



TIBET AND MANCHU

An Assessment of Tibet-Manchu Relations
in Five Phase of Historical Development

DIIR PUBLICATIONS

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PREFACE

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has proposed a Middle Way formula for resolving the problem of Tibet in such a way that it promotes lasting peace and harmony between Tibet and China. This approach envisages negotiations between China and Tibetans, leading to a solution under which the whole of Tibet known as Cholkha-sum (U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo) becomes a self-governing political entity in association with the People's Republic of China. It provides for the Chinese government to continue to be responsible for Tibet's defence and foreign affairs. Thus, the Middle Way approach offers a mutually-beneficial solution: it seeks to ensure full exercise of internal self-determination by the Tibetan people without affecting the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of China.

However, China has consistently cold-shouldered this approach and has insisted on distorting the history of Tibet-China relations to claim that Tibet has been part of China since the Yuan dynasty. It is, therefore, important to understand the true history of Tibet-China relations. To facilitate this, the Department of Information and International Relations of the Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala, in 1995, published the history of Tibet's relationship with the Mongols.

The Yuans (the Mongol rulers of China) did not exercise any form of sovereignty over Tibet. It is, therefore, absurd to claim that China's Ming rulers, who took power after the fall of the Yuan dynasty, inherited rule over Tibet from the Yuans. The relationship between Tibet and the Ming rulers was confined to the giving of complimentary titles and gifts to some Tibetan lamas. There was then no political relationship between Tibet and China.

However, the Manchus (who later conquered China and took the dynastic title of Qing) enjoyed what was for most part symbiotic ties with Tibet. This relationship was based on the unique Central Asian concept of *Chö-yön* (teacher-patron). The Dalai Lamas of Tibet were the spiritual teachers of Manchu rulers, who, in turn, served as the lay patrons of the Dalai Lamas and their teachings. An essential element of this teacher-patron relationship—translated as “priest-patron” relationship in most other books—was the protection that the patron provided to his teacher in return, not for the latter's allegiance, but for his religious teachings and blessings. Later, some teacher-patron relations acquired important political dimensions and the patron was expected to provide military support to protect the teacher and his church. The patron, with his experience in political and

administrative fields, also advised the spiritual teacher on how to rule his respective country. The spiritual teacher, in turn, used his influence to placate the rebellious Mongol tribes on the border of Manchu empire.

In this book, we will study the nature of Tibet-Manchu relationship, dealing with the rise of the Qing dynasty in 1644 to its demise in 1911, and juxtaposing it with the founding of the Gaden Phodrang Government in Tibet under the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1642 till the reign of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. In order to understand the vicissitudes of this relationship, we will divide the whole era into five distinct phases. We hope this book will provide a clear insight into the true nature of Tibet's relationship with the Manchu (Qing) rulers of China.

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The Qing Dynastic Table

Emperors	Enthroned	Died	Reigned
Shunzi	1644	1661	18 years
Kangzi	1662	1722	61 years
Yongzheng	1723	1735	13 years
Qianlong	1736	1795	60 years
Jiaqing	1796	1820	25 years
Daoguang	1821	1850	30 years
Xianfeng	1851	1861	11 years
Tongzhi	1862	1874	13 years
Guangzu	1875	1908	34 years
Xuangtong	1909	1911	3 years
End of dynasty			268 years

The Rulers of Tibet (The Regents and the Dalai Lamas)

S No.	Rulers	Enthroned Appointed	End of Rule	Reign Period
1	Desi Sonam Rapten	1642	1658	17 years
2	The Fifth Dalai Lama	remainder of and 1658	1659	2 years
3	Desi Trinley Gyatso	1660	1668	9 years
4	The Fifth Dalai Lama	Remainder of 1668		A Few months
5	Desi Lobsang Thutop	1669	Defrocked and desposed in 1674	6 years
6	Desi Lobsang Jinpa	1675	Resigned 1678	4 years
7	Desi Sangye Gyatso	1679	1705	27 years
8	Lhasang Khan	1706	1717	12 years
9	Taktse Desi Lhagyal Rapten	1718	1720	3 years
10	A council of seven members Including Desi Chang Jun and Gung Tsewang Norbu,	Remainder of 1720		A Few months
11	Khangchenpa Sonam Gyalpo, Nga-Lum-Jar Triumvirate and Pholawa collectively	1721	Struggle among the Kalons (1727)	7 years
12	Phola Sonam Topgyal	1728	1747	20 years

13	Gyurmey Namgyal	1748	1750	3 years
14	The Seventh Dalai Lama	1751	1757	7 years
15	Regent Demo Ngawang Jampel Delek Gyatso	1758	1777	20 years
16	Sikyong Tseling Ngawang Tsultrim	1778	Left for Beijing in 1786 to replace the deceased Changkya	9 years
17	The Eight Dalai Lama	1787	1790	4 years
18	The Eighth Dalai Lama's Assistant Tseling	Remaining of 1790		A Few months
19	The Eighth Dalai Lama Assistant Tatsak	1791	1804	14 years
20	Sikyong Tatsak Tenpai Gonpo	1805	1810	6 years
21	Gyaltsab Demo Jigme Gyatso	1811	1819	9 years
22	Tsemonling Ngawang Jampel Tsultrim	1820	1844	25 years
23	Panchen Tenpai Nyima	Remaining of 1844		A Few months
24	Regent Rateng Ngawang Yeshe Tsultrim	1845	1855	11 years
25	The Eleventh Dalai Lama	Remaining of 1855	1855	A Few months
26	Regent Rateng Ngawang Yeshe Tsultrim	1856	Deposed in 1862	7 years

27	Desi Shetra Wangchuk Gyalpo	1863	1864	2 years
28	Sikyong Dedruk Khenrab Wangchuk	1865	1873	9 years
29	The Twelfth Dalai Lama	1874	1875	2 years
30	Regent Tatsak Ngawang Palden	1876	1886	11 years
31	Sikyong Demo Ngawang Lobsang Trinley Rabgye	1887	1894	8 years
32	The Thirteenth Dalai Lama	1895	1933	39 years

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Phase One of Tibet-Manchu Relationship (1583-1681)

The relationship between Tibet and the rulers of Manchuria predated the latter's conquest of China. In 1583, the Manchu power took an upward turn. In 1616 the Manchu monarch, Tai-tsu Wuhan Chi, made Shenyang (Mukdan) his capital and reigned for 11 years. His dynasty was known as the Later Jin Dynasty. In 1627 his son, Tai-tsung, succeeded to the throne of Manchuria. During the reign of these two rulers, the Mahayana tradition of Buddhism spread from Tibet to Manchuria. A Tibetan lama, known as Teacher Kanlu Tahan Nangso, from the Trangwei range of Eastern Mongolia, slowly made his way to Manchuria and became Tai-tsu's spiritual master. The Jin ruler inscribed the story of his Tibetan teacher on a rock pillar and erected it in the capital of his kingdom. The inscription on the rock pillar said, "Teacher Kanlu Tahan Nangso was born in U-Tsang, the Land of the Buddha. He renounced the worldly life and became a highly-realised practitioner of Mahayana Buddhism. Undaunted by the long distance, he travelled to Eastern Mongolia and spread Buddhism there." Tai-tsu instructed his heir, Tai-tsung, to build a tomb for his spiritual master. The construction of the tomb was delayed for some time due to internal strife, but was completed in 16301 .

In 1634 Mergen Lama gifted a statue of Mahakala to Tai-tsung, who built a temple in western Shenyang to house this statue. A stone pillar, inscribed with Tibetan, Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese scripts, was erected to celebrate the building of this temple² . These events mark the beginning of relationship between Tibet and the Manchus. There are no historical records to show when exactly the two Tibetan lamas visited Manchuria, but Mergen Lama is said to have come from Kyigudho in Kham.

In 1636 Shunzhi ascended the Jin throne and changed the dynastic title from Jin to Qing. In his autobiography, *Dukula'i Gozang*, the Fifth Dalai Lama writes:

In the first moon of the Fire Ox Year (1637) the Oriat Khan, Gushri, out of selfless wish to protect Buddhism, led an army of nearly 10,000 men into Tso-ngon (Amdo, present-day Qinghai) and defeated the chief of Choktu (in Amdo) and his nearly 30,000 soldiers.

In the autumn, Gushri Khan and his attendants arrived in Lhasa. I gave the Long-life Empowerment to Gushri Khan and established a spiritual bond. I was filled with admiration for his action on behalf of Buddhism. I made him sit on a high seat in front of the statue of Shakyamuni Buddha and, in accordance with the Mongol custom, bestowed on him the title of

“Dharma King” and a seal. I presented him with a golden statue of Tsongkhapa and other gifts. Thus was established an auspicious basis for promoting the welfare of sentient beings and the Dharma. I gave complimentary titles also to his son and nobles. The king, in return, gave titles to my senior officials: the title “Dhalai Chakzo” to Shel-ngo Sonam Rapten, “Jaisang Depa” to Trinley Gyatso Drongmeney, and “Oolching Depa” to Tashi Phuntsok Jang-ngo-ney.³

This was the first meeting between the Fifth Dalai Lama and Gushri Khan. The Dalai Lama goes on to record:

In the Earth Tiger Year (1638), Kachu Sherab Gyatso and entourage came as (Gushri Khan’s) emissaries. That was the time when the Tsang king was constructing a new monastery. The public remarked that the Tsangpa king was building the monastery out of malevolent designs. The rocks for the new monastery were quarried from a hill behind Tashilhunpo monastery. Boulders from the hill damaged the residences of Tashilhunpo monks, whereupon an expression of anguish escaped the Panchen Lama. The emissaries overheard the Panchen Lama’s soliloquy. They reported the matter to Gushri Khan in Tso-ngo. The king was furious and immediately led an expedition into Tibet.

He halted at Beri and sent an oral and written message through Shidhey Baatur, which was communicated to me by Shel-ngo. Out of self-interest, and not altruism, I replied that it was better not to fight. In my presence, Shel-ngo told emissary Kachu Sherab Gyatso that the king should return home to Tso-ngo after defeating the Beri chief. He suggested that internecine fights were undesirable.

On the following day, Shel-ngo went to Gaden Khangsar House to return the personal effects of Kachu Sherab Gyatso. By the side of a pool, they talked over two cups of tea. There, against all my expectations, “the swish of an arrow had changed into a flute note”.⁴

In other words, it was there that Shel-ngo Sonam Choephel, against the wish of the Dalai Lama, asked Gushri Khan to send an expedition against the Tsang king.

In 1639 Emperor Tai-tsung’s emissaries, headed by Tsakhan Lama, came to Tibet to extend the emperor’s greetings to the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama, the Karmapa, the Tsang king and Gushri Khan, and to invite senior Tibetan teachers to the Qing court⁵ .

During the time of the Great Monlam Festival in Lhasa, in the Iron Serpent Year (1641), Gushri Khan annexed Kham and the remaining areas of Amdo. The king of Beri escaped, but was eventually seized. In the summer of that year, the Mogol Khan advanced on Tsang, the Central Tibet. In the third moon of the Water Horse Year (1642) the combined forces of Gushri Khan and Tardong Ney defeated the Tsang king, thus bringing the entire Tibetan populace under the Khan's sway.

The Khan invited the Fifth Dalai Lama to Tsang. The Khan and Shel-ngo, accompanied by a large number of Tibetan and Mongol officials, received the Dalai Lama at Dechen in the Tsang region of Thopgyal. At a ceremony held in the assembly hall of Samdrup Tse fort in Shigatse, the Khan offered the Dalai Lama relics of the Buddha from the Gyalkhar Tse fort (these had originally belonged to the Indian king, Ajatshatru, and were later gifted to Sakya Phagpa by Khubilai Khan). The Khan offered many other sacred objects, including the Sacred Empowerment Mirror of Dakini Yeshe Tsogyal. Enthroning the Dalai Lama as the spiritual and temporal ruler of all Tibet, the Khan dedicated himself, his family and descendants to the service of Buddhism and the Dalai Lamas.

The Dalai Lama then made his way to Lhasa. On reaching Gongkar, Depa (Prime Minister) Sonam Raptan told the Dalai Lama, "Now you have to take greater responsibilities. You have to put the red seal on royal edicts. Since you will now have to meet with all the clergy and laity of Tibet, you should stay more often in Lhasa." The Dalai Lama replied, "I have no inclination to devote my life to worldly affairs. I only wish to continue my spiritual pursuits in seclusion. I am physically and mentally unprepared for the task of ruling."⁶ Following the Dalai Lama's wish, Desi (Chief Administrator) Sonam Gyatso took the responsibility of ruling Tibet.

In the tenth moon of 1642 the Dalai Lama sent Khutuktu Sechen Choje of Minyak, a prominent lama by the name of Dechen Dorjee, and others as emissaries to the Manchu court. As the envoys reached Shenyang, the emperor went out of the palace gate and met them at the guest house. When the envoys set off on their return journey to Tibet in 1643, Manchu princes and senior officials held a farewell ceremony on the drill ground. The emperor sent a letter to the Dalai Lama, stating: "You preserve the teachings of the Buddha for all sentient beings. I am glad that you have sent us envoys with letters. We have asked Tsakhen Lama to explain to you all that we propose to do from our side."⁷

Towards the end of the Wood Monkey Year, 1644, the Fifth Dalai Lama sent Taiji Obashi Khiya to congratulate Emperor Shunzi on his conquest of the whole of China. In 1648 Shunzi sent Sherab Lama, Tsangpa Kachu, Dhalai Choje and others to Lhasa with offerings of brocade, satin and precious metals for the Dalai Lama. They also carried a letter from the emperor inviting the Dalai Lama to visit his court. The Dalai Lama sent

Kachu Sherab Gyaltzen and Lotsar Hor Tashi with his reply to say that while he agreed to accept the emperor's invitation, he would not like to stay very long in China for fear of heat and smallpox.⁸

At the beginning of the Iron Tiger Year, 1650, Kachu Sherab Gyaltzen returned to Lhasa with Nomchi Lama, Tawoen Norbu, Ngo-noe Khiya and others as envoys from the emperor. They brought a letter repeating the emperor's invitation to the Dalai Lama. Then, early in the Iron Hare Year, 1651, the emperor sent two more envoys, Chief Sechen and Boro Tsering, to request the Dalai Lama to visit him as soon as possible. The lamas and administrators of Sera, Drepung and Gaden monasteries suggested that ideally the Dalai Lama should not undertake this journey. However, if he must, then he should return within three years. Thus, the Dalai Lama decided to leave, promising to return soon.⁹

The *Dukula* states that in the seventh Mongolian moon of the Water Dragon Year (1652) the Dalai Lama sent Boro Tsering and Sechen Dhargye to the emperor with a letter, stating that he would meet him soon. The *Dukula* does not mention the details of this letter. However, in *Ch'ing-ch'ao Hri Lu* and *Donghua-lu* it is stated that in 1652 the emperor received the Dalai Lama's letter, asking to meet him either at Kuei-hua-ch'eng* or Taik'a**. In reply, the emperor said that he could not travel very far due to rebellions in the south-western empire. He, however, offered to send a relative, with the royal rank of Wang, to receive the Dalai Lama on the border. The emperor promised to travel personally to the border to greet the Dalai Lama after crushing the rebellion.

Later, the emperor consulted his ministers and said:

The Khalkha Mongols did not submit to my father Tai-tsung.

Knowing that the Mongols obeyed the words of the Dalai Lama, he sent envoys to invite the Dalai Lama. But my father died before the envoys returned.

Later, I sent Tui Chingwang¹⁰ to invite the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama promised to come the following year. I promised to meet him at the border as he approaches there, accompanied by 3,000 men. If I told him that I would not be able to come to the border, he might go back after having come a part of the way, and consequently the Khalkha Mongols would not surrender to me. You should discuss this matter and let me know your opinion.

Although the Manchu ministers suggested that the emperor should go, the Chinese ministers thought it indecorous for him to receive the Dalai Lama on the border. Instead they suggested sending an imperial relative with a rank of Wang. The emperor took the Chinese ministers' advice and sent his relative, Hohri Chen Tseching Wang, to

the border with a letter, stating that although he wished to come personally to receive the Dalai Lama, he was preoccupied with the problem of banditry in his country. Instead, he was sending Hohri Chen Tseching Wang, the Great Inner Minister.¹¹

The Fifth Dalai Lama set out from Lhasa on the fifteenth day of the third Mongolian moon in the Water Dragon Year, 1652.

On the eleventh day of the seventh moon, the emperor's first reception party — headed by Shaji Dhara Khonjin, holding the rank of Aisken Ama — met the Dalai Lama.¹² He brought from the emperor a letter and gifts consisting of a pearl rosary, robes, hats and a hundred horses, including a white one with a golden saddle. Chinese monks and about a thousand Oriat horsemen, including Gushri Khan and his ministers, met the Dalai Lama on the shore of Lake Kokonor. On the seventeenth day of the eighth moon, the Dalai Lama visited Kubum monastery. On the fourth day of the ninth Mongolian moon, he was met by the emperor's envoys, Namchi Lama, and a *Khiya* and a *Jangi*, who presented a letter and offerings from the emperor. On the first day of the tenth moon, the Dalai Lama reached Bursik. At Ulan Bulak, the Dalai Lama was met by a cavalcade of about a thousand Mongol horsemen, led by Chinggis Khan's descendant and "White-yurt-owner" Rinchen Wang.

On the second day of the eleventh moon, the second reception party met the Dalai Lama. The party consisted of Chingwang Khe Shingey and about 2,000 horsemen. They escorted the Dalai Lama in pomp and splendour: a procession of musicians and men bearing ceremonial weapons preceded him, while others bearing parasols, banners, etc. escorted the Dalai Lama on either side. At a ceremony, the Dalai Lama was presented with a letter and a pearl-embroidered garment and other gifts from the emperor. At Khait'a the emperor had had a house built for the Dalai Lama in the Chinese architectural style with ornate roofs and enclosed by a parapet. The Dalai Lama arrived there on the sixth day.

