

## **Bazar Baradin and his Recollections of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama**

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Fig. 1: Bazar Baradin

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## 1. Introduction

**B**azar Baradin<sup>1</sup> (1878–1937) is an outstanding Buryat-Mongolian scholar, politician and writer. He was born in the Russian empire's Aga district of the Transbaikalia region. In 1901, he entered St. Petersburg University's Law Department, transferring after one year to the Department of Oriental Studies, where he studied Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian, under the guidance of Professor Sergei Oldenburg (1888–1940) and Fedor Shcherbatskoi (1866–1942). From 1905 to 1907, the Russian Committee for the Study of Inner and East Asia sent him on a trip to Mongolia, then to eastern Tibet, where he spent eight months at Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery (Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil), one of the major Geluk (*dge lugs*) centres of Amdo (A mdo). From 1908 to 1917, Baradin taught Mongolian at St. Petersburg University's Oriental Studies Department. In 1917, he returned to Transbaikalia and took an active part in the Buryat-Mongolian nationalist movement.<sup>2</sup> He was a member of the Buryat National Committee (1917–1918), the first People's Education Commissioner of the newly formed Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (1923–1926), the first Chairman of the Buryat-Mongolian Scientific Committee (1923–1929), then Vice-Chairman of that Committee (1929–1935), then head of the Buryat Language and Literature Department at the Pedagogical Institute in Ulan-Ude, capital of Buryatia. In 1936, he returned to Leningrad to work at the Institute of Oriental Studies as a researcher and at the Institute of Philosophy, Linguistics, and History, as a lecturer of Mongolian language. On February 22, 1937, he was arrested on false charges by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs and on August 24, was shot as an "enemy of the people." He was posthumously rehabilitated in 1958.

<sup>1</sup> Rus. Базар Барадин/ Бадзар Барадийн (Badzar Baradiin).

<sup>2</sup> The Buryat nationalist movement, "national liberation movement" in Soviet historiography terms, began in the early 20th century due to the Tsarist reforms on the abolition of the Buryat traditional forms of administration (Buryat Steppe Dumas) and continued until the 1917 October revolution. The national leaders were traditionally divided into conservatives and reformers. Both were united by a negative attitude towards tsarist reforms, but they were divided by their position on the solution of the Buryat national question. The former stood for the preservation of the traditional administration system, steppe customs and religion, while the latter fought for the creation of Buryat national autonomy within Russia. The Buryat nationalist movement leaders (Buryat National Committee) were representatives of the Buryat intelligentsia and the highest Buddhist clergy, whose most prominent were Elbek Rinchino (1888–1938), Mihail Bogdanov (1878–1919), Bazar Baradin, Tsyben Zhamtsarano (1881–1942), Agvan Dorzhiev (1853–1938), Khambo Lama Choizon-Dorzhо Iroltuev (1843–1918) etc. In 1937–1938, all these persons were repressed.

One of the most remarkable parts of Baradin's life was his trip to Mongolia and eastern Tibet from 1905 to 1907. At that time, he was a young scholar, conducting field research dealing with Buddhist iconography in the Buryat Buddhist monasteries in Transbaikalia on behalf of the Russian Committee for the Study of Inner and East Asia. When the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Tubten Gyatso (Thub bstan rgya mtsho, 1876–1933) unexpectedly arrived in Urga in the fall of 1904, the Committee gave him another assignment: to go to Mongolia and join a Russian convoy under Petr Kozlov's command (1863–1935), which was supposed to accompany the Dalai Lama back to Tibet.<sup>3</sup> Baradin's overall journey, which started in September 1905, lasted two years. On October 15, he arrived in Van Khüree<sup>4</sup>, the *hoshuun*<sup>5</sup> (headquarters) of the Mongol Prince Khanddorj (1869–1915),<sup>6</sup> where the Dalai Lama stayed on the Prince's invitation. He lived there for five months, communicating closely with the Tibetan pontiff and his entourage. Knowing that the Dalai Lama was not going to leave Mongolia in the near future, Baradin's supervisors gave him another task, which coincided with his own desire; to go to Amdo to study the spiritual life at Labrang Tashikyil Monastery. Therefore, together with two countrymen, namely his brother and another Buryat Buddhist monk, he left Van Khüree in March 1906, returned to Urga, and there joined the Alasha<sup>7</sup> caravan on March 29. After more than one month of travel, the "pilgrims" arrived at the Alasha-yamen,<sup>8</sup> then at Kumbum (Sku 'bum) Monastery, and finally at Labrang Tashikhyil Monastery on June 23, 1906. In his report to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (IRGS), Baradin wrote:

The next day, I was already quite a Labrang dweller and, from that moment on, I had to work for eight months in the silence of monastic life, trying gradually to get into local life [...] At night-time, I used to sit in my monastic cell with my diary or reading Tibetan books in the company of monks or engaged in peaceful conversation with my fellow Buryat lamas or Tangut friends.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See I. Garri paper in this RET issue.

<sup>4</sup> Van-kuren' Ван-курень in Russian sources.

<sup>5</sup> Mong. *hoshuun*, Ch. *qi* 旗, means *banner*, i.e., a Mongolian military and administrative entity during the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), now an administrative unit in Inner Mongolia that corresponds to *county*.

<sup>6</sup> Kando-van Кандо-ван in Russian sources. Mijiddorjiin Khanddorj was an aristocrat and prominent early 20th century Mongolian independence leader.

<sup>7</sup> Mong. Alasha is a region where the Oirat Mongolian tribes of the Ööled and Torghuud lived. There were two banners during the Qing named Alasha Ööled and Ejine Torghuud.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. *yamen* 衙門 is an administrative governmental office.

<sup>9</sup> Baradin 1909: 198.

