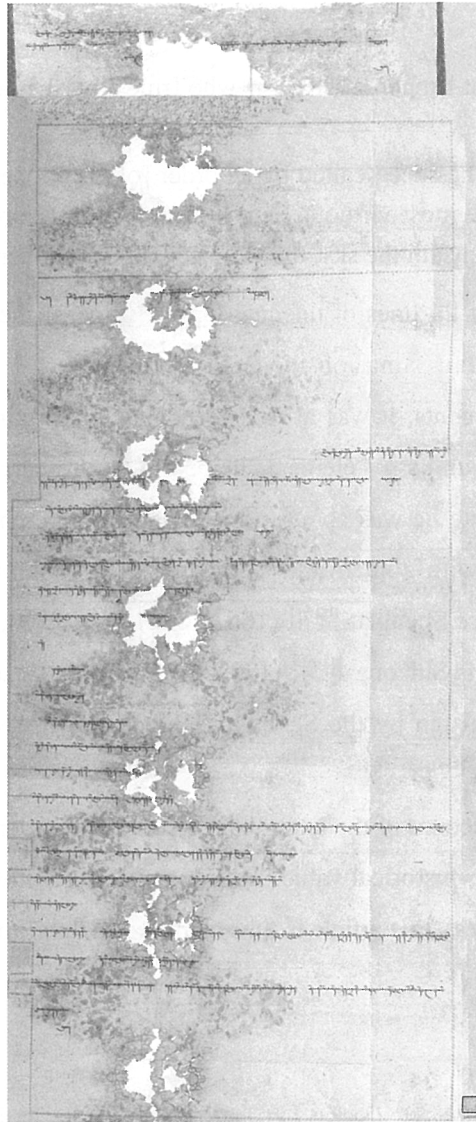


The Letter of the viiith Dalai-Lama to the Emperor Shizong

kept in the Institute of History and Philology,
Academia Sinica.



達賴七世寫給清世宗的信，現藏史語所。

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In June 1999, Doctor Liu Zhengyun 劉錚雲, director of the department of the Qing dynasty archives of the Institute of History and Philology, gave me a photocopy of a document written in Tibetan (classification number 132 199) that was found in the Chinese official archives and asked me whether it could be identified. I would like here to thank him for the opportunity he gave me and present this article as a preliminary response.

The document, is actually composed of two parts : a letter (100 cm x 170 cm) and a kind of explanatory note that was stuck on the back of this letter (11,5 cm x 62 cm). A mutilated round small seal in red ink can be seen on this small piece. On both parts, the writing is a very fine Tibetan calligraphy in the *Oume* style. The small part consists of three mutilated lines :

Letter addressed to

the feet of the Great Emperor Manjusri who [rules] by the power of the destiny of long fate,

by [the One] who has been called by an order [of the Emperor] “the Dalai Lama, the Lord who is the most virtuous field in the west, the Lord of all the Teachings of the Victorious beneath the sky, the Omniscient, the Holder of the *Vajra*”.

The letter consists of 24 lines of unequal length, some of them damaged and ends by “By the hand of the Dalai Lama, on the 25th of the 10th Hor month”. As no year is mentioned in these documents, it was at first difficult to ascertain which Dalai Lama had written this letter. But a number of elements helped in this research : the journey to Litang 理塘 the Dalai Lama wrote he was about to make and the references to Chinese emperors whose titles are written with golden ink. The name of one Shintsu, which is certainly a transcription of the Chinese Shengzu 聖祖 (1662-1722), was given, but the letter was clearly addressed to his son, that is Shizong 世宗 (1722-1735). Given these elements, I suggest this letter had certainly be written by the Seventh Dalai Lama, Kel-sang-Gyamtsu 噶桑嘉措 (1708-1757).

I present this brief account of the letter and its context in order to justify my hypothesis and in order to evaluate its historical value. As I was unable for the moment to get access to the Tibetan primary sources¹, this article is thus qualified as “preliminary”.

1. I would like to express my thanks to Doctors Liu Shufen 劉淑芬 of the Institute of History and Philology and Feng Mingzhu 馮明珠 of the Palace Museum for their help in finding Chinese translations of Tibetan documents. All my thanks also to Doctor Hong Jinfu 洪金富 of the Institute of History and Philology and Gil Raz, visiting scholar of this Institute who helped me in the rereading of this article.

1. How the Manchus tried to make the Seventh Dalai Lama be the Sixth Dalai Lama

The Seventh Dalai Lama lived in the beginning of the XVIIIth century, a very important period in the history of Tibet, particularly concerning the relations between Tibet and China².

The institution of the Dalai Lama began in 1578 with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyamtso 素南嘉措, who was granted this title from Altan Khan. The two previous reincarnations of Sonam Gyamtso posthumously received the titles of First and Second Dalai Lama.

In 1642, with the help of Gushri Khan 固始汗 of the Mongols, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nawang Lobsang Gyamtso 羅桑嘉措, defeated the rulers of the region of Tsang and the *Karma pa* school leaders and brought under his control all the lands of Tibet. He was the first Dalai Lama to assume full spiritual and secular control over all of Tibet. But he was not only a great secular leader, he was also a great spiritual master whose work is still fundamental for Tibetan scholars. As a secular leader, he had been dealing, since 1642, with the *Desi* (*sde-srid*, 第巴). This title which is usually translated in English as "Regent" was given to the person who represented the Mongols in the government of the Tibetan state affairs³. The last Regent of the Fifth Dalai Lama, was Sangye Gyamtso 桑結嘉措 (1653-1705). He was appointed in 1679 and was very close to the Fifth Dalai Lama.

The Fifth Dalai Lama died in 1682, at the age of 65. As the succession of the Dalai Lama was made according to the reincarnation system, the first years of a new young Dalai

2. This period has already been the subject of very good studies : A. Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China*, *T'oung-Pao*, XI (1910), pp.1-104 (which is based mainly on Chinese sources) ; L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th Century. History of the Establishment of chinese Protectorate in Tibet*, Leiden, 1950 ; L. Petech, *The Dalailamas and regents of Tibet : a chronological study*, *T'oung Pao*, XLVII (1959), pp.368-394 (these two last works are based on Tibetan, Chinese and western sources). The western sources were the accounts written by the Italian missionaries (Especially the Jesuit Ippolito Desideri 1684-1733 and the Capucins), who were rather well received in Tibet. They had built a church in Lhasa and had composed apologetic works in Tibetan. Cf. Desideri Ippolito, *An Account of Tibet : the Travels of Ippolito Desideri 1712-1727*, ed. by de Filippi, New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1995.

