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of the University of Washington*

**LAND  
AND  
POLITY  
IN  
TIBET**

**By PEDRO CARRASCO**

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## PREFACE

THE RESEARCH of which this monograph is the product was undertaken as part of a wider research project of the Inner Asia Project of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington, which, when planned quite a few years ago, contemplated field research as a basic part of its program. If field research in Tibet were now possible for Western scholars, this essay would have been described as a preliminary survey of the available literature in preparation for field work. As this is not now possible, it is offered as a provisional analysis, giving only tentative answers to a wide variety of questions that will have to be studied in more detail when the area becomes accessible and when collections of relevant Tibetan documents become available for study.

I was drawn into the field of Tibetan studies by Paul Kirchhoff, former director of the Inner Asia Project, and I am especially grateful for his help and encouragement. The first draft of this essay was discussed at the meetings of the Inner Asia seminar, where I received valuable suggestions, especially from Hellmut Wilhelm, Franz Michael, and Karl A. Wittfogel. At the Inner Asia Project I also profited from a number of translations from Chinese and Russian done there for the Human Relations Area Files. Although some of these translations were not finished and could not be used to full value, they provided some of the best material for this study. In the first pages of my research the bibliography of Tibet prepared at the Inner Asia Project, mostly by Beatrice Miller, was very useful.

In points having to do with Tibetan or Chinese languages, I received help from Dr. Fang-kwei Li, Dr. C. T. Hu, Dr. K. Chang, and Dr. P. Chang. I also profited from conversations with T. L.

Shen and Joseph Rock, who provided me with data from their experiences in Tibet.

The research was done for the most part at the University of Washington, but some use was also made of the library resources of Harvard University and the Library of Congress. The first draft of this essay was written during the spring and summer of 1953 and the summer of 1954. It was revised for publication in the summer of 1956, and a few references from recent books were added in 1958, but publications later than 1953 have not been used as thoroughly as the older ones.

With the exception of a few well-known place names, I have tried wherever possible to follow the Tibetan spelling of Tibetan words. Although most sources do not give the Tibetan spellings, these have been found in the dictionaries of Jäschke and Das. In a number of cases, however, especially in place names, the Tibetan form has not been ascertained, and the spelling followed is that of the sources used. In these cases the Tibetan words are italicized. When a Tibetan spelling is considered doubtful it is followed by a question mark.

The transliteration of Tibetan is that adopted by the Inner Asia Project at the suggestion of Dr. Fang-kuei Li. It is as follows, in the order of the Tibetan alphabet: k, kh, g, ng, c, ch, j, ny, t, th, d, n, p, ph, b, m, ts, tsh, dz, w, zh, z, ', y, r, l, sh, s, h.

The maps were drawn by Dr. Turrell V. Wylie of the Far Eastern Department of the University of Washington.

Pedro Carrasco

## CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	3
The Basic Economy of Tibet	4
Political Units	12
Historical Review	14
2. THE PEASANTRY	28
1. Western Tibet: Spiti, Ladak, and Lahul	29
2. Central Tibet	44
3. Sikkim	53
4. Bhutan	61
5. Eastern Tibet: Khams	64
6. Property Relations among Herders: The Nomads of A-mdo	72
3. THE REALM OF THE DALAI LAMA	78
1. Political Organization	79
2. The Land System	84
Appendix I. Estates of the Noble Families of Lhasa	109
Appendix II. Holdings of Some Religious Entities	116
Appendix III. Treasury Estates in 1792	117
3. The Ruling Class	120
4. THE LESSER STATES	141
1. The Petty States of Khams and A-mdo	141
2. The Old Kingdom of Ladak	159
3. The Chieftains of Lahul	180
4. The Kingdom of Sikkim	185
5. The Church State of Bhutan	194

vi	Contents
5. CONCLUSION	207
The Land System	209
Trade and Industry	212
The Ruling Class	214
The Role of the Church	218
Regional Differences	219
The Historical Development of Tibetan Society	222
NOTES	229
GLOSSARY	281
BIBLIOGRAPHY	283
INDEX	297

## **MAPS**

1. Distribution of Agricultural Areas in Tibet	6-7
2. Political Divisions during the Nineteenth Century	16-17
3. Estates of Lhasa Noblemen	111
4. Estates of the Tibetan Treasury in 1792	118
5. The Kingdom of Ladak before the Dogra Conquest	161
6. Bhutan in the Nineteenth Century	195





**LAND  
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## 1. INTRODUCTION

TIBET HAS much to offer the social scientist. Its unusually high altitude and relative isolation from the rest of Asia have favored the development of cultural and social forms of great interest. Traits and institutions accepted from other areas were adapted to markedly different conditions. The basic economy of Tibet, for instance, clearly derives from the Middle Eastern patterns of agriculture and animal husbandry, but the highland environment as a selector of plants and animal breeds has forced important changes.

A poor country between two of the great cultural centers of the world, Tibet has borrowed heavily from both India and China. Buddhism, which pervades the whole life of Tibet, came from India, while the Chinese influence has been particularly strong in political institutions. Although much has been taken from the outside, the very different environment and isolation of Tibet permitted the preservation of early patterns, as well as the reworking of borrowings into new and sometimes quite original phenomena. The Lamaist Church, although partly the result of Indian influence, is a unique Tibetan creation with an expansive force of its own, which spread as far as Peking and the Volga.

Tibet is an outstanding area for the study of monasticism, theocratic rule, succession by reincarnation, polyandry, and group marriage. All of these have survived practically untouched by Western civilization, but although there are good studies on Lamaistic literature and art, scientific studies of social institutions are practically nonexistent.<sup>1</sup>

The subject of this monograph is the system of land tenure as related to political organization. The importance of land tenure for an understanding of an agricultural country like Tibet can hardly be overestimated. Property relations define, with reference to things, the social relations maintained by people in the process of

production and distribution. In Tibet, where land is the most important means of production, the land system reveals the foundation of the social structure. As in other stratified agricultural societies, land rights are closely tied to all kinds of social functions. Various services rendered to the state or to individuals are paid for in land, while rights over land imply social duties and often important political functions. The structure of all important social groups, from the family to the state, can be seen in the land system.

Special attention is given to the peasant level of organization as seen in the management of family holdings and the nature of the village communities.<sup>2</sup> The peasantry, in the forms of individual holders of land and of village communities, is the source of the land revenue that constitutes the material foundation for the state structures. This higher level of integration is discussed in terms of the forms of raising land revenue, the ways in which the state grants the right to receive land revenue in connection with the rendering of social and political functions, and the various social groups characterized by different ways of enjoying the land revenue and by different kinds of political functions. In discussing both the peasant and the state levels of organization, presentation is by areas, the order determined by the abundance of the material or its significance for an understanding of the whole. A brief discussion of the Lamaist Church as a whole, which in many aspects reaches beyond the borders of any single state, is included in the section on the state organization of Central Tibet.

The bulk of this monograph deals with the most recent period within each area before its social structure was affected by modern civilization. A survey of the historical development of Tibet is presented in this introduction, and a general characterization of Tibetan society is attempted in the concluding chapter.

The complexity of the subject under discussion--tracing several topics through various areas--forces purely arbitrary decisions in the arrangement of the data. It is hoped, however, that the numerous headings relating to subject and area will allow any reader with a specific interest to find readily the material he is interested in or to read it according to a different scheme.

As background to our subject a brief sketch follows on the basic economy, regional differences, historical periods, and political divisions of Tibet.

## THE BASIC ECONOMY OF TIBET

The basic economy of Tibet<sup>3</sup> derives from patterns of cereal agri-

culture and animal husbandry developed by the early civilizations of the Near East, with a few variations that can be best explained in terms of the high-altitude environment. Not only is there a great similarity in crops and animals used but the coexistence in the same territory, in different degrees of interdependence, of groups which emphasize either the agricultural or the pastoral basis of the economy also makes Tibet more like the countries of the Middle East than the horticultural economies of Southern and Eastern Asia or the almost exclusively pastoral economy of the Mongols.

The relative importance of agricultural and pastoral economies is hard to estimate. According to area, the pastoral regions are more extensive, but according to population it has been estimated that as much as five-sixths of all the people in Tibet engage in agriculture.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, all the cultural and political centers have always been in the agricultural areas.

### *Agriculture*

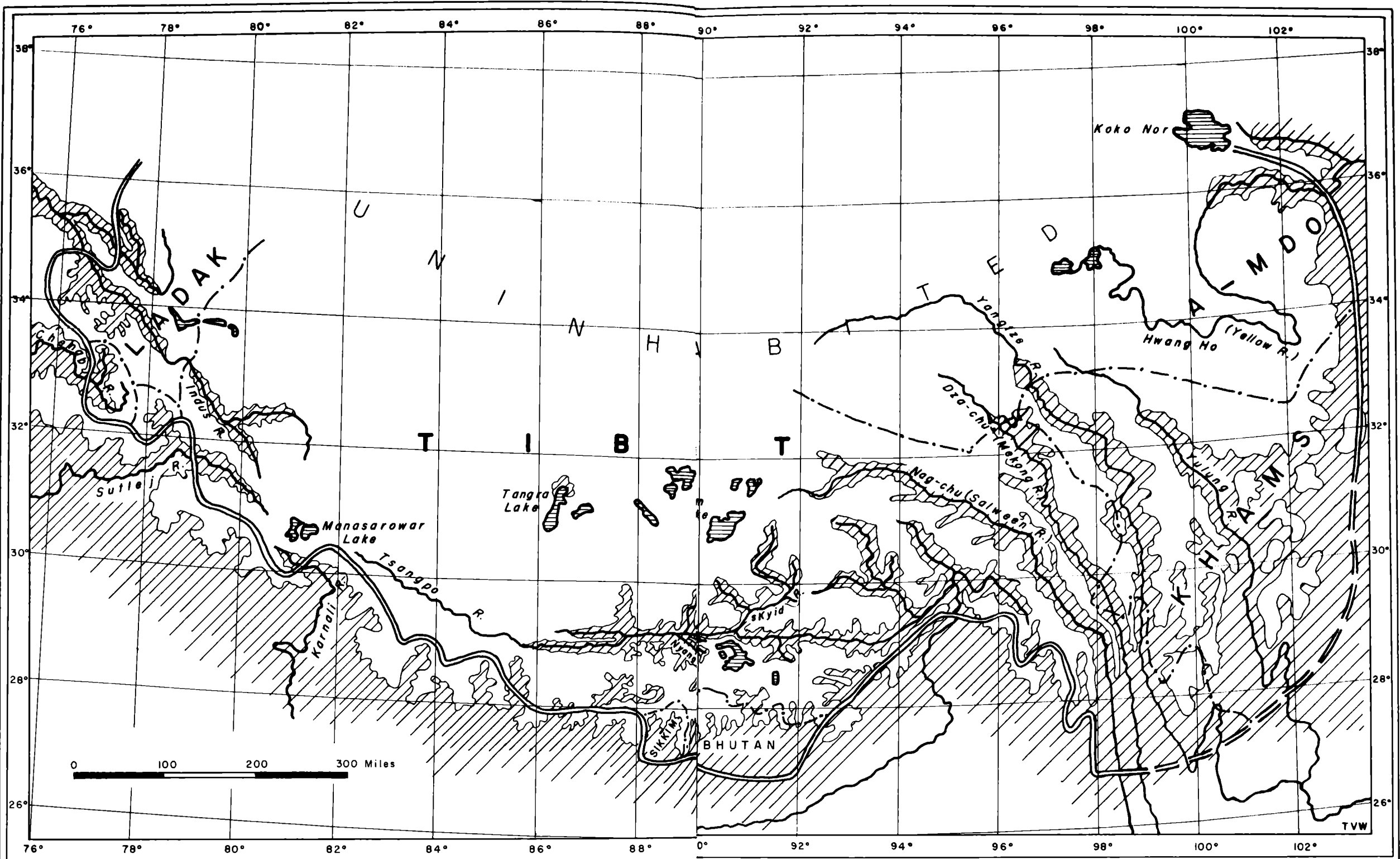
The staple crop in Tibet is barley in several varieties, which is the only crop that can grow at the highest altitudes (up to fourteen thousand feet), and which as parched flour constitutes the mainstay of the Tibetan diet. Following it in importance are buckwheat and wheat, although the latter, which can be grown only up to around eleven thousand feet, cannot survive in many culturally significant areas. Other crops are peas, radishes, and mustard. Rice cannot grow in most of Tibet; it is the staple only in certain low-altitude regions of Sikkim and Bhutan. Fruits such as apricots, peaches, pears, and walnuts also flourish only in a few low-altitude regions.

Agricultural implements are simple. The plow is in general use, as are harrows, rakes, spades, hoes, sickles, and pitchforks. Threshing is done by cattle treading over the grain or with flails.

The length of the agricultural season varies with the altitude. Sowing takes place in the fall or else in the spring after the melting of the snows. The lower the altitude the earlier the spring sowing and the harvest. At some of the highest places the growing season is so short that the barley cannot ripen and thus it is used only for fodder.

The high mountains of Tibet keep the rain out of the agricultural valleys. Precipitation is insufficient and cultivation would be impossible without irrigation.

In most of Tibet agriculture is of an intensive type. Irrigation, manuring, and some crop rotation keep the best lands in almost

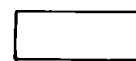


MAP I

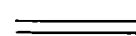
DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL AREAS IN TIBET



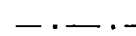
Approximate area within which agriculture is practiced. In Western and Central Tibet, this includes mostly irrigated, intensively cultivated oases scattered among barren river beds and mountain slopes. In the East and South, rainfall agriculture exists together with intensive irrigated cultivation.



Pasture grounds



Boundary of the area of Tibetan speech and culture



Main political boundaries

continuous production. Irrigation works, however, are relatively small-scale. The great rivers, such as the Indus or the Tsangpo, are not controlled by any major works. They often run in gorges or through sandy and stony valleys, and their waters are used only in limited areas. Many irrigated areas tap the water of the lesser courses flowing into the great rivers and occupy a limited amount of land where the small river opens into the main valley. In flat basins or river terraces near a larger river, more extensive diversion canals are possible, such as those that irrigate the Leh Basin with water from the Indus.

On mountain slopes fields are terraced. Dams are built across small mountain torrents in order to store water for irrigation. Long canals carry water to the fields, and it is taken across ravines by means of conduits of hollow logs. In Western Tibet the building of artificial glaciers is reported to form the source of a rivulet that can be used in irrigation. In Central Tibet irrigation water is used not only to moisten the fields during the agricultural season but also to flood them in winter so that the ice which is formed will keep the topsoil from being blown away.<sup>5</sup>

Irrigation works demand the cooperation of several farmers. In Lahul the village chooses two men every year to supervise the communal water supply, calling the men for repairs and collecting beer from each household for men at work. In Ladak the watchers of the water supply allot the amount of water for each farmstead in the village.<sup>6</sup>

In Central Tibet records of the irrigation schemes are kept in the district forts. In each district those who hold landed estates from the government cooperate in maintaining the irrigation system; disputes among them are settled by the district officials or by the central government at Lhasa. The labor for irrigation works is supplied by the peasants in proportion to their holdings.<sup>7</sup>

Fertilizers are generally employed. Animal manure is used where plentiful but in many areas this is not possible as the dried dung serves as fuel. Human manure mixed with ashes and earth is commonly used to improve the soil.<sup>8</sup> Other fertilizers are used in limited areas: river mud in Western Tibet,<sup>9</sup> rotten leaves in Bhutan,<sup>10</sup> fish along the Tsangpo near rDo-rje-brag<sup>11</sup> and burned sod in A-mdo.<sup>12</sup> Irrigation water also acts as fertilizer.

Good irrigated land is kept in almost continuous production, but poorer land is allowed to rest as often as every second or third year. Fields are plowed while lying fallow.<sup>13</sup> Crop rotation involving the alternation of barley, peas, and wheat is practiced.<sup>14</sup>

The best index of the intensity of Tibetan agriculture would be

productivity figures. Unfortunately all that is available are rough estimates, which are probably none too reliable, and there is no good information as to the different types of soil or their relative importance.<sup>15</sup> In different parts of Western Tibet the yield has been reported as from five to twenty times the amount of seed sown. The average for Ladak seems to be seven<sup>16</sup> or ten times.<sup>17</sup> It is tenfold in Lahul.<sup>18</sup> In Spiti barley yields are fourteenfold and wheat yields from ten- to twelvefold.<sup>19</sup>

In Central Tibet the lands near Lhasa produce six times the amount of seed sown in fair years and from eight to ten times the amount in good years, but poorer land such as that in *Larung* yields only from four to six times as much.<sup>20</sup> Other reports for Central Tibet give a yield of five- to sixfold<sup>21</sup> or from four to ten.<sup>22</sup> Much higher yields are reported by O'Connor (fifty- to sixtyfold)<sup>23</sup> and Penna (sixty- to eightyfold).<sup>24</sup>

For Khams, Chen reports low yields of three to six.<sup>25</sup> In Sikkim millet yields from forty to one hundred and fifty times the amount of seed sown and rice (the source does not state whether it is irrigated or dry rice) from twenty to fifty.<sup>26</sup>

### *Animal Husbandry*

The most important domestic animals kept by the Tibetans are cattle and sheep. Common cattle and yak are bred, as well as a hybrid of the two. Cattle of all varieties are used as work and load animals, and as a source of meat, dairy products, and hides. The dried dung provides the main fuel of most areas. The yak supplies in addition wool and tails, the latter exported to India for use as fly-switches. The hybrid ox is especially valued as a work and transport animal and the hybrid cow as a milk provider, but further crosses between hybrids are slaughtered and not allowed to breed.

The sheep is the main animal of the pastoral Tibetans. It provides meat, dairy products, hides, and wool and is also used as a load animal. Goats are also bred but they are much less important than sheep. Pigs are not very plentiful except in a few areas such as Kong-po.<sup>27</sup> Horses, asses, and mules are used as riding and pack animals. The horse complex of the Turks and Mongols is completely lacking in Tibet.

Animal husbandry is well integrated with agricultural practices. On the one hand, cattle are used in plowing and threshing and as a source of fertilizer. On the other hand domestic animals are fed partly on agricultural products such as straw and stubble from the



cereal crops, and peas. Special fodders such as lucerne are also grown in some areas.<sup>28</sup> Pastoral groups rely on natural pastures. In some places hay to be used during the winter is cut from natural fields.<sup>29</sup>

### *Regional Variations*

All sections of Tibet emphasize one or another aspect of this mixed economy. Therefore many regional differences exist, the result primarily of variations in altitude, water supply, and the size of the area under exploitation.<sup>30</sup> Tibetans divide the land into agricultural valleys (rong), mountain pastures ('brog), ridges and cultivated plains enclosed by them (sgang), and high plateaus (thang).<sup>31</sup>

All the important cultural and political centers are situated in areas of high altitude and limited rainfall, where cultivation is intensive and depends on irrigation and fertilizers. The most important centers are located in relatively wide river valleys where the cultivated area is large and continuous. Thus the basin of Leh on the Indus is the core area of Ladak in Indian Tibet. In mNga'-ris, the westernmost province of Tibet, the important areas are the high valleys of the Sotlej and of the Karnali. In Central Tibet the valley of the Nyang River is the key area in the province of gTsang. In the province of dBus the valley of the sKyid includes the capital city of Lhasa. In Eastern Tibet, or Khams, 'Ba'-thang is situated in a fertile irrigated plain on the Yangtze River. Further up the same river another broad tract of the valley is an important part of sDe-dge. Another large cultivated plain along the Yalung is the center of the Hor principalities. Centers of this kind are the core areas of regions which also include smaller unconnected valleys and terraced slopes.

In Central and Western Tibet most cultivation is intensive and almost all land is under continuous production, although the poorer land lies fallow now and then. In Eastern Tibet, where there is more rainfall, the intensive cultivation of bottom lands and terraces is found side by side with rainfall agriculture on the wooded slopes of the higher mountains. In the northeastern end of Tibet, in A-mdo, rainfall agriculture prevails.

The southern slopes of the Himalayas also receive sufficient rainfall. Here slash-and-burn agriculture is practiced, especially by tribal groups such as the Lepcha. Under eight thousand feet the staple crop is irrigated rice. The Tibetan name of Sikkim is 'Bras-ljongs, "the rice country." Rice is also the main crop in Bhutan,

and it is also grown in the lower-altitude valleys of Southern Khams.

All the centers mentioned above are primarily agricultural. Although domestic animals are kept in the farming communities, their number is at times insufficient for plowing needs, and extra animals have to be rented from pastoral neighbors.<sup>32</sup>

All gradations exist between an intensive agricultural, a mixed, and a purely pastoral economy. In A-mdo, for instance, there are agricultural settlements with limited grazing land, where work animals and a few others are kept. During the night the animals are always taken to the farmhouse from the grazing land and in winter they are stable-fed. Other farming communities have more abundant grazing lands and keep more animals. In summer the animals spend the whole season in the pasture lands, looked after by a few herders who live in tents; in winter they are returned to the village where they graze in the fields and pastures near the village. In still other cases the tribe is divided into two halves; some people live as farmers in the lowlands, while others lead a purely pastoral life in the high grazing lands. There is an exchange of products among the two parts, and in some cases single families include both pastoral and farming members. Finally there are the primarily pastoral communities. Some of them may practice a little farming, and for this purpose a few people remain near the fields in the summer to watch the crops.<sup>33</sup>

Similar gradations exist in Central Tibet. In the area of Rwa-sgreng, north of Lhasa, people are described in Tibetan as *sama-'brog*, literally "not cultivators not graziers," that is, a combination of the two.<sup>34</sup>

Farming and herding are combined also in the high valleys near the Himalayan divide, for example, in La-chen and La-chung in Sikkim, the Chumbi Valley in Tibet, and the Valley of *Ha* in Bhutan.

The herders occupy the smaller mountain pastures ('brog) between cultivated valleys as well as the mountains and extensive plains (thang) of the Mount Kailas area, the Northern Plateau (Byang-thang) and the Koko-nor region.

All pastoral groups, even those with no farming at all, restrict their movements to a well-defined territory and along established routes. The general pattern is to have fixed winter quarters, often with permanent buildings, in which the whole group congregates. As summer approaches, the various family groups separate and move to the more extensive grazing areas of the summer season. In the mountain valleys the seasonal migration moves up the valley as the summer proceeds and returns down toward the low win-

ter quarters as it comes to an end. The herders of the La-chung and La-chen valleys in Sikkim are typical of this kind of migration, although some of them have their winter quarters across the Himalayan divide in the Tibetan district of *Khamba Dzong*. In the larger areas such as the Byang-thang, seasonal movements have a wider range. In Western Tibet, nearly all the pastoral byang-pa ('northerners') have their winter quarters in the valley of the Indus near the Tibetan border, but a few winter around Lake Pangkong. In the summer they scatter all around the neighboring mountains and especially over the Rupshu plateau.<sup>35</sup>

We find, then, a number of relatively large, well-populated centers of agricultural economy separated from one another by high mountain ranges and high plateaus that are sparsely inhabited by pastoralists, and sometimes completely uninhabited. The distance between some of the agricultural districts is considerable. The slow pace of the yak caravans--seventeen or eighteen kilometers a day<sup>36</sup>--further slows down intercourse between distant areas.

### POLITICAL UNITS

The cultural and political units of Tibet reflect the ecological divisions. The political units center around the larger agricultural areas, while the political borders run along pastoral or unsettled regions.

The extensive pastoral areas between the Tsangpo and the Indus were for a long time the main divide between Central Tibet and the western kingdoms of Ladak (La-dwags), Pu-'rangs, and Gu-ge. In the seventeenth century the province of mNga'-ris, which includes Pu-'rangs and Gu-ge, fell under the control of Central Tibet. The border with Ladak then ran along the westernmost pastoral areas of the Tibetan plateau, crossing the Indus through a region where the narrow valley does not offer suitable areas for cultivation. When Ladak was conquered by the Dogra and the Dogra kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir fell under the British, this became the border between India and Tibet.

The Kingdom of Ladak had its center in Leh, where the valley of the Indus widens and forms the main agricultural center of the country. The smaller farming areas of Nubra (lDum-ra), Zangs-dkar, and others, as well as the herders of Rupshu, have been dependent on Leh. South of the main ranges on the high Chenab, Lahul was subject to the kings of Kulu. Spiti, on the basin of the Sutlej, although at first under the kings of Ladak, became in the nine-

teenth century together with Lahul part of the British Punjab.

Within Tibet proper--the realm of the Dalai Lama--mNga'-ris forms the westernmost province. It includes mostly pastoral areas as well as agricultural districts on the high Indus, the Sutlej (Guge), and the Karnali (Pu-'rangs), once independent cultural centers of importance but in decline since they came under the control of Central Tibet. Also in mNga'-ris is the pilgrimage country of Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarowar.

The country of the Tsangpo and its tributaries is the cultural and political center of Tibet, including the two leading provinces of gTsang and dBus. gTsang centers around the valley of the Nyang, in which lie the two cities of Gyangtse and Shigatse. The most important areas in dBus are the valley of the sKyid (or dBus) River, where the city of Lhasa is situated, and the valley of the Yar-klungs, traditional place of origin of the early Tibetan kings. The pastoral areas of the Byang-thang and the agricultural provinces of Dwags-po and Kong-po further down the Tsangpo have been politically dependent on gTsang and dBus.

Eastern Tibet, or Khams, comprises the area where some of the great rivers of Southeast Asia originate. The Salween, Mekong, Yangtze, and Yalung run here in almost parallel courses. The more fragmented nature of the country in this area results in a greater number of political divisions. The most important are the states of 'Ba' (or 'Ba'-thang), Le-thang, sDe-dge (Derge), Hor, and lCags-la (Chala). This last, with its capital in Dar-rtse-mdo (Tach'ienlu), has been the gateway to Tibet from the Chinese province of Szechwan.

The northeastern part of Tibet is called in Tibetan A-mdo. It includes the high Hwang Ho and the southern shores of the Kokonor. Most of this province is pastoral, and it includes independent and warlike groups such as the *Golok*. The Tibetan farmers of A-mdo occupy only the fringe of Tibetan territory neighboring the Chinese of Kansu. Most of them were the subjects of the king of Co-ni (Choni) or the great monastery of Bla-brang (Labrang).

In Southern Tibet the Tibetans have spilled over the Himalayas and have dominated native groups of related speech, setting up the two states of Sikkim and Bhutan which, like Ladak in the West, fell into the British India orbit.

In spite of the political fragmentation of Tibet throughout most of its history, the Tibetans can be considered a single ethnic or national group. They share a basic culture as evidenced by a common language, a common historical tradition, and a common religion; the latter not only supplies a common ideology but constitutes

a complexly organized church that brings together in the same monastic and cult groups members of different political units. In this study all groups are discussed which have a Tibetan speech and culture. Baltistan, although of Tibetan speech, is not treated because its conversion to Islam and the disappearance of all Lamaistic institutions have placed it in a different cultural sphere.

For the areas of Tibet which have been under Chinese control we will consider the periods starting with the consolidation of the rule of the Ch'ing dynasty and the reforms it established at the end of the eighteenth century. For the areas of Central Tibet under the Dalai Lama of Lhasa the period analysed continues to the Communist occupation in 1951, since the lapse of Chinese control in 1911 had no effect other than the removal of the Chinese High Commissioner and the Chinese garrisons, and the Tibetan administration remained unchanged. In Eastern Tibet most native rulers were suppressed by the Chinese at different periods in the various principalities after the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty; we will concentrate on these petty states as they were under the Ch'ing. In Ladak, Sikkim, and Bhutan we will describe the situation as found by the British during the nineteenth century, but in all cases more recent periods will be considered when there is a continuation of earlier conditions.<sup>37</sup>

## HISTORICAL REVIEW<sup>38</sup>

### *The Early Dynasty*

In comparison with India and China, Tibet enters the historical horizon at a late period. Tibetan written documents and inscriptions exist only from the eighth and ninth centuries A. D., and the oldest reliable historical traditions start from the end of the sixth century A. D. It appears from them that from the sixth to the seventh century there arose in Tibet, for the first time in its history, a political unit strong enough to weld into a single state the various valleys of Central Tibet. The first center of unification is placed in the valley of the Yar-klungs, a southern tributary of the Tsangpo, but soon the capital was transferred to Lhasa and the dynasty there established ruled over a unified Tibet until 842. During this time Buddhism was introduced and Tibet became a redoubtable power that not only ruled the whole Tibetan plateau but also was able to conquer the Tarim Basin and in the course of war occupy for some days the T'ang capital of Ch'ang-an.

The Chinese history of the T'ang dynasty presents the economy

of contemporaneous Tibet as being based on the same crops and domestic animals as at the present time.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, the Tibetan chronicles attribute to the early kings of Tibet the introduction or development of a number of technological elements, revealing that even then the material basis of Tibetan society was the same as it has been in later periods. No important technological changes seem to have taken place in any of the subsequent periods.

According to the Tibetan chronicles during the time of King Spu-de-gung-rgyal

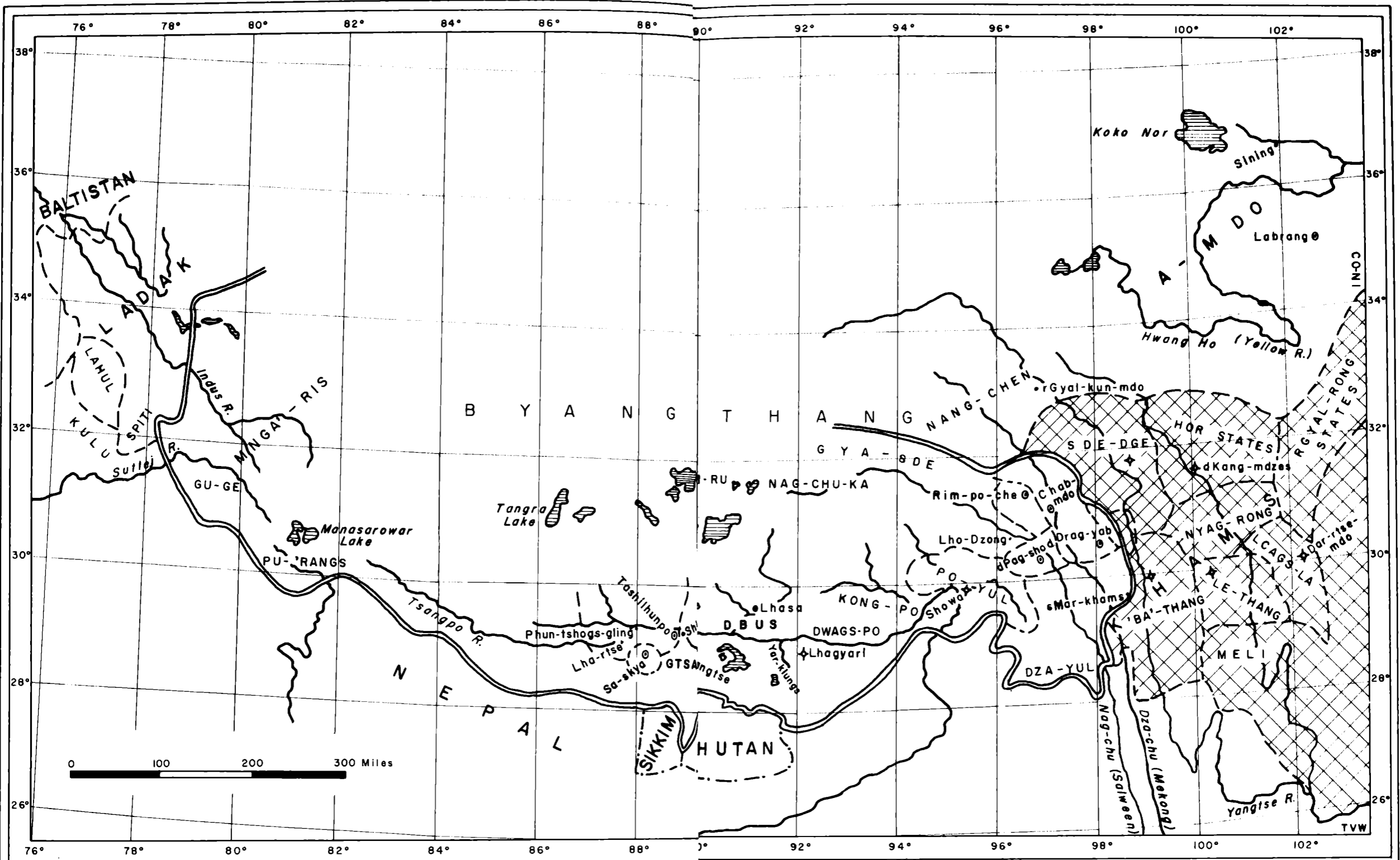
The three ores were melted with coal, and silver, copper, and iron showed themselves. Pieces of wood were pierced, and ploughs and yokes were made. Two equal mdzos were put into the yoke, and the plains were ploughed into fields. The water of the lakes was led into irrigation canals, and bridges were built across rivers.<sup>40</sup>

During the lifetime of one of his successors, Khri-snyan-bzung-btsan, "The outlying valleys were brought under notice and cleared for fields. The lakes were furnished with gates, and drawn into irrigation canals. The glacier-water [which had collected] overnight [was used] for irrigation in daytime."<sup>41</sup>

During the time of sTag-ri-snyan-gzigs, "mdzos and mules originated from cross-breeding."<sup>42</sup>

These kings still belong to the half mythical period when palaces built themselves and scriptures came down from heaven.<sup>43</sup> There is no point in trying to fix them precisely in time. After them came the rule of Srong-btsan-sgam-po, the first truly historical king (*ca.* 600-650) and the first unifier of Tibet. During his time, "worldly inventions were made: rice-beer, barley-beer, in short, all the necessaries for food; the making of curds from milk; butter and butter-milk from curds; cheese from butter-milk; pots from clay; mills turned by water; weaving with looms; and many mechanical arts."<sup>44</sup>

The situation of the peasantry and the revenue system of the early dynasty seem to have been similar to those of later periods. The equalization of rich and poor three times made by King Mu-khri-btsan-po (798-804)<sup>45</sup> most probably meant an attempt to keep in order a system of equal allotments to the peasants. The same system is implied in the fact that King Ral-pa-can (804-816) assigned to each lama the revenue from seven peasant households for his support.<sup>46</sup> This shows that the peasant household was the unit of revenue; peasant holdings were probably of similar extent or productivity. Some assignments of lands to noblemen were made by



MAP 2

POLITICAL DIVISIONS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

==== Border of the region under the Dalai Lama and the Chinese  
Amban at Lhasa

▣ Area under Szech'uan

--- Other political boundaries

⋄ Capital of a lay prince

⊙ Capital of a monastic principality

numbering the families of serfs (bran) living on the lands. This again suggests that the peasant household was the unit of revenue.<sup>47</sup>

The laws of Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-97) point to the possible existence of the same rules of inheritance which in recent times maintain the succession to an undivided holding: "Que de plusieurs fils les aînés s'établissent à demeure, que le cadet aille à la Loi! Que ceux qui n'ont pas de fils aient à la place un mari pour leur fille!"<sup>48</sup>

Cadasters, delimitation of fields, and censuses are often mentioned in the old annals and documents.<sup>49</sup>

The practice of granting landed estates including land and people to noble officials and to monasteries is well attested,<sup>50</sup> but little can be said as to the conditions under which estates were granted. From the Zhol inscription at Lhasa and from one oath in the Tun-huang documents, it appears that they were inherited by the nobleman's descendants and were resumed only in case of lack of heir. The nobleman could not alienate the granted land, and the grant was related to the rendering of a political service.<sup>51</sup> In one case mentioned by Bacot, the subjects of a certain official are given after his death to another official.<sup>52</sup>

A system including demesne lands of an estate worked with drafted peasants is suggested by documents which refer to the summoning of tillers.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps the often mentioned "royal fields" (rje-zhing) are the equivalent of the treasury estates of a later period, that is, the demesne lands of the king.<sup>54</sup>

The noblemen who formed the ruling class seem to have been local rulers in provinces of their own. Some of them may have been originally the chiefs of small principalities and their councilors (blon), who became subjects to the kings of the ruling dynasty.<sup>55</sup> Others may have obtained their domains as grants from the king.

These noblemen also participated in the king's government, serving him as ministers (blon). A political office held by a nobleman tended to become hereditary, as is clearly attested in the case of the officials mentioned in the Zhol inscription at Lhasa.<sup>56</sup> This principle of inheritance, however, was not followed in every case. From the historical chronicles it is clear that the position of prime minister (blon che) was not inherited.<sup>57</sup>

Kinship seems to have been more important at this period than at later times. A nobleman always has as part of his name an element which denotes his patrilineal clan (rus, literally "bone"), and there seems to be a certain relation between each clan and a determined region. Thus it is possible not only that each noble-



man was the chief of a certain area but that his subjects in that area were at least in part his kinsmen.<sup>58</sup> It is also notable that some of the noble families have the title of "zhang," which means mother's brother.<sup>59</sup> If Tibetans practiced cross-cousin marriage, as seems to have been the case,<sup>60</sup> the men of the noble families giving wives to the royal family would often stand in the relationship of zhang to the king.

The introduction of Buddhism is often attributed to King Srong-btsan-sgam-po, in whose time the Buddhist doctrines first became known, but the social aspects of Buddhism which interest us could not start developing until the time of Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-97), when the first Tibetans took monastic vows.<sup>61</sup> From this time on monks became tax exempt, and hierarchs and monasteries were endowed with lands and revenue.<sup>62</sup>

In the early ninth century monks began to be appointed ministers.<sup>63</sup> Under the early dynasty, however, monasteries were not so powerful as they were during the following periods. The end of the dynasty takes place at a time when Buddhism was persecuted, and a monk killed King Glang-dar-ma in 842.

#### *Four Dark Centuries*

After King Glang-dar-ma's death, Tibet dissolved into a number of petty states headed by local dynasties that descended from the kings of the dynasty or their ministers, or by new families.<sup>64</sup> This period of division lasts four centuries, until the submission to the Mongols in 1247. Little information is available about this period. Buddhist monasticism developed into several orders; the monasteries and the families of church hierarchs gradually became the political leaders of the country. From then on the political unification of Tibet, practically limited to Central Tibet, was to depend on foreign intervention--by the Mongols or the barbarian dynasties of China--and to develop in connection with the growth of the power of one or another monastic order. In Western Tibet, Ladak became independent and never again fell under Lhasa or China.

From the biography of one religious reformer, Mi-la-ras-pa, we can get some idea of what peasant conditions were like in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Mi-la-ras-pa's ancestor was a rNying-ma-pa lama from the pastoral country of the north. He moved to the province of gTsang, where he settled down and made a good income as a curer and exorciser.<sup>65</sup> Mi-la-ras-pa's great-grandfather lost all his property, including land, in gambling and moved to the province of Gung-thang, next to Nepal.<sup>66</sup> Here Mi-

la-ras-pa's grandfather acquired wealth by trading, and he bought a fertile field from a woman and an old house-site from a neighbor.<sup>67</sup> At his deathbed, Mi-la-ras-pa's father entrusted the care of his widow and children and the management of his entire holdings to his paternal kinsmen, Mi-la-ras-pa's uncle and aunt.<sup>68</sup> Apparently, Mi-la-ras-pa's uncle wanted the young widow to marry his son. Since she did not agree, the uncle took away her property.<sup>69</sup> Under his uncle's and aunt's tutelage, Mi-la-ras-pa, his mother, and his sister had to work during the summer as field laborers for the uncle and in winter as spinners and carders for the aunt.<sup>70</sup> Mi-la-ras-pa's mother had kept a field, which was cultivated by Mi-la-ras-pa's maternal uncle and which she was able to sell, half for a turquoise and the other half for gold.<sup>71</sup>

When Mi-la-ras-pa came of age his mother tried to recover his patrimony for him, but his uncle and aunt refused to part with the holding.<sup>72</sup> Eventually Mi-la-ras-pa became a sorcerer and a lama and he succeeded in having his uncle return his patrimony to his mother.<sup>73</sup> When he decided to renounce the worldly life his aunt undertook to cultivate his holding and to supply him with food. Finally, she bought the property, paying in barley, skins, cloth, and butter.<sup>74</sup>

Mi-la-ras-pa's family story can be related to the situation prevalent in other areas and periods. We shall see that in some areas there are provisions for the allotment of land to new settlers,<sup>75</sup> and that parts of a peasant's allotment can be sold.<sup>76</sup> Mi-la-ras-pa's mother's refusal to a leviratic marriage<sup>77</sup> explains her loss of the inheritance. The position of Mi-la-ras-pa and his mother and sister under the control of his uncle can be compared to that of the dependent relatives of a regular landholder that will be described for Spiti.<sup>78</sup> The story could be used as evidence of a rather high degree of mobilization of landed property, although it would be dangerous to generalize from this isolated case. No data in the story refer to the relations between the peasantry and the state.