Baradin returned to his homeland in April 1907, bringing with him a heavy load of Tibetan and Mongolian books, printed mainly at his request at Labrang Tashikyil and Kumbum monasteries. This collection of about 200 volumes is stored nowadays in St. Petersburg at the Oriental Manuscripts Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Rus. IVR RAN).<sup>10</sup> In 1908, Baradin presented a report entitled “A Journey to Labrang (a Buddhist Monastery on the North-Eastern Edge of Tibet)” at a meeting of the IRGS members, which was published in the *Bulletin of the IRGS* in 1909.<sup>11</sup> For this work, the Geographical Society awarded him the Przhevalsky Prize (just like his predecessor, Gombozhab Tsybikov, 1873–1930). Written in Russian, this report has been translated into English and is available online.<sup>12</sup>

At the peak of Stalin’s (1878–1953) repressions, Baradin was arrested and sentenced to death in 1937. Afterwards, his personal papers were sent to the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, where a special collection named after him was formed. This collection, under number 87, consists of 31 files.<sup>13</sup> Among them, there are four files relating to his 1905–1907 journey (No. 28–31).<sup>14</sup>

Although all files are dubbed diaries, in fact, they are not. Only File No. 30 is Baradin’s actual diary (two notebooks) written during his journey. The other three are diary-based manuscripts written by Baradin, supposedly, for publication at a later date. The report to the IRGS mentioned above is an excerpt from these manuscripts. The first file covers Baradin’s journey from Transbaikalia to Urga, his stay with the Dalai Lama in Van Khüree, and his travel to Alasha and Kumbum Monastery. The second covers mostly his journey home from Labrang Tashikyil Monastery and provides a description of Kumbum Monastery. The third manuscript is the actual diary (two notebooks) and includes the original notes written by Baradin during his stay at Labrang

<sup>10</sup> Institut vostochnykh rukopisei Rossiskoi Akademii Nauk Институт восточных рукописей Российской академии наук. Baradin’s collection and the Gombozhab Tsybikov Collection (333 volumes) comprise the bulk of the Tibetan Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts.

On the history and composition of the Tibetan collection of the Institute, see its home page: <https://www.orientalstudies.ru/rus/collections/tibetica/index.html>

<sup>11</sup> Baradin, “Puteshestvie v Lavran.”

<sup>12</sup> See <https://tibetanculture.weai.columbia.edu/a-trip-to-labrang-by-baradiin-translated-by-vahe-galstyan/>

<sup>13</sup> For a description of the Baradin Collection, see Savitskii 1990: 141–160

<sup>14</sup> File No. 28: “Amdo-Mongolia. Diary of a Buryat Buddhist Pilgrim’s Journey to Khalkha-Mongolia, Alasha and Tibet’s North-Eastern edge – Amdo. 1905–1907,” 301 pp.; File No. 29: “Diary of a Journey to Amdo,” 210 pp.; File No. 30: “Baradin’s Diary. Labrang. June 11, 1906, – January 22, 1907.” Two notebooks: 89 pp. and 113 pp.; File No. 31: “Life in the Tangut Monastery of Labrang. Diary of a Buddhist Pilgrim, 1906–1907,” 519 pp.

Tashikhyil. And the fourth is a proof-read “clean” copy of the latter, published in 2002.<sup>15</sup>

It is the first “diary”, which contains Baradin’s recollections of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. It consists of 301 sheets, rewritten from the original diary and revised by the author, supposedly in 1908, while he was preparing his report for the Geographical Society. The title page of the file “Amdo-Mongolia. Diary of a Buryat Buddhist pilgrim’s journey to Khalkha-Mongolia, Alasha and Tibet’s north-eastern edge – Amdo. 1905–1907” does not reflect its content, for the manuscript ends in June, 1906, i.e., at the time the author arrived at Kumbum Monastery. The diary is in poor condition, the manuscript sheets are crumpled, and the ink is fading so that many pages are illegible. Therefore, reconstructing the diary is a difficult task, even though Baradin’s handwriting is comparatively easy to read. The text is written in good Russian, the author reported all events on a daily basis and added his observations and views on important matters as well. In comparison with Gombozhab Tsybikov, whose style is very dry and lapidary,<sup>16</sup> Baradin, a future writer and playwright, wrote eloquently, using metaphors and expressing his feelings. In our opinion, this diary is a unique and very valuable document, which needs to be published and more thoroughly studied, for it is the only eyewitness account of the no longer existent Van Khüree and of the exiled Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s life in his field camp during the autumn of 1905 and the winter of 1906.

What follows is an annotated translation of several excerpts selected for the present issue from Baradin’s diary dealing with the Dalai Lama’s life in Van Khüree. This introduction, text reconstructions and notes are provided by Irina Garri. The translation from Russian is prepared by Alexandre Andreyev (A. A.). Terms in italics are selected by us. Some notes were made by Baradin himself and marked as B. B. The dates provided by Baradin are set according to the Julian calendar, which is 13 days behind the Gregorian calendar.

## 2. *Baradin’s Portrayal of the Dalai Lama*

At first, I could not believe I was seeing the Dalai Lama in such a simple environment and dress. Next to him was a small black dog and a small wooden table stood in front of him. The room looked very plain, without any decorations, and it served as the Dalai Lama’s daytime dwelling place, while his bedroom was in the yurt donated to him by the Ujemchin<sup>17</sup> Prince. This yurt was located to the west of the chapel, and it was covered by a piece of yellow satin cloth.

<sup>15</sup> Baradin 2002.

<sup>16</sup> Tsybikov 1981: vol. 1, 1–256.

<sup>17</sup> Ujemchin are a subgroup of Mongols in eastern Mongolia and Inner Mongolia.



Fig. 2: The Thirteenth Dalai Lama portrayed by N. D. Kozhevnikov, 1905 (Archive of the Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg, © A. A.).

Apparently, he was a lean young (29-year-old at that time) Tibetan lama with a strongly aristocratic face. The expression on his face and his gestures evince a sense of royal pride. He had remarkably beautiful large eyes, protruding from their sockets. He had a somewhat insinuating gaze, in which some hidden cunning could be suspected. An energetic and highly expressive, lean face, without a single trace of aristocratic effeminacy or freshness of youth, light yellow skin with noticeable traces of the former smallpox and a small black bristly moustache, all these gave him the attractive features of a man who has seen and experienced a lot, despite his young age. His lean hands, very long and tenacious fingers with nails of oblong shape indicated his nature's caution and tenacity. His hand's rather rough skin, his gestures' simple manner suggested he was not a soft-handed man. And his large, properly positioned ears spoke of his musicality, sharpness of mind and feelings. He was dressed in the typical, Khalkha-style yellow lama robe, made of sheepskin covered with yellow Russian cloth. Over his shoulder was a plain lama's shawl (*orkhimji* – B. B.), an essential part of the monastic attire.

Unfortunately, we afterwards could not get the Dalai Lama's permission to take his photo, and his only portrait drawn from life by Mr.

Kozhevnikov,<sup>18</sup> much to my chagrin, is not good at all. The reason for the Dalai Lama's and his secretary's inexplicable perplexity at the end of my audience was found out in the evening. On Mr. Dylykov's recommendation,<sup>19</sup> the Dalai Lama himself and the people closest to him had long been awaiting my arrival, thinking that I, apart from my scholarly plans, have a commission of political nature. Therefore, they expected to hear from me, a newly-arrived man, at least some news about the situation in Tibet. I was sorry to learn about all this, the depressing atmosphere at the Dalai Lama's camp court, who could not escape the evil irony of fate that forced him to break away from his motherland and its magnificent imperial halls, and to live in severe and unsheltered Mongolia, listening to a Buryat pilgrim's words about his distant country's fate. I found myself in an awkward situation. On the one hand, [I tried] not to compromise Mr. Dylykov in front of the Tibetans, and on the other I had to repeat that I pursued scholarly goals only, and had no political commissions with regard to the Tibet issue. While saying this, I added that, being a Buddhist, I am morally obliged to faithfully serve the Dalai Lama and would always be ready to serve him if he needed my services. By this, I once and for all explained my position for my future life at the Dalai Lama's camp and I made it clear that I was a humble seeker of knowledge.

