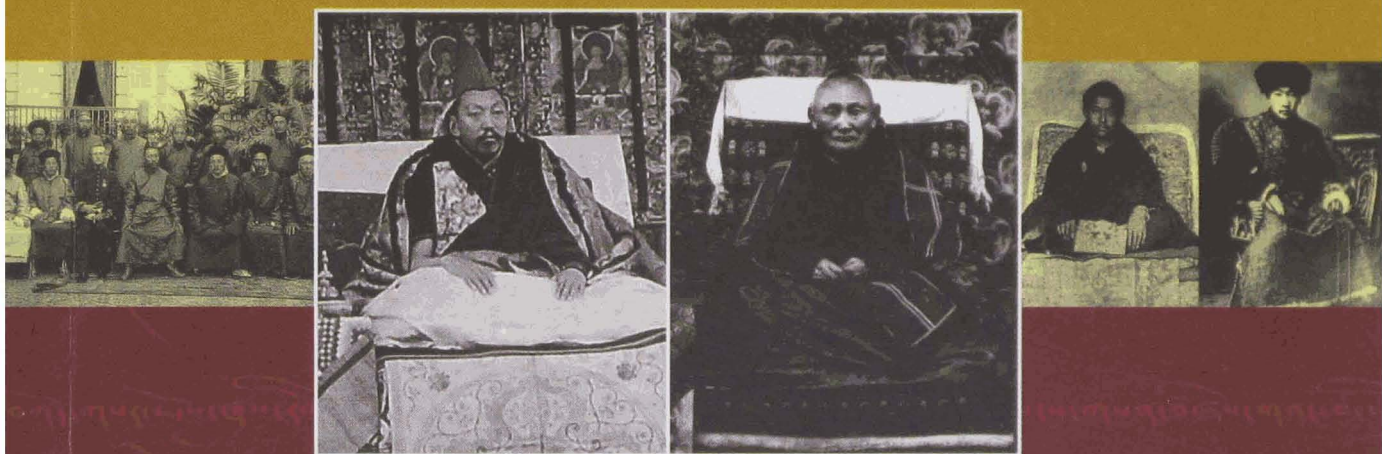




From Tibet Confidentially



Secret correspondence of
the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to
Agvan Dorzhiev, 1911–1925

JAMPA SAMTEN &
NIKOLAY TSYREMPILOV

FROM TIBET CONFIDENTIALLY

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the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to
Agvan Dorzhiev, 1911-1925

Introduction, translation and comments

by

Jampa Samten and Nikolay Tsyrempilov

LIBRARY OF TIBETAN WORKS & ARCHIVES

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To
knowledgeable Tsenshap Khenché
Lozang Ngawang (Agvan Dorzhiev)

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We specially thank Rick Nance and Jane Perkins for their valuable assistance in preparing the English text of this book, and Dmitry Garmaev for technical assistance.

Note on Transcription



For rendering the many Tibetan names and terms we use the Simplified Phonetic Transcription of Standard Tibetan elaborated by David Germano and Nicolas Tournadre. Still there are a few exclusions we had to make in this book. One is in the name of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama: we've preferred to use the more habitual 'Thupten Gyatso' instead of 'Tupten Gyatso', as is recommended by THDL. Then, we have chosen to preserve the usual spellings for Tibet's two highest religious hierarchs: 'Dalai Lama' and 'Panchen Lama'. We did not employ the system to modify the names in the bibliographical information or citations.

With regard to Chinese romanization, we use the pinyin system which is standard in modern Chinese studies. Whenever Russian names and words appear throughout the book, we use the most widely accepted U.S. Library of Congress System of Transliteration of Russian. For the rendering of a few Mongolian words, we decided to employ the THL Mongolian-Cyrillic Transliteration created by Christopher Atwood. As concerns Sanskrit words, we follow standard lexicographical usage.

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Introduction



Letters, like human beings, can have complicated fates. This is especially true for the letters presented here – letters that were for many years stored on the dusty shelves of the Antireligious Museum of Verkhneudinsk. Today, both the museum and its city bear different names. The museum is now known as the National Museum of Buriatia, the city as Ulan-Ude. One may suppose that after the famous owner of these letters died in a prison hospital in November 1938, the letters, together with the rest of his property, were confiscated by NKVD officers. The officers probably assumed them to be religious writings, and handed them over to the Antireligious Museum. This is only speculation, of course, but the fact remains that the letters were stored for almost seventy years in the reserve funds of the Museum, completely unknown to the scholarly community, until they were introduced to us in 2004. Half of the preserved letters are of a private nature, but another half are of considerable significance for specialists in the history of modern Tibet. For this reason, we have decided to present them to readers' attention, thus extending a lifespan that began beneath the pen of one of the most important figures in the history of modern Tibet – the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso (1876-1933) – and his well known favorite officials Shölkang Shappé and Tsarong Shappé. From hand to hand, envoys and pilgrims passed these letters on their long journey from Lhasa to South Siberia. Arriving at their destination at last, they were presented to their addressee. This was Agvan Dorzhiev, a man of outstanding significance in the history of Inner Asia due to the role he played in the unfolding of

2 *From Tibet confidentially*

the “Great Game” between the British and Russian Empires. Over the last several years, Dorzhiev has been the subject of numerous studies. Despite this attention, however, many details regarding the life and activities of this extraordinary Buddhist savant, politician, diplomat, religious teacher and reformist remain unknown.

Ngawang Lozang¹, better known as Agvan Dorzhiev, was born in Central Transbaikalia two centuries after this territory was annexed by the Russian Empire. Dorzhiev was a Buriat-Mongol, one of a large group of Mongol-speaking communities who have long inhabited the area around Lake Baikal, at least since the first Russian Cossack detachments reached Eastern Siberia. From the early 18th century, contemporaneous with Russia’s firm establishment in Transbaikalia, the southern part of the Buriat territories had been flooded by Buddhist missionaries from northeastern Tibet and Mongolia. Subsequently, Buriat Buddhists continued to communicate with the main religious centers of Tibetan-Mongolian Buddhism, notwithstanding the Nerchinsk and Kiakhta treaties that Russia concluded with China, the settlement of the border, and the establishment of the autonomous Buddhist Church headed by the Pandito Khambo Lama. In his youth, Agvan Dorzhiev boldly undertook a difficult and dangerous trip to Tibet in order to pursue a highly prestigious Buddhist education. In 1888, after several years of studying an extended range of Buddhist disciplines, Dorzhiev was honored with the supreme scholarly degree of Tibet – Geshé Lharampa. His rise to the highest reaches of the Tibetan Buddhist

1 Under this name Agvan Dorzhiev appears in Shakabpa, 1984. P. 205. However, as is noted in Dorzhiev, 1991, he is referred to as Lozang Ngawang in some Tibetan writings. In the Tibetan language materials published in this book, Agvan Dorzhiev too is referred to as Lozang Ngawang. In his own works, he usually refers to himself as Vagindra, Sanskrit translation of Tibetan name Ngawang. See, for example: Byang phyogs bstan pa’i gsal byed rje btsun dam pa paNDi ta dza ya mkhan po bstan pa dar rgyas dpal bzang po’i rtogs brjod mdor bsdus dad pa’i nyin byed ‘dren pa’i skya rengs gsal ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so. F. 132 (68v). Library of Tibetan works and archives (Dharamsala, India), #17310. Mongyul-buryad qamiy-a-ača tasuraju yambar orun-a ali čay-tu ken qayan-tai sayuysan terigün-i tobči quriyaysan teüke bičig orusiba. P. 5r. Center of Oriental Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Institute of Mongolian, Tibetan, and Buddhist studies. Mongolian collection. M I, 46.

intellectual elite has sometimes been attributed to his extraordinary talents, which is undoubtedly true. However, from one of the letters addressed to Dorzhiev by the Dalai Lama (OF 18605), we learn that the latter saw the circumstances under which Dorzhiev had received his degree to have been beset by disorder – a disorder that the Dalai Lama held to be endemic to those times. It may thus be reasonable to suggest that Dorzhiev’s considerable achievements – his receipt of a Lharampa degree after only eight years of education and his subsequent appointment as a personal tutor of the Dalai Lama – were due as much to the support of certain influential figures as to the natural scholarly talents he possessed. These figures may have aimed to promote Dorzhiev to a position that would give him an opportunity to communicate directly to the head of the Tibetan state – the Dalai Lama. Among these influential figures were at least four persons: the Purbuchok Rinpoché, personal spiritual master of the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso; Dzasak Rinpoché, the representative of His Holiness at Wutaishan; and the noblemen Shölkang and Shedra, leaders of the anti-Chinese faction in the Tibetan government.

Tibet had been under protectorate of the Qing Empire since the middle of the 18th century. By the late 19th century, as a result of the gradual degradation of the Qing, there was an upsurge in political discourse in Tibet. The situation was aggravated by an increase in the expansionist tendencies of the British Raj, which by that period had already put under control the adjacent Himalayan kingdoms of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. The isolationist policy imposed by the Qing in Tibet created an atmosphere of hostility toward the Western powers – yet the Tibetans themselves knew very little about these powers. At the same time, however, they considered Tibet to be a stronghold of Buddhist Dharma, and thus saw an urgent need to protect their country. The early years of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s rule are sometimes thought to have witnessed a factionalization of his government into three camps: pro-Chinese, pro-British and pro-Russian. The letters presented in this volume, however, suggest that this picture may need to be revised. They suggest that the number of factions should be reduced to two: on the one hand, those who

supported further integration with China; on the other, adherents of Tibetan independence – even if this independence were to require the protection of a third power. Using his opportunity of direct access to the Dalai Lama, Agvan Dorzhiev persistently attempted to convince him of the advantages of an alliance with Russia. The basic arguments presented by the adherents of rapprochement between Tibet and Russia cited the military might of the latter, Russia's liberal policy toward her Buddhist subjects, and her geographically distant position that virtually excluded the menace of potential annex. As Dorzhiev stated later:

When the Chinese officials took the bribe and reduced the territory of Tibet², the upper strata of Tibet initiated secret conferences on the necessity for the patronage of some foreign state. At one of these I expressed my opinion giving my preferences in favor of Russia³.

As a result, between 1897 and 1901, under the instructions of the Dalai Lama, Agvan Dorzhiev undertook three journeys to Russia and Europe. During these trips, he entered into official negotiations with Nicolas the Second, high officials of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the General Headquarters (Ministry of Defense). The subject of the discussions and consultations was Russian political and military assistance to Tibet and the possibility of a Russo-French alliance for resolution of the Tibet problem.

Of course, the Russo-Tibetan rapprochement was not a unilateral Tibetan initiative. By the time of Dorzhiev's arrival in Russia, a pro-Tibet lobby had already taken shape in Saint Petersburg. The Russian political elite of the early 20th century was quite a heterogeneous group; it included those who ardently supported Russian expansion in Asia. Piotr Badmaev, a high official of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and an influential political figure in the Russian capital, adhered to the most radical point of view on the

2 Dorzhiev apparently implies the conclusion of the bipartite British-Chinese Treaty at Chefu of 1876, under one of the articles of which China agreed with the British annexation of Sikkim.

3 Kuleshov, 2003. P. 58-59.

subject. Like Dorzhiev, Badmaev was ethnically Buriat-Mongol. Although converted to Orthodox Christianity by Tsar Alexander III himself, he persisted in the practice of Tibetan medicine and appears to have been a successful physician, earning popularity and influence at the court. Badmaev endorsed a hawkish policy of territorial annexation in the Far East and Inner Asia, and in 1893 submitted to Alexander an adventurous plan for the annexation of China, Korea, Mongolia and Tibet, with the goal of transforming Russia into a huge Eurasian empire. Having gained the support of the influential Minister of Finance Sergey Witte, a revised version of Badmaev's plan was approved by the Emperor and subsidized two million golden rubles. These funds were invested in Badmaev and Co. – a newly established commercial firm, which was engaged in commercial and intelligence activities throughout Transbaikalia, Mongolia and Northern China. Although Badmaev's project soon proved to be a failure, and although Badmaev himself lost most of his patronage, his agent managed to set contacts with Dorzhiev. The fact that during his very first visit to Russia, Dorzhiev was permitted to have an audience with the Russian Tsar was an outcome of the efforts and the skills of the Petersburg hawks – Badmaev and his friend and ally Prince Ukhtomsky, a close favorite of Nicolas II.

As noted above, Badmaev and Ukhtomsky were supporters of a Russian expansionist policy in Asia; this, in general, was in line with the official Russian foreign policy in Asia formulated by Sergey Witte in the following way:

For our future plans it is no less important to make China dependent to some extent on us and not to allow England to extend her influence throughout this country. England is dominating in the south of Asia, and we're not going to trouble her there; however, Central Asia must be ours – not in the sense of material conquest, but to make it serve our needs and interests⁴.

In general, Dorzhiev's negotiations with Russian authorities

4 Lamsdorf, 1991. P. 176. See: Andreyev, 2006. P. 74.

could not be regarded as satisfactory for Tibet. As Alexandre Andreyev puts it:

...the Russian ruling elite still had no idea how to use the favorable Tibetan situation. It had no detailed program or policy, and thus acted hesitatingly and often spontaneously, merely reacting to various outward events⁵.

The most clearly formulated goal of the Russian policy in Tibet was diplomatic opposition to the growth of Britain's influence in this country, but as the situation in the Far East grew from bad to worse for Russia, and the Japanese menace came to a head, concerns over Russia's activities regarding Tibet gradually receded.

In 1899, the conservative majority came to power in Great Britain, and British foreign policy changed. To implement these changes, George Curzon, a popular adherent of the policy of active confrontation with Russia, was appointed Viceroy of India. Curzon was the first head of the British administration of India who turned his close attention to Tibet as a potential zone in which the Russian menace could materialize. Despite the well-organized efforts of a secret network of disguised British agents throughout Tibet, British India had not yet managed to establish direct relations with the Snowy Land. Earlier, the British had tried to establish relations through Peking; soon, however, they came to realize that China was neither eager nor able to exert any visible influence on the Tibetans, who refused to make contact with India. Attempts to establish direct contacts with Lhasa, undertaken by Curzon in 1900 and 1901, yielded no result as well; letters addressed to the Dalai Lama and sent by Curzon through intermediaries were returned unopened. Tibet's protracted refusal to engage in contact with the British was unfavorably affecting the image of the British Crown in the Himalayan region, and it pushed the British to the idea of forcible coercion. Curzon's deliberation over plans to dispatch a military expedition to Tibet drastically intensified after sensational news reached him in 1900 via the *Journal de Saint Petersburg*, an autumn issue of which reported that the Dalai Lama's envoy Agvan

5 Andreyev, 2006. P. 105.

Dorzhiev had journeyed to Europe and had met with the Russian monarch.

Thus, even as it ignored messages from Calcutta, Lhasa seemed to be openly challenging the British by negotiating directly with Petersburg. In a message to the British State Secretary for India Lord Hamilton, Curzon *inter alia* noted:

If Russia were to come down to the big mountains she would at once begin intriguing with Nepal; and we should have a second Afghanistan on the north... Tibet itself and not Nepal must be the buffer state that we must endeavour to create.⁶

The final straw prompting the decision to dispatch a military expedition to Tibet was the publication in the *China Times* of an alleged secret Russo-Chinese treaty⁷. According to one of its clauses, Russia was to be allowed a measure of control over the government, mines and construction of railway roads in Tibet. The publication was clearly a fake – an act of intentional provocation – but it catalyzed British aggression against Tibet.

Confident that Russia would come to the aid of Tibet in the event of an emergency, the Dalai Lama and the deputies of the Tibetan National Assembly (Tsongdu) opted to disregard British demands. Interestingly, Agvan Dorzhiev and his old allies – the ministers (Kalöns) Shölkang and Shedra (who had a reputation of being Anglophiles) insisted on immediate dialogue with Britain. The two Kalöns were even suspected of treachery, dismissed, and eventually imprisoned until released and restored to their former positions in 1912. This additionally proves the thesis that the Tibetan political environment was never sharply divided between Russophile and Anglophile factions. Quite often, these supposedly separate groups jointly supported the idea of constructive collaboration with a third power – whether Britain or Russia.

To lead the military mission to Tibet, Curzon appointed an experienced regular officer of the Royal army: Colonel Francis Younghusband. Late in 1903, Younghusband crossed the Tibet-Sikkim boundary. After briefly skirmishing with ill-trained and

6 Ibid. P. 107.

7 *China Times*. 1902. July 18. See: Shaumian, 2000. P. 34.

ill-armed Tibetan troops, he entered Lhasa in the summer of 1904. Prompted by reports of the British advance, the Dalai Lama in the company of Dorzhiev had already fled to Mongolia – a region which was at that time firmly established within the sphere of Russian influence. The Dalai Lama would spend the next three years in exile in Mongolia. Despite his many personal appeals to Russian authorities and to the Russian emperor to put pressure on Britain, and despite the tireless diplomatic activities of Dorzhiev and the support of influential Russian politicians, Russia refused to take resolute action in support of the Tibetan cause. Her noncommittal stance saddened and bewildered supporters of the Russian forward policy in Asia, as a 1905 article by Esper Ukhtomsky in the Petersburg press makes clear:

An unfortunate wanderer across Asia, an embodied deity of the northern Buddhist world, exiled from Tibet, which due to our negligence was invaded by the British, vainly knocked on our doors all these months, and vainly tried to keep the relations with Russia which our Foreign Ministry encouraged him to hope for following the missions of A. Dorzhiev, vainly tried to break away from the trap of the vigilant eyes of the Chinese administration. <...> So painful and sad to see this for the supporters of reasonable Russian gradual advance in distant Asia⁸.

Russia's subsequent shattering defeat in the war with Japan, together with a steadily worsening internal political situation, substantially curtailed her ambitions in Asia. Regarding the Dalai Lama, the official position of Russia now was limited to securing the compromise between the Dalai Lama and the Peking court and quickly reinstalling the former in the Potala. Although Dorzhiev and the exiled theocrat aspired to secure a political consolidation of Tibetans and Mongols on a shared Buddhist basis, this idea was categorically rejected by Saint Petersburg, lest it provoke a joint Sino-British reaction against Russia.

Disillusioned with the lack of Russian support, the Dalai Lama had to find a compromise with the Qing, but the rude attempts of the last members of the Manchu imperial family to subjugate the

8 Rassvet. 1905. April 28 / May 11. See: Andreyev, 2006. P. 136.

rebellious vassal and the aggressive Chinese incursions into Eastern Tibet again led to the flight of the Dalai Lama, this time to his former enemies – the British.

The Russo-British rapprochement in Asia soon resulted in the signing of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 concerning Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. Both powers committed themselves to a policy of non-interference in Tibetan affairs, and pledged to conduct future relations with the country only through the intermediary of Peking. Dorzhiev once again desperately attempted to draw Russian attention to Chinese aggression against Tibet, but Russia's Minister of Foreign Affairs (S. Sazonov) gave the following reply:

The Imperial Government in view of the remoteness of Tibet does not acknowledge the fact that Russia has any substantial political and economical interests in this country. The existing interests of a purely religious character concern only Russian Buddhist subjects. The British interests in Tibet are primarily political and economical. Out of this reasons the foreign policy of Tibet must be established on the foundation of friendship and peace to England. Tibet may conclude various treaties of political and economic character with Britain. Russia will keep the previous favorable attitude toward Tibet. In the matters religious Tibet would find in Russia an active support⁹.

The above statement is the most clearly and succinctly formulated Russian position on the question of Tibet – a position that in its basic principles had been operative from the very start of official intercourse between the two countries.

Yet the history of Russo-Tibetan relations was far from over. The start of the Xinhai Revolution and the collapse of the Qing dynasty opened entirely new perspectives in Asian politics. In 1912, Tibetan resistance forces led by the Dalai Lama from abroad brought the Chinese occupation of Tibet to an end. The head of Tibet triumphantly returned to Lhasa after overall eight years of forced exile, and declared Tibet to be independent from China. Thus, a new page in the modern history of the Snowy Land had been opened.

In August of 1912 in Samding monastery, the last meeting of

9 Ibid. P. 186.

the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and Agvan Dorzhiev took place. At this meeting, according to the testimony of Dorzhiev himself¹⁰, the Dalai Lama bestowed funds for the ongoing construction of the Petersburg Buddhist temple (begun in 1910) and some ritual objects for the interior. It was probably at this time that the Dalai Lama authorized Dorzhiev to conclude a treaty of mutual recognition with Mongolia – one that Tibetan government had been in no condition to ratify.

A month later British authorities informed the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso through their trade agent at Gyantsé Basil Gould that they would henceforth consider contacts with Dorzhiev undesirable. In view of increasing Chinese pressure on Tibet, the concluding of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, and Tibetan interest in British protection, the Dalai Lama found himself forced to promise to reject Dorzhiev's services as his political advisor—at least outwardly. In Samding, the Dalai Lama and Agvan Dorzhiev hardly supposed that they would never see each other again—yet this proved to be the case.

Any British official, however lofty, who... believed that... [the relationship between Dorzhiev and the Dalai Lama] could be easily terminated was deluding himself. Though they never saw each other again, these two powerful personalities remained in touch until the Dalai Lama died in 1933¹¹.

Relations between Dorzhiev and other high officials of the Tibetan government were equally enduring – as newly revealed evidence has shown. Thanks to the availability today of a range of hitherto unknown materials, we know that after the collapse of the monarchy in Russia, the Bolshevik regime made repeated attempts to increase Soviet influence in Tibet via Buriats and Kalmyks, including Dorzhiev himself. Until now, however, no direct correspondence between the Dalai Lama (or other Tibetan politicians) and Dorzhiev has been published. After 1917, Tibet remained in relative information isolation from Russia; ties between Agvan Dorzhiev

10 Dorzhiev, 2003. P. 62-63.

11 Snelling, 1993. P. 149.

and his Tibetan counterparts were kept through Tibetan envoys, as well as through Buriat and Kalmyk pilgrims. This fact turns out to provide researchers today with a fortunate opportunity: through the letters assembled here, we can glimpse covert Tibetan politics at work – politics associated in many respects with Agvan Dorzhiev. Even though the information these letters provide is often limited and terse (sometimes to the point of being incomprehensible), the letters constitute a very important source, given the lack of verified data about this very important period in the history of the Snowy Land – a time in which it was virtually independent and desperately dashing toward modernization and progress.

*Source base for study of Tibetan history
between 1911-1925*

Unfortunately, our knowledge of this pivotal time in Tibetan history has been hampered by the inability to peruse crucial primary sources, insofar as scholars have largely been forbidden access to Tibetan state archives. Only a few documents relating to the Francis Younghusband expedition have recently been published.¹²

However, there is a range of Tibetan sources which have been used in historical investigations of the earlier stage of the almost forty-year period of Tibetan independence. In his *Tibet: A Political History*, Tsipön Shakabpa refers to documents used and generated by the Tibetan delegation to the 1914 Simla talks.

From 1983, a series of reminiscences by Tibetan government officials of various ranks is published, together with data from pre-1951 Tibet. This multivolume series, entitled “Materials on the Culture and History of Tibet”¹³, has made public a considerable amount of new information. However, only a portion of this information directly pertains to the events of 1911-1925, among

12 Song Liming, 1994. P. 789-800.

13 Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsrgrigs. Bod rang skyong ljongs chab gros rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha u yon lhan khang. From 1983.

which the works by Dönkhang¹⁴ and Pünrap¹⁵ on the Ninth Panchen Lama and the Lhasa government conflict must be mentioned. In addition, portions of the reminiscences of Kelden – once a servant in the house of Tsarong Shappé¹⁶ – as well as work on the history of the Tibetan army by Tengping¹⁷, concern this period. Finally, an autobiography of Shengkava contains many details regarding events that occurred in 1924¹⁸.

Large-scale, systematic use of Tibetan language materials was made in the fundamental opus of Melvin C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913-1951. The Demise of the Lamaist State*, published in 1989. In addition to culling information from many eyewitness interviews, Goldstein makes active use of materials drawn from the above-mentioned multivolume series. The availability of primary sources in Tibetan is effectively limited to this.

Most of the historical information on the subject is known to researchers from the great number of documents, telegrams, letters and notes from the Indian Office Records and Archives, the Public Record Office and, to a lesser extent, the Foreign Office archives. Invaluable materials drawn from these archives have allowed leading specialists in the modern history of Tibet (Parshotam Mehra, Alistair Lamb, Alex McKay, Melvin C. Goldstein and others) to study questions related to the earlier period of Tibetan independence, the reforms of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and Tsarong Shappé, Lungshar's mission to London and Europe, the flight of the Panchen Lama IX to China, etc.

Of utmost importance for the study of the history of modern Tibet are Russian archives. Materials concerning Tibetan affairs are concentrated in the Oriental collections and libraries of Saint Petersburg (which comprise the most extensive historical and

14 Don khang, sKal bzang bde skyid, 1984. P. 1-32.

15 Phun rab, Rin chen rnam rgyal, 1984. P. 123-132.

16 sKal ldan, 1985. P. 249-293

17 Khreng ping, 1984. P. 180-207.

18 Shankhava, 1990.

foreign affairs archives of Russia), as well as the national archives of the Republics of Buriatia and Kalmykia. 122 documents from the Archive of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire were published in 2005 in *Rossia i Tibet. Sbornik russkikh arkhivnykh dokumentov 1900-1914*. This book presents the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's letters addressed to Nicolas II, as well as miscellaneous notes and petitions of Agvan Dorzhiev to government officials of Russia, chiefly concerning the issue of Tibet's independence.

A fundamental study of the development of the relations between Tibet and the Russian Empire (then USSR) is Alexandre Andreyev's *Tibet v politike tsarskoi, sovetskoi i postsovetskoi Rossii*, published in Saint Petersburg in 2006. Relying on an extensive array of sources, Andreyev illuminates the details of the Russo-Tibetan dialogue during the early years of Soviet Russia. His book, together with his other papers, have illuminated previously unknown facts about Bolshevik expeditions of the 1920s, intermediary activities of Agvan Dorzhiev, etc. Special mention should also be made of the diary of the Tibet-Mongolian expedition under the leadership of Piotr Kuzmich Kozlov¹⁹, a work that preserves important information regarding Soviet-Tibetan relations during the same period. Important monographs by other Russian researchers, primarily Tatiana Shaumian and Nikolay Kuleshov, must be mentioned here as well²⁰.

Nevertheless, our knowledge of Tibetan history of 1911-1925 will remain incomplete until researchers gain access to a broad range of Tibetan governmental materials. This fact makes the letters discovered in Ulan-Ude exceptionally valuable, since they reflect attitudes taken toward important events of Tibetan history by the chief actors in that history: the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Agvan Dorzhiev, Tsarong Shappé, Shölkang Shappé and others. We hope that a detailed comparison of these letters with information drawn from other international archives will make one chapter in the history of Tibet a bit clearer.

¹⁹ Kozlov, 2003.

²⁰ Shaumian, 2000. Kuleshov, 1996.

Description of the letters, problems of attribution and dates

In this book we publish 24 letters that contain the most important historical information. Out of the 24 letters, 14 letters are from the Dalai Lama with his private seal and one with his official Seal. All the letters are in a satisfactory state; some are partially restored. Some letters are written on thin, high quality Tibetan paper of large size (the maximum format is 105.7 cm). Other letters are written on smaller sheets, the smallest of which is 6.5 cm long. One letter is written on English postal paper and placed into an envelope. These letters' sheets bear the hand-drawn symbol of the Tsarong family. The large-sized letters on Tibetan paper are folded in the traditional way; as a rule, the recto side of the last fold bears the name of the addressee or simply title of the letter.

All the letters bear inventory numbers under which they are stored in the National Museum of Buriatia. Below, detailed technical descriptions of each letter are given.

1. OF 18578. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *yikchung*. Sheet size 69,5x54,5 cm. Text section size 33x31 cm. 13 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 5,5 cm. Seal 2. Dated April 1, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

2. OF 18579. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *khyugyik*. Sheet size 103,5x57 cm. Text section size 62x39,5 cm. 32 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 4 cm. Folds 1-4, 6 are damaged and partially restored. Seal 5. Dated 1913. Author: Kashak.

3. OF 18575. 3 twofold sheets of thick chequered European paper of white hue with stamped text: "Imperial treasury De la Rue" and stylized monogram. Text is written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *khyugyik*. The letter is placed into an envelope of thick chequered European paper with frayed, damaged edges. Envelope size 13,5x21. Ff. 1v, 2v, 3v, 4v, 5v are blank. Center of

upper part of ff. 1r, 3r, 5r, 7r contain symbol of Tsarong family with inscription “*Nyin mo bde, mtshan mo bde, tsha rong*” drawn by hand (Tsarong family symbol). Some of the sheets bear original pagination made by the author’s hand in the upper part. No seal. Dated August 23, 1924. Author: Tsarong Shappé Dazang Damdül.

4. OF 18588. A sheet of European ruled paper of white hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 13,7x21 cm. Text section size 6x20 cm. 5 lines. Seal 2. Dated December 14, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

5. OF 18589. A sheet of European ruled paper of white hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 21x10 cm. Text section size 20, 2x7,5 cm. 6 lines. Seal 2. Presumed to date from early 1925. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

6. OF 18590. A sheet of European ruled paper of white hue with text written in black ink. Lower edge is torn. Date digits are written in blue ink. Lines 4-7 are underlined in red pencil. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 13,7x21 cm. Text section size 7,5x20,2 cm. 7 lines. Seal 2. Dated December 14, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

7. OF 18591. A sheet of European ruled paper of white hue with text written in black ink. Lower edge is torn. Date digits are written in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 21x10 cm. Text section size 20,2x7,5 cm. 6 lines. Seal 2. Dated December 14, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

8. OF 18592. A sheet of European ruled paper of white hue with text written in black ink. Opening lines’ ink is slightly spread. Lower edge is torn. Date digits are written in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 13,7x21 cm. Text section size 7,5x20 cm. 7 lines. Seal 2. A small sheet paper is glued to the sheet in the spot next to the seal. Presumably, Dated December 14, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

9. OF 18593. A sheet of European ruled paper of white hue with text written in black ink. Lower edge is torn. Date digits are written

in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 13,7×21 cm. Text section size 6,5×20,5 cm. 6 lines. Seal 2. A small sheet paper is glued to the sheet in the spot next to the seal. Dated December 14, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

10. OF 18594. A sheet of European ruled paper of white hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 25×19,5 cm. Text section size 14,5×18 cm. 16 lines. Seal 3. Dated January 1, 1925. Author: Kashak.

11. OF 18597. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Date digits are written in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 48×56 cm. Text section size 29×10,5 cm. 4 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 5,5 cm. Seal 2. Dated August 18, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

12. OF 18598. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Date digits are written in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 44,5×49 cm. Text section size 15×30 cm. 6 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 4,5 cm. Seal 2. Dated November 15, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

13. OF 18599. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Date digits are written in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 54×55,3 cm. Text section size 21×34,5 cm. 8 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 5,5 cm. Seal 2. Dated August 31, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

14. OF 18600. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *khyugyik*. Sheet size 40×61,3 cm. Text section size 28×40 cm. 15 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 4,5 cm. No seal. Presumed to date from April, 1922. Anonymous.

15. OF 18601. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Date digits are written in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 62,5×55,3 cm. Text section size 28×34 cm. 11 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds,

the space between which is 5 cm. Seal 2. Dated October 31, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

16. OF 18602. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 28,5×56,5 cm. Text section size 12,5×33 cm. 6 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 4 cm. Seal 2. Presumed to date from August, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

17. OF 18603. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 89,5×68,5 cm. Text section size 50×42 cm. 17 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 4,5 cm. Seal 3. Dated April 24, 1924. Tibetan Kashak.

18. OF 18604. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Date digits are written in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 52×54,3 cm. Text section size 33×18 cm. 7 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 5 cm. Seal 2. Dated November 12, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

19. OF 18605. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Date digits are written in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 66×55 cm. Text section size 32×33 cm. 12 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 6 cm. Seal 2. Dated August 31, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

20. OF 18606. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *khyugyik*. Sheet size 83×56 cm. Text section size 65×45 cm. 28 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 4,5 cm. No seal. Presumed to date from spring 1924. Anonymous.

21. OF 18607. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Date digits are written in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *yikchung*. Sheet size 76,5×57,3 cm. Text section size 36×32 cm. 10 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 6 cm. Seal 4. In the addressee section – Seal 5. Dated April 27, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

22. OF 18609. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Date digits are written in blue ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *tshukmakhyuk*. Sheet size 51,2×53,5 cm. Text section size 34×15,5 cm. 6 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 5 cm. Seal 2. Dated November 13, 1924. Author: The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso.

23. OF 18616. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *khyugyik*. Sheet size 48×64 cm. Text section size 30×50 cm. 14 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 5 cm. No seal. Presumed to date from August, 1911. Anonymous.

24. OF 18617. A sheet of Tibetan paper of grey-brownish hue with text written in black ink. Tibetan calligraphic style *khyugyik*. Sheet size 48×64 cm. Text section size 30×50 cm. 14 lines. Sheet contains traces of folds, the space between which is 5 cm. No seal. Presumed to dated from late 1912. Anonymous.

Conclusively determining the authors of these letters is not a simple matter; problems of attribution are bound together with problems of identifying their accompanying seal stamps. When a letter is stamped with a seal, the seal stamp is typically found at the bottom; in some cases, it marks the fold on which the addressee's name is penned. Four varieties of seal stamps occur on these letters, as well as (occasionally) the symbol of the Tsarong family. Among the seal stamps, only the official Kashak's seal stamp (Seal 3) is black; the others are red. The identification of these seal stamps has great significance for ascertaining the provenance of the letters. To date, we have been able to identify two Kashak stamps (Seals 1 and 3). The other three stamps are of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama; one (Seal 4) marks official communication; the other (Seal 2) was presumably affixed to private correspondence. A stamp identical to Seal 2 marks a letter by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to Sönam Wangpel Laden-la (1876-1936), a copy of which is given in a recently published book by Nicolas and Deki Rhodes.²¹ The Dalai Lama's stamps are found on 17 of the 24 letters published here. In

21 Rhodes, 2006.

addition to the presence of the Dalai Lama's seal stamp, the content of these letters unambiguously indicates the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso's authorship. Among the letters published in this volume, others may also have been authored by Dalai Lama XIII and Kalön Shölkang Shappé; their provenance is difficult to determine conclusively.

Also difficult to determine is the date on which many of these letters were composed. Judging by their contents, we conjecture that the earliest letter is OF 18616, which we have tentatively dated August, 1911. Arguments in favor of this dating are given below. The other letters were likely penned after 1912, the year Dorzhiev left Tibet for the last time (thus requiring all further communication to be conducted via written correspondence). The last letter is dated April 1, 1925. This date coincides with the period during which Dorzhiev was gradually coming to realize the nature of Soviet policies towards Buddhism in Russia and Tibet. As Dorzhiev's biographer John Snelling points out, in an April 1925 letter to Grigory Chicherin, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Dorzhiev laments the restrictions on the Soviet Buddhist Community that had recently been implemented by the government.²²

From 1913-1921, there is an interruption in correspondence. We do not know whether Dorzhiev maintained contacts with Tibetan officials over this period. The break may be related to Russia's participation in World War I and, consequently, to the Bolshevik coup of 1917 in Petrograd – developments that removed Russo-Tibetan relations from the agenda. During this time, Dorzhiev was primarily engaged with problems concerning the development of Buddhism within the country. Correspondence between the Tibetan government and Dorzhiev appears to resume in the spring of 1922, perhaps prompted by the first Soviet expedition of Yampilon-Khomutnikov to Tibet in April, 1922.

The peak of the correspondence gathered here falls during the period between April 24, 1924 and April 1, 1925 – a pivotal time in the modern history of Tibet. It was a time during which the most

²² Snelling, 1993. P. 219.

dramatic phase of the Ninth Panchen's flight to China was unfolding, together with Lev Karakhan's mission to Peking, preparations for Kozlov's expedition to Tibet, and the second Bolshevik mission to Lhasa. It was also a time that may have seen a failed coup d'état in Lhasa – an event that led to the dismissal of Tsarong Shappé from the position of Commander-in-chief and to changes in the Dalai Lama's domestic policies. It is not unreasonable to suppose that all these events directly or indirectly involved Agvan Dorzhiev; thus, it is not surprising that no fewer than 16 of the 24 letters compiled here are dated to this time.

The letters are not evenly distributed throughout the year: two date from April of 1924, five from August, the same number from October-November, six from December-January. This irregularity may be explained by difficulties of delivery. Communication between Lhasa and Transbaikalia could be conducted only through special envoys or pilgrims. The letters mention some of them: Takring Trülku (OF 18584), Jampa Tokmé of Namgyel Dratsang (OF 18601), Chöndzé Gyurmé (18609), Chöndzé Lozang Sherap (OF 18592). The Dalai Lama himself approves of Lozang Sherap as Dorzhiev's courier (OF 18590), while Jampa Tokmé has been identified by Alexandre Andreyev as Zhampa Togmat, a figure whom Dorzhiev called "the Dalai Lama's diplomatic courier"²³.

Text peculiarities and translation problems

Owing to their confidential character, these letters present a range of textual peculiarities. All the letters are addressed only to one addressee, and all presume this addressee's background knowledge. This is why the content of the letters is often fragmentary, ambiguous and lacking in detail – a situation that generates significant problems for the task of translation. The English translations provided in this book are no more than versions with least distortion of the thought contents and closest rendering of Tibetan text; specialists

23 Andreyev, 2003. P. 207.

are invited to improve upon them on the basis of the accompanying transcriptions and facsimiles.

One of the textual peculiarities is a number of Chinese loan words, as, for instance, ཏཱ་ཁོ་ལ་ for France, which is a corruption of the Chinese 法国 (OF 18617). There is no lack of European names and terms, in particular English and Russian, e.g., Tibetan ལྷོ་ for London, or མོ་སྤེ་ཁ་པ་ for Moscow, as well as ཡག་ཐོ་མི་ for Autonomy, surnames Kozlov – ཁོ་ལོ་ལོ་པ་ and Karakhan – ཁ་ར་ཏན་

Of course, to deal with sources such as these demands good knowledge of the historical context in which they appeared. A number of brilliant works on this period of Tibetan history have made possible the translation, however unsatisfactory it may be. The authors assume full responsibility for any mistakes and shortcomings which can be found in this book. We put as our chief objective the publication of the accompanying facsimiles that we hope will enable scholars to produce more exacting and deep interpretations.

Below, our own comments to each letter are given. For reason of convenience, we have arranged them thematically and chronologically.

