

THE MISSIONS OF BOGLE AND TURNER ACCORDING TO THE TIBETAN TEXTS

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Warren Hastings, the most farsighted man the British ever sent to India, was the only governor-general who tried to open friendly relations with the Tibetans on a mainly commercial basis, without paying excessive attention to international politics. He twice sent British officials on mission to the Tashi-Lama, and maintained an interchange of friendly letters and presents with Tashilhunpo during the whole period of his governorship. The preference given to the Tashi-Lama was due not merely to the fact that he was the Tibetan authority nearest to India; the Third Tashi-Lama Blo-bzañ-dpal-ldan-ye-śes (1738-1780) was a forceful personality who had succeeded in gaining the highest influence both in Tibet and at the Chinese court. On the other hand the Eighth Dalai-Lama Blo-bzañ-ājam-dpal-rgya-mts'o (1758-1804) was still a minor, and even after reaching majority proved to be a man of little energy and independence; thus it came about that the jealousy and suspicions of the Chinese ambans and of the Tibetan regent always prevented Warren Hastings's envoys from reaching Lhasa.

The picture we gain from the travel accounts of the British envoys is fascinating, but one-sided. Nobody till now had thought of looking into the Tibetan records of the time for finding out what the Tibetans thought of these missions, of their aims and their character. The only exception is Sarat Chandra Das, who in one of his informative, but confused and unreliable articles, gave an abstract of the passages of the *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-*

Lama concerning the mission of George Bogle ¹). His version is garbled and sometimes the translator has inserted his own opinions without distinguishing them as such. I have thought it therefore useful to take up the subject again.

The Tibetan sources for the history of the seventies and eighties of the 18th century are the official biographies of the Eighth Dalai-Lama and of the Fourth Tashi-Lama, the autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama, the collection of lives of the K'ri Rin-po-c'e (abbots of dGa'-ldan) and the biographies of some private individuals (Dharmabhadra, Yoñs-ādsin-c'en-po). A perusal of these texts elicited the fact that the British missions are nowhere mentioned but in the lives of the Third and Fourth Tashi-Lamas. This was to be expected, because they never went to Lhasa and had thus no occasion of coming into the range of view of the chroniclers of that region; for the same reason they find no place in the contemporary collections of Chinese state documents (*Ta-ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu*). What we can find in the biographies of the Tashi-Lamas is not much and is a bare record of formal audiences; but we must account ourselves lucky for this little. Bogle and Turner remained only some months in Tibet, but still left their trace in the Tibetan records, while the Italian missionaries who preceded them and who stayed in Lhasa for so many years ²) are never mentioned in the Tibetan sources; I have vainly hunted for stray references in all these dreary volumes of biographical texts.

I. THE MISSION OF GEORGE BOGLE

The first British envoy to Tibet was George Bogle (1746-1781), a civil servant of the East India Company. The absorbing tale of his

¹) S. Ch. Das, Contributions on the Religion, History etc. of Tibet: V, The Lives of the Panchen Rinpoche or Tashi-Lamas, in *JASB* 1882, pp. 15-52. But S. Ch. Das nowhere mentions the *Autobiography* as his source.

²) The Jesuit Ippolito Desideri 1716-1721; the mission of the Italian Capuchins 1707-1711, 1716-1733, 1741-1745.

journey can be read in the fine edition published by Clements Markham ¹⁾, in which can be found also a useful abstract of the diplomatic precedents of the mission. To the history of these precedents the Tibetan texts contribute several useful pieces of information.

The Tibetan source for this mission is the Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama ²⁾. This prince of the Lamaist church was born on December 21st, 1738, in the village of bKra-sis-rtse in Śaṅs ³⁾ and was officially proclaimed on October 26th, 1740. He was carefully educated in Tashilhunpo, and developed into a most open-minded and worldwise churchman. He had a strong leaning for politics and diplomacy. His own temporal position afforded him few possibilities of exerting his talents, as he ruled only over three districts in Western gTsañ, which the Chinese had granted to his predecessor in 1728. This territory too he held only under the suzerainty of the Dalai-Lama and the supervision of the Chinese Ambans in Lhasa. But the minority of the Eighth Dalai-Lama, which lasted from 1758 to 1776, gave him the occasion for increasing his influence. In these years he was one of the most important factors in Tibetan politics, in excellent

1) *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, London 1879. Cfr. also Diskalkar, Bogle's embassy to Tibet, in *Indian Historical Quarterly* IX (1933), pp. 420-438.

