


# Official documents in Mongolian language relating to the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing in 1652–1653<sup>1</sup>

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he visit of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, to Beijing in 1652–1653 was a history-making event. Needless to say, there is no shortage of scholarly studies and interpretations of this event.<sup>2</sup> The aim of the present article is to present to scholarly view a translation from Mongolian of several documents relating to this visit. Most of these documents are known through their translations from the Chinese. However, Chinese was one of the two state languages of the Qing 清 Empire alongside the Manchu language. The importance of the historical sources in the Manchu language which had hitherto been regarded just as “duplicates” of those in Chinese was recognized by historians in recent decades. The Mongolian language was also widely used for official purposes, in particular in regard to matters relating to the “outer territories” (Mongolia, Tibet and Eastern Turkestan). This particularly refers to the period of the early Qing at the time when the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit took place. These recently published documents, which are kept in the First Historical Archives of China in Beijing, demonstrate the fact that the official correspondence relating to the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit was primarily conducted in Mongolian. However, these letters contain only a part of the information and in most cases it is also written that the message would be conveyed orally by the envoy. The presents sent are always listed in these letters – most probably, with the aim of avoiding a possible theft.

The Dalai Lamas are commonly regarded as symbols of Tibet and “rule by incarnation” is considered as a unique and ingenious Tibetan

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<sup>2</sup> Ahmad 1970: 166–186; Li Pengnian, Chen Qiangyi 2004; Martynov, Pang 2003; Rockhill 1910: 13–18; Schwieger 2014: 61–64; Taklha 2019; Testimony of History 2002: 106–113; Tuttle 2006.

invention. However, initially the emergence of the Dalai Lamas was a Mongol project.

The Tibetan cleric, Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543–1588), was given the title of “Dalai Lama” by a powerful Mongol ruler Altan Khan (1507–1582) in 1578. The word *dalai* means “ocean”. However, the first written texts in Mongolian already testify to its usage in the sense of “great, enormous, all-embracing”. In this meaning it was used as a part of the great Mongol Khan’s titles. In the “Secret History” (*Yuan chao mi shi* 元朝秘史, § 280) the expression *dalai-yin qahan* “the universal ruler” is used in relation to Ögedei, son and heir to Genggis Khan.

The vast and fragmented Mongolia of the sixteenth century needed a unifying authority acknowledged by everyone. Heaven was worshiped by the Mongols from time immemorial but who could speak on behalf of Heaven? Only a ruler chosen by Heaven, like the deified Genggis Khan who had no analogues in subsequent Mongolian history. Meanwhile the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of a deity and, as is evident from his title, was initially supposed to be the highest Buddhist authority. The second half of the sixteenth century is known as the second dissemination of Buddhism among the Mongols. Since that time Buddhism has dominated the spiritual, political and even economic life of the Mongols.

Having received the title “Dalai Lama”, Bsod nams rgya mtsho did not return to Tibet. After ten years of travels in Mongolia and Qinghai, he passed away on the way to Beijing in 1588. The next incarnation, the Fourth Dalai Lama, was Altan Khan’s grandson, Yon tan rgya mtsho (1589–1617), who arrived in Tibet only in 1603. In this way, twenty-five years after the title of the Dalai Lama was announced in Mongolia, its bearer appeared in Tibet. He was an ethnic Mongol and was accompanied by a Mongol military unit.

### *1. Sending an invitation to the Fifth Dalai Lama*

The initiative to invite the Dalai Lama to the capital of the new Manchu Qing dynasty appeared almost simultaneously with its promulgation in 1636. There exist two letters about the invitation of the Dalai Lama sent by rulers of Khalkha Mongolia to the Emperor in 1637. It should be noted that Khalkha (also known as “Northern” and “Outer”) Mongolia did not join the Qing Empire with the Southern (“Inner”) Mongolia. Some Chinese officials regarded the invitation of the Dalai Lama as a means of establishing control over Khalkha Mongolia.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Ahmad 1970: 169.

Oum svasti siddham:

Maq-a-samadi Sečen qaγan-i boγda-du bičig bariba:

Boγda mendü buyu: bide ende mendü bui:

Dalai lam-a-yi ĵalay-a gegči ĵöb buyu: Ende doloyan qosiyu Qalq-a: ĵalay-a geĵi bayiy-a bile: Basa Dörben Oyirad ĵalay-a gegser bile: Tani ĵalayčün: mani dayarin ir-e: Qamtu-bar yabuγsan ĵöb buyu: γurban qaγan-i mani üge nige ĵöblegsen bai: Bide γurban-i üge nige-yin tulada: mendü asayun elči-ben ilegegči ene bile: Bičig-ün beleg-tü: döčün bulaγ-a: döčün aduyu bai: Elči mani Sečen Qonĵin: Bilig-tü Sanĵin bai:<sup>4</sup>

Om svasti siddham!

Secen Khan Mahasamadi conveys a letter to the Emperor.

Is the highest [Khan] in good health? We here are in good health.

Your saying, "I shall invite the Dalai Lama!" is correct. Here all the seven banners of Khalkha say, "[We] shall invite [him]!" The Four Oirats are also constantly saying, "[We] shall invite [him]!" Your envoys with the invitation can go through our [territory]. It would be correct for them to go together with us. We, the three Khans [of Khalkha] are in union. Since we three are united in our words, we sent to you envoys in order to ask about your health. The presents, forty sabres and forty horses, are sent with this letter. Our envoys are Secen Qonĵin and Biligtu Sanĵin.

Oum svasti siddham:

Aγuda örösiyegči nayiramdayu: Boγda qaγan-i gegen-ü emüne: Tüsiyetü qaγan bičig ergübe: Urida mendü-yi ese medeged: elči-ben ese yabuγuluγsan-u tulada mendü-yi asuyun elči ilegebe:

Dalai lam-a-yi ĵalay-san ĵöb metü sananam bide: Doloyan qosiyu Qalq-a ĵalay-a geĵi ĵöblegsen bile: Dörben Oyirad ĵalay-a geĵi bayiy-a genem: Tendeče ĵalaqu elči ilegeküle qamtu-bar yabuγulqula yamar: Ali-ba üge üiles biden-i: Sečen qaγan-tai öber-e ügei bai ĵ-a: Bičig ayiladqaqu-yin beleg-tü qoyar sira numu: γurban mori bui: Elči-yin ner-e Kingli Sami Naγur Sigecün bui: Erdeni juu-yin emün-eče sayin edür yabuγulba:<sup>5</sup>

Om svasti siddham!

Tushetu Khan conveys a letter to his serenity, the merciful and harmonious Emperor.

As I had not previously sent an envoy and did not ask about your health, I am [now] sending an envoy in order to enquire about your health.

We think that you were right to invite the Dalai Lama. The seven banners of Khalkha accordingly say, "[We] shall invite [him]!" The Four Oirats say, "[We] shall invite [him]!" So when you send the envoy with the invitation, how about sending them jointly? All my words do not differ from those by Sečen Khan. With the letter [I am sending to you are these] gifts: two yellow bows and three horses. The names of my envoys are Kingli Sami and Nagur Sigecin.

<sup>4</sup> Mongolian Documents I: 190.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid: 191–192.

Sent on an auspicious day from a place near the Erdeni juu Monastery.