Other items are also reported in Mi-la-ras-pa's biography. One village is mentioned where the regulation was made that all farmers should begin the reaping at the same time.<sup>79</sup> The practice of paying a "hail-tax" to the hail chaser is also recorded.<sup>80</sup>

### *The Sa-skyā and Phag-mo-gru-pa Periods*

During these four centuries of political division, the ramification of the various monastic orders and the power of the monasteries steadily grew. Finally, one of the most powerful hierarchs,

the hereditary abbot of Sa-skya, submitted to the Mongols in 1247 and was recognized by them as the highest authority over Tibet. Under the Sa-skya, however, many of the local rulers maintained their power. They were usually closely connected with certain monasteries that they supported and whose hierarchs were often members of their families. With the waning of the Mongol domination some of these local rulers strengthened their positions. The preponderance of the Sa-skya was followed first by that of the Phag-mo-gru-pa kings and the 'Bri-gung-pa sect (1359-1436), and later by that of the Rin-spungs family (1436-1565) and the gTsang-pa kings (1565-1641), who favored the Karma-pa sect.

The condition of the peasants and the revenue system under the Sa-skya are revealed by a census made in 1288. The census is made on the basis of households, each of which is supposed to have six pillars, i. e., man and wife, son and daughter, manservant and womanservant. Each household also has enough animals and land for the cultivation of twelve Mongol khal of seed.<sup>81</sup> The territorial divisions are built on the decimal system, taking this household as the unit. Although households cannot have been really all exactly alike, this census can be taken as evidence that the revenue system was based on a policy of equal household allotments.

A later edict given by the local ruler of Gyangtse in 1440 also implies a system of household allotments. The government was not to resume house and land (khang-zhing) when there was an heir. Those who had gone elsewhere in order not to pay tribute (khral) were to be called back and have their houses and fields given back to them.<sup>82</sup> Zhing-khang or khang-zhing is the usual term for the household allotment held by a peasant from the state.<sup>83</sup>

The same edict from Gyangtse names a large number of taxes in kind and various labor services which show that then as today the state met its needs by levying directly from the peasantry all required goods and services. Contributions are mentioned of tea, butter, wool, oil, bridles, halters, and leather sandals as well as animals, servants, and victuals for travelers.<sup>84</sup>

The practice of granting estates to officials and monasteries continues during the Sa-skya and Phag-mo-gru-pa periods.<sup>85</sup> Two main classes exist at this time: the nobility (drag-zhan), holders of estates and political offices, and the commoners (mi-sde, mi-dmangs), peasants subject to taxes and labor services.<sup>86</sup>

The relation between nobility and church hierarchs is very close. The noble families of this period are closely connected with the various "Red" or semireformed sects dominant at the time. In

some cases the abbots marry and their position descends from father to son.<sup>87</sup> In other cases the ruling family of a given region provides the lay ruler of the area and the abbot of an important monastery. Thus while the political post descends from father to son the abbotship is usually transmitted from paternal uncle to fraternal nephew. When a family does not have enough males to fill the lay and the monastic positions, both can be held by the same man until he has enough descendants to separate the two offices.<sup>88</sup> Monks could be named as political officials.<sup>89</sup>

The political organization during the period of Mongol suzerainty was influenced by the Chinese official ranks and badges of office,<sup>90</sup> but it does not seem to have attained the high degree of centralization achieved later under the Dalai Lamas and the Ch'ing dynasty.

Tibet was divided into a large number of territorial divisions. Some were ruled by appointed officials, but others were effectively appropriated as hereditary domains by local rulers descending from the families dominant in the preceding period or set up by the process of granting hereditary estates. The titles granted by the Sa-skya in the name of the Yuan emperor may have been in many cases a recognition and sanctioning of a *de facto* situation rather than the exercise of a strict control.<sup>91</sup>

In the case of districts under the control of a central government, the district official (rdzong-dpon) was named alternately from different families and the position was not to become hereditary.<sup>92</sup> However, since the local power of each family in its own territory does not seem to have been broken, the centralization must have been rather limited. The domain of each local ruler was practically closed territory.<sup>93</sup>

The appointment to the position of rdzong-dpon, even if not hereditary, was apparently made for life. At the time when the supreme ruler grew weak the holder of a district as appointed official could incorporate it into his personal domain. This was the case of bSam-'grub-rtse (Shigatse), which the prince of Rin-spungs never handed back to the Phag-mo-gru-pa.<sup>94</sup>

In comparison with the situation prevailing in Ch'ing times, it is also noteworthy that the noble families of the Sa-skya and Phag-mo-gru-pa periods held much larger and more compact territories than the smaller and scattered estates of the Dalai Lama's officials. Although they recognized and participated in the government of a superior ruler, their territories are comparable to those held by the kings of Po-yul or sDe-dge under the Dalai Lamas. For instance, in recent times, Gyantse is a district administered by two rdzong-dpon named every three years by the Lhasa govern-

ment, and in its territory are found family estates of at least eight noble families. In the Sa-skyā period, Gyangtse was the seat of a princely family. The chiefs of Gyangtse for several generations held the office of nang-chen, a sort of prime minister, at the Sa-skyā court. As rulers of Gyangtse they ruled over many officials, forming an administration similar to that of the Sa-skyā. The officials under the king of Gyangtse apparently also held landed estates and the king probably strove to centralize the organization of his realm; the edict of 1440 rules that upon the death of an official he should not be succeeded by his heirs.<sup>95</sup>

With the decline of the Mongols and Sa-skyā during the fourteenth century new families rose to supremacy who had been among the subordinates of their predecessor and who based their struggles for power in the territories which they held as hereditary domains. Thus the Phag-mo-gru-pa with their center in sNeu-gdong were among the most important old families under Sa-skyā, to whose rule they succeeded. They in their turn were replaced as the dominant power in Tibet by the family of one of their ministers, who expanded their holdings from their old domain in Rin-spungs.

### *The Rise of the dGe-lugs-pa*

The Sa-skyā period represents the beginning of modern Tibet. There we find the first monastic hierarch as ruler of the whole country, the beginning of a direct supervision of the Chinese over Tibetan affairs, and the first attempt at centralization.

During the following periods, in which the Phag-mo-gru-pa, the Rin-spungs, and the gTsang-pa kings were the most powerful rulers, Chinese intervention practically ceased, although the Ming emperors kept granting titles to lay and monastic personages. The dGe-lugs-pa sect was started by bTsong-kha-pa at the end of the fourteenth century; it spread steadily in the province of dBus, where it gained the support of several petty rulers, while the princes of gTsang continued their support of older sects. The dGe-lugs-pa also won over the Mongols, thus obtaining powerful patrons. In 1641 the Fifth Dalai Lama defeated the gTsang-pa king with the help of Guśri Khan, a Mongol prince, and became the ruler of the country.

The dGe-lugs-pa consistently observed the precept of celibacy, and the practice of succession by reincarnation was developed to apply to a large number of hierarchs. These traits of their organization made them more independent than the other sects from the old noble families that had been regularly supplying hierarchs

to monasteries of their patronage. Although dGe-lugs-pa reincarnations are often found among the nobility, a given post is never monopolized by any single family, so that the connection of the dGe-lugs-pa hierarchy is established with the nobility as a whole and not with any particular family. The system of reincarnation can establish the connection most profitable at a given time, as when the Dalai Lama was found to have taken his fourth reincarnation in the family of the Mongol prince Altan Khan. Later on when the temporal rule of the Dalai Lamas was well established under the Chinese, the reincarnation in a commoner always kept the noble families from gaining too much power.

The Fifth Dalai Lama established friendly ties with the newly founded Manchu dynasty of China and introduced a number of reforms that were the basis of the further centralization under the later Dalai Lamas; he was considered by the Tibetans as their foremost ruler since Srong-btsan-sgam-po. In 1663 he had a census made of all monasteries and the monastic population of Tibet. The fiscal organization of the country was renewed, and each monastery was endowed with landed estates for the support of the monks and of the religious ceremonies. The taxpayers were registered on the basis of households (theb); their contributions were fixed in barley or other local products and in labor.<sup>96</sup> The Fifth Dalai Lama also initiated the building of the Potala,<sup>97</sup> and he is credited with the establishment of the monk officials.<sup>98</sup>

The old local rulers became subject to the Dalai Lamas. If we believe the modern claims of the Lhasa government, even places like 'Ba'-thang and Le-thang received at that time appointed officials who only later became hereditary rulers.<sup>99</sup> The abandonment of the now ruined forts, which dot the countryside as witnesses of the past strength of local chiefs, is considered by the people to have taken place at the time of the "Great Fifth."<sup>100</sup>

### *The Establishment of Chinese Dominion over the Dalai Lamas*

The reforms of the Fifth Dalai Lama were not yet to become permanent. The further intervention of the Mongols and the ensuing civil wars again shattered the central government and allowed the power of local chiefs to continue for a time. But the trend toward centralization was now definite. The rule of Pho-lha-nas (1728-47) carried it a step further even if it also represents the last attempt to establish a lay dynasty. It is the Chinese military intervention and administrative reforms which gave the final shape to the situation that will be described in the bulk of this monograph.

The Chinese dominion over Tibet was established gradually during a period lasting from 1720 to 1792. When the successors of Guśri Khan removed the Sixth Dalai Lama and forced a candidate of their own as his successor, the Tibetans asked the Dzungar Mongols for help and a Dzungar army conquered Tibet in 1717. This brought about the direct intervention of China in Tibetan affairs. A Chinese army expelled the Dzungars in 1720 and a further intervention took place in 1792 against the Nepalese who had occupied western gTsang. The Chinese introduced a number of reforms in the Tibetan administration, first in 1751 and later in 1792, that stabilized the organization of Tibet during the remaining years of the Ch'ing dynasty and in substantial degree have lasted until the present. We have taken these reforms of 1792 as the starting point in defining the recent period of Tibetan history for the purpose of our study.

From the nature of the reforms introduced by the Chinese, it is clear that the bureaucratized nobility of more recent times had not yet quite taken form and that the official nobility of the time was still closer to the condition of territorial chiefs.

The estates of the noblemen were not only a source of income but also a military basis of power in the course of the civil wars.<sup>101</sup> The noblemen asserted their independence in their estates by denying transportation services to the bearers of passports from the central government.<sup>102</sup> They could also prevent the government from resuming their estates by making them over to a monastery which later gave it back to them for a nominal rent.<sup>103</sup> Many tax-paying peasants found their lot too difficult under the government and gave up their lands to become servants of the noblemen, who could thus strengthen their positions in opposition to the government.<sup>104</sup>

All these events, recorded for the period when the Chinese reforms were being introduced, point out the continued efforts of the nobility to maintain their power as territorial chiefs.

Desideri, who stayed in Lhasa from 1716 to 1721, still described the provincial governors (sde-pa) as hereditary.<sup>105</sup> During the civil wars each district acted as independent units, forming alliances and raising armies on their own accounts. But by the end of Pho-lha-nas' rule, most provincial lords had disappeared and the provincial government was more strictly dependent upon Lhasa.<sup>106</sup> After Pho-lha-nas' death, the province of mNga'-ris ceased to be the private domain of a nobleman and was brought under the direct administration of Lhasa, in which condition it has continued until the present.<sup>107</sup>

During the period of Ch'ing control secured in 1792 the Chinese set up what might be loosely called a system of indirect rule. The

local government remained in the hands of Tibetans. The reforms established by the Chinese changed somewhat the local administration and established supervision at the top, but did not introduce a Chinese-style system of local government with Chinese officials.

The provinces of mNga'-ris, gTsang, and dBus, and parts of Western Khams formed the realm of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa, whose government was under the supervision of two Manchu imperial residents (Ambans) at Lhasa. The small states of Khams were under the supervision of the viceroy of Szechwan. The nomad tribes of A-mdo, the chief of Choni, and the great monasteries of A-mdo were under another Amban resident of Sining.

The Chinese reforms greatly strengthened the bureaucratization of the nobility by separating their political functions from their landed estates, which thus became simply generalized salary land for hereditary officials. The seven ranks of the Tibetan officialdom are the same as the upper seven of the Chinese system. The Chinese enforced the selection of the Dalai Lama (and probably of other reincarnations) from among commoners; they introduced short terms of office, promotions based on seniority, and the collective responsibility of teams of officials.<sup>108</sup> Not all the reforms intended by the Chinese took root. Some, like the admittance of commoners to the officialdom and the separation of civil and military careers,<sup>109</sup> failed; but the successful reforms were enough to prevent the permanent appropriation of power by any one individual. Territorial chiefs have been in recent times of a very secondary importance in Central Tibet. No nobleman has been able to use his estates as a source of power to resist or strike against the government. All revolts in recent Tibet have been court revolts and the government has always been able to punish the losers quickly and resume their estates. The situation was thus established which lasted even after the lapse of Chinese control.

After the fall of the Manchu dynasty the Lhasa government asserted its independence from China and came under British influence. Since it was both Tibetan and British policy to keep Tibet closed to all outside influence, the social system that had prevailed during the nineteenth century continued practically unchanged until our own days except for the removal of the Chinese Amban.

In Khams the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty was followed by a series of conflicts between Tibetans and Chinese for control of the different states in the province. Since then it has been the Chinese policy to introduce direct Chinese government in the areas under its control, and the two new provinces of Hsik'ang in Khams and Ch'inghai in A-mdo were established in 1928. Most of the native rulers of the



petty states of Eastern Tibet were suppressed during this period, although in large part the Tibetan forms of local government persisted.

### *The Outlying States*

The preceding historical review has dealt with Central Tibet. The early history of the smaller states on the fringes of the Tibetan culture area is much less well known.

Since the downfall of the first Tibetan dynasty, Western Tibet has always been politically independent from Central Tibet, although it shared with other parts of Tibet the development of Lamaistic institutions. Branches of the Tibetan dynasty set up new kingdoms in Ladak, Gu-ge, and Pu-'rangs, which at times united under a common king, at other times separated into independent kingdoms. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while Central Tibet was falling to Mongol and Chinese influence, Ladak felt the impact of the Mogul empire in India and at one time submitted to it. The relations between Ladak and Lhasa territory were settled by treaty about 1683. The province of mNga'-ris which had formerly been more closely connected with Ladak than with Lhasa now became part of Central Tibet, and the borders then defined have continued until the present as the border between India and China.

The kingdom of Ladak came to an end in 1834, when it was conquered by the Dogra of Jammu. It thus came to form part of the Jammu and Kashmir state and the British Empire in India. Spiti, formerly a province of Ladak, was included in the Kangra district of British Punjab, as was Lahul, whose Tibetan chieftains were subject to the Hindu kings of Kulu.

Sikkim was founded in the sixteenth century by immigrants from Central and Eastern Tibet and loosely acknowledged the Lhasa government. It lost the lowland districts to the British in 1850, and in 1861 it came under British influence. A number of administrative reforms were introduced by the British at the end of the century.

Bhutan even more than Tibet has been a closed country. It was originally established as a Church state of the 'Brug-pa sect. The British annexed the lowland districts in 1865 and in 1907 induced the Bhutanese to set up a hereditary ruler instead of the old Church hierarchs.

Both Sikkim and Bhutan received a large number of Nepalese settlers after their subjection to British influence. Since the Independence of India the land system and the government of Sikkim have again been undergoing a series of reforms.

## 2. THE PEASANTRY

EVERYWHERE in Tibet the land is considered to belong to the ruler. In the areas under the control of Lhasa everything belongs to the Dalai Lama. In the independent or semi-independent states of Ladak, Sikkim, Bhutan, sDe-dge, and so forth, the land is similarly considered the property of the king. Even upon the assumption of direct control by China over parts of Eastern Tibet during the twentieth century, the theory has always been kept that the land belongs to the state.<sup>1</sup> In Central Tibet the Dalai Lama as owner of all is called bDag-po chen-po, "the great owner," as one of his titles, and all disputes having to do with land must be referred to him.<sup>2</sup>

All rights over land are thus supposed to derive from grants of the ruler or his representatives. There are two basic types of rights over land, which define two basic units of production. The first is the household allotment granted to the peasant in return for which he has the obligation of paying taxes and services to the state. The second is the estate, which includes demesne land under the direct management of the estate-holder together with the rights of taxation over a number of peasants and their holdings, the whole coordinated into a single unit of production. An estate can be granted to a nobleman or a monastery, or assigned to a government office, and is thus related to the over-all political structure. The peasant holdings will be studied in this chapter as they are to be found in various regions, while the estates will be described in the discussion of the land system of each political unit.

Class differences within the peasantry exist everywhere. The main group of peasants are those receiving land directly from the state and directly liable to the state for the payment of taxes and services. A second group are those who hold no land or whose holdings are received from the first group of peasants. The first

group will be referred to as taxpayers, or regular landholders, while the second will be called dependent landholders.

## 1. WESTERN TIBET: SPITI, LADAK, AND LAHUL

### *Household Allotments*

The basic land unit among the peasants of Western Tibet is the household allotment (*zhing-khang*, literally "field-house"), held from the state and farmed by a single family unit, the head of which is responsible for the payment of taxes.

In Lahul the distribution of allotments, or *jeolas* as they are called in Kulu, is supposed to have been made at some remote period. Allotments were originally all of equal size, subject to the same amount of rent or taxes, and all liable to furnish one man for service or forced labor when summoned by the ruler of the country. They also were indivisible among the Tibetan population. In 1868 in *Gara* and *Rangloi* districts, where the Tibetan element predominated, they were still almost all undivided; only in *Pattan* district, where the Hindu element predominated, had a great deal of subdivision taken place. Not all holdings, however, were of the same size. The gazetteer of the district explains the situation as follows:

After the first allotment was made other fields were sometimes reclaimed from the waste; these were sometimes formed into a separate allotment and rated at a full *jeola* or a half or a quarter according to value; or if they were reclaimed by one of the original holders, his holding was thereafter rated at 2 *jeolas* or 1 1/2 or 1 1/4. A household owning two *jeolas*, had to pay double taxes and take a double share of service; if it held a half only, it was rated in strict proportion. After a time when not much room for further extension of cultivation was left, the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands.<sup>3</sup>

In Spiti the form of tenure is the same as in Lahul. Most of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *khral-pa* (*talfas*) or revenue payers. Each field belongs to a separate household and with other fields forms an allotment supposed to have been held from the

king of Ladak. Such an allotment is called *zhing-khang* (*zing kom*). These allotments are never subdivided. In 1868 there were 296 such holdings in Spiti with an average area of about five acres. A full allotment (*zhing-khang chen-po*, *zing kom chongpu*) varied from three to seven acres in extent according to the quality of the soil. Some families held only a half-allotment (*zhing-khang phyed-ka*).<sup>4</sup> An entire holding is frequently contained in one single large field.<sup>5</sup>

The same type of holding as the basic property unit seems to have existed in Ladak, although information is scanty. Each holding is also termed a *zhing-khang*;<sup>6</sup> it is classified into full, half, and quarter holdings. The household allotment is the unit of taxation with little regard for the quality or quantity of land.<sup>7</sup> In 1847, according to data collected by Cunningham in 142 villages throughout Ladak, the average house held eleven *khal* of cultivable land, or about three acres.<sup>8</sup> According to the assessment report of 1909 the average size of a holding in Ladak was 1.8 hectares (4.4 acres). There were 2,963 holdings of less than 2.5 hectares (6.1 acres), 1,339 of 2.5 to 5 (12.2 acres), and 763 of more than 5.<sup>9</sup>

There is a remarkable stability in the number and size of the holdings. This is achieved by indivisibility through inheritance and by the peasants' relative lack of power to alienate their holdings. Each household has a name, which is given to the house, the fields, and the peasant occupying them at the time.<sup>10</sup> From material on *Kha-la-tse* published by Francke, it seems that the holdings existing at the end of the nineteenth century were the same as those of the seventeenth.<sup>11</sup>

In Spiti the state forbids also the merging of households, since "for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it as well as pay the revenue."<sup>12</sup> For Ladak an interesting case is reported by Prince Peter, in which an heiress married not a propertyless younger son as would be usual but a man heir to his father's household. The two different holdings were not merged and of the three male sons of the couple the first two inherited the name and the property of the father while the younger one inherited his mother's name and land.<sup>13</sup>

The policy of King 'Jam-dbyangs-rnam-rgyal of Ladak (*ca.* 1560-90), who "equalized rich and poor three times,"<sup>14</sup> probably reflects the efforts to maintain in shape a revenue system based on the equal size of peasant holdings.

The peasant holder has the right to transmit his holding by inheritance, but not to give it away. In Spiti in default of heirs the holding would lapse to the state. In Lahul the chief would grant it to a new man on payment of a fee.<sup>15</sup>

*Types of Landholders in an Allotment*

The best information on the management of an ordinary tax-paying peasant allotment comes from Spiti around 1870. Within one of these household allotments the following residents may be found:

First, there is the *khang-chen-pa*, "great-house-one," or head of the family, who is responsible for the revenue, the forced labor, and the share of common expenses demandable on the entire holding. He is usually an eldest son, for primogeniture prevails. His father will have retired from the headship of the family when his eldest son has reached full age and taken a wife.

There are cases in which father and son live on together in one house but they are very rare. Usually a retired father lives as a dependent householder in a separate house. On each holding there is a plot of land with a kind of dower house to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *khang-chung-pa*, "small-house-one." Sometimes in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, the grandfather, an uncle, an aunt, or an unmarried sister of the head of the family occupies the small house and land. The amount of land attached to a small house differs on different holdings. Where it is large, the *khang-chung-pa* pays as tax a sum of cash, or cash and grain; but where it is small, as is usually the case, he pays a small cash fee only. This is really a hearth-tax rather than a tax on the land revenue, of which he is, however, given a share. The *khang-chung-pa* is not liable for any share of common expenses or for performance of forced labor. On occasions of a great demand for men to do some work near the village he may be called to help, but the principle is that he is free.<sup>16</sup>

A third type of resident in an allotment is a *yang-chung-pa*, "still-smaller-one." This is a person living in a separate house of lower degree than that of the *khang-chung-pa*. He is always some relation of the head of the family; he may be the grandfather pushed out of the small house by the retirement of the father of the present head of the family.<sup>17</sup> The grandfather in this case gets a field for his maintenance from his own son, the *khang-chung-pa*. His grandson, although the head of the family, is not considered responsible.<sup>18</sup> Most commonly the *yang-chung-pa* is an unmarried sister or aunt of the head of the family, or their illegitimate offspring.<sup>19</sup> When such women are not thus provided for with house and land, the head of the family is responsible for their maintenance and must let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family. Many

women live as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses. Their chances of marriage are small since all younger sons become celibate monks (except in Pin) and polygamy is allowed only in the case of the head of a family whose first wife is barren. Some women leave their paternal household and go to Tibet with traders or go to live with laboring men (*dotul*). In this case a woman forfeits her claim to maintenance, but no other act will entitle the head of the family to cast her off or to resume the land and house she holds as a yang-chung-pa.<sup>20</sup> In the district of Pin the so-called *bozan* families are the descendants of monks of the rNying-ma-pa order, to whom marriage is permissible; they usually hold a house and a small plot from the family from which they come and are in the position of yang-chung-pa.<sup>21</sup>

A small plot of land is generally attached to the house of a yang-chung-pa and a few annas of revenue paid, but rather as a hearth-tax than as the share of the land-tax. Even some yang-chung-pa who have no land attached to the house pay the same tax as the others. They are not liable to ordinary labor services but must help on occasion of unusual demand near home. They often serve, however, in place of the head of the family by mutual agreement.<sup>22</sup>

In many holdings still another class of people are found as dependents of the head of the family. These are laborers who hold a small house with or without a patch of land, and who, in return, have to do a great deal of field work for the head of the family. People of this class are called *dotul*, literally smoke-makers, because they have a hearth but no other interest in the land.<sup>23</sup> Generally they pay an anna or two as a house-tax, but as to labor services they are in a position similar to the yang-chung-pa, with the difference that they are not relatives of the head of the family and their patch of land can be resumed by him if they do not fulfill their obligations.<sup>24</sup>

Households of the *dotul* class do not split up like those of peasant holders. Father and son always reside together and two or more brothers often live together with a wife in common. Their plot of land, if they have one, is too small to be divided and there are no tax responsibilities like those of landholders to be transferred from father to son. Their main source of livelihood is working for food or wages, not the land. The son of a *dotul* becomes a monk only rarely; this vocation is confined to sons of regular landholders.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, most holdings include a plot set aside for the support of the family monk. Practically every landholding family includes a monk, since all younger sons of the landholders enter the mon-

asteries; he is usually a brother or paternal uncle of the head of the family. The land assigned to a monk is called *tao* or *tazing* (grwa-zhing), i. e., field of the monk. It is plowed and sowed by the head of the family, but the monk provides the seed and gets the whole produce. It reverts to the head of the family on the death of the monk. Many monks do not take this plot and have all property in common with their elder brothers, including their income from begging, funeral fees, and so forth. This works to the advantage of the elder brother since the expenses of a celibate monk are very small. It is only the second son of a landholder who is entitled to claim a monk's field. When there are more than two monks in a family the younger ones, although they cannot receive land, receive some allowance from the head of the family and in return work for him in the summer when only the elder monks remain in the monastery. As long as they are novices (dge-tshul) and not fully ordained monks (dge-slong), they carry loads and do all kinds of field work except plowing; once they become dge-slong they cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services but do not carry loads or cut grass or wood.<sup>26</sup>

All the land held by the dependent landholders, i. e., by retired parents, dependent relatives (yang-chung-pa), farm laborers (*dotul*), and family monks, belongs to the holding or allotment of the head of the family; it cannot be alienated and at the death of the holder reverts to the head of the family. The latter cannot evict a retired parent, and the general feeling is that once a plot has been given to a dependent relative (yang-chung-pa), it cannot be resumed except with consent. The head of the family can resume the land given to a farm laborer (*dotul*) if he fails to perform the customary services. A *dotul*, however, cannot be evicted from a house he has built himself.<sup>27</sup>

Besides the housed farmworkers (*dotul*), some of the richer landholders have menservants, known as *lapa* (las-pa, "worker," or gla-pa, "wage-worker"), living in their houses. "They eat from their master's table, are servants of all work and do not marry, though they often keep company with some unmarried woman of the house or of the neighborhood."<sup>28</sup>

The organization of a peasant holding and family in Ladak is similar to that of Spiti. Here we also find the division between the big house (khang-chen) occupied by the head of the family and the small house (khang-ngu) occupied by dependent relatives.

When the son takes possession of the big house, all the duties attaching to the family land devolve upon him. The state regards

him as the holder of the entire land and he alone has to pay the land revenue and supply forced labor, when required by the state. The parents and sisters have no duties to the state.

In the small house with the attached field live the mother, the several fathers (i. e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers who are also her *de facto* husbands), and unmarried daughters. When the parents and sisters die or form new connections the small house reverts to the head of the household.<sup>29</sup>

As to when a khang-chen-pa moves into the small house, there is conflicting information, which may indicate variability in custom. According to most writers it takes place upon the marriage of the eldest son,<sup>30</sup> according to others, "when the son of the house marries and has reached years of discretion,"<sup>31</sup> when a grandson or granddaughter is born to the head of the family,<sup>32</sup> or when the parents get old and cannot work and help.<sup>33</sup> On the size of the field attached to the small house, only one report states that it is one-third of the total family holding.<sup>34</sup>

#### *Proportion of the Different Types of Landholders: Size of Household*

The khang-chen-pa or heads of allotment-holding families are the main peasant group in Spiti. The gazetteer of 1897 counts 333 khang-chen-pa with 330 holdings comprising 70.07 per cent of the total cultivated land in Spiti. The dependent landholders (khang-chung-pa, and so forth) numbered only 196 with 196 holdings comprising 16.77 per cent of the cultivated land. The rest of the cultivated land was held by a few smiths and the monasteries. It is not clear where the fields assigned to monks are counted. The number of monks in 1868 was 382. If the field held by a monk from his family is counted among the dependent holdings in the above figures, the number of other kinds of dependent landholders must have been very small. In any case there must be many a peasant household consisting only of the khang-chen-pa's house. The total population of Spiti in 1868 was 3,024, of which all but one hundred people of the smith caste and forty-six of the minstrel caste were landholders or their dependents.<sup>35</sup>

The average number of people per house is very small because of the practice of assigning separate houses for retired parents, dependent relatives, and farm workers. In Spiti there are 3.6 persons per house and 3.3 per family.<sup>36</sup> The number of persons per household allotment, considering the head of the family with his dependent relatives and workers as a unit, is higher, 9.1.<sup>37</sup>



In Lahul there are 5.7 persons per house and 5.5 per family;<sup>38</sup> in Ladak, 4.1 per house.<sup>39</sup>

### *Division of Labor*

The main working members of the average family are the husband and wife, although, as mentioned before, dependent relatives, family monks, and especially farm workers (*dotul*) will render services to the head of the family.

The woman's share looms large in the sexual division of labor. The best description, which refers to Lahul, lays upon the woman much of the burden of farming. Men build and repair field walls, plow, sow, build and repair irrigation ditches, build grain stacks, and help in threshing. Women do the manuring, beat the clods of earth in the wake of the plowmen, mark ridges in the field to make irrigation easier, and weed. With occasional help from the men they water the fields and reap, thresh, winnow, and transport the crops.<sup>40</sup> Similar sexual division of labor is reported for Ladak.<sup>41</sup> In Spiti, with the exception of plowing, all agricultural labor is the task of women.<sup>42</sup> Men engage in trading to an important extent and--as mentioned before--it is the male head of the family who is liable for the labor services inherent in his tenure of land, although occasionally he can pass on some of this service to a dependent relative or farm-worker.

The household is the main productive unit, although the exchange of farm labor is reported for Lahul<sup>43</sup> and the interchange of implements and borrowing of oxen for Ladak.<sup>44</sup> The Ladaki farming household produces enough grain for its own use and some dairy and meat products, but depends on trade for its supply of butter, wool, tea, salt, and other necessities.<sup>45</sup>

### *Kinship and Inheritance*

Family organization and rules of inheritance are such that there is a minimum of fragmentation of the land. In spite of the disappearance and creation of new families through generations, the household and its landed allotment are transmitted undivided. Polyandry and monasticism are related to this system of inheritance.

Polyandry is almost universally practiced in Ladak. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property and it is he who is entitled to marry a wife. The marriage is arranged in his name only and he pays the brideprice to the father or nearest male relative of the bride. If he has only two brothers they both become

the *de facto* husbands of his wife. If he has more than two brothers some of them become monks or leave the paternal house, since not more than two brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. All the children are considered to belong to the head of the family.

If the first wife of a man has no children or if he is rich enough to keep two families he may marry a second wife, and if she too is childless and he can afford it, he may marry a third wife. If a man and his brothers have in common three living wives and yet no child they may not marry another wife but may call in to their family circle another man as an additional husband. If he too begets no child still another man may be called in. If he too is childless the original husband and wife must resort to adoption.<sup>46</sup>

Polyandry is also prevalent in Lahul, except in the Hinduized villages of *Pattan*:

When asked to defend this repulsive custom of polyandry, they say that their holdings are too small to divide, and that experience shows them that it is impossible for two sisters-in-law, with separate husbands and families, to live together, whereas two or more brothers with a common wife can agree.<sup>47</sup>

In Spiti, polyandry is not practiced among the regular landholders since only the eldest son marries and his brothers become lamas. But some polyandrous arrangements are found among the landless families who send no sons to the monasteries.<sup>48</sup>

The normal pattern of inheritance everywhere is for the holding to be transmitted to a son. When there is no male offspring, a bridegroom is chosen for the eldest single daughter. He is usually a younger son who will not inherit land, and he is adopted into her family, comes to live with her, and takes her name. In this case the woman inherits the paternal property and becomes the head of the household.<sup>49</sup>

In Spiti, where there is no polyandry and younger brothers become monks, when the head of the family dies and leaves a young widow with no son or a son under age, the younger brother leaves the monastery and is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there is a son by the elder brother he succeeds when of full age; his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons if any enter the monasteries in the usual way.

If the head of the family has only daughters and wishes one of the daughters to marry, that he may adopt her husband as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother objects

and says that he will leave the monastery and beget a son. A son-in-law can only be adopted with his consent. The former monk may cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her, or if she is old he will put his elder brother in the small house and will take a new wife to himself. Sometimes if the brother does not want to leave the monastery, an illegitimate descendant of the family who has been living on the holding as a yang-chung-pa will lay claim as a kinsman and succeed to the holding.<sup>50</sup>

In Ladak, where polyandry prevails, Moorcroft reports that on the death of the eldest brother, his property, authority, and widow devolve upon his next brother,<sup>51</sup> but Ramsay states that when there is a son he inherits and all the "fathers" go to the small house.<sup>52</sup>

For Ladak, the most complete list of possible inheritors and their preference is given by Dainelli. First in succession is the eldest son, then the eldest surviving son each in turn. In default of male offspring the eldest daughter or the eldest surviving daughter each in turn. In default of direct descendants the eldest brother, and so on. Then follows the eldest sister, provided, however, that she is not yet married, and then each sister in turn according to age but only provided that she is not married. Then in turn the younger uncles according to age, that is, those who have not inherited from their own family. And then--a good last--the mother, then the widow, and finally the widow of the eldest son. The last possible inheritors are the most remote relatives included under the collective name of pha-spun or clan.<sup>53</sup>

In some instances when there are conflicting rights to property the case can be settled by giving some land to the dissenting party. In Spiti, a kinsman objecting to the adoption of a son-in-law for an heiress, or a younger brother who objects to the adoption of a child by his childless elder brother, may receive land as compensation.<sup>54</sup> In both Ladak and Spiti an adopted son prevails over a real one born after his adoption; but the younger can receive a field.<sup>55</sup>

In Ladak an elder brother who insists on divorcing his wife, against the wish of his younger brothers, has to give his wife and brothers some land on which they can live together.<sup>56</sup> In Spiti a man divorcing his wife against her wish must give her a field or two as maintenance.<sup>57</sup>

In some cases there may be a permanent splitting of the landholding, but most probably the party compensated in land assumes the position of a dependent landholder in a "small house," as in the case described above when a younger brother leaves the monastery to marry and puts his elder brother with his childless wife in the small house.

In Ladak there are exogamous patrilineal clans, called *rus-pa*, "bone," or more frequently *pha-spun*, "brothers of the (same) father." The clansmen worship a common god (*pha-lha*, "father-god"). They gather together for all important family events such as births, marriages, and funerals and participate in strictly regulated rituals. They help one another in every way, and inheritance rights extend to the limit of the clan. A woman after marriage becomes a member of her husband's clan.

The relation between clans and local groups is not clear. In one case, the village of *Kha-la-tse* in lower Ladak, there are families belonging to four different clans.<sup>58</sup>

The same type of clan is found in Lahul and Spiti where it is known as *rus-pa*. As in Ladak it apparently is not a local group. In Spiti members of a clan in whatever village they might live will inherit in preference to people of the same village as the deceased, in default of natural heirs.<sup>59</sup>

There is enough information to see that the clan is an important group in West Tibet but not enough to elucidate its role in economic and political life.

### *Special Holdings*

In Lahul and Spiti there are some tax-free holdings of which the revenue can be considered to have been remitted in lieu of service to the community. Some of these tax-free plots are in the hands of men who are also regular landholders, with holdings of revenue-paying lands. In Lahul the astrologers have a rent-free plot named *dbon-po-zhing*; the physicians have theirs under the name of *sman-zhing*.<sup>60</sup>

In Spiti, there are two families of 'am-chi, or physicians, who in addition to their revenue-paying allotments hold good-sized plots tax-free under the name of *sman-zhing*. This land was granted for support in their profession, and the general opinion is that if they abandoned their practice the land could be taken from them and transferred to others. Many of the regular landholders practice medicine, but only these two families hold *sman-zhing*.

At *Tashigong*, also in Spiti, a family of hereditary astrologers holds two allotments granted them by the kings of Ladak free of demand for revenue or forced labor. In this case it is not known whether this is the sole property of the astrologers or whether they also have revenue paying land.<sup>61</sup>

Other special holdings are those of village menials who ordinarily have no land. In both Lahul and Spiti there are some fields

held by blacksmiths. In Spiti they are small, and the holders pay a hearth-tax, not full revenue. In Lahul the smith's fields (*mgar-zhing*) are free of revenue, not as payment for their services, since they are paid for their work separately, but to help them to a livelihood and induce them to settle down. In Lahul in the same way the *hensi* musicians hold a little land tax-free under the name of 'be-zhing. In Spiti the musicians ('be-dha) hold no land.<sup>62</sup>

The above-mentioned holdings were inherited in Spiti in the same way as ordinary ones from father to son.<sup>63</sup> Of Lahul, the land settlement officer wrote:

I do not think that the *lohârs*, the *jodhsîs* or the *béds*, could be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths', astrologers', and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensîs*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur.<sup>64</sup>

In all the villages of Spiti there are some persons known as *yul-pa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who each own a house and a small field reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; a few have no field; they all pay a small hearth-tax. They cannot be evicted since the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village and on that understanding they have built their houses and broken up the waste.<sup>65</sup>

For Spiti the gazetteer of 1897 gives a total of twelve holders of these different kinds of special allotments, amounting to only 0.62 per cent of the total cultivated land of Spiti.<sup>66</sup>

Also, both in Lahul and Spiti, there are fields which could be considered the common property of all the villagers.

*lHa-zhing*, "fields of the god," are lands attached to the village temple (*lha-khang*). In Spiti one of the villagers cultivates them and pays a fixed rent, which is applied to lighting the lamps in the temple or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of the community; sometimes all the landholders cultivate these fields jointly and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a monk named by the landholders, others by the landholders themselves.<sup>67</sup>

*Yur-zhing*, "canal fields," are lands the produce of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal.<sup>68</sup> The total extension of land thus held for common purposes by the villages

amounts in Spiti to twenty-nine holdings comprising 1.8 per cent of the total cultivated surface of Spiti.<sup>69</sup>

No information is available on fields held by village menials in Ladak. The only existing report mentions instead payments in grain, called thob-thang, "given by villagers at harvest time to the village blacksmiths or other village servants."<sup>70</sup>

### *Transfers of Land*

In Lahul the sale of land is unknown. There is, however, the custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash. In the language of the country this is described as sale, and this idiom led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Lahul though not in any other part of the district.<sup>71</sup> A recent writer thus describes the leasing of fields in Lahul:

It often happens that a farmer will let his land to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing, and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the water-course supplying the field with water.<sup>72</sup>

Usufructuary mortgages are common in Lahul.<sup>73</sup> In Spiti

. . . no instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir.

