any military training. Naturally they had no regular uniform, and were merely a disorderly crowd, mixed with the old and young, between the ages

of 18 to 60. The only tactic they had against the enemy was to appear in front of the enemy forces and yell at the top of their voices. Because of the yelling, the enemy naturally would assume that there was a considerable number of men in front of them and start a concentrated attack. However, at that time, the Tibetans had already dispersed and disappeared into the surrounding mountains. Though this guerrilla tactics harassed the joint forces of Great Britain and India who had modern guns, etc., it was apparent that Tibetans were against great odds. Since the Tibetans could subsist on *tsampa* (flour made from parched barley) and water alone, they could move about freely, whereas the joint forces of Great Britain and India who were unfamiliar with the terrain had considerable difficulty. On May 14, the home government gave the mission the go-ahead signal to proceed to Lhasa. The reinforcements arrived at Gyantse on May 24, and a more powerful force joined on June 26, adding 3,000 men with 7,000 coolies. In the battle of July 5 and 6, the citadel at Gyantse crumbled. On the 14th of July the joint forces left for Lhasa.

When it was reported that they reached Chushüü which is three days' march away from Lhasa, the Dalai Lama left for Mongolia to seek refuge, protected by 7 attendants. It was the 17/v (June 30, 1904). Losang Gyäntshän, the *Thripa* of Gandän, was to superintend as Regent. His brother, Champa Chöösang, was to see to the details of the political affairs.

The Dalai Lama crossed the Pänpo Go La (Pass) in the north of Lhasa, and by way of the Radreng Temple he entered a village called Nagchukha, where he prepared for the long journey to Mongolia, at the Lamaist temple called Drubkhang Labrang.

On the other hand, Colonel Younghusband, leading the expeditionary forces, arrived in Lhasa on the 22/vi (August 3), and signed the treaty on September 7, with the Tibetan representatives, beginning with the Regent, Abbot of Gandän, which later was ratified in Simla. The *Kashaa* (Cabinet), the *Tshondu Gyäädzom* assembly men consisting of religious and secular leaders and the Chinese representative stationed in Lhasa participated at the negotiation with Colonel Younghusband, but did not join in the signing. The expeditionary forces left for India as soon as the provisional signing of the treaty was finished, since they were not quite equipped for the cold weather and there was difficulty in transportation of food.

## FLIGHT TO CHINA THROUGH MONGOLIA

The Dalai Lama's party left Nagchukha, went up north, and in the eighth month (September/October) arrived at Tsaidam in Tsinhai province, and, crossing the area occupied by the Sainnoin tribe of Outer Mongolia, arrived at Kulon. It was already in the tenth month (November/December). Princes and nobles of many tribes of both Inner and Outer Mongolia came to welcome the Dalai Lama respectfully. The reincarnation in Kulon also came to welcome the Dalai Lama, with a palanquin for him. It was quite an unusual thing for the reincarnation, who had the highest authority in Mongolia, to leave his place in order to meet some one. Jetsün Thampa, the reincarnation in Kulon at that time, was born at the foot of the Potala Palace, and still retained the nationality of Tibetan. Besides, in the religious matter, he and the Dalai Lama had the relationship of master-disciple.

In 1905 (February 4 or 5), the Dalai Lama celebrated the New Year, on his 30th year, in Kulon. The Amban stationed in Kulon met him frequently, on the excuse

that he had to consult with the Dalai Lama on political affairs. The Russian ambassador stationed in Peking came to visit the Dalai Lama in the fifth month (July), and the record shows that he presented the Dalai Lama with many gifts. This would be interpreted that Dorjiev was still pulling strings at that time. The Dalai Lama became 31 years old in February 23/24, 1906. This was the second New Year's Day that he celebrated in Kulon.

This year he left Kulon, and after stopping over at the Kumbum monastery in Kansu province, he was to return to Lhasa and preparations were being made. Kumbum was in the sacred place where Tsongkhapa, founder of the new sect of Lamaism, was born, and to the Dalai Lama, who was the head of the new sect, this was an important place in his belief. While he stayed at Kumbum, he was busy in preaching and performing rites for the pious people, just as he was in Outer Mongolia, and could not decide when he should leave for Lhasa.

At that time, arrived a special messenger sent from the Emperor in Peking to the Dalai Lama. The messenger stated that it was the Emperor's wish that the Dalai Lama would come to pay him a visit in Peking. This request was made jointly in the names of Emperor Kuang Hsü and Empress Dowager. The Dalai Lama could not very well refuse the invitation, so he changed his plan and decided to go eastward to visit Peking. On the 5/1 (March 7),

1908, when he was 33 years old, he left Kumbum for Peking. The King of Cone, the pious believer, guarded him well during this trip, so that the Dalai Lama reached Wutaishan, Shansi province, in the third month (May), without any incident. From the foot of Wutaishan, the monks of all the temples attended the Dalai Lama, burned incense, and led him to the top of the mountain. Not only were there the palaces of the emperors of Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, but also a palace occupied once by the Vth Dalai Lama. For a while he rested at the mountain, paying visit to the famous temples. Abbot Kozui Otani, of Nishi Honganji Temple, Japan, getting to know about the Dalai Lama's sojourn there, hurriedly dispatched his younger brother, Sonyu Otani to Wutaishan.

Sonyu Otani arrived at Wutaishan in the fourth month (June). This was the very first time that a Japanese Buddhist ever had an audience with the Dalai Lama. He stated that since both were the believers in Buddhism, he hoped there would be closer and friendly relationship between the two and the Dalai Lama agreed to this proposal. There was an agreement reached that from both sides students would be sent to each other. From Honganji Temple, three sūtras of the Jodomon School, and the *Sanjo Wasan*, written by Shinran, founder of Shinshu sect, were presented to the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama in return gave *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* and a collection of

*Dhāraṇis* to Sonyu Otani. He also added that he wished to present a complete set of the Tibetan *Tripiṭaka* but since he was travelling, he would do so some time later. His promise was carried out in 1915. Tsharong, who later became Prime Minister, attended the Dalai Lama at Wutaishan when Sonyu Otani visited him. He told me that he and the Dalai Lama were watching from the top of the hill when the Japanese monk of high rank in coloured habit and golden suplice was coming up to the hill with many attendants. He told me also that it was the first time that he ever saw Japanese monks, and that they all carried themselves well. The interpreter was a Japanese called Sipen, possibly Enga Teramoto. The Tibetan record shows that the Dalai Lama met a Japanese general at Wutaishan, who presented him with arms and many other gifts. It was Lieutenant General Yasumasa Fukushima, military attaché of the Japanese Legation in Peking (plate xxvii).

It was related in the Dalai Lama's *Biography*, that he met a Russian Minister in the sixth month (August) of the same year. He was the so-called *Hong-se*, Minister who was sent by the Russian Czar. He stated that he had been full of respect for the Dalai Lama's virtue, and that it was a great honour for him that he could be given audience by the Dalai Lama as a special envoy from the Czar. He went on to say that since the Czar had not been blessed with a prince, he had requested that a prayer be said so that a prince would be born. Right

after that a prince was actually born. He looked like so close to a Tibetan, rather than his parents, and he was very clever. The Czar believed in Buddhism more and more because it was on account of the Dalai Lama that he could get his son. Therefore, he had a Buddhist temple built in Russia, and established a monastery of Lamaism, though it was not known in Russia. The new born prince was called "the Dalai Lama's prince," and was being brought up very carefully.

While the Dalai Lama was making his stay in the north, the Ch'ing government planned a new manoeuvre on Tibet.

The Amban did not put his signature to the treaty that Younghusband concluded with the Tibetan government, though he stood by, as was described before. He insisted that China had suzerainty over Tibet and that the treaty was not valid. He also declared that the Dalai Lama had retired from the throne, and tried to make the Panchen Lama his successor, while the Tibetans ignored completely the Amban's attempt. It was Younghusband himself who was most insistent when the treaty between India and Tibet was concluded. Next to him was the Indian government, and the British government was not too demanding in view of its relationship with Russia and in deference to international criticism. The expeditionary force was sent in order to negotiate with Tibet directly, based on the fact that China's suzerainty over Tibet was nothing but nominal. But due to the



refusal of the Ch'ing government, it took 18 months of diplomatic negotiations until the conclusion of Anglo-China Convention in April, 1906. By this treaty, the substance of Lhasa Convention of 1904 was recognized and yet Great Britain recognized the suzerainty of the Chinese government over Tibet. This time again, Tibet was not let in on the development on these negotiations.

The Ch'ing government was anxious to regain its suzerainty over Tibet as it once held before, and appointed Chao Erh-fêng as Governor of Szechwan province in August, 1905. He ordered the army into the eastern part of Tibet and occupied Bathang by the end of the next year and then proceeded to Derge, Thraayää and Chamdo by the end of 1909. On the other hand, the Ch'ing government notified, after the conclusion of Anglo-China Convention, that it would pay the indemnity in three installments. The government also appointed Chang Yin-t'ang as Amban, who was sent to Lhasa by way of India. As soon as he arrived in Lhasa, he drove away the British-Indian people, and eliminated the people who were concerned in the signing of 1904 Convention from the important posts, and pushed his maneuverings on Tibet. In August, 1907, Great Britain, at the intervention of Russia, agreed to conclude another treaty reaffirming the China's suzerainty over Tibet. Great Britain had intended to make Tibet a buffer country between Russia and India, naturally without

letting Tibet know about it at all. In February, 1908, the Ch'ing government finished paying the indemnity amounting to 2.5 million rupees, and then made the British-Indian forces withdraw from Chumbi valley. In April, the same year, it made the Amban conclude with the British and Indian authorities the details of the Indian-Tibetan Trade Treaty. Thus preparing for every contingency, the Chinese government invited the Dalai Lama, who was at Kumbum, to Peking.

In the seventh month (September), the party received the formal Chinese delegation to welcome him to Peking. Guarded by the army, and riding in a palanquin which had been sent by the Emperor, the Dalai Lama arrived in Peking on the 3/viii (September 27 or 28). He entered the Emperor's Palace, the Jen-shou Tien, and on the 20/viii (October 14), at the Tzū-yün Ko, had an audience with the Empress Dowager and the Emperor Kuang Hsü. He was entertained as a nation's guest at the palace for a week. The Emperor ordered that the Dalai Lama be paid 10,000 taels for the expenses while he stayed in Peking.

The Dalai Lama officiated at a big religious rite at the Yung-ho Kung Temple on the 1/ix (October 25). The Empress Dowager and the Emperor Kuang Hsü also attended the rite. The Dalai Lama, Pontiff of the religious universe, and the Emperor of the great empire met together in one ceremony and prayed for the peace of the land and welfare of the people.

While he was staying in Peking, the Dalai Lama met

frequently high government officials and ministers from various foreign nations. After the round of official hospitalities he retired to the Yellow Temple, which was constructed at the time of the Vth Dalai Lama's visit to Peking in 1653. During that time, it was said that he paid a visit to the Japanese legation and stayed for about a week there. I was told about this by Gonsuke Hayashi, then the Japanese Minister in Peking, after he returned to Japan. I also heard from Threekhang, the Court Physician who later on became the Lord Chamberlain, what sort of hospitalities the Dalai Lama received at the Japanese legation.

While the Dalai Lama was thus spending his days in Peking, all of a sudden, the Emperor Kuang Hsü died on the 21/ix (November 14), and on the following day the Empress Dowager also passed away. The Dalai Lama paid a visit of condolence to the palace on the 5/x (November 28), chanted a sūtra, and paid respects to the dead. Traditionally, it is said in Tibet that on the 9/x (December 2), he was requested to select the successor to the Emperor Kuang Hsü upon which he recommended P'u Yi, who was three years old at the time, as the IXth Emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty.

The Tibetan record indicates merely that the Empress Dowager and the Emperor Kuang Hsü gave him hospitalities. However, the true meaning of his visit to Peking was not merely the expression of friendship. At that time the Dalai Lama was au-

thorized by the Emperor to regain his old position and was given the title of the Most Faithfully Obedient and Enlightened Buddha of no Restraint in the Western Paradise. The first four words stood for the fact that the Dalai Lama was nothing but a vassal of China under its suzerainty. Since China regarded itself as the center of the world, if a person like the Dalai Lama came to pay a visit to Peking, then the purpose of the visit was thus interpreted. However, Tibet cast an entirely different light on the same matter. This is the only key to the Dalai Lama's going to Peking so easily without resistance on his part, despite his declaration of the five principles establishing the autonomy and independence of his people.

The Vth Dalai Lama also visited the Emperor Shun Chih in Peking. Later, when the Emperor interpreted it to mean the recognition of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, the Regent Sanggyää Gyaatsho refused to admit it on exactly the same reason as in the case of the XIIIth Dalai Lama. When the Dalai Lama received the gold seal and the title given to him from the Chinese government, he took it to mean merely the relationship of *chöyön*, i.e., Buddhist monk being received by the donor and worshipped by him. According to the Dalai Lama's belief, even if Śākyamuni was worshipped by King Bimbisāra, it did not mean that he and his monks were under the control of King Bimbisāra. He would regard that the same relationship existed between Khubilai Khan of Yüan

dynasty and Phagpa of the Sakya sect; and between the Emperor Yung Lo of Ming dynasty and the Eight Priest-kings. The Vth Dalai Lama established this relationship with Gushi Khan. On this basis, the XIIIth Dalai Lama merely went over to Peking to be worshipped by the Empress Dowager and the Emperor Kuang Hsü whom he regarded as big donors. When he realized that he had been trapped by the Ch'ing government, he was exasperated because he had no thought of giving recognition to Chinese suzerainty over Tibet by going all the way to Peking. It was simply preposterous.

It is said that the Emperor and those close to him were of the opinion that instead of treating the Dalai Lama harshly, it was better to deal with him softly so that he would be pliable. However, a part of the government leaders, including the governor of Szechwan province and the Amban, insisted that a stiff attitude should be taken towards the Dalai Lama, and requested to have the Dalai Lama go back to Lhasa after reestablishing the Chinese suzerainty firmly in Tibet. Furthermore, they attacked the Dalai Lama severely for the fact that while he was in Peking he associated with the ministers and representatives of foreign powers, criticized the Chinese policy on Tibet, and even went as far as to request their help.

In any event, it was under such circumstances, that the Dalai Lama left Peking. Chances were that the visit to Peking might have benefited the Dalai Lama

in many respects, but the actual fact of the matter was that he was completely at the mercy of the Chinese government's clever maneuverings.

On the 28/x (December 21), the Dalai Lama left Peking for the Kumbum monastery, where he arrived on the 29/xii (February 19, 1909), and celebrated the new year, the year of Earth-Bird (February 20/21, 1909). He became 34 years old. On the 15/i (March 6), he left Kumbum for Lhasa. On his way back, he visited the temples which had some connections with the Vth and VIIth Dalai Lamas, and stayed at those temples for a while. He was welcomed by reincarnation Drubkhang of Nagchukha, an important place in the northern Tibet, in the ~~six~~ sixth month (July or August), and entered the Shabten Temple there. The Dalai Lama rested a while there. The reincarnation of this temple was the disciple of the Phurcoo, the Dalai Lama's preceptor; therefore, they were fellow disciples under the Phurcoo and were close to each other. The Dalai Lama could really rest and feel relaxed at this temple. From there, he went to the Radreng Temple, and came back to the Potala Palace in Lhasa, nearly at the end of the year 1909.

## FLIGHT TO INDIA

In the middle of the eleventh month (end of December, 1909), the Dalai Lama went back to the Potala Palace, after his sojourn abroad lasting for 6 years. He was welcomed by the representatives of the Tibetan government, monks of the three big monasteries as well as by the people of Lhasa. Immediately after his return, he received a report from Regent Losang Gyäntshän on the political affairs during his absence. Soon after, on new year's day (February 10), he became 35 years old. At that time it so happened that the advance party of the Szechwan force pushed its way from the direction of Kham and was reported to be nearing Lhasa. There was a rumour also that they intended to capture the Dalai Lama in order to take him back to China as a hostage. The Dalai Lama summoned the reincarnation of the Tshomo-ling Temple, who held the position of *Gandän Thripa*, to the Potala Palace and appointed him Regent in order to entrust him with everything in his absence (plate xx). On the 3/1 (February 12, 1910), he entered the Norbu Lingkha

Detached Palace where he prepared for the journey. He left Lhasa for India to escape the aggression of the Chinese force. On the 4/1 (February 13), he could reach the crossing point at Cagsam, in rushing three-day's distance in one day. It was by the clever ruse of Namgang, one of the chamberlains who later became Prime Minister Tsharong Shapää, that he could escape from the pursuit of Chinese force (plate XXI). After crossing the river, they rode on horses for Phaari Dzong, by way of Samding, Dzara, with a short rest at the Ralung Temple. Thence they proceeded to Kalimpong, crossing the barrier guards and passes at such places as Pingping-thang, Rinchen-gang and so forth. Kalimpong was already in Indian territory, so that they did not have to worry about the pursuit of the Szechwan force. They rested there for 7 days. At Kalimpong, Kazi Ugyän, a noble of Bhutan, gave the Dalai Lama hospitality together with all his family members. The Indian government, at the news that the Dalai Lama had sought refuge in India, welcomed him as nation's guest and entertained him for about a week at Darjeeling. After that, the Dalai Lama rented a house belonging to a Britisher on Patabuu street and settled down there. Meanwhile for the reason that Szechwan force's aggression on Lhasa constituted a violation of 1906 agreement, the British government made a stiff protest and requested its withdrawal from Lhasa.