As the Dalai Lama intended to return home soon, he left most of his entourage in Khait'a and continued his journey with only 300 attendants. This, the Dalai Lama reasoned, would expose fewer people to the risk of disease in China. He left Khait'a on the twenty seventh day. The emperor had sent Lobsang Gelong with greeting scarves and two horses complete with saddles. Although the emperor's steeds were too fat and uncomfortable to ride, the Dalai Lama thought it impolite not to put them to use.

After crossing the bridge at Shawu Chang, the Dalai Lama reached the town of Ching Hao. At the head of the bridge, he was welcomed by the emperor's third reception party. This was headed by Oujing Chinag Wang and consisted of about 3,000 horsemen and musicians bearing parasols, banners, etc. The Wang hosted a grand reception according to Chinese tradition.

Two days later, the Dalai Lama reached Chen Lowu.

Following the protocol prescription in the imperial record, the emperor had come there to receive me under the pretext of having come for hunting. On the sixteenth day of the twelfth moon, we entered the gate of the imperial compound. We were welcomed with the Seven Articles of Royalty¹³ and other artefacts. The splendour of this reception was like that of a Universal Emperor.

As we came within sight of the imperial palace, my attendants dismounted their steeds. When we approached within the distance of four arrow shots, I dismounted too.

The emperor stepped down from the throne and walked towards us, a distance of ten arm-spreads. He held my hands and expressed his greetings through an interpreter. The emperor's throne was as high as my waist. A wooden chair was mounted on the throne, on which the emperor sat. There was another throne, slightly lower and at a distance of one arm-spread from that of the emperor. I sat on that throne. Tea was served. He asked me to drink first, but I insisted that we drink at the same time. In short, the emperor treated me with great respect. As I offered him rosaries of coral and amber beads, he asked me questions on the situation in U-Tsang. The emperor was very young, just short of 17. But he was totally un-intimidated in the midst of people speaking Tibetan, Chinese and other tongues. He was like an unleashed snow lion.

I was given a very grand reception. I spent that night at Lowu, where I had slept the previous night. The emperor had built a residence for me at a distance of about two *Gyangtraks*¹⁴ from the Peking Palace. It was built at the cost of 90,000 silver *Taels* and known as the Yellow House. It was a beautiful building with heavenly gardens, bordered by houses for my attendants and enclosed by a rampart. The main room glistened with huge gilded panels on the walls and ceiling. I arrived there on the seventeenth day.

On the twenty fifth day, Interior Ministers Kapala Ama and Aisken Ama were sent to me with gifts worthy for a *Ti-shri* (Imperial Preceptor). There were gold and silver mandala items, carved with the patterns of the Seven Articles of Royalty. There was chinaware, gold cup stands, an urn to hold the fat skimmed from butter tea, a water urn, plates carved with dragon patterns, incense burners, *Dungchens* (long horns), *Gyalings* (reed instruments), *Phens* (embroidered column decorations), parasols, victory banners, *Badhens* (wall hangings), window screens, etc.¹⁵

On the eleventh day of the first moon in the Water Serpent Year (1653) I went to the Imperial Palace. When I reached the court, I saw that all the ministers

and the members of the nobility had already arrived there. Only the emperor had not yet arrived. The music started and the emperor entered from the back door. There was a big throne, as wide as the length of a human body. On top of this was a smaller throne with a chair on it. The emperor asked Aisken Ama to bid me sit down at the same time as him. A minister sat on either side of the emperor. The emperor asked for tea to be served, as in the past. Kapala Ama came and served tea. On the table were a gold plate for the emperor and about 50 silver plates for others. A lavish banquet was served.

The emperor offered gifts to some fifteen attendants of mine, including Dhemo Tulku, the abbot of Palkhor Choydhey, Jaisang Depa, Mekhen Kachu, Sechen Chief, my Secretary, Chamber Master, Ritual Master, Chant Leader and Censer Carrier. Then the ceremony was over and we returned to our residences.¹⁶

Mongolian lamas Chitho Yon and Jamling Nomen disliked each other with the mutual animosity of the crow and the owl. Their patrons were also divided along factional lines, so each side poisoned the emperor's ears against the other. The emperor sent Kapala Ama and Kheyen Ama to ask me to make peace between the rival lamas. The emperor had said, "Religion is the cause of estrangement between the two lamas. You should reconcile them."

I sent Mekhen Kachu and Sechen Chief to find out the cause of their quarrel. I mediated impartially and managed to reconcile the two lamas. The emperor was happy when he heard about this. He sent Kapala with gifts of a pearl-embroidered *Dhagam* (monk's ceremonial cloak) and many other garments. Gifts were given to my officials as well.¹⁷

On the eighteenth day of the second Mongolian moon, the emperor invited me to his palace, where I was received as before. I was given lavish gifts, including 500 gold *Taels* and some 1,000 bolts of brocade. Similarly, Queen Mother Taikho, Wang Oujing and other Wangs offered me gifts.

On the twentieth day, as we were about to leave the Yellow House, Noble Biku came and gave me a gift from the emperor: a rosary with 100 coral beads, each bead as big as the tip of one's finger. We journeyed leisurely and were seen off by a procession carrying parasols, victory banners, wall hangings, flags, etc. Oujing Wang and about 3,000 people escorted us on our journey.¹⁸

In the evening of the same day, we reached Ching Suiho. On the tenth day of the third moon, those members of my entourage, who had stayed back in Taik'a, came to meet and welcome us with ceremony. We then reached Taik'a. There, I gave spiritual teachings to Chingwang Khe Shingey. I sent Sonam Wangyal to Peking with my gifts and a poetic letter to the emperor. The Wang, on his return journey,

accompanied Sonam Wangyal.

At a ceremony, the emperor's seal and gold tablet *Yasa* [Royal Edict] was presented to me. The seal bore the following complimentary title in Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian scripts: "The Unifier in one religion of the people living in the extremely healthy, tranquil and celestial land of the West, the Immutable Vajradhara, the Ocean of Wisdom§." For the benefit of the people of the West, the emperor gave me a gold *Yasa*. Its text was the same as that of the seal. There were 25 tablets joined together and folded. Vertically each tablet measured one *Tho* (six inches).

Khayi Lama, Oudhaka Paisey and others arrived there, having been sent by the emperor to accompany me to Tibet. On the sixth day of the fifth Mongolian moon, we crossed the Machu River (Yellow River) in a boat. The Chieftain of Ningxia had built a beautiful bamboo house on the boat. It had an ornate roof and many doors. As requested by the Mongol chiefs, I sent lamas from the Gyutoe and Gyumed tantric colleges to teach them. I provided the lamas with ceremonial robes, provisions and transport.¹⁹

On the first day of the eleventh moon, I went to the Jokhang temple in Lhasa and held a ceremony there. There I handed over to Gushri Khan the gold seal and *Yasa*, sent to him by the emperor. The seal bore the following words: "The seal of Gushri Khan, who respects good deeds and supports truth and justice."²⁰

In the Fire Lamb Year (1667) the imperial messenger left on his return journey to China. I sent Abbot Tsultrim Gyaltzen and Khangsar Rapten with him. They carried my letter and gifts for the emperor. I sent the following message: "The chiefs of Tso-ngon have agreed to offer you lavish gifts of horses, cattle and other articles to ask your forgiveness for the minor differences that they had had with you. The territories of the two sides should be clearly defined. Both sides should strictly enforce the law to counter acts of robbery and banditry. There should be no obstacles to the cross-border trade and commerce. China and the Mongols should have a cordial relationship. Depa Sonam Rapten and Gushri Khan discussed this matter. Taiji Dhalai Hung took special responsibility and added lavishly to the gift of the chiefs. As a result, there will be peace and people will live without fear."²¹

In the Wood Tiger Year (1674) the emperor extradited the Shamar Tulku to Tibet. Imperial Minister Wang Fingsing handed the Tulku over to Mechakpa and Bumthang Sowang. The Tibetan government warmly received Shamar with welcoming tents along his route. He arrived in Lhasa to an official welcome, which made a good impression on the people. Shamar Tulku was full of remorse for his past actions. Mournfully, he came to the royal household with gifts for the Teacher (Tibetan Prime Minister) and the Patron (Gushri Khan). The latter two gave him

a warm and elaborate reception. Thus, Shamar felt released from the bondage of remorse and looked like a peacock that had reached the paradise of Buddhahood.²²

In the Wood Tiger Year (1674) the Emperor Bodhisattva Manjushri (Manchu Emperor) had a disagreement with his law minister, Chingwang Fingsing. The disagreement led to internal strife in Great China. The emperor sent Khar Ngonpo Rachi Lama, Ladhu Jargochi and others to me with a letter. Rachi Lama passed away in Phenpo, but Jargochi and the party presented me the emperor's letter and gifts. I listened carefully to the emperor's message, but expressed my inability to help him. I said, "The army of Tibet's nine *Lings* (Lands) will be totally ineffective in China and the Mongol land. The Oriat Mongol army will be effective, but they are rough and wild. Moreover, they have to be wary of the heat and smallpox in China. However, the Teacher and the Patron discussed the matter to find a solution that is in the interests of all.

As a result of this meeting, Taiji Dhalai Hung was asked to set off soon. It is difficult to figure out whether the Jhangs or the Mongols are behind the evil persons in Gyalthang. But in accordance with our policy, and for the benefit of all, Prince Tashi was appointed general under the title of Taiji Oul Jaothu Baatur. Kagye Norbu, Mechakpa and a couple of other persons were appointed his lieutenants.²³ They were sent out. Tso-ngon is a major meeting point for the Tibetans, Mongols and Chinese. It is a bridgehead for ensuring the prestige of our religion, and therefore, needs a senior leader. The leader must leave immediately to monitor the developments in China. Taiji Dhalai Hung was given a rosary, woollen clothings, etc. and sent as the chief leader. Taiji Tsewang Rapten was given the title and seal of Erkhey Dhechin. The treasurer and elder brother of the Female Chieftain was given the title of Thushseyi Thuno Yon while her younger brother Tenzin was given the title of Erdini Baatur. Ladhu Jargochi, Gold Mail Runner of the Emperor, and others were given gifts at a ceremony.'

The letter containing the above matters was sent to the emperor through Khangsar Rapten and Bumthang Sowang.²⁴

While the struggle was raging on in China, Minister Wang Fingsing, for his part, sent us envoys with a letter and oral message. Opinions differed on whether we should receive the envoys or not. Finally, it was decided that the reception should be accorded in line with Tibet's tradition of welcoming all Gold Mail Runners from outside. A suitable reception was accorded. I received the Wang's letter and listened to the oral message.

I replied, "It is not good for you two, the master and the servant, to have dif-

ferences since this will only cause suffering to the subjects. We have had very deep teacher-patron relations with one Manchu ruler and his two successors. Wang, you know how kind the emperor was to me during my visit to him. I can't even dream of harming the emperor. If I did harm him, the Precious Jewels would be disgusted with me, and even you would be disgusted. I did not know you very well in the past. However, I have now come to have relations with you. It is the characteristic of the followers of the Buddha to serve all sentient beings. Therefore, you should not think of harming anyone, including the people around you. Moreover, Tibetans cannot do anything effective for either party. The Oriat Mongols are fierce and will only cause problems to all."

I sent this reply, both in writing and by word of mouth, through the Gold Mail Runners.²⁵

Comments

Tibet's relations with the Manchus started during the reign of Manchu King Tai-tsu Wuhan Chi. Later, the Manchu rulers, Shunzhi and Kangxi, of China had relations with the Fifth Dalai Lama. The accounts of these relations, as recorded above, clearly show that Tibet and China were on equal footing. There is nothing to suggest that Tibet was under the Manchu empire or was part of it. Instead, the Manchu rulers treated the Fifth Dalai Lama with great admiration and respect. The emperor was, of course, motivated by two considerations:

First, the parents of Emperor Shunzi were followers of Mahayana Buddhism. The Fifth Dalai Lama, as the prestigious spiritual and political leader of Tibet, was the most worthy figure of veneration and devotion for them.

Second, the Manchu empire at that time was harassed frequently by the Mongol princedoms to the north. Only the Dalai Lama of Tibet could placate them. Therefore, the Manchus were forced to respect the Dalai Lama. On the part of Tibet, its newly-established Gaden Phodrang government, seeing the benefit of forging close ties with the eastern neighbour, was only too keen to reciprocate the Manchu gesture of friendship.

Furthermore, the Dalai Lama and other Tibetans recognised the emperor as emanation of Manjushri, the Bodhisattva of wisdom. This was, to a large extent, the reason for the great respect shown by the Dalai Lama and other Tibetans to the emperor.

There is much evidence to show the equality of Tibet and the Manchu empire:

1) When the Fifth Dalai Lama was travelling to China, the emperor sent his relative of Wang rank and other high officials to receive him. Although the Dalai Lama planned to spend only a couple of months in China, the emperor built a magnificent residence

to accommodate him. The emperor travelled outside Peking to receive the Dalai Lama. A throne was arranged for the Dalai Lama. The emperor also made lavish offerings to the Dalai Lama. All these gestures could have been made only to a head of state. That the throne arranged for the Dalai Lama was slightly lower than that of the emperor was because of the fact that the meeting took place in the Manchu court in Beijing. This is the protocol followed even today when the head of state of a republic calls on a sovereign monarch.

2) Tibet's status as an independent nation becomes very clear from the account of requests made by Emperor Kangxi and his minister Chingwang Fingsing (real name Wusun Chu) to the Dalai Lama during their internal struggle in 1674 and the replies given by the Dalai Lama. If Tibet had been part of the Manchu empire, the emperor would have simply ordered Tibet to send a certain number of troops and perform a certain office for him. Requests would not have been necessary then. More particularly, the emperor would have reprimanded the Dalai Lama for receiving the Wang's envoys. But the emperor did not even give a hint of his disapproval.

3) Although the Fifth Dalai Lama was the supreme spiritual and temporal leader of Tibet, day-to-day administration of Tibet was run by Depa Sonam Rapten and other Desis. Since the establishment of the Gaden Phodrang government in 1642, the following Desis served under the Fifth Dalai Lama: Desi Sonam Rapten, Desi Trinley Gyatso, Desi Lobsang Thutop, Desi Lobsang Jinpa and Desi Sangye Gyatso. They were all appointed directly by the Fifth Dalai Lama. The Manchus were not even consulted. Similarly, on the death of Gushri Khan, protector of the Dalai Lama's political power, the Fifth Dalai Lama appointed the Khan's son, Tenzin Dorjee, as his successor. Thereafter, the Dalai Lama appointed Gushri Khan's younger son, Tenzin Dhalai Khan, as successor to Tenzin Dorjee.

4) When the Tsang king was ousted from power, his supporter, Shamar Tulku, escaped to Lhokha and then to Gyalhang and finally to Satham (Jhang, the far eastern region of Tibet). However, in 1674 the emperor ordered his minister, Wang Fingsing, to hand over Shamar Tulku to the Tibetan officials Mechakpa and Bumthang Sowang. This is further evidence of Tibet's independent status at that time.

5) Similarly, when the Karsipa of Kongpo fought against the Lhasa government, when Depa Norbu seized Shigatse and rebelled, and when Bhutan fought against Tibet, the Tibetan government dealt with all these problems with its own military force and diplomatic means. The Manchus had absolutely no say in these events. All these facts go to prove that Tibet was an independent country during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Neither the Manchus, nor any other power of the time, thought of Tibet as part of the Manchu empire, much less China. In short, there was then no dispute over the status of

Tibet.

6) Earlier, it was mentioned that the Dalai Lama sent Abbot Tsultrim Gyaltzen and Khangsar Rapten with his letter and gifts to the emperor. In the letter the Dalai Lama said that the chiefs of Tso-ngon had agreed to ask for the emperor's forgiveness over minor differences with China. The Dalai Lama pointed out the need to define the boundaries, enforce the law to counter acts of banditry, and remove obstacles to the cross-border trade and commerce.

This shows that during that time the Manchus had no right to interfere even in Amdo, north-eastern border province of Tibet. The Dalai Lama wrote this letter to define and delineate the border between China and the Tibetan Amdo province. This letter clearly shows that Tibet was an independent country during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama. In that period, even the Manchu emperor did not consider Tibet as part of his empire. Similarly, no other country considered Tibet as part of Manchu empire. Tibet's status as an independent country during this period is beyond any dispute.

Phase Two of the Tibet-Manchu Relationship (1682-1747)

In the Water Dog Year, 1682, the Fifth Dalai Lama passed away at the Potala Palace. At that time, the political affairs of Tibet were run by Desi Sangye Gyatso. Following a prior instruction from the Dalai Lama, Sangye Gyatso kept his master's death secret for 13 years.

In 1694 Emperor Shunzi gave Sangye Gyatso a set of 12 gold tablets with the following words of *Yasa* inscribed on them in Tibetan, Manchu and Chinese scripts: "The seal of the holder of religious and political power of the Vajradhara Dalai Lama/ Minister Sangye Gyatso, promoter of the teachings of the Buddha."²⁶ In his memoir, Sangye Gyatso writes, "The Lama King and Crown Jewel of [the Two Worlds] of Samsara and Nirvana (the Dalai Lama) has entrusted me with the religious and political power by issuing an edict, bearing his hand impressions and decreeing that my words are to be taken as those of his own. Certainly, there can be nothing more authoritative than this edict. Nevertheless, I do appreciate the fact that the emperor has sent this seal up to my doorstep."

