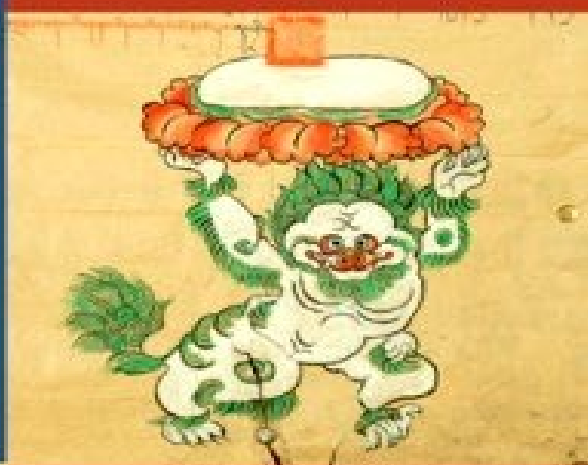




THE
Dalai Lama
AND THE
*Emperor
of China*

*A Political History
of the
Tibetan Institution
of Reincarnation*



Peter Schwieger

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PREFACE

TO WRITE A book about Tibet's early modern political history is a sensitive endeavor, since the issue will inevitably be perceived against the backdrop of the current worldwide political debate on the "Tibet Question." While sincerely hoping that the book will add some solid ground to this discussion, I have tried my best not to engage in the politics of history. I was driven by two major motives. The first was to contribute to a better understanding of Tibet's past and present by focusing on an aspect of Tibet's political history that, although it has always been regarded as a crucial matter, has never been studied in its historical depth or within the context of Inner Asian history. Unique to Tibetan culture and societies, the Tibetan institution of reincarnation created and justified distinct patterns of social and political interaction, not only within Tibet itself but also in relation to its mighty neighbors. The second motive was to direct more attention to the general importance of archival material as a first-class source of Tibet's history. The intention when translating a great deal of this material into English was twofold: not only to convey something of the style and elegance of Tibetan legal documents but also to let them play their part in the narratives themselves. For this reason, I have allowed them their originality as much as possible and avoided reducing them to compliant elements in the plot of my own narrative. Nevertheless, this book still wants to tell a story, a story that is readable and based on plausible argumentation. Whether I have succeeded in performing such an acrobatic feat I leave to the judgment of each and every reader.

The foundation for writing such a book was laid a long time ago when my academic teacher, Dieter Schuh, first introduced me to the world of Tibetan diplomatics. It was at that time that my interest in Tibet's legal and social documents was born. Later, between 1998 and 2000, I had the opportunity to conduct a joint project with the Archives of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) in Lhasa for digitalizing legal documents. During this project, I became aware of the enormous amount of professional literature that had been produced by Tibetan administrations. The archival material itself is what ultimately gave me the greatest inspiration for writing this book. Although at first they appeared cumbrous and recalcitrant, the documents slowly began telling a story of their own as I became more and more familiar with their specific paleography, orthography, phraseology, and terminology. The actual work on the book began during a sabbatical I took in 2011, which allowed me the freedom to concentrate on the work.

Thanks to the support of the *Agence nationale de la recherche* (ANR) and the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG), Charles Ramble from the *École pratique des hautes études* in Paris and I succeeded in setting up a joint project on “A Social History of Tibetan Societies from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century.” This enabled me to embed my research in a broader context and to motivate a discussion forum involving quite a number of dedicated colleagues. These colleagues were a driving force encouraging me to finish my book. After reading the first version of the manuscript, Charles Ramble encouraged me to look for a publisher that would present the book to a broader readership than those engaged in Tibetan studies only.

I am especially grateful to Borjigidai Oyunbilig. It was a great pleasure having him as a colleague for Mongolian studies for one year in Bonn, and his expertise on Mongol and Manchu history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries opened my eyes to the big Inner Asian picture. I also want to thank Elliot Sperling for sending me his recent articles even before they left the printer, and Fabienne Jagou for generously providing certain articles that were difficult for me to obtain. I am much obliged to Yvonne Marchand, who carefully and as far as possible freed my English from its clumsiness and converted my writing style into a more natural one. I am also indebted to Syrhoi Sou for preparing the index. In both regards, I thank the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) for their financial support. I owe a special debt of gratitude to my family for putting up with a husband and a father who from time to time turned into a monomaniac. Finally, I wish to thank Leslie Kriesel for the cautious editing of the manuscript as well as Anne Routon and Whitney Johnson of Columbia University Press for their diligence in dealing with the difficult manuscript and the pleasant and smooth communication across the ocean.

In my efforts to create a book that is also comprehensible to those not engaged in Tibetan studies, I decided to refrain from presenting the Tibetan names pursuant to the well-established scientific transliteration systems and instead to follow the simplified phonetic transcription introduced and promoted by David Germano and Nicolas Tournadre (<http://www.thlib.org/reference/transliteration/#!essay=/thl/phonetics/>). A list at the end of the book provides the spelling equivalents according to the Wylie transliteration scheme. It is only in the notes that the Wylie scheme is occasionally applied when discussing or explaining specific philological problems of the sources.

Peter Schwieger

Bonn, January 2014

INTRODUCTION

ONE OF THE most striking features of all Tibetan societies right up to the present day is the social position of reincarnated enlightened persons, regarded as emanations of transcendent divinities. In Tibetan they are called *trülkus*, a term referring to specific Buddhist concepts and ideals that were already present in Mahāyāna Buddhism in India. But as a social position, the *trülku* is a genuine Tibetan development. It comprises religious, economic, legal, and political functions, all of which accrued during the course of Tibetan history. Apart from a very few notable exceptions, *trülkus* always were and still are males. The most popular are the successions of the Dalai Lamas, the Panchen Lamas, and the Karmapas.

This study attempts to answer three central questions: How did the political role of the *trülku* position develop? What was its nature in various circumstances? And how did the Emperor of China try to influence this role? At the heart of this history is the relationship between the Dalai Lamas (or their regents) and the Emperor of China. Examining the political aspects of the *trülku* position is crucial to understanding Tibet's past and present situation. It is also essential to understanding the Qing as an Inner Asian empire, the fate of the Mongols, and the current problems in Sino-Tibetan relations. This study therefore also aims to shed new light on the political history of Tibet.

BASIC SOURCES USED

Tibetan historiography has its own way of telling the story of how, again and again throughout Tibet's history, eminent religious figures filled the *trülku* position and played the political role ascribed to it. The story conveys the notion of transcendent divinities who have no purpose but following a master plan for promoting the Buddhist religion and the welfare of living beings, translating this into action through their successive incarnations in the form of enlightened leaders. In such a context, political functions and political actions appear to be merely skillful means of attaining such a higher goal.¹

Tibetan narratives about the lives of such holy persons, regarded as *trülkus*, describe political activities as being in harmony with the role expectations or with the ideal patterns of a holy life as understood in the Buddhist context. These

patterns have shaped Tibet's historical memory.² For this reason, critical reflections on political decisions—doubts, confessions of wrong decisions, or negative statements about the *trülku* position—are rare. It is in diplomatic and social documents, and in official correspondence, that any problems, conflicts, or implications resulting from a *trülku*'s involvement in political affairs are more directly addressed. Unlike historiographical sources, these records were a direct part of the historical events and circumstances to be analyzed here. Furthermore, diplomatic sources “document an existing legal situation or create a new one, and it is these kinds of sources that professional historians once treated as the purest, i.e., the ‘best’ sources.”³ This of course does not apply across the board. The value of such a source depends on the particular issue to be examined and on the quality of the specific historical document, its genesis, the reliability of its author, the state of its conservation, *etc.* Nevertheless, these sources are essential to historical work. In contrast to other studies of pre-twentieth century Tibetan history, this book is primarily based on the latter type, which was originally kept in the monastic, private, and governmental archives of old Tibet.

Today this material is collected and preserved in historical archives, such as the Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region (ATAR) in Lhasa. We can therefore assume that the original classification of these holdings has generally not survived. Although the Tibetan archival material no longer has any judicial or official status, public access to the archives, currently located within the jurisdiction of the People's Republic of China (PRC), is denied. Because of this restriction, the material used for this study was selected on the basis of its current accessibility.

Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of Tibetan archival material in this study are my own. Tibetan chanceries have developed specific official styles and scripts, which are not always easy to read. Because paraphrastic translations too easily run the risk of misinterpretation, my efforts were guided by the concepts of “fidelity” and “transparency.” Dates given in the sources were converted with the help of the conversion tables in Schuh (1973) and *Zhonghua liangqian nianlishu* (1994). The material was available to me in three different forms, each with specific implications regarding accuracy and trustworthiness.

The first are the documents that were digitized from 1998 to 2000 in cooperation with the Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region.⁴ These were originally part of the archives of Kündeling, a monastery once located northwest of the Chakpori Hill in Lhasa. This material is available in digital copies, often

presenting a series of documents belonging to one and the same proceeding, thus enhancing the value of the single document. The documents are either originals, drafts, or historical copies. References to these sources are abbreviated as KDL.

The second are publications of high-quality facsimiles of documents in the PRC. The most relevant of these have been presented in an impressive volume by the Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region. This compilation is said to have been politically motivated, to show that the Chinese are “capable of verifying the fact that Tibet is a part of China’s territory.”⁵ Regardless of the modern political context that evidently influenced their selection, the documents themselves are now available in a form that allows for an evaluation of their external characteristics. The translations added are not always close to the originals and, in particular, are not always a complete version of the text shown in the historical document. Additions informing us that the given historical document is actually a copy are ignored. In the following, the documents available through this publication are referred to as ATAR plus the respective document number. Furthermore, single documents relevant to this study have been published elsewhere in a similar quality.

The third are those documents published not as facsimiles but as edited versions presenting a transliteration of historical texts in Tibetan block-print letters. Here not only has the outer form of the original, with all its implied information, totally disappeared, but also the given transliteration is questionable and there is no possibility of verifying it, at least not at the current time. The different Tibetan scripts used in handwriting, especially those with a high degree of cursive writing and a large number of abbreviations, are not always easy to decipher, so that misreadings have to be reckoned with. Illegible parts of the text or forms that do not accord with the common orthography might have been replaced with something that somehow seemed coherent to the editor. Comparing different transcriptions of the same edict has demonstrated the wide variety of readings (i.e., interpretations) that may be produced in this way.⁶ But it also shows that typical features of the language used in such material—like the lack of distinction between the forms of the ergative or of the instrumental and the genitive cases, and the mix-up of lexemes with similar pronunciations but different spellings—were obviously not corrected but were preserved. Many important documents are still only available in this form. If they are a part of a whole series of documents, it may be possible to confirm the given information. However, doubts are ultimately hard to eliminate. The most important publication of this kind is the *Bod kyi yig tshags phyogs bsgrigs* (1997), edited

by Rdo rje tshe brtan et al., abbreviated here as RT (followed by the number of the respective document). Most of this material also stems from the Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region. But because the texts are not annotated, this publication is not a significant one.

In contrast, a collection of documents published by the Archives of Zhongdian, modern Shangri-la, demonstrates a higher degree of reliability due to its careful supplementation of suggested “corrections” in brackets (abbreviated here as RGYAL).

This study also made use of documents that have been preserved by the Tibetan exile community or belong to holdings outside the PRC. Such material was available to me mainly through the publications of Schuh in the *Monumenta Tibetica Historica* series. References to the relevant publications are given in each case.

. . .

Tibetan documents of legal importance all follow a certain pattern. The individual parts that make up the documents are reminiscent of the divisions found in documents from the European Middle Ages. It has therefore long been a custom in Tibetan diplomatics to name the parts of Tibetan documents by the Latin terms used for analyzing medieval European documents.⁷ This terminology is used herein.

A document of this nature consists of three major parts: the *protocol*, the *context*, and the *eschatocol* or the *closing protocol*. Each part contains several subdivisions. Since not all of the subdivisions are obligatory, the structure of the documents can vary.

With regard to the *protocol*, the subdivisions frequently found in the documents used for this study include the *intitulatio* followed by the proclamation noun “speech” (*tam*) and often combined with a formula of authorization such as “at the behest of . . .”/“on the orders of. . .” In the English translations, the proclamation noun moves to the very beginning, while in the Tibetan text the attributes always precede the proclamation noun. The *intitulatio* identifies the issuer of the document.

In the *context*, which is the main part of the document, we often find *publicatio*,

inscriptio, *narratio*, *dispositio*, and *sanctio*. Here the *inscriptio* is attributed to the *context* and not to the *protocol*, as is usually the case in medieval European documents. It generally follows the *publicatio* (or *promulgatio*) and leads in to the *narratio*. While the *publicatio* contains the notification to the public, the *inscriptio* identifies the addressee. The *narratio* then informs us about the preliminary events leading up to the issuance of the particular document. It often mentions the issuance of related previous documents. Documents can be very long, generally due to an extensive *narratio*.⁸ The actual core of the document is the *dispositio*, which contains the legal act. Finally, the *sanctio* warns against violating the decree and may set out the punishments for such violations in more or less precise terms. In some documents, the *context* ends with a *corroboratio*, which is an announcement of the means of authentication, which in Tibetan documents is always the imprint of a seal.

The *eschatocol* or *closing protocol* gives the time and place of issuance as well as the actual imprint of a seal.

By way of illustration, the following is a translation of a document issued by Polhané in 1731. The Latin terms used for naming the subdivisions are added in brackets. The document is preserved as a historical copy that is not certified by the imprint of a seal. Though not relevant for the present purpose, the text is problematic in that the addressee's name is probably wrong. It was most likely confused with the name of another high incarnate of that time. This confusion had already occurred, however, in the copy of a previous document issued by the Seventh Dalai Lama in 1727.⁹

[Proclamation noun, formula of authorization, *intitulatio*:] Speech of the one who at the behest of the Mañjughoṣa, the Emperor, the great lord appointed by heaven, is commissioned as executor of the laws of the two systems [i.e., the secular and the religious] in the direction where the sun sets, the lord who is called "prince"¹⁰ Polhawa,

[*Publicatio*:] Sent to the kingdoms of the wide world in general and especially to the kings and princely descendents, the great and small chiefs, the high functionaries, the managers for the civil and military tasks, those who travel as imperial envoys, the lamas acting as lords, the magistrates, the monastic communities, the governors of Shomdo, Lhodzong, Dzogang, and Pomda, the heads of the merchant camps, the officials, the stewards, the elders, et cetera, to all high and low ones and those in between:

[*Inscriptio* followed by the *narratio*:] Concerning this Tatsak *jedrung trülku* Ngawang Chökyi Gyatso, in the area of Dokham the lineage of successive reincarnations of holy great beings have [in the past] upheld the lamp of Buddha's doctrine and have made clear through the union of teaching and practice the good path to higher rebirth and definite goodness. While it thus continuously flourished, the Fifth all-knowing lord of the victorious ones [i.e., the Fifth Dalai Lama] together with the lord of the victorious ones [called] Kelzang Gyatso [i.e., the Seventh Dalai Lama] granted edicts and land tenure documents. The meaning of their words must remain unchanged.

[*Dispositio*:] In addition, then also in these days when the sun of the new [era of] complete happiness is visible, the absolute darkness of suffering has been cleared away, and the lotus groves of Buddha's doctrine are completely blossomed, the [monastery] Tuptenling in Chakzamkha together with the monastic estates—no matter who was the owner at the time of Langrampa—shall be transferred to the *jedrung rinpoché* himself.

The families belonging to the household corporation of the lama, the families belonging to the district,¹¹ the indivisible three representations [of the Buddha's body, speech, and mind, i.e., statues, scriptures, and stupas] and the offering articles of the Yülzhi [area in Pashö], with its villages and monasteries, were all handed over in accordance with the meaning of the successive land tenure documents and the edicts of the Dependency Office [i.e., the Lifan Yuan].

Accordingly, the duties, tax exemptions, and possessions, these three, were then based on their content as well.

[*Sanctio*:] Therefore, in brief, you [persons] mentioned above do not do anything that results in circumstances that test the promises [given by the Fifth and the Seventh Dalai Lama respectively; their decrees], like misinterpreting, disputing over ownership, rejecting land allocation records, and requesting and issuing unjustified legal documents, and thus let [the beneficiaries of the document at hand] be placed into the vast domain of joy as long as the precious doctrine of the all-knowing sugarcane farmer¹² [i.e., Buddha Śākyamuni] exists!

[*Eschatocol*:] Written on an auspicious day of the fifth *hor* month of the Female Iron Pig year called Geljé [1731] in the palace Ganden Khangsar.¹³

THE RISE OF A “UNIQUE CULTURE”

The foundation for what we call “Tibet” was laid between the seventh and the first half of the ninth century A.D. During that period, Tibet developed from a decentralized clan society into a mighty kingdom competing against Tang Dynasty China for control of the Inner Asian trade routes, known today as the Silk Road. It was the only period in Tibetan history in which nearly the whole of what now—ethnically, culturally, and linguistically—constitutes Tibet was unified under a single Tibetan ruler. There were even times in this period when it subdued other groups. Moreover, this was the era in which what we generally perceive as Tibetan culture—Tibetan script, Buddhism, literature, and law—began.

The collapse of the Tibetan kingdom after the murder of its last king in 842 resulted in a fragmentation of political power. Without generous royal patronage and privileges, Buddhist monasticism was also unable to survive. Because textual production ceased, about one hundred years of Tibetan history vanished more or less in the dark. When Tibet finally reappeared on the stage, it was again dominated by decentralized clan structures. Between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, these clans became the basis for the rebirth of Buddhism in Tibet. This process, the subject of an excellent study,¹⁴ is referred to as the “Tibetan Renaissance.” Just as the various clans vied with each other to gain new esoteric Buddhist teachings from India, various distinct Buddhist traditions were established in Tibet. However, unlike the European Renaissance, the Tibetan “rebirth process”¹⁵ did not result in a liberation from traditional and religious fetters but in an increasing canonization of beliefs and views. Compared to the period of the Tibetan kingdom, the horizon became narrow and closed. Whole segments of the world, once part of the Tibetan sphere of interaction, were simply forgotten. The prominent kings of the past were reduced to *dharmarājas*, kings whose only intention was the promotion of Buddhism for the welfare of sentient beings. The dominant role in Tibetan societies was now occupied by the lamas, the personal spiritual teachers competent to transmit powerful esoteric teachings.¹⁶ Tibet thus evolved into a religion-centric culture unified by Mahāyāna Buddhism in its special form of Vajrayāna, perceived generally nowadays as a “unique culture.” This view is enhanced by the fact that the clerical Tibetan elite began distinguishing themselves from others by narrating a coherent history of common origin, common fate, and a common project of salvation. This history links Tibet more strongly to the Buddhist India of the past than to imperial China and Inner Asia.



FIGURE 0.1 The Tibetan plateau

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When the Mongols in 1249 brought most of the Tibetan areas under their rule, the lamas presented themselves as prominent figures. Through them, the Mongols were able to govern Tibet. The social and political role that the lamas already had was thereby enhanced. The head lamas of Sakya Monastery and their families administered Tibet as vassals of the Mongols. On several occasions, the Mongols had to reinforce their political authority by sending in military forces. After Qubilai Qan had finally established the Yuan Dynasty in China through the final defeat of the Southern Song in 1279, Tibet became part of the Yuan Empire.

Acting as Imperial Preceptors (*dishi*), Sakyapa hierarchs now ranked among the most influential imperial officials. Even though their decrees carried the same weight in Tibet as those of the emperor,¹⁷ they always acted explicitly on the emperor's behalf. Therefore all of their decrees started with a set phrase of authorization, as illustrated by the document below. It was issued in a Dragon year by Rinchen Gyeltsen, a half-brother of Pakpa (1235–1280), who since 1274 had been his immediate successor as Imperial Preceptor. ATAR dates the decree at 1304. However, historiographic sources date the death of Rinchen Gyeltsen in either 1279 or 1282.¹⁸ The only Dragon year during the period 1274 to 1282 was 1280. Therefore 1280 is most likely the year of issue and 1282 the year of his

death.

By the order of the Emperor

Speech of the Imperial Preceptor Rinchen Gyeltsen:

that which is pronounced to the heads of the Pacification Commissioners' Office [*xuanweisi*, 宣慰司] who stay in the area of Tsang and Ü, the military officers, the soldiers, the local garrison commanders, the judges, those who collect taxes and travel [on official assignments], those in charge of the postal stations, the stockmen, the henchmen, the tribal chiefs, and the commoners:

The monks, the patrons, and the disciples of the monastic estates and religious endowments belonging to Epa and owned by *lopön* Khöntön and *lopön* Rinchen Pel Zangpo are explaining [the doctrine], listening [to the teachings], and praying aspirational prayers for the emperor in accordance with the tradition.

According to the order of the emperor, do not take away and confiscate the fields, estates, land, water, and pastures owned by them. Do not lodge in their monastery. Do not levy taxes on their land and trade. Do not stir up trouble by using false pretexts, for example [demanding] pretended loans and [sowing] discord. Do not graze the *dzo*¹⁹ and horses [on their land]. Do not carry away their farm tools and pack donkeys as security. Concerning cattle and sheep, do not seize their herds. Do not take their pack horses away for compulsory labor. Do not use violence [toward them].

[I] have granted a document that must be preserved after it is proclaimed. If someone, after seeing this document, violates it, a punishment will be caused to be made. The [recipients of the document] shall also not perform any actions that violate the law.

A document written on the twenty-fourth day of the second month of the Dragon year [February 26, 1280²⁰] in the great religious center Metok Rawa of the great palace Dadu.²¹

In general, prominent lamas were highly esteemed not only by their direct disciples and common followers but also by those who possessed secular authority. The lamas were able to add a religion-based legitimacy to secular rule, thus furthering the acceptance of a ruler by his subjects. Moreover, the lamas were perceived as a source of esoteric and magic power.

The outstanding religious, social, and political significance of the lama culminated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the development of the Tibetan *trülku* concept. The *trülku* was to become *the* most respected position in Tibetan societies.

ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE UNDERLYING THE *TRÜLKU* POSITION

Any analysis of the political role of *trülkus* in Tibetan history requires some knowledge of the relevant Buddhist theory and practices. These basic concepts help us understand why *trülkus* were motivated to act in the social and political spheres and what they were capable of achieving by doing so.

Fundamental to this understanding is the great Mahāyāna ideal of the bodhisattva. A bodhisattva is someone who—motivated by compassion—progresses along the path to enlightenment for the benefit of others. He also vows to remain in the cycle of rebirth to help all living beings attain buddhahood. Those bodhisattvas who have reached at least the seventh of a total of ten stages of the path to enlightenment are regarded as transcendental bodhisattvas. At this seventh stage, the bodhisattva has freed himself from the bonds of cyclic existence and is able to enter the final *nirvāṇa*. But because of his altruistic attitude, he decides to carry on his work of saving living beings from suffering. From the seventh stage onward, he successively acquires more and more specialized skills for fulfilling this task. Examples include choosing the appropriate means of teaching in each case, dedicating his personal merit to others, and choosing whatever appearance is necessary. At the final tenth stage, he has become a celestial bodhisattva able to emit rays that ease the suffering on Earth.²² Later, in Vajrayāna Buddhism, the bodhisattva of the higher stages mingled with the tantric figure of the *siddha*, an enlightened person who has developed ordinary and extraordinary magical faculties.²³

The primary model for the bodhisattva who deliberately chooses the conditions for his next existence and for demonstrating how a bodhisattva works for the benefit of others is the story of the Buddha Śākyamuni.²⁴ However, this is not a bodhisattva who resides in his transcendent sphere but at the same time emanates his manifestations in our world. According to this concept, the Buddha would not have taken the step into final *nirvāṇa* but would have continued in his heavenly sphere while his emanations appeared here, reincarnating themselves in

a coherent chain of human lives.

In the idea of the *trülku*, the bodhisattva doctrine therefore encounters the “three bodies of the Buddha” (Skt. *trikāya*, Tib. *kusum*), a doctrinal system developed in the fourth century A.D. by one of the two major schools of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Vijñānavāda or Yogācāra. The Vijñānavādin differentiated three “bodies” of the Buddha, i.e., three modes or degrees of reality.

The first and highest degree is called the *dharmakāya* (Tib. *chöku*), the “body of the Dharma” or “body of reality.” This is none other than the absolute or the transcendent reality beyond all dualities, which is common to all buddhas.

The second is the *sambhogakāya* (Tib. *longku*), the “body of enjoyment.” This “body” is not an object of our conventional sensory perceptions but represents a pure reality to be evoked in meditation. Transcendent or celestial buddhas and bodhisattvas are generally characterized as showing the mode of *sambhogakāya*. Thus they are the objects of visualizing meditation and depicted in Buddhist art adorned with ornaments and insignia of royalty.

The third is the *nirmāṇakāya*, the “body of emanation” or “body of manifestation,” which in Tibetan is called *trülku*. This “body” refers to the mode of reality that we all experience in daily life. The *nirmāṇakāya* therefore denotes the emanation in human form, which a transcendent buddha or bodhisattva manifests in our world in order to propagate Buddhist teachings. Although such an emanation was regarded originally as a very rare phenomenon, this view changed during the later development of Buddhism, which became known as Vajrayāna.

According to the basic theory, Tibetan saints who are regarded as *trülkus* are the earthly emanations of transcendent bodhisattvas. Through control of the intermediate state between death and rebirth, these bodhisattvas intentionally choose a specific human existence over and over again in order to continue their salvation project in a series of successive reincarnations. However, there has never been anything like a distinct, elaborate canonical theory of the *trülku*, nor was the word *trülku* ever a “protected name” regulated by secular or religious law. But because it was a prestigious title, the term was applied more and more to clerics over the course of time. Many were regarded as being “more Tulkus in name than Tulkus in fact.” Others were considered to belong to the lower stages of the bodhisattva path and perceived “as somewhat, moderately or considerably

gifted individuals, whose training brings out their best qualities.” Then again, others belonged to “a relatively small number of Tulku who were understood as ‘very high,’ corresponding to the higher *bhūmis*” or stages of the bodhisattva path.²⁵ This last category of “very high” *trülkus*, or the *trülku* in the narrow sense, is the concern of this study.

Because the distinction between transcendent bodhisattvas and transcendent buddhas became blurred, a transcendent *sambhogakāya* buddha such as Amitābha could also be regarded as the origin of earthly emanations, although this is not backed by any classical Indian *sūtra*.²⁶

A certain degree of inconsistency concerning the *trülku* practice is readily acknowledged by prominent contemporary representatives of Tibetan Buddhism, such as Zamdong *rinpoché* (Samdhong Rinpoche), the former head of the Tibetan government in exile.²⁷ Therefore, one should take the *trülku* theory not as a normative set of rules but as a set of fundamental ideas that must all be present in the ideal case. In general, both the present Dalai Lama and Zamdong *rinpoché* look upon the *trülku* system as something that was pure in its beginnings but was later corrupted through certain external practices. These include the regulation stipulating that material property, including serfs, had to be passed on to the next reincarnation and the pursuit of political objectives.²⁸

The ability to control the passage from death to rebirth is considered an essential skill that the *trülku* in the narrow sense must possess. The technique for this controlled change of existence is called *powa*, i.e., the “transference” of consciousness. The *powa* teachings were transmitted especially within the Kagyü traditions of Tibetan Buddhism.²⁹ A nice narrative about someone being able to transfer his consciousness into another body is told in the life story of the early Kagyü master Marpa.³⁰ However, the Kadam tradition, later inherited by the Geluk school, knew such narratives as well. In the *Kadam Lekbam*, a book redacted in 1302,³¹ the narratives attributed to Atiśa (982–1054) include an elaborate story in which *powa* makes up the central plot.³² Here a king transfers his consciousness—for the benefit of his subjects—into the decaying cadaver of an elephant that has fallen into the well of the city. The king moves the elephant out of the well in this way, only to discover that his wicked minister has stolen “his body” in the meantime in order to act as king. He finds that the minister’s corpse has thereby been rendered inoperative, which gives him no other choice but to transfer his consciousness into a nearby dead parrot. The whole story then

revolves around the intricacies of getting the real king's consciousness back into the right body.

The typical activities of a *trülku* are those stemming from the bodhisattva ideal. With his altruistic attitude, he is expected to be active in both the social and political spheres. One of the earliest Tibetan narratives about the previous life of a saint, depicting the protagonist as someone who acts according to the bodhisattva ideal, is found in the aforementioned *Kadam Lekbam*.³³ Its twenty-two stories deal with the previous lives of Dromtön, the main disciple of Atiśa, who generally appears as a king who represents the ideal Buddhist ruler. Thus from the earliest times right through to the modern age, the bodhisattva in Tibet has been perceived as socially and politically influential, a person guided not by selfishness but by a desire to benefit others. For this reason, the late Zhamarpa, Mipam Chökyi Lodrö, referring to such a model rooted in classical literature, explicitly talks about “bodhisattva politics” as enlightened politics, as opposed to *samsāric* or selfish politics.³⁴

The social status and the spiritual attractiveness of a *trülku*—among other factors—correlate with the popularity of the cult and the narratives associated with the particular transcendent bodhisattva believed to have incarnated as a particular *trülku*. Each transcendent bodhisattva personifies a characteristic set of abilities and ideals. A *trülku* regarded as the emanation of that bodhisattva is therefore perceived as endowed with these specific abilities and embodying these specific ideals. This also encourages him to live and act according to such patterns. The corresponding socialization, education, and spiritual practices from early childhood on guarantee the successful shaping of a personality to this end.

The most prominent candidate as a model for such outstanding social behavior and spiritual accomplishment was the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The foundation for his attractiveness and popularity appears to have already been laid by the early representatives of the Kadam school, who in the eleventh century propagated Avalokiteśvara for the first time as the special patron of Tibet. In this same period, some had the idea to identify Songtsen Gampo, the founder of the Tibetan kingdom in the seventh century, with Avalokiteśvara, while other spiritual disciples of the aforementioned Kadampa teacher Dromtön soon tried to link their master to both King Songtsen Gampo and the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.³⁵ Another important source for the Avalokiteśvara cult and the emphasis on his significance for Tibet and its history is the *Mani Kambum*. According to Tibetan tradition, this text was “discovered” in the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries by three successive “treasure revealers” (*tertön*), but it was probably enriched later by other contributors.³⁶ Both literary efforts were well known to the Fifth Dalai Lama, who would later use these ideas to conceptualize his own view of Tibetan history and Avalokiteśvara’s role in it.³⁷ However, a few other transcendent bodhisattvas also played their parts. Together they even made it possible to create a network of connections mirroring the political relationships throughout a wide area.³⁸

Geoffrey Samuel has very elegantly described these divine figures as “symbolic markers for different patterns within Tibetan culture,” who “were not simply beings outside humanity, but forces that were active within human life.”³⁹ In Tibetan history, the strength of these patterns has been demonstrated in many ways. One is that Tibetans have based their interpretations of dominant, foreign political actors in the Tibetan world on these concepts. This is not mere opportunistic political maneuvering, but an attempt to explain political developments and their decisive actors in light of Tibetan Buddhism. However, there are magical aspects involved as well. The transcendent bodhisattvas are classified as “divinities who have gone beyond this world.” Thus they are able to pacify and control the “mundane gods.” This ability is also ascribed to their earthly emanations, the *trülkus*. As a result, the image of the *trülku* as having magical power at his disposal was widespread—even beyond the Tibetan areas. Within the technical terminology of Tibetan Buddhism, the term for “subduing,” “taming,” or “disciplining” (*dülwa*) local gods is the same as the term used for the set of rules regulating the life of the monastic community.⁴⁰ And among those who have to be disciplined (*dülja*) are not only the local gods but also the spiritual teacher’s “disciples.” Their lack of discipline is sometimes even perceived as being influenced by the local gods. Martin Mills has illustrated this in an interesting narrative, which came to the ears of the Russian scholar Bajar Baradiin during his stay in Labrang Monastery at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴¹ Another example is the biography of Taktsang Repa (1574–1651), a lama regarded as the first in the line of reincarnations at Hemis Monastery in Ladakh. The text relates vivid episodes of taming robbers, local deities, and undisciplined monks.⁴² Here as well, the disputes among the monks were seen as resulting from the influence of the local gods. The lama resolved the situation by taming the gods and making them obey.

There are several accounts by Western travelers of the impressive dignity that Tibetan *trülkus* used to radiate. Perhaps the earliest is the description handed

down by the Jesuit Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733), who lived in Tibet from 1716 to 1721. He wrote about the children who had been identified as *trülkus*:

All of them manage in the same way to behave with a certain external composure, gravity, and dignity proper to holy persons, which causes great astonishment. Because as soon as the young man is called lama we see him suddenly endowed with an almost superhuman spirit, taking on the dignity and reserve proper to a priest. Nor is he overwhelmed by ambition or avarice, vices that would be very easy to contract among all the applause and veneration of the people for his new rank, acquired at such a young age, and he lives in this way until his death, sequestered by custom from the common herd. All who are selected for the rank of Grand Lama or lama in the manner I have discussed behave like this from the start, and although many of them lead the most reprehensible life in secret, they still conform to the same upright comportment and correct behavior and continue in that way until the end of their lives.⁴³

Desideri was astonished about this phenomenon to such an extent that he had only one explanation to offer:

There remains only the possibility that the Devil should be the chief director and perpetrator of this fraud, availing himself of those boys he has selected to obtain the same result, in some degree tempering their melancholic humors to give them the tint of modesty, removing some of the fuel of certain passion so that they will not overflow externally, and also selecting from the start those of similar character who are by nature better disposed to give the same appearance of moderate and appropriate behavior.⁴⁴

Because in most cases the *trülku* is a lama, i.e., a male spiritual teacher, one of his primary spheres of activity is the teacher-disciple relationship. In Vajrayāna or tantric Buddhism, this relationship is very special. The spiritual teacher is not merely someone who transmits the Buddhist teachings but the one who bestows empowerments (Skt. *abhiṣeka*, Tib. *wang*) on his disciples to enable them to perform the cult practices of specific tantric deities.⁴⁵ Modeled on medieval Indian rites of the investiture of a king,⁴⁶ the empowerment ritual enhances the status of the lama. He introduces the disciple to the *maṇḍala* or realm of the deity in question and himself takes the role of the deity, i.e., a transcendent bodhisattva in the mode of *sambhogakāya*. Then he gives the deity's blessing. Afterward, the disciple is authorized to perform the tantric practice in which he also will identify himself with the deity. Because the *trülku* is believed to

possess an “enhanced ability to ‘manifest’ divine realities as focuses of blessing,” he became more attractive as a performer of empowerments than ordinary lamas.⁴⁷ This also influenced the choice of the personal “root lama” (Tib. *tsawé lama*). Ideally, the disciple’s relationship with his root lama is based on filial devotion and perceived as a connection resulting from karmic causes in previous lives. The relationship between prominent *trülkus*, such as the Dalai Lamas and the Panchen Lamas, can therefore be seen as a continuous exchange of the disciple and teacher roles during a succession of lives.⁴⁸ Due to the strong obligation the disciple feels toward his root lama, the relationship has also had a strong influence on Tibetan politics.

Abbot of a monastery became another position typically occupied by a *trülku*, as an alternative to the regulations that the succession to the abbatial seat had to fall on a member of the noble family linked with the monastery. In addition, a *trülku* as the head of a monastery guaranteed wider public appeal, which led to more donations and greater prosperity.

However, it was not only the monastery that benefited from the munificence of pilgrims and patrons. Donations ranging from small gifts to vast estates were also received by the *trülku* himself. Even though a great portion of this wealth was redistributed as an act of charity or as a contribution to the financing of religious ceremonies organized by the monastery,⁴⁹ huge amounts could be accumulated over the centuries by passing the material property on to the next respective reincarnation. Needless to say, the numerous ways of controlling these resources were not without appeal for noble Tibetan families.

His role as a prominent lama and abbot enabled the *trülku* to perform all the functions attached to those positions, including teaching the Dharma, bestowing tantric empowerments, ordaining monks, mediating disputes among the laity or between monks of different monastic communities, establishing relations with the secular authorities, or performing divination at the request of monks or laypeople. It also included performing various ritual services for the common people, such as mitigating diseases, natural forces, and enemies; prolonging life; increasing harvests and wealth; gaining control over people and resources; and destroying evil forces of all kinds. Being perceived as having especially divine powers at his command, the *trülku* became the “more efficient” performer of the diverse activities typical of higher Tibetan ecclesiastics. Consequently, the *trülku* also became the favored candidate for the position of “priest” in the “priest-patron” (*chöyön*) institution, created at the religiopolitical level by the Tibetan

historiography on the famous relationship between the Sakya hierarch Pakpa (Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen, 1235–1280) and Qubilai Qan (r. 1260–1294), founder of qanate China in 1260 and the Yuan Dynasty in 1271. It has been rightly commented on that “priest-patron relationship” is a far too simplified description of this complex institution, and that “preceptor-officiant and donor” or even “officiant/spiritual preceptor-donee and donor” are more appropriate designations.⁵⁰ However, for the sake of convenience, the concise expression “priest-patron relationship” has been widely accepted in the historical literature on Tibet as an equivalent for the term *chöyön*, and will therefore be used here.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE *TRÜLKU* POSITION

THE SOCIAL POSITION of the *trülku* in the form we know today did not arise at one specific point, but rather developed gradually over time. Although it is generally accepted that all of its essential components had already been taken from various Mahāyāna doctrines during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and then combined to form one homogeneous *trülku* concept, it was not until the seventeenth century that the position finally embraced all of the religious, social, and political functions that are associated with it today.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT

For sketching out the early historical development of the *trülku* position, we have to rely on scattered references found in Tibetan hagiographical literature. Although this offers a glimpse of the phenomenon, it does not enable us to form a coherent picture. Particularly difficult to identify are the concrete social and economic circumstances and motives.

One of the earliest traditions was to regard Buddhist saints as being manifestations of a transcendent bodhisattva, especially Avalokiteśvara, as was done by the early Kadampas of the eleventh century. Then in the twelfth century, holy persons who had either been regarded by others or talked about themselves as being the rebirth of a previous master began appearing in the Kadam tradition. By the thirteenth century, the designation “*trülku*” was apparently already being applied to quite a few Buddhist saints, and the first efforts being made to establish a female line of reincarnation.¹

The Tibetan tradition credits the Karma Kagyü school with the creation of the *trülku* system as a fully established line of succession of ecclesiastical hierarchs in the thirteenth century. And indeed, the Karmapa lineage is the oldest and longest “surviving” reincarnation line today. It began with Düsum Khyenpa (1110–1193), followed by Karma Pakshi (1204/6–1283). Between these incarnations there was a gap of more than ten years. It is therefore obvious that at this early stage there was not yet the idea of establishing a succession of uninterrupted incarnations. Karma Pakshi’s celebrated reputation was as a powerful tantric master, not as a link in a chain of famous reincarnated masters.

His reputation also attracted Qubilai Qan and Möngke Qan, both of whom summoned him to their courts. As a result, Karma Pakshi became the target of a number of political intrigues among Tibetan clerics. He ultimately fell out of favor at court and barely escaped being assassinated.²

It has been observed that in the beginning, the Karma Kagyü school lacked a dominant wealthy patron and its economic existence depended on the many nearby common families.³ Wylie has pointed to the Third Karmapa, Rangjung Dorje (1284–1339), as the actual initiator of the concept of reincarnation, adding it to the already existing idea of incarnation or emanation.⁴ Wylie localized the conceptualization of the idea of reincarnation within Tibetan-Mongolian political relations and consequently assumed “that ‘reincarnation’ developed in Tibetan Buddhism primarily for political reasons, and that its immediate purpose was to provide the Black-hat-Karmapa hierarchs with a metaphysical lineage devoid of patrimonial connections as a preliminary step toward the replacement of the quarrelsome ’Khon family as regents of Tibet.”⁵ Although this explanation is plausible, it is drawn from a small base of historical information. In fact, matters were probably far more complex than this, and a number of other factors may have played a role. For instance, the *trülku* concept includes the promise that the disciple will meet his teacher again in his next life. This idea strengthened the sense of belonging to a specific monastic community beyond the death of its head. In this way, the continuity of a monastic institution could be established without the need for an affiliation with a noble family to ensure survival.

To Tugh Temür, the emperor who was enthroned twice, first as the eighth and then as the tenth emperor of the Yuan Dynasty (1328–1329, 1329–1332),⁶ the Third Karmapa, Rangjung Dorje, was an outstanding Tibetan cleric. Even so, the emperor still regarded him as one of his subjects whom he could summon to his court. The edict ordering this, issued in 1331, is much more a direct command than a polite invitation. The emperor did not hesitate to threaten the Karmapa should he refuse to come. The document was not handed down as an original but was embedded in Tibetan historiographic works. The context and the careful source-critical analysis suggest no falsification of the text.

Through the blessing of the Three Jewels, based on the glory of great merit, my, the emperor’s, order that is proclaimed to Rangjung Dorje:

Due to the strength of the prophecy that the doctrine of the *sugata* [i.e., the Buddha] will spread to the kings of the northern regions, all kinds of religious

systems of the Buddha were [already] known. Later Sechen Gyelpo [i.e., Qubilai Qan] also relied on a great many lamas [and] spiritual friends and honored them. Therefore, he caused the doctrine of the Buddha to spread in this area. This is clear to everyone. However, since I as well have the wish to render the protection and the service for the doctrine in an excellent manner, and since I have heard [people] saying that you possess great learning and—your positive qualities being especially outstanding—also numerous excellences, I have sent imperial envoys, for example Gönpö, to fetch you.

If—by using other pretenses—you will not come, it would become the fault of repudiating a faithful mind, and a propensity [and] foul-smelling seed [leading to the fact] that the *yogin* would be unable to give up his own country, and the fault that the special intention of the wish to work impartially for the welfare of others would be destroyed, and the evil not to think of the doctrine [of the Buddha], and the obscuration to give no thought to the hardships and suffering of the sentient beings, and [finally] the violation of the edict of my great legal system. Thereby you would make me sad. That consequently no harm would be done to the whole doctrine [of the Buddha] is unlikely.

Therefore, think about the benefit for all sentient beings, headed by myself, and come swiftly. After your arrival I will accomplish the tasks for the [Buddhist] doctrine in accordance with your wishes.

Written on the thirteenth day of the last spring month of the Sheep year [April 18, 1331],⁷ when he stayed in Dadu.⁸

This edict does not yet make explicit reference to the Karmapa's position as a *trülku*. Such a reference is first found in the edict sent in 1356 by the twelfth Yuan Emperor, Toghon Temür (reigned 1332–1368), to the Fourth Karmapa, Rolpé Dorje (1340–1383), who most probably was intended by the emperor to act as Imperial Preceptor, or at least to fill an equivalent position.⁹ At the beginning of the document, the emperor addresses the Fourth Karmapa as someone whose deliberate taking of rebirth was motivated by his empathy for sentient beings, or *bodhicitta*, and obviously identifies him with the previous Karmapa. The wording of this edict is more polite than the one translated above. The emperor particularly “invited” the Karmapa and did not merely summon him to court:

By the mandate of eternal heaven, relying on the glory of great merit, my, the emperor's order that is proclaimed to Rolpé Dorje:

emperor's, order that is proclaimed to Rolpe Dorje.

I have heard that by giving thought to the numerous [sentient beings] to be disciplined, starting with myself, you have taken birth in the area of Tibet and reside in Tsurpu Monastery. Therefore, by bearing your previous good qualities and activities in mind, I have—for the benefit of many sentient beings—sent imperial envoys, headed by Dingju and Könchok Gyeltsen, to invite you. Therefore, I ask you, by thinking of the sentient beings who in this degenerate age are tormented by suffering, to give up your country and come swiftly regardless of physical hardships so that those [beings] to be disciplined who possess good fortune in this area will be satisfied through the nectar of the Dharma, and that you act as guide for those sentient beings who have mistaken or lost the path. Moreover, it is clear before your mind that [Śākya]muni, by thinking of the benefit of others, voluntarily accepted suffering and accomplished the benefit of sentient beings in various countries. With regard to the livelihood for your body, the teaching of the Dharma and the listening to the Dharma do not cling to the area of Tibet alone, so think of me right after the imperial envoys sent from here have arrived there. And by keeping in mind to take care as much as you can that at the time of your arrival in this area the doctrine of the Buddha spreads far and wide and many sentient beings are placed on the path of liberation, [you], the great master Rolpé Dorje, know that you should come swiftly without using any pretenses.

[Attached] are utensils used in offerings and—as gifts accompanying the edict—one *dre* [measure] of gold, three *dre* of silver, and two sets of nine kinds of inwardly and outwardly [wearable] brocade.

An edict written on the tenth day of the tenth month of the Monkey year [November 2, 1356¹⁰] in Dadu. May it be auspicious!¹¹

The above edict is the earliest direct evidence that an emperor regarded the *trülku* position as an outstanding one. This does not, however, mean that the emperor did not still regard the Tibetan cleric as one of his subjects who had to obey imperial orders. The journey of the Karmapa to the emperor's court was interrupted by warlike turmoil, indicating the looming dissolution of the Yuan Empire. This caused the emperor to seriously threaten the Karmapa again, warning him that Tibetan monasteries and Tibetan people might come to harm should he refuse to come:

Thinking of me, you have arrived in Domé. However, the chief administrators

[of Tibet] are incapable. Therefore, you have again returned to Tibet. But how after the arrival of the lama the task of propagating and spreading the precious doctrine of the Buddha and the excellent task of making the great empire happy will be performed, we, patron and priest, will know when you meet me! In case you do not come, I will send many chief administrators. Because this might become the cause of damage to many monasteries and laypeople, I ask you to come immediately after the arrival of the dispatched imperial envoys by thinking of the precious doctrine of the Buddha and of me.¹²

Thereupon the Karmapa followed the order of the emperor and finally arrived at the court on December 26 or 27, 1360.¹³

Although the notion that a reincarnation was simultaneously an emanation of a transcendent bodhisattva already existed at this early stage, it is reasonable to assume “that the theory and procedure developed gradually in various Kagyüpa suborders in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.”¹⁴

In the fourteenth century, the Karma Kagyüpa established its second major reincarnation line. Khachö Wangpo, the Second Zhamarpa or “Holder of the Red Hat,” was born in 1350 (and died in 1405). At the age of five, he was officially identified as the reincarnation of Tokden Drakpa Sengge, a disciple of the Third Karmapa, Rangjung Dorje. Thereafter he was brought to Tsurpu Monastery. At the age of six, he was ordained by the Fourth Karmapa, Rolpé Dorje.¹⁵ The early identification and installation of the Second Zhamarpa is remarkable because it indicates a deliberate strategy.

After the fall of the Yuan Dynasty in 1368, Yongle (1403–1424), the third emperor of the Ming Dynasty, developed a strategy to reintegrate Tibet into the empire. Just like the previous dynasty, he intended to rule Tibet with the help of outstanding clerics. But unlike the Yuan emperors, he now chose to rely on the Karmapa, a well-established *trülku* lineage. Thus in 1406, the Fifth Karmapa, Dezhin Shekpa (1384–1415), received an invitation to the court.¹⁶ When he arrived in Beijing the following year, the emperor gave him a pompous reception.¹⁷ What the emperor wished to accomplish with this visit and the way he tried to win over the Karmapa are directly addressed in a report by one of the Tibetans participating in the journey:

In general, it was the intention of the emperor to bring Tibet by means of war under the [imperial] law, just as in the times of the Mongols. He intended to

subdue the country through a single rule of priest and patron, just as the Sakyapa and the Mongols [had done]. However, since the precious lord of the Dharma [i.e., the Karmapa] taught the Dharma in accordance with the Dharma, he was unhappy about conducting a Chinese campaign [to Tibet]. Finally, the emperor proposed: “Because there are different traditions of the Dharma in Tibet, they will quarrel among themselves. Because the lord of the Dharma would not be pleased if troops were really sent [to Tibet], I will send just a few of my horsemen along with the transport of the tiles of the golden roof that are left over in Gachu. If they each carry one tile on the front side of their saddle, [the tiles] will arrive safely. All traditions of the Dharma will be united in your school. Annually the people of Dokham, Rapgang, and Central Tibet will celebrate in Lhasa the [festival in honor of the Buddha’s] great turning of the wheel of Dharma. Therefore, I ask for your approval.” However, [the Karmapa] did not approve it, saying: “The sentient beings are not disciplined by a single tradition of the Dharma. In accordance with their respective interest the compassion of the Buddha starts working. It is all right if everyone practices according to the religious manner of his own school.” When later imperial envoys were robbed in Serurong behind Drikhung, and thereupon from Tibet also many people who reported slanders appeared [at the court], the invasion of Chinese troops was near. At that time I saw truly a sequence of three petitions, through which the Pakmodrupa ruler Drakpa Gyeltsen lamented to the lord of the Dharma [i.e., the Karmapa] that without an overlord there would be no protection [and] through which he offered head and body [to the emperor]. At that time the mind [of the Karmapa] was filled with loving-kindness. He had no desire for wealth, fame, and great power. By thinking only of everyone’s welfare, he again and again granted his precious words [of advice to the emperor]. Therefore, the emperor placed the head ornament of the lama’s speech at the crown of his head. Thus, [the Karmapa] protected the Chinese from suffering in their next life and protected the Tibetans from suffering in this life. In brief, his kindness of having protected Tibet from the terror of Chinese warfare cannot be measured. Nevertheless, there seemed to be no one in Tibet who understood this as kindness. That [Tibet] was allowed to live a bit in peace was arrogantly ascribed to individual braveness. Such people who do not know [the law of] the karmic cause and effect are simply and solely the object of compassion.¹⁸

Thus the idea to install Tibet’s oldest incarnation line as the emperor’s vassal failed. The Karmapa reincarnations did not become a political tool in the hands of the Ming emperors, and Tibet only formally became dependent on China. After this, it seems that the emperors were content with maintaining good

relations with Tibetan chiefs and hierarchs, as a way to strengthen their rule at the western borders of the empire.¹⁹

An indication that the status of a *trülku* had already become prestigious among the Nyingmapas in the fifteenth century is found in the “treasure literature” of that time. Among the different kinds of manuals for performing sexual rituals, all of which revolve around the evocation of the deity Dorje Pakmo, there is also a description of how to father a *trülku*.²⁰ However, the extent to which this idea was consistent with the concept of a whole line of successive reincarnations is not clear.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, reincarnation apparently became more and more attractive as an effective strategy for the succession of spiritual and clerical power, accompanied by the right to leave accumulated material property within the line. In principle, monastic establishments headed by a *trülku* had a more independent standing. The degree to which individual aristocratic families were able to influence monastic affairs was weakened, as was the dependence on the political and economic fate of a single family. Furthermore, the monastery no longer had to rely on such a noble house’s ability to continuously supply suitable male candidates. In turn, loosening such ties made it easier for other potential patrons to offer support and protection. Moreover, the eminent image of the *trülku* as the embodiment of a mighty transcendent bodhisattva and the different spiritual promises involved was a major reason for the readiness to financially assist the monastery or patronize the founding of a new one. That this naturally created conflicts has been observed in regard to the Drukpa Kagyü school.²¹ The aristocracy was not going to meekly surrender its claim to controlling monastic affairs in the face of this new development. Therefore, “To discover a new incarnation within the ruling family was not only the obvious solution to this problem but also a powerful means of reinforcing the family’s claim to semi-divine sanctity.”²² But from this point in time on, there was always the risk that rival families would compete to have their particular candidate accepted.

“Surviving” *trülku* lines—starting with the first reincarnation of a Buddhist master in the fifteenth century—are rare today. Prominent examples include the line of the Gyelwang Drukchen of the Drukpa Kagyü school, the lines of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama (although neither was called by its current name in the beginning), and the line of the Samding Dorje Pakmo. The latter is

remarkable in two respects.²³ First of all, it is a reincarnation line of female masters functioning as the head of Samding nunnery. Second, the line is not named after the name or title of a preincarnation or of a place, but after the female deity believed to be embodied in those female masters. Although this does suggest that there is some common ground between the *trülku* and the Tibetan oracle,²⁴ significant differences between the two concepts have been identified.²⁵ As in other cases, the establishment of the Samding Dorje Pakmo reincarnation line also appears to have been built on the previous recognition of a holy person as the incarnation of a fully enlightened transcendent deity.²⁶ The actual step to establish a *trülku* lineage was taken after the death of that person through identifying someone as the reincarnation of the first incarnation. However, we cannot be absolutely sure that the recognition of the first woman as the emanation of Dorje Pakmo happened during her lifetime, because the person responsible for establishing the reincarnation line was probably the same one who composed the biography of the first protagonist.²⁷ That person would naturally have had an interest in writing a coherent story that included all of the topoi required for a “holy life.”

Not long after Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), through a variety of reforms and scholarly efforts, had initiated the transformation of the old Kadam school into the Geluk school, the first reincarnation lines emerged among the Gelukpas. Interestingly, it was not Tsongkhapa himself who became the base on which a new reincarnation line was constructed, but rather some of his disciples: Khedrup-jé Gelek Pelzang (1385–1438), Baso Chökyi Gyeltsen (1402–1473), and Gendün Drupa (1391–1474).

Khedrup-jé is regarded as the starting point of the line, which would later become famous under the name Panchen Lama. Reliable sources telling us when and how Sönam Choklang (1439–1504) was identified as his immediate reincarnation are not available. Sönam Choklang seems never to have been formally recognized, but was later believed to be the reincarnation of Khedrup-jé. In his home area in Tsang Province, he had transformed the small Sakyapa foundation called Ensa or Engön—located on the bank of the Yarlung Tsangpo (Brahmaputra)—into a Gelukpa monastery. Because of his propagation of the Geluk teachings among the monk communities in Tsang, Sönam Choklang became famous as the Engön *trülku*. Later, the Gelukpa scholar Lozang Döndrup (1505–1566) took up residence at Ensa during the second part of his life and became known as Ensapa, “the one from Ensa.” At that time—so it is said—the

monks of Ensa Monastery regarded him as the rebirth (*yangsi*) of Sönam Choklang.²⁸ From the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, Ensa also became the seat of a short-lived but significant reincarnation line, the Ensa *trülku*,²⁹ whose members are not to be confused with Sönam Choklang or Ensapa Lozang Döndrup. The latter became the immediate preincarnation of Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen (1570–1662), the first bearer of the title Panchen Lama. Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen is therefore referred to sometimes as the First and sometimes as the Fourth Panchen Lama. In this study he will be regarded as the Fourth Panchen Lama. He was apparently also the first in the line who was recognized in his youth already as the rebirth of a previous master.³⁰ The matter becomes even more confusing because the first abbots of Trashi Lhünpo—due to their reputation as scholars—were already addressed as *panchen*, “great scholar,” without ever having been perceived as belonging to the later Panchen Lama reincarnation line.³¹

From Baso Chökyi Gyeltsen (1402–1473), a disciple of Tsongkhapa and Khedrup-jé and the sixth abbot of Ganden Monastery, originated another important reincarnation line of the Gelukpa, later to be known either as Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* or as Pashö *jedrung rinpoché*. The name Tatsak *jedrung* first came into use at the time of the fourth incarnation, Lhawang Chökyi Gyeltsen (1537–1604), who in the second part of his life retreated into a hermitage in eastern Tibet called Tatsak Lhündrup Dechen, and thus became known as Tatsakpa.³² The incarnations also became known as Pashö *jedrung* after the Fifth Dalai Lama had granted that place to the sixth incarnation, Ngawang Könchok Tenpé Nyima (1653–1707).³³ The first reincarnation is recorded to be a man called Lhakyap or Lha Kyapa, a nephew of Pakpalha (1439–1487), who for his part became the starting point of another famous reincarnation line of the Gelukpa in eastern Tibet. As with the Panchen Lama line, there is no reliable information available on how the reincarnations of the Tatsak line were recognized in the beginning.³⁴ We can therefore also assume here that the full recognition as a *trülku* line developed gradually out of a widely accepted consensus among the followers of the lama.

The line of the Dalai Lama, the most important reincarnation line of the Gelukpa, began with Gendün Drupa, founder of Trashi Lhünpo Monastery. He was followed by Gendün Gyatso (1475–1542), who was only later gradually accepted as his reincarnation. Disputes about his recognition, which had gone on for years, had prevented an early acceptance. One of the reasons given for this in

the autobiography is that some lamas, especially the abbot of Narthang Monastery, had shown hostility toward Gendün Drupa's father.³⁵ Another biography, the first part of which was written two years after the saint's death, mentions conflicts in Trashi Lhünpo concerning the young Gendün Gyatso. These conflicts finally induced him to leave the monastery in 1494 and accept an invitation to Drepung Monastery in Ü Province.³⁶ Jealousy about his growing prestige is described as being the cause of the conflicts. However, the real reason may have been a more fundamental one. There are three hagiographies on the life of Gendün Drupa, written twenty or twenty-three years after his death. There is nothing in these texts to indicate that Gendün Drupa intended to establish a reincarnation line as the mode of succession to the abbatial seat of Trashi Lhünpo. Prior to his death, he had apparently been of the opinion that the vacancy would be filled by one of his learned disciples. According to one source, the disciples decided later—through divination—who should act as regent (*gyeltsap*).³⁷ It is therefore quite clear that reincarnation at that time did not necessarily follow a widely accepted procedure, and neither Gendün Drupa nor many of his disciples seem to have been in favor of such an innovation. Apparently Tsongkhapa, the initiator of the Gelukpa, had not considered reincarnation as a mode of abbatial succession either, although he might have regarded it as a way of honoring highly respected persons such as his own mother.³⁸ He may also have already been aware of the fact that the accumulation of material wealth in the *trülku* system was inconsistent with monastic discipline (Skt. *vinaya*), or he may have disapproved of it as a Tibetan innovation that was not based on classical Indian Buddhist tradition.³⁹ For whatever reasons, a conservative attitude obviously prevailed in the initial phase of the new Buddhist school.

From the hagiographies it seems that there was yet another inconsistency that had to be explained before Gendün Gyatso could be widely accepted as the reincarnation of Gendün Drupa. In the most elaborate version of Gendün Drupa's life story, we read about the wondrous change of the outer appearance of the saint's body at the moment of death. Then the text continues:

Hence, at that time this lord—through achieving the luminous state, the absolute truth, and being transformed into the *dharmakāya* at death—arose in the illusory body of the intermediate state. Therefore, there is no doubt that [he] had achieved the highest accomplishments. Well, [he] had said [during his lifetime] that in the next life [he] would take rebirth in China, and so forth. If you ask,

“How is [this possible]?,” thus the lord himself said: “[I] will seize rebirth through emanation.” Therefore there is no conflict.⁴⁰

Here it explicitly states that Gendün Drupa on the one hand had the idea to continue his work in another existence but on the other hand intended to take rebirth in China instead of starting a reincarnation line in Tibet. The latter statement had to later be explained when a reincarnation born somewhere near Trashi Lhünpo was presented. Hence the autobiography of the Second Dalai Lama—before telling the actual life story—recounts an episode about an oracle talking on behalf of the deceased lama and explaining that—although the deceased lama had originally contemplated a rebirth in China—he had changed his mind and preferred to be reborn nearby, the explanation being that religion would not flourish well in China.⁴¹

While the episodes above show that the *trülku* concept evolved gradually over time, an important characteristic closely associated with the institution of the Dalai Lama was evidently present, more or less, from the very beginning. The biographer of the largest hagiography of the First Dalai Lama, composed in 1494, places his life story within the narrative of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara’s historical activities for the welfare of Tibet. He also makes special reference to King Songtsen Gampo and to the Kadampa teacher Dromtön as being the previous manifestations of the First Dalai Lama, and even points to incarnations of the buddha Amitābha already.⁴² This appears to be a deliberate adherence to the previous Kadampa ideas. And indeed, the First Dalai Lama—himself a member of the Drom clan—was already among those who transmitted the intricate ideas that link Dromtön with Songtsen Gampo and Avalokiteśvara.⁴³

The person most important for the education of the Second Dalai Lama, Gendün Gyatso, in his early years was his father, a disciple of Gendün Drupa and a noncelibate lama.⁴⁴ It can therefore be assumed that he was instrumental in nourishing the idea of his son being the reincarnation of Gendün Drupa, first by formulating it and then by enforcing the corresponding claim to wider recognition. Being the reincarnation of a renowned and highly respected promoter of the early Gelukpa then became part of Gendün Gyatso’s perception of himself.

Although for some years (from 1512 onward) Gendün Gyatso had acted as abbot of Trashi Lhünpo, he had held such offices for longer terms in Chökhorgyel and

Drepung. In 1525 he was also appointed abbot of Sera.⁴⁵ Thus his activities, unlike those of his preincarnation, were spread throughout both provinces of Central Tibet.

The year 1517 was crucial for Gendün Gyatso's career, for the fate of the young Geluk school, and for the recognition of the *trülku* system among the Gelukpa. Ever since Tsongkhapa and his close disciples had founded the three large Gelukpa monasteries of Ganden (1409), Drepung (1416), and Sera (1419), Ü Province in the eastern part of Central Tibet had been the stronghold of the Gelukpa. From the very beginning, they relied on the Pakmodrupa as their most important patrons. The fifth administrator of Pakmodru, Drakpa Gyeltsen (reign 1385–1432), had already patronized Tsongkhapa and the early Geluk school in Ü. In 1480 the lord of Rinpung in western Tsang Province led his forces against his overlord, the Pakmodru ruler and nominal inheritor of the Sakya authority in Central Tibet. After that, the Gelukpa came under pressure. The Rinpungpa now in fact dominated the Pakmodrupa and controlled Ü Province as well. They had aligned themselves closely with the Karma Kagyüpa. The Fourth Zhamarpa, Chödrag Yeshe (1453–1524), functioned not only as their spiritual teacher but also as an influential political advisor. Conversely, the powerful Rinpung ruler Dönyö Dorje (1462–1512) seems to have become deeply involved in clerical affairs. There is some evidence suggesting that the selection of one of two candidates from rival parties as the “right” person for the Eighth Karmapa was blocked for years mainly because of his objections. As a result of their close alignment, the Rinpungpa and the Karma Kagyüpa jointly tried to weaken the power of the Gelukpa in Ü. In 1498, they managed to take the organization of the annual Mönlam festival, which had been established by Tsongkhapa and patronized by the Pakmodrupa, away from the Gelukpa. They also founded new monasteries close to the Gelukpa foundations near Lhasa and demanded from the Gelukpa public respect for their hierarchs. As a result, the rivalry between the Rinpungpa and the Pakmodrupa was mirrored in the relationship between the two Buddhist schools. The confrontation was apparently the beginning of a deep-seated hostility that would have a tremendous impact on the course of Tibetan history.

In 1517, five years after the death of the mighty Rinpungpa ruler Dönyö Dorje, the situation changed. For unknown reasons, the Rinpungpa were forced in 1517 to withdraw their forces from the Lhasa area, allowing the Pakmodrupa to regain strength, at least for the time being. This meant that the pressure was off the Gelukpa too for the present. In the same year, Gendün Gyatso was asked to act

as abbot of Drepung Monastery. Thanks to the backing of the ninth Pakmodru ruler, Ngawang Trashi Drakpa (r. 1499–1564), Gendün Gyatso succeeded the following year in reclaiming for the Gelukpa the organization of the Mönlam festival. In the same year, the Pakmodru ruler donated his personal residence in Drepung Monastery to Gendün Gyatso. Gendün Gyatso renamed it Ganden Podrang, “Tuṣita Palace,” alluding to the name of the future buddha’s heaven. This donation was the seed capital of the *trülku*’s own household (*labrang*). Later, under the Fifth Dalai Lama, the name of the residence became synonymous with the Tibetan government and was still used in this sense even after the Dalai Lama and his government had moved to the Potala Palace. During Gendün Gyatso’s term of office, his biographers mention the support received from wealthy and influential aristocratic patrons. Foremost among them was the wife of the aforementioned Pakmodru administrator. The Pakmodrupa had a strong interest in strengthening the Gelukpa in Ü against its religious rivals, who acted as agents of the Rinpungpa. Although the abbot of Ganden functioned as the spiritual leader of the Gelukpa, it now became strategically advantageous for this school and the Pakmodrupa to have a *trülku* at the top of the clerical hierarchy. A *trülku* not only was a prestigious figure but also would serve as a counterweight to the prominent Karma Kagyü *trülkus*. Therefore, with the Fourth Zhamarpa and the Second Dalai Lama, we see for the first time two prominent *trülkus* on different sides of a political power play. That this was primarily a political confrontation and not a doctrinal controversy was later verified by Gendün Gyatso’s personal appreciation of the scholarship of the Eighth Karmapa, Mikyö Dorje (1507–1554), a man of learning whose renown had traveled as far as the Chinese emperor.⁴⁶

If the biography is to be believed, the Second Dalai Lama promised his disciples at the end of his life that he would care for them in his future lives.⁴⁷ With this statement, which was not written down by the biographer until the next reincarnation had already been identified and installed, the *trülku* is presented as an established system among the Gelukpa.

According to the hagiography of the Third Dalai Lama, Sönam Gyatso (1543–1588), which was later written by the Fifth Dalai Lama, Sönam Gyatso had already been examined by the abbot and other officials of Drepung Monastery as a child at the age of three. Furthermore, the Nechung Oracle had been consulted for the first time. The child came from a noble family closely connected to the Pakmodrupa. And it was with the approval of the Pakmodru ruler that Sönam Gyatso was officially installed in Drepung in 1546. From now on, the succession

to Drepung's abbatial seat was determined by reincarnation, following a strategy to make the Drepung abbot the most prominent hierarch among the Gelukpa.⁴⁸

When discussing the early established reincarnation lines of the Gelukpa, two other lines that also became intensely involved in politics must be mentioned. One is the line of the Pakpalha, named after its first member and regarded as yet another lineage of Avalokiteśvara incarnations,⁴⁹ and the other is the line of the Demo *rinpoché*, named after the place called Demo in Kongpo Province. Both can be traced back to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The first Pakpalha died in 1487. His reincarnation, Pakpa Sanggyé, was born twenty years later, in 1507, in Kongpo. According to Tibetan historiography, the child was already recognized by his social surroundings as the former's rebirth, yet there is no report of anyone coming to make an official examination and invitation. Pakpa Sanggyé did not leave his home area before the age of eighteen, at which time he traveled to Ganden Monastery to obtain his full ordination. Later, Dekyi Nyimaling, the monastery of the First Pakpalha in eastern Tibet, was handed over to him—an indication that by then he might have been more widely acknowledged as the Second Pakpalha. Thereafter he established relations with the head of the Mu family (木), who ruled the Naxi kingdom at the southeastern border of Tibet. But it was not until the Third Pakpalha, Pakpa Tongwa Dönden (1567–1604), that the reincarnation line became permanently attached to Champaling, the great Gelukpa monastery, which had been founded by one of Tsongkhapa's disciples in Chamdo in eastern Tibet in the first half of the fifteenth century. What is known about the Third Pakpalha is that he was officially examined and recognized as a child by the “patrons” and “priests” (*yönchö*) of Trashi Chölung, one of the many monastic institutions established by the First Pakpalha.⁵⁰

Sources on the early history of the Demo reincarnation line are scarce. An early nineteenth-century list of the first five incarnations only states the name, birthplace, and age of death for each.⁵¹ When compared with the data available from other sources with respect to the fourth incarnation, the list proves unreliable. Furthermore, a calculation based on the given ages of the incarnations shows discrepancies with the data concerning other respective contemporaries. There is also a modern Chinese list of the Demo incarnations, which contains the years for all the names on it. Although the dates are realistic, no historical sources are mentioned.⁵² The oldest Tibetan source at hand, written in 1640, provides no concrete dates.⁵³ According to this text, the first

incarnation, Könchok Jungne, stemmed from the paternal family line of the First Pakpalha (1439–1487). He was one of his foremost disciples and as such also acted as his representative (*gyeltsap*).⁵⁴ His reincarnation, Penjor Trashi, was sent by the Second Pakpalha, Pakpa Sanggyé (1507–1566), to Ü Province for his studies. Afterward he was appointed head (lama) of a convent in Demo in Kongpo. The source contains no information about his recognition and acceptance as a *trülku*. The same is true for the next reincarnation, Lhawang Chokle Namgyel, who was ordained by the Third Pakpalha, Pakpa Tongwa Dönden, and the Bön-drung *rinpoché*. Only for the fourth incarnation is the year of birth given: the Iron Sheep year called Kyedak or 1631. This reincarnation was identified when he was still a child through the divination of the Panchen Lama. After his enthronement in the monastery in Demo, the child received the name Lhawang Tenpé Gyeltsen. Other sources give his name as Ngawang Gelek Gyeltsen.⁵⁵ Later he is said to have accompanied the Fifth Dalai Lama on his journey to Beijing.⁵⁶ He died in 1668.

To sum up, the *trülku* system became strongly established among the Gelukpa during the course of the sixteenth century. By the middle of the century, the identification, authentication, and installation of a child as a reincarnation of a well-respected predecessor by clerical experts was the standard.

By becoming the more prestigious and predominant model of succession for religious authority, the reincarnation system increasingly replaced the former clan structure as the “model for inheritance, for the transmission of authority, and for the development of family-based spirituality.”⁵⁷ It was especially in those Buddhist schools that struggled for political power and religiopolitical dominance that reincarnation replaced family-based forms of succession. Other schools merely added the *trülku* system for reasons of prestige at a later date, but maintained the old structure as the primary means of succession.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the establishment of additional reincarnation lines. Reincarnations tended to be born into aristocratic families, a good number of which had been known as supporters or lineage holders of other religious traditions. Thus reincarnation became part of a strategy to absorb the old religious aristocracy and minor religious traditions into the Gelukpa.⁵⁸ It can safely be assumed that such a development must have caused animosity among other Buddhist schools.

Although the largest increase in the number of reincarnation lines took place

during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the early examples clearly show that religion and politics were intertwined in the *trülku* system from the outset.

GETTING THE MONGOLS INVOLVED

From the time the Mongols of the Yuan Dynasty began their rule over Tibet by using the Sakyapa as their tool, Tibetan historians have reinterpreted the relationship between the first Yuan emperor and the Sakyapa in two ways. One is by painting “the glowing portrait of ’P’ags-pa as a great religious leader and as a powerful counselor of Qubilai in Buddhist matters, so dear to the Tibetan tradition.”⁵⁹ The other is by describing the Sakyapa hierarch Pakpa (1235–1280) as someone who exercised political power in Tibet in his own right, a description clearly at odds with the public documents issued by Sakyapa officials on behalf of the Yuan emperor. The reinterpretation of historical events in a way more favorable for Tibetan Buddhist clerics created a model that later Tibetan hierarchs would use to fashion their relations with foreign powers. When in the second half of the sixteenth century Tibetan clerics tried to reestablish relations with the Mongols, it was exactly this model that they had in mind. Although Tibetan clerics had not totally disappeared from among the Mongols after the fall of the Yuan Dynasty,⁶⁰ their presence evidently had no real effect on Mongolian politics or on political relations with Tibet. When Sönam Gyatso traveled to his famous meeting in 1578 with Altan Qan (1507–1582), the head of the Tümed Mongols, he was not the only Tibetan courting the Qan’s favor. The abbot of Taklung Monastery, representing a suborder of the Kagyü school, had already established a “priest-patron relationship” with Altan Qan.⁶¹ Ultimately, however, the visit of the Gelukpa hierarch turned out to be much more successful. That this was predominantly due to Sönam Gyatso’s *trülku* status has already been suspected.⁶² Later history at least attests to the fact that, from that time on, the *trülku* gradually became the more prestigious candidate for the “priest” in the “priest-patron relationship.” The theory that Altan Qan had already foreseen that the *trülku* system of the Gelukpa could be used as a tool to maintain the political influence of his family⁶³ seems rather far-fetched. Out of ignorance of the Tibetan sources, it has even been said that it was Altan Qan who endowed Sönam Gyatso with a reincarnation line by attributing two preincarnations to him⁶⁴—which would have required a degree of familiarity with the Tibetan circumstances and a profound knowledge of Buddhist theory that Altan Qan could not have had. It is far more plausible to assume that Altan

Qan recognized Sönam Gyatso's express reference to Qubilai Qan and Pakpa as an ideological substitute to compensate for his lack of the right to the status of a Great Qan.⁶⁵ Consequently, the Chinggisid Principle was extended and the Dalai Lamas grew to be regarded by the Mongols as having the authority to legitimately confer the *qan* title on Mongol leaders.⁶⁶ It has therefore been rightly emphasized that the "general inflation of khanship in Mongolia was caused in no small part by the Tibetans."⁶⁷

Unlike later sources, the oldest source available—a Mongolian biography of Altan Qan written in the first half of the seventeenth century—relates that the meeting between Sönam Gyatso and Altan Qan took place on the initiative of the Tibetans. This meeting can therefore not be interpreted as a kind of Mongolian dream to revive their old empire.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, it was this meeting that in the long run stoked a strong desire among the Mongols to re-create the Yuan Empire.⁶⁹ The Gelukpa managed to successfully link this Mongolian vision with the Tibetan version of the Yuan-Sakya history. The Tibetan clerics returned Qubilai to the Mongols as a Mongolian personification of the Buddhist ideal of the *cakravartin*, the sovereign of the world, thus presenting them with a political model conducive to Buddhism and easy to identify with.⁷⁰ As a result, both Tibetan and Mongolian historians regarded the meeting of Sönam Gyatso and Altan Qan as a revival of the *chöyön* relationship between Pakpa and Qubilai, a meeting of equal partners and the beginning of the second spreading of the Buddhist teachings among the Mongols. Had the Gelukpa relied solely on Altan Qan and the Tümed Mongols, the proselytization of the Mongols would not have been as successful as it was. Altan Qan was simply not the dominant figure that Qubilai Qan had been, and his successors failed to live up to that high standard. But even during Sönam Gyatso's lifetime, the Gelukpa's strategy had not been based on only one "priest-patron relationship." Several had been created in order to avoid being dependent on one patron alone. In 1586, four years after the death of Altan Qan, Sönam Gyatso bestowed the *qan* title on Abadai of the Qalqa Mongols (1554–1588), who in 1585 had founded Erdeni Juu Monastery on the ruins of the ancient Mongol capital Qara Qorum.⁷¹

The aspect of the meeting between Sönam Gyatso and Altan Qan that has been singled out by most historians was the Qan's conferral of the title Dalai Lama on Sönam Gyatso, and by extension on the whole reincarnation line. This was construed as the origin of the eminent position of the *trülku* in Tibet. However, this was not a unilateral conferral of a title but rather an exchange of titles and

seals.⁷² *Dalai lama* is an honorary title denoting the respected “priest” in the *chöyön* relationship. It is parallel to the title “All-Brahma, Great, Powerful, Cakravartin King of the Dharma,”⁷³ conferred by Sönam Gyatso on Altan Qan, binding him to the position of “patron.” Furthermore, from then on, the title was used predominantly in Mongolian and Qing contexts, while Tibetans for the most part continued to use such appellations as “Victorious One” (*gyelwa*) or “Omniscient Emanation” (*tamchä kyenpe trülku*), and not for the reincarnation line of the Dalai Lama alone. Although the Mongolian word *dalai* is equivalent to the Tibetan word *gyatso*, meaning “ocean,” and would therefore seem to refer to this component in the names of the Dalai Lamas (except for the first one), it was constructed in analogy to the older Mongolian title *dalai-yin-qan*, “Ocean Qan.”⁷⁴ Thus the word *dalai* was not translated into Tibetan but only transliterated into Tibetan script when the title was cut into the seal. The translation of the inscription on the seal granted by Altan Qan reads: “Seal of the Vajra Bearer Dalai Lama.”⁷⁵ And because it was so prestigious, it continued to be used by later Dalai Lamas in addition to other seals.⁷⁶

Even though the meeting between Sönam Gyatso and Altan Qan can be described as an event that from the very beginning created a relationship based on reciprocity, it goes without saying that the Dalai Lama cannot be reduced to a mere “Mongolian creature.”⁷⁷ This is not to say that Altan Qan did not have a political goal in mind when he agreed to meet with the Tibetan hierarch. However, Sönam Gyatso and the Gelukpa had their own political agenda during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It has been accurately observed that the grantor of a title is generally perceived as being superior to the grantee.⁷⁸ Therefore, at the beginning of the relations between the Dalai Lama and the *qan* of the Tümed, there was still an element of mutuality with respect to the enhancement of the social position. But under the Fifth Dalai Lama, the relationship with the Mongols became more unilateral in this regard. By then it had become generally accepted that the Dalai Lama conferred titles on Mongol leaders and not the other way around, which strengthened the position of each respective Dalai Lama among the Mongols.⁷⁹

Another aspect to this must be pointed out in light of its implications for the Tibetan perception of future foreign rulers engaging in Tibetan affairs. Altan Qan is depicted in his biography not only as a Dharma king and sovereign of the world but also as the incarnation of a bodhisattva.⁸⁰ This led to a blurring of the distinction between the secular ruler and the clerical hierarch. It also later

facilitated the acquiescence to foreign rule over both the Tibetan and the Mongol areas.⁸¹

Sönam Gyatso's activities among the Mongols also drew the attention of the Ming.⁸² The Third Dalai Lama was therefore also the first Dalai Lama to receive a seal from the Chinese emperor.⁸³

In contrast to the picture painted by later Tibetan and Mongolian historians, the meeting between Sönam Gyatso and Altan Qan did not yet mark the beginning of the triumph of the Gelukpa over the Mongols. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Karma Kagyü and the Sakya schools were both actively involved in missionary activities alongside the Gelukpa. But the Gelukpa seem to have been more fervent. Nevertheless, the Sakyapa succeeded in erecting the first Tibetan Buddhist temple complex in Mukden, the faraway Manchu capital of the early Qing Empire. Thus they enabled the Manchus to employ concepts of rule that were in vogue among the Mongols at that time, which, thanks to the influence of Tibetan historians, were regarded by the Mongols as something that Qubilai Qan had actually accepted on the initiative of the Sakyapa.⁸⁴ It is remarkable that even at this early stage of their imperial history, the Manchus tried to form their Inner Asian face by promoting Tibetan Buddhism—alongside Chinese Buddhism and other religious beliefs.⁸⁵ This early Manchu patronage of Tibetan Buddhism—like the patronage of other religions—was already accompanied by strict control of the clerics. The Manchus thereby demonstrated from the very beginning that the position of the secular ruler was superior to that of the Buddhist monk. In this respect, they did not differ from the Chinese imperial orthodoxy. Curiously, however, some have maintained that this early patronage was motivated by a special devotion to Tibetan Buddhism and not by political goals.⁸⁶ Such a statement imputes a high degree of simplicity to the early Manchu rulers. It suggests that they were unaware of the enormous political dimensions of both the establishment of the Mahākāla cult in Mukden (with the help of Sakya lamas) and the aborted mission of 1639 to invite the Dalai Lama. Be this as it may, the diverse missionary activities of Tibetan Buddhists among the Mongol chieftains and the Manchu rulers gradually resulted in a general acceptance of the Tibetan view of the Sakya-Yuan history and the concept of the “two systems” (*luknyi*) involved.

The expression “two systems” denotes a special relationship between the secular and the clerical powers. The tradition can be traced back to the thirteenth

century, at the time when the “priest-patron relationship” (*chöyön*) was established between Pakpa and Qubilai Qan. The idea is that the religious system must be respected by the secular ruler, and the secular ruler must adhere to the moral guidelines of the religious system and serve its salvation project.⁸⁷ The expression “two systems” has therefore also been translated as “Buddhist government.”⁸⁸ This concept is of course somewhat contradictory to the orthodox Chinese beliefs shared by all of the emperors on the Chinese throne, including the Qing emperors.⁸⁹ It nevertheless became an accepted basis for the Inner Asian diplomatic relations among the Mongols, Tibetans, and Manchus. But in the long run, the emperor was not content with viewing himself as subordinate to external religious authorities. This was compensated for by perceiving the emperor as the emanation of a bodhisattva,⁹⁰ which meant a claim to spiritual authority as well.

Two literary sources of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries refer to the concept of the “two systems.” One is the biography of Altan Qan and the other is the *Caṣan teüke* (The white history).⁹¹ The earliest piece of evidence for the actual practice of the “two systems” in Inner Asian diplomacy is a letter from the Mahāsamādi Secen Qan, head of a new qanate among the Qalqa Mongols established in 1633, delivered to the Manchu ruler Hong Taiji (1592–1643) in January 1636.⁹² Ishihama’s translation in particular makes clear that the letter emphasizes the endorsement of the “two systems,” also referred to as “Buddhist government,” as a characteristic of good rule leading to peace and stability: “if we promote ‘Buddhist government’ like the rising sun in each country, our fame will be known over eons.” And further: “being the state’s nail and religion’s sun, we will protect our peace and fame.” Later, after Gushri Qan’s victorious campaign throughout Tibet and the installation of the Fifth Dalai Lama’s government in 1642, the Qing ruler refers to the same concept in his letters to the Dalai Lama and to Gushri Qan,⁹³ in this way testifying to his familiarity with the Buddhist ideas of government.

It appears that the meeting between Altan Qan and Sönam Gyatso also marks the beginning of the Mongols’ use of the Mongolian word *qutuqtu*. This term had already been used in the Buddhist context as an equivalent of the Tibetan word *pakpa*, meaning “elevated” or “superior,” as a title for reincarnated lamas.⁹⁴ In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Qing began conferring this title, an especially high rank, on a small group of high-level Tibetan *trülkus*.⁹⁵ In all of Tibet, only thirty reincarnation lines were registered by the Qing as *qutuqtu*, far

fewer than those registered among the Mongols.⁹⁶ From the second half of the eighteenth century onward, Tibetan regents held the rank of *qutuqtu*.

After the death of Sönam Gyatso, the Mongolian link was strengthened with an ostentatious act of recognition and installation of a Mongolian boy as the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yönten Gyatso (1589–1617).⁹⁷ The child was either a great-grandson or a great-grandnephew of Altan Qan.⁹⁸ It is hard to say which side actually masterminded this political maneuver. Influential individuals on both sides must have seen that it was in their own interests. The abnormally long period of time that elapsed before the final official recognition is at least an indication of strong opposition from the Tibetans. The manager (*chandzö*) of the deceased Dalai Lama also seems to have played a decisive role. By contrast, the abbot of Ganden Monastery withdrew his participation before the official delegation left for Mongolia. Whether this was due solely to old age or to his objection to the procedure is unknown. Conflicts also seem to have arisen among the Gelukpa after the boy was brought to Tibet. In any event, pressure in favor of the decision was coming from the Mongolian side. The child was being promoted as the new Dalai Lama even before he was officially recognized. The installation of a Mongol as Dalai Lama brought both advantages and disadvantages for Tibet. On the one hand, it strengthened the Buddhist proselytization among the Mongols and brought the Gelukpa the military backing it needed in the Tibetan conflicts. But it also meant that the Mongols would be involved on both sides of the Inner Tibetan rivalries. The installation of the Mongolian Dalai Lama also had a positive economic effect on the Gelukpa foundations in that it gave rise to a flow of Mongolian pilgrims to the Lhasa area.⁹⁹

The Fourth Dalai Lama died young. There is some speculation that it was a violent death caused by the ruler of Tsang Province at that time, the mighty rival of Gelukpa power in Central Tibet.¹⁰⁰ This remains speculation, however, as the sources are unable to provide even one piece of evidence for it. According to the autobiography of the Fourth Panchen Lama, the death occurred in January 1617 “all of a sudden.”¹⁰¹ What did happen soon after, in 1618, is that the Tsang ruler, who had succeeded the Rinpungpa as patron of the Karma Kagyüpa, began again to put pressure on the Gelukpa in Ü Province by invading the neighboring province with a strong army, which supposedly amounted to more than ten thousand soldiers.¹⁰² Strong resistance led to heavy casualties on both sides.¹⁰³ The pressure being put on the Gelukpa was certainly not motivated by sectarian

reasons alone. The Gelukpa had become great estate owners in Ü and therefore controlled much of the regional resources.

During the following years, an enormous power play was fought out between the Gelukpa and the ruler of Tsang in Central Tibet. And into that struggle the Mongols were now dragged. The biographies of the grand Gelukpa hierarchs talk about Mongolian military forces of the Tümed tribe supporting the interests of the Gelukpa in Central Tibet. Ü Province had been occupied by Tsang troops since 1618. They attacked Sera and Drepung monasteries and even destroyed the shrine of Sönam Gyatso, the Third Dalai Lama. During those years, the most important person playing Gelukpa politics was the Fourth Panchen Lama, Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen. He was supported by the abbot of Ganden Monastery, the Lingme *zhapdrung*, Sönam Rapten, alias Sönam Chömpel (1595–1658), who was the young manager of the old and the new Dalai Lama, and the Kyishöpa brothers, who were scions of the noble family that governed Kyishö, the area around Lhasa.¹⁰⁴ The Panchen Lama had already functioned as the tutor of the late Dalai Lama, Yönten Gyatso. After the latter's death, the Panchen Lama was asked to act as the abbot of Drepung and Sera as well,¹⁰⁵ which also meant becoming involved in politics. In the autumn of 1619, an even greater army of Tümed soldiers arrived north of Lhasa.¹⁰⁶ The Fifth Dalai Lama writes that their arrival was a reaction to the turmoil of 1618. They camped out in a place called Rongpo Dam. Urged by Karma Püntsock Namgyel (1587–1620/21),¹⁰⁷ the ruler of Tsang at that time, and his minister, the Panchen Lama went to Rongpo Dam to mediate the situation. It seems that, for the time being, there were no serious clashes between the Mongols and the Tsang army. However, the Mongols did not withdraw but apparently started to feel at home there, checking out the options that Tibet had to offer. An interesting short passage in the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama provides a small illumination of the side effects of so many Mongols in Central Tibet:

Since a greater number of Mongol soldiers had arrived in Rongpo Dam, the fortune of the whole of Tibet, [the land with houses] having wooden doors, began to sway. Regarding the Tibetan leaders who had lost land [to the Mongols] and the Mongol leaders who had many sons, it was usual [for their sons] to become the rebirth [of a high lama]. Therefore, at that time it was also told about me whether I would be a rebirth.¹⁰⁸

It is clear that this statement by the Fifth Dalai Lama is to be understood as a

common expression of humility, saying that at that time there was nothing remarkable about being regarded as a *trülku*. The Dalai Lama also states that some people were asking whether he was the rebirth of a lama of the Karma Kagyü or the Drukpa Kagyü school, which were just rumors. Hence the assertions that “the Kar ma pa had tried to monopolize him, stating that he was an avatāra of the rGyal ts’ab Kar ma pa, or of the bLa ma ḁBrug pa of Lha rtse”¹⁰⁹ or that the Karma Kagyüpa and the Drukpa Kagyüpa had “sought to claim the child as the reincarnation of one of their lamas”¹¹⁰ seem to be overinterpretations. This statement does testify that by the first half of the seventeenth century large parts of the Tibetan and the Mongolian aristocracy apparently considered the *trülku* system an attractive way to provide male descendants with a secure position. Not only the Tümed Mongols but also the Qalqas and the Oirats were concerned with this.

In the summer of 1621, the leadership skills of the Panchen Lama were particularly called into play.¹¹¹ A large Tsang army was garrisoned to the west of Lhasa, on the meadows that in the twentieth century would become the location for the Dalai Lama’s summer palace. There they were suddenly attacked by a cavalry of more than two thousand Tümed soldiers under the command of the brothers Lhatsun Lozang Tendzin Gyatso and Guru Hong Taiji,¹¹² who killed—they say—several hundred Tibetan soldiers of the Tsang army. The Tsang army then withdrew to the Chakpori, the hill opposite the location of the future Potala. Although the second attack by the Mongols was met with a shower of arrows and bullets, the Tsang army was stuck rather helplessly on the hill. It was in this situation that the Panchen Lama—together with Tsültrim Chömpel, the abbot of Ganden; the Lingme *zhapdrung*, Jamyang Könchok Chömpel; and the representative (*kutsap*) of the heads of Taklung Monastery north of Lhasa—gathered to act as joint mediators.¹¹³ However, because the proposal submitted contained claims in favor of the Gelukpa only, it was more of an ultimatum issued to the Tsang ruler:

1. The Tsang ruler should cede Lhasa and the areas up to the embankment of the Kyichu River to the Ganden Podrang, i.e., the household (*labrang*) of the Dalai Lama.
2. The Tsang ruler should return the manorial estates of Sera and Drepung.
3. The enforced conversion of Gelukpa monasteries in the areas of Ü and Tsang into monasteries of other Buddhist schools, as well as the loss of land ownership,

was to be reversed.