The political situation in Inner Asia and Far East at that time should also be taken into account. In 1634 the last Mongolian ruler, Ligdan Khan, was defeated by the Manchus and died on the way westwards. In 1636 a new Qing dynasty was promulgated, claiming to be the only legitimate Chinese-style dynasty. However, to the south of the Great Wall the Ming 明 dynasty continued to rule and nobody could predict that in 1643 it would be overthrown by the Chinese themselves and that its last Emperor would commit suicide. Only after seizing this unique historical opportunity did the Qing dynasty take the whole of China under its control. The seventeenth century could have reproduced the situation of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, when the Jin 金 dynasty of the Jurchens, who were the ancestors of the Manchus, opposed the Chinese Song 宋 dynasty. In 1637 the Qing dynasty controlled a relatively small territory to the north of the Great Wall and had no border with Tibet. This is why the Khalkha rulers proposed a “northern way” to the envoys of the Manchu emperor.

In 1637 the Qinghai-based Mongolian opponent of the Gelugpas, Čogtu tayji, was defeated and killed by Gushi Khan, the leader of the Khoshuts, a Western Mongolian tribe. In 1640 a big assembly of Mongolian and Oirat rulers was convened in order to develop the principles of co-existence under the new circumstances. By that time Southern “Inner” Mongolia became a part of the Qing Empire, so it was attended by the rulers of the Northern “Outer” Mongolia. Gushi Khan also attended this gathering, which developed a new law code. This law code is known as the “Great Legislation” (Mong. *Yeke čayaġa*) and it mentions Rje Tsongkapa, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama in its preamble.<sup>6</sup>

This shows that the Gelugpa supremacy with the Dalai Lama as its chief spiritual authority was first acknowledged by the Mongols. The subsequent Khoshut invasion of Tibet made all the Tibetans recognize the Mongolian choice.

In 1639 the Manchu Emperor Hong Taiji decided to send a mission to Tibet which should have visited the major religious centers and meet the most outstanding lamas of different schools. In a special letter Gushi Khan was requested to assist this mission. It seems that the Emperor of the newly-proclaimed dynasty did not want to get involved in religious struggles in Tibet. However, in a few years only Gelugpa leaders were addressed by the Emperor (in 1643–1650 Dorgon was the regent).

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<sup>6</sup> Taupier 2018: 298–299.

Daičing ulus-un ayuda örösiyegči nayiramdayu boyda qayan: Güüsi qayan-du bičig ilegebe: Törü sasin-ača eteged yabuyčid-i kesegen jasaysan-i čini sonosba: Bičig ilegekü-yin učir: Bi erten-ü degedüs-ün törü sasin-i jaljamji-yi tasural ugei bolγaqu-yin tulada: Töbed-eče siditen merged-i jalagu-yin tula: Ilayuγsan qutuγ-tu-luγ-a elči ilegejem: Sir-a ulayan-i ilyaqu ügei keyid büri kürkü bai: Burqan-i sasin-i sanaji tusalaqui-ban či mede: Bičig üjeküi-dür: nige öbji quyaγ bai:<sup>7</sup>

The merciful and harmonious Emperor of the Great Qing state sent a letter to Gushi Khan.

I have heard that you punished those who divert from the [way] of state and religion.

The matter of sending this letter is as following. In order to maintain inseparably the connection between the State and the Religion I am sending an embassy headed by the Ilagugsan Khutugtu with the aim of inviting from Tibet sages and practitioners. Let them visit all monasteries without making distinction between “Yellow” or “Red”. [I offer my] support and care for the Buddhist Religion! With this letter, I am sending you armor.

The first Tibetan mission sent by the victorious Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama arrived in 1642 at Mukden (Shengjing 盛京), the capital of the Manchu Qing empire at that time.<sup>8</sup> The fact that the Tibetan embassy was sent not to the Chinese Ming ruler but to the Manchu Qing ruler was not only a highly symbolic gesture but, more importantly, a recognition of the Manchu dynasty as the only legitimate government in the areas both to the north and to the south of the Great Wall. Needless to say that it was Gushi Khan who was behind this attitude of the Gelugpa hierarchs.

A question arises: was the invitation to the Dalai Lama really sent to him in 1637? In this year he was far from being the chief spiritual authority in Tibet. A modern Chinese scholar, Li Baowen, proposed a view that such an invitation was never sent. The plans to invite leading Tibetan lamas articulated by Emperor Hong Taiji in 1639 were later mistakenly interpreted by Chinese chroniclers as an invitation addressed to the Dalai Lama. In the years that followed, Gushi Khan established the Dalai Lamas' supreme spiritual authority in Tibet and the Qing dynasty established itself in Beijing. Thus the one and only invitation to the Dalai Lama was sent in 1648.<sup>9</sup> It was written in verse in Mongolian.

Erten-ü ilayuyasad-ača vivanggirid ögdegsen:  
Eng olan amitan-i udurid-un:

<sup>7</sup> Mongolian Documents I: 378–379; Ishihama 2001: 216.

<sup>8</sup> Schwieger 2014: 83.

<sup>9</sup> Li Baowen 2006.

Erkin sayin üilen-dür oruγulju el-e:  
 Engke jirγalang-tur kürgökü-yin tulada:  
 Ülemji degedü blam-a bey-e-ber:  
 Ürgüljide sayin öljei qutuγ orosiγul-un:  
 Ünen gün mör-i jiγaju ögkü-yin tula:  
 Ögede bolju irekü ajiyamu  
 kemen::<sup>10</sup>

He – whose coming was foretold by Buddhas of ancient times,  
 Who is followed by multitudes of living beings  
 And who caused them to do what is good  
 In order to bring to them peace and joy –  
 This exalted high Lama  
 In order to bring perpetual blessing  
 And demonstrate the true and profound Way  
 Please, deign to come.<sup>11</sup>

Information about this invitation is found in the Chinese sources.<sup>12</sup> However, the text of the invitation is available only in Mongolian. Letters announcing the invitation sent to the Dalai Lama were also sent to the Panchen Lama and Gushi Khan.<sup>13</sup> They both were requested to assist in the implementation of this visit.

Gushi Khan responded immediately.

Om suvasti:

Ülemji yeke buyan-u kücün-iyer tngri-eče jayayatu törögsen kümün-ü erketü degedü qayan-u gegen-e: sajin amitan-i tusalan tedküküi-tür duralaqui sedkil-tü: Sajin bariγči nom-un qayan bičig bariba: Edüge čaγ-tu yerü amitan-u kesig jayay-a egüdügsen bey-e oγtarγui-yin čintamani-dur jokis ügei egülen-e daldalaydal ügegü-y-e meden üiledküi kücün-ü gerel-iyer čambudiib-un čečerlig-nuγud-i amuyulang-iyar tedküküi-yin irayū sayin aldar-luγ-a tegüsügseger bičig beleg öggügsen kürbe: Ende amur mende-ber sajin kiged sajin-i bariγčid-i kündelen takiju γabiy-a-tu ulus irgen-i amur-iyar tedküküi-yin yosuγar-bar: qamuγ amitan tonilqui-yin siltayan sajin-i delgeregülküi-yin tula: amitan-u itegel sajin-u naran qamuγ-yi medegči včir-a-dar-a dalai lama-yi jalara elčis iregsen: adalidqasi ügei eyimü sayin üile-dü: adqay mayu sedkil-ten-eče busu ken ber yaγun-dur daγan ülü bayasum: Deger-e-eče lam-a ögede bolqui čaγ-yi ene jarliγ boloγsan-i tere učir-a biden tusalaqui-yi kičiyekü bai ja: aliba üge elči-dü bai: bičig-ün beleg quyaγ: sayadaγ: numu: ildu: quba erike: budija erike: tabin čengme: γučin mori: qoyar tas: Üker jil-ün qoyaduγar sara-yin sayin edür qubilγan-u ordu qarsi-yin oyira-ača bariba::<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Mongolian Documents III: 11–12.