While he was in Peking, the Dalai Lama met impor-



tant people of various nations to whom he secretly appealed for the plight of Tibet. When he went back to Tibet, he was furious in realizing that he had been made use of by the Ch'ing government. He asked the help of Great Britain, though it was Tibet's erstwhile enemy. On the other hand he did not mince his words when he stated his indignation to the Ch'ing government. Arriving in India, the Dalai Lama rejected the Ch'ing government's suzerainty and insisted on Tibetan independence. He tried to get a favorable reply from the British side without any success. He also appealed to the Russian Czar, but did not get much result.

At the Dalai Lama's entry into India, Great Britain appointed Charles Bell, a civil servant who was stationed in Sikkim, and Sardar Bahadur Laden Laa, political agent, at Darjeeling, to be in charge of entertaining the Dalai Lama and to negotiate with the Tibetan government-in-exile.

Bell was responsible for keeping an eye on Bhutan as well. He was conversant with the Tibetan language, and even before his appointment, he had written a "*Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*". He was so mild in his nature that he was well liked by the Tibetans. Ladän Laa was good both in English and Tibetan, and he, too, was very clever and frank, so that he contributed greatly to the mutual understanding of Tibet and Great Britain. Besides, the Dalai Lama thought very much of him because he was a Buddhist.

Availing himself of the opportunity that he was in India, where Śākyamuni was born, the Dalai Lama visited the places associated with Buddha. It is said that the pilgrimage was conducted on a grand scale, accompanied by his ministers and others.

Let us turn, for a moment here, to the Ch'ing government, what they did to Tibet in the absence of the XIIIth Dalai Lama, while he took refuge again, and what transpired between the Ch'ing and British governments.

The Szechwan force's killing, looting and destruction were so violent and atrocious, both at Kham and Lhasa, that their action was often compared with the behaviour of Younghusband's expeditionary force. The Tibetans recalled for a long time the Szechwan force's aggression with terror. When the Dalai Lama fled to India seeking refuge, the Ch'ing government again ordered his dethronement and tried to make the Panchen Lama Regent. However, the latter would not accept the position and the former did not pay any attention to the declaration of the Ch'ing government. The only thing it did in Tibet was the establishment of Sikang province right before the downfall of the Ch'ing dynasty. Among the Tibetans, there was a general go-slow movement and everything seemed to be under the remote control of the Tibetan government-in-exile.

The military coup which occurred in Wu-chang on October 10, 1911, led up to the revolution in which the Ch'ing dynasty was overthrown. The Republic of

China was born under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, who was nominated as the Presidency of the Republic. He resigned the Presidency soon after its establishment, forced by Yüan Shih-k'ai, who took the reins of the newly born Republic by a show of his military power. There happened a big panic caused by the news of the revolution in the Ch'ing army stationed in Lhasa and Eastern Tibet. Order in the army disappeared, so that part of soldiers became mobs. The civil war broke out in Lhasa and its environs in which the Tängyää-ling Temple was burnt down. It was occupied and used by the Chinese army for the barracks. Finally the Bengal government intervened to deport the Chinese captives to Sikkim and repatriated them by sea. By June 1912, the Chinese were without power in central Tibet. The Dalai Lama left India in June, 1912, for Lhasa, where he arrived in January, 1913. Soon after the Dalai Lama's return to Lhasa in January, 1913, Tibet signed a treaty with Mongolia, which had a tie with Russia.

Yüan Shih-k'ai announced that all the territorial rights of the Ch'ing dynasty were inherited by the Republic of China. He not only regarded Tibet a part of Chinese territory but also tried to make Eastern Tibet one of the provinces directly belonging to the Chinese government. Though Great Britain opposed and protested against this statement, it did recognize Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, and treated very coldly the Dalai Lama's declaration of independen-

ce, answering the Dalai Lama that it would continue to regard Tibet as under the suzerainty of China. Yüan Shih-k'ai sent a telegram to the Dalai Lama, who was on his way back to Lhasa, telling him that China recognized his enthronement as the Emperor. The Dalai Lama answered that there was no reason for China to allow his act of enthronement. He refused to be recognized by the Chinese government as its vassal and declared that he was the Tibetan monarch. The Tibetans regard this statement as Tibet's declaration of independence to China. However, Yüan Shih-k'ai's government distorted the fact, and by the ordinance of October 28, it stated that the Dalai Lama expressed that Tibet belonged to China. The Tibetan government advanced a force into Eastern Tibet, in preparation for this kind of way-wardness of Yüan Shih-k'ai.

The Dalai Lama was naturally displeased by the attitude of Great Britain, which recognized China's suzerainty over Tibet. Rather, he was furious at its attitude, which neither killed Tibet, nor kept it alive. Nevertheless, influenced by the friendly hospitality of the British government to the Dalai Lama, some of his courtiers changed their opinion and became pro-Great Britain, followed by the other members of the court.

The Republic of China was surprised at Russia's success in Mongolia, and was afraid that Great Britain might get the control over Tibet, unless China did

something about it very quickly. So it proposed to Great Britain to have a conference, and thus the Simla conference came to be held in 1913 and 1914. Great Britain insisted that the conference had no meaning unless the representatives of Tibet joined, that it would not do to have only a Chinese delegation who insisted on its suzerainty over Tibet, when that suzerainty was becoming meaningless. Therefore, Simla conference was participated in by the three nations, Great Britain, China and Tibet.

The Chinese delegation not only insisted on its suzerainty over Tibet, but tried to include Gyamda within Sinkiang province, and repeated an absurd argument which had no historical basis. Tibetan delegation had Lönchen Shadra, a leading Tibetan minister, as chief delegate, and produced all sorts of literature to refute the Chinese presentation. Therefore, MacMahon, the British delegate with the assistance of Charles Bell, tried to mediate between China and Tibet from the beginning to the end. All through the conference, Tibet's final aim was to have Tibetan independence recognized by the two other nations. As far as Great Britain was concerned, it thought that it would be well if Tibet got closer to Great Britain, not to be easily influenced by other countries as it did before, and to help Tibet to have the stabilized government. Since Great Britain had no intention of recognizing Tibetan independence, it tried to pressurize Tibet into recognizing Chinese suzerainty. However, Tibet tried to

put all sorts of qualifications to it, so that the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet would be in name only, and completely without substance. After many negotiations the Republic of China refused to sign the treaty at Simla conference. Therefore, the treaty became effective only as far as Great Britain and Tibet were concerned. On July 3, the treaty was signed. On the same day, the Trade Treaty between Tibet and Great Britain was signed. After this, Tibet got close to Great Britain, under the impression that the friendship between the two countries was thus assured. Tibet was, however, over optimistic about it, and had to experience many disappointments later on by the cold shoulder Great Britain gave it.

## SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL RULER

After his long sojourn abroad, the Dalai Lama concentrated his efforts on the improvement of the domestic systems and development of Tibetan Buddhism. The fact that he saw the form of Lamaism practiced in Mongolia and China, and the corruption and destruction of Buddhism in India, helped him to become conscious that Tibetan Buddhism alone was the most excellent one in the world, and he was determined that he would develop and enhance it further.

Two years after his return to Lhasa, he carried on the lecture on *Lamrim Chenmo*, written by Tsongkhapa, in the courtyard of the Norbu Lingkha Detached Palace for ten days, as an indication of his newly acquired enthusiasm. What stimulated him directly was the request made by Palin Lama, an old monk who came from Inner Mongolia. Thousands of monks and disciples from the three big monasteries came to hear the Dalai Lama's lecture.

In 1918, the Dalai Lama went into the meditation to make invocation to Dorje Jigcee, the chief deity of

Tibetan Tantrism. He was shut up in a room in the Norbu Lingkha Detached Palace for three years. He experienced the invocation, attended on by Drubkhang, of a temple in Nagchukha, who fell ill and passed away during the invocation. Suffering from grief, the Dalai Lama seemed to interrupt the invocation, but he called forth his courage to continue the invocation until he attained its supreme stage. It was the most important and indispensable for the Dalai Lamas who were in charge of guiding the people as Pontiffs of Lamaism, to attain the stage of Tantric arcana. It was thus significant to prove his leadership by demonstrating his courage enough to accomplish this hard practice.

In order to encourage learning, he superintended at the examination for *Lharampa* candidates, which was the highest degree to be given to the monks of the three big monasteries, lest the degree should be given to some favorites without merit. In the appointment of abbot of each temple, the congregational debate was carried out among the candidates, so that the really meritorious scholars might be given the priority and there would be no favoritism, bribery, or other consideration to influence the choice.

One of the things the XIIIth Dalai Lama endeavoured to do was the republication of works on the study of Buddhism. First of all, he republished the complete works of Phutön in 257 books bound in 28 bundles. Its original text could not be found in Tibet, but in Mongolia. He edited the text by himself with minute care



and had them published at his own expense. Encouraged by this experience, he now planned the publication of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. In order to get the material for printing, he sent out people to Lhotraa in the borderland with Bhutan, and even to Bhutan. First of all, he trained the printers, and after finishing the necessary preparations, he launched the publication. In Tibet publication meant to preparing a set of wood blocks, so that any one who wants to have a copy can apply for the printing with paper and ink at his own expense. The Tripiṭaka had been printed in Lithang, Cone, Derge and so forth as well as several places in central Tibet for a long time. Until that time, the Nathang edition was used most frequently for printing, and so the wood blocks had been so defaced that it was impossible to meet the request for the copy. This was the reason why he decided to prepare the new edition in Lhasa. He began the work with the publication of the Kangyur part, based on the Narthang edition, with the corrections according to the Derge edition. Thus were made the block copies by which the wood blocks were engraved. Deyang, who served at the Dalai Lama's school, was in charge of the printing, with the assistance of Chöödra, a monk from Outer Mongolia. Every sheaf of blocks copies was to be checked by the Dalai Lama himself and the sample copies from the new wood block were also to be inspected by himself. This is the Lhasa edition, the so-called *the Authorized Edition*, of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (Plate xxviii). The

project of printing of the Tängyur part was interrupted by his death and was never realized. The expenses for publication were financed by the Privy Purse though it amounted tremendously, lest it should trouble the national funds. When the people got to know the fact, they were so touched that even poor people in Lhasa or as far as in Mongolia contributed the widow's mite. Many such episodes were reported, such as the story of a very old poor woman in Lhasa who sold her personal belongings to make contributions for the printing.

The Dalai Lama gave his careful consideration to promoting the study of Buddhism. For example, he paid a visit to the Dräापung monastery to rearrange the wood blocks which were kept there, but in disorder, in the Photrang's library in the monastery. This he did for the convenience of all the monks who were really studious.

After the Dalai Lama's return from India, there was peace again in Tibet and order was reestablished. He then started the repair work of such temples as Thrandruu, Samyää, Chokhang of Lhasa and the Potala Palace, which were historic constructions of infinite value. Especially, meticulous care was taken in the repair of the murals. The repair work was also carried out at the three big monasteries and other specially important buildings. After being a war-torn country, Tibet was on its way to reconstruction.

On the other hand, at the Trashii Lhünpo monastery, the Panchen Lama was responsible for having a big

gilt bronze image of Maitreya, Buddha of the coming world, and its sanctum with five stories, and held the rite to pray for the peace of the world. Both of these Buddhist leaders tried to maintain the dignity of Tibet as a Buddhistic country.

Tibetan coins in currency by that time were the silver coins minted by the Tibetan government and those minted by the Ch'ing government and coppers as auxiliary coins which were also minted by the Ch'ing government. The Dalai Lama wanted to drive away all the Chinese coins, so that only Tibetan coins would be in use. He promulgated the law to this end. Naturally there came a shortage in the number of coins in circulation and there arose a need for auxiliary coins of smaller denominations. He ordered the minting of the coppers in imitation of the copper and nickel coins of India. I was often consulted by him about this problem. I happened to find that the copper sheets which were imported from India for the mint bore the stamp Fujitagumi of the Kosaka Copper Mine, Japan. I also advised him that Japan adopted gold standard. He also decided to mint the gold coins because Tibet is a gold producing country. Unfortunately, these coins were of pure gold, and thrifty foreigners bought them up and they were absorbed by India, so that the minting and circulation of gold coins had to be stopped. Instead, paper notes now appeared to take their place. From this field, the modernization of Tibet was pushed by the Dalai Lama.

After the Dalai Lama's return from India to Tibet, he thought that Tibet had to become a powerful nation, in view of the situation abroad. What he planned first was the re-organization of the Tibetan military forces. He came to recognize that the traditional Tibetan forces could not cope with aggression from outside. He thought that Japan was a good example, since it had defeated Russian forces recently. He made up his mind to follow the Japanese system. According to his will, the Tibetan government approached Yasujiro Yajima, ex-officer who was staying in Lhasa at that time, asking him to be an instructor. Before launching the training, there were so many discrepancies of opinions on the selection of the training system, so that the government decided to adopt both the British and Russian systems, in order to find the most excellent and suitable one for the whole army. Accordingly, three troops were organized to be trained after three systems respectively.

Russian style training was given by a Mongol, who was from Outer Mongolia, at the site of the Tängyääling Temple, which had been burnt down, and the British training method was tried by someone who had observed it in India at the late barracks of Chinese army stationed in Lhasa. The Japanese training was given at the new barracks at the back of the Norbu Lingkha Detached Palace, by Yasujiro Yajima. The new barracks was said to have been built after the Japanese military academy (plates xxii, xxiii). Orders

were given in Japanese. He was employed as body guard to the Dalai Lama later on, and at one time he was one of the indispensable retinue when the Dalai Lama went out of the palace. Unfortunately, a handful of the people plotted his downfall and he was fired when the Dalai Lama went into meditation and never went out of the palace, nor did he give any audience to outside people for three years. It was due to some officials in the Tibetan government, who were afraid what impression Yajima's employment might have on Great Britain, and this fear was the major reason for his discharge.

Following this incident, the reorganization of the Tibetan army was carried out entirely in the style of the British forces. Tibet had to depend upon the British government for the supply of modern arms and bullets, since Tibet could not produce them by themselves. They had only the old style matchlocks. Tibet got 5,000 rifles and 300 bullets per rifle from the British government. At first, it was understood that they were free, but the Dalai Lama thought the better of it, and refused the British government's offer, insisting that he wanted to pay for them. However, the Tibetan government's finance could not stand the payment, and there was no other way but levy a new tax on the people. Except for the monks who were not taxed, every Tibetan had to pay the tax of 2 trangkha (silver coin). This was the new tax law called "amtram." However, since that time, because of international

considerations, the British government stopped supplying Tibet with arms entirely, while it interfered with Tibet's seeking supply from Japan, for instance. The Dalai Lama was greatly disappointed by the attitude that Great Britain took at that time.

Soon after the Dalai Lama came back to Tibet from India in 1921, the British king sent him in Lhasa three coaches with horses and a coachman ready. The coaches were sent to him in pieces across the Himalayan range. These pieces were reassembled in Lhasa, but there was no suitable road to drive them in Lhasa, so that the Dalai Lama could not utilize the gifts from the king. Therefore, he wished to have the horses put to practical use, and had one of the attendants ride on one of them. The horse got frightened, and the rider fell from the horses and suffered fatal injuries. Small wonder, too, because the horses had been trained as coach horses and not for riding. However, the Dalai Lama took all this in a Tibetan way, and attributing the confusion to British lack of sincerity, never gave another thought to the expensive gift. The coach-man who accompanied the coach and horses could not subsist on *tsampa*, flour of barley, and although he bore with it for a while, he could not stand the treatment any more, and went back to India, chagrined at the treatment he had suffered in Tibet. This incident was caused by the lack of understanding on both sides, but in any case, this was another example where the misunderstanding caused the Tibetans to have

less trust in Great Britain.

While the Dalai Lama made two trips abroad, he had the opportunity to observe the foreign situation. He made up his mind that it was necessary for Tibet to open its door to the outside world gradually. From India up to Gyantse the British had already laid the telegraph line. He thought that that line should be extended to Lhasa. About 1920 the pending problem came to be solved, and the Tibetan government was to bear the expenses when the line was extended. The line terminated at Lhasa Telegraph Office, via Norbu Lingkha Detached Palace, so that all the telegraph and telephone communications had to go through the Dalai Lama's living room. Thus he could tap the communications. His curiosity was very great.

In 1924, Tibetan government established an English school, at its own expense, at Gyantse. At about this time, it gave permission to the entry of a few Europeans, and Tibet seemed to open its door wider gradually. Prior to this, around 1916, British Mountain-Climbers Association planned to scale Mt. Everest, and applied for the permission to the Tibetan government. Naturally, neither the Dalai Lama, nor his ministers could understand the reason why these foreigners wanted to climb the mountain. It was interesting to note that they did not even realize that Mt. Everest was within Tibetan territory. The government turned down the application, but the next year it was accepted, on condition that the party would not come to Lhasa.

After this, it was made easier for the Europeans to enter Tibet. By these incidents, the governmental leaders and the common people alike began to realize that it was disadvantageous for Tibet to close the door to outside world. But the Dalai Lama had already taken initiative to adopt the open-the-door policy, based on the experience which he accumulated during his exiles abroad. Since Charles Bell, the British agent stationed in Sikkim, was a friend of the Dalai Lama, the negotiation between Tibet and Great Britain went on very well. In later years, when 4 students were dispatched from Tibet to England, there were some misunderstandings, and what with the trouble at the time of the military training program at Gyantse; the border problem in Mön-Tawang area in the south, Great Britain's decision to stop supplying Tibet with arms, the deception at the time of the investigation on mineral resources, etc. these incidents continued to give a very unpleasant impression on the Tibetan side, so that the relationship between the two countries was not so cordial as before.