In 1696, Sangye Gyatso issued a proclamation, announcing that the Fifth Dalai Lama had passed away in 1682 and that his reincarnation, Tsangyang Gyatso, was 13 years old, having been born in 1683. In the Fire Ox Year, 1697, Tsangyang Gyatso was enthroned as the Sixth Dalai Lama at the Potala Palace. Emperor Kangxi sent Gold Mail Runners and Changkya Ngawang Lobsang Chodhen to offer gifts to the Sixth Dalai Lama at the enthronement ceremony.²⁷ In the same year, Kunchok Dhalai Khan, a descendant of Gushri Khan, died. Sangye Gyatso appointed Kunchok's son, Lhasang Khan, as the new Mongol ruler.

However, in the following years differences arose between Sangye Gyatso and Lhasang Khan. The Sixth Dalai Lama, the medium of the protector-deity Lamo, the governor of Kyisho, the abbots of the Three Great Monastic Seats, senior Tibetan officials, and the Panchen Lama's representative Kachen Dorjee held a meeting in 1703 to defuse the situation. The meeting decided that Sangye Gyatso should be asked to relinquish his post and be given the estate of Dongkar district as a gift for his past service to the government. It decided that while Lhasang Khan could remain king, he must go to Tso-ngon. The meeting proposed that Sangye Gyatso's son, Ngawang Rinchen, should be appointed the new Desi. The Teacher and the Patron were in agreement on this. Thus, Ngawang Rinchen became the new Desi and Lhasang Khan set off northwards from Lhasa.

However, Lhasang Khan later accused Sangye Gyatso of wielding the real power

behind his son. He led his army back into Lhasa, slew Sangye Gyatso, and then seized power in the capital. Lhasang reported to the Manchu emperor that Sangye Gyatso, in cahoots with the Dzungar Mongols, had been planning a rebellion. Tsangyang Gyatso, he said, was not the real reincarnation of the Fifth Dalai Lama. The emperor, in turn, sent Askhen Ho-hrui to give a seal and a complimentary title of “Religious Ruler Kunhrun Khan” to Lhasang. Lhasang installed Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso as the Dalai Lama and requested the emperor to bestow a gold seal on his appointee. The emperor gave a seal inscribed with the following words, “The seal of the Sixth Dalai Lama, as appointed by the emperor”.²⁸ In 1706 Lhasang escorted Tsangyang Gyatso to China, but his charge died en route in the Amdo area of Kunga Nor.²⁹

In the Earth Mouse Year, 1708, the Seventh Dalai Lama, Kalsang Gyatso, was born in Lithang, in the eastern Tibetan province of Kham. The pronouncements of oracles and prophetic words of Tsangyang Gyatso confirmed him as the authentic reincarnation. But Lhasang was still in power and his appointee was still on the throne of the Dalai Lama. Therefore, the Mongol chiefs of Tso-ngon — fearing for the young Dalai Lama’s safety — escorted him to Tso-ngon.³⁰

In 1713 Emperor Kangxi offered a gold seal and the title of Erdini to Panchen Lob-sang Yeshe. The emperor asked the Panchen Lama to support Lhasang Khan in running the administration of Tibet.

In 1716 Tsewang Raptan, Khan of the Dzungar Mongols in Eastern Turkestan (present-day Xinjiang), sent a military expedition to Tibet under General Tsering Dhondup. The Dzungars reached Lhasa, via the northern plain of Namtso, and defeated Lhasang Khan. Lhasang Khan’s appointee was deposed from the throne of the Dalai Lama and incarcerated at Chakpori. In 1718 Lhagyal Raptan, the governor of Taktse, was appointed Chief Administrator of Tibet.³¹

After his visit to Kubum Monastery in 1716, Kalsang Gyatso was met by the local leaders at the behest of the emperor. At the meeting, the emperor’s letter was read. It said, “I have been joyous ever since the Dalai Lama’s reincarnation arrived here. He is the authentic reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. I and all the descendants of Gushri Khan are his patrons. For three years, I will provide the winter and summer needs of 134 monks.”³²

In 1718, while Kalsang Gyatso was in Kubum, his father was invited to Xinning by the local imperial officials. In Xinning, the Jorkhang office of the Manchus told him: “Tsewang Raptan’s officials arrived as summoned by the Great Emperor. Normalcy has returned to Tibet. Therefore, the imperial officials, Kalsang Gyatso’s representatives and Tso-ngon officials are asked to go immediately to Tibet and meet Tsering Dhondup. Secretary Kachu Ngawang Palgon and Aipa Lobsang Kunchok are to leave for Central Tibet on the eighth day of the third Mongolian moon. The emperor asks them to serve

the Tibetan government faithfully.”³³

In that year, Wang Chang Jun, the 14th child of Emperor Kangxi, and his soldiers reached Kubum from Xinning. Kalsang Gyatso welcomed them at the door of Kubum monastery’s congregation hall. The Wang held Kalsang Gyatso’s hand and the two walked hand in hand. Kalsang Gyatso invited the Wang to sit on the throne first. But the Wang insisted, “You should sit first since you are approved by the emperor. I will prostrate to you.” Kalsang Gyatso sat down. The Wang made obeisance and took his seat.

The two talked at length and the Wang was full of admiration and respect for Kalsang Gyatso. The Wang then said, “I am on my way to fight a war for the sake of common good. Can you please do a divination and let me know if I will be successful?” With the well-being of religion and sentient beings at heart, Kalsang Gyatso meditated, concentrating his mind on the Triple Gem. Then he pronounced, “Since the Qing Emperor Manjushri is possessed of unparalleled merit, he will be successful.”

When the Wang was leaving, Kalsang Gyatso rose to accompany him outside. But the Wang said, “Please don’t leave the room today. When you travel to Tibet, I will serve you in every possible way.” The Wang left Kalsang Gyatso with great respect.

As he reached Xinning, the Wang sent Kalsang Gyatso a large quantity of brocade, a golden urn with its lid crowned by a rare ruby, and many other gifts. There was also a note saying, “You, my spiritual protector, were extremely kind to me during our meeting. Even now I vividly remember your face as if you were really in front of me. My devotion for you keeps on increasing. I request that you continue to help all sentient beings.”

The emperor’s fifth son, seventh son, and a grandson from the third son also showed great devotion to Kalsang Gyatso and sent gifts to him.³⁴

In 1719 the emperor’s messengers arrived in Kubum to inform Kalsang Gyatso that the emperor in the following year would send four ministers and a large contingent of army to escort him to Tibet and that he must ascend the throne of Tibet. Kalsang Gyatso replied, “The Great Emperor shows so much kindness to a simple monk like me. I am sure he does it with the well-being of Buddhism at heart. It would not do if sentient beings were to suffer as a result of strife on my behalf. Therefore, as I suggested earlier, there is no need to send a large army.”³⁵

In 1720 the emperor sent his fourteenth son, Wang Chang Jun, to Kubum. On the twentieth day of the third Mongolian moon, he presented Kalsang Gyatso with a gold seal, a gold Yasa and gifts from the emperor. The seal bore the following inscription in Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese scripts: “The seal of the Victorious Leader Kalsang Gyatso, promoter of Buddhism, spiritual protector of all sentient beings, the Sixth Dalai Lama.” As Kalsang Gyatso left for Lhasa, Wang Chang Jun escorted him up to the bank of the Drichu river.³⁶

On the fifteenth day of the ninth Mongolian moon in the Iron Mouse Year, 1720, Kalsang Gyatso was installed as the Seventh Dalai Lama in the Potala Palace. The enthronement ceremony was attended by the emperor's two generals, plus Minister Atahadha and other officials. Other attendants included Khutuktu Thukan, Kagyur Lama, Chinggis Khan's descendant Wang Khelkha Dhondup, Gung Tsewang Norbu, Taiji Lhawang Gyatso, Gushri Khan's descendants Aibhui Peyli and Chingwang Lobsang Tenzin, and other princes. The two Manchu generals, senior Manchu officials, Desi Taktse Lhagyal and other high personages sat to the left of the Dalai Lama's throne. To the right sat Khutuktu Thukan, Kagyur Lama, Wang Khelkha Dondup, princes from Tso-ngon, and important reincarnated lamas.³⁷

For several months the administration of Tibet was run by the assembly, consisting of Manchu General Sichang Jun, Wang Khelkha Dhondup, Gung Tsewang Norbu, Gushri Khan's descendants Wang Tenzin and Aibhui Peyli, Paisi Ngabo Dorjee Gyalpo, Gunglumpa Tashi Gyalpo, etc.³⁸

Desi Taktsewa Lhagyal Rapten, Kalon Tashi Tsepa and Kalon Achoy were executed on the charge of being Dzungar appointees. In the preceding year, a group of Dzungar soldiers had stolen from Tibet a statue of Avalokiteshvara, jewelled ornaments and other precious religious artifacts. While they were on the run, Ngari Governor Sonam Gyalpo invited them into a tent, and then slew them after tearing down the tent. The stolen artifacts were handed over to the Tibetan government. In 1721 the Ngari governor was given the title of Paisi and appointed Chief Administrator of Tibet.³⁹ Paisi Ngabo Dorjee Gyalpo was appointed his aide. Gunglumpa Tashi Gyalpo was appointed a minister. Pholawa Sonam Topgyal and Jarawa Lodroe Gyalpo were given the title of Taiji and appointed ministers. Together, they formed the Council of Ministers, which ran the affairs of Tibet for seven years.⁴⁰ The Council asked the Dzungar soldiers and Manchu officials, who had come escorting the Seventh Dalai Lama, to return home.

In 1723 the Seventh Dalai Lama, being informed of political strife in Tso-ngon, became concerned that it would cause suffering to sentient beings. He asked Gaden Throne Holder Palden Drakpa to go and mediate a settlement. The Gaden Throne Holder, his disciples, attendants, Dronker Lobsang Kunchok, etc. went to Tso-ngon.⁴¹ Gushri Khan's descendant Chingwang Lobsang Tenzin and a section of Mongol chiefs had rebelled against the Manchu emperor. In that year Aisken Ama arrived in Lhasa and informed the Dalai Lama's father and Tibetan ministers, including Khangchenpa, that Chingwang Lobsang Tenzin had rebelled against the emperor and that Tibet should send one minister to placate the Khashi Mongol tribe. Pholawa Taiji, General Lobsang Dhargye and a detachment of 500 Tibetan and Mongol troops went to Nagsho. Pholawa's diplomacy secured the agreement of most of the Mongol rebels.⁴²

In the past, parts of Tso-ngon had been under the rule of Mongol princes, but most of the region had been ruled independently by local Amdo chiefs. After defeating Lobsang Tenzin, the emperor deployed about 10,000 men in Xinning. In the event, the Manchu soldiers caused much damage to the local religion and way of life.

In 1724 Emperor Yong Zheng sent Kachu Lobsang Paljor and a group of officials to the Seventh Dalai Lama with a letter, asking him to rule Tibet just like the Fifth had done. They presented the emperor's *Yasa* on a set of 16 gold tablets, bearing the following words in Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese scripts: "The Buddha of the extremely healthy western land/The holder of the Buddha's complete teachings on this earth/The All-knowing Vajradhara Dalai Lama."⁴³

As time passed, differences arose between the five ministers, who were then ruling Tibet. In 1727 Minister Pholawa went to Tsang. In his absence, the Nga-Lum-Jar Triumvirate (Nga for Ngabo Dorjee Gyalpo, Lum for Lumpa Tashi Gyalpo and Jar for Jarawa Lodroe Gyalpo) assassinated Prime Minister Khang-chenpa Sonam Gyalpo, his family and supporters. Meanwhile, Pholawa mustered troops in Tsang and Ngari, and defeated the army of Central Tibet. He then requested Manchu help. The Manchu emperor responded by sending two Ambans, Ili Khan and Zangki, with troops to Lhasa. The imperial troops defeated the Nga-Lum-Jar Triumvirate.

The emperor gave Pholawa the title of Paisi, Jun Wang *Yasa* and a seal with the following inscription in Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu scripts: "The seal of Dhoroypa, implementor of imperial orders in U-Tsang." The two aforesaid Ambans and troops returned to China. To prevent a recurrence of political strife, Metashin and Sengtashin were stationed in Lhasa with 2,000 troops.⁴⁴

The situation in Tibet being unstable, the emperor decided to ask the Dalai Lama to spend some time in Lithang, where he would be free from worries. The emperor sent the Great Tashin with ample provisions to escort the Dalai Lama to Lithang. The Dalai Lama accepted the emperor's suggestion and asked Wangyal's son, Tulku Jigme Yeshe Dakpa, to preside over the Monlam Festival in Lhasa. On the twenty-third day of the eleventh moon in the Earth Monkey Year (1728) the Dalai Lama set off for Lithang. He was accompanied by 30 monks from Sera, Gaden, Drepung, Rato, Gyumed and Gyutoe monasteries. Also accompanying him were 40 monks from Namgyal monastery and a contingent of Tibetan government officials.⁴⁵

On reaching Thupchen Jampaling monastery in Lithang, the Dalai Lama was met by Askhen Amban, Mering Zangi Neygi, Ta Lama Tenzin Chodhar, Chopel Dhargye, the son of Interior Minister Mai Gung, Khiya Ti Khan, etc. They extended the emperor's greetings, and presented a large sum of money and other gifts from the emperor. The emperor had ordered Mering Zangi and Metashin to stay back to serve the Dalai Lama. He

had also ordered the deployment of 2,000 soldiers, led by Shingtzong Fin, for the protection of the Dalai Lama. The emperor had sent a message asking the Dalai Lama's father to come and meet him and to travel with any number of attendants he wished.⁴⁶

The Tibetan government envoy, Ngawang Namkha (Abbot of Gomang College), returned to Lithang, with a letter and a large quantity of gifts from the emperor to the Dalai Lama. The letter appreciated the Dalai Lama's decision to move to Lithang and said that the emperor had not invited him to China on account of the heat and small pox. The emperor hoped to meet the Dalai Lama during one of his visits outside China and promised to build a monastery near Lithang for the residence of the Dalai Lama. The emperor said he would be happy to oblige should the Dalai Lama wish to seek his advice before deciding to return to the Potala in the future.

When the Dalai Lama's father returned home, Tashin came to receive him, as ordered by the emperor. During a meeting with the emperor, the Dalai Lama's father was treated with great respect and given the title of a Senior Interior Gung. Bhentze Boshokha, Dorjee Tseten, and an attendant of the Dalai Lama's father, brought a greeting scarf and a gold letter from the emperor to the Dalai Lama. The emperor gave the Dalai Lama's father his own hat, decorated with a two-eyed peacock feather, a complete set of garments, gold, silver, brocade, satin, etc.⁴⁷

In the Iron Dog Year, 1730, the emperor spent 140,000 silver *Taels* to build a temple at Minyak Garthar. In that year the Dalai Lama fell ill, and Mering Zangi Neygi reported this to the emperor. The emperor sent his personal physicians, Hule Jing and Dorjee Jargochi, to treat the Dalai Lama.⁴⁸ At that time an earthquake occurred. The emperor then built a special quake-resistant house — having over 100 pillars, to the west of the temple in Minyak Garthar — where the Dalai Lama moved.⁴⁹

In the Water Ox Year, 1733, Pholawa sent an envoy to Peking to request the emperor to reduce the number of Manchu troops in Lhasa. He said that there had been no increase in the imperial fund to pay the expenses of the troops, that Tibet was a small land with a small population, and that, therefore, it was difficult to provision the army with fodder and cooking fuel. Pholawa asked for only about two officials and about 500 soldiers to be stationed in Tibet. These too, he said, should not occupy the houses of citizens. Instead, they should move out to the newly-constructed barracks at Drapchi in the north of Lhasa. The emperor agreed and ordered home the surplus officials and 1,500 troops. General Chiwu Dhalo Yin and 500 troops moved to Drapchi.⁵⁰

In the Wood Tiger Year, 1734, the emperor requested the Dalai Lama to move back to Lhasa, realising that the happiness of Tibet and the well-being of Buddhism depended on the person of the Dalai Lama. The imperial attendants at the household of the Dalai Lama informed him that the emperor's seventeenth son, Chingwang Khoshoy Khensi,

and Khutuktu Changkya would come to him to present offerings from the emperor. Thereafter, the Dalai Lama received a letter from the emperor, informing him of the imminent departure of his seventeenth son and requesting blessed pills to protect the son from accidents on the way. The Dalai Lama also received a letter stating that the emperor's son would request teachings from him, become his disciple and perform tasks for him.

On the third day of the eleventh Mongolian moon, the prince arrived in Garthar with Khutuktu Changkya, three Khoshoy Amba Neygis, six Khiyas and numerous chiefs. They were escorted by a detachment of imperial bannermen. As they approached the outer wall of the cathedral in Garthar, they were welcomed by monks carrying ceremonial banners, abbots of Shalu, Sera, Drepung and Gaden monasteries, the Dalai Lama's father, Dingchen Ney, etc. Welcome banners fluttered from the roof of the cathedral, where an incense-burning ritual was held.

About forty paces before reaching the outer gate of the cathedral, the prince dismounted from his steed and walked with the bearers of the imperial gold letter and gifts. The Dalai Lama, assisted by Khenchen Dorjee Chang, Kudun Ngagrampa and others, met the imperial envoys at the middle gate. From there the Dalai Lama, flanked by the emperor's seventeenth son and Khutuktu Changkya, walked into the assembly hall of the cathedral. There, the emperor's letter was read out and gifts presented. The Dalai Lama received a ceremonial scarf from the prince and sat on his throne. The prince hosted a banquet and talked at length with the Dalai Lama.

When the ceremony ended, the Dalai Lama's spiritual tutor, Ngawang Chokdhen Rinpoche, was presented with the imperial letter, *Yasa*, seal, brocade and the following title: "Achithu Nomin Khan, promoter of the Yellow Hat doctrine." Dingchenpa was presented with the title of "Dar Khan". The Dalai Lama's Chief Attendant, Lord Chamberlain, Ritual Master, personal attendants, five debating partners, and Chief Secretary were each presented with five bolts of brocade.