The Chinese intervention in Kham and the activities of Amban Lian Yu in Lhasa

The letter OF 18616 is not dated. As is stated in its beginning, it is based on certain “Report on the recent Chinese activities in Tibet”. Most probably, it was submitted by a high official of Lhasa Government to the Dalai Lama, that time in exile in India. On the basis of its contents, we suggest a provisional date of August-September 1911. An unknown author discusses events of that year, indicating the months in which they occurred. The author mentions a military operation in Nyagrong (Chantun) and the introduction of Chinese administration in that territory, dating these events to the 4th and 5th months (i.e., June and July) respectively. By early-mid 1911, Zhao Erfeng had established Sichuanese control over several

regions traditionally controlled by Lhasa: Markham, the monastery of Sangak Chödzung, Chamdo, and Dragyap. The last region from which Zhao Erfeng together with his assistant Zhong Yin expelled Lhasa officials was Nyagrong; the region was occupied by Sichuanese troops in July of 1911. In August, Zhao Erfeng returned to Chengdu to assume the position of provincial governor. The last event reflected in the letter is the dismissal of Lhasa officials in Nyagrong and establishment of Chinese control over the territory. However, there is no mention of the activities of Fu Songmu, Zhao Erfeng's successor as border commissioner in Kham. Nor is any reference made to the murder of Zhao Erfeng by rebel soldiers in Sichuan and the subsequent recall of Fu Songmu. For these reasons, a date of August-September of 1911 seems most likely.

Letter OF 18616 obviously reflects the position taken by a high Lhasa official, perhaps the Thirteenth Dalai Lama himself, to events unfolding in Kham between 1909-1911: Zhao Erfeng's troop expansion to territories under Lhasa control; the reforms initiated by Amban Lian Yu; the Dalai Lama's flight to India; and the early stage of a split in relations between the Dalai Lama (and Lhasa government) and the Panchen Lama (and Trashi Lhünpo administration). Unlike other published appeals and letters of Lhasa officials on the subject, this letter contains a detailed presentation of Chinese undertakings in Kham and the reforms initiated by Lian Yu. Thus, with regard to Zhao Erfeng's policy towards newly occupied territories, the author stresses a new regulation according to which taxes are being levied at 10 times the rate of the previous Lhasa regime. Of special significance is the information on the situation in Nyagrong, where, as is stated in the letter, the Chinese were propagandizing the local population in order to convince them to submit voluntarily to a new Chinese administration. The Lhasa officials of the region were told that unless they, too, capitulated to the Chinese, they would be expelled militarily.

The Tibetan administration of Nyagrong repeatedly appealed to Zhao Erfeng to stop the aggression, but its appeals were unsuccessful. By the middle of June, 1911, Zhao Erfeng's troops

took Nyagrong, expelled the Lhasa officials from power, and established a new administration. The letter notes that 300 officials of the old administration were dismissed from their positions but allowed to stay in Nyagrong.

The author then writes of the situation in Central Tibet, where Tibetan power had been usurped by the Qing Amban Lian Yu. The letter recounts certain measures undertaken by Lian Yu and his assistant General Zhong Yin to introduce proper order, specifically, the establishment of a network of administrative and judicial offices from Pashö to the Tibet-Bhutan and Tibet-Nepal border. The author accuses Lian Yu of usurping power and increasing military contingents through the establishment of new garrisons. By his count, each month no fewer than 100 soldiers and 200 loads of armor are arriving in Tibet. The addressee is told that together with rising taxes and corvee labor, this increase in military forces is leading to a deterioration of the economic situation. To support the garrisons, the Chinese authorities are importing provisions from distant territories, and thus impacting prices that may be charged for local products. Thus, the author writes, the price of meat has collapsed twice. A military conflict in Poyül is mentioned as well, prompted by the refusal of the local chieftain Kanam Depa to submit to Chinese authorities. The author informs us that after unsuccessful attempts to take Poyül by force, the Chinese have used Pembar Trülku and Gyeltön Trülku as intermediaries to start negotiations with Kanam Depa.

The next problem the author discusses in his letter concerns a loan secured by the Ninth Panchen Lama from British India. Probably, the author means the gift, or donation, of 5000 liang, the British authorities offered to the Panchen Lama during his stay in India²⁴. To return the money, the author suggests obliging the Trashi Lhünpo government to supply the British mission in Gyantsé (according to the 1904 agreement between British India and Tibet), and prohibiting the Lhasa government from doing the same. This passage of the letter may reflect the beginnings of the economic conflict between Trashi Lhünpo and Lhasa.

24 About that donation see: Shaumian, 2000. P. 112.

The author raises the problem of what he terms the illegal confiscation of “the acting Kalön Gungtangpa’s²⁵ Lhasa domain”, allotted to him by the Lhasa government. As is known from scholarly works,

“The Dalai Lama’s personal effects, which were still on their way back from China, were confiscated at Nagchuka. His property in Potala and Norbulingka (the summer palace), as well as the vast treasury of the Tibetan government, were removed by the Chinese. The Lhasa armory and magazines were emptied, the mint and ammunition factory seized, and the houses of those ministers who had fled with the Dalai Lama systematically pillaged. The property of the ex-Regent Demo, who had been found guilty of plotting against the Dalai Lama in 1899, was restored to his family”.²⁶

To these confiscations we may now add another: that of the landed property of the acting Kalön Gungtangpa. The author laments that the orders of the Silön, or Prime Minister, whose functions were temporarily entrusted by the Dalai Lama before he fled to India to the abbot of Ganden Tripa Tsemönling Huthokthu Ngawang Lozang, have not been executed because the Amban has usurped all the executive functions. Descriptions of the miserable position of the population in the period of Lian Yu’s rule are contained in other historical documents of the time. In the Dalai Lama’s letter of July 5, 1910 attached to an official of the Russian Embassy in China M. Shchiokin’s report, it is said: “he (Lian Yu) raised the transport corvée rate... several times higher. Because of these measures the population found itself in a desperate situation and began to flee”²⁷.

Attempts of Tibetan officials to provide recognition of the independence of their country

As we suggest, the letter OF 18617 can be an original of the Dalai Lama XIII’s letter to Russian Emperor Nicolas the Second, as

25 The author apparently means Duntangpa who was in position of Katsap in 1909. Thubten Puntsok, 1996. P. 918.

26 Shakabpa, 1984. P. 233.

27 Rossiia i Tibet, 2005. P. 152.

indicated in the letter itself on its front page. The letter, of course, does not bear the author's signature but there are two passages referring to the Dalai Lama in first person²⁸. The Russian translation of this letter was attached to Agvan Dorzhiev's note to the Chair of the Council of Ministers (V. N. Kokovtsov), dated April 6, 1913. The text of the Russian translation (or Russian-language version) of this letter has previously been published in the collection of archival documents on Russo-Tibetan relations²⁹. What is the background of this letter?

After having been triumphantly re-established in the capital of Tibet and having declared his country independent from China, the Dalai Lama set himself the task of convincing other powers, primarily Russia and Britain, to acknowledge Tibet's independent status. The Dalai Lama's letter to Nicolas II thus constitutes a request to recognize Tibetan independence. Russian researcher Alexandre Andreyev, discussing this period of Russo-Tibetan relations, argues that Agvan Dorzhiev, who had delivered the Dalai Lama's message to the Russian Emperor, faced "obstruction from the side of MID"³⁰³¹ owing to Russian reluctance to endanger their interests in Outer Mongolia by contacting Lhasa directly. Andreyev mentions two letters from the Dalai Lama: one political, another more religious in character (though carrying a similar political message)³². The variant we publish in this book differs in some important details from the "political" version presented for the emperor's consideration.

In 1912, via Dorzhiev, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama had sent a letter to Russian Emperor Nicolas the Second, thanking him for his assistance during the period of the Dalai Lama's exile to Mongolia and India. The text of this letter, known to scholars in the translation and interpretation of Agvan Dorzhiev, reads:

"1. On the establishment of friendly relations between Tibet and England, and on the protection and acknowledgement of Tibetan independence by Russia and England;

28 See: Samten, 2010. P. 357-370.

29 Ibid. P. 194-195.

30 Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia).

31 Andreyev, 2006. P. 202.

32 Andreyev, 2003. P. 59.

2. On the dispatching of diplomatic representatives of Russia and England to Lhasa, or, if the institution of diplomatic representation in Tibet will be found to be impossible according to the terms set by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, then On finding other means for establishing new guarantees of Tibet's inviolability and neutrality, via negotiations with England or other world powers;
3. On the selling of arms and the command of military instructors, or, if for some reason the acquisition of arms in Russia will be found unacceptable, then On permission to transport them through her territory and on her roads;
4. On the increase of a loan from the Peking Department of the Russo-Asian Bank up to 1 million rubles;
5. On the legalization of the status of our representative, Tsannid Khanchen Agvan Dorzhiev;

On the swift resolution of these urgent issues, on the preservation of eternally unshakeable friendly relations between Russia and Tibet, and on the establishment between them of lively trade and economic ties by means of a special treaty agreement, I rely, remembering the former favor and protection of Your Imperial Majesty.”

In the letter published here, we see rather different versions of several of the above requests. In both variants of the letter, the essence of the requests is the same. However, the original version names specific powers (Germany, France, and Japan) which might be persuaded to take active part in the resolution of the Tibet problem, asks Petersburg to persuade the above countries to depute their representatives to Lhasa and extend their support to Tibet, and requests for the recognition of Dorzhiev's diplomatic status of Tibet's liaison official in Russia”. The final Russian-language version of the letter may have emerged only after consultation with Dorzhiev. We may reasonably suppose that he would have advocated dropping direct mention of Germany, France and Japan, recognizing clearly that Russia would object to any proposed increase of their influence in Tibet. However, the difference between the two versions of the letter perhaps also testifies to a secret scheme to secure Tibet's

independence, about which the Tibetan government was then deliberating. The heart of the scheme was the organization of secret Russo-British, Russo-French and Russo-German agreements regarding Tibet—though the idea of an intrigue with Japan also was never entirely rejected. By involving France, Germany and Japan, the Lhasa government aimed to encourage resolute British action in the region—yet the scheme needed to remain secret, since the official positions taken by Britain and Russia did not allow for Tibet to engage in any independent negotiation with other countries.

Another of Dorzhiev's initiatives—that of providing Tibet with Buriat military instructors—dates back to this time as well. During his final visit to Tibet in 1912, Dorzhiev had been accompanied by three Buriat officers of the Transbaikal Cossack army: Ts. Ganzhurov, B. Budaev and B. Munkuev. In his report to their commander, the Military governor of the Transbaikal district, Dorzhiev wrote that these officers had been requested by the Tibetan government, and that their dispatch should not be publicized. In the Dalai Lama's letter of 1912, we see his request to send Buriat military instructors to Tibet. For a few months, Buriat Cossacks worked in Tibet; soon, however, the Lhasa administration, anxious about the British reaction to their presence, opted to refuse any foreign military assistance except that of the British.

The letter OF 18579 is another important historical document from the early period of Tibet's *de facto* independence. It contains valuable information regarding the Dalai Lama's diplomatic attempts to force Russia and Britain to be more active concerning the Tibet problem. The letter is anonymous, but some of its passages may indicate that it was sent by Tibetan Kashak³³. It was likely written by a high official of the Lhasa government, but not by the Dalai Lama; a couple of passages refer to the Dalai Lama in the third person. The letter is dated 1913. The month and day are not specified, but the letter's contents again allow us to suggest the date of its composition. The author reports the receipt of a letter from one of the Dalai Lama's new favorites, Lungshar Dorjé Tsegyal, in

33 See: Samten, Forthcoming 'Lungta Issue', Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamsala.

which he speaks of an impending trip to Britain. Since the Lungshar delegation departed Bombay for Britain in early April 1913, the letter was likely composed between February and April of that year—most likely in March. The letter also relates that Dorzhiev had recently visited Tongkhor monastery in the Kartsé area of Kham. This visit is unmentioned by Dorzhiev's biographers, and so our source reveals one more heretofore unknown mission undertaken by the Dalai Lama's envoy to Kham after the Sichuanese troop invasion.

As part of secret diplomatic efforts undertaken by the Tibetan government, Lungshar was dispatched to London. Officially, the purpose of his visit was to escort four young Tibetans to study in a London college, and to present gifts from the Dalai Lama to the British King George V. Lungshar's stay in London is considered by today's historians to be one of the most enigmatic episodes in the history of Anglo-Tibetan relations. En route to London, Lungshar traveled to Calcutta, where Sönam Wangpel Laden-la—a British officer of Sikkimese origin—was appointed as his supervisor.

In Calcutta, Lungshar appears to have met with Japanese agents, as Alistair Lamb, an authoritative British researcher of the modern history of Anglo-Tibetan relations, has noted:

In theory no more than the official escort for the boys, in fact Lungshar regarded himself (and may well have been regarded so by the Dalai Lama) as a Tibetan ambassador at large. Before leaving India, he had been detected in intrigues with Japanese agents in Calcutta, who hoped, it seemed, that the boys could be diverted to Japan for their education – a further piece of evidence that Japan was developing very wide Central Asian interests. No sooner in England than Lungshar began to talk about going to Germany, to the United States and to other countries, including, by implication, Russia³⁴.

Upon his arrival in Europe, Lungshar's activities quickly raised suspicions among the British. Worrying that Lungshar sought to realize goals apart from those of a simple escort or bearer of gifts, the British authorities had him shadowed and worked to have him called back to Tibet. Later, Scotland Yard would be informed that

³⁴ Lamb, P. 326.

on his way back to Tibet, Lungshar had managed to visit several European countries; however, no information was forthcoming regarding the outcome of these visits.

The true goals of Lungshar's travel to the West are revealed in the letter OF 18579. In fact, it contains a description of the entire scheme. It is clear from this letter that the real goal of Lungshar's mission to Europe was to reanimate Anglo-Russian dialogue regarding the Tibet problem. The mission was undertaken in close relation with the efforts of Agvan Dorzhiev in Petersburg and was kept secret. The request of the Lhasa government to provide Dorzhiev with the right to travel to other countries cannot but be connected to Lungshar's secret mission to Europe, and was a part of the overall plan. The plan aimed to secure the replacement of the Anglo-Russian 1907 Convention—the wording of which was extremely disadvantageous for Tibet—with a new agreement between the two powers. As Dorzhiev states in a note to the Russian premier-minister V. Kokovtsov, this new agreement should provide Britain and Russia with equal rights in Tibet and protect Tibetan independence against forthcoming Chinese aggression. However, notwithstanding all efforts made by the Lhasa government, Britain and Russia agreed in their approach to the Tibet problem, choosing to embrace a policy of non-interference in Tibetan internal affairs. Russia's real interests at the time were in Mongolia, and she did not interfere with developing affairs between Britain and Tibet. Britain, for its part, had as an objective the promotion of Tibetan autonomy within China.

The only obstacle to complete trust that the two powers faced was the Tibetan-Mongolian agreement of mutual independence recognition. From letter OF 18579 it is apparent that the treaty, having suddenly appeared, aroused in the British serious doubt as to Russia's putative disinterest in Tibet. When the story broke, British diplomats began to suspect that Russia was involved in new intrigues in Tibet, though Russia swiftly denied accusations that she had played a role in crafting the treaty and rejected its juridical validity. In the light of the new materials presented here, it can be

suggested that the idea of the Tibetan-Mongolian agreement was Dorzhiev's, and that he may have acted independently in pursuing it, despite the claim common among scholars that "the Russians had "inspired" the agreement, "dictated" its terms, and inserted such provisions as would make it practical instrument of policy"³⁵.

Moved by the urgent necessity of stimulating activity toward Tibet, the Dalai Lama's attendant used the idea of the Mongol-Tibetan rapprochement to reanimate the Great Game, which by that time was coming to a close. The letter at times gives the impression that the Dalai Lama is concerned to restrain Dorzhiev's eagerness and avoid aggravating the British. Notwithstanding Russian denial of the agreement, the British were still eager to neutralize its potential danger. The core idea of the Simla agreement – the division of Tibet into Outer and Inner, as in the case of Mongolia, is explained by the British wish to create a buffer between India and China, despite being a direct consequence of the Tibetan-Mongolian agreement.

The flight of the Panchen Lama

During the period covered by these letters, a political crisis was unfolding in the Snowy Land, caused by a conflict between its two hierarchs—the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. Although at a superficial level the conflict concerned matters of economics, political concerns were in fact at its heart. The institute of the Panchen Lamas was at this time more than two centuries old, having appeared under the initiative and direct participation of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Upon his religious preceptor Chökyi Gyantsen, the Great Fifth had bestowed the honorable title of Panchen together with vast estates in Tsang province, some Himalayan territories and some areas in Ngari province in the west. In letter OF 18606, an anonymous author, addressing himself to Dorzhiev, gives an extended historical sketch on the origin of the institution of the Panchen Lama and its connection to the Dalai Lamas. Author's name is not given and the letter lacks any seal stamp, but the references to the Dalai Lama in third person make us suggest that it was not the ruler of Tibet

35 Mehra, 2003. P. 179.

who wrote this letter. The letter is also undated. Given that most of the correspondence with Agvan Dorzhiev concerning the Panchen Lama can be dated to 1924, we propose a likely date of 1924 for this letter as well. The historical sketch in the letter is preceded by a list of the kings of Yarlung dynasty, which the author, referring to the Mani Kabum, calls embodiments of Avalokiteśvara – the bodhisattva protecting Tibet. Insofar as each of the Dalai Lamas is also considered to be an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, our author is emphasizing a direct connection between the ancient Tibetan kings and the institution of the Dalai Lama, thereby establishing the supremacy of the Dalai Lamas in Tibet. The author is also eager to connect the origin and position of the Panchen Lamas to certain Dalai Lamas— primarily the First, the Second and the Fifth.

Following the establishment of the institution of the Panchen Lama, the territorial status of this second Buddhist hierarch of Tibet developed into virtual autonomy. Although formally dependent upon the Lhasa government, the Panchen Lamas nevertheless developed their own administration, complete with the privilege of tax and revenue collection from the territories they controlled. Moreover, they were under no obligation to share this revenue with the Lhasa treasury. In the history of Tsang-Ü relations, the Panchen Lama had only once agreed to contribute funds to Lhasa, covering a quarter of military campaign expenses incurred after the 1791 pillaging by Gorkha troops of territories under his control.

Both China and British India attempted to use the institute of the Panchen Lama to undermine the position of the Dalai Lama to achieve their respective political objectives. Thus, during the period of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's flight to Outer Mongolia, the Ninth Panchen Lama Chökyi Nyima in 1905 accepted the invitation of the British Raj and travelled to Calcutta to have an audience with the Prince of Wales. According to British archives, the real purpose behind the Calcutta-Trashi Lhünpo meeting was to attempt the separation of Tibetan territories south of Ü from the Lhasa administration. In this way, the British strove to secure a buffer zone under British control. However, a subsequent change

in the British government, coupled with an attendant change in the political vector of British India, led to the failure of this plan; it also put the Panchen Lama in an awkward position vis-à-vis Lhasa.

Confident in British support, the Ninth Panchen Lama then made another mistake—one that resulted in the complete deterioration of his relationship with the Lhasa administration. After the Qing authorities announced that the Dalai Lama would be deprived of his titles for the second time in February, 1910, the Chinese Amban undertook steps to engage in rapprochement with the Panchen Lama, inviting him to Lhasa. The Chinese authorities counted upon convincing the hierarch to assume the position of ruler of Tibet. In general, their hopes do not appear to have been misplaced: having arrived in Lhasa, Chökyi Nyima entered into the Dalai Lamas' summer residence (the Norbulingka) and openly appeared in public in the company of the Amban. Moreover, the Ninth Panchen Lama thought nothing of usurping functions that had been traditionally the prerogative of the Dalai Lama. The Lhasa populace, and later the Dalai Lama himself, considered these acts to be both disrespectful of Buddhist tradition and treasonous to Tibetan interests. The author of the letter OF 18606 agrees with this view, though he refers only to public opinion. He states that one of the reasons for the split between the two hierarchs is the Panchen Lama's disloyalty to the Dalai Lama during the period of the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso's flight to Mongolia (1904-1907). He accuses Chökyi Nyima and his assistant Lozang of bribing Amban Lian Yu and General Zhong Yin, and going so far as to send his envoy Tsamdön to Peking to conduct negotiations with the Qing authorities about appointing him sovereign ruler of Tibet. In other words, he argues that the initiative to usurp the Dalai Lama's power initially came from the Ninth Panchen Lama himself, not the Lhasa Amban or the Qing Emperor. During the period of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's flight to India, as the author of the letter informs his addressee, Chökyi Nyima together with Lian Yu took the Dalai Lama's throne out of the Potala and put the throne of the Panchen Lamas there in its

stead³⁶. Another accusation forwarded in the letter is that Chökyi Nyima arrested his own father Tamdrin, as well as a few other officials of his government, and issued an order to execute them³⁷.

After the Dalai Lama eventually returned to Lhasa in January, 1913, he met with the Panchen Lamas and reconciled with him—or so it seemed to others. In reality, however, the Dalai Lama and his inner circle had decided to restrict the relative autonomy of Trashi Lhünpo and certain territorial privileges enjoyed by the Panchen Lama. In the same year, the Dalai Lama, referring to the precedent of 1791, informed the Trashi Lhünpo administration that it would need to cover more than one quarter of the expenses incurred during the Tibetan-British clashes in 1888 and 1904. The Panchen Lama disagreed with this demand, and paid only a part of the amount requested.

In 1917, the Tibetan government implemented a new tax law. Trashi Lhünpo was instructed to pay a transport corvee tax—an obligation from which it had traditionally been exempted by edicts of previous Dalai Lamas. In 1923, when taxes were next increased and fines for non-compliance imposed, the Panchen Lama appealed to British India for assistance. Yet the British, who were reluctant to meddle in Tibetan domestic affairs, refused to mediate. As a result, on December 26, 1923, the Panchen Lama, accompanied by 100 armed men, fled via a northern route, having left behind a letter for the Dalai Lama. In this letter, Chökyi Nyima explained that he had fled with the intention to find support from Mongolian patrons, so as to pay back the huge debt owed to the Lhasa treasury. Immediately upon learning this, the Dalai Lama dispatched troops to intercept him; however, they failed to stop the group. The Panchen Lama's flight signaled the start of a dangerous political crisis—one that risked the ruination of Lhasa's considerable achievements, by serving to provide China with a trump card in the dispute over Tibetan independence. Once Chökyi Nyima slipped away, the Dalai Lama was forced to rely exclusively on diplomatic channels to

36 About the circumstances of this case see: Richardson, 1998. P. 68.

37 To learn about the details of this affair see: Mac Donald, 2002. P. 103.

make the Panchen Lama return to Tibet.

As the anonymous author of the letter OF 18606 puts it, the true motivation for the Panchen Lama's escape was his fear that the actions he undertook from 1904-1912—the period of the Dalai Lama's absence—were about to be investigated. Referring to opinions of “some people,” the author maintains that the real residence of the Panchen Lama is in fact a small monastery of Wengön, not Trashi Lhünpo, founded by the First Dalai Lama. This passage is particularly noteworthy—for it could be read to represent a position of some Tibetan officials that would deny the Panchen Lama's claim to Trashi Lhünpo. At the same time, in his letter OF 18605, the Dalai Lama himself seems to deny his intention to “let the Western Dhvaja fall down”; though the passage is written in somewhat metaphorical language, it does not appear to suggest that the Dalai Lama is concerned to reject the Panchen's right to Trashi Lhünpo.

In a series of letters included here, dated from April 1924 to April 1925, the issue of Chökyi Nyima's flight from Tibet is discussed in detail. Chronologically, the first letter of this array is OF 18603. This letter bears the Kashak's official seal. By April 24, 1924—the day this letter was written—the Panchen Lama had already arrived in Gansu province, where he was intercepted by the Chinese militarist general Lu³⁸.

In this letter, written in rather official tone, a detailed exposition of the circumstances of Chökyi Nyima's flight is given. The letter also quotes from the letter composed by the Panchen Lama on December 26, 1923, prior to his flight (The text of the Panchen Lama's letter is also attested in a letter sent by a British trade agent in Gyantsé to a political officer in Sikkim, dating from (roughly) March, 1924³⁹.) In the letter published here, we read that measures have already been taken by the Lhasa government to investigate the work of the government of Tsang. This report is followed by the Lhasa authorities' familiar appeal to precedent, one that references

38 Jagou, 1996. P. 14.

39 Goldstein, 1991. P. 115.

the Third Panchen's coverage of one quarter of the expenses for the military campaign of 1791—and a mention of special privileges currently enjoyed by the Panchen administration. The fault for the delay in the military tax payment is ascribed to the Panchen's treasurer (*chakdzö*), and the author claims that the government has permitted Trashi Lhünpo to pay its debt on an eight year installment plan, thereby undermining Chökyi Nyima's complaints regarding the excessiveness of this debt. It is said in the letter that all high officials of Lhasa have sent their appeals to the Panchen, doing their best to convince him to return. He has been publically rebuked for harming Tibetan interests.

In his letter the author (or authors) expresses confidence that Agvan Dorzhiev will meet with Chökyi Nyima; Dorzhiev is asked to convince the Panchen to return and inform the government of his situation.

We also learn from the letter that rumors had begun to reach Lhasa regarding the approach of "a few Red Russians" (*ru su dmar po 'mi rigs 'ga 'shas*) -- apparently a reference to Borisov's mission, which had departed from Urga in January, 1924).⁴⁰ The Tibetan authorities appear to have been concerned that Agvan Dorzhiev himself was a member—or even the head—of this mission. Worried that Dorzhiev's participation would provoke strong reaction from the British and perhaps precipitate a new military conflict, they asked Dorzhiev to delay his plans, in the event that these rumors were to prove true.

The letter OF 18607, also addressed to Agvan Dorzhiev, is dated just three days later, to April 27, 1924. This letter is the only one that bears the seal stamp of the Dalai Lama's official communications. The letter concerns Chökyi Nyima's flight as well. The reasons for his flight are explained to be the ill intentions of his favorites. Dorzhiev is instructed to meet personally with Chökyi Nyima's envoy Chaptü Khenpo—then on his way back to Tibet—and to attempt to restore relations between the two Tibetan hierarchs. In effect, Dorzhiev is being asked to mediate future negotiations. The Dalai Lama's letter

⁴⁰ See: Andreyev, 2006. P. 262

echoes the apprehension expressed in the previous letter concerning the rumors of Dorzhiev's participation in a Bolshevik mission to Tibet. Noting that each of the silöns have separately issued their notifications regarding the danger posed by the mission, the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso obliquely requests Dorzhiev to abstain from travel to Tibet. It is not clear from the letter, however, whether the Tibetan authorities are more troubled by the idea of members of a Bolshevik mission approaching Lhasa, or by the idea that Dorzhiev is among them.

The next letter (OF 18601) concerning the Panchen's flight dates from five months later – October 31, 1924. This letter bears the seal stamp of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's private correspondence. The letter states that upon receiving a telegram from the Dalai Lama's agents Jampa Tokmé and Chaptü Khenpo, Agvan Dorzhiev departed for Peking. His mission was to intercept Chökyi Nyima (who was then en route to the city), and secure his passage to Outer Mongolia, away from Chinese access. Failing to encounter Chökyi Nyima in Amdo or Gansu, Dorzhiev arrived in Peking—but was unable to meet with the Panchen Lama there; the latter had been delayed on his way to the Chinese capital. From this source, we learn the date of Dorzhiev's arrival in Peking: September 19, 1924. In their initial telegram to Dorzhiev, the Dalai Lama's agents had told him that the Panchen Lama was expected to arrive in the city on September 17, 1924. This expectation was off by no less than four months: it is known today that Chökyi Nyima reached Peking on January 17, 1925.

In one of his books, Alexandre Andreyev mentions Dorzhiev's attempts to defuse the antagonism between the two supreme Tibetan Lamas. Andreyev refers to a hitherto unknown testimony of Sharap Tepkin, a close confidant of Dorzhiev:

As Sh. Tepkin reports, as soon as Dorzhiev learned about the location of the Panchen Lama and his plans to travel to Peking under the invitation of General Wu Peifu, the leader of the Zhili militarist group which was then in control of the government, he hurriedly set off from Urga, hoping to meet him on the way—but the two missed each other somehow. Having gone all the way to

Peking without encountering the Panchen, he decided to leave a written message for him, in which he urged the Panchen to find a compromise with the Dalai Lama. He then returned to Urga⁴¹.

Consequently, Andreyev concludes, “It is hard to imagine that Dorzhiev would undertake such an important political trip exclusively on his own initiative, without consulting with Soviet authorities”⁴². Though the materials published here leave unanswered the question of Dorzhiev’s consultation with Soviet authorities, they reveal that Dorzhiev did not act exclusively on his own initiative: his journey was at the request of the Tibetan government—more specifically, at the request of the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso himself.

In summary, these two letters—OF 18607 and OF 18601—present the thoughts and apprehensions of the Dalai Lama concerning the activities of Chökyi Nyima and his retinue. In letter 18601, the Dalai Lama expresses his apprehension about public claims regarding the independent status of Tsang vis-à-vis Lhasa, and notes that Dorzhiev plans to publicize historical evidence of Tsang’s liability to Lhasa (OF 18601).

Letter OF 18601 also contains evidence of an initiative to submit to the Panchen Lama’s consideration a collective petition to visit Mongolia. The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso appears to support this idea.

The next letter (OF 18604) laments the failure of attempts made by Tibetan government envoys and Agvan Dorzhiev to convince Chökyi Nyima to return to Trashi Lhünpo. We learn that Chökyi Nyima has responded to these attempts by accusing those in Lhasa of selfish interests. The tone of the letter betrays the author’s irritation at the lack of success of these attempts to influence the Panchen Lama. The addressee (Dorzhiev) is told that he must gain control of the situation and keep the Dalai Lama and the government informed about events as they develop.

From the recently published diaries of the famous Russian

41 Arkhiv Ministerstva bezopasnosti Respubliki Kalmykia. R-940. Sheet 53 (Testimony of Sh. Tepkin). Andreyev, 2006. P. 262.

42 Andreyev, 2006. P. 262.

explorer Piotr Kozlov, we learn that Agvan Dorzhiev arrived back in Urga in November, 1924. A fragment of one of Kozlov's diary entries from this period nicely captures the worries that Dorzhiev himself was experiencing at the time:

With the latter (Agvan Dorzhiev) I had an interesting meeting with exhausting information about Tibet, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni, etc. Now it is confirmed that the Panchen's assistant Lapsan (Lozang), an ally of China, had sold a part of Tibet to Chinese. Thus, it comes out that the Dalai Lama has Namgang (Tsarong Shappé), the Panchen Lama in Trashī Lhünpo has Lapsan, and each of them separately engages in politics: Namgang with the British, Lapsan with the Chinese. Both deal with the enemy of the people in general.

It's so sad that the representatives of the strongest and richest areas of Tibet make quarrel, ruin relationship and friendship, slander each other instead of keeping friendship and unity. By this they betray to the enemies ill and weak parts. Briefly, they lose everything and easily fall under Englishmen, from one side, and Chinese, from the other...⁴³

The letter OF 18594 is fixed with a governmental seal stamp. It states that after his failure to meet with the Panchen Lama in the fall of 1924, Agvan Dorzhiev left a letter for him in Peking explaining his position. Acknowledging a secret meeting in Peking between Dorzhiev and Wu Peifu, during which the former requested that Chökyi Nyima be allowed to visit Mongolia, the author also quotes Dorzhiev's words regarding the friendliness of the Soviet regime and its liberal attitude towards Buddhism. In this letter, as in all previous letters touching on issues involving the Panchen Lama, Dorzhiev is instructed to watch over the situation carefully and to keep the Tibetan government informed.

Letter OF 18578 dated April 1, 1925, bears the private seal of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and is most likely penned by him. It opens with a summary of points raised in a previous letter by Agvan Dorzhiev. We learn of Dorzhiev's relief at discovering that certain rumors regarding the Dalai Lama had proven baseless—specifically, rumors that the author (by implication, the Dalai

43 Kozlov, 2003. P. 348-349.

Lama Thupten Gyatso) had fled to Amdo in the wake of Chökyi Nyima's departure. We also learn of Dorzhiev's hopes to convene a joint Tibet-Mongolian delegation in Peking in order to persuade Chökyi Nyima to visit Mongolia. Expressing his approval of, and appreciation for, Dorzhiev's selfless attempts to reconcile the hierarchs, the author emphasizes that if a civil war were to develop as a result of the internal strife, other parties could take power.

The contents of OF 18598 show that its author devoted great attention to the chronological coincidence of two events: the Panchen's arrival in Peking and the start of Lev Karakhan's mission in China. Since the letter is most likely penned by the ruler of Tibet, we learn that he is deeply concerned that this coincidence will encourage Soviet Russia to presume Tibet to be an integral part of China. The flight of the second religious hierarch from Tibet clearly played into Chinese hands, insofar as it served to bolster assertions of Tibet's feudal divisions and its dependence on Chinese suzerainty. The author's apprehensions were not entirely groundless; for Soviet Russia, Chinese acknowledgment of the Bolshevik regime was far more important than Tibetan independence. By 1925, the Soviets were even prepared to deny the independence of Outer Mongolia—previously so important for them—though they refrained from this due to an ongoing clash between the northern militarists and the Canton government. Agvan Dorzhiev, however, still seems to have cherished the hope of Soviet support of Tibetan independence. His *vis-à-vis* refers in his letter to claims well known from Soviet propaganda regarding the regime's readiness to support weaker countries in their struggles to throw off the yoke of imperialism. In addition, he mentions a certain promise purportedly given by the Soviet envoy to China: according to the letter, Karakhan has pledged to Dorzhiev that in his negotiations with Wu Peifu, he would declare that Tsang is under the jurisdiction of Lhasa.

The new sources convincingly demonstrate that Tibet was highly interested in securing political support from Soviet Russia, especially with regard to issues involving China. Balancing the desire to interact with the Soviets and the desire to maintain the

existing status quo with Britain was not a simple matter; accordingly, the Lhasa government was forced to maintain strict confidentiality in its communications with Russia.

Soviet-Tibetan relations

Among the letters published here, the first letter in which Red Russians are mentioned is OF 18600. The letter is anonymous and undated. Based on its contents, we can venture a speculative proposal regarding its authorship, although no conclusive support for this proposal is offered in the letter. The handwriting used in the letter does not resemble the handwriting found in the letters stamped by the official and unofficial seals of the Dalai Lama. The authorship of the letter may belong to one of the acting Kalöns or Silöns, perhaps to Shölkhang Shappé Döndrup Püntso (1862-1925), insofar as the latter was reputed to support the idea of rapprochement between Russia and Tibet. As for the date, we suggest that the letter was composed circa 1921-1922. The presence of the phrase “Red Russians” (*ru si dmar po*) (རུ་སི་དམར་པོ་ལེ་), the Tibetan designation for Bolsheviks, suggests that the letter cannot have been written prior to the establishment in Russia of the Bolshevik regime and the first attempts made by that regime to contact Lhasa. The tone of the letter also hints that Soviet-Tibet relations are at an early—perhaps very early—stage. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the letter could have been delivered to Dorzhiev after the Yampilon-Khomutnikov Expedition of 1921-1922. In his book, Andreyev mentions Khomutnikov’s audience with Dorzhiev at lönchen Shölkang; the latter was reportedly “very impressed”⁴⁴ with Khomutnikov’s report of Soviet Russia.

The central point of the letter concerns an episode in Tibetan history that took place in 1890. Introducing this episode, the author notes that in March of 1888, following a military conflict with the British in Sikkim, a prediction had been made by a state oracle. The oracle had been asked who is Tibet’s greatest friend? His response,

44 Andreyev, 2006. P. 243-244.

according to the letter, referenced “one who is different in ideology, race and doctrine” (*lta rig(s) grub mtha' ma gcig kyang*), living in the northeast.

In February, 1890, a small expedition led by French traveler Gabriel Bonvalot—an expedition in which Prince Henry d'Orléans and a Belgian missionary, father de Deken, also participated—was stopped by Tibetan authorities in proximity of Lhasa. The letter erroneously states that this event occurred during the regency of Tatsak Rinpoché (1875-1886); in fact, the regent during the period was Demo Triné Rabgyé (b. 1886-d. 1895), who had assumed the office following the death of Tatsak Rinpoché in 1886. The author goes on to mention one Khendrung Da Lama Lozang—in fact the brother of the new regent⁴⁵—who engaged in negotiations with the French expedition in the company of a young Kalön, the “son of Shedra” (*bshad sgra sras*). The letter notes also that a Russian interpreter was a member of the expedition, though there is no mention about him in the published Bonvalot travel notes⁴⁶. Perhaps the Tibetans took father de Deken to be Russian. An interesting detail given in the letter is that after his failure to meet with the regent due to the opposition of the Chinese Amban⁴⁷, Henry d'Orléans left his photograph with the Tibetans, which they were to show to French representatives in Kham in case they wanted to contact him⁴⁸. According to the letter, such an attempt was later made—but by that time the prince was no longer alive.

Among the letters published here, letter OF 18600 is the first to have been composed during the 1920s. Its goal is twofold: to reestablish relations with Soviet Russia and reconfirm the official status of Agvan Dorzhiev as a representative of Tibet. Passages in

45 Cm. Dung dkar tshigs mdzod chen mo. *Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang*, 2002. P. 1514.

46 Bonvalot, 1982. P. 82.

47 According to Josef Kolmaš, the following Ambans and Assistant Ambans served in Tibet at that time: Shengtai (1886-1892), Changeng (1888-1890), Shaojian (Shaoxian) (1890-1891). Kolmaš, 1994. P. 465.

48 Bonvalot is silent about this in his book.

the letter regarding the state oracle's 1888 pronouncement and the 1890 expedition are clearly intended to support the claim that a longstanding and special tie exists between Tibet and Russia.

As noted earlier, letters OF 18603 and OF 18607 (both dated April, 1924) reveal how anxious the government and the Dalai Lama were about the then-circulating rumors of an approaching Bolshevik mission—one that perhaps involved Dorzhiev. (These rumors were true, at least in part: in January of 1924, the second Bolshevik mission to Lhasa had indeed set out from Urga, under the leadership of Comintern agent Sergey Borisov). The anxiety among Tibetan high officials was exacerbated by what they took to be a deteriorating relationship with Britain, whose support Tibet needed more than that of Soviet Russia. The government officials and the Dalai Lama asked Dorzhiev to act prudently (i.e., to discourage or halt the advancing mission), fearing an irreversible break of relations with Britain and the eruption of an unwinnable military conflict with British India. From letter OF 18601, the reader gains the impression that the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso is slightly irritated by the fact that his advice to Dorzhiev has been ignored. The letter's tone is one of slight, though discernable, distrust. The Tibetan government is no longer quite so confident in its representative in Russia; rumors of his collaboration with the new Russian authorities have cast doubt on his continuing loyalty.