Two kinds of pledge are practiced in which the landholder makes over his land for a period of time in return for a sum of money. In one the land is turned over to the lender in lieu of interest until the principal is paid off; in the other it is made over for a fixed term on the calculation that the debt will be paid in full within that time by the produce of the land. The lender plows, sows, and reaps the land he has taken over, but the original landholder manages the irrigation and gets the straw for his trouble.

Absolute gifts of land are unknown in Spiti, the general opinion being that "no man can give away lands to the prejudice of his chil-

dren, or that if he did so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved."<sup>74</sup>

In Ladak there seem to be two ways of leasing land. One is to rent it on a yearly basis. The other is described as "to take land on lease in perpetuity by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease and continuing to pay a small often almost a nominal sum in each succeeding year. This is the general custom in Ladak as people do not like to sell their land outright."<sup>75</sup>

Peasants indebted to monasteries surrender land under terms similar to one of the forms of pledge reported in Spiti.

When the debtor is hopelessly involved, the monastery takes possession of half of his lands for a period of 3 years. If the debt is not liquidated within 3 years, the land is restored to the debtor and the debt written off. The monastery will never sue a debtor, nor is land ever permanently alienated for debt.<sup>76</sup>

### *Water Rights*

In Ladak some sort of right over water is held by the state. In the village of Kha-la-tse a royal grant to the Drag-shos family gives them a piece of waste with permission to build a canal. Also in Kha-la-tse the order in which the peasants irrigate their fields is determined by a royal decree.<sup>77</sup> According to one report the amount of water used by each peasant determined the rate of taxation.<sup>78</sup>

In Lahul the canals are always built and repaired by the landholders of the villages that use them. They are considered to be the property of the shareholders, who cast lots every year to decide the order in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the yur-zhing or canal field, if there is one. No outsider can get a share of the water of a canal except from the group of old shareholders. The state in a crown district or the chief in his estate cannot give a share; therefore their power over the use of the waste is limited unless a new canal can be made.<sup>79</sup>

No information is available on the relation between the group of water-users and the village or other social groups.

### *Village and District*

The village and the district have comparatively little importance

as landholding units. The village is not the elementary part of the land system in Lahul. The basic elementary parts are the household allotments already described. A village is known to contain a certain number of those allotments. The fields forming an allotment are usually all in the arable land around the village, but sometimes some are at a distance, in the land around other villages. Although a village has a distinctive name and its houses stand close together, it sometimes happens that some of these houses, with the fields attached to them, are reckoned to belong to another village and even another district.

The whole of Lahul is divided into *Rangloi* (the Chandra Valley), *Gara* or *Punan* (the Bhaga Valley), and *Pattan* (the valley of the Chandra Bhaga). The first valley contains four districts (kothī), the second four, and the third six, making fourteen in all. Some of the districts correspond with existing or former jagirs of the Thakurs, or petty chiefs, of Lahul. The rest are groups of villages which have long been connected for administration purposes. For instance, kothī Raniki consists of several villages, scattered here and there among those of other districts, formerly held in jagir by a Kulu princess and ever since held together as one community under one headman.<sup>80</sup>

There are no definite boundaries in the waste between districts or villages; certain natural limits to both are recognized in a loose way in a geographical sense rather than as borders of properties. The waste lands are considered to belong to the ruler of the country, a position occupied by the Raja of Kulu in a Crown district and by the local chief (Thakur) in a jagir. The ruler's permission is necessary before new fields can be opened in the waste, and such fields pay him taxes thenceforth; he can also grant sheep-runs in the high wastes to foreign shepherds and take grazing dues from them. All the villagers have rights of use in the waste, but the cattle or flocks of one district sometimes graze regularly in the lands of another, and the men of one district sometimes rely for fuel and timber on the trees growing in another. Within the districts the various villages use the grass and wood indiscriminately. Where the villages are far apart, they keep in practice to separate grounds; where close, they mingle.<sup>81</sup>

In Spiti there are five districts: *Todpa*, *Barjik*, *Sham*, *Chuzi*, and *Pin*; the first four are in the main valley, the fifth includes the whole valley of the Pin River and is shut off from the rest of Spiti by high mountains. The name *Todpa* (sTod-pa) means upper valley, *Barjik* the center, and *Sham* the lower, valley. The name *Chuzi* (Chos-gzhi) means religious estate or endowment, and the district



consists of villages scattered here and there over the whole length of the valley. In a few cases, different holdings in the same village belong to different districts.<sup>82</sup>

In Spiti practically all uncultivated land is completely useless. There are no boundaries between districts in the waste, except in the case of Pin, which is geographically isolated. Some kind of boundary exists between villages that are not separated by any large expanse of waste; such villages have loosely recognized limits within which they exercise separately the right of grazing cattle or cutting grass and wood. This does not imply full ownership of the soil. Waste land may not be broken up for cultivation without permission obtained from the No-no, or chief of Spiti. Where the villages are far apart, as is often the case, there are no boundaries between them of any kind.

There are some plains or plateaus which, though apparently capable of being irrigated and cultivated, are kept as fodder reserves and grazing grounds. These are generally regarded as the property of specific villages, but for three of them the villagers making use of them pay a fee to the No-no amounting to two maunds of barley a year in the case of one and seven maunds in the case of the other two.<sup>83</sup>

In the old Kingdom of Ladak the government of villages was in the hands of village headmen and elders. The village headman (midpon, 'go-pa, grong-dpon) had some role in the administration of justice, collection of revenue, and recruiting of soldiers. He was under the petty chiefs or ministers in charge of his district, except in those villages which were directly under the king; in that case in matters connected with revenue they rendered their accounts to the phyag-mdzod or treasurer, who reported to the prime minister.<sup>84</sup> At least in some cases the position of headman might have been hereditary. Each community also had a council of five to seven elders (rgad-po) which met for the administration of justice.<sup>85</sup>

In recent times the village headman collects the revenue and takes it to the district officer at Leh, calls the peasants for forced labor duty, watches the irrigation, settles small disputes, and reports to the police.<sup>86</sup>

As illustration of local government in one area we have only the material on Spiti. There are two kinds of headmen, the *gatpochemno* (rgad-po chen-mo, "great elder"), in charge of districts, and the *gatpochugán* (rgad-po chung-ngun, "small elder"), in charge of villages. The district headmen are in charge of arranging labor services, and receive and account for the collections of supplies

for travelers. They get the loan of a horse and five p $\acute{a}$ th (seers) of barley meal a day from their district when on actual service. The office is not hereditary, though the son, if thoroughly fit, has a preference. Formerly they were appointed and dismissed by the No-no at his own pleasure, but after the British occupation appointments were made by the vote of the village headmen with the concurrence of the No-no.

There is a headman for each village or group of two or three small villages. He works under the district headman in arranging labor services, collects the revenue directly from every villager, and conveys the sum due from the village to the No-no. These village headmen hold office for a year only, or for two or three years. Whenever the landholders wish for a change, or whenever the man in office chooses to resign, they elect a new man, and report the matter through the district headman to the No-no. "As remuneration, he gets 5 p $\acute{a}$ th meal a day for the days in which he is actually employed in public service, and is also excused his turn of carrying loads from village to village, but not his turn of carrying loads across the passes, for which there is a different roster."<sup>87</sup>

## 2. CENTRAL TIBET

### *Household Allotments*

In Central Tibet the most common term for the peasants in their capacity as subjects and holders of land from the ruler is that of mi-ser, literally "yellow men." Das defines the term as "agricultural tenants, husbandmen with lands held subject to payments but from which they are non ejectable."<sup>88</sup> The term tenant as used by Das simply means that the peasants hold their allotments from the state.

According to Das each peasant family holds an average of two or three *kang* of arable land. In two districts of gTsang surveyed by Winnington, *Saima* and *Djunda*, the average holding was one *kang* of land to a family.<sup>89</sup>

There is some indication from Central Tibet that at some times the allotments received by the peasants from the state were all of equivalent size. One of the Chinese proclamations of around 1800 states that according to the old rule those who work together and use thirteen khal of seed are considered as one household,<sup>90</sup> but it also directs that since farmers have holdings of different sizes taxes should be based on the amount of land held. The *kang* might

have been the basic unit of allotment, since for each *kang* there should be furnished one soldier and it is also the minimum holding for which 'u-lag is due.<sup>91</sup>

In recent times, however, the system of taxation takes into account the different sizes (or rather seed capacities) of peasant holdings, which indicates an unequal distribution of land among the taxpayers.

It is in the interest of the state to maintain unchanged the number of tax-paying holdings in order to keep a fixed tax roll. Thus peasant holdings are tied to the land and by means of the rules of inheritance which do not allow subdivision the continuity of the household as a taxable unit is insured. In Gro-mo-stod (Upper Chumbi Valley) the peasants are allowed to pledge and sell part of their land but they cannot sell outright lest they might run away and be lost to the tax roll.<sup>92</sup> If a man dies without inheritors the village headman assigns a new man to take over the property and fill up the vacancy in the tax roll.<sup>93</sup>

The nature of peasant holdings as grants from the state and the concern of the state to keep the tax roll in shape is also clearly seen from the order of Pho-lha-nas in 1723 when he was finance officer (rtsis-dpon). Landholders were then trying to evade the payment of taxes by notification of their departure from the country. Pho-lha-nas ordered that their household allotments were to be handed over to any man who would be willing to pay the revenue due on them. This measure put an end to the evasion of taxes because men began looking about for "vacant" houses and holdings to be claimed.<sup>94</sup> Similar measures were recommended to district officials in more recent times.<sup>95</sup>

### *Types of Landholders*

In Central Tibet we also find within the peasantry the distinction between the regular tax-paying peasant holding land from the state or its representative, and the dependent peasant who works for or rents land from the first type of peasant.

A recent report by Winnington describes these two classes as "ordinary tied serfs" and "masterless people." The first cultivate the land of the government, nobles, or monasteries, and are responsible for taxes and labor services. The masterless people, or *dui-chun* ("black people") in Tibetan, are those peasants or their descendants who have run away from their landlords, usually because of debts, and have taken up residence somewhere also. Relations with their new masters vary and in the course of time they

may achieve a position similar to that of regular peasants. In the specific cases described they are dependents of regular peasants.

In the districts of *Saima* and *Djunga*, in gTsang, there are sixty-two families of regular peasants and sixty-three of "black people." The latter rent land through the first who act as their overseers for the government or the noble landlords. They also have to do their share of labor services. A regular peasant who fails to work the land has to give it up. The land is then distributed to other peasants, and his family become "black people."

In *Gedja*, a village twenty-three miles from Lhasa, there are ten families of which the three most prosperous ones have as members of their households a number of hired hands, mostly these "masterless people." Their engagement is on a permanent basis, and their children also remain in the service of the family. Some have been in the household for generations and are distantly related to their masters. They work the field and take their masters' place in rendering transportation service; they receive food and clothes from their masters but no money. This situation is thus very similar to that in Western Tibet.<sup>96</sup>

Kawaguchi described two classes within the peasantry in terms of an original difference equivalent to that between tax-paying landholders and their dependents, but having assumed castelike characteristics:

Common people are divided into two grades, one called *tong-ba* and the other *tong-du*. The former is superior, and includes all those common people who possess some means and have not fallen into an ignoble state of slavery. *Tong-du* means etymologically "petty people," and their rank being one grade lower than that of others, the people of this class are engaged in menial service. Still they are not strictly speaking slaves; they should more properly be considered as poor tenant-farmers, for formerly these people used to stand in the relation of tenant farmer to land-owners, though such relation no longer exists.

Some *tong-ba* are reduced to more straitened circumstances than the *tong-du*, but, generally considered, the *tong-ba* are distinguished from the others by the possession of property, greater or less as the case may be, while poverty is a special feature of the *tong-du*.

However low the *tong-ba* may fall, in the worldly sense of the word, and, on the other hand, however thriving the *tong-du* may become, a strict line of demarcation still continues to

separate the two classes. Society continues to treat them as before, and as if nothing had happened in their relative fortunes. No ordinary people deign to eat with one belonging to the tong-du class, nor do they ever intermarry with them.<sup>97</sup>

A sort of debt slavery exists in Central Tibet.<sup>98</sup> There are also slaves captured from the tribal areas. They are very numerous in the province of Tsha-rong,<sup>99</sup> but it is not known under what conditions they labor.

### *The Peasant Household*

The family land is seldom divided. Division is prevented by the practice of fraternal polyandry which is found among agriculturalists and also among some herdsmen. The reason for polyandry is everywhere stated to be the desire to keep the family land intact.<sup>100</sup> It is especially prevalent in the province of gTsang; one reason given by the Tibetan informant of Bell is that in gTsang the soil is poorer than in dBus and holdings are larger, requiring more persons to look after them, and making polyandry well suited to the province.<sup>101</sup> Nonfraternal polyandry is also practiced. Special forms are the sharing of a wife by a father and son or by uncle and nephew.<sup>102</sup>

In Central Tibet, according to some reports, a father retires after his son's marriage, keeping a small piece of land for his sustenance. The son becomes the head of the household and solely responsible for the payment of taxes.<sup>103</sup> Another report, however, denies this practice.<sup>104</sup>

The most able son inherits and the others share his wife and land, or become monks, or are adopted into other families. If male heirs are lacking, a daughter succeeds and a young man is adopted as her husband. Except in such cases, daughters inherit no land, but are only given a share of the movable property when they marry. Should brothers in a polyandrous household want to split up, the head of the household keeps the larger share of the property, especially of the land.<sup>105</sup> In some cases land can be given as dowry.<sup>106</sup>

A divorced woman can also receive a plot of land for her support and that of her daughters.<sup>107</sup> These women and the retired father may indicate the existence, as in Spiti, of dependent relatives to whom small parcels of land are given. The data, however, are too meager to be conclusive.

The village of *Gedja* near Lhasa described by Winnington shows a great variation in the size of family and household related to var-

iations in the size of landholdings. There were in the village ninety-nine persons in ten households. Of these households, three had large holdings (size not given) and a number of nonrelated servants. All three together include fifty-nine persons. The most prosperous family had fifteen members and nine nonrelated workers; a second family had twelve members and eight workers; and the third family ten members and five workers. On the other hand, the other seven households with holdings of from three to under two acres of land included the remaining forty people in the village, making an average of 5.7 per household.<sup>108</sup>

For mNga'-ris, Sherring reports very large polyandrous families of twenty or thirty members. In case of dissension the property is divided into shares for the male descendants and the district official takes one share for the state.<sup>109</sup>

The peasant household produces most of its requirements in food and clothing. Both sexes work together in cultivation. Only plowing is men's work, although even this can be done occasionally by women. Sowing and dairying is women's work.<sup>110</sup>

### *Transfers of Land*

For the Chumbi and *Kamphu* valleys, Bell reports two ways of pledging land. One is known as "period of years" (lo-dus). The peasant gives his land, in return for a loan, for a number of years, at the end of which he receives back the land free of encumbrance, both principal and interest being paid by the use of the land during those years. In the other kind of pledge the borrower also gives his land for a number of years, but in this case the use of the land pays the interest only and not the principal of the loan. When the period ends, if the peasant cannot repay the loan, the moneylender keeps the land. This kind of pledging is known as *tema* or *mik-te* (gta'-ma, mi'-gta').

For the same place two types of letting are reported. In one the tenant pays a fixed sum yearly either in cash or grain. In another the lessor and lessee share the produce equally. The lessor pays the taxes and the lessee cultivates the land, providing seed and labor. This is known as "declaring the half" (*che-she*, phyed-bshad). These types of letting are used only for part of a peasant's holding. We are not told whether the practice of letting land is related to the possible existence of class differences, somewhat similar to those described before, between regular landholders and their dependents. A landholder can also let out the whole of his land to another involving a full contract and inventory.

As to sales, we only know that in Upper and Lower Gro-mo, the two communities in the Chumbi Valley, no outsider can buy land in the community; while in *Kamphu*, where land was plentiful, the inhabitants were ready to admit people from other districts. The conditions of sale within the community are not reported. Actually the two types of pledging described above could equally be described as redeemable sales.<sup>111</sup>

In the upper Chumbi Valley, Gro-mo-stod, no man can sell or pledge land to an outsider. Also the transfers of land which take place involve only a part of a peasant's holdings. No one is allowed to part with the whole of his land lest he should leave the village and be lost as a taxpayer. All transfers of land have to be reported to the village council.<sup>112</sup>

### *Special Holdings*

Special landholdings for craftsmen or other village specialists are not reported outside Western Tibet, except for the hail-chasers (ser-khyim-pa). These are Tantrik lamas who are allowed to marry and live as householders and are credited with the power of warding off hail. The Tibetan government employs two of them to keep hail from falling on Lhasa and the surrounding plain; they receive small grants of land in payment for their services. Farmers also employ hail-chasers and pay them a small amount of grain each year, known as a hail-tax (ser-khral).<sup>113</sup>

These hail-priests correspond to the astrologers of Lahul and Spiti. No information is available on possible landholdings or regular perquisites of other village menials such as the undertakers, butchers, or blacksmiths, who are the main outcasts of Central Tibet.<sup>114</sup>

### *Village Organization*

The only good reports on village organization refer to the Chumbi Valley, especially the upper valley, or Gro-mo-stod. The community of Gro-mo-stod includes a number of villages grouped into two divisions for the purpose of electing officials and in four divisions called *tsho* (tshogs?) for grazing rights.<sup>115</sup>

The population of the whole Phag-ri district, which includes, besides Gro-mo-stod, Gro-mo-med, *Khangba* (or *Kamphu*), and Phag-ri, was estimated by Campbell at 3,000. Of the four divisions in Gro-mo-stod, one had sixty houses (*Galling*), another fifty (*Riban*), another forty-five (*Ganga*) and the fourth one an undetermined number of houses.<sup>116</sup>

Each village has an undetermined number of headmen or *tsho-pa* (tshogs-pa?). They are elected by the villagers but when once elected continue to be *tsho-pa* unless the villagers remove them; this would be done only because of old age or loss of money or anything else which would render them unfit to be promoted to the higher office of *kongdu*.

The community of Gro-mo-stod as a whole has two officers called *kongdu*.<sup>117</sup> Once every three years the villagers all assemble and present to the two *kongdu* the names of all the *tsho-pa* of their respective villages. For the purpose of election Gro-mo-stod is divided into two divisions, and the *kongdu* are elected alternatively from these two divisions. From the list presented by the villagers the two current *kongdu* select the names of the four persons in the other division from their own that they consider to be most suitable to be the next *kongdu*; then they select two out of the four by throwing dice. The two newly elected *kongdu* decide which one of them is to be the Khri-pa or chairman.<sup>118</sup>

Each *kongdu* has under him four *la-yok*,<sup>119</sup> who act as messengers and carry orders to the *tsho-pa*. Each *kongdu* has one *la-yok* for each of the four *tsho* or subdivisions of the community.<sup>120</sup>

The *kongdu* are exempted from all taxes during their term of office and they also receive a present from each village at the ceremony when they take charge of their office, but they receive no other remuneration. They are named from among the wealthy villagers.<sup>121</sup> It often happens that one *kongdu*, always the richest and most influential person in the community, is re-elected time after time, and his heir often takes his place. Probably most villagers are indebted to him and do not want to make him their enemy by electing another candidate.<sup>122</sup>

The *la-yok* hold their land tax-free and are exempted from all taxes; also each receives a yearly sum of nine srang (Rs. 22-8) as salary. The *kongdu* have to pay the annual taxes to the government and provide the usual transport services and supplies. They also reconcile civil disputes, decide questions of family rights, and try petty criminal offenses. In addition they make regulations for the allotment of grazing grounds among the villages and for the maintenance of the forest reserve, assess the taxes when coming into office every three years, and regulate the cutting of grass for winter hay.

The community has to provide transport service to the government. This includes 'u-lag, supply of porters; *mi-hrang*, supply of messengers; rta-'u, supply of mules and ponies; *khyem*, sup-



ply of yaks; rtswa-khral, grass tax; shing-khral, wood tax; and thab-g'yog, or supply of personal servants to officers while on tour.

The revenue paid to the government consists of forty srang (Rs. 100) as grazing rights, 120 bundles of bamboos, 60 wooden beams, and 8 maunds of *tsod* leaves used in dyeing. To meet these and other expenses the *kongdu* assess a land tax, a grazing tax, a household tax, and a cattle tax. The land tax is levied on the amount of land held, estimated from the seed sown on it; it comes to about As. 15 per acre. For the purpose of the house tax the households are placed in eight different classes according to the circumstances of the family; it varies from Rs. 5 for the highest to Rs. 2 for the lowest. The class in which each household is placed is decided by the *kongdu* with the *tsho-pa* at the beginning of their terms.<sup>123</sup>

The pasture lands are divided into a number of grazing grounds<sup>124</sup> which are allotted among the different villages grouped into four divisions (*tsho*). The allotment of the pastures is decided at a meeting of the *kongdu* with the *tsho-pa*; it is settled by throwing dice, the highest throw having first choice. The grazing stations are changed twice each summer, thus making three stations. All the herds are moved on the same day from one station to the other. The winter quarters are retained for three years. Each grazing ground accommodates sixty to seventy head of cattle. Each group of villages pays a different amount of grazing tax according to the number of grounds it has been allotted, at the rate of 5 srang (Rs. 12-8) per grazing ground. For yaks owned by outsiders the grazing fee is 5 pence per year; for ponies, mules, and donkeys it is somewhat more.<sup>125</sup>

It is also the duty of the *kongdu* to regulate the cutting of the grass on the *Lingma thang* plain; this grass is the chief source of hay for the winter. The plain is closed to grazing on a fixed day in June and one of the *la-yok* is stationed to see that no one grazes animals there; anyone doing so is liable to a fine or beating by order of the *kongdu*. In October all the villagers meet in the plain and after a religious ceremony the *kongdu* declare that the grass can be cut. Everyone starts to work and the cutting is completed in about a week.

All the funds collected from the various taxes are under the control of the *kongdu*, who make the payment of taxes to the district fort at Phag-ri. A large proportion is spent on entertainment at the ceremonies of election and installment of the *kongdu*, at the

quarterly meetings of *tsho-pa* when the *kongdu* render account of expenditures, in contributions to the village temples (*lha-khang*), and in religious ceremonies.

The holding of land in Gro-mo-stod is restricted to the members of the community. Transfers of land between local families have to be reported at the assembly of *kongdu* and *tsho-pa*. No one is allowed to part with the whole of his land lest he should leave the country and be lost as a taxpayer. If a landholder dies without heirs the headman (*kongdu* or *tsho-pa*?) can make over the house and land of the deceased to whomsoever he thinks fit, this successor becoming liable for the taxes attached to the property.<sup>126</sup>

The lower Chumbi Valley, Gro-mo-med, has an organization similar to that of the Upper Valley. It was introduced by the Tibetan government in 1889 on the model of Upper Gro-mo. There are three *kongdu* instead of two and the term of office is only one year. There are eighteen *tsho-pa* representing the eleven villages of the community and from these the *kongdu* are selected by rotation in such a way that there can never be two *kongdu* from the same village. The duties of the *kongdu* are here similar to those of Gro-mo-stod.<sup>127</sup> According to one report Lower Gro-mo has six "blocks" (*tsho*?) compared to the four of Upper Gro-mo.<sup>128</sup> It has eight grazing grounds compared to the twenty-one of the Upper Valley.<sup>129</sup>

Outside the Chumbi Valley, information on village organization in Central Tibet is practically nonexistent.

Common use of forests and pastures was reported by Desideri. He wrote of mountains assigned to villages in which the villagers were allowed to cut wood, collect dung, and pasture their animals; trespassers from other villages were punished.<sup>130</sup> Mountain pastures apportioned to villages also are reported for the *Nagong* district in dPag-shod.<sup>131</sup>

The exclusion of outsiders from holding land in a community, as reported for Gro-mo, is not general. *Kamphu*, next to Gro-mo and included in the same district of Phag-ri, has no restrictions against outsiders since there is plenty of land.<sup>132</sup>

The title of village headman is reported as 'go-pa (literally headman),<sup>133</sup> or rgad-po, rgan-po (literally old man).<sup>134</sup> Sandberg defines *ts'o-pon* (*tshogs-dpon*) as "president of the headmen of a set or 'circle' of villages elected by his brother headmen to control the whole khor or circle in its relations with other village circles." It seems then to be something like the *kongdu* of Chumbi. Sandberg calls the headman of a single village *Pi-pon* (*spyi-dpon*). He is elected by the *gen-po* or *gen-sum* (*rgan-po*; *rgan-gsum*), village elders.<sup>135</sup> The organization of Chumbi can be described as a cir-

cle of villages, although unfortunately we know nothing about the organization of each individual village within the community. Village communities consisting of groups of hamlets are reported in other parts of Central Tibet.<sup>136</sup> The "circles" of Sandberg can also be compared to the various Lepcha communities of *Zongu* under a muktair or to the three groups of villages in Pu-rangs placed under hereditary chiefs and together forming a council.<sup>137</sup>

Walsh, in his description of the organization of Upper Gro-mo considers it as a survival from a time when it was "the independent Government of a small republic state"; he points out that the Gro-mo people do not call themselves Tibetan (*bod-pa*), and that until recently (1890's) the Tibetan government interfered very little with the Chumbi Valley beyond receiving the annual taxes.<sup>138</sup> If this is so, the organization of Upper Gro-mo might not be typical of Tibet.

Bell and MacDonald, on the other hand, consider it typical of Tibet as a whole and generalize on the Tibetan peasantry on the basis of it, although one wonders how much they knew about village organization in other areas since all their concrete data refer to Chumbi.<sup>139</sup>

Actually the organization of the Chumbi Valley can be expected to be somewhat special since geographically it is rather at variance with most other areas of Tibet. It is also a community paying taxes mostly in kind directly to the government. In other areas, where there are large estates held by noblemen or churchmen, with lands worked by a special group of peasants, the village organization can be expected to be somewhat different.

On the other hand, Chumbi has for a long time been under the influence of a strong state organization. The historical data available show that it received settlers from Sa-skya, that the founders of the Sikkim state once settled here, and that Lower Gro-mo was under the control of Bhutan, the first Dharma Raja having made a revenue settlement of the district.<sup>140</sup> The traits of "democracy" seen by Walsh, like the "socialism" of La-chen in Sikkim described by David-Neel, can be best interpreted as a village organization distributing among its members the tax burden imposed upon the community by the state. In this sense we might expect Chumbi to show strong similarities to other areas.

### 3. SIKKIM

#### *Household Allotments*

All peasant land in Sikkim was held from the king. Edgar wrote:

The cultivators have no title to the soil, and a man may settle down and cultivate any land he may find unoccupied without going through any formality whatever, and when once he has occupied the land, no one but the Rajah can turn him out. But the Rajah can eject him at any time; and if he should cease to occupy the land, he would not retain any lien upon it.<sup>141</sup>

This situation clearly refers to the vast areas of Sikkim which were worked under a slash-and-burn technique of agriculture by which the farmer continually leaves a plot to clear new ground. In the case of permanent lands the rights of the farmer, although subject to the king, were somewhat less transitory and allowed for alienation. Thus Edgar explains:

There is a kind of tenant-right, however, under which cultivators are enabled to dispose of inexhausted improvements. Thus as it was explained to me, a man who has terraced a piece of hill-side could not sell the land, but is allowed to sell the right of using the terraces. This custom is acknowledged not to be absolutely a right, but more of the nature of an indulgence on the part of the Rajah, by whom it was allowed to grow up for the sake of convenience.<sup>142</sup>

The only good report on a peasant community in Sikkim is that of Gorer on the Lepcha of *Lingthem*. Their territory is part of the king's private estate and is administered for him by a *Kazi*.<sup>143</sup> Within their country, according to native tradition, the more protected valley ground has been divided into "private property" from time immemorial, but the higher ground was common property and was cleared and tilled as wanted. About 1840 this ground was also divided up and today all cultivable land is "privately owned."<sup>144</sup>

Although Gorer speaks of private property, he himself makes clear that the individual rights of the Lepcha farmer are clearly considered to derive from the king. His report actually depicts the same situation which Edgar described. Thus he also writes, "All the land of Zongu belongs to the Maharajah and cannot be owned by anybody not of Lepcha blood. Transactions of land between residents inside Zongu need the consent of the Mandal, and if necessary the confirmation of the court."<sup>145</sup>

The superior right of the state is shown in the need for the permission of village officials for all transfers of land. State intervention of cases of inheritance is clearly due to the concern to have a taxpayer responsible for the land. Land and animals are considered the property of the householder responsible for the payment

of taxes, but subdivisions of a family's holdings must be made with "the consent and cooperation" of the village headmen.<sup>146</sup>

When a person dies without heirs or the heirs are too young to work the property, the village headman appoints a substitute taxpayer (*ke-tsop*), as a rule the younger son of a large family. If there are no direct heirs the *ke-tsop* will keep the property permanently; if the heir is too young, the *ke-tsop* hands over the property when the heir is old enough to work the land. During his guardianship the *ke-tsop* is responsible for the payment of taxes; he works the land and supports his ward, but he can keep for himself any profit he can make.<sup>147</sup> Land cannot be alienated to people subject to a different headman. Thus, land received as a gift can be given again but not to people living under another village headman; it cannot be sold without the permission of the village headman and of the original owner.<sup>148</sup>

The provisions for new settlers also show clearly the paramount rights of the state. If a Lepcha from outside *Zongu* wishes to settle there, he applies to the headman in whose village he wishes to live, who forwards the request to the court. If the request is granted, the headman summons all the villagers and instructs them each to give a strip of land to the newcomer; he himself will give a piece of uncleared forest. It is extremely rare, however, for immigrants to arrive in this way; for a period of thirty years only one case is reported in *Lingthem*. New settlers usually join the community either through marriage or adoption.<sup>149</sup>

### *The Lepcha Household*

For the Lepcha, the ideal household is a large extended family including four generations with the authority in a male of the third generation; such a household would consist of about sixteen people. Actually the average in *Lingthem* is a little over five to a house, and out of thirty-seven households only six are relatively large, and only two approach the ideal with ten and fourteen members.<sup>150</sup>

A family's land and animals are considered the property of the householder in whose name the house is registered and who is responsible for the payment of taxes. He is usually the oldest able-bodied man in the family; a grandfather usually turns the land over to his eldest son.<sup>151</sup>

If the household consists of more than a couple and one child, the dependent members of the household usually have a little property of their own in the form of a few animals and small fields. This practice begins when as children they are given an animal or a

small plot of land. At first the parents help them till their fields, but by about the age of twelve years, children are expected to be able to work them by themselves. As the children grow older the size of their fields is increased. The grain of the children's fields is harvested separately and kept in a special container, but the housemother can use it without the children's permission.<sup>152</sup>

Apparently both sexes work in agriculture, although the sexual division of labor is not well explained by Gorer. Agricultural work, sowing, weeding, and harvesting is done in large parties made up of relations by blood and marriage and by friends. This help is repaid with a similar amount of labor.<sup>153</sup>

In the old days a prosperous peasant could also have slaves as family servants. Slaves were kidnaped enemies or children of slaves, orphans, or children of very poor parents. A man would bring up such children and they had to serve him all their lives. If the owner had a child from a female slave, the child would be treated as his own, and if a boy, would inherit, although a smaller portion than the legitimate sons. Slaves married only slaves but otherwise were not distinguished by any special restrictions, and they were well treated. They could not be sold or transferred and there was a fixed limit to the number of slaves a man could own.<sup>154</sup>

Unlike the Tibetan custom, all sons inherit among the Lepcha, and landholdings are thus broken up by inheritance. In theory the property descends from elder to younger brother, and then when all of the first generation are dead or too old, to the sons of the elder brother; but seldom is there more than one family head of each generation in one household. When a family is large the sons usually set up houses on their own. If a son wishes to settle on his own during his father's life time, the father assigns him, with the consent and cooperation of the village headmen, his share of the land. If the sons wish to separate after their father's death, the property is divided by the village headmen. The house is given to the eldest son; the animals, the movable property, and the land are divided up equally. The eldest son has first choice, and if there is difference in the size of the fields, he takes the biggest field. If the number of fields is not exactly divisible by the number of sons, the biggest fields are split in two. Should two or more brothers wish to continue to live together they will be given adjoining fields.

Land can be owned only by men. A Lepcha family without male offspring occasionally takes a son-in-law to reside with his bride and inherit her parents' property. But this arrangement is not popular or common; people prefer to adopt a young child, usually the child of a relative, or else to let the property pass at their death to

a substitute taxpayer (*ke-tso*) named by the village headman.<sup>155</sup>

### *Village Organization*

Information on village organization is available only for the Bhotias of the La-chen and La-chung valleys, and for the Lepchas of *Lingthem* in *Zongu*.

The Bhotias of northernmost Sikkim are organized into two communities, La-chen and La-chung. Like the people of the Chumbi Valley in Tibet they claim descent from immigrants from *Ha* in Bhutan and follow a mixed economy of agriculture, cattle raising, and trade. One of the communities, La-chen, counts about eighty families.<sup>156</sup>

Both communities are governed by headmen (*spyi-dpon*, *phipun*), by a council of elders, and by the assembly of all the people. The older accounts report the headmen as appointed by the higher authorities. Thus Macaulay wrote of La-chung, "The Raja appoints a man every year. The present man was appointed three years ago. The Phipun has no allowances but he has a great deal of authority. . . ."<sup>157</sup> According to an older report of Campbell, the office of *spyi-dpon* in La-chung had been hereditary in a family for seven generations.<sup>158</sup> La-chen, also according to Campbell, had a *spyi-dpon* appointed by the Raja of Sikkim and a deputy *spyi-dpon* or *Lapun* appointed by the Tibetan officers at *Khamba Dzong*.<sup>159</sup> Macaulay met a former *spyi-dpon* whose father also was *spyi-dpon*.<sup>160</sup>

According to more recent reports the headmen are elected every year.<sup>161</sup> The number of headmen in La-chen is three. They are named from among the rich, which may be the reason for the hereditary trait of the office reported by older authors.<sup>162</sup> Lall reports only two *spyi-dpon*--senior and junior.<sup>163</sup>

The elders (*rgan-mi*, *gyen mi*) are the former *spyi-dpon* and other respected persons. They form a council, which in La-chen consists of ten members.<sup>164</sup>

To elect the headmen and for all other affairs of importance, the people as a whole convene in an assembly (*dzomkha*). The community is divided into four sections which select representatives from each household.<sup>165</sup> The meeting of the assembly was described by White, the British political officer in Sikkim:

The two villages of Lamteng in the Lachen and Lachung in the Lachung valley have an unusual and almost communistic government of their own. On every occasion the whole population meet at a 'panchayat' or council, where they sit in a ring

for consultation. Nothing, however small, is done without such a meeting, even if it was only to supply me with firewood or to tell off a man to carry water. Everything is settled in these meetings, any business there may be is transacted and everything from the choosing of their own headman to the smallest detail is arranged in consultation. The consequence is, everything is done very deliberately and much time is wasted in useless discussion, but the system seems to suit the people and I allowed it to be continued with some small modification.<sup>166</sup>

The *spyi-dpon* choose village constables (*brgya-dpon*, *gyapön*).<sup>167</sup> Headmen and elders regulate current affairs and act as judges. The elders advise the headmen and guide them in their office, conduct public ceremonies, and arbitrate any differences between the headmen and the people.<sup>168</sup>

The assembly determines the dates for agricultural activities and for the seasonal migrations, which have to be followed by every villager. In *La-chung* the people redistribute the fields every three years by drawing lots. The richer people draw for the large plots and the poorer villagers for the small ones. Grazing lands are divided in the same way.<sup>169</sup>

The government's land tax is assessed on the community as a whole, and nowadays the headmen raise it from the people according to the amount of land they cultivate.<sup>170</sup>

Another function of the assembly is to distribute each man's share in the transportation service ('*u-lag*). At the time of David-Neel's visit the men giving '*u-lag* received a small salary; this was turned over to the council for use in banquets to the community; the rich could be exempted by paying a yearly contribution.<sup>171</sup> Another duty of the assembly is that of deciding what children shall become monks.<sup>172</sup>

Chiefs and elders in administering justice first receive presents from plaintiff and defendant. Most cases are settled by a fine, part of which goes to the judges, the rest supplying a banquet to all the men of the community. In these banquets the chiefs and elders always receive preferential treatment.<sup>173</sup>

In all these activities there is a formal emphasis on equality, which, as David-Neel's humorous description makes clear, works for the advantage of the rich.

*Zongu* is an estate of the king of Sikkim inhabited by Lepchas and administered for him by one of the *Kazi*.<sup>174</sup> It comprises twenty-two settlements with distinctive names, consisting of houses isolated in the forest or gathered in small groups of three or four.<sup>175</sup>



These settlements are organized into twelve villages each with a headman usually called *mandal* (from Hindi), although its proper Tibetan name is *la-chen*. During the present century a superior headman over the twelve village headmen has been named, called *muktair* (*tong-yoop*), but this office did not exist originally and the *Kazi* dealt directly with the village headmen.<sup>176</sup>

One of the twelve village communities under a *mandal* is *Lingthem*. It includes the village of *Lingthem* (thirty-three houses) and also the smaller villages of *Pamung* (ten houses), *Liklyang* (five houses), *Salim* and *Safo* (three houses each).<sup>177</sup>

The office of *mandal* is hereditary within the extended family. When the holder dies or becomes too old the office is given to the most suitable man in the family. There are some *mandals* in *Zongu* who are the eleventh or twelfth in the family line to hold the position.<sup>178</sup> If a *mandal* dies without a suitable heir, the *youmi* (see below) acts as a substitute until the householders choose one of their number to become a new *mandal*. A member of the dead *mandal*'s clan will probably be preferred. When a unanimous choice has been made the name is submitted to the *Kazi*. For two years the candidate will be on approval and only after he has shown himself to be satisfactory is he confirmed in the office. Even when the new *mandal* is closely related to the old one he must be formally elected by the householders and confirmed in office by the king and the *Kazi*.<sup>179</sup>

The *mandal* is spoken of as the "landlord" of the village, and the villagers as his "tenants." He holds the land under the king, who is the ultimate owner; the householders have the usufruct of the land but cannot transfer it outside their family without the *mandal*'s consent; for land to be transferred to a stranger from outside the village the permission of the court is also required. The *mandal* is responsible to the court for the maintenance of order and the collection of taxes. In relation to the other villagers he stands in the position of an elder relative; he arranges the marriage of most of the young people, gives advice on personal or agricultural matters, and acts as intermediary between the villagers and the court. The *mandal* has to be slightly richer than his "tenants"; he must entertain distinguished visitors, look after the orphaned and homeless, and give more and better feasts than anybody else. The office carries with it certain privileges, including the remission of house and seed tax, and the right to free labor. The *mandal* has the right to three days' work a year from each household although a careful tally does not seem to be kept.<sup>180</sup> This right to unpaid labor is especially significant in recent times since the introduc-

tion of terrace agriculture, <sup>181</sup> for the mandal can use it to have terraces made for him.

The mandals of different villages sometimes take council and act together in petitioning the court or deciding matters of local custom. <sup>182</sup>

Under the mandal each village has *youmi* and *gyapön* (brgya-dpon). The office of mandal and muktair can be held by lamas; these other two cannot as they may entail the slaughter of animals. <sup>183</sup> In some villages the two offices of *youmi* and *gyapön* are combined in a single holder but in *Lingthem* they are distinct.