4. As a substitute for Dechen Fortress, the *depa* Kyishöpa should receive Penyül together with its Khartse Fortress to the northeast of Lhasa.¹¹⁴

5. Sönam Rapten, alias Sönam Chömpel, the manager of the old and the new Dalai Lama, should reside in the Ganden Podrang.

The Gelukpa were obviously trying very hard at that time to maintain Ü Province as their stronghold. To succeed, they had to totally rely on the military strength of the Mongols. That this was a problem for them and that they were cautious not to completely destroy the Tibetan forces¹¹⁵ is not testified to in the Gelukpa sources of that period. The Panchen Lama openly describes the event as a battle between the Mongolian and the Tibetan armies—the Mongols fighting for the interests of the Gelukpa and the Tibetan soldiers fighting on behalf of the Tsang ruler. Something like “national identity” was not an issue.

By the time the seat in Drepung could finally be occupied again in 1622, three noble families were competing to have their respective child recognized as the reincarnation of Yönten Gyatso.¹¹⁶ One was the renowned Zahor family, which had its family seat in Chonggye in the Yarlung Valley, close to the tombs of the ancient Tibetan kings. Another was the Gekhasa family, located in the Tölung Valley northwest of Lhasa. With the great monasteries Tsurpu and Yangpachen located there, this valley was a center of the Karma Kagyü school. The third family lived in the Nyangpo area in southern Tibet. At that time the senior lamas of the Gelukpa were the Fourth Panchen Lama, Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen, and the Lingme *zhapdrung*, Könchok Chömpel.¹¹⁷ After deliberating on the issue, they decided to go to Reting Monastery, the cradle of the old Kadam school, the predecessors of the Gelukpa. There, in front of the statue of Jowo Jampel Dorje,¹¹⁸ they put chits of paper on which the names of the candidates were written into dough balls and decided the issue by drawing lots. In this way the boy from the Yarlung Valley was picked as the Fifth Dalai Lama. Even though he had been chosen, he still had to pass the usual examination demonstrating that he would be able to identify certain objects as personal belongings of his preincarnation. The child failed the test, but the officiating monks nevertheless proclaimed that he had successfully passed it.¹¹⁹

The rivalry particularly between the families of the Yarlung Valley and the Tölung Valley became the seed for a peculiar story of magic and mystery that

created quite a stir, one that has endured up to the present day. The current followers of the tantric protective deity Dorje Shukden, self-proclaimed defenders of a pure Geluk tradition, trace the origin of their deity to this rivalry of the early seventeenth century.¹²⁰ Two years after the new Dalai Lama was installed, the Fourth Panchen Lama recognized the inferior candidate of the Gekhasa family, Drakpa Gyeltsen (1618/19–1655), as the third reincarnation of Sönam Drakpa (1478–1554), the fifteenth abbot of Ganden Monastery.¹²¹ Counting from Sönam Drakpa, he was therefore regarded as the fourth *trülku* of a reincarnation line that had been established earlier in Drepung Monastery. The seat of Drepung Monastery was known as the “Upper Chamber” (Zimkhang Gongma), a parallel to the “Lower Chamber” (Zimkhang Oma) or the Ganden Podrang, the seat of the grand abbot of Drepung, i.e., the Dalai Lama. In 1638, Drakpa Gyeltsen was ordained as a full monk by the Panchen Lama—only two days after the full ordination of the Fifth Dalai Lama on May 18.¹²² Although Drakpa Gyeltsen was obviously honored with a high position, he was still regarded by many Tibetans and Mongols as the real, albeit ignored reincarnation of the Fourth Dalai Lama. Drakpa Gyeltsen became a much respected *trülku*. The public attention he attracted is said to have led to jealousy among the adherents of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Sönam Chömpel (1595–1658), the first regent of the Dalai Lama, is mainly held responsible for starting an intrigue that ultimately led to the violent death of Drakpa Gyeltsen. Since then, no further reincarnation of that line has been installed, but it is said that his violent end caused the *trülku*’s rebirth as a powerful and dangerous spirit.¹²³ Under an obligation to protect the faith, this spirit began a career that ultimately led to his becoming the center of a cult and being regarded as a supramundane deity.¹²⁴ By the twentieth century, this deity had become the tool for sectarian activities within the Geluk school.

GOLDEN BRIDGE UNDER THREAT

In the autumn of 1634, the Fifth Dalai Lama commented that the flow of gifts had slowed down due to the fact that the Chakhar (Ligdan Qan), Choktu (Taiji), and Beri (Dönyö Dorje) had cut the “golden bridge.”¹²⁵ In this way, the Dalai Lama marked these figures for later Tibetan historians as evil persecutors of the Gelukpa. He also hinted at the enormous significance of the flow of pilgrims from the eastern and northeastern areas for the economic subsistence of the Geluk school and for Sino-Tibetan trade.

The continuous support provided to the Gelukpa by the Mongol chiefs made the Tsang ruler realize that he too had to look for foreign allies. The next phase of the Mongol involvement was therefore to take advantage of the existing frictions between the Mongol tribes and use them to fight for Tibetan issues on both sides. The primary source of such frictions in the 1620s was Ligdan Qan¹²⁶ (1588–1634), the ruler of the Mongols of the Chakhar area, northeast of what is now Hohhot. As a descendant of Dayan Qan, Ligdan Qan claimed to be the true successor of Qubilai Qan and the Yuan Empire.¹²⁷ His claim was backed with the help of Tibetan Sakya lamas, who around 1617 had presented him with a golden Mahākāla image, thus making Mahākāla the specific tutelary deity of the Qan. The legend surrounding the image claimed that it had been manufactured during the time of Qubilai by Pakpa himself.¹²⁸ The Mahākāla cult thus grew to be regarded as part of the glorious Yuan legacy. Ligdan's ambition to gain a dominant position among the Mongols led to a state of continuous pressure on the neighboring tribes. As a result, an increasing number of Mongols joined Ligdan's main rival, the then rising power of the Manchus.¹²⁹ In a four-month battle in 1632, the Manchus, supported by many Mongols, fought against Ligdan Qan. He was forced in the end to escape from the area and turn toward the Blue Lake, i.e., the Kokonor. After the loss of his ancestral territory, Ligdan Qan died in 1634 (probably of smallpox) while roaming around present-day Gansu. The Mahākāla statue was brought to Mukden the following year by a Sakya lama, who offered it to the Manchu ruler Abahai, alias Hong Taiji (1592–1643; r. 1626–1643), the first emperor of the Qing Dynasty.¹³⁰ Hong Taiji made the statue part of a Buddhist temple complex in Mukden, thus demonstrating his claim to inherit the imperial rights from Ligdan Qan. By this time, the Mongols were not the only ones using Tibetan Buddhism as a tool to legitimize their rule in Inner Asia; the Manchus were doing it as well. The Manchu ruler also augmented his claim by telling an obviously fabricated story of a jade seal stemming from the Yuan Dynasty, using it as an argument to compete with Mongol claims.¹³¹

Karma Tenkyong (1606–1642), the successor to Karma Püntsoq Namgyel as ruler of Tsang in Central Tibet, is said to have secretly asked Ligdan Qan for military support.¹³² Ligdan may indeed have considered Tibet as a possible place of refuge. The Tsang ruler in particular must have looked like an ally due to the fact that the Tümed, the Mongol supporters of the Gelukpa, had belonged since 1627 to the alliance of Ligdan's opponents and thus had already sided with the Manchus.¹³³ But because of Ligdan's sudden death, nothing came of this. His

position among the Mongols was rather isolated at the end of his life. The only Mongol leader who supported him to the very end was Choktu Taiji (1581–1637) from the northern Qalqa,¹³⁴ an adherent of the Karma Kagyü school of Tibetan Buddhism. From 1607 to 1617, he and his mother had been patrons of the construction of six Buddhist temples.¹³⁵ He also initiated the translation of Buddhist texts into Mongolian, for instance the famous hagiography of Milarepa. During the Mongolian civil war, Choktu Taiji is said to have fought not only the adverse Mongol nobles but also the new Gelukpa founders. In this way, the sectarian antagonism of Tibetan Buddhism was already intermingled with the hostilities among the Mongols. After his defeat, Choktu Taiji also moved to the Kokonor. There he defeated the Tümed, who had settled in the area in the sixteenth century, thereby weakening the position of the Gelukpa in Central Tibet at the same time.¹³⁶ As the new ruler of the Kokonor area, Choktu Taiji was now allied with the ruler of Tsang against the Gelukpa in Ü.

In 1635, Choktu Taiji's son Arslan was sent to Central Tibet at the head of a large army. Although the invasion was intended to support the Tsang ruler, Arslan abruptly changed his mind and attacked Tsang. It will probably never be possible to clarify the exact reason. The *Annals of the Blue Lake*, compiled in 1748, reports that Gushri Qan, the up-and-coming patron of the Gelukpa, convinced him not to attack the Gelukpa.¹³⁷ This may indeed have caused Arslan to change his mind—perhaps out of respect for Gushri's military power—and simply opt for an easy opportunity to loot.¹³⁸ However, the *Annals of the Blue Lake* explicitly recounts this episode “according to an oral tradition.” In contrast, the source closest to the events, i.e., the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, makes no mention whatsoever of a meeting between Arslan and Gushri Qan.

According to the latter source,¹³⁹ Arslan arrived with nearly ten thousand soldiers in Dam, the grasslands northwest of Lhasa, in autumn 1635. He defeated the four local chiefs immediately. The alarming news about these events reached Drepung through the manager of Taklung Monastery. Fears that the Mongols would immediately proceed to Lhasa were dispelled after a few days. The talk was that the Mongols were going to stay in Dam for two or three months. During that time, the monks were busy performing magic rituals to fend off the enemy and reciting one hundred thousand long mantras.

At this point the Dalai Lama interrupts his description of the events and adds, as

background information,¹⁴⁰ that the Zhamarpa, Choktu Taiji, and his son Arslan had held talks “about forming together with the Tsang ruler one government, about Zadampa seizing Lhasa and Baprongpa seizing Reting, about neutrality toward popular religious systems like the Sakya system, about annihilating the Gelukpa, and about acting as patron of the Karma Kagyüpa and the Drukpa Kagyüpa.” This statement suggests that Arslan’s invasion was not merely aimed at short-term plundering and that the Dalai Lama had at some point become aware of his opponents’ intentions. Whether this statement is hearsay or based on accurate information is not evident. The *History of Amdo*,¹⁴¹ written in 1865, starts the description of these events with an abbreviated version of this passage. This identifies it clearly as an incident that must have happened prior to the actual invasion, which points to a coordinated strategy that had been well thought out. However, another historiographical source, written in the middle of the eighteenth century in the tradition of the Karma Kagyüpa,¹⁴² reports that the Tenth Karmapa, Chöying Dorje (1604–1674), had refused to meet with Arslan, which indicates that not all of the Karma Kagyüpa supported the political strategy of the Tsang ruler and Choktu Taiji.¹⁴³ Of course it cannot be ruled out that such a statement was made to shore up a later scheme aimed at presenting the Tenth Karmapa as someone who “consciously avoided becoming entangled in the affairs of state.”¹⁴⁴

One of the most distinguished senior Gelukpa scholars at that time was Pawongka Sönam Lhundrup (1561–1637), who on account of his status was asked to assess the situation. His answer, most likely based on divination, was that it would be possible to fend off the enemy through religious ceremonies. Magic rituals were then performed again for one week, during which the customary dough cakes (*torma*) were thrown as magical weapons (*zor*) in the direction of the enemy.

Starting at the end of November 1635, communication between the Gelukpa and the Mongols intensified as a result of the people traveling back and forth between the two sides. At the beginning of his narration, the Dalai Lama mentions a few who had been killed by the Mongols or had had to flee from them. But after this period of increased communication, such accounts are brushed aside as exaggerated stories that gave rise to many “hopes and fears” in relation to Arslan. That these “hopes and fears” were the reason Arslan planned to meet the Karmapa is suggested in Shakabpa’s version only, and not in his source, the Dalai Lama’s autobiography. The following passage from the autobiography is distorted in Shakabpa (1976, 2010) as well as in Brag dgon na

(1982). The Dalai Lama merely states:

Because for the master [i.e., the Karmapa] the language of religion was too big, [he] became timid. Thereupon [he] suddenly went to Dölgyedra. Thus the *taiji* was offended and the [previous] discussions of the Zhamar *rapjampa* [with Choktu and his son Arslan] vanished like a rainbow. Therefore it became better and better for the Geluk party.¹⁴⁵

At that time, however, Karmapa Chöying Dorje (1604–1674) was no longer an adolescent like the Dalai Lama, and we can assume that he was very familiar with the language of religion. Furthermore, according to the Dalai Lama's own account, the Karmapa must have been prepared to receive Arslan because the whole invasion is described as a common plot against the Gelukpa. In light of this, the Dalai Lama's explanation does not seem plausible at all. But whatever the real reasons may have been, this marks the beginning at least of Arslan's change of mind. The mutual talks that began at the end of November were probably crucial. Not to be forgotten is that the Gelukpa had become rather experienced in the meantime in dealing with the Mongols. Mongolian nobles began to appear quite frequently as pilgrims at the court of the Gelukpa hierarchs.

After an interval of time, the Dalai Lama's narrative returns to report about Arslan's invasion, where he attempted to send his forces in the direction of Drigung, Tsang, and Yardrok in the second half of the winter. At New Year, i.e., at the beginning of February 1636, Arslan's forces moved to Kyishö, the area around Lhasa. Arslan announced: "You must come to Lhasa!" In response to this, the Dalai Lama left Drepung and went to the Ganden Khangsar residence in Lhasa, where he met Arslan on the following day. Among the Mongols "no one had the code of conduct to prostrate himself. [Nevertheless] all of a sudden the *taiji* prostrated himself at first and asked for blessing." How this is to be understood has been explained by Brag dgon pa (1982): "*Taiji* had not the code of conduct to prostrate himself, but coming to the Ganden Khangsar his hostile attitude was appeased as soon as he saw the *jina* [i.e., the Dalai Lama], and he prostrated himself. He asked for blessing and put religious questions." The Dalai Lama and Arslan met again later at the Ramoche temple in Lhasa. One of Arslan's companions asked him, "Who has eliminated the code of conduct?" Arslan replied, "I myself change my mind." According to these reports, it was the mere presence of the holy person that finally caused Arslan to change.

The next issue the autobiography addresses in relation to the Mongol invasion is a kind of affliction often encountered in Tibetan historiographical texts, something that usually strikes friends and enemies in equal measure. The army of Ligdan Qan had been infected by smallpox in China and had brought the plague back to the Kokonor. After Arslan had divided his army and the left wing had entered Tsang Province, his soldiers were supposedly responsible for spreading the disease there. But since Ü Province had been spared, it was no problem for the Dalai Lama to return to Drepung. At that time a great army from Tsang had arrived north of Lhasa, near Lake Namtso. The place was close to the nomads' area, which had first been occupied by the Mongols and was probably still their base since it offered good pastures for their cattle. At the same time, the Tsang ruler and his minister sent a messenger with an oral order that the Garpa, father and son (the two Karma Kagyü hierarchs), the Taklung *zhapdrung*, the Drukpa *trülku*, and the Dalai Lama should go to the Mongol encampment to negotiate an agreement. However, because of the smallpox, the hierarchs did not go straight to the Mongols. The Dalai Lama decided to go to Penyül instead, where he spent his time studying the *Blue Annals* of Gö Lotsawa (1392–1481). On two different occasions, various managers of the monasteries went in vain to the battleground of the Tsang army and the Mongols. It is then reported that some old tantric monks of the Nyingma school successfully coerced the violent spirits into service, who sent Arslan a disease that made him go crazy and lose his senses. It is also reported that the soldiers had been frightened by lightning and that some talks had gone on that eventually caused the Tibetan forces to leave.

While the Dalai Lama continues to recount various unsuccessful clerical efforts related to the matter, he does not hesitate to portray the activities of the Kagyüpa in a bad light. For instance, he describes the mediator sent by the manager of the Karmapa as someone who was excellent at self-praise and empty talk. By June 1636, the smallpox had still not disappeared. The representatives of the Mongols and the ministers of the Tsang ruler met in Panam, a place somewhere between Trashī Lhünpo and Gyangtse. Although they ultimately entered into a treaty,¹⁴⁶ nothing is said about its contents. Because the Panchen Lama was immune to the smallpox (due to a previous infection) and because he did not have far to travel, he acted as a witness to the binding oath. Oddly enough, this meeting is the only occasion that the Panchen Lama mentions the Mongol invasion at all. He says nothing about Arslan and Choktu or about a conspiracy among the Tsang ruler, the Karma Kagyüpa, and the Mongols. Immediately after reporting on the regular summer retreat for the monks, he states:

Furthermore, by the end of the last year many Mongols had arrived. Therefore, there was long and extensive warfare. [In] the intervals, most of the great Tibetan lamas—being unanimous—performed many [rituals for] throwing [dough cakes as magical weapons] around. As an outcome [I] was urged by all the priests and patrons: “[You] must come as witness for the decision!” Accordingly—after having given the blessing of the summer retreat—[I] went to Panam Luding. [I] was taken with the great action of placing the vast country in a state of happiness.¹⁴⁷

He then mentions the Dalai Lama’s and his manager Sönam Chömpel’s fear of the “full ripening” of past bad karma and reports that he was urged by the assembled priests and patrons to hear the confessions of their faults.

In 1637, the Tsang minister Taichin and the Zhamar *rapjampa* sent a messenger to Choktu asking why his son had acted against the words of his father. The answer was brief: “Kill him by means of deception!” Accordingly, Arslan and two of his ministers were killed while distracted by the booty they had received from a victory over Beri.

This is the version of the story as related by the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama. I am not aware of any other in-depth contemporary version, particularly none from the Kagyü side. Whatever the real reasons for Arslan’s campaign, it was obviously not a success. It was probably the smallpox that caused the deadlock in the end. The story is rather detailed in its presentation of the clerics acting in accordance with the expectations of their roles. But the busy activities of the monastic managers of the Kagyü schools and the Gelukpa are simply mentioned without any further elaboration on the part they played in the conflict. The sources no longer present the Panchen Lama as a central political actor. By this time, Sönam Chömpel, the Dalai Lama’s manager, was actively involved in Gelukpa politics. To a great extent, the managers must have been the real political actors, with the clerical hierarchs functioning more or less as figureheads, especially the young ones among them. The Dalai Lama was a mere teenager of eighteen and nineteen years at that time. The Seventh Zhamarpa, Yeshe Nyingpo (1631–1694), was a four- or five-year-old child and had probably not yet even been identified.¹⁴⁸ It is therefore very strange that he is distinguished by the Fifth Dalai Lama as being one of the two evil figures intriguing against Arslan. It may well be that the Dalai Lama—at that point in time—did not differentiate between the *trülku* and his manager or that he was not aware of the Sixth Zhamarpa’s death in 1630. In any case, the actual political

power was, for the most part, in the hands of the monastic managers who acted on behalf of the hierarchs. This is certainly not to say that the hierarchs did not hold enormous political and economic sway. But as a stimulus for the accumulation of power and wealth, their role was more like that of a queen bee.

There is in any case an element of doubt surrounding the story of Arslan's assassination at the order of his father. It has the appearance of a far too nicely constructed plot that emphasizes the evilness of the Gelukpa's opponents. There is some suspicion that the Dalai Lama imagined such a plot as being possible simply because he thought his opponents were capable of it. Arslan was a sick man when he left Central Tibet. It therefore cannot be ruled out that he died of an illness such as smallpox and that the story about his violent death was nothing but a rumor. Assassination is a topos in Tibetan history, often given as the explanation when a protagonist died young. However, in the absence of any additional independent sources close to the events, this particular matter must remain unresolved.

Early in the year 1637, an Oirat army—under the command of Gushri Qan, head of the Qoshots, and his ally Bātur Hong Taiji (1634–1653), head of the Dsungars¹⁴⁹—arrived at Blue Lake and defeated the forces of Choktu Taiji.¹⁵⁰ In autumn of the same year, the relationship between the Dalai Lama and Gushri Qan was first formalized when the Dalai Lama granted Gushri the title and seal of Tendzin Chökyi Gyelpo, “Holder of the teachings, Dharma king.”¹⁵¹ By doing so, the Dalai Lama entrusted him with the protection of the Geluk teachings as the pure Buddhist doctrine. In turn, Gushri granted titles to the high officials of the Dalai Lama, such as the Dalai Lama's manager, but not to the Dalai Lama himself. For the Gelukpa, the Oirats' victory marked a change for the better.

In 1615, the aristocracy of the Oirats, a confederation of western Mongol tribes, had accepted Tibetan Buddhism as their religion.¹⁵² Their close ties to the Gelukpa originated with the First Zaya Pandita (1599–1662), a noble of the Qoshot tribe who had studied in Tibet from 1617 to 1639,¹⁵³ and with the missionary activities of the Third Ensa *trülku* (also known as Inzan *qutuqtu*), Lozang Tendzin Gyatso (1605–1644).¹⁵⁴ The first member of this incarnation line was *kedrup* Sanggyé Yeshe (1525–1590/91), a teacher of the Fourth Panchen Lama, Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen. According to the *History of the Origin of the Mongols*, which was not recorded in the Oirat script until the eighteenth or

nineteenth century, the Third Ensa *trülku* was sent to them on the explicit instructions of the Panchen Lama, the Dalai Lama, and the Tibetan oracles. At the time, the Gelukpa in Tibet were being pressured by the Karma Kagyüpa,¹⁵⁵ which marks the mission as a strategic move. This occurred prior to 1631, because in that year the Ensa *trülku*—at the head of about two hundred monks and laypeople of the Oirat—visited the courts of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.¹⁵⁶ Just like the Zaya Pandita, he later became very active in proselytizing the Oirats and even the Torghuts or the Kalmyks, who since 1632 had settled far away at the Volga.¹⁵⁷ The Third Ensa *trülku* was also crucial to the establishment of the Jebtsundamba reincarnation line. This was the oldest reincarnation line among the Qalqa Mongols, originating when a son of the powerful Tüshiyetü Qan Gombodorji was identified as the reincarnation of the Tibetan scholar Tāranātha.¹⁵⁸ Later, in the eighteenth century, the role that the Third Ensa *trülku* had played among the Mongols, particularly in establishing the alliance between the Gelukpa and the Oirat, was overshadowed as a consequence of the Fourth Ensa *trülku*'s role as the great antagonist of the Qing Empire.¹⁵⁹

Thanks to Gelukpa historiography, Choktu Taiji was embedded in the historical memory of Tibetans and Mongols as one of the most evil figures in their history. This did not change until the twentieth century, when a new Mongol ideology resurrected him as a model of true patriotism.¹⁶⁰ In 1945, a Mongolian movie turned Choktu Taiji into a hero who, like Ligdan Qan, tried to defend Mongolian independence against the rising power of the Manchus and the Buddhist Geluk school that conspired with them.

As an evil figure of Tibetan history, Choktu Taiji is usually mentioned in the same breath as Beri Dönyö Dorje. I have dealt with the rise and fall of this eastern Tibetan ruler in detail elsewhere, relying particularly on sources other than the Gelukpa ones.¹⁶¹ Those sources clearly present him as a chief who genuinely sought the favor of the clerics, treating the Bönpos in this respect in equal measure. He clashed, however, with those clerics in his locality who questioned his rule and tried to combine secular and spiritual powers. On account of this, the Gelukpa and the Taklungpa became his enemies. Although he had accepted the first Kamtrül *rinpoché*, Karma Tenpel (1569–1637), of the Drukpa Kagyü school as his chief religious teacher, had sent many gifts to the clerics, and had even caused two copies of the *Kanjur* to be produced in gold and silver letters, he never changed his critical attitude toward the shortcomings of

the monks' behavior. Because of Beri Dönyö Dorje's strong advocacy of the primacy of politics over religion, conflicts became inevitable. One example was the issue of imposing a soldier or monk tax, which meant forcing local households to send a son either to the military forces of Dönyö Dorje or to the Gelukpa monastery in Chamdo.

The king of Beri had reached the height of his power in 1635, when he had the whole Markam Gang under his sway.¹⁶² Markam Gang, the region between the upper courses of the Yangtze and the Mekong, was a barrier through which he was able to control the traffic between eastern and Central Tibet. Since most pilgrims visiting the holy places in Ü Province came from either the eastern or northeastern parts of Tibet, and since the Sino-Tibetan trade also passed through these areas, the king of Beri and Choktu Taiji were able to seriously stifle the economy of the Gelukpa. After the defeat of Choktu Taiji by the Oirat troops in a short but decisive battle at the Kokonor, the fight against the king of Beri appears to have become much more difficult. It took more than eighteen months to finally bring the major part of eastern Tibet under the control of the Mongol invaders, a task finally achieved in 1640. Eliminating the king of Beri was vital to the further development of Chamdo and Drakyap as great centers of Gelukpa power in eastern Tibet. Chamdo in particular, the seat of the Pakpalha incarnations, became the relay station for traffic now under the control of the Gelukpa.

In 1642, Gushri Qan at long last defeated the ruler of Tsang in Central Tibet. This left the Karma Kagyüpa without the backing of their vitally important patron and enabled the Gelukpa to establish Lhasa as the religious and political center of Tibet once and for all. As Tibetan historiographic sources put it, Gushri Qan delivered the power over the thirteen Tibetan myriarchies to the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lozang Gyatso.¹⁶³ The interpretation of this has been a relevant topic for modern historians and was for the Qing administrators in the first half of the eighteenth century as well.¹⁶⁴ According to Shakabpa,¹⁶⁵ the gift of Tibet that was given to the Dalai Lama included the entire Tibetan area from Dartsedo in the east to Ladakh in the west. While the conquest of Ladakh was at best wishful thinking, the area up to Dartsedo—the modern Kangding or Dajianlu (打箭爐) of historical Chinese sources—had at that time been definitely brought under Mongol control. The Gelukpa then enacted the rule that was called the “union of religion and politics” (*chösi zungdrel*) and explained it as the “Becoming one of government and (Buddha's) teaching.”¹⁶⁶ However, did

Gushri Qan really renounce all of the political power over what he just had conquered and relinquish that power to the Dalai Lama? And is there any way to discuss this issue other than on the basis of the Gelukpa's own historiographic sources? The following chapter will produce some evidence to answer these questions.

A TRÜLKU AS THE HEAD OF SOCIETY

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY witnessed the culmination of the development of the Tibetan *trülku* position. At this time, the religious and social functions of the *trülku* placed him at the top of society. High Tibetan reincarnations became deeply involved in political power plays both in Tibet proper and increasingly in relation to Inner Asian power struggles and rivalries concerning empire building.

UNION OF RELIGION AND POLITICS

Out of the concept of the “union of religion and politics,” the clerical elite further developed the idea of the “two systems” (*luknyi*), and the distinction between the religious and the secular spheres became more and more blurred. Under Qubilai Qan, the ecclesiastic Pakpa of the Sakya school had already exercised a certain degree of secular power in Tibet. Although Pakpa’s position was actually more like that of a vassal, Tibetan historians described his power as being independent—having been granted to him in full as the price for the tantric initiation that the Sakya hierarch had bestowed on Qubilai.¹ Therefore, in the opinion of the Tibetan historians, Pakpa marks the precedent for the conjunction of secular and clerical rule in one and the same person. As a modern Tibetan historian has put it:

In the Iron Monkey year of the fourth Tibetan *rapjung* [cycle] [1260], before Qubilai Sechen Qan, the [later] Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty, became emperor, in his first throne year as Mongolian king, he offered to *drogön chögyel* Pakpa, as the price for the first receiving of a tantric initiation, complete power over the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet and appointed him lord over both, the religious and secular [affairs] of Tibet. From that [time] onward the upper-strata personages of Tibetan Buddhist religion held power over religious and secular [affairs]. Thus the system of the “union of religion and politics” was established.²

In the seventeenth century, charismatic Buddhist hierarchs and their followers began to legitimize the political rule of Buddhist clerics by referring to this historical precedent. Because the lamas who exercised secular power were now also *trülkus*, emanations of transcendent bodhisattvas or buddhas, it is justifiable

to classify the “union of religion and politics” from the seventeenth to the twentieth century as a kind of sacred kingship.³

The first successful effort in this regard was the foundation of Bhutan in 1625/26 by Ngawang Namgyel (1594–1651), one of the two rival reincarnations of the fourth Drukchen *rinpoché*, Pema Karpo (1527–1592). Pema Karpo was the hierarch of a suborder of the Kagyü school and a famous scholar, and was regarded as an emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Lacking the support of the then mighty Tsang ruler, Ngawang Namgyel could not gain recognition in Tibet, so he left his home area and took refuge on the southern side of the Himalayas, where he ultimately founded the “state” of Bhutan. In the hagiography of Ngawang Namgyel, which was composed about half a century later by one of his followers, the foundation of Bhutan is justified as being the creation of a realm ruled by an emanation of Avalokiteśvara “for the welfare and ultimate salvation of his citizens.”⁴ The author also explicitly links the hierocratical rule to the Sakyapa precedent.

The concept of the “union of religion and politics,” which had been refined into a sacred kingship, had therefore already become a reality for the first time in the Tibetan regions before the Gelukpa ultimately introduced it to Central Tibet. The Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lozang Gyatso (1517–1582), became famous for enacting this type of rule (in Tibetan literature he is often referred to simply as the “Great Fifth”). However, unlike the Drukpa Kagyüpa of Bhutan, the Gelukpa’s success hinged on the military power of a foreign “patron.” How then was it possible to speak of a real “union of religion and politics”? To what extent did it actually differ from the rigid “priest-patron relationship” between the ruler of Tsang and the hierarchs of the Karma Kagyüpa? At first glance the only difference seems to be that the Karma Kagyüpa relied on a local strongman, while the Gelukpa preferred to lean on the military powers of a foreign chief.

The Fifth Dalai Lama’s perception of himself as the spiritual and secular ruler of Tibet becomes evident from a reading of his autobiography and the chronicle he composed in 1643,⁵ and from the construction of a palace by him and his regent on Marpori Hill, west of old Lhasa, from 1645 onward. The relevant statements from the Dalai Lama’s writings, together with the corresponding quotations from the history of Sanggyé Gyatso, the later regent of the Dalai Lama, have been assembled and analyzed by Zahiruddin Ahmad.⁶ The picture handed down to us by the Dalai Lama shows Gushri Qan conquering Tibet for the Gelukpas and presenting it to him in April 1642 in total as a gift. Sanggyé Gyatso’s history,

completed in 1698, describes this as an act of altruism “appropriate to the 1st stage of Bodhisattva-hood.”⁷ He even includes in this offering the person of Gushri Qan himself, as well as his family and all his subjects.

The erection of a new seat for the Dalai Lama’s government on Marpori Hill, a site that according to tradition was once crowned by a palace of Songtsen Gampo, Tibet’s first king, and the naming of that seat “Potala,” the name of the mythical mountain that served as the residence of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, clearly demonstrates the Dalai Lama’s intention to act as the sacred ruler of Tibet. As the Dalai Lama himself stated, here Avalokiteśvara “once more came back to his own home.”⁸ Although the Potala was always called a palace, the Dalai Lama had designed it intentionally as a fortress, the base of his secular rule. Only later were the buildings added that were used for religious purposes only.

Such evidence leaves no doubt that the Fifth Dalai Lama regarded himself as the sovereign of Tibet, a view shared by the Gelukpa elite. Through his writings and especially through the building of an impressive seat for his rule, the Dalai Lama bolstered his claim to sovereignty in the public perception from the very beginning. In this perception, Gushri Qan’s status was inferior to that of the Dalai Lama.⁹ Gushri Qan, however, left no evidence that he perceived himself in this way. Therefore, the next step is to find evidence for who actually exercised secular power in Tibet.

From this time on, the government under the Dalai Lama became known as the Ganden Podrang.¹⁰ To run the government, a regent was appointed. The first person to hold this office was Sönam Chömpel, the experienced manager of the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama later justified this in his decree appointing Sanggyé Gyatso as one of the next regents:¹¹ “Since I was unable to hold both, religion and politics, the *depa* Sönam Raptan (alias Sönam Chömpel) took the burden of the regent.” This appointment underlines that the Dalai Lama and the Gelukpa elite were not mere puppets in the hands of a foreign ruler. Nevertheless, Petech assumes that it was Gushri Qan who actually installed the regent.¹² And we do know that afterward, in 1660 and in 1668, the Dalai Lama sought the participation of the Qoshots in appointing a regent.¹³ Petech also assumes that the actual political power shifted gradually from the Qan to the Dalai Lama, respectively to his regent:

The true bearers of political power ought to have been Guśri Khan and his successors. But they were handicapped by the fact that they did not usually reside in Lhasa; they . . . came only in winter, though not always, to the capital, where they resided in the dGa'-ldan K'añ-gsar palace. These chiefs were in absolute control of the armed forces and everything connected with them; they were also the nominal heads of the civil government. But executive powers were delegated by them to a regent, or *sde-srid*. . . . At first he was a nominee of the Khan. But with the decay of Qōśot power under the weak successors of Guśri Khan, the Dalai Lama succeeded in gaining influence upon the government. The regent appointed in 1679, A-bar Sañs-rgyas rgya-mts'o, . . . ruled Tibet with a strong hand.¹⁴

If this was true, then already during Gushri Qan's lifetime the Gelukpa had started propagating a different picture of the balance of power in the rule over Tibet: the position of the Dalai Lama was strengthened and the position of the *qan* weakened. In light of what has generally happened in history, i.e., that the strongmen who command the armed forces rarely relinquish their political power, Petech's analysis has a plausible ring to it. But due to a lack of direct evidence, it must remain a mere assumption. The autobiography of the Dalai Lama only portrays the Qoshot military as acting on behalf of the Gelukpa. Sources showing Gushri Qan as the central decision maker of the Ganden Podrang government have not been handed down to us. In particular, no Mongolian sources are available. Scattered hints can be found, however, in Tibetan histories, which show that Gushri Qan and the Dalai Lama were jointly approached for decisions. For example, it is reported that the Taklungpa monks of the eastern Tibetan Riwoche Monastery had to ask the Dalai Lama as well as Gushri Qan for permission to rebuild their monastery after it had been severely damaged by the soldiers of Beri.¹⁵

There is also some direct testimony to another aspect of the de facto exercise of political power in Tibet: public documents. After the establishment of the Ganden Podrang government, were these public documents executed by all three actors, the *qan*, the regent, and the Dalai Lama? And if so, how did the issuer of the document present himself to the public?

Documents executed and sealed by Gushri Qan are rare. The oldest one we know of is dated December 15, 1640, which is prior to the conquest of Tsang and the "offering of Tibet" to the Dalai Lama (figure 2.1).¹⁶ The document is bilingual, written in Tibetan and Mongolian, showing below the red imprint of the seal

granted to Gushri by the Dalai Lama in 1637: Tendzin Chökyi Gyelpo. Gushri is also mentioned under this title in the *sanctio* of the document. Furthermore, the *intitulatio* starts by mentioning the same title. Unfortunately, the rest of the *intitulatio* is no longer legible due to paper damage. This document shows that Gushri Qan was already acting as if he was the ruler of Tibet. The *publicatio* anticipates the conquest of the whole of Tibet because it addresses the officials and common subjects as far away as Ngari in the west. The document was issued in favor of Takpu Monastery, which is located in Nakshö Driru, a place in Kham between Chamdo and Nakchu on the banks of the Salween River. Gushri's army had apparently reached there on its way from eastern to Central Tibet. The document confirms that it was forbidden to impose new taxes on the monastery and that Yellow and Red Hat monks, that is to say Gelukpa and Kagyüpa, were prohibited from causing harm to the monastery. Violations were punishable by severe measures from the Qan's side.

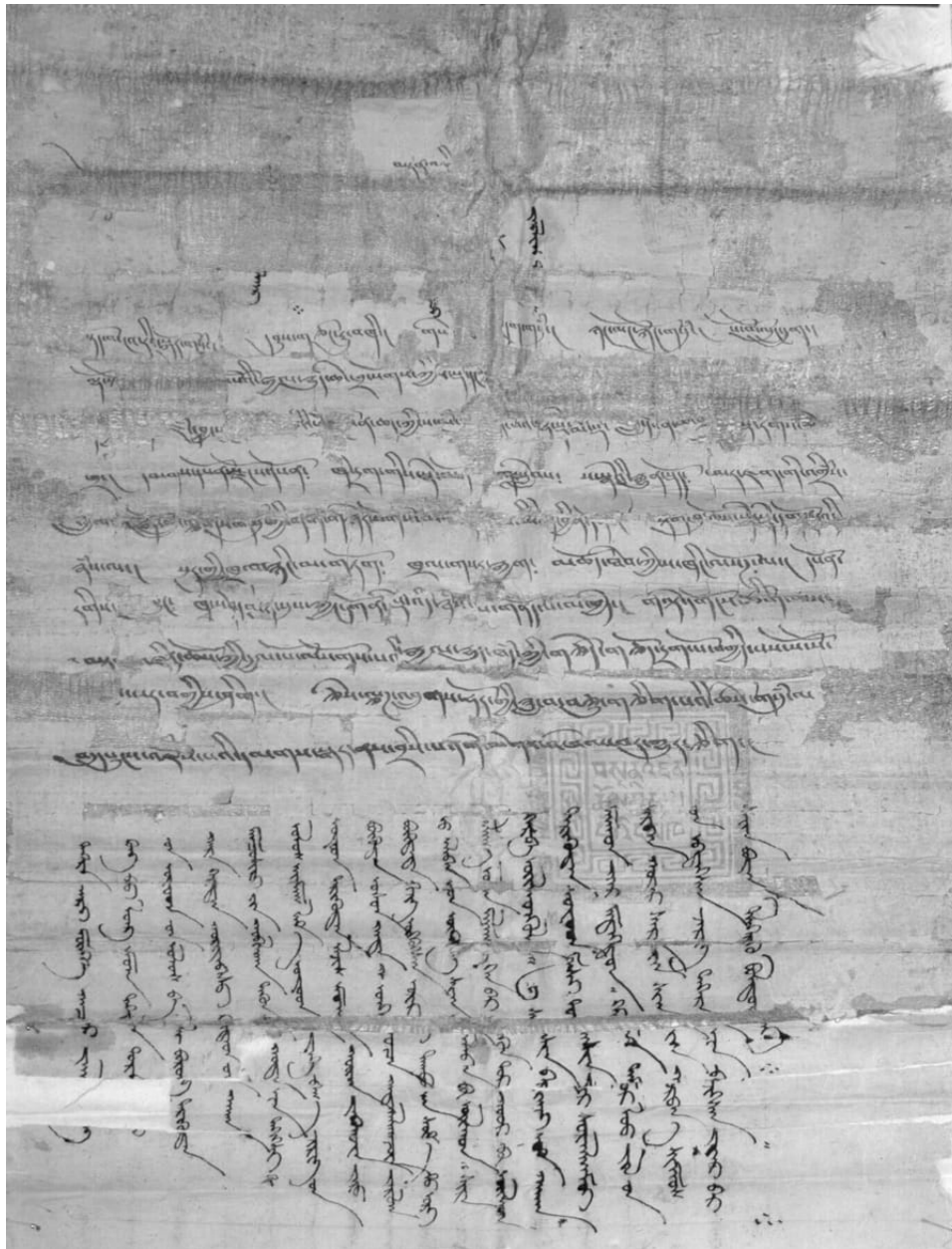


FIGURE 2.1 Document issued by Gushri Qan (1640)

KDL 1004

Another document executed in Lhasa on March 26, 1649, was sealed by Gushri Qan and *desi* Sönam Chömpel together—Gushri’s seal showing a red imprint, the *desi*’s a black one (figure 2.2). The seal used here by Gushri Qan differs from the first one.¹⁷ The document was issued in favor of Trashijong Monastery near Lhasa:

Sent to the collectors of tea and butter tax, to those who are called headmen, the leaders. Regarding the two persons who fetch the tea for Trashijong, never bother their eleven pack animals with tea and butter tax! Written in the Earth Ox [year] on the thirteenth day of the second *hor* month in Chökhör Lhasa.¹⁸

More common are similar documents sealed solely by the Dalai Lama's first regent. But because it was impossible to examine the entire archives, all of these individual findings are rather incidental in nature and therefore lack statistical value.

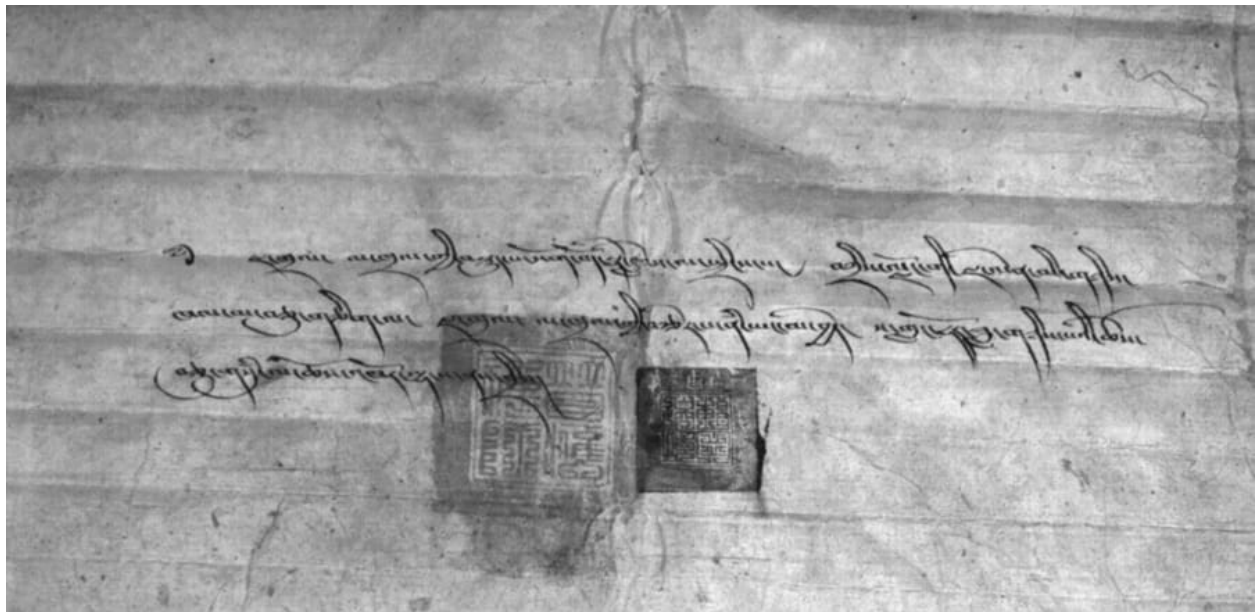


FIGURE 2.2 Document issued by Gushri Qan and *desi* Sönam Chöpel (1649)

KDL 1110

There is one published document that was issued by the Dalai Lama while Gushri Qan was still alive.¹⁹ It dates from 1648. The paper is mounted on silk, giving it a more imposing appearance. It starts with an *intitulatio* separated from the rest of the text by a blank space. The document is sealed twice: once at the end of the *intitulatio* and once at the end of the whole document, the latter using the imprint of a greater seal, a golden seal (*sertam*) of the Fifth Dalai Lama.²⁰ In the *intitulatio*, the Dalai Lama first presents himself self-confidently as a second “victorious one,” a second Buddha, not relying on others:

Speech of the one who was born in a family exalted like the *sāla* [tree], who with

respect to holding, protecting, and propagating Buddha’s teaching does not depend on others, who is universally known as the second victorious one, Ngawang Lozang Gyatso. . . .²¹

As Dharma king (*chögyel*), Gushri Qan († 1655) was succeeded in 1658 by his son Dayan Ochir Qan (who died in 1668) and in 1671 by Tendzin Dalai Qan, often just called Dalai Qan (who died on January 22, 1701).²² Only three documents of the latter are known to us, dated 1685, 1692, and 1698. It is probably not just coincidental that so very few of the documents of the Qoshot kings of Tibet have been handed down. In any event, a significantly larger number of documents of the Fifth Dalai Lama, and especially of his successive regents, are available. Two documents of the Dalai Qan have one thing peculiar in common: both refer in the *intitulatio* to the Dalai Lama as the source of his authority. The document of 1685 starts as follows (figure 2.3):

Document of King Tendzin Dalai, the one who—by the order of the Dalai Lama Vajradhara—was empowered as the performer of the rule of the two systems [i.e., the religious and the secular one]²³

The *intitulatio* of the document from 1698 reads:

Speech of the one who—by the order of the Dalai Lama Vajradhara—is called King Dalai²⁴

The third document of Dalai Qan, issued in 1692 (figure 2.4), has no *intitulatio* but begins directly with the *publicatio*. Below the text is the imprint of the Dalai Qan’s seal, the same one that can be seen on the other two documents.²⁵ The *publicatio* emphasizes at the very beginning the union of priest and patron, thus placing them on the same level:

Sent to all sentient beings, who live in the area of priest and patron, [who are like] the sun and the moon, and to all the high and the low people, the clergy and the laypeople, the powerful and the weak ones, to those who were commissioned as leaders, to the headmen, the heads of a squad of ten people²⁶ and the common people, . . . [lacuna].²⁷

From the time of the establishment of the Ganden Podrang government in 1642 up to the time of Sanggyé Gyatso’s regency, the term “priest” in the expression “priest and patron” apparently referred to the regent and not to the Dalai Lama.²⁸

Explicit evidence of this is provided by a document issued in 1693. There is at the bottom the additional endorsement:

In accordance with the meaning of each point of the official document issued by priest and patron, [i.e.,] the *desi rinpoché* and [Trash] Batur Taiji, I as well have given an official [confirmation] document [as] service.²⁹

It has been legitimately concluded from such evidence that there was no primacy of the Qoshot chiefs in the political sphere.³⁰ The evidence indeed suggests that both parties involved perceived Gushri Qan's "offering" of Tibet to the Dalai Lama as the revival of the Yuan-Sakya precedent as passed down by Tibetan historians. In other words, the Qoshots did not keep the sovereignty over Tibet for themselves but surrendered it to the Dalai Lama. That this was the outcome of the "offering" made by Gushri Qan was already known to the Jesuit Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707), who through his service for the Qing emperor was quite familiar with Mongolian affairs.³¹ Thus it was, for instance, the Fifth Dalai Lama, and not the Qoshot King Dalai Qan, who in 1670 bestowed the rank of Dalai Daicing Taiji on a descendant of the nanny of the Third Dalai Lama and appointed him governor of western Tibet (figure 2.5).³² Written in "long-legged" Drutsa script on yellow silk and showing a golden seal (*sertam*) of the Fifth Dalai Lama³³ below the text, the edict gives the prestigious impression of a sovereign's document.

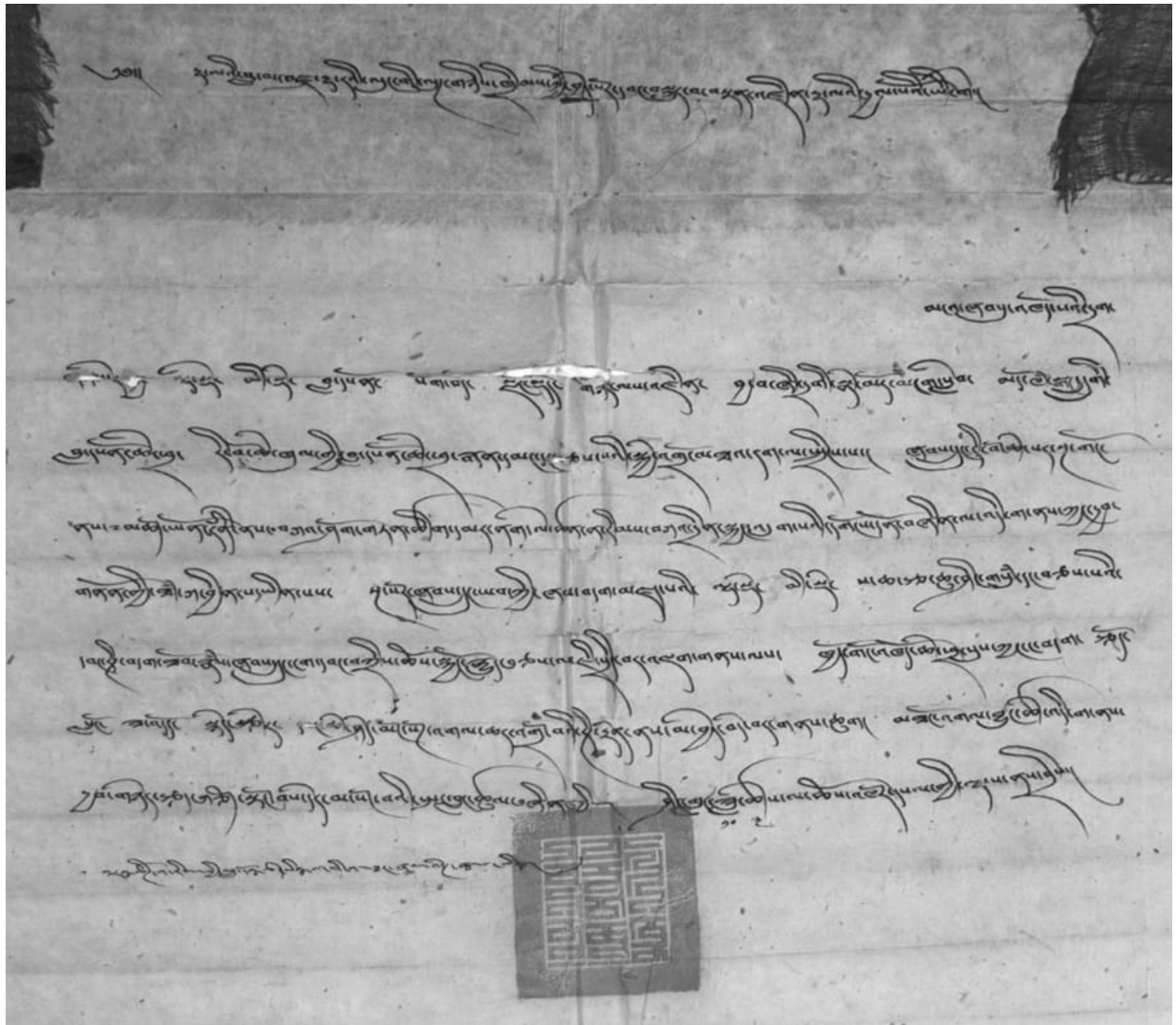


FIGURE 2.3 Document issued by Dalai Qan (1685)

KDL 2091

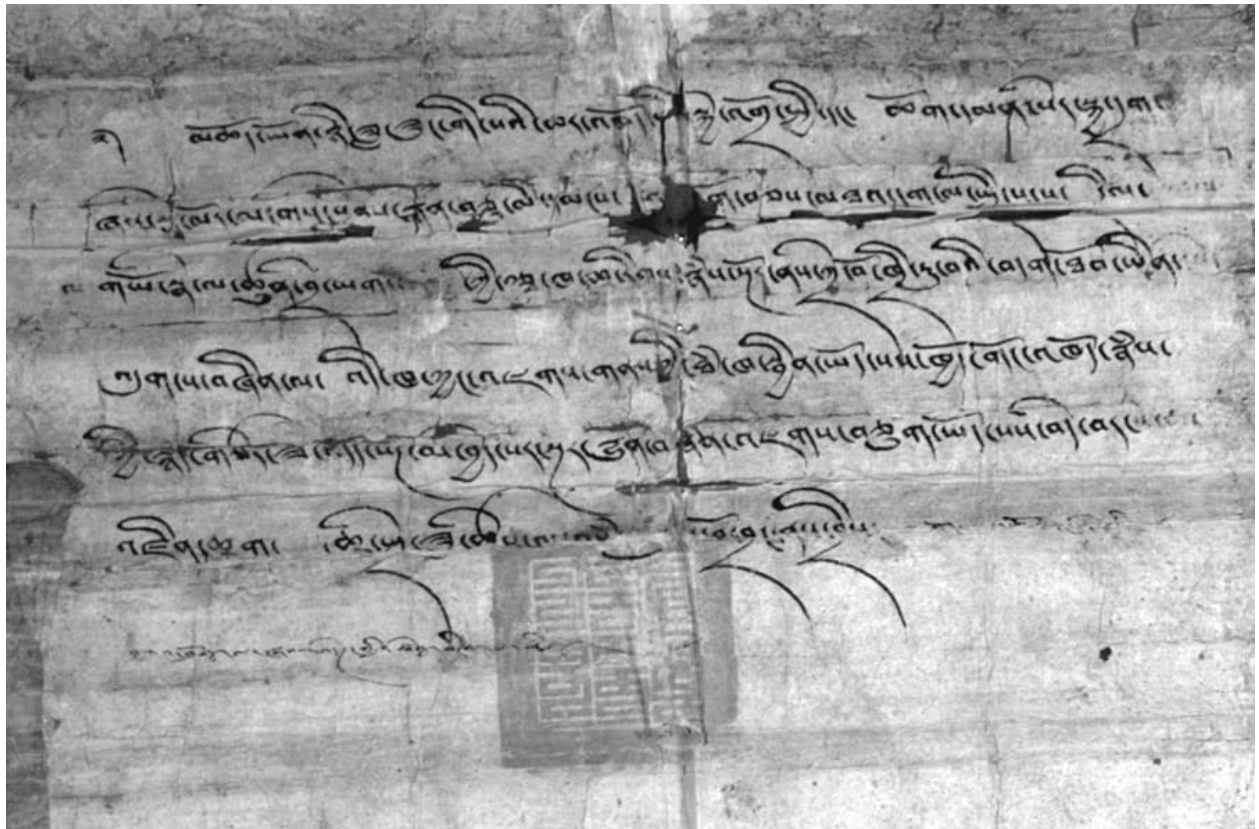


FIGURE 2.4 Document issued by Dalai Qan (1692)

KDL 1351

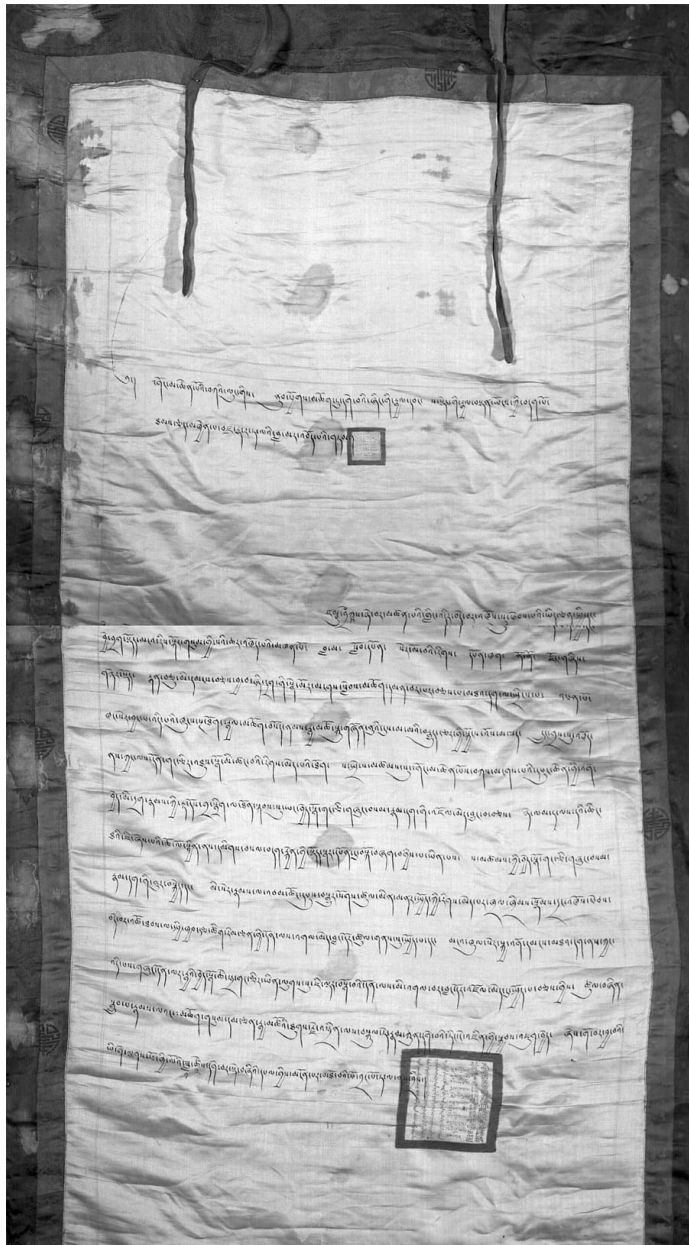


FIGURE 2.5 Document issued by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1670)

KDL 1109

Moreover, the *publicatio* in some of the decrees issued by the Fifth Dalai Lama address the Mongols living in the territory of the Ganden Podrang government as being part of the public that is obliged to respect his decrees.³⁴ But as can be seen from the few examples known to us, the Qoshots nevertheless did participate in the administration of Tibet. In addition, the Tibetan militia was being integrated into Mongolian forces during various campaigns from the time

of Gushri Qan.³⁵ It has, however, been correctly said that the “Fifth Dalai Lama had no desire to elevate the position of the king of Tibet, held by Guši Khan’s descendants, above that of the Dalai Lama’s government.”³⁶ On the level below the Dalai Lama, the Qoshot chiefs regarded themselves as on an equal footing with the regent.

The goal of the “union of religion and politics” was the total subordination of the secular sphere to the religious sphere—in other words, to the salvation project guided and executed by a fully enlightened bodhisattva as a sacred ruler. The Ganden Podrang government observed this principle in both domestic and foreign affairs. Tax revenues, for example, were largely consumed by the monasteries, the maintenance of their monks, and the religious services they offered on a regular basis. The Gelukpa of course benefited in particular from this policy under the Ganden Podrang government. Many monasteries of the Bönpos and the other Buddhist schools were converted into Gelukpa monasteries. New monasteries were also founded. All were granted land and the serfs required to cultivate it. In the account of his ministry from 1679 to 1682, the regent Sanggyé Gyatso left an impressive list of the regular revenues, taxes, natural resources, and land to which individual monasteries in Central and eastern Tibet were entitled for maintaining their religious services.³⁷ No beneficiaries other than clerical ones are listed, and the majority belong to the Geluk school. Notable exceptions are the Taklungpa, who had already cooperated rather harmoniously with the Gelukpa during the time of the Inner Tibetan struggle, and the Nyingmapa. The close ties between the Dalai Lama and the Nyingmapa are well testified to.³⁸

How was it possible to justify using the bulk of revenues for monastic purposes? In accordance with the bodhisattva ideal of the Mahāyāna, the monks were performing their religious services and practices not for themselves but for the benefit of all living beings. It was believed that they could protect society from all kinds of evil through their religious services. The monks were also convinced that they could help others by transferring their own merit to them. The life of the lama was supposed to be a model of the path to enlightenment. And by receiving offerings, the lamas ultimately afforded the givers of alms an opportunity to accumulate religious merit. The foremost aim of the Ganden Podrang government was therefore to guarantee the continuation of the Buddhist teaching in its pure form, which meant Buddhism according to the teachings of Tsongkhapa and the Geluk school. These ideas shaped the politics of the Ganden

Podrang up to the very end. In 1941, when Tibet's last regent, Takdrak *trülku*, assumed office, he issued a proclamation not unlike modern government policy statements. Here he stated:

The base for the enduring existence of the teaching of the victorious one, which forms the roots and the branches of the well-being of all living beings, relies on this particular rule of the Ganden Podrang government.³⁹

When Desideri reached Lhasa in 1716, at a time when internal struggle had already undermined the position of the Dalai Lama and had led to the murder of the regent and the assumption of temporal power by the last Qoshot Qan, he was still of the opinion that the position of Dalai Lama entailed in principle undisputed rule over Tibet:

The authority and dominion of the Grand Lama over these people is not confined to matters of religion alone but extends to the temporal sphere as well, as he is, strictly speaking, the absolute ruler of the whole of the principal Tibet. It is true that in part to lighten his duties and in part so as not to meddle directly in civil, military, and criminal matters, he long ago appointed a king, who in his place and dependent upon him, governs the entire kingdom in temporal affairs. As this is the case, the king of Tibet is not actually king, but is, strictly speaking, an ordinary administrator. Besides that, the Grand Lama is not so entirely removed from the temporal government of Tibet that he cannot directly exercise its management and rule at his direction, as in fact he often does by means of his direct written orders. The king would never dare to oppose or invalidate these orders, or impede their execution.⁴⁰

THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA'S JOURNEY TO BEIJING

The Fifth Dalai Lama's visit to the Qing court in 1653 at the invitation of the Shunzhi emperor (1638–1661, reign from 1644 onward) has been described and analyzed at length by Ahmad on the basis of Tibetan and Chinese sources.⁴¹ The idea that the Manchu ruler should invite the Dalai Lama had already been advocated by the Qalqa Mongols as early as 1637, the year after the proclamation of the Qing dynasty. Two years later, the predecessor of Shunzhi, the Manchu ruler Hong Taiji, sent the first invitation to the Dalai Lama.⁴² The main reason seen by Ahmad for inviting the Dalai Lama was the Manchus' wish to restore the relationship between Qubilai Qan and Pakpa, and by doing so to present themselves to the Mongols as the rightful successors to the Yuan.

Ahmad also contemplates the possibility that the renewal of an invitation from the Ming was a way for the Manchus to show the Tibetans that they had inherited the mandate of heaven. Ishihama emphasizes that “after the rise of the Ch’ing dynasty, Buddhist government became the diplomatic basis of the Tibetan-Mongol-Manchu relationship.”⁴³

The Manchus’ early interest in the Dalai Lama, evidenced from 1637 on, was engendered by the Mongols. It has been suggested that “the Manchus’ invitation of the Dalai Lama was nothing more than a logical extension of their devotion to the faith.”⁴⁴ Leaving aside the hard-to-prove specific religious beliefs of the early Manchu rulers, such a statement sees things far too simply. The fact alone that a ruler would officially invite a certain hierarch and offer him his patronage is primarily a political act with a great deal of implications for his subjects and allies. The young Dalai Lama, as a reincarnation, had become a prestigious figure by that time, and to a great extent had caused the hierarchs of the other Buddhist schools to fall out of favor with the Mongols and the Manchus. Although the Sakyapa were the first to enable the Manchus to present themselves as the rightful successors to the Yuan in the eyes of the Mongols, they ceased to play any significant role in Manchu-Mongol-Tibetan relations. The Karmapas, owing to their close ties to Ligdan Qan and Choktu Taiji, had probably been stigmatized as evil even prior to their defeat in the Inner Tibetan struggle.

The Shunzhi emperor sent another invitation in 1648. The Dalai Lama accepted, seeing the emperor as a possible Dharma king who would rule in accordance with Buddhist values and would act as Tibet’s patron.⁴⁵ For the Gelukpa, not only was the visit to the court in Beijing of major significance but also the whole journey of the Dalai Lama turned into a great mission to propagate Geluk teachings.⁴⁶ The Dalai Lama was approached along the way by many gift-offering Mongols in particular. As a result, the number of followers and sponsors of the Gelukpa increased enormously. The Dalai Lama’s journey to Beijing was therefore perceived by the Gelukpa as a double success: they had established a “priest-patron relationship” with the first ruler of the new dynasty in China and had intensified their proselytization among the Mongols.

How then was the relationship between the emperor and the Dalai Lama to be classified after this? It was definitely no longer the kind of relationship that the Dalai Lama had had with the Manchu ruler of Mukden, which “was in no way different from his relationship with any other ruling Worshipper-Patron-and-

Protector.”⁴⁷ Unlike his predecessor, the Shunzhi emperor was sitting on the throne in Beijing. Winning him as a patron brought with it the prospect of propagating the Geluk teachings throughout the empire and of receiving imperial support. Such hopes were encouraged by the splendid reception the Dalai Lama received in Beijing, the great deal of attention paid to him by the court, and the impressive welcome and farewell escorts. These events also emphasize just how significant the journey was in the court’s view. In no way whatsoever is the Dalai Lama depicted as just another payer of tribute arriving in Beijing. The question is, could the Dalai Lama really see himself afterward as someone who could claim “to hold authority from no one”?⁴⁸

The Gelukpa viewed themselves as the rightful successors to the Pakmodrupa⁴⁹ (the former rulers of Central Tibet [following the Sakyapa], who were later steadily divested of their power by the Rinpungpa and the Tsangpa). This view was shared by the new dynasty ruling China.⁵⁰ Therefore, for both parties, the Gelukpa had also inherited the Pakmodrupa’s relationship with the emperor. During the Pakmodrupa-Ming period, this relationship consisted of the granting of imperial titles and seals to the Tibetans and the sending of Tibetan tribute missions to the imperial court. That the imperial titles and seals were not just insignificant ornaments accessorial to the lucrative tribute missions but were rather a way of legitimizing authority in Tibet is evidenced by their use for Pakmodru documents issued for Tibetan recipients.⁵¹ Therefore the replacement of the old seals and titles with the new ones granted by the current dynasty was in the interest of both sides.⁵² Ahmad argues correctly that for both the Ganden Podrang and the Qing court, the person who inherited the position of the Pakmodru ruler was the regent and not the Dalai Lama. As *depa*, the regent bore the same title as the Pakmodrupa, “who claimed to hold authority from the Ming emperors of China.”⁵³ However, it does not follow (automatically) from this that, through the acceptance of the new seal and title, the regent of the Dalai Lama was the only one who acknowledged that his authority was derived from the Qing emperor and that the Dalai Lama claimed that his authority was derived from no one. As recounted by Ahmad, two months after the Dalai Lama had left Beijing, while he was still on his way home, the emperor sent title and seal to him together with a title and seal for Gushri Qan.⁵⁴ According to the Dalai Lama’s autobiography, he accepted the seal and later sent it as an offering to the Jowo statue in Lhasa. This would suggest that he simply stored the seal without ever using it or the title. But there are two documents of the Dalai Lama that prove the contrary. One was issued in 1674⁵⁵ and the other is the famous

document of 1679 that appoints Sanggyé Gyatso as regent.⁵⁶ In the use of the title, he also expressly claimed to hold authority from the Qing emperor. In the *intitulatio* of both documents, the Dalai Lama wrote:

Speech of the one who—by the order of the superior one, the emperor—was empowered as . . . the holder of the immutable *dorje*, the ocean lama [respectively the Vajradhara Dalai Lama]

Thus the Dalai Lama obviously accepted the Qing emperor as an authority entitled to delegate power to him.⁵⁷ It is notable that the phrase “by the order of . . . empowered as” used by the Dalai Lama in the *intitulatio* parallels the Dalai Qan’s *intitulatio* to indicate that his power derived from the Dalai Lama.⁵⁸

The Fifth Dalai Lama’s acknowledgment of the emperor as a source of authority never implied a concession to a right of the emperor to interfere in Tibetan affairs. It simply acknowledged the emperor as the center of political gravity in Inner Asia. In this respect, the Ganden Podrang’s relations with the Qing did not differ from the Pakmodrupa’s relations with the Ming. To accept the emperor as the highest authority in the area meant, above all, to be able to count on his benevolence and support and share in his prestige.

In his efforts to describe the Tenth Karmapa, Chöying Dorje, as an outstanding figure of his time who had even attracted the special attention of the emperor, Belo Tsewang Kunkhyap, a Karma Kagyü author of the eighteenth century, relays an interesting episode. In 1660, the Shunzhi emperor offered the Tenth Karmapa a title and a golden decree, which would have put the Karmapa more or less on equal footing with the Dalai Lama. However, the Karmapa supposedly refused to accept this offer with the words: “I have no interest in worldly titles. I don’t need them.”⁵⁹ Whether this is true or a mere fabrication to make the Karmapa look like an apolitical person is now hard to verify. The Karmapa had sought asylum at that time in the kingdom of Lijiang, Yunnan. The Fifth Dalai Lama was aware of this but was confident that the Karmapa’s stay there would not cause the “Eastern King,” i.e., the emperor, to change his attitude about the Dalai Lama.⁶⁰

AVALOKITEŚVARA’S WARS

Based on the description of *zhapdrung* Ngawang Namgyel, the founder of Bhutan, in his biography, John Ardussi has called the chief of state in Bhutan

“the embodiment of a militant Avalokiteśvara.”⁶¹ The Fifth Dalai Lama also embodied an Avalokiteśvara who did not rule out warfare as a skillful means of spreading the pure Buddhist doctrine. Thus from the very beginning, warfare was one of the essential methods for establishing the “union of religion and politics,” a method hard to justify from the Buddhist point of view. It seems that this is why Gushri Qan, as early as 1643, had already felt it necessary to justify using violence against other Buddhist schools.⁶² The Dalai Lama knew of course that the use of violence in politics was a violation of the monastic vows. Appointing regents was therefore a way to circumvent such problems—at least on the surface. The Dalai Lama reflected on this dilemma and the solution to it in 1679 when he appointed Sanggyé Gyatso as regent:

From [the time of] Gya and Seng, the two managers [of the Third Dalai Lama], until now, no one except for the *depa* Lozang Jinpa had adhered to the pure conduct [of a monk]. Especially, since [we] have surpassed the power and wealth of the glorious Pakmodrupa and the *desi* Tsangpa [and we] became the lord over [an area] as far as Dartsedo in the east, various violent acts of war and justice and so forth were necessary. Thus, leading a monk’s life solely in pure conduct was difficult.⁶³

Although appointing a regent looked like a good solution at first glance, it did not always work out that well. As the nominal head of the Ganden Podrang government, the Dalai Lama was of course indirectly responsible for whatever the regent executed in his name. But as we will see later, he was also directly involved in some decisions, including those on warfare. Even though political decisions during his teenage years (i.e., prior to and during the first years of the establishment of the Ganden Podrang government) appear to have been the responsibility of Sönam Chömpel (manager and later first regent of the Dalai Lama), the Dalai Lama was well informed about what was going on. In 1640, for example, he witnessed Sönam Chömpel instructing the messenger sent to Gushri Qan on what to tell Gushri Qan regarding the campaign against the king of Beri.⁶⁴ He writes in his autobiography:

On that evening in the tent, the *zhelngo* [Sönam Chömpel] instructed in my presence *kachu genyen* Dondrup, the man who was going as a messenger: “This Beri has to be cut at the roots! Afterward the king [Gushri Qan] himself should return to the shore of the [Blue] Lake!”⁶⁵

This is a rather clear command to use violence.

Even after Ganden Podrang rule had been firmly established through the defeat of the Tsang ruler and the elimination of the final resistance in the southern areas of Dakpo and Kongpo, the new government still tried to spread its influence and control over the marginal areas of Tibet by means of warfare. Specially targeted were those areas where Kagyü orders had maintained a stronghold. More than half a century later, Desideri observed during his stay in Tibet “the envy and implacable hatred” of the Gelukpa, which he called the first order, for the Red Hats, which he called the second order.

Their envy is not confined to personal rancor alone but at times erupts into severe persecutions that not only bring ruination and near extinction to the monks of the second order, but to the entire wretched kingdom of Tibet as well.⁶⁶

It was chiefly the hostility toward the Karma and the Drukpa Kagyüpa that prompted the new Tibetan government to launch several military campaigns on the Tibetan periphery. Two invasions of Mongolian-Tibetan forces in Bhutan, in 1644 and in 1648 (1649 according to Bhutanese sources), were miserable failures.⁶⁷ The Dalai Lama’s autobiography makes no mention of the reasons for or the decision-making process behind these invasions, but he does confirm their disastrous results.⁶⁸ Three more invasions followed during the lifetime of the Fifth Dalai Lama, namely in 1668, 1676, and 1678; the last two were in support of the Lepchas in their struggle against the Bhutanese.⁶⁹ But it was always the Tibetan side that took the initiative. As mentioned earlier,⁷⁰ even though in Bhutan a government had been established that also united religion and politics, it was not the Gelukpa that controlled it, but rather a branch of the Drukpa Kagyüpa. In 1680, the Fifth Dalai Lama addressed these rivals in a somewhat less than flattering way, touching as well on the unsuccessful military efforts of the Tibetan government:

Even though [the whole region] was brought under the beneficial and happy dominion of us, priest and patron, and while the Geluk teachings in the region of Mön were thus caused to prosper as well as possible, in particular, [however,] the entire welfare of eastern Mön was gradually destroyed by the evil plans of the barbarian army of the southern demons. At that time, due to external and internal evil impediments, it was difficult for [from our side] great force to arise. Nevertheless, from [the year of] the Fire Monkey [1656] onward, some twenty-five years have now passed during which I and [my] monks have applied

ourselves solely to the cause of the teachings regardless, however, of the joys and sorrows [respectively the ups and downs] of the laymen and monks [experienced during this period]. Therefore, [at the end the following districts] were brought under dominion: Lachen Tsosum, Dakpa Tsonga, Shar Bamo Nuzhi, Rongdosum, et cetera; also the minor groups of Mön subjects along the course of the Nyangchu [River] and those Indians and inhabitants of the Lo country who have been turned to our own government.⁷¹

This statement is part of a most interesting edict (*kashok shebam*) issued by the Fifth Dalai Lama. It is a proclamation, particularly to the people at the southern borders, of the incorporation of Mönnyül into the territory of the Ganden Podrang government. It belongs to the documents that the People's Republic of China used to try to back its claim to the Mönnyül corridor, which in 1914 was incorporated into British India. There was a total of thirty documents, and by chance a copy of this one fell into the hands of Michael Aris, thanks to whom a transliteration and translation finally became available.⁷²

Although the Dalai Lama stated in the *narratio* of his edict that the establishment of the Ganden Podrang's authority in the Mön area had been accomplished through counsels and that "military measures such as an invasion" had not been necessary, he admits below that the use of military force was generally one of the means of spreading the Geluk school and expanding the jurisdiction of the Ganden Podrang government: "The manner in which our side has been benefited at earlier and later times by guarding the border, invading with troops, and mediation is openly manifest to you, all laymen and monks of Tibet and Mön."⁷³ Establishing the Ganden Podrang's jurisdiction in Mönnyül explicitly meant that

the various documents promulgated in earlier and later times with red and black seals are without exception invalidated since they inflict damage on the teachings upheld by the Yellow Hats [i.e., the Gelukpa] and on the government fortress of Tsona, and since they constitute an obstacle that destroys the subjects.⁷⁴

Furthermore, imposing any new taxes or demanding any corvee or military service from the monasteries was forbidden unless some special need to do so arose in the administration of the district. Finally, the local governor, the officials sent from Lhasa, and the local hierarch were all obligated to execute the plans for propagating the dual system of religion and politics and the teachings

of the Geluk school in the area.

The edict had obviously been in the hands of the Gyelsé *rinpoché*, the former abbot of Tawang Monastery, because he writes that the original was written by the Fifth Dalai Lama on yellow silk and dated the twenty-eighth day of the ninth Tibetan month of the Iron Monkey year, which would correspond to October 19, 1680. Even before this, on July 31, 1680, the foundation stone was laid for a large Gelukpa monastery named Ganden Namgyel Lhatse, better known today as Tawang Monastery. The construction was completed in September 1681. At the end of the seventeenth century, the monastery had already accommodated 212 monks. It became the head of a large number of branch monasteries.⁷⁵

Mongol troops had also fought and defeated the Kanam *depa*, the ruler of Powo in southeast Tibet and a patron of the Kagyüpa. After their victory, they are said to have announced that not “even a single sheet” of the Kagyüpa books should be kept in the future. Consequently, the next Kanam *depa* became a patron of the Gelukpa, especially of the three great Gelukpa monasteries, Sera, Ganden, and Drepung.⁷⁶

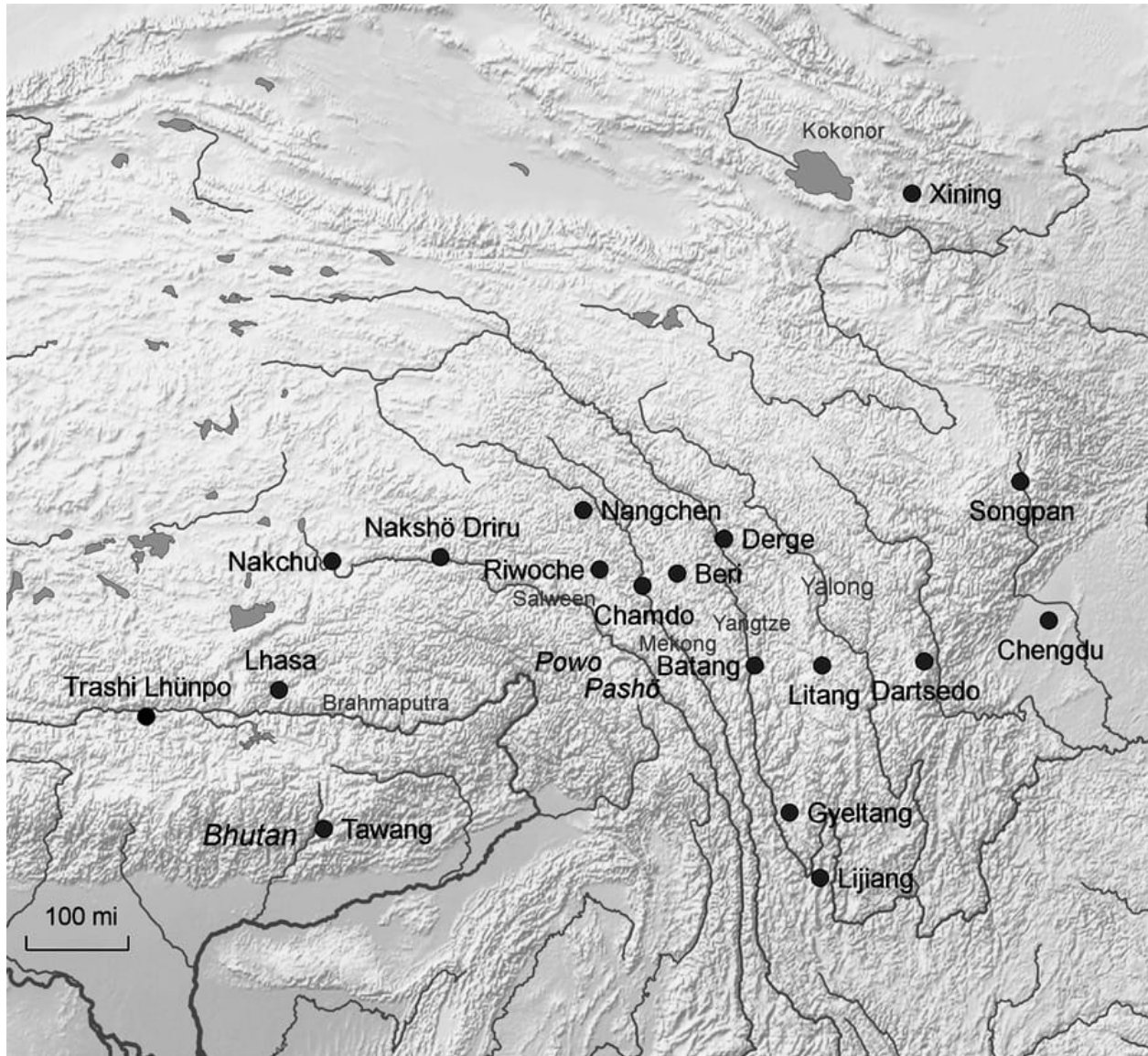


FIGURE 2.6 The eastern half of the Tibetan plateau

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At the orders of the Ganden Podrang government, Mongolian-Tibetan forces were also dispatched to the eastern and western rims of the Tibetan plateau to enforce their version of the “dual system” of religion and politics. In 1674, on the most southeastern edge of the Tibetan areas, a Mongolian-Tibetan army under the command of Trashi Batur Taiji, the youngest son of Gushri Qan, forcefully quelled an uprising in Gyeltang, the modern Shangri-la. As explained in detail elsewhere,⁷⁷ this revolt was organized by the local Karma Kagyüpa and the officials of the Naxi king. Therefore, the campaign of the Ganden Podrang

was in no way whatsoever aimed at driving out the forces of Wu Sangui, a leading figure in the revolt of the Three Feudatories against the Qing emperor.⁷⁸ As testified by the Dalai Lama's autobiography, the decision to counter the uprising in Gyeltang with military force was taken by the Dalai Lama himself after conferring with Dalai Hong Taiji, the sixth son of Gushri Qan and leader of the Kokonor Qoshots. The campaign resulted in the near eradication of the Karma Kagyüpa in an area that had been one of their strongholds. The dominance of the Gelukpa was from then on firmly established there. An impressive demonstration of such dominance was the construction in 1679 of the large Ganden Sumtsenling Monastery on the ruins of a former Karma Kagyüpa monastery. The victory also benefited the Qoshot Mongols from the Blue Lake, who were able to collect taxes from the population in Gyeltang over the next decades.

On the opposite side of the Tibetan plateau, the Ganden Podrang began a war in 1679 against the kingdom of Ladakh. Gleaning from the historical sources available, Petech has described the history of the war in detail. With respect to the actual decision to go to war, he wrote:

The decision for war was taken by the Dalai Lama himself, without the concurrence of the Qoshot Khan, his patron and protector, although the latter was responsible for the defense of the realm.⁷⁹

The Central Tibetan government believed that the Ladakhi king harbored a hostile attitude toward the Gelukpa who were located in his realm. The main problem, however, was that, owing to the influence of Taktsang Repa (1574–1651) and his “priest-patron relationship” with the king Sengge Namgyel (reigned 1616–1642), the Drukpa Kagyü school had gained a strong position in the kingdom and was competing with the Gelukpa for royal favor.⁸⁰ In addition, raids led by local inhabitants into the territory under the control of the Ganden Podrang presented another pretext for war.⁸¹

The invading forces, mainly Mongolian cavalry, were under the command of Ganden Tsewang Pelzang, a leading lama from Trashig Lhünpo, the Panchen Lama's monastery in Tsang. Ganden Tsewang Pelzang was a grandson of Gushri Qan. (He is not to be confused with Galdan Tenzin Boshugtu Qan, another Dsungar prince to whom we will return later.⁸²) Since the Ladakhi saw no other choice but to turn to the Moghuls in India for military support, the invaders were forced to withdraw. In the end their campaign was nevertheless at least a partial

success. On the basis of the treaty that was finally entered into in 1684 (two years after the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama), the Ganden Podrang was able to add new territory to its jurisdiction in the outermost western regions. It was also able to force the Ladakhis to undertake regular gift-giving missions to the great Gelukpa monasteries in Central Tibet and to oblige the king that they would patronize the Drukpa Kagyüpa and the Gelukpa equally.

STRUGGLE FOR BUDDHIST GOVERNMENT

THE FIFTH DALAI Lama died in 1682, a fact that was kept secret by his regent for a good fifteen years—not only from the Tibetan public but also from the emperor and the aristocracy of the various Mongol tribes, all of whom regarded themselves as great patrons of the Dalai Lama. While pretending that the Dalai Lama had gone on a strict retreat and having a monk acting as him when he had to appear personally,¹ the regent secretly searched for his reincarnation and carried out political acts in his name. The regent later claimed that he had done all this on the explicit instructions of the Dalai Lama, who had advised him to consult the Penden Lhamo Oracle from then on rather than himself.² Such statements are of course hard to prove. As will be seen, even contemporaries had serious doubts about all this.³ Whatever the truth may be, it all ended up in a great disaster. In hindsight, it appears to be the starting point for a series of misunderstandings that culminated in the incorporation of Tibet into the Qing Empire and its administration.

Although fifteen years is certainly an extremely long time to conceal the death of a reincarnation, another even more extreme parallel had transpired. *Zhapdrung* Ngawang Namgyel, who, like the Fifth Dalai Lama, had established the “union of religion and politics” in Bhutan, “disappeared” into retreat in 1651, and it was not until around 1705 that his death was revealed. As Michael Aris has put it, “we are faced with the odd situation that during these years the Tibetan and Bhutanese states were both ruled by corpses, in a manner of speaking.”⁴ With respect to their motives, he states:

The reason for prolonging artificially the power of a dead ruler is abundantly clear. No matter how masterful and energetic a character might be, a ruler is always dependent on his officers. Much of the daily business of government lies in their hands, but the legitimacy and strength of their authority depend entirely on that of the ruler.⁵

Two other points should be mentioned here by way of explanation. The first is that both *zhapdrung* Ngawang Namgyel and the Fifth Dalai Lama represented the introduction of an innovative kind of sacred rule. Though it was believed that Pakpa and the Sakya school had once created a precedent, this specific kind of

rule was not actually established until the seventeenth century. Both the *zhapdrung* and the Dalai Lama had developed charismatic personalities, filling this new form of government with splendor and prestige. That it was feared that all this might collapse, were a small child to succeed such a charismatic leader, can easily be understood, especially considering that such a succession generally marks a shift from charismatic authority to traditional authority as understood by Max Weber.

The second point concerns the external relations in each of these cases. Bhutan had been threatened by invasions from Tibet since the time it was founded. To have a ruler without a strong personality might then have seemed like a direct invitation to the Tibetan government to interfere in Bhutanese affairs again.

Although in the case of the Ganden Podrang government there was no risk of inviting an enemy invasion, there was the risk of losing the loyalty of foreign patrons, and specifically, not being able to finish the great project of uniting all Mongols under the umbrella of the “two systems,” the religious and the political. The Dalai Lama is therefore said to have instructed his regent “to preserve the loyalty of China, Tibet, and Mongolia.”⁶ The growing hostilities between the Oirat and the Qalqa Mongols, as well as the involvement of the Qing emperor, must have intensified the regent’s fear of losing control over the complex and fragile balance that had been achieved so far in Inner Asia.

Though it is well known that the regent—in the name of the Fifth Dalai Lama—corresponded with the emperor,⁷ I am not aware of any decrees that were professed to be issued and sealed by the Fifth. Rather, there are quite a few documents issued by the regent after 1682 that bear the black imprint of his own seal.

A *TRÜLKU* AS WARRIOR

We now turn to the *trülku* Galdan Tendzin Boshugtu Qan (1644–1697), whose eminent role in the great Inner Asian conflict of the seventeenth century has been described in a number of historical studies. What these studies rarely mention, however, is the fact that he had been identified and socialized as a significant *trülku* of the Geluk school. Although he is well known as the great antagonist in the Kangxi emperor’s struggle for rule over Inner Asia, little attention has been paid to the fact that he was the Fourth Ensa *trülku*. To my knowledge, the only person who has considered that this must have caused

Galdan to show complete commitment to the Gelukpa cause is Borjigidai Oyunbilig.⁸ To better understand the role Galdan played in the historical events toward the end of the seventeenth century, it is necessary to go back in time to the middle of that century.

The Third Ensa *trülku* had been very active as a Buddhist missionary among the Oirats. After his death, his rebirth was identified in the ruling family of the Dsungars. The aforementioned *History of the Origin of the Mongols* contains a pious legend about these circumstances.⁹ According to this legend, Yum Aga, the wife of Batur Hong Taiji († 1653), founder of the Dsungar state, had asked the old Ensa *trülku* to give her a child. But because he was a monk, the *trülku* had to refuse her. Thereupon, the lady begged him to be reborn as her son, and the *trülku* agreed.

