

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

XLVII

CH'ING DYNASTY INSCRIPTIONS  
AT LHASA

BY

H. E. RICHARDSON



ROMA

ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

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**TUTTI I DIRITTI RISERVATI**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- Das = *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta 1902.  
J = M. Jametel  
JA = *Journal Asiatique*  
JBORS = *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*  
JOS = *Journal of the Oriental Society Hongkong*  
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*  
R = W. W. Rockhill  
RAS = Royal Asiatic Society  
TPS = *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, G. Tucci, Rome, 1949





CH'ING DYNASTY INSCRIPTIONS AT LHASA



## INTRODUCTION

Edicts by Emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty and similar documents relating to Tibet can be studied by sinologists in such works as *Hsi-tsang pei-wên*, *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, *Kao-tsung shih-lu* etc. Many of the Chinese inscriptions at Lhasa are mentioned by W. W. Rockhill in a list drawn from *Hsi-tsang pei-wên* which he cites in *JRAS* 1881. L. A. Waddell repeats it in *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London 1906 p. 424. Some of the more important edicts have been translated into French by M. Jametel and into English by Rockhill, Waddell, and Sir Charles Bell in works to which detailed reference will be made later. The following list enumerates all Ch'ing dynasty inscriptions at Lhasa of which I am aware. The position of each is indicated on a sketch map on which, to complete the record, the sites of inscriptions of earlier periods have been shown. The map represents Lhasa before the Chinese occupation in 1951. The city has undergone considerable changes since then and it is not certain whether the various inscribed pillars and tablets are still where they used to be.

1. Imperial Edict of 1721. The Dzungar Edict, in four languages (p. 5).
2. Inscription of 1720. "Honour for a Hundred Generations". (p. 17).
3. Inscription of 1720 by General Galbi (p. 17).
4. Inscription of 1720 by officers of the Shensi supply area (p. 17).
5. Inscription by Chamdo and Szechwan troops (p. 18).
6. Inscription of 1721 by Mongolian Szechwan and Yunnan troops (p. 19).
7. Inscription c. 1721 in honour of Tshul-khrims bzang-po. (p. 20).
8. Inscription of 1728 by Jalangga and others (p. 20).

9. Inscription of 1729 by Mailu (p. 22).

(nos. 2 to 9 are on different parts of the rock at the eastern end of the Potala hill. They are in Chinese only).

10. Small wooden panel recording the foundation of a chapel at Grwa-bzhi, dated 1761, in Chinese and Tibetan (p. 22).
11. Imperial edict of 1792. The Gorkha Edict, in four languages (p. 39).
12. Stone tablets of 1793, opposite the Jo-khang, commemorating the victory over the Gorkhas. In Chinese only (p. 48).
13. Stone tablet of 1793 regarding the establishment of a Ge-sar chapel on the Bar-ma-ri. In Chinese only (p. 53).
14. Stone tablet of 1793 commemorating the murder of the two Ambans in 1750. In Chinese and Manchu (p. 54).
15. The Smallpox Edict of 1794; in Tibetan and Chinese (p. 55).
16. Stone pillar at Kun-bde-gling, dated 1794; in Chinese and Tibetan. (p. 61).
17. Stone tablet at Grwa-bzhi on military matters, c. 1795; in Chinese only. (p. 64).
18. Stone tablets of 1808 at the Jo-khang concerning the selection of the Ninth Dalai Lama; in four languages. (p. 64).
19. Stone tablet of unknown date and subject in the Jo-khang; in Tibetan and Chinese. (p. 52).

The page references in the above list show where each inscription is discussed below. The Tibetan texts of nos. 1, 10, 11, 15, 16 and 18 are transcribed and translated. So far as I am aware none of the Tibetan texts have been published before except for that of the Smallpox Edict.

## 1. THE DZUNGAR EDICT

The inscription, which is in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan, covers the north and south faces of a tablet of highly-polished dark-coloured stone standing on a carved stone tortoise in a small yellow pavilion, with a tiled pagoda roof, on the north side of the road that runs past the village of Zhol at the foot of the south face of the Potala hill. The pavilion is on the opposite side of the road from the tall pillar on which are related the achievements of the eighth century minister, Ngan-lam sTag-sgra Klu-khong. The Gorkha Edict (no. 11) is in a similar pavilion some thirty yards to the west. Photographs can be seen in *Lhasa* by Percival Landon, vol. II, p. 196, *Lhasa and its Mysteries* by L. A. Waddell, p. 336, *The People of Tibet* by Sir Charles Bell, p. 14. and in *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa* by H. E. Richardson. In 1904 the pavilions were surrounded by walled enclosures but by the time of Bell's visit in 1921 the walls had been removed; and when I first saw them in 1936 the pavilions were open to the road with people sitting on the steps and children playing inside. In 1949 the Tibetan Government boarded up the entrances and put a policeman on duty near the pavilions.

During his visit in 1921 Sir Charles Bell had copies made of the Tibetan texts of the Dzungar, Gorkha, and Smallpox edicts (nos. 1, 11, and 15) and he translated them with the help of Tibetan scholars including some of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's teachers. Those papers came into my care on Bell's death and I began to study them while I was at Lhasa from 1946 to 1950. When necessary I examined the inscriptions myself or sent a reliable assistant to do so. Whenever any particular point in Bell's copies was compared with the original the level of accuracy was found to be high; and his texts have been transcribed almost exactly as he left them. Rubbings were not obtained because by the time it was apparent that they would be valuable the

Tibetan Government had become sensitive about the inscriptions and I did not like to press them in the matter; and so, unfortunately, I have no copies of the texts in other languages than Tibetan.

The inscription is in small, neat lettering, beautifully cut in the hard, polished, almost black, stone but it is neither so stately nor so easy to read as the bold carving on the less finely finished surface of the earlier pillars. In *Trade through the Himalayas* (p. 17) Professor S. Cammann notes that the edict was written in 1721 but was not erected at Lhasa until 1724, and he suggests that the inscription was probably incised in China. That view was supported by a Chinese colleague at Lhasa from his knowledge of Chinese sources. The same probably holds good of the other major inscriptions of the period.

It follows that the translation, too, was probably made in China. Some errors in orthography and a vagueness in construction that sometimes leaves the meaning uncertain, suggest the work of a Chinese scholar inclined to fit the Tibetan into a mould with which he was familiar rather than a Tibetan trying to reproduce the original, phrase by phrase. It may be the product of a Tibetan language school similar to that established for diplomatic purposes in the Ming Yung-lo era. Later Ch'ing inscriptions in Tibetan show an improvement in standard.

The edict marks an important turning point after eleven centuries of recorded relations between Tibet and China. During the T'ang period the Tibetans were independent and warlike rivals. The overlordship of Tibet which the Yüan emperors inherited from Jenghis and Kublai Khan declined with the vigour of the dynasty and vanished at its fall. The Ming exercised no authority whatever in Tibet and it was only in 1720, in the circumstances commemorated in the edict, that the Chinese – or rather the Manchus – gained a foothold at Lhasa. Thus, in the words of Father Ippolito Desideri, a remarkable scholar and shrewd observer who was one of the few western eyewitnesses of the event, “ this kingdom which was governed by an absolute and independent king under the sovereignty of the Dalai Lama passed under the rule of the Emperor of China ”.

The principal motive behind that transformation was fear that

the rise of a new Mongol Empire under the hegemony of the Dzungars might endanger the peace of China. In the course of the endemic internal dissensions of the Mongol race the Dzungars, a branch of the Oirat confederacy, had by the beginning of the seventeenth century established themselves as the most vigorous power in Central Asia. When the majority of the Mongol tribes accepted the suzerainty of the Manchu emperors of the new Ch'ing dynasty, the Dzungars remained intransigent and aggressive. Like most Mongols they adhered to the dGe-lugs-pa sect of Buddhism and to its hierarch, the Dalai Lama; and so, when c. 1689 there were strong indications that the religious leaders of Tibet were in sympathy with Dzungar ambitions, the K'ang-hsi emperor had good reason to seek control over Tibet whose spiritual influence might be used to revive a dangerous unity among the Mongols. The occasion for direct action came at last – indeed it was almost forced on him – in 1717 when the Dzungars, with whom he was in a state of war, sent an army to occupy Lhasa, where they killed the Qośot Mongol king, Lha-bzang, to whom the Emperor had looked as an ally against the less reliable lamas.

In this critical situation the Emperor was rewarded with the good luck that often accompanies determination. He was able, at the same time, to avert a possible danger to China, to deliver the Tibetans from the oppression of the Dzungars, and to appear to them as the bringer of the longed-for reincarnation of their Dalai Lama. There was no conflict with the Tibetans who readily took a hand in evicting the Dzungars from Lhasa; and although the Emperor could rightly claim a victory over the Dzungars, this was not a conquest of Tibet. Nevertheless, that brilliant opening enabled him to establish Chinese overlordship over Tibet which lasted, with varying degrees of effectiveness, for nearly two centuries.

It may be added that the Dzungars, although deprived of direct influence at Lhasa, remained a potential threat to the *pax sinica* in Asia until their final subjugation in 1757; and in two later crises in relations between China and Tibet, in 1728 and 1751, fear of their interference affected Chinese policy.

The causes and results of the Dzungar invasion of Lhasa have

been fully discussed in the excellent account by Professor L. Petech in *China and Tibet in the Early Eighteenth Century* where use is made of both Chinese and Tibetan sources.

Studied in its historical setting, the edict of 1721 is a skilful essay in political propaganda. The relationship with Tibet is represented as quite different from that which actually existed; and the past is coloured with specious phrases designed to make it appear that the Emperor already enjoyed a position of acknowledged supremacy which could justify his intervention in Tibet.

In fact, when the first exchanges took place in 1640 T'ai-tsung was not Emperor of China — he became so only posthumously — and the Dalai Lama was not ruler of Tibet. The account by W. W. Rockhill in *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644–1908* (T'oung Pao, 1910) suggests that the overtures came from the Manchus and shows that the Dalai Lama's representative was received with exceptional regard. In 1652, when the Manchu leader Shun-chih was indeed Emperor of China, the Dalai Lama, who had become ruler of Tibet by the help of Gusri Khan, visited Peking and was shown remarkable honour, perhaps to the embarrassment of the Chinese officials. But the mere act of going to court put the Dalai Lama and Gusri in a position that Chinese protocol could only represent as homage and would certainly record as such.

For his part the Dalai Lama valued the relationship he had established with the Emperor so highly that his proclamation, dated 1679, appointing Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho as Regent, which was inscribed on a wall in a passage of the Potala at the head of the triple stairway leading to the eastern courtyard, begins with a preamble citing in Chinese and Sanskrit transcribed into Tibetan characters, and in Tibetan itself, the title inscribed on a seal presented to him by the Emperor. There is no suggestion that he regarded the acceptance of such a title as acknowledging a dependent position. The appointment of Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho does not appear to have been intimated to the Chinese court; and although in Mongol affairs the Dalai Lama frequently worked in diplomatic accord with the Emperor his helpful intervention there was an impressive demonstration of his independent authority.



Certainly those western observers who had first-hand knowledge never questioned the independence of Tibet at that time. Desideri's comments on the situation as seen from Lhasa have already been quoted and his evidence is strongly reinforced by that of Jesuit fathers living in China. Father Gerbillon, who accompanied K'ang-hsi on his campaigns in Mongolia between 1691 and 1697, expressly excludes Tibet from the Emperor's dominions. That is also the finding of the fathers who prepared the maps of China between 1707 and 1717; and it is supported in documents quoted by Dr. E. Haenisch in *T'oung Pao*, 1911 which show that Litang, Batang and Chamdo were made tributary to China, for the first time, in 1718. It was not until the Emperor K'ang-hsi's Geographical Edict of 1721 that specious and unrealistic arguments were deployed to suggest that dBus, gTsang and Khams had always been the *san wei*, three provinces of China.

In the Dzungar Edict the Emperor ignores many relevant facts. He passes in silence over the existence of the VIth Dalai Lama, Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho, whose life and death set in train the whole series of events. The puppet whom the Emperor's ally Lha-bzang Khan set up as Dalai Lama in succession to Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho, is, less surprisingly, not mentioned; and it is not at all surprising that nothing is said about the first Chinese army despatched in 1717 and annihilated by the Dzungars, or of the part taken by the Tibetans in getting rid of the Dzungars from Lhasa.

The edict illustrates the special rules by which diplomacy and international relations were conducted in Central Asia and how, by superior political skill and military power the Chinese were generally able to tilt them in their own favour. If relationships were not too precisely defined, they might be adjusted in either direction according to changing circumstances. The Dzungar edict records one such adjustment, the conversion of a tenuous link with Tibet into active domination; and, by reinterpreting the previous relationship, it seeks to provide retrospective justification for the *fait accompli*.

The original edict has been translated from the Chinese records into French by Maurice Jametel in *L'épigraphie chinoise au Tibet*,

Peking and Paris, 1880, and into English by W. W. Rockhill in JRAS, April 1891.

So far as I am aware no English translation of the Tibetan text has been published. That by Sir Charles Bell in my possession is generally acceptable; but, although he refers to Rockhill's article on the Dalai Lamas, he does not appear to have seen any translation of the inscription from the Chinese. Although reference to such translations elucidates several passages, some problems remain partly, perhaps, because of the language of the original which, according to my erudite Chinese colleague at Lhasa, is not easy even for scholars; perhaps also because it seems that an exact translation of the original into the other languages was not the intention and that variations may have been made for a particular audience. In the Dzungar edict such variations may be detected where some passages which might have given offence to the independent spirit of the Tibetans have been toned down or left rather vague.

In the version which follows I have tried to bring the Tibetan into accord with the translations from the Chinese when that could be done without too great a strain; but, as the document was intended for Tibetans, those translations have been ignored in some passages which a Tibetan would almost certainly have understood in a different sense from that which seems to have been the intention of the original. Those points are mentioned in the notes.

The Tibetan text is in 45 lines but for convenience I have recorded it continuously. The spaces in the first 5 lines, which are not for the purpose of normal punctuation, may follow some formal or decorative arrangement in the Chinese.

∩ | lung  
gis  
btsugs  
pa

∩∩ || rgyal po rang nyid kyis bris pa'i bod yul bde 'jags su khang zhi  
bkod pa'i rdo rengs kyi yi ge / sngar /      tha'i zung su 'u thu bhvang

ti'i che dgong lo ba'i rab rtsal gyi lo bdun par / paṅ chen er dhe  
ni ta la'i bla ma ku shri drug cu rgyal po sogs kyis ched du mi sna  
btang ste / shar phyogs kyis yul grur pa / skyes chen dam pa zhig 'khrungs  
par nges zhes / sngar sus kyang 'gro ma myong ba'i lam 'phrang dgra'i  
yul rnams bgrod cing brgal te / mun ten gyi sa char yong ba nas bzung /  
da bar lo gyad cu'i ring la / phan tshun thun mong du rnam dkar  
la spyod cing yon mchod du 'brel te bde 'jags su gnas pa las sde pas /  
ta la'i bla ma sku gshegs pa lo bcu drug gi bar gsang nas / rang dgar  
spyod pa la / lha bzang gis bcom ste / bstan pa bskyangs par yod ces  
par brten lha bzang nyid mtsho sngon pa yongs kyis zhus pa ltar  
gnang / skabs su tshe dbang rab brtan gyis glags 'tshol bar jung gar  
gyi dmag du ma btang ste / sgyu thabs kyis bstan don la bsnyad btags  
nas / ta la'i bla ma blos btang ste / rgyal dbang lnga pa'i gser gdung  
chen mo rang thad du byas shing / paṅ chen rin po che'i thugs sun  
par byed de / lha khang dang mgon gnas bcom / dge 'dun rnams  
bgrong nas bstan pa bshigs ste / bod yongs kyis 'bangs rnams 'dzin  
bdag byed snyam pa'i ham pa mi 'os pa'i log spyod 'di lta bu la /  
nged kyis mi rigs par shes te nged rang gi sras la dmag dpon chen  
por dbang bskur te / sras tsha bo dang bcas / man ju / sog po /  
rgya'i dmag khri phrag mang po btang ste / sa shin tu bgrod dka'  
ba'i gnyan can las nye zho med par thon te phyin par mtshan mo 'thab  
tu 'ong ba'i dmag rnams lan gsum du pham par byas pas snying 'dar  
zhing 'jigs te rtsa ba nas bros su chug cing / mda' gcig tsam yang ma  
'phangs par bod rnams bde 'jags su byas te bstan srid dar bar byas so  
/ sku skye gsar pa 'di kar bka' tham sogs kyis skyes dang bcas / ta la'i  
bla ma drug par mnga' gsol nas khri la bskos te / gangs can gyi sde  
mang spyi dang dge 'dun gyi sde rnam skyong shing bde 'jags su byas  
nas so so'i 'os 'gab kyis gzhi 'dzin du bcug pas / 'di la yig rigs dang  
dmag rigs kyis dpon bka' blon rnams kyis / nub phyogs la dpung chen  
po chas te bgrod dka' zhing thag ring ba'i sa gnyan las thon te lo ngo  
phyed tsam yang ma 'gyangs par 'phral du don chen po bsgrub par  
byas pa ni / deng phan chad ma byung bar nges zhes zhus pa dang /  
bod sog po'i sde mang gi dpon khag rnams kyis kyang mgrin gcig tu  
/ gong ma'i rmad du byung ba'i gzi brjid dpa' mdzangs kyis rtsal 'di  
lta bu ni / snga rabs la dag las ches phul du byung bas dpung chen

po sleb 'phral log spyod cad gyi dgra bo rnams bcom nas / sog po  
yongs kyi sngar nas spyi bor bkur ba'i bstan pa dang 'chad nyan slar  
gsos shing / khams dang dbus gtsang gi char gtogs pa'i sde mang thams  
cad sdug sngal las skyobs shing bde skyid la sbyor ba'i che ba dang  
don mthun gyi snyan grags kyi bsngags 'os bdag cag bka' blon rnams  
kyi ji bzhin brjod par mi nus lags / 'on kyang gong ma nyid kyi ljags  
rtsom zhig gnang nas / lha sar rdo rengs la brkos te gtan du 'jog dgos  
tshul zhus par / nged rang gis nged la bsngags 'os kyi che ba ngo mtshar  
ba ci zhig yod ces kyang / gong 'khod rnams kyis snying thag pa nas  
yang skyor gyin zhus par / ta la'i bla ma sogs kyi rje rabs gsum la  
bstan srid gcig tu 'brel ba'i rgyu mtshan dang / rang gzhan thams cad  
kyis rabs du mar bshad bsgrub kyi bstan pa spyi gtsug tu bkur ba'i  
dad pa dang / da char nged kyis dmag ched du btang ste log par  
spyod pa rnams tshar bcad nas / drang po'i rang bzhin can rnams  
rjes su 'dzin pa dang / gzhir 'khod mtha' dag bde bar bkod de /  
sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa je rgyas su btang ba'i tshul rnams mtha' dbus  
kyi lus can mtha' dag la go bar bya ba'i phyir 'di bzhin yi ger bkod  
de bod kha ba can gyi ljongs su rdo rengs btsugs te brkos pa dge

### Translation

#### Erected by Order?

The inscription on the stone pillar, written by the Emperor <sup>1</sup> himself, on the pacification of Tibet by Kang-zhi <sup>2</sup>.

Formerly, in the seventh year of the great <sup>3</sup> period of "Excellent Ability" <sup>4</sup> of Tha'i-zung Su-'u-thu <sup>5</sup> bHvang-ti, the Pan-chen Er-dhe-

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<sup>1</sup> Emperors of the T'ang dynasty were known to the Tibetans as *rGya rje*. *rGyal po*, used here, is found in translations of letters from Yüan dynasty emperors; but *rGya'i gong-ma* is more usual in Tibetan literature.

<sup>2</sup> There is no agentive particle and, but for Jametel and Rockhill, *khang zhi* might have been taken to refer to the K'ang-hsi regnal period.

<sup>3</sup> Unless *che* is a mistake for *tshé*, it seems to go with *rab rtsal*, in the same way that *chen po ch'ing* is used to translate Ta Ch'ing.

<sup>4</sup> *rab rtsal* translates Chung-te: the regnal period of T'ai-tsung from 1636 to 1644.

<sup>5</sup> Sutu. Mongolian "blessed".

ni <sup>6</sup>, the Ta-la'i bLa-ma, the Drug-cu king <sup>7</sup> Ku-shri etc. specially despatched envoys saying it was certain that a man in the country <sup>8</sup> of the east had been born <sup>9</sup> as a great and holy being. Passing on their journey through precipitous paths and hostile countries they came to the territory of Mun Ten <sup>10</sup>. Although since that time until now, during eighty years, both sides were acting in harmony with complete sincerity towards one another and were dwelling in peace, being united in the relationship of Patron and Priest <sup>12</sup>, the sDe-pa <sup>13</sup> concealed for sixteen years the death of the Ta-la'i bLa-ma and conducted the administration according to his own wishes. Lha-bzang therefore subdued him <sup>14</sup>; and, as this was said to be for the protection of religion, approval was given at the request of Lha-bzang himself and all the people of Koko Nor <sup>15</sup>. The-

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<sup>6</sup> The Panchen Rimpoche was bLo-bzang Chos-kyi rGyal-mtshan, the tutor of the Vth Dalai Lama. He is mentioned first, perhaps, because at the time of the edict the II<sup>nd</sup> Panchen, bLo-bzang Ye-she (1663-1737) was a more important figure than the Dalai Lama who was a minor.

<sup>7</sup> *drug cu rgyal po*. There is no parallel in J. who has "Gouchi Khan". There may be a misunderstanding by the translator of some title in Chinese, amounting to "khan", or perhaps referring to the six *tsho* of the Qosots.

<sup>8</sup> The Tibetan seems to confuse *yul grur*, "in the country", with *yul gru pa*, "a man of the country".

<sup>9</sup> J. translates "devait sortir". Pious flattery obscures the real circumstances of the mission and does not mention the Karma-pa and gTsang envoys who went to compete for Manchu assistance.

<sup>10</sup> Mun ten: Mukden. The Chinese speaks of "many years of travel". The envoys were sent in 1640 but did not arrive until 1642.

<sup>11</sup> The claim to 80 years of close relationship refers to the period between the mission and the edict. The death of the Vth Dalai Lama was in 1682 - 40 years after the mission.

<sup>12</sup> The significance of the expression *yon mchod* to a Tibetan audience is not brought out in the Chinese. Kublai was the first to enunciate the relationship between Emperor and Lama, State and Church, in those terms which, under the new Mongol supremacy, took place of the earlier *dbon zhang* - "nephew and uncle" - bond between Tibetan kings and T'ang emperors. The concept, varying in application in varying circumstances, continued to govern Tibetan ideas of their relationship with China, even up to the Communist invasion in 1950.

<sup>13</sup> The sDe-pa: Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho.

<sup>14</sup> J. and R. show that the Chinese states that the sDe-pa was put to death; the Tibetan *bcom* is less definite. Similar meiosis occurs elsewhere.

<sup>15</sup> There is no agentive particle and the Tibetan might mean that Lha-bzang took action (*gnang*) at the request of the people of Koko Nor; but J and R. show that *gnang* refers to the Emperor. Some obscurity remains, for they relate the phrase to his action

reupon, Tshe-dbang Rab-rten, seeking an opportunity for mischief, despatched a great army of Jungars. Deceitfully pretending to be acting for the sake of religion, he proved unfaithful to the Ta-la'i bLa-ma, pillaged the great golden tomb of the Fifth Pontiff, insulted the Pan-chen Rin-po-che, ravaged temples and monasteries, killed many monks, and destroyed religion. He indulged in this way in such perverse conduct and unseemly rapacity as to aspire to seize the mastery over the people of all Tibet. Perceiving this to be wrongful, I appointed my own son as commander in chief; and together with others of my sons and grandsons I despatched an army of many tens of thousands <sup>16</sup> of Manchus, Mongolians, and Chinese. They passed without mishap through unhealthy <sup>17</sup> country, very difficult to traverse, and as they went on, they defeated three times the enemy forces who came by night to attack. Without even one more arrow being shot all Tibet was restored to peace and the rule of religion was made to flourish. To the new Incarnation an official seal, and so on, were presented and he was empowered as Sixth Dalai Lama <sup>18</sup> and set upon the throne. The many general communities of Tibet and the communities of monks were completely protected and restored to peace <sup>19</sup>; each was put in possession of his proper position.

Upon this, the officers and ministers of the civil and military bran-

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when Tshe-dbang Rab-rtan caused trouble. In any case, the suggestion that Lha-bzang and the people of Koko Nor were in agreement is highly improbable. They had been on bad terms since Lha-bzang murdered his brother to secure power in Tibet and because of his treatment of the VIth Dalai Lama. Tshe-dbang Rab-rtan was Galdan's nephew and succeeded him as ruler of the Dzungars. He married a daughter of Gusri Khan.

