


# A letter of Ubashi Khan from Labrang Monastery in the light of Tibetan sources on the relationship of Kalmyks with spiritual hierarchs

Bembya Mitruiev

(Kalmyk Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences)

uring the last years a number of works containing letters of Kalmyk Khans and nobles in Oirat “clear script” (“todo bichig”), including letters of the governor (*namestnik*) of the Kalmyk Khanate, Ubashi, have been published. However, to date, there have been no publications of letters written by Ubashi Khan after he left for the Qing Empire in 1771. This article discusses a letter in Oirat “clear script” which survived in Labrang monastery in Gansu province. The aim of the study is to introduce the letter from Labrang into academic study, establish the authorship and date, as well as the possible addressee of the letter, and analyze its content in the light of Tibetan sources on the relations of Kalmyks with the Tibetan spiritual hierarchs in the period after 1771. The material for this research is an 18<sup>th</sup> century letter in Oirat “clear script” kept in the Great Prayer Hall of Labrang monastery and also Tibetan language sources: the biography of Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe and the biography of the Eighth Dalai Lama Jampel Gyatso. The author believes that the letter was written by Ubashi Khan in 1772. The addressee of the letter is presumably Konchok Jigme Wangpo, the second incarnation of Jamyang Shepa. The analysis of the letter in the light of the data from other sources provides an additional argument in favor of the assumption that one of the main reasons why Ubashi Khan’s Kalmyks left their former nomad territories was their concern for maintaining the traditional religious confession among his people.

## 1. Introduction

In recent years several works containing letters of Kalmyk rulers before the 18<sup>th</sup> century have been published.<sup>1</sup> However, nothing is known about the letters of Ubashi (1742/1744–1775), the governor of the Kalmyk Khanate, dating from the period after he and most of the

---

<sup>1</sup> See Pis'ma namestnika Kalmytskogo Khanstva Ubashi (XVIII v.) 2004; Suseyeva 2003; Suseyeva 2009; Tepkeyev, Natsagdorzh 2016; Uspensky, Yakhontova 2021.

Kalmyk people moved to Qing China in 1771.

Batubayar, a researcher from Urumqi, reports that the Chinese archives contain letters in Oirat “todo bichig” with imprints of Ubashi Khan’s seal, addressed to Emperor Qianlong, the military governor of Xinjiang and advisor to the Governor-General of Tarbagatai in the period between 1771 and 1775. Nine such letters are known to exist. They are kept in the First Historical Archive of China.<sup>2</sup> His work also states that one letter in “todo bichig” with Ubashi Khan’s seal is stored in the Great Prayer Hall of the Labrang Tashi Khyil (Bla brang bkra shis ‘khyil) monastery in Gansu province.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of this study is to introduce the letter from Labrang into scientific circulation, establish the authorship and date, as well as the possible addressee of the letter, and analyze its content in the light of Tibetan sources on the relations of Kalmyks with Tibetan spiritual hierarchs in the period after 1771.

## *2. Events after the arrival of the Kalmyks in Qing China in 1771*

Ubashi Khan was the fourth son of Donduk-Dashi, the Khan of Kalmyk Khanate, and the only son born to his second wife, Dejit. In 1757 Donduk-Dashi was appointed Khan and his son Ubashi was appointed governor of the Khanate. After his father’s death in 1761 Ubashi inherited the Khan’s power, retaining the title of governor.<sup>4</sup> Ubashi had two sons, the eldest being Khan Tseren Namjal. Ubashi’s second son was Rabdan Dorji, a taiji of the first degree.<sup>5</sup> In the Chinese sources the Kalmyks who arrived with Ubashi Khan are referred to as Torguts, as they were representatives of that ethnic group, with only a minor exception (for a small group of Khoshuts who had arrived). In our article the ethnonym mentioned in such sources is used further, which indicates the ethnic group of Kalmyks that came to the territory of Qing China in 1771.

The Chinese court clearly understood the importance of dispatching Kalmyk embassies to the Dalai Lama in Tibet for the Kalmyks themselves (called Torguts), as evidenced by the following fact: upon the arrival of Ubashi Khan in the territory of the empire Qianlong sent his representatives Shuhede<sup>6</sup> and others with the following message for Ubashi: “If you wish to go to Tibet on a mission

---

<sup>2</sup> Batubayaer 2017b: 154.

<sup>3</sup> Batubayaer 2017b: 154.

<sup>4</sup> Sanchirov 2016: 46.

<sup>5</sup> Sanchirov 2016: 103.

<sup>6</sup> Shuhede (舒赫德; Shūhèdé) served as the Ili jiangjun (governor general) in the period 1772–1774.

to 'boil tea'<sup>7</sup> for the Dalai Lama, we will also give you permission. Tibet is currently included in our territory. In the Yellow Religion there is no one higher in the hierarchy than the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erteni Lama".<sup>8</sup>

Interestingly, after the Emperor Qianlong accepted Ubashi Khan's Torguts, he notified the young thirteen-year-old Eighth Dalai Lama Jampel Gyatso (1758–1804):

When the Dalai Lama received the following message: "On the eleventh day of the ninth Tibetan month <...> of the Iron Hare year [1771 – B. M.] it was reported to the emperor that about fifty leaders of the Torgut-Oirats living in Russia together with more than ten thousand families<sup>9</sup> had submitted. Then he took them under his patronage. Since this is a religious matter, perhaps if the Dalai Lama is approached [on this matter], he will be pleased. In fact, make it public!" – [The Dalai Lama] gave the two Ambans a blessing with his hand as well as lavish gifts<sup>10, 11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> "To boil tea", "aocha" (熬茶; áo chá), literally translates as "boiling, making tea". In the old days, devout Buddhists donated tea with butter and money to temples, a practice referred to as "boiling tea".

<sup>8</sup> Fu Lo-shu 1966: 256.

<sup>9</sup> This figure differs from the one given to the Dalai Lama by the merchant envoys below. Perhaps the difference is due to differences in the method of calculation or to the fact that the Torgut nobility tried to inflate the number of their subjects.

<sup>10</sup> Here the word 'gifts' (*sba yer gyi gsol ras*) comes from Chinese baye (拜谒; пиньинь bàiyè), meaning 'to visit, to visit (an elder)'. But in this context, bàiyè means 'a gift given respectfully to the emperor or other dignitaries'.

<sup>11</sup> Lcags yos <...> zla ba dgu pa'i tshes bcu gcig la gong ma'i gral rtse'i thog thor god o rod kyi mi u ru sur sdod mi mgo yod lnga bcu skor / sde dud khri tsho bcu brgal bas mgo btags zhush byung ba skyabs byas pa yin pas 'di bzhin chos kyi lugs srol yin gshis tA la'i bla mar zhush na thugs mnyes 'gro / spyir yang dril sgrogs shig ces phebs par / am ban gnyis la phyag dbang / sba yer gyi gsol ras gya nom pa stsal (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 110–111).

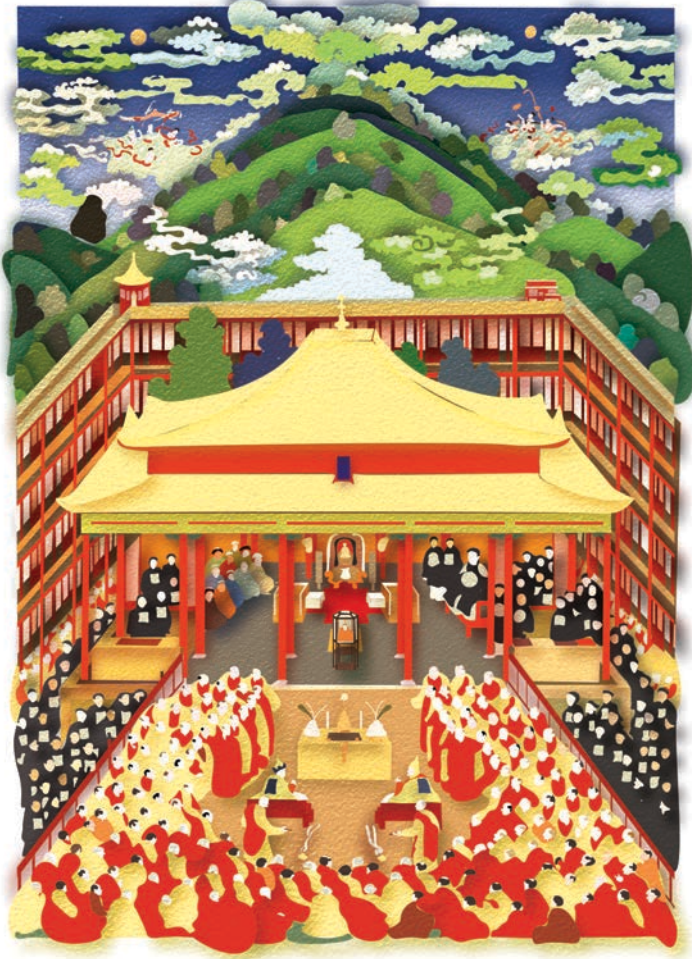


Fig. 1. Copy of “Qianlong’s Painting of Ten Thousand Dharmas Return as One”  
© Olga Wązny<sup>12</sup>

The Qing Emperor Qianlong (1711–1799) granted an audience to Ubashi and other representatives of the Kalmyk nobility at the imperial residence in Jehol. The scene of the banquet hosted by

<sup>12</sup> For a photograph of the original painting, which is held in the Palace Museum, Beijing, see: <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/233340>; a color reproduction of the image has previously been published in Xu 2021: 8, and a monochrome reproduction in Wang 2014: 391. The reason why the original image has not been reproduced in this article is explained in the editors’ foreword to the present volume.

Emperor Qianlong for the leader of the Torguts, Ubashi Khan, is depicted in the Qianlong's Painting of Ten Thousand Dharmas Return as One (乾隆萬法歸一圖; Qiánlóngwànfǎ guīyī tú) by Ignaz Sichelbarth<sup>13</sup> (1708–1780). In the painting, we see the pavilion “Ten Thousand Dharmas Return as One” (fig. 1) with Emperor Qianlong to the right of the center and Ubashi Khan to the left. In front of the pavilion, the Third Jebtsundamba Ishdambinyam (ye shes bstan pa'i nyi ma; 1758–1773) is depicted on the left, and the teacher of Qianlong, Changkya Rolpe Dorje (lcangs kya rol pa'i rdo rje; 1717–1786), on the right.<sup>14</sup>

While in Jehol, Ubashi and his subjects took advantage of the opportunity to receive religious instruction and probably establish a connection with Emperor Qianlong's preceptor, Changkya Rolpe Dorje. In Changkya Rolpe Dorje's biography “A Summary of the Biography of the Lord who has the essence of Vajrasattva, the Magnificent Saint Teacher Yeshe Tenpe Dronme Pelsangpo,<sup>15</sup> ‘A Beautiful Embellishment of the Teaching of the Geden<sup>16</sup> Tradition’” (khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa'i ngo bo dpal ldan bla ma dam pa ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa mdo tсам brjod pa dge ldan bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan) composed by Tukwan Lobsang Chokyi Nyima (thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma; 1737–1802) recounts how the Torguts, who had submitted to Emperor Qianlong, asked Changkya-hutugta for instruction in dharma:

In the year of the Iron Rabbit [1771 – B. M.] <...> each of several Torgut tribes, who came to submit to the great emperor [Qianlong], made an offering to the supreme teacher [Changkya-hutugta] and asked him for instructions in dharma. The [Changkya-hutugta] gave [instructions] according to their wishes, so satisfying their aspirations.<sup>17</sup>

On the 17th day of the 9th lunar month of the 36th year of the Qianlong reign (October 25, 1771) Ubashi Khan was given the title “Zorigtu Khan of old Torguts Ünen Süzügtü”.<sup>18</sup> Thus, Qianlong confirmed Ubashi in the Khan's dignity with the title Zorigtu (‘Brave’). Tsebek

<sup>13</sup> Ignaz Sichelbarth (1708–1780) was a Czech Jesuit, missionary, and artist who received the title of mandarin.