Following this, the prince and a small number of officials and servants had an audience with the Dalai Lama. As disciples, they prostrated to the Dalai Lama and sat on very low seats. They made offerings of gold, silver, brocade, satin, etc. and engaged in conversations with the Dalai Lama.

On the following day, there was another ceremony in the cathedral's assembly hall. This ceremony was of the same nature as that of the preceding day. But the feast was held in Tibetan style and Tibetan food was served. Two monk officials exchanged recitations, followed by a philosophical debate between two monks, followed still by a *Gar* dance performance.

The prince stayed in Garthar for about one-and-a-half months, during which time

he received the following spiritual teachings and initiations from the Dalai Lama: *Long-life Initiation According to Siddha-raja Tradition*, *Subsequent Transmission on Hyagriva*, *Ekavira-vajra Bhairava Initiation*, *Subsequent Transmission on Vidya Devi*, *Seven Bhaishajya Deva*, *Avalokiteshvara and White Tara*, *Guru Yoga*, *Means to Accomplishing Ekavira-vajra Bhairava*, *Long-life Ritual Teaching*, etc. As a result, the prince became deeply devoted to the Dalai Lama. According to the Buddhist tradition of making obeisance to the guru, the prince knelt on a very low seat and made the Long-life and Eight Auspicious Articles Offerings.

As instructed by his father, the prince asked the Dalai Lama to leave one lama and about fifty monks at Garthar. They would stay at a monastery, and their living expenses would be borne from the imperial coffers. The Dalai Lama offered the prince a number of scriptures and sacred images, including a Lewu Chungme statue of Tsongkhapa. The prince was extremely pleased, as he had wanted to ask the Dalai Lama for this very statue.

On the first day of the first Mongolian moon in the Wood Hare Year, 1735, a feast was given at the assembly hall of the cathedral for the prince and his retinue. During the feast, Chinese and Tibetan dances were performed. The prince read out the emperor's message to the Dalai Lama. It said, "On reaching Tibet, the Dalai Lama should promote Buddhism and especially the teachings of Tsongkhapa. The Dalai Lama should do his best to ensure the happiness of the people of Tibet."

The Dalai Lama replied, "Although I do not have such abilities, I will seek the blessing of the Three Jewels and do my best to serve the cause of the teachings of the Buddha and work for the happiness of all sentient beings." Then, despite the prince's protestations, the Dalai Lama insisted on walking the prince up to the gate. There the Dalai Lama offered him a scarf for the emperor, which the prince held aloft in deep respect. He then offered his own scarf to the Dalai Lama and shed tears of sadness at the separation. The prince walked backwards until the Dalai Lama was out of sight. At the outer gate, the prince was offered scarves by the lamas and other monks. To see off the prince, the Dalai Lama's father journeyed with him for a whole day. Later, in the second Mongolian moon, the Dalai Lama received an exotic-looking palanquin, which the prince had sent for him when he was travelling to Tibet.⁵¹

On the twenty-first day of the third Mongolian moon, the Dalai Lama started his journey into Central Tibet. Imperial nobles and soldiers travelled with the Dalai Lama, pretending to be his bodyguards. The emperor sent the Dalai Lama a yellow palanquin with 54 carriers. Earlier, while the Dalai Lama was living in Lihang for six years, Chinese soldiers had arrived and taken up residence at the Lihang monastery. They had also brought their families and started rearing poultry and pigs in the monastery. Now the

Dalai Lama, on his way to Lhasa, reached Lithang and ordered the nobles to put a stop to this practice. The nobles accepted the Dalai Lama's order, which greatly benefitted the people of Lithang.⁵²

On the eleventh day of the seventh Mongolian moon, the Dalai Lama arrived at the Jokhang temple in Lhasa, and on the seventeenth day he arrived at the Potala Palace. As advised by the emperor, the Dalai Lama took novice vows from Miring Zange and Nasuthu. They had served as the Dalai Lama's attendants in Lithang and Garthar.⁵³

Towards the end of 1739, the Dalai Lama received an imperial letter through the Mongol court. It said:

The Heavenly Emperor's decree, issued in the Rawa moon of summer on the anniversary of the third year of reign.

There are over 1,000 large and small monasteries in Tibet, whose tea and food offerings during prayer meetings come from the Dalai Lama's coffers. In addition, the Tibetan government bears the living expenses of lamas and other spiritual practitioners. But it does not have enough funds. Therefore, the emperor will send a donation of 5,000 silver *Taels* every year from the revenue received from Dhartsedho (Ch: Khangting). This amount will be handed over to the Tibetan government's tea buyers, who come every year to Dhartsedho.⁵⁴

In 1744 Emperor Qianlong built a big cathedral at the site of his father's old residence. He then selected 500 intellectually-promising nuns from the 49 Great Tribes, seven Khelkha tribes, Tibetans and Chinese. The emperor sent a message through Zorkhang, requesting the Dalai Lama to send teachers to give instructions on sutra, tantra and literature to the four colleges, which he was planning to establish. The Dalai Lama sent Hadhong Rabjampa Ngawang Chopel as a lama of the Buddhist Philosophy College, Seygyu Kunchok Tendhar as a lama of the Tantric College, Mokchok Shabdrung as a lama of the Literature College, and Phuntsok Zamling as a lama of the Medical College. To assist them the Dalai Lama sent 18 tea-chers and their servants from Sera, Drepung, Gaden and Tantric monasteries.

The spiritual teachers had an audience with the Dalai Lama before leaving for the imperial colleges. The Dalai Lama advised the spiritual teachers:

All you spiritual teachers have become monks and studied the Buddhist teachings well. Generally speaking, to teach Buddhism in a land where it is not so wide spread is infinitely more effective and helpful. In the particular case of Great China, its former emperors were great patrons of Buddhism. More

particularly, the forebears of the present emperor were patrons of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. They were great patrons of the teachings of Tsongkhapa. The present Emperor Manjushri has been very kind to us. Our two great reincarnated lamas are also staying in that land. I have asked them to give you advice. The important thing is to teach, study and practice Buddhism according to the wish of the emperor and become a good example. You should have the courage to serve the cause of Buddhism to the best of your ability and without becoming partial to a particular college.

As requested by the emperor, the Dalai Lama also offered 500 plumed hats of Gelugpa monks.⁵⁵

In 1745, when construction of the colleges in Peking was completed, the Dalai Lama sent a complete set of the “Wish-fulfilling Tree” *Thangkas*, depicting the life of the Buddha. On the back of the principal *Thangka*, the Dalai Lama had written a prayer, composed by himself. When these *Thangkas* were presented to the emperor, he picked up one roll at random and intoned, “May these images, presented to me by the Dalai Lama, serve the cause of sentient beings.” The roll turned out to be the principal *Thangka*. The emperor was immensely pleased. As the *Thangkas* were hung on the walls of the college assembly hall, they spanned all the four walls in perfect proportions. This was an auspicious inter-dependent cause, and since the emperor greatly admired the Dalai Lama, it was seen as an indication that the Dalai Lama and the emperor, owing to prayers in their past lives, were pre-destined to work together for the cause of Buddhism and sentient beings.⁵⁶

In the same year, Khutuktu Changkya, following the emperor’s instruction, completed the translation of the *Tengyur* into Mongolian. The Dalai Lama was pleased and offered him congratulatory gifts.

In 1747 Wang Pholawa Sonam Topgyal died. The emperor instructed Pholawa’s son, Gyurmey Namgyal, to succeed his father and gave him the title of Jun Wang.⁵⁷ Gyurmey Namgyal submitted a number of petitions to the emperor, stating that the presence of 500 Manchu officials and soldiers was causing hardship to the Tibetans and must be withdrawn. The emperor withdrew 400 soldiers.⁵⁸

During his four-year reign, Wang Gyurmey Namgyal displayed an attitude of ingratitude to the emperor and was ill-disposed towards the Dalai Lama. He led a dissolute life and treacherously assassinated the Gung of Ngari. Due to such unethical conducts, on the thirteenth day of the eleventh Mongolian moon the Lhasa-based Ambans, Tashin Fu and Labtun, invited him to Tromsik Khang and assassinated him. Tashin Fu and Labtun then gave an arrow letter to Gung Pandita, asking him to take charge of Tibet’s

political affairs. They pretended that this proposal had come from the emperor. Gung Pandita, in his turn, went to the Potala and reported the matter to the Dalai Lama.

Now Dronyer Lobsang Tashi, an attendant of Wang Namgyal, planned to kill Tashin Fu and Labtun without considering the consequence of such an action. As soon as the Dalai Lama learned of this, he sent his attendants, the majority of monk officials, the lamas, administrators and common monks of Sera, Drepung and Gaden monasteries to dissuade Lobsang Tashi from carrying out his plan. But Lobsang Tashi remained adamant and went ahead with his plan. Tashin Fu, Labtun and a large number of soldiers were killed, causing a serious situation.

Unable to put up with such malevolent actions, the Dalai Lama issued a proclamation in Dhagpo, Kongpo, Dham, Nagchu, etc. forbidding all from following Lobsang Tashi and from indulging in belligerent activities. This prevented further bloodshed. About 200 people, including the two Bichaichis, the Pay Master, widows of the two deceased Ambans and soldiers were sheltered in the Potala, where they were fed and provided with all the necessities. The Dalai Lama also gave a seal, authorising Gung Pandita to run the affairs of Tibet till an imperial message came through.⁵⁹

The Dalai Lama sent a letter to the emperor through a horse-relay courier. In the letter, he reported the developments in Tibet at length. The emperor's reply was as follows:

This is the edict issued to the Dalai Lama and Minister Gung Pandita by Emperor Qianlong on the eighteenth day of the eleventh moon in the fifteenth year of reign:

Aware of Gyurmey Namgyal's continual disrespect towards the Dalai Lama, I advised him time and again to be careful. He flouted my advice and harboured baseless suspicions. In view of Gyurmey Namgyal's harsh and evil nature, the Lhasa-based Amban Tashin Fu and company became concerned for the safety of the Dalai Lama. Ignoring personal risk and hardship, they took legal action and crushed Gyurmey Namgyal. All this was done for the Dalai Lama. Now that the danger to the Dalai Lama's life has been removed and U-Tsang has become the wholesome land of Buddhism, my mind is at ease. When Dronyer Lobsang Tashi rebelled against the Ambans in U-Tsang, the Dalai Lama issued a proclamation, which dispersed the evil people and brought stability and happiness in Tibet. As a token of my appreciation, I sent Askhen Amban Namgyal to U-Tsang with gifts for the Dalai Lama. I asked the Amban that as soon as he reached U-Tsang he should present my gifts to the Dalai Lama and inform him that I was sending these with great affection.

In the past, I gave Gyurmey Namgyal the title of Jun Wang, despite the

fact that he was not worthy of it. Going against the precedence, I very graciously gave him the Jun Wang title and allowed him to run the affairs, only because his father, Pholawa, had served all his life to the best of his ability. Since then, Gyurmey Namgyal had progressively increased his malevolent activities. At his request, I withdrew the ministers and soldiers from U-Tsang. Thereafter, he became even more arrogant and caused suffering to the subjects. He indulged in avaricious and nefarious activities.

In addition, he fabricated charges of rebellion against his brother Gyurmey Tseten and got my ministers and soldiers to kill him, his son and all the leaders. He also split the Pandita's family. He forced the Pandita's daughter-in-law to reside in Tsang and son in U, where he was made to work as a servant. He disrupted the mail courier network and harboured designs to finish off the ministers and soldiers.

When I think it over carefully, I realise that although Gyurmey Namgyal was an evil man, I also made a mistake of being generous to him, which made him arrogant. Although the people of U-Tsang loathed him, it seems they could not take any action against him since it was I who had appointed him and given him the title of Wang. I deeply regret my action. From this, it appears that giving too much power to the ministers is not a good policy. You should follow my advice since my aim is to bring happiness to the people of U-Tsang.

When legal action had been taken against Gyurmey Namgyal, Tashin Fu and company asked the Pandita to take charge of the affairs of U-Tsang. This was not really my command. However, the two Ambans decided that it would not do to leave U-Tsang leaderless even for a single day. They asked the Pandita also to immediately lead the army and help them. If the Pandita, acting on their instruction, had slain the rebels and saved the lives of the Ambans and brought stability to the area, I would have no reason to object to what the Ambans had done. But since he failed to save the lives of the Ambans, I cannot say that the Pandita did not make mistakes. Nevertheless, the Pandita was alone and powerless. If he had tried to save his own life only, this conduct would appear to be that of an ordinary mortal. Anyway, this is now a bygone matter, and needs no investigations. Of course, the Pandita cannot rightfully expect a rank from me by pretending that he had done useful work. The Pandita can retain the title of Gung and work as the minister of the Dalai Lama.

Once Tsondu Tsering and party arrive in Tibet, they should have a discussion with the Dalai Lama. Based on the discussion, the leaders of Tibet should select a man with a wide learning whom they can trust and whom the people of Tibet have trusted previously. This man should be appointed minister to work with the Pan-

ditā. As in the past, the two should decide minor matters on their own. However, regarding sending letters to me and establishing the army and courier network, my authorised Ambans must be consulted. The Kalons should discuss such matters with the Ambans and get them to affix their seal. This should become the norm from now on. For matters concerning the duties of ministers and border guards and the courier network, the Dalai Lama and the Pandita should hold discussions with Tsondu Tsering, Thi-thu-yo Chung-chi, Askhen Amban Jowu Hos, the Lhasa-based Ambans and monks. They should deliberate carefully on these matters and then report to me.

Again, Gyurmey Namgyal lied and falsely charged his brother Gyurmey Tseten of having started a rebellion. Employing subterfuge, he sent an army and got his brother killed. And then he falsely reported that his brother had died of illness. This has become very clear now. Gyurmey Tseten was killed despite his innocence. He must now be cleared of the false charges against him.

The Pandita must search for Gyurmey Tseten's son and invoke my order to restore to him the title of Gung and the position of leader of the Ngari Tibetans. Tell him to serve to the best of his ability and arrest Dronyer Lobsang Tashi if he is seen there. Find out how much land and cattle Gyurmey Namgyal had taken from Gyurmey Tseten, and restore these to the latter's son.

Again, on the eighth day of the tenth moon, this year, I sent letters to Tash-in Fu and Labtun. Also, on the eleventh day of the ninth moon, I sent a letter to Gyurmey Namgyal. These letters may not have reached Tibet since Gyurmey Namgyal has created turmoil and cut the courier network. However, if the letters reach Tibet, the Pandita may read them and act on the instructions. If the letters have not arrived there, the Pandita should check with all the courier-staging posts, recover the letters and act on them.

As Ruler of all Men Under the Sky, I am benevolent to the ministers and subjects who serve me. The Pandita should think carefully and serve with devotion. He should work in harmony with all the ministers and the soldiers I sent to Tibet. He should work together with the new Kalons, and they should act in harmony on each and every point. If you are able to do this, then you will emerge as the principal minister and happily enjoy the merits forever. I am issuing this decree to sincerely clarify matters. The Pandita should accept this decree, follow the instructions and write soon to tell me how you are working. Let this decree be known to all the people of Tibet.

Issued on the eighteenth day of the eleventh moon in the fifteenth year of Qianlong's reign.

Edict to the Dalai Lama:

In the past Gyurmey Namgyal was disrespectful to the Dalai Lama and indulged in all kinds of improper activities. When I heard of these, I advised him a number of times. This is known to all the people of U-Tsang. He did not listen to my advice and killed his own brother. The Ambans in Lhasa reported his malevolent activities to me. I wanted to take immediate legal action against him, but decided to wait, fearing its repercussion on the person of the Dalai Lama. Recently, on the eighth day of the tenth moon, the Lhasa-based Ambans wrote to me saying that I should take legal action against Gyurmey Namgyal since he was indulging in all kinds of malevolent activities. I reprimanded the Ambans for their impatience and told them to wait for Amban Bendhe to come, after which the three, I said, could discuss the matter, report the outcome to the Dalai Lama and then take legal action. The two Ambans took legal action before my letter and Amban Bendhe arrived there. They lost their lives as well. In this state of turmoil, I heard that the Dalai Lama was safe. This set my mind at rest. Although the two Ambans acted hastily, they were only trying to serve the cause of polity. Therefore, I shall reward their work.

At that time, the Dalai Lama immediately sent messengers asking people to desist from the rebellion. This was done to help me politically and I am very happy with this. I am sending the rewards separately. Although the rebels did not listen to the Dalai Lama and indulged in improper activities, the Dalai Lama, being a monk, could not do much about it. There was a situation of rebellion, and if they did not listen, the Dalai Lama could do nothing. Right from the beginning, I have worked for the spread of the Yellow Hat doctrine and security of the Dalai Lama. As long as the Dalai Lama is safe, it is easy to take care of other things. I have now sent Tsondu Amban Tsering of Sichuan with an army to U-Tsang to quell the rebellion and punish the guilty. In the meantime, it would be very good if the Pandita were able to arrest the evil people involved in the rebellion. If he has not yet been able to arrest them, then it is very important to do so now for the good of the common cause. With your mind at rest, the Dalai Lama should rule the subjects of Tibet and wait for the troops to arrive. As soon as the Ambans arrive, they will deal with the rebels and restore stability. The Dalai Lama should set his mind at rest and write to me on whatever needs to be reported.

Issued on the fifteenth day of the second of the double eleventh moon in the fifteenth year of Qianlong's reign.