<sup>16</sup> According to the Capuchin Orazio Della Penna the army numbered 137,000. The Commander-in-chief was the Emperor's 14th son, Yün-t'i. Yen-hsin, also a descendant of Abahai, and Galbi commanded the forces which reached Lhasa.

<sup>17</sup> J. and R. both render *gnyan can* as "malarial". This is, perhaps a cliché; malaria is not a normal risk in Tibet. *gnyan nad* is used generally of infectious diseases caused by the anger of the *sa bdag* but perhaps mountain sickness is meant.

<sup>18</sup> The new Dalai Lama was bsKal-bzang rGya-mtsho (1708-1757) who has always been known to Tibetans as the VIIth. Although K'ang-hsi chose to call him the VIth - ignoring Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho - the Chinese eventually came to accept the Tibetan numbering, though they never formally climbed down.

<sup>19</sup> According to J. the Chinese here refers to the "submission" of the Tibetans. That tendentious expression has been kept out of the Tibetan text.

ches submitted that the great army, having set out for the west and having passed through unhealthy country on a long and difficult journey, speedily accomplished, before even half a year had elapsed, such a great task as had certainly never been carried out from ancient times until the present. And the principal officers of the many communities of Tibetans and Mongolians, also, with one voice made petition saying “ This manner of achievement of extraordinary glory and bravery on the part of the Emperor has far surpassed the deeds of former times; for no sooner had the great army arrived than the wicked enemies were all subdued and religion and the preaching of the doctrine, which have long been held in the highest veneration by all Mongolians, were re-established, and the people inhabiting the many districts of Khams, dBus, and gTsang were all delivered from misery and restored to happiness. We ministers can not by any means express the praise due to the renown of so great and successful an event. Therefore, let the Emperor himself be pleased to compose an edict and let it be carved on a stone pillar at Lhasa to be preserved for ever ”.

Although it may seem surprising that I should praise myself more highly than I deserve<sup>20</sup>, yet because the aforesaid persons repeatedly made this request from the bottom of their hearts, in order that all people of the frontier and the centre may understand the circumstances in which the religious government of the Dalai Lama and others has been united with us for three reigns<sup>21</sup>, and how we and the others<sup>22</sup> have

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<sup>20</sup> J. has “ malgré mon peu de mérite ”; R. “ although we are unworthy of this honour ”. As there is no mention of self-praise it is probable that *nged rang gis* in the Tibetan is intended as the subject of the whole succeeding passage; i.e. “ although the extent of the praise is surprising to me (*nged la*), I myself have, in order ... ”. But I have translated the passage as Tibetans understand it.

<sup>21</sup> The obvious meaning of the Tibetan is “ in the reigns of three Dalai Lamas ’, but as the Chinese ignore Tshang-dbyangs rGya-mtsho and his puppet successor and as there were no relations between the Manchus and the Tibetans before the Vth Dalai Lama, the reference must be to the reigns of the three emperors of the Ch’ing dynasty. This is supported by J. and R. though R’s note suggesting it might mean three dynasties cannot be accepted. There were no Dalai Lamas at the time of the Yüan dynasty.

<sup>22</sup> Although *rang gzhan* would imply to a Tibetan that the Emperor, too, honoured Buddhist teachings, J. and R. show that the reference is, in the Chinese, only to Tibetans and Mongols.

all been devoted for many generations to the Perfected Teaching and have honoured it above all else, and how just now since I have sent an army specially for that purpose and put an end to rebellious persons, those of honest character have adhered <sup>23</sup> to me and, all the inhabitants being established in peace, the religion of the Buddha has been caused to prosper even more greatly, I have put all this down in writing and it has been engraved on a stone pillar set up in the Snowy Land of Tibet, as an act of merit <sup>24</sup>.

Like expeditionary forces everywhere, the Emperor's troops left memorials at the scene of their triumph. They chose the steep eastern slope of the Potala hill where, on suitable rock faces, records of their achievements and those of supporting troops, who did not actually reach Lhasa, were carved in well-cut Chinese characters.

The list in *Hsi-tsang pei-wên* includes three such inscriptions, dated the 59th year of K'ang-hsi. In fact there are at least five inscriptions of K'ang-hsi's reign and two more relating to the expedition in 1728 in the reign of Yung-chêng. Attempts to photograph the more accessible of them were not very successful; but the Inner Mongol Prince, Min Wang, who was passing through Lhasa in 1949 as a refugee from the Communist conquest of China, kindly made copies so far as was possible, and explained the contents of the inscriptions to me. Dr. Shen Tsung-lien, the distinguished scholar and diplomatist, who was in Lhasa for a time, was good enough to give me some further information; and, later, Professor R. A. Stein generously checked doubtful points by consulting *Hsi-tsang pei-wên* and other sources.

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<sup>23</sup> There seems some difference here between the Tibetan and the Chinese. Both J. and R. have passages to the effect that the Emperor writes "the more readily" because rebellion has been put down and all are "rentrés dans l'obéissance". Perhaps *da char* in the Tibetan, which is otiose, is an error for *de cher*. The Tibetan, it may be observed softens the language and there is no talk of rebellion, or return to obedience, both of which are tendentious expressions.

<sup>24</sup> There seems no equivalent in the Chinese to *dge* which is rather casually tacked on to the end of the Tibetan inscription.



2. INSCRIPTION HEADED “ HONOUR FOR A HUNDRED GENERATIONS ”

This is dated on an auspicious day in the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720) in the eleventh month. It was inscribed by Li Lin and recounts the revolt of the Dzungar Tshe-dbang Rab-brtan and the escorting of the Dalai Lama from Kumbum to Lhasa.

3. HEADED “ BRIGHTNESS FOR TEN THOUSAND GENERATIONS ”

This is dated the eleventh month of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi and was inscribed by “ Ka-öl-pi, the General who pacified the West ” – i.e. the Manchu Galbi who commanded the southern army which reached Lhasa first, without opposition. (See Petech, *China and Tibet*, p. 68). It records how General Yen-hsin was ordered to collaborate with the Imperial Prince (Yün-t'i) and how after the death of the rebel general Tshe-ring Don-grub, the Dalai Lama was enthroned on the 15th day of the 9th month. Nien Kêng-yao, Governor of Szechwan, who was responsible for supplies, is also commemorated.

4. HEADED “ A MEMORIAL STONE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE IN TIBET ”

This was inscribed by officers of the Shensi supply area in the autumn of the iron-rat year, the 59th of K'ang-hsi. Min Wang was unable to make out the contents or the names of the signatories.

This cannot readily be identified with the third inscription mentioned in *Hsi-tsang pei-wên* where it is described as being at the foot of the eastern cliff of the Potala. That appears to relate to the vanguard of the army and is signed by Hsi Lun-tu, Yung Tai, Shih Fan and others. None of those names were recorded by Min Wang in any of the inscrip-

tions he examined. It is possible that as the inscription was at the foot of the hill it might have been removed when the road round the base of the Potala was widened in the time of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.

There is some confusion in the Chinese records about the contents of the inscription to which they refer for, according to Professor Stein, the version in *Hsi-tsang pei-wên* differs in its second half from that in *Hsi-tsang t'u-k'ao*. Perhaps two different memorials have been amalgamated.

##### 5. HEADED "MERCY FILLING THE ROCKS"

This was inscribed on behalf of 1000 men of the left wing of the Szechwan regiment who were the garrison of Chamdo (Chab-mdo), together with two cavalry squadrons and some infantry troops. Min Wang could not record either its date or its signatories; but he found the word Wang-shih which he took to be a personal title. It is because that word appears also in the third inscription mentioned in *Hsi-tsang pei-wên* that I have included the present inscription at this point. In *Hsi-tsang pei-wên*, where there is also mention of Galbi, the term *wang shih*, according to Professor Stein, clearly refers to the Imperial Army. But in the present inscription the attribution to a garrison at Chamdo suggests a later date for, although Litang and Batang were occupied in 1720 there is no evidence that Chamdo was used as a base until about 1723 when on the withdrawal by the new Emperor Yung-chêng of the whole force of 2000 men from Lhasa, Chamdo with a garrison of 1000 men of the Green Banner became the key point of Chinese dispositions in Tibet.

Hummel's *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* shows that the princely title Wang Shih was conferred on Nien Kêng-yao who, as mentioned above, was a prominent figure in 1720. But when he received this honour, late in 1724, he was no longer connected with Szechwan nor did he live long to enjoy his title for he was disgraced in the following year.

There was no occasion for troops to be sent to Lhasa between 1724 and 1728; and no one would be likely to commemorate the absent and dishonoured Nien. In the present state of information, therefore, the date of the inscription is uncertain.

## 6. HEADED "FRAGRANCY LEFT IN A FOREIGN LAND"

This long inscription is dated on an auspicious day in the middle month of the spring of the iron-ox year, the 60th of K'ang-hsi (1721).

Professor Stein has kindly supplemented Min Wang's notes by translating the text from my photograph of it. It seems to fall into two parts the first of which is a verse reading "The great strategy is everywhere made known. Our army set out. The enemy were shaken with fear. We have been far away in distant lands". There follow the names of fourteen officers beginning with Ts'o-wang no-el pu - i.e. The Kung Tshe-dbang Nor-bu, the Mongol Commander-in-Chief of the Green Banner Mongolian troops. Next is A Pao - i.e. Efu Aboo, a Mongol who commanded the Oirat troops from the Koko-nor region; then Habu Chen, Chao Kun, a member of the Yünnan Council commanding the detachment of Green Banner troops in Tibet; Ch'ang Ling, commander of the right, yellow banner, Chahar troops; then the names of ten other officers of the Szechwan and Yünnan troops.

The second part of the inscription is in honour of "the virtuous policy of the great master, Nien (followed by many titles), the Governor of Szechwan". There is a short eulogy in verse: "His military strategy was equal to public expectation. His merit is double that of Wu-hsiang (a general of the second Han empire). The barbarians all look up to him with respect. He has pacified the West for ever". This is followed by 30 names headed by that of Pao-te-ma - perhaps Padma, a lay official (see Petech, *China and Tibet*, p. 85-86). The whole inscription is described as being erected by 5000 soldiers of Mongolia, Szechwan and Yünnan, stationed in Tibet.

7. HEADED " A STONE OF GRATITUDE ERECTED BY ALL THE TROOPS "

This is in honour of the Assistant to the Chinese in Military Affairs, Ta Lama Chiao Fa Chu Tsu Erh Chung Tsang Po, one of two special envoys together with the Manchu Na Wen xx Tai.

The former is identifiable as the Lama Tshul-khrims bZang-po, one of the Lama cartographers sent by the Emperor to survey Tibet in 1717. He appears later to have been given some sort of political position at Lhasa and in 1722 he was joint author of a memorial to Nien Kêng-yao to the effect that internal faction among the imperial officers and troops made it desirable either to replace the trouble-makers or to withdraw all the troops from Tibet. The Lama was ordered to be sent to China, perhaps for interfering in matters beyond his authority; but the offending officers were also withdrawn. (Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 85).

Tshul-khrims bZang-po's associate in the eulogy cannot be identified.

8. INSCRIPTION OF 1728 BY JALANGGA AND OTHERS

The Yung-chêng Emperor's recall of his troops 1723 marks the first in a series of fluctuations in Manchu authority at Lhasa between 1720 and 1911. In his haste to reverse his father's expansionist policies he could have found reason for his decision in the discontent at Lhasa on account of the steep rise in prices that always accompanied the presence of Chinese troops, and in the bickering among his own military officers, mentioned above; but in face of the rising tension between political factions among the Tibetan nobles and of the as yet unextinguished danger from the Dzungars, the withdrawal proved to be untimely. The Imperial delegates in 1725-1726 did not have the backing of force necessary to overawe the rival parties; and so, in 1727, there broke out a savage civil war in which, to oversimplify the issue, the division was between the old nobility, who disliked the presence of foreign

influence in any form, and some more flexible officials – of whom Pho-lha bSod-nams sTobs-rgyas was destined for fame – who were prepared for reasonable co-operation with the Chinese.

Before long it became apparent to the Emperor that, to forestall a possible threat from the Dzungars, he would have to send an armed force to restore order and his own authority at Lhasa. In 1728 an army under the command of the Manchu generals Jalangga and Mailu, entered Tibet. As in 1720, there was no opposition from the Tibetans. Indeed there was no fighting at all, for almost before the army had set out, the forces of Pho-lha's party, who favoured an understanding with the Chinese, had come out on top.

The Imperial representatives asserted their authority, as in 1720, by some spectacularly gruesome executions and then settled down, once again with a garrison to back them and their Tibetan supporters. Jalangga commemorated these events in an inscription – rather grandiose in the circumstances – which Min Wang has translated as follows:

“ The country now called Wu Su, formerly Hsi Chiao, obeyed the Heavenly Emperor for many years. There, the Emperor gave the title of Kung to those who were entrusted with the management of the affairs of the Fan. But in the fire-sheep year they revolted internally and, therefore, the Sacred Emperor, with great compassion for the Tibetan people and in order to stop the fighting, specially sent high officers and troops of the three peoples to restore peace. But we did not shoot one arrow or take one bow. The leader of the revolt was captured and confessed his guilt. By just law we executed him and made peace for all good people so that they might live quietly. Therefore, far and near were delighted and old and young danced. All were made happy by the Emperor's mercy. I, Lung-nga witnessed this and understood the great deeds of the Emperor. Far and near there were no differences. There was good everywhere. From then onwards all were peaceful, bathed in the Emperor's great compassion.

We wrote this memorial. Chin-chia Li-bu Shang-shung, Chalung-nga; Man-chu Fu-tung, Mi-lu; Ma'u shih; Chao-ying, Sang-

kuo (and many more signatories). The 1st winter month of the iron-ape year of Yung-chêng ”.

The inscription is headed “ Stone in memory of the Surrender of Wu Su ”.

The date should presumably be the earth-ape year, 1728.

Identifiable among the named signatories are Mailu, Chou Ying and Senge (Petech, *China and Tibet* index).

#### 9. INSCRIPTION OF 1729 BY MAILU

No. 9 is an inscription, on the same occasion, by the Assistant Commander of Shensi and Yünnan, Ma-ji-shu, dated the first summer month of the wood-bird year of Yung-chêng. It is a short poem “ The South Hill gives shelter. The wind and a tree make a flag. By military courage keep the Tibetan frontier for ever ”.

Here again the element of the date seems to be wrong. The year must be the earth-bird, 1729.

#### 10. SMALL WOODEN PANEL RECORDING THE FOUNDATION OF A CHAPEL AT GRWA-BZHI, DATED 1761

Once again imperial prestige was restored by barbarous executions. Once again the presence of foreign troops caused hardship and resentment. But on this occasion the garrison instead of being withdrawn was reduced to a manageable but still effective figure of 2000 men. Jalangga then returned to China leaving as imperial representatives, with that garrison to support them, two officials who may be regarded as the first of a long line of what the Tibetans called Ambans.

After an initial burst of activity in reorganizing the administration Chinese interest in Tibet began to flag; and Pho-lha, first as Chief Minister and later as King, emerged as the real master of the country. Accepting formal Chinese overlordship – he could not otherwise have preserved his position – he used his undoubted brilliance and reliability

as a statesman to reduce Chinese participation in the administration of Tibet to little more than a benevolent shadow and he gave his country eighteen years of peace and good government.

In 1733 Pho-lha succeeded in securing a further reduction in the size of the Chinese garrison and its removal from the city of Lhasa to a new barracks at Grwa-bzhi on the sandy plain to the north, between the city and the monastery of Sera.

Pho-lha's death in 1747 was followed by intrigue and confusion when his son 'Gyur-med rNam-rgyal sought to remove even the shadow of Chinese authority and looked for help to China's enemy, the Dzungars. To forestall open rebellion the Ambans, Fu-ch'ing and Labdon, acting on their own initiative and in a way their Emperor would have been unlikely to sanction formally, assassinated 'Gyur-med rNam-rgyal and were themselves immediately killed by his Tibetan entourage. That incident is commemorated in a Chinese inscription of a later period (no. 14) which will be mentioned in due course.

First reports of this disturbance naturally alarmed the Emperor who at once ordered the preparation of an expeditionary force. But before it could set out the Emperor learned that there had been no Tibetan rising against his authority and that the Dalai Lama himself had the situation under control. The expedition was, therefore, cut down to a small detachment to reinforce the new Ambans. There was no question of Tibetan opposition to this force any more than there had been to the great expeditions of 1720 and 1728. Yet another horrible public execution was staged by the Chinese and a further reorganization of the Tibetan administrative machinery was undertaken. The Ambans were given wider powers of supervision over the Tibetan Government, at the head of which the Dalai Lama was instated in place of the kings of the Pho-lha régime who had elbowed him into obscurity. Further, the office of lay king, which had had various manifestations in Tibetan history since the sixth century, was completely and finally abolished.

When the VIIth Dalai Lama died in 1757 an incarnate lama, the first De-mo Rin-po-che, was appointed as regent to head the administration. This was the beginning of a line of regents very different

from the sDe-srid at the time of the Vth Dalai Lama. The abolition of the kingship, by removing lay rivals for temporal supremacy, had made the position of the Dalai Lama, at least in theory, very much stronger than before. From then onwards he could add to his spiritual title that of Bod rGyal-po – king of Tibet. Correspondingly greater power, therefore, fell within the grasp of the new regents who became rGyal tshab – vice-king.

Absence of political ambition on the part of the VIIIth Dalai Lama, who died in 1804, left the direction of affairs for the most part of his reign in the hands of monk regents; and, whether or not there was any truth in recurring suspicions about the early death of several of his reincarnations from the IXth to the XIIth, from 1757 until 1895 a succession of powerful regents – monks, with one brief exception – was broken only by three short spells of ineffective rule by Dalai Lamas.

In spite of the formal authority conferred on the Ambans in 1751 to advise the Tibetan government in all important matters, the regents generally found no great difficulty in taking their measure. For that the Emperor himself was largely to blame because the appointment to Tibet, except in times of crisis, came to be regarded as a punishment and virtual exile.

The next inscription to be discussed was contributed by two such imperial representatives who held office during the regency of the first De-mo Rin-po-che but of whose activities at Lhasa nothing else appears to be known. Compared with the great Imperial Edicts before and after it, this small document is of slight importance but it is interesting as an example of what the Ambans were doing during this period.

The inscription is recorded in Chinese and Tibetan on a carved and decorated wooden board, about 3ft. by 1ft., preserved in a small *dgon-pa* inside the military enclosure at Grwa-bzhi about a mile to the north of the city, and it relates how in 1761 the two officials founded the *dgon-pa* for the dGe-lugs-pa sect.

Although purely Tibetan in appearance, the main chapel must have been intended principally for the Manchu bannermen and the Chinese of whom the garrison at Grwa-bzhi was originally composed for none of the Tibetan soldiery whom Pho-lha had shaped into an



effective army were at that time stationed near Lhasa (Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 251). It was not until after 1792 that separate barracks at Grwa-bzhi for Chinese and Tibetan troops are mentioned.

At some stage an image of Kuan-ti or Ge-sar and one of Lha-mo appear to have been installed in side chapel of the *dgon-pa*. Thomas Manning in 1811 refers to a large temple dedicated to the Chinese god of war at the Chinese military station near Lhasa, by which he appears to mean Grwa-bzhi rather than the Ge-sar chapel on the Bar-ma-ri (no. 13 on sketch map). Perhaps by his time the Kuan-ti chapel had become the best-known feature there, just as, more recently, when it was a popular place of resort for the prediction of fortunes in the presence of the “ Khro Chen ”, it was generally described as Grwa-bzhi Lha-mo.

It is possible that when the Grwa-bzhi barracks were built in 1733 for the Chinese garrison a Kuan-ti temple was also made; but it might have been expected that if the Ambans had included a pre-existing cult in their new foundation, the fact would have been mentioned.

The inscriptions are carved in relief, the Chinese on the right side, the Tibetan on the left. The Tibetan text consists of twelve lines but for convenience and to avoid interrupting the flow it has been transcribed below continuously. Punctuation is by a single *shad*. The honorific sign, resembling the Tibetan figure 7, is indicated by asterisks.

། lha skyong khrir bzhugs dgung lo nyer drug pa lcags sbrul zla  
 ba brgyad pa'i tshes bcu gsum la brtson bskyed nas / rang cag gi \* dam  
 pa hong t'i dgung lo khri phrag pa \* sku bltams pa'i nyin dang bstun  
 / phran g-yog ji pu dang phu nas bcas thag ring sa mtha' lho dbus  
 gtsang gi yul du mngags te sdad pas / nang gi bcar sdod mi drag rnam  
 dang mnyam du / \* gser gyi pho brang du mjal te chab 'og pa'i bsam  
 pa rdzogs pa'i phyag 'tshal ma thub gshis / \* gong ma bdag po chen  
 pos zhwa ser gyi bstan pa ches cher mdzad pa dang / bod 'bangs rnam  
 la byams skyong gi dgongs pa dang mthun par gus pas zhal 'debs bton  
 nas / phran g-yog rnam nas / grwa bzhi thang du brtan bzhugs dgon  
 pa gсар du btab nas bstan pa'i bdag po thub dbang / sras kyi thu bo  
 gnyis / rgyal ba yab sras kyi sku brnyan dang / gnas brtan bcu drug gi  
 sku / \* dgung lo khri phrag tu brtan pa'i ched rnam rgyal mchod rten

bzhengs nas / brtan bzhugs dgon pa bkur bzos kyis mchod de / phran  
chung dang bas phyag btsal nas gsol 'debs don / \* sangs rgyas thams  
cad kyi thugs rje dang / \* dam pa rnam kyis bka' drin las \* rgyal po'i  
chab srid brtan cing / thag ring sa mtha' pa rnam \* dam pa'i sku  
tshe dang shis pa tshad med pa la rnam par rol zhing / zhwa ser gyi  
bstan pa'i lam srol nyi ma'i 'od zer lta bus snang bar mdzad de /  
khams gsum kun la chos kyis sbyin pa 'dzad pa med pas rtag par  
longs spyod par gyur cig // //

### Translation

“ On the thirteenth day of the eighth month of the iron–snake year, the 26th of the reign of Lha–skyong <sup>1</sup>, as an act of special diligence appropriate to the birthday of our holy Hong–ti to whom be ten thousand years, his humble servants the colleagues Ji Pu and Phu Nas <sup>2</sup> who, having been commissioned to dwell on this distant frontier, are unable to attend in person at the Golden Palace and offer together with the nobles who reside at Court <sup>3</sup> the homage that fulfils the desires of his subjects, have therefore, in accordance with our great Emperor’s practice of extending widely the Yellow Hat doctrine, respectfully raised a subscription. And his humble servants have founded the brTan–bzhugs <sup>4</sup> monastery on the Grwa–bzhi plain and have set up there images of the mighty Sage, the Lord of the Doctrine; the two Elder Brothers among the Spiritual Sons; the Triumphant Father and Sons; the Sixteen Disciples <sup>5</sup>; and, so that it may endure for ten thousand years <sup>6</sup>, a mChod–rten of Complete Victory. And reverently offering the brTan–bzhugs monastery, these lowly subjects, prostrating themselves devoutly, have made this prayer: ‘The Emperor’s dominion being firmly established by

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<sup>1</sup> Lha–skyong is the Tibetan title for the Chien–lung Emperor; the year is 1761.

<sup>2</sup> Ji Pu (Chi–fu), was assistant amban 1759–1762, as Professor Petech kindly informs me. Fu–nai was, apparently his senior colleague.

<sup>3</sup> *Nang*: “inside” = the imperial court.

<sup>4</sup> I take *brTan–bzhugs* as the name of the chapel; it could mean “a firmly established monastery” but one would expect its name to be mentioned; it is now popularly known as Grwa–bzhi Lha–mo.

the grace of all the Buddhas and the favour of the Saints, may those who dwell on the distant frontiers, heartily rejoicing at the long life and boundless prosperity of the Holy One, make the Yellow Hat doctrine to shine like the rays of the sun and may they enjoy for ever without decrease the blessing of religion in all the three worlds<sup>7</sup>’.

### The Gorkha Invasions of Tibet in 1789–1792 and Events leading up to Them

In the interval between the minor inscription of 1761 and the Gorkha Edict of 1792, which is the next document to be considered, Tibetan affairs were dominated by two capable regents. The VIIIth Dalai Lama, 'Jam-dpal rGya-mtsho, was formally recognized by the Tibetans in 1762 and the De-mo Rin-po-che, 'Jam-dpal bDe-legs, who had been appointed regent on the death of the VIIth Dalai Lama, continued what is traditionally regarded as a peaceful and exemplary administration until his death in 1777.

To some extent the De-mo Rin-po-che was overshadowed by the IIIrd Panchen Lama, bLo-bzang dPal-ldan Ye-shes, a person of learning and great prestige who enjoyed a specially favoured relationship with the Emperor. It was in his time that the first British envoy, George Bogle, was sent to Tibet by Warren Hastings and spent several months in bKra-shis lHun-po where he won the friendship of the Panchen Lama for whom he acquired a great admiration. Bogle perceived traces of competition with the regent at Lhasa whom he suspected, probably with reason, of obstructing the Panchen's desire for closer relations between Tibet and the British in India.