2) Full title: *rJe bla ma srid z̄i gtsug rgyan paṅ c'en t'ams cad mk'yen pa blo bzaiṅ dpal ldan ye śes dpal bzaiṅ poi šal sna nas kyi rnam par t'ar pa*. First volume (*Ka*) of the complete works (*gsun-ābum*). The term autobiography is really a misnomer. The work is more in the nature of a court diary, relating day by day (and its chronology is therefore very exact) the religious ceremonies and the official audiences granted by the Tashi-Lama. Because of its very character, it does not afford much insight in the current events of Tibet. It stops with the end of 1776. This work and all the other Tibetan texts quoted in this paper are found in the private library of Professor Giuseppe Tucci, who very kindly allowed me to use them.

3) Teshu-tzay of Bogle, in the lower valley of the Śaṅs (Shiang) river, a left-bank tributary of the Tsangpo, to the N. N. E. of Tashilhunpo.

relations with the Nomun Khan De-mo Nāg-dbañ-ājam-dpal, usually styled the De-mo Khutuktu, regent of Tibet from 1757 to 1777. The Tashi-Lama was a most energetic and active ruler, always eager for information about countries outside Tibet. Through his political activities he was well acquainted with things Chinese. On the other hand, relations with the southern countries were practically non-existent. The Himalaya, and still more so the pestilential jungles of the Terai and the Duars, cut Tibet effectively off any political interference from India. Cultural relations had gradually ceased after the Musalman conquest. A certain revival during the times of the Fifth Dalai-Lama ¹⁾ was only shortlived. Still India had impressed too deeply its mark on Tibetan culture; it had remained forever in Tibetan minds the holy country of Buddhism, whence religion, literature and culture had come to the Land of Snows. The knowledge of Sanskrit in Tibet had nearly died out. One of its last representatives was the Third Tashi-Lama himself; in an interview granted on the 12th day of the 8th month ²⁾ of 1771 to dGa-bži Pan-

1) Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, p. 75. On the Tibetan translation of Pāṇini made by order of the Fifth Dalai-Lama, see Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya, Tibetan translation of Prakriyā-Kaumudī and the mention of Siddhānta-Kaumudī therein, in *Indian Historical Quarterly* XX (1944), pp. 63-69.

2) Good tables for the reduction of the Tibetan calendar have been prepared by Pelliot (Le cycle sexagénnaire dans la chronologie tibétaine, in *JA* 1913/1) and Stael-Holstein (On the sexagenary cycle of the Tibetans, in *Monumenta Serica* 1935). But these tables refer only to the years. The correspondance of Tibetan months and days with those of the Gregorian calendar has not yet been worked out. The *Life of the Seventh Dalai-Lama* and the *Autobiography of the Second Tashi-Lama* employ the Hor months and days, by which they mean the Chinese calendar. In fact, the dates for the same event given by these Tibetan texts and by the Chinese documents are always identical. Besides, if we compare the Gregorian dates given by Desideri and the Capuchins with the corresponding dates of the two above-quoted texts, worked out according to the tables of Fr. Hoang (*Concordance des chronologies néoméniques chinoises et européennes*, Shanghai 1910), the coincidence is again perfect.

The dates in the *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama* are apparently in the purely Tibetan calendar. If worked out according to the Chinese calendar, they always show a