Similarly, the following message was given during a personal audience:

The emperor's message to the Dalai Lama on the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh moon in the fifteenth year of Qianlong's reign:

The Dalai Lama's letter stated the reasons for failure to help the Ambans. It also stated that the Pandita had arrested all the mischievous people and put them under detention, and that all areas of Tibet are stable and out of danger. I am very glad to hear this. I have contemplated all the matters raised by the lama and found them in accord with my thinking. As soon as my Amban reaches Tibet, he will have a meeting with the lama and implement these decisions. At this moment, I want to tell the lama that you should promote the cause of Buddhism and work hard to bring peace and stability to all Tibetan subjects. I have sent you a wish-fulfilling gift through the courier network. May all your wishes for common happiness be fulfilled! This is a special message.⁶⁰

In 1751 Chang Jun Gung Tsering, Amban Bendhe and other nobles arrived in Lhasa, having been sent by the emperor. They gave the Dalai Lama a message from the emperor, stating that when Gyurmey Namgyal and his faction rebelled, the Dalai Lama issued a good proclamation for the cause of religious and secular polity, and that this brought about stability, for which the emperor was very happy. This message was delivered along with a lavish gift. The emperor's message said, "The Tibetan leaders of the past may have done political works, but they did not serve the Vajradhara Dalai Lama. Moreover, there were many instances of their failure to serve the political cause. They were not even able to help the subjects of Tibet. From now on the Dalai Lama should take complete control of Tibet's secular and religious polity, as this is more helpful. The Dalai Lama should appoint four Kalons as his assistants."

Following this, the nobles of Tibet had a meeting under the auspices of the Dalai Lama. The meeting decided that Dhokhar Shabdrung Tsering Wangyal and Dzasak Thonpa Sichoy Tseten were honourable and senior enough to be appointed as Gung Pandita's colleagues. In addition, it was decided that the Dalai Lama should appoint someone from the ranks of his personal attendants. This was Dronyer Dharkhan Nyima Gyaltsen. The emperor was happy with the Dalai Lama's appointee and soon gave him the title of Dzasak Lama.⁶¹ Thus, the Dalai Lama appointed four Kalons as his assistants.

At that time, the lamas and administrators of Sera, Gaden and Drepung monasteries, and the Kalon Dapon and all the Tibetan government officials were summoned to a meeting. During the meeting, the nobles of the emperor read out a 13-point

regulation, issued by the emperor for the governance of Tibet. The essence of this is as follow:

To be heard and remembered by all the ecclesiastical and lay people. The Vajradhara Dalai Lama is the sole lord of the Snow Land of Tibet. As happened in the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the emperor appoints the Vajradhara Dalai Lama to take charge of all the national affairs of Tibet. If you — the lamas, monks, local leaders, nobles and all the people of Tibet — show single-minded respect to the kindness of the emperor and to the Vajradhara Dalai Lama, you will be happy in perpetuity. You all know how draconian is the Great Emperor's law if you go against this. Therefore, you should follow this for your perpetual happiness.⁶²

On the first day of the second Mongolian moon, the day when the constellations were positioned favourably, the four Kalons were given lavish gifts and seals of office from the emperor. They were also given detailed advice on how to work honourably for the happiness of the Tibetan people:⁶³

The Emperor's edict to the Pandita:

In the past, Gyurmey Namgyal was disrespectful to the Dalai Lama and indulged in all kinds of unbecoming activities. I issued him a number of instructions, as is known to all the people of U-Tsang. He flouted my advice and treacherously killed his own brother. His conduct degenerated progressively. The Tibet-based Ambans sent me reports of his malevolent designs. Although I wanted to take immediate legal action against him, I decided to wait, since I was worried that he would only harbour doubts in his mind and harm the Dalai Lama. Tashin Fu and Labtun, the Ambans in charge of U-Tsang affairs, reported to me that Gyurmey Namgyal's conduct was getting worse. On the one hand, they reported this to me; on the other hand, they asked me to take legal action against him and let this be known to all. I told Tashin Fu and Labtun to wait for the time being, that I would send another Amban and that, when he arrived, the three should hold a discussion and do whatever was necessary.

I reprimanded the two Ambans for their impatience and advised them to wait for Amban Bhende. I said the three should discuss the matter, consult the Dalai Lama and then take legal action. But the two Ambans acted before the arrival of Amban Bhende and my letter. Gyurmey Namgyal was killed, but they also lost their lives. Luckily the Dalai Lama is safe, for which I am very happy. Although

the two Ambans did not wait for my command and lost their lives, their aim was to finish off the evil person for the political good of Tibet and for the happiness of the Tibetan subjects. Therefore, it would not do for me to be ungrateful to them.

In your letter, you stated that you would muster troops, track down the evil-doers and arrest them. Although it is perfectly right to arrest such people, you must think carefully whether you have the might to achieve this or not. If you have such a might, you should do this immediately. If you do not have such a might, do not insist on executing this on your own. You must by all means protect the territory of U-Tsang and serve the Dalai Lama's administration well, look after the subjects well and, when my army arrives there, help them wherever they go. Do not let anyone escape. Do not worry about the fact that you could not be of any help when the fighting broke out after Tashin Fun and Labtun had killed Gyurme Namgyal. Since you did not have enough might and men at that time, it would not have served any purpose even if you had gone there. There would only have been bloodshed. By all means, look after the subjects well and serve the Dalai Lama's administration. This is the purpose for which I am sending this message.

On the fifteenth day of the eleventh moon in the fifteenth year of Qianlong's reign.⁶⁴

This is the emperor's message to the Dalai Lama, Kalon Pandita and the Tibetan subjects in U-Tsang:

In the past, Gyurme Namgyal acted cruelly and harshly. He showed disrespect even to the Dalai Lama, caused suffering to the Tibetan subjects. He killed his own brother and indulged in many other unlawful actions. The Tibet-based Amban Tashin Fu and company heard of the suffering of the Tibetan people and suspected that Gyurme Namgyal had designs to harm the Dalai Lama. Therefore, they requested permission from me to take legal action against him. I informed them that I was sending Amban Bendhe to Tibet especially for this purpose. I said that he would have a discussion with the Dalai Lama and expose Gyurme Namgyal's evil deeds. Only after that, I said, should Gyurme Namgyal be punished and the danger to the Dalai Lama's life be removed and the harsh and cruel people be eliminated. Had the Tibet-based Ambans listened to my advice, the fight with the evil rebels would not have taken place. But in view of the situation prevailing in Tibet, the Tibet-based Amban Tashin Fu and company had taken a convenient course and abruptly punished Gyurme Namgyal.

At that time the rebels caused trouble, causing unhappiness to the people of U-Tsang. When I heard this, I immediately sent a message with a large army

under the leadership of Tsondu Tsering of Sichuan and Thiyi Thuyo Drungchi. They were to bring stability to U-Tsang and arrest the rebels. There was nothing else to investigate. At that time, Tsondu Tsering reported the situation in Tibet and the circumstances leading to this. The Pandita also gradually arrested Lobsang Tashi and his supporters, and reported that Tibet was now extremely peaceful. I was very happy. Gyurmey Namgyal's evil deeds became clearer. The people of U-Tsang were happy. The Tibet-based Ambans ignored personal risks and eliminated the evil-doers for the benefit of the common people. The remaining rebels were gradually arrested, the land freed from danger and stability restored. Therefore, I saw no need to send a large army and frighten the Tibetan subjects. I immediately gave orders for the large army to stop and prevented Thiyu Drungchi from advancing on Tibet. Now I have sent Tsondu Tsering alone to look after the Dalai Lama and to fulfill all these goals.⁶⁵

In the Wood Hog Year, 1755, the Dalai Lama became ill with what looked like influenza. Through the Amban, the emperor informed the Dalai Lama that he had asked Khutuktu Changkya and company to conduct prayer rituals for the Dalai Lama's health. He told the Dalai Lama to take care of his health, meet only few people and suspend his spiritual practice for the time being. Some time later, the emperor wrote another letter to the Dalai Lama. In it, he said, "I became very worried when I learned that the Dalai Lama had not recovered from his illness. I instructed Khutuktu Changkya to get all the monks and nuns in Peking to conduct prayer rituals. I will soon send, in the eleventh moon, one Khiya with a qualified physician and a letter of greeting."⁶⁶

In the Fire Ox Year, 1757, the Dalai Lama passed away. The National Assembly, under the Kalons, held a meeting for some months and communicated their unanimous decision to the emperor. Following the emperor's reply, which came on the eighth day of the fourth moon, Dhemo Ngawang Jampel Delek Gyatso was appointed regent of Tibet.⁶⁷

Comments

The second phase of Tibet-Manchu relations spans 76 years, i.e., from 1682 to 1757. Analysis of this relationship shows the following:

1) Unlike in the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, four special events took place in Tibet during that period:

a) The Manchu forces arrived in Tibet to escort the Seventh Dalai Lama and to drive out the Dzungars. The Manchu forces executed Taktse Desi Lhagyal Raptan

and his faction after identifying them as supporters of the Dzungars.

b) Owing to internecine struggles among the Tibetan Kalons, Pholawa sought the help of the Manchus, who, in turn, sent troops and executed the Nga-Lum-Jar Triumvirate. Pholawa Sonam Rapten and his descendants were given the title of Wang and appointed chief administrators of Tibet.

c) From then on, the Manchus stationed two Ambans and a military garrison in Lhasa.

d) The Manchus issued a 13-point regulation for the governance of Tibet. But this does not affect the Teacher-patron relationship between Tibet and the Manchus. Neither does it affect the basic foundation of the independent status of Tibet and the Manchu empire. The Manchus sent forces to protect the Dalai Lama and drive out the Dzungars only in fulfilment of the patron's duty towards his teacher. Desi Taktsewa was killed because he was identified as a supporter of the Dzungars, who were then adversaries of the Manchus. The bestowal of the complimentary title and political rank on Pholawa's son, and stationing of Ambans and a garrison in Tibet after the end of the power struggle among the Kalons, was aimed solely at ensuring stability in Tibet and preventing the recurrence of a power struggle among the Kalons. The 13-point regulation was issued to serve as guidelines for Pholawa and his sons. All these steps were required in Tibet at that time.

2) All these actions were taken within the framework of the teacher-patron relationship. The following points will demonstrate the Manchu rulers' devotion to Buddhism at that time:

The forebears of Emperor Shunzi, conqueror of China, were devotees of Buddhism. Emperors Kangxi, Yongzhi and Qianlong were even more devoted to Buddhism and worked hard to promote this religion. For example, during the reign of Kangxi, Changkya Ngawang Lobsang Choedhen, Khutuktu Thuwu Kanho and many other Tibetan lamas were invited to Peking, where they were made to teach and study Buddhism and translate the *Kagyur* into Mongolian. A big cathedral was built in the Land of the Seven Tribes and a monastery was established chiefly for Mongolian monks. Emperor Qianlong received many teachings in Buddhist sutra and tantra from Changkya Rolpai Dorjee and Panchen Palden Yeshe. He commissioned the translation of the *Kagyur* into the Manchu language and the *Tengyur* into the Mongolian language. He built a three-storey Dhugkar Cathedral behind his palace and a four-storey cathedral with ornate roofs to the left corner of the Inner Fort. These cathedrals were modelled after the Potala and Tashilhunpo. He founded a monastery with 500 monks in Peking. This monastery had schools for the learning of sutra, tantra, medicine and literature. Similarly, he built a monastery exclusively for Manchu monks. In Shehor, he built a monastery, modelled

after the Samye temple of Tibet, exclusively for Mongol monks. It had schools for the learning of sutra, tantra, kalachakra and chakrasamvara traditions. Thuwukan Lobsang Choekyi Nyima and many other Tibetan lamas were invited to Peking to teach in these monasteries. The emperor respected and gave grants to some 1,000 monks based in Peking. All in all, the emperor was deeply devoted to Buddhism, particularly to the Yellow Hat doctrine. Since the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama were the holders of the Yellow Hat doctrine, the emperor was particularly devoted to them. Emperor Qianlong showed tremendous respect to the Seventh Dalai Lama because his spiritual teachers, Changkya and Panchen Palden Yeshe, were disciples of the Dalai Lama.

As stated earlier, when the Seventh Dalai Lama was residing in Kubum, the emperor sent his fourteenth son to pay his great respect to the Dalai Lama and to serve him. The prince also escorted the Dalai Lama to Lhasa. Similarly, when the Dalai Lama was in Lithang, the emperor sent two Ambans and about 2,000 troops to serve and protect the Dalai Lama. The emperor built a cathedral in Garthar and an earthquake-resistant house for the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama's father was treated with great respect by the emperor during their meeting. On several occasions, the emperor sent his seventeenth son to Garthar to offer gifts to the Dalai Lama and to serve him. The prince escorted the Dalai Lama to the Potala Palace in Lhasa. In the wake of the struggle between Wang Gyurmey Namgyal and the Ambans, the emperor wrote to the Dalai Lama to say that Gyurmey Namgyal had been a cruel and harsh man, capable of harming the Dalai Lama. Therefore, Gyurmey Namgyal was vanquished with great effort and at personal risk. All this was done for the Dalai Lama. Now that the Dalai Lama was safe and U-Tsang was reinstated as the land of Buddhism, the emperor said, his mind was at rest. Expressing remorse for his generous treatment of Gyurmey Namgyal, the emperor said that although Gyurmey Namgyal had been a cruel man, he himself had also made a mistake by being too generous to him.

In another letter to the Dalai Lama, the emperor said that he had worked hard for the spread of the Yellow Hat doctrine and safety of the Dalai Lama. He added that as long as the Dalai Lama was safe all other tasks would be easy. In a letter to Doring Pandita, the emperor said that it was very good to work for the Dalai Lama.

From these letters, it can be surmised that Qianlong treated the Dalai Lama in the same way that Khubilai Khan had treated Drogon Choegyal Phagpa.

3) The question may arise that although the Manchu emperors were deeply religious and strictly followed the Teacher-patron relationship, the fact that they appointed the political leaders of Tibet and issued the 13-point regulation for the governance of Tibet shows that Tibet was under Manchu rule. The answer is no. The Manchus appointed Tibet's political leaders and issued the 13-point regulation as a part of the patron's duty

to serve the teacher. The leaders appointed were all Tibetans and worked for Tibet. Since the Tibetans worked for Tibet, it could never be construed to mean that the Manchus ruled Tibet.

4) Some critics contend that the fact that the emperor bestowed ranks, seals and issued edicts is very significant. There could be nothing more significant than this, they maintain. This view is also wrong. For example, when Desi Sangye Gyatso enthroned Tsangyang Gyatso as the Sixth Dalai Lama, the emperor sent Thuwukan Khutuktu Ngawang Chodhen and other Gold Mail Runners to present his gifts at the ceremony. Thereafter, when Lhasang Khan enthroned Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso as the Sixth Dalai Lama, the emperor gifted a seal recognising him as the Sixth Dalai Lama. Following this, Kalsang Gyatso (the Seventh Dalai Lama) was unanimously recognised as the Dalai Lama. At that time, the emperor sent a seal recognising him as the Sixth Dalai Lama. All in all, the emperor recognised three individuals as the Sixth Dalai Lama. But to the Tibetans, Tsangyang Gyatso was the Sixth Dalai Lama and Kalsang Gyatso the Seventh. This became a recognised fact. Consequently, Kalsang Gyatso's successor, Jampel Gyatso, was recognised as the undisputed Eighth Dalai Lama. The emperor did not argue with this. When one looks at these events, it becomes clear the emperor's seals had no binding force on Tibet.

5) Some people will argue that the fact that the emperor bestowed seals and titles should suggest that recipients were subservient to the emperor. This is also wrong. For example, when Gushri Khan conquered the Choktu tribe in Tso-ngon, the Beri tribe in Dotoe and the Tsang king of Tibet, the emperor gave him a seal, title and *Yasa*. Later, Desi Sangye Gyatso ruled Tibet for many years on the advice of the Fifth Dalai Lama and acquired great prestige. At that time, the emperor gave him a gold seal and gold *Yasa*. When Lhasang Khan killed the Desi and ruled Tibet, the emperor gave him a seal and title. When Pholawa defeated the Nga-Lum-Jar Triumvirate, the emperor gave him a title. These events suggest that the emperor bestowed titles and seals on whoever was in power at a particular time. They also suggest that the seals and titles were given with the aim of gaining the goodwill of the person in power. These should never be construed to mean that the recipients were under the emperor's rule. The emperors had gifted similar seals and titles to the rulers of Vietnam, Korea, Burma and Thailand. More particularly, the emperors had given titles and seals to successive Korean monarchs and even to their sons and wives.

6) The successive Dalai Lamas were the undisputed sovereigns of Tibet. The emperors accepted this as a fact. In 1751 the emperor sent Chang Jun Tsering, Bhende Amban and other nobles to Lhasa with a letter to the Dalai Lama. It said, "The Tibetan leaders of the past may have performed political tasks, but they did not serve the Vajradhara Dalai

Lama. Moreover, there were many instances of their failure to serve the political cause. They were not even able to help the subjects of Tibet. From now on the Dalai Lama should take complete control of Tibet's secular and religious polity, as this is more helpful. To assist him, the Dalai Lama should appoint four Kalons.”

At a meeting of the lamas and administrators of Sera, Drepung and Gaden monasteries, and Kalons, Dapons (generals), and Tibetan lay officials, the Manchu nobles read out the following message of the emperor:

To be heard and remembered by all the monks and lay people: The Vajradhara Dalai Lama is the sole lord of the Snow Land of Tibet. As happened in the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the emperor appoints the Vajradhara Dalai Lama to take charge of all the national affairs of Tibet. If you — the lamas, monks, local leaders, nobles and all the people of Tibet — show single-minded respect to the kindness of the emperor and to the Vajradhara Dalai Lama, you will be happy in perpetuity. You all know how strict and awesome is the Great Emperor's law if you go against this. Therefore, you should follow this for your perpetual happiness.