Cf. also Josef Kolmas, *Tibet and Imperial China. A survey of Sino-Tibetan relations up to the end of the Manchu Dynasty in 1912*, Canberra, The Australian National University, Centre Of Oriental Studies, Occasional Paper, 7, 1967 and D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*, Boston and London, Shambhala, 1986. This period has also been the subject of articles of variable value by Mainland Chinese scholars. They will be cited in the following footnotes.

3. L. Petech, *The Dalailamas and regents of Tibet : a chronological study*, *T'oung Pao*, XLVII (1959), pp.378-380.

Lama would be a period of instability. Fearful of this, the Regent Sangye Gyamtso did not clearly announce the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama until 1697 but began secretly to look for his reincarnation⁴. The Kangxi 康熙 emperor (1661-1722) did not appreciate the way things were done.

In 1683, the future Sixth Dalai Lama, Tsang-yang Gyamtso, 倉央嘉措, appeared in a poor family, followers of the *Ning-ma-pa* school in Mon country. As the Regent had not officially announced the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the boy was not recognised until he was 14 years old. Consequently, he did not receive the traditional religious education a reincarnated master should have. He was enthroned as a Dalai Lama in 1697. This Dalai Lama was probably the most controversial in History. It seems he was more involved in singing and having fun in taverns than in religious affairs and he became very famous for the wonderful love poems he wrote, which made him very popular among Tibetans till today⁵. In discussing this Dalai Lama, great Tibetan Masters say that one should not always look with certitude on appearances as there are hidden meanings behind words of worldly desire. (Both in Tibet and China and even in India, there have always been examples of Buddhist Masters who were thaumaturges whose outrageous acts were intended to provoke a reaction by people that would make them understand the Teaching⁶.)

Whatever the case may be, some were shocked by the behaviour of the Sixth Dalai Lama, or pretended to be so in order to interfere in Tibetan internal affairs. Among them was Lhasang Khan 拉藏汗, a descendant of Gushri Khan of the Qosot clan. He had established himself in the Kokonor, and, thinking he had the same right to Tibet as his ancestor Gushri Khan had, he proclaimed himself king of Tibet in 1697.

With Kangxi Emperor's agreement, Lhasang Khan attacked Lhasa in 1705. The Regent of Tibet, Sangye Gyamtso, had very closed links with the Dzungars 准噶爾, and more particularly with their king Galden 噶爾丹 who in his youth had been a monk in

4. D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p.204 ; 松石寶, *Xizang tongshi* 西藏通史, Xizang guji chubanshe 西藏古籍出版社, 1996, p.645. According to other authors, the Regent kept the event secret in order to keep the power for himself.

5. K. Dhondup, *Songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan works and archives, 1981 ; Yu Tao-ch'uan, "Love songs of the Sixth Dalai-Lama Ts'ans-dbyans-rgya-mts'o", *Academia Sinica Monograph*, A 5, Peiping, 1930.

6. R. A. Stein, *Vie et chants de 'Brug-pa kun-legs le yogin*, Paris, Maisonneuve, 1972 ; John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk, Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*, Hawai, University of Hawai Press, 1997, pp.67-111.

Lhasa. In 1689, the Regent had refused to support the Manchu Emperor in the war against Galden who had founded a kingdom in Ili 伊犁 (north-west Chinese Turkestan) in 1676 and thought to reunify the Mongols⁷. The Dzungars were the last nomadic population that was really a threat for the Manchu empire. Though the Dzungars were defeated in 1695, after the death of Galden in 1697, his nephew (and successor), Tse-wang Rab-tan, still arbored bellicose intentions. The Kangxi emperor certainly dreaded a possible alliance between the Dzungars and the Tibetans.

So, with Manchu Emperor Kangxi's blessing, Lhabsang Khan of the Qosot clan of the Mongols killed the Tibetan Regent, took the Sixth Dalai Lama prisoner to Peking and put on the throne a monk which was presented as the true Dalai Lama. However, the demonstrations which accompanied the capture and the departure of Tsang-yang Gyamtso prove that, for most of the Tibetans, he was the true Dalai Lama⁸. Tsang-yang Gyamtso never reached Peking. He died in 1706 enroute to exile, by illness according to some, or by murder according to others⁹.

It is in such a confused political scene that the Seventh Dalai Lama, the author of the document which is kept in the Institute of History and Philology, appears.

Kel-sang-Gyamtso 噶桑嘉措, was born in 1708 (康熙五十七年) in a small village near Litang, in Sichuan¹⁰. Before they pass away, great masters always give some kind of indications that will enable to find their next reincarnation. The fact that Kel-sang-Gyamtso was born near Litang was in conformity with one of the last poem the previous Dalai Lama sent while on his way to exile :

Bird ! White crane !
Lend me your wings !

7. Josef Kolmas, *op. cit.*, pp.36-37 ; A. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China, *T'oung-Pao*, XI (1910), pp.30-31.

8. D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p.208 ; Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls*, Rome, 1949.

9. A. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China, *T'oung-Pao*, XI (1910), p.34. According to one tradition, the Sixth Dalai Lama did not die at that time but simply disappeared and then went to Nepal and Mongolia where he propagated the *Dharma*.

10. One of the best source of data for the life of this Dalai Lama is the biography written in Tibetan between 1758 and 1759 (just one year after his death) by the great master Cankya *Hutuqu*, the editor of the Mongolian buddhist canon who died in 1786. It has been translated in chinese. For studies based on this text, cf. L. Petech, *op. cit.* ; and several articles by Feng Zhi 馮智, a young Tibetan scholar, notably: " Qishi dalai lama de queren, cefeng, suochuang 七世達賴喇嘛的確認,冊封,坐床, *Zangxue lunwen xuanji* 藏學論文選集, Beijing, 1996, vol.2, pp. 603-620.

I shall not go far,
Just to Li-thang and back again.

In 1710 (康熙四十七年), Kel-sang-Gyamtsö was recognised by the religious authorities of the three great monasteries of Drepung (哲蚌), Ganden (甘丹) and Sera (色拉)¹¹. This was not in accord with Lhabsang Khan's expectations and in 1713 and 1714 he sent several envoys to see the child and, according to some accounts, tried to kill him¹². Kel-sang Gyamtsö fled to Derge with his parents but they were arrested by the Manchus and sent to Kumboum 塔爾寺, the birth place and monastery of the great Dje Tsongkhapa. They arrived there in 1716 and were closely guarded by the imperial troops¹³.

In 1717 (康熙五十六年), the Dzungars prepared themselves to attack Lhasa with the pretext of reestablishing the Seventh Dalai Lama on his throne. They had kept contact with the ecclesiastic circles in Lhasa which had not forgiven Lhabsang Khan's killing of the Regent and his taking into exile of the Sixth Dalai Lama.