Most of the administrative hard work in the village falls on the *gyapön*. There are two *gyapön* in *Lingthem* proper and one each in *Panung* and *Liklyang*, making a total of four for the whole village community. Each householder in turn holds the office for three years; a sort of rota is established and people know beforehand when their turn is due. The *gyapön* does the actual collection of taxes, summons all citizens for ceremonies or for collective work such as bridge or road repairing, or carrying loads, collects grain from each house for communal ceremonies, and acts in the prevention of crime and quarreling.

A great deal of the *gyapön*'s time is taken up in communal business, and consequently their own work and cultivation may have to be somewhat neglected. . . . It is clearly stated that it is part of the duty of a householder to undertake this arduous and unrewarding work for his fellows; on that condition will his fellows in their turn look after him. <sup>184</sup>

The *youmi* are selected from among the former *gyapön*; they are old and experienced men who advise and help the mandal in his work.

They also with the *Gyapön* try to compose quarrels or minor misdemeanours without bringing them to the official notice of the Mandal. *Youmi* are selected by the Mandal in consultation with all the responsible householders; as one *youmi* gets too old, or wishes to give up work, or dies, the Mandal nominates another from the ex-*gyapön* to replace him.

In *Lingthem* itself there are three *youmi*, and *Panung* and *Liklyang* have one each. "The *youmi* have no privileges of any sort beyond such prestige as the title gives, but they also have comparatively little work." <sup>185</sup>

The administrative set-up of *Lingthem* is thus close to those of La-chen and La-chung. The *Lingthem* mandal corresponds to the

spyi-dpon, and the *youmi* to the elders of La-chen and La-chung. In both areas there are several *gyapön* under the village headmen. In spite of differences in the basic economy and ethnic origin between the two areas, they both probably represent the basic pattern of village organization in Sikkim.

#### 4. BHUTAN

##### *Household Allotments*

Information on the situation of the peasantry in Bhutan is meager, but it seems that each household held its lands from the state in return for dues paid in kind and labor. Although no clear description is available, a number of items hint at the existence among the peasantry of a somewhat rigid roll of households regulated by the state. Thus we read in the laws of Bhutan that monks reverting to the lay world go to the villages "to fill up any *vacancy* among the raiyats."<sup>186</sup>

In the laws of Bhutan we also meet the prohibition against combining households, and the rules of inheritance are given with the keeping of the tax roll as the main purpose:

Two different raiyats cannot combine into one. A holding may be enjoyed both by a son or, if there is no son, by a daughter. A raiyat who is aged, and has neither daughter nor son, may be asked only to render such labour and service for revenue as he is able to perform alone as long as he lives; upon his or her decease the same holding shall pass to the nearest kith or kin, who will thenceforth be expected to render both labour and cash and kind revenues. No marriages or permanent connections should be allowed where the parents do not approve. And whereas, where there are two or three holdings and houses which used to pay taxes separately now combined in one, with a view of lightening the labor contribution, it must be ruled that this be not permitted or tolerated, as it is a bad precedent. If there be any, either a male or a female, heir to the property, the same should be compelled to make good the State revenue. If there are no heirs in the line, then it should be made over to the nearest kin, or to such person whom the owner wills as his assignee, who will thenceforth make good the State revenue.<sup>187</sup>

Since these rules clearly allow the landholder to transmit his land, the fact mentioned by several writers that all property es-

cheats to the state at the death of the owner<sup>188</sup> does not apply to land. None of these reports mentions land but most probably the situation as to land is the same reported for houses, which were "liable to resumption by the government on the death of the person who had constructed it," and to obviate which a present was generally made to the dpon-slob or rdzong-dpon in whose jurisdiction the house was situated.<sup>189</sup> Actually a set of inheritance rules which maintains the holding undivided amounts to a mechanical reallocation of the holdings at the death of each peasant without a need for the state actually to resume and reallocate the land.

Freedom of movement for the peasants was curtailed:

There is so great a jealousy between the Zoompens [rdzong-dpon] of different districts that the utmost difficulty is experienced by the cultivators in effecting a removal from one place to the other, and the permission to do so is only obtained by the payment of a sum so large as to render the raising it at all almost hopeless.<sup>190</sup>

The interest of the officials was to insure "continuance on the same spots."

One case in the *Buxa* area may be typical of the country as a whole. After the British annexation of the Dooars (1864), a man had lands in a village close to the frontier under the jurisdiction of a certain rdzong-dpon. On his death he left everything to his son, Tashi, who continued to reside in his own village.

The second official objected to this and eventually confiscated the land in his district and applied it to his own use. When Tashi threatened to appeal to the Supreme Council at Punakha he sent a party of his retainers to slay him as the easiest method of avoiding litigation. When the other jongpen [rdzong-dpon] remonstrated against this invasion of his district and proceeded to repel it by force, his brother official pointed out to him that he could not do better than follow the good example set him and seize Tashi's remaining property. The advice seemed good and the first jongpen determined to kill Tashi himself.

Tashi fled to British territory.<sup>191</sup> The story is told by a British official as a case of extortion, but besides describing the despotic rule of officials it can also serve to illustrate the power of the government to resume lands and restrict travel among the districts.

The family organization of the Bhutanese peasant is not well re-

ported, but it seems to be similar to that of Sikkimese and Tibetans.<sup>192</sup> Bose reports that in most cases the husband takes up residence with his wife's family, the opposite arrangement being uncommon; but this is probably simply the adoption of a son-in-law as in other areas.<sup>193</sup>

In *Punakha* agreements for cultivation were made with women and not with men in order to insure continuance on the same spot, because women "were less likely to roam."<sup>194</sup> If this were general and not a generalization from the cases of matrilocal marriages and inheritance, it might be related to the important role of feminine labor in agriculture. The status of women is reported as low, and they were excluded from all political activity.<sup>195</sup>

As to the division of labor within the peasant household we are told that agriculture was mainly the task of women and of servants or slaves of non-Bhotia stock.<sup>196</sup> The laws of Bhutan forbid the purchase and sale of slaves from the plains. This is not to be taken as a ruling against slavery in general; the same laws sanction slavery by punishing those who hide runaway slaves and rewarding those who help arrest them.<sup>197</sup> Probably, like a similar rule in Sikkim, it means that what are called slaves are rather personal servants or bondsmen not subject to trade.

### *Village Administration*

The village organization of the Sikkimese Bhutias of the La-chen and La-chung valleys and of Chumbi is probably similar to that of Bhutan or of high-altitude Bhutanese since the people of those areas trace in part their origin from Bhutan, especially from the *Ha Valley*.<sup>198</sup>

Information bearing directly on Bhutan is available only in the chapter on laws from the Lho'i Chos 'byung as translated by White. These laws give a number of regulations about an official called *kuchap* who is obviously under the orders of the district official (rdzong dpon) and who deals directly with the peasants. What the term *kuchap* means is not clear. Probably it stands for sku-tshab which means representative or deputy.<sup>199</sup> The same term is also used in Eastern Tibet for local officials and nobility.

The collection of taxes in kind must be "settled at the Kuchang's [sic] own place with the assistance of elders and karbaris or mandals under him, after which he will submit the proposed demand rent-roll to the Jongpen, his immediate and chief superior, for sanction and order. Only upon obtaining such sanction can he realize the rents in kind." The *kuchap* was also in charge of the col-

lection of taxes, for which he "should send a pipon, who will represent an orderly, a mandal and a karbari in one. This man shall not realize anything on his own account. He shall not accept any present from cattle-keepers." The peasants under his jurisdiction are called "his raiyats" which suggest a position like that of the Lepcha headman who is considered the landlord of his tenants the peasants.

The *kuchap* has his own field and he should not abuse his peasants by demanding compensation on the pretext of slight cattle trespasses. He can keep one pony and may perhaps be entrusted with the feed of a pony from the superior rdzong-dpon; in order to keep more he has to pay a fee to the rdzong. He receives complaints from the peasants, though he should not decide any himself but must report them to the rdzong. The law warns against abuses of the *kuchap* who might claim presents on hearing complaints, grant remissions of taxes on consideration of gifts, take the first portion of any ceremonial feast, or demand provisions for travelers instead of quartering them on the houses in turn.

There were at least two grades of *kuchap*, since the law states: "The establishment of a second-grade Kuchap, as well as that of a Lama and Hyerpa [gnyer-pa, "steward"] combined, should consist of two orderlies or sepoyes and one syce, and ordinary Kuchaps should have only one orderly and one syce." The *kuchaps* could be dismissed if found to be "wine-bibbers, fornicators or adulterers."<sup>200</sup>

The picture of a *kuchap* one draws from this law is that of an inferior official of lower status than a sku-tshab in Eastern Tibet, perhaps something like the *tong-yoop* or headman over a number of villages among the Lepchas of Sikkim. As seen in some quotations, under the *kuchap* and in connection with him are mentioned mandal (village headman), karbari (Hindi, agent, manager), *pipon* (spyi-dpon), and elders.<sup>201</sup> Although little is said of their functions, the names suggest again an organization similar to that of Sikkim and the Chumbi Valley.

## 5. EASTERN TIBET: KHAMS

### *Household Allotments*

In Khams, as in other areas of Tibet, the land is considered to belong in principle to the state, and the ruler grants the peasants an inalienable plot of land the use of which carries the obligation of paying taxes and labor services. In this way the main division

within the peasantry is formed; the taxpayers (*khral-pa*, *Tse-ba*) hold their land from the state, and the other dependent landholders receive their land from chiefs, tax-paying peasants, or monasteries.<sup>202</sup>

A policy of equal allotments to farmers seems to be the origin of the modern land system. In some areas, such as *dKang-mdzes* (*Kantze*) in 1940, there is a great differentiation in the size of landholdings, but this is a recent development, the original land distribution being fairly equal.<sup>203</sup> In some places in Khams the tax-paying peasants still have almost equal holdings. For instance in *Le-thang* each household cultivates on the average the area sown by half a picul of seed. In *Tan-pa*, a district north of *Dar-rtse-mdo*, each household receives from the authorities an average of close to nineteen Chinese mu; one unit of irrigated valley land is regarded as equal to two units of dry land on the slopes. Both kinds of land can be pledged but not sold.<sup>204</sup>

### *Types of Landholders*

As in Western Tibet the eldest son of a family once married becomes the head of the household and his father becomes his dependent,<sup>205</sup> but no information is available as to whether the father receives a plot for his support. There are also other subordinate landholders dependent upon the head of a regular tax-paying peasant family.

Sons who become monks sometimes receive one or two plots of land which upon their death return to the family.<sup>206</sup> On entering a monastery they do not completely cut their connection with their family; supposedly they continue to help their relatives in agricultural work and in the performance of their share of labor services although they never work in the lands of the lamasery.<sup>207</sup> Not all monks, however, do in fact help their relatives. Of nine villages surveyed in *dKang-mdzes* in 1940, only 23 out of 111 monks frequently returned home to help their relatives.<sup>208</sup>

The wealthier among the tax-paying peasants (*khral-pa*) of *sDe-dge* and *dKang-mdzes* lease out some of their land to tenants or farm servants, *ko-ba* (*khol-po*, literally servant, slave). In this way some of the *khral-pa* can shift all the tribute and requisitions to their servants. The largest employers of farm servants, however, are the chiefs and headmen, whose estates are discussed in a later chapter. When a *khral-pa* has a farm servant, he provides the plow and working animals for the use of his servant; he also furnishes seed or seedlings and sometimes food and salt, especially

to a new servant. The khral-pa marks out about two and a half acres of his land to be worked for him by the servant and gives him half an acre to be worked for his own use.<sup>209</sup> In addition to this field work, the servant also has to work for his master in transportation and housework from 30 to 180 days in the year, the period varying in different villages.<sup>210</sup>

Another group of peasants in the same area are the so-called *Ta-du* (mtha-'dug) meaning side-dwellers, that is, not full-fledged members of the community. Most of them have no land and make a living by hiring themselves out. A few of them do skilled work such as stone-carving for religious scripture, sewing, knitting and tailoring, and hide-preparing.<sup>211</sup> Some of them, however (fifteen out of fifty-six in seven villages of dKang-mdzes), hold a tiny piece of land. This is sometimes granted as temporary lease or gift by a relative; in one example a daughter who cannot get along with her mother and wants to live separately may receive from her mother the use of one-fourth of an acre of land without paying the revenue, which will be paid by the mother. Occasionally there are mtha-'dug who pay a small amount of land revenue, but their tenure, unlike that of a tax-paying peasant, is never considered permanent.<sup>212</sup>

Another case of dependent landholders reported for Eastern Tibet in general is that of concubines kept by rich men, who are assigned a plot of land.<sup>213</sup>

Goré reports the existence of a mild type of debt slavery in Eastern Tibet. Tenants who cannot pay their debts become the slaves of their creditors; their children are born slaves but often the master makes them free and settles them in his land as tenants.<sup>214</sup> This type of debt slavery is not mentioned by Chen for dKang-mdzes but he reports the prevalence of emigration due to poverty and indebtedness; a khral-pa who has to abandon his plot usually becomes a khol-po or mtha-'dug.<sup>215</sup> In the farming villages of the *Zung Ts'a* tribe in A-mdo, there are no tenant farmers at all and only a trace of sharecropping.<sup>216</sup>

### *Proportion of Types of Landholders*

On the relative size of the different classes of peasants in Khams, detailed figures are available on dKang-mdzes in 1940 (Table 1).<sup>217</sup> The small numbers of khol-po and mtha-'dug imply that only a small number of khral-pa peasants have these kinds of dependents. The same conclusion obtains from examining the amount of land leased out by khral-pa. In a sample of nine villages in dKang-mdzes with 410 khral-pa households holding 1,460 acres of land, there



TABLE 1  
Classes in dKang-mdzes

No. of Villages	Total No. of Households	Taxpayers (khral-pa)	Servants (khol-po)	Subjects of Monasteries (lha-bran)	"Side-dwellers" (mtha-'dug)
37	1, 744	1, 321	141	138	144

were leases only in five villages where 32 acres of land were leased out by 21 khral-pa households. This amounts to only 7 per cent of the khral-pa households in those five villages leasing out 3 per cent of the total land of the villages. Furthermore those 21 khral-pa do not lease the whole of their land but only part; they themselves cultivate on the average half of their land.<sup>218</sup>

In some villages of dKang-mdzes all classes of peasants are represented. For instance, in *Hsun-en*, out of a total of eighty-four households, seventy-one are khral-pa, six khol-po, two lha-bran, and five mtha-'dug. In other villages, however, no dependent landholders are found. For instance, *Chu-mo* consists only of nine households of khral-pa and five of lha-bran.<sup>219</sup>

For the distribution of land among the different kinds of peasants the following table is adapted from Chen.<sup>220</sup>

TABLE 2  
Distribution of Landholdings among Four Types of Peasants  
(Nine Villages of dKang-mdzes, 1940)

Types of Peasants	Households		Landholdings in		Average Landholding per Household	
	No.	Per Cent	Acres	Per Cent	Acres	Index
Taxpayers (khral-pa)	410	74.82	1, 364.5	93.74	3.33	100
Servants (khol-po)	38	6.93	22	1.51	0.58	17
Subjects of monasteries (lha-bran)	44	8.03	60	4.12	1.36	40
"Side-dwellers" (mtha-'dug)	56	10.22	9.1	0.63	0.16	5
Total	548	100.00	1, 455.6	100.00	2.65	...

This table clearly shows the great concentration of land among the regular tax-paying peasants and the large size of a taxpayer's holding in comparison to that of a dependent holder. Among tax-paying peasants, however, there is a great diversity in the size of landholdings. In nine villages surveyed in dKang-mdzes the

range is roughly from one-half to thirty acres of revenue land, although 84 per cent of the households have only from one-half to five acres.<sup>221</sup>

The preponderance of tax-paying peasants (khral-pa) is not so great in lower Khams. Here, in around 1920, out of 6,000 households only 1,500 were of taxpayers ("corvéables"); the others were tenants ("fermières"), that is, dependents of the taxpayers, of officials, or of monasteries.<sup>222</sup>

In Tsha-rong, about the same time, there were around twenty villages with a total population of five hundred to six hundred families, of which two hundred and seventy were khral-pa ("tributaires") and the rest tenants ("fermières") of lamaseries or slaves of wealthy landholders.<sup>223</sup>

Bacot also points out that "serfs" and "slaves" form the majority of the population in the south where a master will not even know how many slaves he has if the number is more than fifty.<sup>224</sup>

### *Division of Labor*

As in other regions of Tibet most of the agricultural field work is done by women with the exception of plowing, which is men's work.<sup>225</sup>

The number of people of working age per household is very low because of the small population and large number of unmarried people. The households of tax-paying peasants having dependent servants use their labor in the cultivation of their fields. Otherwise, hired labor is not common. Most of the labor used from outside the family takes the form of labor exchange among several households. Only a limited number of khral-pa hire agricultural laborers, while a number of peasants of all classes, mainly khol-po and mtha-'dug, hire out for wages.<sup>226</sup>

In dKang-mdzes about half of the households needing animals for plowing do not own any and have to hire them; they are hired from a neighboring nomad community, the price varying greatly in different villages. It is paid either in grain or in money. Often two households get together in hiring a yoke, each paying for one animal. Other times a peasant works from three to five days in some other man's fields, trading this labor for the use of a draft animal one day in his own field.<sup>227</sup>

### *Polyandry and Inheritance*

In Eastern Tibet peasant holdings are not subdivided through in-

heritance.<sup>228</sup> The forms of marriage and inheritance connected with this indivisibility of holdings are similar to those reported for other areas. Polyandry is reported in sDe-dge,<sup>229</sup> rGyal-kun-mdo,<sup>230</sup> Hor states,<sup>231</sup> Le-thang nomads,<sup>232</sup> 'Ba'-thang,<sup>233</sup> *Pa-tong*,<sup>234</sup> and Sung Pan Ting;<sup>235</sup> it is unusual or not practiced at all among the *Golok*,<sup>236</sup> in rGyal-rong,<sup>237</sup> in Dar-rtse-mdo,<sup>238</sup> and in A-mdo.<sup>239</sup> According to Das, polyandry is thought to have originated in Khams.<sup>240</sup>

The usual explanation for polyandry is that it keeps the land undivided, and on this ground it is said to be more common among farmers than among herders, and the rule among landholders,<sup>241</sup> although no strict correlation obtains here as elsewhere between agriculture and polyandry. Chen on the other side explains it as a way of making lighter the labor services which are given by each household.<sup>242</sup>

The sharing of a wife by father and son, and of a husband by mother and daughter, is reported for rGyal-kun-mdo.<sup>243</sup>

The adoption of a young man to marry an heiress is also reported for Khams. In some cases this is done even if there are sons; they, instead of succeeding, marry out or become monks.<sup>244</sup>

### *Size of the Household*

The number of persons in the average household as reported by Chen for 548 households in dKang-mdzes is about three (3.40 for khral-pa, 2.08 for khol-po, 2.77 for subjects of lamaseries, and 1.88 for "side-dwellers"). This very small size of the households also means a very small number of working people per household. The average household has only two workers, and a very large percentage of households, especially those of dependent landholders, have only one member able to work. The very large number of unmarried people is also remarkable. In nine villages of dKang-mdzes studied by Chen with a total of 544 households, 39.53 per cent had no married couple. Most of the unmarried householders were unmarried women and most of them were dependent landholders; the percentage of husbandless women was 22.36 per cent of the khral-pa, 50 per cent of the monastic subjects, 63.64 per cent of the "side-dwellers," and 68.42 per cent of the khol-po.<sup>245</sup>

This situation is undoubtedly related to polyandry and monasticism, which result in a surplus of women. It also becomes clearer if, following the hints in the data here presented, we view it as a situation similar to that described for Spiti where the holders of allotments parcel out plots of land for their dependent relatives

and servants. This would explain the extremely small size of the peasant household reported by Chen who considers every khol-po and mtha-'dug family as an independent household. Unfortunately, not enough information is available on the economic and social relations between master and dependent households.

### *Transfers of Land*

In Eastern Tibet, land held from the state is not usually sold. Peasants can sell outright land which they have open to cultivation,<sup>246</sup> but in only a very few places is all the land subject to sale.<sup>247</sup>

In the Dar-rtse-mdo and Tsa areas the land of the khral-pa and headmen could in the 1870's be the object of a temporary sale; the land was "sold" but ten or fifteen years later it automatically returned to the original cultivator.<sup>248</sup> This is really the same as the kind of pledge described below in which the use of the land pays the loan and the interest.

Goré recognizes two kinds of transactions: repurchasable sales and temporary sales. In a temporary sale the original landholder at a specified date receives back his land; that is, it is again the same kind of pledge. Since a landholder might need to make new borrowings, this temporary sale might in fact become permanent.<sup>249</sup>

Although land held from the state by the tax-paying peasants or their dependents cannot be permanently transferred, it can be leased out and pledged.<sup>250</sup>

In Le-thang the same kind of pledge exists which in the Chumbi Valley is called lo-dus. Here a khral-pa receives a loan, termed "rent deposit," and the lender receives the use of the land for a definite number of years, at the end of which the land is returned to the borrower.<sup>251</sup> In dKang-mdzes the prevalent form of pledging is like the ltag-ma of Chumbi: in one recorded case a khral-pa borrowed forty Tibetan dollars and gave an acre of land to the creditor. The use of the land is considered as paying the interest; the land is returned when the principal is fully paid.<sup>252</sup>

In addition to these two kinds of pledging, there is also the practice of leasing land for rent. Rent can be paid in labor; in one specific case in dKang-mdzes a female "side-dweller" had to work forty days for her landlord, from whom she had leased half an acre of land.<sup>253</sup>

Share-cropping is prevalent in Le-thang, 'Ba'-thang, *Kiulung*, and other districts. In one case, in dKang-mdzes, a khral-pa leased out an acre. She paid the taxes and the lessee furnished the seed;

the harvest was divided in half. In some cases the khral-pa who leases out land also furnishes the seed, but usually this is not the case. The crop is generally divided in half.<sup>254</sup>

Rent can also be paid in a fixed quantity of produce. In another case in dKang-mdzes a khral-pa leased out one-half of her one and one-half acres of land for five successive years; the annual rent was three-fourths of one sack of barley.<sup>255</sup>

Finally, there is also cash rent. The rent is paid before the harvest at the rate of eight to ten Tibetan dollars for every half-acre of land. The contract is only for one year. This system of leasing is the one prevalent in dKang-mdzes in 1940 when out of 410 khral-pa households in nine villages, 21 households in four villages had each leased out about half of their land.<sup>256</sup> In one case a khral-pa with two and one-half acres of land leased out two of them to four different families and from each one of them she collected ten to fifteen Tibetan dollars a year.<sup>257</sup>

### *Village Organization*

Data on village organization and land rights are poor for Eastern Tibet. Launay, for Eastern Tibet in general, writes that each village has a headman called in some places *besset* ('bas-sras), in others *kenba* (rgan-po, "elder"). They are hereditary almost everywhere; they preside over the assemblies of the people, communicate orders from the superior authorities, and decide the share of each villager in the labor services.<sup>258</sup>

In sDe-dge the village headmen are named from among the third rank of officials, called *Huangcha*. From the common people a number of inferior officers without rank are selected to assist the village headmen in collecting taxes, managing the labor services and requisitions, and other affairs. They are called *O-ba* ('go-pa), a common name for village headmen in other areas.<sup>259</sup>

In dKang-mdzes, the *O-ba* ('go-pa) are the village headmen. Most of them are hereditary officers. Each of them has under his administration a number of settlements, from three to twelve, since the population here is spread thin. The 'go-pa have assistants called *Tsong-nga* who act during the 'go-pa's absence, but their number is very small (only four in Khang-gsar and Ma-zur). The 'go-pa also have at their orders, servants, *O-u*; these are former landholders who, unable to meet taxes and requisitions, have become servants of the headmen.<sup>260</sup>

In Le-thang there are two headmen for each village, in many cases both hereditary. Under them serve lower headmen whose

office lasts only one year. In Nyag-rong (Chanhua), north of Lethang, the higher headmen are called *tung-peng* (grong-dpon?) and the lower *tei-peng*.<sup>261</sup>

In most places of Eastern Tibet the Pao-chia administration of China has been introduced. In some places, such as dKang-mdzes, this took place at the beginning of the twentieth century; in others, like sDe-dge, as late as 1938, but the older systems continue in operation.<sup>262</sup>

As to the village as an economic unit, only a few points are known. Some taxes in sDe-dge are assessed on a village basis.<sup>263</sup> The village headmen participate in the administration of 'u-lag in order to equalize the burden among all the households of the village.<sup>264</sup>

The village headmen, as representative of the ruler, can grant land to peasants who settle as new khral-pa.<sup>265</sup> Some villages have communal forests, pastures, or salt grounds, and outsiders desiring to graze their animals, cut wood or grass, or collect medicinal herbs, have to pay a fixed amount to the community.<sup>266</sup>

A strong village organization is described for the farming areas of tribal A-mdo. The village is an important landholding unit. There is common ownership of grazing and forest land for the use of the villagers. The arable land is held by individual families, but the village forbids sale to outsiders and permission of the village is required before opening new land to cultivation. The family land is cultivated separately by each family but it is not enclosed. The whole arable land of a village is surrounded by communal fences, and seeding and harvesting are synchronized so that while the land lies fallow the fences are open and the land is used as common pasture.<sup>267</sup>

## 6. PROPERTY RELATIONS AMONG HERDERS: THE NOMADS OF A-MDO

Almost everywhere in Tibet agricultural and pastoral areas are close together, agriculture being carried on in the valley areas while the nearby mountains supply pasture to sheep and cattle. Farmers and herders are there in close contact and are often part of the same districts, the same village community, and even the same family groups. Some material on communities of mixed farming and herding, such as in La-chen and La-chung in Sikkim or Chumbi in Tibet, has been presented in the former chapters. We also know that some herding groups are dependents of monasteries or noblemen who have their seat of wealth and power in the agri-

cultural areas. The estates of Pha-lha in Gyangtse, for instance, include pasture lands occupied by nomad subjects. Some pastoral areas of Southern Tibet or the Byang-thang are also part of the estates of Lhasa noblemen or monasteries.<sup>268</sup>

In sDe-dge and 'Ba'thang groups of herders are also subject to people in the valley. In sDe-dge pasture lands are held by monasteries, noblemen, or wealthy farmers. Here their servants herd their cattle. Some families who have no valley land at all lead a pastoral life, but they have to pay high rents for the use of the pasture lands.<sup>269</sup> In 'Ba'-thang the herders pay the owner of the animals a certain amount of butter per cow per year; the rest of the milk and one-half of all calves born to the cows constitute the herders' payment.<sup>270</sup>

Widespread pasture lands far from agricultural areas exist in A-mdo. While many communities include divisions of both farmers and herders, many more are devoted exclusively to herding. Some of them are almost independent of the control of the rulers in the farming area, although even here pastoral groups are politically subject to chiefs or monasteries of the settled areas, and some work as herders in their employment.<sup>271</sup>

### *Ownership of Animals*

Among the A-mdo pastoralists the herds are the property of individual families. The head of the family decides about sale, slaughter of animals, or gifts to monks. Ownership of animals is divided in some cases among members of the family. The animals that a wife brings into the family as a dowry can be disposed of only with her consent, but she in turn does not sell without the consent of her husband. In case of divorce, if the wife returns to her parents she takes her animals along.<sup>272</sup>

From an early age children receive animals as their property, and lama members of a family are always supplied with food from the family herds. Animals can also be devoted to a deity and eventually be presented to a Living Buddha.<sup>273</sup>

When a man has several grown-up sons and a large herd, the whole family usually remains together and forms a joint family and a single camp. If a son is not on good terms with his parents he can receive his share of the inheritance and settle elsewhere. When a man dies before his sons are grown, the mother becomes the head of the family. A clever energetic widow often succeeds in keeping her grown-up sons together in a joint family, but often a division of the inheritance takes place. The brothers may stay to-

gether if they get along well and form a single settlement group of separate individual families; otherwise they separate.<sup>274</sup>

When several related or friendly families together form a single camp, their animals are jointly pastured, but every evening the animals are segregated so that they may be milked by their owners. Each family maintains its right of use and disposal of its own animals and group ownership obtains only in the joint use of the pastures.<sup>275</sup>

Polyandry is not practiced in A-mdo and only monasticism may act as a check to the division of family property through inheritance. When a male heir is lacking or has become a monk, a son-in-law is adopted as among farmers. A recent survey of fifty-two families shows that 23 per cent are extended patrilineal families, 38 per cent nuclear families, and 21 per cent nuclear families without husband; 14 per cent can be considered extended matrilineal families, in which the husbands had left the family, and finally 4 per cent were nuclear families without a wife. No clan organization seems to exist among the nomads of A-mdo.<sup>276</sup>

In the division of labor, women have a heavy share. Among the *Mewu* herders, women milk the animals and prepare all dairy products.<sup>277</sup>

There are great differences in the number of animals owned by a herding family. Hermanns reports the case of a chief, west of Koko-nor, who had over 30,000 sheep divided in three herds, 4,500 yak, and 88 horses; but only large and important tribes have such wealthy chiefs. A wealthy family as a rule has about 5,000 sheep, 400 yak, and 70 horses. Poor people have only a few yak and sheep and there are even people who own no animals at all and work as herders for the rich.<sup>278</sup>

The *Mewu* wealthy families may own more than 100 yak, but the average is much less. The 20 tents in the community visited by Stübel owned 700 yak, which means an average of 35 per family; the largest family herd in this community has 70 yak, the smallest 7. It also happens that poor people have no yak but merely rent them. A family of five needs more than 10 milch cows for their support. After yak, sheep are the most important animal among the *Mewu*. One family may have as many as 700 sheep, but there are also families with no sheep at all. In the community visited by Stübel, the total number of sheep was more than 9,000. Seven families had no sheep, so that the average was 700 per herd owner.<sup>279</sup>

Among the *Golok*, a family is considered rich when it has 1,000 yak, 2,000 to 3,000 sheep, and 100 to 200 horses. A poor family



has only 20 to 30 yak, 300 to 400 sheep, and 10 to 20 horses. Very poor families who have no animals at all are servants to the rich.<sup>280</sup>

The poor people who own no animals have to rent cattle from the rich or else hire themselves out as herders. Among the groups studied by Yu, cattle is let for a rent in kind, the rest of the animal products being used by the herder. Servants can hire themselves for long terms and in that case they live with their employer and receive lodging and food and an annual wage in butter or animals (for instance 12 sheep), or else they hire themselves out for only short terms and in this case they reside in their own tents and not with their employer.<sup>281</sup>

According to Hermanns, a poor nomad family that has lost its animals borrows from a wealthy owner a number of sheep and yak cows. Newborn animals are divided in equal numbers among both parties and the owner also gives the herder as wages a few of the old animals every fall to be used for meat and clothing. In this way impoverished families have a chance to build up their herds again.<sup>282</sup>

Among the *Zung Ts'a*, a hired servant may own a few sheep and cattle which graze freely in the pastures of his employer's camp. The servant alone cuts the wool and profits from the increase of his animals, but the milk is included in the family milking. Frequently the property of a servant may increase with the help of patrons and friends, and he is able to set up his own tent and become an independent member-household of the camp.<sup>283</sup>

The higher status of the nomads in comparison with the farmers is probably related to the greater possibilities among herders for accumulation of wealth as well as for escaping the control of the rulers of the farming country.<sup>284</sup>

### *Ownership of Pastures*

Some data on property rights over pasture lands have been given previously as they apply to the farming-herding communities of Upper Sikkim and the Chumbi Valley.

Among the pastoral groups of A-mdo, the basic landholding group is the tribe. Each tribe controls a clearly delimited area, with its boundaries defined by natural features such as mountain ridges and river courses, and within it members of the tribe have exclusive right to pastures. Occasionally a large tribe is subdivided into subtribes, each with a well-defined territory. It is usually a solid area within which lie the pasture grounds for all the seasons in the year; only occasionally are the pastures of a tribe divided

into different areas in between the territories of other tribes. The use of tribal land by outsiders such as merchants and pilgrims calls for compensation, and trespassing by strangers brings about action by the tribe as a whole.<sup>285</sup>

Within the tribal territory, the herders follow a cycle of seasonal migrations from winter quarters in the valleys to the summer pastures higher up in the mountains.<sup>286</sup> The different utilization of the land in the two seasons results in different ownership rights.

The winter camp is a permanent settlement. Although it is deserted during the summer, the same families always come back to the same winter residence. In winter camps, more substantial huts are found with pens attached. Each family is considered to own its winter house, the cattle pens, and the land on which they stand. Each family also has exclusive rights over certain hayfields.<sup>287</sup> Among the *Zung Ts'a*, these are carefully guarded plots of the best pasture land from which hay is cut in early October for winter use. After a family hayfield has been harvested, however, all the cattle in the encampment may graze the fields, or any individual member of the camp can go and harvest any hay that may have been left uncut. Each *Zung Ts'a* winter camp as a whole has proprietary right to the pastures around the camp.<sup>288</sup>

Among the *Mewu* the winter pasture is always the same for each family. Near its house each family plants oats to be harvested when green and used as winter fodder. These oatfields are considered the property of the chief (t'ou-mu), who distributes them among the families and receives rent, usually paid in butter.<sup>289</sup>

The summer pasture lands are not the property of any one camp within the tribe. The chief and the elders every year distribute the pastures among the various camp groups in such a way that everybody shares the good and bad pastures and no camp develops specific rights to any one grazing area. The composition of a camp varies according to the wealth in animals of their members. A rich family with many animals will also include a number of servants and will form a single camp. Families with smaller herds usually camp together, usually with three to six tents of related or friendly families. In very good grazing grounds a larger number of families can graze their herds together, and then as many as twenty or thirty tents may be found together. Once assigned for the year, each camp exploits the pastures in its territory. If animals from other herds are found, their manes or tails are cut off and they are driven away; if found again they are held and their owners have to ransom them.<sup>290</sup>

The *Mewu* change their residence three times a year. They move

into their first summer camp in April and then move into a second camp in July. In September they come down to their winter quarters. The two summer pastures are assigned by the chief and they are not always the same for any camp since any particular pasture is used only once every two years. Each camp has from four to forty tents, the average being twenty to twenty-five. The composition of each camp varies from year to year, the chief deciding which tent community each family should join.<sup>291</sup> The boundaries of the pasture grounds of different camps are respected as strictly as those of the tribal territory. The violation of rules regarding grazing is punished by the chief. For every yak that breaks into other pastures, its owner had to pay a certain quantity of butter.<sup>292</sup>

Among the *Zung Ts'a* there are about a dozen camps ranging in size from ten to eighty tents.<sup>293</sup>

Occasionally a camp will pasture in territory belonging to another tribe or subtribe and in that case a yearly rent is paid.<sup>294</sup>

### 3. THE REALM OF THE DALAI LAMA

THE COUNTRY under the rule of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa constitutes the most important of the Tibetan states.

Although political borders have been ill defined in Tibet, especially in the East, and have often changed during the present century, it can be said that the country under Lhasa control includes, roughly speaking, half of the territory occupied by people of Tibetan culture and speech.<sup>1</sup> Its area has been estimated as 470,000 square miles.<sup>2</sup>

The realm of the Dalai Lama includes the two central provinces of dBus, with the capital city of Lhasa (*ca.* twenty thousand inhabitants), and gTsang, with the two cities of Shigatze (*ca.* nine thousand inhabitants) and Gyantse. It also includes the western province of mNga'-ris and parts of Eastern Tibet, or Khams. The Byang-thang, or "northern pastures" of the high Tibetan plateau, and the provinces bordering Bhutan and Assam in the south are also under the Lhasa government.<sup>3</sup>

Estimates of the population of Tibet are very rough, and often it is difficult to know whether they refer to the whole area of Tibetan culture or only to the areas under Lhasa. The best estimate of the population under the Dalai Lama's government is probably that of MacDonald, which is based on the sum raised for a head tax (*am-trang*, literally ear money) collected by the Lhasa government. It adds up to 3,900,000 people living in 130,000 towns and villages.<sup>4</sup> The date is probably 1915, when this tax was collected in order to repair the damage done by the Chinese to the temples of Lhasa.<sup>5</sup> The area, we must assume, was that under the control of Lhasa in that period. An estimate by Das late in the nineteenth century, based on the total number of monks according to the archives in Lhasa, gives a figure of only two and one-half to three million for the male population of all Tibetan countries.<sup>6</sup>

The importance of the Lhasa government culturally and politically reaches far beyond the extension of its political borders, because of the religious character of its ruler. As the head of the dGe-lugs-pa order, the Dalai Lama also extends his influence wherever there are dGe-lugs-pa monasteries. dGe-lugs-pa monasteries outside the Lhasa-controlled areas are often branches of the three central monasteries of Se-ra, 'Bras-spungs, or dGa'-ldan, where monks are sent to study. The high lamas, even the Living Buddhas, study there and if the abbot (mkhan-po) is not an incarnation he will be named by the Dalai Lama.<sup>7</sup> Since the monasteries and church hierarchs have political jurisdiction over the people in their estates, it is the secular as well as the religious influence of the Dalai Lama that extends wherever there are monasteries of his sect.<sup>8</sup>

The authority of the Dalai Lama and his government is also vaguely recognized by sects other than dGe-lugs-pa, and by governments other than his own. Thus, to succeed his father, a son of the Sa-skya Hierarch is chosen by the oracle of the Lhasa government.<sup>9</sup> Problems of the internal administration of the Sikkimese Church are sometimes referred to the Dalai Lama for a decision.<sup>10</sup> And both Bhutan and Ladak have on occasion appealed to Lhasa for the settlement of their ruler's successions.<sup>11</sup>

Since the Dalai Lama is the successor to the rule of the once unified Tibetan nation, he is in the position both religiously and politically to claim some sort of sovereignty over all Tibetan areas.<sup>12</sup>

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

### *Class Divisions*

There are, broadly speaking, two main social classes in Tibet: a lower class of peasants holding land from the state in return for taxes and services; and an upper class of noblemen and church hierarchs holding landed estates in return for political service to the state or for the service of religion.

The land rights held by members of the upper class are intimately bound up with the political organization. Estate holders exercise political power within their estates and they hold their estates in return for political services to the central government. Consequently, a discussion of the land system of Tibet has to consider the relation between the land rights of the upper class and its political power.

The upper class consists of two sectors, one lay and one monas-

tic. The lay sector is composed of a number of aristocratic families of hereditary noble status. The monastic sector includes the monasteries as corporate bodies as well as individual church hierarchs. Church hierarchs in their turn are of different types: There are some whose positions are hereditary; others are found as children to be reincarnations of their antecessors; still other positions are open to monks of noble or commoner origin alike.

Different groups within the upper class can also be defined according to their political function and source of income. There are thus church hierarchs--usually Living Buddhas--participating in the highest positions in the central government, such as the Dalai Lama himself. Then there is a group of bureaucratic officials subdivided into two groups, one recruited from the lay nobility--we will call it the bureaucratic nobility--who receive their income primarily from landed estates, and another--the monk officials--forming a special group of monks whose income is primarily from salaries and government allowances. Lastly there are a number of church hierarchs and lay noble families who do not participate in the central government at all. They have political functions only in their estates or are chiefs of semi-independent territories even if under the Lhasa government. We will refer to this group as territorial chiefs or territorial nobility.