In the meantime, the troubles with China in the Kham region continued, and both sides opposed each other, each with a number of soldiers. The Tibetan government had the Kalön Lama stationed in Kham and tried to stop China's aggression. When they were facing the situation like this, Lin Man-chin, a Chinese woman born in Tibet, and others visited Lhasa in 1927 as an unofficial mission. In 1930, the Yunggön Dzasa, the abbot of Yün-ho Kung Temple in



Peking led the official mission to visit Tibet and the party were welcomed. They brought the special directive and inquiries from the Chinese government on the solution of pending problems. The Dalai Lama took it upon himself to welcome these two missions without letting the Indian government know about them. It was only natural, in view of past happenings, that the Indian government was not too pleased about the Dalai Lama's attitude. This sort of situation could not have been imagined as possible prior to 1925. Tibet always replied to China that it would not yield a step on defending their stand of autonomy and it would not recognize Chinese suzerainty over Tibet at all. What the Dalai Lama wanted was that Tibet should be treated as an independent nation having friendly diplomatic relationship with China. Whenever opportunity arose, he used to say that Tibet had been a Buddhist country and it had to be defended from foreign enemies. Very often there were aggressions from outside, and every time the temples and pagodas were destroyed. With international cooperation, he wanted to have Tibet recognized as a neutral nation, like Switzerland, for instance, not to be attacked with military forces by other nations.

In 1923 the Panchen Lama suddenly fled from Tibet for Mongolia. The Dalai Lama was his senior by seven years and was the teacher for him. Four or five years prior to his seeking refuge, the Panchen Lama visited the Dalai Lama at the Norbu Lingkha Detached

Palace. They talked to each other all day, and the Panchen Lama almost forgot the time he should be taking leave. When he left the Detached Palace, the Dalai Lama took the lantern in his hand, led the Panchen Lama by his hand, and saw him off at the front gate. They seemed to be on very good terms, just like real brothers, and no one could imagine that they were estranged from each other. Actually, there was nothing wrong in their relationship, but among the high officials around them, there must have been some conflicts. The direct reason which caused the cold feeling between the two leaders was the Tibetan government's decision to tax the revenue from the vast fiefs of the Panchen Lama, although they had been exempted from tax, just as the other temples, so that the money could be spent on defence and military expenses. The Panchen Lama's monastery, Thrashii Lhünpo, fed and educated many lamaists out of the revenue from its fiefs, but because of the new taxation, not only was this made difficult, but also precipitated further the ill feeling partly because the high official close to the Panchen Lama was involved in other incident and was imprisoned. Perhaps the Panchen Lama wanted to get away from all this by going abroad.

From Mongolia he went to Peking, and in the presence a crowd of tens of thousands who gathered at the Palace he lectured on Kālacakrantra and endeavored to spread Buddhism. The Dalai Lama was worried about the Panchen Lama's fleeing from the country and

wished his return to Tibet. They exchanged letters often. The Tibetan government hoped that the Panchen Lama would not return home accompanied by the Chinese military forces, for, if that should happen, Tibet might be put into confusion again. On the part of the Panchen Lama, they could not quite forsake the suspicions they had, and his return was delayed. As far as the Panchen Lama was concerned, it was far from his intention to come back to Tibet, resorting to military force, while the Dalai Lama was still alive. He wanted to get an appropriate mediator. He requested Great Britain to take the trouble of interceding between them, but was refused for the reason that it would constitute an interference on internal affairs of Tibet to meet the Panchen Lama's request. It is said that the Panchen Lama was extremely sorry at this refusal. The Dalai Lama was worried about the situation, warned the Panchen Lama of making the round of China and Mongolia, and urged him to come back to Tibet by some means or other quickly. In Tibet, people were rejoiced when the Dalai Lama returned from his long sojourn abroad, because it meant that there was peace again. And now the Panchen Lama took it away from the country. The people were beginning to get disturbed. The general public were sympathetic for the Panchen Lama because he was mild and courteous. On the other hand, there were some who were critical of the Dalai Lama's behaviour. The Panchen Lama could not

rest easy even a single day for 14 years until he died on December 1, 1937 probably at Yu-shu (Jyekundo) in Tsinghai province. There were many speculations going on in Lhasa, too. The Panchen Lama, grieving over the XIIIth Dalai Lama's death in December, 1933, prayed for his quick reincarnation, and was in mourning.

## DAILY LIFE

The XIIIth Dalai Lama was born of a peasant family, but his physiognomy was dignified, and he had an inborn noble air about him. He was rather short, a typical characteristic of Oriental peoples. His eyeballs protruded a little, and were luminous and piercing. His earlobes were big and thick, and he had a fine moustache. He had the sort of character often found among the Japanese, very sensitive and of quick understanding and accurate judgment. His official residence was the Potala Palace, where he officiated at such rites as New Year's Day, etc., but normally he lived in the Norbu Lingkha Detached Palace which is situated a mile and half to the west of the Potala (plate xiv). It was on flat terrain, facing a river, and convenient for the Dalai Lama, who was fond of animals, to make the round of his pet horses and Tibetan dogs. He liked to live there rather than in the Potala Palace, because he was close to nature and could enjoy his life freely. In the Detached Palace were located the bureaux of *Cikhyab khänpo*, Chief Official

Abbot, *Drönnyer Chenmo*, the Senior Chamberlain, *Lamänpa*, the Court Physician, as well as the conference room of the cabinet ministers, the office of *Yigtshang* in charge of religious affairs and the private corners for *Sööpön Chenmo*, Court Chef to the Dalai Lama and other people who attended on him. The main building of the Detached Palace was a magnificent one. Behind it was situated the Cänsii Lingkha Garden or the garden for the intimates, with a pond and flower gardens where the flowers transplanted from Japan were also found. In this garden the Dalai Lama met and chatted with his close attendants. I had often the honour to see him in the small pavilion in it.

In the summer, there were four white-robed ascetics, *Ladööpa*, who guarded the mountains surrounding Lhasa and prayed for the control of the weather. They were appointed to do so by the government. Lhasa, including Potala, was considered a sacred town, so that no foul weather should ever disturb the town when there were green leaves on the trees. Therefore, these *Ladööpa*, in order to protect the town from inclement weather, were placed on top of the passes. They observed the changes in the sky, wary of the hail hitting the town at an unexpected time, and were to guard the sacred town from hail. Requested by the farmers privately, too, they were to watch the weather so that their holdings would be protected from hail. When the thick dark cloud hid the sky, they had to drive it away from the territory under their watch,

with their occult powers. One summer, when they were guarding each pass, a dark evil cloud sprung up from a corner of the sky, and while their occult powers were numbed, the hail fell on top of the Potala Palace, and the flowers on the roof-garden withered. The Dalai Lama was furious, because his cherished flowers thus withered away, and the four white-robed ascetics had to be whipped in the courtyard. Thus the Dalai Lama was extremely fond of the garden where the flowers bloomed all the year round. Once he requested Charles Bell, who was one of the negotiating committee members on the side of Great Britain and India, to have the flower seeds sent from London. He had them sown in Cänsii Lingkha, but no bud came out. He had his messenger fetch me, and asked me why it did not. Since I was neither a botanist nor a gardener, I could not think of any reason why the seeds failed to come out. But I blurted out that since the garden was on the river bed of the tributary of the Tsangpo river, it was sandy and short of fertilizer. I was hard put when the Dalai Lama requested me to prepare the fertilizer for the flowers. Also, when I was to return to Japan, he asked me to send him the seed of lotus. The lotus described in the Buddhist sūtra is not to be found any more in China or in India, but only in Japan, and it was a keen desire of the Dalai Lama to get hold of it. I asked the Botanical Institute of Kyoto University to send the seed of lotus, which was well guarded against the heat of tropical

zone which it had to pass before it arrived in Tibet, but before it reached Calcutta, it rotted, much to the disappointment of the Dalai Lama.

Since it was necessary to give direct guidance to the wood block laboratory for the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, ateliers where the Buddha images were painted, the office where the Buddhist canon was handwritten, and the mint where gold coins were minted, the Dalai Lama used to drop into these shops, which were placed in the neighbourhood of the Detached Palace. He gave his personal guidance whenever he went out for a walk.

The Dalai Lama's tastes were wide-ranged. He was good in painting Buddhist images. Granting my wish, he was kind enough to paint the portrait of Great Tsongkhapa and had the picture scroll done up with a piece of Russian weaving which came from Russia via Mongolia, instead of the silk imported from Japan (plate iv). It was very considerate of him and I can look back many other indications of his deep friendship for me.

The Dalai Lama was facile in speaking Mongolian. Minister Tsharong, too, could speak very good Mongolian, so that very often they talked in Mongolian about the important affairs of the state. He had very discerning eye on objects of art, too. He was fond of Mongolian chess, but never indulged in it except for in his rest days. Even if he was a spiritual and temporal ruler, he lived very frugally. He wore yellow Mongolian clothes, which were very comfortable and easy



to move about in. He enjoyed simple life.

All his meals were cooked by the court chef. His breakfast consisted of *tsampa*, the staple food of the Tibetans, mixed with tea. As side dishes, he had dried meat and Tibetan soup. His lunch consisted of egg noodles or meat pudding, or something similarly light. His dinner was mostly boiled rice, with vegetables and meat dishes prepared in a Chinese style. He ate only simple dishes and he seemed to have no particular likes or dislikes for food. As is the habit of the Tibetans, he consumed a lot of Tibetan tea from the time he got up in the morning. Tibetan tea is a very strong brew, mixed with butter, and then stirred up. It was a kind of soup, and the Dalai Lama seemed to drink about 20 cupfuls of it a day.

The Dalai Lama usually got up at between 5 and 6 o'clock. He performed the morning rite in his living room, praying for the peace of the world (plate xv). It consisted of the rite of the *Three Ratnas*, the rite of offering *maṇḍala* and the rite of *Snāpana* and the chanting of *sūtras* for the prayer. Then he chanted alternately one of the five *śāstras* which he learnt when he was young, namely: *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, *Madhyamākaavatāra*, *Vinayasūtra*, *Abhidharmakośakārikā* and *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā*. After that, he chanted *Thündruu Lamää Nääjor* to various deities in order to keep the supreme stage of invocation in his mind which he had already attained. All these rites took almost two hours during which nobody was allowed to enter his living room. At the

ring of the bell which showed the completion of these rites, an old monk in waiting entered the room with a golden teapot to serve him morning tea.

After breakfast, he looked over the petitions presented by the believers of Lamaism both in and out of Tibet, to ask his prayer for their own happiness. He personally took up his brush to write the answers. Since this was a task assigned him as Pontiff, he dealt with it in an easier manner, quite apart from his political stand. Therefore, he did not care who the person was, whether the request came from the poor or the rich, or from the noble or the humble. He treated all of them equally. When a person was dead, the survivors would request the Dalai Lama to pray, so that the dead may rest in peace in the other world, thanks to the power of the Dalai Lama's prayer. For this service, the believers presented with him a trifle gift. In the case of nobles, landlord and government officials, it was traditionally settled to present one gilt bronze image of Buddha, the believer's formal clothes, ornaments, a horse and a saddle. Besides this, money would be offered as one's own bit.

Since the Dalai Lama was a reincarnation who knew everything in the past, present and future, they believed him to be the great Lama who would eliminate their illusions and worries. Therefore, the believers itemized the problems which were troubling them and asked for his judgment in writing, on which he also responded personally. He indicated how to make

atonements for their sins by such a way as to chant a certain sūtra aloud, to ask the monks to make prayer, or to read by turns the Tibetan Tripiṭaka or even to offer gifts to the group of monks, each according to the believer's status. Though the answer was not so indicative, one could determine his own direction in the future. These kinds of petitions or requests amounted no less than forty items every day. He dealt with them all in the morning.

In the afternoon, the Dalai Lama dealt with political affairs. Every Thursday, at the Detached Palace, the cabinet meeting was held, attended by the Prime Minister and other ministers. They told him about the important political problems and requested him to pass judgment. When he did not give any judgment on a problem, it was the custom for the ministers to ask him to hand it back to them since it would not agree with his will. His exact decision on personnel matters frightened those who had something wrong in their mind. In his youth, the Dalai Lama was apt to be swayed by those close to him and sometimes gave unfair judgment on personnel matters. Therefore, among the subordinates close to him there were some who got important positions by bribery. But this kind of evil practice was gradually eliminated by his excellent political talent.

The Dalai Lama had to give audience as religious and secular ruler from time to time. He gave audience mainly on the occasion of new appointments of

government officials and the reception of government officials who came back from their official trip. On the other hand, he gave audience to those who gathered to worship him even from afar. All the above-mentioned audiences were given during the tea ceremony time, which was held every day between 3 and 4 in the afternoon. It was held at the central hall in the main building of the Detached Palace. The throne was placed at a higher place, facing south, and on top of throne, there were five-coloured brocade cushions, reaching 1.5 meters high. From the ceiling, a yellow brocade canopy was hung. On the surrounding walls there hung many painted scrolls depicting the story of Śākyamuni in gay colours. On the capital of the pillars and on the panels were designed flowers and birds after the Chinese fashion. On the brackets were engraved lion-dogs after the Nepalese fashion, which showed the origin of the Tibetan arts. The pillars of the inner sanctum were covered with gold brocade, and between the pillars were hung the banners and the incense-banner to which small bells were attached to make tinkling sound in order to give the atmosphere of solemnity in the hall. To the right of the throne sat the *Cikhyab Känpo*, Court Minister and *Drönnyer Chenmo*, Lord Chamberlain. To both sides of them there sat the advisors, people who attended at the Dalai Lama's school and Chief Secretary. When the Prime Minister and other ministers were also in attendance, they were given their seats at the back of the throne. On both sides of the front door

of the main building there were high seats for the four *simгаа*, guard monks. These monks were 1.7 or 1.8 meters tall and were carefully selected.

When the Dalai Lama sat on the throne, he started to give audience to Court Minister then on to high officials, in accordance with their status. One by one, they would advance to the throne and bow lightly. The Dalai Lama's hand was placed on the head of these people, and his occult power was passed on to them in this way. Those who were given formal audience would be led by the *Drönnyer Chenmo*. They advanced to the throne and knelt three times, and raised the maṇḍala gilt in gold and silver. Then they would present the Dalai Lama with Buddha image, scriptures, and small stūpa, which symbolized the body, mouth and mind of Buddha. The Dalai Lama received these gifts in person, and blessed the believer, by placing his hand on the believer's head. Then the *Sööpön Chenmo*, Court Chef proceeded to the throne, led by the Lord Chamberlain, with gold teapot in his hand. He knelt three times. Then he took out the tea bowl which he brought in his clothes and poured the tea into it to taste by himself. This was the tasting ceremony. After that the tea was served to the Dalai Lama with a jade tea bowl, which was followed by the service for the other attendants. Thus the ceremony of giving audience was finished.

## VISITORS FROM JAPAN

It was in 1908, as has been described before, that the XIIIth Dalai Lama had his first contact with the Japanese. They were Sonyu Otani of Nishi Honganji Temple, Yasumasa Fukushima, military attaché stationed in Peking and Gonsuke Hayashi, Japanese Minister in Peking. In 1911, Bunkyo Aoki who was sent by Sonyu Otani, had the audience with the Dalai Lama in Darjeeling. In the same year he brought back to Japan a Tibetan learned monk, Tshawa Thrirüü by name. He was the reincarnation at the Sera monastery of Lhasa and a distinguished scholar. On his return to Tibet, he was at the side of the Dalai Lama and helped him with his learning. He was then appointed as *Nangma Khyenchen*, Private Secretary to the Dalai Lama.

I happened to see Thrirüü in Nishi Honganji when I stayed in Kyoto to take the entrance examination of the Third High School. I was asked by Sonyu Otani, to accompany him to India and enter Tibet as a student. In 1912, Aoki entered Tibet by way of Kalimpong

where he had an audience with the Dalai Lama again. In Tibet he mostly learned Tibetan and translated such scriptures as *Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra* and *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* into Japanese from the Tibetan texts. After staying for about a year, he left Tibet and went back to India.

At the departure of Thritrüü from Japan in January, 1911, I accompanied him to India. I had an audience with the Dalai Lama at Darjeeling where he was in exile at that time. The Dalai Lama officiated at the rite of making me a true lamaist priest, and I was given the lamaist name, Thubtän Gyäntshän, which includes part of the Dalai Lama's name, Thubtän Gyaatsho. I was also given formal permission to enter Tibet and guarantee of many conveniences.

Soon after that, the Dalai Lama went back to Tibet with his courtiers, such as Thritrüü, but I did not accompany them. Instead, I learned Tibetan as was designated by the Dalai Lama in Darjeeling from a noble who was originally from Lhasa. The period of preparation took a year and half. Since the British Indian government were trying very hard to stop foreigners' entry into Tibet at the time, I went to Calcutta to pretend that I was going home to Japan. Then I disguised myself, and made an about-face from there. In July, 1913, I entered Bhutan as a Tibetan pilgrim. I was harassed by extreme heat, unbearable humidity, wild beasts, poisonous snakes, and was persecuted by the suspicious natives. In order to

beguile the natives, I was forced to walk barefoot. From the eastern shoulder of Mt. Chomo Lhari, I trod on across the Himalayan range, although there was no road to speak of. It was 35 days after I entered Bhutan that I could arrive at Lhasa. I had the most impressive audience with the Dalai Lama at the Norbu Lingkha Detached Palace.

