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ZAHIRUDDIN AHMAD

SINO-TIBETAN RELATIONS
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



ROMA

ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

1970

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TUTTI I DIRITTI RISERVATI

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P R E F A C E

I have written the present book in the years 1960–65, while I was a member of St. Antony's College, Oxford, and of the University of Oxford.

It is as well to start by stating the limitations of this work.

Firstly, it is not my purpose to write either a history of Tibet or a history of China in the 17th century, but a history of Sino-Tibetan relations in the 17th century. Where I have dealt with the internal history of either country, I have done so because such internal history has a bearing on these relations.

Secondly, I am concerned, principally, with *official* history – with determining, that is, the official Chinese view and the official Tibetan view of Sino-Tibetan relations in the 17th century. This means that, in so far as Chinese and Tibetan sources are concerned, this history is based on official Chinese (Ch'ing) and official Tibetan (dGe-lugs-pa) sources. With unofficial points of view, either Chinese or Tibetan, I am not here concerned. This applies also to the version of the internal history of Tibet in the 17th century, which is given in Chapter III. It is, simply, the official 17th century Tibetan view – i.e. the dGe-lugs-pa view – of that history. In Chapter III, Sections (1) (pp. 64–65) and (4) (p. 93), I have referred to the internal history of Tibet *prior* to the 17th century. This I have done because such reference was necessary to the understanding of the internal history of Tibet in the 17th century, and that, again, was of relevance to the history of Sino-Tibetan relations. But here, too, what I have attempted to put forward is only the official 17th century Tibetan view of the earlier history of Tibet. Only with regard to non-Chinese and non-Tibetan sources have I handled unofficial sources, as will be seen from Chapter I (C).

The third limitation was placed on my work by the availability or otherwise of sources – especially, the Tibetan sources – in the United Kingdom. As will be seen from Chapter I, Section (B), only the first two volumes of Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho's three-volume Supplement to the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, have been consulted – among other Tibetan sources – for this book. This is because the third volume of Sañs-rGyas

rGyas-mTsho's Supplement is not, to the best of my knowledge, available in the United Kingdom. It has not been possible, unfortunately, to obtain a microfilm of it from places outside this country where it is known to exist.

The fourth limitation is that I do not read Mongolian. I have approached the few Mongolian sources consulted here through German translations and collections.

As to the principles on which this research is based: The basic concern of this research is with official, contemporary 17th century Chinese references to Tibet, and official, contemporary 17th century Tibetan references to China. I have given precedence to the contemporary, or near contemporary, account over the later. I have sought to check the Chinese accounts with the Tibetan, the Tibetan with the Chinese – to place, as it were, the two accounts side by side, no matter what their incompatibilities, over against each other. In seeking the causes of actions, I have sought to see events as 17th century Chinese, Tibetans, Mongols and Manchus might have seen them, no matter how strange their ways of thought, or the assumptions of their ways of thought, might appear to us. At every stage, I have attempted to let the historical texts speak for themselves. I have kept in mind, throughout, the need to relate the particular strand of Far Eastern history studied here, to the general pattern of historical events in that area and at that time.

This book should be seen in the light of these limitations (whether voluntary or involuntary), and these principles of work adopted within the said limitations.

With regard to where this book stands in the field of Tibetan historical studies and of the study of Sino-Tibetan relations:

The history of Tibet and of Sino-Tibetan relations from c. 1200 to 1720, has been dealt with by Professor Tucci in pages 1–80 (« A Short History of Central Tibet from the XIIIth to XVIIIth Century with Special Regard to the Province of gTsañ ») of Part I (« The Historical, Cultural and Religious Background », pp. 1–263), in Volume I of his colossal work, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 3 volumes, Rome, 1949. The history of Tibet and of Sino-Tibetan relations in the 17th century – based almost exclusively on Tibetan sources – is dealt with in pages 51–78 of Professor Tucci's work.

The history of Sino-Tibetan relations in the 1st half of the 18th century is the subject of Professor Petech's monograph, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, Leiden, 1950. What I have attempted here, in this book, is an expansion and re-interpretation of the last-mentioned pages of Professor Tucci's work, and an extended preface to Professor Petech's

work. This book should, therefore, effectively replace pages 4–31 of W. W. Rockhill's old article, «The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644–1908», *T'oung Pao*, XI, 1 (March 1910), pp. 1–92 + Index, pp. 93–104, just as Professor Petech's work replaced pages 31–46 of that article.

The genealogical tables at the end of the book are not meant to be exhaustive – merely to “place” genealogically some of the persons who appear in this book. Genealogical Tables II (the Jungar) and III (the Khoshots) should be consulted together with Tables I (Dörbät and Dzoungar) and II (Khošot) in P. Pelliot, *Oeuvres Posthumes IV: Notes Critiques d'Histoire Kalmouke II: Tableaux Généalogiques* Paris, 1960.

My thanks are due to the following persons:

- 1) Major P. C. Hailey, M. A., Bursar of St. Antony's College, Oxford;
- 2) Mr G. F. Hudson, M. A., Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford, and Director of Far Eastern Studies at that College;
- 3) Mr Wu Shih-chang, M. A., Lecturer in Chinese at the University of Oxford till the Trinity Term of 1962, with whom I read most of the Chinese texts handled in this book in 1960–62;
- 4) Mr J. E. S. Driver, M. A., Research Fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford, with whom, similarly, I read many of the Tibetan texts used in this book in 1962–65.

Although Mr Wu and Mr Driver have helped me to understand most, but not all, of the Chinese and Tibetan texts used in this research, the responsibility for any errors of understanding remains with me.

My thanks are also due to the staffs of the following libraries:

- 1) The Bodleian Library, Oxford, especially, (a) the Oriental Reading Room in the Old Bodleian, (b) the Map Reading Room in the New Bodleian and (c) the Indian Institute Library;
- 2) the Library of the Oriental Institute, Oxford;
- 3) the Library of St. Antony's College, Oxford; and
- 4) the India Office Library, c/o the Commonwealth Relations Office, King Charles St., London S.W.1.

As will be obvious from what has been said earlier, this work owes its principal inspiration to the work of the Professors Tucci and Petech in Rome. My debt of gratitude to their work – and to that of the Istituto

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Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente – I acknowledge here and now. It is hardly conceivable that any student of the history of Tibet and of Sino-Tibetan relations will not, at some stage, do likewise. Also acknowledged is my debt to some of the works of the long and distinguished line of French Tibetanists: Pelliot, Bacot, Lalou, Stein and MacDonald.

Finally, but not least, I have to thank Professor Antonio Gargano, Director of the Publications and Cultural Department of the IsMEO, for the actual publication of this book.

ZAHIRUDDIN AHMAD.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOURCES

A) The Chinese Sources.

This book seeks to set out the official Chinese view, and the official Tibetan view, of Sino-Tibetan relations in the seventeenth century. The principal sources used, therefore, are official Chinese sources and official Tibetan sources. The Chinese sources are as follows:

1) Ssü-ma Kuang 司馬光 (1019-1086) wrote a General History of China called *Tzu-chih t'ung chien* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) which covered the period between 402 B.C. and 959 A.D.¹⁾

This work was brought up to date in the course of the centuries that followed. Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1131-1200) wrote an "Abridged View of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government" called *Tzu-chih t'ung chien kang mu* 資治通鑑綱目. Of this latter work, together with its Supplements, Father Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla (1669-1748), Jesuit missionary at the Chinese Court (1703-48)²⁾, translated ten volumes, which brought the history down to the end of the reign of K'ang Hsi (20 December 1722). He sent the first two volumes to France before 1730, the next six (bringing the history down to 1369) in 1730³⁾,

¹⁾ Han Yu-shan, *Elements of Chinese Historiography*, Hollywood, 1955, p. 50 ff.; de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine ou Annales de cet Empire*, traduites de Tong kien kang mou (通鑑綱目) par le feu Père Joseph-Anne-Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, Jesuite François, Missionnaire à Pékin, Publiées par M. l'Abbé Grosier, 11 volumes, Paris 1777-80, I, pp. lxxxix, lxxxxi, etc.

²⁾ de Mailla, I, p. xxvi.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. clxvii.

Volume 9 (dealing with the Ming dynasty, 1368–1644) in 1733, and the last (Volume 10) in 1737 ⁴⁾.

Later, de Mailla wrote a history of the reign of Yung Cheng (1722–35) and of the first few years of the reign of Chien Lung (1735–96). The entire translation, in eleven volumes, was published in 1777–80, and contained a continuation of de Mailla's work by Hauterayes, bringing the work down to 1780 ⁵⁾. Volume XI of de Mailla's history deals with the Ch'ing dynasty.

Generally speaking, de Mailla's translation does not give the reader a very different view of the history of China than that which is to be found in any other Chinese history. But, sometimes, it seems that either the text from which de Mailla translated was different from that which is contained in the *Ch'ing shih lu* 清實錄 (see later), or that de Mailla's translation was extremely free. For example, on 28 October 1692, the Emperor K'ang Hsi issued an Edict to dGa'-ldan Taiji, the great leader of the Jungar tribes, in which, according to de Mailla, Volume XI, page 166, the following passages occurred:

- a) Vous avez violé sans pudeur le droit des gens. Chez toutes les nations, les ambassadeurs des princes, fussent-ils en guerre ouverte, ont été regardés comme des personnes sacrées ⁶⁾.
- b) Vous me demandez de renvoyer les Kalkas dans leur ancien pays. Quoi, vous exigez que je les remette à la discretion d'un ennemi implacable? quelle opinion auriez-vous de mon humanité? Rappelez-vous le serment dont vous avez scellé le dernier traité de paix? ⁷⁾ Me méconnaîtriez-vous déjà pour souverain, et le Talai Lama pour votre maître?

The only passages in the document, as preserved in the *Ch'ing shih lu*, which could be the originals of these translations are:

- a) 從來爭戰之國. 無害往來使人之理. Hitherto, belligerent states have not had the principle of killing the envoys who come and go between them ⁸⁾.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, I, pp. clxxxiii, xxvii.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, XI, p. 369.

⁶⁾ This was with reference to the murder of the Imperial envoy to Tshé-dBañ Rab-brTan, near Hami, on 21 September 1692.

⁷⁾ This refers to the oath which dGa'-ldan took after the battle of Ulan Budung on 3 September 1690.

⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 156, p. 13 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 9th month, i-chou (28 October 1692).

b) 爾前所奏·言朕許以澤卜尊丹巴士謝圖汗·昇爾·此小人欲自脫其身·而有此言耳·果有此旨·豈不早諭爾乎·况執來降之人·以昇讐人·有是理乎·前亦嘗以此諭爾矣·今爾背棄誓言·索我降人喀爾喀·害我奉差策妄阿刺布坦之使臣馬廸諸人·以此觀之·是爾陽奉達賴喇嘛之言·而陰違達賴喇嘛之命·全棄誓言·生事起釁·彰彰明矣·達賴喇嘛·曾令爾犯找使臣·索找降人乎·
 With regard to that which you have previously memorialized about, viz., that (your envoys to Us have reported to you that) We have promised to hand over to you the rJe-btsun dam-pa and the Tüšiyetü Khan - these are the words of inferior men (your envoys) who wish to free themselves (of their duty to report truthfully to you on their embassy). If there had been such a Decree (promising to hand over to you the rJe-btsun dam-pa and the Tüšiyetü Khan), how is it that We have not early issued to you an Edict (to that effect)? Moreover, to seize people who have submitted to Us, and to hand them over to their enemies - where is the fitness of this? We have already issued an Edict to you on this point. Now you have gone back on, and abandoned, your oath, and have demanded the Khalkhas who have submitted to Us. You have killed Our envoy Ma-ti and the men who were sent to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan. Seeing this, it is clear that although openly you honour the Dalai Lama's words, secretly you disobey the Dalai Lama's orders; that you have completely abandoned your oath; and that you are creating trouble and raising dissension. Has the Dalai Lama ordered you to attack Our envoys and to demand the people who have submitted to Us? ⁹⁾

As will be seen, there are no words in the Chinese passages corresponding to de Mailla's *droit des gens, souverain* or *maître*. On the other hand, de Mailla does, sometimes, give us information which is not found in the *Ch'ing shih lu*. For instance, a *Ch'ing shih lu* document dated 29 June 1696 ¹⁰⁾, tells us that, after the defeat and flight of dGa'-ldan at Jao Modo

⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 13 a-b. Comparison may also be made of CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 157, pp. 13 b-15 b, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 11th month, ting-mao (29 December 1692) (Edict regarding dGa'-ldan Taiji's "seditious activities" among the Inner Mongols) and de Mailla, XI, pp. 167-168. It is difficult to believe that the two are the same document.

¹⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, p. 1 b K'ang Hsi 35th year, 6th month, i-yu (29 June 1696).

on 12 June 1696, the Emperor K'ang Hsi issued a "proclamation of warning" (hsi 檄) to the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai, but does not give us the text of this proclamation. This "manifesto", as de Mailla calls it, - or, rather, a version of it, - will be found in de Mailla, Volume XI, pages 216-221.

2) The historian Wei Yüan 魏源 (1794-1856), while Secretary to the Grand Secretariat (nei ko 內閣) (1829-41), wrote a history of the Wars waged by the Manchu Emperors of China from the earliest days of the dynasty to 1841, called *Sheng Wu Chi* 聖武記, which was published in 1842¹¹⁾.

The entire work is in 14 chüans (卷). Chüan 3 is divided into five parts. The first three parts deal with the bringing into subjection of the Mongols. The third part is divided into two sections, the first dealing with the O-lu-t'e of Ch'ing-hai (pp. 22a-25a), the second with the O-lu-t'e of Ala-shan (pp. 25a-28a). The fourth part of chüan 3 deals with the war against dGa'ldan (pp. 29 a-49b). Chüan 5 deals with Tibet in its first three parts (pp. 1 a-33 a) and with the war against the Gurkhas in the fourth part (pp. 34 a-39 a). Chüan 5, part 1 (pp. 1 a-11 b), after some preliminary remarks, deals with Sino-Tibetan relations from the second year of Ch'ung Te (26 January 1637 - 13 February 1638) to the end of the reign of K'ang Hsi. Part 2 (pp. 12 a-26 a) deals with Sino-Tibetan relations in the reigns of Yung Cheng (1722-35) and Chien Lung (1735-96). Part 3 (pp. 27 a-33 a) gives a topographical account of Tibet, together with some account of the administration. Part 4 of Chüan 5 deals with the war against the Gurkhas (1790-93).

There are times when it can be said that Wei Yüan is definitely misleading. For instance, on pages 4 b-5 a of Chüan 5, he says:

In the beginning, Tangghod (Tibet) was divided into four parts. In the east were Khams and Ch'ing-hai; in the west, Wei (dBus) and gTsañ. Guši Khan was originally of the O-lu-t'e tribe. Towards the end of the period of the Ming dynasty, he annexed the two eastern parts. Because the land of Ch'ing-hai was vast, he ordered his descendants to pasture their flocks there, and Khams paid tribute to them. The Wei (dBus) territory, on the other hand, was where the Ti-pa (sDe-pa) lived and served the Dalai Lama.

¹¹⁾ A. W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, Washington, 1944, II, pp. 850-52.

The gTsañ-pa Khan lived in the gTsañ territory. The Ti-pa (sDe-pa) called Sang-chieh (Sañs-rGyas) was not on friendly terms with the gTsañ-pa Khan, saying that La-tsang (lHa-bZañ) oppressed the tribes and harmed the Yellow Sect. He (the sDe-pa) asked for troops from Guši Khan and destroyed him (the gTsañ-pa Khan). Taking his (the gTsañ-pa Khan's) lands, the Pan-chen Lama and the Dalai Lama divided the lordship of the two Tibets (between themselves). They completely drove out the heads of the Red Hats, the Flower Hats (?) and all other heads of religious sects. This took place in the 10th year of Ch'ung Te. After this, the Red Sect became increasingly insignificant. It was not worth the Yellow Sect's attention. The Ti-pa Sang-chieh (sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas) really held the strategic position. When the gTsañ-pa was destroyed, he assumed sole responsibility.

It is obvious that, in this passage, Wei Yüan is confusing the invasion of Central Tibet (dBu-s-gTsañ) by Guši Khan in 1641-42, with the strained relations which existed between the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho (sDe-pa, 1679-1705) and the Khošot Khan, lHa-bZañ Khan (Chos-rGyal or Dharma-rājā of Tibet, 1703-1717), leading to the killing of Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho in 1705¹²⁾.

Nor is Wei Yüan free from obvious partisanship for the Ch'ing, and what is implied in such an attitude, an obvious animosity towards the enemies of the Ch'ing. For instance, in May 1674, although the 5th Dalai Lama had very serious doubts about the advisability of an intervention by Tibetan forces on behalf of the Imperialists against Wu San-kuei, he deferred to the wishes of his princely Worshipers-Patrons-and-Protectors and sent an expedition to rGyal-thañ¹³⁾, the territory directly north of Li-chiang in Yün-nan, where Wu's power had (perhaps) penetrated. He also asked Dalai Khung-taiji, the son of Gushi Khan and the principal Oirad chieftain in Koko-nor, to attack Ssu-chuan, through Sung-p'an. Later in that year, Dalai Khung-taiji excused himself from attacking Wu San-kuei on the ground that the Sung-p'an route was dangerous¹⁴⁾. From a

¹²⁾ It is surprising to find Dr Li Tieh-Tseng, in his *Tibet Today and Yesterday*, New York, 1960, p. 35, accept this passage as authoritative.

¹³⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Vol. II, pp. 204 b-205 a [Śiñ-sTag, 4th Hor month, 19th and 20th days (chia-yin, 4th month, 19th and 20th days = 24 and 25 May 1674)]. See also CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 48, pp. 19 b-20 a, K'ang Hsi 13th year, 7th month, jen-shen (11 August 1674).

¹⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 54, p. 17 a, K'ang Hsi 14th year, 4th month, i-mao (21 May 1675).

Ch'ing shih lu document dated 14 June 1678, we learn of an alliance between Wu San-kuei and Dalai Khung-taiji¹⁵). It is not improbable that that alliance dated back to 1674 and is an explanation of Dalai Khung-taiji's unwillingness to attack Wu in that year.

Wei Yüan, however, says:

In the thirteenth year of K'ang Hsi (6 February 1674–25 January 1675), Wu San-kuei rebelled. The Emperor summoned the Mongol troops of Ch'ing-hai to enter Ssu-chuan through Sung-p'an. The Ti-pa (sDe-pa) caused the Dalai Lama to send a letter stopping them (from entering Ssu-chuan)¹⁶).

The sDe-pa of Tibet in 1674–75 was mChod-dPon Blo-bZañ mThu-sTobs (1669–76)¹⁷). Wei Yüan is, however, referring to Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, who, although he was not installed as sDe-pa till 1679, may have exercised considerable authority before then. There is no evidence, however, in contemporary Chinese or Tibetan sources, of his having persuaded the Dalai Lama to stop Dalai Khung-taiji from intervening on behalf of the Imperialists. The allegation that he did so can only be regarded as an attribution, by Wei Yüan, to Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, of an enmity to the Ch'ing as early as 1674, when more reliable evidence of such "enmity" does not become apparent till the 1690 's.

Wei Yüan's account must have been regarded as authoritative by later Chinese writers on Tibet. At least, his account of Tibet has been virtually reproduced in the *Ch'ing shih kao* 清史稿 (see later), chüan 312, Fan Pu 藩部 chüan 8 (Tibet). So that, it can be said that, as a source-book for the history of Sino-Tibetan relations in the 17th century, the *Sheng Wu Chi* has been replaced by the *Ch'ing shih kao*.

3) The various editions of the *Tung Hua lu* 東華錄¹⁸) have been noticed by Biggerstaff in his article «Some Notes on the *Tung Hua lu*

¹⁵) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 73, pp. 13 a–b, K'ang Hsi 17th year, 4th month, i–wei (14 June 1678).

¹⁶) Sheng Wu Chi, ch. 5, p. 5 a.

¹⁷) See L. Petech, «The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet, A Chronological Study», *T'oung Pao*, XLVII, 3–4, 1959, pp. 368–94.

¹⁸) The "Tung Hua (East China) Chronicles" are so called because they were compiled at an office situated near the "Tung Hua Men" (East China Gate) of the Inner City of Peking. They are hereinafter referred to as THL.

東華錄 and the *Shih lu* 實錄», *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VI, 2 (July 1939), pp. 101-115. The first compilation of the documents known as the THL was made by Chiang Liang-ch'i 蔣良騏 (1723-89). This stops at the reign of Yung Cheng (1735). The edition of the THL by Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 (1847-1917), published sometime after 1884, carried the history down to the end of the reign of Tao Kuang (1851). P'an I-fu 潘頤福 compiled a Supplement on the Hsien Feng Emperor (1851-61). Wang Hsien-ch'ien's THL, together with P'an I-fu's Supplement, was published in 1887 under the title *Shih chao Tung Hua lu* 十朝東華錄 (*The East China Chronicles of Ten Reigns*), and has been made use of in this research.

The THL are the Annals of the reigns of the Ch'ing Emperors, arranged chronologically. Although Biggerstaff says that «the high quality of Wang Hsien-ch'ien's judgment is one of the principal reasons why the *Tung Hua lu* continues to be useful to the student even after the publication of the *Ta Ch'ing li chao shih lu*»¹⁹⁾, the student of Sino-Tibetan relations will discover, fairly soon, that the material in the THL of interest to him has been adequately replaced by that in the *Ch'ing shih lu*.

4) The *Ch'ing shih kao* 清史稿²⁰⁾ or Draft History of the Ch'ing dynasty was compiled by a commission appointed in 1913, by President Yuan Shih-k'ai, under the chairmanship of Chao Erh-sun 趙爾巽, who died before the completion of the first edition²¹⁾. The printing of this first edition was commenced at Peking in 1927. Before it was finished, the Nationalists occupied Peking (June 1928), and banned the publication of the work, because of its unfavourable treatment of some Nationalist heroes. Nevertheless, the Manchu, Chin Liang 金梁, managed to complete the printing of the first edition. Shortly thereafter, he published a second edition from Mukden. In 1937, a third edition was published from Mukden.

This work has been noticed by E. Haenisch in his article «Das *Ts'ing shi kao* und die sonstige chinesische Literatur zur Geschichte der letzten 300 Jahre», *Asia Major*, VI, 1930, pp. 403-

19) Biggerstaff, p. 112.

20) Hereinafter referred to as CSK.

21) His preface is dated 16th year of the Republic, the year ting-mao, 8th month, 2nd day (28 August 1927).

444; and by C. H. Peake in « A Comparison of the Various Editions of the *Ch'ing shih kao* », *T'oung Pao*, XXXIV, 1938, pp. 354-363.

Haenisch says:

Die Vorwürfe, die auf Revolutions- und Chinesen-feindlichkeit gehen, betreffen in einzelnen die Darstellung des Taiping-Aufstandes, die Erwähnung des noch lebenden letzten Herrschers und die Aufnahme dreier Anhänger der Dynastie aus jungster Zeit in die biographische Abteilung, nämlich Dr. Yen Fu 嚴復, Ku Hung-ming und Wang Kuoh-wei... Der Herausgeber selbst, Chao Erh-sun, sei ein offener Parteigänger der Dynastie. Seine Voreingenommenheit spreche aus jeder Zeile. Das Werk sei nicht nur chinesen-feindlich, sondern auch nicht wahrheitsgemäss, als Geschichtsquelle ohne jeden Wert ²²⁾.

Peake takes a different view:

That there is need for a thoroughgoing revision to correct many errors of fact, emphasis and interpretation has been well pointed out by many Chinese critics. Yet, if cautiously used, there is in the history much of value, at least as long as the archives and other materials upon which it is based still remain partly inaccessible. Moreover, there are occasional bits of information to be found in the work, which are not contained in the recently published materials from the archives, nor even in the censoriously edited *Ch'ing shih lu* ²³⁾.

As far as the study of Sino-Tibetan relations is concerned, the opinion of the CSK which can be arrived at would be in support of Peake's view. In its first box (hsien 函 or chih 帙), the CSK contains eight ts'e (冊). The first ts'e (5 chüans) contains the Index, the next seven ts'es (25 chüans) contain the Basic Annals, chronologically arranged, of the dynasty. The remainder of the work is arranged subject-wise. Thus,

²²⁾ Haenisch, p. 408.

²³⁾ Peake, p. 363.

CSK chüans 518-525 are the same as *lieh chuan* 列傳 chüans 305-312, or *Fan Pu* 藩部 chüans 1-8²⁴⁾. CSK 520 = *lieh chuan* 307 = *Fan Pu* 3, pages 10 b-18 b deals with the Ala-shan O-lu-t'e; CSK 522 = *lieh chuan* 309 = *Fan Pu* 5 deals with the O-lu-t'e of Ch'ing-hai; and CSK 525 = *lieh chuan* 312 = *Fan Pu* 8 deals with Tibet. These chüans are valuable, because the authors have prefaced the chronological narrative with short notices, not readily available elsewhere, on the origin and subsequent ramifications of the tribes in question. In the case of Tibet, we find a summary of its relations with China in T'ang, Yüan and Ming times, which, if unoriginal, is, at least, useful. Insofar as the seventeenth century is concerned, this chüan is, as we have seen, virtually a reproduction of the corresponding chüan in the *Sheng Wu Chi*.

5) And so we come to the *Ch'ing shih lu* 清實錄²⁵⁾, the "Veritable Records" or "Complete Annals" of the Ch'ing dynasty²⁶⁾. These were published in 1937 by the Council of State Affairs (Kuo Wu Yüan 國務院) of the Government of Manchu-kuo, under the title of *Ta Ch'ing li chao shih lu* 大清歷朝實錄, and were printed in Tokyo by the Okura Shuppan Kabushiki Kaisha 大藏出版株式會社. The whole series, from 1583 to 1912, is contained in 121 boxes (chih 帙). Each box contains ten ts'e 冊, so the whole series contains 1,210 ts'e, apart from the Index Volume (shou chih 首帙), which again contains ten ts'e. As been said before, in its completeness, the CSL adequately replaces earlier compilations such as the THL.

The parts of the CSL which have been consulted for the present book are as follows (*see next page*):

²⁴⁾ *Lieh chuan* 列傳 means "Biographies"; *Fan Pu* 藩部 means "Section on Barbarians".

²⁵⁾ Hereinafter referred to as CSL.

²⁶⁾ Walter Fuchs: «Über die Shih lu 實錄 der Mandju Dynastie», *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur (Supplement der Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, XIV)*, Tokyo, 1936, pp. 58-71; *ibid.*, «Zur Druckausgabe der Shih lu der Mandju Dynastie», *Monumenta Serica* Peiping, III, 1938, pp. 296-297; K. Biggerstaff, «Some Notes on the Tung hua lu, 東華錄 and the Shih lu 實錄», *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, IV, 1939, pp. 101-115.

<i>Posthumous Titles of Emperors, with dates of accession and death</i>	<i>Reign Periods</i>	<i>CSL References</i>	<i>Periods covered by CSL References</i>
T'ai Tsung 太宗 (20 October 1626 - 21 September 1643)	T'ien Tsung 天聰, 1st year-9th year. (16 February 1627-6 February 1636). Ch'ung Te 崇德, 1st year-8th year. (7 February 1636-7 February 1644).	Chih 3, ts'e 21-30, chüans 29-65 ²⁷⁾	From Ch'ung Te, 1st year, 5th month (3 June-2 July 1636) ²⁸⁾ , to Ch'ung Te, 8th year, 8th month (13 September-12 October 1643).
Shih Tsu 世祖 (8 October 1643- 5 February 1661)	Shun Chih 順治, 1st year-18th year. (8 February 1644-17 February 1662).	Chih 4, ts'e 31 - Chih 6, ts'e 60, chüans 1-144.	From Ch'ung Te, 8th year, 8th month (13 September-12 October 1643), to Shun Chih, 18th year, 1st month (30 January-28 February 1661).
Sheng Tsu 聖祖 (7 February 1661- 20 December 1722)	K'ang Hsi 康熙, 1st year-61st year. (18 February 1662-4 February 1723).	Chih 7, ts'e 61 - Chih 12, ts'e 112, chüans 1-227	From Shun Chih, 18th year, 1st month (30 Jan.-28 Feb. 1661) ²⁹⁾ , to K'ang Hsi, 45th year, 12th month (4 January-2 February 1707).

²⁷⁾ The Chih and ts'e of the CSL are numbered serially for the whole series, thus: *chih* 1-121, *ts'e* 1-1210. The *chüans* are numbered separately under each Emperor, thus: T'ai Tsung, ch. 1-65; Shih Tsu, ch. 1-144; Sheng Tsu, ch. 1-300. This numbering of the *chüans* ignores the "Index *chüans*", which Biggerstaff includes in his calculation, p. 102.

²⁸⁾ The Ch'ung Te period was proclaimed on 14 May 1636 (T'ien Tsung, 10th year, 4th month, 10th day, chia-shen), the 1st day of the 1st year of the period to commence with retrospective effect on the 1st day of the 10th year of T'ien Tsung (7 February 1636). The CSL covers the first 4 months of the 1st year of Ch'ung Te as T'ien Tsung 10th year 1st-4th months (7 February-2 June 1636) in Chih 2, ts'e 20, *chüans* 27-28.

²⁹⁾ Shun Chih died on 5 February 1661 (Shun Chih 18th year, 1st month, 7th day, ting-ssu). His successor continued the 18th year of Shun Chih (30 January 1661-17 February 1662) to its end. The 1st year of K'ang Hsi - the reign-title which Shun Chih's successor adopted and under which he became famous - began on 18 February 1662. K'ang Hsi was born on 4 May 1654 and was, therefore, only 6 years and 9 months when he came to the Throne. A Council of Regency ruled till 1667. See CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 23, p. 3 b, K'ang Hsi 6th year, 7th month, chi-yu (25 August 1667) and A. W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington, 1944, I, p. 328.

The CSL is, in the first place, a diary of the Emperor, the Imperial family and the Imperial Court. Thus we find recorded here, the places where the Emperor lived, the journeys he made, the acts of worship he performed, the audiences he held and the parades, sports, etc., he watched or indulged in. The parts, however, which are of greater interest to students of history are the documents which are incorporated in the CSL. These documents are, in the main, of the following types:

奏 Tsou. Memorials to the Throne, usually, but not necessarily, written. At the Imperial Conference at Dolon Nor (29 May 1691), for instance, what was *said* to the Emperor in person by the person having audience, was regarded as a Memorial as much as a formal written Memorial³⁰).

題 T'i. A Memorial on a special subject. Fairbank and Têng say that "t'i-pen 題本 concerned chiefly routine local civil affairs and bore the seal of the memorialist, tsou-pen 奏本 concerned chiefly important matters of state or the personal affairs of the memorialist and did not bear the seal of the memorialist"³¹).

疏 Shu or Su. Also a memorial but, more specifically, a setting-forth of facts, a memorandum or an explanation.

諭 Yü. Giles, in his Chinese-English Dictionary (1909-12), p. 1680, translates this term as "to issue orders; instructions; to proclaim; to notify". Fairbank and Têng translate as "Imperial Edict"³²). However, in CSL documents dated 6 February 1685 and 15 March 1696, among other such documents, we hear of Edicts (yü 諭) issued by the Dalai Lama and Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan respectively³³). Here, obviously, the translation "*Imperial Edict*" would

³⁰) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 151, pp. 8 a-b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 5th month, ting-hai (29 May 1691):

土謝圖汗跪奏曰... 澤卜尊丹巴胡土克圖跪奏曰...
(The Tüšiyetu knelt and memorialized, saying... The rJe-bTsun dam-pa Khutuytu knelt and memorialized, saying...).

³¹) J. K. Fairbank, S. Y. Teng, «On the Types and Uses of Ch'ing Documents», *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, V, 1, January 1940 (reproduced in *Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies XIX: Ch'ing Administration, Three Studies*, Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 7.

³²) Fairbank, Teng, *op. cit.*, p. 105 (yü 諭) and p. 94 (Shang yü 上諭).

³³) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 119, p. 2 a, K'ang Hsi 24th year, 1st month, chia-tzu (6 February 1685):

達賴喇嘛所遣諭和喀爾喀七旗之參巴陳布胡土克圖。

not apply. But, considering *Imperial Edicts* only, it should be borne in mind that they could be either written or spoken; that they could contain specific orders, e.g., to the Princes-Counsellors and High Officials (I cheng wang ta chen têng 議政王大臣等); or they could not, e.g., in a letter to the Dalai Lama. In fact, very often, an "Imperial Edict" seems to be an equivalent of "Imperial utterance" (Lun yin 綸音 or Ssu lun 絲綸)³⁴).

議 I. Proposals. The usual procedure for the Emperor, on receipt of a Memorial, was to send it to the Princes-Counsellors and High Officials for discussion. The result of their discussion was reported to the Emperor in Proposals or "drafts of an Imperial decision"³⁵).

旨 Chih. An Imperial Rescript or Imperial Decree³⁶), issued on receipt of the Proposals. The main difference between a *yü* 諭 and a *chih* 旨 seems to be that whereas a *yü* 諭 was often issued by the Emperor of his own accord, the *chih* 旨 was consequent to the receipt of Proposal. The Decree could be very short, e.g. 依議 *i i* (Let it be done as proposed) when the entire Proposals were accepted. In the reign of K'ang Hsi, however, the Proposals were, more often than not, only partly accepted.

敕 Ch'ih or 敕書 Ch'ih shu, Imperial Letters³⁷) or Letters-Patent - definitely written documents - are frequent in the CSL. Somewhat less frequent are the *cha* 劄 or *hsün* 訓³⁸), Instructions issued to officials. Mention should also be made of the *ming* 命 or *ling* 令, Imperial Orders, usually on civil matters; and the *hsi* 檄, military orders.

Mention must also be made, in connection with the Chinese sources, of the two following works:

(San-pa Ch'en-pu Hu-t'u-k'e-t'u whom the Dalai Lama had sent with an Edict, ordering peace among the 7 Banners of the Khalkhas.); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 171, p. 8a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 2nd month, chi-hai (15 March 1696) (K'ang Hsi to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan): 爾其遍諭爾之屬衆· (You may, therefore, issue an Edict to your subjects every where).

³⁴) Fairbank, Teng, *op. cit.*, p. 91, p. 95.

³⁵) Fairbank, Teng, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³⁶) *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³⁷) Giles, and Fairbank, Teng say "Imperial command(s)" for *ch'ih* 敕·

³⁸) Fairbank, Teng, p. 76, p. 86.

6) The *Ch'ing Shih* 清史, in 8 volumes, published from Tai-pei in 1961; and

7) the translations from the *Ch'in ting huang yü hsi yü t'u chih* 欽定皇輿西域圖志 and the *Ch'in ting wai fan Meng-ku Hui pu wang kung piao ch'uan* 欽定外藩蒙古回部王公表傳 (1779-95), published in Pelliot, *Oeuvres Posthumes VI: Notes Critiques d'Histoire Kalmouke* Paris, 1960³⁹⁾.

What, it may now be asked, is the worth of these Chinese histories? As a starting point of a discussion on this question, we may take the exchange of views which took place between the Professors Sargent and Dubs in 1944-46. Speaking of the *Ch'ien Han shu* 前漢書 or Documents of the Former Han Dynasty (202 B.C. -9 A.D.) by Pan Ku 班固 (32-92 A.D.), on which subsequent compilations of dynastic documents were modelled, Professor Sargent says that the Chinese compiler of documents proceeded on two principles: (1) the praise and blame principle (*pao pien* 褒貶) and (2) the principle of using the right terms (*chêng ming* 正名). The latter was founded on the Confucian Analects, XIII, 3: 子路曰: 衛君待子而爲政子將奚先. 子曰: 必也正名乎. which Legge translates as follows:

Tsze-lu said: 'The ruler of Wei has been waiting for you in order, with you, to administer the government. What will you consider the first thing to be done?' The Master replied: 'What is necessary is to rectify names'⁴⁰⁾.

Sargent goes on to say:

The Chinese historian's task was to maintain orthodox attitudes of political morality and to compile his documents in such a way as to indicate the relation of actual political events to this orthodox political standard. His historical record, then, was intended prima-

³⁹⁾ See later, under Mongolian Sources.

⁴⁰⁾ J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics* 2nd edition, Oxford, 1893, I, p. 263. See also S. Couvreur, *Les Quatre Livres (Cathasia, Série Culturelle des Hautes Etudes de Tien-Tsin)*, Paris, undated, pp. 209-10:

Tzeu lou dit: 'Si le prince de Wei vous attendait pour régler avec vous les affaires publiques, à quoi donneriez-vous votre premier soin?'. 'A rendre à chaque chose son vrai nom', répondit le Maître.

rily as an ethical interpretation of political events, which would serve as a guide in political morality for subsequent rulers. Pre-eminent in his mind was the incumbent necessity to portray history as it should have been, according to the orthodox standards, and not as it was. For him "history" was not a comprehensive analytical study of the relation between political and economic forces and political events, but was primarily a subject of moral instruction for rulers with examples selected from historical events⁴¹⁾.

Sargent proceeds to define the "orthodox political morality" referred to above as, fundamentally, "unconditional loyalty to the Emperor". This meant that the last ruler of the dynasty preceding that under whose patronage the historian wrote – and all official histories were written under such patronage – was invariably portrayed as a scoundrel, the founder of the dynasty to which the historian's patron belonged as a saint⁴²⁾.

Professor Dubs, who translated the Imperial Annals (ti chi 帝紀) of Pan Ku's compilation as *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*⁴³⁾, replies by saying:

The classical Chinese conception of history has been that it is a *record* of events. The interpretation of events, which is today considered the main function of the historian, would have been rejected by classical Chinese historians as something quite distinct from history. For such an interpretation must be subjective, whereas history as such, was expected to be entirely objective. Chinese historians would probably have condemned modern occidental histories as being subjective essays rather than objective histories⁴⁴⁾.

Professor Dubs then quotes two passages from the Classics to illustrate the Confucian standard of historiography:

1) The Analects, XV, 25:

子曰：吾猶及史之闕文也……今亡已夫。

⁴¹⁾ C. B. Sargent, «Subsidized History, Pan Ku and the Historical Records of the Former Han Dynasty», *Far Eastern Quarterly* (Columbia University Press), Vol. III, 2, February 1944, p. 134.

⁴²⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 136–137.

⁴³⁾ 3 volumes, Waverley Press, Baltimore, 1938, 1944 and 1955.

⁴⁴⁾ H. H. Dubs, «The reliability of Chinese Histories», *Far Eastern Quarterly*, VI, 1 (November 1946), p. 29.

which he translates as follows:

I can still remember when a clerk would leave blank spaces (when transcribing an illegible text)... Now, alas! such things are no more ⁴⁵⁾.

2) The Spring and Autumn Annals, Tso Ch'uan, Duke Hsiang, 25th year:

大史書曰：崔杼弑其君，崔子殺之，其弟嗣書，而死者二人，其弟又書乃舍之，南史氏聞大史盡死，執簡以往，聞既書矣乃還

which Legge translates in the following manner:

The grand historiographer wrote (in his tablets): 'Ts'uy Ch'oo murdered his ruler' – for which Ts'uy tsze put him to death. Two of his brothers did the same after him, and were also put to death. A third wrote the same, and was let alone. The historiographer in the south, hearing that the grand historiographer and his brothers had died in this way, took his tablets and set out (for the court); but hearing on the way that the record was made, he returned ⁴⁶⁾.

The Confucian historiographer laid down his life rather than write an untruth. "The extraordinarily high Confucian ideal of historical accuracy", concludes Professor Dubs, "has kept the best Chinese histories up to a high standard of reliability" ⁴⁷⁾.

The present research leads to three major criticisms of Ch'ing official records:

1) Firstly, it is undoubtedly true that the portrayal not only of the last Ming rulers such as Hsi Tsung 熹宗 (Reign Title: Tien Ch'i 天啟, 1621–28) and Chu Yu-chien 失由檢 or Chuang Lieh Ti 莊烈帝 (Reign Title: Ch'ung Chen 崇禎, 1628–44), but also of all persons who incurred the enmity of the Ch'ing dynasty, is biased in their disfavour. One can mention, in this instance, the "Bandit Leader" Li Tzu-cheng

⁴⁵⁾ Dubs, p. 35. Couvreur, *Les Quatre Livres*, p. 245, translates this passage as follows:

Le Maître dit: (Dans mon enfance) j'ai encore pu voir un historiographe qui n'écrivait rien dont il ne fût certain... A présent on n'en voit plus.

⁴⁶⁾ Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, V, Part II, pp. 510–511 and pp. 514 b–515 a.

⁴⁷⁾ Dubs, p. 43.

李自成, who actually held Peking between 25 April 1644 and 4 June 1644, and is called a "Bandit Leader" in the Ch'ing Annals simply because he did not succeed. If he had, he would have been described, in his own Annals, as the "Son of Heaven". But the material handled in this book provides three better examples:

a) Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 (d. 2 October 1678). In 1659, the Emperor Shun Chih described Wu San-kuei in the following terms:

We think that the said feudatory's sincerity and diligence have always been well-known. He is experienced and able. He is fit for his employment ⁴⁸).

In K'ang Hsi's time, there were, no doubt, complaints about Wu San-kuei from the Imperial Metropolitan officials ⁴⁹), but the Emperor's opinion was that Wu's "merit and industry are abundantly illustrious (勳勞茂著)" ⁵⁰).

On 28 December 1673, Wu started his rebellion ⁵¹). Writing to the Dalai Lama on 21 May 1675, K'ang Hsi described Wu as follows:

Wu San-kuei was a petty officer in Ming times. His father was killed by the roving bandit (Li Tzu-cheng). Humbly, (thereafter), Wu San-kuei begged to submit. Shih Tsu Chang Hwang Ti (1643-61) graciously elevated him and enfeoffed him as Prince. We, further, favoured him and granted him the title of Prince of the First Class. The favours which he received not only exceeded those which are given to ministers of the Court, but have also been rare since ancient times. Wu San-kuei was ungrateful to these extreme favours. He stirred up dissension and oppressed people. This made Heaven and mankind alike indignant. We, as the lord of the people of the Empire, how can We bear to allot land to him and to cease military operations against him (as you, the Dalai Lama, suggest) ⁵²)?

⁴⁸) CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 129, pp. 9 b-10 a, Shun Chih 16th year, 10th month (14 November-13 December 1659).

⁴⁹) e.g. from the Board of War (CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 20, pp. 8 b-9 a, K'ang Hsi 5th year, 10th month, hsün-wei, 20 November 1666) or the Board of Revenue (CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 39, p. 16 b, K'ang Hsi 11th year, intercalary 7th month, 23 August-20 September 1672).

⁵⁰) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 22, pp. 10 a-b, K'ang Hsi 6th year, 5th month, hsün-yü (8 July 1667).

⁵¹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 44, pp. 12 a-b, K'ang Hsi 12th year, 12th month, ping-chen (27 January 1674).

⁵²) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 54, pp. 17 a-b, K'ang Hsi 14th year, 4th month, i-mao (21 May 1675).

b) dGa'-ldan Taiji (b. 1644, succeeded 1671, d. 3 May 1697). On 1 October 1679, the Provincial Commander-in-Chief of Kan-su, Chang Yung 張勇 reported to the Emperor the finding of his spies that "As a person, dGa'-ldan is fierce and evil and addicted to wine and women"⁵³. Nevertheless, when dGa'-ldan attacked the Northern Khalkhas of the Tüšiyetü Khan in 1688, the Emperor blamed the Tüšiyetü Khan, not dGa'-ldan⁵⁴. Soon after the battle of Ulan Budung (3 September 1690)⁵⁵, however, we find the picture built up of dGa'-ldan as "an extremely crafty man (人殊狡詐)"⁵⁶, "not a person who can be trusted (非可信之人)"⁵⁷, "a thoroughly villainous rogue (誠反覆奸頑之徒也)"⁵⁸. The truth of the matter lies in the statement of the Emperor made on 5 September 1690:

From now on we ought to consider by what means to extirpate him root and branch⁵⁹.

As from 1690, as we shall see in this book, the Emperor of China set in motion vast diplomatic and military moves, which effectively cut the ground from under dGa'-ldan's feet, so that the Battle of Jao Modo (12 June 1696) was no more than a coup-de-grâce. As for craftiness, there is little lack of it in K'ang Hsi's instruction to Sha-ching, the Prince of the Khorcins, to lure dGa'-ldan to within striking distance of the Manchu-Chinese forces⁶⁰. On the other hand, the points which are never made explicitly about dGa'-ldan's character, but which are apparent even from the Chinese records, are: (i) dGa'-ldan's highly developed sense of loyalty

⁵³ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 83, p. 19 a, K'ang Hsi 18th year, 8th month, chi-chou (1 October 1679).

⁵⁴ e.g. in the Edict to the Dalai Lama, CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 139, pp. 7 a-9 b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 1st month, ting-hai (8 February 1689).

⁵⁵ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 148, pp. 2 b-3 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, hsinyu (5 September 1690).

⁵⁶ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 148, p. 12 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, ting-chou (21 September 1690).

⁵⁷ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 156, p. 10 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 9th month, i-chou (28 October 1692).

⁵⁸ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 156, p. 17 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 9th month, i-chou (28 October 1692).

⁵⁹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 148, p. 3 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, hsinyu (5 September 1690).

⁶⁰ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 157, pp. 27 a-b, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 12th month, chia-chen (4 February 1693); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 168, pp. 8 a-9 a, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 8th month, chi-yu (27 September 1695); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 171, p. 18 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 2nd month, keng-hsü (26 March 1696).

to his tribal ethics. The Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas having killed his (dGa'-ldan's) brother, his ethics required him to take revenge, and revenge he would take even if it meant a clash with the mighty Ch'ing Empire. (ii) dGa'-ldan's by no means inferior qualities as a soldier, his tactics being based on swift, quick movements and swift, quick attack. An exemplification of these tactics, to the discomfiture of the Ch'ing, we shall see in 1690⁶¹⁾.

c) Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho (born 1653, Regent of Tibet 1679-1705). This will be discussed later⁶²⁾.

Summing up the portrayal of the three "enemies of the Ch'ing" named above, it seems that they are all drawn, in Ch'ing documents, as petty persons who were elevated by the Emperor's grace, who were ungrateful to that grace, and were therefore justly punished. The stereotyped nature of the portrait of an ungrateful rebel and a magnanimous, forbearing Emperor - forbearing, till he is left with no alternative but to punish the wicked - leads to the conclusion that this is, perhaps, no more than a propaganda picture.

2) The second criticism which one can offer of the Ch'ing documents is not so much a criticism of Chinese historiography, as of a certain idealistic philosophy, which is inherent in the conception of *chêng ming* 正名. An ideal society exists when names can be applied correctly, i.e., when the term "ruler" can be correctly applied to the actual ruler, in other words, when the actual ruler conforms fully to the *ideal* of a ruler, the father to the ideal of a father, the son to the ideal of a son, and so on. Such a philosophy can be used to assert that only the ideal exists. Nothing exists outside the ideal. The non-ideal does not exist, simply because it cannot exist. Only the ideal is real.

a) We have, in this instance, the old question of "tribute" (kung 貢). All presents from foreign princes are, from the official Chinese point of view, tribute. Thus, a Ch'ing document dated 24 November 1693 says:

鄂羅斯察漢汗·遣使進貢·

The Czar of the Russians (Peter the Great, 1689-1730) sent envoys to present tribute⁶³⁾.

⁶¹⁾ See this book, later, pp. 19-20; also, pp. 180-181.

⁶²⁾ This book, pp. 41-52.

⁶³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 160, p. 26 b, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 10th month, ting-yu (24 November 1693).

As Fairbank and Têng have shown in their article « On the Ch'ing tributary system »⁶⁴⁾, as far as the Outer Barbarians were concerned, the "tribute" was simply a fee which they had to pay in order to trade with China. This fact was indicated by Father Gerbillon, in the seventeenth century, when he wrote:

Tous les Princes Kalkas, pour avoir la liberté du commerce de la Chine, rendoient une espèce d'hommage à l'Empereur: cet hommage consistoit à lui envoyer un chameau et neuf chevaux blancs, par forme de tribut. Ils ne s'acquitoient pas fort régulièrement de ce devoir, et ils s'en dispensoient quand ils le jugeoient à propos⁶⁵⁾.

Mention can also be made here of the blurring, and even the suppression, of facts which were not acceptable to the ideal world of the Confucian scholar-official. Such a thing for instance, as a defeat inflicted on an Imperial army cannot exist. Hence, either it does not exist; or, if it does exist, it exists not quite as a defeat.

b) Of the suppression of an officially unacceptable fact, we have an example in 1690.

Early in 1690, dGa'-ldan Taiji resumed his attack on the Khalkhas, principally, the Middle Khalkhas of the Sain Noyan and the Eastern Khalkhas of the Secen Khan. K'ang Hsi ordered Mongol troops to be mobilised along the barrier of the Tula and Onon rivers⁶⁶⁾. On 11 May 1690, news arrived that dGa'-ldan had clashed with Todo Erdeni (of the Middle Khalkhas of the Sain Noyan), one of the commanders whom the Emperor had ordered to be mobilised on 20 April 1690; and that he was about to attack Gumbo (mGon-po) Kündülen Boşuγtu, the 13th son of Tümengken, the Sain Noyan of the Middle Khalkhas⁶⁷⁾. On 24 July 1690, a further report arrived that dGa'-ldan had crossed the territory of the Ku-lun (or Dalai) Nor, moved up the Ursun river to the territory of the Büyür (or Buir) Nor and arrived at the Khalkha river, at a distance of only one day's journey from the defended frontier. The Manchu general, Ananda, stationed himself

⁶⁴⁾ *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VI, 2, June 1941, pp. 135-246. Reproduced in *Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies*, XIX, 1960, pp. 107-218.

⁶⁵⁾ J. B. du Halde, *Description... de l'Empire de la Chine*, Hague, 1736, IV, pp. 39-70, « Observations historiques sur la Grande Tartarie tirées des Memoires du Père Gerbillon », pp. 56-57.

⁶⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 145, pp. 3 b-4 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 3rd month, jen-yin (19 April 1690) and kuei-mao (20 April 1690).

⁶⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 145, pp. 10 a-11 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 4th month, chia-tzu (11 May 1690).

at the Dabasun (Ta pen ta shih 他奔他什) Nor, in Üjümücin territory, to wait for him⁶⁸⁾.

What has not been said in these passages, but what is apparent, is that either dGa'-ldan had broken through the line of Imperial defence at the Tula and Onon rivers, or that the line had never been set up.

c) The result of dGa'-ldan's advance in 1690 was the battle of the River Wu-êrh-hui 烏爾會 (26 July 1690), in which, it is apparent from the report of the Manchu commander, the President of the Board of Dependencies A-la-ni, that he (A-la-ni) was defeated⁶⁹⁾. The Princes-Counsellors and High Officials described this as a mere "loss of advantage 失利)", but recommended, nonetheless, that A-la-ni and his colleagues be deprived of their duties altogether. K'ang Hsi deprived A-la-ni and his colleague of their rank of Counsellors, demoted them four ranks and transferred them⁷⁰⁾. Yet, writing to dGa'-ldan, he (K'ang Hsi) said:

That the President of the Board (of Dependencies) A-la-ni beat you (擊汝) was not the intention of this Court⁷¹⁾.

The defeat is similarly slurred over in later documents. The indecisive defeat which was inflicted on dGa'-ldan at Ulan Budung on 3 September 1690 is, however, always mentioned⁷²⁾.

3) The third criticism of Ch'ing official documents is that – at times, at any rate, if not always – they record only such facts as occurred within the official range of activities. Facts which did not occur within the official range of activities have not been recorded. This is different from the non-recording of facts which, though they occurred within the official range of activities, were ideally unacceptable. We are now discussing facts which, though acceptable, did not occur within the official range of activities, and hence have not been recorded.

⁶⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 146, pp. 14 b–16 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 6th month, mou-yin (24 July 1690).

⁶⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 146, pp. 24 a–25 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 6th month, mou-tzu (3 August 1690).

⁷⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 25 a.

⁷¹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 a–b.

⁷²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 152, p. 2 a, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 6th month, i-mao (26 June 1691); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 156, p. 11 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 9th month, i-chou (28 October 1692) (to dGa'-ldan Taiji); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 156, p. 15 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year; 9th month, i-chou (28 October 1692) (to the Dalai Lama); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 173, p. 6 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year 5th, month, chi-wei (3 June 1696).

The best example of this is A-la-ni's report on the mission of peace-making on which he was sent to the Khalkhas. The Peace was arrived at at a meeting on 3 October 1686 and the Report appears in the CSL under a date corresponding to 22 November 1686⁷³⁾. In this Report, A-la-ni does not speak of the fierce quarrel which broke out at that very meeting of 3 October 1686 between dGa'-ldan Taiji and the Khalkhas, which led to the battles of Wu-êrh-hui (26 July 1690) and Ulan Budung (3 September 1690) and ultimately to the battle of Jao Modo (12 June 1696). That such a quarrel did take place we know from Father Gerbillon, who heard about it from A-la-ni himself⁷⁴⁾. Can A-la-ni, then, be accused of suppressing relevant facts in his official Report? The answer is No, because A-la-ni was an official, sent out on official business, with official terms of reference. There was no need for him to report on matters which were outside his terms of reference.

All these three criticisms of Ch'ing documents can be summed up by stressing the fact that they are *official* documents. This explains the fact that enemies of the official system are treated unfavourably; that only official terminology is used and that facts unacceptable to the official system are either not mentioned or slurred over; and that only such facts have been recorded as occurred within the official range of activities, facts which, though acceptable, did not occur within the official range of activities being omitted.

The need, therefore, in handling Chinese official records is, firstly, to read carefully, between the lines, not only that which has been written, but also that which has not been written. Secondly, to corroborate, wherever possible, with non-Chinese sources.

B) The Tibetan Sources⁷⁵⁾.

The Tibetan sources used in this book are as follows:

1) rJe . btsun . thams . cad . mkhyen . pa . bsod . nams . rgya . mtsho'i . rnam . thar . dños . grub . rgya . mtsho'i . śiñ . rta. (The Vehicle

⁷³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 127, pp. 26 b-27 b, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 10th month, mou-wu (22 November 1686).

⁷⁴⁾ du Halde (1736), IV, p. 57.

⁷⁵⁾ The best available account of Tibetan historiography will be found in G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, I, pp. 139-170: « A Brief Outline of the Historical Literature with particular reference to the sources used or quoted in this work ».

of a multitude of Accomplishments, being the Life of the Exalted Lord, the All-Knowing bSod-nams rGya-mTsho), 109 leaves ⁷⁶⁾.

This is the Biography of bSod-nams rGya-mTsho, the third Dalai Lama (b. 1542/43, d. 1588) by Ņag-dBañ Blo-bZañ rGya-mTsho, the fifth Dalai Lama (1617-82), completed in the year 1646 (11th Cycle, *me-khyi*, Fire-Dog) ⁷⁷⁾. It was made use of by Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho (1653-1705) in his work, *Vai-durya Ser-po'i Me-loñ* (The Mirror of Yellow Lapis Lazuli), completed in 1698 (12th Cycle, *sa-stag*, Earth-Tiger), in dealing with the twelfth Abbot of 'Bras-sPuñs – also the fifteenth Abbot of Se-ra – who was none other than the third Dalai Lama ⁷⁸⁾. It was also paraphrased by 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe in his *Hor Chos 'byuñ* (History of Buddhism in Mongolia), completed in 1819, in dealing with the Life of the third Dalai Lama ⁷⁹⁾.

2) Gañs . ris . bskor . ba'i . ljoñs . su . mchog . gsum . dam . par . gtan . gyi . sbyañs . su . 'dzin . ciñ . /rNam . 'dren . zas . gtsañ . sras . po'i . bstan . pa . rin . po . che . la . phud . dud . sogs . bla . na . med . par . bkur . ba'i . sa . la . spyod . pa'i . mtho . ris . kyi . rgyal . blon . rnames . gtso . bor . brjod . pa'i . deb . ther . rdzogs . ldan . gžon . nu'i . dga' . ston . dpyid . kyi . rgyal . mo'i . glu . dbyañs . (The Song of the Cuckoo, or The Feast of the youthful Satya-yuga, being the Records speaking principally of the Kings and Ministers of the Upper Region who, living on Earth, honoured, with honour than which there is no higher, the precious Teaching of the leader, the son of Śuddhodana, and sought refuge in the Three Precious Things, in this land surrounded by snowy mountains), 113 leaves ⁸⁰⁾.

⁷⁶⁾ Hereinafter referred to as the 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-Thar.

⁷⁷⁾ See Kanakura, Yamada, Hadano, Tada, *Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works of Buddhism* (Seminary of Indology, Tohoku University, Sendai, Japan, 1953), Section VII, Tome 83, No. 5590, Ņa 1-109; Tucci, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 167-168. There is a copy of this work in the India Office Library, London, Tibetan Collection, Das 3, Box 1 (b). A microfilm of this copy is available in the Library of St. Antony's College, Oxford.

⁷⁸⁾ Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho: *Vai-durya Ser-po'i Me-loñ*, edited by Lokesh Chandra Śatapiṭaka, Vol. 12, (International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1960), pp. 101-110.

⁷⁹⁾ 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe: *Hor Chos-'byuñ*, edited and translated by G. Huth as *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, I (Text), Strassburg, 1892, pp. 127-146; II (Translation), 1896, pp. 200-232. See this book, later, p. 37 and Note 115 on that page.

⁸⁰⁾ Hereinafter referred to as the 5th Dalai Lama's rGyal-rabs.

This is the Chronicle of Tibet, completed in the spring of the year 1643, by the fifth Dalai Lama (1617-82)⁸¹⁾. It was written in order to celebrate the accession to the rule of Tibet, in the spring of the previous year (1642), of Guši Khan (1582-1655), the Khan of the Khošot, and the giving of Tibet by Guši Khan to the fifth Dalai Lama, as an offering. As a type of Tibetan historiography, it belongs to the type which is known as *rGyal-rabs* (the history of Kings) and the book is usually referred to as the fifth Dalai Lama's *rGyal-rabs*. Its main purpose is to show that all Tibetan history led up to the great event of 1642.

The fifth Dalai Lama himself calls it "an account of how the present came into being" (da . lta'i . dus . kyi . snañ . tshul . 'di) (p. 110 b). Why he wrote it, he explains in a striking verse at p. 111 b:

Ya . rabs . tshul . du . rigs . rus . cho . 'brañ . gi . /
 Yoñs . 'du'i . ljon . pa . rgyas . pa . rmad . byuñ . yañ . /
 Tshe . ldan . bya . ba'i . spyod . tshul . mi . śes . na . /
 gSer . skyogs . snod . du . ñan . skyugs . rlug(s) . dañ . mtshuñs . /
 Although the paradise of the families (regarded) as former generations is marvellous, if one does not know the deeds of the living, it is like vomiting into a golden bowl (i.e. it is showing disrespect towards the former generations).

For whom the Chronicle was written is told in the following verses at p. 112 a:

Mi . mjed . žiñ . gi . gañs . ri'i ?? sde . bži'i . rtsal . gsum . yoñs . su .
 rdzogs . pa'i . mtho . ris . rgyal . po . gdoñ . lña'i . dbañ . /
 Rim . par . byon . pa . bsñags . tshigs . svasti'i . sgra'i . gdub . sil .
 'khrol . bas . ya . rabs . mdun . sa'i . kha . rgyan . spel . legs . 'di . /
 Śes . bya'i . rba . kloñ . yid . mtshor . rol . ba'i . ban . de . tshañs . dbañ .
 sras ? bžad . pa'i . 'dzum . ldan . legs . bśad . gter . mdzod . kyis . /
 Mi . bdag . gsuñ . gi . ri . bo . man . dha . ra . yis . bskul . ltar . dpyad .
 gsum . dag . pa'i . 'chi . med . lus . phra'i . pad . mo . bskrun . /
 Gañs . can . 'dzin . ma'i . dpyid . kyi . mñal . khur . las . /
 Blo . gros . yal . 'dab . dar . ba'i . śes . ldan . rnam . /
 Ñom . mtshar . gtam . gyi . legs . bśad . skyes . 'dod . na . /
 Deb . ther . dpyid . kyi . rgyal . mo'i . dbyañs . 'di . bsten . /

⁸¹⁾ *Tohoku Catalogue*, p. 250 (Section VII A, Tome 94, No. 5664, Dza 1-113); Tucci, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 145-147. In Vol. II, pp. 625-651, Professor Tucci translates, with some omissions, pp. 53 b-110 a of this work. In the copy in the India Office Library, London, (Lhasa F. 1.), pp. 111 a and 111 b are torn at the right hand side, and pp. 113 a-b are missing. A microfilm of this copy is available in St. Antony's College, Oxford.

The power of the Lion, who is the Heavenly King, who has entirely perfected the three skills and is the king of the four parts (surrounded by?) the snowy mountains of the Earth, having, gradually, come hither; to the accompaniment of the sound of bracelets and cymbals which utter the laudatory word: "Svasti" (May good befall you), this Chronicle is the betel-leaf which is distributed in the assembly of the noble ones. (I) the monk, Brahma-putra, was sporting in the lake of a mind which contained the eddies and waves of knowledge... (?) The sea of prose which blossoms forth in smiles, being exhorted by the Mount Mandara of the words of the Lord of Men (Gushi Khan) produced this lotus of the thrice-tested holy daughter of the gods. From the womb of the Spring in the Snowy Land of Tibet, if one desires a narrative, containing a wonderful account (of the past) and possessed of wisdom which spreads out the branches and leaves of knowledge, Let him heed this History, which is the Sound of the Cuckoo.

Finally, we have the statement of sources in the Colophon (p. 112 b):

Relying on the exhortation given by the order of the powerful lord, the Upholder-of-the-Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith (Gushi Khan), I have examined minutely well-founded records such as (a) the Will of Sroñ btsan sGam-po called *bKa'-tshems bKa'-khol-ma*, (b) the Deb-ther of the lord of learned men, the Translator from 'Gos, gZon-nu dPal (*Deb-ther sNon-po* or *The Blue Annals*) and (c) that of the Tshal-pa sect (*Deb-ther dmar-po* or *the Red Annals*). I have raised certain objections to the unfounded and foolish books written by the conceited and proud... (remainder missing).

The completion of the rGyal-rabs in 1643 is recorded in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume I, p. 119 b. To this work we now turn.

3) Za . hor . gyi . ban . de . ñag . dbañ . blo . bzañ . rgya . mtsho'i . 'di . snañ . 'khrul . pa'i . rol . rtsad . rtogs . brjod . kyi . tshul . du . bkod . pa . du . ku . la'i . gos . bzañ . (The fine silken dress, being the present illusory appearance of the priest from Za-hor, Ñag-dBañ Blo-bZañ rGya-mTsho, composed as an Avadāna)⁸²).

⁸²) The idea of calling the Autobiography "a Fine Silken Dress" was that the 5th Body of the Dalai Lama (that of "the priest from Za-hor, Ñag-dBañ Blo-bZañ rGya-

The Autobiography of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617-82), in effect a Diary, kept day by day, month by month, and year by year, is a voluminous work in three volumes⁸³⁾. A microfilm of Volume I (364 leaves), supplied by the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, is available in St. Antony's College, Oxford. Volumes II (281 leaves) and III (246 leaves) are available in the India Office Library, London⁸⁴⁾. Volume I covers the period between the date of the birth of the fifth Dalai Lama on 22 October 1617⁸⁵⁾, and the 4th Hor month of the year Śiñ-sBrul (Wood-Serpent) (i-ssu, 4th month = 15 May-12 June 1665). Volume II covers the period between 21 June 1665⁸⁶⁾ and 14 March 1676⁸⁷⁾; Volume III that between 14 March 1676⁸⁸⁾ and 16 October 1681⁸⁹⁾. On this day, the Autobiography ends abruptly. The fifth Dalai Lama died on 2 April 1682⁹⁰⁾.

How the Autobiography came to be written and put into its final shape is described in two passages of the Autobiography. The first is in Volume I, pp. 8 a-10 b:

In this age, since there is no need to put into writing the deeds which are wholly vitiated by the vice of the three poisons, a Biography (or Autobiography) which will delight the wise is extremely rare. Hence, formerly, some of my friends and associates, who were among my retinue, urged me to write an *Avadāna*. Nevertheless, the actual circumstances mentioned in the *sÑan . brgyud . kyi . lde . mig.*, being a picture of the mind in inner contemplation, composed

mTsho ") was no more than a "dress" put on for a period of time and put off again, without implying the "death" of the wearer of the "dress" (i.e. the body). *rTogs-brJod* or *Avadāna* = literally, discriminative speech, the utterance of what is fully grasped; a common designation for the recital of the events of an ideal life, full of instructive lessons (Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 539). The work is hereinafter referred to as the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography.

⁸³⁾ Tohoku Catalogue, Section VII, Tomes 77-79, Nos. 5588 (A-C), CA 1-364, CHA 1-281, JA 1-246; Tucci, I, pp. 164-165, where it is wrongly described as a Biography of the 5th Dalai Lama by the sDe-srid Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho.

⁸⁴⁾ R. & L. 19/07. 2 and Das 3 respectively. Microfilms of both these volumes are available in St. Antony's College, Oxford.

⁸⁵⁾ Me-sBrul (1617).

⁸⁶⁾ Śiñ — sBrul, 5th Hor month, 9th day (i-ssu, 5th month, 9th day = 21 June 1665).

⁸⁷⁾ Me-'Brug, 2nd Hor month, 1st day (ping-chen, 2nd month, 1st day = 14 March 1676).

⁸⁸⁾ Me-'Brug, 2nd Hor month, 1st day (ping-chen, 2nd month, 1st day = 14 March 1676).

⁸⁹⁾ lCags-Bya, 9th Hor month, 6th day (hsin-yu, 9th month, 6th day = 16 October 1681).

⁹⁰⁾ Chu-Khyi, 2nd Hor month, 25th day (jen-hsü, 2nd month, 25th day = 2 April 1682).

as a Biography (or Autobiography) by Phyag-na rDo-rJe, the great Abbot of lHo-brag, namely,

In the Age of Sin, in the border-regions, because of the apathy of the people, the dGe-sloñ Nam-mKha' rGyal-mTshan being unable to do so zealously, in a manner befitting the Divine Religion, I shall have no Biography, fit to be put into writing, having now come about, I gave up hope of writing an Autobiography and, thinking no more about it, became indifferent to it. Nevertheless, subsequently, in the year Tāraṇa (Ñi-sGrol-byed) or Wood-Ape (1644), the great Sun of the Teaching of us who bear the crest of the Yellow Hat, the glorious Lama, the holy 'Jam-dByaṅs dKon-mChog Chos-'phel, he of unequalled kindness, issued an edict that an *Avadāna* ought to be written, and spoke words to that effect to the dGe-sloñ bKra-śis bZaṅ-po. Moreover, he bestowed the Biography of Bo-doñ 'Jigs-'bral (to the dGe-sloñ), and said that it was well-written, and should be a model. Nevertheless, I did not greatly see the necessity (for writing). (But) because the Lama's exhortations were many, I offered the excuses that, at present, I had not much to write about concerning what is to be done by the faithful; that I was writing some texts concerning the Prajñāpāramitā; and that, therefore, I should not write (an *Avadāna*) immediately. (Thus) although, in that year, up to that day (when I put forward these excuses), there was no special hurry, yet, in course of time, (dKon-mChog Chos-'phel) issued an order that I ought not to be slothful. In the year Earth-Ox (1649), when I was residing in the Great Palace of the Potala, the Žabs-druñ of gNas-rÑiñ, Kun-dGa' bDe-legs Rin-chen rGyal-mTshan dPal-bZaṅ-po, who was a descendant of rGya sÑags-'chañ 'Jam-dPal gSaṅ-ba, the personal disciple of the Teacher Padmasambhava, the Second Buddha; and Ņag-dBañ Chos-kyi dBañ-phyug, who was an Incarnation of the Chos-rGyal (Dharma-rājā) of Ba-so, the fourth Abbot⁹¹⁾ of the Great Seat of dGa'-ldan rNam-par rGyal-ba'i Gliñ, made very pressing exhortations. The Lord bSod-nams mChog-ldan, who was a gracious Lama, a Holy One versed in the bKa'-'gyur and (one who) dwelt in the essence of the All-Pervading Lord rDo-rJe Sems-dPa' (Vajra-sattva); and Zur Kun-mKhyen Chos-dByiñs Rañ-Grol, these two, also approved of it as a good (plan). Many high and low persons of Tibet and the country of

⁹¹⁾ According to the VSP, p. 68, line 12, the Ba-so Chos-rJe was the 6th Abbot of dGa'-ldan, b. 1402, acc. 1463, d. 1473.

the Great Hor urged me by means of letters. The translator of Tibetan and Western Mongolian (Sog), Mergen dKa'-bCu Śes-rab rGya-mTsho, and Se-chen dBon-po Blo-bZaṅ Chos-'phel spoke to me personally, pressing. In the year Water-Mouse (1672), the mKhan-po of Bya-Khyuṅ appeared, bearing a letter said to be from Dalai Khung-taiji (urging me to write an *Avadāna*). In particular, in the year Fire-Horse (1666), the retired Teacher of (the College called) bKra-śis sGo-maṅs, in dPal-ldan 'Bras-sPuṅs (monastery), (called) Ga-ru Žal-sŅa-nas Ņag-dBaṅ dPal-'byor, gave me Teacher-Assistants. The Incarnate Great Guardian-of-the-Faith of gŅas-chuṅ lCog, too, sent a holy message that I should write an *Avadāna*, saying (further) that, because of its very great importance, it should be written immediately. With regard to myself alone, I could (indeed) write an Autobiography, but, with regard to (myself in relation to) others, there was nothing to write about. At present (i.e. in 1666), I had written a List of Books which I had read or heard of (Thob-yig), and, although this was an Autobiography as far as my life of learning was concerned, nevertheless, I promised to write, without delay, an Autobiography, which would appeal alike to high and low. Again, in the year Fire-Sheep (1667), at the time of the periodic worship of the gŅas-chuṅ deity by the monk-pupils, he loudly proclaimed the exhortation that (my Autobiography) ought to be quickly written. I had no hope of equalling, even fractionally, the *Avadānas* of the deeds of the many Translators, Paṇḍitas, wise men, Siddhas and Kalyāṇa-mitras (Spiritual Guides) who, by means of Hearing, Thinking and Meditation, wrought extensively the good both of themselves and of others; or (the deeds of) the former Kalyāṇamitras (Spiritual Guides) like Phu-chuṅ-pa; the Lord Mi-la-ras-pa; lCe-bTsun Seṅ-ge dBaṅ-phyug; rGyal-ba Brag-phug-pa bSod-nams dPal and the others who regarded the endless achievements of the world as bubbles of water and wrought (only) in the essence of *sādhana*. But, perhaps, if impartial observers, endowed with intelligence and having powers of discrimination were to consider the List of Books which I had read or heard of, called *Gaṅgā'i Chu-rGyun* ("The Flow of the Ganges"), which exists in arranged form and is set up in four books, and which I - (a) relying on the remainder of goodness (remaining) from previously accumulated works, (b) adhering to many holy teachers who were Kalyāṇamitras (Spiritual Guides) acting in conformity to religion, and some learned men versed in many sciences, and (c) doing a little Hearing and Thinking (of my

own) – (wrote), not (simply) piling up heaps of books ⁹²⁾, but making sure by boring into their separate recesses, their hearts would be somewhat pleased. With regard to deeds other than these (i.e. other than studying and writing), if I were to write also for the worldly-wise old men about agriculture, commerce, profits, the subduing of one's enemies, the care of one's friends, etc., the book would certainly have a similar form. Nevertheless, in the first place, in the Biography of the great and famous Paṇḍita, the Translator from sTag-tshañ, it is said:

Although it is not the way of the holy to praise oneself and deprecate others, with a loud voice which takes pride only in oneself; (yet) the making known of one's natural disposition, without exaggeration or deprecation, to one's followers, is (the way of?) the Buddha.

In accordance with this, if my deeds were not kept secret, then, although to those who criticise me openly, (it would be shown), by means of straight-forward narrative, free of crafty expressions such as “if there is not, there is” and “if there is, there is not”, how my Body, Speech and Mind enacted the drama of Happiness, Unhappiness and that which is between Happiness and Unhappiness... ⁹³⁾; if, in accordance with Nāṭyaśāstra, it were drawn up in the style of poetry, and the sections between the chapters written in verse, then, although those who are adepts in that direction would be pleased, the learned being engrossed in Teaching, Debating and Composing, would have little opportunity to consider it. For the wise, foolish and middling sort of persons, it ought to be a means of making the summer sun (of their faith) spread out its rays far and wide, and a feast for the eye and ear.

As to the bases of composition, although the words and expressions of (a) the *Byin-rLabs Phan-bDe'i sÑiñ-po-can* (“Containing the Blessings which are the Essence of Welfare and Happiness”), which Zur-chen rDo-rJe-'chañ Chos-dByiñs Rañ-Grol wrote at the exhortation of the Jai-sañ sDe-pa, and (b) the *mThoñ-bas Donldan mChog-tu dGa'-ba'i sGra-dByañs* (“The Excellent and Delightful Words and Sounds, meaningful at mere sight”), which the sMon-'Gro Paṇḍita, 'Jam-dByañs dBañ-rGyal rDo-rJe, wrote at the exhortation of 'Jam-dByañs Bla-ma dKon-mChog Chos-'phel, are well-sounding; nevertheless, because of such errors as that their

⁹²⁾ i.e. not merely compiling long lists of books.

⁹³⁾ The text, here, at p. 9 b, line 4, is illegible.

seeds were indiscriminately mixed, that they were incomplete, and that their thought was not very subtle, they were not very reliable. With regard to the Biography of Bo-doñ-pa, which 'Jam-dByañs dKon-mChog Chos-'phel had given me: because of the excessive praise (of him) written by his personal disciple, Śākya'i dGe-bsÑen 'Jigs-med 'Bañs, being a praise of oneself by (one of) one's own (school), it was without a defender (elsewhere) and was, therefore, unfit to be a model. Some monk-pupils, thinking themselves to be the incarnation of some supposed holy man, have written of his (i.e. that holy man's) births and (thus) the biographies of many lamas serially. Themselves (they have described), unhesitatingly, as having arrived like a promise (previously made) and as remembering clearly their former births. With regard to such writings, because, not only here but elsewhere, they are a cause of the breaking of the vow enjoining the renunciation of secular ways, I viewed them with anguish. The Biographies of some (other) lamas are drawn up excessively in the style of poetry, and are as common as the speech of some old cow-herds. I have looked at many good, bad and mediocre (Spiritual) Guide-Books and *Avadānas*, which give pleasure no matter whether looked at by high or low. Some, like Arjuna's arrow, are outwardly straightforward but, in their true nature, piercing others. Others, like a harlot's story, by means of duplicity of nature, place the blame on others. Others, like the Biography of Siddheśvara (Śiva), have been written as a marvellous story, only to excite fear, incapable of entering the mind otherwise. I did not follow in the path of these Biographies, but up to (the point in my Autobiography where I arrive at) my fifteenth year, I have based myself on whatever is clear in my memory. From then onwards, I have based myself on the drafts made by the Jai-sañ sDe-pa; 'Jam-dByañs sMon-'Gro Lo-tsa-ba; sKyar-po-pa Blo-bZañ Legs-ldan; Ñag-dBañ mKhyen-brTse of Chañ-Khyim in 'Phyos; Ñag-dBañ Nam-mKha' of sPos-'dzin in Tre-bo; Ñag-dBañ Phun-tshogs lHun-Grub, the great Translator from 'Dar, and others. The writings anew, which supplemented those passages (of the drafts) which were not clear, were separately compiled and put together in rolls of paper by the Translator from 'Dar; the dBon-po of gNas-gSar; Ñag-dBañ Nam-mKha' of Tre-bo; and Ñag-dBañ Byams-pa of dKar-brag, these four. They checked (the account of) my deeds against the summaries of my Hearing and Reading compiled by Blo-bZañ dÑos-Grub of sTag-ru. Further, in the fear that there might be some points which were not certain, or

which were doubtful, those who were in charge of the compilation, namely, Rig-byed-pa ṅag-dBaṅ Nam-mKha'; ṅag-dBaṅ Byams-pa of dKar-brag; the Sthavira 'Jam-dByaṅs Grags-pa; the sṅags-ram-pa of dPal-groṅ, ṅag-dBaṅ dGe-legs; and the others, placed my important collections of Teaching, Hearing and Composing under the exact dates (on which they were made). Other matters, being related in a few words, they placed in accordance with effectiveness of expression (brJod-bDe) in their appropriate places, keeping in view the right year, but not the month or day. (Having done this, ṅag-dBaṅ Nam-mKha', ṅag-dBaṅ Byams-pa, 'Jam-dByaṅs Grags-pa, ṅag-dBaṅ dGe-legs and the others) put down in writing, forcefully, whatever came to my mind.

The second passage is in Volume III, pp. 181b-182a, under a date corresponding to 30 April 1680 ⁹⁴⁾:

The sDe-pa Saṅs-rGyas rGya-mTsho - being ravished by the fact that there was in existence the complete materials of my Life, equal to the manifestations, incomprehensible to human intellect, of my deeds, which, by means of Hearing, Thinking and Meditation, these three practices; and by means of Teaching, Debating and Establishing the holy religion of (invariable) Injunctions and (variable) human understanding, to with and for all lamas, without regard to whether they were of our own creed or of another, had increased the Teaching in general and the happiness of living beings in particular - thought that this should be published. Being entirely seized by pure devotion to me, he urged me again and again to do so. (He said that) from (the study of) the true nature of my deeds, there would be faith at the seeing of the Lama Buddha. Further, there being (to hand) a source out of which arose Blessing and Perfection, the hearts of men would be gladdened. But (I thought that) this (the Diary as it stood now) should not be that which showed the works of my hand, saying (as it were): "These things were done for the upholding, maintenance and spread of the Teaching and the duties of living beings". If (nevertheless) with high adventurous spirit, it were published, although, indeed, our enemies would fear that they had been censured, yet it would not be an elegant (piece of writing). In spite of my saying this, he pressed his request earnestly, saying: "Although, with regard to Exalted

⁹⁴⁾ lCags-sPre, 4th Hor month, 2nd day (keng-shen, 4th month, 2nd day = 30 April 1680).

Ones, the series of holy incarnations up to (and including) Yon-tan rGya-mTsho (the fourth Dalai Lama, 1589-1617), and the many of one spirit who arrived at one time, found it difficult to identify their separate existences and (hence) wrote writings comparable to the Histories of the Rise and Development of Buddhism (Chos-'byuñ), Annals (Lo-rGyus) and Records (Deb-ther); to ordinary people, (life is) a daily round of facts divided equally between those which are and those which are not in agreement with Religion and the World". To this I said: "The Diary which I have, divided into periods of years, months and days, is certainly comparable to this (the daily life of ordinary people). Let it, therefore, be named 'A Biography of the outer life'". The Keeper of Archives, Guru rDo-rJe of gZis-ka Śar; 'Phrin-las rNam-rGyal; Ņag-dBañ 'Phrin-las of sGur-rTse; and Ņag-dBañ rGya-mTsho, these four, set their hands to the book. The main purport of the texts having been put together by me, the sŅags-rams-pa of dPal-Groñ composed them (as literary compositions).

The main points about the Autobiography, therefore, are that it is an unpretentious record, written for all sorts of persons - wise, foolish and middling - and that it is a personal record, not an impersonalized History, Annals or Records.

What, now, are the events, within the personal seeing and hearing of the fifth Dalai Lama, recorded in the Autobiography? They are the divine services over which he presided or at which he was present; consecrations of images and other objects of worship, either personally or by letter sent out from Lhasa; sermons preached; offerings received and presents given or sent out of Lhasa; services of initiation into the priesthood or ordination as priests held by the Dalai Lama; audiences held for pilgrims; receptions for envoys of foreign powers, etc. The record of envoys received from or sent to China has an obvious bearing on the history of Sino-Tibetan relations. The lists of persons to whom audience was granted are also valuable as showing the territorial extent of the Dalai Lama's influence.

4) Drin.can.rtsa.ba'i.bla.ma.ñag.dbañ.blo.bzañ.rgya.mtsho'i.thun.moñ.phyi'i.rnam.thar.du.ku.la'i.gos.bzañ.glegs.bam.gsum.pa'i.'phros.bži.pa.;...glegs.bam.bži.pa.'i.'phros.lña.pa.;...glegs.bam.lña.pa.'i.'phros.drug.pa. (Supplement IV to Volume III of the Fine Silken Dress, which was the Biography of the ordinary outer life of my own gracious Lama, Ņag-dBañ Blo-bZañ rGya-mTsho; Supplement V to Volume IV...; Supplement VI to Volume V...).

This is the three-volume Supplement, written by Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho (1653-1705)⁹⁵⁾, to the three-volume Autobiography of the fifth Dalai Lama. The three supplementary volumes have been numbered IV, V and VI to keep up the continuity with the Autobiography, in the following manner:

Supplement IV to Volume III of the Autobiography of the fifth Dalai Lama;

Supplement V to Volume IV of the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama, which Volume IV is, in fact, Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho's own Supplement IV to Volume III of the Autobiography of the fifth Dalai Lama;

Supplement VI to Volume V of the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama, which Volume V is Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho's Supplement V to Volume IV, as above.

Supplement IV (360 leaves) and V (338 leaves) only are available at the India Office Library in London⁹⁶⁾. Supplement IV covers the period between 18 October 1681⁹⁷⁾ and 26 January 1683⁹⁸⁾; Supplement V that between 27 January 1683⁹⁹⁾ and 27 January 1691¹⁰⁰⁾. As the fifth Dalai Lama died on 2 April 1682¹⁰¹⁾, it will be seen that Supplement IV deals with the very last days of the fifth Dalai Lama and the funerary rites and services performed after his death. Supplement V deals with the life of the Court at Lhasa, where he who was believed to have gone into "retreat" or "meditation" (*sKu-mTshams*), namely, the fifth Dalai Lama, was still supposed to be present in the Dalai Lama's private chamber (*gZims-chuñ*) and acted, as it would seem, through the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith, namely, the Protective Deity Pe-har, whose human body resided at *gNas-chuñ*.

⁹⁵⁾ *Tohoku Catalogue*, Section VII, Tomes 80-82, Nos. 5589 (D-F), NA 1-360, CA 1-338, CHA 1-383.

⁹⁶⁾ R & L. 19/07.2 and Das 3 respectively. Microfilms of both volumes are available in St. Antony's College, Oxford. They are referred to hereinafter as Supplement IV and Supplement V respectively.

⁹⁷⁾ lCags-Bya, 9th Hor month, 8th day (hsin-yu, 9th month, 8th day = 18 October 1681).

⁹⁸⁾ The last day of the year Chu-Khyi/jen-hsü. Jen-hsü = 7 february 1682-26 January 1683.

⁹⁹⁾ The first day of the year Chu-Phag/kuei-hai. Kuei-hai, 1st month, 1st day = 27 January 1683.

¹⁰⁰⁾ lCags-rTa, 12th Hor month, 29th day (keng-wu, 12th month, 29th day = 27 January 1691).

¹⁰¹⁾ Chu-Khyi, 2nd Hor month, 25th day (jen-hsü, 2nd month, 25th day = 2 April 1682).

5) dPal.mñam.med.ri.bo.dga'.ldan.pa'i.bstan.pa.žva.ser.cod.pan.'chañ. ba'i.riñ.lugs.chos.thams.cad.kyi.rtsa.ba.gsal.bar.byed.pa.vai.dūrya.ser.po'i. me.loñ. (The Mirror of Yellow Lapis Lazuli, which makes clear the root of all Religion, the Creed of those who wear the crown of the Yellow Hat, the Teaching of those of Mount dGa'-ldan, of incomparable beauty¹⁰²⁾), by Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, completed in the year 1698¹⁰³⁾.

In this book, Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, after the preliminary Invocation and Introduction, deals with the life of bTsoñ-kha-pa (1357-1419), the founder of the dGe-lugs-pa (pp. 55-63); and then with the three principal monasteries of dGa'-ldan (pp. 65-85), 'Bras-sPuñs (pp. 91-114) and Se-ra (pp. 118-120). He then deals with the other dGe-lugs-pa monasteries of Tibet, region by region, as follows:

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|---|---|
| 1. sTod-luñ (pp. 132-136), | 13. Mar-yul, Mañ-yul, etc. (pp. 225-232), |
| 2. sKyid-sMad (pp. 137-146), | 14. Koñ-yul (pp. 232-235), |
| 3. 'Phan-yul (pp. 146-148), | 15. Lower mDo-khams (pp. 235-247), |
| 4. dBus-sTod (pp. 148-159), | 16. Upper mDo-khams (pp. 248-263), |
| 5. 'Ol-dGa' (pp. 159-167), | 17. mTsho Khri-śog rGyal-mo (mTsho sÑon or Ch'ing-hai 青海 or Koko-Nor or the Blue Lake) (pp. 263-269), |
| 6. Dvags-po (pp. 167-170), | 18. Mun-pa'i Gliñ ("The Dark Continent" or Mongolia) (pp. 269-270). |
| 7. E (pp. 170-172), | |
| 8. gÑal (pp. 173-177), | |
| 9. lHo-brag (pp. 177-179), | |
| 10. Yar-kluñs (pp. 179-189), | |
| 11. gTsañ (pp. 189-220), | |
| 12. Upper mÑa'-ris sKor-gSum (pp. 220-225), | |

Under each monastery, Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho gives the list of its heads from the date of its foundation to 1698. In the case of the three principal monasteries, the dates in which the heads succeeded and those in which they retired and/or died are usually given with accuracy. In many other cases, however, we have no more than lists of names with no indication of dates. But these "lists of Abbots" give the VSP its most fitting description, viz., *Bla-rabs*, "Lama lineage" or "the succession of Lamas"

¹⁰²⁾ Hereinafter referred to as VSP.

¹⁰³⁾ *Tohoku Catalogue*, Section XXIII, Tome 218, No. 7039 (1-419). Tucci, I, p. 148. The work has been edited by Lokesh Chandra in Śatapiṭaka, Vol. 12 (International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1960). All references to the VSP in this book are to Lokesh Chandra's edition.

(i.e. heads of monasteries). In this part, therefore, the book is more of an administrative register than anything else. Sañs-rGya rGyas-mTsho's primary function is to register the names of the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries, to give the lists of their heads, to record their affiliations and to note down their numbers.

After dealing with the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries, Sañs-rGya rGya-mTsho deals with the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama (pp. 270-360) and that of the sixth Dalai Lama (pp. 360-408)¹⁰⁴). Then there is the Conclusion (pp. 408-414) and, finally, the Colophon (pp. 414-423).

6) Thams.cad.mkhyen.pa.drug.pa.blo.bzañ.rin.chen.tshañs.dbyañs.rgya.mtsho'i.thun.moñ.phyi'i.rnam.par.thar.pa.du.ku.la'i.'phro.'thud.rab.gsal.gser.gyi.sñe.ma.glegs.bam.dañ.po. (The very clear golden ear of corn, or the continuation of (golden) silk, being the Autobiography of the ordinary outer life of the Sixth All-Knowing One, Blo-bZañ Rin-chen Tshañs-dByañs rGya-mTsho), 514 leaves¹⁰⁵).

The Autobiography of the Sixth Dalai Lama is a somewhat unsatisfactory, though large, piece of work. The first fourteen years of the Dalai Lama's life (1683-96) are dealt with in the first 156 pages (1 a-156 b), the next four years and nine months in the next 357 pages (157 a-514 a). The extraordinary length of these four years and nine months is explained by the fact that the Dalai Lama arrived at the Potala on the 9th day of the 5th Hor month of the year Fire-Ox (27 June 1697)¹⁰⁶); was given the name of Blo-bZañ Rin-chen Tshañs-dByañs rGya-mTsho on the 17th day of the 9th Hor month (31 October 1697)¹⁰⁷); and was enthroned as Sixth Dalai Lama on the 25th day of the 10th Hor month (8 December 1697)¹⁰⁸). The Autobiography ends on the 29th day of the 9th Hor month of the year Iron-Serpent (30 October 1701). Presumably, on this day or not very long thereafter, he ceased to be recognised as Dalai Lama. He died

¹⁰⁴) The Lives of the 2nd (1475-1542), 3rd (1542/43-88) and 4th (1589-1617) Dalai Lamas are dealt with under the Abbots of 'Bras-sPuñs. The Life of the 1st Dalai Lama (1391-1475) is given under bKra-śis lHun-po, at pp. 194-198.

¹⁰⁵) *Tohoku Catalogue*, Section VIII (Complete Works of Blo-bZañ bsKal-bZañ rGya-mTsho, Dalai Lama VII (1708-57)), Tome 101, No. 5823, Ka 1-514. L. Petech, « The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet », *T'oung Pao*. XLVII, 1959, p. 372, footnote 5, points out that this " is the first (Ka) and only volume of the *gSuñ 'bum* (Collected Works) of the 6th Dalai Lama, although the *Tohoku Catalogue* wrongly lists it as the first item of the *gSuñ 'bum* of the 7th Dalai Lama ".

¹⁰⁶) p. 164 a.

¹⁰⁷) pp. 177 a-179 b.

¹⁰⁸) pp. 200 a-210 b. L. Petech, « The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet », p. 372.

towards the end of the Christian year 1706, according to Chinese sources¹⁰⁹). Petech, basing himself on the Life of the Seventh Dalai Lama and other works, places the date of the Sixth Dalai Lama's death on the 10th day of the 10th month of the year Fire-Dog (14 November 1706)¹¹⁰).

We have said that the Autobiography of the Sixth Dalai Lama is an unsatisfactory piece of work because, in the first place, it is prolix and verbose for the last four years and nine months with which it deals; and also because it is a highly stylised piece of writing. The activities for which the Sixth Dalai Lama is otherwise famous, namely, his sensuous love of life and his lyrics, nowhere find mention in the Autobiography.

7) Chos.smra.ba'i.dge.sloñ.blo.bzañ.chos.kyi.rgyal.mtshan.gyi.spyod.tshul.gsal.bar.ston.pa.nor.bu'i.'phreñ.ba. (The String of Pearls, showing clearly the deeds of Blo-bZañ Chos-kyi-rGyal-mTshan, the Bhikṣu who spoke (the truths of) Religion), 214 leaves¹¹¹).

The Life of the first Pan-chen Lama, Chos-kyi-rGyal-mTshan (1569-1662), is an Autobiography up to and including p. 180 a, i.e. up to the year Iron-Ox (1661). From p. 180 b onwards, it is a Biography of the first Pan-chen Lama, by the second Pan-chen Lama Blo-bZañ Ye-śes (1663-1737), completed in the year Iron-Mouse (1720). The death of the first Pan-chen Lama is recorded on p. 189 a.

This Life compares very unfavourably with the Lives of the Dalai Lamas, which we have considered so far. Nowhere does the first Pan-chen Lama achieve the almost "Chinese" fastidiousness with regard to chronology which the fifth Dalai Lama achieves. Years are often left unnamed, the chronology being by the four seasons. Nevertheless, the work is not without value for the few events in the history of Tibet and that

¹⁰⁹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 227, p. 28 b, K'ang Hsi 45th year, 12th month, keng-hsu (29 January 1707).

¹¹⁰) L. Petech, «The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet», p. 373.

¹¹¹) L. A. Waddell, «Tibetan Manuscripts and Books, etc., Collected during the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa», *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Third Series, XXXIV, 1967, July 1912, p. 111, No. 419; *Tohoku Catalogue*, Section IX, Tome 111, No. 5877, Ka 1-225; J. Bacot, «Titres et Colophons d'ouvrages non-canoniques tibétains», *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, XLIV, 2 1954, pp. 318-19, No. 54.

Although both the *Tohoku Catalogue* and Bacot give the number of leaves as 225, the India Office Library copy (J2), listed by Waddell, although complete, contains only 214 leaves. P. 213 a-b is missing, but p. 214 a begins with the words "chos.kyi.rgyal.mtshan.dpal.bzañ.po'i.spyod.tshul...", which form part of the colophon as given by Bacot, *op. cit.*, p. 318. (P. 213 b, obviously, ended with the words "...Ces.rje.btsun blo.bzañ.").

of Sino-Tibetan relations in which the Pan-chen Lama was involved, e.g., the Peace of ICags-po-ri (1621) or the sending of Ilayuγsan Khutuγtu to China in 1640.

8) 'Phags.yul.rgya.nag.chen.po.bod.dan.sog.yul.du.dam.pa'i.chos.'byuñ. tshul.dpag.bsam.ljon.bzañ. (The Wish-fulfilling Tree, or the manner of the Rise and Development of the True Religion in India, Great China, Tibet and the Mongol country)¹¹²⁾ by Sum-pa mKhan-po Ye-śes dPal-'byor (1704-1788), Abbot of dGon-luñ, 1746-? Parts I and II of this work, dealing with India and Tibet respectively, were edited by Sarat Chandra Das, from Calcutta, in 1908¹¹³⁾. Part III, « containing a history of Buddhism in China and Mongolia, preceded by the reḥu-mig or Chronological tables », has been edited by Lokesh Chandra and published by the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1959, in Śatapiṭaka, Volume 8. The work has been noticed by Professor Tucci in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, I, pp. 148-149. The passage between pages 158 and 166 of Part II (in Das's edition) has been translated, with omissions, by Tucci in the above-mentioned work, II, pp. 651-656.

9) mTsho.sñon.gyi.lo.rgyus.sogs.bkod.pa'i.tshañs.glu.gsar.sñan. (The new and sweet-sounding hymn, set forth as *The Annals of Koko-nor*), written by Sum-pa mKhan-po in his eighty-third year (1786)¹¹⁴⁾.

Both in the PSJZ and the *Annals of Koko-nor*, generally speaking, Sum-pa mKhan-po is unoriginal and, as is apparent in the latter work,

¹¹²⁾ Hereinafter referred to as PSJZ.

¹¹³⁾ On Das's chronology, see M. P. Pelliot, « Le cycle sexagénaire dans la chronologie Tibétaine », *Journal Asiatique*, 11th series, I, No. 3 (May-June 1913), pp. 648-652. On pp. 650-651, we read that for the year 1702 given by Das as the year of Sum-pa mKhan-po's birth, we ought to read 1704. The Sum-pa people, from whom Sum-pa mKhan-po claims origin in his title, are mentioned in the *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet* by J. Bacot, F. W. Thomas and C. Toussaint (Paris, 1940).

They have been identified with the Su-p'i 蘇毗 of the T'ang histories by P. Pelliot, « Note sur les T'ou-yu-houen et les Sou-p'i », *T'oung Pao*, XX, 5, Dec. 1920/21, pp. 330-331.

¹¹⁴⁾ Edited by Lokesh Chandra and published together with the VSP in Śatapiṭaka, Vol. 12, pp. 427-458 (International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1960). Das, in the Preface to his edition of Parts I and II of the PSJZ, p. iii, says that Sum-pa mKhan-po died at the age of 73 (1776). This last date has been followed by Petech and Lokesh Chandra in their Introduction to Part III of the PSJZ (1959). It has, apparently, to be corrected in the light of the Colophon to the Annals of Koko-nor. The work is hereinafter referred to as *The Annals of Koko-nor*.

not averse to incorporating a good story, handed down by tradition, into his account. As he writes in the Colophon to the *Annals of Koko-nor*, he has recorded some old, apparently true (*dag.khul.ltar*) traditions, which, he admits, may, on comparison with some other oral traditions, be found to be without much foundation, and even erroneous. "But", he says, "since this is not a text for meditation (*ñams.len.kyi.gžuñ.lta.bu.min.pas.*) there is, perhaps, room for error".

10) Chen.po.hor.gyi.yul.du.dam.pa'i.chos.ji.ltar.byuñ.ba'i.tshul.bśad.pa.rgyal.ba'i.bstan.pa.rin.po.che.gsal.bar.byed.pa'i.sgron.ma. (The Account of the Origin of the Holy Doctrine in the country of Great Mongolia called "The Lamp illuminating the Precious Doctrine of the Jina"), briefly referred to as the *Hor.Chos.'byuñ.*, written by 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe at the bidding of 'Jigs-med nam-mkha', and completed in the year 1819. It was edited and translated by G. Huth as *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, published by Karl Trubner, Strassburg, Volume I (Text), 1892, Volume II (Translation), 1896¹¹⁵). Although unoriginal, the work is of value for the events of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. As an historian, however, 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe, even more than Sum-pa mKhan-po, is more of an editor or compiler of historical literature than a recorder of historical events.

Generally speaking, in this book, greater emphasis has been placed on 17th century sources, both Chinese and Tibetan, than on later ones.

* * *

The question can now be asked: How do the Chinese and Tibetan historical documents compare with each other, in so far as the study of Sino-Tibetan relations is concerned? The first point to be made here is that just as, in dealing with Chinese documents, it is important to stress

¹¹⁵) With regard to Huth's chronology, see M. P. Pelliot, « Le cycle sexagénaire dans la chronologie tibétaine », *Journal Asiatique*, 11th series, I, 3 (May-June 1913), pp. 655-657. The work is hereinafter referred to as Huth I, Huth II.

With regard to the authorship of the *Hor Chos-'byuñ*, G. Tucci in his *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, I, p. 149, draws attention to the fact that it was written by "¶Jigs-med rig-pa'i rDo-rJe (not Nam-mK'a', as shown by G. Roerich)". Roerich's article « The Author of the Hor Chos hbyuñ » appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1946), Parts 3-4, pp. 192-196. By translating the Colophon in Huth I, pp. 284-285, carefully, Roerich shows that the book was written by 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe, at the bidding of 'Jigs-med Nam-mkha', and not by 'Jigs-med Nam-mKha' himself, as Huth thought. The translation of the full title of the work given in the text is Roerich's.

the fact that they are *official* documents, written by officials, so also, in dealing with Tibetan documents, it is important to remember that they were written by Tibetan monks or Tibetan laymen who were steeped in monkish learning. This monkish learning is seen not only in the language used – it abounds in scriptural quotations and allusions – but also in the whole view of the world, of which (view) that language is a vehicle. Secular affairs play a very minor part in that world. Historical events – such as are noted, that is – are all fulfilments of prophecies made in holy scripture. Important historical personages are all re-incarnations of gods and goddesses in the Upper Region. Their lives on Earth are a pattern of scripture-fulfilment. What has been said of the contents of the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography exemplifies the dominating part played by the spiritual life. Indeed, in the VSP, pp. 270–360, the entire life of the fifth Dalai Lama is dealt with in twelve phases, corresponding to the twelve phases of the life of the Buddha:

1. His migration from the Pure Region,
2. His entry into the womb,
3. His birth,
4. His youthful sports,
5. His overcoming of difficulties,
6. His *cittotpāda* (Awakening of Conscience), or accession to the headship of the dGe-lugs-pa (1622),
7. His renunciation of the world, or his studies,
8. His acquisition of knowledge, or the List of his Complete Works,
9. His vanquishing of other sects, or the defeat of Chog-thu of Koko-nor (1637), the King of Be-ri in Khams (1639–41) and the Ruler of gTsañ in Central Tibet (1641–42).
10. His attainment of Enlightenment,
11. His turning of the Wheel of Law, or travels in the interests of the dGe-lugs-pa, and
12. His Nirvāna.

This may, perhaps, be called hagiography, but it is not, for that reason, worthless. Far from it. Tibetan histories present the Tibetan point of view. And, in a study of Sino-Tibetan relations, this point of view deserves as much consideration as the Chinese point of view, which appears in the Chinese historical documents.

But, taking both the Chinese and the Tibetan points of view, as they emerge in Chinese and Tibetan historical documents, into consideration, one arrives at a somewhat startling conclusion: the same facts of Sino-Tibe-

tan relations look quite different when looked at from (a) the Chinese point of view and (b) the Tibetan point of view¹¹⁶).

We may give three examples of this from the 17th century:

1) In 1653, the fifth Dalai Lama visited Peking. As will be seen in the course of this book, the main concern in the Chinese documents recording this visit is with protocol: (a) Whether or not the Emperor of China ought to go outside the Great Wall to meet the Dalai Lama and to conduct him into China Proper. The Manchu officials thought that the Emperor ought to go outside the Great Wall; the Chinese officials advised against such a course. Ultimately, the Emperor accepted the Chinese advice, not out of any consideration of rank and status, but because of certain heavenly signs. (b) Whether or not, when the Dalai Lama was about to leave, the Emperor ought to ask about his health. One body of officials (Manchu?) advised in favour of such an enquiry; the other (Chinese?) against it. Again, Shun Chih accepted the latter advice.

According to the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Vol. I, p. 146 a, when, in the latter part of the 7th Hor month (19 August–16 September 1648) of the year Earth–Mouse (1648), envoys from the Emperor of China arrived to invite the fifth Dalai Lama to Peking, he (the Dalai Lama) remembered that, in the time of the gTsañ–pa, the Incarnate of Yol–mo had identified the Incarnation mentioned in a “treasure”–precept, where it had been said that an Incarnation of Mañju–śrī would be born in dBus, and would convert China, Tibet and Mongolia. Now, in 1648, the fifth Dalai Lama – whom, obviously, the said Incarnate of Yol–mo had identified as the said Incarnation of Mañju–śrī — saw an opportunity of establishing a “working relationship” (*las-'brel*) with Mañju–ghoṣa (the Emperor of China) for the purpose of converting China, Tibet and Mongolia to the dGe–lugs–pa. In other words, as the fifth Dalai Lama saw it, his connection with the Emperor of China was essentially religious in character, and his journey to Peking a missionary journey. As for his own status in China, whatever may have been the final intention of the Manchu–Chinese Court, the Dalai Lama took the fact that he was welcomed, immediately before he entered Peking, first by Shih–sai, the brother of the Emperor Shun Chih, then by Jirgalang, the Emperor's uncle, as “a sign that I (the fifth

¹¹⁶ Compare, firstly, the account of the visit of Byams–chen Chos–rJe to the Court of Peking in 1414–16 and 1434–35 in (a) the *Ming shih*, ch. 331, *lieh chuan* 219, *Hsi yü* 3, translated by Tucci in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, I, p. 253, Note 62; and (b) Huth I, pp. 121–126; II, pp. 190–199.

Dalai Lama) was the legal King (of Tibet), of whom there was not the like in Tibet ”¹¹⁷⁾.

That the Emperor, too, recognised the Dalai Lama’s visit as one of a religious character is shown by the fact that, towards the end of February 1653, he entrusted the adjudication of a religious dispute to the Dalai Lama¹¹⁸⁾. With regard to questions of status, that the Emperor did not intend to treat the Dalai Lama as a subordinate is shown by the fact that, at the first reception (on 14 or 15 January 1653), the Emperor “descended from his Throne and advanced for a distance of 10 fathoms” (*gŽu-’dom*) to seize the Dalai Lama’s hand; and that, although the Dalai Lama sat on a seat a little lower than the Emperor’s Throne, they drank their tea at one and the same time¹¹⁹⁾. Further, at the reception on 8 February 1653, the Emperor and the Dalai Lama sat down on their respective seats at one and the same time¹²⁰⁾. All these details of the receptions accorded to the Dalai Lama at the Court of Shun Chih do not appear in the Chinese records.

Finally, with regard to the Edict which was bestowed on the Dalai Lama by the Emperor and the contents of which are noted in full in the Chinese Annals¹²¹⁾, it is evident from the fifth Dalai Lama’s Autobiography, that he (the Dalai Lama) did not read the Edict at all, but merely noted its external appearance with great care¹²²⁾. The seal was later offered to the Jo-bo Śākya-muni (the image of the Lord Buddha) at Lhasa¹²³⁾.

Apart from the fifth Dalai Lama himself, the extract from the VSP quoted in the body of this book, also shows how differently the visit appeared to another Tibetan, very representative of the upper priest-scholar-official class. To Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho – as to the Dalai Lama – the journey, was simply, one of several made in the interests of the dGe-lugs-pa. Collectively, these journeys were the eleventh aspect of the life of the fifth Dalai Lama. Within this framework, the important things for Sañs-

¹¹⁷⁾ 5th Dalai Lama’s Autobiography, I, p. 197 *b* [Chu-’Brug, 12th Hor month (jen-chen, 12th month = 31 December 1652–28 January 1653)].

¹¹⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 202 *a*.

¹¹⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 197 *b*–198 *a*.

¹²⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 200 *a* [Chu-sBrul, 1st Hor month, 11th day (kuei-ssu, 1st month, 11th day = 8 February 1653)].

¹²¹⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 74, pp. 18 *a*–19 *a*, Shun Chih 10th year, 4th month, ting-ssu (18 May 1653). See this book, below, pp. 121–122.

¹²²⁾ 5th Dalai Lama’s Autobiography, Vol. I, pp. 209 *a*–*b* [Chu-sBrul, the former 5th Hor month (kuei-ssu, 5th month = 27 May–24 June 1653)]. See this book, p. 123.

¹²³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 211 *a* [Chu-sBrul, the latter 5th Hor month (kuei-ssu, 6th month = 25 June–23 July 1653)].

rGyas rGya-mTsho are the offerings which the Dalai Lama received, and the presents he gave. The meetings with the Emperor are not even mentioned ¹²⁴).

2) Mention may also be made here of (a) the report of the arrival of Le-du Jarγuci at Lhasa on 24 May 1674, as found in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume II, p. 204 b ¹²⁵) and (b) the report of the embassy submitted to the Emperor, on its return, on 11 August 1674 ¹²⁶).

With regard to the reception of the embassy at Lhasa, the fifth Dalai Lama merely says:

rJar.go.chi.can.gyis.bka'.śog.rten.ldan.sprad.pa.blañs.śiñ.gañ.ci'i.gnas.
tshul.thams.cad.žib.par.ñan.

(Le-du) Jarγuci ¹²⁷) handed over the Edict. I accepted it and heard a detailed account of the state of affairs.

The CSL document dated 11 August 1674 says:

達賴喇嘛俯伏接旨。

The Dalai Lama fell prostrate and received the Imperial Decree.

What is not clearly brought out in the Chinese documents is that the envoys from China were almost invariably either Tibetan or Mongolian Buddhists of the dGe-lugs-pa sect, who combined their embassy with a pilgrimage to the great God and head of the dGe-lugs-pa. It is highly improbable that the Dalai Lama fell prostrate before his own devotees.

3) A third example of the divergence of Chinese and Tibetan histories is provided by the representation of Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho and the allegation, made in Chinese documents, that he hid the news of the fifth Dalai Lama's death.

In an Edict issued on 27 July 1696 to the Tibetan envoy, the mGo-gÑer ¹²⁸), Blo-bZañ Phags-pa dGe-sloñ (戈尼爾羅卜藏帕克巴格隆), who was then at Hsi-ning, but was ordered to come up to

¹²⁴) See this book, pp. 120-121.

¹²⁵) Śiñ-sTag, 4th Hor month, 19th day (chia-yin, 4th month, 19th day = 24 May 1674). See this book, pp. 136-137.

¹²⁶) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 48, pp. 19 b-20 a, K'ang Hsi 13th year, 7th month, jen-shen (11 August 1674). See this book, pp. 138-139.

¹²⁷) Jarγuci (Mongolian) = Judge or lawyer.

¹²⁸) mGo-gÑer = guardian, Tucci: *op. cit.*, II, p. 636. 戈尼爾 could also, perhaps, be dKon-gÑer (keeper of precious religious objects) or sKu-gÑer (temple-minder). See Das: *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Calcutta, 1902), p. 494.

Peking, the Emperor said:

The O-lu-t'e who submitted to Us (at the battle of Jao Modo, 12 June 1696) informed Us: 'The Dalai Lama has long since abandoned his monastic robes (達賴喇嘛久已脫緇矣)' (*i.e.* his body). The Mongols of the Empire all obey the Dalai Lama. If the Dalai Lama is dead (身故), in principle, it is right to inform all the Lords-Protectors of the Faith (護法主), so that the Pan-chen may rule the Faith of the Lamas and continue the Religion of bTsoñ-kha-pa. But as he (Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho) hid (the news of) the Dalai Lama's death (喪) and indicated the Dalai Lama's name (in his letters to dGa'-ldan Taiji), he mischievously deluded dGa'-ldan. We repeatedly sent envoys to ask him. The sDe-pa (Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho) did not let any of the envoys have an interview with the Dalai Lama. Falsely, he told them that (the Dalai Lama) was living on the top of a high tower. The sDe-pa was originally a minor official of the Dalai Lama. We, out of Our bounty, selected him and made him King of Tibet. Since openly he honours the Religion of bTsoñ-kha-pa, and secretly he joined dGa'-ldan, he is deceiving the Dalai Lama and the Pan-chen Lama and is destroying the Faith of bTsoñ-kha-pa¹²⁹).

All this was repeated in letters to the Dalai Lama, the Pan-chen Lama, the Khošot Chos-rGyal (Dharmarājā) of Tibet, the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho and Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan, sent on 6 September 1696¹³⁰).

With regard to the point which is made in the above Edict, that Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho was a minor official of the Dalai Lama until the Emperor of China had elevated him to the position of King of Tibet, it is true that, on 22 May 1694, the Emperor K'ang Hsi had sent Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho a seal bearing the legend:

掌瓦赤喇坦喇達賴喇嘛教弘宣佛法王布忒
達阿白迪之印。

The Seal of the Buddha Abhayam-dada, the King who widely

¹²⁹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, pp. 14 b-15 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 6th month, kuei-chou (27 July 1696).

¹³⁰) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 5 a-17 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

proclaims the Buddhist Faith and upholds the Teaching of the Vajradhara Dalai Lama¹³¹).