### *Administrative Organization*

The Dalai Lama, reincarnation of sPyan-ras-gzigs (Sanskrit, Avalokitesvara) and head of the dGe-lugs-pa order, is the absolute ruler of the central government (sde-ba-gzhung) at Lhasa. During the Dalai Lama's minority and at the time between his death and the finding of his new reincarnation, a regent is chosen, usually from among the second rank of Living Buddhas, the so-called "royal incarnations" (rgyal-po sprul-sku).<sup>13</sup>

The government of Tibet is dedicated to the service of religion. As stated in a Tibetan official document, "Tibet is a country in which political and religious affairs are carried on simultaneously, with its chief aims the propagation of Buddhism and the seeking of happiness for all souls on earth."<sup>14</sup>

The Dalai Lama is ruler over both the religious and the lay sectors of society, and this dichotomy determines the main lines of the administrative organization. Government officials are drawn from two parallel groups; one lay, consisting of a number of noble families, and the other religious, formed by a special group of monks trained for government service. The primacy of the religious

over the laity is shown in the fact that the head of the government is always a monk, whether the Dalai Lama or the regent, and monks are subject only to the jurisdiction of the church, no layman being able to exert power over them. Government offices devoted to church affairs are staffed only by monk officials, while other offices devoted to secular affairs are staffed by laymen or, usually, by teams of lay and monk officials.<sup>15</sup>

The highest office in the administration immediately under the Dalai Lama or the regent is the cabinet (bka'-gshags) of four ministers (bka'-blon), three laymen, and one monk official, who are jointly responsible to the Dalai Lama for the whole government of Tibet. Immediately under the cabinet are the grand secretariat and the finance office. The grand secretariat (yig-tshang, literally nest of letters), staffed by four monk officials, is in charge of religious affairs. It keeps records of all monasteries, monks, and church hierarchs of the country as well as of their properties, and it is also in charge of the recruitment and training of monk officials.<sup>16</sup>

The finance office (rtsis-khang, literally house of accounts) is headed by four finance secretaries (rtsis-dpon) and is staffed exclusively by lay officials. It has under its care the estates of the government, it keeps records of the estates of the lay nobility, and it is in charge of the training of lay officials.<sup>17</sup>

Besides the grand secretariat and the finance office, there are other offices staffed by both lay and monk officials, but the ministers, the grand secretaries, and the finance officers are the key officials of the administration.<sup>18</sup> Tibetans refer to the ministers as the "Four External Pillars" and to the four grand secretaries and four finance officers as the "Eight Internal Pillars" that support the structure of government.<sup>19</sup>

On special occasions an assembly (tshogs-'du) can be called by the cabinet. The participants include the four grand secretaries, the four finance officers, and a number of other high officials, and representatives from the three state monasteries near Lhasa.<sup>20</sup>

For the purpose of local government, Tibet is divided into fifty-three districts (rdzong-kha, from rdzong, "fort"), usually under two officials (rdzong-dpon), of whom one is a layman and the other a monk.<sup>21</sup> Some important towns or outlying areas are under governors of higher rank than the ordinary district officials.<sup>22</sup>

The administration of justice at the lower level is in charge of the estate grantees and the district officials. For important cases special committees may be appointed from among the lay and monk officials. Ultimate decisions rest upon the four ministers and the Dalai Lama.<sup>23</sup>

Military offices are separate from civil ones, but all high army ranks are named from among the lay officials, and the service of the army does not constitute a separate career. The same official can be changed from civil to military positions, and military posts are held in lower esteem by the lay nobility. The central war office is under the joint administration of both a lay and a monk official.<sup>24</sup>

Before the lapse of Chinese control, the Ambans were in command of the army and there were Chinese garrisons in a few key locations.<sup>25</sup>

### *The Officialdom*

As mentioned before, government officials are selected from two parallel bodies of officials, the lay nobility and a group of specially trained monks. Both groups of officials start their careers in their youth as trainees in government offices, the lay noblemen in a school attached to the finance office and the monk officials in the "Peak School" (rtse-bslab-grwa). Three times a year the four grand secretaries submit to the Dalai Lama a list of students at the Peak School to be appointed as officials and the four finance officers submit names of candidates from the finance office.<sup>26</sup>

Once appointed to government service, officials start on their administrative career, going through a series of jobs up the administrative scale. All government positions, whether filled by monks or laymen, are graded in a scale of seven ranks (rim), which are the upper seven of the Ch'ing scale of nine ranks; the lower two apparently were not used in Tibet.

The first and highest rank is that of the Dalai Lama alone, the second that of the regent, both positions occupied by incarnate lamas. The third rank is that of the four ministers. Several officials are rated in the fourth rank, among them the four grand secretaries, the four finance officers, the chief treasurer, and some provincial governors. In the fifth rank are, among others, the governors of important districts. The sixth rank includes the governors of lesser districts. Other officials of the sixth and seventh ranks occupy lesser positions in the various offices.<sup>27</sup>

Appointments are for short periods of time, usually for three years, although reappointment is possible.<sup>28</sup> Promotions depend theoretically on seniority and ability, but there is always room for intrigue and bribes in securing promotions, and the lay officials of the most important noble families,<sup>29</sup> or monk officials of noble birth, receive preferential treatment.<sup>30</sup>

Officials can also be degraded, fined, or banned by the Dalai



Lama or the regent. In some cases they have had their estates confiscated, and have been thrown into prison or killed.<sup>31</sup>

Most offices are staffed by teams of officials who occupy parallel positions and are jointly responsible for the exercise of their function. Usually both lay and monk officials share responsibility. There are thus four ministers (three lay and one monk), four grand secretaries (all monk), four finance secretaries (all lay), two treasurers (one lay and one monk), two judges (one lay and one monk), and similar teams of lay and monk officials in many other positions. Districts are usually under two officials, one lay and one monk.<sup>32</sup>

### *Chinese Control*

The period of the history of Central Tibet covered in this chapter is that from 1792 to 1951. The starting date is marked by the reforms of Emperor Chien Lung after the defeat of the Nepalese, who had invaded gTsang, and by the tightening of Chinese control over Tibet. Many of these reforms gave a new character to the Tibetan political structure and lasted even after the lapse of Chinese control in 1912.

Within this period of 150 years, two main subdivisions of time can be distinguished: the period of Chinese control from the beginning to 1912, and the period after 1912 when effective control by the Chinese lapsed and Tibet became practically independent, although under British influence.

During the period of Chinese control the nomination of a Dalai Lama or a regent was subject to the ratification of the Chinese emperor. The emperor was represented in Tibet by two imperial residents, the Ambans (usually Manchu), appointed for three-year periods. The Ambans mediated in all communications between the Tibetan government and China and were the supreme commanders of the Tibetan army. Chinese garrisons were stationed at strategic points of Tibet. The Ambans, however, were not supposed to intervene in the internal administration of Tibet, and the effective power of the Ambans seems to have varied throughout this period. Strong at first when the reforms of Chien Lung were implemented, it often lapsed into mere nominal power during most of the nineteenth century, when trouble in China made impossible any strong policy toward Tibet. This period is further characterized by the fact that all the Dalai Lamas died before or upon attaining majority so that the Tibetan government was always headed by a regent.

After the Chinese Revolution, Tibet shook off the Ambans and

the Chinese garrisons, and relations with the Chinese government became irregular. Tibet became a buffer state closed to outsiders and under British influence. Most of this period is that of the rule of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama (d. 1934) who, unlike his predecessors, lived after attaining his majority and effectively acted as supreme ruler of the land.

The central government increased its control over dependent areas such as Po-yul, where the local king was deposed, and over the districts of gTsang, formerly under the Panchen Lama, which came under the direct control of the Lhasa government when the Panchen Lama fled to China. Armed conflict with China over disputed areas in Khams resulted in the reorganization of the Tibetan army under British influence.

Other important changes might be mentioned that took place during the period from 1792 to 1950. None of these, however, affected the basic social structure of Tibet. The main features of the land system, class stratification, and political organization that constitute our subject can be discussed while considering this period as a unit.<sup>33</sup>

## THE LAND SYSTEM

### *General Character of the Land System*

The Tibetan economy is only to a very limited extent a money economy. Most exchanges take place in the form of direct exchanges of services, of goods, or of the source of goods, which is mainly land. The exchanges follow the patterns determined by the existing social structure rather than by the demands of a market. Tibet has thus a status economy rather than a market economy.

Payments in land and rent in labor are basic to the peasant economy--in the peasant household as fields assigned to a retired father, to a family monk, or to other dependents of the peasant holder; in the village as land assigned to the village headman and, in some cases, to the village specialists.

The state management of public revenue is similarly based on the reception of dues in kind or labor and in the granting of land as a form of payment. Most requirements of the state are satisfied by requisitions of the goods needed or by the drafting of the labor necessary to produce them, and most state expenditures are met by the assignment of a particular source of revenue, mostly land,<sup>34</sup> hence the assignment of landed estates to offices, officials, and

monasteries. The importance of labor dues and land grants is also present within an estate as payment in land for the manager and for agricultural laborers. In reciprocation, services are provided by the recipients of the land.

The prevalence of taxes in kind and labor services results in a complex revenue system. There is a multiplicity of taxes, a specific tax or labor service being required for practically every need of the state, and a direct relation between the source of revenue and the end to which it is applied, particular items of revenue being used to meet particular expenses.

The importance of labor services as a source of revenue implies an organization that must control and manipulate people as well as tax property. Property taxes and personal taxes are at times difficult to separate.

Different kinds of taxation are applied to different regions and individuals. In this way the state's administrative and financial organization is built up by the rendering of all kinds of specialized services and products to the state.

When granting sources of revenue, mainly land, as payments, the state divests itself of some of its rights over both land and people. The collection of taxes and labor services is usually done by the grantee, so that it is not only revenue which is granted but also authority which is transferred. As the revenue is farmed out, the political authority is fragmented. This practice is basic in framing the entire political structure.

The whole of Tibet is considered to belong to the Dalai Lama. He allots some of his land to peasant cultivators in return for which they owe him taxes and services (khral). Some other land, however, is kept under the direct control of the Dalai Lama or his representatives and worked by conscripted peasants or by agricultural laborers, its full production being received by the state. We shall call this type of land demesne land, or home land. There are thus two basic types of land: peasants' land, held and cultivated by peasant families and yielding a surplus to the state in the form of taxes and services supplied by the peasant holder, and demesne land, directly managed by the state or its representative, worked by drafted peasants or laborers, and yielding its full produce to the state or its representative.

The revenue derived from the peasant holders and the full product from the demesne land can be received directly by the government or else it can be granted out. There is thus another classification of land into government land and granted land which cuts across the

first one. We can have then peasant land under direct government control, peasant land under a grantee, demesne land under government control, and demesne land under a grantee's control.

In terms of production and management there are, however, two basic units. On the one hand, there is the peasant holding, worked by the peasant family, yielding a surplus in form of taxes or services either to the government or to a grantee. On the other hand, the taxation rights of the state over a group of peasants and their holdings, usually together with demesne land to be cultivated with the labor service of those peasants or with other laborers, form a cluster of interests over land managed as revenue-yielding units which can be assigned to a government office or granted to an official, church magnate, or monastery. These units will be called estates.<sup>35</sup>

The Tibetan name of an estate is *gzhi* or *gzhis*, as it appears in the compounds *gzhis-khag* or *gzhis-ka*, for a lay estate;<sup>36</sup> *dgon-gzhi* (monastery estate),<sup>37</sup> *chos-gzhi(s)* (religious estate),<sup>38</sup> or *mchod-gzhis* (literally offering's estate, i. e., estate for the support of the cult),<sup>39</sup> for monastic estates; *gzhung-gzhi* for government estates,<sup>40</sup> and so on.

There are three entities that can hold estates. They are what Tibetans call *gzhung-sger-chos-gsum* (or *sger-gzhung-chos-gsum*); that is, the government (*gzhung*), the noblemen (*sger-pa*), and the church (*chos*).<sup>41</sup> The relative importance of these three entities in the total economy of Tibet can be judged from an estimate, by Bell, of the total revenue of the country in 1917.

Estimating in pounds the value of all revenue, the government realized only £720,000. Estates granted free of dues to the church were valued at £800,000. The nobility's income was considered to be worth £400,000.<sup>42</sup> It thus appears that of the three entities holding lands the church would come first with about 42 per cent of the land, closely followed by the government with about 37 per cent, while the lay nobility would hold only about 21 per cent of the land.

The relative importance of the revenue received in cash, in kind, or in labor can be gauged from the fact that of the £720,000 realized by the government, £60,000 was received in cash and £300,000 in products such as grain, butter, tea, paper, yak dung, cloth, timber, meat, and so forth. The value of services rendered, mainly transportation, was estimated at £200,000. The other £160,000 is vaguely described as "other miscellaneous revenue."<sup>44</sup>

It is also significant that around 1792, although taxes in kind could in some places be commuted to money, the areas near Lhasa had to pay in kind.<sup>45</sup> This clearly shows that the supply of the capi-

tal depended on tribute in kind from the nearby region and that money still had a secondary role.

The center of the financial organization of the Tibetan government is the finance office (rtsis-khang or rtsis-khang-phun-tshogs-bkod-pa) headed by four finance secretaries (rtsis-dpon), where records are kept of all the estates of the government and of the noblemen. All the government accounts of the various districts are rendered and audited in the finance office. Records of the estates of the monasteries and religious magnates are kept in the grand secretariat.<sup>46</sup>

A revenue system like that of Tibet demands a large amount of bookkeeping. The cadaster and census have been well developed since ancient times.<sup>47</sup> Besides the records kept in the Lhasa offices mentioned above, each district keeps accurate records, regularly brought up to date, of lands and people in the district.<sup>48</sup> Each individual estate also keeps records of land and people.<sup>49</sup> Documents of this type are mentioned or listed in some sources but unfortunately none is available for study.<sup>50</sup>

### *Taxation of Peasant Land*

A complete discussion of the taxation system of Tibet is difficult with the very limited information that is available. As most reports are fragmentary, it is hard to know whether the differences they show are due to the fact that they report only part of the total taxation or that they reflect regional differences, which undoubtedly exist. We shall dwell especially on those taxes which are levied directly on land or on landholders as a condition of their tenure.

The main types of levies raised by the Lhasa government are:

1. Household or head taxes, levied upon each individual or upon households according to size; usually paid in money.
2. Taxes levied on the property of peasant landholders, i. e., a land tax and animal taxes; paid in kind or money.
3. Special requisitions in kind or labor levied upon the landholders as an obligation for their tenure of land.
4. Customs and transit taxes, i. e., taxes levied in cash or kind upon the movement of people and goods.

Also, the Tibetan government obtains additional revenue from judicial fees and fines, from grain loans, and from trade.

Only the second and third kinds of tax listed above need occupy us here. The head tax is taken from every individual but the land tax and the requisitions are usually levied upon regular landholders only, that is, upon those peasants who hold an allotment of land from the state.<sup>51</sup>

*The land tax*

As mentioned before, the peasants hold their land as allotments from the state. The land tax is levied in proportion to the amount of land. One report states that the measuring unit forming the basis of assessment is the amount of land which can be plowed in a day by a yoke of yaks;<sup>52</sup> but all other reports agree that land is measured according to the amount of seed that can be sown in it. The unit of land measurement and taxation is the *kang*, a measure of different value in different parts of the country but always defined in terms of the number of "loads" (*khal*) of seed that it takes.<sup>53</sup> Each *kang* throughout an estate pays the same amount of cash, grain, and transportation tax.<sup>54</sup>

Das gives a general description of land taxation in the late nineteenth century. According to his report, the state tax on each *kang* is on an average 50 to 55 *srang* or ounces of silver a year (125 rupees), or 150 *khal* of grain.<sup>55</sup> The exact amount of the tax levied in a given year depends on the yield of that year's crop. Registers (*tsi-shi*, *rtsis-gzhi*), in which are entered the collections in previous years and the quantity of the land under cultivation, are kept in every district. After examining these registers, the collector inspects the crops and estimates the quantity of the yield, and by comparison with taxes of the five preceding years, he fixes the tax for the current year. In very prosperous years the state takes two-fifths of the crop, the maximum allowed it.

In newly reclaimed areas where the tax collector has no register to guide him, he measures the field and superintends the harvesting at the time when he fixes the amount due to the state. He is forbidden to fix his assessment otherwise than by personal examination.<sup>56</sup>

The land tax may be paid in three installments--in November, December, and January; in January it is remitted by the district official to Lhasa. The tax-collector has authority to remit a portion of the tax when the crops fail.<sup>57</sup>

A few reports are available about the land taxes raised in some specific areas. In the two districts of gTsang reported by Winnington, the average family holds a *kang* of land, producing here about two hundred *khal* of grain. From this the cultivator has to pay sixty *khal*, and he must provide as well eight hundred pounds of grass, nine hundred pounds of wood, and the full-time labor of an adult or the equivalent.

Winnington also reports conditions in the village of *Gedja* in dBus. Here the tax rate is one *khal* of grain for every *khal* of good land plus labor services.<sup>58</sup>

In the Upper Chumbi Valley (Gro-mo-stod) the land tax is assessed by the village headmen on the amount of seed sown, and at the end of the century it came to about As. 15 per acre. The community also pays the government for the grazing rights on the *Ling-ma thang* plain and on the hills the sum of forty srangs (Rs. 100); this charge is also distributed among the villagers by the village headmen.<sup>59</sup>

From the proclamations of the Chinese Ambans around 1792, we learn of the taxes raised in some areas. There was apparently a system in which households were the units of taxation, being classified for this purpose in three groups according to the productivity of their lands.

Thus in *Nieh-la-mo* (and its adjacent area, such as *Pa-to-erh*, *Su-ta-erh-chieh-ling*, *Yao-la*, and so forth) households were classified into those possessing first-grade land, paying ten bre, those having second-grade land, paying seven bre, and those having third-grade land, paying four bre. Other than this tax they paid only a cattle-sheep tax every two years, being exempt from other contributions.

In *Jing-hsia*, bordering Nepal, the people were favored in having to pay only a rice tax which amounted to three packages per year for first-class households, and one for third-class households.

In *Ke-ta* people formerly had to pay a number of money equivalents for different contributions in kind. This was changed into a single tax. Landholders were classified into three groups, the first paying three taels a year, the second, two, and the third, one.<sup>60</sup>

It is not quite clear, however, whether in these cases we deal with a single tax or with a new tax in place of the requisitions and additional to the house and/or land taxes. In Upper Chumbi, a century later, there was a similar classification of households into eight classes with charges ranging from As. 2 to Rs. 5 for the house tax, independent of the land tax, which was paid on the amount of seed sown.<sup>61</sup>

An older system of taxation in which all households had an equivalent amount of land and were thus taxed on an equal basis is suggested by a statement in one of the proclamations. There it is said that "according to the old rule," those who worked together and used thirteen khal of seed were considered as one household, each being required to give a number of contributions.<sup>62</sup> Equal allotments of land to the tax-paying peasants seem to have existed in the Saksya period<sup>63</sup> and probably also in older times. This system has partially survived, especially in Western Tibet.<sup>64</sup> According to

Das, each family has an average of two or three *kang* of arable soil.<sup>65</sup>

### *Animal taxes*

The tax on animals is levied according to the number of animals owned. Reports differ as to the amount of this tax. Around 1850 it was one sheep out of every ten, every three years.<sup>66</sup> As for horses, at the end of the eighteenth century one out of every ten was taken every thirteen to twenty years. The tax was commutable to money.<sup>67</sup>

Other reports state this tax in cash. Late in the eighteenth century it was one *trang-ka* a year for every two head of cattle or ten sheep.<sup>68</sup> Late in the nineteenth century, Das reports a charge of three to five *zho* for every head of cattle pasturing on public lands, and one *trang-ka* for every pig in Kong-po and Pad-ma-bkod.<sup>69</sup>

On the whole no clear picture is obtainable on the importance of this tax, information on herders being extremely poor.

### *Requisitions and labor services*

The number of requisitions in kind or labor to which peasant landholders are subject is very great; these requisitions do not seem to have been exactly determined, and they show many regional differences.

The difference between dues in kind or in labor is in some cases not clear. Some sources state, for example, that fodder is supplied, others that the labor for cutting grass is given. The most important requisition, 'u-lag, includes the provision of animals, porters, and supplies, that is, both kind and labor dues. Most requisitions seem to have been commutable into money, although this was actually done only to a limited extent.

The number of products and types of labor supplied by the peasantry is very great. It can be said that every possible need of the state, either in products or in labor, can be thus obtained from the peasants. The following list of products supplied by various regions to the state does not pretend to be a complete record of requisitions but only an illustration of the wide range they cover. Since in most places the total taxation system is not well described, in some cases the products mentioned may be part of the land tax or be given in place of it. Not listed are agricultural products that are probably part of the land tax, or are raised in government lands.

The government receives all kinds of animal products such as butter,<sup>70</sup> cheese,<sup>71</sup> mutton,<sup>72</sup> hides,<sup>73</sup> leather strips,<sup>74</sup> and wool,<sup>75</sup> and industrial products such as cloth,<sup>76</sup> salt,<sup>77</sup> gold,<sup>78</sup> gunpowder



and ammunition, <sup>79</sup> paper, iron, boxes, and black tents. <sup>80</sup> Other products are incense sticks, <sup>81</sup> fuel, <sup>82</sup> bamboos, beams, and dyes. <sup>83</sup>

The requisitioned labor is equally varied. Peasants can be drafted for building, <sup>84</sup> renovating a stone dike, <sup>85</sup> cutting grass, <sup>86</sup> carrying water, <sup>87</sup> mining, <sup>88</sup> grinding flour, <sup>89</sup> and weaving. <sup>90</sup> Even activities such as acting, <sup>91</sup> rope dancing, <sup>92</sup> and entering horses in races <sup>93</sup> are considered as the tax duty of certain individuals or villages. Labor services are also used in the cultivation of the demesne lands and in caring for the overlord's herds, as will be described in the discussion of estate management.

Perhaps the most widespread and heaviest requisition is the transportation service. It consists of providing, for all those with a government order, beasts of burden, porters, and supplies. All landholders are subject to this service, only the estates of sacred personages being exempt. <sup>94</sup>

In the Upper Chumbi Valley, transportation services include the supply of coolies, messengers, riding mules and ponies, yaks, grass, wood, and personal servants. <sup>95</sup>

Finally, landholders are subject to military service. <sup>96</sup>

### *Special landholders*

The foregoing is a general picture of the total taxation system of the Lhasa government. Actually not all dues are levied equally in each district. Since a large portion of the government income is received in kind or labor, each district pays its dues in the products and labor which it can best provide. Thus the method of collecting revenue varies in each district. <sup>97</sup>

The districts or the people who supply a very specialized type of product or labor can pay all their dues in this form, or in other words be exempt from all other taxes. For instance, in a village near Lhasa cloth is woven for the Dalai Lama, and the village is exempted from all other taxation. <sup>98</sup> Actors are rewarded with tax-free land. <sup>99</sup> The men who slide down a rope during the sMon-lam festival are exempted from taxes for one year according to one report, <sup>100</sup> while another says that to provide for these men, a form of taxation is levied on certain villages. <sup>101</sup> The Tibetan economic system is such that special services can be considered either to be paid for by grants of tax-free land or to be the special due rendered by the holders of that land.

Officials in charge of post stations (rta-zam-pa), some of the lower ranks in the army, and probably other petty officials, such as village headmen and managers of estates, enjoy tax-free plots of land. <sup>102</sup> The Tibetan theory in this, as in all cases probably, is

that their services are the due (khral) to the sovereign as his subjects and holders of his land.<sup>103</sup> Actually they can be considered to occupy a borderline position between the peasants paying various kinds of dues and the officials enjoying large landed estates in which they exercise the taxation power of the state.

### *Remission of taxes*

Late in the eighteenth century, in years of bad harvest, the rdzong-dpon or sde-pa of a district could report to the bka'-blon asking the Dalai Lama for a reduction of taxes.<sup>104</sup> Together with the administrative reforms of 1792, the Chinese caused a number of taxes to be diminished or temporarily remitted.<sup>105</sup>

Late in the nineteenth century the tax collector had authority to remit a portion of the land tax when the crops failed or for some other reason.<sup>106</sup> The district governors can also apply to the treasury for remissions of revenue.<sup>107</sup>

### *Government Lands*

In the financial office at Lhasa are kept the records of all land under the direct management of the government. The goods from this land are received by the various treasuries, the bla-brang<sup>108</sup> or mâin government treasury, the private treasury of the Dalai Lama,<sup>109</sup> the "Treasury of the Sons of Heaven" (gnam-sras-dkor-mdzod, a reserve treasury), and the army treasury. These treasuries are assigned certain portions of the government revenue and also have landed estates attached to them to meet their needs. The produce is stored in these treasuries or, mainly in the case of grain, in the estates themselves or in the district forts.<sup>110</sup> In some cases the revenue is not stored in any treasury, but the district officers and other collectors hand it over directly to the person or institution to whom it has been assigned.<sup>111</sup>

### *The districts*

The raising of revenue from the tax-paying peasants and the supervision of the government estates are the task of the district governors (rdzong-dpon). There are in Tibet 53 districts (rdzong) and 123 subdistricts under rdzong-gnyer. Districts have an average of five hundred peasant families.<sup>112</sup>

Each rdzong usually has two rdzong-dpon, one a lay official, the other a monk. They have civil and military powers, try civil and criminal cases, and levy taxes. The usual term of office is three years, although it can be extended for three more. Often the

nobleman named rdzong-dpon does not go to the district entrusted to him, or goes only for short periods, leaving the administration to a steward (phyag-mdzod).<sup>113</sup>

The district administration usually includes besides the two rdzong-dpon, two storekeepers (rdzong-gnyer) administering sub-districts, and a number of underlings. The headmen and elders of the villages are under orders of the rdzong-dpon.<sup>114</sup> The district of Phag-ri, as an example, is manned by two rdzong-dpon, two treasurers, one *serpen* (officer in charge of revenue), and one secretary; under them are the village headmen.<sup>115</sup>

Every rdzong has two storehouses, the *kar-gya* (bka'-rgya) or reserve store, and the rdzong-mdzod, or repository of the rdzong. The ministers (bka'-blon) keep the keys of the former and it is opened only once or twice a year. A revenue officer goes every year to check the accounts of the district governors, and tax collectors (khral-sdud-pa) are sent to take over the revenue collected by them.<sup>116</sup> The existence of tax collectors sent from Lhasa to raise taxes together with the local officials is attested from the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>117</sup>

The position of district official is held on farming terms; that is, the amount of taxes and fines to be made over to the government is settled at a certain amount and all excess becomes the private income of the official.<sup>118</sup> There is no clear report as to whether this practice is legal or not, and if not, which are the customary limitations. Officials are said to abuse their power in collecting too high taxes, using the labor services of the peasants for their own benefit, and exacting presents.<sup>119</sup>

In one case the rdzong-dpon of *Daba* (in mNga'-ris) leased *Missar* on an annual rent of one thousand rupees to the rdzong-dpon of neighboring *Chaprang*, who thereby acquired the executive authority, one can guess to his own profit.<sup>120</sup>

Every year the Tibetan government circulates to all the district officials a proclamation known as *rtsa-tshig*, the "root word," which lays down general rules of conduct.<sup>121</sup> The following citation quoted by Das from a work named *Shes-rab sdong-bu*, or "Bits of Wisdom," shows the kind of instructions given to the district officials:

Whenever petitions or requests are made, they should be carefully examined. Impartiality should be shown to all classes alike, to great and small, to lamas and to laymen. Uninfluenced by gratuities or the fear of criticism, the Djongpon should administer perfect justice. Questions of jurisdiction,

of taxes due by the *misser*, and of forced labour, should be settled by the rules (*tsa-tsig*) of each Djong. The villages, houses, and inhabitants should be counted and inspected yearly, and the numbers compared with those of preceding years. He should have returned to their houses those who have left them, particularly *misser* who have been absent from their houses for not more than five years. Servants and labourers of the Djong should not be employed by him at his private work; the number of servants allowed him is fixed by the *tsa-tsig*. He should be kind to the *misser*, and not without a good cause have disputes with neighbouring Djongpon, as the Government's interests would thereby suffer. He should not allow the public lands to be encroached upon, nor should tenants on them be taken away by landholders (*gerpas*).

No women should be allowed to loiter about the Djong and the Djongpon should carefully refrain from any flirtation. He should see to facilitating the courier service, and he should see that no one receives supplies for their journey unless they are bearers of passports (*lam-yig*). Frontier or foreign traders who cannot show a passport should be held, and any information he may obtain of affairs in other quarters should be transmitted to Lhasa.<sup>122</sup>

In some areas, apparently all the peasants are regular taxpayers and there are no demesne lands of the government. Such seems to be the case in the Chumbi Valley, and probably also in parts of Southeast Tibet, where taxes are described without any mention of agricultural labor drafts.<sup>123</sup> Most districts, however, also have demesne lands cultivated by the peasants of the district, who have to contribute a "labor tax" (*las-khral*) of ten days' work each.<sup>124</sup> Criminals sentenced to life servitude may also be put to work on government land.<sup>125</sup>

One specific report on the province of mNga'-ris mentions land of the rdzong-dpon worked by the local peasants--perhaps his office land--as well as pasture lands set aside to provide fodder for the horses of the officials, the hay being cut and stored for winter use by the drafted labor of the villagers.<sup>126</sup>

Some districts may have demesne lands cultivated under the direct supervision of the district governors. In two cases where detailed information is available, government estates are let out. One case is that of the many farms of demesne land held by the treasury in 1792 throughout most of Tibet; they were managed by farm chiefs under district and treasury officials and worked with the drafted

labor of the peasants in the district. The other case is Bell's report on one estate--*Serchok*--let out by the government during the 1920's to a junior member of one of the noble families of Lhasa. This estate includes regular tax-paying peasants as well as demesne land and laborers therein. The lessee, besides managing the cultivation of the demesne, acts as an intermediary in turning over to the district governor the taxes paid by regular peasants.

### *Treasury estates in 1792*

A proclamation of the Chinese Amban provides some data about the way in which the estates of the main treasury were managed around 1792.<sup>127</sup>

This treasury had 190 estates in 54 different places throughout the country. The estates were cultivated with the conscripted work of tax-paying farmers or with hired laborers, so that they consisted exclusively of demesne land. The treasury estates were under the supervision of a *tse-pen* (rtsis-dpon, accountant) and a *so-ti-pa* (sde-pa, chief) named by the treasury. Estate chiefs, apparently one for each estate or group of estates in each district, took care of the administration of the estates.<sup>128</sup>

The estate chief conscripted the labor from the peasants near the estate, who had to till and water the land without remuneration even at the cost of neglecting their own farming. The estate chief provided the workers with seed and working animals from the treasury. The yield of each estate was established in the treasury records, varying according to the fertility of the land from five to ten times the amount of seed sown. After the harvest the estate chief paid to the treasury an established estimate and kept any surplus for himself. In some cases the chief did not attend personally to the estate but sent representatives to act in his name.

This system suffered from a number of defects pointed out in the proclamation: The estate chiefs often gave more seed to the laborers than the land could take and exacted the corresponding yield; sometimes they did not give enough cattle to work the land or appropriated the cattle and sold them. At times they conscripted more labor than was necessary and used it in their own lands or sold the right to use it. Because of these abuses the people who had to work the treasury estates were very poor and some of them ran away.

The proclamation tries to correct these abuses without basically changing the system. In order to prevent excessive demands by the estate chiefs it enumerates all the estates, making public the amount of seed and number of animals to be given to the laborers and the

yield expected. It regulates the manner of drafting labor, ordering that the landholders so drafted will be exempted from their taxes for the amount of two khal and ten srang per year; while the peasants who have no lands and yet are drafted to work on the treasury estates should be paid a wage of two khal and ten srang of barley per year, to be paid by the local rdzong-dpon from the regular revenue of the place. The number of laborers to be drafted is fixed at one for every khal of seed to be planted. The local rdzong-dpon and other officials were directed to make, with the estate chiefs of their district, a list of the number of laborers needed according to this rule of one for each khal of seed; they should send this list to the office of the Amban and to that of the ministers (bka'-blon). In preparing this list and in drafting the laborers the local officials should pay attention to the size of each family and then decide how many laborers it could spare; if the family were too small they should not draft any of its members.

The proclamation further warns against possible abuses and directs any injured peasant and the local district governor to appeal to the Amban or to the minister against the estate chiefs, and similarly the estate chiefs against possible abuses of the treasury officials (*tse-pen* and *so-ti-pa*).

The grain produced in the treasury estates was partly kept by the rdzong-dpon in the district. The rest was sent to the treasury in Lhasa.<sup>129</sup>

The estates varied in size from one in *Lhontse* that took about 25 khal of seed and required only 3 head of cattle for plowing, to one in *Namling* that took about 617 khal and needed 16 head of cattle.

#### *The Serchok estate in 1920*<sup>130</sup>

About 1920, the *Serchok* estate was leased by the Tibetan government to Pha-lha'i sras (*Pa-lhe-se*), a junior member of the Pha-lha family. It is located in the Gyangtse district and was formerly a monastic estate.<sup>131</sup>

*Serchok* shows a division into two main types of land and two corresponding classes of peasants. On the one hand there are those lands occupied by regular tax-paying peasants, and on the other what are called the "home lands," scattered throughout the estate and cultivated by a second group of peasants who receive in turn rent-free grants of land.

In *Serchok* there are five to six hundred households of tax-paying peasants (Bell calls them tenants), organized under ten headmen (*gem-po*, *rgan-po*, elders). Although our source does not say so, the *rgan-po* are probably the headmen of villages.

The peasants pay their dues chiefly in sheep carcasses, of which about five hundred were given, i. e., about one for each household, as well as butter and wool. They also pay about £200 in cash and must supply transportation services. All the revenue from these peasants is handed over to the district official, the lessee's income being derived from the home lands.

For the administration of the tax-paying peasants, Pha-lha'isras employs a steward (phyag-mdzod) who receives a piece of land worth £90 a year.

There are two other men under the steward, a *lang* and a *tso-pön* (tshogs-dpon?). The *lang* has to collect the taxes and occasionally settle disputes, although most of these are settled by the steward or by the landlord himself. The *lang* derives his main income from presents given to him by the peasants, worth perhaps £15 a year.

The *tso-pön* is in charge of the provision of transport to authorized government travelers, of the collection of such dues as the *lang* does not control, and of the settlement of petty disputes. He receives a plot of land worth £11 a year, and presents from the peasants averaging £4 a year. Under his orders are placed the *rgan-po*, or headmen of the peasants.

The home lands consist of sixteen pieces scattered here and there in the estate and containing about one hundred farms,<sup>132</sup> under the landlord's more direct control. He manages them through one headman with sixteen assistants, presumably one assistant for each piece of land, all of these presumably under the steward of the estate. The many farms of the home lands are cultivated by peasants who receive in lieu of wages separate rent-free grants of land. The produce of the homelands belongs to the lessee, although out of it must come other payments to the government mentioned below. It consists of barley, butter, wool, and sheep.

Some income is also derived from grazing grounds, for which rent is paid. Apparently they are part of the home lands.<sup>133</sup>

The estate also includes scattered lands in other districts. We are not told how they are managed; probably they are the lands said to be let out to rent. The landlord receives from them grain and to a smaller extent butter, wool, sheep carcasses, and money.

Finally the estate includes a sizable number of cattle. Some of them are let out on the "no birth, no death" contract. Under this, any increase in the flock belongs to the shepherd and any decrease must be made good by him. On the basis of the fixed number of animals the shepherd pays a fixed amount of yak hair, butter, and cheese to be produced each year. Any excess goes to the shepherds.<sup>134</sup>

Other flocks (fifteen hundred sheep and two hundred goats) yield additional profit, presumably under the system by which the shepherds have to produce one lamb yearly for every three sheep. The shepherds keep anything over this proportion or make good any deficiency; they also receive unspecified wages.<sup>135</sup>

The peasants' dues on the *Serchok* estate are somewhat lower than those of other estates of Pha-lha, such as 'Brong-rtse, because it formerly was a monastic estate.

Pha-lha'i-sras held the *Serchok* estate under a three-year lease, at least once renewed.<sup>136</sup> The conditions under which this estate was leased are the following:

The revenue paid by the regular peasants to the *lang* is turned over in its entirety to the Gyangtse district office. This is paid chiefly in sheep carcasses, of which about five hundred are given, as well as in butter and wool, and about two hundred pounds in cash. Transportation services (*rta-'u* and '*u-lag*) are also provided.

The income from the home lands, from the plots of land in other districts which were rented out, and from animals, is partly the profit of the estate lessee; the rest is due to the government or to the dPal-'khor-chos-sde monastery in Gyangtse.

The government's share out of the produce from the homelands consists of 60 khal of barley flour and 550 of barley, besides one complete copy of the *bka-'gyur* every three years, written by hand. For this the lessee has to employ sixteen writers and one superintendent; these also make the covers for the volumes with wood sent by Phag-ri rDzong and *Kamphu* near Phag-ri.

Part of the government revenue from this estate was apparently granted to the dPal-'khor-Chos-sde monastery of Gyangtse and thus is paid directly to the monastery. This share consists of fifteen thousand khal of barley; two thousand *kel* of butter (a weight of about six or seven pounds), two hundred sheep carcasses, fifty boxes of tea, mustard oil for burning in lamps, and firewood.

The home lands provide the lessee with twenty thousand khal of barley, one thousand *kel* of butter, five hundred *kel* of wool, and five hundred sheep carcasses. Cash and rents for some lands let out on rent might total £250, rents from grazing grounds and profits from cattle let out, about £100. The lessee also receives profits on fifteen hundred sheep and two hundred goats, for which a fee of one zho each is paid yearly to the government.

This latter tax comes as far as possible from the lessee's share, so that it has to be deducted from the latter to make out his net income. This income is further reduced by the total cost of main-



taining a large number of servants to work in the estate, coming to about £600, and by certain offerings to other monasteries and priests morally incumbent on the lessee, worth about £150. On the other hand the lessee can make further profit by employing the peasants' 'u-lag in his own affairs, whether trade or domestic necessities.

### *Government cattle*

Besides lands to be worked with drafted labor, the state also has property in cattle. At the end of the nineteenth century it had over one million head. There is a superintendent of these herds who at the end of every year submits an account of the live animals and those dead or killed during the year. To satisfy the authorities, he is required to produce the dried carcasses of the dead animals with their tails and horns. As these superintendents are appointed annually, they take every opportunity of making their fortunes at the expense of the state before the expiration of their terms of office. Cows and mdzo-mo belonging to the government are tended by pastoral nomads ('brog-pa) and are calculated to yield five pounds of butter per head annually.<sup>137</sup> The government also owns herds of horses under the head of the government stables; large herds of horses graze in *Karmoling*.<sup>138</sup>

As mentioned above, the treasury had cattle to give to its estate chiefs for the cultivation of the treasury estates, and the *Serchok* estate also included substantial property in cattle.

### *Assignment of government estates*

The government estates are assigned to the different offices, especially the various treasuries.<sup>139</sup> The Dalai Lama himself has meadow lands and cattle,<sup>140</sup> probably to attend to his personal needs and those of his household; thus his kitchen, the Pho-brang ser-po ("yellow palace") or lJags-ming khang, is provided with milk and butter from a herd of five hundred mdzo-mo kept and milked by twenty monk officials.<sup>141</sup> Certain estates are also assigned to the support of the army.<sup>142</sup> There are also ministerial estates (blon-gzhi) assigned to the offices of the four ministers<sup>143</sup> and district estates (rdzong-gzhi) assigned to the district officials in lieu of salary.<sup>144</sup> These are true office lands for the enjoyment of whoever occupies the position and different from the family estates of the officials. Some reports mention estates held by the generals (mda'-dpon), but it is not clear whether this is family land or office land.<sup>145</sup>

*Granted Land*

Land not managed directly by the Lhasa government is granted to one of the other two landholder institutions of the country, the nobility and the church.