Galdan was the sixth son of the Dsungar ruler. For his mother, he was the second son. She was a daughter of Gushri Qan, the Qoshot chief who had enabled the Fifth Dalai Lama to assume temporal power in Tibet.¹⁰ The link between the Oirat and the Gelukpa had therefore been strengthened in a pattern similar to that established by Yönten Gyatso, the Fourth Dalai Lama. The child was sent to Tibet for his education. In February 1656, the Fourth Ensa *trülku*—accompanied by the Torghut chief Yildeng (Yel deng)—met the Dalai Lama for the first time.¹¹ More than two months later he arrived at the Panchen Lama's court, once again in the company of some Oirat chiefs.¹² He stayed in Tibet until 1666 and applied himself to studying the Geluk curriculum, first with the Panchen Lama, and from 1663 with the Dalai Lama as his teacher.¹³

On December 19, 1666, the Dalai Lama saw the Ensa *trülku* off. On this occasion he bestowed on him an empowerment for lengthening his life and presented him with a set of lama's clothes and other gifts. Apparently it was not yet Galdan's intention to give up his monk's vows. The Dalai Lama gave him his personal rosary and instructed him to benefit the Buddhist doctrine and the government (*tenzhung*) as best as he could.¹⁴ After leaving Tibet, Galdan was still regarded as the owner of the estates possessed by the line of the Ensa *trülku* in Tsang.¹⁵

In January 1671, Galdan's older brother, Sengge, the ruler of the Dsungars at that time, was murdered by his half-brother Sechen. Thereupon, Galdan apparently renounced his vows, fought against those who had murdered his

brother and his allies, and assumed power. The Dalai Lama was informed of Galdan's victory on March 20, 1671.¹⁶ After the end of July 1672, Galdan was no longer referred to in the Dalai Lama's autobiography as an Ensa *trülku*. Until 1678, he was referred to as Galdan Hong Taiji, a title bestowed on him by the Dalai Lama in 1672, probably as an official recognition of his chiefdom.¹⁷



FIGURE 3.1 Tibet and Inner Asia

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For June 2, 1678, the Dalai Lama's autobiography mentions that he met several departing messengers, one of whom was a messenger being sent to Galdan to confer the seal and title of Galdan Tendzin Boshugtu Qan on him:

To find a way to accomplish the well-being of the patrons, [I] sent—with detailed oral information—[the messenger] Kyarpowa Dorje Wangchuk to Galdan Hong Taiji of the left wing [i.e., the Dsungars] with rank and seal of Galdan Tendzin Boshugtu Qan as well as sumptuous gifts, like a complete [set of] various clothes and a large document box, so that [he] will settle the government [affairs] of the Qalqa [and] the Oirats.¹⁸

This was a far-reaching appointment with a variety of implications. Ishihama Yumiko has pointed out “that the Dalai Lama conferred the title of khan on the

person whom he could expect to contribute to the dGe-lugs-pa” and “that the bestowal of the title of khan by the Dalai Lamas was the qualification for a khan.”¹⁹ She summarizes further that these “titles were almost all conferred to people belonging to the Oyirad tribe. In the seventeenth century, the Oyirad tribe consistently sided with the Dalai Lama, whereas the Khalkha tribe promptly abandoned the Dalai Lama. The relative degree of intimacy with the Dalai Lamas which these two tribes showed in the course of their history corresponds to whether or not they were the recipients of titles from the Dalai Lamas.”²⁰ In combination with the addition *tendzin*, “upholder of the doctrine,” the title *qan* underlines the fact that this very king was particularly expected to uphold the Buddhist doctrine, which is to say the Buddhist teachings as understood by the Geluk school. The title of *tendzin* and *qan* was conferred on a total of four people: Gushri Qan, Dayan Qan, Dalai Qan, and Galdan Boshugtu Qan.²¹ The quotation above also indicates that the Dalai Lama had granted Galdan a leading position among the Mongols as a whole, a measure that ultimately brought Galdan into conflict with both the Qalqas and the Qing emperor.

The Qalqas had been endowed with a reincarnation line at an early stage, a line that was also closely linked to the ruling family. A son was born to the Tüshiyetü Qan Gombodorji in 1635 and ordained in 1639 by the Third Ensa *trülku*, the preincarnation of Galdan. He was thereafter recognized as a reincarnation of the Tibetan scholar *jetsun dampa* Tāranātha (1575–1634) and later became known as the First Jebtsundamba *qutuqtu*. The reincarnation was confirmed by the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.²²

The First Jebtsundamba only studied for about two years (1649 to 1651) in Central Tibet. He therefore did not stay long enough to develop close ties to the Dalai Lama and to the Panchen Lama. However, entries in the Dalai Lama’s autobiography indicate that there was contact with Galdan on a regular basis right up to the very end of the records.

Because Gushri Qan had enabled the Gelukpa to gain temporal power over Tibet, the Gelukpa hierarchs had allied themselves closely to the Oirats. In turn, the Oirats had committed themselves to the Gelukpa cause, which is to say to establishing their own version of the “two systems,” or as Ishihama has put it,²³ of “Buddhist government” among the Tibetans and the Mongols. For the Oirats, it was now the Dalai Lama—in addition to the Chinggisid Principle—who was able to grant legitimate authority in the Mongol world by conferring titles and

seals on them. In this way, the two sides supported each other. Within the two main groups of Oirats, the tasks were divided: while the Qoshots had established themselves in the Tibetan areas through their military power, having enforced Gelukpa dominance over their political and especially their religious rivals, the Dsungars were expected to settle matters in the Mongol world according to the Gelukpa's ideas. Although the Qalqas and the Manchus had become patrons of the Gelukpa at an early stage as well, the Oirats were regarded as being more loyal and closer.

The favoring of the Oirats did not encourage good relations between them and the Qalqas but instead caused a steadily growing tension. Nevertheless, the Dalai Lama was still regarded by all of the parties involved as an authority qualified to settle the conflict. Therefore, to call the envoys sent by the Dalai Lama to the peace conference of October 1686 "representatives of the Qoshot king" is neither verisimilar nor supported by any sources.²⁴ This conference was initiated by the Kangxi emperor to settle the conflicts among the Mongols. It was solely as representatives of the Dalai Lama that the envoys were accepted as mediators. Moreover, it is incorrect to interpret the Ganden Podrang's politics of that period as being manipulated by the Qoshot king. We know from letters sent by Sanggyé Gyatso to the Kangxi emperor in 1696 and 1698 that not even the Qoshot king had been a member of the small inner circle who had been informed about the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama.²⁵ It was therefore the regent, Sanggyé Gyatso, who was holding the reins in Tibet. Only later would the Qoshots once again play a significant role in the game.

The peace conference of 1686 failed to have the desired effect but instead provided another pretext for war. During the course of the military clashes that came in its wake, Galdan's younger brother was killed. When the Kangxi emperor asked the Dalai Lama to mediate again in the conflicts between the Oirats and the Qalqas, the Tibetan regent, Sanggyé Gyatso, wrote a note (on September 24, 1689) to the mediator, the Sixth Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*, pretending that he was writing at the explicit instructions of the Dalai Lama.²⁶ The manner in which the regent expressed himself clearly shows what his attitude was. The word used by Sanggyé Gyatso to convey the emperor's request (*zhuwa*) for a representative to mediate denotes a humble attitude on the part of the emperor toward the Dalai Lama. The note gives no indication whatsoever that, in the regent's opinion, the emperor stood above the Dalai Lama. The Qalqas were regarded by the regent not only as old donors (*yöndak*) but also as so-called *chözhi* of the Dalai Lama. Although the term *chözhi* is generally used

to denote an estate belonging to a monastery or to a *trülku*'s household, it refers in the regent's note to the Qalqa as a whole, which is to say their left and their right wing. He was therefore of the opinion that the Qalqas were obliged to contribute financially to the Dalai Lama's household and government. For this reason, the regent was vehemently opposed to the assimilation of the Qalqas in China.

Although the Qing emperor had been accepted by the Fifth Dalai Lama as a patron of the Gelukpa, the relationship between them was different in the eyes of the Tibetans from the relationship between Tibet and the Mongols. The Tibetan hierarchs saw the Tibetans and the Mongols as having been bound to each other on the basis of Tibetan Buddhism since the time of Qubilai Qan and Pakpa, while China was not a country where Tibetan Buddhism had really taken root. Even so, the regent still stressed to the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* the immense importance of not losing the respect and the loyalty of both the Oirats and the Chinese. Since China was seen as a country where Tibetan Buddhism had not flourished, it was a shock for the Ganden Podrang when the majority of the Qalqas were driven by Galdan's warfare in October 1688 into the arms of the Qing emperor.²⁷ This did not accord in any way with the ideas of the Ganden Podrang. For this reason, the regent instructed the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* to insist on the Qalqas being given a place independent of China. But he demanded that the Jebtsundamba and his brother, the Tüshiyetü Qan Caqundorji, be dispossessed. He considered them a threat to the Ganden Podrang, accusing them of troublemaking and of showing a lack of respect. In his view, the Oirats' respect for the Dalai Lama had always been greater, while the Jebtsundamba of the Qalqas had suddenly stopped showing reverence. The regent's accusations were completely in line with Galdan's criticism of the conduct of the Jebtsundamba and his brother at the peace conference in October 1686. By opposing the teachings of the Dalai Lama and by failing to show the proper respect to the Dalai Lama's representative, they had provided Galdan with a new excuse for war. He had voiced these criticisms to the Kangxi emperor at the end of July 1688.²⁸

The Jebtsundamba had also been accused by the regent of holding false views that had led to wrong conduct and risks to the teachings of the Gelukpa. In contrast, Galdan, the Dsungar chief, was praised for his annual offerings of long-life prayers and for distributing donations to the monks of Sera and Drepung monasteries. He was held in high esteem by the regent particularly for having offered—thanks to his military power—Ngari (western Tibet) and Yarkand to

the Dalai Lama. Since the peace treaty with the Kingdom of Ladakh in 1684, western Tibet had been ruled by the Ganden Podrang government, the Muslim area of Yarkand never having been actually integrated into its administration. Even so, the Ganden Podrang had still benefited from Galdan's conquest of Yarkand in 1680, in the form of the tribute that was sent to the Dalai Lama afterward.²⁹

In Sanggyé Gyatso's view, the Qalqas were responsible for the hostilities between themselves and the Oirats. This opinion was shared completely by the Qing court. According to an entry in the *Qing Shilu*—or the *Daqing lichao shilu* (大清歷朝實錄) (Veritable records of the successive reigns of the great Qing), its full title—dated December 7, 1688, the assembly of the princes and ministers concluded that the conflict had actually been caused by the Qalqas and recommended to the Kangxi emperor that he ask the Dalai Lama to send a respected lama as mediator.³⁰ The entries of May 31, 1689, and December 3, 1689, also confirm that the emperor still believed that the Tüshiyetü Qan and the Jebtsundamba were the main perpetrators of the conflict between the Oirats and the Qalqas.³¹ But after the Jebtsundamba *qutuqtu*, with about 140,000 Qalqas, had taken refuge with the Qing, the emperor clearly sided with the Qalqas.³² They were now his subjects and therefore under his jurisdiction. As a result, the emperor could not comply with Galdan's demand to surrender the Tüshiyetü Qan and the Jebtsundamba, even though this was what the regent, Sanggyé Gyatso, and allegedly the Dalai Lama as well, wanted.³³

Despite previous imperial admonitions to stop the warfare, Galdan challenged the emperor directly in 1690 by a new attack on the Qalqas, who were now under the protection of the Qing empire. The emperor intervened with his own troops. Although the Dsungars suffered a terrible defeat in September, Galdan himself was able to escape.³⁴

The war between Galdan and the Kangxi emperor dragged on until 1696, when Galdan was finally and indisputably defeated.³⁵ According to a report of one of his closest followers, his death in 1697 was a suicide.³⁶ However, there is some doubt about this, and it has been suggested that an illness was the cause.³⁷ This version is supported by a memorial written by General Fiyanggū (Chin. Feiyanggu 費揚古) dated May 28, 1697.³⁸ It quotes a report stating that “Galdan fell ill on the morning of the thirteenth of the third month and he died in the evening.”³⁹ This is supplemented with the information that the nature of the

illness was unknown. This of course leaves much room for speculation.⁴⁰ Whatever the cause of his death was, Galdan must have been in a rather bad state of despair at the very end. According to the *Qing Shilu* entry of June 17, 1697, prisoners of war had reported that, in his despondent state, Galdan had even accused the Dalai Lama of having goaded him and of having ruined him.⁴¹ It appears that during all these years, Galdan had not known that the Fifth Dalai Lama was actually dead.⁴² If the *Qing Shilu* is to be believed, this is apparently what the Kangxi emperor thought too in 1697. The emperor claimed that the only reason the Tibetan regent, Sanggyé Gyatso, had kept the Dalai Lama's death a secret was to be able to manipulate Galdan for his own ends.⁴³

As it turns out, it had been the regent who had acted in the name of the dead Dalai Lama all those years. And it was therefore the regent who had been responsible for Tibet's political dealings with the Mongols and the Qing. In this way he had tried to control Galdan's activities. It is certainly conceivable that he had encouraged Galdan to continue his fight even after the Qalqas had come under the emperor's protection, consciously risking a direct clash between the Oirats and the Qing.⁴⁴ For the regent, the Qalqas were slipping away from the sphere of the Ganden Podrang's influence, thereby jeopardizing the whole idea of a Tibetan-Mongol realm dominated by the Gelukpa's version of "Buddhist government."



FIGURE 3.2 *Carte la plus generale et qui comprend la Chine, la Tartarie chinoise, et le Thibet*. This map, created by the French geographer Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d’Anville (1697–1782), was published by Henri Scheurleer in La Haye in the year 1737 (though the map itself shows the year 1734). It is based on the cartographic survey ordered by the Kangxi Emperor in 1708 and carried out under the supervision of the Jesuits. It shows the territory of the Qalqas (Kalkas) as part of the empire. Immediately to the west is the territory of the Oirats (Eluts). Across the Tibetan plateau from Ladakh (Latac) in the west to the borders of Yunnan and Sichuan in the east we read “Royaume de Thibet,” Kingdom of Tibet.

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The disasters in Galdan’s life appear to have been caused to a great extent by his blind faith in a Dalai Lama who had long been dead. He had been easily led by the alleged “instructions” of the Dalai Lama and by the instructions of the Tibetan oracles.⁴⁵ With the failure and then the demise of Galdan, the line of the Ensa *trülku* died out. A fifth Ensa *trülku* was never recognized.

TRÜLKU DIPLOMACY ON THE RAZOR'S EDGE

The diplomatic affairs of Tibet's Ganden Podrang government and of the Qing emperor were conducted during the Inner Asian conflict of the seventeenth century with the help of distinguished Buddhist clerics. They were engaged by both parties to carry out their classic role as mediators in social and political conflicts.⁴⁶ When the Kangxi emperor requested that a representative of the Dalai Lama be sent to the peace conference in October 1686, the Tibetan regent commissioned Ngawang Lodrö Gyatso (1635–1688). He was a Buddhist scholar from Amdo in the northeastern part of the Tibetan areas who had been abbot of Ganden Monastery from 1682 to 1685.⁴⁷ After the conference, the Kangxi emperor invited him to Beijing. There he became known as the “Chinese” (Gyanakpa) Lodrö Gyatso, while the Mongolian sources refer to him as Galdan *siregetü qutuqtu*. In the *Qing Shilu*, he is spoken of as Ga'erdan Xiletu. Although the abbots of Ganden did not belong to a reincarnation line but were appointed for a period of office on the basis of their scholarship, they could still become the starting point of a new reincarnation line after they died. It was in this manner that Ngawang Lodrö Gyatso was later regarded as the first of a lineage associated with two monasteries in Amdo: Kumbum and Lamo Dechen. The *trülkus* of this reincarnation line are known as the Tritrül, Sertri *rinpoché*, Lamo Setri, or Kumbum Sertri. The second Sertri *rinpoché*, Lozang Tenpé Nyima (1689–1762), traveled on the invitation of the emperor to Beijing in 1734, where he became a prominent figure in the emperor's project to establish Tibetan Buddhism at the court. One of his accomplishments there was to translate the *Tenjur* into Mongolian in collaboration with the Changkya *qutuqtu*.⁴⁸

Because the agreements entered into at the peace conference of 1686 had been without any lasting effect, diplomatic efforts were still necessary. Two reincarnations in particular now began to play a prominent diplomatic role in the conflict between the Oirats and the Qalqas and the Qing empire. Their ambivalent activities put them in a precarious position. One of these *trülkus* was the aforementioned Sixth Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*, Ngawang Könchok Tenpé Nyima (1653–1707), whose reincarnation line originated with the sixth abbot of Ganden Monastery.⁴⁹ The Fifth Dalai Lama had granted the Sixth Tatsak *jedrung* Pashö Monastery in eastern Tibet (together with its branches and estates);⁵⁰ until 1792, it was the main seat of this reincarnation line. The Sixth Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* functioned for several years as the lama of the Boshugtu Jinong,⁵¹ an Oirat who had settled at Kokonor Lake. Boshugtu

Jinong's son married one of Galdan's daughters.⁵² Because this was later regarded by the emperor as a marriage alliance, he demanded the extradition of this woman in his 1696 and 1698 correspondence with the Tibetan regent.⁵³ In 1689, the regent finally chose the Sixth Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* to act as the Dalai Lama's representative in the mediation of the disputes between the Oirats—or more precisely the branch of them called the Dsungars—and the Qalqas and the Emperor of China.

According to the *Qing Shilu*, nearly one year after Sanggyé Gyatso had instructed the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* on his mission to the Mongols, the latter arrived at the court of the emperor together with more than seventy disciples and announced that Galdan had reduced his demands in the meantime.⁵⁴ Galdan was no longer demanding the surrender of both the Jebtsundamba and the Tüshiyetü Qan, but only of the Jebtsundamba to the Dalai Lama. In the regent's instructions, the Jebtsundamba was described as the greatest threat to the Gelukpa. However, the regent's demand—made in the name of the Dalai Lama—was considered by the emperor as an illegitimate intrusion on his jurisdiction and an encroachment on his sovereign rights. In addition, the Qing Council of Ministers accused the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* of having used the negotiation talks simply to stall the Qing army so that Galdan could escape. Thus began the tarnishing of his reputation at the Qing court, which less than one year later was totally destroyed. The *Qing Shilu* contains an entry of a letter dated November 5, 1691, from the emperor to the Dalai Lama in which reproach is heaped on the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*. The emperor accuses him, together with other unnamed confidants of the Dalai Lama, of conspiring with Galdan without the knowledge of the Dalai Lama.⁵⁵

After the emperor found out in 1696 that the Fifth Dalai Lama had long been dead and that the Tibetan regent had been acting in his name, the emperor accused Sanggyé Gyatso of having used the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* in his efforts to encourage and support Galdan.⁵⁶ In a letter issued on September 3, 1696, the emperor demanded from the Tibetan regent the extradition of the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*.⁵⁷ On December 16, 1696, the regent was confronted by the imperial emissary in Lhasa with the emperor's charges and demands.⁵⁸ Being under pressure, he distanced himself from the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* and shifted all the blame to him. Sanggyé Gyatso informed the emissary that as punishment he had already confiscated the possessions of the *rinpoché*'s family and had exiled him to a faraway place. It would take between two and three

months to get him to Lhasa to meet the emissary—too long to wait. The regent promised, however, that he would cautiously persuade him to come to Lhasa and would send him to Beijing afterward in the company of the lama who had accompanied the imperial emissary to Lhasa. The regent expressed the hope that the emperor would not really rake the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* over the coals. This hope was based on a previous announcement of the emperor that he would neither sentence the *rinpoché* to death nor divest him of his rank as a lama.⁵⁹

These statements as transmitted by the *Qing Shilu* give the impression that the regent on the one hand was making a scapegoat out of the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* but on the other hand was trying to gain time and save him from imperial punishment, knowing full well that the *rinpoché* had actually acted on the regent's own instructions. The Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* was nevertheless extradited in July 1698, and the deliberative assembly in Beijing proposed that he be kept under guard in the capital.⁶⁰

Nothing about the charges brought by the emperor against the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* has been mentioned in the sketchy Tibetan accounts of his life. Instead, he is extolled for his success in resolving the Inner Asian conflict on the orders of the emperor. Two handwritten texts compiled during the first half of the nineteenth century summarize the lives of the Sixth to the Eighth Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*s.⁶¹ These state that the emperor was so delighted with the success of the *rinpoché*'s peace mission that he ordered him to come to Beijing in 1690.

Apparently the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* was not forced to reside permanently in Beijing but had been allowed to return to Tibet. However, the emperor did summon him back on two more occasions, and it was in Beijing that he died. The emperor had obviously decided to restore the *trülku*'s reputation, which is evidenced by the title, the silver seal, and the presents conferred on him. Recent extracts from his life story tend to emphasize the religious aspects of the *trülku*'s relationship with the emperor. They either stress the establishment of a "priest-patron relationship"⁶² or accentuate the offering of religious teachings to the emperor.⁶³ Both accounts say that the emperor had actually wanted the *trülku* to reside permanently in Beijing. In contrast to Tibetan historiographic writings, the biography of the first Jebtsundamba, written in 1835, confirms that as late as 1702, the emperor was still very annoyed with the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*. This source credits the Jebtsundamba with having finally assuaged the emperor's anger.⁶⁴ A document dated 1702 attests to the significant improvement in the

relationship.⁶⁵

However ambivalent the *trülku*'s role may have appeared to the emperor, it is clear that with the Sixth Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* the foundations for a special relationship between this reincarnation line and the emperor were finally laid for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This became the basis of a reliable link that connected the court with Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism.

The second reincarnation to serve as a prominent diplomat in the Inner Asian conflict of the seventeenth century was the Second Ilagugsan *qutuqtu*. He did not function as a representative of the Dalai Lama but was commissioned as a mediator under the direct instructions of the emperor. The first lama known as Ilagugsan *qutuqtu* was a man called Gushri Sechen Chöje from Minyak in eastern Tibet. He was instrumental in bringing about the first contacts between the aspiring Gelukpa elite and the young Qing Dynasty. He was sent by the Fifth Dalai Lama to Manchuria in 1640 in an attempt to enlist Hong Taiji, the first emperor of the Qing Dynasty, as a patron. He stayed for about eight months at the Qing court in Mukden after his arrival there in 1642 before returning to Tibet, where he died in 1647.⁶⁶

The Second Ilagugsan *qutuqtu* was identified by Zahiruddin Ahmad, on the basis of the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography, as a man called Lhatsun Ngawang Tendzin.⁶⁷ Hiroshi Wakamatsu, however, has provided evidence that Lhatsun Ngawang Tendzin is not identical with the Ilagugsan *qutuqtu* who played a prominent role in Galdan's clash with the Qing Empire.⁶⁸ Following the *Depter Gyatso*, Wakamatsu gives the name of the Second Ilagugsan *qutuqtu* as Jampa Chöchok Gyatso. In 1690, this Ilagugsan *qutuqtu* acted as an imperial envoy who transmitted the emperor's messages to his adversary Galdan.⁶⁹ However, the Ilagugsan *qutuqtu* changed his allegiance at an early date. He is even said to have encouraged Galdan to enter the Qing territory to pursue the Qalqas.⁷⁰ Even though his divided loyalties may indeed have made it possible for him to be swayed by the Tibetan regent (in the name of the deceased Dalai Lama), there is no direct evidence of this available. Having been deceived by his own representative, the emperor had no other choice but to declare him an outlaw. On August 26, 1692, the emperor compelled whoever ran across him to arrest him and bring him to the court. If he resisted, he was to be killed immediately. After Galdan's death in 1697, the Ilagugsan *qutuqtu* was turned over by Tsewang Raptan, Galdan's Dsungar rival and successor. In the same year, he was publicly

executed in Beijing through evisceration.⁷¹

By performing such a cruel act, and thereby treating him as if he were an ordinary figure in the political struggle for power, the emperor consciously scorned the high esteem in which a *trülku*—an emanation of a transcendent bodhisattva—is held by Buddhists. Despite the fact that the Ilagugan *qutuqtu* had been regarded as a traitor and an enemy by the emperor, it seems that the reincarnation line survived for some time to come, since a Third Ilagugan *qutuqtu* was later recognized.⁷² But unlike the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*, this reincarnation line no longer played a prominent role in the Qing court's policy.

THE FIFTH PANCHEN LAMA'S REFUSAL OF THE IMPERIAL INVITATIONS

The Fifth Panchen Lama, Lozang Yeshe (1663–1737), had no interest in being drawn into the political power games of his time. After his enthronement in 1668 at the direction of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Fifth Panchen Lama devoted himself in the next three decades to his religious studies and obligations. When the Dalai Lama died in 1682, the young Panchen Lama was not a member of the small circle of insiders with whom the regent Sanggyé Gyatso shared this secret. It was not until 1697 that the regent informed him that the Dalai Lama had already been dead for fifteen years and that his reincarnation had long since been identified.⁷³

Although he had been reluctant to get involved in politics and had been excluded by the regent from the core of political power, the Panchen Lama was still regarded by the emperor as an important figure in the Qing court's efforts to prevent the Dsungars from establishing their own empire in Inner Asia. As the war with the Dsungars dragged on into the 1690s, the emperor increased his efforts to present himself everywhere in Inner Asia as the true patron of the Gelukpa. His goal was to weaken the strong ties between the Dsungars and the Geluk hierarchs in Tibet. He therefore thought it advisable to follow the example of his predecessor and invite a prominent Tibetan Geluk hierarch to his court in Beijing. Although he did not know that the Fifth Dalai Lama was actually dead, he must have heard the story that the Dalai Lama had retired from the public arena and gone into strict retreat. Therefore, on May 25, 1693, the emperor handed over a letter to envoys of the Dalai Lama informing the Dalai Lama and the regent of his intention to invite the Panchen Lama to Beijing:

To think that for the sake of the ignorant sentient beings I have to invite the

Panchen *trülku* was postponed again and again. I think that if he does not come after being invited, my desires will not be fulfilled. Previously also the Dalai Lama came [to Beijing]. Now he has grown old. Regarding great lamas who were sent to this area before him, no one was sent at all. [Now,] after you [messengers] have arrived, I thought to invite the Panchen *trülku* for the sake of the numerous sentient beings.

Informing the Dalai Lama and the regent [about my intention], I have clearly written down the reason for this [invitation] to the messengers who came [to me]. They have said to me that they will put it forward [to the Dalai Lama and the regent].⁷⁴

It appears that the Kangxi emperor regarded the Panchen Lama as subordinate to the Dalai Lama and the regent, whose approval and support was needed before inviting the Panchen Lama to his court. In September 1693, the emperor sent messengers directly to the Panchen Lama, inviting him to Beijing. Because he was not immune to smallpox, he declined the invitation for fear of infection.⁷⁵ This excuse would later intensify the emperor's mistrust of the Tibetan regent.

Still in 1693, the regent sent the emperor a letter allegedly written by the Dalai Lama, officially informing the emperor that on account of his advanced age he had withdrawn from government affairs and had delegated all his political powers to the regent.⁷⁶ The regent even asked the emperor, in the name of the Dalai Lama, for an imperial title and seal in exchange for the title and seal of the *ch'an hua wang* once granted by the Ming emperors to the Pakmodrupa.⁷⁷

The Dalai Lama being unavailable, the emperor tried in vain for nearly a whole decade to convince the Panchen Lama to visit him in Beijing. The Panchen Lama always declined, using his fear of smallpox as an excuse. According to the *Qing Shilu*, the emperor began voicing his suspicion in 1696 that the Tibetan regent—being jealous of the Panchen Lama and collaborating with Galdan—was preventing the former from traveling to the emperor's court.⁷⁸ Ya Hanzhang suggests that the Panchen Lama himself had “hoped to go to Beijing as the Fifth Dalai Lama had done, for an audience with the Qing Emperor Shengzu would raise his social status and widen the influence of Trashi Lhünpo Monastery. But as Depa Sanggyé Gyatso controlled the ruling power over Tibet, the Panchen had to ask the Depa for approval.”⁷⁹ Although this sounds good, there is no evidence of this alleged hope of the Panchen Lama anywhere in the sources.

Such a statement should therefore be avoided. What we should ask instead is whether the correspondence available contains anything indicating that the emperor believed that the Panchen Lama's fear of smallpox was a mere pretext provided by the regent to prevent him from traveling to Beijing.

As already expressed in the above translated letter from 1693, the emperor regarded the Fifth Panchen Lama as being subordinate to the Dalai Lama and the regent. He therefore believed—as later letters prove—that a simple order of the regent would be sufficient to make the Panchen travel to Beijing. On April 12, 1695, the emperor sent two letters, one addressed to the Fifth Dalai Lama and one addressed to the regent. In the first one the emperor wrote:

Since in the Water Dragon year [1652], during the time of my father, the emperor, you, lama, were invited and came to my domain, you and I are united in government and religion. Therefore, we help and consult each other in all matters. In the past this has been the case. Because of my wish to meet the Panchen *trülku*, I now have sent to you an official document to consult about the invitation. Requesting that you as well specifically should give an order to the Panchen *trülku*, I now have specifically sent Nechu Kukye, *jasak gi lama drakpa* Chönjor Rapjampa, *jasak lama* Zöpa Gelong, Chakna Dorje, . . . minister Chungshan Bo'u, and assistant minister Sarthu for the invitation. I request a powerful and forceful invitation through a pressing order sent also by you, lama, to the Panchen *trülku*.⁸⁰

The emperor also wrote to the regent on the same day:

Because of my wish to meet the Panchen *trülku*, I have sent you an official order that [you] consult [with the Panchen Lama] about the invitation. According to the custom of the Dalai Lama you as well have to put forward [the invitation]. Now I have sent Nechu Kukye, . . . [cf. the above letter] to invite the Panchen *trülku*. Since you in particular understand any activity of the Dalai Lama as most important, the Panchen *trülku* will certainly listen to your words and consider [them]. In accordance with my intention to invite [him], make an obligatory invitation by acting insistently.⁸¹

In a reply sent to the emperor in November 1695, the regent states that on two occasions he had explained in detail to the Panchen Lama the reasons he should accept the invitation.⁸² He adds, however, that he does not know whether this will cause the Boshugtu Qan, i.e., Galdan, to take offense in light of the fact that

Galdan's messengers had already explained to the Panchen that a journey to Beijing would not be appropriate. The regent's reference to Galdan, which was also confirmed in an entry in the *Qing Shilu* dated March 24, 1696,⁸³ outraged the emperor. It caused him to attribute even more urgency to the invitation. On August 1, 1696, a renegade of the Dsungars reported to the Qing that Galdan had an excellent relationship not only with the Tibetan regent but also with the Panchen Lama. He spoke in this context of Galdan's stay at the previous Panchen's court and of the fact that Galdan still owned the estates of the *Ensa trülku* in Tsang.⁸⁴ These close ties made the Panchen Lama a central figure in the emperor's struggle against the Dsungars.

In 1696, Galdan was unquestionably defeated by the Qing armies. It was from prisoners of war that the emperor found out that the Fifth Dalai Lama had already been dead for a long time. Upon discovering this, he put even more pressure on Sanggyé Gyatso to provide him with detailed information. He also asked him to install the Panchen Lama as the lord of the Buddhist teachings and to vow obedience to him.⁸⁵ Sanggyé Gyatso now also became increasingly concerned about the emperor's fury about the Panchen Lama refusal to travel to Beijing. However, even though the Fifth Panchen Lama had been excluded from the core of political power in Tibet, it was still a misunderstanding on the part of the emperor to regard him as a mere subordinate of the Dalai Lama and the regent. Sanggyé Gyatso sent a letter on November 6, 1696, to the Panchen Lama describing in detail what he had heard about Galdan's defeat and subsequent escape.⁸⁶ He cautiously asked the Panchen Lama to reconsider in this context the matter of the imperial invitation. There is nothing in the letter hinting at a desire on the part of the regent to prevent the Panchen Lama from traveling to the emperor's court. Nevertheless, the Panchen was still reluctant to accept the invitation. On September 19, 1698, two envoys of the emperor delivered to the regent—in the presence of the Sixth Dalai Lama—a decree and oral information from the emperor regarding his wish to invite the Panchen Lama to his court.⁸⁷ Sanggyé Gyatso sent a petition to the Panchen on September 26, accompanied by a decree from the Sixth Dalai Lama informing him of the emperor's serious allegations against the regent and urging the Panchen to obey the imperial order and come to Beijing in December of the same year.⁸⁸

It was probably in response to this renewed invitation that the Panchen Lama wrote to the Sixth Dalai Lama and to the regent, repeating that his reason for not visiting the emperor was his fear of smallpox.⁸⁹ In the letter to the regent, he

suggests to ask instead for a meeting with the emperor in Kumbum Monastery in Amdo.⁹⁰ With respect to the reincarnation of the Fifth Dalai Lama, he explicitly confirmed in this letter the identification of the candidate selected by the regent. Thereupon, Sanggyé Gyatso presented two imperial envoys (Chakna Dorje and Ananda) with a letter informing the emperor of his futile attempts to persuade the Panchen to travel to the court.⁹¹ In December 1698, the Sixth Dalai Lama also sent a letter to the emperor informing him of the difficulties of persuading the Panchen Lama to make a commitment, despite the strong arguments that had been presented by both himself and the regent.⁹² At some point the Panchen did finally agree to travel to Beijing in 1700. But despite the exchange of correspondence about the journey that went on during 1699, the Panchen never actually set out. The emperor continued to accuse the regent of deterring the Panchen from traveling. On November 6, 1700, the regent—together with the Nyimatang or Nyitang *zhapdrung*—wrote to the Panchen describing their fear of war with China and urging him to go, but nothing happened.⁹³ The threat of war must have been very real, because in the Sixth Dalai Lama's biography, which was written by the regent, there is frequent mention of the performance of magical rites to protect the borders from war.⁹⁴

In 1701 the matter of the invitation grew even more awkward for the regent. It had now become linked to the loss of Dartsedo, an important place for Tibet's trade with China, located at the outermost edge of the eastern area inhabited by Tibetans. Dartsedo (modern-day Kangding) had been ruled by local chieftains before its seizure by the Ganden Podrang government under the Fifth Dalai Lama.⁹⁵ But Sanggyé Gyatso had announced to the Kangxi emperor in 1691 already that he had ordered the withdrawal of the Qoshot troops stationed in Dartsedo.⁹⁶ The emperor, however, seems to have considered it unnecessary to station an imperial garrison there at that time. The influence of the Ganden Podrang therefore became stronger again through support from the governor of Sichuan in exchange for the bribes he was receiving from Tibetan officials. The question of sovereignty was left in the gray until 1698. At that time, Yue Shenglong, the new military commander of Sichuan, started to reinforce the nearest garrison, located southeast of Dartsedo. The Tibetan government responded by sending troops into the area, resulting in an increasingly tense situation at the border. The governor-general of Sichuan and Shaanxi finally persuaded the emperor in 1700 to station a Qing garrison in Dartsedo. In an imperial edict sent to the Tibetan regent, Kangxi strongly condemned Tibetan military aggression and claimed Dartsedo for the Qing. After some smaller

Tibetan military actions involving the killing of Qing soldiers,⁹⁷ the emperor decided to deploy additional troops and seize Dartsedo by force. By February 1701, Qing rule had been established not only through a military victory but also by a subsequent massacre of Tibetan locals. Manpi, a Qing official, was commissioned to supervise the setting up of the administration in the border area.⁹⁸ On May 8, Sanggyé Gyatso sent an envoy to Beijing requesting detailed information about the news he had received from Dartsedo. In a reply sent on June 5, 1701, by the Lifan Yuan, the Ministry of Outer Dependencies⁹⁹ that was in charge of Mongolian and Tibetan affairs, the Tibetan regent alone was held responsible for the outbreak of the military clashes. Any intention to wage war against the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama was denied. If the regent would abstain in future from sending troops to Dartsedo, the Qing court would refrain from waging war and would allow trade to go on there as it had before. Otherwise military forces would be sent and trade would be prohibited. Both the regent and the Panchen Lama should be aware of this. In yet another letter dated July 4, 1701, Manpi informed Sanggyé Gyatso about the new situation and warned him that Tibetan aggression would be answered with strong and immediate military action.¹⁰⁰

Sanggyé Gyatso wrote to the Panchen Lama in August 1701 telling him about the loss of Dartsedo and the border conflict. He expressed his hope that a promise from the Panchen to finally travel to the Qing court the same year might result in the return of Dartsedo to Tibet. He spoke again of the idea of only going as far as Kumbum Monastery near Xining and meeting the emperor there, thereby avoiding the risk of contracting smallpox.¹⁰¹ All in all, the Panchen Lama received numerous entreaties desperately urging him to abandon his adamant refusal to meet the emperor.¹⁰² In drastic terms he was made aware of the possible repercussions: the permanent loss of Dartsedo and the Tibetan subjects in that area; the destruction of Dartsedo as an important marketplace for Tibet, which would once again cut off the “golden bridge”; the risk of war with China; and the harm that the Gelukpa would suffer. One of the petitions, written on August 27, reads: “It is as if the Panchen *rinpoché* has thrown the teachings of Tsongkhapa, the religious and secular authority of the Sixth [Dalai Lama], and all sentient beings of China and Tibet out of the sphere of his spiritual commitment.”¹⁰³

Both Sanggyé Gyatso and the Sixth Dalai Lama informed the emperor again in September of their unavailing attempts to persuade the Panchen Lama. On the

topic of the allegations against the regent, both asserted that they would never dream of waging war against the emperor. They emphasized that to have peace at the border, there should be no military forces in Dartsedo.¹⁰⁴

On February 1, 1702,¹⁰⁵ the emperor responded to the regent's request that leniency be exercised toward the Panchen Lama, who was still refusing to visit because of his alleged fear of smallpox and because he was not yet finished with his studies. Although the emperor finally gave up insisting on the Panchen's visit, he said it would not be possible to return Dartsedo to the Tibetan government. He suggested that the regent send a high lama who could work together with the emperor's people, for example with lama Tenpa Selje, in supervising trade.¹⁰⁶ A final demand was the surrender of Erdeni Jinong, the third son of Boshugtu Jinong, who had married a daughter of Galdan. He would later become well known for his endorsement of the recognition of the Litang child as the Seventh Dalai Lama.¹⁰⁷ This marriage alliance was perceived as a direct threat to the Qing. The emperor warned that any failure to comply with his commands would result in the cessation of trade and the messenger service and in the return of the seal granted to the regent by the emperor. Nevertheless, in the regent's reply of June 30, 1702, he defended Erdeni Jinong, claiming that he was not to blame.¹⁰⁸

On February 7, 1703, the Lifan Yuan informed the regent that the Dartsedo area, up to the Yalong River in Nyakrong, had already been included in the imperial records.¹⁰⁹ "Therefore, how could it be granted to you?" The Lifan Yuan acted, however, with more generosity when it came to the issue of trade. To enable it to be carried on as before, the Qing troops would be withdrawn. The regent was to send lama Nyitang *zhapdrung* to supervise trade; after one year, he was to be exchanged with another high-ranking lama. The Lifan Yuan also dispensed with the demand for the surrender of Erdeni Jinong.

There is no evidence whatsoever in the correspondence regarding the Panchen Lama's refusal to visit the emperor that it was the Tibetan regent who for tactical reasons had prevented the Panchen from taking this journey. And at the very latest after Galdan's death, such a journey would certainly have been in the interests of Sanggyé Gyatso. Even though in the eyes of the Qing government the inclusion of Dartsedo in Sichuan Province had never really depended on the Panchen's visit, the Ganden Podrang government still believed it had. The letters exchanged at that time vividly reveal the extent of the regent's despair. He

expresses his fears not only about the possible re-closing of the “golden bridge” but also that the emperor might not show the same appreciation for the Sixth Dalai Lama as he had for the Fifth. On the other hand, the Panchen Lama’s visiting Beijing had also not been without risks for the regent. Such a visit could have resulted in the downgrading of the Dalai Lama’s status and an upgrading of the Panchen Lama’s, which of course would have diminished the regent’s power. For this reason, the regent did not react positively to the emperor’s demand that he respect the Panchen Lama as his lord.



FIGURE 3.3 Detail from figure 3.2. This section of d’Anville’s map shows the border, as it had been established early in 1703, between Sichuan Province and Tibet along the Yalong River. Dartsedo or Dajianlu (打箭爐) appears on the map as Tatsienleou, Chengdu as Tschingtou, Batang as Pa, and Chamdo as Changtou.

What then could have been the real reason the Panchen Lama refused to visit the emperor all those years? The only explanations given in the sources at hand are the fear of smallpox and the obligation to complete his studies first. The former was certainly not a mere pretext. Tibetan sources often mention the risk of

infection when talking about journeys to China. However, there is reason to believe that such explanations veil other motives for the Panchen's refusal: his loyalty to the Dsungars, his respect for the special teacher-student relationship between his preincarnation and Galdan, or his respect for the regent as the sovereign of Tibet. All of this is, however, pure speculation at this point in time.

THE REGENT'S SECRET

The events of 1696 had revealed to the emperor that the Tibetan regent had played a crucial and devious role in the great struggle for control of the Mongol groups. He therefore could not help but view the Panchen Lama's refusal to come to Beijing as just another of the regent's tricks. But the maneuver that topped all others was his concealment of the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama during all the years of tension and warfare in Inner Asia. In a letter sent to Sanggyé Gyatso on September 3, 1696, the emperor confronted the regent with his understanding of how the pieces of the puzzle fit together. The Tibetan version of this letter is preserved in the Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region and has been made available in a transcribed form. The Tibetan version differs in some respects from the version in the *Qing Shilu* in the entry of September 6, 1696. Wolfgang Romanovsky has pointed out that the compilers of the *Qing Shilu* often modified the original sources to bring them in line with a historiography coined by Confucian ideology.¹¹⁰ For this reason, the especially important concept of the "two systems" (or the "Buddhist government," as it is sometimes referred to), a matter central to the discourse on the relationship between secular and clerical powers and highlighted by the emperor in his letter, was completely left out of the Chinese version. The observation that this specific idea got lost in the Chinese translations is not restricted to this particular letter. Ishihama notes: "However explicitly the term 'Buddhist government' existed in Mongolian and Manchu sources, once it was translated into Chinese, it faded away because of the lack of a good Chinese equivalent."¹¹¹ The emperor refers to this term twice in his letter. The first reference in the opening deals with the concept in a rhetorical sense. In the second, the emperor seriously accuses Sanggyé Gyatso of being a person who harms the union of government and Buddhist teaching achieved by and inherited from the Fifth Dalai Lama.

The following is a translation of the Tibetan version of the letter as received by Sanggyé Gyatso. To compare this with the version in the *Qing Shilu*, the reader may wish to consult Romanovsky's translation.¹¹² I have added Romanovsky's section numbers in brackets to make such comparison easier.

[1] Order of the emperor sent to the “king” [*wang*] and *depa*: I have placed the [union of] government and [Buddha’s] doctrine as highest and love all sentient beings. If, therefore, someone appears who honestly benefits government and [Buddha’s] doctrine, I will reward him through loving-kindness. If someone appears who destroys government and doctrine by secretly inciting others to do evil, I will—on the contrary—punish him.

[2] From long ago, you, *depa*, have been the one who runs the business under the Dalai Lama. They say that you would protect and help government and doctrine without infringing the order of the Dalai Lama. By especially rewarding you, I have, therefore, made you “king” [*wang*] over the district of Tibet. Analyzing it closely, you outwardly say: “I work for the good of the government and the doctrine [according to the system] of Tsongkhapa.” Inwardly you take the part of Galdan alone, and through disrespect for the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, you harm the doctrine of Tsongkhapa. Earlier, you—after the death of the Dalai Lama—in a deceitful maneuver to pretend that the [Dalai] Lama was still alive, sent the rebirth of [Tatsak] *jedrung* [*rinpoché*] to Galdan. At the time of warfare at the place [called] Ulang Bodong [Ulan Butung] he performed religious ceremonies [to eliminate obstacles] for Galdan and examined the planets and stars for [selecting the appropriate time of] the battle. After the defeat of Galdan he hindered my troops, using the pretext that he would have mediation talks. Thus, he enabled Galdan to escape far away.

[3] I had sent someone to invite the Panchen *trülku* for the benefit of all sentient beings. However, by skillfully using Galdan as a pretext and out of fear saying: “There will be damage to the Panchen *trülku* by Galdan,” you did not send [him to me].

[4] Boshugtu Jinong¹¹³ from the Kokonor and Galdan have sent messengers from their [respective] areas [to each other] and thus formed mutually a marriage alliance. This you did not clearly point out to me. How could it be true that Galdan and Boshugtu Jinong mutually formed a marriage alliance without you having talked [to them before]? Listening to your deceitful words, Galdan did not follow my orders.

[5] In the past, when Galdan was defeated at the place Ulang Bodong [Ulan Butung] and escaped, he placed the wrathful deities on the crown of his head and took an oath. Breaking it, he came last year near to the Kherelun [Kerülen River] and robbed the Qalqas who had joined us. To inquire about the reasons, I specially sent assistant minister Arbidbu [Arbidu] as messenger. The

specially sent assistant minister **Abdukuu** [Abduqu] as messenger. The messenger sent by me was held back, as it was not desired that he meet Galdan. In addition, all their [i.e., the messenger and his escort's] riding and pack horses were stolen and they returned on foot. Further, afterward **Khiyakhishiktu**, **Bichaichi**, and **Sagaliyan** were sent as messengers. However, just as before, they were robbed of their riding and pack horses and returned on foot. Again afterward, the investigating minister **Bouchu** was sent as messenger. He returned like the previous ones. About the meaning of such behavior, I was not pleased and had troops recruited from all areas. Leading a great army myself, I came near to Galdan.

[6] Even if I, therefore, had intended to annihilate [him] immediately by leading the great army [to him] and killing [him], many living beings would certainly have died by the weapons. Thus, after a while I withdrew the troops. To Galdan I specially sent . . . **Tu'uchen** and **Chongshu'u Abita** as messengers, handing over to them an edict saying, "We will resolve the conflict through holding a meeting and talking in detail about the issue of the **Qalqas**. You do not have to be frightened. On no account will I do any hasty action by listening to the deceitful maneuvers of other people."

[7] Thoughtlessly the Oirat Galdan did not give up his wrong and malicious intentions. After the horses of the soldiers sent to escort my messengers were stolen and the clothes of the messengers taken off, they were released. Again, to inquire specifically about the reason for this [behavior], I handed over an edict to **Püntsok Gelong** and sent [him to Galdan]. But again he was sent back. In response to the danger¹¹⁴ to all messengers sent by me for such a reason, [I] went [together with my troops] to the **Kherelun** [River]. Being afraid of my magnificence, Galdan left women, children, tents, livestock, and cookware behind and ran away. When he arrived at a place called **Taralji** [Terelji], he met the great army of **Biyanggu** [Fiyanggu], the great general of the right-hand route. The great army for the fight with Galdan arrived without delay and defeated Galdan immediately. [Galdan's wife] **Anu** was killed on the battlefield.¹¹⁵ Beginning with **Shazin Sechen Jaisang**, . . . and **Chikhula Gelong**, more than two thousand people of the Oirat were killed. More than two thousand people of the Oirat, like the king of **Khotong** [Khotan, Hotan], **Abdo Rishid** . . . and **Bichaichi**, surrendered. We seized everything, women, children, horses, camels, yaks, sheeps, tents, and so on. Galdan escaped together with about twenty men.

[8] Men who had surrendered, men of rank, [like] **Tenpa Khashakha** and **Chagan**

Shidar Khasha, as well as the messenger Lodrö Emchi, who had been sent by Boshugtu Jinong to Galdan, all said: “Since the death of the Dalai Lama nine years have passed.”¹¹⁶ Since my people were turned into patrons and began to pay respect to the Dalai Lama, the true great all-knowing one, through offerings, more than sixty years have passed. Therefore, it surely would have been appropriate for me to have heard [the news] immediately after his death! Hiding [the death], you have deceived everyone. Relying on Galdan, [you] have started the war. Having done such activities was a very big crime.

[9] Also Tenpa Khashakha, the man who had surrendered to me, said, “When Galdan heard the news that the emperor—bringing along his great army—had arrived at the Kherelun, he ran away. At that time, he said: ‘Concerning [the fact] that I came here, to the Kherelun, it was not out of my own wish that I [thus] came inside [the empire]. Since the instruction of the Dalai Lama said that it would be very good and would be good news if I would enter inside [the empire], I afterward came inside [the empire]. The Dalai Lama killed me; I did not kill you.’¹¹⁷ Such news was communicated to everyone.”

[10] For many years I and the Dalai Lama were in mutual harmony, because government and [Buddha’s] doctrine had become one. If the Dalai Lama were still alive, it would be absurd for something of that kind to happen at all. Regarding these [circumstances], [the report] that was sent here that you have—after the death of the Dalai Lama—under the name of the Dalai Lama incited Galdan, is very clear. Did you act in this way for the benefit of government and doctrine, or was it deceitful behavior for your own benefit? However, it is true in every respect that I, the great lord who nourishes all sentient beings of the earth by loving-kindness, [do] good to the good ones and exterminate the evil wrong ones.

[11] If you intend to leave behind your insincere attitude and to follow the doctrine of Tsongkhapa according to the old customs, and, [further], if you report clearly whether the Dalai Lama is alive or not, and if you pay respect to the Panchen *trülku* through venerating [him] as the chief with regard to the teaching of the lama and send him in accordance with the meaning of [my] invitation, and if you seize the *jedrung trülku* and extradite him, and if you extradite the daughter of Galdan who was given to the son of Boshugtu Jinong at the Kokonor, I will nourish you solely like before through special rewards!

[12] However, if, from the [above list of demands], only one item is missing, I

will punish you, because you have shown disrespect for the Dalai Lama and the Panchen *trülku* and supported Galdan through deceitful maneuvers. I will send troops from Yunnan, Sichuan, and Shaanxi, from many places. I will either do it the way I defeated Galdan, by sending out the great army of the Beijing fort, or I will personally come leading the great army and fight with you, or send princes [*wang*] and good persons and let them fight.

[13] Earlier you said to the lamas whom I had sent as my messengers that the four Oirat groups would be your patrons. Therefore, bring along the four Oirat groups and let them take your side! I will see whether such a circumstance will bring benefit to you or not. By analyzing this matter immediately, make sure that you send in the first spring month, straightaway, a response! If this does not happen, I will later eradicate you even if you repent! On this matter I have sent as special envoys the high-ranking lama Jinpa Gyatso, *demchi* Sönam Zangpo, and . . . investigating minister Bouchu. In accordance with the custom of setting down an order, [it was sent] together with six rolls of cloth on the eighth day of the second month of autumn of the thirty-fifth year of Kangxi.¹¹⁸

There are five fundamental accusations elaborately expounded against the Tibetan regent. These are repeated here and there in subsequent letters from the emperor as well as in several entries of the *Qing Shilu*:

1. The regent had worked against the idea of “Buddhist government” and thus did not conform to the intentions of the Fifth Dalai Lama.
2. He took Galdan’s part and supported him through deceitful maneuvers.
3. He prevented the Panchen Lama from visiting the emperor in Beijing.
4. He was responsible for the marriage alliance between Galdan and Boshugtu Jinong. As is evident from a parallel letter sent to the Dalai Lama,¹¹⁹ the Kokonor chiefs themselves had stated that this marriage had been arranged according to instructions received from Tibet.
5. He had hidden the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama to deceive others and to exploit them for his own selfish agenda.

In the end, all five accusations revolved around the central charge that Sanggyé Gyatso was responsible for the war in Inner Asia. Although the emperor insinuates that it was done for selfish reasons, he does not specify what these

exactly were.

The regent immediately sent two letters in response to the emperor's letter of September 3. The one containing the most in-depth apology for concealing the Fifth Dalai Lama's death was written on an unspecified day of the eighth Tibetan month. The letter is preserved in the Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Since according to the calendar system preferred by Sanggyé Gyatso,¹²⁰ 1696 contained a leap month following the eighth month, the letter must have been written prior to October 26. It was probably sent together with the second letter, written on October 8, 1696,¹²¹ because in both Sanggyé Gyatso mentions Nyitang *zhapdrung* and Kyormolung *kenpo* as his envoys.¹²² The regent acknowledges in the opening that the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing in 1653 accomplished two things: the realizing of the union of government and Buddha's doctrine and the joining together of the Dalai Lama and the emperor in the special relationship of priest and patron—each being the superior one in his respective religious and secular sphere. About Galdan, the regent's letter was completely silent.

That which is reported respectfully:

Concerning [the fact] that the Fifth Dalai Lama showed his last deeds [i.e., passed away] in the Water Dog year [1682]—having accomplished nothing but merit for all sentient beings headed by ourselves:

Since [the time of] the Tibetan kings the [religious] doctrine has been one. And since the [Dalai Lama's] journey there [to Beijing] in the Water Snake year [1653], government and doctrine have been one. Not only that, in this world the Dalai Lama as the one who is greater in religious respect and you, the Brahma of the earth, as the one who is greater in secular respect, are patron and priest, being like the sun and the moon. Even though, therefore, the wish to report any news [to you] was very great, it was—in connection with the order of the Dalai Lama himself, predictions [made] through combined divinations, and the order of the great Nechung Oracle—with the exception of the household servants here [in the Potala], even not spread to [Gushri Qan's grandson and “king” of Tibet] Dalai Qan and to [Gushri Qan's sixth son and leader of the Kokonor Qoshots] Dalai Hong Taiji by specially summoning them and telling it to them.¹²³ Since until this year the secret could not even be revealed to our respective close relatives, it was, in connection with the order of the [Dalai] Lama and the words of the oracle, difficult to do [anything]—even though the wish to report the news was

great. With the best will, I was unable to report it. I had no permission [to do so].¹²⁴ In the same way I was—due to the [abovementioned] predictions—also unable to meet the newly appeared Sixth [Dalai Lama]. Since now the time has come, I report it to the patrons, foremost to the emperor, the great Brahma. Regarding [the question whether to] communicate and explain¹²⁵ [the secret] to the general public at the same time, the time [given] in the divinations and predictions is quite clear. Until then, not to hide it, but to proclaim it not only to the important people but also to the general public, is prohibited because of the prediction of the oracle, et cetera.

The details have been presented orally by Nyitang *zhapdrung* and Kyormolung *kenpo* together with the extracted essence for the ear and delight for the mind. Through keeping it accordingly in [your] all-knowing mind, please know that with regard to the collection of [your] orders and instructions [my report] is like a good, slow-flowing stream without skipping some part. The petition accompanied by the [listed] gifts . . . was offered on an auspicious day of the Trumtö month [i.e., the eighth month].¹²⁶

In the second letter, which was mainly concerned with the acknowledgment of gifts received from the emperor for the shrine of the deceased Dalai Lama, the regent spoke in circuitous terms about the concealed death as being a retreat, a long meditation:

Even though the wish to report the news about the end of the Dalai Lama's retreat was like the wish of a thirsty person for water, [I] was not able to report it until this year, because the seal of secrecy of the *lama chösong* [i.e., the oracle] was not yet released. This year the time [for the disclosure] was clear. Therefore, I [now] specially report it.¹²⁷

Even with all his excuses, the regent was ultimately unable to convince the emperor. Sanggyé Gyatso was therefore forced to defend his actions over and over again. And the situation would become even more difficult for him.

Nowhere does the regent deviate from the version of the story that claims that the only people who were in on the secret were the household servants of the Potala. It goes without saying that the Nechung Oracle and the lamas who did the divination must have been initiated as well. Assuming this is true, how could it have been possible that, per the emperor's letter, the Dsungar prisoners of war knew about the secret as well? This becomes all the more puzzling when at the

same time the emperor argues that Galdan himself, the ruler of the Dsungars, had not known of the Fifth Dalai Lama's death and had therefore been deceived by the regent's maneuver. Such a contradiction is hard to believe. According to Shakabpa, the secret was only gradually unveiled from 1696 onward.¹²⁸ By then, around fourteen years had passed since the Dalai Lama's death. The prisoners of war are said to have told the emperor that this event had occurred nine years previous. On December 1 of the same year, Qing soldiers captured a number of messengers on their way from Galdan to the Dalai Lama and to the chiefs of the Kokonor Qoshots. They found fourteen letters from Galdan addressed to the Dalai Lama, the regent, the Kokonor chiefs, the Nechung Oracle, and other leading personalities in Tibet. Twelve of these letters have been preserved in Manchu translations at the National Palace Museum in Taipei. Two bear the specific date of September 28, 1696. The conclusions reached by Čimeddorĵi's¹²⁹ analysis of them can be summarized as follows:

1. The letters confirm that the secret had not yet been revealed to Galdan at that time. Čimeddorĵi comments that this seems to contradict the information received by the emperor from the Dsungar prisoners of war.
2. The regent apparently played an important role for Galdan, who turned to him for help.
3. The Lamo Oracle and the Nechung Oracle in Tibet also played a central role for Galdan. He asked them when he would be able to see the Dalai Lama again and where he should go beforehand.
4. Galdan believed in the effectiveness of reciting *sūtras* in the temples of Tibet.
5. Galdan informed the high-ranking Tibetan lamas and the Kokonor chiefs about his defeat and his situation afterward.
6. Galdan had excellent relationships with the Kokonor chiefs, who at that time were important for him in his communication with Tibet.

The incongruity between Galdan's ignorance and the prisoners' statements is hard to explain. Perhaps, even though rumors of the Dalai Lama's death had spread among the Dsungars, Galdan refused to believe them, trusting instead in the Tibetan regent and the oracles.

Frightened by the accusations and the threats made by the emperor, the regent tried desperately to exculpate himself. In his efforts to do this, he must have sought support from the local elite. The Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region contain the draft of an elaborate letter written in the regent's defense. In the modern edition of the letter,¹³⁰ a man called Oronchi has been identified as the sender. And indeed the letter ends with: "The petition was offered . . . on an auspicious day of the month from Oronchi." But to date there is no known person, office, or place called Oronchi on either the Tibetan or the Qoshot side. When compared to other Tibetan documents, the position of the word *oronchi* suggests a place rather than a person. Since Manchu was the main language at that time for communicating with the Lifan Yuan and with the court in Beijing, the non-Tibetan word *oronchi* might be borrowed from Manchu. This could be analyzed as *oron*, meaning "place,"¹³¹ followed by the ablative suffix *ci*.¹³² Being unfamiliar with Manchu, the Tibetan scribe may have felt the need to add a further Tibetan ablative suffix. *Oronchi* would thus be a mere placeholder for a place name that could be inserted later. The whole draft may also have been written with a specific sender in mind, who would later add the place name, or with the expectation of finding someone who would submit it under his or her name. The content points to a sender from among the Kokonor Qoshots. Whatever the case, at this time we do not know whether this letter was ever sent to Beijing, and if it was, exactly who sent it. Even though I am unable to provide any kind of conclusive explanations, the contents of this draft shed so much light on the situation at that time that a translation of it is well worthwhile. The unknown author stands up for Sanggyé Gyatso, not only going to great lengths to justify his behavior but also declaring him—with reference to the Dalai Lama—a *trülku* as well and thereby exonerating him beyond all shadow of a doubt. In fact, in the supplement to the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography written by Sanggyé Gyatso, the latter mentions that the Dalai Lama had intended to declare him a reincarnation of the ancient Tibetan king Mune Tsenpo (775–797). The same claim was also made by a contemporary of the regent.¹³³ This transliteration of the letter in Tibetan block-print letters was not dated, but the transcriber estimates the year to be 1697.

That which is reported to the feet of the powerful lord, the great Brahma of the earth:

The regent says thrice that it is not [as claimed by the emperor].

Concerning the first [contradiction]: The concealment of the Dalai Lama's death

. . . [lacuna]. It is a general Tibetan custom to keep the death of lamas and lords who had exercised power over the whole territory secret for a long time. Especially at the point of the Dalai Lama's death there was received the order [from the Dalai Lama]: "Keep it secret!" And also the Dharma protectors [through the oracles] have ordered: "Keep it secret!" Leaving¹³⁴ aside the [Fifth] Dalai Lama, there is the story that the regent Sönam Chömpel kept [the death of the Fourth Dalai Lama] secret for eleven years.¹³⁵ By such a manner the religious and political affairs were managed smoothly for so long and thus were caused to prosper. We think that this is advantageous. And we think: would it not be a mistake to think otherwise?

Concerning the second, that is concerning what was reported in regard to the invitation of the Panchen *trülku*: There is the account that the holders of the doctrine, [i.e.,] the holders of the doctrine of the Dharma king Tsongkhapa, could not bear having been defeated¹³⁶ by the Tsangpa king and thus waged war, and that—after they had risen up [in revolt]—the thirteen myriarchies¹³⁷ of Central Tibet, headed by the Panchen, and equally [on the opposite side] both, the Choktu king and the Beri king, rose up, and that thereafter their bodies and lives together with their families and former subjects were offered to the Dalai Lama. An edict granted by the Dalai Lama himself was written¹³⁸ on the gate of the Potala, saying, "With regard to both, the complete religious and political affairs of those [subjects], this regent has ruled all of Central and eastern Tibet and has placed it in a state of happiness. Thus it also has been well passed on [to us] in the prophecies and thoughts of holy great beings. Since, therefore, I have handed over everything to him, [you], people, who conceive of me [as the lord], conceive of him [as the lord]! [You] people, who accept my word, accept [also] his word!" Edicts with the same wording, on which the handprint [of the Dalai Lama] had been fixed, were—headed by the emperor himself—distributed to all the kings, great lords, and great monasteries of China, Tibet, and the Mongols, et cetera, as something to be kept as long as the eons exist. Therefore, the regent functions as sovereign, even if one assumes that the Panchen *trülku* is a great holy being. This is certainly appropriate. Even though it is like that, the emperor, the great lord himself, intended [as well] to increase the happiness and benefit of the [Buddhist] doctrine and the sentient beings and invited [the Panchen Lama]. [We] think [on the one hand] that this invitation is very appropriate. However—even though there is a great need—we consider [on the other hand] whether there would [also] be a reason and great need not to invite [him].

Concerning the third: If it should be true that the regent caused the Boshugtu king [Galdan] to wage war against you, [I] do not understand it at all. In addition, it would be a great offense about which one does not even dare talk. However, this is nothing but a lie. Regarding the reason that it is a lie: Ngo Lekpe Sherap, the powerful one among the [spiritual] sons of the glorious Atisha [982–1054], was—according to the tantra system—a buddha who had achieved supreme accomplishment by way of [practicing] the *Kālacakra*. According to the *sūtra* system, he was a bodhisattva who—by giving away without regret even body and life—had accumulated the two accumulations [of merit and wisdom] like an ocean to liberate during many eons many living beings from suffering. This is obvious in the *Kadam Lekbam*. The Dalai Lama himself accepted and recognized that this [current] regent is a reincarnation [*trülku*] of Lekpe Sherap. Therefore, that slandering talk is not true. If it were true, would that mean that the Dalai Lama did not know that he would create such turmoil?¹³⁹ Or would it say that [the Dalai Lama] knew it and, therefore, had entrusted [the power] to the regent so that he would destroy the [Buddha’s] doctrine and government according to the [Dalai Lama’s] decision? On account of these reasons, this slandering talk is not true at all. Using deceit to unify efforts and send leaders and better people who help the Boshugtu king, [some people] say that there were orders of the Dalai Lama, who became the lord of all [sentient beings], and of the Dharma protectors [i.e., the oracles]. The amount [of such gossip] is also great. The making of a prediction in both the Water Pig [1683] and the Wood Pig [1695] [years] by the Dharma protectors demonstrated their disapproval of the Boshugtu king’s excessive acts. Thus, decline and . . . [?]¹⁴⁰ were obvious. Even though it was that obvious, it was said: “There exist orders of the Dalai Lama, who became the lord of all [sentient beings], and of the Dharma protectors.” We think that this is an obvious lie. Some people deluded by such [a rumor] are reporting it to you. The amount [of such gossip] is great. Through the behavior of the Boshugtu king, so much damage was caused to the [Buddhist] doctrine and the sentient beings. If you now show a furious appearance, the damage will be ten thousand times greater! If [you]—regarding those two predictions of the Dharma protectors—listen to others and are enraged, it is something evil in general, and especially for you! How could there be a mistake in the predictions of the Dharma protectors?

Concerning the Boshugtu king’s daughter who lives [now] at the place of Boshugtu Jinong, before the war of the Mongols, in the Hare year [1687],¹⁴¹ Boshugtu Jinong had sent Yentukhas, who is also called Erkhe Gu. [He] thus

went to ask for [her hand]. The king [Galdan] also decided to give [him his daughter]. Later, [Galdan's wife] Anu brought the daughter. Thus she came from the king's place to here. At the time when Yentukhas, alias Gu, was sent from [his] father's side as petitioner, we arranged also from here that [someone] was sent to fetch [her], since it was appropriate. Before the one who was sent at once to fetch [her] arrived, [Galdan's wife] Anu had [already] brought the daughter and had returned [home]. Thereafter he [i.e., the envoy from the speaker's side] asked [formally] once more for [her hand]. This is it. [I] think that this is appropriate and that it probably makes no sense to pursue [her].¹⁴² If one does not shake the immeasurably large precious vessel, filled to the brim¹⁴³ with various kinds of nectar, will it not turn, then, into nourishing medicine for oneself and others, for everyone?

Concerning the [Tatsak] *jedrung trülku*, [the accusations] did not get to the pith. Is he, therefore, perhaps not [just] a person who only appears to be skillful? It is said that he is the reincarnation of the great bodhisattva Baso Chökyi Gyeltsen from Tsongkhapa's time!¹⁴⁴ We think that such a bodhisattva would not [merely] pretend that [something] was settled and achieved through [his] ideas . . . [general comments on that topic].

Having been told that the Panchen *trülku* is not invited [anymore], we appeal [to you] that it is not appropriate to be furious. If—when the Dharma protectors are asked—[they answer] that the inviting of the Panchen *trülku* would be very auspicious, one should—in accordance with the proverb “one should be patient when accomplishing important matters”—ask again for instructions [on how exactly to proceed]. Why [then in such a case] should [the answer] be given from our side that he should not be invited? [However,] if the Dharma protectors answer that it would be inappropriate to invite [him], it makes no sense to put pressure on [us]!

To summarize: Please be sympathetic to what is reported, sincerely, [here] in accordance with the ideas of us two petty people in a remote [area], and accept [our] admission of faults with kindness! Moreover, there are some notes as oral messages. The petition was offered together with gifts on an auspicious day of the month from *oronchi*.¹⁴⁵

This letter clearly shows how the concept of “Buddhist government” had become an ideological trap for the elite in Tibet, preventing them from changing earlier decisions and averting impending disaster. The belief in Tibetan decision

makers as incarnations of great bodhisattvas or as oracles of mighty deities made it impossible to question their decisions.

Convinced that the Fifth Dalai Lama would have acted differently had he still been alive, the emperor did his best to persuade the regent to admit his guilt. But the regent never deviated from his assertion that in doing what he had done, he had been bound by the last will of the deceased Dalai Lama and the orders of the oracles. On April 28, 1698, the emperor tried to unmask Sanggyé Gyatso by handing over to him the regent's own letters, which he had originally sent to Tsewang Rapten, alias Tsewang Arapten, Galdan's Dsungar rival and successor as Dsungar Qan.¹⁴⁶ Tsewang Rapten delivered the letters to the emperor, who had regarded them as proof of the regent's attempts to obstruct his activities. In his reply in December 1698, the regent could not help writing: "Since Tsewang Rapten gave feigned petitions [to you] pretending that [I] had [originally] presented [them to him], [I] received [your] weighty order. This was a very great mind exercise [for me]."¹⁴⁷ In the end, the emperor never did succeed in obtaining an admission of guilt from the Tibetan regent. The regent was equally unsuccessful in convincing the emperor that he had acted in a spirit of fair-mindedness, i.e., that he had only been obeying the wishes of the deceased Dalai Lama and the Dharma protectors and had had no intention of obstructing the emperor's activities.

It is of course very difficult to come to any definitive conclusions about the regent's motives. As stated elsewhere,¹⁴⁸ to ascribe to the regent a cynical mind-set and a mere hunger for power would imply a lack of faith in Tibetan oracles on his part that is hard to believe in view of the traditional importance that the oracles had for Tibetan decision makers. Moreover, given the increasingly uncomfortable situation that the regent must have been in on account of the pressure from and the threats of war being made by the emperor, the regent's behavior appears to have become more and more ill-advised. However, the emperor was not the only one who later harbored doubts about Sanggyé Gyatso's character. The Gelukpa at the far eastern rim of Tibet later accused the regent of being susceptible to bribes.¹⁴⁹ Whether such accusations were already being made in the Tibetan areas prior to the regent's downfall is probably no longer possible to trace.

A DALAI LAMA WHO REJECTS HIS ROLE

Two years before his death, the Fifth Dalai Lama had proclaimed that Mönkyül

was to be incorporated within the territory of the Ganden Podrang government. Mönyül is located in what is now the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. At his death, the Fifth Dalai Lama is supposed to have directed his thoughts to a rebirth there.¹⁵⁰ Tibetan oracles also later predicted that the reincarnation would take place in southeast Tibet. Both the Tibetan regent and a number of prominent lamas received confirmation of this in the form of visions and dreams.¹⁵¹ This could of course be interpreted as just another way to fortify the new Gelukpa stronghold against the rival powers of the Drukpa Kagyüpa at the southern border. The regent himself explained it the other way around, claiming that the Tibetan government had taken control of that area on the order of the Fifth Dalai Lama because it would later be the place of his rebirth.¹⁵²

On April 27, 1683, the Sixth Dalai Lama was born in Ugyenling in the Tsona district, Mönyül. His family claimed descent from the famous treasure revealer Pemalingpa (1450–1521), from Bumtang in central Bhutan. Two lamas sent to examine the child in 1686 recognized him as the true reincarnation of the Great Fifth. But because the Fifth Dalai Lama's death had to be kept secret, they refrained from revealing the identification to anyone involved in Mönyül. Neither the parents nor the two governors of Tsona nor any other officials were told about the discovery. Instead, the impression was given that the boy could be the reincarnation of the Zhalu abbot. It is not known whether the boy himself ever received any unofficial confirmation of being the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. According to his later statements,¹⁵³ he at any rate had never thought of himself as such. Those close to him were also not told about it for the next eleven years. Separated from his parents, the boy grew up in Tsona fortress under the care of two monks. Only very few people were allowed to see him from time to time. Two learned Geluk scholars acted successively as his tutors.¹⁵⁴

Without an official, public confirmation of the boy's "true" identity, without the public knowing about the existence of a Sixth Dalai Lama at all, without his closest relatives having access to him or knowing anything about the actual reasons for his fate, restricted to the company of a few selected people, living in an environment that resembled a prison more than a palace or a monastery, the socialization of the young *trülku* must have had a special impact. This would later affect the boy's perception of himself and his acceptance by the political public in Inner Asia.

Not until late in 1696 did the Nechung Oracle finally allow the secret to be

disclosed, thus coinciding with the emperor's onslaught of accusations of the regent. Nonetheless, the emperor immediately sent gifts and a courteous letter to the new Dalai Lama. He wrote the following letter on November 22, 1696:

Order of the emperor, sent to the . . . all-knowing *vajradhara* Dalai Lama:

Upholding the doctrine of Buddha Śākyamuni, you, lama, are teaching the true nature of mind and are bestowing good benefits on all living beings. By the power of heaven, I am also healthy and well. You, lama, have previously asked that two tangkas should be woven¹⁵⁵ [for you]. Now they are finished. For that reason, I have given them—regarding the messenger—especially to *jasak gi lama* Tenpa Selje, master of literary Tibetan, and sent him to convey them. In addition I have sent as gifts for well-wishes a glass bowl with a long handle, a glass vase with inlay of turquoise and corals, a churn [with a value] of sixty gold *sang* [coins], a door curtain¹⁵⁶ [with a value] of sixty silver *sang*, thirty rolls of multicolored fine cloth, ten larger ceremonial scarves, and twenty smaller ceremonial scarves. [Written] on the twenty-eighth [day] of the first winter month of the thirty-fifth Kangxi year.¹⁵⁷

This letter is apparently a response to a previous request made by the Dalai Lama. It is unclear whether the request had been instigated by the regent to encourage the emperor to establish the same courteous relationship with the Sixth Dalai Lama that he had had with his predecessor, or was being made pursuant to the wishes of the Fifth Dalai Lama. What it shows in any case is that, at least for the time being, the controversy between the emperor and the regent had not affected formal relations between the emperor and the Dalai Lama. The imperial letter and the gifts had probably not yet reached the Sixth Dalai Lama himself in 1696 because at that time he was not yet residing in Lhasa.

The Sixth Dalai Lama did not leave Tsona until 1697, and it was only on his approach to Lhasa that he was officially informed about his status. The Panchen Lama came to ordain him as a novice, on which occasion he received the name Tsangyang Gyatso. The new Dalai Lama was then officially enthroned in the Potala on December 7 or 8, 1697. For this occasion, the emperor sent the Changkya *qutuqtu* bearing a letter and gifts. The heads of the Dsungars, Qalqas, and Torghuts were either present themselves or represented by their envoys.¹⁵⁸

It therefore seems that, at least in the beginning, the new Dalai Lama received the same formal acceptance as his predecessor. But the strange circumstances

surrounding the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the discovery of his successor soon began to have an effect. Rumors circulated and doubt was cast on the authenticity of the new Dalai Lama. When the rumors reached the emperor, the Panchen Lama reacted. Probably at the instigation of the regent, he sent a letter to the emperor on January 3, 1699, in which he explained the reasons the Sixth Dalai Lama's recognition was correct:

It seems that there are all kinds of people who are reporting slanderous rumors, for example, regarding the identification of the great Sixth sovereign, the all-knowing and all-seeing lord of the victorious ones. But as the emperor knows and sees himself, [the identification] was in accordance with [the fact] that this very Sixth [Dalai Lama] was predicted in numerous [books], like the Mañjuśri root tantra and the *Kadam Lekbam*. At the time when my personal root lama, the great all-knowing lord of the victorious ones himself, was—with regard to his ordinary [outward] appearance—about to enjoy himself in the sphere of the [universal] ground [i.e., was about to die], he submitted the plan that his rebirth would take place in the area of Tsona. . . . Coming—without mistake—to believe in this excellent reincarnation of the great Fifth *gyelwang*, the Sixth disporting himself as the saffron-robed [monk], as the glorious protector of the doctrine and the living beings, I myself have received in Nakartse [on the Dalai Lama's way to Lhasa] the good fortune for example to accept [a tuft of the hair on] top of his head and the preliminary links [of the vows] of individual liberation [i.e., the code of moral discipline].¹⁵⁹

At the end of the letter, the Panchen Lama addressed the issue of his refusal to visit the emperor in Beijing. He insisted again that his fear of smallpox was the true reason he was not coming and denied that the Tibetan government was preventing him from traveling.

In April or May 1701, the regent informed the abbots of the three great monasteries, Sera, Drepung, and Ganden, of the futility of trying to convince the young Dalai Lama to continue with his studies. The next year the Dalai Lama refused to become a fully ordained monk. No one, not even the Panchen Lama, was able to persuade him to take the next step expected of him. The Dalai Lama even threatened to commit suicide if he was not allowed to return his novice vows. He therefore became a layman. Apparently this step inspired other people in his situation to do the same. One of the most prominent was the Demo *rinpoché*. The young Dalai Lama continued to live in the Potala but began enjoying the pleasures of secular life—meeting with friends of his age,

practicing archery, and having amorous adventures.¹⁶⁰

The Jesuit missionary Ippolito Desideri, who in 1716 arrived in Lhasa a few years after the events described here, summarized what he had heard about the behavior of that “very dissolute and wild young man”:¹⁶¹

Against the inviolable custom of the lamas and monks of Tibet, he began to let his hair grow and he put it up; he began to drink intoxicants, habitually gambled, became prey to drunkenness, and finally became so carried away by lust that neither maidens nor married women, nor beauties of either sex, escaped his unbridled immorality.¹⁶²

According to Desideri,¹⁶³ the people loved and venerated him anyway. For a long time afterward, the Sixth Dalai Lama remained a very popular figure in the memories of the Tibetan people. His memory was kept alive especially through the love songs handed down to us, although whether he was really the author of these songs is more than doubtful.¹⁶⁴

At any rate, the return of the novice vows and the behavior of the Sixth Dalai Lama once again gave rise to doubts about the authenticity of the reincarnation, at least outside Tibet. Such doubts were frequently discussed in the various communications between the court in Beijing and the authorities in Central Tibet, two issues in particular over and over again. The first concerned the Sixth Dalai Lama’s own statements to the effect that he himself did not believe he was the reincarnation of the Fifth Dalai Lama. The second concerned his behavior, which was anything but that expected of a Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama himself also addressed these issues in his letters to Beijing. Detailed passages from the first of these letters are found in a document sent by the Lifan Yuan to the Tibetan regent on March 4, 1703:

All the actions [allegedly] made [by me] after my entrance into the womb—starting with the [miraculous] signs at the time of my birth, et cetera, and my ability to speak [right from the beginning]—were only known by my parents and the local people. I myself was not aware [of them], because I was very young [at that time]. Ever since learning about it, how could I be so arrogant as to think that I am the rebirth of the all-knowing one, the Dalai Lama? Be that, however, as it may, the regent has identified [me] due to prophecies, et cetera. And the Panchen *rinpoché* has without mistake given prophecies, narratives of former

births and recognition. This is therefore the basis on which [I] later learned [about it]. In the Ox year [1697, on the occasion of the novice vow] I offered a tuft of my hair to the Panchen *rinpoché* and asked for religious teachings, et cetera. In accordance with the wish of the regent, I have trained myself in the fields of knowledge, et cetera. Since the emperor, the noble Mañjuśri, knows and sees everything, how actually could your lordship be suspicious? However, in the Hare year [1699], for example, [the Dsungar leader] Tsewang Rapten caused a controversy through various statements.¹⁶⁵ Saying to the regent, “It is certainly not the right time [for the full ordination?],” I did not have the wish to study [anymore]. Because I did not listen to what the regent said, he invited the Panchen *rinpoché*. Saying, “Listen to what the Panchen *rinpoché* says and become, by all means, a fully ordained monk because with regard to your age the time has come!” he dragged me along. The fact that so many were admonishing me even annoyed the leaders. Also the Panchen gave admonitions. I myself do not wish to inherit the place that has been left by the Dalai Lama, the all-knowing one, in this life. Regarding the manner that others have established [as their spiritual practice], I dislike, for example, to devalue the vows of others. Therefore, I have also given back my vows. I have presented these facts so that the emperor, the great lord, can understand my joys and sorrow, my virtues and my faults, my goodness and badness, everything. Although I do not think that I myself am the rebirth [of the Fifth Dalai Lama], I was placed on the throne.¹⁶⁶

In two successive letters sent to the emperor, the Dalai Lama briefly repeated the same main justifications set out above.¹⁶⁷ Although the frankness shown in these writings most likely fortified the emperor’s doubts about the Dalai Lama’s authenticity, the regent still persisted in defending the identification of the reincarnation. In a letter to the emperor, which has been preserved as an undated draft,¹⁶⁸ the regent repeated that the Panchen Lama had identified the Sixth Dalai Lama through prophecies in authoritative Buddhist scriptures. In connection with the Sixth’s personal belief that he was not the true reincarnation of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the regent particularly stressed that the Fifth had made similar statements in the first volume of his biography, referring precisely to the leaves of the printed edition.¹⁶⁹ What he conceals, however, is the ironical distance conveyed by the Fifth Dalai Lama when narrating the events surrounding his own identification, which was more an expression of doubt regarding the whole procedure of finding and identifying a reincarnation than a rejection of the role intended for him. Sanggyé Gyatso further described the Sixth Dalai Lama’s statements as being the typical modest way that holy and

noble beings talk about themselves. But the conviction with which the Sixth Dalai Lama—despite the risk to the regent—expressed his beliefs, combined with his radical refusal to accept the traditional role, clearly exceeds the type of understatement commonly employed by such persons. His predecessor, in contrast, had been well suited for the position. He had obviously always accepted the title that had been assigned to him from early childhood. According to his biography, he had wholeheartedly devoted himself to his studies. In the public sphere, he had also apparently conducted himself in accordance with expectations.

In light of the young Dalai Lama's statements and because of his behavior, it seems that the regent was unable to dispel the emperor's misgivings about the authenticity of the reincarnation. The emperor did try, albeit in vain, to get hold of any kind of irrefutable evidence that the reincarnation was not authentic. In this regard, two envoys—the Nyitang *zhapdrung* and the Tsona Khetsün—were sent to the court in Beijing, where they were subjected to a highly distressing interrogation over several days. The Nyitang, alias Nyimatang, *zhapdrung* was very experienced as a Ganden Podrang diplomat in Tibet's relations with the emperor. The emperor's attitude toward him was ambivalent, as it was toward all Tibetan clergy.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, it appears that the emperor ultimately grew to respect him, considering his recommendation of him as the Tibetan supervisor of trade in Dartsedo.¹⁷¹ One would think that the presence of the Tsona Khetsün in Beijing would have enabled the court to obtain firsthand information about the years the Sixth Dalai Lama had spent in Tsona during the period of secrecy about his predecessor's death. However, at least in the report handed down to us,¹⁷² the questions and issues all revolve around the time after the young reincarnation had left his home area. The text also discusses the rumor that preparations for war were going on in Tibet and broaches the topic of the newly established imperial sovereignty over the eastern Tibetan areas of Dartsedo and Minyak.

The envoys were allowed to greet the emperor on the very same day of their arrival in Beijing. The actual investigation began on an evening a few days later:

“You Tibetans are well known for being able to keep secrets. Therefore, speak honestly! Regarding [the statement of the Sixth Dalai Lama], ‘I am not the rebirth of the all-knowing lord of the conquerors,’ the regent and the mother have said: ‘He is the rebirth!’ Is that, what they say, true or not? This talk came from Tsokha Ziling [i.e., Xining in Qinghai].¹⁷³ Why? He has not taken the

vows of a fully ordained monk. In addition, he has also returned the vows of a novice. Do you have knowledge about this?”

To this I replied, “Acting as servant of the Nyitang *zhapdrung*, I left on the tenth day toward here. The precious lord [i.e., the Dalai Lama] had traveled on the seventh day to Tsang.¹⁷⁴ How could there have been such talk at that time?”

“Well then, it is said that [the Dalai Lama]—without staying in the palace—has really done archery, etc., and that [this] would be shameful. Is that true?”

To this I replied, “When I stayed there as servant, there was nothing like that. If it happened afterward, I do not know about it. It would be shameful.”

“Furthermore, do you think that he really is the rebirth¹⁷⁵ of the Fifth or not? Probably he is not the rebirth of the Fifth. What the people say is probably true. Does the regent ask the Sixth [to give him] blessing with his hand or not? By this manner of you Tibetans and [especially by] this custom of not taking the vows, you probably turn toward the school of the Nyingma, the Kagyü, the Drukpa, or whatever. You Tibetans are well known for being able to keep secrets. Therefore, speak well!”

To this I replied, “I myself do not need [to keep secrets]. In Tibet everyone thinks that he is, without errors, the all-knowing lord of the conquerors. Apart from that, there is certainly no doubt [about it]. Concerning the reason: although he is like the regent’s son, is someone as exceptional as him possible through mere [secular] powers? Similarly, if one places an ordinary child on the throne, how could he suppress [this fact]? All of the [various] religious schools explain the [Buddhist] doctrine. However, according to [my] knowledge there is certainly nothing like the [above allegation]. Evidently he left his footprint on a stone when he visited Sera [Monastery]. How could something like that happen by itself?”

“Concerning the footprint, have you seen it with your own eyes?”

To this I replied, “Allegedly one sees it in public through [the imprint on] the cairn of the mountain pass.”

Then I was asked, “Is it not the case that he does not have to take the later vows and that he even has returned the earlier vows? And now—does he take a wife? What do you think?”

To this I replied, “Since the deeds of a buddha have no limits, it is difficult for me, a little person, to say: ‘This is the reason for it.’ ”

The three stewards came back and gave me tea. Again I was asked with great insistence, “You Tibetans are well known for being able to keep secrets. Therefore, tell honestly whatever there is! Say honestly whether you were the one who said previously, ‘When flowers were scattered [from the sky], I was there!’”

To this I replied, “Not only for the people, but also for myself there is no doubt that he is the all-knowing lord of the conquerors. The [Three] Jewels are witnesses. What I have said previously is just that. It seems that the deeds of a buddha have no limits.”

“Well then, thus it is enough. For today you are allowed to return [to your accommodation].”¹⁷⁶

The conversation then turned to the rumor of the preparations for war in Tibet. The repeated admonition to speak honestly during the questioning was intensified by the warning that to do otherwise would make the envoy an even greater criminal than the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*.¹⁷⁷

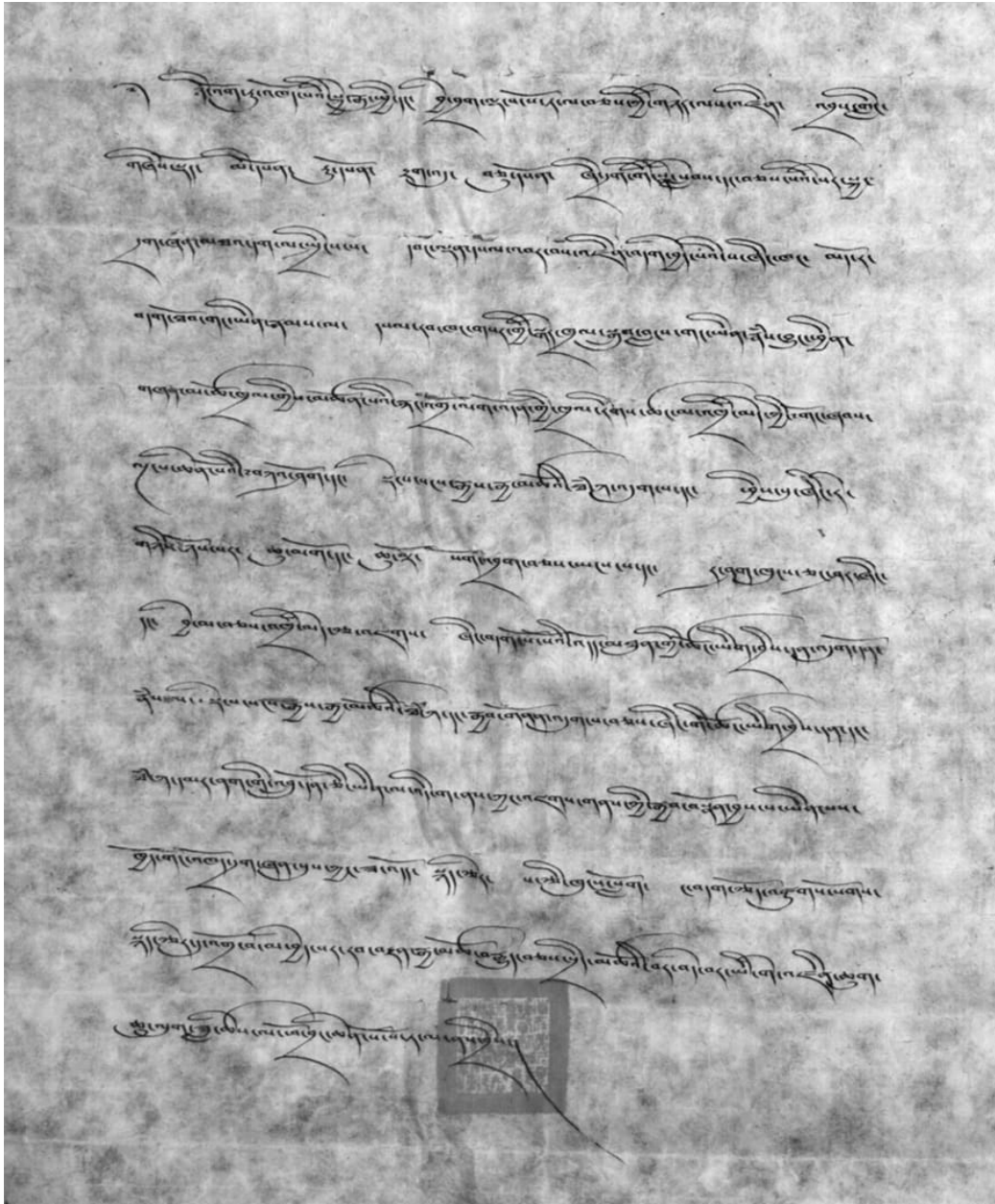


FIGURE 3.4 Document issued by the Sixth Dalai Lama (1703)

KDL 1407

Although the behavior of the young Dalai Lama had caused a great deal of trouble and had discredited the reputation of the position, he nevertheless continued to function as the nominal sovereign of Tibet. The earliest known decree issued by the Sixth Dalai Lama dates from 1698,¹⁷⁸ the latest ones from 1703 (figure 3.4) and 1705.¹⁷⁹ The documents are simple confirmations of tax

exemptions previously granted to a specific recipient. They are therefore fine examples of the routine administrative acts performed by the Tibetan ruler, and of the common Tibetan practice whereby succeeding rulers had to reconfirm privileges granted by their predecessors.¹⁸⁰

THE EMPEROR TAKES CONTROL

THE COMPLEX POLITICAL crisis that evolved around the Dalai Lama made the emperor realize how important the control of high-level Tibetan reincarnations was for building a stable empire in Inner Asia. But instead of restricting the social role of the *trülku* in response to the political risks that the position entailed, the emperor chose to make use of it more and more for his own political agenda.