<sup>14</sup> Wang 2014: 390.

<sup>15</sup> Yeshe Tenpe Dronme Pelsangpo (Tib. Ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me dpal bzang po) is another name for the third incarnation of Changkya Rolpe Dorje.

<sup>16</sup> Geden (Tib. dge ldan), ‘Virtuous’, is another name for the Tibetan Gelug tradition.

<sup>17</sup> Lcags yos lo <...> thor god kyi rgyal khag 'ga' gong ma chen por mgo 'dogs par 'ongs pa rnams kyi rje bla ma mchog la so sos 'bul nod dang bcas bka' chos zhus pa rnams 'dod pa bzhin stsal te de dag gi yid kyi re ba rdzogs par mdzad do (Thu'u bkwan 1989: 545).

<sup>18</sup> Dorji, Batubayar, Lije 2009: 43.

Dorji received the title Buyantu ('Virtuous') qinwang (秦王; qínwáng), Sheareng received the title Biliktu ('Wise') junwang (郡王; jùnwáng), Bambar the title Bishireltü ('Faithful') junwang, Gunge the title Tusatu ('Useful') beile, Momontui the title Jirgalan ('Joyful') beile, "and the others were granted the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh degrees of princes without titles. In addition, all newly bestowed Princes were called Dzasaks, which meant they had the right to receive a salary from the emperor in wages and were no longer dependent on each other".<sup>19</sup>

Apparently, some of the taijis who arrived with Ubashi Khan were very religious people. For example, among those who arrived was the Khoshut taiji Yerempel,<sup>20</sup> who was granted the title 'Gushan-amurlingui-beise'<sup>21</sup> and was appointed a dzasak. In 1771, Yerempel requested Changkya-hutugta to give him monastic vows with an attachment to Changkya-hutugta's nomad territory.<sup>22</sup> Here is what is said about it in the biography of Changkya-hutugta:

When a Turgut taiji named Yerempel,<sup>23</sup> after making a report to the Great Emperor, completely abandoned his children, wife, wealth, power, and subjects, and asked the Lord Supreme Teacher [Changkya-hutugta] to graciously grant him monastic vows before the novice, of the novice and full monastic vows, and wished not to return to his homeland but to remain close to the excellent teacher [Changkya-hutugta], the Supreme Lord Teacher [Changkya-hutugta] showed [Yerempel] great mercy, saying: "Such renunciation as that of Yerempel is rare, even among the great lamas of our time. The likes of us who now occupy the position of great lamas are mentioned in the sayings of Drukpa Kunlek:<sup>24</sup> 'They preach to their disciples the holy doctrine of temperance, But the lamas themselves are busy hoarding [everything], down to a thread and a needle'. So, they are no different from what is described here. Yerempel's aspiration seems like a mockery of us". Then the teacher [Changkya-hutukhta] went to Beijing.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Qi shi and 1820: 221–222 (264–265).

<sup>20</sup> In the literature there are also variants of the spelling of the Khoshout owner's name: Yarampil and Erempel.

<sup>21</sup> The Manchu title beise (贝子; bèizi) was used in Manchu and Mongol titles.

<sup>22</sup> Meng-gu-yu-mu-ji 1895: 147.

<sup>23</sup> Henceforth, English transcriptions of Oirat names are given according to the Oirat pronunciation.

<sup>24</sup> Drukpa Kunlek ('brug pa kun legs; 1455–1529) was a teacher of the Drukpa Kagyu tradition.

<sup>25</sup> Thor god kyi tha'i ji yar 'phel zer bas gong ma chen por snyan sgron phul te kho rang gi bu dang chung ma nor rdzas mnga' 'bangs thams cad blos lings kyis bskiyur nas/ rje bla ma mchog las rab byung dge tshul bsnyen rdzogs kyi sdom pa'i bka' drin zhus shing rang yul du mi 'gro bar bla ma dam pa'i sku drung du bcar sdod bgyid pa la/ rje bla ma mchog nas/ yar 'phel gyis blos btang 'di 'dra deng sang gi bla ma tshos kyang yong dka' ba 'dug ces kho la thugs shin tu brtse ba mdzad/ kho bo cag Ita bu'i deng sang gi bla chen gyi go sar bzhugs pa rnam ni/ 'brug pa

### 3. *Letter from Ubashi Khan*

Immediately after their arrival, the leaders of the Torguts tried to establish ties with nearby Buddhist monasteries and the Buddhist hierarchs residing there. One such monastic center was the Labrang monastery in Amdo province at the time. From the anonymous letter (fig. 2) discussed below, we learn that the Torgut ruler requested permission from a certain gegēn to house monks in this monastery. These monks were apparently sent there for training. Additionally, he promised to carry out some command of this hierarch mentioned in the previous correspondence.

#### *Translation of Ubashi Khan's letter from Labrang monastery*

“The reason for the separate lowest report: though we are pleased and glad that among [your,] gegēn [,] instructions with mercy to us has arrived the permission about accommodation of shabinars<sup>26</sup> in the monastery, as [we] roam in this area for the first time and for the first time districts are established, we think to execute your order after [the division into] the districts is fixed.

Also, the reason for the lowly report is this: formerly, the continuation of the dharma residing in our locality was mainly carried out by the manifest [i.e., direct. – B. M.] disciples of the Omniscient gegēn Jamyang Shepe Dorje.<sup>27</sup> For this reason, now we [need] one good lama, immediately pacifying and unceasingly helpful, and, in view of the variety of diseases of degenerate times, one good physician, versed in the basic precepts (Oir. γol ubidas). Kindly take note, take note!

Also, some [information] missing [in the letter] will be reported orally by the messengers.

With khadak”<sup>28</sup>.

---

kun legs kyi gsungs las/ slob ma nrams la chog shes dam chos gsungs/ /bla ma rang ni khab skud tshun chad bsog/ ces pa'i ngang tshul las ma 'das pa 'dug pas/ yar 'phel gyi 'dun ma de bdag cag la co 'dri ba lta bur snang ngo/ / de nas rje bla ma pe'i cing du phebs (Thu'u bkwan 1989: 545–546).

<sup>26</sup> Shabinars – novices and monks.

<sup>27</sup> The full name of Jamyang Shepa is Jamyang Shepe Dorje ('Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje).

<sup>28</sup> Khadak (kha btags) – a ceremonial silken scarf.

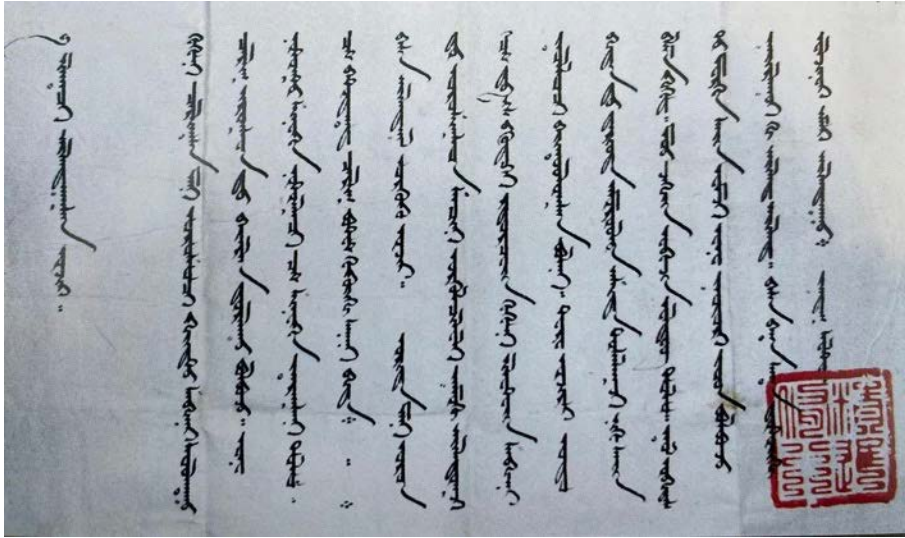


Fig. 2. Letter of Ubashi Khan kept in Labrang monastery

### *Transliteration*

Ilyaji ayiladxaqsan ućir :: gegēni jarliγāsa mani öröšōji kiyidtü šabinar soulayaxu jarliq ireqsen-dü bayarlan duralaxu bolboću: ene nutuqtu šineken nutuqlaji jam šineken γaraqسانی төлө : jam batudγad jarliq bütēm geküyigi sananai bida :: ::

basa ayiladxal örgükü ućir : urida mani oron-du orošiqson šajini ürgüljileli xamugi ayiladuqçi jam dby[a]ngs bzh[a]dpai rdoŋjeyin gegēni ileteyin šabinar γolloji bayiγuuluqsan bolnai:

tere ućirār odō bidan-du dariuda amuruulun ašida tusalaqçi nige sayin blama kigēd : mou čagiyin ebecin eldeb tölō: γol ubidas-tu mergen sayin emci ene xoyori youn bolboću xayirlaxui-gi ayilad ayilad: basa baγa saγa dutuyigi elciner amār ayiladxaxu::

xadaq selte:

Although the letter under consideration here, written in Oirat 'todo bichig', does not name either the addressee or the issuer, it is possible to establish the author, presumable date, and addressee based on the content of the letter and the seal.