The letter OF 18597 is dated August 18, 1924. Sealed with the Dalai Lama's unofficial seal stamp, it notes the arrival of Borisov's expedition in Lhasa and the receipt of letters and presents from Agvan Dorzhiev. The Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso remarks on the content of one such letter, noting with approval Dorzhiev's claims regarding Soviet Russia's peace and prosperity, and the guarantees of autonomy that have been offered to Buriats. The letter is clearly formal in character; it is likely a response to a letter from the Government of the Buriat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic dated June 3 and July 28 of 1923⁴⁹ that was no less formal.

49 See: Andreyev, 2003. P. 230.

In subsequent letters, the Dalai Lama praises both Borisov and Vampilon, noting the high intellectual level of the former and the religiosity of the latter. He writes that in accordance with Dorzhiev's request, he has granted an audience to both parties—though no further details are given. The letters give the impression that the Dalai Lama has treated the expedition in a rather formal, official manner.

Nevertheless, several problematic issues bedeviled Tibet-Soviet relations during this time, and the letters touch upon them more than once. Some of these issues were resolved favorably: the Dalai Lama optimistically refers to the changes that have taken place in Russia under the Bolshevik regime; to the prosperity of the common people and the return of refugees (OF 18602); to the autonomy given to Buriats (OF 18607); to the successful resolving of a famine problem in Kalmykia; and to the restoration of Buddhist temples ruined during the Civil War (OF 18599, OF 18602). This optimism is shared by Shölkang (the likely author of letter OF 18600), and Tsarong Shappé Dazang Damdül. Both express their hope to find support from the side of Soviet Russia. At the same time, these letters at times pose certain difficult questions that the Dalai Lama and high Tibetan officials clearly felt should not be left unanswered. These questions most often pertain to the stance taken by the Soviets toward Buddhism, and, more generally, to the domestic religious policy of the Soviet authorities. In his letter OF 18590, dated December, 1924, the Dalai Lama for the first time mentions the name of Sangpo, a Kalmyk refugee, whose story is known from Alexandre Andreyev's works⁵⁰. A member of the organization "Buddiiskii soiuz" (Buddhist union), established by Kalmyk dissidents in Turkey, Sangpo Khaglyshev⁵¹ accused Dorzhiev of collaborating with Soviet authorities to support the suppression of religion. For his part, Dorzhiev was well aware of the

50 Andreyev, 2003. P. 136.

51 Zangbo Khaglyshev (Khaldinov in some British documents) served as a secret agent of Sikkim political officer Bailey and informed him about the activities of Bolshevik missions in Tibet.

mood in Lhasa and the criticism he was then receiving at the hands of Khaglyshev, his former student. The Dalai Lama, however, asks Dorzhiev not to worry about Khaglyshev's propaganda, assuring him that he distrusts it.

Letter OF 18578 discusses rumors circulating in Lhasa regarding Soviet reprisals against Buddhist monks in Russia. Curiously enough, the Dalai Lama, apparently repeating Dorzhiev's words, says that Bolsheviks sympathize with Buddhism and exclusively target Christianity. Indeed, during the early-mid 1920s, Russia was largely characterized by reprisals of Orthodox Christianity; large scale repressions of Islam and Buddhism were launched only at the end of that decade. However, at the time these letters were written, many inside and outside the USSR held a mistaken impression of the Soviet regime, viewing it as taking a fundamentally liberal stance toward non-Christian confessions—even as allied with Buddhism. By 1924, however, disillusionment was growing, and in these letters one feels that the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso is beginning to realize the anti-religious nature of the Soviet regime.

Certain events that one would expect to see discussed in these letters are strangely absent. A case in point is a scandal involving one Takring Gegen, who journeyed to Buriatia in the early 1920s in order to collect support for the Gomang faculty of Drepung monastery. On his way back to Tibet, he was stopped at the Soviet border, and all his hard-won donations were confiscated by Soviet authorities⁵². These events go unmentioned in the letters, despite the fact that Takring Gegen's name is invoked (in letter OF 18599).

Tsarong's letter

Rather informal—and informative—is letter OF 18575, addressed to Agvan Dorzhiev and dated August 23, 1924. The author of the letter is Kalön Tsarong Shappé. There are three reasons to presume his authorship: first, the presence of the Tsarong family symbol, which is placed in the upper part of recto side of each sheet; second,

⁵² Andreyev, 2003. P. 173.

his signature, which one finds on the envelope and below the text of the letter; and, finally, the contents proper.

The man who would become Tsarong Shappé, Dazang Damdül (1888-1959), was born to humble origins. Following his heroic protection of the Dalai Lama from Chinese troops near the Chaksam river crossing in 1910, he was granted aristocratic status and the positions of member of the Government (Kashak), Chief Commander of the Tibetan army, and Minister of Minting.⁵³ By the time of the first Bolshevist mission to Lhasa, Tsarong Shappé was one of the most powerful persons in Tibet. Enjoying the confidence of the head of the state, he was a living symbol of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's reforms. This inevitably made him a target for criticism by monastic conservatives. In today's studies of the modern history of Tibet, the figure of Tsarong occupies a very important place—primarily as an indisputable leader of the Tibetan Anglophiles. The British envoys who visited Tibet during these years invariably enjoyed the hospitality and support of Tsarong Shappé, and counted on him with confidence in their efforts to modernize Tibet. Indeed, according to the point of view of the British historian Alex McKay, in 1924, certain British officers—namely, the Sikkim political officer Bailey and the British agent Laden-la—made plans to initiate a coup, with the aim of replacing the Dalai Lama with the radical reformer Tsarong.

Bailey had apparently come to the conclusion that the only way to modernize Tibet to the extent where it would provide a secure modern border for India and exclude Russian influence in the region was by establishing a secular government in Tibet under Tsarong Shape's leadership⁵⁴.

As McKay notes, Bailey's plans were motivated by a worrisome increase in Bolshevik activity in Tibet.⁵⁵ The conservative forces in the Tibetan government, however, managed to uncover the plot and inform the Dalai Lama, eventually leading to the dismissal of Tsarong from his positions as Chief Commander and Minister

53 See: Shakabpa, 1984. P. 229.

54 McKay, 2003. P. 414.

55 McKay, 1997. P. 112.

of Minting. The result was a substantial decrease in Tsarong's governmental influence, and a considerable scaling-back of the reform programs with which he had been associated.

Today, most researchers are inclined to view Tsarong as a strong advocate of pro-British policy in Tibet—and this view is generally correct. However, in addition to—perhaps in spite of—his pro-British views, Tsarong Shappé seems to have been concerned to further the interests of Soviet Russia as well. One can see evidence of this in materials drawn from the second Bolshevik expedition to Tibet. This mission—the so-called Borisov-Vampilon mission—has already been mentioned above. It was dispatched to Tibet by Narkomindel in collaboration with the Comintern in 1924, some two years after the return of the Khomutnikov expedition. The mission, led by the Narkomindel official S. Borisov (pseudonym Tsering Dorjé) and by Bayartu Vampilon, a worker of the Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern, arrived in Lhasa in August 1924. Upon their arrival, they contacted the Dalai Lama and Tsaron-Shappé. *Inter alia*, documents from the mission show that:

Even the head of the Anglophiles Tsarong “showed a sincere disposition” toward Russia and had to acknowledge that the Tibetan friendship with the British was “a policy of necessity.” “We are yours and theirs simultaneously”, he confessed to Borisov. “Our head is with them (the British), but our hearts are with you (Russians). Surprisingly, Tsarong had some knowledge of Bolshevik doctrine, although he himself did not share it to the slightest extent... To Borisov, nevertheless, he seemed to be a man of the new mentality, pragmatic and receptive, proud of the innovations that he had introduced personally⁵⁶.

Recently revealed documents from the secret Soviet missions to Lhasa evidently show that even if Tsarong's political views did not entirely agree with those of Dorzhiev, they also did not completely contradict them. They both were confident in, and confidants of, the Dalai Lama; both supported his course of modernization and the anti-Chinese Tibetan policy. Nevertheless, prior to the discovery of

56 Andreyev, 1996. P. 16-17.

these letters, we had no definite information regarding the personal relationship between Dorzhiev and Tsarong. And this is not surprising, since Tsarong obtained the greater part of his political power only after the final departure of Dorzhiev from Tibet. In his autobiography, Agvan Dorzhiev mentions the name of Tsarong Dazang Damdül only once, praising his heroic assistance to the Dalai Lama during the course of the latter's flight to India in 1910⁵⁷.

The letter OF 18575 was written during months of sharp opposition between the military and the monks, on the eve of a new crisis. Interestingly, Tsarong does not conceal his distrust of the British. From the remarks in this letter, it can be suggested that Tsarong's displays of affection toward the Soviets were not simply due to politeness or an awareness of diplomatic decorum; he may well have seriously considered Russia to be his ally. This fact should encourage scholarly reconsideration of the role(s) played by Tsarong in Tibetan-Soviet relations. Tsarong's letter provides clear evidence that Agvan Dorzhiev's liaisons with Tibet were not restricted to his personal ties with the Dalai Lama, but included other influential Tibetan officials as well.

The Soviets were extremely inspired by the results of the Borisov mission, which prompted them to cherish hope not only for the Dalai Lama's sympathies but also for a possible alliance with Tsarong who, by his own words, was only superficially Anglophile. Nevertheless, Soviet authorities enthusiastically accepted the word from the British newspapers in 1925 that the Dalai Lama had dismissed Tsarong; regardless of the final position held by Tsarong himself, the Soviets viewed his dismissal as a defeat for Anglophiles in Tibet⁵⁸. However, this dismissal was followed by a chill in relations between the Dalai Lama and Soviet Russia. This resulted in the failure of several subsequent attempts by the Soviets to develop stronger diplomatic ties with the Snowy Land.

In the opening paragraph of his letter, Tsarong notes that he has received gifts and a letter from Dorzhiev through Takring Gegen.

57 Dorzhiev, 2003. P. 61.

58 Andreyev, 1996. P. 21.

According to F. M Bailey, quoted above, Takring returned from his first unsuccessful journey to Transbaikalia in the same year in which he (Tsarong) received the letter from Dorzhiev. This suggests that at the time of composing the letter, Tsarong was well aware of the Soviet's policies toward the practice of Buddhism in Russia. Moreover, in a private letter written to the British government official Lattimer, Bailey writes that some of Tsarong's friends had perished during the Revolution in Urga three years earlier.⁵⁹

Then Tsarong mentions the names of Tsering Dorjé and Bayartu, noting that he is spending much time talking to them. As noted above, the former name is a pseudonym of Borisov, whereas the latter clearly refers to Bayartu Vampilon, one of the leaders of the expedition.

The general tone of the letter betrays attempts of Tsarong to avoid being branded as an exclusively Anglophile politician. He specifically stresses the difference between his "real" image and the image of him that has been created by British newspapers—i.e., the sources from which the Soviets cull information about events in Tibet. He reports that he is, in fact, an insincere supporter of British interests in Tibet, and that he feels forced to show such support. However, being cautious, he refrains from explicitly criticizing British policies vis-à-vis Tibet, perhaps fearing that the letter could be intercepted. Yet such fears do not restrain him from harshly criticizing China: he characterizes the Chinese aggression of 1910 as an attempt to usurp Tibetan power, and predicts that China will continue to work to undermine Tibetan independence. Touching on the matter of possible quadripartite negotiations on Tibet, Tsarong sees Russia as a plenipotentiary participant along with China and Britain.

Kozlov's expedition to Tibet and Mongolia

The reasons for the failure of a famous journey undertaken by Russian and Soviet traveler Piotr Kuzmich Kozlov to Tibet and Lhasa have been discussed in a long and detailed article by Alexandre

⁵⁹ Andreyev, 2001. P. 359.

Andreyev and Tatiana Iusupova. Using the formerly closed source base of the Archive of the President of the Russian Federation, together with the travel notes and diaries of Kozlov and other members of the expedition, Andreyev has described the preparation for the trip and analyzed the causes of its failure. On Andreyev's reading, the expedition failed due to the "genuinely Machiavellian intrigue of the Soviet authorities, primarily the heads of OGPU and Narkomindel F. E. Dzerzhinsky and G. V. Chicherin"⁶⁰.

As is known from open sources, Piotr Kozlov was personally acquainted with the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. They met in the period of the latter's stay in Urga in 1905. Kozlov was introduced to the Dalai Lama by Agvan Dorzhiev, whom Kozlov considered his friend. The Dalai Lama strongly encouraged Kozlov's hopes of mounting an expedition to Tibet and, in fact, blessed the traveler. As a symbol of his blessing, he presented a statuette of Buddha Maitreya to Kozlov, about which the latter had this to say in his diary:

The Dalai Lama said to me the following parting words: "I present you burkhan Maidary (Buddha Maitreya) which was found here with great difficulty and this betokens good. Do not part with my present; it will serve you as a symbol of luck" (fol. 27)⁶¹.

However, circumstances would for many years conspire against Kozlov's plans; the mission was delayed more than once, due to WWI and the revolution in Russia. In 1922, however, the political situation eased; shifts in Soviet policy in the east once again brought to life the idea of a Tibetan expedition under leadership of Kozlov. After long and difficult consultations and preparations, on July 25, 1923, Kozlov's expedition set off heading eastward. They had reached Urga in October, whereupon they began a long and exhausting period of waiting for permission to visit Tibet to be granted by the Soviet authorities. Officially, the delay was explained as caused by the refusal of the Chinese authorities to issue passports to members of the expedition. However, the real reasons for this delay and, eventually, for the cancellation of the plans was the receipt by Soviet authorities of an anonymous letter denouncing Kozlov

60 Andreyev, Iusupova, 2001. P. 51.

61 Lomakina, 2001. P. 136.

and casting suspicion on his plans in Tibet. After that, OGPU and NKVD considered it unsafe to dispatch the expedition to areas that were under the control of British authorities, suspecting Kozlov and some other members of the expedition of lack of loyalty to the new regime. The head of NKVD (Chicherin) argued:

If the expedition with this staff... were to reach Lhasa, it might start unceremonious propaganda against the Soviet government and the Soviet regime, and it would be able to frustrate our Mongolian policy⁶².

As a result, the political tasks originally associated with the Kozlov mission were passed on to another expedition, under the leadership of Borisov (mentioned above).

Despite the Kozlov mission's numerous setbacks and eventual failure, Kozlov himself remained deeply dedicated to the project, and actively prepared the expedition for its Tibetan stage. We know that at least some of his communications with the Dalai Lama were sent through Agvan Dorzhiev, though there may have been other channels as well:

And indeed, when in 1923 P.K. Kozlov had headed his Mongol-Tibetan expedition of RGO (Russian Geographic Society), the Dalai Lama sent to Urga, soon to be renamed to Ulan-Bator, i.e. "the City of Red Hero", a guide Lama Galsang. He brought a half of a saw, as evidenced a botanist of the expedition N.V. Pavlov, "personally signed by the Dalai Lama passing document, fancifully split silken card". Another half of the "saw" had been left to the garrison at the mountain pass in vicinity of Lhasa⁶³.

In his diary, Kozlov mentions that Dorzhiev wrote several letters to the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso about the expedition and gave him (Kozlov) a number of pieces of advice; Dorzhiev also specifically hinted at the desirability of delivering a certain quantity of arms to Tibet. From his talks with Dorzhiev, as well as with the Dalai Lama's representatives in Urga, Kozlov received valuable information on the political situation in Tibet between 1923-1924—

62 Quoted from Andreyev, Iusupova, 2001. P. 64.

63 Lomakina, 2001. P. 263.

particularly regarding the Panchen Lama's flight, the defeat of the military faction in Lhasa, and the progress of Borisov's expedition.

Four letters most likely penned by the Dalai Lama (OF 18605, OF 18609, OF 18590, OF 18591) inform us about his personal attitude to the expedition led by Kozlov; they reveal the Tibetan politics behind this affair. We first encounter Kozlov mentioned in the letter dated August 31, 1924. At this time, the expedition had firmly established itself in Mongolia and started its famous excavations of Xiongnu tombs in Noyin-Uula. Kozlov, impatient to depart for Tibet, was attending to any shred of rumor or news coming from Moscow and Lhasa. Curiously, the very day Agvan Dorzhiev arrived in Urga, he met with Kozlov and informed him that the Dalai Lama had received some gifts that Kozlov had previously sent. In his letter of August 31, the author mentions Kozlov and expresses his doubts about the prospect of securing permission to proceed to Tibet. From this specific letter it is not clear whether he means permission from Soviet, Chinese or British authorities. The next letter clarifies that the reference is to the British; the author was hardly aware of the problems Kozlov's expedition was encountering with the Soviet government, and he would certainly not have presumed that China had the right to decide the fate of the mission.

The Dalai Lama reiterates his doubts in his letter of November 13 (OF 18609), and adds that nothing can be done about the situation. At the time this letter was written, Kozlov was actively discussing current political events in Tibet with Agvan Dorzhiev, and the latter continued to reassure him in his Tibetan plans. Very interesting information can be found in letter OF 18591, dated one month later – December 14. In this letter, the Dalai Lama writes that despite the fact that the British have been informed about Kozlov's reputation as a famous traveler, they might still endeavor to oppose his access to Lhasa; the issue has not yet been resolved. British authority in the region was at that time mainly in the hands of F. M. Bailey, the political officer in Sikkim; several months earlier (July-August of 1924), Bailey had visited Lhasa and met with the Dalai

Lama. Bailey supported a British policy that aimed to isolate Tibet from Bolshevik influence, and he adamantly opposed to opening Lhasa to any Russian expeditions—even those claiming to be purely scientific. The same letter reports the results of a divination test in the form of a question: “if other travelers from abroad arrive to Tibet, how can Kozlov alone be stopped?” This question can, of course, be read in more than one way—and it is not clear from this passage whether the question posed represents the result of the divination or the question posed to the oracle. The phrase “other travelers from abroad” is somewhat vague, though it may refer to the first expedition to Everest, the travel to Lhasa of Madam Alexandra David-Neel, and perhaps more directly to the scandalous trip to Lhasa of William Mac Govern—an American teacher at the London School of Oriental Studies.⁶⁴ Over the protestations of British authorities, Mac Govern had penetrated Lhasa in disguise on February 15, 1924, only to be expelled shortly thereafter. His arrival in Lhasa greatly worried the British, who feared that the Tibetan government might open Lhasa to access by other expeditions—or that such access would swiftly be demanded by other countries. Perhaps the Dalai Lama intends to evoke these events in his mention of “other travelers from abroad”; the issue is not clear. What is clear is that the Dalai Lama is concerned about the fate of the Kozlov expedition, and wishes to remain on good terms with Kozlov. In the same letter, the Dalai Lama asks Agvan Dorzhiev to check personally that a statuette of Buddha sent to Kozlov as a symbol of friendship and sympathy had reached its addressee. (Kozlov’s diaries do not discuss this statuette, nor do they mention the above-referenced “passing saw.”)

The Dalai Lama mentions Kozlov for the last time in these letters in OF 18590—a letter written on December 14, 1924 (the same day as the preceding letter). Here, the Dalai Lama refers to Dorzhiev’s request to meet Kozlov’s expedition at Dangla pass, where Tibetan

⁶⁴ The MacGovern expedition is discussed in McKay, 1997. P. 106. Judging from his diary, Kozlov learned of MacGovern’s travel to Lhasa from Dorzhiev in September, 1924. (On the latter point, see: Kozlov, 2003. P. 299.)

garrisons were then established. The author of the letter does not, however, grant his approval of the request; instead, he notes that his decision will be made depending on the situation.

These small fragments of the Dalai Lama's letters in which Kozlov and his expedition are discussed testify more clearly than any other sources to the former's dependence on the British position. Doing his best to secure a strategic partnership with Britain—a country he considered to be Tibet's primary ally and the guarantor of its independence—the Thirteenth Dalai Lama at the same time worked to establish sustainable and amicable relations with Russia. His concern for the fate of Kozlov's expedition and his contacts with Bolshevik missions were, probably, aimed at cautiously provoking the British to engage more actively in the pursuit of policies favorable to Tibet.

The situation with Buddhism in Soviet Russia and the status of Agvan Dorzhiev.

The domestic policy of Russia's Imperial and Soviet governments toward Buddhist subjects and institutions constitutes an ineluctable background for the relations between Russia and Tibet. The letters published in this book once again give us an opportunity to see the influence of this "Buddhist factor" on international policy.

Although administratively independent from Buddhist institutions in Tibet and Mongolia, Buriat Buddhists were a part of the greater continuous religious and cultural space of Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan was almost the sole language for both liturgy and religious education. A considerable number of Buriat monks studied at the religious schools of various Tibetan monasteries, primarily at Kumbum, Labrang and Drepung.

In their correspondence, Agvan Dorzhiev and the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso discuss a few important events pertaining to the religious life of Buddhist Buriatia, the lives of Buriat monks studying in Tibet, and those of Tibetan students taking courses in Russia. In letters OF 18605 and OF 18578, respectively dated August 31,

1924 and September 1, 1925, the Dalai Lama informs Dorzhiev that he has received news about the First Religious Congress of Buddhists of Buriat-Mongolian Autonomies, convened on October 15, 1922 in Atsagat monastery in Central Transbaikalia. During this congress, a group of Buddhists-reformers (*obnovlentsy*) under the leadership of Agvan Dorzhiev defeated conservative monks, and a new regulation was enacted concerning both inner monastic life and relationships with new authorities. The new regulation introduced strict rules of monastic observance. The Dalai Lama clearly approves of Dorzhiev's reformist zeal, which was directed (as the Dalai Lama puts it, apparently quoting Dorzhiev himself) at the restoration of moral strictness to the monastic community, following the examples of Sera, Drepung and Ganden. He assures Dorzhiev of his personal support for these reforms, although his approval does not seem unconditional (he also mentions rumors alleging Dorzhiev's support of Bolshevik anti-religious policies). In letter OF 18578, the Dalai Lama also touches on the problems that occur when local Soviet authorities deny Buddhist religious groups legal status; by this, he is probably referring to the reorganization of religious communities and the registration of societies of the faithful.⁶⁵ The same letter states that all these excesses have caused discontent of some Mongolian noblemen⁶⁶.

Letter OF 18605 discusses the situation with Kangyurwa Gegen Danzan Norboev and a certain petition from Buriat lamas concerning this authoritative Buriat trülku. In this fragment, the Dalai Lama touches on issues arising from a conflict between Kangyurwa Gegen and the majority of monks in his resident monastery of Tsugol. Apparently, Danzan Norboev had previously broken with the largely conservative monks of Tsugol monastery, due to his strong support for the reformist activities of Agvan Dorzhiev. After Norboev secretly fled from the monastery to join Dorzhiev, the Tsugol monks dispatched a delegation to Tibet to petition the

65 See: Gerasimova, 1964. P. 100-101.

66 In the fall of 1924 a Khalkha Mongolian noblemen visited Ana monastery. See: Gerasimova, 1964. P. 105.

Dalai Lama against this newfound Dorzhiev-Norboev alliance⁶⁷. The letter appears to have been written before this delegation was dispatched, yet news of the discontent of Tsugol monks had clearly begun to reach the Dalai Lama, as he mentions the problem in his letter to Dorzhiev (OF 18578).

Concerning Dorzhiev's ongoing construction of Buddhist monasteries and temples, particularly in Kalmykia and Cisbaikalia, the Dalai Lama expresses a degree of skepticism, arguing that a mere increase in religious establishments is insufficient for the spread of the Dharma.

In addition, the letters published here also present fragmentary information regarding the contributions of Buriat monasteries to the project of crafting the Lhasa edition of the Kangyur (OF 18589); the study of Buriat students in Tibetan monasteries through the sponsorship of Agvan Dorzhiev (OF 18609); the call of Buriat lamas back to Buriatia by Dorzhiev's request (OF 18605); the first Russian Buddhists initiated in the Saint Petersburg Buddhist temple⁶⁸ (OF 18605); and Dorzhiev's request to bestow the Lharampa degree on three Buriat and Kalmyk monks (OF 18605). The latter request is of special interest since it gives a living picture of the examination system in place during the time of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. Declining Dorzhiev's request, the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso grounds his refusal by referring to certain strict new regulations regarding the bestowal of the Lharampa degree. From this fragment, we also learn indirectly about the circumstances of Dorzhiev's own receipt of the degree. Curiously, the Dalai Lama seems to consider this event to have been symptomatic of a general disorder in the monastic educational system at the time Dorzhiev matriculated (as is well known, Dorzhiev earned the degree in 1888, after just 8 years of study instead of the usual 15-20).

Also of special interest is the information the letters contain about Tibetan students dispatched to study in Russia during different

67 Gerasimova, 1964. P. 100.

68 The Dalai Lama apparently means M.I. Popov-Loeffer, Carl Tennissons and Friedrich Lustig. See: Snelling, 1993. P. 203.

periods. In one of the letters (OF 18592) we read of a Tibetan boy, Sönam Dorjé, who had previously enrolled in a course on explosives, taught in Irkutsk. In his book, Alexandre Andreyev mentions a certain letter of the Dalai Lama to Dorzhiev in which Dorzhiev is asked to accept several Tibetan boys to study explosives. Agvan Dorzhiev redirected this request to Mikhail Yerbanov, then Chair of the Council of People's Commissars of the Buriat-Mongolian Republic, who promised "to render all possible assistances"⁶⁹. From letter OF 18592, we learn about what then happened to Sönam Dorjé. After having completed his course of study in Irkutsk, he was hired by a bank in Urga, but died shortly thereafter.

The letters also allow us to glimpse Dorzhiev's shifts in status—both in legal terms, and in the eyes of the Tibetan government. In the earliest letters, we see the Tibetans attempting to confirm the official status of their representative in Russia, in order to aid his efforts at diplomacy, aimed at securing Russian and European recognition of Tibetan independence. In one letter (OF 18617), after contact with the Soviets had been established, the Tibetans were concerned to reconfirm Dorzhiev's status. The author of letter OF 18600 (perhaps Kalön Shölkang) notes the role Dorzhiev has played in establishing friendly relations between the two countries. It is evident from the letters that Dorzhiev enjoyed the special confidence of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government, although this confidence was not unqualified. In the letters, we often find passages in which Dorzhiev is asked to show restraint, or to be cautious and to act in strict agreement with instructions, especially while dealing with Red Russians.

There were some other problems in Dorzhiev's relationships with Tibetan authorities, including those of a financial character. In letters OF 18599 and OF 18588, the Dalai Lama even rebukes Dorzhiev for his refusal (under pretext of bankruptcy) to repay the amount of a loan for which he was indebted to the Tibetan treasury. In both these letters, the Dalai Lama demands that Dorzhiev fulfill his financial obligations.

69 Andreyev, 2003. P. 207.

The period of 1911-1925 was a one of intense change for Agvan Dorzhiev and Russia, on the one hand, and for the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government, on the other. Through successive storms of revolution and reform, Dorzhiev remained an invaluable contact point for the Tibetan government—even if his actions were not always predictable. Acting under instructions of the Russian Tsarist, Soviet or Tibetan authorities, Dorzhiev remained an independent factor (or player) on the Tibetan front of the Great Game. To what end? Dorzhiev's ultimate dream may well have been the establishment of a confederation of Buddhist peoples of Inner Asia, under the leadership of the Dalai Lama. Being personally loyal to the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso, Dorzhiev considered him a person able to realize the potential represented by the institution of the Dalai Lamas – historically a fruit of collaboration between Mongols and Tibetans – to unite Tibet and Mongolia into one state. Dorzhiev realized a guarantor of such an alliance might be found in Russia: a Russia whose “natural endeavor” was control over the Eurasian mainland, as forward policy supporters in Petersburg would have it. At the same time, Dorzhiev recognized that China posed a real threat to the realization of his plans. For the neutralization of this Chinese menace, Dorzhiev did not exclude the possibility—and sometimes the necessity—of Tibet's entering into collaboration with Britain and other powers, especially France and Japan. This fact helps to explain his close relationships with the so called Tibetan Anglophiles – Tsarong, Lungshar and Shölkang. As was once noted by a well-known British historian (and these words are especially true in respect to Dorzhiev):

...descriptions of this or that official ... as “pro-British, [or] “pro-Chinese [are] too facile. The only thing the Tibetans have been “pro” is the preservation of their Religious State⁷⁰.

The British agents in Tibet, undoubtedly, treated Dorzhiev as one of the chief enemies of the British Empire in this part of the world. Beginning in the early 20th century, Dorzhiev's activities

70 Richardson, 1984. P. 129.

raised British anxieties for several decades. Behind the missions to the Russian Tsar, the escorting of the Dalai Lama during his flight to Mongolia, the Tibet-Mongolian agreement of 1913, the alleged import of Russian arms to Tibet, and the Bolshevist missions, the British, not baselessly, saw the shadow of “the mysterious Dorjjeff”. Their attempts to neutralize him, though not quite fruitless, were still ineffective. As one researcher rightly noted:

Ideally, what the British wanted was an individual who could match the status and talents of Agvan Dorzhiev, a Russian citizen, but also a member of Lhasa’s religious elite. He was a formidable opponent for the British, but they recognized that he was the ideal type of intermediary; a loyal citizen of the imperial power, but highly placed in the local society. After meeting Dorzhiev in 1912, Gould described him rather enviously as ‘a man who impresses one a great deal... [by his]... frank manner and... earnest purpose... [He is] certainly respected by the Tibetan officials.’⁷¹

An established view of Dorzhiev as a Russian agent in Tibet has been seriously reconsidered during the last decades by Western historians. Most of them today agree that Dorzhiev should be viewed mostly as an agent of Tibet in Russia serving primarily the interests of Tibetan state, for preservation of this unique religious state, rather than vice versa.

As for the attitude to Dorzhiev taken by Russia and the USSR, it was somewhat ambivalent. Enjoying the high respect and sympathy of many Russian orientalists and influential political figures, Dorzhiev was nevertheless perceived by some high officials as a political adventurer whose activities demanded strict monitoring and control. In today’s Russia, by contrast, he is largely considered to be a patriot who promoted Russian prestige in Asia. Moreover, for modern Buriats, the name of Dorzhiev has not only a historical but also a religious meaning; he is considered to be an embodiment of the Buddhist tantric deity Yamantaka, and his photo may be seen on home altars of many Buriat householders.

71 McKay, 1997. P. 124.

Dorzhiev's destiny in the years following these letters turned out to be very sad. In 1937-1938 he was forced to watch as the results he had worked so hard to achieve in the service of Tibetan-Soviet rapprochement and the protection of Buddhism in the USSR were completely annihilated. Many of his Buriat, Kalmyk and Russian friends were the victims of Stalinist repression, and in the fall of 1938 he himself was arrested, having falsely been incriminated as an alleged participant in liaisons with Japanese secret agents and in terrorist activities whose purpose was the overthrow of the Soviet regime in Transbaikalia. After several hours of interrogation, Agvan Dorzhiev died in the prison hospital of Ulan-Ude, probably of a heart attack.

With the death of Dorzhiev, a whole epoch of Russo-Tibetan dialogue came to an end. The USSR was uninterested in pursuing active policy toward Tibet and, after the Communists came to power in Peking in 1949, the Soviet government swiftly acknowledged Tibet as an integral part of the People's Republic of China. Even during the cold period of Soviet-Chinese relations during the 1950-70s, the USSR never disputed China's claim over Tibetan territories, and today's Russia strictly keeps to this established policy, considering it a token of friendship with her mighty neighbor.

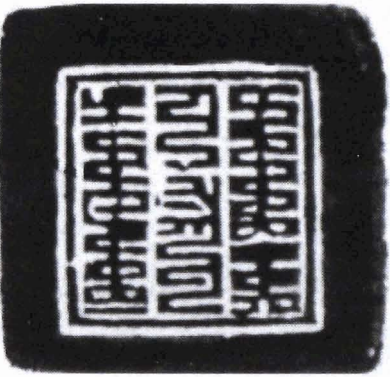
Seals in the letters



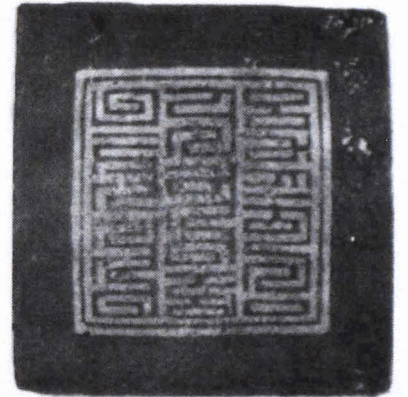
1. Seal of Dalai Lama



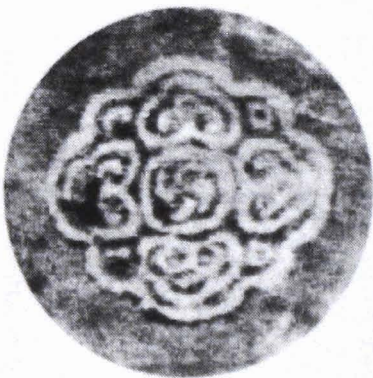
2. Seal of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama



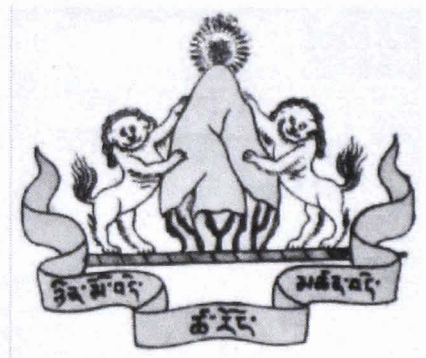
3. Official seal of Kashak



4. Official seal of Dalai Lama



5. Seal of Kashak



Tsarong family symbol

Group photograph of the Tibetan delegation at Hastings House (16 March, 1910)



Front row from left to right: Derge Sé Ngawang Jampel, Drenjong Sikyong Trülku, Sir Charles Bell, The Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Lönchen Shedra Peljor Dorjé, Lönchen Shölkang Döndrup Püntso, Lönchen Changkyimpa Kyenrap Jangchup Pelzang, Kalön Lama Gungtang Tendzin Wangpo. Back row from left to right: S. W. Laden la, Tashi Wandi, unidentified, Lamenpa Ngoshi Jampa Tupwang, Chensel Namgang (Tsarong), unidentified

Photography by Johnston and Hoffman, Kolkata, Charles Bell Collection. 50.31.133. Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool



Portrait of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. Gifted to Sir Charles Bell by Chensel Namgang (later Tsarong Shappé). 1910, Darjeeling

Charles Bell collection. 50.31.131. Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool.



Gomang Tsenshap Lozang Ngawang
alias Agvan Dorzhiev

Courtesy of Center of Oriental Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of Siberian Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences



Sixth Kanguyurwa Gegen Danzan
Norboev (1887-1935)

Courtesy of Center of Oriental Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of Siberian Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences



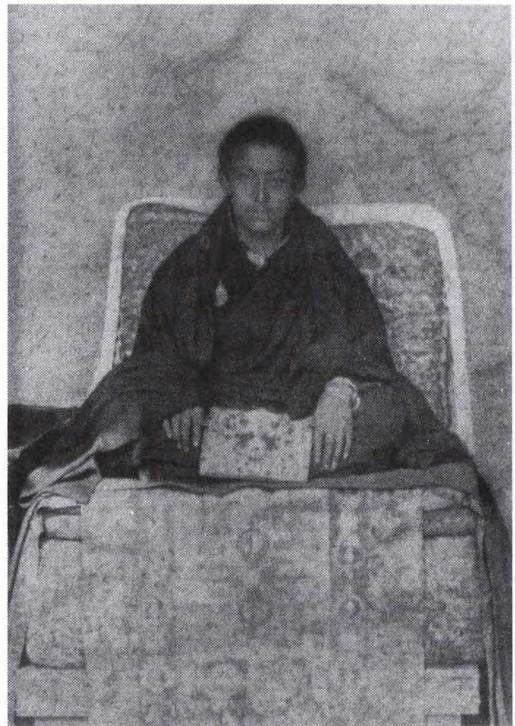
Agvan Dorzhiev's house located on the old site of Atsagat Monastery

Courtesy of Center of Oriental Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of Siberian Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences



Tsarong Dazang Damdül, Chief
Commander of Tibetan army and
Minister of Minting

Courtesy of D. N. Tsarong



Ninth Panchen Thupten Chökyi Nyima
(1883-1937)

Courtesy of Center of Oriental Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of Siberian Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences

English Translation



OF 18616

As is stated in “Report compiled on the recent Chinese activities [in Tibet]”, the army led by Zhao¹ has introduced new taxes on cultivated lands and cattle in the administrative territories of Markham, Dzogang, Sangak Chödzung, Chamdo, Dragyap and others in Kham; these taxes are almost 10 times more than those previously exacted by the [Tibetan] Government. Successive messages have also been sent [to the governor of Nyagrong] that, on the order of the Chinese sovereign, the territory of Nyagrong must likewise be placed under Chinese control—and that unless you, the head of Nyagrong, return to Tibet accompanied by your staff, you will be expelled militarily. Five different announcements were posted in Nyagrong in which absolute submission was demanded. Although repeated requests to stop these actions were made via successive letters and emissaries sent from Nyagrong, forcible measures were taken, and in the middle of the 4th month, the army, led by Trang Tarin² waged a decisive attack. Early in the 5th month, Zhao arrived in Nyagrong together with the Amban Hung³, expelled

1 Zhao Erfeng.

2 Probably, Tibetan corruption of Chinese zhang da chen (長大臣), or chief Amban, by which Zhao Erfeng should be understood. Zhao was appointed as Amban to Tibet in February 1908 (Sperling, 2003. P. 81). As a result of many appeals from Tibetan side against this appointment, as well as subsequent intrigues by acting Amban to Tibet Lian Yu, the appointment was cancelled in autumn of the same year. However, in this letter Zhao is still referred to as Chief Amban. It is also possible, that by this term the author of the letter means Zhao’s fresh position as Governor of Sichuan.

3 Probably, Fu Songmu is meant by this name, though the rendering is misleading. Fu

the representative of the Lhasa Government along with his staff, established the Chinese military governor and instituted the tax [mentioned above] on cultivated lands and cattle [in Nyagrong], as well as in Chamdo and Dragyap. Around 300 [Tibetan] officers were found to be of greater liability than gain for both rulers and subjects, and were thus reclassified as ordinary subjects.

A week after taking control over Nyagrong, Zhao Erfeng returned back to take the post of Governor of Sichuan. Following this, he drove out all the *tusi*⁴ from Chakla and other territories in Dokham, appointed Chinese officials [in their places], and introduced new taxes. The [former] representative of Nyagrong, together with his officials, is now approaching Lhasa.