Accordingly, the Dalai Lama took complete charge of Tibet's spiritual and political affairs, and appointed four Kalons to look after the day-to-day administration. He also appointed the bureaucrats. The Teacher-patron relationship between Tibet and the Manchus in that era was similar to the one during the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama. There had been absolutely no change in this.

7) One thing that needs to be pointed out is that in 1726 Manchu Emperor Yongzhi sent a letter to the Seventh Dalai Lama saying, “Now there are intermittent visits of officials between the western land and our bordering lands of Sichuan and Yunnan.” The Manchu emperor himself had clearly spoken of the western land (Tibet) as being separate from “our bordering lands of Sichuan and Yunnan”. It clearly shows that Tibet was then not part of the Manchu empire.

It cannot, however, be said that the Manchu emperors' religious devotion had absolutely no political dimensions. For example, during the reign of Emperor Kangxi, the *Kagyur* was first translated into the Mongolian language and then into the Manchu language. He also recruited monks mainly from the Mongols of the Seven Tribes. This was, of course, a diplomatic move to win the hearts and minds of the Mongols.

Phase Three of Tibet-Manchu Relationship (1748-1793)

The Eighth Dalai Lama, Jampel Gyatso, was born in the Earth Tiger Year, 1758, at Lharigung in the Thopgyal district of Tsang. The Panchen Lama, Palden Yeshe, recognised him as the reincarnation of the Seventh Dalai Lama, gave him the name Jampel Gyatso and ordained him into monkhood. The Panchen Lama also gave him spiritual teachings.

In the Water Horse Year (1762) the Eighth Dalai Lama arrived in Nyethang. At that time he received a letter from the Manchu Emperor. The letter said:

These are Hangti's words to the Dalai Lama's reincarnation:

Recently, U-Tsang Official Mering Zangi Phu told me that you were an exceptional reincarnation. This pleased me very much. The previous Dalai Lama's spiritual knowledge was unparalleled. He took my advice and satisfied me completely with his efforts to bring happiness to the Yellow Hat doctrine and the subjects of U-Tsang. I gave him large rewards to show my happiness. I was greatly concerned when he passed away. I am now glad that his reincarnation has come within three years of his demise. It is important that you, the reincarnation, must study hard for the propagation of the Yellow Hat doctrine, which is the essence of Buddhism. On the auspicious occasion of the arrival of the reincarnation, I offer a good scarf, a gold statue of the Buddha of Eternal Life, a jade statue of the Buddha Shakyamuni, and gem beads. These gifts are for the long life of the reincarnation and for the flourishing of the Yellow Hat doctrine.⁶⁸

In 1770 Emperor Qianlong built a monastery, named as the Potala, in Shehor. He asked the Dalai Lama to send learned, diligent and gentle geshe as abbots of the new monastery. He also asked the Dalai Lama to send chant masters. The Dalai Lama sent Gomang Geshe Seygyud Khenpo Sangye Wooser of Gyumed College, Shabdrung Ngawang Choedrak and Lobsang Gelek of Loseling College as abbots. As chant masters, he sent Gelong Ngawang Rinchen of Gyumed and Ngawang Kalden.⁶⁹

In the Iron Ox year, 1781, Qianlong's gold letter was made public. It said:

You, the Vajradhara Dalai Lama, have now come of age and mastered the entire sutra and tantra teachings. This is very important for the welfare and happiness of sentient beings. It is especially important that you have become the master of the Yellow Hat doctrine, which is the essence of the Buddha Shakyamuni's teaching.

You have treated all sentient beings impartially as if they were your own sons. You know that punishing evil people is a legal norm for the happiness of all. There is no difference between the Vajradhara Dalai Lama and the emperor. I, Ruler of the Earth Under the Sky, enjoy the mandate of the parents of all sentient beings. I bring happiness to sentient beings living in the direction where the sun sets. To appoint you, the Vajradhara Dalai Lama, as the holder of spiritual and political power there, I am sending Ta Lama Khutuktu Dzasak Khenpo and ministers with a *Yasa* inscribed on 17 tablets made with 70 *Sang* of gold, a gold seal, and other rich gifts. Accept them respectfully.⁷⁰

In the Fire Horse Year, 1786, the Dalai Lama received a letter from the emperor. It said:

Gaden Throne Holder Nomin Han (Ngawang Tsultrim) should come to my court and work as my Seal Lama in place of the deceased Seal Lama Changkya Khutuktu Sangye. The Dalai Lama has mastered the entire sutra and tantra teachings. You are conversant with political affairs as well. Now you should take complete charge of the spiritual and secular affairs, work for Buddhism and the welfare of all sentient beings without any discrimination, and, thus, fulfill my wishes.⁷¹

In the Earth Monkey Year, 1788, Tibetan forces, under Kalon Yuthok, and Manchu troops set off from Lhasa to fight the Gorkha invaders in the Nyalam and Kyidrong areas of Tibet. At that time the emperor wrote to the Dalai Lama, asking him not to worry about “petty plunderers in the small border region”. “You concentrate your mind on spiritual affairs. My men and supplies are unlimited.” In that year, Tibet and the Gorkhas concluded a treaty.⁷²

In the Iron Hog Year, 1791, the Gorkha army reached Shigatse, precipitating the flight of the Panchen Lama, Tenpai Nyima Rinpoche, from Tashilhunpo to Lhasa. Then the two Ambans in Lhasa asked the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama to go to Chamdo. The Dalai Lama replied that the plunderers would not be able to come to Lhasa and that if the Ambans did not think the matter over carefully, he would have to report again to the emperor. “Therefore, you must do everything possible to avoid disturbances,” said the Dalai Lama.

Worried about what might happen if the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama delayed in leaving Lhasa, the Ambans called Namchi Erdini Khenpo and the Tibetan ministers for a meeting. The senior lamas of Sera and Drepung said that the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama should stay in Lhasa. They promised that they would be able to defend the Potala palace and the monasteries of Sera, Drepung and Gaden. Thus the

meeting decided in favour of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama staying in Lhasa.

On this matter, the emperor sent the following letter, “The Ambans had planned to escort the Dalai Lama to Chamdo, leaving the Potala at the mercy of thieves. The Dalai Lama made a very good decision in this very important matter by not leaving the Potala. Pawu Amban had escorted the Panchen Erdini from Tashilhunpo. Erdini cannot be faulted since he is very young. The Amban is the one who made the mistake. The monasteries of Sera and Drepung have served the spiritual and secular polity well. For this, two senior lamas will be given rewards.” The emperor also wrote that he would send 100,000 Manchu troops to repulse the Gorkhas and sanction a million *Dotsey* (Tibetan monetary unit, one *Dotsey* = 50 *Sangs*) to pay for their supplies.⁷³

In the Water Fowl Year, 1792, the Great General Trungthang (known also as Gungchang Junphu and Fukhang-an) and his lieutenant Heygung arrived in Lhasa with the Imperial army. They met the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama replied to all the questions of Trungthang. Trungthang’s respect for the Dalai Lama increased even more. Later, Trungthang told the emperor, “The Dalai Lama is the Buddha of very clear mind and wide knowledge. He replies to all questions without any difficulty. When I and my army could not decide on a particular matter, we went to the Dalai Lama and he provided solutions.” The emperor was pleased to hear this and gave him a congratulatory scarf, saying, “This is my *Bhayir* to you for honestly reporting my Dalai Lama’s qualities of speech, mind and body.”⁷⁴

In 1793 the Gorkhas surrendered. The general and his army returned to Lhasa. On the fifth day of the first moon in the Water Ox Year, the general and the Dalai Lama met in the latter’s Wangkhang room. The general said, “Having met you, the Dalai Lama, I now loathe to part from you. You are truly a great Buddha. All your efforts are dedicated to the welfare of sentient beings. It seems I was your disciple in one of my previous lives. I pray that I may continue to be born as your disciple in my future lives.” With these words he took off the jewel-studded charm box from his neck and offered it to the Dalai Lama.⁷⁵

Before leaving for Wang, the general called on the Dalai Lama at his Wangkhang room on the twentieth day. The Dalai Lama said, “This time the emperor sent his great interior minister, who defeated the invaders and completed his work. We are grateful for this. Please ask the emperor to continue helping the people of this Land of Sunset (Tibet).” The general remarked, “I loathe to part from the Dalai Lama. However, I have to leave on the twenty-fifth day, as this is the emperor’s order. I hope to see you again. It is unfortunate if I do not learn to pray to the deities and the Triple Gem even after meeting you. Please advise me as to whom I should worship.” The Dalai Lama replied, “You are the personal choice of the emperor. You should pray to Manjushri. The Wish Fulfilling

Gem is Gonkar, the Wrathful Avalokiteshvara. If you invoke him, it will be effective.”⁷⁶ The Dalai Lama gave him the statues of Manjushri and Gonkar, along with other gifts.

Regarding the 29-point Regulation for the Governance of Tibet, General Fukhang-an said:

This time the government’s army has come from far away to protect the lay and ordained populace of U-Tsang. Now the plunderers have made a sincere promise not to cause any more problems in the future. However, there is no prescribed system of administration in Tibet. The Dalai Lama spends his time in spiritual pursuit and does not understand political affairs. The ministers always indulge in dishonest practices. Therefore, we have to institute rules and make the ministers abide by them.

The emperor issued detailed instructions to me, the Great General, to discuss all the points, one by one, in great length. This demonstrates the emperor’s concern that the Tibetans come to no harm and that their welfare be ensured in perpetuity. There is no doubt that the Dalai Lama, acknowledging his gratitude to the emperor, will accept these suggestions once all the points are discussed and agreed upon. However, if the Tibetans insist on clinging to their ancient habits, the emperor will withdraw the Ambans and the garrison after the troops are pulled out. Moreover, if similar incidents occur in the future, the emperor will have nothing to do with them. The Tibetans may, therefore, decide for themselves as to what is in their favour and what is not, or what is heavy and what is light, and make a choice of their own.⁷⁷

Comments

The third phase of Tibet-Manchu relations spans 36 years, from 1758 to 1793. The important event during this phase is the dispatch of Manchu troops to help the Tibetans drive out Gorkha invaders. When the war was over, General Trungthang and his assistants decided on the 29-point Regulation for the Governance of Tibet. Trungthang studied the administrative system of Tibet and discussed this regulation with the Dalai Lama. After the discussion, he requested the emperor’s approval for the regulation.

Amongst other things, the regulation stated the following: the high reincarnated lamas of Tibet should be recognised after drawing lots from a golden urn; a Tibetan army comprised of 3,000 men should be established; the affairs of Tibet should be decided after the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama and the Lhasa-based Ambans have discussed them on equal footing; Kalons should be appointed after their names are submitted to the emperor; the two Ambans would take turns to visit the Tsang area and to supervise the training of the army.

From this, it becomes quite clear that, unlike the two previous phases, the Manchu interference in the affairs of Tibet was more direct during this phase. Some Guomindang officials frequently cite this period of Tibetan history to prove that Tibet was then part of the Manchu empire. There are five points to prove the fallacy of their argument:

1) During this period, Tibetans and Manchus continued to enjoy a unique Teacher-patron relationship. Under this arrangement, it is the duty of the patron to protect the teacher. It is a common international practice for neighbouring countries to help each other in military, economic, educational and other fields. Therefore, the military assistance given to Tibet by the Manchus cannot necessarily make Tibet part of the Manchu empire. There have been many instances where countries have helped each other militarily. Take two examples where China was involved. During the Korean War, China supported North Korea and America the South. Similarly, during the Vietnam War, China supported the North Vietnamese and America the South. But America never claimed South Korea or South Vietnam as its territory. Neither can China claim the northern parts of these countries as its territories. By the same token, Tibet could not have become part of the Manchu empire simply because the Manchus gave military assistance to Tibet and helped it in running the government. It is easy to see the futility of the Chinese claim that they inherited rule over Tibet from the Manchus.

2) Since the Tibetans had failed to repel all the Gorkha invasions, there was a feeling that the Tibetan government was not run efficiently. To rectify this problem, the Tibetan and Manchu officials had a discussion and came up with the 29-point regulation. The regulation did not come as a decree or order from the Manchus. The regulation was for the governance of Tibet by the Tibetans, and not by the Manchus. Therefore, the regulation did not make Tibet part of the Manchu empire. To prove this point, we can cite the example of China herself. When the Japanese invaded China, Russia sent a large army to help China drive out the invaders. And, in 1949, when the communists came to power in China, Russian managerial and technical personnel came to China and helped build the Chinese industry. The Russian technicians and managerial personnel stayed in China for many years.

3) In that phase, Qianlong was the ruler of China, and there was no change in the emperor's religious devotion and reverence for his teacher. This is clear from the respect shown to the Eighth Dalai Lama by the emperor. Specifically, in the Iron Ox Year, 1781, the emperor wrote the following letter to the Dalai Lama: "You, the Vajradhara Dalai Lama, have now come of age and mastered the entire sutra and tantra teachings. ... There is no difference between the Vajradhara Dalai Lama and the emperor. I, Ruler of the Earth Under the Sky. ... To appoint you, the Vajradhara Dalai Lama, as the holder of

spiritual and political power there, I am sending Ta Lama Khutuktu Dzasak Khenpo and ministers with a *Yasa* inscribed on 17 tablets made with 70 *Sang* of gold, gold seals, and other rich gifts.”

Again, in 1786, the emperor wrote the following letter to the Dalai Lama: “Gaden Throne Holder Nomin Han (Ngawang Tsultrim) should come to my court and work as my Seal Lama in place of the deceased Seal Lama Changkya Khutuktu Sangye. The Dalai Lama has mastered the entire sutra and tantra teachings. You are conversant with political affairs as well. Now you should take complete charge of the spiritual and secular affairs, work for Buddhism and welfare of all sentient beings without any discrimination, and fulfill my wishes.” Thus, there was no change in the Dalai Lama’s spiritual and political powers.

4) To cite another instance, Emperor Shunzi reigned for 18 years and Kangxi and Yongzhi for 74 years. Thereafter, Qianlong reigned for 60 years. The Manchu empire was at its height during the reign of Qianlong. However, Qianlong never tried to seize political power in Tibet. The Manchu troops, who had come to Tibet to escort the Seventh Dalai Lama and drive out the Dzungars, returned home soon after accomplishing their mission. Only 2,000 soldiers stayed back in Lhasa. Out of these, 1,500 were later withdrawn at the request of Pholawa. A further 400 troops were subsequently withdrawn on the request of Gyurmey Namgyal. When the two Ambans were killed, the emperor ordered a large army into Tibet from Sichuan. However, when he heard that the situation in Lhasa had returned to normal, he ordered the troops back home.

In 1778, when a group of people from Sangen (Amdo) plundered the villages and robbed the tea caravan of the Tibetan government, Kalon Gung Dhoring from Tibet and the Manchu army from Sichuan went there to subjugate the robbers. Having done this, the emperor told General Chang Jun, “You have defeated and punished the people who robbed the Dalai Lama’s tea caravan. Now that you have accomplished your mission, the army must return home. If you stayed there long, it would only cause hardship to the Dalai Lama’s subjects.” Thus, the soldiers returned. Even the soldiers who had come under General Trungthang to fight the Gorkhas also returned home. From these events, it can be said that the Manchus had no desire to conquer Tibet.

5) In particular, when General Trungthang discussed the 29-point regulation with the Eighth Dalai Lama, he said, “There is no doubt that the Dalai Lama, acknowledging his gratitude to the emperor, will accept these suggestions once all the points have been discussed and agreed upon. However, if the Tibetans insist on clinging to their age-old habits, the emperor will withdraw the Ambans and the garrison after the troops are pulled out.

Moreover, if similar incidents occur in the future, the emperor will have nothing

to do with them.” This is a very important statement inasmuch as it shows that Tibet was not under Manchu rule, but rather was a beneficiary of the Manchu emperor. It also shows that Tibet was ruled by the Tibetans themselves and not by the Manchus.

Phase Four of Tibet-Manchu Relationship (1794 to 1903)

The Ninth Dalai Lama passed away in the Wood Ox Year, 1805. None of the Dalai Lamas, from the Ninth to the Twelfth, lived long. Therefore, during that period, Tibet was ruled by the *Gyaltsabs* (regents ruling the country during the absence and minority of the Dalai Lamas) and *Sikyongs* (chief administrators ruling during the minority of the Dalai Lamas). The Ambans' duty during that period was to report to the emperor the birth of the Dalai Lamas and the appointment of Tibet's *Gyaltsabs* and *Sikyongs*. The Ambans also communicated the titles given by the emperor to *Gyaltsabs* and *Sikyongs*.

The rule of Tibet was completely in the hands of *Gyaltsabs*. In 1830 Kalon Shetra Dhondup Dorjee, the Dalai Lama's Ritual Master Lobsang Trinley Namgyal, Tsipon Phala and others conducted a census in Tibet to streamline the taxation system. In 1825, when Powo Kanam refused to pay tax to the Tibetan government, Kalon Shetra Dondup Dorjee and Kalon Surkhang Tseten Dorjee led an expedition against him.⁷⁸

In 1842 the Sikh army attacked the Ngari region. To counter the Sikhs, the Tibetan government sent a military expedition under Generals Peyshiwa and Surkhang. The government then sent another expedition under Chief Kalon Peylhun and Central Tibet's General Shetra Wangchuk Gyalpo. A peace treaty was concluded between Tibet and the Sikhs.⁷⁹ Sikyong Tsemonling Nomin Khan Ngawang Jampel Tsultrim Gyatso ruled Tibet for 24 years. In 1844 he was deposed. Since the Twelfth Dalai Lama was still a minor, the Tibetan people requested the Panchen Lama, Tenpai Nyima, to assume power in Tibet. The Panchen Lama ruled for nine months.⁸⁰

In 1846 the people of the Tsang area could not pay their taxes. The Tibetan government sent an investigating committee, whose findings came to be known as the Fire Lamb Year Report.