At the direction of the Dalai Lama, I entered the Hamdong Khamtshän, the cloister that housed the student-monks, mainly from Mongolia. It belonged to Chee Khäämang Thratshang, the department which housed many scholars of Sera Thegchen-ling Temple. Since then, I spent there 10 years. I was engaged in the study of Lamaism in the same way as for the Tibetan student-monks. In the learning, I enjoyed the patronage of the Dalai Lama. He gave me personal guidance for my study programme and a personal lecture on *Lamrim Chenmo*. I had the honour to be given by himself commandments of novicehood and commandments of monkhood (plates I to III).

I was not the first Japanese who entered Tibet. Ekai Kawaguchi entered Lhasa in July, 1900. It so happened that the Dalai Lama was indisposed. It was said that Kawaguchi diagnosed the Dalai Lama's illness, after being introduced by the court physician. However, when I asked him about it, I could not get a very definite answer. Therefore, it is not very clear whether Kawaguchi met the Dalai Lama during his first visit to Tibet. In 1914 he went to Lhasa for the



second time and collected the books on Buddhism. At that time when I was studying in Lhasa, he could not have an audience with the Dalai Lama. I only know that he submitted the purpose of his entering Tibet in writing. I understand that the Panchen Lama assisted him in his collection of books. The Kangyur part of Tibetan Tripiṭaka of Cone edition was the gift of the Panchen Lama when he took refuge in China in later years. It was now kept in the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo.

It will not be necessary to mention Bunkyo Aoki and Yasujiro Yajima, who entered Tibet in 1910. As was described before, he trained the Tibetan army after the Japanese system. Thus at one time three Japanese were staying in Lhasa, and the Tibetans were interested in Japan. The Dalai Lama himself showed special good will toward Japan, as a country having the same religion. For example, the Dalai Lama sent a handwritten copy of Kangyur part of Tibetan Tripiṭaka to the chief abbot of Nishi Honganji. This was of infinite value and was kept at the Pankhor Chööde Temple in the city of Gyantse. This episode must be recorded as an auspicious event in the cultural interchange between Tibet and Japan.

During my stay in Lhasa, I often had an audience with the Dalai Lama. He regarded me as private foreign advisor to him and asked me about many subjects, as described in the last chapters. Besides this I gave him the information about the situation

abroad after the World War I, in translating newspapers.

I spent my days in the monastery as a scholar student, so that it would not do to have too frequent meetings with the Dalai Lama. I thought that it was better, for my own security, too, to live as an ordinary monk of a temple, so that I seldom visited the Dalai Lama. As it happened, a Britisher in London sent the Dalai Lama a lot of tinned food, but he never ate them. It was rather unfortunate, but it was his custom not to eat the food brought in from outside, because of the danger of poisoning. The Dalai Lama fetched me, and told me to dispose of all the tins. I tried to take all of them with me. He said, surprisingly, to take it back only one by one. What he meant was that I was asked to visit him more often. This was an amusing incident, because that helped me to visit the Dalai Lama more frequently in order to get a tin after each visit.

I have already described how frugal the Dalai Lama's daily life was. But, when he had to appear on formal occasions as a religious ruler, he wore a gorgeous robe and used luxurious decorations around him. The robe and other clothes were made of Russian or Japanese brocades, so that his dignity would be further enhanced. He issued a special order to Nishijin, Kyoto to weave an extra gorgeous brocade, with the design of phoenix and lotus flowers, and he himself drew the design of old Chinese brocade made in Szechwan and had it woven in Japan. When the material reached Tibet, he had

it sewn into *kuber*, the cloak of thick cloth used by lamas of highest rank, which he put on when he sat on the throne. He sealed it up, after wearing only once for the New Year's Day ceremony, so that others could not touch it. He took this precaution so that after his death it would cover his body, which would be placed in the Gold Stūpa. It was quite well known among the priests and the secular people in Tibet that he was specially fond of Nishijin brocade. I also dedicated a *kuber* made of Nishijin brocade, to the gold stūpa, which enshrined the mummified body of Tsongkhapa. The dedication ceremony was specially arranged by *Trungyii Chenmo*, the First Secretary to the Dalai Lama. In the autumn of the same year, I dedicated the *kuber* of Nishijin brocade to the image of Śākyamuni, which was placed in the main building of the Chokhang Temple in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama was so pleased that he paid a personal visit to the temple to officiate at the special rite, praying for Buddhism's everlasting prosperity and its spreading over Japan. I also dedicated another *kuber*, made of Japanese brocade to the Sera monastery, where I studied for 10 years, to commemorate the completion of my learning and to show my gratitude.

After my staying of more than 10 years, the time had come to leave Lhasa. I tried to collect the books and materials on Lamaism as far as possible. The Dalai Lama also gave me the whole set of complete works of Phutön and other rare books and promised to send me

whatever important publications might be made in the future from time to time and the Kangyur part of Lhasa edition.

When the date of my departure from Lhasa was getting close, the Dalai Lama sent me word that he would permit me to ride a horse from the front of the Norbu Lingkha Detached Palace. On that day, when I bade him farewell, the Dalai Lama gave me a piece of silk cloth on which his hand-prints and gold seal were stamped (plate v). I put it on my head and retired from his presence. At the villa of Prime Minister Tsharong, I bade farewell to the members of his family, and then looking back at the Potala Palace in the east, I took a horse westward. My heart was filled with memories and remembrances (plate ix).

In the 10 years I spent in Tibet, I was befriended by the Dalai Lama, Prime Minister Tsharong and other Tibetan friends, both distinguished and otherwise. Owing to them I could complete my learning. At the end of 1923, I crossed the Himalayan range with 80 horses which bore 4 sets of Kangyur in the Derge edition, 3 sets of Tängyur, and other Buddhist scriptures of about the same bulk as those sets. I had one set of Tängyur of the Narthang edition and one set of Kangyur sent by separate post.

The Dalai Lama was not only a despotic monarch, but was also a Pontiff of Lamaism, so that he was in a position where every wish of his could be carried out. However, as years went by, he seemed to feel his res-

possibility more and more. In Tibet, there was the system of *ulaa*, by which the people offered their labour without any remuneration for the government's service. One of these services included the offering of horses, called *ta-u*. This duty was apt to become an unfair one, because at such places where the traffic was heavy, such as between Lhasa and Shigatse, the people along the way were overburdened by this *ta-u* service. Therefore, the Dalai Lama decided to have this service charged, and tried to eliminate the discrepancy by areas.

When I was about to go home, it became necessary to hire a good many horses in order to transport a vast amount of literature and other luggage. It used to be accommodated by *ta-u* service, as courtesy to a national guest. Therefore, I anticipated that the transportation would be free of charge, being treated as an official duty. However, on the passport issued by the Dalai Lama, there was no mention that the transportation would be accommodated by *ta-u*. I told Tsharong Shapää my disappointment, and asked to see the Dalai Lama and pleaded that *ta-u* service should be accorded to me. The Dalai Lama took pains to tell me the hardship of the common people, and I had to put up with *ta-u* with charge.

Even after I went home, the Dalai Lama wrote me very humane letters from time to time. I learnt that there occurred so many things which worried him, such as the refuge abroad of the Panchen Lama and Tibet's strained relationship with China. Still under hard

circumstances, the Dalai Lama wished to establish Tibetan independence not only in name, and he did intend to modernize Tibet though it was not quite an easy effort. By his personal letters, and by the letters I received from those close to him, I understood that he was well. The one shown next is his personal letter I received just before his death at the end of 1933. In it the Dalai Lama expressed his warm feeling towards the Japanese. The letter is in a very intimate tone, dispensing with the intricate preamble which must precede the text of the letter on formal occasions in Tibet (plate xxix).

*“I write this letter especially for you. The information you sent to Tsharong Dzasa, based upon the spirit of serving for Buddhism, has been reported to me, and I am aware of the situation. While I was staying at Wutaishan, I had several talks with the Great Lama of Buddhism (i.e., Sonyu Otani, of Nishi Honganji), who was specially dispatched from Japan, and talked with him on Buddhism, especially on the Great Tsongkhapa, and other high monks of the past. Later, while I was making the round of India, I sent Tshawa Thrirüü Ngawang Losang Jampää Tändzin to Japan. At that time he stayed at the Big Temple (Nishi Honganji), gave a lecture, and after a while came back to me. A Japanese priest, Thubtän Trashii (Bunkyo Aoki) entered Tibet, and after staying here for over a year, went back to Japan. Also, Thubtän Gyäntshän (Tokan Tada) arrived in Tibet, stayed at the Sera monastery as my disciple, studied Buddhism*

*for many a year, and practiced the other courses required, and it has been two years since he went back to Japan. Next, a Japanese called Yajima (Yasujiro Yajima) came to Tibet also, and as my personal guard, and also as an instructor, he helped the Tibetan soldiers' training. He is already back in Japan. Thus the relationship between Tibet and Japan has been very close, tied by the common religion Buddhism.*

*In Tibet, which is the center of Buddhism, there still exist good customs inherited from the days in the past when Buddhism flourished, and administration is carried out in accordance with Buddhism. However, compared with big powers, Tibet is inferior in military training, and in all other cultural experiences. The Tibetan forces, whose aim is self-defence, are weak in its defence. Based on the customs of Buddhistic administration, we are carrying out the steps of strengthening the Tibetan military forces one by one. We are getting aid from the government of Great Britain, for the cooperation and friendly relationship between the two countries. It is my wish that the Japanese government will advise the Chinese government not to take any hostile actions against Tibet from the direction of Szechwan, Kansu and Yunnan provinces, which border on Tibet. It is also my wish to get the directives and explanations in secret, in order to foster the defence capabilities, for improving and developing Tibetan autonomy, from Japan, from time to time, as the necessity will arise. You will be good enough to consider the matter and report my wishes to your authorities. You will also be good enough to write to me what your government's reaction was to my proposal. I wish you will continue to supply me with*

*necessary informations, as you have done, for the sake of, and bearing in mind, the development of Buddhism. Tibetan calender: the Auspicious twenty-sixth day of the fifth month, the year Water-Bird. (Dalai Lama's seal)''*

Soon after I received this letter, it was reported that the Dalai Lama passed away on the 30/x/Water-Bird (December 17, 1933). I could not believe it and regarded it as a misinformation. But that was the fact.

He had a touch of cold about a week before his death. He was resting at the Norbu Lingkha Detached Palace where he was attended on by Khongphee, Lungshar and the Näächung Chööje. He passed away, being cared for by them. The government held many rites for his recovery, without avail.

After his death, there was a big rite of *Mönlam*. All shiny objects such as the golden roofs of the Potala Palace and the Chokhang, stūpas and banners were draped with black cloth. All the nation was in mourning. His body was removed to the Potala Palace where it was mummified and enshrined in the big gold stupa there.



## APPENDIX I

### DALAI LAMA AND PANCHEN LAMA

Tibetan Buddhism was brought into Tibet during the reign of King Songtsän Gampo (617 ca-650), and it is said that it was during the reign of King Thrisong Detsän (742-797), when it was spread among the people in earnest. However, the Buddhism of this type was forbidden during the reign of King Langdarma (803-846), and the spreading of Buddhism had to be discontinued. From the latter half of 10th century to the middle of 11th century, the resurgence movement was started and the feudal lords who mainly occupied the local areas became the supporters of the temples, introduced the new sects of Buddhism, and established various monasteries of Buddhism, which lasted until today. Compared with the *Ngadar*, which was once discontinued, the new sects are called *Chidar*. The major sectors are: the Kadampa of Atisha and Dromtön; the Kagyüüpa of Marpa; the Sakyapa of Drogmi Lotsaawa; of which, the Kadampa was developed and merged into the new Kadampa, i.e., Geluupa, after the emergence of famous Tsonkhapa Losang Thragpää

Pää (1357-1419), and its revolutionary sect swept the land. As his disciples there were many excellent people; there are 7 outstanding ones, among whom, Panchen Gendün Thrub (1391-1475), who constructed the Trashii-lhünpo monastery and Khäädhubje Gelee Pändän Sangpo (1385-1438), who became the third abbot of Gandän, were especially outstanding. The former became the founder of the successive Dalai Lamas and the latter, the successive Panchen Lamas. However, it is of considerable later period that these two leaders came to be named as Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama respectively.

Tsongkhapa Losang Thragpää Pää built the Gandän monastery in 1409, which became the center of this Geluupa sect. In 1416, Jamyang Chööje Trashii Pändän (1379-1449) built the Pändän Dräapung monastery, and in 1419 Chamchen Chööje Shaakya Yeshee built Sera Thegchen-ling in preparation for Geluupa rule over the Ü region.

As a reincarnation of Gendün-drub, who passed away in 1475, Gendün Gyaatsho was born near Tanaa Dorjedän, in Tsang. In 1509, he established the Chönkhorgyää and became abbot of Trashii Lhünpo in 1512 and abbot of the Dräapung monastery in 1517, and after 1526, he became the abbot of the Sera monastery.

He was chosen for the first time as reincarnation at Geluupa, so that he seemed to have had special treatment since his early age. At that time, Kagyüüpa,

especially Karma Sha Marpa, in opposition to the spread of Geluupa, instigated the force of Tsang, infiltrated Kyiishöö of Ü, and eliminated Geluupa from *Mönlam Chenmo*. Then, thus pressed, Geluupa, had to have a leader of its sect, and made Gendün Gyaatsho as monarch of Geluupa in 1517, having the abbot of Gandän monastery as its subordinate, and installed him as abbot of the Dräापung monastery. In the same year, the leadership of *Mönlam* in Lhasa again belonged to Geluupa. This is the beginning of Dalai Lama who is the chief leader of Geluupa.

It was in 1542 when Gendün Gyaatsho died, and his reincarnation, Sonam Gyaatsho, was born in 1543, the next year, at Kyiishöö. Naturally he was the sole leader of Gedänpa the moment he was born. At 10 years old (1549), he was enthroned as the abbot of the Dräापung monastery and when he was 16 years old (1558), he was the abbot of Sera concurrently. As he grew up, he had the great hope of all the pious belonging to his sect, and left for Mongolia, to spread religion in competition with the Karmapa sect. In 1577, he subdued Thumee Althan Khan, the hero at the time, who worshipped him. He was presented with the title of "Dorjechang Taalää Lama."

This is the beginning of the title of Dalai Lama. Since that time, successive Dalai Lamas included Gyaatsho, a Tibetan word corresponding to Dalai, in their names without fail.

This particular Dalai Lama passed away in 1588 and

his reincarnation was chosen among the relatives of Althan Khan. This is Yöntän Gyaatsho, who was born in 1589, a Mongolian who became the IVth Dalai Lama. When he was 15 years old, he was brought to Tibet, and after he became a full fledged Buddhist monk, he was made the abbot of the two monasteries Dräापung and Sera (1603). During his reign, too, his sect was oppressed by the force of Tsang, and in 1610, Karma Phüntshoo Namgyää advanced his force to Ü, and the Dalai Lama was unable to return to Dräापung until the next year. In 1616, he passed away at 28 years of age, and famous Ngaawang Losang Gyaatsho, who was said to be Ngapa Chenpo, the Great Fifth, was born at Yarlung Chonggyää, in 1617. When he was 6 years old, in 1622, he was enthroned at the two monasteries, Dräापung and Sera. The Oppression of Karmapa and Tsang, which had continued since his predecessor's time, further limited the development of Geluupa. The leaders at the time who had the young Vth Dalai Lama as the Pontiff were: on religious affairs, the later Panchen Lama, Chööki Gyäntshän, and on political affairs, Sonam Rabtän (Sonam Chönphee). After many vicissitudes, Geluupa had as his supporter Thorobeehu Gushi Gegen Khan of Oirat. The latter conquered the whole area of Tibet in 1642, dedicated the authority to the Dalai Lama, and he himself became the guardian of the Dalai Lama, superintending all the military authority. As mudane regent, Sonam Chönphee was appointed.

This is the first time that Dalai Lama came to grasp the sovereign right in Tibet, and is regarded as the birth of the Dalai Lama government. However, until Thorobeehu Gushi Gegen Khan died in 1654, he was the virtual Tibetan king. When Sonam Chönphee died in 1658, the Vth Dalai Lama came to govern the country directly, and although Tändzin Dayan Khan, son of Thorobeehu Gushi Gegen Khan was given a title from the Dalai Lama in 1660, he had no actual authority concerning Tibet any more, and Tändzin Dalai Khan, who succeeded him, was merely a protector or a donor of Geluupa. Thus Dalai Lama's political authority came to be established, and by the appointment of Sanggyää Gyaatsho, Regent, in 1679, the *fait accompli* became irrevocable.