According to proclamations posted by Amban Lian in all the key spots of the territories from Pashö⁵ to the Nepalese and Bhutanese border, within the regions of Ü-Tsang, Kham and Kongpo, the governor's [representative] offices Lizikon⁶ has been granted the responsibility of handing down judgments on thieves, murderers and those who make fraudulent claims regarding land allotments. Spreading these proclamations, he has usurped [the Tibetan government's] power over Tibetans and established his own rule. Thereafter, they have been forcibly taking wooden materials under government and private possession and are constructing several military camps around Lhasa.

Every 2-3 months, roughly 200 loads of ammunition, messengers and 100 soldiers arrive. He is using Pembar Trülku and Gyeltön Trülku as mediators to settle the Chinese military conflict in Po⁷.

In addition to the fact that the population of Kham and Lhasa are carrying the heavy burden of taxes and corvée due to the Chinese

Sungmu, the assistant and successor of Zhao Erfeng on the position of Frontier Commissioner in Kham (Sperling, 2003. P. 85).

4 Chinese *tu si* (土司) usually used to designate local chieftains in Kham.

5 The area half way from Poyül to Dragyap in Chamdo county.

6 Probably, Tibetan corrupted rendering of Chinese *Li jiguan* (理机关).

7 The isolated semi-independent petty kingdom located some 2000 km west of Pashö under the rule of Kanam Depa claiming to be an offspring of ancient Tibetan Yarlung dynasty. First General Zhong Yin, then General Luo Changqi tried to bring this kingdom to submission to Chinese authorities around the time of this letter.

invasion, [prices have increased]: a Khal⁸ of barley cost one Ngülsang and five Zho; in Kongpo, a Khal of barley cost one Ngülsang.

Due to increases in the price for food, the Chinese have begun to import provisions from afar. For chicken, pork, etc. they pay only half price. The limitless transportation corvée and other [taxes] are mandatory, and these together continue to constitute an unbearable burden [for the population of these regions].

According to the term of treaty⁹, appointed Lhasa government officials supervise the sales of grains, peas, goats, sheep and other commodities required for the staffs of British Trade Agency in Gyantsé. In the 6th month [of Tibetan calendar], the Panchen after having returned from Lhasa during the battling times [stated] that, for the period of six months, the Trashi Lhünpo monastery would provide the required commodities for the British, in the form of repayment of loans he received from the British government during his visit to India at the time of military conflict. The Tibetan government issued a decree barring the payment.

The house of the acting Kalön Gungtangpa at Lhasa had already been taken over [by the Chinese. Again,] Chinese recently sent their military commander to take over the [remaining] estates and properties of [Gungtangpa]. In a nutshell, the offices of Silön and others exist merely in name with no authority. In all the foreign and domestic affairs, the Chinese are in power and do whatever they wish. Tibet's populations, under the burden of excessive taxes and corvees, are in a state of great distrust and helplessness. Please take all the information contained in this letter into consideration. [1911]



8 Khal is basic unit of twenty in Tibetan numerical systems and a Khal of barley would equal to about 30 pounds of barley.

9 Most probably, the author of the letter means 1908 British-Chinese Trade Treaty, more specifically Article 12 of the Treaty which reads the following: "British subject shall be at liberty to deal in kind or in money, to sell their goods to whomsoever they please, to purchase native commodities from whomsoever they please, to hire transport of any kind, and to conduct in general their business transactions in conformity with local usage and without any vexatious restrictions or oppressive exaction whatever" (Richardson, 1984. P. 279). The Panchen Lama, as is clearly implied, had to provide the British mission in Gyantsé with provisions in order to cover the loan.

OF 18617-1

Copy of the confidential and significant appeal



OF 18617-2

I [hereby] submit before the Supreme Russian Emperor who peacefully governs the vast, great country about [the most] confidential and significant issues [relating to Tibet]. In accord with the intention to assist Tibet expressed in the letter sent by the Emperor the past year of 1901¹⁰, during the period in which I, the Dalai Lama, fled to Mongolia¹¹ due to the British invasion in Tibet¹², you honored me by providing me with many armed guards¹³; helped me by advising me on subsequent movements¹⁴; signed the treaty with the British concerning Tibetan aid¹⁵; rendered assistance (for which I am obliged) in my journey to Peking¹⁶; and, most importantly, carried out negotiations with the Chinese during the period of my flight to India¹⁷. According to the general opinion of the high Government officials, a commemoration of [your] gracious help to me, the Dalai Lama, and to the Tibetan Government is to be recorded in the state annals and should subsequently be repaid.

10 The letter of Nicolas II was the answer to the Dalai Lama's letter the full text of which is published in *Rossia i Tibet*, 2005. P. 35-36. Russian Emperor's reply dated by July 4, 1901, is kept in AVPRI (Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii), F. Kitaiskii stol, d. 1448, l. 100.

11 1904-06.

12 Younghusband Expedition of 1903-04.

13 In 1905, 20 Buriat Cossacks accompanied the Dalai Lama to Wang Khüreen in Outer Mongolia. One year later the guard troops were increased to 30. See: Andreyev, 2006. P. 148.

14 While in exile to Mongolia, the Dalai Lama maintained permanent connections with Russian authorities through Agvan Dorzhiev and Russian Consulate in Urga. Russian Ambassador to China served as a mediator in his connections to Peking.

15 Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.

16 In 1908, Russian Government loaned 110000 silver liangs to the Dalai Lama to cover his expenses for travel to Peking. See: Andreyev, 2006. P. 172-173.

17 1910-12.

To firmly establish friendly relations between Russia and Tibet, we have decided to draw up a treaty.

Although, with due consultation, there was much desire to declare Tibet as independent, the British however continue to insist on accepting Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. Before Tibet possess sufficient troops, armor and ammunition there is a danger that the British may find a pretext to unleash a conflict aimed at annexing [Tibet] by antagonizing the Chinese, Nepalese, Bhutanese and [those in] other countries.

Thus, Tsenshap Khenché¹⁸ and other envoys have been dispatched with the specific purpose of seeking your advice on some confidential issues.

[We wish the Russians] to discuss [issues concerning Tibet] with the British and direct the envoys to immediately declare Tibet's independence. It would be best if both Britain and Russia could establish the [office of their] representatives in Lhasa. If it is difficult [to act on above stated request, because of] the terms of Anglo-Russian treaty, Russia may discuss [with other influential countries], not bound by the treaty terms, such as Germany, France, and Japan, and persuade them to establish their representative [offices] in Lhasa.

Tibet is now Self-governed [independent] State. Foreign countries are requested to render assistance in accordance with the Russo-British Treaty¹⁹, without causing harm to the people and the territories. The sale of some guns, sufficient armor and ammunitions by the Russian government [in the past] had been very useful. If you would dispatch a few military instructors from the Buddhist communities, we could provide them with salaries. In addition to the earlier loan of hundred thousand silver coins (ngül), we [again] request for a loan of one million [silver coins]. We request your permission to transport armor through your territory [even] if they were procured from other countries.

18 Agvan Dorzhiev.

19 Anglo-Russian convention of 1907.

Furthermore, in addition to the passport previously issued to Tsenshap, granting him official status in your country, another [passport] is needed for the execution of secret tasks. Although issuance of a passport to conduct negotiations in other countries concerning matters of Doctrine would make the British anxious, I would appreciate it if the current secrecy surrounding the Tibetan question could be made more open and transparent, as it would facilitate us to act appropriately. For the sake of future friendship between our countries, a firm trade treaty needs to be signed without delay. The letter is written on an auspicious day and month, and sent along with a Khatak and a list of attached presents. [1912]



OF 18579-1

[Seal 5]

To the knowledgeable Tsenshap Khenché.



OF 18579-2

Appeal.

With the motivation [to carry out] an important task for the sake of Buddhist doctrine and secular affairs, you have made a swift trip through the region of Tongkhor²⁰ and attempted to win the loyalty and solidarity of the local leaders toward Buddhist doctrine by bestowing on them instructions and sacred objects, thereby accomplishing the task in accordance with the words and wishes of the [Dalai Lama]. A petition letter to the Dalai Lama, which elaborately proposes the granting of titles to [the local rulers of Tongkhor], and a letter to all of us, received through a person who was purposely [deputized by you], has been answered. According to your telegraphed message,

²⁰ Monastery and an area under its control a few kilometers from Kartsé, a county in Kham (today's Tibetan autonomous district Kartsé).

received in the office of the Inner Chamber,²¹ after the Tongkhor trip [you] visited London as a representative [of Tibet]²², bearing the title of Khutukhtu²³. [We] feel quite relieved about this, as it will surely be helpful for religious and secular affairs. Therefore, the response letter immediately dispatched [from here] might have reached you.

A delegation consisting of Tsipa Lungshar and students has been sent to London to offer gifts to the British King²⁴ and Ministers. [They will] hold discussions with the British on a wide range of issues, without missing anything, including [the following]: increasing essential resources for Tibetan development; a recent unspeakable violation of [Tibet's] law by the Chinese; and [measures for] prohibiting Chinese troops from marching into Tibet to seize control of territories, citizens, and laws—[incursions that] have already occurred and will [likely] occur in the future.

The British may suspect that Tibet still has sympathies with Russia, as before. In case you are not able to travel to London, you should contact the Lungshar through correspondence – but under cover of maximum secrecy. In order to maintain Tibet's peaceful and self-reliant [status], without the evil dominance of the Chinese, [Lungshar] has been sent with a detailed order to secure the engagement of Russia and Britain in an open and serious discussion [on Tibet].

Recently, a letter was received from Lungshar stating that they have arrived to Calcutta from Darjeeling, together with a guide named Lekden²⁵ deputed by the British government, and that [they] are leaving for London after [spending] four days [there]. Therefore, [you should] meet him [in London] without delay and discuss Tibetan affairs in detail.

21 Probably, a hall in the Potala Palace, the residence of the Dalai Lama.

22 Agvan Dorzhiev did not visit London at that period time.

23 Mong. qutuytu. High-ranked reincarnated lama.

24 George V.

25 Sönam Wangpel Lekden (1876-1936), was the first Sikkimese hill boy to be appointed Imperial police force in Darjeeling at officer rank. In 1923, he was invited by the Tibetan government to establish Tibetan police force in Lhasa and became the first Chief of Tibetan police force. He was conferred the title of Dzasak by the Dalai Lama.

The British assume that Tibetans are compelled to accord themselves with the British government due to Tibet's geographical proximity to India; however, because of the fact, that you are Russian [the British also] suspect that the [Tibetans] are still on Russia's side and rely secretly on Russia. Such suspicions are circulating in many newspapers.

Moreover, when news of the signing of a new Tibet-Mongol allegiance and solidarity agreement²⁶ appeared in newspapers, [British] sahibs instituted an inquiry about it. Thus, Russia has suggested that Britain and Russia, [adopting a position of] mutual trust different from their earlier [relation] to each other, should [jointly] help Tibet. The British [responded that] it would only agree [to this suggestion] when British [authorities] are fully convinced that there is no threat to Tibet [from Russia]. Otherwise, [they argued], excessive exposure of the Tibetan issue to the outside [world] could do more harm than good, because Tibet and Britain are geographically attached, and [because] Tibet has previously accepted both verbally and in written form that it would rely only on the British government in its external [affairs] owing to the great military power of Britain. [They noted, further, that] had the British and Chinese mutually reached an agreement to allow the Chinese to march troops into Tibet, Russia would not be [in a position] to help Tibet at all, because of the great distance [between these countries]. Having met Rimshi²⁷ Lungshar, [you should] attempt to achieve [the following] essential aims, through stable, careful and steady measures: [the securing of] a prohibition against Chinese troop incursions into Tibet; convincing Russia and Britain to enter into serious discussion [on Tibet]; convincing Britain to abandon its enmity [against Tibet]; and securing a Russo-British agreement to assist Tibet.

In a letter written by the present Chinese ruler Tatsung Tungyön²⁸ [and sent] to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, [the author notes] that

26 1913 Tibet-Mongol Agreement.

27 Fourth rank in Tibetan traditional official hierarchy.

28 Tibetan corrupted rendering of Chinese President Yuan Shikai (Dazong tongyuan, 大總統 袁, abbrev. of Dazong tongyuan shijing 大總統袁世凱).

through unification of the five Nationalities, [problems] between Tibet and China can be solved without military confrontation and [that there is] need for unity [between the two]. [The letter further says] that instructions have been given to the Chinese troops in Sichuan and Yunnan [provinces] not to march towards Tibet.



OF 18579-3

Repeated telegraphic messages requesting the dispatch of a [Tibetan] representative to Chamdo for peace talks have [also] been received. [In response], we are sending repeated telegraphic messages, [in which] it is argued that Chamdo is an important place, and that if a peace talk is held there, in the future this place might be identified as a border [between Tibet and China]. [Another reason for refusing these requests is that] there are many robbers and thieves who are very impulsive [in the Chamdo region]; therefore, [Chamdo] is ill-suited [for a peace talk]. Therefore, please send officials to Darjeeling, in India. [Our] officials have been dispatched to Chamdo, Dragyap, Margo (Markham, Gojo), Beru and Nyagrang, where the Chinese troops are stationed, to hold a series of discussions regarding the withdrawal [of Chinese troops]. However, many unarmed monasteries have been burnt [by the Chinese troops]. Now, in the regions of Margo, Chamdo, Dragyap, Dechen, Nyagrang, and Pashö, a few thousand Chinese troops are increasingly claiming control over land and doing evil activities. In addition to this, general Feng²⁹ has sent a letter in which he states that he will lead a few thousand troops and march to Lhasa; all Tibetans [en route] who do not surrender will be eliminated without a trace. Considering such ongoing unlawful activities [of the Chinese], we do not know what the genuine instructions are that Tatsung Tu[ng] yön is giving [to the Chinese troops]. Thus, in view of the present situation, and bracketing the matter of the independence of the

29 General Zhao Erfeng.

[Tibetan] state, [we are] worried how much worse the situation will get, in light of recent events. Taking into account the threat, [its] urgency, and [your] obligations, [persuade] Russia and Britain that if they delay their assistance to Tibet any longer, then they will be like spectators who come to see a market show after the market is closed.

Our main endeavor at this stage is to secure the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Tibetan territories and to convene peace negotiations in Darjeeling. From here, too, [we are] repeatedly asking the British for their support. [We] have also responded to the telegraphic message from Tatsung Tungyön, asking [him] to consider the matter with great care and steadiness. From your side too, please, do your best to accomplish the aims stated above, and urge the foreign countries to support the prohibition of future Chinese interference in the internal affairs of Tibet, and the barring of Chinese troops [from Tibetan territories]. Please discuss [these matters with] the Russian government [and] urge [them] to prompt the British to speed up and increase their support of, and help to, Tibet. Please keep us well-informed about the details of the situation; this will help us to appraise matters and discuss them in a more definitive way with Britain and China, so that we need not measure distance in the dark.

Written in Water-Ox year [1913] with an enclosure of a Tibetan Khatak and three gold coins.



OF 18600

During the time of the Russian Tsar and his gracious son, when the British without any reason bullied Tibet, the Regent and Ministers of Tibet asked the Lama and protecting deity who is the greatest friend of the Precious Dharma of Tibet. They got the following answer: a sincere supporter of this land, different in ideology, race and doctrine, lies to the north and east.

In earlier times, during the period of the regent Tatsak, the Prince

of France³⁰ with a Russian as a translator reached Tibetan territory through the area of Torgod, via Namru to Dam. A delegation of the Tibetan assembly went to stop them. The French Prince and his Russian assistant said that the purpose of their journey was to prevent the British from doing harm to Tibet. Therefore, they wished to meet with the Regent and Ministers of Tibet if possible, in order to discuss the matter of assisting the Tibetan Government and [Buddhist] Doctrine. But the Chinese Amban placed great restrictions on the Tibetan officials with respect to meeting the foreigners, and thus sent Chinese officials who demanded that they [i.e., the foreigners] return. However, the French Prince told Khendrung Da Lama Lozang Dönden and the son of Shedra, these two, that Russia and France are close friends of Tibet. The mother of the French Prince is the daughter of the Russian Tsar³¹. Therefore, they came to discuss a secret deal to avoid British seizure of Tibetan territory and people. Although they failed to meet the Regent and Ministers at that time, they said that Russia and France would do everything possible to help Tibet, and that should it become necessary to talk to Russia or France, this could be done through French officials [stationed] in the Tsakachang and Yunnan areas³². When approaching them, the photo of the Prince should be shown as identification. But when this was attempted later, the Prince had already died. The Russian Tsar³³ also had died by that time, and a Prince had taken his place.

Tsenshap, as a representative of Tibet, has obtained promises from officials of the Russian Government to help the Tibetan Government and Religion. Then, through [his] very skillful means of dealing with the British, he tried to help Tibet as much as possible. Through this, we old men still remember that. Khenchen is still on Russian territory, and knows more details [which he could

30 Henry d'Orléans (1867-1901), a son of Prince Robert Duke of Chartres and Princess Françoise d'Orléans, who is a daughter of Louis Philippe I of France and Maria Amalia of the two Sicilies.

31 House of Bourbon was never bound to Romanovs with dynastic marriages.

32 French catholic mission in Kham. About this mission see: Bray, 2003. P. 494-496.

33 Apparently, the author refers to the Russian Emperor Alexander III (1845-1894).

relate to you] if you were to inquire. Regarding the clear prophecy of the Lama and the Protecting deity about the reliable friend of the Tibetan Government and Religion who lies to the north and east, the Buddhists there are spreading precious Dharma. However, I pray to the Three treasures that Red Russia will be a powerful country.



OF 18603-1

To Gomang Tsenshap Khenché Lozang Ngawang, attendant [of the Dalai Lama]



OF 18603-2

Specific subject [of the letter]:

Last year, on the night of 18th day of the 11th month, [December 25, 1923] the All-Knowing Panchen Rinpoché accompanied by 100 well-equipped men suddenly and secretly abandoned his residence in Trashi Lhünpo and set out, having left a petition to the Supreme Great Protector³⁴; and authorization letters to the assistants of Chakdzö Dzasa lama of Trashi Lhünpo and [also] in the names of Lamas of the four Dratsangs³⁵. In brief, it states “Hoping to find mediation and friendly support from the side of the alms-givers of Kham and Mongolia—who are anxious about the decision to recover the unbearable burden of the corvée tax and the quarter tax for maintenance of the army—I don’t see any other way [to proceed] except by fleeing to an unknown destination”.

As soon as the petition sent by all [the responsible parties] of Tsang had been received, the inspectors conducted a detailed investigation on the spot, having jointly questioned all those responsible. In spite of the fact that all the subjects of Ü and Tsang paid taxes, according to the land register approved in the Iron-Snake

34 The Dalai Lama.

35 Trashi Lhünpo consists of four Dratsangs

year [1890]³⁶ all possible tax indulgences were implemented out of respect towards the labrang of Trashī Lhünpo.

In earlier times, the quarter military tax was paid in case of war. Beginning in the Earth-Mouse year [1888], a series of military conflicts occurred³⁷. As a result, a heavy burden of paying the tax fell on the [Trashī Lhünpo] Government and the labrang. Beginning in the Earth-Mouse year, the irresponsible Chakdzö delayed [payment of] the labrang's share of the quarter military tax, thereby resulting in a big debt. However, permission has now been granted to pay the debt according to a special schedule, and without measures of compulsion, within the period of 8 years—so one cannot call the situation unbearable.

It is inconceivable how the Precious All-Knowing One could do this to the ties between Master and Disciple!



OF 18603-3

His flight into exile has created obstacles for all his people in common, and for each one in particular, and his recent public appearances in the other country [and] failure to care about the dignity of his own country inside and abroad— all this had made us - insignificant ones - very sad. This is why, according to a supreme order, officials were immediately dispatched, bearing messages from the Supreme Great Protector as well as petitions, requests and invitations from the Silön, the Kalöns and the Kashak. Since they failed to intercept the Panchen, these letters had been dispatched from Nakchu via Xining Garpön, [Tibetan administrative officer in Xining, who forwarded the letters to Panchen]. Taking into consideration, the general and particular welfare [of Tibet] Panchen might have hopefully responded these letters positively. From your side, you will doubtlessly meet [with the Panchen]. Please, explain

36 Tax regulations introduced by Lhasa Government in 1890.

37 From 1888 Tibet had been involved in two military conflicts with British India.

the situation in detail to him, do your best to make him come back, and do everything possible to keep us informed about the course of events.

At the same time, people here have started to talk about you. Specifically, a very unpopular rumor [has spread], that you are going to come secretly together with a few Red Russians. We do not know whether this is so. Were you to take this ill-considered step, the British, who are already suspicious, would defeat our paltry forces with their great army, and war would come to Tibet again. This is very important matter, and, therefore, these plans should be delayed. Basically, attached to this letter is an Edict [from Prime minister] on which the Seal of the Silön (Sidam³⁸) is affixed. As earlier, please, be guided in your acts by sincerity and concern for the protection of the Tibetan Government.

The 19th day of the 3rd month of the year of the Wood-Mouse [April 24, 1924].

[Seal 3]



OF 18607-1

[Seal 1]

To Tsenshap Khenché Lozang Ngawang, attendant [of the Dalai Lama]



OF 18607-2

The subject of the letter:

Although no unacceptable measures have taken towards Trashi Lhünpo, apart from those motivated by the wish to avoid breaking the Master-Disciple ties with the Reverend Panchen, it seems that the latter has followed the recommendations of some favorites with

³⁸ Sidam seal is used for the issues dealing with the secular matters by Regents and Prime minister (Silöns).

evil intentions, and has secretly fled to the north in the 11th month of the last year [December of 1923], together with a well-equipped retinue of about 100 men. All this is very sad.

Although officials with shusam³⁹ have been dispatched to him, and although each Kalön has requested his return, the messengers have not returned, having yet to reach him and passed him these letters. Jabtüi Khenpo of Trashi Lhünpo, who came to Tibet, had returned to [Khalkha]. Since now he is at Khalkha, you, Tsenshap, would surely meet him during your visit to Khalkha. [You should] make appropriate appeals and explanations [to convince him] that the pure and faithful relationship between the master and the disciple and also among the keepers of meritorious vows is extremely essential for the propagation and development of practice and teaching of the Buddha doctrine [especially] nowadays.

Some have said that you are going to visit Tibet in the company of Red Russians. If so, this could cause anxiety among the British [dwelling] in regions close to the lands of Buddha Doctrine, and [it] may provoke a military conflict. Each of silön and Kashak have separately issued their letter [concerning this matter]⁴⁰. So, act carefully, peacefully and steadily. Keep this in mind.

The letter is written in the auspicious day of the 22nd of the 3rd month of Wood-Mouse year [April 27, 1924] according to the Tibetan [calendar].

[Seal 4]



OF 18597

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive news and the Mongol silk Khatak—dispatched through Tsering Dorjé and Bayartu—from you recently, in the 15th day of the 6th month of the Wood-Mouse year [July 19, 1924] of the Tibetan [calendar]. It is said in your letter that after having banned

39 A board with the cover made of ash, so that the text on it could be erased easily in case of threat of interception.

40 Most probably, the author(s) are referring to the letter 18603.

bad laws established earlier by the Tsar and his ministers, the power of Autonomy has been established in your lands, under which a time of joy and tranquility has come. Keep it in mind that, from my side, [I am] praying continuously for the elimination of warfare and destruction due to the degenerate period [of our time], and for the fulfillment of [our] wishes and expectations for closer friendship between Russia and Tibet.

A protection thread is enclosed with this letter, which was written in the auspicious day of 15th of the 7th month of Wood-Mouse year [August 18, 1924] according to the Tibetan [calendar].

[Seal 2]



OF B-N-1

To the lord of upholders and disseminators of Dharma, attendant [of the Dalai Lama], submitted by Kalon Tsarong from Nyetang halting place on 20th of the 7th month



OF 18575-1

1924.9.13 of the Western calendar⁴¹

1669.7.20 of the Tibetan calendar

[Tsarong family symbol]

To the lord of upholders and disseminators of Dharma, attendant [of the Dalai Lama] Tsenshap Khenché

Thank you for the letters as well as for the lengths of Russian brocade that have been delivered [to me by your] friends on the 10th day of the 8th month of the Water-Pig year [September 18, 1923] and the 15th day of the 4th month of the Wood-Mouse year [May 20, 1924]. In addition, I was very glad when, through Takring Trülku [another] letter was delivered to me, together with three

41 There is a difference between the date of the Western calendar given by the author himself and our calculations based on the date of the Tibetan calendar given at the beginning and the end of the letter.

and quarter Kha⁴² of plain golden Russian brocade, two Kha of red Mongol velvet,



OF 18575-2

a white brocade coverlet with embroidered flowers, one and three quarter Kha of white Russian brocade, and two Kha of black brocade Gyadra.

I was especially happy just to hear that you keep on doing your good deeds, proving that the precious Teaching of Yellow Hats is spreading. As for Tibet and the Dharma, it seems to me that currently everything is calm and peaceful. In addition to working to cease enmity for the sake of spreading the precious Dharma,



OF 18575-3

I spend much time talking to Tsering Dorjé and Bayartu on various topics relating to Tibetan aid; hopefully they would tell you about it in detail.

I am not an omnipotent ruler of Tibet. Taking responsibility for the army, I spend my leisure time organizing helpful events according to elaborate plans. However, I am not influential in foreign affairs.



OF 18575-4

[Tsarong family symbol]

In the British newspapers, they write that a man with the name Tsarong Shappé has many merits and gets along with the British. I, on a personal level, have British, Russians, Chinese, Japanese, Americans, Kashmiris, Italians, Gurkhas and others as friends;

⁴² Kha is a measuring unit for cloth and especially for brocade materials equaling one square of the width of the material.

and given our personal objectives, we have banquets together and engage in conversations on amusing topics.



OF 18575-5

From among the countries, I have no [particular] predilection for the British. If the Buddhist doctrine endures for long in Tibet and He, the victorious one, the source of kindness for now and future, is pleased, my wishes too would be fulfilled.

They say, despite the fact that Inner Tibet is an independent state according to former treaties, the Chinese knowingly invaded [our country],



OF 18575-6

deprived the Dalai Lama of power and dismissed him, basing themselves on [the conviction that] throughout its history, Tibet has been dependent on outer leadership.

Not able to bear this mockery, and concerned over how far they may go in their attitude toward the Dalai Lama, I have realized that the fruits of constant opposition to China are ripening. After I have brought the Precious Victorious One [back] to the capital,



OF 18575-7

[Tsarong family symbol]

how can the Chinese government of usurpers be pleased with me? Since it is clear that my life does not belong to myself, I have decided that when the Chinese implement external control over Tibet, I will not stay in this land, but will ask for asylum in other country.

Three powers can help or damage Tibet. Those that can help are

Russia, Britain and China;



OF 18575-8

yet the same three can also damage [Tibet]. I am deeply convinced that if Russia, Britan and China agreed on a treaty to cease their interference in Tibet's foreign and domestic affairs, Tibet will become independent, both within and without, and shall be free from these three external dangers.



OF 18575-9

In particular, if the Chinese meddling in Tibet's internal and external affairs ceased, I would gain confidence to settle in Tibet. In case, if the Chinese entered Tibet, I am hopeful that the scholars of Tibetan Buddhism would think accordingly. As for myself, I have already decided to leave my homeland and wander to an unknown place. So do consider over appealing to Russians for any feasible [supports] for the general interest of Tibet.

On the 20th day of the 7th month of Wood-Mouse year, I am sending you a metal box with the attached coverlet embroidered with golden and silver flowers,



OF 18575-10

[Tsarong family symbol]

two lengths of Chönkhep brocade, and two lengths of Sershima brocade.

Tsarong Shappé. 1669. 7. 20 [August 23, 1924]



OF 18599

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive news, a Khatak of Mongolian silk, a big golden wheel, two buckles, a cord, and a piece of Russian brocade [from you] recently, on the 9th day of the 7th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [August 10, 1924]. In [your] letter you say that because you received spiritual teachings from the previous reincarnation of Takring Trülku, [you wish to] support and help him in this life. Thus, you have requested that I favor him with special privileges in Gomang Dratsang and in the Samlo Khangtsen. [This] request is [hereby] granted.

[You also note that] a letter you have received from the Treasury office has demanded that [you] reimburse ten thousand ngül (silver coins) with interest. You want me to discuss [this matter] with the Treasury office, and tell them that the receipt for the deposit of this money into a Russian bank⁴³ has been lost by one Khenché, a gentleman from Khalkha⁴⁴. [As a result of an] appeal, [however], the money was received in hand—but it was used to pay expenses [incurred at the] Peking [office] during my stay at Da Khüree⁴⁵. Concerning this matter, since [I] do not know precisely what this money was actually used for at that time, it is not convenient [for me] to communicate with the [Treasury] immediately. If the money was used for any official purpose, a detailed statement of expenses must obviously have been generated to prove and substantiate the expenses. You, as a senior government official, know [this very well]. Therefore, [I will] communicate with the Treasury office, [only] if I receive a detailed statement of expenses from [you].

Notwithstanding this, prayers have been performed for steady and prosperous study in ten newly established monasteries with religious schools. I would suggest, [however], that restoring and reviving study in the monasteries that already exist is more

43 Russo-Chinese Bank.

44 Probably, a Khalkha nobleman Khando Qing Wang to whom the Dalai Lama entrusted his account in the Russo-Chinese Bank, is meant.

45 The old pre-1921 Revolution name of the capital city (today's Ulaanbaatar) of the area that used to be denoted as Outer Mongolia. Khüree, Ikh Khüree, Uрга (Üрге) have been used as alternatives.

important and meaningful than the building of new monasteries—an action merely in accordance with the eight worldly concerns. This is [what] I think; keep this in mind.

A protection thread, sacred objects, two handmade images [of deities], and three pills of Rinchen Tsotru Dashel are enclosed with this letter, written on the auspicious 28th day of the 7th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [August 31, 1924].

[Seal 2]



OF 18605

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive news [from you] recently, on the 9th day of the 7th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [August 10, 1924]. It is said [in your letter that] during the Buddhist Congress, convened by Buriats⁴⁶, new regulations appropriate to the times have been confirmed⁴⁷. The monks, as it seems, have found them to be in accord with Vinaya. However, some of the monks, ignorant about the legislation of the country, do not seem to have accepted these [regulations]. Since Kangyurwa Trülku⁴⁸ has been appointed to an official position, he has begun many preparations for activities⁴⁹ in that region, and this has provoked the disapproval of everyone inside and outside the country. Concerning this [matter], the Buriats [have] separately submitted a petition.

Since the new regime⁵⁰ [devoted to] stop the unlimited

46 Buddhist Congress organized by Agvan Dorzhiev and his followers on October 15, 1922 in Atsagat monastery.

47 Two documents had been confirmed by the Atsagat Buddhist Congress: “Regulations of internal life of Siberian Buddhist monasteries” and “Legislation of management of spiritual affairs of Siberian Buddhists”.

48 Kangyurwa Rinpoche Danzan Norboev (1887-1935).

49 In 1920s, Kangyurwa Rinpoché has supported Agvan Dorzhiev’s Buddhist reformation movement, which caused resentment on the side of Buriat Buddhist conservatives. See: Gerasimova, 1964. P. 123.

50 The regime controlled by the Central Committee of Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party and the Comintern under formal theocratic rule of Jebtsün Dampa Khutukhtu.

oppression from the side of Khalkha noblemen is supported from the north⁵¹, the old regime is unable to function. The bandit leader Tenpa Gyeltsen⁵² holds control over the area of Western Khalkha. China is divided into three parts⁵³; the territories lost to Russian Far East have been taken back⁵⁴.

Internal law is [currently] very strict, and external enmity is very insignificant. Although there are still many opponents, they are powerless⁵⁵.

Kozlov is planning to come here, but I doubt he will be sent. It is good that a few Russians who have converted to Buddhism⁵⁶ in the Saint Petersburg temple plan to study Buddhism from Lozang Shedrup and others who know the Russian language and [Cyrillic] script.

As for the need to send the Sherap Sangpo, the Buriat Geshé of Gyümé Dratsang, to teach, it seems that he is the same as the Sherap Nyingpo who escaped the country after the term of his position of gebkö⁵⁷ of Gyütö expired. Concerning your request to confer the title of [Geshé] Lharampa [degree] on him, [together with] Chapchik Rinchen Denpa, Jinpa Tsültrim of Torgod and Chödrak Khedrup before sending them back, [I would say that] prior to the Earth-Pig year [1899]⁵⁸, you, Tsenshap, also received the title of Lharampa—but there was no educational standard [in place at that time]. In

51 The Soviet Union.

52 Ja Lama Tenpa Gyeltsen (1860-1923). From 1918 up to his assassination in 1923 was out of control of Urga Government in his stronghold in Shar Uls which is in the Majinshan mountains of Xinjiang province of China. See: Bawden, 1989. P. 252-253.

53 Probably, the author means the split of China into three entities each controlled by different groups under leadership of: Wu Peifu, Feng Yuxiang and Guomindang Government.

54 Probably, the author of the letter has in mind the Soviet-Chinese Agreement of May 31, 1924, under which the parties agreed to use the Chinese Eastern Railway on a par.

55 The author, most probably, characterizes the situation in Tibet.

56 In addition to Estonian Buddhist Karl Tennissons, in 1922 Agvan Dorzhiev ordained Mikhail Popov-Loefler who took Tibetan name Sönam Namgyel. Later, in 1928 renowned Soviet Mongolist Academician Boris Vladimirtsov will be also converted to Tibetan Buddhism. Snelling, 1993. P. 203, 232.

57 A discipline officer in Tibetan and Mongolian monastic institutions.

58 According to John Snelling, Agvan Dorzhiev got his Geshé degree in 1888. Snelling, 1993. P. 34.

order to rectify and improve standards of study, a rule has recently been established according to which the Geshé degree may only be conferred on the basis of a standardized education. For the time being, then, it is difficult to confer [the Geshé degree] immediately.

I recognize the [reason for] the unavailability of silk thread [in Russia] is that the weaving of Russian brocade has stopped.

Regarding your query about [rumors] that [monks] who breach the rules of Gyüpa Dratsang cannot be expelled, you should not take them as true; such an unsound practice would set a bad example for regulation.

Concerning [reports] that the Western Dhvaja⁵⁹ should be taken down, such insignificant and blind talks should not be trusted, and you should not be suspicious [that this will occur]. Furthermore, [you should] continue to send news there as before.

Written on the auspicious 28th day of the 7th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [August 31, 1924].

[Seal 2]



OF 18602

Addendum:

In the attachment it is said that ignoble people⁶⁰ who were earlier under the control of the Russians have come to power, and that now [they are] prosperous and blissful. The headquarters of the party of the Reds has moved to a city named Moscow. [You report that] they are quite friendly towards all of you—the elderly, the young, and those in between—and that they allow international migration and provide for the growth of welfare, which is good. Those who [previously] escaped to other countries now have no problems returning home [for their] education.

59 Trashī Lhünpo monastery is often known by the Nub kyi rgyal mtshan mthon po (Western Dhvaja).

60 Bolsheviks.

Kalmyks, divided into three big blocks⁶¹, are now in the process of establishing a new regime and are restoring monasteries ruined by the war, in connection with which they have redoubled the number of monks [and] students of philosophical faculties through [their] recruitment of young people. In the year of the Water-Dog [1922], a famine occurred. However, we know that the Russian Government provided needed help⁶².

Note that I have satisfied your request for [the performance of] rite for the fulfillment of all general and particular hopes. [August, 1924]

[Seal 2]



OF 18601

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive the news [from you] recently, on the 19th day of the 9th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [October 21, 1924], through Jampa Tokmé, a monk of the Namgyel Dratsang. It is good that, as is said in the letter, [you] have received our letters. [You report that] as soon as the news of the Panchen's secret flight reached Russia, you immediately departed for Peking. As the cable message from Jampa Tokmé of Namgyel Dratsang and Jabtüi Lama stated that the Panchen would arrive in Peking on the 15th day of the 8th month [September 17, 1924] and that you had to meet him in person to tell about the advantages and disadvantages [of the situation], you went to Peking without any hesitation on the 17th day of the 8th month [September 19, 1924], despite all the

61 Kalmyks in Soviet Russia of that time were divided between three administrative districts: Kalmyk Autonomous Oblast' (within Astrakhanskaia Gubernia), Stavropol'skaia Gubernia, and Donskaia Oblast'.

62 In the period of 1921-22, southern regions of Russia (including districts populated by Kalmyks) suffered greatly of famine caused by the Civil war, Bolshevist requisitions and drought. On June 8, 1921 Soviet Government established Central Commission of Assistance to famine-stricken population (TsK PomGol). Thanks to these measures and assistance of international organizations the problem was resolved by 1923.

hardships [of doing so]. Moreover, letters from me and from each Kalön also reached China.

[You wrote that] regarding the activities of Tsang officials, it is the same as reported by Khenchung, Drönnyer and Lotsawa and Jampa Tokmé of Namgyel Dratsang. Because of the current ongoing civil war in China, it is hard to predict the Tsang officials' way of thinking, so what [you] plan is to eavesdrop on the situation and carefully observe [it].

Regarding the baseless claims and false rumors to the effect that the Panchen holds [real] control over half of the territories existing under the control of the Government [of Lhasa], [you] intend to publicize [explanations] based on historical facts in the newspapers. If [you are] not able to meet the Panchen in person and tell him about the advantages and disadvantages [of the situation], all conceivable attempts would be made in consultation with the Khenchung, Drönnyer and others. There is also a plan to deliver invitation [to the Panchen] from Mongolian government and send lay and monk officials headed by yourself to invite [him] to Mongolia.

A great minister of the Red Russians named Karakhan has arrived in Peking on an official visit⁶³. If the All-Knowing One is involved [in these matter] while [Karakhan] is signing the treaty with Chinese⁶⁴, this would damage [Tibet's interests]. Therefore, [you] plan to place the matter carefully before the Tatsung⁶⁵. The facts about the above matters are [now] clearly realized and [your actions are] appreciated.

It has been conveyed that it would inappropriate to issue a consent letter to Tsering Dorjé (alias Borisov) and others from Russia who intend to set out for [Tibet], but this has been ignored. A response from the Silön and Kalöns will be conveyed later.

Through novices dispatched from Da Khüree, we have received

63 Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Soviet Russia Lev Karakhan arrived in Peking with official visit on September 2, 1923. See: Reilly, 1980. P. 69.

64 The official purpose of Karakhan's visit to China was to sign a Russo-Chinese agreement of mutual recognition. Ibid. P. 69-70.