<sup>11</sup> This invitation is followed by the list of gifts which is not translated.

<sup>12</sup> Ahmad 1970: 166–167.

<sup>13</sup> Mongolian Documents III: 12–13.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid: 78–79.

Om svasti.

Bstan 'dzin Chos rgyal<sup>15</sup> [Gushi Khan], remembering the necessity of guarding and assisting the Religion and living beings, conveys a message to his serenity, the great and mighty Emperor, who by the force of great virtues [collected in previous births] was born [in accordance with] the Mandate of Heaven. [You], by the power of knowledge, disperse unworthy clouds which cover the Treasury of Heaven which is the source of happiness and destiny of common living beings in modern times. By this [you] guard with tranquility the flower gardens of Jambudvīpa. You sent a letter and gifts [which] were received. Following the tradition of worshipping and respecting the Religion and its adherents and of protecting meritorious people, in order to spread the Religion, which is the cause of salvation of all living beings, [your] envoys arrived in order to invite the protector of living beings, the sun of Religion, the omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama. Who cannot be glad about this unprecedented good deed except for confused, bad people? When an order is issued about the time of the Lama's visit we shall do our best to assist in this matter. The envoy knows my further words. With this letter I am [sending] these gifts: armor, a quiver with arrows, a bow, a sword, an amber rosary, a rosary made from a Bodhi tree, fifty rolls of *pulu* 氍毹 fabrics, thirty horses and the plumage of two vultures. This letter was sent on the auspicious day of the second month of the Ox Year from the [residence] near the Big Jo bo Temple.

The Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama also sent letters and gifts to the Emperor.<sup>16</sup> However, these letters contain no information about the visit.

As the visit was approaching, the correspondence between Beijing and Lhasa intensified. The registers contain the following brief note:

Eye-ber ḡasaḡči-yin naimaduḡar on: qabur-un segül sara-yin qorin qoyar edür Güsi ombo: Dorḡi Darḡan noyan qoyayula ireḡu: Sirab gelong-yin abču ireḡsen Dalai Lama-yin bičig-i abuba:<sup>17</sup>

On the twenty second day of the last spring month of the eighth year of the Shunzhi reign,<sup>18</sup> Gusi ombo and Dorḡi Darḡan noyan arrived, and they delivered the Dalai Lama's letter carried by Sirab gelong.

<sup>15</sup> The Mongolian translation of this title is used in the original letter. In order to avoid misunderstanding, the original Tibetan title given by the Fifth Dalai Lama to Gushi Khan is used in the translations of this and other documents.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid: 75–77.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid: 248.

<sup>18</sup> 1651.

Within a few days a new embassy was sent to Tibet carrying letters and gifts to the Dalai Lama, to the Panchen Lama, to Gushi Khan and to the *sde pa*.

Jun-u terigün sara-yin sin-e-yin qoyar-a:

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čaγ-i ejelegsen· qaγan-u jarlaγ:

Včir-a-dar-a qamuγ-i medegči včir-a-dar-a dalai lam-a engke amuγulang bui ĵ-a: Bide ende engke amuγulang amu: Lam-a-yin jarlaγ: luu ĵil-ün ĵun ögede boloy-a kemegsen bülüge: Edüge qamuγ amitan-u tusa-yin tulada: luu ĵil-ün namur-un terigün sara-dur ĵolyalduqu-yi küsemü: bi: Gegen-degen örösiyen ayilad: Jalaqu elči Tunbcang Güsi: Dorĵi Darqan noyan: Gabĵu gelüng: urida nilegegsen elči Čaγan gelüng· Sirab gelüng· Sereng: Bičig üjeküi-yin beleg · qoyar emegel qaĵayar-tu mori· nigen altan dongmu: nigen altan čara: jaγun lang altan: qoyar mingγan lang mönggün: jaγun torγ-a::<sup>19</sup>

On the second day of the first month of summer.

Decree of the Emperor [who] rules by the Mandate of Heaven.<sup>20</sup>

Is the Omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama healthy and tranquil? Here we are healthy and tranquil. The Lama's word was, "I will arrive in the summer of the Dragon Year." Now, for the benefit of all sentient beings, in the first autumn month of the Dragon Year I want to meet [you]. Please, reply [to this invitation] clearly. The envoys with the invitation are Tunbcang Gusi, Dorĵi Darqan noyan, Gabĵu *geliing*<sup>21</sup> joined by the previous envoys: Cagan *geliing*, Sirab *geliing* and Sereng.<sup>22</sup> With this letter [are sent] these presents: two horses with saddles and bridles, one golden pitcher, one golden goblet, one hundred *liangs*<sup>23</sup> of gold, two thousand *liangs* of silver, one hundred pieces of silk.

The Panchen Lama and Gushi Khan were both informed about the Emperor's wish to meet the Dalai Lama and were both requested to assist the Dalai Lama.<sup>24</sup> The gifts sent to them were very generous. For example, the Panchen lama received "a golden pitcher, a footed golden bowl, one hundred *liangs* of gold, two thousand *liangs* of silver and one hundred rolls of silk".<sup>25</sup> Gifts for Gushi Khan were more ceremonial and included one thousand *liangs* of silver, arms, a saddle and skins of leopards and tigers.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Mongolian Documents III: 249–250.

<sup>20</sup> Lit. "who possesses the time". Tibetan equivalent is *bskal pa'i mnga' bdag* – "the lord of the *kalpa*".

<sup>21</sup> Tib. *dge slong* – an ordained monk.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the information found in Ahmad 1970: 167.

<sup>23</sup> 1 *liang* 兩 = 37.3 grams.

<sup>24</sup> Mongolian Documents III: 250–253.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem: 251–252.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem: 252–253.



The *sde pa* also received generous donations in order to supervise and sponsor the performance of the rituals necessary for the Dalai Lama's safety during his long journey.

Olan amitan-i tusalaqu-yin tulada: luu ḡil-ün namur terigün sara-dur · Dalai Lama-luḡ-a ḡolḡalduqu-yi küseḡu · ḡalaqu elči ilegeḡem: Kičiyen durad-un öčḡjü ḡalarayulqu-yi: sdiba mede: Juu-yin emun-e · Ganḡur ḡayun unḡsiḡulqu-yin tula · čab · čai · beleg qoyar tümen lang mönggün Sdiba-yin ḡar-tu talbiqu bai: Tende quvaray-ud-i čuḡlayulḡu unḡsiḡulqu-yi Sdiba mede:<sup>27</sup>

For the benefit of all sentient beings in the first autumn month of the Dragon Year I want to meet with the Dalai Lama and have sent an envoy with this invitation. *Sde pa*, be diligently mindful and correct in [your] speech! In order to arrange the reading of the Bka' 'gyur one hundred [times] in front of the [statue of the Big] Jo bo, twenty thousand *liangs* of silver are given into the hands of the *sde pa* for [providing] food, tea and presents for the monks.