It would, however, be wrong to think that Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho was a minor official of the Dalai Lama until the award to him of this title in 1694. In the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Vol. III, pp. 127 b-128 a, under the date corresponding to 27 June 1679¹³²), occurs the following passage:

sDe.pa.sañs.rgyas.rgya.mtsho.ned.rañ.(p. 128 a) gis.khur.ma.lcogs. par.khri.'khod.cig.dgos.pa.nañ(read: dañ).lhag.tu.da.cha.na.tshod. mtho.gśis.lugs.gñis.gyi.byed.por.sde.pa.sña.ma.rnams.dañ.yañ.mi. 'dra.žin.ned.rañ.gis.gañ.byas.dañ.'dra.ba'i.bca'.yig.chos.srid.dam.can. rgya.mtshor.gñer.gtad.dañ.bcas.pa.bres.ba.nas.gcig.sum.skas.'gor. bris.bar.lag.gñis.rjes.kyi.rtags.gsal.bar.spras.

(I, the fifth Dalai Lama, drew up) a Notice saying that I being unable to bear the burden, there ought to be a person on the Throne. Moreover, from now onwards, (he, Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho), being in the fulness of his age, the performance of the two sets of duties (secular and religious) would never be like that of the former sDe-pas, but would be, in every respect, as I (the fifth Dalai Lama) had done. Also (in the Notice were words signifying) the entrustment of the Government-according-to-the-Faith to the Protective Deities. Of such Notices, the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho had one written on top of the triple staircase (leading to the Potala) and placed the impression of his two hands clearly on it.

It is obvious that, as early as 1679, the fifth Dalai Lama had selected Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho as sDe-pa, and had asked him to issue the Notice described above. The sDe-pa Blo-bZañ sByin-pa was set aside (*zur-bžugs*). The passage then goes on to list the "proofs of Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho's having entered into possession of his lordship" (*bdag.thob. 'dzin.thebs.*), i.e. presents, which the fifth Dalai Lama gave him (pp. 128 a-131 a). A further passage in the same Vol. III, pp. 132 a-133 b, describes the installation (*brTan.bžugs*) of Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, with all the paraphernalia of royalty, "on the broad throne of the fearless lion, as the

¹³¹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 163, p. 7 b, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 4th month, ping-shen (22 May 1694). See below, pp. 295-296.

¹³²) Sa-Lug, 5th Hor month, 20th day (chi-wei, 5th month, 20th day = 27 June 1679).

doer of the two sets of duties (secular and religious) which are proper to a great Cakravarti kingship, as the lord of Heaven and Earth”.

Thus we see that the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho was very far from being “ a minor official of the fifth Dalai Lama ”. Indeed, as from 1682, the year of the fifth Dalai Lama’s death, he was the principal figure in the secular life of Tibet.

With regard to the second point in K’ang Hsi’s Edict of 27 July 1696, that the sDe-pa “ hid the news of the fifth Dalai Lama’s death ”, let us note, in the first place, that it does not seem to have been uncommon to postpone the public announcement of a person’s death till the astrologically suitable moment for such an announcement. For instance, when the sDe-pa bSod-nams Chos-’phel died on the 3rd day of the 3rd Hor month of the year Earth-Dog (5 April 1658)¹³³⁾, the announcement of his death was not made till the 16th day of the 4th Hor month of the year Earth-Hog (5 June 1659)¹³⁴⁾, *i.e.* after one year and two months. In the same way, the announcement of the fifth Dalai Lama’s death, which took place in 1682, was not made till the 10th day of the 5th Hor month of the year Fire-Mouse (9 June 1696), as we learn from the Sixth Dalai Lama’s Autobiography, p. 144 a:

gNas.chuñ.chos.skyoñ.chen.pos.dam.bsgrags.bcas.bstan.srid.lar.rgya.
'gañs.ches.pa'i.gsañ.cha.gañ.ñam.mi.byed.ka.med.nas.gsal.kha.ma.
nus. / Da.cha.chos.skyoñ.gi'añ.dus.la.babs.tshul.byuñ.ba.dañ.bcas.
goñ.ma.mya.ñan.las.'das.dañ. / mChog.gi.sprul.sku.rin.po.che'i.
babs.yul.sogs.gsañ.brtol (read: brdol).byas.

Either because of some secrecy connected with the very important matters of the Teaching and the Government, or because there was no other way, the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith of gNas-chuñ was (hitherto) unable to give a clear message with his holy pronouncements. From now on, the Guardian-of-the-Faith himself revealed the (hitherto) secret (news) of the Nirvāna of the Exalted (fifth Dalai Lama) and the *locus* of the appearance of the Precious and Excellent Re-incarnation, together with (the revelation that) the appropriate time had come (for making known the above news).

Secondly, it is entirely possible that Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho very sincerely believed that the Dalai Lama was not dead, but had merely left

¹³³⁾ 5th Dalai Lama’s Autobiography, I, p. 261 b. L. Petech, «The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet», p. 378.

¹³⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 270 a.

his Fifth Body to go into "retreat" or "meditation" (*sKu-mTshams*) till such time as it would please him to re-appear in another – a Sixth – Body, and to reveal his re-appearance to his followers. If there is no "death", there can be no "hiding the news of the death". The question is merely of determining the astrologically suitable moment for announcing the departure of the Dalai Lama from his fifth Body and his re-appearance in the sixth.

Thirdly, in his Autobiography, Vol. I, p. 10 b–ff., the fifth Dalai Lama claims a very special relationship between the Guardian-of-the-Faith (Skt. Dharmapāla, Tib. Chos-sKyoñ) Pe-har – whose human body resided at gNas-chuñ – and himself. The fundamental explanation of this claim must be that the Dalai Lama's family in 'Phyoñ-rGyas was of Hor descent, and that this family, either mistakenly or correctly, claimed descent from the Hor of Mi-ñag, a territory known also as rGyal-rGod, whose tribal god, in pre-Buddhist days, was Pe-har in the form of a vulture (Bya-rGod)¹³⁵. The fifth Dalai Lama was, apparently, dissatisfied with the North-East connection and claimed descent from the Holy Land of Buddhism, India or, more particularly, "Bengal, i.e. Za-hor"¹³⁶, and its famous king, Aśoka. From Aśoka, the (legendary) descent was as follows: Aśoka – Indrabodhi – Indrabhūti – Śakrabhūti – Dharmarājā – Dharmapāla. At this stage, there seems to be a confusion between the Sanskrit word *Dharmapāla* – meaning, no doubt, "Guardian of the Faith", but used, simply, as a personal name – and the Tibetan meaning of its Tibetan form, *Chos-sKyoñ*. For *Chos-sKyoñ* in Tibetan means, specifically,

¹³⁵ For the story of Pe-har, see (1) G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, II, p. 643 and pp. 734–37; (2) R. Stein, «Mi-ñag et Si-hia», *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, XLIV, 1947–50, Fasc. 1, (1951), pp. 249 ff.; (3) R. Stein, *Recherches sur l'Épopée et le Barde au Tibet*, Paris, 1959, pp. 284–91; (4) R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles & Demons of Tibet* London/The Hague, 1956, ch. VII (pp. 94–133) and ch. XXII (pp. 444–454), *passim*. According to Stein, *Mi-ñag et Si-hia*, p. 265, rGod means eagle, not vulture.

¹³⁶ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 11 b. With regard to Za-hor, B. Baṭṭācārya, in his Introduction to the *Sādhanāmālā*, Vol. II (*Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, 41, Baroda, 1928), p. xxxvii, has identified it with "modern Sabhar in the district of Dacca", and this identification has been commended by G. Tucci in his *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, II, p. 736. There is, however, a *Sāgara* island at the mouth of the Hooghly, and the Sanskrit word *Sāgara*, meaning "ocean", is pronounced Sha-gor in modern Bengali, at any rate. From Sha-gor to Za-hor seems an easy transition. Moreover, if the Dharmapāla who is supposed to have gone from Za-hor (Bengal) to Bhata Hor in China is to be connected with the Pālas of Bengal (c. 750–c. 1150), then, it is appropriate to remember that the Pālas of Bengal claimed descent from the *samudra* or ocean. See R. C. Majumdar (editor), *History of Bengal*, I, Dacca, 1943, p. 100.

a “Guardian of the Buddhist Faith”, i.e. a pre-Buddhist deity coerced to act as a “Guardian of the Buddhist Faith”. The greatest of such Guardians-of-the-Faith was Pe-har, who appeared in the oracle of gNas-chuñ. The fifth Dalai Lama connects Za-hor, i.e. Bengal, with the North-East of Tibet by saying:

The connection between Bengal in the East of India, and China being very close, there were traders and many other travellers who crossed the wide ocean. (In this way) Dharmapāla arrived in China and dwelt in the meditation-monastery of Bhata Hor¹³⁷. After some generations, during which his family increased, at a time contemporary with one called Dharmapāla¹³⁸, in this land of Tibet, the Lord King Khri-sroñ lDe-bTsan (755-97) invited the Abbot (Śāntarakṣita) and the Slob-dPon (Ācārya Padmasambhava) (to Tibet). On the model of the temple of O-tanta-puri, he built the temple of bSam-yas Mi-'gyur lHun-gyis Grub-pa. Here, a need arose for a guardian, so the Great Teacher (Padmasambhava) appointed the King of the Nāgas (*Klu*), Pañca-sikhā (Zur-phud lNa-pa). He (Pañca-sikhā) said: Since we Nāgas sleep for three winters, we do not know anything which happens during that time. Therefore, appoint the Nāga's grandson (or “nephew”) called

¹³⁷ With regard to Bhata Hor, Tucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 736, agrees with F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part I, London, 1935, pp. 298-99, that Bhata Hor is “Bhadra Hor, a sanskritization of the name of some nomadic tribe located near Lake Baikal”. R. Stein, at p. 67 of *Les Tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines*, Paris, 1961, says that the Bhata Hor are the Uighurs of Kan-chou; and at pp. 68-70, explains the term “Bhata” as a Tibetan transcription of the Khotanese form (baḍa) of the Tibetan word 'Bal. This last word ('Bal) he takes to be the name of the region to the east of Koko-nor. If Bhata Hor = Baḍa Hor = 'Bal Hor (the Hor of 'Bal), Stein does not explain why the Tibetans, in writing down a Tibetan name, should use the Khotanese form of that name – unless the explanation is that the Hor of 'Bal pronounced the Tibetan name in a Khotanese way, so much so that the Tibetans could no longer recognise it as a Tibetan name, and wrote down the Khotanese form of it. I wonder if *Bhata* – which, in Sanskrit, means, inter alia, “mercenary, hired soldier, warrior, combatant” (Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, p. 745, column 1) – may not, in this context, be a translation into Sanskrit of the Tibetan *dPa'-bo*, meaning “1. an intrepid, chivalrous person, hero, a fearless, strong person, a demi-god, 2. brave, heroic”, according to Das's *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 788, column 1; and *dPa'*, in this case, a mistake for *dBa'*, one of the ancient tribes of Tibet? So that, Bhaṭa Hor = *dPa'-bo* Hor = the Hor of *dPa'-ris* (“the territory of the brave ones”), i.e. of *dBa'-ris* (“the territory of the *dBa'* tribe”). For *dPa'-ris*, see T. V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet*, Rome, 1962, p. 197, Note 771. What is suggested here is that the Bhaṭa Hor lived in *dPa'-ris* with the descendants of the *dBa'* Tibetans.

¹³⁸ A descendant of the Dharmapāla, who had come from Bengal?

King Hu¹³⁹⁾, of the lineage (*rigs*) of dMu, who (Hu) pursues even a needle-sized (quantity of) treasure for a distance covered by a vulture in 18 days' flight¹⁴⁰⁾.

The passage then goes on to describe the subjugation of Pe-har – the King Hu of the above passage – by Prince Mu-rug bTsan-po, son of Khri-sroñ lDe-bTsan, during his expedition to the North-East, and the bringing of Pe-har to bSam-yas. If it be remembered that, among the shamanistic tribes of Central Asia, the tribal god was also the founder and god of the ruling family, that the successive rulers were no more than appearances-in-the-flesh of the tribal god¹⁴¹⁾, then the closeness between Pe-har (the tribal god of the Hor of Mi-ñag) and the fifth Dalai Lama (a descendant of the Hor of Mi-ñag) becomes established.

It is in the light of this relationship between Pe-har and the fifth Dalai Lama that we must see the three following passages in Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho's Supplement V, where the suggestion seems to be that while the fifth Dalai Lama was in "retreat" or "meditation" (*sKu-mTshams*), the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith, *i.e.* Pe-har, acted on behalf of the Dalai Lama, insofar, at least, as that he (Pe-har) received the Edicts which were addressed by the Emperor of China to the Dalai Lama. Perhaps, the human body of Pe-har being only a medium, it was believed that it was,

¹³⁹⁾ With regard to the name *Hu*, Tucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 643, p. 695 (Note 339) and p. 736, has already identified it with the Chinese *hu* 護, corresponding to the Sanskrit *-pāla*, meaning "guardian" or "protector". Perhaps, *hu* 護 is only one element of the fuller form *hu-fa* 護法, meaning *Dharmapāla* or *Chos-sKyoñ*. All three terms mean "Guardian of the Faith".

¹⁴⁰⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 13 a; Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 734-735.

¹⁴¹⁾ Hence, perhaps, the expression *'phrul.gyi.lha.btsan.po* which occurs in the inscription of the Treaty between Mu Tsung (821-25) and Ral-pa-can (817-36), dated 821-22, on the East and West faces of the pillar at the Jo-khañ at Lhasa. H. E. Richardson is, surely, wrong in translating this expression as "the Divine King of Miracles" (*Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa*, London, 1952) or "the Miraculous Divine Lord" (*Tibet and Its History*, Oxford, 1962, Appendix). Li Fang-kuei, in «The Inscription of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 821-22», *T'oung Pao*, 44 (1956), gives the correct translation as "God Incarnate". What we have in the expression *'phrul.gyi.lha.btsan.po* is not a picture of a miracle-worker, but a docetic view of kingship, a view that the king is no more – or no less – than an appearance-in-the-flesh of a divine being. The Chinese equivalent of *'phrul.gyi.lha*, given in the Chinese version of the West face inscription, is *shen sheng* 神聖, which means "sacred", "divine" or "holy", and is used as an adjective of *bTsan-po* (King).

in fact, the fifth Dalai Lama, who received the Edicts through and by means of this medium.

- a) Supplement V, p. 37 b [Śiñ–Byi (Wood-Mouse), 1st Hor month, 10th day (chia-tzu, 1st month, 10th day = 24 February 1684)]:
 'Di.ñin.chos.skyoñ.chen.pos.?.?.rnams.grañs.gsal.la.'khrol.ba.gñañ.
 tshul.ltar.sku.mtshams.'khral.tsam.gñañ.ba'i.(add: tshe).’jam.dbyañs.
 goñ.ma.rgyal.po'i.gser.yig.pa.rgan.gžon.gyis.goñ.gi.bka'.śog.phul.
 žiñ...

On this day, in accordance with the approval given specifically and clearly... by the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith, (at the time when) (the fifth Dalai Lama) was, temporarily, in retreat, the senior and junior envoys from the Mañjuḥoṣa Emperor of China, offered the Imperial Edict (to the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith)¹⁴²⁾.

- b) Supplement V, p. 103 a [Śiñ–Glañ (Wood-Ox), 4th Hor month, 16th day (I–chou, 4th month, 16th day = 18 May 1685)]:
 Goñ.gi.mi.sna.a.chi.thu.dañ. / bsTan.pa.gsal.byed.gñis.la.chos.skyoñ.
 chen.pos.bkas.'khröl.tshul.gyi.žal.mjal.phyag.dbañ.ja.gral.dañ.bcas.
 pa.gñañ.žiñ. / Goñ.gi.bka'.śog.mtshams.'dri.sogs.bžes.

The Great Guardian-of-the-Faith having granted an interview to the envoys from the Emperor of China, namely, A–chi–thu dGe–sloñ and bsTan–pa gSal–byed, these two, at which (interview) he approved (of the presentation of the Emperor’s Edict to himself); and having also given them his blessings, and tea, accepted the Emperor’s Edict and the enquiry after (the fifth Dalai Lama’s) health.

- c) Supplement V, p. 254 b [Sa–’Brug (Earth-Dragon), 11th Hor month, 9th day (mou–chen, 12th month, 9th day = 31 December 1688)]:

¹⁴²⁾ The addition of the word “tshe” (at the time when) or “rjes” (after) has been suggested to me by the Druñ–pa sPrul–sKu, formerly of bDud–rTsi Dil monastery, at Zur–mañ, near Khyer–dGun–mDo (Jyekundo). The responsibility for any inaccuracy of translation remains with me. The following meanings of the words “khröl”, “khröl–cig”, “khröl–cha gNañ–ba” and “khröl–ba”, are from dGe–bŠes Chos–kyi Grags–pa’s *brDa–dag Miñ–tshig gSal–ba/Ts’ang–wen Tz’u–tien* 藏文辭典, Peking, 1957, p. 96:

Khrol. mDud.pa.bCiñs.pa.khrol.cig. 解, 解开縛結. (同) *Khrol.cig.*

Khrol.cig. mDud.pa.bCiñs.pa.khrol.cig. 解, 解开縛結, (命令詞).

(同) *Khrol.*

Khrol.cha.gNañ.ba. dGoñs.pa.gNañ.ba. 开許, 准許, 放免, 寬免.

Khrol.ba. (注同上).

rGya.nag.mi.sna.rgan.pa.ja.sag.bla.ma.bstan.'dzin.rgya.mtsho.dañ.
gžon.pa.cha.dkar.bla.ma'i.dbon.po. / ... (sogs.la.) chos.skyoñ.chen.pos.
žal.mjäl.khrol.tshul.bgyis.šii. / ... Goñ.gi.bka'.šog.bžes.šii.

The Great Guardian-of-the-Faith, having granted an interview, and given his approval, to the senior envoy from China, the Jassak Lama *hsTan-'dzin rGya-mTsho*; and the junior envoy, the nephew (or supervisor of the monastery) of the (Head-) Lama of the Chakhars, ... accepted the Emperor's Edict.

Other passages where the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith met envoys from China occur in Supplement V, under dates corresponding to 18 December 1685, 12 June 1687 and 25 February 1688¹⁴³).

That the Emperor himself was not unaware of the special position of *Pe-har* in Tibet in the 1680's and 1690's is indicated in the Instructions which he issued to his ambassador, *Pao-chu* 保住 (*sBo'u-ju*), whom he sent to Tibet on 6 September 1696, to announce the victory of *Jao Modo* (12 June 1696) and to confront the *sDe-pa* with the charges that he had "hidden the news of the fifth Dalai Lama's death" and had aided *dGa'-ldan Taiji*. The secret purpose of the embassy was to find out whether the fifth Dalai Lama was dead or not. When *Pao-chu* asked for Instructions, the Emperor *K'ang Hsi* said:

如第巴托言達賴喇嘛坐禪。不使相見。爾等取其根據。決絕而歸... 如第巴又言達賴喇嘛。將使垂中爲之卜。爾但詰之云。垂中所禱祀者。惟達賴喇嘛耳。達賴喇嘛。猶有問垂中而行之理乎。

If the *Ti-pa* (*sDe-pa*) (*Saṅs-rGyas rGya-mTsho*), on the pretext that the Dalai Lama is sitting in meditation, does not let you see him, you should take that as evidence (that the fifth Dalai Lama is dead), renounce him utterly and return... If the *Ti-pa* (*sDe-pa*), further, says that the Dalai Lama will cause the *Ch'ui-chung* (*Chos-sKyoñ*) to make a divination (regarding what should be done about the Emperor's Demands), you should only ask him, saying: 'Him whom the *Ch'ui-chung* (*Chos-sKyoñ*) prays to is the Dalai Lama.

¹⁴³) Supplement V, p. 142 a [*Šiiñ-Glañ*, the former 11th Hor month, 23rd day (*i-chou*, 11th month, 23rd day = 18 December 1685)]; p. 217 a [*Me-yos*, 5th Hor month, 3rd day (*ting-mao*, 5th month, 3rd day = 12 June 1687)]; p. 239 a [*Sa-'Brug*, 1st Hor month, 24th day (*mou-chen*, 1st month, 24th day = 25 February 1688)].

Is there any sense in the Dalai Lama's consulting the Ch'ui-chung (Chos-sKyoñ) before acting? ' 144).

It seems evident that there is here a misunderstanding of the belief which, as has been suggested, may very sincerely have been held by Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho and others, that the Dalai Lama was in "retreat" or "meditation" (坐禪 = sKu-mTshams) and would, therefore, act through and by means of the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith. The idea that the Dalai Lama would, so to say, speak through the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith - "he will cause the Ch'ui-chung to make a divination" - was wrongly understood in the Manchu-Chinese Court to mean that the Dalai Lama would *consult* the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith. Moreover, in shamanistic beliefs there is nothing incompatible in a shaman both praying to a deity and being possessed by him.

It was, therefore, perhaps a misunderstanding of the Hindu-Buddhist ideas of transmigration and re-birth, and the shamanistic ideas of mediums and possessions, which has led to the charge, frequently repeated in Chinese sources, that Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho "hid the news of the fifth Dalai Lama's death".

Fourthly, it must, of course, be remembered that the Dalai Lama re-appeared in a Sixth Body at mTsho-sNa in 1683; that the re-appearance was discovered in 1685¹⁴⁵⁾; and that it was identified as a true re-appearance of the Dalai Lama in 1686¹⁴⁶⁾. However, Tibetan belief, as is apparent from the passage in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume III, pp. 181 b-182 a, quoted above¹⁴⁷⁾, does not rule out the possibility of "many of one spirit arriving at one time" (*thugs.rgyud.gcig.pa.mañ.po.dus.gcig.la.byon.pa.*). It may very well be, therefore, that the statement of the Dalai Lama in the Memorial to the Emperor of China, which arrived at the Court of Peking on 28 December 1693, viz.,

臣已年邁. 國事大半第巴主之. 已在睿照中.
I am already advanced in years. The Ti-pa (sDe-pa) is managing the greater half of the affairs of State. The Emperor already knows this¹⁴⁸⁾,

¹⁴⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 16 b-17 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696). See this book, pp. 195-197.

¹⁴⁵⁾ Supplement V, pp. 134 a-135 b.

¹⁴⁶⁾ 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 116 a ff.

¹⁴⁷⁾ See this book, above, p. 31.

¹⁴⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 161, p. 10 a, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 12th month, hsin-wei (28 December 1693).

is, in fact, a statement from the Sixth Dalai Lama, who was then ten years of age. If this is so, then, the Chinese 年邁 is, perhaps, a mis-translation of some Tibetan word or phrase meaning "grown up (into boyhood)" or "growing up", rather than "advanced in years".

Fifthly, as we learn from the Sixth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, pp. 151 b-152 a, at the time when Pao-chu and the other Imperial envoys arrived at Lhasa in December 1696, with the Imperial Edict of 6 September 1696, referred to above¹⁴⁹⁾, the Sixth Dalai Lama had, in fact, retired into meditation. This makes the statement attributed to the sDe-pa in Pao-chu's report -

The Emperor is divinely perspicacious. He has known in advance that the Dalai Lama will emerge from his meditation next year (i.e. in the 36th year of K'ang Hsi, 23 January 1697 - 10 February 1698)¹⁵⁰⁾ -

somewhat clearer. He may be referring to the Sixth Dalai Lama's retirement into meditation in December 1696, and his proposed emergence from meditation in 1697. What, however, removes the meaning of the phrase "emergence from meditation" (出定) from the region of doubt is the statement in the secret, oral Memorial from the sDe-pa to the Emperor K'ang Hsi, conveyed to the Emperor by the Ñi-ma-thañ Khutuγtu on 10 April 1697¹⁵¹⁾. In this, the De-pa said that the Dalai Lama would "emerge from meditation" on the 25th day of the 10th month of the 36th year of K'ang Hsi, i.e. on 8 December 1697. From the Sixth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 208 a, we learn that this was the day on which the Dalai Lama was enthroned. So that, "emergence from meditation" refers, simply, to the Dalai Lama's emergence into public, his enthronement

¹⁴⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 5 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696). See this book, above, p. 33; below, pp. 195-198. According to the CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 180, p. 9 a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 2nd month, chi-chou (28 February 1697), Pao Chu arrived "in Tibet" on K'ang Hsi 35th year, 11th month, 22nd day = 16 December 1696. According to the 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 151b, the Imperial envoys "came to the Palace again" on the 14th day of the 10th Hor month (= 11th Chinese month) of the year Fire-Mouse (ping-tzu, 11th month, 14th day = 8 December 1696). Perhaps, 16 December 1696 was the date on which the Imperial envoys met the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho.

¹⁵⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 180, p. 9 b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 2nd month, chi-chou (28 February 1697). See this book, below, p. 199 and Note 957.

¹⁵¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 181, pp. 14 b-15 a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 3rd month, keng-wu (10 April 1697); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 181, p. 16 b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 3rd month, jen-shen (12 April 1697); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 182, p. 1 b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, hsin-ssu (21 April 1697).

as Dalai Lama, and his formal assumption of his duties as Dalai Lama. From p. 168 a of the same Autobiography, where the return of the *Ñi-ma-thañ Khutuṣtu* to Lhasa on the 15th day of the 8th month of the year Fire-Ox (29 September 1697) is recorded, we learn further that what the *Ñi-ma-thañ Khutuṣtu* had told the Emperor about was the Dalai Lama's *gSañ-bKrol*. It is of this expression that 出定 "emergence from meditation" seems to be a translation. It is, however, a mistranslation, for *gSañ-bKrol* means "emergence from secrecy", i.e. from a secret life into public life, and not exactly "emergence from meditation".

In sum, therefore, if one is prepared to accept the sincerity of *Saṅ-rGyas rGya-mTsho's* belief that the Dalai Lama was not dead, but had merely "retired into meditation"; and if, further, one is prepared to accept the validity – in keeping with this belief – of the Dalai Lama acting through and by means of the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith, then, no deliberate desire to deceive can be attributed to *Saṅs-rGyas rGya-mTsho*. On the other hand, one has to admit an equally sincere misunderstanding by the Chinese of Tibetan beliefs, and the charge of "deception" which has been levelled by the Chinese against *Saṅs-rGyas rGya-mTsho* may have arisen out of such a misunderstanding, rather than out of any deliberate desire to sully the character of an "enemy of the Ch'ing".

One last word about Chinese and Tibetan historical documents. Both are highly stylised and formalised forms of writing. While, of course, such forms of writing reveal the intellectual backgrounds of the writers, it would be inadvisable to read too much meaning into these forms of speech, particularly if the supposed meaning belongs to a sphere of thinking other than that of the writer.

For example, with regard to Memorials from the Dalai Lama to the Emperor of China, we learn from the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Vol. III, p. 100 a, under a date corresponding to 23 November 1678¹⁵²⁾, that a Memorial to be presented to the Emperor of China was "drawn up in prose which was in the style of poetry" (*rGya.nag.rgyal.por.'bul.rgyu'i.ṣu.yig.tshig.lhug.sñan.nag.gi.lam.nas.draṅs.pa.*). Similarly, at p. 187 b of the same Volume, we are told that the Memorial which was sent to the Emperor of China on 21 June 1680¹⁵³⁾, congratulating him on his victory over Wu San-kuei, was "drawn up in the style of poetry" (*sñan.tshig.gi.lam.nas.draṅs.pa'i.ṣu.ṣog.*).

¹⁵²⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 100 a [Sa-rTa, 10th Hor month, 10th day (mou-wu, 10th month, 10th day = 23 November 1678)].

¹⁵³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 187 b [Cags-sPre, 5th Hor month, 25th day (keng-shen, 5th month, 25th day = 21 June 1680)].

Similar expressions occur in Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho's Supplement V, at pages 45 b (28 April 1684)¹⁵⁴ and 277 a (4 July 1689)¹⁵⁵. In the latter passage, Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho says:

‘The Holy Mañjuḥṣa Emperor who turns the Wheel (of Law) in this Kali-yuga and who loves all named and animated beings as if they were arisen out of a thought which has fallen and rolled on the mind of the Emperor...’, begging to address the Emperor in laudatory terms such as these, (I sent) a Memorial, which was in prose, drawn up in the style of poetry.

The language of the Memorials, therefore, is something artificial. It shows the writer's deftness at the forms of stylised composition, but no very great meaning can be attached to these forms.

On the other hand, in both Chinese and Tibetan histories, much of importance can be gathered by reading between the lines – reading, so to say, not only that which has been written, but also that which has not been written. It is here that the incidental remark, the remark made in passing, the half-suppressed remark, gains in importance.

Even so, as has been said above, one is faced with two divergent views of Sino-Tibetan relations, both valid within their own premises. In the following pages, therefore, an attempt has been made to let the Chinese and Tibetan documents speak for themselves, however incompatible they may sound, the one with the other.

C) Other Sources.

The principal Mongolian history used in this book is the *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči* (The Bejewelled Summary of the Origin of Khans), written by the Ordos Prince, Ssanang Setzen (Sayang Sečen) (1604-?) in 1662¹⁵⁶. A MS of this work – not the best – was edited and translated

¹⁵⁴ Supplement V, p. 45 b [Šiñ-Byi, 3rd Hor month, 14th day (chia-tzu, 3rd month 14th day = 28 April 1684)].

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 277 a [Sa-sBrul, 5th Hor month, 18th day (chi-ssu, 5th month, 18th day = 4 July 1689)].

¹⁵⁶ The best available work on Mongolian historiography is W. Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen, Teil I: 16-18 Jahrhundert in Asiatische Forschungen* (Bonn), V 1959. Heissig deals with the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* in pp. 94-111. Three MSS of the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* have been published by Rev. A. Mostaert in the *Harvard-Yenching Institut'es Scripta Mongolica*, II 1956. This Volume is in 4 parts. Part I contains an exhaustive Introduction, Parts II-IV the 3 MSS. For latest

by Isaac Jacob Schmidt in 1829 as *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*. It contains valuable information relating to the late 16th and early 17th centuries, when Tibet and Mongolia were brought together under the faith of bTsoñ-kha-pa. Since these latter events were recent at the time that Ssanang Setzen wrote, there seems little reason to doubt his veracity.

The classic pattern of Mongolian historiography was to deal with the campaigns of Chinggiz Khan and his immediate successors at great length and then to carry the history of the Great Khans (Khayans) of the Mongols down to the end of the reign of Legs-ldan Khayan in 1634. On this pattern, we have the *Altan tobči* by Blo-bZaň bsTan-'dzin (1655)¹⁵⁷, but it does not contain anything relevant to Sino-Tibetan relations. The same applies to Lomi's bilingual *Mongyol Borjigid oboγ-un teüke/Meng-ku shih hsi p'u* 蒙古世系譜 (History of the Mongol Borjigid) (1732)¹⁵⁸. The extracts from the trilingual (Mongol, Manchu and Chinese) work, dated 1779-95, translated from the Mongolian by I. J. Schmidt as «Die Volks-sämme der Mongolen», *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, 6th series, II, 1834, pp. 409-477, are of value in identifying the Mongol princes who turn up frequently in Chinese and Tibetan records, and who play an important part in Sino-Tibetan relations. The Mongolian title of the work from which Schmidt translates is transcribed by W. Heissig and K. Sagaster as *Jarliy-iyar toytayaysan yadayadu mongyol qotong ayimaγ-un wang güng üd-ün iledkel šastir*, and translated by them as *Genealogische Ranglisten der Herzöge und Fürsten der mongolischen und türkischen Gebiete der Aussen(provinzen), zusammengestellt auf kaiserlichen Befehl*¹⁵⁹.

work on the *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, see J. R. Krueger, «The Epilogue and Gnostic Colophon of the *Erdeni-yin Tobči*», *Central Asiatic Journal* (Hague / Wiesbaden), 8, No. 2 (June, 1963), pp. 104-134 and the Bibliography at the end of that article. The translation of the title of the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* given in the text is Krueger's.

¹⁵⁷ C. R. Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči*, Text, Translation and Notes. *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, V 1955; Heissig, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-75.

¹⁵⁸ The main line of the Khayans of the Mongols, from Chinggiz Khan to Legs-ldan Khan, was known as the Borjigid. Lomi's work has been edited and annotated by Heissig and Bawden in *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, IX 1957.

¹⁵⁹ W. Heissig, K. Sagaster, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten*, Wiesbaden, 1961, p. 9, No. 14. Schmidt himself transcribes the title as *Dsarlik jer toktaghaksan ghadaghadu Monghol Chotong aimagun Wang Gung-odun iledkel schastir*, and translates it as «Auf allerhöchsten Befehl verfasstes genealogisches Verzeichniss der Wangs und Gungs (Fürsten verschiedenen Ranges) sämtlicher Stämme der auswärtigen Mongolen und Türken, nebst ihrer Geschichte». See I. J. Schmidt, «Die Volksstämme der Mongolen», *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*,

Mention must now be made of two European sources. In the "Observations historiques sur la Grande Tartarie tirées des Mémoires du Père Gerbillon", in du Halde's *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine* (Hague, 1736), IV, pp. 39-70, Father Gerbillon deals with the Jungars ("les seconds Eluths") in pp. 47-50; with the O-lu-t'e of Ch'ing-hai ("la troisième espèce de Eluths") in pp. 50-51; with Tibet in pp. 51-53; and with the Khalkha Mongols from 1688 to 1696 in pp. 54-63. The last part (1688-96) has to be supplemented by the accounts of the *Travels* of Father Gerbillon in China between 1688 and 1698 in du Halde (1736), Vol. IV, pp. 103-528.

Gerbillon's writings have to be treated as a first-hand source, because he was attached to the Manchu Court and was either an eye-witness to many of the events he recorded, or gathered his information from eye-witnesses or other persons who, though not eye-witnesses, were likely to have heard reliable accounts. Speaking of Tibet, Gerbillon says:

J'ai appris d'un ancien Président du tribunal des rites de Péking qui a été autrefois ambassadeur vers le grand Lama tout ce que je dis ici du Thibet, et ce qu'il m'a dit, s'accorde parfaitement avec ce que m'ont rapporté plusieurs autres Mandarins, qui y ont été envoyez plusieurs fois ces dernières années¹⁶⁰.

This applies with greater force to the Mongols. For instance, on pp. 56-57, Gerbillon speaks of the meeting of the Khalkhas on 3 October 1686, in which he gives an account of the quarrel which broke out between the Khalkhas and dGa'-ldan Taiji. This quarrel, which had momentous consequences, is not even mentioned in the official report which appears in the CSL¹⁶¹. Gerbillon gathered his information, as he himself says, from A-la-ni, the President of the Board of Dependencies, who was the principal Manchu envoy at that meeting.

The second European source deals with the Western Mongols. It is the *Samlungen historischer Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften*, written by P. G. Pallas and published in St. Petersburg in 1776 (Vol. I)

6ème série, 2 (1834), p. 417. With regard to Mongolian genealogy relating to the descendants of Dayan Khan (ruled 1470-1543, Sanang Setzen; 1475-1549, Meng-ku shih-hsi-p'u), prior to 1592, see H. Serruys, *Genealogical Tables of the Descendants of Dayan Qan* Hague, 1958. These Tables were published as an Appendix to the *Pei-lu feng su*

北虜風俗 (1594), by Hsiao Ta-heng 蕭大亨.

¹⁶⁰ du Halde (1736), IV, p. 52.

¹⁶¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 127, pp. 26 b-27 b, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 10th month, mou-wu (22 November 1686).

and 1801 (Vol. II). Pallas's work was the result of a personal collection of information – from archives or from oral tradition – among the Volga Kalmuks in 1768–69, among the Buryat Mongols in 1772 and again among the Volga Kalmuks in 1773–74. Nevertheless, in connection with Pallas's work, it is possible to find additional information in Paul Pelliot's *Oeuvres Posthumes, VI: Notes Critiques d'Histoire Kalmouke*, 2 vols., Paris, 1960. Among the 10 chapters are the following which are relevant to the present research:

II. *Notice historique de l'ensemble des tribus dzoungar, par l'Empereur K'ien Long*. This is a translation of the *Chun-ka-erh ch'üan pu chi lüeh* 準噶爾全部紀略 written by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung in 1763, and inserted in the first chapter of the preliminary section of the *Ch'in ting huang yü hsi yü t'u chih* 欽定皇輿西域圖志.

IV. *La Notice des Dzoungar du Kökä Nor dans le Piao Tchouan*. This is a translation of chüan 81, entitled *Ch'ing-hai O-lu-t'e pu tsung ch'uan* 青海厄魯特部總傳, of the work entitled *Ch'in ting wai fan Meng-ku Hui pu wang kung piao ch'uan* 欽定外藩蒙古回部王公表傳 which was ordered to be compiled in 1779, and was completed in 1795. The *Piao ch'uan*, therefore, is, simply, the Chinese version of the trilingual work, extracts from the Mongolian version of which Schmidt translated in 1834.

VI. *Notice générale des Turghut au Chapitre 101 du Piao Tchouan*.

These three chapters of Pelliot's work have the value of original sources. The remaining chapters and the Notes are a valuable secondary work. In Vol. II, Pelliot gives genealogical tables of (1) the Dörbät and the Jungars, (2) the Khošot and (3) the Turghut.

Mention must be made, finally, of the fragment of the *Oyirod-un Galdan Bošuytu qayan-u teüke* (*Geschichte des Ölöten fürsten Galdan Bošuytu*) published by W. Heissig as « Ein Mongol-Text-fragment über den Ölötenfürsten Galdan », *Sinologische Arbeiten*, II, 1944, pp. 92–160, and III, 1945, pp. 169–176. It is, however, a very late piece of work – later than 1822/25 – and has, therefore, not been used much in this book. It does not add anything of importance to the account given here, based on the other sources.

Such are the Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and European sources used in this book.

CHAPTER II.

PLACES AND PEOPLES

The territory dealt with in this book includes (A) Tibet, (B) China, (C) the lands of the Eastern Mongols, (D) the lands of the Western Mongols and (E) Turkistan.

(A) Tibet (Bod-yul) was conceived of, by the Tibetans, as the land lying between the Himalayas in the south and the Kun-lun and the Altyn Tagh in the north. The fifth Dalai Lama's *rGyal-rabs*, p. 60 a, speaks of the three *chol-kas* of Tibet, viz., (1) dBus-gTsañ, (2) Upper mDo and (3) Lower mDo¹⁾. But this was written in 1643, after the acquiescence in the annexation of mÑa'-ris sKor-gSum, west of the Mar-yum Pass, by Señ-ge rNam-rGyal of Ladakh in 1641. It is at least plausible that both before 1641 and after 1683/84, when the frontier between Tibet and Ladakh was moved westwards from the Mar-yum Pass and fixed "at the Lha-ri stream at bDe-mChog", the term "the three *chol-kas* of Tibet" meant (1) mÑa'-ris sKor-gSum or Western Tibet, (2) dBus-gTsañ or Central Tibet and (3) Upper and Lower mDo-Khams or Eastern Tibet. It is necessary, for our purposes, to define, as far as possible, the frontiers between Tibet and China, as understood in the 17th century.

According to the scheme of the VSP, p. 235 ff., mDo-Khams or Eastern Tibet was pre-eminently a "region of valleys" (*mDo-Khams*), namely, the upper valleys of the Salween, Mekong, Yang-tze, Li-thañ, Ya-lung and Hwang-ho rivers. The division between Upper and Lower mDo-Khams seems to have been marked by a line running from the apex of the north-eastern bend of the Brahmaputra at Nam-che Bar-wa, north-eastwards towards Kan-su, so as to leave sPo-bo²⁾ and Chab-mDo (Chamdo) north-west of the line, and Gam-rTse (Kandze) south-east of it. Upper and Lower mDo-Khams meant, therefore, principally the upper and lower

¹⁾ See Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, p. 628, col. 2.

²⁾ For sPo-bo, see T.V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam Gling rGyas bShad*, Rome, 1962, p. 98, p. 177 (Note 578).

parts of the valleys of the Salween, Mekong, Yang-tze and Yalung rivers. With regard to Lower mDo-Khams, it is a good conjecture that, for administrative purposes, it was divided into longitudinal "khuls" (areas of jurisdiction), each "khul" following a river valley. The VSP specifically mentions the khuls of Dar-rTse-mDo (Ta-chien-lu 打箭鑪) and 'Ba' (-thañ) (Pa-t'ang 巴塘). Li-thañ (Li-t'ang 裏塘) and dMar-Khams could, possibly, have been the third and fourth khuls. We may now define the south-eastern and eastern borders of Lower mDo-Khams.

At the south-eastern border of Tibet, on the Chinese side, lay the territory known to the Tibetans as lJañs, the capital of which was at Sa-tham. Sa-tham, a Tibetanised form of the Na-khi Sa-ddo, the name of the mountain-god of the Li-kiang snow-range, is the Tibetan name for Li-kiang (麗江)³⁾.

The Ming set-up in this territory consisted of two prefectures (fu 府), viz., Hao-ching 鶴慶 and Li-kiang. Under the prefecture of Li-kiang were the two territories of Chung-tien 中甸 and Wei-hsi 維西. East of Li-kiang fu lay the chou of Pei-sheng 北勝 (later known as Yung-pei fu 永北府)⁴⁾.

As we learn from the VSP, pp. 230-231, from about the 4th quarter of the 15th century onwards, there was a close connection between the Incarnations of 'Phags-pa lHa (Āryadeva) at Ñañ-po⁵⁾ and lJañs. 'Phags-pa lHa I (d. 1502)⁶⁾ founded the monastery of Gru-kha in lJañs. 'Phags-pa

³⁾ J. F. Rock, *The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of South-West China*, Harvard, 1947, I, p. 61 footnote, p. 87 and p. 191 ff.

⁴⁾ Tsang Li-huo 臧勵穌, *Chung kuo ku chin ti ming ta tz'u tien 中國古今地名大辭典*, Shanghai, 1930, p. 187 (Pei-sheng), p. 222 (Yung-pei), p. 1118 (Wei-hsi), p. 1361 (Li-kiang), p. 1387 (Hao-ching); Liu Chun-jen 劉鈞仁, *Chung kuo ti ming ta tz'u tien 中國地名大辭典*, Peking, 1930, p. 24 (Chung-tien).

⁵⁾ There are two "valleys of the Ñañ river" in Tibet. One is in gTsañ: the Ñañ or Myañ river flows past rGyal-rTse (Gyantse) and gZis-ka rTse (Shigatse). See Wylie, *op. cit.*, p. 115, Note 11. The other Ñañ river is due east of dBus and flows past rGya-mDa'. Wylie, p. 96 and p. 176 (Note 371). It is the latter Ñañ-po we are concerned with here.

⁶⁾ The date of 'Phags-pa lHa I's death is given in VSP, p. 230, line 14, as "dguñ. lo.ze.dgu.par.", "in his forty-ninth year". On p. 230, line 6, he is said to have been ordained "in his fortieth year, by the (6th) Abbot of dGa'-ldan, the Chos-rJe of Ba-so", (b. 1402, Abbot of dGa'-ldan 1463-73, d. 1473). It seems unlikely that 'Phags-pa lHa I did all that is attributed to him thereafter in only 9 years after his ordination. Also, even if he were ordained in the last year of the 6th Abbot of dGa'-ldan's tenure of office

lHa II (1507-66) went to Sa-tham at the invitation of the then King of Sa-tham. 'Phags-pa lHa III (1567-1604) founded the monastery of Gañs-dKar bDe-chen, said to be situated in Tsha-ba roñ⁷⁾ in VSP, p. 230, in sPom-mDa' in VSP, p. 244. It was destroyed by King Don-yod of Be-ri in the early years of the 17th century (before 1639-41) and re-founded by 'Phags-pa lHa V (1644- ?) under the name of gSañ-sÑags bDe-chen (Gliñ). It is probably the Gañs-dKar Gliñ monastery situated on the eastern bank of the To-k'o-ch'u Ho 多克楚河 (sToñ-chu), an affluent of the western branch of the Wu-liang Ho 無量河 (*Tib.* lCags Chu, *Hsi-fan* *Zho* Chu, *Na-khi* Shu-gyi) mentioned by J. F. Rock in *The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of South-West China* (Harvard, 1947), Vol. II, p. 385, footnote 5. The Wu-liang Ho flows out of the Gañs-dKar Gliñ mountain-range to the apex of the loop of the Yang-tze north of Li-kiang. The visit of 'Phags-pa lHa IV (1604-44) to the Court of the fifth Dalai Lama in 1625-26 is recorded in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Vol. I, p. 39 b and p. 41 b.

As we shall see again in the next chapter of this book, when bSod-nams rGya-mTsho, the third Dalai Lama (1542/43-88), came to Li-thañ in 1580, the King of Sa-tham in lJañs provided the labourers and artisans for the founding of the monastery at Li-thañ. He also invited the third Dalai Lama to come to Li-kiang⁸⁾. This king was probably Mu Wang 木旺 (b. 1551, succeeded 1579, d. 1596)⁹⁾. After that, under Mu Tsêng 木增 (b. 1587, s. 1597, d. 1646), there seems to have been a Kar-ma-pa revival and a consequent decline of the dGe-lugs-pa. This lasted until 1639-41, when Guši Khan conquered Eastern Tibet, or shortly thereafter. The fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume I, p. 130 b, records the arrival of envoys from the King of Sa-tham in lJañs, enquiring after the health of Guši Khan, in 1645.

The history of Sino-Tibetan relations in this area after the arrival there of Wu San-kuei in 1659, will be discussed in the relevant chapters.

(1473), the year of his death (his 49th year) would be 1482 (8th Cycle, Chu-sTag). As the 2nd 'Phags-pa lHa is said to have been born in the Me-Yos year (of the 9th Cycle) (1507), this would leave the see vacant for 25 years—a rather unusually long period of time. Perhaps, therefore, we should place the year of 'Phags-pa lHa I's death in his 69th year—reading "re.dgu.par." instead of "že.dgu.par." in VSP, p. 230, line 14—which would place his death in 8th Cycle, Chu-Khyi (1502).

⁷⁾ Wylie, p. 98, pp. 178-179 (Note 584).

⁸⁾ 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-thar, p. 100 a-b; VSP, p. 108 and p. 236.

⁹⁾ J.F. Rock, I, pp. 122-124.

A little to the north-east of Li-kiang, in the Yung-ning/Mu-li area, the VSP, p. 238, speaks of "the dGa'-ldan Dar-rGyas Gliñ at lHa-sTeñ, at the frontier (between Tibet and) China" (*rGya.mtshams.lha.steñ.dga'.ldan.dar.rgyas.gliñ.ni.*). J.F. Rock, *op. cit.*, II, p. 382, helps us to identify lHa-khañ-sTeñ as "the mountain 280 li north-east of the ancient Wa lu chang kuan ssu 瓦魯長官司 ... Wa-lu or Wa-lu chih 瓦魯之 is the Wa-erh chai 窪耳寨 of today, called Wa-chin by the Hsi-fan of Mu-li". The monastery of dGa'-ldan Dar-rGyas Gliñ was founded in 1580 by Chos-rJe Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, a disciple of bSod-nams rGya-mTsho, the third Dalai Lama (1542/43-1588), at the same time as the founding of Li-thañ by the latter.

In 1656 (Me-sPre, Fire-Ape), the monastery of dGa'-ldan bSad-Grub rNam-rGyal Gliñ was founded in Mu-li by the Rab-'byams-pa of sBag-ti, bSam-gTan bZañ-po¹⁰. In 1677, the fifth Dalai Lama had this to say about lHa-khan-sTeñ:

lHa.khañ.steñ.gi.chos.gžis.la.phan.tshun.rtsod.ris.kyi.rmu.le.sñags.ram.pa'i.dbon.po.bsam.gtan.bzañ.por.sger.'jags.dañ./De.tshab.bla.ma.'jam.dbyañs.bkra.śis.kyi.skuskye.dañ.rmu.le.rab.'byams.pa.thun.moñ.la.mi.ñag.brgyud.rmu.le.dañ.'brel.mtshuñs.nas.dud.sum.brgya.skor.mi.gra.yoñ.'bab.dañ.bcas.pa.sprad.

To bSam-gTan bZañ-po, the dBon-po of the sÑags-ram-pa of rMu-le, who was a party to the dispute at the religious establishment at lHa-khañ-sTeñ, I gave a private endowment (for his own private use). To his deputy, the Incarnation of Bla-ma 'Jam-dByañs bKra-śis and to the ordinary Rab-'byams-pa of rMu-le, I gave about 300 households, together with their lay and ecclesiastical taxes (situated in the territory) which is through Mi-ñag and is connected with rMu-le¹¹.

¹⁰ VSP, p. 238; Rock, II, p. 387. *Rab-'byams-pa* = Doctor of Divinity (Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 1169).

¹¹ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 50 a [Me-sBrul, 9th Hor month (ting-ssu, 9th month = 27 September-25 October 1677)]. *dBon-po* = nephew of a lama or a chief of Tibet; in the case of an abbot or lama of a monastery, the dBon-po is from his brother's side and is generally appointed to supervise the monastery; hence, the supervisor of a monastery is generally styled dBon-po. (Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 913). *sÑags-ram-pa* = Doctor in mysticism (Das, *ibid.*, p. 1170). With regard to *Mi-ñag*, Wylie, p. 183, Note 630, defines it as "the area between the Nyag-chu (Yalung river) and Ta-chien-lu (Tib. Dar-rTse-mDo) and extends northward to Mgar-thar (Taining of the maps)". G. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai Lamas* (Leipzig, 1958), p. 78, footnote 99, says "Mi-nyag ist ein sehr dehnbare geographischer und historischer Begriff."

It is clear that the Dalai Lama had authority to confer the use of lands and taxes in the territory between Mi-ñag and Mu-li. The fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume III, p. 193 *b* and 194 *a*, mentions the presence of lamas from lHa-khañ-sTeñ at the Court of the fifth Dalai Lama in August 1680¹²⁾.

The eastern border of Tibet (Lower mDo-Khams) was marked by the Ta-tu 大渡 river and its upper course, known as the Ta chin ch'uan 大金川 («The Great Golden River») to the Chinese, rGyal-mo dNul-chu («The Silver River of rGyal-mo roñ») to the Tibetans¹³⁾. The Ta-tu river is a tributary of the Min Ho 岷河, which drains into the Yang-tze. The border-town between Tibet and China was Dar-rTse-mDo or Ta chien lu 打箭鑪.

The fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume II, pp. 43a-b, records the presence of 'Phags-pa lHa V (1644- ?), the Sayab¹⁴⁾ of Dar-rTse-mDo and others at the Court of the Dalai Lama in March 1668¹⁵⁾. At p. 76b of the same work we are told that, in May-June 1669, the dBon-po of Go-bo, near sMar-Khams¹⁶⁾, and "the brothers (who were rulers) of lCags-la (and were) inhabitants of Dar-rTse-mDo" gave many presents and a pair of Chinese cymbals to the *grva-tshañ*¹⁷⁾. lCags-la is the area of

ganz ähnlich etwa unserer Bezeichnung 'Balkan' in Europa". There are, in fact, two Mi-ñags, the one (*mDo Mi-ñag*) defined by Wylie, and the other in the North-East, on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. See R. Stein, «Mi-ñag et Si-hia», *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 44 (1947-50), Fasc. I (1951), pp. 223-265.

¹²⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 193 *b* [lCags-sPre, the latter 6th Hor month, 7th day (keng-shen, 7th month, 7th day = 1 August 1680)]; p. 194 *a* (10th day = 4 August 1680).

¹³⁾ Wylie, p. 55, p. 118 (Note 42), p. 184 (Note 635).

¹⁴⁾ Sa-yab = literally, "father of the land", hence, ruler.

¹⁵⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 43 *a* [Sa-sPre, 2nd Hor month, 11th day (mou-shen, 2nd month, 11th day = 23 March 1668)]; p. 43 *b* (13th day = 25 March 1668).

¹⁶⁾ *sMar.khams.Go.bo.dBon.po*. VSP, p. 239, however, speaks of Go-bo roñ while dealing with 'Ba'(-thañ). Probably, therefore, Go-bo was under the jurisdiction (*khul*) of 'Ba'-thañ, but near dMar-khams. VSP, p. 241, informs us that sMar-khams was ruled by the ruler of Go-bo. See "Go'i Dze-Dze dGon" (Dze-Dze dGon-pa of Go) in Wylie, p. 101, in the territory of 'Ba'-thañ.

¹⁷⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 76 *b* [Sa-Bya, 5th Hor month (chi-yu, 5th month = 30 May-27 June 1669)]: Dar.rtse.mdo.ba.lcags.la.spun.gyis.ster.cha.bzabs.rgya.sbug.lgs.pa.ñig.byuñ.ba.gra.tshañ.du.sprad. *Grva-tshañ* = school where monks are instructed in sacred literature; a section in a great monastery where the monks belonging to one particular school of studies live together (Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 239).

which Dar-rTse-mDo is the capital¹⁸⁾. In 1677, the Rab-'byams-pa of lCags-la, Ņag-BaŅ lHun-Grub, — obviously, one of the brothers referred to previously—was appointed Abbot of the monastery of Ri-bo dGe-'phel in ŚaŅs (a valley in gTsaŅ)¹⁹⁾.

In that same year (1677), the monastery of dGa'-ldan 'Gro-phan GliŅ was founded at Dar-rTse-mDo. The fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume III, p. 50 *a*, immediately after speaking of the award of lands and taxes to bSam-gTan bZaŅ-po, the dBon-po of the sŅags-ram-pa of Mu-li, and others²⁰⁾, speaks as follows:

Śar.dar.rtse.mdo.rgya.bod.kyi.sa.mtshams.'du.sgo.che.žiŅ.'dod.dgu.
'byuŅ.ba'i.yul.gžan.las.ches.cher.rmad.du.byuŅ.na'aŅ.'di.phyi'i.
bde.'bras.ma.lus.pa'i.bar.med.du.stsol.ba'i.mchod.yul.rnam.dag.
mi.'dug.gsis.phyogs.der.gnas.pa'i.skye.rgu.rnams.mŅon.mtho.Ņes.
legs.kyi.sar.bkri.ba'i.byed.pa.por.sŅags.gra.dga'.ldan.'gro.phan.gliŅ.
gi.chos.sde.gsar.btsugs.dge.'dun.lŅa.bcu.skor.la.phogs.

Dar-rTse-mDo in the East being the great meeting-point of the territorial borders of China and Tibet, although the occasions for the arising of worldly desires are very much greater than elsewhere, (nevertheless) because there is (there) no holy place for (performing) the worship which uninterruptedly confers the whole fruit of the happiness of this and later lives, the religious establishment of the Tantric College (called) dGa'-ldan 'Gro-phan GliŅ has recently been founded, so that it might lead the inhabitants of that region to the heavenly land of certain bliss. To about 50 monks (of this religious establishment) I gave wages²¹⁾.

On 14 November 1677, the fifth Dalai Lama appointed Ņag-dBaŅ 'Jam-dByaŅ as the head of the monastery at Dar-rTse-mDo, with the title of Slob-dPon (Ācārya), and also made other appointments²²⁾.

¹⁸⁾ For lCags-la, see Wylie, p. 184, Note 636.

¹⁹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 26 *b* [Me-'Brug, 12th Hor month (ping-chen, 12th month = 4 January-1 February 1677)]; *ibid.*, p. 34 *b* [Me-sBrul, 3rd Hor month, 14th day (ting-ssu, 3rd month, 14th day = 15 April 1677)].

²⁰⁾ See this book, above, p. 60.

²¹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 50 *a* [Me-sBrul, 9th Hor month (ting-ssu, 9th month = 27 September-25 October 1677)].

²²⁾ *Ibid.* p. 53 *b* [Me-sBrul, 10th Hor month, 20th day (ting-ssu, 10th month, 20th day = 14 November 1677)]. The name of the monastery is given here as dGa'-ldan gŽan-phan GliŅ.

The VSP, pp. 326-327, also speaks of "the monastery of dGa'-ldan 'Gro-phan Gliñ founded in the year Me-sBrul (Fire-Serpent, 1677) at La-mo rTse in Dar-rTse-mDo in the East, at the border between (Lower) mDo-Khams and China" (*mDo.khams.dañ.rgya'i.mtshams.śar.dar.rtse.mdo'i.la.mo.rtser.me.sbrul.lor.tshugs.pa.dga'.ldan.'gro.phan.gliñ.*).

dGa'-ldan 'Gro-phan Gliñ is, very probably, "the dBus-gTsañ (*i.e.* Tibetan) lama encampment" (烏思藏喇嘛營) referred to in the Memorial from Yu Yang-chih 于養志, Governor of Ssu-chuan, in a CSL document dated 5 October 1696²³). In 1696, Ta chien lu was placed on the Chinese Register of Population (pan t'u 版圖), *i.e.* it was annexed to China²⁴). News of the "loss of mDo Mi-ñag (*i.e.* Mi-ñag of mDo-Khams, as distinct from the Mi-ñag of the north-east) to China" did not reach the Sixth Dalai Lama till the 1st Hor month of 1701²⁵), *i.e.* after the suppression by the Chinese of the disturbance of 1700²⁶).

The following quotation from E. Teichmann's *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet* (Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 59, footnote 1, seems appropriate here:

The little town of Tachienlu (a Chinese transliteration of the Tibetan name Dartsendo) lies in a narrow cleft in the snow-capped range which, in this neighbourhood, forms the racial boundary between Chinese and Tibetans. Coming from Szechuan the traveller will up to this point see scarcely any signs of a Tibetan population; but proceeding west and crossing the big range, he will find himself though a long way from the political frontier of Tibet Proper, in purely Tibetan country, without any signs of a Chinese population. In Tachienlu itself, which is nowadays a Chinese town, the two races meet and mingle.

Going north, we come to Upper mDo-Khams. The route from Ssu-chuan to Upper mDo-Khams lay through Sung-p'an 松潘. In 1674, when the fifth Dalai Lama agreed — albeit against his better judgment — to help the Emperor of China against the rebel, Wu San-kuei, he ordered Dalai Khung-taiji, the principal Khošot chieftain of the Koko-nor area, to attack Wu through Sung-p'an. Later (autumn 1674 ?), Dalai Khung-taiji

²³ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 176, pp. 7 a-b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 9th month, kuei-hai (5 October 1696).

²⁴ Same as 23.

²⁵ 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 464 b.

²⁶ See this book, below, p. 151 and p. 207.

excused himself on the expressed ground that the Sung-p'an route was dangerous but, not impossibly, because of some kind of understanding between himself and Wu San-kuei. The Dalai Lama was none too unwilling to accept this excuse, but it caused great displeasure to the Emperor of China²⁷⁾. In a CSL document dated 14 June 1678, we learn of a trade route from Ssu-chuan to Kokonor, via Mao chou 茂州 and Sung-p'an²⁸⁾.

The VSP draws a distinction between Upper mDo-Khams and the territory of the Blue Lake. The latter territory is taken to mean the catchment area of the Blue Lake and the valleys of (1) the 'Ju-lag chu or the Ta-t'ung Ho 大通河 and (2) the (b)Tsoñ chu or Hsi-ning river²⁹⁾. The Blue Lake is known to Tibetans as mTsho sÑon-po ("The Blue Lake") or mTsho Khri-bŚor rGyal-mo ("The Queen Lake which swept away ten thousand (people or things)")³⁰⁾. To the Chinese it is known as Ch'ing-hai 青海; to the Mongols as Koko-nor. At the spot where bTsoñ-kha-pa, the founder of the dGe-lugs-pa (1357-1419) was born, in the valley of the bTsoñ river, the third Dalai Lama (1542/43-1588) laid the foundation of sKu-'bum monastery, either on his way to or from Altan Khan (1578-79)³¹⁾. Under the year 1579, the third Dalai Lama's rÑam-thar says as follows:

mChod.yon.bka'.gros.thog.nas./rGya.bod.kyi.gser.zam.spel.ba.sogs.
la.mtsho.khar.dpon.po.'kho.lo.che.chiñ.pā.thur.'khor.bcas.bžag.

As a result of a consultation between the Object-of-Worship (the third Dalai Lama) and the Givers-of-Alms (the secular rulers who

²⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 54, p. 17 a, K'ang Hsi 14th year, 4th month, i-mao (21 May 1675); see also this book, later, p. 143.

²⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 73, pp. 13 a-b, K'ang Hsi 17th year, 4th month, i-wei (14 June 1678).

²⁹⁾ See Wylie, p. 119, Notes 47 and 48.

³⁰⁾ The origin of the name "mTsho Khri-bŚor rGyal-mo" has been thus given by Sum-pa mKhan-po in his *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 2 a (Lokesh Chandra's edition, p. 427):

"According to the old folk-lore of the people of the Blue Lake, underneath the mTsho-sÑiñ hill (an island in the middle of the Blue Lake), there sprang formerly a small well or fountain, which did not (over-) flow. On top of this (well or fountain) there was a construction like a small wooden door which had to be bolted when the water was not being drawn. One day, a woman, who was drawing water, out of forgetfulness, did not bolt the wooden door. A great quantity of water swirled up, the plain was flooded and some tens of thousands of peoples' dwellings were lost in the water. The Lake thus became known as "the Queen Lake which swept away 10,000 (people or things)". At this time, the Teacher Padma-sambhava is said to have arrived here and pressed down the spring with a small hill, which is the present mTsho-sÑiñ Mahādeva (island)". Sum-pa mKhan-po then proceeds to reject this tradition.

³¹⁾ VSP, pp. 263-264.

were Worshipers, Patrons and Protectors of the Dalai Lama), for the increase of the coming and going of Yellow (-robed) (priests) between China and Tibet and for other purposes, at the Valley of the (Blue) Lake, the ruler, 'Kho-lo-che Cing Batur was appointed, together with his retinue³²⁾.

'Kho-lo-che was a Tümed Mongol, as we learn from the Annals of Koko-nor, p. 3 a and p. 4 b³³⁾.

From this time onwards, a very close connection was maintained between Tibet and the Valley of the Blue Lake (mTsho-Kha). 'Kho-lo-che's son, Guru Khung-taiji, fought the Ruler of gTsañ at rKyañ than sGañ in 1621. In c. 1634, the Valley was occupied by the Khalkha prince, Chog-thu Taiji. In 1637, Chog-thu was defeated, and his territory seized by Guši Khan (1582-1655), the Khan of a branch of the Western Mongols, coming from the Valley of the Ili river. Neither the removal of 'Kho-lo-che in c. 1634, nor that of Chog-thu in 1637, seems to have meant the end of their lines in Koko-nor. For, we hear of messengers from Chog-thu Tha'i-ji of Koko-nor at the Court of the Dalai Lama on 24 August 1671³⁴⁾; and of one Da'i-chiñ Kho-lo-che on 15 April 1677³⁵⁾. But their rule over the Valley of the Blue Lake, no doubt, ended in c. 1634 and 1637 respectively. In 1639-41, Guši Khan captured Lower mDo-khams; in 1641-42, dBus-gTsañ. In 1642, Guši Khan made an offering of his conquests to the fifth Dalai Lama (1617-82) and, thereby, as is put forward in this book, a sovereign state of Tibet came into being with the Dalai Lama as sovereign, and Guši Khan (and his line) as Worshiper, Patron and Protector of the Dalai Lama.

Pallas, I, p. 30, says:

Er (Guši Khan) übergab nämlich, noch vor seinem Ende, aus Frommigkeit, seinem Sohn Dajan Chan, welcher den tibetischen Namen Dschik dschirko erhielt, die Würde eines Beherrschers von Tibet; wogegen er dem andern Sohn Dallai Chuntaidschi alle ihm zuständige Choschotische Unterthanen zuerkannte. Die Kalmuckische Chroniken rühmen von ihm, dass er, in Ermanglung hinlänglicher Nahrungsplätze für das arme Tibetische Volk, bei den

³²⁾ 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-thar, p. 99 a (Sa-Yos/chi-mao/1579).

³³⁾ *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 3 a and 4 b (Lokesh Chandra, p. 429 and 431 respectively).

³⁴⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 116 a [lCags-Phag, 7th Hor month, 20th day (hsin-hai, 7th month, 20th day = 24 August 1671)].

³⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, III, p. 34 a [Me-sBrul, 3rd Hor month, 14th day (ting-ssu, 3rd month, 14th day = 15 April 1677)].

Oerötschen Fürsten zu deren Verpflanzung eine Gegend am altai-schen Gebürge ausgewürkt habe... Von seiner Nachkommenschaft soll es noch izt kleine Fürsten in der Gegend des Kokonoor geben.

The extracts from the *Piao Ch'uan* (1779–95) translated by Pelliot, and the CSK, Fan Pu 5, pp. 1 b–2 a, say that Guši Khan had 10 sons. The names of these sons, as given in the CSK, are given in Genealogical Table III at the end of this book. Guši Khan died on 14 January 1655 ³⁶⁾, and was succeeded by his son, Dayan Khan, who was enthroned on 7 February 1658, by the fifth Dalai Lama, and given the title of bsTan-'dzin rDo-rJe rGyal-po ³⁷⁾. *rDo-rJe rGyal-po* is *Ocir Khan* in Mongolian, and it is in this form that he is mentioned in the CSK as Guši Khan's Son No. 1 Ta-yen O-chi-êrh Han (Dayan Ocir Khan). The second syllable of "Ocir" and the word "Khan" probably represent the "dschir-ko" of Pallas, unless we see in "Dschik dschirko" a very corrupted form of "*rDo-rJe rGyal-po*". On 17 September 1660, on the occasion of the accession of the Jai-saṅ sDe-pa as sDe-pa, with the title of Sa-sKyoṅ ("Protector of the Land") 'Phrin-las rGya-mTsho, the Chos-rGyal's or Dharmarājā's title was also changed to bsTan-'dzin Dayan khan ³⁸⁾.

Guši Khan's Sons Nos. 2–8 and No. 10 settled in Upper mDo-Khams under the leadership of Son No. 6, To-êrh-chi Ta-lai Pa-t'u-erh (rDo-rJe Dalai Batur) — the Dalai Chuntaidschi of Pallas and the Da-la'i Huñ-tha'i-ji of the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography — who, though only No. 6, seems to have been accorded the leadership after No. 1. The actual migration of Dalai Khung-taiji to Kokonor took place in 1648, as we learn from the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume I, p. 144 b ³⁹⁾.

According to CSK, Fan Pu 3, p. 10 b ff., Son No. 4, Pa-yen A-pu-kai A-yu-shih Ta-lai Wu-pa-shih (Bayan Abuṣai Ayuši Dalai Ubaši), had sixteen sons, the first twelve of whom settled in Ala-shan from 1682 onwards — as we shall see in the course of this book — and the remain-

³⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 233 a [Siñ-rTa, 12th Hor month, 7th day (chia-wu, 12th month, 7th day = 14 January 1655)].

³⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 258 b [Sa-Khyi, 1st Hor month, 6th day (mou-hsü, 1st month, 6th day = 7 February 1658)].

³⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 297 b [Cags-Byi, 7th Hor month, 13th day (keng-tzu, 8th month, 13th day = 17 September 1660)]. 'Phrin-las rGya-mTsho's predecessor as sDe-pa, bSod-nams Chos-'phel, had died on 5 April 1658—see 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 261 b [Sa-Khyi, 3rd Hor month, 3rd day (mou-hsü, 3rd month, 3rd day = 5 April 1658)]. See also L. Petech, «The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet», p. 378.

³⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 144 b (Sa-Byi, 7th Hor month [mou-tzu, 7th month = 19 August–16 September 1648]): Da.la'i.Pā.thur.bar.khams.phyogs.su.'debs.pa'i.rdzoṅ.ba.byas. (I bade farewell to Dalai Batur who was about to settle in Middle Khams).

ing four remained in Upper mDo-Khams and the Valley of the Blue Lake. Bayan Abuḡai Ayuṣi Dalai Ubaṣi was, therefore, the progenitor of the Ala-shan O-lu-t'e.

With regard to Son No. 5, I-le-tu-chi, J. F. Rock, in his monograph, *The A-mnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions* (Rome, 1956), pp. 47-48, says that Guṣi Khan appointed him chieftain of the Front Banner. He was the first prince of the Khoṣot Front Banner. Po-shih-k'e-t'u Chi-nung 博碩克圖濟農, (Boṣoḡtu Jinong), son of I-le-tu-chi (Ilduci) according to Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 129, was the third. This Po-shih-k'e-t'u Chi-nung may be the same as the person called dGa'-ldan Dar-rGyas on whom the fifth Dalai Lama bestowed the title of dGa'-ldan Da'i-chiñ Bo-śog-thu Ji-noñ on a date corresponding to 21 July 1677⁴⁰⁾. He is not to be confused with dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji, the great Jungar chieftain, to whom the fifth Dalai Lama gave the title of dGa'-ldan bsTan-'dzin Bo-śog-thu Khan on a date corresponding to 30 June 1678⁴¹⁾. The two, however, were not unrelated to each other. For, Rock's Po-shih-k'e-t'u Chi-nung and the fifth Dalai Lama's Bo-śog-thu Ji-noñ may be the same as the Po-shih-k'e-t'u Chi-nung 博碩克圖濟農, whose son, according to a CSL document dated 29 June 1696⁴²⁾, was married to dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji's daughter.

The eight sons of Guṣi Khan (Nos. 2-8 and No. 10), who settled in Upper mDo-Khams and the Valley of the Blue Lake, were collectively known as the Eight Khoṣots, transcribed in Chinese as *Pa Ho-shih-t'e* 八和碩特⁴³⁾ (*pa* 八 = eight).

Father Gerbillon writes as follows:

Ces Princes Eluths (*scil.* those of Upper mDo-Khams and the Valley of the Blue Lake) sont connus à la Chine sous le nom de Taikis de Coconoor... Ils sont au nombre de huit, qui ont chacun leur pays, et leur gens à part, independans les uns des autres: ils ne se liguent entre eux que pour leur conservation réciproque⁴⁴⁾.

⁴⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, III, p. 44 b [Me-sBrul, 6th Hor month, 22nd day (ting-ssu, 6th month, 22nd day = 21 July 1677)].

⁴¹⁾ *Ibid.*, III, p. 82 a [Sa-rTa, 5th Hor month, 12th day (mou-wu, 5th month, 12th day = 30 June 1678)].

⁴²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, p. 1b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 6th month, i-yu (29 June 1696).

⁴³⁾ The word is derived from "khoṣo" (和碩) meaning "angle, corner, direction, that which lies in a certain direction or between the 4 directions, hence, territory, region, etc." Cf. "Khoṣoi Ch'in Wang" 和碩親王, Prince of the First Class.

⁴⁴⁾ Du Halde (1736), IV, p. 50.

In 1645, the Ch'ing forces penetrated into Hsi-ning. No fewer than ten facts, however, in the course of the 17th cent., prove that the hold of the Ch'ing in this area was rather weak.

1) In March-April 1659 (Earth-Hog, 2nd Hor month = chi-hai, 3rd month = 23 March - 20 April 1659), the fifth Dalai Lama writes as follows in his Autobiography, Volume I, p. 269 b:

sÑar.dañ.mi.'dra.ba'i.žva.ser.'chañ.ba'i.bstan.pa.'di.byañ.phyogs.
kyi.sbyin.bdag.rnams.dañ.khad.ñer.mtsho.sñon.po.skor.gyi.dus.
bde.dog.la.rag.lus.pa.'dra.žig.'dug.pas.las.gśin.gyi.rjes.gnañ.gi.sgo.
nas.rgyal.po.sku.mched.dam.tshig.sbrel./gYas.ru.gyon.ru.tsho.lugs.
legs.yoñ.ba'i.mched.gñis.kyis.gtsos.'di.gar.gañ.yod.rnams.kyi.tham.
ka.bžag./De.'phros.mtsho.khar.so.so'i.tham.ka.len.pa.dañ.gnas.
chuñ.chos.rgyal.gyis.bskur.ba'i.rdo.rje.spyi.bor.'jog.pa.sogs.don.
gcod.la.bsod.nams.dbañ.rgyal.mtsho.kha.phyogs.su.rdzoñ.bda'.byas.

Because the happiness of the northern Patrons of this Yellow-Hatted creed — the like of which has not existed before — and that (happiness) of the inhabitants of Kokonor, both far and near, was somewhat straitened, the royal brothers undertook a solemn undertaking by means of the anujñā of the God of Death. Whoever (of the northern Patrons and the rulers of Koko-nor) were here, the principal among them being the royal brothers, set their seal (to the undertaking) that the ways of both the Right Wing and the Left Wing would (in future) be good. In order to perform such duties as taking the seal of those in addition to these (*i.e.* in addition to those who were here), and setting the rDo-rJe given by the Guardian-of-the-Faith of gNas-chuñ on their heads, I sent bSod-nams dBañ-rGyal to the Valley of the (Blue) Lake.

We have here evidence of the fifth Dalai Lama bringing about an undertaking of good behaviour — *i.e.* an undertaking to keep the peace — among the tribes of Koko-nor, and sending a commissioner to that region to obtain adherence to that undertaking.

2) In the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume I, p. 338 a, on a date corresponding to 28 June 1663, the following occurs:

mTsho.sñon.po.'di.rgya.bod.hor.gsum.thams.cad.'du.ba'i.sa.gnañ.
yin.pas.ñe.len.dañ.khur.'khur.gal.che.gśis.rdzoñ.ba.bzabs.rgyas.
stabs.te.huñ.tha'i.ji.ñer.gsum.la.thon.

Because the Blue Lake is the meeting-point of China, Tibet and Mongolia, all three, (and) because of the (therefore) heavy duties and responsibilities, I gave many and valuable fare-well presents to the Huñ-tha'i-ji (Dalai Khung-taiji?) and sent him out on the 23rd (day of the 5th Hor month of the year Water-Hare = 28 June 1663).

Again, we see the Dalai Lama assuming special responsibilities in the Valley of the Blue Lake.

3) In the 5th year of K'ang Hsi (4 February 1666–23 January 1667), as Wei Yüan writes in the *Sheng Wu Chi*, ch. 3, pp. 23 a-b, “the tribes of Ch'ing-hai gathered like bees on the Ch'i lien shan 祁連山 and set about pasturing their flocks in the Inner Territory at Ta ts'ao t'an 大草灘”. Ch'i lien shan is the same as the Nan shan 南山 (the “Southern mountains”) which marks the southern limit of the narrow western corridor of Kan-su. In this corridor are situated the towns of Su-chou 肅州 (= Chiu-ch'uan 酒泉), Kan-chou 甘州 (= Chang-yeh 張掖) and Liang-chou 涼州 (= Wu-wei 武威). Ta ts'ao t'an (“The Great Grass Banks”), as we learn from a CSL document dated 20 February 1694⁴⁵⁾, is the territory of Huang-ch'êng-êrh 黃城爾 i.e. the lower valleys of the Ta-tung and Hsi-ning rivers and the combined flow of the two rivers till it reaches the Yellow River. Messengers were sent by the Chinese to the Dalai Lama, requesting him to persuade the tribesmen to withdraw. These messengers, Del-ger dGe-sloñ and Śes-rab 'Od-zer, arrived at the Court of the Dalai Lama on 25 April 1667⁴⁶⁾ and returned to Hsi-ning later in the year with an Edict from the Dalai Lama ordering the tribesmen to withdraw. Accordingly, they withdrew. The Dalai Lama also sanctioned the giving of compensation to the Chinese⁴⁷⁾. The whole incident was reported to the Emperor K'ang Hsi in a Memorial from the Governor-General of Shen-si and Shan-si, which arrived at the Court of Peking on 10 December 1667⁴⁸⁾.

⁴⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 162, p. 8 b, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 1st month, i-chou (20 February 1694).

⁴⁶⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Vol. II, pp. 29 b–30 a [Me-Lug, 3rd Hor month, 3rd day (ting-wei, 4th month, 3rd day = 25 April 1667)].

⁴⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, II, p. 36 b [Me-Lug, 7th Hor month, 22nd day (ting-wei, 7th month, 22nd day = 9 September 1667)].

⁴⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 24, pp. 13 b–14 a, K'ang Hsi 6th year, 10th month, ping-shen (10 December 1667); *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 7 a (Lokesh Chandra, p. 437).

The Emperor wrote to the Dalai Lama commending his action ⁴⁹⁾.

The incident justifies the remark made by the Dalai Lama in his entry in his Autobiography on 28 June 1663 that the Blue Lake was “the meeting-point of China, Tibet and Mongolia”; also the remark made on 25 April 1667 that the Valley of the Blue Lake lay “at the territorial limit of China”.

4) Again, when the sDe-pa, 'Phrin-las rGya-mTsho (the Jai-saṅ sDe-pa) died on 29 March 1668 ⁵⁰⁾, and Dayan Khan, the Chos-rGyal or Dhar-marājā of Tibet, died on 22 April 1668 ⁵¹⁾, the Dalai Lama sent messengers to the Valley of the Blue Lake to announce the deaths and to elicit opinion as to who should be appointed sDe-pa and Chos-rGyal of Tibet ⁵²⁾. This proves a close administrative connection between Koko-nor and Inner Tibet.

5) In 1674, – as we shall see in the course of this book — after Wu San-kuei's rebellion had broken out, the Emperor sent envoys to the Dalai Lama to enlist his support. When the Imperial envoys arrived at Hsi-ning, a Mergen Taiji of the Oirad tribe tried to stop them from proceeding further. The Imperial envoys asked Mergen Taiji whether his action in stopping them was sanctioned by the Dalai Lama or not. At the mere suggestion that his action was not so sanctioned, Mergen Taiji ceased to prevent the Imperial envoys from proceeding further ⁵³⁾. It is possible, however, that Mergen Taiji acted through religious deference to the Dalai Lama, and not because of any political and administrative subordination to him.

6) When news of Wu San-kuei's rebellion reached the Dalai Lama through the Imperial messengers Le-du Jarγuci and others, who arrived on 24 May 1674 ⁵⁴⁾, the fifth Dalai Lama had this to write on 7 June 1674:

mTsho.khri.śog.rgyal.mo.'di.rgya.bod.hor.gsum.gyi.sa.'dus.che.ñiṅ.
bstan.jus.la.rgya'i.'go.sdud.la.dpon.po.rgan.pa.ñig.gal.che.bar.ma.

⁴⁹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 70 a [Sa-sPre, 11th Hor month, 2nd day (mou-shen, 11th month, 2nd day = 5 December 1668)].

⁵⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, II, p. 44 b [Sa-sPre, 2nd Hor month, 17th day (mou-shen, 2nd month, 17th day = 29 March 1668)].

⁵¹⁾ *Ibid.*, II, p. 47 b [Sa-sPre, 3rd Hor month, 12th day (mou-shen, 3rd month, 12th day = 22 April 1668)].

⁵²⁾ *Ibid.*, II, p. 84 a [Sa-Bya, 8th Hor month (chi-yu, 8th month = 24 August-24 September 1669)].

⁵³⁾ See this book, below, p. 135.

⁵⁴⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 204 b [Śiṅ-sTag, 4th Hor month, 19th day (chia-yin, 4th month, 19th day = 24 May 1674)].

zad.rgya.nag.phyogs.kyi.ñe.len.dad.bcas.mgyogs.thon.dgos.gśis.
da.la'i.huñ.tha'i.ji.la.śal.snam.phrug.gtso.bor.bton.pa'i.rdzoñ.bda'.
byas.śiñ.

mTsho Khri-śog rGyal-mo (The Blue Lake) being the great meeting-point of the territories of China, Tibet and Mongolia, not only because of the importance, to the defence of the Teaching, of a senior ruler situated at the beginning of (the territory of) China, but also because of the need to go out quickly and eagerly towards China, I issued a commission to Dalai Khung-taiji, together with (presents such as), principally, silk scarves and woollen cloths ⁵⁵).

In fact, as we have seen, according to Chinese sources, the Dalai Lama asked Dalai Khung-taiji to attack Wu San-kuei's forces in Ssu-chuan, through Sung-fan. Dalai Khung-taiji was actually sent out on 15 June 1674 ⁵⁶), after the Dalai Lama had spoken to him in details about whatever important duties there were to be performed, with regard to the Teaching and the Government, in "Upper and Lower China" (*rGya.sTod.sMad.*). This last phrase is, presumably, to be understood to mean, respectively, the hilly areas of China on the way down from the highlands of Tibet, and the plains of China. Anyway, this piece of evidence shows that it was the Dalai Lama—not the Emperor of China—who had command over the Khošot troops in Koko-nor.

7) According to a CSL document dated 21 March 1693, a Memorial from the Dalai Lama was received at the Court of Peking, in which the following passage occurred:

Although I (the Dalai Lama) may order them to be at peace, (yet) if the O-lu-t'e (Jungar) do not obey, and create trouble, the great and small Tibetan forces in Ch'ing-hai are inadequate (to enforce obedience or to quell the trouble) ⁵⁷).

This points to the presence of Tibetan forces in Ch'ing-hai in 1693.

8) In another Chinese document dated 27 August 1696, we learn of one Shan-pa ling K'an-pu 善巴陵堪布 (Byams-pa Glin mKhan-po), was sent to Ch'ing-hai by the Dalai Lama as an "Administrator of Ch'ing-

⁵⁵) *Ibid.*, II, p. 206 b [Śiñ-sTag, 5th Hor month, 4th day (chia-yin, 5th month, 4th day = 7 June 1674)].

⁵⁶) *Ibid.*, II, p. 208 b (12th day = 15 June 1674). See above, p. 63.

⁵⁷) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 158, p. 15 a, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 2nd month, chi-chou (21 March 1693).

hai Affairs" (kuan-li Ch'ing-hai shih 管理青海事) and was recognised as such by the Chinese⁵⁸⁾. Whether he held this post permanently or on an *ad hoc* basis cannot be determined.

9) On 9 August 1696, the above-mentioned Byams-pa Gliñ mKhan-po and the Imperial envoy, Erh-lang-pao, informed the Taijis of Koko-nor, gathered together in a conference, that the Emperor had demanded that Pu-mu, the daughter of dGa'-ldan Taiji, who was married to Ken-te-erh, the son of Po-shih-k'e-t'u Chi-nung (one of the Koko-nor Taijis—see above) be handed over to him (the Emperor). The Taijis, however, felt themselves unable to comply with the Emperor's wishes without, first, having obtained the Dalai Lama's permission to do so⁵⁹⁾. It may, of course, be that the Taijis acted only out of respect for the Dalai Lama who had solemnised the marriage.

10) Lastly, in 1697, the Emperor invited the Taijis of Koko-nor to come to Peking. Although Phyag-na rDo-rJe, one of the Imperial messengers sent to take the invitation to the Taijis, reported to the Emperor on 8 May 1697, that "all the Taijis . . . wish to come", we know from the Sixth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 168 b, that, on 1 October 1697, the lay ruler (Mi-dPon) of rTa-lam arrived at the Court of the Dalai Lama, having been sent there by the head ruler (dPon-sPyi) of the Valley of the Blue Lake (mTsho-kha) to ask the Dalai Lama "what was the appropriate thing to do", *i.e.* whether they should accept the Emperor's invitation or not. The Dalai Lama asked them to accept the Imperial invitation. Once again, we find the Taijis obeying an Imperial Order only after obtaining permission to do so from the Dalai Lama⁶⁰⁾.

All this goes to prove that although a Manchu post was established in Hsi-ning as early as 1645, the tribes of Ch'ing-hai, as Wei Yüan says, "generally speaking, had still only loose ties with China" (蓋于中國尙僅羈縻也)⁶¹⁾.

In January-February 1698 and December 1703, as we shall see, impressive receptions were given to the Taijis of Koko-nor at the Court of the Emperor of China. After this, the Taijis seem to have come

⁵⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 1 b-2 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-shen (27 August 1696). See below, pp. 193-194.

⁵⁹⁾ Same reference as 58.

⁶⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 182, pp. 27 a-28 a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, mou-hsu (8 May 1697); 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 168 b [Me-Glañ, 8th Hor month, 17th day (ting-chou, 8th month, 17th day = 1 October 1697)].

⁶¹⁾ Sheng Wu Chi, ch. 3, p. 23 b.

to be regarded by China as subordinates of the Emperor of China⁶²⁾.

Thus, dealing with the first two territories listed at the head of the present chapter, namely, (A) Tibet and (B) China, the frontiers between Tibet and China lay, in the 17th century, (1) in the South-East, on the mountain-range overlooking the bend of the Yang-tze, north of Li-kiang, and at lHa-khañ sTeñ in the Yung-ning/Mu-li area; (2) in the East, at Dar-rTse-mDo or Ta chien lu; (3) in the North-East, at Hsi-ning and the Ch'i-lien shan or Nan shan. We have now to deal with the Mongols and the Turks.

The Mongols were divided into two sections: the Eastern Mongols and the Western Mongols. (C) The Eastern Mongols or the Mongols of Inner and Outer Mongolia⁶³⁾ were, again, divided into two wings, called the Right Wing (Barayun Γar) and the Left Wing (Jegün Γar) respectively. Each Wing was composed of three Tümens (wan 萬) consisting of 10,000 troops. Thus, Khalkha, Cakhar and Uriyangkhai were the Tümens of the Right Wing and Ordos, Tümed and Jungšiyabo (or Kharacin) those of the Left Wing. The Cakhar Tümen represented the line of the Khaγans or Great Khans of the Mongols. During and after the Conference at Dolon Nor (29 May-3 June 1691), the Manchu government of China, to whom the Eastern Mongols of Outer Mongolia submitted at that time, divided the Mongols into Banners (kusé or kusai 固 山), each Banner consisting of a number of companies or *niru* (牛 魯). Ideally, a company consisted of 150 families.

H.H. Howorth, in his *History of the Mongols* (London, 1876), I (*The Mongols Proper and the Kalmucks*), follows the Chinese divisions, as follows:

- 1) 8 Banners of the Cakhar Tümen (pp. 384-388),
- 2) 49 Banners, grouped into 6 Brigades or Corps, consisting of

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) The Khocid or Khoγocid, The Sünid, The Üjümücin, The Aukhan and The Naiman, 	}	of the Cakhar Tümen (pp. 390-395),
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⁶²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsau, ch. 186, pp. 7b-8a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 11th month, kuei-mao (8 January 1698); ch. 186, pp. 16b-17b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 12th month, keng-wu (4 February 1698); ch. 187, p. 2a, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 1st month, hsin-ssu (15 February 1698); ch. 214, p. 5b, K'ang Hsi 42nd year, 11th month, ping-chen (22 December 1703); ch. 214, pp. 8b-9b and 10a, K'ang Hsi 42nd year, 11th month, chi-wei (25 December 1703); ch. 214, p. 10b, keng-shen (26 December 1703).

⁶³⁾ Outer Mongolia is here defined as the land between the Tannu Ola in the West and the Khyngan mountains (between Mongolia and Manchuria) in the East, watered by the Selenga and Orkhon rivers in the west and the Kerulen river in the east.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p>(b) The Jarod or Jaraγud,
The Barin or Baγarin and
The Kešikten,</p> | } | <p>of the Uriyangkhai Tümen
(pp. 396-399),</p> |
| <p>(c) The Ordos,
The Tümeds, and
The Jungšiyabo (or the Kharacin)</p> | } | <p>of the Jegün Far (or Left
Wing) (pp. 399-433).</p> |

3) 86 Banners of the Khalkha Tümen, grouped into 4 Brigades:

- (a) The Oidarγa Nor Brigade, 19 Banners of the Western Khalkhas, subjects of the Jasaγtu Khan (pp. 456-473),
- (b) The Khan Aγula Brigade, 20 Banners of the Northern Khalkhas, subjects of the Tüšiyetü Khan (pp. 474-482),
- (c) The Cecerlik Brigade, 24 Banners of the Middle Khalkhas, subjects of the Sain Noyan (pp. 483-484), and
- (d) The Kerülen Bars Brigade, 23 Banners of the Eastern Khalkhas, subjects of the Secen Khan (pp. 485-487).

It will be seen from this list, that the 49 Banners comprise the bulk of the Inner Mongols, the 86 Banners the bulk of the Outer Mongols. In addition to the Six Tümens (Khalkha, Cakhar, Uriyangkhai, Ordos, Tümed and Jungšiyabo), there was the Khorcin Tümen, which was classified separately. The Khorcin Tümen included the Khorcin proper, the Aru Khorcin, the Dürbed, Khorlos, Dörben Keuked (ssu-tzu pu-lo 四子部落), Mauminggan and Urad (Howorth, I, pp. 434-54).

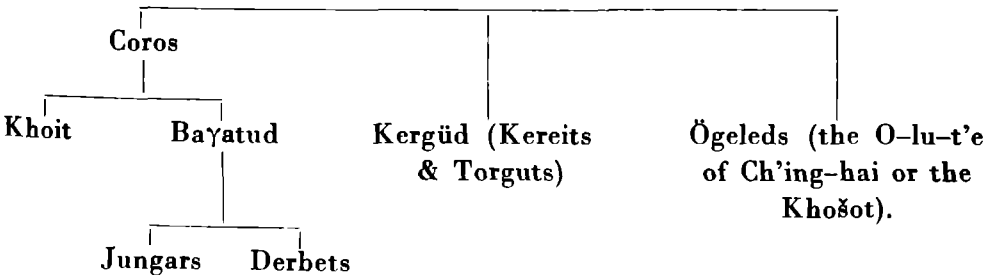
The headquarters of the Inner Mongols was at Koko-khoten ("The Blue Town"), known to the Chinese as Kuei hua ch'êng 歸化城, to the Tibetans as mKhar sÑon-po ("The Blue Town"). Here, from 1579 onwards, dwelt the series of Incarnations known as the Mañjuśrī Khutuγtu (*Tibetan* 'Jam-dPal)⁶⁴. The headquarters of the Outer Mongols was at Uрга, where from 1604 onwards, lived the Incarnations of the Buddha Maitreya, known to the Mongols as the Maidari Khutuγtu (*Tibetan* Byams-pa).

(D) The Western Mongols or the Dörben Oirad ("The Four Allies") or the Kalmuks, lived, in the 17th century, in (1) the territory north of the Tien Shan mountains and south-West of the Tannu Ola mountains; (2) from 1637-48 onwards, in Upper mDo-Khams and the Valley of the Blue Lake; and (3) from 1682 onwards, in the Ala shan mountains in Ning-

⁶⁴ 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-thar, p. 99 a.

hsia. We have already had occasion to look at the last two groups, in dealing with Tibet.

Ssanang Setzen, p. 7, defines the 4 tribes of the Dörben Oirad as the Ögeled, Baγatud, Khoit and Kergüd. The Chinese, in the 17th century, use the term Ssü O-lu-t'e 四厄魯特 (Four O-lu-t'e) or, simply, O-lu-t'e, to indicate either of the two Oirad they came into contact with, namely, (1) the Jungars of the area between the Tien Shan and the Tannu Ola and (2) the O-lu-t'e of Ch'ing-hai and Ala shan. The word Jungar, spelt Chung-a-erh 鍾阿爾 occurs, perhaps for the first time in Chinese records (?), as a clan name (hsing 姓) in a CSL document dated 8 May 1697⁶⁵. Schmidt, in his edition and translation of Ssanang Setzen, p. 373, and Howorth, I, p. 498, assume that the Ögeled of Ssanang Setzen is the same as the O-lu-t'e of the Chinese—that, in other words, the Chinese term O-lu-t'e transcribes not only the word Oirad (meaning Allies) but also the name of one of the 4 Allies. Howorth explains this by suggesting that “the dominant tribe among the Kalmuks at the beginning of the 17th century was that of the Khošot. They were the Eleuths (O-lu-t'e) par excellence, the Eleuths of Koko-nor... but as they are the dominant tribe the name was applied to all the rest, just as Englishman includes Scotchman and Irishman” (Howorth, I, p. 498). This would suggest that the Ögeled of Ssanang Setzen are the O-lu-t'e of Ch'ing-hai. In Volume I, p. 590, Howorth identifies the Baγatud or Baatud (*i. e.* “the heroes” or “the brave ones” with the Jungars and Derbets of the 17th and subsequent centuries. From before the time of Chinggis Khan to the 17th century, the Jungars and the Derbets, together with the Khoits, formed the tribe of the Coros. The Kergüds, according to Howorth, are the Kereits. Thus, we have:



Later, in his “Notes, Corrections and Additions” (*History of the Mongols*, I, pp. 696-98), Howorth amended his position by suggesting

⁶⁵ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 182, p. 28 a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, mou-hsu (8 May 1697).

that the Kereits were “not Mongols but Turks”. He points out that the principal tribe among the Kirghises proper were still, in his (Howorth’s) time, called Kirei, and that there were two tribes among the Kirghiz Kazaks called Kereit and Kirei.

Pelliot, in his *Notes Critiques d’Histoire Kalmouke*, agrees that the Kergüd were Kirghiz⁶⁶), but says that

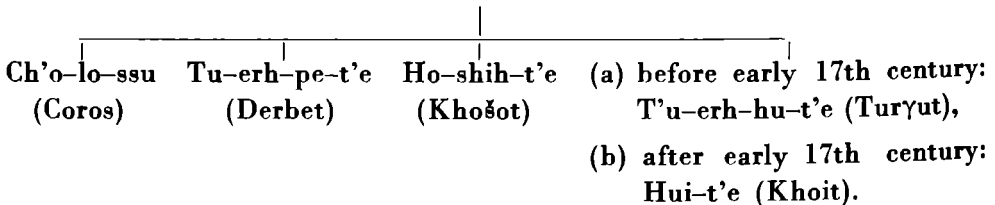
les contacts entre Oirat et Kirghiz étaient fréquents par suite du voisinage, et on voit que les Kirghiz, cependant sans doute de langue turque, formaient un des *otok* récents des Dzoungar⁶⁷).

Pelliot sums up his position by saying that

les anciens Kerait, ceux du moins qui ne s’étaient pas turcisés et ne s’étaient pas convertis à l’Islam, sont les ancêtres de tout ou partie des Turghut⁶⁸).

However, Pelliot entirely rejects Howorth’s supposition that the Khoits, Jungar and Derbet had a common ancestry in the Choros. The family name of the Khoit was Yeke-Mingyan, while that of the Jungar and the Derbet was Choros⁶⁹). Pelliot goes on to quote two 18th century classifications of the Dörben Oirad. The first is from the *Chun-ka-erh ch’üan pu chi lüeh*, by the Emperor Chien Lung (1763), where it says that the 4 Wei-la-t’e 衛拉特 of the Chun-ka-erh 準噶爾 were (1) the Ch’o-lo-ssu 綽羅斯 (Coros), (2) the Tu-erh-pe-t’e 都爾伯特 (Derbet), (3) the Ho-shih-t’e 和碩特 (Khošot), and (4) the T’u-erh-hu-t’e 土爾扈特 (Turγut). The Hui-t’e 輝特 (Khoit), says Chien Lung, were originally vassals of the Derbet, but after the migration of the Turγut to Russia in the early 17th century, they (the Khoit) were constituted one of the 4 Oirad⁷⁰). Thus, we have:

The 4 Wei-la-t’e of the Chun-ka-erh



⁶⁶) P. Pelliot, *Notes Critiques d’Histoire Kalmouke*, Paris, 1960, Part I, p. 6, p. 65 (Note 66), p. 73 (Note 119).

⁶⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 73 (Note 119).

⁶⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁶⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 80 (Note 197).

⁷⁰) *Ibid.*, p. 6 and p. 8 See p. 81 (Note 204) for the date of the western migration of

Pelliot's second quotation is from the *Ch'in ting wai fan Meng-ku Hui pu wang kung piao ch'uan* (1779-95), which in its chüan on the O-lu-t'e of Koko-nor says that the 4 Wei-la-t'e (Dorben Oirad) consisted of (1) the Ho-shih-t'e (Khošot), whose family name was Borjigid; (2) the Chun-ka-erh (Jungar) and (3) the Tu-erh-pe-t'e (Derbet) whose family name was Ch'o-lo-ssu (Coros); and (4) the T'u-erh-hu-t'e (Turγut) whose family name has not been preserved. When the Turγut migrated to Russia, the Khoit took their place as one of the 4 Oirad. So, we have:

The 4 Wei-la-t'e

Khošot	Jungar	Derbet	(a) before early 17th century: T'u-erh-hu-t'e (Turγut),
(Borjigid)	(Coros)	(Coros)	
			(b) after early 17th century: Hui-t'e (Khoit).

The notice adds that the Mongols of Koko-nor consisted of elements drawn from the Khošot, Jungar, Turγut and Khoit, but were collectively known as the O-lu-t'e⁷¹⁾. No doubt, these heterogenous Western Mongols of Koko-nor lived under Khošot dominance. This explains why the term *O-lu-t'e* was used to describe both the whole confederation of the 4 Western Mongolian tribes, and one of the 4 tribes, namely, the Khošot, who were settled in Koko-nor, and under whose rule elements of the other three lived in that region.

In this book, we shall be concerned mainly with (1) the Jungars of the North-West and (2) the O-lu-t'e of Ch'ing-hai or the Khošot.

To European writers the Western Mongols have been known either as the Kalmuks, the name given to them by the Persian writers of the middle ages⁷²⁾; or as the Eluths or Eleuths, the name by which the Chinese knew them⁷³⁾.

To speak more particularly about the Jungars. They lived, as has been said, between the Tien Shan in the south and the Tannu Ola in the

the Turγuts. According to Pelliot, the first party arrived at the region to the east of the Volga in 1606-10, the main party in 1628-44. The Russian scholars, apparently, believe the migration to have taken place between 1620 and 1630.

⁷¹⁾ Pelliot, p. 7.

⁷²⁾ Pelliot, p. 3, says that the name Qalmaq occurs under the year 1398 in the *Zafar-nāmah*, or the History of the Wars of Timur-lang, completed in 1424/25 by Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, and translated into French by Pétis de la Croix in 1722.

⁷³⁾ Pallas, I, p. 6; Howorth, I, pp. 497-98.

north-east. This territory is divided into two by the Altai mountains. The two main pastures were (1) around the lakes of Khobdo and (2) at the Borotala river, north of the Iren Khabirga. The headquarters of dGa'-ldan Taiji (b. 1644, succeeded 1671, d. 1697), the great Jungar chief, was in Khobdo. In a CSL document of 1678⁷⁴⁾, it is reported that dGa'-ldan is living in the north-west, in the Altai mountains (Chin shan 金山), at a place which is two months' journey from Chia yü kuan 嘉峪關. Chia yü kuan, at the western end of the Great Wall, lies a little to the west of Su-chou, and was the gate through which China communicated with Jungaria and Turkistan. A CSL document dated 7 October 1693 says that "dGa'-ldan is cultivating land at Wu-lang-wu 烏郎塢"⁷⁵⁾. This is undoubtedly the Wu-lan Wu-su 烏蘭烏蘇 river in Uriangkhai⁷⁶⁾. Another CSL document dated 24 May 1695 reports dGa'-ldan at Ulan khum 烏蘭昆⁷⁷⁾. This is shown in Khobdo in Ravenstein's map, in Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, I, opposite p. 384. A further CSL document dated 14 July 1695 reports him at the Cha-pu-k'an 扎布堪 (= Jabγan) river, in Khobdo⁷⁸⁾.

With regard to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan, dGa'-ldan's nephew, on 15 December 1695, he is said to be in the territory of O-lun-ha-pi-erh-ha 厄輪哈必爾哈⁷⁹⁾. This is recognisable as the Iren Khabirga range north of the Ili valley. On 5 September 1696, he is reported to be at the Po-lo-ta-la 博羅塔喇⁸⁰⁾ (Borotala) river, which flows into the Ebi Nor from the west⁸¹⁾.

Why, it may be asked, do the Western and Eastern Mongols enter into the history of Sino-Tibetan relations in the 17th century, at all? The answer to this question is, in fact, one of the basic propositions put forward in this book: That, with the conversion of the Eastern Mongols to the dGe-

⁷⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 76, p. 2 b, K'ang Hsi 17th year, 8th month (16 September-15 October 1678).

⁷⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 160, p. 8 a, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 9th month, chi-yu (7 October 1693).

⁷⁶⁾ Tsang Li-huo, p. 735.

⁷⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 166, p. 18 a, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 4th month, kuei-mao (24 May 1695).

⁷⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 167, pp. 6 b-7 a, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 6th month, chia-wu (14 July 1695).

⁷⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 169, pp. 4 b-5 a, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 11th month, mou-chen (15 December 1695).

⁸⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 4 b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, kuei-ssu (5 September 1696).

⁸¹⁾ Hermann's *Atlas of China*, Harvard, 1935, p. 69.

lugs-pa in 1578 and the following years; and that of the Western Mongols towards the closing years of the 16th and the early years of the 17th century, a relationship was entered into between the Dalai Lama on the one hand and the Mongolian Khans, invidually, on the other. This relationship, as far as the Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese terms go, can be summed up as a three-fold relationship: (1) the Dalai Lama as the Object-of-Worship, the Khan as a Worshipper; (2) the Dalai Lama as an Object of Patronisation, the Khan as a Patron; and (3) the Dalai Lama as an Object of Protection from his "doctrinal enemies", the Khan as a Protector. Because of the basic idea of worship, "Protection" did not imply the superiority of the Protector over against the Protected. Further, within the framework of this relationship, the Dalai Lama performed many acts which can properly be called secular acts. We shall have occasion to examine this in some detail in the next chapter.

In so far as the Mongols are concerned, the history of Sino-Tibetan relations in the 17th century is the history of the gradual intrusion of the Ch'ing into this relationship between the Dalai Lama and the Mongolian Khans, partly by accident and partly by design, with the result that the relationship became, first modified—this was the period of joint Sino-Tibetan activity in 1684-90—and, then, extinguished. These processes we shall observe in the following chapters.

(E) We conclude this chapter with a short note on Turkistan. It does not really concern our history but the two Muslim Khanates of Turfan and Hami enter, occasionally, into the Chinese records. Turkistan, as it appears in the 17th century, is the land between the Tien Shan in the north and the K'un Lun and Altyn Tagh in the south. To the Tibetans it was known as (m)Tho-(d)Kar or Tho-gar or mGo-dKar⁸²). It is under the name of mGo-dKar that Turkistan is mentioned in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, pp. 219b-220a, under a date corresponding to 18 February 1681:

dGa'.ldan.bstan.'dzin.bo.śog.thu.khañ.gis.mgo.dkar.gyi.yul.gru.rnams

⁸²) Pelliot, p. 52 (Note 15) says that mGo-dKar ("white head") = *Mongol Cayan Malayai* ("white hat") = *Chinese pai mao* 白帽 ("white hat") = "les noms des musulmans du Turkestan dans les textes du XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles". Perhaps it is better to say that the original word is the Tibetan *mTho-dKar*, being a transcription of the name of the *Tokharians*, but the word *mTho-ba* ("subst. elevation, prominence, height; also adj. high, lofty, elevated, raised", Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 602, col. 2) being identical in meaning with *mGo* ("summit, height, top", Das, *ibid.*, p. 283, col. 2), *mTho-dKar* became *mGo-dKar*. The next confusion was caused by the second meaning of *mGo*, "the head". Hence, perhaps, the forms *cayan malayai* and *pai mao*.

rañ.žabs.su.bsduś.te.yer.khen.gyis.gtsos.groñ.khyer.phyed.gñis.stoñ.
/Mi.khyim.sa.ya.(p.220a).gñis.bcas.ster.byin.byed.par.

dGa'-ldan bsTan-'dzin Bo-śog-thu Khan, having subjugated the countries of mGo-dKar, made an offering to the Dalai Lama out of the 1,500 cities, of which Yarkand is the chief, and 2 million households⁸³⁾.

Prof. Tucci's identification of the mGo-dKar with the Chakhar (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 698) must, therefore, be abandoned.

⁸³⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, pp. 219 b-220 a [Cags-Bya, 1st Hor month, 1st day (hsin-yu, 1st month, 1st day = 18 February 1681)].

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO CHAPTER II.

PLACES AND PEOPLES

The Chinese borders

The Chinese have always drawn a distinction between (1) the territories which lay within the Great Wall of China in the North and North-West, and East of Ta-chien-lu in the West—the Inner Territory (*nei ti* 內地) or the 18 provinces—and (2) the territories which lay outside these limits. The territories which we have been describing in Chapter II, viz., Tibet, Mongolia and Turkistan, were collectively known to the Chinese as the Western Regions (*hsi yü* 西域). In at least one CSL document of the 17th century, a distinction is drawn between *pien* 邊, which seems to mean “a traditional border”, and *chieh* 界, which seems to stand for “the actual demarcated border”. The *chieh* seems to have lain outside the *pien*.

Sometime before 11 September 1682, the Emperor K'ang Hsi asked where the Lung tou 龍頭 mountains were situated. La-tu-hu, his very able official, memorialised in reply—his memorial arrived on 11 September 1682—that the Lung tou or A-la-k'e O-la 阿喇克鄂拉 (Ala shan) mountains were 30 li north-east of Kan-chou and 3 li from Shan-tan 山丹.

The Mongolians call the Lung-tou A-la-k'e O-la (Ala shan). It is the range of great mountains north-east of Kan-chou city and spreads over (*mien yen* 綿紆) the border-region (*pien-ching* 邊境). At the Kuan-yin Pass of the mountains is the border check-post (*pien kuan* 邊關). It is 30 li from Kan-chou city. From Shan-tan, it is 3 li. The city of Hsia-kou lies at a distance from the mountain pass. From Hsia-kou to the Sao-ch'uan border defence station (*pao* 堡) it is 5 li. The mountain lies entirely within the area of the Ning-yüan border defence station. This border defence station is outside the traditional border (*pien* 邊).

The Lung-tou mountains are a little more than 1 li from the Ning-yüan border defence station. Between (the Lung-tou mountains and the Ning-yüan border defence station) there is the actual demarcated border (chieh 界) at the Chang-ning lake. The Mongols call it (the lake) O-êrh-tung. (The area of the) Ning-yüan border defence station has people from the Inner Territory, who are farming land there and pay taxes (to us). Along the (shores of the) lake, there are soldiers and people who tend cattle⁸⁴).

We have here a picture of the encroachment of Chinese people into the area outside the traditional border: first, a border defence station outside the traditional border; then, a Chinese settlement a little beyond the border defence station. Where the Chinese were settled, ran the actual demarcated border. Beyond the settlement and the actual demarcated border, lay the border check-post. The concept of "border-region" seems to embrace the territory between the traditional border and the check-post.

The condition of the north-western borders (*pien*) was thus described by the Governor-General of Ssu-chuan and Shen-si on 20 February 1694:

I, Your Majesty's servant, received the Imperial Edict ordering me to examine the three borders. I have examined them and find, as follows:

I. In Shen-si, (1) from the border north of Chia yü kuan, under the garrison-town of Su-chou, to places in the Ho lan shan 賀蘭山 mountains (Ala shan) in Ning-hsia: the entire (border) consists of border-walls (*pien chiang* 邊牆) made of pressed beaten earth; (2) from Sheng chin kuan 勝金關 in the Ho lan shan mountains to P'ing lo ying 平羅營 at the end of the Ho lan shan mountains, there were originally no border-walls. The mountains were regarded as the demarcated border (*chieh*). (3) From P'ing lo ying to Huang pu ch'uan 黃甫川 in the territory of the border defence post (hsün 汛) at Yen-sui 延綏, there is also a border-wall made of beaten earth.

II. With regard to Kan-chou, Su-chou, Liang-chou, Chuang-lang and the region of the Nan shan, originally they had no border-walls. All had moats dug out by excavating the mountain (-side). They made steep cliffs and (these) marked the demarcated border (*chieh*).

⁸⁴) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 104, pp. 6b-7a, K'ang Hsi 21st year, 8th month, i-yu (11 September 1682).

Among the steep cliffs and the moats there are (now) many gaps. Further, at the passes in the mountains south of Su-chou, Kan-chou, Liang-chou and other places and (at the passes) in the Ho lan shan mountains in Ning-hsia, there were originally barriers (tu sai 堵塞) of stone-walls held together (or pressed into position) by wood. For many years they have been dilapidated and abandoned and people can (now) cross over them.

III. Further, the region of Hsi shih hsia 西石峽, Chen-hai 鎮海 and Hsi ch'uan 西川, under the garrison-post of Hsi-ning, originally had border-walls. The mountains to the south of them come down to Ho-chow (Lin-hsia) (in the east). The mountains to the north come right up to Chuang-lang. Originally, they had no border-walls. There were excavations in the mountains to mark the border. These, too, have collapsed many years ago and can be crossed over. (In places) they are level and there is no trace of them⁸⁵).

⁸⁵ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 162, pp. 9 a-10 a, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 1st month, i-chou (20 February 1694).

CHAPTER III.

THE RE-BIRTH OF TIBET

The history of Sino-Tibetan relations in the 17th century begins with two basic facts: (A) in the internal history of Tibet, the creation of a sovereign State of Tibet, under the sovereignty of the Dalai Lama, by a three-fold process which began in 1578 and ended in 1642; (B) in the internal history of China, the establishment of the Manchu Empire in China, of which a definite stage was marked by the entry of the Manchus into Peking on 6 June 1644.

The second fact can be disposed of here in a few words. It is a story which has been told elsewhere¹. Nurhaci (b. 1559, succeeded 1583, d. 1626), the creator of the Manchu kingdom in Manchuria, proclaimed the T'ien Ming 天命 period in 1616 and died in 1626. According to Manchu calculation, the Ming's mandate to rule China expired and that of the Manchus commenced in 1616. In the reign of Nurhaci's son and successor, Abahai (Temple Title: T'ai Tsung 太宗 1626-43, Reign Titles: T'ien Tsung 天聰 1627-36 and Ch'ung Te 崇德 1636-44), Legs-Idan Khaγan (1603-34), the Khan of the Cakhar and the last Khaγan of the Mongols, in direct descent from Chinggis Khaγan, was defeated, compelled to flee and to meet his death (1634). In the course of the campaign against Legs-Idan Khaγan, the Manchus came into possession of the seal which had been used by the Yüan (Mongol) Emperors of China and Mongolia. On 14 May 1636, the Ch'ing dynasty was proclaimed.