The use of the Oirat 'clear script' ('todo bichig') created in 1648, and the reference to Jamyang Shepa (1648–1721) indicate that this letter was written in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The red seal in the lower right corner of the letter bears the legend "jīngjìn xiūxíng" (精進修行),<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Batubayar 2017b: 153.



which translates as 'diligently practice'. Batubayar writes that this legend can be translated into the Mongolian language as 'хичээнгүйлэн бясалгах', or 'хичээнгүйгээр бүтээгч'.<sup>30</sup> Judging by the available documents on 'todo bichig', this seal with the legend in Chinese was used from 1710 to October 1775, between the 49th year of the Kangxi reign and the 40th year of Qianlong.<sup>31</sup> This seal successively belonged to Chagdorjab, his son Donduk-Dashi Khan, and then Donduk-Dashi's son, governor Ubashi. Having received the title 'Zorigtu Khan', Ubashi Khan continued to own this seal until his death.<sup>32</sup>

After the Ubashi's Torgut were temporarily relocated to Jair (斋尔; Zhāir), all kinds of difficulties continued: some people fled back to the Volga, others were forced by the lack of food to take risks and steal, many were not used to the area, and the crops they grew gave miserable yields, diseases were so common that even Ubashi's mother,<sup>33</sup> wife and daughter died of illness. Under such circumstances, on the 22nd day of the 7th lunar month of the 37th year of Qianlong (August 20, 1772), Ubashi applied to the Qing court for permission to change nomadic settlement. The Qing court approved Ubashi's request, and after long discussions it was agreed that he should move to Yuldus.<sup>34</sup> The nomadic migration of Ubashi Khan to Yuldus itself took place in 1773.<sup>35</sup>

After Ubashi Khan's death on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month of the 39th year of Qianlong (January 9, 1775), the Qing court introduced the system of seims and banners among the Torguts and Hoshuts in the 40th year of Qianlong (1775) and issued seals to the dzasaks of seims and banners. In the 9th lunar month of the 40th year of Qianlong's reign (period between September 25 and October 23, 1775) the eldest son of Ubashi, Tseren Namjal, took office as head of the Southern seim 'Ünen Süzügtü'<sup>36</sup> of old Torguts<sup>37</sup> and received a new seal.<sup>38</sup> In the work of the Chinese prince Qishiye, it is stated that,

<sup>30</sup> Batubayar 2014: 81.

<sup>31</sup> Batubayar 2017b: 153.

<sup>32</sup> Batubayar 2017a: 148.

<sup>33</sup> The source [Dorji, Batubayar, Lije 2009: 29] refers to Ubashi's stepmother, as his mother Dejit died in 1755. In 1756, Donduk-Dashi married the younger sister of the deceased Dejit, Tseren-Jal, also known as Najitun hansha [Batmaev 1993: 344].

<sup>34</sup> Dorji, Batubayar, Lije 2009: 29.

<sup>35</sup> Meng-gu-yu-mu-ji 1895: 462.

<sup>36</sup> Ünen Süzügtü – 'True Believers'.

<sup>37</sup> The 'old' Torguts were those Kalmyks who had migrated from the Kalmyk Khanate to Qing China in 1771 and whose ancestors had joined the Russian state in the seventeenth century. The 'new' Torguts were those who fled from Jungaria to the Kalmyk Khanate in the 1750s, during the war between the Oirats of the Jungar Khanate and the Qing authorities.

<sup>38</sup> Dorji, Batubayar, Lije 2009: 43.

at the time of Ubashi Khan's death, his son Tseren Namjal was eight years old.<sup>39</sup>

'Old Torguts' of the 'Ünen Süzügtü' seim were divided into four districts according to the geographical location of pastures: southern, northern, eastern, and western, and each district also represented a seim. Each such seim had a head and a deputy head, both of whom were endowed with a seal.<sup>40</sup>

The above data allows us to assert with certainty that the author of the letter is Ubashi Khan, as confirmed by his seal. Since Ubashi's son Tseren Namjal was still young, he could not be the author of the letter. The letter was written between 1771 and 1775 when Ubashi Khan was already in Qing territory. However, it is most likely that it was written in Jair in 1772, during a period when Ubashi Khan's subjects were facing great difficulty, and his stepmother, wife, and daughter died. It is possible that the request to send a physician expressed in the letter was due to the illness of someone close to Ubashi Khan. The letter mentions the division of the 'Old Torguts Ünen Süzügtü' into districts.<sup>41</sup> At the time the letter was written, this division into districts had not yet been established. The Qing court introduced the system of banners for Torguts and Hoshuts not immediately, but only in the 40th year of the Qianlong reign (1775).<sup>42</sup>

To whom was this letter addressed? Apparently, after his arrival in Jair, Ubashi tried to renew old ties and create new ones with the Buddhist hierarchs of Tibet. The contents of the letter indicate that Ubashi was in active correspondence with a high-ranking figure from Labrang monastery.

As the letter was preserved in the Great Prayer Hall of Labrang monastery and uses the address *gegēn* ('one of the highest ranks of Buddhist clergy; the title of an incarnated Lama'),<sup>43</sup> it can be assumed that the message was addressed to either an abbot of the Labrang monastery or to a high lama of the monastery. Among the disciples of Changkya-hutugta whom Ubashi Khan and his entourage met in Jehol, Konchok Jigme Wangpo (dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po; 1728–1791), the second incarnation of Jamyang Shepa and the 11th throne holder of Labrang monastery, stood out as a prominent figure. Konchok Jigme Wangpo was already acquainted with the Kalmyks, as

<sup>39</sup> Qi shi i 1820: 266.

<sup>40</sup> Dorji, Batubayar, Ligei 2009: 34.

<sup>41</sup> In the book *Study of the Seals of the Torguts and Hoshuts of the Qing Dynasty*, the word 'jam', meaning 'road', is equated to the Chinese character 路 (lù), which not only denotes 'road' but also means 'district'. In each district, a seim (cuulγan) was established [Dorji, Batubayar, Ligei 2009: 99].

<sup>42</sup> Dorji, Batubayar, Ligei 2009: 33.

<sup>43</sup> Bol'shoi akademicheskii mongol'sko-russkii slovar' 2001: 477.

their embassy paid him a visit in Lhasa in 1757.<sup>44</sup>

In addition, somewhat later, in 1778, an envoy of the Torgut Khan, Tseren Namjal Ragba Lama, and others visited Konchok Jigme Wangpo in Labrang:

In the year of the Earth Dog [1778 – B. M.], the messenger<sup>45</sup> of the Torgut Khan, Tseren Namjal Ragba Lama, and others arrived. They made offerings of many things, and [Konchok Jigme Wangpo] bestowed the empowerment of the Single Hero [Vajrabhairava] and the permissions<sup>46</sup> of the outer, inner, and secret forms of Dharmarāja.<sup>47</sup>

The Khan's envoys visited Konchok Jigme Wangpo again in 1791:

On the fourteenth day <...> of the sixth month <...> of the year Iron Pig [1791 – B. M.] <...> from the coast of the eastern sea arrived the envoys of the Tseren Namjal Khan Kashubo-chitsan, with about twenty monks and others, and also the messengers of the Khalkha Dondub beile. [Konchok Jigme Wangpo] received their reports of arrival and engaged in pleasant conversation with them. In accord with their personal wishes, [Konchok Jigme Wangpo] gave them the vows of lay-ubashi, novice, full monastic vows and the like. At their request, he graciously bestowed the profound Vajrabhairava empowerment upon about 550 aspirants. As an offering, etc., along with the written petition of the Torgut Khan, numerous special valuable items were offered, such as expensive kinds of jewels, approximately two thousand sangs of silver, and other sumptuous offerings. [Konchok Jigme Wangpo] gave everyone suitable answers and other things without interruption.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Mitruiev 2022: 54.

<sup>45</sup> Here *elci* (el chi) is an Oirat word that has the meaning 'messenger'.

<sup>46</sup> Permission (rjes gngang; anujñā) is a special kind of initiation in Buddhist Tantric practice, during which not all the steps of full deity initiation are performed, but enough is done to allow the disciple to perform the practice of a particular deity.

<sup>47</sup> Sa kyi <...> thor god rgyal po tsho ring rnam rgyal han gyi el chi grags pa bla ma sogs 'byor te khyad nor du ma'i dngos 'bul bteg par dpa' bo gcig pa'i dbang dang chos rgyal phyi nang gsang gsum gyi rjes gngang stsal (Gung thang 2019: 251).

<sup>48</sup> Lcags phag <...> drug pa'i tshes <...> bcu bzhi'i nyin shar phyogs rgya mtsho'i 'gram nas thor god tsho ring rnam rgyal han gyi mi sna khA shu bo chi tsang gi dge 'dun sogs nyi shu skor dang / hal ha don grub pe'i li'i mi sna bcas gsar slebs rnam kyis 'byor phyag zhus par dgyes pa'i bka' mchid gngang / so so'i mos pa bzhin du dge bsnyen dge tshul dge slong sogs kyi sdom pa phog / khong rnam kyis zhus ngor don gnyer can phyed dang drug brgya skor la 'jigs mdzad rdo rje'i smin byed kyi dbang zab mo'i bka' drin rdzogs par bskyangs / thor god rgyal po'i zhu yig gi rten sogs su rin po che'i rigs 'gangs che ba mang pos mtshon khyad nor du ma dang / dngul srang nyis stong du nye ba sogs dngos 'bul gtos che bar byung ba kun la babs 'os kyi bka' lan sogs 'tshem med du stsal (Gung thang 2019: 350–351).

#### *4. Information from Tibetan sources on the worship of Kalmyks arriving in China by Tibetan spiritual hierarchs*

Among the reasons for the Kalmyks' exodus in 1771 cited by researchers, the religious reason is considered one of the most significant. The denial of permission to visit Tibetan hierarchs and the gradual Christianization of the Kalmyks are mentioned as reasons for their flight.<sup>49</sup>

The same reason was cited by the Kalmyk envoys during the visit of the Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe. His biography, from which the information is introduced in academic circulation for the first time, states the following:

On the twenty-first day <...> of the seventh Tibetan month <...> of the year of the Water Bird [1773 – B. M.], called 'Victorious' (rnam rgyal; vijaya), [the Panchen Lama] gave a blessing with his hand, a tea treat, and questioned the arrived envoys of Torgut Zorigtu Khan Ubashi, Jimba Gelüng and Loroi Shirab, as well as about thirty [other] envoys—wangs, beiles, beises, and others, and dispatched by order of the Emperor jar[guchi] and bi[chachi],<sup>50</sup> two boshoks,<sup>51</sup> qian[zong] and ba[zong]<sup>52</sup> along with about ten soldiers.

Beginning from the twenty-third, [the Panchen Lama] gave the full monastic vows to fifty-six Torguts and others, and the novice vows to twenty-five [of them].

On the twenty-fourth day, the Torgut envoys, having invited [the Panchen Lama] to lead the prayer assembly, presented him with a silver maṇḍala, vestments and other things included in the complete set of necessities, Chinese and German<sup>53</sup> clothes and silks, silver, gold, pearls, various kinds of leather, and other sumptuous offerings. [In addition, they] made offerings to the monastic assembly and requested [the Panchen Lama] that his lotus feet [remain in this world as] steadfast as a vajra. Together with the monks' assembly, [the Panchen Lama] gave them the oral transmission of the "One Hundred Deities of Tuṣitā"<sup>54</sup> and performed the dedication of the accumulated collection of merit [so that it would become] the cause for

<sup>49</sup> Kitinov 2021: 414; Ukhtomsky 1904: 57.

<sup>50</sup> Jarguchi and bichachi (Tib. jar bi gnyis; jar bi is a short form for jar go chi dang bi cha'i chi). Jarguchi (tsarguchi) is a Mongolian (or Manchu) official of the middle rank who had administrative and judicial powers. Bichachi – a clerk, secretary.