## 2. A Discussion: How Should the Emperor Meet the Dalai Lama?

After the Dalai Lama, accompanied by a large retinue, had departed from Tibet in March 1652, the question arose as to how his meeting with the Emperor should take place.

The Dalai Lama sent the Emperor a lengthy eloquent letter in which he styled the addressee "Illustrious Lord of the World Maḡḡuśḡri Emperor" (Tegülde čöḡ-tu delekei-yin erketü Maḡḡusiri yeke qaḡan). Here is translated only the part which is related to the visit.

Turban sara-yin arban doloyan-a nom-un küriyen-eče ködüḡjü yabuḡsaḡar Köke naḡur-tur oyiratuyad: tuslaḡu ayiladqaqu-yin učiḡ: ḡolḡalčaqu ḡaḡar · saḡuqu oron terigüten yerü narilaqu aliba üge-yi elči-ber ayiladqaḡsan metü: taḡalal-un ḡokis-iyar ögede bolqu terigüten-i: Gangga mören-ü urusḡal metü-yi ayiladqamu: Sitügen bey-e-yin sakiḡulsun včir-tu ḡangḡi-a-luḡ-a nigen-e: ḡirḡuyan sara-yin sinede ergübe:

Namur-un dumdadu sara-yin arban nigen-e:<sup>28</sup>

Having departed from Tibet<sup>29</sup> on the twenty-seventh day of the third month, I have approached Qinghai. The reason for my correspondence [is as follows].

Since [my] words requesting detailed information about the meeting place, the dwelling place and other things have been delivered [to you] via the envoy, please advise me of your intentions regarding [your] arrival and

<sup>27</sup> Mongolian Documents III: 253–254.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid: 335–336.

<sup>29</sup> Lit. "the Place of Dharma".

other things as if they had the [quality of the natural] flow of the River Ganges.

With [this letter is sent] an amulet *vajra*-knot.

On the eleventh day of the autumn's middle month.

In his letter Gushi Khan also expressed his opinion about the meeting of the Dalai Lama by the Emperor.

Nom-un qaγan-i ergügsen bičig:

Qaγan-u bey-e· yeke törü-yin tulada: luu jil-ün· jirγuγan sara-dur kürtele: bi daγasu geji ayiladqaγu kikä yaγum-a daγusba: Öljei-tei bolba: Qoyitu süme-dür qutuγ orosiγulqu nom-i on büri· čaγan sara-dur ungsiγulqu buidoloγan sara· naiman sara-dur asida sayin-i tulada: qaγan-u bey-e· yeke törü-dür sayin geji: dalai lam-a-yi jalaγsan bile: Erten-ü čaγ-un qad· lam-a qoyar uçiralduγsan-dur adali busu: Edüge dalai lam-a-yi kedüi čidaqu činege-ber kündülejü: jarlaγ-iyar ni bolbasu· asida sayin bui: Minü sanaγar bolqula ulus-un jaq-a-dur tösümed-iyer uγtuγul: Tegün-ü qoyin-a vang-ud uγtuγul: Qaγan-u bey-e Tayiγ-a-dur uçiraldubasu asuru sayin tere bile: ene üge-yi jöb geküle: urida yaγaraγu elči ilegejü ayiladγaqula sayin:

Namur-un dumdadu sara-yin arban nigen-e:<sup>30</sup>

A letter offered by the Chos rgyal [Gushi Khan].

Because the Emperor [is occupied with] great state affairs, I, having decided to accompany [the Dalai Lama] until [the beginning of] the sixth month, finished all my activities and was content. Sutras will be chanted for well-being in the Northern Temple [beginning from] the New Year holiday. Because the seventh and the eighth months are very favorable, let the Khan [be occupied with] great state affairs. [You] invited the Dalai Lama. In the past rulers and lamas met in a different way. Now the best thing will be to honor the Dalai Lama to the utmost and [to act] according to his words. I think that on the state border he should be met by functionaries. Then [he] should be met by princes. The best thing would be if the Khan would meet [him] in person in Taiga. Regarding these words as correct it would be good to quickly send [to him] in advance an envoy.

[Received] on the eleventh day of the autumn middle month.

The Emperor decided not to leave the territory of China proper and sent the following letter:

Dalai lam-a-dur ilegegsen bičig:

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čaγ-i ejelegsən · qaγan-u jarlaγ:

Qamuγ-i medegči včir-a-dar-a dalai lam-a-yin gegegen-e ilegebe: Minu bey-e Kerem-ün γadan-a uγtubasu: dotor-a barayun emün-e-tü eteged-tür qulaγayičin oladaγu edür büri bičig kürčü irekü-yin tulada: ulus-un yeke kereg-i uγurču: Kerem γarču qola uγtubasu· ülü bolqu-yin tulada: erkin

<sup>30</sup> Ibid: 337–338.

vang-ud kiged· sayid-iyar uytuyulqu bui: Qulayayičid-i usadqaju· kereg sayad ügei bolbasu· bi bey-e-ber uytuqu bui: Ene metü ürgülji kereg sayad bui bolbasu· Kerem-ün dotor-a oyir-a uytuy-a:: Elči Nomči gelüng· Ügedekei· Quvaqai· Bičig üjekü-yin beleg· nigen qadaγ· subud erike bui::

Namur-un dumdadu sara-yin arban γurban-a.<sup>31</sup>

The letter sent to the Dalai Lama.

Decree of the Emperor [who] rules by the Mandate of Heaven.

Sent to his serenity, the Omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama. If I personally meet you outside the Great Wall [the matters are as follows]. In the South-Western part of the Inner [Land] insurgents have increased in number. Reports about this arrive every day and for this reason I cannot leave behind the great state affairs and I cannot travel far and meet you outside the Great Wall. That is why you will be met by the great princes and ministers. If the insurgents are exterminated and there are no hindrances I will meet you in person. If these kinds of hindrances still exist I will meet you close to the Great Wall. My envoys are Nomci *geliing*, Ugedekei and Quvaqai. With this letter are sent a *khadaγ* and a rosary.

On the thirteenth day of the autumn middle month.

However, the Dalai Lama continued to insist on meeting the Emperor outside the Great Wall, setting forth different reasons – from inappropriate climate to epidemics. Epidemics of smallpox seem to have been the true source of the Dalai Lama's worries.<sup>32</sup> The fact that the young Shunzhi Emperor was under the pressure from his officials, representing different approaches to the official protocol, has already been studied.<sup>33</sup> In accordance with the Chinese tradition, a distant chieftain should arrive in the capital of China with his “local products” (*fang wu* 方物) upon receiving the Emperor's permission.