Abahai died on 21 September 1643. His son, Fu-lin (b. 1638, d. 1661) (Temple Title: Shih Tsu 世祖 1643-61, Reign Title: Shun Chih 順治 1644-62), entered Peking on 6 June 1644 and was proclaimed Emperor of China on 30 October 1644.

¹ See, for instance, Fang Chao-ying's articles on Nurhaci, Abahai, Dorgon and Fu-lin in A.W. Hummel's *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 2 volumes, Washington, 1943-44, I, pp. 594-99, 1-3, 215-219 and 255-59 respectively.

The three-fold process whereby a sovereign state of Tibet, under the sovereignty of the Dalai Lama, was established, was as follows:

1) The conversion of the Eastern and Western Mongols to the dGe-lugs-pa and the establishment of the relationship of Worshipped and Worshipper, Patronised and Patron, and Protected and Protector between the third Dalai Lama, bSod-nams rGya-mTsho (1542/43-88) on the one hand, and the Mongol Khans, individually, on the other, in the year 1578 and the following years.

2) The civil war in Tibet between the dGe-lugs-pa and the Rulers of gTsañ, who were supporters of the Žva-dMar-pa, "the Red Hats" (a branch of the Kar-ma-pa), from the time of the coming of the fourth Dalai Lama, Yon-tan rGya-mTsho (1589-1617), to Tibet in 1603, to the Peace of lCags-po-ri in 1621.

3) The establishment of the relationship of Worshipped and Worshipper, Patronised and Patron, and Protected and Protector between the fifth Dalai Lama, Ņag-dBañ Blo-bZañ rGya-mTsho (1617-82), and Guši Khan (1582-1655), the Khan of the Khošot, in 1637, and the final establishment of the sovereign state of Tibet in 1642, with the Dalai Lama as sovereign and the Khošot Khan as Chos-rGyal or Dharmarājā ("King-according-to-the-Faith", i.e. Worshipper, Patron and Protector of the Dalai Lama).

A) The Conversion of the Eastern & Western Mongols

The story of the conversion of the Eastern and Western Mongols to the dGe-lugs-pa has been told in a number of sources, namely, (a) the third Dalai Lama's rNam-thar, pp. 93 ff., (b) the Erdeni-yin Tobči, p. 229 ff., (c) the VSP, in dealing with the Life of the 12th Abbot of 'Bras-sPuñs (pp. 101-110), who was no other than the third Dalai Lama and (d) the *Hor Chos 'byuñ* of 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe, in dealing with the Life of the third Dalai Lama, Huth I, p. 137 ff., II, p. 217 ff. The accounts in the VSP and the *Hor Chos 'byuñ* are both abridgements of the third Dalai Lama's rNam-thar, with the difference that 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe made use of Ssanang Setzen as well in writing his summary.

The history of the Mongols from the 14th century onwards exemplifies two main themes, viz., the rivalry between the Eastern and Western Mongols; and the efforts to unite the Mongol race and to recreate the Empire of Chinggis Khaγan and Khubilai Khaγan.

The expulsion of the Eastern Mongols (the Yüan dynasty) from China in 1368, and their defeat at Lake Būyir in 1387–88²⁾, paved the way for the rise of the Western Mongols. Elbeg Khaγan (1392–99) invested Batula Cingsang, the son of Cucai Dadšu (Khuukhai Dayuu) with the headship of the Dörben Oirad (the Four Allies) or the Western Mongols. The domination of the house of Cucai Dadšu (Khuukhai Dayuu) was challenged, first, by Ugeci Khaskhaγa, Khan of the Kereits (and Torguts) (*de facto* ruler of the Eastern Mongols, 1399–1404/5 and c. 1418–1418/19) and his (Ugeci Khaskhaγa's) son, Esekü (*de facto* ruler, c. 1418/19–1425); and, after Esekü's death, by Adai Khan, Khan of the Khorcin (*de facto* ruler, 1426–34), and Adai's adviser, Aroytai. But the fortunes of the house of Cucai Dadšu (Khuukhai Dayuu) revived under Toγon Taiji (d. 1444)³⁾ and his son, Esen Taiji (d. 1452)⁴⁾, who, in 1449, captured the Ming Emperor, Ying Tsung 英宗.

In the third quarter of the 15th century, the centre of political gravity among the Mongols moved again to the Eastern Mongols. Dayan Khaγan (1470–1543)⁵⁾, who succeeded at the age of 5 years, united under himself the Right and Left Wings of the Eastern Mongols, and appointed his son, Barsabolod, Jinong (or Viceroy) of the Left Wing, and Khan of the Ordos Tümen.

This work of re-asserting the supremacy of the Eastern Mongols was carried on by Altan Khan (1505–82)⁶⁾ of the Tümed Tümen, who marched against the Dörben Oirad in 1552, defeated them, recovered Kharakhoram and subdued the whole people⁷⁾.

In 1562, Altan Khan's grand-nephew, Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji (1540–86), the *de facto* ruler of the Ordos Tümen, defeated the Tor-

²⁾ Howorth, I, pp. 347–48.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 360–61, 598–99.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 361, pp. 600–608.

⁵⁾ Ssanang Setzen, p. 179 ff.; Howorth, I, p. 369 ff.

⁶⁾ Huth I, p. 39, II, p. 57, gives the year of Altan Khan's birth as Me-Yos (1507). *Ibid.*, I, p. 40 and p. 142, II, p. 58 and p. 226, gives the year of his death as "in his 77th year, in the year Chu-Lug" (1583). The 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-Thar, p. 101 b, places the year of Altan Khan's death in lCags-sBrul (1581, or, more accurately, 4 February 1581–23 January 1582). More accurate dating of Altan Khan's death is made possible by the *Wan Li Wu Kung Lu* 萬曆武功錄, ch. 8, p. 175, quoted by H. Serruys in his *Genealogical Tables of the Descendants of Dayan Qan* (Hague 1958), p. 81, which says that Altan Khan died on the 19th day of the 12th month of the 9th year of Wan Li = 13 January 1582. Wan Li IX = hsin-ssu = lCags-sBrul = 4 February 1581–23 January 1582. If 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe is right in placing Altan Khan's death "in his 77th year", we arrive at the dates 1505–82 for Altan Khan.

⁷⁾ Ssanang Setzen, pp. 209–11; Howorth, I, pp. 418–419.

guts⁸⁾. In 1572, two of Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji's brothers were killed fighting at Tokmak. To revenge them, Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji went out and defeated the tribes at Tokmak in 1574. On his return march, he joined Buyandara Bayatur Khungtaiji, the son of the Jinong Noyandara, in attacking and defeating a body of Oirads⁹⁾.

Thus, by the 4th quarter of the 16th century, Altan Khan and Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji had established their supremacy over very nearly the whole of the Mongol race of Central Asia.

As early as 1566, Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji had invaded Tibet and pitched his camp at the confluence of the three rivers of Silimji¹⁰⁾. From there, he sent messengers to the Borsa Lama, the Cansi Lama, the Darkhan Lama, to Usungdur Sanjin and to Altan Sanjin, offering to accept their religion if they submitted and threatening to treat them as enemies if they did not. Thereupon, the Tibetans of the Three Rivers submitted, and Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji took with him to the Ordos country the Blar-gin Lama; Astoγ Sain Bandi; and Astoγ Vajra Tonmi Sangγasba. The last-named became Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji's Minister.

In the year Iron-Sheep (1571), Altan Khan, having been a little awakened to religion, when a certain 'Dzo-dGe¹¹⁾ A-señ Lama went to that region, (Altan Khan) questioned him, and he (the Lama) spoke in details of the Body, Speech and Mind of the Lord (bSod-nams rGya-mTsho). The undiminishing Faith spread like the summer sea. Hearing that he ought to invite (bSod-nams rGya-mTsho) to the great land of the northern region, he sent a minister at the head of envoys bearing golden letters. They arrived (in this year, Wood-Dog, 1574). They offered the King's petition and many offerings. He (bSod-nams rGya-mTsho) gave them gifts of the holy religion¹²⁾.

⁸⁾ Ssanang Setzen, p. 211; Howorth, I, p. 403 ff.

⁹⁾ Ssanang Setzen, pp. 213-217; Howorth, I, p. 404.

¹⁰⁾ Ssanang Setzen, pp. 211-213. Si-lim-ji = Hsi-ning ch'eng 西寧城? If this identification is correct, then the three rivers would be the Ta-tung Ho, the Hsi-ning river, and the combined flow of these two rivers. However, according to R. Stein, « Mi-ñag et Si-hia », *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 44, 1947-50, fasc. 1 (1951), p. 235, footnote 3, San ch'uan 三川 (Three Rivers) = West Kan-su.

¹¹⁾ For 'Dzo-dGe, see Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet*, Rome, 1962, pp. 105-106, p. 190 (Note 695) and p. 191 (Note 710). While on his way to Peking, the 5th Dalai Lama met the Incarnate of mDzo-dGe on the bank of the sKya-riñ Lake—5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 181 b [Chu-'Brug, 6th Hor month (jen-chen, 6th month = 6 July-3 August 1652)].

¹²⁾ 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-Thar, p. 88 b (Siñ-Khyi/chia-hsu/1574).

In 1573, Altan Khan had invaded Khara (or Black) Tibet, subjugated the Śira Uiyur, who lived to the north of the Blue Lake, and led back, as prisoner, a certain A-rig Lama. This Lama preached to Altan Khan “about the evil of the unending cycle of births, about the excellence of salvation and of entry into the kingdom of the Akaniṣṭhas (among whom there is no younger) and about the distinction between Lost and Gained”—so that, in Altan Khan’s breast “a little piety” was aroused and he began to pray in the Six Syllables¹³). The mission which arrived in bSod-nams rGya-mTsho’s presence in 1574 was, probably, the result of the combined efforts of the A-señ Lama of 1571 and the A-rig Lama of 1573.

In 1576, the Khaṅan, Tūmen Taiji (reigned 1558–92), was converted to Buddhism by Ilduni Sangγi-dukci Kar-ma Lama and received the title of Jasaytu Khan¹⁴). In that same year, Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji visited Altan Khan and reminded him that “for the well-being of this and the future life”, religion was necessary. It was rumoured that in the Land of Snows the Khongsim Bodhisattva (*i.e.* sPyan-ras-gZigs or Avalokiteśvara) had appeared. Would it not be appropriate, following the example of Khubilai Khaṅan (1216–94) and the ’Phags-pa Lama (1235–80), to invite this new incarnation to Mongolia? Altan Khan approved of this proposal and sent a second embassy to Tibet to invite the Lama¹⁵). This second embassy arrived in 1577¹⁶).

In 1578, bSod-nams rGya-mTsho, 12th Abbot of ’Bras-sPuñs and 15th Abbot of Se-ra, appeared in the Mongol country. The meeting between Altan Khan and bSod-nams rGya-mTsho took place on the 15th day

¹³) Huth, II, p. 39; Ssanang Setzen, p. 211. The Śara Uiyur or Yellow Uiyur live north of Koko-nor. See Wylie, p. 112 and p. 201. The A-rig are Mongols living south-east of Ra-rGya dGon-pa or T’ung-Te 同德. See J.F. Rock, *The A-mnye Marchen Range and Adjacent Regions*, Rome, 1956, p. 51 and p. 65 ff. Although, at the time of Rock’s visit (1926), they “were thoroughly Tibetanised and could not speak a word of Mongolian”, it is not improbable that in the 16th century they were Mongolian-speaking. On 31 July 1652, while at A-rig dKar-po thañ (The Plain of the White A-rig), on his way to Peking, the 5th Dalai Lama gave his blessings to the A-rig Tshe-dar and about 100 Sog-po—5th Dalai Lama’s Autobiography, I, p. 182 a [Chu-’Brug, 6th Hor month, 26th day (jen-chen, 6th month, 26th day = 31 July 1652)]. The dPa’-ris A-rig (*i.e.* the A-rig of dPa’-ris, the Valley of the Ta-tung Ho, see Wylie, p. 197) are mentioned in the 5th Dalai Lama’s Autobiography, II, p. 102 a [lCags-Khyi, 9th Hor month, 3rd day (keng-hsü, 9th month, 3rd day = 16 October 1670)].

¹⁴) Ssanang Setzen, p. 201. Sangγi-dukci = Sañs-rGyas Thugs-rJe?

¹⁵) Ssanang Setzen, p. 225; Huth, I, pp. 87–102, II, pp. 139–160.

¹⁶) 3rd Dalai Lama’s rNam-Thar, p. 90 a (Me-Glañ/ting-chou/1577).

of the 5th Hor month of the year Sa-sTag (Earth-Tiger) (mou-yin, 5th month, 15th day = 19 June 1578)¹⁷⁾.

The record of the sequence of events at this meeting and later, varies a little in the third Dalai Lama's rNam-thar, Ssanang Setzen and 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe. According to the third Dalai Lama's rNam-thar:

- (a) Altan Khan put on a white dress as a symbol of the light that had dawned on the "Dark Continent" (Mun-pa'i Gliñ = Mongolia).
- (b) At the beginning of the festival of the meeting of the Object-of-Worship and the Giver-of-Alms, Altan Khan gave offerings to bSod-nams rGya-mTsho.
- (c) Khutuytai Secen Khungtaiji made a speech pointing out how the true religion had spread when the Mongolian Khaγans had been linked to the Sa-sKya-pa by the links of Object-of-Worship (the Sa-sKya-pa Lamas) and Givers-of-Alms (the Mongolian Khaγans). After Toyon Timur (the last Emperor of the Yüan dynasty in China), the true religion had declined. Now again, by the grace of the Object-of-Worship (bSod-nams rGya-mTsho) and the Giver-of-Alms (Altan Khan), the sea of blood had been turned into a sea of milk.
- (d) The Mongolian laws were reformed.
- (e) Altan Khan identified himself as Khubilai Khaγan and bSod-nams rGya-mTsho as the 'Phags-pa Lama; and asked bSod-nams rGya-mTsho about their separate lives since then.
- (f) bSod-nams rGya-mTsho gave gifts to Altan Khan.
- (g) bSod-nams rGya-mTsho consecrated the monastery of Theg-chen Chos-'khor Gliñ.
- (h) Offerings were made to bSod-nams rGya-mTsho.
- (i) Altan Khan and the others burnt the Mongolian tutelary deities, known as Ong-gods¹⁸⁾.

¹⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 94 b [Sa-sTag, 5th Hor month, 15th day (mou-yin, 5th month, 15th day = 19 June 1578)].

¹⁸⁾ Perhaps the word "Ongγun"—of which "Ongγod" is the plural—is connected with, or derived from, the Chinese *yung* 俑 ("wooden figures of men and women buried

- (j) bSod-nams rGya-mTsho ordained the Chos-rJe of sToñ-'khor.
- (k) Exchange of titles and gifts between bSod-nams rGya-mTsho and Altan Khan. Altan Khan gave bSod-nams rGya-mTsho the title of Dalai Lama Vajradhara¹⁹⁾. bSod-nams rGya-mTsho or the (third) Dalai Lama gave Altan Khan the title of Chos-kyi rGyal-po, lHa'i Tshañs-pa Chen-po (The King-according-to-the-Faith, the Divine Mahā-Brahman).

Ssanang Setzen's list is as follows:

- (a) Altan Khan and Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji spoke to bSod-nams rGya-mTsho about their previous visions of him.
- (b) bSod-nams rGya-mTsho replied, identifying himself as the 'Phags-pa Lama and Altan Khan as Khubilai Khaγan; further, identifying Secen Khungtaiji as Bimbisāra (gZugs-can sÑiñ-po), King of Magadha, and his (Secen Khungtaiji's) brother as Prasenajit (gSal-rGyal), King of Kosala, at the time of the Buddha.
- (c) Altan Khan put on a white dress as a sign of the light that had dawned, through the darkness, on this part of the Earth.
- (d) Altan Khan made offerings to bSod-nams rGya-mTsho.
- (e) Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji made a speech in which he indicated the end of the age of sin which had overtaken the Mongols since the days of Toghon Timur. The age of Khubilai Khaγan and the 'Phags-pa Lama had come again.
- (f) The Mongolian laws were reformed, including, for the purpose of meting out punishments to evil-doers, an equation of the hierarchy of the Buddhist priesthood with the hierarchy of the Mongolian nobility and commonalty.
- (g) Exchange of titles between bSod-nams rGya-mTsho and Altan Khan: Altan Khan gave bSod-nams rGya-mTsho the title of Vajradhara

with the dead", Mathews, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, Harvard, 1956, p. 1136)? See Mencius, Ia.4.2 (Couvreur, *Les Quatre Livres*, p. 307); Uno Harva, *Die Religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*, Helsinki, 1938, p. 371 ff.

¹⁹⁾ Strictly speaking, bSod-nams rGya-mTsho was the 1st Dalai Lama, but dGe-'dun Grub (1391-1475), the 1st Abbot of bKra-ñis lHun-po (1447-1475) and dGe-'dun rGya-mTsho (1475-1542), the 10th Abbot of 'Bras-sPuñs (1517-35) and 11th Abbot of Se-ra (1525-?) were retrospectively recognised as the 1st and 2nd Dalai Lamas respectively.

Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama gave Altan Khan the title of The-Thousand-Golden-Wheels-Turning Cakravarti Secen Khayan.

It will be seen that the main point of difference between the two accounts is between event (e) of the third Dalai Lama's list and event (b) of Ssanang Setzen's list, both as to the place of the event in the sequence of events, and also as to whether it was bSod-nams rGya-mTsho or Altan Khan who identified himself and the other person as re-incarnations of Khubilai Khayan and the 'Phags-pa Lama. But this is no matter. The essential point is that such a mutual recognition took place.

'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe follows the third Dalai Lama's account closely, except that between the third Dalai Lama's events (e) and (f), he inserts²⁰⁾ Ssanang Setzen's event (b) as bSod-nams rGya-mTsho's reply to Altan Khan's question. Within that reply, he makes bSod-nams rGya-mTsho identify Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji as Bimbisāra and Altan Khan (not Khutuγtai Secen Khungtaiji's brother, as in Ssanang Setzen) as Prasenajit.

With regard to the reform of the Mongolian laws, in general, the Mongols were exhorted to observe "the Law of the Ten Virtues" (*dGe-ba bCu'i Khrims*)²¹⁾. Of course, the Shamanist Ong-gods (tutelary deities) were burnt. But, in other respects, the change was not complete. Certain Mongol laws were only modified. For instance, the Mongolian law which required that, on the death of a person, a number of animals belonging to him—'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe says also his wife and children—were to be killed and buried with him, was altered so as to require the same number of animals to be offered to the priesthood²²⁾. On the other hand, certain old laws were wholly preserved: for example, the death sentence on the murderer²³⁾. It was this law which, as we shall see, made dGa'-ldan Huñtaiji, the Jungar chieftain, demand without ceasing, the persons of the rJe-bTsun dam-pa Khutuγtu and the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas, from the Emperor of China, for the murder of his (dGa'-ldan's) brother, rDo-rJe sKyabs²⁴⁾.

For the purpose of meting out punishment to wrong-doers, the lamaistic clergy was equated with the secular Mongolian nobility and commonalty, as follows:

²⁰⁾ Huth, I, p. 139; II, pp. 221-222.

²¹⁾ Huth, I, p. 138; II, p. 219.

²²⁾ Ssanang Setzen, p. 235; Huth, II, p. 219.

²³⁾ 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-Thar, p. 95 a; Huth, I, p. 138: Gal.te.sñar.bžin.mi. bsad.pa.byuñ.na.khrims.kyis.lus.srog.dañ.'bral.pa.yin. Huth, II, pp. 219-220: Wie früher verliert, wer einen Menschen getötet hat, nach dem Gesetze Leib und Leben.

²⁴⁾ See this book, later, pp. 177 ff.

<i>Religious hierarchy</i>	=	<i>Secular hierarchy</i>
(a) Chos-rJe	=	(a) Khungtaiji,
(b) Rab-'byams-pa (and ?) dKa'-bCu	=	(b) Taiji,
(c) dGe-sloñ	=	(c) Tabunang, Gunjin (?), Taiji and Jaisang,
(d) Spiritual Cibayanca, Ubasi and Ubasanca	=	(d) Ογνιγῶδ ²⁵⁾ .

In short, whatever was obligatory in Tibet, was made obligatory in Mongolia, and laws were promulgated to that effect ²⁶⁾.

* * *

There are three questions to be answered here: (a) Why did Altan Khan invite the Dalai Lama? (b) Why did the Dalai Lama accept the invitation? and (c) What was the nature of the relationship established between the Dalai Lama, on the one hand, and the Mongolian Khans, individually, on the other – principally, of course, Altan Khan?

With regard to the first question, Mongolian history after the expulsion of the Mongols from China, represents not only a struggle between the

²⁵⁾ Ssanang Setzen, p. 225. *Chos-rJe*, Sanskrit *Dharmasvāmin*: mit Aufsicht des Studienwesens beauftragte Lamas, Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai Lamas*, Leipzig, 1958, p. 500. Here, however, the word is used as an equivalent of *mKhan-po* (Abbot). *Rab-'byams-pa*: "Doctor of Divinity", Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 1169. There are two types of *Rab-'byams-pa*: (a) *dKa'-bCu*, one versed in the 5 Major Texts and the 5 Major Commentaries and (b) *IHa-rams-pa*. The grades of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy, from the bottom upwards, are (a) *dGe-bsñen*, Skt. *Upāsaka*, Mongolian *Ubasī* (feminine: *Ubasanca*), a devotee with only 8 vows to observe; (b) *dGe-tshul*, Skt. *Śramaṇera*, a novice-monk, between initiation (*rab-tu 'byuñ-ba*, *pravrajya*) and ordination (*bsñen-par rDzogs-pa*, *upasampanna*), with 36 vows to observe; (c) *dGe-sloñ*, Skt. *Bhikṣu*, after ordination, with 253 vows to observe. Higher clergy, like *Rab-'byams-pa*, etc., are usually styled *dGe-ba'i bŚes-gñen—dGe-bŚes*, for short—Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*, "a good friend" or spiritual adviser. *Cibayanca* (Mongolian) is a nun. *Khung-taiji* and *Taiji*—from Chinese 皇太子 and 太子 respectively—are greater and lesser tribal chiefs. *Tabunang* and *Jaisang* are nobles, not necessarily chiefs. *Gunjin* sounds like Tibetan *Kun-'dzin*, but *Kun-'dzin*, in Tibetan, means "the all-containing; that which holds everything in itself" (Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 28). It is also the Tibetan name for the 22nd year of the Indian 60-year Cycle of Jupiter (Sanskrit: *Sarvadhārin*). It may, however, be that in Mongolian *Kun-'dzin* is used as an equivalent of '*Dzin-ma 'dzin*, "a land-holder, a chieftain, one who rules over a country" (Das, *op. cit.*, p. 1054). *Oγnιγῶδ* = the common people?

²⁶⁾ Huth, I, p. 139; II, p. 221.

Eastern and Western Mongols, but also a series of attempts to recreate the Mongol Empire. Toḡon Taiji (d. 1444) and his son, Esen Taiji (d. 1452), both chiefs of the Dörben Oirad, while not assuming the title of Khaḡan, tried to unite the Mongols under the rule of the Khaḡans. Their efforts capsize on the rock of the rivalry between the Eastern and Western Mongols. Dayan Khan (1470–1543) made another attempt at unity in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. The division of the Empire among his sons destroyed the prospects of an united Empire. Now Altan Khan and his grand-nephew, Khutuḡtai Secen Khungtaiji, were making the same attempt at unity. The dream was, always, to recreate the Sino-Mongolian Empire of the Yüan, and to relive the Khanate of Khubilai Khaḡan. As Khubilai Khaḡan had invited the 'Phags-pa Lama, of the Sa-sKya-pa sect of Tibet, to his court, so Altan Khan invited the Dalai Lama. Thus Altan Khan would impress on all that he was, indeed, the great Khubilai reborn.

As to the reason why the Dalai Lama accepted the Mongolian Khan's invitation, one must go both to Indian and to Tibetan history. Buddhism has always recognised princely patronage. Thus, Bimbisāra of Magadha and Prasenajit of Kosala were patrons of Buddhism at the time of the Buddha. This link with princely power travelled to Tibet. Buddhism was brought to Tibet through the patronage of Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po, the first historical King of Tibet (c. 600–649). Padmasambhava went from Udyāna to Tibet at the invitation of Khri Sroñ lde bTsan (755–97). Atiśa (11th century) was invited to Gu-ge (in Western Tibet) by the then ruler of Gu-ge²⁷⁾. When the united kingdom of Tibet broke up—from the middle of the 9th century onwards—each small principality favoured its own sect. The Phag-mo-gru-pa rulers, for instance, who were very powerful in the second half of the 14th century and remained nominal rulers of Tibet till the 17th century, favoured the 'Bri-guñ-pa sect. The young dGe-lugs-pa sect, at first, sought its patron in the Phag-mo-gru-pa. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome, 1949), I, p. 43, quotes a Tibetan source, which says that the Phag-mo-gru-pa and bTsoñ-kha-pa (1357–1419) had “two doctrines” (*bsTan-pa gÑis*) but “one spirit” (*srog gcig*). But alas, as the fifth Dalai Lama says in his *rGyal-rabs*, p. 107 a, after the Žabs-druñ Goñ-ma Chen-po dPal Ņag-gi dBañ-Phyug bKra-śis Grags-pa rGyal-mTshan, the last effective Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler, “went to another region” in 1564, “the writ of the Phag-mo-gru-pa no longer ran”. Even this is an exaggeration, for ever since 1435, when Kun-bZañ of Rin-sPuñs in gTsañ had seized Rin-sPuñs for himself (of which place he had, till

²⁷⁾ For Padmasambhava and Atiśa, see Schulemann, pp. 72–75 and pp. 80–83. Also, Petech, *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 109–111.

then, been rDzoñ-dPon) and his brother, Don-Grub rDo-rJe, had taken possession of bSam-'grub-rTse (later known as gŽis-ka-rTse, Shigatse), the power of the Phag-mo-gru-pa had dwindled sadly²⁸⁾. By the 1530's, "the power of the rulers of gTsañ (the gTsañ-pa) founded by Žiñ-bŚag (Kar-ma) Tshe-brTan rDo-rJe, was gradually increasing at the expense of sNeu-gDoñ²⁹⁾".

In 1565, *i.e.* the year after the death of the last effective ruler of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, Žiñ-bŚag Kar-ma Tshe-brTan rDo-rJe and his son, Pad-ma dKar-po, caused the rDzoñ-dPon of bSam-'grub-rTse to rebel against the Rin-sPuñs-pa, and seized this town for themselves³⁰⁾. After that, says the fifth Dalai Lama,

sDe.gzar.lan.sña.phyi.kha.yar.du.byuñ.ba'i.mthar.je.'phel.du.soñ.ste.
Anarchy, which had been breaking out sporadically, began, finally,
to increase all the time³¹⁾.

In 1569, bSod-nams rGya-mTsho met the Phag-mo-gru-pa prince, Žabs-druñ Nag-dBañ Grags-pa of Goñ-ri dKar-po, but by then the Phag-mo-gru-pa were no more than a name³²⁾.

The danger of the situation was made clear to bSod-nams rGya-mTsho in 1575, the year after the first invitation had arrived from Altan Khan. In that year, the Governor of Rin-sPuñs (now under the gTsañ-pa) invaded sKyid-śod and sought to emulate the Rin-sPuñs-pa prince, Don-yod rDo-rJe (son of Kun-bZañ), who, in 1481, had carried out a similar invasion of sKyid-śod³³⁾. He (of 1575) was driven back only by the magic of one Kun-bZañ rTse-pa, who caused lightning to strike the invaders' camp³⁴⁾.

It was at this critical juncture, when the authority of the dGe-lugs-pa's Patron in Tibet had become a mere shadow, and the need for a Protector had been made entirely clear, that the second invitation from the powerful

²⁸⁾ For the Rin-sPuñs-pa, see Tucci, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 29-30, p. 254, Note 69; II, p. 642 and Genealogical Table. The Rin-sPuñs-pa were patrons of the Žva-dMar-pa (the Red Hats).

²⁹⁾ sNeu-gDoñ was the seat of the secular heads of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, who bore the title of lHa-bTsun or Goñ-ma chen-po. The spiritual heads, known as sPyan-sña, were seated at gDan-sa mThil. The quotation is from Tucci, I, p. 44. For a genealogical table of the gTsañ-pa, see Tucci, II, p. 697, Note 453.

³⁰⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's rGyal-rabs, p. 107 b; Tucci, I, p. 45.

³¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 107 b.

³²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 89 b; Tucci, II, p. 641.

³³⁾ Tucci, I, pp. 29-30.

³⁴⁾ 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-Thar, p. 89 a (Śiñ-Phag/i-hai/1575).

Mongolian ruler of the north arrived, in 1577. A third invitation was not needed.

We have said that Altan Khan invited the third Dalai Lama because he wished to proclaim that he was a second Khubilai Khaḡan. The third Dalai Lama may, on his part, have accepted the invitation also to recreate the days of Khubilai Khaḡan—but for his own purposes. He wished to re-create, in other words, the relationship which had existed between the Sa-sKya-pa 'Phags-pa Lama and Khubilai Khaḡan. This relationship the Sa-sKya-pa had used to establish their hegemony in Tibet. The threat of a Mongolian invasion of Tibet had been enough to persuade the princes and priests of Tibet to yield primacy to the Sa-sKya-pa. Now, at the beginning of the last quarter of the 16th century, there was no knowing that Altan Khan, who had already established his supremacy over the entire Mongol race of Central Asia, was not well on the way to re-creating the Sino-Mongolian Empire of the great Khubilai Khaḡan. A resuscitation of Khubilai Khaḡan and the 'Phags-pa Lama was to the interests of both Altan Khan and the third Dalai Lama.

A plausible answer to the question why the Dalai Lama accepted Altan Khan's invitation is, therefore, that he wished to use Altan Khan in the same way as the Sa-sKya-pa had used the Yüan: to establish his hegemony in Tibet.

As to the nature of the relationship which was established between the Dalai Lama and the Mongol Khan, this has been summed up by Khutuḡtai Secen Khungtaiji, in the speech attributed to him by Ssanang Setzen, in two expressions: *mörgül-ün orun* (*Bla ma*) and *öglige-yin ejen* (*Khaḡan*)³⁵.

Schmidt translates these terms as "Gegenstand der Anbetung" and "Herr der Religionsgaben". Lessing, in his *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (California, 1960) gives the meanings "place of worship, as a temple, church, etc." and "Alms-giver, donor, benefactor" for the expressions *mörgül-ün orun* and *öglige-yin ejen* respectively³⁶. The third Dalai Lama's rNam-thar, p. 95 a, reporting the same speech, says:

mChod.yon.ñi.zla.zuñ.gcig.gi.bka'.drin.las./Dam.pa'i.chos.kyi.lam.
btod.

which has been copied by 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe and translated by Huth as

³⁵) Ssanang Setzen, p. 232.

³⁶) Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, University of California, 1960, pp. 549 and 632.

Da trat sich durch den Segen der innigen Vereinigung von Priester und Laien gleich Sonne und Mond der Pfad der heiligen Religion auf³⁷⁾.

The translation of *mChod-gNas* and *Yon-bDag*—two expressions of which *mChod-Yon* is an abbreviation—as “Priester” and “Laie” is not entirely correct, but it is obvious that the Mongolian terms *mörgül-ün orun* and *öglige-yin ejen* correspond to the Tibetan *mChod-gNas* and *Yon-bDag*. Alternative terms are *sByin-gNas* and *sByin-bDag*³⁸⁾.

Many years later, in 1690, the Emperor K’ang Hsi described the relationship between the Dalai Lama and the Mongol Khans as follows:

厄魯特·喀爾喀·向於朕爲職貢之國·亦供奉爾喇嘛爲施主。

The Dörben Oirad and the Khalkhas were formerly countries which paid regular tribute to Us and also honoured you, O Lama, as your Givers-of-Alms³⁹⁾.

So, we have the following equations:

- (a) The Dalai Lama = (Sanskrit:) (Dānapātra) = (Tibetan:) *mChod-gNas* or *sByin-gNas* = (Mongolian:) *Mörgül-ün orun* = (Chinese:)? = An object of worship and alms-giving.
- (b) The Mongolian Khan = (Sanskrit:) Dānapati = (Tibetan:) *Yon-bDag* or *sByin-bDag* = (Mongolian:) *Öglige-yin ejen* = (Chinese:) *shih chu* 施主 = Giver-of-Alms.

It should be understood that the giving of alms to the Dalai Lama—or, for that matter, to any Buddhist priest—was an act of worship⁴⁰⁾. Hence the juxtaposition of Mongolian *mörgül* (worship) and *öglige* (alms).

³⁷⁾ Huth, I, pp. 137–138; II, p. 219.

³⁸⁾ *sByin-gNas* = *mChod-gNas*, dakṣiṇīya, the objects worthy of gifts, i.e. beings to be worshipped by offerings are: *lHa*, a deity, Bodhisattva, Arhat, &c., *rJe-bTsun*, a Buddhist saint or sage or object of reverence, *mChod-pa’i os*, worshipful objects, *yon-gyi gNas*, religious symbols, images, caitya.

sByin-bDag = Dānapati, a patron, more especially, a dispenser of gifts, a layman manifesting his piety by making presents to the priesthood. (Das, *op. cit.*, p. 939).

³⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 143, p. 12 a, K’ang Hsi 28th year, 12th month, hsün-wei (18 January 1690).

⁴⁰⁾ See, in this context, Sutta Piṭaka, Majjhima Nikāya, Vibhaṅga Vagga, Dakkhiṇā Vibhaṅga Sutta (Analysis of Alms-giving), translated by Chalmers in *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, Oxford, 1927, p. 299: Thus have I heard: Once when the Lord was living in the Sakyan country at Kapilavatthu in the Banyan grove there, Mahāpa-

At its base, therefore, the relationship between the Dalai Lama and the Mongol Khans, individually, was a religious one. But that the Khans were also Protectors of the Dalai Lama and of his Teaching—that, in effect, they exercised their secular authority in varying degrees of subordination to the Dalai Lama—is indicated by the award of the title of *Chos-rGyal* (the King-according-to-the-Faith) to Altan Khan. This is the concept which goes back to Bimbisāra of Magadha and, many centuries after Bimbisāra, to Sroñ-btsan sGam-po of Tibet. After the break-up of Sroñ-btsan sGam-po's empire, in the centuries that followed, as a result of the ceaseless warfare between sects, the term *Chos-rGyal* came to mean, by the 16th and 17th centuries, the secular Protector of the religious head of any particular religious sect against his "doctrinal enemies" or the "enemies of his Teaching" (*bsTan-dGra*). It is to this aspect of the relationship that the Emperor K'ang Hsi referred, when he wrote to the Dalai Lama on 19 March 1684, as follows:

伊等於朕·向來恭順·竭誠奔走·於爾喇嘛·亦爲護法久矣·

Hitherto, they (the Jasaγtu Khan of the Western Khalkhas, the Tūšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas and others) have been respectful and obedient to Us. To you, O Lama, they have for long been Protectors of the Faith⁴¹).

That "Protection" did not imply the superiority of the Protector over against the Protected is shown, in the first place, by the fact that the Protected was also an Object of Worship; in the second place, by the fact that the Protected was entitled, as of right, to call on the military services (or "protection") of his Protectors; and that the Protector was obliged, as of duty, to provide these services. So much, at any rate, seems to have

jāpati the Gotamid came to the Lord with two new lengths of cloth, which she begged the Lord to be so good as to accept from her, as being the work of her own hands, at the loom, expressly for him. To her the Lord made answer: Give it to the Confraternity, Gotami, and thereby *show honour* both to me and also to the Confraternity (Saṅghe Gotamī dehi, saṅghe dinne ahañ c'eva *pujito bhavissāmi saṅho cāti*).

⁴¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 114, p. 11 b, K'ang Hsi 23rd year, 2nd month, keng-tzu

(19 March 1684). Note that the Ming term *fa wang* 法王, which translates the Tibetan *Chos-rGyal* literally, means the religious head of any particular religious sect. Apparently, the Tibetans used the same term *Chos-rGyal* to indicate, in Ming times, the religious head of any particular religious sect and, in Ch'ing times, the secular protector of a religious sect. The Chinese, more logically, translated the meanings, and used the different terms

fa wang and *hu fa* 護法·

been implied in a letter from K'ang Hsi to Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho (sDe-pa of Tibet, 1679-1705), dated 6 September 1696:

爾向對朕使言·四厄魯特·爲爾護法之主·爾其召四厄魯特助爾·朕將觀其如何助爾也。

Formerly, you said to Our envoys that the Dörben Oirad were the lords who protected your Faith; therefore, you could summon the Dörben Oirad to help you. We (the Emperor) shall see how they will help you ⁴²⁾.

Thus, the *Dānapati* or *Yon-bDag* (or *sByin-bDag*) or *Öglige-yin ejen* or *shih chu* 施主 or Giver-of-Alms is also the *Dharmarājā* or *Chos-rGyal* or *Nomun Khayan*—the three last terms all mean “King-according-to-the-Faith”—or *hu fa* 護法, Protector of the Faith.

We have, therefore, a three-fold relationship between the Dalai Lama on the one hand, and the Mongolian Khans, individually (not collectively), on the other: (a) the Dalai Lama as an Object of Worship and Alms-giving, the Khan as Worshipper and Alms-giver; (b) the Dalai Lama as an Object of Patronage, the Khan as a Patron, *i.e.* one who built and endowed monasteries, erected images, caused sacred books to be written, etc.; and (c) the Dalai Lama as an Object of Protection from his “doctrinal enemies” or the “enemies of his Teaching” (*bsTan-dGra*) and the Khan as Protector. But, following on the idea of Worship, Protection cannot be taken to imply the superiority of the Protector over against the Protected.

* * *

A few words, before we pass on to the next section, about the conversion of the Western Mongols to the dGe-lugs-pa. Very few details of this conversion are known. We have, however, the two following passages in the fifth Dalai Lama's *rGyal-rabs*:

(a) p. 108a. (Speaking of the Life of Guši Khan, after 1594 and before 1606):

At that time, while these countries (of the Western Mongols), having become more barbaric than even the barbaric countries, were like the lands of the *mlecchas*, he (Guši Khan) heard that in another Sog-po (Mongolian) country, the All-Knowing bSod-nams rGya-

⁴²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 14b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

mTsho and Altan Khan having formed the relationship of Object-of-Worship and Giver-of-Alms, the holy religion was spreading. The mere name of religion having, in this manner, entered his ear, his heart was overjoyed, and he saluted in that direction (*i.e.* the direction of the Dalai Lama), so much that his forehead became swollen. The commencement of the Teaching was like the appearance of the inscrutable mystery to lHa Tho-(tho-)ri gÑan-bŚal⁴³).

(b) p. 108b. (Dealing with the Life of Guši Khan, after 1606):

At the time when a certain Oirad had asked the Lord bSod-nams rGya-mTsho to consecrate his copy of the Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama Sūtra, (bSod-nams rGya-mTsho) had asked him the name of the Scriptural Text. He having replied that it was the Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra, (bSod-nams rGya-mTsho) had prophecied: 'In twenty years from now, this text will flourish in your country'. In accordance with this prophecy, (Guši Khan was) he who introduced the practice of the Teaching and who did such things as being the Patron who caused the Suvarṇaprabhāsottama and other texts to be translated. 'A second Sroñ-btsan sGam-po, the King who protected the Faith, has come to this land'—thus said the Gods⁴⁴).

From this we conclude that the Western Mongols were converted to the dGe-lugs-pa towards the closing years of the 16th and the early years of the 17th century.

B) The Civil War in Tibet (1603-21)

The dream of a re-created Sino-Mongolian Empire under Altan Khan, and a dGe-lugs-pa hegemony in Tibet under the patronage of Altan Khan, on the model of the Sa-sKya-pa hegemony of the 13th century under the patronage of the Yüan, came to an end with the death of Altan Khan in 1582⁴⁵).

⁴³ " In the reign of Lha tho-tho-ri gÑan-bTsan, the Cintāmaṇi dhāraṇī and the sPañ-bKoñ Phyag-rGya-ma fell from heaven and were worshipped. In the beginning of the Doctrine, in the reign of Tho-tho-ri gÑan-bTsan, though religious books had become available (in Tibet), there was no one to write, read or explain (their meaning)". gŽon-nu dPal, *The Blue Annals*, translated by G.N. Roerich, Part I, Calcutta, 1949, pp. 38-39.

⁴⁴ These two passages have been quoted in Huth, I, p. 157; II, pp. 249-250, p. 250.

⁴⁵ 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-Thar, p. 101 b (lCags-sBrul/hsin-ssu/1581). See above, p. 86, Note 6.

He was succeeded by his son, Señ-ge Du-gu-ruñ, who died in 1587⁴⁶⁾. The third Dalai Lama died in 1588⁴⁷⁾.

According to Serruys's Table IV, p. 66 and p. 69, the fourth Dalai Lama, Yon-tan rGya-mTsho—described simply as “Hu-tu-tu (Khutuγtu)” in that Table—was the fourth son of Sumer Tayiji, the fifth son of Sengge Dügüreng Khan, the eldest son of Altan Khan. At the time of the writing of the Table the Khutuγtu was only 5 or 6 years of age. In Note 73 (at p. 110), Serruys gives his mother's name as Bayiγa-jula, a descendant of Činggis's brother, Khabutu Khasar. According to the VSP, the fourth Dalai Lama was born in 1589 (Earth-Ox) to one Se-chen Chos-khur, of the family of Chinggiz, and his wife Bā-khen sByu-la⁴⁸⁾. 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe says that the fourth Dalai Lama was born in 1588 (Earth-Mouse) to Sumer Tai-čiñ Hvoñ-Tha'i-ci, the eldest son of Señ-ge Du-gu-ruñ and his wife, Pā-han Cvo-la⁴⁹⁾. As Serruys's Table represents the oldest tradition, it should be accepted as authoritative.

The events between the coming of the fourth Dalai Lama to Tibet in 1603 (Water-Hare)⁵⁰⁾ and the year 1642, have been dealt with by Prof. Tucci in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome 1949), I, pp. 51-66 and II, pp. 649-51 (Translation from the fifth Dalai Lama's *rGyal-rabs*) and pp. 654-55 (Translation from Sum-pa mKhan-po's *dPag-bSam lJon-bZañ*, S.C. Das's edition, Part II, pp. 158-66). It remains here to draw out the main points, adding to Tucci's account some information not utilised by him.

When the fourth Dalai Lama appeared in 'Bras-sPuñs, the Žva-dMar-pa or Red Hats (one of the two branches of the Kar-ma-pa, the other being the Žva-nag-pa or Black Hats) addressed to him a congratulatory letter, which could be interpreted as insulting. When further veiled threats followed, fighting broke out.

The VSP, p. 77, lines 14-17, dealing with the life of Chos-rJe bŠes-gÑen Grags-pa, before he became 29th Abbot of dGa'-ldan in 1607, says:

Although, with regard to his (Chos-rJe bŠes-gÑen Grags-pa's) being the Lama of sBe-se in gSañ-phu and of the Eastern School of rGyud-sTod, a cause of quarrel arose between himself and the sDe-pa of sKyid-śod, the Vajra-dhara dGe-'dun rGyal-mTshan (28th Abbot of dGa'-ldan, 1603-07) thought of a Patron for the

⁴⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 104 b (Me-Phag/ting-mao/1587); Huth, I, p. 144; II, p. 229.

⁴⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 107 a (Sa-Byi/mou-tzu/1588).

⁴⁸⁾ VSP, p. 110.

⁴⁹⁾ Huth, I, p. 146; II, p. 233.

⁵⁰⁾ VSP, p. 111.

(dGe-lugs-pa) Teaching, and through the Bodhisattva activities (of dGe-'dun rGyal-mTshan) a relationship of Object-of-Worship and Giver-of-Alms came into being (between the Abbot of dGa'-ldan and the sDe-pa of sKyid-śod).

The sDe-pa of sKyid-śod was, very probably, Governor of sKyid-śod under the rulers of gTsañ (the gTsañ-pa). So that, the Bodhisattva activities of the 28th Abbot of dGa'-ldan amounted to detaching the sDe-pa of sKyid-śod from the gTsañ-pa. In 1607, according to a Sa-sKya-pa source quoted by Tucci⁵¹, Phun-tshogs rNam-rGyal, the ruler of gTsañ, invaded dBus order to beat back an army of Mongols who had been invited to invade Tibet by way of sKyid-śod. Presumably, this invitation was also one of the Bodhisattva activities of the 28th Abbot of dGa'-ldan, or those of his successor, the above-mentioned Chos-rJe bŚes-gÑen Grags-pa (19th Abbot of dGa'-ldan, 1607-15).

In 1610, Kar-ma Phun-tshogs rNam-rGyal and his son, Karma bsTan-sKyoñ dBañ-po, again led the gTsañ army against dBus, but being frightened by the Sog-po (Mongols), they turned back. After having taken Yar-rGyab, in the year Water-Mouse (1612), they conquered all of gTsañ, including Byañ and rGyal-mKhar-rTse (Gyantse) and became known as Kings of gTsañ⁵².

In 1612, an armed coalition was formed by the Phag-mo-gru-pa of sNeu-gDoñ against the gTsañ-pa⁵³. Perhaps because of this, "having once more come with an army to dBus, they (the gTsañ-pa) took sNeu-gDoñ and the feud of Sa-ca rDzoñ was punished"⁵⁴. As we have seen, the Phag-mo-gru-pa had ceased to be of any importance after the death of bKra-śis Grags-pa in 1564. In 1612 or shortly thereafter, they can be written off from the history of Tibet for all practical purposes, although, even in 1631, the fifth Dalai Lama recognised that "although (the Phag-mo-gru-pa's) strength is not, at present, very great, yet he is the King of Tibet, the land of wooden doors" (*Bod.ñiñ.sgo.can.gyi.rgyal.po.yin.*)⁵⁵.

⁵¹ Tucci, I, p. 54. For the Sa-sKya-pa sources used by Tucci, see Tucci, I, p. 154 ff.

⁵² Tucci, II, p. 654 (Translation of PSJZ, Part II, p. 163). In II, p. 697, Tucci places the year of Phun-tshogs rNam-rGyal's birth in (10th Cycle) Me-Khyi (1586). He would, therefore, be in his 25th year in 1610. According to the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 27 b (lCags-Bya/hsin-yu/1621), the sDe-srid Kar-ma bsTan-sKyoñ dBañ-po had "not gone past his 16th year"—i.e. he was in his 16th year—in 1621. This means that he was born in 1606 (Me-rTa) and was only in his fifth year in 1610.

⁵³ Tucci, I, p. 53.

⁵⁴ Tucci, II, pp. 654-55 (Translation of PSJZ, Part II, p. 163).

⁵⁵ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 65 b (lCags-Lug/hsin-wei/1631).

In April 1642, after Guši Khan had made his first offering of the 13 circles-of-ten-thousand to the fifth Dalai Lama⁵⁶⁾, and the Žabs-druñ of sNeu-gDoñ had come to meet the Dalai Lama at bKra-śis lHun-po, the Dalai Lama noted that “although, in this snowy (land of Tibet), the Glorious Phag-mo-gru-pa’s position as Lama and Ruler had been very strong, at present, their Teaching had become merely a nominal remnant (of what it was) and it was as if they were despised by everyone”⁵⁷⁾. Perhaps because of this, what Guši Khan offered to the fifth Dalai Lama at the second offering was, as we shall see, not merely the heritage of the Phag-mo-gru-pa and the Rin-sPuñs-pa, but the heritage of the Sa-sKya-pa as well. In this way, in 1642, the rule of the Phag-mo-gru-pa was formally abrogated in Tibet, but what the Dalai Lama succeeded to was not the position of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, but that of the Sa-sKya-pa and, going beyond the Sa-sKya-pa, even to that of the Kings of Tibet.

Some memory of the Phag-mo-gru-pa’s former greatness seems to have lingered on abroad. For, visiting sNeu-gDoñ in 1651, where he (the fifth Dalai Lama) resolved the family disputes of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, the Dalai Lama had this to say:

If (now) I were to make friends with the Phag-mo-gru-pa, I would be accepted (recognised?) by such countries as India, China and Nepal⁵⁸⁾.

Thus, in 1651, out of political calculation, the Dalai Lama made friends with the Phag-mo-gru-pa. In 1652, just before the Dalai Lama started on his journey to Peking, the Žabs-druñ of sNeu-gDoñ bowed his head (*dBu-gNañ*) to the Dalai Lama⁵⁹⁾. It was the final end of an epoch. In 1657-59, as we shall see, a scion of the Phag-mo-gru-pa played a small part in Sino-Tibetan relations⁶⁰⁾.

But we are anticipating events. To get back to the second decade of the 17th century: In 1618, according to a Code published by Kar-ma bsTan-

⁵⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 106 b (Chu-rTa/jen-wu/1642).

⁵⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 107 a-b (Chu-rTa/jen-wu/1642).

⁵⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 165 a [lCags-Yos, 10th Hor month (hsin-mao, 10th month = 13 November-12 December 1651)].

⁵⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 175 a [Chu-’Brug, 4th Hor month (jen-chen 4th month = 8 May-5 June 1652)].

⁶⁰⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 110, pp. 7 a-8 a, Shun Chih 14th year, 6th month, chia-wu (2 August 1657). See this book, later, pp. 124-125. The 5th Dalai Lama’s Autobiography, II, pp. 25 b-26 a [Me-rTa, 11th Hor month, 12th day (ping-wu, 11th month, 12th day = 7 December 1666)] records the initiation into the dGe-lugs-pa priesthood of the Phag-mo-gru-pa Žabs-druñ. See p. 189, Note 72.

sKyoñ, a Mongolian (Hor-Sog) and Muslim (Kla-Klo) army invaded Tibet and took the temples of Lhasa. Phun-tshogs rNam-rGyal fought against them, repaired the temples and offered presents to the Jo-bo (the image of the Buddha in the Jo-khañ at Lhasa). The Kar-ma-pa hierarch, Chos-dByiñs rDo-rJe, elected him master of dBus-gTsañ, and gave him the corresponding title⁶¹).

The PSJZ tells an entirely different story:

In the year Earth-Horse (1618), the fruit of evil deeds ripened. That King (of gTsañ) and his son, their minds infatuated by Māra, through their devotion to the Kar-ma-pa, unable to tolerate the Sun of the good Law, which is the School of the Yellow Caps... wished to destroy them. In the 7th month according to the Hor calendar (mou-wu, 7th month = 20 August-18 September 1618), they sacked Se-ra and 'Bras-sPuñs and the community was obliged to take refuge in sTag-luñ. But although many thousands of men were killed between Lhasa and 'Bras-sPuñs... their desire was not realised⁶²).

In the next year (1619),

as the remainder of the anarchy which had taken place in the year Earth-Horse (1618), a great army of the Sog-po appeared in the marsh of Roñ-po (or "in 'Dam in Roñ-po") and the happiness of all Tibet, the land of wooden doors, was disturbed and made uncertain. The rulers of Tibet who had lost what was theirs, and the rulers of the Sog-po who had many sons, were both in the habit of going to an Incarnation (for advice). At this time, it was being asked if I (the fifth Dalai Lama) were an Incarnation⁶³).

The majority of the fifth Dalai Lama's followers spread the report that he was indeed the Incarnate of 'Bras-sPuñs (the then headquarters of the dGe-lugs-pa). Immediately, messengers arrived from gŽis-ka-rTse (the gTsañ-pa's capital) saying, "Let the mother and child come immediately to gTsañ!". The Dalai Lama's mother, however, in consultation with the Žabs-druñ of Yar-'brog, removed to—or fled to?—sNa-dKar-rTse. "That was at the end of the year Iron-Ape (1620), when I (the fifth Dalai Lama) was in my fourth year"⁶⁴).

⁶¹) Tucci, II, p. 697.

⁶²) Tucci, II, p. 655 (Translation of the PSJZ, II, p. 163).

⁶³) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 25 b (Sa-Lug/chi-wei/1619).

⁶⁴) *Ibid.*, I, pp. 25 b-26 a.

The iniquities of Phun-tshogs rNam-rGyal between 1618 and 1621 have been recited by Sum-pa mKhan-po in the Annals of Kokonor:

On the mountain at the back of Lhasa and 'Bras-sPuñs, he did injury to hundreds of laity and clergy. He revised even the dogma of the dGe-lugs-pa. He dispersed the Saṃgha of Se-ra and 'Bras-sPuñs. When he came between the upper and lower parts of the Valley of sTag-luñ, he performed worship (to the sTag-luñ-pa). Afterwards, he is said to have given the tea-leaves and the invitation to tea at the general distribution of tea during the sMon-lam ceremony at Lhasa to the sTag-luñ-pa. At about this time, he founded a large new monastery of the bka'-brGyud-pa or rÑiñ-ma-pa sect in the vicinity of bKra-śis lHun-po and built a high tower on the enclosing wall on the hill at the back. At this, many people in jest called it bKra-śis Zil-gNon ("the discomfiture of bKra-śis lHun-po" or "the discomfiture of good luck"). (Because of this) the omens were not considered right. He is said to have seized the monastery of Se-ra in sKyid-śod in dBus, and the so-called Thub-chen monastery of the bKa'-brGyud-pa or the rÑiñ-ma-pa. At that time, the monks of the dGe-lan-pa sect had to wear their caps, the inside and outside of which were made of red and yellow wool (respectively), sometimes with the outside turned out, sometimes with the inside turned out. The cap of the 'Ga'-ru Lo-tsā-ba (which is like this) is still in his house⁶⁵).

The VSP has this to say about gSañ-sÑags-mKhar during the years 1618-21:

After Blo-Gros rGya-mTsho of sTag-Brag had been head of gSañ-sÑags-mKhar, he went to the throne of dGa'-ldan. (He was 30th Abbot of dGa'-ldan, 1615-18). After he died, due to the troubled times of the gTsañ-pa, he of Yañ-ri held it. He modified the living quarters and tightened discipline. The teaching in the Upper and Lower Common House (sPyi-khañ) became like a pool whose water had been cut off⁶⁶).

⁶⁵ *Annals of Koko-nor*, pp. 3b-4 a (Lokesh Chandra's edition, pp. 430-431). According to the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Vol. I, p. 96 a, bKra-śis Zil-gNon was founded in 1638 (Sa-sTag). The remainder of the extract from the *Annals of Koko-nor* may, however, refer to the years 1618-21. Lo-tsā-ba means Translator. 'Ga'-ru Lo-tsā-ba, therefore, means the Translator from 'Ga'-ru.

⁶⁶ VSP, p. 124, lines 1-4. gSañ-sÑags-mKhar is situated at bDe-chen rDzoñ, 14 miles upstream from Lhasa, on the south bank of the sKyid-chu. Wylie, p. 84 and p. 160.

In the year Iron-Bird (1621), according to the fifth Dalai Lama,

when the army of the Hor (Eastern Mongols) and the Sog-po (Western Mongols), more than 2000 strong, led by lHa-bTsun Blo-bZaṅ bsTan-'dzin rGya-mTsho and Guru Huñ-tha'i-ji, these two⁶⁷⁾, and the great horde of the gTsaṅ-pa, were fighting in rKyaṅ-thaṅ sGaṅ in Lhasa, the Pan-chen Rin-po-che of bKra-śis lHun-po, Blo-bZaṅ Chos-kyi-rGyal-mTshan; the Khri Rin-po-che of dGa'-ldan, Tshul-khrims Chos-'phel (32nd Abbot of dGa'-ldan, 1620-23); the Žabs-druṅ of Gliṅ-sMad, 'Jam-dByaṅs dKon-mChog Chos-'phel; and the representative of the Žabs-druṅ of sTag-luṅ, uncle and nephew⁶⁸⁾; brought the parties together, made an agreement and issued a Decree (*bKa'-khra*). The lands subject to dGa'-ldan Palace (in 'Bras-sPuṅs monastery)⁶⁹⁾—principally, the ecclesiastical land of Lhasa—were restored (to dGa'-ldan Palace). The ecclesiastical lands of Se-ra and 'Bras-sPuṅs were settled. The religious establishments of the dGe-lugs-pa in dBus-gTsaṅ which had changed their religion, and the lands which they had lost, were resumed. To the sDe-pa of sKyid-śod was allotted Phan-yul—which had been under the power of bDe-chen—as well as mKhar-rTse. The Chamberlain, bSod-nams Rab-brTan, established his headquarters at the dGa'-ldan Palace and settled down there⁷⁰⁾.

The Pan-chen Lama, Blo-bZaṅ Chos-kyi-rGyal-mTshan, who played so large a part in bringing about the Peace of lCags-po-ri, has this to say about it, in his Autobiography:

After that, at the end of the autumn of that year (lCags-sPre, Iron-Ape, 1620), a great army of the Sog-po arrived at the back of Byaṅ. In consequence of the urgent pressing of the sDe-srid of gTsaṅ, both ruler and minister, I had to go in order to bring about an

⁶⁷⁾ Guru Huñ-taiji was the son of Ho-lo-che, *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 4 b (Lokesh Chandra, p. 431). As we have seen, in 1579, the Tümed 'Kho-lo-che Baatur had been appointed ruler of the Valley of the (Blue) Lake, by the 3rd Dalai Lama. 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-Thar, p. 99 a, and this book, p. 64.

⁶⁸⁾ *Khu-dBon*: either that the Žabs-druṅ's nephew acted as supervisor (dBon-po) of the monastery, or that the Žabs-druṅ was a minor, and his uncle acted as regent.

⁶⁹⁾ The seat of the secular government of the dGe-lugs-pa. dGa'-ldan Palace in 'Bras-sPuṅs monastery is to be distinguished from dGa'-ldan monastery.

⁷⁰⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 26 b (lCags-Bya/hsin-yu/1621). The sDe-pa of sKyid-śod had, as we have seen, been won over to the dGe-lugs-pa cause before 1607. The sDe-pa of bDe-chen was an adherent of the gTsaṅ-pa. Tucci, II, p. 700, gives a somewhat different interpretation to this passage.

agreement... (p. 63 a:) After this, in the 7th month (of the year lCags-Bya, Iron-Bird, 1621), at the beginning of the month, the whole Tibetan army rolled down on rKyañ-thañ sGañ. On the 11th day (hsin-yu, 7th month, 11th day = 27 August 1621), at the end of the Chab-Grol (festival or rite?), in one moment, the Sog-po riders charged to the top of the ridge, and killed many hundreds of men. As soon as the news entered my ears, being unhappy, I went at once to the dividing-line (between the two forces)... I arrived at the time when the Tibetan troops were surrounded at the edge of lCags-po-ri, and the Sog-po riders were preparing to charge a second time, and were showering (the Tibetans) with fire-arms and arrows. I gave manifold valuables to lHa-bTsun (Blo-bZañ bsTan-'dzin rGya-mTsho) and personally requested him earnestly (to desist). (In this way) at this time, the Sog-po's pride in (desire for?) unsullied comforts such as the allurements of Tibet was discontinued, and the dear lives of the soldiers who were near to being killed were saved. Both the gTsañ-pa and the Sog-po made offerings to me for the Chief Worship of Lhasa. I issued a Decree restoring to each their possessions (*tshigs*) and dispossessions (*sByans*) as they were before (the war). I confirmed it by a solemn oath, which was sworn to in the ground covered by the light of the golden roof of the Jo-bo Rin-po-che ⁷¹).

In other words, the Pan-chen Lama bribed the Mongols to desist from killing the gTsañ-pa; restored, as between them, the *status quo ante bellum*; but, as we know from the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, obtained concessions for the dGe-lugs-pa.

Ssanang Setzen, wrongly dating this event to 1619 ⁷²), says that the army of the 7 Tümeds (Tümens?) of the Mongols, under the leadership of Baḡa Toin and Khailan Ügetei Baḡatur Tabunang, surrounded the army of the Jampa (gTsañ-pa) Khaḡan at Mount lCags-po-ri and were about to kill them but desisted at the intervention of the Pan-chen Lama, Blo-bZañ Chos-kyi-rGyal-mTshan.

The VSP has four references to the Peace of lCags-po-ri, which it wrongly dates to 1620 (Iron-Ape):

(a) p. 124, lines 4-9, dealing with gSañ-sÑags-mKhar:

Later, when the gTsañ army was isolated by the Mongol army in lCags-po-ri, the Pan-chen Rin-po-che and the Teacher of Reli-

⁷¹) Autobiography of the 1st Pan-chen Lama, pp. 62 b-63 a.

⁷²) Ssanang Setzen, pp. 273-75. He is, obviously, confusing the gTsañ-pa's invasion of 1621 with that of 1618.

gion (*Chos-Slob*) at Gliñ-sMad saved the lives of many living beings in accordance with the prophecy of O-rGyan-pa (Padmasambhava). In the year Iron-Ape (1620), it was decided, by means of a Decree (*khra-ma*) that those (religious establishments) which had changed from the dGe-lugs-pa, and (among them) gSañ-sÑags-mKhar, were to be taken back (by the dGe-lugs-pa). The Chos-rJe of Gliñ-sMad, dKon-mChog Chos-'phel, came to the throne (of gSañ-sÑags-mKhar). Although the ruler of bDe-chen had laid down that (gSañ-sÑags-mKhar) should be removed to lDan-ri, because of the magic of his (dKon-mChog Chos-'phel's) knowledge of means, and also because of the material wealth (which he gave) in great quantity (to the ruler of bDe-chen), he (dKon-mChog Chos-'phel) did not come under the power of others.

- (b) p. 155, line 22—p. 156, line 4, dealing with the monastery of 'Od-sNa in Kluñs-śod⁷³):

In the year (Iron-) Ape (1620), in the troubled times when the gTsañ army was shut up in lCags-po-ri by the Mongol army, the All-Knowing Pan-chen Lama and 'Jam-dByaṅs Lama dKon-mChog Chos-'phel, applying their holy resolve and surpassing thought for the good of mankind, with all the religious and secular authority at their disposal, decided the issue by means of a strict line of control (*bar-mTshams*). In their own side (of the line of control), the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries were restored, and bZaṅ-po rNam-rGyal was appointed Lama (of 'Od-sNa).

- (c) p. 79, lines 18–19, dealing with the life of Chos-rJe 'Jam-dByaṅs dKon-mChog Chos-'phel, before he became 35th Abbot of dGa'-ldan in 1629⁷⁴:

Having intervened between the gTsañ-pa and the Mongols, benefit accrued to Se-ra and 'Bras-sPuṅs and the gTsañ-pa, too, was pleased.

⁷³) For Kluñs-śod, see A. Ferrari, *mK'yen-brTse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, Rome, 1958, p. 111.

⁷⁴) VSP, p. 79, line 20, says that dKon-mChog Chos-'phel became Abbot of dGa'-ldan monastery "in his 54th year, in the Fire-Tiger year" (1626) (*ña.bži.pa.me.stag.la*). In 1626, the 33rd Abbot was still reigning. Hence, perhaps, we should read "*ña.bdun.pa.sa.sbrul.la*", i.e. "in his 57th year, in the year Earth-Serpent (1629)" as the year of the 35th Abbot's accession.

(d) p. 78, lines 16–17, after Chos-rJe Tshul-khrims Chos-'phel had become 32nd Abbot of dGa'-ldan in 1620:

The sDe-srid of gTsañ piled high his gifts of valuable things, which were ultimately registered as endowments of the Byañ-rTse grva-tshañ (in dGa'-ldan).

The PSJZ says:

In the year Iron-Bird (1621) (the troops of the King of gTsañ) were defeated in brGyad-thañ-sGañ in gTsañ, by the Mongol troops. Then, when the troops were besieged in lCags-po-ri, the Pan-chen and others saved the lives of nearly one hundred thousand soldiers ⁷⁵).

The picture emerges, in fact, of a treaty of peace between the dGe-lugs-pa and the Žva-dMar-pa, laying down a line of control, each side to keep to its own side of the line and not to overstep it.

Shortly after the Peace of lCags-po-ri, Kar-ma Phun-tshogs rNam-rGyal died, and was succeeded by his son, Kar-ma bsTan-sKyoñ ⁷⁶).

* * *

Tibet, however, was to know no peace. In the midst of all the fighting, on 21 January 1617, the fourth Dalai Lama had died ⁷⁷), and on 22 October 1617 ⁷⁸), the fifth Dalai Lama had been born. Already in 1619, as we have seen, it was being asked if he were not an Incarnation. In 1621, he was identified as an Incarnation of the Dalai Lama ⁷⁹), and in 1622, he arrived in 'Bras-sPuñs. The constant arrival of Mongol pilgrims from Koko-nor and Mongolia may have given the impression that the dGe-lugs-pa was a creed supported by foreigners, though there is no evidence of any nationalistic Tibetan opposition to the dGe-lugs-pa as a Mongol-supported creed. It may also be true to say, as Schulemann does ⁸⁰), that the influx

⁷⁵) Tucci, II, p. 655 (Translation of PSJZ, II, p. 163).

⁷⁶) Tucci, II, p. 697.

⁷⁷) VSP, p. 113: Me-'Brug, 12th Hor month, 15th day (ping-chen, 12th month, 15th day = 21 January 1617).

⁷⁸) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 22 b [Me-sBrul, 9th Hor month, 23rd day (ting-ssu, 9th month, 23rd day = 22 October 1617)].

⁷⁹) *Ibid.*, I, pp. 27 a-b.

⁸⁰) Schulemann, p. 185 and p. 218.

of Mongol pilgrims created a sort of tourist trade or foreign trade which appealed to the commonalty, but infringed the monopolies and privileges of the nobles. The main concern of the gTsañ-pa, as we have already seen in the extract from the 1st Pan-chen Lama's Autobiography on the Peace of lCags-po-ri, and as we see in a number of places in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, seems to have been, simply, to ensure peace⁸¹.

In 1623, about 800 Mongolian troops, headed by Guru Khung-taiji and the dGe-lugs-pa sDe-pa of sKyid-śod, arrived (at Lhasa), but having nothing to do went back⁸².

In 1624, pilgrims from Köke-Khotan arrived, accompanied by lHa-bTsun chuñ-ba—the junior lHa-bTsun, perhaps a son or younger brother of the lHa-bTsun Blo-bZañ bsTan-'dzin rGya-mTsho of 1620-21—and Guru Khung-taiji. The sDe-srid of gTsañ issued a notice to the Dalai Lama's Chamberlain, saying that although he realised that these were pilgrims, yet he feared a disturbance of the peace by the bad sorts⁸³.

In 1625, Toba Taiji, the 3rd son of Bošuytu Jinong (died c. 1624), Khan of the Ordos Tümen and Jinong of the Left Wing of the Eastern Mongols, came to see the Dalai Lama. The Khan of the Tümeds also sent offerings for the sepulchre of the fourth Dalai Lama⁸⁴.

In 1626,

On the day pronounced by the Chamberlain as propitious for the appointment of Thub-pa Tha'i-ji (Toba Taiji) as Patron (*sByin-bDag*), I came (from 'Bras-sPuñs to Lhasa). That Thub-pa Tha'i-ji and his associates had invited me to the Sog-po country; that, with some weeping and sobbing he had spoken of former times and said that the *Chos-rJes* of the Sog-po remembered the times of the Lord bSod-nams rGya-mTsho and Al-dan Khan; and that, lastly, since they knew that when they returned to their country, the Khan of the Chakhars would disturb the government, they had shed tears—such words, belonging to the category of sensible explanations, uttered by the Pañḍita, Klu'i-rGyal-mTshan, at the time when he was going to China, conferred benefit in equal measure as the lives of Lamas. In the former (of the two) Vaiśākha months, the Tha'i-ji and his associates being about to depart, during the reception in the

⁸¹ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 36 b (Śiñ-Byi/chia-tzu/1624); p. 72 a (Chu-Bya/kuei-yu/1633); p. 81 a (Me-Byi/ping-tzu/1636); p. 89 b (Sa-sTag/mou-yin/1638).

⁸² *Ibid.*, I, p. 32 b (Chu-Phag/kuei-hai/1623).

⁸³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 36 b (Śiñ-Byi/chia-tzu/1624).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 39 b-40 b (Śiñ-Glan/i-chou/1625).

Great Assembly Hall of dGa'-ldan Palace (in 'Bras-sPuñs), the Tha'i-ji, as a sign of (good) omens, pronounced and gave me the title of Dalai Lama Vajradhara. To the Tha'i-ji I gave the title of Tha'i-sun 太宗 Huñ-tha'i-ji, and to the Chos-rJe and nobles (other) titles. The translator called out the titles with a loud voice. The Chos-rJe of the *grva-tshañ* having made a pleasant speech in accordance with the former custom of the Sog-po, the Chamberlain composed a poem, and there were many such delights⁸⁵).

It seems clear that the fifth Dalai Lama was trying to recreate between Toba Taiji and himself the same relationships which had existed between Altan Khan and the third Dalai Lama. The attempt came to nothing.

In 1631,

nearly a thousand Khalkhas led by A-khai Dai-chin; about 300 Oirad led by Mergen Noyan; about 300 Thu-med led by the nobles of lHa-bTsun Chuñ-ba and Guru Khung-taiji, bringing with them not a small band of pilgrims from the Valley of the Blue Lake, such as the Darkhan Chos-rJe of Co-ne and Chu-sKor Emci of Brag-ti . . . arrived⁸⁶).

Very soon, there was a clash between the Hor (Eastern Mongols) and the Sog (Western Mongols) in which the Hor had the worse of it. At the advice of the sDe-srid of gTsañ, the Hor withdrew⁸⁷). Again, in 1633, Tumed and Ordos pilgrims appeared⁸⁸). The Khan of the Jungḡiyabo tribe of the Eastern Mongols also came, and, although a bKa'-brGyud-pa, visited the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries⁸⁹).

In the Wood-Dog year (1634), the bad King, Tshog-thu⁹⁰), raised

⁸⁵) *Ibid.*, I, p. 41a (Me-sTag/ping-yin/1626). See also, Ssanang Setzen, p. 271 ff.; Tucci, I, p. 59. Ssanang Setzen (p. 277) gives Paṇḍita Klu'i-rGyal-mTshan's name as "lGirab Paṇḍita gLui rGyaltsan" (Śes-rab Paṇḍita Klu'i-rGyal-mTshan). See this book, p. 166, Note 18.

⁸⁶) *Ibid.*, I, pp. 66 a-b (lCags-Lug/hsin-wei/1631).

⁸⁷) *Ibid.*, I, p. 72 a (Chu-Bya/kuei-yu/1633), referring to the year 1632. Tucci, I, pp. 59-60, says that the Mongols almost came to blows with the gTsañ-pa.

⁸⁸) *Ibid.*, I, p. 71 a.

⁸⁹) Tucci, I, p. 60.

⁹⁰) From Huth, II, pp. 51-52 and pp. 250-51, we learn that Cho-hor Chog-thvo was the grandson of 'O-no-hvo 'Us-jin (= Unuḡo Uicing Noyan), the son of Geresanda Jeleir Khung-taiji, the son of Dayan Khan. 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe suggests that Chog-thu favoured the Sa-sKya-pa. In the *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 3 b (Lokesh

internal strife... He was driven out by the Khalkhas⁹¹⁾ and came to Koko-nor. Having seized the Thu-med Ho-lo-che⁹²⁾, together with his ministers, at the time when he was there, he (Tshog-thu) was known as King Tshog-tu of Koko-nor. Accordingly, while in the Upper Part (of Tibet), the ruler of gTsañ was persecuting the dGe-lدان-pa; and, in the Lower Part, the King of Be-ri was killing many lamas and rulers who had faith in Buddhism and putting them in prison; (in Koko-nor) Tshog-thu Han (Khan) was killing and imprisoning many lamas of the Yellow Sect. By these two (Tshog-thu and the King of Be-ri), by means of the cutting off of the golden stream of the coming and going of the many faithful to and from dBus-gTsañ, and by other means, the faith of the lord bTsoñ-kha-pa was weakened. At this time, (a) the Tibetan lord, bSod-nams Chos-'phel, (b) the monk-pupil of the great lord of the monastery of dGon-luñ (in Koko-nor), called the Translator from 'Ga'-ru, (who was also) a government-official, and (c) a person called Sem-ñi Kha-che—the last two persons of determined spirit having gone to Tibet—these three, although they had faith in the dGe-lدان-pa sect, (were reduced) to powerlessness, and became members of the Ruler of gTsañ's entourage. At this time, the Patron of the monastery of dGa'-ldan in sKyid-śod, who was the sDe-pa (administrator) of sTag-rTse rDzoñ (and was called) mTsho-sKye rDo-rJe, and others came to an agreement and asked for advice from the oracle of La-mo. Relying on what the oracle said, namely, that "The Ruler of the North, who has a sash with a picture of a serpent (on it), will be able to subdue the enemy", and keeping it secret, either Sem-ñi or the Translator from 'Ga'-ru was sent as a messenger to the Jungar country. At that time, having come to his own country (Koko-nor), he (the messenger) took with him a few military allies from dPa'-ris and arrived with them in the Jungar country. After laying before the rulers (of the Jungars) the facts relating to how the King of gTsañ and others wished to oppress the dGe-lدان-pa and how, at present, with total malice, they were being extremely hostile to the Yellow Hats, he (the messenger) returned and went to gTsañ. After that, when the rulers of the Jun-

Chandra, p. 430), Sum-pa mKhan-po says that although publicly Chog-thu said that he honoured the Buddhists and the Buddha, yet, in reality, he was inclined towards the Taoists, "who are the Bon-po of China".

⁹¹⁾ Therefore, perhaps, after the defeat and death of Legs-lدان Khan in 1634.

⁹²⁾ See this book, above, p. 43 and p. 105, Note 67.

gars gathered together to discuss as to who should go to dBus-gTsañ, one called Guši Khan promised: 'I shall go to dBus of Tibet'⁹³).

He who quickly and by himself seized the subjects—who were like the orb of the sun placed inside the throat of Simhikā's son (Rāhu)—and the consummate glories of the power, which, at the command of the King of Upper gTsañ, had brought into subjection the whole of dBus and gTsañ; he who, in this Quarrelsome Age (Kaliyuga), is the Wheel-Turning (Cakravarti) Upholder-of-the-Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith (Guši Khan)—with regard to him, in the prophecy of the Discoverer of Treasures, Dri-med lHun-po, it was said:

In general, at the end of 7 border wars, a King who will be an Incarnation of Vajrapāṇi will, for a while, bring happiness to the land of Tibet.

In this way, he has been referred to as the representation, in the world of men, of Guhya-pati Vajrapāṇi. The noble Bodhisattva, having, by the force of his compassion and resolve, thought of the welfare of living beings, has been born as a Religious King, and is spreading the hundred rays of happiness in ten directions. It is certain that he has put away from himself the obscurities of the mode of self-destructive behaviour of a lesser being. This King (Guši Khan) was born in the year Water-Horse (1582), as the 3rd of the 5 sons of A-hai Ha-thun, the queen of Ha-nai, who (Ha-nai) was the ruler of the Ho-śod, which is a part of the 4 O-rod tribes, and is one of the innumerable large tribes which are in the kingdom of the Hor (Eastern Mongols) and Sog (Western Mongols) in the North⁹⁴. His name was Tho-rol-ba'i-hu⁹⁵. When he was in his 13th year (1594), he was led (to war) by (his father's) troops. He leapt upon the (enemy) troops of the mGo-dKar (Turks), numbering tens of thousands, and became famous as he who made the entire forces of the other side enjoy, at once, the spectacle of the other world. In the world of men, he was the second great rival of Daśānana (Rāvana) of Lañkā, the King of the Demons.

⁹³) *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 4 b (Lokesh Chandra, pp. 431-432).

⁹⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 4 b (Lokesh Chandra, p. 432) says that Guši Khan was "of the Gval-gvas clan (*rus*) of the Ho-śod". For Galgas, see Pallas, I, p. 25; Howorth, I, p. 500.

⁹⁵) CSK, Fan Pu 5, p. 1 b: T'u-lu-pai-hu 圖魯拜琥. Pelliot, Genealogical Table, II, No. 22: Tūrūbaiṣu.

At that time, while these countries (of the Western Mongols), having become more barbaric than even the barbaric countries, were like the lands of the *mlecchas*, he (Guši Khan) heard that in another Sog-po country, the All-Knowing bSod-nams rGya-mTsho and Altan Khan having formed the relationship of Object-of-Worship and Giver-of-Alms, the holy religion was spreading. The mere name of religion having, in this manner, entered his ear, his heart was overjoyed, and he saluted in that direction (*i.e.* the direction of the Dalai Lama), so much that his forehead became swollen. The commencement of the Teaching was like the appearance of the inscrutable mystery to lHa Tho-(tho-)ri gÑan-bŚal⁹⁶).

In the year Fire-Horse (1606), when he arrived in his 25th year, because of the death of his mother, he gave endless necessary articles to high and low. This, too, being without the least hope of fame in this life, or of any ripening of Karma (in future lives), in accordance with the saying of the Teacher (Slob-dPon, Ācārya) Candrakīrti (Zla-Grags), namely,

The Renouncer (Tyāgin) renounces the giver, the gift and the recipient,

he was the very pattern of the holy and great Noble One who is possessed of the elixir of the (knowledge of the) emptiness of the Truth of the Three Circles. When noble Bodhisattvas appear, for the welfare of others they enter even the fire-pit of hell, as if they were entering the joyous grove of Paradise – such is the Dharma.

At this time, the Khar-ka (Khalkha) and the O-rod raised dissension (in the Mongol country) by preparing a vast conflict against each other. Guši Khan became transported by a great compassion, without envisagement of object (dMigs-pa, Avalambana), for those who were thus endeavouring to transform themselves into a densely-wooded and unending valley of evil caused by the fearful deed which is the sin of killing life. When (things had come to such a pass that) it was impossible for the Khar-ka and the O-rod even to approach each other (for mutual accomodation), he donned the strong armour of that strength of mind wherein self and others are interchanged, and, without any doubt (as to the rectitude of his action) came to the Khar-ka horde. His drawing back, with little difficulty, of the (two) governments (who were on the brink

⁹⁶ See Note 43, p. 99.

of war), was like a story of surpassing excellence. The Chos-rJe of sToñ-'khor⁹⁷⁾ and the rulers and ministers of the Khar-ka were delighted and gave him the title of Da'i Gu-śri (太國師). He then returned to his own country.

At the time when a certain Oirad had asked the Lord bSod-nams rGya-mTsho to consecrate his copy of the Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama Sūtra, (bSod-nams rGya-mTsho) had asked him the name of the Scriptural Text. He having replied that it was the Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra, (bSod-nams rGya-mTsho) had prophesied: 'In twenty years from now this text will flourish in your country'. In accordance with this prophecy, (Guši Khan was) he who introduced the practice of the Teaching and who did such things as being the Patron who caused the Suvarṇaprabhāsottama and other texts to be translated. 'A second Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po, the King who protected the Faith, has come to this land'—thus said the Gods⁹⁸⁾.

In the year 1635, *i.e.* immediately before Guši Khan set out on his career of conquest which led him to Tibet via Koko-nor and Khams, another character appears on the scene for a short while, namely, Arslan, the son of "the bad King Tshog-thu" of Koko-nor. He (Arslan) comes in first in 1634 as having lured Akhai Dai-chin—he who had come to dBus in 1631—away from the dGe-lugs-pa⁹⁹⁾. In 1635, the Žva-dMar-pa (the Red Hats), the gTsañ-pa and Chog-thu and Arslan made common cause¹⁰⁰⁾. A time of great danger for the dGe-lugs-pa had arrived. Suddenly—the fifth Dalai Lama would have us believe that it was due to certain magical rites which he (the Dalai Lama) had performed – Arslan decided to embrace the dGe-lugs-pa cause. In the 10th Hor month of the year 1635, a "strong connection" (*'brel che*) was established between the Dalai Lama and the Sog-po¹⁰¹⁾. Immediately thereafter, we hear that Arslan became strongly attached to the dGe-lugs-pa. In 1636, he met the Dalai Lama, saluted him and asked for his blessings, causing discontent among some of his followers¹⁰²⁾. We then hear of the gTsañ army going to the region of gNam-mTsho (Tenggri Nor), in order to escape the pox which had arrived at

97) *i.e.* the Mañjuśrī Khutuytu of Köke-Khotan.

98) 5th Dalai Lama's rGyal-rabs, pp. 107 b–108 b.

99) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 76 b (Śiñ-Khyi/chia-hsü/1634).

100) *Ibid.*, I, p. 79 a (Śiñ-Phag/i-hai/1635).

101) *Ibid.*, I, p. 79 b.

102) *Ibid.*, I, p. 80 b (Me-Byi/ping-tzu/1636).

gTsañ from Mongolia. The Mongols seem also to have gone to gNam-mTsho. The sDe-srid of gTsañ sent urgent requests to the heads of the Kar-ma-pa, the sTag-luñ-pa, the 'Brug-pa and the dGe-lugs-pa, requesting them to negotiate with the Sog-po. None went, but when the Dalai Lama's Treasurers went to the gTsañ-pa/Sog-po encampments, the Sog-po did not show any hospitality to them. It seems that Arslan had made up his mind to attack the gTsañ-pa, no matter what the Dalai Lama said—that is, if the Dalai Lama was really interested in stopping Arslan from attacking the gTsañ-pa. However, the Dalai Lama notes in his Autobiography that

If this (the struggle between the gTsañ-pa and the Sog-po) goes on, there would be no more appropriate (cause) of the destruction of the Kingdom of Tibet, the land of wooden doors¹⁰³).

Just at this time

because of the magic by means of which the old Tantrists of the rÑiñ-ma-pa school made servants of the eight kinds of demons, the Taiji was suddenly afflicted by the illness of madness. As there was also some fear of lightning darting about in the ranks, because, in the meantime, (the Tibetans and the Sog-po) had in turn invited each other and thus arrived at an understanding, (it was feared that the lightning would strike the Tibetans as well and, therefore,) the Tibetan army scattered like a bound rope loosened¹⁰⁴).

In the year Fire-Bird (1636) (Arslan's) minister Tha'i-chin and the Red-Hatted Rab-'byams-pa sent a messenger from Tibet (to Chog-thu) asking him what to do with his son Arslan, seeing that he had disobeyed his father's words. He (Chog-thu) replied: 'Kill him by alluring him (into a trap)'. Accordingly, at the time when he was intoxicated during the celebration of the victory over Bi-ri, Arslan, his official and minister (all three) were killed at one time¹⁰⁵).

We get here, certainly, a picture of a fluid situation, of shifting friendships and enmities. But, perhaps, we can also see a second attempt by the Dalai Lama to establish himself through and by means of a Mongolian chieftain, the first being that through Toba Taiji. The third we shall look at presently.

¹⁰³) *Ibid.*, I, p. 81 a.

¹⁰⁴) *Ibid.*, I, p. 81 a.

¹⁰⁵) *Ibid.*, I, p. 84 b (Me-Glañ/ting-chou/1637).

However that may be, Sum-pa mKhan-po, in his *Annals of Koko-nor*, relates these events and those immediately following, in the following words. The passage relating to Arslan illustrates his method of adding a little and subtracting a little from the record:

After this, in the Wood-Hog year (1635), Tshog-thu sent his son, Ar-sa-lan Taiji, with an army of 10,000, to persecute the high lamas of the dGe-ldan-pa in dBus-gTsañ, and to disperse the monasteries, monastic schools and meditation-schools. Ar-sa-lan Taiji came to the upper reaches of the 'Bru river (= 'Bri river = Yang-tze kiang). At this time, according to one account, Guši was coming from the Jungar country with a small entourage, in order to pay his respects to the gods, and in order to investigate whether the message of the afore-mentioned messenger was true or not. Having met Ar-sa-lan, as they were going together, on the way, Guši told him many things about the inappropriateness of persecuting the faith of the Yellow Hats. He (Ar-sa-lan) took these words to heart and arrived in Tibet. Next, it is said, that Guši returned, by his former route, to his own country. After this, when Ar-sa-lan came with his army to Tibet, he did not act according to his father's words, but divided his army into 3 wings—Centre, Right and Left—and, arriving at the Yar-'brog (Lake), fought a great battle with the gTsañ army. At that time, because of a false rumour that the Tibetan army was large, the Mongol army entered sKyid-śod. In the year Fire-Mouse (1636), in the 1st month (ping-tzu, 1st month = 7 February-6 March 1636), Ar-sa-lan and the others paid their respects to the Fifth Body of the Precious (Dalai) Lama. Not only did they not do harm to the monasteries and schools of the dGe-lugs-pa, but, on the contrary, they showed faith and reverence to it. After that, when the great army of Tibet, which had been assembled by the Ruler of gTsañ, went to the neighbourhood of gNam-mTsho (Tenggri Nor) in the north, the Mongol army, too, went there and made preparations to give battle. At this time, the ruler of gTsañ cast a magic spell of the rÑiñ-ma-pa Tantric school (on Ar-sa-lan), so that Ar-sa-lan went mad, and lightning darted about in the army ranks. The Mongol army put off giving battle and the Tibetan army was dispersed. . . . At that time, the prelates of the Red Hats and Tshog-thu's ministers who had gone to the war, sent messengers to Koko-nor. (They said to Tshog-thu) that Ar-sa-lan had not acted according to the wishes of the king his father, and that not only had he not done harm to the Yellow Hats, but, on the contrary,

had done honour to them, and fought against the ruler of gTsañ. In reply to this, Tshog-thu said: 'Kill him by (alluring him into a trap)'. In accordance with this (reply of Tshog-thu), they made him (Ar-sa-lan) like a small fragment of a cloud in the centre of the clear sky. The Mongol army, too, appears to have gone back (to Koko-nor).

In that same year (1636), Guši (Khan), leading, as his military allies, the troops of Baatur Khung-taiji, came here (to Koko-nor). In the period between autumn and winter, on the way, he crossed over the frozen ice of the Ili river, the Tarim river, the river of Has-tag (?) and the Great Swamp (Tshva'i-'dam). When he came to the extremity of the territory of Koko-nor at Bolonjir, he rested his horses and men. Because he relied on the many sorts of wild game (there) (for food), he gave the mountains where he stayed the name of Gvan-yam-thu (?). In the new year, the year Fire-Ox (1637), in the 1st month (ting-chou, 1st month = 26 January-24 February 1637), having come to the upper part of Koko-nor, with his 10,000 troops, he gave battle to the 30,000 troops of Tshog-thu. As the two spurs of the mountain became red with blood, to this day they are known as the great and small U-lan Ho-śo¹⁰⁶). (Guši Khan's) son, Dayan Taiji and the others, with the army, drove the remainder of Tshog-thu's army to the top of the ice of Har-gel and defeated him there. Some of the troops having gone to the valley to the east of this, and having seized it, it is, at present, known as Śa-hal (?). The ruler Tshog-thu being caught in a rat's hole, this enemy of the creed of dGe-lan was defeated. At this time, if it had been in India, it would have been enough (to justify) the beating of the drum of victory and the hoisting of the flag of victory. After this, in the years Earth-Tiger (1638) and Earth-Hare (1639), gradually, the entire Jungar tribe of Guši came to the region of Koko-nor. After this, the King (Guši Khan) gave the Taiji who was his military ally (a) the title of Pā-thur Huñ-the'i-je (Baγatur Khung taiji)¹⁰⁷, (b) endless material possessions and (c) his daughter, Amin Tara, as consort, and sent him home¹⁰⁸).

In his *rGyal-rabs*, the fifth Dalai Lama resumes the events between 1634 and 1637 in the following terms:

¹⁰⁶) Ulan Khosiyun = Red Spur.

¹⁰⁷) We know that the father of Señ-ge, dGa'-ldan, etc., of the Jungar bore this title.

¹⁰⁸) *Annals of Koko-nor*, pp. 5 a-5 b (Lokesh Chandra, pp. 432-434).

Formerly, because of the wars by which the King of the Cakhar tribe (Legs-lan Khaγan, d. 1634) destroyed the government and the treaties which existed among the six great tribes of the Sog-po, some refugees appeared among the Khalkhas. Because of the quarrels which broke out among the rulers (of the Khalkhas and the refugees), the Khalkha Chog-thu, being driven out of his country, came to the Valley of the (Blue) Lake. As in the story of a shower of gems on a sinful land, having (at first) achieved considerable power for a while, his heart was (later) completely won over by the black demon. Because of the taking to heart (by Chog-thu) of evil designs, which rebelliously strove against the (Buddhist) Teaching in general and the Teaching of the Jina bTsoñ-kha-pa in particular, this King (Guši Khan), placing the (Buddhist) Teaching alone in his heart, taking the entire forces of his country with him, in the year Fire-Ox (1637), in the 1st month, came to the Valley of the (Blue) Lake. As the powerful King Rāma had sent the lord of Lañkā to the 5th stage (death), so he (Guši Khan) reduced the 40,000 troops of Chog-thu to a mere name (to be remembered). He brought together under his authority (all the territory) up to the edge of the Ocean in the East; and, by means of the two-fold means of Religion and Government, he protected his subjects in (their) happiness¹⁰⁹.

In his Autobiography, I, pp. 84 a-b, under the year *Me-Glañ*, Fire-Ox, 1637, the fifth Dalai Lama simply says:

In the 1st Hor month (ting-chou, 1st month = 26 January-24 February 1637) of the year Fire-Ox, the Ruler Guši, without relying on his own wishes, but for the sake of the Teaching only, made war, and with Pā-thur Huñ-taiji as his military ally, arrived from the Oirad country with over 10,000 Oirad troops; and, in one blow, conquered about 30,000 troops of the Ruler Chog-thu.

The fifth Dalai Lama then goes on to narrate the killing of Arslan which we have quoted earlier.

C) 1637-42

(p. 84 b:) The disappearance of Chog-thu's party like a rainbow was talked about from the latter part of the summer (of 1637) on-

¹⁰⁹ 5th Dalai Lama's rGyal-rabs, pp. 108 b-109 a.

wards, and was still current in the autumn, when more than 1000 pilgrims headed by the Ruler Guši; the Chos-rJe of Co-ne; the Sa-sKyoñ ("Protector of the Land") Thog-rGod rNam-rGyal, uncle and nephew; arrived in 'Dam¹¹⁰)... (p. 85 a): In the Great Assembly Hall of my estate, I met the newly arrived pilgrims. The Ruler Gu-srī gave 4000 srañs of silver and the lamas, headed by the Chos-rJes, gave many rich presents. To the Ruler Guši, I gave the *anujñās* of Tshe-dBañ rGya-char; the Drag-po¹¹¹) mThiñ-kha; rTa-mGrin (Hayagrīva) gSañ-sGrub; Phyag-drug-pa, etc., and explained to him the three essential meanings... The Ruler Chog-thu, proceeding from attachment to the bKa'-brGyud-pa, had finally become loyal to the Dog-sri (Taoists) of China. He turned his back on the Buddhist Teaching and had been possessed by the devil. If one is to estimate the manner of the conquest (of Chog-thu), (one has to refer to) the prophecy of the sPrul-sKu Dri-med lHun-po, viz.,

In general, at the end of 7 border wars,
A King who will be an Incarnation of Vajrapāṇi,
Will, for a while, bring happiness to the land of Tibet.

Thinking that the King (referred to above) was, evidently, this (King, Guši Khan), and how wonderful it was that he thought only of the Teaching, I prepared a high seat for him in the presence of the Lord Śākyamuni, which (presence) was like a wish-fulfilling jewel, and placed on it. I gave him (a) the title *bsTan-'dzin Chos-kyi-rGyal-po* (The Upholder of the Teaching, the King according to the Faith) called out in the Mongolian way, and (b) a seal. I also gave him presents, such as, principally, a well (—modelled) golden image of the Jina bTsoñ-kha-pa. In this way, the signs were propitious, that the fortunes of the Teaching would move upwards. To his son and his nobles, too, I gave titles. To my Chamberlain, the King (Guši Khan) gave the title of Dalai Phyag-mDzod. To Groñ-sMad-nas, he gave the title of Jai-sañ sDe-pa. To bKra-śis Phun-tshogs from the North, he gave the title of Ul-chiñ sDe-pa, and to the younger one that of Mar-gan O-žo-chi. To sTar-sDoñ-nas, he gave the title of Jo-rig-thu Dar-khan Dem-chi. In this way, he gave titles to my high officials. After discussing

¹¹⁰) From the 1st Pan-chen Lama's Autobiography, p. 100 a, we learn that the occasion for Guši Khan's coming to dBus in 1637, was the ordination as priest (*bsNen.par. rDzogs.pa*) of the 5th Dalai Lama.

¹¹¹) Drag-po = name of a class of deities.

the matter with the rulers and the generality, for the good development of the Government and the Teaching in the territory of the Khalkhas and the Oirad, I sent the Darkhan Nañ-so dGe-'dun Dar-rGyas (to those regions) ¹¹²⁾.

In the *rGyal-rabs*, the same event is described as follows:

Subsequently (to the conquest of Koko-nor), the Sun (Guši Khan) came to the kingdom of dBus. He performed the celebration of the vast extension of his stock of merit. In the Vajrāsana of Tibet¹¹³⁾, viz., the temple of Ra-sa 'Phrul sNañ (built by Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po) he received publicly the name and title of the Great King-according-to-the-Faith (Chos-kyi-rGyal-po Chen-po), who had made the crowns of the petty kings the resting place for his feet. On his way back, he came to the great seat (of the dGe-lugs-pa), (namely), (the monastery of) dGa'-ldan rNam-par rGyal-ba'i Gliñ. Although this was the 27th night of the month, nevertheless, in the twilight, the darkness appeared entirely white, so that even small pebbles could be seen. The signs (therefore) were propitious that the Government-according-to-the-Teaching (bsTan-srid) would be bright and flourishing. Also, at this time, there were some (other) good signs that all Tibet and Greater Tibet would come under his rule.

In the beginning of the winter of the year (Fire-)Ox (1637), he returned to the Valley of the (Blue) Lake ¹¹⁴⁾.

It seems plausible to assume that in 1637 the same relations were established between the fifth Dalai Lama and Guši Khan as had been established between the third Dalai Lama and Altan Khan in 1578; between the fifth Dalai Lama and Toba Taiji in 1626; and, perhaps, between the fifth Dalai Lama and Arslan in 1636: Worshipped and Worshipper, Patronised and Patron, Protected and Protector. Only this time, the Worshipper, Patron and Protector was situated within the geographical confines of Tibet itself.

* * *

While Guši Khan himself left for Lhasa, not very long after the 1st month of the year Fire-Ox (ting-chou, 1st month = 26 January-24 Feb-

¹¹²⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, pp. 84 b-85 b (Me-Glañ/ting-chou/1637).

¹¹³⁾ The *Vajrāsana* of Tibet is contrasted with the *Vajrāsana* of India, which is the tree under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment.

¹¹⁴⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's *rGyal-rabs*, p. 109 a.

ruary 1637)—arriving at Lhasa, at any rate, in the autumn of 1637—a certain Guši Secen Chos-rJe of the Oirad tribe sent a headman called Ku-lu-k'e to the Court of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ung Te (1636-44). This headman arrived at the Court of Mukden on 27 November 1637¹¹⁵).

The "Guši Secen Chos-rJe of the Oirad tribe" 厄魯特部落顧實車臣綽爾濟 of the CSL document dated 27 November 1637 must be the same as (a) the Guyushi Setzen Tsorji mentioned by Ssanang Setzen, p. 77 and Se-chen Chos-rJe mentioned by the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 40 a, as one of the companions of Toba Taiji during his pilgrimage to Tibet in 1625-26; (b) the Se-chen Chos-rJe who, according to the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 124 a and the first Panchen Lama's Autobiography, p. 114 a, was sent to the Ch'ing Emperor in 1640 (Iron-*Dragon*)¹¹⁶; and (c) the Guyuši or Gu-śri Secen Chos-rJe of Mi-ñag of Ssanang Setzen, p. 287-89 and Huth I, p. 164, II, p. 261, on whom the fifth Dalai Lama and the first Pan-chen Lama bestowed the title of Ilaγuγsan Khutuγtu and whom they sent to the (Ch'ing) T'ai Tsung, *i.e.* Ch'ung Te. This Ilaγuγsan Khutuγtu can be no other than the Ilaγuγsan Khutuγtu, whose arrival at the Court of Mukden is reported in a CSL document dated 25 October 1642¹¹⁷). Mi-ñag must be here taken as an equivalent of the Valley of the Blue Lake or Upper mDo-Khams¹¹⁸). It seems unlikely that there would be "an Oirad" and a person "of Mi-ñag" who would be independent of Guši Khan after his arrival at Koko-nor in the 1st month of the year Fire-Ox. What probably happened, therefore, was that, in the spring of 1637, having completed his conquest of Koko-nor, Guši Khan himself left for Central Tibet, and requested or ordered an associate or a subordinate named Guši Secen Chos-rJe, who was already settled in Mi-ñag, or settled in Mi-ñag at that time (1637), to send an embassy to Mukden. This embassy arrived, as we have said, on 27 November 1637.

Guši Secen Chos-rJe's envoy presented a "tribute" of horses, white fox skins, otters, carpets made of the wool of elks and other things. He explained that the "tribute" had not arrived earlier, because the O-

¹¹⁵ CSL, T'ai Tsung, ch. 39, pp. 1 b-2 a, Ch'ung Te, 2nd year, 10th month, ping-wu (27 November 1637).

¹¹⁶ The Pan-chen Lama does not mention the year in which the envoy was sent out from Lhasa.

¹¹⁷ CSL, T'ai Tsung, ch. 63, pp. 1 b-2 b, Ch'ung Te 7th year, 10th month, chi-hai (25 October 1642).

¹¹⁸ For Mi-ñag, see p. 60, Note 11, above.

lu-t'e country was far away; but having heard of the awe-inspiring virtue of the Emperor, Guši Secen Chos-rJe had sent this tribute.

* * *

From what has been said before, it is apparent that the early years of the 17th century—the period of the fourth Dalai Lama's stay in Tibet (1603–17) and that of the fifth Dalai Lama's minority (1617–37)—witnessed a widespread reaction to the dGe-lugs-pa. In Central Tibet, the Žva-dMar-pa, supported by the rulers of gTsañ, increased its influence at the expense of the dGe-lugs-pa. In the North-East, Chog-thu Taiji, whose fall in 1637 we have just traced, patronised the Sa-sKya-pa (according to 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe) or the Taoists (according to the *Annals of Koko-nor*). We now turn to the reaction to the dGe-lugs-pa in the East, in Lower mDo-Khams, and in the South-East.

In the East, the reaction was not only against the dGe-lugs-pa, but against all Buddhists in general. It was, in fact, a re-assertion of the old pre-Buddhist Bon-po faith of Tibet. It was led by the rulers of Be-ri¹¹⁹⁾, near Gam-rTse (Kanze).

They were turbulent rulers. Their influence was felt as far south as Li-kiang. The local chronicles translated by Rock speak of a "brigand leader Pi-li 必哩" (= Be-ri), who troubled Li-kiang, was captured in 1600 and killed in 1603¹²⁰⁾.

As we have seen before¹²¹⁾, 'Phags-pa lHa III of Ņañ-po (1567–1604) had founded a Gañs-dKar bDe-chen Glin in Tsha-ba-roñ (according to VSP, p. 230) or sPom-mDa' (according to VSP, p. 244). It was probably situated in the Gañs-dKar Glin mountains north of Li-kiang. VSP, p. 244, says that it was destroyed by Be-ri and refounded by 'Phags-pa lHa V (1644–?).

¹¹⁹⁾ Be-ri is situated a little to the west of Kan-ze (Tib. Gam-rTse, Chin. Kan-tzu 甘孜). See E. Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet*, Cambridge, 1922, p. 75. Teichman mentions a Sajya (Sa-sKya) monastery immediately to the east of Be-ri. On p. 78, he speaks of a Nyi-ma-pa (rÑiñ-ma-pa) monastery at Jala (lCags-la?). On p. 79, he mentions a Bon monastery at Denchin, 32° N, 99°30' E, about 50 or 60 miles up the Tza (rDza) Chu (or Yalung river) from Kanze. It seems, therefore, that down to Teichman's days, this area was a centre of non-dGe-lugs-pa creeds. See also Wylie, pp. 187–188.

¹²⁰⁾ J. F. Rock, *The Ancient Na-Khi Kingdom of South-West China*, Harvard, 1947, I, pp. 126–132.

¹²¹⁾ See this book, above, p. 40.

In the north, Don-yod of Be-ri's power spread to the dGe-lugs-pa monastery of Chab-mDo (Chamdo), founded in 1437. VSP, pp. 248-49, says that at the time when 'Phags-pa lHa IV (1604-44) was 16th Abbot of Chab-mDo, "Don-yod of Be-ri's ill-will (*log-smon*) increased, the teaching of the Sutras and Mantras which had existed before was harmed, and the original foundation became a Tantric school (only)". With regard to Ñal-mal dGon-pa, which was founded by a personal discipline of bTsoñ-kha-pa, VSP, p. 249, says that "in consequence of (the activities of) the enemy of the Faith (*bsTan-dGra*) Don-yod of Be-ri, who was a follower of the Demon of Malevolence, it was abandoned. Ži-ba bZañ-po transferred it to rMo-mDa' ". Nearer Be-ri, speaking of Brag-mGo dGon-pa¹²²⁾ in sTag-ra, VSP, p. 242, says

In the meantime (between its foundation and now), although (the ruler of) lJañs, (the ruler of) Be-ri and the gÑer-rGod of Go-'jo¹²³⁾ and others turned their backs on the entirely pure light of the Sun of the Mañjunātha Lama's (*i.e.* bTsoñ-kha-pa's) creed and, by some actions of these Lords of Cupidity, which blinded them to the Pure Seeing, there were some who remained faithful to the dGe-lugs-pa and some who did not, at present it is protected by the (dGe-lugs-pa) Incarnation of Brag-mGo.

Apparently, the fortunes of the dGe-lugs-pa were at a very low ebb in Eastern Tibet in the time of Don-yod of Be-ri.

The mention, in VSP, p. 242, of the Ruler of lJañs as one who, together with the Ruler of Be-ri, "turned his back on... the Sun of the Mañjunātha Lama's creed" brings us to Li-kiang. We know from the third Dalai Lama's rNam-thar, p. 100 *a*, that the ruler of Sa-tham (Li-kiang) in lJañs provided labourers and artisans for the founding of the monastery at Li-thañ in 1580. As we shall presently see, in 1645, the ruler of Sa-tham in lJañs opened relations with Guši Khan. According to J. F. Rock, the ruler of Li-kiang in 1580 was Mu Wang 木旺 (b. 1551, succeeded 1579, d. 1596). In 1645, the ruler was Mu Tsêng 木增 (b. 1587, s. 1597, d. 1646). Therefore, the anti-dGe-lugs-pa ruler of Li-kiang must have been either Mu Ch'ing 木青 (b. 1569, s. 1596, d. 1597), who was a non-entity or, more probably, Mu Tseng before he opened relations

¹²²⁾ For Brag-mGo, see Wylie, p. 104, pp. 188-189.

¹²³⁾ *Go-'jo gÑer-rGod*. *Go-'jo* is, probably, the same as *Go-bo*, near dMar-khams. See Note 16, p. 61. "gÑer-rGod" may also mean "the wild gÑer-pa". *gÑer-pa* = custodian, guardian, etc.

with Gushi Khan. We know from Rock's researches that Mu Tsêng was a Patron of Tibetan Buddhism, but in Volume I, p. 161, of Rock's work, we are told that " he welcomed the Kar-ma-pa lamas ". Perhaps, therefore, he was a patron of the Kar-ma-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism, but not of the dGe-lugs-pa ¹²⁴).

* * *

We come now to deal with the conquest of the dominions of the Ruler of Be-ri in Khams or Eastern Tibet by Guši Khan in 1639-41. It is worth quoting in full the relevant passage of the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, because it leads directly on to the next phase of Tibetan history:

In the new " treasure " of the Vidyādhara of Yol-mo, it is said:

In the year of the Hare (1639), he will rest,
 In the year of the Dragon (1640), he will roar like a Dragon,
 In the year of the Serpent (1641), he will cast off (his enemy)
 like the slough of a serpent,
 Therefore, in the year of the Hare, be awake!

In accordance with the meaning of this, when the year of the Hare (1639), in which the " treasure " was taken out, arrived, the good fortune of Tibet was reduced and suffered interruption. As was prophecied, in the year of the Dragon (1640), the Sog-po army (of Guši Khan) entered Middle Khams and there was a clamour in the Sog-po language. Further, in the year of the Tiger (1638) those who had come as envoys with the dKa'-bCu-pa Śes-rab rGya-mTsho, arrived (just) at the time when the sDe-srid of gTsañ was on the point of founding his great monastery. The ordinary people said that the monastery was being built through evil motives; and the Ruler-Teacher, the Pan-chen Rin-po-che spoke sorrowful words and gave the distressing news of such heart-consuming unhappiness as that, when the forced labourers were looking for stones on the mountain at the back of bKra-śis lHun-po, the loose stones had fallen down and done harm to the sGyil-po-'dra (?). Such things (spoken by the ordinary people and the Pan-chen Rin-po-

¹²⁴) Rock, *The Ancient Na-Khi Kingdom of South-West China*, I, pp. 125-131, 158-60, 161-162, 206, 210-11.

che) were seen and perceived by the envoys. After listening (also) to what the servants of the palace and the teacher(s) of the Tho-sam Gliñ had to say, the envoys went back to the Valley of the Blue Lake (mTsho-Kha). They placed before the King (Guši Khan) what they had seen or heard. He became angry; and quickly set out for Tibet with his army. On the way, he came upon Be-ri. The Guardian-of-the-Faith of Tsher-gSeb said clearly:

Although it seems that there could have been war in Tibet in this year (1639 or 1640), because of the accumulated merit of the past and the blessings conferred by the rites performed to drive away the Sog-po, it has been postponed a little.

In the prophecy of the Great Compassionate One, Padma dBañ-Phyug, it is said:

If, at that time, you wish to drive back the Hor and the Sog, the means (are as follows):

Restrict intercourse between China and Tibet, and guard (your-selves);

Summon (your forces?) and cut the flow of golden (Imperial) letters;

In Ra-sa (Lhasa) and beauteous bSam-ya;

Perform the rites of Protection, Expulsion and Suppression.

The time thus prophesied now came to be (in 1640). I drew up a stern letter, appointing disciplinary officers, and the Slob-dPon of sGo-man read it out to the pupils of the Logic School. In the latter part of the summer, envoys of the Sog-po appeared from Khams. Śi-di Pā-thur Khi-ya came with confidential letters from the King (Guši Khan). The Chamberlain said that this offered an opportunity for the King's coming. I said: 'Because the fortunes of our party relied on the special Bodhicitta virtue of equating self with others, we were unable to avoid strife. If now, (again), we were to indulge in such (self-)deception, there would be nothing but shame once again. If (on the other hand) I were to see the gTsañ-pa (becoming) favourable to me, and entrusting their worship to the religious establishments of the dGe-lugs-pa, I would be happy. As for the raising of troops in Se-ra and 'Bras-sPuñs, this is only in response to the anarchy which arose in Lhasa and Ri-mGo. The higher and lower hierarchs of the Sa-sKya-pa; the Kar-ma-pa; and the Jo-nañ-pa have all three been my own lamas. How can there be hostility with them? If there were too much to do, involving

all the forces of the dGe-lugs-pa in general (*la-rgya*) and those of dGa'-ldan Palace in particular, (if we should fail) there is great danger that what happened previously in various cases (*kha-yar*) would take place now, and we would have the stamp of nothingness stamped on us'. The Chamberlain said: 'Is it (indeed) as you say? Even if the dGe-lugs-pa were to become involved (in the conflict), if one is to speak of the circumstances of the 'Phyoñ-rGyas-pa, between the gTsañ-pa and the 'Phyoñ-rGyas-pa, other than the fact that they are unlike the 'Phyoñ-rGyas-pa, there is no reason to bear a grudge against the gTsañ-pa. Even if I were to take the enemy's flesh, because I am a priest who is an official¹²⁵⁾ of the last of the 'Phyoñ-rGyas-pa, namely the All-Knowing (Dalai Lama), it is certain that I would not break my priestly vows'. When we came to the Klu-phug-Gliñ-kha, on the occasion of the Chu-zugs (festival), on the Rṣi-pañcami (5th day of the waxing fortnight of the month of Bhādrapāda), he bade farewell to the envoys, saying (to them) that he would be involved (in the coming conflict). That evening, in my tent (and) in my presence, the Chamberlain advised the dKa'-bCu dGe-bsÑen Don-Grub, who was going as an envoy from me, (to tell Guši Khan) that (only) after having uprooted Bi-ri completely, should the King go back to the Valley of the Blue Lake; that the two queens should send men to make offerings for future spiritual reward (*dGe-rTsa*); and that it would be appropriate to make war (now). Such instructions he gave fully¹²⁶⁾.

Perhaps, we can see in this passage, the fifth Dalai Lama's hope that Guši Khan would invade Central Tibet in 1640. This hope was deferred because the campaign against the King of Be-ri lasted for more than 18 months—the second half of the Christian year 1639 and the whole of the Christian year 1640—the reason being, no doubt, the resistance which Guši Khan met with from the Khams-pas. In the meantime, however, the Dalai Lama made up his mind. He identified his enemy: it was the gTsañ-pa, not the Sa-sKya-pa, Kar-ma-pa, etc. Further, he decided to fight his enemy without any hypocrisy about "the Bodhicitta virtue of equating self with others". Yet he was realist enough not to try to commit

¹²⁵⁾ *gDan-sar bsDad-pa* = *gDan-sa-pa*. One of the meanings of *gDan-sa* given by Chos-kyi Grags-pa in *brDa-dag Miñ-tshig gSal-ba/Ts'ang-wen Tz'u-tien* (see p. 48, Note 142), at p. 414, col. 2, is 寺院, the office of a temple. *gDan-sa-pa*, therefore, is a temple official.