The Dzungars divided their troops in two parts. The larger (about 6000 men) which was to attack Lhasa, defeated Lhabsang Khan by ruse and entered Lhasa in November 1717 after a siege of ten days. But the smaller part of the army which was to deliver the Dalai Lama from Kumboum failed in its mission. As the Dzungars did not openly admit the young Dalai Lama was not with them, the Tibetans at first welcomed them as saviors. But, lacking the only thing which could legitimate their presence in Lhasa, that is returning the Dalai Lama, the Dzungars chose to make an occupation by force and terror and, having killed Lhabsang Khan, they indulged in atrocities against the population.

An old minister of Lhabsang Khan, Polhane 頗羅鼐, organised the resistance against the Dzungars. He was helped in defeating them by the Kangxi emperor, who, having already battled the Dzungars, could not stay passive in this situation. He first sent an army in 1718 but with no success. He then sent a bigger army. To gain support among the Tibetans, the Emperor had chosen to use the young Dalai Lama he kept in Kumboum. In the fifth month, the following report had been sent to the emperor :

I also heard that beyond Litang, in all of Tibet, they believe that the *Hubi erkan* is

11. These three monasteries have links with the great Dje Tsongkhapa, the founder of the *Gelukpa*, also known as Yellow Hat, school. Ganden was founded by Dje Tsongkhapa himself. Drepung and Sera were founded by two of his disciples, respectively in 1416 and in 1434.

12. Feng Zhi, *op. cit.*, p.607.

13. A. Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of China*, *T'oung-Pao*, XI (1910), pp.35-36.

like a god. Now the *Hubi erkan* is born in Litang. His father is seen in the temple of Tsonghapa in Xining. We ought to tell his father, to send messengers informing the high lamas and the population that the troops staying in Litang are there because the sacred Lord [the emperor] takes care of the homeland of the *Hubi erkan* so that no rebel can make any trouble and that there is no other reason [for the troops to stay there].¹⁴

In the ninth month of 1719 (康熙五十八年), the imperial records note :

The last report of the *Hubitu* that were sent to the west frontiers is :

"[...] all the lamas of Tubate and the population unanimously say that the new *Hubi erkan* seen in Xining is really the *Hubi erkan* of the Dalai Lama. The sacred Lord of the divine dynasty will install the new *Hubi erkan* on the throne of the Dalai Lama and will widespread the Teaching of the *Dharma*. This is really in conformity with the people's wishes. Beside, in the region of the Tubate, there is an epidemic of malaria. The Elute population cannot increase. Many of them get ill. How could they be covetous? We just implore the sacred Lord of the divine dynasty to act quickly in order for the Teaching of the *Dharma* to spread widely."

Considering these circumstances, it seems easy to make a decision. Now we will nominate the new *Hubi erkan* as the Dalai Lama, bestow on him the edict and the seal. Next year, at the appearance of the green grass, we will send him to Tibet and make him ascend the throne of Dalai Lama.¹⁵

While on the road, the imperial troops widely proclaimed that the Manchu emperor was the savior whose soldiers were returning the real Dalai-Lama to Lhasa¹⁶. Next year, in 1720, the army reached Lhasa and overpowered the Dzungars. The enthronement of the Dalai Lama was finally held in the autumn of 1720 in the Potala palace. For the Tibetans, Kel-sang Gyamtso was the Seventh Dalai Lama but for the Manchus, he was the Sixth¹⁷. A statement in the *Kangxi Emperor's Veritable Record* dated before the enthronement, in the second month of that year, reads :

Order is given to nominate the new *Hubi erkan* as the Sixth Dalai Lama, The propagator of the *Dharma*, the Savior of the beings.¹⁸

14. 清聖祖康熙實錄，五月，二十二日，史語版，卷279，頁8。

15. 清聖祖康熙實錄，史語版，卷285，頁16。

16. Cf. Zhou Feng 周峰, " Lueshu Qing zhengfu pingding Zhunga'er zhanzheng zhong de zangchuan fojiao 略述清政府平定准噶爾戰爭中的藏傳佛教", *Xizang yanjiu* 西藏研究, 1996 (4), pp.63-64.

17. Cai Zhichun 蔡志純, Zhenjia liushi Dalai shi mengzang ge zhengzhi shili douzheng de chanwu 真假六世達賴是蒙藏各政治勢力鬥爭的產物, *Xizang yanjiu*, 1987 (3), p.100.

18. 清聖祖康熙實錄，史語版，卷287，頁14。

The stele that was officially engraved in 1721 for this occasion, the *Pingding Xizang bei* 平定西藏碑, says :

Bestow on the present *Hubi erkan* the edict and the seal, appoint him the Sixth Dalai Lama and install him on the throne¹⁹.

A decree written in 1723 in Tibetan and Manchu in which the Emperor presented this Dalai Lama with the title, the seal and the certificate is preserved in the Archives of the Tibet autonomous

Region (fig. 1)²⁰. It also clearly states that this Dalai Lama was recognised by the emperor as the Sixth one. Some Mainland China contemporary historians argued that



Fig. 1

the Qing government finally recognized Kel-sang Gyamtso as the Seventh Dalai Lama either before²¹ or just after his death²², but the misunderstanding of the situation by the Manchu emperors actually continued for many decades. For example, we can read in the *Lama shuo* 喇嘛說, a stele composed by Qianlong in 1792, that the Sixth Dalai Lama is still “the one born in Litang”²³, that is Kel-sang Gyamtso (the Seventh Dalai Lama), and consequently, the real Eight Dalai Lama thus becomes the Seventh²⁴. But Kel-sang Gyamtso still had to face more political troubles in the coming years.

19. This stele may be seen in the Longwang tan park (龍王潭公園) in Lhasa. Cf. Zhou Runnian 周潤年, "Beijing Yonghegong yuzhi "Lama shuo" beiwen jiaolu kaoquan 北京雍和宮御制喇嘛說, 碑文校錄考詮", *Xizang yanjiu*, 1991 (3), p.97. The text of the stele is also preserved in the imperial records : 清聖祖康熙實錄, 史語版, 卷294, 頁21。

20. *Xizang lishi dang an huicui* 西藏歷史檔案薈粹, *Xizang zizhiq dang'an guanbian* 西藏自治區檔案館編, Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1995, plate 40.

21. Huang Yusheng 黃玉生, Che Minghuai 車明懷 and others, *Xizang difang yu zhongyang zhengfu* 西藏地方與中央政府, *Xizang renmin chubanshe* 西藏人民出版社, 1995, p.130.

22. Yang Xuechen 楊學琛, *Qingdai minzu shi* 清代民族史, Chengdu 成都, Sichuan minzu chubanshe 四川民族出版社, 1996, p.375-376.

23. *Drup-pa-ni Li-thang gi sa-cha dang*. The text was translated and engraved in Tibetan.