On the death of the De-mo Rin-po-che the learned and forceful No-

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<sup>5</sup> *Thub dbang*: Shakya Thub-pa. *Sras kyi thu-bo gnyis*: Byams-pa and 'Jam-dbyangs. *Yab sras gsum*: Tsong-kha-pa and his two chief disciples. *gNas-brtan bcu-drug*: the Sixteen Sthavira.

<sup>6</sup> I take this to refer to the monastery or the images though the honorific sign at the beginning of the phrase may indicate that the dedication is for the longevity of the Emperor.

<sup>7</sup> The Three Worlds: 'dod pa'i kham; *gzugs kyi kham*; *gzugs med kham*: the sensual world; the world of phenomena, and the world beyond form.

minkhan Hutuktu Ngag-dbang Tshul-khrims of Co-ne, who had been religious instructor of the Emperor, was appointed to the regency. In 1786 the Dalai Lama, generally regarded as retiring, slow, and inexperienced in political matters, was invested with ruling powers and the Nominkhan returned to China. That enabled the Ambans, who had been unable to exert much influence under the regency, to take a more active part in Tibetan affairs (Shakabpa, p. 156). Although little of moment happened inside Tibet, developments on the southern border set in train a sequence of events that led to the Gorkha invasions of 1789 and 1791.

The story, whose ramifications spread from China to the East India Company and touch also on Sikkim and Bhutan, has been examined from different angles by several writers. In JA 1878 C. Imbault-Huart translated an account of it from the *Shêng wu chi* of Wei Yüan. In *Toung Pao* 1910 W. W. Rockhill made use of that and other Chinese sources in an article entitled *The Dalai Lamas of Tibet*. From Nepal there are reports contained in *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul* by Col W. Kirkpatrick who was there in 1793. In JBORS 1933 D. B. Diskalkar adds further information from the records of the East India Company. All those sources, and more besides, are used by Schuyler Cammann in *Trade Through the Himalayas* (1951). Alastair Lamb has added the resources of the India Office Library and the Public Records Office in his *Britain and Chinese Central Asia* (1960). Contemporary Nepalese writers have given much attention to the affair and have published mostly in Nepalese. While from the Tibetan angle there is the valuable and original contribution by Tsipon Shakabpa in his *Tibet, a Political History*, 1967<sup>1</sup>.

There is, therefore, no lack of comment; but since the events, at least in their early stages, were much obscured by intrigue and duplicity, the contemporary information is largely coloured by self-interested misinformation on the part of those most closely involved, while other parts of it are hearsay or speculation. It would be beyond the scope

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<sup>1</sup> *Nepal, Strategy for Survival*, by Leo E. Rose, California, 1971, contains the latest and most thorough study of the affair.

of this work to sort out all the conflicting statements, even if the writer had the necessary equipment. What follows is no more than an outline of the causes of trouble and the subsequent course of events with some comment on a few doubtful points.

In 1769 the militant Hindu Rajas of Gorkha completed the seizure of power from the Malla rulers of the three kingdoms of the Kathmandu valley of Nepal. The Mallas, of Newar stock, were favourably disposed to Buddhism and had maintained generally amicable relations with Tibet based on mutual trading advantages. The Mallas, in fact, enjoyed a specially favoured position by having secured a monopoly of minting coinage for Tibet, a privilege they began to abuse towards the end of their era by debasing the silver coins with a large admixture of copper. The Gorkhas, with rather vague acquiescence from the Tibetans, took over the existing arrangements; but whereas the Mallas had been peacefully minded the Gorkhas were out for expansion and adventure. In 1777 they attacked the small border state of Sikkim which had been for some centuries in close relations with Tibet. The Tibetans, perhaps to the annoyance of the Gorkhas, helped to secure a settlement there.

Soon after that, the Bhutanese, never averse from a profitable adventure, emulated the Gorkhas by raiding the neighbouring Indian kingdom of Cooch Behar. Its Raja appealed to the East India Company which, since the battle of Plassey, was gradually spreading its influence northwards through Bengal. Hastings was quite ready to take another step forward and sent a force which drove the Bhutanese out of Cooch Behar and assumed protectorship of the kingdom. The Bhutanese, fearing for their own country, appealed to the Panchen Lama who wrote to Hastings on their behalf. That was the opportunity for Hastings to send George Bogle to Tibet to study the situation with a particular eye to commercial prospects and the possibility of finding a trade route to China.

The friendship that developed between Bogle and the Panchen Lama was seen with mistrust by the Chinese and Nepalese as well as by the regent at Lhasa; and Bogle's efforts met a crushing blow in the death in China, in 1780, of the Panchen Lama who had been pressing invited there, partly perhaps to check his inconvenient enthusiasm

for foreign contacts. Bogle himself died in the following year and, although another envoy, Capt. Samuel Turner, was sent to bKra-shis lHun-po in 1785, little progress could be made in the absence of an effective Panchen Lama; and the slowly maturing relationship was brought to an end by events elsewhere.

The death of the Panchen Lama was followed by domestic disputes at bKra-shis lHun-po between his half-brothers the treasurer-regent and the Karma-pa Zhwa-dmar-pa Lama which ended in the latter taking refuge in Nepal where he is said to have incited the Gorkha Raja to attack bKra-shis lHun-po in order to get revenge for being deprived of what he deemed his rightful share of the property of the late Panchen Lama. Rockhill adds the speculation that he also hoped to deal a crushing blow at the Yellow Church; but there is no evidence of any hostile design against the dGe-lugs-pa establishment as a whole or that this was more than a personal vendetta in which damage to one great dGe-lugs-pa monastery was an incidental consideration.

Relations between Tibet and Nepal had been deteriorating because of disputes over the border trade and over the exchange rate for the coinage which the Gorkha rulers aimed to restore to its proper value after its debasement by the Mallas. Feeling was further exacerbated by the behaviour of a Tibetan minister, Dzasa bSod-nams dBang-rgyal who, as Professor L. Petech has kindly informed me, was head of the mDo-mkhar family. He was charged with oppressing Nepalese subjects in Tibet and with having refused to forward to the Emperor a letter from the Gorkha ruler who sought to explain the differences between Tibet and Nepal. In their own records the Gorkhas protest their friendly intentions towards Tibet and their patience under provocation. Nevertheless, in 1788, alleging Tibetan intransigence, they crossed the frontier and occupied several Tibetan districts. The Tibetan government despatched a force which kept the Gorkhas in check; and a report was sent by the Ambans to the Emperor.

According to Professor Cammann the Dalai Lama sent an envoy to the Mogul Emperor Shah Alam, whose power had already been assumed by the East India Company. The statement seems to depend on a letter from the Panchen Lama to the Governor-General of India,

quoted by Diskalkar, in which the writer – the letter is in Persian – says that the Dalai Lama had sent a messenger to “the Rajah Jumlahwalla”. This is taken by Camman to mean the “Raja on the Jumna” but, the reference is to the Raja of Jumla who had retained his independence after the Malla kings of the Kathmandu valley were conquered by Prithvi Narayan, and was not subdued until 1788 (Tucci, *Preliminary Report*, p. 122). The Mogul ex-emperor would probably, have been referred to as Delhi Badshah.

The Panchen Lama or rather, his regent the Drung-pa Rin-poche who had been the Treasurer of his half-brother the late Panchen, had been in intermittent correspondence with the Governor-General of India since Turner’s visit. He now sent two Kashmiri Muslims as his envoys to Lord Cornwallis asking for help against the Gorkhas. In a letter from Jonathan Duncan, Resident in Benares, dated 4th Sept. 1792 giving an account of events up to that time (Diskalkar no. 12) it is said that “after the withdrawal of the Nepalese army (which as will be seen was in 1789) the “rulers of Lassa” sent a deputation to Calcutta during the administration of Sir John Macpherson, asking for assistance. Since Macpherson’s tenure ended in 1786 there is, perhaps, some confusion between the Panchen’s letter in 1789 and the earlier complimentary correspondence with Macpherson. It is worth remarking that the Panchen’s Kashmiri envoys were apparently subordinate to his principal representative in India, Maharaja Jehanrow Kissore, who appears to have succeeded Chait Singh of Benares in that capacity.

The Panchen’s letter and Cornwallis’ reply have been well examined by Cammann (pp. 115–118). Cornwallis was more concerned to make friends with the Nepalese rather than war, and tactfully explained his inability to intervene. The special interest of the Panchen’s letter is his anxiety – or rather that of his regent – to avoid the despatch of troops from China and to have the correspondence kept secret from the Emperor.

Although secrecy appears to have been preserved, a Chinese expedition was not to be avoided and the Emperor sent a force under the command of O-hui with Pa-chung and Ch’êng-tê as his helpers.

On their arrival, according to Tibetan sources (Shakabpa pp. 159–

160) they obstructed plans to attack the invaders and patched up an agreement in which the Lama of Sa-skya and an official from bKra-shis lHun-po acted as intermediaries between a Nepalese delegation, including the Zhwa dmar-pa Lama, and the Lhasa government represented by the minister rDo-ring bsTan-'dzin dPal-'byor and others. Whoever may have been principally responsible, it was arranged that the Gorkhas should withdraw from the territory they had occupied and that the Tibetans should pay them a yearly "tribute". That disreputable bargain was not disclosed to the Emperor to whom the affair was reported in such a way that it appeared that the invaders had been driven off. To add colour, the Nepalese were persuaded to send a mission to Peking. Although he publicly regarded it as a victory for his arms, it is clear from documents in the *Ch'in-ting K'uo erh k'a chi lüeh* and *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih* (of which I have seen translations through the courtesy of Professor Leo Rose of the University of California, Berkeley) that the Emperor, or perhaps his favourite, Ho-shên, was, with good reason deeply suspicious of all that his officers in Tibet reported and critical of their behaviour as well as that of the Tibetans.

Pa-chung, who is described as a Tibetan expert, had been instructed to discover the causes of the invasion and to examine the behaviour of the Amban Ch'ing-lin. His report exonerated Ch'ing-lin and laid all the blame on the minister bSod-nams dBang-rgyal who had conveniently died in 1788 (Haenisch, *Dokumente* pp. 39-40); but the Emperor, who had become aware of the ineffectiveness of the Dalai Lama as head of the administration (Petech, *Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet*, p. 384), appointed the rTa-tshag Rin-po-che to help him. Petech describes his position at this time as "vice-regent".

The situation was increasingly uneasy, for the second instalment of "tribute" fell due and the Tibetans were trying to evade it or to arrange for a reduced payment. The rTa-tshag Rin-po-che was unable to find an effective policy; and it is suggested (Petech, p. 385) that he was in league with the younger brother of the Dalai Lama who was notoriously troublesome and that when the latter was summoned to Peking for punishment the rTa-tshag Rin-po-che was sent for too, and the former regent, now given the title Samati Bakshi, was appointed once



more to replace him. Certainly the rTa-tshag Rin-po-che did set out for China, but not until after the arrival of Samati Bakshi; nor is there anything in such Tibetan sources as are available to me to suggest that he was charged with bad conduct. It may be that his title, rJe-drung Rin-po-che, has led to confusion with that of the Dalai Lama's younger brothers, of whom there were two and who were called the two rJe drung, *rje-drung gnyis*. The immediate appointment of the rTa-tshag Rin-po-che as regent on the death of Samati Bakshi, which happened even before rTa-tshag had reached China, suggests that, even if he was regarded as weak in his handling of the Dalai Lama's family, there cannot have been any serious charge against him.

Samati Bakshi on his return had reacted violently against appeasement of the Gorkhas and had refused to pay any further tribute (Shakabpa p. 162) but that policy came to an end on his sudden death in 1791. As mentioned above, the rTa-tshag Rin-po-che was appointed to succeed him; and the temporizing negotiations with the Gorkhas were resumed. The Gorkhas now lost patience and having seized the chief Tibetan envoy, the rDo-ring minister, they once more launched an invasion of Tibet and pushed rapidly towards bKra-shis lHun-po.

Alastair Lamb (*op. cit.*, p. 25) considers that Lhasa deliberately withheld payment calculating that this would lead to a fresh invasion by the Gorkhas and that Chinese counter-measures would "squash once and for all the pretensions of Tashi Lhunpo". That view, unsupported by detailed evidence, does not call for more than summary rejection here. It is enough to say that the Tibetans could hardly have supposed that the Chinese, whose interest lay in balancing Tashi Lhunpo against Lhasa, would have fallen into that sort of trap. Even if there had been any such plan, disillusion at the incompetence and dishonesty of the Chinese in 1789 and memories of the burden of two earlier major Chinese expeditions in 1720 and 1728 and a lesser one in 1750 would have weighed against inviting such a risk again. But the basic objection is the misconception of Tibetan mentality in supposing that the dGe-lugs-pa government, which had been firmly established for 150 years and had resisted Manchu proposals in 1726 to persecute even the rNying-ma-pa church, could ever have contemplated bringing

down alien violence on the second greatest figure and the second religious centre of their doctrine.

As soon as news of the new invasion was received Tibetan troops were sent to bKra-shis lHun-po. The Amban Pao-t'ai reported to the Emperor who instructed him to threaten the Gorkhas with condign punishment. At the same time O-hui, then Governor of Szechwan, was ordered to go to Tibet and try to resolve the crisis. Before he could take any action the Tibetan troops had been defeated near Sa-skya and Pao-t'ai, who had gone to bKra-shis lHun-po, returned hurriedly to Lhasa taking the young Panchen Lama with him. He then proposed that the Dalai and Panchen Lamas should flee to the east. More resolute elements at Lhasa including the Dalai Lama himself put a stop to such defeatist talk; but bKra-shis lHun-po was abandoned to the invaders who looted it thoroughly.

The Emperor was as badly served at the start of the second invasion as he had been during the first. O-hui incurred the Emperor's rebuke by sending his colleague Ch'êng-tê to Tibet instead of going himself; and when he did go there his thoughts ran on avoiding open conflict with the Gorkhas. Pa-chung, the third member of the triumvirate which had patched up the shabby settlement in 1789, realizing that the facts would now be revealed, committed suicide thus allowing the other two eventually to lay all the blame on him.

In face of so much cowardice and inefficiency the Emperor soon decided to appoint a trusted officer to deal with the Gorkhas and incidentally to enquire into the events of the past and to settle such matters as the currency trouble which he had been informed was the cause of Nepalese discontent. This was Fu-k'ang-an, an experienced general – though much of his success was due to his efficient colleague Hai lan-ch'a – but an unpleasant personality (Hummel, 253). Fu raised a large army with commendable speed and by a redoubtable winter march he reached Tibet in March 1792. The Emperor was so pleased by that achievement, to which the good weather at the crossing of the Dang La had contributed, that he ordered offerings to be made to the deities of that mountain range.

The approach of so large an army scared the Gorkhas into appeal-

ing for help to the East India Company which they had hitherto managed to keep at arm's length. The Company seized the opportunity of concluding in March 1792 a commercial treaty for which they had been angling for some time.

When Fu reached Tibet the Gorkha troops, troubled by sickness and lack of supplies, had already withdrawn from bKra-shis lHun-po towards sKyid-grong where they were being harried by the Tibetans. Their resources had also been strained by military activities in Kumaon. O-hui and P'ao-tai had continued their efforts to settle matters by persuading the Gorkha leaders to come to their camp; but their letters met only with insulting replies. Fu himself was in no hurry to commit his troops to battle if his object could be achieved by threats and he sent further messages to the Gorkhas demanding the presence of the Gorkha ruler, the surrender of the Zhwa-dmar-pa Lama, and the restoration of the loot. The answers, though less insolent, were still wholly unsatisfactory so there was nothing for it but to continue the campaign and, in May, Fu advanced with his army in two divisions to the Nepalese border. By skilful leadership he defeated the Gorkhas in several engagements and pursued them as far as Nawakot within a few miles of Kathmandu.

As the position grew more serious the Gorkha ruler repeatedly appealed to the Governor-General of India for military help of all kinds. That was not the only communication before the Governor-General. He had already, a short time earlier, received a letter from the Dalai Lama asking him to take action against the Gorkhas or, at least, not to give them any help. Letters were also received from Fu-k'ang-an and, apparently, the Panchen Lama but as they were in Tibetan they were not deciphered until much later. In fact Fu appears to have despatched his instructions to the Governor-General as well as to Bhutan, Sikkim and Jumla in the belief that the "Pi-leng" (Firangi) were just some other border tribe with whom the Tibetans had relations.

To all the messages Cornwallis replied, offering his good offices as mediator and promising to send a representative as soon as the monsoon was over. He did, eventually, despatch Capt. William Kirkpatrick in October 1792 but by then the matter had been decided.

There was, nevertheless, an observer connected with the East India Company in Kathmandu at the time of crisis. This was Abdul Kadir the agent of Jonathan Duncan, Resident in Benares, through whom the commercial treaty had been negotiated. His report, which is included in Kirkpatrick's *Nepal*, shows that by September 1792 it was expected that the Chinese might capture Kathmandu at any moment.

But it was now late in the season and Fu, who had explicit orders from the Emperor not to risk being cut off on the wrong side of the passes by the onset of winter, reported that conditions were growing difficult, his army was suffering from sickness and shortage of supplies, and the Gorkhas were in strong defensive positions. He, therefore, proposed to accept the submission they offered and to withdraw his force.

No authentic copy of the terms on which the affair was concluded has survived. Probably no treaty was signed and there was nothing more than an exchange of letters; but the Chinese conditions certainly included the surrender of the body and the retinue of the Zhwa-dmarpa Lama – he had died, probably by suicide, when things began to go badly for the Gorkhas –, the return of the loot of bKra-shis lHunpo and of all occupied Tibetan territory, the handing over of the disgraceful treaty document of 1789, and the sending of a tribute mission to China every five years. There was no desire for closer control over Nepal. Throughout the campaign the Emperor had reiterated his determination not to undertake new territorial responsibilities. It was enough to have proved the length of his reach.

Some present day Nepalese writers claim that the Chinese withdrew because they suffered a severe defeat. The Gorkhas did succeed in preventing Fu-k'ang-an from advancing beyond Nawakot and, it seems, inflicted considerable casualties on his forces. There was at the time some opposition to the surrender by the Regent Bahadur Sah from factions at Kathmandu who charged him with holding on to power after the king had come of age. It was claimed that the Chinese would have had to withdraw in any case. The king, or Bahadur Sah on his behalf, putting the best face on the matter, asserted that although it would have been possible to defeat the Chinese utterly, it would be

unwise to incur the Emperor's hostility and so, representatives should be sent to make peace. When those representatives were despatched the instructions to their leader were in the clear language of submission. (I have seen copies of the relevant documents, which are in the Regmi Research Project, through the kindness of Professor Leo Rose).

There can be no reasonable doubt that the Chinese expedition was a resounding triumph, the effects of which prevented further Nepalese interference in Tibet for 63 years.

On his way back to Lhasa, Fu set up an inscription at the bridge between Rasuagarhi and Skyid-grong, briefly recording his achievement and marking the frontier between Nepal and Tibet (Turner, p. 441). Fu stayed at Lhasa long enough to effect a reorganisation of the Tibetan administration which will be mentioned later. He then returned to China and was present during the mission of Lord Macartney to whom he appeared aloof and hostile. Macartney, supposing this to be due to suspicion that the British had helped the Gorkhas in the recent war, advised that another mission should be sent to explain the position. Accordingly a letter was despatched in 1795 claiming, rather inaccurately, that the British had restrained the Gorkhas. It drew the disdainful reply that the imperial troops had defeated the Gorkhas unaided. In fact, Fu-k'ang-an was never fully aware who or what the British and the East India Company were (Rockhill, pp. 59-62) and his attitude towards Macartney was presumably a manifestation of the general dislike for "barbarians".

The foregoing account indicates the complicated and many-faceted setting of the expedition against the Gorkhas which inspired the Ch'ien-lung Emperor to compose a special edict in commemoration. The Emperor's literary leanings are well known and the edict celebrating what he claims as his tenth victory is said to have enjoyed some renown as a piece of fine writing; but the nuances of classical erudition are lost in translation and the Tibetan reads as a rather pompous and discursive essay. Indeed, it verges on bathos by including in the list of triumphs the disgraceful episode of 1788-1789 and some other equally hollow victories. The edict is, of course, a public document. State papers show that the Emperor, or his favourite Ho-

shên, took a more realistic view of the earlier “victory”. But for public consumption the list of victories comprises, in addition to two over the Gorkhas, two over the Dzungars – viz. that of Bandi against Dawaji in 1756 and of Chao-hui against Amursana in 1757; and one over the Hui Se, the Khodjas of Kashgar, also by Chao-hui, in 1759. The foregoing were successful and well-conducted campaigns; but the victories claimed as having been won against Tsala and Chu Chin relate to the protracted and mismanaged expeditions by Fu-k’ang-an in 1747–1749 and by A-kuei in 1771–1776 against the Miao-tse kingdoms of West Szechwan (Ch’in chuan) in which there was nothing for pride. The victory over Taiwan in 1747 was a genuine success by Fu-k’ang-an; but that over Mi’an-tan relates to the Burmese campaigns of Fu-hêng in 1766–1770 which were almost a complete failure, while the operations of Sun Shih-i in Annam (An-tan) between 1788 and 1790 were a disaster.

Another incident of his reign in which the Ch’ien-lung Emperor took great pride was the return of the Torgot – an Oirat tribe who had fled from their lands near the Kokonor under pressure from the Khal-khas about the beginning of the XVIIth century. They migrated to the Volga and became Russian subjects. In 1770, having become discontented with Russian rule, they fled back to China in circumstances of great danger and hardship memorably described by De Quincey in *The Revolt of the Tartars*. The Chinese welcomed them back and settled them in various parts of Turkestan between Ili and Urumchi. Their return was regarded as uniting all Mongols under Manchu Chinese rule and was commemorated by an imperial inscription near the Ili river and was also the occasion for the founding of a temple at Jehol (Amiot, *Mémoires concernant l’histoire... des Chinois*, Paris 1776, vol. 1; and Hedin, *Jehol*). That event is dragged somewhat laboriously into the Gorkha edict.

With so much elaborate reminiscence, the whole is only saved from appearing faintly absurd by the simple sincerity of the closing passage where the aged Emperor – he was then 81 – prays for the continuance of Heaven’s blessing and dares hope it may make him an upright man.

11. IMPERIAL EDICT OF 1792. THE GORKHA EDICT

The edict, which is in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan, is inscribed on a stone tablet like that of the Dzungar edict of 1720, standing on a carved stone tortoise in a similar pavilion some 30 yards to the west. The Chinese text has been translated by M. Jametel in *L'épigraphie chinoise au Tibet*, Peking 1880; and, in *Tibet Past and Present*, Sir Charles Bell has published his translation from the Tibetan, of which a slightly modified version appears in *Nepal* by Percival Landon. Cammann (p. 134, n. 56) describes Bell's translation as "atrocious". His censure is presumably based on the Chinese original and there is nothing to show that he had either seen or had the experience to translate the Tibetan text. Even the Chinese was said by a Chinese friend at Lhasa to be so obscure that, without his private library, he would not attempt a full translation. The rendering of such a text into Tibetan, probably by a Chinese interpreter, has introduced further difficulties and the Tibetan is more remote from the Chinese than in the case of the Dzungar edict. Allowing that Bell's version, made without knowledge of Jametel's translation from the Chinese, is far from perfect, it does not deserve Cammann's disparagement. If my English rendering below is an improvement, that is due to the guidance of Jametel's version and to generous help from Tibetan and Chinese friends at Lhasa and from Professor R. A. Stein.

Some of the differences between the Chinese and Tibetan versions are due to the high-flown literary language of the former. A whole paragraph has been added in the Tibetan to explain an obscure play on words in the title of the Chinese text. In other places, particularly the description of Fu-k'ang-an's winter march, the Chinese appears from Jametel's translation to be much more ornate than the Tibetan. There are also some differences of substance. For example, in the Tibetan version the Emperor's comments on the muddle of 1788-1789 appear to be more severe and candid than those in the Chinese. In the latter Pa-chung appears to be rehabilitated, whereas the Tibetan

text attaches blame equally to him and to O-hui. Again, with regard to the early stages of the 1791 expedition there seems to be no equivalent in the Chinese to the passage in the Tibetan which states that the bad generals were degraded. Attention is drawn to such differences in the notes on the translation; and it may be that comparison of the two versions will throw light on the Chinese. The Tibetan though not always accurate is generally clear enough but Jametel's version of the Chinese is a most valuable guide to understanding the construction intended by what was, presumably, a Chinese writer. Some obscurities may be due to error by the carver whose work, like that of the Dzungar inscription, was probably done in China.