RECRUITING TRÜLKUS FOR IMPERIAL SERVICE

The Kangxi Emperor was of two minds when it came to the Tibetan clergy. His means of subjecting the lamas to his authority was either harsh criticism and even severe punishment or public honors bestowed on them. When angry he called the lamas liars and accused them of turning the people's heads and living at their expense,¹ but he showered them with gifts and awards on other occasions. Because of their position at the top of the clerical hierarchy, high-level reincarnations attracted special attention. He had harshly condemned the Sixth Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*, had criticized the Nyitang *zhapdrung*, and had put the Second Ilagusan *qutuqtu* to death for the roles they had played in the Inner Asian conflict. In addition, he had serious doubts about the authenticity of the Sixth Dalai Lama. In spite of all this, the emperor decided not to challenge the institution of reincarnated lamas as a whole, but to use it to his advantage. Recognizing the enormous influence the *trülkus* had on Tibetan and Mongolian societies, the emperor tried to control this by incorporating them into his own service. Although the emperor continued to portray the Sixth Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* as a criminal, he still granted him extensive privileges in exchange for his future service. This complex picture only becomes visible from archival sources. Tibetan historiography merely presents a simplified and counter-factual version of the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* as an eminent *trülku* unreservedly honored by the emperor for the merit he allegedly accumulated for mediating between the Qalqas and the Oirats.²

After his extradition, the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* was lucky not to have shared the same fate as the Ilagusan *qutuqtu*. The emperor kept his promise³ and did not sentence him to death. Instead, he compelled him to perform imperial

service, which in the end was to the Tatsak *jedrung*'s advantage. What could the *rinpoché* offer to the emperor to prove his loyalty? The Tatsak *jedrung* was the owner of six large monasteries in eastern Tibet: Japü Donga Dargyeling, Pashö Ganden Samdrupgön, Kharsar, Yülteng, Ochu Trashi Chöling, and Chakzamkha Ganden Thuptenling. It was probably in 1701 that he offered his monasteries to the emperor, the idea being that the monks would gather each day to perform religious ceremonies for the emperor's longevity. In exchange for this service, he asked the emperor to grant a name and an imperial edict to each monastery. The name was to be written in four scripts: Manchu, Mongolian, Chinese, and Tibetan. He also asked for the issuance of an imperial order declaring a whole range of smaller monasteries, together with their serfs, affiliates of the six large monasteries. The monasteries were to be exempt from all taxes and were not to be harassed in any way. And if their serfs scattered, they were to be caught and brought back. The edict was also to be issued to the chiefs of the Mongols living at the Kokonor, on account of their exercising political power over eastern Tibet.

The Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region in Lhasa contain two copies of an edict issued by the Lifan Yuan on February 15, 1702, and sent to all six monasteries of the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*.⁴ The edict grants all the requests, with the exception of the request for an imperial name for each monastery; these were to be granted by separate edicts. This document also states that a letter was sent to the Tibetan regent instructing him neither to collect taxes from any of the listed large and small monasteries, including their monks and serfs, nor to bother them in any way. And in case any serfs scattered, he was instructed to catch them and hand them over to their monasteries as their lords.

This edict represents a serious encroachment on the sovereign rights of the Tibetan government and subordinates the monasteries of the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* directly to the emperor. On November 17, 1703, the emperor sent brief decrees to the monks of the six monasteries.⁵ All six documents contain the same wording, except that in the *inscriptio* the monasteries are now addressed with their new imperial names,⁶ for instance:

That which has been granted to the monks of Tenpa Sungweling: Now I have sent an edict to you because the *jedrung qutuqtu* had requested with urgency that you should be granted an edict. Offering daily incense, butter lamps, et cetera, to the [Three] Jewels and observing well moral conduct, you must sustain your life through the completely pure thought of benefiting others. Without transgressing my order, do what has been instructed [to you] without mistake! Therefore, [this

edict] was granted. On the ninth day of the first winter month of the forty-second year of Kangxi.⁷

Another prominent example of a high-ranking *trülku* who was directly subordinate to imperial authority was the First Changkya *qutuqtu*, Ngawang Lozang Chöden (1642–1714). He was born near Xining in Amdo as the son of a Chinese merchant and was recognized as the reincarnation of Drakpa Özer. Besides the fact that Drakpa Özer had gained some local repute as the abbot of Gönlung Monastery in Amdo from 1630 to 1633, not much else is known that distinguishes him as a remarkable character. That he became the starting point of a new reincarnation line was obviously the result of a wish to increase the prestige of his monastery. Since he was born in the village of Changkya, the entire lineage became known by this name.⁸

This reincarnation line was, however, soon uncoupled from Gönlung Monastery and linked directly to imperial politics in favor of the Mongols and Tibetan Buddhism. Thus the foundation stone for one of the most important lines in Tibetan Buddhism was laid by the Kangxi Emperor. The Changkya *trülku* first became involved in higher politics when he attended the peace conference of 1686. He was then ordered by the emperor in 1693 to take up residence in Beijing. The emperor had apparently chosen him as a tool to exert control over the Qalqa Mongols and to establish a center of Tibetan Buddhism in Beijing that would be independent of Lhasa. Having been given the title *qutuqtu*, he then immediately owed obedience to the emperor. After the consecration of the new Dolonnor Monastery in Inner Mongolia in 1701 by the Changkya *trülku*, the Tatsak *jedrung*, and other prominent lamas, the Changkya *qutuqtu* became its head. He resided there during the summers and spent his winters in Beijing. In this way, the emperor created a counterweight to the Jebtsundamba *qutuqtu* that was independent of the Mongolian aristocracy.⁹

When in December 1697 the Sixth Dalai Lama was enthroned in the Potala, the emperor sent the First Changkya *qutuqtu* as his representative to Lhasa to hand over an imperial certificate together with a seal and presents. On this occasion, the Changkya *qutuqtu* was confronted with a fundamental conflict. Angry about the regent's concealment of the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama and support of Galdan, the emperor had ordered the Changkya *qutuqtu* not to bow to the regent. But once the Changkya was there, the regent insisted on his obeisance. What then appears to have happened is an open exchange of their true respective motives: the Changkya deferred to the imperial order and the regent emphasized

that the status of the Dalai Lama would be damaged if the Changkya refused to show the required respect. Confronted with such a choice, the Changkya felt a greater loyalty to the Dalai Lama than to the emperor and gave in. The emperor was infuriated upon hearing about this. First he pledged the Changkya to secrecy about the matter. The Changkya nevertheless told the story to outsiders, which resulted in his demotion to a simple monk. The Lifan Yuan also suggested that he and his attendant should hang themselves for violating the imperial command. The emperor soon pardoned them, however, and a few months later he reinstated the Changkya in his former position. The Changkya never again functioned as an imperial envoy to Lhasa and apparently had no further intensive contact with Central Tibet.¹⁰

The fates of both the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* and the Changkya *qutuqtu* vividly illustrate just how important control of the Geluk school of Tibetan Buddhism was in the Inner Asian power play between the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan regent.

EVERYTHING CHANGES

Despite the defeat of Galdan, the regent was still seriously attempting to resist the emperor's pressure and to persevere with his own agenda, even at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In his efforts to act as the sovereign ruler of Tibet, he had obviously overestimated his powers not only with respect to the emperor but also with respect to the Qoshots. In 1703, Lhapzang Qan, great-grandson of Gushri Qan, became the Qoshot ruler of Tibet. Lhapzang Qan was no longer content with the role of his predecessors, who had more or less withdrawn from any active involvement in politics. Because he was annoyed by the regent's high-handed ways, a clash was inevitable. After an unsuccessful attempt by Sanggyé Gyatso to assassinate the *qan*, the regent himself was murdered on September 6, 1705.

This story has been narrated twice in some detail by Petech,¹¹ using largely the same wording. It is therefore well known. A few years ago, Oyunbilig¹² substantially modified and corrected this narration on the basis of his research of the palace memorials of the Kangxi reign. These were written in Manchu and Mongolian and preserved in the First Historical Archives of China, located in Beijing. The most important are the memorials of the Grand Minister Ofi of the Deliberate Council (Yizheng Dachen) and of Chakna Dorje, also known as

Shangnandorji. Chakna Dorje was a lama from the Tümed Mongols and well known for his diplomatic services on behalf of the Qing in their relations with Tibet, the Dsungars, and the Qoshots. He was stationed in Xining starting in 1697, where he collected information about political events in Tibet and the Kokonor area for the emperor.¹³ He therefore frequently sent reports to the court in Beijing.

Oyunbilig's findings differ in some essential respects from Petech's narration. The story according to Oyunbilig's research can be summarized as follows: Petech concludes from Sumpa Khenpo's *Paksam Jönzang* that Lhapzang Qan assumed power by poisoning his elder brother. Oyunbilig considers this a misunderstanding of the source. According to a memorial of Chakna Dorje dated June 27, 1703, the Sixth Dalai Lama had informed the Qoshot chiefs at the Kokonor that he intended to remove Sanggyé Gyatso from his office as regent; this may have been in response to the tensions between the regent and the Qoshots. Sanggyé Gyatso was then replaced by his own son. Furthermore, the Dalai Lama told the Qoshots his ideas regarding the succession to their (in 1701) deceased chief, Dalai Qan. His first proposal had been the Dalai Qan's son Tendzin Wanggyel, but this was abandoned due to the poor state of the latter's health. He then proposed the younger son Lhapzang as successor to the throne. Lhapzang became *qan* of the Qoshot in 1703. His elder brother Tendzin Wanggyel died early the following year without ever having borne the title. Until 1703, Lhapzang had lived in the nomads' area at the Kokonor Lake, not in Central Tibet. Only on the occasion of his father's death in 1701 did he pay a visit to Lhasa, after which he returned to Amdo.

It seems that in the beginning the regent tried to maintain his political power and satisfy Lhapzang Qan's ambition at the same time. According to one of Ofi's memorials from January 1706, the regent had bestowed the title of Tendzin Jingis Gyelpo, "Chinggis Qan who upholds the doctrine," on Lhapzang. Lhapzang had not simply assumed the title after the murder of the regent. With respect to the Sixth Dalai Lama, the regent had planned to install him as *cakravartin* king (in Manchu: *cakir badun han*), i.e., the ideal Buddhist ruler, thus nominally emphasizing the Dalai Lama's role as the political and religious leader in Tibet. Oyunbilig construes both measures as attempts by the regent to adulate and corrupt Lhapzang at the same time, and to reduce him to a mere puppet. He also sees them as attempts to please the Dalai Lama while retaining *de facto* political power for himself. If Ofi's memorial is to be believed, Lhapzang told the Qing messenger that the regent had even given his own

daughter to the Dalai Lama in order to control him more easily.

In any event, the relationship between the regent and the Dalai Lama remained tense. This is especially illustrated by an incident that was first reported by Shakabpa¹⁴ and has now been confirmed by memorials presented to the emperor in the years 1703 and 1706.¹⁵ It appears that some people in Lhasa were unhappy about the Dalai Lama's bad company. One night in 1703, the Dalai Lama and several of his attendants were attacked by a group of people on their way home. One of the Dalai Lama's favorite attendants, a man called Drungkhor Targyé, was killed, and Targyé's brother was injured. The Dalai Lama demanded that his regent find the murderers and punish them. The regent pretended to be unable to identify the criminals, so the Dalai Lama investigated the matter himself. He finally identified five people, all of whom had close relations with the regent. The Dalai Lama asked Lhapzang to execute these people, which he ultimately did. This angered the regent.

Although the relationship between Lhapzang Qan and the regent deteriorated dramatically, the Dalai Lama and Lhapzang Qan still got on well. In a memorial dated June 11, 1704, Chakna Dorje reported to the throne the statements of a Qoshot prince who had just returned from Lhasa,¹⁶ according to which the Dalai Lama was in the habit of joining the *qan* at practicing archery and at hunting. On October 5 of the same year, Chakna Dorje informed the emperor about the regent's complaint that he had become a mere figurehead because neither the Dalai Lama nor Lhapzang Qan would allow him to do any administrative work or resign from his position.¹⁷ The regent tried to poison Lhapzang Qan, but he survived. Although Shakabpa is of the opinion that the attempted poisoning is just a rumor, both Ofi's memorial of February 9, 1706, and the narration of the Jesuit Desideri hold that the attempt on Lhapzang Qan's life really did happen.¹⁸

With respect to the regent's death, Chakna Dorje's memorial of December 6, 1705, confirms that it was actually Lhapzang's wife who gave the order to kill him.¹⁹ Lhapzang Qan was therefore now able to rule in Tibet without a rival on the Tibetan side. The office of a regent, acting alongside the Dalai Lama and the Qoshot *qan*, was abolished; its duties and status were assumed by Lhapzang himself. Because his position was still rather weak, Lhapzang at once sought and received the support of the emperor, which was readily granted. In early 1707, this support was ostentatiously underscored through the bestowal of an imperial title.²⁰ However, by this time, the Sixth Dalai Lama had already died.

As soon as Lhapzang Qan was rid of the regent, he wholeheartedly cooperated with the emperor. As discussed above, no amount of diplomacy had been able to repair the Sixth Dalai Lama's bad reputation at the imperial court in Beijing. For the emperor, his authenticity remained more than doubtful. Therefore Lhapzang Qan's declaration in 1706 of the inauthenticity of the Dalai Lama was entirely to his liking. He ordered Lhapzang Qan to send the Dalai Lama to Beijing. But the Dalai Lama never reached Chinese territory, having died along the way on November 14, 1706, in Amdo.²¹

A memorial written by Chakna Dorje on February 12 and received in Beijing on March 26, 1706, sheds some light on the details.²² In 1705, the emperor had sent sergeant Badma (Padma) with a delegation to Tibet to issue the imperial order to extradite the Dalai Lama. The delegation passed through Xining, where they met with Chakna Dorje for the first time. Apparently it was he who then rephrased the imperial order as a letter. When the delegation met Lhapzang Qan, he treated them with the utmost courtesy. For example, he presented Badma with precious gifts that had belonged to himself and his wife, and he hosted a reception every evening. On the second day of their visit, Lhapzang rode with seven companions through the night to the Lamo Oracle near Ganden Monastery to ask the oracle for advice concerning the imperial order. He asked whether it would be good to seize the Dalai Lama at once and send him to Beijing. The oracle answered: "All activities according to the edict of the Mañjuśrī Qan are beneficial for politics and the (Buddhist) doctrine." A second statement of the oracle was also written down: "If [he] would enter the path of the demon, it would be beneficial for the doctrine. Report this to the emperor!" Lhapzang Qan cautiously conjectured that this most likely related to the Dalai Lama. Since he obviously regarded it as a very delicate statement, he suggested that it be presented to the Changkya *qutuqtu* and Chakna Dorje for interpretation. He left the final decision about how to proceed to the emperor. Changkya *qutuqtu* and Chakna Dorje were not only respected Buddhist clerics but also experienced diplomats in the service of the emperor. Although Chakna Dorje had no serious hesitation about removing the current Dalai Lama, he still thought it advisable to consult the Qoshot chiefs from the Kokonor first. To do otherwise might have provoked their opposition. As the emperor's confirmation at the end of the document testifies, the Qoshot chiefs were in fact consulted prior to the emperor's final decision to have the Dalai Lama brought to Beijing.

That memorial of Chakna Dorje reports yet another interesting statement by Lhapzang Qan. Lhapzang Qan is said to have found out that the current Dalai

Lama was not the true Dalai Lama and that the regent had secretly given accommodation to three other candidates on the Chakpori, the hill opposite the Potala.

According to Oyunbilig,²³ this document allows the following conclusions to be drawn: for the emperor, it would have been dangerous to leave the deposed Dalai Lama in Tibet due to the potential for exploitation or manipulation of him by the Dsungars or other political or religious powers. For this reason, he ordered his removal from Tibet. However, the heads of the Gelukpa, i.e., the abbots of the three main monasteries, Drepung, Sera, and Ganden, still regarded the current Dalai Lama as the true reincarnation of his predecessor. This conviction was confirmed by the Nechung Oracle. A Dalai Lama who was still alive but sent into exile would be an obstacle to the search for a successor, so his death was preferable to them. Political decisions in Tibet were often guided by the statements of the great oracles of the Gelukpas. The statement of the Lamo Oracle quoted above appears to demand that the Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso be killed. And indeed, after leaving Lhasa, the young Dalai Lama suddenly became ill. His health deteriorated rapidly and he died before he ever reached Chinese territory. Such circumstances suggest that poisoning was the likely cause of his death.

After the death of the Dalai Lama, Lhapzang Qan presented a monk from the Chakpori as the true reincarnation of the Fifth Dalai Lama. In 1707, this monk was installed by the Panchen Lama under the name Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso. The Panchen had obviously changed his mind. He had no problem legitimizing a new Sixth Dalai Lama, even though this meant withdrawing his former acknowledgment of Tsangyang Gyatso as the rightful reincarnation. But for the majority of the Gelukpa, the installation remained an unauthorized action. It not only met with strong opposition from the Gelukpa elite but also annoyed Lhapzang Qan's relatives, the Qoshot chiefs at the Kokonor. The ensuing lack of strong support for Lhapzang's choice of Dalai Lama in Tibet did not escape the emperor's notice. On two occasions he sent someone to investigate the circumstances surrounding the installation and to inquire about the Panchen Lama's standpoint. The Panchen confirmed the rightfulness of the new Dalai Lama, which did nothing whatsoever to appease the general discontent resulting from Lhapzang's course of action. To back him, the emperor sent a temporary supervisor. He thought it advisable, however, to postpone his decision about recognizing the new Dalai Lama. On April 10, 1710, the emperor finally recognized Lhapzang Qan's candidate by officially granting him a title and seal.

Such an intervention by the Emperor of China signified a radical change in Tibetan-Qing relations: Tibet's subordination to the supremacy of the Qing Empire.²⁴

Lhapzang Qan's period of rule was, however, no reign of terror. He tried to win the favor of the Tibetan population by distinguishing himself from Sanggyé Gyatso. He abolished compulsory purchase and exchange of goods in Tibet as a means of lessening the burden on the people.²⁵ However, he was unable to establish good relations with the abbots of the three great monasteries near Lhasa. And except for the Panchen Lama, he was also unable to bring the Gelukpa elite over to his side. For them, the death of Tsangyang Gyatso provided the opportunity to proceed in the usual way, i.e., to simply look for his reincarnation. Since they were obviously unwilling to allow Lhapzang Qan or anyone else a say in the matter, the sudden news that the reincarnation of the Sixth Dalai Lama had been discovered in eastern Tibet came as no surprise.

By siding with Lhapzang Qan, the Panchen Lama in Tsang became an antipole to the Gelukpa authorities in Ü Province, a development that was reinforced by the emperor's efforts to strengthen the Panchen's position. On February 16, 1713, the emperor—again acting as the highest authority in Tibetan affairs as well—granted the Panchen Lama the title and seal of Panchen *erdeni*. The Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region contain a copy of the Tibetan text of the edict ornately written in Drutsa script on yellow silk and certified by the Panchen *erdeni*'s red seal. The seal bears an inscription in Chinese, Manchu, and Tibetan.²⁶

Order of the emperor, the universal ruler, who now [reigns] by the mandate of eternal heaven:

I rule by having compassion impartially and equally for all sentient beings and by connecting out of loving-kindness all living beings on earth through soft magic means with well-being. If those appear who protect the completely pure doctrine and who through behavior in accordance with tradition endeavor to follow the correct path, I praise and reward them and bestow official positions and titles upon them all.

Since your former lives, you have guarded your vows properly and propagated and spread the teaching of the victorious one through good thoughts and deeds. Today you send regards and offer gifts to me, because you pay respect out of an

entirely joyous attitude in accordance with tradition.

Therefore, I give to you the imperial edict as special praise, the seal, and the title “Panchen *erdeni*,” and let you safely reside in Trashi Lhünpo, the main monastery and its branches together with its estates, without room for others to make false accusations [against you] or to dispute [your claims].

Please, by virtue of completely pure behavior, intensively strive for methods to propagate the doctrine of the victorious one, comprehensively give instructions to the monks and disciples about the necessity to act with regard to what should be accepted and rejected according to the discipline, and strive to achieve the completely pure goal.

On the twenty-second [day] of the first month of the fifty-second year of Kangxi.

Accurate copy of the imperial edict granted by the Mañjughoṣa, the emperor, the great ruler, who was appointed by heaven.²⁷

Although it is elsewhere stated²⁸ that the Kangxi Emperor had conferred this title in 1703 already, the edict translated above testifies to something different. It is not a document that merely confirms an action previously made; it is the actual edict through which the title was originally conferred on the Panchen Lama. By explicitly claiming the right and the power to appoint the Panchen Lama as the head and usufructuary of his monasteries and estates, the emperor was acting here as the sovereign in Tibetan affairs.

THE THIRD SIXTH

In Litang in eastern Tibet, a child was born in 1708 whom local lamas identified as the reincarnation of the Sixth Dalai Lama. In 1712, Trashi Batur Taiji, the youngest son of Gushri Qan, and Cagan Danjin, third son of Boshugtu Jinong, proclaimed their support for the boy from Litang. Trashi Batur Taiji’s leading position among the Kokonor chiefs had been acknowledged by the emperor in 1698 through bestowing on him the *qinwang* title.²⁹ The support of the Litang boy was a clear affront to Lhapzang Qan, their relative in Central Tibet.³⁰

In 1713, the Demo *trülku*—who at that time already bore the imperial title *nomun qan*, equivalent to the Tibetan *chögyel*—briefly informed the Changkya *qutuqtu* in Beijing that he had received news about the appearance of the Dalai

Lama's rebirth in Litang and about its being in accordance with the prophecies and examinations of the lamas and the deities.³¹

Lhapzang Qan's efforts to prove the invalidity of the Litang reincarnation failed. Although the Panchen Lama supported him, the Qoshot chiefs—who had no intention of backing down—asked the emperor for his official recognition of the Litang boy as the true reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. Leaving the matter undecided at that time, the emperor ordered the child and his father to be interned in Kumbum Monastery in the Kokonor area in 1715.³²

But it was not only the Qoshot chiefs of the Kokonor area who used the Litang boy to weaken Lhapzang Qan's position in Central Tibet. Another faction of the Oirat Mongols soon conspired with a large number of Tibetan clergy to do the same. The result was the invasion of the Dsungars in Central Tibet in 1717, supported by large sections of the Gelukpa. As narrated in detail by Petech, the presence of the Dsungar forces soon turned into a reign of terror,³³ which spilled over into the religious sphere as well. Going far beyond what the Fifth Dalai Lama had once had in mind, brutal violence was employed to try to establish a rigid Geluk orthodoxy. But because the Dsungars resorted to terrorism and because the "true" Dalai Lama could not be brought to Lhasa, they lost the support of the Gelukpa. Therefore in 1720, when the Qing forces finally defeated the Dsungars in Tibet and arrived in Lhasa, they were regarded as liberators, and all the more so when they escorted the Litang boy, as the "true" Dalai Lama, to the Potala.

The Dsungar invaders had already dethroned Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso, the Dalai Lama installed by Lhapzang Qan, and had declared the Litang boy the rightful Dalai Lama.³⁴ After they killed Lhapzang Qan, there was apparently no one left who was interested in supporting his Dalai Lama any further. When the Qing armies arrived, not even the Panchen Lama argued in his favor. The emperor had therefore come to a realistic assessment of the situation when he decreed on November 7, 1719, the official recognition of the Litang boy as the true Dalai Lama.³⁵ His justification for this makes explicit reference to the general opinion of the Tibetan lamas and laity. In this situation, it simply made no sense to insist on Lhapzang Qan's choice of Dalai Lama.

In a decree issued on April 11, 1720,³⁶ the emperor informed the Panchen Lama of a number of things, including his reasons for recognizing the new Dalai

Lama, the forthcoming enthronement of the new Dalai Lama, the raising of the Panchen's status, and the role he expected the Panchen to play in the future:

Order of the emperor, sent to Panchen *erdeni*:

I impartially and equally love [all] sentient beings under the sun and care for them through loving-kindness. And I think that each subject on earth may live happily and especially that the doctrine and the government may flourish permanently.

Panchen *erdeni*! Since the time of your former birth, [i.e.,] the elder Panchen, and the Fifth Dalai Lama, the time of my ancestor Emperor Taiwung,³⁷ greetings and messengers have been sent regularly. Through the union of doctrine and politics, [the situation] was very peaceful. Therefore, until your [present] birth, the teachings of scripture and realization of the Buddha were propagated and doctrine and politics were in very good [condition]. In the meantime, without any reason, [the Dsungar leader] Tsewang Rapten sent an army of thieves and bandits. They killed King Lhapzang, destroyed temples and monasteries, scattered the monks, killed the two officials in whom you trusted, obstructed the studies of each and every monk, and did evil to many groups [of the population] of Tibet. Without any actions falling under your control, they made you powerless. Recognizing that the doctrine was just on the point of being destroyed and that the Tibetan subjects had become extremely depressed, I specially send my son together with imperial commissioners, generals, and a huge mighty army to defeat the Dsungar thieves and thus bring the Tibetan subjects back to their former condition and make the doctrine flourish. Furthermore, all the Mongols, the people from the Kokonor, the people of [greater] Tibet, of the [provinces] Ü, Tsang, and Kham, continuously requested with unanimous respect: "This rebirth who stays in Kumbum is the authentic rebirth. Therefore, he is the Dalai Lama and should be installed!" Thus, in order to be in accord with the hopes of all patrons, I installed this new rebirth as the Dalai Lama. Escorted by a huge army, I let him go with the words: "Place him on the throne of the Dalai Lama!"

Howsoever the Dalai Lama will be enthroned, he is still young and has not yet completely learned to read and write. His knowledge and experience are very limited. You, Panchen *erdeni*, have spent a long time caring for the doctrine of the Buddha and working for the benefit of living beings. Considering all the years and studies, you are thus greater [than the young Dalai Lama]. Since you

are thus the chief, [I] made your throne higher. [I] have entrusted you—by acting as the teacher of the newly installed Dalai Lama—to give [him] the transmissions and explanations of the Dharma and to propagate well the doctrine of the Yellow Hats according to the tradition of the elder Dalai Lama of the past [i.e., the Fifth Dalai Lama].

The decree about this matter [I] have entrusted to [the messengers] lama Tukwan *qutuktu*³⁸ and great lama Lozang Tsültrim Kachu. As gifts accompanying the decree, [I] have sent ten rolls of various kinds of brocade.³⁹

On April 27, 1720, the Litang boy was officially recognized as the new Dalai Lama through the presentation of the imperial seal and diploma. The diploma explicitly obliged him to obey imperial rule and politics. Together with many gifts, the seal and the diploma were delivered by Prince Yunti (1688–1756). The details of this are found in a report:

The great Prince Jun [Yunti] came to bestow—together with gifts like various brocades, a marvelous silver-edged churn, etc., satin robes for banquets according to the Chinese style, for servants and monks, as well as innumerable toys—on the auspicious [constellation of] planets and stars of the twentieth day of the third *hor* month of the Iron Mouse [year, i.e., April 27, 1720] in the great religious community of Kumbum Jampaling on the Lord, the great being himself, Kelzang Gyatso—completely drawn by the unalterable firm desire of the Mañjuḥoṣa, the great emperor, who was appointed by heaven—a seal, made of 130 *sang* of gold and having in Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan letters the inscription “seal of the Sixth Dalai Lama, who lets the doctrine grow and guides the sentient beings,” and—as a copy, written on a tablet, made of 150 *sang* of gold—a golden decree, an edict written in Tibetan, Mongolian, and Manchu script, saying:

Order of the emperor, the universal ruler, who now [reigns] by the mandate of eternal heaven:

I rule for the welfare of all sentient beings on earth . . . [*arenga*]⁴⁰

Since the past, the successive Dalai Lamas have—from the west—continuously caused the essence of the doctrine to grow at the border and in the center, everywhere. From here, the center of the country, [We] have exalted [the Dalai Lama] overtly through seal and title.

Carrying on like before, you now have—from youth on—exerted yourself for the discipline of precepts and the studies. Because you have analyzed the meaning of the three [Buddhist] vehicles in detail, you adhere to them all-trusting [in them].

Therefore, by specially granting a decree of praise, an edict, and a seal, I have honored you as the “Sixth Dalai Lama, who lets the doctrine grow and guides the sentient beings.”

Therefore, I request that you propagate the doctrine of the Buddha everywhere and strive without distraction in your diligence and persistence for the service of my rule and for [your religious] training.

[Issued] on an auspicious day of the second month of the fifty-ninth year of Kangxi [i.e., between March 9 and April 7, 1720].⁴¹

The seal and the diploma conferred by the emperor obviously completely ignored the existence of Tsangyang Gyatso, the Dalai Lama presented by Sanggyé Gyatso. Instead, Kelzang Gyatso was now styled as the immediate successor to the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lozang Gyatso.⁴² Nevertheless, the majority of the Tibetan people still regarded Tsangyang Gyatso as the Sixth Dalai Lama and Kelzang Gyatso as the Seventh. Not until 1780, during the time of the Eighth Dalai Lama, did the Qianlong Emperor officially correct the numbering.⁴³ Accordingly, in the imperial decrees of the Kangxi and the Yongzheng emperors, the Seventh Dalai Lama is always addressed as the Sixth Dalai Lama.⁴⁴ However, I am not aware of any documents issued by the Seventh Dalai Lama that bear the imprint of the aforementioned seal.

One month after the new Dalai Lama had received the imperial seal and diploma, he accompanied the Qing army to Tibet. Their mission was to expel the Dsungars and to enthrone the new Dalai Lama in the Potala. Thus everything had been arranged to ensure the Tibetans’ support and favorable reception of the invaders in Lhasa in October 1720.⁴⁵

In the following year, elaborate letters of gratitude were sent in the name of the young Dalai Lama to Prince Yunti and the emperor.⁴⁶ Referring to the precedent set by the Fifth Dalai Lama, the letters emphasized the Dalai Lama’s position as recipient of the title, edict, and seal of “Dalai Lama” granted by the emperor, who was depicted as the king who protects and supports the Buddhist religion

(*chökyi gyelpo*). The young Dalai Lama also explicitly took the Fifth Dalai Lama as his model of the way to show respect to the emperor, who in turn stressed the Great Fifth as the model for the religious activities of the young Dalai Lama.⁴⁷

In the same year, the Kangxi Emperor also sent a tablet containing a prayer for the long life of the emperor in gold lettering on a blue background in Tibetan, Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian.⁴⁸ The tablet was displayed in the Potala and reminded the Dalai Lama of the typical obligations already imposed by the Yuan emperor on Tibetan clerics: praying for the well-being of the emperor.⁴⁹

The Kangxi Emperor had no intention of installing the new Dalai Lama as the formal head of the Tibetan government (represented during his minority by a regent). The office of the regent was abolished and political affairs were soon carried out by a council of ministers, consisting at the beginning of three members and after 1723 of five. Four were nobles who simultaneously functioned as governors of the provinces in southern, Central, and western Tibet. They were therefore essentially regional rulers who only met from time to time. The fifth member represented the Gelukpa but was largely under the control of the father of the young Dalai Lama. Tensions in such a constellation were inevitable. The Dalai Lama's position was downgraded to that of a respected religious leader who functioned, to a certain extent, as a kind of unifying figure.⁵⁰ To control matters in Tibet, the emperor stationed an imperial garrison in Lhasa.⁵¹

The Kangxi Emperor died on December 20, 1722. On February 5 of the following year, his fourth son ascended to the throne as the Yongzheng Emperor. On July 11, 1723, he issued an edict to the Dalai Lama in Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan, which he sent to him together with a new gold seal bearing an inscription in Mongolian, Manchu, Tibetan, and Chinese.⁵² The wording and arrangement of the inscription are identical to another one previously granted by the emperor to the Fifth Dalai Lama.⁵³ Translated from the Tibetan, it reads: "Seal of the most powerful lord of the supremely virtuous western sphere, owner of the entire doctrine of the Buddha on earth, all-knowing holder of the *vajra*, Dalai Lama." According to the Tibetan text, the edict says:

Order of the emperor, the universal ruler, who now [reigns] by the mandate of eternal heaven:

... [arenga]⁵⁴

Looking at you, lama, with affection, my father, the emperor, bestowed on you a gold seal with [the inscription] “Sixth Dalai Lama, who lets the doctrine grow and guides the sentient beings,” an edict, and a written order so that you will propagate the doctrine of the Yellow Hats and give peace to the Tibetan subjects. Being so kind to install [you as the Dalai Lama] and allowing [the Qing army] to escort [you from the Kokonor] to the west [i.e., Lhasa], [he] caused [you] to be enthroned [in the Potala]. Until now exerting yourself in studies, [you have given] the impression of [your] intellect as very broad and clear. From youth, following the previous tradition, you have guarded the welfare of the doctrine and the sentient beings with full concentration and the vows with vigor. The chiefs and subjects adhere [to you] with full conviction. Therefore, [you] have become worthy so that I as well praise [you] greatly.

Especially so that the doctrine of the Yellow Hats is promoted and the Tibetan subjects live happily for a long time, I have thus praised you. In the same way as [in the case of] the Fifth Dalai Lama, I have elevated the gold seal with [the inscription] “Most powerful lord of the supremely virtuous western sphere, owner of the entire doctrine of the Buddha on earth, all-knowing holder of the *vajra*, Dalai Lama,” the edict, and the written order, and thus installed you once again. If you, therefore, from now on—like in the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama—consult and agree well with [your] cabinet ministers, who bear responsibility for all kinds of affairs over there, about all important affairs of Tibet, you will achieve great benefit for Tibetan affairs in general, and the subjects will live happily.

Therefore, you should—in accordance with my principal intentions—feel confident about propagating and spreading the doctrine of the Buddha widely and instructing [the people] and guiding [them] on the path! It is important to exert yourself vigorously without distraction.

Therefore, I have—in accordance with the custom of granting a written order—sent [to you] a tea churn with bands of gilded copper [with a value] of sixty silver *sang*, a silver vase with golden patterns, a silver bowl, fifty large and forty small ceremonial scarves, and thirty rolls of various brocades by entrusting them to [the messengers] *jasak lama kachu* Lozang Penjor and *lön jargoche* Shengchuchen.

Written on an auspicious day of a month in the first year of Yongzheng.⁵⁵

By sending him this document, the Yongzheng Emperor was reminding the Dalai Lama that he owed his position to the Qing Emperor. And just like the Kangxi Emperor, the Yongzheng referred to the Fifth Dalai Lama as the model of a Dalai Lama. This totally ignores the huge difference between the actual political powers of the two Dalai Lamas. The Fifth Dalai Lama is reduced from a powerful sovereign to a model of proper behavior.

THE *TRÜLKUS* AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF QING CONTROL OVER EASTERN TIBET

Gushri Qan's victorious campaigns through eastern Tibet in 1639 and 1640 not only paved the way for the defeat of the Gelukpa's antagonists in Central Tibet but also caused a restructuring of the political landscape of eastern Tibet itself. An example is the transformation of relatively significant Gelukpa foundations into important centers of religious and political dominance, the major ones being Chamdo and Drakyp, located on the trading route between Sichuan and Lhasa. Chamdo was headed by a well-established reincarnation line that went back to the sixteenth century. But it only emerged as a much more powerful local ruling body after Gushri Qan's victory over the eastern Tibetan chief Beri Dönyö Dorje.

The line of the Drakyp *kyamgön*, or Drakyp *rinpoché*, did not actually begin until the time of the Second *kyamgön*, i.e., after Gushri Qan's victory. The First *kyamgön*, Drakpa Gyatso (1572–1638/39), the founder of Trashi Chödzong Monastery in 1621, could not yet be considered a local ruler but was rather a dedicated and influential cleric in the area. When he died in 1638 or 1639, he was regarded as an eminent saint worthy of being entombed in a large and precious shrine (*stūpa*). Nevertheless, the finding and installing of a reincarnation proved no smooth process, the armed riots certainly being one reason. One of the first candidates, who was born in 1644 and examined soon thereafter by some monks, died at the age of three. The candidate who was finally selected was Ngawang Sönam Lhündrup (1647–1682), a boy born to the same parents. He was chosen on the basis of the Dalai Lama's advice and with the cooperation of the Demo *trülku* and was installed in 1651 as the Second Drakyp *kyamgön*. Establishing a prominent line of reincarnations in Drakyp and developing it into a clerical principality were still very much a part of the agenda of the First Drakyp Chungtsang *rinpoché*, Sanggyé Trashi (1588–1651),

the main disciple of the First Drakypa *kyamgön*. He stands at the beginning of the second most important line of reincarnations in Drakypa. When Gushri Qan appeared on the eastern Tibetan scene, Sanggyé Trashi went at once to the Mongols' camp and offered his cooperation. As reward, he not only received Gushri Qan's appreciation but also was able to add a considerable number of areas and villages to the domain of the Gelukpa hierarchs of Drakypa. In the course of this expansion, the Drukpa Kagyüpa were expelled from Jamdün by force and the area was incorporated into the territory of Drakypa. Sanggyé Trashi also supported Gushri Qan's son Dalai Hong Taiji when he went to war in 1648 against the sons of the Beri king Dönyö Dorje.⁵⁶

By 1658 at the very latest, Gushri Qan's sons had divided up their father's dominion.⁵⁷ The eldest, Dayan Ochir Qan, had received Central Tibet. Dorje Dalai Batur (who is usually just referred to by his title, Dalai Hong Taiji), the sixth son of Gushri Qan, became the leader of the eight sons who settled in the Kokonor area.⁵⁸ From then on, the princes of the Kokonor were in charge of military campaigns in eastern Tibet, which were organized by Dalai Hong Taiji in close cooperation with the Dalai Lama.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the local chieftains were apparently obliged to pay tribute to them.⁶⁰ Dalai Hong Taiji issued verdicts to settle questions of land ownership, and the Dalai Lama issued documents to confirm his decisions. This is illustrated by a document issued by the Potala in 1660. It bears a *gyadam* seal (a seal for decrees) of the Fifth Dalai Lama, which is called *Tsitsi pao* according to the Tibetan transcription of the first Chinese syllables of the seal's inscriptions.⁶¹ The property rights of Riwoche, the main monastery of the Taklung Kagyüpa in eastern Tibet, that had been previously certified by Dalai Hong taiji in a document were confirmed once again by the Fifth Dalai Lama (figure 4.1):

To be taken note of by all the powerful and weak ones belonging to our subjects, especially by all the superior and inferior ones of Dokham like Chamdo, Nangchen, and the three [areas] Lha[tok], Drong[pa], and Bir [= Beri?], and [further] Lhorong.

Regarding the right of ownership of the territory belonging to Taklung Riwoche, whatever owner there was up to now, the verdict by Dalai Hong taiji is left unchanged. Do not even for an instant make new violations going beyond it that would amount to worrying disputes and annoyances!

If someone sees this document and violates it, an investigation will be done from here. Therefore, take note of it!

Written in the Potala at an auspicious day of the Iron Mouse [year called] Künden [1660].

[Additional remark]: If there are verdicts decided by Dalai Hong Taiji, leave their meaning unchanged!⁶²

Riwoche—unlike many other Kagyüpa foundations—had obviously come to terms in the interim with the new powers of the Gelukpa and the Qoshots in eastern Tibet. Other edicts issued by Dalai Hong taiji in favor of eastern Tibetan clerics concerned privileges granted to them, such as exemptions from taxes and duties.⁶³

The suppression of the uprising against the regime of the Gelukpa and the Qoshots in Gyeltang in 1674⁶⁴ cemented Gelukpa dominance in most of eastern Tibet. It also secured the position of the Kokonor Qoshots as the body with authority over the use of land and taxes. On February 15, 1698, Trashī Batur Taiji, the tenth son of Gushri Qan and commander of the troops that had fought the rebels in Gyeltang, was acknowledged by the emperor as the new leader of the Qoshots from the Kokonor.⁶⁵ Three years after his death in 1714,⁶⁶ his son Lopzang Danjin (born in 1692 and also known as Lozang Tendzin) inherited the *qinwang* title and became the leader.⁶⁷ From then on, he was also known as Tendzin *qinwang*.⁶⁸

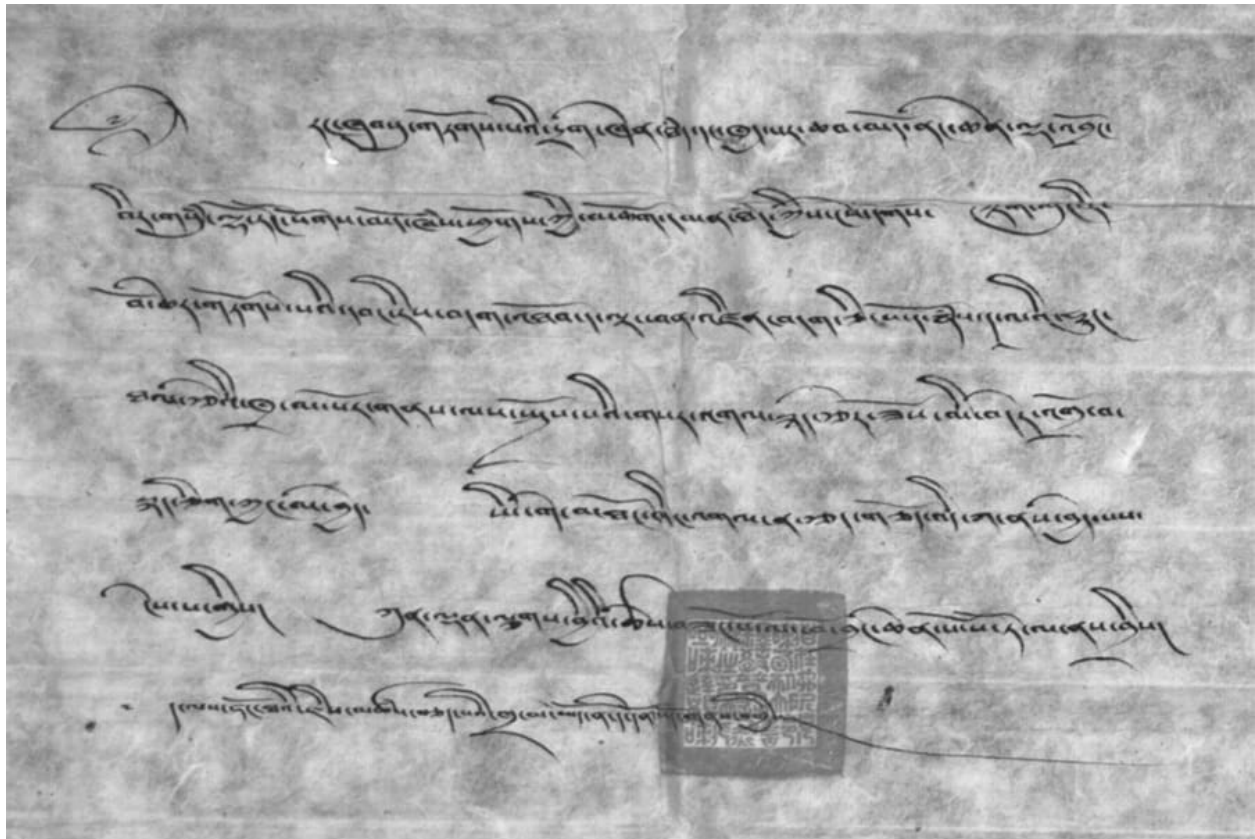


FIGURE 4.1 Document issued by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1660)

KDL 1106

The military measures taken by the Qing against the Dsungar reign in Tibet not only caused a change to the system of government in Central Tibet but also triggered the total rearrangement of the political situation in eastern Tibet. The losers in both regions were the Qoshots. After their first efforts to expel the Dsungars from Central Tibet failed in 1718, the Qing planned their second campaign much more carefully. They prepared two large armies to advance on Lhasa, one from the Kokonor and the other from Sichuan, supported by troops from Yunnan. This would later have a well-calculated side effect. Lured by the emperor's promise to gain back the throne of Gushri Qan, the Qoshots from Kokonor had supported the imperial campaign by providing troops.⁶⁹ However, the Qing had already started to weaken their influence in Kham in 1719. This was all done step by step in the course of the preparations for the army's march from Sichuan. Hence places such as Litang, which had initially paid tribute to Cagan Danjin from Kokonor and later to Lhapzang Qan, as well as Batang, Drakyap, and Chamdo, all successively submitted to the Qing as their new

overlord.⁷⁰ The Gelukpa from Chamdo and Drakyap had offered their cooperation at an early stage. The imperial conferral of titles on various local Buddhist hierarchs then became part of the strategy to establish Qing sovereignty in eastern Tibet.

Thus in 1719, the Kangxi Emperor, styling himself as “the lord of all religious and secular affairs,” rewarded the young Pakpalha and the Drakyap *rinpoché* with the decree and title of *nomun qan*.⁷¹ Apart from the names and rather large variations in spelling, the wording of the decrees granted to the Gelukpa *trülku*s is the same. The one in favor of Pakpalha, the hierarch from Chamdo, was issued on May 8, 1719, and the other five days earlier, on May 3, 1719.⁷² Both acknowledge that the real motive for bestowing them was the correct assistance (for example, corvee labor) that had been provided to the imperial envoys dispatched to survey the land up to Mount Kailash in western Tibet. This survey was carried out between 1715 and 1717 by two lamas commissioned by the Jesuit cartographers of Beijing.⁷³

The actual disposition of the decrees concerns the conferral of the title *no-mun qan* and the confirmation of the *trülku*'s rule over the monks and laypeople of his dominion. The following is the translation of the decree granted to the Fourth Drakyap *rinpoché*, Lozang Namgyel (1693–1750):

Order of the emperor, the universal ruler, who now [reigns] by the mandate of eternal heaven:

Since I am the lord of all religious and secular affairs under the sun, [I] look after [all] the actions of going and staying in a good manner definitely benefiting all [Buddhist] teachings and living beings. Praising through outstanding titles and actions, [I] wish to promote [the recipients'] glorification.

You, the rebirth Lozang Namgyel,⁷⁴ are the famous lama in the territory of Drakyap. Because [you] are diligent toward the doctrine of the Buddha, a long time has passed while [you] have been striving for the good system of the [Buddhist] teaching and practice. Although [you] are at a remote place, [you] wondered whether there would not come a [sign of] loving care [for you] from here. Therefore, [you] have correctly given assistance like corvee labor and . . . [?] to different people whom I had sent to survey the land up to the Kailash. This is very good.

Now, due to the firm idea that [I]—by writing and sending a document regarding your Dharma name and the different monasteries, etc., on the territory [you] own—would probably generously take care [of you] by [granting] official ranks, etc., [you] have asked for [the document in hand]. Therefore, [I] have specially taken care [of you]. [I] have given the name Genden Trashī Chödzung to your residence, the monastery, and to yourself rank, edict, and seal through which [the title] “*nomun qan*, who explains very clearly the doctrine of the Yellow Hats through teaching and practice” has been conferred on you. [You] definitely own your monks and laypeople. In this regard, it is not allowed that anyone contests, annoys, plunders, provokes a quarrel, reviles you, etc. Thus [I] have particularly taken care of [you] lovingly.

In accordance with my intention to benefit the living beings and to spread the [Buddhist] doctrine, guard therefore [your] vows well and guide the living beings through religion. Strive even more for the spreading of the doctrine of the Buddha in general and of the doctrine of the Yellow Hats in particular. It is important that [you] endeavor without distraction for the [right] way, etc., to protect correctly the discipline and behavior in the [monk] communities.

On the auspicious fourteenth day of the third month of the fifty-eighth year of Kangxi.⁷⁵

Upon the expulsion of the Dsungars from Tibet in 1720, Riwoche Monastery of the Taklung Kagyüpa offered its assistance to the Qing army. At that time, Trashī Wanggyel (1688–1722) was the throne holder of the monastery. His full name was Trashī Wanggyel Ngawang Drakpa. He is also known as Pakchok Trashī. Because the Riwochepas were no longer able to ensure a hereditary succession of abbots within the Gazi family, they changed to succession by reincarnation. Thus Trashī Wanggyel, who had ascended the abbot’s throne in 1711, became the first in the line of the Pakchok *rinpoché*s. The Yongzheng Emperor rewarded him on April 19, 1723, for his assistance by granting him the rank and title of “*nomun qan* who considerably brings benefit to the doctrine of the Yellow Hats,” a rather strange choice of words for a follower of the Kagyü tradition.⁷⁶

A transliteration of the emperor’s decree has been published. In it, Trashī Wanggyel appears under yet another unusual name: Ngawang Kyap Trinlé *qutuqtu*. The *narratio* and *dispositio* of the document, following immediately after the *intitulatio* and the *arrega*, read as follows:

You, Ngawang Kyap Trinlé *qutuqtu*, are the great lama of the Riwoche temple. Because [you] are diligent toward the doctrine of the Buddha, a long time has passed while [you] have been striving for the system of the [Buddhist] teaching and practice. With a one-pointed mind, which hopes for and depends on that [I] from here lovingly take care of [everyone], however far away [he] may be, [you] have very eagerly given assistance when our great army went to Central Tibet [Ütsang]. This is very good.

Therefore, [I] have now given the name Gepel Lhakhang to your residence, the monastery, and to yourself rank, edict, and seal through which [the title] “*nomun qan* who considerably brings benefit to the doctrine of the Yellow Hats” has been conferred on you. [You] definitely own your monks and laypeople. In this regard, it is not allowed that anyone contests, annoys, plunders, provokes a quarrel, reviles you, *etc.* Thus [I] have particularly taken care of [you] lovingly.
...⁷⁷

[Issued] on the fifteenth day of the third month of the first [year] of Yongzheng.⁷⁸

Later in 1724, Nakshö *trülku* Lozang Jampel, head of the monastery Gyelshö Penkel Namgyelling in eastern Tibet, was also rewarded for the same reason, providing assistance to the Qing army, through the bestowal of an edict and a seal and through the confirmation of his rights as a lord.⁷⁹

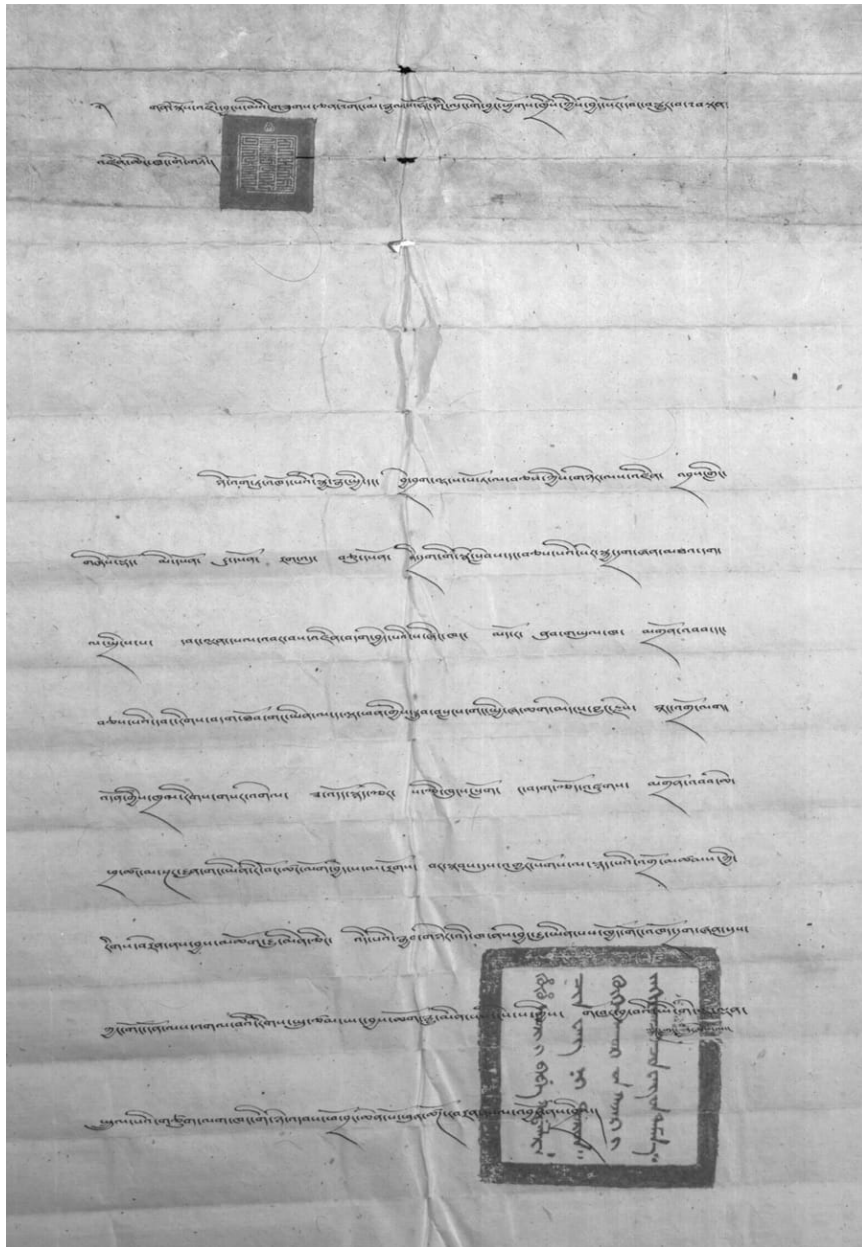


FIGURE 4.2 Document issued by Lopzang Danjin (1721)

KDL 1409

Although Gyeltang in southeastern Tibet had been taken away from Lopzang Danjin in 1720,⁸⁰ the emperor still granted him a central position in Tibetan politics, thereby nourishing his hopes of inheriting governance over the Qoshots in Central Tibet. After the expulsion of the Dsungars, the emperor appointed him in 1720 to a leading position in the provisional military government in Lhasa. He was therefore still in power in 1721. On an unspecified date sometime in the

spring of that year,⁸¹ Lopzang Danjin issued a decree in Lhasa confirming someone's ownership of land and houses (figure 4.2).⁸² The *intitulatio* bears witness to the fact that he no longer derived his authority to rule the “northern area,” i.e., the Kokonor region, from the Dalai Lama but from the emperor:

Speech of Tendzin *qinwang*, who—at the behest of the Mañjuḥoṣa having a human body, the superior one, the emperor who is appointed by heaven—rules the northern area as the one who enforces the law.⁸³

The seal imprinted at the very end of the *intitulatio* bears a Pakpa inscription, which translates as: “Seal of Lozang Tendzin.” The second seal imprinted at the bottom of the document has an inscription in Manchu and Mongolian. The translations of the Manchu and the Mongolian text are the same: “Seal of the *qinwang* who governs the Kokonor area.”⁸⁴

After the death of the Kangxi Emperor at the end of 1722, the Yongzheng Emperor continued his predecessor's policy of cutting off the Qoshots from their resources in Kham. At the very beginning of his reign, he took the kingdom of Dergé away from Lopsang Danjin. Because the tribute paid by Dergé was one of Lopzang Danjin's main resources, he even considered attacking Dergé. He later got his father's two wives to send an official letter of protest to the court, insisting on his claim to receive the tribute. In 1728, after the Qinghai war, Dergé was officially subordinated to the Qing administration by sending seal and decree to the King of Dergé.⁸⁵

Besides Lopzang Danjin, the other most powerful chief among the Kokonor princes was Cagan Danjin. At least partly due to the discord sown by the emperor, the relationship between the two chiefs disintegrated more and more. Lopzang Danjin began waging war on the other Mongol clans of the Kokonor area, forcing Cagan Danjin in 1723 to eventually seek refuge in Chinese territory. This episode has been described in detail by Shu-hui Wu, who comes to the conclusion that it is incorrect to blame Lopzang Danjin alone for causing the war in 1723. Lopzang Danjin had basically been led by the emperor and Nian Gengyao (年羹堯), the governor-general of Sichuan, into the revolt against the Qing; they intended to bring the Kokonor area under their direct control.⁸⁶

During the Kokonor war in 1723 and 1724, both the Tibetans in the area and the Gelukpa monks had supported the rebellion led by Lopzang Danjin, because they regarded the Kokonor princes as their overlords and patrons. The brutal

suppression of the rebellion caused much more suffering for the Tibetans than for the Mongols. Not only were many of their monasteries destroyed, including the great monastery of Kumbum, but also whole tribes of Tibetans near the border with China were wiped out, whether they had participated in the rebellion or not.⁸⁷

Nian Gengyao was of the opinion that Gushri Qan had originally delivered only Central Tibet to the Dalai Lama. In contrast, areas such as Amdo and Kham had been entrusted to Gushri Qan's descendants for administration.⁸⁸ After the Kokonor Qoshots had been stripped of their power, the area came under the direct rule of the Qing, and after the Kokonor war, the Qing began stationing its *amban* in Xining.⁸⁹ The Qing now controlled the kingdom of Nangchen as well.⁹⁰ The Tibetans in Kham along the Chinese border fell within the jurisdiction of the Chinese administration. This included places such as Songpan, Litang, Batang, and Gyeltang.⁹¹ In 1720, Gyeltang (also known as Zhongdian)⁹² temporarily reverted to the control of the Naxi prefect of Lijiang, but this turned out to be only a brief interlude. By 1724, Gyeltang had already returned to the direct jurisdiction of Yunnan.⁹³ The first Tibetan documents issued by Hao Yulin (郝玉麟) that are preserved in the archives of Zhongdian are dated 1725 and 1726. Hao Yulin was the governor-general of Yunnan, and before that the vice-general (*fujian* 副將) of the army sent to Lhasa from Yunnan.⁹⁴ The lamas of Ganden Sumtsenling, the head of the Gelukpa monasteries of Gyeltang, asked Hao Yulin to confirm their existing privileges. This request was granted on January 22, 1726, through the issuing of a legal document:

Document of the great lord⁹⁵ Ho [i.e., Hao Yulin], chief of all the soldiers and people [of Yunnan province]:

[I] give a sealed document that [rights of ownership, etc.] remain unchanged however long. Its content:

It was requested that a land tenure document be required for Gyeltang [Ganden] Sumtsenling together with all its common monks, headed by the lamas of the colleges, that [its rights of ownership, etc.] should remain unchanged however long.

The people and area of Gyeltang have surrendered to the emperor. They are a new class [of subjects]. Furthermore, this Sum[tsen]ling monk community also performs long-life prayers for the emperor.

Therefore, what has been owned by them until now, the authority that they have

received [from above]⁹⁶ and [the regular granting of] tea as wages [for the performance of offering rituals] shall remain as they exist now.

You, all the powerful and weak ones, for example the various Chinese and Tibetan chiefs and the military travelers, should from now on with regard to this Sum[tsen]ling monk community—except [for producing] the best benefit—not make the slightest kind of alteration [of this regulation] or creation [of new regulations]. The lamas and monks for their part should not undertake a great deal of bustling [worldly] activities.

[Issued] on the twentieth day of the twelfth *hor* month, when the Yongzheng Emperor had reached the third throne year.⁹⁷

The taxes imposed by the Qing in the eastern Tibetan territories under their control were less than those required by the Qoshots. Local Tibetan chieftains were also gradually stripped of their powers over their own territories. In 1725, the Yongzheng Emperor abolished their right to decide about the life and death of their subjects. After many proposals and modifications, the border between the Tibetan territories administrated by the Ganden Podrang and those administrated directly by Chinese governors was established in 1726. The original plan was to annex Chamdo and Drakyap to Sichuan, but the border was ultimately drawn to the east of these locations, on the Markam Gang.⁹⁸

The Dalai Lama was once again nominally responsible for verifying property rights and tax privileges. This is illustrated by a decree issued on June 28, 1738. It bears the imprint of the smaller *vajradhara* seal of the Dalai Lama, which is said to have been originally granted by Altan Qan to the third Dalai Lama, Sönam Gyatso (figure 4.3):

Sent to all sentient beings living under the sun and especially to all superior and inferior ones and those in between who belong to the territory of Riwoche:

With regard to the two [places] Ngong and Ne together with the three [places] Mok, Dong, and Le and the earlier obtained places, on whichever [Riwoche] has a hold and whatever it possesses—exemplified by the territory, the monastic colleges, and the estates previously under control—the taxes to be paid on the part of the Riwoche *zhapdrung nomun qan* and those to be reduced, as well as

the possessions left untaxed, these three shall remain unchanged according to the custom as it has existed until now.

It is not proper if, apart from that, one does [things] like unsuitably imposing new [taxes], taking [possession] by force, disputing, and annoying.

Therefore, take note of it!

[Written] in the Earth Horse [year] on the eleventh day of the fifth month.

[Additional remark:] Regarding the abovementioned liability, reduction, and exemption of taxation, those three, do not violate the meaning of the words of the earlier and later [issued] generally binding Chinese and Tibetan ordinances, and if edicts and verdicts are connected to an unquestionably reliable origin, do not do [any actions of] an unsuitable kind!⁹⁹

As discussed above,¹⁰⁰ Dartsedo was a very important place for Chinese-Tibetan trade. Qing control of it was therefore a serious loss for the Tibetan government. As an act of diplomacy, the emperor granted the Dalai Lama an exemption from trade taxes and an annual amount of tea of 5,000 *jin*, plus 2,500 *jin* of tea for the Panchen Lama.¹⁰¹

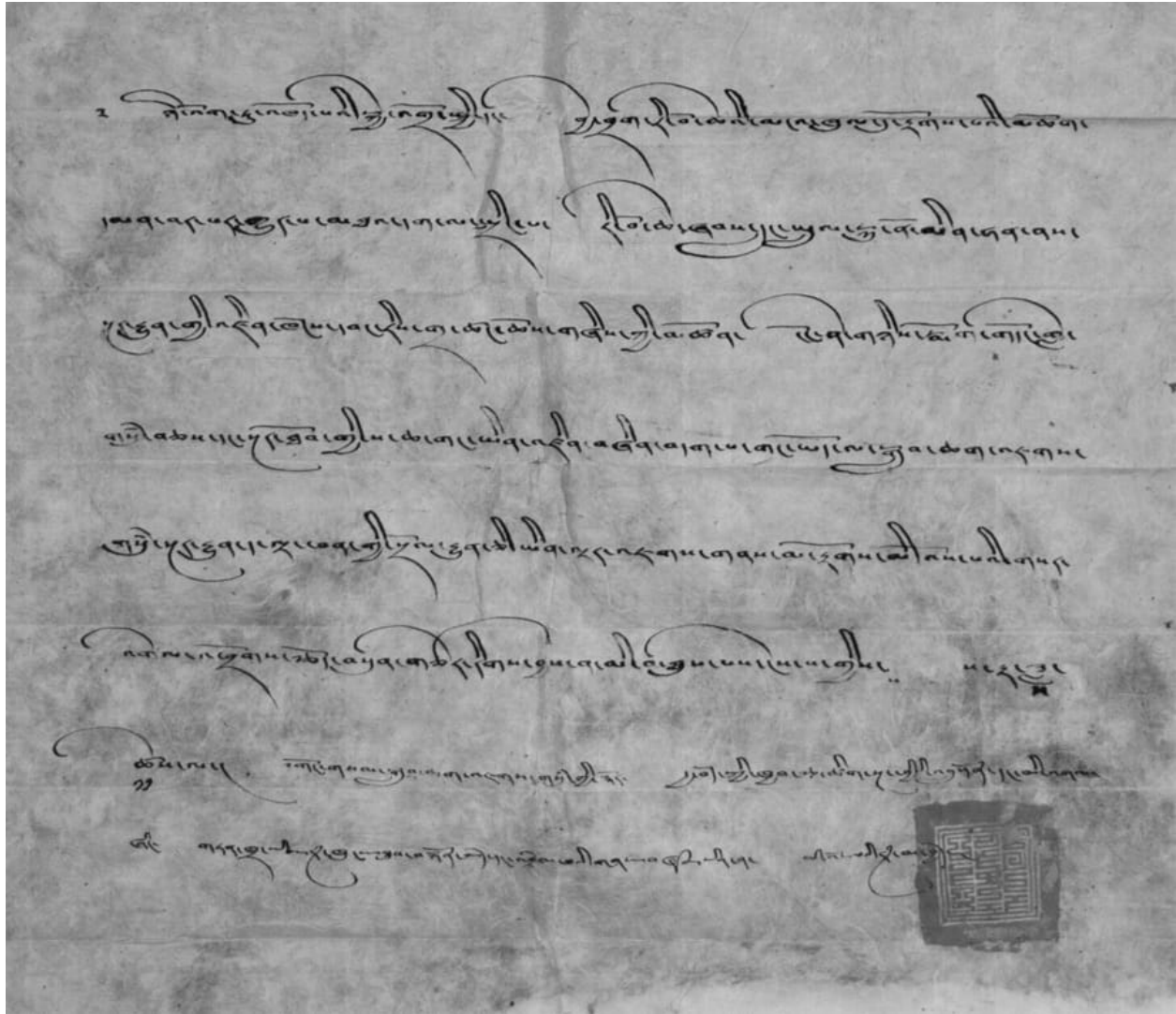


FIGURE 4.3 Document issued by the Seventh Dalai Lama (1738)

KDL 2093

Even though the Tibetan government and the Dalai Lama had eventually lost direct control over large parts of eastern Tibet to the Qing, they were still able to exercise a certain degree of authority in these areas. Such overlapping authorities were probably not clearly defined, simply claimed by the Tibetan government as far as circumstances would allow. The Qing had no problem with this situation so long as it had the impression that the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government were acting in perfect harmony with the intentions of the emperor. The overlapping authorities involved not only persons in charge of monastic affairs but also secular administrators. The corresponding Tibetan documents seem evidence of a tradition of mutual acknowledgment of rights and

responsibilities.¹⁰² How this actually worked in conflict situations is still unclear. In any case, the fact that such documents were kept in safekeeping shows that they were of value for the recipients.

The local Gelukpa monasteries in the Kokonor area had supported the rebellion of Lopzang Danjin in 1723 and 1724, thereby demonstrating their loyalty to the Qoshots as their overlords. I am currently unaware of any such demonstration of loyalty by the Gelukpa in Kham. In contrast to the Kokonor area, it appears that the change of overlords in eastern Tibet went quite smoothly. The one exception is the Tibetans from Gyeltang, who are said to have shown solidarity with their old overlords, the Qoshots, and revolted as well.¹⁰³ But the change in both of these areas did not lessen Gelukpa hegemony among the different Buddhist schools. This is because the Geluk tradition of Tibetan Buddhism had been chosen by the Qing right from the beginning as the orthodox doctrine among the Mongols and Tibetans.

The young Second Changkya *qutuqtu*, Rolpé Dorje (1717–1786), had managed to escape the Qing massacres at the Kokonor. In 1724, the resident lamas in Beijing asked the Yongzheng Emperor for permission to bring him to the capital. The emperor did not generally hold the lamas in very high esteem, but rather considered them corrupt and without any morals. Until that time, he had apparently given no thought whatsoever to installing the new reincarnation in Beijing. But although this request was an undue nuisance that certainly annoyed him, the Second Changkya *qutuqtu* was installed in Beijing that same year. The emperor was realistic enough to see that he still needed the lamas to control the Mongols at the Kokonor. He therefore allowed the Gelukpa to reconstruct their monasteries after the war and even supported them in this. But from then on, the monasteries and their lamas had to be registered and strictly controlled by the Qing. In 1726, the lamas received a clerical certificate, which had to be reviewed twice a year by local officials.¹⁰⁴

Jalangga, an experienced military commander of the Qing and governor-general of Sichuan and Shaanxi from 1736 to 1738,¹⁰⁵ summarized very briefly in a memorial dated December 14, 1738, the history of eastern Tibet as conveyed to him by his colleague, the governor-general of Yunnan.¹⁰⁶ According to this, the area west of Dartsedo, “including Litang, Batang and Zhongdian,” was originally controlled by the Mu chieftain of Lijiang.¹⁰⁷ Later, after the rebellion of Wu Sangui, “we gave these places away to the Dalai Lama.” The phrasing

conceals the fact that eastern Tibet had actually been included, by operation of Mongolian-Tibetan force, in the territory of the Ganden Podrang government and that the Qing at that time were not yet in the position to give “these places away to the Dalai Lama.”¹⁰⁸ Jalangga’s historical survey concludes that Batang and Litang had not been annexed to Sichuan until after Lopzang Danjin’s defeat.

Jalangga also reported that he had received a secret memorial from the Changkya *qutuqtu* on May 22, 1738, recommending that Litang, Batang, and Gyeltang be given to the Dalai Lama.¹⁰⁹ Jalangga thereupon discussed the issue with the governor-general of Yunnan. They arrived at the conclusion that the Changkya *qutuqtu* “requested these places because the Dalai Lama was in financial difficulties, not because he wanted the places to be given to the Tibetans. . . . The yearly revenue from Litang, Batang, and Jiatang is less than ten thousand *jin* 金 (*taels*). If we take this amount out of the revenue of Dajienlu 打箭廬 and give it to the Dalai Lama, they can make ends meet. Such places as Litang should remain with China.” The emperor followed Jalangga’s suggestion and granted the Dalai Lama an annual share of five thousand *taels* from the revenue of Dartsedo (in Chinese, Dajienlu).¹¹⁰

DEPOLITICIZING THE DALAI LAMA

The Yongzheng Emperor explained the Qing massacres at the Kokonor to the Dalai Lama as the suppression of a rebellion that would have threatened Lhasa as well. This was by no means unfounded. Signs that the Qoshot chief Lopzang Danjin was preparing to invade Central Tibet had in fact come to the emperor’s attention. As a precautionary measure, he sent an additional force of one thousand soldiers to Lhasa. They were under the command of brigade general Zhou Ying, who had formerly been stationed in Songpan.¹¹¹ The emperor was fully aware that the Qoshots of the Kokonor area felt cheated. Although they had supported the imperial campaign against the Dsungars in Central Tibet, they had not been rewarded afterward with the return of their power in Lhasa. And to make matters worse, they had lost all their resources in eastern Tibet. In an edict sent to the Dalai Lama, the emperor proudly mentions the pacification of the Kokonor area, giving this as the reason for the withdrawal of imperial troops from Lhasa and the reorganization of the Tibetan government. The edict was written in Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan and was issued on February 26, 1726. The following is the translation of the Tibetan text:

Order of the emperor to the Dalai Lama, 1726. (The original text is in Tibetan and is available in the

Order of the emperor, who by the mandate of eternal heaven rules all over the wide earth,

sent to the most powerful lord of the supremely virtuous western sphere, owner of the entire doctrine of the Buddha on earth, the all-knowing *vajradhara* Dalai Lama:

I protect and control [even] the distant places under heaven. Wishing that the living beings in all places live happily and that religion and government be stable and prosper, [I] am constantly in good health due to the grace of the gods.

[I] have received from you a petition in which [you] inquire after my health and show genuine respect. In it [you] say that [I] should send a representative who reports about the well-being of the Tibetan subjects, the actual condition in general, *etc.*

In the past, the Dsungarian bandits caused extreme turmoil in Tibet and murdered and dispersed the monks. For the warfare the [Emperor] Shengzu Ren Huangdi¹¹² [i.e., the Kangxi Emperor] sent a great army—regardless of the expense of many tens of thousands of silver *sang*. The bandit army of the Dsungars was annihilated, and you, the lama, were enthroned. After Tibet had been pacified, all the monks and laypeople were linked with well-being. Later, Lozang Tendzin [i.e., Lopzang Danjin] caused fighting. I worried that he would harm Tibet and sent brigade general Zhou Ying together with judges [*jargūci*], scribes, and soldiers to protect Tibet. Since Lozang Tendzin has now been defeated and the whole Kokonor area has been pacified, the affair is over, and there are no difficulties left. Therefore, I have withdrawn brigade general Zhou Ying, the judges, and the scribes. Prior to your request, I thought [already]—specially conceiving your Tibetan affairs as important—that it would be improper to have no leader entrusted with the responsibilities among the [Tibetan] cabinet ministers. Giving *beise* Khangchenné the rank of leader and Ngapöpa the rank of assistant, [I] have granted an edict that [they] associate in a good manner harmoniously with all the other cabinet ministers and divide the affairs [of the Tibetan government]. Khangchenné—by making in every way the grace of my father, the emperor, a top priority—has wholeheartedly put effort into [his] responsibilities, like blocking the bandit army of the Dsungars and defending the border, and into the service for the system of the Jamgön lama [Tsongkhapa]. Besides the fact that you, lama, are certain of it, there is not one Tibetan subject who does not know it either. If a man, trustworthy like

Khangchenné, is entrusted with the administration of Tibet, there is no difference between him and a minister who would be sent by us from here. This being evident, there will be no mistakes, like insufficiency or lack of contacts [?],¹¹³ because now the borders of the western region and our areas Sichuan and Yunnan are mixed with one another and the annual stream of messengers back and forth is not cut off. However, if reasons arise for sending such a representative, [I] am willing to send [a representative] again.

Specifically, [I] have sent such a decree. As accompanying gifts, [I] have sent a tea churn with bands of gilded copper [with a value] of sixty silver *sang*, a silver jug with golden patterns, a silver butter lamp, thirty rolls of various brocades, five large and forty small ceremonial scarves and a single five-colored one by entrusting them to the messengers of Khangchenné with Darashar [as head of the mission]. [May it be] auspicious.

[Issued] on an auspicious day of the first month of the fourth year of Yongzheng.¹¹⁴

On the basis of this edict, the emperor appointed Khangchenné as the leader of the Tibetan government. The edict nevertheless also says that he should act in harmony with the other members of the council. Because it had already been issued in the early part of 1726, it is evident that the whole discussion among the leading political figures in Lhasa—Khangchenné, Polhané, Ngapöpa, and the father of the Dalai Lama—which had been initiated by the exhortatory speech of the imperial envoy that same year,¹¹⁵ involved a matter that had already been decided by the emperor. The negative atmosphere among the Tibetan ministers had been revealed in a series of letters in which they apparently complained about each other.¹¹⁶ After they received the edict, there was actually nothing left for the full council in Lhasa to approve and nothing left for the Dalai Lama to sanction. They had no choice but to carry out the imperial order. The discussion in which Polhané supported the appointment of Khangchenné as leader and the subsequent approval of the Dalai Lama were mere formalities. As indicated in the above decree, the emperor could just as well have sent someone directly from Beijing to manage the government's business in Lhasa. This was obviously the level of sovereignty he claimed.

The measures taken by the emperor and his plea for harmonious cooperation both proved ineffective. The conflict within the Tibetan cabinet escalated. On August 5, 1727, Khangchenné was murdered by his cabinet colleagues. The

result was a civil war in Tibet. On one side were the ministers Ngapöpa, Lumpané, and Yarawa as well as Sönam Dargyé, the father of the young Dalai Lama. On the other side was the minister Polhané, the representative of Tsang province, who had been loyal to Khangchenné. Polhané at once sent an envoy to the emperor informing him of the situation and soliciting his support in the form of an immediate dispatch of imperial troops. Polhané's motive was to prevent the emperor from any possible approval of the actions of his enemies.¹¹⁷

The written request for assistance has been preserved in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. In this letter, Polhané—there referred to as Polhawa—not only justifies the mobilization of troops in Tsang and western Tibet with the need to react to the murder of Khangchenné but also accuses his opponents' troops of the worst crimes. These included such things as killing all of the men who fell into their hands, raping the women, setting the people's houses on fire, and destroying a whole year's harvest. At the top of the list he names the Dalai Lama as the person who dispatched these troops, thus explicitly holding him responsible for the crimes they committed:

That which is reported by *jasak taiji*¹¹⁸ *kalön* Polhawa with countless respectful prostrations before the lotus—fully blossomed as the thousand-spiked golden wheel—at the feet of the emperor, who was appointed by heaven:

It came to rivalry, robbing, and killing against *beise*¹¹⁹ Khangchenné and *taiji* Polhané, [two] men who by wrapping the order of the great ruler like a turban [around their head, i.e., gave top priority to the order of the emperor] had fought the Dsungars and Lozang Tendzin [i.e., Lopzang Danjin]. Concerning the details of the events, there have been sent ten men with Khortong Tsakhir [as head of the mission] via Xining and two men of *taiji* Polhawa via Kham. [Thus, I] presume that the news has [already] dissolved into the golden ear [of the emperor]. Thinking of the law of the great ruler and of the service [for him], *taiji* Polhawa has recruited military troops in the area of Tsang and Ngari. The troops were set up with the intent to retaliate [for the murder of] *beise* Khangchenné. After [the preparations] were finished, it was said from Trashi Lhünpo, Sakya, etc., that it would be necessary to mediate. But since this matter is very important and because only the great ruler understands [this matter], [I] decided that [they] should not intervene. Headed by the Dalai Lama, Sönam Dargyé, the Kongpo *kalön* Ngapö Dorje Gyelpo, Lumpané, and Yarawa, [soldiers] from Central Tibet, Kongpo, Dakpo, the Mongols who were subordinated to the [Tibetan] government, the Mongols from Nakchu, Khampas, and three hundred

Mongols from Tsokha [i.e., the Kokonor area], for example of Lozang Tendzin [i.e., Lopzang Danjin],¹²⁰—in a carefully coordinated manner—arrived in Tsang. By fighting on the first, fifth, eighth, and eleventh days of the eighth month [i.e., on September 16, 19, 22, and 25, 1727], [we] have killed and seized countless [soldiers] of Central Tibet, Kongpo, and the Mongols, but General Numawa from Tsang with his troops from Lho deserted to the Central Tibetans.¹²¹ Regarding the Mongols from the Kokonor, who fight against the great ruler, so to these approximately three hundred [soldiers], who had surrendered to the Dalai Lama, Sönam Dargyé, *beise* Khangchenné,¹²² and Lumpané, the military equipment of *beise* Khangchenpa, such as rifles, quivers, quilted jackets, and armor, were given. By giving [them] a large quantity of gold, silver, and brocade from the treasury of the government, [they] were induced to advance. [They] drove the horses and mules of the government by riding them ruthlessly. [Due to] the insufficiency of the horses of the people from Tsang and the fact that the people from Ngari were far away, the [soldiers] from Central Tibet and Kongpo together with the Mongols could not be crushed. Therefore, for the time being, [I] stay—lying in wait—in Lhatsedzong, a place that can be reached from Trashi Lhünpo within five days. The people from Central Tibet and Kongpo together with the Mongols, who had been sent by the Dalai Lama, killed all men from Tsang they saw, abused the women, set the houses on fire, annihilated the entire harvest of this year, etc.—in brief: [they] have committed acts that exceed the imagination. If the great ruler—bearing in mind the happiness of the sentient beings in Tibet and the precious doctrine [of the Buddha]—does not immediately and kindly agree to take care [of the matter] by annihilating [the enemy] through a large army that supports the truth, it is certain that the soldiers of Tsang and Ngari will be very discouraged. Therefore, please keep in mind not to throw us out of the enclosure of [your] compassion!

The petition accompanied by a ceremonial scarf and saffron as gifts was presented respectfully as a [letter] written by hand on an [unspecified] day of an [unspecified] month from the military camp in Lhatse.

Seal of *jasak taiji kalön* Polhawa.¹²³

Polhané accuses the Dalai Lama in this document of taking a prominent position among those responsible for the murders and the other crimes, and for opposing the emperor. The bad relationship between Polhané, the upcoming political leader of Tibet, and the Seventh Dalai Lama would stay this way more or less

throughout Polhané's life.¹²⁴

After the defeat of Lopzang Danjin by the imperial troops at the Kokonor, some of his men seem to have turned to Central Tibet and offered their support to the Dalai Lama. This was done not only out of veneration for the Dalai Lama but also because of strong family ties. The Dalai Lama's older sister was one of Lopzang Danjin's concubines, and his older brother had married Lopzang Danjin's niece. The brother joined Lopzang Danjin in his rebellion and then escaped to Central Tibet. He was later handed over to the Qing by his own father, the father of the Dalai Lama. In the end he was allowed to stay in Dartsedo.¹²⁵

In Tibet's civil war, Mongols had served on both sides. Some of them had already been under the command of Khangchenné. After Khangchenné's assassination, a number of them apparently sided with Polhané.¹²⁶

The outcome of the civil war was twofold. First, Polhané was installed as the undisputed leader of Tibetan political affairs and two *ambans* were deployed as permanent imperial representatives in Lhasa. Second, the position of the Panchen Lama was strengthened even further. Already on October 28, 1728, the Panchen Lama received an imperial edict granting him sovereignty over Tsang and western Tibet, up to Mount Kailash. As explained by Petech, the Panchen Lama in the end only accepted some of the districts offered to him.¹²⁷

This matter was dealt with in a letter delivered to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. It was written only a few days later, on November 4, 1728. According to the editor, the author was *amban* Li Chen. The letter gives notice of the Dalai Lama's diminished sovereignty, mentions the Panchen Lama's reluctance to accept the whole offer, and lists in detail the rights and obligations of Polhané, the new Tibetan ruler. All in all, there was very little secular power left for the Dalai Lama:

Concerning the order of the emperor, the great ruler, to both, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen *erdeni*, this was issued as a weighty order of the emperor:

“By examining the circumstances [in the area] above Trashi Lhünpo, which do not [already] belong to the old monastic estates of the Panchen *erdeni*, up to [Mount] Kailash and Ngari the estates have been divided up [anew] and, thus, handed over [to the Panchen Lama]. In addition, it was arranged for the tax

revenues to be delivered to the Panchen *erdeni* himself. Thereby, I have granted it for the offerings to the Buddha and for the livelihood of all beings.”

Afterward the Dalai Lama said: “That the emperor has ordered to give additional monastic estates to the Panchen *erdeni* is marvelous. I am delighted that the estates together with the serfs were granted to the Panchen *rinpoché*, my most benevolent gracious root teacher.”

The Panchen *erdeni* said: “Since the emperor, the great ruler, looks lovingly [upon me], the rewards and gifts are very great. However, I have reached an old age. Therefore, the old estates are sufficient. Even if beyond that additional estates would be granted, it would not suit my activities.”

In response to these [statements], the [two] *ambans* said: “As to the purpose that the emperor has granted to you, lama, the estates together with the serfs, he did not grant them because he planned to make you, lama, rich. For the sake of offerings to the Buddha, headed by the [Three] Jewels,¹²⁸ and increasing the doctrine of the Yellow Hats, he has granted them so that all beings are kept alive.”

That is why it was allowed that all estates and serfs of Püntso Kling, Lhatse, Ngamring Dzongka, Kyirong, and Ngari Korsum, which did not [already] belong to the old monastic estates of the Panchen *erdeni*, as well as the tax revenues [from these places], should be granted to the Panchen *erdeni*.

There are more temples, monasteries, *stūpas*, and monk communities in the area of Central Tibet [Ü]. Concerning the regular offerings, therefore, the other estates and serfs, [i.e.,] the leftovers from Pün[tsok]ling, etc., the places ceded to the Panchen *erdeni*, were left as before as endowment for *sādhana* rituals and offerings, etc., to the Dalai Lama.

Polhawa, acting as the cabinet minister [*kalön*] of Central Tibet [Ü], is not only the lord of all affairs of Central Tibet [Ü]. *Jasak taiji* Polhawa must also act as the chief of the affairs of all estates and serfs of Pünling, Lhatse, Ngamring, Kyirong, Dzongga [i.e., Dzongka], etc., which have been newly ceded, [i.e., the areas] up to Tsang, Ngari, and [Mount] Kailash in the west. He must collect the taxes and pass judgment. Also regarding duties such as the appointment of monk officials and the transfer of officials, they all have to be carried out by Polhawa. Further, he must carry out the duties of war and maintenance work, whatever

there is. In case there could be war and hostile activities, Polhawa must give an account. By looking at the circumstances, he is allowed to recruit soldiers from all of Central and eastern Tibet. Regarding the activities in the area of Central Tibet, one shall report to the newly appointed cabinet minister of Central Tibet [i.e., to Polhané]. Regarding the activities in the area of Tsang in the west, one shall report to the treasurer [of Trashi Lhünpo?]. If in Central Tibet and Tsang, in every [area] that belongs to the jurisdiction where Polhané must give instructions, the people to whom Polhawa has given whatever instruction, whether noble or low, disregard [the instructions] or act neglectfully, Polhawa must—[provided] the reasons are evident—render judgment through asking for instructions. Such duties I have let you know.

[Written] on the third day of the tenth month in the sixth throne year of Yongzheng.¹²⁹

In line with the above-quoted letter from Polhané, the Yongzheng Emperor had singled out the Dalai Lama and his father as the ringleaders of all the turmoil in Tibet. In order to calm the situation in Lhasa down and to deny the Dsungars an excuse to intervene again, he had already decided early in 1728 to send the Dalai Lama into exile,¹³⁰ a step that even Polhané had tried to avoid. On December 23, 1728, the Dalai Lama accompanied the retreating Qing troops to eastern Tibet. Well guarded by two thousand soldiers, he spent the next six years in his home area, living most of the time in a hastily constructed monastery not far from Dartsedo.¹³¹

The Dalai Lama's father had been exiled to eastern Tibet as well. In exchange for his promise to refrain from any further involvement in political affairs, he was pardoned by the emperor and even awarded the title *fuguo gong*. Upon their return to Lhasa in 1735, a large estate in Central Tibet was bestowed on the family of the Dalai Lama. The tradition of ennobling families who had produced a Dalai Lama thus began with the Seventh Dalai Lama. In Tibetan history they became known as the *yapzhi* families.¹³²

BUDDHIST GOVERNMENT UNDER THE IMPERIAL UMBRELLA

WITH THE BACKING of the emperor, Polhané's rule gave Central Tibet a period of peace and stability. The Seventh Dalai Lama had learned his lesson and refrained from any involvement in politics. This situation remained until 1747, when Polhané's son Gyurmé Namgyel inherited his office. In contrast to his father, Gyurmé Namgyel pursued an anti-Qing policy. Acting recklessly and violently even toward close family members, he soon lost the sympathy of the people and of the high officials as well. Some sources even suggest that he showed symptoms of madness. In 1750, the *ambans*, the imperial representatives in Lhasa, forestalled Gyurmé Namgyel's impending revolt by assassinating him. In the ensuing turmoil, both *ambans* were killed. In the absence of any other authority to control the situation, the Dalai Lama finally took over and appointed Doring Pandita to keep the peace until the arrival of imperial officials and soldiers.¹

The events in Lhasa led the court in Beijing to reach three major conclusions. The first was that it was ill-advised to leave political power in the hands of the Tibetan aristocracy alone. The second was that the Dalai Lama should be reinstated as the lord of Tibet. And the third was that control should be strengthened through the *ambans*.

According to Lozang Chökyi Nyima (1737–1802), the Third Tukwan incarnation and biographer of the Second Changkya *qutuqtu*, Rolpé Dorje, the emperor was originally “thinking of building a large Chinese-style city in Lhasa, of appointing a governor-general to rule Tibetans and a provincial military commander to command ten thousand garrison troops there, and of dispatching Chinese magistrates to take over the local courts and tax collection. All Tibetan affairs, big and small, should be in the hands of officials from China.”² It was only through the intercession of the Changkya *qutuqtu* that the emperor is said to have finally decided to reinstall the Dalai Lama as the political ruler of Tibet.³

NEW POLITICAL POWER FOR THE DALAI LAMA?