24. Zhou Runnian 周潤年, "Beijing Yonghegong yuzhi "Lama shuo" beiwen jiaolu kaoquan 北京雍和宮御制喇嘛說. 碑文校錄考詮", *Xizang yanjiu*, 1991 (3), p. 90.

2. The civil war and the exile of the Seventh Dalai Lama

In 1721 (康熙六十年), the Qing government decided to establish the *ka-shak*, a council of ministers (*kalon* 噶倫), which was meant to govern with the Dalai Lama. There were four *kalon* : three laics and one cleric. A Chinese unit of more than 2 000 men was left in Lhasa. This was the cause of great discontent among the Tibetans mainly due to a shortage of supplies. In 1723 (雍正元年), the new emperor Shizong 世宗 chose to remove the Chinese garrison from Lhasa mostly because it was too expensive :

The troops in Tibet should return or establish their camp on the road leading to Tibet and the other officers and soldiers in Xining should return to their place.²⁵

Soon after the removal of the Chinese garrison from Lhasa, open conflict broke out between the four *kalon*. Two parties appeared, one led by Polhane apparently pro-manchu, and the other composed of Napod pa (A er pu pa 阿爾布巴), Lun pa ne (Long punai 隆布奈) and Djar ra ne (Cha er ne 扎爾鼐). And so, a civil war began in Tibet in 1727. The two had asked the Manchu court for support, both thinking they were due imperial support. On the eleventh month, the emperor ordered the president of the Censorate Jalangga (左都御史 賑檄陝) to prepare an army that would leave Peking in the first month of 1728 (雍正六年)²⁶. The troops left on that date, reached Xining 西寧 in the fifth month and arrived in Lhasa in the eighth month. On the ninth month they put to death Polhane's rivals.

On the 23rd of the eleventh month (that is the date mentioned in the Letter kept in the Institute of History and Philology), the Dalai Lama was escorted to Litang in Sichuan²⁷. He reached Litang on the second month of 1729 and was to stay in this region for more than five years.

25. 清世宗雍正實錄，史語版，卷5，頁2。

26. 清世宗雍正實錄，史語版，卷63，頁3。On this memorial, cf. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th Century. History of the Establishment of chinese Protectorate in Tibet*, Leiden, 1950, pp.246-248.

27. 一史館藏官中失批奏折，元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係檔案資料匯編，第二冊，中國藏學出版社，p.433。

3. The Letter kept in the Institute of History and Philology

Here follows a translation of this letter. Some parts, being too mutilated or too obscure for me, have not been translated and are indicated by the signs □□.

At the feet of the Great Emperor Manjusri²⁸ [Shizong 世宗] who □□[rules ?] by

28. "The emperor" is translated in Tibetan as "The most high", *gon-ma chen-po*. He is also referred as Manjusri, *'jam-dbyans*, the *Bodhisattva* who embodies the wisdom of the *Buddha*. This expression was traditionally used by the Tibetans when referring to Mongol or Chinese rulers. During the Yuan dynasty, the emperors had already a peculiar link with the Wutai shan 五台山 which is the sacred place of this *Bodhisattva*. See David Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1978, pp.14-16. But the link between the emperor and Manjusri became particularly evident with the Manchus. The name "manchu" which was officially used in 1635, was explained by some as being a reference to the *Bodhisattva* Manjusri. Cf. Pamela Kyle Crossley, *The Manchus*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1997, pp.210-211. According to several studies, the link between Manchu rulers and Manjusri reached a climax with the Qianlong emperor 乾隆 (1736-1795), who saw himself as a *cakravartin* king, *falun wang* 法輪王, and had some representation of him as the *Bodhisattva* Manjusri be made (fig. 2). Cf. Harold Kahn, *Monarchy in the Emperor's Eyes : Image and Reality in the Ch'ien-lung Reign*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1971 ; David Farquhar, *op. cit.*, pp.7-34. But earlier, the Kangxi emperor had already proclaimed in an appendix to the Mongolian Buddhist Canon that he was an incarnation (*huashen* 化身) of this *Bodhisattva* ; cf. Louis Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur Mongol imprimé*, Budapest, Société Kőrösi Csoma, 1942, vol.1, p.334 ; David Farquhar, *op. cit.*, p.9. It was customary for the Tibetans to see a ruler as an emanation of a *Bodhisattva*, for they see both their first outstanding king Sron-bcan sgam-po and the Dalai Lama as emanations of the *Bodhisattva* Avalokitesvara who embodies the compassion of the *Buddha*. But it was not a new idea for the Chinese as well as there had been several emperors who had proclaimed to be incarnations of a *Buddha*. Though David Farquhar writes : "Chinese Buddhist would of course agree that *bodhisattva* had often been reborn in the world of humans, but they have rarely gone in for locating and identifying them among well-known contemporaries. That has been a Tibetan specialty" (*op. cit.*, pp.9-11), when I think about the link between the monk Putai 布袋 and the *Bodhisattva* Maitreya 彌樂佛 or about the recognition of the Corean monk Dizang 地藏 as an emanation of the *Bodhisattva* Ksitigarbha 地藏菩薩, I find it difficult to follow D. Farquhar in his statement. Probably, one of the most famous emperor to proclaim he was a *bodhisattva* was a woman : the empress Wu Zetian 武則天 who even composed forgeries to legitimate her position. Cf. Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and ideology in China at the end of the Seventh Century : Inquiry into the Nature, Authors and Function of the Tunhuang Document S.6502, followed by an annotated Translation*, Naples, Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1976. An another good example would be Yang Jian 楊堅, the founder of the Sui dynasty. Cf. Arthur Wright, "The Formation of Sui Ideology, 581-604", in John Fairbank (ed.), *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, Chicago, 1957, and *The Sui Dynasty, The Unification of China, a.d. 581-617*, New York, 1978 ; F. Wang-Toutain, "Le bol du Buddha. Propagation du bouddhisme et légitimité politique", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1994, pp.75-78.



Fig. 2

the power of the destiny of long fate²⁹,

[I] Having been called by an order of the Emperor “the Dalai Lama, the Lord who is the most virtuous field in the west, the Lord of all the Teachings of the Victorious beneath the sky, the Omniscient, Holder of the *Vajra*”³⁰, □□□□, burn incense and with humility, like scattering flowers with the hands, with unnumbered compliments, address [this letter].

The Great Lord Shengzu Manjusri [KangXi 康熙] with an authentic profound recognition of my service, like a father nourishing his unique son, protected me closely with great benevolence

But though my desire to encounter the golden face of the great Lord Shengzu [Kangxi 康熙] was very big, because my merits were poor, I could not encounter [him] and I was in a very great sorrow.