The text transcribed below is based on a copy taken for Sir Charles Bell in 1921 and checked by me or on my behalf several times between 1946 and 1950. The inscription is in 39 lines but I have transcribed it continuously for the sake of convenience.

rgyal  
pos  
bris  
pa'o

། lan bcu yongs su rdzogs pa'i las don gyi ming byang / da lta gor  
kha'i tshur gus pa'i stabs kyis / bka' yis dmag rnam log tu 'jug pa'i  
yig ger lan bcu par gzi brjid kyis las don bsgrubs zer ba'i tshig yod /  
'di'i sgra rgyu yin shas chi yang rab tu gsal ma byung bas / da ras  
dmigs kyis bkar ba'i ming byang ni / ming byang ni sems kyis las yin  
zhing / yus gur gyi yi ge'i nang du nga'i sems snga mo nas chags song  
zer ba ni sems la thug / ce'u gur gyi yi ger gus 'dud lhur lan pa'i  
am pan / rgyal khams kyis bdag po sgos nus zhes pa ni las don zer  
ba'i tshig la thug / lus a'u zer ba'i bam por sems ni tshul bzang pos  
chags zhes pa ni sems dang las don sprags nas sbyar ba yin / 'on kyang  
de kun tshul las mi 'da' bas tshul thob na / gnam dang mthun zhing  
gnang sbyin kyang' byung ba 'di las 'ong / nga'i lan bcur yongs su  
rdzogs pa'i dmag gi yon tan thams can kyang de bzhin spyod pa las  
byung bas. / ming byang du bkod na chog / lan bcu'i yon tan gang



zhes na / cung kar la lan gnyis / hu'i se la lan gcig / tsa la dang  
chu chin la lan gnyis / tha'i wan la lan gcig / mi'an tan dang an  
tan lan gnyis / da ltar gor kha la lan gnyis g-yul sprad byas nas tshar  
bcad pas tshur gus 'dud byas pa dang lan bcu yin / de lta bu'i nang  
ma'i gsum ni las chung zhing / sa mo bya lor gor kha'i gus 'dud  
byas pa ni / khong tsho dbus gtsang la phrog tu yong dus dmag 'dran  
kyang / a'u hu'i rnam ma nus shing pa' cung rnam rgya tshom du  
yal yul byed pas khong tsho 'jigs srag ma byung / yang na ning  
phrog byung bas slar log / ngan blon dma' dbab nas ming can gyi  
cang cun rdzongs brda' byas nas / zas phog la bsgos su 'jug / 'phu  
khang nga rnam nga'i gsol ras la khur tu khyer bas ngal sdug dang  
'jigs skrag mi snyam zhing / na ning dgun dus so lon dang / se chvan  
gyi 'phar ma pa rnam rim gyis / si ning gi lam brgyud nas bshag  
par phyin pas lo 'di 'i zla ba lnga par rkun po'i sa cha 'byor ma thag  
/ dbus gstang sa tsha<sup>1</sup> skyar thob nas rkun po'i sa cha bshig phrol zhing  
/ brgod dka'i ri la sa thang mnyam por dang 'dra bar song nas / chu  
klung rlabs che ba dang dog mo la dang sa chu dang 'dra bar brgal  
nas / yar ri'i rtse mor 'dzegs nas mar ded cing babs nas / gnad che  
ba'i sa cha 'khyer zhis<sup>2</sup> 'phrangs yang cig char 'khyer nas / rkang lag  
gi dreg dral mi snyam zhing tshar bdun g-yul sprad byas nas rgyal  
bcom kyang lan bdun song bas / rkun rnam skrag / de rjes dmag  
rnam yang bu'i sa cha'i nye bar phyin rjes / rkun ma rnam rang  
tsho'i mi gtso che ba rdzongs nas gus pas 'dud nas bka' bzhin spyod  
tshul zhus nas / dmag blon chen mo'i tshig bzhin spyad kyang dmag  
mkhar la dpa' thal du 'ong mi thub / de rgyu na ning bstan 'dzin  
dpal 'byor tsho rdzun gyis khyer song ba'i rkyen gyis zhugs mi thub  
/ 'dir dmag dpung chen mo'i dpa' che sgrags nas thabs med par rkun  
rnam drung nas 'byin zhing mi gcig lhag med par tshar cad na rung /  
'on te gnam gyi bskyed dgongs min pas / sa cha de kha thams cad thob  
kyang dbus gtsang gi mtha' nas par sa ring stong lhag yod pas zhing  
rmod byed pa dang bsrung zon la dka' / mi rang kha par thob las mi  
'byung / de bas bka' phab nas gus 'dud zhus tshul thugs la nges 'byung

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<sup>1</sup> cha?

<sup>2</sup> zhing?

zhing dmag dpung slar log tu 'jug nas las don cig car tshar / snga dus  
thang tha'i tsung rgyal po / ci li bsam mno byas par ni / dbang med  
du rgyal tshul mthong du 'jug pas / khong gi mthun 'grig rtag tu yong  
zer / ci li la dpe na mi rung / dbus gtsang gi mtha' ni chang han mkhar  
la nye ba ni min / khong srog mi 'khrog<sup>3</sup> tsam 'dod nas gus 'dud tshul  
zhus nus med bzhin du / dpa' thal du mthun 'grig gi tshig byung ba  
ni mi bsgrigs / da lta dmag gi dpal 'bar nas / rkun ma'i sems kyi gus  
'dud thob nas thugs su tshud pa ni / thang gur gyi tha'i tsung rgyal  
po'i gsum dang 'grigs song / nga sngar thor god gyi las don bris tshe  
/ 'jigs zhing 'brangs ba dang / mthun pas 'brang ba'i rigs thams cad  
bris pa dang / da lta gor kha'i rang skyon zhus nas srog tsam btsal  
'dod ni / 'jigs shing 'brangs ba dang / mthun pas 'brangs ba'i rigs  
gnyis po tshang / 'di ni rang mtshang zhus pa dang rang gi sa cha<sup>4</sup>  
phul byung ba'i de ltar ro / 'di la ltos na yul dbus kyi mi rnam  
dmag la bzhag nas / yi ge kho na lab nas lus phud zungs med pa  
bltar mi rung / dmag bzhag nas yi ge gtso che bzhin du rang gi tshul  
snying bor nas bsrung mi thub tu 'byung / 'di shes dgos / 'jug tshul  
dang log tshul shes zer nas gza' skar gyi bstan bcos la gsal bar bshad  
pas / da thugs la tshud ci mi brjed / dmag g-yul sprad skabs sems la  
chags 'jog 'byung na zhes / yang dang phul du bsam gyin 'dug / lo  
Inga bcu bdun bar dmag las byung ba'i yon tan lan bcu yongs rdzogs  
byung ba ni gnam gyi gnang sbyin yin / de ltar gnam gyi bka' drin  
shin tu zab pas / nga yang dad cing yod / dpa' thal du khur tu 'khyer  
nas ha cang thub bam snyam du bsam zhing thugs la gnam gyi byams  
rtse 'dod nas / khrim rdzogs pa'i mi ru 'gyur bar 'bad pas re ba yin  
zhing / de bas gzhan smra rgyu med //

gnam skyong dgung lo Inga bdun pa'i chu pho byi ba lo'i dgun  
zla dang po'i yar tshes la rgyal pos bris pa'o // //

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<sup>3</sup> 'phrog?

<sup>4</sup> Bell reads *rang gis cha*; intention might be *rang gis sa cha* or, as I have taken it, *rang gi sa cha*.

*Translation*

Written by the Emperor

A Memorial Inscription concerning purpose ten times accomplished. In the edict for the withdrawal of the army now that the Gorkhas have returned to obedience that word (Memorial Inscription) is used when describing the glorious accomplishment of our purpose for the tenth time. Since the expression is generally not quite clear, this Memorial Inscription is specially intended to explain it.<sup>1</sup>

A Memorial Inscription is a product of the mind. In the book of the Yu dynasty<sup>2</sup> the words “My mind has been determined for a long time” relate to the mind. In the book of the Ce’u dynasty<sup>3</sup> the words “The Amban responsible for homage<sup>4</sup> is particularly successful in the administration of the kingdom” relate to what are called practical purposes. In the volume known as Lu Au<sup>5</sup> the words “The mind should be formed by good practices” bring together and unite considerations of the mind and of practical matters. And so, if one

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(References to “the Chinese” are to be taken as being to the translation by Jametel (J))

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph, which is not in the Chinese, seeks to explain the use in the title of the edict of the character “chi: to remember” with the meaning of “ch’ih: to take a resolution” (J) – a literary trope that is elaborated with classical allusions in the succeeding paragraph. The play on words in the Chinese is not properly reflected in the Tibetan equivalents – *ming byang* and *las don*. The translation “memorial inscription” for *ming byang* is dictated by the Chinese; the term is not one that Tibetans would ordinarily choose in that context for, in addition to meaning “a catalogue of names or words”, it is used of the *byang bu* or *mtshan byang*, the memorial wooden tablet for a dead person.

<sup>2</sup> *Yu gur gyi yi ge*. J explains as the Yü shu, the first book of the Chou king (Shu-ching), one of the five canonic works; *gur* represents the Chinese *kuo*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ce’u gur gyi yige*. J identifies as the Tcheou Li (Chou Li), the continuation of the *Li Chi*, one of the classical books.

<sup>4</sup> “The Amban responsible for homage” translates Ch’un Kuan – “the Spring Administration – a literary designation of the Ministry of Rites”.

<sup>5</sup> Lu Ao, “the dog of Lu” is an allusion to the fifth chapter of the Shu-ching which is concerned with presents. The people of Lu sent a dog to Chao Wu-wang who was admonished by his minister that presents should be earned by merit (J), also, I am informed, that a ruler should not neglect his duties by playing with dogs.

attains a good way of life by not departing from those principles, through acting in conformity with heaven one will thus attain its rewards.

Since all my merit in bringing ten wars to a conclusion has been achieved by acting in that way, it is permissible for me to record it in a Memorial Inscription.

To recount the meritorious achievements of those ten occasions <sup>6</sup>: they are: two against the Cung-kar; one against the Hui Se <sup>7</sup>; two against Tsa-la and Chu-chin <sup>8</sup>; one against Tha'i Wan; two against Mi'an Tan and An Tan <sup>9</sup>; and now having fought the Gorkhas on two occasions and having made an end of them, their return to obedience makes up the ten campaigns. This does not take into account three internal affairs of that sort <sup>10</sup>.

As for the submission of the Gorkhas in the female earth-bird year (1789): when they came to ravage dBus and gTsang a force was sent against them but because A'u Hu'i was incompetent and P'a Cung was hesitant and acted carelessly, the Gorkhas were not frightened <sup>11</sup>. Last year, too, they committed ravages and then withdrew. After degrading the bad ministers <sup>12</sup> a famous general was appointed; special arrangements were made for the supply of provisions and pay; and hPhu Khang Nga (Fu-k'ang-an), having undertaken the responsibility I conferred upon him, had no regard for fatigue or fear. In the winter of last year the So-lon troops together with auxiliaries <sup>13</sup> from Szechwan

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<sup>6</sup> The Ten Victories: see pp. 35-36 above.

<sup>7</sup> Hui Se. J reads Houei pou which he describes as an Eastern Turkestan tribe.

<sup>8</sup> Tsa la and Chin Chen (Kin tchouan. J): Yünnan and Szechwan border regions.

<sup>9</sup> Mi'an tan and 'An tan: Burma and Annam.

<sup>10</sup> J interprets the three internal campaigns as those against feudatory princes and suggests Wu San-kuei, Chang Chie-hsin and Keng Ching-tsung. But those were all well before the accession of Ch'ien-lung and perhaps the reference is to the revolt of Wang-lun in 1774, the Sining Muslim trouble in 1781, and the Pa-kua rebellion in 1786/88.

<sup>11</sup> The Chinese differs here, specifying O-hui as commander and relating how the enemy were dispersed but the effort was wasted because the commander (O-hui) did not follow the advice of Pa-chung.

<sup>12</sup> Here too the texts differ and the Chinese has no reference to the degradation of the bad generals which presumably refers to the censure of O-hui and Ch'êng-tê (see p. 32).

<sup>13</sup> According to J. the Chinese army included a detachment of "étrangers soumis" which is the rendering of syang fan - apparently Tibetan troops under the Amban's com-

advanced in succession to force their way by the Si-ning route <sup>14</sup>; and in the fifth month of this year no sooner had they arrived in the places held by the robbers than they recaptured the places belonging to dBus and gTsang and then went on to take the country of the robbers themselves. They crossed mountains, difficult to traverse, as though they were level plains. They passed over rivers with great waves and deep gorges as though land and water were alike to them. They climbed up the peaks of mountains and descended again in the pursuit. They captured the important points and seized the side roads at the same time <sup>15</sup>. Thinking nothing of pain and wounds to hands and feet <sup>16</sup>, they joined battle seven times and seven times emerged victorious. The robbers were terrified. And then, after the army had advanced near to Yang-bu <sup>17</sup>, the robbers sent their most important leader and, making respectful submission, asked leave to act in accordance with our orders; but, although he carried out the bidding of our commander-in-chief, he did not venture to come quite into our encampment. The reason for that was that last year he had treacherously abducted bsTan-'dzin dPal-'byor <sup>18</sup> and, therefore, he did not dare to enter.

Although it would have been possible then and there, when they were terrified by the great bravery of our army and had no escape, to have utterly rooted out the robbers and made an end of them to the last man, yet that would not have accorded with the will of Heaven;

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mand. Tibetan records claim that there were 10,000 Tibetans in Fu 's army (Shakabpa p. 166); perhaps these are covered by the term '*phar ma pa*, if so, they can hardly have come from Szechwan, but that may have been the base of the Solon mercenaries originally from the Amur region.

<sup>14</sup> The Chinese adds "in spite of the snow which covered the ground".

<sup>15</sup> There, is a lot of fine writing in the Chinese which does not appear in the Tibetan. J has "après avoir traversé aussi facilement que des plaines des passages ou un fil n'aurait pu se mouvoir et passé d'impétueux torrents comme s'il se fût agi de traverser ces petites mares que forment pendant la pluie l'empreinte des sabots d'un cheval".

<sup>16</sup> The Chinese rendered by J as "prenant ainsi la révolte à gorge elles lui lièrent pieds et poings" bears no obvious relation to the equivalent Tibetan *rkang lag gi dreg dral mi snyam zhing*.

<sup>17</sup> Yang bu = Yam bu (? Svayambhu) the Tibetan name for Kathmandu.

<sup>18</sup> bsTan-'dzin dPal-'byor of rDo-ring, who was involved in negotiations with the Gorkha from the start, was held by the Chinese to be partly responsible for the trouble and was taken to China after the war. (Shakabpa p. 171). See p. 47 below.

and, although we had gained possession of the whole country, since it is more than a thousand stages from our frontier with dBus and gTsang it would have been difficult to cultivate the land and look after it. But as it would not do to leave the people on their own, being satisfied with the manner of their humble submission in accordance with our orders to that effect, the army began its return and the matter was speedily completed.

In former times the Thang Emperor Tha'i-tsung, when he considered (his relations with) Ci Li <sup>19</sup>, said that by bringing him to perceive that he had been conquered and was powerless his adherence to a treaty would be lasting. But it is not suitable to cite Ci Li as an example. The frontier of dBus and gTsang is not near to the city of Chang-han (Ch'ang-an). And just as he, simply wishing not to lose his life, made submission and was rendered powerless, it would really be not at all suitable even to mention a treaty. Now because of the glorious deeds of our army, the robbers' minds have turned to submission and they have understood the matter. What has been done agrees exactly with the three points <sup>20</sup> of the Emperor Tha'i-tsung of the Thang dynasty.

When I wrote earlier of my achievement in the matter of the Thor-god I have described fully the manner in which through fear they came to adhere to us and how they continue to adhere because they are in agreement with us. Now the Gorkhas have confessed their error and

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<sup>19</sup> J. rather vaguely identifies Ci li as Prince Chie, the ruler of a small Mussulman (*sic*) state on the frontiers of Shensi who allied himself with a neighbour and invaded China in 626. T'ai-tsung, according to J. then invaded Chie's territory in retaliation but made a treaty without joining battle. The reference, in fact must be to Hie Li Kagan, ruler of the Southern Turks, who is frequently mentioned in *Documents sur les Tou Kiue Occidentaux*, Paris 1941 by E. Chavannes. Hie Li invaded China in 626 and was halted at the river by the daring of the Emperor T'ai-tsung. The parties concluded a treaty which gave relief to China at that time. Later Hie Li was defeated, taken prisoner and treated as a vassal. The incident in 626 was one of which T'ai-tsung and Chinese historians were very proud. A Chinese friend has explained T'ai-tsung's dictum as meaning that when you show your enemy that you are certain of winning a victory over him the peace that follows will be lasting.

<sup>20</sup> "The three points" is unintelligible and suggests mistranslation somewhere; perhaps *gsung*, "the dictum" was intended. J. has "répétition complète de tout ce qui s'est passé sous le règne de T'ai tsung".

wish only to save their lives. This is the completion of a second instance where a people has come to obedience through fear and continues in obedience through agreement. So it has come about they have admitted their fault and have offered us their land.

If one considers the matter, it would not be right for men of the Middle Kingdom<sup>21</sup> to renounce war and, through studying only letters, to appear to be lacking in bodily strength. Through giving up war and treating letters as all-important a man may forfeit the way of life which he desires by becoming unable to defend it. This must be understood.

The matter is clearly explained in the Record of the Planets and Stars<sup>23</sup> where it is said “ Know how to advance and how to retreat ”. This should be taken to heart and never forgotten. Since it is specially impressed on my mind at the time of making war, I am fully aware of it. That in the course of fifty-seven years I have ten times won such complete success in war is due to the blessing of Heaven. Since the grace of Heaven is, in that way, so very profound, I am also a devout believer in it. And although I bear a constant burden of responsibility and know well the extreme weakness of my powers<sup>24</sup>, I pray in my heart that I may continue to enjoy the kindness of Heaven and I eagerly hope that it may make me a man of perfect uprightness. Beyond that I have nothing more to say.

Written by the Emperor on an early date in the first month of winter in the male water-rat year, the fifty-seventh year of gNam-skyong.

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<sup>21</sup> *dbus* here must refer to China, the Middle Kingdom, not Tibet as Bell took it. The Chinese has “ celui qui sait veiller au salut de l'Empire ”.

<sup>22</sup> “ Record of Stars and Planets ”. The Chinese has “ les sages ”.

<sup>23</sup> The Chinese seems to be more highly coloured. J. reads “ toujours saisi de crainte et tourmenté par le doute ”.

12. STONE TABLETS OF 1793, OPPOSITE THE JO-KHANG, COMMEMORATING THE VICTORY OVER THE GORKHAS

Having withdrawn his victorious army from Nepal in good order, Fu-k'ang-an stayed at Lhasa until late in the summer of 1793 to reform the administration and introduce a degree of Chinese control sufficient, it was hoped, to prevent the necessity for another such troublesome and costly expedition.

As in 1720 the army commanders set up a commemorative inscription. This (no. 12), dated 1793, is inscribed in Chinese on dark stone slabs along the top of a low wall opposite the entrance to the Jo-khang. Professor L. Petech has generously given me an abstract of the text as recorded in *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, ch. 13-C, 37a-40b<sup>1</sup> (it is also in *Hsi-tsang pei-wen*, 10-17b). It describes the successful campaign and the achievements of the troops under each general. The signatories, whose full titles are cited, are Fu-k'ang-an himself, Hai-lan-ch'a, Sun Shih-i, Hui-ling, Ho-lin and Chêng-tê. Ho-lin, brother of the Emperor's powerful favourite Ho-shên, had been appointed Amban at Lhasa in 1792 and will be mentioned again later. Chêng-tê, colleague in 1788 of the unfortunate Pa-chung seems to have escaped punishment for his own incompetence in the first phase of the 1792 operation.

In addition to the major administrative reforms Fu had to attend to a number of incidental matters. Guilty persons had to be punished. Here the Gorkhas got off quite lightly, apart from their losses in battle and the blow to their pride. The Emperor had made it clear that he wanted no territorial acquisition. No individuals were picked out for punishment; and, in all probability, much of the loot of Tibet was never recovered.

On the Tibetan side, the principal culprit, the Zhwa-dmar-pa Lama, escaped by his death the execution that would certainly have been his fate. Although Fu had his doubts that the report of the Lama's death had been concocted in order to save his life, it seems almost

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix B.



certain that he poisoned himself. What purported to be his remains were handed over together with his widow and his retinue, except for his principal attendant who also committed suicide. The Lama's property was confiscated; his monastery of Yangs-pa-can was entrusted to the new Regent, the rTa-tshag Rin-po-che; and his reincarnation was forbidden. That order held good until 1966 when a new Zhwa-dmar-pa Lama was discovered in the family of a Tibetan noble among the refugees in India.

The other party to the quarrel at bKra-shis lHun-po, the Drung-pa Hutuktu, was summoned to Peking, reprimanded and deprived of his property but escaped with his life. Another Lama of bKra-shis lHun-po was, however, stripped of his yellow robe and decapitated in an exhibition of Imperial power over the Tibetan priesthood on which the Emperor prided himself in his lengthy Dissertation on Lamaism, written in 1793. The identity of the victim is not clear. He is described as "Jedrung", a title borne by noble Lamas including the two troublesome younger brothers of the Dalai Lama; but this particular Jedrung "was connected with bKra-shis lHun-po and seems to have been held responsible, together with another described as "Grva-tshang" — perhaps a *Grva-tshang mKhan-po*, or Abbot — for precipitately abandoning the monastery to the invaders. It may be wondered whether one or other of those titles may conceal the gSol-dpon mKhan-po, the court official whose influence with the Third Panchen Lama is described by Bogle and whose continuing power during the minority of the Fourth is referred to by Turner.

Among the laymen, the rDo-ring minister bsTan-'dzin dPal-'byor, whose wife is said to have been related to the Zhwa-dmar-pa and whose dealings with the Gorkhas had roused the Emperor's suspicions, was summoned to Peking for punishment. He was dismissed from his post as minister and, according to Rockhill, his property was confiscated to the Dalai Lama. Nevertheless, within a short time he succeeded in having his 13 year old son appointed to the vacant office of minister, to the scandal of many Tibetans. In later developments, down to the present century, the rDo-ring family has not infrequently been involved in political troubles.

Fu-k'ang-an also had to dispose of minor points arising from orders and questions raised by the Emperor during the campaign. He had to arrange for the rescinding of instructions to remove all Nepalese from Tibet. The Imperial court was obviously unaware of the distinction between Newars and Gorkhas but Fu was able to persuade the Emperor that the Nepalese who lived in Tibet were not, in fact, ardent supporters of the Gorkhas and that their removal, far from doing away with causes of friction, would be disastrous for Tibetan trade.

Another misconception was that the Zhwa-dmar-pa's activities were part of a plot by the "Red Hats" to upset the power of the "Yellow Hats". The Chinese do not seem to have understood that the pre-dGe-lugs-pa sects – the rNying-ma-pa, Sa-skyapa and bKa'-brgyud-pa – differed from one another in their organisation and politics and were in no sense a coherent opposition to the dGe-lugs-pa. Chinese obsession with a Red Hat danger showed itself in a decree after the civil war of 1727–1728 that the rNying-ma-pa should be persecuted. Pho-lha had resisted that proposal. Now the Emperor's suspicions were aroused by news that a Sa-skyapa Lama had acted as mediator between the Gorkhas and the Tibetan Government and that the monks of Sa-skyapa (with characteristic prudence) had received the invaders with a show of politeness. The Sa-skyapa wore red hats and, although the Zhwa-dmar-pa's title was fortuitous and simply distinguished him from his fellow Karma-pa Lama the Zhwa Nag-pa who wore a black ceremonial hat, the name seemed to mark him out as the Red Hat *par excellence*. Whether Fu himself ever fully understood the situation or not, he was able to assure the Emperor that there had been no Red Hat conspiracy.

The major reforms consisted in empowering the Ambans to take an active part in the Tibetan administration and to consult on an equal footing with the Dalai Lama and his ministers, and, in particular, to exercise control over the external affairs, including the trade, of Tibet. The Dalai and Panchen Lamas were forbidden to correspond direct with the Emperor any longer and all business was to go through the Ambans. The monopoly of minting coinage for Tibet was taken from the Nepalese and a mint was established at Lhasa. It was also

proposed that the Ambans should supervise the finances of the Tibetan Government.

In the sphere of religion the Emperor, in his capacity of Protector of the Yellow Church, sought to remove abuses, both in Tibet and Mongolia, in the choice of incarnate lamas which had tended recently to find the more important lamas in a close circle of influential families. It was, therefore, decreed that the names of suitable candidates should be put into a golden vase, presented by the Emperor, and the one drawn out of it after a religious ceremony should be the accepted reincarnation.