dita¹) he had bantered him because of his name of Pandita, which of course was a mere courtesy title, and had challenged him to reply to a sentence which he was going to pronounce in Sanskrit²). He possessed also some knowledge of Hindustani; on the 5th day of the 9th month of 1771 he was visited by one Ācārya Su-ka-de-bo-gi-ri (Sukhadevagiri) from India, and he was able to hold with him "an Indian conversation in the language of the Ācārya"³). Besides these cultural interests of the Tashi-Lama, there was a sharp increase in the importance of trade relations. Bengal and Bihar had just come out of the long turmoil which followed the break-up of the Moghul empire, and the strong hand of the British had restored security to the trade routes in the plains of Eastern India. Trade with the hills was practically monopolized by that curious class of wandering monks, half traders and half religious mendicants (and sometimes robbers), the Gosains. This had been going on for many years; already in 1741 the Capuchin Father Cassiano Beligatti, depicting a religious procession in Lhasa, mentions the presence of "about 40 Azarrà (*ācārya*), i.e. religious men from Hindustan, who are rich merchants, proceeding on horseback and dressed in China brocades"⁴). Through them, some European produce began to find their way into Tibet. One of the presents offered by Ācārya Sukhadevagiri to the Tashi-Lama was a pair of European spectacles⁵), which created a mild sen-

difference in excess or default from Bogle's dates. This difference is never greater than seven days. It is not much, but enough for preventing me from giving in the text the European equivalent of Tibetan dates.

1) A Tibetan nobleman, who was a member of the Lhasa council of ministers from 1740 to 1783. He died after 1788.

2) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 307 b.

3) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 308a. Bogle too speaks of the Tashi-Lama's knowledge of Hindustani; Markham, p. 84.

4) Magnaghi, *Relazione inedita di un viaggio al Tibet del P. Cassiano Beligatti da Macerata*, Florence 1902, pp. 82-83.

5) *P'e-ren sel-mig*. This is the first occurrence in Tibetan literature of the word *p'e-ren*,

sation at the court of Tashilhunpo. European glass ware and fire-arms are frequently mentioned in the following years.

The first Indian ruler to recognize the increased importance of Tibet for trade relations, was Chait Singh, raja of Benares (1770-1781). Though nominally dependent from the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, the ambitious prince was behaving quite independently. Some approaches by the Tashi-Lama made him eagerly grasp at the occasion for opening diplomatic and commercial relations with Tashilhunpo, screening them behind the religious motive. In the fifth month (June-July) of 1771 the Tashi-Lama had sent the monk (*dge-slon*) Druñ Ram-pa Blo-bzañ-ts'e-riñ of aBronrtse¹) to carry offerings and presents to the Mahabodhi at Bodh-Gaya and to several Nepalese sanctuaries. On the 6th day of the 10th month of 1772 the monk was back in Tibet and had an au-

a transcription of the Persian-Indian Ferengī, European. See Laufer, Loan words in Tibetan, in *T'oung Pao* XVII (1916), n° 141. But Laufer's discussion can now be completed in certain points, and it is worth while to trace the story of this interesting word. Its introduction in Tibet can be dated with a fair approximation in the following manner. The word is unknown to Tibetan texts prior to 1771, but we can look for it in the documents issued by the Tibetan authorities to the Capuchin mission in Lhasa. As already stated, the mission stayed in Lhasa 1707-1711, 1716-1733 and 1741-1745. For the first period we have no documents. For the second there are the six documents issued by the Dalai-Lama, by the regents K'añ-c'en-nas (1721-1727) and P'o-lha-nas (1728-1747) and by the finance department, and reproduced in Giorgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Rome 1762, pp. 651-662. The word *p'e-ren* is not found in them, and the Capuchins are called solely by the term mGo-dkar Bla-ma (white-headed lamas). For the third period we have two documents granting religious freedom, issued in 1741 by the Dalai-Lama and P'o-lha-nas; the originals are still preserved in the Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide in Rome (*Scrittura originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali*, vol. 711, ff. 162 and 164), and I hope to publish them shortly. In both of them the word *p'e-rañ* is used as a synonym for the Italian word Europei (transliterated E'u-ro-p'a'i in the Tibetan text). The same word (misspelt *p'o-rañ*) is found in a letter of the *bka'-blon* Stoñ-pa to Father Francesco Orazio della Penna, quoted in Giorgi, p. 654 n. It is thus likely that the word was brought in Tibet between 1730 and 1740, probably by the Gosains, who had begun to frequent the Lhasa market in that period.—A second stage is represented by our *p'e-ren*; and still later the word received a Tibetan garb as *p'yi-gliñ*, meaning literally [man of] foreign countries.