<sup>51</sup> Boshoku (Tib. sbo sho kha) – a small administrative official; assistant to the jarguchi.

<sup>52</sup> Qianzong and batsong (Tib. chan pA gnyis; chan pA is a short form for chan tsong dang pA tsong). Qianzong (千總; qiānzǒng) was a rank of middle commanding officer during the Qing dynasty, corresponding to lieutenant. Bazong (把總; bǎzǒng) was a junior army officer during the Qing Dynasty.

<sup>53</sup> Nem shi (немши) is a Kalmyk word for German.

<sup>54</sup> "The Hundred Deities of Tuṣitā" (bla ma'i rnal 'byor dga' ldan lha brgya ma) is a guru yoga written by Dulnagpa Pelden Sangpo ('dul nag pa dpal ldan bzang po; 1402–1473) and dedicated to Lama Tsongkapa.

[attaining] unsurpassed awakening.

At the request of the Torgut envoys and the monastic community of Dechen Rabgye [Ling] monastery,<sup>55</sup> beginning from the twenty-fifth day, for two days, [the Panchen Lama] gave the empowerment of the thirteen deities of Vajrabhairava.

At the request of a jarguchi, [the Panchen Lama] granted the [long]-life empowerment in the Siddharājñī tradition;<sup>56</sup> to the Torgut envoys, jar[gochis], bi[chachis], boshoks, monks of Sera and Drepung monasteries and some others [he] successively granted the common permission of Damchen Dharmarāja and the permission of the goddess Parṇaśabari.

On the twenty-sixth, [the Panchen Lama] made lavish gifts to the Torgut envoys, together with jar[guchis] and bi[chachis], in the form of statues, blessed ‘supports’, and the like, and parting gifts, together with return letters for the requests of the various lords, members of the monastic community, and subjects together with enclosed gifts.

During the tea treat, [the Panchen Lama] gave orders to maintain, as before, a perfectly pure determination to serve the Yellow Hat doctrine.

The messengers replied: “Although we were happy to spread the teachings of Lord Teacher [Tsongkhapa] in the old homeland of our ancestors, in the Torgut lands, since we were surrounded on all sides by non-Buddhists, we thought day and night without rest, what we would do when [our] descendants converted to the non-Buddhist faith in the future. [Therefore,] led by Zorigtu Ubashi, about fifty thousand families traversed many deserts and many gangs of enemies and robbers. Because of being chased on the way by many plundering armies of Kazakhs, Buruts,<sup>57</sup> and others, [we] have lost about twenty thousand families<sup>58</sup> in skirmishes. Many people were lost because of epidemics and other things. In spite of the great losses suffered, those who remained, having submitted to the great [Manchu] emperor Mañjuśrī, are now living in happiness thanks to the emperor’s mercy. Especially, [now we] may express our reverence and offer cloud-like gifts to

<sup>55</sup> Ganden Dechen Rabgye Ling or Shang Ganden Dechen Rabgye Ling (dga’ ldan bde chen rab rgyas gling/ shangs dga’ ldan bde chen rab rgyas gling) is an important Gelug monastery in Tsang Province, restored by Panchen Lama Lobsang Palden Yeshe (blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes; 1738–1780).

<sup>56</sup> Siddharājñī (grub pa’i rgyal mo) is a female teacher of the 11<sup>th</sup> century Tantra tradition.

<sup>57</sup> Burut (po rod) is a Kalmyk term for the Tien Shan Kyrgyz.

<sup>58</sup> Various documents and research studies provide varying estimates of the number of Kalmyks who left. For instance, G. O. Avlyayev estimates that 60,000 kubitkas of Torguts and Khoshuts left [Avlyayev 2002: 300]. Lipovtsov’s note to his translation of “On the migration of the Turguts to Russia and their return from Russia to Zhungaria” assumes 50,000 kubitkas, and also provides data from the “Statistical review of Siberia” and “Description of all peoples living in the Russian state”, which states that all Kalmyks who left for Zyungaria numbered 60,000, with up to 20,000 kubitkas remaining in Russia. According to the “Dictionary of the geographical Russian state”, the departed were 26,162 kubitkas [Qishiyi 1820: 173–174]. N. Nefed’yev, N. Rychkov and “The history of Kalmykia from the most ancient times to our days” suggest about 30,000 kubitkas [Rychkov 1771: 55; Nefed’yev 1834: 70; History of Kalmykia 2009: 431].

the Buddha's teachings in general, and to the great saints of the pure lands<sup>59</sup> of the Ü and Tsang provinces, and to the assembly of the sangha of noble saints,<sup>60</sup> as well as the three special supports.<sup>61</sup> We have gained the conviction that our encounter with them was the manifestation of the compassion of the [Three] Jewels".

Moreover, all the lords and subjects made a request to the [Panchen Lama], so that they, existing by the grace of the emperor established by heaven under his rule, might better and better serve the Yellow Hat teaching, and so that the longevity, merit and power of the lords and subjects might be multiplied and they might be inseparable from the [Panchen Lama] in all their lives under his spiritual protection. The [Panchen Lama] gladly accepted their entreaties. [He] consecutively satiated them with dharma and material things, [providing them] with a feast and individual gifts, etc.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> 'Pure lands' (dag pa'i zhing) is the Buddhist designation for the paradisiacal lands in which the Buddhas and bodhisattvas reside. Here the regions of Central Tibet are equated in their religious significance with the pure lands of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

<sup>60</sup> The sangha of noble saints ('phags pa'i dge 'dun) is the assembly of saints who have attained the path of direct vision of emptiness (mthong lam).

<sup>61</sup> The three supports (rten gsum) are images of the body, speech and mind of the Buddha, represented by statues, Buddhist texts and stūpas.

<sup>62</sup> Rnam rgyal zhes pa chu mo sbrul <...> zla bdun pa'i <...> tshes nyer gcig la thor god ju rigs thu han u pa sha'i mi sna dge slong sbyin pa dang blo gros shes rab / gzhan ma wang / pa'i li / pa'i se sogs kyi el chi bcas sum cu skor dang gong nas bkas mngags pa'i rngar [=jar] bi gnyis / sbo sho kha gnyis / chan pA gnyis / dmag mi bcu skor bcas 'byor par phyag dbang ja gral bka' 'dri gngang / tshes nyer gsum nas bzung thor god pa sogs lnga bcu nga drug bsnyen rdzogs dang / nyi shu rtsa lnga dge tshul bsgrubs / tshes nyer bzhi la thor god mi sna rnams kyis tshogs dbur spyang drangs nas dngul dkar gyi maN+Dal / na bza' sogs sku'i nyer spyad cha tshang / rgya dang nem shi'i yul gyi gos dar dang gser dngul / mu tig / pags rigs sogs dngos 'bul spam mtho ba dang 'dus sder mang 'gyed bcas zhabs pad rdo rje'i rang bzhin du brtan pa'i gsol 'debs zhus par / tshogs pa dang mnyam du dga' ldan lha brgya ma'i lung tsal / dge tshogs bla na med pa'i byang chub kyi rgyur bsngo bar mdzad / thor god mi sna rnams dang bde chen rab rgyas tshogs yongs nas zhus ngor / tshes nyer lnga nas bzung nyin gnyis kyi ring 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i dbang chen gngang / jar go chis zhus ngor grub rgyal lugs kyi tshe dbang dang / thor god el chi rnams dang jar bi / sbo sho kha / ser 'bras pa sogs kha shas la dam can chos kyi rgyal po'i rjes gngang thun mong ba dang / lo ma gyon ma'i rjes gngang bcas rim bzhin tsal / tshes nyer drug la thor god mi sna / jar go chi / bi cha'i chi bcas la sku brnyan / byin rten sogs dngos po'i gngang skyes gya nom pa dang / dpon khag rnams dang sde dmangs kyi skyabs zhu sogs la 'byor lan rten sbrags bcas thon phyag gngang zhing / ja gral thog zhwa ser bstan pa'i zhabs 'degs la lhag bsam mnam par dag pa sngar bzhin byed dgos pa'i bka' phebs par / mi sna rnams nas nged tsho pha mes kyi sdod gnas rnying pa thor god kyi sa'i char sngar phan rje bla ma'i bstan pa dar rgyas dga' mo yod kyang / mtha' thams cad phyi pa sha stag gis bskor bar brten / ma 'ongs pa na bu tsha brgyud rnams phyi pa'i chos lugs la zhugs na ci drag snyam nyin mtshan khor yug tu blo bde ba'i go skabs dang bral gshis / jo rigs thu u pa shis dbus dud kha khri phrag lnga tsam zhig mya ngam gyi thang mang po dang dgra jag gi sde du ma brgal te 'ongs par lam bar du kha sag dang po rod sogs kyi dmag jag mang pos rjes 'ded byung nas 'thab 'dzing du dud kha khri tsho gnyis tsam shor / nad yams kyis

Did the Torguts get an opportunity to send embassies to Tibet to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama after they were settled in Qing China? We found materials on this question in the following two sources in Tibetan: “Biography of the Eighth Dalai Lama ‘Decoration of the Jambudvīpa vastitude’” (rgyal dbang sku phreng brgyad pa’i rnam thar ‘dzam gling tha gru yangs pa’i rgyan), compiled by Demo Khutugtu Lobsang Tubten Jigme Gyatso (de mo ho thog thu blo bzang thub bstan ‘jigs med rgya mtsho; 1778–1819), and “Biography of the Lord-teacher, the crown of existence and peace, the great paṇḍita, the all-knowing Lobsang Palden Yeshe Pelsangpo, narrated from his lips, entitled ‘Sunbeams’” (rje bla ma srid zhi’i gtsug rgyan paN chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes dpal bzang po’i zhal snga nas rnam par thar pa nyi ma’i ‘od zer), written by the second incarnation of Jamyang Shepa Konchok Jigme Wangpo.

These sources allow us to conclude that the Torguts of Ubashi Khan were able to send such embassies. Furthermore, even after his death, they continued to send them. Thus, in 1773, Ubashi sent envoys to the 8th Dalai Lama:

In the year of the Water Snake [1773 – B. M.] <...> [the Dalai Lama] gave an audience to the officials who delivered the emperor’s gifts, etc., and to a host of Torgut, Amdo and other envoys. Each of the envoys made an offering symbolizing the interdependence of auspiciousness. [The Dalai Lama] individually gave an oral transmission on “The Rise of the Young Sun”,<sup>63</sup> “[The Praise of] Tārā [in twenty-one stanzas]”, “The Three Levels [of existence]”,<sup>64</sup> and others.<sup>65</sup>

---

kyang mi mang po god pa sogs nyes skyon tshabs che ba byung yang ‘phros lus pa rnams ‘jam dbyangs gong ma chen por mgo btags zhus nas da lta gong ma’i bka’ drin la brten tshang ma skyid po yod cing / khyad par du sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa spyi dang dbus gtsang dag pa’i zhing gi skyes chen dam pa rnams dang ‘phags pa’i dge ‘dun gyi sde rten gsum khyad par can rnams la bsnyen bkur mchod sprin spro rgyu yod pa dang / nged rang rnams kyang de dag mjal rgyu byung ba ni dkon mchog gi thugs rjer nges pa rnyed / da dung dpon ‘bangs tshang ma gnam skos gong ma chen po’i chab srid kyi ‘og tu bka’ drin gyis ‘tsho nas zhwa ser gyi bstan pa’i zhabs ‘degs su ches che bar gyur pa dang / dpon ‘bangs rnams kyi tshe bsod mnga’ thang rgyas shing tshe rabs kun tu ‘bral med rjes ‘dzin gyi skyabs ‘jug dgos pa’i gsol ba btap par bka’ bzhes bzang po dgyes bzhin stsal / snga phyr ston mo zur gos sogs chos dang zang zing gnyis kas tshim par mdzad do (dKon mchog ‘jigs med dbang po 2014a: 488–490).

