



Discovery, Recognition and Enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama



Discovery, Recognition and Enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama

A Collection of Accounts

by

Khemey Sonam Wangdu

Sir Basil J. Gould

Hugh E. Richardson

LIBRARY OF TIBETAN WORKS & ARCHIVES

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Dedicated to
His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama
on the occasion of 60th anniversary of His
enthronement and 50th anniversary of His assuming
political power of Tibet.

Publisher's Note

We are happy to present this anthology on the *Discovery, Recognition and Enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama* on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the enthronement of H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama and on the fiftieth anniversary of his assuming political power.

The first part, *Discovery of the Dalai Lama*, is an eye witness account by Khemey Sonam Wangdu, who was a civil servant of the Government of Tibet and assistant to the officer who led the search party to the Amdo region.

The second part *Report on the Discovery, Recognition and Enthronement of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama* is a report by Sir Basil J. Gould printed by the Government of India Press, New Delhi in 1941. Sir Basil J. Gould was Political Officer in Sikkim (1935-1945) and was a British delegate at the enthronement ceremony of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama in 1940 in Lhasa, Tibet, representing His Majesty's Government and His Excellency the Viceroy of India.

The third part *Tibetan Lamas in Western Eyes* was written by Hugh E. Richardson. Hugh E. Richardson is one of the world's leading authorities on Tibet, her history and culture. He lived in Lhasa for nine years between 1936-1950, heading the British and later the Indian Mission there.

It is hoped that these eye witness accounts will give a clear picture of the traditional methods followed in discovering the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet and of the actual events which took place during that time.

We would like to thank Ms. Jane Perkins and Prof. Michael Futrell for going through the first part, *Discovery of the Dalai Lama*.

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Contents

<i>Part One: Discovery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama: An Eye Witness Account</i>	1
Prologue	2
Death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and Appointment of a Regent	3
Starting the Search	9
The Journey to A mdo	11
Search and Discovery	15
Governor Ma's Demands	22
The Journey to Lhasa	35
<i>Part Two: Discovery, Recognition and Installation of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama</i>	53
Tibet and the Tibetans	55
The Government of Tibet	57
The Dalai Lamas	59
Death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama	60
The Tashi Lama	61
Signs and Portents	62
The Wise Men Set Out	63
Arrival of the New Dalai Lama	64
The Real Facts of the Discovery	66
Ransom	69
The Fourteenth Dalai Lama	70
The Return to the Throne	71
The Chinese Delegation	73
The British Delegation	74
Tibetan Ceremonial	75
Driving out the Old Year	76
New Year's Day	77
Visit to the Dalai Lama	77

Other Visits	80
The Dalai Lama's Family	81
The Holy Walk	82
Entry of the Dalai Lama into the Potala	82
The Procession	84
The Ser-Thri-Nga-Sol	85
The First Day	87
The Ceremony	89
Gift's from England and India	92
New Year Ceremonies	96
About the Dalai Lama	98
<i>Part Three: Tibetan Lamas in Western Eyes</i>	103
Tibetan Lamas in Western Eyes	105

Part One

Discovery of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama: An Eyewitness Account

*by Khemey Sonam Wangdu**
Translated by Thupten K. Rikey

*Khemey Sonam Wangdu was an assistant to the principal officer in charge of the search party to Amdo region to discover the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

Prologue

The life story of the present Dalai Lama and his virtuous deeds in planting the seeds of altruistic attitude in the hearts of limitless living beings, guiding them across the ocean of *samsara*, will certainly be recorded briefly and at length by the pens of those gifted with literary genius. This has been the case for the lives and deeds of past Dalai Lamas. Nevertheless, many people expressed the wish that I should write an account of the present Dalai Lama's discovery to record what I personally witnessed during my journey to Ziling as a member of the search team.

As far as my intellect, education and linguistic skills are concerned, I do not think I am the right person to do this. At this advanced age my memory is weakening and I find it hard to recollect things clearly. The diary in which I noted down what I experienced then is now no more; as I could not bring it with me when I fled Tibet. Of the four members of the search team who travelled to Ziling, two have already passed away, that is His Holiness the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama's Academic Assistant Dar-han Serje Kewtsang Rinpoche and the Chief Personal Assistant the Venerable Khenrab Tenzin. The third member, the Venerable Lobsang Tsewang, a civil service official from Tse Academy, was arrested by the Chinese and is still under custody in Lhasa. I managed to escape to India, but I am now at a stage where I am counting my last days and I am sure there are not many left to count! If these important events which I witnessed are to be recorded in print for the benefit of our future generation, then time is running out. This thought inspired me to make a determined attempt to compose this account of all that I was witness to without omissions or embellishment.

CHAPTER ONE

Death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and Appointment of a Regent

From the time the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso ascended the throne, he contributed a great deal in promoting Buddhism, strengthening the political arena, improving the life of his people, maintaining the status of Tibet as an independent nation and so forth. Although this account cannot include them all, I would like to relate a few incidents when he clearly predicted certain events which were to come true in the future.

In 1920, when repair work was underway in the eastern wing of the Potala, the Dalai Lama very carefully instructed the artists to paint a blue bird on the wall of the stairs to the north of the West Chamber and a white dragon on the wall to the east. All the knowledgeable people gathered there, including the mural master, were somewhat perplexed by the instruction, which made no sense to them either historically or scripturally. The symbolism became clear in later years; the blue bird indicated that he would pass away in the Water Bird Year, while the white dragon to the east pointed to the year of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's enthronement in the Iron Dragon Year. Then, in the Water Monkey Year, in response to a long life *puja* offered by the monks of the three principal monasteries and the monk and lay government officials, he addressed them as follows:

I was first recognised and enthroned as the Supreme Liberator of the World in accordance with clear prophecies and portents, making it unnecessary to follow the practice of the golden urn ceremony. Then, according to tradition, I studied under holy tutors, notably Regent Ta-tzag Hotoktu and Khenchen Yongzin Phurchog Rinpoche. I memorised daily the religious texts, including the liturgical chants. I received the primary and secondary monastic ordinations and

* This English version of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's testament is from Jane Perkins' collection.

practised the debate on the Five Major Treatises of Buddhism. Besides, I received empowerments and instructions in the profound Sutra. Working hard daily, without interruption, in accordance with my intellectual capacity, I presume to have achieved a considerable level of scholarship.

However, when I reached the age of 18, the political responsibility of Tibet fell on me. Although I lacked spiritual and political experience, I took the responsibility at the unanimous request of the clerics and laity of Tibet and upon the counsel of the Heaven-mandated Emperor. Since then, I have had no freedom for personal leisure. With my mind weighed down day and night under the heavy responsibility for our religious and political well-being, I have been striving hard, honestly and to the best of my ability to advance the cause of Buddhism, to strengthen our political system, and to promote the welfare and happiness of my subjects.

When the British army attacked Tibet in the Wood Dragon Year, I thought that it would be an act of undoing past deeds if I appeased them for my personal well-being and thus undermined our ultimate political interests. Knowing that it had been worthwhile to come to the help of each other (Tibet and the Manchus) ever since the priest-patron relationship was established between the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Manchu Emperor, I braved the hardships of travelling over the northern plains of Tibet and through Mongolian and Chinese towns to go to the Golden Chinese Capital of Peking and to talk about our immediate and long-term problems. The Emperor and the Dowager Empress received me with great respect and honour. Before long, the Emperor and the Dowager Empress passed away one after the other. Huan Tung was installed as the new Emperor. Having related the conditions of Tibet in

detail to him and his father, I returned home with the interest of Tibet in my heart.

On my return, I discovered that the Amban had poisoned the Emperor's ears, as a result of which the Chinese army, led by General Chao Erfang, reached Tibet with an intent to seize political power. I, the sovereign, and my ministers, who held the political power, made for the Arya Land of India. Enduring all the hardships of the journey, we reached there safely and protested persistently to the Chinese government through the British government. We also performed intermittent ritual prayers for our religious and political causes. Thus, due to the unfailing power of the profound truth of karmic law, the civil war in China altered the situation and its forces and commanders, having become like a reservoir cut off from its source, were thrown out. And, I returned to Tibet, the land of my rule.

From the Water Ox to the Water Monkey Year, a new era of glorious and complete happiness prevailed in Tibet. People, high and low, enjoyed happiness in peace. Since this is well-documented and well-known to all the clerics and laity, it would only lead to verbal excess to relate this in detail. Thus, I mention this only briefly. You all must feel grateful and contented. It is possible that my act of shouldering the political responsibility has brought benefit. If this has happened, it is my aim and I am contented. I will neither boast about it, nor do I expect recognition even the size of a sesame seed.

Considering my advanced age now, I feel a strong inclination to abdicate spiritual and political power in order to dedicate the last phase of my life completely to spiritual practice so that I will have a virtuous support in my long journey through future lives. But, I don't have the heart to ignore the genuine trust placed in me by the protector-deities,

who have associated themselves with me as a shadow does a body, by my refuge lamas, and by my subjects, high and low, who have had spiritual and mundane relationships with me. I, therefore, continue to make the most of my knowledge and ability to shoulder the responsibility. However, I am now nearing fifty-eight and everyone must know that I will not be around for long to shoulder the spiritual and political responsibilities.

Therefore, you must foster a harmonious relationship with the militarily-powerful neighbouring countries of India and China. Efficient and well-armed troops must be deployed on contentious, minor borders. These troops must be well-trained to repel invasions from other sides. Furthermore, the five degenerations are spreading these days. More particularly, the communist system is spreading widely. The recognition of Jetsun Dampa is banned. The monastic properties are confiscated and monks are inducted into the army. Buddhism is being wiped out. We continue to hear such stories from Da-khurel (Ulan Bator).

It is certain that Tibet, a land which combines spiritual and secular values, will face a similar problem from both within and outside. If we are unable to defend our land under such a circumstance, then all the realised holders of the dharma, including the Victorious Father and son (the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama), will be eliminated without a vestige and the properties and traditions of the reincarnate lamas and monasteries will be lost. Moreover, our political system, as founded by the Three Dharma Kings, will be relegated to an empty name. The government officials of Tibet will be deprived of their inheritance and properties, and enslaved by the enemy. The people of Tibet will be subjected to so much suffering that they will not be able to endure the day and night. Such a time will certainly come.

Therefore, it is necessary to work unerringly for the common cause of Tibet's spiritual and political systems. Presently, we are enjoying happiness, which is the envy of others. It is up to the monk and lay officials to use this opportunity to work unremittingly to strengthen our political system so that we have no regrets later and remain prepared to face the challenges of the future both diplomatically and militarily. It is the duty of high and low clerics and laity and all the subjects of Tibet to exercise consideration and work unerringly in unity for our common cause. To do so without deviation is in accord with the prediction of the chief Guardian Deity, who said, "There will be no cause for anxiety and fear as long as all the people fulfil their duties according to the wishes of the Spiritual Master Meaningful to Behold (the Dalai Lama)." This is true.

I, on my part, will offer protection and help to all those who work with dedication and honesty for the common spiritual and political cause of Tibet. They will be blessed with success in their endeavours while the unscrupulous ones will meet with failure and punitive consequences. It is evident that the blessing of long-term success does not come to those who indulge in selfish, partisan and sycophantic acts for short-term goals and ignore the collective spiritual and political well-being. And, it is pointless to regret it later.

I can see that Tibet's present well-being will endure as long as I am alive. But ultimately, as I stated earlier, you will suffer the consequences of your individual actions. This is the clearest guidance I can give you from my experience and reasoning. I cannot give more comprehensive advice to anyone else. You perform many external prayer rituals for my long life. The most important thing is the inner ritual prayer, which is to keep my words in your hearts and devote yourself to the common cause of Tibet with

repentance for past mistakes. If you do this, I will also do my utmost to further the cause of our religious and secular polity for as long as I live. Similarly, I shall help the officials as per their positions and performance while making efforts to secure happiness for my subjects for a hundred years. There is no greater ritual prayer than this.

This is all I have to say in response to your united request for advice. Day and night, in the course of your four activities, you must think seriously on this advice and act accordingly without deviating from this. This is important.

In this address, the Dalai Lama clearly predicted the future of Tibet. Then on the thirtieth day of the tenth month of the Water Bird Year (1933), he passed away at the age of fifty-eight in order to demonstrate the truth of impermanence, leaving the entire nation in deep grief.

The National Assembly then convened in the presence of the prime minister and his cabinet, to discuss matters related to the administration of national affairs. After several rounds of discussion it was decided to select three high-ranking lamas, Gaden Tripa Mi-nyag Ami, Reting Rinpoche and Phurchog Rinpoche, as candidates to be regent. This was to be decided by means of conducting *zantag*-lot in front of the Avalokiteshvara statue in the Potala palace. The divination selected Reting Hotoktu, but the then prime minister, Langdün Gung Kunga Wangchug continued in office to assist the regent.

CHAPTER TWO

Starting the Search

Various signs were witnessed that clearly indicated the reincarnation would be born in north-eastern Tibet. For instance, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's body which was placed facing south, spontaneously turned its face towards the east more than once; the state oracles Nechung Chogyal Chenmo, Gadong Neysrung Chenmo, Samye Nöjin Chenpo and others turned twice towards the east while in trance and paid homage by offering scarves; clouds formed into various auspicious shapes on the north-east horizon; snapdragons bloomed underneath the stairs in the east of the discourse arena; and fungi shaped like stars and antlers grew from underneath the stone plinth of the wooden column in the north-east of the shrine where the memorial-stupa of the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama was under construction.

Among his many responsibilities, Regent Reting treated the search for the next incarnation as the most urgent. He went to Lake Lhamo Latso in Chokhor-gyal in 1935 (the Wood Pig Year) to perform an intensive *sadhana* with his party for several days. This lake is located ten days journey south-east of Lhasa and is very popular among the devotees of the goddess, as one's future can be seen in the lake's surface. The Second Dalai Lama consecrated the lake following his pure vision and declared that it embodied the life force of the Goddess Rimati. When the search for the Thirteenth Dalai Lama was underway, detailed information about him appeared in this lake: the house in which he was born and so forth. Indeed a lake of great blessing.

At the conclusion of his *sadhana*, the regent saw in the lake three groups of *dbu can* letters, "A", "KA" and "MA". He also saw a three-storied monastery, with its second floor in a turquoise colour and the rooftop adorned with *rgya phib* in golden colour; and a threadlike path leading towards the east from the monastery reaching up to the foot of a hill where there was a one-storied house with a blue roof. The regent noted down all these visions in writing, keeping the information confidential.

All these indications led to the decision to form search teams to journey to various regions in eastern Tibet. As a result, high ranking lamas and *trulkus* from Sera, Gaden and Drepung consulted the state oracle Nechung for instructions and three search teams, each consisting of four members, were formed.

The regions of the south-east and Dagpo were assigned to Phurchog Jamgon Rinpoche who was accompanied by Tsedrung Thubten Jangchub, Changkhyim Thubten Tsephel and Shödrung Phunrabpa. Serje Hardong Khangser Rinpoche drew Chamdo and the Dökham area with Tsedon Tenpa Jungney, Tsedrung Laytsen Tsultrim Chopel and Shödrung Laytsen Driyulpa in attendance. Serje Hardong Kewtsang Rinpoche led the party of which I was a member; with Nagchu Khenpo Tsedrung Khenrab Tenzin and Tsedrung Lobsang Tsewang. We were sent to A-rig and other regions of Amdo in the north-east.

The Samye protector deity, while in a trance, gave the cabinet ministers a ritual-mirror to be used for testing the candidates. However, the deity, as was often the case, gave no clear indication which team should be given the mirror. So, the regent instructed the Samye based Zasag Gyaltzen Phuntsog and Teji Shenkhawa to call on the deity for clarification. The deity told them to send the mirror with the team led by Kewtsang Rinpoche—the team to which I belonged. The other objects for testing the candidates included: His Holiness the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's yellow and black rosary, his small ivory *damaru* which had been used to call his attendants, and his walking stick made from cane. Also included was a copy of the confidential account of the Regent's lake vision and his introductory letters to the then Panchen Lama, Governor Ma, the head lama of Kumbun, and monastery administrators and civil officials in those regions.

CHAPTER THREE

The Journey to Amdo

Our journey in search of the new reincarnation was to begin on the fifth day of the ninth month of Fire Rat Year (1936). The night before we left there was an unreasonably heavy snowfall and next morning when I went to seek blessings at the Jokhang, I noticed knee-deep snows on the road. At about nine in the morning all the team members gathered at Kewtsang Rinpoche's residence, Döring House, and we began our journey from there. It was a fine, sunny day with clear skies and the previous day's snow had already melted, making the road clear and easy to travel on. In fact it was the most wonderful day we had ever experienced. Our journey took us through Dromtod, Chakri Tramo and other regions, reaching Nagchu, where we stayed for ten days to arrange provisions and organise pack animals. From Nagchu we travelled via Sog-tsandan monastery, Malazhi and Khyungpo Tengchen to reach Riwoche. Except for a few barren mountainous areas, the landscape we passed through was mostly lush green, with beautiful meadows and passes. A high pass ahead to cross the next day would almost certainly herald a heavy snowfall to welcome us throughout the night and continuing until we reached our next stopover. However nothing happened to threaten our lives, although I suffered from frostbite in my leg, a condition which still affects me to this day in cold weather. To encounter snow is a good omen and these heavy snowfalls on our way were seen as an indication that our team would succeed in discovering the reincarnation and be able to escort him to his palace in Lhasa, the Potala Palace.

We were a little hesitant to travel beyond Riwoche, as a short time ago there had been encounters between Tibetans and the Upper Zilings on the Tibetan-Chinese border at Keygudo. To clarify the situation, we sent a letter to the Panchen Rinpoche, who was then staying at Keygudo. While Kewtsang Rinpoche and my other team members were at Riwoche, I went to Chamdo to seek advice from the two governors there, one of them being my brother Surkhang Surpa Wangchen Tseten.

After a month's stay at Riwoche, we continued our journey, following Panchen Rinpoche's advice. We travelled via Chaksamkha, Shöda and Nangchen reaching Keygudo on the twenty-ninth day of the twelfth month. On the second day of the new year (Fire Ox), we called on Panchen Rinpoche at his chamber and presented him the regent's introductory letter and new year gifts. During our meeting, he said, "It is the most urgent matter to discover His Holiness' reincarnation. While in Kumbum I have examined several children and found three possible candidates, who possess all the good characteristics." He then gave Kewtsang Rinpoche a list of the three candidates. Later on we met Panchen's chief attendant at his residence, where he conveyed to us the Panchen Rinpoche's advice concerning the fact that we were the responsible persons specially delegated for that mission and that we should not just rely on the list he had given to us, but should make a thorough search in the regions both far and near. He deputed Tsechogling Trulku and Ngulchu Trulku to help us in our work and Tedhing Las-tsenpa to guide us on our journey. He also promised us a supply of additional pack animals saying, "Soon there will be caravans arriving here and you can join them on their way back to Ziling."

The arrival of the caravans was considerably delayed due to heavy snowfalls but immediately they arrived, we sent a group of servants ahead as the advance party and in the third month we left Keygudo, travelling via Ra-nyag monastery, Lab monastery and the adjacent regions of Tongkhor. Most of this region is barren desert with no inhabitants so we had to pitch our tents at every stopover. In this way we traveled for the next twenty days, eventually reaching Tongkhor-khar, where Chieftain Tseling Dechang of Ziling and several other Tibetan businessmen, in all fifteen horsemen, came to receive us. We spent the night there. On the lush green plains of Chunag, the monastic authorities of Kumbum received us in a big tent and offered us tea, rice and white scarves. There were representatives from eight monasteries and eighty estates, and over 60 horsemen were present to receive us. Amidst this grand mounted procession, we proceeded to Kumbum Jampaling monastery arriving on tenth day of the fourth month of Fire Ox Year. As soon as we arrived, the white clouds in the sky formed various auspicious shapes and sent down light showers—

a fortunate sign. When I saw the monastery and its architecture, an unusual feeling of joy and hope thrilled through me. I said to myself, “Most probably this is the monastery our regent saw reflected in Lake Lhamo Latso. Maybe we will have the good fortune of discovering the reincarnation.” At Kumbum, all the team members stayed separately at different estates: Kewtsang Rinpoche in Cheshö estate, myself at Aja-si, Tsechogling Trulku at Serti, and Ngulchu Trulku at Mi nyag estate.

Kumbum, in its remote past, was a land of nomads and it was in one of those nomad families that Lord Tsongkhapa took birth. Kumbum monastery is known for its sandalwood tree, which is said to have grown out of the blood spilled and absorbed into the soil at the time of Tsongkhapa’s birth, and for the stupa of one hundred thousand Manjushri images. A new sandalwood tree had branched off from the main tree in front of the stupa, its leaves and branches imprinted with the seed syllables and images of Lord Tsongkhapa. With its unique image of the protector deity Chogyal, known as *gsung byon ma*, meaning the image that speaks, and the four corners of the monastery naturally resembling the “Four places of power”, this monastic complex is no less blessed than the Lumbini garden, Buddha Shakyamuni’s birthplace. The Third Dalai Lama blessed and named the monastery Kumbum Jampaling. In addition, a line of Dalai Lamas, such as the Great Fifth, Seventh and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama have visited and blessed this monastery. The monastery housed about 3, 500 monks, studying scriptures and practising meditation in the four departments specialising in dialectics, tantra, Kalacakra and medicine. The monks were also proficient in religious ceremonies and tantric rituals, as they generally conduct such rituals either in the common assembly hall or in their respective departments on all the important religious days.

The offerings of about twenty different butter sculptures exhibited in the forecourt of the monastery, during the Monlam festival, spoke of the monks’ skill and talent in religious arts and sculpture. Two of the sculptures, which depicted the life of Buddha according to the *Avadanashataka*, were of special attraction—i.e. the ones created by the monks from first grade prajnaparamita classes of Gomang and Sera Jetsun commentary.

With the help of Panchen Lama's representative in Ziling, Amdo Aku Tsondu, who was a very knowledgeable man, we applied for an appointment with the Governor Ma. I do not remember the exact date, but I think it was in the fifth month that we went to Ziling, staying at Amdo Aku Tsondu's residence. There was no reply from the governor for the next three days. On the fourth day, an official came with a reply, which said that our appointment had been scheduled for two days time. Pretending as if he was giving us his personal advice, the officer said that we should bring along whatever gifts we had for the governor.

Our gifts included a great variety of items, such as brocades, woollen goods, incense, antlers, musk, and leather. We gathered the Tibetan business people based at Ziling and with each one holding a different gift, we moved in a procession passing through the street and finally reaching the Yamon, the governor's secretariat. While we were in his waiting room, an alarm bell suddenly rang and all the Chinese present, in and outside the waiting room, left one after the other, leaving us alone. The alarm had in fact been to warn the people that a Japanese aircraft was soaring overhead, as those were the days when there was a clash between China and Japan. In reality no such aircraft came that day. After a while, all the Chinese came back to their respective places. Then came our turn to see the Governor. We presented him the regent's introductory letter and the gifts, explaining to him in detail the purpose of our coming to Ziling. He greeted us with tea, fruits and several other tidbits and expressed his felicitations on our safe arrival, before commenting that all communication with him should be done through his officer Hru-zhang. The next day, we met Hru-zhang and four other officers of Ting-zhang rank and presented them our gifts.

Back at Kumbum, we met the monastic authorities and other high ranking lamas and reincarnated lamas and presented them the regent's introductory letters along with our offerings.