65 Hereinafter, Tibetan corrupted rendering of Chinese 大總 – the ruler.

a petition and offerings to mark my 49th birthday⁶⁶; prayers will be made as requested.

Keeping in mind the interests of the Doctrine of Buddha, discuss the course of actions with changing situation seriously with Khenchung, Drönnyer and Lotsawa, who are posted there as before⁶⁷. Keep this in mind.

The letter is written on the auspicious 29th day of the 9th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [October 31, 1924].

[Seal 2]



OF 18604

Specific subject [of the letter]:

From the repeated acts of ignoring the government [orders] on the part of Trashi Lhünpo officials, and from the abridged shusam message of the All-Knowing One who has fled to distant territories, it is clear that although you have talked to the Trashi Lhünpo officials and submitted a petition to the All-Knowing One (in addition to our own previous appeals regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the situation), there is still little hope that they will take all this into consideration. Judging the response letter in which our position is characterized as unfair and motivated by self-interest, they do not understand the [real] sequence of events.

The conflict between the Father and the Son is of no advantage to anyone [among them]. How can it be possible that the All-

66 49th year, according to Tibetan traditional view, is considered as one of the most important in one's life. At the same time, during this year one is a subject of health damage, so special ceremonies should be conducted to avoid negative effect of this year. About Tibetan preparations to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama 49th birthday see: Kozlov, 2003. P. 160-161.

67 Drönnyer Ngawang Chödzin, Yeshe Gyatso and Gedün Kelsang signed the Tibet-Mongol Agreement of 1913 together with Dorzhiev as representatives of Tibet. Most probably, they were members of the delegation mentioned in letter OF 18617. The author instructs Dorzhiev to work in close contact with other members of the delegation of which he is a head.

Knowing One himself would voluntarily commit [such] ignoble acts, breaking the long-existing ties between Father and Son and the contemporary ties between Master and Disciple! Yet under the evil influence of some of his attendants and of [his own] karma, he has misapprehended the [government's perspectives].

Take note of their activities, circumstances, and related matters and immediately report anything that would help the [Government here in Lhasa] to take appropriate steps. Keep in mind the earlier directives and act suitably and appropriately for the [unfolding] situation. Written on the auspicious day of the 11th of the 10th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [November 12, 1924].

[Seal 2]

—◆—
OF 18609

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive [from you] recently, on the 1st day of the 8th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [September 2, 1924], news along with a valuable present decorated with a 5 ruble coin. You have noted the receipt of my letter, sent in the Water-Dog year [1922]. From the hot springs you are going immediately to the north, which is good. I have replied at once to the letter sent to me via Gyurmé.

Kozlov is very eager to go, but it is not known whether he will be given permission, and one has nothing to do with that.

The time is calm. Control is established and power extended through the lands as far as those under Japanese [control]. Although there are many opponents inside and outside, still it is calm.

Your disciple Katup of the Bön tradition⁶⁸, [previously] ordained in Buriatia, is intelligent and has thus been sent to study. He is from a poor family, and so your share of offerings in the monastery has been given to him. But you are also short of food and clothing, and

68 The author applies the Tibetan term Bön to denote Buriat pre-Buddhist traditional beliefs often referred to as Shamanism.

in debt. I hope that you'll be able to live for another one or two years. Note that prayers for your long live have been performed [here].

A protection thread and sacred objects are enclosed along with this letter, written on the auspicious 12th day of the 10th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [November 13, 1924].

[Seal 2]



OF 18598

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive news from you recently, on the 9th day of the 10th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [November 10, 1924]. It is said in [your] letter that you have received the message sent by me. Through the Namgyel monk Jampa Tokmé, we have received drafts of the letters which you have sent to the All-Knowing—both by post and through his attendant Kachen. Concerning this matter, do exactly—no more and no less than—what is said in the recent letter dispatched to you.

Furthermore [you reported that] the arrival of Karakhan, the great minister of the Red Russians, to Peking would strengthen ties of friendship between Russia and China. The surrender of the All-Knowing [to Chinese] if occurred [at this time] would not be good for [Tibet]. So, [you have] briefed [Russians] that the Tsang administration is within the jurisdiction of Lhasa Government, and Red Russians assured to help Tibet as they help other weaker countries. In the same spirit, Red Russians assured you that the above matters relating to the Panchen would also be placed before Wu Peifu and Tatsung. [You further articulated that] there need be no suspicion regarding Red Russians. It is now very clear about the above matters. It is appreciated.

Regarding the instructions of Khenchen Yongdzin Purchok Jampa Rinpoché, I am also aware of them. Bear them in mind.

Written in the auspicious day of the 14th of the 10th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [November 15, 1924].

[Seal 2]



OF 18591

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive [from you] recently, on the 3rd day of the 6th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [July 7, 1924], news and a present of a golden clock decorated with a quality wheel producing various sounds.

Regarding Kozlov mentioned in your letter: the British have been informed that he is a famous traveler, yet it is unclear whether they will respond. As emerged [in a divination test], if other travelers from abroad arrive in Tibet, how Kozlov alone can be stopped? Since his journey will take more than a year, please be sure that the statue of Buddha as a symbol of our friendship has arrived, according to the attached list.

A protection thread, sacred objects and two hand-molded Tsatsa are enclosed along with this letter, written on the auspicious 13th day of the 11th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [December 14, 1924].

[Seal 2]



OF 18593

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive news from you recently, on the 3rd day of the 6th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [July 7, 1924]. It is stated [in your letter that] after having received the letter dispatched from here through Chöndzé Gyurmé and his group, the situation was explained [to them] in detail, [and that they were] allowed to proceed without obstruction and now are staying [there].

Although you have not done anything wrong, people are saying many bad things. Apart from one or two, these [claims] are mere

propaganda.

[As you said in your letter], this man⁶⁹ is also very trustworthy and so [we may] discuss [matters] with him frankly and in detail; this has been done.

[Your letter further says that] chief official Karakhan has gone to Peking to discuss matters relating to Mongolia and Tibet with the Chinese officials. The [situation] is improving when these [kinds of discussions and interactions] are happening. Judging from this fact, there is hope that a stable [situation] will emerge. However, it is difficult to predict what will happen. [We] got it well. Bear this in mind.

Written on the auspicious 13th day of the 11th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [December 14, 1924].

[Seal 2]



OF 18592

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive the news from you recently, on the 3rd day of the 6th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [July 7, 1924]. It is said [in your letter that] the porcelain items sent from here via Chöndzé Lozang Sherap and his group as a gift to the [high] officials over there⁷⁰ have become unserviceable due to their negligence and carelessness. So, you have substituted bronze statues and golden and silver items [for them], which is very good. Moreover, we accept [your suggestion] that whenever gifts are made in the future, they should be of local products.

[Some time ago,] Sönam Dorjé, an assistant of Tsedrön Damnyen Lozang Chöden (the head of Bank of Khüree), was sent there [to Russia] to study technology. [As he was very] intelligent

69 It is hard to say who is implied in this fragment.

70 Most probably, the gifts had been dispatched to the officials of the Buriat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in return to the letter sent by the Buriat-Mongolian Government on June 3 and July 28 of 1923. See: Andreyev, 2003. P. 230.

and diligent, he learned the language and script, and [acquired] basic knowledge pertaining to the preparation of explosive materials during his stay [in Russia]. He [later] returned to Mongolia due to illness, and the government office there paid him a high salary. However, [we] have received a letter from Tsedön informing [us] of his death. Bear this in mind.

Written on the auspicious 13th day of the 11th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [December 14, 1924].

[Seal 2]



OF 18590

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive news from you recently, on the 3rd day of the 6th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [July 7, 1924]. [In your letter, you] discuss a monk named Sangpo of the Great Dürbed, who recently escaped from his native lands to Turkey. [You report that] the opponents of the new regime came to know [about this incident] and took him with them. He [Sangpo] told them that he had taken full ordination vows from you, and that he had been your disciple and had received many teachings from you, but [that when] you objected to his consuming alcohol, he started disliking and rebuking [you]. Concerning your request that this incident not be misunderstood, [I would say] that it is natural, and [that you] need not be worried.

Borisov, who has arrived here, is a man of great knowledge and is trusted by his country. As for Bayartu, he is a man of deep faith and he, too, is your disciple. Therefore, [we have] had a discussion on the future course of events, as you suggested.

Concerning [your request] for receiving Kozlov behind the Dangla range, a decision will be made depending on the situation.

[I am] aware of the fact that Lozang Sherap is a knowledgeable man and [he] is also trusted by the Nation. Befitting letters can be dispatched to him from here from time to time, whenever this is

necessary. Bear this in mind.

The letter is written on the auspicious 13th day of the 11th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [December 14, 1924].

[Seal 2]



OF 18588

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I was glad to receive news from you recently, on the 3rd day of the 6th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [July 7, 1924]. It has been stated that the thirty thousand currency notes and another ten thousand Tibetan currency notes [received from us] for the construction of new temples must be repaid. Yet, knowing the above fact, [you] wrote that, [you] presumed it to be a gift [from us]. Then, later you wrote [again], saying that you ought to repay us forty thousand Tibetan currency notes. Now you [object to this repayment], using as a pretext your impoverishment due to the civil strife in your country. These kinds of evil excuses are not good. Taking into consideration the kindness [of the Dalai Lama], [the relation of] Teacher and Disciple, and [the bond of your] spiritual pledge, with all possible and best means and measures you must clearly reimburse the amount. Bear this in mind.

The letter is written on the auspicious 13th day of the 11th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [December 14, 1924].

[Seal 2]



OF 18594

Specific subject [of the letter]:

According to your letter sent from Peking on the 15th day of the 9th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [October 17, 1924] and received by us on the 16th day of the 10th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [November 17, 1924], you have set off to Peking to have an audience with the All-Knowing Panchen Rinpoché. However, [you report that] due to the conflict [in China], the Panchen failed to depart from Lanzhou to Peking. Unable to meet him in person, you have forwarded two letters to him, thoroughly explaining the advantages and disadvantages [of the situation] to the Panchen's officials who have arrived there. [You] have also discussed this with Wu Peifu through other channels, and have [given assurance that] all required forms of help and support would be offered in the event that the Panchen were to visit Mongolia. [You also stated that] there is no need to worry over the Red Russians or hold them in suspicion, since the people over there have truly shouldered a strong sense of responsibility and devotion toward the Buddha doctrine. Here, [we] too are glad about that.

Regarding this matter, [it is the same as mentioned] in the earlier letter from [the Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso] bearing his sidam seal⁷¹, and in the detailed letter from here [i.e., from our office⁷²]. The All-Knowing has suddenly fled to a distant land over a minor issue, without taking into consideration any of the following: the relationship between Teacher and Disciple; [the interest of] Buddhist doctrine in general and particular; [matters of] prestige inside and outside [the country], and loyalty. Thus, it is a matter causing great grief and sorrow.

However, at this time, due to [our] faith, the spiritual pledge between Father and Son, and successive correspondence on your part, [the All-Knowing] may [at last] have thoroughly considered the

71 Letter OF 18607 dated April 27, 1924.

72 Letter OF 18603 dated April 24, 1924.

immediate and long term consequences [of the situation]; he should have responded in detail. Please, send us the detailed response [you have] received from [the Panchen].

In case [the Panchen] is still heeding the words of [his] officials, who do not comprehend the issue, [then the situation is] like a sacred golden pot filled with poisonous water. [If no sign of] change of in his thought [is detected], and if [he] still intends to collaborate with the Chinese government as before, [then you should] thoroughly investigate their activities and inform us immediately from time to time, as this would help us to take appropriate action. Furthermore, as before, [you should] continue to uphold [your] responsibility, obligation and devotion to the cause of Buddhist doctrine and diplomatic affairs.

Written on the auspicious 1st day of the 12th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [January 1, 1925].

[Seal 3]



OF 18589

Addendum:

In the attachment, it is said that the Tantra College is established in the monasteries over there, following the regulations and practices of Gyümé Dratsang, but [that you] could not invite Teachers for the education process from afar. A joint appeal letter from the monks and lay followers of four monasteries has [now] been received, [formally] requesting that Gyümé Geshé Sherap Sangpo be sent [back to Buriatia]. This issue will be considered subsequently. Moreover, a big golden wheel dispatched by you as a contribution to the ongoing project of carving the new blockprints of the Kangyur⁷³ has been received; [its receipt has been] acknowledged and registered in the government book.

73 Lhasa edition of Kangyur completed in 1934.

As for the request to print six complete sets of the Kangyur for each of the six monasteries over there⁷⁴ upon payment, this matter will [also] be considered subsequently. Bear this in mind.

[Seal 2]



OF 18578

Specific subject [of the letter]:

I am glad to receive news from you recently, on the 22nd day of the 12th month of the Tibetan Wood-Mouse year [January 22, 1925], together with a blue Mongolian Khatak, two table covers of the best traditional quality embroidered with a pattern of white roses, and one small golden slim belt. It is said [in your letter that] at the time the news of the Panchen's flight to Lower Tibet reached your lands, [you also] heard [a rumor that] I too had escaped to Lower Tibet. [You report that] you were, however, relieved to learn from the government office that these rumors about my escape were untrue. [As you write further,] being unable to withstand the [pain] of relations between the Father and Son being disgraced and disturbed, you recommended during your visit to Da Khüree that the Mongols and the Tibetans [jointly] go to Peking. If [we fail] to invite the Panchen to Khalkha before he is misled by the Chinese, the country of Tibet could definitely be lost. Thus, [you] intend to visit [Peking] to convince the attendants and officials of the [Panchen] about the advantages and disadvantages [of the situation]. [As you write,] even if [your] life were to be lost in Peking, you would have not the slightest regret, if it would serve the purpose of restoring mutual trust and confidence between the Father and Son. This is very good. There is strong apprehension that in case of a civil war, power may be taken by others. However, what will happen in the near and distant future is not known.

74 In Transbaikalia.

The developing news concerning [the criticism of] the Red Russians would not alter my thought. However, there are many rumors circulating here that the Red Russians have damaged Buddhism greatly, and that you also stand on their side. As [I] do not take these [rumors] to be true, do not worry about them. The Red Russians have set their mind against Christianity, and they all respect Buddhism. Therefore, the Russian Government has approved the resolutions adopted by you and by other experts during the All-Buddhist Congress regarding [certain] rules and regulations that are not merely ornamental but follow the example set by Sera, Drepung and Ganden. [I] appreciate that this has come to pass. However, some thoughtless [officials] are behaving one-sidedly; to the displeasure of Mongolian chieftains, local authorities are not issuing official permits. Even if these permits were to be issued, I am sure that it would be no simple matter to resolve all the problems quickly, owing to idiosyncrasies among the local officials.

Mongolian students who were good in their studies [and who were sent to Tibet] to study in the Gyüpa Dratsang⁷⁵ have not returned. [I] understand your disappointment and anguish [at this]. Nevertheless, with the motivation [to work] for the sake of Buddha doctrine, it is fitting for you to discriminate right and wrong. Moreover, concerning Gyütö Geshé Sherap Nyingpo, it is good that [he] is very helpful to the Buddha doctrine and to living beings. Concerning the granting of permission for Ritsé Zasad of Torgod [and his team, this matter] will gradually be clarified. Bear this in mind.

A protection thread, sacred objects, and three pills of precious medicine are enclosed along with this letter, written on the auspicious 7th day of the 2nd month of the Tibetan Wood-Ox year [April 1, 1925].

[Seal 2]



75 Tantra colleges Gyütö and Gyümé.

OF 18606-1

Copy of the Letter on Trashi Lhünpo monastery circulated by the public⁷⁶.



OF 18606-2

It is said in Mani Kabum and [other] sutras and tantras, that our Great Teacher Śakyamuni before attaining nirvana prophesied to Great Compassionate Avalokiteśvara that the bodhisattva-mahasattva Avalokiteśvara would [in the future] subdue this dark, evil land of Tibet. In accordance [with this prediction], a son of King Śatayuddha, born as the fifth generation of the King Udayana of India came to Tibet and was proclaimed [as the first king of Tibet, named] Lord Nyatri Tsenpo⁷⁷. He was followed by Lhatotori, Tro Nyendeu, Takri Nyenzik, Namri Songtsen, Chögyel Songtsen Gampo, Gungri Gungtsen, Mangsong Mangtsen, Dusong Mangpo, Tridé Tsukten, Meagtsom, Trisong Deutsen, Muné Tsenpo, Mutik Tsenpo, Senalek Jingyön, Ngadak Trel, the elder brother Lang Darma, Ösung, Ngadak Pelkhortsen, Kyidé Nyimagön who left for Ngari and ruled the area. [His] youngest son was Detsugön; his son named Khoré, who later received monastic vows and was known as Yeshé Ö. In general, there was no centralized power in Tibet for 300 years after Lang Darma. Though the royal lineage was never interrupted, the state was shattered to pieces.

Then, a personified incarnation of Avalokiteśvara Great Buddha Gendün Drup⁷⁸ established Trashi Lhünpo monastery and simultaneously settled the community of monks. He was guided in his endeavors toward performing deeds for the sake of the Doctrine and sentient beings, above and beyond his propagation

76 Another copy of this letter obtained from the Private of H.H. The Dalai Lama, Dharamsala is preserved in LTWA collection, Acc. No. 415, Box.10.

77 Here and below a list of Tibetan legendary and historical kings of Yarlung dynasty is given.

78 The First Dalai Lama (1391-1475).

of the theoretical and practical aspects of the sutras and tantras of the precious Dharma. While his work of holding, protecting and spreading [of the Dharma] was underway, he passed away to the dharmadhatu. Each of his three disciples—Sangpo Trashi, Lungrik Gyatso and Yeshé Tsemo—was successively honored with the title “Panchen,” and were appointed by the government to be holders of the Trashi Lhünpo monastery. After that, His Holiness the Second Dalai Lama Gendün Gyatso administered the Trashi Lhünpo monastery and performed many deeds for the sake of the Doctrine and sentient beings; moreover, he established the Chökhorgyel temple [at the dwelling place of] Penden Lhamo and other Dharma protectors. Due to his activities [in Lhasa], he bestowed the title of Panchen onto his disciple Yeshé Tsemo, and appointed him abbot of Trashi Lhünpo. He was [subsequently] invited to Trashi Lhünpo by Yeshé Tsemo, and at the time of his departure back to Ü he appointed his disciple Lhatsün Lozang. Wensapa Lozang Chögyel became the tutor of the Fifth Dalai Lama and was [also] appointed as an abbot of Trashi Lhünpo. By an order [of the Fifth Dalai Lama], he was given all the religious estates [connected with the site], together with the monastic communities [in residence there]. Therefore, [as] the Kadam Lekbam clearly states, until now, the relationship [between the Dalai and Panchen Lamas] has been continuous.

[Recently], the Trashi Lama, having secretly taken a northern route through Tibet, fled together with 100 monks well-equipped with guns. Many Tibetans are [now] vigorously discussing what could be the reason for this action. Some people are claiming that it is due to the government making his situation unbearable.



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Others deny this, arguing [instead] that during the departure of the Dalai Lama to China, Mongolia and India, the Trashi Lama—together with an attendant named Lozang—bribed the ambans Lian Ang and Zhong to request the Chinese emperor to grant the

Trashi Lama power over the Tibetan Government and dispatch his attendant Tsamdön to Peking. This story became well known in other countries of the world; therefore, fearing that the government would investigate this, he escaped.

During the visit of the Dalai Lama to India, the Trashi Lama was invited to Lhasa by Amban Lian. They [i.e., the Amban and the Trashi Lama] have removed the throne of the many successive Dalai Lamas in the Potala and installed the new throne of the Trashi Lama—on which he has sat and given public audiences. [On discovering this,] people were shocked and tearfully wept. Because of some disagreement between the father of the Panchen named Tamdrin who held the position of Rimshi and some other officials of Trashi Lhünpo, Panchen's father was imprisoned in Lhatsé Dzong. Subsequently, Trashi Lama issued a sealed order to kill them; though the Tibetan government received the order, it did not investigate the letter.

In the Buddhist tradition, one should regard his teacher as a Buddha, and obey all his precepts without opposition. But the Trashi Lama, who has no respect towards the Dalai Lama, has secretly escaped. It is clear, then, that the previous [actions] of the Trashi Lama and his officials neglect not only the law of the state, but the law of Dharma. Various acts of disobedience, and the fear that the government would investigate these misdeeds, could be reasons for his escape. Some people say that he fled because Trashi Lhünpo had not [previously] paid for military expenditures due to the war, and because the government is now strongly demanding that Trashi Lhünpo cover these costs—and it is unable to pay.

Some people say that the real residence of the Panchen Lamas is a small monastery called Wengön, and that the so-called Trashi Lhünpo was newly constructed by the First Dalai Lama to locate some statues and religious sculptures along with monk's community which was financially supported by the government. The Trashi Lama Yeshé Tsemo and the successive Dalai Lama were disciple and teacher. Thus the Fifth Dalai Lama appointed the incarnation of Wensapa Lozang Chögyel as a head lama of the Trashi Lhünpo, and

since then successive incarnations are known as Panchen Lamas. The title Panchen Lama—which is [indebted to the] Indian [term] “paṇḍita”—was bestowed by the Dalai Lama.

The military expenditure [mentioned earlier] should be paid by Trashi Lhünpo, since it possesses a lot of estates. [And there is a longstanding precedent:] in earlier periods, during and after the war with Mughal-Ladakh and Nepal⁷⁹, the Gyütö and Gyümé Dratsangs [of] the three monasteries Sera, Drepung, and Ganden, the aristocratic families of the government officials, and Trashi Lhünpo all equally contributed to cover the expenses [of fighting]. After that, when successive wars occurred, each one paid their part of the expenses [incurred]. Thus, Tibetan government collects military expenses when [this is] required; it is not the government who imposes taxes that everyone ought to pay. The people say many things like this that has nothing to do with [ordinary people]. [1924-1925]



79 The first Tibet-Gorkha War of 1788-1792, the second Tibet-Gorkha War 1855-1856, Tibet-Dogra War 1841-1842.

Tibetan texts



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ཉེ་དུས་རྒྱ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་གསར་གནས་ཇི་བྱུང་ཤོག་ལྟེ་བཀོད་པར། ལམས་ཕྱོགས་སུ་རྒྱ་
 དཔོན་གྲུའོ་དོན་དམག་ནས་གཞུང་ལྟེ་སྤར་མཛོ་གསང་གསུམ། ཆབ་བྲག་སོགས་ལ་
 ས་ཁྲལ་ཕྱོགས་ཁྲལ་གསར་འགོལ་ཐད་སྤུས་གཞུང་འབབ་ལས་བརྒྱ་འདབ་ཅམ་གྱི་
 ལྷར་བ་དང་། དེ་མཚུངས་ཉག་རོང་ས་ལྟེ་གྲང་གོལ་གོང་མའི་བཀའ་འབྲེལ་རྒྱ་ལོག་དུ་
 འདུག་རྒྱར་ཁྱོད་རང་ཉག་སྤྱི་རོ་ལས་ཉིན་གངས་གྱི་བཅད་དེ་བོད་དུ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བྱས་ན་
 དང་། དེ་མིན་དཔུང་གི་མཐར་བསྐོལ་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཞེས་ག་ཅེ་རིམ་བཏང་ཐོག་ཉག་ལྟེ་འགོ་
 བརྟགས་(མགོ་བཏགས་)ལ་རིམ་འཕྱོར་དགོས་རྒྱུའི་སློ་ཡིག་ཁག་ལྟེ་སྤར་དེ་བཅན་བཤེད་
 བགྱིས་པར། ཉག་ཕྱོགས་ནས་དེ་ལྟར་མ་དགོས་པའི་མི་ཡིག་རིམ་མངགས་ཐབས་ཤེས་
 རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་རིམ་བརྒྱུད་གང་ཟབ་བྱས་འདུག་གྲང་མཐར་སྤྱེལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་དཔོན་གྲང་སྤར་རིན་
 དཔོན་དམག་རྣམ་ ༩ ཚེས་དགུལ་ལ་ཐོན་ཐོན་ཁར། གྲུའོ་དང་། ཉུང་ཨམ་བན་གཉིས་རྣམ་
 ༥ ཚེས་ཤར་བཅས་སུ་ཉག་རོང་དུ་འཕྱོར་ཉེ་ཉག་སྤྱི་རོ་ལས་ཕྱིར་འབྲུད་གྱིས་རྒྱ་དཔོན་
 དམག་བརྒྱུག་ཉེ་ས་ཞིང་རྟ་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཆབ་བྲག་བཞིན་ཁྲལ་འགོལ་བྱེད་ལུས། འགོ་བ་
 ལྟེ་དཔོན་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་དཔོན་འབངས་གཉིས་གཞོན་ལས་དགེ་མཚན་མེད་ལུགས་
 ཕྱིར་འཐེན་གྱི་མེ་སེར་བྱིངས་ཁོངས་སུ་བརྒྱུག་འདུག། ཉག་རོང་རྩིས་ལེན་གྱིས་ཞག་
 བདུན་སོང་མཚམས་གྲུའོ་ཨེར་ཕུང་སི་ཁོན་ཅོང་ཕུར་བསྐོད་ཐོན་ཐོག་ལྷག་ལ་སོགས་
 མདོ་ཁམས་སུ་སི་ཚང་མ་ཕྱིར་འབྲུད་གྱི་རྒྱ་དཔོན་བསྐོས་ནས་ཁྲལ་འགོལ་དང་། ཉག་
 སྤྱི་རོ་ལས་རྣམས་ད་ལྟ་ལྟ་སར་འཕྱོར་ཉེ། ལན་ཨམ་བན་ནས་ཉེ་དུས་རྩ་ཚིགས་བཀྲམ་

དོན་དཔལ་ཤོད་ནས། གོང་འབྲུག་ས་མཚམས་བར་དབྱས་གཙང་ཁམས་གོང་ས་གནས་
 འདུ་འགག་ཁག་ཏུ་སླིས་ཟེའི་གོན་ཞེས་པའི་རྒྱ་དཔོན་ལས་ཁྲུངས་གསར་འཛུགས་གྱིས་
 ཀུན་རྒྱལ་མི་གསོད། ས་ཞིང་སྐོར། གོ་མག་ཉེད་ཚ་བཅས་བྲིམས་གཙོད་བྱ་རྒྱུར། རྒྱུག་
 ལུང་མི་ཚོག་པའི་རྩ་ཚིགས་བཀའ་ཐོག་བོད་ཀྱི་དབང་ཆ་འཕྲོག་ཏེ་བྲིམས་བསྐྱར་བྱེད་
 ལུགས། གཞུང་ཁོངས་དང་། མི་མེར་ཁག་གི་ཤིང་ཆ་དབང་ཡོད་ཀྱིས་སྲུངས་ཏེ་ལྷ་སའི་
 གཡས་གཡོན་དུ་དམག་སྐྱར་ཁག་མང་རྒྱག་ལུགས། ལྷ་བ་གཉིས་གསུམ་རེའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་
 ཐོགས་དུལ། རྩས་མདེལ་རྒྱབ་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་སྐྱེལ་མི་དང་སྐྱགས་དམག་མི་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་
 རེ་འབྱོར་ལུགས། རྩོ་རྒྱ་གཡུལ་འཕྲུགས་ཐད་བར་མོལ་བྱེད་པོ་དཔལ་འབར་སྐུལ་སྐྱུ། རྒྱལ་
 རྩོན་སྐུལ་སྐྱུ་གཉིས་ནས་འདུམ་སློགས་བྱེད་འདུག་ལུགས། རྒྱ་དམག་བོད་འབྱོར་ལ་བརྟེན་
 ཁམས་གཞུང་མི་མེར་རྒྱམས་རྟ་ཁལ་ཁྲལ་སའི་དཀའ་སྦྱོངས་ཐོག་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཉག་ཕྱས་འདུ་
 ཁལ་རེར་དུལ་སྲུང་གང་ཞོ་ལྷ་རེ་དང་། གོང་པོར་འབྲུ་ཁལ་རེར་སྲུང་གང་རེ་བྱེད་པའི་
 སྐྱུ་པམ་གྱི་རྒྱ་དམག་རྩོ་ཐོགས་ཐག་རིང་ནས་ཐག་ལས་དང་། བྱ་ཕག་ཐོགས་ལ་སྐུས་རིན་
 བྱེད་རིན་ཅམ་སྲུང་དེ་འདྲེན་ཁལ་ནར་གཏོང་བྱེད་དགོས་ཐོགས་གྱི་མི་མེར་རྒྱུན་ནད་མི་
 ཐེག་པ་བཟོ་ལུགས་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཅེར་དབྱིན་དཔོན་ངོ་འཁོར་གྱི་ཉེར་མཁོ་སྐྱོན་འབྱུང་ལུགས་
 ཐོགས་ཚིང་དོན་བཞིན་གཞུང་གནས་ནས་དོ་དམ་བསྐོས་ཏེ་སྐུས་ཚོང་བྱེད་ལུགས་ལ་ལྷ་
 ༦ བར་པའ་ཚེན་ལྷ་ས་ནས་བྱིར་ཕེབས་སྐྱབས་དམག་ཅན་དུས་དེ་སྔ་པའ་ཚེན་རྒྱ་གར་
 ཕེབས་དུས་དབྱིན་གཞུང་ནས་དུལ་གཡས་བཞེས་སྐྱིན་ཚབ་ལྷ་དུག་རིང་ཉེར་མཁོ་
 འབྲུ་འབབ་བཀའ་སྲུང་སྐོད་རྒྱུར་གཞུང་ནས་འདོན་སྐོད་མི་ཚོག་པའི་རྩ་ཚིགས་སྐྱར་ཏེ་
 དམ་སྐྱགས་བྱེད་པ། བཀའ་ཚབ་གུང་ཐང་པའི་ལྷ་སའི་ཤག་དངོས་ལ་དོ་དམ་སྐོན་བྱས་
 ཐོག་ཏེ་དུས་གཞིས་ཁག་རྒྱམས་ཅིས་ལེན་དུ་རྒྱ་དཔོན་བཏང་འདུག་པ་ཐོགས་དོན་སྦྱིང་
 ལྷ་སར་སྤིད་སྐོན་ལས་ཁྲུངས་ཁག་མིང་གཞུགས་ལྷ་བུ་ལས་བྱི་ནང་གང་སར་དབང་བྱས་
 རྒྱ་སྐྱོགས་ནས་འདོད་དབང་བྱེད་ཀྱང་གི་སྐོད་སྲུང་མི་མེར་ཚང་མ་རྐང་འགོ་ལག་འདོན་

1 པའ་ཚེན་ ༡༩༡༡ ལོར་རྒྱལ་དབང་སྐྱེད་པའི་ ༡༩ པའ་ཚེན་པོ་མཚོག་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཕེབས་སྐྱབས་ལྷ་ས་ནས་གཙང་དུ་བྱིར་ཕེབས།
 2 ༡༩༠༩ དང་ ༡༩༠༩ ལོར་དབྱིན་བོད་དམག་འཕྲུགས་རྩོས་ ༡༩༠༦ ལོའི་བྱི་རྒྱ་དང་པོའི་ནང་པའ་ཚེན་རྒྱ་གར་རྒྱལ་སྐུ་ལེ་ག་
 ཏར་ཕེབས།

གྱི་ཁྲུལ་རིགས་འཕར་འགོལ་རབས་བསིགས་ཆེ་གཤིན་སློ་ལོག་འུ་ཐུག་ཁོན་བཅས་གྱི་
གསར་འགྱུར་རྣམས་སྟོན་བཅགས་ཅི་ནས་ཡོད་པ་བྱེད།།



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ལ་ཡིག། བར་གནད་ལྷ་ཟིན་ངོ་བཤུག།

ཡངས་པའི་ས་ཆེན་བདེ་བར་སྐྱོད་བ་ཅུ་སི་ཡགོང་མ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་མོ་མཚོག་གི་བྱང་དུ།
བར་གནད་ཆེད་དུ་གསོལ་བ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ནས་འདས་ལོ་ ༡༩༠༡ ལ་བཀའ་
ཡིག་གནད་བར་བོད་སྡེངས་སུ་ཕན་འདོགས་མཛད་ཆུ་འཁོད་པ་ལྟར་ངོས་ཏུ་ལའི་
སླ་མ་དབྱིན་ཇི་པས་བོད་ལ་འཚེར་བར་བརྟེན་སོག་ཡུལ་དུ་བསྐྱོད་སྐབས་གཟེངས་
སྟོད་(བསྟོད)་ཅི་ཆེའི་སྲུང་དམག་དང་འགྲོ་སྟོད་གྱི་སློབ་སྟོན། བོད་ཕན་གྱི་ཅུ་དབྱིན་
ཆིང་(ཆིངས)་ཡིག་འཛོག་གནད། དི་ཅིང་དུ་བསྐྱོད་སྐབས་གཟེངས་སུ་བསྟོད་པའི་
རོགས་ཕན། ལྷག་པར་རྒྱ་གར་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བསྐྱོད་སྐབས་རྒྱ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བཀའ་མོལ་གནད་
བས་མཚོན་ངོས་ཏུ་ལའི་སླ་མ་དང་། བོད་སྡེངས་བསྟན་སྲིད་ལ་སྲ་ཕྱིར་ཕན་པའི་བརྒྱན་
ཆེན་པོ་གནད་བ་སྟོང་བཅངས་གྱི་བོད་ཡ་རྒྱལ་ཁག་དུ་དེབ་ལ་བཀོད་དེ་རིམ་བཞིན་
སྐྱ་ངོན་བསབ་རྒྱ་ཡ་རྒྱལ་སྟོན་མོལ་བསྐྱར་ཟིན་སོག་ཅུ་བོད་ཡ་རྒྱལ་ཁག་ཕན་ཚུན་
མཐུན་ཞིབ་ཉེ་འབྲེལ་ཇི་སྲིད་ནམ་གནས་བར་འགྱུར་མེད་མཛད་རྒྱའི་ཆིང་(ཆིངས)་

3 ཅུ་ལྷའི་གོང་མ་མི་ཀོ་ལས་གཉིས་པར་གོང་ས་སྐྱ་ཕྱིང་ ༡༡ པ་ཆེན་པོས་སྐུལ་བའི་བཀའ་ཡིག་གི་བཀའ་ལན་ ༡༩༠༡ ལྱི་ ༥
ཆེས་ ༩ ལ་སྐུལ་བདེ་ཡིན། ཡིག་འདི་གཉིས་ཀ་ཅུ་བོད་འབྲེལ་བའི་སྐོར་ཡིག་ཆ་ ༡༡༡ ཙམ་Rossia I Tibet ཞེས་
པའི་དཔེ་དེབ་ནང་དཔར་བསྟན་ཞུས་འདུག།
4 ༡༩༠༡ དང་ ༡༩༠༩ དབྱིན་དམག་ལྷ་སར་ལྷགས་པར་བརྟེན་གོང་ས་མཚོག་སོག་ཡུལ་ལ་ཕེབས།
5 ༡༩༠༥ ལོར་གོང་ས་མཚོག་སྐྱ་ཕྱིང་ ༡༡ པ་ཆེན་པོ་མང་ཁུ་མེང་ཞེས་པའི་ཕྱི་སོག་གི་ས་ཁུལ་དུ་ཕེབས་སྐབས་ཅུ་རྒྱལ་ཁག་
ནས་སོག་རིགས་ལྷ་རི་ཡ་དའི་སྲུང་དམག་ ༡༠ དང་། ལོ་གཅིག་རྗེས་སྲུང་དམག་གྲངས་སྟར་གྱིས་ ༡༠ བདར་ཡོད།
6 ༡༩༠༥ ལོར་ཅུ་དབྱིན་བར་བཞག་པའི་ཆིངས་ཡིག།
7 གོང་ས་མཚོག་སོག་ཡུལ་དུ་བཞགས་རིང་སོག་པོ་མཚན་ཞབས་རྫོང་ཨེ་ཨེ་བ་དང་སོག་ཡུལ་གནས་སྟོད་ཅུ་ལྷའི་གཞུང་ཚབ་
གཉིས་ནས་གོང་ས་མཚོག་དང་ཅུ་ལྷའི་དཔོན་རིགས་བར་འབྲེལ་འབྲུད་དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་དུ་གནས་སྟོད་ཅུ་ལྷའི་གཞུང་ཚབ་ནས་
རྒྱ་གཞུང་དང་གོང་ས་མཚོག་བར་འབྲེལ་འབྲུད་གནད་ཡོད་འདུག།
8 རྒྱ་དམག་བོད་ལ་ལྷགས་པས་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ ༡༩༡༠ ནས་ ༡༩༡༡ བར་ཕེབས།