<sup>63</sup> “The Rise of the Young Sun” (nyi gzhon ‘char ka ma) is a eulogy of Amitāyus composed by Lama Tsongkapa.

<sup>64</sup> “The Three Levels of existence” (Tib. sa gsum ma) is a eulogy of Lama Tsongkapa composed by Kedrub Geleg Pelsangpo.

<sup>65</sup> Chu mo sbrul <...> gong ma’i sba yer ba sogs dang thor rgod am mdo sogs mi sna mang bar mjal phyag gngang / so sos rten ‘byung dngos ‘bul phul / nyi gzhon ‘char ka ma / sgrol ma / sa gsum ma sogs kyi ljags lung kha yar stsal (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 115).

The same envoys asked the 6th Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe to compose a prayer for the Dalai Lama's longevity:

On the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month [of the same year 1773 – B. M.], at the request of the Torgut envoys, the supreme Lord of Victorious ones [the 8th Dalai Lama], having sent gifts with Drungkor Lobsang Norbu, made an offering for [the Panchen Lama invoking him] to begin composing a prayer for longevity.<sup>66</sup>

When in 1780 the Panchen Lama visited China and was in Jehol, the eldest son of Ubashi Khan, Tseren Namjal Khan, met with him along with other representatives of the Torgut nobility:

On the tenth day of <...> the eighth Tibetan month <...> of the Iron Mouse year [1780 – B. M.], called “sārvari” (kun ldan), the Tümet beise Tsenden Dondub, the Torgut Khan Tseren Namjal,<sup>67</sup> the taiji Rabdan Dorji,<sup>68</sup> the Khan's wife Deden Rolma, daughter Norjun Wanmo, with many divisions [of the people] made lavish offerings.

Torgut Jirgal[ang] beile<sup>69</sup> along with hatun Tsebek, Erdeni taiji,<sup>70</sup> Kükö taiji,<sup>71</sup> Dalai taiji,<sup>72</sup> Kögshin taiji<sup>73</sup> and Somon,<sup>74</sup> and Hoshout beile Delek Ubashi Tseren Delek wang,<sup>75</sup> Badma Ubashi,<sup>76</sup> Bayan Dalai,<sup>77</sup> together with their lords and subjects, and Luusan Tsoirak gelün, and others individually made offerings and offered words of truth in prayer for the long life of [the

<sup>66</sup> Zla ba brgyad pa [491] <...> tshes nyer bdun la <...> thor god el chi rnams kyis zhus ngor rgyal dbang mchog nas zhabs brtan bka' rtsom gyi thog ma ghang bar drung 'khor blo bzang nor bu rdzong sta mdzad de legs 'bul bstar (dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po 2014a: 492).

<sup>67</sup> Tseren Namjal was the eldest son of Ubashi Khan, who became Khan after him [Rodoslovnaia torgutskikh khanov i kniazei 2016: 103].

<sup>68</sup> Rabdan Dorji was the second son of Ubashi, a taiji of the first degree [Rodoslovnaia torgutskikh khanov i kniazei 2016: 103].

<sup>69</sup> Jirgalang beile Momoto was the grandson of Balbu and the son of Dondug [Ibid.: 113].

<sup>70</sup> Erdeni taji was the eldest of the five sons of Momoto; he is also known as Erdeni beile [Ibid.: 113].

<sup>71</sup> Kükö taiji or Köögekü was the second son of Momoto; he is also known as Köögekü beile [Ibid.: 113].

<sup>72</sup> This is probably the secular name of the third son of Momoto, who later became a monk and was named toin kambo Lubzan Kiiirib [Ibid.: 114].

<sup>73</sup> Kögshin taiji was the fourth son of Momoto, second-degree taiji Kögshin [Ibid.: 114].

<sup>74</sup> This is probably the fifth son of Momoto, the second-degree taiji Norbo Tseren. The name by which he is known is Sabagar [Ibid.: 114].

<sup>75</sup> Tseren-Delek wang was the eldest of the three sons of Bambar, the junwang Tseren-Delek [Ibid.: 98].

<sup>76</sup> Badma Ubashi was the second son of Tseren Delek, the junwang Badma Ubashi [Ibid.: 98].

<sup>77</sup> Bayan Dalai was the third son of Bambar, the second-degree taiji Bayan Dalai [Ibid.: 98].



Panchen Lama]. They made an emphatic request to accept [them] under [his] patronage and not to abandon [them] in all [their] lives. The [Panchen Lama] gave them a blessing with his hand, a tea treat, instruction, reciprocal gifts, and the desired [instruction in the Buddha's] teachings, thus satisfying [them] with dharma and material things. [The Panchen Lama] bestowed the novice vows upon 135 [people].

<...> On the eleventh day the Torgut Kirib qinwang<sup>78</sup> along with lavish offerings said the words of truth of prayer for the long life of [the Panchen Lama], and also asked [the Panchen Lama] to take them under [his] patronage in all lives. Taiji Tseren Ubashi,<sup>79</sup> Badma, Dorji Delek, and others, [a total of] seven taijis, Khatun Pune and others, the Jungar Dalai Khan, Lama Gaban Zamyang, Kambo Bandida, Da Lama<sup>80</sup> Gaban Puntsak, Jangdren Da Lama Gaban Rigzin, demchi<sup>81</sup> Gaban Jamtso, demchi Luuzan Bambar, nirba<sup>82</sup> Rashi Tugmed, nirba Gaban Jantsan individually made clouds of offerings. The [Panchen Lama] bestowed on the aforementioned [individuals] a blessing by hand, a tea treat, asked [them] questions and presented with gifts. Upon the request of the benefactors, [the Panchen Lama] gave [them] an oral transmission on the Hundred Deities of Tuṣitā, the Protectors of the Three Families, and the long-life Practice".<sup>83</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Kirib dzasag was the second son of Galdan Norbo, grandson of Donduk Ombo, great-grandson of Gunjab [Istoriia Kho-Örlöka 2016: 31] ; as Tsebek Dorji had no sons, Kirib was made the wang [Ibid.: 107].

<sup>79</sup> Tseren-Ubashi qinwang, the eldest of the three sons of Ag Sahal and the grandson of Galdan Norbo. Since Kirib had no sons, he adopted Tseren Ubashi, the eldest son of his younger brother Ag Sahal [Ibid.: 107].

<sup>80</sup> The Da Lama was the head lama of the monastery, the lama-principal of the monastery.

<sup>81</sup> Demchi, an official in the taxation system, was among the highest dignitaries of the Khanate.

<sup>82</sup> Nirba (gnyer ba) – manager, treasurer.

<sup>83</sup> Kun ldan zhes pa lcags byi lo <...> zla ba brgyad pa'i [301] <...> tshes bcu'i nyin thu med pa'i se tshe brtan don grub dang / thor god han tshe ring rnam rgyal ring rnam rgyal/ tha'i ji rab brtan rdo rje/ ha thon bde ldan sgrol ma/ sras mo nor rgyun dbang mo/ sde mang bcas nas dngos 'bul gyi bdog pa spam mtho ba bteg / thor god cir gal ba'i li/ ha thon tshe dpag /er te ni tha'i ji/ tha'i ji khu khos/ tha'i ji de le/ tha'i ji khug shun/ so mon bcas thun mong / ho shod pa'i li bde legs u pa shi/ wang tshe ring bde legs/ pad ma u pa shi/ pa yan tA la'i dpon 'bangs thun mong / dge slong blo bzang chos grags sogs so so nas dngos 'bul bteg ste zhabs brtan bden tshig brjod/ tshe rabs kun tu 'bral med rjes 'dzin gyi skyabs 'jug kyang nan tan du zhus/ de dag la phyag dbang ja gral bka' mchid/ slog cha/ 'dod chos bcas stsal te chos dang zang zing gnyis kas tshim par mdzad/ dge tshul brgya dang so lnga bsgrubs <...> tshes bcu gcig gi nyin thor god mkhas grub ching wang gis dngos 'bul spam mtho ba dang bcas zhabs brtan bden tshig brjod de rjes 'dzin gyi skyabs 'jug kyang zhus/ tha'i ji tshe ring u pa shi dang pad+ma/ rdo rje bde legs sogs tha'i ji bdun/ ha thon phu ne sogs dang jun gar dwa las han dang / bla ma ngag dbang 'jam dbyangs/ mkhan po paN+Di ta/ tA bla ma ngag dbang phun tshogs/ byang 'dren tA bla ma ngag dbang rig 'dzin/ dem chi ngag dbang rgya mtsho/ dem chi blo bzang dpal 'bar/ gnyer pa bkra shis thogs med/ gnyer pa ngag dbang rgyal mtshan bcas so so nas dngos 'byor mchod sprin spros/ gong gsal de dag la phyag dbang ja gral bka' 'dri gngang skyes bcas stsal / sbyin bdag

After Ubashi Khan's death, his descendants continued to send embassies to Tibet:

On the seventh day of the tenth Tibetan month <...> of the year of the Water Ox [1793 – B. M.] there came envoys from the individual Torgut tribes, sent to offer a long-life prayer to the Great Refuge and Protector [i.e. the Dalai Lama – B. M.]. [The Dalai Lama] gave them all an audience on arrival and received from each lord a greeting and a khadak. In particular, he graciously, with joy, received a greeting and a khadak, as well as a pocket watch, from the personal envoy of the Khan, Bakshi Gelüng. In return, the Great Refuge and Protector [i.e. the Dalai Lama – B. M.] answered at length and in detail the questions and so on [of the messengers], according to the wishes [of the disciples] who should be subdued. Also, separate messengers, filled with joy at the sight of the golden face [of the Dalai Lama], made prostrations, while shedding tears, etc., thus showing the highest reverence.<sup>84</sup>

Since, according to the predictions of certain lamas and deities to remove obstacles associated with a bad year, it was necessary for [the Dalai Lama] to repeat [the mantra] of Tārā Tura-vīrā,<sup>85</sup> on the third day of the eleventh Tibetan month [of 1793 – B. M.] he began effectively to do so. As soon as he had completed the first session of the repetition [of the mantra], the Torgut Khan, Gunga Tseren,<sup>86</sup> presented an ornate coral rosary along with a request for spiritual protection through the secretary. [The Dalai Lama] uttered: "Now the yidam deity has bestowed this rosary [upon me] as a rosary for the [mantra] repetition",—and was very glad. The [Dalai Lama's] butler, Gelek Gyaltzen, said: "This seems to be an auspicious connection suitable for the magnetizing activity".<sup>87</sup> To this the [Dalai Lama] replied, "The tantra says that whatever acts are performed, whether pacifying, multiplying, magnetizing or wrathful, if the proper study manifests there, the siddhis appropriate to the activity will manifest. So gladly said [the Dalai Lama].<sup>88</sup>

rnam nas zhus ngor dga' ldan lha brgya ma dang rigs gsum mgon po/ tshes sgrub bcas kyi ljags lung gnang (dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po 2014b: 310).