In 1642, when Dalai Lama was endowed with the political authority, Sonam Chönphee was appointed Regent, and Losang Chööki Gyäntshän (1570-1662), who had rendered great religious service, was given the title of Panchen Lama, and was praised. It was decided that the abbotship of the Trashii-lhünpo was to be assumed by the reincarnations of the Panchen Lama. This is the beginning of the Panchen Lama in history. This Panchen Lama was a great man, who had been the abbot of Trashii-lhünpo in 1601 already, and from 1617 to 1621, combined the abbotship of Sera and Drääpfung monasteries. He was the instructor for both the IVth and Vth Dalai Lama. Before him the abbot of Trashii Lhünpo was someone

who was selected, in the same way as the abbot of the Gandän monastery, but perhaps in view of the political consideration of Geluupa on Tsang, a monarch was called for. Later, as the ancestors of the Panchen Lama, the following persons were recognized.

Khäädrub Gelee Pää Sangpo (1385-1438)

Sonam Chööki Langpo (1439-1504)

Ensapa Losang Thöndrub (1505-1565/6)

Sometimes, his ancestor is traced back to Paṇḍita Künga Gyäntshän, and Yungtön Dorje Pää, but they came to be added at a later time.

It is sometimes said that the Panchen Lama is the auxiliary king, but politically there is no such system in Tibet. Later, during the Ch'ing dynasty, merely because of its policy, he was treated as being so, and was utilized for the Ch'ing dynasty's policy of divide-and-rule between Ü and Tsang.

The Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama sometimes act as instructors or disciples of each other, but as far as the religious status is concerned, the Panchen Lama always holds the secondary position. The two positions, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, had been succeeded by babies who have been recognized as their reincarnations until today.

## APPENDIX II

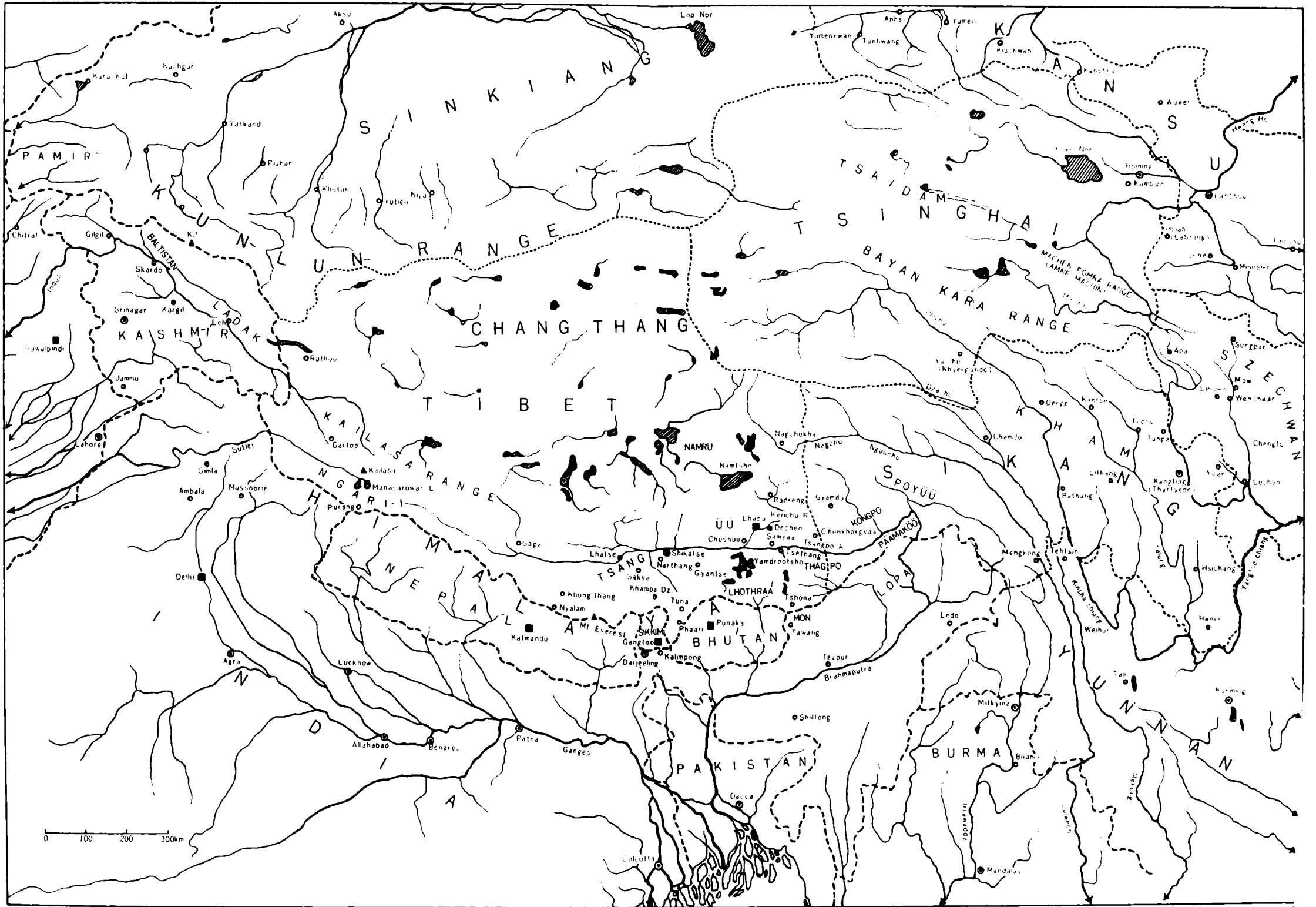
### THE DEMO INCIDENT

The Demo Qutuqtu, Abbot of the Tängyää-ling Temple, was appointed Regent at the death of his predecessor, Tatshaa Qutuqtu on June 9, 1886. The Tängyää-ling Temple was one of the four temples which shared the privileges of supplying a regent during the minorities of Dalai Lamas. He resigned the office in 1895, when the XIIIth Dalai Lama reached at the age of twenty and received the commandments for monkhood. Traditionally, the transmission of political powers from a regent to a Dalai Lama was carried out when the latter reached at the age of eighteen. In the case of the XIIIth Dalai Lama, it was delayed somewhat.

It is widely believed that Norbu Tshering, his nephew and secretary to him hatched a political plot to overthrow the Dalai Lama regime and to establish the Demo regime, with the assistance of his colleagues and in favour of the Amban. It so happened, at that time, that an attempt at cursing the Dalai Lama was revealed. The *Biography* related that the reading of the Dalai Lama's dreams by a Nyingmaapa monk made him

uneasy and that upon his asking, the Näächung Chööje gave him a hint of the existence of an attempt. In looking around, scrolls of paper on which a spell was written were found in his shoes and under his saddle, which might have been placed in trying to curse him to die. As he had already had the political powers in his hand, he at once ordered the questioning of the suspects. It was made clear that a certain Lama of Nyarong who lived in Kham committed the attempt in obedience to the order of the ex-Regent Demo. The Dalai Lama ordered to arrest the ex-Regent and his relatives and put them in jail. They were treated so harshly that they all died soon in jail. The Demo's property was confiscated to the government and the fiefs of the Tängyää-ling Temple were divided among the other temples. The Temple was placed under the control of the government. This incident was the cause of the ill-feeling against the Dalai Lama of the people who favoured the Tängyää-ling Temple. Since then he was criticized about it constantly.







## Comparative List of the Tibetan Transcriptions and Transliterations

Altan Khan (al tan khang)	Chöödra (chos grwa)
Amban (am ban)	Chöoyön (mchod yon)
Amtram (am ʧam)	Chushüü (chu shul)
Atisha (a ti sha)	Cikhyab Khänpo (spyi khyab mkhan po)
Bathang ('ba' thang)	Cone (co ne)
Cagsam (lcags zam)	Dalai Lama (tä la'i bla ma)
Cänrääsii (spyän ras gzigs)	Darjeeling (rdo rje gling)
Cänsii Lingkha (spyän gzigs gling kha)	Dechen (bde chen)
Chamchen Chöoje Shaakya Yeshee (byams chen chos rje shā kya ye shes)	Demo Qutuqtu (de mo ho thog thu)
Chamdo (chab mdo)	Derge (sde dge)
Champa Chöösang (byams pa chos bzang)	Desii (sde srid)
Changtse (byang rtse)	Deyang (bde dbyangs)
Chee Khäämang Thratshang (byes mkhas mang grwa tshang)	Dorje (rdo rje)
Cheepa (byes pa)	Dorjechang Taalää'Lama (rdo rje 'chang tä la'i bla ma)
Chidar (phyi dar)	Dorje Jigcee (rdo rje 'jigs byed)
Chim Jampää Yang (mchims 'jam dpal dbyangs)	Dorje Thriibu (rdo rje dril bu)
Chokhang (jo khang)	Dokhar (mdo mkhar)
Chomo Lhari (jo mo lha ri)	Dräapung ('bras spungs)
Chönkhorgyää (chos 'khor rgyal)	Drogmi Lotsaawa ('brog mi lo tsä ba)
Chööki Gyäntshän (chos kyi rgyal mtshan)	Dromtön ('brom ston)
Chööpön Chenmo (mchod dpon chen mo)	Drönnyer Chenmo (mgron gnyer chen mo)
Chöösii-nyiidän (chos srid gnyis ldan)	Drubkhang (sgrub khang)
	Drubkhang Labrang (sgrub khang bla brang)
	Düüra (bsdus grwa)
	Dzara (rdza ra)

Dzaleb La (rdza leb la)	Kalön Lama (bka' blon bla ma)
Ensapa Losang Thöndrub (dben sa pa blo bzang don sgrub)	Kangyur (bka' 'gyur)
Gandän (dga' ldan)	Karmapa (karma pa)
Gandän Thripa (dga' ldan khri pa)	Karma Phüntshoo Namgyää (karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal)
Gedänpa (dge ldan pa)	Karma Sha Marpa (karma zhwa dmar pa)
Gendün Gyaatsho (dge 'dun rgya mtsho)	Kazi Ugyän (ka ci u rgyan)
Gendün-drub (dge 'dun grub)	Kashaa (bka' shag)
Geluupa (dge lugs pa)	Kham (khams)
Geshee (dge bshes)	Khampa Dzong (gam pa rdzong)
Gomang (sgo mang)	Khataa (kha btags)
Gushi Khan (gu shri khang)	Khänpo (mkhan po)
Gyaatsho (rgya mtsho)	Khäädрубje Gelee Pändän Sangpo (mkhas grub rje dge legs dpal ldan bzang po)
Gyamda (rgya mda')	Khäädрубje Gelee Pää Sangpo (mkhas grub rje deg legs dpal bzang po)
Gyantse (rgyal rtse)	Khongphee (gong 'phel) khung (gung)
Hamdong Khamtshän (har gdong khams tshan)	Khungthang (gung thang)
Hongse (hong se)	Kuber (sku ber)
Jamyang Chööje Trashii Pändän ('jam dbyangs chos rje bkra shis dpal ldan)	Kumbum (sku 'bum)
Jetsün Losang Chööki Nyima Gelee Namgyää (rje btsun blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma dge legs rnam rgyal)	Künde-ling (kun bde gling)
Jetsün Thampa (rje btsun dam pa)	Künga Rinchen (kun dga' rin chen)
Jyekundo (skye rgu mdo) (khyer dgun mdo)	Kyiichu (skyid chu)
Kachöö (bka' chos)	Kyiishöö (skyid shod)
Kadampa (bka' gdams pa)	Ladän Laa (legs lldan lags)
Kagyüüpa (bka' brgyud pa)	Ladööpa (la sdod pa)
Kalimpong (bka' blon sbug) (ka li spungs)	Lamänpa (bla sman pa)
	Lamrim Chenmo (lam rim chen mo)

Langdarma (glang dar ma)	Namgang (gnam gang)
Langdün (glang mdun)	Nangma Khyenchen (nang ma mkhyen chen)
Lhamöo Lamtsho (lha mo'i bla mtsho)	Narthang (snar thang)
Lharampa (lha rams pa)	Natöo (sna stod)
Lhasa (lha sa)	Näächung (gnas chung)
Lhotraa (lho brag)	Näächung Chööje (gnas chung chos rje)
Ling (gling)	Näächung Chöökyong (gnas chung chos skyong)
Lithang (li thang)	Ngadar (sngad dar)
Losang Chönphee (blo bzang chos 'phel)	Ngagpa (sngags pa)
Losang Chööki Gyäntshän	Ngapa Chenpo (Inga pa chen po)
Losang Drööma (blo bzang sgrol ma)	Ngarii (mnga' ris)
Losang Gyäntshän (blo bzang rgyal mtshan)	Ngawang Dorje (ngag dbang rdo rje)
Losang Sonam (blo bzang bsod nams)	Ngaawang Losang Gyaatsho (ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho)
Losang Thabkhää Gyaatsho (blo bzang thabs mkhas rgya mtsho)	Ngawang Losang Thubtän Gyaa- tsho Jigträa Wangchuu Choolää
Losang Thargyää (blo bzang dar rgyas)	Namgyää (ngag dbang blo bzang thub bstan rgya mtsho 'jigs bral dbang phyug phyogs las rnam rgyal)
Losää-ling (blo gsal gling)	Ngawang Nyima (nagg dbang nyi ma)
Lönchen Shadra (blon chen bshad sgra)	Ngawang Pändän Chööki Gyänt- shän (ngag dbang dpal ldan chos kyi rgyal mtshan)
Lungshar (lung shar)	Norbu Lingkha (norbu gling kha)
Maasorma (dmag zor ma)	Norbu Tshering (nor bu tshe ring)
Marpa (mar pa)	Nyarong (nyag rong)
Määpa (smad pa)	Nyingmaapa (rnying ma pa)
Mipön (mi dpon)	Ööga Dzingchi ('ol dga' rdzing phyi)
Mönlam (smon lam)	
Mönlam Chenmo (smon lam chen mo)	
Mön Tawang (mon rta dbang)	
Nagchukha (nag chu kha)	

Panchen Lama (paṅ chen bla ma)	Samyää Chöökyong (bsam yas chos skyong)
Panchen Gendün-drub (paṅ chen dge 'dun gdrub)	Sanggyää Gyaatsho (sangs rgyas rgya mtsho)
Paṅḍita Künga Gyäntshän (paṅḍi ta kun dg' rgyal mtshan)	Sangpo Phüntshoo (bzang po phun tshogs)
Pankhor Chööde (dpal 'khor chos sde)	Sera (se ra)
Pändän Drääpung (dpal ldan 'bras spungs)	Sera Thegchen-ling (se ra theg chen gling)
Pändän Yeshee (dpal ldan ye shes)	Shabten (zhabs rten)
Phaari Dzong (phag ri rdzong)	Sharpa Chööje (shar pa chos rje)
Phagpa ('phags pa)	Shartse (shar rtse)
Phargo Kangling (bar sgo kang gling)	Shikatse (gzhis ka rtse)
Phänpo Go La (phan po sgo la)	Simgaa (gzims 'gag)
Photrang (pho brang)	Simpön Chenmo (gzims dpon chen mo)
Phurcoo (phur lcog)	Sonam Chööki Langpo (bsod nams chos kyi glang po)
Phurcoo Champa Gyaatsho (phur lcog byams pa rgya mtsho)	Sonam Chönphee (bsod nams chos 'phel)
Phurcoo Thubtän Champa (phur lcog thub bstan byams pa)	Sonam Gyaatsho (bsod nams rgya mtsho)
Phutön (bu ston)	Sonam Rabtän (bsod nams rab brtan)
Pingping-thang (ping ping thang)	Songtsän Gampo (srong btsan sgam po)
Potala (po ta la)	Sööpön Chenpo (gsol dpon chen mo)
Radreng (rwa sgren(s))	Tanaa Dorjedän (rta nag rdo rje gdan)
Ralung (ra lung)	Tatshaa (rta tshag)
Rigdän Gyääpo (rigs ldan rgyal po)	Tatshaa Qutuqtu (rta tshag ho thog thu)
Rigya (ri rgya)	ta-u (rta'u)
Rinchen-gang (rin chen sgang)	Tändzin Dalai Khan (bstan 'dzin
Sakya (sa skya)	
Sakyapa (sa skya pa)	
Samding (bsam sdings)	
Samtän Sheerab (bsam gtan shes rab)	
Samyää (bsam yas)	

- tä la'i khang)  
Tändzin Dayan Khan (bstan 'dzin da yang khang)  
Tängyää-ling (bstan rgyas gling)  
Tängyur (bstan 'gyur)  
Tänpää Wangchuu (bstan pa'i dbang phyug)  
Thaglha Gampo (dwags lha sgam po)  
Thagpo (dwags po)  
Thartsedo (dar rtse mdo)  
Thorobeehu Gushi Gegen Khan (tho ro be'i hu gu'i shi ge gen hang)  
Thobgyää (thob rgyal)  
Thrandruu (khra 'brug)  
Thraayää (brag g'yab)  
Threekhang (khrel khang)  
Thrii (khrid)  
Thrinlää Gyaatsho ('phrin las rgya mtsho)  
Thripa (khri pa)  
Thrisong Detsän (khri srong lde btsan)  
Thritrüü (khri sprul)  
Thubtän Gyaatsho (thub bstan rgya mtsho)  
Thubtän Gyäntshän (thub bstan rgyal mtshan)  
Thubtän Trashii (thub bstan bkra shis)  
Thumee Althan Khan (thu med al thang hang)  
Thungshän Jedrung Qutuqtu  
Ngawang Pandän Chööki Gyäntshän (thub shan rje drung ho thog thu ngag dbang dpal ldan chos kyi rgyal mtshan)  
Thündruu Lamää Nääjäor (mthun drug bla ma'i rnal 'byol)  
trangkha (ṭam kha)  
Trashii-lhünpo (bkra shis lhun po)  
Trungyii Chenmo (drung yig chen mo)  
Tsaidam (tshwa'i 'dam)  
tsampa (rtsam pa)  
Tsang (gtsang)  
Tsangpo (gtsang po)  
Tsharong (tsha rong)  
Tsharong Dzasa (tsha rong dza sag)  
Tsharong Shapää (tsha rong zhabs pad)  
Tshawa Thritrüü (tsha ba khri sprul)  
Tshawa Thritrüü Ngawang Losang Jampää Tändzin (tsha ba khri sprul ngag dbang blo bzang 'jam pa'i bstan 'dzin)  
Tshää (tshal)  
Tshännyii Khänpo (mtshan nyid mkhan po)  
Tshechöo-ling (tshe mchog gling)  
Tshomön-ling (tsho mo gling, gtso mo gling)  
Tshondu (tshogs 'du)  
Tshondu Gyäädzom (tshogs 'du rgyal 'dzoms)