October 17–19: Mr. Dylykov introduced me to three important persons: to the personal physician and adviser of the Dalai Lama, *emchi-khambo*; to *dulva-khambo*,<sup>20</sup> and the sovereign Prince of the *hoshuun*, Kando Dorjie Chin-van.<sup>21</sup> *Emchi-khambo* is a good-looking lama under 45 years of age. He is a very polite, handsome man, with a remarkably beautiful and intelligent expression on his face and eyes. His face is subtly aristocratic, with an almost European white soft skin complexion. His voice, remarkably clear, is pleasant and radiant. He is a devoted supporter of the Dalai Lama's policy, unremittingly believing in his "holy mission," despite the fact that his own brother, being one of the important "Kalons"<sup>22</sup> was killed in Tibet due to factional strife.

<sup>18</sup> While in Urga (1904–1905), the Dalai Lama never permitted anybody to take his photo. However, he allowed Petr Kozlov to organize the drawing of his portrait. It was the first image of the Tibetan pontiff and it was drawn by Russian painter Nikolai Kozhevnikov, see Kozlov 2004 [1905]: 112; Lomakina 2001: 139–148.

<sup>19</sup> Namdak Dylykov (n.d.) was a prominent Buryat public and political figure. In 1904–1906 he served as the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's interpreter. For more details, see I. Garri's and Y. Ishihama's papers in this RET issue.

<sup>20</sup> Tib. *em chi mkhan po*, Tekhang Jampa Tubwang (Bkras khang byams pa thub dbang, 1863?–1922) later abbot of the Medical College at Lhasa, and Tib. *'dul ba mkhan po*, abbot of the Vinaya College at Drepung (Tib. 'Bras spungs) Monastery in Lhasa. For more information see Horlemann in this RET issue.

<sup>21</sup> For Prince Khanddorj, see FN 4. Prince: *chin-van* (Ch. *qinwang* 親王).

<sup>22</sup> Minister of the Tibetan government (Tib. *bka' blon*).

Unfortunately, he does not speak Mongolian. *Dulva-khambo* was with the Dalai Lama as a professor and expert on Buddhism, but mainly as a Chinese interpreter when introducing Chinese officials to the Dalai Lama. He was a Mongolian from the Sinicized Khorchin *hoshuun* and held the highest Lhasa academic title of Lharampa [*lha rams pa*].

### 3. *Prince Kando-van*<sup>23</sup>

On October 22 in the evening, Mr. Dylykov took me to the local sovereign prince [Kando-van/Prince Khanddorj]. We entered a huge yurt, the size of a real hall. At the north-eastern part of the yurt, in the place of honor, was sitting a handsome young Mongolian, Prince Kando-van. When he saw us, he took his princely hat with a cone and peacock feathers and put it ceremoniously on his head. The prince received us very kindly and in a simple manner. Casual conversations promptly began between us. The prince is nearly 37 years of age, and a typical, talkative Khalkha native. He is quite an educated person in his own way. Apart from his native Mongolian, he is fluent in Manchu, and to some extent, in Chinese. He is a passionate hunter and a good shot; every two weeks, he, together with his Mongols, hunts wild boars and other animals. The prince is not a simple man but seems to be a *khubilgan*<sup>24</sup> who destroys all “evil spirits” in the shape of wild boars and other beasts. At the same time, he is a zealous Dalai Lama follower. It was he who invited the Dalai Lama over here and he now generously hosts him and his numerous escorts of up to 150 people at the expense of his *hoshuun*, having provided them with nice-looking yurts and food stuff. On account of his obvious sympathy for the Dalai Lama, he more than once received threats from the Urga Khutughtu<sup>25</sup> and his followers, as well as from Manchu officials. This prince enjoys great popularity in his *hoshuun* for his easy dealing with people and modest taxes.

### 4. *Khorchin Mongols visit the Dalai Lama*<sup>26</sup>

In the evening, a deputation of Khorchin-Mongols<sup>27</sup> from the Jirim *seim*<sup>28</sup> (one of the six *seims* in south-eastern Mongolia), headed by Toin-

<sup>23</sup> Baradin *Diary*, 58–60. We keep Baradin’s spelling of Prince Khanddorj’s name, i.e., Kando-van Кандо-ван.

<sup>24</sup> Mong. for incarnated person (Tib. tulku; *sprul sku*).

<sup>25</sup> The Eighth Jebtsundamba Khutagt, Agwaan luwsan choiji Nyima danzan wangchug (Tib. Ngag dbang blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma bstan ’dzin dbang phyug, 1870–1924).

<sup>26</sup> Baradin *Diary*, 61–62.

<sup>27</sup> The Khorchin are a subgroup of the Mongols, predominantly living in the north-eastern part of China’s present Inner Mongolia.

<sup>28</sup> With Rus. *seim* (Mong. *Chuulghan*; Ch. *meng* 盟) Baradin means *assembly*, or *league*.



lama, the abbot of a Mongolian monastery, came to see the Dalai Lama.

October, 21. In the morning, I went to the newly arrived deputation's living quarters, together with Dylykov. After a while, we left because today we must attend the [Mongol] people's solemn initiation ceremony into the rite of "revival in oneself of the coherent thought of *bodhi*" by the Dalai Lama, called "*semkyod choga* [in Tibetan]." <sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, in a short talk with Toin-lama, I received a very important confirmation of the national insurgent movement among the south-eastern Mongols. The deputation came to invite the Dalai Lama to visit their motherland. At present, among all south-eastern Mongols, a movement started in favor of the unification of the whole country of Mongolia and the declaration of its independence from China. The movement had started long ago, but at that time it took a certain direction, when the possibility of the Manchu dynasty's fall to the Chinese benefit seemed more real than ever to the Mongols, and a future Chinese yoke was considered worse than Manchu domination. The delegation, with invitation letters for the Dalai Lama from various *hosh-uuns* and *seims*, correctly regarded his visit to their country as a unifying factor.