ཡིག་བཞག་རྒྱ་ཐག་ཚོད་པ་དང་། དེང་སྐབས་བོད་ཡུལ་ཁང་རང་བཅོན་པ་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་
 ཐད་དགོངས་བསྟུན་འབྲུལ་དུ་རྗེས་བསྐྱུགས་བཟུ་སེམས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་ཡང་དབྱིན་ཇི་
 རྫོ་སྤྱག་བོད་འདི་ཕྱི་རྒྱ་ཁོངས་དགོས་ལྷགས་བརྗོད་སྟེ་སྤྱད་སྟེ་སྤྱད་སྟེ་སྤྱད་སྟེ་སྤྱད་སྟེ་
 དག་ཆས་ཐོགས་ཐོབ་ཆགས་སུ་མ་ཚུད་ཀོང་དབྱིན་ཇིས་རྒྱ་མི་དང་། གོར་འབྲུག་གི་
 ཁོག་པར་ཁྱུགས་ཏེ་བསྟུན་འདོགས་འཁྲུགས་ཚོད་ཟ་སེམས་བྱས་དྲོགས་སློ་གཡེངས་ཆེ་
 ལྟབས་ནང་གནད་སློབ་སྟོན་ཁྱེ་བར་མཚན་ཞབས་མཁན་ཆེ་དང་། མི་སྣ་ཆེད་རྗོད་ཁྱེ་
 དགོས་བྱུང་ལགས་ན་དེ་ཁ་ནས་དབྱིན་རྒྱལ་དང་། བཀའ་མོལ་ཐོག་ནས་མི་སྣར་ཡང་
 བཀའ་སློབ་ཀྱི་འབྲུལ་དུ་བོད་ཡུལ་ཁང་རང་བཅོན་ཡིན་པའི་རྗེས་སྐྱུགས་ཐོག་ལྟ་རབ་
 ཅུ་དབྱིན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གཉིས་ནས་ལྟ་སར་སྐྱ་ཚབ་འདོག་གནང་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེ་ཡང་ཅུ་
 དབྱིན་ཆིང་(ཆིངས་)་བཞག་གིས་མཛད་བདེ་མེད་ཆེ་སྟེ་མ་ནི། ༡་ལོ་ལ། ༡ེ་ལོ་ལོགས་
 ཆིང་(ཆིངས་)་ཁོངས་མ་ཚུད་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁག་ཤུགས་ལུས་ཐོན་དེས་སུ་ཅུ་སུ་ནས་བཀའ་
 མོལ་གནང་སྟེ་བོད་དུ་མི་སྣ་གཏོང་རྒྱ་དང་། བོད་ཡུལ་ཁང་སྟེར་བཅོན་ཟིན་པར་ཕྱི་
 རྒྱལ་ཁག་ནས་རོགས་པན་ལས་ས་མི་འབྲོག་བཅོམ་མི་བྱེད་པ་ཅུ་དབྱིན་ཆིང་(ཆིངས་)་
 ཡིག་ལྟར་སོར་གནས་ཀྱི་རོགས་མགོན་སྤྱགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་བ་ཁྱེ་རྒྱ། དེ་ཁ་ཡུལ་ཁབ་ཆེན་
 པོ་ནས་མེ་མདའ་དག་ཆས། ལྷག་པར་རྣམ་མདེལ་མི་ཉུང་བ་སྤྱད་ཆོང་དོན་སྤྱིན་སོན་
 པ། དམག་རྩིས་སློབ་མི་དགེ་ཚུན་ཁ་ཤས་ནང་བསྟུན་ཆོས་བྱེད་ཁོངས་ནས་གནང་བདེ་
 ཡོད་ཆེ་འདི་ག་ནས་ཐོགས་ཐོབ་འབྲུལ་རྒྱ། སྟོན་ཁྱེ་དུལ་སྟོང་སྤྱག་བརྒྱ་སྟོར་ཐོག་
 ས་ཡ་གཅིག་ལོན་པ་གཡར་པོ་ཡོད་པ། ལོ་ལག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གཞན་ནས་ཉེ་རྒྱབ་བཟུ་དགོས་
 ཆེ་ཡུལ་ཁབ་ཆེན་པོའི་ས་ཐོག་འདོན་འདེན་ཆོག་པའི་བཀའ་འཁོལ་ཁྱེ་རྒྱ་མ་ཟད་
 མཚན་ཞབས་ཅན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཏུ་མི་སྣར་སྟོན་རྒྱུའི་ལག་འཁྲེར་སྟོན་ཡོད་ཐོག་ནང་དོན་
 གསང་ཆ་དགོས་གཤིས་འཕར་བསྟོན་གཅིག་དང་། ཕྱི་རྒྱུར་བསྟུན་དོན་སྟོར་འབྲོས་
 མོལ་ཆོག་པའི་ལག་འཁྲེར་སྟེད་པ་ལྟར་དབྱིན་ཇིས་མི་འདོད་པའི་སྤྱག་དོག་ཤིན་ཏུ་
 ཆེ་ཅུང་ཕྱིན་ཆད་བོད་དོན་སྟོར་གསང་བ་མི་དགོས་པར་མཛོན་ཆེ་བྱས་འབྲུས་བྱུང་ན་

9 1904 ལོར་གོང་ས་མཚོག་རྒྱ་ནག་ལ་ཕེབས་སྐབས་ཅུ་སུ་གཞུང་ནས་དུལ་སྟོང་ 110000 གཡར་པོ་ཁྱེ་ཡོད་པའི་སྟོར་ཅུ་
 ལུ་ཡིག་ཆར་གསལ།

བྱེད་བདེ་ཡོང་གནད་ལ་རོགས་པ་ན་ན་ཉན་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཆེ་བ། སྤྱོད་ནས་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་
གཉིས་མཐུན་ལམ་ཆེ་བ་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ཚོང་ཚོག་འབྲུལ་རྒྱག་སོགས་གཏན་དུ་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་
ཆིང་(ཆིངས)་ཡིག་ལྷུར་དུ་བཞག་སྤྱོད་པ་ཅིས་ཀྱང་ཡོད་པ་མཐུན། གཟིགས་རྟེན་ལྷ་གོས་
དང་། འབྲུལ་རྟེན་ཐོ་རྒྱུར་གསལ་བཅས་རྣམས་བཟང་པོར་སྤྱུལ།



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ཁ་ཡིག་། མཐུན་ཡངས་མཚན་ཞབས་མཁན་ཆེ་མཚོག་ལ།

༄༅། ཆེད་ལྷ། ཉིད་ནས་བསྟན་མིན་གལ་ཆེ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་བཅས་(བཅངས)་ལམ་བར་ཤར་
ཐེབས་ཐོག་སྟོང་འཁོར་བརྒྱུད་བཅས་ཀྱི་དཔོན་འགོར་བསྟན་དོན་ལར་རྒྱ་གཅིག་ལྷུར་
ཡོང་བའི་ཐབས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ཚན་རྣམས་སྟོན་གནད་སོགས་བཀའ་དགོངས་ལེགས་
འབྲུབ་(བྲུབ)་བྱུང་ལུགས་དང་དཔོན་ཁག་ལ་གོ་མིང་སྤྱུལ་འཆར་བཅས་ལ་གོང་ས་
སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཆེན་པོར་ཞིབ་ཆའི་སྟན་ལ། རོ་སྤྱོད་མོང་ལའང་གནས་སྤྱོད་བཅས་མི་
སྤྱོད་གཉེར་གདོང་འབྱོར་བར་བཀའ་ལན་གནས་སྤྱོད་བཅས་སྤྱུལ་བེན་ཞིང་། དེ་
རྩིས་སྤྱོད་ལ་ཉོ་སྤྱོད་གོ་མིང་ཐོག་སྤྱོད་ཆབ་དུ་ཐེབས་བེན་ལུགས་ནང་ཁང་དུ་ཡང་ཡིག་
གནད་འབྱོར་བསྟན་མིན་ལ་པན་རེ་སྟོན་བདེར་སྤྱོད་གཉིས་དེ་འབྲུལ་གནས་སྤྱོད་སྤྱུལ་
བ་འབྱོར་ཤག དཔྱིན་རི་རྒྱལ་སྟོན་ལ་ལེགས་འབྲུལ་དོན་གཅོད་མི་སྤྱོད་ཅིས་པ་ལྱང་
ཤར་སྟོན་སྤྱོད་བཅས་ཆེད་རྫོང་གི་བོད་ཀྱི་འཇུགས་ཅའི་འབྲུང་ཁུང་དང་། བར་ལམ་
རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འབྲས་(འལ)་ཁྱུང་གསོད་བརྫོད་འདས་བྱུང་ལུགས། དཔྱིན་ས་སྤེ་ཁྱེ་ཁྱེས་
གསུམ་བཅན་འཕྲོག་བྱེད་གཞིའི་རྒྱ་དམག་བཏང་(གཏང)་མི་ཚོག་པས་མཚོན་བྱུང་དང་
འབྲུང་འགྱུར་མཐའ་དག་འཚོམ (མཚོར)་མེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་དོན་བྱེད་སྟོན་ཐོག་རྩིས་ཞིབ་སྤྱོད་
དང་འབྲེལ་བས་དཔྱིན་རིས་ཅུ་སྤྱོད་བོད་ཕྱོགས་ནས་སྤྱོད་བཅོལ་བྱས་དོགས་སྤྱོད་བྱུང་
ད་མིན་ཀྱི་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་ཞིབ་མངགས་ཀྱི་ཉིད་སྤྱོད་དུ་རོ་བསྟོན་མ་སྤྱོད་བྱིན་གསང་རྒྱ་གང་
ཆེའི་ཐོག་ནས་དེ་གར་ཡིག་འབྲུལ་བྱས་ཉེ་བོད་འདིར་རྒྱ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ངན་དབང་མེད་

བས (པའི)བདེ་འཚོས་(འཚོའི)སྐྱེར་བཅན་ཡོང་ཐབས་ཅུ་དབྱིན་གསུང་མོལ་ཡོངས་
 གྲགས་ཤུགས་ཆེའི་ཐབས་ཤེས་ཅི་མཆིས་དགོས་ཏུ་ཞིབ་མངགས་སོང་བ་ཉེ་དུས་ལྷང་
 ཤར་ནས་ཡི་གེ་འབྱོར་གསལ་སློབ་ལྷུག་དང་བཅས་རྗེས་སྤྱིང་ནས་ཀ་ལ་ཀ་ཏར་དབྱིན་
 གཞུང་སྡེ་ཤན་ལེགས་ལྡན་བཅས་འབྱོར་བྱིས་ཉེན་བཞི་ནས་ལྡན་ཕྱོགས་ཐོན་ཏུ་
 ཡིན་ལུགས་གསལ་བ་ད་ཆ་འགྲངས་མེད་རོ་མཇལ་ཡོང་རྒྱུར་བོད་དོན་སྐོར་རོ་མཇལ་
 སྐབས་སོགས་སྲ་ཕྱི་ཞིབ་འཕྲོས་བྱུང་བ་བཞིན་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་བསམ་པར་བོད་དང་རྒྱ་གར་
 ཐག་ཉེའི་བབས་ཀྱི་དབྱིན་གཞུང་ལ་ཁ་ཉེ་མི་བྱེད་མཐུ་མེད་བྱུང་བ་ལས་ནང་དོན་ཉེད་
 ཅུ་སྲུའི་སོངས་ལ་བརྟེན་པས་རྙིང་བཅོལ་བྱེད་ས་ཅུ་སྲུ་ཡིན་ཤག་གི་དོགས་གཞི་ཅི་ཆེས་
 ཚ(ཚག)པར་མང་བཀྲམ་མ་ཟད། བོད་སོག་ལར་རྒྱ་གཅིག་སྐྱེལ་གྱི་ཆིང(ཆིངས)ཡིག་
 10གསར་བཞག་བྱས་ལུགས་ཚ(ཚག)པར་དུ་གསལ་རྒྱུན་ས་ཉེབ་ལག་ནས་ངེ་ཡིན་ངེ་
 ཞིབ་ཀྱང་བྱེད་འདུག་སྐབས་ཅུ་དབྱིན་སྲུང་དང་མི་འབྲ་བས་ཕན་ཚུན་ཡིད་འཆེས་གྱིས་
 བོད་ཕན་དགོས་ལུགས་སྐོར་ཅུ་སྲུས་དངོས་བརྗོད་ལ་དབྱིན་ཇིས་བོད་གཞོད་མེད་པ་
 གདེང་འཁེལ་ཡོད་ན་ལས་དེ་མིན་བོད་དབྱིན་ས་འབྲེས་དབྱིན་ཇི་དཔུང་སྟོབས་ཅན་ལ་
 བརྟེན་(བརྟེན)ཕྱི་རྒྱུར་བོད་ཀྱི་རེ་སྟོས་དབྱིན་གཞུང་ལས་གཞན་ལ་མེད་ཅེས་ངག་ཡིག་
 གང་ཐད་ནས་ཚིག་ཐལ་བྱིན་སྐབས་བོད་དོན་སྐོར་ཕྱི་གྲགས་ཆེན་ཕན་མེད་གཞོད་རྒྱུན་
 ཅི་ཆེས་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་ནང་མཐུན་ངན་སེམས་རྒྱ་དམག་གཏོང་བཅུག་ཆེ་ཅུ་སྲུ་ཐག་རིང་
 བབས་ཀྱི་བོད་ཕན་རྩ་བ་ནས་ཡོངས་མིན་ལ་རིམ་བཞི་ལྷང་ཤར་རོ་གཞུག་སོགས་གང་
 སར་བབས་བརྗོད་གཏན་གསུམ་དང་འབྲེལ་བས་དོན་སྙིང་བོད་སྡོངས་སྲུ་རྒྱ་དམག་མི་
 ལྷག་(ལྷགས)ཤིང་། ཅུ་དབྱིན་ནང་མོལ་གཏན་ཉིག་གིས་འབྱིན་ཇི་ཚིག་བྲ་མེད་སོག་ནས་
 གཉིས་ཀས་བོད་ཕན་འབྱུང་ཐབས་བྲལ་ནན་ཡོད་པ་དང་དེར་སྐབས་རྒྱ་ཡུལ་གོང་མ་རྒྱ་
 རྩུང་ཡོན་ནས། ཡགོང་ས་ཡསྐབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོར་ཅུས་འཚོ་སྲོལ་པོ་གཅིག་གྱུར་གྱིས་རྒྱ་
 བོད་དམག་ཟིང་མེད་པས་མཐུན་འགྲིག་དགོས་ལུགས་དང་། སི་ཁྲོན་ཡུལ་ནའི་རྒྱ་དམག་
 བོད་གཏོང་མི་ཚོག་པའི་བཀོད་བྱུང་བྱིན་དོན་ཞིབ་འཕྲོས་བྱེད་པོ་ཆབ་མདོར་གཏོང་

10 བོད་སོག་བར་ཕྱི་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༯༡༡ ལོའི་ཆིངས་ཡིག

དགོས་སྒོག་སྐྱད་ཐེང་(ཐེངས་)མང་སྐུལ་འཕྱོར་ལ་ཆབ་མདོར་ཞི་ཕྱོས་(འཕྱོས་)བྱས་ཆེ་
 ས་གནས་གལ་ཆེར་བརྟེན་སྐྱད་ས་མཚམས་སུ་དོས་འཛིན་དང་རྒྱན་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་མཁུ་ནས་
 ཉང་བཤེད་བྱེད་གཞི་སོགས་སྒྲིབ་ཆོགས་ཆེ་གཤེས་རྒྱ་གར་རྫོགས་རང་དུ་དཔོན་རིགས་
 འཕུལ་གཏོང་ཡོད་པ་ཞེས་སྒོག་སྐྱད་ཡང་ནན་སྐུལ་སྐྱས་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཆབ་མདོ། བྲག་
 གཡལ། སྐར་གོ། བེ་ཏུ། ཉག་རོང་བཅས་པར་རྒྱ་དམག་སྡོད་སྐྱས་ལ་དཔོན་རིགས་ཆེད་
 གཉེར་གྱི་ཕྱིར་ལོག་དགོས་རྒྱུ་འཕྱོས་གསེས་རིམ་པར་བཀྲིས་བརྟུག་ཀྱང་གོ་མེད་གྱི་
 དགོན་ཡུལ་ཁག་མང་མེར་བསྐྱེད་གིས་ད་ཆ་སྐར་གོ། ཆབ་བྲག་བདེ་ཉག་དཔལ་འཕྱོད་
 བརྒྱད་བཅས་སུ་རྒྱ་དམག་སྡོད་ཕྱག་ཁ་ཤས་ས་འཛིན་རན་བཤེད་ཇི་འཕེལ་ཐོག་རྒྱ་
 དཔོན་མིན་ནས་སྡོད་དམག་ཁ་ཤས་འབྲིད་དེ་ལྷ་སར་ཡོང་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ལུགས་དང་བོད་མི་
 ཚང་མ་མགོ་སྐར་མ་བྱས་ཆེ་ལུལ་མེད་གཏོང་རྒྱལ་ཡིག་བཏང་གིས་ཁྲིམས་འགལ་ཅི་ཆེ་
 བྱེད་སྐྱས་ལ་གཞིགས་ཆེ་རྒྱ་ཚུང་ཐུང་ཡོན་ནས་ཀྱང་ནང་དོན་ནང་མངགས་ཇི་ཡོད་མི་
 རྟོགས་པའི་ད་ལྟའི་གནས་བབས་ལ་གཞིགས་ཆེ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་རང་བཅོན་ལྟ་བཞག་བར་
 ལམ་གྱི་ཡོང་བབས་ལས་ལོད་ཅམ་ཞིག་མི་ཡོང་ངམ་སྐྱམ་པའི་ཉེན་འགན་རྩ་བྱག་ཆེ་
 ལྟབས་ཏུ་དབྱིན་ནས་པན་རོགས་མཛད་འོས་རིམ་འགྲུངས་སུ་གྱུར་བྱིན་ཁྲོམས་རྒྱུས་
 གཞིགས་མོདི་ངང་རྒྱལ་ཡོང་ངེས་ལ་རྒྱ་དམག་རྣམས་བོད་ས་ནས་ཕྱིར་འཐེན་གྱིས་ཞི་
 འཕྱོས་རྫོགས་དུ་ཡོང་ཐབས་འཕུལ་གང་དགོས་དོན་གཙོ་བོར་བརྟེན་འདི་ནས་དབྱིན་
 ཇི་རོགས་པན་དགོས་པའི་གནས་རྒྱལ་ཡང་ཡང་དང་། རྒྱ་ཚུང་ཐུང་ལ་བབས་ལྷིངས་གང་
 ཆེདི་སྒོག་ལན་འབུལ་སྐྱས་དེ་ནས་ཀྱང་གོང་བཞིན་དོན་སོན་ཡོང་ཐབས་ཐོག་སྐྱད་བོད་
 དུ་རྒྱ་མིས་ནང་དོན་ཐེ་བྱས་གཏན་ནས་མི་ཚོག་པ་དང་རྒྱ་དམག་བཏང་(གཏང་)མི་ཚོག་
 པའི་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁག་ལ་ཐབས་ཤེས་སོགས་རིམ་བཞིན་འཕྱོས་མོལ་དང་འབྲེལ་བས་དབྱིན་ཇི་
 ནས་བོད་དུ་སྐབས་སྐར་གྱི་རོགས་པན་ཤུགས་བསྐྱེད་བྱེད་བདེ་ཡོང་བའི་ཏུ་སུ་རྒྱལ་ཁང་
 སོགས་ལ་གསུང་མོལ་ཟབ་བཅགས་གྱིས་འདིར་ཡང་སྐན་ནག་འདོམས་འཇལ་མི་དགོས་
 པར་རྒྱ་དབྱིན་ལ་འཕྱོ་གཏམ་སྐྱས་མཐེང་བྱེད་ལམ་བདེ་བའི་གནས་རྒྱལ་ཞིབ་གསལ་ཡང་
 ཡང་ཡོད་པ་འཚལ། རྟེན་ཁ་བཏགས་དང་གསེར་སྲང་གསུམ་བཅས་རྒྱ་སྐར་ཟླ་ཆོས་ལ།།



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ཅུ་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡབ་དང་། སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀྱིན་ཅན་གྱི་སྐབས་དབྱིན་ཅི་ནས་བོད་ལྗོངས་སྤྱི་
 རོན་མེད་སྤྱི་བསྐྱོད་སྐབས་བོད་བརྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རེ་བའི་ཤོགས་པོ་སྤྱི་ལ་བཟང་
 བོད་ལ་རྒྱལ་སློན་གྲོས་བསྟར་ཐོག་སླ་མ་དང་། སྤྱི་མར་ལུང་བཏག་ལྷུས་པར་ལུང་མེབས་
 ལྷ། ལྷ་རིག(རིགས)་གྲུབ་མཐའ་མ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་། ཞིང་འདིར་མཚོག་གསུམ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་
 རྒྱལ་རྒྱུན་བྱང་དང་ཤར་ལ་ཡོད་མེབས་པ་མ་ཟད། དེ་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྟ་ཚག་¹¹སྐབས་ཐོར་ཚོད་
 བརྒྱད། བ་རན་སིའི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་མེད་མང་དང་། ཅུ་སིའི་མི་སྣ་¹²སྐད་བརྒྱུར་བཅས་བོད་
 ས་གནས་ཅུ་བརྒྱད་འདམ་ལ་རྒན་དུ་འབྱོར་དོན་བོད་ལྗོངས་ཚོགས་འདུའི་འཐུས་མི་
 བཀག་པར་ཐོན་སྐབས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་མེད་མང་དང་། ཅུ་སིའི་མི་སྣ་བོད་སར་ཡོང་ཅད་དབྱིན་
 ཅིའི་གཞོན་པ་བསྐྱོགས་ཆེད་ཡོང་པ་ཡིན། རབ་རྒྱལ་སློན་རོ་མངལ་བྱང་ན་བརྟན་པ་
 ཚབ་སྲིད་ལ་ཐན་པའི་འཕྲོས་མོལ་བྱ་རྒྱ་ཡོད་བརྗོད་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་དཔོན་ཨི་བན་ནས་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་
 མི་རིགས་དང་བོད་དཔོན་རིགས་ཐུག་འཕྲད་མི་ཚོག་པའི་དམ་བསྐྱགས་ཆེ་ཐོག་རྒྱ་
 དཔོན་ཆེད་མང་ཡོད་སར་བཏང་ཉེ་ཕྱིར་སློག་བྱས་ཀྱང་མཁན་དུང་ཏུ་སླ་མ་སློ་བཟང་
 དོན་ལྟན་དང་། བཤད་སྐྱ་སྤྱི་གཉིས་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་མེད་མང་ནས་ཅུ་སི་དང་། བ་རན་
 སི་ཉེ་ཤོགས་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ལྷུ་ཅུ་སི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྤྱི་མོ་ཡིན་པ་བཅས་བོད་ལྗོངས་
 ས་མི་དབྱིན་ཅིས་བདག་སློད་མི་བྱེད་པའི་གསང་བའི་འཕྲོས་མོལ་བྱེད་པར་ཡོངས་པ་
 ཡིན་ཡང་དེ་ལམ་རྒྱལ་སློན་རོ་འཕྲད་མ་ཐུབ་ཀྱང་བོད་ལ་ཐན་པའི་ཅུ་སི་དང་། བ་རན་
 སི་གཉིས་ནས་རོགས་གང་ཐུབ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡིན། སྐད་ཆ་བྱེད་དགོས་རིགས་ཁམས་ལྷུལ་ཚུ་
 ལ་བྱང་དང་། ཡུའི་ནའི་ས་ཁོངས་སྤྱི་པ་རན་སིའི་དཔོན་རིགས་ཡོད་གཤིས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་
 ཀྱི་འདུ་པར་འབྱོར་ཉེ་འཕྲོས་མོལ་བྱེད་མི་འབྱོར་ན་མི་སྣ་དཔོན་རིགས་ནས་ཡུའི་ནའི་
 ས་མཚམས་ཤར་ཤོགས་ཨ་ནམ་དུང་ཆེན་བརྒྱད་པ་རན་སི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ལ་འཕྲོ་མོལ་བྱེད་

11 རྒྱལ་ཚབ་རྟ་ཚག་པས་ཕྱི་ལོ་ 1914 ལྷས་ 1916 བར་གྱི་དྲོད་འགན་འཁུར་བཞེས། དེ་རྗེས་ཕྱི་ལོ་ 1916 ལྷས་ 1917 བར་
 རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དེ་མོ་འཕྲིན་ལས་རབ་རྒྱལ་ནས་སྲིད་སྲོད་གི་མངོད་འཁུར་བཞེས་སྐབས་ཁོང་ནམས་འབྱོར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།
 12 ཕྱི་ལོ་ 1910 ལོར་པ་རན་སིའི་སློ་མཚམས་པ་ Gabriel Bonvalot དང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ Henry d'Orléans ཅན་
 བོད་དུ་འབྱོར་ཡོད་ཀྱང་དེའི་ཁོངས་ཅུ་སྤྱི་མི་སྣ་ཡོད་པར་མི་སྣ་དང་།

བདེ་ཡོད་ཅེས་མངགས་ཆ་བྱང་དོན་ཁམས་ཁྲུལ་བོད་གཞུང་མི་སྣ་གཏོང་སྐབས་རྒྱལ་
 སྐལ་ཚེང་མང་འདས་ནས་ལོ་ཤས་སོང་བས་བདག་སྲོད་བྱེད་མི་མ་བྱུང་། ཅུ་སི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
 གཤེགས་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་སྐལ་རྒྱལ་པོར་ཕེབས་པ་ནས་མཚན་ཞབས་མཁན་ཆེ་བོད་གཞུང་མི་
 ལྷན་ཅུ་སི་གཞུང་ནས་བོད་གཞུང་བསྟན་སྲིད་ལ་རོགས་པན་གནང་རྒྱུ་ལོ་བཀའ་བཟང་
 ཐོབ་ཏེ་དབྱིན་ཅིར་ཐབས་མཁས་བོད་པན་གང་དག་གནང་བ་ཕྱན་མི་ཟན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྲོ་
 མངགས་མ་ཟད། མཁན་ཆེ་ད་ལྟ་ཅུ་སི་ལོ་ས་ཆར་ཡོད་པར་དྲི་ཞིབ་མཛད་ན་ཞིབ་གསལ་
 ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད། བོད་སྲོང་ས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་ཆབ་སྲིད་རེ་ཕྱོགས་བྱང་དང་། ཤར་ལ་ཡོད་པ་སླ་
 ལྟའི་ལུང་གསལ་ཐོག་ཅུ་སི་ལོ་ས་ཐོག་ནང་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དར་རྒྱས་
 ཡོད་ལྷན་ཀྱང་ཅུ་སི་དམར་པོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དཔུང་སྟོབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོང་བའི་ལྷ་དགོན་
 མཚོག་རིན་པོ་ཆེར་གསོལ་འདེབས་ལྷ་ལྷན་ཡིན།

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ཁ་ཡིག་༽ སློ་མང་མཚན་ཞབས་སྐྱ་བཅར་མཁན་ཆེ་སྲོ་བཟང་དག་དབང་ལ།

༄༅ ཆེད་དོན། ཀུན་གཟིགས་པའ་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྟོན་འཁོར་གོ་ཏུག་བརྒྱ་སྟོར་སྲ་ལོ་
 ཟླ་ ༡༡ ཚེས ༡༥ ལུབ་མོ་སྲོ་བྱར་བཀྲས་ལྷན་གདན་ས་ནས་གསང་ཕེབས་ཀྱིས་ཡལོང་
 ས་ལ་སྐབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོར་ལས་སྟན་རྒྱ་དང་། བཀྲས་ལྷན་ཕྱག་མཛོད་ངོ་སྟོན་ལས་ཚབ་
 དང་། ལྷ་ཚང་བཞིའི་ལྷར་བཞི་སླ་ལག་ཐོག་ལག་འཁྱེར་བཅས་འབུལ་འཛོག་གནང་
 འདུག་པའི་དོ་དོན་དུ། གཙང་རྫོང་བཀའ་དཔུང་དགོངས་དོན་སླ་ཁོངས་རྒྱུ་འཕྱོ་འདུར་
 སྲོང་དང་། དམག་ཐོགས་བཞི་ལྷར་སྐབ་ཆ་ཐེག་འགན་མི་བཟོད་པ་འདི་དག་གིས་རྒྱུན་
 པས་བྱི་ནང་གང་ས་ནས་འདུག་བཟོད་བདེ་མིན་སྟབས་ཁམས་སོག་གི་རྒྱུན་བདག་ལག་
 བརྒྱད་དོ་ཆེན་བསྐྱལ་མ་དང་། མཐུན་རྒྱུན་དང་རྒྱུན་འདྲ་ཡོང་རེ་དང་བཅས་ལུལ་གྱ་
 དེས་མེད་དུ་བསྟོད་ཐོན་མི་བྱ་ཐབས་མེད་སོགས་གསལ་བ་འདི་སྟོར། གཙང་ཁྲུལ་རྫོང་
 གཤེགས་རྒྱུ་མགྲིན་ནས་ལས་སྟན་ལྷ་ལུལ་འཕྱོར་བཞིན་ས་གནས་སུ་ཞིབ་དཔྱད་དུང་ཅིས་

རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེད་གཉེར་པའ་ཚུན་ལྷོ་བ་ལྷོ་ལེན་དང་འབྲེལ་བས་བསྐྱེད་པ་བཅད་བཅར་
 གསུམ་ཐོག་དབུས་གཙང་ཆབ་འབངས་ཚང་མའི་ཁྲལ་རིགས་སྐྱབ་རྒྱུགས་ཅ་འདྲིན་
 ལྷགས་ཞིབ་ཅམ་ནན་ཐོག་ནས་སླ་བྱང་བཀུར་འོས་ཀྱི་གནས་ལ་ཆག་ཆ་གང་ཆེད་
 དཔྱད་བཏང་འདུར་སློང་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དམག་ཐོགས་བཞི་བྱུར་ལྔ་དུས་དམག་
 ཟིང་རིམ་པར་སྐྱབ་ལམ་བྱང་(བྱང)ཐོག་ས་བྱི་(༡༡༤༤)¹³ ལས་བཟུང་གཡུལ་འཇུག་
 རིམ་བཏུད་དུ་བྱང་བས་གཞུང་སླ་གཉིས་ཀར་དམག་ཐོགས་འཁེལ་འགན་ཆེ་བ་དེ་ཡང་
 སླ་བྱང་གི་ས་བྱི་ཚུན་བཞི་བྱུར་བཅའ་ཐོབ་ཕྱག་མཛོད་ལས་བྱེད་ནས་ངན་སྐལ་ཁོ་ནས་
 སར་འགྲང་ཆད་བཞག་ལོ་མང་སྡེབས་འདྲོའ་ཡོང་ཅ་དེར་ལྷག་པ་མ་ཟད། ད་ལམ་ཡང་
 སྡེབས་འབུལ་མ་དགོས་པར་བྱམས་ཡང་གང་ཆེས་ཆད་འབབ་རྣམས་ཚ་འདེད་མིན་
 པའི་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཁོངས་སུ་སྐྱབ་འབུལ་ཞུས་འཇུག་སྐྱལ་བ་བཅས་ཐོག་འགན་མི་བཟོད་པ་
 མེད་ཁར། རྒྱལ་མཚོག་ཡབ་སྲས་སླ་སློབ་བཤེས་གཉེན་བརྟེན་ཚུལ་དང་། མཚན་ལ་
 གང་ལ་གཞིགས་ཀྱང་ཀུན་གཟིགས་རིན་པོ་ཆེས་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་མཛོད་ཡོང་བསམ་པ་ཡིད་
 ལ་མེད་རུང་མི་མཐུན་སྱི་བྱེད་སྐྱ་གཤམ་གྱི་རྣམ་པས་སློ་བུར་མི་ཡུལ་ས་མཐར་ཆིབས་
 ཞལ་བསྐྱར་བ་ནི་བྱི་ནང་གཏམ་ལར་མི་བཏུབ་ཅིང་ཉེ་འབྲེལ་བྱིད་རྒྱལ་ཁག་ལ་དོ་སྙོན་
 མི་ཤེས་པའི་ཡོང་བབས་འདི་དག་གཙོ་བོར་ཡགོང་ས་མཁན་ཆེན་རྗེ་འཆང་ཐམས་
 ཅད་མཁྱེན་གཟིགས་ཆེན་པོ་མཚོག་ཤིན་ཏུ་ལྷགས་པམ་དང་། སྤན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སློ་པམ་
 ཡི་སྐྱེད་གི་གནས་སུ་ལྷུར་གཤེས་བཀའ་འབྲེལ་དེ་འབྲེལ་ཡགོང་ས་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་
 པོའི་བཀའ་ཡིག་དང་། སྤོད་སློན་ཆེན་པོ་དང་། འདི་ག་བཀའ་ཤག་སོ་སོའི་ལྷ་རྒྱ་དང་
 ལྷགས་གསོལ་འདེབས་གདན་ཞུར་མི་སྣ་དཔོན་རིགས་འབྲེལ་རྫོང་མཛོད་ཀྱང་ཐེབས་
 རྗེས་མ་ལོན་པས་བཀའ་ཡིག་དང་། ལྷ་རྒྱ་རྣམས་ནག་ཚུ་ནས་བྱི་ལིང་སྐར་དཔོན་བརྒྱད་
 འབུལ་རྒྱར་སོང་བ་ལྟར་སྱི་སློམ་བདེ་ཅུར་དགོངས་བཞེས་གྱིས་བྱིར་ཐེབས་བཀའ་ལན་
 ལྷལ་གྱུབ་ཤག་ཀྱང་། དེ་ལྷོགས་ཉིད་རང་དང་མཛལ་འདྲོམས་ཡོང་བ་གོར་མ་ཆགས་
 ལྷགས་ད་དུང་དགེ་སློན་གསེས་བཀོལ་གསལ་འདེབས་ནན་ཏན་ཞུས་ཉེ་འབྲེལ་རྒྱར་

13 ས་བྱི་ལོར་དབྱིན་པོད་ས་མཚོམས་དམག་འཇུགས།

གདན་སར་ཕྱིར་ཐེབས་ཡ་ཞབས་སོར་འཁོད་ཐབས་གསོལ་འདེབས་ལྷ་འདྲོངས་གང་
 ཟབ་གྱིས་བཀའི་ཐེབས་ཚོགས་ཅི་མཆིས་འདི་གར་གནས་ཚུལ་སྐབས་འཕལ་ངེས་
 སྤེལ་དམ་དོན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། རྩོགས་མཚུངས་འདི་རྩོགས་འཕར་ཐོས་སུ་ཉིད་དང་། རུ་
 སུ་དམར་པོའི་མི་རིགས་འགའ་ཤས་བོད་དུ་གསང་བསྐྱོད་བྱེད་སྐད་སྤྱིར་སྤྱིར་ཆེ་གཤིས་
 བདེན་རྒྱན་མ་ངེས་ཀྱང་། ངེས་མེད་བོད་བསྐྱོད་བྱེད་ཐལ་ཤར་ཆེ་དཔྱིན་ཅི་དོགས་ཟས་
 དཔུང་ལྷགས་མང་སྡེ་ཉུང་གིས་མི་བརྟེན་(བརྟེན)་པའི་བོད་སློ་བུར་འཕྲུག་ཟིང་སོགས་
 དགེ་སྦྱོན་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོང་གནས་འདུག་གཤིས་གནས་སྐབས་འཐེན་ཆའི་ཐབས་ཚུལ་ཅི་
 ཟབ་ངེས་པར་དགོས་གལ་བཅས་གཞི་ཅ་སྤིད་ཐམ་སྡུལ་རྒྱ་བུར་ཡོད་ལྟར་བསྟན་སྤིད་
 ལར་དགའི་ལེགས་སྤེལ་ཉེས་འཁོག་གི་ལྷག་བསམ་སྤར་གཡོ་མེད་པ་དོ་འཕྲུར་ཆེ་
 བསྐྱེད་ཡོང་བ་གྱིས། ཤི་བྱི་ལྷ་ ༡ ཚེས ༡༩ ལ།།

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ཁ་ཡིག་༽ སྐྱ་བཅར་མཚན་ཞབས་མཁན་ཆེ་སློ་བཟང་ངག་དབང་ལ་སྤོད།

༡༡། ཐོ་དོན། པཎ་ཆེན་མཚོག་ལ་འདི་ནས་སྤོ་བ་དམ་ཚིག་མ་བོར་བའི་བསམ་ཤེས་
 ལས་ཐུགས་ནད་མི་བཟོད་པའི་བཀྲས་ལྷན་ཚོས་སྤིད་ལ་བསྐྱར་བཀོད་གསར་སློས་ལྷས་
 རིགས་མེད་ཀྱང་། ཞབས་འབྲིང་ལོག་སློན་འགའ་ལྷས་རྗེས་སུ་གསན་བཞེས་གནང་བ་
 ཡིན་ཤག་སྐབས་སུ་ལོ་ལྷ་ ༡༡ ནང་སློ་བུར་གསང་སྐབས་སྟོན་འཁོར་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་གོ་རྟུག་
 བྱང་བརྒྱད་ཐེབས་བསྐྱོད་མཛད་འདུག་གཤིས་སློ་པམ་ཅི་ཆེས་གདན་ལྷ་མི་སྤེའི་གདོང་
 ལྷ་སམ་དང་། སྤིད་བཀའ་སོ་སོ་ནས་ཕྱིར་ཐེབས་མཛད་ལྷོགས་ལྷ་རྒྱ་དང་བཅས་མངགས་
 ཆ་སོང་ཡང་། ཐེབས་རྗེས་མ་ལོན་གཤིས་ལྷ་ཡིག་ལྷག་འབུལ་མི་བདང་འདུག་ཀྱང་ད་
 བན་ཕྱིར་འཁོར་མ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། བཀྲས་ལྷན་བྱབས་ལྷས་མཁན་པོ་བོད་འབྱོར་ཕྱིར་ལོག་
 དང་སྐབས་མཚུངས་ཐེབས་བསྐྱོད་ལ་བརྟེན་ཁལ་ཁ་རྩོགས་ཐེབས་ཡོད་འདུག་པ་ལྟེད་
 རང་མཚན་ཞབས་དང་ངེས་པར་མཛལ་སྤད་(འཕྲད)་ཡོང་ཤག་ལ་དེང་སྐབས་ཡ་རྒྱལ་
 བསྟན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དར་རྒྱས་བཤད་སྐབ་འཆད་ཉན་གོང་འཕེལ་རང་ཅག་དགེ་སྦྱོངས་

ཚུལ་འདིན་ཅན་མས་སླ་སློབ་དམ་གཙང་དགོས་གནས་སྐབས་གསལ་འདེབས་ལྷོ་ལོས་
དམ་དོན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཉིད་རུ་སི་དམར་པོའི་མི་རིགས་དང་ཆབ་ཅིག་བོད་བསྐྱོད་བྱ་
སྐད་སྒྲིར་བྲགས་ཆེ་བས་དེ་རིགས་ཤར་ན་ཚོས་ལྷན་ཞིང་སར་དབྱིན་ཅི་ས་འདྲེས་ཐག་
ཉེ་སློ་མངགས་སྐབས་དཔུང་བརྒྱུག་འཁྲུག་ལོང་རི་ཡོད་རྟོགས་མིན་སྐོར་སྲིད་བཀའ་སོ་
སོ་ནས་གནས་ཚུལ་བྱུར་དུ་སྲེལ་སོང་བ་བབས་སྒྲིངས་རྟེན་གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིད་འདོམས་
ཀྱིས། ཤིང་བྱི་ཟླ་ ༩ ཚེས ༢༡ བཟང་པོར་བྲིས།



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༄༅། །ཆེད་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ཟླ་ ༦ ཚེས ༡༥ ཉིན་དེ་ནས་གནས་མངལ་ཚེ་
རིང་རོ་རྗེ་དང་། པ་ཡར་ཐུ་བརྒྱད་གནས་ཚུལ་རྟེན་སྣ་རིག་སོག་དར་ནང་མངོད་ཀྱིས་
བརྒྱན་པ་སྲེལ་འཕྲོར་ཡིད་ལ་འདྲོངས། དེར་གསལ་ཁུལ་དེར་སྲར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སློབ་ཅན་མས་
གྱི་སྲིམས་ངན་མེད་པས་ཨག་ཐོ་ཚོ་མི་ཞེས་པའི་དབང་ཐོབ་ནས་བདེ་སྦྱིད་གྱི་དཔལ་
ལ་སྦྱོད་པས་དུས་བདེར་གནས་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཡིད་སྐྱོར་གྱུར། འདི་ནས་ཀྱང་སྒྲིགས་དུས་གྱི་
འཁྲུག་ཟིང་ཅན་མས་ཞི་ནས་རུ་བོད་མཐུན་ལམ་གྱི་བསམ་དོན་ཡིད་རེ་བཞིན་འགྲུབ་པའི་
སྐབས་འདྲུག་ནར་མར་ཡིད་བཅངས་བཀྱིད་ཡོད་པ་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད། རྟེན་སྲུང་བྱིན་
བཅས་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ཟླ་ ༧ ཚེས ༡༥ བཟང་པོར་བྲིས།