¹²⁶⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, pp. 95 b-97 a (lCags-'Brug/keng-chen/1640).

the dGe-lugs-pa forces "to do too much". It might lead to their ruin. Hence, the need for foreign support. At this train of thought, even the Dalai Lama's Chamberlain quailed. He chose to see in the Dalai Lama's determination to fight, a struggle between the 'Phyoñ-rGyas-pa (the fifth Dalai Lama's clan) and the gTsañ-pa, not one between the dGe-lugs-pa and the gTsañ-pa. With this bit of self-deception, the stage was set for the next act, the invasion of Central Tibet by Guši Khan.

In a later passage in the Autobiography, the fifth Dalai Lama speaks of the conquest of Eastern Tibet by Guši Khan:

At the time when I was performing the Prayer-Festival (of the year Iron-Serpent, 1641), the Upholder of the Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith (Guši Khan) subdued the border territories of the six sGañs of mDo-Khams¹²⁷). Although Bi-ri rGyal-po saved himself by fleeing, by the power of Karma, he came into the hands (of Guši Khan) like a butterfly to a flame. Bearing this news the dKa'-bCu dGe-bsÑen Don-Grub and the elder Queen arrived to enquire after my health, together with Se-chen O-ma-śi (Ubaši) and a great crowd of others¹²⁸).

In the *rGyal-rabs*, the same event is narrated as follows:

Then, because in Middle Khams, Don-yod of Be-ri was oppressing all who followed the All-Knowing Aikṣvāka (the Buddha) and (permitting) only the Bon to flourish, (therefore), in the year Earth-Hare (1639), in the 5th month (chi-mao, 5th month = 1-30 June 1639), (Guši Khan) brought down his troops on Be-ri's head, and seized most of his subjects. In the year Iron-Dragon (1640), on the 25th day of the 11th month (keng-chen, 11th month, 25th day = 6 January 1641), although the ruler of Be-ri and others had fled to a secure border territory, by the sharp hook of some one's good actions, like iron-filings drawn towards magnet, (they were caught and) placed inside a large dungeon. All the root causes and adventitious causes of unhappiness were removed. The lamas and rulers of the Sa-sKya-pa, dGe-lugs-pa, Kar-ma-pa, 'Brug-pa and sTag-

¹²⁷) (1) rMa-rDza (= Žal-mo sGañ); (2) Bu-'bor (= sPo-'bor); (3) Tsha-ba; (4) dÑul-Zla (= gYar-mo sGañ); (5) sMar-Khams; (6) Me-ñag. R. Stein, *L'Épopée tibétaine de Gésar*, Paris, 1956, pp. 31-32.

¹²⁸) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, pp. 99 a-b (lCags-sBrul/hsin-ssu/1641).

luñ-pa, who had been put into dungeons were released and sent to their own homes. The subjects of (many kings) including (*tshun-chad*) the King of 'Jañ gave him rich tribute, respectfully bowed to him and willingly showed their attachment to him¹²⁹.

In the Annals of Koko-nor, Sum-pa mKhan-po speaks as follows:

In the beginning of the year Earth-Hare (1639), the Ruler of Be-ri sent a message to the Ruler of gTsañ, saying: 'Let us two make an alliance. The copper image called Jo-bo Rin-po-che is (by its magic powers) leading the army. Let it be thrown into the river. After destroying Se-ra, 'Bras-sPuñs and dGa '-ldan, let us build *caityas* on each of their sites (to prevent them from springing up again). If each of us follows whatever of the Buddhist and Bon religions is suitable for us, it will be (for our) good.' Then, abusing (the dGe-lugs-pa) he said that the universe would be completely peopled (or ordered) by others (?)¹³⁰. About that time, although the Ruler of gTsañ assembled the army of the myriarchies of Tibet, while it was on its way back, without having fought a battle, it came to the shores of the (gNam?) mTsho (Tenggri Nor). At this time, Guši Khan's son, Ratna Taiji and the others, by means of the heroic strength of their armies, subjugated all the Tibetans of A-mDo. They bestowed a large chapel (Chos-sDe) to the large monastic school in the middle of dPa'-ris known as dGon-luñ Byams-pa Gliñ. Then, in the year Earth-Hare, in the 5th month, this Ko'u-śri Gegen Han (Guši Khan), with a fearful and large Mongol army set out like a red and black whirlwind and arrived in the territory of the little king Be-ri, who was persecuting all that belonged to the faith of the Aikṣvāka (Buddha), and seized most of Khams by force. In the Iron-Dragon year (1640), this Guši having seized him who was called King Be-ri, threw him into prison. Having released all the many clergy and laity belonging to the Sa-sKya-pa, dGe-lugs-pa, Kar-ma-pa, 'Brug-pa, 'Bri-guñ-pa and sTag-luñ-pa sects, who had previously been imprisoned by him (Be-ri), this region was filled with the sweet sounds of joy. After this, he brought under his power all the provinces of Khams up to (the kingdom of) the King of Sa-dam in 'Jañs¹³¹.

¹²⁹) 5th Dalai Lama's rGyal-rabs, pp. 109 a-b.

¹³⁰) The translation of this sentence is conjectural.

¹³¹) *Annals of Koko-nor*, pp. 5b-6a (Lokesh Chandra, pp. 434-435). For dGon-luñ (founded in 1604), see VSP, pp. 266-267; Wylie, pp. 109-110 and p. 196.

* * *

We must now turn to an entirely different region of Central Asia, namely, Ladakh.

(B MS:) Señ-ge rNam-rGyal¹³²⁾ bethought himself: '(My) uncle, Tshe-dBañ rNam-rGyal¹³³⁾ ruled as far as Ñam-riñs in the north-east; but he did not live long and during the reign of my father, Hjam-dByañs rNam-rGyal¹³⁴⁾, all the vassal princes again rose'. So he again went to war (and came) as far as Ñam-riñs in the north. At Śi-ri-dKar-mo¹³⁵⁾, he stopped (or, he was routed at Śi-ri-dKar-mo). Upon this, there arrived an ambassador from Tibet, and it was agreed that the frontier should remain as before, and that his (Señ-ge's) dominions should include all the country up to dBus-gTsañ. On his return journey, he died at Wam-le (Han-le).

(L MS:) (Then) war was made against dBus-gTsañ, and Śi-ri as well as Kyar-kyar were made tributary. The King of dBus -gTsañ, sDe-pa gTsañ-pa, presented many mule-loads of gold, tea and silver; and after (Señ-ge rNam-rGyal) had paid his respects (?) he went home together with the army of Ladakh. He also brought lHo-mo-sDañ into his power. He reigned from Bu-rañ, Gu-ge, Zañs-dKar, sPyi-ti and Bu-rig, as far as the Mar-yum Pass in the East¹³⁶⁾.

¹³²⁾ Señ-ge rNam-rGyal, c. 1590-1635 Francke; c. 1590-1640/41 Petech (1939); c. 1600-45 Petech (1948).

¹³³⁾ Tshe-dBañ rNam-rGyal, c. 1532-60 Francke; c. 1535-75 Petech (1939) and (1948).

¹³⁴⁾ 'Jam-dByañs rNam-rGyal, c. 1560-90 Francke; c. 1580-90 Petech (1939); c. 1575-1600 Petech (1948).

¹³⁵⁾ On the Charta Tsang-po.

¹³⁶⁾ A. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Part II: *The Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles*, (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. 50) Calcutta, 1926, pp. 109-110; L. Petech, *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 146-147; L. Petech, «Notes on Ladakhi History», *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXIV, No. 3 (September 1948), p. 220. Gu-ge, by which we are to understand mÑa'-ris sKor-gSum west of the Mar-yum Pass, had been annexed by Señ-ge rNam-rGyal in 1630—see Francke, p. 110, and also VSP, p. 221, lines 15-18. This makes the statement of B MS, that "it was agreed that the frontier should remain as before", i.e. before 1641, but after 1630, reconcilable with the statement of L MS, that Señ-ge rNam-rGyal reigned "as far as the Mar-yum Pass in the East". In other words, in 1641, the gTsañ-pa ruler of Tibet acquiesced in the loss of mÑa'-ris sKor-gSum, west of the Mar-yum Pass, to Ladakh. (The territory was recovered in 1683/84). Tucci, I, p. 256, Note 136, basing himself on the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 132 a, conveys the information that Señ-ge rNam-rGyal's "funeral ceremonies" were celebrated in Lhasa during the new

Señ-ge rNam-rGyal's invasion of Tibet must be fixed to the "season of activity" (spring, summer and autumn) of 1641. The reason why the King of Tibet, namely, the gTsañ-pa Kar-ma bsTan-sKyoñ, made peace so easily with Señ-ge, even to the extent (as it seems) of acquiescing in the annexation of mÑa'-ris-sKor-gSum, west of the Mar-yum Pass, by Ladakh, was because of a far greater danger threatening him from the East.

* * *

In the summer of 1641, Gushi Khan invaded Central Tibet. As the fifth Dalai Lama writes in his Autobiography, I, pp. 101 b-102 a, "from the time when the messenger arrived with the news that the King (Guši Khan) was in gTsañ, my mind was made up and I was certainly not standing (idle) on my two feet". The decisive point was the capture of gDoñ-dKar in July 1641. Then bDe-chen, that old and faithful ally of the gTsañ-pa, gave in to the dGe-lugs-pa (p. 102 a). Even so, the dGe-lugs-pa suffered defeat in gTsañ (p. 103 a). The balance was redressed by Khalkha and Oirad "pilgrims". Then the Kar-ma-pa of Koñ-po were subdued (p. 104 a).

year's festival in the year Me-Khyi (1646). Basing himself on this, Petech, in his 1948 article, places the year of Señ-ge's death in 1645. What the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 132 a, says, under the year Me-Khyi/ping-hsü/1646, is as follows:

mÑa'.ris.la.dvags.rgyal.po.señ.ge.rnam.rgyal.'das.pa'i.dge.rtsar.mañ.skol.dañ.śal.dkar.dmar.gser.gur.kum.sogs.'byor.par.bsño.smon.gyis.rgyas.btab.

The King of La-dvags in mÑa'-ris, Señ-ge rNam-rGyal having died, for his happiness in future lives, by means of blessings, I (so to say) set my seal on such things as a general distribution of boiled drinks (tea, etc.), white and red silk scarves, gold, saffron, etc., (which were now brought for my blessings).

This does not say that Señ-ge rNam-rGyal's "funeral ceremonies" were performed in 1646, or that Señ-ge died in 1645. The King of gTsañ against whom Señ-ge fought must have been Kar-ma bsTan-sKyoñ, who was killed by the end of the 1st Hor month or the 2nd Hor month of the year Water-Horse (jen-wu, 1st month = 30 January-28 February 1642; 2nd month = 1-29 March 1642). Also, the fact that Kar-ma bsTan-sKyoñ made peace so easily, could only be because he feared an imminent invasion by Gushi Khan from the east. This danger could have become imminent only after the subjugation of the King of Be-ri by Guši Khan in January 1641. Hence, Señ-ge rNam-rGyal's invasion is fixed to the "season of activity", i.e. spring, summer and autumn, of 1641. Since the Ladakh Chronicles expressly say that Señ-ge died on his way back, it is difficult to see why the return journey should have taken him 4 or 5 years. It seems better to say that Señ-ge rNam-rGyal died in 1641 or 1642, but that offerings to the 5th Dalai Lama for his (Señ-ge's) welfare in future lives were made in 1646.

It should be added that Francke's translation of "śar.byañ.ñam.rñs." as "Ñam-rñs in the north-east", and of "byañ.ñam.rñs." as "Ñam-rñs in the north" is inaccurate. The correct translations are "Ñam-rñs of (the district called) Byañ, in the east" and "Ñam-rñs of (the district called) Byañ", respectively.

(p. 106 a:) In the 3rd Hor month (of the year Water-Horse) (jen-wu, 3rd month = 30 March-28 April 1642), the news that Tibet with its wooden doors had come under the power of the Upholder of the Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith, (Guši Khan), arrived. Accordingly, the monasteries of Se-ra, 'Bras-sPuñs, Lhasa and other places offered profuse thanks to the protective deities of the Holy Faith by offering them silk scarves with verses written on them. They also offered many silk banners¹³⁷⁾... (p. 106 b:) On the 11th day of the 3rd Hor month (jen-wu, 3rd month, 11th day = 9 April 1642), I set out from 'Bras-sPuñs (for gTsañ)... On the day when I arrived at bDe-chen in the lower part of the valley of Thob-rGyal, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Upholder of the Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith (Guši Khan) bowed his head to me. My Chamberlain; Guši Lama; the dKa'-bCu of gDu; Erdeni Dai-chin; the Žabs-druñ and the Cook of sKyid-śod, and many other clergy and laity arrived to meet (Guši Khan). At the first meeting with the King, he presented to me (1) the bell made of agate (or cornelian) which had belonged to the 'Phags-pa Rin-po-che; (2) a (ritual vessel known as) *gSol-can* made of emerald; (3) a jewel known as *rBad-'gyel* in the Sog-po language; and (4) Tibet, this special thing said to be arranged into Left and Right Wings with 13 circles-of-ten-thousand, which descended through sNeu-sDoñ rTse (the seat of the Phag-mo-gru-pa) to the Rin-sPuñs-pa... (p. 107 a:) On the 25th day (of the 3rd Hor month) (jen-wu, 3rd month, 25th day = 23 April 1642), I arrived at the great religious establishment of bKra-śis lHun-po together with my clerical retinue. I met the Pan-chen Chos-kyi rGyal-po... From sNeu-sDoñ rTse, the Žabs-druñ Rin-po-che arrived. Although, in this snowy (land of Tibet), the Glorious Phag-mo-gru-pa's position as Lama and Ruler had been very strong, at present, their Teaching had become merely a nominal (p. 107 b:) remnant (of what it was) and it was as if they were despised by everyone. (Nevertheless,) for my own part, I showed him honour without regard to place or time... Immediately on arrival at gŽis-ka-rTse (Shigatse), when I was giving a reception to numberless Tibetans and Sog-po, gathered together in a great assembly, a general announcement¹³⁸⁾ was made

¹³⁷⁾ The reference here is to the final conquest of gTsañ, in the 2nd Hor month, which gave Guši Khan dominion over all Tibet.

¹³⁸⁾ *dril.bsGrags*. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 655, col. 1, says that *dril.sgra.las.bsgrags.pa=ghañā-ghoṣaṇa* = proclamation by ringing the bell; *dril.sgrog.pa* = to ring the bell; to publish by ringing a bell. However, according to

that (1) the last of the three gifts made to 'Phags-pa Rin-po-che by the Emperor Khubilai Khan, viz., the portion of the remains of the Buddha which had fallen to Ajātaśatru, and which was at rGyal-mKhar rTse (Gyantse); (2) the jewelled mirror (used in ritual ablutions), in which the All-Famous 'Phags-pa Rin-po-che had placed his *jñāna-sattva* or, as some say, the mirror in which the mind of the Ḍākiṇi Ye-śes 'Tsho-rGyal is made clear, and which (mirror) was discovered by Chos-dBañ; (3) the many objects of worship such as, principally, the inner receptacles (*nan-rten*), images (*bla-sku*), *li-ma*¹³⁹), and *rGya-nag-ma* (?) and, especially, the wonderful curtain of Rigs-ldan (collected or constructed) by order of the Rin-sPuñs-pa Nag-dBañ 'Jig-rTen dBañ-Phyug¹⁴⁰); and (4) all the 13 circles-of-ten-thousand of Tibet, chief among them being the estate (*gŽis-ka*) of bSam-Grub rTse (*gŽis-ka* rTse, Shigatse) were (now) offered to me¹⁴¹.

These events are described in the *rGyal-rabs* in a somewhat more stylized form as follows:

With regard to his (Guši Khan's) turning in the direction of dBus-gTsañ, after having (first) got ready his army: In the "treasure" (*gTer-ma*) of the brothers of mŅa'-ris, it is said:

In particular, when the year the vicious serpent (Iron-Serpent, 1641) arises, a dawn of white light will arise again and again as a sign from heaven. The planets and stars will clash and, in the north, the Eastern and Western Mongols will be on the move. In 'Ol-kha, they will fight and cause misfortune. The strife in dBus-gTsañ will cause harm to living beings. Earth-quakes and epidemics will appear as annual calamities for three years. For nine years, they (the Mongols) will occupy the central district (dBu-ru) of dBus-gTsañ. For seven years, it will rain blood.

information sent to me by Mr J.E.S. Driver, dated Rome, 21 July 1965, a Tibetan called Nam-mKha'i Nor-bu, resident in Rome, had said that the *dril* of *dril.bsgrags* was not *dril.bu* (a bell), but the perfect of '*dril.ba* (to gather together, etc.). *Dril.bsgrags*, therefore, means a general announcement, to one and all.

¹³⁹ *li-ma* = a metallic compound containing more gold and silver (than *li-khra*, a compound made of gold, silver, zinc and iron, cast together?), with which images are generally made. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, pp. 1212-1213.

¹⁴⁰ Nag-dBañ 'Jigs-Grags, b. 1482, d. 1565. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II, Genealogical Table V.

¹⁴¹ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 106 a; 106 b; 107 a; 107 a-b (ChurTa/jen-wu/1642).

In the recently discovered "treasure" of the sPrul-sKu of Yol-ma, it is said:

In the year of the Hare (1639), he will rest. In the year of the Dragon (1640), he will hold (his opponent) like a dragon. In the year of the Serpent (1641), he will cast him off like the slough of a serpent. Therefore, in the year of the Hare, be awake!

In conformity with signs of the times such as these, with an army of hundreds of tens of millions, he made preparations for battle and (thereafter) brought under his authority (all the lands) up to the border-country of gSin-rJe (the God of Death) in the South. In the year Water-Horse (1642), on the 25th day of the 2nd month (jen-wu, 2nd month, 25th day = 25 March 1642), the rulers and ministers of the whole of Tibet, the land of wooden doors, bowed their proud faces and entered into the adherence to (the practice of) respectfully bending (their bodies) and willingly obeying (him)¹⁴²⁾. On the day of the full moon of the month of Caitra (or 'of the nakṣatra Citrā'), which (full moon) is known as 'the Crystal Lord' (chu-sel-gyi dBaṅ-po, sphaṭikendra), in the beginning of the year according to the Kālacakra, he became King of the three divisions (*chol-kas*) of Tibet and set up the white umbrella of Law in the middle of the peak of the world (*srid-rTse*). Although, indeed, he had the exaggerated idea of willingly accepting and honouring all creeds impartially, yet, because the practices of the Kar-ma-pa authorities were not prudent, therefore, his armed forces brought (the territory) up to the land of Koṅ-po in the east into subjection. The Discoverer of "treasures", 'Ja'-tshon-pa, identified that, in one of the "treasures" which he had discovered, it showed that he (Guṣi Khan) was the reincarnation of Padmasambhava. Ra-kho śin, the King of India; the King of Khatmandu in Nepal; the King of mÑa'-ris and many such kings of the border-countries sent many products of their countries¹⁴³⁾.

In the *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 6 a (Lokesh Chandra, p. 435), Sum-pa mKhan-po says that

¹⁴²⁾ PSJZ, Part II, p. 164, translated by Tucci, II, p. 655, says that "in the 25th day (of the 1st month of the year Water-Horse, 1642), when the moon was in the constellation (nakṣatra) dBo (Uttara-phālgunī), he took as prisoner the King of gTsañ and... had him put into a leather sack (and thrown into the river)". This date should be amended to the "25th day of the 2nd month".

¹⁴³⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's rGyal-rabs, pp. 109b-110 a.

On the 15th day of the 3rd month of that year (Water-Horse, 1642), he (Guši Khan) ascended the throne of Tibet with dignity and grandeur.

Jen-wu, 3rd month, 15th day = 13 April 1642. It seems that Sum-pa mKhan-po is here speaking of the first offering of the 13 circles-of-ten-thousand which, according to the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, took place a few days after 9 April 1642. Apparently, therefore, although Guši Khan had brought Tibet "under his power"; and although the "kings and ministers of Tibet" had "bowed their proud faces to him" on the 25th day of the 2nd Hor month (jen-wu, 2nd month, 25th day = 25 March 1642); Guši Khan did not "ascend the Throne of Tibet" till he had made his first offering to the Dalai Lama a few days after 9 April 1642, *i.e.*, as Sum-pa mKhan-po says, on 13 April 1642.

Guši Khan, therefore, became Dharmarājā or Chos-rGyal of Tibet on 13 April 1642.

* * *

The VSP, pp. 307-309, deals with Guši Khan's wars against Chog-thu (1637), the Ruler of Be-ri (1639-41) and the gTsañ-pa (1641-42) as the 9th aspect of the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama. The wars are seen as the Dalai Lama's defeating of his enemies, in the same way as the Buddha defeated the hordes of Māra before attaining Enlightenment:

9. The overpowering of enemies. Chog-thu, Be-ri and the gTsañ-pa, who appeared in the visible (literally, "outer") world in order to illustrate the (fifth Dalai Lama's) subjugation (and absorption) into his (Dharma-)dhātu, of the invisible (literally, "inner") evils of Affliction and Doubt, were those who were at variance with the Buddhist faith in general and the creed of Mañju-śrī-garbha (bTsoñ-kha-pa) (in particular); (and also) those in whom the ten fields (of evil-doing) were complete. (The fifth Dalai Lama vanquished them by means of, firstly,) the profound potency of the Tantric rites, put into effect in a fierce manner¹⁴⁴⁾, and appertaining to 'Jam-dPal (Mañju-śrī) as Dus-dGra'i-dBañ-po (Yamantaka, the God of Death)—the Discomfiter of worldly devices—of the Vajrayāna in its former (rÑiñ-ma-pa) rendering; and, (secondly, by the

¹⁴⁴⁾ As distinct from the peaceful, extensive and powerful manners.

following means):

In accordance with the prophecy of the Great Teacher (Padma-sambhava) –

In the last of the 7 wars in the border-countries, a King, who will be an Incarnation of Vajrapāṇi, will arrive, and will, for a time, bring peace and prosperity to Tibet –

that there would be an appearance of Guhyapati (Vajrapāṇi), in the northern region, to the Khan of the Ho-śod (tribe), which is a part of (the confederacy) known as the Dörben Oirad, a son was born to the Lady A-hai (whom the Khan of the Ho-śod had) taken to wife. From his young days, he, thinking of the Great Lord Lama in the direction of Tibet, performed prostrations which nearly broke his forehead. When he had grown up, he came to dBus, and as soon as he had looked on the Body of the Lord Lama, so great was his faith that the hairs on his body stood on end and he placed the feet (of the Dalai Lama) on his head. In such ways were his good latent propensities fully roused. In the prophecy of the Discoverer of “treasures”, 'Ja'-tshon sÑiñ-po, it was said:

In the wide northern plain, while running, he will catch the wild yak. By his skill in lifting, he will lift a boulder to the sky. The strength of three men will be in him.

In accordance with this, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, he who was possessed of the ownership of valour, the Upholder-of-the-Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith (bsTan-'dzin Chos-kyi-rGyal-po), with his army, the dust of whose horses' hoofs filled the sky, came to Pur-rGyal (Tibet), this land which contains 9 *gliñs* (“continents”). Further, it is said in the Abhidhamma-kośa, Part III:

‘Over those enemies who went of themselves (to submit to him), over those who prepared to give battle to him, and over those who crossed swords with him, he was victorious, without suffering injury’—(this means that) in whatever region of the world the Cakravartin Rājā went, there his enemies came to meet him, and bowed to him, saying, ‘Your Majesty is welcome. These countries are Your Majesty’s. We pray that Your Majesty annex them. We shall act according to Your Majesty’s orders’. Thus, without any need for him (the Cakravartin Rājā) either to go in person, or to prepare to give battle, or to cross swords, they (his enemies) came under his power, of their own accord.

In accordance with this Gloss, as soon as he (Guši Khan) came to bSam-grub-rTse (= gŽis-ka-rTse, Shigatse) in Upper gTsañ, all the people of Tibet and Greater Tibet threw their proud faces to the ground and gathered together as his subects (mŃa'-'bañs). In the year Iron-Serpent (1641), in the All-Knowing Jinendra's (*i.e.* the fifth Dalai Lama's) 25th year, as has been said in the Sūtra called rNam-par 'phrul-ba'i rGyal-pos žus-pa (Ārya-vikurvana-rāja-paripṛccha-nāma-Mahāyāna-sūtra) -

This Bodhisattva, although he has not put forth any resolve (for these things) and (although) he entertains no hope (for these things), even so, he will acquire Indra-hood and Brahma-hood and the kingdom of a Cakravartin Rājā. This Bodhisattva does not care for Indra-hood or Brahma-hood, neither for the kingdom of a Cakravartin Rājā, yet all these things, without his having to strive for them, will be acquired by him -

having acquired them (*i.e.* all the people of Tibet and Greater Tibet), effortlessly, like the coming together of magnet and iron-filings, the Great Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Upholder of the Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith (Guši Khan), (acting) in accordance with the Abhisamayālaṅkāra relating to the pariśodhana (purification) appropriate to the first stage of Bodhisattva-hood, namely,

By renouncing, and by following the Spiritual Adviser (one achieves the pariśodhana appropriate to the 1st stage of Bodhisattva-hood),

as a great renunciation from himself, gave them (*i.e.* all the people of Tibet and Greater Tibet), together with himself, his sons, family and subjects ('bañs), as subjects (mŃa'-ris) of the Lord Lama, the Great All-Knowing One (the fifth Dalai Lama).

Finally, he placed these enemies of the Teaching (*bsTan-dGra*) (namely, Chog-thu, the ruler of Be-ri and the gTsañ-pa) in the rank of the Sāmanta-bhadra (the rŃiñ-ma-pa Adi-Buddha). Such were the deeds relative to the overpowering of the outwardly-manifested fierce enemies, (which deeds were done) as an outwardly sign of the overpowering of inner evils¹⁴⁵⁾.

¹⁴⁵⁾ It should be realized that this whole passage is one sentence.

D) The significance of the events of 1642

In order to understand the significance of the events of 1642, namely, the accession of Guši Khan to the Kingship of Tibet and the two offerings of Tibet to the fifth Dalai Lama, we must keep in mind the following facts:

- (a) the relationship which had existed, or was thought to have existed, between Khubilai Khan and the 'Phags-pa Lama of the Sa-sKya-pa sect, in the 13th century;
- (b) the relationship which had been established between the third Dalai Lama and Altan Khan in 1578;
- (c) the relationship which was established between the fifth Dalai Lama and Toba Taiji in 1526; may have been established between the fifth Dalai Lama and Arslan in 1536; and was established between the fifth Dalai Lama and Guši Khan in 1637;
- (d) the first offering made by Guši Khan to the fifth Dalai Lama at bDe-chen in the lower part of the valley of Thob-rGyal on the 15th day of the 3rd Hor month of the year Water-Horse (jen-wu, 3rd month, 15th day = 13 April 1642); and
- (e) the second offering made by Guši Khan to the fifth Dalai Lama at gZis-ka-rTse (Shigatse) on or shortly after the 25th day of the 3rd Hor month of the year Water-Horse (jen-wu, 3rd month, 25th day = 23 April 1642).

What the first offering made by Guši Khan meant is clear enough. Tibet, which had belonged to the Phag-mo-gru-pa and the Rin-sPuñs-pa—the gTsañ-pa being considered, apparently, only usurpers, not to be mentioned in this context—was now offered to the Dalai Lama. The rule of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, nominal since 1435 (when Kun-bZañ of Rin-sPuñs in gTsañ had seized Rin-sPuñs for himself, of which place he had till then been rDzoñ-dPon) and less than nominal since 1564 (when Na-gi-dBañ-Phyug bKra-śis Grags-pa rGyal-mTshan, the last effective Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler, had died), was now terminated, and the Dalai Lama succeeded to the rule of Tibet. Between the first and second offerings, however, the Dalai Lama notes that the Phag-mo-gru-pa—whom, even in 1631, he had recognised as King of Tibet¹⁴⁶⁾—were “despised by eve-

¹⁴⁶⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 65 b (ICags-Lug/hsin-wei/1631).

ryone". Hence, what the Dalai Lama succeeded to, in the second offering, was not the position of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, but that of the Sa-sKya-pa. For, in the second offering, the first thing which was offered to the Dalai Lama was "the last of the three gifts made to the 'Phags-pa Rin-po-che by the Emperor Khubilai Khan". In other words, in making the second offering, Guši Khan stepped into the position of Khubilai Khan, of whom there had been no mention in the first offering. At the second offering, therefore, the fifth Dalai Lama re-created, as between himself and Guši Khan, as the third Dalai Lama had done as between himself and Altan Khan in 1578, the relationship which had existed between the 'Phags-pa Lama and Khubilai Khan.

To understand the further significance of the event of April 1642, we must examine two events which followed immediately thereafter:

- (f) In 1643, the fifth Dalai Lama composed the Chronicle (*rGyal-rabs*) of Tibet, to celebrate the event of 1642;
- (g) In 1645, the fifth Dalai Lama left the dGa'-ldan Palace in 'Bras-sPuñs—not to be confused with dGa'-ldan monastery—and went up to the Red Hill (dMar-po-ri) of Lhasa, where stood the ruins of Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po's palace, and where he laid the foundations of his own palace: the Po-ta-la. Avalokiteśvara, the "chosen god" (*yi-dam* or *thugs-dam*, iṣṭa-devatā) of Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po, returned to his own home.

These three set of events—of 1642, 1643 and 1645—have to be taken together. What, in all, do they amount to?

In the first place, we have to consider the view of Tibetan history taken by the fifth Dalai Lama and implicit in his *rGyal-rabs*. According to this view, Tibet was once a strong, united kingdom, enjoying fame and glory of which all Tibetans could be proud. This was the time of the Kings, from Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po (c. 600-649) to Ral-pa-can (817-36). Then came Glañ-dar-ma, who was assassinated in 842, and Tibet broke up into a number of principalities. Tibetan Buddhism, too, broke up into a number of sects. Then came the Sa-sKya-pa (c. 1250-1350)—"the glorious Sa-sKya-pa" (dPal-ldan Sa-sKya-pa) as the Dalai Lama calls them. Under them, Tibet achieved some kind of unity. Their relationship with the Yüan (Mongol) Emperors of China provided the third and fifth Dalai Lamas with the model for their relationships with Altan Khan and Guši Khan respectively. Then came the Phag-mo-gru-pa, in their prime between c. 1350 and c. 1450, also spoken of approvingly, but tacitly admitted as being subordinate to the Ming Emperors of China. Witness the term

“sDe-srid Phag-mo-gru-pa” (p. 111 b), “the Governors Phag-mo-gru-pa”, and the frequent references to the receipt of diplomas and seals from the Ming, giving them the authority (*dBañ*) to rule. Once again, Tibet achieved unity and cohesion. In 1564, the last effective Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler, bKra-sis Grags-pa, died. Then followed anarchy.

Out of this anarchy, the third Dalai Lama tried to rescue Tibet, by re-creating between himself and Altan Khan the relationship which had existed between the Sa-sKya-pa and the Yüan. That attempt failed. Then followed the evil times of the gTsañ-pa, Be-ri and Chog-thu. The fifth Dalai Lama tried to achieve what the third Dalai Lama had failed to do, first, through Toba Taiji in 1625-26 and, perhaps, again through Arslan in 1635-36. At last, came the Upholder of the Teaching, the King according to the Faith, Guši Khan, who destroyed the enemies of the Teaching and offered Tibet as an offering to the Dalai Lama.

The spring of 1642 was a spring in the history of Tibet. Indeed, in the cycle of ages, a new age had come to Tibet, the Age of Fulfilment (*Kṛta-yuga*) or the Age of Truth (*Satya-yuga*), a new “Golden Age”. And so, the Dalai Lama, for “the festival of the young Age of Fulfilment” (*rdzogs. ldan.gžon.nu'i.dga'.ston.*), wrote a “Song of the Cuckoo” (*dPyid.kyi. rgyal.mo'i.glu.dbyaṅs.*), the bird of spring. This was the *rGyal-rabs* of Tibet, completed in 1643.

But what of the Dalai Lama's own position in Tibet? Here we come to deal with the move to the Po-ta-la in 1645. It is dealt with in three passages in the Autobiography, Volume I:

(pp. 112 a-b): (Chu-rTa, Water-Horse, 1642)¹⁴⁷:

The sDe-pa said that . . . because of the need of the clergy and laity to meet together, I ought, perhaps, to fix a permanent place of residence at Lhasa. I replied that my mind was without any inclination or interest for the material world. Moreover, in this single journey, the present one, I was vexed by the distraction of not having (any) power of my own to go to or stop at a desired spot, or to do (what I wished to do). Hence, it was out of the question to go to or stop at such a large township as Lhasa. Even if I were to consider it, because of their arrogance and pursuit of wealth, I would not be pleased with the ways of the Tibetans (at Lhasa). The ways of the Sog-po (Mongolians) are moderate, but whenever they had been taken over by the Tibetans, they were mixed in such a haphazard

¹⁴⁷) after Guši Khan had made his 1st and 2nd offerings to the Dalai Lama.

way with Chinese, Sog-po, East Tibetan and Central Tibetan ways, that I had no interest in them. Moreover, if it were said that, by moving to and stopping at (Lhasa), I could preserve the Hearing and Thinking (of the dGe-lugs-pa creed) and that, hence, I should quickly (go to Lhasa), I would reply by saying that the ranks of the Sa-sKya-pa, Phag-mo-gru-pa, 'Bri-guñ-pa, sTag-luñ-pa, etc., were (now) ineffective and without support. (Hence there was no need to assert the dGe-lugs-pa creed over against them). (Besides) we rulers and teachers were not to be classified in the category of peasants (who seek only their own profit?). Speaking for myself, since it was certain that I could not do so with both mind and body, there would be no coming and going.

(pp. 118 a-b): (Chu-Lug, Water-Sheep, 1643):

The Žabs-druñ Rin-po-che of Gliš-sMad came from gSañ-phu. I said to him that. . . if there were a very large strong fortress joining dMar-po-ri (the Red Hill) and lCags-po-ri (the Iron Hill), its connection with Se-ra and 'Bras-sPuñs would be firm, both now and in future. Being the spot holy to the Great Compassionate One (Thugs-rJe Chen-po = sPyan-ras-gZigs = Avalokiteśvara), if a house for meditation on the Six Syllables were founded (there), the sins of both Givers-of-Alms (the Chos-rGyal and the sDe-pa) would be cleansed and made well. As long as the Sog-po were (here), no harm would come to us. If they were not here, we could rely on the fortress (for our defence). To this he said: 'If this is so, then what was the use of raising such a strife? You must really be very careful (and not rely for your defence either on the Sog-po or on the proposed fortress). Previously, whenever a disconnected strife arose, . . . we fled to the North, and the Teaching was harmed. From now onwards, our duty (is this): With regard to the honour which has been shown, up to this time, to the Teaching of the rJe-bTsun bTsoñ-kha-pa chen-po, if such honour is not shown (to it) in future, . . . we should not come back without blood on our spears'. Such advice for the present, the near future and the distant future he granted freely.

(pp. 125 b-127 a): (Šiñ-Bya, Wood-Bird, 1645):

Many high and low people led by the Ruler-Teacher, the Žabs-druñ of Gliš-sMad petitioned that if now I did not have a fortress (as a centre) of my secular rule, which should be the centre of my

domain (*sde.dpon.lugs.kyi.rdzoñ.gžis.kyi.lte.ba.tsam.*), then, the future would be confined and, for the present, the signs would not be propitious. Because the estate of Goñ-dKar was far away from Se-ra and 'Bras-sPuñs, I should lay the foundation at the Po-ta-la. Accordingly, in accordance with the request of both Givers-of-Alms (the Chos-rGyal and the sDe-pa) to come to the desired "offering of the land" (to the gŽi-bDag, Yul-lha, Sa-bDag, etc.), on the 25th day of the 3rd Hor month (i-yu, 3rd month, 25th day = 21 April 1645), I came to the Po-ta-la. When I arrived at Rin-chen sGañ in Don-'bag, with a roar of thunder from the north, the rains came, cleansing the Earth and not raising dust. From then onwards, until I came (to Lhasa), there was an incessant storm. (Looking on what looked) like a tent built by the winds, I thought: May not this be a sign that the Goddess of the Three Worlds (dPal-ldan lHa-mo) is pleased? Sometimes, the wind blew from both East and West and created a commotion. It seemed to be the passage of the 8 classes of demons (moving out?). On the 26th day (22 April 1645), I prepared the ground. On the 29th day (25 April 1645), during the conjunction (*grub-sbyor*) of Kārtikeya (*dMag-dPon*) (Kṛttikā?) and Aśvinī (*Tha-sKar*), I drove into the ground, which was to be the centre of the palace, (and drove in) entirely, a stake wrought by the hand of mKhyen-brTse chen-mo (the Great Goddess of All-Knowing Mercy). The official who was the Keeper of precious religious objects, by name, the Lama of dGe-sTeñ, together with the leader of the dance and the inmates of (the monastery called) rNam-par rGyal-ba'i Phan-bDe Legs-bŚad Gliñ, performed the dance of dPal-ldan Khrag-'thuñ Khros-pa (Heruka) and prepared the ground. From the time of the Kings-according-to-the-Faith, to the times of the Deva(s) of Gye-re, the Khri-dPon(s)¹⁴⁸⁾ of Tshal-pa, the sDe-srids Phag-mo-gru-pa, and the Sa-sKyoñ¹⁴⁹⁾ of sKyid-śod, bKra-śis Rab-brTan, the noble (Ava)lok(it)eśvara, who was the Chosen God of the King-according-to-the-Faith Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po, and was one of the 4 self-created brothers, had lived in this very Po-ta-la. When the sDe-pa (of gTsañ), having been victorious in battle, had brought (Avalokiteśvara) to the estate of Brag-dKar, the omens had been unpropitious and he had lost the fortress and estate of sKyid-sMad. The sDe-pa A-dPal had given it (the image of Avalokiteśvara) to Se-chen Tha'i-ji of

¹⁴⁸⁾ *Khri-dPon* = a ruler who sits on a throne; or, a commander of 10,000 troops.

¹⁴⁹⁾ *Sa-sKyoñ* = Protector of the Land.

the Thu-med as reward for services rendered during the war. After the Tha'i-ji had taken it to the Valley of the Blue Lake, there had been times of troubles, one after another, in that region. The rulers of the Thu-med had been scattered, and it (the image) had been taken to the monastery of sToñ-sKor in Khams. There an earthquake had destroyed many monasteries and towns. Thus, in brief, the unhappy events in all Tibet and Khams had revealed the truth of the prophecy made by the Teacher Padmasambhava, namely,

If a single support of Tibet is removed to the borders, both the border and Central Tibet will be destroyed.

Many were there, who thought and knew of these former and latter times and who hoped and prayed: 'Will the noble Avalokiteśvara come to Tibet?' Where was he (or she) who, thinking otherwise than this, thought: 'He will come now'—and did what was to be done? (Nowhere,) but (now) a woman, called Dalai Kun-ci rGyalmo, a possessor of wealth, who was beyond all vulgar deeds, she, by her able and wise skill and uncommon energy, having taken (Avalokiteśvara) from the hands of the ruler of sToñ-sKor and given it to the Mañjuśrī Chos-rJe to bring (here), it came here during the "Taming of the Soil". Thus, in this year, without (previous) arrangement, the omens were miraculously propitious. In the morning of the 1st day of the 1st of the two Hor 4th months (i-yu, 4th month, 1st day = 26 April 1645), at the "Taming of the Soil", the permanent residents of (the monastery called) Phan-bDe Legs-bŚad Gliñ came in procession to meet (Avalokiteśvara, me). From Lhasa, in order to invite (Avalokiteśvara, me), the inmates of the monastic school called Chos-'khor Gliñ and those of rMi-ru bŽi-sDe and others, came in procession. These and many fathers and mothers of the 4 sections of Lhasa, both clergy and laity, came with many and wonderful ornaments and clothes and did worship, with umbrella, royal ensign and flags; flowers; food such as is given to a god; incense; music and other things. Headed by the two Givers-of-Alms (the Chos-rGyal and the sDe-pa), together with a large army of Sog-po and Tibetan riders, the Noble and Excellent Image of the Lord of the Universe, the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel, (I, Avalokiteśvara,) once more came back to his (my) own home, in the field of the Virtue of the people of Tibet.

Although I came while the wind which was blowing fiercely till yesterday, was still blowing, today, the sky was clear. Even a breeze did not stir. A lattice of rainbows and white clouds rose like the spokes of a wheel. High and low saw wonderful sights such as Gyen-sGreñ (?), the sort of rain which delights the mind, and a rain of flowers. The Upholder of the Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith (Guši Khan) saw many beings, in human form and adorned with ornaments, coming down from Heaven to do worship to the Noble One. They seem to have been either sons or daughters of the gods.

In these three passages we see the fifth Dalai Lama, in 1642, rejecting the idea of a "permanent place of residence" (*rtag.tsam.bžugs.yul.*) at Lhasa, because of the cosmopolitan character of that city, and also because there was no need to assert the dGe-lugs-pa over against its rivals. In 1643, he suggests the idea of a fortress to establish a close connection between Se-ra and 'Bras-sPuñs, to expiate for the sins of the Chos-rGyal and the sDe-pa and to provide himself with defence in case of need. This last idea, that of relying on the static defensive character of a fortress, displeases the Žabs-druñ of Gliñ-sMad, who insists on an offensive. In 1645, the Dalai Lama lays the foundation of "a fortress (as the centre) of his secular rule and the centre of his domain". At the same time, Avalokiteśvara, the Chosen God of Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po—and it is essential to remember that the Dalai Lama was himself an Incarnation of Avalokiteśvara—"returned to his home". The meaning of the act was clear. In laying the foundations of his own palace on the Po-ta-la, the Dalai Lama was doing what no ruler of Tibet had done since the Kings-according-to-the-Faith of the 7th-9th centuries A.D. Physically, as well as metaphysically, the Dalai Lama ascended to the position which Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po—or, rather, which Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po's Chosen God—had occupied in Tibet. Exactly 800 years after the assassination of Glañ-darma, an unified and independent State of Tibet was recreated under one sovereign ruler, the Dalai Lama, and one dominant State Religion, of which, too, the Dalai Lama was the head.

Perhaps, at this stage, one might permit oneself two comparisons. Perhaps, one might say that what was established in Tibet in 1642/45 was what was established in Tudor England, and what was attempted in India under Akbar the Great: a national state and a national state religion.

What of the Khošot Khan? He was the Chos-rGyal,—as Sroñ-bTsan sGam-po had been the Chos-rGyal of Avalokiteśvara?—the Worship-

per, Patron and Protector of the Dalai Lama. Indeed, from the passage in the VSP quoted above, it seems that he was regarded as no more than a means—and not the only one, either—by which the Dalai Lama subdued the enemies of his Teaching. His inferiority in status vis-à-vis the Dalai Lama was never in doubt.

As time went on, the symbolical acts of 1642/45 gained in importance. In 1653, the Dalai Lama took his reception in Peking as a sign that he (the Dalai Lama) was the legal King of Tibet, of whom there was not the like in Tibet¹⁵⁰. Towards the end of the century, the VSP referred to the events of 1642/45 in four passages, as follows:

- (a) p. 316. (Speaking of the fifth Dalai Lama's Propagation of the Faith, being the 11th aspect of the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama, the VSP speaks of)

The monastery of dGa'-ldan Chos-'khor, in Śaṅs, in the Right Wing, founded in the year Wood-Bird (1645), being the 4th year after the Great Lord Lama (the fifth Dalai Lama) came to the lordship of Heaven and Earth (*gNam .dañ .sa'i .bdag .por .*), in the year Water-Horse (1642).

- (b) p. 324. In the year Water-Horse (1642), the 4 Divisions of the hosts (*i.e.* the Dörben Oirad or the Four Allies) of the Upholder of the Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith, (Guši Khan), having brought the Kingdom of Tibet, the land of wooden doors, into his power, offered it (to the fifth Dalai Lama) as subjects (*mÑa'-'bañs*) of the Exalted Lord Lama (the fifth Dalai Lama).

- (c) p. 420. (Colophon). From the year Citrabhānu (*sNa-tshogs*) or (in other words) in the year Water-Horse (1642), when Guhyapati in the form of a man, the Upholder of the Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith (Guši Khan), by means of the power of stern deeds and (the power of) endeavour, gave his family and subjects and the 9 *gliñs* of the land of Tibet, to the Embodiment of all the Buddhas, the Tathāgata of the Lotus-bearing line, the Raśmi-samudgata-śrī-kuṭa-rāja ('Od-zer-kun-'phags-dPal-brTsegs-rGyal-po), the Great Fifth Yellow-robed appearance; (that year) being the year in which the Earth was covered by the white umbrella of the Heaven-appointed Government-according-to-the-Faith established at the dGa'-ldan Palace (in 'Bras-sPuñs), 56 years.

¹⁵⁰ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 197 b (Chu-'brug/jen-chen/1652).

(d) p. 420. (Colophon). From the year Wood-Bird (1645), when the great, royal residence, the Po-ta-la, was built, and Avalokiteśvara, who was one of the 4 self-created brothers, arrived at his own residence, 53 years.

“The Lordship of Heaven and Earth”, the offering of the people of Tibet to the Dalai Lama as “subjects”, the covering of the Earth by “the white umbrella of the Heaven-appointed Government-according-to-the-Faith”, the building of “the great royal residence” and the return of Avalokiteśvara to “his own residence”—what does it all amount to, if not the sovereignty of Tibet?

Two European observers of Tibet in the 17th and 18th centuries seem to have had no doubt as to where sovereignty resided in Tibet. Father Gerbillon writes in his *Observations historiques*:

Il (Guši Khan) donna le Royaume de Thibet au Grand Lama.
Il (Guši Khan) se tint même honoré de se dire son vassal¹⁵¹).

Father Régis wrote:

C'est à ce Prince (Guši Khan) que le Grand Lama fut redevable de la souveraineté du Thibet: car il se contenta pour fruit de sa victoire d'être son vassal et de recevoir de sa main le titre de Han qu'il n'avoit jamais porté... Ce nouveau Han, pour satisfaire aux ordres du Grand Lama, s'établit avec tout son monde au voisinage de Lasa, afin d'assurer au Grand Lama la conquête qu'il venoit de faire, et d'être son protecteur contre tous ceux qui voudroient le troubler dans sa nouvelle domination. Ce pouvoir souverain ajouté à la puissance spirituelle qu'il avoit auparavant, a beaucoup servi à augmenter la vénération que les peuples ont pour cette Idole¹⁵²).

E) Secular Acts performed by the Dalai Lama

We may now conclude our study of the relationships of Worshipped and Worshipper, Patronised and Patron, and Protected and Protector, which were established between the Dalai Lama, on the one hand, and the Mongolian Khans, individually, on the other,—including the Khošot Chos-rGyal or Dharmarājā of Tibet—by noting that it would be wrong

¹⁵¹) du Halde (1736), IV, p. 50.

¹⁵²) du Halde (1736), IV, p. 576.

to consider that these relationships were of religious significance only. In the course of the 17th century, we find the Dalai Lama performing a number of acts, within the framework of these relationships, which can, fairly, be called acts of secular significance.

In the first place, we find the Dalai Lama giving titles and seals to Mongolian Khans, which seem to have had the effect of formalizing the Khan's accession to the Khanate. For instance, as we have already seen, after Guši Khan had died on 14 January 1655¹⁵³⁾, his successor Dayan Khan was enthroned by the fifth Dalai Lama on 7 February 1658¹⁵⁴⁾, and given the title of *bsTan-'dzin rDo-rJe rGyal-po*. Later, on 17 September 1660, the title was changed to *bsTan-'dzin Dayan Khan*¹⁵⁵⁾. After Dayan Khan had died on 22 April 1668¹⁵⁶⁾, his successor was given the title of *bsTan-'dzin Dalai Khan*, and "raised to the throne" (*khri.thog.tu.bton.*) on 11 April 1671¹⁵⁷⁾. Dalai Khan died on 21 January 1701¹⁵⁸⁾.

It may be said, with regard to the appointments of the Chos-rGyals of Tibet, that, in making these appointments, the Dalai Lama was doing no more than exercising his functions as sovereign of Tibet. However, even outside Tibet, the Dalai Lama seems to have had similar functions. For instance, at some unspecified date during or after 1662, according to Father Gerbillon, the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas and others, having defeated Blo-bZaŋ Taiji the Altan Khan (who had, previously, killed the 3rd Jasaγtu Khan of the Western Khalkhas), petitioned the Dalai Lama to appoint the eldest son of the late Jasaγtu Khan as the 4th Jasaγtu Khan. This petition was granted¹⁵⁹⁾.

On 16 July 1666, the fifth Dalai Lama gave Ocirtu Khan, the Khan of the elder branch of the Khošot, the title of Secen Khan "and raised him to the throne" (*khri.thog.tu.bton.*)¹⁶⁰⁾.

¹⁵³⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 233 a [*Šiü-rTa*, 12th Hor month, 7th day (*chia-wu*, 12th month, 7th day = 14 January 1655)]. See above, p. 65.

¹⁵⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 258 b [*Sa-Khyi*, 1st Hor month, 6th day (*mou-hsü*, 1st month, 6th day = 7 February 1658)].

¹⁵⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 297 b [*ICags-Byi*, 7th Hor month, 13th day (*keng-tzu*, 8th month, 13th day = 17 September 1660)]. See this book, above, p. 66.

¹⁵⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, II, p. 48 a [*Sa-sPre*, 3rd Hor month, 12th day (*mou-shen*, 3rd month, 12th day = 22 April 1668)].

¹⁵⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, II, p. 109 a [*ICags-Phag*, 3rd Hor month, 3rd day (*hsin-hai*, 3rd month, 3rd day = 11 April 1671)].

¹⁵⁸⁾ 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 439 b [*ICags-'Brug*, 12th Hor month, 13th day (*keng-chen*, 12th month, 13th day = 21 January 1701)].

¹⁵⁹⁾ du Halde (1736), IV, pp. 55-56.

¹⁶⁰⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 17 a [*Me-rTa*, 6th Hor month, 15th day (*ping-wu*, 6th month, 15th day = 16 July 1666)].

Again, on 30 June 1678, after dGa'-ldan had been completely victorious over Ocirtu Secen Khan—Ocirtu was killed in February–March 1678—the fifth Dalai Lama gave dGa'-ldan the title of dGa'-ldan bsTan-'dzin Bo-śog-thu Khan¹⁶¹).

On 6 March 1697, the Sixth Dalai Lama sent back the ambassadors of the Turghut chief, Ayukhi, with the title of Dai-chiñ A-yo-ši Khan, and the appropriate seal, dress and insignia, for their master¹⁶²).

Secondly, in at least one CSL document we find evidence of the Dalai Lama issuing credentials not only to envoys from Tibet—this is to be expected—but also to envoys from the Mongolian Khans to China:

The Board of Dependencies memorialised:

The Khalkhas have come with tribute. Formerly, they all had Secen Jinong as their leader. Now, Jasaytu Khan has removed Secen Jinong and the tribute(—mission) has come with Erdeni Jinong as leader. Yet, *in the document (wen 文) which the Dalai Lama has given (to the mission), there is not a word about Erdeni Jinong having been made the leader*¹⁶³).

Thirdly, that the Dalai Lama had command over the troops of the “Protectors of the Faith” in order to defend himself against the “enemies of the Faith” (bsTan-dGra) has already been seen. In the course of the 17th century, however, we find the Dalai Lama ordering the movements of troops for purposes which seem to be more secular than religious.

For instance, as we shall see in the relevant chapter of this book, on 24 May 1674, the fifth Dalai Lama heard of the outbreak of Wu San-kuei's rebellion, from the mouth of the Imperial envoys, Le-du Jaruci and others¹⁶⁴). On the very next day, he bestowed the title of Öljeitü Baatur on Prince bKra-śis—the son of Dalai Khung-taiji of Koko-nor—and sent him on an expedition to rGyal-thañ¹⁶⁵), the region due north of lJañs (= Li-kiang in Yun-nan), where Wu's power had, apparently, penetrated. The expedition was entirely successful¹⁶⁶).

¹⁶¹) *Ibid.*, III, p. 82 a [Sa-rTa, 5th Hor month, 12th day (mou-wu, 5th month, 12th day = 30 June 1678)].

¹⁶²) 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 157 b [Me-Glañ, 1st Hor month, 14th day (ting-chou, 2nd month, 14th day = 6 March 1697)].

¹⁶³) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 91, p. 22 b, K'ang Hsi 19th year, intercalary 8th month, mou-tzu (24 September 1680).

¹⁶⁴) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 204 b [Śiñ-sTag, 4th Hor month, 19th day (chia-yin, 4th month, 19th day = 24 May 1674)].

¹⁶⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 205 a.

¹⁶⁶) *Ibid.*, II, p. 231 a [Śiñ-Yos, 1st Hor month, 26th day (i-mao, 1st month, 26th

We have already had occasion to note that on 7 June 1674, the Dalai Lama issued a commission to Dalai Khung-taiji, the principal Khošot Khan of the Valley of the (Blue) Lake, to go out to the help of the Ch'ing dynasty¹⁶⁷). He was actually sent out on 15 June 1674, after the Dalai Lama had spoken to him in details about whatever important duties there were to be performed, with regard to the Teaching and the Government, in "Upper and Lower China". On the same day, the Dalai Lama bade farewell to the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas, who was then at Lhasa, after speaking to him in similar terms¹⁶⁸).

Further, we learn from an oral memorial of the Dalai Lama, which was submitted to the Ch'ing court on 5 November 1691, that

Before the exchange of hostilities between the Khalkhas and the O-lu-t'e, the Tüšiyetü Khan and dGa'-ldan sent envoys requesting auxiliary troops. (I, the Dalai Lama, declined these requests, but) I ordered the Taiji bKra-sis Baatur (the 10th son of Guši Khan) of Ch'ing-hai to command the troops and to garrison the territory of Ta-chien-lu in Ssü-chuan. (In doing so), I had no hostile intentions. Now, they have all been withdrawn¹⁶⁹).

At the command of the Dalai Lama, therefore, Ta-chien-lu was occupied by Mongolian troops between 1687/88 and 1691.

Fourthly, the Dalai Lama seems to have had sufficient influence to stop the movements of troops outside Tibet. When news of the fighting between the Khalkhas and dGa'-ldan arrived at Lhasa, the sPos-Khañ Lama (Pu-k'e-kang Lama 卜克岡喇嘛) was sent out from Lhasa in the 7th Hor month of the year Fire-Hare (ting-mao, 7th month = 8 August-6 September 1687)¹⁷⁰). According to the rJe-bTsun dam-pa's memorial, which arrived at the Ch'ing Court on 28 July 1688, when the Tüšiyetü Khan and his son-in-law, Blo-bZañ mGon-po (grandson of Ocirtu Secen Khan, whom the Tüšiyetü Khan had helped against dGa'-ldan in 1677-78) who were advancing to attack dGa'-ldan, met the Dalai

day = 20 February 1675)]; p. 240 a [3rd Hor month, 7th day (i-mao, 4th month, 7th day = 1 May 1675)].

¹⁶⁷) See this book, above, pp. 64, 70-71.

¹⁶⁸) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 208 b (Šiñ-sTag, 5th Hor month, 12th day (chia-yin, 5th month, 12th day = 15 June 1674)].

¹⁶⁹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 153, p. 4 b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 9th month, ting-mao (5 November 1691).

¹⁷⁰) Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho: Supplement V, p. 222 a [Me-Yos, 7th Hor month (ting-mao, 7th month = 8 August-6 September 1687)]; CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 135, pp. 5 a-b, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 4th month, chia-yin (11 May 1688).

Lama's envoy—this must have been the sPos-Khañ Lama—they withdrew from the attack¹⁷¹⁾.

According to a CSL document dated 3 September 1688, dGa'-ldan, too, on meeting the Dalai Lama's envoy, withdrew from his attack on the Eastern Khalkhas of the Setzen Khan, but refused to withdraw from his attack on the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas¹⁷²⁾. This latter refusal was due to the tribal law of revenge, which had not been altered when the Mongols had been converted to the dGe-lugs-pa¹⁷³⁾.

In 1697, Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan, in conformity with the Imperial Edict of 6 September 1696¹⁷⁴⁾, asking him to seize dGa'-ldan, who was leading a fugitive life after his defeat at Jao Modo (12 June 1696), advanced to Sa-k'e-sa-t'e Hu-li-k'e 薩克薩特呼里克. Here, he met the Dalai Lama's envoy, Darkhan Emci, who said: "The (fifth) Dalai Lama died 16 years ago. The young (sixth) Dalai Lama is 15 years old. Let each of you live in his own territory. You are not allowed to raise troops". At this, Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan withdrew his troops¹⁷⁵⁾.

Fifthly, the Dalai Lama also exercised his authority—or was expected to exercise his authority—to bring about peace between warring Mongolian tribes. We have already had occasion to see how, in March-April 1659, the fifth Dalai Lama brought about an undertaking of "good behaviour" among the tribes of Koko-nor and sent a commissioner to that region to obtain adherence to that undertaking¹⁷⁶⁾. Again, on 21 March 1671, when news of the victory of "the dBen-sa sPrul-sKu" (the sPrul-sKu of the hermitage, *i.e.* dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji)¹⁷⁷⁾ over Bā-khan Ban-

¹⁷¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 136, pp. 1 b-2 a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 7th month, jen-shen (28 July 1688).

¹⁷²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 136, pp. 19 a-b, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 8th month, chi-yu (3 September 1688).

¹⁷³⁾ 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-Thar, p. 95 a; Huth I, p. 138, II, pp. 219-220.

¹⁷⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 14 b-16 b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-yin (6 September 1696).

¹⁷⁵⁾ CSL, Shen Tsu, ch. 182, p. 2 a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, hsin-ssu (21 April 1697).

¹⁷⁶⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 269 b [Sa-Phag, 2nd Hor month (chi-hai, 3rd month = 23 March-20 April 1659)]. See, above, p. 68.

¹⁷⁷⁾ This dBen-sa sPrul-sKu is to be distinguished from the two other dBen-sa sPrul-sKus whose births are recorded in the PSJZ, Part III (Lokesh Chandra's edition, New Delhi, 1959), p. 64, under the years Śiñ-'Brug (1604) and Śiñ-sBrul (1605) of the 10th Cycle; and also from the dBen-sa sPrul-sKu who arrived at the Court of the 5th Dalai Lama in Chu-Lug (1643)—5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 120 a. On the other hand, the dBen-sa sPrul-sKu of 1671 may be the dBen-sa sKu-sKye whose envoys met the 5th Dalai Lama at sKya-riñ Lake, while the Dalai Lama was on his way to China

de¹⁷⁸⁾ (who had, as it seems, challenged the authority of dGa'-ldan's elder brother, Señ-ge) arrived, the envoys of Shuker Ubasi (dGa'-ldan's uncle and Bā-khan Ban-de's father), who were then in Tibet, requested the Dalai Lama to send the Abbot of dGa'-ldan monastery to establish peace. This request was declined¹⁷⁹⁾.

In 1676, as we learn from the VSP, pp. 82-83, Tshul-khrims Dar-gyas (who, in 1685, became 45th Abbot of dGa'-ldan) was sent to establish peace between Ocirtu Secen Khan and dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji.

In 1686, as we shall see in this book¹⁸⁰⁾, the 44th Abbot of dGa'-ldan was sent to participate with the envoy of the Manchu Government of China (A-la-ni, the President of the Board of Dependencies) in establishing peace between the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas and the Jsaγtu Khan of the Western Khalkhas.

Sixthly, the Dalai Lama seems, also, to have had authority to assign territory for settlement. In 1686, as we shall see¹⁸¹⁾, acting together with the Manchu Government of China, he settled a branch of the Oirad in Ala shan.

Such were the secular acts of the Dalai Lama within the framework of the relationship of Worshipped and Worshipper, Patronised and Patron, and Protected and Protector, between himself and the Mongolian Khans.

Towards the end of the century, the position changed. In October 1688, the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas and his brother, the rJe-bTsun dam-pa, fled from dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji, and sought refuge

in Chu-'Brug (1652)—5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 181 b. That the dBen-sa sPrul-sKu of 1671 is dGa'-ldan is proved by (a) the reference to the "internal war" (nañ-'khrugs) among the "O-rod Coñ-gar", the Jungar (tribe) of the (4) Oirad, in the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 107 b [lCags-Phag, 2nd Hor month, 11th day (hsin-hai, 2nd month, 11th day = 21 March 1671)]; (b) the reference to "gYon-ru dBen-sa dGa'-ldan Hoñ-tha 'i-ji" (dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji of the hermitage of the Left Wing) in VSP, p. 82. gYon-ru = Jegün Γar = Jungar = Left Wing; and (c) the description of dGa'-ldan as a Yin-cha 尹 咱 Khutuγtu in a previous birth (and, hence, also in his present birth) in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, p. 18 b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 7th month, mou-wu (1 August 1696). Yin-cha = dBen-sa. Khutuγtu = sPrul-sKu. See this book, later, pp. 232-233 and Note 14; pp. 304-305 and Note 11.

¹⁷⁸⁾ Bā-khan Ban-de is the eldest son of dGa'-ldan's uncle, Šükür Ubaši. The name is spelt Bagamandschi by Pallas, Pa-ha Pan-ti 巴哈班第 by CSK, Fan Pu 3, p. 11b; and Bagha Bandi (read Ban-de) in Pelliot's Genealogical Table I, No. 195. See this book, pp. 241-242, Note 40.

¹⁷⁹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 94 a [lCags-Khyi, 3rd Hor month (keng-hsü, 3rd month = 20 April-18 May 1670)]; p. 107 b [lCags-Phag, 2nd Hor month, 11th day (hsin-hai, 2nd month, 11th day = 21 March 1671)].

¹⁸⁰⁾ See this book, later, p. 265 ff.

¹⁸¹⁾ See this book, later, pp. 248-249.

with the Emperor of China¹⁸²). Writing to dGa'-ldan on 31 May 1689, the Emperor said, about the Khalkhas:

雖向非屬國·而隨屬國之列·誠心職貢·

Although not formerly (*i.e.* before October 1688) dependent countries, yet, in accordance with (what was required of countries) in the category of dependent countries, they loyally presented tribute¹⁸³).

Here we have, stated, that before 1688, the Eastern Mongols of Outer Mongolia were not regarded as subjects of the Manchu Emperor of China.

At Dolon Nor, on 29 May 1691, the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas, the Jasaγtu Khan of the Western Khalkhas, the Secen Khan of the Eastern Khalkhas and the Sain Noyan of the Middle Khalkhas performed the three genuflexions and the nine head-knockings before the Emperor of China¹⁸⁴). This was the *chen li* 臣禮, the ritual proper to subjects, the ritual by which the Khalkhas became subjects of the Ch'ing Emperor of China, as the Emperor informed the Dalai Lama¹⁸⁵). After that, as far as the Emperor of China was concerned, the position of the Dalai Lama, vis-à-vis the Eastern Mongols, had changed. Writing to dGa'-ldan on 17 June 1693, the Emperor said:

達賴喇嘛·以喀爾喀等·向爲護法主·

The Dalai Lama formerly (*i.e.* before 29 May 1691) regarded the Khalkhas as Lords-Protectors of the Faith¹⁸⁶).

Again, writing to the sDe-pa of Tibet, Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, on 6 September 1696, rebuking him for having "concealed the news of the fifth Dalai Lama's death", the Emperor said:

達賴喇嘛者·乃至大普慧喇嘛·本朝爲護法之主·交往六十餘年·則其訃音·卽當奏聞於朕·

¹⁸²) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 137, pp. 13 a-14 a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 10th month, i-ssu (29 October 1688).

¹⁸³) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 140, p. 26 b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 4th month, chi-mao (31 May 1689).

¹⁸⁴) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 151, pp. 8 a-10 a, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 5th month, ting-hai (29 May 1691); du Halde (1736), IV, p. 323.

¹⁸⁵) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 152, p. 2 b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 6th month, i-mao (26 June 1691).

¹⁸⁶) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 159, p. 9 b, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 5th month, ting-ssu (17 June 1693).

The Dalai Lama being the greatest Lama of all-pervading wisdom, and this Court being the Lord who protects the Faith, the exchange (of envoys) having gone on for over 60 years, the announcement of his death should immediately have been reported to Us in a Memorial¹⁸⁷⁾.

In other words, after 29 May 1691, the Emperor of China had interposed himself between the Dalai Lama on the one hand, and the Khalkha Khans on the other.

Even so, we find Father Gerbillon, on 13 May 1696, drawing a clear political distinction between the Inner Mongols and the Outer Mongols:

Le 13 (Mai 1696) nous fimes soixante lys, droit au Nord. Après en avoir fait cinquante, nous sortîmes des limites de la Tartarie appartenante à l'Empereur, c'est-à-dire, du pays qui est habité par les Mongous, partagez en quarante-neuf Etendarts, qui s'étoient soumis aux Mantcheoux, avant qu'ils eussent conquis l'Empire de la Chine. Il n'y a point d'autre marque en cet endroit pour fixer les limites, qu'une montagne bien plus élevée que toutes les hauteurs d'alentour¹⁸⁸⁾.

“La Tartarie appartenante à l'Empereur” is Inner Mongolia, the territory of the 49 Banners, which was “accepted” (收) and “settled” (定) by T'ai Tsung Wen Huang-ti (1626-43)¹⁸⁹⁾.

F) Sino-Tibetan Relations, 1578-1644

We conclude this chapter with an account of Sino-Tibetan relations within the period which we have covered.

As early as 1578, when the third Dalai Lama was in the Ordos country, the Ming Emperor Wan Li, 萬曆 (1573-1620) sent messengers to him with presents. The Dalai Lama was also invited to Kan-chou by the local officials and, accepting the latter invitation, he went to Kan-chou¹⁹⁰⁾.

¹⁸⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 13 b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

¹⁸⁸⁾ du Halde (1736), IV, pp. 398-99.

¹⁸⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 142, p. 2 b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 9th month, mou-hsi (17 October 1689).

¹⁹⁰⁾ 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-Thar, pp. 97 b-98 a.

In 1579, when the third Dalai Lama was on his way to Li-thañ, a certain Prince Ñiñ-śa (*Ñiñ.śa.rgyal.bu.*) sent presents to him from China¹⁹¹. In that same year, the Emperor Wan Li sent three high officials to the third Dalai Lama, to bestow on him the title of "The Refuge of the Whole Empire, Gyog-chiñ-śri". He was also given a seal, diploma, official hat, official dress, and three dresses made of three different types of gold (-thread). The Edict (bKa'-śog) from the Emperor said:

That you have fulfilled the wishes of the 40 (Mongolian) tribes (*i.e.* the Eastern Mongols), who have become Our subjects and those (wishes) of the officials of Kan-chou and Du-thañ (?), is good. We invite you to come later to (Our) great palace as well, etc.

The third Dalai Lama's Treasurer (*phyag-mdzod*) was also given the title of Gu-śri (Kuo-shih 國師) and a seal¹⁹².

Nine years later, in 1588, when the third Dalai Lama returned to Inner Mongolia, Wan Li sent a third invitation to the Dalai Lama, "through a messenger who was carried on the shoulders of 8 men", and bestowed on him the title of "Kva-diñ (?) ta'i gu-śi"¹⁹³.

Ssanang Setzen gives the Edict, which the Emperor sent on this occasion, as follows:

In order to extend Our protection to the Faith, in accordance with the example set by the (Ming) Emperor T'ai Tsung Yung Lo (1403-24), We bestow on you, as did the Mongol Emperor Khubilai Secen Khan (on the 'Phags-pa Lama), the title of Sañs-ziñ (Buddha-Body) T'ai Wang Kuo Shih 太王國師, raise you to the position of High Lama, and summon you to Ourselves¹⁹⁴.

The Dalai Lama accepted the invitation, but died shortly afterwards.

In 1616 (Me-'Brug, Fire-Dragon, ping-chen), the Emperor of China, Uñ-śu Vañ-sTe Ta'i-Vañ (= Shen Tsung Wan Li T'ai Huang(-ti) 神宗萬歷太皇(帝)) sent Lama bSod-nams Blo-gros and many other Chinese persons to the fourth Dalai Lama, Yon-tan-rGya-mTsho (1589-1617).

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98 b.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 99a-b; quoted in VSP, p. 108; Huth, I, p. 141; II, p. 224. Huth translates "Gyog-chiñ" as "umschlingendes Band". Śri = shih 師 (teacher, preceptor).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 105 b.

¹⁹⁴ Ssanang Setzen, pp. 255-57.

He (the Emperor of China) gave (the Dalai Lama) the title of Khyab-bDag rDo-rJe'i Sañs-rGyas (The All-Encompassing Vajradhara Buddha), an official hat, official dress, and a seal. He sent a message saying that he ought to come to China. For the house of worship, which had been built by bSod-nams Blo-gros in China, he (the Dalai Lama) scattered barley from the top of his palace (in Lhasa) and there were things to be swept up in the inside and outside of the house of worship (in China). Flowers were (found) stuck in the heart of some of the receptacles. The imprint of the Dalai Lama's feet rose clearly on the edge of a secret and sheltered hot spring (near or in the house of worship in China). These and other miracles the Dalai Lama performed ¹⁹⁵).

On 21 January 1617, the fourth Dalai Lama died ¹⁹⁶).

All this was in Ming times. On 14 May 1636, as we have said before, the Ch'ing Empire was proclaimed in Mukden by the Emperor Abahai (Temple Title: T'ai Tsung 太宗 1626-43, Reign T'itles: T'ien Tsung 天聰 1627-36, and Ch'ung Te 崇德 1636-44).

There were at least two reasons why Ch'ung Te should have wished to invite the Dalai Lama. Firstly, in 1634, as we have seen, the seal which had allegedly been used by the great Mongol Emperors had passed into Manchu hands, and Legs-ldan, the last of the Khakans, had come to an end. Having, further, proclaimed the Ch'ing dynasty on 14 May 1636, it may be that the Ch'ing wished to indicate, *to the Mongols*, the rightful succession of the Ch'ing to the Yüan, by inviting the Tibetan Bodhisattva, as Khubilai Khayan had invited the Tibetan Bodhisattva of his time. It may also be that, secondly, the Ch'ing wished to renew the invitation of the Mings to the Dalai Lama, made prior to 1616, so as to indicate, *to the Tibetans*, the succession of the Ch'ing to the Ming, the Ming's mandate to rule having, according to Ch'ing calculation, expired in 1616, when Nurhaci proclaimed the Tien Ming period.

Whatever the reason, it is certain that the desire to invite the Dalai Lama arose in the mind of Ch'ung Te. This is clear from the account of the Mongol embassies which arrived at the Court of Mukden in the 8th month (18 September-17 October 1637) of the 2nd year of Ch'ung Te, to congratulate the Emperor on the birth of a son (Gose 高塞, 1637-70?).

¹⁹⁵) VSP, p. 112.

¹⁹⁶) VSP, p. 113. Me-'Brug, 12th Hor month, 15th day (ping-chen, 12th month, 15th day = 21 January 1617).

On 23 September 1637, envoys from Ma-ha-sa-ma-ti Sai-chen Han 馬哈撒嘛諦塞臣汗 of the Khalkhas, presented a congratulatory message, which read as follows:

Mahasamati Secen Khan respectfully offers this message and reverently enquires after the Emperor's health. We have heard that the Emperor wishes to invite the Dalai Lama. This (news) is extremely good. The Seven Sections of the Khalkhas—(each claiming descent from one of the seven sons of Geresanda Jelair Khungtaiji)—and the 4 tribes of the O-lu-t'e are of like mind. We pray that the Emperor send an envoy to visit our country. Together, we shall go to invite the Dalai Lama. We have held a public discussion (on this matter) and we are sending an envoy (to bring our decision to the Emperor's notice and) to enquire after the Emperor's health. At the same time, we present gifts from our country¹⁹⁷⁾.

Nine days later, on 2 October 1637, an envoy from the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas presented tribute, together with a congratulatory message, which read as follows:

Tüšiyetü Khan reverently offers this message to the Emperor and respectfully enquires after his health. Recently, we have heard that the Emperor wishes to invite the Dalai Lama. We have repeatedly pondered over this, and we consider it extremely good. The Seven Sections of the Khalkhas and the 4 tribes of the O-lu-t'e are all of the same mind. If the Emperor sends an envoy to the Dalai Lama, we pray that we (be permitted to) accompany (the Imperial envoy)—may we not (be thus permitted)? What we have decided is fully (in agreement) with the Emperor's (wishes), not contrary (to them)¹⁹⁸⁾.

Then, Pi-la-shih 畢喇式 Taiji (?) and the Princess Sai-chen 塞臣¹⁹⁹⁾, the wife of Öljeitü Taiji, gave their approval to what Mahasamati

¹⁹⁷⁾ CSL, T'ai Tsung, ch. 38, pp. 5 b-6 a, Ch'ung Te, 2nd year, 8th month, hsinchou (23 September 1637).

¹⁹⁸⁾ CSL, T'ai Tsung, ch. 38, p. 7 a, Ch'ung Te, 2nd year, 8th month, keng-hsü (2 October 1637).

¹⁹⁹⁾ With regard to the Princess (fujin 福金) Sai-chen 塞臣, we know of a Secen Khatun, who was the wife of Tümendara, and the mother of Šului Ubaši Khungtaiji, the Altan Khan (see Howorth, I, p. 461), but we cannot be sure that this identification is correct.

Secen Khan and the Tüšiyetü Khan had said. Cho-k'e-t'u Wei-cheng Bei-le 綽克圖衛徵貝勒, probably of the Middle Khalkhas of the Sain Noyan, also approved. It is not surprising that the Jasaytu Khan of the Western Khalkhas is absent from the list of the Khalkha chiefs. In 1637, he was in a state of war against the Manchu Emperor²⁰⁰.

On 27 November 1637, as we have seen, an embassy arrived at the Ch'ing Court from the Oirad Guši Secen Chos-rJe of Mi-ñag²⁰¹.

The *Sheng Wu Chi*, ch. 5, p. 4 a, says that "in the 4th year of Ch'ung Te (3 February 1639–22 February 1640), by means of the O-lu-t'e envoy, the Emperor sent letters to the Dalai (Lama)"²⁰². It is not unlikely that the Emperor employed Guši Secen Chos-rJe's envoy to communicate with the Dalai Lama—although a two years' stay at the Ch'ing capital, before departing for his own country, would be rather unusual for a foreign envoy—but more credence is to be placed on a THL document dated 1

²⁰⁰) Howorth, I, p. 466.

²⁰¹) See this book, above, pp. 121–122.

²⁰²) The full passage in the *Sheng Wu Chi*, ch. 5, p. 4 a, reads as follows:

崇德二年喀爾喀三汗奉請發帑使延達賴喇嘛。四年因厄魯特使貽達賴書。于是達賴班禪及藏巴汗青海固始汗聞我朝興東土，各報使繞塞外數萬里，以崇德七年至盛京。奉書及方物，約共行善事，并獻卦驗知必當一統。

In the 2nd year of Ch'ung Te (26 January 1637–13 February 1638), the three Khalkha Khans memorialised praying that the Emperor send a treasury official to invite the Dalai Lama. In the 4th year of Ch'ung Te (3 February 1639–22 February 1640), by means of the O-lu-t'e envoy, the Emperor sent letters, to the Dalai (Lama). Whereupon, the Dalai (Lama), the Pan-chen (Lama), the Tsang-pa Khan and Guši Khan of Ch'ing-hai heard that our Empire was expanding in the east. Each of them then reported (to the Emperor) and sent an envoy, who made a détour of several tens of thousands of *li* through Mongolia, and arrived at Mukden in the 7th year of Ch'ung Te (30 January 1642–18 February 1643). He presented letters, the products of his country, and (proposed) an agreement for jointly putting into practice good works. At the same time, he presented a prophecy, by which (the Manchus) came to know that they would certainly unite the Empire under themselves.

W. W. Rockhill, «The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644–1908», *T'oung Pao*, XI, 1910, p. 9, says that "in 1640, letters were received by the Emperor from the Dalai Lama, from the Panchen Lama, from the Desi Tsang-pa, and Gushi Khan of the Kokonor, all asking that relations be opened with them". The first part of the *Sheng Wu Chi* statement (Ch'ung Te 2nd year) has been proved correct by the CSL. The second part (Ch'ung Te 4th year) does not refer to the receipt of letters from the Dalai Lama, etc. The reference to the arrival of an envoy from the Dalai Lama in the 7th year of Ch'ung Te is, obviously, a reference to the arrival of the Ilayūsan Khutuγtu.

November 1639, which says that the Emperor sent the Cha-han Lama 察漢喇嘛 and others, with letters, to the "Khan of Tibet" and "the Lama who was the Upholder of the Buddhist Faith", to invite the holy priest²⁰³. The Cha-han Nomun Khan ("The Khan of the White Law") was the Mañjuśrī Khutuytu of Köke-Khotan. The Khan of Tibet was the ruler of gTsañ, Kar-ma bsTan-sKyoñ.

The contents of the letters which the Emperor Ch'ung Te sent to the gTsañ-pa and the Dalai Lama are given in the CSL. The one to the gTsañ-pa read as follows:

The Forgiving, Gentle, Magnanimous and Divine Emperor of the Great Ch'ing State sends this letter to the Khan of Tibet. It is befitting that the canons promulgated by the Buddhists since ancient times should expand. We do not wish to extinguish them, without further transmission to posterity. Therefore, We are sending, specially, an envoy to invite the high priest (the Dalai Lama) to (come here in order to) propagate the (true) religion. If you, as lord of Tibet, let the Three Jewels flourish, We shall hear such news with pleasure. If, forthwith, you urge (the Dalai Lama) to come here, Our heart will commend (your action) and will be pleased. As to the reasons why We have invited him, We have ordered the envoys, (namely,) Erdeni Darkhan dGe-sloñ, Cha-han dGe-sloñ, Yu-kacha-li dGe-sloñ, Phun-tshogs Emci, Pa-la-kun Ka-êrh dGe-sloñ (Barayon Γar dGe-sloñ), La-k'e-pa dGe-sloñ, I-ssü Tan-pa Ta-êrh-cha (Ye-sés bsTan-pa Dar-rGyas?), Chun-lei dBon-po, dGe-'dun Ban-de and others, to explain all by word of mouth²⁰⁴.

The letter to the Dalai Lama read as follows:

The Forgiving, Gentle, Magnanimous and Divine Emperor of the Great Ch'ing State sends this letter to the great Lama, who is an Upholder of the Buddhist Faith. We cannot bear to see suppressed the laws which have come down from ancient times. Neither do We wish that they should be extinguished without transmission to posterity. Therefore, We are sending, specially, envoys to invite (you), the high priest, in order to propagate the growth of the Buddhist Faith and to benefit all living beings. What We are doing now

²⁰³ THL, Ch'ung Te, ch. 4, pp. 15a-b; CSL, T'ai Tsung, ch. 49, p. 3 a, Ch'ung Te 4th year, 10th month, keng-yin (1 November 1639).

²⁰⁴ CSL, T'ai Tsung, ch. 49, pp. 3 a-b, Ch'ung Te 4th year, 10th month, keng-yin (1 November 1639).

is only what you would wish (to do). As to the reasons why We have invited you, We have ordered the envoys to explain all by word of mouth²⁰⁵⁾.

Probably in reply to the Imperial letters sent from Mukden on 1 November 1639, the Dalai Lama and the Pan-chen Lama sent Se-chen Chos-rJe—to whom they gave the title of Ilayūsan Khutuγtu, according to Ssanang Setzen, pp. 287–89 and Huth I, p. 164, II, p. 261—to the Ch'ing Emperor in 1640 (Iron-*Dragon*)²⁰⁶⁾. The letter which the Ilayūsan Khutuγtu took with him to the Ch'ing Emperor has been translated by I. J. Schmidt as follows:

Wenn man einen Blick wirft auf die vielen andern Wesen, welche in den drei Welten dem Wechsel der Geburten unterliegen, so wird man gewahr dass das Glück der Erlangung des edeln menschlichen Körpers noch seltener ist, als die Erscheinung eines Sternes am hellen Tage. Unter diesen seltenen Erscheinungen ist aber die eines Monarchen, der Alles seiner Macht unterwirft, so selten, wie das Auffinden des, alle Wünsche erfüllenden, edeln Tschintamani. Jetzt, da du der grosse mächtige Monarch geworden bist, dessen Bestimmung ist, dem Unheil dieser Zeiten der Verwirrung zu steuern, so machst du dich nur dann deines Namens würdig, wenn du die gesammten dir unterworfenen Völker nach den Vorschriften der Religion regierst. Werde daher der Beschützer der Religion des Verherrlichten, und übernimm die Pflichten eines Herrn und Pflegers der religiösen Spenden²⁰⁷⁾.

There is nothing in this letter to indicate that, as Rockhill says²⁰⁸⁾, the Dalai Lama and the Pan-chen Lama “besought him (the Ch'ing Emperor) to take under his protection the Yellow Church”. Rather, from the last two sentences of the letter it seems clear that, as the Dalai Lama

²⁰⁵⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 3 b–4 a.

²⁰⁶⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 124 a (Śiñ-sPre/chia-shen/1644); 1st Pan-chen Lama's Autobiography, p. 114 a (Śiñ-sPre/chia-shen/1644). The year in which Se-chen Chos-rJe was sent out from Lhasa is mentioned only by the 5th Dalai Lama. The Se-chen Chos-rJe of 1640 has already been identified with the Guyushi Setzen Tsorji (Ssanang Setzen, p. 77) and Se-chen Chos-rJe (5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 40 a) of 1625; and the Se-chen Chos-rJe of the CSL document dated 27 November 1637. See this book, above, pp. 121–122.

²⁰⁷⁾ Ssanang Setzen, pp. 287–289; Huth, I, p. 165; II, p. 262, virtually copies this letter from Ssanang Setzen.

²⁰⁸⁾ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

may have seen the relationship which he now opened with the Ch'ing Emperor of Mukden, his relationship with that ruler was in no way different from his relationship with any other ruling Worshipper-Patron-and-Protector. In other words as the Dalai Lama may have seen him, the Ch'ing Emperor was, simply, one of the many rulers in Tibet, Mongolia and (now) Manchuria, who were his Worshippers, Patrons and Protectors. A very well-known relationship between the Dalai Lama and the secular rulers was now being extended to Manchuria. To say, however, that this was how the Dalai Lama may have seen the relationship between himself and the Ch'ing Emperor, is not to say that this was how the Ch'ing of Mukden or (after 1644) of Peking, may have seen the relationship. Almost certainly, the relationship looked entirely different to the Chinese officials of the Ch'ing Emperor after he had been proclaimed Emperor of China, at Peking, on 30 October 1644.

The account of the *Ilayūṣan Khutuytu's* arrival at Mukden has been preserved in the THL, Ch'ung Te, ch. 7, p. 13 a and in the CSL, T'ai Tsung, ch. 63, pp. 1 b-2 b (Ch'ung Te, 7th year, 10th month, chi-hai, 25 October 1642). The THL text has been translated by Rockhill in «The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644-1908», *T'oung Pao*, XI, 1910, pp. 10-11, and there is no need to reproduce the translation here. During their stay at Mukden, the *Ilayūṣan Khutuytu* and the Oirad envoy, Dai-ching Chos-rJe, were entertained by each of the Princes and Beilés, each Prince or Beilé entertaining them once every 5th day. This went on for 8 months (from Ch'ung Te, 7th year, 10th month (24 October-21 November 1642) to Ch'ung Te, 8th year, 5th month (16 June-15 July 1643)). After that, the Tibetan and Oirad envoys departed from Mukden. The Emperor led all the Princes and Beilés and escorted them as far as the drill grounds (*yen wu ch'ang* 演武場), where he gave them a farewell banquet and presents. He then ordered Princes of no lesser rank than his brothers Dorgon and Ajige, and his brother Daisan's son, Mandahai, to accompany them to the Hun river (*Yung ting Ho* 永定河). Here a final banquet was given, and letters were sent to the Dalai Lama, the Pan-chen Lama, the Kar-ma-pa Lama who was the head of the Red-capped branch of that sect (*hung-mao lama ka-êrh-ma* 紅帽喇嘛噶爾馬), "Ang-pang Sa-ssu-hsia" 昂邦薩斯下 (*i.e.* *Nag-dBan Kun-dGa' dBañ-rGyal* of the Sa-sKya-pa)²⁰⁹, the Chi-tung Hu-

²⁰⁹ who, according to Tucci, II, Genealogical Table of the Sa-sKya-pas, was born in 1592 and died at the age of 49 years, *i.e.* in 1641, the year after *Ilayūṣan Khutuytu's* departure from Lhasa.

t'u-k'e-t'u 濟東胡土克圖 (the sKyid-Groñ Khutuγtu or the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu), the Lu-k'e-pa Hu-t'u-k'e-t'u 魯克巴胡土克圖 (the 'Brug-pa Khutuγtu), the Ta-k'e-lung Hu-t'u-k'e-t'u 達克龍胡土克圖 (the sTag-luñ-pa Khutuγtu), the ruler of gTsañ, and Guñi Khan.

These letters have been preserved in the THL, Ch'ung Te, ch. 8, pp. 3b-4a and in the CSL, T'ai Tsung, ch. 64, pp. 19b-23a (Ch'ung Te, 8th year, 5th month, ting-yu, 20 June 1643). The THL text has been translated by Rockhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13.

There is, perhaps, one good explanation for the elaborate hospitality shown to the Ilaγuγsan Khutuγtu and the other envoys from Tibet, during their stay at Mukden (25 October 1642-20 June 1643). At that time, there were three other claimants to the Throne of China: (a) the Ming Emperor, Chu Yu-chien 朱由檢 (b. 6 February 1611, s. 2 October 1627, d. 25 April 1644), who ruled under the title of Ch'ung Chen 崇禎, (b) the "Bandit leader" Li Tzu-cheng 李自成, who, later, held Peking between 25 April and 4 June 1644, leaving it to the Ch'ing, who entered on 6 June 1644, and (c) Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠 (d. 2 January 1647), who, again later, on 4 December 1644, proclaimed himself "King of the Great Western Kingdom" at Cheng-tu in Ssu-chuan²¹⁰. Perhaps, the aim of the Ch'ing was to ensure if not the adherence of the powerful ruler of Tibet to the Ch'ing cause, then, at least, his non-adherence to any of the other three claimants.

The return of Se-chen Chos-rJe (Ilaγuγsan Khutuγtu) to Tibet in 1644 has been recorded in both the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, and the 1st Pan-chen Lama's Autobiography. The passage in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography is as follows:

The Jur-chid (= Ju-chih 女直, *i.e.* Manchu) King being very powerful, in the year Iron-Dragon (1640), the Ruler-Teacher, the Pan-chen Rin-po-che sent Se-chen Chos-rJe to find out if he (the King) would be the Giver-of-Alms (sByin-bDag) in his own territory. He travelled slowly and (finally) showed honour, and handed over the letter, to the Bog-do King (the Ch'ing Emperor). (Now,) he returned, without hindrance, from his (the Emperor's) presence.

²¹⁰ A. W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington, 1943-44, I, p. 37 (Chang Hsien-chung), p. 191 (Chu Yu-chien), p. 491 (Li Tzu-cheng). See also E. Hauer, «Li Tze-ch'eng und Chang Hsien-chung», *Asia Major*, II, 3/4 (1925), pp. 436-98.

In addition, together with the Caḡan Lama, a great many messengers, bearers of Golden Letters, arrived. The Bog-do King sent letters, cloth, silk and boxes of gold and silver, to many lamas of Tibet²¹¹).

The 1st Pan-chen Lama, Chos-kyi-rGyal-mTshan, writes as follows:

At the time when Se-chen Chos-rJe had come here, previously, the power of the King of the sByor-jid (Ju-chih 女直) – a descendant of Nor-gan-cha (Nurhaci)—who had brought under his rule not only the Khalkhas and the Oirad, but also all the countries of the Sog-po and the land of China, containing tens of thousands of cities, was very great. Because he had not entered through the door of the Teaching of the Buddha, there was a general opinion that if the Chos-rJe were to go there, great good would accrue to the Teaching and to living beings. The Chos-rJe said: 'If you ask me to go, I shall offer my body, speech and mind to you, and go'. Hence, I appointed him to go with a letter for the King of the sByor-jid; and also a petition (žus-pa'i bKa'-śog) for the All-Knowing One (the fifth Dalai Lama), and requested him to return within 5 years. As soon as he had come to that country (Manchuria), there were many wonderful signs. The King and his retinue were established in the Teaching, with great faith. They treated the Chos-rJe as a (person who was the very) crown of (high) rank. They gave him offerings and showed him honour which were inconceivable. Because the omens were favourable, they requested him earnestly to stay permanently. (He said that) he ought to return by the previously agreed time-limit, (but) promised to come back quickly. When he was about to return, the King gave him letters, 1000 *srañs* of silver for each; many types of clear glass of different precious things; and many excellent boxes of things such as cloth, silk, etc., for the All-Knowing Precious Lama and for myself. To the great lamas of Tibet, without distinction of sect, (such as) the Kar-ma-pa, Sa-sKya-pa, sTag-luñ-pa, 'Brug-pa, etc., he gave boxes of presents containing, principally, letters and silver cups for each. To the communities of monks in dBus and gTsañ, he gave tea for general distribution and good silver. Together with these and bearers of Golden Letters (from the Emperor), (Se-chen Chos-rJe) returned in the 10th month of the year Wood-Ape (1644).

²¹¹) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 124 a (Śiñ-sPre/chia-shen/1644).

With the inconceivable offerings and the distributions of tea to the numerous communities (of monks), he fulfilled, as it were, the Cloud of Fulfilment²¹²⁾.

The statement in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography that the Ilaγuγsan Khutuγtu was sent to the Ch'ing Emperor "in order to find out if he would be the Giver-of-Alms (sByin-bDag) in his own territory", confirms our view that the relationships which the Dalai Lama sought to establish with the Ch'ing Emperor were, in their inception, no more (and no less) than the well-known relationships of Worship, Patronage and Protection.

²¹²⁾ 1st Pan-chen Lama's Autobiography, pp. 114 a-b (Śiñ-sPre/chia-shen/1644).

CHAPTER IV.

SHUN CHIH (1644-62)

Three months after the departure of Ilayūysan Khutuγtu from Mukden, the Emperor Ch'ung Te died (21 September 1643) and was succeeded by his son, Fu-lin 福臨, who took the reign-title of Shun Chih 順治 (1644-62). He was born on 15 March 1638, and was, therefore, only 5 years and 6 months of age when he came to the Throne. On 6 June 1644, Shun Chih's uncle, Dorgon, entered Peking, and there, on 30 October 1644, Shun Chih was proclaimed Emperor of China.

The first event of Shun Chih's reign, relevant to Sino-Tibetan relations, is the wresting of Kan-su from the partisans of Li Tzū-cheng, and the penetration of the Ch'ing to Hsi-ning¹⁾.

In a CSL document dated 10 May 1645, we are informed of the opening of relations with 38 tribal chieftains outside Chia yü kuan. We are also told of the confirmation in office of the Ming officials who had handled the trade in tea and horses at "Tao-chou, Ho-chou, Hsi-ning and other places", and of the permitting of trade in these articles "according to the old regulations"²⁾.

On 17 May 1645, Meng Ch'iao-fang 孟喬芳 was appointed Governor-General of Shensi. About 8 weeks later, on 9 July 1645, Chang Shih-yao 張世耀 was appointed commander (*fu Chiang* 副將) of the Manchu-Chinese forces at Hsi-ning³⁾.

As already stated, the arrival of the Ch'ing at Shensi-Kansu marked the opening of relations with the rulers of "the western regions". We

¹⁾ L.M.J. Schram, «The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier, Part III: The Records of the Monguor Clans, History of the Monguors in Huang Cheng and the Chronicles of the Lu family», *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, 51, 3 (May 1961), pp. 51-52.

²⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 15, pp. 22 a-b, Shun Chih 2nd year, 4th month, ting-mao (10 May 1645). At this time, Kansu was a part of Shen-si province.

³⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 15, pp. 27 b-28 a, Shun Chih 2nd year, 4th month, chia-hsü (17 May 1645); CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 17, p. 10 b, Shun Chih 2nd year, 6th month, ting-mao (9 July 1645).

are told of the arrival of tribute from rDo-rJe Dalai Baturu 多爾濟達賴巴圖魯 on 23 April 1646⁴⁾. He is, obviously, the 6th son of Guši Khan (according to the CSK, etc.), the Dallai Chuntaidschi of Pal-las, who settled in Koko-nor.

In his Autobiography, I, p. 133 a, under the year Me-Khyi, Fire-Dog, 1646, the fifth Dalai Lama writes as follows:

At the end of the (wood-)Ape year (1644), I heard the news that in the Great Kingdom of the King of the East, Leu Tsi (Li Tzū-cheng) had seized the Throne of the King Khruñ-chiñ (Ch'ung Chen), had not been able to hold it, and had lost it to the Jur-chid (Ju-chih, i.e. Manchus)⁵⁾; and that the King Sun-Tsi (Shun Chih) had come to the much honoured Throne. (Hearing this), I sent A-ba-si (Ubaši) Khi-ya Tha'i-ji, with a letter for him (Shun Chih), wishing him well.

Later (p. 135 b), the Dalai Lama sent another envoy, Śes-rab Lama, to the Emperor. It was, probably, Khi-ya Tha'i-ji who arrived at the Ch'ing Court on 3 October 1646; and Śes-rab Lama on 12 November 1646. For, on 3 October 1646, according to the CSL, the Cha-han Lama (i.e. the Mañjuśrī Khutuγtu of Köke-Khotan)—who had accompanied the Ilayγsan Khutuγtu back to Tibet, or whom Khi-ya Tha'i-ji had picked up at Köke-Khotan?—came to the Ch'ing Court, together with envoys from the Dalai Lama and Guši Khan. The latter envoy (Khi-ya Tha'i-ji?) presented a letter from the Dalai Lama and Guši Khan, asking the Emperor's health, and presented gifts. The Emperor replied by giving presents in return. A further envoy from the Dalai Lama and Guši Khan (Śes-rab Lama?) is recorded under the date 12 November 1646. Probably, it was on this occasion that the Emperor sent a letter to Guši Khan "ordering him to control all the O-lu-t'e" (命轄諸厄魯特), as the CSK says. If such an Edict was issued—it is not mentioned in the CSL—it could have been no more than a recognition of an already well-established rule over the O-lu-t'e⁶⁾.

⁴⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 25, p. 3 b, Shun Chih 3rd year, 3rd month, i-mao (23 April 1646).

⁵⁾ The Ming Emperor, Ch'ung Chen, committed suicide and Li Tzu-cheng entered Peking on 25 April 1644. He left Peking on 4 June 1644, and the Manchus entered Peking on 6 June 1644.

⁶⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 27, p. 23 a, Shun Chih 3rd year, 8th month, mou-hsü (3 October 1646); *ibid.*, ch. 28, p. 10 a, 10th month, mou-yin (12 November 1646). CSK, Fan Pu 5, pp. 3 a-b.

In the next year, the Emperor sent envoys to the Dalai Lama on 20 March 1647 ⁷⁾. It was, possibly, with these envoys that Khi-ya Tha'i-ji returned to Lhasa. His return is recorded in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 138 *b* (Me-Phag, Fire-Hog, 1647).

On 3 May 1647, the Emperor received an ambassador from the Dalai Lama ⁸⁾. It is difficult to see who this man was, for the Dalai Lama is recorded as having sent the Chos-rJe of Roñ-tshañ to Peking ⁹⁾ before the return of Khi-ya Tha'i-ji, but he is unlikely to have reached Peking before 11 February 1648 ¹⁰⁾. The Dalai Lama sent a second embassy in 1647 to Peking, through an Amban who came to Lhasa with the Khi-ya Tha'i-ji ¹¹⁾. This is probably the one whose arrival at Peking is recorded under 2 April 1648 ¹²⁾.

Tribute from the O-lu-t'e Pa-t'u-lu No-yen 巴圖魯諾顏 arrived on 9 December 1647, that from Ocirtu Taiji, the Khan of the elder branch of the Khošot, on 16 December 1647 ¹³⁾. The first-mentioned chieftain is not easily identifiable.

In spite of these contacts, the hold of the Ch'ing on Kansu and Hsi-ning was not very firm. As Schram has described, in 1647, there was a considerable revolt against the Manchus in Kansu-Hsining, by the Chinese, the Kansu Muslims and the Tibetans. The Manchus won a great victory at the Ta-tung river ¹⁴⁾, but the rebellion was not definitely quelled till 1649 ¹⁵⁾. Mention may be made, in this context, of the plaint by the Governor of Kansu, Wang Shih-kung 王世功, that the Lama, T'ung-hai 同海, on his regular "presentations of tribute", had entered Hsi-ning, extorted grain from the government granary, maltreated the government

⁷⁾ CSL, Shih Thu, ch. 30, pp. 22 *b*-23 *a*, Shun Chih 4th year, 2nd month, ping-hsu (20 March 1647).

⁸⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 31, p. 11 *b*, Shun Chih 4th year, 3rd month, keng-wu (3 May 1647).

⁹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 137 *b* (Me-Phag/ting-hai/1647).

¹⁰⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 36, pp. 5 *b*-6 *a*, Shun Chih 5th year, 1st month, chia-yin (11 February 1648).

¹¹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 139 *a* (Me-Phag/ting-hai/1647).

¹²⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 37, pp. 16 *a*-*b*, Shun Chih 5th year, 3rd month, i-ssu (2 April 1648).

¹³⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 35, p. 3 *a*, Shun Chih 4th year, 11th month, keng-hsü (9 December 1647); p. 5 *a*, ting-ssu (16 December 1647).

¹⁴⁾ Probably it was in this battle that the bandit, Ho Hung-ch'i 賀宏器, was captured. See CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 34, p. 5 *b*, Shun Chih 4th year, 9th month, chi-wei (19 October 1647).

¹⁵⁾ Schram, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

officials and seized goods and women. Wang Shih-kung prayed that the number of men whom the Lama should be allowed to bring with him be fixed, and the rest be ordered to remain outside the border check-post (kuan 關) ¹⁶⁾. This illustrates the situation which the Ch'ing faced in Hsi-ning.

Thus we see that, as a result of the arrival of the Ch'ing at Kansu-Hsining, relations were opened up with the O-lu-t'e of Ch'ing-hai and the Dalai Lama and the Pan-chen Lama of Tibet. The nature of the relations was: (a) the receipt of tribute-bearing envoys from the "western regions"; (b) trade, the "westerners" buying tea and selling horses; (c) raids by tribesmen from outside the border into the border regions. The fuller development of these relations we shall see in a later chapter ¹⁷⁾.

* * *

The second event, of significance to Sino-Tibetan relations in the period with which we are dealing, is the visit of the fifth Dalai Lama to the Court of Peking (14 January-19 March 1653).

On 10 July 1648, the Emperor Shun Chih—or, rather, the Regent Dorgon—sent the Lama Hsi-la-pu 席喇布 (*i.e.* Śes-rab Lama, whom the Dalai Lama had sent to the Emperor in 1646, and who had, as we have suggested, arrived at the Ch'ing Court on 12 November 1646) with letters to the Dalai Lama, cordially inviting him to Peking. A letter was also sent to the Pan-chen Lama, asking him to exhort the Dalai Lama to accept the invitation ¹⁸⁾. The arrival of Śes-rab Lama at Lhasa is recorded in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 146*a*, in the latter part of the 7th Hor month of the year Earth-Mouse (mou-tzu, 7th month = 19 August-16 September 1648). The Dalai Lama notes that they came with

¹⁶⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 36, pp. 11*a-b*, Shun Chih 5th year, 2nd month, ping-hsu (14 March 1648); CSK, Fan Pu 5, p. 3*b*.

¹⁷⁾ See this book, later, pp. 194 ff. (chapter V).

¹⁸⁾ THL, Shun Chih, ch. 10, pp. 13*a-b*; CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 38, p. 17*b*, Shun Chih 5th year, 5th month, chia-shen (10 July 1648). Hsi-la-pu or Śes-rab may be the "IGirab Pandita gLui rGyaltsan" (Śes-rab Paṇḍita Klu'i-rGyal-mTshan), son of the Mongolian-Tibetan interpreter, "Assuduk Wadjra Tonmi Gunting Dai Wang Guyushi", mentioned by Ssanang Setzen (p. 277) as a companion of Toba Taiji in Tibet in 1625-26. Paṇḍita Klu'i-rGyal-mTshan is also mentioned, in the same context, in the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 41*a* (Me-sTag/ping-yin/1626)—see this book, above, pp. 109-110 and p. 110, Note 85. Assuduk Wadjra Tonmi Gunting Dai Wang Guyushi, again, may be the same person as Astok Wajra Tonmi Ssangasba, whom Khutuytai Secen Khung-taiji brought from Tibet in 1566 and appointed Minister (Ssanang Setzen, p. 213).

an invitation to the Palace of the Emperor. He then goes on to say:

At the time of the gTsañ-pa, when there was no hope of anything else, the Precious Incarnate of Yol-mo had identified the Incarnation mentioned in the "treasure" and precept (gTer-luñ) of the lineage of the Vajradhara of Zur, namely,

Seven Sons will be born of the embodied womb,
Of these, the Incarnation of 'Jam-dPal (Mañjuśrī) will be born
in dBus.

If he is not tainted by accidental causes,
He will convert China, Tibet and Mongolia.

Whatever may be the hope of that Incarnation, one may, perhaps, consider only (the possibility) that there will be a working relationship with 'Jam-dByaṅs (Mañjuḥoṣa, the Emperor of China).

So thinking, the Dalai Lama accepted the Emperor's invitation and sent out dKa'-bCu Śes-rab rGyal-mTshan to Peking in 1649¹⁹⁾. In the 6th Hor month of the year Iron-Tiger (keng-yin, 6th month = 29 June-27 July 1650), the Dalai Lama bade farewell to the envoys from the Emperor (Śes-rab Lama, etc.?) and also sent his own envoy, Se-chen dBon-po Blo-bZaṅ Chos-'phel, to China²⁰⁾. A year later, in the 7th Hor month of the year Iron-Hare (hsin-mao, 7th month = 16 August-14 September 1651), Se-chen dBon-po and Ba-ro Tshe-riñ returned hurriedly from the Emperor, asking the Dalai Lama to set out for China quickly²¹⁾. Two months later, Śes-rab Lama and the dKa'-bCu Lama Śes-rab rGyal-mTshan also returned, to accompany the Dalai Lama to China²²⁾. The Dalai Lama then sent back Ba-ro Tshe-riñ, together with an envoy from himself, named Se-chen Dar-rGyas, to the Emperor²³⁾. Presumably, the purpose of this last embassy was to inform the Emperor of the Dalai Lama's final acceptance of the Emperor's invitation.

The actual journey was undertaken in 1652. In the 6th Hor month (jen-chen, 6th month = 6 July-3 August 1652), when the Dalai Lama

¹⁹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 147 a [Sa-Glañ, 1st Hor month, 3rd day, (chi-chou, 1st month, 3rd day = 13 February 1649)].

²⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 152 a [lCags-sTag, 6th Hor month (keng-yin, 6th month = 29 June-27 July 1650)].

²¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 158 b [lCags-Yos, 7th Hor month (hsin-mao, 7th month = 16 August-14 September 1651)].

²²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 159 b.

²³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 160 a [lCags-Yos, 9th Hor month (hsin-mao, 9th month = 14 October-12 November 1651)].

was in the Valley of the Blue Lake, Se-chen Dar-rGyas met the Dalai Lama. In the 7th Hor month (4 August-2 September 1652), the Dalai Lama received another message from the Emperor. In the 8th Hor month (3 September-2 October 1652), the Dalai Lama arrived at sKu-'bum²⁴).

It was probably in reply to the message received in the 7th Hor month (4 August-2 September 1652), that the Dalai Lama sent the letter to the Emperor, which was received at the Ch'ing Court on 1 October 1652²⁵). In this letter, the Dalai Lama suggested that they should meet either in the town of Kuei-hua cheng (Köke-Khotan) or in the region of Lake Taika. The latter place has been identified by Rockhill²⁶) as the lake 45 miles NNW of Ta-tung fu (in Shan-si), and situated outside the Great Wall.

The Emperor, who was only 14^{1/2} years of age, and had only recently succeeded to the government of the Empire, replied as follows:

Recently, because of military operations in the south-western part of the Inner Territory (of the Empire), there has been a frequent coming and going of Imperial despatches (directing these operations). All these are important matters concerning the defence of the country and it is difficult to settle them easily. Therefore, We are not able to go outside the frontier for the (proposed) interview. But, We are specially sending Princes of the First Class and ministers to proceed (to the spot). Later, when the pacification of the disturbers of the peace is no longer a matter (of importance), it will be convenient for Us personally to go (for the interview). This time, (however), We shall stop within the frontier, at a nearby spot, to meet (you) for the interview²⁷).

The reply was politic. What was troubling the Emperor was a question which had, apparently, not troubled the Ch'ing before they formally succeeded the Ming at Peking, but which had become important since then—the question of protocol. On 5 October 1652, the Emperor addressed an Edict “to the Princes of various ranks, to the officials of the Imperial Court, and to the Censors”, which has been translated by Rockhill as follows:

²⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 182 b, 184 b, 188 a.

²⁵) THL, Shun Chih, ch. 19, p. 6 a; CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 67, pp. 26 a-b, Shun Chih 9th year, 8th month, mou-chen (1 October 1652).

²⁶) Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁷) THL, Shun Chih, ch. 19, p. 6 a; CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 67, pp. 26 a-b, Shun Chih 9th year, 8th month, mou-chen (1 October 1652).

In the time of the Emperor T'ai Tsung (1627-44), the Khalkha (Mongols) had not submitted. Considering the fact that all the Tibetans and Mongols obeyed the words of the Lamas, the Dalai Lama was sent for, but before the envoy had reached him, the Emperor T'ai Tsung died.

Later, during the Regency of Prince Jui (Dorgon, d. 1650), the Dalai Lama was (again) invited (to visit Our Court), and promised to come. In the *ch'en* year (1652), he was sent for after We had assumed personal rule, and he (now) approaches, accompanied by 3,000 men. We would like to go outside the border to meet him, but reflect that if he enters the country in a year of poor harvests (such as the present one) with such a multitude (of followers), the country may suffer injury. On the other hand, if We do not go to meet him, after having invited him to come, he may go back (to Tibet) after having come part of the way, and the consequence will be that the Khalkhas will not render their submission. All of you are to memorialise Us, expressing your opinions, whether We (should go to) meet him or not.

The Manchu officials (say) that as We have invited the Lama and he has come, We should go outside the border to meet him and order him to remain outside. If the Lama enters the country, he should be ordered to bring only a small retinue, otherwise he may remain outside the border, if he prefers it. If the Emperor (they say) meets him in person, the Khalkhas will make their submission, from which great advantage will result, but if the Dalai Lama is invited and then not met (by the Emperor), it will be improper. What objection can there be to our reverencing the Lama, without entering the Lama sect? (On the other hand,) the Chinese officials counsel that the Emperor, being the Lord Paramount of the whole world (天下國家之主), ought not to go to meet the Lama and, as the latter is accompanied by some 3,000 men, he ought not to be allowed to enter the country. (Considering, however,) that he has been especially invited, some of our Princes or ministers of State may be deputed to meet him as Our representatives. If the Lama is ordered to remain outside the border, Our reverence for him may be shown by presents of gold and silver.

Both these opinions have been submitted to Us by Memorials. We must consider them²⁸⁾.

²⁸⁾ THL, Shun Chih, ch. 19, pp. 6 *a-b*; Rockhill, pp. 14-15; CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 68, pp. 1b-3a, Shun Chih 9th year, 9th month, jen-shen (5 October 1652).

On 13 October 1652, the Emperor wrote a second letter to the Dalai Lama, in which he said:

You have written to Us that the climate within the borders is bad for your health, and that it is better that we should meet outside the border.

We will consequently proceed to Tai-ka and await you ²⁹⁾.

In other words, the Emperor had accepted the advice of his Manchu officials, to go outside the Great Wall to meet the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama's reply to the Emperor's Edict of 1 October 1652, arrived on 23 October 1652. In it, he said:

The Imperial Grant and Edict have both been received. We are now proceeding by forced marches. When we reach the territory of Taika, there will be matters to be memorialised upon secretly ³⁰⁾.

A week later, on 31 October 1652, the Chinese Grand Secretaries (Ta hsüeh shih 大學士), Hung Cheng-ch'ou 洪承疇 and Chen Chih-lin 陳之遴 memorialised as follows:

臣等閱欽天監奏云。昨太白星與日爭光。流星入紫微宮。竊思日者。人君之位。流星敢於突人。在天垂象。紫微宮者。人君之位。流星敢於突人。在天垂象。誠宜徹惕。且今年南方若旱。北方若澇。歲饑寇警。處處人告。宗社重大。非聖躬遠幸之時。雖百神呵護。六軍扈從。自無他虞。然邊外不如宮中。爲固遊幸不若靜息。爲安達賴喇嘛自遠方來。遣一大臣迎接。已足見優待之意。亦可服蒙古之心。又何勞聖駕親往爲也。天道深遠。固非臣等所能測度。但乘輿將駕。而星變適彰。此誠上蒼仁愛陛下之意。不可不深思而省戒也。

We have perused the Memorial of the Imperial Board of Astronomy, which says: 'Yesterday, the planet Venus, with brilliance challenging the Sun's, and a shooting star, entered the Tzu-wei constellation (the 15 Northern circumpolar stars)'.³⁰⁾

²⁹⁾ THL, Shun Chih, ch. 19, p. 7 a; Rockhill, p. 16; CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 68, p. 5 a, Shun Chih 9th year, 9th month, keng-chen (13 October 1652).