5. *Baradin and Dylykov submit a report on  
the idea of a Buddhist council*<sup>30</sup>

Right at this time, Dylykov and I decided to submit a report on the [planned] convocation of an ecumenical council. Having notified some of the Dalai Lama's confidants, we compiled the report in which we explained, in Tibetan, the necessity of holding such a council. By doing this, we referred to the fact that the Dalai Lama, as the only competent person, could convene, somewhere in Peking, the representatives of all Buddhist schools and sects and European scholars to discuss the present state of Buddhism in the world. This council, initiated by the Dalai Lama, would be most interesting and important in many aspects. It would discuss some current issues regarding different, still unknown [Buddhist] sects and schools, and it would start the mutual exchange of thoughts of the branches of Buddhism being in a state of geographical and racial separation. The council could be of interest for the entire political and scholarly world, and it could have the best outcomes for the Dalai Lama's present policy, as well as for Tibet's future. The immediate reason for writing the note was that the Dalai Lama himself, through his closest associates, had often revealed his mission to us—to revive Tibetan Buddhism by means of a radical reformation

<sup>29</sup> It seems to be *semkye choga* (Tib. *sems bskyed kyi cho ga*), a ritual of *bodhicitta* (mind awakening).

<sup>30</sup> Baradin, *Amdo-Mongoliia*, 124–125.

of the monastic order, whose shortcomings were clearly understood by the Dalai Lama as well as by the intelligent Tibetan, Mongolian, and Buryat Buddhists.

#### 6. *The Dalai Lama's divination*<sup>31</sup>

One of these days, the Dalai Lama quite unexpectedly learned about the visit to British India by the Panchen [Ninth Panchen Lama Tubten Chokyi Nyima (Thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma, 1883–1937)]. Dylykov and I were anxious to know what the Dalai Lama thought about this unpleasant event. We received a reply from the Tibetans: *Kyimgon*<sup>32</sup> is engaged in divination and its results will be known soon. We did not have to wait long to know the results of this divination.

The Dalai Lama, having immersed for some time into meditation, made some divinations regarding the questions of interest to him. Here are the results of his divination.

1. There were no changes in the Panchen's views after his return from British India, but his close associates did react somewhat. It should be noted that, half a year before, the Panchen had sent a letter to the Dalai Lama which was received in those days with a special courier. In this letter, long before his trip to India, he had assured the Dalai Lama of his undeviating devotion and his readiness to visit him at his request.
2. *Deva shung*<sup>33</sup> (the highest state institution in Tibet – B. B.) is still on his [the Dalai Lama's] side.
3. Rumors of the renewed dispatch of a military squad to Lhasa by the British present no danger.
4. A longer stay in Mongolia is alright, there is no haste to return to Tibet.
5. The deputation of people to European states to discuss the [Tibet] issue at the international arbitration tribunal is of no use, therefore the idea should be abandoned.
6. There's no need to break up relations with Russia—although it cannot help us at present, it will definitely help in future.
7. A message should be sent to the Bogdo Khan,<sup>34</sup> asking him to reply to the [Dalai Lama's] letter.

<sup>31</sup> Baradin *Diary*, 129–132.

<sup>32</sup> "Protector of the Realm" (Tib. *khyim skyong*).

<sup>33</sup> Deva shung (Tib. *sde ba gzhung*) is the traditional name for the Tibetan government.

<sup>34</sup> Bogdo Khan, Mong. for holy Khan, is an epithet commonly used in Russia and Russian sources for designating the Qing emperors.

In this letter, the Dalai Lama reproached the Bogdo Khan with his indifference to the Tibetan issue, saying that when he, the Dalai Lama, worried deeply about the fate of his people and the Buddhist faith, the Bogdo Khan ignored him and showed his sympathy for the Urga Khutughtu, elevating his wife to a princely rank as if authorizing the sacrilegious violation of the monastic celibacy rule.

The Dalai Lama revealed all [the results] of his divinations to his associates, ordering them to pass them on to me and Dylykov. After that, the associates stopped talking about the Panchen's visit to India, showing boundless trust in their Sovereign's divinations.

### 7. *Van-Kuren'*<sup>35</sup>

Having left Van-Kuren', I would like to say a few more words about the Van-Kuren' Monastery itself, as well as about the Dalai Lama and his Tibetan entourage. Van-Kuren' stands 300 versts [about 320 km – A. A.] to the north-west of Urga, 200 versts to the west of Kiakhtha, and 10 versts from the left bank of the river Orkhon, the left-side tributary of the river Selenga. It is located on the northern slope of the hilly treeless valley facing east. This monastery is the residence of the influential *hoshuun* prince Kando-van and one of the biggest monasteries in Khalkha.

It looks like a typical Khalkha-Mongolian monastery, similar to Ganden<sup>36</sup> and Kuren'<sup>37</sup> in Urga. There are no fundamental buildings on its territory (apart from the new marble *suburgan*<sup>38</sup> in its vicinity), and all the lamas live in yurts; temples there are hastily constructed buildings made of wooden planks, which can easily be pulled down, or fastened to the buildings' main frames.

There are up to twenty temples of this kind [in the monastery]. The most important of these are the *tsogchen* (cathedral temple – B. B.), *tsannid*, *gyud*, medical and astrological [colleges].<sup>39</sup> All the rest belongs to the *aimags* (regions – B. B.) and are dedicated to some particular deity. The monastery itself is divided into *aimag*, or sections, run by

<sup>35</sup> Baradin *Diary*, 158–162. In this piece, Baradin summarizes his observations on the Dalai Lama and the Tibet issue before his departure for Labrang Tashikyil Monastery. Paragraphs headings from here and further below are Baradin's himself.

<sup>36</sup> Ganden (Tib. Dga' ldan).

<sup>37</sup> This refers to Ikh Khüree Monastery.

<sup>38</sup> Buddhist stupa (Mong. *suburgan*; Tib. *mchod rten*).

<sup>39</sup> These are the main buildings in Buddhist monasteries in Tibet and Mongolia, i.e., the assembly hall (*tsogchen*; *tshogs chen*), the philosophical college (*tsannid*; *mtshan nyid grwa tshang*), the tantric college (*gyud*; *rgyud grwa tshang*), the medical college (*manba*; *sman pa grwa tshang*), and the astrological college (*kartsis*; *skar rtsis grwa tshang*).

supervisors named "Da".<sup>40</sup>

The entire monastery is subordinate to the monastic administration, which consists of a *khambo* (prior – B. B.), usually elected from the midst of the *noyon* (members of the princely family – B. B.) and his assistants who administer the monastery. Despite the Buddhist ban, which prohibits laymen to reside within the monastic compound, the local prince, as well as all the Mongolian princes, have large courts in the monastery, like in the prince's headquarters. The lama-residents in Van-Kuren' number up to 3,000 people. In addition, there are many elderly women among the lamas, holding the spiritual rank of *shabgansa* (*[chavgan]* nuns, in old-Mongolian).