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།ཡིག་ཀོག་སྒྲིང་གི་ཞལ་བྱང་། བསྟན་པ་འདིན་སྲེལ་གྱི་བདག་པོ་གམ་བཅར་མཚན་
ཞབས་མཁན་ཆེ་མཚོག་གི་བྱང་དུ། གཉེན་ཐང་ཞག་ས་ནས་བཀའ་སློབ་ཆ་རོང་པས་ཟླ་
༧ ཚེས་ ༢༠ བཟང་པོར་བྲིས།

༄ བསྟན་པ་འདིན་སྲེལ་གྱི་བདག་པོ་གམ་བཅར་མཚན་ཞབས་མཁན་ཆེ་མཚོག་གི་
བྱང་དུ།

དེ་ནས་ཚུ་ལག་རྒྱ་ ༡ ཚེས་ ༡༠ ཉིན་དང་། ཤིང་བྱི་རྒྱ་ ༩ ཚེས་ ༡༥ བཅས་སོ་སོར་
 ཕྱག་བྲིས་རྒྱ་སེ་ཁ་བཞི་བཅས་དཀར་ཉེ་ཕྱག་ནས་མ་བུལ་བར་སྦྱལ་འབྱོར་བཀྲིན་ཤིན་
 ཏུ་ཆེ་ཞིང་། ཡང་ཐང་རིང་སྦྱལ་སྦྱུང་མདུན་ཕྱག་བྲིས་དང་། ཏུ་སྦྱུང་རྒྱ་སེ་སངས་རྒྱས་
 རྒྱ་ཤ་མ་ཁ་གསུམ་དང་གསུམ་ཆ་གཅིག་ཉོར་སྦྱུ་མ་མཚལ་ཀ་ཁ་དོ་རྒྱ་སེ་དཀར་པོ་མེ་
 ཉོག་རིས་ཀྱི་སོ་ལེབས་ཀྱི་གོང་པ་གཅིག ཡང་རྒྱ་སེ་དཀར་པོ་ཁ་གཅིག་དང་གསུམ་ཆ་
 གཅིག རྒྱ་འབྲ་ནག་པོ་ཁ་དོ་བཅས་སྦྱལ་འབྱོར་དགའ་སློབ་བཟོད་མི་ཤེས་པ་བྱུང་ལགས།
 ལྟག་པར་གང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་མངོན་འཕྲིན་ལེགས་འཕེལ་ཡོད་པ་ཚོས་པ་ཅམ་གྱི་ཞུ་སེར་གྱི་
 བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གོང་འཕེལ་ཡོང་བར་ངེས་ཏེ་སློབ་དེ་དགའ་བ་འབྱམ་ཏུ་རྒྱས་ཤིང་།
 བོད་བསྟན་སློར་དེང་སྐབས་བདེ་འཇགས་ཡིན་ལྟུང་ཅམ་དང་། རང་ངོས་ནས་ཀྱང་
 བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གོང་འཕེལ་ཆེད་ཤེས་འཁོན་(འཁོས)གང་འགྲུབ་ཞབས་འདེགས་
 ཞུ་ལྟུང་ལགས་པ་མ་ཟད། ཆེ་རིང་རྫོང་དང་། སྤུ་ཡེར་ཕུ་གཉེས་ལ་གང་ཅིའི་སློར་བོད་
 བན་འབྱུང་ཆེད་བཀའ་མོལ་མང་བར་བྱུང་བས་ཞིབ་ཞུས་ཕྱིད་ཤག་ལ། ཁོ་པོ་རང་བོད་
 ཀྱི་དབང་འཛིན་པའི་བདག་པོ་མ་ཡིན། དམག་སྐར་གྱི་འཁྱུར་འགན་ཕྱིད་མུས། ཞོར་ཏུ་
 འབབ་ཡོངས་ལ་སློབ་གྲོས་བན་ཐབས་གང་འཆར་གྱི་ལས་དོན་ཕྱིད་ཀྱི་ཡོད། ཡིན་ཀྱང་
 ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ལས་དོན་སློར་ངོས་རང་ལ་དབང་མེད་པ་ཡིན། དཔྱིན་ཇི་པ་ནས་བོད་ལ་ཆ་རོང་
 ཞབས་པད་ཟེར་བ་དེ་ཡོན་ཏན་ཆེ་འདུག་དཔྱིན་ཇི་པར་དགའ་བའི་མི་རིགས་ཡིན་ཅེས་
 ཚག་པར་ནང་ཏུ་གསལ་སྦྱས་རེད་ལགས། རང་ངོས་སླེར་གྱི་དོན་ལ་གྲོགས་པོ་དཔྱིན་ཇི་
 པ། ཏུ་སྦྱུ་རྒྱ་མི། རིན་པིན། ཨ་མི་རི་ཀ། ཁ་ཆེ། ཡི་ཏུ་ལི་པ། བོར་ཁ་སོགས་ཡོད་ཆང་མར་
 སོ་སོའི་སླེར་དོན་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་ངོས་ཤེས་གསོལ་ཆིགས་སྟན་དང་འབྲེལ་དགའ་སློབ་
 ལོ་རྒྱུས་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་མང་ཅམ་ཤོད་རེས་ལས། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་དབང་ལ་དཔྱིན་ཇི་པར་སློབ་
 འདྲེས་གང་ཡང་མ་མཆིས་ལགས། གང་སྟར་བོད་བསྟན་ཡུན་གནས་སྐབས་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་
 བ་འདི་ཕྱིར་བཀྲིན་གྱི་བདག་པོ་ཁོང་ཕྱགས་སློབ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ན་བདག་གི་བསམ་དོན་ཡང་
 འགྲུབ་ལགས། བོད་འདི་སྤར་ཆིངས་སུ་བོད་ནང་རང་བཅོན་ཡིན་ཏུང་། ཕྱི་རྒྱའི་འགོ་
 འཛིན་རྒྱ་མི་ཡིན་པ་སྤྱི་ཚང་མར་གསལ་འཁོད་ཡོད་སྟབས་དེ་རྗེས་བོད་ཏུ་རྒྱ་ལྟགས་
 དབང་ཆོད་མེད་པར་ཏུ་ལའི་སྤུ་མར་ཡང་དབང་ཆ་མེད་པར་བཟོས་ཏེ་གནས་ནས་

དབྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཞེས་ཀྱང་ལབ། རང་ཚོའི་སླ་མར་རྒྱ་གཞུང་ནས་གནས་དབྱུང་ཞེས་བྱས་
 པ་ནི་ངོས་རང་དགད་(གད)་མོ་ཤོར། དབང་ཡོད་མང་དུ་བཏང་བས་རྒྱུན་ནད་མ་ཐེག་ཅིང་།
 སླ་མར་འགོ་ཚོད་བྱས་པ་སེམས་ཀྱི་མ་བཟོད་པར་རང་ངོས་ནས་སློབ་སྦྱིད་དེ་རྒྱ་ལ་སྡུམ་
 འཐབ་པས་ལས་འབྲས་ཀྱི་བདེན་པ་ལག་ཏུ་སོན། རྒྱལ་བ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་རྒྱལ་སར་གདན་
 དྲངས་པར་བརྟེན་རང་འདོད་གཙོ་བོར་འཛིན་པའི་རྒྱ་གཞུང་ནི་ང་ལ་ག་ནས་དགའ། རང་
 གི་སྲོག་ཀྱང་རང་དབང་བྲལ་དགོས་ཡོང་བ་དངོས་བསྟན་ལ་བརྟེན་རྒྱ་ནས་ཕྱི་རྒྱའི་འགོ་
 འཛིན་སོགས་བྱུང་ཚེ་ང་ནི་ཡུལ་སྐྱོགས་འདི་ཅུ་མི་སྟོད་ཐག་ཚོད་ལ་ཡུལ་སྐྱོགས་གཞན་ལ་
 རྒྱབས་བཅོལ་དུ་འགོ་བར་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མེད། བོད་རང་ལ་ཕན་ངེས་གསུམ་དང་། གཞོད་ངེས་
 གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་རེད། གང་ཡིན་ཞུ་ན་ཕན་པ་ཐུབ་མཁན་གཅིག་ཅུ་སྟེ། གཅིག་དབྱིན་རི།
 གཅིག་རྒྱ་མི་རེད་ལགས། གཞོད་སྐྱེལ་ཐུབ་མཁན་ཡང་གོང་གསལ་གསུམ་པོ་རེད་ལགས།
 ང་རང་གི་བསམ་དོན་སྟོང་པོ་ལ་ཅུ་དབྱིན་རྒྱ་གསུམ་བོད་སྟོར་ཕྱི་ནང་གང་ལའང་ཐེ་
 ཚོགས་མ་དགོས་པའི་ཆིང་(ཆིངས)་གཏམ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ན་བོད་འདི་ཕྱི་ནང་གང་ལའང་རང་
 དབང་རང་བཅོལ་ཕྱི་འཁྲུག་ཆེ་གསུམ་པོ་དེ་ལས་ཐར། ལྷག་པར་རྒྱ་མི་ནས་ཕྱི་ནང་གང་
 ལའང་ཐེ་ཚོགས་མ་བྱུང་ན་ངོས་རང་བོད་ལ་ཆགས་པའི་གདེང་པ་རྟེན་ལགས། རྒྱ་མི་བོད་
 དུ་ཡོང་ང་སོགས་བྱུང་ན་བོད་བསྟན་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ནས་དགོངས་པ་བཞེས་ཤག་ལ་ང་ནི་
 རང་ལུལ་སྲང་སྟེ་གར་འགོ་གར་སྟོད་མེད་པ་འགོ་རྒྱ་ཐག་བཅད་བེན། ཅུ་སྟེ་པ་ནས་རི་ལྟར་
 འོས་ཅུང་དགོངས་དབྱུང་གིས་བོད་རྒྱུར་ཕན་པའི་རྒྱབས་འདུག་ཞུ་གནས་བཅས་དེ་དོན་
 དགོངས་འདུགས། ལྟོད་མིན་ཅམ་དུ་བོད་ཀྱི་གསེར་ཏམ་ལྷ་དང་ཅགས་དམ་གསེར་དུལ་
 གི་མེ་དོག་རིས་མཚུ་ལུང་ཞེས་འབྲུང་གཅིག་སྐྱེན་ཞེས་རྒྱ་སེ་ཁ་དོ། གསེར་གཞི་མ་ཁ་དོ་
 བཅས་ཤིང་བྱི་ལྷ་ * ཚེས་ ༡༠ བཟང་པོར་སྟུལ། ཚ་རོང་ཞབས་པད། ༡༩༤༧༥༡༡༠

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༡༡། ཆེད་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ * ཚེས་ ༧ ཉིན་དེ་ནས་གནས་ཚུལ་རྟེན་ལྷ་
 རེག་སོག་དར་ནང་མཛོད་དང་། རིན་དང་འཁོར་ལོ་ཆེ་བ་གཅིག་ ལྷག་གཉིས། ཐག་

རྒྱ་གཅིག་ རྒྱ་མེད་ལྷོ་པ་ཐམ་འབྱུང་བཅས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱན་པ་སྤེལ་འབྱུང་ཡིད་ལ་འདྲོངས།
 དེར་གསལ་ཐང་རིང་སྤྱལ་སྤྱོད་མའི་མདུན་ནས་ཚོད་རང་ལ་ཚོས་འབྲེལ་ཐོབ་རྒྱུན་
 རྒྱ་སྤེལ་འདི་པར་རོགས་པན་བྱས་པས་སྒོ་མང་གྲ་ཚང་དང་། བསམ་སྒོ་ཁང་ཚན་གཉིས་
 ལ་པན་རེ་ཡོད་པས་ལྷ་སྤྱལ་འདུག་དགོས་རྒྱ་གསལ་བ་དེ་དོན་ཚོག་ཅིང་སྤྱུག་ལས་
 རྒྱངས་ནས་ཚོད་རང་ལ་ཡི་གེ་བཏང་འབྱུང་དུ་ཁྱི་དུལ་ངོ་བསྐྱེད་དགོས་ལུགས་གསལ་
 སྐོར་ཅུ་སྤྱུ་དུལ་ཁང་¹⁴གི་འདྲིན་ཁལ་ཁའི་ངོ་ལགས་མཁན་ཆེས་པོར་བརྒྱུག་སོང་བ་
 ལྷས་ཚུགས་ཀྱི་དུལ་ལག་འབྱུང་ངོས་ཁྱུ་རལ་དུ་སྤོད་སྐབས་མི་ཅིན་འགོ་དོན་ཐོག་
 སོང་ལུགས་འདི་ནས་སྤྱུག་ལས་འབྲེལ་སྤྱོད་ལྱབ་བཞིན་རྒྱུའི་ཐད་སྐབས་དེར་
 དུལ་འབབ་ཇི་བྱས་ངོས་ནས་ཞིབ་ཆ་མ་རྟོགས་པས་ལམ་སང་བརྗོད་བདེ་མེད་གཤིས་
 གཞུང་དོན་ཐོག་བཏང་ཡོད་ཆེ་ཅིས་ཁྱ་སོགས་ནས་ཁམས་དྲངས་ཁུལ་བསྐྱེལ་དགོས་པ་
 ཚོད་རང་གཞུང་ཞབས་ཚན་གས་ནས་རྟོགས་རྒྱུར་བརྟེན་དེ་དོན་འགྲོ་སོང་ཅིས་ཁྱ་སྤྱལ་
 འབྱུང་བྱང་ཆེ་འབྲེལ་མོལ་ཚོག་པ་མ་ཟད། དེ་ཚུགས་དགོན་པ་ཚོས་ར་གསར་བཅུགས་
 ཁག་བཅུ་ཡོད་ནམས་འཆད་ཉན་གོང་འཕེལ་གྱི་ལྷ་སྤྱལ་འདུག་བཞིན་ཡོད་ཅིང་། འདི་
 གའི་བསམ་འཆར་དུ་དགོན་གསར་བཅུགས་ལུགས་འདིག་རྟེན་ཚོས་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་གཏམ་
 འདོད་ཅམ་ལས་སྤར་ཡོད་དགོན་ཁག་ལ་སྒོ་བ་གཉེར་གསོས་འདེབས་ཉམས་པ་སོར་
 འཆུད་བྱང་ན་དོན་པན་ཆེ་ངེས་སྒྲམ་པ་ནམས་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད། རྟེན་སྤྱང་བྱིན་དང་།
 ལག་འདེབས་སྒྲོ་རྟོག་བྱུང་། རིན་ཆེན་བཙོ་བུ་རྒྱ་ཤེལ་རིལ་བུ་རྟོག་གསུམ་བཅས་
 ཤིང་བྱི་ཐོད་རྩ་ * ཆེས་ ༡༥ བཟང་པོར་བྱིས།

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༡༡། ཆེད་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་ཐོད་རྩ་ * ཆེས་ ༧ རྟེན་དེ་ནས་གནས་ཚུལ་སྤེལ་འབྱུང་
 ཡིད་ལ་འདྲོངས། དེར་གསལ་སྒོ་རང་སྤྱུ་པ་ནམས་བསྐྱན་པ་ཚོས་ལུགས་སྐོར་ཚོགས་འདུ་
 ཚོགས་ཏེ་དུས་བསྐྱུན་བཅའ་བྲིམས་བཅད་(བཅས)་པར་གྲ་རིགས་ནམས་འདུལ་བྲིམས་

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མཐུན་ལུལ་ཡང་སྲ་གྲ་འགའ་རེ་ཡུལ་བྱིམས་མི་ཤེས་སྦྱིད་བདེ་པལ་ཆེར་མི་འདོད་པ་
 དང་། བཀའ་འགྱུར་སྦྱུལ་སྦྱར་ཚོ་ལོ་བཀའ་ཤོག་སྦྱང་རྒྱུན་ལུལ་དེར་རྒྱས་གཤོམ་ཆེ་བས་
 ཕྱི་ནང་ཐམས་ཅད་འདོད་མཐུན་མེད་པ། དེའི་སྐོར་སྦོ་རད་ཐུ་པས་ཟུར་དུ་ཡ་སྦྱབས་ལུ་
 ལུལ་ལྷགས། ཁལ་ཁའི་དཔོན་རིགས་རྣམས་ནས་བརྟུན་མཐུན་ཚོད་མེད་བཏང་བའི་
 མཐར་ཐབས་འབད་ལུས་བྱིམས་སར་གྱི་རྒྱབ་བསྟེན་བྱང་དུ་ཡོད་པས་རྙིང་པ་མགྲུལ་
 བསྐྱོད་མ་ཐུབ་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་དཔོན་བསྟེན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཁལ་ལུབ་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱལ་ས་
 འཛིན་རེ་ཡོད་པ། རྒྱ་ཡུལ་ཁག་གསུམ་བྱས་ཤིང་། རུ་སུ་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཤོར་བའི་ས་ཆ་
 ལག་འཁྱོར་ཡོང་(ཡོངས)ཇོགས་བདག་ནང་བྱིམས་བཅོན་པོ་ཡོད་པ། ཕྱི་དག་འཇམ་ལ་
 བད་མི་འདོད་པ་མང་ཡང་ལུས་མཐུ་མེད་པས་ཁོ་རྩོ་ལོ་བ་དེ་ཕྱོགས་འགོ་ཅིས་བྱེད་པ་ཨེ་
 གཏོར་སྟམ་པ། མི་མིར་ལྷ་ཁང་དུ་རུ་སུ་ནང་པར་འགྱུར་མི་རེ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པ་སློབ་བཟང་
 བཤད་སྦྱབ་ཅན་རུ་སུའི་སྐད་ཡིག་ཤེས་མི་རྣམས་ནས་ནང་ཚོས་སློབ་ཅིས་ཞིབ་དེས་གང་
 ལེགས་མ་ཟད། སྦོ་རད་ཐུ་པ་རྒྱུད་སྦྱང་དགེ་བཤེས་ཤེས་རབ་བཟང་པོ་དེ་གར་འཆད་ཉན་
 སྟེལ་བར་གཏོར་དགོས་ཐད། ཤེས་རབ་སྙིང་པོ་རྒྱུད་སྦོད་དུ་བསྐྱིགས་ལྷགས་དགེ་བསྐྱོས་
 ཟིན་རྗེས་ཡུལ་ཕྱོལ་སོང་བ་དེ་མིན་ནམ་སྟམ་ཞིང་། དེ་དང་ཆབ་ཅིག་རིན་ཆེན་བདེན་པ།
 བོར་བོད་སྦྱིན་པ་རྒྱལ་བྱིམས། ཚོས་གྲགས་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྣམས་ལྟ་རམ་སྦྱང་དེ་གཏོར་དགོས་
 སྐོར། ས་སག་པན་བྱེད་རང་མཚན་ཞབས་ནས་ཀྱང་ལྟ་རམ་མིང་སྲངས་སློབ་གཉེར་ལ་
 བསྟེན་བཟོ་གང་ཡང་མེད་རུང་། བསྟེན་རྒྱུན་བཤད་སྦྱབ་དུགས་ཐེར་ཆེད་དེར་སྐབས་འཆད་
 ཉན་བཟང་ཞན་གྱི་ལྟ་རམ་སྦོད་གཏོར་རྒྱས་འཆད་(བཅད)་ཟིན་དོན་ལམ་སེང་སྦོད་བདེ་
 མེད་ཅིང་། རྒྱ་སེ་འཐག་རེ་མེད་པས་གོས་སྦྱང་མ་རྙེད་པ་ཞིབ་རྟོགས། རྒྱུད་བསྐྱིགས་འགལ་
 རིགས་སུད་མི་ཚོག་སྐོར་ལམ་ངན་སྐྱིགས་འཛིན་འབྱུང་དེས་འདོད་གཏམ་བདེན་འཛིན་
 མ་དགོས། ལུབ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བབས་གྱིན་མཛད་དགོས་ཐད་ཚོལ་རྒྱུང་ལོང་གཏམ་ལ་
 ཡིད་དྲོགས་མ་དགོས་པ་བཅས་ད་དུང་དེ་ཕྱོགས་གསར་གནས་སྤར་བཞིན་གཏོར་ལྷགས་
 ཡོད་པ་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད། ཤིང་གི་བོད་རྒྱ་ ༥ ཚོས་༡༥ བཟང་པོར་གྱིས།



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༄། །ཡང་སྐྱུར། ཟུར་རྒྱུང་ནང་གསལ་སྲུང་ཅུ་སྲུང་འོག་རྒྱུང་མི་ངན་རྣམས་རང་དབང་
 ཐོབ་པས་སྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོར་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དམར་པོ་ཤོག་གི་ལས་ཁུངས་ཆེན་པོ་དེའི་
 སྲོལ་འཛིན་གཙོ་བོ་མོ་སི་ཁ་པ་ཞེས་པའི་གྲོང་འབྲེས་(འབྲེས)་དུ་གནས་པ། རྒྱུང་རང་རྒྱན་
 གཞོན་བར་གསུམ་ལ་ཉེར་འཆེ་མེད་པས་རྒྱལ་ཁག་པན་རྒྱན་ལའང་འགྲོ་བརྒྱུད་ཆོག་
 པའི་གྲོས་མཐུན་བྱུང་བ་ཁུལ་དེར་རྒྱ་ཁོར་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་གང་ལེགས་ཡོད་པ། ལྷགས་བྱ་ལོ་
 ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁག་ལ་གྲོས་(བྲོས)་བྱུལ་དུ་འགྲོ་མི་རྣམས་ད་ཆ་རྒྱུང་ལོག་གི་དཀའ་ངལ་མེད་
 པར་ཡིག་རྩིས་སློབ་སྦྱོང་། ཁལ་མིག་ཆོགས་འདུ་ཆེན་པོ་གསུམ་བཤོས་ཉེ་དེས་ཁྲིམས་
 གསར་བྱེད་བཞིན་གྱི་དེར་སྐབས་དམག་བྱིང་གིས་དགོན་པ་ཉམས་འཛིག་རྣམས་ཉམས་
 གསོ་གསར་རྒྱག་དང་འབྲེལ་བས་མཚན་ཉིད་ལྷ་ཚང་གསར་རྒྱགས་གྱི་དགོ་འདུན་
 འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཆེད་སྤྱ་གྲུ་ལོ་གཞོན་རྣམས་(རྣམས)་བསྐྱེད་སྦྱོང་བ་བཅུག་ རྒྱ་ཁྲི་ལོ་¹⁵ལྷ་གི་བྱུང་
 ཅུང་། ཅུ་སི་གཞུང་ནས་པན་ཐབས་གྱི་རྒྱོན་མེད་བྱུང་བ་ཞིབ་རྟོགས་ལྟར་ཅིང་། འདི་
 བས་ཀྱང་སྤྱི་བྱེད་ེ་དོན་ཡིད་བསམ་ལྟར་འབྲུབ་པའི་ལྷ་བས་འཇུག་གི་རུ་བར་བཅུད་
 ཟིན་པ་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད།།



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༄། རྒྱུང་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༩ ཆོས་ ༡༩ ཉིན་དེ་ནས་རྣམ་གྲུམས་པ་
 ཐོགས་མེད་བརྒྱུད་གནས་རྒྱལ་སྤེལ་འབྲོར་ཡིད་ལ་འདྲོངས། དེར་གསལ་འདི་ནས་
 གནས་སོང་དེར་འབྲོར་གང་ལེགས་ཐོག་ པཎ་ཆེན་དེ་ཕྱོགས་གསང་ཕེབས་སྐོར་ཅུ་རྒྱལ་
 དུ་གོ་ཐོས་བྱུང་འཕལ་འབྲོང་རང་ཁུ་རལ་དུ་འབྲོར་ཉེ་རྣམ་གྲུམས་པ་ཐོགས་མེད་དང་།
 བྱུངས་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་མ་གཉིས་ནས་ལྷགས་སྤྱད་འབྲོར་གསལ་པཎ་ཆེན་པོ་ཅིན་དུ་ལྷ་ ༩ ཆོས་

15 ༡༩༢༡ དང་ ༡༩༢༢ ལོར་ཁལ་མིག་རྒྱུང་པའི་ཅུ་སྲུང་ཕྱོགས་ས་ཁུལ་དུ་དམག་འཇུག་དང་ཐན་པ་ལོགས་གྱི་རྒྱུན་པས་སྤྱི་
 ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་ཅུང་ཅུ་སྲུང་གཞུང་གི་རྟོགས་རྒྱུབ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ ༡༩༢༡ བར་དཀའ་ངལ་ལེལ་སྐབས་བྱུང་།

༡༥ ཉེན་མེད་ས་རྒྱུ་འབྲོང་རང་ངོ་མཇུག་དགེ་སློན་ལྷ་དགོས་བརྗོད་དོན་ངལ་བ་འདྲེམས་
 མེད་གྱི་པི་ཅིན་དུ་སྐྱེ་ ༡ ཚེས ༡༧ ཉེན་འབྲོར་པས་ངོས་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ། སློན་བཀའ་སོ་
 སའི་གནས་རྒྱུ་འབྲོར་པ་དང་། གཙམ་ཞབས་རྣམས་གྱི་གནས་ལུགས་སྐོར་མཁན་མགྲོན་
 ལོ་གསུམ་དང་། རྣམ་གྲུ་བུམས་ཐོགས་གྱི་གནས་ལུལ་ལྟར་གྱི་ཐོག་ དེང་སྐབས་རྒྱ་ནག་
 རང་འཁྲུག་ལ་བརྟེན་གཙམ་ཞབས་སློ་འགྱུར་ཆ་རྟོགས་དཀའ་བས་ཞིབ་ཉན་བགྱིས་
 ཅིས་ཡོད་པ། པཎ་ཆེན་ལ་གཞུང་ཁོངས་ས་གནས་བྱེད་དབང་སྐོར་ཚོངས་ཞེན་བརྟུན་
 གཏམ་འབེར་གྲགས་སྐོར་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁྲུངས་དག་གིས་ཆ་པར་བཀའ་ཅིས། པཎ་ཆེན་ངོ་
 མཇུག་གྱི་དགེ་སློན་ལྷ་བྱབ་ན་དང་། དེ་མིན་མཁན་མགྲོན་ཅན་ལ་གོ་བསྐྱུར་གང་ཤེས་
 བྱེད་ཅིས་ཡོད་པ། སོག་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གྱི་གདན་ལྷོ་འབྲོང་རང་གཏོང་ཡོད་ཐོག་མི་སྣ་སེར་
 སྐྱ་གཏོང་ཅིས། རུ་དམར་སློན་ཆེན་ཁ་ར་ཉན་ཞེས་པ་དེ་གར་ཆེན་ཁྲལ་དུ་འབྲོར་ནས་
 རྒྱ་དང་ཆིང་བཞག་ཡོད་ལུས་¹⁶ལ་ཀུན་གཟིགས་མཚོག་ནས་ལྷག་སྲེལ་ཆེ་པར་མེད་
 གཞོད་འགྱུར་གྱི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་རྒྱ་རྒྱུང་ལ་གང་དག་ལྷོ་ཅིས་སོགས་ཞིབ་དེས་གང་ལེགས་
 མ་ཟད། རུ་རྒྱལ་ནས་ཆེ་རིང་དོ་རྗེའམ། སློ་རི་སོགས་གཏོང་སྐབས་བཀའ་དགོངས་
 བཏང་(གཏང་)ན་འགྲིགས་མིན་བརྗོད་པར་མ་ཉན་པའི་བརྗོད་བབས་ཞིབ་རྟོགས་ཁར།
 སྲིད་བཀའི་གནས་ལན་རྗེས་འབུལ་ལྷོ་རྒྱ་དང་། ལུ་རལ་ནས་གྲུ་རྒྱུན་གཏོང་ལསྟན་ལྷོ་
 ངོས་ཞེ་དགའི་ཞབས་འབུལ་མཚོན་བྱེད་བཏང་བར་ལསྐབས་འཇུག་དགོས་རྒྱ་སོགས་
 དེ་དོན་ཚོག་ཅིང་། ད་དུང་བསྟན་དོན་སློང་བཅངས་གྱི་དེར་ཡོད་མཁན་མགྲོན་ལོ་
 གསུམ་¹⁷བཅས་པར་རྒྱས་བབས་གྱི་གསར་འགྱུར་གནས་ལུགས་བྱེད་ཚོགས་གྱི་མོལ་
 བསྐྱུར་ཟབ་ནན་སྲུང་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད། ཤིང་བྱི་སྐྱེ་ ༩ ཚེས ༡༩ བཟང་
 སོར་གྱིས།



16 རུ་དམར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་སློན་ཆེན་གཞོན་པ་ཁ་ར་ཉན་རུ་རྒྱ་གཞིས་པན་ཚུན་ངོས་འདྲིན་བྱེད་པའི་ཆིངས་ཡིག་ལ་མིང་རྟགས་
 འགོད་ཆེད་པེ་ཅིང་དུ་ ༡༩༡༡ ལྷོ་སྐྱེ་ ༩ ཚེས ༡ ལ་འབྲོར།
 17 ༡༩༡༡ ལའི་ཤོད་སོག་ཆིངས་ཡིག་ལ་མིང་རྟགས་འགོད་མཁན་ཤོད་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཚབ་ཆེ་མགྲོན་དག་དབང་ཚོས་འདྲིན། ལུ་རལ་
 དུལ་སྐྱེས་དོད་མ་ཆེ་དུང་ཡི་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ལས་རྟོགས་དུང་ཡིག་དགེ་འདུན་སྐལ་བཟང་རྣམས་སོག་ལུལ་དུ་བཞུགས་སྐྱེས་
 ཡིན་པར་སྟངས།

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༄། །ཚེད་དོན། བཀྲས་སྒྲེའི་ཞབས་འབྲིང་རྣམས་ནས་སྤྱིར་གཞུང་སར་སྒྲོས་མེད་རི་
 ལྷན་དང་། མཐར་མི་ལུལ་ས་མཐར་བྱོལ་ལེབས་སོགས་ཀུན་གཟིགས་མཚོག་གི་ལྷ་སམ་
 རོ་བཤུས་སུ་རི་ལྷར་གསལ་བ་བཞིན། དེའི་སྒྲོར་འདི་ནས་དགེ་སྦྱོར་ད་བར་ནན་ལྷན་
 ལས་ལྷག་པའི་བྱེད་རང་ནས་བཀྲས་སྒྲེའི་ཞབས་འབྲིང་ལ་མོལ་བྱབ་དང་། ཀུན་གཟིགས་
 མཚོག་ལ་གནས་ཚུལ་སྤུལ་རུང་གསན་བཞེས་ཡོང་མདོག་མ་ཁ་ཁར། རང་སྦྱོགས་བདེན་
 པ་མེད་འདྲའི་རང་དོན་སྦྱབ་སྦྱོགས་ཀྱི་ལན་གནང་མཚམས་སྤྱིའི་དོན་གནད་རྣམས་
 རྟོགས་མེད་སྟབས་ཡ་རྒུལ་དབང་ཡབ་སྲས་དབར་བར་གསེས་ལྷ་རྒྱ་དགེ་མཚན་ཆེར་
 མེད་སྟབས་དེ་ན་ཀུན་གཟིགས་མཚོག་ནས་ཡ་རྒུལ་བ་ཡབ་སྲས་གོང་རིམ་གྱི་མཚན་ལ་
 དང་། ད་ལམ་སྒྲ་སྟོབ་བཤེས་གཉེན་བཞེན་ཚུལ་ལོག་པས་མཛད་ངན་གནང་བཞེད་ཅི་
 ལ་སྲིད་ཀྱང་། ཞབས་གས་འགའ་རེའི་ངན་དབང་སྦྱུ་ལས་དབང་གི་ལྷ་བཤེད་ཆེ་རྒྱུང་
 གསན་སྦྱོགས་ལོག་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཚོ་སྦྱོད་གང་ཅི་ཉན་སྣ་ངེས་ནན་དང་འབྲེལ་བས་འཕྲལ་
 འཕྲལ་འདི་གར་བྱེད་སྦྱོགས་བདེ་བའི་སྦྱོགས་ན་མི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་གསར་གནས་འཕྲལ་འཕྲལ་
 སྤེལ་ལུགས་དགོས་རྒྱུ་དེ་དོན་གནས་ཚུལ་སྟོན་སོང་ལྷར་ཡིད་བཅངས་ཀྱི་བྱེད་སྦྱོགས་
 སྣངས་བསྐྱེལ་རན་པའི་ཐལ་ལུས་མེད་པ་དགོས་རྒྱ་རྣམས་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད། ཤིང་བྱི་
 བོད་ལྷ་ ༡༠ ཚེས ༡༡ བཟང་པོར་བྲིས།



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༄། །ཚེད་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༤ ཚེས ༡ ཉིན་དེ་ནས་གསན་ཚུལ་རྟེན་རིན་
 དང་རུ་སྒྲུའི་སྒྲོར་ལྷས་བརྒྱན་པ་སྤེལ་འབྱོར་ཡིད་ལ་འདྲོངས། དེར་གསལ་ཚུ་བྱི་ལོ་འདི་
 བས་གནས་སོང་དེར་འབྱོར་ཐོག རྒྱུད་རང་རྒྱ་ཚན་དུ་ཡོད་པས་རིང་མིན་བྱང་ཡ་རྒུལ་
 ཁབ་དུ་བསྦྱོད་ཅིས་གང་ལོགས། འཇུར་མེད་མདུན་གནས་འབྱོར་གནས་ལན་འཕྲལ་
 སྤེལ་བྲིན་ཅིང་། ཁོ་ཚོ་ལོ་བ་འགོ་ཅིས་ཤིན་དུ་ཆེ་ཡང་གཏོང་མིན་མཐེས་པས་གཞན་
 དག་ཁ་ཁུངས་མེད་པ། དུས་བདེ་ཞོད་འཇགས། རི་སྟོན་བར་གྱི་ས་ཆ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལག་

ལོན་རིམ་རྒྱས་དང་། ཕྱི་ནང་མི་འདོད་པའི་དགྲ་མང་རྒྱུད། ད་ཕན་འཇམ་པོར་ཡོད་པ།
 རྒྱུད་རང་གི་དགེ་སྤྱད་ཕོན་ལུགས་སློང་དང་སྤྱད་ནས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་དཀའ་སྤྱད་ཅེས་པ་ཤེས་
 རབ་བཟང་བས་སྐྱ་སར་བཏང་ཡང་། ཁོ་པའི་ནང་དབུལ་པོར་བརྟེན་རྒྱུད་རང་གི་འགྲུང་
 སྤྱོད་འཚོ་ཐེབས་སུ་སྤྲད་པ། རྒྱུད་རང་གྲུང་སློང་གོས་ཞན་པས་བྱུན་ལུག་ཡོད་པས་ལོ་
 གཅིག་གཉིས་འཚོ་སྤྱད་ཀྱི་རེ་བ་ཡོད་པ་ཞིབ་དེས་ལ་འདི་ནས་གྲུང་ཚོ་སྤྱོད་དོན་ལྡན་གྱི་
 ལ་སྐྱབས་འཇུག་བཞིན་ཟིན་པ་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད། རྟེན་སྤྱད་བྱིན་བཅས་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་
 ༡༠ ཚེས་༡༣ བཟང་པོར་བྲིས།



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༡༣། རྒྱུད་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༡༠ ཚེས ༧ རྟེན་དེ་ནས་གནས་ཚུལ་སྤེལ་
 འཕྱོར་ཡིད་ལ་འདོད་པ། དེར་གསལ་ལ་འདི་ནས་གནས་སོང་དེར་འཕྱོར་ཐོག་ ཀྱུན་
 གཟིགས་མཚོག་ལ་དེ་ནས་སྤྱོད་དང་། སྤྱོད་བསལ་བཀའ་ཚེན་མཇུག་གནས་སུལ་
 ཟིན་འབྲིས་རྣམ་གྱུ་བྱམས་པ་ཐོགས་མེད་བརྒྱུད་སུལ་འཕྱོར་སློང་ཉེ་ཆར་གནས་ཚུལ་
 སོང་བ་ལྟར་ཐལ་ལུས་མེད་པ་དགོས་རྒྱུ་མ་ཟད། རུ་དམར་སློན་ཚེན་ཁ་ར་ཉང་པུ་ཅིན་
 ཚེན་ཁལ་དུ་འཕྱོར་པས་རྒྱ་སྤྱོད་མཇུག་ལམ་ཚེ་གཤིས་ཀྱུན་གཟིགས་མཚོག་མགོ་
 བཏགས་སྤངས་ཚེ་མི་ལེགས་པས་གཙང་སྤེ་གཞུང་འོག་ཡིན་པ་བརྗོད་ཁར། རུ་དམར་
 འདི་བཞིན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཉམས་རྒྱུང་ཁག་ལ་ཕན་དེས་གྱི་བོད་དུའང་དེ་དོན་བྱེད་རྒྱུའི་
 ཁས་སྤངས་ཡོད་པ། ལུ་སྤེ་རུ་དང་རྒྱ་ཚུང་ལའང་པཎ་ཚེན་སློང་གོང་བཞིན་རྒྱ་མཚན་
 བརྗོད་པར་ཁས་སྤངས། རུ་དམར་ལ་སློང་དོགས་མི་དགོས་པ་ཐོགས་ཞིབ་དེས་གང་
 ལེགས་ཁར། མཁན་ཚེན་ཡོངས་འདིན་སུར་སྤྱོད་བྱམས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཚེའི་ཞལ་གདམས་
 སློང་དོན་ནས་གྲུང་སློང་གོས་ཡོད་སྐྱབས་བཅས་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད། ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༡༠
 ཚེས ༡༤ བཟང་པོར་བྲིས།