1) Dongtse on the Nyangchu, to the S. E. of Tashilhunpo.

dience with the Tashi-Lama at bDe-c'en-rab-rgyas ¹), where the Tashi-Lama had taken his residence in the 11th month (December) of 1771, to avoid a smallpox epidemic then raging in Tashilhunpo. The monk had brought with him complimentary letters from the Gurkha king and the ruler (*sa-skyon*) of Benares, along with some earth from the holy places and water of the Ganges. He satisfied all the eager inquiries of the Tashi-Lama about present conditions in the old holy land of Magadha ²). Shortly afterwards, on the 24th day of the 11th month, the Tashi-Lama was visited by one Ācārya Su-ga-dhi-gi-ri (Sugatigiri), who presented him with many rare objects: a right-winded conch, pearls and corals, spectacles, a Singhalese parrot ³).

As intercourse had shown itself utterly feasible, the Tashi-Lama in 1773 sent out again Blo-bzañ-ts'e-riñ with three other monks to visit and carry gifts to the Mahabodhi, Pre-yag (Allahabad), Vā-ra-na-si (Benares), the Nairañjana river (near Gaya) and other holy places. The other three monks could not bear the heat of the plains and, like so many other Tibetan pilgrims, died in India. There is a long complaint in our text about the heat, the poisonous snakes and the robbers on the roads. But Blo-bzañ-ts'e-riñ surmounted all these difficulties, powerfully aided by the respect that the bare mention of the name of the Tashi-Lama elicited in India. He arrived to Ka-śi or Vā-ra-na-si and sought an audience with its ruler Tse-ṭe Siñ Bha-dur (Chait Singh Bahadur). The monk laid to his feet the presents of the Tashi-Lama, and Chait Singh rose from his *gaddi* in order to receive them; he generally showed the highest respect for the Tashi-Lama and his envoy. After a short stay, Blo-bzañ-ts'e-riñ left Benares with an escort supplied by the raja, and after a fortnight's journey reached Gaya.

1) Desheripgay of Bogle, near Nam-riñ (Namling-dsong of the maps) on the Shiangchu.

2) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 321 b.

3) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 322a.

He made his obeisances and laid his offerings before the Mahabodhi, praying for the long life of the Tashi-Lama, for the prosperity of the dominions of the Chinese emperor and for the welfare of the Buddhist teaching and community. Soon the rumour spread in the region that the Tashi-Lama had sent offerings to the Mahabodhi, and a great crowd gathered to gaze at the monk from the Land of Snows, each of those present honouring him according to their various customs. After having performed his pilgrimage to the remaining holy places, Blo-bzañ-ts'e-riñ returned to the court of Chait Singh, who thanked him sincerely for having come back. Under the guidance of the raja, the monk visited the holy places of Benares. When he left, he was accompanied by envoys sent by the raja and by his general (*dmag-dpon*) Lal-la Ka-si-mi-ri Mal (Lala Kashmiri Mal). These envoys, bearers of complimentary letters to the Tashi-Lama, were Gu-sañ Ki-sin-pu-ri (Gosain Kishenpuri) and So-pa-ram (Sobha Ram). As supposed men of religion, they were entitled to a special audience with the Tashi-Lama. And in fact the Benares envoys and Blo-bzañ-ts'e-riñ on the 6th day of the 7th month of 1774 were received by the Tashi-Lama at bDe-c'en-rab-rgyas. Of course the Tashi-Lama was flattered by receiving compliments and presents from a ruler of India. He at once caused the letter to be translated into Tibetan. As it contains only the usual empty forms of courtesy and has been fairly faithfully translated by S. Ch. Das, it is useless to give its version here; the same can be said of the letter of Kashmiri Mal. The black stone images of Śākyamuni and Maitreya brought by Blo-bzañ-ts'e-riñ from Bodh-Gaya were the object of solemn cult by the Tashi-Lama and his attendants ¹).

Blo-bzañ-ts'e-riñ was later sent to Tashilhunpo to place the

1) This interesting little travel relation is found in the *Autobiography of the Third Tashi Lama*, ff. 343b-345b. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, *Op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.

presents from India before the image of Śākyamuni, reciting two Sanskrit ślokas composed by the Tashi-Lama for the occasion ¹). On the 15th day of the 9th month some Ācāryas (details lacking) visited the Tashi-Lama, offering him European wares as presents.