Tsongkhapa (tsong kha pa)	'phyong rgyas)
Tsongkhapa Losang Thrappää	Yigtshang (yig tshang)
Pää (tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa'i dpal)	Yöntän Gyaatsho (yon tan rgya mtsho)
Tuna ('du sna)	Yunggön Dzasa (gyung dgon)
Ü (dbus)	Yungtön Dorje Pää (gyung ston rdo rje dpal)
Ugyän Kazi (u rgyan ka ci)	Yuthoopa (gyu thog pa)
ulaa ('u lag)	
Yarlung Chonggyää (yar klungs)	



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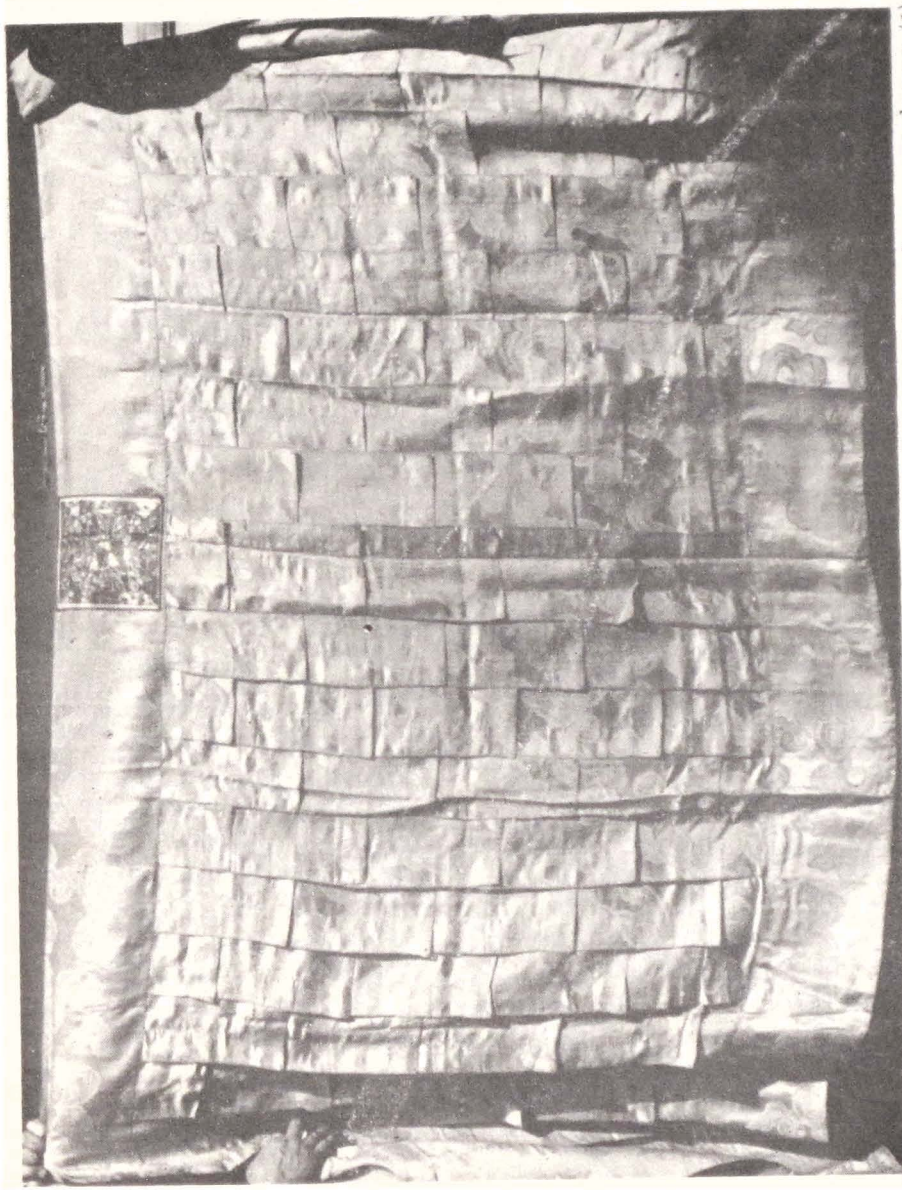
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The frontispiece was taken by Tsharong, in 1911 at Darjeeling.

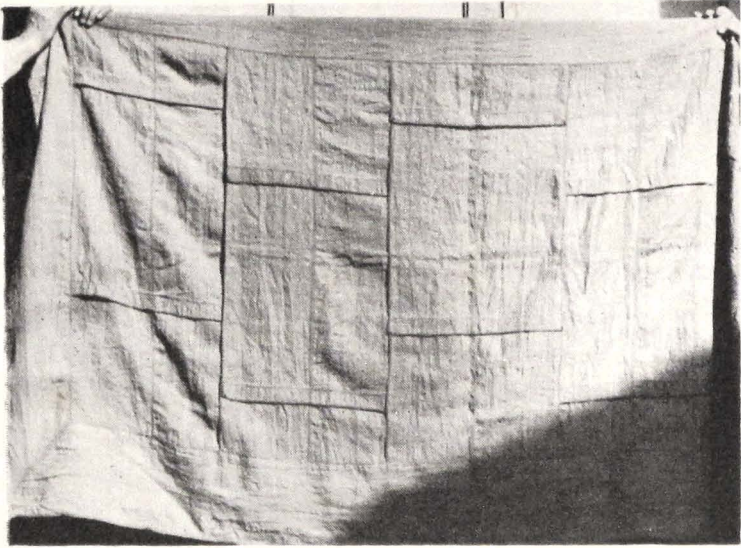
\* Taken by the author.



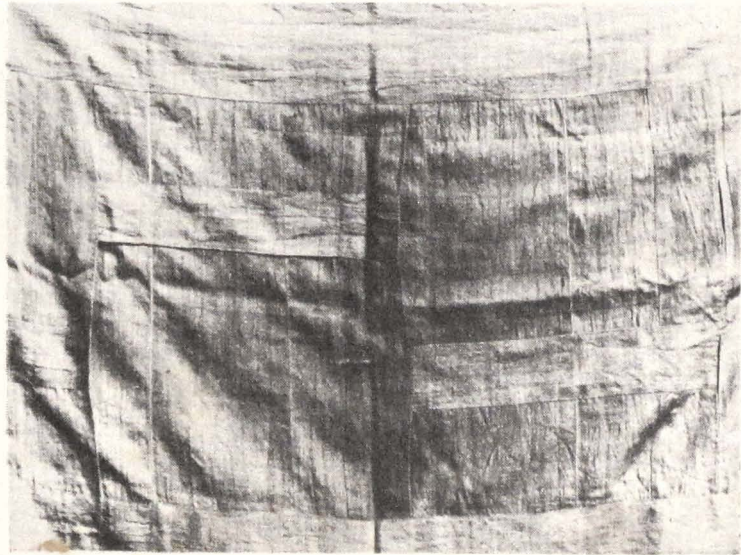


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2. Uttārāsaṅga, gown made of seven pieces of cloth.

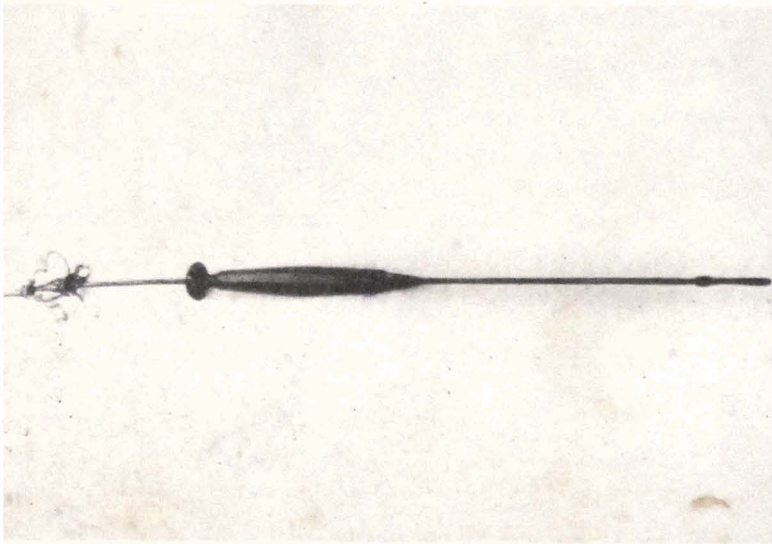


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4. Pātra, iron bowl.



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IV Tsongkhapa and his disciples.  
Painting drawn by the Dalai Lama.





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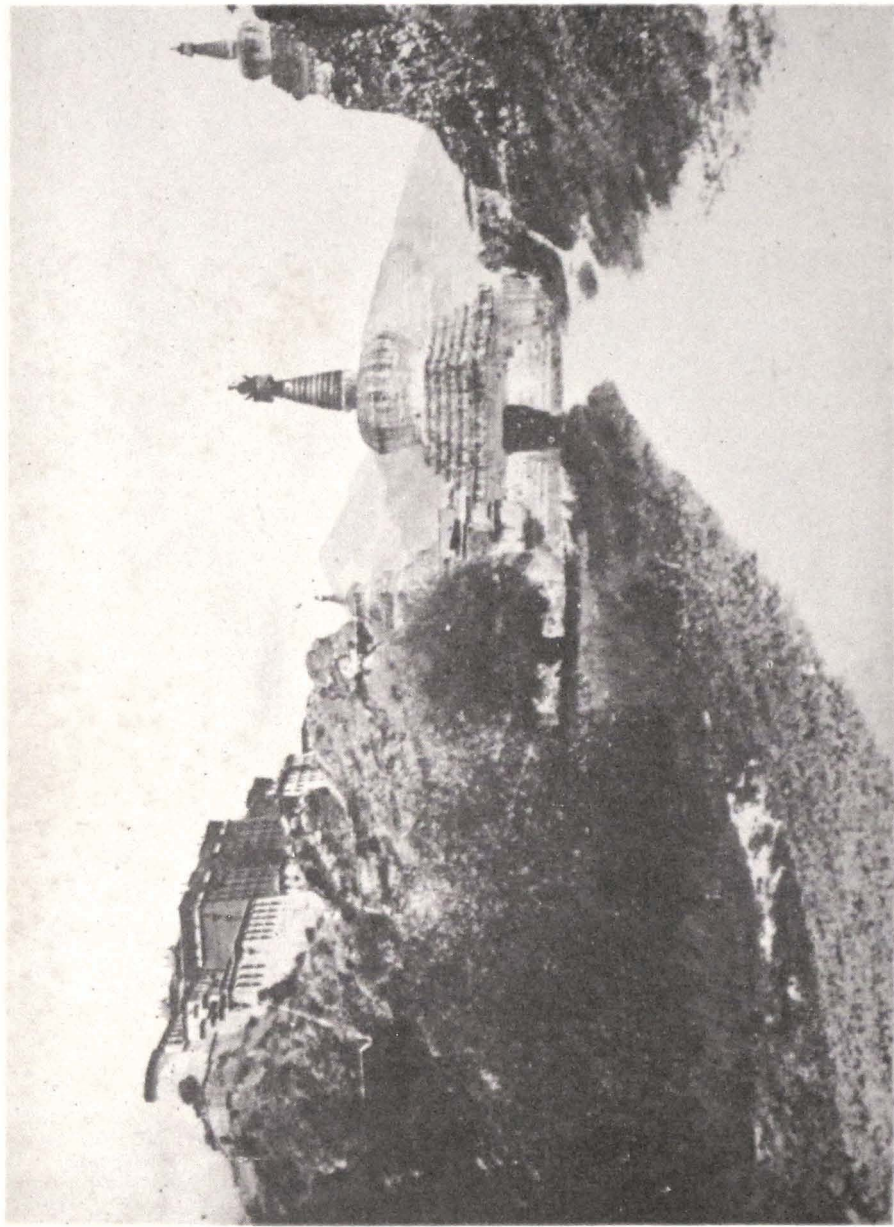


VII The XIIIth Dalai Lama, in 1911 at Darjeeling.