Land grants specify the amount of revenue which the grantee is entitled to collect. Sometimes the total revenue of an estate is granted, but often the grant is partial and the grantee has to make some payments over to the state. Transportation services are usually demanded from the grantees, except in some estates of the church.<sup>146</sup>

The revenue which the grantee has to pay can be changed by the decision of the government. In one case the dues were increased as a punishment to a noble family.<sup>147</sup> During his last years the Thirteenth Dalai Lama increased the dues payable to the government by the nobility "and other landed proprietors" in order to increase the revenue.<sup>148</sup>

The government can likewise confiscate, or more properly speaking, resume any estates.<sup>149</sup> The grantee has no right to alienate.<sup>150</sup> According to Das, "landed estates of which the revenue is paid to the state . . . are never given in loan or mortgaged."<sup>151</sup> We assume this refers to estates, not to peasant holdings which can be let and pledged.

*Estates of the nobility*

One of the three parts into which the Dalai Lama's realm is divided is that of the family estates of the sger-pa or "private landholders." Most of these estates are allotted to the noble families of Lhasa, which provide officers for the government. These estates are the main source of income for the nobility. Each noble family has at least one official estate, from which it usually derives its name, and in return for it has to provide one male heir as a government official. Some families hold two such estates and in that case they provide two servants to the government. These estates are untransferable and inherited in the male line.<sup>152</sup>

The estates are granted to the noble family without regard to the precise political position that a nobleman holds at a given time. They can thus be considered as generalized salary or office land, held in return for the supply of unspecified service to the government.

Included among the land of the sger-pa are also what Shen and Liu call "the private holdings of the nobility." These are most probably what Bell describes as the estates which noblemen can receive

as a reward for special services in addition to the main family estate.<sup>153</sup>

A nobleman can also hold lands other than his inherited estates. As an official he can hold office lands, that is, estates which are attached to a specific job and which are held by whoever occupies the job at the time. As mentioned before, the positions of minister and district official have this kind of office land. A nobleman can also have an estate leased from the government on short terms as in the case of *Serchok* discussed above.

The threefold Tibetan division between estates of the government, the church, and the private landholders (*sger-pa*), includes also in this last division "the small percentage owned by commoners who are subjects of the Church, the State or the Nobility."<sup>154</sup> These we take to be estates of lesser officials or petty local chiefs of commoner status which will be discussed later.<sup>155</sup>

In his estate a nobleman exercises the state's rights of taxation and justice. The peasants, tied to the land, have to contribute dues in money, kind, and labor. The most important labor dues are transportation services and the cultivation of the landlord's demesne land.<sup>156</sup>

The peasants of an estate also provide the landlord with household servants<sup>157</sup> and laborers for the weaving of cloth and rugs.<sup>158</sup> A landlord can also draft his peasants for building or repairing his house and can even hire them out for the same purpose to wealthy merchants in Lhasa who, holding no land, have no laborers of their own.<sup>159</sup> In short, all necessary labor is provided from the peasantry of the estates.

The estates are managed by stewards who are usually called *phyag-mdzod* (*chandzö*),<sup>160</sup> but we also find the titles of *gnyer-pa*,<sup>161</sup> *gzhis-gnyer*,<sup>162</sup> and *sde-pa* (*deba*).

The Pha-lha family at the time of Das' trip had one *phyag-mdzod* in 'Brong-rtse and another in Gyangtse.<sup>163</sup> A *sde-pa* was apparently the headman of a village (*Wangda*) under the orders of the *phyag-mdzod*.<sup>164</sup> In the holdings of the lHa-klu, bShad-sgra, and bSam-grub Pho-brang families in Southeast Tibet, a *sde-pa* was the head of each estate. In the *Tsela* district of Kong-po, *sde-pa* was the title of the heads of the subdivisions of the districts, two of which were granted to noblemen, the *sde-pa* acting as their agents.<sup>165</sup> The agents of bSam-grub Pho-brang were also called *sde-pa*; one kept in *Kishung* (Loro Valley) also collected the dues from *Mago*, and there was another in *Minda*. They were related, the *Kishung sde-pa* being the adopted son of the *Minda sde-pa*.<sup>166</sup>

The steward of a nobleman is usually an old and trusted servant

who has been with the family for years and has been educated at their expense in order to be able to keep accounts and write letters.<sup>167</sup> Sometimes the steward is a poor relation of the nobleman.<sup>168</sup> He can be paid with a grant of land, as in *Serchok*, or in kind, like the sde-pa of lHa-klu in *Gacha*.<sup>169</sup> As agent of the landlord the steward takes care not only of the economic management of the estate but also of the administration in general and of dispensing justice to the peasants.<sup>170</sup>

The estates of the nobility are held under varying conditions. Some grants include the total revenue of the estate, that is, they are tax free, while others have to turn over to the government part of the revenue. The transportation service and military service are always due to the government.<sup>171</sup>

The way in which the estates of the nobility are held and administered can be seen in more detail from the following cases.

The hereditary estates of the Pha-lha family, as reported by Das in the 1880's and by Bell in the 1920's, were in the Gyangtse area. Two miles outside Gyangtse was the *Pen-jor Lhiin-po* estate acquired in the seventeenth century,<sup>172</sup> and farther down the Nyang River the Pha-lha also held 'Brong-rtse, an estate which included most of the hamlets across the river.<sup>173</sup> These two were the most important estates but were only two of several, large and small, held by the Pha-lha family.<sup>174</sup>

The *Pen-jor Lhiin-po* estate included 130 farms, and the total holdings of the family at the time of Bell's visit included at least 1,400 farms as well as 13 grazing grounds.<sup>175</sup>

An average farmer paid his dues in labor, grain, and cash as well as a little in oddments, i.e., wool, butter, yak-hair ropes, and so forth. His total contribution might be valued at three to four pounds a year.

The thirteen grazing grounds each supported fifteen to twenty families of graziers, each ground on the average producing about £12 worth of butter and £1 worth of cheese. The graziers did not render unpaid service.<sup>176</sup>

In another statement Bell says that the Pha-lha family owned some twenty thousand sheep grazed in scattered grounds within fifty miles of Gyangtse. An ordinary grazing ground could feed five hundred to a thousand sheep and a very good one up to two thousand. Shepherds cared for the sheep under the two kinds of tenure mentioned before.<sup>177</sup>

Around 1880, the time of Das' visit, the Pha-lha household had ten thousand sheep and goats in the grazing lands at *Goyug*. There were also at *Goyug*, pastoral subjects ('brog-pa mi-ser) who paid

for every female yak they owned two pounds of butter a year, and for every sheep two pounds of fleece.<sup>178</sup> At *Gyang-khar* there was pasture land reserved for the use of Pha-lha's cattle.<sup>179</sup>

All this suggests that among herders there is a division into two classes similar to that among peasants: There are, first, herders tending their own livestock and paying dues in kind according to the number of their animals; and there is also, on grazing grounds reserved for the landlord's cattle, a second group of herdsmen tending this cattle under the conditions described by Bell. It is probable of course that some herders might tend their own animals and also some of the landlord's.

Again at the time of Bell, the total income of the Pha-lha family from its estates was about £5,000 a year, of which £2,200 were paid to the government.<sup>180</sup>

At Gyangtse, Pha-lha also had a rug and blanket factory where about ninety women were constantly employed. It was under the management of the steward of Gyangtse. Probably the women were subjects from the estates of Pha-lha.<sup>181</sup>

'Brong-rtse and Pha-lha had large country houses as residences for the noble family, the managers, and servants, and store rooms and granaries.<sup>182</sup>

In times of scarcity the peasants borrow grain from their landlords.<sup>183</sup> Barley, butter, and meat were taken from 'Brong-rtse to the Pha-lha mansion at Lhasa.<sup>184</sup>

Some of the estates of Pha-lha were taxed, others were free. The produce of all the estates could be estimated at £5,000. Out of this, Pha-lha turned over to the government £2,200 worth of revenue. This consisted mainly of £150 in cash and 9,999 khal of grain, besides the usual transportation services. Occasionally special taxes were paid, as when the Dalai Lama assumed power or in time of war. The family also had to supply two members to work as government officials. For each one short of this number they had to pay a tax of about £8.<sup>185</sup>

Another instance is that of the estates of lHa-klu. The lHa-klu are one of the families descended from a Dalai Lama's relatives. Their house in Lhasa is one of the five beauties of the city,<sup>186</sup> and they are counted among the four greatest noble landlords of Tibet.<sup>187</sup>

Around 1920 there were in the lHa-klu estates forty or fifty head farmers who collected the dues from the others. Similarly among the herdsmen there were fifty or sixty chiefs. From each farmer lHa-klu received on the average fifteen thousand measures (khal) of grain, mostly barley, besides quantities of butter, cheese, wool-

en cloth, and some cash, the total worth some £300. Each chief among the herdsmen brought butter, cheese, yak-hair, and yak-tails worth perhaps £60. lHa-klu's income could thus be estimated at about £20,000 worth of goods. He was also supplied by his subjects with transportation services and household servants.<sup>188</sup>

One of the estates of lHa-klu in 1913 was *Gacha*, one of the sixteen subdivisions of the district of *Tsela* in Kong-po.<sup>189</sup> The local official (sde-pa) of the subdistrict acted as agent for the lHa-klu family, and the headquarters of the estate were at *Gacha*, a village of five houses.<sup>190</sup> The whole estate included one hundred villages. The sde-pa collected the taxes from the people in those villages. Out of them lHa-klu received annually three mules, five rdo-tshad (silver bars) then worth Rs. 83, and 800 khal of butter (about 4,000 pounds). The Lhasa government received eight rdo-tshad and 1,000 khal of butter, while the sde-pa himself received twenty loads of parched barley flour a year.<sup>191</sup>

Another estate of lHa-klu was the *Pachakshiriba* country inhabited by *Mönba* in the upper valley of the *Siyom* in the Tibetan-Assam border. The headman of the valley, called a sde-pa, collected a tax of two trang-ka per man, excluding women and children, besides a tax of rice and madder; about one thousand men paid the money tax. These taxes were sent to the sde-pa of *Gacha* who as their agent sent them on to the lHa-klu family.<sup>192</sup>

### *Estates of the church*

The religious holdings are the most extensive. Estates are given to monasteries at the various levels of their organization, that is, to the monastery as a whole, either a central or a branch monastery; to any of the "colleges" (grwa-tshang); or to any of the residences (khams-tshan, or mi-tshan) in which monks are grouped according to their geographical origin.<sup>193</sup>

The income from the estates of any of these monastic units is employed in the cult and in the distribution of food, mainly tea and barley flour, to the member monks during the daily assemblies.

Although individual monks can occasionally work in the lands of the families they come from, they never work the lands of their monastery, in this case acting as a collective landlord.

Besides the monasteries and their subdivisions, the other great religious entities which can hold estates are the Living Buddhas. Some of the largest landholders of Tibet are Living Buddhas. They are usually abbots of monasteries but they hold estates of their own, managed independently of the monastic holdings.<sup>194</sup>

The estates of the church are tax exempt, theirs being the only

ones which can have exemptions from the transportation service. The degree of immunity they enjoy is thus much greater than that of lay noblemen.

Unfortunately there is no detailed information on any estates of the church in Central Tibet. Since the *Serchok* estate was a monastic estate before being let to Pha-lha'i-sras, it can probably be taken as an example of the internal organization of a church estate, although the conditions of the grant were probably different when under a monastery.<sup>195</sup>

### *Location and size of estates*

The available information on the holdings of the various noble families of Lhasa and of some monastic entities has been compiled in Appendixes I and II. In Appendix III the estates of the treasury in 1792 have been listed.

It appears from these data that most of the estates are located in the agricultural and more densely settled areas of gTsang, dBus, Dwags-po, and Kong-po, especially in the valleys of the Nyang and sKyid rivers. In the district of Gyantse for instance, we find that at the end of the eighteenth century there was the greatest concentration of treasury estates, nineteen of them with a seed capacity of 2, 396 khal, 19 bre. Only the thirteen estates in *Shih-tse* (Shigatse) had a larger seed capacity (2, 735 khal). In more recent times we also find that in the district of Gyantse are found estates of a number of noblemen, namely of rDo-ring, sKyid-sbug, sNe-stod, Pha-lha, Phun-khang, 'Phreng-ring (*Te-ring*), Khri-smon, sTag-'tsher, and probably gYu-thog. On the other hand, in the district of Phag-ri, a poorer, less settled area, out of four divisions, Phag-ri, *Khangba* (or *Kampu*), Gro-mo-med, and Gro-mo-stod, only one, *Kampu*, is an estate of the lHo-ling family, and Chumbi, one of the sixteen subdivisions of Gro-mo-med, was first an estate of the Sikkim Raja and later of Phreng-ring (*Te-ring*). All the rest of the area is directly under the state.<sup>196</sup>

The areas of Southeastern Tibet traveled by Bailey in 1913 included estates of a number of noblemen but do not show any great concentration of them, as seems to be the case in the Nyang Valley. For instance in the district of *Tsela Dzong* in Kong-po, of sixteen subdivisions only two are granted to noblemen, one to lHa-klu, the other to bShad-sgra.<sup>197</sup>

The valley of Yar-klung of historical importance seems to include the estates of many noblemen but we have few data on them.<sup>198</sup>

The greater productivity and population of the agricultural areas probably account for the fact that most estates are found there,

but pastoral areas are also sometimes granted to monasteries or noblemen. Thus in the southeast, the minister Ram-pa held in 1913 the region of the Hor-pa herdsmen, around Lake *Pho Mo Chang Tang*,<sup>199</sup> and bSam-grub Pho-brang held the pastoral area of *Mago*.

The areas of the northern pastures (Byang-thang) immediately north of gTsang and dBus also contain estates. Thus Se-ra monastery has holdings in Nag-chu-kha, and 'Bras-spungs monastery in Nag-chu; and the Sa-skya monastery holds the *Pü-tsho* Valley between Nag-chu and *Nam-ru*, while the noble family of sMon-grong had large possessions in *Nam-ru*. The province of 'Dam was formerly under the Chinese Amban and perhaps was considered his office land; after the lapse of Chinese control it was placed under Se-ra.

The western province of mNga'-ris does not include any estate of the nobility. It is directly under the officials sent by the Lhasa government or under local monasteries. All local monasteries, however, are branches of the great monasteries of Central Tibet or of Bhutan.<sup>200</sup> Under them are some hereditary local chiefs of lesser category. Perhaps in a similar way the easternmost provinces of Lower Khams (Tsha-rong, Dza-yul, and Sog-sde) have few or no estates of Lhasa noblemen, since there is practically no mention of them.<sup>201</sup> Also in the east are great ecclesiastical estates such as Chab-mdo, Drag-yab, or dPag-shod, which should rather be considered semi-independent estates, like Tashilhunpo or Sa-skya in gTsang.

In spite of very limited information, it seems possible to delimit an area formed by the central provinces within which are located the estates of the great monasteries and of the Lhasa nobility, and also the area where the treasury estates were located. Beyond this area are other provinces which although directly under the Lhasa government do not include estates other than those of local chiefs or monasteries: mNga'-ris in the west and perhaps Lower Khams in the east. Also in the extreme east of the Lhasa-controlled area are very large church estates amounting to semi-independent states, like those found further east under either Lhasan or Chinese protection.

The holdings of any one office or personage, unless very small, did not form a single solid block of land but consisted of several estates, usually in different parts of the country. An extreme case is that of the treasury estates, a total of 190 scattered throughout 54 localities. This case is probably exceptional in that the treasury must have had more holdings than any single noble family or monastery; but a similar conclusion can be reached from a few other



instances. We know of quite a few noblemen who had estates in widely distant parts of Tibet, for instance rDo-ring, near Lhasa and near Gyangtse; sMon-grong, in the *Wön* Valley and in Nam-ru; Rag-ga-shag, near Lhasa and in the southeast (*Gyao*); Ram-pa, in *Tanag*, near Shigatse, and by the *Pho Mo Chang Tang* lake. The family of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama was granted 'Brong-rtse near Gyangtse and other estates in *Chayul* (Bya-yul). Even in the case of Pha-lha, most of whose holdings are in the Gyangtse district, they are divided into several unconnected estates.<sup>202</sup>

One reason for the existence of small scattered estates is that an official who serves the state with exceptional ability sometimes receives as a reward a little grant of land in the district where the good work was done, small holdings accumulating in this way. An example is the hamlet of *Sa-lu* south of Gyangtse held by Pha-lha.<sup>203</sup> In the case of the major estates, however, it seems to be the rule to grant estates in different parts of the country. This perhaps can be related to the convenience of having land in areas yielding different products and to the political advantage of preventing noblemen from concentrating their power in any one area.

The extent of the estates varies greatly. Whole districts are sometimes granted, like Nag-chu-kha under 'Bras-spungs monastery, or sNang-rdzong in Dwags-po under Glang-mdun, the family of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. In cases like this the grantee names the district official.<sup>204</sup>

At the time of Das, the Regent *Ta-tsag* Rim-po-che of Kun-bde-gling had upwards of three thousand peasants on his estates in *Kharu*<sup>205</sup> and Tibet proper. One former regent, whose estates were in Kong-po, had about five thousand. But the holdings of these Living Buddhas were among the largest. Other great lamas and noblemen had about one thousand peasants each.<sup>206</sup> In line with this would fall the extent of Pha-lha's holdings as reported by Bell about 1920. The Pha-lha estates included 1,400 farms and 13 grazing grounds each with fifteen to twenty families of graziers. The total annual revenue of these holdings was about £7,200, of which £2,200 was paid to the government.<sup>207</sup>

The greatest noble (really an incarnate lama) according to Das was Phags-pa-sha of Chab-mdo, lord over ten thousand peasants. Chab-mdo, however, can better be considered as a semi-independent state.

### *Political functions of grantees*

The holders of land grants always assume certain political functions toward the peasants of the granted land. The lord of an estate

not only has right to the revenue derived from it but he also has rights of justice over its inhabitants.<sup>209</sup>

The extent of a lord's power in his estate varies to some degree with the distance of the estate from Lhasa. He has the right to put his subjects in the stocks, fine them, flog them, and impose short periods of imprisonment. According to the *rtsa-tshig*, government regulations for district officials, if any landlord or the manager of a monastic estate punishes his subjects by mutilation or life imprisonment, the district official (*rdzong dpon*) must submit a detailed report immediately to the government. In practice the holders of great estates may inflict punishments as great as those, provided they first obtain permission from the government.<sup>210</sup> In two specific cases reported by Das, the steward (*phyag mdzod*) of the Pha-lha family punished peasants with flogging and short periods in prison.<sup>211</sup>

A peasant is not allowed to leave his home without first obtaining permission from his landlord. If he wants to leave he asks for what the Tibetans call "petition for man separation" (*mi-trö shu-wa*, *mi-bkrol zhu-ba*). If the request is granted he has to pay a large sum. For a short absence the peasant or his family has to inform the landlord, guaranteeing that he will meanwhile be responsible for the land and taxation. If a peasant flees and is later caught he is liable to pay the dues for the period of his absence and to be fined, beaten, or otherwise punished.<sup>212</sup>

Commoners must get permission to marry if they are not residents of the same estate, since such marriages will involve the loss of one subject and his children to one of the landlords. A sum of money is paid by the bridegroom's landlord or a manpower replacement sent. Sometimes this is refused and the marriage cannot take place. Data compiled by Das from an unnamed Tibetan legal work also show that landlords may intervene in the marriage arrangements of their subjects. In his description Das is not clear about what kind of people he is referring to and perhaps it applies only to servants and not to all the tax-paying peasants. He says that in some cases people are united in marriage by their "parents, lamas, chiefs and landlords, in order to serve their ends or work for them, or ensure the payment of revenue." A man is married to a woman

. . . the landlord thinks might be of some service to him. When the woman is found useless, she is dismissed, being paid one-sixth of her husband's effects, and her place is sup-

plied by a new one selected by the landlord. The nomination of wives for these serf classes rests with the landlords, and the selection with the serfs themselves. These serfs are otherwise a free people and bear no resemblance to the slave cultivators of America or any other part of the same profession in any other part of the world.<sup>213</sup>

## APPENDIX I

### ESTATES OF THE NOBLE FAMILIES OF LHASA

Listed below are the estates held by families of the Lhasa nobility for which we have found references in the literature. This list is of necessity incomplete, with only about one-fourth to one-fifth of the Lhasa nobility included. Even in these cases not all the estates are known and in some cases the evidence is vague and possibly incorrect.

The first part of the list includes the estates of families whose names are known. They are arranged according to the name of the families listed in Tibetan alphabetical order. The family names are transliterated from the Tibetan writing in Peter 1954; spellings used in other sources are occasionally added in parentheses.

Since the name of a noble family is usually derived from its main estate--what we call the titular estate--one may infer that a place bearing the same name as a family is that family's titular estate. We have done so in a few cases but always noting the case as questionable.

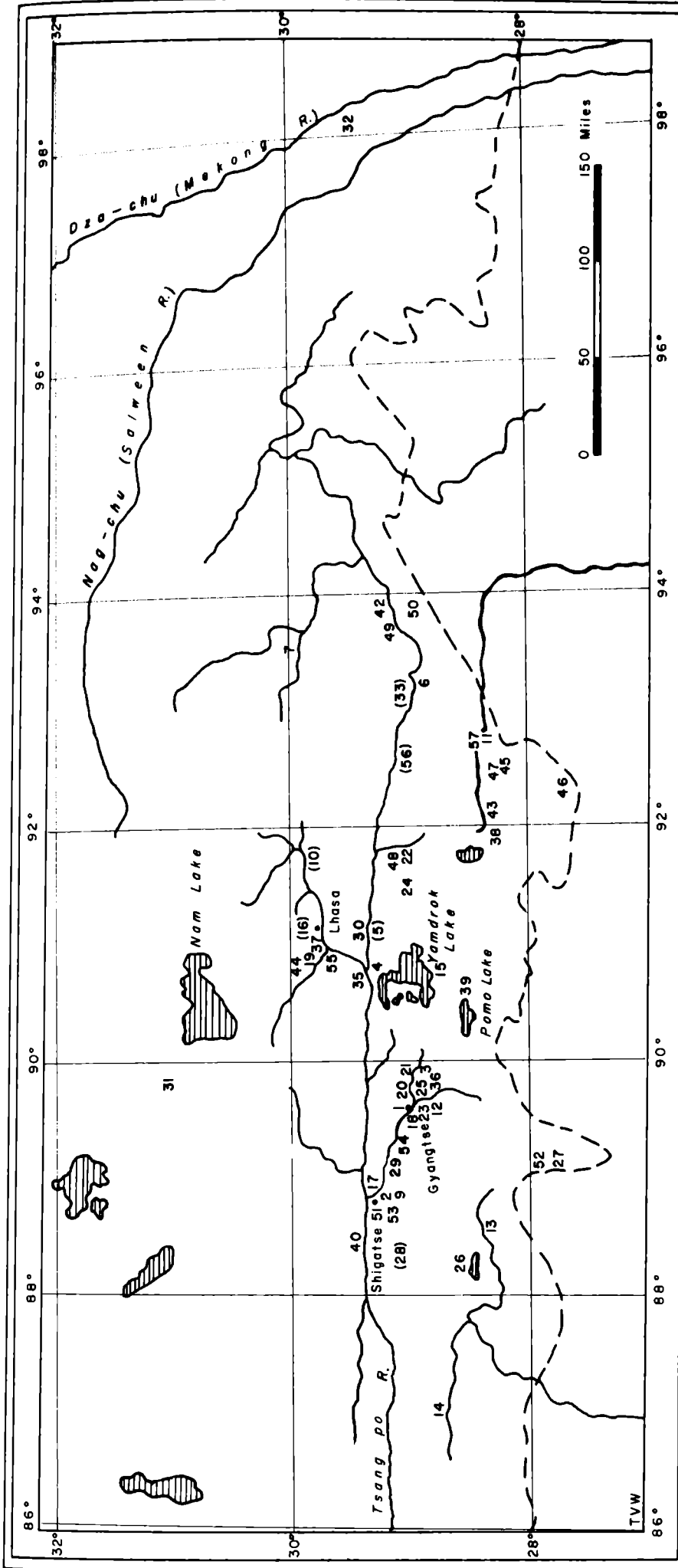
A second and shorter part of the list includes estates held by noble families whose names are not given in our references. These have been listed under the name of the estate. It has been our inference that estates mentioned as held by officials of Lhasa or of some region other than the estate clearly belonged to members of the bureaucratic nobility, and not to local chiefs. The text on which our inference is based is quoted.

The time period covered in this list is roughly that of the 1880's to 1950. For any one case the source of the information shows a more precise location in time. Within this period there have been changes in that some families have been added to the nobility and then endowed with estates, such as the families of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dalai Lamas, and some estates have been resumed by the state or transferred to some other family (see under sTag-'tsher, rDo-ring, Phun-khang, Bon-grong-shod-pa). Consequently

this list does not reflect the situation of any one time. It is only a list of what little case material is available to help in discussing the distribution of estates.

Each estate or group of estates is assigned a number which is placed in map 3. When the localization of an estate is only approximate, the number in the map is enclosed in brackets. Some estates which have not been located are of course not represented in the map.

<i>Family</i>	<i>Name and localization of the estates</i>
sKyid-sbug ( <i>Kyipup</i> )	1. Has an estate in Gyangtse (MacDonald 1932, p. 264).
bKras-mthong	2. Has a house in Shigatse from which the family name is derived (Peter 1954, pp. 42-43). His titular estate?
Khri-smon ( <i>Tri-mon</i> )	3. Takes his name from his estate (Hayden and Cosson, p. 57). Has estates in Gyangtse district (Chapman, p. 87).
Gong-dkar-'og-sbug-rgya-mtsho ( <i>Kokar</i> )	4. Holds <i>Kokar</i> , near Chu-shur (Bailey 1914, p. 53).
Gra-phyi-phun-rab-pa	5. The first two syllables in this name refer to a region south of Lhasa (Peter 1954, p. 41). Probably the village of that same name in the province of lHo-kha (Das 1902b, p. 238). His titular estate?
Glang-mdun	6. sNang-rdzong in Dwags-po (Bailey 1914, p. 8).
Nga-phod ( <i>Ngar-pö</i> <i>Nga-po</i> )	7. Has large estates in Kong-po (Great Britain 1905, p. 149), from which he takes his name (Hayden and Cosson, p. 57), i. e., <i>Nga-po</i> southeast of rGya-mda'-rdzong.
lCang-ra	8. There is a lCang-ra-rdzong (Das 1902b, p. 399). His titular estate?
lCang-lo-can	Name of a village near Gyangtse (Das 1902b, p. 399; cf. under Phun-khang).



MAP 3

ESTATES OF LHASA NOBLEMEN

The numbers on the map refer to the estates listed in Appendix I.  
 Bracketed numbers indicate approximate localization.

<i>Family</i>	<i>Name and localization of the estates</i>
	9. Estate in Shigatse. (See map of Shigatse in Das 1902a facing p. 45 which shows "Changlo khang-sar. The park belonging to the estate of Changlo char.")
sNye-mo-mdo-mkhar	10. sNye-mo refers to a region east of Lhasa (Peter 1954, p. 42). His titular estate?
sTag-'tsher	11. Estates in Bya-yul ( <i>Cha-yul</i> ), and
	12. 'Brong-rtse near Gyangtse (Tucci 1950a, p. 66). The former estate of Pha-lha?
<i>Te-ling</i>	13. <i>Te-ling</i> estate near <i>Khamba Dzong</i> (Great Britain 1904a, p. 239; Waddell 1905, p. 251).
	14. Another estate near Shel-dkar-rdzong (Great Britain 1904a, p. 239).
Thon-pa	15. <i>Thonmi</i> near <i>Phag-tsho</i> (Das 1887, p. 122; cf. Das 1902b, p. 593).
rDo-ring	16. Had his best estate near Lhasa confiscated in 1895 (Bell, p. 91; Bell 1946, pp. 55-56).
	17. rDo-ring is also the name of a village near Shigatse. His titular estate?
	18. Holds Gab-bzhi, one of the greatest estates in the Gyangtse district (Bell 1928, p. 98; Das 1887, p. 121).
sNa-ra-sKyid-gshong-pa ( <i>Kyi-shopa</i> )	19. Has estates in sTod-lung (Das 1887, p. 122).
sNe-stod ( <i>Ne-tö</i> )	20. Has <i>Ne-tö</i> near the <i>Tse-chen</i> monastery in Gyangtse district (Bell 1928, p. 72).
Pha-lha ( <i>Pa-lha</i> )	21. Several estates in Gyangtse district: 'Brong-rtse (Das 1887, pp. 21, 85-86; Bell 1928, pp. 75, 93).

<i>Family</i>	<i>Name and localization of the estates</i>
	<i>Pen-jor lhun-po</i> (Bell 1928, p. 65). Half of Gob-zhi (Das 1902a, p. 128). <i>Salu</i> (Bell 1928, p. 87). Pasture lands in <i>Goyug</i> (Das 1887, p. 15). <i>Gyangkhar</i> castle in Gyangtse (Das 1887, p. 14; Das 1902b, p. 818). <i>Pa-lha</i> village near Gyangtse (Bell 1928, p. 93; Waddell 1905, pp. 203, 246).
	22. Has estates in Yar-klung (Das 1902b, p. 818).
Phun-khang	23. <i>Chang-lo</i> estate near Gyangtse, formerly held by <i>Chang-lo</i> (Great Britain 1905, pp. 135-36; Waddell 1905, pp. 203, 246).
'Phyong-rgyas-phun-rab-pa	24. 'Phong-rgyas refers to a place in South Tibet (Peter 1954, p. 41), i. e., <i>Chonggye Dzong</i> . His titular estate?
'Phreng-ring ( <i>Te-ring</i> )	25. <i>Te-ring</i> in Gyangtse district (Waddell 1905, p. 204). 26. <i>Dobtra</i> (MacDonald 1932, p. 133). 27. Estate in Chumbi (MacDonald 1932, pp. 59, 124).
Bon-grong-shod-pa ( <i>Bhondong</i> )	28. In 1935 he had the estates which had been the Panchen Lama's (Chapman, p. 75).
'Byor-rgyas	29. <i>Jorgya</i> in the Nyang Valley belonging to a former rdzong-dpon of Phag-ri (Das 1902a, p. 73). Probably his titular estate.
sMon-grong ( <i>Mondrong</i> )	30. Has estates in the <i>Wön</i> Valley (Hayden and Cosson, p. 203). 31. Large tracts of grazing lands in <i>Nam-ru</i> (Hayden and Cosson, pp. 112, 172).
Tsha-rong	32. Takes his name from his estate (Hayden and Cosson, p. 57), i. e., Tsha-rong in Khams (Peter 1954, p. 5).

<i>Family</i>	<i>Name and localization of the estates</i>
	33. Estates in Dwags-po (McGovern, p. 384).
	34. Estates in Western Tibet (Bernard, p. 155).
	35. House in Chu-shur (Chapman, p. 295).
gYu-thog-pa	36. Name of a family and also a place near Gyangtse (Bell 1924, p. 292). Titular estate?
Rag-ga-shag ( <i>Ra-ka-shar</i> )	One of the four greatest landholders in Tibet (Bell 1928, p. 84).
	37. Has <i>Shing Donkar</i> near Lhasa (Das 1902a, p. 146).
	38. <i>Gyao</i> (north of <i>Dongkar Dzong</i> ) (Bailey 1914, p. 81).
Ram-pa	39. Has Hor-pa herdsmen around <i>Pho Mo Chang Tang</i> Lake (India, part 2, p. 355).
	40. Has an estate in the district of <i>Tanag</i> (Das 1887, p. 2).
	41. Has an estate four or five days' journey from Lhasa (Bell 1924, p. 139).
	Ram, name of a place (Das 1902b, p. 1169). His titular estate?
bShad-sgra (Sha-tra)	One of the four greatest landholders (Bell 1928, p. 84).
	42. <i>Orong</i> in <i>Tsela Dzong</i> (Kong-po) (Bailey 1914, pp. 9, 60).
	43. <i>Sömpü Shika</i> west of <i>Lhöntse Dzong</i> (Bailey 1914, pp. 80-81).
Sres-chung-pa	44. Skyor-mo-lung, name of a village west of Lhasa containing the estate of the Zhabs-pad Sres-chung-pa (Das 1902b, p. 118).
bSam-grub Pho-brang	45. <i>Kishung</i> in the <i>Loro</i> Valley (?) (Bailey 1914, p. 73).



<i>Family</i>	<i>Name and localization of the estates</i>
	46. <i>Mago</i> , also under the <i>Kishung sde-pa</i> (Bailey 1914, pp. 12, 73).
	47. <i>Minda</i> (south of Lhöntse Dzong) (Bailey 1914, p. 80).
lHa-sdings	48. Name of a noble family (Das 1915, appendix, p. 40) and of a place near Yar-klung (Das 1902b, p. 1336; same as lHa-lding of Peter 1956, p. 25).
lHa-klu	49. <i>Gacha</i> in <i>Tsela Dzong</i> (Kong-po) (Bailey 1914, p. 60).
	50. <i>Pochakshiri</i> (Bailey 1914, p. 18).
lHo-ling	51. lHo-ling is the name of a village near Shigatse (Das 1902a, p. 66). His titular estate ?
	52. Holds <i>Kampu</i> in the Phag-ri district (Bell 1928, p. 59).

#### Estates of Unnamed Noble Families

<i>Estate</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
53. <i>Khara Tedong</i>	South of Shigatse in map in Das 1902a.	"When two miles from Tā-shi-gyantsa we reached the large village of Khara Tedong, the chief of which is a Dahpon (general), lately dismissed from a command at Gartok, near Rudok." (Das 1902a, p. 70.)
54. <i>Tsog-chi</i>	<i>Chog-tse</i> of the maps according to note by W. Rockhill (Das 1902, p. 75). Southeast of Parnam-rdzong.	"Two miles to the west (east?) of this place we came to a large village, called Tsog-chi, with an imposing castle, formerly the residence of several noted generals, but now the property of one of the civil officers ( <i>Dung-khor</i> ) of Lhasa." (Das 1902a, p. 75.)

<i>Estate</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
55. <i>Norbu-gang and Chumig-gang</i>	Northeast of mNyes-thang in the valley of sKyid River	"The hamlets of Norbu-gang and Chumig-gang through which we passed, had a number of fine substantial houses belonging to civil officers ( <i>Dung-khor</i> ) of Lhasa, and around them were gardens and groves of trees." (Das 1902a, p. 145.)
56. <i>Dakpu Dongpa</i>	In Dwags-po	"At Dakpu Dongpa they found about 160 houses under the rule of a nobleman of Lhasa whose title is <i>Dungkhor</i> ." (India, part 2, p. 330.)
57. <i>Shio</i>	In Bya-yul	"The <i>Shio Tungkor</i> was at first suspicious of us and asked for our passports. . . . He had also for some years been Dzongpön of Tsöna and at present held the office of Dzongpön of Chudzong in Po me, but had never visited his charge and his work there was being performed by an agent." (Bailey 1914, p. 74. The term <i>drung-'khor</i> applies to the lay officials of Lhasa.)

## APPENDIX II HOLDINGS OF SOME RELIGIOUS ENTITIES

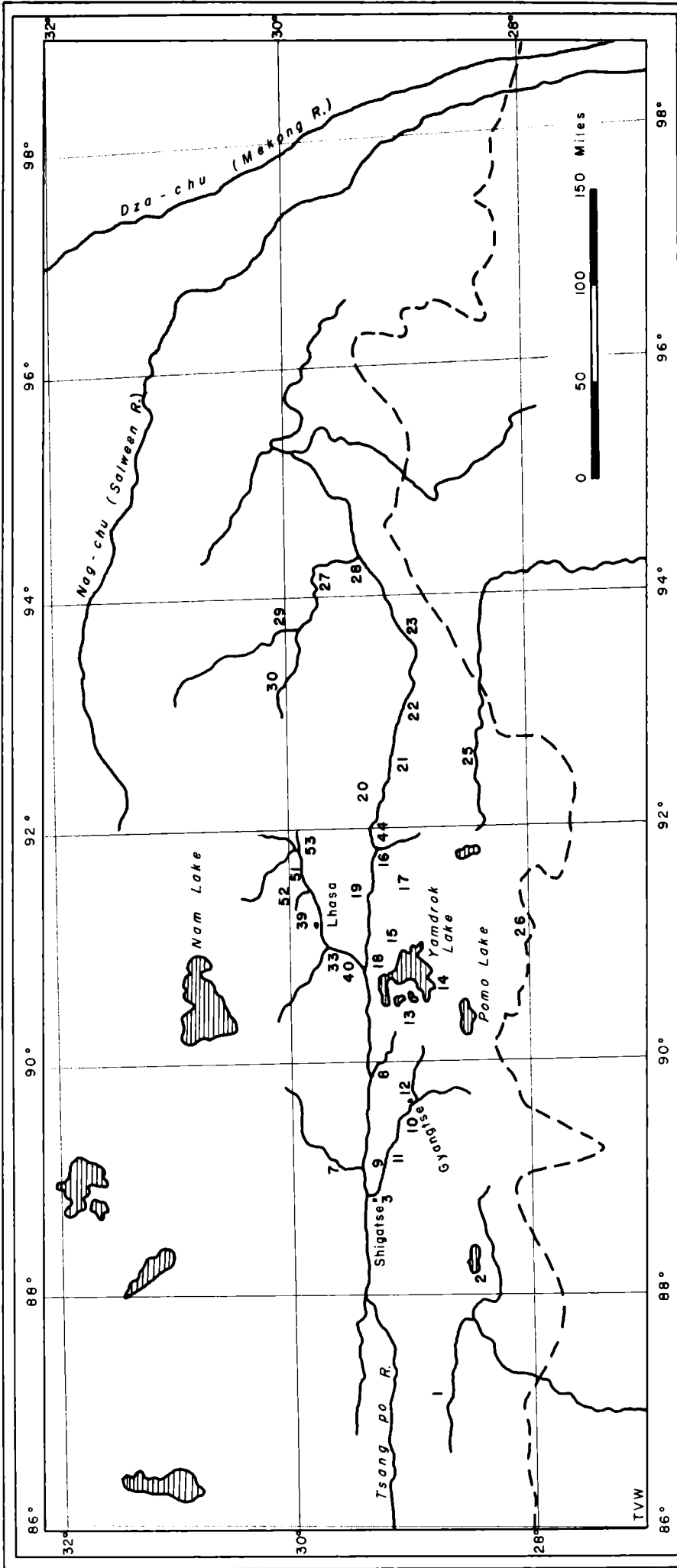
<i>Religious entity</i>	<i>Estates held</i>
Se-ra monastery	<i>Chö-khor</i> , west of Nag-chu-kha (Roerich, 1931, p. 383). <i>Dsam-tscha</i> (in Nag-chu-kha; Filchner 1930, p. 253).

*Religious entity**Estates held*

	'Dam (Hayden and Cosson, pp. 182-83). Formerly under the Amban. <i>Nam</i> (Waddell 1905, p. 320). Village in sKyid Valley. Received estates from Pho-lha-nas (Petech 1950, p. 142).
'Bras-spungs monastery	Hor (Nag-chu) (Roerich 1931, p. 337). Nag-chu-kha district ( <i>ibid.</i> , p. 384). Received bSam-grub-sgang in sTod-lung Valley from Pho-lha-nas (Petech 1950, p. 142).
Four monasteries (gling) of Lhasa	Estates in Kong-po (Sandberg 1905, p. 153).
Living Buddha of Kun-bde-gling:	Three thousand peasants in <i>Kharu</i> ( <i>Gyade?</i> ) and Tibet proper (Das 1902a, p. 183).
A former regent	dPag-shod (Das 1902b, p. 787). Five thousand peasants in Kong-po (Das 1902a, p. 183).
<i>Tengyeling</i> monastery	<i>Jora</i> in <i>Loro</i> Valley (Bailey 1914, p. 80). Confiscated.
rNam-rgyal-grwa-tshang (The Dalai Lama's monastery in Potala)	<i>Jim-khar</i> (Das 1902a, p. 143). Village near Chu-shur.
<i>Hamdang Kam-tsan</i> (a monastic residence in Tashilhunpo)	Some villages west of Pa-rnam-rdzong (Das 1902a, pp. 72-73).