CHAPTER FOUR

Search and Discovery

Then the real search began. Each member was to go to different regions and make their search. Kewtsang Rinpoche carried out his search in the area including Ja-khyung, Ra-khog and Kumbum with its six sub-regions; I made my search in Ziling, Khyamru and Kangtsa, and Venerable Khenrab Tenzin and Lobsang Tsewang were assigned to the Pari Choten, Than-gon, Shamar, Taklung, and Rabgyal. We continued our search in our respective regions for a period of about two and a half months. Throughout my search I found only a few boys, who according to their parents, were born with various auspicious dreams and signs, such as a rainbow over their respective dwelling places. In fact none of these boys proved very convincing. It was same with the other team members. In their searches they had come across twelve boys who could be taken into consideration. Those in Panchen Rinpoche's list were: the boy born in Chija Taktser (the present Dalai Lama), the nephew of Lonpa Loyer (he was said to have reached for the Panchen Lama's rosary and pulled it hard during the Kalacakra initiation), the third candidate was the son of Drotsa Nangso (also known as Di-tsa Nangso), but he had died by the time we reached Ziling. To examine the remaining two candidates, Kewtsang Rinpoche and his entourage set out for Taktser that winter in disguise and without telling anybody. Kewtsang Rinpoche travelled under the guise of a servant, with a rosary of the late Dalai Lama around his neck, while Venerable Lobsang Tsewang dressed more splendidly and pretended to be the master. Setronpa Kalsang, the interpreter, and Kewtsang Gelong Tsultrim Gyaltzen dressed as wanderers and pretended to be pilgrims on their way to hermitages in Tsongkha. On arrival at Taktser, they asked for accommodation at Chija Taktser House. They received a warm welcome and a special inner room was assigned to the Venerable Lobsang Tsewang and a more ordinary room to Kewtsang Rinpoche and his two colleagues. At that time, the young boy, who was going to be the future Dalai Lama, walked up to Kewtsang Rinpoche with an expression of joy on

his face. He pulled the rosary Kewtsang Rinpoche wore around his neck and said, “give me this!”

“Tell me who I am and then I will give this to you,” replied Kewtsang Rinpoche.

“You are an *Aka* from Sera. *Mani, Mani*” the boy replied, spontaneously.

“Who is the man in the inner room?” asked Kewtsang Rinpoche and the boy replied, “Tsedrung Lobsang!”

Then he pointed his finger to the interpreter and said, “Kalsang!” and then to Kewtsang Gelong Tsulgyan, saying “The *Aka* from Sera.” He gave all this information spontaneously, without any hesitation or doubt. The team members stayed there overnight and closely examined the boy’s behaviour. During most of that time he stayed with Kewtsang Rinpoche maintaining the expression of great joy on his face, gazing at and holding the rosary over and over again. So confident was his behaviour and speech that the team members were simply amazed. The next morning, when they were about to leave, he cried out from his bed and begged to accompany them, making the parting emotionally unbearable.

The day Kewtsang Rinpoche and his entourage left for Taktser, the Venerable Khenrab Tenzin and I went to the house of Lonpa Loyer’s nephew, carrying a rosary of the late Dalai Lama. It was morning when we arrived and his family agreed to accommodate us in the way we requested. After we had made some tea and rested for a while, we asked the family if they had a boy with certain auspicious signs. “Yes, we have a child daring enough even to touch the Panchen Lama’s rosary” said his mother. Then they brought the boy to us, clad in a set of new clothes but he was too shy even to come near us. Thinking that the rosary might attract his attention a bit, the Venerable Khenrab Tenzin took out the rosary, put it around his own head and called the boy, saying “Come here.” There was no sign of the boy taking a fancy to it and he remained just as shy as before. Nothing came out of this test.

By telegram, we submitted to our government a confidential report of the names and the family backgrounds of the two candidates nominated by the Panchen Lama and the twelve discovered by us during our search. We asked our government whether or not we

should carry on with our tests and show the objects from the late Dalai Lama's belongings. The reply came after three days. It suggested that the government was very hopeful of the boy at Chija Taktser and that we should closely examine him by showing him the objects.

Soon after that, all the team members set out for Taktser without warning anybody. On our way, we encountered several auspicious signs, such as people carrying barrels filled with curd, milk and water. As soon as we arrived there, the sounds of a conch shell calling the monks to assembly blared from atop the Kumbum monastery—a very auspicious coincidence! Another favourable incident was our meeting with a young Chinese man on a low-lying pass close to the boy's house. It was the point from where the road forked into two—one road leading up the pass and the other one down. That Chinese man was travelling with his three donkeys, all loaded with firewood. He suggested that we take the road leading down the pass. We followed his suggestion, and to our surprise we were soon in lush green fields next to the front door of the boy's house. It is said that the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama on his way to visit Tsongkha-hermitage stopped here for a short while and that on seeing Chija Taktser he said “a nice house!” Just as we entered the boy's house, we heard a cuckoo singing, which was the first cuckoo we were hearing that spring. Perhaps the Chinese man whom we met on the way was a manifestation of the protector deity appeared in that form to guide us. The other path was in fact a short cut to the house, but led to its back door.

We arrived as the evening tea was served. The house was located in the middle of a lush green plain and had a lofty prayer banner in the middle of its courtyard. It was a single storey flat with a slab roof and eaves in a turquoise colour. Nearby the house were fields bright with green shoots; there were hills to its right and forests to the left. The design of the house reminded me of the regent's lake vision, described in the one-page lake vision account. “This is it”, I said to myself. The boy's father had gone to the water mill, but his mother received us and gave us tea and cookies. The boy was then two years old. He appeared wearing a jump-suit and had an expression of joy on his face. His mannerisms suggested a personality, which was extraordinarily profound for his age.

After tea we asked permission to begin our test. We spread all the items from the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama's belongings (each with a

similar article beside it) on a long table on the middle of a raised platform in his bedroom. The raised platform somewhat resembled a throne, but it was a common device in that region to keep the room warm by lighting a fire under it. Kewtsang Rinpoche with the Venerable Khenrab Tenzin next to him sat to the right of the table, while the Venerable Lobsang Tsewang and I were to the left. Then, Kewtsang Rinpoche picked up the authentic black rosary along with the copy in his hands and asked the boy, "Which one do you want?" He grabbed at the real one and placed it around his neck. In the same way he chose the correct one when we presented him with both the yellow rosaries. Then we offered him the two walking sticks and after pausing for a while and looking carefully at both the canes he picked up the wrong one. I was a little worried on seeing this and thought "There he was mistaken, although he was successful in the first two rounds of the test." Again he looked closely at both walking sticks examining the handle and the tip of each with concentration. Then he put the wrong one back to the table and picked up the Dalai Lama's, holding it straight with its tip to the floor. Both these sticks were of the same design, except that one had a bronze tip and the other a plain iron. In actual fact, the one which was then considered the wrong choice had belonged to the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama, who had later presented it to the previous Drubkhang and the latter gave it to Kewtsang Rinpoche. That explained why the child picked it up at the beginning of his test. He also correctly identified three quilts. I watched with increasing rapture at the result of each test. Still there was one more test to undergo. At this stage, he had to identify the ivory-made hand drum, which the late Dalai Lama had used as an instrument to call his attendants. Kewtsang Rinpoche displayed in front of him the drum and a beautiful ivory-made *damaru* adorned with a golden belt and brocade handle. I was a little worried, thinking that he might go for the *damaru*, which was far more attractive than the drum. Without any hesitation, he picked up the drum. Holding it in his right hand, he played it with a big smile on his face; moving around so that his eyes could look at each of us from close up. Thus, the boy demonstrated his occult powers, which were capable of revealing the most secret phenomena. We were so moved to see him performing such a miracle that it left us spellbound.

Then he gave us back the objects as we requested. After a while his father returned from the water mill and we spent the night there. During our conversation with his parents, we asked them questions such as: had there been any auspicious signs before or after his birth? The reply was always "No, nothing of that kind." However, the local people had a great many things to tell us. According to them, they had suffered tremendous natural calamities whenever it was time for a great lama to take birth in their locality. They told us of quite a few misfortunes that had befallen them, including crop failures for the past four years; a series of deaths among the most valuable livestock of his family; and his father suffering a serious, prolonged sickness, which nearly took his life. However, according to them, his father had a miraculous recovery as soon as the boy was born. Also, they had witnessed many auspicious signs, such as a rainbow over the house and so forth.

That night none of us were able to sleep, even for a moment, as we turned over the miraculous performance of the boy in our minds.

When we were about to leave for Kumbum the next morning, the boy jumped out of bed and firmly insisted that he was going to accompany us. He was so adamant that his parents had to trick him to hold him back. Indeed, it would have been our pleasure to take him along, but that was impossible then. We had no choice but to part from him with heavy hearts, fondly looking back at him over our shoulders.

Two or three days later, the nephew of Lonpa Loyer (one of the Panchen Lama's nominees) came to Loyer House in Kumbum monastery. With permission from his uncle, we went there to conduct the tests, but the child was too shy to touch any of the objects we displayed on a long table on the verandah. In fact, he was later recognised as the reincarnation of Trichen Kekya Trulku of Kumbum monastery and fell into Chinese Communist hands when the monastery was invaded.

Then, we sent our government a detailed report of the tests we had conducted on the two candidates and their results plus our plans to test the remaining candidates discovered during our search in areas around Ziling. We submitted this report in a coded telegram as well as by messenger on horseback. There was no reply for several months and just as we were planning to conduct further tests the reply came, both

by coded telegram and a messenger on horseback. The reply read: “Based on the evidence, such as his miraculous performances in all the tests, the striking similarity between the architecture and location of his house and that in the regent’s lake vision, reinforced by the prophecies of lamas and deities, the government hereby declares Lhamo Dondub, born at early sunrise on the sixth day of *gya* month of the Wood Hog Year in the family of Chokyong Tsering and his wife Sonam Tsono, to be the true reincarnation of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. Therefore, every attempt should be made to escort him to the capital as soon as possible.”

However, this declaration had to be kept secret from the public, fearing that Governor Ma might manipulate the situation to establish his rule in Tibet, or else he might use it as an opportunity to extort excessive bribes to satisfy his greed. All the team members assembled in front of the *thang ka* of Goddess Palden Lhamo, brought by Kewtsang Rinpoche from the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s room in Norbulingka, and performed her invocation ritual. Then we jointly took an oath declaring every one of us would remain ever faithful to the commitment of keeping the government’s declaration strictly confidential, promising never to reveal a word of it. Also, we sent the government a coded message in which we had listed the following points:

- that we had decided under oath not to make public even a word from the recent telegram which proclaimed the boy from Chija Taktser to be the real reincarnation, as we could foresee that if Governor Ma knew the content of the proclamation he would not allow the young Dalai Lama to accompany us.
- that the government too should consider it crucial to keep its proclamation strictly confidential.
- that tests of the remaining candidates would be conducted in order to prevent the local authorities from knowing the truth.
- and that we were going to seek help from Governor Ma to invite all the remaining candidates to Kumbum monastery for the test, as that would save us the time taken to travel to each candidate’s region; it would also prevent people coming to know the details of the test procedure and the objects utilised.

Apart from those considerations, we advised our government: "As soon as we finish with our so called tests of the remaining candidates, the government will contact Governor Ma by telegram and persuade him to allow all the candidates, including the young Dalai Lama, to travel to Lhasa for further tests!"

CHAPTER FIVE

Governor Ma's Demands

All the team members called on Governor Ma in Ziling. During our meeting we told him that we had already tested two candidates from nearby locales who displayed promising signs. And we requested him to invite all the remaining candidates, whose tests were still to be carried out, to Kumbum monastery, explaining that going to their respective regions to conduct the tests would not only be a time-consuming process, but could also run the risk of the tests becoming public knowledge. He responded that he had no objection to inviting them to Ziling, but not to Kumbum monastery, which he thought was an inappropriate place for the tests to be conducted. He assured us that he and his people would not interfere in our procedures and would leave the tests entirely in our hands. In fact, it did not make much difference to us, because we knew that the whole process we were discussing with him was a subterfuge since our government had already proclaimed the true reincarnation. We readily agreed to his suggestion and set the date for our next meeting at Ziling.

On the appointed date, we went to the commissioner and asked if all the candidates had arrived and had the place where the tests were to be conducted been decided upon? He replied in the affirmative. "As for the test centre" he continued, "it is to be the Regional Government Headquarters, because there are so many candidates." He then reassured us, repeating somewhat what the governor had said to us previously. "Since it is a purely religious matter, we have no intention of interfering in your test procedures. We will leave it entirely up to you to carry them out." Accordingly, we went to the Government Headquarters the day after the next day carrying with us all the objects, both authentic and similar. Before we could begin our tests, the governor demanded that we show him the objects we would be using, as he perhaps thought they might be extraordinarily amazing to look at. As we were aware that he was a wicked man who wielded much power, trying to raise objections would be to no advantage. Before we showed him the objects, we did tell him that we had strict orders from

our government not to display them unless all the team members were present. While reassuring us once again of the fact that he would not be interfering in our test procedures, he demanded, "You will allow me and some of my officers to watch the procedure, as this is something we have never seen before". Actually, those four officials who accompanied him during the test were his blood relatives.

The time had arrived to begin our tests. We displayed all the objects on a long table in the middle of the room. Then we called the boys one after the other accompanied by one of their parents or relatives, depending on whoever was present, and showed them the objects. At the same time, to dupe the governor and his retinue, Kewtsang Rinpoche examined their ears and tongues, as if he was reading the lines on them. Meanwhile Venerable Khenrab Tenzin and I acted as if we were noting down the results of his examinations. As soon as the test was over, we presented each of the parents with a roll of superfine woollen cloth and suggested they return home. In their tests, some children were wrong in half of their choices, while others were right in one and wrong in three. Yet a few others were wrong in all their choices or were too shy to make any decision. In fact, none of them proved worthy of any positive comment.

The governor asked afterwards if we had found any candidate convincing enough and what was the result of our tests. We told him: "We cannot say anything decisive at this stage. We will send a detailed report to our government by telegram, describing all that we have witnessed. It is in the hands of our government to make the final decision. However, before any final decision is reached, a long procedure has to be followed, such as collecting reports from the other regions, consulting the lamas and deities for their divinations and predictions and so forth. As soon as this procedure is over, the government will issue a bulletin, which will throw light on the questions, such as whether any candidate from this region has proved promising in his test. If the answer is yes, then the candidate should be called for further tests here, or should be escorted to Lhasa. We will call on you then and inform you of all the details."

Back at Kumbum, we sent a detailed report by telegram to our government. Meanwhile, the governor twice invited some of the candidates such as the one from Taktser (i.e. the young Dalai Lama),

Loyer and others, to his office. During these meetings, he gave them fruits and sweets and interviewed them. It is said that he advised that the boy from Taktser should be escorted to Kumbum monastery and kept there, as he found his behaviour the most impressive of all.

The government's reply to our report came both by telegram and by messenger on horseback. In its reply the government greatly appreciated what we had done to keep the government's proclamation of the boy from Chija Taktser as the real incarnation confidential: "It has been a laudable deed that you have taken an oath not to make public the government's proclamation. The government too, treats this as a confidential matter. The most urgent matter that lies ahead is to escort the young Dalai Lama to Lhasa at the earliest possible opportunity and every effort should be made to accomplish this." Also it said that for the sake of the young Dalai Lama's security we might announce that our government has short-listed the boy from Taktser and two from Lhasa for further tests in Lhasa.

Meanwhile, we arranged for an informal meeting with the head of the Taktser community, the Taktser Loyer, who was the paternal uncle of the young Dalai Lama. In fact, two reincarnations of the Taktser lineage had been born in the Chija Taktser house, the most recent being the young Dalai Lama's eldest brother, Taktser Rinpoche. During this meeting, we told him that the government had short-listed the boy from Taktser as one of the candidates to be escorted to the capital for further tests and that we were soon going to meet the governor and arrange for his nephew's journey to Lhasa. Also, we requested him to escort the boy to Kumbum monastery and take care of him, especially his cleanliness.

Then, we went to Ziling to meet the governor and ask permission for the boy and his parents to travel to Lhasa, telling him that our government had short-listed the boy for further tests there. There was no direct access to Governor Ma, we had to communicate through his commissioner. And there was no immediate reply. It came a few days later, but it posed a lot of questions demanding our answers such as "Why is it that the government has short-listed Lhamo Dondub only and not the others?" and so on. We answered all his questions very cautiously, according to the prevailing situation. We said, "Because Lhamo Dondub's case proves somewhat in agreement with what was

in the one-page description of the regent's lake vision, but there are two similar candidates from Lhasa too." We had to pursue the commissioner for several days for his response and finally he said, "His immediate travel to Lhasa will be possible only if you pay an amount of *Dayang* 100 000 in the name of the Provincial Government, the Provincial Bureau of Military Affairs, and the Central Monastic Administration of Kumbum." We assured him that we would relay his decision to our government by telegram and left Ziling for Kumbum. From there, we sent an urgent telegram to our government, informing them of the governor's decision. We requested our government to arrange for the money demanded by the governor and further money for our own subsistence.

Because of the governor's decision, we thought we would be able to escort the young Dalai Lama to Lhasa that winter, so we informed Taktser Loyer. At the same time, Kewtsang Rinpoche secretly offered the young Dalai Lama the "life protection thread" made while he performed a long life *pūja*. With the help of the Tibetans as well as the Mongols based in Ziling (who in fact were the monastery's source of revenue), we secretly arranged for the required number of camels and the palanquin for his journey.

At that time, all men in Ziling under a certain age had received a military conscription notice from the Chinese authorities. The young Dalai Lama's father also fell within this age limit and had been repeatedly called up. In order to get him exempted, we called on the governor and the commissioner with a variety of gifts, such as brocades, bolts of woollen cloth and so forth, and requested them to excuse him from having to join the army and cut his hair short. They eventually reluctantly agreed.

Soon after that we received the money from our government, and so we immediately went to Ziling and met the governor. It was hard to trust him, as he was a cunning man who could easily renege on what he had promised. It was perhaps because of him that the commissioner also appeared somewhat of a similar nature—unable to hold to his promises. In the hope of finding someone who could act as an intermediary between us and the governor, we went to his uncle, Zigyama. It was he who had captured Gyurme Tseten, the chief of the Khadang Drashi Gyajong Regiment II, and Lobsang Yontan, the chief

of the Cha dang zimpa Artillery Regiment, at Dan-khog during the Sino-Tibetan war in Water Monkey Year (1932). To our disappointment, he was away from home leading a regiment from Ziling in the then Sino-Japanese war. But we met his Tibetan wife, a daughter of the Meshöd family, based at Keygudo, and found her to be very loyal to Tibet and fully devoted to the Buddha dharma. In addition she was an influential person in the Ziling area due to her husband's position. She agreed to accompany us to the commissioner's office as both interpreter and intermediary. So, we went to the commissioner to hand over the money we had then received from our government and to request him to help us, so that we could escort the boy to Lhasa that winter. The commissioner did not take the money, saying that we should hand it over to an official named Ma-daldal. Concerning the boy's journey, he said, "The matter has to be put forward for the governor's consideration and the money has to be distributed among the related departments. Then only can I give you a precise answer."

Several days passed without any reply from him, despite our repeated reminders to both the commissioner and Ma-daldal. Then, one day, the commissioner came with the governor's message and said that the governor was willing to allow the boy to travel to Tibet without any objection, but that the authorities of Kumbum monastery were not prepared to compromise. They demanded, "If he is the reincarnation of the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama, then this news should be made known to all the big and small monasteries and the lay devotees of Tibetan and Mongol origins in the region, allowing them an opportunity to have his audience." "Therefore," concluded the commissioner, "the governor wants you to go back to Kumbum and discuss this matter with the people there."

Following the governor's advice we returned to Kumbum and called the people there for a meeting. In the meeting, the participants repeated what the governor had told us through his commissioner. They persistently demanded, "If he is the reincarnation of the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama, then the general public should be informed of this news, allowing them an opportunity to have his audience. If he is not, then why should he be escorted to Lhasa? It is illogical." In sheer rage, some young participants almost reached the point of striking us.

Seeing this, we tried our level best to pacify them by explaining the situation at length: “This is a matter related to the reincarnation of the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama—a matter of the spiritual and temporal leader of future Tibet. Such an important matter cannot be decided upon outside Lhasa. All the short-listed candidates have to appear in Lhasa to undergo further tests and other procedures, such as consulting lamas and oracles for divinations and *zan brtag* etc. The one upon whom the final selection falls will be proclaimed the incarnation and will be invited to dwell either in the Potala or the Norbulingka palace. As far as the remaining candidates are concerned, they will not be set aside. The government will recognise them as reincarnated holy beings and provide them and their family members with suitable positions and estates. Those devotees who are still eager to seek his audience may do so, as whether he is ceremonially proclaimed to be the reincarnation or not does not really lead you all to any serious contradiction.” In this way, we tried our level best to explain to them, in a very polite and respectful manner, hoping that they might understand the situation we were in. But it was all in vain; they were adamant in their demands.

Some of our acquaintances at Kumbum suggested that we should instead contact the governor himself, as the meetings we had attended were planned strictly under the governor’s supervision and nothing could come out of them except what the governor decreed. Following their suggestion we left for Ziling, informing the Kumbum that we were going to discuss the matter directly with the governor and that we were looking forward to their cooperation in our mission.

At Ziling, we called on the commissioner, the official Ma-daldal and other high-ranking officials, offering them gifts in cash and kind, hoping for their co-operation. Meanwhile, through the Bureau of Tibetan Affairs, our government also had requested the Chinese government for its co-operation in our mission. All in vain. There was no positive reply for a long time.

Meanwhile, quite a number of local people, including several influential officials whom we knew, came to see us under guise of wanting to give us their personal advice. They urged us to make public the fact that the boy from Taktser was the true incarnation and further suggested that such a proclamation would not only strengthen Tibeto-Ziling relations, but also would earn all the team members great

appreciation from both the Tibetan and Ziling governments and from the general public. They also claimed that by declaring this, it would pave the way for more cordial relations between the two countries in future. In this way, many people came to coerce us into revealing our secret, but we were careful not to leak even a word which could harm our real mission.

After repeatedly reminding and pursuing the governor, he finally said “Taking him to Tibet without being proclaimed to be the true reincarnation is against the wishes of the authorities of Kumbum and other major and minor monasteries, as well as the Tibetan Buddhist devotees and the Mongol Buddhists in the region. Doing so could prove a source of great disappointment for all of them and could create the spread of undesirable rumours.” He demanded an additional payment of *Dayang* 300 000 to pacify them all and to give us a way out. He also demanded a set of robes and throne decorations used by the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama and a set of *Kagyur* and *Tengyur* inscribed in gold. All these were to be preserved in Kumbum monastery. These outrageous demands of the governor came as a great shock to all of us. It went beyond the limit of what is understood as moral and karmic law. However, this was a matter of our future spiritual and temporal ruler, who was going to be the “life force” of both the doctrine and the people of Tibet. We summoned up our courage and decided to “fight fire with fire”. In fact, that was the only option left open to us. We once again went to the governor and explained that we had already paid him a huge amount of money, which should be enough once and for all. As for his demand of a set of *Kagyur* and *Tengyur* and the Dalai Lama’s robes and throne ornaments, we told him that we would send them to Kumbum monastery as soon as we reach Lhasa. In this way, we tried to negotiate with him as best as we could, but to no avail. He was adamant that his shameless demands must be met, all the time repeating, “Unless you give the money, you cannot escort him to Tibet.” Understanding his venal and obdurate nature, we returned to Kumbum, saying that we would call on at him after we had consulted our government and received a reply.

Back in Kumbum, we sent a telegram to our government, outlining in detail the changes that the governor had made in his demands. The reply was received two or three weeks later. Our government assured

us in the reply that foreign exchange to meet the required sum would soon be arranged for us.

However, the governor was known to be so devious and scandalous in his behaviour that it was beyond description. According to local people he and his son were responsible for the assassination of Hotoktu, the throne-holder of Kumbum monastery, as he suspected that the latter's presence in Ziling could threaten his power. Hotoktu was shot dead at Tin ka'u, on the border of Alak-sha and Khor-thusu, by a gang of over one hundred people dressed as local Muslims; they broke into his lodgings on the pretext of robbery, but left without stealing anything. Hotoktu was on his way back to Kumbum, after a stay in China during the Iron Sheep Year and had established a close relationship with China's ruler, Chang Kai Shek, from whom he had received an official seal of authority in religious affairs. When the assassinated lama's body arrived at Ziling, Governor Ma had made a great show of Chinese traditional mourning and had arranged for a grand procession of his military to accompany the body to Kumbum monastery, feigning great respect for the deceased. The Assassins were Ma's soldiers in disguise.