All the above narration has no direct bearing on our purpose, but it goes to show that the intercourse between Tashilhunpo and India had become rather frequent in the three years preceding Bogle's mission, so that Warren Hastings's decision to despatch an envoy was not wholly a stroke of genius, but was dictated by precedents and present conditions. It goes also to explain the presence of the "vakils of Cheyt Singh" whom Bogle found at the court of the Tashi-Lama.

It is beyond the scope of this article to give an account of the precedents of the mission; I must refer the reader to Markham's useful preface to Bogle's *Narrative*. A mere summary of the main events may suffice. The ruler (*sde-srid* or *srid-skyoñ*) of Bhutan had overrun Sikkim some years before. In 1771 ²) the Bhutanese descended in the plains and invaded Kuch-Behar, taking the Raja prisoner. The royal family applied for help to Warren Hastings, who despatched a battalion of sepoy. The Bhutanese were driven from Kuch-Behar and chased into the Duars (winter 1772-1773). The Bhutanese government in these straights entreated the Tashi-Lama to intervene in their favour. The Lama sent a mission to Calcutta, consisting of a Tibetan named Paima (Padma) and a Hindu pilgrim, that Purangir Gosain who later journeyed several times (till 1786) to Tashilhunpo, alone or in attendance on the British envoys. They brought a letter of the Tashi-Lama, in which he begged the governor-general to stop hostilities against Bhutan. This letter, received in Calcutta on March 29th, 1774,

1) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 347 a-b.

2) Not in 1772 as found in Markham.

had the desired effect. The peace treaty with Bhutan was concluded at once, and Hastings seized the favourable occasion for sending a mission to open relations with Tibet. On May 13th George Bogle was formally appointed for this task ¹).

Thus far the English documents. What the Tibetans knew of the matter amounts to this: On the 5th day of the 11th month of 1771 the Tashi-Lama had received envoys sent by the Bhutanese ruler (*aBrug-sde-srid*) b^ṣṣi-dar ²). They brought the reply to a former request of the Tashi-Lama: the latter had sent an official to the Bhutanese ruler, to kindly advise him that

the Raja of Gha-ṣi-ka (Kuch-Behar) who had been taken prisoner by the *sde-srid*, should better be released.

The *sde-srid* had at once professed himself submissive to the will of his spiritual superior, to whom he sent rich presents. Now a letter of his was handed to the Tashi-Lama, in which it was written that

the *sde-srid* had not in the least opposed this order, and the Raja of Gha-ṣi-ka had been immediately released ³).

This diplomatic success was well noted by the rulers of the Himalayan states. On the 1st day of the 7th month of 1773, the Tashi-Lama received a large Gurkha embassy, headed by Bharma-ca-ri Bha-gi-ra-thi (Brahmacari Bhagirathi) and Ja-yas-ram T'a-pa (Jayas Ram Thapa). Besides their own business, the embassy had also a message from their ruler for the Tashi-Lama:

On this occasion the Gurkha ruler submitted: it is a fact that there is a war going on between some rulers (*sa-skyoñ*) such as those of Bhutan (*aBrug*) and of the Europeans (*P'e-reñ*); if Your Holiness would interpose your mediation, it would be a great favour.—[The Tashi-Lama] replied as follows: What the ruler requests, is a just thing. It will be useful against

1) Markham, pp. LXVII-LXVIII, I n.

2) Bogle's Deb Judhur, Eden's Deb Jeedah.

3) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, ff. 311b-312a. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, Op. cit.,

the interruption of trade and the war in Bhutan. Not only this Nepal is the country of the kings of the dynasty of king Amśuvarman, but it is also the territory where exist both the orthodox religion and the one of the common people, both orthodox and heterodox. To repair the damage to their worship-places and temples, and to improve the facilities and routes for the pilgrims, this must be done by the king. This letter of reply was handed out [to the envoys] with parting gifts for each ¹).

It seems thus that Gurkha pressure contributed a great deal towards the mediatory step of the Tashi-Lama.