Orders to that effect, dated early in 1793, are quoted by Rockhill whose translation includes the peculiar statements that attempts had been made to have the son of the minister *bsTan-'dzin dPal-'byor* declared an incarnation, and that the *Zhwa-dmar-pa* Lama had conspired to seize the office of Panchen Lama. It is improbable that misinformation at the Imperial court could have gone quite so far as that last statement. Perhaps it is a mistranslation and the reference was to the property of the Panchen Lama.

On paper, the reforms amounted to the imposition of a close supervision over the Tibetan administration; but it did not escape the Emperor's notice that much of the trouble had been due to the dishonesty and inefficiency of his representatives in Tibet and that, if the reforms were to be effective, better men must be appointed.

The despatch to Lhasa as Amban of Ho-shên's brother Ho-lin with a flood of orders and instructions about all manner of administrative detail was evidence of that intention. A further mark of the new attitude was, apparently, that Ho-lin was advised not to show to the Dalai Lama the deference that had been done by his predecessors; for when appointing his successor, Sung-yün, in 1794 the Emperor noted with approval that Ho had not kowtowed to the Dalai Lama and he hoped that Sung would act similarly (Backhouse and Bland, *Annals*, pp. 320-321).

The extent to which the reforms were effective will be considered later. That a keen interest in Tibetan affairs was maintained for at least three years is shown by the number of inscriptions from that period; but before examining those that survive at Lhasa I may mention one im-

portant edict the text of which could not be traced there – the lengthy “Dissertation on Lamaism” by The Emperor Ch’ien-lung.

The Dissertation, composed about the same time as the decree about the selection of high lamas, was inscribed in Chinese, Tibetan, Manchu and Mongolian on stone tablets in the Yung-ho-kung monastery at Peking. It is a long, patronizing, not strictly accurate, account of the origins of Lamaism and the relations of Lamas with the Emperors of China; it describes the Emperor’s opinion on the system of reincarnation and its abuse, and it explains his institution of selection by the golden urn. The decree is Ch’ien-lung’s swan-song on his relationship with the Yellow Hat Church and he congratulates himself on the conjunction of opportunity, justice, and insight in his handling of recent events. He expresses his feelings of satisfaction and devotion at his settlement of the Gorkha affair, the pacification of Tibet, the consolidation of the border and the foundation of permanent peace for the whole empire.

It seems probable that, as there was a Tibetan version, a copy of the edict would have been sent to Tibet. True, it is not mentioned in the list in *Hsi-tsang pei-wên*; but a document of that nature would be displeasing to the Tibetans who would have been disinclined to keep it in a conspicuous place. Some light may be found in Waddell’s plan of the Jo-khang in his *Lhasa and its Mysteries* (p. 365). He shows, on the right of the entrance, a room containing “Chenlung’s Edict”. During my stay at Lhasa I saw in a small dark store room at the place marked by Waddell a number of inscribed stone slabs; but they proved to be the text of 1808 (no. 17 in my list at p. 4) which will be examined later. At the time of Waddell’s visit those slabs were ranged in the open verandah on either side of the entrance to the Jo-Khang (p. 364). I can find no explanation of what Waddell described as Ch’ien-lung’s edict in the room on the right side of the entrance; perhaps it was the Dissertation on Lamaism. If so, one may wonder what became of it. There were in the Mi-dbang chapel of the Jo-khang some inscribed stone tablets which I was never able to examine. On successive visits I could never see more than that the tablets were of dark stone like those of other Ch’ing inscriptions; but they were in a dark corner behind shelves covered with bowls of water and other

offerings, and the position of the chapel, very close to the image of the Jo-wo Rin-po-che brought it constantly under the eye of the sacristans of the Jo-khang so powerful, watchful and conservative a body that even the Lama who told me about the inscription never ventured to examine it closely enough to identify it. None of the well-informed officials at Lhasa from whom I enquired knew anything about it; and, in view of the recent fate of the Jo-khang, its identity will probably remain a mystery.

13. STONE TABLET OF 1793 REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GE-SAR CHAPEL ON THE BAR-MA-RI

I come now to no. 13 in my list, an inscription in Chinese at the Ge-sar Lha-khang on the Bar-ma-ri.

The chapel, which is mentioned by L. A. Waddell in *Lhasa and its Mysteries* (p. 334), is situated, facing west, on a small rocky hillock to the north of Kun-bde-gling monastery. It is built in the Chinese style and in an open verandah, visible from the main road into Lhasa, there are two large mounted figures of armed warriors. Inside the chapel is an image regarded by the Tibetans as Ge-sar but by the Chinese as Kuan-yü or Kuan-ti; a picture of that image, and of others there, can be seen in *Tibet Past and Present* by Sir Charles Bell, p. 20. The chapel was looked after by a monk of Kun-bde-gling but was not much patronised. Its principal attraction was the reading of fortunes by shaking bamboo slips in a wooden tube and comparing the markings on those that fell out with the interpretation in a book.

In front of the *lha-khang* the rock slopes steeply down to a small enclosed garden in which are two stone tablets inscribed, so I was told, with an account of the founding of the chapel and dated the 58th year of Ch'ien-lung – i.e. 1793. This appears to be no. 6 in Rockhill's list from the *Hsi-tsang pei-wên* "Tablet on the erection of a temple to Kuan-ti on Lu-pan Shan dated 1795". Professor Stein has given me the following note about it from *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, 6, 10 a. "There are two of them. The first is by Ho-lin and was erected south of Tashilhunpo. It first mentions the different victories of the Manchu

dynasty all due to Kuan-ti's help, then the revolt of the Gorkhas in 1791 and the war against them conducted by Fu-k'ang-an Duke of Valour and great scholar Chung-ju. On his return to Tibet after the victory, the general erected a temple of Kuan-ti on Mo-pan shan. Then follows the inscription of Fu-k'ang-an on the temple newly erected on the summit of Mo-pan shan in 1792. It says that the Gorkhas on invading Tibet have pillaged the Kuan-ti temple at Tashilhunpo. Fu-k'ang-an was appointed Great General; the duke Hai-lan-ch'a and the Governor of Szechwan were chief assistants; the minister Ho-lin was in charge of the grain supply; Ts'o-ying was in the rearguard; the great scholar Sun Shih-i set out from Chamdo to help. Thanks to Kuan-ti's protection they overcame all hardships. (There is no date)".

In spite of the slight confusion about the date, there seems no doubt of the identity of this inscription. Lu-pan shan or Mo-pan shan is presumably the name given by the Chinese to the hillock which the Tibetans call Bar-ma-ri. (The orthography is uncertain, mKhyen-brtse's *Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet* has Bong-ba-ri; and the form sPar-ma-ri - "thorn-bush hill" - was also suggested to me). The Ge-sar chapel at Grwa-bzhi, which is on level ground, has been mentioned above, p. 22.

As for the Kuan-ti temple at bKra-shis lHun-po which is said to have been destroyed by the Gorkhas and rebuilt by Ho-lin, its survival in the late XIXth century is mentioned by Sarat Das in *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet* (p. 52) and its position is shown by him on a sketch map.

Another Kuan-ti temple was seen by Fathers Huc and Gabet, in 1842, at rGya-mda' where there was a small detachment of Chinese troops.

#### 14. THE TABLET OF THE DOUBLE DEVOTION

This is another inscription in Chinese set up by Fu-k'ang-an in memory of his paternal uncle Fu-ch'ing who with his colleague Labdon was killed by the Tibetans in 1751 after they had assassinated the Tibetan

king Gyur-med rNam-rgyal. In *Hsi-tsang pei-wên* it is described as being situated N.E. of the Jo-khang and bearing the date 1793. The text, which has been translated into French from the *Shêng-wu-chi* by M. Jametel in *Revue d'Historie Diplomatique* vol. I, 1887, gives a rather tendentious account of the events leading up to the murder and a lively description of the incident itself. It shows among other things, that a chapel in memory of the Ambans and containing their images was set up soon after the event, apparently in a part of their residence which survived the fire that destroyed the greater part of it when it was attacked by the Tibetans. Fu-k'ang-an found the chapel in a ruinous condition; he repaired it and set up the images of two junior officials who had also been killed, as well as the inscribed tablet.

The site of the Residency is known as Khrom-gzigs-sgang and before it was occupied by the Ambans it had been used by the Vth and VIth Dalai Lamas when they watched ceremonies. In 1947 I found the inscription surviving in good condition on its stone slab which had been set into the wall of a small room, on the ground floor, which was being used as a tailor's shop. There was no sign of images or that the place had ever been used as a chapel and, if the account from Chinese sources quoted by Petech in *China and Tibet* (p. 209) is correct, the original chapel was in a room on the upper floor where the murders took place. Later, I learned that two images, believed to be those of the Ambans, were lying by the side of the circular road round Lhasa, on the north side of the city; but I was unable to verify that myself.

#### 15. THE SMALLPOX EDICT OF 1794 BY THE AMBAN HO-LIN

The inscription is on a tablet of dark-coloured stone surmounted by an ornamental semi-circular slab with carvings of dragons on it. The whole is set in a masonry frame and has an elaborate tiled roof of Chinese design. It stands opposite the entrance to the Jo-khang, to the south of the wall containing inscription no. 12, and not, far from the treaty pillar of 821/822. There is a photograph of it in Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries* and three others, including a good coloured

photograph, in Landon's *Lhasa*. Landon mistook the inscription for the nearby treaty of 821/822.

The Tibetan text is badly damaged and only some 15 lines – about half – survive. I have edited it in the *Journal of Oriental Studies* of the University of Hong Kong, vol. VI nos. 1–2, 1961–1964, with the help of Professor R. A. Stein who provided a translation of the Chinese text which is contained in full in *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*. In that edition attention is drawn to the statement by Ho-lin that Tibet was not regarded as a vassal in the T'ang and Sung dynasties and, also, to the transitory effect of Ho's well-intentioned measures.

The Tibetan construction is rather involved and there is some uncertainty about orthography; but, comparing what remains with Professor Stein's rendering of the Chinese, it seems that the two versions are very close. A slight concession is made to Tibetan susceptibilities by omitting the description of their country in the Tibetan text as “ barbarian ”.

The text that follows was copied originally for Sir Charles Bell and was checked by my Political Assistant and myself at Lhasa. The division into lines can be seen in my edition in JOS Hongkong but I have recorded it here, for the sake of convenience, continuously.

ji	gnas
srid	yong
bar	ba
sor	gyis

།|| bod gyi yul 'di bzhin phyogs bzhi'i dbus su gnas pa'i sangs rgyas  
kyi zhing khams yin 'dug pa / snga sor thangs dang bzungs kyi rgyal  
po'i dus rgya yul rgyal khab chen po dang 'gres<sup>1</sup> che yang chab 'bangs  
zu 'khod mi 'dug cing / nged tsho'i gong ma chen po tha'i tsung 'un  
gyi dus nas chab 'bangs su 'khod pa bcas / da bar lo ngo brgya lhag  
tsam song 'dug par rten / rims bzhin \* rgyal khrims kyi lugs srol tshang  
ma go shes byung 'dug pa / \* lha skyongs chu byi lo nged nas \* gongs

\* Asterisks represent the honorific sign before references to the Emperor.

<sup>1</sup> 'gres perhaps for 'brel.



ma chen po'i bka' bzhin bod kyi las don tshang ma legs lam tu gtong  
 dgos de ltar la / rims bzhin dgong pa gzabs mo dang mthun pa'i srol  
 'dzugs byas pa'i ji srid bar rtsi 'jog gi 'jags gnas yong ba byas shing /  
 de nas lugs srol dang skyas gnas <sup>2</sup> de bzhin kyang rtsa ba che ba bcas  
 bod phyogs kyi sa cha yin kyang / sngan rgyun gyi lam ngan par phra  
 mo tsams <sup>3</sup> btang na ma mthus <sup>4</sup> pas / de don bzhin 'brum nad kyi  
 skor yang khrag gi phung por brtan pa'i gnyan nad la song bshis /  
 snga phyi ma gtogs 'di chi <sup>5</sup> tshang mar na dgos pa la / sman bcos sogs  
 la le gshor du ma song ba'i thabs sgo gang zab byas rjes mi mthar  
 ba'i rgyu med kyang / bod kyi yul du 'brum nad na mi'i rigs byung  
 tshe / dog zon dgos pa'i nad ngan reg dug las kyang bag zon che ba  
 lta bu'i ri khug tu tshang ma phud nas / x x x spun zla / za mi bu  
 phrug / ltos par bcas pa ya bral byed bcug par rten / phan char mi  
 'gro ba'i nad pa brgya tsam byung rung de gras nas gcig kyang 'tsho  
 ma thub pa / de dag la snying rje skyas <sup>6</sup> te blos ma zod pa'i nged nas  
 lha ldan gyi byang phyogs gsang yib zer ba'i sa yul (c. 24 letters effaced)  
 nad byung rigs kyi bod mi rnam la shod gnas su phan slebs che ba  
 dang / (c. 16 letters effaced) 'don thog (c. 8 letters effaced) dmag mched  
 mngags kyi 'go 'chings rogs ram du btang bar x / dang (c. 24 letters  
 effaced) bod ser skya nas kyang nad rigs 'di thad la (c. 42 letters effaced)  
 la'ang babs (c. 34 letters effaced) gtong dgos rgyur slar (remaining 15  
 lines totally illegible).

### Translation

Observe this so long as the age endures

The land of Tibet is indeed a spiritual sphere of the Buddha in the  
 centre of the four quarters. Formerly, in the time of the kings of the

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<sup>2</sup> *skyas gnas* is obscure and a reference to *skya ba*, "to change one's abode, to die" seems out of place. Perhaps *skyes* is intended.

<sup>3</sup> *tsams* for *tsam*.

<sup>4</sup> *mthus*. 'thus or thus is clearly intended.

<sup>5</sup> *chi*. probably *phyi* is intended.

<sup>6</sup> *skyas* is here almost certainly in error for *skyes*.

Thangs and bZungs, although there was great friendship with the kingdom of China it was not established as a vassal; but in the time of our great Emperor Tha'i-tsung-'un it was established as a vassal. Up to the present rather more than 100 years have elapsed and as a result it has gradually come to know and understand all the customs ordained by the Kingdom.

In the water-bird year of Lha-skyongs, in accordance with the command of the Great Emperor that I should direct all its affairs upon a good course, I have gradually brought about peaceful conditions, to be respected so long as the age endures, by introducing customs which are in conformity with a careful plan. And thus, while treating in this way the customs and ways of life as of great importance, yet, even though this is the country of the Tibetan region, it is not possible to allow even to a small degree a bad habit that has been continued from former times. For that reason, in the matter of smallpox because it has become an infectious disease affecting the body which is composed of flesh and blood, while sooner or later without exception in this life or the next the illness must affect everyone, if thorough advantage be taken, without remission, of medical treatment and the like, there is no reason why one should not escape.

Nevertheless, in the land of Tibet when men fall ill of smallpox, as though it were an evil disease that ought to be feared and avoided even more than venereal disease is to be feared and avoided, they are driven out into the recesses of the mountains. And because of the enforced separation of (father and son), brother, sister and kinsmen, husband and wife and children, also members of their household, when there are as many as one hundred such infected persons who cannot have recourse to assistance, out of that number even one does not survive.

Feeling pity for them and not being able to endure it I have (established) at the place called gSang-yib on the north side of Lhasa ... in dwellings provided for Tibetans afflicted by the disease great benefit and ... in addition to expenses ... sending to help them the commander of a specially commissioned body of troops; and ... even by Tibetan monks and laymen with regard to this illness ... tax ... should send in future ...

Professor Stein's translation of the Chinese text of the edict in *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih* follows: <sup>1</sup>

“Tangut [Tibet] being one of the five [parts of] India, its custom is to venerate the Buddha. Though since T'ang and Sung [times] it has had relations with China, it was not yet incorporated in its [our] territory. Since the time of our dynasty's T'ai-tsung Wên-huang-ti 太宗文皇帝, when it made allegiance, it is now more than 100 years. It has [since then] been modelled by the Royal Doctrine and has little by little become civilized [transformed]. In the year *jên-tzu* 壬子 of Ch'ien-lung [1792] I have received the Order to put in order Tibetan affairs. Entirely thanks to the instructions of the [Ancestral] Temple, I have gradually governed and pacified [it] so that it will forever spontaneously observe [them]. Now concerning the great principles [important matters] of the civilizing influence on the peoples' living, though [we have to deal with] a land of barbarians, we should certainly not follow their old customs, [but rather] restrain them a little. Now the sign of smallpox is a poison left over from the Anterior Heaven [physical constitution received by destiny or nature] and cannot be avoided by men. If the healing is rightly done there is certainly no reason of not remaining alive. But the Tangutans when they meet a man struck with smallpox they consider the bad ulcers and poisonous furuncles as too terrible, so that they immediately chase him into the wilderness and caves of the cliffs. Even in case of near relatives like father and son, elder and younger brother, husband and wife they will not take time to take care of them. Finally out of a hundred not one single one remains alive. This is profoundly pitiable. In the valley of Lang-thang of northern Tibet 藏北浪蕩溝 [?'Phan yul glang thang] I have raised funds to build a certain number of houses for Tibetan people struck with smallpox to live in and to provide them with food for the mouth. And I have sent Chinese and Tibetan soldiers to take care of that and see to their nourishment. Out of ten, nine were [in this way] entirely alive. Not only have the clergy and the people already

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<sup>1</sup> In front of the stone are engraved the four characters 永定規條 'Regulations established forever'. —R.A. Stein.

understood that the sign of smallpox is not a calamity which cannot be cured; but I have also conveyed severe instructions to Anterior and Posterior Tibet in order to exhort the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama to contribute food as a permanent rule. Moreover, it is the Tibetan custom that apart from the great lamas and great chiefs who obtain at their death to be cremated and to have a stupa erected; for the others after reading the scriptures and [the rite of] repentance, their corpse is torn into pieces and thrown away to feed eagles and dogs. This is called heavenly burial and terrestrial burial. Criminals are thrown into a river. This is called water burial. Not only is that unreasonable but it is also extremely hard to bear. I have guided them by severe instructions and I have enlightened them with the reason of righteousness and I have published in Chinese and Tibetan the severe order to forbid and stop [these customs]. I have given instructions to the two Lamas the Dalai and Panchen to open an empty place in the mountains for a certain number of public graveyards in order that feeble [poor] people may be able to be buried [there]. I have also given orders to make regular reports and see to efficiency in food supply affairs[?]. In case anyone dares to continue to tread in the old paths he shall be severely punished. More than a year has elapsed up to today and the Tibetan people greatly understood [this] civilizing education. All together [like a single body] they obey.

[But] I am sincerely afraid that [after] enacting this for a long time, the Tibetan people being stupid, they may gradually follow in the steps of their former habits, [so that] the future people will not know my intentions [heart] and will act as they like at their own convenience. In that case my former merit [work] will be entirely neglected. All my announcements [instructions] remain in draft form in my office<sup>2</sup>. Now I erect a stone to record it. May future gentlemen enlarge and push further this idea and civilize their customs. That is what I greatly hope for.

General Secretary of Tibetan Affairs by Imperial order, Minister

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<sup>2</sup> The different texts of these instructions are found in the *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih* (14b: 40-53)-R.A. Stein.

of Public Works, Governor General of the Manchu Army of the White banner [with border of another colour], General of the cavalry of the clouds by hereditary succession, Ho-lin 欽命總理西藏事務工部尚書鑲白旗滿軍都統世襲雲騎尉和琳 has composed and written this.

Ch'ien-lung 59th year, 3rd month, × day erected”.

#### 16. STONE PILLAR AT KUN-BDE-GLING, DATED 1794

This inscription is further evidence of Ho-lin's activity while he was Amban. Outside the monastery of Kun-bde-gling, near its southern gate, there is a stone pillar some 8 or 9 feet high by 2½ wide inscribed on its north and south sides respectively in Chinese and Tibetan. It is dated the wood-tiger year (1794) and records the founding of a *lha-khang* on the Bar-ma-ri as a thank-offering after the Chinese victory over the Gorkhas. The *lha-khang* was handed over to the rTa-tshag rJe-drung Rin-po-che, Ye-shes bLo-bzang bsTan-pa'i -mgon-po, who was then virtually regent of Tibet although the VIIIth Dalai Lama continued, until his death in 1804, as nominal head of the administration.

Although the name is not mentioned in the inscription, the new *lha-khang* appears to have been the origin of the wealthy monastery of Kun-bde-gling and to have provided an establishment at Lhasa for the rTa-tshag Rin-po-che and his successors.

Ye-shes bLo-bzang bsTan-pa'i-mgon-po was eighth in succession from Ba-so Chos-kyi rGyal-mtshan of gTsang, a disciple of Tsong-kha-pa, who founded a monastery at dPag-shod in Tsha-ba-yul, S.W. of Chamdo. The title rJe-drung was first applied to the fourth reincarnation, rJe-drung Ngag-dbang Chos-kyi dBang-phyug.

The inscription, in 21 lines of which I have a rubbing, is in good condition apart from slight damage to the last line but one. The lettering is lightly carved in elegant, elongated, characters. The composition and syntax are simple but not always correct and there are orthographical errors, in particular, the writer was addicted to a superfluous final *s* – e.g. *skyongs*, *'tshoms*, *dmags*, *'thabs*, *skrags*, and *rngams*.

The damage in the last line but one obscures slightly the title by which Ho-lin is described but Professor Stein tells me that in any case it is not the same as that used in the Smallpox Edict while it does agree, at least in its earlier part, with that used by the Assistant Amban Ho-ning who succeeded Ho-lin as junior colleague of Sung-yün in 1794/1795 and was later senior Amban in 1800. Professor Stein further informs me that in the *Hsi-tsang t'ung-chih* attention is drawn to errors in the titles applied to officials in Tibet and, in particular to those of Huei-ning, Ho-lin and Sun Shih-i in the inscription of the Kuan-ti temple of Fu-k'ang-an (No. 15). In spite of the discrepancies there seems no reason to doubt the attribution of the Kun-bde-gling inscription to Ho-lin.

The Tibetan text which follows has been transcribed continuously. Asterisks represent the honorific sign.

~|| 'jam dpal dbyangs gong ma bdag po chen po ni nges nges sangs rgyas yin / gnam 'og thams cad la byams skyongs mdzad / sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa srungs / skyi chu kyang gsal dwangs 'dug / po ta la la spring gyis gdugs phubs / thag ring go rsha lho nub nas rtsod pa byas / \* gong ma chen po dgongs pa shin tu 'tshoms / gser yig phab nas dpung 'jug mdzad / t'a cang jun chen po phu bka' mngags am ban ho nas / dmags phogs bskyel 'dren gis 'thabs 'dzings byas / \* gong ma chen po'i bka' gnang ltar la rtsi 'jog gis nor 'khrul ma byung 'dug / dpa' thur gung had pas rkun mi gsod skabs 'brug gis shing sdong la thog rgyab pa lta bu byung / rkun mi 'jigs skrags skyes nas mgo sgur zhus / chu byi lo ston zla'i dus cang jun / dang / dmag dpon rnam nas rgyal kha lon / de rjes dmag dpon rnam nas lha la khas len mdzad nas / lha dkon mchog la btang rag phul / zhal 'debs dngul srang stong phrag lnga phul / bar ma ri la lha khang gcig bzhengs / gros bsdur gyi thag bcad bas \* rje drung ho thog thu nas ji srid bar 'dzin bdag byas / las rgyun lo gcig 'gor thog lha khang grubs / sku 'dra mang po bzhengs rigs rnam kyang rngams brjid shin tu che / lo khri tsho gcig gi bar \* rje drung ho thog thu la lha khang 'jags gnas thog / sa 'tshams bde 'jag yong thabs yin / lha skyongs khrir bzhugs dgung lo nga dgu pa'i shing stag zla 9 tshe bzang po la //

// \* zi byin hri khru hrin nang blon can glis bu hri lang  
pha'u tu thung cun kung ca x x x x lu hri tshi ho lin nas dad mdun  
gyis sbyar //

*Translation*

The Emperor 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs<sup>1</sup>, our great master, is truly Buddha. He gives loving protection to all under heaven. He defends the religion of the Buddha. The sKyi-chu is clear and pure. Clouds spread a canopy over the Potala. The distant Gorkha made war from the south-west. The great Emperor was much disturbed in mind. A golden letter was bestowed and an army was raised. Fu was appointed great commander-in-chief and, with Amban Ho collecting and despatching military supplies, the war was waged. By acting with due regard for the orders of the great Emperor there was no error or confusion. When the Brave<sup>2</sup> Duke Had (Hai-lan-ch'a) killed the robbers it was like a thunderbolt striking a tree. The robbers were terrified and made their surrender. In the autumn of the water-rat year the commander in chief and his generals won the victory. After that, the generals, having made a promise to God, gave a thank-offering to the Most Precious God. They offered a contribution of 5000 silver srangs and founded a *lha-khang* on the Bar-ma-ri. By a decision reached after consultation, the rJe-drung Ho-thog-thu assumed possession of it in perpetuity. After one year's work the *lha-khang* was completed. The many sorts of images set up, also, were very splendid. For ten thousand years, so long as the *lha-khang* remains the peaceful dwelling of the rJe-drung Ho-thog-thu, may it be a means of bringing peace to the frontier. On an auspicious day in the ninth month of the wood-tiger year, the fifty-ninth of the reign of Lha-skyongs, reverently composed by the minister of the Interior, Ho-lin<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The Emperor was conventionally regarded as an incarnation of the Bodhisattva 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs.