Lamas live entirely on their own means, but they also receive some support through both voluntary and obligatory donations from laymen. The obligatory donations are annually or monthly, in the form of money, but the voluntary donations are given mainly as bricks of tea, corn bread, butter and milk products, this being a rather heavy duty for the entire *hoshuun* population of up to ten thousand people of both sexes. However, the monastery's huge income falls exclusively into the grabbing hands of a few notable lamas, whereas the vast majority of common lamas receive only a tiny part of the donations, which does not amount to much. Close to the monastery is the Horon<sup>41</sup>—an integral part of Khalkha monasteries. There live the poor renegade vagabonds of the steppe, laymen who found shelter close to the monastery and support themselves by means of petty trading, maintenance of taverns for pilgrims, needlework as well as similar minor occupations, and finally by means of prostitution.

In addition, there are about ten Chinese shops (affiliated with Urga companies). Among them is a Russian shop from Biysk.<sup>42</sup> With me present, the shop drew plenty of customers, thanks to the pilgrims, yet in general the trade, which depended on the *kulaks*,<sup>43</sup> had a rather negative character. In case of proper management, an exchange of products, profitable for both sides, could develop here.

### 8. The Dalai Lama and Tibetans at Van-Kuren

The Dalai Lama behaved in a rather simple manner during his nomadic life at Van-Kuren'. One could even notice that he morally enjoyed this free nomadic way of living, having escaped for some time from the secluded court-life in his mysterious Potala [Palace]. He

<sup>40</sup> Head, leader (Mong. *daa*).

<sup>41</sup> Region, quarter (Mong. *horoo*).

<sup>42</sup> Biisk Бийск is a city in Altaiskii Krai Алтайский край, in Russia.

<sup>43</sup> Rus. *kulak кулак*, literally *fist*, refers to wealthy peasants using hired labor, rural bourgeoisie, speculators.

looked cheerful in the prime of his 30 years of age, despite the indelible moral shock he must have experienced during his forced flight from Lhasa.

He usually woke up between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning. From 9 to 10 o'clock, he spent his time in prayer and then was served the usual Tibetan tea with a light breakfast in the form of a soup. After that, he was more or less free and received his confidants with reports. At midday, he had lunch, exclusively rice soup (or other) with some seasoning. Of course, these were not the Dalai Lama's only meals. I mentioned here only what items I reliably found out. I must say that Tibetan food is much more varied than the Mongolian nomads', who content themselves with meat and milk products. Tibetans eat a great deal of Chinese food and prepare their own seasonings; they very much like to bake meat, in its raw or slightly frozen forms. Yet, in general, the Tibetans eat relatively little meat.

After lunch, from 5 to 6 o'clock in the evening, the Dalai Lama stayed at his place or sometimes went out for a *koro*, i.e., a circumambulation on foot around the monastery, just as an ordinary pilgrim. This, of course, at the same time served as a walk for him. The Dalai Lama was fond of walking after his meal, and he often walked around the monastery in company with two or three servants or his close confidants. In this case, those who accompanied the Dalai Lama always kept at respectful distance from him, and the lower servants always walked far ahead to clear the road of outsiders, while some stayed far behind. Thus, they formed a single file with the Dalai Lama in the middle. This order can be explained by the fact that according to [Buddhist] etiquette no one could walk close to the Dalai Lama, as it would mean equating oneself with the Dalai Lama's persona. Therefore, I often saw the Dalai Lama walking right in the middle of this procession while talking to someone—he either turned back or addressed the person in front of him. Sometimes he visited the learned elder Dandaragramba<sup>44</sup> as an ordinary guest to have a religious conversation with him. I also remember that he peeped two or three times into the local prince's yurt, without warning the latter, accompanied by two persons, which caused turmoil in the princely family. He, however, calmed them down and spent a few minutes exchanging gracious words in Mongolian with family members. When the Dalai Lama visited private dwellings, he was always accompanied by someone who carried a chair for him. Yet the Dalai Lama refused to sit in this luxurious chair, thereby evincing simplicity. However, all this simplicity was interrupted during his solemn blessings of people since, in this

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<sup>44</sup> Dandar-agramba (Tib. Bstan dar sngags ramps pa, 1835–1915) was a famous Mongolian Buddhist scholar.

case, strict etiquette had to be observed.

After his 7 o'clock evening prayer, the Dalai Lama spent time reading books and went to bed between 12 and 1 o'clock at night, surrounded with the long and monotonous sounds of the religious wind instrument *bishkhur*<sup>45</sup> from the "Nam-gye-ga datsan's court".<sup>46</sup> He was very demanding and strict with attendants. When someone from the midst of the lower servants was found guilty of some mischief, he made the person pray for many hours in the open, close to his chamber. Yet, one could not fail to notice that he was very gentle, sweet, and joyful with the people closest to him, although the latter displayed false servility towards the Dalai Lama in the presence of an outsider. The Dalai Lama and his Tibetan entourage were very fond of various small-size European objects, including pen-knives, and they bought these in large quantities. For example, they were very fond of Russian stearin candles, which were purchased ahead in large quantities for Tibet.

They say the Dalai Lama is fond of manual labor. They even say that, in Lhasa, he had an anvil and tools and, in his spare time, did a little bit of blacksmithing. The Dalai Lama had a lot of travel equipment—Tibetan cloths, incense sticks, books, and *burhans*,<sup>47</sup> packed in numerous bales. A large number of these things were meant as gifts. What Potala treasures of his he carried, we could not find out. A great number of his travel equipment was brought from Lhasa well in advance after his flight. The only thing we learnt was that the Dalai Lama carried with him one of Lhasa's main sacred objects—the statue of Logshiri.<sup>48</sup>

About 150 Tibetans, who formed the Dalai Lama's retinue, lived in Van-Kuren'. These Tibetans were of various categories, including the high-ranking retinue of up to thirty people with their own servants, monks—up to five men, and the rest belonged to the lower class of court menials. Among the Dalai Lama's high-ranking retinue, apart from the persons already mentioned in the diary, was its leader, the Dalai Lama's executive secretary Jejab Kambo Dunyig Chemo,<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Flute (Mong. *bichkigür*; Rus. флейта, дудка, свирель).

<sup>46</sup> It should be Namgyel datsang (Tib. *Rnam rgyal grova tshang*), the Dalai Lama private college.

<sup>47</sup> Buddha, buddha's image (Mong. *burhan*).