The diplomatic action of the Tashi-Lama is thus described in his autobiography:

Formerly, when the Raja of Gha-ṭi-ka was taken prisoner by the *sde-srid* of Bhutan bŽi-dar, the servants of the Raja had applied for support to the lord (*bḍag-po*) of Bhan-gha-la in India. Because of this the Bhutanese and the lord of Bhan-gha-la fell out and began actions of war. Some districts of the Bhutanese were evacuated [by their troops] and many creatures of that country were harassed by the miseries [of war]. As in my mind I could not bear it, I sent my messengers (*sku-ts'ad*) with a letter giving the following advice: "Having well thought about past and future profits and losses, there is need for love and compassion". When this letter arrived, the lord of Bhan-gha-la too listened with respect to my word. He gave back the districts of Bhutan, and on both sides they remained without fighting. This was the remedy which produced the happiness of many creatures. Thus, when the compassion of the most excellent Lama begun, he issued his utterances and letters also in that country of various religious systems and geographical features, by his power encompassing all the creatures who are innumerable like the light of the Lord of the Seven Horses (the sun). Everybody received it respectfully as if it were the command of his own master. Having extended to a long distance the appeasement of fighting, he acted according to the suitable time for fulfilling his glory of utility and happiness ¹).

1) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, ff. 329 a-b.

2) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, ff. 343b-344a. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

This passage is rather a disappointment; it gives only vague hints about the interesting letter to Warren Hastings, edited by Markham in its English version (made through the medium of Persian). I wonder if the Tibetan original is still preserved in the archives of the Government of India in Calcutta.

No further mention of the matter is found in the *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, till the arrival of Bogle. The latter had left Calcutta in the middle of May 1774 and had travelled to Bhutan. In Tassisudon (bKra-śis-c'os-rdsoñ) he succeeded with some difficulty in obtaining from the Tashi-Lama the permission to proceed to gTsañ. In October he left Tassisudon, and on November 8th he arrived to bDe-c'en-rab-rgyas; on the same afternoon he was received for the first time by the Tashi-Lama. The *Autobiography* places the audience on the 2nd day of the 10th month, and its entry is very short and formal:

Ācārya Bho-gol with his attendants offered presents of glass bottles etc., and took their appointed places for the distribution of ceremonial tea; they made conversation in the Nagara language (Hindustani) ¹).

This notice is enclosed among several others referring to various Tibetan dignitaries who were received on the same day; so this was no special audience. The title of Ācārya of course did not indicate a Sanskrit scholar, but was normally applied to every man of parts coming from India. The Tashi-Lama must have been glad to have the occasion of talking Hindustani, "of which he has a moderate knowledge and is fond of speaking it" ²).

Subsequent meetings were much more cordial and informal; but for this very reason they are not registered in the *Autobiography*, which, being a court diary, mentions only the state audiences. On December 7th the Tashi-Lama, accompanied by Bogle, left bDe-

1) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 349 a. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, Op. cit., p. 35.

2) Markham, p. 84.

c'en-rab-rgyas on his return journey to Tashilhunpo, and some days later he was back in his palace after an absence of three years. The journey is described in some detail in the *Autobiography*, which however merely confirms in the broad lines Bogle's narrative (specially concerning the enthusiastic welcome in Tashilhunpo), without any substantial addition. The Tashi-Lama left on the 12th day of the 11th month, halted two days in his native village bKra-sis-rtse, and reached Tashilhunpo on the 17th day of the 11th month ¹).

On the 18th day of the 11th month the Tashi-Lama gave a state audience, to which a good many dignitaries and envoys from Tibet and Mongolia were present; in the midst of the long list we find

Bho-gol Sa-heb of the land Bhan-ga-la in India together with his attendants, and the envoys of the ruler of Benares Tse-te Siñ Bha-dur and of Ka-si-mi-ri Mal, the aGu-bzañ (Gosains) with their servants ²).

It is the same audience described by Bogle in Markham, pp. 102-103 and 146-147. Bogle writes that he took part in many others of these ceremonies, but only one more is registered in the Tibetan text. It took place on the 28th day of the 11th month:

On this day [the Tashi-Lama] gave to Bho-gol Sa-heb and his attendants a joyful midday feast (*gun-ston*) at his side; his order was exactly carried out (*bka'-zib-tu-p'eb*s) ³).