Besides, the Great Lord Manjusri [Shizong 世宗], having also looked closely with benevolence, his benevolence being like that of a father for his unique son, has, in

29. The expression “by the power of the destiny of long fate”, *tse-rin gnam gyi she-mon bdzen-pos*, is the usual translation, during the Qing dynasty, of the Chinese: “by the mandate of Heaven”, *fengtian chengyun* 奉天承運.

30. As said before, this title was granted with a golden edict (*jin chi* 金冊) to the Seventh Dalai Lama by the emperor Shizong in the first year of the Yongzheng reign (1723). It was accompanied by a golden seal (*jin yin* 金印) with inscriptions in Chinese, Tibetan, Manchu and Mongolian. This seal (fig. 3) is still preserved in the Norbulinka by the Historical Relics Administration of the Tibet Autonomous Region and has been published in several publications. Cf. *Xizang wenwu jingcui* 西藏文物精粹, Gugong bowuyuan cijincheng chubanshe 故宮博物院紫禁城出版社, 1992, pp.54-55; *Xizang lishi dang an huicui* 西藏歷史檔案薈粹, Xizang zizhi qu dang'an guanbian 西藏自治區檔案館編, Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社, 1995, plate 71. The Tibetan title given in our letter corresponds with the title that was engraved on that seal. The Chinese translation was: 西天大善自在佛所領天下釋教普通瓦赤拉坦喇達賴喇嘛之印. The seal bestowed to the Eight Dalai Lama was slightly the same. Cf. *Xizang lidai zangyin* 西藏歷代藏印, Sichuan, Xizang renmin chubanshe 西藏人民出版社, 1991, p.62.

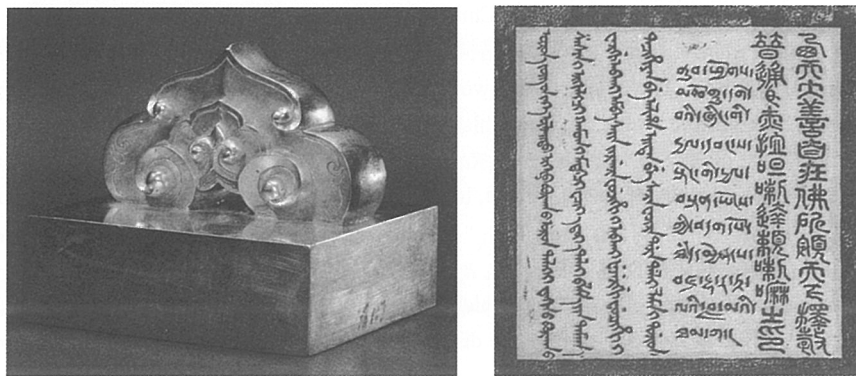


Fig. 3

accord with the custom [established] during the Fifth Dalai Lama, bestowed his favours with good orders such as the golden edict and seal³¹. The gratitude [I feel for this], I could not [measure it], even if measured for myriad lifetimes.

The Great Lord [Shizong 世宗] being absorbed only with the intentional thought of establishing all beings in the state of happiness 〇〇〇〇, in harmony with 〇〇〇〇,

The lotus feet of the Great Lord [Shizong 世宗] 〇〇〇〇,

The Great Lord Manjusri Himself [Shizong 世宗] being inseparable from His father Shengzu, the Great King [Kangxi 康熙],

If I am to encounter the golden face of the Great Lord [Shizong 世宗],

Because I could not encounter the golden face of His father Shengzu, the Great King [Kangxi 康熙] even for a little,

day and night, my heart is filled with the profound desire to meet the golden face of the Great Lord [Shizong 世宗] Himself 〇〇〇〇,

The Great Lord Manjusri Himself [Shizong 世宗], according to my mind, ,clearly, 〇〇〇〇,

“To see the golden face of the Great Lord [Shizong 世宗] in a place outside [the capital], go to Litang”, so, myself being very small, having gone to Litang

and having obtained to encounter the golden face of the Great Lord [Shizong 世宗] and the good orders which give favours, the meaning of this very life will be realised today, That is why, for me, 〇〇〇〇,

I looked at the movement of the stars, and the 23rd of the 11th month being auspicious, I will depart from the Potala on that date,

However, according to the Great Lord Manjusri [Shizong 世宗], ... the way to develop the Teaching, in the Scriptures of the Victorious,

31. The kind of title bestowed to the Seventh Dalai Lama was first granted to the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1653 by the Emperor Shizu 世祖 (1644-1661). The Chinese title was exactly the same but the Tibetan title was different. Cf. *Xizang wenwu jingcui* 西藏文物精粹, Gugong bowuyuan cijincheng chubanshe 故宮博物院紫禁城出版社, 1992, p.54. The author of this work has however made an error, in the Tibetan notice, in the copy of the Tibetan title of the Seventh Dalai Lama. According to Chen Wei 陳瑋, when the Ming emperor Yongle 永樂 invited in 1406 the great *Karmapa* master De-bzin gsegs-pa 得銀協巴 (1384-1415) to perform a ceremony for his deceased parents, he gave this cleric a title which was similar in one part : 西天大善自在佛所領天下釋教. Cf. Chen Wei, " Qing wang chao qianqi xizang zhengce de yanjin ji qi tedian 清王朝前期西藏政策的演進及其特點", *Xizang yanjiu*, 1995 (2), pp.50. But the inscription on the seal that was bestowed on this occasion and which is kept in the Norbulinka, has been published and the title in Tibetan is different from the one we are discussing. Cf. *Xizang wenwu jingcui*, Gugong bowuyuan cijincheng chubanshe, 1992, p.49.

Though it was not in accordance with the thought of the Most High³², who spreads the Teaching of the Yellow Hats³³ and who establishes the beings in happiness

The Great Lord [Shizong 世宗] being Manjusri Himself, though all the living being beneath the sky enter his heart in the same way, □□□□. The gratefulness for such a great and excellent benevolence for the people of Tibet, is measureless and inexpressible. That is why, though

I will wait with great respect for the arrival of the great benefactor, the Great Lord Manjusri [Shizong 世宗],

Here is my request with some divine auspicious objects. By the hand of the Dalai Lama, on the 25th of the 10th Hor month³⁴

In this document which is clearly related to his exile, the Seventh Dalai Lama lays great stress on the meeting he will have with the emperor but, actually, he never met the emperor. Therefore I tried to find out the motives of this exile.