³⁰⁾ THL, Shun Chih, ch. 19, pp. 7 a-b; CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 68, p. 25 a, Shun Chih 9th year, 9th month, keng-yin (23 October 1652).

We are humbly of the opinion that (a) the Sun being a symbol of the Sovereign, the fact that the planet Venus has dared to challenge its brilliance—and (b) the Tzu-wei constellation being a symbol of the Sovereign's Throne, the fact that a shooting star has dared to intrude into it—these heavenly signs are, indeed, those from which we should take warning.

Moreover, this year there has been drought in the south, and floods in the north, a year in which warnings of famine and banditry have been reported in several places. The Empire is great and important. It is not the time for the Emperor to go abroad. Although the heavenly host will extend their protection, and the Emperor will be accompanied by six detachments of the Imperial troops, so that, naturally, there will be no anxiety (about him); even so, being outside the frontier is not as secure as being inside the Palace. Journeying abroad is not as peaceful as repose (within the Palace). The Dalai Lama is coming from a distant country. To send a high official to receive him will be enough to show him our intention of according him good treatment. Moreover, that will make it possible to subdue the hearts of the Mongols. Why should the Emperor trouble himself to go to meet the Dalai Lama personally? The ways of Heaven are profound and remote—certainly they are not such as we can fathom. Nevertheless, (the fact that just at the time when) the Emperor is about to mount his chariot (to depart on his journey), the stars have suddenly changed, makes evident that this, indeed, is a manifestation of God's love towards the Emperor (out of which love he sends this warning). We cannot but deeply ponder over and examine it.

The sequel to this Memorial is also important:

This Memorial obtained the following Decree: 'This Memorial is very correct. Our Imperial Progress will stop'. On the same day, the Emperor sent the Minister, the Earl Soni, to take an Edict to Hung Cheng-ch'ou and the others, saying: 'You, Sirs, have warned Us that We should not go to meet the Dalai Lama. These words are very correct. Our Imperial Progress will stop...'³¹⁾

³¹⁾ THL, Shun Chih, ch. 19, pp. 7b-8b; CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 68, pp. 31b-33a, Shun Chih 9th year, 9th month, mou-hsü (31 October 1652). For Hung Ch'eng-ch'ou, see Hummel, I, p. 358; for Ch'en Chih-lin, *ibid.*, p. 97.

Rockhill writes: " Although it does not appear from the records that the Emperor did not make the journey, there is good reason for believing that he finally decided not to . . . " ³²⁾. The above extracts will show that the Emperor finally changed his decision to go outside the Great Wall to meet the Dalai Lama; and that he accepted the advice of his Chinese ministers not to go outside the Great Wall (but to let the Dalai Lama come up to him in Peking). He did so, however, not out of any changed view about the Dalai Lama's status over against himself, or his status over against the Dalai Lama, but because of certain unpropitious heavenly signs.

On 8 November 1652, the Emperor received the Dalai Lama's reply to his letter sent on 13 October 1652. This reply, which was sent off from the Dalai Lama's camp on the 23rd day of the 9th Hor month (jen-chen, 9th month, 23rd day = 25 October 1652) ³³⁾, said:

We have heard that the Emperor wishes to meet us in the Taika territory. We cannot contain our acute pleasure. We are personally undertaking to proceed by forced marches. Further, there are confidential words (to be said to the Emperor personally). An envoy is proceeding to present an oral Memorial ³⁴⁾.

Four days later, the Emperor ordered Hošoi Ch'eng-tse Ch'in-wang 和碩承澤親王 (" The Kind Prince-of-the-First-Class ") Shih-sai 碩塞 ³⁵⁾ to proceed to Taika to meet the Dalai Lama. At the same time, he sent a letter to the Dalai Lama, saying:

We have previously sent an Edict saying that We wish to go personally to meet you. Because despatches have reported the outbreak of banditry from time to time, and the affairs of State are important and difficult to settle, therefore, We are not able to go personally (to meet you). (However,) We are sending, specially, Hošoi Ch'eng-tse Ch'in-wang (Shih-sai) and other ministers of the Palace (nei ta chen 內大臣) to meet you. Because you ought to

³²⁾ Rockhill, p. 16.

³³⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 192 a.

³⁴⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 69, pp. 6 a-b, Shun Chih 9th year, 10th month, ping-wu (8 November 1652).

³⁵⁾ Shih-sai 碩塞 was the 5th son of the Emperor T'ai Tsung (reigned 1626-43). In the 8th year of Shun Chih (1651), he had been given the title of Ch'eng-tse Ch'in Wang. See *Ch'ing Shih 清史*, 8 volumes, Tai-pei, 1961, III, pp. 2076-2077.

know why We are not going personally to meet you, therefore, We are sending this Edict ³⁶⁾.

The Edict, as will be seen, gives less than the reason why the Emperor was not going outside the Great Wall to meet the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama replied to the Emperor's letter of 12 November 1652 on 23 November 1652 ³⁷⁾.

On the 29th day (of the 10th Hor month of the year Water-*Dragon*) (jen-chen, 10th month, 29th day = 29 November 1652), after having left E-re-khu, on the spot where I pitched camp for the midday meal, Nom-chi Lama and 4 noblemen arrived with the news that Khe-siñ-ge Chin-dBañ ³⁸⁾ was coming to meet me. For two or three days, numberless people kept on arriving borne on horses, camels or oxen. The ceaseless sounds of salutations and circumambulations oppressed my ears. For days together, I gave blessings and flowers to everyone of 3000 persons. The silk presentation-scarves fell like snow and piled up (as high) as haystacks. One who was said to be the custodian of the Emperor's chapel, presented me with a porcelain cup on a golden stand, and glazed porcelain and golden spittoons. On the 2nd day of the 11th Hor month (2 December 1652) holding in his hand the sword of office and (other) symbols (of office), and preceded by men and music, Khe-siñ-ge Chin-dBañ arrived, surrounded by 2000 riders, with umbrella, banner and fans raised on both right and left, all in proper order, as if in the assembly-ground of the Lord of the Immortals himself. At the reception, he handed over the offerings-gifts, chiefly, a mantle ornamented with pearls. As a present from the Prince himself,

³⁶⁾ THL, Shun Chih, ch. 19, p. 9 b; CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 69, pp. 8 b-9 a, Shun Chih 9th year, 10th month, keng-bsü (12 November 1652).

³⁷⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 194 a [Chu-'Brug, 10th Hor month, 23rd day (jen-chen, 10th month, 23rd day = 23 November 1652)].

³⁸⁾ With regard to Khe-siñ-ge Chin-dBañ, it is clear, of course, that *Chin-dBañ* represents the Chinese *Ch'in Wang* 親王, Prince of the First Class. *Khe-siñ-ge* is probably the Manchu word *Gosingga*—"liebervoll, herzengut, gütig, barm-herzig, wohlwollend, leutselig", E. Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache*, I. Lieferung, 1952, p. 377—translating the Chinese *ch'eng-tse* 承澤 (kind). *Ch'eng-tse Ch'in Wang* ("The Kind Prince-of-the-First-Class") was, as we have just seen, the title borne, since the 8th year of Shun Chih (1651), by Shih-sai 碩塞 the 5th son of the Emperor T'ai Tsung (reigned 1626-43), and hence a brother of the Emperor Shun Chih.

there was a golden maṇḍala with the 7 symbols of royalty³⁹⁾... On the 6th day (6 December 1652), I arrived at Khi-ri Ta'i-kha, with its newly-built (temple?), with a Chinese dome and a surrounding wall, which had been appointed by the Emperor for my residence⁴⁰⁾.

In the 12th Hor month of the year Water-Dragon (jen-chen, 12th month = 31 December 1652-28 January 1653),

U'i-jiñ Chin-dBañ⁴¹⁾ who had been sent by the Emperor to meet (me), appeared with an entourage of 3000 riders, and a striking

³⁹⁾ S.C. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 1183, col. 1: *Rin-chen sNa-bDun*, the seven (really six) different precious articles believed to be the extraordinary treasures of a Cakravartti Raja: the precious wheel, the precious elephant, the precious gem, the precious wife, the precious minister and the precious general.

⁴⁰⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, pp. 195a-b.

⁴¹⁾ U'i-jiñ Ch'in Wang is more difficult to identify than Khe-śiñ-ge Chin-dBañ = Gosingga Ch'in Wang = Ch'eng-tse Ch'in Wang (Shih-sai), but the choice is restricted to the following 4 persons who bore the title of Ch'ing Wang at the very end (12th month = 31 December 1652-28 January 1653) of the 9th year of Shun Chih (9 February 1652-28 January 1653):

(1) Jirgalang 濟爾哈朗 (1599-1655), the 6th son of Surhaci, the brother of Nurhaci, who, since 1652, bore the title of *Shu Cheng Ch'in Wang* 叔鄭親王. See Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, I, Washington, 1943, pp. 397-398; Ch'ing Shih (Tai-pei, 1961), III, pp. 1978-1979.

(2) Canggadai 常阿岱 (d. 1665), the eldest son of Mandahai, the 7th son of Daisan, the 2nd son of Nurhaci, who succeeded to his father's title of *Hsün Ch'in Wang*, 巽親王 in 1652. See Hummel, I, p. 562; Ch'ing Shih, III, p. 2024.

(3) Chi-k'e-hsin 齊克新 (d. 1661), the 8th son of Bolo, the 3rd son of Abatai, the 7th son of Nurhaci, who succeeded to the title of *Tuan Chung Ch'in Wang* 端重親王 in 1652. See Hummel, I, pp. 3-4 (Abatai) and pp. 16-17 (Bolo); Ch'ing Shih, III, p. 2046.

(4) Fu-shou 富綬 (d. 1669), the 4th son of Haoge, Su Ch'in Wang 肅親王, the eldest son of T'ai Tsung, who succeeded to his father's title in 1651, with the designation changed to *Hsien Ch'in Wang* 顯親王. For Haoge (1609-48), see Hummel, I, pp. 280-281; for Fu-shou, see Ch'ing Shih, III, pp. 2067-2068.

Nikan, the 3rd son of Cuyen, the eldest son of Nurhaci, who had borne the title of *Ching Chin Ch'in Wang* 敬謹親王, had died in 1652. His son, Ni-ssu-ha, did not succeed to the title till 1653—Ch'ing Shih, III, p. 2008. Doni, the 2nd son of Dodo, the 15th son of Nurhaci, had succeeded to his father's title of Ch'in Wang in 1649, with the designation changed from Yü 豫 to Hsin 信, but in 1652, he had been demoted to the rank of Chün Wang 君王, Prince of the Second Class—Hummel, I, p. 215.

display of sword, umbrella, banner, flag, music, etc. Just now, Khe-
 śiñ-ge Chin-dBañ reduced (the number of) his officials and associates,
 and also reduced the insignia of his office and his following. It
 was a sign that I was the legal King (of Tibet), of whom there was
 not the like in Tibet (*Ned.rañ.Bod.dañ.mi.'dra.ba'i.rgyal.po.khrims.*
yod.pa'i.rtags.su.gda'). The Prince gave presents of a string of pre-
 cious pearls; a tea-churn made of 50 *srañs* of gold; a gold saddle
 with precious trappings; and scarves. On the next day, the Prince
 gave a rich entertainment in the Chinese style. This day there was
 a great snow-storm, and since this was as the heretical (non-Bud-
 dhist?) Indian astrologer, Thañ-śi dBañ (?), had prophesied would
 happen, the Prince was seized with wonder, and spoke words of
 praise. After this, for two days, I stayed at Chen-lo'u. In accord-
 ance with the (prescribed) manner of greeting (the Emperor)
 prescribed in the previous letters of the Emperor, I arrived at Ri-
 dvags Kho-tho⁴²). On the 16th day (15 January 1653), I entered
 the outer wall which was raised in front of the Emperor, and pro-
 gressed gradually. At that time, I arrived at the dividing-line be-
 tween the seeing and not-seeing of the seat of the Emperor of the
 Centre (*i.e.* Chung Kuo 中國, the Middle Kingdom, China), whose
 brightness, being possessed of the greatness of a Cakravartin Rājā,
 (which greatness was shown by) such (things) as the 7 emblems of
 royalty arranged in front of him, rivalled the glory of the Lord
 of the Immortals. Servants of (the Emperor) brought horses (for
 me). From this spot, when I had covered the distance covered by

In view of the fact that Shih-sai yielded precedence to U'i-jiñ Ch'in Wang, the latter person must be Jirgalang. This is confirmed by the fact that, according to CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 72, pp. 12a-b, Shun Chih 10th year, 2nd month, ting-ssu (19 March 1653), the Emperor ordered his uncle (*shu* 叔), Hošoi Cheng Ch'in Wang, Jirgalang, to entertain the 5th Dalai Lama at Ch'ing Ho 清河. According to the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 204a [Chu-sBrul, 2nd Hor month, 20th day (kuei-ssu, 2nd month, 20th day = 19 March 1653)], on the evening of the day when he (the Dalai Lama) left Peking, he arrived at Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河. There, U'i-jiñ Ch'in Wang arrived and entertained him. It seems, therefore, that the U'i of U'i-jiñ Ch'in Wang should, in fact, be Shu'i. *Shu'i-jiñ Ch'in Wang* = *Shu Cheng Ch'in Wang*. The Dalai Lama seems to have heard and transcribed only the final of the syllable *shu* 叔 (uncle).

⁴² Ri-dvags = "large game, generally of the deer and antelope species" (Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 1173, col. 2). Kho-tho = k'ou-tu 口關, a tower over a gate of the Great Wall?

4 arrow-lengths, I dismounted from my horse. The Emperor descended from his Throne and advanced for a distance of 10 fathoms (*gŽu-'dom*). He seized my hand with his hand. An interpreter was installed, and he (the Emperor) enquired after my health. The Emperor sat on top of a wooden stool, which was on top of the Throne, which was as high as a man's waist. I sat on a seat, which was a little lower than the Emperor's Throne and which was situated not far from one whole fathom's length from the Emperor's Throne. When tea arrived, although he asked me to drink before he did, I submitted that this was not proper, and he granted that we drink at the same time. Such and other showing of (mutual) respect, we did very much. He offered presents such as, chiefly, some strings of coral, amber and sapphire; woollen cloth; molasses; many packets of incense; and thousands of horse- and sable-skins. I answered his questions regarding the state of affairs in dBus-gTsañ. As in the special explanation by the Bodhisattva and the *śrāvaka* to the passage in the Sūtra(-piṭaka), namely,

An ornament of the precious *vajra* is especially noble. Though small, it will outshine many common valuables.

A person of royal lineage, though young in age, by the greatness of his lineage, will outshine old ministers,

although the age of the Emperor when I saw him was young—he being in his 17th year ⁴³⁾—no matter where he was placed, among peoples of many tongues and countless numbers, he seemed the very pattern of a fearless lion roaming without a bridle. He was extremely hospitable. This night, I slept at Chen-lo'u, where I had been yesterday. On the 17th day (16 January 1653), I arrived at the spot, separated by only two *rGyañ-grags* (measures of distance) from the capital-city of Peking—where many languages are heard (whose speakers are) under the sway of the Great Kingdom of the Cakravartin Rājā, and which (capital-city) confers benefit both on itself and on others—where (at which spot) the Emperor, having given goods worth 90,000 *srañs* of silver, had caused to be built for my residence, a dwelling-place called... (illegible). It was a good house, as if divinely-produced, and surrounded by a stone wall. In the innermost recess, because of the untold gold-leaves on

⁴³⁾ Shun Chih was born on 15 March 1638. On 15 January 1653, he was 14 years and 10 months of age, i.e. in his 15th year.

the endless paint, (it was as if all) was covered by light. There I arrived. . .

On the 25th day (24 January 1653), the Inner Minister (*nei ta chen* 內大臣) *Ka-pa-la A-ma* and *As-khan A-ma* (*A-ma* = *Amban*), together with others, came from the Emperor with presents fit for an Imperial Preceptor (*ti shih* 帝師) such as gold and silver *maṅḍalas* with the 7 symbols of royalty (on them); porcelain bowls with stands (painted) with gold; spittoon; vase; a plate giving out flashes of lightning; an incense-burner; a large trumpet (*duñ-chen*) together with a (small?) trumpet (*rGya-glin*); pennant; umbrella; royal standard; banner; and parasol ⁴⁴).

The CSL notes simply that on 14 January 1653, the Dalai Lama arrived and met the Emperor in the South Park. The Emperor permitted him to sit in the Imperial Presence, and gave a banquet in his honour. The Dalai Lama gave presents of horses and the products of his country. The Emperor accepted them ⁴⁵).

In conformity to the message from the Emperor sent through *Ka-pa-la A-ma* and *As-khan A-ma* asking me to come to the Palace on the 11th day (of the 1st Hor month of the year Water-Serpent) (*kuei-ssu*, 1st month, 11th day = 8 February 1653), I went there. Under the jurisdiction of the Great Palace, there are 13 *Wu'u-kyan* (*Wu Chiang* 武將, military commander or general). In the capital (*mKhar-mo che*) of each province (*žin chen*), there is an official called *kyun-min* (*Chün min* 軍民, military and civil officials). Under each *kyun-min*, there are 13 *Thi'i-tu'u* (*T'i-tu* 提督, provincial commander-in-chief). Under each *Thi'i-tu'u*, there are 13 *Tsoñ-ye*, 13 *Tu'u-ya* (*tu-yu* 都尉), 13 *Beñ-ye* and 13 *Thañ-ya* ⁴⁶). Thus, in each provincial capital, the sesame-seeds of the numbers of troops is to the measure of 5 Chinese large *bre'o*. The Great Royal residence which has (such provincial capitals under its jurisdiction) is surrounded by 3 surrounding walls, white, yellow, and light-red. The circumference, which goes out to each point in East, South,

⁴⁴) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, pp. 197 a-198 b.

⁴⁵) THL, *Shun Chih*, ch. 19, p. 15a; CSL, *Shih Tsu*, ch. 70, pp. 20 a-b, *Shun Chih* 9th year, 12th month, *kuei-chou* (14 January 1653).

⁴⁶) *ye* or *ya* = *yu* 尉 = a military official. The passage shows, obviously, the Dalai Lama's misunderstanding of the military structure of the Manchu Empire in China.

West and North, of the outmost wall, is very wide. Inside, everywhere is filled with houses. On the outer side of the royal seat which was in the inner palace, the 7 emblems of royalty, official sword and lance, umbrella, banner, etc., were raised. I passed by much music, both pleasing and glorious, either sung by the voice or played by the drums striking terror in the heart, as if it were the house of Vaiśravaṇa (himself). At the time when I came to the dome under which the Throne was situated, the ministers and nobles had all gathered together, but the Emperor had not arrived. A seat raised 2 *khru* (above the floor) had been built for me. There I sat in the Hor manner of sitting. Shortly afterwards, the music started playing all at once and, at the same time, the Emperor came through the door at the back. He sat on a chair which was, in turn, mounted on top of a vast golden Throne of more than a man's height. As I stood on my seat without directly facing him, an Order (from the Emperor) was translated and sent to me through As-khan A-ma, saying: 'Be seated on your throne, at the same time as We (the Emperor) sit upon Our chair'. A minister sat on either side of the (Imperial) chair and Ka-pa-la A-ma came with an Order translated (into Tibetan) to hold our tea(-cups) in the same way as the other day. On every table was set a plate, of gold for the Emperor and of silver for the others, some 50 in all. Thus was hospitality extensively laid out. To the Incarnate of De-mo; the mKhan-po of dPal-'khor Chos-sDe; the Jai-saṅ sDe-pa; Mergan dKa 'bCu; Se-chen dBon-po; the chaplain (*mChod-dPon*), *dBu-mDzad*, and Incense-bearer (*sPos-phor-ba*) of my private chambers—(to all these), about 15 persons in all, high and low, the Emperor gave presents too. When the audience was over, we came back to our own place⁴⁷⁾.

The audience of 8 February 1653 has been briefly recorded in the CSL as follows:

The Emperor gave an audience in the Tai Ho Palace. He bestowed a banquet on the Dalai Lama and others⁴⁸⁾.

Shortly after the audience (of 8 February 1653), but still within the 1st month (29 January–27 February 1653) of the 10th year of Shun Chih

⁴⁷⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, pp. 199b–200a.

⁴⁸⁾ CSL, Shih Tzu, ch. 71, p. 11a, Shun Chih 10th year, 1st month, mou-yin (8 February 1653).

(29 January 1653–16 February 1654), the Dalai Lama, according to the CSL, memorialised as follows:

The climate of this country does not suit me and I have been ill. My companions, too, have been ill. I pray that the Emperor allow me to return.

This Memorial raised another problem of protocol: Should the Emperor ask about the Dalai Lama's health or should he not? The Emperor placed the memorial before his courtiers and sought advice. One body of courtiers—Manchus?—advised that the Emperor ought to enquire about the Dalai Lama's health, because, if the Dalai Lama left in indignation—the state of his health not having been enquired into—the hearts of the Mongols and the O-lu-t'e might rebel against the Empire. The other body of courtiers—Chinese?—advised that the Emperor ought not to enquire after the Lama's health. It was enough to give presents. As for the Mongols, the Empire was sustained by the aid of Heaven and could attack and subdue all places. Again, the Emperor accepted the Chinese (?) advice, and decided not to enquire about the Dalai Lama's health. However, he remembered that when he (the Emperor) had first arrived in China, he, too, had found the climate unsuitable. He, therefore, wrote to the Dalai Lama, advising him to proceed leisurely to Taika, and to await the spring there. He also summoned the Mongol princes and beilés to meet the Dalai Lama there ⁴⁹⁾.

It is to be noted that this Memorial regarding the Dalai Lama's illness finds no mention in the Dalai Lama's own Autobiography. The proceedings in the Ch'ing Court, of course, find mention only in the Ch'ing records.

However that may be, according to the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, before the Dalai Lama left, the Emperor found some use for him in a religious dispute between two lamas: the Neiji Toyin and the Nomun Khan.

According to the particular clerical party whom they were related to, the Givers-of-Alms petitioned the Emperor a great deal with their partisan opinions. The Emperor expressly sent Ka-pa-la A-ma and As-khan A-ma (to me), saying: 'Because the root of the discord between the two lamas is religion, you decide'. So I sent Mergan dKa'-bCu and Se-chen dBon-po (to hear the case for me). When, on the 1st day of the 2nd Hor month (kuei-ssu, 2nd month, 1st day = 28 February 1653), I was deciding the basic argu-

⁴⁹⁾ THL, Shun Chih, ch. 20, p. 6b; CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 71, pp. 20 a-b, Shun Chih 10th year, 1st month, mou-tzu (18 February 1653).

ments put forward, although Nas-ci Tho-yin seemed to have a pious hope for the good of living beings and the Teaching of the Exalted Lord bTsoñ-kha-pa the Great, (he had, nevertheless,) the fault that his application and knowledge were meagre, and that he had not been trained by a competent Spiritual Guide (Kalyāṇa-mitra, dGe-ba'i bŚes-gÑen). Because of this, No-mon Khan's manner of speaking was, generally, convincing. Indeed, with regard to No-mon Khan, his inability to tolerate the power of a rival in speaking for the welfare of the Teaching and living beings, had almost caused that old Sog-po lama to be put in the Emperor's prison. As the saying goes,

Principal, Intermediary and Adviser, these three,
Are the cause of bias and pain.

Such was the origin of the situation confronting me. Nevertheless, I could not go against the Emperor's Orders. Hence, in a straightforward manner, I made a settlement which I thought would satisfy both parties. (In this way) I settled the dispute insofar as religion was concerned. This news was conveyed to the Emperor and was to his satisfaction ⁵⁰).

This incident shows, perhaps, that the essentially religious character of the fifth Dalai Lama's visit was not lost on the Emperor.

On the 12th day (of the 2nd Hor month) (kuei-ssu, 2nd month, 12th day = 11 March 1653) . . . the Emperor sent Ka-pa-la A-ma to make an offering to me of a whole set of clothes such as, principally, a cloak ornamented with pearls, and a priceless pearl as large as two thumbs. To my officials separately he offered 3 lumps of silver, each worth 50 silver coins (lña-bcu-ma); silver coins; 50 rolls of cloth; damask; yellow silk scarves with red spots; and saddles, reins, stirrups and seats made of different things.

On the 18th day (of the 2nd Hor month) (17 March 1653), in conformity with the summons to the Great Palace, I went there. The welcome was as generous as before. . . The Emperor gave me profusely such farewell-gifts as two tea-churns and objects used in sacrificial offerings made of 50 *srañs* of gold; 500 *srañs* of gold; 8 tea-churns of silver and 8 bowls; 10,000 *srañs* of silver; a silver pot made of 1,000 *srañs* (of silver); 1,000 rolls of clothing; 10 golden

⁵⁰) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 202 a.

saddles; 10 tiger skins; 10 *nor-sra-mkho-sor* (?); hundreds of leather-bags of tea, etc. The Emperor's mother, Tha'i-ko (太后) gave me 100 *srañs* of gold; 1,000 *srañs* of silver; and 100 rolls of cloth. On the 20th day (of the 2nd Hor month) (19 March 1653), as I was about to leave the Imperially-allotted quarters, the Emperor expressly sent the nobleman Bi-gu to bestow on me a rosary of 1,000 agates, each as large as the tip of a finger. I made arrangements as to who should go in front of the umbrella, royal standard, banner and other flags which had been given to me previously. Proceeding slowly, this evening, I came to Tshiñ-sū'i-ho (Ch'ing shui Ho 清水河). U'i-jiñ Chin-dBañ, accompanied by more than 3,000 officials and associates, arrived... He gave an entertainment, (which was) as if given by the Emperor himself⁵¹.

The audience given to the Dalai Lama on 17 March 1653 and the Dalai Lama's departure on 19 March 1653 have been recorded, again briefly, by the CSL:

CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 72, p. 10 b (Shun Chih 10th year, 2nd month, i-mao = 17 March 1653):

Because the Dalai Lama was returning (to Tibet), the Emperor gave an audience in the Tai Ho Palace. He gave a banquet, and also saddles, gold, silver, agates, jade, rolls of satin, etc.

CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 72, pp. 12 a-b (Shun Chih 10th year, 2nd month, ting-ssu = 19 March 1653):

The Dalai Lama left. The Emperor ordered Ch'eng-tse Ch'in-wang Shih-sai, together with the Bei-tzüs Ku-êrh-ma-hung and Wu-ta-hai, to lead troops drawn from the 8 Banners and to accompany (the Dalai Lama) to Taika. He also ordered his uncle, Hošoi Cheng Ch'in-wang Jirgalang, and the President of the Board of Ceremonies Gioro Lang-chiu, to entertain the Dalai Lama at Ch'ing Ho.

* * *

In the VSP, pp. 353-354, Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho deals with the fifth Dalai Lama's visit to Peking in dealing with the 11th aspect of the Life of the fifth Dalai Lama, namely, his missionary travels:

At the time when the fifth Dalai Lama was going to China, he distributed, on the way, one horse to each servant of the 2nd rank upward.

⁵¹) *Ibid.*, I, pp. 203 a-204 a.

He also made distributions of horses and silver at Bya-khyuñ, sKu-'bum, dGon-luñs, and other principal monasteries. Within his camp, to each member of the 7 *grva-tshañs*, he distributed one horse each, and to every two servants 1 horse. To the *sPyi-sos*⁵²⁾ of Se-ra, 'Bras-sPuñs and rGyal-lHa-khañ, he bestowed the favour of 100 *srañs* of silver to each. At sKu-'bum, he made a general distribution of tea for the assembly and gave them silver to buy tea with. At the town of Hsi-ning, the Dalai Lama ransomed the life of a Chinese person, who, because he had stolen about 400 *srañs* of silver from the Imperial Treasury, had been bound in fetters and had been thrown into prison, by giving 300 *srañs* of silver and (a number of) horses (as ransom)⁵³⁾. In the year Wood-Serpent (1653), from the Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan priests, both those within the Palace and those without, and from all those within the encampment, both lay and spiritual, by all of whom he caused the dMigs-brTse-ma (the Creed of the dGe-lugs-pa) to be recited, from each according to his means, he received about 10,000 *srañs* of silver (in all). To the many Chinese, both Buddhist priests and non-Buddhists, he distributed over 5,000 *srañs* of silver. He made a large distribution of material for clothing and rosaries and 15 *srañs* of silver to each person in the encampment. On the way up (to China) and on the way down (from China), to all the permanent residents of local monasteries, he made general distributions. At the Blue Town (mKhar-sÑon-po = Köke-Khotan = Kuei-hua ch'êng 歸化城), for the purpose of repairing the temple which had been built by the Lord bSod-nams rGya-mTsho and Altan Khan,—the Object-of-Worship and Giver-of-Alms—he gave 50 *zo* of gold and 200 horses. During his travel to (and from) China, he distributed, in the monasteries of dBus-gTsañ, at meetings of monks, in all 17,600 presentation-scarves; 126 covers for religious objects, canopies, cloaks, Chinese clothing and silk hangings; 150 pieces of material for clothing; 19,900 square pieces of cloth (*kha-'khyer*); 36 silk cloths with red dots (*dar-ma*); 15,100 seats; 372 *srañs* of gold measured in Chinese balances; 25,300 *srañs* of silver;

⁵²⁾ a *sPyi-so* is a person to whom the lands and goods of a monastery are leased out for a number of years, on condition that he supply the monastery with food and other supplies for the same number of years, keeping profits for himself.

⁵³⁾ This incident is referred to in the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 188 b [Chu-'Brug, 8th Hor month (jen-chen, 8th month = 3 September-2 October 1652)].

166 *srañs* of pearls measured in Chinese balances; 16 cymbals, of both hollow and flat varieties; 11 porcelain bowls; 200 pieces of cotton clothing; 7 gold articles for performing Tantric rites of the New (*i.e.* dGe-lugs-pa) school; 2 saddles for mules; 7 mane-covers, linings for mane-covers and pennants; 199 gold saddles, silver saddles and saddles neither gold nor silver, with straps, stirrups and seats to match. In the general distributions to peasants and others, he gave 71,700 *khals* of barley; 55,600 *mKhar-khals* of tea, butter, salt, curds, flour, milk, rice and flesh reckoned in grain-measures ⁵⁴⁾ . . .

The difference between the official Chinese and the Tibetan views of the fifth Dalai Lama's visit to Peking is obvious. To the Chinese officials, the all-important thing is protocol: whether or not the Emperor should go outside the Great Wall to meet the Dalai Lama; whether or not the Emperor should enquire after the Dalai Lama's health. To the Dalai Lama the visit was simply the establishing of a "working relationship" between the Emperor and himself for the purpose of converting "China, Tibet and Mongolia" to the dGe-lugs-pa creed. Of course, he was keenly appreciative of the very generous hospitality which he received from the Emperor. But he was aware that he went to China as the sovereign of Tibet—although, indeed, he was going for a religious purpose. To Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, the actual meeting with the Emperor is totally unimportant. It is not even mentioned in the above passage. The important things are the distributions which the Dalai Lama made on the way to and from Peking, and the offerings he received at Peking and elsewhere. The journey was, above all, a missionary journey, not a political one ⁵⁵⁾. That the Emperor, too,—as distinct from his officials—may have regarded the visit as one of a religious character is shown, as we have suggested, by the assignment of the adjudication on a religious dispute to the Dalai Lama. For the Emperor's officials, however,—and, more especially, for the Chinese, as distinct from the Manchu, officials,—the visit may have had political significance. It is they (the Chinese officials) who may have seen the visit as one from a political inferior to a political superior.

⁵⁴⁾ 1 *srañ* = 1 ounce; 1 *žo* = 1/10th of an ounce; 1 *khal* = 1 bushel.

⁵⁵⁾ The visit to Peking is also mentioned in the VSP in dealing with sKu-'bum, dGon-luñ and sGo-mañ (or gSer-khog) monasteries, pp. 264, 266 and 268 respectively. These monasteries are all situated in the Koko-nor area, and were visited by the 5th Dalai Lama.



Two months later, the Dalai Lama was still at Taika. The Emperor sent the President of the Board of Dependencies and the President of the Board of Ceremonies to him, with a letter written in gold, and a golden seal. The letter said:

We have heard that the principles of the founders of the sects which seek to benefit others, and those which seek to benefit themselves, are not the same. For those who have renounced the world, and for those who are in the world, the path of establishing the (true) Religion is, likewise, different. (Although) by such (different) means, they (seek to) enlighten their own minds, and to discern their true nature, (in order) to save the world and to awaken the people, their ultimate aim is the same. Your mind, O Blo-bZaṅ rGya-mTsho Dalai Lama, is firm and clear. Your virtue is deep and vast. Your meditative calm and your wisdom are mature. In you, that which has form and that which is formless, have (both) been extinguished. Thus, you are able to propagate and uphold the Buddhist faith, and to teach and guide the ignorant. Thus, your influence has covered the western region, and your name has reached the eastern parts. Our father, the Emperor T'ai Tsung (1626-43), heard of it, was delighted and approved of it. He specially sent envoys to meet you, and to invite you. Thus, long ago, you came to know the Imperial mind, which permitted you to come and see the Emperor in the (jen-)chen year (Shun Chih 9th year = 9 February 1652-28 January 1653). We sustain the loving Mandate of Heaven and take care of the Empire. You came at the right time, indeed, in response to Our invitation. Your manners were likeable. Your speech and silence were well-measured. You have attained wisdom, and the state of complete knowledge. You have widened the door of compassion, and the door of the acceptance (of your Faith). Indeed, you are the scaling-ladder and the boat on the path of Awakening. You are the fixed pole-star (round which the life) of the monasteries (revolve). We commend this very much. Now, by means of this golden Letters-Patent and this golden seal, We confer on you the title of "Great, Good, Self-Existent Buddha of the Western Heaven, He who rules over the Buddhist Faith in the Empire, the All-Pervading Vajradhara Dalai Lama" (西天大善自在佛. 所領天下釋教普通瓦赤喇怛喇達賴

喇嘛). You have re-incarnated yourself in this Age, in order to make flourishing the Buddhist Faith, and to preach the Dharma, as occasion arises, for the benefit of mankind. Are we not fortunate?

The legend on the seal said:

Seal of the Great, Good, Self-Existent Buddha of the Western Heaven, He who rules over the Buddhist Faith in the Empire, the All-Pervading Vajradhara Dalai Lama ⁵⁶).

At the same time, the Emperor bestowed on Guši Khan golden Letters-Patent and a golden seal, conferring on him the title of "The Perceptive and Intelligent Guši Khan, who acts in accordance with Refinement and Righteousness" (遵行文義敏慧顧實汗). The letter to Guši Khan said:

When Emperors and Princes rule the Empire, it is necessary for them to pacify and admonish the lesser countries, so that their virtue and influence may be bestowed on the Four Seas; and so that the lesser countries may consider the situation, examine the times and turn sincerely towards (Our) civilisation. (We) the Emperor will certainly invest them with special Banners, in order to demonstrate Our policy of cherishing the weak.

You, Guši Khan of the O-lu-t'e tribe, have conformed to virtue, and enjoy goodness. You hold to justice, and practice love of humanity. Your beneficial influence is able to spread out and cover the whole of your area. Since you have been entirely loyal and poured out the respect and obedience of your heart, We commend you greatly. Now, by means of this golden Letters-Patent, and golden seal, We bestow on you the title of "The Perceptive and Intelligent Gushi Khan, who acts in accordance with Refinement and Righteousness". You should increasingly hold to your oath of loyalty, and proclaim far and wide Our fame and influence. Be Our screen and assistance, and rule your fief (in this manner). If you do so, you will be like a girdle for Our mines, mountains and rivers. May you long enjoy happiness and beatitude! ⁵⁷).

According to the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume I, pp. 209 a-b, he (the Dalai Lama) received the Emperor's Edict which was

⁵⁶) CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 74, pp. 18 a-19 a, Shun Chih 10th year, 4th month, ting-ssu (18 May 1653),

⁵⁷) *Ibid.*, pp. 19 a-b; same date.

sent out from Peking on 18 May 1653, in the former 5th Hor month of the year Water-Serpent (kuei-ssu, 5th month = 27 May-24 June 1653). He records the receipt in the following terms:

The Emperor bestowed on me a golden seal with the (following) inscription in Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan characters:

‘The Buddha who lives in the Great Virtue and Happiness of the Western Heaven, whose words and Injunctions have become the only Teaching of all the peoples of the Empire, the Unchanging Vajradhara Dalai Lama’.

He also bestowed an Edict (*lun*) and a title (*las-ka*) contained in Letters-Patent (*‘Ja’-sa*), whose outer planks were made of gold; whose breadth, equal to the (height of the) thick paper containing the text, was 4 fingers; whose length was one whole span; which was bound through as many as 15 holes; which, in its ornamented centre (on the top plank) was full of the 3 inscriptions (mentioned) above; and which invested ⁵⁹⁾ me with all the lands of the direction in which the sun sets. Together with (these Letters-Patent) the Emperor sent gifts. All this was given to me in the midst of great rejoicing. What was written on the seal was translated (for me) by a Mongolian translator, but the translation was not good. What has been translated above has been translated by a very learned translator. I wrote verses invoking good luck, addressed to dPal-ldan ‘Dod-Khams dBaṅ-Phyug-ma (Śrī Kāmadhātviśvart), and made an offering of the seal (to her).

After reaching Tibet, the Dalai Lama sent the seal to the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith at gNas-chuñ, to be offered to the Jo-bo Śākyamuni (the Buddha) ⁵⁹⁾. After reaching Lhasa in the 10th Hor month (kuei-ssu, 10th month = 20 November-19 December 1653) ⁶⁰⁾, the Edict and the title given to Guši Khan were similarly offered to the Jo-bo Śākyamuni ⁶¹⁾.

In the 1st Hor month of the year Wood-Horse (chia-wu, 1st month = 17 February-18 March 1654), the Dalai Lama sent the dKa’-bCu of lCañ-

⁵⁹⁾ *Śes-su bCug-pa*: The expression occurs in VSP, p. 267, line 6, and has been translated by T.V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet*, Rome, 1962, p. 198, Note 796, line 2, as “land investiture”.

⁵⁹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama’s Autobiography, I, p. 211 a [Chu-sBrul, latter 5th Hor month, 17th day (kuei-ssu, 6th month, 17th day = 11 July 1653)].

⁶⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 219 a.

⁶¹⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 221 a [Chu-sBrul, 11th Hor month (kuei-ssu, 11th month = 20 December 1653-17 January 1654)].

lo-can, by name *Ñag-dBañ Nor-bZañ*, and the junior ruler (*dPon-chuñ*) of *rTa-'bul* to China⁶²⁾. Perhaps, these were the envoys whose arrival at the Ch'ing Court "to thank the Emperor for his Grace", is reported in the CSL under dates in August 1654⁶³⁾. Tribute from the Dalai Lama and *Guši Khan* is also reported on 14 November 1654⁶⁴⁾.

According to the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume I, p. 233 a, *Guši Khan* died on the 7th day of the 12th Hor month of the year Wood-Horse (*chia-wu*, 12th month, 7th day = 14 January 1655)⁶⁵⁾. Envoys from the Emperor of China—by name, *Ta-'on Mañjuśri*, *Ta-'on Nor-bu rGya-mTsho*, and *Tshul-khrims Khi-ya*—arrived at the Court of the Dalai Lama on 30 May 1655⁶⁶⁾. On 11 August 1655, when these envoys were returning to Peking, the Dalai Lama sent, as his own ambassadors to Peking, *lKog-groñ-pa* of *'Phyon-rGyas* and the *Rab-'byams-pa* of *Zuñ-chu*, *dNos-Grub Yon-tan*⁶⁷⁾. It is these envoys whose arrival at the Ch'ing Court is reported in the CSL under dates in January 1656. It is certain that they brought with them news of *Guši Khan's* death. Through this embassy, too, the Dalai Lama requested passports for his emissaries for the journey from Hsi-ning to Peking⁶⁸⁾. The Emperor referred the request to the relevant Government department for discussion, but on 29 January 1656, he informed the Board of Dependencies and the Board of Ceremonies of his desire to show his appreciation of *Guši Khan's* loyalty by sending an embassy to his obsequies, and ordered them to discuss and report on the usual practice on such occasions⁶⁹⁾. On 1 April

⁶²⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 222 a.

⁶³⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 84, pp. 14 a-b, Shun Chih 11th year, 6th month, mou-yin (2 August 1654) (from *Guši Khan*); *ibid.*, p. 24 a (keng-chen, 4 August 1654) (from the Dalai Lama).

⁶⁴⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 86, p. 14b, Shun Chih 11th year, 10th month, jen-bsü (14 November 1654).

⁶⁵⁾ *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 7 a (Lokesh Chandra, p. 437) also says that *Guši Khan* died in the year Wood-Horse, but it should be realised that the actual date within the year Wood-Horse (1654) on which *Guši Khan* died, falls within the Christian year 1655. See also, above, p. 66 and p. 146.

⁶⁶⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 240 b [*Śiñ-Lug*, 4th Hor month, 25th day (*i-wei*, 4th month, 25th day = 30 May 1655)].

⁶⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 242 b [*Śiñ-Lug*, 7th Hor month, 10th day (*i-wei*, 7th month, 10th day = 11 August 1655)].

⁶⁸⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 96, pp. 12 b-13 a, Shun Chih 12th year, 12th month, *i-hai* (21 January 1656).

⁶⁹⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 97, pp. 3 a-b, Shun Chih 13th year, 1st month, *kuei-wei* (29 January 1656). CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 98, p. 6 a, Shun Chih 13th year, 2nd month, *mou-wu* (4 March 1656); and *ibid.*, p. 21 b (*mou-yin*, 24 March 1656) refer to the Dalai Lama's envoy as *La-mu-chan-pa* 拉穆詹巴 (*Rab-'byams-pa*) and others.

1656, ⁷⁰⁾ on the occasion of sending envoys to the obsequies of Gushi Khan, the Emperor also sent costly presents to the Dalai Lama and the Pan-chen Lama. These envoys arrived at the Dalai Lama's Court on 18 November 1656 ⁷¹⁾.

On 2 August 1657, the Emperor wrote to the Dalai Lama as follows:

From the time when We ascended the Throne, Ch'an hua Wang 闡化王 (the Phag-mo-gru-pa) has sent men 3 times with tribute, each time about 1000 men. Because his effort to turn towards (Chinese) civilisation and his loyalty are commendable, We twice bestowed on him Imperial Letters and seals, in order to show Our encouragement (of his loyalty). Now he has again sent rGya-mTsho Nor-bu with tribute and the old jade seal and the Letters-Patent which the Ming had given him. He begs to exchange these for new ones. We have seen the Memorial of the said Board (of Dependencies), saying:

'Chan hua Wang was originally the lord of Tibet. Later, he was defeated by the gTsañ-pa Khan of Tibet (1612) and became subordinate to him. In Ming times, the gTsañ-pa Khan was defeated by the O-lu-t'e (1641-42). (Guši Khan) gave Chan hua Wang to the Dalai Lama, who handed him over to the sDe-pa (bSod-nams Chos-'phel, c. 1642-58). Subsequently, Chan hua Wang has been staying with the Dalai Lama, who has (now) given him to the Kê-lung Sa-hsi-êrh 格隆薩喜爾 as a lama. Because the sDe-pa possesses the Chan hua Wang's Letters-Patent and seal, he has taken the men of An-tao 安島 (A-mDo) within the frontier, who were Chan hua Wang's men, and has sent them here (as coming from Chan hua Wang).

Moreover, We have questioned the messenger rGya-mTsho Norbu and others. They say that Chan hua Wang has for long been subordinate to the sDe-pa. Yet, the Memorial presented on this occasion says that it is all what Chan hua Wang memorialises. The tribute is also said to be from Chan hua Wang. Since, however, Chan hua Wang is subordinate to the sDe-pa and yet the tribute which has come several times, as usual mentions Chan hua Wang's original

⁷⁰⁾ CSL, Shih, Tsu, ch. 99, pp. 5 b-6 a, Shun Chih 13th year, 3rd month, ping-hsü (1 April 1656).

⁷¹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 252 b [Me-sPre, 10th Hor month, 3rd day (ping-shen, 10th month, 3rd day = 18 November 1656)].

(independent) name—this time, too, he has presented tribute, begging to exchange the Letters-Patent and the seal, but has not memorialised clearly (as to the real situation)—the former (version of facts) (*i.e.* that of Chan hua Wang's memorial) and the latter (that of the Board of Dependencies) are very incompatible. You (the Dalai Lama) may, therefore, prepare a factual account of the whole story, and hand it over to the Imperial envoys, Hsi-la-pu (Śes-rab) Lama and Sa-mu-tan Kê-lung (bSam-gTan dGe-sloñ) who are going to ask about your health ⁷²).

The tribute, seal and memorial were returned. Śes-rab Lama and bSam-gTan dGe-sloñ, who took the Edict of 2 August 1657 with them to the Dalai Lama, arrived at Lhasa in the 1st Hor month of the year Earth-Dog (mou-hsü, 1st month = 2 February–3 March 1658) ⁷³). In the 4th Hor month (2–31 May 1658), the Dalai Lama sent with them, as envoys from himself to the Emperor, the Rab-'byams-pa of Se-ra, 'Jam-dByaṅs Grags-pa and Nor-bu of Chu-sKor sMad ⁷⁴). These envoys arrived at Peking on 5 October 1658 ⁷⁵). Apparently, the Emperor was not satisfied with the report which Śes-rab Lama and bSam-gTan dGe-sloñ took with them to him. For, on 26 December 1658, we find him sending two other envoys, the La-mu cha-mu-pa Lama 喇木札木巴喇嘛 (Rab-'byams-pa Lama) and Kun-pu Kê-lung 滾布格隆 (mGon-po dGe-sloñ) to, as the CSL says, enquire after the Dalai Lama's health ⁷⁶).

The arrival of mChod-rTen Lama and mGon-po dGe-sloñ is recorded in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume I, p. 277 *a* [Sa-Phag,

⁷²) CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 110, pp. 7 *a*–8 *a*, Shun Chih 14th year, 6th month, chia-wu (2 August 1657). Ke-lung Sa-hsi-erh 格隆薩喜爾 = dGe-sloñ Žva-ser, the Yellow-Hatted dGe-sloñ(s). The "giving of Chan hua Wang to the Yellow-Hatted dGe-sloñs as a lama" can only mean his initiation or ordination into the Yellow-Hatted dGelugs-pa priesthood. The 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, pp. 25b–26a [Me-rTa, 11th Hor month, 12th day (ping-wu, 11th month, 12th day = 7 December 1666)], records the initiation of the Žabs-druñ of sNeu-gDoñ, Blo-bZañ mKhyen-brTse, into the dGelugs-pa priesthood. He was then given the name of Ņag-gi-dBañ-Phyug Rin-chen bKra-śis dPal-'bar Phun-tshogs rGya-mTsho'i-sDe. For sNeu-gDoñ, see p. 94, Note 29, above.

⁷³) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 258 *a*.

⁷⁴) *Ibid.*, I, p. 263b.

⁷⁵) CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 120, p. 15 *a*. Shun Chih 15th year, 9th month, kuei-mao (5 October 1658).

⁷⁶) CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 122, pp. 2 *b*–3 *a*, Shun Chih 15th year, 12th month, i-chou (26 December 1658).

Earth-Hog, 7th Hor month (chi-hai, 7th month = 18 August-15 September 1659)]. Their purpose seems to have been to make a fresh enquiry about the Phag-mo-gru-pa. As the Dalai Lama writes:

After the transfer of the Throne of China (from the Ming to the Ch'ing in 1644), (the Phag-mo-gru-pa's) Edict and title had not been renewed, and he had not received presents (from the Emperor). (The Phag-mo-gru-pa) having petitioned (the Emperor), the Emperor sent Śes-rab Lama to grant the Edict and the title and to give presents. Śes-rab Lama memorialised the Emperor that "the King of Yar-Kluñs (the Phag-mo-gru-pa), after being conquered by the gTsañ-pa, is at present like a person who pays tax to the dGa'-ldan Palace (in 'Bras-sPuñs monastery, the seat of the secular government of the dGe-lugs-pa)", and quoted the example of the Khan of the Cakhars (Legs-ldan Khan). Because the Emperor had instructed his envoys to find out whether (the reports of the Phag-mo-gru-pa's) conversion were true or not, while the mChod-rTen Lama went to gTsañ, I gave Se-chen dBon-po and mGron-gÑer Druñ-pa as companions to mGon-po dGe-sloñ, (and the three) went to sNeu-sDoñ rTse to investigate. Because of the bad report of the (Phag-mo-gru-pa's) circumstances, which the envoys (made to the Emperor), his Edict and title were not renewed, and he did not receive presents (from the Emperor). Although the jade seal which was given (to the Phag-mo-gru-pa) by the Ming, and which was marvellous in Tibet, was sent to the Imperial Palace for inspection and sent up (*i.e.* returned to Tibet) therefrom, the Nañ-so of Yañ-dGon was overwhelmed by robbers on the way, and it became insignificant ⁷⁷⁾.

It seems, therefore, that only persons of independent standing, not subordinates of another, were entitled to petition the Emperor and to expect presents. The Phag-mo-gru-pa having become subordinate to the sDe-pa—indeed, a taxpayer of the Dalai Lama's government—was no longer so entitled. When, therefore, the sDe-pa petitioned the Emperor in the name of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, or the Phag-mo-gru-pa persuaded the sDe-pa to petition the Emperor on his behalf, the Emperor became suspicious of the status of the Phag-mo-gru-pa and sent men to investigate. The result of the investigation was the stopping of Imperial Edicts, titles and presents for the Phag-mo-gru-pa.

⁷⁷⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, pp. 277 b-278 a [Sa-Phag, 7th Hor month (chi-hai, 7th month = 18 August-15 September 1659)].

Thirty-six years later, in 1693, as we shall see, the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho retrieved and returned to the Ch'ing Emperor the jade seal which the Ming had given to the Phag-mo-gru-pa. It was then (in 1693) accepted ⁷⁸⁾. A gold seal and a title were issued to the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho on 22 May 1694 ⁷⁹⁾.

This episode, however, highlights another fact. We see that the person who, after 1642, had succeeded to the Phag-mo-gru-pa in Tibet, was not the Dalai Lama, nor even the Khošot *Chos-rGyal*, but the Tibetan sDe-pa. In other words, in the hierarchical structure of authority in Tibet after 1642, the Dalai Lama and the Khošot *Chos-rGyal* claimed to occupy positions higher than that of the former rulers of Tibet. Let us remember in this context that the Phag-mo-gru-pa were known as *sDe-srids* (Governors) and claimed to hold authority from the Ming Emperors of China. The CSL document we have just looked at (dated 2 August 1657) shows that the person who had succeeded to the Phag-mo-gru-pa after 1642 was the Tibetan sDe-pa, who occupied the 3rd position in the political structure of Tibet. The Dalai Lama occupied the 1st position and claimed to hold authority from no one. He was independent.

The CSL document of 2 August 1657, and the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, Volume I, pp. 277b-278a (18 August-15 September 1659), taken together with the CSL documents dated 28 December 1693 and 22 May 1694, help us to complete our study of the polity of Tibet, insofar as such a study can be undertaken from 17th century Tibetan and Chinese historical documents.

* * *

To continue the history of Sino-Tibetan relations to the end of the reign of Shun Chih and the early years of the reign of K'ang Hsi:

In March 1661, the Rab-'byams-pa of dMar-sÑuñ and the Lama of Dañ-sKya arrived at Lhasa as ambassadors of the Emperor of China ⁸⁰⁾. They were the last envoys sent by the Emperor Shun Chih to the Dalai Lama, for he (Shun Chih) died on 5 February 1661 (Shun Chih 18th year, 1st month, 7th day). The envoys left Lhasa on 26 June 1661, with the

⁷⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 161, pp. 9b-10b, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 12th month, hsín-wei (28 December 1693).

⁷⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 163, p. 7b, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 4th month, ping-shen (22 May 1694). See this book, later, pp. 295-296.

⁸⁰⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 303 a-b [Cags-Glañ, 1st Hor month (hsín-chou, 2nd month = 1-30 March 1661)].

Dalai Lama's envoys to China, namely, the Rab-'byams-pa of Ha-sDoñ in Se-ra and the dBon-chuñ (junior dBon-po) or dPon-chuñ (junior ruler) of rTa-'bul⁸¹⁾.

On the 1st day of the 8th Hor month (of the year Water-Tiger) (jen-yin, 8th month, 1st day = 12 September 1662), a large crowd of pilgrims headed by envoys from China, namely, bSam-Blo Mergan Chos-rJe and Erke dKa'-bCu, arrived. The Mañjuḥoṣa Emperor Śun-tsi (Shun Chih) had ascended the ladder of Paradise, through the region of the sky, and his son Khañ-si (K'ang Hsi) had arrived on the Throne, (His envoys) handed over to me his first Edict and gifts⁸²⁾.

On 11 January 1663, the Imperial envoys left for Peking with the Dalai Lama's envoys, bSam-Blo Lam-pa sPyan-sÑa and rGya Tsher-riñ⁸³⁾. On 8 May 1664, mChod-rTen Lama and dGe-sloñ Chos-'phel handed over an Imperial Edict to the Dalai Lama⁸⁴⁾. They left in the 7th Hor month of the same year, with the Dalai Lama's representatives, dKa'-bCu Blo-bZañ bKra-śis and Se-chen Dar-rGyas⁸⁵⁾.

* * *

With regard to the Emperor of China's relations with the Oirad chiefs other than those of Tibet: Embassies from Ablai, the younger brother of Ocirtu Secen Khan, are recorded in the CSL under dates corresponding to 4 May 1655, 2 August 1655, 4 April 1656 and 15 July 1658⁸⁶⁾. That from Ocirtu Secen Khan is recorded on 23 December 1655⁸⁷⁾. Envoys

⁸¹⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 306 a [Cags-Glañ, 5th Hor month, 1st day (hsin-chou, 6th month, 1st day = 26 June 1661)].

⁸²⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 326 b [Chu-sTag, 8th Hor month, 1st day (jen-yin, 8th month, 1st day = 12 September 1662)].

⁸³⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 331 b [Chu-sTag, 12th Hor month, 3rd day (jen-yin, 12th month, 3rd day = 11 January 1663)].

⁸⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 348 b [Śiñ-'Brug, the latter 3rd Hor month, 13th day (chia-chen, 4th month, 13th day = 8 May 1664)].

⁸⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, I, p. 354 a.

⁸⁶⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 90, p. 24 a, Shun Chih 12th year, 3rd month, kuei-chou (4 May 1655); CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 92, p. 13 a, Shun Chih 12th year, 7th month, kuei-wei (2 August 1655); CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 99, p. 6 b, Shun Chih 13th year, 3rd month, chi-chou (4 April 1656); CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 118, pp. 5 b-6 a, Shun Chih 15th year, 6th month, hsin-ssu (15 July 1658).

⁸⁷⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 95, p. 11 b, Shun Chih 12th year, 11th month, ping-wu (23 December 1655).

from the O-lu-t'e Baturu Taiji (?) arrived on 4 February 1656⁸⁸). Those from Shih-hu-êrh Tai-ching, the Turghut, arrived on 10 April 1656⁸⁹).

Not that the relations were all peaceful. On 4 October 1656, we find the Emperor addressing Edicts to the O-lu-t'e, reprimanding them for border raids, and asking them to meet his officials, whom he was specially sending for this purpose. On 26 December 1658, he wrote to them again asking them to send a limited number of men "to present tribute" and to come by defined routes, under previously-appointed headmen⁹⁰).

Thus we see that, as a result of the Dalai Lama's visit to Peking, the Ch'ing's relations with the Oirad were widened and somewhat regularised.

⁸⁸) CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 97, p. 6 b, Shun Chih 13th year, 1st month, chi-chou (4 February 1656).

⁸⁹) CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 99, p. 9 b, Shun Chih 13th year, 3rd month, i-wei (10 April 1656). See also Pelliot, *Notes Critiques d'Histoire Kalmouke*, Paris, 1960, Part I (Text), p. 27, where the year of the embassy is wrongly given as 1655; and Part II (Genealogical Tables), Genealogical Table III, No. 23.

⁹⁰) CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 103, pp. 10b-11b, Shun Chih 13th year, 8th month, jen-chen (4 October 1656); CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 122, pp. 2b-4a, Shun Chih 15th year, 12th month, i-chou (26 December 1658). The first CSL document is referred to in CSK, Fan Pu 5, pp. 3b-4a, the second in *ibid.*, p. 4a. According to the CSL, the first document was addressed to Baturu Taiji 巴圖魯台吉 and the Tüšiyetü Baturu Dai-ching 土謝圖巴圖魯戴青. According to the CSK, it was sent to Gushi Khan's sons, Che-chen Tai-ch'ing 車臣岱青 and Dalai Baatur 達賴巴圖爾. These are identifiable as the 2nd and 6th sons of Guši Khan, according to the CSK, Fan Pu 5, pp. 1 b-2 a. Probably, therefore, the Edict of 4 October 1656 was sent, like a circular, to a number of persons. With regard to Baturu Taiji of 4 February 1656 (see Note 88, above) and 4 October 1656, it is, perhaps, relevant to mention Batur Taiji of Pelliot's Genealogical Table I, No. 68. He may, however, be the Baatur Khung-taiji who was the father of Sen-ge, dGa'-ldan, etc. Tüšiyetü Baturu Dai-ching may be Mergen Taiji Tüšiyetü Dai-ching, the eldest son of Ombu (dBon-po) Che-chen Tai-ching, the 2nd son of Guši Khan, see Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 109

CHAPTER V.

WU SAN-KUEI: 1) 1659-73

In the first month (23 January-20 February 1659) of the 16th year of Shun Chih, the attack on the Ming redoubt in Yunnan was launched. Wu San-kuei advanced through the northern route via Tsun-I 遵義, Toni through the central route via Kuei-yang, and Chao Pu-tai through the southern route via Tu-yün 都勻. Yün-nan fu was captured and the Ming Emperor, Yung Li 永曆 (1646-62) fled to Burma¹⁾.

Wu San-kuei was placed in charge of Yünnan, Keng Ch'i-mao 耿繼茂 (d. 1671) in charge of Ssu-chuan, and Shang K'o-hsi 尚可喜 (d. 1676) in charge of Kwang-tung²⁾. This marks the arrival of the Ch'ing at the south-eastern and eastern borders of Tibet, just as the conquest of Kansu in 1645 had marked the arrival of the Ch'ing at the north-eastern borders of Tibet.

Sino-Tibetan relations now show four main characteristics, the first three of which we have already noted in studying the arrival of the Ch'ing in the north-east of Tibet.

Firstly, there is the record of trouble at the borders between China and Tibet, in the region of the valleys of the Ta-tung ho and the Hsi-ning rivers. This trouble was quelled only by the intercession of the Dalai Lama.

It appears that there were some tribes known as "the Mergen and other tribes", who were obedient to the Dalai Lama, and who habitually pastured their flocks in the Inner Territory of the Empire, in the above-mentioned valleys. These Mergen tribes were, probably, followers of the Oirad Mergen Taiji, whom we shall meet in 1674³⁾. Anyway, in 1666, the Chinese provincial authorities were informed that they intended to invade the Inner Territory. Thereupon, the Brigadier-General Sun Ssu-k'o sent

¹⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 123, pp. 2 a-4 a. See also Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Washington, 1943, I, p. 194 (Chu Yu-lang 朱由榔).

²⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 124, pp. 14 b-15 a, Shun Chih 16th year, 3rd month (24 March-20 April 1659). Keng Ch'i-mao was transferred to Fu-kien in 1660.

³⁾ See this book, later, p. 206. CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 48, p. 19 a, K'ang Hsi 13th year, 7th month, jen-shen (11 August 1674).

Lama messengers to the Dalai Lama, requesting the latter to intercede between the Chinese and the Mergen tribesmen ⁴⁾.

It was, probably, these envoys from the Chinese frontier authorities at Kansu, who appeared at the Court of the Dalai Lama on 25 April 1667, although the fifth Dalai Lama, in his Autobiography, describes them as "Bearers of Golden Letters from the Emperor of China" (*Gon.nas.gser.yig.pa.*). Their names are given as Del-ger dGe-slon and Ses-rab 'Od-zer. One of the Edicts which they brought with them related to the governmental affairs between the Chinese and the Sog-po (Western Mongols)—understood, at the Kansu-Kokonor border ⁵⁾. On 5 July 1667, the messengers from China were ordained as priests ⁶⁾, and on 9 September 1667, they left Lhasa, together with two envoys from the fifth Dalai Lama to the Emperor of China, namely, the Abbot of Byams-Glin, Tshul-khrims rGyal-mTshan, and Rab-brTan of Khañ-gSar. They took with them a Memorial from the Dalai Lama to the Emperor. We are told that the affair at the borders had been discussed by the Khošot *Chos-rGyal* of Tibet and the sDe-pa. The Dalai Lama's Memorial, presumably, reflected the results of this discussion.

The contents the Memorial are thus described by the Dalai Lama:

rGya.sog.bar.gyi.gžuñ.la.sel.cuñ.zad.byiuñ.bar.mtsho.sñon.po'i.dpon.khag.gis.goñ.du.dgoñs.bsañs.la.rta.nor.gyis.gtsos.pa'i.dños.po.dpañs.mtho.bar.phul./Sa.mtshams.rnams.kyañ.so.sor.ma.'dres.par.dbye./rKun.jag.gi.rigs.mi.yoñ.ba'i.phan.tshun.nas.khrims.kha.bsdam.pa.sog.gžuñ.bzañ.po.dgos.pa'i.rgyu.mtshan.'bul.bar.btañ.

A little discord having arisen in the governmental affairs between the Chinese and the Western Mongols, I offered such proofs of the fact that the governance of the Western Mongols would (in future) be good, as that the princes of the Blue Lake would (on receipt of my Edict) offer ample goods, principally horses, as compensation to the Emperor; that the border territories would be clearly distinguished; and that both sides would bind themselves to a law that there would be no robbery or plunder; and that trade would be unhindered ⁷⁾.

⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 24, pp. 13b-14a, K'ang Hsi 6th year, 10th month, ping-shen (10 December 1667); and references below.

⁵⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 29b [Me-Lug, 3rd Hor month, 3rd day (ting-wei, 4th month, 3rd day = 25 April 1667)].

⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 33a [Me-Lug, 5th Hor month, 15th day (ting-wei, 5th month, 15th day = 5 July 1667)].

⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 36b [Me-Lug, 7th Hor month, 22nd day (ting-wei, 7th month, 22nd day = 9 September 1667)].

On arriving at the Blue Lake, the Dalai Lama's envoys ordered the Taijis to observe the peace, and to give compensation to the Chinese. This was done and peace was restored.

The whole affair is thus described in a CSL document dated 10 December 1667:

The Governor-General of Shansi and Shensi, Lu Ch'ung-hsün 盧崇峻 memorialised:

Because, hitherto, the Mergen and other tribes have liked to pasture (their flocks) in the Inner Territory of the Empire; and (because) furthermore, there were some tribesmen who had fled into the Inner Territory and had respectfully stated to us, orally, saying that all their (the Mergen tribesmen's) headmen wished, in the 8th month, to advance troops (into the Inner Territory); (therefore) I personally went to Chuang Lang 莊浪 to prevent unforeseen circumstances. Then, I received a report from the Brigadier-General Sun Ssu-k'o, saying:

'The (Mergen and other) nomads have moved into their original territories and have remained there in order to pasture (their flocks). Further, the lama, whom I sent to Tibet last year, has returned, saying: "The Dalai Lama, in conformity to the Imperial Edict, has ordered all the Taijis, warning them that they are not allowed to cause trouble".

'Accordingly, all the Taijis accepted the Imperial Edict of the Court, and sincerely submitted to China. As atonement for their misdeeds, they sent men with 1,000 horses, oxen and sheep, to come (here) in the train of the lama who has returned from Tibet'.

This was the report I received (from Sun Ssu-k'o). Since the fact that the western tribesmen have gone back is true, I pray that the Manchu and Han officials and soldiers be withdrawn.

This was sanctioned⁸⁾.

The *Annals of Koko-nor* have also something to say about this affair:

In the year Fire-Sheep (1667), when the (West Mongolian) Army of the Blue Lake had surrounded the Chinese fortress of Hsi-ning, a great Chinese army arrived at Groñ-lañ (= Chuang-Lang) and an agreement was arrived at again⁹⁾.

⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 24, pp. 13b-14a, K'ang Hsi 6th year, 10th month, ping-shen (10 December 1667).

⁹⁾ *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 7a (Lokesh Chandra, p. 437).

We have, here, the information that the Chinese were surrounded at Hsi-ning. The main point, however, which emerges from the Chinese and Tibetan documents is that, in order to persuade the Mergen tribesmen to withdraw from the Valley of the Hsi-ning river, the Chinese authorities had to make use of the good offices of the Dalai Lama.

On 5 December 1668, the Dalai Lama received an Edict from the Emperor, commending the thought which he had given to the good government of the Chinese and the Mongols (at the border)¹⁰.

In spite of this, the border was not satisfactorily settled. In 1669, the Dalai Lama sent the Slob-dPon of Thaṅ-sag, Blo-bZaṅ 'Jam-dByaṅs, and (once again) Rab-brTan of Khaṅ-gSar, with a Memorial to the Emperor, requesting a disciplinary Code for the Chinese and the Mongolians at the border¹¹. On 24 February 1672, envoys from the Emperor of China arrived at the Court of Lhasa. The governmental arrangements for the border between China and Tibet were translated into Tibetan for the benefit of the Dalai Lama¹². Two months later, on 27 April 1672, the Dalai Lama sent a Memorial to the Emperor, commending the thought which had been given to the governmental arrangements between the Chinese and the Mongolians at the border¹³.

Twenty-seven years later, the Emperor K'ang Hsi remembered the affair of 1666-67, as one of the first State affairs which he had handled after taking over authority in 1667:

The Emperor issued an Edict to the Grand Secretaries and others, saying:

The Governor-General of Ssu-chuan and Shen-si, Fu-lun 佛倫 has petitioned Us to restore the old fortress of Huang-ch'êng-êrh 黃城爾. We have seen the map of the territory which he has submitted. The territory of Huang-ch'êng-êrh is really very impor-

¹⁰ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 70 a [Sa-sPre, 11th Hor month, 2nd day (mou-shen, 11th month, 2nd day = 5 December 1668)], reading "rgya.sog.gzūn.bzaṅ gi.dgoṅs.pa.bstod.pa'i.bka'.ñag." (words commending the thought given to the good government of the Chinese and the Mongolians). The reading could, however, be "rgya.sog.gzūn.bzaṅ.gi.dgoṅs.pa.bster.ba'i.bka'.ñag." (words bestowing thoughts on the good government of the Chinese and the Mongolians).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 75 b [Sa-Bya, 5th Hor month, 20th day (chi-yu, 5th month, 20th day = 18 June 1669)]: rgya.sog.gzūn.gi.mjug.bsdom.gyi.sñan.'dul.zu.bar.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 130 b [Chu-rTa, 1st Hor month, 26th day (jen-tzu, 1st month, 26th day = 24 February 1672)].

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 134 b [Chu-rTa, 4th Hor month, 1st day (jen-tzu, 4th month, 1st day = 27 April 1672)].

tant. From Kan-chou to Hsining, the road is long. Let the road be from Huang-ch'êng-êrh to Hsi-ning. This road is very short. In three days it can be covered. Order official troops to garrison it. It will be extremely advantageous. The Taijis who live in Ch'ing-hai regarded this territory as their territory, and humbly prayed that it be returned to them. At the time when We took over the government personally (25 August 1667)¹⁴⁾, We issued an Edict to all Our advisers, saying: 'This is the territory of Ta ts'ao t'an 大草灘 and is very important for Our Court. Certainly, it should not be returned'. Therefore, it has now (1694) been placed in Our Register of (the) Population (of the Empire)¹⁵⁾.

We come now to the second aspect of Sino-Tibetan relations in the period with which we are dealing. Apart from the coming and going of embassies between Lhasa and Peking to settle border issues, there was the regular and normal exchange of envoys for peaceful purposes.

The arrival of envoys from Dayan Ocir Khan, the *Chos-rGyal* of Tibet (1654-68), and the Dalai Lama, is recorded in the CSL under the date 26 March 1665¹⁶⁾. Probably, at about this time, ambassadors were sent from Peking to Lhasa, because the arrival of such ambassadors at Lhasa is reported in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography under 19 September 1665. One of these ambassadors was the dBon-po (nephew or supervisor) of the Mañjuśrī Khutuytu of Kōke-Khotan¹⁷⁾. On 8 December 1665, when the Imperial ambassadors were returning to China, the Dalai Lama sent his own ambassadors to China—the dKa'-bCu of sTar-sToñ, named Rab-brTan, and Blo-bZaṅ Dar-rGyas of Lho-mos-rGyab—together with a Memorial¹⁸⁾. In the 3rd Hor month of the year Fire-Sheep (ting-wei, 4th month = 23 April-22 May 1667), the dKa'-bCu of sTar-sDoñ—as the name is written now—and Lho-mos-rGyab-pa returned to Lhasa¹⁹⁾.

¹⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 23, p. 3 b, K'ang Hsi 6th year, 7th month, chi-yu (25 August 1667).

¹⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 162, pp. 8 a-9 a, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 1st month, i-chou (20 February 1694).

¹⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 14, p. 11 a, K'ang Hsi 4th year, 2nd month, ting-mao (26 March 1665).

¹⁷⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 4a [Śiñ-sBrul, 8th Hor month, 11th day (i-ssu, 8th month, 11th day = 19 September 1665)].

¹⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 7 a [Śiñ-sBrul, 11th Hor month, 2nd day (i-ssu, 11th month, 2nd day = 8 December 1665)].

¹⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 30 b [Me-Lug, 3rd Hor month (ting-wei, 4th month = 23 April-22 May 1667)]

When Dayan Khan died on 22 April 1668²⁰⁾, the news was brought to Peking either by the envoys from China to whom the Dalai Lama bade farewell on 3 and 4 May 1669 before their journey back to China²¹⁾; or by the ambassadors whom the Dalai Lama himself sent out on 18 June 1669. These latter ambassadors were the Slob-dPon of Thañ-sag, Blo-bZañ 'Jam-dByaṅs, and Rab-brTan of Khañ-gSar²²⁾. In any case, the news of Dayan Khan's death arrived at the Court of Peking on 25 October 1669. The Emperor sent envoys to the memorial-service of Dayan Khan²³⁾. These Imperial envoys—no doubt, after wintering at Hsi-ning—arrived at Lhasa on 27 September 1670²⁴⁾. They do not seem to have stayed longer than a month. For, on 29 October 1670, we find the Dalai Lama bidding farewell to the envoys from China before their return journey²⁵⁾.

The arrival of messengers from the Dalai Lama with letters, tribute and local produce, is reported in a CSL document dated 28 April 1671²⁶⁾. Messengers from the Emperor of China are reported at Lhasa in the 12th Hor month of the year Iron-Hog (hsin-hai, 12th month = 31 December 1671–29 January 1672) and on 24 February 1672²⁷⁾. On 27 April 1672, when the Imperial messengers were leaving, the Dalai Lama sent his own ambassadors to China. The names of these envoys (from the Dalai Lama to the Emperor) are given as (a) the Lama of bSam-Grub dGa'-ldan in Nam-riñ, called Blo-bZañ bsTan-'phel and (b) bsTan-'dzin dPal-bZañ of lCañ-lo-can²⁸⁾. Their mission was, presumably, to inform the Emperor

²⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 47 b [Sa-sPre, 3rd Hor month, 12th day (mou-shen, 3rd month, 12th day = 22 April 1668)].

²¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 75 a [Sa-Bya, 4th Hor month, 4th and 5th days (chi-yu, 4th month, 4th and 5th days = 3 and 4 May 1669)].

These envoys from China were the Emci of Yar-kluñs and the dBon-po of Ta-on, Śi-rel-tu Chos-rJe, who had arrived on 5 December 1668.

²²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 75 b [Sa-Bya, 5th Hor month, 20th day (chi-yu, 5th month, 20th day = 18 June 1669)].

²³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 31, p. 13 a, K'ang Hsi 8th year, 10th month, hsin-yu (25 October 1669).

²⁴⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 99 b [lCags-Khyi, 8th Hor month, 14th day (keng-hsü, 8th month, 14th day = 27 September 1670)].

²⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 101 a [lCags-Khyi, 9th Hor month, 16th day (keng-hsü, 9th month, 16th day = 29 October 1670)].

²⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 35, p. 15 b, K'ang Hsi 10th year, 3rd month, hsin-wei (28 April 1671).

²⁷⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 126 b [lCags-Phag, 12th Hor month (hsin-hai, 12th month = 31 December 1671–29 January 1672)]; *ibid.*, p. 130b [Chu-Byi, 1st Hor month, 26th day (jen-tzu, 1st month, 26th day = 24 February 1672)].

²⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 134 b [Chu-Byi, 4th Hor month, 1st day (jen-tzu, 4th month, 1st day = 27 April 1672)].

of the accession of Dalai Khan to the position of *Chos-rGyal* of Tibet, on 11 April 1671²⁹⁾. It was probably the arrival of *Ñam-riñ-pa* and *lCañ-lo-can-pa* at Peking, which is reported in the CSL on 26 August 1672³⁰⁾.

Next year, *Blo-bZañ bsTan-'phel* of *bSam-Grub dGa'-ldan* and *bsTan-'dzin dPal-bZañ* of *lCañ-lo-can* returned to Lhasa on 16 August 1673, together with ambassadors from the Emperor of China, named *bsTan-'dzin Lama* and *bSam-Blo A-žañ Erdeni Rab-'byams-pa Chos-rJe*³¹⁾. A month later, on 15 September 1673, they presented the Emperor's gifts to the new *Chos-rGyal* of Tibet, Dalai Khan³²⁾.

We may end our review of diplomatic exchanges between China and Tibet, between 1659 and 1673, by noting that tribute from *Señ-ge*, the chief of the Jungars, arrived at Peking on 22 June 1666 and 23 December 1669³³⁾.

The third aspect of Sino-Tibetan relations concerns trade. There is a record of trade between Tibet and *Yün-nan*, in tea and horses. *Wei Yüan* writes in the *Sheng Wu Chi* that *Wu San-kuei* "communicated envoys with the Dalai Lama, and memorialised the Throne regarding the opening of a mutual trade mart at *Pei Sheng chou* 北勝州" (= *Yung pei* 永北)³⁴⁾. The CSL, however, says that *the Dalai Lama* and *Kan-tu Taiji*

²⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 108 b [*lCags-Phag*, 3rd Hor month, 3rd day (*hsin-hai*, 3rd month, 3rd day = 11 April 1671)].

³⁰⁾ CSL, *Sheng Tsu*, ch. 39, p. 17 a, K'ang Hsi 11th year, intercalary 7th month, *ting-chou* (26 August 1672).

³¹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 180 a [*Chu-Glañ*, 7th Hor month, 5th day (*kuei-chou*, 7th month, 5th day = 16 August 1673)].

³²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 181 b [*Chu-Glañ*, 8th Hor month, 5th day (*kuei-chou*, 8th month, 5th day = 15 September 1673)].

³³⁾ CSL, *Sheng Tsu*, ch. 19, p. 5 a, K'ang Hsi 5th year, 5th month, *keng-tzu* (22 June 1666); CSL, *Sheng Tsu*, ch. 31, pp. 22 b, K'ang Hsi 8th year, 12th month, *keng-shen* (23 December 1669).

³⁴⁾ *Wei Yüan: Sheng Wu Chi*, ch. 2, p. 2 b:

(吳三桂)通使達賴喇嘛。奏互市茶馬于北勝州。于是西番蒙古之馬由西藏入滇者，歲于萬匹。

Translated by E. Haenisch, « Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Mandschu Dynastie, II: Der Aufstand des Wu San-kuei aus dem Sheng Wu Chi übersetzt », *T'oung Pao*, XIV, No. 1 (March, 1913), p. 15:

« Mit dem Dalai Lama wurden Gesandtschaften unterhalten, und dem Kaiser von einem Tauschhandel mit Tee und Pferden in *Pei-sheng chou* berichtet. Danach gab es jährlich mehrere Tausend Pferde aus *Si-fan* und der Mongolei, welche über Tibet nach *Yünnan* hereinkamen ».

memorialised praying for the opening of a mutual trade mart at Pei-sheng. Their prayer was granted ³⁵⁾.

Wei Yüan, however, has further "charges" to make against Wu San-kuei:

詭稱蒙古侵掠麗江中甸地. 及調兵往. 又稱寇遁挾邊防. 以自重.

Er sandte falsche Berichte an den Kaiser die Mongolen hätten das Gebiet von Li-kiang und Chung-tien überfallen und geplündert und er habe daraufhin Truppen dorthin gesandt. Dann meldete er, wie die Feinde in die Flucht geschlagen seien, und wie er die Grenzplätze bewacht hatte. Alle das, um sich selbst ein Gewicht zu geben ³⁶⁾.

It seems unlikely that Wu San-kuei's reports of an invasion of Li-Kiang and Chung-tien by the Mongols of Khams, in the period 1659-73, were false. For, according to the local chronicles translated by J. F. Rock, *The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of South-West China*, I, pp. 134-135,

In the sixth year (ting-wei) of K'ang Hsi (1667), Wu unexpectedly ordered Ch'un ³⁷⁾ to enlist 1000 native soldiers ³⁸⁾, to enter his (Wu's) service, but Ch'un refused to obey the command. Seizing this as a pretext, Wu searched his official residence and took away a golden seal by which the successive Emperors of the Yüan dynasty had authorised his family to rule and defend this frontier land... In the following year (1668), Wu ceded to the T'u-fan (Tibetans), for the purpose of reconciling them, five large districts lying beyond the valley of the Li-kiang (Yang-tze) called Chao-k'o 照可 (or) 昭可, Ni-na 攸那 (= Wei hsi 維西), Hsiang-lo 香羅, Shu-lo 鼠羅 and Chung-tien 中甸, which, originally, had been under the rule of the Mu family (of Li-kiang).

³⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 4, pp. 9b-10a, Shun Chih 18th year, 8th month, chia-yin (30 September 1661).

³⁶⁾ Sheng Wu Chi, ch. 2, p. 3a; Haenisch, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³⁷⁾ A-ssu A-ch'un 阿寺阿春, the 20th generation of Na-Khi chiefs of Li-kiang. Official Name: Mu I 木懿, born 1608, died 1692.

³⁸⁾ Presumably, to repel a Tibetan-Mongolian attack from Eastern Tibet.

On page 135, Rock further informs us that, after starting his rebellion in 1673, Wu presented the T'u-fan kingdom with territories belonging to Mu I, called Ch'i Tsung 其宗 and La-p'u 刺普.

Trade and raids seem to have flourished as much in the south-east as in the north-east of Tibet.

The last aspect of Sino-Tibetan relations is not very important during the period with which we are dealing, but will, as we shall see, become increasingly important as the century progresses. It is the question of refugees from the internecine warfare of the Mongolian tribes. Of this we have one example in the period 1659-73: Guši Khan's younger brother's son, I-ssu Tan-ching (Ye-śes bsTan-'dzin), fled from his elder brother and sought refuge in China. He was given the title of Doroī Chin Wang (Prince of the Second Class) and incorporated within the Bordered White Banner³⁹).

* * *

A CSL document dated 29 December 1692, speaks of 3 Memorials from the Dalai Lama to the Emperor of China, the first of which certainly, the second almost, and the third perhaps, belongs to the period we have been dealing with.

In the 8th year of K'ang Hsi (1 February 1669-20 January 1670), the Dalai Lama memorialised, saying:

'Previously, I received the Emperor's kind gift to me of a letter and a seal. I relied on the magnanimity and kindness of the Great Sovereign who unites into one (一統大君), and peacefully ruled the 3 parts of Tibet. But (now) the Red Hat Phag-mo (帕克木)(?) has seized the people of two clans and gone away. I pray that they be returned to Karma (噶爾馬)'.

We (the Emperor) immediately sent down a Decree and sent special officials to seize the Red Hat Phag-mo (?) and to send him back (to Tibet).

In the 13th year of K'ang Hsi (6 February 1674-25 January 1675), the Dalai Lama memorialised:

'With regard to the Tantras of the Padmasambhava Bakshi

³⁹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 19, p. 16 b, K'ang Hsi 5th year, 8th month, jen-tzu (2 September 1666); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 20, p. 9a, K'ang Hsi 5th year, 10th month, kuei-yu (22 November 1666). I-ssu Tan-ching (Ye-śes bsTan-'dzin) appears as Isdanjin in Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 68.

(巴忒馬三寶瓦巴克什), I pray for an Imperial Edict to the clergy and laity of China, prohibiting them from reciting them'. We (the Emperor) immediately sent down an Edict prohibiting the clergy and laity from reciting them.

In the 18th year of K'ang Hsi (11 February 1679–30 January 1680), the Dalai Lama submitted a memorial, saying: 'Respectfully, with regard to a summary of important points regarding the peaceful governance of the Chinese, Tibetans and Mongolians, I memorialise, praying for the Emperor's consideration (of the drafting and despatch of such a summary)' ⁴⁰.

With regard to the first of these memorials, the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 105 *b*, informs us, under a date corresponding to 26 January 1671, of the Red Hat Incarnation (*Žva-dMar sPrul-pa'i sKu*) attempting to enter Tibet (from China) "in conformity to the Edict from the Emperor of China, which (Edict) was issued in accordance with the memorial (from the Dalai Lama) which said that if the Red Hat Incarnation were to live in a place like mTshur-phu, it would be good" ⁴¹. He could not enter, because of troubles at the frontier. The Dalai Lama, therefore, on 26 January 1671, sent an emissary to Koko-nor to bring about peaceful conditions and to escort the Red Hat Incarnation to mTshur-phu, a place in sTod-luñ, a couple of days' journey from Lhasa, where a large monastery of the Kar-ma-pa sect existed ⁴². News of the Red Hat Incarnation entering the border arrived at Lhasa on 17 July 1673 ⁴³.

What seems to have happened is that, sometime before 1669, the Red Hat Incarnation left Tibet for China. In 1669, the Dalai Lama requested the Emperor of China for his return to Tibet. In accordance with this request, the Emperor asked the Red Hat Incarnation to return to Tibet, and he returned, as we have said, in 1673. The phrase "returned to Kar-ma" in the CSL document means, perhaps, "returned to the Kar-ma-pa monastery at mTshur-phu, in sTod-luñ, in Central Tibet".

The second memorial does not seem to be traceable in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, but it does show the Emperor of China fulfilling

⁴⁰ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 157, pp. 14 *a-b*, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 11th month, ting-mao (29 December 1692).

⁴¹ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 105 *b* [Icags-Khyi, 12th Hor month, 16th day (keng-hsü, 12th month, 16th day = 26 January 1671)].

⁴² Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 1040.

⁴³ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 178 *b* [Chu-Glañ, 6th Hor month, 4th day (kuei-chou, 6th month, 4th day = 17 July 1673)].

a function as Patron and Protector of the Dalai Lama and, hence, of the dGe-lugs-pa, by prohibiting the recital of rÑiñ-ma-pa Tantras in China.

With regard to the third memorial, we have seen that in the 8th—not 18th—year of K'ang Hsi (1669), the Dalai Lama had requested the Emperor of China for a disciplinary Code for the Chinese and Mongolians, at the border between China and Tibet in the Koko-nor area ⁴⁴). If such a memorial were submitted in the 18th year of K'ang Hsi (1679) as well, it could only have had reference to the border area. Or, perhaps, since the CSL document (dated 29 December 1692) says that the memorial in question was under consideration in 1692, it was submitted in the 28th year of K'ang Hsi (1689) ⁴⁵), but its purport could not have been very different from that submitted in 1669.

⁴⁴) See above, p. 197.

⁴⁵) The arrival of an embassy from Tibet is reported in the CSL on 21 October 1689. CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 142, pp. 3 b-4 a, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 9th month, jen-yin (21 October 1689).

CHAPTER VI.

WU SAN-KUEI: 2) 1673-81

On 28 December 1673 (K'ang Hsi 12th year, 11th month, ping-hsü), Wu San-kuei started his rebellion against the Ch'ing dynasty, by putting to death the Governor of Yun-nan, Chu Kuo-Chih 朱國治. News of this arrived at Peking on 27 January 1674¹⁾.

Keng Ching-chung 耿精忠, son of Keng Ch'i-mao and Governor of Fu-kien, joined the rebellion in 1674. Sun Yen-ling 孫延齡, the military governor of Kwang-si, also attached himself to the rebel cause. Wang Fu-chen 王輔臣, the Provincial Commander-in-chief of Shensi, became a partisan of Wu on 30 December 1674. Shang Chih-hsin 尚之信, son of Shang K'o-hsi and Governor of Kwang-tung, threw in his lot with the rebels in 1676. Thus, at one time, the entire west and south of China was in rebellion against the Ch'ing Emperor, not to speak of the short-lived rebellion of Burni in the north in April-May 1675. It was a most serious challenge to Manchu rule in China. The success of the Manchus in quelling the rebellion meant, in effect, a second founding of the Manchu Empire in China²⁾.

It is not to be wondered at that the Tibetans and the other peoples of the Western Regions, who acknowledged the authority of the Dalai Lama, became, to some extent, involved in the rebellion. It is this involvement with which we are concerned in this chapter.

In the first place, both the Emperor K'ang Hsi and the rebel Wu San-kuei tried to enlist the support of the Dalai Lama for themselves.

Early in 1674, almost as soon, it would seem, as the winter was over, the Emperor sent a Second Secretary (yüan wai lang 員外郎), whose

¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 44, pp. 12 a-b, K'ang Hsi 12th year, 12th month, ping-chen (27 January 1674).

²⁾ The rebellion of Wu San-kuei, Keng Ching-chung and Shang Chih-hsin, is known to Chinese historians as *San Fan Luan* 三藩亂, the War of the Three Feudatories. Burni was the son of Abunai, the son of Legs-Idan Khayan, the last Khayan of the Mongols. See Hummel, II, p. 784.

name appears as La-tu-hu 拉篤祜 in the Chinese records and as Le-du Jarγuci³⁾ in the Tibetan records, and others to the Dalai Lama. When the Imperial envoys arrived at Hsi-ning, a Mergen Taiji of the Oirad tribe 厄魯特墨爾根台吉 tried to stop them from proceeding further, by saying to them: "At the time when the Dalai Lama went to Peking (1653), our Pan-chen Lama sent men to enquire about the Dalai Lama's health. China regarded them as supernumerary envoys and would not let them proceed (into China). Hence, we are now stopping you". The Imperial envoys asked Mergen Taiji: "Has the Dalai Lama said these words?" At the mere suggestion that his (Mergen Taiji's) action in stopping the Imperial envoys was not sanctioned by the Dalai Lama, the Mergen Taiji ceased to prevent them from proceeding to Central Tibet. "The next day, we (the Imperial envoys) started. The Mergen Taiji nowhere stopped us"⁴⁾.

We have here another proof of the amenability of the Koko-nor tribesmen to the Dalai Lama's order or prohibition, expressed or implied. The first instance we saw in 1667 when, at the order of the Dalai Lama, they desisted from beleaguering the Chinese at Hsi-ning.

Further, from the Blue Lake to Lhasa, the Imperial messengers were provided with guides by Ta-lai Cho-erh-chi 達賴綽爾濟 (Dalai Chos-rJe), probably a miss-spelling for Dalai rDo-rJe 達賴多爾濟 or rDo-rJe Dalai Baatur 多爾濟達賴巴圖爾, the sixth son of Guši Khan according to CSK, Fan Pu 5, pp. 1b-2a, the Dallai Chuntaid-schi, who settled in Kokonor, of Pallas, I, p. 30.

The arrival of the Imperial envoys at Lhasa is reported in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, pp. 204b-205a, under the date 24 May 1674, as follows:

De.yañ.skya.rgu.kun.la.dus.kyi.chad.pa.lta.bus.'jam.dpal.dbyañs.
goñ.ma.rgyal.po.dañ.bka'.khrims.kyi.byed.po.mdun.na.'don.phin.
siñ.chiñ.dbañ.rgyal.blon.thugs.kyi.'dzin.stañs.ma.gcig.pa'i.ma.hā.
tsi.na'i.rgyal.khams.chen.por.gyul.'khrug.rlabs.po.che.byuñ.skabs.
goñ.nas.bka'.śog.bka'.ñag.bsgyur.bar.mkhar.sñon.po.rā.chi.bla.ma./
Le.du.rjar.go.chi./Gu.ru.bi.chi.ye.chi.sogs.rdzoñ.bda'.gnañ.ba.bla.
ma.'phan.yul.mdar.ma.'tsho.ñiñ.rjar.go.chi.can.gyis.bka'.śog.rten.
ldan.sprad.pa.blañs.ñiñ.gañ.ci'i.gnas.tshul.thams.cad.ñib.par.ñan./

³⁾ Jarγuci (Mongolian) = Judge or lawyer.

⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 48, p. 19a, K'ang Hsi 13th year, 7th month, jen-shen (11 August 1674). The Mergen Taiji is, very probably, the head of the Mergen tribesmen who had tried to invade the Inner Territory of the Empire in 1666-67. See this book, above, pp. 194-197. For a further discussion of his identity, see below, p. 237 and pp. 237-39, Note 32.

sPyr.ris.su.ma.chad.pa'i.lus.can.mtha'.dag.drin.can.gyi.pha.ma.
 śa.stag.yin.na'an.phyogs.'dzin.gyi.'chiñ.ba.'di.ha.cañ.dam.drags.
 pas.rañ.gžan.gyi.chos.pa.kun.jo.bo.bka'.gdams.pa'i.rnam.thar.zin.
 pa'i.re.ba.ga.la.yod.gśis./Su.(p.205a:) byams.pha.ma'i.dpe.ltar.bog.
 to.rgyal.po'i.dus.yi.ge.rten.bzañ.po.mi.sna.dañ.bcas.mñags.pa'i.'dris.
 rgyu(?) .ma.thog.gnam.gyi.lha.śun.tsi.rgyal.po.mañ.bkur.gyi.khri.
 la.bžugs.pa.nas.bzuñ.da.lta'i.bar.bdag.rkyen.bzañ.po.tshad.med.
 pa.thugs.la.btags./Ñed.rañ.nos.kyis.gser.gyi.pho.brañ.du.phyin.gser.
 žal.mthoñ.žiñ.luñ.las.gnañ.ba.sogs.nas.goñ.ma'i.chab.srid.brtañ.
 ciñ.rgya.nag.gi.rgyal.khams.thams.cad.bde.bar.'gyur.ba'i.rnam.
 dkar.dañ.'brel.ba'i.tshogs.gsog.ci.nus.su.bgyis./Bod.gliñ.dgu'i.
 rgyal.khams.pa'i.dpuñ.gis.rgya.hor.gi.yul.du.rño.thogs.pa.ni.ga.
 la.srid.sog.po.o.rod.kyi.dpuñ.gis.phyin.tshe.dgra.nus.che.yañ.rañ.
 dbañ.'du.dka'.ba.dañ.char.pa.dañ.'brum.pa.sogs.la.'dzem.bag.dgos
 pa'i.stabs.goñ.gi.žabs.tog.tu.'di.'gyur.gyi.khas.len.dka'.ruñ.mchod.
 yon.tshañ.ma.bka'.bgros.pa'i.yas.phyin.rnams.khebs.gañ.che'i.
 khyad.nas.da.la'i.huñ.tha'i.ji.yañ.mgyogs.tsam.'degs.pa'i.bca'.gži.
 śar.žiñ./rGyal.thañ.phyogs.su.mi.srun.pa'i.skye.bo'i.tshogs.kyi
 rgyab.rtsa.ljañs.sogs.su.yin.thiñs.dka'.na'an.rañ.jus.dañ.thun.
 moñ.gi.ched.du.tshes.ñi.śur.rgyal.sras.bkra.śis.la.tshe.dbañ.dañ.
 phyag.drug.pa'i.rjes.gnañ.bar.chad.kun.sel.bskur.žiñ.ul.jo'i.thu.bā.
 thur.tha'i.ji'i.cho.lo./bDog.pa'i.skyes.dañ.bcas.dmag.dpon./dMag.las.
 par.bka'.brgyud.nor.bu./Mas.chags.pa.can.rdzoñ.bda'.mdzad.soñ.

Also (on the 19th day the 4th Hor month), (sByor-)rā-chi Lama of mKhar-sÑon-po (Köke-Khotan), Le-du Jarγuci, Guru Bi-chi-ye-chi⁵⁾, and the other lamas to whom commissions had been issued, together with 'Tsho-žiñ Jarγuci of mDar-ma in 'Phan-yul, translated the words of the Edict from the Emperor of China, which related to the outbreak, (coming) like a punishment on all living beings, of a great war in the Empire of Great China, due to the disagreement between the Mañjuśrī-ghoṣa Emperor of China and the high functionary in charge of the execution of orders and laws, namely, Phiñ-siñ-chiñ-dbañ (= P'ing hsi Ch'in Wang 平西親王 Wu San-kuai), the King and the Minister. Then they (Le-du Jarγuci, etc.) handed over the Edict. I accepted it, and heard a detailed account of the state of affairs. Although, generally speaking, they (the monks) are only the kind fathers and mothers of all embodied creatures without exception, yet, because the ties of partisan-

⁵⁾ Bi-chi-ye-chi = Bitheéi or Pi-tieh-shih 筆帖式 (Manchu) = Secretary.

ship had now become extremely tight, for the monks of my sect, as well as those of others, the hope expressed in the Lord bKa'-gDams-pa's (Atiśa's) *rNam-thar* has been lost. Nevertheless, I am he who, following the example of a loving father and mother, in the time of the Bog-do Khan (Ch'ing T'ai Tsung, 1626-43), sent letters and envoys to enquire (after the Emperor's health). I also keep in mind the innumerable marks of favour, which I received from the time of the accession of the God of Heaven, Śun Tsi (Shun Chih, 1644-62) to the Throne honoured by many kings, to now. (Lastly) I (remember that I) personally went to the Royal Palace, and had an audience with the Emperor. Because he gave me a Diploma and a title, the Emperor's rule (became and) is firm. Hence, (now) I made the utmost unsullied efforts (to ensure) that the whole Empire of China would be happy (once again).

With regard to the (question of) intervention by the forces of the Kingdom of Tibet, the land of 9 continents, in the lands of China and Mongolia, when (and if) the West Mongolian and Oirad troops go to wherever they can go to, it will be necessary to take care to avoid the enemy's great power, and also the difficulties of assembling one's forces, (the difficulties caused by) the rain, and the pox. Because of this, it was difficult to promise to the Emperor that such (an intervention) would take place. Nevertheless, the Givers-of-Alms-in-Worship (the Mongolian and other rulers) discussed this, and because of the special quality of the important duties relating to the outer areas⁶⁾, even Dalai Huñ-taiji put up a notice about getting up (to the border areas) quickly. Although the base of operations of the unruly people (the rebels), which is in lJañs (Li-kiang in Yun-nan), etc., in the direction of rGyal-thañ, is difficult of access, (yet) for the sake of my own strategy, and for ordinary purposes, on the 20th day (25 May 1674), I bestowed on Prince bKra-śis the anujñā⁷⁾, which removes all impediments, of Tshe-dBañ and Phyang-drug, and sent him out with the title of Öljeitü Baatur Taiji and valuable presents. (I also sent out with him) a general

⁶⁾ "Yas-phyin-rnams" I translate as "outer areas". With regard to "khebs", the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 208 b, has the two following passages: (1) bstan. gzuñ. la. rgya. stod. smad. tshañ. mar. khebs. gañ. che. dgos. pa'i. 'phros. gleñ.; (2) rgya. hor. gyi. bstan. gzuñ. khyab. cha. gañ. che. mdzad. dgos. pa'i. sñan. agron. phul. In the second passage, "khyab-cha" (= bya-ba, duty, general business (of a man), work—Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 157) is used as an equivalent of "khebs" in the first.

⁷⁾ rJes-gNañ, anu-jñā = a spiritual gift, of a lesser degree, being not transmittable to another. A "permission" to practice the rites of such-and-such a god.

(dmag-dpon); bKa'-brGyud(-pa) Nor-bu, as his officer in charge of military works; and Mas-chags-pa⁸⁾.

It will be seen that, according to this document, the Dalai Lama's first concern was for the safety of the Buddhist priests in China. However, he remembered his previous contacts with China, and decided to do what he could to bring about peace in China. He was, nonetheless, against active military intervention by Tibet; but, acceding to the wishes of his ruling Worshippers-Patrons-and-Protectors, he decided to send an expedition to one "outer area", namely, rGyal-thañ. This area, according to T.V. Wylie's *Geography of Tibet*⁹⁾, is the area marked Ting-hsiang 定鄉 or Hsiang-cheng 鄉城 in the maps accompanying E. Teichman's *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet* (C.U.P., 1922). It is the area in Tibet due north of Li-kiang. Apparently, in the first flush of victory, Wu San-kuei's forces had penetrated to rGyal-thañ. Dalai Khung-taiji is, of course, the 6th son of Guši Khan, who had settled in Koko-nor. Prince bKra-sis is his son, Ta-shih Che-ling Ha-chi 達什車凌合吉 in CSK, Fan Pu 5, pp. 1b-2a.

The report of the Emperor of China's embassy to the Dalai Lama in 1674, as it appears in the CSL, is as follows:

達賴喇嘛俯伏接旨·向臣等云·我聞吳三桂反叛·心甚憂悶·今接敕書·得聞聖躬萬安·不勝忻慰·我本喇嘛·惟當誦經·祝祐聖躬康豫·威靈遠播·國祚綿長·吳三桂指日殄滅·其揚打木·結打木·二城·原係我三噶爾麻之地·今爲吳三桂所奪·我卽遣兵攻據·若吳三桂勢窮而來·我當執而送之·若聞彼不出邊境·東西逃竄·卽時進兵擒拏·臣等云·喇嘛 (p. 20 a): 旣欲相助·當勿吝大舉·喇嘛云·聞大國兵馬·皆給糧草·我兵前進·糧草不繼·人飢馬瘦·何能深入·臣等云·當此吳三桂反叛之時·若將國家山陝良民搶奪·非爲相助·反生釁也·達賴喇嘛云·我亦當誠諭我兵·不令妄行·天使回奏·

⁸⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, pp. 204 b-205 a [Śiñ-sTag, 4th Hor month, 19th and 20th days (chia-yin, 4th month, 19th and 20th days = 24 and 25 May 1674)].

⁹⁾ T.V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet*, Rome, 1962, p. 99 and p. 179.

皇上作何調遣。卽諭來使。令其速歸。我卽遵旨奉行。奏畢。上曰。拉篤祜等所行。殊爲可嘉。著吏部議叙。丹巴德穆齊。著賜名加賞。

The Dalai Lama fell prostrate and received the Imperial Decree. He said to us ¹⁰⁾: 'I have heard that Wu San-kuei has rebelled. My heart is extremely grieved (at this). Now that I have received the Imperial Letter and heard that the Sacred Person (of the Emperor) is in good health, I cannot contain my joy. I am no more than a lama. My only task is to chant the Sūtras, and to pray for the health and happiness of the Sacred Person (of the Emperor), so that the awe-inspiring Divinity (of the Emperor) may be published far and wide, and so that the prosperity of the State may be long-continued. Wu San-kuei will soon be exterminated and annihilated. The two cities of Yang-ta-mu and Chieh-ta-mu were originally the territories of my San ka-êrh-ma. Now, Wu San-kuei has seized them. We have sent troops to attack and recapture them. If Wu San-kuei, at the end of his resources, comes here, we shall seize him and send him (to the Emperor). If we hear that he will not come out of the border area, but is running about here and there, hiding himself, we shall send in troops to capture him'.

We said: 'Since the Lama wishes to help us, he should not be sparing of major undertakings'. The Lama said: 'I have heard that the infantry and cavalry of the Great Country (China) are all provided with food and fodder. When our troops advance, their food and fodder are insufficient. The men are hungry, the horses lean. Such being the case, how can we penetrate deep (into China, in pursuit of Wu San-kuei)?'

We said: 'At a time like this, when Wu San-kuei is in revolt, if the good people of Shensi and Shansi are despoiled (for food and fodder), it will not be helping us. On the contrary, it will produce dissension'. The Dalai Lama said: 'We shall warn our forward troops that they should not behave recklessly. When the envoys of the Celestial (Court) (La-tu-hu and the others) memorialise (to the Emperor) on their return (to Peking), (let them state that) whatever arrangements the Emperor may decide (to make and) to send down, let him immediately issue an Edict (to that effect) to my envoy (who

¹⁰⁾ i.e. the Imperial envoys, La-tu-hu 拉篤祜 (Le-du Jarγuci) and Lama Tan-pa Te-mu-chi 丹巴德穆齊 (Dam-pa Demci?).

will accompany the Imperial envoys to Peking), and order him to return with it quickly (to Lhasa). I shall act immediately in accordance with the Decree'.

(On receipt of this memorial) the Emperor said: 'That which La-tu-hu and the others have done is very commendable. Let the Board of Civil Affairs decide what rewards are to be given. Let Tan-pa Te-mu-chi (bsTan-pa or Dam-pa Demci?) be given a title and some presents'¹¹).

The contents of the Imperial Decree which La-tu-hu and the others took with them to Lhasa in 1674, are alluded to in a CSL document dated 21 May 1675:

The Imperial Letter (sent to the Dalai Lama on 21 May 1675) said: "The Emperor issues an Edict to the Dalai Lama, as follows: 'When Wu San-kuei first rebelled, We issued an Edict ordering the (Dalai) Lama's troops to enter by separate routes and to attack (the rebels). If Wu San-kuei, at the end of his strength, offered his submission, the Lama was to seize him and to send him under escort to Us'..."¹²).

It is evident that in both the Tibetan and Chinese versions, the Dalai Lama points out the difficulties in the way of a Tibetan intervention on behalf of the Imperialists; but, in both, he finally sends out troops against Wu San-kuei. The fact that he did so in deference to the wishes of his princely Worshippers-Patrons-and-Protectors is made known only in the Tibetan source. The Yang-ta-mu of the Chinese document dated 11 August 1674 sounds like the Yang t'ang chên 楊塘鎮 of J. F. Rock's *The Ancient Na-khi Kingdom of South-West China*, I, pp. 104-105, but it seems unlikely that Tibetan ownership went so near to Li-kiang. "Chieh-ta-mu" is, probably, not a city at all, but the region of rGyal-thañ. If this identification is correct, then we have another point of agreement between the Chinese and Tibetan documents. "San ka-êrh-ma" is inexplicable, unless it is a reference to the third (ti san 第三 Incarnation of the Dalai Lama, bSod-nams rGya-mTsho, who founded Li-thañ in 1580. As we have seen¹³), on that occasion, the King of Sa-tham

¹¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 48, pp. 19 b-20 a, K'ang Hsi 13th year, 7th month, jen-shen (11 August 1674).

¹² CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 54, p. 16 b, K'ang Hsi 14th year, 4th month, i-mao (21 May 1675).

¹³ See this book, above, p. 59 and p. 123.

(Li-kiang) in 1Jañs provided labourers and artisans for the founding of the monastery. He may also have given it some lands, which Wu San-kuei had now seized, and which the fifth Dalai Lama wished to reclaim. The main point of difference, however, between the Chinese and Tibetan accounts is in the reference to the manner in which the Dalai Lama received the Imperial Edict. In the Tibetan version, he simply "accepts it"; in the Chinese version, he "falls prostrate" to receive it. It seems unlikely that the head of the dGe-lugs-pa would fall prostrate before his own devotees, but the falling prostrate is the ritual (li 禮) proper to be mentioned, in an official Chinese document, as having taken place on such occasions.

On 8 June 1674, Le-du Jarγuci left Lhasa for Peking, together with two envoys from the Dalai Lama to the Emperor of China, namely, Rab-brTan of Khañ-gSar and bSod(-nams) dBañ(-po) of 'Bum-thañ¹⁴⁾.

The contents of the Dalai Lama's letter to the Emperor on this occasion are thus mentioned in the CSL document dated 21 May 1675:

Subsequently (to Our sending La-tu-hu and the others to you, the Dalai Lama), We (the Emperor) have seen the Memorial of the Lama, which says:

'Wu San-kuei has deserted his master and has turned his back on his own country. All people hate him. If he does not come into my hands, I can do nothing about him. If he does, I shall bind him and present him to the Emperor. Further, Wu San-kuei has seized the two towns of Chieh-ta-mu and Yang-ta-mu. I have already sent troops to attack and recapture (these two towns) and to guard the frontier. If the Emperor wishes me to summon my troops to penetrate deep into Wu San-kuei's territory, I only await an Imperial Decree (to that effect)'.¹⁵⁾

Further, (the Memorial from the Dalai Lama) said:

'The Dalai Taiji formerly lived in Tibet. Now, he has gone to live in Ch'ing-hai. I have ordered him that if there are any matters (concerning Wu San-kuei's rebellion), he should help us. If there are no such matters, he should control his tribesmen'¹⁵⁾.

¹⁴⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 207 a [Śiñ-sTag, 5th Hor month, 5th day (chia-yin, 5th month, 5th day = 8 June 1674)].

¹⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 54, pp. 16 b-17 a, K'ang Hsi 14th year, 4th month, i-mao (21 May 1675).

Specifically, according to the further evidence of this document, the Dalai Lama spoke to Dalai Khung-taiji about attacking Wu San-kuei's forces in Ssü-ch'uan, through Sung-p'an 松潘.

The fact of the Dalai Lama's having sent an expedition to Chieh-ta-mu (rGyal-than) is, as we have seen, confirmed by the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography. The fact of his speaking to Dalai Khung-taiji of Koko-nor on the subject of Wu San-kuei's rebellion is also confirmed by the Autobiography. In fact, the Dalai Lama spoke to a number of rulers counselling care and caution. On 7 June 1674, the Dalai Lama wrote as follows:

mTsho Khri-śog rGyal-mo (Koko-nor) being the great meeting-point of the territories of China, Tibet and Mongolia, not only because of the importance, to the defence of the Teaching, of a senior ruler situated at the beginning of (the territory of) China, but also because of the need to go out quickly and eagerly towards China, I issued a commission to Dalai Khung-taiji, together with (presents such as), principally, silk scarves and woollen cloths¹⁶⁾.

A week later, the Dalai Lama spoke in details to Dalai Khung-taiji about what he ought to regard as important among matters connected with the Teaching and the Government, in both "Upper and Lower China", and sent him out to Koko-nor. He spoke in similar terms to the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas, who was then in Lhasa. Dalai Khung-taiji and the Tüšiyetü Khan then left for their respective countries¹⁷⁾.

Nine months later, the Dalai Lama gave similar advice to Ocirtu Secen Khan and dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji, through their representatives in Lhasa, that for the sake of the Teaching they ought to behave in a responsible manner¹⁸⁾.

To come back to 1674. A little over a month after the Imperial envoys, Le-du Jarγuci and the others, had left, messengers arrived from the rebel Wu San-kuei. Their arrival is reported in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography in the following terms:

rGya.nag.tu.dpon.blon.nañ.'khrugs.gi.mur.phiñ.siiñ.dbañ.gis.yi.ge.
skyel.mi.śe'u.pe'i.li.chēñ.ku'i.can.ched.bstar.kyis.mñags./mi.sna'i.
sne.len.byas.pa.'gab.mi.'gab.sogs.śar.tshod.kyi.brjod.rigs.sna.tshogs.

¹⁶⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 206 b [Śiñ-sTag, 5th Hor month, 4th day (chia-yin, 5th month, 4th day = 7 June 1674)]

¹⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 208 b [Śiñ-sTag, 5th Hor month, 12th day (chia-yin, 5th month, 12th day = 15 June 1674)].

¹⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 232 b [Śiñ-Yos, the latter 1st Hor month, 14th day (i-mao, 2nd month, 14th day = 9 March 1675)].

byuñ.yañ.bod.lugs.la.phyogs.kyi.gser.yig.par.sne.len.byed.pa.sñar.
 srol.yoñs.grags.yin.gśis.de.don.bžin.bgyid.par.sde.pa.dañ.gros.thag.
 bcađ./Mi.sna.la.ji.ltar.'os.pa'i.bdag.rkyen.dañ.yig.ñag.blañs./Yig.
 lan.dañ.ñag.mar.khyed.dpon.blon.he.bag.byuñ.ba.mña'.bañs.kyi.
 tshogs.sdug.bsñal.gyi.rgyur.soñ.bas.ma.legs.pa'i.tshul./Man.ju'i.
 rgyal.po.gcig.dañ.goñ.gi.rgyal.rabs.gñis.te.rgyal.rabs.gsum.gyi.bar.
 bod.kyi.mchod.yon.dañ.'brel.zab.che.žiu.ñed.rañ.gis.goñ.du.phyin.
 pa'i.bdag.rkyen.mtha'.klas.pa.mdzad.tshul.dbañ.rañ.la.rgyus.yod.
 pas.goñ.du.bsam.sbyor.log.pa.ni.rmi.lam.tsam.du.yañ.mi.byed./Byas.
 na.dkon.cog.thugs.khrel.bar.ma.zad.khyed.rañ.yañ.že.khrel.ba.las.
 'os.ci.mchis./dBañ.dañ.sñon.chad.'dris.med.na'añ.da.lam.gsar.du.
 ño.śes.thogs.pa.dañ.rnam.'dren.śākya.señ.ge'i.rjes.su.žugs.pa.rnams.
 'gro.ba.mtha'.dag.la.mñes.gśin.par.byed.pa.khyad.chos.yin.pas.'khor.
 bcas.la.bsam.pa.rnam.dag.ma.gtogs.log.sgrub.byed.rgyu.med./Lar.
 nas.bod.pas.phan.tshun.gñis.(p.211b:)kar.śogs.nus.mi.thon./Sog.
 po.o.rod.ni.drag.śul.ches.pas.tshañ.mar.bsdebs.gsig.las.spros.pa'i.
 legs.tshogs.med.tshul.sogs.mchog.gsum.thugs.mi.khrel.ba'i.rgyu.
 mtshan.gyi.yig.ñag.dañ.bcas.gser.yig.pa.rnams.rdzoñ.bda'.byas.pas.
 dbañ.de.blo.gros.kyi.dkyil.che.ba'i.ñams.kyis.mgu.že.khrel.dañ.ma.
 mgu.yid.ches.kyi.dper.soñ.