<sup>2</sup> dPa' thur presumably represents Mongol Bator (Bahadur).

<sup>3</sup> I have not attempted to translate Ho's Chinese title; see p. 61 last sentence.

17. STONE TABLET AT GRWA-BZHI ON MILITARY MATTERS, C. 1795

This inscription, in Chinese only, on a stone tablet near the parade ground at Grwa-bzhi a little to the south of the *lha-khang* founded by Ji Pu and Phu Nas (no. 13). It is apparently “the tablet of the drill ground signed by the Amban and his assistant Ho-ning (author of *Hsi-tsang fu*)” mentioned by Rockhill (JRAS 1891, p. 264). The senior Amban was Sung-yün, himself the author of a book about Tibet – the *Hsi-chao t'u-lüeh*, a description of Tibet with maps, printed in 1798 (Rockhill, *ib.*, p. 3).

Professor R. A. Stein informs me that the *Wei-tsang t'ung-chih* records several edicts and reports by Sung-yün and Ho-ning in 1795, mostly relating to the distribution of grain, the regulation of *u-lag* etc. The present inscription must be that cited in *Hsi-tsang t'u-k'ao*, 7 A 29 b–30b, as the “Notice on the inspection of the borders by Sung-yün” with the comment that “this stele has been engraved at the military drill hall of Chiang-tzu (and ?) in anterior and posterior Tibet. There are differences in the text, we give here the abridged text in the Gazetteer of Szu-chwan. It describes in detail the itinerary followed in the summer of 1795”.

The inscription at Grwa-bzhi was in an exposed position and had suffered from weathering. Attempts to photograph it were unsuccessful. I was not able to trace any such inscription at Gyantse (Chiang-tzu).

18. STONE TABLETS OF 1808 AT THE JO-KHANG CONCERNING THE SELECTION OF THE NINTH DALAI LAMA

There is an interval of some 13 years between the last inscription and no. 18, an edict of Chia-Ch'ing about the selection of the IXth Dalai Lama.

The VIIIth Dalai Lama, 'Jam-dpal rGya-mtsho, died in 1804 and the rTa-tshag Rin-po-che, bsTan-pa'i mGon-po, who had been



regent in all but name since 1791, was formally appointed to that office which he held until his death in 1810. Although it is often asserted that the Chinese reforms of 1793 meant a massive increase in the influence of the Ambans over the Tibetan administration at Lhasa, Tsipon Shakabpa has described in his *Tibet* (pp. 170–171) the swift and effective popular opposition to attempted interference by the Chinese and also to Tibetan officials – including the controversial rDo-ring minister, bsTan-'dzin dPal-'byor – who were suspected of collaborating with them.

The old failing that had led to trouble before – the appointment as Ambans of men of inferior character and ability – appeared again; and as early as 1805 the Amban Ts'e-pa-k'e and his assistant were disgraced for taking bribes (Li Tieh-tseng, *The Historical Status of Tibet*, p. 245). It is doubtful whether the measures even of so active and zealous an officer as Ho-lin had much practical effect. His Smallpox Edict did little to change established Tibetan habits for when the Fathers Huc and Gabet visited Lhasa in 1846 they found that victims of that disease were still being expelled across the river to recover or die; and by 1940 there was none but the vaguest recollection that the pleasant valley of gSang-yib had ever been used as an isolation centre for smallpox sufferers. Perhaps, as I have suggested in my article on the Smallpox Edict in JOS (Hongkong) vol. VI, Ho-lin's measures may, at least, have given Tibetans the idea that smallpox could be treated medically. As for Sung-yün's care of military establishments (p. 62) that must be seen against the background of Tibetan demands for the total withdrawal of the Chinese garrison that led to its reduction to about 250 men (Shakabpa, *op. cit.*, p. 171).

The rapid decline in the effectiveness of Chinese supervision at Lhasa is reflected in the present inscription which reveals that on the very first instance that the recently prescribed method of choosing a new Dalai Lama, by drawing lots from a golden urn, should have been used the Tibetans successfully ignored it and chose the new Dalai Lama in their own way.

Although Li Tieh-tseng tries to explain this by asserting that there was only one candidate and the urn was not used unless there was a

dispute, both the present inscription and Tsipon Shakabpa show that there were, in fact several candidates and that the Tibetans made their own choice. The Amban Yü-ning, who succeeded Ts'e-pa-k'e in 1805, seems to have given Peking no information about this until 1808 when he reported the choice, saying there could be no doubt that it was correct and that the enthronement would take place in a few months. For the Emperor to have intervened at that stage would have risked a serious disturbance so the Imperial Council decided to condone the irregularity and in the 8th month they issued a decree acknowledging the child as Dalai Lama but ordering that in future the procedure decreed by Ch'ien-lung should be followed. The Edict of 1808 confirming that decision seems designed to obscure, in a cloud of pious and colourable verbiage, the distasteful necessity of accepting the *fait accompli*.

In spite of this experience, a similar situation presented itself a mere ten years later. On the death of the IXth Dalai Lama Lung-rtogs rGya-mtsho, in 1815 the Tibetans again made their choice from among three candidates. The Amban Yü-lin at first accepted this and reported accordingly to Peking. On this occasion the Emperor issued a stern rebuke to the Amban and the Regent and ordered that more candidates should be found and the golden vase put to use. Shakabpa records that the names of two candidates already rejected by the Tibetans themselves were once more considered and that eventually a pretence was made that lots had actually been drawn. At all events, the boy originally chosen by the Tibetans was acknowledged as Dalai Lama.

These incidents, particularly with the invaluable light recently thrown on them from Tibetan sources by Tsipon Shakabpa, show how limited was Chinese authority over internal affairs in Tibet even after the much-vaunted reforms of 1793. In another respect, too, the present inscription shows the Chinese abandoning a former position and falling in with Tibetan practice. The K'ang-hsi Emperor's edict enthroning bsKal-bzang rGya-mtsho as Dalai Lama in 1720 ignored the existence of both Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho and Lha-bzang's nominee and described bsKal-bzang rGya-mtsho as the VIth Dalai Lama. To the Tibetans he was then, and always has been, known as

the VIIth. The Tibetan text of the present edict reads “ after the Vth Dalai Lama there were two incarnations in succession; and the VIIIth Dalai Lama died in the 9th year of Chia-ch’ing (1804). That bland arithmetic by which  $5+2=8$  is apparently a mistranslation of the Chinese which, as Professor Stein tells me, means simply “ one after another ”. At all events the Emperor now acknowledged the new Dalai Lama as the IXth.

L. A. Waddell translated the edict from the Tibetan in *JRAS*, 1910, but without giving the text which, he states, is inscribed on four great tablets of dark stone or slate at the left side of the door of the great Jo-khang temple at Lhasa which are protected by an awning as can be seen in a photograph at p. 364 of his *Lhasa and its Mysteries*. He adds that a duplicate copy is displayed at the great lamasery of Sera in a special niche to the right of the great temple door. This is shown in a photograph at p. 374 of the above-mentioned work. In that book itself he gives a slightly different account, saying that the dark limestone slabs containing the Chinese and Mongolian version of the edict line the verandah of the entry to the Jo-khang while four smaller slabs containing the Tibetan translation are ranged round a great prayer-wheel on the left of the same verandah. The statement in *JRAS* appears to be correct, for when I first visited Lhasa in 1936 I saw the slabs, set into the wall on the north and at right angles to the verandah entrance of the Jo-khang, under a rough wooden awning. This is seen in a photograph in *Lhasa the Holy City* by F. S. Chapman, which was taken at that time and is similar to Waddell’s photograph. On a later visit in 1946 I noticed that the tablets and the awning had been removed, leaving a plain wall as shown in the photographs opposite p. 124 of Heinrich Harrer’s *Meine Tibet-Bilder* (1953). Wanting to have a copy of the inscription, I asked where it was and was told it had been removed during repairs and was in a store room on the right side of the entrance to the Jo-khang. Perhaps the removal was connected with Tibetan official sensitivity about such Chinese inscriptions which manifested itself at the same time in the closing of access to the inscribed edicts of 1721 and 1793. I got permission for copies to be taken; and that was done by my scholarly and reliable assistant, Rai Saheb Pemba

Tshering of the Indian Mission staff. To avoid disturbing the sensitive *dKon-gnyer* (sacristans) of the Jo-khang I contented myself with a brief examination of the tablets and did not attempt to check the copy in detail. The room where they were kept was apparently the same as that in which Waddell in his plan of the Jo-khang (*op. cit.*, p. 364) indicates that there was an inscription of Ch'ien-lung; but as no other Tibetan inscription could be seen except the edict of 1808, the identity and present whereabouts of the Ch'ien-lung inscription remain a mystery (see p. 51 above).

The copy of the edict of 1808 outside the Assembly Hall at Sera was still in position but I did not find an opportunity to examine it in detail. Waddell, however, compared it with the version at the Jo-khang when making his translation.

The edict is recorded in Chinese works including the *Hsi tsang t'u k'ao* from which Professor R. A. Stein has kindly provided me with a provisional translation. Jametel, also, has translated in *L'épigraphie Chinoise au Tibet* what appears to be a summary. The various Chinese sources raise some questions about the situation of the edict. Rockhill in his list in JRAS 1891 describes it as being N.E. of the Potala near Mount Sera. The *Hsi-tsang t'u-k'ao* as translated by Professor Stein, has "in the N.E. corner at the foot of the Potala (and?) on the eastern wall under the verandah of Sera monastery". Jametel's translation begins with the statement that the edict is erected at the temple of P'ou t'o tsong cheng by order of the Emperor; but in his notes he writes that it said to be against a wall forming one side of the verandah east of the pagoda of Choo la in front of its gates. Choo la he takes to mean Sera. There is perhaps some confusion between the Potala and Jo-khang at Lhasa and the Potala built by Chien-lung at Jehol which was known as P'ou t'o tsong cheng and which is the subject of a panegyric in the first part of the edict of 1808. If a copy of the edict was, in fact, set up at Jehol it does not appear to be included in Franke and Laufer's collection of inscriptions from there.

The edict at Lhasa is in four parts, each on a separate stone tablet and each introduced by a passage in verse. The first is devoted to an account of the Potala built by Ch'ien-lung at Jehol; the second to the

institution by him of the procedure of the golden vase; the third records the gist of Amban Yü-ning's report of the discovery of the new Dalai Lama; and the last is a justification of the Emperor's acceptance of the selection without the prescribed arbitrament by lot.

Comparison with Professor Stein's translation from the Chinese shows that the Tibetan is quite remote from it in several places, especially in the verse passages, and that obscurities in the original seem to have been carried over into the Tibetan translation. It is difficult to say whether the discrepancies are due to the translator being a Chinese unfamiliar with all the nuances of Tibetan or *vice versa*, but it seems probable that the verse passages, where allusive poetic language is used, were the work of a Tibetan. Waddell's translation avoids some of the considerable crop of difficulties by omitting them; and I have preferred to make my own version rather than follow his. I have had the advantage of general guidance from Stein's translation of the Chinese and also of advice from Tibetan friends but I would not claim to have discovered the exact meaning throughout. To avoid a plethora of notes I have tried to choose the more significant of the numerous points on which it would be possible to comment. My references to the Chinese text must be understood to depend on Professor Stein's version, with the proviso that as he has not been able to see the typescript of this work, I alone am responsible for any errors that may have arisen in my use of his information.

I.

~|| po ta la gtsug lag khang gi mjal phyag skor 'dir bkod par / dpal  
ldan kun kyab lung gis dbang bskur kho bo'i \*yab rje 'jam dpal dbyangs  
// gang gi 'phrin las srid kyi sman mchog rgyal bstan srog 'tshor yongs  
grub pa'i // bka' drin gser gyi ri dbang sgril byed zhwa ser cod pan  
'chang la sogs // mtha' dag yid can dga' dang gus pas zhabs rdul rin  
chen spyi bos len // khri phrag bskal par bsod nams kun tu dga'i //  
re ba brdzogs slad zhe hor rdo rje'i rir // sngon med ri bo ta la gsar

lag khang 'di \*gong ma chen po'i phyogs kyi pho brang gi byang ri'i  
steng du bskrun cing // bod chos kyi zhing gi po ta lar dpe bzung ba'i  
chos skad du po ta la dang // rgya skad du pha'u tho'a / po ta la  
zhes pa ni gsum yod par gcig ni rgya gar ram hen du si than dang /  
gcig ni thu sbe the 'am bod kyi zhing / gcig ni ce cang mtsho lho /  
sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa dang po hin du si than brgyud bod du dar  
zhing / bod nas mtsho lhor dar ba'i mtsho lho'i po ta la ni nges par  
byang chub sems dpa' rnames kyi bstan pa spel zhing gsal bar mdzad  
pa'i gnas yin la / hen du si than zhes pa ni sa thag ring gshis rtsad dpyod  
dka' bas gcig tu bod yul gyi po ta la'i gtsug lag khang gi tshad dbyibs  
mtha' dag phun sum tshogs pa ni dkon mchog gsum gyi zhing du 'dug  
pas chos dar zhing gtsug lag khang thog mar btan nas lo stong phrag  
skor song 'dug / sangs rgyas kyi sku ni gzi brjid che zhing mthong na  
mi mthun med pa / sngon tshe sangs rgyas rgya gar du bzhugs skabs  
bka' stsal pa / bstan pa 'di ni ma 'ongs pa na dbus kyi phyogs su dar  
ba 'gyur ces gsungs pa / phal cher bod yul ni rgya gar hen du si than  
gyi shar phyogs su 'khor 'dug par / sngon sangs rgyas kyi bka' stsal  
ba dang shin tu mthun pa'i po ta la 'di byin chags ngo mtshar ba'i  
gnas su 'dug gshis / tshad byol sa yul zhe hor gyi sa gnas su \*lha skyong  
so gsum pa'i nang gsar bzhengs kyi so drug pa'i thog legs par grub  
pa'i gtsug lag khang 'ni bang rim mtho brtsegs kyi rgya khon shin tu  
che zhing thog skor du rgya phibs dang smad du skor lam yod pa /  
gser gyi 'khor lo dang / rin po che'i rdo rje / dril bu / dri zhim pa'i  
ngar ldang ba'i sman gyi ljon shing sna tshogs dang / gdugs rgyal  
mtshan bla bres sogs mchod pa'i byi brag ma tshang ba med pa / 'gro  
ba kun kyi bsod nams dam pa'i shing du gyur / \*gong ma yab mes chos  
srid la dbang bsgyur ba nas bzung zhwa ser gyi bstan pa dar gyas su  
'gyur ba'i thugs mon kho na mdzad pa dang / skye 'gro kun la byams  
brtse'i gzig pas bskyangs nas \*yab rje gnam gyi lha'i bar gnas pa  
tsam ma zad tha gru yongs la dar rgyas kyi khyab par byas te mtha'i  
rgyal khag gsar rnying sogs skye 'gro tshang ma dar 'dun lhur lan gshis  
su grub pa dang / yab rje \*gong ma nyid tshad byol gyi sa zhe hor  
la phebs skabs mchod rdzas kyi bye brag dang ru mtshon gyi rnam  
pa grangs kyis mi lang bas mdun bdar te gnam sa'i khyon kun khyab  
par byas / \*gong ma de nyid kyi 'khrungs skar nyin skye 'gro tshang

mas bsngags 'os kyi me tog 'thor ba la mtha'i rgyal khag mang pos  
kyang ring po'i lam nas phyogs te dad 'dun bsams gyi mi khyab pa  
bgyis pa ma zad / zhe hor po ta la mthong ma thag dad gus kyi thal  
mo sbyar te phun sum tshogs pa'i gnas su nges pa rnyed / gnam gyi  
lha chen po 'di nyid kyi sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la bya ba rgya chen  
po mdzad pa dang / sngar med pa'i gtsug lag khang khyad du 'phags  
pa 'di lta bu mang dag gsar du bskrun zhes kun gyi gleng ba sogs khams  
gsum gyi bkod pa thams cad tshang bas thog mtha' bar gsum gyi rten  
'brel legs 'grig nam mkha'i lha tshogs rnam nas kyang / bkra shis  
pa'i smon tshig mang du brjod pas gtsug lag khang 'di nyid bskal pa'i  
bar du bsra brtan rdo rje'i khams su byin gyis brlabs par mdzad 'dug /

//

### Translation

#### I.

An account of the ceremonies <sup>1</sup> of the temple of Potala is inscribed here.

(verse). Entrusted with power by the command of glorious Heaven <sup>2</sup>, my royal father 'Jam-dpal-dbyangs <sup>3</sup> whose actions fully perfected the highest good of the state and the maintenance of the Victorious Religion heaped his favours like a mountain of gold upon the wearers of the Yellow Hat, the precious dust of whose feet the people of the borderlands <sup>4</sup> take on their heads with joy and reverence. To fulfil hopes of good fortune and happiness for ten thousand years he made a new Mount Potala, such as was never seen before, on the Ada-

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<sup>1</sup> *mjal phyag*: "ceremony, visit of homage" is the equivalent of "rites" in the Chinese.

<sup>2</sup> I take *kun khyab* here as the poetic equivalent of *nam-mkha'*, "Heaven", the all-encompassing".

<sup>3</sup> The Emperor was conventionally regarded as an incarnation of 'Jam - dpal-dbyangs (Manjusri).

<sup>4</sup> The Chinese shows that *mtha' dag yid can* here means "frontier people" rather than "all creatures".

mantine Hill of Zhe-hor (Jehol) raising it in remarkable semblance<sup>5</sup> of the 'Og-min heaven.

(prose). This Potala temple<sup>6</sup> was constructed on the summit of a hill to the north of the Great Emperor's frontier<sup>7</sup> palace; and, taking the Potala in the religious land of Tibet as a model, it was known in the language of religion (Sanskrit) as Potala and in the Chinese language as Ph'u Th'o. There are three palaces that are called Potala: one is in rGya-gar or Hen-du-si-than<sup>8</sup>, one in the land of Thu-sbe-the<sup>9</sup>, or Bod, and one in Ce-cang in the southern ocean<sup>10</sup>.

The doctrine of the Buddha first spread through Hen-du-si-than to Tibet and since from Tibet it spread to the southern ocean, the Potala of the southern ocean is truly a place where the doctrine of the Enlightened Saints flourishes and is made known. Because Hen-du-si-than, as it is called, is a distant land it is difficult to make careful investigation there, so there are only the proportions and form of the Potala Temple in Tibet as a perfect exemplar. A thousand years have now passed since the original foundation of that temple which spreads religion by its existence in the land of the Three Jewels. If one sees the image of the Buddha there<sup>11</sup>, which is of great splendour and radiance, it is impossible not to believe.

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<sup>5</sup> *zol du lhungs* normally means "lapsed into deception"; but there is no derogatory intention in the Chinese so I take *zol* as "illusion" rather than "deception", and *lhungs* without its usual pejorative implication.

<sup>6</sup> Ch'ien-lung's Potala at Jehol is described in detail by Sven Hedin in *Jehol, City of Emperors*, London 1932. In this inscription Chia-ch'ing echoes the inscription written there by his father and quoted by Hedin *op. cit.* p. 17 "North of the Summer Palace lies the Potala which was built not after the Potala of the southern sea but after the Tibetan Potala. The Potala Du Khang is complete in all respects and is a religious centre for our vassals".

<sup>7</sup> *phyogs* here has the meaning "outside, beyond the Wall".

<sup>8</sup> According to Hsüan-tsang the Indian Potala was on the South coast, apparently near Cape Comorin.

<sup>9</sup> Thu-sbe-the. A similar form thi'u-bud appears in an inscription of 1792 from Yung-ho-kung. The name Tebet, Tibbat, etc. was current with Muslim and foreign travellers from the XIth century onwards but does not seem to occur in genuine Tibetan writings.

<sup>10</sup> The Potala of Ce-cang is on a small, holy, islet called P'u To, near the east point of Chusan in Chekiang. Its numerous temples, the exclusion of women etc. have been described by several western travellers.

<sup>11</sup> The Potala seems to be confused here with the even more venerable Jo-khang: the image mentioned must be that of the Jo-bo Rin-po-che in the Jo-khang.



In former times when the Buddha lived in India he made a pronouncement saying “ This doctrine shall in time come to be spread in the direction of the Middle Land (*dbus*)<sup>12</sup>. For the most part, the land of Tibet lies along the eastern side of rGya-gar Hen-du-si-than, and this Potala, which exactly accords with the former saying of the Buddha, is situated in a place of exceptional blessing. Therefore, in a site in the district of Zhe-hor, a place of refuge from summer heat, a temple was founded in the 33rd year of Lha-skyong<sup>13</sup> and was fully completed at the beginning of the 36th year. It has a wide extent of lofty terraced façades, golden pagoda roofs around its summit, a circular pilgrimage-road round the base, golden wheels, jewelled *rdo-rjes*, bells, umbrellas, banners of victory, canopies and so on. No offering is lacking, so that it has become a sacred heaven where all creatures may acquire merit.

Ever since the Emperors, my forebears, have exercised authority over the Religious Kingdom they devoted their thoughts particularly to bringing about the diffusion of the doctrine of the Yellow Hats and they protected all creatures with affectionate regard. Thereafter, my royal father, too, now dwelling among the gods of heaven, caused the spread of the doctrine to extend to every part of the world and brought the frontier kingdoms, both old and new, and all living beings into a state of earnest reverence. And when my royal father the Emperor came to Zhe-hor, his summer resort, honour was done to him with every kind of ceremonial ornament and with military banners beyond number, filling the whole expanse of heaven and earth. And on the birthday of that same Emperor all creatures scattered flowers suitable for such felicitation; and many from neighbouring kingdoms, coming on long journeys, showed devotion passing imagination. Moreover, as soon as they saw the Potala of Zhe-hor they reverently joined the palms of their hands and found truth in that place of all blessings. And everyone praised him saying “ This veritable god of heaven has

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<sup>12</sup> Where the Tibetan has “ Middle Land, *dbus* “ the Chinese has ” “ eastern land ”.

<sup>13</sup> Lha-skyong: a Tibetan title of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung. The dates are 1768-1771.

performed great deeds for the doctrine of the Buddha and has built these many temples of this sort, of a sanctity such as there has never been before". And since it was in every way complete as a representation of the Three Worlds and was in harmony with all the good omens from first to last <sup>14</sup>, the assembly of gods, also, uttering many prayers for its prosperity, have hallowed this temple so that it may stand firm in the realm of the thunderbolt so long as the age endures <sup>15</sup>.