According to the *Weizang tongzhi* 衛藏通志, the decision to exile the Dalai Lama was made "in order to prevent conflict"³⁵. Another reason given both in the Qing annals and by modern Chinese scholars is that the Manchu Emperor wanted to protect the Dalai Lama from an eventual attack of the Dzungars. But the fact that the Dalai Lama was implicated in the troubles, at least by the role his father played, had been known quite early by the Manchus. In the first month of 1727, a memorial was sent from a Manchu brigadier-general to the emperor :

Though the Dalai Lama is very intelligent, he is still very young. It is inevitable that he will incline in favour of the positions of his father Suruo muda erza.³⁶

32. The Most Highy may refers this time to the Panchen Lama.

33. The teaching of the Yellow Hats refers to the *Gelukpa* school which was founded by Dje Tsongkhapa (1357-1419). In this school, the monks who after more than twenty years of studies, pass their exams, receive the title of *Gueshe* and are then to wear a yellow hat during ceremonies. This custom made the *Gelukpa* receive the name Bearer of yellow Hat, notably among the Chinese : *huang mao jiao* 黃帽教 or *huang jiao* 黃教.

34. Originally, Hor referred to the months of the Uigur calendar, but in Tibetan official documents it usually refers to the Chinese calendar. Cf. Petech, L. Petech, *The Dalailamas and regents of Tibet : a chronological study*, *T'oung Pao*, XLVII (1959), p.369.

35. 卷 30. cf. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th Century. History of the Establishment of chinese Protectorate in Tibet*, Leiden, 1950, p.137.

36. 清世宗雍正實錄, 史語版, 卷52, 頁29。Erroneously cited under the year 1728 (雍正六年正月) by Chao Yunjian 趙雲田 in "Zhangjia he Qingchao de zangchuan fojiao zhengce 章嘉和清朝的藏傳佛教政策", *Xizang yanjiu*, 1987 (2), p.39. On this memorial, cf. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th Century. History of the Establishment of chinese Protectorate in Tibet*, Leiden, 1950, p.244.

There are traces in the imperial records that on the ninth month of the same year the Manchu authorities were already discussing the possibility of a removal of the Dalai Lama from Tibet. The town of Xining was suggested as a possible destination³⁷. It seems the Manchus feared the Dalai Lama could flee and support the Dzungars.³⁸ That is why on the twelfth month, it was decided that the place where the Dalai Lama would be moved to will be kept secret³⁹.

From then on, the preparations for this removal continued. On the second month of 1728, the governor of Yunnan had reported that to manage the Tibetan population, it would be better to move the Dalai Lama with his father⁴⁰. On the third month, the governor of Shanxi remarked that after the departure of the Dalai Lama, a *Huteku* with good learning and ability to manage the monasteries should replace him and he proposed that the Panchen Lama assume this position. He also suggested that the journey be made in the ninth month as the snow made the road very difficult after the tenth month and recommended to keep the itinerary strictly secret. He also suggested that the expenses should be paid with money of the Sichuan army.⁴¹

Though Jalanga arrived in Lhasa in the eighth month, he only had an interview with the Dalai-Lama about this matter on the tenth month. By this time the Manchus had already completed the preparations for the Dalai Lama's departure to Sichuan.⁴² There are two accounts of this meeting held in Potala. According to the biography of Polhane, Jalanga said :

The Dalai Lama has been aspiring for a long time to meet the emperor Kangxi. The emperor is deceased but his son who has received the imperial charge of his father, hopes to meet the Dalai Lama and go with him to marvel at the great wall.

37. 一史館藏官中失批奏折,元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係檔案史料匯編,第二冊 pp.392-393. In 1727, the boundaries between Sichuan and Tibet underwent drastic changes and with the lose of Amdo country (Qinghai) in 1724, the ancient territories of Tibet were reduced by half. From this time on the Chinese began to name Tibet: Weizang 衛藏, which referred to the dBus and Tsang regions. Cf. Josef Kolmas, *op. cit.*, p.42.

38. 一史館藏官中失批奏折,元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係檔案史料匯編,第二冊, pp.394-395。

39. 一史館藏官中失批奏折,元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係檔案史料匯編,第二冊, p.397。

40. 一史館藏官中失批奏折,元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係檔案史料匯編,第二冊, p.401。

41. 一史館藏官中失批奏折,元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係檔案史料匯編,第二冊, p.427。

42. 一史館藏官中失批奏折,元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係檔案史料匯編,第二冊, p.431。

We invite the Dalai Lama to go to encounter the emperor and within a year to request to return to Tibet.⁴³

The Dalai-Lama refused to go at first, claiming he had not finished his studies and had not got the smallpox that had declared at this time. However, according to the biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama, Jalanga said the emperor had ordered the Dalai Lama to go for a while to Litang⁴⁴. This biography was composed by the second Cankya *Hutuku* between 1758 and 1759. It gives a fine chronology but as Petech pointed out, it is concerned strictly with religion and its ceremonial.⁴⁵ As far as political events are concerned, it seems that the account given in the biography of Polhane, which was written by a witness of the events⁴⁶, is sometimes more precise.

Anyway, in both versions, Polhane, the Panchen Lama and all the great Lamas begged Jalanga not to take the Dalai Lama out of Tibet⁴⁷. This may well be referred to by the following sentence in the letter of the Seventh Dalai Lama :

Though it was not in accordance with the thought of the Most High, who spreads the Teaching of the Yellow Hats and who establishes the beings in happiness

But they begged in vain. The Dalai Lama had no choice but to accept and I suggest that the official proclamation is the letter kept in the Institute of History and Philology, where he announced he would go on the 23rd of the eleventh month.

4. The historical value of the letter

About the eventual meeting of the Dalai Lama with the emperor, Petech wrote :

The curious thing in the whole proceedings was that it was never intended that the Dalai Lama should go to Peking ; no such order was ever given by the emperor. And even in the Tibetan texts, not a single word more is said about the Dalai-Lama's journey to the capital, as soon as he had agreed to leave. Thus it seems that the Chinese commissioners simply employed the pretence of an imperial invitation as a decoy for the Dalai-Lama, who could not very well refuse such a high favour. [...] when the Dalai-Lama officially announced his decision to leave Lhasa, he

43. 頗羅鼐傳，pp.680-681。

44. Wang Gui 王貴, *Xizang lishi diwei bian* 西藏歷史地位辨, Beijing 北京, Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 1995, p.114.

45. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th Century. History of the Establishment of chinese Protectorate in Tibet*, Leiden, 1950, p.2.