In the course of the internal strife between the ruler and the minister in China, Phiñ siñ dBañ (= P'ing Hsi Wang 平西王 Wu San-kuei) expressly sent the Shou Beilé (首貝勒) Chēñ-kui (?) with letters. Although there were some discussions as to whether it was proper or improper to receive this envoy, I conferred with the sDe-pa and decided that, as the former custom, that it was in the tradition of Tibet to receive envoys from all directions, was well-known, we should act accordingly. I accepted the presents and the letters from the envoy, as was fit. In reply to the letter, I wrote:

'Between you (two), the Ruler and the Minister, a difference having arisen, the subjects have been afflicted with misery, and there is unhappiness. For three dynasties, namely, the (dynasty of the) Kings of Manchuria and the two dynasties of Emperors (Yüan and Ming), the connection of Object-of-Worship and Giver-of-Alms, which has existed between (China and) Tibet, has been very deep. The Prince himself (Wu San-kuei) knows the unending gifts which I myself received when I went to the Emperor. I cannot even dream of harbouring rebellious designs against the Emperor. If I did, not only would the Three Jewels be put to shame, but you, too,—what else could you do than to be ashamed? Although, previously, I

have not corresponded with the Prince, now that a new acquaintance (with the Prince) has begun, it being the particularity of the followers of the Leader, Śākya-simha (the Buddha), to love all beings, not only (do I bear) entirely pure thoughts towards (you and) your followers, but (any idea of) doing harm (to you) is baseless. Further, the Tibetans will not go out to intervene between the two parties. With regard to the Western Mongolians and the Oirad, because of their great fierceness, they are mixed up and scattered everywhere and cannot, therefore, very well gather together in order to go out'.

Together with a letter containing facts such as these, which would not disgrace the Three Jewels, I bade farewell to the ambassadors (from Wu San-kuei).

(It was reported to me later that on receiving the letter), the Prince, putting to shame the joy which is caused by a mind broad-based on wisdom, became the (very) pattern of one who adheres to unhappiness¹⁹⁾.

It is apparent that this letter is not inspired by any partisanship for Wu San-kuei. What the Dalai Lama does now, is to withdraw his active intervention on behalf of the Imperialists. It will be remembered that when Le-du Jarγuci had appeared on 19/20 May 1674, the Dalai Lama had had serious doubts about such an intervention. Nevertheless, in deference to the wishes of his secular Worshippers-Patrons-and-Protectors, he had sent an expedition to rGyal-thañ. Now, he reverts to his own position and decides to withdraw the military intervention on behalf of the Imperialists, which he had previously undertaken.

Hardly had Wu San-kuei's (first) embassy left, with the letter of 12 July 1674, than a second embassy arrived on 5 August 1674, consisting of Śe'u Pe'i-ža'u (= Shou Pei-tzū 首貝子) Chi-Te (?) and Chên va'i ku ve (?)²⁰⁾. They presented gifts and presents. The next day, a third embassy arrived consisting of Śe'u Pe'i (li or ža'u) Phan yul leñ (?) and Teñ miñ ka'u (?). From these latter envoys, the Dalai Lama "listened to reports of the state of affairs, and heard detailed accounts in private" (or "in secret", *sger-du*). The emissaries left on 16 August 1674²¹⁾.

¹⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 211 a-b [Śiñ-sTag, 6th Hor month, 9th day (chia-yin, 6th month, 9th day = 12 July 1674)].

²⁰⁾ Chên va'i ku ve = Jen wai kuo 任外國 = (Minister or official) responsible for (relations with) foreign countries?

²¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 213a, 213b, 215a [Śiñ-sTag, 7th Hor month, 4th day, 5th day and 15th day (chia-yin, 7th month, 4th day, 5th day, and 15th day = 5, 6 and 16 August 1674)].

Meanwhile, Le-du Jarγuci returned to Peking and submitted his report on 11 August 1674²²⁾. Having learnt that Dalai Khung-taiji of Koko-nor would attack Wu San-kuei's forces in Ssu-chuan through Sung-p'an, the Emperor "made known to the two provinces of Yün-nan and Ssu-chuan, the reasons why Dalai Khung-taiji would advance troops into Ssu-chuan"²³⁾. As the two provinces themselves were under Wu's control, such an order could only have been made to the Imperialist forces operating against those provinces. Rab-brTan of Khañ-gSar and bSod-nams dBañ-po of 'Bum-thañ, whom the Dalai Lama had sent as his envoys to China, with Le-du Zarγuci, returned to Lhasa on 20 December 1674. They had not gone all the way to Peking, but had traded at Koko-nor and had returned from there to Lhasa²⁴⁾.

It must have been in the autumn of 1674 that, partly as a result of Wu San-kuei's endeavours in the summer of 1674 and partly because of the receipt of information from Koko-nor that Dalai Khung-taiji begged to be excused from attacking Wu, on the ground that the Sung-p'an route was dangerous, the Dalai Lama decided to send the Emperor the Memorial which arrived some time before 21 May 1675, and which is referred to in the CSL document bearing that date, in the following terms:

When the Dalai Taiji, excusing himself on the ground that the Sung-p'an route was dangerous, did not enter Ssu-chuan, the (Dalai) Lama further memorialised, saying:

'Although the Mongol troops are brave, it is difficult to enter the border. Even if they capture the towns, I fear their covetousness and occupation. Moreover, the south-west (territory of the Empire) is hot, and the climate will not suit them. If Wu San-kuei is driven to the end of his resources, I pray that he should not be put to death. In case he is uncontrollable, it is best that he be allotted territory, and that the military operations cease'²⁵⁾.

With regard to Dalai Khung-taiji excusing himself from attacking Wu San-kuei, there is, as we shall see, evidence in a CSL document dated 14

²²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 48, pp. 19 a-20 b, K'ang Hsi 13th year, 7th month, jen-shen (11 August 1674); *ibid.*, p. 25 b (kuei-wei = 22 August 1674). sByor-ra-chi appears as Chu-la-chi 朱拉齊 in the latter document.

²³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 54, p. 17 a, K'ang Hsi 14th year, 4th month, i-mao (21 May 1675).

²⁴⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 226 a [Śin-sTag, 11th Hor month, 24th day (chia-yin, 11th month, 24th day = 20 December 1674)].

²⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 54, p. 17 a, K'ang Hsi 14th year, 4th month, i-mao (21 May 1675).

June 1678²⁶⁾, of an alliance between Wu and Dalai Khung-taiji. It may very well be that this alliance dated back to 1674, and is an explanation of Dalai Khung-taiji's reluctance to attack Wu. If this is so, then we must see, in the spring and summer of 1674, a period of great—and successful—diplomatic activity by Wu San-kuei, directed towards Tibet and Ch'ing-hai.

On 8 February 1675, a fourth embassy arrived at Lhasa from Wu San-kuei, having travelled through Dar-rTse-mDo with 20 *srañs* of gold for the Dalai Lama and products made of 10 *srañs* of gold for the Khošot Khan (Dalai Khan). In reply, the Dalai Lama sent, without delay, a messenger carrying precious things for Wu San-kuei²⁷⁾.

Twelve days later, on 20 February 1675, news arrived of the complete success of the expedition to rGyal-thañ, led by Prince bKra-śis, Öljeitü Baatur²⁸⁾. Thanks for the victory was offered to the Guardian-Deities on 2 May 1675.

At the same time, on 1 May 1675, the Dalai Lama gave a reception to the Incarnate of sTag-luñ and Blo-bZañ dGe-sloñ of dBur-sTod, who had arrived as ambassadors from the Emperor of China, and accepted the Imperial Edict. The next day, he gave them presents²⁹⁾.

Meanwhile, in Peking, on 21 May 1675, the Emperor received news of an attack by the Mongols of Koko-nor—subjects of Dalai Khung-taiji, and hence of the Dalai Lama—on some Manchu-Chinese forts. As before, the Emperor sent envoys, with an Imperial Edict, to Dalai Khung-taiji, asking him to restrain his tribe and not to create trouble at the frontier. "It so happened that an envoy from the Dalai Lama arrived at Peking (at this time). He was also given an Imperial Letter (for the Dalai Lama, which was also) to be transmitted to Dalai Taiji".

In this letter, the Emperor spoke of Le-du Jaryuci's embassy to Lhasa in 1674, of the Dalai Lama's ordering Dalai Khung-taiji to attack Wu San-kuei through Sung-p'an, of Dalai Khung-taiji's backing out, and of the Dalai Lama's Memorial requesting that Wu San-kuei should not be put to death, and suggesting that it would be best to allot Wu territory and cease military operations against him.

²⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 73, pp. 13 a-b, K'ang Hsi 17th year, 4th month, i-wei (14 June 1678). See this book, later, p. 220.

²⁷⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 230 a [Śiñ-Yos, 1st Hor month, 14th day (i-mao, 1st month, 14th day = 8 February 1675)].

²⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 231 a [Śiñ-Yos, 1st Hor month, 26th day (i-mao, 1st month, 26th day = 20 February 1675)].

²⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 239 b-240 a [Śiñ-Yos, 3rd Hor month, 7th and 8th days (i-mao, 4th month, 7th and 8th days = 1 and 2 May 1675)].

Wu San-kuei was a petty officer in Ming times. His father was killed by the roving bandit (Li Tzū-cheng). Humbly (thereafter) Wu San-kuei begged to submit. Shih Tsu Chang Hwang-ti (1643-61) graciously elevated him and enfeoffed him as a Prince. His son was married to a Princess. We further favoured him and granted him the title of Prince of the First Class. The favours which he received not only exceeded those which are given to Ministers of the Court, but have also been rare since ancient times. Wu San-kuei was ungrateful to these extreme favours. He stirred up dissension and oppressed people. This made Heaven and mankind alike indignant. We, as the Sovereign of the people of the Empire, how can We bear to allot him land and to cease military operations? If he really repents of his sins and returns to his allegiance, We shall punish him with less than the death sentence ³⁰⁾.

In the 7th Hor month of the year Wood-Hare (i-mao, 7th month = 21 August-18 September 1675), the envoys of the Emperor of China who had arrived at Lhasa on 1 May 1675, left Lhasa for Peking. Together with them, the Dalai Lama sent his own envoy, namely, the sDe-pa of gNas-gSar ³¹⁾. Almost immediately after they had left, two messengers—by name, rGyal-mTshan Don-Grub, the dBon-po of A-žaṅ, and the Rab-'byams-pa sByin-pa bSam-gTan—from the Emperor of China arrived at Lhasa. They came, probably, with the Edict of 21 May 1675 ³²⁾.

The Dalai Lama's reply went out on 29 September 1675, with the envoys from China, as well as his own envoys to China, namely, the Rab-'byams-pa Blo-bZaṅ Don-Grub and Lam-gDoṅ-pa Ṅag-dBaṅ Grags-pa ³³⁾. On 27 December 1675, the Dalai Lama's ambassadors—probably those who had left Lhasa in the 7th Hor month of the year Wood-Hare (i-mao, 7th month = 21 August-18 September 1675)—arrived in Peking ³⁴⁾. In the following spring, the envoys who had left Lhasa on 29 September 1675, appeared in Peking. Apparently, there was a messenger from the

³⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 54, pp. 17 a-b, K'ang Hsi 14th year, 4th month, i-mao (21 May 1675).

³¹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, pp. 258 a-b [Śiñ-Yos, 7th Hor month (i-mao, 7th month = 21 August-18 September 1675)].

³²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 259 b [Śiñ-Yos, 7th Hor month, 18th day (i-mao, 7th month, 18th day = 7 September 1675)].

³³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 260 b [Śiñ-Yos, 8th Hor month, 11th day (i-mao, 8th month, 11th day = 29 September 1675)].

³⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 58, p. 6 a, K'ang Hsi 14th year, 11th month, i-wei (27 December 1675).

Pan-chen Lama as well ³⁵). These latter envoys—those who had been sent out from Lhasa on 29 September 1675 and had arrived at Peking on 11 March 1676—returned to Lhasa in the 9th Hor month of the year Fire-Dragon (ping-chen, 9th month = 7 October–5 November 1676) ³⁶). The sDe-pa of gNas-gSar returned to Lhasa with Imperial ambassadors on 17 November 1676 ³⁷).

The Imperial envoys left Lhasa on 16 April 1677 ³⁸), and returned to Peking, with a Memorial from the Dalai Lama, on 26 October 1677. The CSL document which records their arrival, reads as follows:

Before this, in the 14th year of K'ang Hsi, the Emperor had sent an envoy to ask the Dalai Lama's health, and had bestowed on him Imperial Letters. Now, the Dalai Lama sent an envoy asking the Emperor's well-being and thanking him for his grace. The Memorandum (from the Dalai Lama) said:

'The Emperor who is thought of with respect has become the Sovereign and Ruler of the Empire. A hundred million subjects give their loyalty to him. He has not cast aside the sects which follow the Buddha and he has further favoured me by sending envoys (to me). I have happily met with extremely generous alms. I personally received them with my (own) hands. I respectfully present red and white soft mats and other things, and hope that the Emperor will see clearly (into my heart) and sympathise with it. I respectfully bend my body (in the secular manner of greeting) and join my palms (in the clerical manner of greeting). With purified heart, I present upwards this memorandum'.

On this memorandum, the following Edict was issued:

'Let the tribute and presents be examined and accepted' ³⁹).

³⁵) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 59, p. 14 b, K'ang Hsi 15th year, 1st month, chi-yu (11 March 1676).

³⁶) 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 21 b [Me-'Brug, 9th Hor month (ping-chen, 9th month = 7 October–5 November 1676)].

³⁷) *Ibid.*, p. 22 b [Me-'Brug, 10th Hor month, 12th day (ping-chen, 10th month, 12th day = 17 November 1676)]. Technically, the sDe-pa of gNas-gSar and the Imperial ambassadors who arrived with him at Lhasa on 17 November 1676, must have been asked to leave Peking in the 14th year of K'ang Hsi (26 January 1675–13 February 1676)—either in the 11th (17 December 1675–14 January 1676) or the 12th (15 January–13 February 1676) month—but it is doubtful if they actually started on their journey before the spring. In any case, they arrived at the Court of Lhasa on 17 November 1676.

³⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 34 a [Me-sBrul, 3rd Hor month, 15th day (ting-ssu, 3rd month, 15th day = 16 April 1677)].

³⁹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 69, pp. 13 b–14 a, K'ang Hsi 16th year, 10th month, chia-chen (26 October 1677).

In the new year, on 3 February 1678, a fresh embassy from the Dalai Lama—whose despatch from Lhasa does not seem to have been recorded in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography—arrived in Peking⁴⁰⁾.

By that year (1678), Shensi, Fukien and Kwang-tung had surrendered to the Imperialists and Wu San-kuei was obviously in a dangerous position. On 14 June 1678, the Emperor received a Memorial from the Provincial Commander-in-Chief of Kansu, Chang Yung 張勇, in which the latter said that Wu San-kuei had sent presents to Dalai Taiji of Koko-nor and had made an alliance with him, with the intention of invading the Empire. Chang Yung pointed to the existence of a trade-route through Mao chou 茂州 and Sung-p'an 松潘 (in Ssu-chuan) to Hsi-ning, and feared the advantage which might accrue to the rebels if they seized the profits of the trade in tea and horses. Chang Yung was ordered to move from Lan-chou to Kan-chou, and to strengthen the defences⁴¹⁾. We have already suggested that the alliance between Wu San-kuei and Dalai Khung-taiji of Koko-nor may date back to 1674.

On 6 September 1678, the Dalai Lama received the last embassy from Wu San-kuei⁴²⁾. We are told nothing about the matter on which the embassy was sent. In any case, possibly before the embassy returned to Yun-nan-fu, Wu San-kuei died, on 2 October 1678 (K'ang Hsi 17th year, 8th month, 17th day, i-yu)⁴³⁾, and was succeeded by his son, Wu Shih-fan 吳世璠.

At about this time, on 8 October 1678 to be precise, the Dalai Lama received an embassy from the Emperor. This embassy had, possibly, been sent out with the Dalai Lama's embassy which was received at Peking on 3 February 1678. The name of the senior Imperial ambassador was Nomun Khan dGe-sloñ; that of the junior one, Erdeni dGe-sloñ⁴⁴⁾. On 23 November 1678, the Memorial which was to be presented to the Emperor of China was drawn up in "prose which was in the style of poetry"

⁴⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 71, p. 7 a, K'ang Hsi 17th year, 1st month, chia-shen (3 February 1678).

⁴¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 73, pp. 13 a-b, K'ang Hsi 17th year, 4th month, i-wei (14 June 1678).

⁴²⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 88 b [Sa-rTa, 7th Hor month, 11th day (mou-wu, 7th month, 11th day = 6 September 1678)].

⁴³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 76, p. 15 a, K'ang Hsi 17th year, 8th month, i-wei (12 October 1678).

⁴⁴⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 92 b [Sa-rTa, 8th Hor month, 23rd day (mou-wu, 8th month, 23rd day = 8 October 1678)].

(*lhug. sñan. ñag. gi. lam. nas. dran̄s. pa*)⁴⁵⁾, and handed over to the envoys from China, who left on 22 December 1678⁴⁶⁾.

To come back to South-West China. In 1679, probably as a sign of the re-establishment of Tibetan influence in rGyal-thañ—following the success of Prince bKra-śis Öljeitü Baatur's expedition in 1674-75—the monastery of dGa'-ldan Sum-rTsen Gliñ was founded in rGyal-thañ, on the ruins of an older monastery⁴⁷⁾. By 1680, Wu Shih-fan's dominions had shrunk to Yünnan and Kuei-chou. The Emperor, apparently, wished to know more about Wu San-kuei's and Wu Shih-fan's relations with the Dalai Lama. No doubt, he was still intrigued by what might have seemed to him as the Dalai Lama's change of mind in 1674-75. He, therefore, issued orders, on 9 June 1680, to all generals in the field to make a search for the exchange of letters between Wu San-kuei and the Dalai Lama, and to hand them over to the Emperor as soon as they were found⁴⁸⁾.

One Imperial official—Feng Su 馮 甦, one of the two Vice-Presidents of the Board of Punishments—apparently had information about, or suspected, the flight of Wu's partisans to Tibet. He prayed that the Emperor immediately send a letter to the Dalai Lama ordering him not to grant asylum to the remnants of the rebels, and not to let them enter his territory. But this prayer was disallowed as unnecessary, in view of the agreement with the Dalai Lama in 1674⁴⁹⁾.

Meanwhile, in Lhasa, on 4 June 1680, the Dalai Lama received envoys from China, whose sending out from Peking does not seem to have been recorded in the CSL⁵⁰⁾.

The Emperor of China having been entirely victorious in the war against U-san-gu (Wu San-kuei), I sent the Rab-'byams-pa of bSam-Blo, Tshul-khrims rNam-rGyal, and Blo-bZañ Tshe-riñ with a memorial (*žu-śog*) drawn up in the style of poetry, and many well-produced gifts⁵¹⁾.

⁴⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 100 a [Sa-rTa, 10th Hor month, 10th day (mou-wu, 10th month, 10th day = 23 November 1678)].

⁴⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 103 a [Sa-rTa, 11th Hor month, 9th day (mou-wu, 11th month, 9th day = 22 December 1678)].

⁴⁷⁾ VSP, p. 374.

⁴⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 90, p. 5 a, K'ang Hsi 19th year, 5th month, hsin-chou (9 June 1680).

⁴⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 90, p. 5 b, K'ang Hsi 19th year, 5th month, hsin-chou (9 June 1680).

⁵⁰⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 185 a [ICags-sPre, 5th Hor month, 8th day (keng-shen, 5th month, 8th day = 4 June 1680)].

⁵¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 187 b [ICags-sPre, 5th Hor month, 25th day) keng-shen, 5th month, 25th day = 21 June 1680)].

Tshul-khrims rNam-rGyal and Blo-bZaŋ Tshe-riñ were, probably, the envoys from the Dalai Lama, whose arrival is reported in the CSL under the date 25 January 1681⁵²⁾. On 24 July 1680, only fifty days after the receipt of the embassy through whom he heard the news of the Emperor's victory over Wu San-kuei, the Dalai Lama seems to have received a fresh embassy from China⁵³⁾. One of these ambassadors was the Tümed, Phyag-na rDo-rJe, as we learn from an entry in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, dated 11 October 1680⁵⁴⁾. Apparently, they returned to Peking in the 5th month of the 20th year of K'ang Hsi (16 June-14 July 1681)⁵⁵⁾. On 12 October 1681, the Dalai Lama received the Rab-'byams-pa of lCañ-sKya as an envoy from the Emperor of China. He had, obviously, been sent out after the arrival, in Peking, of Tshul-khrims rNam-rGyal and Blo-bZaŋ Tshe-riñ on 25 January 1681, because the name of the second envoy who came with the Rab-'byams-pa of lCañ-sKya is given as the Oirad Chos-rJe, Blo-bZaŋ Tshe-riñ⁵⁶⁾.

We have now to retrace our steps a little, and get back to the early part of 1681.

By the first month of the 20th year of K'ang Hsi (18 February-19 March 1681), Kuei-chou was entirely recaptured by the Manchus. Not very long thereafter, Wu Shih-fan was besieged in the city of Yünnan.

Wei Yuan says:

(吳)世璠復割地,乞師,于西藏達賴喇嘛.其書亦爲我軍所得.

(Wu) Shih-fan wandte sich nun wieder an den Dalai Lama und bat ihn gegen Abtretung von Landgebiet um Truppen. Aber der betreffende Brief wurde von unseren Soldaten abgefangen⁵⁷⁾.

⁵²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 93, p. 14 a, K'ang Hsi 19th year, 12th month, hsin-mao (25 January 1681).

⁵³⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 191 b [lCags-sPre, 6th Hor month, 29th day (keng-shen, 6th month, 29th day = 24 July 1680)].

⁵⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 202 b [lCags-sPre, 8th Hor month, 19th day (keng-shen, intercalary 8th month, 19th day = 11 October 1680)].

⁵⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 96, p. 6 b, K'ang Hsi 20th year, 5th month (16 June-14 July 1681).

⁵⁶⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 245 a [lCags-Bya, 9th Hor month, 2nd day (hsin-yu, 9th month, 2nd day = 12 October 1681)].

⁵⁷⁾ Sheng Wu Chi, ch. 2, Part I, p. 16 b; Haenisch, « Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas unter der Mandschu Dynastie, II, Der Aufstand des Wu San-kuei aus dem Sheng Wu Chi übersetzt », *T'oung Pao*, XIV, 1913, p. 65.

In another passage, he says, further:

及大兵圍吳世璠于雲南。世璠通書西藏割中甸維西二地。求援于青海。其書亦爲我軍所獲。朝廷不之問也。

(When) the Great (Imperial) Army had surrounded Wu Shih-fan in Yünnan city, (Wu) Shih-fan sent a letter to Tibet offering to cede the two territories of Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and asking for help from Ch'ing-hai. That letter was also intercepted by our army. The Court did not make further enquiries about it⁵⁸.

The CSL tells us that the rebel general, Li Fa-mei 李發美 handed over to the Manchu general, Jangtai 章泰 the letter(s) from Wu Shih-fan to the Dalai Lama, regarding the cession of the two neighbouring prefectures (*fu* 府) of Hao-ching 鶴慶 and Li-kiang⁵⁹. Since Chung-tien and Wei-hsi, both in Li-kiang *fu* had been ceded to the Tibetans in 1668—and recovered since—by Wu San-kuei, Wu Shih-fan's offer now was for the whole of the *fu* of Li-kiang, as well as the *fu* of Hao-ching. This piece of intelligence does not seem to have satisfied the Emperor, for, on 27 July 1681, we find him ordering the general, Chao Liang-tung 趙良棟 to question personally the rebel officers who had submitted to the Manchus and who had been to the Dalai Lama's place before their submission⁶⁰.

Following this, Jangtai further informed the Emperor that in the 9th year of K'ang Hsi (21 January 1670–8 February 1671), Wu San-kuei had ceded Chung-tien to the Mongols, *i.e.* to the O-lu-t'e of Eastern Tibet⁶¹. We have seen that, according to the local chronicles of Li-kiang, Wu San-kuei had surrendered Wei-hsi and Chung-tien to the Tibetans in 1668, and have suggested that, shortly after the beginning of the rebellion, he had recovered these territories for himself, and even penetrated into rGyal-thañ. Thereafter, the territories must have been recovered by the Tibetans as a result of Prince bKra-sis's expedition (1674–75). Wu Shih-fan, as we have just seen, proposed to let the Tibetans keep Wei-hsi and Chung-tien, and also offered them the remainder of Li-kiang *fu*, as well as the *fu*

⁵⁸ Sheng Wu Chi, ch. 5, p. 5 a.

⁵⁹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 96, p. 11 a, K'ang Hsi 20th year, 5th month, hsin-ssu (14 July 1681).

⁶⁰ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 96, pp. 16 a–b, K'ang Hsi 20th year, 6th month, chia-wu (27 July 1681).

⁶¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 98, p. 3 a, K'ang Hsi 20th year, 10th month, chia-shen (14 November 1681).

of Hao-ching. In any case, the Tibetans were in occupation of Chung-tien in 1681. For, we find Jangtai proposing to the Emperor a postponement of the effort to recover Chung-tien from the Mongols (*i.e.* the O-lu-t'e of Eastern Tibet), to whom, according to Jangtai's information, Wu San-kuei had ceded the territory in 1670.

The Emperor, noting that Chung-tien had, formerly, been controlled, for military purposes, from Hao-ching/Li-kiang, ordered Imperial troops to proceed to Chung-tien. "When the Dalai Lama's envoy arrives (in Peking), the Board of Dependencies should send him a letter, in the form of an Explanatory Edict, with regard to the reason for the sending of troops to guard (Chung-tien)"⁶².

The reason, as far as can be made out, was to forestall the rebel general, Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱 — who had fled to Hao-ching/Li-kiang—from seeking refuge in Chung-tien, and using it as an escape route to Eastern Tibet. What is noticeable, however, is the fact that the Emperor felt it necessary to explain his action of sending troops to Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama.

On 7 December 1681 (K'ang Hsi 20th year, 10th month, 28th day, ting-wei), Wu Shih-fan committed suicide. On 8 December 1681, the city of Yünnan surrendered. Thus ended the rebellion begun by Wu San-kuei eight years ago⁶³.

However, the Tibetans and O-lu-t'e were still entrenched in Chung-tien; and there was still the mutual trade-mart at Pei-sheng chou. Some time within the 21st year of K'ang Hsi (7 February 1682–26 January 1683), the mutual trade was forbidden, but the Tibetan and O-lu-t'e lamas and troops remained at Chung-tien. The Governor-General of Ssü-chuan and Yunnan, Ts'ai Yu-jung 蔡毓榮, memorialised the Throne, reporting the proposal of the "local chieftain and prefect" (t'u chih fu 土知府) of Li-kiang, Mu Yao 木堯 — scion of the Mu family of Li-kiang—to send envoys to the Dalai Lama, "to announce to him the virtue and majesty of the Emperor and to persuade him to order (the Mongols and Tibetans of Chung-tien) to return to their original territories". The proposal received the Imperial approval⁶⁴.

⁶² CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 98, p. 3 b, K'ang Hsi 20th year, 10th month, chia-shen (14 November 1681). For military purposes, the two prefectures of Hao-ching and Li-Kiang were grouped into one.

⁶³ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 98, pp. 15 b–16 b, K'ang Hsi 20th year, 11th month, kuei-hai (23 December 1681).

⁶⁴ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 104, pp. 23 a–b, K'ang Hsi 21st year, 9th month, chi-wei (15 October 1682).

What happened thereafter is not clear. A CSL document dated 29 October 1683, records that the Brigadier-General (Tsung-ping kuan 總兵官) of Hao-ching/Li-kiang, Ssü Shih-liu 四 什 六, having been killed, the Emperor sanctioned his burial according to proper ritual⁶⁵. Perhaps a clash between the Imperial forces and the Tibetans had taken place. Nothing more than a conjecture, however, can be made.

Such is the history of Sino-Tibetan relations in the period of the War of the Three Feudatories (1673-81). The picture we get of the fifth Dalai Lama during this period cannot, in all fairness, be said to be very flattering to him. It is certainly not the picture of an authoritarian autocrat. Rather, it seems to be the picture of a person who wishes to please all and, hence, pleases few. Early in 1674, against his own better judgment, he accepted the advice of his princely Worshippers-Patrons-and-Protectors and sent an expedition to rGyal-thaṅ. He also acted according to the Emperor's "order" or request and asked Dalai Khung-taiji of Koko-nor to invade Ssü-chuan, through Sung-p'an. Later, in that same year, when Wu San-kuei had opened relations with the Dalai Lama, and also, perhaps, with Dalai Huṅ-taiji, the Dalai Lama accepted Dalai Khung-taiji's unwillingness to invade Ssü-chuan; and also requested the Emperor to come to terms with Wu San-kuei. This roused the Emperor's suspicions and, later, when the rebellion was being crushed, we find him issuing his order of 9 June 1680, to all generals in the field, to search for the correspondence between Wu San-kuei and the Dalai Lama.

This order of 9 June 1680 should be seen together with the order issued about 3 1/2 months later, on 24 September 1680, with reference to an entirely different sphere where the Dalai Lama's influence prevailed, viz., Mongolia. On that day (24 September 1680), the Emperor issued orders to his Board of Dependencies to accept tribute from the Mongolian Khans, without referring to the credentials which the Dalai Lama had issued to them⁶⁶. Apparently, the Emperor was trying to detach the Mongols from their ties with Tibet. The reason for the attempt can be traced to the Emperor's dissatisfaction with the Dalai Lama's policy during the War of the Three Feudatories.

* * *

We conclude this chapter with a note on Ta-chien-lu. What happened at Ta-chien-lu during the War of the Three Feudatories, we do not know,

⁶⁵ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 112, p. 10 b, K'ang Hsi 22nd year, 9th month, mou-yin (29 October 1683).

⁶⁶ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 91, pp. 22 b-23 a, K'ang Hsi 19th year, intercalary 8th month, mou-tzu (24 September 1680). See below, pp. 256-257.

apart from the fact that, like Ssü-chuan province, it was under Wu San-kuei's control. We do, however, hear something about it in the subsequent years of the century, but it will be convenient to deal with it here.

On 5 November 1691, an oral memorial from the Dalai Lama arrived at the Ch'ing Court, in which the Dalai Lama said:

Before the exchange of hostilities between the Khalkas and the O-lu-t'e (in 1687/88), the Tüšiyetü Khan (of the Northern Khalkhas) and dGa'-ldan (Khan of the Jungars) sent envoys to the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai, each requesting auxiliary troops. Dalai Taiji came and informed me (the Dalai Lama) (about this). I said: 'If the Khalkhas and the O-lu-t'e are at peace, (then,) I am happy. I do not wish to be partial, and to help (one against the other)'. I ordered the Taiji bKra-sis Baatur (the 10th son of Gushi Khan) to command troops and to garrison the territory of Ta-chien-lu in Ssü-chuan. (In doing so,) I had no hostile intention. Now they have all been withdrawn⁶⁷).

Ta-chien-lu, therefore, was under Tibetan occupation from 1687-88 to 1691.

On 21 March 1693, the Dalai Lama's reply to the Imperial Edict of 5 November 1691, arrived at the Court of Peking. In this, the Dalai Lama said:

With regard to Ta-chien-lu and such other places, they lie between (territories inhabited by) Chinese and Tibetans. I have received the Emperor's Edict, saying: 'There is no need for Tibetan traders (at Ta-chien-lu). Hence, stop them (from coming to Ta-chien-lu)'. Therefore, the Tibetans are again acting (*i.e.* trading) as before (*i.e.* by other routes). Although there have been misdeeds in the territory of the Han people, I feared that, if I sent out Mongol (troops) to go there, it would not conform to the Emperor's desire. Therefore, I did not send them⁶⁸).

In a part of the letter not reproduced above, the Dalai Lama apparently said, or implied, that he had retained "the lama encampment" at Ta-

⁶⁷ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 153, pp. 4 a-b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 9th month, ting-mao (5 November 1691).

⁶⁸ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 158, pp. 15 a-b, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 2nd month, chi-chou (21 March 1693).

chien-lu—apparently, the dGa'-ldan 'Gro-phan Glin founded in 1677⁶⁹). To this the Emperor said:

You, O Lama, further memorialise about the mutual trade-mart at Ta-chien-lu (and say that) you only wish to have an encampment to guard the frontier (t'un shu 屯戍), there. At present, the Empire is at peace. There is not a single trouble. You, O Lama, have communicated with Our Court by means of envoys, for several years. What enmities and what suspicions are there? If you, O Lama, establish a garrison (chu fang 駐防) there, Our Inner Territory will certainly consider (the establishment of) additional frontier posts (shu shou 戍守). The people of the Inner Territory and those outside will both be troubled. Moreover, the soldiers of Our Inner Territory are kept very strictly under control. Without Our Imperial Edict (ordering them to do so), how can they dare to go outside the border-territory, of their own accord? You, O Lama, need only restrain your dependents strictly, and not let them behave recklessly. What quarrels and what beginnings (of quarrels) can there (then) be? (Thus,) there is, perhaps, no need to establish frontier-guard troops (shu ping 戍兵)⁷⁰).

In 1696, after the Battle of Jao Modo, the Governor of Ssu-chuan, Yu Yang-chih 于養志, met the officials of the "Tibetan lama encampment" (烏思藏喇嘛營) at Ta-chien-lu, and examined the Sino-Tibetan border in that area. Having done so, the Governor of Ssu-chuan gave his opinion that

from Ming times, to now, it has been the territory which the tribal chieftains of the Inner Territory have controlled. It is appropriate (therefore) to enter it in the (Chinese) Register of Population (pan t'u 版圖). But, the Tibetans rely on the tea-trade for their living, and have lived there for many years. (They should be allowed to remain).

On receipt of this Memorial, the Board of Dependencies proposed that the Emperor permit the tea-trade as usual.

⁶⁹) See this book, above, pp. 62-63.

⁷⁰) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 158, pp. 17 a-b, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 2nd month, chi-chou (21 March 1693).

With regard to the affair of the Tibetans, we ought to send a despatch to the Dalai Lama, letting him issue an Explanatory Edict to the officials of the (lama) encampment (ordering them) to obey the (Imperial) officials.

This proposal was accepted, and Ta-chien-lu thus became a part of the Inner Territory of the Empire. The Tibetans were allowed to retain a trade-mart at Ta-chien-lu ⁷¹).

Ta-chien-lu comes into the news again in 1699-1700. It seems that there was a fracas between the lamas of the "Tibetan lama encampment" (i.e. dGa'-ldan 'Gro-phan Glin) in Ta-chien-lu and the Native Chieftain of Ta-chien-lu called She-la Ch'a-pa 蛇蜡喳吧 (= lCags-la rGyal-po, the King of lCags-la?), in which the latter was beaten to death by an official of the lama encampment called Tieh-pa (= sDe-pa) Ch'ang ts'e chi lieh 喋吧昌側集烈. The Provincial Commander-in-Chief of Ssü-chuan, Yo Sheng-lung 岳昇龍 sent troops. The Provincial Governor, Yu Yang-chi, preferred to work by other means. According to Yo Sheng-lung, he bribed the Tibetans to withdraw. He then wrote a Memorial to the Throne, accusing the Provincial Commander-in-Chief of sending troops in order to create strife. Yo Sheng-lung, on his part, accused the Provincial Governor of being in collusion with the Tibetans, and of making private profit out of the tea-trade. Eventually, both officials were removed from their posts, and the sDe-pa of Tibet (Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho) was informed that the mutual trade must not lead to strife. He was also asked to seize and hand over the Tieh-pa (= sDe-pa) Ch'ang ts'e chi lieh ⁷²). At the same time, the Imperial encampment at Hua-lin Ying 化林營, in Han-yüan Hsien 漢源縣, was moved down to Ta-chien-lu. While moving down from Hua-lin Ying, the Imperial troops were attacked by the tri-

⁷¹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 176, pp. 7 a-b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 9th month, kuei-hai (5 October 1696).

⁷²) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 194, p. 7 b, K'ang Hsi 38th year, 7th month, ting-hai (15 August 1699); pp. 9 b-10 a (intercalary 7th month, keng-tzu = 28 August 1699); ch. 197, p. 3 a, K'ang Hsi 39th year, 1st month, jen-tzu (8 March 1700); ch. 198, pp. 9 b-11 a, K'ang Hsi 39th year, 3rd month, keng-tzu (25 April 1700); ch. 199, pp. 14 a-b, K'ang Hsi 39th year, 6th month, hsin-wei (25 July 1700). The Imperial Letter to the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho was sent on 14 August 1700—CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 199, pp. 23 b-24 b, K'ang Hsi 39th year, 6th month, hsin-mao (14 August 1700). Ch'ang-ts'e chi-lieh = Byañ-rTse sPyi-rGyal ("the head-ruler of North Peak"), reading, perhaps, *chien* 煎, instead of *lieh* 烈? This would make "Ch'ang-ts'e chi-lieh" the title, not the name, of the sDe-pa in question.

besmen of the Lu river, the river on which Ta-chien-lu is situated. Once again, an Edict was sent to the sDe-pa of Tibet, through Phyag-na rDo-rJe and the Deputy Lieutenant-General Ananda, "urgently requiring him to seize and forward those who killed our troops" ⁷³).

The attack on the Man tribesmen of the Lu river was ordered on 8 January 1701 ⁷⁴), and the east bank of the river was captured ⁷⁵). On 20 February 1701 (K'ang Hsi 40th year, 1st month, 13th day, hsin-chou), the Provincial Commander-in-Chief of Ssu-chuan, T'ang Hsi-shun 唐希順 entered Ta-chien-lu and accepted the submission of the traders, (Tibetan) lamas and (Man) tribesmen ⁷⁶).

A year later, the Emperor sent the lama, Ta-mu-pa Se-erh-chi 達木巴色爾濟, the Senior Secretary Shu-t'u 舒圖 and the Second Secretary T'ieh-t'u 鐵圖 to Ta-chien-lu to supervise the tea-trade. On their arrival at Ta-chien-lu, they were to send a despatch to the sDe-pa of Tibet, asking him to send a high lama to Ta-chien-lu to jointly supervise the trade ⁷⁷).

In the summer of 1702, as we shall see, Manchu influence penetrated to Ñag-roñ (Nya-roñ) in Eastern Tibet ⁷⁸). In the autumn, the Imperial troops were withdrawn from Ta-chien-lu to Cheng-tu ⁷⁹).

⁷³) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 201, pp. 26 a-b, K'ang Hsi 39th year, 10th month, chi-ssu (20 November 1700).

⁷⁴) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 202, pp. 10 a-11 a, K'ang Hsi 39th year, 11th month, mou-wu (8 January 1701).

⁷⁵) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 202, pp. 19 b-20 a, K'ang Hsi 39th year, 12th month, ping-tzu (26 January 1701).

⁷⁶) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 203, pp. 16 b-17 b, K'ang Hsi 40th year, 2nd month, ping-hsü (6 April 1701).

⁷⁷) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 207, pp. 5 b-7 a, K'ang Hsi 41st year, 1st month, ping-wu (20 February 1702).

⁷⁸) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 208, pp. 18 a-b, K'ang Hsi 41st year, intercalary 6th month, chia-wu (7 August 1702). See later, p. 327.

⁷⁹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 210, p. 7 b, K'ang Hsi 41st year, 10th month, i-ssu (16 December 1702).

CHAPTER VII.

DGA'-LDAN: 1) THE ALA-SHAN O-LU-T'E

From the time of the end of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories to the year 1696, the history of Central Asia is dominated by one theme: the struggle between dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji, the Khan of the Jungar branch of the Western Mongols, and the Emperor K'ang Hsi of China. Sino-Tibetan relations during this period can only be seen against the background of this vast conflict. Hence, a few words about dGa'-ldan.

He was born in the year *chia-shen* (1644)¹⁾, the son of Baatur Khung-taiji, who, as we have seen, accompanied Guši Khan on his expedition to Koko-nor in 1636-37, according to both the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, pp. 84 a-b, and the *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 5 b (Lokesh Chandra, p. 434)²⁾. He may also be the Pa-t'u-lu T'ai-chi of the O-lu-t'e tribe (厄魯特部落巴圖魯台吉) to whom an Edict was sent out on 4 October 1656³⁾.

Ocirtu Secen Khan, Khan of the elder branch of the Khošot tribe, which Guši Khan did not take with him to Koko-nor in 1636 was, according to Pallas, dGa'-ldan's father-in-law⁴⁾. Two 17th-century CSL documents, however, make dGa'-ldan-pa, the son of Ocirtu Secen Khan—and not Ocirtu Secen Khan himself—the father-in-law of dGa'-ldan⁵⁾.

1) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 83, p. 19 a, K'ang Hsi 18th year, 8th month, chi-chou (1 October 1679).

2) See this book, above, pp. 117-118.

3) CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 103, pp. 10 b-11 b, Shun Chih 13th year, 8th month, jen-chen (4 October 1656).

4) Pallas, I, p. 40.

5) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 128, p. 5 a, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 11th month, kuei-ssu (27 December 1686), where Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po, the son of dGa'-ldan-pa, the son of Ocirtu Secen Khan, speaks of 我姊阿奴乃噶爾丹之妻, "my elder sister, A-nu, being dGa'-ldan's wife". CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, pp. 17 b-18 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 7th month, mou-wu (1 August 1696) speaks of 鄂齊爾圖車臣汗

Tribute from Ocirtu Secen Khan is recorded in the CSL under the dates 16 December 1647 and 23 December 1655⁶⁾. The VSP records of Ocirtu Secen Khan that, in the year 1649 (Earth-Ox), he patronised the foundation of the monastery of bTsan-po dGa'-ldan Dam-chos Gliñ in the Valley of the Blue Lake⁷⁾. bTsan-po dGa'-ldan Dam-chos Gliñ is also known as sGo-mañ or gSer-khog⁸⁾. On 16 July 1666, the fifth Dalai Lama gave Ocirtu the title of Secen Khan and "raised him to the throne" (*khri . thog . tu . bton .*)⁹⁾. It is as Ocirtu Secen Khan that he is known in historical tradition.

In 1670, in the 3rd Hor month of the year Iron-Dog (keng-hsu, 3rd month = 20 April-18 May 1670), Ocirtu Secen Khan sent messengers to the Dalai Lama, informing him that relations between himself and his brother (Ablai) were not good. The Dalai Lama sent letters counselling peace.

Subsequently, trouble broke out between Señ-ge, the elder brother of dGa'-ldan, and "Bā-khan Ban-de", *i. e.* Baḡa Ban-de, the 3rd son of dGa'-ldan's uncle, Cükür Ubaši (Pelliot's Genealogical Table I, No. 195), the Bagamandschi of Pallas, and the Pa-ha-pan-ti of the CSK. The Dalai Lama's peace efforts came to nothing. Since this report is dated April-May 1670, the trouble between Ocirtu Secen Khan and Ablai must have taken place in 1669, and that between Señ-ge and Baḡa Ban-de—the entry in the fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography is, obviously, a summary of events which took place later than the date of the entry—shortly thereafter¹⁰⁾.

之子噶爾且木巴之女阿海·原與策妄阿喇布坦議婚·噶爾丹自取之· "A-hai, the daughter of Ka-erh-tan-mu-pa (dGa'-ldan-pa), the son of Ocirtu Secen Khan was, at first, promised to be married to TshedBañ Rab-brTan. dGa'-ldan himself seized her". With regard to these two ladies, A-nu and A-hai, Pelliot's Genealogical Table II shows Anu (No. 151) as the daughter of Erdeni Khung-taiji, the son of Ocirtu Secen Khan. She was, therefore, Blo-bZañ mGon-po's first cousin. Akhai (No. 154) was the sister of Blo-bZañ mGon-po. CSK, Fan Pu 3, pp. 11 a-b, also refers to A-nu 阿努 as the grand-daughter (孫女) of Ocirtu Khan. See below, p. 249, Note 65.

⁶⁾ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 35, p. 5a, Shun Chih 4th year, 11th month, ting-ssu (16 December 1647); ch. 95, p. 11b, Shun Chih 12th year, 11th month, ping-wu (23 December 1655).

⁷⁾ VSP, p. 268.

⁸⁾ Wylie, p. 195.

⁹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 17 a [Me-rTa, 6th Hor month, 15th day (ping-wu, 6th month, 15th day = 16 July 1666)].

¹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 94 a-b [ICags-Khyi, 3rd Hor month (keng-hsü, 3rd month = 20 April-18 May 1670)]: Se.chen.rgyal.po.mched.lugs.ma.legs.pa.sogs.o.rod.nañ.du.'tshub.'gyur.

Tribute from Señ-ge is recorded in the CSL on 23 December 1669¹¹⁾. Envoys from Señ-ge are reported at the Court of the Dalai Lama under the date 27 December 1669¹²⁾.

Pallas, I, p. 40, says that Señ-ge was murdered by his brothers Tche-tschen and Batur in January 1671. CSK, Fan Pu 5, p. 2b, mentions Che-chen 車臣 and Cho-te-pa Pa-t'u-erh 卓特巴巴圖爾 as the 1st and 2nd of the 11 sons of Ho-to-ho-chin Pa-t'u-erh Hun-t'ai-chi 和多和沁巴圖爾 琿台吉, the Khutugaitu Baatur Kung-taidschi of Howorth's *History of the Mongols*¹³⁾. Señ-ge was the 6th, and dGa'-ldan the 7th, son of Ho-to-ho-chin.

It is at this juncture that dGa'-ldan comes to the fore. He was a lama, an "Incarnation-Body" (*sPrul-sKu*) living in the hermitage (*dBen-sa*) of the Left Wing of the Oirad. "Left Wing", Tibetan *gYon-ru* = Mongolian *Jegün* Γар = Jungar¹⁴⁾. The fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography says that on the 11th day of the 2nd Hor month of the year Iron-Hog (*hsin-hai* 2nd month, 11th day = 21 March 1671), news arrived of the victory of the "*dBen-sa sPrul-sKu*" (*i.e.* dGa'-ldan) over "Bā-khan (or Bā-han) Ban-de", *i.e.* Baγa Ban-de, the 3rd son of dGa'-ldan's uncle, Cükür Ubaši¹⁵⁾. Envoys from dGa'-ldan's uncle, Cho-khur O-pa-śi—Pallas's Shuker Taidshi—had arrived in November 1670¹⁶⁾ and left on 20 February 1671¹⁷⁾. Now (21 March 1671), they returned from 'Dam and requested that the Abbot of dGa'-ldan monastery should go to the West Mongolian country to establish peace. This request was declined; but the fact that such a request was made by Cükür Ubaši's ambassadors shows, perhaps, that dGa'-ldan's uncle had a hand in the troubles which dGa'-ldan put an end to in 1670-71.

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¹¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 31, p. 22b, K'ang Hsi 8th year, 12th month, keng-shen (23 December 1669).

¹²⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 88b [Sa-Bya, 11th Hor month, 5th day (*chi-yu*, 12th month, 5th day = 27 December 1669)].

¹³⁾ Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London, 1876, I, p. 614.

¹⁴⁾ See this book, above, pp. 149-150; below, pp. 304-305.

¹⁵⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 107b [Icags-Phag, 2nd Hor month, 11th day (*hsin-hai*, 2nd month, 11th day = 21 March 1671)].

¹⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 103a [Icags-Khyi, 9th Hor month, 24th day (*keng-hsü*, 9th month, 24th day = 6 November 1670)]; also, p. 105 a-b [12th Hor month, 6th day (*keng-hsü*, 12th month, 6th day = 16 January 1671)].

¹⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 107 a [Icags-Phag, 1st Hor month, 12th day (*hsin-hai*, 1st month, 12th day = 20 February 1671)].

It seems safe to date dGa'-ldan's accession from the early part of 1671.

A CSL document dated 21 February 1672 records a proposal by the Board of Dependencies as follows:

The O-lu-t'e dGa'-ldan Taiji has memorialised saying that when his brother, Señ-ge 僧 厄 was alive, he (Señ-ge) had sent envoys and presented tribute. Now, he (dGa'-ldan) prays that, as usual, he be allowed to send envoys and present tribute. What he prays for should be allowed.

The Emperor accepted the Board's proposals¹⁸⁾.

The fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography records the presence of "expressly-sent ambassadors" (*mi .sna .ched .du .mnags .pa .*) from dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji under dates corresponding to 24-25 July 1672¹⁹⁾. Both the embassy to Peking and that to Lhasa in 1672 had, perhaps, the purpose of announcing the accession of dGa'-ldan to the rule of the Jungars.

* * *

Pallas, I, p. 40, says:

Sein (dGa'-ldan's) erster Krieg war gegen seinen Oheim Schukur Taidshi... In den ersten Unternehmungen gegen Schuker (1673) war Galdan so unglücklich, dass er bei seinen Schwiegervater (Otschirtu) Zäzän Chan Schutz suchen musste. Aber 1676 überfiel er diesen und Schukur fast zu gleicher Zeit.

The fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography attests to the presence of envoys from dGa'-ldan on 25-26 April 1676²⁰⁾, but does not mention dGa'-ldan's wars against Cükür Taiji and Ocirtu Secen Khan. However, VSP, pp. 82-83, dealing with the life of the 45th Abbot of dGa'-ldan monastery, Tshul-khrims Dar-rGyas, before he became 45th Abbot in 1685, has this to say:

In the year Fire-Dragon (1676), in accordance with the order of the fifth Dalai Lama, he arrived in the Oirad (country), in order to bring about a settlement between (Ocirtu) Secen Khan and dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji of the hermitage of the Left Wing. Although

¹⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 38, p. 7 a, K'ang Hsi 11th year, 1st month, keng-wu (21 February 1672).

¹⁹⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 147 a [Chu-Byi, 6th Hor month, 1st and 2nd days (jen-tzu, 7th month, 1st and 2nd days = 24 and 25 July 1672)].

²⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, III, p. 6 a [Me-'Brug, 3rd Hor month, 13th and 14th days (ping-chen, 3rd month, 13th and 14th days = 25 and 26 April 1676)].

such bad signs as that, of two cranes, one was caught by a snare, (were seen), and the Chief Secen Khan's power was overthrown, and the Left Wing Khung-taiji's power reached its zenith, (so that) it was difficult to stop him from taking over the kingly position; yet, at this time, a raven showed that the time and the path (chosen) were erroneous, and dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji announced that he would offer his (Ocirtu Secen Khan's) person and subjects to the spiritual realm of the Jina Padmapāṇi (the Dalai Lama).

A CSL document dated 3 January 1690, also tells us that dGa'-ldan attacked Cükür Ubaši in the 15th year of K'ang Hsi (14 February 1676-1 February 1677)²¹. An earlier CSL document dated 18 June 1677, says that dGa'-ldan, having attacked Ocirtu Secen Khan, now presented Ocirtu's bows, arrows and other belongings to the Emperor. The Emperor refused to accept these things, but accepted dGa'-ldan's usual tribute²².

Ocirtu Secen Khan, therefore, suffered defeat at the hands of dGa'ldan in c. March-April 1677, if not earlier. This, however, did not mean the end of Ocirtu Secen Khan. Probably, he was beaten in the first round, then fled to, and sought help from, the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas. In a CSL document dated 5 November 1677, we read:

The Board of Dependencies memorialised:

We have received an oral report from Chang-chia kou (Kalgan), saying that the O-lu-t'e (i.e. Jungar) envoy, Po-jui E-yeh-t'u 博瑞額葉圖, and the others, did not dare to return (to their country), saying: 'At the time when we were coming, Ocirtu Khan and the Khalkha Tüšiyetü Khan were already coming to attack our Taiji'²³.

As the oral report referred to above was received a little before 5 November 1677, the Jungar envoys who made the report, could not have left their country before c. July-August 1677. This shows that Ocirtu Secen Khan was alive and fighting in the latter half of 1677.

By the spring of 1678, he was dead. A CSL document dated the 8th month of the 17th year of K'ang Hsi, says that dGa'-ldan killed (殺)

²¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 143, pp. 5 a-6 a, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 11th month, ping-chen (3 January 1690).

²² CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 67, p. 6 a, K'ang Hsi 16th year, 5th month, chia-wu (18 June 1677).

²³ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 69, p. 20 a, K'ang Hsi 26th year, 10th month, chia-yin (5 November 1677).

Ocirtu Secen Khan "in the 2nd month of this year" (21 February–22 March 1678)²⁴).

We may, therefore, fix the chronology as follows:

1676. dGa'-ldan's attack on, and defeat of Cükür Taiji.

1676–77. dGa'-ldan's defeat of Ocirtu Secen Khan.

1677. With the help of the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas, Ocirtu Secen Khan attacked dGa'-ldan.

1677–78. dGa'-ldan's defeat and killing of Ocirtu Secen Khan.

On 30 June 1678, the fifth Dalai Lama sent a messenger to dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji, conferring on him the title of "dGa'-ldan bsTan-'dzin Bo-śog-thu Khan", "for the settlement of the governmental affairs between the Khalkhas and the Oirad"²⁵).

On receipt of the title, dGa'-ldan sent messengers to the Emperor of China, informing (告) the latter about it. The Board of Dependencies chose to see in dGa'-ldan's sending of information a formal memorial (奏), praying (請) for Imperial Letters–Patent and a seal granting him the title in question. The Board memorialised as follows:

Formerly, the O-lu-t'e and the Khalkhas who memorialised praying for Imperial Letters–Patent and a Seal (granting them a title) and brought tribute, were allowed to present their tribute and were given Imperial Letters–Patent and a Seal (granting the title prayed for). They were also graciously given presents. There has never been a case of anyone who has dared to assume the title of Khan (on his own authority) being allowed to present tribute. However, dGa'-ldan has respectfully sent in a tribute and has specially sent envoys informing (the Emperor). We should allow him to present his tribute²⁶).

Cükür Taiji, dGa'-ldan's uncle, was not killed. According to the previously-quoted CSL document dated 3 January 1690, he was still alive, as dGa'-ldan's prisoner, at that date.

²⁴ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 76, p. 2 b, K'ang Hsi 17th year, 8th month (16 September–15 October 1678).

²⁵ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 82 a [Sa-rTa, 5th Hor month, 12th day (mou-wu, 5th month, 12th day = 30 June 1678)]. "bsTan-'dzin" means "Upholder of the Teaching"; "Bośuy" (Mongolian) means "decree of heaven, fate, destiny, prophecy, prediction, word, sentence, command, order, instruction, decision, permission" (Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, California, 1960).

²⁶ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 84, pp. 4 b–5 a, K'ang Hsi 18th year, 9th month, mou-hsü (10 October 1679).

One other event of dGa'-ldan's life which should be mentioned before his struggle with the Khalkhas and, then, with the Emperor K'ang Hsi, is his conquest of Turkistan, south of the Tien Shan and north of the Kun Lun, in 1680. Tribute from the revenues of Turkistan arrived at the Court of the Dalai Lama in the New Year's Day of the year lCags-Bya/Iron-Bird (hsin-yu = 18 February 1681-6 February 1682)²⁷⁾.

* * *

One result of dGa'-ldan's wars against Cükür Taiji and Ocirtu Secen Khan was the flight of members of their families to China. Apparently, they all requested the Dalai Lama to indicate to them where they should live²⁸⁾. Some of them, such as Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po Rab-brTan, the son of dGa'-ldan-pa, the son of Ocirtu Secen Khan; and Han-tu Taiji, the son of BaYa Ban-de Taiji, the son of Cükür Taiji, went to the Dalai Lama personally²⁹⁾; others went directly to China.

On 5 November 1677, the Emperor received a memorial from the Provincial Commander-in-Chief of Kan-su, Chang Yung 張勇; the Governor-General of Ssu-chuan and Shen-si, Ha-chan 哈占; and the Commander of the Provincial forces at Liang-chou, Sun Ssu-k'o 孫思克, which informed him that the "O-lu-t'e Jinong and others", all sons and nephews (子姪) of Ocirtu Secen Khan, had entered the borders³⁰⁾. This "O-lu-t'e Jinong" is, obviously, the same as the "Jinong Bodi Baatur" 濟農布第巴圖爾 concerning whom report arrived on 21 January 1678, that he had fled from the western bend of the Yellow River (Hsi t'ao 西套) and pitched his tents at Su-chou. The Jinong was accompanied by one "Erdeni Ho-shih-chi" 厄爾德尼和碩齊 who had been a minister of Cükür Ubaṣi. At the same time,

²⁷⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 218 b ff.

²⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsau, ch. 111, p. 6 b, K'ang Hsi 22nd year, 7th month, chia-shen (5 September 1683):

鄂齊爾圖汗... (之)子 (read 孫) 袞布喇卜坦其姪
巴圖爾濟農... 求達賴喇嘛指授所居之處。

Ocirtu Khan's son (read "grandson") (Blo-bZaṅ) mGon-po Rab-brTan, and his nephew, Baatur Jinong... begged the Dalai Lama to indicate to them where they should live.

²⁹⁾ for Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po Rab-brTan and Han-tu Taiji, see later, p. 242 and p. 245 respectively. Also, pp. 242-43 (Note 41) and p. 245 (Note 51).

³⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsau, ch. 69, p. 19 b, K'ang Hsi 16th year, 10th month, chia-yin (5 November 1677).

a "Mergen A-la-nai rDo-rJe Taiji of Ch'ing-hai" 西海墨爾根阿喇奈多爾濟台吉 pitched his tents, under similar circumstances, in the region of Kan-chow and Liang-chow. *Mergen A-la-nai rDo-rJe Taiji* of Ch'ing-hai is, perhaps, identifiable with (a) the Tüsiyetü Baturu Dai-cing, i.e. *Mergen Taiji* Tüsiyetü Daicing, the eldest son of Ombu (dBon-po) Secen Daicing, the second son of Guši Khan, to whom an Imperial Edict was issued on 4 October 1656³¹); (b) the head of the *Mergen* tribes who threatened to invade the Inner Territory of the Empire in 1666-67; and (c) the *Mergen Taiji* of the Oirad tribe who had tried to stop the Imperial ambassadors from proceeding to Central Tibet in 1674³²).

³¹ CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 103, pp. 10b-11b, Shun Chih 13th year, 8th month, jen-chen (4 October 1656).

³² CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 70, pp. 20a-b, K'ang Hsi 16th year, 12th month, hsin-wei (21 January 1678). It is possible, however, that the head of the *Mergen* tribes in 1666-67 and the *Mergen Taiji* of 1674 were not, in fact, the *Mergen Taiji* Tüsiyetü Daicing of 1656 and the *Mergen A-la-nai rDo-rJe Taiji* of 1678, but *Mergen*, the 2nd son of Bayan Abukhai Ayuši Dalai Ubaši, the 4th son of Guši Khan (Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 113). That the *Mergen A-la-nai rDo-rJe Taiji* of Ch'ing-hai of 1678 is *not* the 2nd son of Bayan Abukhai Ayuši Dalai Ubaši, is proved by the fact that, as we shall presently see, in July 1678, Jinong Bodi Baatur, the 8th son of Bayan Abukhai Ayuši Dalai Ubaši, requested permission to go to Ch'ing-hai to join his elder brother *Mergen Taiji*, who was in Ch'ing-hai at that time, whereas *Mergen A-la-nai rDo-rJe Taiji* was in the region of Kan-chow/Liang-chow in January 1678. Thus, the head of the *Mergen* tribes of 1666-67 and the *Mergen Taiji* of 1674—assuming that they are one and the same person—can be *either* (a) *Mergen Taiji* Tüsiyetü Daicing, who is likely to have been the Tüsiyetü Baturu Daicing to whom the Imperial Edict of 4 October 1656 was sent, and (b) *Mergen A-la-nai rDo-rJe Taiji* of 1678, assuming again that (a) and (b) are the same persons; or *Mergen*, the second son of Bayan Abukhai Ayuši Dalai Ubaši. We should, however, exercise some caution in this matter. The 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 298 a [lCags-Byi, 7th Hor month, 16th day (keng-tzu, 8th month, 16th day = 20 September 1660)], records that the Dalai Lama gave the title of Er-te-ni Bi-si-rel-thu to one *Mergen Ji-noñ*. *Ibid.*, II, p. 105b [lCags-Khyi, 12th Hor month, 6th day (keng-hsü, 12th month, 6th day = 16 January 1671)], speaks of the arrival of *Mergen Ji-noñ's tsha-bo* (nephew or grandson), sBos-sBos, at Lhasa. At *ibid.*, II, p. 110b [lCags-Phag, 4th Hor month, 23rd day (hsin-hai, 4th month, 23rd day = 31 May 1671)], the Dalai Lama gives the title of *Mergen Taiji* to the "Sa-sKyoñ" (Protector of the Land); the title of Se-chen Taiji to one Rin-chen; and the title of Er-khe Ji-noñ to sBos-sBos. The three then left for the Valley of the Blue Lake. *Mergen Ji-noñ* and his nephew, sBos-sBos Er-khe Ji-noñ, occur in Pelliot's Genealogical Table III, Nos. 32 and 46. Sa-sKyoñ *Mergen Taiji* is, possibly, the Sa-cu *Mergen Taiji* (Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 131), son of rDo-rJe Dalai Baatur, the 6th son of Guši Khan, whom we shall meet later in this book. In the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 120a [lCags-Phag, 8th Hor month, 16th day (hsin-hai, 8th month, 16th day = 18 September 1671)], we hear of a "Kho-si-go'u-chi (Khošiyuci, Khošüci) Mer-ga(n) Tha'i-ji", who had recently arrived from mTsho-kha (the Valley of the Blue Lake). This *Khošüci Mergen Taiji* is, perhaps, to be distinguished

Rumour was afloat that dGa'-ldan was about to attack Ch'ing-hai. The General Tuhai, who was then in Shen-si, and the Governor-General of Shen-si, Ha-chan, both reported this to the Emperor. The Board of War and the Board of Dependencies jointly memorialised, praying that

from Sa-sKyoñ Mergen Taiji, as it would be unlikely for Sa-sKyoñ Mergen Taiji to leave Lhasa for Kokonor in June 1671 and return to Lhasa in September 1671. At p. 123b [ICags-Phag, 11th Hor month, 2nd day (hsin-hai, 11th month, 2nd day = 2 December 1671)] of the same Autobiography, II, we hear of the two wives of "Mergen Khung-taiji" making offerings to the Dalai Lama. On 6 March 1672 [5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 131b, Chu-Byi, 2nd Hor month, 8th day (jen-tzu, 2nd month, 8th day = 6 March 1672)], the attendants of Mergen Khung-taiji's wives offer "black tea from Hsi-ning", which connects Mergen Khung-taiji with the Hsi-ning area, because offerings were, usually, of local produce and merchandise. Both Mergen Khošüci's and Mergen Khung-taiji's wives left in April-May 1672 [Vol. II, pp. 135a-b, Chu-Byi, 4th Hor month (jen-tzu, 4th month = 27 April-26 May 1672)]. With regard to Mergen Khošüci, it is appropriate to note that Pelliot's Genealogical Table I, No. 111, mentions a Mergen Khošoci, the son of Bingtu, the brother of Kharakhula (Khutuγaitu), the father of Baatur Khung-taiji, the father of Sen-ge, dGa'-ldan, etc. Further, in the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 22b [Me-'Brug, 10th Hor month, 12th day (ping-chen, 10th month, 12th day = 17 November 1676)], we hear of "the Sa-sKyoñ Mergen Tha'i-ji, U-khe-res Tha'i-ji and Mergen Tha'i-ji, these three persons". (Ükere occurs in Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 71, as the son of Buyan Otkhon, the younger brother of Guši Khan). We have, therefore, to distinguish between (a) Mergen Jinong, who was the uncle of Erke Jinong; (b) Sa-sKyoñ Mergen Taiji; (c) Khošüci Mergen Taiji; (d) Mergen Khung-taiji (of Hsi-ning?); and (e) Mergen Taiji, not to speak of the three Mergen Noyons (I, No. 60; II, No. 108; II, No. 209) and three Mer-geñ Daicing (I, No. 102; II, No. 191; II, No. 286) of Pelliot's Genealogical Tables. (In 1631, a Mergen Noyon—son of Dayan Ocir Khan, the eldest son of Guši Khan, Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No 108?—led about 300 Oirad tribesmen to Lhasa, according to the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I pp. 66a-b. In 1642, the widow of Mergen Daicing of the Left Wing (Jungar) of the Oirad, made offerings for his welfare in future lives—5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 105 b. This Mergen Daicing is almost certainly the brother of Baatur Khung-taiji and Cükür Ubaši, Pelliot's Genealogical Table I, No. 102). We are, at present, in the CSL document dated 21 January 1678, dealing, perhaps, with (d) Mergen Khung-taiji. VSP, p. 268, line 12, speaks of a "Mergen Khung-taiji", who was the Patron (sByin-bDag) who patronised the foundation of rBu'i Chos-sDe (the religious establishment of rBu) and the monastery called bsKyed-rDzogs Gliñ in the area of the Blue Lake. The "rBu" of Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet*, Rome, 1962, p. 195, line 26, is to be understood as a place-name.

The Jinong Bodi Baatur of the CSL document dated 21 January 1678 is identifiable as the 8th son of Bayan Abušai Ayukhi Dalai Ubaši. CSK, Fan Pu 3, pp. 10a-11a, says that Bayan Abukhai Ayuši Dalai Ubaši was brought up by Boibayus Baatur, the father of Ocirtu Secen Khan, presumably as an adopted son. Hence the description of Baatur Jinong—whether Baatur Erke Jinong or Jinong Bodi Baatur is meant is not clear—as the nephew (姪) of Ocirtu Secen Khan in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 69, p. 19b, K'ang Hsi 16th year, 10th month, chia-yin (5 November 1677) and CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 111, p. 6b, K'ang Hsi 22nd year, 7th month, chia-shen (5 September 1683). Pu-ti 布第 (CSL)

envoys be sent to notify Dalai Taiji of Koko-nor and to ask him to prepare troops to wait for dGa'-ldan³³⁾.

During the intercalary 3rd month of the 17th year of K'ang Hsi (21 April-19 May 1678), the Jinong—or, rather, Erdeni Ho-shih-chi—occupied himself in raiding the Urads and in seizing the son and daughter of the Urad chief, Pa-ta-li³⁴⁾. Shortly after this, the Jinong stated that he wished to go to Ch'ing-hai, to join his father's younger brother, Dalai Taiji, and his (the Jinong's) elder brother, Mergen Taiji³⁵⁾. He requested

or Po-ti 博第 (CSK) occurs as Po-chi 博濟 in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 154, pp. 24 a-25 b, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 3rd month, i-chou (1 May 1692) and CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 162, p. 7 a, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 1st month, keng-shen (15 February 1694).

With regard to Erdeni Ho-shih-chi, in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 85, pp. 10a-11a, K'ang Hsi 18th year, 10th month, jen-shen (13 November 1679), Dalai Taiji of Koko-nor informs the Emperor that Erdeni Ho-shih-chi was a dependent of dGa'-ldan's uncle, Shukur Ubasi. In CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 117, pp. 17a-18a, K'ang Hsi 23rd year, 11th month, chia-tzu (8 December 1684), Han-tu Taiji, the son of Baya Ban-de (see Note 40, below), the son of Cükür Ubaši, describes Erdeni Ho-shih-chi as the minister of Cükür Ubaši. He may be the same as the Erdeni Chuntaidschi (Huñ-taiji), the eldest son of Ocirtu Secen Khan, mentioned by Pallas, I, p. 28:

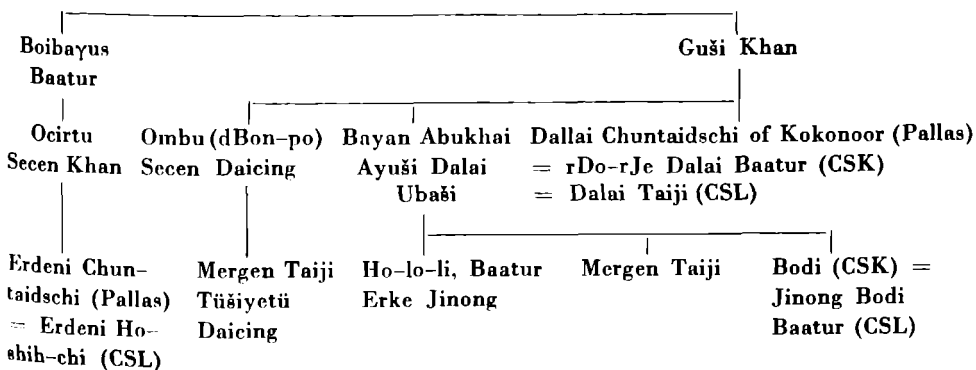
Sein (Utschirtu Zäzän Chans) unruhiger Geist... verleitete ihn, sich mit dem Soongarischen Buschtu Chan (dGa'-ldan)... in einen Krieg einzulassen... welcher... ihm... sein Leben kostete. Dadurch ward derjenige Theil der Choschoten, welcher unter ihm stand und zahlreich war, dem Soongarischen Chan unterwürfig, ausser was sich davon zu des Zäzän Sohn Erdeni Chuntaidschi der sich gegen den Kokonoor gezogen und zu Dalai Chuntaidschi, vom Choschotschen Stam, flüchten konnte.

³³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 72, pp. 23a-b, K'ang Hsi 17th year, intercalary 3rd month, keng-shen (10 May 1678).

³⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 73, pp. 11a-12a, K'ang Hsi 17th year, 4th month, chia-wu (13 June 1678).

³⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 73, pp. 24 b-25 b, K'ang Hsi 17th year, 5th month, chia-tzu (13 July 1678).

We have here the following genealogy, see Pallas, I, opp. p. 30; Pelliot's Genealogical Table II; CSK, Fan Pu 5, pp. 1 b-2 a; *ibid.*, Fan Pu 3, p. 11 a:



to be allowed to go through Imperial territory. The request was granted, but the Jinong lingered within the Empire, so that, ultimately, the Provincial Commander-in-Chief of Kan-su, Chang Yung, had to drive him out. Erdeni Ho-shih-chi went to Mergen Taiji's place. When Mergen Taiji discovered that Erdeni Ho-shih-chi had captured the son and daughter of the Urad chief, he freed them and sent them back to the Emperor under escort. The Emperor wrote to Dalai Taiji of Koko-nor about this, commending the action of Mergen Taiji, and requesting them to severely punish Erdeni Ho-shih-chi³⁶⁾.

Dalai Taiji, however, declined to punish Erdeni Ho-shih-chi, saying that as the latter was a dependent of dGa'-ldan's uncle, it was not convenient (不便) for him (Dalai Taiji) to punish Erdeni Ho-shih-chi. dGa'-ldan had recently shown his willingness to punish members of his tribe, who had committed offences within the Empire³⁷⁾. The Emperor, therefore, ordered the Board of Dependencies to ask dGa'-ldan to seize and to punish Erdeni Ho-shih-chi³⁸⁾.

Before we turn to the results of the approach thus made by the Emperor of China to dGa'-ldan, we may pause to note three conclusions, derivable from the events so far:

Firstly, it is significant that the refugees from dGa'-ldan sought refuge, in the first place, with the Dalai Lama of Tibet. Those who came now (1677-78) to the Chinese borderlands, merely requested the Emperor of China to provide transit through the territory of China. Those who came later, in 1682-84, to settle in the border-territory of China, at Ala-shan, did so, as we shall see, at the request of the Dalai Lama.

Secondly, it is clear that Dalai Khung-taiji was considered by the Chinese to be responsible for the defence of Ch'ing-hai from external attack. The function of the Emperor of China is confined to drawing the attention of Dalai Khung-taiji to the imminence of attack by a third party³⁹⁾.

³⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 80, pp. 15 a-b, K'ang Hsi 18th year, 4th month, ping-yin (11 May 1679).

³⁷⁾ On 5 November 1677, the Emperor ordered the Board of Dependencies to inform dGa'-ldan that the Muslims, Tunggardai and others, who had come to China, pretending to be dGa'-ldan's envoys, should be punished. See CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 69, p. 28 a, K'ang Hsi 16th year, 10th month, chia-yin (5 November 1677). On 9 October 1679, the Emperor received dGa'-ldan's letter informing him that the wrong-doers had been punished. See CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 84, pp. 4a-b, K'ang Hsi 18th year, 9th month, ting-yu (9 October 1679).

³⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 85, pp. 10a-11a, K'ang Hsi 18th year, 10th month, jen-shen (13 November 1679).

³⁹⁾ This conclusion is not effected by the evidence of dGa'-ldan's letter to the Pro-

A distinction can, perhaps, be drawn between the fact that, in 1674, the Emperor had requested the Dalai Lama for help against Wu San-kuei, and the Dalai Lama had, consequently, asked Dalai Khung-taiji to attack Wu San-kuei; and the fact that, in 1678, the Emperor approached Dalai Khung-taiji directly. But, perhaps, this is due to no more than that, between 1674 and 1678, the Emperor had come to know of the controlling position enjoyed by Dalai Khung-taiji in Koko-nor, and believed, therefore, that matters could be more expeditiously settled by a direct approach to Dalai Khung-taiji.

The request of the Emperor of China, first, to Dalai Khung-taiji, and then, to dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji, to punish Erdeni Ho-shih-chi, points to a third conclusion: that, in the Chinese view, a West Mongolian chief was considered to be responsible for punishing members of his tribe, who had committed offences in China, and whom the Chinese authorities had not been able to seize; and that, both in the West Mongolian and Chinese view, the tribal chieftain succeeded to this responsibility as much as to the privileges and other duties of the chieftainship. dGa'-ldan having succeeded to the chieftainship of Cükür Ubaši by war against the latter, succeeded also to the duty of the latter to punish Erdeni Ho-shih-chi.

dGa'-ldan, however, temporized. After two years and nine months, he had done nothing to punish Erdeni Ho-shih-chi. On 12 August 1682—about 8 months after the capture of Yünnan-fu (on 8 December 1681) and the end of the War of the Three Feudatories—the Emperor sent a number of embassies to the Khalkha and O-lu-t'e Taijis. On that occasion, the Board of Dependencies issued a despatch to the Imperial Envoys to dGa'-ldan, ordering them to make enquiries about, and to take a decision on, the arrest of Erdeni Ho-shih-chi and Baatur Erke Jinong⁴⁰. The

vincial Commander-in-Chief of Shen-si, Chang Yung, in which he (dGa'-ldan) states:

'I have seized the entire territory of the north-west. With regard to Ch'ing-hai, formerly my ancestors and his (Dalai Taiji's) jointly occupied it. Now they (the Khošot) alone occupy it. I wish to go and demand (my share). Because it is a land which the General (Chang Yung) controls, I do not dare to act lightly'. CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 83, p. 186, K'ang Hsi 18th year, 8th month, chi-chou (1 October 1679).

In view of what we have seen before, in Chapters II and V, and in view of the recognition by the Imperial authorities of Dalai Khung-taiji's special position in Ch'ing-hai (see Notes 33 and 36, above), it is evident that the term "controls" (*hsia* 轄) is to be understood rather loosely.

⁴⁰ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 103, p. 16a, K'ang Hsi 21st year, 7th month, i-mao (12 August 1682).

This is the first we hear of Baatur Erke Jinong. Clearly, he is not to be confused with the O-lu-t'e Jinong or Jinong Bodi Baatur of 1677-79. He is, in fact, Ho-jo-li

envoys requested Imperial instructions. The Emperor said:

If Erdeni Ho-shih-chi and the others are dependents of dGa'-ldan, then, within a given date, (he ought to) arrest them. If they are not his dependents, (he) cannot arrest them.

While the Imperial envoys were on their way to dGa'-ldan with the Edict of 12 August 1682, two events took place, which considerably altered the aspect of things.

In the first place, another refugee from dGa'-ldan appeared on the scene. He was Lo-pu-tsang Kun-pu 羅卜臧滾布 (Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po), the son of Ka-erh-tan-pa 噶爾丹巴 (dGa'-ldan-pa), the son of Ocirtu Secen Khan. Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po's later arrival than Jinong Bodi Baatur was due to the fact that he (Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po) had sought refuge, first, with the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama had indicated to him that he should settle in the territory of the Ala-shan mountains⁴¹. As

和囉理, who bore the title of Baatur Erke Jinong 巴圖爾額爾克濟農 and was the eldest son of Bayan Abukhai Ayuṣi Dalai Ubaṣi, the 4th son of Guṣi Khan—see CSK, Fan Pu 3, p. 11 a. Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 112, gives the name as Khoroli Batur Erke Jinong. He was, as will be seen, the elder brother of Mergen Taiji and (Jinong) Bodi (Baatur). CSK, Fan Pu 3, p. 11 b, says that Han-tu 罕都, the son of Pa-ha Pan-ti 巴哈班第, the eldest son of dGa'-ldan's uncle, Cükür Ubaṣi, was the *sheng* 甥 (either sister's son, or son-in-law) of Ho-lo-li, Baatur Erke Jinong. Pa-ha Pan-ti occurs as Bagamandschi in Pallas, I, p. 40: "1676 überfiel er (dGa'-ldan) diesen (Utschirtu Zäzän Chan) und Shukur Taidachi fast zu gleicher Zeit, erschlug des letztern Sohn Bagamandschi und bekam ihn selbst gefangen". It was natural that Baatur Erke Jinong should be involved in the fate of Cükür Ubaṣi's family. For the position of the maternal uncle among the Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, see L.M.J. Schram, «The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier, Part I: Their Origin, History and Social Organisation», *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, New Series, 44, Part I, April 1954, pp. 91-99. With regard to "Pa-ha Pan-ti" or "Bagamandschi", we have already seen (pp. 149-150, p. 150, Note 178, and p. 231-232) that he is mentioned as Baya Bandi (read Ban-de) in Pelliot's Genealogical Table I, No. 195. He is also mentioned as Bā-khan or Bā-han Ban-de in the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 94b [Cags-Khyi, 3rd Hor month (keng-hsü, 3rd month = 20 April-18 May 1670)] and p. 107b [Cags-Phag, 2nd Hor month, 11th day (hsin-hai, 2nd month, 11th day = 21 March 1671)].

⁴¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 104, pp. 6a-7a, K'ang Hsi 21st year, 8th month, i-yu (11 September 1682). See also: CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 111, pp. 6a-7a, K'ang Hsi 22nd year, 7th month, chia-shen (5 September 1683).

We hear of tribute from Ka-erh-tan-pa 噶爾丹霸 arriving at the Ch'ing Court as early as 2 August 1655, together with that from A-pa-lai No-yen of the O-lu-t'e

the fifth Dalai Lama died on 2 April 1682⁴²⁾, his indication to Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po that he should settle in Ala-shan must have been one of the last acts which he performed.

Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po now reminded the Emperor that his father and grand-father had sent tribute. Later, he said,

because of internal troubles, I sought refuge with (往依) the Dalai Lama. Now, fortunately, I have got some peace... I beg to lead those under my control to live in the territory of the Lung-t'ou 龍頭 mountains⁴³⁾.

The Emperor enquired where the Lung-t'ou mountains were. In reply, La-tu-hu submitted the memorial which we have had occasion to look at in the additional note to Chapter II⁴⁴⁾. Because there were people from the Inner Territory settled in the area of the Ning-yüan border-defence station (1 *li* from the Lung-t'ou or Ala-shan mountains) and farming land at the Chang-ning Lake, it was inadvisable, said La-tu-hu, to let Mongols, unacquainted with Chinese law, settle there⁴⁵⁾. The Board of Dependencies, therefore, proposed, and the Emperor approved the proposal, that Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po be refused permission to settle at the Ala-shan mountains⁴⁶⁾.

In spite of the Imperial prohibition, Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po settled in the area of the Ala-shan mountains. He was there in August-September

tribe (Ocirtu Secen Khan's brother)—see CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 92, p. 13*a*, Shun Chih 12th year, 7th month, kuei-wei (2 August 1655). The 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography reports dGa'-ldan-pa at Lhasa in 1668-71—5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 41 *b* [Me-Lug, 12th Hor month (ting-wei, 12th month = 14 January-11 February 1668)] and p. 107*a* [Cags-Phag, 1st Hor month, 13th day (hsin-hai, 1st month, 13th day = 21 February 1671)].

dGa'-ldan-pa occurs as Galdama and Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po as Lopson or Lopsan Umbo in Pallas, I, pp. 28-29:

'Die Kalmücken erzählen das Buschtu Chan (dGa'-ldan), als er noch bei Lebzeiten des Batur Chuntaidschi in geistlichen Stand lebte und den Nahmen Galdan Chutuktu führte, zu (Utschirtu) Zäzän Chan gekommen sei, um die Seelmessen für dessen verstorbenen ältesten Sohn Galdama zu halten... Galdama soll doch, nach einigen Berichten, einen Sohn Lopson hinterlassen haben, der vermutlich mit in des Grossvaters Untergang wird verwickelt worden seyn'. In the genealogical table opposite p. 30, Pallas spells Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po's name as Lopsan Umbo (Blo-bZaṅ dBon-po).

⁴²⁾ Chu-Khyi, 2nd Hor month, 25th day (jen-hsü, 2nd month, 25th day = 2 April 1682).

⁴³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 104, pp. 6*a*-7*a*, K'ang Hsi 21st year, 8th month, i-yu (11 September 1682).

⁴⁴⁾ See this book, above, pp. 81-82.

⁴⁵⁾ Same as 41 and 43.

⁴⁶⁾ *Ibid.*

1683⁴⁷⁾. Apparently, compliance with the Dalai Lama's order was more important to Blo-bZaŋ mGon-po than compliance with the Imperial prohibition. Sometime before August-September 1683, he (Blo-bZaŋ mGon-po) married the daughter of the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas, the old enemy of dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji⁴⁸⁾.

The second event which took place while the Imperial envoys were on their way to dGa'-ldan, was the surrender of Baatur Erke Jinong to the Emperor. He pleaded that his tribesmen had plundered the Emperor's subjects out of their ignorance of Chinese law. The extreme poverty prevailing among his people prevented him from making good the losses which they had inflicted. With great difficulty, he and his tribesmen had got together 100 horses to be paid as compensation. He prayed to be allowed to trade in Ning-hsia. The Emperor forgave Baatur Erke Jinong his plundering activities, but (apparently) refused to let him trade in Ning-hsia⁴⁹⁾.

Thus, although an O-lu-t'e, who had committed an offence within the Empire and had, subsequently, escaped to his tribal territory, should, in principle, be punished by his tribal chieftain, in accordance with O-lu-t'e law, the Emperor reserved the right to pardon.

Ignorant of these two above-mentioned developments, the Imperial envoys bearing the Emperor's Edict to dGa'-ldan dated 12 August 1682, arrived at dGa'-ldan's tent on 25 January 1683 (K'ang Hsi 21st year, 12th month, 28th day, hsin-chou). On 4 February 1683 (K'ang Hsi 22nd year, 1st month, 9th day, hsin-hai), they handed over to one of dGa'-ldan's Jaisangs (noblemen) the letter from the Board of Dependencies, regarding the arrest of Baatur Erke Jinong and Erdeni Ho-shih-chi. The Imperial envoys said:

If Erdeni Ho-shih-chi and Baatur Erke Jinong are your dependents, you ought to arrest them within a given period of time, and punish them according to law; and (you ought to) send the fine paid by them, under escort, to the Board (of Dependencies). If they are not your dependents, or if you are not able to arrest them, then, our Court has its own plans.

⁴⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 111, p. 6b, K'ang Hsi 22nd year, 7th month, chia-shen (5 September 1683):

'The Dalai Lama ordered (Blo-bZaŋ) mGon-po Rab-brTan to go and live in A-la-k'e shan. From then onwards, he has been living in that territory'.

⁴⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 7a.

⁴⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 104, pp. 24a-25b, K'ang Hsi 21st year, 9th month, kuei-hai (19 October 1682).

The Jaisang replied:

Our Khan (dGa'-ldan) says that Erdeni Ho-shih-chi and Baatur Erke Jinong are both his dependents. These two men have already sought refuge (歸) with the Dalai Lama. We shall send men to summon them. If they come as ordered, we shall punish their misdeeds. If they flee elsewhere, there is nothing we can do about them.

The statement that Baatur Erke Jinong had sought refuge with the Dalai Lama was, clearly, wrong. But, since the Imperial envoys did not know what had happened to Baatur Erke Jinong, they asked dGa'-ldan's Jaisang for a date within which Erdeni Ho-shih-chi and Baatur Erke Jinong would be punished. The Jaisang set the limit at the 4th month (3 May-1 June 1685) of the *i-chou* year (= K'ang Hsi 24th year = 3 February 1685-23 January 1686). If Erdeni Ho-shih-chi and Baatur Erke Jinong created trouble in the meantime, the Emperor could punish them as he pleased ⁵⁰.

Fifteen months later, Han-tu 憨都 Taiji, the son of Pan-ti 班第 (Bagha *Ban-de*), the son of Cükür Ubaši (the uncle of dGa'-ldan), having attained the age of 20 years and—as it would seem—claiming to succeed to the chieftainship once held by Cükür Ubaši, wrote to the Emperor on behalf of his minister, Erdeni Ho-shih-chi, requesting the Emperor to pardon Erdeni Ho-shih-chi. This was considered unnecessary, in view of the pardon already granted to Baatur Erke Jinong. On this occasion, Han-tu Taiji revealed that “in conformity to the Dalai Lama's Edict, he had settled in the territory of the E-chi-nei T'o-lai, where he had been living together with the Emperor's border peoples” (遵達賴喇嘛之諭·在額濟內託賴之地·與皇上之邊民同居) ⁵¹.

⁵⁰ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 111, pp. 13a-b, K'ang Hsi 22nd year, 7th month, mou-hsü (19 September 1683).

⁵¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 117, pp. 17a-18a, K'ang Hsi 23rd year, 11th month, chia-tzu (8 December 1684).

Han-tu occurs as Chaidu Taidshi in Pallas, I, p. 40: '1676 überfiel er (dGa'-ldan) diesen (Utschirtu Zäzän Chan) und Shukur Taidshi fast zu gleicher Zeit, erschlug des letztern Sohn Bagamandschi und bekam ihn selbst gefangen. Dessen Enkel Chaidu Taidshi aber, der nur 13 Jahr alt war, flüchtete nach Tibet und begab sich im Jahr 1684 unter Chinesischen Schutz'.

As said above (Note 40), according to the CSK, Fan Pu 3, p. 11 b, Han-tu, the son of Pa-ha Pan-ti, was the *sheng* 甥 (either sister's son, or son-in-law) of Ho-lo-li, Baatur Erke Jinong.

With the end of the 4th month (3 May–1 June 1685) of the *i-chou* year, the time-limit set by dGa'-ldan for the arrest and punishment of Baatur Erke Jinong and Erdeni Ho-shih-chi came to an end. In any case, on 19 October 1682 and 8 December 1684, the Emperor had forgiven Baatur Erke Jinong and Erdeni Ho-shih-chi respectively. Moreover, as we shall see, on 19 March 1684 (K'ang-Hsi 23rd year, 2nd month, keng-tzu), the Emperor had inaugurated a period of joint Sino-Tibetan activity with regard to the Eastern Mongols and (now) the Western Mongols who were not subjects to dGa'-ldan. Hence, the Emperor decided that Baatur Erke Jinong (and, presumably, also Han-tu Taiji and Erdeni Ho-shih-chi) and Blo-bZaŋ mGon-po should live together in the same place. Although the CSL document puts this decision forward as an Imperial decision, it is not improbable that it was, in fact, a decision of the Dalai Lama's, which the Emperor put into effect⁵²). Anyway, the Emperor issued an Edict to his Grand Secretaries ordering them to carry out the necessary administrative measures:

Bestow titles on them, and give them Letters-Patent sealed with golden seals. Thereby, make known to them Our earnest desire to continue that which has been discontinued, and to restore that which has been abandoned⁵³).

To continue that which has been discontinued, and to restore that which has been abandoned was one of the duties of the Confucian Prince⁵⁴). While thus acting according to the dictates of the Confucian Canon, the Emperor also felt it necessary to send messengers to the Dalai Lama, with an Edict, informing him of the above arrangements. The Imperial ambassador, who went out with the Edict of 25 June 1685, arrived at Lhasa on 30 October 1685⁵⁵) and returned to Peking, as we shall see, on 26 August 1686⁵⁶). His name is given in Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho's Supplement, V, as the mKhan-po of sGrom-mDa'.

⁵²) See CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 122, pp. 26a-27a, K'ang Hsi 24th year, 10th month, jen-tzu (21 November 1685) (A-la-ni's memorial).

⁵³) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 121, p. 4b, K'ang Hsi 24th year, 5th month, kuei-wei (25 June 1685).

⁵⁴) See Chung Yung 中庸, 20: 繼絕世舉廢國 'Il (le prince sage) donne des héritiers adoptifs aux familles sans postérité, relève les principautés tombées'. S. Couvreur, *Les Quatre Livres* (Cathasia, Série Culturelle de Hautes Études de Tien Tsin), Paris, p. 49.

⁵⁵) Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, Supplement V, p. 125b [Śiñ-Glañ, 10th Hor month, 3rd day (i-chou, 10th month, 3rd day = 30 October 1685)].

⁵⁶) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 127, pp. 3a-3b, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 7th month, keng-yin (26 August 1686).

Meanwhile in the autumn of 1685, the President of the Board of Dependencies, A-la-ni, went and met Baatur Erke Jinong. Remembering that the Dalai Lama had recently said that, since the territory of the Bolongir river, where Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po lived, was narrow, and the grass poor, it would be better for him (Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po) to live with (Baatur Erke) Jinong, A-la-ni asked Baatur Erke Jinong where he wished to live. Baatur Erke Jinong replied that he wished to live on the north side of the A-la-shan mountains. A-la-ni defined the territory accordingly, and reported to the Emperor. On receipt of A-la-ni's report, on 21 November 1685, the Emperor said:

Let Us wait till the day when the envoy whom We have sent (with the Edict of 25 June 1685) returns. We shall then discuss the matter again ⁵⁷⁾.

About a month later, on 12 December 1685, the Emperor sent the Jassak Lama Ch'ui-mu-chu-erh La-mu-cha-mu-pa 垂木珠爾拉木扎木巴 (Chos-mi-'gyur Rab-'byams-pa?); the Demci, Phyag-na rDo-rJe (得木齊商南多爾濟); and the Vice-President of the Censorate, La-tu-hu, and others to the Dalai Lama. In his letter to the Dalai Lama, the Emperor, after recounting the whole affair of the Ala-shan O-lu-t'e, said:

We consider that, as Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po and Baatur Erke Jinong are descendants of Ocirtu Khan, and as Ocirtu Khan was for long the Protector of your Faith (護法), how can you bear to look silently on, while his descendants are in distress and poverty? Now, We think that they should be united in one place, and be settled in a territory where they can live, in order to make known Our earnest desire to make flourishing that which has been cut off, and to restore that which has been abandoned. You, O Lama, should send an envoy to meet Our envoy at an appointed date. Upon this, We shall immediately send a high official to the agreed spot, to go forward (to Baatur Erke Jinong's territory) with your envoy ⁵⁸⁾.

On 12 February 1686 (K'ang Hsi 25th year, 1st month, i-hai), Baatur Erke Jinong had an audience with the Emperor and thanked the Emperor

⁵⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 122, pp. 26a-27a, K'ang Hsi 24th year, 10th month, jen-tzu (21 November 1685).

⁵⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 123, pp. 6a-7b, K'ang Hsi 24th year, 11th month, kuei-yu (12 December 1685).

for his grace. The Emperor reminded him that he (the Emperor) had treated him leniently because of the loyalty of his ancestors, Guši Khan and Ocirtu Secen Khan. He then said:

In order to enable you, who have been discontinued, to continue, and in order to re-assemble you, who have been scattered, We wish that Ocirtu Secen Khan's grandson, Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po Rab-brTan, should live with you in the same place... Whether you unite or not, has neither advantage nor disadvantage for Us. But, as We are the Lord of the Empire (天下主), and all are under Our aegis, We wish all to be in happiness and peace⁵⁹⁾.

In the 4th Hor month of the year Me-sTag/Fire-Tiger (ping-chen, intercalary 4th month = 22 May-20 June 1686), the embassy, which the Emperor had sent to Lhasa on 12 December 1685, arrived at Lhasa⁶⁰⁾. Presumably, the sGrom-mDa' mKhan-po and the others who had been sent out from Peking with the Edict of 25 June 1685, were still in Lhasa; and they all (the embassy sent out on 25 June 1685 and the one sent out on 12 December 1685) returned to Peking in the latter half of August 1686⁶¹⁾. It does, however, seem somewhat unusual that the journey from Lhasa to Peking was made in less than three months.

In his reply to the Emperor's Edicts of 25 June 1685 and 12 December 1685, the Dalai Lama, while acknowledging the great virtue of the Emperor in wishing Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po and Baatur Erke Jinong to live together in one place, said:

But, in this territory of Ch'ing-hai, each (part) (already) belongs to some definite tribe. (Hence, I could not settle Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po, Baatur Erke Jinong and the others there). If I had let them live within the territory of the Empire, I fear that the O-lu-t'e would have disagreed (with my decision). The slopes of the Ala-shan are also strait and narrow. I pray that the Great Sovereign (大君) have pity (on them) and select a broad land containing water and grass, and settle them in one corner (of that land)⁶²⁾.

⁵⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 124, pp. 5a-6a, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 1st month, i-hai (12 February 1686).

⁶⁰⁾ Saṅs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, Supplement V, p. 167a [Me-sTag, 4th Hor month (ping-chen, intercalary 4th month = 22 May-20 June 1686)].

⁶¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 127, pp. 3a-b, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 7th month, keng-yin (26 August 1686).

⁶²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 127, pp. 4b-6a, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 7th month, kuei-szu (29 August 1686).

Here the Dalai Lama gives the reasons why he had not advised Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po and the others to settle in Ch'ing-hai; and why he would not have liked to have seen them settled in some territory within the Manchu Empire. He now withdraws his previous advice to them to settle in the region of the Ala-shan mountains, and requests the Emperor to find some well-watered land for them.

The Emperor, consequently, ordered the joint Vice-President of the Board of Dependencies, La-tu-hu, and the First-Class Imperial Guardsman, Wen-ta, to proceed with the Dalai Lama's envoys to Baatur Erke Jinong and Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po Rab-brTan, to select a territory for them, and to give it to them⁶³.

On 28 October 1686 (K'ang Hsi 25th year, 9th month, 12th day, kuei-ssu), La-tu-hu and the others met the Dalai Lama's envoy, Ch'e-ch'i-k'e Dalai mKhan-po 車齊克他賴堪布 outside Chia-yü kuan. This mKhan-po probably came from Tibet with the Abbot of dGa'-ldan, who was the Dalai Lama's representative at the treaty-making ceremony between the Jasaytu Khan of the Western Khalkhas and the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas on 3 October 1686⁶⁴, and was now on his way back to Tibet. He and La-tu-hu, together, met Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po. The latter, however, declined to go to E-chi-nei immediately. His eldest sister, Anu, who was dGa'-ldan's wife⁶⁵, was reported to be leading an army of 1000 to visit the Dalai Lama. Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po feared that she might attack him, and he wished to remain where he was. This,

⁶³) *Ibid.*

⁶⁴) See this book, later, pp. 265-268.

⁶⁵) See pp. 230-31, Note 5, above. As against the evidence cited there and here, which makes A-nu the grand-daughter of Ocirtu Secen Khan, we have three pieces of evidence, which make her the daughter of Ocirtu Secen Khan:

(a) Gerbillon, in du Halde (1736), IV, p. 49, says:

' Une princesse, fille d'Otchirtou, lui avoit été promise en mariage: elle plut au Caldan, et il l'enleva '.

(b) de Mailla, XI, p. 224 (and, following him, Howorth, I, p. 626), refers to Ho-hai (= A-hai) as the daughter of Setzen Khan of the Khalkhas. This is wrong. The reference is to Ocirtu Secen ("Setzen") Khan of the Khošot.

(c) Pallas, I, p. 40, writes:

" Gleich nach Antritt der Regierung heirathete er (dGa'-ldan) seines Bruders Wittwe Ana dara, eine Tochter des Choschotischen (Otschirtu) Zäzän Chan ".

Gerbillon and de Mailla are speaking of A-khai and Pallas of A-nu. All three writers are wrong in making A-khai and/or A-nu daughters of Ocirtu Secen Khan. They were his grand-daughters.

at any rate, was what he told the Dalai Lama's and the Emperor's officials. To the Emperor he memorialised that he wished to wait till the spring of next year, as it was now winter, and his tribesmen were scattered⁶⁶.

On 8 November 1686 (K'ang Hsi 25th year, 9th month, 23rd day, chia-chen), the two envoys met Baatur Erke Jinong north of the Tung-ta mountains⁶⁷. La-tu-hu gave him the territory defined in A-la-ni's memorial of 21 November 1685. In addition, the territory

Westwards from the military encampment at Yü-ch'üan in Ninghsia, behind the pass on the Lo-sa-ka-la mountains, to the territory of the Ho-lan-shan (= Ala-shan) mountains and the mouth of the Pu-erh-ha-su-t'ai (Burgasutai); further, northwards from the pass on the Wo-po mountains in Hsi-ning⁶⁸, behind the Nu-hun nu-lu mountains; north of the Chen-fan Pass in Kan-chou⁶⁸, along the Tao-lan-t'ai, Sa-la-chun-chi, Lei-hun-hsi-li and other territories; westwards towards the E-chi-nei river, all at a distance of sixty li from the border

was demarcated and placed under Baatur Erke Jinong.

La-tu-hu then gave to Baatur Erke Jinong the Penal Code (*fa-li* 罰例), with regard to incursions within the border. This was to be made known to Blo-bZaŋ mGon-po when he arrived⁶⁹.

The above assignment of territory and the making known of the Chinese Penal Code to Baatur Erke Jinong and others, did not mean that they became subjects of the Emperor of China. For, while issuing instructions to the ambassadors whom he was about to send to dGa'-ldan in 1689, the Emperor said:

(Tell dGa'-ldan that) although Baatur Erke Jinong is in Our territory, We have not yet accepted his submission, or integrated him within Our Banners⁷⁰.

⁶⁶ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 128, p. 5a, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 11th month, kuei-ssu (27 December 1686).

⁶⁷ The Tung-ta mountains are shown east of Kan-chou in A. Stein, *Serindia*, V, 1921, Map 94.

⁶⁸ For the Wo-po 倭波 mountains and the Chen-Fan 鎮番 Pass, see Map 2, on p. 20, of L.M.J. Schram, «The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier, Part I», *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, New Series, 44, Part I (April 1954). O-po occurs in A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, IV, Oxford, 1929, Map 46.

⁶⁹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 128, pp. 4b-7a, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 11th month, kuei-ssu (27 December 1686).

⁷⁰ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 140, pp. 24a-b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 4th month, chi-mao (31 May 1689).

In this way, in 1685 and the subsequent years, the Emperor of China, acting together with the Dalai Lama, came to provide for a branch of the O-lu-t'e people, who, though not subjects of the Dalai Lama in the same way as the O-lu-t'e of Ch'ing-hai, had, in 1677-78, if not later, looked primarily to the Dalai Lama for redress and succour. The reasons for this joint action were: (1) dGa'-ldan's wars, which made refugees of these people; (2) the non-availability of pastures in Ch'ing-hai, which made the Dalai Lama send the refugees further north; (3)—this is where the Emperor of China comes in—the unwillingness or inability of Dalai Khung-taiji of Koko-nor or dGa'-ldan to punish the O-lu-t'e refugees who had raided Imperial territory, so that the Emperor had either to punish them or to pardon them; and (4) having decided to pardon them, the Emperor had to provide for them. In doing so, the Emperor decided to act jointly with the Dalai Lama—in fact, to execute the Dalai Lama's decision to settle the refugees in Ala-shan.

* * *

The sequel to this story can be told briefly. In 1687, Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po helped his father-in-law, the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas, in an advance into dGa'-ldan's territory ⁷¹). To the end of May 1689, Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po had not arrived to live with Baatur Erke Jinong in the E-chi-nei territory ⁷²). He died towards the middle of 1689 ⁷³). News of the death was conveyed to the Emperor by Sun Ssü-k'o, together with the information that Blo-bZaṅ's widow and the nobles wished to elect dGa'-ldan rDo-rJe, son of Erdeni Khung-taiji, the paternal uncle of Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po, as head of the tribe. The Emperor appointed Baatur Erke Jinong temporary head of the tribe till the day of dGa'-ldan rDo-rJe's arrival—he was, apparently, elsewhere and had to be summoned—and exhorted all to support dGa'-ldan rDo-rJe ⁷⁴).

The last of the refugees from dGa'-ldan's wars of 1676-78 arrived towards the end of 1689, after 11 years of imprisonment. He was E-lin-

⁷¹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 131, pp. 8b-9a, K'ang Hsi 26th year, 9th month, keng-tzu (30 October 1687); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 136, pp. 1b-2a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 7th month, jen-shen (28 July 1688).

⁷²) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 140, p. 24a, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 4th month, chi-mao (31 May 1689).

⁷³) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 141, pp. 6a-b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 5th month, 27th day, jen-hsü (13 July 1689).

⁷⁴) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 143, pp. 14a-b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 12th month, ping-tzu (23 January 1690).

ch'en 額林臣, the 5th son of Cükür Taiji, and he escaped in the confusion created by dGa'-ldan's counter-attack on the Khalkas in 1688. He was ordered to live "temporarily" (暫且) - no definite arrangements could be made without the Dalai Lama's participation?—with his nephew, Han-tu Taiji, in the territory of Baatur Erke Jinong and Erdeni Ho-shih-chi ⁷⁵⁾.

In 1691, Baatur Erke Jinong attacked the Khalkha Daicing Erdeni Taiji ⁷⁶⁾. His younger brother, Po-chi 博濟 (Jinong Bodi Baatur) attacked the Khalkha Taiji Tu-leng ⁷⁷⁾, in 1692. Baatur Erke Jinong submitted and came to Court. The Emperor joyously gave him presents and sent him away ⁷⁸⁾. Later in the year 1692, Baatur Erke Jinong, Han-tu Taiji, Blo-bZań Khutuγtu and E-lin-ch'en planned to flee to Tshe-dBań Rab-brTan. The attempt was foiled by Sun Ssü-k'o ⁷⁹⁾.

On 21 March 1693, the Dalai Lama, in his reply to the Emperor's Edict of 5 November 1691, suggested that if Baatur Erke Jinong were settled in Ch'ing-hai, it could be guaranteed that there would be no robbery or plunder on his part, and that he would be asked to conform to the law ⁸⁰⁾.

To this the Emperor said:

(If this is so,) why did you not immediately (in 1677-78 or 1684) send men to move, when it was convenient (to do so), the people of Baatur Erke Jinong's ilk entirely to Ch'ing-hai, and to settle them there? ⁸¹⁾

⁷⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 143, pp. 5a-6a, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 11th month, ping-chen (3 January 1690).

⁷⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 152, pp. 3b-4b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 6th month, i-mao (26 June 1691).

⁷⁷⁾ Tu-leng 杜楞 is the Cereng *Düleng* Gumbo, son of Tümenken Kündülen Noyan, the third son of Abuγo Mergen Noyan, the 2nd son of Unuγo Öijeng Noyan, the 3rd son of Geresanda Jelair Khung-taiji. See Schmidt, *Die Volksstämme der Mongolen*, p. 450.

⁷⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 154, pp. 24a-25b, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 3rd month, i-chou (1 May 1692).

⁷⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 155, pp. 19b-20b, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 6th month, kuei-mao (7 August 1692). Blo-bZań Khutuγtu and E-lin-ch'en were the 3rd and 5th sons of Cükür Taiji—see CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 143, pp. 5a-b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 11th month, ping-chen (3 January 1690).

⁸⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 158, pp. 14b-15a, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 2nd month, chi-chou (21 March 1693).

⁸¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 16b.

Nevertheless, by 1694, Baatur Erke Jinong does seem to have moved to Ch'ing-hai. On 7 November 1694, a memorial from him arrived, in which he said:

From the time that dGa'-ldan seized Ocirtu Khan, I have led my tribe, and have lived in Ch'ing-hai for many years. . . .(Now) the distress among my tribe is great. I wish to go to a territory which the Emperor may indicate and (I and my tribesmen wish to) be enrolled as Tsan-ling and Tso-ling (officers in the Imperial Banners) and be urged to exert ourselves (in the Emperor's service).

In other words, Baatur Erke Jinong wished to become subject to the Emperor of China.

The Emperor said:

Baatur Erke Jinong's condition is extremely pitiable... Temporarily, allow what he says⁸².

It may be assumed that the temporary arrangements of 1694 became permanent.

⁸²) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 165, pp. 6 b-7 a, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 9th month, i-yu (7 November 1694).

CHAPTER VIII.

DGA'-LDAN: 2) THE KHALKHAS

A) The Khalkha Khans (1662-91).

In the first year of K'ang Hsi (18 February 1662-7 February 1663), Blo-bZaṅ Taiji, the Altan Khan, Khan of a branch of the Western Khalkhas of the Jasaγtu Khan, attacked dBaṅ-Phyug (Vangcuk), the 3rd Jasaγtu Khan, and slew him¹⁾.

The events which followed immediately thereafter, have been related by Father Gerbillon in his *Observations historiques*²⁾ and by the author of the Mongolian Chronology translated by I. J. Schmidt³⁾. Gerbillon says:

Un Taiki ou Prince Kalka nommé Lopzang hum Taiki, que j'ai vû depuis à l'assemblée des Etats de Tartarie⁴⁾, ataquâ, je ne sçai pour quelle raison, le premier de ces trois Han, nommé Chasactou han, le battit, et le fit prisonnier, et après l'avoir fait mourir, s'empara de ses biens et d'une partie de ses gens: le reste prit la fuite avec les enfans de Chasactou han: ils se retirent auprès du second Han Touchetou.

Celui-ci fit sçavoir incontinent ce que venoit d'ariver à tous les chefs des etendards et aux principaux Taikis, les invitant se joindre à lui pour faire la guerre à l'usurpateur, ils le défirent, et se rendirent maîtres de sa personne, sans néanmoins tremper leurs mains dans son sang: ils se contentèrent de l'envoyer au grand lama, pour en faire telle justice qu'il lui plairoit: ils prièrent en même tems ce Pontife de donner au fils aîné de Chasactou han la même dignité qu'avoit son père.

¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 97, p. 8 a, K'ang Hsi 20th year, 8th month, hsin-chou (2 October 1681).

²⁾ Du Halde (1736), IV: Gerbillon, *Observations historiques*, pp. 55-56.

³⁾ Schmidt, *Die Volkstämme der Mongolen*, p. 469.

⁴⁾ This assembly is the one which took place at Dolon Nor, 29 May-3 June 1691.

Cette demande fut accordée, le fils fut rétabli dans les Etats du père, mais on ne lui restitua ni ses gens, ni ses troupeaux dont Touchetou han s'étoit saisi par les avis de son frère, qui gouvernoit absolument ce Prince.

The CSL differs from this account in two respects: firstly, it says that Blo-bZaṅ Taiji fled to dGa'-ldan Khung-taiji, not to the Dalai Lama. Secondly, it knows nothing of the recognition of Cenggün, the 4th Jasaγtu Khan by the Dalai Lama, but mentions only his recognition by the Emperor of China:

In the first year of K'ang Hsi, the Right Wing Jasaγtu Khan (dBaṅ-Phyug) had a quarrel with Blo-bZaṅ Taiji. The Jasaγtu Khan's Banner was destroyed and he himself was killed. Later (when the Tüšiyetü Khan had defeated him), Blo-bZaṅ Taiji escaped to the tribe of the O-lu-t'e dGa'-ldan. In the 9th year of K'ang Hsi (21 January 1670-8 February 1671), a special Decree was issued making the son (of the late Jasaγtu Khan) succeed as Jasaγtu Khan... (He) was given Imperial Letters-Patent and a Seal (authorizing him) to present annual tribute ⁵⁾.

In other words, election to a Khalkha chieftainship was made by the Khalkhas themselves. The elected was, usually, the eldest son of the late Khan. A prayer was then made to the Dalai Lama by the electors to recognise the elected—the prayer amounts to no more than one for recognition — as Khan. Thereafter, or simultaneously, the election was recommended to, and recognised by, the Emperor of China ⁶⁾. The phrase “making the son (of the late Jasaγtu Khan) succeed as Jasaγtu Khan” can only refer to such recognition. However, the Emperor of China, at the same time as he extended recognition, also presented Letters-Patent and a Seal. This “investiture”, as it is often called, seems to have had the effect of

⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 97, p. 8a, K'ang Hsi 20th year, 8th month, hsin-chou (2 October 1681). Schmidt, p. 469, says that the new Jasaγtu Khan, Cenggün (the 4th Jasaγtu Khan) was the younger brother of Vangcuk (dBaṅ-Phyug), the 3rd Jasaγtu Khan.

⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 141, pp. 6a-b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 5th month, jen-hsü (13 July 1689), gives us some knowledge as to the electors among the O-lu-t'e. It also shows that a person other than the late Khan's eldest son could be elected Khan. Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po, son of dGa'-ldan-pa, the son of Ocirtu Secen Khan, having died, his (Blo-bZaṅ's) widow and the nobles wished to elect dGa'-ldan rDo-rJe, the son of Erdeni Khung-taiji, the son of Ocirtu Secen Khan, as Khan of the tribe. The Emperor allowed this.

an authority to present tribute; and, if Fairbank and Teng are right in regarding "tribute" as a formality connected with trade, then the effect of the investiture was that of a licence to carry on trade⁷⁾.

It will be convenient here to deal with later cases of recognition of titles and succession.

First, however, we must look at an important development of Imperial policy, vis-à-vis the Khalkhas, in 1680. It will be remembered that, on 9 June 1680, because of what seemed to the Emperor as the Dalai Lama's change of front, in 1674-75, as between the Imperialists and the rebels in the War of the Three Feudatories, the Emperor had issued instructions for the seizure of whatever letters might have been exchanged between Wu San-kuei and the Dalai Lama⁸⁾. That order was a sign of Imperial suspicion of, and displeasure with, the Dalai Lama. Three and a half months later, on 24 September 1680, another sign of such displeasure is seen in an order issued to the Board of Dependencies, with regard to another area where the Dalai Lama's influence prevailed, namely, Mongolia:

The Board of Dependencies memorialised:

'The Khalkhas have come with tribute. Formerly, they all had Secen Jinong as leader (of the tribute-bearing mission). Now, Jasaγtu Khan has removed Secen Jinong and the tribute(-mission) has come with Erdeni Jinong as leader. Yet, in the Dalai Lama's document, there is not a word about Erdeni Jinong having been made the leader. We have already ordered the envoy to clarify the situation and to memorialise separately (on this matter). Whether or not we should accept the articles which they have brought as tribute from their country, (for a decision on this question) let us wait till the day when the situation is clarified. We shall then again discuss the matter and memorialise'.

The Edict was issued:

'With regard to the question whether or not We should accept the tribute of the Outer Mongolian chieftains, as a matter of principle, this question should be discussed immediately and decided. Why is it necessary to rely on whether or not it is mentioned in the Dalai

⁷⁾ J.K. Fairbank, S. Y. Teng, « On the Ch'ing Tributary System », *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VI, No. 2, June 1941, pp. 139-140. See this book, above, p. 19.

⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 90, p. 5a, K'ang Hsi 19th year, 5th month, hsin-chou (9 June 1680). See this book, above, pp. 221 and 225.

Lama's letter? If you must rely on this as evidence, then, it seems, that the Outer Mongolians, within Our frontiers, would have only to comply with the Dalai Lama's words. Henceforth, with regard to the question whether the articles brought by the Mongols ought to be accepted or not, let the said Board decide immediately and memorialise. It is not necessary to use the Dalai Lama's letters (as evidence) ' 9).

It is evident from this document that the Dalai Lama was in the habit of issuing credentials to the envoys from the Outer Mongolian Khans to the Court of the Emperor of China. Now, by this Edict of 24 September 1680, the Emperor decides no longer to ask for such credentials. In other words, he is trying to detach the Mongols from their political connections with the Dalai Lama; and to establish an immediate relationship between himself (the Emperor) and the Khalkha Khans.

In the 20th year of K'ang Hsi (18 February 1681-6 February 1682), sometime before the 8th month (12 September-10 October 1681) of that year, dGa'-ldan returned Blo-bZaṅ Taiji, the Altan Khan, to Cenggün, the 4th Jasaγtu Khan ¹⁰. On 12 August 1682, the Emperor sent embassies to a number of Mongol and O-lu-t'e Taijis, including Blo-bZaṅ Taiji. The main purpose of these embassies was to announce to the Western and Eastern Mongols the victory of the Emperor of China in the War of the Three Feudatories. The Imperial envoy to Blo-bZaṅ Taiji asked the Emperor:

Suppose Blo-bZaṅ has appointed a successor. May we give the Imperial Letter and gifts to him?

The Emperor said:

You may not. Even if there is a successor, it is necessary for the Khalkhas to communicate with the State (通國) and to recommend (保奏) to the Throne that he be made a Jasakh (Tribal Administrator) and be allowed to present the tribute of the 9 white animals. Only then may you give him Our gracious presents ¹¹).

⁹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 91, pp. 22b-23a, K'ang Hsi 19th year, intercalary 8th month, mou-tzu (24 September 1680).

¹⁰) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 97, pp. 8a-b, K'ang Hsi 20th year, 8th month, hsin-chou (2 October 1681).

¹¹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 103, pp. 15b-16a, K'ang Hsi 21st year, 7th month, i-mao (12 August 1682). The term "t'ung kuo" 通國 could, perhaps, be the title of some sort

In 1686, Cenggün, the 4th Jasaγtu Khan, died. His son, Ka-erh-tan 噶爾旦 (dGa'-ldan)—Schmidt calls him Shara—"prayed to succeed to his father's duties" (請襲父職) and was permitted to do so¹²).

In 1687, Nor-bu, the 3rd Secen Khan of the Eastern Khalkhas, died. His son, Ildeng Araptan, reported (奏聞) the matter to the Emperor. There was, as it would seem, no question of his automatic succession to his father, without an Imperial Edict to that effect. The Emperor said:

The Seven Banners of the Khalkhas have sworn to a covenant of peace not long ago¹³). It is not convenient to leave the seat of the Secen Khan vacant. Therefore, issue an Edict to the Tüsiyetü Khan, the rJe-bTsun dam-pa Khutuytu, the Jasaγtu Khan and the others, saying that the Secen Khan Nor-bu's eldest son, Ildeng Araptan, has immediately succeeded (his father) as Khan. As usual, issue an Edict to the Dalai Lama informing him (仍敕諭達賴喇嘛知之)¹⁴).

In the case of the succession of Cenggün, the 4th Jasaγtu Khan, in 1670, according to Gerbillon—but not according to the CSL—the prayer that Cenggün be recognised as the new Khan was made by the Electors to the Dalai Lama and—either simultaneously or subsequently—to the Emperor of China. In 1682, the Emperor insists on a recommendation before recognising the succession. Now, in 1687, according to the CSL, the nomination to a Khanate—it amounts now to that—is made by the Emperor, but the Dalai Lama is *informed*. The word "as usual" (仍) suggests that this was also the procedure followed when Ka-erh-tan (or Shara) succeeded as 5th Jasaγtu Khan. Note also, that in the cases both of Ka-erh-tan (or Shara) and Ildeng Araptan, there is no mention of any electors who recommend the succession.

Hence, it seems possible to conclude (i) that, by 1686, an immediate relationship had been established between the Emperor of China and the

of liaison officials between the Ch'ing State and the Mongolian tribes. The passage would then read: "it is necessary for the Khalkha *t'ung kuos* to recommend to the Throne...".

¹²) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 125, pp. 12b-13a, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 4th month, i-yu (23 April 1686). See this book, later, p. 266 and Note 40.

¹³) The Tüsiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas and the Jasaγtu Khan of the Western Khalkhas had sworn to a covenant in the presence of the Imperial envoy, A-la-ni, on 3 October 1686. This covenant was ratified in the presence of the Dalai Lama's envoy (the 44th Abbot of dGa'-ldan monastery) and the rJe-bTsun dam-pa Khutuytu (the brother of the Tüsiyetü Khan) on 10 October 1686. See this book, later, pp. 266-267.

¹⁴) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 129, p. 17b, K'ang Hsi 26th year, 2nd month, ping-tzu (9 April 1687).

Khalkha Khans; (ii) that, virtually, the Emperor nominated the Khans to the Khanates, though the nomination was, usually, of the eldest son; but (iii) that the Dalai Lama was informed.

In 1688, as we shall see, the Emperor granted asylum to the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas and the rJe-bTsun dam-pa Khutuγtu¹⁵⁾. A steady stream of refugees continued to arrive, and fighting broke out among the refugee-groups. On 19 November 1689, "as a temporary measure" the Emperor decided to establish Jasakhs (tribal administrators), and to promulgate a settled law among them¹⁶⁾. The degree of involvement of the Emperor of China in the administration of the Outer Mongols had increased.

The fact of nomination to the Khanate, which we have seen previously, is confirmed by the last two cases of succession to Khalkha khanates in the 17th century. Ildeng Araftan, the 4th Secen Khan of the Eastern Khalkhas, died in 1688¹⁷⁾. His son, Wu-me-he 吳默赫¹⁸⁾ sent the annual tribute, which arrived on 8 December 1688¹⁹⁾. He succeeded to the dignity (襲爵) on 19 January 1689²⁰⁾. Ka-erh-tan (or Shara), the 5th Jasaγtu Khan of the Western Khalkhas, was killed by the Tüšiyetü Khan in 1688. On 28 May 1691, the day before the opening of the Conference at Dolon Nor, the Emperor said:

Jasaγtu Khan's younger brother, Tshe-dBañ sKyabs, is said to be a good man by everyone. We intend to give him the title (封) of Prince of the First Class. Tomorrow, issue an Edict to this effect to the Khalkhas. With regard to the Secen Khan (of the Eastern Khalkhas), Our Court has already made him succeed to the title (封). He may, as usual, keep his title (號) of Khan²¹⁾.

¹⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 137, pp. 13 a-14 a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 10th month, i-ssu (29 October 1688). See this book, later, p. 274.

¹⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 142, p. 2 b, 3 a, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 9th month, mou-hsü (17 October 1689); p. 12b, 15b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 10th month, hsün-wei (19 November 1689); also, ch. 151, p. 12a, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 5th month, mou-tzu (30 May 1691).

¹⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 134, p. 20 a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 3rd month, jen-yin (29 April 1688).

¹⁸⁾ Schmidt, *Die Volksstämme der Mongolen*, p. 465, spells Wu-me-hê's name as Wemekei and makes him the grandson of the late Secen Khan.

¹⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 137, p. 26 a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 11th month, i-yu (8 December 1688).

²⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 138, p. 21 b, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 12th month, ting-mao (19 January 1689).

²¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 151, pp. 7 b-8 a, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 5th month, ping-hsü (28 May 1691).

Till the day of the Conference of Dolon Nor, the Khalkha Khans were not regarded as subjects of the Emperor of China. Writing to dGa'-ldan in 1689, the Emperor of China had said:

Although not formerly dependent countries (屬國), yet, in accordance with (what was required of countries) in the category of dependent countries, they loyally presented tribute²²⁾.

On 29 May 1691, the Khalkha Khans performed the ceremony of the 3 genuflexions and 9 head-knockings²³⁾. This was the *ch'en-li* 臣禮, the ritual proper to subjects, the ritual by which the Khalkhas became subjects of the Emperor of China. Whatever political authority the Dalai Lama may have had in Outer Mongolia was now extinguished. Writing to the Dalai Lama, informing him of this, the Emperor wrote:

其左翼之喀爾喀. 無復可議.

With regard to the Khalkhas of the Left Wing (*i.e.* the Northern Khalkhas of the Tüšiyetü Khan, the Middle Khalkhas of the Sain Noyan and the Eastern Khalkhas of the Secen Khan), they need not be discussed again²⁴⁾.

A chapter in the history of the Mongols had closed.

* * *

B) dGa'-ldan and the Tüšiyetü Khan

The seeds of dGa'-ldan's struggle with the Khalkhas lie in the age-old struggle of the Eastern and Western Mongols, for supremacy over the Mongol race. Specifically, the clash between dGa'-ldan and the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas in the 1680's is traceable to two incidents in the 1670's.

In 1674, the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas was in Lhasa. The fifth Dalai Lama's Autobiography records, under the date corresponding to 1 February 1674:

Khal.kha.dañ.o.rod.rgyal.po'i.mjal.phrad.śar.bar.khal.kha.ni.gnam.
chiñ.gir.gyi.brgyud.las.chad.pa.sogs.snar.gyi.sog.po'i.go.babs.kyi.

²²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 140, p. 26 b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 4th month, chi-mao (31 May 1689).

²³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 151, pp. 8 a-10 a, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 5th month, ting-hai (29 May 1691); du Halde (1736), IV: Gerbillon, *Troisième Voyage*, p. 323.

²⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 152, p. 2 b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 6th month, i-mao (26 June 1691).

rgyu.mtshan.gleñ./O.rod.ni.bstan.'dzin.chos.kyi.rgyal.pos.dbus.(p. 197b:) gtsañ.khams.gsum.dbañ.du.bsdus.pa'i.rgyal.sar.gañ.yod.sroñ.btsan.sgam.po'i.sgrub.byed.sna.tshogs.'dug.pa.bstan.gžuñ.gi.rgyun.la.phan.tshun.lugs.legs.gal.che.ba'i.gśis.gsed.bkrol.btañ.ba'i.babs.'brel.dañ.mtshuñs.pa'i.mjal.lugs.stan.gyi.mtho.dma'.sogs.phan.tshun.thams.cad.re.'khon.mi.yoñ.ba'i.bca'.bsgrigs.

When I met the Khans of the Khalkhas and the Oirad, the Khalkhas spoke of their former status among the Mongols, being (as they were) sprung from the line of the Heavenly Chingiz Khan. The Oirad said that whoever were in the Royal Seat of dBus, gTsañ and Khams, which three (territories) had been brought into subjection by the Upholder-of-the-Teaching, the King-according-to-the-Faith (Guši Khan), were the accomplisners of Sroñ-btsan sGam-po. Because of the importance, for the continuity of the Teaching and of the Government, of good relations between them, I made a settlement which would dissatisfy neither (party), and arranged the highness and lowness of the seats, when they met each other²⁵⁾.

The Tüšiyetü Khan left Lhasa in June 1674, after receiving advice and counsel from the Dalai Lama, in view of Wu San-kuei's rebellion²⁶⁾. It is clear, however, from the above passage, that dissension had broken out between himself, as head of the Eastern Mongols, and the Western Mongols, whether of Tibet, Ch'ing-hai or Jungaria, over the question of precedence, as early as 1674.

The second incident relates to dGa'-ldan's wars against Ocirtu Secen Khan in 1677-78. As we have seen²⁷⁾, there is evidence that the Tüšiyetü Khan helped Ocirtu Secen Khan against dGa'-ldan. dGa'-ldan could not have taken this very kindly.

* * *

C) dGa'-ldan and the Khalkhas.

Before this, the Jasaγtu Khan of the Right Wing of the Khalkhas twice submitted memoranda, saying:

'From the time of the disturbance created by Blo-bZañ (Taiji,

²⁵⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, pp. 197 a-b [Chu-Glañ, 12th Hor month, 26th day (kuei-chou, 12th month, 26th day = 1 February 1674)].

²⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 208 b [Śiñ-sTag, 5th Hor month, 12th day (chia-yin, 5th month, 12th day = 15 June 1674)].

²⁷⁾ See, above, p. 234.

the Altan Khan) in the 1st year of K'ang Hsi (18 February 1662-7 February 1663), my brothers, sons and nephews have, many of them, gone over to the (Tüšiyetü Khan of the) Left Wing. Repeatedly, I have demanded their return, but they have not been returned. I went and laid a plaint before the Dalai Lama. I was favoured by an Edict (from the Dalai Lama) to the 7 Banners (of the Khalkhas)²⁸⁾, saying: "You, the Seven Banners, should all obey the Jasaγtu Khan. With regard to those who have gone over to the Left Wing, they should all be returned". Therefore, I sent Charbunai (with the above-mentioned Edict from the Dalai Lama) to perform the oath-taking ceremony (盟) (where the said Edict would be sworn to), but the Left Wing Tüšiyetü Khan did not come (to the ceremony). The Emperor is the lord of the great horde. Respectfully, I report to him these matters'.

Now (K'ang Hsi 23rd year, 2nd month, keng-tzū, 19 March 1684), the Emperor, remembering that the Khalkhas had, for generations, been respectful and obedient, and had sent regular tribute for years, could not endure that their descendants should be scattered. (Therefore,) he sent A-chi-tu dGe-sloñ and the others to take an Imperial Letter (敕) and to go and issue an Imperial Edict (諭) to the Dalai Lama, ordering him (令) to send envoys to discuss peace. The Imperial Letter said:

'We rule the whole Empire. We desire that both Chinese and non-Chinese should not suffer the afflictions of war or the hardships of dispersal. We cause all mankind to enjoy peace and happiness. Recently, the Khalkha Jasaγtu Khan has respectfully memorialised Us, saying: "My subjects of the Right Wing have been scattered and have fled to the Left Wing. I have demanded their return, but they have not been returned". You, O Lama, have the power of previously-accumulated great blessedness. You have been for ever truthful and sincere. Your sympathy and compassion help all mankind. Your fame is bright and well-known. There is none who does not respect your lofty conduct and praise it. All the Khans and Pei-tzū of the Khalkhas make offerings to you, O Lama, and believe in your Teaching and conform to the exalted Law. To this Court, too, you have been sincerely respectful and careful. The sending of tribute and the coming and going (of envoys) have been

²⁸⁾ The Seven Banners of the Khalkhas were, presumably, descended from the seven sons of Geresanda Jelair Khung-taiji.

without interruption. At present, the whole Empire is enjoying great peace, and yet, Jasaγtu Khan's people have been scattered. They have not yet been united. Our heart is greatly distressed and grieved. We reflect that among them there must be fathers, sons and brothers and blood-relations who have been separated. It is not certain that they will not quarrel (among themselves) and kill each other. If they fight and quarrel among themselves, and if once soldiers and arms are raised, not to speak of the distress which the people will suffer in the meantime, how will the two Khans (Jasaγtu and Tüšiyetü) be able to live peacefully afterwards? Hitherto, they have been respectful and obedient to Us. They have served (奔走) Us with the utmost sincerity. To you, O Lama, they have, for long, been Protectors of the Faith (護法). How can you bear to look silently on, and to permit them to come to this extremity? We and you, both, ought to send envoys to issue an Edict to them, to return the Jasaγtu Khan's people, so that both Wings may return to continued peace. Not only would this conform to Our earnest desire to regard all with kindness, but it would also, O Lama, be in conformity with the practice of your Six Ferries²⁹⁾ and Four Immeasurables³⁰⁾. You, O Lama, should send a Lama to meet Our envoy in Khalkha territory. Decide a date and send him. Upon this, We, too, will send an envoy to go to the agreed spot with your envoy³¹⁾.

This Edict from the Emperor to the Dalai Lama dated 19 March 1684, opens a new phase in Sino-Tibetan relations. It is noticeable, firstly,

²⁹⁾ The Six *Pāramitās*, Pha-rol-tu Phyin-pa drug, 六度, or the Six Ferries, which ferry one beyond the sea of mortality to Nirvāna, viz.: (1) *Dāna*, sByin-pa, 布施, charity; (2) *Śīlā*, Tshul-khrims, 持戒, keeping the commandments; (3) *Kṣānti*, bZod-pa, 忍辱, patience; (4) *Vīrya*, brTson-'Grus, 精進, zeal; (5) *Dhyāna*, bSam-gTan, 闍定, meditation; and (6) *Prajñā*, Śes-rab, 智慧, wisdom. See W. E. Soothill, L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London, 1937, p. 134.

³⁰⁾ The *Catvāri Apramāṇāni*, Tshad-med bZi, 四無量, the Four Immeasurables: (1) *Maitrī*, Byams-pa, 慈, kindness; (2) *Karuṇā*, sÑiñ-rJe, 悲, pity; (3) *Muditā*, dGa'-ba, 喜, joy; and (4) *Upekṣā*, bTan-sÑoms, 捨, indifference. See Soothill, Hodous, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

³¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 114, pp. 10 b-12 a, K'ang Hsi 23rd year, 2nd month, keng-tzu (19 March 1684).

that the Jasaytu Khan of the Western Khalkhas addressed himself, in the first place, to the Dalai Lama for the redress of his grievances against the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas. Only after the Dalai Lama's efforts had failed, did the Jasaytu Khan go to the Emperor of China. Secondly, the Emperor of China wished to act together with the Dalai Lama, in the purely secular dispute between the two Khans.

We may, therefore, call the period which ensues, a period of joint Sino-Tibetan activity in the Sino-Tibetan borderlands.

A-chi-tu dGe-sloñ, the Jasakh of Kuei-hua cheng³²⁾, who was sent out with the Edict of 19 March 1684, arrived at Lhasa in the summer. He left Lhasa on 1 August 1684³³⁾. At which date A-chi-tu dGe-sloñ returned to Peking, we are not told; but, on 6 February 1685, we learn that San-pa Chen-pu 叁巴陳布, whom the Dalai Lama had sent to bring about peace among the Khalkhas, had died at Köke-khotan (Kuei-hua cheng). The Emperor, therefore, sent A-chi-tu dGe-sloñ for a second time to Tibet³⁴⁾. On 18 May 1685, A-chi-tu dGe-sloñ, having arrived at Lhasa, saw the Chos-sKyoñ Chen-po, the Great Guardian-Deity of Tibet, known as Pe-har or the gNas-chuñ Oracle. The Deity accepted the Imperial Edict³⁵⁾. On 26 June 1685, A-chi-tu dGe-sloñ left Lhasa with a Memorial for the Emperor. Further,

³²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tzu, ch. 140, p. 24 a, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 4th month, chi-mao (31 May 1689).

³³⁾ Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho: Supplement V, p. 57a [Śiñ-Byi, 6th Hor month, 21st day (chia-tzu, 6th month, 21st day = 1 August 1684)]. Previous to this, in Supplement V, we are informed of the arrival at, and departure from, Lhasa, of two embassies from China. On 24 February 1684, we are told of the presence of Blo-bZañ dGe-sloñ and the dBon-po dGe-sloñ as envoys from the Emperor of China—pp. 37a-b [Śiñ-Byi, 1st Hor month, 10th day (chia-tzu, 1st month, 10th day = 24 February 1684)]. Orders that a Memorial to be presented to the Emperor should be composed were issued on 28 April 1684—p. 45b [Śiñ-Byi, 3rd Hor month, 14th day (chia-tzu, 3rd month, 14th day = 28 April 1684)]—and the envoys left Lhasa about 16 May 1684—p. 47b [Śiñ-Byi, 4th Hor month, 3rd day (chia-tzu, 4th month, 3rd day = 16 May 1684)]. A second embassy is reported at Lhasa on 2 July 1684—p. 52a [Śiñ-Byi, 5th Hor month, 20th day (chia-tzu, 5th month, 20th day = 2 July 1684)]. They left on 16 July 1684, together with a Memorial for the Emperor of China, and the Rab-'byams-pa Blo-bZañ Nor-bu and Ņag-dBañ Grags-pa of La-gDoñ (who had previously been sent out on 29 September 1675) as envoys from Tibet to China—pp. 52a-b [Śiñ-Byi, 5th Hor month, 22nd day (chia-tzu, 5th month, 22nd day = 16 July 1684)].

³⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 119, p. 2 a, K'ang Hsi 24th year, 1st month, chia-tzu (6 February 1685).

³⁵⁾ Supplement V, p. 103 a [Śiñ-Glañ, 4th Hor month, 16th day (i-chou, 4th month, 16th day = 18 May 1685)].

Khri.rin.po.che.blo.gros.rgya.mtsho.rgya.nag.nas.(p.106b:)khar.kha.o.rod.kyi.gžuñ.bsgrig.la.dgos.tshul.žus.pa.ltar.phebs.dgos.par.sñan.sgron.bstan.par.phan.slebs.gañ.che.dgos.pa'i.žib.cha./Er.te.ni.da.las.śi.ral.thu.kho.thog.thu'i.cho.lo.gnañ.tshul.dañ.bcas./Gnañ.cha.sku.tshes.skya.gzan.dgu.phyag.'phreñ.sogs.byin.rten.dañ.śal.dkar.dmar.snam.phrug.sogs.rgyas.par.bstabs.te.thon.

A petition having been made from China, requesting an arrangement of the governmental affairs of the Khalkhas and the Oirad, the Khri Rin-po-che, Blo-Gros rGya-mTsho (44th Abbot of dGa'-ldan monastery, b. 1635, s. 1682), having agreed that he ought to go, I gave him details of whatever was needed for his safe arrival (in Mongolia). I also gave him the title of Erdeni Dalai Śi-ral-thu Khutuγtu; such holy objects as gifts (to be given by him to others), 9 plain robes for daily wear, rosaries, etc.; (other gifts) such as red and white silks; and sent him out ³⁶⁾.

Before Blo-Gros rGya-mTsho set out for China, he gave up the Abbacy of dGa'-ldan to, and was succeeded by, Tshul-khrims Dar-rGyas of Co-ne, as 45th Abbot of dGa'-ldan ³⁷⁾.

Already on the 1st day of the 4th month (23 April 1686), the Emperor informed the Khalkha Khans and Taijis of the impending arrival of the Dalai Lama's envoy—whose name appears as Ka-erh-tan Hsi-le-t'u 噶爾丹西勒圖 (dGa'-ldan Śi-ral-thu) ³⁸⁾ in the Chinese records—in the next month, the intercalary 4th month (22 May–20 June 1686) of the 25th year of K'ang Hsi. At the same time, he informed them that he (the Emperor) had ordered the President of the Board of Dependencies, A-la-ni, to go, in company with the Dalai Lama's envoy, to the territory of the Khalkha Mergen Taiji for the peace conference ³⁹⁾.

³⁶⁾ Supplement V, pp. 106 a-b [Śiñ-Glañ, 5th Hor month, 25th day (i-chou, 5th month, 25th day = 26 June 1685)]. The Life of the 44th Abbot of dGa'-ldan has been noticed in the VSP, p. 82.

³⁷⁾ PSJZ, Part III, p. 73.

³⁸⁾ Hsi-le-t'u 西勒圖 is, obviously, a Chinese transcription of Śi-ral-thu, which is part of the title given to the 44th Abbot of dGa'-ldan before his departure for China. The word is, possibly, connected with the Mongolian "Sirege Lama", meaning "the head lama of a lamasery", Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, California, 1960, p. 716.

³⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 125, pp. 11 a-13 a, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 4th month, i-yu (23 April 1686). The Khalkha Mergen Taiji—not to be confused with the O-lu-t'e Mergen Taiji, see pp. 237-239, Note 32, above—was the head of the Western Khalkhas of the Inner

Just at this time, as we have seen, Cenggün, the 4th Jasaytu Khan, died, and was succeeded by his son, Ka-erh-tan (or Shara). The 5th Jasaytu Khan was, according to Gerbillon, "lié avec Caldan, Roi des Eluths" 40).

On 3 October 1686 (K'ang Hsi 25th year, 8th month, 16th day, mou-chen), A-la-ni met the Khans, Jinongs and Taijis of the two Wings of the Khalkhas. His report of this meeting arrived at Court on 22 November 1686. It is as follows:

I, your servant, on the 16th day of the 8th month, summoned together the Khans of both Wings of the Khalkhas, the Jinongs, Taijis and others, and proclaimed to them the Imperial Edict, ordering them (or permitting them) to return to friendly relations with each other... The two Khans said: 'The Imperial Will has, repeatedly, been the means by which (our) dull and unenlightened minds have been opened and enlightened to the uttermost. We do not dare but reverently obey'.

I, your servant, then ordered the two Khans and the Jinongs, Taijis and others to select, on the 23rd day of that month (i-hai, 10 October 1686), from among their tribesmen, over 60 competent Jaisangs (noblemen) to go to dGa'-ldan Ši-ral-thu (the Dalai

Division, descendants of Abuγo Mergen Noyan (the 2nd son of Öijeng Noyan Unuγo, the 3rd son of Geresanda Jelair Khung-taiji) and his eldest son, Anggakhai Mergen Noyan—see Schmidt, *Die Volksstämme der Mongolen*, pp. 449-450. To the east of the Mergen Noyan's land lay the Dörben Keüked (四子部落), to the west the Maomingyan, to the south the Tümed of Köke-Khotan, to the north the Gobi. See Ravenstein's Map in Howorth, I, opp. p. 384.

40) CSL. Sheng Tsu, ch. 125, pp. 12b-13a, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 4th month, i-yu (23 April 1686). See above, p. 258 and Note 12. In du Halde (1736), IV, p. 57, Father Gerbillon says: 'Cependant Tchasaactou han mourut, son fils aîné qui s'étoit lié avec Caldan Roi des Eluths dont il étoit voisin, lui succéda, et fut fait han'.

Schmidt, p. 469, says:

'Um diese Zeit starb Tsenggun (Dsassaktu Chan) und der Oehlötische Galdan benutzte nun die günstige Gelegenheit, seine feindseligen Absichten gegen die Chalcha in Ausführung zu bringen. Er verführte den Sohn des Tsenggun, Namens Schara, Krieg gegen Tsagun dordschi (Tuschijetu Chan) anzufangen'.

Howorth, I, p. 471, basing himself on these two sources, says: 'Meanwhile, the Jasaktu Khan Tsenggen died and was succeeded by his son named Shara'. CSK, Fan Pu 4, p. 25b, also mentions Sha-la 沙喇 as the son of Ch'eng-kun 成袞. Whatever the name of the successor, it is certain that a change occurred in the Khanate of the Jasaytu Khan in the spring of 1686, and that the new Jasaytu Khan was a partisan of dGa'-ldan.

Lama's envoy) and rJe-bTsun dam-pa (the brother of the Tüšiyetü Khan), and to swear to the solemn covenant (設立重誓). I ordered the people and the Taijis who had been usurped by either of the two Wings to return to their original lords. I examined, and took decisions on, and settled, all matters that were to be settled. Then I ordered the Jinongs and Taijis to swear to the solemn covenant that, from now onwards, they would live in peace. All this was the result of the Emperor's uncommon and awesome virtue. Respectfully and humbly, I make this Report. dGa'-ldan Śi-ral-thu is also making a report (to the Dalai Lama) with regard to the completion of the business of peace-making⁴¹.

In this report, Alani speaks of the making of peace between the Tüšiyetü Khan and the Jasaγtu Khan at the bidding of the Imperial Edict and in the presence of the Imperial emissary (*i.e.* himself); secondly, of the ratification of the peace treaty in the presence of the two religious dignitaries. A-la-ni says nothing of the fierce clash which broke out between dGa'-ldan and the Khalkhas at this very meeting. This we know from Gerbillon:

Les envoyez de l'Empereur de la Chine et du Dalai Lama s'étant rendus auprès de Touchetou han et du Lama son frère, on convoque une seconde fois les Etats des Princes Kalkas.

L'Envoyé de l'Empereur étoit le premier président du tribunal des Mongous, qui est à peu près du même ordre que les six suprêmes tribunaux de Peking. Cet Envoyé s'apelloit Argni (= A-la-ni): j'ai appris de lui-même, et de plusieurs autres Mandarins qui l'accompagnerent dans le voyage les particularités de cette négociation. L'Envoyé du Dalai Lama étoit un des plus considérables de sa cour, et dans l'assemblée personne ne lui disputa le pas, parce qu'il représentoit la personne du Dalai Lama: il n'y eut que le frère de Touchetou han, qui étant aussi Lama et se disant Fo (= Buddha) vivant, prétendoit être égal à ce Pontife, et vouloit être traité avec la même distinction.

Le Roi des Eluths (dGa'-ldan) avoit aussi ses Envoyez qui assisterent à ces Etats, pour y soutenir les intérêts de son ami et de son alié. Ceux-ci se récrierent en vain contre la prétention du Lama Kalka qu'ils regardoient comme un attentat énorme contre le respect

⁴¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 127, pp. 26 b-27 b, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 10th month, mou-wu (22 November 1686).

dû à leur Pontife commun, qui devoit présider à l'assemblée par son légat: ce Lama ne voulant point céder: les Envoyez Eluths se retirèrent fort mécontents.

Enfin pour éviter une brouillerie plus grande que celle qu'on étoit venu terminer, l'Envoyé du Dalai Lama fut obligé de consentir que le Lama frère du Roi des Kalkas fût assis vis-à-vis de lui: cette contestation une fois finie, les affaires furent bientôt réglées dans les Etats: Touchetou han et le Lama son frère promirent solennellement d'exécuter de bonne foi ce qu'on venoit de régler: après quoi les Etats se séparèrent ⁴²⁾.

According to 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rDo-rJe, after this meeting, Blo-Gros rGya-mTsho went to an audience with the Emperor of China ⁴³⁾; but this does not find confirmation in any 17th century Chinese or Tibetan source, and must, therefore, be rejected as a late tradition.

What is certain is that shortly after the meeting La-tu-hu met the Dalai Lama's envoy Ch'e-ch'i-k'e Dalai mKhan-po outside Chia-yü kuan, to settle the Ala-shan O-lu-t'e. We have already suggested that this Tibetan envoy must have come from Tibet with the Abbot of dGa'-ldan monastery, and met La-tu-hu on his way back to Tibet ⁴⁴⁾.

We also know that Blo-Gros rGya-mTsho died on his way back to Tibet. News of his death arrived at Lhasa on 10 April 1688 ⁴⁵⁾.

To get back to 1686-87. On 9 April 1687, or shortly thereafter, as we have seen, envoys were sent from Peking to Lhasa, with an Edict, informing the latter of the succession of Ildeng Araptan as 4th Secen Khan of the Eastern Khalkhas ⁴⁶⁾. Envoys from China are reported in Lhasa, as having met the Chos-sKyon Chen-po (the Great Guardian-Deity) on 12 June 1687, but if they were the envoys who came with the Edict of 9 April 1687, then, two months seem rather too short a time for them to have made the journey from Peking to Lhasa ⁴⁷⁾. In any case, the representatives of the Emperor of China left Lhasa in the 7th Hor month of the year

⁴²⁾ du Halde (1736), IV: Gerbillon, *Observations historiques*, p. 57.

⁴³⁾ Huth I, p. 171; II, p. 272.

⁴⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 128, pp. 4 b-7 a, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 11th month, kuei-ssu (27 December 1686). See this book, above, p. 249.

⁴⁵⁾ Supplement V, p. 241 a [Sa-'Brug, 3rd Hor month, 10th day (mou-chen, 3rd month, 10th day = 10 April 1688)].

⁴⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 129, pp. 17 a-18 a, K'ang Hsi 26th year, 2nd month, ping-tzu (9 April 1687). See above, p. 258.

⁴⁷⁾ Supplement V, p. 217 a [Me-Yos, 5th Hor month, 3rd day (ting-mao, 5th month, 3rd day = 12 June 1687)].

Me-Yos/Fire-Hare (ting-mao, 7th month = 8 August-6 September 1687), together with two messengers from "the Dalai Lama" to the Emperor of China. These were (a) the mKhan-po of sPos-Khañ, by name Naḡ-dBañ Don-Grub and (b) Śes-rab rGyal-mTshan, the dBon-po (nephew or supervisor) of the head lama of Co-ne⁴⁸⁾.

When the sPos-Khañ mKhan-po reached Mongolia, fighting had broken out between dGa'-ldan and the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkas.

What happened between the autumn of 1686 and the summer of 1688, has been told by Gerbillon, Schmidt and the CSL⁴⁹⁾. The accounts do not tally exactly with one another. The chronology is, in any case, difficult to establish.

Certainly, the Tüšiyetü Khan and the rJe-bTsun dam-pa Khutuγtu showed little eagerness in fulfilling the obligations into which they had entered by the Peace of October 1686. It is not unlikely that the Jasaγtu Khan, as stated by Gerbillon, sought the assistance of dGa'-ldan to persuade the Tüšiyetü Khan and the rJe-bTsun dam-pa to return the tribes and flocks which they had seized. dGa'-ldan sent an ambassador to the Tüšiyetü Khan and the rJe-bTsun dam-pa. They replied by putting the ambassador in chains and sending an insulting letter to dGa'-ldan. Whether or not, as a result of this, dGa'-ldan advanced to attack the Tüšiyetü Khan is uncertain—neither Gerbillon nor Schmidt's source mention such an attack by dGa'-ldan in 1687. It is, however, fairly certain that the Tüšiyetü Khan and the rJe-bTsun dam-pa attacked the Jasaγtu Khan, captured him and, as Gerbillon says, killed him by drowning. That the first aggressive moves in the war were made by the Tüšiyetü Khan is confirmed by two CSL documents dated 28 May 1691 and 26 October 1696⁵⁰⁾, in the latter of which K'ang Hsi himself admits that the Khalkhas attacked the Oirad first. At the same time, the Tüšiyetü Khan killed an important Taiji called Degdekei, or Te-k'o-te-hei Tai-ch'ing Tai-chi, or

⁴⁸⁾ Supplement V, p. 222 a [Me-Yos, 7th Hor month (ting-mao, 7th month = 8 August-6 September 1687)].

⁴⁹⁾ du Halde (1736), IV, p. 58; Schmidt, *Die Volksstämme der Mongolen*, p. 469; CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 131, pp. 8b-9a, K'ang Hsi 26th year, 9th month, keng-tzu (30 October 1687) (Tushiyetu Khan's memorial); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 136, pp. 1b-2a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 7th month, jen-shen (28 July 1688) (rJe-bTsun dam-pa's memorial); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 136, p. 3b, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 7th month, chia-hsu (30 July 1688) (dGa'-ldan's memorial).

⁵⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 151, pp. 6b-7a, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 5th month, ping-hsü (28 May 1691); CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 177, pp. 2a-3a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 10th month, chia-shen (26 October 1696).

Te-k'o-te-hei Me-erh-ken A-hai⁵¹). Again, Gerbillon does not speak, as the rJe-bTsun dam-pa does, of rDo-rJe sKyabs, the younger brother of dGa'-ldan, attacking Pan-ti Tai-ch'ing Tai-chi Pu-t'u-k'o-sen and Pa-erh-tan of the Right Wing. But Gerbillon, the rJe-bTsun dam-pa and dGa'-ldan all state that the Tüšiyetü Khan attacked and killed rDo-rJe sKyabs and (according to Gerbillon) sent another insulting letter to dGa'-ldan. Hearing from the prisoners that dGa'-ldan was coming to attack him, the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas and his son-in-law, Blo-bZaṅ mGon-po of the Ala-shan O-lu-t'e, ordered their troops to advance into dGa'-ldan's territory. These men met the envoy whom the Dalai Lama had sent "to make known to them the Edict of the Emperor ordering peace", withdrew, and stopped at the Chu-k'o-tu-ssu Nor. The envoy from the Dalai Lama referred to here can be no other than the sPos-Khaṅ mKhan-po.

When the Emperor first heard of the fighting, in 1687, he was not certain that the report was correct. He sought the advice of his Princes-Counsellors and high officials. They and Prince An (Yolo), who was conversant with Mongolian affairs, proposed that the Emperor send a letter to dGa'-ldan and the Tüšiyetü Khan ordering them to cease military operations. They further proposed that the Emperor "send a letter to the Dalai Lama, ordering him to send an envoy with an Edict ordering them (dGa'-ldan and the Tüšiyetü Khan) to stop military operations".

This proposal was accepted. The letter to the Dalai Lama was sent by means of Phyag-na rDo-rJe 商南多爾濟 and the Senior Secretary Buyantu 布顏圖⁵²). Envoys from China—most probably, Phyag-na rDo-rJe and Buyantu—are reported at Lhasa on 25 February 1688⁵³). Phyag-na rDo-rJe must have returned to Peking by the middle of 1688, because he was sent out to dGa'-ldan on 30 July 1688⁵⁴).

⁵¹) Te-k'o-te-hei Tai-ch'ing Tai-chi 得克得黑戴青台吉 of CSL. Sheng Tsu, ch. 131, pp. 8 b-10 b, K'ang Hsi 26th year, 9th month, keng-tzu (30 October 1687); Te-k'o-te-hei Me-erh-ken A-hai 得克得黑墨爾根阿海 of CSL. Sheng Tsu, ch. 137, p. 24 b. K'ang Hsi 27th year, 11th month, chia-shen (7 December 1688).

⁵²) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 131, pp. 9 a-b, K'ang Hsi 26th year, 9th month, keng-tzu (30 October 1687).

⁵³) Supplement V, p. 239 a [Sa-'Brug, 1st Hor month, 24th day (mou-chen, 1st month, 24th day = 25 February 1688)].

⁵⁴) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 136, pp. 4 a-b, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 7th month, chia-hsü (30 July 1688).

A little before that, on 6 March 1688, the arrival of tribute from the Dalai Lama and the Pan-chen Lama is recorded in the CSL⁵⁵). Although the names of the Tibetan ambassadors have not been recorded, they are likely to have been the sPos-Khañ mKhan-po and the dBon-po of Co-ne.

Two months later, on 11 May 1688:

The Board of Dependencies submitted a special memorial (題), saying:

‘We have received a memorandum (疏) from the Dalai Lama, saying:

“The Emperor looks compassionately on all mankind and considers Chinese and non-Chinese as one body. When I heard that the O-lu-t’e and the Khalkhas, these two countries, were fighting against each other, I immediately sent men with letters ordering them to be at peace. Now, in obedience to the Imperial Edict, I am sending Pu-k’o-kang Lama 卜克岡喇嘛 (= sPos-Khañ Lama). I pray that the Emperor, out of his kind consideration, again bestow an Edict, and send men with it (to the Khalkhas and the Oirad) ordering them not to destroy each other”’.

The Emperor accordingly sent the Grand Secretary Pai-li and the Lama A-chi-tu Chos-rJe to go with an Edict to dGa’-ldan⁵⁶).

Meanwhile, dGa’-ldan launched his attack on the Khalkhas. On 8 July 1688, Chiu-chiu 舅舅 (maternal uncle) T’ung Kuo-kang 佟國綱 and his suite—among whom was Father Gerbillon—who, having left Peking on 30 May 1688, were on their way to a conference with the Russians at Selenginsk, came across a camp of Khalkha refugees from dGa’-ldan. Later, they met more refugees⁵⁷). Being thus assured that the news of the outbreak of hostilities between the Oirad and the Khalkhas was correct,

⁵⁵) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 133, p. 16 b, K’ang Hsi 27th year, 2nd month, mou-shen (6 March 1688).

⁵⁶) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 135, pp. 5 a-b, K’ang Hsi 27th year, 4th month, chia-yin (11 May 1688).

⁵⁷) du Halde (1736), IV: Gerbillon, p. 58; Schmidt, p. 469. Schmidt’s date (1687) should be altered to 1688. Also, du Halde (1736), IV, pp. 136–137. CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 135, pp. 15b–16a, K’ang Hsi 27th year, 5th month, kuei-yu (30 May 1688) mentions the departure of Songgotu (the principal envoy to the Conference with the Russians) on 30 May 1688. It then proceeds to mention the recall of the Embassy later. See also Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period*, Washington, 1944, II, p. 665 (Songgotu).

the Emperor abandoned the proposed conference with the Russians and recalled the ambassadors to defend the frontier. An Explanatory Edict was issued to the Russians⁵⁸⁾.

On 28 July 1688, as we have seen, the Emperor received the rJe-bTsun dam-pa's memorial on the war between the Khalkhas and the O-lu-t'e⁵⁹⁾. dGa'-ldan's memorial on the above facts—the first of many—arrived two days later. In it he said:

rJe-bTsun dam-pa and the Tüšiyetü Khan opposed themselves to the Dalai Lama's Teaching and did not honour dGa'-ldan Śi-ral-thu (the Dalai Lama's envoy at the peace conference of October 1686). I informed them about the proper rites and laws (禮法) and told them that to return to good relations would be right. Yet they turned round and did wrong. In the end, they took up arms and advanced (towards us). Upon this, we, relying on the Dalai Lama's divinity, came and destroyed their domain⁶⁰⁾.

dGa'-ldan's envoy transmitted an additional memorial, saying:

rJe-bTsun dam-pa has gone and sought asylum at the Celestial Court. He should either be refused asylum and not be received (at Court) or he should be seized and handed over⁶¹⁾.

The Princes-Counsellors and high officials advised the Emperor:

Whenever there has been a case of (people from) a regular tribute-paying country coming to us in their distress, they have always been received and given sustenance. rJe-bTsun dam-pa has been defeated and has fled and entered our border. On what principle can we seize him and hand him over?⁶²⁾

The Emperor, therefore, sent a second Edict to dGa'-ldan—second since the outbreak of the war—on 30 July 1688. Its general tenor was to exhort the Khalkhas and the O-lu-t'e to respect the treaty of October

⁵⁸⁾ du Halde (1736), IV, p. 143 (22 July 1688). CSL, as above, in Note 57.

⁵⁹⁾ See pp. 269-270, above, and Note 49.

⁶⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 136, p. 3 b. K'ang Hsi 27th year, 7th month, chia-hsu (30 July 1688).

⁶¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 4 a.

⁶²⁾ *Ibid.*

1686. Further, he said:

You, the O-lu-t'e and the Khalkhas both obey the Dalai Lama's religion (道法). The Dalai Lama has hitherto conferred benefit upon, and worked for the salvation of, mankind. He wishes to bring about a return to peace, not defeat and destruction. Therefore, both (We and the Dalai Lama) sent men with Edicts (ordering peace)... Immediately, in conformity with Our Decree and the Dalai Lama's Teaching (教), discuss peace⁶³).

Meanwhile, dGa'-ldan continued to advance. On 9 August 1688, a memorial sent by Hung-o-erh Tai-ch'ing Taiji, informed the Emperor that dGa'-ldan had attacked Dalai Taiji and reached the territory of the Ku-lun 衮倫 and Pei-erh 貝爾 (= Büyür or Bűr) lakes⁶⁴. This advance of dGa'-ldan's to within 8 days' distance of the defended frontier (汛界) filled the Emperor with alarm, and defence measures were hastily taken.

dGa'-ldan's advance to the Kerülen was, however, only a raid. Hearing of the arrival of the Dalai Lama's envoy, he quickly withdrew. To the Dalai Lama's envoy, he said:

If I make peace with the Tüšiyetü Khan, then, who will avenge the death of my younger brother, rDo-rJe sKyabs? With all my strength, I shall attack and punish (the Tüšiyetü Khan) for 5 or 6 years. Certainly, I shall destroy the Khalkhas. Certainly, I shall seize the rJe-bTsun dam-pa⁶⁵).

Note that both the Tüšiyetü Khan in 1687, and dGa'-ldan in 1688, withdrew from attacking their enemies at the request of the Dalai Lama's

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 5 a.

⁶⁴ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 136, p. 9 a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 7th month, chia-shen (9 August 1688).

Hung-o-erh Tai-ch'ing Taiji is probably the Khongor Setzen Jinong, son of Tübet Khatan Batur, son of Noyantai Khatan, son of Geresanda Jelair Khung-taiji, mentioned by Schmidt, *Die Volksstämme der Mongolen*, p. 466. The Dalai Taiji of this passage is either Baochadaschi Dalai Chun-taidschi, the 7th son of Shului Setzen Khan (of the Eastern Khalkas) or Ananda, Dalai Dschinong, the 9th son of Shului Setzen Khan. See Schmidt, p. 462. The Ku-lun (or Dalai) Nor and the Büyür (or Bűr) lakes are both situated in the territory of the Secen Khan of the Eastern Khalkhas. See Ravenstein's Map in Howorth, I, opp. p. 384. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 465, says: 'Im sieben und zwanzigsten Jahre (1687)—(read 1688)—kam der Oehlötische Galdan auf seinem Plünderungszuge gegen die Chalcha bis an den Fluss Kerülun'.

⁶⁵ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 136, pp. 19a-b, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 8th month, chi-yu (3 September 1688).

envoy. dGa'-ldan, however, withdrew only from his attack on the Secen Khan of the Eastern Khalkhas. He refused to call off his attack on the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas. This he did because of the ancient law of revenge, which had not been changed when the Mongols had been converted to the dGe-lugs-pa⁶⁶⁾. The Dalai Lama's envoy, whom dGa'-ldan met, must have been the sPos-Khañ mKhan-po, now on his way back to Tibet. He is reported as having returned to Lhasa, together with two Imperial ambassadors—the Jasakh Lama bsTan-'dzin rGya-mTsho and the Cakhar Lama's dBon-po—on 31 December 1688⁶⁷⁾.

Four months before that date, on 28-29 August 1688 (K'ang Hsi 27th year, 8th month, 3rd and 4th days, kuei-mao and chia-chen), dGa'-ldan met the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas and the Sain Noyan of the Middle Khalkhas (Šamba, Itegemjitü Erke Tai-ch'ing) at the O-lo-hui 鄂羅會 Nor, and totally defeated them⁶⁸⁾.

On 1 October 1688, report arrived at the Ch'ing Court that the Tüšiyetü Khan and his brother had entered the defended border and begged to submit to the Emperor. The Princes-Counsellors and high officials proposed that the Emperor ought to grant them asylum, give them sustenance, and allot a place for them to live in⁶⁹⁾. The Emperor accepted the proposal. He sent the President of the Board of Dependencies to meet the refugees at the frontier. On 22 October 1688 (K'ang Hsi 27th year, 9th month, 29th day, mou-hsü), A-la-ni met them and asked them: "Do you intend to enter the defended border and to live there? Where now do you wish to go from here?" They replied that they intended to "seek refuge in the Divine Lord" (歸聖主), *i. e.* the Emperor. The Emperor accepted them⁷⁰⁾.

Then began a long correspondence between the Emperor and dGa'-ldan, in which dGa'-ldan demanded the surrender of the Tushiyetu Khan and the rJe-bTsun dam-pa, and the Emperor pointed out his obligation to grant asylum to those who sought it. The clash was between two irreconcilable ethics: dGa'-ldan's, which required revenge for the killing

⁶⁶⁾ See above, p. 91.

⁶⁷⁾ Supplement V, p. 254 b [Sa-'Brug, 11th Hor month, 9th day (mou-chen, 11th month, 9th day = 31 December 1688)].

⁶⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 136, p. 26 a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 8th month, ting-mao (21 September 1688).

O-lo-hui Nor = Orok Nor in Ravenstein's Map, Howorth, I, opp. p. 384.

⁶⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 137, pp. 3 b-4 b, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 9th month, ting-chou (1 October 1688).

⁷⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 137, pp. 13 a-14 a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 10th month, i-ssu (29 October 1688).

of his brother; the Emperor's, which obliged him to give shelter to refugees.

To Ananda and Phyag-na rDo-rJe, who had been sent to him with the Edict of 30 July 1688, dGa'-ldan said:

The Seven Banners of the Khalkhas are not my enemies. Only, the Tüšiyetü Khan and the rJe-bTsun dam-pa killed the Jasaγtu Khan and Te-k'e-te-hei Mergen Akhai and completely conquered their country. They also plundered my territory and killed my younger brother, rDo-rJe sKyabs... No country can tolerate such people.

Further, he said:

You have issued an Edict to me regarding the proper ritual (禮) and the law (法) - (exhorting me to respect the Treaty of October 1686, which was concluded by such ritual and law)... I have not at all the intention of keeping myself aloof from the proper ritual and laws of the Emperor of China and the Dalai Lama (我並無自外於中華皇帝. 達賴喇嘛禮法之意)⁷¹.

On receipt of Ananda's and Phyag-na rDo-rJe's report on their embassy to dGa'-ldan, the Princes-Counsellors proposed:

We ought to send men with letters to the Dalai Lama, ordering him to send a well-known great lama to go together with the high official whom this Court will send, to summon together dGa'-ldan and the Tüšiyetü Khan (to discuss peace)⁷².

However, the Tüšiyetü Khan, "with regard to the Edict which he received, ordering him to meet and to make peace with dGa'-ldan, made difficulties; and prepared a memorandum, setting forth (his difficulties)". The Emperor was quickly won over by the Tüšiyetü Khan's difficulties. Evidently, the reasoning was that once having granted asylum to the Tüšiyetü Khan, he could not now go back on his pledge. He therefore sent the Ilaγuγsan Khutuγtu, Phyag-na rDo-rJe and the Tha-phag Jarγuci to the Dalai Lama, ordering him to

⁷¹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 137, pp. 24 b-25 a, K'ang Hsi 27th year, 11th month, chia-shen (7 December 1688).

⁷²) *Ibid.*, pp. 25 a-b.

send envoys to dGa'-ldan. "In this way, the matter can be settled" ⁷³⁾.

The Ilayuṣan Khutuṣtu, of whom we hear a great deal now, was a person called lHa-bTsun Ṇag-dBañ bsTan-'dzin, to whom the fifth Dalai Lama had given the title of Erdeni Ilayuṣan Khutuṣtu on 28 October 1679 ⁷⁴⁾. On 11 May 1685, he had been appointed Administrator of Köke-Khotan by the Emperor ⁷⁵⁾. In the Edict which the Ilayuṣan Khutuṣtu carried with him to Tibet, dated 8 February 1689, the Emperor admitted that the Tüšiyetü Khan was in the wrong. But

We are the lord of the Empire (天下主). If We do not grant asylum to, and nourish, those who come to Us, then who will give asylum to them and nourish them? . . . If the Khalkhas had sought refuge with you, O Lama, certainly you could not have tolerated their death and destruction. You, too, would certainly have lovingly sustained them . . . Our wish is that the O-lu-t'e and the Khalkhas completely get rid of their previous hatred, and live in peace, as formerly. Let each keep his own territory, and stop the war, and cease hostilities. We are specially sending envoys with letters to dGa'-ldan. dGa'-ldan formerly obeyed your Teaching (道法). If you, O Lama, send envoys with an Edict, you must order the two countries to put an end to war for ever. In this way, Our and your basic desire to get rid of entanglements, and to sympathise with those who are in difficulties will be satisfied ⁷⁶⁾.

On 31 May 1689, the above Edict was sent to dGa'-ldan through A-la-ni ⁷⁷⁾.

On 29 May 1689, the Ilayuṣan Khutuṣtu, Phyag-na rDo-rJe and Tha-phag Jarṣuci arrived at Lhasa ⁷⁸⁾. They left Lhasa on 4 July 1689,

⁷³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 139, pp. 6a-7a, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 1st month, ting-hai (8 February 1689).

⁷⁴⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, III, p. 153b [Sa-Lug, 9th Hor month, 24th day (chi-wei, 9th month, 24th day = 28 October 1679)].

⁷⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 120, pp. 20b-21a, K'ang Hsi 24th year, 4th month, mou-hsü (11 May 1685). According to this document, Ilayuṣan Khutuṣtu was made Chang-yin Jasakh Ta Lama 掌印扎薩克大喇嘛. "Chang-yin" means "Keeper of a Seal"; a Jasakh is an Administrator; Ta Lama is a mKhan-po or Abbot.

⁷⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 139, pp. 8b-9b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 1st month, ting-hai (8 February 1689).

⁷⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 140, pp. 24a-27b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 4th month, chi-mao (31 May 1689).

⁷⁸⁾ Supplement V, p. 270 b [Sa-sBrul, 4th Hor month, 11th day (chi-ssu, 4th month, 11th day = 29 May 1689)].

with a Memorial for the Emperor of China, which Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho describes in these terms:

‘The Holy Mañjuḥṣa Emperor who turns the Wheel (of Law) in this Kali-yuga, and who loves all named and animated beings as if they were arisen out of a thought which has fallen and rolled out on the mind of the Emperor...’ — begging to address the Emperor in laudatory terms such as these, (I sent) a Memorial, which was in prose, drawn up in the style of poetry (sÑan-tshig). As presents, I sent... (here follows a list of presents) ⁷⁹⁾.

According to the evidence of CSL documents, which we shall look at later, Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho must have sent, as his ambassadors to China, (a) the mKhan-po of Byams-pa Gliñ, named Blo-bZañ Don-Grub, who arrived at the Court of Peking on 18 January 1690, and (b) the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu, who remained with the Ilayγsan Khutuγtu ⁸⁰⁾.

On 19 September 1689 (K’ang Hsi 28th year, 8th month, 7th day, keng-wu), A-la-ni arrived with the Imperial Edict of 31 May 1689 at dGa’-ldan’s encampment. On 30 September (K’ang Hsi 28th year, 8th month, 18th day, hsin-ssu), dGa’-ldan said to A-la-ni:

The Divine Emperor’s vast magnanimity and kindness nurtures all peoples and wishes to bring about that which is conducive to peace and prosperity. We, too, are among those (peoples). I humbly implore the Divine Emperor to point out the plans which are best for my peace and prosperity; and I wish to be allowed to obey them. But rJe-bTsun dam-pa and the Tüšiyetü Khan began the disturbance. Without cause, they began military operations and killed the Jasaγtu Khan and Te-k’o-te-hei Mergen Akhai. They disobeyed the Imperial Decree. Before now, I have repeatedly memorialised on account of them ⁸¹⁾.

⁷⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 276 b [Sa-sBrul, 5th Hor month, 18th day (chi-ssu, 5th month, 18th day = 4 July 1689)].

⁸⁰⁾ The Byams-pa Gliñ mKhan-po’s name appears as Shan-pa ling k’an pu 善巴陵堪卜 in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 143, pp. 11 b-13 b, K’ang Hsi 28th year, 12th month, hsin-wei (18 January 1690). rJe-druñ appears as Chi-lung 濟隆 in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 145, p. 3 b, K’ang Hsi 29th year, 3rd month, jen-yin (19 April 1690) *et seqq.* For the equation Chi-lung 濟隆 = sKyid-Groñ, see T.V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet*, Rome, 1962, p. 129, Note 126, and p. 214.

⁸¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 142, pp. 24 b-25 a, K’ang Hsi 28th year, 10th month, i-yu (3 December 1689). See De Mailla, XI, pp. 132-134, where the translation is often inaccurate.

A-la-ni replied:

Our Emperor is the Lord of China, who rules the Empire (我皇上爲統馭天下中國之主). Is there any reason for his not thinking of saving the lives of these one or two men?⁸²⁾

On 4 October 1689 (K'ang Hsi 28th year, 8th month, 22nd day, i-yu), dGa'-ldan handed over his reply to the Imperial Edict. A-la-ni perused it and said:

The Dalai Lama's envoys (to dGa'-ldan and the Emperor) and (the Imperial envoys to the Dalai Lama, namely,) Ilayuysan Khutu-ytu and the others, will come to you with regard to this affair. Will they be replied to in similar terms, or (if not), what terms will they be replied to in?⁸³⁾

Evidently, there was a desire in the Imperial Government that, since China and Tibet were proceeding jointly in their dealings with the Khalkhas and the O-lu-t'e, the O-lu-t'e (as well as the Khalkhas) should deal with them—China and Tibet—as with one person.

dGa'-ldan replied:

If the matter of what the Dalai Lama says is the same as the Divine Emperor's Edict, naturally, I shall have no other terms (in which to reply to the Dalai Lama)⁸⁴⁾.

On 6 October 1689 (K'ang Hsi 28th year, 8th month, 24th day, ting-hai), A-la-ni started on his homeward journey. His report arrived at Court on 3 December 1689.

The CSL records the arrival of envoys with tribute from the Dalai Lama and the Pan-chen Lama on 21 October 1689. These envoys were, probably, the representatives of the Emperor—the Jasakh Lama bsTan-'dzin rGya-mTsho and the Cakhar Lama's dBon-po—whom the sPos-Khañ mKhan-po had taken with him from China to Lhasa, and who had arrived in Lhasa on 31 December 1688. They now returned to Peking on 21 October 1689⁸⁵⁾.

⁸²⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 25 a.

⁸³⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 25 b.

⁸⁴⁾ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 142, p. 3 b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 9th month, jen-yin (21 October 1689).

On 18 January 1690, while the *Ilayuγsan Khutuγtu*, *Phyag-na rDo-rJe* and the *rJe-druñ Khutuγtu* were on their way to *dGa'-ldan Taiji*, the *Byams-pa Gliñ mKhan-po* arrived at the Ch'ing Court with a secret oral reply to the Imperial Edict which had been sent out on 8 February 1689. The *Byams-pa Gliñ mKhan-po* said:

At the time of my starting on my journey, I went to the Dalai Lama's place, but did not see him. The *sDe-pa* (*Saṅs-rGyas rGya-mTsho*) came out and said to me: 'The Dalai Lama has ordered the (following) memorial to (be presented to) the Emperor:

"Only seize the *Tüšiyetü Khan* and the *rJe-bTsun dam-pa* and hand them over to *dGa'-ldan*. By doing so, there will be advantage to living beings. I can guarantee the lives of these two men" ⁸⁶⁾.

The Emperor professed great surprise at this. He sent the *Ban-gSar Rab-'byams-pa* (*Pan-tsa-erh La-mu-cha-mu-pa* (班雜爾喇木扎木巴) and *Emci dGe-sloñ* to the Dalai Lama, with an Edict saying:

The *O-lu-t'e* and the *Khalkhas* were formerly countries which sent Us regular tribute, and also honoured you as your Givers-of-Alms. When We heard that the two countries had exchanged hostilities and attacked each other, We and you jointly ordered them to stop military operations and to bring about peaceful relations towards each other... Originally, it was not Our intention to be partial or to favour one country (against the other). Later, the *O-lu-t'e* and the *Khalkhas* did not follow Our and your words and, finally, came to fighting each other. The *Khalkhas* were defeated and, in great poverty, came to submit to Us. We granted them asylum, and settled them inside and outside the border. We gave them rice-rations and animals, in order to help them in their distress. If they had sought refuge with you, O Lama, We think that you, too, would have maintained them like this. Now, the envoy whom you, O Lama, have sent, namely, the *Byams-pa Gliñ mKhan-po*, quotes you as saying that We ought to seize the *Tüšiyetü Khan* and the *rJe-bTsun dam-pa Khutuγtu* and hand them over to *dGa'-ldan*. You (he says) can guarantee their lives. That one who is Sovereign and leader should help the distressed and continue that which has been severed is an unchanging, eternal principle. If now We seize

⁸⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 143, p. 11 b, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 12th month, *hsin-wei* (18 January 1690).

the Tüšiyetü Khan and the rJe-bTsun dam-pa, and hand them over to dGa'-ldan, this will be favouring one party. Where, then, will be the wish, which We and you have held heretofore, that the O-lu-t'e and the Khalkhas should be at peace with each other?⁸⁷⁾

The Rab-'byams-pa of Ban-gSar arrived at Lhasa, with the above Edict, on 29 August 1690⁸⁸⁾. The Byams-pa Gliñ mKhan-po's presence at Lhasa is attested by Sañs-rGyas rGya-mtsho under the date 9 September 1690⁸⁹⁾. The Ban-gSar Rab-'byams-pa left Lhasa on 11 November 1690⁹⁰⁾.

While the Ban-gSar Rab-'byams-pa was on his way to Tibet, dGa'-ldan resumed his attack on the Khalkhas, principally, this time, the Middle Khalkhas of the Sain Noyan and the Eastern Khalkhas of the Secen Khan. Already, on 14 January 1690 (K'ang Hsi 28th year, 12th month, 5th day, ting-mao), the Emperor's envoys to the Dalai Lama, namely, Ilayγsan Khutuγtu and Phyag-na rDorJe, on their way back to China, *via* dGa'-ldan's encampment, together with the Dalai Lama's envoy to dGa'-ldan and the Emperor, namely, the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu, had come across traces of dGa'-ldan's encampment on the Chi-lao-t'u 齊勞圖 (Jilotu) river. Phyag-na rDo-rJe returned to fetch rations for the journey, and also to report on dGa'-ldan's movements. The rations were issued on 19 April 1690⁹¹⁾.

At the same time, the Khalkha troops along the Tula—apparently, only the upper reaches of the Tula, to the north-west of the Dulan Khara mountains, before the Tula curves north-westwards to join the Orkhon, is meant—and the Onon 俄農 rivers, were mobilised⁹²⁾.

On 11 May 1690, news arrived that dGa'-ldan had clashed with Todo Erdeni (of the Middle Khalkhas of the Sain Noyan), one of the commanders whom the Emperor had ordered to be mobilised on 20 April 1690. It was further reported that dGa'-ldan was about to attack Gumbo (= mGon-po)

⁸⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 143, pp. 12 a-13 a, K'ang Hsi 28th year, 12th month, hsin-wei (18 January 1690).

⁸⁸⁾ Supplement V, p. 325 a [lCags-rTa, 7th Hor month, 25th day (keng-wu, 7th month, 25th day = 29 August 1690)].

⁸⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 325 b [lCags-rTa, 8th Hor month, 7th day (keng-wu, 8th month, 7th day = 9 September 1690)].

⁹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 331 a [lCags-rTa, 10th Hor month, 11th day (keng-wu, 10th month, 11th day = 11 November 1690)].

⁹¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 145, pp. 3 b-4 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 3rd month, jen-yin (19 April 1690).

⁹²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 145, pp. 4 a-5 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 3rd month, jen-yin (19 April 1690) and kuei-mao (20 April 1690).

Kündülen Boşuytu (the 13th son of Tümenkhen Sain Noyan of the Middle Khalkhas)⁹³. Apparently, dGa'-ldan had broken through the Tula-Onon barrier, if such a barrier had ever been set up.

On 24 July 1690, news arrived that dGa'-ldan had crossed the territory of the Ku-lun (or Dalai) Nor, moved up the Ursun (烏爾順) river, to the territory of the Büyür (or Bűr) (波衣爾) Nor, and arrived at the Khalkha river, only one day's journey from the defended frontier. Ananda stationed himself at the Ta-pen-ta-shih 他奔他什 lake (Dabusun Nor), south of the Büyür (or Bűr) lake, in Üjümücin territory, to wait for him⁹⁴.

Two days later, on 26 July 1690 (K'ang Hsi 29th year, 6th month, 21st day, keng-chen), dGa'-ldan met the Imperial forces commanded by the President of the Board of Dependencies, A-la-ni, and defeated them at the Wu-erh-hui 烏爾會 river⁹⁵.

* * *

D) dGa'-ldan and the Emperor of China.

The direct result of the battle of Wu-erh-hui was this: The Emperor's effort to act together with the Dalai Lama to bring about peaceful negotiations between dGa'-ldan and the Khalkhas had failed. With it had failed, too, the policy of joint Sino-Tibetan activity, which had been inaugurated by the Imperial Edict to the Dalai Lama on 19 March 1684, and of which the concrete results had been not only the Peace of October 1686, between the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas and the Jasaytu Khan of the Western Khalkhas, but also the settlement of the Ala-shan O-lu-t'e. The confrontation now was not between dGa'-ldan and the Khalkhas, but between dGa'-ldan and the Emperor of China.

The expressed reason given by the Emperor of China for proceeding against dGa'-ldan after the Battle of Wu-erh-hui, was that dGa'-ldan had unauthorisedly entered the defended frontier, and plundered the Üjümücin tribe, before the date of the Battle of Wu-erh-hui⁹⁶.

⁹³) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 145, pp. 10 a-11 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 4th month, chia-tzu (11 May 1690).

⁹⁴) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 146, pp. 14 b-16 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 6th month, mou-yin (24 July 1690).

⁹⁵) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 146, pp. 24 a-25 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 6th month, mou-tzu (3 August 1690).

Wu-erh-hui occurs as Utgui in Ravenstein's Map, Howorth, I, opp. p. 384.

⁹⁶) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 146, p. 22 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 6th month, chia-shen (30 July 1690).

dGa'-ldan admitted that he had entered the defended frontier, but said that it was in order to demand his enemies, not to carry out petty attacks⁹⁷).

Another fact which emerged after Wu-erh-hui, is that both the Ilayuṣan Khutuṣtu, whom the Emperor had sent, on 8 February 1689, first, to the Dalai Lama, thence to dGa'-ldan; and the rJe-druñ Khutuṣtu, whom Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho had sent to dGa'-ldan on 4 July 1689, in the company of the Ilayuṣan Khutuṣtu, were in dGa'-ldan's camp, and had become partisans of dGa'-ldan against the Emperor⁹⁸).

On 6 August 1690, the Emperor sent Fu-ch'üan and the others with considerable forces, against dGa'-ldan⁹⁹). The purpose of the "negotiations" which followed, between the Emperor and dGa'-ldan was, simply, to prevent dGa'-ldan from fleeing, before the Imperial forces came up to him¹⁰⁰). This being so, the "negotiations" have an unmistakable air

CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 147, pp. 2 a-b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, hsin-mao (6 August 1690) says:

"dGa'-ldan penetrated deep into Wu-chu-mu-chin 烏朱穆秦 (Üjü-mücin) territory. The Emperor created the Hoṣoi Prince Yü of the First Class, Fu-ch'üan, 'General who Pacifies Distant Lands' (撫遠大將軍), and ordered Prince Yin-ti to assist him. (These two were) to go out through the Ku-pei Gate (of the Great Wall)". See also CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 147, p. 10 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, ping-shen (11 August 1690); and p. 19 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, ting-wei (22 August 1690).

⁹⁷) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 147, p. 13 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, jen-yin (17 August 1690); pp. 21a-b, chi-yu (24 August 1690).

⁹⁸) The rJe-druñ Khutuṣtu's emissary, La-mu-cha-mu-pa (Rab-'byams-pa) and the Ilayuṣan Khutuṣtu's representative, Ni-lung dGe-sloñ, met the Chamberlain, Amida, on 19 August 1690 (CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 147, pp. 18b-20a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, ting-wei, 22 August 1690). dGa'-ldan's envoy, Tsun-to-i K'o-su-erh, and the rJe-druñ Khutuṣtu's envoy, Wei-cheng dGe-sloñ, met Amida again a few days before 24 August 1690 (CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 147, pp. 21a-b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, chi-yu, 24 August 1690). The Rab-'byams-pa and Tsun-to-i K'o-su-erh met Songgotu a few days before 4 September 1690 (CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 148, pp. 1 b-2 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, keng-shen, 4 September 1690). On 17 December 1690, the Emperor revealed that not only had the rJe-druñ Khutuṣtu and the Ilayuṣan Khutuṣtu failed to stop dGa'-ldan from crossing the defended frontier or from plundering the Üjümücin, but also, at Ulan Budung, on 3 September 1690, they had stood by and watched the battle (CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 149, p. 17 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 11th month, chia-chen, 17 December 1690). See also CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 153, p. 5 b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 9th month, ting-mao (5 November 1691).

⁹⁹) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 147, pp. 2 a-b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, hsin-mao (6 August 1690).

¹⁰⁰) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 147, p. 11 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, ping-shen (11 August 1690): "Send such envoys to him again, in order to keep him in his place".

of hypocrisy. The Dalai Lama's name is invoked, but only as a weapon in a wordy propaganda war¹⁰¹).

That the Dalai Lama's envoy to dGa'-ldan had departed from his terms of reference is clear from a statement made by the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu's emissary to the Chamberlain Songgotu, a few days before 4 September 1690:

(The rJe-druñ Xutuγtu says:) The reason why the Dalai Lama sent me was that the Divine Emperor and dGa'-ldan, having hitherto been on friendly terms with each other, desire to settle this great matter quickly, so that I may report on my commission as early as possible. The matter cannot be settled unless either the Prince (Fu-ch'üan) and the Emperor's son and the Chamberlains personally come to see me, or I personally go to discuss the matter with them¹⁰²).

This is wrong. If the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu had been sent from Lhasa on receipt of the Imperial Edict of 8 February 1689, he could only have been sent in order to bring about peaceful negotiations between the Khalkhas and dGa'-ldan, not between the Emperor and dGa'-ldan.

On 3 September 1690 (K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, 1st day, chi-wei), the Jungar and Manchu forces clashed at Ulan Budung 烏 蘭 布 通 (= Ch'ih feng 赤 峯, the Red Hills) in Je-hol, in Kešikteng territory. dGa'-ldan was defeated, but the nature of the ground prevented a complete defeat¹⁰³).

* * *

E) The Oath of Ulan Budung.

On the next day (4 September 1690), dGa'-ldan sent the Ilayuγsan Khutuγtu, asking for the Tüšiyetü Khan and the rJe-bTsun dam-pa Khutuγtu, and saying that, within 2 or 3 days, the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu

Also, p. 24b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, chia-yin (29 August 1690): "With regard to dGa'-ldan's (present) location, you ought to make arrangements to keep him there".

¹⁰¹ See, for instance, CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 147, pp. 14a-b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, jen-yin (17 August 1690).

¹⁰² CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 148, pp. 1b-2a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, keng-shen (4 September 1690).

¹⁰³ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 148, p. 2b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, hsün-yü (5 September 1690). Du Halde (1736), IV: Gerbillon, *Second Voyage*, p. 237, wrongly dates the battle to 2 September 1690 (K'ang Hsi 29th year, 7th month, 29th day, mou-wu).

would come to talk about proper rites (禮) and to seek peaceful relations. On 6 September 1690, the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu came to see Fu-ch'üan. He (the Khutuγtu) said:

(dGa'-ldan) Bošuytu Khan believes the words of the Imperial envoys, the Ilayuγsan Khutuγtu and Phyag-na rDo-rJe, (and admits) that he has penetrated deep within the defended frontier. His followers, being ignorant, plundered the people and their flocks. All this was not right. Since the Divine Emperor is Lord of the Universe, and Bošuytu Khan is no more than the headman of a small tribe, how can he dare to transgress against the Emperor? Only because of his demanding his enemies had this error taken place. Now, he has no intention of demanding the Tüšiyetü Khan. He only prays that the Divine Emperor generously permit that rJe-bTsun dam-pa be sent under escort to his master (師) the Dalai Lama, than whom there is none more glorious.

Fu-ch'üan said:

Even if the Tüšiyetü Khan and rJe-bTsun dam-pa are guilty, the Divine Emperor will himself punish them. How can it be in the fitness of things to send him to the Dalai Lama, because of what dGa'-ldan says? ¹⁰⁴⁾

While these talks were going on, dGa'-ldan escaped westwards. Fu-ch'üan sent back the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu with some officers to issue an Edict to dGa'-ldan to send envoys. On 17 September 1690, Fu-ch'üan's memorial arrived at Court, in which he informed the Emperor that the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu came back with dGa'-ldan's envoys, Darkhan dGe-sloñ and Hsi-ta Erke Jaisang. They brought a letter from dGa'-ldan. Orally, they informed Fu-ch'üan that

dGa'-ldan knelt in front of (the image of) the Awesome and Divine Buddha. He bowed his head to the ground and took an oath, saying: 'If I go against this letter, may the Buddha see it'.

In his letter, dGa'-ldan said:

The Dalai Lama's clear regard (for our affairs) sent the rJe-druñ Erdeni to admonish me by means of the principles of propriety

¹⁰⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 148, pp. 3 b-4 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, hsin-yu (3rd day) (5 September 1690). The date of this document must be wrong, because there is a reference in it to the 4th day, jen-hsü (6 September 1690).

(禮) and law (法). If now I receive the Emperor's kindness, then, from now onwards, I shall not dare to attack the Khalkas. Respectfully, I use (my) seal as evidence.

As the letter did not contain the words of the oath that dGa'-ldan would not attack the Khalkhas again, Fu-ch'üan sent it back through the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu¹⁰⁵). On 13 September 1690, he (Fu-ch'üan) sent the Ilayuγsan Khutuγtu back to dGa'-ldan. Four days later, he returned with a letter from dGa'-ldan to the Emperor. Ilayuγsan Khutuγtu further informed Fu-ch'üan that, once again, dGa'-ldan bowed his head to the Buddha image, and took a vow (誓) in which he admitted his transgression of penetrating deep within the defended frontier.

The Buddha-Heaven takes magnanimity and reciprocity as its mind. The Divine Emperor is the Buddha-Heaven. I (dGa'-ldan) pray that he forgive my fault.

He promised to go outside the frontier and await an Imperial Edict. Shortly thereafter, the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu brought back dGa'-dan's letter containing the words of the oath¹⁰⁶).

In this way, between the years 1684 and 1690, began and ended the period of joint Sino-Tibetan activity in the land of the Mongols. The policy failed because dGa'-ldan insisted on fulfilling the pre-Buddhistic law of revenge, and because the Emperor of China had no alternative to fulfilling the Confucian Prince's ideal of granting asylum to those who sought it. It was the clash of these two irreconcilable ethics which destroyed Sino-Tibetan co-operation in Mongolia. The Ala-shan O-lu-t'e remained as the only permanent mark of that co-operation.

¹⁰⁵) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 148, pp. 7a-8a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, kuei-yu (17 September 1690).

¹⁰⁶) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 148, pp. 8b-9b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, ping-tzu (20 September 1690).

CHAPTER IX.

DGA'-LDAN: 3) FROM ULAN BUDUNG TO JAO MODO (1690-96)

The key to the period which we now enter is provided by an Edict of the Emperor K'ang Hsi, issued on 5 September 1690, to Fu-ch'üan and others, immediately on receiving the news of the Battle of Ulan Budung (3 September 1690).

此後當何以窮其根株. 平其餘黨. 熟籌始末. 一舉永清. 勿留遺孽. 爾等其詳議以聞.

From now on, we ought (to consider) by what means to extirpate (dGa'-ldan) root and branch, and to subdue his remaining followers. Maturely plan it from beginning to end, so that, in one undertaking, we may establish peace for ever. Do not leave any seeds of trouble behind. Minutely discuss (everything) and report (the results of your discussion to Us)¹⁾.

Between 1690 and 1696, the Emperor of China set in motion vast diplomatic and military moves, by which he effectively cut the ground from under dGa'-ldan's feet, so that the Battle of Jao Modo (12 June 1696), at which dGa'-ldan was finally defeated, was no more than a coup-de-grâce. In the course of these moves, the Emperor annexed the valley of the Ta-t'ung and Hsi-ning rivers, and established a "legal foothold"—if one might use such a term—in Tibet (1694). It seems best, however, to see these events in the perspective of the struggle against dGa'-ldan.

(A)

The most notable event of the year 1691, was the Audience and Review held at Dolon Nor—the Khanadu (Shang Tu 上都, Imperial City) of

¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 148, p. 3b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 8th month, hsin-yu (5 September 1690).

Khubilai Khaγan—between 29 May and 3 June. On the first day of the Audience, the Jsaγtu Khan of the Western Khalkhas, the Tüšiyetü Khan of the Northern Khalkhas, the Secen Khan of the Eastern Khalkhas, the Sain Noyan of the Middle Khalkhas and others, performed the ceremony of the three kneelings and nine head-knockings. On the next day (30 May 1691), the Khalkhas were integrated into the Manchu Imperial Banner system, in the same way as the 49 Banners of the Inner Mongols had, previously, been integrated²⁾.

This marks the absorption of the Khalkhas into the Ch'ing Empire. The Emperor ordered the Grand Secretaries, saying:

The Khalkhas and the O-lu-t'e prayed for the establishment of peace. We, together with the Dalai Lama, put it into operation (in October 1686). Now, the Khalkhas have been settled and have obtained a place to live in. We ought to send an envoy, bearing a letter, to the Dalai Lama³⁾.

There followed an Edict to the Dalai Lama, sent through Tan-pa Se-erh-chi, in which the Emperor informed the Dalai Lama that the Khalkha Khans, Jinongs, Noyans and Taijis, had all accepted (執) the ritual proper to subjects (臣禮):

With regard to the Left Wing Khalkhas (the Northern Khalkhas of the Tüšiyetü Khan, the Middle Khalkhas of the Sain Noyan, and the Eastern Khalkhas of the Secen Khan), they need not be discussed again. The Right Wing Jsaγtu Khan's tribesmen have suffered capture and dispersal. There are some in your territory. There are others in other places. You, O Lama, greatly help living beings. Certainly, you can investigate the matter clearly, and send them back to their original lord (the Jsaγtu Khan)... (Further,) it is not certain that (dGa'-ldan) has not gone to seek refuge with you, O Lama. If he has really gone to seek refuge with you, then, what is to be done, only you, O Lama, can decide⁴⁾.

²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 151, pp. 8 a-10 a, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 5th month, ting-hai (29 May 1691); *ibid.*, pp. 10 b-14 b, mou-tzu (30 May 1691); Du Halde (1736), IV: Gerbillon, *Troisième Voyage*, pp. 319-332 (29 May-3 June 1691). The Regulations of the Board of Dependencies relating to the Khalkhas are given in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 155, pp. 13 b-16 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 5th month, kuei-yu (8 July 1692).

³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 152, p. 1 b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 6th month, i-mao (26 June 1691).

⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 152, pp. 2 b, 3 a-b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 6th month, i-mao (26 June 1691).

On 5 November 1691, the Dalai Lama's reply to the Edict sent through I-shih 伊什 (Ye-sés) dGe-sloñ—probably the one sent on 17 December 1690⁵⁾ and referred to in a CSL document dated 10 March 1691⁶⁾—arrived at Court. In it the Dalai Lama said:

Previously, I respectfully conformed to the Imperial Edict and sent dGa'-ldan Śi-ral-thu (the 44th Abbot of dGa'-ldan) to go and pacify the Khalkas and the O-lu-t'e. Because their involvement in war was not over, we again sent the rJe-druñ (Khutuγtu), to order them to be at peace. rJe-druñ returned and reported saying that the Khalkhas and the O-lu-t'e were both obeying the oath they had sworn to. Now, I have seen the Imperial Edict saying that dGa'-ldan has been defeated by a great army, that he has admitted his fault, and has sworn to an oath. For the first time, I have known that dGa'-ldan has not obeyed the (previous) commands. Therefore, he has come to this. The envoys which this country sent were ignorant and unacquainted (with matters). I pray that they be forgiven⁷⁾.

To this the Emperor replied by narrating the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu's errors in not persuading dGa'-ldan not to cross the defended border, or to plunder the Üjümücin tribe. Moreover, at the Battle of Ulan Budung, far from trying to stop it, he had put up a pavilion on the mountain-top, and watched it. But, said the Emperor,

We see clearly that you (the Dalai Lama) are not involved (in this affair). Therefore, We do not blame you⁸⁾.

(B)

Secondly, we have to note the Emperor's overtures to dGa'-ldan's nephew, Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan, and how he turned the ill-success of these overtures to a propaganda-weapon against dGa'-ldan. Already, on 11 May 1690, the Emperor had opened relations with Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan, by sending the Reader of the Grand Secretariat, Ta-hu (侍讀學士達

⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 149, pp. 16 a-17 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 11th month, chia-chen (17 December 1690).

⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 150, pp. 11 a-12 b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 2nd month, ting-mao (10 March 1691).

⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 153, pp. 3 b-4 a, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 9th month, ting-mao (5 November 1691).

⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 5 b.

虎) to him, to enquire about his reported hostilities against dGa'-ldan⁹⁾. Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan's reply had arrived on 1 March 1691¹⁰⁾. In the 5th month (15 June-13 July 1692) of the 31st year of K'ang Hsi, the Emperor sent a second embassy, headed by Ma-ti 馬 迪, to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan¹¹⁾. On 11 October 1692, a report came in from the Provincial Commander-in-Chief of Kan-su, Sun Ssu-k'o, saying that the Brigadier-General of Su-chow had reported to him that, on 21 September 1692 (K'ang Hsi 31st year, 8th month, 11th day, mou-tzu), Ma-ti had been killed, and his baggage plundered, by about 500 of dGa'-ldan's tribesmen, at a distance of about 5 or 6 li from Hami¹²⁾.

Just at this time, on 28 October 1692, a memorial from dGa'-ldan came in, in which he demanded the return of the Khalkhas to their old homes¹³⁾.

Replying to dGa'-ldan, the Emperor was at pains to point out that, according to the letter from the Dalai Lama received on or before 28 October 1692¹⁴⁾, the Dalai Lama had approved of the Emperor's having granted asylum to the Khalkhas; and approved also of the Emperor's having "punished" dGa'-ldan at Ulan Budung:

The Khalkhas being in such distress and hunger, to generously give them sustenance out of one's kindness, is equal to the Buddha's compassion and sympathy. Hearing it, I (the Dalai Lama) cannot contain my joy. Bošuytu (Khan) (dGa'-ldan) should, originally, have followed the rJe-druñ (Khutuytu)'s words. But, as he did not follow the rJe-druñ (Khutuytu)'s words, it was fitting for the Great Sovereign (大君) to find fault with him and to punish him. However, he (the Emperor) has looked down with pity on all living beings

⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 145, pp. 10 a-11 b, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 4th month, chia-tzu (11 May 1690).

¹⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 150, pp. 9 a-b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 2nd month, mou-wu (1 March 1691). The text of Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan's reply is not given, but it is said that he gave an account of his hostilities with dGa'-ldan "from beginning to end".

¹¹⁾ De Mailla, XI, p. 165. The actual sending of the envoy is not mentioned in the relevant section of the CSL.

¹²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 156, pp. 5 b-6 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 9th month, mou-shen (11 October 1692); *ibid.*, pp. 12 b-13 a, i-chou (28 October 1692).

¹³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 156, pp. 9 b-10 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 9th month, i-chou (28 October 1692). Note that dGa'-ldan was not, now, asking for the Tüsiyetü Khan or the rJe-bTsun dam-pa.

¹⁴⁾ This was probably the Dalai Lama's reply to the Imperial Edict sent on 26 June 1691. Neither the whole text of the Dalai Lama's reply nor the date of its arrival have been recorded in the CSL.

as if they were his children and has again sent down his grace and forgiveness¹⁵⁾.

This letter from the Dalai Lama, the Emperor now quoted to dGa'-ldan. Referring to dGa'-ldan's demand for the Khalkhas, the Emperor said:

To seize people who have submitted to Us, and to hand them over to their enemies—is this in the fitness of things?¹⁶⁾

He took the demand for the Khalkhas as no less than a breach of the Oath of Ulan Budung:

Now, you (dGa'-ldan) have turned your back on, and abandoned, your Oath, and have demanded the Khalkhas who have submitted to Us¹⁷⁾.

Referring to the killing of Ma-ti, the Emperor said:

Hitherto, belligerent states have not had the principle of injuring the envoys who come and go (between them)¹⁸⁾.

Evidently, dGa'-ldan had broken a well-established law of the inviolability of the persons of ambassadors. The conclusion was, therefore, drawn:

Seeing this, it is clear that, (although) openly you honour the Dalai Lama's words, secretly you disobey the Dalai Lama's orders¹⁹⁾.

And so, the "charge sheet" against dGa'-ldan is drawn up: he has broken the Oath of Ulan Budung; he has broken the law of the inviolability of the persons of ambassadors; and he has secretly disobeyed the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama has now become a moral principle, adherence to which each of the two contestants claims for himself, and deviation from

¹⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 156, p. 12 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 9th month, i-chou (28 October 1692). This passage from the Dalai Lama's reply to the Imperial Edict of 26 June 1691 is quoted in three other places: (1) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 156, p. 16 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 9th month, i-chou (28 October 1692) (K'ang Hsi to the Dalai Lama); (2) ch. 159, p. 9 a, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 5th month, ting-ssu (17 June 1693) (K'ang Hsi to dGa'-ldan); ch. 163, p. 20 b, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, intercalary 5th month, ting-chou (2 July 1694) (K'ang-Hsi to dGa'-ldan).

¹⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 13 b (28 October 1692).

¹⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 13 b.

¹⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 13 a.

¹⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 13 b.

which he accuses the other of. An Edict to this effect was sent to the Dalai Lama on 28 October 1692²⁰).

(C)

The third fact is the struggle for the loyalty of the Inner Mongols. According to a CSL document dated 29 December 1692, dGa'-ldan sent his agents to, and tried to sow dissension among, the Inner Mongols²¹. He also tried to win over Sha-ching, the Prince of the Khorcin clan²².

The interesting point about dGa'-ldan's letter to the Inner Mongols is that he appealed to their religious sentiments to rouse them against the Ch'ing Emperor²³. He claimed to be acting according to the law of bTsoñ-kha-pa, the implication being that they (the Inner Mongols) being followers of the law of bTsoñ-kha-pa, should follow him and not the Ch'ing Emperor.

This appeal the Emperor countered by pointing out three occasions between 1669 and 1679, when he (the Emperor) had aided the Law of bTsoñ-kha-pa. We have already had occasion to refer to this above²⁴. He concluded by saying:

Because the Dalai Lama knew very well that We protect and uphold the Law of bTsoñ-kha-pa, therefore, on all these (three above-

²⁰ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 156, pp. 14 a-17 b, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 9th month, i-chou (28 October 1692).

²¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 157, pp. 13 a-b, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 11th month, ting-mao (29 December 1692).

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 16a-17a, mou-chen (30 December 1692). Under Aoba, the grandfather of Sha-ching, the Khorcins were the first Mongols to submit to the Manchus (in 1624), and were closely related to the Imperial family. See Schmidt, *Die Volksstämme der Mongolen*, p. 424; Howorth, I, p. 441; Hummel, I, pp. 304-305. On 4 February 1693, Sha-ching confessed to the Emperor, and said that he had received dGa'-ldan's overtures, only in order to lure him—CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 157, pp. 27a-b, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 12th month, chia-chen (4 February 1693). Some time before 27 September 1695, the Emperor instructed Sha-ching to write to dGa'-ldan offering him the submission of the Khorcins, and inviting him to come forward (to accept it) —CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 168, pp. 8 a-9 a, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 8th month, chi-yu (27 September 1695). According to CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 171, pp. 22 a-b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 2nd month, ping-chen (1 April 1696), dGa'-ldan attacked the Khalkha rNam-rGyal Toyin—and thus sparked off the final campaign against him in 1696—at the instigation of Sha-ching.

²³ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 157, p. 14 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 11th month, ting-mao (29 December 1692):

據爾書云。爲宗喀巴之法而行。

According to your (dGa'-ldan's) letter, you say that you are acting according to the Law of bTsoñ-kha-pa.

²⁴ See this book, above, pp. 202-204.

mentioned) occasions, he memorialised (to Us) directly, and hid nothing. For years, without break, there have been envoys (coming and going between us). You, the Khalkhas and the O-lu-t'e, openly, you lie and say that you practice the Law of bTsoñ-kha-pa and the Teaching of the Dalai Lama; secretly, you disobey them. All the world knows this²⁵⁾.

(D)

In 1693-94, the Ch'ing annexed the valleys of the Ta-t'ung and Hsi-ning rivers and gained a legal foothold in Tibet.

On 21 March 1693, the Emperor received the Dalai Lama's reply to his Edict of 5 November 1691²⁶⁾. In this, the Dalai Lama prayed that the Great Sovereign forgive the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu. Further, he said:

I had the honour to send the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu to dGa'-ldan in order to issue an Edict to him to conform to his oath. However, the greater half of the O-lu-t'e (Jungar) are subject to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan. Although, I may order them to be at peace, if the O-lu-t'e (Jungar) do not obey and create trouble, then, the great and small Tibetan forces in Ch'ing-hai are inadequate (to enforce obedience or to quell the trouble). I humbly pray that the Emperor consider and examine this state of affairs²⁷⁾.

The Emperor insisted that the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu be punished, because, when an envoy did not act according to the Decree under which he had been sent, it was the great and settled law of the country (國家一定之大法) to punish him. If this were not done, then how could good people be encouraged and bad people punished?

²⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 157, pp. 14 a-15 a, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 11th month, ting-mao (29 December 1692).

²⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 158, pp. 14 b-17 b, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 2nd month, chichou (21 March 1693). In this letter, received at the Ch'ing Court on 21 March 1693, the Dalai Lama says that he has received the Imperial Edict sent through Ta-mu-pen-erh Nang-so 達木奔爾囊素. This person is, evidently, the same as the envoy from the Dalai Lama called Te-mu-pen-erh Nang-so 德木本爾囊素 who arrived at Court on 5 November 1691, and through whom the Emperor sent an Edict to the Dalai Lama—CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 153, pp. 3 b-6 a, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 9th month, ting-mao (5 November 1691).

²⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 15 a (21 March 1693).

The Emperor also rejected the suggestion that he should seek the redress of his grievances against the Jungar from Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan:

At present, Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan has certainly done no wrong. On what grounds can We judge him?²⁸⁾

Less than three months later, on 17 June 1693, the Emperor received dGa'-ldan's reply to the Imperial Edict of 28 October 1692. In this, dGa'-ldan denied complicity in the murder of Ma-ti, and suggested that the crime might have been the doing of Blo-bZañ Khutuγtu and E-lin-ch'en (the 3rd and 5th sons of dGa'-ldan's uncle, Cükür Taiji) and Han-tu Taiji (the nephew of Blo-bZañ and E-lin-ch'en), who, as we have seen, tried to flee to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan in the middle of 1692²⁹⁾.

This the Emperor refused to accept, insisting that dGa'-ldan's men, who had been involved in the murder, be punished. He also rejected dGa'-ldan's claim that the oath he had sworn to at Ulan Budung, had included a prayer for the return of the Khalkhas to their original homes. Not only was this not included in the oath, but such a demand could not be in conformity to the Dalai Lama's desire:

Moreover, the Dalai Lama has now memorialised: "If the O-lu-t'e (Jungar) do not obey, and create trouble, then, the great and small Tibetan forces in Ch'ing-hai are inadequate (to enforce obedience or to quell the trouble). I humbly pray that the Emperor consider and examine this state of affairs". The coming and going of the Dalai Lama's envoys to and from Our Court has gone on for many years. The Taijis of Ch'ing-hai do not disobey Our Edicts, and respectfully and obediently submit tribute (to Us). If the O-lu-t'e (Jungar) attack, even a little, the Dalai Lama's territory, or the Ch'ing-hai territory, We shall immediately attack and punish (the Jungar). Certainly, We shall not fail to do so³⁰⁾.

It was probably after the sending of this Edict, and sometime within the 2nd half (2 August 1693-24 January 1694) of the 32nd year of K'ang Hsi that, because of the Dalai Lama's admission that "the great and small Tibetan forces in Ch'ing-hai are inadequate", Ta-ts'ao T'an 大草灘

²⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 17 a.

²⁹⁾ See this book, above, p. 252. CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 155, pp. 19 b-20 b, K'ang Hsi 31st year, 6th month, kuei-mao (7 August 1692).

³⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 159, p. 10 a, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 5th month, ting-ssu (17 June 1693).

("The Great Grass Banks")—the valley of the Hsi-ning and Ta-t'ung rivers—was annexed to the Ch'ing Empire. On 4 February 1694 (K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 1st month, i-chou), permission was given to the Governor-General of Ssu-ch'uan and Shen-si to rebuild the old fortress of Huang-ch'eng-erh 黃城爾. At that time the Ch'ing garrison post (鎮汛) at Hsi-ning controlled the regions of Hsi-shih hsia 西石碛, Chen-hai 鎮海 and Hsi-ch'uan 西川. The Governor-General of Ssu-ch'uan and Shen-si was ordered to repair the border-walls:

The Emperor issued an Edict to the Grand Secretaries and others, saying:

The Governor-General of Ssu-ch'uan and Shen-si, Fu-lun, has asked to rebuild the old fortress of Huang-ch'eng-erh. We have seen the map of the territory which he has submitted. The territory of Huang-ch'eng-erh is, indeed, very important. From Kan-chou to Hsi-ning, the road is very long. Let (the road) be from Huang-cheng-erh to Hsi-ning. This road is very short. In three days, it can be covered. Order official troops to garrison it. It will be extremely advantageous. The Taijis who live in Ch'ing-hai regarded this territory as theirs, and humbly prayed that it be returned to them³¹. At the time when We took over the Government personally (1667)³², We ordered all Our advisers, saying that this was the territory of Ta-ts'ao T'an, and was very important for Our Court. Certainly, it should not be returned. Therefore, it has now been placed in Our Register of Population³³.

³¹ See above, pp. 69-70 and pp. 194-198.

³² CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 23, p. 3 b, K'ang Hsi 6th year, 7th month, chi-yu (25 August 1667).

³³ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 162, pp. 8 a-b, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 1st month, i-chou (20 February 1694). On pp. 9a-10a of the same document, we find the report by Fu-lun on the examination of the boundary-walls, which we have seen before, pp. 82-83. CSK, Fan Pu 5, pp. 5 a-b, says:

三十二年昭武將軍郎坦奏稱青海諸台吉私與噶爾丹通問請屯兵哈密絕往 (p. 5 b): 來蹤。上以噶爾丹自烏蘭布通敗遁後乏邊警且青海諸台吉素恭順寢議噶爾丹尋屯牧巴顏烏蘭偪內汛詔西寧設戍兵。

* In the 32nd year of K'ang Hsi (5 February 1693-24 January 1694), the Brilliant and Warlike General, Lang-tan, memorialised, saying: "The Taijis of Ch'ing-hai are in

On 28 December 1693, the Emperor received the Dalai Lama's reply to his Edict of 28 October 1692. Ye-sés dGe-sloñ, who had carried to Tibet the Edict of 28 October 1692, brought the reply. In this, the "Dalai Lama", for the first time, revealed that, as he (the Dalai Lama) was advanced in years³⁴), the sDe-pa was managing the greater half of the affairs of State. The Dalai Lama requested that the sDe-pa be given a seal and a title (封) as a mark of Imperial favour. At the same time, the sDe-pa handed over the jade seal, which the Ming had given to Ch'an hua Wang (闡化王), *i. e.* the Phag-mo-gru-pa, and which the Phag-mo-gru-pa had tried, unsuccessfully, to exchange for Ch'ing seals in 1657³⁵).

Now, the jade seal was received back, and the award of a gold seal to the sDe-pa was sanctioned³⁶). On 22 May 1694, the gold seal,

secret communication with dGa'-ldan. I pray that troops be assembled at Hami in order to cut off the line of communication". Because dGa'-ldan, since his defeat at, and flight from, Ulan Budung, had given no cause for alarm at the borders; and because the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai were ordinarily loyal and obedient, the Emperor held his decision in suspense. Later, when dGa'-ldan assembled to pasture his flocks at Bayan Ulan, and was pressing on the inner defences, the Emperor issued an order to Hsi-ning, (asking them) to establish border defence troops'.

After this, the CSK records the Dalai Lama's and the sDe-pa's memorial, which arrived on 21 May 1695, and in which they requested the withdrawal of Imperial troops from Ch'ing-hai (see CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 166, pp. 17*a*-*b*, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 4th month, keng-tzu, 21 May 1695). The only reliable piece of evidence in the CSK passage is that Hsi-ning was asked to establish border-defence troops between the 32nd (5 February 1693-24 January 1694) and the 34th (13 February 1695-2 February 1696) years of K'ang Hsi. The rest of the CSK evidence is less reliable. The memorial from Lang-tan in the 32nd year of K'ang Hsi is given in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 160, pp. 8*a*-10*b*, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 9th month, chi-yu (7 October 1693). This records Lang-tan's proposal to attack dGa'-ldan in Khobdo, and to plunder Hami, which paid taxes to dGa'-ldan, on the way back from Khobdo. These proposals were rejected by the Princes-Counsellors. However, the Emperor insisted on sending officials to make an on-the-spot enquiry. These latter officials upheld the rejection of Lang-tan's proposals. The Emperor then rejected Lang-tan's proposals. Note that, according to the CSL, Lang-tan's memorial does not speak of the assembling of troops at Hami, in order to cut off the line of communication between Ch'ing-hai and dGa'-ldan's territory. Secondly, according to the CSL, dGa'-ldan did not occupy the territory of the Bayan Ulan mountains, along the Kerülen river, in North-East Mongolia, till the period between the 2nd (15 March-12 April 1695) and the 8th (8 September-7 October 1695) months of the 34th year of K'ang Hsi—see CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 169, p. 4*b*, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 11th month, mou-chen (15 December 1695). See below, p. 289.

³⁴) See this book, above, pp. 50-51.

³⁵) See pp. 188-189, above. CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 110, pp. 7*a*-8*a*, Shun Chih 14th year, 6th month, chia-wu (2 August 1657).

³⁶) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 161, pp. 9*b*-10*b*, K'ang Hsi 32nd year, 12th month, hsin-wei (28 December 1693).

containing the title, was sent to the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho. The legend on the seal said:

掌瓦赤喇胆喇達賴喇嘛教弘宣佛法王布忒
達阿白廸之印。

The Seal of the Buddha Abhayaṃdada, the King who widely proclaims the Buddhist Faith, and upholds the Teaching of the Vajradhara Dalai Lama ³⁷⁾.

In this way, the Ch'ing came to occupy in Tibet the position which the Ming had once occupied. Just as the Ming had granted seals and titles to the Phag-mo-gru-pa, so now the Ch'ing granted a seal and a title to the successor of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, viz., the sDe-pa of Tibet.

The Imperial attitude towards the sDe-pa was made clear on 21 May 1695. On that date, the Board of Dependencies memorialised as follows:

The Dalai Lama and the sDe-pa have both sent envoys, saying: "Do not deprive dGa'-ldan or Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan of their titles of Khan. At the same time, (may the Emperor) graciously give them Letters-Patent and Seals. We pray that the troops who are guarding the frontier at Ch'ing-hai and other neighbouring places, be withdrawn.

The Emperor issued an Edict to the Grand Secretaries and others, saying:

The sDe-pa, being an Outer Barbarian (外藩), how does he dare to memorialise, praying for the withdrawal of a frontier defence (-post) (戍) manned by our troops? This is surely dGa'-ldan's scheme ³⁸⁾.

The Edict which was sent out on 21 May 1695, was probably sent through Ye-sés dGe-sloñ and the Jasakh Lama Ńag-dBañ rGya-mTsho, because the sixth Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 141 b, reports the arrival of these envoys in the 12th month (5 January-2 February 1696) of the year Wood-Hog (1695).

³⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 163, p. 7 b, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 4th month, ping-shen (22 May 1694). See above, pp. 42-43. A-pai-ti could, perhaps, be a transcription of "Abhaya-da", "giver of fearlessness". Abhayaṃdada is a name of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

³⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 166, pp. 17 a-b, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 4th month, keng-tzu (21 May 1695).

(E)

Having gained physical admission into Ch'ing-hai, and legal admission into Tibet, the Ch'ing Emperor adopted a sterner note in his dealings with dGa'-ldan. Writing to dGa'-ldan on 2 July 1694, to his former charge that dGa'-ldan, although openly honouring the Dalai Lama, was secretly disobeying him, the Emperor added the definite charge that dGa'-ldan had become a Muslim. He then invited dGa'-ldan to a personal interview in order to settle outstanding matters³⁹⁾. This dGa'-ldan declined, and again requested the return of the Khalkhas to their old homes⁴⁰⁾. The Emperor's patience came to an end. "You will never be allowed", he wrote to dGa'-ldan, "to send up memorials or to send envoys to trade"⁴¹⁾. In other words, the Emperor broke off diplomatic relations with dGa'-ldan.

The break, however, lasted for only five months. On 31 August 1695, we find the Emperor again receiving a letter from dGa'-ldan, and replying to it. The Emperor said:

Your memorials, one after another, all say that you conform to the Dalai Lama's creed. This spring, after sending back your envoy (with the Edict of 6 April 1695), there was a memorial from the Dalai Lama and the sDe-pa (received on 21 May 1695), praying that your crimes be forgiven, but that you be allowed to retain your title of Khan. Further, it said that, in conformity to Our Decree ordering you to be at peace, they have specially sent Lai-leng 賴楞 (= Rva-sGren?) mKhan-po and Darkhan dBaṅ-po to your place. Now, your envoy, Mei Chai-sang, says that you are grazing your flocks in the territory of the Tamir (river) and that you are moving eastwards. (Judging by) what you are doing, what you wish is certainly different from the Dalai Lama's and the sDe-pa's words. Is this conforming to his (the Dalai Lama's) Teaching, or is it not conforming to his Teaching?⁴²⁾

Obviously, the Emperor wished to point out that the Dalai Lama wanted dGa'-ldan to be at peace, and that dGa'-ldan was disobeying the Dalai Lama.

³⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 163, pp. 19 a-23 a, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, intercalary 5th month, ting-chou (2 July 1694). A copy of this letter was sent to the Dalai Lama.

⁴⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 166, pp. 9 b-10 b, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 2nd month, i-mao (6 April 1695).

⁴¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 11 a.

⁴²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 167, pp. 18 a-b, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 7th month, jen-wu (31 August 1695).

On 29 September 1695, the Emperor wrote to dGa'-ldan again ⁴³⁾, after he had heard that dGa'-ldan had attacked the Khalkha chieftains, Šibtui Khatan Baatur and rNam-rGyal Toyin ⁴⁴⁾, reminding him that he (dGa'-ldan) had broken the Oath of Ulan Budung. The Emperor's final Edict to dGa'-ldan, inviting him to an interview, and asking for a reply within 5 days, was sent on 3 June 1696 ⁴⁵⁾.

This was only 9 days before the Battle of Jao Modo (12 June 1696).

(F)

Some time before 27 September 1695, the Emperor instructed Sha-ching, the Prince of the Khorcins, whom dGa'-ldan had tried to inveigle in 1692, and who had confessed to the Emperor in 1693 ⁴⁶⁾, to write to dGa'-ldan, offering him (dGa'-ldan) his (Sha-ching's) submission, and inviting him to come forward to receive it ⁴⁷⁾.

Partly because of Sha-ching's invitation, and partly because of the Dalai Lama's prophecy, conveyed to him by the Dalai Lama's envoys, Lai-Leng (= Rva-sGreñ?) mKhan-po and Darkhan dBañ-po, that a march to the east would be propitious ⁴⁸⁾, dGa'-ldan advanced eastwards, playing into the Emperor's hands. Between the 2nd (15 March-12 April 1695) and 8th (8 September-7 October 1695) months of the 34th year of K'ang Hsi, he occupied the Bayan Ulan mountains along the Kerülen river ⁴⁹⁾. On 28 September 1695, report came in that dGa'-ldan had attacked the Khalkha chieftains, Šibtui Khatan Baatur and rNam-rGyal Toyin ⁵⁰⁾.

⁴³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 168, pp. 10 a-b, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 8th month, hsin-hai (29 September 1695).

⁴⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 168, p. 9 a, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 8th month, keng-hsu (28 September 1695). See Note 50, below.

⁴⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 173, pp. 5 a-7 b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 5th month, chi-wei (3 June 1696).

⁴⁶⁾ See above, p. 291 and Note 22.

⁴⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 168, pp. 8 a-9 a, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 8th month, chi-yu (27 September 1695).

⁴⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 7 a, 10 b, 13 b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

⁴⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 169, p. 4 b, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 11th month, mou-chen (15 December 1695).

⁵⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 168, p. 9 a, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 8th month, keng-hsu (28 September 1695). Šibtui Khatan Baatur is mentioned by Schmidt in *Die Volksstämme der Mongolen*, p. 456, as one of the descendants of Šibkhotai Öljeitü, the son of Abatai Vajirai Sain Khan, the son of Unuḡo Üjeng Noyan, the 3rd son of Geresanda Jelair Khungtaiji. rNam-rGyal Toyin is mentioned by Schmidt at p. 462, as one of the descendants of Babu (d. 1685), the Secen Khan of the Eastern Khalkhas.

As we have seen, the Emperor now wrote to dGa'-ldan sternly reminding him that he had broken the Oath of Ulan Budung⁵¹⁾. On 9 November 1695, preparations for a campaign were begun⁵²⁾. A month later, 3 armies were sent against dGa'-ldan⁵³⁾.

The early months of 1696 seem to have been occupied in isolating dGa'-ldan from the countries of the west. On 13 January 1696, the Emperor informed the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai, Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan and the Ruler of Turfan, that the blame for the recent outbreak of hostilities lay with dGa'-ldan⁵⁴⁾. Two months later, the Emperor received a letter from Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan, in which he (Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan) asked that the Muslims who had entered China, pretending to be dGa'-ldan's envoys⁵⁵⁾, should be sent back to him (Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan). In other words, Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan was claiming jurisdiction over people who had let themselves be known as, and who had been recognised as, dGa'-ldan's subjects. This claim the Emperor now conceded⁵⁶⁾.

On 1 April 1696, the Emperor set out on his campaign against dGa'-ldan⁵⁷⁾. On 12 June 1696 (K'ang Hsi 35th year, 5th month, 13th day, mou-chen), Fei-yang-ku 費揚古 met dGa'-ldan at Jao Modo 昭莫多, near the Pass of Te-le-erh-chi 特勒爾濟, between the Tula and Kerülen rivers, and utterly defeated him⁵⁸⁾. Only dGa'-ldan, with a few cavalymen, escaped. To his followers, "who uttered many words of resentment" when he was fleeing, dGa'-ldan said:

At first, I did not wish to come to the territory of the Kerülen river, But because the Dalai Lama mis-led (煽惑) me, therefore,

⁵¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 168, pp. 10 a-b, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 8th month, hsín-hai (29 September 1695).

⁵²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 168, pp. 19 b-20 a, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 10th month, jen-chen (9 November 1695).

⁵³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 169, pp. 1 b-2 b, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 11th month, jen-hsü (9 December 1695).

⁵⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 169, pp. 16 a-b, K'ang Hsi 34th year, 12th month, ting-yu (13 January 1696).

⁵⁵⁾ See CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 163, pp. 16 b-17 a, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, intercalary 5th month, jen-shen (27 June 1694).

⁵⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 171, pp. 6 b-8 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 2nd month, chi-hai (15 March 1696).

⁵⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 171, pp. 22 a-b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 2nd month, ping-chen (1 April 1696); Du Halde (1736), IV: Gerbillon, *Cinquième Voyage*, p. 386.

⁵⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 173, pp. 26 a-27 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 5th month, kuei-yu (17 June 1696).

I came here. Hence, the Dalai Lama ruined me, and I have ruined you ⁵⁹⁾.

The Emperor immediately issued an order to all his officers and men in the field, "to investigate clearly and to seize, all letters, whether in the Tibetan or Mongolian languages, exchanged between the Dalai Lama, the Pan-chen Khutuytu and the sDe-pa (on the one hand), and dGa'-ldan (on the other)" ⁶⁰⁾.