While we were in Kumbum another despicable episode unfolded. The people told us one day that the Chinese government had removed Governor Ma from his position, appointing him commander-in-chief of the Ziling army, and that the new governor already in charge was one of his paternal uncles. On hearing this, we went to Ziling with an array of gifts including antlers, musk, length of wool and a selection of superfine brocades. We met with the commissioner, as was customary and applied for an appointment with the new governor which was readily accepted. He was a very pleasant old man who assured us of his full support in further improving Tibeto-Ziling relations.

But before long we began to hear news of robberies and bloodshed that sent waves of fear through the entire region under the new governor's jurisdiction; the attacks included the monasteries and hermitages. According to the local people, this treachery was engineered by Ma Bu-fang to discredit the new governor's image and prove him an inefficient administrator. All the criminals were said to have been his soldiers whom he had sent out disguised as robbers. Also, it is said that he bribed the Kuomintang military commander, Marshal Pai

Chung-hsi, by giving him three tins of “Elephant Brand Kashmiri Saffron” filled with gold to reinstate him as governor. We saw the aeroplane that carried Marshal Pai to Ziling, but knew nothing more than that. But three months later, Ma was certainly reinstated as governor, and his old paternal uncle had to leave Ziling badly disappointed. That was Governor Ma for you; champion of diabolical schemes.

“Beware of him! He will be outrageously cruel if he comes to know about the truth behind this vitally important matter of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama”, was the repeated warning all the lamas, monks and people loyal to the Tibetan government in Kumbum gave us. What worried us most was not what he might do to us, but what he might do to discover our secret. Therefore, we hid our original files in the ceiling and drafted false ones to keep in our file boxes. Also, we sent a telegram to our government stating, “‘A wolf who is accustomed to eating horses can never be satisfied by eating sheep’. We cannot be sure that he will not change his mind again. Therefore, sending the foreign exchange may be delayed for the time being.”

The fear that we might fall prey to yet another trick of the governor haunted us throughout the days that followed. We could neither sleep nor savour our food properly, but thanks to the Three Jewels, no serious obstacles befell us. The next thing that concerned us was how to deliver the foreign exchange to the governor. While we were trying to devise the best way to do it, we discovered that a group of rich Muslims, under the leadership of one called Khangpu Tontang, was leaving on pilgrimage to Mecca via India that year. This was a happy coincidence. Samdup from Amdo Ja-khyung (the then head of the Reting estate in Ziling) and I, went to meet Khangpu Tontang in Ziling, carrying a selection of woollen cloth as gifts. During our discussion with him, we asked if his Pilgrim Association had [a sum of] money [amounting to *Dayang* 300 000] to exchange. To this he replied, “It is a huge sum. It would play havoc [with your plan] if the governor did not abide by his promise again. I will have to consult my fellow pilgrims, as I cannot take the risk alone.” I also had to consult Kewtsang Rinpoche and my team of colleagues. However, we tentatively agreed as follows:

Once the money is paid through this exchange arrangement, the Pilgrim Association will be fully responsible for persuading the governor not to create any further trouble. As a token of this, the Association will receive an equal sum in British Indian currency against the Chinese *Dayang* it has paid to the Ziling governor [on behalf of the Tibetan Government], disregarding the fact that the value of the British Indian currency is higher than that of the Chinese *Dayang*.

With this, we arranged the date for our next meeting and took leave to return to Kumbum.

It was then that the Panchen Lama, Lobsang Thubten Chokyi Nyima Gelek Pal-sangpo (seventh in the lineage from Panchen Wensapa) passed away at Keygudo at the age of fifty-five. This happened while the Tibetan Government was giving serious thought to the question of whether the Chinese military escort accompanying him should be given permission to enter Tibet or not. Tsechogling Trulku and Ngulchu Trulku sent a telegram from the head office of the Panchen estate requesting puja-offerings to be made to commemorate his death, these we were able to carry out at Kumbum and other monasteries.

Then, on the arranged date, our party members went to Ziling to meet with Tontan. After several rounds of discussion we mutually agreed to the following points:

- that Tontan and the Pilgrim Committee would deal with the governor cautiously and firmly so that he would keep to his promise and would not interrupt their journey by playing tricks of any kind, like dispatching his soldiers disguised as highway robbers and so forth.
- that the full payment of cash in *Dayang* would be handed over to the governor by a person representing the Pilgrim Association.
- that this amount would be repaid by an equal sum in British Indian currency on our arrival at Lhasa, provided that the journey was concluded without any intervention, directly or indirectly, by Governor Ma.

- and that the set of *Kagyur* and *Tengyur* and the set of His Holiness the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama's robes and throne trappings demanded by the governor for Kumbum monastery, would be sent to the monastery only after our arrival at Lhasa and the governor must agree to this.

Following this, we informed the governor through the commissioner of the contents of our agreement. Then we drafted it in four copies, both in Chinese and Tibetan, duly signed by the governor, the authorities of Kumbum monastery, Khangpu Tontang, and all the members of our team. Each party involved retained a copy, which described the young Dalai Lama as a "possible candidate to be His Holiness the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama's reincarnation". And so this agreement safely paved our way to escort the young Dalai Lama to Tibet.

Thanks to the blessings of the young Dalai Lama, the Protector Deity Nechung and Goddess Palden Lhamo, we were able to connect with persons such as Khangpu Tontang, who incidentally was a blood relative of Governor Ma, and other wealthy Muslim pilgrims capable of loaning the huge sum of money we required. Of course, our government did agree to send us the money, but we had been enduring such a hazardous situation that we were reminded of the ancient proverb, "one who had fallen prey to a snake's bite in the past, would blench at the sight of a length of black rope with white stripes". It remained uncertain what kind of plot the governor might come up with, and considering all aspects of the matter it was impossible to undertake the young Dalai Lama's journey to Lhasa immediately.

Then at Kumbum we met the monastic authorities, the head of the Taktser estate, and the young Dalai Lama's parents and it was agreed that we would set out in the Tibetan year 2066 (1939), and join up with groups of summer travellers. When the governor was informed, he demanded a further sum of *Dayangs* 5000 for Chinese security guards to escort and protect the young Dalai Lama. And in addition he decreed that one of the original four-member search party would have to remain in Ziling until the rest of the party (including the young Dalai Lama) reached Lhasa.

We immediately sent a telegram to our government informing them of the new situation. They replied saying, "It has been laudable

that you have so carefully arranged within a short span of time the money that is to be given to the Governor, securing full assurance that he will not change his mind again. The money for the payment of security guards should also be arranged the way you did before. If it is absolutely necessary for one of you to remain behind, then that should be Lobsang Tsewang.” Through the commissioner we informed the governor of these details and told him that since we would be accompanied by summer travellers there would be no need for a large force of security guards. In any case, any guards escorting us would be sent back as soon as we crossed the border into Tibet.

With everything finally settled, all of us, the team members together with the young Dalai Lama, his parents, his uncle Taktser Rinpoche and the heads of Kumbum estates, went to Ziling for a final meeting with the governor. Although later he hosted a lunch party in our honour, he did not join us, sending in his stead the commissioner and a few other officials to entertain us. It is unclear whether he knew that Tibetans would be offended, but some of the ceramic cups and plates had broken rims, fixed with lead. Then for the young Dalai Lama’s journey to Tibet, they gave us one palanquin and two male mules along with saddles, as well as one horse each for all the team members.

Back at Kumbum, the Venerable Khenrab Tenzin and I went to the head of Taktser estate and requested him to make the necessary arrangements for the young Dalai Lama and his parents’ journey. We gave him a selection of woollen cloth and advance money to meet the expenditure.

Then, on an astrologically chosen day, we invited the young Dalai Lama for a ceremony at Cheshö estate, where Kewtsang Rinpoche was staying, since there was a throne of the late Dalai Lama there. We sat him on the throne in his new robes and began the ceremony, which consisted of offerings of tea and rice and then a mandala offering by Kewtsang Rinpoche. At the end, all of us present received his blessings. In this way we were able to accomplish that ceremony without any hindrance and were able to open an auspicious chapter in the history of Tibet.

On that day we arranged for an offering of one hundred butter lamps in front of Kumbum’s Golden Stupa, and a *puja* in the

monastery, offering each monk a *Dayang*. Then we took the young Dalai Lama around to see the sacred shrines and afterwards he sat on a magnificent seat prepared for him at the entrance to the monastery's hall, where the abbot offered him tea, rice and fruits. In this way the day ended auspiciously; everything had gone in our favour, even the weather.

Regarding the date of our departure, we had already finalised it with the head of Reting estate in Ziling and a group of summer travellers including the estate man, Samdup from Amdo Ja-khyung. As for Tsechogling Trulku and Ngulchu Trulku, whom the late Panchen Lama had previously deputed to assist us, the former had been invited by Hotoktu on an invitation, and the latter decided to go to Keygudo after spending time at Kumbum, Keygudo being the place where most of the Panchen Lama's attendants had been staying. So this was how things were concluded in Ziling.

CHAPTER SIX

The Journey to Lhasa

Our journey to Lhasa began from Kumbum monastery on the first day of the sixth month of the Earth Hare Year (1939). It was a fine sunny day with white clouds dotting the sky and forming into various auspicious shapes, occasionally punctuated by light showers. Our way of travelling was that the young Dalai Lama along with his elder brother Lobsang Samten rode in the palanquin supported by mules; his mother also travelled in a mule-carried palanquin which had been presented by his uncle; those who rode on horseback included his father, his elder brother Gyalo Dondub, the senior and junior heads of Kumbum estate, and Kewtsang Rinpoche and the other party members.

Our first stopover was at Tsechuka in Drekhog Shalkar valley. The young Dalai Lama's eldest sister Tsering Dolma and her husband, who had come to see us off, turned back from there. When we left Kumbum there was no formal procession of monks to see us off, most probably because we resisted their demands to proclaim the boy to be the true incarnation. Before we set out from Tsechuka, a group of horsemen came all the way from Tongkhor Thubten Shedrupling monastery to receive us. At Sholungdo, there was another group of horsemen from the same monastery waiting to receive us. Yet another group at Tashi Thang received us with tea and rice. Then, at the monastery, the head lama and the monastic authorities followed by a procession of monks received the young Dalai Lama with the traditional incense welcome and led him to the Lama's residence where they had arranged a grand meal. After the meal, the young Dalai Lama gave blessings to everyone present there including lamas, monks and lay people from three neighbouring regions. Although the administrators asked us to stay on for another day, Tontan and some of his fellow Muslim pilgrims, who had arrived soon after we did, insisted on continuing the journey the next morning, for they had already sent their horse caravan on ahead. The next morning the monks came out in procession, just as they had done the day before, and led the young

Dalai Lama to their monastery's main temple and the protector deity temple for him to bless them. Many people saw that the flowers and grains thrown in the air during blessing ceremonies by the Dalai Lama formed into clusters on the temple floor resembling the shape of a jewel called Coils of Joy. An auspicious sign!

It was from there that the Venerable Lobsang Tsewang turned back to Kumbum, since he was pledged to stay there as the governor demanded. It was a sad moment for all of us to part from him, but there was no choice. We bade him a warm farewell with our prayers to see him again as soon as possible and continued on our journey. Travel began every day at early dawn and continued up until the next stopover, usually a distance that could be covered by midday or a little after. The sites for stopovers are usually chosen for their good grazing land with plenty of drinking water and enough flat ground for the tents to be pitched.

After we crossed the Dönyida pass Tontan, along with his fellow pilgrims and the group of Tibetan merchants, joined us in our daily stopovers. Also with us was one of Tontan's fellow Muslim pilgrims named Mayon, whom the governor had nominated as the young Dalai Lama's bodyguard. In fact, the governor had not sent along any security guards, although we had paid for them.

At every stopover, big crowds of Tibetan and Mongolian nomads from all around thronged our site to receive the young Dalai Lama's hand-touch blessing. To save him from the tiring task of having to stretch his little hands onto everybody's head, we made a *dar lcang* to bless the people while he was seated.

While at Tsadam we set our horses and mules free to graze in the nearby pastures, as our next stopover was to be in the land called No Grass No Water. Well equipped, and with sufficient drinking water, we proceeded. By the time we reached the next stopover it was almost dusk. That night our horses and mules received only a small quantity of beans as fodder, which was tantamount to leaving them with an empty stomach. Whenever they heard any of us passing by, they filled the entire valley with their clamorous neighing and stamping, begging for more fodder. The next day, starting out at dawn we continued our journey further to Dranag, a place slightly better than No Grass No Water. At least it had sparse grazing lands and drinking water. We arrived at about midday and spent the rest of the day there.

In this way we had been travelling hard for many days in the upper part of the northern deserts, which really was too much for the young Dalai Lama to endure at that age. There had been a few occasions when he cried and frowned at his brother Lobsang Samten in the palanquin. Otherwise, he was always healthy and there was no problem of any kind. His father, a kind man who was fond of horses and mules, used to join us at every stopover and spent a good deal of time in our company. This made us very uneasy, as we had to treat him just like one of us, although he actually was the father of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. But in view of the vow to keep matters secret we had no choice. As for his mother, we seldom saw her coming out of her tent or palanquin as she was always busy embroidering clothes.

When we arrived at Little Happy Valley and saw the Tibetan border guards approaching us on horseback, we were overjoyed, saying to ourselves, "We are now in our homeland". Amidst clouds of incense smoke, the security guards received us with scarves. They then demonstrated their skills at horsemanship, athletics, speed in mounting and dismounting and similar talents, yodelling at the top of their voices "*Ki hi hi!*". It was all great fun for the young Dalai Lama to watch them.

Then, at A-tshar-shugu, as the leader of the party of summer travellers had requested, we arranged an audience with the young Dalai Lama for all the summer travellers accompanying us. For this we prepared a throne by cutting squares of turf from the meadow and piling them up. When he had settled on his "throne", the leader made the mandala offerings, and then the travellers were received in audience.

On our journey beyond there, one of the male mules carrying the young Dalai Lama's palanquin grew weak. In order to replace it, we trained a big mule belonging to the Kumbum estate whenever we stopped earlier than usual for the night. On one such stopover, Tontan's groom came with the news that there was a big group of horsemen gathered on the other side of the pass. We immediately had a meeting and decided that each group would send its strongest and best-equipped horsemen to guard the camp at night. For the next five or six days we divided our party, one half travelling first, the other half coming on later. Fortunately we encountered no robbers or thieves.

After three months of travel we arrived at the bank of the Thutob river (also known as Reting Waterway), where we were met by the

manager of the Potala Treasury, Thubten Thardö, and the manager of the Monlam Festival Fund, Sarjung-sey, whom the government had deputed to receive us with further provisions such as *Tsampa*, wheat flour, fodder plus four hide coracles for crossing the river. We used one of the coracles to ferry the young Dalai Lama to the other side, which gave him much amusement. That evening, both the managers and their attendants had an audience and received his blessings.

Whenever our route passed through swamps or across uneven grassy tracks or rocky gorges, where travelling in the palanquin on mule-back was unsafe, the Venerable Khenrab Tenzin and myself took turns to carry the young Dalai Lama on our backs. It was quite a hard job for both of us, as neither of us were strongly-built, nor had we any experience in carrying things on our backs. Often our co-travellers had to support us by holding our hands. It was, however, our fortune to have such an auspicious opportunity—a source of the greatest merit we could accumulate.

The route we passed through was the standard route for all the summer travellers. From Tongkhor monastery to Nagchu we encountered no permanent habitations, just a few sparsely-located nomad tents. Apart from some dense forests around Shugpa-lungpa in the region of lake Kokonor, all we came across in those areas were smaller lakes, lush green pastoral plains dotted by small mounds, and a rich variety of animals, such as wild yak, wild asses, various species of deer, wild goats and so forth. Generally travellers encounter some difficulties while passing through the regions around Tsadam, such as attacks by poisonous bees or being bogged down in swamps, when pack animals often become stuck and perish. There were also said to be problems reassembling pack animals which are sent out to graze and then go missing with wild animals of their type. Strangely enough, we did not encounter much swampy land, nor many mosquitoes. Seeing that our journey was going much more smoothly than was usually the case, some veteran Ziling travellers in our party said, “It was never so easy to pass through these regions as this occasion. We did hear that it was the same when His Holiness the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama and his entourage returned from China through Mongolia. There is no doubt that this is due to the blessings of the young Dalai Lama.” We encountered nothing specially remarkable along the way, except for pebbles in a place called Doragsha.

located near an area called Happy Little Valley. It was interesting that most of those pebbles were full of grooves and bumps and so resembled the *rudraksha* seeds we use for rosaries.

At the time when we were crossing the Tibetan border, after having passed the Chinese frontier guards, our government was holding a special meeting in Lhasa on an auspicious day and proclaimed the young Dalai Lama to be the true incarnation of late Dalai Lama. The government then immediately dispatched Monlam Festival Fund Manager Lachag Neushar Thubten Tharpa, Fourth Grade Civil Service Officer Rin-gang and others to receive the young Dalai Lama, bringing with them his moderate size yellow tent to mark the honour he deserved. We had erected their reception camp at Bumchen with His Holiness' yellow tent resembling a mound of marigolds standing out in the landscape. Then, when we had passed over the Tongkhör Pass and reached there, they invited the young Dalai Lama to seat himself inside the tent on a throne richly decorated with the finest brocades. There followed a mandala offering ceremony by Monlam Festival Fund Manager Neushar and hand touch blessings to all who had journeyed to receive him. From then on we used the yellow tent wherever we stopped over for the night. Now his parents came to know that their son was the true candidate, and his father, who was really a frank man, asked right away, "Why did you keep this matter a secret from me?" We explained to him that we did not want to make this matter public, as we could not trust the governor, suspecting that he might use this as an opportunity to interfere in Tibet's internal matters, and also, that we were oath-bound not to reveal this secret. Convinced by this, he said, "Good! It was good that you kept this matter secret." In the following days, each time we reached a vantage point from where we could catch sight of our next stopover, the yellow tent would already be in place, set up by the advance party. At that moment a light and pleasant shower or a little hail would fall. This phenomenon continued up until we reached Nagchu.

At this stage in our journey, a special messenger from our government arrived with a memorandum, which declared, "The current year's ninth month is an inauspicious one. Considering this, the most fitting date for His Holiness to enter Lhasa would be at the beginning of the tenth month. Accordingly, it is suggested that you delay or slow down your

travel, so that His Holiness arrives in Lhasa as scheduled above.” After discussing this matter amongst ourselves, our leader, Kewtsang Rinpoche wrote a reply saying: “Delaying our travel could mean a great risk for us, especially, when the route has to pass through several isolated places, where the security of His Holiness’ life could well be threatened. We could rather speed up our travel and reach Lhasa in the eighth month than delay it until the tenth month. If the government still insists that we delay our journey, then that should be at Nagchu. Until we reach Nagchu, we will continue our journey at the same speed as we have been travelling. Furthermore, we request that a lama or an official who could take full responsibility for His Holiness’ security may be sent to Nagchu. It would be only upon his arrival that we could halt our journey as the schedule has suggested.” Immediately they received our reply the government dispatched Lay Minister Bönshö and others with such haste that they had to leave Lhasa while their colleagues were enjoying the annual ministers’ picnic. They also departed without being able to wait for their new official travel costumes, which they had ordered for this purpose. They told the story of leaving Lhasa in such haste, then travelling day and night without any stopover, that they discovered some of their baggage had dropped from the backs of their pack animals while travelling at night or crossing rivers.

In spite of this they had put up their reception camp at Gashi Nagmoche, a location about ten days’ journey from Lhasa. It was strongly built by a team of government officials, including top ranking ones such as Lay Minister Bönshö, Monk-Secretary Telingpa Khenrab Wangchug, Senior Chef Lobsang Jinpa, representatives from the three principal monasteries, a group of monk and lay civil service officers, and the caretakers of His Holiness’ bed, kitchen, tents and carpets etc.

Shortly before the break of dawn, Lay Minister Bönshö, Monk-Secretary Khenrab Wangchug, Senior Chef Lobsang Jinpa and a few other high-ranking officials came forward to receive us with flashlights in their hands. When they approached the young Dalai Lama’s palanquin to receive his blessing, we were worried, thinking that he might easily get irritated by being woken up in the middle of his sleep, as he was then too young to know what was going on. Tentatively, Kewtsang Rinpoche drew back the palanquin curtains, where, to our relief, we found him not at all upset, but smiling and peering at those

sent to receive him very attentively. With the help of Kewtsang Rinpoche, he received their scarves and returned them with his blessings. Just as he blessed them by placing his graceful little hands on their heads, the dawn broke and, then, as he reached the reception camp and entered the tent, the sun's first rays illuminated the scene. These were the auspicious and spontaneous occurrences.

Then, we dressed him in the new robes sent from Lhasa and set him on the throne in the tent for the ceremony, beginning with offerings of tea and rice. Then came the mandala offerings by Minister Bönshö, followed by offerings of gifts and letters sent by the Regent, the National Assembly and the Cabinet of Ministers.

As soon as the ceremony came to its end, we continued our journey escorted by a grand procession of horsemen with the young Dalai Lama carried in a yellow palanquin. En route, there were monks from nearby locales lined up on either side of the road, playing religious music with woodwind, percussion and so forth; also, a huge number of nomads and peasants joined the line in their best costumes, performing various regional songs and dances, while clouds of fragrant incense smoke ascended from the roadside.

In the eighth month of the Earth Hare Year we reached Nagchu, where the authorities, lamas, monks and the general public received us at Shabten monastery. There they gave His Holiness a grand welcoming ceremony during which they offered him the "white delicacies" and other gifts. Since the crowd seeking an audience at Nagchu was rather big, we suggested they gather in the monastery's forecourt to have a glimpse of him from the top floor. The young Dalai Lama blessed them from there by scattering blessed barley grains on them, while Kewtsang Rinpoche held him on his lap. Thrilled with joy they were shouting to each other, "A happy sun now shines on Tibet".

It was from then on that the Senior Chef, Lobsang Jinpa, began to cook for His Holiness. His first day at work went as if it was his daily routine and he was not at all nervous. Indeed, he was the senior chef at the kitchen of His Holiness the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama.

After a two days stopover at Nagchu, a warm and ceremonious farewell by the monks of various monastic communities and a send-off with songs and dances by the local peasantry and nomads sent us onward on our journey. The next reception camp awaiting us was at

Dam Uma-thang, where Regent Reting Rinpoche accompanied by his subordinates, Chief Personal Attendant Venerable Ngawang Tenzin and various other officials, had come to receive us. We spent the night there, during which the Regent, while officiating at the ceremony to mark his meeting with the young Dalai Lama, offered him the mandala symbolising the Buddha's body, mind and speech, followed by the welcome offerings including, "white delicacies". The next morning we continued our journey further to Reting Gephelling monastery—the foremost seat of the Kadampa school, whose location, according to the *Kadam Legbam*, was known to have been one of the power places mentioned in the vajra songs of Oddiyana Dakini which she sang to Dharma King Khonchogbang.

On our arrival there we were received by a grand procession, which included the monks from the monastery, nuns from the neighbouring nunnery, Samtenling, the general public and groups of dancers, musicians and opera performers. They escorted the young Dalai Lama into the Sun Rays Chamber on the top floor of Reting Residence, and then a performance of songs, dances and excerpts from operas was staged.

The next day, a grand welcoming ceremony took place in the monastery's main assembly hall. The regent, followed by a procession of monks and officials, led the young Dalai Lama into the hall and sat him on His Holiness the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama's throne. There followed offerings including the "white delicacies" arranged by Reting estate and the offering of mandala by Regent Reting Rinpoche himself. Then came the Treasurer of the Panchen estate accompanied by his retinue bringing with them offerings of various types. In addition, the monastic authorities of Gephelling monastery and all the monks were received in audience and given his hand-touch blessing.

As soon as the ceremony came to a close, the regent led the young Dalai Lama around the monastery complex and showed him its most sacred possessions, including Atisa's silver memorial statue of Manjushri and Dromtonpa's *Prajnaparamita of 8000 Verses*. After he had made offerings to all those sacred objects, the Dalai Lama emerged on the monastery's top floor and greeted the large crowd of townspeople and neighbouring nomads with a broad smile, blessing them with consecrated barley grains.