<sup>84</sup> Chu glang <...> zla ba bcu pa'i tshes bdun nyin thor rгод rgyal khag mi 'dra ba so sos/ skyabs mgon chen por zhabs brtan 'bul bar mi sna btang ba rnam 'byor ba/ tshang mar 'byor phyag gi thog dpon khag so so nas mtshams zhu kha btags re dang / lhag par rgyal po rang gi mi sna pak+Shi dge slong nas rgyal po'i mtshams zhu kha btags dang / chu tshod kyi 'khor lo zhig 'bul rgyu 'dug pa dgyes bzhes bka' drin che zhing skyabs mgon chen po nas kyang gdul bya'i mos ngo dang 'tsham pa'i bka' 'dri sogs zhib rgyas dang / mi sna khag kyang gser zhal mjal ba'i dga' bas phyag 'tshal zhing / mig nas mchi ma khrug pa sogs gus 'dud bla na med pa zhus (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 349).

<sup>85</sup> Tārā Tura-vīrā (sgrol ma myur ma dpa' mo) is "Tārā the Swift Heroine", one of the twenty-one forms of Tārā.

<sup>86</sup> Probably the ruler of the Northern Department of the Seim Ünen Süzügtü, Gunga Tseren, son of Tsebegdorji, is meant here [Sanchirov 2016: 48].

<sup>87</sup> Magnetizing activity (dbang gi las) is the third of the four enlightened acts. This act means drawing other beings or other things into one's sphere of influence.

<sup>88</sup> Zla ba bcu gcig pa'i tshes gsum <...> lha bla'i lung 'ga' zhig tu dgung skeg rkyen sel du sgrol ma myur ma dpa' mo'i ljags bzlas shig gnang dgos tshul phebs pa

Two months later, the messengers met again with the Dalai Lama:

On the seventeenth day [of the first Tibetan month] of the year Wood Tiger [1794 – B. M.], a prayer was offered on behalf of the Torgut Khan for [the Dalai Lama's] long life. Additionally, [the Dalai Lama] received in turn prayers for long life from the Torgut qinwang, Tseren Ubashi, the Gung Atsara, the Gung Gunga Tseren, and the Jungars. On the twenty-first day, [the Dalai Lama] consecutively fulfilled the aspirations of many people who sought an audience with him.<sup>89</sup>

<...> On the next day [the ninth day – B. M.] of the third Tibetan month <...> of the year of the Wood Tiger [1794 – B. M.], [the Dalai Lama] granted full monastic vows to the Torguts aspiring for [this]. On the tenth day, [the Dalai Lama] granted the Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara permission to a large number of Torgut envoys and others. He gave them a detailed [explanation] of the repetition [of the mantra] and the visualization [of this deity]. In the evening, he again gave full monastic ordination to about fifty Torguts who were seeking it.<sup>90</sup>

On the second twelfth day<sup>91</sup> of the third Tibetan month <...> of the year of the Wood Tiger [1794 – B. M.] <...> the [Dalai Lama] gave a farewell audience and made gifts to the Torgut and Jungar envoys [in the form of] many blessed substances consisting of statues, multiplying relics,<sup>92</sup> precious pills and other things. Upon each noble envoy he bestowed many things: a set of clothes as well as Kashmir saffron, a bowl made of burl,<sup>93</sup> smoking sticks, woolen cloth, and other things. To each tribe [the Dalai Lama] gave excellent images [of

---

yang 'di nyin nas dbu tshugs pa'i gnad smin bskyangs/ dus 'di'i ljags thun dang po grub 'phral mgron gnyer brgyud thor rgod rgyal po kun dga' tshe ring gis skyabs 'jug zhu rten du byu ru'i phyag 'phreng rgyan ldan zhig phul bar/ bka' las da lam yi dam gyi lhas bzlas 'phreng du 'phreng ba 'di gnang ba yin zhes mnyes mnyes mdzad par/ gsol dpon dge legs rgyal mtshan nas 'di 'dra dbang gi las dang mthun pa'i rten 'brel yin 'dra zhus par/ zhi rgyas dbang drag gi las gang byed kyang / de dang rnam pa mthun pa'i dpyad pa gnas der byung na/ las mthun gyi dngos grub 'byung ba rgyud nas gsungs pa yin zhes mnyes mnyes ltar gyi bka' yang phebs (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 349).

<sup>89</sup> Shing stag <...> tshes bcu bdun nas thor rgod rgyal po'i zhabs brtan dang / gzhan yang thor rgod 'ching wang tshe ring u pa shi/ gung a tsa ra/ gung kun dga' tshe ring / jun sgar pa bcas kyi zhabs brtan rnam rim bzhin bzhes te tshes nyi shu gcig nas mjal phyag don gzher ba phon che ba rnam kyil re ba yang rim bzhin du bskang (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 360).

<sup>90</sup> Shing stag <...> zla ba gsum pa'i <...> de'i phyi nyin thor rgod kyi don gnyer ba lnga bcu skor la bsnyen rdzogs kyang stsal/ tshes bcu nyin thor rgod mi sna sogs phon che bar spyen ras gzigs phyag stong spyen stong gi rjes gnang dang / bzlas sgom gyi dmigs pa rgya cher stsal zhing / phyi dro don gnyer can lnga bcu skor la bsnyen rdzogs kyang stsal (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 361).

<sup>91</sup> In the Tibetan calendar, there are double days, introduced to compensate for the difference between solar and lunar days.

<sup>92</sup> 'Multiplying relics' ('phel gdung) are relics found in the ashes of cremated saints that multiply over time.

<sup>93</sup> 'A burl' (rdzab) is an outgrowth on wood from which bowls and other objects are made.

body, speech and mind] and objects for making offerings.

[The Dalai Lama] gave a gracious speech: "You, the tribes of the North, are incomparable benefactors of the teachings of the Great Tsongkapa. You have now sent messengers to Tibet who have paid homage to the various lamas of the Ü and Tsang provinces, as well as to a multitude of monastic communities, and especially you have paid perfect homage to the more than ten thousand members of the sangha who assembled for the Great Prayer [Festival] in the City of the Gods [i.e. Lhasa – B. M.], and have made offerings, etc., to various images [of Buddhas, etc.]. The extensive utterly white [merits accumulated by these acts] are definitely a sure sign of the unfailing sincere faith in the teachings of Lord Lama [Tsongkapa] and its holders, for which I am extremely pleased. Therefore, I have prayed to the deities of the Three Jewels that the power and wealth of the Khans of the North may increase and that any deeds in the service of the teaching may be multiplied. I made the dedication of merit and offered prayers so that the harvest of virtue performed now would not be destroyed by the hail of obscurations, but would be transformed into the fruit of the Buddhahood". [The Dalai Lama] made the following promise: "I will give spiritual protection, virtuous in both temporal and final respects, keeping you close to my heart so that you messengers may, among other things, reach [homeland] without difficulty in safety and meet [your] rulers and close relatives, and may enjoy the feast of perfect fulfillment of the purposes and other things for which you have been sent".

All the messengers and their entourage were filled with joy, faith and happiness, and they did not want to leave [the Dalai Lama's] presence; many had tears in [their] eyes.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Shing stag <...> zla ba gsum pa'i <...> tshes bcu gnyis rting ma la thor rgod dang / jun sgar gyi mi sna mams la thon phyag gsol ras su sku brnyan/ 'phel gdung / rin chen ril bu sogs byin rten phon che ba dang / mi sna drag gras so sor gyon pa cha skor/ gzhan yang dri bzang kha che/ dzab phor/ spos snam bu sogs zang zing gi gnang cha phon che ba dang / rgyal khag so sor yang rten chas gya nom pa dang / rjes su brtse ba'i bka' phebs su/ khyed byang rgyud kyi rgyal khag rnam rje tsong kha pa chen po'i bstan pa'i sbyin bdag gzhan 'gran med pa yin/ da lam bod du mi sna ched rdzong gi yul dbus gtsang na mchis pa'i bla ma khag dang / dge 'dun gyi sde mang po la bsnyen bkur/ khyad par lha ldan smon lam chen por 'dus pa'i dge 'dun khrir can la bsnyen bkur phun sum tshogs pa dang / rten khag la mchod 'bul sogs nam dkar rgya cher bsgrubs pa 'di dag ni/ nges par rje bla ma'i bstan pa bstan 'dzin dang bcas par snying nas dad pa 'gyur med kyi rtags yang dag pa yin pas nged kyang sems shin tu dga' ba byung / de'i phyir nged nas lha dkon mchog gsum la gsol ba btab ste/ byang rgyud rgyal po mams mnga' thang longs spyod 'phel zhing / bstan pa'i zhabs 'degs su 'gyur ba'i bya ba gang ci gong 'phel kho nar 'gyur ba dang / da lam bsgrubs pa'i dge ba'i lo tog kyang nyon mongs sad kyis mi bcom par 'bras bu sangs rgyas nyid du 'grub pa'i phyir du bsngo ba dang smon lam btab yod cing / khyed mi sna rnam kyang bshul bgrod bde'i thog rje bo dang gnyen chen rnam ma nyams par 'phrad nas/ ched du mngags pa'i don 'di dag legs par grub pa'i dga' ston la spyad chog pa sogs gnas skabs dang mthar thug tu dge ba'i skyabs 'jug snying dang 'grog nas byed ces zhal bzhes bzang po mdzad par/ mi sna 'khor bcas tshang ma dga' dad spro gsum lhag par 'phel ba'i sku mdun nas 'gro mi 'dod pa lta bu'i mig mchi mas gang ba'ang mang ngo (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 361–362).