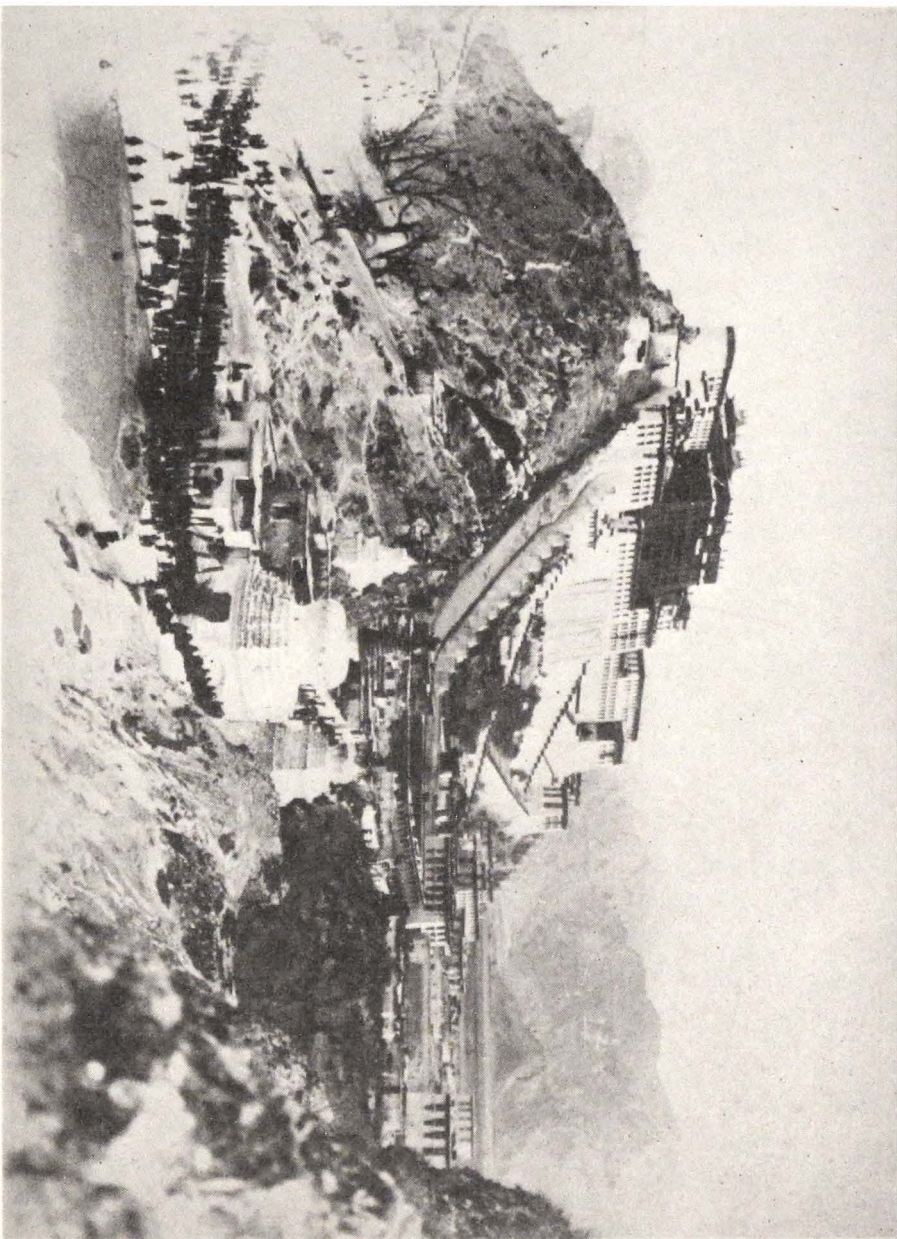
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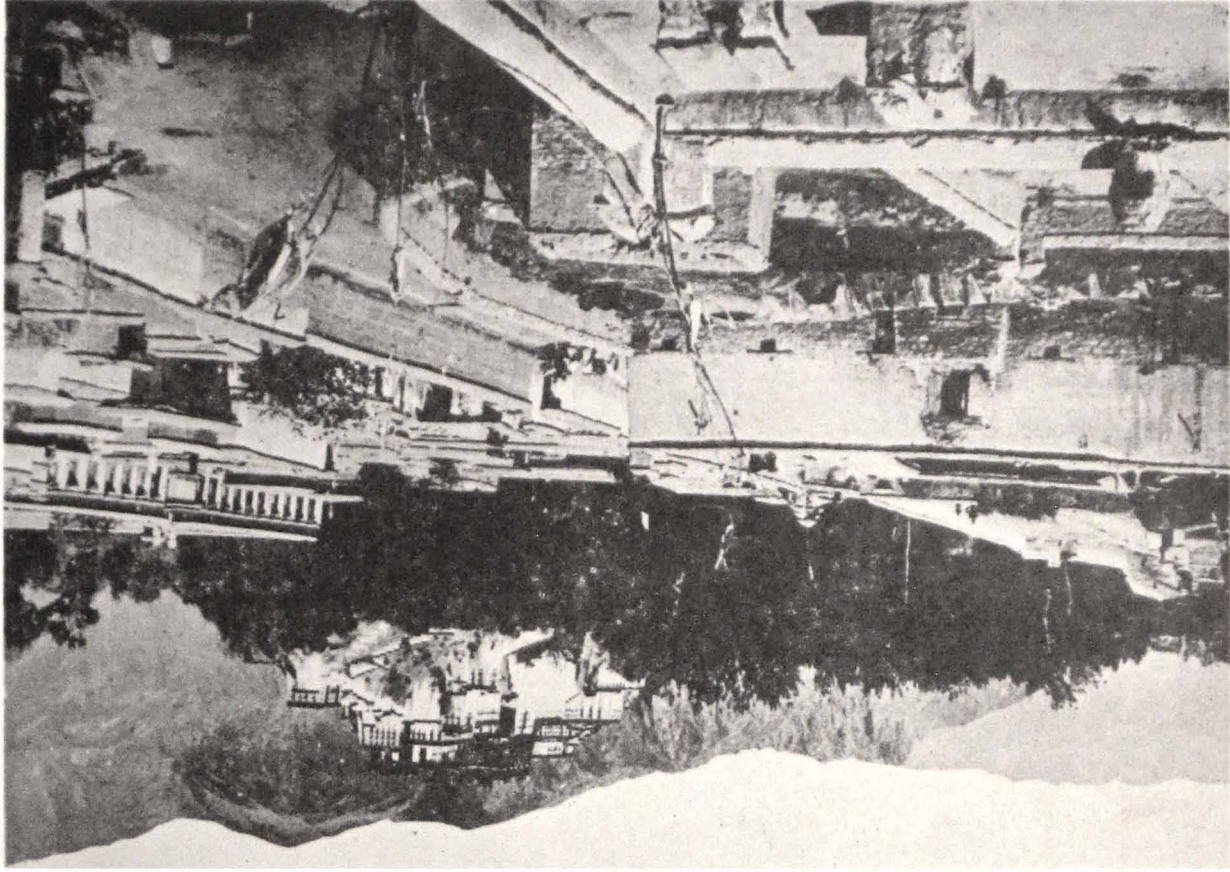
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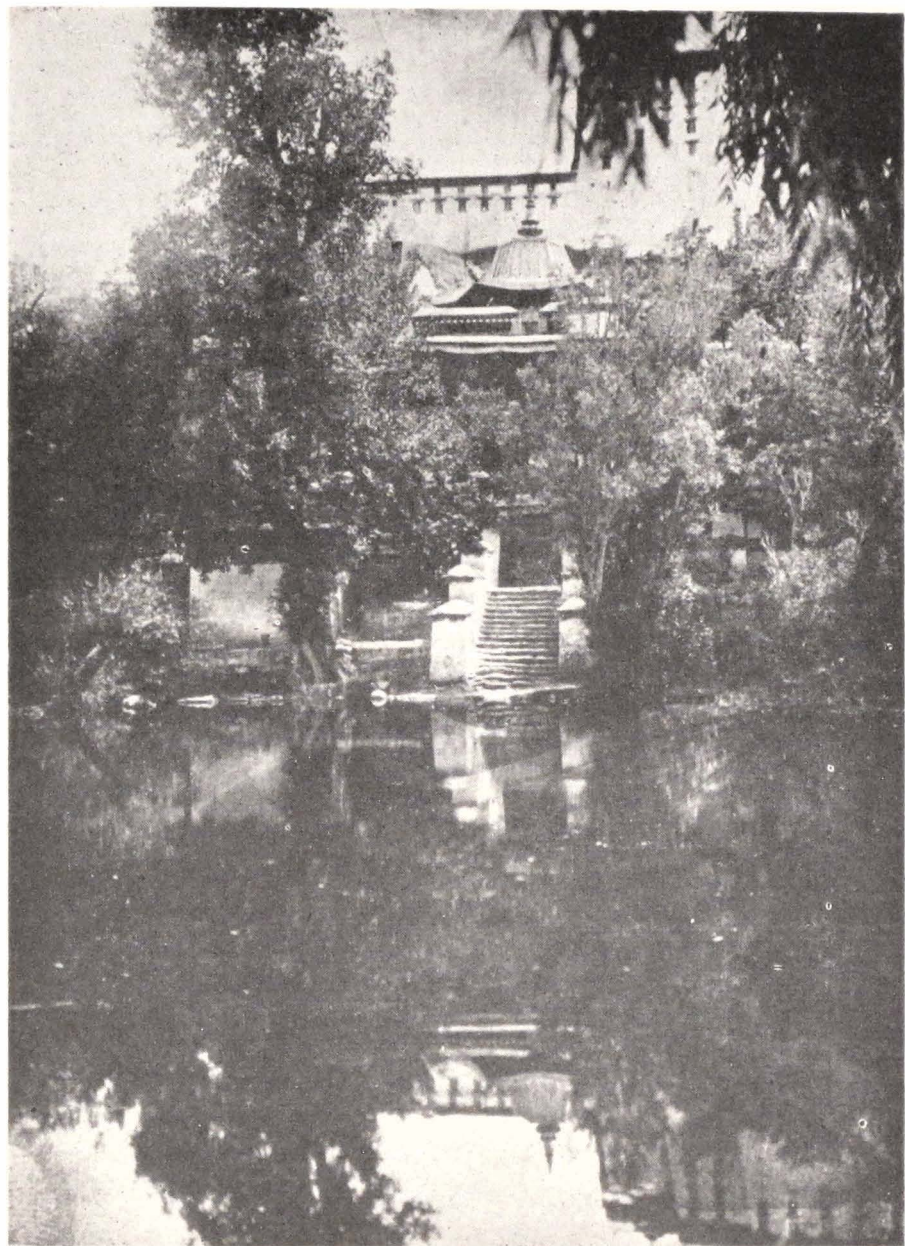
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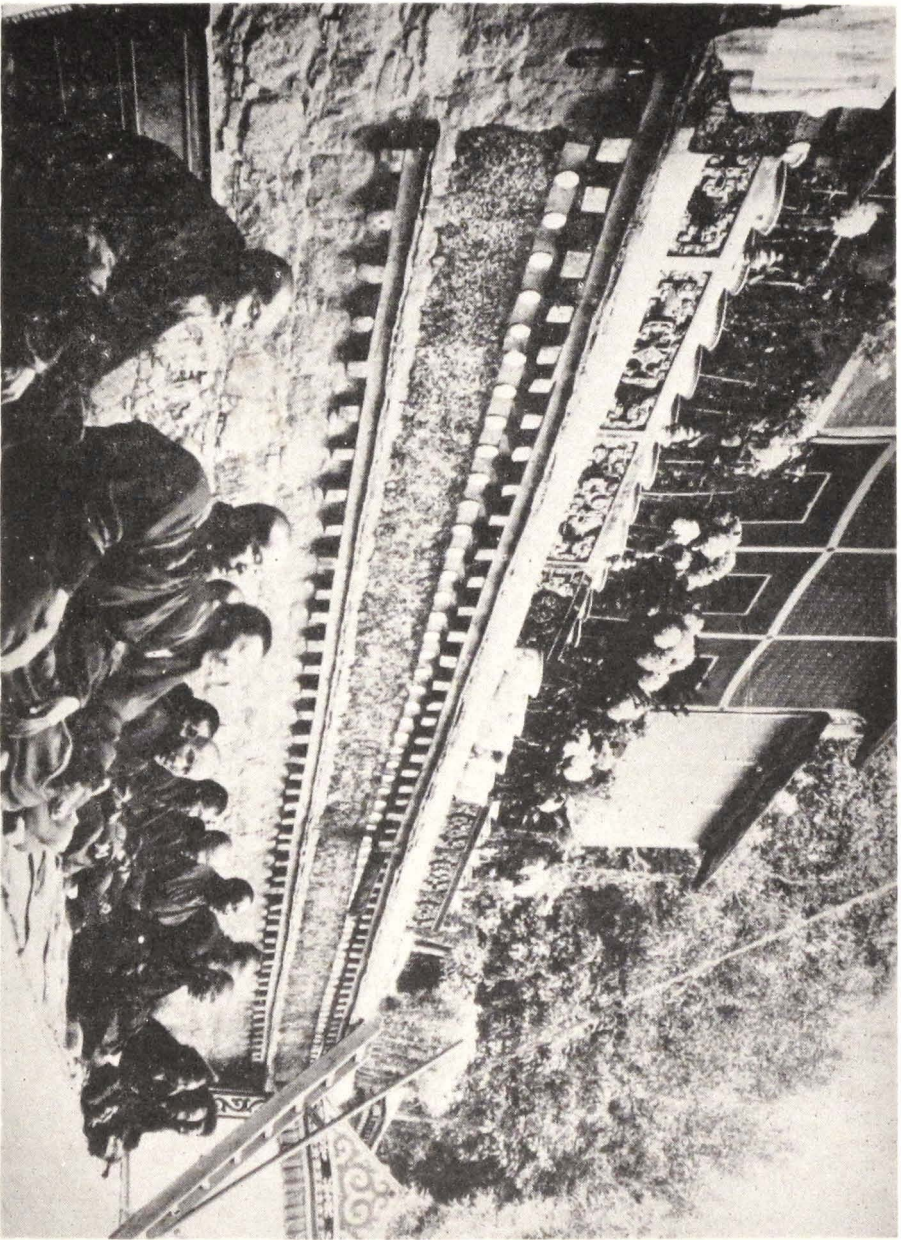


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XIII The Dalai Lama's palanquin, taken by Bunkyo Aoki at Kalimpong.

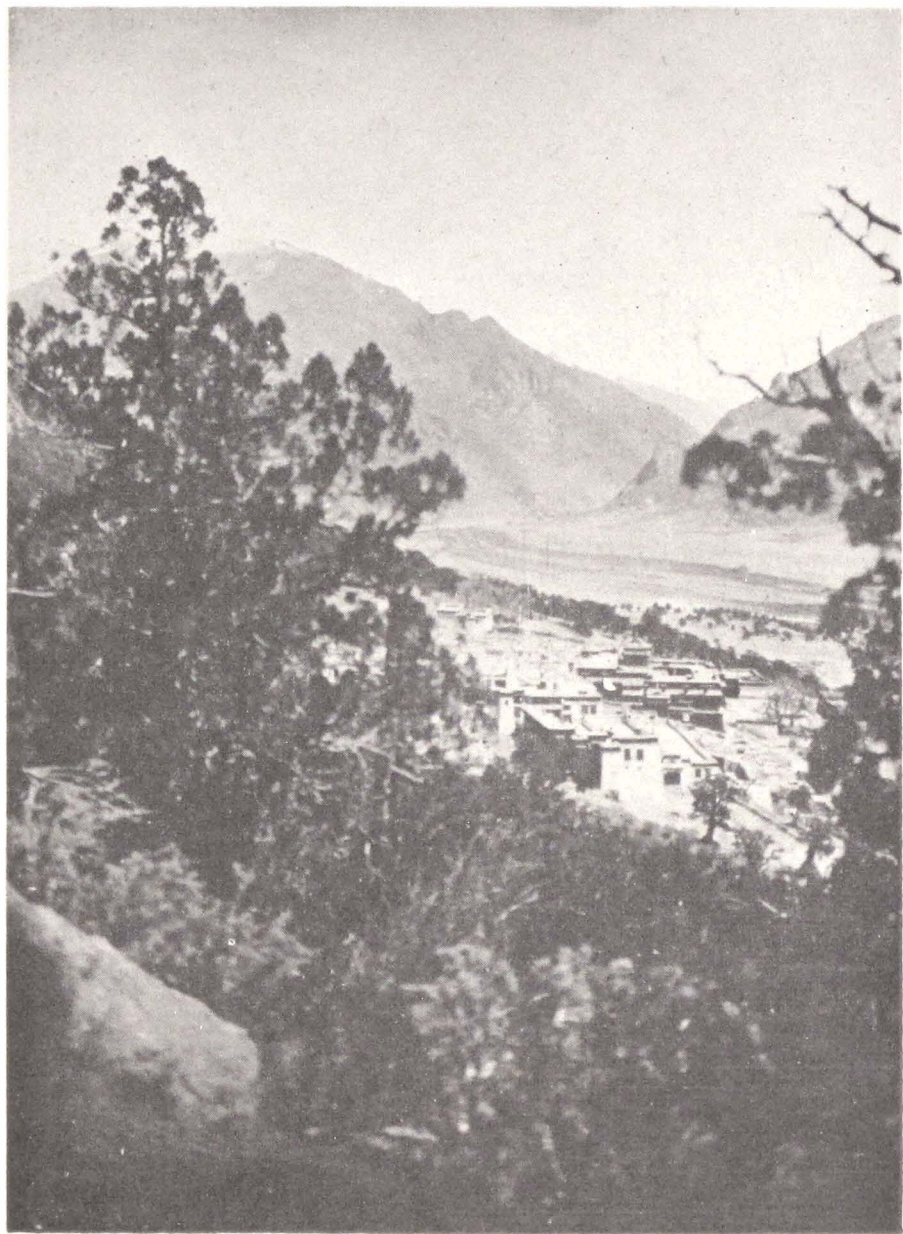


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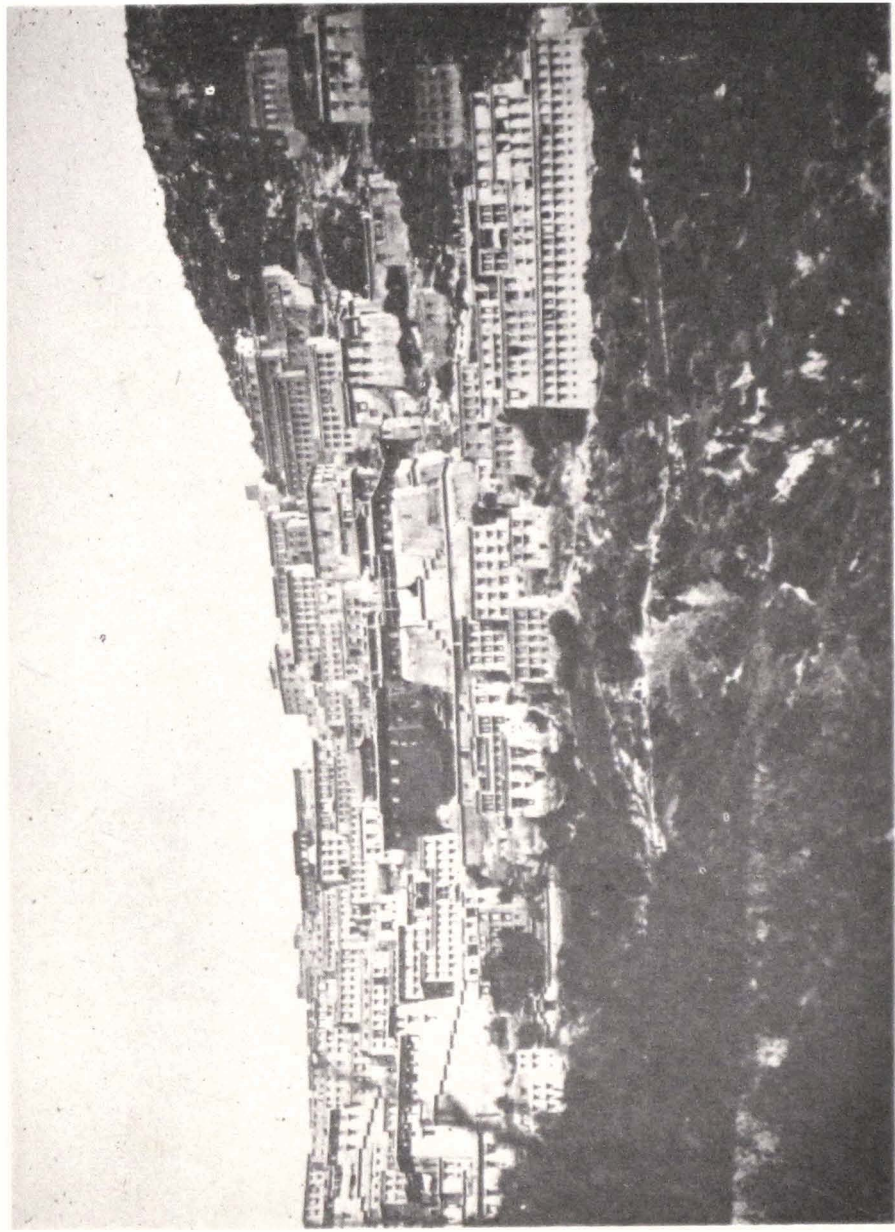