Then, one day, the regent invited the young Dalai Lama, along with a small group from his entourage, to a picnic on the river-bank below the monastery where a picnic spot with beautiful pavilions was located. He also allowed us members of the search team a private audience with him at his residence. In all we spent three days' at Reting monastery during which the Reting estate offered us splendid service and hospitality.

The government had sent us sets of official costumes for His Holiness' parents and relatives. His father and his brothers each accepted a set of plain brocade *phyu pa* and colourful upper garments whereas his mother preferred to remain in her regional costume rather than replacing it with gowns the government had sent for her. This turned out to be fortunate for the people, as she was distinctive and could not be mistaken for the wives of high ranking officials.

The day we left Reting, the monks came out in procession in the monastery's forecourt and gave us an affectionate send off. The monastery authorities, including the high-ranking lamas and other officials, accompanied us up until we reached Phodrangthang, where they exchanged farewell scarves with the young Dalai Lama. From there we continued our journey, crossing the Chag Pass and passing through the scenic land of Phenpo with overnight stopovers at the foot of Jerig Taktse Fort (the fort of Desi Tagtsewa) and other suitable camping sites.

At Dromtod another reception camp of eminent officials was awaiting us. This group included the lay minister, Nangjungba, Zasag Tsarongpa, Teji Shengkawa, the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama's academic assistant, Takdra Rinpoche, his ritual assistant, Khenpo Jampa Legtsog, plus other secretary-level civil service officers from the Tse and Shö academies.

On our arrival they each paid their respects to the young Dalai Lama and received his blessings. When Khenpo Jampa Legtsog, the former ritual assistant, approached to be blessed the young Dalai Lama's attention became transfixed by a *thang ka*-container, which he had slung across his back. This carried the speaking *thang ka* of Goddess Palden Lhamo from the late Dalai Lama's apartments, a painting that all the Dalai Lamas in the past had revered as particularly holy. Before the Khenpo could tell the young Dalai Lama what the *thang ka* was, he

opened the box, took it out and unscrolled it, and then he gazed at it with great delight on his face, as if he was seeing something very dear to him after a long separation. At that time, an elderly monk from Gaden Jangtse monastery called Gowu Jangchub, who had served as a bodyguard for the late Thirteenth Dalai Lama for a long period of time, was so moved on seeing this that he began to cry. Holding my hands, he thanked me and the members of our search team, saying, “I shall pray for your long and healthy lives. Now that I have seen the young Dalai Lama, I can die with no regret”.

The old monk had recently almost died of a serious illness, during which he had said, “I just cannot breathe my last unless and until I see the young Dalai Lama.” He was so overjoyed when he first saw the young Dalai Lama, that he almost leapt up and down like a child. It was such an emotional sight, watching a broad shouldered old man, still strongly built and with a gruff voice, shedding tears, that I could not hold back my own tears. Everyone around me was spellbound, tears falling from their eyes and faces expressing a mixture of joy and anguish. Many monks and lay people present approached us to offer thanks from the depth of their hearts, saying “You are the ones who have brought happiness and prosperity to Tibet.”

The state-level reception camp that the government prepared was at the plain of Döguthang, but most of the monks, as well as the lay officials, had come to receive us at Samtenling hermitage and offered us a midday meal. After this point in our journey the young Dalai Lama’s mother rode on horseback, instead of in a palanquin.

The tents at Döguthang were arranged in three rings (an inner, middle and outer circle), and the sight was magnificent, resembling rings of heavenly bodies twinkling in a starry night. At the very centre was the Dalai Lama’s own marquee made of superfine yellow brocade and called the “Great Peacock”. Surrounding it were tents for his bed, prayers, dining and so forth—all furbished in the fashion of typical Mongol tents, using tiger and leopard skins and the best quality yellow brocade. The next two rings consisted of the tents of the regent, the prime minister, the young Dalai Lama’s family, the lay ministers, secretary-level civil service officials from grades one to three, and officials from the Potala and Downtown Treasury.

On our arrival, we were met by a grand procession of government dignitaries, civil and defence officers, lamas, reincarnates and foreign

representatives all led by troops of various regiments, which escorted the young Dalai Lama into the Great Peacock tent at the centre of the inner ring of the reception camp and placed him on the throne. After offerings of “white delicacies”, etc., mandala offerings were performed by the regent and the prime minister, and then the young Dalai Lama received all those present and gave them his hand-touch blessing. This included the ministers, *Gungs*, *Dza zags*, *Dar hans*, *Ta lamas*, *Dar gans*, *Thai jis*, the secretary level civil service officers, the officers of account departments, military chiefs, the officers of Potala and Downtown Treasury, the officers of Lhasa and Shöl Municipal Committee and the officers of Tibetan Police Force, the monk and lay officers of both civil and defence service, the then throne holder of Gaden, *Chos rjes* of Gaden Shartse and Jangtse, the lamas and reincarnates of the monasteries such as Gaden, Sera, Drepung, Gyutö, Gyumey, Namgyal, Nechung, Kundeling, Tsemonling, Méru, Samtenling, Chakpori and the monasteries in the distant regions. Also included were the people from Sakya, Tashi Lhunpo, the leaders of Lhasa-based Mongols, the representatives from India, China, Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and others.

After having camped there for two days, we set out for the great city of Lhasa on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth month of the year 2066 (1939) which astrologers chose as the most auspicious day for the young Dalai Lama’s arrival to the capital. We marched in the most magnificent procession, which otherwise only takes place during what is called “The Great Travel”, that is when the Dalai Lama makes a journey. Led by the music of *dho dar* players, the procession gradually moved ahead; there were various banner-holders on horseback, followed by the extra saddled horses, bearers of the young Dalai Lama’s personal belongings, monks from Namgyal monastery, the senior grades of civil service officials, the lord chamberlain, bodyguards, the caretakers of the kitchen, bedroom and prayer room, lay-ministers, the regent, the prime minister, and senior representatives of Gaden, Sera and Drepung monastic universities.

Following Kewtsang Rinpoche’s suggestion, the members of the search team changed into “travel dress”, except for the Venerable Khenrab Tenzin, who preferred to remain in his monk robes as he had by then been promoted to take charge of His Holiness’ bedroom. As the procession set out, Kewtsang Rinpoche took his place to the right of the Dalai Lama’s palanquin. I followed immediately after the

palanquin, travelling alongside his family, and we were followed by the lamas and reincarnates from Gaden, Sera and Drepung. In this fashion the procession moved with measured dignity, the young Dalai Lama, the lord of the three realms, the reincarnation of the omniscient one, sitting in his yellow palanquin, as glorious as Lord Indra in his Paradise “Beautiful To Look At”, surrounded by his attendants—or as pacifying as the full moon surrounded by millions of minor heavenly bodies, whose mere appearance is inspiring enough to heal the wounded hearts of all living beings.

To celebrate the young Dalai Lama’s arrival and to welcome him, people from hermitages, villages, towns, monasteries and forts had put up prayer flags and various types of banners on their top-floor and burned incense and juniper leaves, so clouds of fragrant smoke ascended into the air which was reverberating with the music of woodwind, percussion and other instruments. There were thousands of monks lining both sides of the road, holding offerings of the seven precious jewels, and beside them monk dancers masked as tigers, lions, garudas, dragons and deer. There were lay dancers of the *dro* and *shon* traditions. Contingents from various regiments came out on parade, saluting the young Dalai Lama, while Tibetans of all ages and social status, from both near and far-flung regions, thronged the roadside clad in their best costumes, and singing, dancing, jumping and often bursting into choruses of “*Chod!* A happy sun is now shining over Tibet!” Watching the procession in utter amazement, some murmured with their eyes filled with tears of ecstasy, “Is this a dream or is it really, really happening?” Every face expressed awe and devotion.

The attire of the young Dalai Lama’s parents and other family members, all mounted on horseback, really impressed the crowds, and we could hear people saying, “Look at those costumes! They look so graceful in them.” My presence there among the Dalai Lama’s family seemed to create some confusion among the crowd, as I was clad in an official “travel costume”. “Look at that man! Is he a Tibetan?” I could hear them speculating. But there were others who could recognise me, and I overheard them saying, “It seems that he had to work hard during this trip. His health has deteriorated tremendously. Hasn’t he been noble to endure so much hardship. He is kind!” I suppose I was infused with a sense of pride when I overheard them saying this, although I am

not the one who should be credited. Whatever achievements we had been able to accomplish were all due to the power of the young Dalai Lama's compassion and the faith of the people in him.

As we drew closer to the great city of Lhasa, a crowd of oracles already in trance approached to receive the Dalai Lama's blessings. They were accompanied by dancers masked as the four auspicious animals (the tiger, lion, garuda, dragon) and as wild yak. On reaching the Lhasa debate courtyard the state oracle Nechung, deep in trance, approached the Dalai Lama's palanquin. Dressed in his ornate costume, pendants attached to his heavy headgear quivering, he bowed low at the palanquin door. Then the oracle jumped into it so effortlessly that the flags on his headgear did not even touch the palanquin door frame. We were anxious in case Nechung frightened the child. But to our surprise, the small Dalai Lama received Nechung's greeting scarf with a big smile and then he placed it back around the oracle's neck. This encounter with Nechung was as if they were two old friends meeting again and it greatly impressed the people who witnessed it, making them feel absolutely confident that he was the true incarnation.

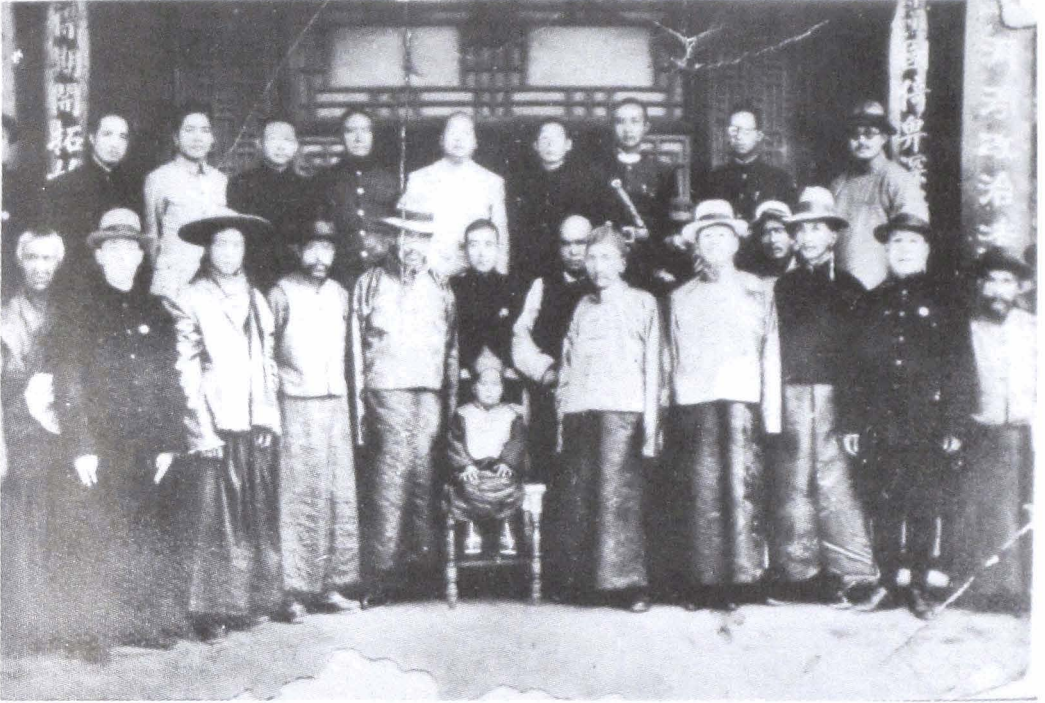
On reaching the Jokhang, the young Dalai Lama entered the temple and then toured it blessing all the holy objects preserved there. Then, assisted by Namgyal monastery monks, he performed the consecration ritual in front of the famous Jowo statue. His family meanwhile stopped at the Maitreya Temple, where the government had arranged light refreshments.

The procession then moved ahead to the summer palace, Norbulingka, which stood amidst a wonderful rich environment of orchards and beautiful flower gardens. Like a majestic snow mountain shining forth in the early morning sun's rays, His Holiness entered the Nyiwö Hall in the palace and ascended to the throne supported by snow lions. A line of government dignitaries and others received his blessings, including regent Reting, Prime Minister Yabshi Langdün Gung Kunga Wangchug, ministers, monk and lay civil service officials of the senior grades, current and ex-Gaden throne holders, *Chos rjes* of Gaden Shartse and Jangtse, lamas and administrators of the three principal monasteries, reincarnated lamas of various ranks, citizens of Sakya and Tashi Lhunpo, and delegations from India, China, Kashmir, Nepal and Sikkim. The welcome ceremony in his honour ended with offerings and

a variety of song, dance and performances. Then his family took leave and went to their temporary accommodation which the government had arranged for them in the nearby staff quarters complex, under the supervision of Ta-lama Rong-namse Thubten Norsang, a secretary level monk official, and Driyulpa, a secretary-level accounts official, whom the government had appointed to oversee the welfare of the Dalai Lama's family.

And so our mission came to a successful climax, with the credit definitely belonging to His Holiness himself, as it was by the power of his love for the Tibetan people and his blessings that we had been immensely successful in the beginning, in the middle and at the end of this mission, without encountering any kind of undesirable events. It was great good fortune on my part that I had the opportunity to contribute to this mission, which has really made my life meaningful. The more I think about it, the more I find myself rejoicing.

The formal ceremony making the Dalai Lama's accession to the throne took place in the Potala palace, amidst various auspicious signs. There His Holiness ascended the majestic snow lion throne, the throne in whose honour all the gods and human beings had bowed down more than once, and at this moment he took upon his shoulders the responsibility for both the religious and political affairs of the country and rescued it from the critical situation it was in at that time.



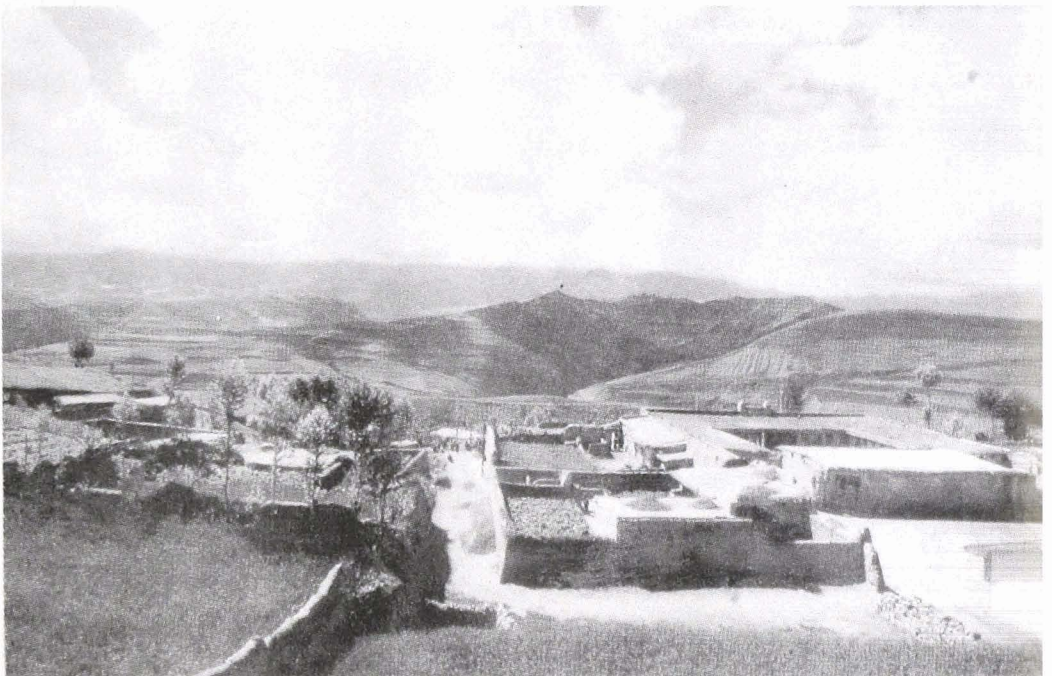
His Holiness with his elder brother Tagtser Rinpoche, uncle, search team members and local Chinese authorities in 1938.



H.H. The Dalai Lama with officials of Ma Bufang, the Hui Muslim warlord.



H.H. The 14th Dalai Lama on the throne at the Potala Place in 1940.



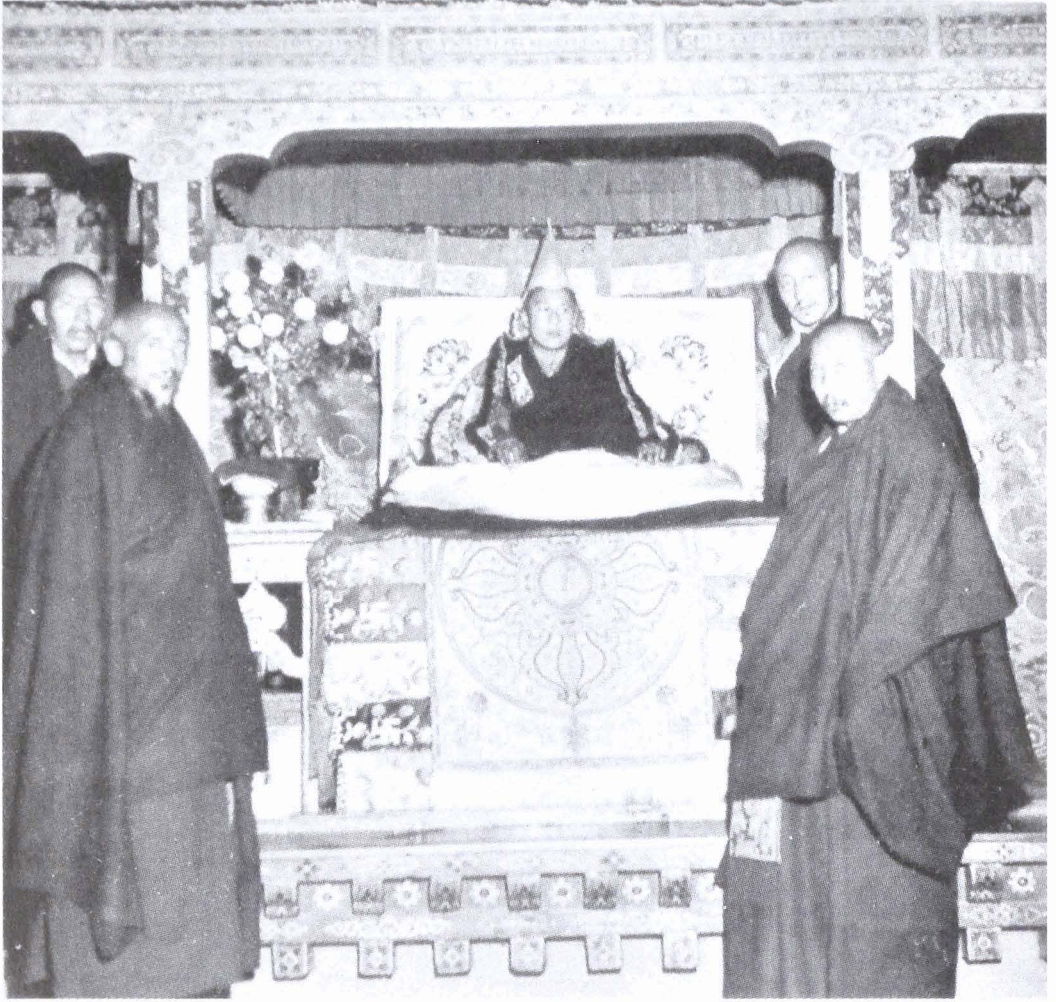
View of Tagtser Village the birth place of H.H. The 14th Dalai Lama.



H.H. The 14th Dalai Lama at the age of nine..



H.H. The 14th Dalai Lama with his parents and elder brother in 1941.



H.H. The 14th Dalai Lama with his senior attendants at Norbulingka Place



Parents of H.H. The 14th Dalai Lama with Tenzin Choegyal, Jetsun Pema and Lobsand Samten

Part Two

Discovery, Recognition and Installation of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama¹

*Report by Sir. B. J. Gould², C.M.G., C.I.E.,
Political Officer in Sikkim (1935-45)*

*There has been a lack of unanimity in accounts of the discovery, recognition and installation of the new Dalai Lama. The following account has been based on what the writer has been told by men who were closely concerned in the actual events and on what he himself has seen.

*This report was published by the Government of India Press, New Delhi in 1941.

Tibet and the Tibetans

For two thousand miles, from Kashmir to Burma, the effective main axis of the Himalayas forms the frontier of India, Nepal and Bhutan. Beyond this frontier lies Tibet, the highest country in the world. The scanty population of this vast isolated area has in the course of time developed distinctive culture, language, art, religion, and system of government, out of elements some of which were indigenous and some came from neighboring countries. Of these the most significant were the Buddhist influences which from the fifth century onwards flowed in from China, Eastern India, Nepal, and Kashmir. Lhasa, which is the natural capital of the country, became the focus both of government and of religion. There is perhaps no other country in the world where the influence of one city is so predominant. Gradually there was evolved a definite system of Lamaistic Buddhism and of divine Priest Kings, whose seat of authority is the Potala at Lhasa. The area over which the Dalai Lamas have exercised authority, and their political relations with China, have varied from time to time.

At a conference held in Simla in 1913 and 1914 between representatives of His Majesty's Government, China and Tibet, attempt was made to define the political relationship between Tibet and China, Tibet being prepared to accept the shadow of Chinese suzerainty in return for a guarantee of practical autonomy and an agreed Eastern frontier. But no final decision was reached owing to failure to obtain agreement on the question of frontier. While therefore there is a definite area within which Tibetan culture and religious ideas are predominant, this area does not necessarily coincide with the effective limits of

Chinese and Tibetan administrative control at any particular time. To the North-East of the Dichu (Yangtse) river, in the vicinity of Lake Kokonor, there is a large area, Tibetan in its affinities, which Western scholars are inclined to regard as the cradle of the Tibetan race. In a part of this region, which the Tibetans call Amdo, and to the South-East of lake Kokonor, is situated Kumbum, celebrated in Tibetan history as the place where in 1358 the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, Tsongkhapa, was born. He founded the famous monasteries of Sera and Ganden near Lhasa and his successor founded Tashi Lhunpo monastery near Shigatse. It is at Kumbum that the present Dalai Lama was born.

Along the two thousand miles of its Southern and Western frontiers Tibet is connected with India and Nepal by many high passes. The most convenient route to Lhasa is by train from Calcutta to Siliguri, which is at the fringe of the Himalayan foot-hills, not far from Darjeeling. Thence the traveler can go by motor 70 miles to Gangtok, the capital of the Buddhist State of Sikkim, and on, over high Himalayan passes and across the Tsangpo river, to Lhasa. The journey of some twenty-two stages, is usually done on horse-back.

Distinctive features of Tibet are a dry cold sunny climate, high winds, mountains, and great plains with an average floor level of some 14,000 feet; and monasteries and nunneries, to which each family normally sends at least one child. Its chief products are wool (much of which is exported to the United States), meat, milk, cheese, barley, peas, salt and soda, which, with a particular form of 'brick' tea imported from China overland and via India, build and keep warm some of the most robust bodies in Asia. Marked characteristics of Tibetans are the absence of self-consciousness, perfect manners, reverence, tolerance both in religious and in social matters, and freedom from clichés and cant; a natural tendency to think straight and to tell the truth; an intuitive habit of thought; and, in politics,

an inclination to think in general terms, rather than in terms of the particular issue. The influence of an aristocratic and feudal society is affected by the facts that the Dalai Lama is usually the son of poor or middle-class parents, that any monk may rise to the top in Church or State, and that nobody knows what he was in his last life or what he may be in his next life. The trials of a stern and a wild country are relieved by many holidays, a great sense of fun and humor, a habit of laughing out loud, and a good deal in the way of barley-beer and song—especially song in which Tibetan labourers indulge whenever they work. There is very little in the way of secular education, much superstition and a stoic outlook on life. All classes share the same pleasures. Small pox, goitre and the diseases which lower the birth-rate are common, but there is little tuberculosis and no malaria or enteric. The people have appalling ideas of how to feed small children but the survivors are sturdy and bright. Tibetans have a marvelous feeling for color and for gaiety of dress and ornament, and a great sense of ceremonial. Women do not rank above men socially but they are not secluded. Once upon a time the Tibetans were a great warriors, but now the main influence in the daily life of the people is religion, and, even in matters of foreign policy, the most powerful estate in the realm is the Church.