In 1852 the Ladakhis failed to provide horse transportation to the Tibetan government's trade agent in the Toed area. The governor of Toed met the Ladakhi plenipotentiaries, and an agreement was reached by which Ladakh consented to provide transport to the Tibetan trade agent, and Tibet consented to provide transport to the Ladhakis who came to Lhasa to offer their respect and gifts to the Dalai Lama. The agreement document was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Kashmir and Ladakh on the one hand and Tibet on the other.⁸¹

In 1853, a Tibetan by the name of Sherab Dakpa, on the Tibet-India border, refused to pay taxes to the Tibetan government. When the government attempted to arrest him, he fled to India and sought British protection. Shetra Shape Wangchuk Gyalpo went

to the border from where he sent his assistants to Tezpur in India's present Arunachal Pradesh state to meet the British officials. On the first day of the third moon in the Water Ox Year, 1853, the two parties signed an agreement by which the British undertook not to support Sherab Dakpa in the future. Subsequently, there arose rumours regarding this matter. Reacting to the rumours, Ngabo and She-shap Kyitoepa met the British officials. This meeting led to the agreement that the Gaden Phodrang Government of Tibet and the British East India Company would live in harmony and would punish anyone trying to create differences between the two. The document to this effect, written in both Tibetan and English, was signed on the fifteenth day of the twelfth moon in the Water Ox Year.⁸²

In the Wood Hare Year, 1855, the Gorkhas disregarded their peace treaty with Tibet and attacked Tibet once again. They conquered Kyidrong, Nyalam and several other Tibetan districts. The Tibetan government sent an army to fight the Gorkhas, under Kalon Tekhangpa, Central Tibet's General Rangjonpa and Tsang General Peystelwa. Finally, the two sides agreed to sign a peace treaty, and the Tibetan government sent Kalon Shetra, his assistants and Dhenthue (representatives of the three Great monastic Seats) to Nyalam to talk with the Gorkhas. Thereafter, Tsedron Ngawang Gyaltsen and Kalon Bumpa Junior were sent to Kathmandu to negotiate with the Gorkhas. On the eighteenth day of the second moon in the Fire Dragon Year, 1856, the two sides signed a ten-point treaty.⁸³

In 1858 and 1876 the British signed the Tianjin and Chefoo conventions with the Manchus. These treaties allowed Chinese and British subjects to travel to each other's territories via Tibet. The Manchus issued permits to British officials to travel to Tibet. The travel documents stated that the Manchu missions would provide help to British officials in every part of Tibet.⁸⁴

In 1862 Kalon Shetra Wangchuk Gyalpo complained about the reckless use of the royal seal by Regent (Sikyong) Reting Khutuktu Ngawang Yeshe Tsultrim. Shetra suggested the need to appoint an official to control the use of the royal seal. The regent reacted by dismissing Shetra from his post. This angered the monks of Gaden and Drepung monasteries. They accused the regent of having reduced the amount of offerings in support of the dialectical examinations at Drepung monastery. Reting was deposed and the Twelfth Dalai Lama was requested to take charge of Tibet's Administration. Since the Dalai Lama was a minor, the Tibetan government officials and the monks of Gaden and Drepung monasteries asked Shetra to rule in the name of the Dalai Lama. They imposed the condition that the Shetra household and the government must act as one family.⁸⁵

In the Water Hog Year, 1863, Gonnam and his son from Nyarong robbed and harassed the people of Kham. The Tibetan government sent an army against them, under

General Shape Phulungpa, with Central Tibet's Generals Trimon and Dokharwa serving as Phulungpa's lieutenants. Gonnam and his son were killed and peace was restored to Kham.

Following the aforesaid Anglo-Manchu conventions, a team of ten British India officials under Colman Macaulay made an attempt to visit Tibet. But the Tibetan government, refusing to recognise the Anglo-Manchu conventions on Tibet, sent them back.

In 1890 the British and the Manchus signed a convention in Calcutta, which delineated the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet. As a sequel to this, they signed another convention in Darjeeling which permitted the British to open a trade mart in Dromo and conduct business in Tibet. It also allowed the British officials to stay in Tibet.⁸⁶

Following the resignation of Sikyong Demo Khutuktu, the Tibetan people requested the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to assume power. The Dalai Lama took power in 1895.

Comments

During this period, the Manchu Ambans had absolutely no say in Tibetan affairs, although they lived in Lhasa.

1) In terms of internal affairs, the Tibetans decided many matters independently and without any Manchu interference. They include the census reports of the Iron Tiger and Wood Lamb Years, military actions against Powo and Nyarong, deposing of Tsemonling from the post of regency, appointment of Shetra as ruler after a struggle between Reting and the monks of Gaden and Drepung, etc. The only function of the Manchus was to offer congratulatory gifts once the Tibetans had acted on something. To cite one example, when Reting was deposed, he went to the emperor for aid; but the emperor was powerless to help him. Instead, he gave the title of Nomin Khan to Shetra. This shows that the Manchus did not have power even to support their own allies.

2) In terms of external affairs, in 1853, when Sherab Dakpa created problems on the Tibet-India borders, Shetra Wangchuk Gyalpo went to Tezpur and signed two treaties with the British. In 1852, following a dispute over Ladakh's refusal to provide horse transport to the Tibetan government's trade agent, Kalsang Gyurmey, a treaty was signed between the governor of Ngari on the one hand and the Kashmir and Ladakh plenipotentiaries on the other. The Tibetans conducted these foreign relations without any consultation with the Manchus.

3) The Manchu attempts to interfere in Tibet's external relations failed. For example, in 1858 and 1876 the Manchus signed conventions with the British, giving the latter the right to travel to Tibet. But when the British officials arrived in the Gampa district, the Tibetan government, refusing to accept the validity of these treaties, sent them back.

4) In terms of military affairs, Tibetans fought and signed peace treaties with the Sikh invaders of 1842 and the Gorkha invaders of 1855. Article 2 of the Tibet-Gorkha Treaty states: “Gorkha and Tibet have been regarding the Great Emperor with respect. Tibet being a country of monasteries, hermits, and celibates devoted to religion, the Gorkha Government has agreed to henceforth afford help and protection to it as far as it can, if any foreign country attacks it.” The protector role, previously played by the Manchus, was now to be assumed by the Gorkhas. The Manchus were powerless to object to this.

5) Point 17 of the 29-point Regulation for the Governance of Tibet stipulates: “The Tibetan government should follow the Ambans’ instructions in dealing with foreign governments, including those of Bhutan and Nepal. The governors of border regions should submit the list of foreign visitors to the Ambans”, etc. In practice, the Tibetan government did not follow these stipulations, as can be clearly seen from the aforesaid conduct of foreign and military affairs.

6) The question may arise that although the Manchus did not interfere actively in Tibetan affairs, would not the bestowal of titles and *Yasas* to the Dalai Lamas and regents of Tibet make Tibet part of the Manchu empire? The answer is no. The Manchus gave titles and *Yasas* to all the political and spiritual leaders of the neighbouring countries. The gift of titles and *Yasas* was to propagate the greatness of the emperor and to win the friendship of neighbouring countries. It had no other significance. As a matter of fact, the *Yasas* and titles said that the emperor ruled all the earth under the sky and they praised those who performed good deeds. It is obvious to all that the emperor did not rule all the earth under the sky. From this, it is easy to surmise how much clout these *Yasas* and titles had.

There are several reasons why the Manchus could not exercise any influence over Tibet’s internal, external and military affairs in that period. Firstly, the successors of Qianlong had no faith in Buddhism, as a result of which the Teacher-patron relationship between Tibet and the Manchus became defunct.

Secondly, the Manchus no longer felt threatened by the Mongols. Thus their reliance on the Dalai Lama came to an end. Thirdly, the Western powers had encroached on Chinese territory and the Manchu power was weakening like a waning moon. To sum up, the Manchus had no interest in supporting Tibet since the latter was not part of its empire.

Phase Five of Tibet-Manchu Relationship (1904 to 1913)

Following the resignation of Dhemo Lobsang Trinley from the post of regent, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama assumed spiritual and political power in Tibet in the Wood Lamb Year, 1895. In 1904, when the British military expedition came to Tibet, the Dalai Lama entrusted the Gaden Throne Holder, Lobsang Gyaltzen, with the task of running the government and left Lhasa via Tibet's northern plains. In Kubum and Mongolia, the Manchu officials welcomed the Dalai Lama and offered him gifts. On the instructions of the emperor, the Manchu civil and military officials welcomed him all along the way.

In 1908 the Dalai Lama went to Peking by way of the Wutai mountain. Emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager hosted banquets for the Dalai Lama and extended traditional respect to him. The Dalai Lama asked Empress Dowager to help Tibet against the British invasion and put an end to the illegal activities of the Manchu soldiers in Kham. Empress Dowager consented to the Dalai Lama's requests. She said that from now on the Dalai Lama could directly approach the emperor for important matters and that the Tibet-Manchu relationship should be as cordial as before. The emperor offered a gold tablet bearing the following inscriptions in Manchu, Chinese and Tibetan scripts: "The Buddha, the Great Compassionate Being of the West".

When the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet, the emperor ordered all the Manchu officials on the way to welcome and offer protection to him. The Dalai Lama also wrote a composition praising the emperor and offered him lavish gifts. On the death of the emperor and the empress Dowager, the Dalai Lama prayed and made offerings to the 28 monasteries and nunneries in Peking. When Xuantong was enthroned as the next emperor, the Dalai Lama offered him gifts and composed a prayer for his long life.⁸⁷

On 3 August 1904 the British invaders reached Lhasa. On 7 September the British signed the ten-point convention with Tibet in the Potala Palace. At a ceremony marking the signing of the convention, Amban Yutai, Gorkha Representative Captain Jita Bahadur and Bhutanese Representative Trongsa Ponlob Ogyen Wangchuk came as witnesses. On 11 November 1904 this convention was ratified by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. A declaration was appended to the convention which said that the indemnity Tibet owed to the British would be reduced from 7,500,000 rupees to 2,500,000. It said that the British occupation of Chumbi Valley would cease on the payment of this indemnity provided, however, that the Tibetans co-operated in establishing British trade marts in Tibet.⁸⁸

The Manchus were greatly embarrassed by the fact that Tibet had signed a conven-

tion with the British without them having any say in it. Therefore, the Manchus tried all means to sign a convention of their own with the British. In 1906 a 6-point Anglo-Manchu convention was signed in Peking. Article I of this convention states: "The convention concluded on September 7, 1904 by Great Britain and Tibet ... is hereby confirmed ... and both of the High Contracting Parties engage to take at all times such steps as may be necessary to secure the due fulfillment of the terms specified therein." Article II states: "The Government of Great Britain engages not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet. The Government of China also undertakes not to permit any other foreign State to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet." Article III states: "The Concessions which are mentioned in Article IX (d) of the Convention concluded on September 7, 1904 by Great Britain and Tibet are denied to any State or to the subject of any State other than China, but it has been arranged with China that at the trade marts specified in Article II of the aforesaid Convention, Great Britain shall be entitled to lay down telegraph lines connecting with India."89

In 1907 a five-point convention on Tibet, with an annex, was signed between Russia and Great Britain. Article I of the Convention states: "The two High Contracting Parties engage to respect the territorial integrity of Thibet and to abstain from all interference in the internal administration." Article II states: "In conformity with the admitted principle of the suzerainty of China over Thibet, Great Britain and Russia engage not to enter into negotiations with Thibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese Government."90

In 1908 Great Britain and China signed a 15-point agreement in Calcutta. This agreement laid down the boundary of the British trade marts in Gyantse and the protocol for the conduct of trade and protection of the trade marts. The agreement was signed by the Manchu and British plenipotentiaries. Tibetan Kalon Tsarong Wangchuk Gyalpo also signed it.91

The Manchus, without any request from the Tibetan government, paid Rs. 2,500,000 to the British as war indemnity, which the Lhasa Convention of 1904 had demanded Tibet pay to the British.

In 1906 Chao Erfang had led an army into Chamdo after attacking Ba, Lithang, Tsaho, Dzogang, etc. and killing a large number of innocent people. In 1909 Liu Chun led an army into Tibet under the pretext of having come there to protect the British trade marts. When he reached Lhasa, he found no resistance.

Nevertheless, his army arrested, maimed and killed a large number of Tibetan nobles. On the ninth day of the eleventh moon in the Earth Fowl Year, 1909, the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa via Amdo. However, the atrocities perpetrated by the Manchu army against Tibetans compelled the Dalai Lama to leave for India. He appointed Gaden

Throne Holder Tsemon as the regent during his absence, and Newushar Khenrab Phuntsok as the regent's assistant. On the third day of the first moon in the Iron Dog Year, 1910, the Dalai Lama set off for India with a small entourage consisting of Shetra, Sholkhang, Changkyim and others.⁹²

While the Dalai Lama was away, the Manchu general and the Lhasa-based Ambans arrested Newushar and banished him to Dartsedho. Kalon Lama Lobsang Trinley was deposed and Tenzin Choedrak, Langthong and Rampa were appointed as new Kalons. The Tibetan army in Lhasa was disbanded and replaced by a Chinese army. The arms stored at Shol were seized. The Manchu army ransacked and plundered other arsenals near the Potala. They also pillaged the homes of the Kalons who had gone to India with the Dalai Lama. Claiming that the punishment meted out by the Tibetan government to the Demo Rinpoche household of Tengyeling monastery had been unfair, the Manchus indulged in lots of atrocious and unlawful activities. On 25 February 1910 the emperor issued a proclamation stating that the Dalai Lama was deposed. The Tibetans deeply resented this action. They sent letters of protest to the Manchu officials. Letters of protest were also posted on the walls in different parts of Tibet, particularly in Kham. Through their refusal to provide horse transportation and other actions, the Tibetans in Kham made things very difficult for the Manchus. To appease the Tibetans, the Manchus invited the Panchen Lama, Lobsang Thubten Choekyi Nyima, to rule in place of the Dalai Lama. But when the Panchen Lama refused the offer, the Manchus found themselves in a very difficult position. The emperor appointed Lo Tita'i, a Chinese official, as the governor of Tibet and ordered him to travel to India and invite the Dalai Lama back to Lhasa.

In the ninth moon of the Iron Dog Year, Lo Tita'i reached Darjeeling and, in a meeting with the Dalai Lama, requested him to return to Tibet, reasoning that normalcy had now returned to Tibet. In reply, the Dalai Lama wrote about the past Teacher-patron relationship between Tibet and the Manchus and how he had turned only to Peking when the British attacked Tibet in the Wood Dog Year, about how he had believed that the emperor and the empress Dowager would care for Tibet, but that they had created a lot of problems in Kham, and about how the Chinese army had been sent at the instigation of Amban Lin. He wrote about the letters from all the monasteries in Kham expressing their disillusionment with the Manchus, about how he had restrained them in his effort not to displease the emperor, about the unlawful action of the Chinese army on their arrival in Lhasa, about the Manchu action to depose him when he reached Kalimpong, about the futility of going to the Manchus for the redressal of problems. He outlined how the Manchus pushed him to turn to the British for help, and why he did this, in view of the treaty which said that there should be a cordial relationship with the British.

He wrote about the arrest of the monk Khenrab Phuntsok despite the fact that Tibet and the Manchus had separate legal entities, about the Manchu failure to keep their word and thus the impossibility of continuing the Teacher-patron relationship, and about the need for British mediation in all future talks between Tibet and the Manchus.⁹³

While in India, the Dalai Lama met the British representative in Calcutta. He said that the Manchus had invaded Tibet and indulged in unlawful activities in violation of the spirit of the Teacher-patron relationship between the two countries. The Dalai Lama asked for British mediation to put an end to the Manchu activities and ensure the withdrawal of their troops from Tibet. Simultaneously, he sent a delegation, headed by Dasang Damdul, to counsel the people of Tibet, including those in Kham and Amdo, to work unitedly for the cause of Tibet.⁹⁴

In 1911, when the Nationalist revolution began in China, the Tibetans in Kham and Amdo refused to provide transport to the Manchus. This meant the Manchu troops and officials in Lhasa could neither receive salaries, nor military supplies. At that time, the Manchu troops in Lhasa requested the Tibetan government to provide supplies for their return journey to China via Kham. The Tibetan government asked for a witness to guarantee that the troops would not stay in Kham. On securing this guarantee, the government gave them provisions and 180,000 yuan.⁹⁵ The government also supplied horses for them, but the troops refused to move out when they had received the cash. Instead, they moved into Sera monastery, which triggered a fight in Lhasa. The Tibetan government and merchants then pooled their resources and fought the Manchu troops in what came to be known as the Water Fowl Year War.

In the summer of 1912 the Dalai Lama left India to return to Tibet. He went to Samding monastery in Yamdrok. In the meantime, the Manchu troops in Lhasa had been thoroughly defeated by the Tibetans. Now the Manchu generals and Ambans wrote to the Dalai Lama to offer their surrender and to request protection. They requested the Dalai Lama to send an envoy to negotiate the terms of their surrender. The Dalai Lama sent Tsawa Tritul of Sermey College to Lhasa as his envoy. Lal Bahadur, a Gorkha official, served as a mediator during the negotiation to decide the terms of the surrender of weapons, the return of troops to China, and the offer of provisions and protection to the returning troops. On 12 August 1912 a three-point convention was signed and later, on 14 December 1912, a nine-point convention was signed.⁹⁶ As a result of these conventions, the Manchus returned to China, via India. The Tibetan government offered them horse transport, provisions and protection on their way out. The Chinese army in Kham was gradually driven out by Kalon Lama Jampa Tendhar.