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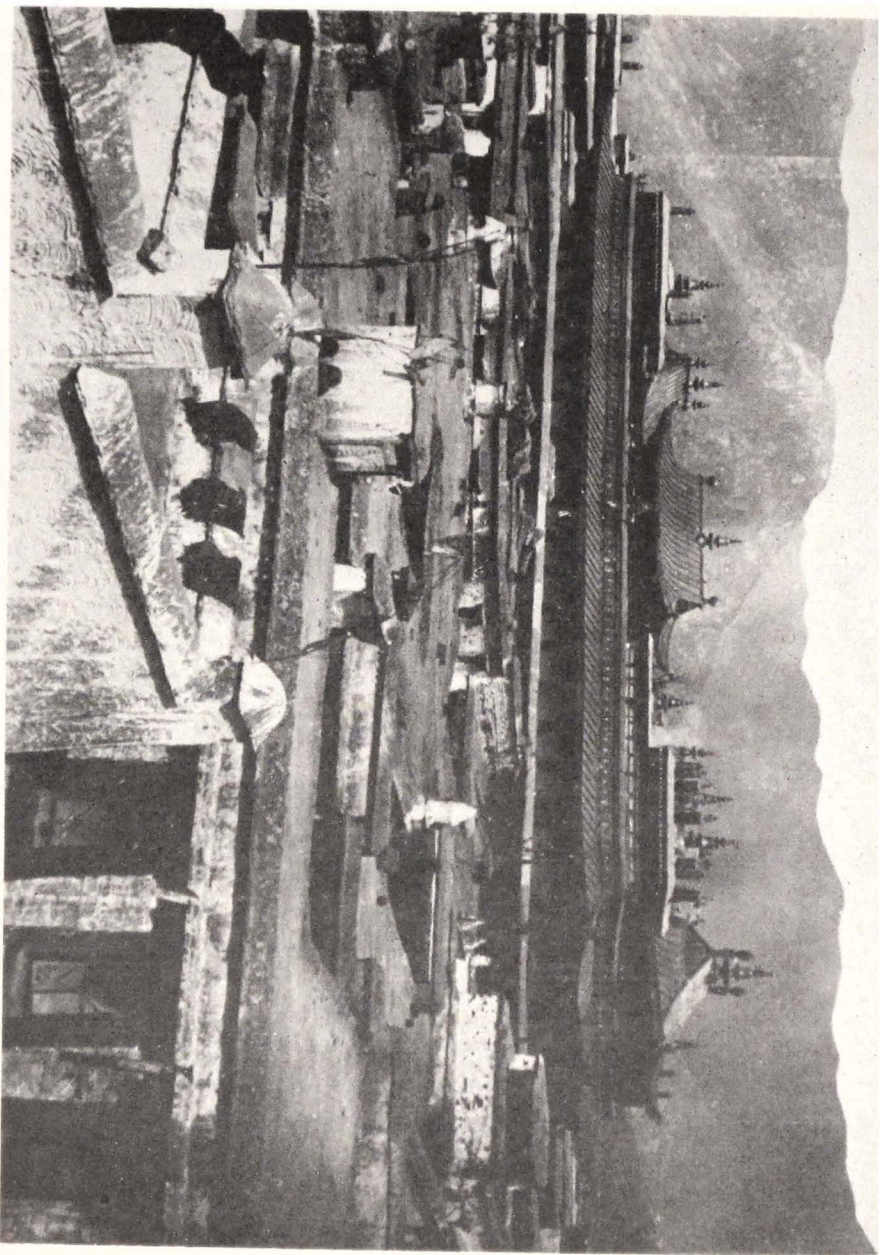


XVI The Radreng Temple, from where the Dalai Lama was exiled to Mongolia.



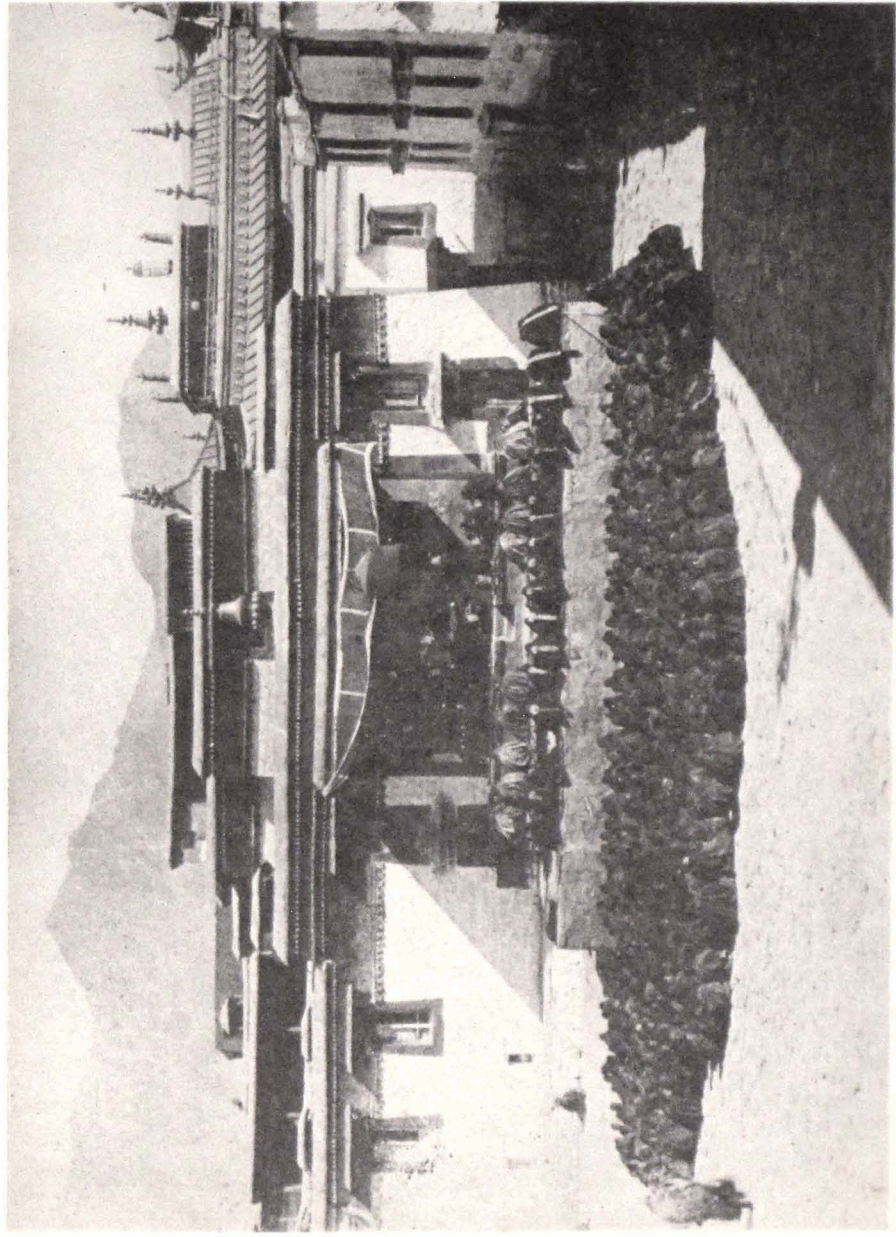


XVII The Gandän Monastery, the Head Monastery of the Geluupa sect.



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XIX The court of the Chokhang Temple, where the Chief Abbot of the Gandän monastery is preaching. Here the Dalai Lama often made lectures.



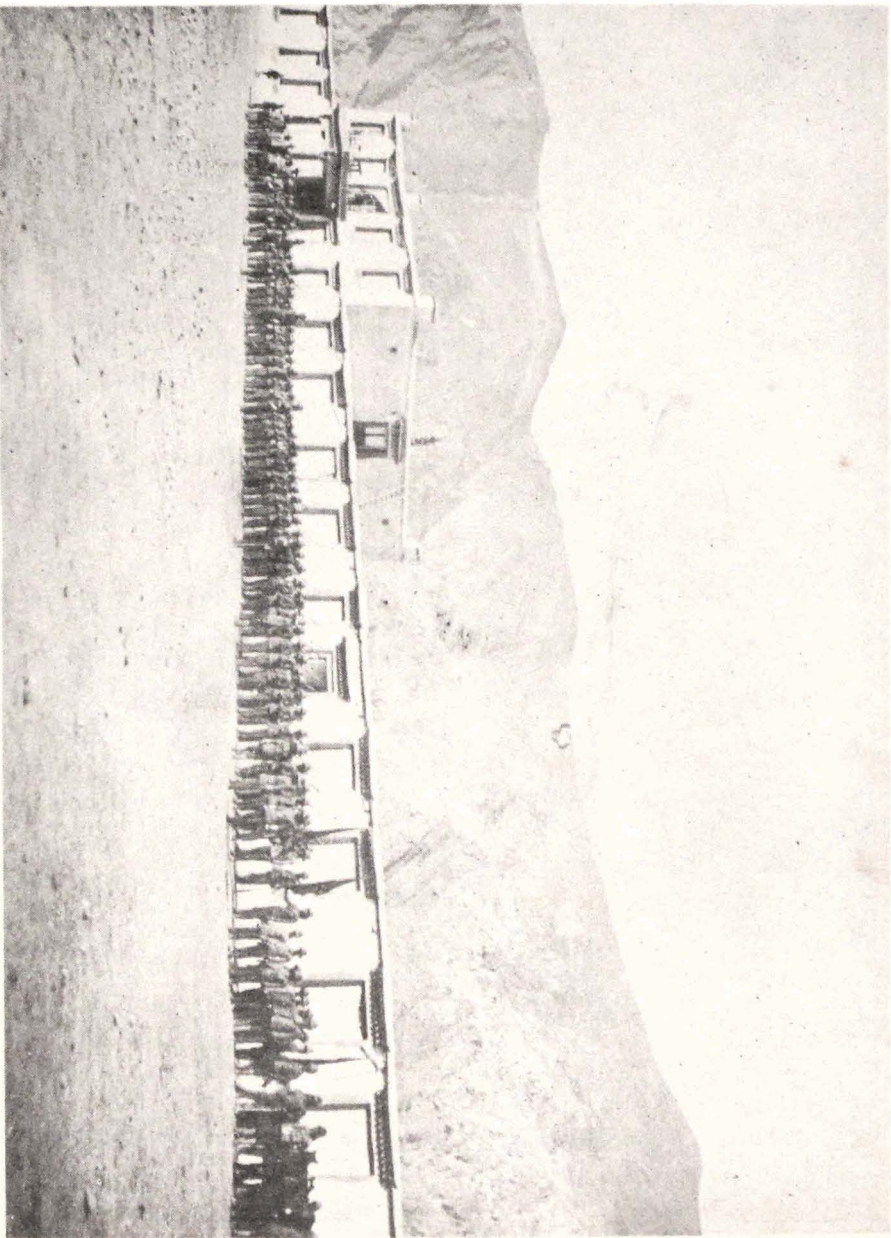
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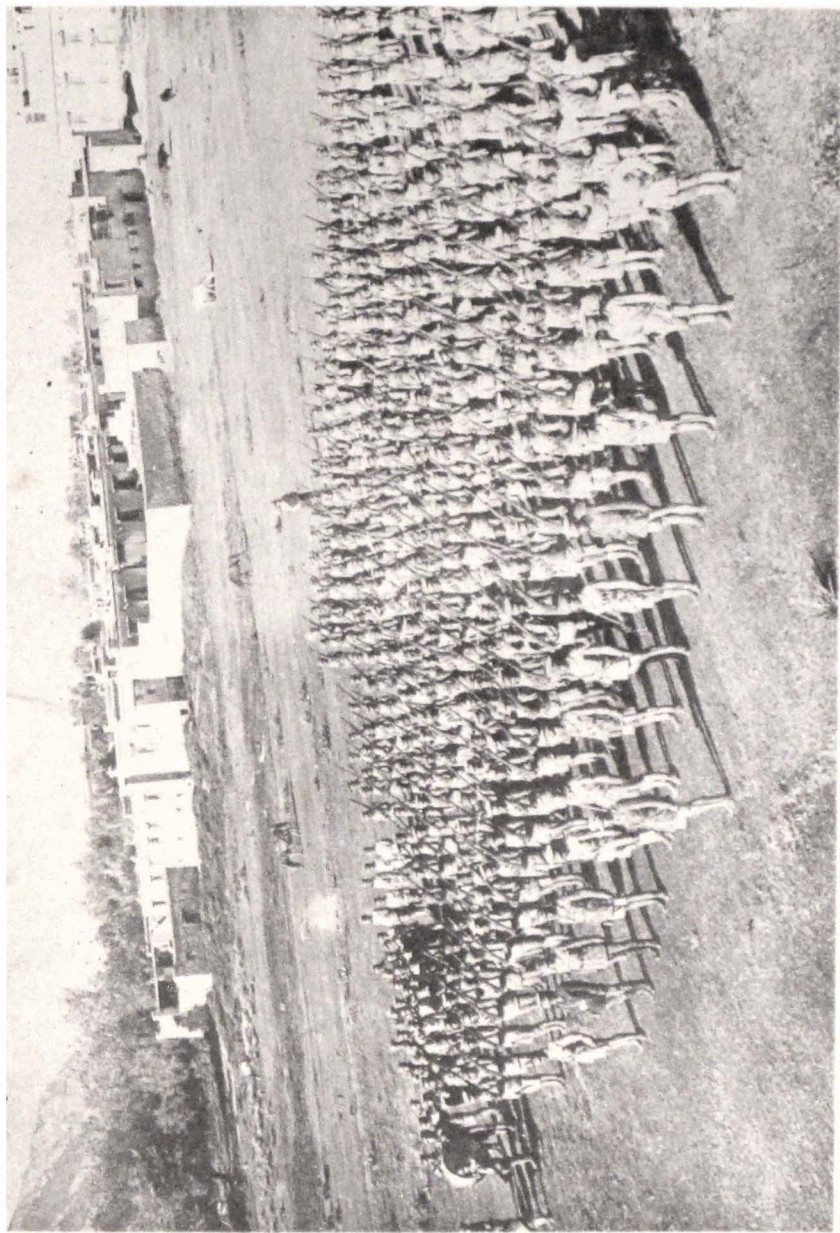


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XXVI The author with a British visitor in Lhasa.



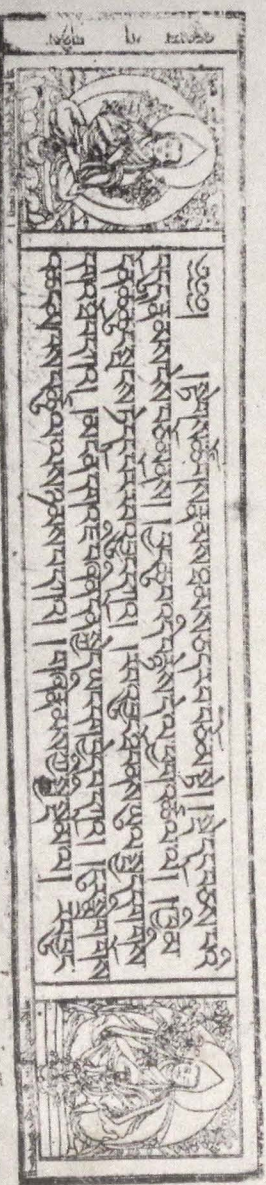
འཇུག་པོ་ལྟ་བུ་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟར་མཉམ་སྦྲེལ་བྱས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟར་  
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XXVII Letter of the Dalai Lama to Yasumasa Fukushima, thanking him for the gift of a pistol.



XXVIII First pages of the Kangyur part of the Tibetan Tripitaka, Lhasa edition.

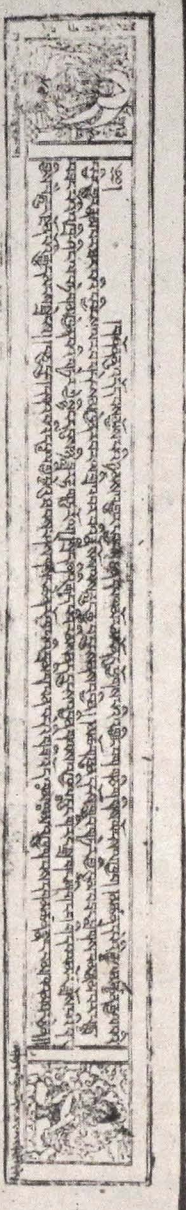
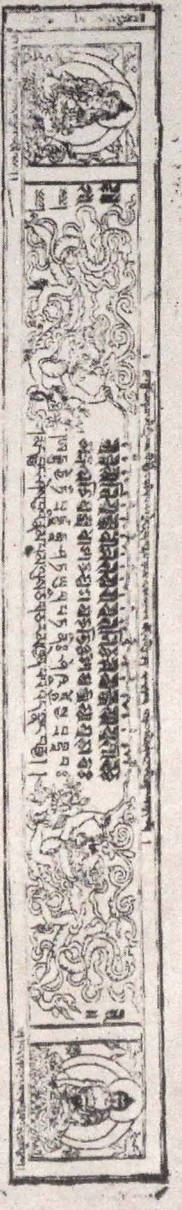


འདྲིལ་བའི་མཚན་ལྟར་མཚན་བཤེས་པའི་མཚན་ལྟར་  
མཚན་བཤེས་པའི་མཚན་བཤེས་པའི་མཚན་བཤེས་པའི་  
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XXIX The Dalai Lama's autograph letter to the author, showing the first and last sheets (text translated in pp. 95-97).



XXX First pages of "Ngo mtshar rin po che'i phreng ba", the Dalai Lama's Biography.