The Government of Tibet

The Government of Tibet has as its pivot the Kashag or Cabinet. This ordinarily consists of four members, of whom the senior is always a monk and holds the title of Kalon Lama. The members of the Cabinet are called Shappes. The Shappes work only as a Cabinet, no member—with the exception of the present Kalon Lama who is also Commander-in-chief—being in charge of any particular department of State. The present lay

members are Bhondong Shappe, a man with a long Secretariat experience, of whom more will be heard later; Shappe Phunkang Kung, who derives his title of Kung, or Duke, from his relationship to the eleventh Dalai Lama; and Nang (or Lang) Chung Nga Shappe, who has of late been absent from Lhasa as Commissioner in Eastern Tibet. While, as in other countries, the strength of various links in the chain of authority varies from time to time, normal procedure is that the Kashag submits its recommendations to the Prime Minister (who is not in Cabinet). The Prime Minister makes further reference to the Dalai Lama or regent, who in matters of importance, and especially in any matter of major foreign policy or affecting the interests of the monasteries, consults the National Assembly, in which the monasteries are strongly represented. The regent may further consult the leading monasteries and Oracles. A great deal of political influence is exercised also by the Trungyik Chempos, or Monk Chief Secretaries, who control the affairs of the monasteries, which account for half of the population in and near Lhasa and probably one-third of the male population throughout Central Tibet. The Trungyik Chempos work under the general control of the Dalai Lama whose Chief Staff Officer, the Chikyab Khenpo, or Lord Chamberlain, holds Cabinet rank.

Under the Cabinet work the Secretaries of the various departments, and on the executive side, the District Magistrates or the Jongpens (of whom two, usually one monk and one lay, are normally appointed to each district), and such special officers as the Tibetan Trade Agents at Gyantse and Yatung, the Garpons or Commissioners of Western Tibet, the City Magistrate of Lhasa, and Collectors of taxes on grain, wool, salt, and so forth. In Eastern Tibet the chief authority is the Commissioner in Kham.

There are official representatives in Lhasa of India, China, Nepal and Bhutan.

The Dalai Lamas

According to the Buddhist religion, in the animal kingdom death is constantly followed by rebirth—dog or fish being reborn as man, woman, bird, snake, or any other animal, and man perhaps as worm or flea, a good life meriting re-birth on a higher plane, until at last by goodness man may attain to Nirvana.

The Dalai Lama, High-Priest and King of Tibet, is regarded by Tibetans as a Bodhisatwa—one who, having attained the right to Nirvana, consents to be reborn for the benefit of his fellow creatures. Various Gods, or the aspects of the God-head, and remarkable personalities of former time, are held to be present in the world in human form. The persons in whom they are incarnate are called Yangsi-s—“reborn”—or *Trulku-s—‘change bodies’. Ordinarily when such persons have been discovered they are initiated into the Tibetan Church and are known in English as Incarnation Lamas, or, less accurately, as Living Buddhas. (Only monks of very high degree are properly called Lama, the real meaning of the word Lama being one to whom unlimited gratitude is due, and, by inference, a teacher of religion. Dalai is a Mongolian word meaning ocean). But in Tibetan Buddhism there are no absolute rules and it is believed in Tibet that Queen Victoria was the Yangsi of the goddess Palden Lhamo, whose image is in the Great Temple at Lhasa. The Dalai Lamas are incarnations of Chenrezi, the God of Mercy, and are also reincarnations of their predecessors. When a Dalai Lama dies, the primary task which confronts Church and State in Tibet is not elect or create a successor to the late Dalai Lama but to discover the boy in whom Chenrezi has already become reincarnate.

Death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama

The thirteenth Dalai Lama had been born in the year 1876, had held the reins of government since 1893, and in 1933, full of wisdom and still full of energy, had “retired to the heavenly fields for the benefit of other living creatures”. On his premature and unexpected death there followed a period of confusion and intrigue. There were differences of opinion as to what powers should be exercised by the Cabinet and what by a Regent, and difficulties developed in regard to the appointment of a Regent. Normally the appointment would have fallen to the Great Incarnation Lama of one of four particular monasteries in Lhasa; but of these one had recently died, two were too young, and the previous Incarnation of the fourth had been accused of having attempted, when Regent, to bring about the death to the thirteenth Dalai lama by magic. A strong man was needed. It was to be expected that the Chinese Government would utilise the opportunity afforded by the death of the late Dalai Lama to bring pressure on Tibet in various forms, and there were complications in regard to the Tashi Lama. In the end, the National Assembly nominated three candidates. After decision by the drawing of lots the young Incarnation Lama of the Reting monastery was appointed, and the discovery of the fourteenth Dalai Lama became the main preoccupation of Church and State, headed by the Regent. It was not known how much time, by human computation, would pass before the spirit, which must have left the human form of the late Dalai Lama, would choose and enter its new human abode. It was not therefore a case of considering which of many children born at or about a certain time would be likely to make a suitable successor but of searching—as if it were for a hidden treasure—for a child, exact age unknown, whose whereabouts would be indicated by divination and by signs and whose identity would be revealed by the

possession of certain bodily characteristics and of marvelous mental and spiritual powers. In the case of most of the Dalai Lamas such indications had not in themselves been so clear as to be conclusive, and in order to attain to certainty it had been necessary to draw lots, after prayers and ceremonies, from a golden urn. In regard to this drawing of lots—in the case not only of the Dalai Lama but of other great incarnation Lamas also—the Chinese Amban (Governor) in Lhasa had from time to time claimed a special authority. (Since 1912 there has been no Amban in Lhasa). But in the cases of the ninth and thirteenth Dalai Lamas the indication had been so clear that there had been no occasion to resort to the drawing of lots.

Soon after the death of the thirteenth Dalai Lama the Tibetan Government instructed all local authorities in Tibet to be on the alert for information in regard to the birth of any remarkable boy, and the occurrence of any marvellous signs in connection with his birth.

The year 1934 and part of 1935 passed without any clear indication, and there were signs of despondency in Lhasa and throughout Tibet.

The Tashi Lama

Apprehensions were increased by various difficulties which attended negotiations for the return to Tibet of the Tashi Lama. This Incarnation Lama, of the Tashi Lhunpo monastery near Shigatse, is generally held to be the spiritual equal, and by some to be the spiritual superior, of the Dalai Lama, and he and his predecessors had also acquired considerable temporal power in the Tsang (Shigatse) Province of Tibet. In 1923, fearing the centralizing tendencies of the government of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, the Tashi Lama had fled via Mongolia to China. His presence in Tibet was needed in connection with the search

for a new Dalai Lama and for his subsequent recognition and education. On the other hand, it was feared that, while in his absence the unity of Tibet, both religiously and politically, might be impaired, his return, on such terms as he and his entourage were prepared to accept, and the Chinese Government to permit, might be disruptive of Tibetan unity. Well wishers both of the Tashi Lama and of the Tibetan Government made great efforts to effect a reconciliation; but on 30th November 1937 the Tashi Lama died at Jeykundo, on the China-Tibet border, at the age of about 55.

Signs and Portents

In the summer of 1935 the Regent visited the holy lake of Chho Khor Gye—ten days' journey South by East from Lhasa—in which some sixty years before the home of the thirteenth Dalai Lama had been revealed. In its still waters the Regent observed the reflection of the letters Ah, Kah, Mah; of a three storied monastery with a gilded roof and turquoise tiles; of a twisting road which led East of the monastery to a bare hillock of earth shaped like a Pagoda; and, opposite the hillock, of a small house with eaves of an unfamiliar type. The exact meaning of the vision was obscure but it was thought probable that Ah indicated that the new Dalai Lama had been born somewhere in the Chinese frontier district of Amdo, South-East of Lake Kokonor. Further indications that the child should be sought somewhere to the East of Lhasa were afforded by the State Oracle and the Oracles of certain monasteries each of whom, when in a state of trance, had faced towards the East and had thrown a white silk scarf in that direction, and by two portents. It is the custom in Tibet, in the case of the Dalai Lamas and of some others who have lived lives of eminent saintliness, not to dispose of the body after death in one of the

several ways which are normal in Tibet, but to embalm it, in somewhat primitive fashion. Pending the completion of a fitting shrine the body of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, so embalmed, swathed in muslins, and the face covered by a lifelike effigy, had been placed on the throne of the lesser audience hall which looks South over the main courtyard of the Potala. Thousands came to see the dead body, touch the throne, and present a scarf. All night the hall would be securely locked. Twice it was found in the morning that the body, which the previous day had been facing South, had turned its head to the East. And to the East of the new shrine, on a pillar of well-seasoned wood set in a great block of stone, and on the East side of the pillar, there appeared a giant fungus. Many other signs also indicated that the new Dalai Lama should be sought in the East.

The Wise Men Set Out

Accordingly, no positive reports having been received from any local authority in Tibet, it was decided that parties should be sent out Eastwards to make search. The Abbots of the Drepung, Sera, and Ganden monasteries prepared lists of Incarnation Lamas who might be sent; the State Oracle announced that the number of separate parties to be sent should be three; and, the Regent having performed divination by means of his beads, it was decided that the Trulku (Incarnation) of the Phu-Phu-Chho monastery should proceed towards Takpo and the South-East; the Trulku of Kyitsang monastery towards Amdo in the North-East; and the Trulku of Kangse monastery East towards Kham and Chamdo. Another sign occurred when the Oracle of Samye, in a trance, gave his breast-plate to Kyitsang Trulku in whose party were included the monk District Magistrate of

Nagchuka, a civil official named Kheme-Se, a monk official named Tsetrang Lobsang, and some fifty servants.

From time to time during the next two and a half years reports became current in Lhasa that three, or five, or more boys who might be regarded as likely candidates had been discovered in various places. But the Regent and the Tibetan Government were silent.

Arrival of the New Dalai Lama

Early in the Autumn of 1939 it became generally known in Lhasa that a young boy, in regard to whom there could be no possible doubt, had been found near Kumbum, and was expected to reach Nagchuka, ten days' march North-East of Lhasa, about the 20th September. On the 13th September, Shappe (Cabinet Minister) Bhondong with a party of Tibetan officials, which had been assembled secretly and in haste, left Lhasa for Nagchuka by forced marches, with the gilded sedan chair of the Dalai Lamas. It was important that the Dalai Lama should enter Lhasa before the end of the eighth month of the Tibetan year, the ninth month being the black month of the current Earth-Hare year. The occurrence of black months is determined by divination and astrology. Sometimes a whole year is found to be black.

Fast as Bhondong Shappe traveled, two officers, Kusho Ringang and Lachak Liushar, had pushed on a few marches ahead of him with a mule-litter in which, long before dawn on the morning of the 20th September, a sleeping child, accompanied by his family, Kyitsang Trulku and his associates, and a party of armed Chinese Mahomedan traders on their way to Mecca, was being hurried along towards Nagchuka by the light of lanterns. Bhondong Shappe also had been travelling through the night. A perfect day had just begun to dawn and signs of

great good omen were lighting up the sky when the two parties met at Lung-Chung-Kyipup, "The Happy Nook". In token of reverence and homage Bhondong Shappe placed a white silk scarf in the hands of Kyitsang Trulku—for not even a Cabinet Minister may present a scarf direct to the Dalai Lama—and received one in exchange. It had been thought that the child might still be asleep but, unprompted, he put out his hands between the curtains of the litter and laid them on Bhondong Shappe's head.

The sun was rising when three miles nearer Nagchuka at Ga-shi-na-mo-che, "The Pasture of the Four Joys" (where thirty years before the thirteenth Dalai lama had been met on his return from China), the parents of the new Dalai Lama, who hitherto had been unaware that their son was anything more than one of several candidates, saw a crowd of standard bearers and officials, and an elaborate camp laid out in the form of a circle with hollow centre. The Dalai Lama was taken to a throne which had been hurriedly constructed of dry clods of earth. Bhondong Shappe prostrated himself thrice, handed to the child a letter from the Regent acknowledging him as Dalai Lama, and—in Tibet significant deeds are usually preferred to any pronouncement in words—offered gifts which, while they can be presented to other Trulkus besides the Dalai Lama, can only be presented to the highest Trulku present. These were the Offering to All the Gods, in the form of a butter-cake with a number of turrets, which is called Mende; an image of Tse-pa-me, the god of endless life; a model of a Chorten; and a miniature holy book. He also made offerings of gold, silver, ceremonial garments, and rolls of silk and other materials. To the parents and other relations he presented dresses and jewellery. The child was then placed in the golden palanquin of the Dalai Lamas and the party set out to cover the remaining ten miles to Nagchuka, where the child, placed on the throne of the Dalai Lamas in the monastery which is called "The Palace of True

Peace”, held his first official reception. After a day’s halt the journey was continued towards Lhasa. On the 6th October the young Dalai Lama reached Rigya, two miles East of Lhasa, where he was received with divine honours by the Regent and all important lay and ecclesiastical officials, and was met by the representatives of the British mission and of the Chinese, the Nepalese, and the Ladhaki Mahomedans resident in Lhasa. Two days later he entered Lhasa, where he was universally acclaimed as Dalai Lama, and visited the Great Temple. In the streets of Lhasa he was greeted by the two Principal Oracles. Those who have seen a Tibetan Oracle in a trance will understand why people marvelled not at the fact that horses took fright but at the sight of a child who was entirely undisturbed. The Dalai Lama then proceeded to the private residence of the Dalai Lamas in the Norbhu Lingka, or Jewel Garden, which is on the outskirts of Lhasa.

The Real Facts of the Discovery

The need for secrecy being past the actual facts of the discovery of the Dalai Lama and of subsequent events gradually became known. It is not necessary to pursue the fortunes of the search parties which proceeded towards Takpo and towards Kham. At Jeykundo the party under Kyitsang Trulku had come in touch with the late Tashi Lama who told them that he had heard of three remarkable boys. Proceeding thence to Amdo they were advised by the local Chinese Governor that there were, in different places, twelve other boys whose claims deserved investigation. The Tibetan Government had provided Kyitsang Trulku with a number of articles which had belonged to the thirteenth Dalai Lama and with exact copies. It was anticipated that, as had happened at the discovery of former Dalai Lamas, the genuine reincarnation would pick out the things which had

belonged to his predecessor and would show other signs of super-human intelligence, and that the other children would fail in these tests. And so it proved. Of the nominees of the Tashi Lama one was found to have died and the second, whom the Tashi Lama had been inclined particularly to favour, failed to display any interest in the things which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, and ran away crying. But Kyitsang Trulku on approaching the home of the third of the Tashi Lama's nominees felt a great uplifting of heart. He found himself in surroundings already familiar from the description which the Regent had given of his vision in the lake; the three storied monastery with the golden roof and the turquoise tiles was found to be called after the saint Ka-ma-pa whose tomb was opposite the monastery (Ka-ma-pa might account for the second and third letters Ah Kah Mah); and from the monastery a twisting road led on East to a house such as the Regent had described.

In order to put the child to the test Kyitsang Trulku directed Tsetrang Lobsang to wear his ordinary dress, to pose as the head of the party, and to pretend that he had with him two servants, one being his ordinary monk attendant and the other Kyitsang Trulku, disguised as a servant. As interpreter the party had with them a young monk of the Kumbum monastery named Kesang who had recently learnt Tibetan when he stayed at the Sera monastery near Lhasa. The child of course knew no Tibetan. It had been arranged that the Tsetrang should go into the main room of the house, and that the Kyitsang Trulku and the servant should wait in the ante-room which was used as a Kitchen. But it so happened that the child was playing in the Kitchen. When Kyitsang Trulku entered the child at once went up to him and said, "Lama, Lama", and, seizing a necklace (it had belonged to the thirteenth Dalai Lama) which Kyitsang was wearing round his neck and under his right arm, said "Mane, Mane". The interpreter monk then, pointing to

Tsetrang, said “Who is this?” and the child replied “Tsetrang”. Being shown a hand asked what it was he said “Lakpa” (which in Tibetan means “hand”), and being asked who the monk servant was he said “Sere Agha”, which is stated to be the word used in Amdo for an ordinary monk.

Convinced in his own mind that he had found the genuine child, Kyitsang Trulku kept his counsel. He summoned the other principal members of his party (the District Magistrate of Nagchukha and Kheme Se) who had been making enquires in another direction and, a few days later, having told them nothing, he took them to the house, with various possessions of the late Dalai Lama and exact copies. Out of four necklaces the child took the two which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama and placed them round his own neck, and similarly out of two small drums he chose the right one, which he began to play. In the imitations he took no interest. There remained the choice between two walking sticks. The child first took the wrong one, examined it, and shook his head, and dropped it. He then took the right one, and would not let it go. It was also found that the child, in common with his predecessor, possessed three of the physical signs which distinguish the incarnations of Chenrezi. When Kyitsang Trulku prepared to leave, the child took him by the hand and wanted to go with him, and wept at being left behind. It was related also that at the time of the birth of the child there had been a rainbow over the house.

These matters were reported to the Tibetan Government by Kyitsang Trulku, who stated that he was fully convinced that he had found the true Dalai Lama, and enquired whether there was any need to proceed to test the nominees of the Amban. The Tibetan Government replied about mid-summer 1938 by wireless instructing Kyitsang Trulku to bring the child to Lhasa for further test, and adding that he need not test any more children. More than that they would not say.

Ransom

Kyitsang Trulku tried to comply with this order, but he found that he was faced with serious difficulties. First the local Chinese Governor said that, unless he was assured that the boy was actually to be Dalai Lama, he could not let him go to Lhasa; but in time the matter was adjusted by a payment of 100,000 Chinese dollars (roughly equivalent to 7,000 to 8,000 Pounds), out of which 30,000 were earmarked for the Kashag, or Cabinet, of the local government of Silling; 30,000 for the local commander-in-chief; 30,000 for the Amban "for equipment for the war against Japan"; and 10,000 for the Kumbum monastery. This payment however merely served to sharpen appetites. On the arrival of the party at Kumbum monastery the monks, looking to the future reputation and profit of the monastery, insisted that the child must then and there be declared Dalai Lama; otherwise they could not let him go. The Chinese Governor also regretted that he had made a serious lapse in failing to bring to the notice of the Trulku that, the country being disturbed, an escort would be indispensable, and that an escort could not be produced except on the payment of expenses which at a minimum would amount to 100,000 dollars for the local commander-in-chief, 100,000 for the officials of the Silling Government, and 20,000 for the troops who would actually provide the escort; to which must be added 10,000 for the Amban himself, and a further sum of 100,000 for the Kumbum monastery.

The upshot was that after negotiations which occupied a whole year, during which the party remained at Kumbum monastery, Kyitsang Trulku arranged to pay a further sum of 300,000 dollars through a party of rich Chinese Mahomedan traders who were about to proceed via Lhasa and India to Mecca, and for trade in India. In return for repayment at an advantageous rate in Lhasa or India the traders undertook to

escort Kyitsang Trulku and the Child to Nagchuka, and to accompany them on to Lhasa.

It is believed on the other hand that the Chinese Government, through the Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, twice made a contribution, once of 5,000 dollars and once of 50,000 dollars, towards the expense of the search and of the journey towards Tibet.

Cautious as the Tibetan Government had been up to this stage, it soon became apparent that their insistence on the child being brought to Lhasa merely as a candidate had been a matter of bluff. Actually the Regent, the Cabinet, the Committee of the National Assembly, and the representatives of the most important monasteries, had decided on the report of Kyitsang Trulku that the genuine Dalai Lama had been found, but in order that the Chinese Government might not force Chinese troops on Tibet, under the excuse of providing an escort for the child, and in order that the Church and State in Tibet, and no external authority, might determine the genuineness and recognition of the Dalai Lama, all had been sworn to secrecy. And the secret had been well kept.

The Fourteenth Dalai Lama

The Dalai lama was born on the 6th June 1935 (judged by physical and mental development he might well be at least a year older), his original name being Phamo Dhondup, son of Chog Chu Tsering and of Sonamtso, both of whom are aged about 40. The names of the parents are typically Tibetan and they are of Tibetan race. Their language does not appear to be either Chinese or Tibetan. The eldest brother of the Dalai Lama is Taktse Trulku, whose accession as Incarnation Lama of the Kumbum monastery was determined by the thirteenth Dalai Lama. His other brothers, aged about 12 and 8, are

named Gyalo Dhondup and Lobsang Samten. He has also a sister who is married in Amdo.

On the 23rd November the Dalai Lama proceeded in state from the Norbhu Lingka to the Great Temple where on the next day he and his elder brother were initiated as monks and the Dalai Lama was renamed Jetsun Jampel Gnawang Lobsang Yishey Tenzin Gyatso—"The Holy One, The Tender Glory, Mighty in Speech, of Excellent Intellect, of Absolute Wisdom, Holding the Doctrine, The Ocean-wide". On that day the Dalai Lama received the minor seal of the Dalai Lamas which is named the Gya-tam.

The Dalai Lama returned from the Temple to the Norbhu Lingka, where, in his capacity as Dalai Lama, he frequently granted audience and conferred blessing. All were struck by the fixity of his gaze, his personality, and the extraordinary attention and deftness with which he performed his priestly duties of attending to ceremonial, granting blessings, and knotting scarves to be conferred on those deemed worthy of this special honour. All who saw him were convinced that he was the one and only true fourteenth Dalai Lama. Those in close attendance on him noted his preference for associates of the late Dalai Lama, his special kindness to the late Dalai Lama's servants, and his love of music and of flowers.

The Return to the Throne

In Tibetan religious and political theory, the individuals who are the human embodiments of the Dalai-hood die, but the Dalai-hood persists. The emergence of a Dalai Lama is therefore in essence the return of one, who has been temporarily absent, to resume an authority, and functions, which are already his own. The culminating event in the assumption, or resumption, of authority by a Dalai Lama (subject to the

continuance of the Regency during minority) is the occupation by him of the Golden Throne of the Dalai Lamas in the Potala. This ceremony the Tibetans call the Ser-Thri-Nga-Sol. The meaning of these four syllables, in inverse order, is prayer or request; possession or occupation; throne; gold. Nga-sol is a word in everyday use in Lhasa in the sense of a visit of congratulation to a person whose appointment to an office by the Tibetan Government has already been announced. Nga-tak means one, such as a high Lama, who, possessing the Buddhist religion, is able to give it out to others. The conventional English rendering of Ser-Thri-Nga-Sol, Installation, is thus not a close equivalent, and it tends both to suggest irrelevant western parallels and also to indicate too active an interference by man in a ceremony which in its essence is the celebration of a return—not from the dead, but of one who cannot die. Perhaps “The Return to the Throne” is as close an approximation to the meaning of the Tibetan word as can be found.

In fixing dates for this ceremony, which would last several days, the Tibetan Government had to take two main considerations into account. Divination and astrology had indicated suitable occasions in the first, third, and fifth months of the New Year, which was due to begin on the 9th February 1940. And it would be the desire of as many Tibetans as possible from all parts of the country to be present. The New Year, with the annual celebrations of the driving out of the evil influences of the Old Year, the bringing in of the New Year, and the twenty-one days of the Great Prayer, a period of frequent and magnificent religious observances intermixed with traditional pageantry, always attracts to Lhasa tens of thousands of monks, pilgrims, and villagers, so that the normal population of the city is trebled or quadrupled. Cold as the month of February is in Tibet, it is reckoned that by the end of January the period of the coldest snaps—of which according to Tibetan tradition there are normally three—is past, and it is the season at which,

the harvest and the threshing finished, the land not yet ready for the plough, and flocks of sheep needing little attention, Tibetans are best able to make holiday. It is also the time at which the thirteenth Dalai Lama used normally to leave the Norbhu Lingka to take up his residence at the Potala for some weeks. And it is a time when all Tibetans, wherever they may be observing the New Year, direct their thoughts towards the Golden Throne. It was thus for many good reasons, and with consideration for the happiness of all in Tibet, that the Tibetan Government fixed the first month, and the dates in the first month which had been declared to be most auspicious, for the entry of the Dalai Lama into the Potala and for the occupation by the Dalai Lama of the throne of his predecessors.