This is the audience of the 23rd December described by Bogle in Markham, pp. 148-149.

Bogle's mission was not wholly successful. He had met with several difficulties. It seems that the Benares envoys were intriguing against him. The Tashi-Lama had been uniformly helpful and sympathetic, but the Lhasa regent De-mo Khutukhtu ⁴) was

1) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, ff. 351 a-352 a.

2) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 352 a.

3) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 354 a.

4) Bogle's Gesub Rimboché, i.e. rGyal-t's'ab Rin-po-c'e.

watching with jealousy and hostility the activities of the mission. His two envoys to Tashilhunpo were decidedly unfriendly. Still, Bogle had opened the way to what promised to be a regular intercourse. His task was now to an end, and on April 3rd, 1775, he took his official leave from the Tashi-Lama. Says the *Autobiography*:

On the 7th day of the 3rd month during an interview after dinner with Bho-gol Sa-heb, the Bengalis and their attendants, [the Tashi-Lama] held a conversation in the language of Magadha (*yul-dbus*), and gave to the two men leave to depart, with pleasing presents of garments etc. and with his reply [to the governor-general] along with accompanying gifts¹⁾

On the 7th April 1775 Bogle left Tashilhunpo for India.

The Benares envoys stayed in Tibet only a few weeks more. On the 18th day of the 5th month.

Ki-šiñ-pu-ri, the envoy of the ruler of Ka-ši in India, was given parting presents; the Tashi-Lama handed to him a message with gifts for the Ka-ši Raja and for Kashmiri Mal²⁾.

The role of these envoys was over once and for all. In the same year Shuja ud-daula, the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, ceded to the East India Company the suzerainty over Benares. Direct British supervision cut short Chait Singh's ambitious schemes, even before they could take a definite shape.

This is not the place for entering in further particulars about Bogle's mission. Let us only remember that the friendly intercourse between Warren Hastings and the Third Tashi-Lama continued till the latter's departure for Peking in 1779. In the *Autobiography*, which stops with the end of 1776³⁾, there is only one more entry about these relations. On the 13th day of the 12th month, i.e. in the second half of January 1777, the Tashi-Lama

1) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 357 b. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, Op. cit., p. 35.

2) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 359 a. Cfr. S. Ch. Das, Loc. cit.

3) Or more precisely with February 1777, as the Tibetan year begins with the new moon of February.

sent out some men to convey his compliments to the Bha-ra Sa-heb (Bara Saheb, the Great Lord, the governor-general) ruler of Bhan-gha-la in India, and to offer sacrifices at the various holy places of that country ¹).

II. THE MISSION OF SAMUEL TURNER

When the Fourth Tashi-Lama Blo-bzañ-dpal-ldan-bstan-pai-ñi-ma (1781-1854) was formally installed at Tashilhunpo, Warren Hastings sent at once a mission there, to convey his congratulations and to continue the friendly relations started by Bogle. For this duty he selected captain Samuel Turner ²), who travelled by the same route as Bogle and arrived at Tashilhunpo on September 22nd, 1783. After a stay of two months, he left for Bengal, and on his way back on December 4th (and again on the 6th) he paid his respects to the child Tashi-Lama in the monastery of Ter-paling ³). The official *Life of the Fourth Tashi-Lama* ⁴) has the following entry about Turner's mission. The Tashi-Lama

gave an audience to the congratulatory envoy, minister (*blon-po*) Dha-ša ⁵) together with his suite of about ten men, sent by the Bha-ra Sa-heb of the Inka-ral-c'e (English) ⁶), lord of Ka-la-ka-dha (Calcutta). He brought many not unconsiderable presents,

1) *Autobiography of the Third Tashi-Lama*, f. 373a.

2) He published his relation under the title *An account of an embassy to the court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet*, London 1800.

3) T'ar-pa-gliñ, near Ža-lu, S. W. of Tashilhunpo, on which see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV/2 (Rome 1941), p. 70. In the *Vaidūrya-ser-po*, f. 197a, it is called ṡBroñ-rtse-c'os-sde T'ar-pa-gliñ. But in the *Life of the Fourth Tashi-Lama* the monastery has the name dGa'-ldan-legs-bśad-c'os-gliñ.