46. Petech, *ibid.*, p.3.

47. Petech, *ibid.*, p.137.

simply stated that he had accepted to travel to K'ams for the welfare of the people notwithstanding the supplication of the tashi-Lama and of the K'ri Rin-po-c'e not to leave Tibet.⁴⁸

But considering the contents of our letter, the main point of the Dalai Lama's official decision was the meeting with the emperor. The journey to Litang is referred to but it seems the Dalai Lama was still hoping he could meet Shizong and that he would await this opportunity in Litang. I found what seems to be a proof of this hypothesis in the imperial records which have kept a letter of the emperor sent on the 8th day of the fourth month of 1729 to the Dalai Lama :

You made a request to come to the capital for a visit, but if I call you to come to the interior countries, I am afraid that as there is a torrid heat in the interior countries and as you had not yet had the smallpox, it will not be comfortable. So, wait for the occasion I will make inspection on the borders and it will be possible to call you again so that we meet.⁴⁹

This document, I think, may well be a response to the letter kept in the Institute of History and Philology. On the second month of 1730, the Dalai Lama sent the following letter :

I, little and humble monk, since I was very young, have been relying on the benevolence of emperor Shengzu, who like a father loving his son, bestowed an edict of great favour [on me], his benevolence is inexpressible.

The Sacred Lord of the empire, like the emperor Shengzu, being full of compassion for all beings and for me, the little monk, gratified me with a seal and an imperial decree, and awarded me with a title. The favour I received is unlimited.

Previously, the imperial censorate Jalanga and others transmitted the order that I, small monk, should go to the capital to pay a visit to the divine face [of the emperor] and listen to his teaching. When I was to obey and come to the capital, the great Emperor, in order to protect the Yellow School, and to be compassionate to the humble monk I am, did not spare the money of the state, and like Kubilai Khan who, during the previous *Buddha's* time, did meritorious work, built a new temple. The humble monk followed the order and left Litang. On the 3rd day of the second month, I went into the temple to admire it.⁵⁰

So when the Seventh Dalai Lama went to his exile in Sichuan, he was thinking of a

48. Petech, *ibid.*, pp.137-138.

49. 一史館藏官中失批奏折，元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係檔案史料匯編，第二冊，p. 437。

50. 一史館藏官中失批奏折，元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係檔案史料匯編，第二冊，p. 440-441。

meeting with the emperor. Thanks to the letter that was discovered, this element that had been absent in the previous studies of this event becomes more evident. As a conclusion, I would say that beyond the value this authorship of the Dalai Lama gives to this document, this letter also sheds new light on the banishment of the Seventh Dalai Lama to Litang.

Epilogue

The Seventh Dalai Lama left Lhasa on the 23rd of the eleventh month⁵¹ with his father and an escort of about 200 Tibetan men. They were accompanied by a Manchu army composed of five troops, of nearly 5,000 soldiers of various origin⁵². They reached Litang on the second month of 1729⁵³. On the sixth month, the Dalai Lama's father went to Peking, where he received a title granted by the emperor as a reward for having dedicated himself to the religious education of his son and having refrained from participating in any Tibetan state affairs⁵⁴.

The Dalai Lama was then transferred to Taining 泰寧 (Gar tar in Tibetan, Sichuan Kangding xian 四川康定縣) where he founded a monastery. A commemorative stele of the opening of the monastery composed by Shizong was engraved in 1730⁵⁵. It stresses the spiritual role of the Dalai Lama (propagating the Teaching of the *Gelukpa*) and does not allude to any political role.

The Qing government established a Chinese minister in Tibet, *zhuzang dachen* 駐藏大臣 (or *Amban* in Manchu) who was to reinforce the control of the Qing government over Tibetan affairs. A garrison of 2,000 soldiers was stationed in Lhasa and an edict concerning the status of Tibet was published :酌定西藏善后章程. The government of Tibet was given to Pholane who received the rank of *beizi* 貝子 (the fourth class of the princes of the ruling house). He ruled for twenty years and succeeded in preserving Tibetan independence by maintaining the Manchu representatives as observers and diplomatic agents of the Qing emperor⁵⁶.

51. *Qingshi lu Xizang shiliao* 清實錄西藏史料, Henan sheng 河南省, Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1982, p.326

52. 清世宗雍正實錄, 史語版, 卷75, 頁19。

53. *Qingshi lu Xizang shiliao*, p.328.

54. 清世宗雍正實錄, 史語版, 卷82, 頁4。

55. Lama beiwen 喇嘛碑文, *Huiyuan miao beiwen* 惠遠廟碑文, vol.3, p.98.

56. D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson, *op. cit.*, Boston and London, Shambhala, 1986, p.219.

RGyal-sras Rin-po-c'e, who was considered by the Tibetans as an incarnation of the great Indian master Santideva, acted as the vice-regent for spiritual matters while the Seventh Dalai Lama was in exile⁵⁷. To counter the banishment of the Dalai Lama, which made it difficult for him to influence the leading school of the *Gelukpa*, the Manchu emperor tried to lift up the secular power of the Panchen Lama by making him the sovereign of Tsang and Western Tibet in 1728. This reinforced the tension that had always existed between the dBus and the Tsang and which was to be the cause of many internal troubles in the future⁵⁸.

It was only in 1734, that Shizong emperor ordered the return of the Seventh Dalai Lama to Lhasa⁵⁹(fig. 4). The second Cankya *Hutuqu*, Cankya Rolpe Dordje 章嘉呼圖克圖饒貝多杰(1717-1786), who was to write the biography of the Seventh Dalai Lama in 1758, went to Taining where Kel-sang Gyamtso was staying. Together, they journeyed to Lhasa which they reached in 1735 (雍正十三年).



Fig. 4

Back at the capital, the Dalai Lama was still deprived of his secular power. At that time, the ruler of Tibet was still Polhane who died in 1747 and was succeeded by his son. The Seventh Dalai Lama died in 1757, leaving behind Him religious works which are still considered master pieces.

57. Alfonsa Ferrari, *Mk'yen brtse's guide to the holy places of central Tibet*, Serie Orientale Roma, XVI, Istituto Italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1958, p.120, note 191.

58. D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p.220.

59. 清世宗雍正實錄，卷145，雍正十二年七月。Cited by Chao Yunjian 趙雲田 in "Zhangjia he Qingchao de zangcuan fojiao zhengce 章嘉和清朝的藏傳佛教政策", *Xizang yanjiu*, 1987 (2), p.41.