The Chinese Delegation

Early in December 1939 there arrived in India His Excellency Mr. Wu Chung Hsin, Chairman of the Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, accompanied by Mr. Hsi Luen and a large party. After a short stay in Calcutta and at Darjeeling and Kalimpong, and at Gangtok the capital of Sikkim, they proceeded with a train of sedan-chairs, ponies, mules, and gifts, to the Indian border at the Nathu La pass and thence via Yatung, Phari, the Tang La pass, Gyantse, and the Karo La and Nyaptso La passes, and across the Tsangpo river, to Lhasa, where they arrived on the 15th January. Particularly for men, some of them well past their youth and all unaccustomed to height, a mid-winter journey of 22 stages over four passes ranging from 14,000 to nearly 17,000 feet indicated courage; but they had the good fortune which they deserved and actually until about the time of the Tibetan New Year conditions for travelling, although cold, proved to be exceptionally favourable, with a large proportion of sunny days, no snow, and comparatively

little wind. Even so it was good news when Mr. Wu Chung Hsin reported that he and his party had arrived at Lhasa safe and sound.

The British Delegation

The duty of conveying the felicitations of His Majesty's Government and of His Excellency the Viceroy to the Dalai Lama and to the Government and people of Tibet was entrusted to Mr. B.J. Gould, the Political Officer in Sikkim. He had been in charge of the British Mission which, by invitation of the Tibetan Government, visited Lhasa in the summer of 1936, a distinguished member of the Mission on that occasion being Brigadier Philip Neame, V.C. Since Mr. Gould's departure from Lhasa shortly after the Tibetan New Year in 1937 the Mission had been continued on a reduced scale in charge alternately of Mr. H. E. Richardson and of Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhondup, who has to tax his memory and his mathematics to reckon how many times he has visited Lhasa. The party was therefore not large, Mr. Gould being accompanied by Captain Staunton of the Indian Medical Service and Rai Sahib Sonam Tobden, and being joined later for a short period by Major Keys and Captain Thornburgh from Gyantse. Rai Bahadur Norbhu holds by courtesy the Tibetan title of Dzasa, which places him next below Cabinet rank, and Rai Sahib Sonam that of Depon, or Colonel.

The weather which had smiled on Mr. Wu Chung Hsin was favourable also to the British travellers. At Yatung an old and great friend was met in the person of Tsarong Dzasa, who had been obliged to undertake the journey to India on account of the health of his wife, whose hospitality to members of the British Mission had never failed. Thirty years before, as a young man, he had justified his position as Favourite of the thirteenth

Dalai Lama by a display of marked bravery in covering the flight of his master, from the Chinese in Lhasa, to India.

On the way occasion was taken to renew old associations by visiting, on the lower slopes of Mount Chumolhari near Phari, a monastery at which the late Dalai Lama had been met on his return from India to Lhasa in 1912. The consideration of the Tibetan Government was shown by the appointment as "Official Guide" from Gyantse to Lhasa of Kusho Dingja, who as Dzungpen of Shigatse holds the most important District charge under the control of the Central Government; by the excellence of the arrangements made for the journey; and by the provision on arrival of a large guard of honour drawn from the Trapchi Regiment. A further gracious act was the appointment, as Official Guides for the period to be spent at Lhasa, of Kusho Kheme-se, who had been chief assistant to Kyitsang Trulku in his successful search for the Dalai Lama, and of Tsendron Gyantsen Choda, an experienced monk official.

Tibetan Ceremonial

The Tibetans are amongst the most natural people in the world. It is the same with their dress, ceremonies, and buildings. While there is a prescribed apparel for each rank and for many different occasions, there is usually no exact pattern or design which must be followed: ceremonies progress with the same naturalness and ease as the flow of a stream; the Potala is entirely intimate with its surroundings and purpose.

Sometimes one may aim at preserving this Tibetan naturalness by a choice of words. Thus "The Return to the Throne" has been preferred to "The Installation". In the same way "The Great Temple" or "The Temple" is perhaps a better rendering than "The Cathedral" for what the Tibetans call "The House of the Great Altar" or "The House of God", which, older than the

Potala, continues to be the centre of much of the religious and political life of Tibet. What counts for most in the ceremonies which take place at Lhasa is the atmosphere of awe, joy, reverence, love, exaltation, and not seldom of fun, which surrounds them.

Driving out the Old Year

On the 7th February a great crowd of the inhabitants of Lhasa and of visitors from all parts of Tibet, together with many of the British, Chinese, Nepalese, and other foreigners in Lhasa, crowded the roofs and galleries which surround the main court of the Potala to witness the annual ceremony of the driving out of the evil influences of the Old Year. In turn a hundred monks with gleaming censers, cymbals, and golden drums, Hashang the genial God of good luck with his troupe of minute attendants in masks, black-hat dancers, and the many other participants in the day-long ceremony, entered the court-yard, down the steep steps which lead from the inner recesses of the Potala. It is only the Dalai Lama and Hashang who may use the central flight of steps. Above, set in the hundred-foot face of the main building, were embrasures and balconies, in three perpendicular rows and four tiers, gay with silk fringes floating in the breeze and with dresses of every colour. In the centre of the highest tier, outside the smaller assembly hall where the embalmed body of the late Dalai Lama had lain pending the completion of its golden shrine, was the still empty balcony of the Dalai Lama. To its right was the Regent, invisible most of the time behind thin gold curtains. Elsewhere, according to their rank, were seated the Cabinet, and monk and lay officials of different grades. Many turned their eyes to the place where, next to the Cabinet, the family of the Dalai Lama were to be seen, keenly interested in their first experience of Tibetan pageantry on a great scale.

New Year's Day

On the 9th February the members of the British Mission, alone of foreigners, were privileged to witness the religious celebration of the New Year in the main hall of the Potala. They presented silk scarves at the vacant throne of the Dalai Lama and to the Regent and the Prime Minister, and shared in the ceremonial tea and food which are then served. Other foreigners attended the less religious ceremony of the next day. And thus, for several days, the observances of the New Year pursued their customary course.

Visit to the Dalai Lama

A few days after his arrival Mr. Wu Chung Hsin had been received by the Dalai Lama at the Norbhu Lingka. The 13th February was fixed for the reception of the British Mission. It was a calm and brilliant morning. A powdering of fresh snow had fallen on the hills round Lhasa but a foretaste of spring was in the air. Bar-headed geese, mallard, teal, goosander, and Brahmini duck, aware of the security of the Lhasa valley, were making much of the opportunities afforded by the melting of the ice on the side-streams of the Kyichu. To members of the British party the Norbhu Lingka was already familiar and well-loved ground owing to the kindness of the Regent who had allowed them free and frequent access to every part of the Jewel Garden when, three years before, it had been unoccupied.

The hall in which the Dalai Lama grants audiences at the Norbhu Lingka is a simple room of moderate size, lighted from a central square well supported on painted pillars. The walls, dim behind the pillars, are covered with frescoes in oil paint. In the interval between the death of the thirteenth Dalai Lama

and the arrival of the fourteenth the throne had been vacant, but always the room had been kept as in the time of the thirteenth, with fresh food ready by the throne, fresh holy water in brass bowls, and pots of such flowers as were in season. The court-yard outside was thronged with monks on duty and other monks who had come to receive a blessing, and beyond the court-yard there had gathered a small crowd of men, women and children, villagers from near Lhasa, and shepherds wearing a single garment of sheepskin with the wool inside, their homes indicated by feature and dialect and by the different styles in which the women plait their hair and by the variety of their ornaments.

On entering the audience room it was seen that the Dalai Lama, a solid solemn but very wide awake boy, red-cheeked and closely shorn, wrapped warm in the maroon-red robes of a monk and in outer coverings, was seated high on his simple throne, cross-legged in the attitude of Buddha. Below and round him on the graded steps of the throne, looking like giants in comparison with the child, were five abbots—the Chikyab Khenpo, who is the head of the Ecclesiastical Department in Tibet and ranks as a Cabinet Minister; the Dronyer Chempo, who deals with all applications for audience with the Dalai Lama; Kyitsang Trulku, who discovered the Dalai Lama; the Zimpon Khenpo, Lord of the Bed-chamber, who when he was District Magistrate of Nagchuka had assisted Kyitsang Trulku in the search; and the Sopön Khenpo, who is responsible for the Dalai Lama's food.

On the steps below the throne, to right and left, were pots of sprouting barley and of the pink primula—malacoides—which seems always to be ready to find a new home. First, and then again, and so long as the Dalai Lama was in the room, those who had known the thirteenth Dalai Lama realised the truth of the report that the new Dalai Lama seems to recognise the associates of his predecessor. All observed the extraordinary

steadiness of his gaze, and his absorption in the task which he has in hand. The next thing noticed was the devotion and love, almost passing the love of women, of the Abbots who attend him. Next, perhaps, the beauty of his hands. And meanwhile all had become aware that they were in the presence of a Presence.

First came some of those few who might expect the two-handed blessing; then monks, who, down to the most junior, are entitled to the blessing by one hand; and then the laity, villagers, and shepherds, each with his small offering of at least a shred of white scarf and a few coins, some to receive the blessing by two hands or by one but most to have their foreheads touched by one of the Abbots in attendance with a tassel of bright silk ribbons which had been blessed by the Dalai Lama.

After a time the column of those seeking a blessing was held back and the members and staff and servants of the British Mission, not all of them Buddhists, approached the throne in turn, the ladies headed by Mrs. Norbhu. The leader of the party presented a scarf, a scarf which had been blessed was placed round his neck, and two small cool firm hands were laid steadily on his head. The other members of the party followed in turn.

Twice tea, and once rice, were served, as a form of mutual hospitality which was also a sacrament. At the first serving of tea the Sopön Khenpo, Abbot of the kitchen, advanced, produced his box-wood tea-bowl from the folds of his dress, and tasted the tea to make sure that it was not poisoned. Then the Dalai Lama was served, and then all present. On the second occasion Rai Bahadur Norbhu—on behalf of the British Mission who were permitted to provide the second tea and the food of the day—advanced and performed the same duty. Meanwhile the British Mission had produced some few gifts—a gold clock with a nightingale that pops out and sings, a pedal

motor car, and a tricycle. These things certainly did divert the attention of the Dalai Lama even from those who had been known to his former incarnation.

And so the audience ended. The Dalai Lama was lifted down from his throne by the Chikyab Khenpo and left the hall of audience, holding the hands of two Abbots who towered on either side of him, but looking back at the things which had gripped his attention. Within a minute his eight year old brother was on the spot to find out how everything worked, and additionally keen and anxious because, as he said, if he did not at once find out all about everything his four year old brother would certainly beat him. It appears that the Dalai Lama has a strong will and is already learning to exercise the privileges of his position. The little monk was soon going round the smooth floor of the audience chamber in the pedal car. An outstanding virtue of Tibetans is that they hold that a place which is sacred may also be a place for fun. The visit ended with congratulations to Kyitsang Trulku on his great discovery.

Other Visits

On other days visits were paid to the Regent (whose official title changes, once a Dalai Lama has been found, from Gye-tsap, or Vice-roy, to Si-Kyung or Governor); to the Prime Minister; and to the Kashag (Cabinet), which derives its name from the "order room" at the Great Temple in which it meets.

Then to the Norbhu Lingka again, to return the calls of the Chikyab Khenpo and the Dronyer Chempo, and to meet the parents of the Dalai Lama. Modestly housed, the Chikyab Khenpo seems to subordinate all other cares of Church and State to what is now his one main purpose in life—to serve his young master and to help him to grow up in the way in which,

as the earthly habitation of Chenrezi and the Lord and High Priest of Tibet, he should go. With the Chikyab Khenpo, as at the reception a few days before, one felt the atmosphere, and almost the music, of “Unto us a son is born..... and the Government shall be upon his shoulders”. His face lights up as he talks of the love of the thirteenth Dalai Lama for birds, beasts and flowers, of his kindness to those who served him, and of how these gifts appear to have been inherited by the present Dalai Lama. The Dronyer Chempo is equally at one with the task to which it has pleased Providence to call him. He has wide experience and was a member of the staff of Lonchen Shatra at the time of the Simla negotiations in 1914.

The Dalai Lama's Family

In Amdo those who can afford it marry young and, in addition to the parents and the two brothers of the Dalai Lama, aged 12 and 8, there was the elder brother's little wife, a most attractive girl of about the same age as her husband. The eight-year old brother, who became a monk on the same day as the Dalai Lama, seemed fully to realise that, having met members of the Mission before, it fell to him to break the ice, and he was soon busy playing ‘Is Mr. Fox at home?’ The mother is identifiable in Lhasa as the one lady who dresses in the Amdo style and wears her hair in three plaits. The father is a man of quiet and gentle poise, with a serious face on which smiles go ‘out and in’. The mother is surely one in a million, the worthy mother of a Dalai Lama. The children are sturdy and intelligent and, as might be expected, have easily out-distanced their parents in learning Tibetan. No family could appear to be more closely knit. The happiness in their faces must stand for real happiness in their lives and for those with whom they come in contact.

The Holy Walk

While almost each day of the New Year had its particular religious or secular observance, thousands of men, women, and children, some with pet sheep and some with dogs, and most of them turning prayer-wheels in their hands, were daily performing the five mile circuit of the holy walk round the Potala—some walking, some, in coarse leather gauntlets and aprons and with patches of mud or dust on forehead nose and chin, by prostration, and some by prostration sideways. When a rest is needed, or it is time to break off for the day, a stone is set to mark the forward limit of the last prostration. A sacred rock, painted with many hundred figures of Lord Buddha and other devices, overlooks a turning point in the holy walk and the garden of the Dekyi Lingka, or Strand of Peace, where, by kindness of the Tibetan Government and of the Abbot of the Kundeling Monastery, the British Mission is housed.

Along the road from the Norbhu Lingka to the Potala, which passes the Dekyi Lingka on another side, there were signs of increasing activity from day to day. Ponies, mules, and the carriers of the Dalai Lama's golden palanquin, were being practised for the state entry into the Potala.

Entry of the Dalai Lama into the Potala

The Dalai Lama has enjoyed kingly good fortune in regard to weather. In Tibet this is not a simple matter, a fresh fall of snow, which is auspicious for an occasion of state, being considered inauspicious for a wedding or on New Year's Day. It was just such another morning as that of the thirteenth February when, eight days later, a mile-long riot of colour assembled to escort the Dalai Lama from the Norbhu Lingka for his official entry

into the Potala. At dawn almost every person in Lhasa who would not be on duty in the procession or at the Potala had set out to take up a position on the route. This leads from the main gate of the Norbhu Lingka along an avenue of poplar trees, across the Holy Walk, and on, past the Kundeling monastery and the bare hill on which the College of Lamaistic Medicine stands, to near the city gate with its strings of tinkling bells. Here were assembled many ladies of the chief families in Lhasa, gay in head-dresses set with seed pearls coral and turquoise, over which were looped the black coils of their long hair—eight-inch ear ornaments of turquoise cut flat and set in gold gem-set charm boxes—silk robes of every colour, with silk shirt sleeves of some contrasting colour turned back over the wrist—a cascade of pearls and gems over the right shoulder—and, in the case of married women or grown up girls, an apron in rainbow stripes of green, red, purple, green, gold, green, purple, or whatever succession of bright colours the individual weaver had chosen. Nor in Tibet is it the rich only whose women on a day of festival are gay, and in Tibet all spectacles are free to all.

Leaving the city gate to the right, the route sweeps right-handed round the base of the Potala, past the high wall and blue lake of the Snake Temple, on past the Northern face of the Potala, and up the broad ascent, alternate steps and stone-paved slopes, which forms the Southern approach. Along the route were men and women tending incense crocks, set on walls or carried on arm or shoulder, fed with artemisia and other fragrant herbs; troupes of strolling dancers, some in head-dresses like Red Indians, some in masks; mummers; bands and drummers; clean-featured shepherds dressed in sheepskin, their broad-browed and plump wives wearing their hair in a hundred closely plaited ringlets; monks of every age from four years upwards in maroon robes, often tattered; beggars; farmers;—thousands turning prayer-wheels of every device and size.

The Procession

First came servants, on ponies and on foot, dressed in green tunics, blue breeches and broad red tasseled hats, carrying the Dalai Lama's food, kitchen ware, garments, and bed clothes; grooms, to be ready for their masters at the Potala; attendants carrying tall banners to ward off evil spirits; some members of the Chinese delegation; high Lamas followed by the State Oracle and the Chief Secretaries; the led ponies of the Dalai Lama in gorgeous silk trappings; the head monks of the Potala monastery in claret robes fringed with gold and silver embroidery; junior lay officials in their long 'geluche' mantles of many colours, black skirts, and white boat-shaped hats set sideways on the head and tied down under the ears; lay officers in ascending order of rank, Teijis, Dzasas, Shappes, all stiff in heavy brocade. And then, through the clouds of incense which were drifting across the route, and between lines of standards bearers, came two long double lines of men in loose green uniforms and red hats with white plumes, holding draw-ropes—which would be needed for the climb up the Potala—and men in red with yellow hats, bearing, as they moved with short shuffling steps, the yokes which supported the poles of the Dalai Lama's great golden palanquin. The child was invisible behind gold curtains and bright bunches of paper flowers. To his right rear was carried the tall peacock umbrella which is the privilege of the Dalai Lamas. Next came the Regent, under a gold umbrella, dressed in robes of golden silk and a yellow conical hat trimmed with black fox-skin, his horse weighed down with trappings and led by two grooms: then the Dalai Lama's father, mother and brothers: then Abbots and Trulkus from monasteries throughout Tibet, in peaked hats and wrapped in coats of gold brocade worn over maroon robes. It was seen that some Incarnate Lamas, boys as young as the Dalai Lama himself, were firmly tied to their saddles. Towards the end of

the procession came more civil officials; seniors leading, in the traditional geuche travelling dress; more monk officials; and finally a giant monk door-keeper of the Potala monastery who with stentorian voice kept back the dense crowds of monks, citizens, and villagers, who, after the manner of spectators everywhere, were closing in from the sides of the route to accompany the Dalai Lama on his progress.

The Ser-Thri-Nga-Sol

On arrival at the Potala the Dalai Lama proceeded to his private apartments, to rest before the ceremonies of the following days. For several days in succession, and again, after an interval, for several more days, he would occupy the golden throne of the Dalai Lamas, confer blessings, and receive gifts. The first day, the 22nd February, was the occasion on which the Tibetan Government, both Church and State, would dominate the proceedings in its official capacity and as a whole. Other days, when also all principal officials of Church and State would be present, were allotted for special participation, and presentation of gifts, by the Regent, the Chinese delegation, and others.

The Tibetan Government proposed that the British Mission should attend with their gifts on the second day and enquired whether they would desire to be present on the first day also. They were careful to point out that there was no question of the British Mission not being welcome on the first day. The question for consideration was whether a more personal appearance on the first day, when there would be no occasion for the presentation of gifts, would tend to detract from the effect of a more official, and also more intimate, appearance on the second day, when there would be opportunity for the presentation with due ceremony of the gifts which were to be offered in token of the felicitations and good-will of

His Majesty's Government and of the Viceroy of India. In matters of ceremony it is usually safe to be guided by the implied wishes of the Tibetan Government, who are past masters in all that falls within the sphere of courtesy and consideration. It was therefore decided that the British Mission should attend on the second day only, in company with their good friends the representatives of Tashi Lhunpo, and there has been no reason to regret the decision. The record of the events of the first day is however based not on personal knowledge but on the evidence of many who were present.

The Potala is the ancient and definite seat of authority in Tibet, and it is not until he has entered the Potala that the Dalai Lama receives the Great Seal.

The essence of the Ser-Thri-Nga-Sol is the public and definitive acknowledgement of his people by the Dalai Lama, and of the Dalai Lama by his people. Probably there is no ceremony in the Western world which is at all nearly equivalent, but there are affinities to many ceremonies which we know. There are elements of the assertion by all of their duty towards their God-King and of the God-King's duty towards his people; of a long drawn out "God Save The King. Long Live The King"; of mystical union and of mutual society help and comfort; and most certainly of communion and of joy and thanks-giving. The scene carried one back also to the great Durbar at Delhi, when King George and Queen Mary sat to receive the homage of those who were already their loyal subjects and to uplift them by their presence. But it was inevitable that thought should travel also to another Child, already God Incarnate when, lying in a manger, He was offered gifts of gold and frankincense and myrrh, or when He first visited the Temple which was already His.

The First Day

By three o'clock on the morning of the twenty-second of February all Lhasa was awake and under a misty moon almost at the full hundreds of officials of Church and State were setting out, with attendants carrying lanterns, to ascend the steep slope of the Potala which loomed in its glory above the city. As some newspapers, which must presumably have relied on imaginative advance 'copy', have published accounts of events which did not occur, the scene may be described in some detail.

The main audience hall of the Potala—in which the Anglo-Tibetan Treaty of 1904 was signed—is a great square room, wholly enclosed, lighted from a central well supported on great painted wooden pillars round which, in frequent repetition, are hung the eight lucky signs. What appears to be the North wall, but is really a screen, advanced several feet from the actual wall, is covered with hangings of silk appliqué work which depict various religious scenes. Against it is set the seven-foot high throne, or rather seat, of the Dalai Lamas. The other three walls, which are set back much farther behind the pillars of the central well than the North screen, are covered with oil paintings, barely visible even by day.

(s) 112 EAD

Long before the Dalai Lama was due to arrive, the dimly lighted room began to fill. To the right of the throne, against the North wall, seated on low cushions, were the principal monk Secretaries of the Tibetan Government, and the State Oracle. To their right front, near the top of the West side of the square, was placed the moderately raised throne of the Regent, and more to the right, the seat of the Prime Minister. Half right from the throne, across the space by which the Dalai Lama was to enter, sat the Abbots of Monasteries, wrapped in mantles of

brocade over their maroon robes, several Incarnation Lamas, and other monks. On the South side of the open central square were the raised cushions on which would sit, in order of seniority from right to left as they faced the throne, the Cabinet Ministers, and other civil Officials. To the left of the throne, with their backs to the North wall, sat the father, monk brother, mother, elder brother, and brother's wife, of the Dalai Lama. On the remaining, East, side of the square, at right angles to the family of the Dalai Lama, and with the throne of the Dalai Lama to the right front, and facing the seats of the Regent, Prime Minister, and Abbots on the other side of the square, are the places usually reserved for those who are to be granted special audience. In these places, on cushions, were seated members of the Chinese delegation, the Nepalese representative and his staff, the Bhutanese representative, and the chief of the Mahomedan Ladakhi traders whose original home is in Kashmir. Mr. Wu Chung Hsin, the Chairman of the Chinese Bureau of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, was provided with a raised seat slightly in advance of the places occupied by the other members of the Chinese delegation, his back to the throne and to the family of the Dalai Lama.

An hour and a half before dawn the members of the Cabinet and other high officials had assembled for a first ceremonious drinking of tea in a small hall outside the private apartment of the Dalai Lama. It was still an hour before dawn when in the main hall a giant lictor, with a voice like the roar of a bull, and swaying a golden incense censer, ordered silence. All stood, while attendants entered the hall bearing warm wrappings which they arranged reverently on the throne. Other attendants then entered and laid a white carpet bearing the eight lucky signs from the main entrance to the foot of the throne. After a pause there was a blare of trumpets. The door was opened and there entered at a brisk pace a small figure, in golden robes and pointed yellow hat with long flaps over the

ears, his hands held by the Chikyab Khenpo and the Kalon Lama. With their help he quickly climbed the lower steps in front of the throne, and he was then lifted by the Chikyab Khenpo to the top of the throne, and made warm and comfortable in his wrappings. After the Dalai Lama there had come the Regent dressed in yellow silk, the Prime Minister and the Trulku of the Takta monastery who with the Regent is responsible for the education of the Dalai Lama, and next the members of the Cabinet, dressed in heavy gold brocade and fur hats, and other Civil Officials according to rank. On entering all prostrated themselves before the Dalai Lama. The same five high ecclesiastics who had been in attendance at the reception at the Norbhu Lingka stationed themselves on the steps of the throne, the Regent proceeded to his own throne, and all present took their seats.