APPENDIX III  
TREASURY ESTATES IN 1792<sup>a</sup>

Place	Tibetan Name <sup>b</sup>	No. of Estates	Seed Sown <sup>c</sup>	Yield <sup>d</sup>	Cattle
1. Hsieh-Ko-erh	Shekar	6	2,164-9-2	5	54
2. Ting-chieh	Tengkye	3	949-1-2	5	24
3. Shih-tse	Shigatse	13	2,735-0-2	5	68
4. Jen-tze		11	1,182-15-2	5	30
5. La-pu		1	460-6-2	5	11
6. Chia-tso		1	360-9-2	5	9
7. Na-mo-ling	Namling	1	616-19-1	5	16
8. Jen-peng	Rinpung	3	668-11-1	7	17
9. Pa-lang	Penam	6	1,597-8-2	7	40
10. Wang-tien	Wangden*	1	282-17-2	5	7
11. Tui-chung	Dochung*	1	416-14-1	5	10
12. Chiang-tse	Gyangtse	19	2,395-19-2	5	60



MAP 4

ESTATES OF THE TIBETAN TREASURY IN 1792

The numbers on the map refer to the estates listed in Appendix III.

Place	Tibetan Name <sup>b</sup>	No. of Estates	Seed Sown <sup>c</sup>	Yield <sup>d</sup>	Cattle
13. La-ko-tze	Nangkartse	7	568-16-2	5	14
14. Ling	Ling	9	218-5-1	5	6
15. To-tsung	Dho Dzong*	14	659-11-1	7	16
16. Nai-tung	Netong	3	401-12-0	9	10
17. Hsiung-chieh	Chongche	4	206-2-2	7	5
18. Kung-ko-erh	Kongka	6	345-4-0	7	9
19. Ni-mo	Nyengo	1	94-19-2	9	2
20. Yao-ka	Oka	4	193-10-2	7	5
21. La-sui	Lhapso	1	197-11-0	5	5
22. Ku-lang	Kurunam	3	492-5-0	5	12
23. Ching-tung	Kyim (Kyimdong in Bailey 1914, map)	1	206-13-0	5	5
24. Seng-chung		10	227-13-0	5	6
25. Lan-tze	Lhontse	1	25-11-1	10	3
26. La-k'ang	Lhakhang	1	40-6-1	5	12
27. Chiao-mo-tsung	Chomo	5	289-13-2	7	8
28. Kung-pu-ts' e-kang	[Kongbo] Tsela	1	334-13-4	7	8
29. Kung-pu-shuo-k'a	[Kongbo] Shoka	10	248-5-1	7	6
30. Chiang-ta	Gyamda	7	152-4-0	7	4
31. Che-pu-ling		1	295-2-2	10	7
32. Lang-ju		1	70-17-1	10	2
33. Cha-shih	Near Lhasa across the Toilung River (Ting Wen-chiang's Chinese Atlas, sheet 50)	2	126-13-2	10	3
34. Lo-mei	La-mo, village east of Lhasa (Das 1902b, p. 1202)	1	131-4-1	10	3
35. Li-wu		1	251-15-2	7	6
36. Lang-chieh-kang		1	171-14-2	7	4
37. Kang		1	94-8-0	7	2
38. Chü-lung		1	78-7-0	10	2
39. Lang-tang	Langdong	1	133-17-1	7	4
40. Yeh-t'ang	Ne-thang or Nye-tham (Das 1902a, p. 145)	1	174-12-1	7	5
41. Po-ti		1	41-13-0	10	2
42. Sa-la		1	272-12-0	7	7
43. Cha-shih-tse		1	79-10-0	7	2
44. Lung	Rong	1	121-17-0	7	3
45. Shih-chung		1	37-1-1	5	2
46. Tsai-li	Village near Lhasa (Rockhill 1891b, p. 69)	1	419-16-2	7	10
47. Lung-tsun		1	134-13-1	7	4
48. Jan-pa		1	105-10-0	5	3
49. Kung-pu		1	48-0-0	7	3
50. Pu-san		1	48-0-0	7	2
51. Ta-tse	Tagtse*	8	858-0-0	7	21
52. Leng-chu-tsung	Lhundrup Dzong	1	265-6-2	7	7
53. Me-chu-kung	Medu Kongkar*	1	78-0-0	10	2
54. Ch'e-tui-t'e		5	380-0-0	7	1

a. Wei-Tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 358-62.

b. In the spelling of the sources used in identifying the places. Unless an other source is given, the names are taken from the sheets 72, 82, and 91 of the map of India and adjacent countries, scale 1/1,000,000: Survey of India. Names marked with an asterisk (\*) are found in the map "Highlands of Tibet and Surrounding Countries," scale 1/2,500,000: Survey of India. Other sources are mentioned in the text. All identified places have been located in map 4 where the numbers are those of the places in this chart.

c. The seed capacity of the estates is measured in *k'o*, *p'i*, and *ko*. The first two measures are obviously the Tibetan khal and bre respectively. *Ko* must be some subdivision of

the bre, the Tibetan spelling of which has not been ascertained. The khal or "load" is estimated to be the equivalent of from twenty-seven to fifty pounds of barley. One khal has twenty bre.

d. In times the seed sown.

### 3. THE RULING CLASS

We define the ruling class of Central Tibet as those people who exercise political power, actually constituting the personnel of government, and who receive their income as landed estates or shares of revenue granted them by that same government into which they are organized.

Having examined the political organization and the land system, we shall now survey in greater detail the various subdivisions of the ruling class. These result from differences in rights over land, in political functions, and their interrelationships. The various sectors of the ruling class are also defined by differences in the process of class reproduction as determined by the lay or monastic status of their members, the rules of succession, the possibilities for social mobility, and the individual or corporate character of the entity enjoying land and power.

We shall examine first the church, both as corporate bodies--the monasteries--and individual magnates--the church hierarchs and monk officials; then the lay nobility, constituting, with the monk officials, part of the bureaucratic officialdom of the central government; and finally, territorial rulers of various levels of importance, subject to the Lhasa government but not sharing in the central government nor forming part of the bureaucratic set-up of the Lhasa officialdom.

#### *The Lamaistic Church as a Corporate Body*

##### *Monasticism*

Monasticism is a fundamental element of Tibetan Lamaism, as of Buddhism in general. It is one of the three components of the Buddhist Trinity: the Buddha, the Law (Dharma; Tibetan chos), and the Monkhood (Sangha; Tibetan dge-'dun). Although it is possible to revert to lay status, the monastic estate in Tibet is usually entered into for life. Society is divided into two groups of people, the human class (mi-sde) and the godly class (lha-sde).<sup>214</sup> The first is formed by the householders (khyim-thab, khyim-bdag, khyim-pa), those who lead a regular family life; the second by those who have left the household (khyim-nas 'byung-ba) to devote their lives to religion. It is the duty of laymen to provide for the livelihood of the

monks and in this role they are called dispensers of gifts (sbyin-bdag), the patrons.<sup>215</sup>

The monkhood is thus everywhere exempt from taxation and supported by subsidies from the laity. In the territories under Lhasa and in some others, the monkhood is also the ruling body (the sovereign being the head of a monastic body) and forms a parallel body to the laity, the monks not being subject to any authority other than that of their order.<sup>216</sup> The relation between monkhood and laity is also extended to explain the relation between China and Tibet. The Chinese emperor is considered the patron of the Dalai Lama and his realm, Tibet.<sup>217</sup>

The total monk population is difficult to estimate. According to Das, the official register at Lhasa in 1882 counted 1,026 monasteries of the dGe-lugs-pa order, with 491,242 monks, in an area including the provinces of dBus, gTsang, Nyang, Lho-brag, Kong-po, Upper and Lower Khams, and Ulterior Tibet (Bod-Chen). Das thinks the number of monasteries of other sects was a little more than the total of the dGe-lugs-pa, bringing the total of all sects to over 2,500 monasteries and 760,000 monks. Das draws the relation of this figure to the total population by assuming that every third boy becomes a monk; so that the total male population he roughly estimates at two and one-half to three millions.<sup>218</sup>

Tibetan monks are divided into the usual Buddhist grades. They enter a monastery under the sponsorship and instruction of a senior monk and become candidates (Tibetan dge-bsnyen, Sanskrit upasaka). After a period of instruction they may be advanced into the next degree of dge-tshul (Sanskrit sramanera) or novice. At this stage they may be enrolled into the hostel of a monastic college in order to pursue their training toward the grade of dge-slong (Sanskrit bhiksu) or fully ordained monk. During their period of study from dge-tshul to dge-slong the monks are divided into grades according to the examinations they have passed. After being fully ordained, they may further acquire the degree of dge-bshes, and can then go on into the study of esoteric doctrines in the Tantrik colleges.<sup>219</sup>

Men of all classes are admitted to the monkhood except the out-castes (corpse-cutters, butchers, fishers, and smiths) and persons with physical defects. However, since the monks have partly to support themselves and must pay fees and feast the congregation in order to obtain a new grade, wealthy monks have a better chance of advancement.<sup>220</sup>

Thus not all monks find it possible to follow a complete career.

Many of them never advance beyond the grade of dge-tshul and devote themselves to all kinds of occupations; they act as priests for the population, manage the monastic properties, or take up various crafts such as painting, calligraphy, making images, printing, carpentry, masonry, tailoring, and so forth.<sup>221</sup>

For purposes of residence, worship, and study, the monks are attached to monasteries. The largest and most important monasteries (dgon-pa) are the so-called gling, denoting that they have their own independent government, and the chos-sde, which have special facilities for study and grant the advanced degrees. No monk can become a full dge-slong without attending one of these monasteries.<sup>222</sup>

The large gling and all the chos-sde are subdivided into colleges, grwa-tshang, where "the monks belonging to one particular school of studies live together."<sup>223</sup> Within the college the monks are enrolled in hostels (khams-tshan) according to their province of origin; sometimes there are subdivisions within the kham-tshan, called mi-tshan.<sup>224</sup>

Most large monasteries have branches throughout Tibet where the local candidates first enroll and whence they must go to the central monastery to achieve the grade of dge-slong or obtain an advanced degree.<sup>225</sup> After graduation, the dge-slong return to their local monasteries, but the majority of the inmates of the branch monasteries are not fully ordained.<sup>226</sup>

The number of independent monasteries is relatively small. A large and important region like Kailas does not have a single central monastery, but only branches of the main monasteries of Central Tibet.<sup>227</sup>

High administrative positions in branch monasteries are filled with graduates from the central monasteries, named for short periods.<sup>228</sup> The Living Buddhas of branch monasteries must also go to a central monastery for study.<sup>229</sup>

A group of monasteries with a common organization and doctrine form what is usually called a sect, although a more appropriate name would be monastic order. Each order acknowledges one master as founder and interpreter of the doctrine, from which the hierarchs of the order descend in what can be called apostolic succession. The most important one in Central Tibet is the dGe-lugs-pa, of which the Dalai Lama is the head. In other Tibetan states, such as Ladak, Sikkim, Bhutan, sDe-dge, and so forth, the older orders dominate and the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries are fewer or not found at all.<sup>230</sup>



*Monastic income and its management*

In order to maintain the monks and pay the expenses of ceremonies, the monasteries have various sources of income, of which an important one is land. All kinds of property, including landed estates, can be held by different monastic organizations, by the monastery as a whole, by a college, a hostel, or a hierarch.<sup>231</sup>

Branch monasteries can receive subsidies from the central monastery of which they are a branch<sup>232</sup> but they can also have estates of their own.<sup>233</sup> Special funds are assigned to the performance of specific ceremonies. It is not clear, however, to what extent they may come from landed endowments.<sup>234</sup>

Landed estates, although important, are by no means the only source of income for the monasteries. Contributions from the government are also significant. The three main monasteries near Lhasa received funds both from the Tibetan government and from the Chinese emperor. In 1917 the revenue of the Tibetan government was estimated at £720,000, while the church received from its estates an estimated £800,000. The government spent out of its income the value of about £274,000 in grants for the support of monasteries and the performance of ceremonies.<sup>235</sup>

The monasteries and church hierarchs also receive additional income from contributions and alms from private noblemen and pilgrims<sup>236</sup> and from engaging in trade and lending grain and money.<sup>237</sup>

A monastery as a whole, and its subdivisions if any, has a number of treasurers and stewards for the management of its property.<sup>238</sup> These officials are named for short terms of office, three or six years.<sup>239</sup> In some places at least, they hold their jobs on farming terms; during their period of office they have to provide for the expenses which the property is supposed to support and at the end must transfer to their successor the same amount of property that they received, but all profits they can make beyond this become their own property.<sup>240</sup>

Unlike the officials attending to the religious life of the community, the managers of the monastic property do not have to be fully ordained monks (dge-slong); they are named from among the non-studying monks.<sup>241</sup>

*Income of individual monks*

Individual monks are allowed shares of the funds of the monastic organization of which they form a part, whether a hostel (khamstshan), college (grwa-tshang), or monastery as a whole. These shares are mainly received as tea rations during the daily ser-

vices when the whole congregation meets;<sup>242</sup> usually they are not sufficient to provide fully for the monk's livelihood.<sup>243</sup> Additional income is obtained through the monk's relation to his family and by individual economic activity.

The relation of a monk to his family is known best for Spiti, in Western Tibet. Here the tax-paying peasant family, from which most of the monks come, sets aside a special field, the lama's field, to help support the monk. In the monastery each family has a dwelling where its monk members reside, and when a candidate enters the monastery he usually does so under the sponsorship and instruction of an older monk of his family, generally a paternal uncle. During the agricultural season the monks leave the monastery and live at their families' villages, helping them in the tilling of the land and other tasks. If a monk goes to Central Tibet to pursue his studies, his family helps him to make the trip; while a monk who comes back fully ordained and with some wealth turns this over to the head of his family.<sup>244</sup>

A situation similar to that of Spiti is also mentioned in less complete descriptions from sPyi-dbang (*Jiwong*) monastery in North-east Nepal and from Central Tibet, as well as from rGyal-kun-mdo, Hor, and the east in general.<sup>245</sup>

One might expect this kind of relation between a monk and his family to apply when the monk resides at a monastery near his village of origin. Things may be somewhat different among the monks from very far places residing at one of the Central monasteries, and the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries in gTsang do not admit novices from villages within forty miles.<sup>246</sup> But even in the three monasteries near Lhasa, local monks also visit their families, helping them; and although their families might live some weeks' journey away from the monastery, they obtain leaves from time to time and go home to help their families, especially in harvesting the crops.<sup>247</sup>

In the orders in which monks are allowed to marry, they live as ordinary householders in the villages, and attend the monastery at certain periods. From the economic point of view, these monks are comparable to other peasants with the difference that they are tax-exempt.<sup>248</sup>

As individuals, monks obtain further income by engaging in different crafts or in trade, or by hiring themselves out. They also obtain fees for their services as priests. Each monastery has some villages assigned to it, in which it looks after the ceremonial needs of the people.<sup>249</sup>

Other than the field assigned to a monk by his family, or the

landed estate of church hierarchs, individual monks of the celibate orders do not seem to hold land to any important extent, if they do at all. <sup>250</sup>

### *Church Hierarchs*

Besides the managers of the communal property, monasteries and their colleges have a governing body attending to the religious life of the monastery, the members of which are recruited from among those monks who have become dge-slong and obtained literary degrees (dge-bshes). Positions within this governing body are occupied for short terms and are graded in rank so that they constitute a further scale of achievements beyond the attaining of the dge-slong grade. <sup>251</sup> Monastery abbots (mkhan-po) after completing their terms of office do not step down in rank but sit in session with actual abbots and rank above them. Other monastery officials similarly keep the rank achieved while in office. <sup>252</sup> A long career toward prominence is thus open to the monks which in the dGe-lugs-pa order can culminate in the position of Superior of dGa'-ldan (dGa'-ldan Khri-pa or Khri Rim-po-che), who occupies the Seat of Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the sect. His position is close to that of the Dalai Lama himself, who is the superior of the two other ruling monasteries of Se-ra and 'Bras-pung. <sup>253</sup>

The top positions, however, are as a rule not open to monks rising from the lower ranks. In the older orders there are hereditary hierarchs, while a few positions in the older orders and a great number in the dGe-lugs-pa are occupied by reincarnations.

The hierarch of the Sa-skya order occupies his position by inheritance; there are at present two branches of the ruling family and the head of each alternately succeeds to the throne for life. <sup>254</sup> In the better days of the Sa-skya order, the four main abbotships under the hierarch were also hereditary in the families of the four abbots <sup>255</sup> and there still are lesser Sa-skya monasteries where the position of abbot is hereditary. <sup>256</sup>

In sMin-grol-gling, the main rNying-ma-pa monastery, there are two head lamas always selected from the *Tertalingpa* family. One is celibate and rules the monks while the other is allowed to marry, and if he has two children, one succeeds to each position. In one attested case the lama's wife was taken from one of the noble families of Lhasa, lHa-klu. <sup>257</sup>

The so-called Living Buddhas or reincarnated hierarchs are found in a few positions among the old orders like the Dharma Raja (Zhabs-drung Rim-po-che) and two other high lamas of the Bhuta-

nese Church,<sup>258</sup> the *Kupgain* Lama in Sikkim (rNying-ma-pa), or the Living Buddha of Hemis in Ladak.<sup>259</sup> But the system of reincarnation is most widespread in the Yellow or dGe-lugs-pa order. Here all the monks who attain the degree of dge-bshes and all who reach the position of abbot of a monastery or have some other special position may qualify for reincarnation. The number of Living Buddhas is thus very high. They are classified into four ranks. The highest one includes only the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama; the second are the royal incarnations (rgyal-po sprul-sku), the abbots of four monasteries in Lhasa, who can be appointed regent during the absence or minority of the Dalai Lama. The third rank includes from fifty to sixty Living Buddhas; they usually are abbots of monasteries and hold large estates. The fourth rank are lesser reincarnations of which almost every monastery has one or two, but they do not occupy abbotships nor hold large properties. The first two ranks and some of the third were recognized by the Chinese government. All of them have to obtain permission of the Tibetan government before they can be established and they have to register at the great secretariat (Yig-tshang), which determines their rank.

The Living Buddhas are among the largest landholders of Tibet and they obtain additional income from money-lending and trade. A Living Buddha's bla-brang (literally, household of the lama) is staffed by a group of personal attendants chosen from among monks and commoners, some of them relatives of the Reincarnation. The treasurer or steward (phyag-mdzod) of the Living Buddha is usually a relative of his. All the economic activities such as trade and the management of landed estates are under his charge. For this he has under his orders a number of minor stewards or gnyer-pa who do such things as keeping accounts, collecting dues, supervising peasants, and settling disputes.

The main expenditures of a Reincarnation are his personal living expenses and his religious expenses. The latter include his own religious activities such as religious meetings, ceremonies, and special sacrifices. He must also contribute alms to the monastery in which he has registered; on scheduled dates every year he has to give tea parties and alms. When a Reincarnation passes the examination for the dge-bshes degree he again gives alms on a large scale, sometimes expending half his fortune in this. Further he gives considerable contributions toward the expenses of the religious ceremonies of the Tibetan government. The large holdings of the Living Buddhas thus set them off as a privileged group within the church, but the church as a whole also profits from their

wealth, and individual monasteries try to have a Living Buddha who will contribute to their economic welfare.<sup>260</sup>

### *Monk Officials*

Government servants are recruited from the two parallel bodies of monk and lay officials, the latter forming the nobility to be described in the next section.

The monk officials (rtse-drung) are 175 in number, the same as the lay officials. They are selected from among promising young boys in the three great monasteries near Lhasa and trained in a special school (rtse-bslab-grwa) at the Potala. Their celibacy is strictly enforced.

Most monk officials are of commoner origin, but a few are selected from younger members of the noble families. In 1920 the monk officials of noble stock were about forty. They have a special title (rje-drung) and enjoy higher prestige than the officials of commoner origin.

The Dalai Lama's household and the secretariat, which deals with the affairs of the church, are staffed by monk officials. In all other government offices, monk officials work side by side with lay noblemen.

Unlike the Living Buddhas and the lay nobility, monk officials apparently have no personal landed estates. No source mentions them. Only if they happen to fill a position (rdzong-dpon, bka'-blon) which has office land assigned to it will they enjoy an estate. Otherwise they are supported by allowances from their monastery of origin, and from holding their jobs on farming terms. Individually they can also engage in trade, and if they are of noble stock they may receive help from their families.<sup>261</sup>

### *The Bureaucratic Nobility*

The lay nobility of Central Tibet is an aristocracy of birth, exercising political power together with the church and drawing their individual incomes from the lands granted them by the state. The Tibetan term for nobleman is sku drag, from sku, honorific (literally body), and drag-pa, nobleman.<sup>262</sup> Noblemen are also called sger-pa in their capacity as holders of landed estates.<sup>263</sup> As officials, they are called dpon-po.<sup>264</sup>

The noble families of Lhasa provide the central government with 175 officials. Each family provides at least one official; a few pro-

vide two, so that the number of noble families is said to be around 150.<sup>265</sup> A list published by Prince Peter includes 164 families belonging to the Lhasa nobility.<sup>266</sup>

For each official which the family has to provide, it is endowed with an hereditary landed estate whence it derives its name, which is not transferable and in return for which the family has the duty (khral) of providing an official. The family can also hold other estates besides this titular one.<sup>267</sup>

### *Class reproduction: kinship and mobility*

The noble families trace their descent from various origins. One group of the highest standing and representing also recent and regular additions to the nobility are the descendants of the families in which a Dalai Lama has reincarnated. Starting with the Seventh Dalai Lama, the father or brother of each new Incarnation, which is always a commoner, has been endowed with estates and made into a new noble family, taking the name of Yab-gzhi gsar-ba (new patrimony) and receiving the title of kung. When the Dalai Lama dies, his family takes a new name by which they will henceforth be known.<sup>268</sup>

The families of this origin are bSam-grub Pho-brang,<sup>269</sup> lHa-klu,<sup>270</sup> Phun-khang,<sup>271</sup> gYu-thog,<sup>272</sup> and Glang-mdun.<sup>273</sup> The family of the present or Fourteenth Dalai Lama has taken the name of sTag-'tsher.<sup>274</sup>

Next in importance to the families of the Dalai Lamas are the families of the sde-dpon or "provincial officers." These are descendants of old kings or ministers who were territorial rulers before the centralization of the Lhasa government.<sup>275</sup> Five families are included in this group. The highest prestige is accorded to those families who trace their descent from the early Tibetan kings who ruled before Srong-btsan-sgam-po in the seventh century. There are two of these families. Rag-ga-shag (or *Rakashar*) traces its descent from the king known as "The Bird."<sup>276</sup> Lha-rgya-ri also descends from one of the ancient kings, named 'od-gsal, "clear light."<sup>277</sup> When the head of either of these two families dies, a tomb is made and encased in silver, just as those of the Dalai Lamas are encased in gold.<sup>278</sup> Lha-rgya-ri still holds a practically independent state in Southern Tibet and will also be mentioned among the territorial chiefs.

The other sde-dpon families descend from ancient ministers. One is Bla-brang-nying-pa or Thon-pa, descending from Thonmi Sambhota, the minister of Srong-btsan-sgam-po who introduced writing into Tibet in the seventh century.<sup>279</sup> rDo-ring descends from

one of the religious ministers (chos blon) of Padma Sambhava, the introducer of Tantrik Buddhism in the eighth century.<sup>280</sup> The Phalha descend from a Bhutanese priest who entered the service of the Lhasa government during the seventeenth century.<sup>281</sup>

The ancestry of noble families other than those of the Yab-gzhis and sde-dpon groups is not reported. We only know of Nu-ma, a descendant of *Ga-wo* who was a minister of Srong-btsan-sgam-po,<sup>282</sup> and of a few recent additions to the nobility to be mentioned below.

As a rule noblemen marry only among themselves, but observing the lineage exogamy prevalent in Central Tibet.<sup>283</sup> Forms of marriage among the nobility are similar to those of the peasantry. Polyandry (fraternal and nonfraternal), polygamy (sororal and nonsororal), and the sharing of a wife by father and son or of a husband by mother and daughter, are forms of marriage reported for the Lhasa nobility.<sup>284</sup>

In the cases when male issue is lacking, a younger son of some other noble family is adopted, who takes up his adopted family's name and carries on the line.<sup>285</sup>

According to one source, a commoner with enough wealth may apply and get appointed to an estate for which there is no issue.<sup>286</sup> We know of two cases in which a commoner was adopted into a noble family to carry on the line. One is that of a commoner named *Pishipa* who, some time in the nineteenth century, became a monk at Tashilhunpo where he achieved a high rank. At thirty, he went to Lhasa, became a monk official and was employed by the minister bShad-sgra as secretary. Since bShad-sgra had no sons, *Pishipa* left the church to be adopted by him and marry his daughter. At the death of his adopted father and father-in-law, *Pishipa* became minister under his adopted name of bShad-sgra. Later in life he entered the church again in order to become regent.<sup>287</sup>

Another case is that of *Tsensar*, a servant in the household of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama who played an important role in protecting his master during his flight to India from the Chinese in 1910. At their return to Lhasa, the head of the Tsha-rong family was put to death for intriguing with the Chinese and the family was left without male members. *Tsensar*, the commoner, was married to the widow and daughter of Tsha-rong and to the widow of Tsha-rong's son, and he became the new bearer of the Tsha-rong line, the well-known Minister Tsha-rong of recent times.<sup>288</sup>

It is significant that both these prominent commoners were admitted into the nobility by adoption and marriage into older noble families which lacked male heirs, and that in one of the cases the initial rise to prominence was in the church.

Each noble family provides one or two officials to the government, according to the number of estates it holds and the conditions of the grant. In every case there is one head of the family who carries on the line and is succeeded by a son, not necessarily the eldest. Other sons can enter the church; Living Buddhas are often found among them and a good number become monk officials, or enter the rnam-rgyal grwa-tshang monastery of Potala to lead an easy life.<sup>289</sup> They can leave the church and re-enter their families as lay noblemen if death takes away one of the lay officials required to be provided by the family.<sup>290</sup>

Besides the church, another possibility for younger sons is to be adopted by another noble family lacking male issue. Children of noblemen who do not succeed to their father's positions or who do not enter the church or are not adopted by other noblemen should rate as commoners. They live idly off the family wealth or engage in trade. Commoner relatives of a nobleman can also be employed in the administration of the family estates,<sup>291</sup> but probably most second sons find refuge in the church and few rank as commoners.

Occasionally one noble family splits into two when a member takes his share of the family estates and starts a new family. The new family takes the name of the old with the addition of zur-pa, "corner one." Thus the offshoot from the bShad-sgra and Zur-khang are named bShad-zur and Zur-khang-zur-pa respectively. In other cases the senior branch adds to his name nang-pa meaning the "inside one." In Prince Peter's list of 164 noble families of Lhasa and 41 of Tashilhunpo, there are ten zur-pa families of which two Tashilhunpo families are offshoots from Lhasa families. Three families from Lhasa and one from Tashilhunpo have nang-pa as part of their name, but it is not possible to tell, if they all are senior branches, which are the offshoot families. Another case in which one family has split into two is that of the family of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama from which derive both Glang-mdun, the senior branch of Yab-gzhis status, and Bhum-pa (*Trum-pa*), a junior branch of ordinary status.<sup>292</sup>

The merging of households seems to be unusual. One possible case is that of lHa-klu mentioned above who descends from the families of two former Dalai Lamas.

Adding new families to the nobility is a regular procedure in the case of the families of each new Dalai Lama. Other known cases are those of royal or noble families from some neighboring Tibetan country, who have joined the Lhasa officialdom. Thus as a consequence of the British control of Sikkim, a member of the royal family took refuge in Tibet, kept the estates that the king



of Sikkim had in Tibet, and became the family of *Te-ring*.<sup>293</sup> A prime minister of Sikkim, unfriendly to the British, fled to Tibet to be accepted as the start of the *Te-ling* family.<sup>294</sup> Another case is that of a prince of sDe-dge who left his country during the conflict with China to join the ranks of the Lhasa nobility.<sup>295</sup> After the flight of the Panchen Lama to China in 1923, his realm came under the direct rule of the Lhasa government and most of the noble families of his court moved to Lhasa and became "indistinguishable" from the Lhasa nobility.<sup>296</sup>

Other cases, recent and rather exceptional, are those of three wealthy merchant families: sPom-mda'-tshang (*Pang-da-tshang*), Sa-'du-tshang, and Tsha-sprul-tshang. These families are not, strictly speaking, noble houses, and members of the old aristocracy do not accept them right away; but because of their wealth, they are being incorporated into the nobility. Their names are included in the yearly list of officials put out by the cabinet and their children intermarry with the old nobility. The sPom-mda'-tshang family hails from Khams, where it wields considerable power. A son of the Yab-gzhis family of bSam-grub Pho-brang has recently married a daughter of sPom-mda'-tshang. The Sa-'du-tshang are the biggest Tibetan merchants in Kalimpong. The seventh son of this family was made a fifth-rank official in 1947.<sup>297</sup>

### *Political functions*

In return for the landed estates with which they are endowed, each noble family has to give one, or sometimes two, of their members to the service of the government. This is considered their tax or due (khral), and, when no member of the family is available, an exemption fee is paid until the vacancy is filled.<sup>298</sup>

When beginning his political career, a young nobleman starts by being enrolled in the finance office (rtsis khang) as a "student of arithmetic" (rtsis 'gru-ba) to receive his training. Three times a year the finance officers submit names of qualified students for government service to the Dalai Lama or the regent through the cabinet.<sup>299</sup>

When accepted, these students start on their political career. With the exception of the grand secretariat, all the offices are staffed by both lay and monk officials, and they both are ranked in the same scale of seven grades already described. Like a monk official, a nobleman will occupy in his lifetime a number of different positions with the possibility of advancing in rank by seniority, ability, and family connections.<sup>300</sup>

Besides the scale of ranks according to the position held, there

are honorific titles. The enobled father or brother of a Dalai Lama receives the Chinese title of kung (Tibetan Yab gzhis gung). The Mongol titles of Jassak (Tibetan Dza-sags) and Taiji (Tibetan Tha'i-dzi) were also granted to Tibetans. The information on titles is sketchy and the situation seems to have changed from the early period of Chinese control to the later, and again after the lapse of Chinese control in the present century. There is conflicting information on the inheritability of these titles.<sup>301</sup>

The holders of these titles, no matter what their political post may be, occupy the third rank; within this rank the kung rates above the ministers, the Dza-sags and Tha'i-dzi under them.<sup>302</sup>

Special privilege as to rank is also given to noblemen whose ancestors reached the position of minister. As young men they are called Sras-rnams-pa, "the sons" (honorific form), and from the beginning of their careers as trainees in the finance office they hold the fourth rank instead of the seventh otherwise assigned to that position. Also they usually receive faster promotions than nonprivileged noblemen.<sup>303</sup> The ministers usually come from this group, although there are cases of lesser noblemen who have reached the position.

The officials of highest ranks and titles (fourth and above) sit at the national assembly (Tshogs-'du) together with the abbots of important monasteries.<sup>304</sup> Rank also rigorously defines priority in ceremonial and etiquette.

The special privileges of the titled noblemen and the favored sons of ministers thus result in the formation of a group of about twenty families with a much higher position than the rest of the nobility.

In contrast with the landed estates which form the main source of income for a nobleman and which are inherited, the political position of a nobleman is not inherited. While the right--or duty--to give officials to the government remains in the family, no specific position is inherited. We find instead the opposite tendency, to avoid the appropriation of a specific political post by a given individual or family. This is achieved by the short terms of office and the collective responsibility of teams of officials, usually lay officials sharing responsibility with monk officials.

### *Income*

The income of the noble officials derives primarily from the types of landholdings already described: titular family estates, other family estates, office land (in some positions), and land leases. The family estates are the most important source of in-

come.<sup>305</sup> Since the offices occupied by a nobleman during his career often change, there is no direct relation between the income of a nobleman and his office. The members of the highest nobility holding large estates will have a large income even while having small jobs in the administration, while a nobleman with small estates, upon reaching high positions, will have a comparatively smaller income while holding a high office.<sup>306</sup>

The conditions on which landed estates are granted and managed have already been discussed. Other sources of income besides land are also important.

Salaries are very low. Bell reports £250 a year as the salary of a member of the cabinet,<sup>307</sup> £80 that of the prime minister,<sup>308</sup> and £20 that of the treasurers.<sup>309</sup> Kawaguchi states that the premier had a salary of about 600 koku or 4,000 bushels of wheat, the stipend being generally paid in this grain, and the first lord of the treasury drew 360 koku. Some officials even refrained from claiming their salaries since they were well provided for with their estates.<sup>310</sup>

While performing certain services or moving from one place in the country to another, officials are entitled to allowances from the government stores and to services from the peasantry. This should also be considered part of their income.<sup>311</sup>

Officials may borrow funds from the government on very favorable terms,<sup>312</sup> and they may derive substantial profits from positions involving the handling of revenue, which are held on farming terms, i. e., where all revenue in excess of a stipulated amount becomes the property of the officials.<sup>313</sup>

### *Lesser Officials and Petty Chiefs*

Kawaguchi mentions, besides the Lhasa nobility, three other high classes. Two of them are religious groups, the bon-po, practitioners of the Bon religion who are in some places local magistrates, and the *Ngak-pa* or hail chasers who, entitled to receive a hail-tax, "assume the function of administrators." There are also the *Shal-ngo* (zhal-ngo), "descendants of ancient families who acquired power in the locality on account of their wealth in either money or land. . . . By far the great majority of the Shal-ngo people possess . . . more or less property; and even a poor Shal-ngo commands the same respect from the public as his richer confrere."<sup>314</sup>

We have also mentioned a group of sger-pa or estate-holders other than the Lhasa nobility<sup>315</sup> and some petty officials such as

post officers and low-rank army officers who are also rewarded with landed estates.<sup>316</sup>

It appears, then, that besides the bureaucratic nobility at Lhasa, there are other families, religious or lay, which form a sort of lesser nobility in the countryside. We shall examine now specific cases reported of people who might belong to such a lesser nobility.

In the central provinces under the Lhasa government, very few examples are available. The peasantry is under the church hierarchs, monasteries, and noblemen, or else is administered directly by the officials from the central government. In the district of Phag-ri, for instance, the two rdzong-dpon with two treasurers, one revenue officer, and one secretary deal directly with the village headmen selected by the tax-paying peasantry.<sup>317</sup>

Only in a few cases are there reports of what might be petty chiefs comparable to a hereditary village headman, or holders of estates who are not members of the bureaucratic nobility. In this latter case, since the holding of an estate involves the right of low justice over its peasants, the landlord can be considered a local chief.

In two cases the petty chiefs are (or claim to be) descendants of an old royal line now in decline. In the Yar-klung Valley Das reports the existence of a chief in Pho-brang rDzong who claimed descent from the ancient dynasty of kings originating in that place, although not even his own people believed much of his pretended genealogy.<sup>318</sup>

In Kong-po there are a number of "barons," rich in land and residing in their own castles, who are subject to the district magistrates but in practice are almost as powerful and autocratic as they and generally wealthier.<sup>319</sup>

In Dza-yul there are some villages free from taxation and but loosely answerable to the district officer of Dza-yul. Their inhabitants are settlers from Central Tibet who have been granted the land in order to encourage the Tibetanization of the province. Of one such village, *Latsa*, we are told that "it belongs" to an old gentleman from Chab-mdo, and it was given to him by the Tibetan government for services rendered.<sup>320</sup>

Another case is that of the wife of the deposed king of Po-yul who, on the death of her husband, received from the Lhasa government a grant of land.<sup>321</sup>

A clearer picture of the nature of petty local chiefs under the magistrates sent from Lhasa is available for other areas.

Western Tibet, or mNga'-ris, is ruled by two lay governors, sent from Lhasa every three years (although sometimes the term

can be extended to six years), who reside at sGar-thog. Under them are the four district officials of *Rudok*, *Tsaparang*, *Daba*, and *Purang*, also sent from Lhasa every three years. One of the post officials, the rta-zam-pa of *Barkha*, holds an unusually large territory, which makes him into a sort of district official.<sup>322</sup>

In this area there are a number of estates held by the monasteries in the area, all of which are branches of monasteries in Central Tibet and are administered by abbots and treasurers sent every three years from Lhasa.<sup>323</sup> A large estate is held by the Bhutanese Church. It has its center in Tar-chen and is ruled by officials sent from Bhutan.<sup>324</sup>

In most of mNga'-ris, however, the district officials do not deal directly with the peasants but through a number of petty chiefs. There are thirteen chieftaincies with their own hereditary chiefs (dpon), called in Tibetan mNga'-ris dpon-khag cu-gsum (*Gnari Punkag Chuksun*), i. e., the thirteen chiefs of mNga'-ris. Some of them are in pastoral areas, others in agricultural provinces like Pu-rangs and Gu-ge. Two of them have the title of No-no like some of the chiefs of Ladak and Spiti (the *Jimkangnomu* in *Rudok* district and *Rakshyanomu* in Gu-ge).<sup>325</sup>

In Pu-rangs all the villages not held by monasteries are grouped in three of the thirteen chieftaincies. At the head of each is a hereditary dmag-dpon (literally army commander) who is responsible for collecting revenue and keeping order, and is subordinate to the district official of Taklakot.<sup>326</sup>

Tucci reports on other petty chiefs in mNga'-ris. *Ri* is a holding of a family of astrologers (rtsis-pa) called *Ri jo-ba* or chief of *Ri*.<sup>327</sup> *Kv'a-rtse* still had a family, now poor like the others, which kept the title of king (rgyal-po), being descendants of a family which had ruled the castle of *Kv'a-rtse* and the surrounding territory.<sup>328</sup> *Charang* (or *Sarang*) is held by a chief as a grant from Lhasa (from about 1700); he has the title of ru-dpon (colonel) though sometimes people call him king (rgyal-po).<sup>329</sup> Another local chief with the rank of ru-dpon is that of *Chumurti*.<sup>330</sup>

In the pastoral area of Byang-thang there are also a number of local chiefs. Thus the province of *Naktsang* under two officials from the central government (rdzong-dpon) at *Sentsa Dzong* is subdivided into a number of districts ruled by hereditary chiefs or dpon, who decide the disputes of their subjects and collect revenue from them, which they turn over to the rdzong-dpon. One of the district chiefs, that of *Naktsang Gomnak*, has the title of *Garpon Changba Gyalbo* (i. e., king). He exercises considerable influence in the neighboring districts; on one occasion he had collected a con-

siderable force of nomads armed with guns and bows and arrows in order to settle a dispute (which was, however, diplomatically arranged) with another chief who lived some distance to the east of the *Nam Lake*.<sup>331</sup>

The people of *Nam-ru* also had their own chief or sde-pa under officials from Lhasa;<sup>332</sup> and the Hor-pa people further north formed five *shorka* or tribal divisions, the main one of which, *Tse-mar*, was ruled by a chief with the title of sde-dpon, who was considered to be the eldest among the five Hor chiefs. During the period of Chinese control, these Hor-pa were exempt from the payment of regular taxes and sent a tribute to the imperial court only once in four years; later they were administered by a high commissioner (of the fourth rank) with two fifth-rank assistants sent from Lhasa, and had to pay regular taxes.<sup>333</sup>

Not enough information is available on all the cases mentioned, especially on the exact land rights of the people concerned, to tell whether all can be considered equally as territorial chiefs. It is possible that in some instances the chiefs are rather comparable to hereditary village headmen and, like these, probably hold their land plots free of taxes and with the right to use the labor of their villagers, although for reasons of family origin the chiefs might have high-sounding titles.