<sup>48</sup> B.B.: There are three main Tibetan sacred statues: 1) of the Buddha Shakyamuni, "The Great Jowo," (Tib. *Jo bo Rinpoche*); 2) of the Buddha Shakyamuni, "The Small Jowo" (Tib. *Mi skyod rdo rje* or *Jo bo ra mo che*); 3) the statue of Logshiri, from Sanskrit Lokeshvara, (Tib. *Jig rten dbang phyug*, an epithet of the deity Aryabala, Avalokiteshvara).

<sup>49</sup> B.B.: Tib. *sphyi khyap mkhan po drung yig chen mo*, secretary to the most senior ecclesiastical official.

Chobon Kambo,<sup>50</sup> and Jamaa Kambo,<sup>51</sup> among others. Since the Dalai Lama did not allow these people to approach him up close, all of them performed their formal duties at solemn ceremonies only, and they patiently spent one or two hours every evening in the chancery of the Dalai Lama's executive secretary without doing any work. They were on duty just for the Dalai Lama.

All these Tibetans, from the Dalai Lama himself down to the lowest Tibetan people, provide enough information to get an idea of Tibetans in general. Among them, as expected, there were no women. Tibetans would first surprise you with their excessive subservience with their masters and flattery with persons who inspire respect, showing you false courtesy, which they do not even try to hide from you. So, your first impression of Tibetans will not be in their favor. Indeed, there is some truth in this, as Tibetans—due to the existing socio-political and economic conditions of life—are strictly guided by their life rules, such as “never show your real self in the presence of other people” and “friendship with Tibetans is not an easy thing.” However, if you manage to win a Tibetan's trust, he will become your good and very sincere friend. He will now reveal to you his people's true nature—high impressionability, superstition and a sanguine temperament. Tibetans are impressionable, like kids; get easily excited and explosive in their doings, like Frenchmen. At the same time, a Tibetan has an exceptional willpower; he is able to endure any bodily suffering and he despises death. Therefore, he is patient in his work and persistent in achieving goals. He does not have the Chinaman's tenacity, accuracy, and pettiness: in this respect he is somewhat coarse and inaccurate.

A Tibetan's mind is generously gifted with imagination and fantasy, with a rather heavy and weighing ability of thinking. Therefore, during a casual conversation, which requires quickness of mind, a Tibetan will at the slightest difficulty first resort to the help of his imagination and fantasy, and his mind kicks in only after [getting] detailed explanations. The most typical feature of Tibetan mentality is striving for idealization and systematization, which is evidence of his philosophical mindset. Any simple Tibetan can boast this feature. This psychological individuality of Tibetans explains why Buddhism was so warmly welcomed in Tibet, more than in any other country, as it turned this land into a real monastic kingdom, immersed in religious ecstasy. Endowed with remarkable talent and ingenuity of mind, Tibetans produced many religious and philosophical geniuses from their ranks; they set up original philosophical sects and schools of Buddhism and created an enormous mass of literature. Studying all this

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<sup>50</sup> B.B.: Tib. *mchod dpon mkhan po*, master of ceremonies.

<sup>51</sup> B.B.: Tib. *ja ma mkhan po*, head cook.

will be of great interest to science in future and perhaps will shed light on many dark aspects of the history of mental life in the heart of Aryan culture—India.

This psychological peculiarity of Tibetan people is certainly not so much their racial feature, but to a larger extent the result of the age-old impact of Buddhism, which undoubtedly deserves the most serious attention from researchers, due to its originality and rich content. In general, Tibetans are gifted, simple-minded and good-natured people, spoiled only by the worst side of their habits, thanks to their hard political, economic and social living conditions. By the way, among Tibetans' negative features, we have noticed one in particular in Van-Kuren, which is worth noting here. A Tibetan, at the slightest change for the better in his situation, tries to pose as an important, hard to get person, who needs to observe formalities. This Tibetan's servants will try to assist their master by all means available, to present him as someone of importance, especially to unknown outsiders. Servants will praise their master's character. They will ask you to wait because their master is very busy, and you will have to wait so long you will finally lose patience and decide to return home. If you try to convince this inaccessible master's servants of your worth to him, you'll manage it only thanks to your good manners and words like: "I am leaving. I have no time to wait!" And if you are a man who promises nothing, you will never get to meet the master. Such demeanor is typical of Tibetan, Mongol and partly Buryat lamas (since the time of *khubilgans*), as it is a theocratic tendency... [illegible]

As regards accusations of Tibetans being greedy out of grubby lucre, this feature is not deeply rooted in their character's racial type but is rather a relic peculiar to primitive men with a childishly naive nature. As far as we know, all Tibetan highland inhabitants are still violent robber tribes. It is only the people who inhabit central Tibet, who, thanks to the Lhasa theocratic government's artful regime, have some civic spirit, although in a latent form, as they have preserved their nature as violent primitive robbers.

Thus, Tibetans still have an addiction for cold weapons,<sup>52</sup> and even the Dalai Lama is no exception. I remember how, once, his physician, outwardly a humble looking Buddhist monk, could not withhold his admiration when he saw the mechanism of the bolt in the Russian three-line rifle. Even the age-long impact of Buddhism on Tibetans, calling for supreme perfection to be attained by feats of human mind and heart, could not shake the bellicose nature of the Tibetan people *en masse*.

<sup>52</sup> In Russian, "cold weapons" refer to knives, swords, etc. Cold weapons are military and sporting weapons that do not use the power of flammable explosives, compressed gas, or electricity.



Therefore, Tibetans' notorious greediness can be observed in its naive childish form, originating from a simple-minded, primitive man, a recent robber, and not from any inveterate civilized trader. Judging by their physical constitution, Tibetans are rather healthy and strong people of medium height. Their hair is black and hard, and unlike Mongols, they have rich hair growth on their faces. Quite often, one can see barbels and bearded men among them. Their upper-class skin color is different from the lower-class complexion. The upper-class has a light-yellow skin, which quite often reaches European whiteness, whereas the lower class has a dark yellow color, typical of gypsies.

One can conclude Tibetans adhere to class prejudices. They have a rather secluded class of upper gentry, which allegedly descended from their famous Tsar Songtsen Gampo [Srong btsan sgam po, 605–649]. In the Tibetan type, we can observe traces of their racial connections with Aryans—a more or less oval face, a big high nose and big eyes. In Tibetan types, I did not notice any Mongoloid traces and as for their racial origin they undoubtedly are closer to Aryans than Mongoloids, although their language belongs to the Indo-Chinese group.