In this way, in the course of several manoeuvres against dGa'-ldan between 1690 and 1696, the Ch'ing annexed the Valleys of the Ta-t'ung and Hsi-ning rivers and, theoretically speaking, "entered Tibet", by conferring a title on the sDe-pa and assuming a position in Tibet which the Ming once had. We have already seen that, on 7 November 1694, part of the Ala-shan O-lu-t'e had, as a "temporary" measure, been incorporated into the Imperial Banner system ⁶¹⁾. That move, too, has to be seen in the context of the struggle against dGa'-ldan.

This "entry" of the Ch'ing into Tibet, while on their way to the Western Mongols, is somewhat reminiscent of the entry of the Mongols into Tibet in the 13th cent., while on their way to the remnant of the Sung Empire in South China. Both the Yüan and the Ch'ing had their eyes not, primarily, on Tibet, but somewhere else. Tibet was a useful stop, en route. In other words, Tibet plays only an incidental part in the history of the Mongol and Manchu Empires.

⁵⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 27 b.

⁶⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 173, p. 33 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 5th month, ting-chou (21 June 1696).

⁶¹⁾ See above, p. 253. CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 165, pp. 6 b-7 a, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 9th month, i-yu (7 November 1694).

CHAPTER X.

DGA'-LDAN: 4) THE SEARCH FOR DGA'-LDAN (1696-97)

The defeat and flight of dGa'-ldan at Jao Modo (12 June 1696), made an approach to the O-lu-t'e of Ch'ing-hai and the authorities in Tibet inevitable. Apparently, the Imperial theory of "punishment" required that the Emperor seize the "rebel" alive if possible or, failing that, seize his dead body. The rebel's wives, children, children's wives—in fact, the whole family—had, likewise, to be seized. Thus alone could "root and branch extirpation" (根株盡絕) be achieved.

There were two places dGa'-ldan could flee to: (1) Ch'ing-hai, (2) Tibet. With regard to Ch'ing-hai, among the prisoners captured at Jao Modo, were envoys from one Po-shih-k'e-t'u Chi-nung 博碩克圖濟農 (Bošuytu Jinong)¹⁾ and Sa-ch'u Me-erh-ken Tai-chi 薩楚墨爾根台吉. Bošuytu Jinong was the son of I-le-tu-ch'i 伊勒都齊, the 5th son of Guši Khan²⁾ (Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 129). "Sa-ch'u Mergen Taiji" is, probably, the "Sa-sKyoñ" (Protector of the Land), on whom the 5th Dalai Lama bestowed the title of Mergen Taiji on 31 May 1671, thus making him known as Sa-sKyoñ Mergen Taiji³⁾. He appears as Sa-ch'u Mergen Taiji, the son of rDo-rJe Dalai Baatur, the 6th son of Guši Khan in Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 131. It was, probably, from these envoys from Bošuytu Jinong and Sa-sKyoñ Mergen

¹⁾ CSK, Fan Pu 5, p. 5b. The name of the principal envoy from Bošuytu Jinong to dGa'-ldan was Lo-lei 羅壘 Emci. See CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 13b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696). (K'ang Hsi to Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho).

²⁾ For Po-shih-k'o-t'u Chi-nung (Bošoytu Jinong), see this book, above, p. 67.

³⁾ 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II, p. 110b [lCags-Phag, 4th Hor month, 23rd day (hsin-hai, 4th month, 23rd day = 31 May 1671)]. See pp. 237-239 and Note 32, above.

Taiji to dGa'-ldan that the Emperor came to know that dGa'-ldan's daughter Pu-mu 布木 was married to Ken-t'e-erh 根特爾, the son of Bošuytu Jinong⁴⁾.

Obviously suspecting that dGa'-ldan would try to escape to Ch'ing-hai, the Emperor (on 29 June 1696) issued a Proclamation (檄) to the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai, asking them to seize dGa'-ldan if he went there, and to send under escort Pu-mu, Ken-t'e-erh and all dGa'-ldan's men who were there. This Proclamation was sent through Erh-lang-pao 二郎保⁵⁾.

On his arrival in Ch'ing-hai, Erh-lang-pao met the Byams-pa Gliñ mKhan-po 善巴陵堪布⁶⁾, the Administrator of Ch'ing-hai Affairs (管理青海事), whom the Dalai Lama had sent there. When Erh-lang-pao announced the Imperial Edict to him, the mKhan-po said:

This matter (*i.e.* that of the seizure of dGa'-ldan's daughter, Pu-mu, and Bošuytu Jinong's son, Ken-t'e-erh) is an important one. I cannot take a decision on it on my own authority. Let us wait

⁴⁾ According to J. F. Rock, *The A-mnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions*, Rome, 1956, p. 48, Po-shih-k'o-t'u Chi-nung divided the Banner into 3 parts: he appointed his eldest son, Tai-ch'ing Pa-t'u-erh 岱青巴圖爾 as the chieftain of the Middle Banner of the South Right Wing 南右翼中旗 and his second son Me-erh-ken Noyan 墨爾根諾顏 as the chieftain of the Middle Banner of the South Left Wing 南左翼中旗. He kept his third son, Ch'a-han Tan-chin 察罕丹津 with him and made him inherit the Front Banner. Ken-te-erh (Genter) was the 4th son of Bošuytu Jinong, according to Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 211. According to CSK, Fan Pu 5, p. 4b, the marriage between dGa'-ldan's daughter and Bošuytu Jinong's son had been contracted in the 17th year of K'ang Hsi (23 January 1678-10 February 1679), when dGa'-ldan was about to attack Ch'ing-hai, but desisted from doing so, because it was the territory which the Provincial Commander-in-Chief of Shen-si "controlled" (see pp. 240-241, Note 39, above). According to the CSK, the Provincial Commander-in-Chief sent in a Memorial at that time, regarding the marriage-proposal, to the Emperor. See also *Sheng Wu Chi*, ch. 3, p. 23b. If this is true, then 1696 could not have been the first year when the Emperor came to know of dGa'-ldan's daughter's marriage.

⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, p. 1b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 6th month, i-yu (29 June 1696). The text of the proclamation is not given in the CSL. It will be found (?) in De Mailla, XI, pp. 216-221 and, in an abbreviated form, in CSK, Fan Pu 5, p. 5b. W. W. Rockhill, «The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644-1908», *T'oung Pao*, XI, 1, March 1910, p. 25, lines 1-9, gives a wrong translation of the Edict.

⁶⁾ It will be remembered that the Byams-pa Gliñ mKhan-po had been sent from Lhasa to Peking previously in 1689, and had arrived at the Court of Peking on 18 January 1690. See above, p. 279.

till all the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai have come together in conference (會盟), I shall then reply (in accordance with) the decision (arrived at in the conference).

On 5 August 1696 (K'ang Hsi 35th year, 7th month, 8th day, jen-hsu), bKra-sis Baatur 扎什巴圖爾, the 10th son of Guši Khan⁷⁾, and others, in all 31 Taijis, arrived at the place of conference. Erh-lang-pao gave them the text of the Proclamation. bKra-sis Baatur said:

dGa'-ldan killed our Ocirtu (Secen) Khan and seized our kinsmen. With us, too, he is on hostile terms. Nevertheless, dGa'-ldan's daughter is married to Bošuytu Jinong's son. It (the marriage-proposal) was reported to the Dalai Lama, and then, (having received the Dalai Lama's approval, the marriage) was contracted. (Hence, it cannot be treated lightly). We are all followers of the Dalai Lama. Let us wait till we have informed the Dalai Lama. Let us see what his words will be. We shall act accordingly. We cannot reply (to the Emperor's Edict) according to our own wishes⁸⁾.

We have here, mentioned in a Chinese document, a Tibetan Administrator of Ch'ing-hai Affairs, sent there by the Dalai Lama. He administers Ch'ing-hai in consultation with—in fact, in accordance with the wishes of—an assembly of the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai. However, in important matters, the Assembly makes a reference to the Dalai Lama—presumably, through the Administrator.

On receipt of Erh-lang-pao's memorial (on 27 August 1696), the Emperor's advisers proposed:

⁷⁾ CSK, Fan Pu 5, p. 1b.

⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 1b-2a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-shen (27 August 1696). The place where the meeting between Erh-lang-pao and the Byams-pa Gliñ mKhan-po took place was called Ch'a-han cha-(read "to") 察罕扎 (read 托) 羅 lake in both the CSL and the CSK. CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 182, p. 2b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, hsín-ssu (21 April 1697), however, gives the name as Ch'a-han to-lo 察罕托落. See this book, later, p. 318. CSK, Fan Pu 5, p. 5b, gives the Byams-pa Gliñ mKhan-po's title as 理青海蒙古務 "The Administrator of Mongolian Affairs in Ch'ing-hai" or "The Administrator of the Affairs of the Mongols of Ch'ing-hai". Erh-lang-pao's mission was reported by the Emperor to the Dalai Lama in the Edict dated 6 September 1696 (CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 7a-8a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu, 6 September 1696). See, later, p. 305 and Note 15.

We ought to order bKra-sis Baatur to prepare a document regarding the arrangements which the Dalai Lama decides on, and to send it in reply to the Board (of Dependencies).

The Emperor accepted the proposal⁹⁾. In other words, he conceded the right of the Dalai Lama to decide on matters relating to the Ch'ing-hai tribes.

A month after the issue of the Proclamation to the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai on 29 June 1696, and a month before the receipt of Erh-lang-pao's report on 27 August 1696,—on 27 July 1696 to be exact—the Dalai Lama's envoys, Ko-ni-erh (mGo-gÑer?) Blo-bZaṅ 'Phags-pa dGe-sloṅ and the others, arrived at Peking¹⁰⁾. The contents of the Edict which was issued to them was similar to the ones issued on 6 September 1696, which we shall study in details presently.

A few days after the arrival of Ko-ni-erh (mGo-gÑer?) Blo-bZaṅ 'Phags-pa dGe-sloṅ and the others, the Emperor (on 1 August 1696) received a report from the Second Secretary Hsi-la, saying that he had questioned one of the Jungar notables captured at Jao Modo, by name Tan-pa Ha-shih-ha, as to the place which dGa'-ldan could have fled to. Tan-pa Ha-shih-ha had ruled out dGa'-ldan's flight to Tshe-dBaṅ Rab-brTan or the Turγut Ayuci, because he was on unfriendly terms with both. Escape to Russia was also ruled out, because there were enemies on the way to Russia. Tibet was the only place dGa'-ldan could go to. Not only was dGa'-ldan friendly with the sDe-pa (Saṅs-rGyas rGya-mTsho), but also

At the time when dGa'-ldan was a lama, and dwelt at the Pan-chen Khutuγtu's place, the Pan-chen Khutuγtu had said that, at the time of dGa'-ldan's previous incarnation, as the Yin-tsa 尹咱 (=

⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 2a (27 August 1696).

¹⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, pp. 14a-b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 6th month, kuei-chou (27 July 1696). The Dalai Lama's envoy, Ko-ni-erh (= mGo-gÑer?) Blo-bZaṅ 'Phags-pa dGe-sloṅ 戈尼爾羅卜臧帕克巴格隆 and the others had come up to Hsi-ning with the Censor, Chung Shen-pao 鍾申保, who had gone to Tibet (in 1695?) to invite the Pan-chen Lama—CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 171, pp. 17a-b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 2nd month, mou-shen (24 March 1696). They then received orders to proceed from Hsi-ning to Peking. On their arrival, an Edict was issued to them—CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, pp. 14a-15b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 6th month, kuei-chou (27 July 1696). Cf. De Mailla, XI, pp. 222-224; Rockhill, pp. 25-27. They were the envoys from the Dalai Lama, whom sByin-pa rGya-mTsho and the others travelled to Tibet with, taking with them the Edict of 6 September 1696. For mGo-gÑer, see p. 41. Note 128, above.

dBen-sa) Khutuγtu, the whole population of the town of To-pu-ch'a 托卜察 (Thob-rGyal?) in Tangγod (Tibet) had been followers of dGa'-ldan. Hence, (the Pan-chen Khutuγtu) let (dGa'-ldan) make them his subjects (in his incarnation as dGa'-ldan). (dGa'-ldan's) tax-collectors were now there¹¹⁾.

Thus, the road pointed to Tibet. On 6 September 1696, the Emperor sent the mKhan-po Chin-pa Cha-mu-su 晉巴扎木素 (sByin-pa rGya-mTsho), the Demci So-no-mu Tsang-pu 索諾木臧布 (bSod-nams bZaṅ-po) and the Secretary (Chu-shih 主事) Pao-chu (sBo'u-ju sByar-kho-chi)¹²⁾, to go with the Dalai Lama's envoys, the mGo-gÑer (?) Blo-bZaṅ 'Phags-pa dGe-sloṅ and the others, with letters for (1) the Dalai Lama, (2) the Pan-chen Lama, (3) Dalai Khan, the *Chos-rGyal* or Dharma-rājā of Tibet, (4) Saṅs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, the sDe-pa of Tibet, and (5) Tshe-dBaṅ Rab-brTan. sByin-pa rGya-mTsho and bSod-nams bZaṅ-po had known the fifth Dalai Lama previously and were, therefore, qualified to find out whether the fifth Dalai Lama was alive or not¹³⁾.

The main purpose of these letters was to announce the Emperor's victory over dGa'-ldan. It will be remembered that a similar announcement of victory was made to the Mongol princes on 12 August 1682, after the capture of Yunnan-fu on 8 December 1681, and the end of Wu Shih-fan's rebellion¹⁴⁾.

In particular, the Dalai Lama was informed of Erh-lang-pao's mission to Ch'ing-hai¹⁵⁾. At the same time, the following charges were brought

¹¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, pp. 17b-19a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 7th month, mou-wu (1 August 1696); De Mailla, XI, pp. 224-225. "Oros" in De Mailla, p. 225, is Russia, and "Minggun" and "Trétenkout" are Mingyad (in Khobdo) and Telengit, respectively. With regard to "Yin-tsa Khutuγtu" or "dBen-sa sPrul-sKu", we have already seen (above, pp. 149-150 and p. 232) that dGa'-ldan had been a dBen-sa sPrul-sKu (an Incarnate of a Hermitage) before he succeeded to the Khanate. Thob-rGyal in gTsaṅ we have come across before: bDe-chen in the Valley of Thob-rGyal was the scene of the first offering of Tibet to the 5th Dalai Lama by Guši Khan. See this book, above, p. 131.

¹²⁾ The forms in brackets are from the 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 151b (Me-Byi/ping-tzu/1696). sByar-kho-chi = Jarγuci (Mongolian). See p. 41, Note 127, above.

¹³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 5a-17a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696). Demci = Business manager (a lama) in a monastery, inspector, guardian, custodian (Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, p. 250).

¹⁴⁾ See p. 257, above. CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 103, pp. 13a-17b, K'ang Hsi 21st year, 7th month, i-mao (12 August 1682).

¹⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 7a-8a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

against the sDe-pa. These charges had all arisen during the wars against dGa'-ldan:

1) At the Battle of Ulan Budung (3 September 1690), the Dalai Lama's envoy, the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu, had recited *sūtras* for dGa'-ldan, and selected the day of battle. After the battle, the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu had carried on negotiations with the Manchu generals, only in order to enable dGa'-ldan to flee¹⁶⁾.

2) After the Battle of Jao Modo (12 June 1696), from the Jungar prisoners Tan-pa Ha-shih-ha and Ch'a-han Hsi-ta-erh Ha-shih-ha, and the envoys whom Bošuγtu Jinong and Sa-sKyoñ Mergen Taiji had sent to dGa'-ldan¹⁷⁾, the Emperor had come to know that the (fifth) Dalai Lama had died 9 years ago, but that the sDe-pa had hidden the news of his death¹⁸⁾. We have already examined this charge, and suggested that it might have been due to a misunderstanding of certain Tibetan terms and the thought underlying the use of such terms¹⁹⁾. What the Emperor had to say in conclusion of this charge was this:

The Dalai Lama being the greatest Lama of all-pervading wisdom, and this Court being the Lord who protects the Faith (本朝爲護法之主); the exchange (of envoys) having gone on for over 60 years; the announcement of his death should have been reported to Us in a memorial. Since you (Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho) hid the news of the Dalai Lama's death, and deceived the people and favoured dGa'-ldan's project to take up arms against Us, your crime is very great²⁰⁾.

3) According to a report which first reached the Emperor through the Deputy Lieutenant-General Ananda, when dGa'-ldan was fleeing after

¹⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 5b (to the Dalai Lama); p. 8b (to the Pan-chen Lama); pp. 10a-b (to Dalai Khan); p. 11b (to the sDe-pa), K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

¹⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 13a-b (to the sDe-pa), K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

¹⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, p. 1b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 6th month, i-yu (29 June 1696) (to the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai); p. 14b, kuei-chou (27 July 1696) (to mGo-gÑer Blo-bZañ 'Phags-pa dGe-sloñ); ch. 175, p. 11b, p. 13b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696) (to the sDe-pa).

¹⁹⁾ See above, p. 42, pp. 44-52.

²⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 13b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696) (to the sDe-pa).

his defeat at Jao Modo (12 June 1696), "his tribes men uttered many words of resentment". dGa'-ldan said:

At first, I did not wish to come to the territory of the Kerülen (river). Because the Dalai Lama misled (煽惑) me, therefore, I came. Hence, the Dalai Lama has ruined me, and I (in turn) have ruined you²¹.

At that time, the Emperor ordered all his officers and men in the field "to investigate clearly, and to seize all letters, whether in the Tibetan or Mongolian language, exchanged between the Dalai Lama, the Pan-chen Khutuytu and the sDe-pa (on the one hand) and dGa'-ldan (on the other)"²².

Apparently, no written evidence was found, but from the prisoners captured at Jao Modo, the Emperor came to know that the Dalai Lama had made a prophecy that a march to the east by dGa'-ldan would be propitious (東行吉)²³. Since the Dalai Lama was dead, the Emperor took this as evidence of the instigation of dGa'-ldan by the sDe-pa to attack the Emperor.

4) As we have seen, from the envoys whom Bošuytu Jinong and Sa-sKyon Mergen Taiji of Ch'ing-hai had sent to dGa'-ldan, and who were captured at Jao Modo, the Emperor had come to know that dGa'-ldan's daughter, Pu-mu, was married to Ken-t'e-erh, the son of Bošuytu Jinong²⁴. Writing to the sDe-pa, the Emperor said

If dGa'-ldan and Bošuytu Jinong did not have your assent, how could there have been a marriage alliance?²⁵

5) On 24 March 1696, the Emperor had received a memorial from the Censor, Chung Shen-pao 鍾申保, sent from Hsi-ning, on his way

²¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 173, p. 27b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 5th month, kuei-yu (17 June 1696).

²² CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 173, p. 33a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 5th month, ting-chou (21 June 1696). A similar order, it will be remembered, had been issued on 9 June 1680 to the generals operating against Wu Shih-fan. See above, p. 221 (CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 90, p. 5a, K'ang Hsi 19th year, 5th month, hsin-chou, 9 June 1680).

²³ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 7a (to the Dalai Lama); p. 10b (to Dalai Khan); p. 13b (to the sDe-pa), K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

²⁴ See above, pp. 301-302.

²⁵ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 11b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

back from Tibet, where he had gone to invite the Pan-chen Lama. Chung Shen-pao quoted the Dalai Lama and Dalai Khan, the *Chos-rGyal* or Dharmarājā of Tibet, as saying that the Pan-chen Lama could not go as he had not had small-pox as yet. The Pan-chen Lama had himself submitted a memorial to the same effect. The sDe-pa, however, had submitted a memorial saying that dGa'-ldan had sent men to stop the Pan-chen Lama from going to China²⁶⁾. Now, the Emperor laid the blame for preventing the Pan-chen Lama from coming to China, not on dGa'-ldan, but on the sDe-pa:

You lied to, and frightened the Pan-chen Khutuṭu. You told him that dGa'-ldan would kill him, and you did not let him go²⁷⁾.

6) All these charges were now brought against the sDe-pa, together with the charge that he had been ungrateful to Imperial favours:

You, O sDe-pa, were originally a minor official of the Dalai Lama. Because you did not disobey the words of the Dalai Lama, and helped the laws of religion, We, out of Our bounty, conferred on you the title of, and made you, King of Tibet²⁸⁾.

The reference was, evidently, to the title conferred on the sDe-pa on 22 May 1694²⁹⁾. We have already seen the circumstances under which it was given.

²⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 171, pp. 17a-b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 2nd month, mou-shen (24 March 1696). The date under which this document appears is certainly wrong, because the charge that dGa'-ldan stopped the Pan-chen Lama from going to China, is quoted in the Emperor's letter to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan (CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 171, p. 7b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 2nd month, chi-hai, 15 March 1696). Perhaps, we should read *ping-shen* (12 March 1696) or *mou-hsu* (14 March 1696). Chung Shen-pao was accompanied by the Nei-chi Toyin Khutuṭu—see CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 180, p. 10 a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 2nd month, chi-chou (28 February 1697).

²⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, p. 15a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 6th month, kuei-chou (27 July 1696) (to mGo-gÑer Blo-bZaṅ 'Phags-pa dGe-sloṅ); ch. 175, p. 5b (to the Dalai Lama); p. 8b (to the Pan-chen Lama); p. 11b (to the sDe-pa), K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696). It is notable that in the letter to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan, sent on 6 September 1696, K'ang Hsi says that *dGa'-ldan* stopped the Pan-chen Lama from coming—CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 15a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

²⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, p. 11a (to the sDe-pa), K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696). See also, ch. 174, pp. 14b-15a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 6th month, kuei-chou (27 July 1696) (to mGo-gÑer Blo-bZaṅ 'Phags-pa dGe-sloṅ).

²⁹⁾ See above, pp. 295-296; CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 163, p. 7b, K'ang Hsi 33rd year, 4th month, ping-shen (22 May 1694).

In sum and total, said K'ang Hsi, it was evident that the sDe-pa had made a friendly alliance with dGa'-ldan:

Now We see that (although) openly you honour the Faith of bTsoñ-kha-pa; secretly, you have made a friendly alliance with dGa'-ldan. You have deceived the Dalai Lama and the Pan-chen Lama, and have destroyed the Faith of bTsoñ-kha-pa ³⁰⁾.

The sDe-pa was asked to do four things:

1) to memorialise clearly and thoroughly regarding the death of the Dalai Lama;

2) to honour the Pan-chen Lama and to let him rule the Faith of the Lamas; and, in accordance with the Imperial invitation, to send him to China;

3) to seize the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu and to hand him over to the Emperor;

4) to hand over to the Emperor the son of Bošuγtu Jinong who had married dGa'-ldan's daughter.

If you do these things, We shall, as usual, treat you according to the custom of enriching you with Our bounty. If you do not do these things, if of those things which have been enumerated, even one is not done, We shall certainly enquire into your lies and falsehoods, your crimes of deceiving the Dalai Lama and the Pan-chen Khutuγtu, and of aiding dGa'-ldan. We shall send out a large army from Yün-nan, Ssü-ch'uan, Shen-si and other places. According to the precedent set by the destruction of dGa'-ldan, either We shall go personally to punish you, or We shall send the Princes and high officials to punish you. Formerly, you said to Our envoy that the Four Oirad (the Dörben Oirad or the West Mongols) were the lords who protected your Faith; therefore, you could summon the Four Oirad to help you. We shall see how they will help you ³¹⁾.

³⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 11a-b (to the sDe-pa), K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696). See also: ch. 174, p. 15a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 6th month, kuei-chou (27 July 1696) (to the mGo-gÑer); ch. 175, p. 5b (to the Dalai Lama); pp. 8a-b (to the Pan-chen Lama); p. 10a (to Dalai Khan).

³¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 175, pp. 14a-b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 8th month, chia-wu (6 September 1696).

A month after the sending of this Edict, the Emperor, as we have seen, sanctioned the annexation of Ta-chien-lu, though the Tibetans were allowed to retain a trade-mart there ³²⁾.

* * *

In his Autobiography, pp. 151a-152a, the sixth Dalai Lama recounts the whole series of events from the Battle of Jao Modo (12 June 1696) to the arrival of Pao-chu's first Mission to Lhasa in December 1696, in the following terms:

Gradually, I came to know that the Edict of the Emperor, victorious in battle, to (the Taijis of) the Valley of the Blue Lake—(informing them) that (dGa'-ldan) sBo-śog-thu Khan having, gradually, advanced hitherward, had met the Chinese forces on the 13th day of the 5th month (at the Battle of Jao Modo, K'ang Hsi 35th year (ping-tzū), 5th month, 13th day = 12 June 1696), that A-nu had been killed, (and that dGa'-ldan's army had been) defeated, scattered and put to flight—had been translated to mKhas-bTsun (of mTsho-sNa), after sÑags-'chañ 'Phags-pa (*i. e.* mGo-gÑer Blo-bZañ 'Phags-pa dGe-sloñ) and the mKhas-bTsun of mTsho-sNa had arrived at Peking on the 27th day of the 6th month (ping-tzu, 6th month, 27th day = 25 July 1696). Gradually (too), the news arrived that (a) the Emperor would come to the East and that his prowess was enough to advance up to India; (b) there would be many Chinese envoys (to Tibet); and (c) even Bañ-thu dBon-po had been arrested by Ananda Khan on the 8th day of the 9th month (ping-tzu, 10th month, 8th day = 2 November 1696) ³³⁾. In the course of this, the mKhas-bTsun of mTsho-sNa also arrived (and gave the news) that the people of the Valley of the Blue Lake, too, were talking about the Edict bestowed by the Emperor (announcing his desire) to meet the rulers and lamas of the Valley of the Blue Lake. (Further, the mKhas-bTsun of mTsho-sNa) said that, perhaps the envoys (from China) would not come just now. (There were) such clearly-arisen (signs of) disturbances and great dangers as that the dreams which I had when I retired to meditate in worship and

³²⁾ See above, pp. 227-228. CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 176, pp. 7a-b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 9th month, kuei-hai (5 October 1696).

³³⁾ In CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 178, pp. 6b-7b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 11th month, keng-wu (11 December 1696), Ananda reports that he has arrested dGa'-ldan's envoys to the Dalai Lama, on the way from dGa'-ldan's encampment to Lhasa, on the 7th day of the 11th month (1 December 1696), not on the 8th day of the 10th month (2 November 1696).

to remove misfortunes, were very disturbed, and that the lamps would not light. While I had not (yet) ended (my meditation), the envoys from China, namely, the junior official sByin-pa rGya-mTsho, the Demchi bSod-nams bZaŋ-po and sBo'u-ju sByar-kho-chi (Jarüci) came to the Śar-rGyag Bla-brañ, and during this very time, hastily handed over the Edict. dKon-mChog of the Chief House (of the Bla-brañ) extended to them such hospitality as was appropriate. During the (period of) meditation, offerings were made. On the 14th day (of the 10th Hor month) (ping-tzu, 11th month, 14th day = 8 December 1696)³⁴⁾, when the inner meditation was over, they came again to the Bla-brañ with the Edict, and said that if (I) did not come quickly out (of my meditation), it was their vow to go to those parts of the country which they need not (or should not) go to, such as the South. So saying, they drew their swords, and there was a great disturbance. (Hence,) even before the outer meditation had come to an end, by means of various abbreviated rites, on the 15th day (9 December 1696),... they handed over the Edict and 6 rolls of cloth. They showed the Edict which had been bestowed on A-nu for (protection from?) the 8 classes of demons. They showed a Turkish sword which, they said, was the sword of (dGa'-ldan) Bo-śog-thu Khan. They said much about the Edicts, and words in agreement thereto, which had been bestowed on sBo-śog-thu Khan, in the same tenor. The main points of the document were: (1) Let this Lama bring proof whether, in the first place, the Fifth Body is alive or not; (2) in conformity with the invitation to the Pan-chen Rin-po-che, let him come; (3 and 4) seize the rJe-druñ Incarnation and the daughter of sBo(-śog-thu) Khan who is with sBo-śog-thu Ju-nañ, and send them here. "If these things are not done, then We (the Emperor) will come with an army, or send an army". By distending their bodies a little, (the Imperial envoys) indicated that the (Manchu-Chinese) army was large, and told us how to write a Memorial to the Emperor. The junior official sByin-pa rGya-mTsho and the Demchi waited for an audience, together with the (above-mentioned) Edict to be offered to the Fifth Dalai Lama. sBo'u-ju sByar-kho-chi and the mKhas-bTsun of mTsho-sNa made a list of the farewell-

³⁴⁾ As we shall see, according to the CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 180, p. 9a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 2nd month, chi-chou (28 February 1697), Pao-chu arrived "in Tibet" on the 22nd day of the 11th month of the 35th year of K'ang Hsi (16 December 1696). Perhaps, this latter is the date on which the Imperial envoys met the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho.

presents such as holy objects (attached) to the important words (of the Dalai Lama?); well-produced scarves (presented to the Emperor) for his victory in the war; a rDo-rJe; an image of the All-Conquering One; a banner; and the planks which held together the Memorial ³⁵).

According to the CSL, Pao-chu arrived "in Tibet", with the Edict of 6 September 1696, on 16 December 1696 (K'ang Hsi 35th year, 11th month, 22nd day, i-hai). We have already suggested that this might have been the date on which the Imperial envoys met the sDe-pa. With regard to the charge of ingratitude, and of aiding dGa'-ldan, the sDe-pa had this to say:

I was employed in a trivial and insignificant rank. I was honoured (by the fact) that the Emperor condescendingly remembered the Dalai Lama, and was pleased to bestow on me the title of King of Tibet. I was just thinking of respectfully replying to the Emperor's Grace (when Pao-chu arrived). How can I dare to disobey the Imperial Edict and to submit to the rebel dGa'-ldan? Moreover, my honour and evident peace and prosperity are all what the Emperor has bestowed. If I were ungrateful to the Emperor, and went towards those people (the rebels), certainly my life ought to be prematurely cut off. In short, other than respectfully obeying the Imperial Edict, I have no other words ³⁶).

With regard to the Four Demands, the sDe-pa said:

1) The Emperor is divinely perspicacious. He has known in advance that the Dalai Lama will emerge from his meditation next year (i.e. in the 36th year of K'ang Hsi, 23 January 1697-10 February 1698) ³⁷). He has sent two lamas (sByin-pa rGya-mTsho and bSod-nams bZaṅ-po) to ascertain (that the new Incarnation is a true Incarnation of the Dalai Lama?). My heart is very glad. Wen

³⁵) It should be remembered that, at this time, the 6th Dalai Lama was at mTsho-sNa in the South.

³⁶) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 180, pp. 9a-b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 2nd month, chi-chou (28 February 1697).

³⁷) We have already seen that the 6th Dalai Lama's "emergence from meditation" (出定) means, in fact, his emergence into the public view, i.e. his enthronement as Dalai Lama, and formal assumption of the duties, etc., of a Dalai Lama. See above, pp. 51-52.

Chun 溫春 Lama³⁸⁾ previously lived with the Dalai Lama for 10 years. I have ordered him to ascertain (as above). Naturally he will be able to note any difference (between the new Incarnation and the old). Let these two Lamas wait till the Dalai Lama has emerged from meditation. Let them then examine (the new Incarnation) carefully and report (to the Emperor) in reply. The doubts of the people will then, of themselves, be allayed.

2) At the time when the Emperor sent the Nei-chi Toyin Khutuytu and the others to summon the Pan-chen Khutuytu, the Dalai Lama himself and I sent men (to bKra-sis lHun-po) to urge him to go to Peking. At first, he wished to go. Later, because from the mouth of the Imperial envoys there escaped threatening and overbearing words, he said that he would not go. It was only after the Imperial envoys had returned (to China), that dGa'-ldan's envoy arrived. Certainly, I did not avail myself of dGa'-ldan's crafty arguments (to stop the Pan-chen Lama from going to China)³⁹⁾. Besides, how could the Pan-chen Khutuytu be willing to listen to dGa'-ldan's words? If the Emperor really wishes the Pan-chen to go to Peking, how can I dare to disobey the Edict? I shall report it to the Dalai Lama. He will certainly order the Pan-chen to decide a year for going to Peking. I shall give the lamas (bSod-nams) bZaŋ-po and (sByin-pa) rGya-mTsho, who will go later, a clear Memorial (on this point). At that time, regarding what should be done, may the Emperor bestow his grace, and send an envoy. I pray for the Emperor's wise glance.

3) With regard to the rJe-druŋ Khutuytu, at the time of the campaign of Ulan Budung, he did not obey the Imperial Edict, so that the

³⁸⁾ Wen-chun = dPon-chuŋ ("junior official"), the title borne by sByin-pa rGya-mTsho.

³⁹⁾ Note that this explanation for the Pan-chen Lama not accepting the Imperial invitation to Peking is different from that given in Chung Shen-pao's memorial which arrived on 24 March 1696, that the sDe-pa had submitted a memorial saying that dGa'-ldan had sent men to stop the Pan-chen Lama—CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 171, pp. 17a-b, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 2nd month, mou-shen (14 March 1696). By pointing out that it was only *after* the Imperial envoys had returned (to China) that dGa'-ldan's envoy had arrived and that he (the sDe-pa) had certainly not availed himself of dGa'-ldan's crafty arguments to stop the Pan-chen Lama from going to China, the sDe-pa is refuting the charge that he had permitted dGa'-ldan's envoy to prevent the Pan-chen Lama from going. Apparently, it was in this sense that he had understood the Imperial charge that "he (the sDe-pa) had lied to, and frightened the Pan-chen Khutuytu, that he had told him that dGa'-ldan would kill him, and had not let him go".

affair was not brought to an end. On the contrary, after the battle between dGa'-ldan and the President of the Board, A-la-ni, he encouraged dGa'-ldan and congratulated him by placing a white turban on his head. Therefore, I have confiscated his property and have transferred him to the territory of Khams. Now it is desired that I send him with the Imperial envoy to Peking. The place where he is, is far away. To go there and to come back, requires two or three months. I fear that there will be a long delay. In the Emperor's mind, which loves life, there is certainly no thought of awarding punishment to the rJe-druñ Khutuytu. I shall persuade him to come, and to go together with (bSod-nams) bZaṅ-po and (sByin-pa) rGya-mTsho, in order to aid the Emperor's desire.

4) With regard to Boṣuytu Jinong's having contracted a marriage-alliance with dGa'-ldan, the marriage-alliance was contracted *before* the exchange of hostilities between the Khalkhas (and dGa'-ldan), at the time when A-nu was still with Tshe-dBaṅ Rab-brTan. Although I cannot guarantee more than that, yet the 8 Taijis (*i.e.* the 8 Khoṣot) of Ch'ing-hai are all disciples of the Dalai Lama, and wish only to exert themselves for the Emperor (and not for dGa'-ldan). Certainly, they have no other desire. I can guarantee that they will not turn their backs on the Emperor. The Emperor magnanimously loves the black-haired people of the Empire, as if they were his children. dGa'-ldan's daughter has already been married to Boṣuytu Jinong's son. Let her be exempted from going to Peking, so as not to bring about the separation of husband and wife. This is what I pray for and seek. We people of Tibet are not acquainted with the rites and laws (of the Chinese). Being ignorant, we commit offences. I have never knowingly and deliberately offended (the rites and laws of the Chinese). There have been offences committed in ignorance. I pray that the Imperial envoy clearly memorialise to the Emperor, humbly praying to forgive us, and, as usual, to bestow on us a warm-hearted Edict⁴⁰⁾.

Pao-chu left Lhasa on 2 January 1697 (K'ang Hsi 35th year, 12th month, 10th day, jen-chen). He sent in his report on his arrival at Chuang-lang. It reached the Emperor, who was then at Huai-lai hsien 懷來縣 in Cakhar, on 28 February 1697. This report contained the

⁴⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 180, pp. 9b-11b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 2nd month, chi-chou (28 February 1697).

précis of the sDe-pa's reply given above. The original letters from the sDe-pa, together with a secret memorial and presents, were presented to the Emperor by the Ñi-ma-thañ Khutuγtu on 10 April 1697 (see later). The open letters were replied to by the Emperor on 12 April 1697. Pao-chu himself arrived at the Imperial encampment at Yü-lin 榆林 in Shen-si on 13 March 1697⁴¹.

While Pao-chu had been on his way to Lhasa, the Emperor, if Gerbillon and De Mailla are to be believed, gave audience to envoys from the Dalai Lama and others, on his arrival at Köke-Khotan in November 1696. Gerbillon, who was one of the Emperor's suite, gives the date of arrival at Köke-Khotan as 8 November 1696, and says, further:

Aussitôt qu'il fut arrivé, il donna audience à un ambassadeur du Talai Lama, qui étoit arrivé ce jour-là. L'Empereur lui parla assez fierement, sur ce que son Maître ne lui avoit pas envoyé la fille du Caldan qu'il lui avoit fait demander, le menaçant de lui faire la guerre s'il ne la lui envoyoit⁴².

De Mailla also says that, on 6 November 1696 (K'ang Hsi 35th year, 10th month, 12th day, i-wei), the Emperor, on his arrival at Kuei-hua-cheng, gave audience to the envoys of the Dalai Lama, the Pan-chen Lama, Dalai Khan (the *Chos-rGyal* or Dharmarājā of Tibet) and the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai⁴³. The CSL mentions the date of arrival at Kuei-hua-cheng as K'ang Hsi 35th year, 10th month, 13th day, ping-shen (7 November 1696)⁴⁴, but does not mention any audience to envoys from Tibet. Nor does it mention any such audience under 8 November 1696 (K'ang Hsi 35th year, 10th month, 14th day, ting-yu)⁴⁵. However, under K'ang Hsi 35th year, 11th month, 5th day, mou-wu (29 November 1696), the CSL reproduces a memorial from the Second Secretary Erh-lang-pao, informing the Emperor that

the Dalai Lama's envoys, namely, the Ñi-ma-thañ 尼麻唐 Khutuγtu, the Cho-mo-lung 卓磨龍 mKhan-po, and Tan-pa Nang-so 丹巴囊素; the Jaisangs, whom Dalai Khan has sent

⁴¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 180, p. 23b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 2nd month, jen-yin (13 March 1697).

⁴² Du Halde (1736), IV: Gerbillon, *Sixième Voyage*, p. 432.

⁴³ De Mailla, XI, pp. 238-239.

⁴⁴ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 177, pp. 6b-7a.

⁴⁵ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 177, pp. 7a-8a.

as envoys, and the Khalkha rJe-bTsun Dam-pa are in Ka-tsun 喀尊(?)⁴⁶⁾ and other places in the western region. In all, they are over 170 men. In the full moon of the eleventh month, they may arrive at the border pass at Hsi-ning.

Erh-lang-pao was ordered to enquire if the envoys had brought memorials with them. If they had, they were to be sent on to the capital. If not, they were to be sent back⁴⁷⁾.

On 10 April 1697 (K'ang Hsi 36th year, 3rd month, 19th day, keng-wu), according to the CSL, the Ńi-ma-thañ Khutuγtu joined the Emperor on the march⁴⁸⁾, and submitted to him a secret memorial from Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho. Subsequently, the Emperor, taking the sDe-pa's memorial and the image of the Dalai Lama (in reality, of the Buddha, "the All-Conquering One", as we have seen in the sixth Dalai Lama's Autobiography), which he had presented with it—both apparently enclosed in a parcel or parcels—in the presence of those who had come with the Ńi-ma-thañ Khutuγtu and the others, put a seal on top of the original seal, and pressed it down with a wooden (or copper) seal⁴⁹⁾. On behalf of the sDe-pa, the Ńi-ma-thañ Khutuγtu secretly informed the Emperor that the fifth Dalai Lama had died 16 years ago, and that the sixth Dalai Lama was 15 years old. Further, the Khutuγtu quoted the sDe-pa as saying that he would inform the people of the "emergence from meditation" (i.e. enthronement) of the sixth Dalai Lama on the 25th day (jen-shen) of

⁴⁶⁾ Gashun occurs both to the east and west of the Tshva'i-'dam (Tsaidam) in the *Times Atlas of the World* 1958, I, Plate 21.

⁴⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 178, pp. 2a-3a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 11th month, mou-wu (29 November 1696). The "Bla-rabs" (lama-list) of Ńi-ma-thañ is given in VSP, pp. 125-126.

⁴⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 181, pp. 14b-15a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 3rd month, keng-wu (10 April 1697). De Mailla, XI, pp. 263-264, says that the Ńi-ma-thañ Khutuγtu "joignit l'Empereur a Houmaché (Hua-ma-ch'ih 花馬池) le vingt-un de la douzième lune". This should be read "le vingt-un de la troisième lune" = jen-shen, 12 April 1697. According to CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 181, p. 15a, K'ang Hsi was at Hua-ma-ch'ih on the 20th day of the 3rd month = hsin-wei, 11 April 1697. Hua-ma-ch'ih (or Yen-ch'ih 鹽池) lies at the Great Wall, between Ting-pien 定邊 in Shen-si, and the town of Ning-hsia. Gerbillon says of the arrival of Ńi-ma-thañ Khutuγtu, that

Sa Majesté le traita avec plus d'honneur qu'elle n'a encore fait aucun Prince étranger. Il alla le recevoir jusqu'à la porte de la seconde cour de la maison ou il étoit logé (Du Halde (1736), IV, Gerbillon, *Septième Voyage*, p. 467).

⁴⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 181, pp. 14b-15a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 3rd month, keng-wu (10 April 1697).

the 10th month of the 36th year of K'ang Hsi (8 December 1697). He requested the Emperor to inform other places—the Inner and Outer Mongols—at that time, but not earlier⁵⁰⁾.

On 12 April 1697, the Emperor's Counsellors proposed a reply to the sDe-pa's letter, the first report of the contents of which had reached the Emperor with Pao-chu's report which had arrived on 28 February 1697, but the originals of which had, perhaps, been brought by the Ñi-ma-thañ Khutuγtu on 10 April 1697. With regard to the Pan-chen Lama's coming to China, the Counsellors proposed that the sDe-pa be allowed to decide leisurely the year of his (the Pan-chen Lama's) coming. However, they insisted that the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu and dGa'-ldan's daughter be sent to the capital. These proposals were approved by the Emperor⁵¹⁾.

On the basis of these proposals, the Emperor replied to the sDe-pa, and sent Pao-chu for a second time to Tibet, with the reply. While insisting that the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu be seized and handed over, the Emperor promised to forgive the Khutuγtu. Insisting at the same time on the seizure and forwarding of dGa'-ldan's daughter, the Emperor pointed out that dGa'-ldan's son, Sai-pu-teng Pa-erh-chu-erh 塞卜騰巴爾珠爾 (Tshe-brTan dPal-'byor), who had been captured early in 1697, had been treated well⁵²⁾. At the same time, the Emperor also asked for the Ti-mo 諦穆 (De-mo) Khutuγtu, whom he wished to employ to recite the Sūtras⁵³⁾. The De-mo Rin-po-che was the head of bsTan-rGyas Gliñ monastery, in the northern quarter of Lhasa.

Hardly had Pao-chu left, when, on 21 April 1697, Ying-ku 英古, who had gone to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan with the Imperial Edict of 6 September 1696, returned and memorialised, saying that, on receipt of the Imperial Edict, Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan had advanced with his troops to a place called Sa-k'o-sa-t'e hu-li-k'o 薩克薩特呼里克. Here, he met the Dalai Lama's envoy called Darkhan Emci, who had

⁵⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 181, p. 15b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 3rd month, hsín-wei (11 April 1697); ch. 182, p. 1b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, hsín-ssu (21 April 1697).

⁵¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 181, pp. 16a-17b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 3rd month, jen-shen (12 April 1697).

⁵²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 179, p. 7b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 1st month, keng-wu (9 February 1697). He was received at Court on 26 March 1697—CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 181, pp. 2b-3a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 3rd month, i-mao (26 March 1697).

⁵³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 181, pp. 27a-30a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 3rd month, keng-chen (20 April 1697).

said to him:

The (fifth) Dalai Lama died 16 years ago. The new Dalai Lama is 15 years old. Let each of you live in his own territory. You are not allowed to raise troops.

At this, Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan withdrew his troops ⁵⁴⁾.

Just at this time, the Emperor also received a memorial from the Deputy Lieutenant-General Ananda, to the following effect:

dGa'-ldan rDo-rJe 噶爾亶多爾濟 ⁵⁵⁾ has sent men with the following information:

"The Dalai Lama and the sDe-pa sent men with letters to me, saying: 'We order all the headmen of Ch'ing-hai to assemble at the territory of Ch'a-han To-lo 察罕托落 lake on the 28th day of the 1st month (of the 36th year of K'ang Hsi = 19 February 1697). Keep your weapons ready. You may order your subordinates also to keep their weapons ready. You must certainly come to the territory where the assembly will take place, at the time fixed'.

As I have not gone to the assembly before, therefore, I did not go" ⁵⁶⁾.

The announcement to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan was, probably, an announcement of the sixth Dalai Lama's forth-coming "emergence from

⁵⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 182, pp. 1b-2a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, hsin-ssu (21 April 1697).

⁵⁵⁾ The name occurs as Galdan Dardschi in Pallas, I, opp. p. 30. He was the son of Erdeni Khung-taiji, the son of Ocirtu Secen Khan, the son of Boibayus Baatur, the elder brother of Guši Khan. An indication of the place where dGa'-ldan rDo-rJe lived is provided by CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 185, pp. 5a-b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 8th month, hsin-yu (28 September 1697): The Lieutenant of the Guard, A-chi-na, advancing from Se-erh-teng 色爾騰 (the Syrtyn Valley, in Ch'inghai, due south of An-hsi and Tun-huang in Kan-su, and immediately to the south of the Nan-shan), along the Bolongir river, to Ch'ang-ma-erh 長馬爾 (= Ch'ang-ma in Hermann, *Atlas of China*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935, p. 68; 昌馬堡子 in Ting Wen-chiang, *Chung kuo fen sheng hsin t'u* 中國分省新圖, Shanghai, 1937, p. 48), "came to where dG'-ldan rDo-rJe was staying at the postal station in the territory of West Hsin-mu 西欣木" on 12 August 1697 (K'ang Hsi 36th year, 6th month, 26th day, chia-hsu). dGa'-ldan rDo-rJe was killed by the Khoits 揮特 — CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 189, pp. 13a-15b, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 8th month, jen-yin (4 September 1698).

⁵⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 182, pp. 2a-2b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, hsin-ssu (21 April 1697).

meditation". However, the Emperor took that announcement, and the evidence of dGa'-ldan rDo-rJe's information to Ananda, to mean that, although the sDe-pa had himself asked the Emperor "to keep the news of the fifth Dalai Lama's death secret till the 25th day of the 10th month of the 36th year of K'ang Hsi (8 December 1697)", he had, in fact, divulged it to the O-lu-t'e of Ch'ing-hai and Jungaria long before that date. Therefore, on 22 April 1697 (K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, 2nd day, jen-wu), the Emperor published the news of the Dalai Lama's death ⁵⁷⁾.

At the same time, the Emperor recalled Pao-chu, whom he had sent out on 20 April 1697, and the Ñi-ma-thañ Khutuṣtu, who had left with Pao Chu.

Ce Lama répondit qu'il ne sçavoit point ce qui avoit été publié ailleurs, mais qu'il avoit executé les ordres que lui avoit donné le Ti-pa (sDe-pa). L'Empereur lui dit que puisque la mort du Talai Lama étoit publiée ailleurs, il n'étoit pas nécessaire de la tenir plus longtems secreta. Aussitôt il fit appeller ce qu'il y avoit de Princes Mongous à sa suite, & il fit ouvrir le paquet que le Nimata houtouktou lui avoit remis. Comme on l'ouvrit, la tête de la statue de Fo (the Buddha) tomba à terre, le reste demeurant dans la main de celui qui tenoit le paquet. Houtouktou en eût de la confusion. Les Princes Mongous qui étoient présens, en tirèrent mauvais augure, tandis que l'Empereur & les Grands Mantcheoux de sa Cour s'en divertirent ⁵⁸⁾.

On 25 April 1697, the Emperor once again sent Pao-chu to the sDe-pa, with the additional term of reference that he (Pao Chu) question the sDe-pa about the broken statue ⁵⁹⁾. Further, on 2 May 1697, the Emperor wrote to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan, countermanding the Dalai Lama's order (to withdraw troops) and asking him to raise troops to attack the fugitive dGa'-ldan ⁶⁰⁾.

sBo'u-cu sByar-kho-chi (Jarṣuci) arrived at Lhasa, for the 2nd time, on 26 August 1697 ⁶¹⁾. The main points of the Emperor's Edicts,

⁵⁷⁾ Du Halde (1736), IV, Gerbillon, *Septième Voyage*, p. 466.

⁵⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 467-468.

⁵⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 182, pp. 7a-8a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, i-yu (25 April 1697).

⁶⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 182, pp. 19b-21a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, jen-chen (2 May 1697).

⁶¹⁾ 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 167a [Me-Glañ, 7th Hor month, 10th day (ting-chou, 7th month, 10th day = 26 August 1697)].

as the sixth Dalai Lama notes them, were that (a) if bKra-sís Baatur Taiji, the 10th son of Guši Khan, did not come to Peking, "it would not be good for either the Government or the Teaching"; (b) there had been some delay in sending the rJe-druñ Khutuṽtu to China—he should be sent quickly; (c) the Pan-chen Rin-po-che, too, should go to China. There was also a request for the Khalkha Khatan Baatur and the De-mo Rin-po-che. The Dalai Lama wrote to bKra-sís Baatur Taiji, saying that he should go to China because the importance of the Government and the Teaching.

A little over a month later, on 29 September 1697, the Žabs-druñ of Ńi-ma-thañ returned with the Emperor's envoys to the Dalai Lama, namely, the junior official sByin-pa rGya-mTsho, the Demci bSod-nams bZañ-po and the Incarnate of lCañ-sKya⁶²). On 8 December 1697, the sixth Dalai Lama was formally enthroned as Dalai Lama⁶³). The Žabs-druñ of lCañ-sKya and the others left with the De-mo sPrul-sKu on 28 January 1698⁶⁴).

We must now get back to the earlier part of 1697. On 2 March 1697, the Emperor issued the following Edict to the Grand Secretary I-sang-a 伊桑阿:

Now We wish to send a high official to take with him the dBon-po, envoy of bKra-sís Baatur Taiji of Ch'ing-hai; Lo-lei 羅壘 Emci, the envoy of Bošuytu Jinong; and Nam-mKha' and the Rab-'byams-pa, subordinates of Bošuytu Jinong's clansman, Erdeni Taiji (and to go with them to Ch'ing-hai). Having gone to Ch'ing-hai, the high official must issue an Imperial Edict ordering the Taijis to come to an Audience. Let the Lieutenant-General Tu-su-kaerh and the Taijis A-la-pu-tan and Te-mu-chu-k'e (bDe-mChog) go together with the Sub-Director (of one of the 5 Courts) Saerh-tu⁶⁵).

The *Annals of Koko-nor* inform us that in the year Fire-Ox (1697), the Tümed Phyag-na rDo-rJe (of Köke-Khotan) was sent—no doubt,

⁶²) *Ibid.*, p. 168a [Me-Glañ, 8th Hor month, 15th day (ting-chou, 8th month, 15th day = 29 September 1697)].

⁶³) *Ibid.*, p. 208a [Me-Glañ, 10th Hor month, 25th day (ting-chou, 10th month, 25th day = 8 December 1697)].

⁶⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 229b [Me-Glañ, 12th Hor month, 17th day (ting-chou, 12th month, 17th day = 28 January 1698)].

⁶⁵) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 180, pp. 14a-b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 2nd month, hsin-mao (2 March 1697).

in the company of Lieutenant-General Tu-su-ka-erh and the others—to invite the Taijis of Koko-nor⁶⁶). Phyag-na rDo-rJe's report on his mission arrived at the Ch'ing Court on 8 May 1697.

The Lama Phyag-na rDo-rJe 商南多爾濟 and the others submitted a memorandum, saying:

“Previously, we received the Imperial Edict (of 2 March 1697), saying: ‘At which time the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai should come to Court, and who should come—on these points, You, Sirs, should memorialise and report to Us urgently’.

“At present, all the Taijis of the 4 clans of the O-lu-t'e wish to come to have Audience with the Emperor. Araptan and the others, and the headmen of the Muslims who are within the jurisdiction of Hsi-ning, have already started on their journey. The Ch'ui-tsang 垂臧 (Chos-tshan?) Khutuγtu, Abbot of the monastery of Ta-erh 達爾 (= sKu-'bum); Dalai Chos-rJe, Abbot of Wen-tu-sun monastery; and the *Nan-sos* and interpreters of the offices of 30 monasteries wish to come with the O-lu-t'e.

“Further, bKra-sis Baatur Taiji says:

‘The behaviour of Erdeni Baatur Taiji of this our territory is very exalted. All the Taijis, in all matters, consider him as their head. Therefore, I am in favour of his going (to Court). I pray that the Emperor be gracious’... ”⁶⁷).

A week later, the report of the Doroi Imperial Son-in-Law Araptan, the Imperial envoy to the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai, arrived at Court. In it he said that the Taijis wished to come in the 4th month (20 May–18 June 1697) of the 36th year of K'ang Hsi. As the Emperor was then outside the Great Wall (口外 “outside the Gate” of the Great Wall), and did not think it proper (於典禮不備) to meet the Taijis there, he asked them to come in the 9th (15 October–13 November 1697) or the 10th month (14 November–12 December 1697) to Peking⁶⁸).

While thus, on the one hand, the Emperor was trying to establish direct contacts with the Taijis of Koko-nor, he also felt it necessary to

⁶⁶ *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 7a (Lokesh Chandra's edition, p. 437).

⁶⁷ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 182, pp. 27a–28a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, mou-hsü (8 May 1697). Ta-erh 達爾, written T'a-erh 塔爾 is sKu-'bum, as shown by Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet*, p. 194, Note 745.

⁶⁸ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 182, pp. 31a–b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, i-ssu (15 May 1697).

approach the Dalai Lama, with a view to persuading him (the Dalai Lama) to persuade the Taijis of Koko-nor to accept the Imperial invitation. We have just seen that the Imperial Edict which Pao-chu carried with him on 25 April 1697, contained a warning that if bKra-sís Baatur did not obey the Imperial Edict and come to Peking "it would not be good either for the Government or the Teaching". On 1 October 1697, the lay ruler (*mi-dPon*) of rTa-lam arrived at the Court of the sixth Dalai Lama, having been sent there by the head ruler (*dPon-sPyi*) of the Valley of the Blue Lake (*mTsho-Kha*), to inform the Dalai Lama that the Emperor's invitation to Baatur Taiji, Erdeni Khung-taiji, etc., was very pressing, so much so that even if the Incarnate of lCañ-sKya had not come (to persuade them to accept the Emperor's invitation?), the consequences of not accepting it, would be very serious for the Government and the Teaching. The Taijis requested the Dalai Lama to tell them what was the appropriate thing to do (*ci . 'gab . kyi . dri . bar . byuñ . ba .*). In accordance with what sBo'u-ju Jarγuci had told him (the Dalai Lama) previously—that the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai ought to go to Peking—the Dalai Lama now requested them to go, and to come back immediately with whatever arrangements were valuable and necessary for the Government and the Teaching.

Here again we have proof of the inability of the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai to enter into relations with the Emperor of China without the Dalai Lama's prior consent⁶⁹).

On 3 June 1697, news arrived that dGa'-ldan had committed suicide by drinking poison on 3 May 1697 (K'ang Hsi 36th year, intercalary 3rd month, 13th day, kuei-ssu)⁷⁰).

Thus ended the search for the fugitive dGa'-ldan. In the course of that search, as we have seen in this chapter, because of the Imperial theory of the "root and branch extirpation" of a "rebel", the Emperor had—one might almost say, perforce—to enter Ch'ing-hai and Tibet. The entry to both places had, of course, been made the easier by the footholds which had been established during the manoeuvres against dGa'-ldan between 1690 and 1696. Now, the Emperor sent a mission to Ch'ing-hai in the summer, and another to Tibet in the autumn, of 1696. He also annexed Ta-chien-lu to the Empire in 1696. Perhaps because of the unsatisfactory nature of Pao-chu's first mission to Tibet in 1696-97, the Emperor decided to consolidate his position in Ch'ing-hai by inviting the Taijis to Peking.

⁶⁹) 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 168b [Me-Glañ, 8th Hor month, 17th day (ting-chou, 8th month, 17th day = 1 October 1697)].

⁷⁰) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 183, p. 7b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 4th month, chia-tzu (3 June 1697); Du Halde (1736), IV: Gerbillon, p. 476 (6 June 1697).

The news of dGa'-ldan's suicide put an end to the search for the living dGa'-ldan, but the theory of "root and branch extirpation" still required the Emperor to search for dGa'-ldan's bones (骸骨) and for members of his family. This requirement provided the Emperor with a purpose, and the approaches made to Ch'ing-hai and Tibet with the opportunities, in the next period, which we shall study in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

THE AFTERMATH (1697-1703)

On 1 August 1697, Chang-shou 常綬, who had been sent to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan with the letter of 2 May 1697, arrived at Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan's camp. Apparently, the news of dGa'-ldan's suicide had been conveyed to Chang-shou while he was on his way. For, Chang-shou demanded from Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan: (1) dGa'-ldan's bones, (2) dGa'-ldan's men and women, i.e. his sons and daughters, etc., and (3) the Ilayuγsan Khutuγtu, who had been sent by the Emperor to the Dalai Lama and dGa'-ldan on 8 February 1689, and who had gone over to dGa'-ldan at the Battles of Wu-erh-hui (26 July 1690) and Ulan Budung (3 September 1690)¹.

Under pressure, Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan handed over the Ilayuγsan Khutuγtu, dGa'-ldan's son Ch'e-ling San-lu-pu 車陵三魯卜 (Tshe-riñ bSam-Grub) and others. Subsequently, the Ilayuγsan Khutuγtu was put to death by the lingering death (凌遲) and his body was cut open (磔誅) at the Yellow Temple at Peking, in the Imperial Presence².

On 4 September 1698, dGa'-ldan's skeleton arrived. The Emperor ordered it to be hanged as a warning to others³.

¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 185, pp. 21a-23a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 10th month, kuei-hai (29 November 1697).

² CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 185, pp. 21a-23a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 10th month, kuei-hai (29 November 1697). Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan's own reply (as distinct from Chang-shou's report) to the Imperial Edict of 2 May 1697, which reached him on 1 August 1697, arrived at Court on 24 February 1698 (CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 187, pp. 3b-5b, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 1st month, keng-yin). The Emperor replied to it on 13 April 1698 (*ibid.*, pp. 16b-18a, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 3rd month, mou-yin). The Imperial Edict of 13 April 1698 is also referred to in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 189, pp. 13a-14a, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 8th month, jen-yin, 4 September 1698. Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan's reply to the Imperial Edict of 13 April 1698 arrived on 4 September 1698 (see Note 3, below).

³ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 189, pp. 14a-b, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 8th month, jen-yin (4 September 1698).

On 15 October 1698, the Emperor wrote to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan again, asking for dGa'-ldan's daughter, Chung-ch'i-hai 鍾齊海 (Jong-cikhai) ⁴. Again, Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan yielded to pressure, and Chung-ch'i-hai (Jongcikai) arrived at the capital on 30 October 1701. She was given in marriage to a Second Class Guardsman, and permitted to live with her brother Se-pu-teng Pa-erh-chu-erh (Tshe-brTan dPal-'byor) ⁵. The "root and branch extirpation" of dGa'-ldan was now, apparently, over.

* * *

We must now turn to Ch'ing-hai. On 8 January 1698, the Emperor received in Court (1) bKra-śis Baatur Taiji, the 10th son of Guši Khan; (2) T'u-hsieh-t'u Tai-ching 土謝圖岱青, *i. e.* Mergen Taiji Tüšiyetü Daicing (he of 4 October 1656, 1666-67, 1674 and 1678?), the eldest son of Ombu (dBon-po) Secen Daicing, the 2nd son of Guši Khan; (3) Na-mu-cha-erh E-erh-te-ni Taiji 那木扎爾額爾德尼台吉 (rNam-rGyal Erdeni Taiji), the eldest son of Mergen Taiji Tüšiyetü Daicing; (4) P'en-ch'u-k'e 盆楚克 (Phun-tshogs?) Taiji, the 4th son of Dayan Khan, the eldest son of Guši Khan; and other Taijis of Ch'ing-hai ⁶. About a month later, the Emperor held a parade south-west of the Yü-ch'üan (Jade Spring) mountains. The Taijis of Ch'ing-hai were present. They looked on "quaking with fear". They gasped in awe and said: "The prowess of the army of the Celestial Court, its martial appearance and its strong valour, such as this, are fearful. We have grown up in barren wastes. Not only have our eyes never seen, and our ears never heard, military prowess such as this, but, faced with it, what enemy can not be overcome?" ⁷

⁴ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 190, pp. 2b-4b, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 9th month, kuei-wei (15 October 1698).

⁵ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 205, pp. 18a-b, K'ang Hsi 40th year, 9th month, kuei-chou (30 October 1701).

⁶ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 186, pp. 7b-8a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 11th month, kuei-mao (8 January 1698). CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 214, p. 10a, K'ang Hsi 42nd year, 11th month, chi-wei (25 December 1703) describes the Ch'ing-hai Taiji P'en-su-k'e 盆蘇克 as the younger brother of Dalai Khan, who can be no other than the *Chos-rGyal* or Dhar-marājä of Tibet. This helps us to identify P'en-ch'u-k'e or P'en-su-k'e as No. 106 of Pelliot's Genealogical Table II. Mergen Taiji Tüšiyetü Daicing and his son, rNam-rGyal Erdeni, are Nos. 109 and 190 in that Table.

⁷ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 186, pp. 16b-17b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 12th month, keng-wu (4 February 1698).

On 15 February 1698, the Emperor bestowed the title of Prince of the First Class (親王) on bKra-śis Baatur. Tüšiyetü Daicing and rNam-rGyal Erdeni were given the title of Beilé, and Phun-tshogs (?) that of Bei-tzü.⁸⁾ Later, Čayan bsTan-'dzin 察罕丹津 (the 3rd son of Bošuytu Jinong, the son of Ilduci, the 5th son of Guši Khan) was given the title of Doroi Beilé⁹⁾.

On 22 July 1698, Pao-chu returned from his second mission to Tibet, with letters from the sDe-pa and the Pan-chen Lama. With regard to the rJe-druñ Khutuγtu, the sDe-pa said that he (the Khutuγtu) was ill, and there would be some delay in sending him. Perhaps the sDe-pa had heard of the fate which had befallen the Ilayuγsan Khutuγtu. With regard to the Pan-chen Lama, Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho said that he would send him in the 3rd month (31 March-29 April 1699) of the 38th year of K'ang Hsi¹⁰⁾. The Pan-chen Lama also memorialised saying that the sDe-pa had not stopped him from going in 1695-96¹¹⁾.

In the 8th month (4 September-3 October 1698) of the year Earth-Tiger (1698), Pao Chu was back in Lhasa, for the 3rd time, to invite the Pan-chen Lama¹²⁾. Through him, the Pan-chen Lama sent a memorial praying the Emperor to excuse him from going to the capital, as he had not had small-pox as yet (and was, therefore, not immune from the disease). This prayer was granted¹³⁾.

* * *

To come now to the South-West. We have already seen the train of events which began with the beating to death of the native chieftain of Ta-chien-lu, She-la Ch'a-pa (= lCags-la rGyal-po?), by the official in

⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 187, p. 2a, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 1st month, hsin-ssu (15 February 1698).

⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 203, pp. 6a-b, K'ang Hsi 40th year, 1st month, mou-wu (9 March 1701). Ch'a-han Tan-chin occurs as Čayan Danjin in Pelliot's Genealogical Table II, No. 210. The 4th son of Bošuytu Jinong was Ken-te-erh (Genter), who was married to dGa'-ldan's daughter.

¹⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 188, p. 15b, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 6th month, mou-wu (22 July 1698); ch. 190, p. 3b, 4b, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 9th month, kwei-wei (15 October 1698); ch. 192, p. 8a, K'ang Hsi 38th year, 2nd month, ting-wei (8 March 1699).

¹¹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 188, p. 16b, K'ang Hsi 37th year, 6th month, mou-wu (22 July 1698).

¹²⁾ 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, p. 287b.

¹³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 192, p. 9a, K'ang Hsi 38th year, 2nd month, ting-wei (8 March 1699).

charge of the "Tibetan lama encampment" (dGa'-ldan 'Gro-phan Gliñ) at Ta-chien-lu, called Tieh-pa (= sDe-pa) Ch'ang-ts'e-chi-lich, in 1699; and ended with the re-capture of Ta-chien-lu by the Manchus on 20 February 1701. A year later (20 February 1702), as we have seen, the Emperor sent the Lama Ta-mu-pa Se-erh-chi 達木巴色爾濟 the Senior Secretary Shu-t'u 舒圖 and the Second Secretary Tieh-t'u 鐵圖 to Ta-chien-lu to supervise the trade. They were instructed to write to the sDe-pa of Tibet (Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho), asking him to send a high-ranking lama to Ta-chien-lu, to jointly supervise the trade with them¹⁴).

Manchu rule was now, obviously, well-established at Tachien-lu. The next step was, through this gate, to enter Eastern Tibet. On 7 August 1702, the Board of War proposed, in reply to an Edict sent to them previously, as follows:

"The Lieutenant-General Man-p'i 滿丕 and the others who were sent to Ta-chien-lu, have submitted a memorandum, saying: 'Ts'e-leng Kun-pu 策冷滾布 (Tshe-riñ mGon-po?) and the others of the territory of Chan-tui 瞻對 (= Ñag-roñ, Nyarong) on the Ya-lung river, and the Lama Pu-mu 布木 and the others of the territory of La-kun 喇滾 (= lHa-dGon?), each brought the tribesmen they commanded and submitted to us. They handed over the seals and credentials which they had had from the Ming dynasty, and prayed that they be given the official position of 5th Grade Tribal Chieftains. (Further, they prayed that) their seals and credentials be exchanged (for new seals and credentials from the Ch'ing dynasty); and that, they be permitted to control the territories of Chan-tui and La-kun, as usual'.

What they pray for should be allowed".

The Emperor allowed this¹⁵).

Manchu influence thus penetrated to Ñag-roñ. On 1 November 1702 (K'ang Hsi 41st year, 9th month, 12th day, keng-shen), the troops at Ta-chien-lu were withdrawn to Cheng-tu¹⁶).

¹⁴ See above, pp. 228-229.

¹⁵ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 208, pp. 18a-b, K'ang Hsi 41st year, intercalary 6th month, chia-wu (7 August 1702).

¹⁶ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 210, p. 7b, K'ang Hsi 41st year, 10th month, i-ssu (16 December 1702).

* * *

To return to Ch'ing-hai. In the summer of 1700, Phyag-na rDo-rJe reported to the Imperial Government that Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan had sent emissaries to the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai. The Emperor dismissed this as inconsequential, for the present, but commended to his advisers the policy which the Han general, Chao Ch'ung-kuo 趙充國 had advocated with regard to Ch'ing-hai, i.e. to plant garrison-farms (屯田)¹⁷⁾.

Whether this commendation was followed up or not, we do not know. In 1702, rNam-rGyal Erdeni Taiji of Ch'ing-hai was refused permission to pasture in Ta-tsoo-tan. "This is one of the territories of the people of the Inner Territory. How can We order them (rNam-rGyal Erdeni and his tribesmen) to go and live there?" This shows that, even after the audience of February 1698, the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai were regarded as outside the Inner Territory of the Empire¹⁸⁾.

This position seems to have changed by the end of 1703. On 22 December 1703, bKra-sis Baatur Taiji, rNam-rGyal Erdeni Taiji, P'en-su-k'e and others came to the Court at Si-an, together with Baatur Erke Jinong of the Ala-shan O-lu-t'e¹⁹⁾. The reason for the Emperor's going to Si-an was to hold a conference with the local officials on the ways and means of tackling the drought in Shen-si. Once again, however, he held an impressive parade, and the title of Doroi Beilé was given to P'en-su-k'e, the younger brother of Dalai Khan of Tibet. The next day, the Emperor gave a banquet to the Taijis²⁰⁾.

It was after this second audience of 25-26 December 1703, that the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai came to be regarded as tributary to the Emperor of

¹⁷⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 200, pp. 5 a-6 a, K'ang Hsi 39th year, 7th month, keng-tzu (23 August 1700). For Chao Ch'ung-kuo, see H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1898, pp. 58-59; *Chung kuo jen ming ta tzu tien* 中國人名大辭典 Shanghai, 1933-34, pp. 1393-94; *Chien Han Shu* 前漢書, ch. 69, lieh chuan 39; H. H. Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku*, II Baltimore, 1944, p. 212 (Hsiao Hsüan, Pen-shih, 2nd year, 72 B.C.), pp. 241-242 (Hsiao Hsüan, Shên Chüeh, 1st year, 61 B. C.); J. F. Rock, *The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and adjacent Regions*, Rome, 1956, p. 29.

¹⁸⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 207, p. 7a, K'ang Hsi 41st year, 1st month, ping-wu (20 February 1702).

¹⁹⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 214, p. 5b, K'ang Hsi 42nd year, 11th month, ping-chen (22 December 1703).

²⁰⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 214, pp. 8b-9b, p. 10a, K'ang Hsi 42nd year, 11th month, chi-wei (25 December 1703); *ibid.*, p. 10b, keng-shen (26 December 1703).

China. In any case, relations with them seem to have been regularised. On 2 March 1705, the Emperor sent an emissary to the obsequies of one Doroi Beile A-chi Kun-pu Baatur, an O-lu-t'e Taiji of Ch'ing-hai²¹. On 29 June 1705, he sent a similar emissary to the obsequies of Dalai Dai-cing²². Later, the Emperor recognised the successors of these two²³. Meanwhile, on 27 May 1705, P'en-su-k'e presented tribute²⁴. On 6 April 1706, the Emperor sent envoys to *his* obsequies²⁵; on 25 August 1706, to those of Erke Baatur²⁶.

Thus we see that, although the search for the live dGa'-ldan ended on 3 June 1697 (when news of his death on 3 May 1697 arrived); and although, for dGa'-ldan's corpse, the Emperor addressed himself to Tshe-dBañ Rab-brTan; so that any reason for approaching the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai or the authorities in Tibet disappeared; yet, in the years 1698-1703, the Emperor of China brought into fruition the policy, which he had initiated during the search for the live dGa'-ldan, by summoning the Taijis of Ch'ing-hai to the Court of Peking in the spring of 1697. By means of two audiences in January-February 1698 and December 1703, the Emperor virtually converted the Taijis to dependents of the Empire. In between the two audiences, the Ch'ing re-established themselves in Ta-chien-lu, and their influence penetrated to Ñag-roñ in Eastern Tibet.

²¹ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 219, p. 7a, K'ang Hsi 44th year, 2nd month, jen-shen (2 March 1705).

²² CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 221, p. 5a, K'ang Hsi 44th year, 5th month, hsin-wei (29 June 1705).

²³ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 221, pp. 16b-17a, K'ang Hsi 44th year, 7th month, keng-chen (6 September 1705).

²⁴ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 220, p. 15a, K'ang Hsi 44th year, intercalary 4th month, mou-hsu (27 May 1705).

²⁵ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 224, p. 16a, K'ang Hsi 45th year, 2nd month, jen-tzu (6 April 1706).

²⁶ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 226, p. 5a, K'ang Hsi 45th year, 7th month, kuei-yu (25 August 1706).

CHAPTER XII.

TRANSITION TO THE 18th CENTURY

In 1703, in Tibet itself, a new Prince, lHa-bZaṅ Khan, succeeded to the office of *Chos-rGyal* or Dharmarājā of Tibet. In 1705, he or his wife put to death the sDe-pa, Saṅs-rGyas rGya-mTsho. "As soon as the sDe-srid (or sDe-pa) had been eliminated, lHa-bZaṅ Khan sent a report of his action to the Emperor. K'ang Hsi heartily approved of it"¹⁾.

On 25 November 1706, K'ang Hsi issued the following Edict to his Grand Secretaries:

Formerly, at the time of the sending of the Captain-General of the Guards, Hsi-chu 席柱, to go and seize the false Dalai Lama and the wife and children of the sDe-pa, the Imperial Sons and high officials all said: "Having seized the false Dalai Lama, what shall we do with him?" We thought that since the Mongols wholeheartedly seek refuge in the Dalai Lama, (therefore,) although this was a false Dalai Lama, yet (because) he bore the name of Dalai Lama, they would all submit to him. If We did not send men to go and seize him, with an Order from the Court (to that effect); if he were met by Tshe-dBaṅ Rab-brTan; then, the Mongols of the Western Regions would all move towards Tshe-dBaṅ Rab-brTan. Therefore, We sent, specially, Hsi-chu to go forward (to Tibet). When Hsi-chu and the others arrived at that place (Lhasa), (they found that) Tshe-dBaṅ Rab-brTan had, indeed, ordered his men to go and meet the Dalai Lama. Thus We see that if We had not sent men to go forward, the false Dalai Lama would certainly have gone to Tshe-dBaṅ Rab-brTan. (Although) the Muslims and Mon-

¹⁾ L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century, History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet*, Leiden, 1950, pp. 10-11; VSP, pp. xi-xii (Petech's Foreword); *Annals of Koko-nor*, p. 438.

gols of the Western Regions are, at present, very weak, and to wish to seize them would be very easy, yet, to annex their territory (would not be profitable, as) it is not fit for cultivation. (Neither would it be profitable) to seize their people (as) they are not fit to be put to work. Moreover, at present, they all obey the regulations respectfully. Therefore, We shall not seize them. We think that the Chinese Grand Secretaries and the Nine Ministers do not understand these facts very well. You, the (Manchu) Grand Secretaries, may make known (this) Our Edict to them ²⁾.

The next day, a second Edict was issued, to the following effect:

When the former (fifth) Dalai Lama was alive, for 60 years there was not a single trouble outside the border (塞外). Everything was peaceful. One knew by this the uncommonness of his conduct. Later, the (fifth) Dalai Lama died. Although the sDe-pa did not speak (of it), even so, seeing the expressions of the memorials which were sent up, (We could see that) it was not the style (語氣) of the former Dalai Lama. Thus, We knew that he was dead. We sent envoys to investigate and obtained a complete picture of the deception. From the time of the death of the Dalai Lama, the sDe-pa has been following the teaching of dGa'-ldan and has created trouble in every quarter ³⁾.

* * *

Before this, (when) the (fifth) Dalai Lama died, the sDe-pa hid the news, and involved the Khalkhas and the O-lu-t'e in mutual enmity and killing, (which) troubled and oppressed all living beings. Fur-

²⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 227, pp. 9a-b, K'ang Hsi 45th year, 10th month, i-ssu (25 November 1706). The Nine Great Ministers were the heads of the Six Boards, the head of the Censorate (都察院), the head of the Office of Transmission (通政院) and the head of the Grand Court of Revision (大理寺). The Nine Lesser Ministers were the heads of the Five Courts (1. the Grand Court of Revision 大理寺, 2. the Court of Sacrificial Worship 太常寺, 3. the Court of the Imperial Stud 太僕寺, 4. the Court of Imperial Entertainments 光祿寺 and 5. the Court of State Ceremonial 鴻臚寺), the Censorate, the Office of Transmission, the Han-lin College and the Imperial Academy.

³⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 227, p. 10a, K'ang Hsi 45th year, 10th month, ping-wu (26 November 1706).

ther, he sent up a false Dalai Lama in order to mislead the people. Furthermore, he poisoned La-tsang 拉藏 (lHa-bZaṅ), and since he did not die, he drove him out (from Lhasa). Therefore, lHa-bZaṅ nurtured hatred (towards the sDe-pa) and raised troops. He seized the sDe-pa and killed him. He memorialised extensively regarding the facts of the false Dalai Lama.

Therefore, the Emperor ordered the Captain-General of the Guards, Hsi-chu, and the Sub-Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat, Shu-lan 舒蘭, to go as envoys and to bestow on lHa-bZaṅ the title of "The Reverent and Obedient Khan, who respects the (Buddhist) Faith" (翊法恭順汗). (Further), the Emperor ordered (lHa-bZaṅ) to seize the false Dalai Lama and to send him to Peking. Because the seizure and sending under escort of the false Dalai Lama would certainly bring about a disturbance among the Lamas, (therefore), lHa-bZaṅ did not conform (to the Imperial Order). Hsi-chu and the others reported this. The Emperor issued an Edict to the high officials, saying:

' Although lHa-bZaṅ has not, for the present, conformed (to Our Order), later, he will certainly himself seize him (the false Dalai Lama) and come to present him to Us '. Now, the Lama Phyag-na rDo-rJe, who was stationed at Hsi-ning, really reported that lHa-bZaṅ had despatched the false Dalai Lama to Peking, exactly as the Emperor had calculated. Everyone was astonished (at the Emperor's foresight) ⁴⁾.

Before the end of the 45th year of K'ang Hsi, the Board of Dependencies memorialised:

The Lama Phyag-na rDo-rJe, who is stationed at Hsi-ning, reports: ' The false Dalai Lama, who had been sent under escort by lHa-bZaṅ, came to outside the pass of Hsi-ning, and died there of disease '. The false Dalai Lama's behaviour was perverse and disorderly. Since he has now died on the way, of disease, we ought to send a despatch to Phyag-na rDo-rJe, (ordering him) to abandon the corpse.

The Emperor approved of this (proposal of the Board of Dependencies) ⁵⁾.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 24a-25a, K'ang Hsi 45th year, 12th month, ting-hai (6 January 1707).

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 28b, K'ang Hsi 45th year, 12th month, keng-hsü (29 January 1707).

With the killing of the sDe-pa Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho, the deposition and death of the sixth Dalai Lama, and the accession to undisputed power in Tibet of the last Khošot *Chos-rGyal* or Dharmarājā of Tibet, lHa-bZaṅ Khan, we begin a new chapter in the history of Tibet and of Sino-Tibetan relations. At this point we stop, and Professor Petech begins his story ⁶⁾.

We leave the 17th cent. with the political authority of the Dalai Lama extinguished in Mongolia, the Ala-shan O-lu-t'e integrated into the Imperial Banner system, the Ch'ing firmly established in Ch'ing-hai, Ta-chien-lu annexed to the Ch'ing Empire, and the shadow of the Ch'ing cast over Ñag-roṅ and into Tibet.

⁶⁾ L. Petech, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.

NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY

With regard to Chinese Chronology, I have used, as most researchers in the field of Chinese history use, the tables in P. Hoang, *Concordance des Chronologies néoméniques chinoise et Européenne*, Shanghai, 1910. A. C. Moule, W. P. Yetts, *The Rulers of China*, 221 B. C.—A. D. 1949, London, 1957, has also proved useful.

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Generally speaking, I have followed Professor Petech's statement that the "Hor months" of Tibetan reckoning are the Chinese months—see L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th Century*, Leiden 1950, pp. 6-7. The difference, as he says, lies in the systems of intercalation. This, however, makes a somewhat greater difference than he would have us believe. To give two examples from the late 17th cent.:

(1)

Śiñ-Khyi (Wood-Dog):

Chia-hsü 甲戌:

5th Hor month	5th month (24 May-21 June 1694).
6th Hor month	intercalary 5th month (22 June-21 July 1694).
7th Hor month	6th month (22 July-20 August 1694).
8th Hor month	7th month (21 August-18 September 1694).
the former 9th Hor month	8th month (19 September-18 October 1694).
the latter 9th Hor month	9th month (19 October-16 November 1694).
10th Hor month	10th month (17 November-16 December 1694).

(2)

Sa-Yos (Wood-Hare):

Chi-mao 己卯:

the former 5th Hor month	5th month (29 May-26 June 1699).
the latter 5th Hor month	6th month (27 June-26 July 1699).
6th Hor month	7th month (27 July-24 August 1699).
7th Hor month	intercalary 7th month (25 August-22 September 1699).
8th Hor month	8th month (23 September-22 October 1699).

In both cases, the difference is made up within the course of a year. Usually, however the difference runs over two successive years, e.g.

(3)

Me-Byi (Fire-Mouse):

Ping-Tzu 丙子:

the former 8th Hor month	8th month (27 August-25 September 1696).
the latter 8th Hor month	9th month (26 September-25 October 1696).
9th Hor month	10th month (26 October-24 November 1696).
10th Hor month	11th month (25 November-23 December 1696).
11th Hor month	12th month (24 December 1696-22 January 1697).

Ting-ch'ou 丁丑:

12th Hor month 1st month (23 January-20 February 1697).

Me-Glan (Fire-Ox):

1st Hor month 2nd month (21 February-22 March 1697).
 2nd Hor month 3rd month (23 March-20 April 1697).
 3rd Hor month intercalary 3rd month (21 April-19 May 1697).
 4th Hor month 4th month (20 May-18 June 1697).

In one case, it seems that the difference is not made up till twenty months have elapsed, viz.,

(4)

Sa-Phag (Earth-Hog):

Chi-hai 己亥 (1659):

the former 12th Hor month . . . 12th month (12 January-10 February 1660).

Keng-tzu 庚子:

the latter 12th Hor month . . . 1st month (11 February-10 March 1660).

ICags-Byi (Iron-Mouse):

1st Hor month 2nd month (11 March-9 April 1660).
 2nd Hor month 3rd month (10 April-8 May 1660).
 3rd Hor month 4th month (9 May-7 June 1660).
 4th Hor month 5th month (8 June-6 July 1660).
 5th Hor month 6th month (7 July-5 August 1660).
 6th Hor month 7th month (6 August-4 September 1660).
 7th Hor month 8th month (5 September-3 October 1660).
 8th Hor month 9th month (4 October-2 November 1660).
 9th Hor month 10th month (3 November-1 December 1660).
 10th Hor month 11th month (2-31 December 1660).
 11th Hor month 12th month (1-29 January 1661).

Hsin-ch'ou 辛丑:

12th Hor month 1st month (30 January-28 February 1661).

ICags-Glan (Iron-Ox):

1st Hor month 2nd month (1-30 March 1661).
 2nd Hor month 3rd month (30 March-28 April 1661).
 3rd Hor month 4th month (29 April-27 May 1661).
 4th Hor month 5th month (28 May-25 June 1661).

5th Hor month.	6th month (26 June–25 July 1661).
6th Hor month.	7th month (26 July–24 August 1661).
7th Hor month.	intercalary 7th month (25 August–22 September 1661).
8th Hor month.	8th month (23 September–22 October 1661).

If this is right, then, the date given by Professor Petech as that of the accession of the *Jai-saṅ sDe-pa*, namely, “about 18 August 1660”, being the equivalent of the 13th day of the 7th Hor month of the year Iron-Mouse—see L. Petech, «The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet», *T'oung Pao*, 1959, p. 378—ought to be read as “about 17 September 1660”, because the 7th Hor month is the 8th Chinese month in the year Iron-Mouse/Keng-tzu.

There are also intercalary *days* in the Tibetan calendar. In the 6th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, for instance, we hear of the following intercalary days:

- (1) p. 123a: Sa-sBrul (Earth-Serpent)/chi-ssu/1689, 8th Hor month, the latter 8th day.
- (2) p. 200b: Me-Glañ (Fire-Ox)/ting-ch'ou/1697, 10th Hor month, the former of two (literally, “twice-constructed”, *gñis-brTsegs*) 25th days.
- (3) p. 286b: Sa-sTag (Earth-Tiger)/mou-yin/1698, 8th Hor month, the latter of two 12th days.
- (4) p. 505b: lCags-sBrul (Iron-Serpent)/hsin-ssu/1701, 8th Hor month, the former 14th day, the latter 14th day.

It is, probably, such intercalary days which account for the slight discrepancies between Tibetan and Chinese dates. For example, the date of the Dalai Lama's arrival at the Court of the Emperor Shun Chih is given in CSL, Shih Tsu, ch. 70, pp. 20a–b, as Shun Chih 9th year, 12th month, kuei-ch'ou = 14 January 1653. In the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, I, p. 197b, the date is given as Chu-'Brug (Water-Dragon), 12th Hor month, 16th day (*chia-yin*) = 15 January 1653.

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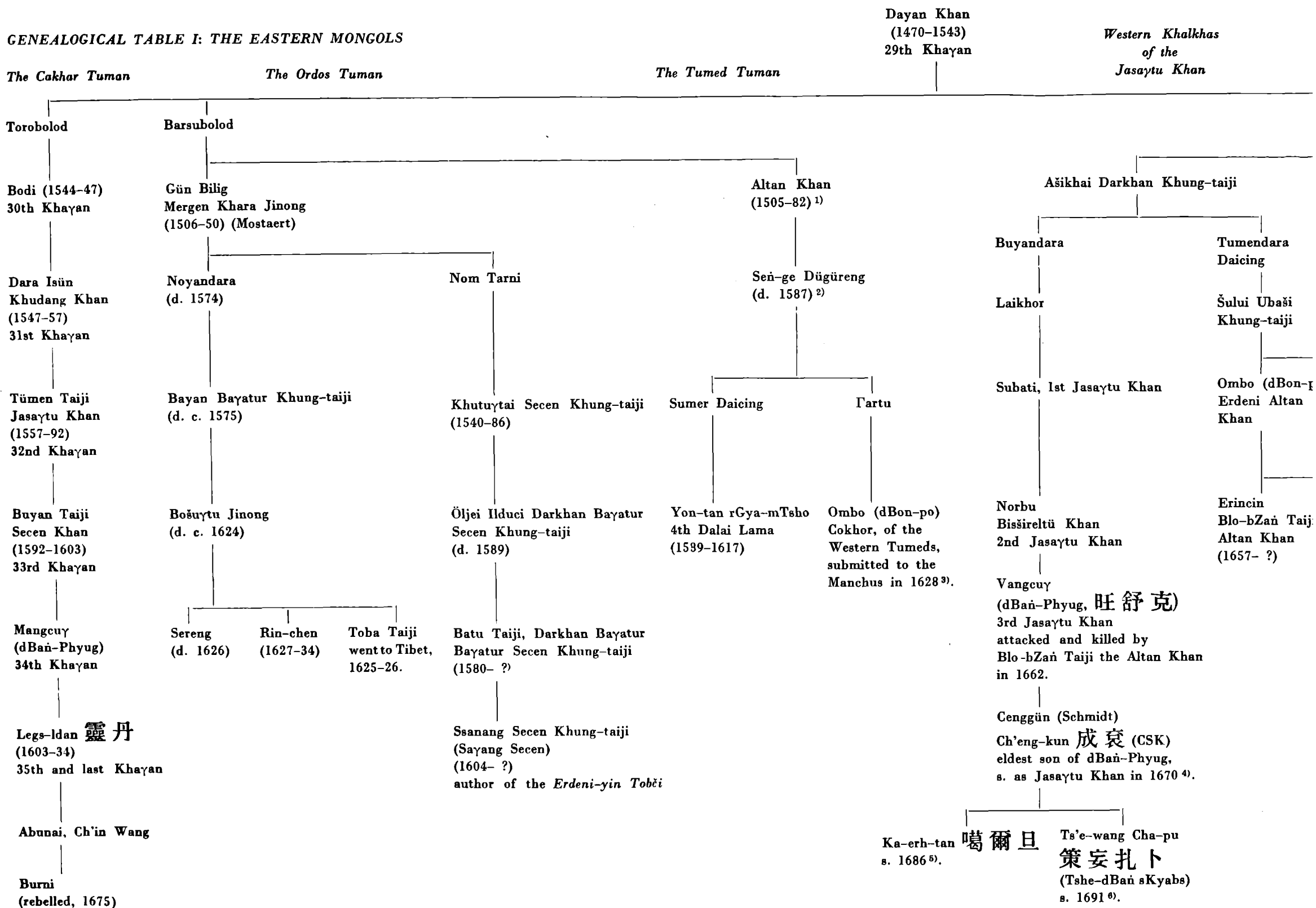
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GENEALOGICAL TABLE I: THE EASTERN MONGOLS



¹⁾ Altan Khan. See Ch. III, Note 6.

²⁾ Seň-ge Duguruň, d. 1587. 3rd Dalai Lama's rNam-Thar, p. 104 b.

³⁾ 俄木布楚虎爾 in CSL, T'ai Tsung, ch. 38, p. 5 a, Ch'ung Te 2nd year, 8th month, keng-tzu (22 September 1637).

⁴⁾ "In the 9th year of K'ang Hsi (1670), a special Decree was issued making the son (of the late Jasaytu Khan) succeed as Jasaytu Khan"—CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 97, p. 8 a, K'ang Hsi 20th year, 8th month, hsin-chou (2 October 1681). Schmidt,

Die Volksstämme der Mongolen, p. 469, gives the name gun, but says that he was the younger brother of W.

⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 125, pp. 12 b-13 a, K' (23 April 1686). Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 469, mention does not say expressly that he succeeded Tsenggun

⁶⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 151, pp. 7 b-8 a, K'ang (28 May 1691).

Dayan Khan
(1470-1543)
29th Khayan

Western Khalkhas
of the
Jasaytu Khan

Northern Khalkhas
of the
Tüsiyetü Khan

Middle Khalkhas
of the
Sain Noyan

Eastern Khalkhas
of the
Setzen Khan

Geresanda Jelair Khung-taiji

Ašikhai Darkhan Khung-taiji

Üijeng Noyan Unuḡo

Amin Dural

Buyandara

Tumendara
Daicing

Abatai
Wadshirai Sain Khan

Tümengken Sain Noyan

Moro Buima

Laikhor

Šului Ubaši
Khung-taiji

Eriyekei
Mergen Khan

(2nd son)
Danjin (bsTan-'dzin)
Lama, Nom Khan

(9th son)
Vimalākṛiti
Baatur Erdeni
Noyon 7).

(13th son)
Gumbo (mGon-po)
Kündülen Bušoḡtu 8)

Šului
Secen Khan
d. 1655

Subati, 1st Jasaytu Khan

Ombo (dBon-po)
Erdeni Altan
Khan

Gumbo (mGon-po)
Ildeng
(Eastern Khalkhas of
the Inner Division)

Gumbo (mGon-po)
Tüsiyetü Khan

Tasjab

Babu
d. 1685

Norbu
Bisšireltü Khan
2nd Jasaytu Khan

Erincin
Blo-bZaḡ Taiji,
Altan Khan
(1657- ?)

Oendur Torultu
(Mañjuśri Khutuytu)

Tsagun rDo-rJe
2nd Tushiyetu Khan
submitted to the Manchus
1691.

rJe-bTsun dam-pa
Xutuytu

Šamba
Itegemjitü Eyetei
Erke Daicing

信順額爾克岱青

Norbu
d. 1687

Vangcuy

(dBaḡ-Phyug, 旺舒克)

3rd Jasaytu Khan
attacked and killed by
Blo-bZaḡ Taiji the Altan Khan
in 1662.

Cenggün (Schmidt)

Ch'eng-kun 成袞 (CSK)
eldest son of dBaḡ-Phyug,
s. as Jasaytu Khan in 1670 4).

Ildeng Arabtau
伊爾登阿喇
d. 1688.

Ka-erh-tan 噶爾旦
s. 1686 5).

Ts'e-wang Cha-pu
策妄扎卜
(Tshe-dBaḡ sKyabs)
s. 1691 6).

Wu-me-he 吳默

Die Volksstämme der Mongolen, p. 469, gives the name of the 4th Jasaytu Khan as Tseng-gun, but says that he was the younger brother of Wangshuk (dBaḡ-Phyug).

5) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 125, pp. 12 b-13 a, K'ang Hsi 25th year, 4th month, i-yu (23 April 1686). Schmidt, op. cit., p. 469, mentions Schara as the son of Tsenggun, but does not say expressly that he succeeded Tsenggun.

6) CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 151, pp. 7 b-8 a, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 5th month, ping-hsü (28 May 1691).

7) 畢馬拉吉里第 in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 122, pp. 26 b-27 a, K'ang Hsi 24th year, 10th month, jen-tzu (21 November 1685).

8) 崑都倫博碩克圖 in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 145, p. 10 a, K'ang Hsi 29th year, 4th month, chia-tzu (11 May 1690). 崑都崙博碩克圖滾卜 in CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 151, p. 12 b, K'ang Hsi 30th year, 5th month, mou-tzu (30 May 1691).

g

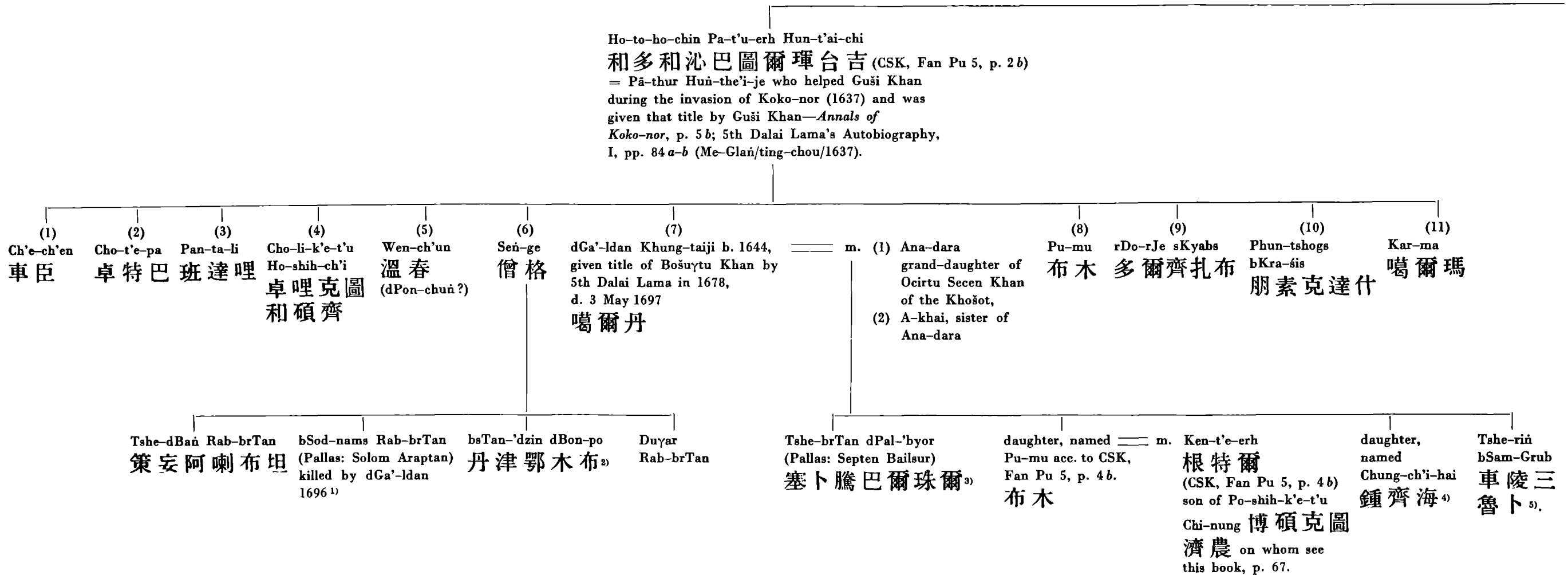
Γartu

no (dBon-po)
nor, of the
tern Tumedes,
aitted to the
chus in 1628 3).

b.

Te 2nd year,

issued making
, Sheng Tsu,
(81). Schmidt,



¹⁾ Señ-ge's son, bSod-nams Rab-brTan is mentioned in Sais-rGyas rGya-mTsho's Supplement V, pp. 51 b-52 a [Śiñ-Byi, 5th Hor month, 19th day (chia-tzu, 5th month, 19th day = 1 July 1684)]. He was killed by dGa'-ldan—CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 174, p. 18 a, K'ang Hsi 35th year, 7th month, mou-wu (1 August 1696).

²⁾ Pallas, I, p. 42, says that Solom Araptan and Dandschin Ombo were both killed by dGa'-ldan, but bsTan-'dzin dBon-po is mentioned in a number of CSL documents after the Battle of Jao Modo (12 June 1696): Sheng Tsu, ch. 176, p. 8 a (7 October 1696); ch. 177, p. 15 a (20 November 1696); ch. 181, p. 18 a (14 April 1697); ch. 182, p. 10 a (30 April 1697).

³⁾ Captured by the Ch'ing: CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 179, p. 7 b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 1st month, keng-wu (9 February 1697); also, ch. 224, p. 13 b (26 March 1706).

⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 183, p. 7 b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 4th month, chia-tzu (3 June 1697); also ch. 205, pp. 18 a-b (30 October 1701).

⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 185, pp. 21 b-22 a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 10th month, kuei-hai (29 November 1697).

⁶⁾ Pelliot's Genealogical Table I gives the order of Cükür Ubaši's sons as follows: Lobjang-Khutuytu, Ananda, Baya Bandi, Lobjang Cering (= Lao-chang), Lobjang

Erincin (= E-lin-Pa-ha Pan-ti occ p. 94 b [ICags-Kh *ibid.*, p. 107 b [ICa 21 March 1671]).

⁷⁾ CSK, Fan or son-in-law) of Ubaši, the 4th son

a-t'u-erh Hun-t'ai-chi

巴圖爾琿台吉 (CSK, Fan Pu 5, p. 2 b)

the 'i-je who helped Guši Khan

son of Koko-nor (1637) and was

son of Guši Khan—*Annals of*

the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography,

—Glan/ting-chou/1637).

Cükür Taiji (Pallas)

楚虎爾吳巴錫

alive in 1689, acc. to CSL, Sheng

Tsu, ch. 143, pp. 5 a-b,

K'ang Hsi 28th year, 11th month

ping-chen (3 January 1690).

b. 1644,
Khan by
18,

m. (1) Ana-dara
grand-daughter of
Ocirtu Secen Khan
of the Khošot,
(2) A-khai, sister of
Ana-dara

(8)
Pu-mu
布木

(9)
rDo-rJe sKyabs
多爾濟扎布

(10)
Phun-tshogs
bKra-sis
朋素克達什

(11)
Kar-ma
噶爾瑪

Tshe-brTan dPal-'byor
(Pallas: Septen Bailsur)
塞卜騰巴爾珠爾³⁾

daughter, named
Pu-mu acc. to CSK,
Fan Pu 5, p. 4 b.
布木

m. Ken-t'e-erh
根特爾
(CSK, Fan Pu 5, p. 4 b)
son of Po-shih-k'e-t'u
Chi-nung 博碩克圖
濟農 on whom see
this book, p. 67.

daughter,
named
Chung-ch'i-hai
鍾齊海⁴⁾

Tshe-riñ
bSam-Grub
車陵三
魯卜⁵⁾.

Baya Ban-de;
Bā-khan Ban-de (5th
Dalai Lama's Autobiography,
II, p. 94b, p. 107 b);
Baga-mandschi (Pallas);
Pa-ha Pan-ti 巴合班第
(CSK, Fan Pu 3, p. 11 b);
Pan-ti 班第 (CSL, as above)⁶⁾.

Ananda
阿南達

Blo-bZañ Khutuytu
羅卜藏胡土克圖

Lao-chang
勞章

E-lin-ch'en
額林臣

rDo-rJe Tshe-brTan
多爾濟塞卜騰

Han-tu
憨都⁷⁾

rGya-mTsho's
u, 5th month,
h. 174, p. 18 a,

³⁾ Captured by the Ch'ing: CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 179, p. 7b, K'ang Hsi 36th year,
1st month, keng-wu (9 February 1697); also, ch. 224, p. 13b (26 March 1706).

⁴⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 183, p. 7 b, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 4th month, chia-tzu (3
June 1697); also ch. 205, pp. 18 a-b (30 October 1701).

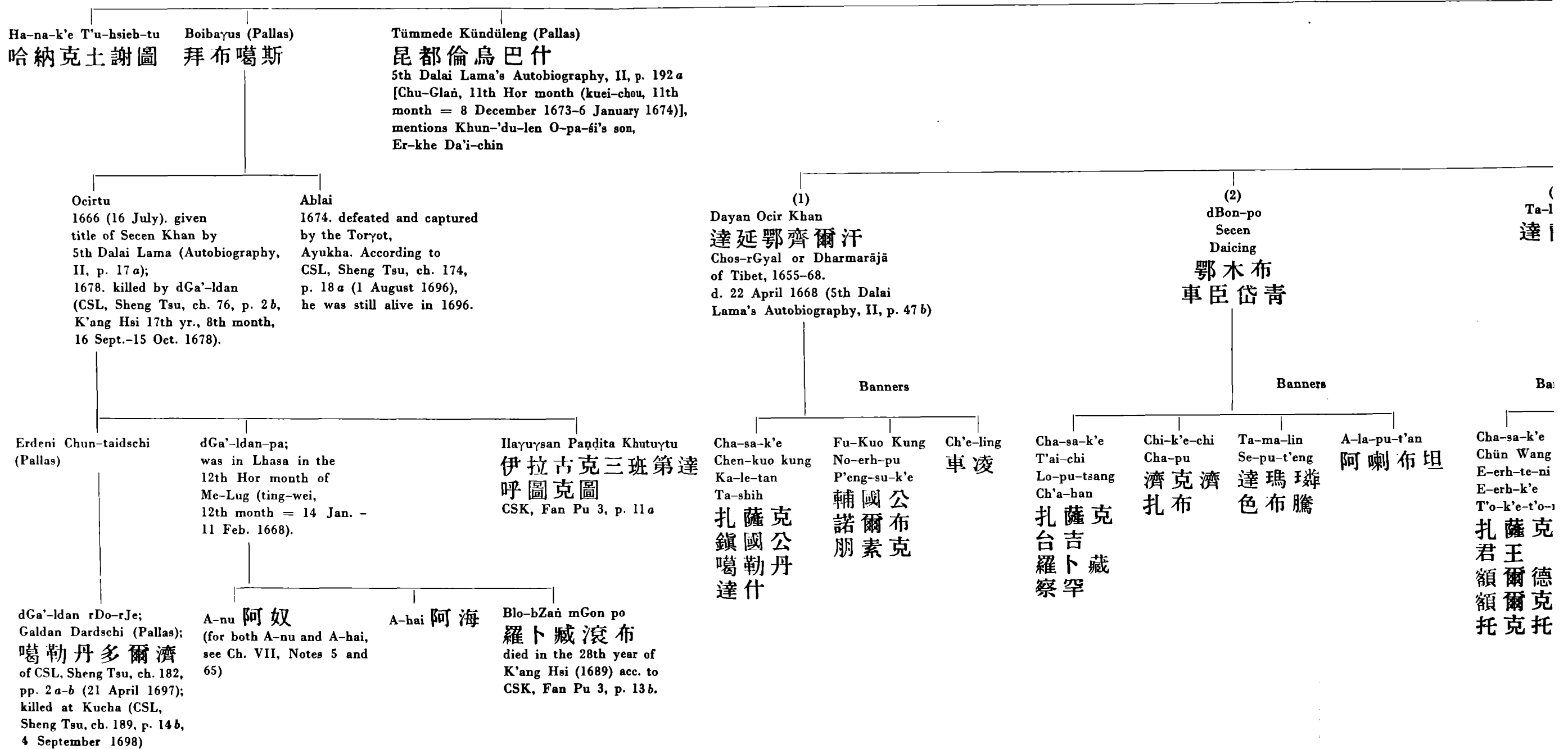
⁵⁾ CSL, Sheng Tsu, ch. 185, pp. 21 b-22 a, K'ang Hsi 36th year, 10th month, kuei-
hai (29 November 1697).

⁶⁾ Pelliot's Genealogical Table I gives the order of Cükür Ubaši's sons as follows:
Lobjang-Khutuytu, Ananda, Baya Bandi, Lobjang Cering (= Lao-chang), Lobjang

Erincin (= E-lin-ch'en). Pelliot's Baya Bandi, Pallas's Bagamandschi and the CSK's
Pa-ha Pan-ti occurs as Bā-khan Ban-de in the 5th Dalai Lama's Autobiography, II,
p. 94 b [ICags-Khyi, 3rd Hor month (keng-hsu, 3rd month = 20 April-18 May 1670)];
ibid., p. 107 b [ICags-Phag, 2nd Hor month, 11th day (hsin-hai, 2nd month, 11th day =
21 March 1671)].

⁷⁾ CSK, Fan Pu 3, p. 11 b, says that Han-tu was the *sheng* 甥 (either sister's son,
or son-in-law) of Ho-lo-li, Baatur Erke Jinong, son of Bayan Abukhai Ayuši Dalai
Ubaši, the 4th son of Guši Khan (see Genealogical Table III).

: both killed by
ocuments after
1696); ch. 177,
30 April 1697).



Khan Noyon Khongyor (Pallas) 哈尼諾顏洪果爾 (CSK)

(3)
Ta-lan-t'ai
達蘭泰

Banners

tsa-k'e
in Wang
rh-te-ni
rh-k'e
-k'e-t'o-nai
薩克
王爾克
爾克托
克托兼

T'ai-chi
Ch'e-ling
To-erh-chi
台車多
吉凌爾濟

Ho-lo-li
Pa-t'u-erh
E-erh-k'e
Chi-nung
和囉理
巴圖爾克
額爾克農

Me-erh-ken
墨爾根

E-erh-k'e
額爾克

Tu-la-le
都喇勒

Ha-shih-ha
哈什哈

T'o-yin
陀音

T'u-hsieh-t'u
Lo-pu-ts'ang
土謝圖
羅卜藏

Po-ti
博第

To-erh-ch'i
Cha-pu
多爾齊
扎布

No-erh-pu
Cha-mu-su
諾爾布
扎木素

Ai-po-kuo-t'e
愛博果特

O-mu-pu
鄂木布

Cha-pu
扎布

A-nan-ta
阿南達

I-t'e-ke-le
伊特格勒

Pa-t'e
巴特

(4)
Pa-yen A-pu-kai A-yü-shih Ta-lai Wu-pa-shih
巴延阿布該阿玉什達賴烏巴什

The Ala-shan O-lu-t'e

T'u-lu-pai-hu 圖魯拜琥
 Guši Khan 顧實汗
 (1582-1655)
 Chos-rGyal or Dharmarāja of Tibet
 (1642-1655)

Se-leng Ha-tan Pa-t'u-erh
 色校哈坦巴圖爾

Buyan Otkhun Baatur (Pallas)
 布雅鄂特歡
 Pu-ya O-t'e-huan

(5)
 I-le-tu-chi
 伊勒都濟

(6)
 To-erh-chi
 Ta-lai Pa-t'u-erh
 多爾齊達賴巴圖爾
 Dallai Chun-taidschi
 (Pallas)

(7)
 Hu-lu-mu-shih E-erh-te-ni
 Tai-ch'ing
 瑚嚕木什額爾德尼
 岱青

(8)
 Sang-ka-erh-cha
 I-le-teng
 桑噶爾扎
 伊勒登

(9)
 Kun-pu Ch'a-hun
 袞布察琿

(10)
 Ta-shih Pa-t'u
 達什巴圖爾

Banners

Banners

Banners

Banner

Cha-pu A-nan-ta I-t'e-ke-le Pa-t'e-pa
 布扎布阿南達伊特格勒巴特巴

Cha-sa-k'e Ch'in Wang Ch'a-han Tan-chin 扎薩克 親王 察罕 丹津	Fu-Kuo Kung A-la-pu-t'an Cha-mu-su 輔國公 阿喇卜坦 扎木素	T'ai-chi Ch'a-han La-pu-t'an 台吉 察罕 喇布坦
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Cha-sa-k'e Pei-le P'eng-su-k'e Wang-cha-le 扎薩克 貝勒 朋素克 旺扎勒	Ta-shih Ch'e-ling Ha-chi 達什 車凌 哈吉	I-shih To-le Cha-pu 伊什 多勒 扎布
--	--	---

Cha-sa-k'e Pei-tzu Tan-pa 扎薩克 貝子 丹巴	T'ai-chi Se-pu-t'eng Po-shih-k'e-t'u. 台吉 布騰 色布騰 博碩克圖
--	--

Cha-sa-k'e Pei-tzu So-no-mu Ta-shih 扎薩克 貝子 索諾木 達什
--

Lo-tsang Tar
 羅臧丹

CORRIGENDA

(1) P. 39, line 26; p. 167, lines 12–13; p. 183, line 16. *Las-'brel*. The correct translation of *las-'brel*, which I have translated as “working relationship”, is “karma relationship” or “karmic relationship”. What the 5th Dalai Lama meant was that, having, in his previous birth as Mañjuśrī, had a relationship with Mañjughoṣa, for the purpose of converting China to Buddhism, he might, in his present re-incarnation as the Dalai Lama, have a similar relationship with the re-incarnation of Mañjughoṣa, namely, the Emperor of China, for a similar purpose, namely, the conversion of China, Tibet and Mongolia to the dGe-lugs-pa faith.

(2) P. 69, line 19; p. 197, line 26; p. 198, line 2; p. 294, lines 4–5. The *-ch'eng-erh* of *Huang-ch'eng-erh* represents, of course, the Eastern Turki *jəngəl*, “jungle”.

(3) P. 101, line 30; p. 103, line 22; p. 115, line 13; p. 131, lines 2–3; p. 133, line 13; p. 144, line 21. *Bod śiñ-sgo-can*, which I have translated as “Tibet, the land of wooden doors” or “Tibet, with its wooden doors”, refers, really, to the settled parts of Tibet, where houses with wooden doors are to be found, as distinct from the nomadic parts, where such houses are not to be found. See R. Stein, *La Civilisation Tibétaine*, Paris, 1962, pp. 83–84.

(4) P. 209, line 24; p. 210, line 15; p. 211, lines 30–31. *San Ka-erh-ma*. *Kar-ma* is the name of the territory in Kham from which the *Kar-ma-pa* lamas derive their name. *San Ka-erh-ma* or “the three *Kar-mas*” could, therefore, mean “the three parts (or districts) of *Kar-ma*”.

(5) P. 228, Note 72. The *lieh* of *Ch'ang ts'e chi lieh* is probably the Tibetan *lHos*, “a place where many lived huddled together; . . . pen, fold, enclosure for cattle”—S. C. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 1338, col. 1.