The Ceremony

Monks of the Potala Monastery advanced and in low tones, little more than a mumble, offered prayer for the long life and prosperity of the Dalai Lama. At intervals in the prayer civil officers dressed as monks—maintaining a right established in the days of the Kings of Tibet but yielding to the religious character of the occasion in the matter of dress—presented to the Dalai Lama the eight Lucky signs. Then the Regent uttered words in praise of the Dalai Lama, and wishing him a prosperous reign. He prostrated himself three times before the throne, advanced slowly up the steps of the throne, and offered a white silk scarf which was received on behalf of the Dalai Lama by the Chikyab Khenpo. The Regent and the Dalai Lama then saluted one another by touching forehead to forehead, and the Regent, having received a silk scarf from the Chikyab Khenpo, withdrew to his throne.

After the Regent came the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet, the family of the Dalai Lama—his mother and little sister-in-law being the only women present in the great assembly—Abbots of monasteries, Incarnation Lamas, a troupe of dancing boys who were to take part in the ceremony, and officials of Church and State. On some the Dalai Lama conferred blessing with both hands, other officials and all monks received the blessing with one hand, and the more lowly received the blessing by tassel, held by the Chikyab Khenpo. Each after passing the throne proceeded to offer a scarf to the Regent and to receive his blessing, and presented a scarf to the Prime Minister. For junior officials and the public the traditional method of approach to the throne is in a close packed swaying line, single file, knees bent, body touching body. The ceremony was essentially similar to that of New Year's Day, except that now the throne of the Dalai Lama was no longer empty, and the numbers seeking blessing were so great that the ceremony lasted five hours.

After the Incarnation Lamas had received blessing, the line of those approaching the throne was interrupted to make a place for Mr. Wu Chung Hsin and members of the Chinese delegation.

Meanwhile at intervals two Abbots engaged in shrill debate, each point as it was made being emphasised by crashing the right hand down into or across the left, by the hitching of cloak on shoulder, or by a shrill scream. From time to time tea was served, first to the Dalai Lama from a golden urn with dragon spout—after being first tasted ceremonially as a precaution against poison—and afterwards to all present, each person producing a wooden bowl from the folds of his dress. Rice also was handed round, and barley porridge, and finally large portions of seethed meat. Three times the ceremony of blessing was suspended to make way for the troupe of twelve dancing boys, gaily dressed and armed with jade battle-axes, who pos-

tured in stiff attitudes, made sudden leaps, and finally shuffled out backwards. Towards the end, great piles of sweetmeats, and of pastry bread moulded into fantastic forms, and entire dried carcasses of yaks, bulls, and sheep, often complete with horns and tails, and of glistening pigs from which the bristles had been singed, were set out on some fifty low tables in the middle of the hall. There was a wild rush of servants of the Potala and other poor to seize what is deemed to be food from the Dalai Lama's own table, and each secured what he could, in spite of a great show of violence on the part of tall attendants armed with whips. There was another dance and another debate, the Dalai Lama sent silk scarves to the principal persons present, and the white carpet with the lucky signs, which had been rolled up after his entry, was unrolled between the throne and the doorway. The Dalai Lama was lifted down from his throne, and withdrew as he had come, holding the hands of the Kalon Lama and the Chikyab Khenpo. All then dispersed, the high officials for another ceremonial drinking of tea, and others to their homes.

(It is to be noted that, the ceremony being essentially religious, the usual practice has been that, when the Dalai Lama desires that special consideration should be shown to an individual, such as a Cabinet Minister on his appointment, or to the representative of a foreign country, such person or representative should approach the throne at a late stage in the proceedings. It is understood that on the evening of the 21st February the Chinese delegation expressed a desire to be present on the 22nd, and that they insisted on approaching the throne at an earlier stage. The Nepalese and the Bhutanese representatives, who were aware of the proper procedure, awaited the correct moment, and the Ladakhi Mahomedans who were also present did likewise. It is believed that in the result Mr. Wu Chung Hsin was dissatisfied with his part in the proceedings, and with his seat. He did not himself attend when the gifts of

the Chinese Government were presented a few days later. There was no occasion for a second attendance by the representative of Nepal because the Nepalese gifts had not arrived.]

Gift's from England and India

The Tibetan Government had been happy in their suggestion that the presentation by the British Mission of felicitations and gifts on behalf of His Majesty's Government and His Excellency the Viceroy should take place on the following day, the 23rd February—the first of the days available for participation in the Ser-Thri-Nga-Sol by particular interests, and a day of general rejoicing, being the fifteenth of the Tibetan first month, and full moon. It was also a happy thought, fraught it may be hoped with good augury for the future, that the representatives both of Tashi Lhunpo and of His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim, the only Buddhist State in India, should be associated with the British Mission in offerings to the new occupant of the Golden Throne. Snow had fallen during the night and the hills which surround the Lhasa valley were silver-bright when at eight o'clock in the morning the British Mission, some fifty persons in all, set out, in uniforms of many kinds, to ride on stocky Tibetan ponies, shaggy in their winter coats, along the road which leads from the Norbhu Lingka past the Kundeling Monastery and the main city gate to the Potala. In front rode the two official guides, one in the voluminous maroon robes and gold-tipped conical hat of a monk official, the other in scarlet cloak turned back with sky-blue, and yellow sponge-bag hat. Particularly for the latter, Kheme-Se, who had taken part in the discovery of the Dalai lama, it was a great day. Then came orderlies in scarlet, some with broad hats fringed with tassels of red silk and some in the conical cane-work hats with peacock feathers, and the home-made kilts, which are the

national dress of the Lepchas of Sikkim. Rai Bahadur Norbhu was resplendent in the stiff brocade suitable to his rank as Dzasa, and Rai Sahib Sonam in the golden robes of a Depon. A crowd of pilgrims acquiring merit by performing the five-mile circuit of the Holy Walk made way for the procession to pass, and later from the heights of the Potala, it was seen that many thousands were engaged in the same pious task.

In the interval before the ceremony was due to begin there was time to greet Tibetan friends as they arrived and to take afresh the rich detail of the assembly hall. To the right of the Dalai lama's seven foot throne stood his golden table, inset with great rubies and hundreds of turquoises and pearls. In a long ante-room were being set out the gifts which were to be offered that day. Those from His Majesty's Government and Viceroy included a brick of gold, fresh from the Calcutta Mint. Other gifts were such as, in the light of experience, were likely to be appreciated—ten bags of silver, three rifles, six rolls of broad cloth of different colours, a gold watch and chain, field glasses, an English Saddle, a picnic case, three stoves, a musical box, and a garden hammock. The formal list which had to be handed in included also two pairs of budgerigars—of which more later. The Maharaja of Sikkim's list included two horses and a number of woven and other products of the Sikkim State. But for picturesque and romance pride of place must be given to the traditional gifts of Tashi Lhunpo. Each in the reverent care of a separate monk, there were figures of Lord Buddha and of Chenrezi and of other deities, warmly wrapped in coloured silks; holy books; sets of golden silk clothes for the Dalai Lama; sets of the eight lucky signs in gold and in silver; a six-foot elephant tusk; a rhinoceros horn set in silver; bags of gold dust; silver ingots of the shape, and perhaps the size, of Cinderella's slippers; many rolls of silk and of cloth; and provisions of every kind.

Meanwhile the assembly hall had filled and on re-entering it was felt that, solemn and magnificent as the ceremonial

might be, the atmosphere was intimate. Seated on the raised cushions to the left front of the throne, the British Mission had as its near neighbours, a few feet to the right, the family of the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama entered at a quick pace, holding the hands of the Kalon Lama and the Chikyab Khenpo. He seemed not to be at all tired by the long ceremony of the day before. Prayer was offered in low tones by the Regent and by the Chief Abbot of Tashi Lhunpo, who is the present head of the Tashi Lhunpo administration. The Regent then prostrated himself, saluted the Dalai Lama by touching brow to brow, and returned to his seat. The Chief Abbot of Tashi Lhunpo again offered prayer, prostrated, advanced to the throne, presented to the Dalai Lama through the Chikyab Khenpo the same ceremonial gifts—Mende, image of Tsemape, holy book, and chorten—which had been offered by Bhondong Shappe near Nagchuka, and received blessing. The other representatives of Tashi Lhunpo followed, and meanwhile hundreds of servants of the Tashi Lhunpo Monastery shuffled past the throne, bearing the gifts which had been seen earlier in the morning. Tea was served, after tasting by an official of the Tashi Lhunpo monastery, which was responsible for the day's food, first to the Dalai Lama and then to all present.

Then came the turn of the British Mission. Mr. Gould advanced to the centre of the space before the throne, saluted the Dalai Lama, and presented a silk scarf, and symbolic gifts identical with those which had been presented by the Chief Abbot of Tashi Lhunpo. At the same time the gifts from the British Government and Viceroy were brought forward. The Chikyab Khenpo placed round Mr. Gould's neck a long silk scarf which had been blessed by the Dalai Lama, and the Dalai Lama conferred a more personal blessing by the laying on of both hands. Mr. Gould then retired down the steps of the throne, moved across to the lower throne of the Regent to

whom he presented a scarf, and bowed to the Prime Minister. The other members and personnel of the Mission followed.

The members of the Sikkim delegation took their turn.

As on the previous day, and on the first day of the New Year, the proceedings were suspended from time to time for loud religious argument between two Doctors of Divinity, and for the troupe of dancing boys. It was noticed that at such less solemn moments the young monk brother of the Dalai Lama would, from his position near the side of steps of the throne, quietly steal up to be near the Dalai Lama and keep him company. Such times also gave opportunity for the exchange of friendly glances with the parents and children, and with friends seated round the hall. But Tibetan dignitaries are also critical, and it was learnt afterwards from several sources that Cabinet Ministers and Abbots had noted the exact way in which individual visitors had advanced to the throne, received blessing, or dealt with the tea, rice, seethed meat, and other refreshments offered them; but most of all how they had looked at the Dalai Lama and what note the Dalai Lama had taken of them. Finally tables loaded with sweetmeats, bread, and the carcasses of various animals, were laid out, there was the usual wild rush and belabouring with whips, and the floor was thrice swept so that no precious fragment should be lost. Again tea was served, long white scarves which the Dalai Lama had blessed, and coloured silk wisps of silk which he had knotted, were distributed to some of those present, the carpet bearing the lucky signs was unrolled, and the Dalai lama was lifted down from the throne and withdrew, holding the hands of the two chief officers in attendance. Again a main impression produced was the extraordinary interest of the child in the proceedings, his presence, and his infallible skill in doing the right thing to the right person and at the right time. He was perhaps the only person amongst many hundreds who never fidgeted and whose attention never wavered. It was very evident that the Ser-Thri-Nga-Sol

was indeed the return, in response to prayer, of the Dalai Lama to a throne which by inherent authority was already his.

The same ceremony was performed eight times in all, the only important variation from day to day being in the matter of those whose special opportunity it was to take a main part in the offering of gifts and to provide the ceremonial food. On one day it was the Regent, on others the Chinese delegation, the Cabinet, the National Assembly, lay and monk officials, and representatives of the great monasteries of all parts of Tibet.

New Year Ceremonies

Meanwhile the normal observances of the New Year had been in progress. On the first three days of the New Year, besides the more religious celebration of the New Year at the Potala on the first day, the more secular celebration on the second day, and a State visit to the Oracle of Nechung on the third day, the New Year is observed privately in every home in Lhasa in a manner and in a spirit which recall our Christmas. On other days old customs are kept up in the form of a race of riderless horses, a championship of arms, a parade of feudal cavalry, and arrow shooting, and there are many religious or semi-religious observances. Of these the most striking occur on the fifteenth and on about the twenty-fifth of the first Tibetan month. On the fifteenth day there is a respite from the rigorous observance of the days of the Great Prayer, and the city is given over to unrestrained rejoicing. Round the half mile circuit of the Great Temple enormous pyramidal structures bearing effigies worked in butter of many colours are set up and, as the full moon rises, dense crowds surge round the holy building. An hour after sunset the Regent was to be seen, accompanied by the parents and family of the Dalai Lama, preceded and followed by

military bands, making a careful tour of inspection of the effigies. Lictors forced a way through the masses which thronged the troop-lined streets, lit by flaming cressets borne by servants on long poles. It was thought that the prize for the most popular decoration must be awarded to one, in the centre of which was a sort of mechanical Punch and Judy show which represented the State Oracle in a trance. In spite of the efforts of the lictors the Regent's progress occupied an hour and half. And so home, with memories of the joy and boisterous fun of the Mafeking night of many years ago, on ponies which had had more than enough of the cold and of bands, past the great mass of the Potala, flood-lit by the full moon, and set against an incredibly blue night sky studded with flaming stars.

On the twenty-fifth of the first month the scene was the outer court of the Great Temple; the occasion, the aversion of any evil influences or intentions which might be directed against Tibet, and the resumption of control of the city by the civil power which had, during the twenty days of the Great Prayer, yielded authority to monk officials of the Drepung monastery. In this, the Iron Dragon, year, two of the civil officers most importantly concerned in ceremonial arrangements happened to be the old Rugbeians, Kusho Changopa, known at Rugby as Ringang, and Kusho Kyipup. The former, as Yaso, was, with his colleague the son of Phunkang Shappe, discharging the honourable and costly duty, which comes only once in a lifetime, of organising and commanding some six hundred feudal cavalry. He also manages the Lhasa Hydro-Electric installation, and is the English translator to the Cabinet. The latter is one of the two City Magistrates of Lhasa.

The principal spectators were the Regent, the Cabinet, and the family of the Dalai Lama, seated in balconies overlooking the main gate of the Great Temple. After a parade and mock battle on the part of the feudal infantry the feudal cavalry, headed by the Yasos, rode past. The whips of authority were

thrown down on the ground by the monks who had been exercising temporary control of the city, and were taken up by the servants of the City Magistrates. Monks with trumpets cymbals and drums filed out of the Temple and took up position round the outer court. Celebrants carrying censers butterlamps and jars of holy water occupied the centre and engaged in prayer. Tall banners were set up in the street, and effigies of the evil spirits which were to be expelled from the city were brought out. Finally the Nechung Oracle rushed forth. He danced, staggering and swaying, brandishing a dagger in either hand, and suddenly collapsed. With the help of attendants he rose and made another tottering dash forward. As he came near it could be seen that he was really possessed; his face deathly pale and set in the vacancy of a trance. He collapsed again and again leapt up for another blind tottering rush. The crowd surged round him, and he disappeared in the wake of a procession of figures in skull masks, black-hat dancers, and men carrying banners. At the city gate the effigies of evil spirits were set alight to the accompaniment of volleys of shots, and the Oracle, exhausted and unconscious, was carried back to the Temple.

About the Dalai Lama

The Tibetan Government have wisely decided that opportunity of private approach to the Dalai Lama should not ordinarily be granted. Such direct or indirect information as is available in regard to him is therefore valuable. It has been mentioned that the Dalai Lama is fond of birds, and that the list of gifts to be presented by the British Mission included two pairs of budgerigars. It has also been suggested that the Dalai Lama has a strong will. It was thought that the budgerigars, having survived the winter journey from India, deserved rest

and warmth, and it was hoped that, if they remained for a time in the careful charge of Mr. Fox, the Mission Wireless Operator (well-known to wireless amateurs in almost every country as AC4YN), who is an expert in budgerigars, they would breed. They were not therefore produced for actual presentation on the morning of February 23rd. Two days later there came a messenger from the Potala to request immediate delivery of the birds; then two more messengers, more senior than the last; and then two more. It was soon clear that, if there were to be a battle of wills, the Dalai lama would prove that his will was the stronger; so it was decided that compliance was the only possible course, and Pemba Tsering, Rai Bahadur Norbhu's Head Clerk, was despatched to the Potala with the birds. It was well that he was sent, for other messengers also were on the way, and on arrival at the Potala a high dignitary of the Church was in readiness. Pemba, considerably overcome, handed over the birds, and tried to make himself scarce, but he was sent for by the Dalai Lama who, talking Tibetan clearly and easily, discussed the birds' food and how to keep them safe. Pemba then noticed that the watch, nightingale clock, and musical box, which had been presented at the Norbhu Lingka and at the Potala, were all on the Dalai Lama's table, and he was told that the Dalai Lama, when off duty, would hardly let them out of his sight. And there was evidence of the Dalai Lama's real kindness to animals when a few days later, being persuaded that they might be better off for the time being in Mr. Fox's kindly care, he sent the budgerigars back to Dekyi Lingka, where they became great favourites with visitors.

Not long afterwards, grown-ups still being busy with ceremonies, the opportunity seemed favourable for a children's party—or rather two, because accommodation was limited, and there were well over a hundred children to be invited. The great stand-bys on such occasions are Mrs. Norbhu and Mrs. Changopa, wife of the old Rugbeian Yaso, and "Mary" Tering,

but on the first party day Mary was busy house-warming her new house. Amongst the first to arrive was the family of the Dalai Lama. Kanwal Krishna had recently finished a half-length portrait of the Dalai Lama in oils, done mostly from memory. The eight year old monk brother noticed it immediately he entered the upstairs room in which visitors are received, ran along the cushioned seat which occupies one side of the room, and, if he is always as openly affectionate to the Dalai Lama as he was to the picture, he must be very fond of him indeed. There was nothing wanting in the spirit in which the parents and the three children entered into the fun of the party. At lunch, served on low tables in front of broad flat cushions, called bodens, all present tackled strange English foods with strange implements and good appetites and without hesitation. Then downstairs for a cinema Show, at which The King and Queen's tour in Canada and the United States, and some shots of Balmoral Castle and the Gardens, were favourites, followed, in close competition, by Charlie Chaplin, Mickey Mouse, Do you like Monkeys?, and Kodachrome scenes of Sikkim, Tibet and Bhutan. Then tea with more strange foods faithfully dealt with, crackers, and balloons—and finally a Christmas tree, presided over by two Father Christmases whose native language proved to be Tibetan, and who knew all the children. But all the time the Dalai Lama's brothers and sister-in-law, and especially the monk brother, were wanting to save up crackers and balloons and toys for the Dalai Lama, and they went off happy with a parcel of things in the uses of which they soon instructed him when they had returned to the Potala.

There is no doubt that the Dalai Lama has savior faire. His knack of doing the right thing at the right time has been noted. A week after full moon there was a parade at the Potala of Collectors of Revenue (ranged in order according to the proportions of their realisations and the smallness of their outstandings during the previous year), and of those who had

been responsible for the effigies of butter in the Cathedral square, ranged in six classes according to the merit of their exhibits as judged, by the Regent. It is satisfactory to report that, next after the exhibit of the Tibetan Government who are frequent winners, the chief prize had been awarded to the Punch and Judy exhibit of the Gya-me Monastery—a sort of All Souls' where five hundred prize students from the Sera, Drepung and Gaden monasteries receive post-graduate education. The Collectors of Revenue were received by the Dalai Lama with due solemnity, and those who had provided fun with slaps on the back—which delighted them greatly.

It was anticipated that the child might soon weary of the confined space and restrictions of the Potala and wish to return to the Norbhu Lingka. Such a wish might well have been encouraged by his mother who, while resolute and successful in her endeavour to keep in touch with the Dalai Lama, cannot be permitted to sleep in the Potala and occupies a building outside the Northern gate. And there were those who feared for the health and happiness of a young boy in the dark and cold monastic halls of the Potala, and for his safety on its precipitous heights. But the Dalai lama appears to love the Potala and especially what is generally considered to be an undesirable room, facing North, dark and cold—the favourite place of meditation of the “Great Fifth” Dalai Lama.

Part Three

Tibetan Lamas in Western Eyes*

*H. E. Richardson**

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*Hugh Richardson lived in Lhasa, Tibet, for many years in the period 1936-50 heading the British and later the Indian Mission.

Tibetan Lamas in Western Eyes

The quiet competence with which many Tibetan exiles from their own land have found success in a new life in India, Europe and America is a fine example of their national resilience and initiative allied to a natural friendly charm and good manners.

That is no surprise to those who knew them in Tibet and I remember when Dr. David Snellgrove and I went in 1960 to discuss the future of the Tibetan refugees with the U.N. High Commission and were faced by a generally gloomy view that they would find it very difficult to adapt themselves to strange conditions, we vigorously maintained that, given a helping start, the Tibetans would rapidly do very well in their new surroundings.

Now among the many successful and popular figures in a variety of activities, there are many learned Lamas. Some have established teaching and meditation centres where they inspire their disciples by their dedicated sincerity and conviction. The most notable of the Lamas is, of course, the Dalai Lama.

On 17th March after two shells from Chinese batteries had fallen in the grounds of his summer palace when the hope of finding a peaceful outcome for the growing tension and hostility between Tibetans and Chinese had broken in violence, His Holiness left his capital secretly at night to seek refuge in India. A month later, after a journey full of danger and hardship, he arrived Tezpur in Assam. Instead of the careworn exile some may have expected, the assembled pressmen saw a serene figure of great dignity and presence. He might have been a ruler secure in his throne paying a ceremonial visit; but behind the ease of manner and unfeigned friendliness many could perceive the spiritual depth which without affectation set the Dalai Lama apart from familiarity and made him effortlessly master of his surroundings.

There is beyond doubt something about a high lama that is outside the ordinary experience of our Western civilization. Even among the lesser lamas, of whom there were many, I found as well as calmness, benevolence, dignity and humour, the unfeigned certainty

- so much part of the man that it would never occur to him to analyse or explain it - that he was not only the person we see but the same who had lived in the bodies of many predecessors. He is as sure of that as that he is himself. I shall not speculate how that comes about but now H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama has become an international figure, the friend of religious and political leaders all over the world but also accessible with direct simplicity to many thousands of ordinary people whom he influences by his teaching of peace, mutual understanding and goodwill. I am not going to attempt the impossible task of explaining him; charisma is not something to be put into words, only to be experienced in personal contact. What I set out to do is to recall how some earlier lamas, who were never seen outside Asia, appeared to the eyes of the rare western visitors who chanced to see them in the seven centuries or so preceding this.

The first foreigners to meet Tibetans were Franciscan friars in the 13th century, braving the arduous journey to the court of the Mongol Khans who took pleasure in assembling round them representatives of every available religion whose blessings they accepted, indeed demanded indiscriminately. They also enjoyed hearing debates between champions of the different faiths. In 1254 William of Rubruck met at the court a red-robed Tibetan priest with whom he had a long conversation - in what language it is not specified - and from whom he acquired some ill-digested information. He also saw a ten-year old child-monk said to be a reincarnation of two predecessors. He took part in a debate with the Buddhists in which he claims to have triumphed. If the Tibetans were his opponents they probably enjoyed debating then as much as they do today and, in the end, it was they who won the Khan's favour. William brought to the west the first version of the six letter prayer which he represents as Om Mani Baccam. About half a century later another Franciscan, John of Montecorvino, was at the Mongol capital in Peking where he met a red-hatted "Tibetan" pope - the Grand Trutius, (perhaps the Tisri who was at that time Sa-skya Lama Ye-shes Rin-chen) but he has nothing significant to say about him.

Then and for many years to come, foreigners who came in touch with Tibetans were mainly missionaries and so, professional critics and rivals of Buddhism. Further, lack of a common language stood in the way of mutual understanding. An exception, at least to the extent

that he was a layman, was Marco Polo who was in China and Mongolia some years before Montecorvino. It is not clear whether he actually spoke to a Tibetan but he has a good deal to say about the priesthood whom he describes in general as “idolaters” and “Baksi”. He never uses the word lama but mentions some idolaters as leading an ascetic life in great monasteries where the monks were of a superior kind. Marco’s chief interest was in the more spectacular activities of the Bakshis who were able to control the weather and to perform miracles such as raising the Khan’s drinking cup from one place to appear on the table in front of him. These persons whom he describes as generally dirty and unkempt, resembling perhaps some types of modern ngags-pa, were also credited with good deeds such as persuading the Khan to make charitable donations to the poor.