#### 9. *Some biographic information about the Dalai Lama*

The present Dalai Lama, Tubten Gyatso, is the Thirteenth, and according to Tibetan records, he was born in 1876. He enjoys enormous popularity among the people, thanks to his good initiatives in Tibet, such as abolition of the death penalty, prosecution of embezzlement and bribery, etc., and his display of a totally independent character. Even his initial election in the presence of people was carried out in extraordinary circumstances. For example, people say this Dalai Lama was discovered miraculously. When the State Oracle of Tibet, when close to dying, answered the question of how to find the new Dalai Lama, this is what he said: the new Dalai Lama would present himself, so there would be no need to resort to the usual election procedure. Furthermore, Chokyong<sup>53</sup> prophesied the new “extraordinary” Dalai Lama would be found at Lake Muledengi Gyatso, in goddess Palden Lhamo's abode.<sup>54</sup>

According to the prophesy of an oracle from Lhasa, a special

<sup>53</sup> Dharmapala, protector of faith (Tib. *chos kyong*). It means here the Nechung (Gnas chung) oracle.

<sup>54</sup> Tib. Palden Lhamo (*Dpal ldan lha mo*), or Shri Devi, is a tantric Buddhist goddess, the Dalai Lamas' special Dharmapala. “Then Palden Lhamo continued northwards, easily getting across India, Tibet, Mongolia and part of China, and finally settled, as some people say, on mountain Oikhan, in eastern Siberia's Olgon district. This mountain is said to be surrounded with large, uninhabited deserts, and by ocean Muliding,” see Schlagintweit 1863: 113.

delegation of lamas and officials was dispatched to that lake, which was covered with ice at that time. These people spent a whole week on the lakeside, patiently looking at the transparent ice, in the hope of seeing some miraculous sign there. On the last day of the week, in desperation, they decided to leave the lake and return home. One half of the caravan had already left the lake and only a few persons remained there, when all of a sudden the reflection of a poor Tibetan encampment appeared on the ice and, through the open door of a little house, they saw a woman with a baby boy in her arms. The miraculous vision vanished all at once.

Struck with this vision, some drew on paper what they had seen and sent their drawings to Lhasa. Two incognito officials were immediately dispatched from Lhasa to the Lhoka district (Lho kha, in central Tibet's south-eastern part), where the lake was located. The officials, disguised as simple wanderers, questioned the local inhabitants about the whereabouts of the camp, showing them the drawing. Then the locals told them the camp was in the valley called Dakpo lungpa (Dvags po lung pa).

According to Agvan Dorzhiev,<sup>55</sup> it is a border area between central Tibet and Kham [Khams.] One of the officials saw the camp in his dream at night, resembling the one on the drawing. He entered the house and saw a baby boy on his mother's lap. When the official took the boy in his own hands, the child slapped him in the face. The next day the officials, inspired by this dream, went to the lake and found the Dakpo lungpa Valley, exactly as it was depicted on the drawing. They stepped inside the house in the camp and saw the woman carrying a baby boy. This was how, according to folk legend, the present Dalai Lama was found. Ever since the legend came to pass, Tibetans began to regard the present Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of "The Great Fifth" Dalai Lama and they earnestly believed that, under his rule, some major event would happen for the good of Tibet. And such event did take place indeed, but it was quite different from what the Tibetans expected—the enemy invaded the country and the popular Dalai Lama fled his capital, Lhasa.

Of course, all this must have disillusioned the Tibetan people, who are now hopelessly dreading the dire consequences of their popular leader's flight. Yet, who can deny these events—no matter whether they were offensive for Tibetans themselves—will have considerable impacts in future, radically changing Tibet's history.

Undoubtedly, this push from the British was Tibet's first serious stimulus to join the rest of the world in future, and this became a

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<sup>55</sup> Agvan Dorzhiev (1853–1938) was the Dalai Lama's teacher, confidant and representative in Russia.

turning point in Tibet's new history. It may be that Tibetans are really destined not to be mistaken in believing and expecting the event that occurred under the present Dalai Lama's rule will benefit Tibet. In any case, while China was in a state of slumber, especially at the time of the Anglo-Russian treaty that guaranteed Tibet's inviolability, the present Dalai Lama, this remarkable man and keen politician, had a great opportunity to implement the best of his intentions in his home country and introduce his gifted people to the family of cultured nations.

Of course, it is quite difficult to infuse new blood into the life of this peculiar and interesting country, especially by one person alone. However, if the popular Dalai Lama puts his shoulder to the wheel, not waiting for a new surge of Europe's and awakening China's all-devouring appetite, this can greatly benefit his successors, and they will pick up on his initiative.

*10. Some background information  
about the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa*

According to one version, the Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa unexpectedly—he was afraid of being caught by the British, when their troops approached Lhasa. There is another version, which seems more plausible. The Dalai Lama's court was aware of the movements of the British troops since the moment they entered Tibet territory, and the Dalai Lama had secretly prepared his escape in advance, having bought at the market the best horses for himself and his retinue. When the British approached Lhasa, the Dalai Lama began to wait for the right moment to have a more convenient excuse for his flight. And that moment, he chose the time when the Anglo-Indian troops got closer to Lhasa, publicly accusing his opponents of intending to surrender him to the British and not having warned him about their approaching enemies. So, the Dalai Lama escaped from his Potala Palace.

At first, there were only a few Tibetan fugitives—the Dalai Lama himself, his confidant Agvan Dorzhiev, his physician and others, plus a few more people who had joined them. All of them were riding horses. Along the way, the Dalai Lama visited the old monastery of the Taklung gonpa sect,<sup>56</sup> the residence of Lama Taklung rinbuche [Rinpoche], famous for the power of his charms and said to be the incarnation of his teacher Padmasambhava.<sup>57</sup>

The Dalai Lama told the lama to perform some sorcery against the British. However, instead, the saintly lama pleaded with him to return

<sup>56</sup> Taklung Monastery (Tib. Stag lung dgon pa) is a Kagyu (Bka' brgyud) Buddhist monastery about 120 km north of Lhasa.

<sup>57</sup> Padmasambhava is the great 8th century Indian Tantric master who subdued local Tibetan gods and made them protectors of Buddhism.

and advised him not go north. Yet the Dalai Lama was relentless; he justified his escape by referring to the holy scripture, according to which religion must spread from south to north. So, he insisted the lama should perform sorcery by all means. When the lama complied, against his will, lightning struck the four corners of his house, which led him to refuse to continue his sorcery. He said this was impossible because of Samye's<sup>58</sup> and other *chokyong's* devotion to the British. Near Nakchu [Nag chu], the fugitives were met by a delegation from Lhasa, together with an armed party, which pleaded with the Dalai Lama to return and, in case he refused [they intended] to return him by force, after blocking the path. However, the Dalai Lama, unyieldingly determined to die rather than give up his plans, proudly moved ahead. Therefore, the Tibetans' party and the delegation did not dare touch the Dalai Lama's holy person and reverently kneeling in front of him, let their Master move further. Since then, the venerable fugitives travelled freely, and finally reached the Tsaidam Mongols,<sup>59</sup> after a rather tedious but fast march. The Tsaidam Mongols met them with all due respect, having covered the road in front of them with their felt saddle-blankets. There, the travelers changed their way-worn horses for fresh ones and hastily set out to continue their journey.