4) Full title: *Rab ṡbyams rgyal bai spyi gzugs skyabs mgon paṅ c'en t'ams cad mk'yen pa rje btsun blo bzañ ḡpal ldan bstan pai ñi ma p'yogs las rnam-rgyal ḡpal bzañ poi žal śna nas kyi sku gsuñ t'ugs kyi rnam paṅ t'ar pa ṡdsam gliñ mdses rgyan*. Written by P'yag-mdsod Jasak Lama sMan-ri-ba Blo-bzañ-grub-mc'og in 1863.

5) As shown by the following Ka-la-ka-dha, *dh* transcribes English *t*; ṡ is perhaps a mistake for *n*, as the two letters are not very different in the Tibetan script. Tana would be therefore a tollerable transcription of Turner.

6) From the Bengali *Ingrāji*.

such as from the Bhara Sa-heb pearls, fine earrings of coral, a clepsydra functioning with particles of gems (a watch with its rubies), spectacles, two pieces of special Russian (*rgya-ser*) cloth, silver cups full of nutmegs and cloves; from the minister various woollen headgears, pieces of *skyin-k'ab*(?) etc. They were accepted very gladly. The minister with his suite were given a place in the ceremonial tea with great cheerfulness; they showed great rejoicing. Although they were not knowers of the niceties of religion, by merely gazing [at the Tashi-Lama] an irrepressible faith was born in them, and they said: „In such a little body there are activities of body, speech and mind, so greatly marvellous and different from the others!" Thus they said with great reverence. The Tashi-Lama granted them a parting audience with great rejoicing, a reply and lofty presents for the Bha-ra Sa-heb, and highly satisfactory gifts for the minister with his attendants ¹⁾.

The mention of the watch identifies this audience with that of the 6th December described by Turner.

III. THE LAST MISSION OF PURANGIR GOSAIN

We come now to the last embassy sent out by Warren Hastings. The great governor-general could not see its results, because he left India before it even started, in February 1785. The envoy sent to the Tashi-Lama was Purangir Gosain, the same monk-trader who had started the first contacts in 1774 and who had accompanied the Third Tashi-Lama to Peking in 1780. He left Calcutta in March 1785, and on the 9th May he had his audience with the child Tashi-Lama, to whom he handed the letters and presents sent by Warren Hastings. In October he left Tashilhunpo, carrying letters of the Tashi-Lama and of the regent, and in December he was back in Calcutta. His report to the acting governor-general John Macpherson was caused to be translated by Turner

1) *Life of the Fourth Tashi-Lama*. f. 25 a-b.

and is appended to the latter's narrative ¹). The Tibetan source has the following account of Purangir Gosain's mission: On the 3rd day of an unspecified month (evidently the 4th) of 1785, the Tashi-Lama

granted an audience to Ācārya Su rdsa ghi ti (Suryagiri) together with his attendants who had come from India, and accepted the letter along with the presents of the king (*rgyal-po*) of Bhan-ga-la the Bha-ra Sa-hebs, most beautiful things which were offered to him ²).

The reply of the Tashi-Lama was received in Calcutta on January 5th, 1786. It is a formal letter of polite generalities, devoid of historical interest ³).

This was the last British mission to Tibet in the 18th century. A certain amount of correspondence, carried to and fro by the Gosains, continued in the next years, being occasioned by the Gurkha invasion and by the attempts of the Gurkha ruler to obtain British help against the Chinese. But Lord Cornwallis, governor-general from 1786 to 1793, while despatching the mission of Captain Kirkpatrick to Nepal, did not think it expedient, in view also of Chinese susceptibilities, to resume direct relations with Tashilhunpo. Political communications with Tibet remained thus interrupted till 1904.

1) Turner, pp. 419-423.

2) *Life of the Fourth Tashi-Lama*, f. 44a.

3) Published in the Persian and English versions by Diskalkar, Tibeto-Nepalese War, 1788-1793, in *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, XIX (1933), pp. 365-366.