The reorganization of the Tibetan government was devised by a commission under the leadership of Cereng, the governor-general of Sichuan Province. The

Qianlong Emperor had ordered him to lead a force of eight hundred soldiers to Lhasa. Enacted in 1751, the new document regulating the Tibetan government contained thirteen articles. Petech provides a description of it based on his translation of the relevant entry in the *Qing Shilu*. It contains a report dated April 23, 1751, by the governor-general of Sichuan and his colleagues outlining the measures that were ultimately incorporated in the articles.⁴

However, the entries in the *Qing Shilu* are not in the exact wording of the original. It is therefore important to note that there is also a Tibetan version of the 1751 regulation in the Tibetan archival material—the version that was known to the Tibetan recipients.⁵ This differs from the one presented by Petech, beyond the mere fact that it is much more detailed.⁶ The Tibetan version is preserved among archival material classified as *wangshu*, a mere transcription of the Chinese term *wenshu* (文书), meaning official correspondence. In this context, it refers to the correspondence between the Qing officials, especially the *ambans*, and members of the Tibetan government or high-ranking lamas. Important official letters and documents received on the Tibetan side were, on an annual basis, kept by either copying them carefully into Tibetan-style books or recording brief entries concerning their particular content.⁷ But unlike the religious *pecha* books, these books were called *dep* and were normally bound along the longer side. These collections are known by the name *wangshu tsurpülgyi dep*, “books of the correspondence presented to this side,” abbreviated as *wangshu tsurpül*, or by the name *wangshu rimbül namgyi wangdep*, “correspondence books of the consecutively presented correspondence,” abbreviated as *wangshu rimbül*. It is in such a book that the Tibetan version of the 1751 regulation has been handed down to us.⁸

The edited document begins with a simple list of names and titles transcribed in Tibetan letters. They are specified as high Qing officials and people entrusted with Tibetan affairs. The list ends with the name of the only Tibetan among them, *gong* Pandita, who had been appointed by the Dalai Lama to maintain discipline in Lhasa after the assassination of the *ambans*. The names on the list are probably those who had worked out the details of the regulation and had put their respective seals on the document. A list of names from the Tibetan side was added at the end of the document. The actual text, translated below, starts with a *narratio* that explains the historical reasons for the drafting of the present regulation:

Concerning this matter, we have established a good practice that follows the

order of the emperor. In detail:

Whatever actions *wang* Gyurmé Namgyel took in the past, by his crude behavior⁹ he showed irreverent contempt for the Dalai Lama and oppressed the communities and serfs under his power. He killed his own elder brother and put his younger sister under house arrest. From day to day his misdeeds got worse and worse. Therefore, he [finally] followed the malicious idea to revolt. Thus he had committed quite a few illegal and improper deeds. Since both high officials residing in Lhasa [i.e., Labdon and Fuqing] had seen it with [their own] eyes, so all the people of Tibet said to them: “He is a person with deep-seated hatred. We fear that he might even lay violent hands on the Dalai Lama. Therefore, see to it that his activities are definitely stopped.” Because it was reported to the emperor, [Gyurmé Namgyel] was summoned in person. He was indicted and killed [on the spot] in the Tromzikkhang [i.e., the residence of the *ambans*]. The petition of the Dalai Lama and the petition of the [two] high officials [concerning Gyurmé Namgyel] had been given to the emperor. Because he had seen them, that bad person of coarse and cruel behavior was annihilated. Thinking that from now on all affairs should be handled very well, we, the *ambans*, who are appointed [by the emperor], came to Tibet. We discussed [the matter] with the Dalai Lama. Together with *gong* Pandita, we have with an absolutely pure intention well analyzed any kind of duties that must be done. Then it was decided to leave [the government system] in accordance with the previous practice. Especially, we understand that it is necessary that there be permanent peace in Tibet and that all beings out of highest respect for the Dalai Lama show faith and loyalty. Through the correct execution of their duties in accordance with the respective requirements, [the people in Tibet] may enjoy comfort and happiness. Because [the emperor] looks at you all, the monks and the laity, the powerful and the weak of Tibet, with compassion, he rules through great kindness. This you must recognize.

Once again: having received the order that it is necessary to act in harmony with the intention of the emperor to take good care of all the Tibetan subjects with compassion, we followed [this order] respectfully. After coming together, we have discussed [the matter] well and have differentiated it in accordance with the practice [into thirteen articles]. In this regard, we have written down the articles, listed below one after the other.¹⁰

This summary of the reasons for the reorganization of the Tibetan government corresponds quite well with the description given by Petech.¹¹ It also provides

the additional information that not only the *ambans* but also the Dalai Lama had sent a report about Gyurmé Namgyel to the emperor. Since it is common knowledge that Gyurmé Namgyel was not on good terms with the Dalai Lama,¹² such a report fits into the picture.

Below is the translation of the thirteen articles. The individual articles were not originally numbered consecutively but were explicitly designated as a single article in each case (the numbers in square brackets have been added):

[1] One article: Examining the need to appoint a cabinet minister according to the old practice, there were in the previous old practice four cabinet ministers. Among them was the blind cabinet minister Drongtsewa. He had already been dismissed by Gyurmé Namgyel earlier. The present cabinet ministers are *gong* Pandita, Tsering Wanggyel, and Sichö Tseten, these three. In accordance with the order of the emperor, Pandita has the rank of *gong* and must perform the duties of a cabinet minister. Thus, there is no need to discuss it again. [Already] before the rebellion and the cause of trouble had started from Lozang Trashi,¹³ Tsering Wanggyel and Sichö Tseten were not staying in Lhasa because Gyurmé Namgyel had sent them at their own request to another place. These two not only were previously without any error in their duties but also later had no knowledge of the bad actions of revolt. Because they were cabinet ministers who had previously been appointed by the order [of the emperor], so the two must now again perform the duties of cabinet ministers according to the previous practice. In replacement of cabinet minister Drongtsewa, there shall be appointed someone suitable as cabinet minister selected from among the lamas who understand the meaning of the doctrine of the Yellow Hats. If they do their work together, it will benefit everyone, the monks and the laity. Among the present cabinet ministers, Pandita has the rank of *gong*, and all the others were previously granted by [imperial] order the rank of *jasak taiji* and presents. If one bestows no rank upon this newly appointed lama, he will differ from the others. Therefore, by reporting it to the emperor, we make sure that, as customary, the rank of *jasak* grand lama will be given [to him] and he will do his work on equal terms with the other cabinet ministers.¹⁴

[2] One article: When the cabinet ministers divide their duties [among themselves] they must [nevertheless] do their duties [together] in a suitable public assembly building. If one analyzes it according to the previous custom, the cabinet ministers—when dividing their work—were previously [nevertheless] all in the building of the council of the ministers. Later, at the time

of Polhané, all the cabinet ministers did not go anymore to the council of the ministers in the public building but did their work in their private houses. The officially appointed receptionists and secretaries, they left useless, and appointed [instead] from among their private servants and attendants new and additional various government officials, for example receptionists, according to their wishes. Therefore, people like the receptionist Lozang Trashi [cf. above] have once again brought all the people through the abuse of power willingly under their control. Henceforward, after cabinet ministers are appointed in accordance with the tradition, they must divide [among themselves] the duties by following the old tradition in accordance with the requirements. However, it is appropriate that decisions about the work be made publicly and collectively in the Council of Ministers in the public building. Make sure that all additional government officials who have been employed at will resign from their jobs! Furthermore, make sure that [only] those among the officially appointed workers, for example the receptionists, who are fitted to perform the tasks perform them! Tasks of a trivial kind, the cabinet ministers discuss publicly and organize fairly. Otherwise, if there is any need for instruction [from above] or if there are any very important tasks concerning spies, the messenger system, etc., [the ministers] must by all means follow the orders [from above] and report to the Dalai Lama and the high officials residing in Lhasa [i.e., the *ambans*]. After in compliance with [this procedure] the seal of the Dalai Lama, together with the seal of the high officials who were sent on the orders [of the emperor], has been affixed, [the ministers] should—by acting according to the intention of the [decree] granted—implement what is to be rejected and what is to be accepted. If from now on there is someone among the cabinet ministers who does not obey, because his ideas with regard to the practice established here are not correct, the other cabinet ministers—after they have heard about that matter—should ask the reasons for the wrong performance of duties and make sure that he will be punished.

[3] One article: When district commissioners, stewards of estates, headmen, *etc.* are appointed, it is not proper if they are appointed by the cabinet ministers at will. If one analyzes it closely, the senior officials of each place must divide the duties of each section [among themselves] and take responsibility for looking after and instructing the serfs, *etc.* However, under the wrong exercise of office by the mad Gyurmé Namgyel, they were [officials] in name only because [only] people whom he liked were installed in office. In reality they were not sent in person, but their servants were sent each time and performed the duties. Therefore, the exploitation and oppression of the serfs in the districts was great.

There was absolutely no benefit for the care of the serfs. From now on the cabinet ministers [must] sincerely designate all those to be appointed to the post of district commissioner. Then they [must] report the reasons to the Dalai Lama and the high [imperial] officials residing in Lhasa. And then—in compliance with the decree granted, bearing the seal of the Dalai Lama and the seals of the high officials who were sent on the orders [of the emperor]—they [should] act according to the intention [of the decree]. All servants among the senior officials and district commissioners who have been sent as substitutes must return without exception and other people sent in exchange. Furthermore, after Gyurmé Namgyel was killed, his bad servants were still senior officials. Pandita arranged that all returned [from their office] and sent others as substitutes. If there should be any further need for an exchange because the substitutes who were sent hastily at that time do not get along in the respective places, they should once again be exchanged by investigating [the matter] sincerely. Therefore, one should arrange for selecting and appointing another person by asking the Dalai Lama and the high [imperial] officials in Lhasa for instructions.

[4] One article: If one analyzes the need for the exchange of the various government officials and the need for establishing a practice of punishment closely: to appoint a senior official according to the former practice, a highly capable person who has a [renowned] family lineage should be selected and installed. If there are those who know nothing about the work or who violate the law on their own initiative, they must be fairly sentenced according to the situation. Gyurmé Namgyel in an arbitrary and very crude manner and without discrimination between good and bad replaced old officials who had done no wrong. By accusing them of crimes, he confiscated all their wealth. Regardless of whether [the accusations] were true or not, he turned top and bottom upside down. Because of all these circumstances, there were no people who did not grumble. Now, senior officials, etc., must execute bastinado and whipping for various minor violations of the law. About all kinds of minor penalties that are required and moreover all kinds of required corporal punishments, like plucking out the eyes and cutting off the hand, for violations of the law like theft and robbery, the cabinet ministers should decide fairly. If there is punishment of monks and laity, like lamas, nobles, and government officials, for example, the confiscation of assets or the loss of life, the cabinet ministers and the generals must fairly analyze [the matter] through clear investigation. Accordingly, they should ask the Dalai Lama and the high officials residing in Lhasa for instructions and then follow their orders.

[5] One article: Concerning the selection and installation of lamas and abbots who occupy a [monastic] throne, it is appropriate if one does it in accordance with the situation but similar to the previous practice. If one analyzes it closely: regarding the abbots of the various monasteries in the former tradition, all the lamas [who functioned as abbots] were appointed by the Dalai Lama in accordance with the size of the monastery through selecting lamas who possess good qualities and knowledge. However, when Gyurmé Namgyel did the job, he decided by himself at his own discretion, for example, with regard to appointments and replacements. He had the Dalai Lama completely deprived of power. This was outrageous. If there is from now on—regarding the posting of abbots for the various monasteries through appointing a lama—the need to replace an abbot, someone incapable functioning as a lama, the Dalai Lama should decide by using his own judgment. It is not permitted that the cabinet ministers—by exercising something like the previous bad practice—decide how it suits them. If there is any violation of the law from among the lamas, the cabinet ministers should honestly and clearly report the reasons to the Dalai Lama. Then they must perform their duties according to the order granted by the Dalai Lama.

[6] One article: It is appropriate to reduce redundant leading officials by causing them to resign from their jobs. If one analyzes it closely: in the former tradition, there were as important positions the receptionist [*drönnyer*], the treasurer [*chandzö*], the chamberlain [*zimpön*], and the chief steward in charge of food [*sölpön*], [all] being [personal attendants] in the presence of the Dalai Lama. Then the power was handed over to Polhané, and he—similar to the practice of the Dalai Lama—appointed his own friends [as additional officials], by giving them titles of important positions. Nowadays, the cabinet ministers do not belong [anymore] to the ruling class. Therefore, it not only does not befit their rank if they execute many appointments together with [the bestowal of] titles of important positions as before, but it also goes much too far. By investigating clearly this matter, cause [the redundant officials] to resign from their jobs. Make sure that now, as in the [earlier] past, [only] two receptionists and the secretary are doing work as government officials in the Council of Ministers.

[7] One article: There is the need to install an additional suitable general. If one analyzes it closely: in the old system the cabinet ministers performed the duties concerning the [various] places and regions. Since the generals had command over military affairs, they performed the duties of placing spies and frontier guards. Take care that, as in the past, now everyone does his own job. Regarding

the region of Tsang, three generals were in the past stationed in that very small area. Regarding Ü, there was in that larger area only one general. Therefore, if he had to go somewhere for the government or had to ask for a leave of absence, for example, because of illness, there was no one who functioned as the head of the army. For instance: after Gyurmé Namgyel sent General Dargyé Trashi to Nakchu, there was no one functioning as head of the army in Lhasa. Thus, the place and district got into trouble, because recently the brigand and evil person Lozang Trashi had without authority gathered soldiers around him, *etc.* If it should now be required, an [additional] general should be appointed anew. If one then causes them to manage [the affairs] jointly, it will be okay. Even if one [of them] goes somewhere for [some] business, one [still] stays in Lhasa. Therefore, he watches the place and is ready, for example, to dispel dangers and render service for the Dalai Lama. From now on, if there is any need to call to arms or to station spies, everyone should follow orders and act according to the meaning of the decrees bearing the seals of the Dalai Lama and the high [imperial] officials who reside in Lhasa. The generals shall take utmost care by always keeping the guarding of the [various] places and districts in mind. If there should be any need of caution, one should immediately report to the high officials who are sent [by the emperor]. Then one must perform [one's duty] according to the meaning of their instructions. If one scrutinizes it once more, this general Changlochenpa, who in the past was stationed in Tsang, was entirely innocent. However, because Gyurmé Namgyel thought that he must kill him [otherwise], he was allowed to resign from his post on his own initiative. Therefore, if one considers whether he deserves [the job again]: he is worthy to be general of Tsang as before by calling upon him once more, and with regard to [the circumstance] that he was accused of crimes though he was innocent, [he is worthy] of being cleared of charges.¹⁵

[8] One article: When joining them together, it is appropriate to grant a decree to the cabinet ministers and the generals. If one analyzes it [in detail]: obviously all cabinet ministers and generals are [likewise] important ministers who divide the work concerning the subjects and the territory of the Dalai Lama [among themselves] and who have command over military affairs. The responsibility entrusted to them is very heavy. Therefore, having been granted a decree and thus appointed [to their respective positions], they [should] exercise their [respective] work obligations as of great importance. After writing the names of the present and the additional cabinet ministers and generals in the record book and informing the ministry [i.e., the Lifan Yuan] by presenting [the book], the official order [for appointment] should be granted in return. If henceforth there

will be any need for replacement, the candidates worthy of appointment will be selected according to the advice of the imperial officials and the Dalai Lama. After instructions are received, the appointment will be executed. Now, after the ministry has been asked [for permission], [the ministry] will—along with the decree—cause [the appointed ministers and generals] in each case to govern with kindness. If later on—by not keeping [this regulation] in mind and not holding the Dalai Lama in esteem—there is any violation of the regulation or any incapability of performing the work for the [various] places and districts and thus any appropriateness for letting [a minister or general] resign from his post, the Dalai Lama and the imperial officials residing in Lhasa should conjointly give an account about the lack of qualifications and ask for instructions. Then—by annulling [the appointment to] the post—the decree previously granted must be confiscated and handed over to the ministry.

[9] One article: It is appropriate not to allow taking possession of serfs, et cetera, without authorization. If one analyzes it [in detail]: previously all serfs of Tibet were under the power of the Dalai Lama. Therefore, by classifying the size of the places and the number of serf households and collecting the individual traditional taxes, [the taxes] were made funds for the stream of virtue of the Yellow Hat doctrine [i.e., for the Gelukpa to make offerings], which came in addition to the [other] benefits for the monk community, [i.e.,] the requirement of alms and tea. Ever since Polhané and Gyurmé Namgyel, father and son, took responsibility, they took [serfs, et cetera] in possession at will. Taking them by force, et cetera, they then gave them without reason high-handedly to people of merit. This was often the case. Or they gave edicts for tax exemption to those of merit. And from those people whom they did not like, they took various newly added taxes. Thus, the living conditions [literally: happiness and misery] of the serfs were unbalanced. By at once examining [the situation] collectively and closely in accordance with the documents, the cabinet ministers and generals should [on the one hand] not take back the rewards given to people who definitely have brought benefit to the unity of [Buddhist] doctrine and politics, and furthermore they should [on the other hand] examine honestly everything that was given by Gyurmé Namgyel at will and without reason, and having reported clearly to the Dalai Lama, they should take it back. Thus they must bring benefit to governmental affairs.

After an inquiry about the granted edicts for tax exemption, they must be repealed. Then, care should be taken that the traditional taxes—whatever they are—are paid. By reporting to the Dalai Lama about newly added taxes—

whatever they are—care should [also] be taken that they as well [are taken back]. This way, the living conditions of all the serfs will be balanced. From now on, the cabinet ministers together with the generals shall report to the Dalai Lama and the imperial officials about all the people who are worthy to be rewarded because they have properly given service with a completely pure mind. Then [those people] shall be rewarded appropriately.

[10] One article: If official travel documents concerning pack horses, et cetera, are granted by asking the Dalai Lama, it is all right. If one analyzes it [in detail]: according to the old customs, all the serfs offered services like [the provision of] pack horses to officials, et cetera, as a kind of tax for the Dalai Lama. Ever since Polhané and Gyurmé Namgyel, father and son, divided up the work, the old custom has been destroyed. When sending tradesmen, the cabinet ministers and generals let them do trading in the areas of Ziling [Xining], Dartsedo, Barkham, and Ngari. At that time, travel documents were given at will. Therefore, the obligation of compulsory labor, travel provisions, whatever was needed, et cetera, everything was taken from the serfs in the villages by strongly coercing them. Hence, the serfs had the extremely great misery of additional taxes. Thus—all the serfs being without a source of livelihood—it very often became the reason that they were scattered. It is necessary that this custom never be allowed again. From now on it is not permitted that cabinet ministers and generals give travel documents at will for sending tradesmen. If compulsory labor is definitely necessary for governmental affairs, one should by all means ask the Dalai Lama for instructions. Then, one must act according to the intended meaning of the official, sealed travel document. About required daily compulsory labor in the nearby area, let the cabinet ministers decide themselves and then hand over the documents.

[11] One article: It is not allowed to take at will goods that are stored in the treasury of the Dalai Lama. If one analyzes it in detail: according to the old custom, the treasurer apparently acted as trustee. If it was necessary to utilize [goods] for governmental affairs, they were utilized after the cabinet ministers had asked the Dalai Lama [for permission]. For every opening and closing of the door [of the treasury], the seal of the Dalai Lama was granted. From the time when Polhané and Gyurmé Namgyel divided up the [governmental] affairs, [the goods of the treasury] were utilized by taking them at will. Not to mention [the fact that it had formerly been necessary] to obtain the Dalai Lama's permission [for something that one needed], it got to the point where the Dalai Lama did not—so to speak—even have the authority to take and utilize even one [petty object] such as a ceremonial scarf. This is obviously very inappropriate. In the

future, about smaller required things, the treasurer shall decide like before. For every opening and closing of the door [of the treasury], the seal of the Dalai Lama must be fixed [on the required document]. When there are any necessary expenses for governmental affairs, the cabinet ministers shall discuss them. By asking the Dalai Lama [for an order], they shall then follow the order as it was given. They shall never take and utilize [goods from the treasury] at will.

[12] One article: The areas of Ngari and Nakchu are very important. If one, therefore, analyzes it in detail: this Nakchu shares a boundary with Tso Ngönpo [Kokonor, Qinghai]. This Ngari area shares a boundary with the Dsungars. For those [areas] leaders have to be appointed. It will benefit the areas at any rate if one selects and stations reliable and capable people. Previously there was the custom to send [leaders] by selecting those whose names were of old origin. Now, one shall select and send [such people] by asking the Dalai Lama. After the names of the people to be sent are given to the ministry, [the selected people] will receive an edict and presents from the emperor. Thus, one uses them to keep the areas under surveillance.

[13] One article: Concerning the Mongols from the Dam area, it is suitable to let them stay [in that area] since it was decided by following the order [of the emperor]. If one analyzes it closely: in the past, Polhané had asked for instructions to send these Mongols out as watchmen soldiers. It was necessary to issue [corresponding] instructions. After Gyurmé Namgyel was killed, they were without a commander.¹⁶ Therefore, they fled [back] to Dam. These Mongols are all people without blame. Because they used to live by staying in their nomad place [in Dam] for a long time, their customs are different from the Tibetan ones. In compliance with [imperial] orders, they recently inquired whether, when they return to and are living in Dam, they could offer their strength and go on any travels [required as official] missions. In consideration of the circumstances, they are therefore allowed to stay [in Dam], since it accords well with the merciful intentions decided by the emperor. It seems that in the past they had eight elders [i.e., leaders]. Therefore, ranks were given to their leaders. They were called either *jaisang* or *taiji*. To all of them Polhané and Gyurmé Namgyel had given the ranks at will without reason. This is not at all in accordance with the tradition. Therefore, considering the circumstances, the eight present leaders are appointed banner commanders [*gusai da*]. By selecting eight [more] people from among the elders, the [selected] elders are appointed as [subordinate] officers [*janggin*]. By again selecting eight people, they are appointed as subaltern officials [*kündü boshoko*]. In accordance with the tradition, rank

buttons [on top] of their hats shall be given to them all. Arranged according to their rank, they are all under the general command of the high officials residing in Lhasa. By providing ten men each, the elders should station all together eighty men in Lhasa. Thus, they are prepared to travel [on official missions]. Let them offer service to the Dalai Lama. Foodstuffs, provisions for journeys, et cetera, shall be provided as before from the treasury of the Dalai Lama. Concerning the necessity of summoning soldiers and the necessity of sending spies, cause them all to go or stay [only] in accordance with the meaning of documents bearing the seal of the imperial officials. The cabinet ministers and generals are not allowed to send them according to their own wishes. Whether or not they are appointed ministers, about all that, let the imperial officials and the Dalai Lama conjointly consult and decide. If through annual detailed examinations there appear from among the Mongols excellent sincere and energetic people, adequate presents shall be given [to them]. If there is someone who does not obey the law, he should be harshly subdued. Since among the Mongols who live at present in Lhasa [some] have absolutely no horses and cattle, et cetera, in their homeland, they are without a source of livelihood. Hence, after a close and clear examination shows that there were always only a few who stayed in Lhasa, they should be nourished by letting them stay in Lhasa like before. When doing it like that, it will be easy to give orders to all the Mongols. Because all rely on the benevolence of the emperor, they will receive [imperial] presents.¹⁷

The list of thirteen articles is concluded by a final accentuation of their benefits and a threat of punishment should they be violated:

By following the order of the emperor, the aforementioned articles are all for the purpose that happiness will come to the clergy and laypeople of Ü and Tsang [i.e., Central Tibet] as long as possible. On the basis of consultation with the high officials [i.e., the *ambans*] and the Dalai Lama, the old customs were analyzed. In accordance with the thoughts of the people and in conjunction with the assessment of *gong* Pandita, they were then brought in line with the requirements. In the [above-listed] articles, we [finally] came to a conclusion. You, the cabinet ministers, generals, district commissioners, leaders, monks, and laypeople, all the powerful and weak ones, should trust in the kindness of the emperor and obey sincerely. Then—by respectfully and single-mindedly serving under the excellent Dalai Lama—all of Tibet will these days be endowed with happiness and will be allowed to enjoy merit and the collection of virtue.¹⁸ Moreover, [the Tibetans] will [even] be allowed to utilize independently their body, life, and entire possessions, which they have received as their respective

share, up to the next generation. Always depending on the compassion and the gifts of the emperor, [the Tibetans] will be put under the protection of the Dalai Lama. Concerning lighter faults committed by violating these principles, one should give an account about the administration of punishment and demote [the delinquent]. Concerning heavy faults, one cannot spare life and limb. Specially aiming at the present and the future, these rules were established as a permanent regulation. Proclaim it to all the subjects living up to the borders of the great earth so that they take notice! Everyone must follow this [regulation]. It is not allowed to violate it.¹⁹

In the Bkra shis dbang 'dus edition (1989), the text concludes with a very long list of names of Tibetans, starting with the prominent lamas from the large monasteries Drepung, Sera, and Ganden.²⁰ The date at the end of the document reads: the third day of the last spring month of the sixteenth throne year. This corresponds to March 29, 1751, which surprisingly is only three days after the arrival of Cereng.²¹ Therefore, the other members of the group must have already worked intensively on the details of the regulations.

Three important conclusions can be drawn from this document:

1. In the opinion of the Qing court, Gyurmé Namgyel was not solely responsible for the narrowly prevented revolt against the Qing sovereignty. The seeds of it had already been planted when his father, Polhané, stripped the Dalai Lama of all his political power. The text hides the fact that this was done at the instigation and with the help of the Yongzheng Emperor. Instead, the text repeatedly criticizes Polhané for his arbitrary and audacious acts and decisions.
2. This document returned political power to the Dalai Lama. According to the Third Tukwan incarnation, Lozang Chökyi Nyima, the Second Changkya *qutuqtu*, Rolpé Dorje, had encouraged the emperor to reinstall the Dalai Lama as the political ruler of Tibet. This he did, but the power to rule Tibet was not given to him alone. The *ambans*, the high imperial officials residing in Lhasa, were given equal status. They therefore had to be included in all major discussions and decisions.
3. Although the Dalai Lama is made to look like an unassailable moral authority in this document, it was the orders of the emperor that the Tibetan subjects and officials ultimately had to obey. The text gives the impression that the emperor's and the Dalai Lama's intentions were entirely congruent. This concealed the fact that the emperor's policies and actions in its own favor meant the subordination of

that the unity of religion and politics, in its new form, meant the subordination of religion to imperial politics.

The situation surrounding the third point in particular was, however, more complex than it appears at first glance. Two things have to be taken into account. The first is that a regulation of this kind is normative in nature. It says very little about how the scheme was actually to be implemented. The second is that the emperor must not be perceived as a purely secular ruler who, for example, was totally opposed to religion or utilized religion and its protagonists as a political tool for his own ends.

The Seventh Dalai Lama only had a few years left as the head of the Tibetan government. Because he was a sacred ruler, he could add value to political decisions. He was therefore perceived both within Tibet and even outside the jurisdiction of the Tibetan government and beyond the borders of imperial power as a trustworthy authority. A good example of this is the treaty between Ladakh and Purik of 1753, the longest Tibetan treaty known to us to date.²² This treaty to settle the conflict between two Buddhist kingdoms at the western rim of the Tibetan cultural area was mediated by the famous Nyingma scholar *rindzin* Tsewang Norbu (1698–1755) from the eastern Tibetan monastery Katok. As he himself stated, he was commissioned by the Tibetan government and the Dalai Lama. In the authorization of the document, Tsewang Norbu made no mention whatsoever of an imperial mandate or any involvement of the *ambans*, although it is hard to imagine that his commission had not been explicitly sanctioned by them. He refers solely to the Dalai Lama, as the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, as the highest authority calling on him to travel to Ladakh. And when at the beginning of the document he outlines the great political powers that surrounded Tibet at that time, Tsewang Norbu does not in any way reiterate the sinocentric view of the world by depicting the emperor as the hypothetical ruler of everything under heaven. Instead, he lists him together with the other great kings of his time, the Moghul ruler, Ahmad Shāh (1727–1774), in India and the ruler of the Pashtuns, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, also known as Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (1722–1772). He does, however, include the emperor in the Buddhist world by calling him Mañjuśrī.

Historiographic sources provide some information about the other political conflicts that required the mediation of the Tibetan government during the last years of the Dalai Lama's life.²³ It remains unclear, however, whether the Seventh Dalai Lama himself initiated any political action or acted as a mere

figurehead. A number of the official documents he issued from 1751 onward testify to the fact that at least in public, he performed the role of a political leader.²⁴

INSTALLING *TRÜLKUS* AS REGENTS

The death of the Seventh Dalai Lama in 1757 was reported immediately to the emperor by the *ambans*. Although political responsibility was once again put in the hands of a regent, it was a very different regency than had existed during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama. The difference was already evident in its name. The new kind of regent was not called *desi*, meaning a person having political authority in an area, but *gyeltsap*, emphasizing that he simply represented someone higher than himself. After his enthronement as the political ruler, he was generally referred to as *sikyong*.²⁵ The original intention was to simply bridge the gap until the new Dalai Lama reached the age of majority. The authority to appoint the regent was not with the Tibetan government, although the ministers could make a recommendation. On the recommendation of the *amban*, the emperor appointed the Sixth Demo *qutuqtu*, Ngawang Jampel Delek Gyatso, and conferred on him the title *nomun qan*.²⁶ Thus began the tradition of selecting regents from a small group of prominent Gelukpa *trülkus*. With one exception in the eighteenth century,²⁷ the regents from then on were always *trülkus*, basically no different than other *trülkus* such as the Dalai Lama or the Panchen Lama. But unlike the Dalai Lama, their powers did not derive from their *trülkustatus* per se. Instead, they were selected and appointed and could even be dismissed from office in cases of misconduct. Predictably, the regents became rather ambiguous figures in Tibetan history. As *trülkus*, their actions and behavior were supposed to be guided by the pure altruistic motivations of a bodhisattva, not by their selfish interests. But because some of the functions they had to perform were rather incompatible with this, major conflicts of interest seem to have been inevitable. At certain times they had to function as substitutes for the Dalai Lamas at the top of the “Buddhist Government” and at the same time act as heads of their respective monasteries and households, whose prosperity they were expected to increase.²⁸

The Demo *rinpoché* belonged to one of the older reincarnation lines of the Gelukpa.²⁹ As a prominent *trülku*, he had already borne the imperial title *no-mun qan* early in the eighteenth century.³⁰ After the appointment of the Demo *qutuqtu* as regent, the emperor made a point of sending the Second Changkya

qutuqtu from Beijing to supervise the search for the Dalai Lama's reincarnation.³¹ The whole procedure left no doubt whatsoever about the chain of command that ruled political affairs in Tibet at that time. Together with the Panchen Lama and the Demo *qutuqtu*, the Changkya *qutuqtu* oversaw the selection procedure. Because the different oracles were unable to agree on the various candidates, the identification of the reincarnation was ultimately left to the Panchen Lama.³² After the emperor had been informed about the selection, the imperial decree for enthronement was sent to Lhasa.³³

The Eighth Dalai Lama, Jampel Gyatso (1758–1804), was not eager to execute political power himself. Therefore, after the death of the Demo *qutuqtu* in 1777, the office of regent was filled by two *trülkus*. One was the Tsemönling regent, Ngawang Tsültrim (1721–1791), also known by his titles Ganden *tripa erdeni no-mun qan* and *samati pakši*, and the other was the Eighth Tatsak *rinpoché*, Yeshe Lozang Tenpé Gönpo, who was also briefly known as Tenpé Gönpo (1760–1811). Both were very much trusted by the emperor, the Tsemönling especially so, having served for fifteen years as the emperor's private tutor in Beijing.³⁴ It was only between 1786 and 1789 that the Dalai Lama executed his political duties on his own—a period in which he became known in Beijing for his incompetence in political affairs.³⁵ Documents issued by the Eighth Dalai Lama demonstrate that, at least outwardly, he was trying to make an appearance of joint administration.³⁶ A certificate bearing notes of endorsement from the Dalai Lama and from the Tatsak regent underlines the same tendency.³⁷ But as will be demonstrated below, the issuing of official documents is not automatically equivalent to a real exercise of political power.

A letter dating from the year 1778 illustrates how the regent, the cabinet ministers, and the *ambans* cooperated to comply with the regulation enacted in 1751. At the time it was written, the Tsemönling regent was in office. He is referred to as Ganden *tripa erdeni nomun qan*. The letter is written in a cursive script and stamped with the seal of the regent showing an inscription in Manchu, Tibetan, and Mongolian.³⁸ The translation of the Tibetan wording reads: “Seal of the glorious *nomun qan* who bears the responsibility for Tibetan affairs and holds the doctrine of the Yellow Hats.” The letter was a request to the emperor, via the *ambans*, for permission to fill the vacancy of the monk minister in the Council of Ministers:

Joint letter of Ganden *tripa erdeni nomun qan* and the cabinet ministers,

conjointly submitted to the *ambans*, petition for appointing a new cabinet minister to replace the duly approved resignation of *jasak darhan khenpo* Kelzang Tendzin Namgyel.³⁹

If, in accordance with the thirteen articles of the ordinance that follows the order of the emperor, a cabinet minister is appointed by selecting him from among the lamas who understand the meaning of the doctrine of the Yellow Hats, and he is then granted the rank of *jasak* grand lama [cf. article 1] and cooperates with the other cabinet ministers, the benefit for the monks and laymen and for [all] the people will be great. In connection with the clear requirement that this tradition does not deteriorate as long as possible, it is [now]—in accordance with the old custom—necessary to ask for an appointment by selection from among the servants of the precious Dalai Lama, the lamas wearing the yellow robe. The steward in charge of food, Drakpa Tayé, uncle of this secretary called Kelzang Namgyel,⁴⁰ for many years loyally took on the responsibilities of the valet and steward of the previous Dalai Lama. He was an excellent *khenpo chewa* [monk official] among the personal servants on whom also the previous Dalai Lama certainly looked with kindness. His nephew, this secretary called Kelzang Namgyel, who will [soon] be forty-three years old [according to Tibetan counting], as a child entered the gate of Dharma of the monastic community. Thus, the scholarship and familiarity he has acquired with regard to religious precepts is great. Since his childhood, the previous Dalai Lama looked at him with kindness. Thus he placed him as servant among those who perform clerical work. Therefore, his knowledge is great. Thereafter he was appointed by the Demo *qutuqtu* to perform the duties of the secretary and the steward in charge of food for the Dalai Lama [himself]. Therefore his stores of experiences in all kinds of work, whether small or large, are great. The personal servant and *khenpo chewa*, on whom also this [present] Dalai Lama certainly looks with kindness, performs at present as loyal service all the different works, for example the duties of the secretary and the steward in charge of food. Since he is sincere, has good knowledge with regard to all kinds of clerical and calculation work, and his intellect is profound, he possesses a good aptitude. Now, to replace *darhan khenpo* Kelzang Tendzin Namgyel as a new cabinet minister, it is appropriate to propose to you this secretary Kelzang Namgyel. Therefore, you will certainly look at [the matter] with benevolence, will you not? Because the aforementioned matter is very important, I, Ganden *tripa erdeni nomun qan*, have examined it closely and well. I have also discussed it well with cabinet minister *gong* Pandita and the others. All being of the same opinion, we have decided as above and bring it forward [to you]. Therefore, we request that the

ambans may conjointly report it through the [proper] steps to the emperor. For that purpose, it was delivered on an [unspecified] day of the ninth month of the Earth Dog year [i.e., 1778].⁴¹

In this letter, the regent—an office not yet envisaged by the regulation of 1751—occupies the position of the Dalai Lama as the head of government. As such, he examined the matter closely and discussed it with the ministers. The *ambans* are not explicitly mentioned in a consultative capacity, but as mere mediators between the Tibetan government and the emperor. In this position, they could either endorse or overrule decisions of the Tibetan government. Since there was no direct communication between the Tibetan government and the emperor, the *ambans* performed a key role. The final authority to decide, however, was the emperor's alone. That the decision was not considered a mere formality is evident from the rather detailed rationale for the selection of the proposed candidate.

How the emperor himself dealt with the selection of the Tibetan regent is illustrated by the edict in which the Eighth Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu* is appointed to office a second time in 1791. The regent had been summoned to Beijing on September 28, 1790, after the emperor had found out that the Dalai Lama was following the bad advice of his younger brother Lozang Gendün Drakpa and others instead of that of the regent.⁴² Although in Petech's opinion the regent was even "hand in glove with them," this accusation is not found in the document below. It contains a charge against not one but two of the brothers of the Dalai Lama. According to another source, a brother and the treasurer of the Dalai Lama were accused of deceiving him.⁴³

The translation is based on a copy of the edict written in Tibetan and originally preserved in the archives of Kündeling Monastery. The document is a rather informal order to be transmitted by imperial officials to the *jedrung qutuqtu*, who at that time had already left Tibet and was on his way to Beijing. The emperor was obviously not sure of his exact whereabouts. After the order had reached him, a copy was drafted in Tibetan and later stored in the Kündeling archives. The date on the back of the copy is the tenth day of the sixth month of the Iron Pig year, i.e., July 12, 1791.

The [following imperial] order having been sent down on the sixth day of the fifth month in the summer of the fifty-sixth year of Namkyong [Qianlong] [June 7, 1791], it was received from the place of Pao Dechen:⁴⁴

After Ganden *siregetü samati pakši* had exchanged his body, the application was made to select as his substitute another distinguished lama and send him to do the work of assistance for the Dalai Lama. Since both the Ganden *siregetü* who resides in Beijing and the Demo *qutuqtu* of Tibet are young and would not be of effective assistance to the Dalai Lama, and because the *jedrung qutuqtu* had in the past in Tibet a better training in the virtues and all his [previous] work assistance to the Dalai Lama was sincere, I have sent exactly him as substitute for the Ganden *siregetü samati pakši*. I sent down the order [to him]: “Assist the Dalai Lama and take care that he decides on [Tibetan] affairs!” Thinking about it, [I arrived at the conclusion that] there is no certainty that the *jedrung qutuqtu* has already left Ziling [Xining] to come here. Entrusting Khülshu to take care of this matter and eventually forwarding [the order] from Khülshu, I let the *jedrung qutuqtu* know. Take care that at whatever place this order reaches him, he at once leaves that place and returns to Tibet as fast as possible! Moreover, it is not necessary to meet me in Jehol [Chengde] by traveling slowly. Furthermore, in the past, when the *jedrung qutuqtu* stayed in Tibet, he was belittled for whatever work was defined as his share. Nevertheless, the Dalai Lama himself is a very humble person, and nothing like that was in the Dalai Lama’s mind. Everything was due to the malicious rumors spread about the Dalai Lama, because the two brothers of the Dalai Lama did not get along well with the *jedrung qutuqtu*. After I finally learned of this, the two brothers of the Dalai Lama were brought to Beijing, and again I sent Ganden *siregetü samati pakši* [for a second period of office to Tibet]. Since there was no need that two distinguished lamas, sent on my orders, stay in Tibet, I took care that the *jedrung qutuqtu* had to come here [to Beijing]. Because there are at present no extremely vicious people in Tibet, it is sufficient if all tasks are executed righteously. Therefore, by now going to Tibet, the *jedrung qutuqtu* complies on all accounts with the final goal of my intention to act with compassion. Doing all work enthusiastically with good intentions, he must definitely assist the Dalai Lama and consult with the two *ambans*. After in the past the Dalai Lama followed the advice of his two brothers, no rank was given to the *jedrung qutuqtu*. If, by keeping this in mind and holding a grudge, he harbors malicious thoughts, it would not be okay. Take care that he understands this, et cetera, clearly! After the *jedrung qutuqtu* hears this order, he shall give [me] a report as soon as he departs for Tibet! Regarding the present to be given from here to the *jedrung qutuqtu*, Khülshu shall sooner or later give this ceremonial scarf to him!

Such an order has reached us.⁴⁵

THE QIANLONG EMPEROR AND TIBETAN BUDDHISM

From the very beginning of the Qing dynasty right up to the end of the eighteenth century, the Manchu rulers on the throne in Beijing showed an ever increasing interest in Tibetan Buddhism. The emperors were eager to show their great appreciation for the Buddhist hierarchs, not only through the granting of honors and the giving of precious gifts but also by creating a Tibetan Buddhist environment in the capital and in the imperial summer residence. An example of this was the Shunzhi Emperor's order to construct two temples in Beijing for the visit of the Fifth Dalai Lama.⁴⁶ The Qianlong Emperor in particular spent an incredible amount of time and effort to make it look like he was the greatest strong promoter of Tibetan Buddhism. The most visible projects undertaken to mark his patronage of Tibetan Buddhism include the conversion of the Yonghegong, his father's residence in Beijing, into a Buddhist temple and monastery in 1744; the completion of replicas of the Potala Palace and the Trashi Lhünpo monastery in Jehol (present-day Chengde) in 1771 and 1780; the continuation of the conversion of Mount Wutai into a Tibetan Buddhist pilgrim site (started by the Kangxi Emperor); the great reception of the Sixth Panchen Lama, Lozang Penden Yeshe (1738–1780), in Jehol in 1780; the commissioning of artists to create Tibetan scroll paintings, statues, and ritual objects; the commissioning of extensive translations of Buddhist texts into Manchu and Mongolian; the commissioning of the composition of all kind of Buddhist texts; the commissioning of lamas to perform Buddhist rituals; and the acceptance of the Changkya *qutuqtu* as his personal spiritual teacher.⁴⁷ There has been a great deal of discussion on whether such efforts were genuine expressions of interest in the religious teachings or were based on pure political calculation or even motivated by cynicism. With special reference to the *cakravartin* ideology,⁴⁸ Illich has rightly remarked in this regard that Tibetan Buddhism “offered imperial aspirants not just a potent discourse of imperial legitimacy but a Tantric Buddhist technology of empire that came packed with a full repertoire of discursive and institutional practices to secure and maintain socio-cosmic harmony.”⁴⁹ The imperial commitment to Tibetan Buddhism is therefore not to be characterized as either a simple faith or a cynical use of Buddhism by an unscrupulous ruler. It is instead a genuine effort to actually master and control such Buddhist technology.⁵⁰ In this way, it paralleled and in no way contradicted the Neo-Confucian efforts of the emperor in the Chinese world.⁵¹ To the Qing emperors, religion was something that could not be separated from politics. It has been said of the Qianlong Emperor that he “seems to have considered fictive

forces as or more valuable than armed forces.”⁵² In the eyes of the emperors, religion could either strengthen their rule or endanger it.⁵³ Therefore the Tibetan Buddhist hierarchs were, in principle, no different than any other lords whose power had to be incorporated into the emperor’s sovereign sphere.⁵⁴ And the control of Tibetan Buddhism was one of the main tools required to pull such a multiethnic empire together and “to forge a new and distinctive cultural environment that itself would generate and eventually emblemize a shared sense of community among the Qing’s diverse imperial subjects.”⁵⁵

But the incorporation of such Buddhist technology was not without its difficulties. The subordination of the “patron” to the “priest” that was implied on the spiritual level made it problematic, from the point of view of classical Chinese imperial orthodoxy, to establish the priest-patron relationship⁵⁶ with Tibetan hierarchs.⁵⁷ The Confucian Classic of Rites (Chin. *lijì* 禮記) contains the statement: “In heaven there are not two suns; in a country there are not two kings.”⁵⁸ This reflects the imperial attitude toward religious authorities, which was sustained even under the foreign rule of the Manchus. The emperor would therefore never be satisfied with playing a subordinate role, not even in a religious context. And indeed there is evidence that the efforts, particularly of the Qianlong Emperor, to master the “Tantric Buddhist technology” culminated in his assuming the role of an acknowledged religious authority. Although we know of other instances of this from the Yongzheng Emperor, it was his successor, in particular, who became known for commissioning and distributing Tibetan scroll paintings depicting himself as a lama.⁵⁹ Such paintings were displayed not only in the Yonghegong in Beijing but also in the Panchen Lama’s Trashi Lhünpo Monastery⁶⁰ and in the Potala Palace in Lhasa.⁶¹ A total of eight such Qianlong scroll paintings are known to date.⁶²

By claiming authority in the area of Tibetan Buddhism itself, the emperor could also compel Tibetan Buddhist clerics, including the Dalai Lama, to conduct themselves correctly. A good example of this is found in an edict sent by the old Qianlong Emperor to the Dalai Lama in the year 1790. In the edict, the emperor first thanks the Dalai Lama for sending a delegation on the occasion of his eightieth birthday (his seventy-ninth birthday according to Western calculation). He also informs the Dalai Lama that he has accused his brother and his treasurer of having deceived the Dalai Lama and summoned them to Beijing. He then admonishes the Dalai Lama directly:

From now on you, lama, shall—without having close relationship with bad people—devote yourself [only] to the succession of studying and training like propagating Buddha’s teachings, [reading] the scriptures, and studying [them]! You, lama, are the great lama upon whom the expectations of all the teachings and sentient beings are based. Therefore—by studying completely all fields of definite knowledge—accomplish in accordance with the exemplary biography of the last incarnation the good of the sentient beings, spread the teachings of the Buddha, and act in conformity with my ultimate wish to hold the teachings of the Yellow Hats as most important! Strive even more for the fields of knowledge and the good qualities! Act respectfully without laziness!⁶³

The Qing emperors had chosen the Gelukpa tradition, generally referred to as the doctrine of the Yellow Hats, as the official state doctrine. Because Confucianism never did play a role in Tibet and Mongolia, this particular tradition of Tibetan Buddhism took the place in Inner Asia that Confucianism had in China. The other Tibetan Buddhist schools were regarded as heterodox. Needless to say, this imperial attitude served the interests of the Gelukpa quite well. As long as their representatives accepted imperial control and were willing to lean toward and ideologically support imperial rule, the emperor was generously willing in return to grant imperial patronage and to support the construction of monasteries and temples on a large scale. A good example of how this mutually accepted form of state orthodoxy was defined in Tibet is found in a decree of the Tibetan regent, the Demo *qutuqtu*, issued in 1773 in favor of the monastery Ganden Sumtsenling⁶⁴ in Gyeltang:

Speech of the one who at the behest of the Mañjughoṣa, the emperor, the great lord appointed by heaven, is called holder of the doctrine of the Yellow Hats, glorious *nomun qan Demo qutuqtu*:

That which has to be understood and accepted in general by the superior and the inferior beings, and those in between who take us as a yardstick, and especially by the clergy, for example, the abbots, lamas, and monks, and the chiefs, for example, the series of imperial officials and local headmen, the *dzongdö* [district commissioners], the *depa* [chiefs], the *zhelngo* [commanders of twenty-five soldiers], the *dingpön* [military officers of the seventh rank], and the *begen* [kind of village headman?], [in brief] by the monks and the laypeople, the high and the low ones, together with the common people living in the area of Gyeltang, a territory in lower Kham:

This sphere displayed in the circle of a cool white fence [of mountains] was more than once entirely praised by the victorious ones [i.e., the buddhas] and their sons [i.e., the bodhisattvas] as the land of those who are to be disciplined by the illusionary manifestations of the compassion [of the lords] of the three families [i.e., Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāṇi]. Accordingly the Mañjughoṣa manifested through the dance of human existence, [i.e.,] the eminent Shunzhi Emperor, and the illusionary manifestation of the wisdom of the exalted noble one who [holds] the lotus in his hand [i.e., Avalokiteśvara], the all-knowing great Fifth lord of the victorious ones, Ngawang Lozang Gyatso Jikmé Gocha Tupten Langtsöde himself, met face to face in the golden kingdom⁶⁵ through the power of the previous marvelous development of the enlightened mind. [They] thought that the undefiled innermost essence of the precious teaching of the victorious one is the tradition of the Dharma king of the three realms, the great Tsongkhapa, this very teaching of those who wear the Yellow Hat as a head ornament. Regarding the service for their common order and the wish that [this teaching] be spread everywhere, the human emanation of the lord of the secrets [i.e., Vajrapāṇi], Gushri Tendzin Qan, as well took responsibility with great effort.⁶⁶ [He] stopped the previously existing traditions of the impure tenet systems of those having red hats, for example the tradition of the Karma [Kagyüpa], and made sure that [they] in future will not rise up [again]. By establishing thirteen great monastic schools of the followers of the tradition of the matchless Riwo Gandenpa [i.e., the Gelukpa] in the whole area of Ü, Tsang, and Kham at one and the same time, the precious teaching of the victorious one was spread through explanation and practice. Again after the eminent Dekyi Emperor [i.e., the Kangxi Emperor], the Mañjughoṣa, came on the golden throne, the all-knowing lord of the victorious ones, the great Fifth Dalai Lama, received the fine order that it was necessary to spread the teaching of the Yellow Hats even more than before. Accordingly, countless great and small monasteries of the followers of the tradition of the Yellow Hats were founded. Among them this very Ganden Sumtsenling, the head monastery together with its branch monasteries, was constructed at the Chinese-Tibetan border in the place [called] Gyeltang in the female Earth Sheep year [1679]. By the [regular] gathering of more than 1,200 monks [of that monastery] from then on until today, virtuous religious practice has increased. Without harm through other circumstances, there exists [now] a major place of [collecting] merit by the sentient beings. In these days, however, followers of the tradition of the Red Hats, for example the Karmapa, have entered [monasteries] anew due to inducement by some bad people of the area. Regarding good revenues of

donations, there is at the times of unprecedented studies in every respect a diversity of decline. Thereupon the Mañjuḥoṣa, the eminent one, the great lord [i.e., the emperor]—through the highest good intention to spread the essence of the undefiled teaching of the Buddha, [that is] the teaching of the Yellow Hats—let be constructed anew an incredible abundance of monasteries of the Yellow Hats, not known in the past, in the mainland [of the empire], starting with the great golden kingdom. According to the intent of the successively arrived good golden edicts, which hold that the teaching of the Yellow Hats only is to be spread throughout all the other areas as well, the all-knowing supreme victorious one, the former incarnation [Ngawang] Lozang Gyatso, as well looked upon this very monastery. By especially caring for [this monastery, you] received means for spreading [the teaching of the Yellow Hats], for example a newly granted constitution [for the monk community]. Recently and at present also the eminent one, the great lord [i.e., the emperor], has granted not only once but again and again good golden edicts to the precious reincarnation of the all-knowing and seeing lord of the victorious ones [i.e., the Dalai Lama] and to myself. Keeping [them] in [one's] heart has created in agreement with [their] intention in the area of Central Tibet a greater boom of the teaching of the Yellow Hats, for example regarding the completely purified monastic rules and the newly added financial resources for good revenues of donations and offerings in all great and small monasteries of the Yellow Hats headed by the three great monastic centers, Sera, Drepung, and Ganden. If this big monastery of the Yellow Hats degenerated, it would not be in accordance with the wish of the eminent one, the great lord [i.e., the emperor], and would thus be hard to bear.

Accepting the monastic rules, the discipline and the series of duties of this monastery, according to the intended meaning of the precious monastic constitution granted by the all-knowing and seeing lord of the victorious ones, [Ngawang] Lozang Gyatsöde, as specifying that which is to be adopted and to be rejected the monastic officials and all common monks have to create in that area the splendor of the precious teaching of the Riwo Gandenpa [i.e., the Gelukpa] and a major place of [collecting] merit by the sentient beings, and furthermore make sure that this [monastery] Ganden Sumtsenling flourishes. First and foremost, there are required perfect studies in *sūtra*, mantra, and all religious precepts according to the former custom, by numerous monks coming every year according to the former good custom to the places of Central Tibet and entering successively the three great monastic centers, namely the glorious [monasteries] Drepung, Ganden, and Sera, the source for teaching the explanations and practice, as well as the glorious monk communities of the secret mantra, the

upper and lower tantra college. Because lately the monks were extremely few in Sera, Drepung, and Ganden as well as in the upper and lower tantra college, an order should be sent by the officials in charge, the abbot and monastic officials of [Ganden] Sumtsenling, that from now on a greater number of monks receiving sealed travel documents from local headmen [shall] come according to the former custom continuously year by year. And there shall also be no obstruction of the monks by the governor of the district. In accordance with the wish of the great eminent one [i.e., the emperor]—as a continuous tradition of the teaching of the Yellow Hats—the monks have to go to Central Tibet without interruption. Wherever [the monks] go, one should give assistance [to them], like taking care and providing travel documents. Utilizing religious donations, [discussing] philosophical views and tenets, further [performing] pure virtuous deeds for the deceased and the living in that area, et cetera, whatever is done by [monks], from earlier times until now, Ganden Sumtsenling alone is empowered [to do]. Not only that, but the successive incarnations of the all-knowing and seeing supreme victorious one entrusted patrons and priests to the guardian [deities] of the Vajra[yāna] by linking [them] in one vow. Generally the well-being of this very place, Gyeltang, was harmed at the time of adherence to the priests of the lineages of the Karma school and the Red Hats, which are not in harmony with the former custom. Thus there is particularly no doubt that the ocean of the oath-bound guardians of the religion will show the signs of destructive magic on people, cattle, and subjects with regard to each one who acts [against that custom]. Especially after, in accordance with the meaning of the precious monastic constitution granted by the eminent all-knowing and seeing real Vajradhara, the supreme victorious one, also the sponsors have understood and realized that regarding this very monastery, the fundamental discipline is pure and that it is a supreme field of completely purified view and behavior, [they] shall not—apart from giving devotional presents in proportion to one's personal wealth for the benefit of the deceased and the living ones, for example for [actions as] roots of virtue, religious ceremonies, dedication offerings [for the sake of dead people], and village rites—hold those of impure views and behavior as the most important ones. It has become necessary also that the leadership of the districts and estates develop commitment to a high degree for the growth of this monastery and its sponsors. Thus from now on also the successive local headmen, the governors of the districts, the *zhelngo*, the *dingpön*, the *begen*, etc., all the monks and laypeople, the high and the low ones, shall worship this [monastery] Ganden Sumtsenling alone as the field for [collecting] merit. According to the meaning of the monastic constitution, it is not right if one does [things] like keeping the lineages of the Red Hats, whose

views and tenets are impure, as recipients of offerings; founding new monasteries [of the Red Hats]; and allotting [new] financial resources to them. Therefore everyone shall practice the aforementioned precepts and bans in the way they are. One shall not cast away in [one's] mind the virtuous assistance [offered by the monastery] in this and in the next [life] for those who carry it out correctly.

The guardians who protect the religion in general, and especially the highest [guardian deities] of the shrines of this monastery, the sovereign [lady] of the desire realm [and] the harm-bringing spirit with a cuirass of leather [Setrap], have been entrusted to take care by the words: “If [people violate this decree], please annihilate those who act in contravention of the order by severe signs of destructive magic!” There is no doubt that people who act in contravention will be destroyed down to the seventh generation. Not only that, but first and foremost also the severe punishment by the law of the sovereign of the whole circle of heaven and earth, the Mañjuḥoṣa, the emperor, the great lord, will definitely fall upon [their] life and limb. Therefore, keeping [this] in mind, practice the precepts and bans in every respect without mistakes!

This document that is to be obeyed was written on the auspicious fifth day of the white half of the miracle month of the [year] whose name, *vijaya* [“victory”], is in accordance with the destiny in this area and which is known as the female Water Snake year, [February 26, 1773] in the [palace called] Ganden Sangngak Gatsel, in the neighborhood of the magic temple of Lhasa [which is like] the root and branches of the [common] welfare.⁶⁷

In 1792, the Eighth Dalai Lama issued another document in favor of Ganden Sumtsenling, which contains the same narration and arguments as those above.⁶⁸ In the *dispositio* of that document, the Eighth Dalai Lama forbade, with regard to Gyeltang, the restoration of destroyed Kagyüpa monasteries. In contrast to the politics of the Fifth Dalai Lama, he now expressly added the monasteries of the Nyingmapa.

Both documents are remarkable in their testimony to the way Gelukpa orthodoxy was put into practice, i.e., by subduing other traditions and redirecting their economic resources. They also demonstrate how Tibetan history was rewritten to suit the hierarchy demanded by the emperor. In the *narratio*, the protagonists are not listed in chronological historical order but according to their political and social status. According to historical fact, the Gelukpa and the Dalai Lama owed

their rise to political power and to dominance over the other schools of Tibetan Buddhism first and foremost to Gushri Qan and his victorious campaigns throughout eastern and Central Tibet. It was only ten years afterward that the Fifth Dalai Lama set out to meet the emperor in Beijing. Yet the above edicts only mention Gushri Qan as the last of the three key actors, all of whom are extolled as incarnations of great transcendental bodhisattvas working for the welfare of the Geluk tradition. The one mentioned first is Shunzhi, the first Qing Emperor on the throne in Beijing. At the meeting with the Fifth Dalai Lama, both agreed that the Geluk doctrine, the teachings of Tsongkhapa, was to represent the “undefiled innermost essence” of the Buddhist teachings and therefore was to be spread everywhere. Gushri Qan then appears as a mere executor of the emperor’s and the Dalai Lama’s concerted plan, i.e., the party responsible for fighting the Gelukpa’s rivals on the battlefield. The Qing Emperor is depicted as having been the undisputed authority from the very beginning. Therefore Shunzhi’s successor, the Kangxi Emperor, is also positioned higher than the Fifth Dalai Lama. After the Kangxi Emperor’s accession to the throne, he proclaimed to the Fifth Dalai Lama “that it is necessary to spread the teaching of the Yellow Hats even more than before.” In this way, the emperor is portrayed as being the one ultimately responsible for establishing the countless Gelukpa monasteries. The Dalai Lama is reduced to the role of a receptor and executor of imperial orders.⁶⁹

In the second half of the eighteenth century, *trülkus*—in the capacity of regents—played a central role in the Qing’s control of Tibetan affairs. Their selection and the appointment was therefore a matter of great interest to the emperor. The Demo and the Tsemönling *trülkus* were both regents especially trusted by Qianlong. Against the backdrop of the Gurkha crisis in 1789, the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*, Yeshe Lozang Tenpé Gönpö, was appointed as the third regent to assist the Dalai Lama in the administration of political affairs. Thus a reincarnation line was back on the stage in Tibet, the sixth incarnation of which had once fallen out of favor with the emperor. But it appears that by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* had been fully rehabilitated. By the mid-eighteenth century, this line had become closely bound to the court. In 1758, the Seventh Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*, Lozang Penden Gyeltsen (1708–1758), was appointed abbot of the Yonghegong in Beijing and received from the emperor the honorary title *samati pakṣi* together with a silver seal. But in the same year as his enthronement, Lozang Penden Gyeltsen died in Beijing at the age of fifty.⁷⁰ The search for and identification of his reincarnation was a matter of imperial interest, which meant that the emperor had to be kept

informed. The ecclesiastics involved were not allowed to report directly to the emperor, but had to send their reports through the Qing representatives, the two *ambans*, residing in Lhasa. In charge of the search was a so-called *jasak* lama. *Jasak* is a Mongolian word that, during the Qing Dynasty, was used to denote the hereditary chiefs of the Mongolian banners,⁷¹ but it was also used to refer to distinguished members of the Tibetan aristocracy.⁷² From the middle of the seventeenth century, *jasak* lama was an imperial title conferred on Buddhist clerics who acted as the administrative head of a large monastery.⁷³ The *jasak* lama and the *jasak* grand lama (*jasak da lama*) exerted religious as well as secular authority.⁷⁴ In order to deliver his report to the *ambans* and ask them to forward it to the emperor, the *jasak* lama had to have his report seconded by the then regent, the Demo *qutuqtu*, Ngawang Jampel Delek Gyatso.

The Eighth Tatsak *rinpoché*, Yeshe Lozang Tenpé Gönpo, was born in 1760, two years after the death of his predecessor. He is the most prominent of the reincarnations in the line of the Tatsak *rinpochés*. The Eighth Tatsak *rinpoché* would become the first Kündeling *qutuqtu* and would act as regent twice (1789–1790, 1791–1810). He was found and identified by the search committee in 1764. The Kündeling archives contain a draft letter written by the regent at that time, the Demo *qutuqtu*, which was to be sent to the *ambans* seconding the report of the *jasak* lama. The letter appears to have been drafted by an unknown clerk. For the purposes of informing the regent about the circumstances, contextual information is included before the actual draft. The document not only demonstrates the detailed extent to which the emperor was informed about the whole procedure but also shows how even such marginal matters as the time at which the new incarnation was to be invited to his monastery was left up to the emperor. Because no direct communication with the emperor was allowed, the *ambans* held a key position and were therefore treated with the utmost respect.

To report to the great emperor through the *ambans* on how, on the seventh day of the fourth month of the Wood Monkey [year] [May 9, 1764], it was definitely recognized that the reincarnation of the Tatsak *jedrung* was born in Powo, the petition of the *jasak* lama was received from Pashö. Regarding its content, probably the *gyeltsap rinpoché* [i.e., the regent] has [already previously] presented a letter to the *ambans*.

The letter of *nomun qan* Demo *qutuqtu* delivered to [both] *ambans* together:

Regarding the reincarnation of the Tatsak *jedrung*, an order from [both] *ambans* together as well as a [corresponding] letter from my side has been sent [saying]: “The younger brother of the former *jedrung* incarnation, the *jasak* lama, shall once more investigate because there are no details in the earlier received petition!” As answer to that [order and letter] there has arrived this petition to be delivered to both *ambans* together with a [corresponding] letter for me. Although the content of what is to be reported [by myself] is in accordance with what is clear in his own petition, [the *jasak* lama] did not know how to report in the letter [in accordance with the etiquette]. When [he] therefore was uncomfortable with writing it down, [he] told me that I too had to write to both *ambans*. Regarding the content, below are the words and meaning of what is to be reported:

Regarding the reincarnation of the Tatsak *jedrung*, [the *jasak* lama] acted as a spy. It has been told that there were possible candidates for the reincarnation in Lho Pembar, Chamdo, and Powo. Several times it was reported to the Panchen *rinpoché* and the Lamo Oracle. The daily required things of the former incarnation were brought. When the examination was done, it successively became clear. As a result, there was a basis for considering [the boy] from Lho Pembar. Thus also another person was sent [for further investigation]. After also from the side of the *jasak* lama himself the daily required things of the former incarnation were brought, an examination was done, but there was no acknowledgment achieved. Also the time of birth of this [child] was not at all compatible. Not feeling well, the *jasak* lama himself could not go to Powo. The possible candidate from Chamdo is the nephew of the former incarnation of Pakpalha. Sending twice an inconspicuous person there, an examination was done. Especially after sending the daily required things [of the former incarnation] to the nephew of the former Tatsak *jedrung*, the retired abbot of Joden, [he] did an examination, but no acknowledgment was achieved. Before, there was also sent twice another person to the one living in Powo. When the examination was done, [the boy] was acknowledged and [his] behavior appeared definitely to be good. Thereafter, personal [religious] statues, books, empowerment garments, clothes, *etc.* of the former incarnation were sent to Ngawang Dargyé, the treasurer of the former incarnation, coming from Beijing. [The treasurer] said that [he] was very glad in [his] heart because in the beginning, immediately after meeting, [the boy] had said [to him]: “Ngawang Dargyé, when did [you] come?” Then [he] had shown [the boy] the objects [i.e., the religious statues and books] and the personal belongings [of the former incarnation]. With the exception of two upper covers of empowerment garments,

the other [items all were] possessions of [the former Tatsak *jedrung*] himself [temporarily] entrusted to and taken care of [by the treasurer]. With joy [the boy] took those that were definitely left behind [by the former incarnation]. [On parting, the boy] said to the treasurer: “Take care on the road!” [The treasurer] said that the meaning of that [statement was]: although on the way there [the treasurer’s] fear of snow on the higher passes of Powo was quite great, there came no harm [to him]. This place [is] subordinate to the [Tibetan] government and under the jurisdiction of the Powo Chödzung *depa*.⁷⁵ The village household is called Mejo. The [family] lineage is Gyara. The father is called Darlu, the mother Dawa. The mother had dreamt that there was a lama with a Chinese lama dress, the master together with a servant. [He] said: “[You] have to lend [me] a place to stay!” It was said that thereafter—when she became pregnant—visible to other people, a rainbow was set up on the mother herself. When the child was born on the third day of the second month of the Iron Dragon [year], [March 20, 1760] [it] was born inside a white covering like clothing without the [usual] dirty filth. Later, when talking about Beijing and Mongolia, [the child] felt happy. [He] sat on an elevated throne cushion [and] smiled to the others. When the Chinese and Tibetan nobles asked questions about what [they] did not know, [the child] for the most part gave concrete [answers], *etc.* Thus [the examination] was perfect. These circumstances had been reported to the Panchen *rinpoché*. Because the recognition was done in great clarity, [we] received the clear order [from the Panchen]: “Proceed!” Accordingly, we also examined [the child] carefully according to the meaning of the divination of the Panchen *rinpoché*. Because [the child] had identified the personal belongings [of the former incarnation], the certainty grew. For this reason, we have [already] reported before. Had there not been the identification through divination of the Panchen *rinpoché* and the careful examination, how could [we] dare to come up with this on our own? Now regarding the petition to the great emperor about this matter: because the humble *jasak* lama does not know how to report [in accordance with the etiquette, we] have to request [you, the regent,] to make sure that the [two] *ambans* together single-mindedly report through the [proper] steps to the golden ear of the emperor. Further, also regarding [the time] when the reincarnation comes to the monastery: before the *ambans* together have granted a clear order, how could we, the humble ones, decide and dare to invite [the reincarnation] immediately? When now the *ambans* together grant the clear order that it is allowed to invite [the new incarnation, we] will immediately invite [him]. Further: if it is necessary to ask the great emperor also about when [the new incarnation] will come to the monastery, we humble ones will not decide and invite [him] immediately until the *ambans* together make a request [to the

emperor] and [we] later follow the clear order [we] will receive. Further, regarding the sending of a messenger to Beijing: as the reincarnation has not come to the monastery, there is at the moment no one about to go. However, if permission to send [a messenger] is considered with kindness, [we] will ask for kindly considering permission that four *kachu rapjampa*,⁷⁶ including one nobleman, one [further] layman, five riding horses, and ten pack mules, go via Dar[tse] do. Concerning the whole matter, [you, the regent,] have to assist in reporting to both *ambans*.

[I] have received such [a letter from the *jasak* lama and the other members of the search committee]. Their petition is as above. Therefore, will not the *ambans*, jointly through [their] kind consideration, take all steps now to ask the golden ear of the great emperor about the decision concerning the reincarnation of the Tatsak *jedrung* and [the question] when [he] comes to the monastery? Further, regarding whether or not [we] are allowed to send a messenger to Beijing, we also request the official answer that the *ambans* together have considered whether it is appropriate or not to now ask the great emperor directly. Delivered for that purpose.⁷⁷

This document verifies that, as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, the search for and identification of important Tibetan Gelukpa incarnations could be closely monitored by the imperial court in Beijing. Such control would, however, be intensified even more by the end of the century.

THE TENTH ZHAMARPA AND THE GURKHA CRISIS

Unlike the preceding century, the beginning of the eighteenth century was not characterized by major disputes between the Gelukpa and the Karma Kagyüpa. This changed toward the end of the century when a military conflict with Tibet's new southern neighbor provided the opportunity to execute a serious blow to the top of the Karma Kagyü hierarchy.

Disputes surrounding the exchange of coins and the poor quality of Tibetan salt exports had led to military invasions into Tibetan territory by the Gurkhas between 1788 and 1789 and between 1791 and 1792. The Gurkhas had only recently (in 1768) conquered the Kathmandu Valley, where they had replaced the last Malla kings. The conflict between Tibet and Nepal was fueled by an inheritance dispute between Tibetan *trülkus* of the same family but of different Buddhist schools. One of the protagonists was the Tenth Zhamarpa, Chödrup

Gyatso (1742–1792). Chödrup Gyatso was the second most important hierarch of the Karma Kagyüpa and a brother of the Sixth Panchen Lama, Lozang Penden Yeshe, who had died in 1780 during his stay in Beijing. His adversary was another brother and *trülku*, the Drungpa *rinpoché*, Lozang Jinpa, who at that time was treasurer of Trashi Lhünpo Monastery. Due to the generosity of the emperor, the Panchen Lama had left behind large treasures, which Lozang Jinpa had brought to Tibet. According to *gong* Pandita's autobiography, the Drungpa *rinpoché* and the Zhamarpa quarreled over the inheritance. Being in the inferior position, the Zhamarpa left Tibet and sought asylum in Nepal. As an adviser of the Gurkha ruler, he is said to have then backed the Gurkhas in their claims against the Tibetan government, thereby hoping to further his personal interests as well. One of the outcomes of this was the looting of Trashi Lhünpo Monastery by Gurkha troops. In 1792, the Gurkhas were finally defeated by an imperial army of more than 17,000 soldiers—at that time an incredible logistical undertaking.⁷⁸

In the eyes of the emperor, the conflict exposed the utter incompetence of the Tibetan administration. He also recognized that it was partly the result of a disastrous development: the common practice of attaching reincarnation lines to a specific noble house and thereby obliterating any difference between that practice and customary forms of inheriting rank and wealth. General Fu Kang'an, the commander of the imperial troops that had defeated the Gurkhas, had complained about this development in depth in a memorial dated December 6, 1792.⁷⁹ The emperor himself denounced such practices in his famous *lama shuo*, a quadrilingual inscription on the stele erected in 1792 in the courtyard of the Yonghegong in Beijing.⁸⁰ Also striking was the fact that several incarnations could be found in one and the same noble family, as had been the case with the deceased Panchen Lama and the Zhamarpa.⁸¹ In his *lama shuo*, the emperor also accused the Zhamarpa of having goaded the Gurkhas into invading Tibet and looting the monastery out of greed for the riches of Trashi Lhünpo. To him the Zhamarpa was a person of ignoble character whose identification as a *trülku* could only have come about through these questionable selection customs. In an inscription at the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa in 1808, Qianlong's successor, the Jiaqing Emperor, was still commenting on his father's dissatisfaction with the selfish tricks and deceptions used in identifying incarnations.⁸²

One of the first actions taken by the emperor immediately after the victory over the Gurkhas was to prohibit any further reincarnations of the Zhamarpa.⁸³ The

Zhamarpa had died in Nepal shortly before the defeat of the Gurkhas. One version has him committing suicide by eating poison,⁸⁴ while a Nepalese account says that he died on July 3, 1792, from a smallpox infection.⁸⁵ Fu Kang'an is also said to have been informed by a Gurkha commander that the Zhamarpa had died from an illness that had lasted for several months.⁸⁶ This version is confirmed by yet another independent source. The biography of Künga Penden (1735–1804), a scholar in the tradition of the Kagyüpa and the Nyingmapa, says that the Zhamarpa died following a long illness.⁸⁷ Be that as it may, it is obvious that what the Gurkhas really wanted in the end was just to get rid of him. In a letter sent to General Fu Kang'an on August 25, 1792, the Gurkha ruler at that time, Bahadur Shah (regency 1785–1794), is said to have written that the Zhamarpa “was a bad man sowing discord. If he were alive, he should be executed.”⁸⁸

The emperor then ordered the confiscation of Yangpachen. From the time of its establishment in 1490,⁸⁹ Yangpachen had been the seat of the successive Zhamarpa *trülkus* and a provocation to the nearby Gelukpa establishments. After its confiscation, the monastery and its estates became a rich source of booty that could be used to satisfy the demand for land needed for the reincarnations serving as regents. On September 23, 1792, the *amban* Helin (和琳) visited Yangpachen in person, took possession of the monastery and its property, and arrested its treasurer, Yeshe Gyeltsen.⁹⁰ Afterward he reported to the throne (quoting Ya 1994):⁹¹

Shamarpa had been away from his home for a long time. He left over one hundred monks of the monastery of the Red Hat line, cattle, and sheep, villages and residents to the care of the steward. His property consisted of large amounts of silk and satin, cloth, precious stones, coral, silver, gold and metal articles, 20 silver ingots amounting to 1.500 taels of silver, 3.842 silver coins equal to 480 taels of silver, 2,4 taels of gold ore, women's adornments. . . . Besides, he has the gilded copper seal granted to the Initiation State Tutor by the Yuan Dynasty. It should be sent to the ministry and destroyed. There is also a suit of clothes, on which images of the Buddha and some Tibetan words have appeared naturally, said to have been worn in ancient times by a monk practicing Buddhism in a mountain cave. According to Tibetans, it would be good to worship it in front of a statue of the Buddha. It is so rare that I send it in a small wooden box with my memorial to Your Majesty. . . . As to the steward, I shall send him and Punte Dondrup under escort to Beijing.

On September 29, 1792, the *amban* once again reported to the emperor about the measure. He also made suggestions about what should be done with the Zhamarpa's reincarnation line, the confiscated property, and the monks of the monastery (quoting Ya 1994):⁹²

The Red Hat line is Lamaism's heterodoxy. . . . Shamarpa is the chief culprit. The succession of Shamarpa's reincarnation as the Red Hat Living Buddha should be terminated. . . . The 103 Red Hat Lamaist monks of Shamarpa's monastery should be forcibly converted to the Yellow sect faith and placed under the authority of the main monasteries in the Ü region. As to his property, I think it is good to confiscate it. His villages and fields should be put in the charge of another Tibetan chief, who will be responsible to collect grain taxes (over 2.300 taels of silver a year) and hand in the taxes to the Kalons. Besides, I ask Your Majesty for the favor of giving Shamarpa's two monasteries, a big one with 1.135 rooms (including 357 in the monks' quarters) at Yangpachen, and a small one with only three rooms at the foot of the hill, as well as the 271 Tibetan residents on the estates in the possession of his monastery, as rewards to Kyirong Hutuktu.

“Kyirong” is a misspelling of the *jedrung*, i.e., the *jedrung qutuqtu*, also known as the regent Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*, Yeshe Lozang Tenpé Gönpö.⁹³ Except for 64,000 taels of silver, which was to be used to financially support the Tibetan army,⁹⁴ Helin proposed “Kyirong” as the beneficiary of the confiscated property.⁹⁵ After receiving the approval of the emperor, the *amban* informed the Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* of this. The Kündeling archives contain a corresponding document that seems to be a paraphrased Tibetan translation of the *amban*'s letter together with a heading. The document is classified by the Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region as the copy of a *wenshu*.⁹⁶ It is actually nothing more than a brief list of information, lacking an *inscriptio* and the usual polite formalities of official communications. It does, however, quote in detail the emperor's letter to the *amban*:

The *amban* Ho [i.e., Helin] sent [to Lhasa] by the order of the great emperor has received a written order from the great emperor:

I, the *amban*, received an order from the great emperor to send a letter to the *jedrung qutuqtu*.

Subject matter: regarding the monastery Yangpachen of the Zhamarpa, [its]

farmland and all [its] property, I had approached the golden ear of the emperor. Thereupon this year, on the twenty-third day of the ninth month [November 7], a written order of the great emperor arrived.

Concerning what *amban* Ho had reported about Yangpachen:

Although preparations were made to sell the monastery and [its] houses, [they] will not be sold. In the wooden houses [?] of the monastery the statues are many. They have to be protected continuously. It is not good if [they] are not protected. Now the monastery will be given to the *jedrung qutuqtu* as a gift. By placing a capable person [there], you shall take good care [of the houses and statues]. In addition, place also a lama [there]. Further: when you [i.e., the *amban*] are not staying in Tibet, reports about the monastery shall be sent [directly] to the great emperor! It is also necessary to act according to the clear order of the great emperor. The way to carry out [your] tasks is just that. Carry out the tasks for the farming [of the monastery] similar to these! Give instructions that also the serfs close by the monastery are handed over to the *jedrung qutuqtu*! Take care also that importance be given to the orders! About that matter, a letter was sent to the precious Dalai Lama as well. Also the *jedrung qutuqtu* shall take care that importance will be given to it! Control is assumed over [the monastery] by quickly selecting a capable lama and sending [him] immediately to Yangpachen. Thus make preparations that the instructions will be obeyed in the monastery. Take care that those giving instructions also come to the serfs close by [the monastery]! Except for competently collecting the taxes from the serfs, it is not allowed to do things like before. According to the content of the written order of the great emperor concerning that matter, the monastery together with [its] farmland have been given to the *jedrung qutuqtu* as a present and as recognition of [his] service. Thus it is necessary to do very good service.

Of what kind are the lamas who are going to the monastery? The subject [they] will teach has to be reported to me, the *amban*! The *jedrung qutuqtu* shall emphasize that this is certain!

On the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month of the fifty-seventh year of the Qianlong [reign] [November 12, 1792].⁹⁷

Filled with gratitude, the Tatsak *rinpoché* sent an answer with presents to the emperor via the *ambans*. Although the draft preserved in the Kündeling archives is lacking a date, it must have been written shortly after he had received the

aforementioned information. The letter especially demonstrates the detail in which the emperor had to be informed about the whole matter:

To the great *ambans* who reside in Tibet by the order of the great emperor.

[How] the Mañjuśrīgoṣa and great emperor again and again has looked after me, the humble *jedrung qutuqtu samati pakṣi*, through his immeasurable compassion and kindness is beyond thought. Especially he has commissioned me, the insignificant subject, by his golden edict. Since then, I, the insignificant subject, have been not at all beneficial to the service to the activities of the emperor and *dharmarāja*. Nevertheless, the compassion of the great emperor is immeasurable. Therefore he has now protected through his great love the monastery of the Zhamarpa together with its three [kinds of] objects [i.e., statues, scriptures, and *stūpas*]. How would one be able to measure his kindness [even] in many tens of thousands of lifetimes? Now regarding my presents, I have asked whether [I am allowed] to present as support for my request a ceremonial scarf of best quality and a bronze statue of [Buddha] Śākyamuni. Thus it was gradually allowed [by the emperor and the *ambans*] to present [the gifts]. The compassionate gaze of the great emperor on me, the insignificant humble lama, is immeasurable. As he has taken care for me again and again, I have no other possibility than to repay only a part of his kindness. Nevertheless, in agreement with the wish of the great emperor, I exert myself one-pointedly with pure motivation at the task of serving the *vajradhara* Dalai Lama. In particular, so that the lotus of the feet of the great emperor may be steadfast for ten thousand times ten thousand eons and the teachings of the Yellow Hats will be spread even more, I ask for permission to establish in the monastery of the Zhamarpa a monk community of those who adhere to the system of the Yellow Hats, to place the scriptures and a statue of *jetsun* Tsongkhapa, the central figure of the teachings of the Yellow Hats, etc., and to establish in the monastery [the ritual practice of] regularly appeasing and entrusting with activities, etc., the Dharma protectors like Jikjé, Demchok, Tsepakmé, Gönchö, and Lhamo specially dedicated to the purpose that the lotus of the feet of the great emperor will be steadfast. Finding [now] no words to ask anything else, I still have to ask for permission to report through the [proper] steps about the number of monks in the new monastery, the way of reciting [the liturgies], and the way the three [kind of] objects are kept. [You] certainly know that it would be an enormous kindness [to allow] the *ambans* to transmit [my] reports through the [proper] steps.⁹⁸

According to Dung dkar, all but around ten of the former Karma Kagyü monks of Yangpachen had left.⁹⁹ The Tatsak *rinpoché* then filled the monastery with about forty monks from the Geluk monastery Tarpa Chöling in Nyemo.¹⁰⁰

It was only after Yangpachen Monastery had been entrusted to the regent that the construction of Kündeling Monastery (located at the foot of the Barmari Hill southwest of the Potala) was completed.¹⁰¹ Kündeling became one of the four *ling*, often called the Royal Monasteries of Lhasa. The others were Tengyeling, Tsemönling, and Tsemchokling, all located in or close to Lhasa.¹⁰²

According to Kasur Kundeling Woeseer Gyaltsen, the Yangpachen district (*dzong*) was later exchanged for that of Penpo Khartse.¹⁰³ This must have already taken place at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it was apparently not by choice. I am not aware of any documents concerning Yangpachen in the Kündeling archives that date later than 1811. As testified by a document issued by the *amban* Wenbi (文弼, 1808–1811) and the assistant *amban* Yangchun (陽春)¹⁰⁴, the Qing government was still confirming the Tatsak *jedrung*'s ownership of Yangpachen (figure 5.1) in 1810.¹⁰⁵

However, after the death of the Eighth Tatsak *jedrung*, Yeshe Lozang Tenpé Gönpö, in 1811, Yangpachen and its estates were lost. The Kündeling archives contain the copy of a letter written jointly by the new regent, the Seventh Demo *qutuqtu nomun qan*, Ngawang Lozang Tupten Jikmé Gyatso (in office 1811–1819), and the cabinet ministers. The letter was sent to the *ambans*. According to this letter, the *ambans* had previously ordered the Demo *qutuqtu* to take possession of Yangpachen, its serfs, and the estates of Changlochen.¹⁰⁶ Thereupon, the Demo *qutuqtu* appointed a new abbot and sent a rough inventory of the monastery to the *ambans*. In 1844 and 1845, the Ninth Tatsak *jedrung*, Ngawang Lozang Tenpé Gyeltsen (1811–1848), accused the Seventh Demo *qutuqtu* of having illegally confiscated Yangpachen and its estates by force. Through the *ambans*, he tried to persuade the emperor to return everything to him.¹⁰⁷



FIGURE 5.1 Document issued by *amban* Wenbi and assistant *amban* Yangchun (1810)

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The confiscation of a rich monastery once granted to a regent was not all that uncommon in Tibetan history.¹⁰⁸ As emphasized by Goldstein: “Every change of ruler, whether Dalai Lama or Regent, entailed a new demand on land (estates). . . . However, while the demand was ever expanding, the supply was fixed. New estates were not created through the conversion of previously virgin land to

agricultural purposes.”¹⁰⁹ Consequently, this demand was satisfied on a regular basis by the confiscation of estates. Although the properties of the regents were also confiscated from time to time, their households as a rule were famous for accumulating enormous wealth during their periods of office. This is readily conceivable considering that the position of regent had been filled by only six reincarnation lines from the middle of the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, although they were ruling 94 percent of the time.¹¹⁰ Not surprisingly, this greed for estates and property also led to conflicts of interests among high Tibetan *trülkus*. As a consequence, the *amban* Qishan (琦善, 1843–47) later endeavored to limit the powers of the regents. Thus on November 6, 1844, he presented the Daoguang Emperor with a draft of a new regulation containing twenty-eight articles for “Eliminating and Prohibiting Age-Old Abuses of the Tibetan Government.”¹¹¹

The source of the Qianlong Emperor’s dissatisfaction with the Tibetan *trülku* system was not solely the conduct of the Zhamarpa during the Gurkha crisis. He was particularly critical of the Qalqa Mongols for selecting their reincarnations from among the brothers, uncles, and nephews of the same clan. And what further upset him was that all of these clans were families of *qans* and princes. Qianlong listed many prominent examples of these and added that there were so many that it was impossible to mention them all.¹¹² This practice of which the emperor was so critical had actually begun with the Qalqas, with the establishment of the Jebtsundamba reincarnation line.¹¹³ However, the imperial anger seems to have been ultimately triggered by a concrete case that transpired among the Qalqa Mongols, mentioned in three documents from 1793.¹¹⁴ In a small Qalqa principality, the *erdeni pandita qutuqtu* had died. The treasurer of the monastery came to Lhasa in 1792 to have the *qan*’s son recognized as the reincarnation of the deceased lama. However, the Lamo Oracle had given him instructions to search for the reincarnation in the eastern part of his homeland in the homes of ordinary people. When the treasurer visited the oracle the next time, he presented him with fifty silver coins, a robe of brocade, and a ceremonial scarf. He asked the oracle to decide between two candidates who each had the right year of birth; one was the son of the *qan*. The oracle understood the wish of the treasurer and identified the *qan*’s son as the true reincarnation. The treasurer was also able to obtain the approval of the Dalai Lama afterward. The emperor accused the treasurer of having spent a total of more than ten thousand silver coins on the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama, the Lamo Oracle, and the monks of various monasteries. The emperor assumed that

the treasurer had been motivated by greed for material wealth just as the Zhamarpa had.

The emperor's criticism was in fact directed against a practice that had long been associated with the *trülku* institution. The birth of a *trülku* in an aristocratic family ensured for the clerics the support of influential patrons. It also offered aristocrats and rulers a chance, in some cases, to exert their influence far beyond individual monasteries. The most prominent case of this was the birth of the Fourth Dalai Lama in the family of Altan Qan. Moreover, the *trülku* institution offered a system for providing for those children of aristocratic families who were excluded from inheritance or from a ruling position. This had already been the subject of ironic comment by the Fifth Dalai Lama.¹¹⁵

That this practice was not limited to the Gelukpa is illustrated by an example from outside the Qing Empire. In 1739, in the Kingdom of Ladakh, it was not the firstborn but the second-born prince, Puntsok Namgyel (r. 1739–1753), who was enthroned. Before this, the firstborn had already been declared a *trülku* of the Drukpa Kagyüpa in Hemis Monastery. He was known under the names Mipam Jampel Tutop Dorje, Sakyong Namgyel, or most commonly under the title of Gyelsé *rinpoché*. The mastermind behind this maneuver had apparently been the second wife of his grandfather. As an adult, Gyelsé *rinpoche* felt that he had been cheated of his title and his property, and he tried hard to regain his status within the royal family. After his half-brother was forced to abdicate because of incompetence, Gyelsé *rinpoche* finally became regent during the period of minority of the heir to the throne.¹¹⁶

In the eyes of the emperor, the Qalqa case also revealed the lack of credibility of the Tibetan institution of oracles. To base the identification of reincarnations on oracles alone would in his opinion lead to all kinds of mistakes.¹¹⁷ Although he voiced his doubts about the uninterrupted rebirth of buddhas over generations by pointing out the lack of a rebirth of the historical Buddha, he was quite aware that the institution of reincarnated lamas was central to Tibetan Buddhism.¹¹⁸ For this reason, he did not consider abolishing the *trülku* system or doing away with the custom of asking the oracles.¹¹⁹ What he did instead was try to combat misconduct and corruption. One of the ways he decided to do this was to prohibit the search for reincarnations among the relatives of *qans* and princes.¹²⁰

IMPERIAL AUTHORITY OVER THE *TRÜLKU* INSTITUTION

ANOTHER DECISION THE Qianlong Emperor made in his efforts to control the *trülku* institution was to find a method for identifying reincarnations that was less prone to corruption. To this end, he manufactured two golden urns for drawing lots. One he sent to the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa in September 1792 and one he displayed in the Yonghegong in Beijing. The urn in Beijing was intended for reincarnations among the Mongols. The idea was that eminent Gelukpa *trülkus* would draw lots from it under the supervision of officials from the Lifan Yuan.¹ In this way, the Gelukpa elite in Central Tibet were prevented from exerting their influence over the Mongolian procedure for selecting and identifying young *trülkus*.

In a memorial dated January 12, 1793, General Fu Kang'an reported on the solemn reception of the urn in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama is quoted as saying that the emperor

bestowed a golden urn for fear that the state oracles would confirm the reincarnated soul boy out of selfish considerations. . . . I promise that I will act upon Your Majesty's decrees from now on, reciting piously Buddhist texts while confirming the reincarnated soul boy and drawing lots in public so that a real reincarnated soul boy can be confirmed. In that case, Buddhist doctrines will be expounded and monks and laymen will believe in him. We are grateful for Your Majesty's grace.²

Because the whole affair was of such paramount importance to the emperor, the procedure for drawing lots was laid down in the first of a total of twenty-nine articles of a decree to improve Tibetan administration. The decree had been prepared under the direction of Fu Kang'an.³

THE TWENTY-NINE-ARTICLE DECREE AND THE GOLDEN URN

There are at least two, if not three Tibetan versions of the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree. Although they are not accessible to us directly, publications in the People's Republic of China dealing with this decree allow us to draw some preliminary conclusions.

In 1995, the Historical Archives of Tibet published—under the title “The Twenty-Nine-Article Imperial Ordinance”—a facsimile of a document that lists and elaborates in detail on all twenty-nine articles.⁴ This facsimile has since been reproduced in several Chinese and Western publications and presented as the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree composed at the order of the Qianlong Emperor in 1793.⁵

In the meantime, a second, more elaborate version of the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree has surfaced in a full-length transcription,⁶ but not as a complete facsimile. The provenance of both versions is, however, anything but clear. Although Chinese sources refer to two different translations,⁷ no “original”—either in Manchu or in Chinese—has yet been discovered.⁸ Before comparing the two versions, we should take a closer look at each of them in the form available.

The one presented by the Historical Archives of Tibet in 1995 is written in a clear and fluent Khyuyik handwriting on Tibetan paper. This script was a secretarial form used for practical, administrative purposes where there was no need for expressing significance or authority. However, it seems rather unlikely that an imperial ordinance of such paramount importance would originally have been set down using a mere businesslike form.

At least three or perhaps even four pieces of paper were glued together to create a roll more than three and a half meters long. At the end, two more pieces were added that are broader than the rest of the roll. Each of these shows three great red stamps of the *amban*'s seal, giving the whole roll the appearance of a certified document. Clearly discernible from the facsimile is that the whole piece, originally frayed at the edges, has been nicely restored by laying some paper underneath and then cutting it. The two pieces at the end, however, are not really attached to the roll but are just loosely added.