After the fourteenth century there was a long interval before a further meeting between foreign missionaries and Tibetans; and the scene moved from the east to the western spheres of Tibetan influence when the Jesuit Antonio d’Andrade paid a short visit in 1624 to the kingdom of Tsaparang. His mission had been sparked off by a report from a Portuguese merchant Diogo d’Almeida who claimed to have lived two years in Tibet, perhaps Ladakh, and affirmed that there were traces of Christian practices in that country, among them a bishop called Lama. That appears to be the first mention of the word in the western vocabulary. Andrade won favour with the lay ruler of Tsaparang who pressed him to return, describing him in a letter as his Lama. Andrade did go back the following year and met many lamas with whom he could communicate after a fashion through one of them who spoke Hindi. But close relations or any real study of Tibetan religion were not possible because his patron, the king, was on very bad terms with his priesthood who before long brought about his fall; and with it the Christian mission too came to an end.

A nearly simultaneous Jesuit mission reached central Tibet by way of Bhutan under fathers Cacella and Cabral. In Bhutan they saw the great reverence in which the Dharma Raja - the Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che - was held and the great state in which he lived but they were still seeking for traces of Christian practice and did not get the least idea of Tibetan religious beliefs. When they went on to Shigatse they became, like the Jesuits in Tsaparang, involved in rivalry between their

protector the lay king and the lamas of differing sects, and learnt little more about Lamas and their ways except that they gradually perceived that they were not relics of past Christianity. Moreover they did not display the bigotry of another pair of Jesuits, Grueber and D'Orville, travelling from China to India who were the first foreigners to see Lhasa. They declined to seek a meeting with the Dalai Lama, describing him as "that devilish god the father who puts to death those who refuse to adore him". Doubtless he kept that ungracious thought to himself at that time for he admits that they were treated with great kindness by the Dalai Lama's own brother.

At last, in the early years of the 18th century there came to Lhasa the first foreigner to acquire a sound knowledge of Tibetan and an insight into Tibetan thought and learning. It is difficult to exaggerate the greatness of Ippolito Desideri and impossible in a few words to summarize his achievement. On his arrival at Lhasa in 1716 he was graciously received by the actual ruler, Latzang Khan. Within nine months he had learned enough Tibetan to write, in traditional verse form, an exposition of Christian doctrine which he presented to the King and which created a great stir of interest. The King arranged for him to continue his studies first in Ramoche and later in Sera where he was allowed to celebrate mass for himself. His command of Tibetan led to many discussions with learned lamas and he was engaged on composing a refutation of Buddhism when his studies were interrupted by the Dzungar invasion. The work, sadly now lost, was completed just before he had to leave Tibet in 1721. Later he wrote a careful account of Tibet, its people, customs, administration and, of course, its religion. In general he shows a respect for the institutions and conduct of the lamas and monks; and he found, as has been agreed many times since, that there is much in common in the moral principles and aims of both faiths; but his Christian beliefs made him denounce some aspects of Tibetan Buddhism as idolatrous and abominable. The sticking points then as later were Tibetan denial of a God and their doctrine of transmigration. Although he knew many lamas and had one special favourite who taught him Tibetan, he paints no picture of the character and personality of any of them; it is only of his patron Latzang Khan, to whom he was much indebted and whom he obviously liked, that he gives any personal description.

He records the amazing veneration accorded to the Dalai Lama and to other lamas too: "would to God", he says "that Christian Catholics showed one-hundredth part of such sentiments to... Religious of our Holy Church". And having seen the devotion of the common people to "Urgyen" which made them ready to sacrifice everything they had rather than give up their faith in him Desideri comments "I confess I blamed myself and was ashamed to have a heart so hard that I did not honour, love and serve Jesus, sole Master, sole and true Redeemer, as this people did a traitor and deceiver".

Desideri's view of reincarnating lamas carries Christian logic to a conclusion which modern readers may find an excess of dogma. He was impressed by the recognition of past possessions and associates and by the claims by newly discovered lamas to remember past existences and he rejects the idea that this is simply due to deceit and collusion; so, since it cannot be the work of God, it must be that of the Devil. But his careful examination of other Tibetan religious doctrines is generally impartial and acute.

The Capuchin missionaries who briefly preceded Desideri and continued after his departure until 1745, like him, enjoyed the protection and friendship especially of the lay chief administrator, Pholha Miwang, and also of the Dalai Lama and other monks. But they had no one of the calibre of Desideri among them and although several of them must have acquired the rudiments of Tibetan, only one, the gentle, devout, Orazio Della Penna is said to have been fully proficient in the language. They had many close acquaintances among the lamas with whom they held lengthy discussions; and they met the VIIth Dalai Lama on several occasions. They seem to have been more concerned with preaching their own beliefs than with attempting to understand those of the Tibetans and some of their letters show an amusing naivety. They claim to have proved in argument with learned lamas that the Buddha was neither a deity nor a saint, that it was no sin to kill animals, and that the lamas with whom they were debating could not possibly be reincarnations. The lamas listened attentively. Orazio himself presented the Dalai Lama with a copy of his work refuting Buddhism. The Lama accepted it with interest and politely advised Orazio not to condemn the religion of other people. Nevertheless, one of the Capuchins reported that the Dalai Lama was

teetering on the verge of conversion. All such optimism came to an abrupt end when a handful of lowly Tibetans whom they had converted were persuaded to disown their loyalty to the Dalai Lama. After being given every opportunity to recant, they received a comparatively mild flogging of twenty strokes and the fathers who tried to intercede were told by their patron Pholha Miwang that they should not interfere with the faith of other people, adding "we do not do so". After a short time when Pho Lha and the Dalai Lama declined to receive them, they were once more granted audience and were treated with the customary kindness but it was made clear that their actions were, in Tibetan eyes, an unworthy and discourteous return for years of tolerant hospitality. That was in effect the end for the Capuchin fathers and for a permanent Christian mission in Central Tibet. Dispirited and out of funds, the good Orazio Della Penna, who had been for twenty two years in Tibet, left Lhasa in April 1745 only to die of weariness and sorrow at the age of sixty five soon after his arrival in Nepal.

Nearly thirty years later there was a mission of quite a different sort when Warren Hastings despatched George Bogle as his envoy to Tashilhunpo with the aim of encouraging friendship and commerce between India and Tibet. Bogle, an intelligent, observant and cheerfully sociable Scot, was singularly fortunate to meet in the person of the Third Panchen Lama the most powerful and popular figure in Tibet at the time and he has left the first lively description of a great Lama as a warm human personality as well as a charismatic leader.

On his first receptions at Tashirabgye Bogle was charmed by the engaging manner of the Lama and thereafter for the best part of five months was frequently in his company and in that of his hospitable, light-hearted family. The Lama clearly enjoyed Bogle's presence and treated him with the greatest consideration, sending dress and food to make his stay more comfortable. Bogle attended the Lama on his journey to Tashilhunpo, at formal reception and at religious ceremonies; and, more important, he had about thirty private meetings when the Lama who had a fair knowledge of Hindi, received him with friendly informality, spoke freely about all aspects of the political situation and approved of Bogle's hopes of closer relations between India and Tibet. Bogle was regularly invited to religious services and, from courtesy and

in the interest of occupying his time, he always attended. He has described well enough what he saw of temples, services and so on but shows no real interest in the meaning of it all and on the one occasion when the Panchen initiated a conversation about religion Bogle seems to have absorbed little of his explanation of Buddhist doctrines and, on his part, made it clear that he was no missionary with an evangelistic axe to grind, and was politely vague and non-committal in his interpretation of Christian tenets. They came to the usual agreement that the moral aims of their faiths were similar.

His close acquaintance with his host moved Bogle to admiration, respect and affection. He wrote:

His disposition is open, candid, and generous. He is extremely merry and entertaining in conversation and tells a pleasant story with a great deal of humour and action. I endeavoured to find out, in his character, those defects which are inseparable from humanity, but he is so universally beloved that I had no success and not a man could find in his heart to speak ill of him.

He has much more to say about his gentleness, his preference for conciliation, his diplomatic sagacity, and of the profound veneration and devotion in which he was held; and, in general he says "I never knew a man for whom on so short acquaintance I had half the heart's liking".

No foreigner has lived on terms of closer confidence and intimacy with a Great Lama; and Bogle parted from the Panchen, his family, Tibet and its people, with genuine sadness. Later, writing to his sister, he regrets the absence of his friend the "Teshu Lama" for whom I have a hearty liking and could be happy again to have his fat hand on my head".

Bogle may not have achieved any great practical success but he had paved the way for future friendly relations and Hastings determined to follow this up by another mission. Sadly the Panchen and Bogle were not to meet again; the former died in China in 1780 and Bogle a year later in Calcutta.

So, the next envoy to Tashilhunpo, in 1783, was Captain Samuel Turner, an English officer in the East India Company's army. Hastings

was good at choosing men and Turner like Bogle was able, observant and intelligent, also he was patient and able to get on well with Tibetans but from the rather formal language of his account he seems to have lacked Bogle's warm spontaneity and sense of fun, and he did not have Bogle's advantage in meeting any figure comparable to the Third Panchen Lama for at his visit the new reincarnation was only eighteen months old; but he has left, in the rather staid language of the eighteenth century, an enchanting account of his reception by the child:

The lama's eyes were scarcely ever turned from us and when our cups of tea were empty he appeared uneasy, throwing back his head and contracting the skin of his brow, and continued to make a noise, for he could not speak, untill they were filled again. He took some sugar out of a golden cup... and stretching out his arm made a motion to his attendants to give it to me". Turner then addressed the child briefly for "it was hinted that notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred that he cannot understand". During Turner's speech "The little creature turned, looking steadfastly towards me, with the appearance of much attention while I spoke, and nodded with repeated but slow movements of his head, as though he understood and appreciated every word but could not utter a reply. His parents who stood by all the time eyed their son with a look of affection and a smile expressive of heartfelt joy at the propriety of the young Lama's conduct. His whole attention was directed toward us; he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents, as if under their influence at any time; and with whatsoever pains, his manners may have been so correctly formed, I must own that his behaviour, on this occasion, appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any external action, or sign of authority.

The child, Bstan-pa'i Nyi-ma, grew up to be a personage of almost equal importance to his predecessor, Bogle's friend, and lived to the age of seventy three.

The promising start to relations between India and Tibet was stultified by the closing of the country after the Gorkha invasion in 1792, and it was left to Thomas Manning, a sensitive, intellectual, English eccentric to find his own way to Lhasa in 1811, apparently without serious obstruction. Manning was a friend of Charles Lamb who was fascinated by his “incomparable genius, congenial nature, sparkling eccentricity and addiction to occasional levity”; he was also a considerable linguist who became specially attracted to China and having mastered the language and manners, wanted to travel in remote parts. He arrived at Calcutta in Chinese dress which did little to disguise his nationality, and with a Chinese servant and the help of Chinese living in Tibet, he found his way through Bhutan to Lhasa. His fragmentary diary, though containing several significant observations, is largely given up to the discomforts of the journey. At Lhasa he paid his respects to the Chinese Amban and seems to have received official hospitality from the Tibetans, apparently in his role as a foreign physician. He had no difficulty in securing audience of the Ninth Dalai Lama, Lung-rtogs rgya-mtsho. At his reception Manning prostrated himself three times and offered a scarf and presents. His account is another classic: “The Lama’s beautiful and interesting face engrossed almost all my attention. He was at the time about seven years old (actually, he was just six); had the simple, unaffected manners of a well-educated princely child. His face was, I thought, poetically and affectingly beautiful. He was of a gay and cheerful disposition; his beautiful mouth perpetually unbending into a graceful smile, which illuminated his whole countenance. Sometimes, particularly when he had looked at me, his smile almost approached to a gentle laugh. No doubt my grim beard and spectacles somewhat excited his risibility”. There was an exchange of formal questions and compliments before Manning withdrew. He says: “I was extremely affected by this interview with the Lama. I could have wept through strangeness of sensation. I was absorbed in reflections when I got home”. He paid five more visits to the Lama but has left no detailed comment on those occasions.

In 1845/46 missionaries appeared once more at Lhasa. The Lazarist fathers, Evariste Huc and Joseph Gabet had set out in 1844 from the borders of China, north of Peking, on instructions from the Pope to survey the mission field in Mongolia. A long journey brought

them at the end of 1845, by way of Nagchukha to Lhasa where they were received kindly by the Tibetans but with suspicious hostility by the Chinese Amban who evicted them after about three months and compelled them to return eastwards through Tibet instead of proceeding by the short journey to India. During their stay, like all missionaries before them, they received the patronage of the lay authority, in this case the senior minister, Shatra, whom they wrongly describe as the Regent. They were allowed to make a chapel and preach their faith and they had the usual anodyne discussions about religion with Shatra and a few monks. Owing to a smallpox scare they were unable to meet the Dalai Lama, Mkha's-grub rgya-mtsho, who was then about eight years old, and have little to say about him as a person. But they were much impressed by what they heard of the Panchen Lama, the same whom Turner had met in 1784, now sixty-five years old, a figure of majestic presence with a great reputation for sanctity and learning. He had also acted as Regent for eight months from September 1844 to May 1845. Petech appears to state that he remained at Lhasa until about September 1846 but this seems improbable for the missionaries evidently did not meet him but were advised to go to Tashilhunpo to do so, which they were unable to do.

After the Lazarists the age of explorers and adventurers in the competition to be first into Lhasa, set in. The arrogant bullying and not infrequent deceit by some of these travellers did nothing to enhance the reputation of foreigners in Tibetan eyes. They met few Tibetans of any standing, had no common language and were generally more interested in the topography than the people.

It was not until the mould of exclusion was broken by the rough wooing of the Younghusband expedition that a Great Lama was seen again by foreigners. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama after his enforced flight to China was met by the American diplomat W.W. Rockhill who spent a week with him at Wu-tai shan. He comments on the Lama's undoubted intelligence and ability, great natural dignity, quick temper but kindly cheerfulness; his thoughtfulness and courtesy as a host. He also describes his personal appearance in considerable detail. The Vicomte D'Ollonne also met the Dalai Lama at Wu-tai shan for a short rather formal visit from which he got an impression of the Lama as a statesman and man of action. Later, the friend of

longest standing and closest intimacy was Sir Charles Bell who looked after the Dalai Lama when he took refuge in India in 1910 and was in constant contact with him when he was invited to Lhasa in 1921. Bell has written about the Dalai Lama with deep affection and respect in 'Portrait of the Dalai Lama', which I cannot attempt to summarize: enough to quote him that the Dalai Lama and he were "men of like minds". From Bell's account the powerful personality of the Lama emerges clearly but it is as a strongminded man of action and administrative ability and political interests rather than of deep spirituality and that is the impression conveyed not only by Rockhill and D'Ollonne but also by the Japanese Kawaguchi and by Political Officers who visited Lhasa after Bell until the death of the Dalai Lama in 1933. He was nevertheless profoundly learned in Buddhist doctrine but apparently in an intellectual way and he was eager in his position as head of the church to see that the standard of teaching and achievement in religious studies was improved.

By contrast, his contemporary the Sixth Panchen Lama impressed all who met him by his gentleness and spirituality. Sir Frederic O'Connor, who was fluent in Tibetan, enjoyed a warm friendship with him beginning with visits to Tashilhunpo in 1904 and 1905; he later accompanied the Lama on his visit to India. O'Connor tells a pleasant story that on their first meeting, the Panchen Lama, referring, without the need of explanation, to the visits of Bogle and Turner to two of his predecessors, expressed his pleasure at meeting British officers "again" and recalling the happy relations he had had with them. He also showed O'Connor a number of presents - watches, china, silver and so on - received on those early occasions. O'Connor writes with affection of the gentle and saintly character of the Lama and the love and reverence of his people towards him. Unfortunately he was drawn innocently into a short-lived plan in which O'Connor, perhaps carried away by his admiration for the Lama, sought to set him up as a substitute for the absent Dalai Lama. This had tragic consequences for the Panchen Lama who was to end his life in exile, and for the peace of Tibet. Sir Charles Bell wrote of him: "Truly the Tashi Lama has a wonderful personality. Somewhat short in stature, with a fair and healthy complexion, the smile with which he regards you is touched with the quiet saintliness of one who prays and works

for all mankind, but it is at the same time the smile of a friend who takes a personal and sympathetic interest in your own concerns. It is not surprising that he should be loved by his people. It is good that there is such a man in Tibet; it is good that there are such men in the world". The great explorer Sven Hedin described him in even more enthusiastic terms: "Wonderful, never to be forgotten, incomparable Tashi Lama", and related the deep impression made by his calm, dignity and courtesy and his wide humanity: "Extraordinary, unique, incomparable!"

The participation of the Panchen Lama, whether willingly or not, in political matters beginning with the plans of Frederic O'Connor and continuing through his enmeshment in Chinese designs on Tibet since his flight from Tibet in 1926 until his death in 1937 are a sadly uncharacteristic story. And the involvement of the two Great Lamas in international politics to some extent robbed them of their remote mystery but, although there remained an aura of spirituality it made them more credible human beings.

Today the balance has changed. The present Panchen Lama is something of an enigma. In the early days of the Tibetan tragedy he appeared as the political creature and puppet of the Chinese; and contentious and offensive words were put into his mouth. But people who have met him lately emphasize that when he is able to speak for himself he is a true Tibetan and Buddhist.

The Dalai Lama - Chos-srid gnyis-ldan, Master of Religion and State - is inevitably and deeply concerned with the politics of his country and when he speaks of them, which he does mainly on special occasions and when he is specifically asked about them, he makes his views and meaning clear but in balanced and temperate language. In his daily life and in his public utterances politics are subordinated to his deep, innate feeling for religion, and the good of all beings. His radiant, generous spirituality in all he says has restored the mystique of the incarnate Lama underlying his warm humanity and approachability.

As I have said charisma is not to be described. I make no further attempt to do so and will only add my twentieth century workaday account of a child Lama to the incomparable descriptions by Turner and Manning.

On 6th October 1939 the whole population of Lhasa, so it seemed, had congregated in bright cool autumn weather on the plain below Rikya monastery some two miles from Lhasa, where a great camp had been ornamented with auspicious designs in blue, sheltered the tent proper, the roof of which was even more splendidly decorated with religious symbols in gold, red and blue and with golden peacock figures perched on the roof pole. The front was open showing the inner walls lined with splendid gold, red and blue brocade hangings and with bright banners hanging from the supporting poles. In the centre stood the tall throne of the Dalai Lama, covered in patterned gold and red brocade. There was a lower throne at one side for the Regent. The crowd waited in tense excitement which was heightened when the band of the Dalai Lama's bodyguard, which had gone out to meet him, was heard in the distance; and soon in a cloud of dust and of incense smoke from burners all along the route, the first banners of the procession came in sight. Long trumpets sounded from the monastery above and the crowd pressed forward eagerly. A small troop of Chinese soldiers in dusty quilted clothes came first at a quick pace and then a long line of mounted men, carriers of banners and symbols, and then the whole body of Tibetan officials in ascending importance in magnificent brocades and white or crimson topped hats. At last in the centre of the cavalcade we saw a small carrying chair draped in yellow silk, and through the glass window the face of the little Dalai Lama could be seen looking calmly but curiously at the mass of people prostrating themselves by the roadside, many weeping with joy. The procession moved at a rapid pace up the hill to the monastery where the child was to have a short rest and change his clothes. Soon he was carried down the winding path in the large gilded state palanquin with eight bearers in yellow silk and red tasselled hats. The whole official body accompanied him into the camp to the Peacock Tent where he was lifted on to the throne by his Lord Chamberlain. Everyone then took their proper places in the enclosure and we members of the British Mission and those of the Nepalese and Chinese, were led to our seats. Ours were just in front of the Dalai Lama's father, mother and family. The Regent opened proceedings by prostrating three times before the Dalai Lama and then offering him a scarf; after which the officials began to file past to offer white scarves and receive the blessing. The

child, wearing yellow brocade and a yellow, peaked hat with a fur brim sat quietly and with great dignity, completely at ease in these strange surroundings, giving the proper blessing to each person, with both hands or one, or with a tassel on the end of a rod, according to their rank. He looked often in our direction, partly because we were so near to his parents but also it seemed, fascinated by our unfamiliar appearance; and when our turn came to offer our scarves he was smiling broadly and as I bent down for his blessing he took a pull at my hair. But a greater centre of amusement and interest were the rosy face and fair hair of Reginald Fox, the Mission Radio Officer; the Dalai Lama felt his hair for quite a long time. After us the stream of worshippers continued to flow for over an hour until at last tea in a golden tea-pot studded with turquoise was brought in; the tea was first tasted formally by a high official then poured into a jade cup and offered to the Dalai Lama. He was then lifted down and carried back in state up to the monastery.

Although not surprisingly he seemed a little tired at the end of the long day his behaviour through the whole ceremony was movingly impressive. He maintained a calm and interested appearance and a look of happy benevolence. The rapt devotion of the Tibetan crowd could almost be felt and all of us like Manning experienced “the strangeness of sensation”.

Later, Sir Basil Gould came to Lhasa for the installation ceremony. By then I had left Lhasa but Gould has left a very full account of the story of the discovery and recognition of the child as well as of the enthronement. He tells of his receptions by the Dalai Lama; describing his steady gaze and absorption in what was going on, and using the language of Isaiah “Unto us a child is born”.

When I returned to Lhasa in 1944 and on many later occasions, I was formally received by the Dalai Lama and never failed to be impressed, as he grew up, by his composure, his self-possession and his look of kindly interest. As he was a minor all my time in Tibet and state affairs were conducted by the Regent, I never had an opportunity to meet and talk to him privately. During much of that time my friend Heinrich Harrer was frequently in contact with the Dalai Lama whose curiosity about the outside world and things mechanical he was able to satisfy in many ways. Harrer has told his remarkable story in ‘Seven

Years in Tibet'. I was fortunate in being able to exchange, through him, messages with the Dalai Lama to whom I used to send cinema films, illustrated magazines and books, and flowers from our garden. But it was only after he had reached safety in India that I was able to meet him personally on several occasions, first at Mussoorie in 1960 and then at Dharamsala in 1961 when I was privileged to enjoy his hospitality at delightfully informal family lunch and dinner parties. At those meetings I could feel the immediate impact of his personality. Behind the simple often humorous friendliness of manner shone a transparent goodness, an inner peace devoid of hatred and a wide compassion not only for the pressing needs of his own people but for the wider troubles and cares of all humanity. That feeling perhaps developed even great intensity in the travels he was later to undertake all over the world and in his meetings with leading religious and political figures in many countries.

For me, my experience in those meetings in India showed that 'His Holiness' was not merely a title but a reality.

The Discovery, Recognition and Enthronement of Tibetan Lamas have always been mystical and strange for the westerners but at the same time it is extremely interesting and fascinating.

This book contains three accounts written by persons who have witnessed the actual happenings during the Discovery, Recognition and Enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet.

The first part, *Discovery of the Dalai Lama*, is an eye witness account by Khemey Sonam Wangdu, who was a civil servant of the then Government of Tibet and assistant to the officer who led the search party to the Amdo region.

The second part *Report on the Discovery, Recognition and Enthronement of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama* is a report by Sir Basil J. Gould. Sir Basil J. Gould was a British delegate to attend the enthronement ceremony of H. H. The 14th Dalai Lama in 1940 in Lhasa, Tibet, representing His Majesty's Government and His Excellency the Viceroy of India.

The third part *Tibetan Lamas in Western Eyes* was written by Hugh E. Richardson. Hugh E. Richardson is one of the world's leading authorities on Tibet, her history and culture. He lived in Lhasa for nine years between 1936-1950, heading the British and later the Indian Mission there.

It is hoped that this book will portray a true picture of traditional Tibetan methods followed in Discovering the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet and of the actual events which took place during that time.