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༄༅། །ཚེད་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༩ ཉིན་དེ་ནས་གནས་ཚུལ་རྟེན་གསེར་
 གྱི་ཚུ་ཚོད་འཁོར་ལོ་སྤུས་ལྡན་སྤྱོད་བརྗེ་ཚོགས་ཅན་གཅིག་གི་བརྒྱན་པ་སྤེལ་འབྱོར་
 ཡིད་ལ་འདྲོངས། དེར་གསལ་ཁོང་ལོ་བ་དེ་བཞིན་ས་བསྐྱོར་ཡིན་པ་ཡོངས་གྲགས་
 དབྱིན་རིར་ཞུས་གཤིས་དེ་ལན་ཡོང་མིན་མི་ཤེས་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གང་ནས་ས་བསྐྱོར་
 པ་བོད་ལྗོངས་སུ་འགོ་སྤུས་ལ་ཁོང་ལོ་བ་གཅིག་ལུ་བཀག་བསྐྱོམས་ཤེས་མི་ཡོང་ཞེས་
 མོན་སོང་བ་ལམ་བར་ལོ་གཅིག་ལྷག་ཅམ་འགོར་རྒྱར་འབུལ་རྒྱ་ཐོ་བྱར་གསལ་ལྟར་
 ཞུ་གོགས་གྱི་འབུལ་ཚན་ཏུ་སངས་སྐུ་ལུ་འབྱོར་ཞིབ་ངེས་གྱུར་པ་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད།
 རྟེན་སྐྱེད་བྱིན་དང་། ལག་འདེབས་སུ་རྩོག་བྱུང་བཅས་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༡༡ ཚེས་ ༡༩
 བཟང་པོར་བྲིས།



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༄༅། །ཚེད་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༩ ཉིན་དེ་ནས་གནས་ཚུལ་སྤེལ་འབྱོར་
 ཡིད་ལ་འདྲོངས། དེར་གསལ་ཚོས་མཇུག་འགྱུར་མེད་ཅན་མདུན་འདི་ནས་གནས་སོང་
 དེར་འབྱོར་གྱི་དགེ་སྦྱོར་རྣམས་ཞིབ་བཤད་མཚམས་བཀག་མེད་གཏོང་ཁར་གནས་
 པ། དེ་ནས་ལོག་པ་གང་ཡང་མེད་པར་མི་ལེགས་པ་མང་པོ་ཞུས་འདུག རེ་གཉིས་ནས་
 འདོད་གཏམ་ལས་མེད་པ། མི་སྣ་འདི་ཡང་སློབ་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཡིན་པར་འཕྲོས་མོལ་ཞིབ་
 གསལ་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་ཞིབ་ངེས་དེ་དོན་བཞིན་ཟིན་ཅིང་། དེ་གཤི་གཙོ་པོ་ཁར་ཏང་རྒྱའི་
 མི་སྣ་སློབ་ཚེན་ཏུ་པི་ཅིན་ཏུ་བསྐྱོད་པར་བོད་སོག་སྐྱོར་འཕྲོས་མོལ་བྱེད་རྒྱ་དང་། འདི་
 དག་ཡོང་སྐབས་དྲག་ཏུ་འགོ་སྤུངས་ལ་གཞིགས་ཆེ་བརྟན་པོ་མི་ཡོང་ངམ་སྐྱམ་པ་འདུག་
 ཏུང་རི་འགྱུར་མ་ངེས་གསལ་བ་ཞིབ་རྟོགས་གྱུར་པ་རྣམས་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད། ཤིང་བྱི་
 བོད་ལྷ་ ༡༡ ཚེས་ ༡༩ བཟང་པོར་བྲིས།



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༄༅། །ཚེད་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༩ ཉིན་དེ་ནས་གནས་ཚུལ་སྐྱེལ་འབྱོར་
 ཡིད་ལ་འདྲོངས། དེར་གསལ་ཚོས་མཛད་སྒོ་བཟང་ཤེས་རབ་ཅན་མདུན་དེ་ཕྱོགས་
 དཔོན་རིགས་ཁག་ལ་དཀར་ཡོལ་གྱི་ཡོ་བྱད་སོགས་བསྐྱར་བར་ལམ་བར་སྤང་རྒྱུ་གི་
 དེར་འབྱོར་མན་མེད་གྱུར་ཚབ་ཁྱོད་ནས་ལི་སྐྱུ་དང་། གསེར་དདུལ་གྱི་སྤྱད་པ་སྤྱད་པ་
 གང་ལེགས་མ་ཟད། རྗེས་སུ་ཕྱག་རྟགས་འབུལ་སློག་གནང་དགོས་རིགས་ལ་ཡུལ་ཐོན་
 དངོས་རིགས་དགོས་རྒྱུ་དང་། ལྷ་རལ་དདུལ་ཁང་དོ་དམ་ཅེ་མཁྱོན་གཏམ་སྟན་སྒོ་བཟང་
 ཚོས་ལྷན་ནས་དེ་གར་ལས་ལུགས་སློབ་སྦྱོངས་སུ་བཏང་བའི་གཡོག་བསོད་ནམས་དོ་རྗེ་
 ཟེར་བ་དེ་གར་སྤྲོད་རིང་རིག་བཅོམ་ཆེ་བས་སྐད་ཡིག་དང་། མེ་རྩལ་བཟོ་རིགས་ལམ་
 ཅམ་རོ་ཚོད་ཡོད་རུང་ནད་མནར་གྱི་སོག་ཡུལ་དུ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་བར་དེ་ག་རྒྱལ་ཁང་
 བས་ཐོགས་ཐོབ་ཆེ་སྤྱད་ཞིབ་རྟོགས་ཁར། ཅེ་མཁྱོན་ནས་གནས་འབྱོར་ནང་གསལ་ཁོ་པ་
 འདས་ཁྱོད་གྱུར་འདུག་པ་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད། ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༡༡ ཚེས་ ༡༩ བཟང་པོར་
 བྲིས།།



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༄༅། །ཚེད་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༩ ཉིན་དེ་ནས་གནས་ཚུལ་སྐྱེལ་འབྱོར་
 ཡིད་ལ་འདྲོངས། དེར་གསལ་དུར་བེད་ཆེ་བའི་གྲ་བཟང་པོ་ཟེར་བ་རང་ཡུལ་ནས་ཡུལ་
 ཕྱོལ་དུ་རུ་ཁྲི་ཡུལ་དུ་སོང་སྐོར་ཁྱོད་རང་དང་། བྲིམས་གསར་ལ་མི་དགའ་བ་པ་རོལ་
 པོས་ཤེས་ནས་འབྲིད་འགོ་སྐབས་ཁོ་བས་ཁྱོད་རང་གི་ས་ནས་བསྐྱེན་རྗེས་དང་། དབང་
 ལུང་མང་ཁུས་གྱི་སློབ་མ་ཡིན་རུང་། བཟང་པོས་ཆང་བསྐྱང་(བཏུང་)བར་ཁྱོད་ནས་དགོ་
 སྒོན་བརྗོད་པར་མ་འདོད་པས་ཁ་སྤངས་(བཏུང་)སྐོར་དགོངས་ཕྱོགས་མེད་པ་ལྷ་ཐད་
 རང་བཞིན་གཡེང་བ་མ་དགོས། འདིར་བཅར་སློ་རི་སོབ་འདི་བཞིན་ཤེས་ཡོན་ཆེ་ཞིང་།
 རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནས་ཡིད་འཆེས་བྱེད་པ། སྤྲ་ཡར་སྤྱ་ཚོས་སྤང་དཀར་ཁར་ཁྱོད་རང་གི་སློབ་
 མར་བརྟེན་འཕུལ་ཕྱག་གང་ཅིའི་སྐོར་ནང་མོལ་མཛད་འཇུག་དེ་དོན་བཞིན་ཟིན་ཅིང་

ཡང་བཀའ་ཚིག་ལ། ཀུན་གཟིགས་མཚོག་གལ་སྲིད་སོག་ཡུལ་དུ་ཕེབས་ཆེ་བཅར་བསྐྱེད་
 ཞིབ་ཞུ་གནང་རྒྱ། ཏུ་དམར་སྐོར་ཡང་སློ་དྲོགས་མ་དགོས་པ་སོགས་གསལ་བ་ཚུགས་ན་
 མི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་དོན་འཁུར་བསམ་ཆེ་བསྐྱེད་གང་ལེགས་བྱུང་འདུག་པ་འདིར་ཡང་
 ཡིད་སློ་ལྷག་པར་བརྟམ་ཤིང་། འདི་སྐོར་སྐོར་དུ་སྲིད་དམ་¹⁸དང་། འདི་ག་ནས་¹⁹གནས་
 ཚུལ། སྤ་ཞིབ་སྤུལ་གསལ་ལྟར་ཀུན་གཟིགས་མཚོག་ནས་སློ་སློབ་བཤེས་གཞེན་བརྟེན་
 ཚུལ། བསྐྱེད་པ་སྐྱི་སྐོས་སྐྱི་ནང་གི་གཏམ་དོན་ལར་རྒྱ་གང་ལའང་མ་གཟིགས་པའི་དོན་
 ཚུང་དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་གི་རྩ་བར་སློ་བྱུར་མི་ཡུལ་ས་མཐར་ཆེབས་བསྐྱེད་གནང་བ་ཚང་མ་
 སློ་ཕམ་གྱི་གནས་ཀྱང་། ད་ཆ་ཡ་རྒྱལ་མཚོག་ཡབ་སྐུ་སློབ་ཀྱི་དང་དམ་དང་། དེ་ག་
 བཤེས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་ལན་ཞིབ་གསལ་གནང་ཡོད་ཤག་ལ་ཕེབས་གསལ་ཅི་མཆིས་འདི་
 གར་གནས་ཚུལ་གནང་ལུགས་མ་ཟད། ཅི་ལྟེ་ད་དུང་ཡང་ཞབས་གསལ་དོན་མ་གོས་ཞུས་
 རེས་སུ་གསལ་བའི་གསེར་སྐོར་དུག་རྒྱ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྤུགས་སློ་སྐྱིར་ཚུགས་རྒྱ་གཞུང་སོགས་
 ལ་སྐར་བཞིན་སྐྱི་ནང་ལག་སྐྱེལ་གནང་བཞིན་འདུག་ཆེ་མཛད་སྐྱོད་ནམས་ཉང་གཞོན་
 ཞིབ་རྩད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ཚུགས་གང་ཅིའི་བྱ་ལམ་བྱེད་བདེའི་ཁྱད་ཆོ་སྐྱོད་གནས་ཚུལ་འཕྲལ་
 འཕྲལ་ཡོད་པ་བཅས་སྐར་བཞིན་བསྐྱེད་སྲིད་ལར་དགའི་མཛད་ཁྱབ་སྤུགས་འཁུར་ཟབ་
 བཞེས་ཅི་ནས་ཡོང་བ་གྱིས། ཤིང་བྱི་ལྷ་ ༡༡ ཆེས་ ༡༥



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༡༥། ཡང་བསྐྱེད། ལུར་རྒྱུང་ནང་གསལ་དེ་གའི་དགོན་དུ་དཔལ་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་རྒྱུད་གྲུ་ཚང་
 གི་ཕྱག་སྐོལ་བཞིན་རྒྱུད་གྲུ་བསྐྱེད་པར་འཆད་ཉན་སློབ་སྐྱེལ་ཐག་རིང་ནས་གདན་ཞུ་
 མ་སྐབ་པས་རྒྱུད་སྐྱོད་དགེ་བཤེས་ཤེས་རབ་བཟང་པོ་གཏོང་དགོས་དེ་དགོན་བཞིའི་སེར་
 རྒྱ་སྐྱེད་མོང་ནས་ཞུ་རྒྱུའི་རྟེན་རིན་དང་འཁོར་ལོ་ཆེ་བ་གཅིག སྤུལ་འཁྱོར་ལྟར་རིམ་

18 འདིར་དཔར་བསྐྱེད་ཞུས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་མང་ ༡༩༦༠༧ འདི་སྲིད་དམ་སྐྱོག་མའི་བཀའ་ཡིག་དེ་ཡིན་པར་སྐྱོང་།
 19 འདིར་དཔར་བསྐྱེད་ཞུས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་མང་ ༡༩༦༠༩ འདི་བཀའ་ཤག་ནས་བཏང་བའི་བཀའ་ཡིག་དེ་ཡིན་པར་སྐྱོང་།

གསལ་ཚོ་(ཚོག)པ་མ་ཟད། ལ་རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་འགྲུར་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་པར་གཞི་གསར་
བསྐྱེད་ཞལ་འདེབས་སུ་བྱོད་ནས་རིན་དང་འཁོར་ལོ་ཆེ་བ་གཅིག་ཕུལ་འབྱོར་གཞུང་
ཁལ་སློན་བཀོད་ཟིན་ཅིང་། དགོན་ཁག་དྲུག་སོ་སོར་བསྐྱེད་རིན་ཅི་གནས་ཕུལ་འབྲུས་
སུ་བཀའ་འགྲུར་ཆ་ཚང་རེ་པར་འདེབས་གཏོང་དགོས་སྐོར་རྗེས་སུ་རིམ་གསལ་ཚོག་པ་
ནམས་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད།།



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༄༅། །ཆེད་དོན། ད་ལམ་ཤིང་བྱི་བོད་ལྷ་ ༡༡ ཚེས་ ༡༡ ཉིན་དེ་ནས་གནས་ཚུལ་རྟེན་
སོག་དར་ནང་མངོད་དང་། རྒྱ་སེ་དཀར་པོ་མེ་དོག་རིས་རྒྱ་རྟེང་གི་གསོལ་ལེབས་སྤྲུམ་
ལེགས་གཉིས། རིན་དང་རྣམ་ཚུངས་གཅིག་གི་བརྒྱན་པ་སྤེལ་འབྱོར་ཡིད་ལ་འདྲོངས།
དེར་གསལ་པ་ཆ་ཆེན་སྤྲད་ཐེབས་གོ་ཐོས་ཐོག རོས་ཀྱང་བསྐྱོད་སྐྱད་རྒྱལ་ནང་ནས་དྲི་
ཅད་སྐབས་རོས་སྤྲད་བསྐྱོད་མ་བཞིས་པ་སློ་བདེ་བྱུང་བ་དང་། ཡབ་སྲས་དབར་ལོག་
སློན་ནས་སྤང་དགྲུག་མཚན་དམན་ (དམད)་མ་བཟོད་པས་བྱོད་རང་ཁྱ་རལ་དུ་འབྱོར་
སྐབས་བོད་པ་སོག་པོ་གཉིས་ནས་ཕི་ཅིན་དུ་བསྐྱོད་དགོས་བརྗོད་པ། རྒྱ་སྤྱོད་ནས་པ་ཆ་
ཆེན་དུ་བསྐྱོར་མ་ཁུས་གོང་ཁལ་ཁར་གདན་ཁུ་མ་སྤུབ་ཆེ་བོད་སྤྲོངས་བསྐྱུགས་དེས་
སྤོན་འཁོར་ནམས་ལ་དགེ་བཤད་བསྐྱོད་ཅིས་ཕི་ཅིན་དུ་སྤོག་འགོ་མ་ཐོན་ཡང་། ཡབ་
སྲས་དགོངས་མཐུན་ཞབས་འདེགས་སོན་ཆེ་འབྱོར་མེད་ཞེ་བསྐྱེད་གང་ལེགས། བང་
འབྲུགས་ཀྱང་ཆེ་དབང་ཆ་གཞན་ཤོར་སློ་དྲོགས་ཞིབ་དེས། འབྲུལ་སྤྱག་ཅི་འགྲུར་མ་
རྟོགས་པ་དང་། རུ་དམར་སྐོར་གནས་ཚུལ་རིམ་འབྱོར་དགོས་ཕྱོགས་ཡོང་དོན་མེད་པ་མ་
ཟད། རུ་དམར་ནས་བསྐྱུན་གཞོད་ཆེ་ཁར། བྱོད་རང་ཀྱང་དེའི་ཕྱོགས་ཡིན་ལུགས་སྤྱིར་
ཐོས་མང་བྱུང་བྱུང་། བདེན་འཛིན་མེད་གཤེས་གཡེང་བ་མ་དགོས། རུ་དམར་ལེ་ཤུའི་
ཚོས་ལ་མི་དགའ་བས་ནང་བསྐྱུན་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་མོས་པས་བྱོད་རང་དང་། བྱིམས་སྤོལ་
རྟོགས་རིགས་འགའ་ཞིག་ནས་བསྐྱུན་པ་ཚོས་ལུགས་སྐོར་ཚོགས་འདུ་རྒྱས་འཛོམས་
ཐོག་མངོས་ཚོས་མ་ཡིན་པའི་གདན་ས་སེ་འབྲས་དགའ་གསུམ་ལྟར་བྱེད་རྒྱ་གྲོས་མཐུན་

གྱི་འཇུག་གཞོན་ཅུ་གཞུང་ནས་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་དོན་སྲིད་བྱུང་བ་འཇུག་ཤིང་། བསམ་མེད་
 འགའ་ཞིག་ནས་མཐོང་ཕྱོགས་བྱེད་ཁར། དེ་ཕྱོགས་མི་སྣ་དང་། བཀའ་གཏུན་མ་སྟུལ་
 བས་སོག་རྒྱལ་ཆེ་ལག་སློབ་པམ། ལྷུ་ལ་ཆེ་དེར་ཡོད་གཞུང་ཞབས་ལའང་བྱེད་ཆེ་ཡོད་
 རྒྱུ་ལམ་སེང་སྟབས་འགྲིགས་དཀའ་ངེས། སོག་རིགས་སློབ་གཞེར་བཟང་རིགས་རྒྱུད་
 བྱར་འཇུག་གནང་དེ་ཕྱོགས་མ་བསྐྱོད་པ་སློབ་པམ་བྱེད་པ་སོགས་ཞིབ་རྟོགས་བྱོང་ནས་
 བསྟན་ལར་བསམ་པའི་དགོ་སྟོན་བརྗོད་འོས་མ་ཟད། རྒྱུད་སྟོད་དགེ་བཤེས་ཤེས་རབ་
 ལྷིང་པོའི་རྒྱུ་བསྟན་འགྲོར་པམ་ཆེ་ཡོད་པ་གང་ལེགས། ཐོར་ཚོད་དུ་རི་ཚེ་རྩ་སག་ཅན་
 དགོངས་འཁྲོལ་རྒྱུ་རིམ་གསལ་ཚོག་རིགས་བཅས་ཡིད་འཇགས་བྱེད། རྟེན་སྲུང་བྱིན་
 དང་། རིན་ཆེན་བཙོ་བུ་ལྷ་ཤེལ་རིལ་བུ་སྟོག་གསུམ་བཅས་ཤིང་སྲུང་བོད་ལྷ་ ༡ ཆེས་ ༥
 བཟང་པོར་བྲིས།



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ལ་ཡིག་༽ བཀྲིས་སྟུན་པོ་གདན་སའི་རྒྱུ་མི་མང་ནས་ཡི་གེ་བཀྲམ་པའི་རོ་
 བཤུས་²⁰

༡༢། ཁབདག་ཅག་གི་སྟོན་པ་ཤུག་ཐུབ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་སྐྱེ་བྱུང་ན་ལས་འདས་ཁར་འཕགས་
 པ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་སྐྱུན་རས་གཟིགས་ལ་བྱང་རྒྱུ་སེམས་དཔའ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་
 པོ་འཕགས་པ་སྐྱུན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ཐུག་ནས་སྟུན་པ་སྟུན་ནག་འདྲེ་སྲིད་གྱི་ཡུལ་
 བོད་རྫོངས་འདི་ཉིད་གདུལ་ཞིང་དུ་ལྷུང་བསྟན་པ་སོགས་ཞིབ་པ་མ་ཉི་བཀའ་འཇུག་
 གྱིས་མཚོན་མདོ་བརྒྱུད་(རྒྱུད)་མང་པོར་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་དང་། བོད་ཡུལ་འདིར་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་
 རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤར་པའི་ཡ་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུད་ལྷ་པ་དམག་བརྒྱ་པའི་སྲས་མཚོན་ལྟན་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་རིམ་
 གྱིས་བོད་དུ་བྱོན་པ་རྗེ་བོར་བསྐོས་པ་གཏའ་བྲི་བཅན་པོ། ལྷ་ཐོ་ཐོ་རིས་འབྲོ་གཉན་ལྡེ་བྱུ།

20 ར་ས་བོད་གྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་གི་ཡིག་རྟིང་ཤོག་སྐམ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་འདི་ནང་སྐྱ་སྐྱེ་ར་ཡིག་ཚང་ནས་གནང་བའི་ཡིག་རྟིང་གསུམ་ལྷ་ཡི་གེ་
 འདིའི་རོ་བཤུས་ཇི་བཞིན་པ་ཞིག་འདུག།

ལྷག་རི་གཉན་ཟིགས། གནམ་རི་སྤོང་བཅན། ཚོས་ཡུལ་སྤོང་བཅན་སྐམ་པོ། བྱང་
 རི་བྱང་བཅན། མང་སྤོང་མང་བཅན། འདུས་སྤོང་མང་པོ། བྱི་ལྡེ་གཙུག་བརྟན། མེས་
 ལག་ཚོམས། བྱི་སྤོང་ལྡེ་ཕུ་བཅན། ལྷ་ལྡེ་བཅན་པོ། ལྷ་ཉིག་བཅན་པོ། ལྷ་ས་ན་ལེགས་
 འཛིངས་ཡོན། མང་འདུགས་(བདག)་བྱི་རལ། གཅེན་སྲང། འོད་སྤྱང། མང་འབདག་
 དཔལ་འཁོར་བཅན། ལྷི་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་གྱི་མང་འུམ་སྤྱོན་ནས་ཆབ་སྲིད་བཟུང།
 ལྷ་ས་རྒྱུང་བ་ལྡེ་གཙུག་མགོན། དེའི་ལྷ་ས་ཁོ་རེས་རབ་བྱུང་མཛད་ནས་མཚན་ཡེ་ཤེས་
 འོད་དུ་སྤྱུགས་(བྲགས)། སྲང་དར་ནས་མོད་སྤྱི་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱར་མ་བྱུང་པར་ལོ་སྤྱི་མ་བརྒྱ་
 ཅམ་སོང་བས་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུང་བམ་མ་ཆད་པ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་འཁོར་བུར་བསྐྱར་
 ཞིང། དེ་རྗེས་འཕགས་པ་སྤྱོན་རས་གཟིགས་གྱི་རྣམ་སྤྱུལ་དུར་སྤྱིག་འཛིན་པ་རྒྱལ་བ་
 དགེ་འདུན་གྱུ་བ་ཆེན་པོས་བསྟན་འགྲོའི་མཛད་པ་རྒྱབས་པོ་ཆེའི་སྲིད་དུ་སྤྱི་བསྟན་ས་
 ཉེ་རིམ་བཞིན་བཤད་གྱུ་བ་མདོ་སྤྱུགས་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་མཛད་ཐོག་
 བཀྲིས་སྤྱོན་པོ་གདན་ས་རྟེན་བརྟེན་པར་བཅས་པ་གསར་བཞེངས་གྱི་དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་
 ལྡེ་གསར་འཛུགས་བསྐྱུངས་ཉེ་འཛིན་སྤོང་སྤེལ་གསུམ་མཛད་སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་མོངས་པ་ཚོས་
 དབྱིངས་སྤྱི་བཤེགས་ལྱལ་སྤོབ་མ་བཟང་པོ་བཀྲིས་དང། ལྱང་རིགས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཡེ་ཤེས་
 ཚེ་མོ་བཅས་སྤྱི་བཤེགས་སྤོབ་སོ་སོར་པར་ཆེན་གྱི་མཚན་བཅོས་གཞུང་གནས་ནས་རྩལ་
 ཉེ་བཀྲས་སྤྱོན་གདན་འཛིན་དུ་བསྐྱོད་གཞུག་བསྐྱུངས་ཤིང། དེ་རྗེས་སྤྱི་བསྟན་མགོན་དུ་
 ལའི་སྤྱི་མ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྤྱི་སྤོང་གཉིས་པ་དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ནས་བཀྲས་སྤྱོན་གདན་
 སའི་འཛིན་སྤོངས་སྤེལ་གསུམ་མཛད་སྤྱི་དབུས་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་འགྲོའི་མཛད་པ་རྒྱ་
 ཆེ་དང་ལྷག་པར་དཔལ་ལྷན་ལྷ་མོ་སོགས་བསྟན་སྤྱང་དམ་ཅན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་བསྟོན་གནས་
 ཚོས་འཁོར་རྒྱལ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གསར་བཞེངས་སོགས་གྱི་སྲིད་ཆིབས་བསྐྱར་གནང་
 དགོས་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་གདན་སའི་འཛིན་སྤོང་སྤོབ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཚེ་མོར་པར་ཆེན་གྱི་
 མཚན་བཅོས་དང་བཅས་བསྐྱོད་གཞུག་མཛད་པ་དང། པར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཚེ་མོས་གདན་
 ལྷས་ལ་བརྟེན་བཀྲས་སྤྱོན་དུ་ཆིབས་བསྐྱར་མཛད་དེ་འཛིན་སྤོང་སྤེལ་གསུམ་གནང་
 རྗེས་དབུས་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤེལ་གནང་ཁར་སྤོབ་མ་ལྷ་བཅུན་སྤོབ་བཟང་བསྐྱོད་གནང་མཛད་
 ཀྱང། དེ་རྗེས་དབེན་ས་པ་སྤོབ་བཟང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་(རྒྱན)་ཡོགོང་ས་སྤྱི་བསྟན་མགོན་ལྷ་པ་ཆེན་

སོའི་དབུ་སྒྲར་བཞེས་ཏེ་སྒྲ་སྒྲོབ་ཏུ་གྱུར་པས་བཀྲའ་ལྷན་གཞན་འདྲིན་བསྐྱོ་གཞག་རྩལ་
 ཏེ་ཚོས་གཞིས་དགེ་འདུན་དང་བཅས་འདྲིན་སྐྱོང་གནང་འགོས་བཀའ་བསྐྱོ་མཛད་པས་
 ད་ལྟའི་བར་ཡུལ་དབང་ཡབ་སྐུ་སྒྲོབ་ཀྱི་གཟིངས་སྟོང་(བསྟོང)་བཀྲར་བཅོས་གང་
 ཆེ་བསྐྱུངས་པ་བཀའ་གདམས་སྒྲིག་པའི་(སྒྲིགས་བམ)་དང་མཛད་པ་གསུང་རྣམ་རིམ་
 པར་གསལ། རྣམ་གྱིས་སྒྲ་མ་བོད་ཀྱི་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་གསང་བའི་ཐོག་ནས་གྲ་པ་
 བརྒྱ་སྟོར་ལ་མེ་མདའ་བསྐྱར་ཏེ་ཕྱོས་ཕྱོལ་གནང་བ་བོད་མི་སེར་སྐྱུ་མང་པོས་འདི་འདྲ་
 གནང་དགོས་ཅི་འདྲ་ཡིན་ཅེས་སྐད་ཆ་མང་པོ་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་འདུག མི་ཁ་ཤས་ནས་བོད་
 གཞུང་གི་བཞུགས་བཅོད་མི་བདེ་བ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་འདྲ་ཟེར། མི་ཁ་ཤས་ནས་དེ་མ་རེད་ཡ་
 སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཏུ་ལའི་སྒྲ་མ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་རྒྱ་ནག་སོག་ཡུལ་རྒྱ་གར་བཅས་ལ་ཕེབས་སྐབས་
 བཀྱིས་སྒྲ་མ་དང་། ཞབས་ཕྱི་སྐྱུན་བསལ་སྒོ་བཟང་ཟེར་བ་སོགས་ནས་རྒྱ་དཔོན་ཨི་བན་
 ལན་དང་། ཀྲང་གཞིས་ལ་རྒྱ་བརྒྱན་སྐད་དེ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྲིད་དབང་ཆ་ཡོང་བའི་རྒྱ་ནག་
 ཡགོང་མར་སྐྱུན་ལྷུ་བཏང་ཐོག་རྒྱ་ནག་པི་ཅིང་ཏུ་དོན་གཅོད་བཀྱིས་སྒྲ་མའི་སྐྱུན་བསལ་
 རྩ་མགོན་ཟེར་བ་བཏང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འདྲམ་སྲིད་ཕྱི་ལོ་ཡུལ་ཁག་ལ་གསང་(གསར)་
 འགྱུར་བཀྲམས་(བཀྲམ)་པ་ཚང་མས་ཤེས་གསལ་རེད་དེའི་སྟོར་བོད་གཞུང་ནས་རྩད་
 དཔྱད་གནང་ཡོང་བསམ་པའི་རང་མཚོང་གི་གསང་བའི་ཐོག་ནས་ཕེབས་པ་ཡིན་འདྲ་
 ཟེར། ཡུ་ལའི་སྒྲ་མ་རྒྱ་གར་ཏུ་ཕེབས་སྐབས་བཀྱིས་སྒྲ་མ་རྒྱ་ཨི་བན་ལན་ནས་ལྷ་སར་
 གདན་ལུས་སྐབས་ཏུ་ལའི་སྒྲ་མ་སྐྱུ་སྲིད་མང་པོའི་བཞུགས་ཁྲི་འཕར་བསྐྱུས་ཏེ་བཀྱིས་སྒྲ་
 མའི་བཞུགས་ཁྲི་གསར་ཏུ་རྒྱབ་པར་བཞུགས་ཏེ་མཛལ་ཁ་གནང་གཤིས་སེར་སྐྱུ་མི་མང་
 ཏ་ལས་ཏུ་གཤོར་འདུག བཀྱིས་སྒྲ་མའི་ཡབ་རིམ་བཞི་རྟ་མགིན་ལགས་དང་། བཀྲའ་
 ཞབས་ཁ་ཤས་འགྲིགས་མིན་སྟོར་ཡབ་རྟ་མགིན་ལགས་ལྷ་ཅེ་རྫོང་ཏུ་བཟང་བཅོན་ལ་
 བཏང་རྗེས་བཀྱིས་སྒྲ་མས་གསོད་དགོས་དམ་འབྱུར་བཀའ་རྒྱ་གནང་བ་བོད་གཞུང་ཏུ་
 བྱུང་ཡང་རྩད་གཅོད་མ་གནང་བ་རེད། བན་པའི་ལུགས་སྟོལ་ཚོས་ལྷའི་སྒྲ་མར་སངས་
 རྒྱས་དངོས་ཀྱི་མཚོང་བཞག་སྟེ་བཀའ་གང་གནང་མ་འགལ་བ་དགོས་པར་བཀྱིས་སྒྲ་
 མ་ནས་ཏུ་ལའི་སྒྲ་མ་རིན་པོ་ཆེར་དད་གུས་མེད་པས་སྐོག་ཏུ་ཕྱོས་ཕྱོལ་གནང་བ་འདི་
 དག་སྐར་ཕན་བཀྱིས་སྒྲ་མ་དཔོན་གཡོག་ནས་རྒྱལ་བྱིམས་དང་ཚོས་བྱིམས་འགལ་བའི་

མངོད་པ་སྣ་ཚོ་གས་གནང་བ་ནམས་བོད་གཞུང་ནས་ཚད་གཅོད་གནང་དོགས་ཡིན་
 པ་འདྲ་འདུག་ཟེར། མི་ཁ་ཤས་ནས་སྤར་པན་བོད་དུ་དམག་འཁྲུག་བྱུང་བའི་དམག་
 སྲིད་པ་བཀྲིས་ལྷན་པོ་སླ་བྱང་ནས་མ་སྤུལ་བ། ཚ་འདེད་གནང་གཤིས་སྐབ་མ་སྐབ་པས་
 གསར་ཐབས་ཕྱོགས་ཕྱོལ་གནང་བ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་ཟེར། མི་ཁ་ཤས་ནས་བཀྲིས་སླ་མ་རང་
 གི་བཞུགས་ས་དབེན་དགོན་ཟེར་བའི་དགོན་རྒྱང་ཞིག་ལས་མེད་པ་ད་ལྟ་ཡོད་ལུས་
 ཡིན། བཀྲིས་ལྷན་པོ་ཟེར་བ་སྐབས་མགོན་ཏུ་ལའི་སླ་མ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐྱ་སྤེང་དང་པོ་དགེ་
 འདུན་བྱུང་བས་གསར་དུ་ཨར་པོ་རྒྱབ་སྟེ་སྐྱ་འདྲ། ཚོས་མང་པོ་བཞག་སྟོག་གྲུ་པ་མང་
 པོ་གཙུགས་པའི་སྟོགས་སྟོབ་གཞིས་ཀ་མི་སེར་བཅས་བོད་གཞུང་ནས་གནང་བ་རེད།
 བཀྲིས་སླ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཚེ་མོ་ཟེར་བར་ཏུ་ལའི་སླ་མ་སྐྱ་སྤེང་རིམ་པ་སླ་སྟོབ་བྱུང་གཤིས་ཏུ་
 ལའི་སླ་མ་སྐྱ་སྤེང་ལྟ་པས་དབེན་ས་སླ་མའི་སྐྱ་སྤེང་སྟོ་བཟང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་(རྒྱན)་བཀྲིས་
 ལྷན་པོའི་སླ་མར་བསྟོན་གཞག་གནང་བ་ནས་བཟུངས་བཀྲིས་སླ་མ་ཞེས་མིང་སྟོག་པ་རེད།
 པའ་ཆེན་ཟེར་བ་སྤར་པོ་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་པའ་ཆེན་པའ་ཆེན་ཟེར་བའི་གོ་མིང་ཏུ་ལའི་སླ་མ་
 བས་གཟེངས་བསྟོད་ཀྱི་མིང་གནང་བ་རེད། དམག་སྟོགས་བཀྲིས་ལྷན་པོར་འབྲིས་པ་
 དེ་གཞིས་ཁག་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ལ་སྤུས་བོད་དུ་ལ་སིང་། བོར་ཁ་བཅས་དང་དམག་
 འཁྲུག་སྐབས་ནས་སེ་འབྲས་དགའ་གསུམ་རྒྱུད་སྟོད་སྟོད། གཞུང་ཞབས་སྟེ་དཔོན་མི་
 དྲག་བཀྲིས་ལྷན་པོ་ཚང་མས་སྐབས་སྐབས་ཡིན་འདུག་ཀྱང་། དེ་རྗེས་དམག་འཁྲུགས་
 རིམ་པ་བྱུང་བའི་དམག་སྟོགས་རང་ཆ་སྐབ་གཤིས་བོད་གཞུང་དམག་སྟོགས་ལག་
 འཛོངས་བྱུང་སྐབས་བསྐྱེད་འདེད་བྱས་པ་ལས། སྤར་མི་འབྲི་བར་འདེད་བྱས་པ་མིན་པ་
 འདྲ་ཞེས་སྟོགས་མི་མང་ནས་འཐེ་མེད་འཐེ་ཚོགས་(ཐེ་མེད་ཐེ་གཏོགས)སྟེང་ཆ་མང་པོ་
 བོས་(འོད)ཀྱི་འདུག



21 1911 ལྷས་ 1912 བར་གོར་བོད་དམག་འཁྲུགས་དང་པོ་དང་། 1914 དང་ 1916 ལོར་གོར་བོད་དམག་འཁྲུགས་གཞིས་པ་
 དང་། 1917 དང་ 1919 ལོར་ལ་སིང་དམག་འཁྲུགས་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྐབས།

Facsimiles



OF 18616

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a facsimile of a document. The text is arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines, starting from the top left and ending with a large flourish at the bottom left. The script is dense and characteristic of 19th-century handwriting.

Handwritten signature or name in cursive script.

Main body of handwritten text in cursive script, consisting of approximately 12 lines of dense, flowing characters.

OF 18579-1



Handwritten signature or title in a cursive script, possibly in Arabic or Persian, extending across the width of the page.

OF 18579-2

A large block of handwritten text in a cursive script, likely Arabic or Persian, arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The text is dense and fills most of the page area below the title.



Handwritten text in Tibetan script, likely a title or header, written in a cursive style.

Main body of handwritten text in Tibetan script, consisting of approximately ten lines of cursive writing.



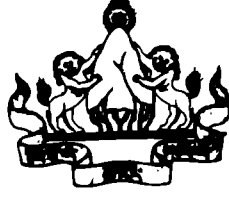
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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
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विष्णुस्य

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श्री १९९०-१९९५

१६९/१/२०



The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been
 appointed to the various offices of the Board of Directors of the
 Bank of the City of New York, for the year ending on the 31st
 day of December, 1859. The names are given in the order in
 which they were appointed, and the names of those who have
 resigned are given in italics. The names of those who have
 been re-elected are given in bold type. The names of those who
 have been appointed to the office of Cashier are given in
 italics. The names of those who have been appointed to the
 office of Treasurer are given in bold type. The names of those
 who have been appointed to the office of Secretary are given in
 italics. The names of those who have been appointed to the
 office of Assistant Secretary are given in bold type. The names
 of those who have been appointed to the office of Auditor are
 given in italics. The names of those who have been appointed
 to the office of Assistant Auditor are given in bold type. The
 names of those who have been appointed to the office of
 Assistant Cashier are given in italics. The names of those who
 have been appointed to the office of Assistant Treasurer are
 given in bold type. The names of those who have been appointed
 to the office of Assistant Secretary are given in italics. The
 names of those who have been appointed to the office of
 Assistant Auditor are given in bold type. The names of those
 who have been appointed to the office of Assistant Cashier are
 given in italics. The names of those who have been appointed
 to the office of Assistant Treasurer are given in bold type. The
 names of those who have been appointed to the office of
 Assistant Secretary are given in italics. The names of those
 who have been appointed to the office of Assistant Auditor are
 given in bold type.

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རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་མཉམ་སྲུང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟ་བུ་རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་མཉམ་སྲུང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟ་བུ་
 རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་མཉམ་སྲུང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟ་བུ་རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་མཉམ་སྲུང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟ་བུ་
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Handwritten text in Tibetan script, likely a title or header for the document.

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Main body of handwritten text in Tibetan script, consisting of approximately 15 lines of dense cursive writing.

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From Tibet Confidentially



The essence of this book is twenty four letters stored for decades on the shelves of the National Museum of Buriatia – reproduced here for the first time both as facsimile copies and in English translation. The letters cover a pivotal period of modern Tibet's history – 1911-1925 – when the Great Game entered its last dramatic stage. The British Raj and Russian emperor, Bolsheviki and academic explorers, Chinese president and French travelers - all these personages are discussed in the letters penned by the most important figures in the history of modern Tibet – the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso – and his well-known favorite officials, Shölkang Shappé and Tsarong Shappé. From hand to hand, envoys and pilgrims passed these letters on their long journey from Lhasa to South Siberia. Arriving at their destination at last, they were presented to their addressee. This was Agvan Dorzhiev, a personal tutor of the Dalai Lama, key person in Tibet-Russia relation and a man of outstanding significance in the Snowy Land's modern history.

The letters reveal the intricacies and entanglements of hidden Tibetan politics and the desperate efforts of the Tibetan authorities of the time to maintain the independence of their country. The book certainly serves as a good first hand source for students of Tibet's political history and the Great Game.

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