On the fourteenth day of the third Tibetan month of the year of the Wood Tiger [1794 – B. M.] [the Dalai Lama] gladly instructed the departing guide of the Torguts, the Chinese Amban.<sup>95</sup>

On the twentieth day of the third Tibetan month of the Year of the Wood Tiger [1794 – B. M.], the departing Torgut envoys arrived [in the presence of the Dalai Lama] to receive a blessing with [his] hand. Among them was one faithful individual who was gravely ill because he had fallen from an upper floor to a lower one at the Tromsigkhang.<sup>96</sup> He barely survived<sup>97</sup> only by the grace of the Great Refuge and Protector [i.e., the Dalai Lama – B. M.]; supported by two servants, he appeared before [the Dalai Lama]. The Protector [Dalai Lama], more and more radiant with compassion, said: “How can [I] help [your] suffering?”—and gave [him] a blessing with [his] hand. [The faithful replied]: “I came here from afar to meet you, Protector Avalokiteśvara, but my virtue is weak, and I have encountered such misfortune. The purpose of my visit is a desire to see your face and [to receive] full monastic vows, but what better way [to proceed] now?”—So he [uttered] with weeping. Because the Protector [the Dalai Lama] does not reject beings of faith and cares for them, and full monastic vows are the foundation of the Buddha’s teachings and the most important of all teachings, so [their] immediate granting to anyone who makes a request and who has no obstacles [to receiving monastic vows] is the hallmark of [the Dalai Lama]. For this reason, on this occasion too [the Dalai Lama] said: “It is wonderful that you did not perish and were able to meet me. Now, when your body is afflicted with illness, although you cannot properly follow the ritual of taking monastic vows, the main thing is the desire to take [the vows] and the understanding that you have received the vows. Since this is most important, at the time of [receiving the vows] only symbolic fulfillment is sufficient, so it is possible to receive the full monastic vows right now”. Having said this, [the Dalai Lama], together with the clerics performing the acts of the ritual of bestowing the monastic vows, performed the ritual of vow restoration, the blessing of violations and the other perfectly pure preliminary stages of bestowing full monastic vows in the small Wangkang chamber, and then carried out the wish of the unfortunate faithful.<sup>98</sup> In addition, at the unanimous request of Bakshi Gelüng Luzan Danjin and other Torgut envoys, [the Dalai Lama] also wrote a “Supplication prayer” and immediately granted

<sup>95</sup> Shing stag <...> zla ba gsum pa’i <...> tshes bcu bzhi nyin <...> thor rgod mi sna’i sne shan rgya am ban la thon gngang bka’ slob dgyes bzhin du mdzad (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 363).

<sup>96</sup> Tromsigkhang: the translation assumes that the term *khrom khang* refers to the Khrom gzigs khang, the large “house that looks onto the market” in Lhasa’s Barkhor and that served as the residence of the Amban, who was hosting the visitors.

<sup>97</sup> Here “survived” is translation of *lnga lam du ma gyur*, where *lnga lam* literally means “path of the five”, i. e. five elements, viz. earth, air, fire, water and space, and dissolution into them is death.

<sup>98</sup> ‘Carried out the wish’ (re ba’i ’bras bu thog tu smin par mdzad) – literally ‘brought to maturity the fruit of aspirations’.

it to [the petitioners].<sup>99</sup>

The Torguts, who had migrated from the Russian state, also asked the Dalai Lama to write religious compositions for them:

At the request of Wangtsuk Zorigtu [the Dalai Lama], a descendant of the Torgut Ayuka Khan, [he wrote] a supplication prayer.<sup>100</sup>

At the request of the Torgut Danjin, [the Dalai Lama wrote] a supplication prayer.<sup>101</sup>

It is worth noting that the heirs of Arabjur, a first cousin once removed of Ayuka Khan, who had traveled with an embassy from the Kalmyk Khanate to Tibet in 1698 but had been detained by Tsewan Rabdan on the way back, also sent embassies to Tibet. Subsequently, he was forced to beg to enter into Chinese allegiance, where he received a title and a nomadic settlement in Serten. Thus, an embassy of Arabjur's great-grandson, the Torgut Wanjal beile,<sup>102</sup> met with the Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe in 1775:

Beginning from the seventeenth day of the second Tibetan month of the Year of the Wood Sheep [1775 – B. M.], called “manmatha” (myos byed), the

<sup>99</sup> Shing stag <...> zla ba gsum pa'i <...> tshes nyi shu nyin thor rgod mi sna rnams thon gdong phyag dbang du byung ba/ 'di ba'i gras dad pa can zhid khrom khang du g.yangs la lhung ba'i nad bab lci nges byung yang skyabs mgon chen po'i thugs rjes lnga lam du ma gyur tsam gyi g.yog gnyis kyis bteg nas sku mdun du byung ba/ mgon po nyid snying rje'i rang mdangs ches cher g.yos te sdug ge ci drag gsungs shing phyag dbang stsal/ kho bos kyang ngas thag ring nas mgon po spyan ras gziags khyed mjal du yongs kyang bsod nams dman pas nyes pas (sic) 'di 'dra la thug/ 'dir yongs pa'i dgos pa ni khyed kyi zhal mjal ba dang / bsnyen rdzogs kyi sdom pa zhid 'dod pa'i phyir yin kyang da ci drag ces rjes pa na/ mgon po nyid ni dad pa dang ldan pa'i sems can bsun mi 'byin zhing rjes su 'dzin pa dang / bsnyen rdzogs ni bstan pa'i gnas gzhi bslab pa kun gyi gtso bo yin pas bar chad dang mi ldan pa zhid yin na sus gsol ba btab kyang 'phral du gnang ba ni khyad chos yin pas na skabs 'dir yang / da khyod rang ma shi ba rang re thug rgyu yod pa shin tu legs pa yin/ da lus nad kyis btab pa'i gnas skabs 'dir bsnyen rdzogs len pa'i kun tu spyod pa ji bzhin bsgrub mi nus kyang / gtso bo sdom pa len par 'dod pa dang / thob blo shes pa nyid gal che ba yin pas skabs der brda sbyar bas chog pas bsnyen rdzogs kyi sdom pa da lta nyid du yong zhes gzim chung dbang khang du las gral ba rnams dang bcas/ phyir bcos dang / ltung ba byin rlabs sogs bsnyen rdzogs kyi sngon 'gro rnam par dag pa mdzad nas/ dad can nyam thag de yi re ba'i 'bras bu thog tu smin par mdzad/ gzhan yang spag shi dge slong blo bzang bstan 'dzin sogs thor rgod mi sna mgrin gcig gis zhus pa bzhin/ rjes 'dzin gsol 'debs kyang bka' rtsom bskyabs te de 'phral gnang (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 365).

<sup>100</sup> Thor rgod a yu She rgyal po'i tsha rgyud dbang phyug dzu rig thu nas bskul ngor gsol 'debs (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 554).

<sup>101</sup> Thor rgod bstan 'dzin nas bskul ma zhus ngor gsol 'debs (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 559).

<sup>102</sup> Wanjal beile or Wanjal Tseren was the son of Luuzang Darji, great-grandson of Arabjur [Rodoslovnaia torgutskikh khanov i kniazei 2016: 100].

messenger of the Torgut Wanjal beile, Rabjamba,<sup>103</sup> along with about thirty servants <...> [and others] arrived one after another. The [Panchen Lama] gave them a blessing with [his] hand, a tea treat, and asked questions. <...> Then the envoys sent by the Torgut beile, the treasurer<sup>104</sup> of Dagyab Tulku, and the nirba of the incarnation of Ra Lotsava<sup>105</sup> offered [the Panchen Lama] a long-life prayer [to be uttered] in the chamber. At the request of the Torgut envoys, the envoys themselves, the four officials, the pilgrims from Kham, etc., over two hundred monks and laymen received from [the Panchen Lama] the permission of the White Acala, Amitāyus and the Great Mother [Prajñāpāramitā]; an oral transmission on the “Guide to [guru-yoga] ‘One Hundred Gods of Tuṣitā’” and the “Collection of Eleven Acts Related to ‘Migtsema’<sup>106</sup> Prayer”<sup>107</sup> from the collection of the works of the Lord Supreme Teacher [Panchen Lama]; [he] also [gave] the messengers and the treasurer of Dagyab Tulku [his] answers to the messages and a parting audience.<sup>108</sup>

Another embassy to the Panchen Lama was sent in 1780:

On the eleventh day <...> of the second Tibetan month <...> of the Iron Mouse year [1780 – B. M.], known as “sārvari” (kun ldan), the Torgut beile Wanjal Tseren, having invited [the Panchen Lama] to lead the prayer meeting of Ngagpa Dratsang, offered a long-life prayer together with offerings. [The Panchen Lama] gave a blessing with his hand to more than five hundred monks and laymen.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Rabjamba (rab ‘byams pa) is the name of one of the degrees obtained in Tibetan monasteries.

<sup>104</sup> Treasurer (mdzod pa).

<sup>105</sup> Ralo kukye Lobsang Thinley (Rwa lo sku skye blo bzang ‘phrin las).

<sup>106</sup> “The Migtsema (dmigs btse ma) is a prayer addressed to Lama Tsongkapa, written, as tradition has it, by Lama Tsongkapa himself. It takes its name from the first line of the prayer, dmigs med brtse ba’i gter chen spyen ras gzigs – “Avalokiteśvara is the great treasury of compassion that does not perceive [true existence]”.

<sup>107</sup> “A detailed explanation of the meaning of the ‘Collection of the Eleven Acts Related to the ‘Migtsema’ Prayer” (dmigs brtse ma’i las tshogs bcu gcig gi don zhib tu bshad pa) is located in the fifth volume (ca) of the Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe’s collected works.

<sup>108</sup> Myos byed ces pa shing mo lug <...> zla ba gnyis pa’i <...> tshes bcu bdun nas bzung thor god dbang rgyal pa’i li’i mi sna rab ‘byams pa ngo g.yog sum cu skor dang / <...> rim bzhin ‘byor par phyag dbang dang ja gral bka’ ‘dri mdzad / <...> de rjes thor god pa’i lis ched du mngags pa’i el chi rnams dang brag g.yab sprul sku’i mdzod pa / rwa lo sku skye’i gnyer pa bcas nas gzims chung zhabs brtan phul / thor god mi snas zhus ngor khong rnams dang / zhal snga nas bzhi / khamis ‘grul ba sogs ser skya brgya phrag gnyis brgal bar mi g.yo ba dkar po dang / tshe dpag med / yum chen mo bcas kyi rjes gnang / dga’ ldan lha brgya ma’i khrid dang rje bla ma mchog gi gsung ‘bum gras nas dmigs brtse ma’i las tshogs bcu gcig gi ljags lung bcas dang / mi sna rnams dang brag g.yab phyag mdzod so sor ‘byor lan dang thon phyag gnang (dKon mchog ‘jigs med dbang po 2014a: 530).

<sup>109</sup> Yongs grags kyi kun ldan zhes pa lcags byi lo (1780) <...> zla ba gnyis pa’i tshes gcig la thor god pa’i li dbang rgyal tshe ring gis sngags grwa’i tshogs dbur spyen

Thus, these examples from Tibetan sources indicate that the Kalmyks who arrived in Central Asia and were organized by the Qing Chinese administration into seims and banners continued the practice of worshipping their spiritual teachers and sending embassies to the Tibetan hierarchs.