Dalai lam-a-yin bičig

Tegus öljei-tü delekei-yin erketü degedü Manjusiri qaγan-u gegen-e:

Edüge basa cambutiib-un törölkiten bügüde-dür: buyan-u küčün-iyer bey-e kele sedkil galbaravaras metü ilete delgeregsen üges-i jergeber sonosču masi bayasba: Bide ber Nom-un qaγan-u tayalal-i qangγaqu-yin tula: kičiyēju yabuysayar edüge Köke Naγur-tur kürčü ireged: tuslaju ayiladqaqu-yin učir: urida Sečen Onbo terigüten elči ber učiran jolyalčaqu-yin učir-i narilan ergüged: qoyitu Günčüg Loroi ber aliba yerü üges-i ayiladqar-a ilegebesü ber: Sečen Darja ber orčilang-un orosiqui yosun kiged: basa busu ayiladqaqu üge · Kitad dotor-a yeke ebečin elbeg-ün tula minu bey-e ba · küriyen-ü nüküd tügükei inu olan boloyad: erkin qaγan-u bey-e tügükei-yin tula: dotor-a jolyalčaju saγuqu bolbasu: qaγan · bide qoyayula-dur jedker yeke-yin tula saγuqu ülü bolqu: Köke Qota: Tayiy-a qoyar-un nigen-dür jolyalčaqu-yi

<sup>31</sup> Ibid: 338–339.

<sup>32</sup> Karmay 1989: 34–35.

<sup>33</sup> Ahmad 1970: 168–172.

jöbsiyen soyory-a: yerü aliba kereg-tü üges-i elči ayiladqaqu bui: gegegen-  
degen ayilad:: Sitügen bey-e-yin sakiγulsun včir-tu janggi-a-luy-a nigen-e:  
Naiman sara-yin sine-yin nigen-e: Čaγan Tala-ača ergübe:

Namur-un dumdadu sara-yin qorin yisün-e:<sup>34</sup>

The letter of the Dalai Lama.

To his serenity, the high Mañjuśrī Emperor, the prosperous Lord of the World.

Now I listen with great joy to the flowing words that, by the power of virtue, spread to all beings abiding in Jambudvīpa [from your] body, speech and mind [and which are] like a wish-fulfilling tree. In order to fulfill the wish of the Chos rgyal [Gushi Khan], we proceeded untiringly and have now reached Qinghai. The reason for my reporting [is as follows].

Earlier Secen Onbo and other envoys have communicated in detail the matters concerning our meeting. Although Guncug Loroi later [came] to report general words, [these are] the words about the situation in the world and other [things] which were reported by Secen Darja. Inside China epidemics are widely spread. Because I and many people in my retinue are immature,<sup>35</sup> and the exalted Emperor is also immature, if we both meet inside [China] we will not be able to stay [there] since there will be great hindrances for the Emperor and for us. Please, approve our meeting at Köke Qota or Taiga. Various important words will be conveyed by the envoy. Please, reply [to me about this] clearly. With [this letter is sent] an amulet *vajra*-knot.

[Received] on the twenty-ninth day of the autumn's middle month, sent from the Čaγan Tala.

The reasons set forth by the Dalai Lama seemed to the Emperor to be convincing, and he decided to meet him personally outside the Great Wall.

Dalai lama-dur ilegegsen bičig:

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čaγ-i ejeleksen· qaγan-u jarlay:

Qamuγ-i medegči včir-a-dar-a· Dalai lam-a-yin gegegen-e ilegebe:

Lam-a-yin bičig-tür Kerem-ün dotor-a ebedčün taγulal olan: Kerem-ün γadan-a jolyabasu sayin bui: kemegsen-dür: edüge bi Kerem-ün γadan-a Tayiγ-a-dur uγtaqu bui: Elči kiy-a Lam-a· Gumu· Bičig üjekü-yin beleg nigen čaγan qadaγ bui:

Namur-un segül sara-yin arban nigen-e:<sup>36</sup>

A letter sent to the Dalai Lama.

Decree of the Emperor [who is] ruling by the Mandate of Heaven.

Sent to his serenity, the omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama.

<sup>34</sup> Mongolian Documents III: 341–342.

<sup>35</sup> The word “immature” (Mong. *tiigiikei*) here refers to the fact that neither the Emperor nor the Dalai Lama had previously been ill with smallpox and thus had no immunity to this illness.

<sup>36</sup> Mongolian Documents III: 343–344.

It is said in the letter of the Lama that [in the lands] inside the Great Wall the epidemics are widespread and it would be better if we meet outside the Great Wall. For this [reason] I will meet you outside the Great Wall in Taiga. The envoys are Lama and Gumu. With the letter [is sent] one white *khadag*.

On the eleventh day of the last autumn month.

Dalai lam-a-yin bičig:

Tegüs öljei-tü delekei-yin erketü degedü Mañjusiri qaγan-u gegegen-e:

Edüge bas-a sayin üles-iyer bey-e ülemji amuγulang-iyar orosïju ilegegsen: beleg bičig kürčü irebe:

Bi ber yekede kičiyejü yabuγsaγar Qatun-u γool-tur oyiratuγad: čiqula aliba keregtü siltayan-i narilan jokiyaysan mayad boloy-san-dur: jiči basa yabuqu-yin činegeber yabuγsaγar bui: uridu qoyar üy-e ilegegsen elči-yin üges-tür adali: Tayiγ-a-dur kürüged čiqulalan ayiladqaqu kereg bui: Üge-yin tobči ber ergügsen-i: gegegen-degen ayilad: Beleg-tür burqan-u arbidqu šaril: včir-tu žanggi-a-luγ-a nigen-e:

Sin-e-yin doloγan-a ergübe:

Namur-un segül sara-yin qorin nigen-e:<sup>37</sup>

The Dalai Lama's letter.

To his serenity, the high Mañjuśrī Emperor, the prosperous Lord of the World.

Now thanks to good karma you abide in peace and sent me a letter and presents which were received.

Proceeding untiringly we reached the River Huang Ho. Various important matters had been precisely settled. For this reason [we] are continuing to proceed at the same pace. In accordance with the words of the two previous envoys, should I advise [you] after having reached Taiga? Please, reply [to me] clearly about these short words.

With [this letter are sent] a pill-sized Buddha's relic and an amulet *vajra-knot*.

Sent on the seventh day.

[Received] on the twenty-first day of the autumn's last month.

Kija lam-a-yin abču iregsen bičig:

Tegüs öljei-tü delekei-yin erketü: degedü Mañjusiri qaγan-u gegen-e ergübe ·

Ilegegsen bičig beleg kürčü irebe ·

Qaγan-u bey-e Tayiγ-a-dur ögede bolqu-yi sonosču masi bayasba: Bi ber yabuqu činegeber yekede kičiyejü yabuγsaγar bui · Ayiladqu üge elči-dür bui: Sitügen bey-e-yin sakiγulsun žanggi-a-luγ-a nigen-e ·

Qorin doloγan-a ergübe:

Ebül-ün terigün sara-yin sin-e-yin naiman-a:<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem: 344–345.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem: 348.

Letter [from the Dalai Lama] brought by Kija lama.

To his serenity, the high Mañjuśrī Emperor, the prosperous Lord of the World.

The letter and the presents sent [by you] were received.

I am very glad to hear that the Emperor will personally arrive to Taiga. I am proceeding at [my best] pace and am greatly trying to move [fast]. The words of my report [will be communicated] by the envoy. With [this letter is sent] an amulet [*vajra*]-knot.