## II.

~~~~ || sras bcas rgyal ba'i bzlos gar bslu ba'i yon // snyins dus g-yo  
 thabs ri ri ka'i rang bzhin // 'khrul med 'byed byed lung bstan bum  
 pa'i las // rin chen kanyatsa na yi dpyad 'di bzung // de phyir skye  
 'gro ma lus yid gnyis kyi // kun rtog dri sbyangs 'dod 'bras yid bzhin  
 nor // rang gir dbang byed dgongs zab bka'i gnang bas // sa kun ma  
 khyab med par dril chen bsgrags // sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa 'di ni  
 rgya dkar hen du si than nas shar phyogs bod kyi sar dar ba'i bod du  
 rab du byung ba la chos byed mir gra pa zhes 'bod la dang / nged kyi  
 yab \*rje nas rgyun du bod skad bsan sbyangs kyi chos kun mkhyen  
 stabs bla ma zer ba 'di bzhin rgya yul du h'a shang du 'bod pa dang /  
 bla ma zhing du gshegs nas de'i skye srid la sprul sku zer ba rgya skad  
 du so so'i skye be ma 'chol bar bslangs par zer zhing // sprul sku la  
 'khrungs gong bla ma dge 'dun rnam nas sangs rgyas kyi 'dra sku'i  
 mdun gsol ba btad rjes phyogs kun tu rtsad dpyod byas pa'i bla ma  
 gong ma'i skye srid khye'u shig la mo chos skyong sogs nas bzung  
 gi gzhon nu'i dus yon tan la sbyangs te nar son pa dang sprul sku 'di  
 zhes ming brtags zhwa ser gyi bstan pa la bya ba byed pa dang / nged  
 nas skye 'gro kun la nye 'gyangs me par byams brstes bskyangs par  
 brten // skye bo tshang mas sems rtse gcig tu 'dun pa dang / lhag tu  
 sog rigs byings nas zhwa ser gyi bstan pa la dad gus mthun mong ma

<sup>14</sup> *thog mtha' bar*, "beginning, end and middle", can refer to the Three Vehicles and the passage could mean that the new Potala was in accordance with all the prognostications of cause and effect in the scriptures.

<sup>15</sup> The Chinese appears obscure here, and to differ considerably from the Tibetan.

yin pa skyes par mgon skyabs lhag par du bgyis nas bshad sgrub kyi  
 bstan pa de 'dzin dang bcas pa 'khos phebs chos spyod kyi rim par  
 brtson bcug nas lo mang po song 'dug / bar lam skye srid ngos 'dzin  
 skor la dngos po'i g-yo 'phrul la brten 'ol tshod kyi skye ba ngo thog  
 min kyang yin khul gyi ngos 'dzin byas te khyim tshang gcig nas sprul  
 sku mang po byung 'dug pa 'di thad dpon gnas go sa rgyun chags byas  
 pa dang khyad par mi 'dug pas / des na sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la dad  
 'dun byed mi rnams kyang the tshom las yid che yong ba dka' / \*yab  
 rje gong ma nas gor kha tshar bcad bod yul bde 'jags su bkod rjes zhwa  
 ser gyi bstan pa la srid zhu bygis bskor dang / bstan pa la gnod tshab  
 kyi bsam sbyor ma rungs ba'i skye bo rnams gzhom bcug pa / skye  
 srid la 'dod bsnag gi g-yo 'phrul mi 'byung ba'i ched du gser gyi bum  
 pa lha sar gdan zhus kyi sprul sku che ba'i rigs ngos 'dzin skabs sngar  
 gyi lugs srol bzhin lha bla'i lung babs kyi rim 'gro rnams sngon du byas  
 te so so'i dogs gnas kyi khye'u'i ming byang gser bum du bcug nas \*ta'  
 la'i bla ma 'am / pañ chen er te ni / bod sdod blon chen tshang 'dzom  
 thog nas shing byang bton te sprul sku ngos 'dzin byed rgyu dang /  
 yang sog rigs kyi sprul sku che kha'i rigs kyang yung ho gung dga'  
 ldan byin chags gling du gser bum nang ming byang bcug thog mong  
 gol sbyor khang gi 'go byed dang / rgyal khab chen po'i ser mo ba'i  
 'go byed dza sag ta' bla ma bcas tshang 'dzom gyi ngos 'dzin dgos pa  
 ni \*gong ma yab rje de nyid kyi chos mthun dgongs zab bla na mchis  
 pa'i rgyun chags gtan 'khel yong ba'i mdzad pa slad du byung ba chos  
 dang srid kyi lugs srol so sor sbyangs gang yin rang rang gi lugs dngos  
 gnas byed dgos pa dgongs bzhed kyi gtso bo yin 'dug pa da lam \*bka'  
 gnang ba tshang mas dwang len dgos rgyu yin //

### Translation

(verse). In this degenerate age which has the nature of an ever-revolving wheel, the passage<sup>1</sup> from one Dalai Lama to his successor

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<sup>1</sup> *bzlos gar*, "dance" is used of the performance by an oracle in his trance, and of a Buddha when displaying miracles (cf. Das, *gar mkhan* p. 216).

allows the possibility of deception<sup>2</sup>. To discriminate without error is the task of the prophetic vase and this excellent test by precious gold<sup>3</sup>, shall hereafter be for all creatures in their perplexity a wish-granting gem that clears away all stain of doubt and fulfils all their wishes. With the profound command to seek deliverance for oneself<sup>4</sup>, the great bell sounds forth reaching to every land.

(prose). In this doctrine of the Buddha, which spread from rGya-dkar Hen-du-si-than eastward to Tibet, those in Tibet who take religious vows are called Gra-pa<sup>5</sup>. According to my Royal Father, who studied the Tibetan language regularly and fully understood its meaning, this word Lama has the significance of H'a Shang in China; and when a Lama has gone to the Heavenly Regions the word sPrul-sku by which his rebirth is known, is explained in Chinese as one who takes a rebirth which is different from that of an ordinary being. Before the birth of a sPrul-sku the Lamas and priests pray before an image of the Buddha, then, when the La-mo Chos-skyong<sup>6</sup> and others have recognized as the reincarnation of the late Lama a child whom they have sought for in all directions, they train him while he is young in learned accomplishments and when he is grown up he is given this title of sPrul-sku and conducts the affairs of the doctrine of the Yellow Hats. And because we have given loving and affectionate protection to all creatures without distinction of near or far, all people show their

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<sup>2</sup> The Tibetan seems to go further than the Chinese in allowing the possibility of deception or illusion (*bslus*) in the choice of a Dalai Lama.

<sup>3</sup> *kañtsa na: kāñcana* (skr.) gold.

<sup>4</sup> *rang gir dbang byed* literally "to make oneself independent". Neither this phrase nor the simile of the bell is in the Chinese which refers to the doctrine of the Lamas as "a great literature".

<sup>5</sup> *gra-pa* (*grwa-pa*). This is out of step with the Chinese which describes Tibetan monks as "lama" and then refers indirectly to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung's decree about Lamaism in which the dubious etymology is propounded that *bla-ma* means "with no superior".

<sup>6</sup> The oracle at La-mo, some 30 miles up the sKyid Chu from Lhasa, was not considered particularly effective in recent times; but it clearly enjoyed great esteem in the 18th century (see Petech, notes p. 10-11 n. 6). It is mentioned, also, in Ch'ien-lung's edict on Lamaism. Perhaps the gNas-chung oracle temporarily lost favour on account of its part in concealing the death of the Vth Dalai Lama.

loyalty with one accord. And especially, because the Mongol peoples in general are devoted to the doctrine of the Yellow Hats in an extraordinary degree, we have given them particular protection and for many years have encouraged them to continue in their zeal for their doctrine of learning and prayer and for the practice of their treasured religion. But lately, in the matter of the recognition of reincarnations, persons addicted to trickery and deceit for selfish ends have caused to be recognized as actual rebirths children taken at random and not genuine at all; and from one family many Incarnate Lamas (sPrul-sku) have been produced so that there is really no difference from the inheritance of official positions and ranks. The result is that even faithful followers of the Buddha's doctrine find it difficult on account of doubts <sup>7</sup> to maintain their belief.

My father, the late Emperor, after making an end of the Gorkhas and establishing peace in Tibet, treated the doctrine of the Yellow Hats with respect <sup>8</sup> and suppressed those evil persons who had designs of harming the doctrine. In order that there should be no deceit or trickery caused by wordly ambitions in the matter of reincarnations, he instituted a golden vase at Lhasa. And at the time of recognizing the successor of a high sPrul-sku, ceremonies for obtaining divine inspiration <sup>9</sup> having been first performed according to the former custom, the names of each of the boys whose claims are under consideration are to be put into the golden vase and the Ta-la'i Lama or the Pan-chen Er-te-ni and the Great Minister Resident in Tibet in public assembly shall draw out a wooden name-tablet and so recognize the sPrul-sku. And also among the Mongolian people, for the succession of the greater sPrul-sku, name tablets are to be put into a golden vase in Yung-ho-gung dGa-ldan-Byin-chags-gling and the head of the Mongol Dependency Office <sup>10</sup> and

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<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence that the people of Tibet had any such doubts.

<sup>8</sup> The Chinese here has a specific reference to Ch'ien-lung's edict on Lamaism. The Tibetan text *srid zhu bgyis bskor dang / bstan pa ...* is obscure (Waddell's translation suggests that his text was the same). *bskor* seems out of place as it stands. Perhaps some sentences have been omitted by mistake in translating or copying the original.

<sup>9</sup> *Lha bla'i lung babs*. The Chinese seems to refer specifically to the La-mo Chos-skyong.

<sup>10</sup> *Mon gol sbyor khang* in the Tibetan is the equivalent of Li-fan-yüan in the Chinese.

the leading monks of the Great Kingdom headed by the Dza-sag Ta' Lama <sup>11</sup> are to make the recognition in public assembly.

Such remarkable <sup>12</sup> decisions constantly flowed from the unsurpassed profundity of my Royal Father's religious sympathy and it was his principal concern that whatever different customs of religion and politics might be practised among different peoples, each man should follow his own customs with sincerity <sup>13</sup>. Now, therefore, everyone should earnestly obey his commands.

### III.

☉ || kun khyab 'jam mgon bla ma'i thugs sras che // ye shes rdo rje  
 nyi ma'i snang cha can // 'char nub bkod pa gdengs ka'i 'phreng ba  
 yi // yang srid lung dang rtogs pa'i rgya mtsho'i sde // chu gter bgrang  
 bya nyid nas gong ma yi // nyer spyad 'khrul min ngos bzung bka'  
 bstan bcos // thol byung gsungs sogs rten bsgyur tshul tsam las // ye  
 shes ji ltar nges snyed 'di smad byung // zhwa ser gyi bstan pa 'di ni  
 dang po bod rang gi 'phags pas spel bar mdzad pa'i \*gong ma yon  
 khra'o hor rgyal po'i dus nas srid 'dzin pa'i skabsu dar 'dug pa / zhwa  
 ser gyi bstan pa'i bdag po tsong kha pa chen po'i thugs sras gnyis yod  
 pa gcig ni ta'a la'i bla ma / gcig ni paṅ chen bla ma / ta'a la'i bla  
 ma ni thugs sras kyi gtso bo yin pa mtshan dge 'dun grub pa dang /  
 thugs sras gnyis pa paṅ chen bla mar yin pa mtshan mkhas grub dge  
 legs dpal bzang zer 'dug pa chos kyi lugs srol bla slob re mos lta bu'i  
 sku skye rim par zhwa ser gyi bstan pa 'dzin pa / dge 'dun grub pa nas  
 sku skye lnga pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i skabsu ngos kyi  
 \*yab mes \*gong ma the tsung chen po khri bzhugs bdun pa'i thog  
 ta'a la'i bla ma nas mi sna ched mngags kyi kwan tung du brtan bzhugs

<sup>11</sup> Until 1950 the Tibetans kept a religious representative with the title Dza-sag ta' bla-ma, or Yun dgon Dza-sag, in Peking.

<sup>12</sup> *smad du* here, and in one other place in the text, must be for *rmad du*.

<sup>13</sup> The Tibetan of the concluding passage seems to diverge slightly from the Chinese which, according to Professor Stein's version, refers to principles of the kingdom called "improve their religion without changing their customs; straighten their policy without changing their convenience".

dang yul gru'i thon khungs kyi dngos po phul te \*gong ma yab mes rim can gyi bka' drin thob 'dug pa / de rjes sku skye rim pa gnyis phebs pa'i \*ta'a la'i bla ma brgyad pa bca' chin khri bzhugs dgu pa'i nang zhing du gshegs nas sku skye ma phebs pa'i bar sngon du rje drung ho thog thu dang / mkhan po bla ma bcas nas sangs rgyas kyi snang brnyen mdun smon 'dun nan bskyed kyi yang srid myur du 'byon pa'i thabs rnam la 'bad brtson byed dgos song don 'di lo zla ba dang po'i nang bod sdod blon chen yu'i nying can nas zhu ba bod kyi phyogs khag nas dogs gnas yod pa'i khyi'u dgu'i gnas tshul phul byung ba / rje drung ho thog thu nas khyi'u dgu'i gras nas khyi'u gsum khyad mtshar tsam la / de'i nang tshan nas kham ldan ma chos 'khor thu si bstan 'dzin chos skyong gi bu shing glang zla bcu gnyis pa'i tshes gcig nyin btsas pa'i bar lo bzhi las ma lon rung shes rig ha cang bkra zhing chos spyod kyi 'don pa lhug par smra ba / ta'a la'i bla ma lnga pa'i skye ba dran gsal che zhing sku gong ma'i rdor dril sogs ngo thog dang 'dra cog spel ma bzhag pa dngos gnas gang yin ngos 'dzin byung gshis rgya bod ser skya mchog dman mtha' dag yid ches ngo tshar ba'i gnas su mthong 'dug / pañ chen er te nas ngo ma lha sar bskyod de zhib 'jug bgyis par yang yid ches kyi dga' spro chen po thob 'dug pa dang / de mtshungs yul bying can nas kyang tshod blta yang yang byas 'dug par stobs shugs kyi spyod lam ci nyams pa med pa ma zad / \* ta'a la'i bla ma gong ma 'us snang bkod pa bsgyur ba tsam las chos don gyi shes rab sogs gzhan las khyad du 'phags pa yong ba ni sngon gyi bag chags yin 'dug / phyin chad skye srid kyi skor la g-yo 'dzud byed mi thub pa ma zad / zhing du gshegs rgyu dang skye srid ngos 'dzin 'di dang 'dir yong zhes thugs sgrib med kyi ngang nas gsal por ston thub pa gzhir bcas / lar nas kye srid skor 'di ho thog thu rang rang gi rtsa ba'i sems nyid la 'gyur ba med gshis 'byung 'gyur sngon dran gyi skye ba 'di dang 'dir yong zhes ston thub pa byung na chos khirms kyi lugs mthun skye bo tshang ma yid ches pa'i gnas su 'gyur ba yin.

*Translation*

(verse). The great spiritual son of the all-pervading 'Jam-mgon Lama (Tsong-kha-pa) shares in the brightness of the unchangeable

sun of true wisdom<sup>1</sup> (sPyan-ras-gzigs). In the chain of succession<sup>2</sup> of regularly ordained rising and setting the rebirth, who is part of the ocean of inspiration and knowledge,<sup>3</sup> has, even from his fourth year, recognized the possessions of his predecessor and has preached religion. Relying on his spontaneous pronouncements it is wonderful how, in spite of the appearance of change, the true wisdom exists beyond all doubt.

(prose). As for this doctrine of the Yellow Hats, since the time of the Emperor of the Yuan dynasty<sup>4</sup>, the Mongol King who first caused it to be propagated by Tibet's own 'Phags-pa<sup>5</sup>, it has flourished throughout the whole period of imperial rule. Tsong-kha-pa, the master of the doctrine of the Yellow Hats, had two spiritual sons. One was the Dalai (Ta' la'i) Lama; the other, the Panchen Lama<sup>6</sup>. The Dalai Lama, who was the principal of the spiritual sons, was called dGe-'dun Grub-pa; and the second spiritual son, the Panchen Lama, was called mKhas-grub dGe-legs dpal-bzang. According to religious custom their rebirths, continuing to alternate as it were as Teacher and Pupil, maintain the doctrine of the Yellow Hats.

At the time of the fifth reincarnation after dGe-'dun Grub-pa, Ngag-dbang bLo-bzang rGya-mtsho, during the seventh year of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ye-shes rdo-rje nyi-ma* may be a poetic epithet of the religious canon but I am advised that it refers here to sPyan-ras-gzigs, and that the allusion is to the death of the late Dalai Lama.

<sup>2</sup> *gDengs-ka* usually = "a cobra's hood" but I am told that the allusion here is to an unbroken succession like 'flight of cranes following one another, each almost touching the next'. The reference is to the continuous succession of reincarnations of the Dalai Lama.

<sup>3</sup> This is a play on the name of the new Dalai Lama - Lung-rtogs rGya-mtsho.

<sup>4</sup> Yon khra'o = Yüan Ch'ao, the Yüan dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> It is inept to describe 'Phags-pa as propagating the Yellow Hat - i.e. dGe-lugs-pa - doctrine; he was of the Sa-skya school, regarded by the Chinese as "Red Hat" and preceded Tsong-kha-pa by more than a century.

<sup>6</sup> The description of mKhas-grub as the first Panchen Lama is questionable, The "official" Lhasa numeration assigns that place to bLos-bzang Chos-kyi rGyal-mtshan (1567-1662) on whom the title was conferred by his pupil, the Fifth Dalai Lama; but it is customary at bKra-shis lHun-po to trace the spiritual lineage back through dBen-sa-pa bLo-bzang Don-grub, and Pan-chen bSod-nams Phyogs-kyi gLang-po to mKhas-grub, and even further.



reign of my ancestor the great Emperor The-tsung, the Dalai Lama, sending a special envoy to Kwan-tung<sup>7</sup>, offered steadfast support<sup>8</sup> and the products of his country and he obtained the favour of the Emperor, my ancestor, and his successor.

The Eighth Dalai Lama, who came two successive rebirths<sup>9</sup> after that, died in the ninth year of the reign of bCa' Chin (Chia-ch'ing) and in the interval before the appearance of his rebirth the rJe-drung Ho-thog-thu<sup>10</sup> and the mKhan-po Lamas<sup>11</sup> were required to make diligent efforts by earnest prayers and supplication in the presence of the image of the Buddha, to bring about the speedy arrival of the reincarnation.

In the first month of this year a report was submitted by the great minister resident in Tibet, Yu'i-nying, etc<sup>12</sup>. that information was received about nine boys<sup>13</sup> from various parts of Tibet who were considered possible. The rJe-drung Ho-thog-thu selected from the body of nine, three boys who were in some way remarkable; and out of that group the son of bsTan-'dzin Chos-skyong, the Thu-si<sup>14</sup> of lDan-ma Chos-'khor in Kham, who was born on the first day of the twelfth month of the wood-ox year, although not yet more than four years<sup>15</sup> old, showed exceptional wisdom and intelligence and was able to learn religious

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<sup>7</sup> Kwan-tung = Kuan-tung "East of the Pass (i.e. Shan-hai kuan) and means Manchuria" (R. A. Stein).

<sup>8</sup> *brtan bzugs*. There is nowhere else any indication that a permanent resident was established by the Tibetans in Manchuria as a result of this mission (regarding which see Inscription no. 1) nor is that suggested by the Chinese text which refers to a respectful envoy bearing a vermilion letter and products of his country. I, therefore take *brtan bzugs* to stand for some expression of respect although I can find no example in dictionaries.

<sup>9</sup> The Chinese omits the curious calculation in the Tibetan text and refers merely to successive reincarnations.

<sup>10</sup> rJe-drung Ho-thog-thu: the Regent, rTa-tshag Rin-po-che Ye-she bLo-bzang bstan-pa'i mgon-po.

<sup>11</sup> *mkhan-po bla-ma* perhaps "abbots and lamas".

<sup>12</sup> In any references to the activity of the Amban Yü-ning (1805-1808) the phrase Yu'i nying *can* is used. The Chinese refers to Yü-ning etc. which presumably covers his colleague.

<sup>13</sup> The Tibetan text has, throughout, *khyi'u* "puppy" for *khye'u* "boy".

<sup>14</sup> *Thu-si* = t'u szu, local chief.

<sup>15</sup> The child, having been born in the twelfth month of the wood-ox year - Jan. 1806, was only a little over two years old, by western calculation, when the Amban made his report in the first month of the earth-dragon year - March 1808.

liturgies by heart and repeat them without a break. He had a clear recollection of his birth as the fifth Dalai Lama; and when the *rdo-rje*, handbell and other possessions of the late Dalai Lama were set out, the real ones being mixed with imitations, he was able by his nature to recognize the genuine so that Chinese and Tibetans, monks and laymen, high and low, all together, see this with remarkable belief. The Panchen Lama came in person to Lhasa and after making a thorough examination he, too, was convinced and greatly delighted. Similarly, Yul (*sic*) Nying and others carried out repeated investigations; and not only is there nothing lacking in his physical powers and strength but, since the late Dalai Lama has changed only a little the true appearance of his bodily form, to excel others in such things as religious knowledge is indeed according to his former character. Not only could he not cause any deception about his future reincarnation; but when he was about to depart to the heavenly regions he was naturally able, by reason of his essential disposition untouched by any stain to the spirit, to disclose clearly that the recognition of his reincarnation would be as such a person and in such a place. Moreover, in this matter of reincarnation, since the original spirit of each Hutuktu does not change in its essential nature, when one appears who is able to disclose that he will be reborn as such a person in such a place with a knowledge of the future and the past, then all men who follow the customs of the religious law will certainly come to believe in him <sup>16</sup>.

#### IV.

། || rigs kyi bdag po'i thugs rje'i nyi 'od mthus // rgyal sras 'dab stong  
grol ba'i ngang tshul bzang // 'di ste nam du'ang rnyed dka' rnyed  
gyur na // bum pa'i lung ston ngal ba'i gnang ba byin // phun sum

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<sup>16</sup> It is not always clear whether the Tibetan is referring to the late Dalai Lama or to the new one and I am far from certain that I have caught the exact meaning. There is little help here from the Chinese which is shorter and is concerned in general terms with the continuity of the real nature of a lama in spite of the appearance of change; but it was obviously not intended to admit that a lama's prediction of his rebirth should be accepted in every case.

tshogs lnga'i mdun sar nang blon can // gya nom skyes kyis rab mngags  
 khrir gsol bas // bde skyid rdzogs ldan gsar pa'ang rje bo yi // tshad  
 med thugs rjer nges pa'i lo rgyus gtam // nged kyi \* yab rje chen po  
 nas gser bum stsal ba'i dgongs bzhed 'di ni / sangs rgyas kyi bstan  
 pa la gzengs su bstod pa dang / ma rungs pa mtha' dag 'joms pa'i phyir  
 yin cing / da lta'ang dbyings nas thugs rjes kun la gzigs pa dang / byams  
 brtses skyong pa'i ngang tshul rgyun ma chad par brten nas / \* mchog  
 sprul nges gsal rnyed pa sogs phal pa'i ngag nas bryod rgyu lta zhog  
 yid la yang dran gsal mi 'byung ba'i mtshan ltas bzang po khyad du  
 mtshar ba'i bstan 'dzin chos skyong gi bu 'di la ni / skye 'gro ma lus  
 pa mtha' dag dga' ba dang gus pa lhag par du thob cing / dper na  
 nged kyi \* yab rje dngos bzhugs pa'i skabs su yang 'di lta bu'i gnas  
 tshul byung na skabs thog bka' drin 'phar gzigs kyi gser bum dkrug  
 ma dgos pa gnang ba ni gzir bcas / der brten dgos gnas byed rgyu  
 med pa'i sku skye sngon ma'i bag chags nges gsal 'dug gshis de don  
 bzhin 'ta' la'i bla ma'i sprul skur ngos 'dzin byed dgos kyi \* bka' yig  
 btang zhing / phyogs mtshungs pan chen er te ne can nas gus pas \* yab  
 rje gong ma chen po'i sku 'dra thang gi mdun du gsol btab kyi ye shes  
 dbyings nas rjes su bzung bar thugs rje che zhes \* gser snyen sgron  
 bcug pa dang / \* ta'a la'i bla ma'i sprul skur gsol ras su kha btag gcig  
 / \* rgyal ba tshe mtha' yas pa'i sku brnyen gcig / rdor dril cha tshangs  
 gcig / mu tig gi bcu shad yod pa'i sbi ya'a shi'i bzlas phreng gcig bcas  
 khrin thu'i cang cun the chin nge lha ldan du gus pas skyel bar btang  
 / de skabs yu'i nying can nas zhu rigs \* ta' la'i bla ma'i sprul sku zla  
 ba dgu pa'i tshes nyi shu gnyis nyin khrir phebs rgyu yin zhes zhu bar  
 / nang blon har chen chin lwang gi go sa tu reng jun lwang to ros e  
 bu manyadzu badzra dang / nang blon me rin dzang gi kung bu sbyor  
 khang gi a si han am ban ching hu'i / chan ching ming gi khya' me  