In the Chinese and English translations—or better, paraphrasing—the document is dated the second month of the fifty-eighth year of the Qianlong reign, which corresponds to March/April of 1793. This, however, consciously misleads the reader, because only the actual regulation containing the twenty-nine articles and the last sentence of the last piece of paper have been “translated.” The impression being given is that it is one single document, but a closer look shows that there are actually three different documents, the last two of which have been totally ignored except for the last sentence. Only these two are explicitly dated

the fifty-eighth year of the Qianlong reign, which means 1793. The second is dated more precisely: second month of the fifty-eighth year. Each of these additional documents has a subject heading at the top. The first is a note on the distribution of the draft of the twenty-nine articles to the people with governmental responsibility in Tibet. The second one points out two specific articles of the decree: Article 11 and Article 12. Both documents refer at the beginning to five people who drafted the whole decree: General Fu Kang'an (福康安, 1754?–1796); Sun Shiyi (孫士毅);⁹ the governor of Sichuan, Huiling (惠齡); the *amban*, Helin (和琳); and his assistant.¹⁰ Since there is neither an *inscriptio* nor a *publicatio*, there is actually no specified recipient.

The actual document containing the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree has no stamp of a seal. It has a colophon at the end—two and a half lines written on the same piece of paper—but in a Drutsa handwriting. This part has been either ignored or misunderstood so far.¹¹ The following is a translation:

The actual original of this Chinese ordinance having twenty-nine articles, being written on a roll of Kyem paper [from Dakpo area] and having two dark red seal stamps placed side by side, was examined by the *amban* on the twenty-first day of the seventh month of the Iron Sheep year [September 8, 1811] in the presence of Chichak,¹² aide to the Council of Ministers. In accordance with [the request] “It is required.” [This copy] was presented as part of a petition. This has also been clearly stated in the *bangzhung*.¹³

The term *bangzhung* (Wylie: *bang gzhung*) is not documented in the dictionaries. It may be just another way of transcribing the Chinese term *wenshu* (文书), or *wangshu* (Wylie: *wang shu*) in Tibetan, which at that time denoted official correspondence received from Beijing.¹⁴

A second, more detailed version of the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree has surfaced.¹⁵ According to the modern editors of this version, the original document is contained in a Tibetan book with the title “Book of the correspondence (of the Qing court) presented to this side in the Water Ox (year).” It is a collection of official letters and documents sent by the Qing court to the Tibetan government in 1793. And indeed, the documents of a Tibetan book with this title were published in a modern edition in 1991.¹⁶ Surprisingly, that version of the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree is identical to the short one published by the Historical Archives of Tibet in 1995.¹⁷ Furthermore, the

publication also contains the two aforementioned additional documents, albeit with some minor spelling variations. The difference here is that rather than being found immediately at the end of the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree, they are presented as the first of all the documents of the Water Ox year.

The first of the two additional documents offers a clue about the motives for composing a short version of the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree. It seems that this was written for distribution among officials so that they would take it into account in their administrative routines. After characterizing the document as a letter sent jointly by the five imperial officials mentioned above, the actual document reads as follows:

Now we, the high-ranking officers, have, by reporting to the emperor through the [proper] steps, delivered through copies the draft of the report about the twenty-nine articles establishing anew the [administrative] work for Tibet. This is recorded in the book. In accordance with that, and since it will be difficult later to accomplish the work if those [articles] get lost in the course of time, the actual agreements were now delivered once again. The Dalai Lama and the [Tatsak] *jedrung qutuqtu* have scrutinized the content of the articles. According to their intention, [the short version of the decree] was at once distributed to the cabinet ministers, the generals, the governors of the districts, and the stewards of the estates, and it was taken care that they all remember it forever. It is unacceptable if everyone disrespects this like before. If this should happen, there will be a punishment. For that purpose, it was delivered. The twenty-nine articles about the newly established custom were delivered together with this [document at hand] at the same time.

On a day of a month of the fifty-eighth year of Lhakyong [i.e., Qianlong] [1793].¹⁸

There are two likely explanations for the short version contained in the modern edition of the book of correspondence of the Water Ox year. Either Chab spel *et al.* exchanged—for whatever reason—the elaborate version for the abridged one in their publication, or there are two different collections of books containing official documents for that year. Although a facsimile of the complete book has not yet been published, photographs of its cover page can be found in several Chinese publications. Upon closer examination, one sees two differences with respect to the lettering. One is that on some pictures, the letters of the title are clear and easy to read,¹⁹ while on others some of the letters in the middle are

nearly wiped away.²⁰ The other is that on the pictures showing the title in distinct letters, the strokes of the final double *shé* are farther apart than on the others. These minor calligraphic differences are not simply due to the large time lapse between the two photographs. In other words, the differences do not derive from the fact that the first photograph was taken of a relatively new book and the second of a book that had suffered wear and tear in the meantime. Therefore the calligraphic differences prove that there are two different books for the Water Ox year, each containing a different version of the decree. Liao Zugui *et al.* have included a facsimile of three pages from the book²¹ that clearly show the beginning of the more elaborate version of the decree.

Finally, Ya provides an English “translation” of the twenty-nine articles of the decree, which in my opinion is not completely identical to the abridged version or to the detailed version.²² According to Ya, “the original copy of the ordinance with its text in Tibetan is kept in the Jokhang Temple.”²³

The problems surrounding the verification of the sources outlined above show that we are still far from any kind of final analysis. What is mainly needed is that all of the related documents, together with the information about their original storage, be made accessible, or at least be made available as facsimiles for the purposes of closer investigation.

With respect to the content of the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree, I will confine my comparison to Article 1 in the two Tibetan texts at hand. The complete articles of both versions are, however, presented by Liao Zugui *et al.* (2006) in their Tibetan wording in an Uchen transliteration and are contrasted with each other article by article.

Article 1 of the decree of 1793 regulates the identification of a new reincarnation by drawing lots. In the elaborate version, the translation of this article reads as follows:

The Dalai Lama and the Panchen *erdeni* are the heads of the Yellow Hats. After the Mongolian and Tibetan reincarnations, et cetera, similar to them were correctly recognized, the Tibetans invited [them] to [visit] the four Dharma protectors [the four oracles]. During the time of questioning [them] there was therefore no certainty whether [the reincarnations] were recognized through partial brazen lies. To promote the doctrine of the Yellow Hats, the emperor has sent a golden urn. Henceforth, when it is appropriate to recognize a

reincarnation, [one] invites the four Dharma protectors and [they] check whether the reincarnation is this one. In addition, the [names of] the reincarnations together with [their respective] years, months, and days [of birth] are written on wooden tablets and put into the urn. A lama whose great qualities are certain does the selecting. In addition, there are religious ceremonies performed during seven days. Then the individual *qutuqtus* gather in front of the Jowo [statue]. The *ambans* residing in Tibet shall do the recognition [of the reincarnation] simultaneously. Further, if the recognitions by the four Dharma protectors are in harmony, a wooden tablet with the letters [of the name of their candidate] and a wooden tablet without letters are put into the urn. If the wooden tablet without letters comes out, there is no one to own [it], and the reincarnation must be sought elsewhere. Regarding the Dalai Lama and the Panchen *erdeni*, they are like teacher and disciple. Therefore when the recognition of those two is done and when [the names of the candidates] are written on the wooden tablets in Manchu letters, Chinese characters, and Tibetan letters, and after everyone has felt devotion in his mind, there will come certainty. All this was [done] by the emperor to promote the doctrine of the Yellow Hats and to cause the great Dharma protectors not to deceive in a biased way. It is necessary to develop faith and hope [in this measure]. The golden urn is thus to be placed cleanly in front of a [statue of] the great lama Tsongkhapa.²⁴

For comparison, the following is the translation of Article 1 of the abridged version:

The way to recognize the *trülku*: After there has been made individually a definite investigation, a prophecy is requested from the four Dharma protectors. In addition, the name and the year, month and day [of birth] of all possible reincarnations, written on wooden tablets, are put into the golden urn presented by the emperor. After qualified lamas have performed during seven days religious services for the election, the *qutuqtus* gather and recognize [the reincarnation] in front of the Jowo [statue], in agreement with the *ambans*. Again, if there is a unanimous recognition by all four Dharma protectors, a wooden tablet with the name of that [candidate] together with a blank wooden tablet is put into the urn. If the blank wooden tablet comes out, no one should own that [tablet]. Therefore it is [then] necessary to search for the reincarnation elsewhere. Further, when reincarnations like the one of the *jina* [that is, the Dalai Lama] and his son [the Panchen Lama] are recognized, there will be—regarding the majority [of the people]—more faith and devotion when [the names of the candidates] are written in Manchu, Chinese, and Tibetan characters.²⁵

The main difference between the elaborate version and the abridged version is the detailed justification for this new procedure. It points out clearly what went wrong in the past and what the present aim is: the prevention of deception by the oracles. It also emphasizes that the motivation behind all this is the promotion of the teachings of the Yellow Hats, i.e., the Geluk school.

The drawing of lots was not intended to replace the questioning of the oracles, but to complement and cross-check it. A unanimous statement of the four oracles was required beforehand. The ceremony of drawing lots had to be performed before the statue of the Jowo, which is to say in the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa, the holiest place of Tibetan Buddhism. The procedure is therefore clothed with a highly sacred character. Later, however, as in the cases of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dalai Lamas,²⁶ the ceremony was apparently performed in the Potala Palace.

Some of the other articles of the decree of 1793 are particularly aimed at controlling the positions of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. Article 8 authorizes the *ambans* in Tibet to control the income and expenditures of the treasuries of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. The reason for this was an accusation of misappropriation of funds because the finances of these lama households had been managed in the past by relatives and close followers of the two hierarchs.

Closely associated with Article 8 is Article 12, an express prohibition of the then prevailing practice of nepotism. It prohibits relatives of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama from assuming office during the lifetimes of their related hierarchs.

With regard to the administration of Tibet, Article 10 not only confirms the equal status of the Dalai Lama and the *ambans* (that had been established by the decree of 1751) but also puts the Panchen Lama on the same level with them. In addition, it stipulates that all officials, leaders, and even lamas below the ministerial ranks must accept the orders of the *ambans*. In a memorial from December 1792, Fu Kang'an stated that the *ambans* were even allowed to reproach the Dalai Lama should he act solely in his own interests.²⁷

Article 14 sharply criticizes the Dalai Lama's lack of diplomatic skills in cross-border relations. The emperor had already addressed this point in an edict from December 1792.²⁸ The text reveals that he obviously formulated the edict with

detailed knowledge of the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree, which was not actually drafted until afterward. Together with Article 2, Article 14 regulates the strict control of Tibet's foreign relations, including any cross-border correspondence by the Dalai Lama or the members of the Council of Ministers. The decree is critical of the fact that foreign envoys in the past received either inadequate replies or no replies at all from the Dalai Lama. His failure to reply is even considered the reason for the outbreak of war with the Gurkhas. The Qianlong Emperor had already observed with suspicion the contact made by the Sixth Panchen Lama, Lozang Penden Yeshe (1738–1780), with Warren Hastings, the first governor-general of India (1732–1818, governor from 1772–1785), and his envoy George Bogle (1746–1781). It was later rumored that the emperor had the Panchen Lama poisoned. From the point of view of the emperor, this lack of trust was justified by the attempts made in Trashi Lhünpo to conceal the correspondence from him. From then on, all diplomatic correspondence that crossed Tibet's borders had to be controlled by the *ambans*. The precedent was already set when in 1793 the *ambans* and Fu Kang'an dictated the answers of the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama to a letter from Lord Cornwallis (1738–1805), Warren Hastings' successor as governor-general of India until 1793.²⁹

THE REGISTRATION OF TIBETAN REINCARNATION LINES AND THE USE OF THE GOLDEN URN

One of the requirements of Article 22 is that the ministers of the Tibetan government provide a list of the serfs on the estates of the Tibetan *trülkus* and submit one copy to the Dalai Lama and one to the *ambans*. To enable the making of such a list, all of the *trülkus* within the territory of the Tibetan government had to be registered first. A request for a list was sent to the Dalai Lama by the Lifan Yuan via the *ambans* in July 1793. Repeated reminders had to be sent,³⁰ and it seems that it took a total of twenty-one years before the list was finally submitted. One lengthy version exists for the year 1814, with a few additions during the following years.³¹ Although the last entry seems to be in 1825,³² the editors claim in their introduction that the list was supplemented in 1819 and 1820.³³ Registered are the reincarnation lines under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama, i.e., Central Tibet, western Tibet, and the western part of eastern Tibet, which includes Chamdo, Drakyap, and Riwoche. The list contains a total of 135 reincarnation lines of different Buddhist schools. For each, the successions of the individual incarnations, the places where they were born, and the ages at which they died are given. The actual year of birth and year of death are not mentioned.

Additional information is provided in some cases, for example whether the identification of a certain incarnation had already been achieved with the help of the golden urn and whether the emperor had bestowed title and seal. There is an appendix containing a variety of information, such as a note about the line of descent of the Sakya school and about the incarnation of Dorje Pakmo, the names of 30 incarnations in the Mongolian and Chinese areas, a note on the Jebtsundamba *qutuqtu* of the Qalqa Mongols, and a short section about the Tongkhor *qutuqtu* in Amdo. The lines of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama are not included in the list.

Apart from the question whether all of the reincarnation lines established at that time were actually registered, the list also proves rather unreliable in terms of its detail. Samples have revealed that the ages at death given for some of the individual reincarnations are not correct. Therefore, all that any statistical study based on this list can do is provide a rough idea at best. What it does seem to show, however, is an increase of around 40 percent in the number of reincarnation lines during the eighteenth century. This trend by no means ended there.³⁴

For the area within the jurisdiction of the Tibetan government, the list of 1814 mentions nineteen cases that made use of the golden urn, not all of which were Gelukpa reincarnations. A number of cases from the Karma and Taklung Kagyüpa lineages and from the Nyingmapa lineages were also reported.

The golden urn was not always used for the identification of the rebirth of a *rinpoché* in the nineteenth century. Exemptions were granted in certain cases if a request was made. An example of this is found in an 1808 edict sent by the Jiaqing Emperor to the Panchen Lama concerning the identification of the Ninth Dalai Lama:

You, the [Panchen] Lama, together with the *jedrung qutuqtu*, have now delivered a petition saying, “Because there appeared many different auspicious and good signs after the birth of the son of Tendzin Chökyong, [he] is eligible for being identified as the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama.” By particularly granting incomparable kindness I have therefore approved the son of Tendzin Chökyong according to your request as the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama without the requirement of drawing [his] name tablet out of the urn.³⁵

However, because he was deviating from his father’s decree, the emperor felt it

necessary to justify the exemption by having a detailed imperial inscription put up at the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa.³⁶

According to Shakabpa, the drawing of lots for the identification of the Tenth Dalai Lama, Tsültrim Gyatso (1816–1837), in 1822 was a pure farce.³⁷ Without providing a source for such a view or the basis for his assumption, he even accuses Tibetan biographers of making false statements about this. He claims that the use of the golden urn was a pretense, the sole purpose of which was to satisfy the *ambans*.³⁸ Except for cases of outright corruption or deception, the conclusions drawn by Shakabpa seem rather unlikely in light of the fact that the presence of the *ambans* during the ceremony of the drawing of lots was prescribed by the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree.

As verified by the respective biographies,³⁹ the drawing of lots was indeed performed in the cases of the Eleventh and the Twelfth Dalai Lamas.⁴⁰ The corresponding wordings of the imperial decrees are almost identical. The following translation is based on the Tibetan text of the decree sent by the Daoguang Emperor in 1841 to the Eleventh Dalai Lama, Khedrup Gyatso (1838–1855), on the occasion of his enthronement in the Potala Palace:

Recently the *ambans* stationed in Tibet have reported to me: “Since you, the reincarnation, were born, many auspicious signs of marvelous wonders have been perceived directly. Your character is stable and your behavior and appearance are of a dignified, perfect style. You are able to read and recite the scriptures, and you have recognized the three supports for worshipping and the articles for offering of the former incarnation of the Dalai Lama. Consequently, all the Tibetan subjects, the laypeople and the monks—by seeing and hearing [this]—have completely gained belief and devotion. Therefore, on the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month, the *qutuqtus* were summoned for first reciting scriptures and then [performing] religious ceremonies for seven days in the great palace Potala. The Panchen *erdeni* offered prayers and uttered popular sayings of truth, *etc.* In accordance with this, he together with the *ambans* [stationed] in Tibet drew your name tablet out of the golden urn [placed] it in front of the precious scroll painting of the perfect Emperor Gaozong⁴¹ worshiped in the Potala palace,” *etc.* I was very pleased about [this news] and issued the order to enthrone you as the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama.⁴²

When the French missionary Père Évariste Huc (1813–1860) visited Lhasa in

1846 with his colleague Joseph Gabet (1808–1853), he too collected information about the drawing of lots, a procedure that reminded him of the papal conclave. In contrast to the imperial decrees, his recollection mentions *qutuqtu* only, not the *ambans*, as being the members of the electoral college.⁴³

In the case of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Tupten Gyatso (1876–1933), the Guangxu Emperor in 1879 also granted an exemption from the drawing of lots.⁴⁴ But in general, the prescribed procedure was never actually abolished during the Qing period, though it was not always employed.

The two Panchen Lamas born in the nineteenth century were also selected by the drawing of lots from the golden urn. The Eighth Panchen Lama, Tenpé Wangchuk (1855–1882), was identified in this manner on November 11, 1857, and the Ninth Panchen Lama, Lozang Tupten Chökyi Nyima (1883–1937), on February 26, 1888.⁴⁵

The third prominent case was the Eleventh Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché*. The Kündeling *jasak* lama, who was responsible for the identification of the latter's predecessor in the middle of the nineteenth century, had made no attempt to avoid the drawing of lots. He simply asked the then regent, the Reting *trülku achitu qutuqtu*, Ngawang Yeshe Tsültrim Gyeltsen (regency 1845–1855, 1856–1862), to forward a request for the examination of two children, both born in 1855, through drawing lots.⁴⁶ But when the time came to identify the Eleventh Tatsak *jedrung*, the authorities of Kündeling tried in vain to determine the reincarnation without the help of the golden urn. It was of course the *ambans* who emphatically argued in favor of using it. On May 11, 1886, the Tenth Tatsak *jedrung*, Ngawang Penden Chökyi Gyeltsen (b. 1850), the regent at that time, also known by his title *tongshan qututuqtu*,⁴⁷ died. Several letters and drafts of letters discussing the identification of his reincarnation have been preserved. One is an undated draft written by the people in charge of Kündeling, the *trülku*'s monastery, and one was written by the treasurer of the household, *jasak* lama Lozang Shedrup. The addressee was the new regent, Demo *qutuqtu* Ngawang Lozang Trinlé Rapgyé (1855–1899). In his petition, Lozang Shedrup asked for permission to determine the Eleventh Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu* without the golden urn.

Essence of the request to the exalted golden throne, the lotus of the feet of the excellent great Demo *qutuqtu*, the tutor, the regent, the protector, the life tree of the [Buddhist] teachings and the living beings in the land of snow, made

unanimously and with prostrations by [your] servant, who shows respect with body, speech and mind, the treasurer of the monastic household of Kündeling, *jasak* lama Lozang Shedrup, and by the monastic college of Kündeling, those belonging to the servants, lamas and laymen, leaders and common people:

Our refuge lord, the tutor Tatsak *jedrung tongshan qutuqtu*, Ngawang Penden Chökyi Gyeltsen himself, has gone to the buddha fields on the eighth day of the fourth month in the Fire Dog [year], the twelfth throne year of Guangxu [May 11, 1886]. With regard to his reincarnation, there has been great effort and concern that there be no break in the prayers and the ceremonies. In addition, spiritual teachers and gods [i.e., oracles] were asked for examinations and prophecies. Therefore [he] came back. It is clear that [he] was born nearby—seen mainly from this place here—almost directly to the east. The reasons are: after petitioning emphatically, definitely to investigate in different regions nearby and far away, such as in Barkham, Dak[po], and Kong[po], there was one child called Yeshe Norbu with definite auspicious signs, born on the twenty-fourth day of the first month of the Earth Mouse [year] [March 6, 1888⁴⁸], the fourteenth throne year of Guangxu, near the eastern side of Lhasa, to the government official from Tselkhül, *shödrung* Chakshar Tsewang Yugyel, and the mother Rinchen Lhamo, and one child called Jamjang Ngödrup, born on the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of the Earth Mouse [year] [August 2, 1888], the fourteenth throne year of Guangxu, to Kelzang Döndrup, adoptive bridegroom of Chok Tsering, the owner of Drazhöl in Lhasa, and the mother Lhamo Drölma. After [we] once again had asked many different gods and lamas headed by both, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama [*gongsa chöyön*], as well as the highest of the state oracles, the great Nechung Guardian of the teachings, whether [one of the boys] would be the true supreme *trülku* and reincarnation of that particular lord of refuge, there came unanimously from all the answer: “The manifestation of body, speech and mind [of the preincarnation] altogether is without doubt this aforementioned child Yeshe Norbu.” Thereafter [your] humble one, the treasurer *jasak* lama, together with some servants, monks, and laymen, went to the place of both children. To each [we] brought the shrine objects of body, speech, and mind of the personal deity of the previous incarnation and many permanently kept belongings taken in hand [by the previous incarnation], the originals and things looking like [the originals], and clarified the doubts and identified [the true reincarnation]: the child Yeshe Norbu happily took up all [belongings of the previous incarnation] without mistake and the child Jamjang Ngödrup only took up the things similar [to the originals] but not the originals. Therefore it is clear that thus in agreement with

many examinations of lamas and prophecies of deities, the child called Yeshe Norbu is the single embodiment of body, speech, and mind [of the previous incarnation]. In addition, concerning actions and behavior, appearance, whatever, the character of the holy person is superior. Many belongings of the previous incarnation, the originals and things similar [to the originals], he took up without error, *etc.* Thus the signs bringing about firm conviction were amazing. Therefore, [your] humble ones were satisfied. If the faith is [thus] one-pointed [i.e., undivided], we now request to install this Yeshe Norbu, the child of Tsewang Yugyel, on the Dharma throne of his monastery without having to be examined by the golden urn. [We] keep in mind as much as possible that it would be good to transmit the request to the supreme great all-knowing and all-seeing protector and great emperor, the Mañjuḥoṣa, the heavenly ruler, *etc.* Therefore, we one-pointedly beg the great *ambans* who are sent [by the emperor]: “[You] know well that [we] would be immediately grateful for a consultation!”⁴⁹

As verified by draft letters with very similar content,⁵⁰ the same petition was sent over and over again from Kündeling and forwarded by the Demo *qutuqtu*. The petition for an exemption from Qianlong’s golden urn regulation was nevertheless ultimately denied by the *ambans* in a reply written jointly by them:

Since once more the presentation of a clear reply was required, both, Drang [Changgeng 長庚?] *amban*, resident minister in Tibet who was sent by the order of the emperor and holds the rank *pu tutung* [*fu dutong* 副都統], and Hrin *amban*, assistant resident minister in Tibet, [i.e.,] the minister who, sent by the order [of the emperor], is in charge of Tibet’s border politics and who [also] holds the rank *pu tutung*, sent the following letter:

According to the letter received from you, *qutuqtu*, it was stated in the petition presented unanimously from the Kün[de]ling *jasak* lama Lozang Shedrup and the monastic officials:

“After the death of the former bearer of the burden of government affairs, the tutor *tongshan jedrung qutuqtu*, in the twelfth throne year of Guangxu, his reincarnation was born. After examining two children who possess the major characteristics, certainty was achieved. One candidate for the incarnation is Yeshe Norbu and one is Jamjang Ngödrup. Of these two, this Yeshe Norbu is different from other children. Since therefore it is not necessary to ask for the examination by the golden urn, may it be allowed to invite this one [directly] to

the monastery?”

Such [a petition] we have received.

Concerning the detailed [regulation] that at the time when different [candidates for the] reincarnation of a *trülku* come out, one should place [their name tablets] into the golden urn and cause [one tablet] to come forth by shaking [the urn], approximately one hundred years have passed since the regulation settled by the great Emperor Gaozong⁵¹ started to be respected. Thus, respecting the decision [of the emperor] in accordance with [its] intended meaning, we, the [imperial] ministers, have asked for the golden urn examination of both children whose analysis of characteristics was good and about whom recently certainty was achieved. Completely remaining in a position to cope with the most important task of upholding and propagating the teachings of the Yellow Hats, we have purposefully sent a letter like this one. You, Demo *qutuqtu*, have in obedience and by respecting the intended meaning of the regulation [of the Qianlong Emperor] carried out your duty concerning the two [children] Yeshe Norbu, [i.e.,] the child with the better characteristics about whom you have achieved certainty through examination, and Jamjang Ngödrup. About this matter, we have received a clear reply [from you]. Accordingly, we, the ministers, have—after fixing the date—to ask [the emperor] for [his consent to] the examination through the golden urn. If we wait [for the drawing of lots], the examination will definitely be in accordance with the custom. Furthermore, it is fundamental that we have to report about this matter to the emperor. Therefore, you, Demo *qutuqtu*, take care that the meaning of the [emperor’s regulation] will be carried out by all means without violation, because it is essential that there is absolutely no kind of carelessness!

[Written] on the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month of the Iron Tiger [year], the sixteenth throne year of Guangxu [August 11, 1890].⁵²

As described in a report intended for the emperor,⁵³ the drawing of lots was performed in the same year, on the twelfth day of the seventh month (August 27, 1890). Whether it was coincidence or manipulation, the result was consistent with the previous investigations.

It seems that toward the end of the Qing Dynasty, the drawing of lots in the presence of an *amban* was still occasionally being used to determine a reincarnation. The last known reported case is from 1908.⁵⁴ However, the

procedure seems to have been on the decline from the middle of the nineteenth century onward. According to Chinese publications, a total of thirty-nine reincarnations were identified with the help of the golden urn during the Qing period.⁵⁵ Comparing this with the figures published by Wei Yuan in 1842, we can conclude that most reincarnations in Tibet were apparently identified by this procedure during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶ He mentions that thirty reincarnations had already been determined in this manner. The Tibetan list of 1814 shows that at that time nineteen reincarnations under the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama had been determined this way. But the list obviously does not show all of the procedures implemented up to that time. Not mentioned, for instance, is the case of the Eighth Pakpalha, Lozang Jikmé Penden Tenpé Nyima (1795–1847). He was identified on September 2, 1796, by the drawing of lots in the Potala Palace in the presence of the Eighth Dalai Lama, the Tatsak regent (i.e., the Eighth Tatsak *rinpoché*), and the two *ambans*.⁵⁷

THE *AMBANS* AND THE ISSUE OF CORRUPTION

The possibility that some corruption occurred when lots were drawn cannot be ruled out, of course. However, there is so far no clear evidence available for this. At least in a broader context, it was customary to give gifts of gratitude to influential persons. When someone was appointed to office or had received an imperial title, it was common practice for them to give gifts to the *ambans* and to other leading officials. This may still be regarded as congruent with traditional customs and not bribery. However, the fact that agreements for additional payments to the *ambans* were made suggests that bribery did happen.

This is demonstrated by the appointment of the Tenth Tatsak *jedrung*, Ngawang Penden Chökyi Gyeltsen, as regent in the year 1875. He was the second of the Tatsak *jedrung* line of incarnations to be selected as a regent. According to some accounts, this was the first time that a regent had been chosen or appointed by a new body of the Tibetan administration, the general assembly (*tsokdu*).⁵⁸ However, some are of the opinion that he was appointed by the Qing Emperor.⁵⁹ That the truth lay somewhere in between has been recounted in detail elsewhere:⁶⁰ The Tibetan general assembly “publicly recommended” the Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu* as regent and then asked the *ambans* to report to the emperor accordingly. Thereupon, the emperor appointed him to office by granting him the title *tongshan* (通善).⁶¹ This meant that the traditional hierarchical protocol had not been disregarded. After his appointment, the regent gave presents to the

imperial and Tibetan officials, starting with the *amban* and the assistant *amban*. There is a list from Kündeling Monastery of the recipients and the nature of the gifts given to them by the Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu* in 1875 on the occasion of his receipt of the regent's great silver seal from the *ambans*.⁶² The items and the people to whom they were given were determined in accordance with the practices of the predecessor. However, when the Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu* was appointed regent, he was unable to find the original lists of expenses of the Tsemönling and the Reting *qutuqtu*, the regents between 1819 and 1862. He therefore simply used the lists of the former Ganden abbot and regent Lozang Khyenrap Wangchuk as a basis. The gifts recorded there were not presented on the occasion of his appointment as regent in 1864, but on the occasion of his receipt of the title *nomun qan* and later the additional title *qutuqtu* in 1865 and 1866.⁶³ Lozang Khyenrap Wangchuk's reign lasted until 1872.

But the mere giving of gifts was not enough. The regent was also obliged to make regular payments of specific amounts of money to the Sung *amban* to show his gratitude for the *amban*'s intercession. This obligation was laid down in a sealed contract in 1876:

When previously the great Sung *amban* [Songgui 松濞, regency 1874–1879], who was sent by the order [of the emperor], met face to face our lord of refuge, Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu rinpoché*, he approved that the *qutuqtu* would carry out for one year the work for the government in addition to his main responsibility. Since the previous tradition required reporting to the emperor to request the actual appointment to the [office of] executor of the religious and political affairs of Tibet, immediately as a reminder a petition sealed with a seal was offered by all the Tibetan subjects, the clergy and the laypeople. In compliance with [this petition] at once [the request] arrived to present a [corresponding] report to the emperor. Accordingly, it was arranged that all Tibetan subjects, the clergy and the laypeople, offer a petition sealed with a seal and the cabinet ministers and abbots offer a meticulous and detailed official letter. In line with this, the request for the actual appointment to the [office of] regent for [executing] both the religious and the political affairs of Tibet, combined with the award of [granting] according to the previous tradition to the lord of refuge, Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu rinpoché*, a promotion and rank, was transmitted by reporting to the golden ears of the god of heaven [i.e., the emperor]. Thereupon [I] received the acceptance for executing as good and straightforward as possible the duties [of the government]. Thus, the Kündeling *jasak* lama gave [the present document] on the twelfth day of the eleventh month of the Fire Mouse [year] [December 27,

1876], the second throne year of Guangxu, to the great Sung *amban* sent by the order [of the emperor], as a promissory note pursuant to which 100 silver *tamdo* [coins], as a gift of gratitude, have to be delivered consecutively [to him]. [red stamp of a small round seal]

[Additional remark:] Concerning what is mentioned above, by reducing the debts of a total of 5,000 *tamsrang* onward from the fifth day of the second month of the Fire Ox [year] [March 20, 1877], the exact expenditures of 3,330 Chinese silver *srang* and 3 *zho*, 3 *kar*, and 3 *li* have been settled as mentioned in a supplementary piece of paper.⁶⁴

One silver *tamdo* was equivalent to 50 silver *srang*, also called *tamsrang*. The payment obligation therefore amounted to 5,000 *tamsrang*.⁶⁵

As is apparent from the document, it was expected that the appointment as regent would be combined with the granting of a title by the emperor.⁶⁶ The title given to the Tenth Tatsak *jedrung* was that of a *tongshan*. In an obsequious letter from 1877, the Tenth Tatsak *jedrung* thanks the emperor for this.⁶⁷

THE HIERARCHY IN TIBETAN-QING RELATIONS

It is a far too sweeping generalization to assert that the descriptions of the relations between Tibet and the empire found in Qing historical sources are biased in terms of historiography,⁶⁸ “Chinese sources” being full of reports about submissive petitions from Tibetan authorities. That this cannot possibly reflect the true state of affairs has been justified by the statement that even representatives of the British Crown were described on various occasions as being subjects of the Qing. And it is claimed that, in contrast to the Qing sources, Tibetan sources often emphasize the relative powerlessness of the Qing in Tibet. The account given by Maher, who strictly follows Shakabpa,⁶⁹ refers in this context to the Demo *qutuqtu*’s hagiography of the Ninth Dalai Lama, thereby suggesting that this genre would be more tuned in to the actual historical situation.

It is much too hasty to conclude, from sinocentrism alone, that every depiction by the Qing of China’s relations with its neighbors was biased. Unlike the British Empire, Tibet *was* within the realm of the Qing’s Inner Asian empire and its hierarchical relations. Although this is not reflected in Tibetan historiographical writings, which tend to emphasize the paramount importance

of the hierarchs of the respective Buddhist traditions, Tibetan archival material speaks a different language. This is apparent from the samples of such material presented so far.

The Qing court tried to exercise control over Tibet's clerical elite by incorporating it into the imperial system of awarding ranks and titles. In return, they expected compliance with prescribed protocolic ways of communication. This was true not only for the period of the so-called High Qing, when the empire was at the height of its power, but also for the period of decline, when the Qing was no longer able to intervene in military conflicts on its periphery. Nevertheless, depending on the levels of competence of the particular *ambans*, there were still instances of effective imperial authority in Tibet in the nineteenth century.⁷⁰ And that the Tibetans could even request that this authority be exercised over them is illustrated by the revolt of the Tibetan Council of Ministers and some of the clergy against the lengthy rule of the second Tsemönling regent, Ngawang Jampel Tsültrim Gyatso, in 1844.⁷¹ There is no doubt that Tibet was sometimes more and sometimes less willing to cooperate with imperial authority, and that its willingness to cooperate was at times nothing but a pretense. Still, Tibetan authorities always adhered to the formalities of the hierarchical relations established by the Qing government, which demanded a specific, submissive style of writing that differed significantly from the style used in letters sent to foreign authorities considered to be of equal status.⁷²

It is no coincidence that, beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, an elaborate Tibetan letter-writing style developed in Tibet.⁷³ Phrases of devotion and humility were characteristic of letters written to high-ranking people. The rules governing the “fine-grained” ways of expressing respect appropriate to the status of the addressee were laid down in letter-writing guides. What is less known, but certainly not surprising, is that there were also guidelines for writing letters to the emperor. The Kündeling archives contain several sample letters from the middle of the nineteenth century onward.⁷⁴ These illustrate the exact formatting—the physical measurements and proportions—required, and provide phrases and appellations for correctly addressing the emperor. The actual designation for the “great emperor,” *gongma dakpo chenpo*, is always highlighted in red or golden ink. The rule was that it had to be written in gold on the copy actually to be delivered. It was also considered proper to format the letter so that the designation for the emperor, always in its full form,

protruded over the left margin. Typical is the great difference in respect between the mentions of the recipient and of the sender of the letter. While for the recipient diverse titles and phrases of honor are listed, the sender must appear humble and submissive. This contrast is also found repeatedly throughout the body of the letter itself, as illustrated in the following translation of the beginning of a letter of thanks written in the name of the young Ninth Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu* after his enthronement ceremony (figure 6.1):

To the precious full-blown thousand petals of the golden lotus at the feet of the head ornament of the [Buddhist] doctrine and the sentient beings of the four continents, including the gods, the lord of the eon, the god from heaven, the Mañjughoṣa, the great emperor:

I, the small subject, the rebirth of the *jedrung qutuqtu*, Ngawang Lozang Tenpé Gyeltsen, pray together with unnumbered compliments, while orienting myself toward the east and burning incense and in addition kneeling with great devotion and overtly scattering flowers with my hands. The quintessence [of my prayer] is:

In general the god from heaven, the great emperor, has protected the [Buddhist] doctrine and all sentient beings on earth as limitless as space by the cool and pleasant shadow of his compassion. Especially, he has protected the small subject *jedrung qutuqtu* one after another in the garland of his births by looking on him with compassion. This is unsurpassable. In particular, when I was a child no different from commoners whose power [of body and mind] was undeveloped, he granted to me, the small owner of an incarnation name, identification as reincarnation of my previous existence. I obtained the noble granting of immeasurable kindness, the favor of great affection and compassion, which others have difficulty in obtaining, for example the permission to travel to Pashö, my own residence, and thereafter the approval for [my] enthronement in Kündeling Monastery in Central Tibet.⁷⁵

These sample letters could be updated by gluing paper strips over passages that were no longer relevant. For example, paper strips were glued over the name of the Ninth Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu* to be replaced by the name of the tenth incarnation.⁷⁶ The samples provided a set of coined, respectful phrases that were used over and over again with some minor variations. In this regard, the writing of such letters was largely a routine exercise, following patterns that had been established in the second half of the eighteenth century.

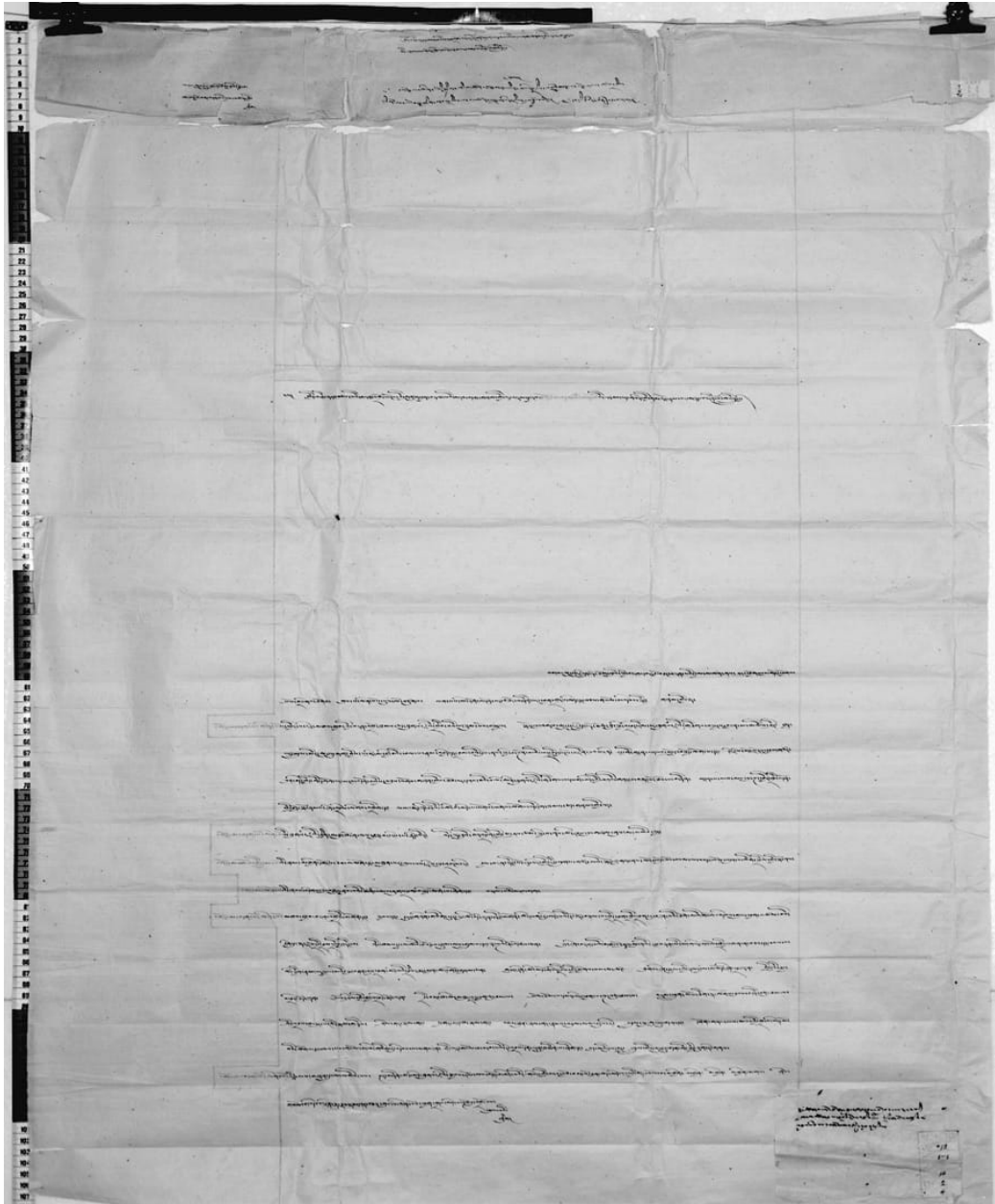


FIGURE 6.1 Letter of the Ninth Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu* addressed to the emperor

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What was important from the imperial point of view was to possess the highest authority for appointing and certifying eminent Tibetan reincarnations. Particularly in the case of the Dalai Lamas and the regents, this authority was exercised in an elaborate and costly manner. The essential steps were as follows:

1. Petitions had to be made from the Tibetan side for the confirmation of the reincarnation, including reports on the procedures used to search for, examine, and select possible candidates.
2. A supervised ceremony for drawing lots had to be performed, although exemptions were granted in some cases.
3. The chosen candidate had to be approved through the issuing of an imperial edict sent together with precious gifts via imperial officials.
4. The edict had to be solemnly proclaimed to the new reincarnation.
5. The seal and a multilingual diploma had to be solemnly delivered.

After the death of a Dalai Lama or a regent, the official seals were kept safe in the so-called Namgen treasury of the Potala.⁷⁷ The *ambans* made especially sure that this regulation was actually complied with. For example, when the Eighth Tatsak *rinpoché* died in 1811, the *amban* Yangchun (陽春 1811–1812) reported to the emperor that he had taken care that his seal was placed for the time being in the treasury of the Dalai Lama.⁷⁸ And after the death in 1819 of the successor to his regency (the second Demo regent, Ngawang Lozang Tupten Jikmé Gyatso), the *ambans* again took the regent's seal at once and made sure that it was preserved safely in the seal box.⁷⁹

The imperial diplomas for the Dalai Lamas were regarded as exceptionally precious. They were made either out of jade, as in the case of the Eighth Dalai Lama,⁸⁰ or out of gold, as in the case of the Eleventh Dalai Lama.⁸¹ The emperor's tone in the texts of the diplomas shows a superior attitude, patronizing and admonishing the young Dalai Lama. This hierarchical relationship is especially evident in the case of the Eleventh Dalai Lama. After the *intitulatio*, the naming of the person who issued the document, the proclamation noun, and a very dry *inscriptio*, the naming of the addressee, there follows a typical *arenga*, coined phrases expressing the general motives for issuing the diploma. The subsequent core of the diploma, the *narratio* and *dispositio*, is combined with precise instructions and a final order to respectfully accept the accompanying gifts. The diploma is written in Manchu, Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian. Although the Tibetan version was carefully engraved in Uchen script, the typical Tibetan book script, the text contains obvious mistakes that are inconsistent with the generally recognized orthography. The order of the three plates with the

Tibetan script is especially unusual: the last plate is on the left side, followed by the first and the second plates. Translating from the Tibetan text, the diploma reads as follows:

Order of the emperor, who by the mandate of eternal heaven rules all over the wide earth, sent down to the Dalai Lama:

I have aroused love and affection for all sentient beings of the whole world. In order that they enjoy an abundance of happiness, the lessons on what is to be abandoned and what is to be accepted must be studied correctly. The root of happiness is the doctrine of the Buddha. It was propagated, so that it flourishes everywhere. Accordingly, by following the good customs, [I] think, “If [only] all sentient beings would possess lasting happiness!” Whenever someone appears who puts them in a completely pure state by spreading the system of the doctrine of the Yellow Hats in all ten directions and dispelling ignorance with regard to all kinds of blind faith, an award must be granted [to him]. Particularly, I have confidence that now with regard to you, lama, the qualities of renunciation and realization are profound and subtle and assembled on the grounds of the [Buddhist] doctrine from youth onward, that you protect correctly the sacred commitments, and that you are suitable as a place of refuge for all sentient beings, et cetera. Therefore, I have bestowed on you, just like on the previous Dalai Lamas, [the title] “most powerful lord of the supremely virtuous western sphere, owner of the entire doctrine of the Buddha on earth, the all-knowing *vajradhara* Dalai Lama” by producing anew a golden diploma. From now on, you, lama, by propagating the doctrine of the Yellow Hats intensively and making the discipline of the monk communities and the common subjects utterly pure, take even more care that everyone goes for refuge [in the Three Jewels]. Concerning what in future should be told, there should be no interruption. Decide all Tibetan affairs well in agreement with the cabinet ministers and in accordance with the legal system. In addition, report by continuously and in detail giving accounts to the *amban* of Tibet. Furthermore, comply with my intention that all sentient beings of Tibet live happily and that their wishes are accomplished in accordance with the Dharma. Now, according to the custom of granting award and golden diploma, you, lama, take respectfully these [gifts]: a silver *maṅḍala*, a gold-plated silver tea churn, a gilded silver teapot with a handle, a silver cup as a butter lamp, a string of coral beads, a standard embroidered robe with four ornaments [water, rocks, dragons, and clouds],⁸² a complete [set consisting of] a yellow brocade cushion and backrest,⁸³ fifty large and small ceremonial scarves, ten five-colored ceremonial scarves, nine yellow

garments, nine red garments, nine [rolls] of velvet with textured patterns,⁸⁴ ten glass vessels, and ten porcelain vessels! Take care that the most wonderful words [of the Buddha] are transmitted so that the government may not degenerate in ten thousand or a hundred thousand eons.

[Sent] on an auspicious day of the eighth month of the Iron Ox [year], the twenty-first throne year of Sisel [Daoguang] [1841].⁸⁵

Despite the weak position of the Qing Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Tibetan rulers still accepted the Qing Emperor as an authority entitled to delegate power to them. This can be seen in the *intitulationes* of certain documents. For example, the introduction of a land tenure document (*shebam*) issued in 1858 by the regent, the Reting *trülku achitu qutuqtu*, Ngawang Yeshe Tsültrim Gyeltsen, reads as follows:

Speech of the one who at the behest of the Mañjughoṣa, the emperor, the great lord appointed by heaven, is called person-in-charge of Tibetan affairs, holder of the doctrine of the Yellow Hats, *achitu qutuqtu*.⁸⁶

Similarly, the beginning of a public ordinance (*tsatsik*) issued by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Tupten Gyatso (1876–1933), on January 20, 1899, uses the well-known traditional phrase:

Speech of the one who at the behest of the emperor is called most powerful lord of the supremely virtuous western sphere, owner of the entire doctrine of the Buddha on earth, all-knowing *vajradhara* Dalai Lama.⁸⁷

The same wording appears again in a public ordinance issued by him in January 1902.⁸⁸ The appellations for the emperor and the Dalai Lama, and the words that describe the Buddhist doctrine, are written in red ink. The text is written on an illuminated manuscript, colorfully decorated at the top with a so-called *gyapip*, i.e., a Chinese-style temple roof, and on both sides with blue pillars wrapped with tendrils of flowers growing upward out of vases at the bottom of the pillars and adorned with jewels at the top. The document shows two imprints of the Dalai Lama's seal, one after the proclamation noun and the other at the end of the final protocol.⁸⁹ The seal imprints are based on lotus thrones. The upper one is held by a hybrid, a deity partly human and partly *garuḍa* bird, the lower one by a snow lion (figures 6.2 and 6.3).

At the very end of the Qing Dynasty, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama tried to renegotiate his relationship with the Qing court. His refusal during his visit to Beijing in 1908 to perform the genuflections and prostrations prescribed by imperial tradition might have been influenced by his conversations with Westerners. Conversely, the imperial family was anxious to retain as much of the traditional hierarchical relationship as possible. The Dalai Lama did not acquire the right to ignore the *amban* and communicate directly with the emperor. However, the differences in their respective attitudes did not prevent either of them from conducting themselves according to the traditional roles expected of a priest and a patron.⁹⁰

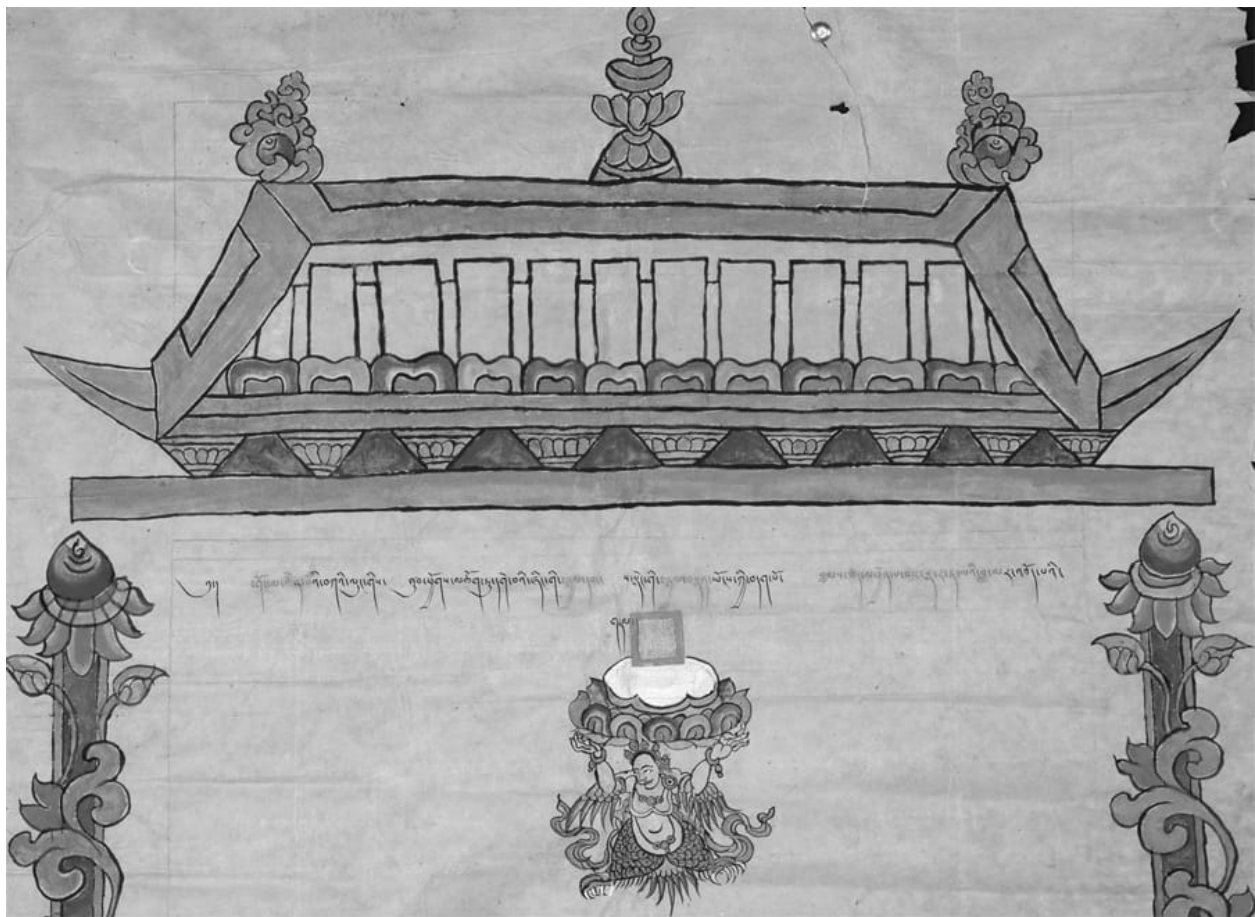


FIGURE 6.2 Detail of a document issued by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1902)

LTWA 958



FIGURE 6.3 Detail of a document issued by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (1902)

LTWA 958

With the end of the dynasty, the Dalai Lama no longer used the phraseology indicating that he owed his authorization to the emperor. The *intitulatio* now simply reads:

Speech of the one who is called most powerful lord of the supremely virtuous western sphere, owner of the entire doctrine of the Buddha on earth, all-knowing *vajradhara* Dalai Lama.⁹¹

THE AFTERMATH

AFTER THE COLLAPSE of the Qing Dynasty and the proclamation of the Republic of China in 1912, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama attempted to rule Tibet on his own authority, independent of China.¹ But the new Chinese government upheld China's claims to Tibet. Efforts by the Dalai Lama to strengthen the independent position of the Tibetan government through reforms and diplomacy were obstructed by the clergy of the great Gelukpa monasteries, Drepung, Sera, and Ganden.² In their opinion, the reforms desired by the Dalai Lama jeopardized the traditional system of the "union of religion and politics." Unlike the Dalai Lama, the Ninth Panchen Lama, Lozang Tupten Chökyi Nyima, regarded Tibet as a part of the new Republic of China.³ But because he had spent the last decade of his life in Chinese exile, his influence on Tibetan politics was rather limited.

After the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1933, Tibet was once again ruled by a regent. In 1936, the government of the young Republic of China recalled the Qianlong Emperor's ordinance for the identification of Tibetan *trülkus*. Under the title "The means of searching for reincarnations of Tibetan masters" (*Lama zhuan shi ban fa* 喇嘛轉世辦法), it issued a decree renewing its claim of control over the identification of prominent Tibetan reincarnations.⁴

The Reting *qutuqtu*'s regency (1934–1941) is remembered as a period of stagnation. Without preparing Tibet in any way whatsoever for the upcoming challenges, the regent was primarily busy filling his own pockets. Because of his immoral lifestyle, he was deemed inappropriate to ordain the young Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Thus when the Dalai Lama took the vows of a novice in 1941, there was an enormous amount of pressure on the regent to abdicate in favor of his own teacher, the Takdrak *rinpoché*, Ngawang Sungrap Druptop Tenpé Gyeltsen (1874–1952). Although his original intention was to return to office as regent after the ordination, all of his conspiratorial efforts to achieve this, including the attempted assassination of the acting regent and petitioning for support from the Guomindang in China, ultimately failed. He died in the Potala prison in 1947.⁵

From a moral point of view, Takdrak *rinpoché* was the complete opposite of Reting *qutuqtu*. He was unsusceptible to bribes and was a person of high moral

integrity. He took a strictly conservative approach to politics and government, sticking wholeheartedly to the traditional concept of the union of religion and politics. The extent to which this principle served as a guide for his period of office is clearly illustrated by a general decree he issued on the occasion of his inauguration in 1941. The text not only has the character of an inaugural address but also is an excellent example of Tibetan officialese under the Ganden Podrang government.

The content of the record: because the lord of Tibet, the regent, the ruler Reting *achi qutuqtu*, resigned from the burden of his responsibility, the sovereign, our refuge and protector [i.e., the young Dalai Lama], put the hope in me, who accepts the burden of the ruler. Also the cabinet ministers, the monk minister [*kuchar chikhyap khenpo*], the three seats Drepung, Sera, and Ganden, and the Tibetan National Assembly, led by the monastic and lay officials, cherished intensely the hope [for my assumption of office]. Since I could not refuse the direct request, there was no choice but to take the political responsibility for a while, though the personal burdens, which I could enumerate, are heavy. Thus, I took the behavior of the religious kings of the past, the successive supreme victorious ones [i.e., the Dalai Lamas] and the successive lords of Tibet [i.e., the regents], as my foundation. In addition, I kept in my heart the profound instructions and advice of the great thirteenth reincarnation of the sovereign and protector whose kindness was unrivaled. So that the precious doctrine of the victorious one does not degenerate but spreads and flourishes like a lake in the summer and exists permanently, so that the helmet of the glorious qualities of the four sections of governmental rule is raised up to the sky, so that all sentient beings live happily, et cetera, I aroused whatever knowledge and ability I have, a sense of responsibility and great diligence. [At least] I will pretend to do so. However, the [actual] foundation of the permanent existence of the doctrine of the victorious one, which is closely related to the well-being of all sentient beings, relies on this very rule of the government, the [so called] Ganden Podrang. That is to say, the measures for the welfare of the rule rely on the services to be rendered by the clerical and lay government officials. Therefore clerical and lay officials are required to observe the generally set up rules and prohibitions that determine their share of respectful service in the form of an individual burden, and further elegance [is required] through the [wearing] of clothing of the noble and excellent ones, and decoration [is required] through the acceptance of the burden of the disciplinary rules, without leading to an increase of bad habits caused by corruption, degeneration, and decay of the order of good old customs. When the previous sovereign and protector [i.e., the Thirteenth

Dalai Lama] generated [in his mind] and accepted the responsibility for the two systems [the secular and the religious ones], he granted to this effect in the Earth Dog year [1898] a mighty general ordinance of five articles, which combine religion and politics, and especially in the Water Monkey year [1932] a book with instructions and advice. If—by taking the meaning of the successively combined general and special ordinances, including the [just mentioned] ones, to heart—now, when the sovereign and great protector is still young with regard to the [human] appearance shown by him—a special, altruistic attitude of everyone by which all are capable of cooperative efforts does not arise, the behavior of the barbarians will gradually spread. This would later result in a repudiation [of the Buddhist government]. Since that would be unbearable, one should with regard to the means for preventing misconduct rely on the marvelous customs of the [ancient] religious kings.

Here the directives channeled through each and every higher department of the monk and lay sections apply to all great and small groups of government officials. Accordingly, those who regularly or unscheduled go on tour, for instance district governors and stewards of estates, have with regard to all kinds of tasks to put the final decisions about the prescripts, bans, and tasks of the regular and extraordinary ordinances as well as the consecutively combined contracts into practice, just as commissioned and without violating even a part of the meaning of their words. Coupled with this, one has—without violating the good old customs—to wear any kind of clothes that one wears in winter and in summer, solely in the right size. Apart from that, it is not allowed with regard to the clothing of the people and the saddles of the horses to adopt admiration for any kind of new customs spreading from abroad, et cetera, for example running around wearing any stylish clothes and riding so-called bicycles and motorcycles, which is the basis of conflict in view and behavior and of commotion.

It was decided by decree that the various district governors and stewards of estates have to personally go [to the place of their duty] and are not allowed to lease [their office to someone else]. Accordingly, if there were [in the past] such infringements, like [first,] a lease [of the office] or the comfortable dispatch of a representative so that one did not have to go personally, or [second,] that among those who went personally some, without staying permanently at their place, visited pilgrimage sites at will or traveled to their own estates and family seats, et cetera, or [third,] concerning the things to be delivered by the various districts and estates, the reduction of what was to be delivered, for example by going

from one or two old [things] over to [increasingly] bad ones, or [fourth,] with regard to new [things] the reduction of what was to be delivered, which would be the basis for the decline of the continuous offerings because—by using a pretext—the salary for the various subordinated monasteries and retreat places would not be paid in time, or [fifth, simply] not departing after one had [already] announced one's departure to the place [of duty], or staying for many days after one's return to the capital without reporting [one's return], [if such infringements occurred], from now on—when serving as district governor or steward of an estate—in case of an exceptional permission granting the legitimacy of dispatching a representative to a governmental estate, the representative must really hold [the office] in accordance with the law, without treating the fruits of the law with disrespect. Apart from this, the district governors and the stewards of estates, together with the collectors of customs duties, have to go in person to the places [of their duties] and personally hold [their respective office]. Since what exists as governmental revenues, for example in the treasuries of the monk and lay sections, are regular [revenues], there is—in connection with that [what has been said above]—on the part of those who travel regularly or unscheduled, for example the district governors and the stewards of estates, the collectors of customs duties, the stewards of the storehouses, the tax collectors, and the paymasters, first of all, according to the old customs, every year a complete delivery and correct settling of accounts is required by collecting [the taxes] without disregard, sloppiness, interruption, delay, reduction, or taxes left uncollected. Take care that what has to be delivered in accordance with the old customs is calculated and delivered without interruption or delay.

Furthermore, unlike other, foreign countries, this religious country that was chosen by heaven became a master of the [Buddhist] doctrine and offerings. Thus, what must be used as salary for regular offerings in the various subordinated monasteries has to be paid in each case on time without interruption and without any discussion. Moreover, where there have been interruptions in the meantime, it is necessary to give the funds for [the monasteries'] reestablishment top priority. Concerning the subjects of our territory, including [especially] the villages along the roads, there has been—after scrutinizing the roads—bindingly decreed from here a highest possible relief for the horses, pack animals, and people on the roads. And this will [also] be decreed constantly [in the future]. Therefore, when collecting taxes, applying the law, requesting horses and pack animals, et cetera, whatsoever, it should not happen that you, the individual leaders—because of putting aside the investigation of the fundamental welfare of the serfs and [of putting aside] the

sense of responsibility [that arises] from compassion and sympathy—oppress, extort bribes, show crude behavior, and cover the shame with brazen greed. Instead you must with regard to the consequences of the law collect the taxes and apply the law by taking the eyes of the gods as witness and being content with few modest desires. By leading lord and subjects along the path of what is virtuous and suitable, and by not discarding the idea of lord and subjects as father and sons, one must deep down generate an all-encompassing commitment to the utmost care through unbiased loving-kindness. Apart from this, it is necessary that there be no discussion about even the slightest kind of additional self-enrichment and oppression due to various naming [of new kinds of taxes], which would be the basis for the violation of the meaning of the consecutive decrees and ordinances, for example [self-enrichment through] forced conversion or forced sale [of goods].

With regard to gambling, one must unambiguously adhere to the differentiated standards about which practice is permitted and which is forbidden, and especially to the meaning of the consecutively combined decrees and ordinances according to which it is not allowed to place extensive bets. Apart from that, if you indulge day and night heedlessly in distractions, you will delay your governmental and the private duties. Moreover, since a great bet results in great victory or defeat, and respectively great gain or loss, it is a circumstance that harms one's own living conditions or a cause for the emergence of conflicts, et cetera. Therein is no benefit at all. Through all this the intellect is blocked. Such a thing is never allowed.

In addition: with regard to the positions, there exists the ranking order of high, low, and middle. Therefore, you must respect the system of rights of the senior and young ones without violating the old customs. This is very important. Nowadays there is no right that all young and new ones do not respect the higher positions, for example by following the good old customs that they themselves have never seen. Instead, there is [today] a deterioration of the [public] order so that—wherever you go or stay—there exists no respect toward the office ranks, just as if all were equal. From now on you must correctly respect without mistakes the rights in accordance with the system of senior and young [officials], without imitating bad examples.

Regarding what has to be accepted and refused by all the subjects, [i.e.,] by the subjects of the monasteries, the subjects of the governmental and aristocratic estates, as well as by the monasteries, there exists the ordinance granted by the

previous regent in the Earth Hare year [1939] and stamped by the regent's seal. In accordance with that, the Council of Ministers has also issued a carefully drafted confirmation decree. You must adhere to the meaning of their words unremittingly. Indeed—whether it was put down clearly or not—it is from now on required that you do not violate even parts of the meaning of the words of the consecutively combined decisions of the earlier decrees that were granted specially for the durable welfare of lord and subjects. If, due to routine, disregard and abandonment [of one's duties] occurs, the punishment will definitely be not only with words, because the examination of the adherence [to the rules] combined with the dispatch of spies for the exterior, the interior, and the secret [affairs] will not be lenient. Therefore, apply the precepts and bans of what has been said here without mistake!

This decree has to be registered in the catalogue of the documents to be handed over to [the successor in office]. Take care that the basic principles will be maintained.

[Issued] on the twenty-third day of the sixth month in the Iron Snake [year] [August 15, 1941].⁶

After the occupation of Central Tibet by the army of Communist China in 1951, Tibetan internal affairs were increasingly controlled by the Chinese Communists, even though the agreement for the “peaceful liberation of Tibet” had actually assured the continuance of the old Tibetan system of governance.⁷ This misled certain members of the Tibetan clergy, at least for a period of time, into thinking that they would be able to preserve “Buddhist government” and the old social order under Chinese Communist rule as well. The Communists skillfully applied their United Front policy in Tibet to use prominent *trülkus* for their own ends.

But at the very latest with the uprisings in Lhasa in 1959, many of these clergy members recognized just how hopeless were their personal endeavors to maintain even a minimum of control over the internal affairs in Tibet. Together with the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, they evaded the roles assigned to them by the Communist leaders and escaped into exile. The Chinese government then put an end to the union of religion and politics in Tibet. In spite of this, some prominent *trülkus* remained in Tibet and were given political positions at the representative level, especially in the National People's Congress and the United Front. Examples include the Tenth Panchen Lama, Lozang Trinlé Lhündrup Chökyi

Gyeltsen (1938–1989), and the Eleventh Pakpalha, Gelek Namgyel (born 1940).

Since the 1990s, the policy of the Chinese government in Beijing with respect to Tibetan reincarnations is to try to revert to the methods of control established by the Qing. The most notorious example was the controversy surrounding the identification of the Eleventh Panchen Lama in 1995. The rejection of the candidate recognized by the Dalai Lama and the drawing of lots according to the procedure established by the Qianlong Emperor were primarily intended to demonstrate the absolute sovereignty of the Communist Party and the government of the People's Republic of China over the religious affairs of Tibet. Although the political and social organization of modern China differs completely from its imperial past, the present-day leaders' attitude to the relationship between political rule and religious practices is very much reminiscent of the imperial tradition. In a number of articles, Roman Malek⁸ has discussed the importance of orthodoxy and the strict rejection of heterodoxy within the context of Christianity in China and has identified a striking continuity right up to the present. Both in the Chinese empire and in the modern Chinese state, it never was—and still barely is—tolerated when a spiritual leader claims any kind of authority independent of the head of the state, especially when that spiritual leader resides outside the realm of state control.⁹

The imperial practices of the Qing Dynasty are still being followed by the current leaders of China in yet another respect as well. On November 29, 1995, the State Council of the People's Republic of China, i.e., the collective head of state chaired by the prime minister, issued a certificate engraved on gold plates and written in Tibetan and Chinese appointing the child Gyeltsen Norbu as the Eleventh Panchen Lama. By performing this act, the leaders of the People's Republic of China, in the tradition of the Qing emperors, once again turned religious dignitaries into officials of the "empire," hoping in this way to win their loyalty to the regime. It is precisely this aim that is expressed in the certificate of appointment. Translated from the Tibetan version, the text reads as follows:

Gold diploma granted to the Eleventh Panchen *erdeni*

The content of the special approval granted by the State Council:

It is permitted that the reincarnation of the Tenth Panchen *erdeni*, Chökyi Gyeltsen, the little boy Gyeltsen Norbu, who has asked for the definite

recognition by shaking the golden urn, inherits the rank of the Eleventh Panchen *erdeni*. In general, the successive Panchen *erdenis* directed their heart toward the inside [i.e., to China],¹⁰ had guarded the unity of the country and the solidarity of the ethnic groups. In addition, they diligently studied the holy religion. Along with this, their knowledge was vast and their understanding was deep. Thus, they were the hope of the people who follow the [Buddhist] doctrine and were respected by all people of the country and the world. Now the reincarnation of the Tenth Panchen has been determined in accordance with the law. Therefore, by specifically taking the historical custom as foundation, the enthronement ceremony had to be performed for the Eleventh Panchen *erdeni*. Moreover, he was awarded by presenting him with a gold seal and a gold diploma combining Han and Tibetan script. It is wished that he will continually promote the good historical custom of loving the country and loving the religion, and that he—by performing extensively charitable works—will be of help to the development and progress of Tibet, the prosperity and happiness of the people, and the development of the state.

Bestowed by the State Council of the People's Republic of China

November 29, 1995¹¹

On September 1, 2007, new legislation regarding Tibetan reincarnations was enacted under the title “Measures for supervising the reincarnations of living buddhas of Tibetan Buddhism” (*Zangchuan fijiao huofu zhuanshi guanli banfa* 藏传佛教活佛转世管理办法). It regulates precisely whether and when a search for a new reincarnation is allowed and prescribes the way the reincarnation has to be identified and acknowledged. Moreover, the State Administration for Religious Affairs (*Guojia zongjiao shiwuju* 国家宗教事务局) has to keep a register of all those who are allowed to reincarnate themselves after death, and those who are not registered are not permitted to reincarnate themselves. The administration is also authorized to revoke this permission. Furthermore, the Communist Party and the government try to influence the education of young reincarnations. Patriotism to China and loyalty to the Communist Party are regarded as absolutely essential. The unbroken authority of the *trülkus* for the Tibetan population can in this way be turned into a tool to legitimize Chinese politics in Tibet.¹²

The Tibetan government in exile resolutely rejected all these measures as an illegitimate encroachment on the religious freedom of the Tibetan people.¹³

Why, one may ask, is this now a problem for Tibetans, when in the past the Qing government's basic right to supervise the identification of Tibetan reincarnations had been accepted, especially by the Gelukpa? During the Qing Dynasty, the emperor and the Dalai Lama were bound together by the "priest-patron relationship." As discussed in detail in this study, the ideological roots of this relationship were found in sophisticated concepts of Tibetan Buddhism, accepted by both parties to legitimize power and status. These concepts allowed for a mutual instrumentalization by both sides, the Gelukpa and the Qing Emperor, that suited their own individual purposes. But the end of the Qing Dynasty also brought an end to this mutually accepted, common ideological ground. Seen in this light, the efforts of the government of the People's Republic of China to control Tibetan religious affairs by acting in the tradition of the Qing Emperor in relation to Tibetan reincarnations look like a flimsy attempt to use old rituals—long bereft of a mutually accepted ideological base—for new ends. It is indeed extremely "hard not to see something cynical in this."¹⁴

Although the political and social circumstances of present-day Tibet under Chinese rule differ radically from the traditional system of union of religion and politics, there is still no clear distinction between the two spheres:

Incarnate lamas often hold positions in the government administration, the People's Political Consultative Conference [PPCC], the National People's Congress and the Buddhist Association in Tibetan areas. The political significance of these roles is mainly manifested in the following points: Firstly, as citizens of the People's Republic of China the incarnate lama's participation in the government and involvement in governmental affairs is a political right enshrined in the national constitution. Secondly, incarnate lamas are part of the clergy in Tibetan areas and "a united front requires a union between society and government power," as such incarnate lama form are [*sic*] an important union with the Communist Party of China in Tibetan areas.¹⁵

Even though the same author says that today "the religious status of incarnate lamas is completely unconnected to any political status,"¹⁶ he also makes the following assertion:

Besides the political significance of incarnate lamas' participation in the PPCC and the National People's Congress, incarnate lamas also propagate national and religious policy to Tibetan Buddhists, and play an important role in stabilizing social order in Tibetan areas. At the same time incarnate lamas [*sic*] speeches

propagate the Party's National religious policy.¹⁷

As an example of this, the author recounts the incident of an incarnate lama who on two occasions in 1991 used the giving of the *Kālacakra* initiation to around 150,000 and 200,000 people as an opportunity to first propagate “national and religious policy, including such things as the birth control policy.”¹⁸

Today, Buddhist monuments can also overtly serve political interests and commingle in their inscriptions prayers and political propaganda. An impressive example is the giant prayer wheel erected in Jiantang (建塘) (i.e., Gyeltang), in May 2002, to function as a symbol for the modern Shangri-la. On its golden outside it combines the prayer composed by the Sixth Panchen Lama, Lozang Penden Yeshe, for rebirth in Shambhala with quotations of three of China's foremost Communist leaders: Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Jiang Zeming.¹⁹

The Central Tibetan Administration of the Tibetan exile community has begun, albeit only recently, to try to distinguish more clearly between religious and political authority. A sign of the continuation of the commingling of religion and politics is especially apparent in the political career of the Fifth Zamdong *rinpoché*, Lozang Tendzin, generally known as Samdhong Rinpoche. Samdhong Rinpoche began as the reincarnation of a hierarch of regional religious and political significance in southwest Kham²⁰ and later rose to the position of Prime Minister of the Tibetan government in exile, an office he held from 2001 to 2011. The election of Lozang Senge, an academic from Harvard University, as the new prime minister in 2011 seems to indicate a larger separation between religion and politics. Such a separation will, however, not be easy to maintain consistently over time. Prominent Tibetan *trülkus* living and working in the West have become influential figures who are very effective in attracting the media's attention for the Tibetan issue.

CONCLUSION

THE TIBETAN INSTITUTION of reincarnation has added to the Tibetan clergy and to Tibetan society as a whole a new upper strata characterized by the quality of sanctity. Despite the failure of early efforts to exploit the eminent social position of incarnations for the purposes of political control, elite members of the Geluk school of Tibetan Buddhism were successful in the seventeenth century in installing the Dalai Lamas as a prominent line of incarnations to function as sacred rulers over Tibet. These incarnations became the core of the newly established Buddhist government in Tibet, which combined religious authority of the most sacred kind with the military power of a foreign ruler.

The Gelukpa had never intended that their concept of the “union of religion and politics” be restricted to Tibet alone. The idea from the very beginning was to extend it across the various Mongol tribes. Their chiefs were to be enlisted as patrons of the Dalai Lama and would be expected to acknowledge him as the authority entitled to confer the title and rank of *qan* on them. To realize this plan, the Gelukpa decided to rely primarily on the Oirats, a group of western Mongol tribes. They gave their support to the most dominant Oirat chief, the ruler of the Dsungars, in his efforts to fight and subdue the other Mongol groups and to build the Dsungar empire in Inner Asia. The Fifth Dalai Lama’s great vision of the union of religion and politics, implemented among the Tibetans and Mongols, was far from accomplished at the time of his death. To avoid jeopardizing this great project, the regent kept the death of the Dalai Lama a secret for fifteen years and did his best to encourage the Dsungar ruler to continue attempting to unite all Mongols by means of military campaigns.

The Gelukpa, however, were not the only ones with a vision of building an Inner Asian empire. This goal was shared by the young rulers of the Qing Dynasty of China. But even at the early stages of this movement, the Qing emperors—posing as patrons of the Gelukpa and the Dalai Lama—were not the Gelukpa’s first choice of allies. There were two main reasons to avoid allying themselves too closely with the Qing. First, the Gelukpa did not yet see it as a foregone conclusion that the Qing emperors would be able to permanently impose their rule on their Chinese and Inner Asian rivals. Second, the Gelukpa evidently had no great hopes that their style of Buddhism would really be able to flourish in China and that China would become a purely Buddhist country. In this respect, the Mongols in the seventeenth century were simply much more on their

wavelength.

But a clash between the two empires seemed inevitable, at the latest when the Qalqa Mongols, chased by the Oirat forces, sought shelter within the territory of the Qing Empire. The Qing emperors recognized early on that the Gelukpa elite in Tibet held a key position in the game. Being familiar with Tibetan Buddhism and the union of religion and politics, they tried to use it to their advantage. Styling themselves as “the lord of all religious and secular affairs,”¹ the emperors of the High Qing period used this concept as just another tool in their general strategy of including “the powers of other lords in their own rulership.”² The union of religion and politics was therefore no longer a matter solely within the domain of the Dalai Lama, but could now be controlled by the emperor, who for this reason placed himself at the top of the Buddhist hierarchy. By investing a great deal of time and effort, the Qianlong Emperor in particular mastered the skills of utilizing Tibetan Buddhism to establish the Qing as an Inner Asian empire. As he did so, the secular and religious dominance of the Gelukpa in Tibet was strengthened and Buddhist government stabilized. This meant that government and administration were subordinated to the Gelukpa hierarchy. The practical consequences are briefly set out in Article 9 of the imperial regulation of 1751: taxes “were made funds for the stream of virtue of the Yellow Hat doctrine.”³ The prayers and ritual services of the Gelukpa monks were regarded as essential to the welfare of Tibet and were the best conditions under which its people could progress on the path to salvation. Even though they were critical of the institution of reincarnation, the emperors installed a second level of high incarnations in Tibet as a pool for recruiting regents to head the Ganden Podrang government. It can therefore be said that the dominance of the Qing court over Tibet was based entirely on the Tibetan institution of reincarnation. It was through the enactment of regulations (that were more or less successful) and the implementation of a variety of control methods that the Qing emperors indirectly enforced their rule over Tibet.

From the time the Qing emperors began enforcing their sovereignty over Tibet in the early part of the eighteenth century right up to the end of the nineteenth century, essentially none of the Dalai Lamas exercised any political power of his own. But in their efforts to attain social and political stability, the Qing emperors had fashioned the Dalai Lama into the sacred head of the Ganden Podrang government, and thus inadvertently helped promote the image of Tibet as a country guided by the incarnations of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. When after more than two centuries the institution of the Dalai Lama was occupied

once again by charismatic personalities, this image had become such a strong force in Tibetan politics that it could no longer be controlled by the new Chinese governments.

Appendix 1

TIBETAN REINCARNATION LINES OF MAJOR POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

DALAI LAMAS

1. Gendün Drupa (1391–1474)
2. Gendün Gyatso (1475–1542)
3. Sönam Gyatso (1543–1588)
4. Yönten Gyatso (1589–1617)¹
5. Ngawang Lozang Gyatso (1617–1682)
6. Tsangyang Gyatso (1683–1706)
7. Kelzang Gyatso (1708–1757)
8. Jampel Gyatso (1758–1804)
9. Lungtok Gyatso (1805–1815)
10. Tsültrim Gyatso (1816–1837)
11. Khedrup Gyatso (1838–1855)
12. Trinlé Gyatso (1857–1875)²
13. Tupten Gyatso (1876–1933)
14. Tendzin Gyatso (born 1935)

PANCHEN LAMAS

1. Khedrup-jé (1385–1438)
2. Sönam Choklang (1439–1504)

3. Ensapa Lozang Döndrup (1505–1566)
4. Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen (1570–1662)³
5. Lozang Yeshe (1663–1737)
6. Lozang Penden Yeshe (1738–1780) 7. Lozang Tenpé Nyima (1782–1853, regency 1844–1845) 8. Tenpé Wangchuk (1855–1882)
9. Lozang Tupten Chökyi Nyima (1883–1937) 10. Lozang Trinlé Lhündrup Chökyi Gyeltsen (1938–1989) 11. Gendün Chökyi Nyima (born 1989) and Gyeltsen Norbu (born 1990)⁴

ENSA TRÜLKU

1. Sanggyé Yeshe (1525–1590/91)
2. Yeshe Gyatso (1592–1604)
3. Lozang Tenzin Gyatso (1605–1644)
4. Galdan Tenzin Boshugtu Qan (1644–1697) DEMO TRÜLKU

1. Könchok Jungne

2. Peljor Trashi

3. Lhawang Chokle Namgyel⁵
4. Lhawang Tenpé Gyeltsen alias Lhawang Gelek Gyeltsen (1631–1668)

5. Ngawang Namkha Jamyang

6. Ngawang Jampel Delek Gyatso (1723–1777, regency 1757–1777) 7. Ngawang Lozang Tupten Jikmé Gyatso (1778–1819, regency 1811–1819) 8. Ngawang Lozang Jikmé Gyatso
9. Ngawang Lozang Trinlé Rapgyé (1855–1899, regency 1886–1895)⁶

TATSAK *TRÜLKU*

1. Baso Chökyi Gyeltsen (1402–1473)
2. Pakbön (“nephew of Pakpalha”) Lha Kyapa alias Lhakyap 3. Liyül Chögyel Yöntenpel or Guṇasrī⁷
4. Lhawang Chökyi Gyeltsen (1537–1604)
5. Ngawang Chökyi Wangchuk (1606–1652)
6. Ngawang Könchok Tenpé Nyima (1653–1707) 7. Lozang Penden Gyeltsen (1708–1758)
8. Yeshe Lozang Tenpé Gönpö (1760–1810, regency 1789–1790, 1791–1810) 9. Ngawang Lozang Tenpé Gyeltsen (1811–1848) 10. Ngawang Penden Chökyi Gyeltsen (1850–1886, regency 1875–1886) 11. Ngawang Tupten Kelzang Tenpé Drönme (1888–1918) 12. Lozang Tupten Jikmé Gyeltsen (1924–1956)⁸

TSEMÖNLING *TRÜLKU*

1. Ngawang Tsültrim (1721–1791, regency 1777–1781, 1790–1791) 2. Ngawang Jampel Tsültrim Gyatso (1792–1855, regency 1819–1844) 3. Ngawang Lozang Tenpé Gyeltsen (died 1919, regency 1910–1912)⁹

RETING *TRÜLKU*

1. Ngawang Chokden (1677–1751)
2. Lozang Yeshe Tenpé Rapgyé (1759–1816)¹⁰
3. Ngawang Yeshe Tsültrim Gyeltsen (1816–1863, regency 1845–1855, 1856–1862) 4. Ngawang Lozang Yeshe Tenpé Gyeltsen (died 1908) 5. Tupten Jampel Yeshe Tenpé Gyeltsen (1912–1947, regency 1934–1941)¹¹
6. Tendzin Jikmé Tutop Wangchuk (1948–1997)¹²

Appendix 2

QING EMPERORS AND QOSHOT KINGS OF TIBET

QING EMPERORS (REIGN TITLES AND REIGN PERIODS)¹

Shunzhi 順治: 1644–1661

Kangxi 康熙 (Dekyi): 1661–1722

Yongzheng 雍正 (Yungcheng²): 1723–1735

Qianlong 乾隆 (Namkyong): 1736–1795

Jiajing 嘉慶 (Ngakmön, Ngakö Mönchen): 1796–1820

Daoguang 道光 (Sisel): 1821–1850

Xianfeng 咸豐 (Künkhyap Pelgyé): 1851–1861

Tongzhi 同治: 1862–1874

Guangxu 光緒 (Chapsi Pelgyé): 1875–1908

Puyi 溥儀: 1909–1911

QOSHOT KINGS OF TIBET (REIGN PERIODS)

Gushri Qan (1642–1655)

Dayan Ochir Qan (1658–1668)

Dalai Qan (1671–1701)

Lhapzang Qan (1703–1717)

ABBREVIATIONS

ATAR	Sgrolkar, Xiao Huaiyuan, Vodzer <i>et al.</i> 1995
KDL	Digitized Tibetan Archives Material at Bonn University: Documents of Kündeling Monastery in Tibet
LTWA	Digitized Tibetan Archives Material at Bonn University: Tibetan Documents and Letters. Section B: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (LTWA), Dharamsala, India
RGYAL	Sems kyi nyi zla rdzong mi dmangs srid gzhung gi khun sdod don gcod khang, ed. 2003
RT	Rdo rje tshe brtan <i>et al.</i> , eds. 1997

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Peter Schwieger, “Geschichte als Mythos—Zur Aneignung der Vergangenheit in der tibetischen Kultur. Ein kulturwissenschaftlicher Essay,” *Asiatische Studien. Études Asiatiques* 54, 4 (2000, published 2001): 945–973.
2. “Anything derived from pure recollection must in principle be presumed wrong.” Johannes Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung. Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), 48, translated from the original. Based on the results of the cognitive sciences, the medievalist Fried’s study deals extensively with the problems involved when using historical sources based on memory. The untrustworthiness of these sources can be compensated for at best by a plurality of data (291, 369).
3. Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 21.
4. <http://www.dtab.uni-bonn.de/tibdoc/index1.htm>.
5. Sgrolkar, Xiao Huaiyuan, Vodzer, et al., *A Collection of Historical Archives of Tibet. Xizang lishi dang ’an huicui* (西藏历史档案荟萃). *Bod kyi lo rgyus yig tshags gces bsdus* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1995), Foreword.
6. Cf. chapter 4, note 72.
7. The first major study in Tibetan diplomatics, i.e., the critical analysis of historical Tibetan documents, was Dieter Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Urkunden des tibetischen Mittelalters und ihrer Diplomatie* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1977).
8. For the longest *narratio* known so far from Tibetan documents, see Peter Schwieger, *Teilung und Reintegration des Königreichs von Ladakh im 18. Jahrhundert. Der Staatsvertrag zwischen Ladakh und Purig aus dem Jahr 1753* (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, 1999).

9. See chapter 4, note 50.

10. The text uses the formulation *dpal li*, which is unknown to me from any other source. It is probably a corruption of *pe'i le*, which is part of the Tibetan inscription found on a seal granted in 1723 by the Yongzheng Emperor to Polhané (Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo. Mkhas dbang dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las mchog gis mdzad pa'i bod rig pa'i tshig mdzod chen mo shes bya rab gsal* [Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe 中国藏学出版社, 2002], 1341; note that the spelling is again modified to *pa'i le*). Depictions of the seal's stamp can be found, for example, in Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al., eds., *Bod kyi gal che'i lo rgyus yig cha bdams bsgrigs* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1991), 57, and in Chen Qingying, *Tibetan History* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2003), 59. There the Tibetan inscription reads: *dbus gtsang gi bka' slob gyi bya ba byed mkhan rdo ros pe'i le'i tham ka*. The syllables *pe'i le* are the transcription of Manchu *beile*, meaning “prince” (Chinese *beile* 貝勒). Note that there is another seal of Polhané with a slightly different inscription. Instead of *pe'i le*, it uses *khyun dbang*, a transcription for the Chinese title *jun wang* 郡王. For this seal, see Dieter Schuh, *Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufrschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1981), 72.

11. I assume that the terms *bla dud* and *rdzong dud* are abbreviations for *bla brang gi dud tshang* and *rdzong gi dud tshang*.

12. Since *bu ram shing pa*, “sugarcane farmer,” is the translation of Śākya, the Sanskrit clan name of the Buddha Śākyamuni, it is used as an epithet for the historical Buddha.

13. KDL 1878.

14. Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

15. *Ibid.*, 20.

16. Geoffrey Samuel, *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 142, 245, 280f.

17. Luciano Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols: The Yüan—Sa-skyä Period of Tibetan History* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 37.

18. Petech 1990, 23 n. 73.

19. A *dzo* is a hybrid between a yak and cattle.

20. Although it has been plausibly explained that the calendar system preferred by the Sakyapas was probably also used for documents written in Tibetan in the Yuan chancelleries (Everding 2006, 1:8), I came across an edict issued by the Imperial Preceptor that proves that the Yuan chancelleries followed the Chinese system. ATAR 9, an incomplete edict lacking the *intitulatio*, is dated the twenty-fifth day of the later eleventh month, i.e., a leap month, of the monkey year. Only the Chinese calendar has between 1220 and 1362, i.e., the period of the Imperial Preceptors, a monkey year containing an additional eleventh month. This year corresponds roughly to 1308. Nevertheless, 1308, provided by the editors of ATAR as the year of issue, is incorrect. The date given in the document already conforms to January 7, 1309. The document may therefore justifiably be ascribed to the Imperial Preceptor Sangyépel, who held office from 1305 to 1315.

21. ATAR 8. For more examples, see Karl-Heinz Everding, *Herrscherurkunden aus der Zeit des mongolischen Großreiches für tibetische Adelshäuser, Geistliche und Klöster. Part 1: Diplomata Mongolica. Mittelmongolische Urkunden in 'Phags pa-Schrift. Edition, Übersetzung, Analyse. Part 2: Diplomata Tibetica. Die vierzehn Urkunden für die Tausendschaft Mus. Mit einer Studie zur historischen Entwicklung des Mus chu-Tales im westlichen gTsang in der Zeit des 12.-15. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2006), ATAR no. 9–12.

22. For a clear description of the bodhisattva path according to the Daśabhūmika-Sūtra and other Indian sources, see Hans W. Schumann, *Handbuch Buddhismus. Die zentralen Lehren: Ursprung und Gegenwart* (München: Diederichs, 2008), 250–260, 343.

23. Reginald A. Ray, “Some Aspects of the Tulku Tradition in Tibet,” *The Tibet Journal* 11, no. 4 (1986): 40–42.

24. *Ibid.*, 50.

25. Ibid., 53f.
26. Schumann 2008, 370 n. 167.
27. Ibid., 344f.
28. Thomas Laird, *The Story of Tibet: Conversations with the Dalai Lama* (London: Atlantic Books, 2006), 95–98; Luana Laxy, *Tibet ohne einen XV. Dalai Lama. Die Zukunft des tibetischen Tulku-Systems aus Sicht von Exiltibetern aus Asien und Europa* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013), 2.
29. Mei Ching Hsuan, “The Development of ’Pho ba Liturgy in Medieval Tibet” (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 2009).
30. Nālandā Translation Committee, *The Life of Marpa the Translator* (Boulder, Colo.: Prajñā Press, 1982), 156–177.
31. Franz-Karl Ehrhard, “The Transmission of the Thig-le bcu-drug and the bKa’ gdams glegs bam,” in *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. Helmut Eimer and David Germano (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 31–33; Dan Martin, *Tibetan Histories Addenda et Corrigenda*. Version: 12/24/10 (<https://sites.google.com/site/tibetological/tibetan-histories-addenda-et-corrigenda>, 2010), entry no. 69; Ulrike Roesler, “A Palace for Those Who Have Eyes to See: Preliminary Remarks on the Symbolic Geography of Reting,” *Acta Orientalia Vilnensia* 8, no. 1 (2007): 137 n. 35.
32. Dieter Schuh, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Teil 8. Sammlung Wadell der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1981), 22–23.
33. Schuh 1981b, 1–23; Silke Herrmann, *Die tibetische Version des Papageienbuches* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag 1983), 2.
34. Ray 1986, 64f.
35. Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, “The Dalai Lamas and the Origin of Reincarnate Lamas,” in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, ed. Martin Brauen (Chicago: Serindia, 2005), 14–31.
36. Matthew T. Kapstein, “Remarks on the *Maṅi-bka’-bum* and the Cult of

Avalokiteśvara in Tibet,” in *Tibetan Buddhism: Reason and Revelation*, ed. Steven Goodman and Ronald M. Davidson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 79–93, 163–169.

37. Ṅag-dBañ Blo-bZaṅ rGya-mTSHo, *The Song of the Queen of Spring, or, A History of Tibet*, revised translation by Zahiruddin Ahmad (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2008).