Sent on the twenty-seventh day.

[Received] on the eighth day of the first month of the winter.

However, being convinced by his advisers, the Emperor decided not to meet the Dalai Lama outside the Great Wall and informed him of this final decision.

Dalai lam-a-dur ilegegsen bičig:

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čaγ-i ejeleksen qayan-u jarlay:

Qamuγ-i medegči včir-a-dar-a· Dalai lam-a-yin gegege-e ilegebe:

Urida minu bey-e uγtuy-a kemen bičig ilegegsen bülüge: Edüge qulayai olandaju: edür büri bičig kürčü iremü: Ulus-un yeke kereg-i uqurču: uγtubasu ülü bolqu-yin tula: bey-e-yin tulada jasay-un Kesingge čin vang: dotoγadu sayid-iyar uγtuγulba: Mini bey-e ese uγtuγsan siltayan-i medetügei kemen bičig ilegebe:

Ebül-ün terigün sara-yin arban γurban-a:<sup>39</sup>

Letter sent to the Dalai Lama.

Decree of the Emperor [who is] ruling by the Mandate of Heaven.

Sent to his serenity, the omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama.

Previously I sent a letter saying that I shall personally meet [you]. Now reports arrive saying that insurgents have multiplied. Because it is not possible to put away the great affairs of state and go to meet you, instead of myself you will be met by *jasag qinwang*<sup>40</sup> Kesingge – the Minister of the Interior.

The letter was sent in order to inform you why I will not personally meet you.

[Sent] on the thirteenth day of the first month of the winter.

Dalai lam-a-yin bičig:

Tegüs öljei-tü delekei-yin erketü degedü Manjusiri qayan-u gegegen-e: tuslaju ergükü-yin učir: Bide arban sara-yin arban tabun-a Qatun γool-un ene eteged γaruγad: degedü ežen bügüde-yin ebedčün taγul terigüten jedker-i qarıγulqu kereg yeke-yin tula: darui-dur arıγaqu kereg-ten üiles-i üiledčü dayusuγad: kičiyejü yabuqu terigüten: yerü aliba učir-i čiqulalan

<sup>39</sup> Ibid: 349–350.

<sup>40</sup> Mong. *jasay* – “a ruler”; Chin. *qinwang* 親王 – the highest princely rank during the Qing dynasty.

ayiladqaqu-yin tula elči ilegebe: gegegen-degen ayilad: sitügen bey-e-yin sakiγulsun včir-tu janggi-a-luγ-a nigen-e:

Qorin γurban-a Qatun-u γool-un jaq-a-ača ergübe:  
Ebül-ün dumdadu sara-yin sin-e-yin jirγuyan-a:<sup>41</sup>

Letter of the Dalai Lama.

To, his serenity, the high Mañjuśrī Emperor, the prosperous Lord of the World.

The reason for reporting [is as follows].

We crossed the River Huang Ho and stepped on the other shore on the fifteenth day of the tenth month. Since it is greatly important to protect the high Emperor and everyone from the epidemic and other obstacles, [we] performed and have now finished the necessary purifying rites and are proceeding untiringly. I sent an envoy to report about these and other things. Please, reply [to me about this] clearly. With [this letter is sent] an amulet *vajra-knot*.

Sent on the twenty-third day [of the first winter month] from the shore of the River Hoang Ho.

[Received] on the sixth day of the middle winter month.

### 3. Letters from Tibet

Meanwhile letters and lavish gifts from Tibet sent by Gushi Khan, the Panchen Lama and the *sde pa* arrived in Beijing. The Panchen Lama in his letter reminded the Emperor of his efforts to urge the Dalai Lama to undertake the journey. The letters by the *sde pa* and Gushi Khan urged an early return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

Diba-yin bičig:

Degedü Manjusiri yeke qaγan-u köl-ün linqu-a-dur: ayiladqaqu-yin učir edüge erdeni bey-e-yin jibqulang-tu gerel üjejü jasaqu-yin öljei ülemji delgeren sayuju: jarlaγ bičig öglige jakilγ-a jarlaγ soyorqaγsan-i oroi-dur abuba: Degedü ilaγuγsad-un erketü lam-a erdeni tere жүг-tür morilaju ögede bolqu-yi duradquγad: bey-e-yin sakiγulsun Ganjur-i jaγun-da ungsiγulquidur qočorli ügei kičiyejü tegüskeged: jarlaγ-iyar kötelüsi ügei bütügebe: Bančan erdeni kiged Töbed-ün sasin-i bariγči Nom-un qaγan terigüten degedüs bügüdeger: ilaγuγsad-un degedü lam-a erdeni-yi Töbed oron-dur udal ügei ögede bolγaqu-yin kereg masi yeke-yin tula: sakiltai sakil ügei elčis-iyer ayiladqaγjam: Tusa-yi bütügekü-yin tula qayiralan soyorqaqu-yi ayiladqaba: Bičig ergükü-yin beleg-tür öljei-tü qadaγ jögelen ulayan čengm-e qori: enggesken buduγtai čengm-e qori: sira čengm-e qori: čoqur čengm-e qori: čaγan čengm-e qori: qorin mori-luγ-a nigen-e luu jül-ün tabun sara-yin sin-e-yin sayin edür-tür ergübe:

Ebül-ün segül sara-yin qorin dörben-e:<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Mongolian Documents III: 354–355.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem: 370–371.

Letter of the *sde pa*.

The reason for reporting to the lotus feet of the great Mañjuśrī Emperor [is as follows]. I have now taken to the top of my head the decree and the donation bestowed [by you] on me, and am extremely happy to see the radiance of the majestic light of your precious body.

Since the precious lama [who is] the exalted Lord of the Victorious Ones proceeded outside [Tibet], I have steadily fulfilled your orders and arranged [lamas] to read the Bka' 'gyur [which is] the guardian [of the Dalai Lama's] body one hundred times. Panchen Rinpoche, religious leaders of Tibet, Chos rgyal [Gushi Khan] and other high people together regard the early return to Tibet of the exalted Lord of the Victorious Ones as being very important. Monks and lay people inform [us] of this wish via envoys. In order to accomplish their benefit I ask for your kindness. With this letter are sent the presents: a fortunate *khadag*, twenty rolls of soft red *pulu*, twenty rolls of dyed *pulu*, twenty rolls of yellow *pulu*, twenty rolls of motley *pulu*, twenty rolls of white *pulu*, twenty horses.

Sent on the auspicious day of the fifth month of the Dragon year.  
[Received] on the twenty-fourth day of the winter's last month.