 rin dzang ki lung phu / dgal ldan shri re thu ho thog thu bcas ched  
 mngags kyi khri 'don du btang zhing / gsol ras su gser yig dang / na  
 bza' nyer dbyad sogs dngos po gtos che ba / dngul srang chig khri bcas  
 bzos sgo bdag rkyen du stsal ba dang / nged kyi \* yab rje chen pos sa  
 mtha'i skye 'gro'i bya ba rgya chen po mdzad pa 'di dag lo khri phrag  
 gi bar du sor gnas yong nges na lnga sor gser bum stsal bzhed ni sangs  
 rgyas kyi bstan par kun rdzob byung dgos de dag mi 'byung shing

bstan pa rnam par dag pa yong ched yin 'dug / da lam gyi sprul sku  
nges gsal dod pa 'di lta bur dogs sel gyi bum dkrug ma dgos pa'i ngos  
'dzin byas pa 'di thang \* yab rje chen po'i dgongs pa la yang 'di las  
stsal thabs mi mnga' ba ma zad lugs srol dang mthun / sngon du ngos  
'dzin skor rgyas bead byas pa ji srid bar 'jags gnas byas tshe shin tu  
mthus pa bcas / phyin chad sprul sku ngos 'dzin la 'di lta bu'i khyad  
tshar yong ba dka' zhing dogs blo mi skye ba yong gshis sngar gyi lugs  
srol la rtsi 'jog zhus nas khyi'u'i ming bris te bum dkrug byes tshe 'dod  
bsnag g-yo 'dzud kyi byed ngan dang rgyu 'gros sogs mi yong zhing /  
\* ta' la'i bla ma sku 'phreng gi rnam par thar dang / bkra shis pa'i  
rtags mtshan dngosu bsten pas / 'jig brten 'di na shin tu dkon po'i mdzad  
pa smad du byung bar brten sngar gyi lam sogs la ma ltos par 'thus  
pa byas shing / gzhi nas bya ba gang ci lam dang lugs srol yin pa thengs  
ri gnyis la de tsam ltos pa med pas / yi ge 'di ni sngar gyi gtam rnying  
sogs la gzhi bzung ste bris pa'o //

\* bca chen khri bzhugs bcu gsum pa sa 'brug ston zla brgyad pa'i  
nang mi'i bdag pos sbyor ba 'o //

bka'i

dgongs

don

gus

pas

shus

te

rdor

bkod

pa /

blon

po

'un

pis

*Translation*

(verse). By the sun-like power of the compassion of rDo-rje-'chang<sup>1</sup>, the son of the Buddha, whose nature is like the unfolding of a thousand-petalled lotus<sup>2</sup>, is excellent. It is always difficult to find him so, when he is found, allow the prophetic vase to rest undisturbed. In the assembly hall of the Five Blessings and in the presence of the ministers, the one clearly appointed<sup>3</sup> by his exceptional birth has been established on the throne and this true account is given in boundless gratitude for the Lord who is the new and perfect fulfilment of happiness.

(prose). The purpose of the institution of the golden vase by my great royal father was to glorify the doctrine of the Buddha and to subdue pernicious practices. And now, he who looks from his heavenly sphere with compassion on all men has maintained without interruption the nature of his protective loving kindness. And so, let alone the ordinary people being able to explain in words how the discovery of the perfect reincarnation has been so certainly revealed, they are not even able to comprehend clearly the excellent signs and portents that distinguish this son of bsTan'-dzin Chos-skyong; but all people without exception have surpassing joy and veneration for him.

Supposing that such a situation had arisen when my royal father was still alive, he would certainly have at once shown his abundant favour and would have commanded that it was unnecessary to shake the vase. Relying on that view, since a rebirth about whom there can be no doubt shows quite clearly the characteristics of his predecessor, a decree has accordingly been given to the effect that he should be recognized as the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. And the Panchen

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<sup>1</sup> A further reference to sPyan-ras-gzigs might have been expected but *rigs kyi bdag po* is usually an epithet of rDo-rje-'chang or of the Kalachakra.

<sup>2</sup> The lotus flower which rises out of the muddy bottom of a lake is a symbol of deliverance from wordly ties.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the more usual *rab bsngags* – highly praised – was intended instead of *rab mngags*.

Lama, being in full agreement, has respectfully offered prayers in front of the portrait of my father, the late Emperor, and has submitted a memorial expressing profound thanks for his belief in the supreme wisdom. And the General of Chengtu, The-chin-nge<sup>4</sup>, has been sent to convey respectfully to Lhasa as presents for the Dalai Lama a ceremonial scarf, an image of the Buddha Tshe-mtha'-yas-pa<sup>5</sup>, a matching set of *rdo-rje* and hand-bell, and a rosary of *sbi-ya'a-shi'i*<sup>6</sup> beads with pearl counters<sup>7</sup>. And as it was stated in the reports of Yü Nying etc., at the same time, that the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama would be enthroned on the twenty-second day of the ninth month, the Minister of the Interior<sup>8</sup>, To-ros E-bu Mandzu Badzra, the Tu-ren jun-wang, who has the rank of Har-chin<sup>9</sup> Chin-wang; the Minister of the Interior, Ching-hui, who has the rank of Me-rin-jang-ki (Vice-commander of the Imperial Bodyguard) and is now E-si-han Amban of the Kung-bu sByor-khang (Ministry of Works); also Lung-phu, the Khya'a Me-rin-jang-ki of the Chang-ming (Vice-commander of the bodyguard of the Ch'ien-men Gate) have been specially commissioned together with the dGa'-ldan Shri-re-thu<sup>10</sup> Hu-thog-thu and have been sent to the installation ceremony. And as a mark of great favour<sup>11</sup> there have been sent as presents a golden letter and valuable articles

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<sup>4</sup> Tê Ch'ing-e is named by Rockhill, quoting from *Tung-hua lu*, in *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa* p. 63 as the special envoy who was also ordered to make public the Emperor's decree throughout Tibet.

<sup>5</sup> Tshe-mtha'-yas-pa: Tshe-pa-med: Amitäyus.

<sup>6</sup> *sbi ya'a shi'i*. The Chinese apparently refers to "green cloud" beads, presumably the blue-green precious stones called "pi", see E. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, pp. 233 and 238.

<sup>7</sup> *bcu shad (shod)*: a bead or other counter marking off groups of ten on an abacus or rosary. Cf. *shad*, the punctuation mark.

<sup>8</sup> The explanations, in brackets, of the Chinese titles are drawn from Professor R. A. Stein's version.

<sup>9</sup> Har-chin: the Jehol region, according to Hedin.

<sup>10</sup> Shri-re-thu (Si-re-ge-thu) is the Mongol title of the Khri Rin-po-che; but as the present Lama is described as Hu-thog-thu it is probable that he was the reincarnation of the famous Khri Rin-po-che - the Regent Samati Bakshi who died in 1791. His reincarnation in the mTsho-smon-gling monastery was born in 1792 so would have been only 16 in 1808. Later he became one of the most powerful regents in Tibet's history.

<sup>11</sup> The Chinese appears to imply that the silver was for distribution, so perhaps *bdag rkyen du* is meant to be taken in that sense.

such as garments and ceremonial vessels, together with ten thousand ounces of silver.

While my royal father's many great measures for the sake of the people of the frontiers will surely endure for ten thousand years, that former policy of instituting the golden vase was intended, by removing those doubts that some delusion might have arisen in the doctrine of the Buddha, to preserve the purity of that doctrine. But now that the present incarnation has appeared in this way with such unmistakable certainty, his immediate recognition without need to use the vase, whose purpose is to remove doubt, is not only in no way contrary to the method prescribed in the policy of my great father but is also in accordance with custom.

Formerly the careful investigation that was made in the matter of recognition was very suitable so long as it brought about peaceful conditions; but in future, with regard to the recognition of reincarnations it may be difficult to find one so remarkable; and in order that there may be no cause for doubts to arise, the former custom should be respected so that when the names of the boys have been written down and the vase is shaken, there shall be no malpractices or deceit of any kind arising from improper ambition or trickery, and people will really have confidence in the perfected succession in the line of Dalai Lamas and in the signs of auspicious omen. But because in this world what has happened so wonderfully is something rare, I have considered it fitting not to look to the previous practices and so on. I have, therefore, without regarding too much in every matter what custom or practice is first and what second <sup>12</sup>, written this edict on the basis of reports, and so on, of former times.

Composed by the Emperor in the eighth autumn month of the earth-dragon year, the thirteenth of bCa' Chen (Chia-ch'ing).

The terms of the order have been respectfully copied and engraved on stone by the minister 'Un Pi <sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> *Thengs ri (re?) gnyis la ltos pa*. This expression, unfamiliar to me, is elucidated by the Chinese.

<sup>13</sup> Wên-pi succeeded Yü-ning as Amban at Lhasa in 1808 and held office until 1810.

The long-winded and equivocating edict of 1808 is the last to be recorded on stone at Lhasa. Nothing after it called for explanation in a similar manner. The Tibetans, perhaps taking precautions to ensure the result they intended, acquiesced, though not always peaceably, in the use of the golden vase for the selection of the next three incarnations; and by 1878 on the occasion of the discovery of the XIIIth Dalai Lama, the Chinese had been so much weakened by internal and external troubles that the Tibetans could dispense with the vase without objection.

In the military world there was nothing further for the Chinese to celebrate. The war against the Dogras in 1842 was — *pace* some western historians who credit the Chinese with an active part in it — conducted by the Tibetans themselves. And in their defeat by the Gorkhas in 1856 they had no help from China.

Nor was any Amban after Ho-lin moved to endow a temple or to attempt any measure of social improvement.



## APPENDIX A

### PRE-CH'ING INSCRIPTIONS AT LHASA

These are marked on the sketch map (between pp. 98-99) by the letters A to D.

A. The Zhol *rdo-ring*, c. 764 A.D., in honour of the minister sTag-sgra Klu-khong. See H. E. Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa* RAS Prize Publication Fund vol. XIX 1952.

B. The “sKar-cung” inscription of Khri lDe-srong-brtsan c. 815 A.D. See H. E. Richardson, *Three Ancient Inscriptions in Tibet*, JRASB 1949 and G. Tucci, *Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome 1950.

C. The bilingual Treaty Inscription of 821-823. See Richardson, *Ancient Historical Edicts* and Li Fang-kuei, in *T'oung Pao* XLIV.

D. Hitherto unrecorded, is a small tablet about 18” × 20” ins., apparently of some metal such as lead or pewter, high up on a pillar of the inner court of the Jo-khang. The inscription is in Chinese only. The Mongol prince, Min Wang, who kindly examined it at my request, was unable to make out the beginning of the text because it was too high to be read; but he informed me that it did refer to the Ming dynasty. He has translated, as follows, the part he was able to read:

“A list of presents given by the son of Fa Wang, the Righteous King: a high pedestal of gold; a golden tablet; a golden scroll; two gold statues of the son of the King and the two sage friends (? the Yab-sras gsum ?); two gold beams (bars ?); six gold pillars; a set of auspicious signs; six gold flowers; two gold bowls; eight silver pillars; a silver screen; a silver throne; silver flower-pots; two silver bells; a box of sacred books; trees; a precious stone”.

The donation was, indeed, on a royal scale; but who made it?

To Professor R. A. Stein I owe the following information:

“The Hsi tsang-fu says in its commentary that there is or was a stele of Wan-li (1573-1619) in the great hall of the Jo-khang. It was erected by the T'ai-chien Yang Ying. I could not find the text in any book”.

Without a complete text of the inscription it is not possible to identify it certainly with the donation of Wan-li. During that reign, “tribute” was accepted from a Tibetan Lama who can be identified with the Third Dalai Lama, bSod-nams rGya-mtsho. (Tucci, TPS, p. 255). Before that, there had been frequent exchanges between Ming Emperors and the Sakya and Karmapa Lamas; but the esteem in which the Dalai Lama was held by Altan Khan might well have disposed the Emperor to bestow in return an exceptionally valuable present.

Although the Third Dalai Lama did not return to Tibet after he had left it in 1577, his dGe-lugs-pa church, represented by the abbot of 'Bras-spungs (Drepung) appears to have been in control of the Jo-khang at that time.

A difficulty is the title “son of the Fa Wang”. The Emperor Wu-tsung (Chêng-tê 1506-1522), who claimed a special spiritual connection with the eighth Karmapa Black Hat Lama, described himself as Fa Wang (Ta Ch'ing Fa Wang) (H. E. Richardson, *The Karmapa Sect*, JRAS 1958-1959). That title, the equivalent of *Chos-rgyal* or *Chos-rje*, had been bestowed on the Karmapa Lama (Ta Pao Fa Wang) and on the Sakya Lama (Ta Ch'eng Fa Wang); but I cannot discover whether those among the later Ming Emperors who favoured Buddhism also assumed the title.

## APPENDIX B

Abstract by Professor Petech of the Chinese inscription of 1793 on the Gorkha war (*Wei-tsang t'ung-chih*, ch. 13-C, 37a-40a; with some variants also in *Hsi-tsang t'u-k'ao*, 7.21a-27a).

Introduction, with literary allusions on Confucian moral and politics.

The Gorkhas are far away, at some 3000 *li* from Tibet. In 1788 they violated the Tibetan frontiers. Their nature being greedy, they could not be trusted. They first induced bsTan-'dzin-dpal-'byor to come into their grasp and then took him prisoner. Then they moved their troops and went to loot Tashilhunpo; other units gathered at sKyid-gron, gNya'-lam and Roñ-sar. They were distant and difficult to get at. The emperor got angry and said: This cannot be overlooked; Tibet has belonged for a long time to our dominions; now the Gorkha dared to attack it, and nobody has succeeded in chastising them. Therefore he issued an imperial mandate to some high officials and appointed the Grand Chamberlain (*yü-ch'ien ta-ch'ên*) Chamberlain of the Guards (*ling-shih-wei nei-ta-ch'ên*) Wu-ying-tien Grand Secretary (*ta-hsüeh-shih*) first-class Chia-yung duke Fu-k'ang-an as C-i-C (*ta-chiang-chün*); and the Chamberlain of the Guards first-class Ch'ao-yung duke Hai-lan-ch'a, and the Governor-General (*tsung-tu*) of Szechwan concurrently President of the Ministry of War (*ping-pu shang-shu*) assistant president of the Censorate (*tu-ch'a-yüan yu-tu yü-shih*) Hui-ling, as military assistant governors (*ts'an-tsan ta-ch'ên*). He gave them definite instructions on the strategy to be followed. Other officers, Chang Tsu-lien etc., were to collect post-haste Chinese and Manchu troops, such as Solons etc.

On *chi-ch'ou*, 1st month (11th February) 1972 the C-1-C left from Kukunor (Ch'ing-hai) for Tibet. In the meantime the enemies at gÑya'-lam had already been attacked and taken prisoner or exterminated by the Commandant of the Forces (*ling-tui ta-ch'ên*) Ch'êng-tê. On *chi-wei*, 4th month (10th May) the C-i-C sent the Commandant of the Force Tai-sen-pao with Ch'êng-tê's division out of gÑya'-lam. He ordered him to advance with precaution to cross the difficult passes. He also sent the Brigadier of North Szechwan (*ch'uan-pei tsung-ping*) Shu-shen-pao to post his troops at Roñ-sar; he ordered him to give protection in that space, to prevent the enemy from disturbing our rear-guard. The C-i-C with the military assistant governor Hai-lan-ch'a personally took the command of strong units and marched directly to take sKyid-groñ; the enemy defending it had on repeated occasions advanced to Ts'a-mu. At midnight our troops braving the rain advanced by separate echelons. The military assistant governor Hui-ling leading his division followed them. [Serious difficulties of the mountainous terrain]. On *chia-ch'ên* (25th June) our men began with Ts'a-mu. On the following day they clashed with the enemy on the Ma-ka-êr-hsia-êrh chia ridge, where many of them were killed. On *ting-wei* (28th June) the sKyid-groñ division entered the action, thrusting into the enemy trenches and destroying several fortified houses. In a short time the enemy surrendered.

Again, at gÑya'-lam the troops advanced on Cha-mu (Gram, Khan-sa); the enemy there were flanked by an imperial force advancing from sKyid-groñ to the west, who passed several mountains and had much to suffer from poisonous fog (mountain sickness?). The enemy offered stubborn resistance. Then the C-i-C ordered the commandant Brigadier (*fu-tu-t'ung*) A-man-t'ai and the brevet Ch'ing-men Officer of the Guards (*shih-wei*) Chê-sen-pao to cross the O-lu mountain and to march rapidly to the Jê-so bridge, to build rafts there and to cross over. On *jen-tzu* (3rd July) the remaining enemy withdrew to protect their flanks, but our troops surrounded and captured their entrenchments and ferried over the river. On *hsin-yu* (12th July) the main enemy fortification was taken; the water for the horses became red [from blood] and the fire consuming the slopes was still burning.

The C-i-C inspected the walls of the enemy position and the site of the battle of the day before and said that a pass like this could not have been taken without the protection of Heaven.

By now the commissariat difficulties had grown serious. Therefore, the emperor with his minute care for details ordered the Wên-yuan-ko Grand Secretary (*ta-hsüeh-shih*) Sun Shih-i to travel swiftly from C'ab-mdo to Anterior Tibet and to take charge of military equipment and rations for the army on the route section from China to Central Tibet. The President of the Ministry of Public Works (*kung-pu shang-shu*) Ho-lin was appointed *amban* resident in Tibet and placed in charge of commissariat transport from Central Tibet to the west. At the same time the military assistant governor Hui-ling was placed in charge at the receiving terminus outside sKyid-groñ. The emperor emphasized that there was no difference in importance between transport and actual fighting. Plenty of money was supplied and the transport arrangements by manpower worked smoothly, the porters touching each other's back on the route. The meals for the combat troops were meticulously regulated.

On *kêng-wu*, 6th month (21st July) there was a great thunderstorm and torrents of rain, which caused great hardships; the troops were brought to a halt. The C-i-C told off a unit with sufficient rations to make a detour by the Po-êrh-tung-la pass; the military assistant governor Hai-lan-ch'a commanded the van. This van itself was divided in two, to make a detour round the foot of the Ka-to-p'u mountains; this unit was led by the C-i-C in person. To explore both routes, he ordered a covering detachment under captain-general T'ai-fei-ying-a to tackle the enemy on the Tso-mu-ku-la-pa-pa-tsai ridge. Plenty of cannon was used, which frightened the enemy. The C-i-C deputed the Kan-ch'ing-men Officer of the Guards (*shih-wei*) E-êrh-têng-pao to supervise the attack, and the enemy was thrown into confusion. At this point the military assistant governor Hai-lan-ch'a appeared above the enemy and the C-i-C joined him. On *kuei-yu* (24th July) the stockade and fortified villages were taken. The enemy was chased as far as Yung-ya and their chiefs were taken prisoners.

At gÑya'-lam, the imperial troops there made themselves masters

of the iron-chain bridge and advanced toward Li-ti (Listi) and Roñ-sar; the enemy fled. Chu-shen-pao blocked Li-ti. The enemy sent envoys to offer submission, but the C-i-C said that this was merely a ruse to delay the advance and that they could not be trusted; besides, the army could not be kept stationary for long. The envoys were sent back. On *kêng-tzu*, 7th month (10th August) the imperialists fought again with the enemy at Ka-le-la-tui-pu-mu-to-p'a-lang-ku bridge. They drove straight on Chia-êrh-ku-la-chi-mu-chi and penetrated deeply into the enemy position. By now, they had marched for 700 *li*, had taken prisoner and decapitated about 3-4000 men; further resistance was impossible.

The Gorkha ruler Ratna Bahadur again sent dignitaries to the imperial camp. He handed back to Tibet *bsTan-'dzin-dpal-'byor*. The gold, silver and objects looted at Tashilhunpo were to be given back, for which purpose Kaji Dev Datt Thapa presented a document asking to be allowed to proceed to Peking to offer wild elephants and Tibetan horses, as well as a group of musicians. Nepal offered to the C-i-C a treaty, by which they pledged themselves not to violate any longer the Tibetan border. The emperor graciously accepted their expressions of regret and their presents.

On *ting-hai* 8th month (6th October) the C-i-C gave the order for the journey back to imperial territory. [Several sentences of praise for the emperor's virtues and victories]. In 1792 he had caused the Record of the Ten Victories (*Shih-ch'üan-chi*) to be compiled and a pillar inscription to be erected before the Potala to the eternal memory of the fact. We officials have accomplished our task and caused this inscription to be engraved. [A few sentences of praise for the protection afforded to Tibet by the imperial army]. The enemies have submitted and the emperor, examining their sincerity, has pardoned their precedent errors. They sent envoys to the capital to offer tribute. The imperial army then marched back.

8th month (September) 1793. [Redaction by] the office for explanations in the Court of Exposition.

The Grand Chamberlain, Chamberlain of the Guards, Grand Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Wu-ying-tien Grand Secretary, Pre-

sident of the Ministry of Civil Office (*shih-pu shang-shu*), concurrently President of the Ministry of War (*ping-pu shang-shu*), first-class Chung-jui Chia-yung duke C-i-C Fu-k'ang-an;

the Grand Chamberlain, Chamberlain of the Guards, Mongol Lieutenant-General (*tu-t'ung*) of the Plain White Banner, first-class Ch'ao-yung duke, Military Assistant Governor Hai-lan-ch'a;

the Grand Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Wên-yüan-ko Grand Secretary and concurrently President of the Ministry of Rites (*li-pu shang-shu*), acting governor-general of Szechwan, first-class *ching-ch'é tu-yü*, official superintending rations (*tu-li liang-hsiang ta-ch'ên*) Sun Shih-i;

the President of the Ministry of War and concurrently assistant President of the Censorate, governor-general, official in charge of the levies of Szechwan and other territories, military assistant governor [carrying on] the duties of governor (*hsün-fu*) Hui-ling;

the imperial representative managing Tibetan affairs, President of the Ministry of Public Works, lieutenant-general (*tu-t'ung*) of the Chinese troops of the Bordered White Banner, official superintending rations (*tu-li liang-hsiang ta-ch'ên*) Ho-lin;

the imperial representative resident in Tibet, assistant lieutenant-general (*fu-tu-t'ung*) (real and brevet rank), Sai-shang-a Baturu, Commandant of the Forces (*ling-tui ta-ch'ên*) Ch'êng-tê.





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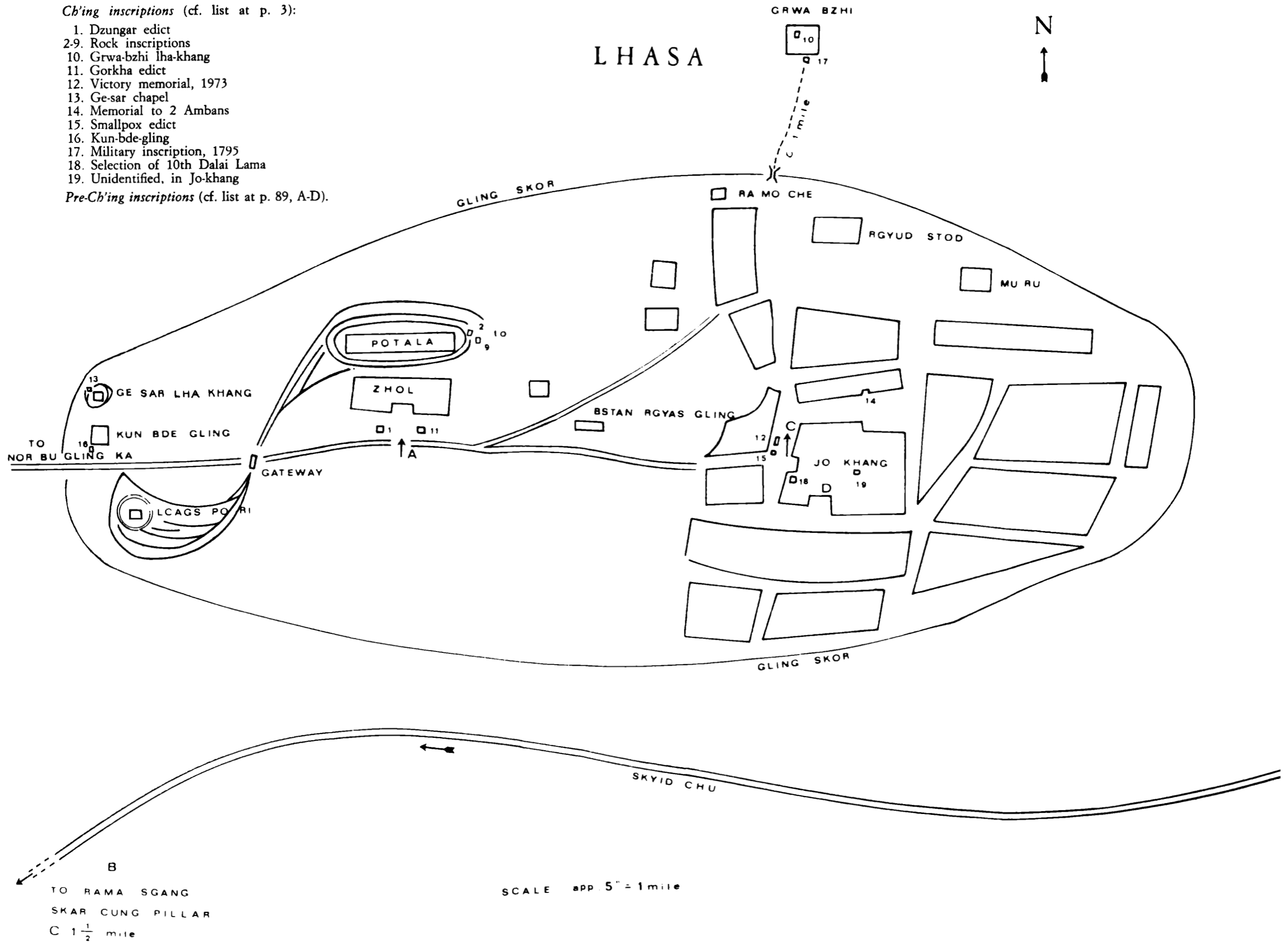
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*Ch'ing inscriptions* (cf. list at p. 3):

1. Dzungar edict
- 2-9. Rock inscriptions
10. Grwa-bzhi lha-khang
11. Gorkha edict
12. Victory memorial, 1973
13. Ge-sar chapel
14. Memorial to 2 Ambans
15. Smallpox edict
16. Kun-bde-gling
17. Military inscription, 1795
18. Selection of 10th Dalai Lama
19. Unidentified, in Jo-khang

*Pre-Ch'ing inscriptions* (cf. list at p. 89, A-D).



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