38. See the decree issued by the Demo *qutuqtu* in 1773, in chapter 5, “The Qianlong Emperor and Tibetan Buddhism.”

39. Samuel 1993, 282; cf. also 247f.

40. Martin Mills, *Identity, Ritual and State in Tibetan Buddhism: The Foundation of Authority in Gelukpa Monasticism* (London: Routledge, 2003), 314f.

41. Ibid.

42. Peter Schwieger, “sTag-tshang ras-pa’s Exceptional Life as a Pilgrim,” *Kailash: Journal of Himalayan Studies*, 18, no. 1–2 (1996): 94f.

43. Ippolito Desideri, *Mission to Tibet. The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.*, trans. Michael J. Sweet, ed. Lenard Zwilling (Boston: Wisdom, 2010), 306.

44. Ibid., 307.

45. Samuel 1993, 244–246.

46. Davidson 2005, 31, 36.

47. Mills 2003, 131.

48. Samuel 1993, 251–253.

49. Rolf A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, trans. J. E. Stapleton Driver (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 148.

50. David Seyfort Ruegg, “*Mchod yon, yon mchod* and *mchod gnas/yon gnas*:

On the Historiography and Semantics of a Tibetan Religio-social and Religio-political Concept,” in *Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Ernst Steinkellner (Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, 1991), 441–453; David Seyfort Ruegg, “The Preceptor-Donor (*yon mchod*) Relation in Thirteenth-Century Tibetan Society and Polity, Its Inner Asian Precursors and Indian Models,” in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, 2 vols., ed. Helmut Krasser, Michael T. Much, Ernst Steinkellner, and Helmut Tauscher (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 2:857–870.

1. THE OF HISTORICAL THE *TRÜLKU* DEVELOPMENT POSITION

1. Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, “The Dalai Lamas and the Origin of Reincarnate Lamas,” in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, ed. Martin Brauen (Chicago: Serindia, 2005), 14–31.

2. Dieter Schuh, “Wie ist die Einladung des fünften Karmapa an den chinesischen Kaiserhof als Fortführung der Tibet-Politik der Mongolen-Khane zu verstehen?” in *Altaica Collecta. Berichte und Vorträge der XVII. Permanent International Altaistic Conference, 3–8. Juni 1974 in Bonn/Bad Honnef*, ed. Walther Heissig (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), 213f.

3. David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet* (Boulder, Colo.: Prajñā Press, 1980), 137; Turrell V. Wylie, “Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism,” in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium. Held at Mátrafüred, Hungary, 24–30 September 1976*, ed. Louis Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 583.

4. Wylie 1978, 581.

5. *Ibid.*, 586.

6. Michael Weiers, *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2004), 149f.

7. Cf. introduction, note 20.

8. Dieter Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Urkunden des tibetischen*

Mittelalters und ihrer Diplomatie (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1977), 128–137.

9. Elliot Sperling, “Karma Rol-pa’i rdo-rje and the Re-Establishment of Karmapa Political Influence in the 14th Century,” in *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung ’brel) in Traditional Tibet*, ed. Christoph Cüppers (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004), 229–244.

10. Cf. introduction, note 20.

11. See Schuh 1977, 142–146.

12. Schuh 1977, 146f.

13. Ibid., 144.

14. Geoffrey Samuel, *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 494.

15. Dung dkar Blo bzang ’phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo. Mkhas dbang dung dkar blo bzang ’phrin las mchog gis mdzad pa’i bod rig pa’i tshig mdzod chen mo shes bya rab gsal* (Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe 中国藏学出版社, 2002), 1785; Ko zhul Grags pa’byung gnas and Rgyal ba Blo bzang mkhas grub, *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Qinghai minzu chubanshe 青海民族出版社, 1992), 1485f.

16. Schuh 1976.

17. Matthew T. Kapstein, *The Tibetans* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 125.

18. The significance of the report has been emphasized by Schuh (1976). The report is transmitted in the work *Mkhas pa’i dga’ ston* of Dpa’ bo gtsug lag, completed in 1564, as well as in Si tu paṅ chen’s *Zla ba chu shel phreng ba* of the eighteenth century. The relevant passage has been edited by Schuh (showing the differences between the two versions) and translated into German. My English translation is based on his edition. The complaint at the end about the lack of acknowledgment of the Karmapa’s efforts is not quite accurate. Even Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), who in 1408 refused an imperial invitation, praised the Karmapa for his efforts in China (Schuh 1976, 218).

19. Liew Foon Ming, *The Treatises on Military Affairs of the Ming Dynastic History (1368–1644)*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e. V., 1998), 1; Peter Schwieger, “A Document of Chinese Diplomatic Relations with East Tibet During the Ming Dynasty,” in *Tibetstudien. Festschrift für Dieter Schuh zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Petra Maurer and Peter Schwieger (Bonn: Bier’sche Verlagsanstalt. 2007), 209–226; Peter Schwieger, “Significance of Ming Titles Conferred Upon the Phag mo gru Rulers: A Reevaluation of Chinese-Tibetan Relation During the Ming Dynasty,” in *The Earth Ox Papers: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan and Himalayan Studies*, ed. Roberto Vitali (Dharamsala: LTWA, 2010, *The Tibet Journal*, XXXIV, no. 3 & 4 / XXXV, no. 1 & 2), 313–328; Shen Weirong, “On the History of the Gling tshang Principality of mDo khams During Yuan and Ming Dynasties: Studies on Sources Concerning Tibet in *Ming Shilu* (1),” in *Tibetstudien. Festschrift für Dieter Schuh zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Petra Maurer and Peter Schwieger (Bonn: Bier’sche Verlagsanstalt, 2007), 227–265; Elliot Sperling, “The 5th Karmapa and Some Aspects of the Relationship Between Tibet and the Early Ming,” in *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies Oxford 1979*, ed. Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1980), 280–289; Elliot Sperling, “Early Ming Policy Toward Tibet: An Examination of the Proposition That the Early Ming Emperors Adopted a ‘divide and rule’ Policy Toward Tibet” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1983); Elliot Sperling, “Did the Early Ming Emperors Attempt to Implement a ‘Divide and Rule’ Policy in Tibet?,” in *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture*, 2 vols., ed. Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher (Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1983), 1:339–356.

20. Peter Schwieger, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Teil 12. Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rinchen gter-mdzod chen-mo, nach dem Exemplar der Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Hs or 778, Bände 34 bis 40* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999), no. 1365.15.

21. John Ardussi, “Formation of the State of Bhutan (’Brug gzhung) in the Seventeenth Century and Its Tibetan Antecedents,” in *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung ’brel) in Traditional Tibet*, ed. Christoph Cüppers (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004), 35f; Michael Aris, *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom* (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd., 1980), 205–206; E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan*

Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau, ed. Kurtis R. Schaeffer. Boston: Wisdom, 2001), 81–83.

22. Aris 1980, 206.

23. Hildegard Diemberger, *When a Woman Becomes a Religious Dynasty: The Samding Dorje Phagmo of Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

24. Barbara Aziz, “Reincarnation Reconsidered: Or the Reincarnate Lama As Shaman,” in *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas*, ed. John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1976), 343–360.

25. Martin Mills, *Identity, Ritual and State in Tibetan Buddhism: The Foundation of Authority in Gelukpa Monasticism* (London: Routledge, 2003), 271f.

26. Diemberger 2007, 239.

27. *Ibid.*, 50f.

28. Ya Hanzhang, *Biographies of the Tibetan Spiritual Leaders Panchen Erdenis* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1994), 12.

29. The significance of the reincarnation line of the Ensa *trülku* will be described below.

30. Smith 2001, 127.

31. Kapstein 2006, 129, 139.

32. Kasur Kundeling Wooser Gyaltzen (bka’ zur Kun gling ’Od zer rgyal mtshan), *Mi tshe’i lo rgyus las ’phros pa’i gtam thabs byus snying stobs kyi ’bras bu*, 2 vols. (Bylakuppe, Mysore: N.p., 2001), 2:235.

33. Cf. chapter 3, “*Trülku* Diplomacy on the Razor’s Edge.”

34. See Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al., eds., *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe mnying dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1990), 363–376; Kasur 2001, 2:208ff.

35. Amy Heller, “The Second Dalai Lama Gendün Drup,” in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, ed. Martin Brauen (Chicago: Serindia, 2005), 48–50.
36. Glenn H. Mullin, *The Second Dalai Lama: His Life and Teachings* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1994), 68–71.
37. Chen Qingying, *The System of the Dalai Lama Reincarnation* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2005), 20–23; Shen Weirong, *Leben und historische Bedeutung des ersten Dalai Lama dGe ’dun grub pa dpal bzang po (1391–1474). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der dGe-lugs-pa-Schule und der Institution der Dalai Lamas* (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2002), 15–37, 283f, 334.
38. Anne Chayet, “Women and Reincarnation in Tibet: The Case of the Gung ru mkha’ ’gro ma,” in *Facets of Tibetan Religious Tradition and Contacts with Neighbouring Cultural Areas*, ed. Alfredo Cadonna and Ester Bianchi (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2002), 66.
39. Mullin 1994, 60.
40. *de bas na rje ’di ni de’i tshe ’od gsal don dam pa’i bden pa mngon du mdzad de ’chi ba chos skur bsgyur ba’i sgo nas pa* [read: bar] *do sgyu ma’i skur bzhengs te de la brten nas mchog gi dngos grub mngon du mdzad pa yin par gdon mi za ba yin no//’o na phyi ma rgya nag tu sku skye ba bzhes par gsungs pa sogs ji ltar zhe na/rje dang* [read: rang] *gi gsung nas / sprul pas skye ba ’dzin pa yin pas mi ’gal/*(Shen 2002, 375, folio 55v–56r). My translation here differs slightly from Shen’s German translation. Two differences are important: First, in the phrase *rgya nag tu sku skye ba bzhes par gsungs*, the honorific verb *gsungs* indicates that the respected saint himself is implicated as the agent. Second, the phrase *skye ba ’dzin pa yin* indicates the (near) future tense (cf. Peter Schwiieger, *Handbuch zur Grammatik der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache* [Halle, Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2009], 103f).
41. Heller 2005, 44.
42. Shen 2002, 126–131.
43. van der Kuijp 2005, 24.
44. Heller 2005, 44; Mullin 1994, 56, 58.

45. Mullin 1994, 83, 88–90, 94, 101.

46. On the confrontation between the political and religious powers of the two Central Tibetan provinces, see David P. Jackson, *The Early Abbots of 'Phan-po Na-lendra: The Vicissitudes of a Great Tibetan Monastery in the Fifteenth Century* (Wien: Universität Wien, 1989), 18f, 21, 25; Jim Rheingans, “Narratives of Reincarnation, Politics of Power, and the Emergence of a Scholar: The Very Early Years of Mi bskyod rdo rje and Its Sources,” in *Lives Lived, Lives Imagined: Biography in the Buddhist Traditions*, ed. Linda Covill, Ulrike Roesler, and Sarah Shaw (Boston: Wisdom, 2010), 241–299; and Hugh Richardson, *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture* (London: Serindia, 1998), 346f. For the succession of the Pakmodru rulers and their titles, see Schwieger 2010. For early Gelukpa patronage of the Pakmodrupa, see Ņag-dBañ Blo-bZañ rGya-mTSHo, *The Song of the Queen of Spring, or, A History of Tibet*, revised translation by Zahiruddin Ahmad (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2008), 115. Details of Gendün Gyatso’s career in this context are mentioned in Kapstein 2006, 129–131, van der Kuijp 2005, 16, and Mullin 1994, 94–98. The role played by Dönyö Dorje in the recognition of the Eighth Karmapa is discussed in Rheingans 2010, 259, 267. For Gendün Gyatso’s attitude toward the Karmapa, see Mullin 1994, 104.

47. Mullin 1994, 111f.

48. See Chen 2005, 26–28. Note that the dates differ by one year from the dates generally accepted. Cf. also Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, “The Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso and the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso,” in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, ed. Martin Brauen (Chicago: Serindia, 2005), 53.

49. Peter Schwieger and Loden S. Dagyab, *Die ersten dGe-lugs-pa-Hierarchen von Brag-g.yab (1572–1692)* (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1989), 58.

50. See Gling dpon Pad ma bkal bzang et al., *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs. 9 (Spyi'i 'don thengs 18)* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 1995), 6–36; Śākya lha dbang, *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung* (Biographies of the first four Pakpalha incarnations, composed in 1640), ed. Pa sangs tshe ring and Bsod nams tshe brtan (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 2001), 82–190.

51. See chapter 6, “The Registration of Tibetan Reincarnation Lines and the Use of the Golden Urn.”

52. This list was originally provided on an internet page (<http://hi.baidu.com/%BE%EC%CB%F7%B0%AE%D3%EF/blog/item/2cc2b91> checked July 2011) but was later deleted. However, this list containing the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan names is also found at http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demo_Tulku. The dates for the first three incarnations are given as 1454–1506, 1507–1571, and 1572–1630. The Chinese secondary literature cited on the aforementioned website does not provide any information about the dates in question. Most probably they were calculated according to the information on the *trülkus*’ age of death provided by the abovementioned unreliable list of the early nineteenth century (see Chab spel Tshen brtan phun tshogs et al., eds., *Bod kyi gal che’i lo rgyus yig cha bdams bsgrigs* [Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1991], 283).

53. Śākya 2001, 77–81.

54. Śākya 2001 refers to him as a nephew of Pakpalha. In contrast, Bsod nams rgya mtsho and Nor bu sgrol dkar, *Bstan rtsis ka phreng lag deb* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 2000), 255, call him the tutor of the first Pakpalha. This has not been confirmed, however, by any primary sources available. The ages of death given by Śākya for the incarnations differ from those of the aforementioned list from the nineteenth century.

55. Ko zhul et al. 1992, 826f. Although he is referred to there as the fifth incarnation, other sources state otherwise. Dung dkar (2002, 2332) calls him Gelek Gyeltsen.

56. See chapter 2, “The Fifth Dalai Lama’s Journey to Beijing.”

57. Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 274.

58. Smith 2001, 123f.

59. Luciano Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols: The Yüan—Sa-skyia Period of Tibetan History* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 140.

60. Henry Serruys, “Early Lamaism in Mongolia,” *Oriens Extremus* 10, Heft 2 (1963): 181–213.
61. Johan Elverskog, *The Jewel Translucent Sūtra: Altan Khan and the Mongols in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 139f; Johan Elverskog, *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism and the State in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006), 103; van der Kuijp 2005, 18.
62. van der Kuijp 2005, 18.
63. Weiers 2004, 176.
64. Ibid., 188.
65. Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur: Die Biographie des Altan qaγan der Tümed-Mongolen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der religionspolitischen Beziehungen zwischen der Mongolei und Tibet im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 124f.
66. Miyawaki Junko, “The Birth of Oyirad Khanship,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 41, no. 1 (1997): 38–75; Miyawaki Junko, “The Legitimacy of Khanship Among the Oyirad (Kalmyk) Tribes in Relation to the Chinggisid Principle,” in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 319–331; cf. also Ishihama Yumiko, “A Study of the Seals and Titles Conferred by the Dalai Lamas,” in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, 2 vols., ed. Ihara Shōren and Yamaguchi Zuihō (Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992), 2:501–514; Nicola Di Cosmo, “The Qing in Inner Asia: 1636–1800,” in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 345.
67. Miyawaki 1999, 323.
68. Elverskog 2003, 26; Kollmar-Paulenz 2001b, 121–124, 129, 146; contradicts Weiers 2004, 175f.
69. Weiers 2004, 176f.
70. Schuh 1977, 68.

71. Miyawaki 1997, 56; 1999, 323; cf. Kollmar-Paulenz 2001b, 7.
72. Kollmar-Paulenz 2001b, 76–78.
73. Elverskog 2003, 161; Kollmar-Paulenz 2001b, 141.
74. Kollmar-Paulenz 2005, 58.
75. Dieter Schuh, *Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1981), 5.
76. Ibid.
77. Weiers (2004, 190) uses this description of the Fifth Dalai Lama to characterize the whole incarnation line. This description applies even less to the Fifth Dalai Lama (see below).
78. Ishihama 1992, 507.
79. Ishihama 1992.
80. Elverskog 2003, 77, 144; Kollmar-Paulenz 2001b, 142.
81. David M. Farquhar, “Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch’ing Empire,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38, no. 1 (1978): 5–34.
82. Elliot Sperling, “Tibet’s Foreign Relations During the Epoch of the Fifth Dalai Lama,” in *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century: The Capital of the Dalai Lamas*, ed. Françoise Pommaret (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 123.
83. Schuh 1981a, 2.
84. Samuel Martin Grupper, “The Manchu Imperial Cult of the Early Ch’ing Dynasty. Texts and Studies of the Tantric Sanctuary of Mahākāla at Mukden” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1980).
85. Kam Tak-Sing, “Manchu-Tibetan Relations in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Reappraisal” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1994), 23–27.
86. Ibid., 116; see also 59f, 81f, 98–106.

87. Klaus Sagaster, *Die Weisse Geschichte (Čaḡan teüke). Eine mongolische Quelle zur Lehre von den Beiden Ordnungen Religion und Staat in Tibet und der Mongolei* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), 22.

88. Ishihama Yumiko, “The Notion of ‘Buddhist Government’ (*chos srid*) Shared by Tibet, Mongol, and Manchu in the Early Seventeenth Century,” in *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung ’brel) in Traditional Tibet*, ed. Christoph Cüppers (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004), 15–31.

89. Cf. chapter 5. “The Qianlong Emperor and Tibetan Buddhism.”

90. Farquhar 1978.

91. Sagaster 1976; cf. Kollmar-Paulenz 2001b, 131; Ishihama 2004, 19–21. For the biography of Altan Qan, see chapter 1.

92. Michael Weiers, “Der erste Schriftwechsel zwischen Khalkha und Mandschuren und seine Überlieferung,” in *Zentralasiatische Studien* 20 (1987): 108–114. Ishihama 2004, 23. Ishihama gives the date as “7 December, T’ien-Tsung 9.” “December” in this context obviously does not mean the month of December in the Western calendar; it simply means the twelfth month.

93. Ishihama 2004, 25.

94. Kiciyeltu, “A Textual Study of The [sic] Post and Rank of ‘Khutukhtu’ in Tibetan Buddhism,” *China Tibetology* 1 (September 2003): 59f.

95. Ibid., 63.

96. William F. Meyers, *The Chinese Government: A Manual of Chinese Titles, Categorically Arranged and Explained, with an Appendix* (Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005, reprint of a 1897 edition by Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, Hongkong, Yokohama, Singapore), no. 589.

97. Note that due to an incorrect conversion the year of his death is in the literature frequently given as 1616. Yönten Gyatso died in the Fire Dragon year on the 15th day of the 12th Tibetan month, which corresponds to January 21, 1617.

98. Smith 2001, 303.

99. Chen 2005, 31–33; Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, “‘Religionslos ist das Land’: Das Mongolenbild der Tibeter,” *Asiatische Studien. Études Asiatiques* 54, 4 (2000): 903f; Kollmar-Paulenz 2005, 60f; van der Kuijp 2005, 18f; Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 2 vols. (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), 1:50f.

100. Chen 2005, 33f.

101. Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *Chos smra ba’i dge slong blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan gyi spyod tshul gsal bar ston pa nor bu’i phreng ba* (Autobiography of the First Panchen Lama, Blobzang-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, 1567–1662), ed. and reproduced by Ngawang Gelek Demo; English introduction by E. Gene Smith (Delhi: Jayyed Press, 1969), 115.

102. Dung dkar Blo bzang ’phrin las, *Bod kyi chos srid zung ’brel skor bshad pa* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 2004), 90f. Note that—unlike the Tibetan version—the English translation of Dungkar’s history (Dung-dkar blobzang ’phrin-las, *The Merging of Religious and Secular Rule in Tibet*, trans. Chen Guansheng [Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991]) in the following confuses the dates by transferring the events from the 1620s to the 1630s.

103. Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, 2 vols., trans. and annotated by Derek F. Maher (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 1:327f.

104. There were four Kyishöpa brothers. The two most important at that time were *depa* Sönam Gyeltsen, alias Sönam Namgyel (1586–1636), who was the governor of Kyishö, and his brother Tendzin Lozang Gyatso, sometimes referred to as Lozang Tendzin Gyatso (1593–1638) as well, who was the Gelukpa hierarch *zhapdrung chöje*. See Chayet 2002, 79f; Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet: A Study of Tshal Gung-thang*, 2 vols. (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 1:55, 245, 2:766; Peter Schwieger, “An Almost Forgotten dGe lugs pa Incarnation Line as Manorial Lord in bKra shis ljongs, Central Tibet,” in *Tibetans Who Escaped the Historian’s Net: Studies in the Social History of Tibetan Societies*, ed. Charles Ramble, Peter Schwieger, and Alice Travers (Kathmandu: Vajra Books, 2013),

89–109.

105. Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan 1969, 118.

106. I have taken this information from the autobiographies of the Fourth Panchen Lama (Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan 1969, 129–133) and the Fifth Dalai Lama (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 3 vols. [Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1989], 1:48–51).

107. Depending on the Tibetan source, the year of his death is given as 1620 (Dung dkar 2002:2331, according to the *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* of Ka thog rig 'dzin), 1621, 1631, or 1632 (see Shakabpa 2010, 1:333; Bsod nams rgya mtsho *et al.* 2000, 427f). According to Dung dkar (2002, 2332), 1631 should be regarded as a mistake. What seems clear, however, is that in 1621 he was succeeded as ruler of Tsang by Karma Tenkyong Wangpo (1606–1642).

108. Karmay (Samten G. Karmay, “The Fifth Dalai Lama and His Reunification of Tibet,” in *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century. The Capital of the Dalai Lamas*, ed. Françoise Pommaret [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 69) has misinterpreted this passage to mean that some people suspected the child of being a Mongol reincarnation of a Tibetan lama. The quotation by Karmay cannot—unlike the other quotation on that page—be regarded as a literal translation from the Tibetan but as a falsification of its meaning. In my opinion, Ahmad’s interpretation added in brackets (Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* [Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970], 103) is equally unacceptable. The Tibetan text is given in Ngag dbang 1989 (1:48) as follows: *sog po'i dmag gtos che ba rong po 'dam du 'byor bas bod shing sgo can mtha' dag shes pa 'tshub ling nge bar gyur / bod kyi sde dpon sa cha shor ba dang sog po'i dpon po bu mang po yod pa rnam sku skyer 'gro ba srol la 'dug pas de skabs nged kyang sku skye zhig yin nam zhes gleng zhing /*. Instead of *shes* Ahmad obviously reads *shis*, which would fit better. However, the block print edition at hand also uses *shes* (25v). The phrase *bod shing sgo can* also occurs elsewhere in the autobiography (cf. Ahmad 1970, 115, 131, 133). Zhang Yisun 张怡荪 *et al.*, *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo. Zang han da cidian* 葬漢辭典 (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 1998), 2843, translates *shing sgo can* as both “a house with a wooden door” and “designation for Tibet.”

109. Tucci 1949, 1:57.

110. Karmay 2003, 67.

111. Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan 1969, 129–133; Ngag dbang 1989, 1:48–51; cf. Ahmad 1970, 105–108.

112. See Yang Ho-chin, *The Annals of Kokonor* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 32.

113. According to the Panchen Lama's autobiography (Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan 1969, 129–133), the lives of nearly one hundred thousand soldiers (*mi 'bum du nye ba*) were saved at that time. This is of course a gross exaggeration.

114. Dung dkar 2002, 254, 432.

115. Tucci 1949, 1:59.

116. Ngag dbang 1989, 1:52.

117. On Lingme, see Alfonsa Ferrari, *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, completed and edited by Luciano Petech with the collaboration of Hugh Richardson (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), 165fn. 672.

118. Ngag dbang 1989, 1:52.

119. Ngag dbang 1989, 1:55. For a translation of that passage, see Karmay 2003, 69.

120. Georges Dreyfus, "The Shuk-Den Affair: Origins of a Controversy," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21, no. 2 (1999): 227–270; Samten G. Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama: The Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection* (London: Serindia, 1988), 7; 1998, 139f; Lindsay G. McCune, "Tales of Intrigue from Tibet's Holy City: The Historical Underpinnings of a Modern Buddhist Crisis" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 2007). For obvious reasons this split within the Gelukpa is nowadays greatly supported by the Chinese Communist Party and the United Front Department, and the followers of Dorje Shukden within the exile community are not afraid to openly ask for support from Beijing (Raimondo Bultrini, *The Dalai*

Lama and the King Demon: Tracking a Triple Murder Mystery Through the Mists of Time [New York: Tibet House US, 2013], 306–308).

121. Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan 1969, 132f.

122. Ibid., 213.

123. Dung dkar 2002, 1820f. See also Bultrini 2013, 229–235.

124. See Bultrini 2013, 204f.

125. Ngag dbang 1989, 1:154.

126. He is also sometimes called Lindan Qan. Ligdan is actually a Tibetan name, transliterated as Legs ldan from the name Lekdan.

127. Weiers 2004, 169–174.

128. Grupper 1980, 21, 62, 83.

129. Veronika Veit, “Die mongolischen Völkerschaften vom 15. Jahrhundert bis 1691,” in *Die Mongolen. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. Michael Weiers (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), 396–400; Weiers 2004, 181–183.

130. Grupper 1980, 21.

131. Weiers 1994.

132. Dung dkar 2004, 94; Ya 1994, 34.

133. Veit 1986, 398.

134. Ibid., 400.

135. Borjigidai Oyunbilig (Wuyun Bili Ge 乌云毕力格), “Guanyu Chuo ketu taiji” 关于绰克图台吉, *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* 内蒙古大学学报 (Journal of the University of Inner Mongolia, Hohhot) 3 (1987): 54.

136. Yang 1969, 33.

137. Ibid., 15, 35.

138. Kapstein 2006, 136f; Tucci 1949, 1:60f.

139. Ngag dbang 1989, 1:158–169.

140. This passage is quoted by Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*, 2 vols. (Kalimpong: Shakabpa House, 1976), 409, in a slightly modified form. Due obviously to Shakabpa's failure to mark the beginning and end of his quotation clearly enough, the translation by Maher (Shakabpa 2010, 1:336) fails to notice the actual end of the quotation. For this reason, he immediately adds single sentences that Shakabpa had picked up from a later passage in the autobiography. The quoted passage is framed by the phrase *gros la . . . gshom ra byas pa sog*s.

141. Brag dgon pa Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Mdo smad chos 'byung* (History of Amdo, composed in 1865), ed. Rdo rje rin chen (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Gansu minzu chubanshe 甘肃民族出版社, 1982), 32.

142. This source is a collection of biographies from the Karma Kaygü tradition. It was composed by Belo Tsewang Kunkhyap about seventy-five years after the death of the Tenth Karmapa. For details on the text, see Shamar Rinpoche, *A Golden Swan in Turbulent Waters: The Life and Times of the Tenth Karmapa Choying Dorje* (Lexington, Va.: Bird of Paradise Press, 2012), ix, 207, 264.

143. Shamar 2012, 167.

144. Ibid., 227.

145. Ngag dbang 1989, 1:159.

146. The fact that a written agreement was ultimately concluded is totally ignored by Shakabpa. All that he mentions are the previous, unsuccessful efforts made in this regard.

147. Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan 1969, 210f.

148. This follows at any rate from the short hagiography compiled at the end of the nineteenth century and translated by Richardson (1998, 510). According to this very late source, the identification did not occur before 1647. The text

blames the Tsangpa for all the evil in the Tibetan politics during the Karmapa's life and depicts the hierarch as loyal to the Fifth Dalai Lama and as a victim of misunderstandings.

149. Weiers 2004, 185, 187.

150. Ngag dbang 1989, 1:168; Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan 1969, 212. According to the Tibetan sources, the Oirat forces numbered little more than ten thousand soldiers, while the defeated Qalqa troops of Choktu Taiji comprised nearly thirty thousand. Oirat sources, on the other hand, also give the number of their own soldiers as thirty thousand (Borjigidai Oyunbilig [Wuyun Bili Ge 乌云毕力格], "Guanyu Yinzan Ku-tu-ke-tu" 关于尹咱库图克图, *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* 内蒙古大学学报 [Journal of the University of Inner Mongolia, Hohhot] 1 [1994]: 1–8). In the chronicle written by the Fifth Dalai Lama, he gives the number of Choktu Taiji's soldiers as forty thousand (Ñag-dBañ Blo-bZañ rGya-mTSHo 2008, 152). In general, the numbers quoted in Tibetan historiographical sources must be taken with a grain of salt. For example, in the present case, it cannot be ruled out that the author exaggerated the military achievements of his allies.

151. Ahmad 1970, 119f.

152. Okada Hidehiro and Junko Miyawaki-Okada, "The *Biography of Zaya Pandita, The Greatest Oirat Monk*," in *Biographies of Eminent Mongol Buddhists: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*, ed. Johan Elverskog (Halle, Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2008), 29–47.

153. Ibid.

154. On Ensa, cf. below. According to Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1969, 238f), the Third Ensa *trülku* died from smallpox in the winter of 1643/44. The autobiography of the Fourth Panchen Lama reports events chronologically. Immediately before mentioning the arrival of the Ensa *trülku* at the Panchen's court, another event is mentioned dated the 19th of the 12th Tibetan month in the Water Sheep year, which is already 1644. Moreover, the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama also confirms the sudden death of the Third Ensa *trülku* early in 1644 (Ngag dbang 1989, 1:245).

155. Oyunbilig 1994.

156. Ngag dbang 1989, 1:130; Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan 1969, 172.

157. Oyunbilig 1994.

158. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, “The Mongolian Incarnation of Jo nang pa Tāranātha Kun dga’ snying po: Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar Blo bzang bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan,” in *The Earth Ox Papers: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan and Himalayan Studies*, ed. Roberto Vitali (Dharamsala: LTWA, 2010; *The Tibet Journal* XXXIV, no. 3 & 4 / XXXV, no. 1 & 2), 243–261.

159. See chapter 3, “A Trülku as Warrior.”

160. Borjigidai Oyunbilig (Wuyun Bili Ge 乌云毕力格), “Chuo ketu taiji de lishi yu lishiji” 绰克图台吉的历史与历史记忆, *Quaestiones Mongolorum Disputatae* (Journal of the Association for International Studies of Mongolian Culture, Tokyo) 1 (2005): 196–225.

161. Peter Schwieger, “Toward a Biography of Don-yod rdo-rje, King of Be-ri,” in *Studia Tibetica et Mongolica (Festschrift Manfred Taube)*, ed. Helmut Eimer, Michael Hahn, Maria Schetelich, and Peter Wyzlic (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1999), 247–260.

162. It is important to note that the Beri of King Dönyö Dorje has elsewhere been confused with the place Pi-ri on the left bank of the Yalong River (Turrell V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad* [Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1962], 104, 188; cf. Ahmad 1970, 122 n. 119). The Beri of King Dönyö Dorje was in fact located at the upper edge of the Markam Gang in the vicinity of Chamdo. For details, see Schwieger 1999c, 249.

163. See Ahmad 1970, 131–134, 137.

164. It was especially Nian Gengyao, the governor-general of Sichuan, who reflected on this issue. See chapter 4, “The Trülkus and the Establishment of Qing Control Over Eastern Tibet.”

165. Shakabpa 2010, 1:347f.

166. In the statement, “Since the Fifth Dalai Lama came to that area (of Tibet), government and teaching have become one,” *desi Sanggyé Gyatso* uses the term *zhungten*, “government and teaching” (RT 119). In the correspondence between the regent and the Kangxi Emperor, this term or a variation of it, *tenzhung*, meaning “teaching and government,” is used much more frequently than its equivalent *chösi*. The term is also used in the biography of the First Jebtsundamba (Ishihama Yumiko, “The Conceptual Framework of the dGa’-ldan’s War Based on the *beye dailame wargi amargi babe neci hiyemi toktobuha bodogon i bithe*—‘Buddhist Government’ in the Tibet-Mongol and Manchu Relationship,” in *Tibet and Her Neighbours: A History*, ed. Alex McKay [London: Edition Hansjörg Mayer, 2003], 159).

2. A TRÜLKU AS THE HEAD OF SOCIETY

1. See Luciano Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols: The Yüan–Sa–skya Period of Tibetan History* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 37, 139f; Dieter Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Urkunden des tibetischen Mittelalters und ihrer Diplomatie* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1977), xix–xx, xxiv, xxv, 100; David Seyfort Rugg, “The Preceptor-Donor (*yon mchod*) Relation in Thirteenth-Century Tibetan Society and Polity: Its Inner Asian Precursors and Indian Models,” in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, 2 vols., ed. Helmut Krasser, Michael T. Much, Ernst Steinkellner, and Helmut Tauscher (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 2:866.

2. Dung dkar Blo bzang ’phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo. Mkhas dbang dung dkar blo bzang ’phrin las mchog gis mdzad pa’i bod rig pa’i tshig mdzod chen mo shes bya rab gsal* (Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe 中国藏学出版社, 2002), 857 (translated from Tibetan).

3. Dieter Schuh, “Srid ohne Chos? Reflektionen zum Verhältnis von Buddhismus und säkularer Herrschaft im tibetischen Kulturraum,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 33 (2004): 153f.

4. John Ardussi, “Formation of the State of Bhutan (*’Brug gzhung*) in the Seventeenth Century and Its Tibetan Antecedents,” in *The Relationship Between*

Religion and State (chos srid zung 'brel) in Traditional Tibet, ed. Christoph Cüppers (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004), 33–48.

5. Ṅag-dBaṅ Blo-bZaṅ rGya-mTSHo, *The Song of the Queen of Spring, or, A History of Tibet*, rev. trans. by Zahiruddin Ahmad (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2008).

6. Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), 130–136, 139–143.

7. Ibid., 136.

8. Ibid., 142.

9. Ibid., 144.

10. For the name Ganden Podrang, see the explanation in chapter 1, “The Early Development.”

11. Hugh Richardson, *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture* (London: Serindia, 1998), 442, 444; Marilyn M. Rhie and Robert A. F. Thurman, *A Shrine for Tibet: The Alice S. Kandell Collection* (New York: Tibet House US, 2009), 283, 285.

12. Luciano Petech, “The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet: A Chronological Study,” in *T'oung Pao, Second Series* 47.3/5 (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 378.

13. Ibid.; Ahmad 1970, 70.

14. Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century: History of the Establishment of the Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 8f.

15. Peter Schwieger, “The Lineage of the Nobel House of Ga-zi in East Tibet,” *Kailash: Journal of Himalayan Studies* 18, no. 3–4 (1996): 128f.

16. KDL 1004.

17. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al., eds., *Bod kyi gal che'i lo rgyus yig cha bdams bsgrigs* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe nying dpe skrun khang,

Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1991), 42, 70.

18. KDL 1110.

19. Dieter Schuh, *Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1981), 316–322.

20. Ibid., 5.

21. Ibid., 316.

22. Luciano Petech, “Notes on Tibetan History of the Eighteenth Century,” in *T'oung Pao, Second Series* 52.4/5 (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 266–268; Michael Weiers, *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2004), 190.

23. KDL 2091.

24. See Dieter Schuh, “Politische Implikationen tibetischer Urkundenformeln,” in *Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung*, ed. Dieter Schuh and Michael Weiers, Heft 8 (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1985), 104–108, 145–148.

25. Chab spel *et al.* (1991, 70) attributes this seal solely to Gushri Qan's son Dayan (Ochir) Qan, saying that one or two of his documents display its imprint “although he did not act as lord of Tibet.”

26. The term *rgan bcu* is an abridgment of *rgan po dang bcu dpon*.

27. KDL 1351. Note that by following the brief description of the Archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region, the database of KDL mistakenly ascribes the document to Dayan Qan.

28. Christoph Cüppers, “Ein Erlaß des Königs Gushri Khan aus dem Jahre 1643,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 40 (2011): 166; Peter Schwieger, “The Long Arm of the Fifth Dalai Lama: Influence and Power of the Fifth Dalai Lama in Southeast Tibet,” in *Buddhist Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture*, vol. I: *Tibet and the Himalaya*, ed. Alex McKay and Anna Balikci-Denjongpa (Gangtok, Sikkim: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 2011), 248.

29. RGYAL 008. Because the imprint of the red seal is merely mentioned but not depicted in the edition of the document, the originator of the endorsement cannot be identified. For a complete translation of the document, see Peter Schwieger, “On the Exercise of Jurisdiction in South-East-Tibet after the Rise of the Dga’ ldan pho brang Government,” in *Social Regulation: Case Studies from Tibetan History*, ed. Jeannine Bischoff and Saul Mullard (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

30. Schuh 1985, 95.

31. Ahmad 1970, 145.

32. KDL 1109.

33. See Schuh 1981a, 2f.

34. Schuh 1981a, no. XL; KDL 1679.

35. See this chapter, “Avalokiteśvara’s Wars.” See also Elliot Sperling, “Pho-lha-nas, Khangchen-nas, and the Last Era of Mongol Domination in Tibet,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* t. 65, z. 1 (2012): 197f.

36. Yamaguchi Zuihō, “The Emergence of the Regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho and the Denouement of the Dalai Lamas’ First Administration,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 57 (1999): 125.

37. Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTSHo, *Life of the Fifth Dalai Lama*, trans. Zahiruddin Ahmad (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1999), 304–353; see also *ibid.*, 268–272.

38. The Fifth Dalai Lama in particular had a close relationship with the hierarchs of the Nyingma monasteries of Dorjedrak and Mindrölling (see Peter Schwieger, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Teil 9. Die Werksammlungen Kun-tu bzañ-po’i dgoñs-pa zañ-thal, Ka-dag rañ-byuñ rañ-šar und mKha’-’gro gsañ-ba ye-šes-kyi rghyud*, ed. Dieter Schuh [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1985], lii–lix). As documented by the *Rinchen Terdzö* collection, through this relationship, the Dalai Lama was especially integrated in the *terma* tradition of the Nyingmapa (see Peter Schwieger, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Teil 10. Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rinchen gter-mdzod chen-mo, Bände 1 bis 14* [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990], no. 253;

Peter Schwieger, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Teil 11. Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rinchen gter-mdzod chen-mo, nach dem Exemplar der Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Hs or 778, Bände 14 bis 34* [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995], nos. 726, 871, 1155, 1289, 1311; Peter Schwieger, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Teil 12. Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rinchen gter-mdzod chen-mo, nach dem Exemplar der Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Hs or 778, Bände 34 bis 40* [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999], no. 1326; Peter Schwieger, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Teil 13. Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rinchen gter-mdzod chen-mo, nach dem Exemplar der Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Hs or 778, Bände 40 bis 52* [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009], nos. 1962, 2057). Cf. Eva M. Dargyay, *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977), 169–174; Dudjom Rinpoché, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, 2 vols., trans. and ed. Gyurme Dorje with the collaboration of Matthew Kapstein (Boston: Wisdom, 1991), 1: 821–824.

39. The complete proclamation is translated in chapter 7.

40. Ippolito Desideri, *Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.*, trans. Michael J. Sweet, ed. Lenard Zwilling (Boston: Wisdom, 2010), 318.

41. Ahmad 1970, 166–186.

42. *Ibid.*, 154–158.

43. Ishihama Yumiko, “The Notion of ‘Buddhist Government’ (*chos srid*) Shared by Tibet, Mongol, and Manchu in the Early Seventeenth Century,” in *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung ’brel) in Traditional Tibet*, ed. Christoph Cüppers (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004), 22.

44. Kam Tak-Sing, “Manchu-Tibetan Relations in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Reappraisal” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1994), 82.

45. Ahmad 1970, 158, 160, 162, 166.

46. Gray Tuttle, “A Tibetan Buddhist Mission to the East: The Fifth Dalai

Lama's Journey to Beijing, 1652–1653,” in *Power, Politics, and the Reinvention of Tradition: Tibet in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Bryan J. Cuevas and Kurtis R. Schaeffer (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 65–87.

47. Ahmad 1970, 159.

48. *Ibid.*, 191.

49. *Ibid.*, 138f.

50. *Ibid.*, 188.

51. Peter Schwieger, “Significance of Ming Titles Conferred Upon the Phag mo gru Rulers: A Reevaluation of Chinese-Tibetan Relation During the Ming Dynasty,” in *The Earth Ox Papers. Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan and Himalayan Studies*, ed. Roberto Vitali (Dharamsala: LTWA, 2010; *The Tibet Journal* XXXIV, no. 3 & 4 / XXXV, no. 1 & 2), 313–328.

52. Ahmad 1970, 188–191.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*, 184–86.

55. Schuh 1985, 93f; 1981a, 309ff.

56. Richardson 1998, 440–447; Rhie and Thurman 2009, 282–285. The translation of *gtam* as “title” in Richardson (1998) and in Rhie and Thurman (2009) is incorrect. *gtam* is one of several proclamation nouns that has been known as a closing of the *intitulatio* in Tibetan documents since the Yuan period. See Schuh 1985, 86f. Rhie and Thurman do not explain why the document is dated in the catalogue “eighteenth century?”. The document is not marked as a copy. It bears the seals of the Dalai Lama and—on the reverse—his handprints.

57. See also Schuh 1985, 94.

58. See “Union of Religion and Politics.”

59. Shamar Rinpoche, *A Golden Swan in Turbulent Waters: The Life and Times*

of the Tenth Karmapa Choying Dorje (Lexington, Va.: Bird of Paradise Press, 2012), 49f, 206.

60. Shamar 2012, 207; Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, 3 vols. (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1989), 1:559.

61. Ardussi 2004, 41.

62. Cüppers 2011, 165 n. 1.

63. Cf. Richardson 1998, 443, 445f, 459; Rhie and Thurman 2009, 284f.

64. For the king of Beri, see chapter 1, “Golden Bridge Under Threat.”

65. Ngag dbang 1989, 1:194. See also Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, 2 vols., trans. and annotated by Derek F. Maher (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 1:340.

66. Desideri 2010, 334. The editor and translator of Desideri’s account—being unable to believe that such rivalry could occur among Tibetan Buddhists—suggests that this statement might be a simple projection of the rivalry between European Catholics and various Protestant groups onto the Tibetan situation (713f). However, the severe persecution of the Kagyüpa by the Gelukpa in Tibet during the seventeenth century is well testified to. It is also touched upon several times in this study.

67. Michael Aris, *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom* (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd., 1980), 224, 227.

68. Ngag dbang 1989, 1:252, 284.

69. Aris 1980, 239, 248.

70. See “Union of Religion and Politics.”

71. Michael Aris, “Notes on the History of the Mon-yul Corridor,” in *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, ed. Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1980), 9–20. For the above excerpt, Michael Aris’ translation has been slightly modified. Concerning the districts and

geographical names mentioned in the excerpt, see 20.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Rgyal sras sprul sku, *Rta wang dgon pa'i lo rgyus mon yul gsal ba'i me long* (Dharamsala: Amnye Machen Institute, 2009), 127–129, 307f; Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *dGa' ldan chos 'byung vaiḍūrya ser po*, composed 1698 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe 中国藏学出版社, 1989), 458.

76. Peter Schwieger, “A Preliminary Historical Outline of the Royal Dynasty of sPo-bo,” in *Tractata Tibetica et Mongolica. Festschrift für Klaus Sagaster zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz and Christian Peter (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 222.

77. Schwieger 2011.

78. This was stated by Ahmad (1970, 225, 209). In this regard, Yamaguchi (1999, 127) does not disagree. He refers to the statement in the *Qing Shilu* that regards that campaign as an attack against the Imperial Prince Pingxi (also known as Wu Sangui). However, the Dalai Lama had used the opportunity to his own advantage only and had never really intended to attack Wu Sangui.

79. Luciano Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh, c. 950–1842 A.D.* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1977), 71.

80. Petech 1977, 40–49, 54; Peter Schwieger, “sTag-tshang ras-pa's Exceptional Life as a Pilgrim,” *Kailash: Journal of Himalayan Studies* 18, no. 1–2 (1996).

81. Petech 1977, 70.

82. There is a remark by Ishihama (Ishihama Yumiko, “A Study of the Seals and Titles Conferred by the Dalai Lamas,” in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, 2 vols., ed. Ihara Shōren and Yamaguchi Zuihō [Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992], 2:507) that Galdan Tendzin Boshugtu Qan had conquered Ngari and

Ladakh in 1684. However, the quotation in Tibetan provided only says that he had given auxiliary troops to the forces of Ganden Tsewang Pelzang, who had invaded Ladakh a second time (cf. the translation by Petech 1977, 75f). According to Petech, this must have occurred in 1683 already. Nevertheless, Galdan Tendzin Boshugtu Qan's contribution must have been essential in light of the fact that the Tibetan regent Sanggyé Gyatso later credited him with conquering Ngari (cf. chapter 3, "A *Trülku* as Warrior"). On this issue, see also Yamaguchi 1999, 130. Yamaguchi (1999, 129, 135 n. 29) also corrects Petech's statement that Ganden Tsewang Pelzang was born into the Hong taiji family, which ruled the Dsungar branch of the Oirats. Yamaguchi thus concurs with Dung dkar (2002, 597).

3. STRUGGLE FOR BUDDHIST GOVERNMENT

1. Michael Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450–1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683–1706)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988), 124.

2. Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, 2 vols., trans. and annotated by Derek F. Maher (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 1:370. See also Raimondo Bultrini, *The Dalai Lama and the King Demon: Tracking a Triple Murder Mystery Through the Mists of Time* (New York: Tibet House US, 2013), 342f.

3. Matthew T. Kapstein, *The Tibetans* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 142, has demonstrated why it is rather implausible that the regent would have believed his own ruse. He is probably referring here to Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), 47–52, who declaredly bases all of his argumentation on the purely theoretical premise of the regent's sincere "belief that the Dalai Lama was not dead, but had merely 'retired into meditation.'" And he continues: "and if, further, one is prepared to accept the validity—in keeping with his belief—of the Dalai Lama acting through and by means of the Great Guardian-of-the-Faith, then, no deliberate desire to deceive can be attributed to Sañs-rGyas rGya-mTsho." Ahmad supplements his argumentation with the assumption that the Qing's accusation of deception was equally the result of a simple misunderstanding "rather than out of any deliberate desire to sully the character of an 'enemy of the Ch'ing.'" Kapstein's skepticism about the regent's belief in

his own story—“for at the same time he began the search for a new incarnation”—is, so to speak, countered by Ahmad’s suggestion that, according to Tibetan beliefs, the possibility of several incarnations appearing at the same time cannot be ruled out. However, such highly speculative argumentation makes the regent a far too naïve character. It also presupposes that he really was a sincere person. Whatever the truth may be, there is just not enough evidence left today to make a definitive statement in this regard. What does seem evident, however, is the regent’s wholehearted commitment to the great “Gelukpa project” in Inner Asia. And this might well have included the willingness to use fraudulent means to produce just the kind of misunderstanding that Ahmad refers to on the Qing side. Even the Fifth Dalai Lama—as quoted above—had admitted that it was hard to execute politics in accordance with the pure moral principles governing a monk’s life (cf. chapter 2, “Avalokiteśvara’s Wars”).

4. Michael Aris, *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom* (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd., 1980), 231–236.

5. *Ibid.*, 234f.

6. Shakabpa 2010, 1:370.

7. Ahmad 1970, 279, 295.

8. Borjigidai Oyunbilig (Wuyun Bili Ge 乌云毕力格), “Guanyu Yinzan Ku-tu-ke-tu” 关于尹咱库图克图, *Nei Menggu Daxue Xuebao* 内蒙古大学学报 (Journal of the University of Inner Mongolia, Hohhot) no. 1 (1994): 1–8.

9. See chapter 1, “Golden Bridge Under Threat.”

10. Miyawaki Junko, “The Birth of Oyirad Khanship,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 41, no. 1 (1997): 67; E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, ed. Kurtis R. Schaeffer (Boston: Wisdom, 2001), 122.

11. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho’i rnam thar*, 3 vols. (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1989), 1:487.

12. Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *Chos smra ba’i dge slong blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan gyi spyod tshul gsal bar ston pa nor bu’i phreng ba*

(Autobiography of the First Panchen Lama, Blobsang-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, 1567–1662), ed. and reproduced by Ngawang Gelek Demo, English introduction by E. Gene Smith (Delhi: Jayyed Press, 1969), 303f.

13. Borjigidai Oyunbilig (Wuyun Bili Ge 乌云毕力格), *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Berichts über den persönlichen Feldzug des Kangxi Kaisers gegen Galdan (1696–1697)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 31; Yamaguchi Zuihō, “The Emergence of the Regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho and the Denouement of the Dalai Lamas’ First Administration,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 57 (1999): 125.

14. Ngag dbang 1989, 2:50. Based on the information contained in the Fifth Dalai Lama’s autobiography, Yamaguchi concludes that Galdan had returned home in 1666 (see Miyawakai 1997, 66; 1999, 328) and not in 1676, as stated elsewhere (Michael Weiers, *Geschichte der Mongolen* [Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2004], 194). 1666 has also been confirmed by Oyunbilig (1999, 31). A Mongolian text written at the earliest at the beginning of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, states that Galdan returned home in 1671 after hearing of the assassination of his brother (Walther Heissig, “Ein mongolisches Textfragment über den Ölötenfürsten Galdan,” in *Sinologische Arbeiten* 2 (Peking: Deutschland-Institut, 1944), 113.

15. Wolfgang Romanovsky, *Die Kriege des Qing-Kaisers Kangxi gegen den Oiratenfürsten Galdan. Eine Darstellung der Ereignisse und ihrer Ursachen anhand der Dokumentensammlung “Qing Shilu”* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998), 219.

16. “21 March,” given by Ahmad (1970, 232), is a wrong conversion.

17. Ngag dbang 1989, 2:206, 211, 283. Cf. Ahmad 1970, 232f; Miyawaki Junko, “The Legitimacy of Khanship Among the Oyirad (Kalmyk) Tribes in Relation to the Chinggisid Principle,” in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 328; Yamaguchi 1999, 125.

18. Ngag dbang 1989, 3:152f. Ahmad’s date, “30 June 1678” (1970, 235) is based on an incorrect conversion of the Tibetan date: fifth *hor* month, twelfth day.

19. Ishihama Yumiko, “A Study of the Seals and Titles Conferred by the Dalai

Lamas,” in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, 2 vols., ed. Ihara Shōren and Yamaguchi Zuihō (Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992), 2:506, 509.

20. Ibid., 513.

21. Ibid., 508.

22. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, “The Growth of the Religious Authority of the First Jebdzundamba of Mongolia (1635–1723),” in *Biographies of Eminent Mongol Buddhists: PIATS 2006: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. Johan Elverskog (Halle, Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2008), 51; Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, “The Mongolian Incarnation of Jo nang pa Tāranātha Kundga’ snying po: Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar Blo bzang bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan,” in *The Earth Ox Papers: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan and Himalayan Studies*, ed. Roberto Vitali (Dharamsala: LTWA, 2010, *The Tibet Journal* XXXIV, no. 3 & 4 / XXXV, no. 1 & 2), 243; Miyawaki Junko, “Tibeto-Mongol Relations at the Time of the First Rje btsun dam pa Qutuṣtu,” in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, 2 vols. (Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992), 2:600.

The passage in the first biography of the First Jebtsundamba *qutuṣtu* concerning the recognition by the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama uses the expression *rgyal ba yab sras*, “the victorious one, father and son.” This has been interpreted by Miyawaki (1992, 600) as “the First Panchen Lama and the Fifth Dalai Lama” (on the different ways of counting the Panchen Lama reincarnations, see chapter 1, “The Early Development”). Based on oral communications with Christoph Cüppers, Bareja-Starzynska (2010, 245, 248) later argues that the expression quoted above “in this context should be understood as ‘the Dalai Lama and his regent’ and not the Panchen Lama.” However, Miyawaki’s interpretation seems to be the correct one for several reasons. First, Miyawaki identifies the Panchen Lama and not the Dalai Lama as being the “father,” i.e., the spiritual teacher, and calls the Dalai Lama the “son,” i.e., the disciple. This relationship corresponds with the historical circumstances. Second, it was not one of the tasks of the regent, called *desi* in Tibetan, to recognize a *trülku*. Third, Sönam Chömpel (1595–1658)—who since 1642 had acted as the first regent of the Dalai Lama—was not a “son,” that is to say a disciple, of the young Fifth Dalai Lama. Therefore, although the expression *yab sras*, “father and son,” applies to the later

relationship between the Fifth Dalai Lama and his regent Sanggyé Gyatso (cf. Yamaguchi 1999, 113–118), it cannot describe the relationship between the Dalai Lama and his first regent. Miyawaki’s interpretation is also in accordance with a later biography of the First Jebtsundamba, written in 1839 (see Hans-Rainer Kämpfe, “Sayin qubitan-u süsüg-ün terge: Biographie des 1. rJe bcun dam pa-Qutuqtu Öndür gegen [1635–1723], verfasst von Ṅag gi dbaṅ po 1839. 1. Folge,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 15 [1979]: 97). Furthermore, the child had probably been recognized as a *trülku* prior to the appointment of the first Tibetan regent in 1642. However, I was unable to find any explicit reference to this in the autobiographies of the Panchen and the Dalai Lama. According to my knowledge, the first mention of him in the Dalai Lama’s autobiography is the first day of the sixth month of the Water Horse year, which corresponds to June 28, 1642 (Ngag dbang 1989, 1:228). There he is called Jamyang *trülku*.

Miyawaki doubts that the First Jebtsundamba *qutuqtu* was already regarded by the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama as a reincarnation of Tāranātha. He presumes that he was regarded only as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, because he is referred to in these texts only as Jamyang *trülku*. However, Bareja-Starzynska (2010) draws a different conclusion “in the light of the writings of the Fifth Dalai Lama.” The same applies to Miyawaki’s assumption that the First Jebtsundamba had not been a Gelukpa lama in the beginning.

23. Ishihama Yumiko, “The Conceptual Framework of the dGa’-ldan’s War Based on the *beye dailame wargi amargi babe neci hiyemi toktobuha bodogon i bithe*—‘Buddhist Government’ in the Tibet-Mongol and Manchu Relationship,” in *Tibet and Her Neighbours: A History*, ed. Alex McKay (London: Edition Hansjörg Mayer, 2003), 157–165.

24. Weiers 2004, 194f; cf. Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 146f.

25. RT 108, 115.

26. RT 64.

27. Ahmad 1970, 150f.

28. Ahmad 1970, 272; Romanovsky 1998, 68–71. See also Bareja-Starzynska 2008, 55; Veronika Veit, *Die vier Qane von Qalqa. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der*

politischen Bedeutung der nordmongolischen Aristokratie in den Regierungsperioden K'ang hsi bis Ch'ien lung (1661–1796) anhand des biographischen Handbuches Iledkel šastir aus dem Jahre 1795, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990), 2:53–57.

29. Ahmad 1970, 236. See also Fred W. Bergholz, *The Partition of the Steppe: The Struggle of the Russians, Manchus, and the Zunghar Mongols for Empire in Central Asia, 1619–1758. A Study in Power Politics* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 251.

30. Romanovsky 1998, 80f.

31. *Ibid.*, 94, 97.

32. Weiers 2004, 195f.

33. See Ahmad 1970, 279f; Romanovsky 1998, 71, 111, 111 n. 5, 113.

34. Ahmad 1970, 280f; Romanovsky 1998, 100–110.

35. Perdue 2005, 180–190.

36. Romanovsky 1998, 253f.

37. Okada Hidehiro, “Galdan’s Death: When and How,” *Memoirs of Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 37 (1979): 91–97; Miyawaki 1999, 329.

38. Gertraude Roth Li, *Manchu: A Textbook for Reading Documents* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 339f.

39. This was the thirty-sixth year of the Kangxi reign. Since this is a leap year, a second third month was added. The date can therefore either be April 4 or May 3, 1697. Although the first date is thought to be the right one, Galdan’s death was later changed by the imperial historiographers to the second date in order that the imperial campaign would not appear to have been pointless. Cf. Okada (1979, 91–97) and Perdue (2005, 202f).

40. Cf. Perdue 2005, 202f.

41. Ahmad 1970, 299f; Romanovsky 1998, 199.

42. Jaqa Čimeddorĵi, “Die 14 Briefe Galdans an den 5. Dalai Lama und an die Fürsten von Köke Nor,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 24 (1994): 150.
43. Romanovsky 1998, 246f.
44. Compare also the letter that Kangxi had sent to the regent in September 1696 (see this chapter, “The Regent’s Secret”).
45. Cf. Čimeddorĵi 1994, 150.
46. To act as a mediator in social conflicts is a typical role mentioned in Tibetan hagiographies. See for example Peter Schwieger and Loden S. Dagyab, *Die ersten dGe-lugs-pa-Hierarchen von Brag-g.yab (1572–1692)* (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1989), 41–47. However, Tibetan clerics were also recruited to negotiate conflicts between political rulers on a high level. For the most elaborate document known to date on this topic, see Peter Schwieger, *Teilung und Reintegration des Königreichs von Ladakh im 18. Jahrhundert. Der Staatsvertrag zwischen Ladakh und Purig aus dem Jahr 1753* (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, 1999).
47. Ko zhul Grag pa’byung gnas and Rgyal ba Blo bzang mkhas grub, *Gangs can mkhas grub rim byon ming mdzod* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Qinghai minzu chubanshe 青海民族出版社, 1992), 68f.
48. See Ye shes rdo rje et al., *Gangs can mkhas grub dbang rim byon gyi rnam thar mdor bsdu. deb gnyis pa* (Beijing: Krung go’i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe 中国藏学出版社, 2000), 192–197; Yontan Gyatso, “Le monastère de La-mo bde-chen dans l’Amdo,” in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies. Fagernes 1992*, ed. Per Kvaerne, 2 vols. (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 2:985–988.
49. See chapter 1, “The Early Development.”
50. KDL 9, 163; Ko zhul *et al.* 1992, 727. The Archives of the Tibetan Autonomous Region in Lhasa contain a copy of a document of the Fifth Dalai Lama dated from the sixth Tibetan month of the Hare Wood year (1675) and granted to the Sixth Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* (KDL 1416). The *publicatio* is specifically addressed to the people of eastern Tibet. The document verifies the incontestable *trülku*’s ownership of an unnamed monastery and its estates, which

without doubt is identical to Pashö Monastery. It was also identified in this way in the short description in the archives. It is therefore incorrect for Kasur Kundeling Woenser Gyaltsen (bka' zur Kun gling 'Od zer rgyal mtshan), *Mi tshé'i lo rgyus las 'phros pa'i gtam thabs byus snying stobs kyi 'bras bu*, 2 vols. (Bylakuppe, Mysore: 2001), 2:196, 247, to suggest that Pashö was later given to the *trülku* by the Fifth Dalai Lama as a reward for mediating between the Mongols and China. (The author forgets that it must have been the regent who—in the name of the dead Dalai Lama—had granted the monastery to him.) The assertion that the Fourth Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* had already “made Pashö Gompa his root monastery” (Andreas Gruschke, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet's Outer Provinces. Kham*, vol. 1: *The TAR Part of Kham [Tibet Autonomous Region]* [Bangkok: White Lotus, 2004], 126) is not confirmed by the Tibetan sources at hand. (Gruschke mistakenly calls him Ngawang Chökyi Gyaltsen instead of Lhawang Chökyi Gyeltsen.)

51. Ko zhul *et al.* 1992, 727.
52. Ahmad 1970, 67.
53. RT 107, 114; Romanovsky 1998, 212–218.
54. Romanovsky 1998, 112–115.
55. *Ibid.*, 142–144.
56. *Ibid.*, 203f, 205f, 210f, 212f.
57. RT 107; cf. Romanovsky 1998, 212–218.
58. Romanovsky 1998, 229–233.
59. *Ibid.*, 217.
60. *Ibid.*, 217 n. 5.
61. KDL 158, 672.
62. Kasur 2001, 2:246.
63. Ko zhul *et al.* 1992, 727.

64. Hans-Rainer Kämpfe, “Sayin qubitan-u sūsüg-ün terge: Biographie des 1. rJe bcun dam pa-Qutuqtu Öndür gegen (1635–1723), verfasst von Nag gi dbaṅ po 1839. 2. Folge,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 15 (1981): 334.
65. See [chapter 4](#), “Recruiting *Trülkus* for Imperial Service.”
66. Ahmad 1970, 121; Samuel Martin Grupper, “The Manchu Imperial Cult of the Early Ch’ing Dynasty: Texts and Studies of the Tantric Sanctuary of Mahākāla at Mukden” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1980), 147f; Kam Tak-Sing, “Manchu-Tibetan Relations in the Early Seventeenth Century: A Reappraisal” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1994), 94f, 107; Hiroshi Wakamatsu, “Ilagugsan Qutuqtu: An Essay,” in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, 2 vols. (Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992), 2:846.
67. Ahmad 1970, 276.
68. Wakamatsu 1992, 845–847.
69. Romanovsky 1998, 103, 11f, 118–120.
70. *Ibid.*, 112.
71. *Ibid.*, 258–260.
72. Wakamatsu 1992, 846.
73. Ya Hanzhang, *Biographies of the Tibetan Spiritual Leaders Panchen Erdenis* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1994), 68.
74. RT 77.
75. Ya 1994, 72.
76. *Qing Shilu* entry for December 28, 1693; see Ahmad 1970, 295f; Romanovsky 1998, 185 n. 4.
77. *Ibid.*; see also Peter Schwieger, “Significance of Ming Titles Conferred Upon the Phag mo gru Rulers: A Reevaluation of Chinese-Tibetan Relations During the Ming Dynasty,” in *The Earth Ox Papers: Proceedings of the*

International Seminar on Tibetan and Himalayan Studies, ed. Roberto Vitali (Dharamsala: LTWA, 2010, *The Tibet Journal* XXXIV, no. 3 & 4 / XXXV, no. 1 & 2), 315–319.

78. Ya 1994, 73.

79. Ibid.

80. RT 78. The Tibetan verb *zhu*, “to request,” which is used twice in this letter, is the honorific form usually used when addressing someone considered to be in a higher position than oneself.

81. Ibid.

82. RT 81.

83. Ahmad 1970, 307f; Romanovsky 1998, 202 n. 2.

84. Romanovsky 1998, 219 n. 1.

85. See also below point 11 in Kangxi’s letter sent to the regent in 1696 “The Regent’s Secret”); Romanovsky 1998, 212–218.

86. RT 82.

87. RT 85.

88. RT 87.

89. RT 83, 84.

90. It seems therefore that Ya (1994, 75) is turning these events upside down when he writes: “The Depa told the Panchen to send Lozang Drashi to Beijing in the meantime to report to the Emperor in person that the Panchen requested an exemption from going to Beijing for fear of the smallpox outbreak, or that he be allowed to go to the Kumbum Monastery in Qinghai for an audience with the Emperor, if the Emperor would be kind enough to go there.”

91. RT 85.

92. RT 86.

93. RT 88–98.

94. Aris 1988, 143.

95. Peter Schwieger, “The Long Arm of the Fifth Dalai Lama: Influence and Power of the Fifth Dalai Lama in Southeast Tibet,” in *Buddhist Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture*, vol. I: *Tibet and the Himalaya*, ed. Alex McKay and Anna Balikci-Denjongpa (Gangtok, Sikkim: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 2011), 243, 245, 251.

96. Ahmad 1970, 226; Wu 1995, 11.

97. These events are discussed in the correspondence between Sanggyé Gyatso and the Qing court dated November 30, 1700 and February 6, 1701 (RT 147, 148).

98. Ahmad 1970, 226–229; Dai Yingcong, *The Sichuan Frontier and Tibet: Imperial Strategy in the Early Qing* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 57–62.

99. Various English equivalents for “Lifan Yuan” have been suggested to date. “Ministry of Outer Dependencies” is the name coined by Hevia based on his analysis of the relations between the Qing court and the various sublords. See James L. Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 1995), 34f.

100. RT 149–151.

101. RT 99.

102. RT 102.

103. Ibid.

104. RT 100, 101.

105. RT 103.

106. Cf. Ahmad 1970, 327.

107. Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century: History of the Establishment of the Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 21f. See also chapter 4, “The Third Sixth.”

108. RT 104.

109. RT 105. See also Ahmad 1970, 327; Wylie 1962, 118 n. 41.

110. Romanovsky 1998, 1.

111. Ishihama Yumiko, “The Notion of ‘Buddhist Government’ (*chos srid*) Shared by Tibet, Mongol, and Manchu in the Early Seventeenth Century,” in *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung ’brel) in Traditional Tibet*, ed. Christoph Cüppers (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004), 26.

112. Romanovsky 1998, 212–217.

113. In the Tibetan documents for the most part the Mongolian title *boshugtu* is written as *bo shog thu*. The Mongolian title *jinong* is spelled either *ju nang* or *ju nong*. In order not to confuse the reader, in the present study the titles are always given as *boshugtu* and *jinong*.

114. The spelling *nyen len la* makes no sense in this context. I therefore interpret it as a misspelling of *nyen lan la*.

115. See Romanovsky 1998, 198.

116. By that time, fourteen years had actually already passed since the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

117. The statement “I did not kill you” is the complete opposite of the parallel statements in the *Qing Shilu* (cf. Romanovsky 1998, 215f; cf. also 199). There the verb is not negated. According to the *Qing Shilu*, Galdan therefore acknowledged his responsibility for the death of his followers. By contrast, RT (107) reads: *nga’i (!) khyed mang [read rang] ma bsad song*. But because I have no access to the original manuscript, I cannot say for sure whether Rdo rje tshen brtan’s edition is the correct reading.

118. RT 107.

119. Romanovsky 1998, 205–209.

120. Dieter Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung* (Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1973), 138f.

121. RT 110. Given that the emperor's letter was not sent prior to September 3 and that it needed about four weeks to reach Sanggyé Gyatso, September 9 can be ruled out. The “eighth month” can therefore only refer to the second eighth month.

122. The second letter provides not only the titles but also the names of the two envoys: Ngawang Zhönu and Lozang Jamyang. Derek F. Maher thinks that Ngawang Zhönu might be Sanggyé Gyatso's son Ngawang Samten (Shakabpa 2010, 1:386 note). A third person, Lozang Penjor, as *tabülwa*, “the one who delivers the horses,” was also added.

123. That even Dalai Qan had not been informed about the secret is also confirmed in a letter sent by Sanggyé Gyatso to the emperor in December 1698 (RT 115).

124. I am assuming that *dgongs pa khrel ba* is a misspelling or a misreading of *dgongs pa khrol ba*.

125. In the Tibetan text, *labs 'brel* must be read as *lab 'grel*.

126. RT 108.

127. RT 110.

128. Shakabpa 2010, 1, 386.

129. Čimeddorži 1994, 146–170.

130. RT 113.

131. Erich Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1952), 741.

132. Roth Li 2000, 42, 349.

133. Yamaguchi 1999, 123, 114f.

134. *smod* is a corruption of *smos*.

135. This story is otherwise unknown to me.

136. *rma phab* is a corruption of *dmag pham*.

137. The origin of this term is found in the structure of the Mongol army and the Mongolian people and was later applied to the administrative structure of Central Tibet during the Yuan-Sakya period. On this term, see Petech 1990, 47f.

138. *'dri ba gnang* is a corruption of *'bri ba gnang*.

139. *zin gshig* must be read as *zing bshig*.

140. The expression *tshud gnang* is not clear to me.

141. Note that this year is inconsistent with the statement in the *Qing Shigao*, where the marriage is dated as 1679 (see Ahmad 1970, 302 n. 4). With respect to the fact that this marriage had already been arranged before the war between the Dsungars and the Qalqas, see also the corresponding entry in the *Qing Shilu* (Romanovsky 1998, 232).

142. It was not until 1701 that Galdan's daughter was finally surrendered by Tsewang Rapten (also known as Tsewang Arapten), Galdan's successor as chief of the Dsungars (Romanovsky 1998, 258 n. 4).

143. I presume that *ldem gyi* is a corruption of *ltir / ldir gyis*. In any case, it is the adverb to the verb *skang*, which is a corruption of *bkang*.

144. The text reads *so so chos kyi rgyal mtshan pa*. However, it is clear that this can only refer to Baso Chökyi Gyeltsen (Ba so Chos kyi rgyal mtshan). Cf. chapter 1, "The Early Development."

145. RT 113.

146. This is evident from the letter sent by the emperor to the regent on the same day (RT 114).

147. RT 115.

148. Aris 1988, 144.

149. Schwieger 2011, 248.

150. RT 124.

151. Aris 1988, 128.

152. Ibid., 129.

153. See this chapter, “A Dalai Lama Who Rejects His Role.”

154. Aris 1988, 134–139.

155. *btags* can either be a form of the verb *'thag*, “to weave, to knit,” or of the verb *'dogs*, “to fix something on something.” Although Tibetan tangkas are normally painted, some of them are woven. Woven tangkas are called *tak drupma* (*'thag drub ma*). What is meant then is either that two woven tangkas were requested or that the Dalai Lama had wished that two painted tangkas be attached, for instance, to some kind of embroidered fabrics usually made in China.

156. *cha ra* must be read as *phya ra*.

157. RT 118.

158. Aris 1988, 140–151.

159. RT 124.

160. Aris 1988, 153–156; Shakabpa 2010, 1:391–408.

161. Ippolito Desideri, *Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.*, trans. Michael J. Sweet, ed. Lenard Zwilling (Boston: Wisdom, 2010), 245.

162. Ibid., 701 n. 704.

163. Ibid., 701 n. 705.

164. Aris 1988, 156–159; Per K. Sorensen, *Divinity Secularized: An Inquiry Into the Nature and Form of the Songs Ascribed to the Sixth Dalai Lama* (Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, 1990), 31f.

165. Without providing any further details, Shakabpa (2010, 1:389) remarks, “There are many accounts that Tsewang Rapten from Orö found fault in whatever the Desi did.” In a letter dated by its editor as 1700 (RT 125), the Sixth Dalai Lama explained to Tsewang Rapten that the appointment of the regent would have been totally in line with what the emperor had granted.

166. RT 130. The date given by the editor in the heading of the document is the seventeenth day of the first month of the Water Sheep year. But at the end of the document itself, the date is given as the seventeenth day of the first month of the forty-second year of Kangxi. Although this is a difference of one day only, I prefer to follow the date given in the document itself.

167. RT 132, 136. The dates given by the editor for these letters are 1703 and 1705. However, the texts themselves do not contain any references to years, at least not in the edited versions.

168. RT 133. The editor provides different dates for this writing. He dates it on the one hand in 1703, which would be the forty-second year of Kangxi, and on the other hand in 1702, which would be equivalent to the Water Horse year. The text itself does not specify a certain year but a certain month only, i.e., the fourth month.

169. Sanggyé Gyatso refers to leaves 7, 26, 28, and 29. They correspond to Ngag dbang 1989, 1:9–11, 49, 53–57. Regarding the Fifth Dalai Lama’s statements, see also chapter 1, “Getting the Mongols Involved”; Samten G. Karmay, “The Fifth Dalai Lama and His Reunification of Tibet,” in *Lhasa in the Seventeenth Century: The Capital of the Dalai Lamas*, ed. Françoise Pommaret (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 68f.

170. See [chapter 4](#), “Recruiting *Trülkus* for Imperial Service.”

171. See “The Fifth Panchen Lama’s Refusal of the Imperial Invitations.”

172. RT 134, 135. The edition of the source is problematic and causes some headaches. RT actually provides two different reports, one ascribed to the Nyimatang *Zhapdrung* and one presented by the editor as the report of the Tsona

Khetsün. In the beginning, both texts are simply called *mkhas btsun gyi skye rgyus*, “story of *khetsün*.” Since the epithet *mkhas btsun*, “learned and righteous,” is used for both persons, we cannot really identify the texts. Minor errors left aside, both texts concur in terms of content except that in the second one considerable parts are missing. The shorter version (RT 135) contains no information that is not found in the first text. Regarding the dates of the events reported, the editor provides the same contradictory information for the first report as mentioned above (cf. note 168). The chronological arrangement of the documents by the editor makes the year 1703, which appears to be a confusion of the Water Sheep and the Water Horse years. For reasons unknown to me, the editor dates the second text the fourteenth day of the third month of the forty-second throne year of Kangxi and the Western year 1703 without mentioning the Tibetan year. This date would correspond to March 29, 1703. The longer version starts with the statement that the protagonist left Dartsedo on the twenty-first day of the ninth month and reached the palace in Beijing fifty days later, sometime during the first ten days of the eleventh month. Accordingly, he would have left Dartsedo on November 9, 1702. Nowhere in the text itself is the Tsona Khetsün referred to by name; the only occasional reference is to the Nyimatang *zhapdrung*. The first reference reads: *nga nyi thang zhabs drung gi phyag phyi byas tshes 10 la tshur thon pa dang /*, “Acting as servant of Nyi(ma)tang *Zhapdrung* I left on the tenth day toward here.” However, in this type of document, the suffix *kyi* and its allomorphs are often used as equivalents to the suffix *kyis* and its allomorphs to mark the agent of a sentence. Thus, *nyi thang zhabs drung* could just as well function as the agent to the verb *byas*: “I, Nyi(ma)tang *Zhapdrung*, acted as servant. On the tenth day I left toward here.” Near the end of the longer version, we find the emperor talking about Nyimatang *Zhapdrung* in the third person. This makes it more likely that the whole report was composed not by Nyimatang *Zhapdrung* but by the Tsona Khetsün, reporting on his personal experiences in Beijing. However, at the beginning of the longer version, the protagonist is described as someone who is already known at the court from earlier times. This looks more like the Nyimatang *Zhapdrung*. But without access to the originals, there is no way to resolve these contradictions with absolute certainty.

173. The Panchen Lama himself had written to the Qoshot chiefs informing them about the Sixth Dalai Lama’s personal view that he was not the true reincarnation of his predecessor (Borjigidai Oyunbilig [Wuyun Bili Ge 乌云毕力格], “1705 nian xizang shibian de zhenxiang” 1705 年西藏事变的真相, *Zhongguo Zangxue* 中国藏学 [China Tibetology, Beijing] no. 3 [2008]: 88).

174. This probably refers to the Dalai Lama's journey in the sixth Tibetan month (June 25–August 23) of 1702 to visit the Panchen Lama (cf. Shakabpa 2010, 1:391).

175. I interpret *skye zla* as a corruption of *skye ba*. (This portion of the text is missing in the second version.)

176. RT 134, 135.

177. See “*Trülku Diplomacy on the Razor's Edge*.”

178. Dieter Schuh, *Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1981), no. XXXIV.

179. KDL 1407 and 2328. Concerning the seals of KDL 1407 and 2328, see Schuh 1981a, 12, 13.

180. Dieter Schuh, “Ergebnisse und Aspekte tibetischer Urkundenforschung,” in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium. Held at Mátrafüred, Hungary, 24–30 September 1976*, ed. Louis Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 416.

4. THE EMPEROR TAKES CONTROL

1. RT 134; see also Klaus Sagaster, *Subud Erike. Ein Rosenkranz aus Perlen. Die Biographie des 1. Pekingener lČaṅ skya Khutukhtu Ṃag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ č'os ldan verfaßt von Ṃag dbaṅ č'os140 ldan alias Šes rab dar rgyas* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), 112f.

2. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al., eds., *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1990), 370; Kasur Kundeling Woesser Gyaltzen (bka' zur Kun gling 'Od zer rgyal mtshan), *Mi tshe'i lo rgyus las 'phros pa'i gtam thabs byus snying stobs kyi 'bras bu*, 2 vols. (Bylakuppe, Mysore: 2001), 2:246–248.

3. See chapter 3, “*Trülku Diplomacy on the Razor's Edge*.”

4. KDL 150, 2170. Apparently both texts are copies of the same document. Although there are quite a few orthographical discrepancies and scribal errors, there are no major differences in content. The date of issue of both copies is the nineteenth day of the first month in the forty-first year of Kangxi.
5. RT 165–170.
6. The six documents do not refer to the individual monasteries by their traditional names, only by their new names. It is therefore unclear which name was given to which monastery. The six imperial names are: Tenpa Sungweling, Dakpar Chöpelung, Kündzop Chöpelung, Nangwa Dakpelung, Gowar Jukpelung, and Gowa Tsojéling.
7. RT 165.
8. Sagaster 1967, 89–96; Karl-Heinz Everding, *Die Präexistenzen der lCañ skya Qutuqtus* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), 176–180.
9. Sagaster 1967, 85f, 96, 100, 105f, 121–125, 132f.
10. *Ibid.*, 109, 118–121, 132.
11. Luciano Petech, “Notes on Tibetan History of the 18th Century,” in *T’oung Pao, Second Series* 52.4/5 (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 266–273; Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century. History of the Establishment of the Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 8–13.
12. Borjigidai Oyunbilig (Wuyun Bili Ge 乌云毕力格), “1705 nian xizang shibian de zhenxiang” 1705 年西藏事变的真相, *Zhongguo Zangxue* 中国藏学 (*China Tibetology*, Beijing) no. 3 (2008): 82–91.
13. Borjigidai Oyunbilig (Wuyun Bili Ge 乌云毕力格), “Eine mandschrische Throneingabe zum Tod des sechsten Dalai Lama,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 40 (2011): 247; see also Sagaster 1967, 105f.
14. Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, 2 vols., trans. and annotated by Derek F. Maher (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 1:395f. The description in Michael Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450–1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683–1706)* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988), 161, is based on

Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

15. Oyunbilig 2008, 89.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Oyunbilig 2008, 89; Ippolito Desideri, *Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.*, trans. Michael J. Sweet, ed. Lenard Zwillig (Boston: Wisdom, 2010), 182; Petech 1966, 271; Petech 1972, 10.

19. Oyunbilig 2008, 90.

20. Oyunbilig 2008, 91; cf. Petech 1972, 13–15.

21. Petech 1972, 17.

22. Oyunbilig 2012.

23. Ibid.

24. Ya Hanzhang, *Biographies of the Tibetan Spiritual Leaders Panchen Erdenis* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1994), 80–82; Petech 1972, 17–20.

25. Dieter Schuh, *Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1981), 55, 60.

26. Zhu Xiaoming, Suo Wenqing, et al., eds., *Priceless Treasures: Cultural Relics and Historical Materials About the Conferment of Honorific Titles Upon Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas of Successive Generations by the Central Governments Through the Ages. Collections of Gifts Presented to the Central Government by Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas of Successive Generations* (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 1999), no. 5.

27. ATAR 36; see also Ya 1994, 82f.

28. Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 256.

29. Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), 326.

30. Petech 1972, 20–22.

31. RT 208. The letter itself is undated, at least in the edited version. The editor dates it in the Wood Sheep year, which corresponds to the fifty-fourth year of Kangxi or 1715. However, the letter is mainly concerned with congratulating the emperor on his sixtieth birthday (his fifty-ninth, according to Western counting). This would be 1713. Furthermore, the First Changkya *qutuqtu*, Ngawang Lozang Chöden, died in 1714, which means that the year 1715 can definitely be ruled out.

32. Ya 1994, 83; Petech 1972, 22–24.

33. Petech 1972, 32–73. Without providing any evidence, it has recently been asserted that the Dsungar-Mongolian Oirats led a reign of terror over Tibet from 1636 to 1720 (Michael Weiers, “Zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Tibetern und Mongolen,” in *1000 Jahre Asiatisch-Europäische Begegnung*, ed. Ruth Erken [Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2011], 184). The sources at hand only document such a regime for the period between 1717 and 1720 (cf. Petech 1972, 32–73). Unlike the Dsungars, the Qoshot-Mongolian Oirats’ participation in the ruling of Tibet cannot be called a reign of terror. As evidenced by legal documents, they endeavored to subdue despotism and to enforce the rule of law. An excellent piece of evidence is Gushri Qan’s document issued in 1643. See Christoph Cüppers, “Ein Erlaß des Königs Gushri Khan aus dem Jahre 1643,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 40 (2011): 165–177.

34. Petech 1972, 53.

35. Zahiruddin Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 2012), 43–45; Petech 1972, 70.

36. RT 212. Although the edited Tibetan text itself is undated, the editor dates it precisely as the fourth day of the third month of the fifty-ninth year of Kangxi. I am assuming that he has taken the additional information from the original

document. The trilingual original documents usually show the dating together with the red seal imprint separately on the right side of the actual text.

37. Taiwung is obviously a corruption of Taizong, the temple name of the Manchu ruler Hong taiji.

38. This is the first Tukwan *qutuktu*, Ngawang Chökyi Gyatso (1680–1736), who resided in Beijing (Petech 1972, 72).

39. RT 212.

40. The *arenga* is similar to the one of the imperial document issued in February 1713 (ATAR 36). See above, “Everything Changes.” An *arenga* contains the general motive for issuing the document.

41. This report is included in RT 213. As a narration without the framing typical of diplomatic sources or correspondence, it is obvious that the report was quoted from some other source. The corresponding heading actually only refers to the copy of a document presented there under the same number and following immediately after the report. Whether the report and the copy of the additional document, issued in 1721 (the year 1720 given by the editor is an error), were written on the same piece of paper preserved in the archives is not explained. In any case, the report corresponds exactly to the one contained in the biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama composed by the Second Changkya *qutuqtu*, Rolpé Dorje, in 1758–1759 and referred to by Petech (1972,71).

42. In the document translated here, it is explicitly stated that the seal had an inscription in Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan. There is no mention of a Chinese inscription. This seal therefore cannot be identical to another one that was also styled as the seal of the Sixth Dalai Lama but attributed, by the seal book of the *yiktsang*, to the Seventh Dalai Lama. That seal has been classified as the seal of Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso, the “false” Dalai Lama installed by Lhapzang Qan. (Chab spel Tshé brtan phun tshogs et al., eds., *Bod kyi gal che’i lo rgyus yig cha bdams bsgrigs* [Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1991], 39f; Schuh 1981a, 8f).

43. Chen Qingying, *The System of the Dalai Lama Reincarnation* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2005), 55.

44. ATAR 38–40.

45. Petech 1972, 71–73.

46. RT 222, 223.

47. ATAR 38, 39.

48. Rawski 1998, 262; see also Tuden *et al.* 1996, 174f.

49. See for instance the document issued by Rinchen Gyeltsen in 1280 (Introduction, “The Rise of a ‘Unique Culture’”).

50. This does not mean that the Dalai Lama could not function during that period as the nominal sovereign of Tibet. It is known, for example, that a document issued in 1724 can be attributed to the Dalai Lama. Although it does not have an *intitulatio*, it shows the imprint of one of his seals (KDL 2341), which is generally known as the *vajradhara* seal (cf. Schuh 1981a, 11f). There is also the historical copy of another document issued on July 5, 1727, which clearly names the Dalai Lama as the issuer in its *intitulatio* (KDL 1344). The problem, however, is that the addressee is given as the Tatsak *jedrung trülku*, Ngawang Chökyi Gyatso, and there is no Tatsak *jedrung trülku* with this name. The Seventh Tatsak *jedrung trülku* was called Lozang Penden Gyeltsen (1708–1758). It may be that for some reason the name has been confused with the name of the first Tukwan *qutuktu* (cf. note 38). Strangely enough, the same name appears once again in the copy of a later document dealing with the same matter, but issued by Polhané in 1731 (cf. Introduction, “Basic Sources Used for the Present Study”). Without further information, such a mistake in a routinely issued document can hardly be regarded as sufficient evidence of the copy’s incredibility. This of course also applies vice versa to its credibility.

51. Petech 1972, 74–80.

52. ATAR 40, 71.

53. Schuh 1981a, 2f, 46 n. 19.

54. The *arenga* is similar to the one of the imperial document issued in February 1713 (ATAR 36). See above (“Everything Changes”). An *arenga* contains the general motive for issuing the document.

55. ATAR 40. The full date, “tenth day of the sixth month of the first year of Yongzheng,” is given in the Mongolian and the Manchu versions only and not in the Tibetan.
56. Peter Schwieger and Loden S. Dagyab, *Die ersten dGe-lugs-pa-Hierarchen von Brag-g.yab (1572–1692)* (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1989), 45, 58f, 62–70.
57. Petech 1972, 283 n. 1.
58. Ahmad 1970, 66f.
59. Cf. Peter Schwieger, “The Long Arm of the Fifth Dalai Lama: Influence and Power of the Fifth Dalai Lama in Southeast Tibet,” in *Buddhist Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture*, vol. I: *Tibet and the Himalaya*, ed. Alex McKay and Anna Balikci-Denjongpa (Gangtok, Sikkim: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 2011), 246f.
60. Wu Shu-hui, *Die Eroberung von Qinghai unter Berücksichtigung von Tibet und Khams 1717–1727. Anhand der Throneingaben des Großfeldherrn Nian Gengyao* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 8f.
61. The seal’s imprint is otherwise known to us from a document issued in 1670. See Schuh 1981a, 13; cf. 11.
62. KDL 1106.
63. See Schuh 1981a, no. XXXIV.
64. See chapter 2, “Avalokiteśvara’s Wars.”
65. See this chapter 4, “The Third Sixth.”
66. Petech 1972, 21.
67. Ibid., 95; Petech 1966, 282, 288.
68. Schuh 1981a, 61, 304.
69. Ishihama Yumiko, “New Light on the ‘Chinese Conquest of Tibet’ in 1720

(Based on the New Manchu Sources),” in *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, 2 vols., ed. Helmut Krasser, Michael T. Much, Ernst Steinkellner, and Helmut Tauscher (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 425.

70. Wu 1995, 10, 14, 19.

71. See also Peter Schwieger, “The Biographies of the Grand Lamas of Dagyab (Bragg.yab) as a Contribution to the History of East Tibet,” in *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Schloss Hohenkammer—Munich 1985*, ed. Helga Uebach and Jampa L. Panglung (München: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988), 437f.

72. RT 174, 176. There is also a different edition of the same decree granted to Pakpalha (Gling dpon Pad ma bkal bzang et al., *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs. 9 [Spyi'i 'don thengs 18]* [Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 1995], 59f) as well as a transliteration of a historical copy with an additional remark at the end (RT 175). These editions contain quite a number of variations and inconsistencies and are thus highly problematic so long as facsimiles of the originals are not available. The most striking and confusing discrepancy concerns the recipient of the decree. In RT 174, the recipient is called “the rebirth of Pakpalha, Tenpé Nyima.” But according to other sources, this is the name of the Eighth Pakpalha, who was later identified with the help of the golden urn, that is to say after 1793 (ibid., 149; Chab spel et al. 1990, 361f). In contrast, at the bottom of the copy referred to above (RT 175), there is the remark that this was the copy of the emperor’s letter he had granted to the Seventh Pakpalha. Finally, in the other edition of the decree, the recipient is given as being *sku skye bdun pa'i rgya mtsho* (Gling dpon et al. 1995, 59f). It seems that in this version some syllables of the name are missing. Elsewhere the conferral of the title is generally associated with the Sixth Pakpalha, Jikmé Tenpé Gyatso (Chab spel et al. 1990, 358; 1991, 361f), who was born in 1714 (Gling dpon et al. 1995, 52ff). However, at the time the title was conferred on the five-year-old boy, he still had the name Yeshe Tenpé Gönpö, given to him by the Panchen Lama Lozang Yeshe. It was not until 1723, i.e., after the conferral of the title *nomun qan*, that the Seventh Dalai Lama gave the name Jikmé Tenpé Gyatso to the child on the occasion of the hair-cutting ceremony.

Put briefly either the published editions of the document contain mistakes and

that clearly, either the published editions of the document contain mistakes and modifications with regard to the wording, or the copy of the document itself is adulterated. Whatever the case may be, I am unable to solve this issue on the basis of the material available.

73. Petech 1972, 20.

74. Instead of Namgyel, the text uses the corruption Namgyé (*rnam rgyas*).

75. RT 176.

76. The information about Trashi Wanggyel summarized in this paragraph stems from Ngag dbang bstan pa'i nyi ma, "Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i sa bca'd brgyad pa stag lung bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar rgyas pa bshad pa la dbyi shod ri bo che'i lo rgyus kha skong ngo mtshar du ku la'i ba dan gсар pa" (composed 1821–24), in *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho. A Detailed Account of the Development of Buddhism in Tibet with Special Emphasis on the Stag-lung Bka'-brgyud-pa*, composed by Stag-lung-pa Ngag-dbang mnam-rgyal and supplemented by Ngag-dbang bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, ed. Khams-sprul Don brgyud-nyi-ma, 2 vols. (Tashijong, Palampur, H. P., India: The Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang, 1972), 1472, 1484f; Elena de Rossi Filibek, "A Manuscript on the Stag lung pa Geneology," in *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies. Fagernes 1992*, 2 vols., ed. Per Kvaerne (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 1:239; Peter Schwieger, "The Lineage of the Nobel House of Ga-zi in East Tibet," *Kailash: Journal of Himalayan Studies* 18, no. 3–4 (1996): 130. In the 1814 list of registered Tibetan *trülkus*, Trashi Wanggyel Ngawang Drakpa appears under the corrupted name variation Ngawang Trashi Namgyel. Here the epithet of the title *nomun qan* is given as "helper for those who follow the teachings of the Yellow Hats" (Chab spel *et al.* 1991, 366).