Güsi qaγan-u bičig

Oum svasti

Ülemji yeke buyan-u kücün-iyer tngri-yin jayaγaysan kümün-ü erketü degedü qaγan-u gegen-e: sasin kiged amitan-u amuγulang tusa-yi kuseküi oyutu sasin-i bariγči nom-un qaγan bičig bariba: Edüge olan amitan i qubi jayaγ-a bey-e keke sedkil ülü jökilduqui jüg-i teyin büged ilaju qoyar yosun-u sayin üilesi qotala-da tögegseger aju jarlay bičig beleg kürügsen-e bayasba: Ende mendü amur-iyar ilaγuγsan-u sasin kiged sasin bariγčid-i takiju amitan-a tusalaqu arγ-a-yi kičiyegseger bai: Qamuγ-i medegči Dalai lam-a üdter ögede bolqu uçir-i tusalan kemegsen tere metü: kičiyen ayiladqaju ögede bolγaba: Boyda Bančan erdeni ekilen bide lam-a öglige-yin ejen bügüdeger γurban jil boloyad Töbed-ün sasin kiged amitan-u tusa-yin tula üdter ögede bol: kemen jalbariγsan-dur: γurban jil boloyad ögede boloy-a kemen jarlay boloyan bai: Yeke qaγan ber degedsü üdter ögede bolqu-dur tusalaqui-ača busu ülü tüdegeküi-yin jüil aliba üges-i elči medegültügei: Bičig-ün beleg-tü quyay tuγulγ-a selm-e tegüs saγadaγ jayun čengm-e tabin mori bai:

Usun luu jil-ün γurban sara-yin sayin edür Dam-un Sanal bütügsen yeke jirγalang-tu-ača bariba:<sup>43</sup>

Letter of Gushi Khan.

Om svasti.

Bstan 'dzin Chos rgyal [Gushi Khan], who wishes to bring benefit to the Religion and to the people, conveys a message to his serenity, the Lord of the People, the great Emperor who by the force of great virtues [collected in previous births] was born with the Mandate of Heaven. At this time when all living beings have completely overcome the negative side of [their] karma

<sup>43</sup> Ibid: 372–373.



[which resulted from the actions of their] bodies, speech and minds, and are full with religious and mundane<sup>44</sup> virtuous deeds, I am glad to receive your edict and presents. Here we are trying peacefully to venerate the Religion of the Victorious One and religious authorities and to help living beings. In accordance with the decision that the omniscient Dalai Lama will quickly return, [I am] writing to ask that he be brought back. For three years all lamas and alms-givers beginning from the Panchen Rinpoche begged [the Dalai Lama] to proceed on a visit for the sake of the Religion and the people of Tibet. After three years he said that he will proceed on a visit. Let the great Emperor inform [us] through an envoy any words concerning the assistance for [the Dalai Lama's] quick return here without hindrance. With [this letter are sent] these presents: armor, a sword, a quiver with arrows, a hundred rolls of *pulu* and fifty horses.

Sent on the auspicious day of the third month of the Water-Dragon Year from the Fulfilling Wishes Joyful [Monastery].<sup>45</sup>

#### ***4. The Titles Given by the Emperor to the Dalai Lama and Gushi Khan***

The information about the stay of the Dalai Lama in Beijing and his audiences with the Emperor are described in Chinese and Tibetan sources.<sup>46</sup> After staying two months in the capital, the Dalai Lama proceeded back to Tibet. His return journey was not as speedy as had been the outgoing journey to meet with the Emperor. Two months after his departure from Beijing he was still in Taiga, where there arrived the imperial envoys who brought letters to the Dalai Lama and Gushi Khan, patents<sup>47</sup> and seals for them both.

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čay-i ejelegsen: quvangdi-yin jarliy:

Bi sonosbasu· qamtudqan jasayči: γayčayar sayin boloyči: ündüsün-i iledkegči yosun nigen adali busu: Yirtinčü-eče nögčigsen ba: yirtinčü-dür ayči: surγayuli-yi bayiyuluγsan yosun inu mön kö öger-e: Teyin ber bögesü: sedkil-iyen tungyalay bolγan: törölki yabudal-iyen todorqay-a bolγaju: yirtinčü-dekin-i sayin mör-tür udurid-un: irgen-i jiluyaduγči bügüde nigen udq-a-tu bolai: Lubsang jamso dalai lam-a činu gegegen uqayan töb ülemji boloyad: erdem bilig masi gün narin-u tula: sedkil ba yabudal-iyen neyite jasan: qamuγ bodas-i qoγosun kemen onoju: tegüber burqan-u surγayuli-yi delgeregülün: mungqay amitan-i surγan uduriduγsan-iyar: sasin-u surγayuli barayun eteged-tür delgereged: sayin ner-e jегün eteged-tür aldarsiγsan-i: ečiγe Tayisung Uqay-a-tu quvangdi sonosuyad sayisiyan: tusalaju elči ilegen jalaysan-dur: či ber tngri-yin čay učir-i urida-ača uqaju

<sup>44</sup> Lit. "the two laws" (Tib. *lugs gnyis* or *lugs zung*).

<sup>45</sup> This seems to be Lā mo bde chen Monastery located in the present-day Jianzha 尖扎县 county (Tib. Gcan tsha rdzong) of Qinghai Province.

<sup>46</sup> Ahmad 1970: 173–183.

<sup>47</sup> Chin. *ce 册*, Mong. *nabčitu ergimjilel*.

medeged: luu jil-e jolyaldusuyai kemegsen bülüge: bi tngri-yin ibegel-iyer çay-i ejeleged: delekei-dekin-i toytataysan-u qoyin-a: jalaysan-luy-a üneker jokilduyul-un irebei: Edüge üjebesü: jang aburi inu örösiyegdekü metü boloyad: ügülekü üges inu kemjij-e-tü: sečen· mergen· uqayan· tegsi asaraq-u-yin jerge-dür kürüjüküi: örösiyeküi· nigülesküi· suryaqui· uqayulqu-yin qayalγ-a-yi negen delgeregülsen inu: mayad tergegür-ün satu kiged· onγoča buyu: Yerü burqan-u yosun· ayula kiged odod metü bolai: Tegüber bi masi sayisiyan altan še biçig tamγ-a öggüged: Barayun eteged-ün ülemji sayin amuyulang-tu burqan i:: delekei-deki burqan-u suryaγuli-yi erkilegsen: qamuy-i medegçi vçir-a-dar-a dalai lam-a ergübe: Çay-luy-a jokilduyul-un yabuju: burqan-u sasin-i manduyul: Uçir-luy-a nayirayulju: burqan-u yosun-i aldarsiyul-un: olan amitan-dur tusalan üiled: Egüber bolbasu degedü-yin degedü bolomui: Tegüber se biçig tamγ-a ögbe:<sup>48</sup>

Decree of the Emperor [who] rules by the Mandate of Heaven.

I have heard that those who manage things collectively and those who are happy being alone establish their spiritual lineages in a different way.

Those who have renounced the world and those who stay in the world also establish their teachings in a different way.

However, those who, having made their minds transparent and their inborn qualities clear, guide the inhabitants of this world and lead the masses, have the same goal.

Dalai Lama Lubsang Jamco! Because your clear mind is noble and upright and your wisdom is very profound and subtle you completely control your thoughts and way of living and understand that all things are empty. Therefore you have caused the Buddha's teaching to spread and have inspired ignorant sentient beings. For this reason the religious Teaching spread in the Western realm and your glorious name became famous [also] in the East. My father Taitsung Uqayatu Huangdi heard and praised [you and your activity] and sent an envoy to invite you [here]. Since you know the ways of Heaven in advance you foretold this [when you said], 'We shall meet in the Dragon Year'. As the order of the world has been established by the Mandate of Heaven, you came now as requested by the invitation.