Rendition

༄། །ཆེ་ཤིང་གནམ་གྱི་ཤེ་མོང་བཙན་པོས་འཇམ་ ན་པོར་སྟོབས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ ལྷ་ར་བ་འཇམ་

དབྱངས་ གོང་མ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཞབས་དྲུང་།

འགོང་མའི་ལུང་གིས་ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་མཆོག་ཏུ་དགེ་བའི་ཞིང་གི་རྒྱལ་དབང་ས་སྟེང་གི་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བདག་པོ་ཐོང་།

མ་བྱེན་པ་བཇ་རྩ་ར་ཏ་ལའི་སྤྱ་མར་འབོད་པས་བྱོ རེབ་ ཕྱོག མ་པོའི་སྟོས་བསྐྱེགས་ ལག་

པས་མེ་ཏོག་མངོན་པར་འཐོར་བཞིན་པར་གས་པས་ཕྱག་གུངས་མེད་པ་དང་བཙས་ཞུ་བ་ འཇམ་དབྱངས་

༡་ཤིང་ཙུ་བདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོས་ངེད་ལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ལྷི་བའི་བདག་རྒྱུན་ཆད་མས་འདས་པས་ཕས་བྱ་གཅིག་པུ་པལོ་ ར་

ཆེན་པོས་ཉེ་བར་བསྐྱངས་པའི་

འཤིང་ཙུ་བདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གསེར་ཞལ་མཇལ་བར་མོས་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་ཡང་། ངེད་བསོད་ནམས་དམན་པས་

མཇལ་མ་ཐབ་པ་ཡིད་འགྱོད་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བར་གྱུར་ འཇམ་དབྱངས་

༡་བདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོས་ཀྱང་བཙེ་བས་ཉེ་བར་གཟིགས་ཏེ་ཕས་བྱ་གཅིག་པུ་བཙེ་བ་བཞིན་ཏེ་ལའི་སྤྱ་མ་ལྷ་པའི་ལྷགས་སྟོལ་ལྷར

གསེར་གྱི་འཇའ་ས་ ཐོག་སོགས་བཀའ་ལུང་བཟང་པོས་གཟེངས་བཞོད་བརྩལ་བའི་སྤྱ་དྲིན་ཆེན་པོ་ནི་སྟེ་བ་བྱི་

ཕྱག་དུ་མར་གཞལ་ཀྱང་ག་ལ་འཁོར་།

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ནི་བསྟན་འགྲོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ལ་འགོད་པའི་དགོངས་པ་གཅིག་ཏུ་གཞོལ་བ་ཡི་ བ་

དང་མཐན་པར་།

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཞབས་པད་བྱི་ཕྱག་དུ་མར་བརྟན་པའི་སྤྱ་རིམ་ལ་བརྟེན་ཞིང་ བར་འཇམ་དབྱངས་

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཉིད་ འཡབ་ཤིང་ཙུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་དབྱེར་མ་མཆིས་པས་

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོའི་གསེར་ཞལ་མཇལ་རྒྱ་བྱང་ཕྱིན་།

འཡབ་ཤིང་ཙུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོའི་གསེར་ཞལ་མཇལ་བ་དང་བྱུང་པར་ཅད་ཀྱང་མེད་པས་

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གསེར་ཞལ་མཇལ་བའི་མོས་གས་སེམས་ལ་ཉིན་མཆོན་ཁོར་ཡུག་ཏུ་ཡོད་པ་བ བ་

古今

論衡

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་དངོས་གྱིས་བདག་གི་བསམ་པ་བཞིན་གསལ་པོར་ □ ན □

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་འི་གསེར་ཞལ་ཕྱི་འི་ས་ཆར་གཟིགས་པར་ལི་བང་དུ་ཕེབས་ཐོག་ ཆུང་དུ་བདག་ལི་བང་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཏེ་

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་འི་གསེར་ཞལ་གྱི་མཇལ་ཁ་དང་ བཀའི་བསྐབ་བྱ་བ་རྩལ་རྒྱའི་བཀའ་ལྟར་བཟང་པོ་ □ □ .

ཐོབ་པས་དེད་སྐྱེ་བ་འདི་འི་བསམ་དོན་ད་རེས་འགྲུབ་པས་དེད་ལ་དཔེ་རྒྱ་མ་མཆིས་པའི་ངོ་མཚར་ཆེན་པོ་འི་བདག་

རྒྱན་བོད་སེམས་ཆེན་པོ་དང་སྤྱུ་རྒྱུ་གས་པས་ཀྱང་མི་ཐེག་པར་བརྩལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལྟར་བཟང་པོ་གིན་ཏུ་ཕྱི་བའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲངས་ནས་

གཟུང་སྐར་བལྟས་པར་ རྒྱ་བ་བཅ་གཅིག་པའི་ཆེས་ཉེར་གསམ་བཟང་བར་འདུག་གཤིས་དེ་ཉིན་པོ་ཏལ་ནས་ཐོན་

རྒྱ་ཡིན་ འོན་ཀྱང་འཇམ་དབྱངས་

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོས་གཉེར་དུ་གཏད་པ་བཞིན་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱས་པའི་ཐབས་ཚུལ་རྒྱལ་བའི་གསལ་རབ་ལ་བསྐབ་ □ .

རྒྱུ་གས་པས་

ཞུ་སེར་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱས་ཤིང་འགྲོ་བ་རྣམས་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ལ་འགོད་པའི་

འགོང་མ་ཆེན་པོ་འི་དགོངས་པ་ཇི་བཞིན་མ་བྱུང་

ཀྱང་

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་འི་འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་དངོས་ཡིན་གཤིས་ ས་རྟེན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་འགྲོ་ཐམ་ □ □ 'གཅིག་ཏུ་ཐགས་' □ □ ར་

འཇུག་པ་ཡིན་ནའང་ བོད་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་མེད་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་བརྟེན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་འི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ནི་

ཆད་དང་བརྟེན་ལས་འདས་པས་བདག་གིས་ཀྱང་འདི་དང་འདི་འོ་ཞེས་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་འི་ཆོག་ཙམ་ཡང་རྟེན་པར་མ་གྱུར་ཀྱང་ དེད་ལི་

ཐང་ལ་ཕྱུར་རྩེད་གྱིས་བསྐྱོད་དེ་ □ □ 'གི་དྲིན་ཅན་འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་'

འབདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་འི་ཕེབས་བསྐྱུག་གས་པ་ཆེན་པོས་ཞུ་ཅིས་ལགས་པ་དགོངས་པ་ཟབ་མོར་གཙགས་པ་ནས་ བདག་

བརྟེན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ནས་མ་བོར་བའི་བཀའི་ལྟར་བཟང་པོ་འང་སྦྱི་བོར་འརྩལ་བ་མ་བྱེད་མ་བྱེད་ ཞེས་གསལ་བ་

འདེབས་

རྟེན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་པའི་ལྷ་རྒྱས་བཅས་ཉོར་རྒྱ་བཅ་པའི་ཆེས་ཉེར་ལྷ་ལ་ཏལ་འི་སྤྲ་མས་ཕྱག་དང་བཅས་

ཕལ།