77. See above, document of May 3, 1719.

78. RT 258.

79. RT 259.

80. Schwieger 2011, 251.

81. The military government was replaced by a regular government in the spring

1721 (Petech 1972, 74).

82. KDL 1409. The document itself is a verbatim rendition of an earlier document issued in 1661 by the then regent Trinlé Gyatso (KDL 1405). Another document dealing with the same matter was issued in 1703 by the Sixth Dalai Lama (KDL 1407). See also Peter Schwieger, “On the Exercise of Jurisdiction in South-East-Tibet After the Rise of the Dga’ ldan pho brang Government,” in *Social Regulation. Case Studies from Tibetan History*, ed. Jeannine Bischoff and Saul Mullard (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

83. KDL 1409. Note that the Tibetan text reads *khrims kyis byed por*, which must be corrected to *khrims kyi byed por*. As the standard wording, this occurs not only in other documents but also in a copy of the present one preserved in the archives (KDL 1342).

84. The transliteration of the Pakpa inscription reads: (first column) *blo bzang*, (second column) *bstan ’dzin*, (third column) *gyi tham ka*. The imprint is also depicted in Chab spel *et al.* 1991, 54. Cf. also the reference in Schuh 1981a, 61. The transliteration of the Manchu inscription reads: (first column) *huhu noor-i babe kadalara*, (second column) *cin wang-ni doron*. It follows the Mongolian inscription: (third column) *köke nayur-un yaĵar-i*, (fourth column) *ĵakiruyĉi ĉin wang-un tamay-a*. I am grateful to Borjigidai Oyunbilig for providing the transliteration and translation of the Manchu and Mongolian inscriptions.

85. Wu 1995, 74f, 77, 82.

86. Wu 1995, 62–73, 91, 96f, 135.

87. *Ibid.*, 130, 132–134, 137, 142, 176, 179–181.

88. *Ibid.*, 286.

89. Petech 1972, 98.

90. ’Brong pa rgyal po, *Bod ljongs mdo khams nang chen spyi dang bye brag gi byung ba brjod pa ldong ’brong pa’i deb gter smug po* (Dharamsala: Amnye Machen Institute; Bloomington: The Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, 2003), 144.

91. Wu 1995, 273.

92. The idea of Gyeltang and historical Zhongdian as identical has been rejected by some who insist that Jiedamu and Zhongdian are two different places, Zhongdian being located in Lijiang (Yamaguchi Zuihō, “The Emergence of the Regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho and the Denouement of the Dalai Lamas’ First Administration,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 57 [1999]: 126). However, modern Zhongdian with its famous monastery, Ganden Sumtsenling, is called Gyeltang in Tibetan. The modern archives in Zhongdian have therefore also published the Gyeltang legal documents as the Tibetan-language versions of Zhongdian history (RGYAL). In addition, according to oral information obtained in Zhongdian, the name Gyeltang or its Chinese equivalent, Jiedamu (结打木), is especially applied to the northern part of Zhongdian, today called Dazhongdian (大中甸), “Great Zhongdian,” while Yangtang or its Chinese equivalent, Yangdamu (杨打木), is applied to the southern part, today called Xiaozhongdian (小中甸), “Little Zhongdian.” Ganden Sumtsenling is located in the heart of Dazhongdian. It seems unlikely that Zhongdian would have referred in the seventeenth century to an area on the southern border of modern Zhongdian (as I understand Yamaguchi’s explanation). However, Zhongdian or Gyeltang in that century belonged to the dominion of the Naxi kings from Lijiang (cf. Schwieger 2011).

93. Schwieger 2011, 251.

94. RGYAL 025, 026; Wu 1995, 155–157, 316.

95. I interpret the syllables *t’a lab ye* as a transcription of the Chinese *da laoye* (大老爺).

96. Here the Tibetan text—at least in its edited version—reads *dbang tham*, which I take to be a corruption of the more common phrase *dbang thob*. The correction is suggested by a certificate of confirmation issued in favor of Ganden Sumtsenling in 1739 (RGYAL 028), which otherwise uses largely the same wording.

97. RGYAL 026.

98. Wu 1995, 273, 263, 287–289, 316.

99. KDL 2093. Regarding the seal, see Schuh 1981a, 11f.

100. See chapter 3, “The Fifth Panchen Lama’s Refusal of the Imperial

Invitations.”

101. Petech 1972, 179f; Wu 1995, 287.

102. Amy Heller, “Mi dbang’s 1740 Decree to Batang,” in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Tomus XLIII (2–3) (1989): 375–389; Schuh 1981a, no. XXXV; Schwieger (forthcoming). See also below the document issued by the Demo *qutuqtu* in 1773 in favor of the monastery Ganden Sumtsenling in Gyeltang (chapter 5, “The Qianlong Emperor and Tibetan Buddhism”).

103. Dai Yingcong, *The Sichuan Frontier and Tibet: Imperial Strategy in the Early Qing* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 94.

104. Vladimir L. Uspensky, *Prince Yunli (1697–1738): Manchu Statesman and Tibetan Buddhist* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1997), 14; Michael Weiers, “Zum Verhältnis des Ch’ing-Staats zur lamaistischen Kirche in der frühen Yungcheng Zeit,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 21 (1988): 115–131; Wu 1995, 181f, 188, 194–196, 275.

105. Dai 2009, 121.

106. Wang Xiangyun, “The Qing Court’s Tibet Connection: Lcang skya Rol pa’i rdo rje and the Qianlong Emperor,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60, no. 1 (June 2000): 135.

107. See Schwieger 2011, 239f.

108. Ibid., 243–248.

109. Wang 2000, 134.

110. Ibid.

111. Wu 1995, 115–117; Dai 2009, 94.

112. The name is a mixture of Chinese and Mongolian in Tibetan script: *zheng tsu u re zhi yil thu bhwang dhi*, which should be read as *shengzu örüsiyeltü huangdi*. Mongolian *örüsiyeltü* is the equivalent of the Chinese *ren*. Ren Huangdi (仁皇帝) is the posthumous name of the Kangxi Emperor and Shengzu

(圣祖) is his temple name. Cf. Arthur W Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 1:331.

113. The expression *dwang min 'byor min* is unknown to me. I assume, however, that *dwang min* is a corruption of *ldang min*.

114. ATAR 41. The full date, “twenty-fifth day of the first month of the fourth year of Yongzheng,” is only given in the Mongolian and the Manchu versions but not in the Tibetan.

115. Petech 1972, 108f.

116. Ibid.

117. Ibid., 113–121.

118. On the title *jasak*, see below (chapter 5, “The Qianlong Emperor and Tibetan Buddhism”). On the title *taiji*, see William F. Mayers, *The Chinese Government: A Manual of Chinese Titles, Categorically Arranged and Explained, with an Appendix* (Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005, reprint of a 1897 edition by Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, Hongkong, Yokohama, Singapore), no. 538, Ning Chia, “The Li-fan Yuan in the Early Ch'ing Dynasty” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1991), 111, Luciano Petech, *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet, 1728–1959* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1973), 19f.

119. Starting in 1639, the Manchus began conferring the title *beise* on Mongol nobles (Ning 1991, 110f; cf. Roth Li 2000, 388; Hauer 1952, 84). After the expulsion of the Dsungars from Tibet, the emperor also bestowed this title on two members of the Tibetan Council of Ministers: Khangchenné and Ngapöpa Dorje Gyelpo (Petech 1972, 78).

120. From the grammatical point of view, the Tibetan phrasing *blo bzang bstan 'dzin sogs mtsho kha'i sog po gsum rgya* could also be interpreted as “three hundred Mongols from Tsokha (i.e., the Kokonor area), for example Lozang Tendzin,” including Lozang Tendzin. The genitive suffix would then only refer to *mtsho kha: blo bzang bstan 'dzin sogs, mtsho kha'i sog po gsum rgya*. However, it seems that after his defeat at the Kokonor, Lozang Tendzin, alias Lopzang Danjin, never actually went to Central Tibet but escaped to Dsungaria

(on his escape in 1724, see Wu 1995, 220–226.) Therefore the likely interpretation of the phrasing is [*blo bzang bstan 'dzin sogs mtsho kha*]'i sog po gsum rgya. On the ambiguity of genitive attributes in Tibetan, see Peter Schwieger, *Handbuch zur Grammatik der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache* (Halle, Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2009), 156f, 178.

121. See Petech 1972, 124.

122. The mention of Khangchenné may just be a mistake of the scribe; what it should actually say is Ngapöpa. Schuh also assumes this (1981a, 306 n. 54). Based on an incorrect translation of this passage in Polhané's letter, Wu Shu-hui, "How the Qing Army Entered Tibet in 1728 After the Tibetan Civil War," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 26 (1996): 126f, on the other hand, has speculated about a possible pro-Dsungar attitude of Khangchenné. The more likely conclusion, however, is that the mention of his name is simply a mistake. It makes no sense that the Mongols from Kokonor should have surrendered to a person who was already dead. Wu refers neither to Schuh's German translation nor the original letter. Instead, she refers to Ou-yang Wu-wei, "Notes on a Tibetan Memorial Submitted in 1727 by Pholhanas and now in the National Palace Museum's Collection," in *Proceedings of the Fourth East Asian Altaistic Conference, December 26–31, 1971, Taipei, China*, ed. Ch'en Chieh-hsien (Tainan, Taiwan: Department of History, National Ch'engkung University, 1971), 221–231. Ou-yang Wu-wei's translation of parts of the letter has, however, been criticized by Schuh as being untrustworthy (1981a, 306 n. 51a). The relevant passage was translated by Ou-yang as "In truth, the real enemies of Your Majesty are the Kokonor Mongols, the Dalai Lama, Sodnam Dargyas, Pese (*beise*) Khangchennas and Lumpowa." This translation totally ignores the grammatical structure of the sentence: *bdag po chen por dgra gdos byed mi mtsho sngon sog po rnams, ta la'i bla ma, bsod nams dar rgyas, spas se khang chen pa, lung pa ba bcas la mgo rtags* [read: *btags*].

123. Schuh 1981a, no. X.

124. Chen 2005, 59; Dai 2009, 129f.

125. Wu 1995, 292–294.

126. See also Elliot Sperling, "Pho-lha-nas, Khangchen-nas, and the Last Era of

Mongol Domination in Tibet,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, t. 65, z. 1 (2012): 208.

127. Petech 1972, 154–157.

128. The wording “the (Three) Jewels, headed by the Buddha” would make more sense. However, the Tibetan text turns it around: *dkon mchog gis gtsos sangs rgyas la mchod pa*.

129. RT 257.

130. The decision must have been made prior to April 11, 1728, because it is mentioned in a memorial submitted by Yue Zhongqi on the third day of the third month of the sixth year of the Yongzheng reign (Wu 1996, 132).

131. Dai 2009, 99f, 111; Petech 1972, 151–153, 173–175.

132. Petech 1973, 33f; Tsering Yangdzom, *The Aristocratic Families in Tibetan History: 1900–1951* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2006), 8.

5. BUDDHIST THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT UMBRELLA UNDER

1. Luciano Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century: History of the Establishment of the Chinese Protectorate in Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 198–219; see also Luciano Petech, *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet, 1728–1959* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1973), 50, 53–55.

2. Wang Xiangyun, “The Qing Court’s Tibet Connection: Lcang skya Rol pa’i rdo rje and the Qianlong Emperor,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60, no. 1 (June 2000): 136.

3. Ibid., 136f; Hans-Rainer Kämpfe, *Ñi ma’i’od zer/Naran-u gerel: Die Biographie des 2. Pekinger lČaṅ skya—Qutuqtu Rol pa’i rdo rje (1717–1786)* (St. Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1976), 79.

4. Petech 1972, 229–232; 275–280; Dai Yingcong, *The Sichuan Frontier and Tibet: Imperial Strategy in the Early Qing* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 131.

5. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al., eds., *Bod kyi snga rabs khrims srol yig cha bdams bsgrigs* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, Xizang renmin chubanshe 西藏人民出版社, 1989), 1–16; Bkra shis dbang 'dus, ed., *Bod kyi lo rgyus yig tshags dang gzhung yig phyogs bsdus dwangs shel me long* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 1989), 97–112.

6. Ya Hanzhang, *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1991), 58–64, presents an English translation of the thirteen articles, which is much more in line with the Tibetan version available to me. He does not, however, identify the source of the translation.

7. E.g., KDL 92.

8. Chab spel et al. 1989, preface, 2.

9. While Chab spel et al. (1989, 1) shows a lacuna here, Bkra shis dbang 'dus (1989, 97) fills the gap with *ci byas rtsing spyod*. This, however, may just be an interpretation of a passage that is hard to read.

10. Chab spel et al. 1989, 1f; Bkra shis dbang 'dus 1989, 97f.

11. Petech 1972, 207–217.

12. Chen Qingying, *The System of the Dalai Lama Reincarnation* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2005), 59.

13. Lozang Trashi was a member of Gyurmé Namgyel's staff and had been appointed by him as a lower official. After the assassination of his lord by the *ambans*, Lozang Trashi spontaneously organized the revolt during the course of which the *ambans* were killed (cf. Petech 1972, 217–19).

14. On the titles *jasak* and *jasak da lama*, see this chapter, “The Qianlong Emperor and Tibetan Buddhism.”

15. These statements about general Changlochenpa contradict Petech's account, according to which Changlochenpa had sided with Gyurmé Namgyel (Petech 1973, 200–202; Petech 1972, 118fn. 4). He was apparently first accused of being a follower of Gyurmé Namgyel but was later found to be innocent.

16. During the civil war of 1727–1728, Polhané had brought the Mongols of the Dam area under his command by executing one of their leaders (Petech 1972, 136f). Gyurmé Namgyel seems to have inherited the power over these Mongol tribes from his father at a later point in time.

17. Chab spel *et al.* 1989, 2–15; Bkra shis dbang 'dus 1989, 98–110.

18. Generally the “collection of virtues” (*dge tshogs*) includes “merits” (*bsod nams*) (cf. Tsepak Rigzin, *Nang don rig pa'i ming tshig bod dbyin shan sbyar. Tibetan-English Dictionary of Buddhist Terminology* [Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993], 48). But the wording here separates the two concepts: *dge tshogs dang bsod nams*.

19. Chab spel *et al.* 1989, 15f; Bkra shis dbang 'dus 1989, 110f.

20. Bkra shis dbang 'dus 1989, 111f.

21. Petech 1972, 226.

22. Peter Schwieger, *Teilung und Reintegration des Königreichs von Ladakh im 18. Jahrhundert. Der Staatsvertrag zwischen Ladakh und Purig aus dem Jahr 1753* (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, 1999).

23. Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, 2 vols., trans. and annotated by Derek F. Maher (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 1:477f.

24. KDL 1165, 1460, 1629, 1684, 1928, 2260, 2292, 2368; Dieter Schuh, *Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1981), no. XXIII. We know of at least one remarkable edict issued by the Seventh Dalai Lama already during the reign of Gyurmé Namgyel, showing that he was not totally devoid of a political function at that time (Schuh 1981a, no. XXXV).

25. Shakabpa 2010, 2:619 n. 53. As a denomination for the regent, the term *sikyong* occurs often in Tibetan archival material.

26. Luciano Petech, “The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet: A Chronological Study,” *T'oung Pao, Second Series* 47.3/5 (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 382f; Wang

2000, 139f. In his efforts to play down the imperial influence on Tibetan affairs, Shakabpa (2010, 1:489) depicts the appointment of the regent as the result of deliberations among the cabinet ministers, the attendants of the Dalai Lama, and the abbots of the three great Gelukpa monasteries near Lhasa. He is also very explicit in this regard in his note in Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 153. Whatever the contribution of those persons may have been, the actual decision for the appointment was made in Beijing. Shakabpa even asserts that the title *nomun qan* (using the spelling *nomihen*) had been conferred (on the regent) by this group, thus ignoring that this title was one that could only be conferred by the emperor.

27. The aristocrat Shedra Wangchuk Gyelpo acted as regent from 1862 to 1864. Unlike the other regents of the eighteenth century, he styled himself *desi* and not *gyeltsap*, thus emphasizing that he was a layman. On him, see Petech 1973, 173–180. For another regent who apparently had not been identified as a *trülku* during his early childhood but was later regarded as the first *trülku* of a new line of incarnations, see chapter 6, note 63.

28. See also Melvyn C. Goldstein, “An Anthropological Study of the Tibetan Political System” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, Seattle, 1968), 166f, 227f.

29. See chapter 1, “The Early Development.”

30. See chapter 4, “The Third Sixth.”

31. Petech 1959, 382; Wang 2000, 141, 143f, 146.

32. Kämpfe 1976, 20; Wang 2000, 147.

33. ATAR 43.

34. Petech 1959, 383.

35. *Ibid.*, 384f.

36. KDL 1170, 1200, 1412, 1439, 1430, 1706, 1896, 2071, 2290.

37. Schuh 1981a, 129, no. XVI.

38. See Schuh 1981a, 108f.

39. On this person, see Petech 1973, 35, 218. On the title *jasak*, see this chapter, “The Qianlong Emperor and Tibetan Buddhism.” *Darhan* is a Mongolian word that was used by the Qing administration to denote someone who was exempt from paying taxes (Erich Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1952], 181). In Tibet, *darhan* was a title that could be conferred on a monk official of the lower third rank (Dorje Wangdu Phalha, *Genealogie, Geschichte & Geschicke des Hauses Phalha* [Rikon/Zürich: Klösterliches Tibet-Institut, 2004], 107).

40. Cf. *ibid.*, 218f.

41. ATAR 44. The document is written in the Tibetan Khyuyik script. For a transliteration into the Tibetan Ucen script, together with a sentence-by-sentence translation into German and an explanation of special grammatical features, see Peter Schwieger, *Handbuch zur Grammatik der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache* (Halle, Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2009), 368–373.

42. Petech 1959, 385–387.

43. See the document issued by the Qianlong emperor in 1790 (this chapter, “The Qianlong Emperor and Tibetan Buddhism”).

44. I am not sure whether Pao Dechen (Wylie: *spa’o de can*) is a place name or whether it refers to the *amban* Baotai (保泰), who was stationed in Tibet from 1790 to 1791. In KDL 885, Baotai is called *spa’o am ban*. However, for *spa’o de can* I have found no other reference.

45. KDL 573.

46. Ning Chia, “The Li-fan Yuan in the Early Ch’ing Dynasty” (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1991), 214.

47. To mention just a few major studies in this regard: Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Yung-ho-kung: An Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking with Notes on Lamaist Mythology and Cult* (Stockholm: Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin 8 [1], 1942); Kämpfe 1976; Anne Chayet, *Les temples de Jehol et*

leurs modèles tibétains (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1985); Anne Chayet, “Architectural Wonderland: An Empire of Fictions,” in *New Qing Imperial History: The Making of Inner Asian Empire at Qing Chengde*, ed. A. Millward, Ruth W. Dunnell, Mark C. Elliot, and Philippe Forêt (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 33–52; Philippe Forêt, *Mapping Chengde: The Qing Landscape Enterprise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000); Wang 2000; Patricia Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003); Elisabeth Benard, “The Qianlong Emperor and Tibetan Buddhism,” in *New Qing Imperial History. The making of Inner Asian empire at Qing Chengde*, ed. James A. Millward, Ruth W. Dunnell, Mark C. Elliot and Philippe Forêt (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 123–135; Nima Dorjee Ragnubs, “The Third Panchen Lama’s Visit to Chengde,” in *New Qing Imperial History*, 188–198; Marina Illich, “Selections from the Life of a Tibetan Buddhist Polymath: Chankya Rolpai Dorje (Lcang skya rol pa’i rdo rje), 1717–1786” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York, 2006). See also the summaries by Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 251–54, 257–59. On Mount Wutai, see Marc C. Elliot, *Emperor Qianlong: Son of Heaven, Man of the World* (New York: Longman, 2009), 72–74; Gray Tuttle, “Tibetan Buddhism at Wutai Shan in the Qing: The Chinese-language Register,” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 6 (December 2011): 163–214.

48. Regarding the *cakravartin* ideology, see chapter 1, “Getting the Mongols Involved.”

49. Illich 2006, 173.

50. See also Rawski 1998, 257f.

51. Illich 2006, 173, 581; Elliot 2009, 76–78.

52. Chayet 2004, 38.

53. Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military Under the Qing Dynasty* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 49f.

54. Cf. James L. Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 1995), 31, 125f.

55. Waley-Cohen 2006, 2. See also *ibid.*, 90f; James A. Millward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Xinjiang, 1759–1864* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 201f.
56. For an explanation of this concept see the Introduction, “On the Theory and Practice Underlying the *Trülku* Position.”
57. See also Yang Ching Kun, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and Some of Their Historical Factors* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 192–217; Roman Malek, “Der traditionelle chinesische Staat und die Religion(en),” in *Zwischen Autonomie und Anlehnung*, ed. Roman Malek and Werner Prawdzik (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1989), 31–53.
58. *tian wu er ri, tu wu er wang* 天無二日，土無二王. *Liji: Zengzi Wen*. The quotation can be found on the website of the *Chinese Text Project*: <http://ctext.org> (<http://ctext.org/liji/zengzi-wen>, November 25, 2012). The equivalent reference in Mengzi’s teachings reads: “Confucius said, ‘There are not two suns in the sky, nor two sovereigns over the people’” *kongzi yue: tian wu er ri, min wu er wang*. 孔子曰：天無二日，民無二王. (<http://ctext.org/mengzi>, November 25, 2012).
59. Berger 2003, 555, 8–61, plates 8, 15.
60. *Ibid.*, 59.
61. Tuden Gyaltzan (Thub bstan rgyal mtshan) et al., *Gangs ljongs gnas mchog —pho brang po ta la. The Potala—Holy Palace in the Snow Land* (Beijing: China Travel & Tourism Press, 1996), 174; Wang 2000, 143.
62. Evelyn S. Rawski and Jessica Rawson, eds., *China: The Three Emperors, 1662–1795* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), 400.
63. ATAR 47.
64. On Ganden Sumtsenling, see chapter 2, “Avalokiteśvara’s Wars.”
65. This is obviously the Tibetan translation of *Aisin gurun*. When Nurhaci founded the Manchu Empire in 1616, he saw it as a continuation of the Jin (“gold”) Dynasty of the Jurchen people in later Manchuria and North China

(1125–1234). See Michael Weiers, *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2004), 178–180.

66. The identification of a powerful secular ruler with the bodhisattva and wrathful Dharma protector Vajrapāṇi was not an innovation of the Gelukpa. Karma Tenkyong, the rival of Gelukpa power in the first half of the seventeenth century, had already been identified with Vajrapāṇi. David Templeman, “The 17th Cent. gTsang Rulers and Their Strategies of Legitimation,” in *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*, ed. Roberto Vitali (Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2012), 70f.

67. RGYAL 035.

68. RGYAL 037.

69. For an embedding of these documents in the history of Gyeltang, see Peter Schwieger, “The Long Arm of the Fifth Dalai Lama: Influence and Power of the Fifth Dalai Lama in Southeast Tibet,” in *Buddhist Himalaya: Studies in Religion, History and Culture*, vol. I: *Tibet and the Himalaya*, ed. Alex McKay and Anna Balikci-Denjongpa (Gangtok, Sikkim: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 2011), 249f.

70. Biographical information on the Tatsak incarnations is provided by KDL 672, 158, 121, 157.

71. William F. Mayers, *The Chinese Government: A Manual of Chinese Titles, Categorically Arranged and Explained, with an Appendix* (Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005, reprint of a 1897 edition by Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, Hong Kong, Yokohama, Singapore), no. 537; Ning 1991, 109–114.

72. Petech 1973, 19f.

73. See Mayers 2005, no. 604; Ning 1991, 223f.

74. Rawski 1998, 254f.

75. As early as the fifteenth century, there already appears to have been a Gelukpa Chödzung Monastery in Powo (Andreas Gruschke, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet's Outer Provinces. Kham*, vol. 1: *The TAR Part of Kham [Tibet Autonomous Region]* [Bangkok: White Lotus, 2004], 129). According to

Gyurme Dorje, *Tibet Handbook with Bhutan* (Bath: Footprint Handbooks, 1996), 477, there is also a valley in Powo called Chödzung. Zhang Yisun 张怡荪 et al., *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo. Zang han da cidian 葬漢辭典* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 1998), 842, mention a district by that name in the modern Pome county, which corresponds to the historical area of Powo. Such a district was already known in the 1930s, after the Tibetan government had deprived the Kanam *depa* of his power and had stationed its own governor in Chödzung (Santiago Lazcano, “Ethnohistoric Notes on the Ancient Tibetan Kingdom of sPo bo and Its Influence on the Eastern Himalayas,” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 7 [April 2005]: 58f). I therefore assume that the Chödzung *depa* was the governor of that area. However, the entire Powo region was ruled in the eighteenth century by the Kanam *depa*, alias Kanam *gyelpo*, who claimed descent from the ancient Tibetan king. Therefore, the Chödzung *depa* was probably subordinate to him. After the Kanam *depa* had been defeated by Mongol troops in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Ganden Podrang government in Lhasa regarded him as its vassal. Nevertheless, relations with Lhasa were often very strained. (Peter Schwieger, “A Preliminary Historical Outline of the Royal Dynasty of sPo-bo,” in *Tractata Tibetica et Mongolica. Festschrift für Klaus Sagaster zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz and Christian Peter [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002], 216f, 221f, 224f).

76. On the titles of Buddhist scholarship granted in the large Geluk monasteries after passing the corresponding examinations, see Ursula Baumgardt, *Geistliche Titel und Bezeichnungen in der Hierarchie des tibetischen Klerus, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ge-lug-pa-Schule* (Rikon: Tibet-Institut, 1977), 74f, 90, 99.

77. KDL 661.

78. Concerning the Gurkha crisis and its background, the most detailed description from the Tibetan side is Shakabpa (2010, 1:507–546), who mainly relies on *gong* Pandita’s autobiography. What has to be taken into account here, however, is the complete absence of sources presenting the view of the Zharmapa himself. Therefore the complementary information provided by the biography of a scholar in the tradition of the Kagyüpa and the Nyingmapa is especially valuable for portraying a different perspective (Franz-Karl Ehrhard, “The Biography of sMan-bspom Chos-rje Kun-dga’ dpal-ldan [1735–1804] as a Source for the Sino-Nepalese War,” in *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers Dedicated to*

Ernst Steinkellner, ed. Birgit Kellner, Helmut Krasser, Horst Lasic, Michael T. Much, and Helmut Tauscher [Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2007], 115–133). In reliance on both Tibetan and Chinese sources, Ya has summarized the story twice (1991, 66–71; Ya Hanzhang, *Biographies of the Tibetan Spiritual Leaders Panchen Erdenis* [Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1994], 158–169). On the composition of and the expenditures in relation to the imperial troops, see also Chen Xiaoqiang, “The Qing Court’s Troop Deployment in Tibet and Its Expenditure,” *China Tibetology* 1 (March 2005): 48–50. On the Chinese maps of the campaign, see Lucette Boulnois, “Chinese Maps and Prints on the Tibet-Gorkha War of 1788–92,” *Kailash: Journal of Himalayan Studies*, vol. 15, no. 1–2 (1989): 85–112. The events have been narrated several times in the context of Nepalese history. See especially Schuyler Cammann, *Trade Through the Himalayas: The Early British Attempts to Open Tibet* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), 102–143; Leo E. Rose, *Nepal: Strategy for Survival* (Bombay, Calcutta, Madras: Oxford University Press, 1971), 23–74; Ludwig F. Stiller, *The Rise of the House of Gurkha: A Study on the Unification of Nepal, 1768–1816* (Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1973), 192–214; Rishikesh Shaha, *Modern Nepal: A Political History, 1769–1955*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001), 1:53–72. As a reaction to the Gurkha crisis, two Tibetan ministers suspected of collaboration were summoned by the emperor to the court for interrogation. This was a demonstration of the extent to which the Tibetan elite was now controlled by the Qing court. On this issue, see Elliot Sperling, “Awe and Submission: A Tibetan Aristocrat at the Court of Qianlong,” *The International History Review* 20, no. 2 (1998): 325–335.

79. Sabine Dabringhaus, *Das Qing-Imperium als Vision und Wirklichkeit. Tibet in Laufbahn und Schriften des Song Yun (1752–1835)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), 157f.

80. Lessing 1942, 58–61. There is also a copy on a handscroll written by the emperor himself, but the Tibetan version is missing (Rawski/Rawson 2005, 144f, 400; explanation by Patricia Berger).

81. See also Fabienne Jagou, “The Use of the Ritual Drawing of Lots for the Selection of the 11th Panchen Lama,” in *Revisiting Rituals in a Changing Tibetan World*, ed. Katia Buffetrille (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 49f.

82. Hugh E. Richardson, *Ch’ing Dynasty Inscriptions at Lhasa* (Roma: Istituto

Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1974), 77.

83. Ibid., 49.

84. Shakabpa 2010, 1:533.

85. Shaha 2001, 1:64.

86. Ya Hanzhang 牙含章, *Pan chen sku phreng rim byon gyi mdzad rnam* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang [Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1992), 323f. This information is not contained in the English version of Ya's book (Ya 1994).

87. Ehrhard 2007, 128.

88. Ya 1994, 166.

89. Alfonsa Ferrari, *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, completed and edited by Luciano Petech with the collaboration of Hugh Richardson (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), 160f.

90. With regard to Tibetan names and titles, the English version of Ya's book on the history of the Panchen Lamas (Ya 1994) is not always reliable (cf. also below note 95). The Tibetan version is more precise (Ya 1992, 324). In the Tibetan version, the person is called treasurer Yeshe Gyeltsen rather than steward Yeshe Jamchen. Note that the dates given by Ya are those of the Chinese and not the Tibetan calendar. According to Petech (1973, 219), the *amban's* confiscation of Yangpachen had already taken place in 1791. This, however, does not fit into the chronology of the events.

91. Ya 1994, 166f. Note that in this English translation, the title Zhamarpa appears as Shamarpa.

92. Ya 1994, 167.

93. No Kyirong *qutuqtu* ever existed. The mistake occurs only in Ya's English translation and not in the Tibetan translation (see Ya 1992, 326). In Chinese sources, *jedrung* appears as *jilong* (濟隴). The area of Kyirong is called in Chinese *jilong* (吉隆). Since the pronunciation of both words differs only in

their respective tones, it seems likely that a mistake was made.

94. Ibid. Utilizing the revenues from the sale of Zhamarpa properties to finance the Tibetan army is also mentioned in Articles 6 and 7 of the Twenty-Nine-Article-Decree (cf. chapter 6, “The Twenty-Nine-Article-Decree and the Golden Urn”).

95. According to Dabringhaus (1994, 159 n. 80), the Zhamarpa’s entire property was given to his brother, the Drungpa *rinpoché*, here referred to by his sinicized name, Zhongba Lama. However, due to his inglorious role in the Gurkha conflict, the Drungpa *rinpoché* was summoned to Beijing and he too was deprived of his property (Richardson 1974, 49; Ya 1994, 168). Ya (ibid.) erroneously maintains that the *jedrung lama* was executed. There is no mention of this in the corresponding Tibetan version, which elaborates more on this point (Ya 1992, 329). Instead, the person blamed for the monks of Trashi Lhünpo having to flee and for leaving the monastery unprotected was the *tsedrung lama*. *Tsedrung* is the title for a monk official, which should not be confused with the title *jedrung*.

96. On the term *wenshu*, see this chapter, “New Political Power for the Dalai Lama?”

97. KDL 1160.

98. KDL 486.

99. Dung dkar Blo bzang ’phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo. Mkhas dbang dung dkar blo bzang ’phrin las mchog gis mdzad pa’i bod rig pa’i tshig mdzod chen mo shes bya rab gsal* (Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe 中国藏学出版社, 2002), 1846.

100. The whole matter is mentioned very briefly in three undated and unauthenticated papers of the Kundeling archives (KDL 67, 146, 158). One paper (KDL 67) dates the whole matter to the fifty-seventh year of the Qianlong reign, i.e., 1792. The other two date it to the fifty-ninth year, i.e., 1794. The papers contain short notes on special events, imperial honors, and presents received in the lives of the *Tatsak rinpoché* s. Because they end with the eighth incarnation, it may well be that they are drafts meant to be included in the registration list of 1814 (cf. chapter 6, “The Registration of Tibetan Reincarnation Lines and the Use of the Golden Urn”).

101. Cf. Knud Larsen and Amund Sinding-Larsen, *The Lhasa Atlas: Traditional Tibetan Architecture and Townscape* (London: Serindia, 2001), 146. On the variations of the hill's name, see Ferrari (1958, 92). Kasur Kundeling Woenser Gyaltsen (bka' zur Kun gling 'Od zer rgyal mtshan), *Mi tshe'i lo rgyus las 'phros pa'i gtam thabs byus snying stobs kyi 'bras bu*, 2 vols. (Bylakuppe, Mysore: 2001), 2:262f, states that Kündeling *labrang* was founded in 1792 and completed within two years, i.e., by the end of the Wood Tiger year. Cf. also Dung dkar 2002, 983. Richardson (1974, 61, 62) commented on the stone pillar, which was erected at Kündeling in 1794 and recorded the founding of the so-called Gesar Lhakhang (Ferrari 1958, 41, 92) as a way to give thanks for the victory over the Gurkhas, that this "*lha-khang* appears to have been the origin of the wealthy monastery of Kun-bde-gling." The inscription actually confirms that the Lhakhang was conceived as the dwelling of the *jedrung qutuqtu*. Dung dkar (2002, 983) states that the construction of both the temple and the monastery began in 1792.

102. Actually, these four monasteries were supposed to provide the regents during the time of minority of the Dalai Lamas (Ferrari 1958, 93). However, a regent was never chosen from Tsemchokling. Furthermore, not all the regents were from one of the four *ling*. Tengyeling was finished in 1763 (Dung dkar 2002, 1021–1023); Tsemchokling was founded in 1790 (Dung dkar 2002, 1704f) and Tsemönling in 1825 (Dung dkar 2002, 1707–1710).

103. Kasur 2001, 2:170.

104. Yangchun acted as assistant *amban* from 1809 to 1811, serving afterward as *amban* for another year until 1812. See Josef Kolmaš, "The Ambans and Assistant Ambans of Tibet (1727–1912): Some Statistical Observations," in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies. Fagernes 1992*, ed. Per Kvaerne, 2 vols. (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 1:463.

105. KDL 2035.

106. KDL 862.

107. KDL 2019.

108. See Melvyn C. Goldstein, "The Circulation of Estates in Tibet: Reincarnation, Land, and Politics," in *of Asian Studies* 32, no. 3 (1973): 451;

Shakabpa 2010, 2:587f.

109. Goldstein 1973, 449.

110. Ibid., 447–449; Goldstein 1968, 165f, 229, 240f, 243.

111. Yudru Tsomu, “Local Aspirations and National Constraints: A Case Study of Nyarong Gonpo Namgyel and His Rise to Power in Kham (1836–1865)” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2006), 165–168.

112. Lessing 1942, 60.

113. On this reincarnation line, see chapter 1 (“Golden Bridge Under Threat”) and chapter 3 (“A Trülku as Warrior”).

114. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al., eds., *Bod kyi gal che'i lo rgyus yig cha bdams bsgrigs* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1991), 214–220, 221–231, 246–252.

115. See chapter 1, “Getting the Mongols Involved.”

116. Schwieger 1999a, 36–38, 71.

117. Chab spel et al. 1991, 250.

118. Lessing 1942, 60; see also Chab spel et al. 1991, 217.

119. Jagou 2012, 50, 51.

120. Chab spel et al. 1991, 229.

6. IMPERIAL THE TRÜLKU AUTHORITY INSTITUTION OVER

1. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs et al., eds., *Bod kyi gal che'i lo rgyus yig cha bdams bsgrigs* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1991), 222.

2. Zhu Xiaoming, Suo Wenqing, et al., eds., *Priceless Treasures: Cultural Relics and Historical Materials A bout the Conferment of Honorific Titles Upon Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas of Successive Generations by the Central*

Governments Through the Ages. Collections of Gifts Presented to the Central Government by Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas of Successive Generations (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 1999), no. 52; quoted according to the English translation.

3. Chen Qingying, *The System of the Dalai Lama Reincarnation* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2005), 68.

4. ATAR 50.

5. Zhu Xiaoming *et al.* 1999: no. 10; vJam-dbyangs, Wang Mingxing, *et al.*, *Precious Deposits: Historical Relics of Tibet, China*, 5 vols. (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 2000), 4:60–65; Chen 2003, 70; Chen 2005, 60; Derek F. Maher, “The Eighth Dalai Lama Jampel Gyatso,” in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, ed. Martin Brauen (Chicago: Serindia, 2005), 127.

6. Liao Zugui 廖祖桂, Li Yongchang 李永昌, and Li Pengnian 李鹏年, *Qinding Zang nei shanhou zhangcheng er shijiu tiao banben kaolue* 钦定藏内善后章程二十九条版本考略 (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe 中国藏学出版社, 2006).

7. Fabienne Jagou, “The Use of the Ritual Drawing of Lots for the Selection of the 11th Panchen Lama,” in *Revisiting Rituals in a Changing Tibetan World*, ed. Katia Buffetrille (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 55.

8. Liu Zugui *et al.* 2006, 12.

9. Sun had first served as governor in Sichuan but was then in charge of the transport of supplies during the campaign against the Gurkhas. He later became governor of Sichuan again. Cf. Arthur W Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 2:681.

10. In the documents, the Tibetan names are given as Phu, Sun, Hus, and Ho. The assistant's name is transcribed as Khrin in Tibetan.

11. Based on a transliteration by Namgyal Nyima, Reik Alexander Hofmann, in “Zur Tibetpolitik der Qing-Regierung am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts. Das ‘29-Punkte-Dekret zur Reorganisation in Tibet’ (1793)” (Magisterarbeit, Universität Leipzig, 2002) has presented a nice study on the Twenty-Nine-Article Decree,

including a German translation of all of the articles. However, he did not properly understand the colophon and the two additional documents (60f). Anne Chayet, “À propos du Règlement en 29 articles de l’année 1793,” in *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 15: *Conception et circulation des textes tibétains*, ed. Fabienne Jagou (Kyōto: École française d’Extrême-Orient, Centre de Kyōto, 2005), 178 n. 54, provides only interpretations of isolated phrases of the colophon without trying to translate the text as a whole. Apparently by drawing a conclusion from the colophon, Liao Zugui *et al.* (2006, 12) have stated that this copy of the decree was discovered in 1811 in the Imperial Commissioner’s *yamen* in Tibet. Jagou (2012, 55 n. 47)—probably following Liao Zugui *et al.*—writes that this information was contained in the glued parts. There is, however, no such statement.

12. Chichak (sPyi lcags) is the name of a noble family in Lhasa. See Luciano Petech, *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet, 1728–1959* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1973), 117–119.

13. ATAR 50.

14. On the term *wenshu*, see chapter 5, “New Political Power for the Dalai Lama?” I am grateful to Namgyal Nyima, who, based on his familiarity with the KDL material, spontaneously proposed this interpretation of the term. It seems much more likely than my original hypothesis, which was that it probably denotes a kind of inventory register.

15. Liao Zugui *et al.* 2006.

16. Chab spel *et al.* 1991, 113–280.

17. ATAR 50.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Jin Hui, Ren Yinong, and Ma Naihui, eds., *Social History of Tibet, China: Documented and Illustrated* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 1995), 33; Wang Jiawei and Nyima Gyaincain, *Historische Koordinaten Chinas Tibets [sic]* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2003), 74.

20. Chen 2005, 60; Liao Zugui *et al.* 2006, plate one.

21. Liao Zugui *et al.* 2006, plate one.

22. Ya Hanzhang, *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1991), 72–83. A comparison of the first article already reveals that Ya’s version—just like the abridged version of ATAR—is lacking the reference to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama in the first sentence. However, it adds—as does the elaborate version—the information at the end that the urn should be placed in front of Tsongkhapa’s image. This is totally missing in the abridged version.

23. I was unable to acquire the Chinese and Tibetan versions of his book, published in 1984 and in 1986 respectively. Ya supposedly mentions there an additional text of the ordinance preserved in Trashi Lhünpo Monastery (Chayet 2005, 178 n. 50).

24. Liao Zugui *et al.* 2006, 15f.

25. ATAR 50.

26. Cf. this chapter, “The Registration of Tibetan Reincarnation Lines and the Use of the Golden Urn.”

27. Sabine Dabringhaus, *Das Qing-Imperium als Vision und Wirklichkeit. Tibet in Laufbahn und Schriften des Song Yun (1752–1835)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), 160.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Peter Schwieger, “Ein Paradebeispiel tibetischer Diplomatie im Dienste der Qing-Herrschaft: Ein Kanzleischreiben des 8. Dalai Lama und sein Entstehungszusammenhang,” *Zentralasiatische Studien* 34 (2005): 155–178.

30. Chab spel *et al.* 1991, 192, 257f, 236.

31. *Ibid.*, 283–369; see also 24.

32. *Ibid.*, 369.

33. *Ibid.*, 24.

34. According to an unconfirmed report, a total of 243 reincarnation lines had been registered by the Lifan Yuan at the end of the Qing Dynasty: http://www.chinaculture.org/gb/cn_zgwh/2004-06/28/content_52875.htm (May 4, 2011). However, I was not able to verify this statement. Some authors currently estimate the number of *trülkus* at around five hundred (e.g., Asshauer 2004, 169), others at around one thousand five hundred (Luana Laxy, *Tibet ohne einen XV. Dalai Lama. Die Zukunft des tibetischen Tulku-Systems aus Sicht von Exiltibetern aus Asien und Europa* [Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013], 221). But a reliable survey has never been made.

35. ATAR 53.

36. Hugh E. Richardson, *Ch'ing Dynasty Inscriptions at Lhasa* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1974), 64–88. The Ninth Dalai Lama's biography confirms that in his recognition procedure, it was the *amban* and not the regent who had “the final say” (Elliot Sperling, “Reincarnation and the Golden Urn in the 19th Century: The Recognition of the 8th Panchen Lama,” in *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*, ed. Roberto Vitali [Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2012], 105). On the imperial certification and the enthronement of the Ninth Dalai Lama, see also Isabelle Charleux, Marie-Dominique Even, and Gaëlle Lacaze, “Un document mongol sur l'intronisation du IXe Dalai lama,” *Journal Asiatique* 292, no. 1–2 (2004): 151–222.

37. Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, 2 vols., trans. and annotated by Derek F. Maher (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 1:567–559.

38. Cf. also Maher's commentary (Shakabpa 2010, 1:558) and Sperling (2012b, 105).

39. Sperling 2012b, 106.

40. ATAR 61, 64.

41. This is the temple name of the Qianlong Emperor.

42. ATAR 61.

43. Père Évariste Huc, *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Thibet*

pendant les années 1844, 1845 et 1846 (Paris: Editions Omnibus; electronic edition:

http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/HUC_evariste/C20_souvenirs_voyage_tartari 2001, consistent with the original 1854 edition), 439f.

44. ATAR 66; see also Sperling 2012b, 106.

45. Fabienne Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883–1937): A Life at the Crossroads of Sino-Tibetan Relations*, trans. Rebecca Bisset Buechel (Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient; Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2011), 15f; Sperling 2012b, 100–105; William W. Rockhill, “The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and Their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of China, 1644–1908,” in *T’oung Pao, Second Series* 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1910), 68f.

46. KDL 419.

47. On the title *tongshan*, see this chapter, “The Ambans and the Issue of Corruption.”

48. Please note with regard to the calculation that 1888 was a leap year.

49. KDL 22.

50. KDL 394, 108.

51. See note 41.

52. KDL 24.

53. KDL 378, 555.

54. Dabringhaus 1994, 220f.

55. Shan Zhou, *Die Reinkarnation des Panchen Lama. Aufzeichnungen über die Suche, Identifizierung und Einsetzung des 11. Panchen Lama* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 1996), 16. Also published at http://zt.tibet.cn/tibetzt/panchen/background/back_02.htm (October 2009).

56. See Dabringhaus 1994, 158, who presents the numbers of Wei Yuan. In addition to the thirty reincarnations in Tibet itself, there were thirty-five in

Qinghai, fourteen in Beijing, and seventy-six in Mongolia.

57. Gling dpon Pad ma bkal bzang et al., *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs. 9 (Spyi'i 'don thengs 18)* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 1995), 149.

58. Luciano Petech, “The Dalai Lamas and Regents of Tibet: A Chronological Study,” in *T'oung Pao, Second Series* 47.3/5 (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 393; Melvyn C. Goldstein, “An Anthropological Study of the Tibetan Political System” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1968), 166; Shakabpa 2010, 2:615. There is not much known about the history of the general assembly. Apparently it was established in the second half of the eighteenth century. On its composition and functions, see Goldstein 1968, 188–192.

59. Ya 1991, 101.

60. Chen 2005, 99.

61. This title seems to have been newly created for the second Tatsak regent. As far as I know, he was the only person ever addressed by it. Unlike the titles granted to the previous regents, *tongshan* seems to be purely Chinese. The title is mentioned for the Tatsak *jedrung qutuqtu* in the *Qing Dezong Jing Huangdi Shilu* (卷之九十七) (1987, 448b). I am grateful to Liu Xiaotong for finding this reference.

62. KDL 51.

63. KDL 51; see also Petech 1959, 391f. According to Chen (2003, 78), he was born in Dajienlu (Tib. Dartsedo), the modern Kangding, in Sichuan Province, and is known as “the first Living Buddha Dezhū.” Dung dkar (Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Bod kyi chos srid zung 'brel skor bshad pa* [Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 2004], 123; Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo. Mkhas dbang dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las mchog gis mdzad pa'i bod rig pa'i tshig mdzod chen mo shes bya rab gsal* [Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe 中国藏学出版社, 2002], 2362) calls him Dedruk *qutuqtu* (Wylie: sde drug ho thog thu). In the English version of his book (Dung-dkar blobzang 'phrin-las, *The Merging of Religious and Secular Rule in Tibet*, trans. Chen Guansheng [Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991], 88), “Dedruk” was mistakenly translated as “Demo,” but Lozang Khyenrap Wangchuk was

definitely not one of the Demo *trülkus*. *Trülkus* did not act as abbots of Ganden Monastery, but were later able to become the starting point of a new line of incarnations. This seems to have been the plan when declaring Lozang Khyenrap Wangchuk the First Dedruk *trülku* and granting him the rank of *qutuqtu*. KDL 51 contradicts Dung dkar (2002, 2362) and Petech (1959, 391). There it states that Lozang Khyenrap Wangchuk had already received the title *nomun qan* in 1864 when he was raised to power.

64. KDL 104.

65. On the units of Tibetan currency, see Wolfgang Bertsch, *The Currency of Tibet* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2002), 3–5. Note that the aforementioned *tamdo* (Wylie: *ṭam rdo*) is a synonym for the mentioned *rdo-tshad*.

66. See also William F. Mayers, *The Chinese Government: A Manual of Chinese Titles, Categorically Arranged and Explained, with an Appendix* (Boston: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005, reprint of a 1897 edition by Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, Hongkong, Yokohama, Singapore.), 116.

67. KDL 10. There are different spellings for this title in Tibetan: *thong shan*, *thung shan*, *mthong shan*. The matter is touched upon in several documents: KDL ID 10, 55, 475, 514, 475, 575. For the year 1877, Dung dkar (2002, 2364) mentions that the emperor had awarded the title *nomun qan* to the Tatsak *qutuqtu*. However, I was unable to verify this in the archival material at hand. Kasur Kundeling Woesser Gyaltzen (bka' zur Kun gling 'Od zer rgyal mtshan), *Mi tshe'i lo rgyus las 'phros pa'i gtam thabs byus snying stobs kyi 'bras bu*, 2 vols. (Bylakuppe, Mysore: 2001), 2:268, only mentions the title *tongshan*.

68. Derek F. Maher, “The Ninth to the Twelfth Dalai Lamas,” in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, ed. Martin Brauen (Chicago: Serindia, 2005), 130f.

69. Shakabpa 2010, 1:562, 564f.

70. Petech 1973, 4f.

71. Petech 1959, 388f.

72. Cf. Schwieger 2005, 170–172.

73. Hanna Schneider, “Tibetan Epistolary Style,” in *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, ed. Martin Brauen (Chicago: Serindia, 2005), 258–261.

74. KDL 44, 45, 93, 100.

75. KDL 93.

76. KDL 100.

77. Dieter Schuh, *Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in 'Phags-pa-Schrift* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1981), 16.

78. KDL 811.

79. Schuh 1981a, 169.

80. ATAR 72.

81. ATAR 74.

82. The phrase *tshad can 'chims grub gos rgyan gzhi bzhi gcig* must be corrected to read *tshad can tshem 'drub gos rgyan bzhi gcig*. For the term *rgyan bzhi*, see Melvyn C. Goldstein, ed., *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*, assistant editors T. N. Snelling and J. T. Surkhang (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001).

83. The term *dpyod ldan* is a mistake; the correct term is *bcad ldan*, “a brocade with a lotus design” (Goldstein 2001). The Chinese term used is *zhuangduan* 粧緞. *rgyab yol* according to Goldstein (2001) is “a curtain put up on back walls when important people visit.” The Chinese text reads instead *kaobei* 靠背, meaning “backrest.” This meaning seems to be more appropriate in this context.

84. The Chinese text identifies the velvet as Zhangrong velvet (漳绒), which is produced in Zhangzhou (漳州) in Fujian.

85. ATAR 74.

86. Hanna Schneider, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke. Tibetische Urkunden aus Südwesttibet (sPo-rong, Ding-ri und Shel-dkar)*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart:

Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), 1: no. 9.

87. *Ibid.*, no. 15.

88. LTWA 958.

89. For the seal, cf. Schuh 1981a, 13f.

90. Fabienne Jagou, “The Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s Visit to Beijing in 1908: In Search of a New Kind of Chaplain-Donor Relationship,” in *Buddhism Between Tibet and China*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein (Somerville, MA: Wisdom, 2009), 357–371; Rockhill 1910, 78–89.

91. RGYAL 056. The document does not mention the year of issue. It was issued in favor of Lozang Lekshé Chödzin, the Second Kanjur Lama of Ganden Sumtsenling Monastery in Gyeltang, on the occasion of his return to Gyeltang after finishing his studies in Tösam Norbuling College in Sera Mé. According to the editors of RGYAL, he lived from 1876 to 1922. The editors estimate the year of issue to be around 1910. (RGYAL 267). It is therefore unclear whether the document was issued before the end of the Qing Dynasty or after it had ended in 1911. Note that the set phrase of authorization appearing in decrees issued by Tibetan rulers during the Ganden Podrang period only refers to the source of the titles and the power set out in the *intitulationes*, not to the whole decree. In this respect, these documents differ from similar ones issued in the Yuan period. Such a set phrase must therefore not automatically disappear after the end of the dynasty of the specific foreign ruler who once conferred the particular title. This is illustrated by several decrees issued by the Sixth and the Seventh Dalai Lamas, who still refer, in their *intitulationes*, to Altan Qan as the source of their titles. Dieter Schuh, “Politische Implikationen tibetischer Urkundenformeln,” in *Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung*, ed. Dieter Schuh and Michael Weiers, Heft 8 (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1985), 94–96.

7. THE AFTERMATH

1. Melvyn C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd., 1989), 68–71; Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, 2 vols., trans. and annotated by Derek F. Maher (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 2:759–62.

2. Goldstein 1989, 89–138.
3. Fabienne Jagou, *The Ninth Panchen Lama (1883–1937): A Life at the Crossroads of Sino-Tibetan Relations*, trans. Rebecca Bisset Buechel (Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient; Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2011), 84–91.
4. Fabienne Jagou, “The Use of the Ritual Drawing of Lots for the Selection of the 11th Panchen Lama,” in *Revisiting Rituals in a Changing Tibetan World*, ed. Katia Buffetrille (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 60f.
5. Goldstein 1989, 310–363, 464–521.
6. Dieter Schuh, *Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Eine Untersuchung über tibetische Siegelaufschriften in ’Phags-pa-Schrift* (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1981), no. XXXI.
7. ATAR 100: article 4.
8. Roman Malek, “Theorie und Praxis der chinesischen Religionspolitik. Eine frappierende Kontinuität,” in *China, sein neues Gesicht*, ed. Bernhard Mensen (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1987), 151–179; “Der traditionelle chinesische Staat und die Religion(en),” in *Zwischen Autonomie und Anlehnung*, ed. Roman Malek and Werner Prawdzik (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1989), 31–53; “Religion—Ideologie—Kultur. Bemerkungen zum Religionsverständnis im traditionellen und heutigen China,” in *Religion als Gegenstand der Philosophie*, ed. Georg Wieland (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997), 11–47; “Herausgeforderte Orthodoxie: Der chinesische Staat und die neue Religiosität. Ein altes Problem im neuen Gewand?,” in *Religion—Staat—Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für Glaubensformen und Weltanschauungen*, 2. Jahrgang (2001), Heft 2, 243–269.
9. See also Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military Under the Qing Dynasty* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 50, 65.
10. The Chinese text here uses the phrase: 皆倾心内向. The English version provided by Zhu Xiaoming *et al.* translates this as “all loved the motherland.”
11. Zhu Xiaoming, Suo Wenqing, et al., eds., *Priceless Treasures: Cultural Relics and Historical Materials About the Conferment of Honorific Titles Upon Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas of Successive Generations by the Central*

Governments Through the Ages. Collections of Gifts Presented to the Central Government by Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas of Successive Generations (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 1999), no. 19.

12. Martin Slobodnik, “Alter Wein in neue Schläuche. Die ‘Verwaltungsmaßnahmen für die Reinkarnation Lebender Buddhas des tibetischen Buddhismus,’” *China Heute* 26, no. 6 (2007): 226–229.

13. <http://www.tibet.net/en/prelease/2007/020907.html> (October 2009).

14. Elliot Sperling, “Reincarnation and the Golden Urn in the 19th Century: The Recognition of the 8th Panchen Lama,” in *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*, ed. Roberto Vitali (Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2012), 107.

15. Dawa Tsering, “Contemporary Tibetan’s Views of Tulkus (sprul-sku),” *China Tibetology* 1 (March 2010): 6.

16. *Ibid.*, 8.

17. *Ibid.*, 7.

18. *Ibid.*

19. See Peter Schwieger, “Dynamic of Shangri-La or Turning the Prayer Wheel for the Protection of the Multiethnic Society,” in *Études tibétaines en l’honneur d’Anne Chayet*, ed. Jean-Luc Achard (Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2010), 269–278.

20. Lars-Erik Nyman, “Reincarnation in Tibet: A Politico-Religious Symbiosis Exemplified by a Kham Case Study,” in *Facets of Tibetan Religious Tradition and Contacts with Neighbouring Cultural Areas*, ed. Alfredo Cadonna and Ester Bianchi (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2002), 203–209.

CONCLUSION

1. See chapter 4, “The *Trülkus* and the Establishment of Qing Control Over Eastern Tibet.”

2. James L. Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the*

Macartney Embassy of 1793 (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 1995), 31.

3. See article 9 of the regulation of 1751 (chapter 5, “New Political Power for the Dalai Lama?”).

APPENDIX 1

1. On the dates, see also chapter 1, note 98.

2. Note that due to an incorrect conversion, the year of his birth is in the literature frequently given as 1856. Trinlé Gyatso was born in the Fire Dragon year on the 1st day of the 12th Tibetan month, which corresponds to January 26, 1857.

3. On the two different systems used for counting the Panchen Lamas, see chapter 1.

4. Gendün Chökyi Nyima was confirmed by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Gyeltsen Norbu was chosen by the Chinese authorities.

5. Concerning the lack of reliable life data of the first three incarnations, see chapter 1. However, regarding the fifth and the eighth *trülku* no detailed information is available.

6. He was reproached with having attempted to murder the Thirteenth Dalai Lama through black magic. He died in unexplained circumstances when under house arrest. His estates were confiscated, and searching for a reincarnation was prohibited. It seems, however, that later a reincarnation was discovered and acknowledged. (Melvyn C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State* [Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd., 1989], 42f.)

7. Whether this name refers to a real historical person is doubtful. In this regard, the sources at hand—Kasur Kundeling Wooser Gyaltzen (bka’ zur Kun gling ’Od zer rgyal mtshan), *Mi tshe’i lo rgyus las ’phros pa’i gtam thabs byus snying stobs kyi ’bras bu*, 2 vols. (Bylakuppe, Mysore: 2001), 2:225–229; Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs, et al., eds., *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏藏文古籍出版社, 1990), 364f; Chab spel Tshe brtan phun

tshogs, et al., eds., *Bod kyi gal che'i lo rgyus yig cha bdams bsgrigs* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, Xizang Zangwen guji chubanshe 西藏文古籍出版社, 1991), 285—provide no evidence.

8. A child born in 1983 has been identified as the Thirteenth Tatsak *trülku* Tendzin Chökyi Gyeltsen (see Kasur 2001, 2:317–360). There exists also another Tatsak *trülku* who was not recognized by the Dalai Lama.

9. Regarding his reincarnations, there are currently no Tibetan sources at hand.

10. Some sources provide 1815 as the year of his death. However, all Tibetan sources state that he died in the Fire Mouse year. Therefore, 1815 can be excluded.

11. Some sources provide 1919 as the year of his birth. However, all Tibetan sources state that he was born in the Water Mouse year. Therefore, 1919 can be excluded.

12. A reincarnation of the Sixth Reting *trülku* was proclaimed by the Chinese authorities in the year 2000. See Kevin Garratt, “Biography by Installment: Tibetan Language Reportage on the Lives of Reincarnate Lamas, 1995–99,” in *Tibet, Self, and Diaspora: Voices of Difference. PIATS 2000: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*, ed. P. Christian Klieger (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 74f.

APPENDIX 2

1. As far as known, the Tibetan reign titles were added as they appear on imperial documents written in Tibetan.

2. Unlike the other Qing emperors, the Yongzheng Emperor used in his Tibetan edict a mere transcription of his Chinese reign title.

TIBETAN ORTHOGRAPHIC EQUIVALENTS

Abdo Rishid = Ab do ri shid

Amdo = A mdo

Ananda = A nan da

Anu = A nu

Arbidkhu = Ar bid khu

bangzhung = bang gzhung

Baprongpa = 'Bab rong pa

Barkham = Bar khams

Barmari = Bar ma ri

Baso Chökyi Gyeltsen = Ba so Chos kyi rgyal mtshan Batang = 'Ba' thang

begen = 'be rgan

Belo Tsewang Kunkhyap = Be'e lo Tshe dbang kun khyab Beri = Be ri

Beri Dönyö Dorje = Be ri Don yod rdo rje Bichaichi = Bi cha'i chi

Bir = Bir

Biyanggu = Bi yang gu

Böndrung *rinpoché* = dBon drung rin po che Bonpo = Bon po

Bouchu = sBo'u cu'u

Bumtang = 'Bum thang

Chagan Shidar Khasha = Cha gan shi dar kha sha Chakhar = Cha khar

Chakna Dorje = Phyag na rdo rje Chakpori = lCags po ri

Chakshar Tsewang Yugyel = lCags shar Tshe dbang g.yu rgyal Chakzamkha = lCags zam kha

Chakzamkha Ganden Thuptenling = lCags zam kha dGa' ldan thub bstan gling Chamdo = Chab mdo

Champaling = Byams pa gling

chandzö = phyag mdzod

Changkya = lCang skya

Changlochen = lCang lo can

Changlochenpa = lCang lo can pa

Chapsi Pelgyé = Chab srid 'phel rgyas Chichak = sPyi lcags

Chikhula Gelong = Chi khu la dge slong Chödrag Yeshe = Chos grags ye shes

Chödrup Gyatso = Chos grub rgya mtsho *chögyel = chos rgyal*

Chok Tsering = Phyogs Tshe ring

Chökhör = Chos 'khor

Chökhorgyel = Chos 'khor rgyal

Choktu = Chog thu

chöku = chos sku

chökyi gyelpo = chos kyi rgyal po

Chökyi Gyeltsen = Chos kyi rgyal mtshan Chonggye = 'Phyongs rgyas

Chongshu'u Abita = Cong shu'u a bi ta Chönjor Rapjampa = Chos 'byor rab 'byams pa *chösi zungdrel = chos srid zung 'brel*

Chöying Dorje = Chos dbyings rdo rje *chöyön* = *mchod yon*

chözhi = *chos gzhis*

Chungshan Bo'u = Cung sh'an sbo'u

Dakpar Chöpelung = Dag par bcos pa'i gling Dakpo = Dwags po

Dam = 'Dam

Dargyé Trashi = Dar rgyas bkra shis

Darlu = Dar lu

Dartsedo = Dar rtse mdo

Dawa = Zla ba

Dechen = bDe chen

Dedruk = sDe drug

Dekyi = bDe skyid

Dekyi Nyimaling = bDe skyid nyi ma gling *demchi* = *dem chi*

Demchok = bDe mchog

Demo = De mo

dep = *deb*

depa = *sde pa*

Depter Gyatso = *Deb ther rgya mtsho*

Dergé = sDe dge

desi rinpoché = *sde srid rin po che*

Dezhin Shekpa = bDe bzhin gshegs pa

Dingju = Ding ju

dingpön = lding dpon

Dokham = mDo khams

Dölgyedra = Dol brgyad gra

Dondrup = Don grub

Dong = gDong

Dönyö Dorje = Don yod rdo rje

Doring Pandita = rDo ring paṅḍita *dorje = rdo rje*

Dorjedrak = rDo rje brag

Dorje Pakmo = rDo rje phag mo

Dorje Shukden = rDo rje shugs ldan

Drakpa Gyatso = Grags pa rgya mtsho

Drakpa Gyeltsen = Grags pa rgyal mtshan Drakpa Özer = Grags pa'od zer

Drakyap = Brag g.yab

Drakyap Chungtsang *rinpoché* = Brag g.yab Chung tshang rin po che Drakyap

kyamgön = Brag g.yab skyabs mgon

Drang = Drang

Drazhöl = sBra zhol

dre = bre

Drepung = 'Bras spungs

Drigung = 'Bri gung

Drikhung = 'Bri khung

drogön chögyel Pakpa = 'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa Drom = 'Brom

Dromtön = 'Brom ston Drongpa = 'Brong pa

Drongtsewa = 'Brong rtse ba

drönnyer = mgon gnyer

Drukchen *rinpoché* = 'Brug chen rin po che Drukpa Kagyü = 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud

Drungkhor Targyé = Drung 'khor mthar rgyas Drungpa *rinpoché* = Drung pa rin po che Drutsa = 'Bru tsa

dülja = 'dul bya

dülwa = 'dul ba

Düsum Khyenpa = Dus gsum mkhyen pa

dzo = mdzo

Dzogang = mDzo sgang

dzong = rdzong

dzongdö = rdzong sdod

Dzongga = rDzong dga'

Dzongka = rDzong ka

Engön = dBen dgon

Ensa = dBen sa

Ensapa = dBen sa pa

Ensapa Lozang Döndrup = dBen sa pa Blo bzang don grub Epa = E pa

Enlha Cu = Enlha cu

འཇམ་གུ་ - འཇམ་གུ

Ganden = dGa' ldan

Ganden Khangsar = dGa' ldan khang gsar Ganden Namgyel Lhatse = dGa' ldan
rnam rgyal lha rtse Ganden Podrang = dGa' ldan pho brang Ganden Sangngak
Gatsel = dGa' ldan gsang sngags dga' tshal Ganden Sumtsenling = dGa' ldan
sum rtsen gling Ganden Tsewang Pelzang = dGa' ldan tshe dbang dpal bzang
Garpa = sGar pa

Gazi = Ga zi

Gekhasa = Gad kha sa

Gelek Namgyel = dGe legs rnam rgyal

Gelje = 'Gal byed

Geluk = dGe lugs

Gelukpa = dGe lugs pa

Genden Trashi Chödzong = dGe ldan bkra shis chos rdzong Gendün Chökyi
Nyima = dGe 'dun chos kyi nyi ma Gendün Drupa = dGe 'dun grub pa

Gendün Gyatso = dGe 'dun rgya mtsho

Gepel Lhakhang = dGe 'phel lha khang Gö Lotsawa = 'Gos lo ts'a ba

Gönchö = mGon mchog

gongma dakpo chenpo = gong ma bdag po chen po

gongsa chöyön = gong sa mchod yon

Gönlung = dGon lung

Gönpo = mGon po

Gowa Tsojéling = bsGo ba gtso byed gling Gowar Jukpeling = bsGo bar mjug
pa'i gling Gu = Gu

Gya = rGya

gyadam = rgya dam

Gyanakpa = rGya nag pa

Gyangtse = rGyal rtse

gyapip = rgya phibs

Gyara = rGya ra

gyatso = rgya mtsho

Gyelsé rinpoché = rGyal sras rin po che

Gyeltang = rGyal thang

gyeltsap = rgyal tshab

gyeltsap rinpoché = rgyal tshab rin po che

Gyeltsen Norbu = rGyal mtshan nor bu *gyelwa = rgyal ba*

Gyelshö Penkel Namgyelling = rGyal shod phan bkal rnam rgyal gling

Gyelwang Drukchen = rGyal dbang 'Brug chen Gyurmé Namgyel = 'Gyur med
rnam rgyal Hemis = He mis

hor = hor

Hrin = Hrin

Jamdün = Byams mdun

Jamgön = 'Jam mgon

Jamjang Ngödrup = 'Jam dbyangs dngos grub Jampa Chöchok Gyatso = Byams
pa chos mchog rgya mtsho Jampel Gyatso = 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho Jamyang
Könchok Chömpel = 'Jam dbyangs dkon mchog chos 'phel Japü Donga
Dargyeling = Bya 'phud mDo sngags dar rgyas gling *jasak gi lama drakpa = dza
sag gi bla ma drag pa*

jasak lama = dza sag bla ma

jasak lama kachu = dza sag bla ma dka' bcu

jasak taiji kalön = dza sag tha'i ji bka' blon

jedrung rinpoché = rje drung rin po che

jetsun dampa = rje btsun dam pa

Jikjé = 'Jigs byed

Jikmé Tenpé Gyatso = 'Jigs med bstan pa'i rgya mtsho Jinpa Gyatso = sByin pa rgya mtsho

Joden = Jo gdan

Jokhang = Jo khang

Jowo = Jo bo

Jowo Jampel Dorje = Jo bo 'jam dpal rdo rje Jun = Jun

kachu genyen = dka' bcu dge gnyen

kachu rapjampa = bka' bcu rab 'byams pa

Kadam = bKa' gdams

Kadam Lekbam = bKa' gdams glegs bam Kadampa = bKa' gdams pa

Kagyü = bKa' brgyud

kalön = bka' blon

Kanam depa = Ka gnam sde pa

Kanjur = bKa' 'gyur

Kamtrül rinpoché Karma Tenpel = Khams sprul Karma bstan 'phel kar = skar

Karma Kagvü = Karma bKa' brgyud

Karma Pakshi = Karma pakshi

Karma Püntsok Namgyel = Karma phun tshogs rnam rgyal Karma Tenkyong =
Karma bstan skyong

Karna Tenkyong Wangpo = Karma bstan skyong dbang po Karma Tenpel =
Karma bstan 'phel

Karmapa = Karma pa

kashok shebam = bka' shog she bam

Katok = KaH thog

kedrup = mkhas grub

Kelzang Döndrup = sKal bzang don grub Kelzang Gyatso = sKal bzang rgya
mtsho Kelzang Namgyel = sKal bzang rnam rgyal Kelzang Tendzin Namgyel =
sKal bzang bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal Khachö Wangpo = mKha' spyod dbang po
Kham = Khams

Khangchenné = Khang chen nas

Khangchenpa = Khang chen pa

Kharsar = mKhar gsar

Khartse = mKhar rtse

Khedrup Gyatso = mKhas grub rgya mtsho Khedrup-jé Gelek Pelzang = mKhas
grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang *khenpo = mkhan po*

khenpo chewa = mkhan po che ba

Kherelun = Khe re lun

Khiyakhishiktu = Khi y'a khi shig thu Khöntön = 'Khon ston

Khortong Tsakhir = Khor thong tsha khir Khotong = Kho tong

Khülshu = Khul shu

Khyuyik = 'Khyug yig

Könchok Chömpel = dKon mchog chos 'phel Könchok Gyeltsen = dKon mchog rgyal mtshan Könchok Jungne = dKon mchog 'byung gnas Kongpo = Kong po

kuchar chikhyap khenpo = sku bcar spyi khyab mkhan po

Kumbum = sKu 'bum

Kumbum Jampaling = sKu 'bum byams pa gling Kumbum Sertri = sKum 'bum gser khri

Kündeling = Kun bde gling

Künden = Kun ldan

Kündzop Chöpelung = Kun rdzob bcos pa'i gling Künga Penden = Kun dga' dpal ldan

Künkhyap Pelgyé = Kun khyab 'phel rgyas *kusum = sku gsum*

kutsap = sku tshab

kyamgön = skyabs mgon

Kyarpowa Dorje Wangchuk = sKyar po ba rDo rje dbang phyug Kyem = sKyems

Kyichu = sKyid chu

Kyirong = sKyid rong

Kyishö = sKyid shod

Kyishöpa = sKyid shod pa

Kyedak = sKyes bdag Kyormolung *kenpo = sKyor mo lung mkhan po*

labrang = bla brang

Labrang = Bla brang

Ladakh = La dwags

lama chösong = bla ma chos bsrung

Lamo = La mo

Lamo Dechen = La mo bde chen

Lamo Setri = La mo gser khri

Langrampa = Glang ram pa

Le = Gle

Lekdan = Legs ldan

Lekpe Sherap = Legs pa'i shes rab

Lha Kyapa = lHa skyabs pa

Lhakyap = lHa skyabs

Lhakyong = lHa skyong

Lhamo = lHa mo

Lhamo Drölma = lHa mo sgrol ma

Lhapzang = lHa bzang

Lhatok = lHa thog

Lhatse = lHa rtse

Lhatsedzong = lHa rtse rdzong

Lhatsun Lozang Tendzin Gyatso = lHa btsun blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho

Lhatsun Ngawang Tendzin = lHa btsun ngag dbang bstan 'dzin Lhawang Chokle

Namgyel = lHa dbang phyogs las rnam rgyal Lhawang Chökyi Gyeltsen = lHa

dbang chos kyi rgyal mtshan Lhawang Gelek Gyeltsen = lHa dbang dge legs

Lozang Chos kyi rgyal mtshan Lhawang Gyer Gyeltsen = lHa dbang dge rgye
rgyal mtshan Lhawang Tenpé Gyeltsen = lHa dbang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan Lho
= lHo

Lho Pembar = lHo dPal 'bar

Lhodzong = lHo rdzong

Lhorong = lHo rong

li = li

ling = gling

Lingme *zhapdrung* = Gling smad *zhabs drung*

Litang = Li thang

Liyül Chögyel Yöntenpel = Li yul chos rgyal Yon tan dpal Lodrö Emchi = Blo
gros em chi

lön jargoche = blon jar go che

longku = longs sku

lopön Khöntön = *slob dpon* 'Khon ston *lopön* Rinchen Pel Zangpo = *slob dpon*
Rin chen dpal bzang po Lozang Chökyi Gyeltsen = Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal
mtshan Lozang Chökyi Nyima = Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma Lozang Döndrup =
Blo bzang don grub

Lozang Gendün Drakpa = Blo bzang dge 'dun grags pa Lozang Jampel = Blo
bzang 'jam dpal

Lozang Jamyang = Blo bzang 'jam dbyangs Lozang Jikmé Penden Tenpé Nyima
= Blo bzang 'jigs med dpal ldan bstan pa'i nyi ma Lozang Jinpa = Blo bzang
sbyin pa

Lozang Khyenrap Wangchuk = Blo bzang mkhyen rab dbang phyug Lozang
Lekshé Chödzin = Blo bzang legs bshad chos 'dzin Lozang Namgyel = Blo
bzang rnam rgyal Lozang Penjor = Blo bzang dpal 'byor Lozang Penden Yeshe
= Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes Lozang Shedrup = Blo bzang bshad 'grub Lozang
Tönpé Nyima = Blo bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma Lozang Tenzin = Blo bzang bstan

Tenpe Nyima = Blo bzang bstan pa nyi ma Lozang Tendzin = Blo bzang bstan 'dzin Lozang Tendzin Gyatso = Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho Lozang Trashi = Blo bzang bkra shis

Lozang Trinlé Lhündrup Chökyi Gyeltsen = Blo bzang phrin las lhun grub chos kyi rgyal mtshan Lozang Tsültrim Kachu = Blo bzang tshul khrims dka' bcu Lozang Tupten Chökyi Nyima = Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma Lozang Tupten Jikmé Gyeltsen = Blo-bzang thub-bstan 'jigs-med rgyal-mtshan Lozang Yeshe = Blo bzang ye shes

Lozang Yeshe Tenpé Rapgyé = Blo bzang ye shes bstan pa rab rgyas *luknyi* = *lugs gnyis*

Lumpané = Lum pa nas

Lungtok Gyatso = Lung rtogs rgya mtsho *Mani Kambum* = *Maṇi bka' 'bum*

Markam Gang = sMar khams sgang

Marpa = Mar pa

Marpori = dMar po ri

Mindrölling = sMin grol gling

Mipam Chökyi Lodrö = Mi pham chos kyi blo gros Mipam Jampel Tutop Dorje = Mi pham 'jam dpal mthu stobs rdo rje Mejo = Mes jo

Metok Rawa = Me tog ra ba

Mikyö Dorje = Mi bskyod rdo rje

Minyak = Mi nyag

Mok = rMog

Mön = Mon

Mönlam = sMon lam

Mönyül = Mon yul

Mune Tsenpo = Mu ne btsan po

Nakartse = sNa dkar rtse

Nakchu = Nag chu

Nakshö Driru = Nag shod 'bri ru

Nakshö *trülku* = Nag shod *sprul sku*

Namgen = rNam gan

Namkyong = gNam skyongs

Namtso = gNam mtsho

Nangchen = Nang chen

Nangwa Dakpeling = sNang ba dag pa'i gling Narthang = sNar thang

Ne = Ne

Nechu Kukye = gNas bcu ske skye

Nechung = gNas chung

Ngakmön = bsNgags smon

Ngakö Mönchen = bsNgags 'os smon can Ngamring = Ngam ring

Ngapö Dorje Gyelpo = Nga phod rDo rje rgyal po Ngapöpa = Nga phod pa

Ngari = mNga' ris

Ngari Korsum = mNga' ris skor gsum

Ngawang Chokden = Ngag dbang mchog ldan Ngawang Chökyi Gyatso = Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho Ngawang Chökyi Wangchuk = Ngag dbang chos kyi dbang phyug Ngawang Dargyé = Ngag dbang dar rgyas Ngawang Gelek Gyeltsen = Ngag dbang dge legs rgyal mtshan Ngawang Jampel Delek Gyatso = Ngag dbang 'jam dpal bde legs rgya mtsho Ngawang Jampel Tsültrim Gyatso =

Ngag dbang 'jam dpal tshul khirms rgya mtsho Ngawang Könchok Tenpé
Nyima = Ngag dbang dkon mchog bstan pa'i nyi ma Ngawang Kyap Trinlé =
Ngag dbang skyabs 'phrin las Ngawang Lodrö Gyatso = Ngag dbang blo gros
rgya mtsho Ngawang Lozang Chöden = Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan
Ngawang Lozang Gyatso = Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho Ngawang Lozang
Gyatso Jikmé Gocha Tupten Langtsöde = Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 'jigs
med go cha thub bstan lang tsho'i sde Ngawang Lozang Gyatsöde = Ngag dbang
blo bzang rgya mtsho'i sde Ngawang Lozang Jikmé Gyatso = Ngag dbang blo
bzang 'jigs med rgya mtsho Ngawang Lozang Tenpé Gyeltsen = Ngag dbang blo
bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan Ngawang Lozang Trinlé Rapgyé = Ngag dbang
blo bzang phrin las rab rgyas Ngawang Lozang Tupten Jikmé Gyatso = Ngag
dbang blo bzang thub bstan 'jigs med rgya mtsho Ngawang Lozang Yeshe
Tenpé Gyeltsen = Ngag dbang blo bzang ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan
Ngawang Namgyel = Ngag dbang rnam rgyal Ngawang Namkha Jamyang =
Ngag dbang nam mkha' 'jam dbyangs Ngawang Penden Chökyi Gyeltsen =
Ngag dbang dpal ldan chos kyi rgyal mtshan Ngawang Samten = Ngag dbang
bsam gtan Ngawang Sönam Lhündrup = Ngag dbang bSod nams lhun grub
Ngawang Sungrap Druptop Tenpé Gyeltsen = Ngag dbang gsung rab grub thob
bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan Ngawang Trashi Drakpa = Ngag dbang bkra shis grags
pa Ngawang Trashi Namgyel = Ngag dbang bkra shis rnam rgyal Ngawang
Tsültrim = Ngag dbang tshul khirms Ngawang Tupten Kelzang Tenpé Drönme =
Ngag dbang thub bstan skal bzang bstan pa'i sgron me Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso
= Ngag dbang ye shes rgya mtsho Ngawang Yeshe Tsültrim Gyeltsen = Ngag
dbang ye shes tshul khirms rgyal mtshan Ngawang Zhönu = Ngag dbang gzhon
nu

Ngo Lekpe Sherap = rNgog legs pa'i shes rab Ngong = Ngong

Numawa = Nu ma ba

Nyakrong = Nyag rong

Nyangpo = Nyang po

Nyemo = sNye mo

Nyimatang = Nyi ma thang

Nyingma = rNying ma

Nyingmapa = rNying ma pa

Nyitang *zhapdrung* = Nyi thang *zhabs drung*

Ochu Trashi Chöling = 'O chu bkra shis chos gling *oronchi* = *o ron chi*

Pemalingpa = Padma gling pa

Pakbön = 'Phags dbon

Pakchok *rinpoché* = 'Phags mchog *rin po che*

Pakchok Trashi = 'Phags mchog bkra shis Pakmodru = Phag mo gru

Pakmodrupa = Phag mo gru pa

pakpa = 'phags pa

Pakpa = 'Phags pa

Pakpa Lodrö Gyeltsen = 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan Pakpa Sanggyé =
'Phags pa Sangs rgyas Pakpa Tongwa Dönden = 'Phags pa mThong ba don ldan
Pakpalha = 'Phags pa lha

Paksam Jönzang = dPag bsam ljon bzang

Panam = Pa rnam

Panam Luding = Pa rnan klu sdings

panchen = paṅ chen

Panchen Lama = Paṅ chen bla ma Pandita = Paṅḍita Pao Dechen = sPa'o de can

Pashö = dPa' shod

Pashö Ganden Samdrupgön = dPa' shod dGa' ldan bsam grub dgon Pashö
jedrung rinpoché = dPa' shod rje drung rin po che Pawongka Sönam Lhundrup
= Pha bong kha bSod nams lhun grub *pecha* = *dpe cha*

Pema Karpo = Pad ma dkar po

Penden Lhamo = dPal ldan lha mo

Penjor Trashi = dPal 'byor bkra shis Penpo Khartse = 'Phan po mKhar rtse

Penyül = 'Phan yul

Polhawa = Pho lha ba

Polhané = Pho lha nas

Pomda = sPom mda'

Potala = Po ta la

powa = 'pho ba

Powo = sPo bo

Powo Chödzung *depa* = sPo bo chos rdzong *sde pa*

pu tutung = phu tu thung

Pünling = Phun gling

Püntsok Gelong = Phun tshogs dge slong Puntsok Namgyel = Phun tshogs rnam rgyal Püntsokling = Phun tshogs gling

Purik = Pu rig

Rangjung Dorje = Rang byung rdo rje

Rapgang = Rab sgang

rapjampa = rab 'byams pa

rapjung = rab byung

Reting = Rwa sgren

Rinchen Gyeltsen = Rin chen rgyal mtshan Rinchen Lhamo = Rin chen lha mo

Rinchen Pel Zangpo = Rin chen dpal bzang po *Rinchen Terdzö = Rin chen gter mdzod*

rindzin = rig 'dzin

rinpoché = rin po che

Rinpung = Rin spungs

Rinpungpa = Rin spungs pa

Riwo Gandenpa = Ri bo dga' ldan pa

Riwoche = Ri bo che

Riwochepa = Ri bo che pa

Rolpé Dorje = Rol pa'i rdo rje

Rongpo Dam = Rong po'dam

Sagaliyan = Sa ga li yan

Sakya = Sa skya

Sakyapa = Sa skya pa

Sakyong Namgyel = Sa skyong nam rgyal Samding = bSam lding

Samding Dorje Pakmo = bSam lding rDo rje phag mo *sang = srang*

Sanggyé Gyatso = Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho Sanggyé Trashi = Sangs rgyas bkra shis Sanggyé Yeshe = Sangs rgyas ye shes

Sarthu = Sar thu

Sechen Chöje = Se chen chos rje

Sechen Gyelpo = Se chen rgyal po

Seng = Seng

Sengge Namgyel = Seng ge nam rgyal

Sera = Se ra

sertam = gser tham

Sertri *rinpoché* = gSer khri rin po che Serurong = Se ru rong

Setrap = bSe khrab

Shazin Sechen Jaisang = Sha zin se chen ja'i sang *shé* = *shad*

shebam = she bam

Shedra Wangchuk Gyelpo = bShad sgra dBang phyug rgyal po Shengchuchen = Sheng cu can

shödrung = shod drung

Shomdo = Sho mdo

Sichö Tseten = Sri gcod tshe brtan

Sisel = Srid gsal

sölpön = gsol dpon

Sönam Choklang = bSod nams phyogs glang Sönam Chömpel = bSod nams chos 'phel Sönam Dargyé = bSod nams dar rgyas

Sönam Drakpa = bSod nams grags pa

Sönam Gyatso = bSod nams rgya mtsho

Sönam Rapten = bSod nams rab brtan

Sönam Zangpo = bSod nams bzang po

Songtsen Gampo = Srong btsan sgam po Sumpa Khenpo = Sum pa mkhan po

Sung = gSung

tabülwa = rta 'bul ba

Taichin = Tha'i chin

Takdrak *rinpoché* = sTag brag *rin po che*

Takdrak *trülku* = sTag brag *sprul sku*

Taklung = sTag lung

Taklung Kagyüpa = sTag lung bKa' brgyud pa Taklung Riwoche = sTag lung Ri
bo che Taklungpa = sTag lung pa

Takpu = sTag phu

Taktsang Repa = sTag tshang ras pa

tam = gtam

tamchä kyenpe trülku = thams cad mkhyen pa'i sprul sku

tamdo = tam rdo

tamsrang = tam srang

Taralji = Tha ral ji Targyé = mThar rgyas

Tarpa Chöling = Thar pa chos gling

Tatsak = rTa tshag

Tatsak *jedrung rinpoché* = rTa tshag *rje drung rin po che*

Tatsak *jedrung trülku* Ngawang Chökyi Gyatso = rTa tshag *rje drung sprul sku*

Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho Tatsak Lhündrup Dechen = rTa tshag lhun
grub bde chen Tatsakpa = rTa tshag pa

Taktsang Repa = sTag tshang ras pa

Tawang = rTa dbang

tendzin = bstan 'dzin

Tendzin = bsTan 'dzin

Tendzin Chökyi Gyelpo = bsTan 'dzin chos kyi rgyal po Tendzin Chökyong =
bsTan 'dzin chos skyong Tendzin Gyatso = bsTan 'dzin rgya mtsho Tendzin
Jikmé Tutop Wangchuk = bsTan 'dzin 'jigs med mthu stobs dbang phyug
Tendzin Wanggyel = bsTan 'dzin dbang rgyal *Tenjur = bsTan 'gyur*

Tenpa Khashakha = bsTan pa kha sha kha Tenpa Selje = bsTan pa gsal byed

Tenpa Sungweling = bsTan pa bsrung ba'i gling Tenpé Gönpö = bsTan pa'i
mgon po

Tenpé Nyima = bsTan pa'i nyi ma

Tenpé Wangchuk = bsTan pa'i dbang phyug *tenzhung = bstan gzhung*

tertön = gter ston

Tokden Drakpa Sengge = rTogs ldan grags pa seng ge Tölung = sTod lung

Tösam Norbuling = Thos bsam nor bu'i gling Trashi = bKra shis

Trashi Chödzung = bKra shis chos rdzung Trashi Chölung = bKra shis chos lung
Trashi Lhünpo = bKra shis lhun po

Trashi Wanggyel = bKra shis dbang rgyal Trashi Wanggyel Ngawang Drakpa =
bKra shis dbang rgyal ngag dbang grags pa Trashijong = bKra shis ljongs

Trinlé Gyatso = 'Phrin las rgya mtsho *tripa = khri pa*

Tritrül = Khri sprul Tromzikkhang = Khrom gzigs khang

trülku = sprul sku

Trumtö = Khrums stod

Tsang = gTsang

Tsangpa = gTsang pa

Tsangyang Gyatso = Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho *tsawé lama = rtsa ba'i bla ma*
tsedrung lama = rtse drung bla ma

Tselkhül = Tshal khul

Tsemchokling = Tshe mchog gling

Tsemönling = Tshe smon gling

Tsepakmé = Tshe dpag med

Tsering Wanggyel = Tshe ring dbang rgyal Tsewang Norbu = Tshe dbang nor bu

Tsewang Rapten = Tshe dbang rab brtan *Tsitsi pao = rTsi rtsi pha'o*

tsokdu = tshogs 'du

Tso Ngönpo = mTsho sngon po

Tsokha = mTsho kha

Tsokha Ziling = mTsho kha Zi ling

Tsona = mTsho sna

Tsona Khetsün = mTsho sna mkhas btsun Tsongkhapa = Tsong kha pa

Tsurpu = mTshur phu

Tsültrim Chömpel = Tshul khrim chos 'phel Tsültrim Gyatso = Tshul khrim
rgya mtsho Tupten Gyatso = Thub bstan rgya mtsho Tupten Jampel Yeshe
Tenpé Gyeltsen = Thub bstan 'jam dpal ye shes bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan
Tuptenling = Thub bstan gling

Tu'uchen = Thu'u chen

Ü = dBus

Ugyenling = U rgyan gling

Ulang Bodong = U lang bo dong

Ütsang = dBus gtsang

Ütsang = dBus gtsang

wang = wang

wang = dbang

wangshu = wang shu

wangshu rimbül namgyi wangdep = wang shu rim 'bul rnams kyi wang deb

wangshu tsurpülgyi dep = wang shu tshur phul gyi deb

Yangpachen = Yangs pa can

yangsi = yang srid

yapzhi = yab gzhis

Yarawa = sByar ra ba

Yardrok = Yar 'brog

Yarlung = Yar lung

Yarlung Tsangpo = Yar lung gtsang po Yentukhas = Yen thu khas

Yeshe Gyatso = Ye shes rgya mtsho

Yeshe Gyeltsen = Ye shes rgyal mtshan Yeshe Lozang Tenpé Gönpö = Ye shes blo bzang bstan pa'i mgon po Yeshe Norbu = Ye shes nor bu

Yeshe Nyingpo = Ye shes snying po

Yeshe Tenpé Gönpö = Ye shes bstan pa'i mgon po yöndak = yon bdag

Yönten Gyatso = Yon tan rgya mtsho

Yülteng = Yul steng

Yülzhi = Yul bzhi

Yungcheng = Yung ceng

Zadampa = Za dam pa

Zahor = Za hor

Zamdong *rinpoché* = Zam gdong *rin po che*

Zhalu = Zha lu

Zhamar *rapjampa* = Zhwa dmar *rab 'byams pa*

Zhamarpa = Zhwa dmar pa

zhapdrung = *zhabs drung*

zheIngo = *zhal ngo*

zho = *zho*

zhuwa = *zhu ba*

Ziling = Zi ling

Zimkhang Gongma = gZims khang gong ma Zimkhang Oma = gZims khang 'og ma

zimpön = *gzims dpon*

Zöpa Gelong = bZod pa dge slong

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