### 5. Conclusion

The letter from Labrang monastery is unsigned. This study has made it possible to identify the author of the letter, its addressee, and the date of its composition. Thanks to the presence of the seal, it is possible to identify the author of the letter as Ubashi Khan. Based on the content of the letter, we believe that the possible date of the letter is 1772, when Ubashi Khan was in dire need of a knowledgeable and skilled physician for his relatives. The addressee of the letter is presumably Konchok Jigme Wangpo, the second incarnation of Jamyang Shepa, who was already familiar with Kalmyks and to whom Ubashi Khan's successor later sent embassies not only to Tibet but also to China.

A comparative analysis of Ubashi Khan's letter and the passage about the embassy of Kalmyk Torguts from the biography of the Panchen Lama (translated into English for the first time) provides an additional argument in favor of the assumption that one of the main reasons why Ubashi Khan's Torguts left their former nomads was their concern for maintaining the traditional faith among the people.

Moreover, the passages provide evidence that embassies to the Panchen Lama were sent even after the death of Ubashi Khan.

## Bibliography

### *Sources in Tibetan*

dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po. *rJe bla ma srid zhi'i gtsug rgyan paN chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes dpal bzang po'i zhal snga nas rnam par thar pa nyi ma'i 'od zer. sTod cha. sKu phreng drug pa dpal ldan ye shes kyi rnam thar. paN chen sku preng rim byon mdzad rnam.* Beijing: krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2014(a).

dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po. *rJe bla ma srid zhi'i gtsug rgyan paN chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes dpal bzang po'i zhal*

---

drangs te dngos 'bul dang bcas zhabs brtan phul zhing ser skya lnga brgya brgal bar phyag dbang stsal (dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po 2014b: 163).



*snga nas rnam par thar pa nyi ma'i 'od zer. sMad cha. sKu phreng drug pa dpal ldan ye shes kyi rnam thar. paN chen sku preng rim byon mdzad rnam.* Beijing: krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2014(b).

dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me. "Dus gsum rgyal ba'i spyi gzugs rje btsun dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa rgyal sras rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs", *gSung 'bum*, Vol. 1 (pod ka pa). Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil, 1999.

Gung thang dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me. "Dus gsum rgyal ba'i spyi gzugs rje btsun dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa rgyal sras rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs". *Kun mkhyen 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i gsung 'bum* (pod ka pa). Vol. 1. Mundgod: Drepung Tashi Gomang Library, 2019, pp. 1–91.

Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma. 1989. *lCang skya rol pa'i rdo rje'i rnam thar*. Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989.

De mo ho thog thu blo bzang thub bstan 'jigs med rgya mtsho. *sKu phreng brgyad pa blo bzang bstan pa'i dbang phyug 'jam dpal rgya mtho'i rnam thar*. rgyal dbang sku phreng rim byon gyi mdzad rnam. Beijing: krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2010.

### *Secondary sources*

Avlyaeu, Gennadiy.

*Proiskhozhdenie kalmytskogo naroda* [Origin of the Kalmyk people]. 2nd ed. Elista: Kalmytskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 2002.

*Bol'shoi akademicheskii mongol'sko-russkii slovar'* [Great academic Mongolian-Russian dictionary]. Volume 1. A–Г. Ed. by G. Ts. Purbeev. Moscow: Academia, 2001.

Batmaev, Maksim.

*Kalmyki v XVII–XVIII vekakh: Sobytiia, liudi, byt* [Kalmyks in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries: Events, people, way of life]. Elista: Kalmytskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1993.

Batubayar (Ba Batubayaer).

"Pechati Torgutskikh Khanov i noionov" [Seals of Torgut Khans and Noyons], *World of the Clear script*. Collection of academic papers. Elista: Kalmytskii institut gumanitarnykh issledovaniï RAN, 2014, pp. 81–83.

— "Torguud khaad noiodyn khereglezh baisan negen tamgany tukhai" [On one seal used by Torgud hans], *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı – Belleten*. No. 65 (1), 2017(a), pp. 145–149.

— "Fójiào yǔ zhèngzhì zhī jiān: Tǔ ěr hù tè hàn "jīngjìn xiūxíng" hànzì guānyìn kǎo" [Between Buddhism and politics: a textual study of the Chinese inscription "jīngjìn jūnxiū" on the official seal of the Torgut Khanate], *The Qing History Journal*. May. No. 2, 2017(b), pp. 153–156.

Dorji, Batubayar, and Lije Ge

Qīng dài tǔěrhùtè bù yǔ héshuòtè bù yìnzāng yánjiū (Čing ulusiyin üyeyin torɣuud xoşuud-yin tamɣa-yin sudulul) [Study of the seals of the Torghuts and Khoshuts of the Qing Dynasty]. Urumqi: Xīnjiāng rénmin chūbǎnshè, 2009.

Fu Lo-shu.

*A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644-1822)*. Tucson, 1966.

*Istoriia Kalmykii s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei* [History of Kalmykia from ancient times to the present day]. Vol. 1. Elista: Gerel, 2009.

"Istoriia Kho-Örlöka" [History of Ho-Orlök], *Pis'menye pamiatniki po istorii oiratov XVII–XVIII vekov* [Written records of the history of the Oirats of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries]. Compilation, translation from Mongolian, transliteration and commentaries by V. P. Sanchirov. Elista: Kalmytskii institut gumanitarnykh issledovaniĭ RAN, 2016, pp. 29–35.

Kitinov, Baatr.

*Buddizm i religioznye lidery Tibeta v istorii Chetyrekh oiratov* [Buddhism and religious leaders of Tibet in the history of the Four Oirats]. Vol. 2. Moscow: Institut vostokovedeniia RAN, 2016.

Mitirov, Andrei.

*Oiraty – kalmyki: veka i pokoleniia* [Oirats – Kalmyks: centuries and generation]. Elista: Kalmytskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1998.

Mitruev, Bembya.

"Pechat' Donduk-Dashi" [Seal of Donduk-Dashi], *Biulleten' Kalmytskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN*. No. 2, 2022, pp. 39–69.

*Men-gu-iu-mu-tszi. Zapiski o mongol'skikh kochev'iakh* [Men-gu-iu-mu-tszi. Records of Mongolian nomads]. [Zhang-mu and He-tsiu-tao]; translation from Chinese by P. S. Popov. St. Petersburg: Parovaya skoropechatnya P. O. Yablonsky, 1895. (*Zapiski Imperatorskogo russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po otdeleniiu etnografii*. Vol. 24).

Nefed'yev, Nikolai.

*Podrobnye svedeniia o volzhskikh kalmykakh* [Detailed information about the Volga Kalmyks]. St. Petersburg: Typography of Karl Kray, 1834.

*Pis'ma namestnika Kalmytskogo Khanstva Ubashi (XVIII v.)* [Letters of Ubashi, governor of the Kalmyk Khanate (the 18<sup>th</sup> century)]. Facsimile of the letters, publication of the texts, introduction, transliteration, translation from Old Kalmyk to Modern Kalmyk, dictionary by D. B. Gedeeva. Elista: Jangar, 2004.

Qishiya.

"O perekhode turgutov v Rossiю i obratnom udalenii iz Rossiю v Ziungariю (Sochinenie kitaiskogo kniazia Tsishia, perevedennoe s kitaiskogo podlinnika g. nadvornym sovetnikom S. V. Lipovtsovym)" [On the transition of Turguts of Russia and the departure from Russia to Dzungaria (Essay of the Chinese prince Tsishia, translated from the Chinese original by the city councilor S. V. Lipovtsov)], *Sobranie istoricheskikh, topograficheskikh i drugikh vedenii o Sibiri i stranakh, s nei sopredel'nykh* [Collection of historical, topographic and other knowledge about Siberia and countries adjacent to it], publ. by G. Spassky. *Sibirskii vestnik* [Siberian Bulletin], 1820. Part XII. Book 10, pp. 165–189. Part XII. Book 11, 214–235. Book 12, pp. 254–269.

"Rodoslovnaia Torgutskikh Khanov i kniazei" [Genealogy of Torgut Khans and princes], Compilation, translation from Old Mongolian, transliteration and commentaries by V. P. Sanchirov, *Pis'mennye pamiatniki po istorii oiratov XVII–XVIII vekov* [Written records of the history of the Oirats of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries]. Elista: KIGI RAN, 2016, pp. 95–125.

Rychkov, Nikolai.

*Daily travel notes of Captain Nikolai Rychkov in the Kyrgyz-Kaysat steppe in 1771* [Dnevnye zapiski puteshestviia kapitana Nikolaia Rychkova v kirgiz-kaisatskoi stepi v 1771 godu]. Saint Petersburg: Typography of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1772.

Sanchirov, Vladimir.

*Pis'mennye pamiatniki po istorii oiratov XVII–XVIII vekov* [Written

monuments of the history of the Oirats of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries]. Compilation, translation from Old written Mongolian, transliteration and commentaries by V. P. Sanchirov. Elista: Kalmytskii institut gumanitarnykh issledovaniï RAN, 2016.

Suseeva, Danara.

*Pis'ma Khana Aiuki i ego sovremennikov (1714–1724 gg.): opyt lingvosotsiologicheskogo issledovaniia* [Letters of Khan Ayuki and his contemporaries (1714–1724): an attempt of linguistic and sociological research]. Elista: Jangar, 2003.

— *Pis'ma kalmytskikh Khanov XVIII veka i ikh sovremennikov (1713–1771 gg.). Izbrannoe* [Letters of the Kalmyk Khans of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and their contemporaries (1713–1771). Selected]. Elista: Jangar, 2019.

Tepkeev, Vladimir, and Tsongool Natsagdorj.

"Kalmytskoe pis'mo 1685 g. kak odno iz rannikh pis'mennykh svidetel'stv Khana Ayuki" [A Kalmyk letter of 1685 as one of the early written records of Khan Ayuki], *Mongolovedenie*. Vol. 8. No. 1, 2016, pp. 5–12.

Uspensky, Vladimir, and Natalia Yakhontova.

"Pis'ma kalmytskikh vladel'tsev nachala XVIII v. v biblioteke SPbGU" [Eighteenth-Century Letters of Kalmyk Chieftains Kept at the Saint Petersburg University Library], *Tibetologiya v Sankt-Peterburge* [Tibetology in Saint Petersburg]. Collection of articles. Issue 2. Saint Petersburg: Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2021, pp. 267–292.

Ukhtomsky, Esper.

*Iz oblasti lamaizma. K pokhodu anglichan na Tibet* [From the area of Lamaism. On the Expedition of the Englishmen to Tibet]. Saint Petersburg: Vostok, 1904.

Wang Lianming.

"Church, A Sacred Event, and the Visual Perspective of an Eitic Viewer: an 18<sup>th</sup> Century Western-Style Chinese Painting held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France", Rui O. Lopes (ed.), *The Transcendence of the Arts in China and Beyond*. Vol. 2. (*Historical Perspective*). Lisbon, 2014, pp. 370–397.

Xu Jin.

"Evanescent Temple, Eternal Dharma: The Wanfa Guiyi Hall in the Post-Qianlong Era of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911)," *Orientalism*, no. 1/2, 2021, pp. 21–29.