I see now that [your] manners are agreeable and the words [you] say are restrained. [Your] sagacious and wise intellect has attained immeasurable<sup>49</sup> qualities. [You] opened wide the gates of benevolence, compassion, teaching and instruction and became a staircase and a boat on the broad road of truth. In general Buddha's law is like a mountain and stars.

So I praise [you] very much and, having bestowed on you a golden patent and a seal, confer on you [the title] "Superior Blissful Buddha of the Western Realm who Supervises Buddha's Teaching in the World, Omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama."

Act in accordance with the [proper] time and heighten the Religion of the Buddha!

<sup>48</sup> Mongolian Documents IV: 45–48.

<sup>49</sup> Lit. "10<sup>57</sup> [and] 10<sup>51</sup>".

In accordance with circumstances glorify Buddha's Law and help multitudes of living beings!

If it be so [you] will become the greatest of the great.

Thus the patent and the seal were conferred.<sup>50</sup>

The letter to Gushi Khan is shorter.

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čaγ-i ejelegsen: quvangdi-yin jarliγ:

Erten-ü boydas: delekei-dekin-i jasaqui-dur: sayar ügei qamuγ ulus irgen-i amuγulang bolγaγad: erdem-ün surγaγuli-yi delekei-dekin-dür aldarsiγuljuqui: Aliba ulus-un ejed čaγ učir-i uqaju medeged: ünen sedkil-iyer ey-e-ben nigedbesü: sayar ügei ergün temdeglejü: örösiyen kesig-iyen kürtegülügsen ajuγu: Ögeled ulus-un Güsi qaγan či: erdem-i erkilen sayin üile-dür bayasuljaγu: törü yosun-iyar yabuγad: irgen eteged-tür öglige kesig örösiyel qayir-a-ban neyite aldarsiγuluγsan: ülemji jokistu sayin yabudal: ünen sedkil-i činu medeged: bi masi sayisiyaγu: altan se bičig tamγ-a öggün: Nom-un yosubar yabuγči Sečen Güsi qaγan kemen ergübe: Či basa ülemji čing ünen yabudal-i kičiyejü: törü šasin kiged: sayin ner-e-yi aldarsiγul-un: nadur tusalaγu: kijaγar-un γajar-i amuγulang bolγ-a: egüber bolbasu: aγula kiged: dalai metü buyan kesig egüride kürten amui j-a: Kičiy-e:

Jun-u terigün sara-yin: qorin qoyar-a:<sup>51</sup>

Decree of the Emperor [who] Rules by the Mandate of Heaven.

Supreme Emperors of the past who ruled over the world always made peaceful all countries and peoples and caused the teaching of virtue to be glorified. If rulers of any country sincerely associated themselves with harmony, in accordance with time and circumstance, this was recognized as a matter of course and benevolently awarded. Gushi Khan of the Oirats, you are guided by virtue and delight in good deeds, [you] act in accordance with state rules and your generous compassion and loving mercy towards your subjects is famous. Having learnt about your exceptionally noble way of living and your sincere mind, I approve of them and grant you a golden diploma, a seal and a title "Sagacious Gushi Khan who acts in accordance with the Dharma". While trying to act very sincerely and thus glorifying the state and the Religion and your good name, assist me and keep the border regions peaceful! If you succeed, you will receive [my] eternal favors similar to a mountain and an ocean. Strive!

On the twenty second day of the first summer month.<sup>52</sup>

The Mongolian version of Gushi Khan's title is rather interesting. "Gushi Khan who acts in accordance with the Dharma" has a clear correlation with the title given to him by the Fifth Dalai Lama: "Dharmarāja Upholder of the Religion" (*bstan 'dzin chos kyi rgyal po*). Dharmarāja is a ruler who by properly exercising his responsibilities

<sup>50</sup> For English translation made from Chinese see Ahmad 1970: 184–185.

<sup>51</sup> Mongolian Documents IV: 48–50.

<sup>52</sup> For English translation made from Chinese, see Ahmad 1970: 185.

(*svadharma*, his personal *dharma*) ensures the stability, prosperity and security of his country. However, this title was given (especially by Chinese Emperors in the form 法王 *faawang*) to high Tibetan lamas. In connection to clerics this title meant that the person who received it had a perfect knowledge of Buddhist doctrine and practice and can be referred to as a king in this domain. Needless to say, Gushi Khan was a secular Dharmarāja. The Mongolian verb *yabuqu* “to walk, to act” corresponds to the Tibetan *spyod pa*, which in Buddhist texts is used as an equivalent of Sanskrit *√car* “to walk, to perform, to act.” The title, which had been given to Gushi Khan by the Fifth Dalai Lama, was acknowledged by the Emperor and used in the official correspondence.

Gushi Khan was satisfied by the outcome of the Dalai Lama’s visit and sent a letter to the Emperor expressing his gratitude.

Om suvasti:

Ülemji yeke buyan-u üm-e kücün-e tngri-eče jayaγatai-a törögsen: kümün-ü erkin dededü qayan-u gegen-e: burqan-u sasin kiged amitan-i tusa-yi küsegçi: sasin-i bariγči nom-un qayan bičig ergübe: edür čay-un qamuγ amitan-i qubi jayaγ-a egüdügsen čintamani-eče ülemji: bey-e sedkil-e qoor könügel ügegüy-e: asaran tedküküi-yin teyin čayan üiles-i yeke dalai-yin kijayar kürtele tügegejü: sayin-i ülü čökeregül-ün mayu-yi ülü manduγul-un olan ulus irgen-i küsel-i qangγaγsaγar: man-i ber qayiralaju sayin jarlay al juuqu altan tamaγ-a soyorqaγsan kürügsen-e sedkil masida bayasba: edüge beleg bsiru erike: mumin erike: quba erike: tabin čengm-e: qorin moritai: Qubilγan-u süm-e-yin oyir-a-ača sayin edür ergübe:

Jun-u segül sara-yin qorin-a:<sup>53</sup>

Om svasti.

Bstan ’dzin Chos rgyal [Gushi Khan], with the wish to bring benefit to the Buddha’s Religion and the people, conveys a message to his serenity, the Lord of the People—the great Khan who by the force of great virtues [collected in previous births] was born with the Mandate of Heaven. [You who are] greater than the Treasury from which originates the happiness and fate of modern living beings, [who] without [causing] physical or mental harm spreads to the limits of the great ocean the white deeds of loving care, not hindering the good and not supporting the bad and thus satisfying the wishes of many peoples, [you] obliged us and bestowed a good decree and a golden seal. I was delighted by this. I am now sending a gift: a coral rosary, a lapis lazuli rosary, an amber rosary, fifty rolls of *pulu* fabrics, twenty horses.

[This letter] was sent on the auspicious day from the [residence] near the Big Jo bo Temple.

[Received] on the twentieth day of the last summer month.

<sup>53</sup> *Mongolian Documents*: 153–154.

Thus the visit of the Fifth Dalai Lama legitimized the outcome of the turbulent events of two preceding decades which changed the political and religious landscape of Inner Asia and the Far East. The Manchu Qing dynasty, which had a few years before supplanted the Ming dynasty, was blessed by the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama was acknowledged by the new rulers of China as the chief Buddhist administrator. Thus the military exploits of the Khoshut leader, Gushi Khan, who crushed other contenders for spiritual authority in Tibet, received approval and support from the new dynasty.

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