At that time, [the monks of] Kumbum Monastery had learnt the Dalai Lama was approaching. They prepared a lavish meeting for him, hoping he would visit their monastery without fail, as this was the residence of the great founder of the yellow creed doctrine. However, they were greatly disappointed when they learnt the Dalai Lama had travelled past Kumbum and cursed Agvan Dorzhiev, "the embodiment of the evil spirit". He is said to have taken hold of the Dalai Lama's soul and to have placed him in the hands of the barbarians, the Oroses [Russians—A. A.]. This is how they reached the Mongolian capital Urga, where they were met by a rather unfriendly Khutughtu, which eventually led to openly hostile relations between these two spiritual leaders of Tibet and Mongolia.

*11. Background information on the arrival of the Anglo-Indian troops in Lhasa in 1904, obtained from Tibetan and Buryat witnesses*

The Tibetan government was in total confusion when it learnt about the British troops approaching Lhasa. It was then decided to arm the lamas of the Three Monasteries [i.e., Sera (Se ra), Drepung ('Bras

<sup>58</sup> Samye Monastery (Bsam yas dgon pa) is the first Tibetan Buddhist monastery built in the 8th century.

<sup>59</sup> The Tsaidam Mongols are a Khoshut Oirat Mongolian tribe living west of Lake Kokonor, currently in China's Haixi-Mongol Autonomous Prefecture of Qinghai Province.

spungs) and Ganden] to create a strong army of up to 20,000 troops to defend the capital city. At that point, however, a question came up—must the Buryat lamas obey the Tibetan government's orders? This double-edged dilemma caused a lot of anxiety to the Buryat lamas, who were then in Lhasa. So, they turned for advice to their kinsman and protector, Agvan Dorzhiev. The latter exerted pressure on the Tibetan government, so that the latter decided to give up arming the lamas on purely religious grounds. As a result, the Buryats calmed down, yet the majority of Tibetan lamas, especially the young ones, the so called “*dobdak*” [*stobs bdag pa*],<sup>60</sup> who were eager to fight the British, were strongly offended by this decision. This is why the British troops met with no opposition when entering Lhasa.

When the British came to Lhasa, most citizens and the lamas of Drepung Monastery began to leave their dwellings. They took their belongings and scattered in all directions. So, only a few brave ones and some paupers remained in their houses, dreading great future misfortune. Only very few lamas remained at Drepung. They were the militant *dobdak*, who wanted to die with honor in their homes for the sake of their religion and motherland and they protected themselves on the rooftops of their stone houses, slingshots in hand. The Tibetan government issued an order not to attack the British *pilins* [Englishmen.] Hence, the British could move freely in the city and on Drepung Monastery territory. Once, while several British soldiers were walking around Drepung, these *dobdak* suddenly attacked them with their slingshots and hurt one soldier seriously. So, the British had to flee to their camp and immediately targeted Drepung with their weapons. Drepung then sent a delegation headed by the chief prior, to plead for the British not to attack the monastery. The chief prior of Drepung hoisted a white *khatak* [*kha btags*, a ceremonial scarf – A. A.] as a peace flag, and informed the British about the incident, which prevented further disaster. Thus, the British limited themselves to one single cannon shot at Drepung, just to frighten the brave *dobdak*. The Tibetans and the British never clashed again, except for one sad incident, when one *dobdak*, a fanatic patriot who had sworn to kill the British troops' commander, mortally stabbed a harmless doctor with his dagger. This *dobdak* was killed the moment he committed this crime, and the Tibetans honored him by proclaiming him their national hero.

At first, the Tibetans were impressed by the British peacefulness and tact, but when they left Lhasa, they began to explain their cultural opponents' sensitivity in quite a different way: “The *pilins* did not visit Ganden, because this sacred monastery's *chokyong* did not let them in.

<sup>60</sup> Tib. literally, endowed with strength. Here Baradin means, most probably, the so-called “fighting monks.” For more details see Goldstein 1964: 123–141.

The *pilins* did not touch our shrines and ran away from Lhasa, having achieved nothing substantial. This was thanks to our holy men in Lhasa, our protectors, *chokyong* etc., who profoundly affected the evil foreign pagans' souls."

### 12. The Dalai Lama faction

The present Dalai Lama and his faction's proclivity towards Russia is exceptional in nature rather than a phenomenon resulting from deep historical facts. Their inclination had nothing to do with the Tibetan people who knew practically nothing about Europe and Russia, save for their wild superstitious ideas about Europeans in general as weird barbarians from another world. Therefore, obviously, the Tibetan upper class still could not see any difference between the Russians, the British and other nations. Only the then Dalai Lama, who faced the British obtrusiveness, had to look for an external mainstay for Tibet's existence. As a result, two factions were formed at the Dalai Lama's court, one of which, headed by the Dalai Lama himself and his associate—our compatriot Agvan Dorzhiev—found it possible to stretch out its hand to the north, towards Russia. The other one, standing on more realistic ground, supported the opposite option—the policy of reconciling with the current situation, looking for illusory patronage from the Court in Beijing and compromising with the British. Thus, the Dalai Lama's faction, a very small troop, had to strengthen its position and resorted to such means as were generally acceptable to Tibetans. It is only thanks to those means, based on religion and other Tibetan beliefs, that this faction was able to act boldly and subsequently take a desperate measure: getting the Dalai Lama to flee from Lhasa.

With no real basis to justify their attraction to Russia and the Dalai Lama's escape "to the north," this Dalai Lama faction always put forth a prophecy by the Buddha. Many Buddhist *sutras* present a saying by Buddha to the effect that his religion would spread from south to north, expanding from one world to another. The Tibetans and Mongols see this prophecy confirmed because, since Buddhism had disappeared from its homeland India, it moved to Tibet and further on to Mongolia and to the Buryats in Russia. Such coincidences between the prophecy and the historical phenomenon led them to believe that the "northern land" of Russia—lying north of the Mongol and Buryat [lands]—would eventually become another typical Buddhist country. It is mainly this belief that led the present Dalai Lama's late confessor, Chamba Rimbucho<sup>61</sup>—who enjoyed great popularity in central Tibet

<sup>61</sup> B. B.: *Byams pa rin po che* (n.d.) is the name of the Dalai Lama's late confessor and Agvan Dorzhiev's protector. He is known as a writer and one of Tibet's outstanding religious figures.

and was the predecessor of the present state oracle—to decisively influence the Dalai Lama's policy to flee to the north.

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