In 1912 Yuan Shikai, President of the new Republic of China, announced the formation of the Republican government in China and asked the Dalai Lama to accept it.

The Dalai Lama replied, “The Republic has only just been proclaimed, and the national foundations are far from stable. It behooves the President to use his power to maintain order. As for Tibet, the Tibetans are quite capable of protecting themselves, and there is no need for the President to worry about it from afar. The reason why the Tibetans do not approve of the Chinese Government is entirely due to the excessively harsh treatment inflicted upon them by the Chinese troops in Tibet. Their indignation has been greatly roused. For example, when Chinese troops burned and destroyed shrines and temples, the commanding officers remained passive. How could the Tibetans fail to oppose China?”⁹⁷

The president expressed his regret for the excesses of the Manchu regime and announced the “restoration” of the rank and titles taken from the Dalai Lama by the Manchu emperor in 1910. The Dalai Lama and his Cabinet replied that he did not desire any rank or titles from the Chinese government and that he had resumed both temporal and spiritual rule of his country.⁹⁸

Having spent a few months at Samdhing and Chokor Yangtse, the Dalai Lama returned to the Potala on the sixteenth day of the twelfth moon in the Water Fowl Year, 1913. Not long after that, he made a very important public announcement. In it, he said:

During the time of the Mongols, the Mings and the Manchus, Tibet and China enjoyed a Teacher-patron relationship, by which we helped each other. However, recently the Chinese authorities in Sichuan and Yunnan have tried to occupy Tibet. A large number of Chinese troops arrived in Lhasa. The Tibetans resisted them with all their might and have now driven them out of U-Tsang. I have returned safely to rule my spiritual land. The remnants of Chinese troops in Kham are also being thrown out gradually. Now, the Chinese intention of colonising Tibet under the cloak of the Teacher-patron relationship has disintegrated like a ball of sand or a rainbow in the sky. Having once again achieved for ourselves a period of happiness and peace, I now assign to all of you the following duties to be carried out without fail:

- 1) Peace and happiness can only be maintained by preserving the faith of Buddhism. It is, therefore, essential to preserve all Buddhist institutions in Tibet such as the Jokhang and other major sacred temples and the monasteries of all the schools of Tibetan Buddhism.

- 2) The monasteries of all the schools of Tibetan Buddhism must properly teach, learn and practise the sutra and tantra teachings.

3) The government officials must be fair in collecting taxes and enforcing the law. Harassment of citizens and amputation as a form of punishment are not allowed.

4) Tibet is an independent country, living in peace according to the teaching of Buddhism. We are recruiting a large number of troops to protect our country. Therefore, all the citizens must shoulder their national responsibility and pay the taxes levied on them without minding the hardship involved.

5) Tibet is a big country with a small population. From now on, neither the government nor individuals shall prevent people from reclaiming waste lands for cultivation and afforestation purposes.

This five-point proclamation was affixed the sovereign seal and issued on the eighth day of the first moon.

Comments

During those ten years, the Manchus adopted very arbitrary and dreadful policies on Tibet. On the one hand, they pretended to uphold the Teacher-patron relationship and invited the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to Peking. The Dalai Lama was extended traditional respect there. On the other hand, they sent troops into Tibet and flagrantly interfered in Tibet's internal affairs. At the beginning of 1910 they issued a proclamation to "depose" the Dalai Lama. But towards the end of that year, they sent Lo Tita'i to Darjeeling to invite the Dalai Lama back to Lhasa.

1) Take the case of the Lhasa Convention: As a convention signed between the victor and the vanquished, the British were able to dictate the terms of this convention. Although the British came to Lhasa despite Tibetan protestations, they asked the Tibetans to pay an indemnity of 7,500,000 rupees. The convention stated that the British occupation of Chumbi Valley would cease only after the Tibetans paid this amount and co-operated in establishing British trade marts in Tibet. However, this convention produced one good result. It showed that Tibet was an independent country, capable of signing international treaties on its own. It also showed that the Manchus had no authority over Tibet.

2) Seeing the 1904 convention as a great humiliation to them, the Manchus approached the British and signed a 6-point convention with them in 1906. The introduction to this convention said:

Whereas His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Majesty the Emperor of China are sincerely desirous to maintain and perpetuate the relations of

friendship and good understanding which now exist between their respective Empires;

And whereas the refusal of Tibet to recognise the validity of or to carry into full effect the provisions of the Anglo-Chinese Conventions of March 17, 1890 and Regulations of December 5, 1893 placed the British Government under the necessity of taking steps to secure their rights and interests under the said Convention and Regulations;

And whereas a Convention of Ten Articles was signed at Lhasa on September 7, 1904 on behalf of Great Britain and Tibet, and was ratified by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India on behalf of Great Britain on November 11, 1904, a declaration on behalf of Great Britain modifying its terms under certain conditions being appended thereto...

Tibet's refusal to recognise the validity of the Anglo-Chinese conventions of 1890 and 1893 meant that it was futile on their part to sign yet another convention. Neither the British, nor the Manchus had any authority to modify the 1904 convention between Tibet and Great Britain. It was against international law for the Manchus and Britain to change this convention. The Manchu attempt to tamper with this agreement was nothing more than a case of self-deception and self-consolation. The reality is that the conventions of 1890 and 1893 did not carry any weight, because the Tibetan government refused to accept them. The same was the fate of 1906 convention.

3) In 1907 Russia and Great Britain signed a convention, with an annex, by which they recognised the suzerain rights of China in Tibet and undertook to respect the territorial integrity of Tibet. The two contracting parties agreed not to interfere in the internal administration of Tibet. They engaged not to enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese Government.

Whether the Manchus had suzerain rights in Tibet or not is a matter which only the Tibetans, with direct experience of living in the country, can tell. Outsiders, like Britain and Russia, would never understand this. Britain and Russia, great powers of the time, signed this convention on Tibet only because each party wanted to prevent Tibet from becoming the other's sphere of influence. In reality, Britain knew very clearly that the Manchus had no authority in Tibet. As a matter of fact, there was no way the Tibetan government would recognise a settlement reached over its territory without its participation.

4) In 1908 Great Britain and China signed a 15-point agreement in Calcutta to define the boundary of the British trade marts in Gyantse and to lay down the protocol for the conduct of trade and protection of the trade marts. To secure the recognition of

Tibet, Tibetan Kalon Tsarong Wangchuk Gyalpo was made to sign the agreement. From this, it can be seen very clearly that the British rights to establish trade marts in Gyantse stemmed from the Lhasa Convention of 1904. The convention stated that the trade marts would be established on the basis of co-operation between the Tibetan and British governments. The need for Manchu intervention did not figure in the convention, either explicitly or implicitly. The 1908 Anglo-Chinese agreement on Tibet could never be accepted by Tibet.

If it is argued that the agreement was signed by Kalon Tsarong as well, we must point out that Kalon Tsarong was not authorised by the Tibetan government to endorse it. The Manchus simply took him with them to Calcutta and forced him to sign the document. As a matter of fact, Kalon Tsarong was later sentenced to death for signing this document. This shows that his action had no legal sanction. The British signed the 1908 agreement to console and deceive the Manchus and to fulfill Britain's expansionist policy. It had no substance.

5) The Manchus paid the war indemnity on behalf of Tibet in order to restore their pride, which had been humiliated by the 1904 convention. The Tibetan government did not request the Manchus to pay the indemnity.

6) In 1906 Chao Erfang began the invasion of Tibet through Kham and reached Lhasa in 1909. Once there, he used his military muscle to interfere in Tibet's affairs. He changed the Tibetan Kalons; arrested and banished Newushar Khenche Khenrab Phuntsok, assistant of Regent Tsemonling; pillaged government and private properties; and indulged in many other unlawful activities. In 1910 the Manchus announced that the Dalai Lama was "deposed". Then, in 1911, they instigated a war on Sera monastery and Lhasa. These acts went against the spirit of the Teacher-patron relationship as well as against international law and norms of good neighbourly relations. They were acts of sheer madness, which failed even to consider the position of the Manchu empire at that time. As the Tibetan saying goes, "A man entertains many evil thoughts when his luck is about to run out." Similarly, the Manchu's evil designs on Tibet and their acts of madness led to the surrender of all the Manchu troops in Lhasa in 1912, and the ultimate ouster of Manchu troops from Kham by Kalon Lama Jampa Tendhar. After that, there was not even a vestige of Manchu presence in Tibet.

7) When the Manchu dynasty was overthrown by the Republicans, the new Republican President, Yuan Shikai, asked the Dalai Lama and other neighbouring countries in 1912 to accept the Republic. This shows that Tibet was then an independent neighbouring country of China and not a subject of the Manchu empire. The Republican President's offer to restore the title of the Dalai Lama was a gesture of respect to the head of state of a neighbouring country. The Dalai Lama's reply — that he did not desire any

rank or titles from the Chinese government, and that he had resumed both temporal and spiritual rule of his country — shows that Tibet was an independent country. Like a powerful bolt of lightning hitting a rock, this singular historical fact reduces to dust the robust assertion that during the Manchu era Tibet was under their rule.

8) On the eighth day of the first moon in the Water Ox Year, 1913, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama issued a proclamation for the happiness of the people. In it, he laid down the guidelines for Tibetan civil servants and monasteries. He emphasised the need for legal fairness and for governing the citizens with love and kindness. The Dalai Lama urged the Tibetan people to do their best to defend the territorial integrity of Tibet. He prohibited powerful interest groups from obstructing the reclamation of land for cultivation and afforestation purposes. This very important spiritual and political decree spelled out the nature of Tibetan-Manchu relations like a golden pillar. It was at once a guideline to the Tibetan people and a document, showing the world that Tibet was an independent country.

9) Ten Manchu emperors reigned over China for 268 years. During that period, Tibet was ruled by the successive Dalai Lamas and regents, as the table in the beginning of this publication shows. It is futile to claim that the Manchus ruled Tibet based on their occasional involvement.

The successive rulers of Tibet were selected by the Tibetans themselves and then referred to the Manchu emperors.

The Manchu emperors' role was to recognise the Tibetan choices and give them complimentary titles. The selection of rulers was never the authority of the Manchus. The question may arise as to why Tibetans had to refer their appointments to the Manchus. It is an international norm to inform the neighbouring countries and seek recognition whenever a new ruler is appointed in a particular country. This is the case in all diplomatic relations and not only between the Manchus and Tibet. It happens internationally even today.

10) From the above historical accounts, it becomes very clear that Tibet was neither part of the Manchu empire, nor did the Manchus ever rule Tibet. Furthermore, the most significant point which we must understand is that the Manchus were foreign conquerors of China. They were distinct from the Chinese in their language, customs, etc. Manchu territory was outside China, to its north-east. This is clear from all the old historical maps. In 1911, when the Republicans came to power in China, Sun Yatsen very clearly said that the Chinese nation had fallen twice under foreign rule: the first time under the Yuan dynasty and the second time under the Qing dynasty.⁹⁹ This shows that he considered the Mongols and Manchus as foreign occupiers of China.

It was the Manchus, whose ten generations of emperors, ruled China, and not the

other way round. For China to claim Tibet on the basis of Manchu history is contrary to reality and international law. Making a baseless claim of this nature is not only futile, but also reflects badly on the image of China.

Concluding Remark

For 2078 years of Tibetan history — i.e. ever since the enthronement of the first Tibetan King, Nyatri Tsenpo, in 127 BC, to 1951 — Tibet had existed as an independent country, irrespective of changes to its territorial size.

A stone pillar, erected in Lhasa in 823, bears the text of the agreement between Tibet and China and details the history of Tibet's status until then. Thereafter, Tibet disintegrated into numerous principalities for some four centuries. During that time there was no central authority in Tibet. Nevertheless, all the principalities were ruled by the scions of Tibetan royal families and nobility. No foreign powers ruled any part of Tibet.

When the Mongols conquered the whole of Asia in the 13th century, the Sakyas ruled over a unified Tibet. During the reign of the Ming dynasty in China, Tibet was ruled by the Phagmodrups, the Rinpungs, and the Tsangpas. During the time of the Manchu emperors and the Nationalists, Tibet was ruled by the successive Dalai Lamas and their regents.

The important thing is that the status of Tibet as an independent country never changed during all those years. Tibet was later bound in slavery by the fetters of the 1951 “agreement”, which China imposed on Tibet. Then, in 1959, using brute military force, China occupied Tibet. Now this ancient Asian nation with over 2,000 years of history and a religious and peace-loving people is on the verge of being wiped from the face of the earth.

Today, Tibet is a subject of international concern. All nations and peoples who love peace and justice must save Tibet from its grave tragedy; this is the moral responsibility of all humankind.

NOTES

- 1 *Ch'ing-ch'ao Ch'uan-shih*, vol. i, chapter 9
- 2 Ibid, chapter 36
- 3 *Dukula'i Gozang*, bound format, pp. 319-320
- 4 Ibid, p. 332
- 5 *Donghua-lu*, vol. i, p. 146
- 6 *Dukula'i Gozang*, bound format, pp. 342-345
- 7 *Donghua-lu*, vol. i, p. 164
- 8 *Dukula'i Gozang*, p. 371
- 9 Ibid, p. 378
- * Capital of present-day Inner Mongolia
- ** Still known as Taik'a and located in Amdo
- 10 Shunzi's uncle
- 11 *Donghua-lu*, vol. ii, p. 132
- 12 This was in Tso-ngon (Qinghai) area
- 13 1) The Golden Wheel, 2) The Wish-fulfilling Gem, 3) The Queen, 4) The Royal Minister, 5) The Military General, 6) The Elephant, 7) The Horse
- 14 One *Gyangtrak* roughly equals two miles
- 15 *Dukula'i Gozang*, pp. 392-395
- 16 Ibid, p. 396
- 17 Ibid, p. 397
- 18 Ibid, p. 399
- § The Dalai Lama, in turn, gave the emperor the title "The Heavenly Lord Manjushri, the Great Emperor".
- 19 *Dukula'i Gozang*, p. 405
- 20 Ibid, p. 409
- 21 Ibid, p. 459
- 22 Ibid, p. 341
- 23 Ibid, p. 506
- 24 Ibid, p. 507
- 25 Ibid, p. 508
- 26 *Dhebter Longwai Migbu*
- 27 *Changkyai Rangnam Tsik-chedma*, folio 21
- 28 *Dhebter Longwai Migbu* and *Miwang Tokjoe*
- 29 *Gyalchok Dhunpai Zenam*, Bound format, p. 8
- 30 Ibid, p. 29

- 31 *Dhebter Longwai Migbu*
- 32 *Gyalchok Dhunpai Zenam*, Bound format, p. 49
- 33 Ibid, p. 66
- 34 Ibid, pp. 67-69
- 35 Ibid, pp. 70- 71
- 36 Ibid, p. 76
- 37 Ibid, pp. 81-83
- 38 *Dhebter Longwai Migbu*
- 39 *Doringpai Jungwa Jodpa*
- 40 *Dhebter Longwai Migbu*
- 41 *Gyalchok Dhunpai Zenam*, Bound format, p. 103
- 42 *Miwang Tokjoe*
- 43 *Gyalchok Dhunpai Zenam*, Bound format, p. 106
- 44 *Dhebter Longwai Migbu, Miwang Tokjoe*
- 45 *Gyalchok Dhunpai Zenam*, Bound format, p. 134
- 46 Ibid, pp. 141-143
- 47 Ibid, pp. 144-146
- 48 Ibid, p. 160
- 49 Ibid, p. 166
- 50 *Miwang Tokjoe*
- 51 *Gyalchok Dhunpai Zenam*, Bound format, pp. 162-183
- 52 Ibid, pp. 185-186
- 53 Ibid, p. 202
- 54 Ibid, p. 242
- 55 Ibid, pp. 293-294
- 56 Ibid, p. 302
- 57 Ibid, p. 318
- 58 Ibid, p. 362
- 59 Ibid, pp. 359-361
- 60 ibid, p. 370
- 61 ibid, p. 370
- 62 Ibid, p. 371
- 63 Ibid, p. 372
- 64 *Gashiwai Jungwa Jodpa*, p. 31
- 65 Ibid, p. 39
- 66 *Gyalchok Dhunpai Zenam*, Bound format, pp. 421-427
- 67 *Dhebter Longwai Migbu*, p. 12

- 68 *Gyedpai Zenam*, Bound format, p. 489
- 69 Ibid, p. 506
- 70 Ibid, p. 531
- 71 Ibid, p. 545
- 72 Ibid, p. 553
- 73 Ibid, p. 567
- 74 Ibid, p. 570
- 75 Ibid, p. 571
- 76 Ibid, pp. 572-573
- 77 *Talai Lamai Namthar*, by Ya Angchang, pp. 159-161
- 78 *Zenam Nortreng*, Bound format, p. 246
- 79 *Zenam Lha'i Rolmo*, p. 326
- 80 *Dhebter Longwai Migbu*, p. 26
- 81 *The Status of Tibet*, Michael C. van Walt van Praag, Tibetan translation, p. 576
- 82 The Kashag archives
- 83 *The Status of Tibet*, Michael van Walt van Praag, Tibetan Translation, p. 578
- 84 Ibid, p. 583
- 85 *Zenam Dhangshel Melong*, pp. 533-537
- 86 *The Status of Tibet*, Michael van Walt van Praag, Tibetan translation, pp. 584-587
- 87 *Gyalchog Chusumpai Zenam*, pp. 424-427
- 88 *The Status of Tibet*, Michael van Walt van Praag, Tibetan translation, p. 591
- 89 Ibid, p. 592
- 90 Ibid, p. 594
- 91 Ibid, p. 596
- 92 *Gyalchog Chusumpai Zenam*, p. 472
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