### *The Territorial Nobility: Small States under Lhasa*

In the preceding cases the hereditary local chiefs, being under the authority of district officials, are roughly comparable to village headmen. In other cases we find local chiefs, whether lay or monastic, comparable in the extent of their power to the officials over a district or group of districts; the difference is that they are not temporary officers sent every period of years from Lhasa but are hereditary rulers. Although they acknowledge the suzerainty of Lhasa and China, sometimes they do not have Lhasa district officials over them. They rank as high as the noble families of Lhasa, with whom they intermarry. These territorial chiefs, laymen or monks, have under their orders a sizable group of officials or other lesser chiefs, also endowed in their turn with landed estates. These chieftaincies form, then, small states of varying extension, whose organization can also offer varying degrees of bureaucratization.

A gradual scale of increasing complexity could probably be drawn from small chiefs like the Lahuli chiefs of Western Tibet, to be discussed later, or some of the petty chiefs mentioned above, to

hereditary rulers of districts, then to rulers of small states in various degrees of independence and complexity. Some of them, like Tashilhunpo, have an organization similar to that of the Lhasa government itself.

Those small states are mentioned here which have closer ties with the government at Lhasa, while the rest will be discussed in the next chapter.

### *Lha-rgya-ri*

In Central Tibet, the only known case of a local lay ruler of importance is that of the king of Lha-rgya-ri, who has also been mentioned among the noble families of Lhasa. Around 1912, there were three brothers in the family. The eldest, as head of the family, was king of Lha-rgya-ri, the second had been an officer in the Tibetan army and had been killed in the fighting with the Chinese, while the third was the incarnate lama of *Tawang*.<sup>334</sup> The king of Lha-rgya-ri held much of the land in his district and he also owned the gold washed from the streams near the *Pu* Pass.<sup>335</sup> His territory extended from this pass to the province of Dwags-po,<sup>336</sup> and it included at least one district official (rdzong-dpon) at *Rongchakar* under his rule.<sup>337</sup>

Thus the family, although in hereditary possession of its realm, also provided an officer to the Lhasa government.<sup>338</sup> An account of these Lha-rgya-ri chiefs is given in the history of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Although their origin goes back to the beginning of Tibetan history, they did not become rulers of Lha-rgya-ri until the time of the Phag-mo-gru-pa dynasty in the thirteenth century.<sup>339</sup>

### *Po-yul*

Near the bend of the Tsangpo River, in the valley of the Po Tsangpo, lies the country of Po-yul. From the end of the eighteenth century, it was partly under the rule of an independent ruler named the *Kanam sde-pa*; partly under direct administration by the Lhasa government through appointed district officials.<sup>340</sup> The *Kanam sde-pa* was descended from a branch of the ancient dynasty of Tibetan kings, and according to claims of the Lhasa government he had been granted his territory in hereditary rule by the central government and paid some tribute to Lhasa.<sup>341</sup>

Around 1910 the sde-pa resided at *Showa*, where he ruled, aided by a council of at least eight members. Under him were also five chiefs known collectively as the *Dekar Nga* (five chiefs), named after their districts *Tang me*, *Kata*, *Gondza*, *Kato*, and *Nyilo*, each governing from fifteen to one hundred families; they were to a

great extent independent, but paid tribute to the *Kanam sde-pa*. There were also three estates directly under Lhasa. The Lhasa government appointed officials (*rdzong-dpon*) to manage these estates, who usually did not go personally but sent their agents instead.<sup>342</sup> *Pad-ma-bkod*, on the bend of the *Tsangpo*, also belonged to the *Kanam sde-pa* and was administered by three lesser officials, one of whom was an incarnate lama. The taxes paid by the people of *Pad-ma-bkod* varied in different villages. In *Makti* each household paid three bre of rice (six pounds) a year and three *trang-ka* (about Rs. 1) or cotton cloth every other year. In the four villages of *Hangjo*, *Tambu*, *Pari*, and *Meto*, each house paid eight bre of rice (sixteen pounds) and one *trang-ka* a year. The taxes from *Hangjo* and *Tambu* were sent to the *sde-pa*'s capital at *Showa*, while the taxes from *Pari* and *Meto* were assigned for the support of the *Tinchenpong* monastery.<sup>343</sup>

The people of Tibet supplied the usual transportation services to the officials of *Po-yul* traveling in their territory;<sup>344</sup> and the ruler of *Po-yul* intermarried with the nobility of Lhasa.<sup>345</sup>

In 1931, the Tibetan government took over the administration of *Po-yul* after some months of fighting. The *sde-pa* lost his life, and his daughter was held by the Tibetans in *Showa* and was given a grant of land.<sup>346</sup>

### *Sa-skya*

Other states within the territory of the Lhasa government are ruled by church hierarchs. As a remnant of its former greatness, the *Sa-skya* abbot still rules a small principality in western *gTsang*, including some sixty villages, the revenue of which supports about twenty temples.<sup>347</sup>

Under the *Sa-skya* hierarch there is a *Zhabs-pad* or first minister who conducts all temporal affairs, and a body of officials who dress like the Lhasa officials but about whose political functions and sources of income we know nothing.<sup>348</sup>

### *Church States in Kham*

Some of the largest holdings of the *dGe-lugs-pa* Living Buddhas are in western Kham. The most extensive is *Chab-mdo*, ruled by an incarnate lama named *Phags-pa-lha*. According to one report he rules with three chief lamas as his ministers and twenty-four lay magistrates over a population of more than eighty thousand families.<sup>349</sup>

Immediately to the southeast of *Chab-mdo* is *Drag-yab*, also ruled by a local Living Buddha.<sup>350</sup>



According to the claims of the Tibetan government at the Simla conference, Chab-mdo was under Lho-rdzong, and Drag-yab under sMar-khams-rdzong. The monasteries of Chab-mdo were branches of Se-ra and the monasteries of Drag-yab were branches of 'Bras-spungs. Accordingly, the Living Buddhas had to study at their central monastery; their titles were conferred by the Tibetan government, and in naming stewards to manage the estates of these lamas it was the rule to submit lists of nominees for selection of the Tibetan government. Because of the increase in the number of monasteries and temples in Chab-mdo and Drag-yab, the income from those regions had been devoted to their maintenance. Therefore, it was not considered necessary to send special officers to those places, but instead the lamas were granted the right to administer them.<sup>351</sup>

Next to Chab-mdo and Drag-yab, to the west, is the district of dPag-shod, an estate of the incarnate lama of Kun-bde-gling monastery in Lhasa. Under dPag-shod are about six or eight smaller districts, the officials of which are changed every three years.<sup>352</sup>

### *Tashilhunpo*

The holdings of the Panchen Lama, with headquarters in Tashilhunpo (bKra-shis-lhun-po), were the most important of all the semi-independent states within the territories controlled from Lhasa.

The Panchen Lama is from the religious standpoint the equal of the Dalai Lama, being the reincarnation of Amitabha ('Od-dpag-med), and he might well have become also his equal as a temporal ruler, but his jurisdiction was limited in 1728 to the three districts of Lha-rtse, Phun-tshogs-gling and Ngam-rings.<sup>353</sup> *Khamba Dzong* was also for some time under the rule of the Panchen Lama.<sup>354</sup> His territory thus included parts of the well-settled agricultural areas along the Tsangpo River and parts of pastoral Byangthang to the north of it.<sup>355</sup>

After the Panchen Lama's flight to China in 1924, the Lhasa government took over the administration of the districts formerly trusted to him, and most of the local nobility moved to Lhasa.<sup>356</sup>

The administration of Tashilhunpo was a small replica of that of Lhasa. There was a local nobility from which officials were chosen. They were called drung-'khor as in Lhasa and were assigned landed estates.<sup>357</sup>

In his list of noble families of dBus and gTsang, Prince Peter includes the names of forty-one noble families of the Tashilhunpo court. Of these, twenty-eight are families providing lay officials

and thirteen are families of monk officials. The proportion of monk officials of noble status would thus be higher than in Lhasa. Two of the families are offshoots of Lhasa families.<sup>358</sup>

There is no precise information available on the details of the administrative set-up in the Panchen Lama's realm, although the titles of several officials are mentioned by some authors.<sup>359</sup>

The monasteries of Tashilhunpo and their subdivisions are supported by landed estates and substantial allowances from the Panchen Lama's treasury.<sup>360</sup>

## 4. THE LESSER STATES

### 1. THE PETTY STATES OF KHAMS AND A-MDO

BEFORE the fall of the Ch'ing dynasty Eastern Tibet, or Khams, was divided into a large number of political units. The western part was under the Tibetan government and the Ambans at Lhasa, while the western part was under Szechwan. Among the provinces under Lhasa, some were administered by officials named by the Tibetan government, the most important of which was the sMar-khams tha'i-rje residing at sMar-khams sGar-thog, under whom were thirteen rdzong-dpon in as many districts in Sog-sde, Tsha-rong, and Dza-yul. Other provinces were ruled by church hierarchs, like Chab-mdo, or by lay princes, like Po-yul. These have been discussed in the previous chapter.

Eastern Khams was divided into a number of states ruled by hereditary chiefs named rgyal-po (king), sde-pa, or dpon-po, the most important of which were sDe-dge (*Derge*), the five Hor States, 'Ba'thang (or 'Ba'), Le-thang, and lCags-la (*Chala*). Some of these states, namely the Hor, sDe-dge, and Nyag-rong, were placed under the protection of Lhasa in 1865 when the chief of Nyag-rong was defeated by Lhasa troops after he had conquered the Hor States and sDe-dge. The Tibetan government sent to Nyag-rong a high commissioner (Nyag-rong-gi spyi-khyab) and a garrison which Hor and sDe-dge acknowledged and helped support.

The political divisions of Khams were upset during the period after 1907 when the Chinese started their efforts to bring this area under direct Chinese administration. We shall discuss basically the period before this date, using modern material only when it can be considered to continue the older situation.

Writing on Eastern Tibet in general, both Rockhill and Launay state that under the hereditary rulers there is a local hereditary no-

bility, called sku-tshab (literally representative), endowed with grants of land in perpetuity, from among whom the ruler chooses officials to run the central government; and local district magistrates (zhal-ngo), usually named for three-year periods.<sup>1</sup> The rulers also granted land to their relatives and children who did not succeed to the title.<sup>2</sup>

The following discussion treats those states about which the most satisfactory data are available.

*'Ba'-thang*

Before the Chinese conquest in 1718 'Ba'-thang was administered by two sde-pa appointed by 'Ha-bzang Khan (the Qōśot Khan then ruling Tibet) who were rotated every few years. At that time there were under their jurisdiction thirty-three villages with 6,920 households of commoners and 2,110 monks.<sup>3</sup> The Chinese settled the boundary with the Dalai Lama's domain, and in 1728 they gave the two sde-pa credentials and seals. It was then decided that the main native chief should be considered a regular Chinese official with tenure limited to a number of years, but that the lieutenant native chieftain should be hereditary.<sup>4</sup> In the nineteenth century both sde-pa are described as hereditary in two families then intermarrying.<sup>5</sup> The first sde-pa was called 'Ba' sde-pa and the second gNya'-ngan sde-pa.<sup>6</sup>

The Chinese officials in 'Ba'-thang were named every three years by the viceroy of Szechwan. There was a civil official, and two military officials.<sup>7</sup>

Peasants had to pay taxes both to China and to the sde-pa.<sup>8</sup> Nothing is known about the method of assessment, except that it was made by villages according to the number of residing families. The settlement made around the middle eighteenth century was still in force a century later in spite of a decline of 50 per cent in the population, so that the tax burden had become unendurable and was the cause of emigration.<sup>9</sup> Both taxes were collected by the Tibetan officials.<sup>10</sup>

Under the sde-pa there was in 'Ba'-thang a group of noble families, called sku-tshab. Some of these families were subject to the 'Ba' sde-pa and others to the second sde-pa.<sup>11</sup> From among them were chosen all the officials employed in the administration of the country.<sup>12</sup>

The two sde-pa, the sku-tshab, and the monasteries had landed estates. They were in charge of the administration of their peasants and usually they named chiefs to supervise a certain number

of peasants. The peasants could appeal to the master of the estate when they did not agree with the decisions of the chief. <sup>13</sup>

All the country which was not included in one of these estates was administered by officials named by the sde-pa. The territory of 'Ba'-thang was divided into the area around the town, the so-called "seven districts" (*Dechondunbo*, sde-ljongs-bdun-po) under the direct administration of the "central power" (the sde-pa), but where most people were subjects of the 'Ba'-thang monastery; and into four districts governed by officials called zhal-ngo, named every three years by the 'Ba' sde-pa from among his sku-tshab. Below the zhal-ngo were villages or groups of villages under village headmen (*besset*, 'bas-sras). <sup>14</sup>

Under the zhal-ngo there were additional officers in each district. In rDzong-sngon, for instance, there were a *kagnia* in charge of the granaries, who was a sku-tshab of the second sde-pa; four *garpun*, or customs officers, of which two were named by the first sde-pa, one by the second sde-pa, and one by the zhal-ngo; four *tcha djrein*, salt carriers, two named by each sde-pa; an unspecified number of *tchong pun* (tshong-dpon), traders for the two sde-pa; and a number of *dapun* in charge of transportation services. <sup>15</sup>

One of the thirteen divisions under the zhal-ngo of *Reu-yun*, that of *Derong*, was not under a village headman but under three hereditary *dapun*; they only paid a small tribute and were ready to strike for independence. <sup>16</sup> Two other provinces, *Takeu* and *Kanachu*, although subject to 'Ba'-thang were ruled by hereditary chiefs (*mon koua* or *men koua*). <sup>17</sup> The province of *Kourong* was subject both to the sde-pa and to a local dGe-lugs-pa monastery, paying taxes in grain and fruits and customs to the monastery, and tribute of fruits and labor services to the sde-pa. <sup>18</sup>

In summary, 'Ba'-thang was under two hereditary rulers (sde-pa), each with his own landed estates, and jointly administering the country through officials independently representing the two rulers in the same districts. Under the sde-pa a group of noble families subject to one or the other of the sde-pa were endowed with landed estates, over whose peasants they also had rights of justice. In addition, they participated in the central government of the country by occupying a variety of offices for short terms; they shared, then, in the government of the country but without having a specific individual right to any one position. This was only the case of a few lesser chiefs ruling dependent provinces. Although on a smaller scale, the situation is very similar to that of Central Tibet.

*sDe-dge*

The Kingdom of sDe-dge (*Derge*) extended over 78,000 square kilometers with a population reported at 45,500 souls by one writer, 40,000 families by another.<sup>19</sup> The king of sDe-dge traced his ancestry from *Gar tung tsan Yul sung*, a minister of King Srong-btsan-sgam-po (sixth to seventh century A. D.)<sup>20</sup>

Before the Nyag-rong war of the 1860's sDe-dge was under the protection of China but it then passed under Lhasa. The king married the daughter of one of the Tibetan ministers and swore allegiance to Lhasa. sDe-dge paid a tribute in silver, and provided labor, transport, and a bodyguard to the Tibetan commissioner (spyi-khyab) at Nyag-rong.<sup>21</sup>

In recent times sDe-dge was included in the new Chinese province of Hsik'ang. Chen reports that a king of sDe-dge still existed in 1940 under the Chinese. At that time he had about two hundred subordinate officials, graded in three ranks, and a fourth grade of lesser officials without rank.

The first rank included six officials. One *hsiangtze* (phyag-mdzod, "treasurer") took charge of the revenue and finance; one *chiamayi* (drung-yig? "secretary") acted as the superintendent of the king's household; and four *yehba* (gnyer-pa, "steward") were expected to do any job at the command of the king. One of the four was appointed as chief gnyer-pa and maintained a regular office. The second rank included an unspecified number of *tingkoo* (lding-dpon?) the most talented of whom became candidates as gnyer-pa. The third rank comprised a number of *huangcha* who were either appointed as village headmen or else remained in the gnyer-pa's office ready for any particular errand.

From among the common people (khral-pa) were selected a number of lower officials without rank, called *O-ba* ('go-pa), who assisted the village headmen in collecting taxes, in managing the labor services, and in various other affairs.<sup>22</sup>

The first two ranks of officials had grants of land as rewards for their services to the king. They had on their land farm servants (khol-po) to work it for them. As pointed out, there was the possibility of promotion from the second to the first rank.<sup>23</sup> The officials, endowed with land and occupying these two ranks, formed, then, a nobility like the sku-tshab of other states.

The term of office of high officials was to be if possible for life, but if that were found impossible it was to last for seven years if their services were without censure.<sup>24</sup>

As for local administration, other writers report that the king-

dom was divided into twenty-five districts (*rdzong-kha* or *sde-schok*, *sde-phyogs*), under officials named by the king, and changed for the most part every three years, although some were hereditary and semi-independent.<sup>25</sup> There is no record of how these district governors fit into Chen's three-rank scale of officials. They are probably the same as his *tingkoo*. A more recent report states that under the present queen there are thirty "hereditary clan leaders" and under them some eighty lesser leaders. From the thirty, the queen selects four to be her ministers, and all thirty are called together to discuss the appointment of ministers.<sup>26</sup> It would seem, then, that these thirty families of hereditary nobility are the same as the officials of the first two ranks in Chen's report.

The grants of land with which the king rewards his officials were cultivated by farm servants. Some of the officials commanded as many as one hundred households of farm servants.<sup>27</sup>

Detailed information is available about the estates of the king in 1940. Most of the king's land was allotted to the tax-paying peasants (*khral-pa*). These owed their master three kinds of dues:

1. Dues in grain for which households were divided into three classes. A first-class household paid three and one-half *tu* of barley a year (one *tu* equals about thirteen pounds); a second-class household paid two and one-half *tu*, and a third-class household one-half *tu*.

2. Several other dues mainly in kind: butter, hay, sheep, rough woolen cloth, gunpowder, fuel, fodder, and money for printing the holy books. Butter and hay were assessed according to the three classes of households. The other tribute was assessed on a village basis and each village distributed the payments to be made by its people in whatever way was feasible. The cash dues for writing the scriptures was thirty Tibetan silver dollars a year from each village.

3. Labor services given mainly in cultivating the land of the king or of other noblemen, building the king's palace, housework in the palace, and transportation services including the supply of animals as well as of people. The peasants were also subject to military service.

At an earlier period the *khral-pa* paid only the tribute and the labor services; the payments in barley are a later introduction.<sup>28</sup>

A small portion of the king's land was not allotted to and cultivated by *khral-pa* but was kept under the direct management of the king, corresponding to the home lands of Western and Central Tibet. This home land was cultivated by farm-servants. These *khol-po* received a small piece of land which they cultivated for

themselves; seed, implements, and animals were provided by their master, and the entire produce from this plot belonged to the khol-po. In return they cultivated the rest of the home lands for their master and performed miscellaneous errands in his household. They did not pay any of the tributes or transportation services of the khral-pa; their dues were limited to the above-mentioned labor.<sup>29</sup>

More details are available on the way in which khol-po work the lands they hold from khral-pa, as has been described in chapter 2. The importance of the khol-po in the management of the chief's lands had increased since the period of direct Chinese administration.<sup>30</sup>

### *The Hor States*

To the east of sDe-dge there were five chiefs of Mongolian origin with the title of sde-pa or *denggu* (sde-'go), whose lands formed the so-called Five Hor States, Hor-khag-Ingpa-phyogs or Hor-zar-khag-Ingpa.<sup>31</sup>

The territory of each of the five sde-pa did not form a contiguous area. Their jurisdiction was over families rather than over fixed territory and the boundaries were most intricate.<sup>32</sup> The *Beri* chief was the smallest one with only some six hundred subjects. The most powerful were the Khang-gsar and Ma-zur, who both had their castles in dKang-mdzes.<sup>33</sup>

The officials under the sde-pa were called in dKang-mdzes, *chei-tsong*, meaning "those who help to maintain the livelihood of the people" (skyes-skyong?). Under the two chiefs of Khang-gsar and Ma-zur there were more than twenty families with this title. They held office by a rotating system, taking turns at managing the administration and adjudicating disputes regarding labor services, revenue, and so forth. They held landed estates worked by farm servants (khol-po), and although they drew no salaries, they received tribute and bribes from the populace. Under the *chei-tsong* were the village headmen ('go-pa).<sup>34</sup>

Like sDe-dge, the Hor States were placed under Lhasa after the Nyag-rong war under similar conditions.<sup>35</sup>

According to the tradition in dKang-mdzes, when the kings (rgyal-po) came to rule over the country, all the land belonged to the king who allowed two kinds of peasants: (1) Those who tilled the king's land and furnished other labor services and animals for transport but who did not pay a portion of the crops from their own fields were called khral-pa. (2) Those who tilled the land granted by the



king to his officials were called *khol-po*.<sup>36</sup> In other words, lands were assigned to the king himself, his officials, and the peasants; the latter paid their dues in labor and were divided into two groups according as they were assigned to till either the king's or the officials' lands.

In the *dKang-mdzes* territory ruled by the two chiefs of *Khang-gsar* and *Ma-zur*, there were in 1910 1,097 households of regular tax-paying peasants (*khral-pa*) who cultivated a total of 2,128 acres, 1.9 acres for each household.

At the same time both chiefs had their demesne or home lands. The chief of *Khang-gsar* had his home lands mostly in the three villages of *Ni-mo*, *Sse-mo*, and *Si-Ngo*, amounting to 49.4 acres. The chief of *Ma-zur* had 20.8 acres. The home land of the *Ma-zur* chief was thus ten times larger than the average holding of a *khral-pa* household, while the *Khang-gsar* chief's was twenty-six times larger. The total extension of the home lands of both chiefs was then about 3 per cent of all the land under cultivation.

These home lands of the chiefs were cultivated with the requisitioned labor of the *khral-pa* of the place where the home lands were situated. For example, a manager (*yeh-ba*, *gnyer-pa*) of the chieftainess of *Khang-gsar* was in charge of her home lands in the two villages of *Sse-mo* and *Kung-sie*. While the chieftainess was imprisoned by the Ch'ing dynasty official for a certain offense, her *gnyer-pa* reported to the official how her land had been cultivated: "The villagers were requisitioned, under the *Yeh-ba*'s supervision, to plant, weed, and harvest. At the end of the season, the *Tu-sse* [chief], as a "reward" for their field work, distributed butter and oats to the *Yeh-ba* and all the other labourers."

As the labor supply of any one village is limited, the home lands of the two chiefs were divided into many lots scattered throughout the country. Thus the 20.8 acres of the *Ma-zur* chief were divided into twenty-five lots each averaging no more than 0.8 acre. The 49.4 acres of the *Khang-gsar* chief were scattered in fifty-seven lots each averaging no more than 0.9 acre.<sup>37</sup>

No information is available as to the conditions in which the home lands were worked beyond the fact that they were cultivated by requisitioned labor. Since the average size of a lot of home land was so much smaller than the individual *khral-pa*'s (approximately one-third in *dKang-mdzes*) it is probable that each plot was worked by a small number of people and no large labor gangs were used.

#### *Monastic Estates in Hor and sDe-dge*

In *Khams* the lands of a monastery are worked by peasants called

*la-da* (lha-bran), meaning subjects of a god.<sup>38</sup> The conditions under which the lha-bran work the lands of a lamasery are sometimes similar to those of the tax-paying peasants (*khral-pa*) under a chief, other times rather like those of farm-servants (*khol-po*) under a chief or a *khral-pa*. That is, although the term lha-bran is applied to all peasants subject to a monastery, the same differentiation is found within them that obtains among peasants in lay lands.

Lamaseries have plots of demesne land worked by dependent peasants who in turn receive plots for their own subsistence. Some lha-bran receive implements and animals with which to cultivate their own allotted piece of land; in these cases, like the *khol-po*, besides working the monastery demesne land, they are obliged to do still additional work. They have to carry water, mill flour, and do other types of chores for the monastery. Other lha-bran work their fields with their own animals and implements; in these cases, like the *khral-pa*, they cultivate the lamasery land without other obligation.<sup>39</sup>

Chen describes the various labor services of the lha-bran in some villages of dKang-mdzes. They have to work for the monastery for an amount of time ranging, according to the village, from one month to nine months. The work demanded of the lha-bran, even within one single village, is not always the same. Of some, only field work is required, while others have to do miscellaneous jobs such as house repairing, water carrying, dung transport, and housework. The amount of field work performed for the monastery has not been exactly ascertained. Probably, like the *khol-po* or tenant of a secular landlord, each monastery tenant has to cultivate about 2.5 acres of land.

A few monasteries supply their subjects with food during the field-working days. But in most cases the tenants themselves have to provide food, drink, and fuel. The dung belonging to the monastery can be used only on the land of the monastery and is not permitted to be used on the lha-bran's own land.<sup>40</sup> Sometimes the lha-bran hold their lands from the monastery on a share-cropping basis. In this case the rent is usually of fifty-fifty ratio. It is fixed in kind; the rent for a unit of land taking a sack of seed (one-half acre) is about one sack of barley.<sup>41</sup>

Some monasteries exact three kinds of rent at the same time. For example, in the lamasery of *Ahpatsasung*, in dKang-mdzes, two lha-bran households cultivate 3.5 acres for the monastery; one cultivates 1 acre and mills flour; two other households pay fifty-fifty share-rent; and another one sends barley as a fixed annual rent.<sup>42</sup>

In principle the lha-bran are exempted from giving labor service or requisitions or any part of their crops. Generally they live under better conditions than the khral-pa, and are protected by their monastic lords from the oppression of the chiefs. In many places, however, the lha-bran have to pay to the state a portion of the harvest and are also subject to various labor services and requisitions. In some cases the grain dues are exempted by half or completely, but labor services and requisitions are due; in other places the opposite case obtains, i. e., no labor services are exacted but a grain due has to be paid. In still other cases the lha-bran is free both from grain dues and labor services.

These variations derive from the different origins of monastic lands. Some lands were granted by a chief in the remote past under certain conditions, while others were granted at a more recent time under different circumstances. Some land was made over to the monastery by khral-pa, other was taken over by force by the lamasery. In some cases where the locality did not have the necessary number of khral-pa to meet the tax or requisition assessment, the lamasery ordered its subjects to pay tribute as khral-pa.<sup>43</sup>

When a lha-bran holds a piece of land larger than is customary, he must pay land revenue in addition to the labor rent. Sometimes, however, a monastery is exempted from land taxes and in that case its subjects do not have to pay revenue either. Because of this exemption, to which may be added the holding of a rather large land plot, subjects of monasteries occasionally become affluent. The majority of lha-bran, however, hold small plots and are not able to rise above the subsistence level. Their standard of living is comparable to that of the poorer khol-po.<sup>44</sup>

In 1940, out of the 1,744 households in thirty-seven villages of dKang-mdzes, 138 households or nearly 8 per cent were subjects of monasteries.<sup>45</sup> For the most part they did not form whole villages but were scattered among several villages, the majority of whose population belongs to other classes.<sup>46</sup>

In 1910, when the total landholdings of 1,097 khral-pa householders in Khang-gsar and Ma-zur amounted to 2,128 acres, the land held by the twenty-six monasteries in these two places totaled 676 acres. Lamaseries thus held about 24 per cent of the land in those districts.

As there were about 1,750 lamas in these lamaseries at that time, each lama was evidently supported by an average of 0.39 acre. Compiled from a document of 1910, Table 3 shows land distribution among the lamaseries:

TABLE 3

Land (in acres)	No. of Monasteries
0	2
3.5	1
5	1
7.5	1
8.5	1
12	2
12.5	1
13.5	1
14	2
15.5	2
20	3
21	1
30	1
69.5	2
232.5	1
Total	
676	26

While two monasteries had no land at all, one exceptionally rich monastery had 232.5 acres. The landholdings of the monasteries have no relation to the number of monks. In the monastery of *Kang Ma* there were 104 monks with only 20 acres, while in the monastery of *Gian Keng* 12 monks enjoyed the income from 69.5 acres.<sup>47</sup>

The monastery of *San Chu* in dKang-mdzes had 300 monks and over 150 acres of land. Most of the land had been contributed by lamas, and a small portion had been bought from bankrupt khralpa. A medium-size monastery such as this usually allots 70 to 80 per cent of its land to lha-bran and cultivates the remaining 20 or 30 per cent with the lha-bran's labor rent. In this case fifty lha-bran households were each given 2.5 to 3 acres. Together they had to cultivate for the monastery some 30 acres. In addition each subject household had to contribute to the monastery menial labor amounting to one man for one month each year. The total harvest from the monastery's demesne was just over two hundred sacks of barley, far from sufficient to feed the three hundred monks. But the monastery had some real estate, and also the return from cash loans extended to the lha-bran, amounting to less than 192 Tibetan dollars annually. In order to meet ends the monks had to ask for

alms, which usually totaled about one hundred sacks of barley and about 100 Tibetan dollars annually.<sup>48</sup>

### *Nang-chen*

On the high basin of the Mekong and the Yangtse rivers lies the country of the twenty-five tribes subject to the king of Nang-chen. This country is considered by the Tibetans to form part of Khams, and its people are culturally more like the Khams-pa than the other Tibetan groups further north, but the Chinese made it dependent upon the Amban of Sining, together with A-mdo.<sup>49</sup>

The economy of this country is partly agricultural, partly pastoral. Some tribes are wholly agricultural, others wholly pastoral, while still others combine both types of economy. Agriculture is here less intensive than in Central Tibet.<sup>50</sup>

The total population of all tribes in the 1930's was 12,133 families (71,410 persons). The smallest tribe included only 32 families (150 persons). A tribe is a territorial group under a common chief. The Tibetan name translated as tribe is *sde* or *sde-phyogs* (*sde schok*), or else *dpon-kha* (*Bönka*, chieftaincy).<sup>51</sup>

The Nang-chen king has in Tibetan the title of *rgyal-po* (king) and the Chinese give him the title of *ch'ien hu*, "chief over a thousand."<sup>52</sup> Each one of the tribes has a chief with the Tibetan title of *dpon-po*,<sup>53</sup> whom the Chinese called *pai hu*, "chief over a hundred."<sup>54</sup> The positions of the king and of the chiefs are hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless found to be a Living Buddha, in which case a second son will succeed.<sup>55</sup>

The Nang-chen king is really only the ruler of his own tribe.<sup>56</sup> This is the most numerous tribe of the country and the one with the most agricultural land.<sup>57</sup> The population was reported by Tafel as 9,000 families divided into thirty-five subtribes.<sup>58</sup> According to Ma Ho-t'ien's list there are in the Nang-chen king's own tribe seven *pai hu* and fourteen *pai chang* as subordinate chiefs. The total population is 2,300 families (or 2,190 families, 13,000 persons from other sources). The number of *pai hu* under the king had been in former times only four, which coincides with Tafel's older report that there were four noblemen, councilors of the king, of whom at least one was also a *pai hu*.<sup>59</sup>

The power of the Nang-chen king over the *dpon-po* of the various tribes is not well defined. It does not seem to have been great. At the time of Tafel's visit the *dpon-po* of *Deda* was asserting his independence from the king, engaging in robbery and warring with the *Chawu*, another of the twenty-five tribes.<sup>60</sup>

One of the most important of the twenty-five tribes is that of *Chawu*, which includes the town of rGyal-kun-mdo (*Jyekundo*). The dpon-po of rGyal-kun-mdo is an incarnate lama of the Sa-skya order.<sup>61</sup> According to Tafel, rGyal-kun-mdo counted 330 families. According to Ma Ho-t'ien there are in the tribe 800 families (4,500 persons).<sup>62</sup> rGyal-kun-mdo is especially important as a trade junction on the route from Central Tibet to Koko-nor.

Ma Ho-t'ien gives some interesting information on the land system prevalent among the twenty-five tribes and especially in rGyal-kun-mdo. The land is considered to belong to the pai hu or dpon-po, with the exception of that held by monasteries. In rGyal-kun-mdo any tribesman can apply for land to the dpon-po, who will grant permission to cultivate it. The land is received free of charge but after three years the landholder has to pay taxes. This privilege is limited to the members of the *Chawu* tribe only; no outsider is allowed to apply for land. But once the land has been allotted to a native it can be leased to an outsider on a share-cropping basis, the product being equally divided between leaser and tenant.<sup>63</sup> When a landholder has no child he cannot sell freely; the pai hu will find a son to be adopted by the landholder or else another family will be given the right to succeed to the holding, so that the continuation of taxes and labor services is insured. In such cases the property other than land is usually donated to monasteries.<sup>64</sup>

The taxes and services given by the people to their chief are not subject to any determined rate. There is a land tax, assessed on a sharing basis, half or three-fifths going to the chief. Animals are taxed a fraction of a tael in silver for each head. There are also labor services which have to be rendered a few times a year but without fixed rates or a fixed schedule. Part of this service is the working of the chief's land. The cultivation of the chief's field has to be done before the farmers till their own holdings. At harvest time each family sends a worker who is rewarded with barley flour.<sup>65</sup> According to Tafel a chief receives dues in sheep, barley, tea, butter, and salt.<sup>66</sup>

Under the chiefs or dpon-po are the elders (rgan-po) of the villages. In the larger groups there are headmen with the Chinese title of pai chang, "chief over a hundred." No Tibetan name is reported and the functions are not stated.<sup>67</sup>

Nang-chen thus seems to represent a situation more primitive than those seen before. There are merely a number of territorial groups or tribes (sde), each one with its own chief. The so-called king is only the chief of the largest tribe and he has little direct power over the other chiefs.

*The rGyal-rong States*

In the easternmost part of the Tibetan-speaking area are a group of small states, collectively known under the name of the eighteen rGyal-rong states (rGyal-rong rgyal-khag bco-brgyad).<sup>68</sup>

They extend from the northernmost state of *Rardan*, neighboring on Kansu, down to the realm of the king of Dar-rtse-mdo. They thus occupy the border area between the Chinese of Szechwan and the typically Tibetan states of Hor.

The rGyal-rong speech, although related to Tibetan, is quite different from the Tibetan language proper. In point of religion the rGyal-rong states are also not quite typically Tibetan in that the Lamaistic Church is not so dominant as elsewhere. The Bon religion prevails in a number of states.<sup>69</sup>

Lamaism, however, does have considerable importance. The dominant sect is the rNying-ma-pa. The church hierarchs are connected with the upper class and in some states there are lama rulers.<sup>70</sup> According to local tradition some of the rulers immigrated from Western Tibet.<sup>71</sup>

Like Eastern Khams, the rGyal-rong states were under the control of the viceroy of Szechwan. In some of them the native kings had been deposed and there were a good number of Chinese colonists, but the native population remained under the rule of their local chiefs.<sup>72</sup>

As everywhere else in Tibet, land is considered to be the property of the ruler. All rights over land are derived from grants by the ruler and he has the power to resume the lands he has granted.<sup>73</sup>

The petty kings had the Tibetan title of rgyal-po (king) and were called by the Chinese T'u-ssu. All the ruling families married among themselves so that the kings were all related.<sup>74</sup>

As reported by Tafel, there were under the king a number of hereditary local chiefs, the *darro*, corresponding to the sde-pa of Tibet proper, which the Chinese called shou-pei (captain), ch'ien-hu (chief over a thousand), ch'ien-tsung (lieutenant), or pai hu (chief over a hundred). These *darro* lived in fortified castles throughout the country; they formed an aristocracy marrying among themselves, and should one family be left without heirs, a second son from another *darro* family was adopted.

Of lower rank than the *darro* were the *tschungro*, hereditary officials corresponding to the zhal-ngo of Eastern Tibet, here called by the Chinese chai-shou.

In the areas of *Rardan* and *Tsanla* described by Tafel, the petty kings had been suppressed by the Chinese, and there were a sizable

number of Chinese colonists, but the native population was still under about a dozen *darro* and *tschungro*. The *darro* had to travel annually to the subprefecture at Mu gung, and the more important among them kept *tschungro* as their official representatives in the yamen of the subprefecture. A *tschungro* acted as military officer over the soldier peasants, as community elder, and lowest judge.<sup>75</sup>

According to another report, the realm of the *Wassu* king was divided into five districts, each one under a hereditary chief. These district chiefs formed an aristocracy related to the family of the ruler. They clearly correspond to the *darro* reported by Tafel. The five districts were subdivided into twenty-eight villages (Chinese, *chai*), from three to eleven in each district. The headmen of these villages took turns at supplying personal servants and agricultural laborers to the king. They surely correspond to the *tschungro* of Tafel.<sup>76</sup>

In a similar way the petty kingdom of *Wogsche* was divided into four districts and sixteen subdistricts under an aristocracy of local chiefs holding their lands from the ruler.<sup>77</sup>

The various peasant classes in the rGyal-rong states are best described by Tafel, whose data refer especially to the principality of *Rardan*.

Under the nobility of *darro* and *tschungro* there were *khral-pa* (literally taxpayers) holding their land on military tenure; renters (in local dialect *tokdamba*, from *tokdam*, rent); *gonag* (literally black heads) or descendants from slaves; and slaves (in local dialect *kurme*).

The *khral-pa* peasant held his land with the obligation of providing a soldier. He also paid a couple of bushels of grain as tax to the Chinese officials. He had to serve in time of peace from twenty to thirty days in the year as attendant to the *darro* and had to provide the usual 'u-lag or transportation services. In time of war he had to serve as a soldier. Each soldier-peasant had to provide his own weapons and horse and served under his *tschungro*.

A *khral-pa*'s land was never divided or sold. It was transmitted only through inheritance, although the *darro* could give to another peasant the land of a *khral-pa* guilty of a grave offense.

The land was transmitted from father to son soon after the young man's marriage and with it the responsibility for the military service. The father took an advisory position in his son's household, or else if not treated well by his son he could leave the house and receive a sufficient income from his son. The second sons of *khral-pa* who did not inherit land became craftsmen, monks, or tenant farmers.



Other than the land allotted to peasant soldiers, the *darro* controlled the uncleared land. This he granted upon request for the payment of rent (*tokdam* in local speech), whence the name of renter (*tokdamba*) for this class of peasants. The rent was high, measured in terms of the seed sown, and higher than the land rent paid by the Chinese farmers. Like the *khral-pa*'s land the renter's land could not be sold and was considered to be the property of the *darro*. The renters were second sons of *khral-pa* peasants or else *gonag* who had bought their freedom and had received land from the *darro*. Descendants of *gonag* were held in low esteem and only rarely did a *khral-pa* marry a girl of *gonag* origin.

The *gonag* or bondsmen were in the service of the king, the *darro*, or the lamaseries. They cultivated their masters' fields and tended their cattle in return for their food and clothing. A *gonag* could buy his freedom for thirty taels; if he had a family he had also to pay thirty more taels for each of his children and ten for his wife; otherwise the children had to work ten more years for their masters.

The *darro*, *tschungro*, and even wealthy farmers (presumably *khral-pa*) kept up to twenty or thirty slaves. They were poorly clothed and fed but the relation between master and slave was good. The difference between slaves (*kurme*) and bondsmen (*gonag*) is not well described.<sup>78</sup>

According to this report of Tafel, the kings and *darro* received their income as taxes from the *khral-pa* peasants and rents from the *tokdamba* or renters. According to other reports it seems that they also had demesne lands cultivated with drafted peasant labor.

Gill wrote:

The king usually derives a considerable revenue from his lands, and every family in his kingdom has to send one man for six months to work on his estate. In other cases he receives an annual amount of eggs, flour or wheat from each household. He has absolute power over all his land, assigns certain portions of it to certain families, and if they displease him or he has any reason for doing so, he displaces them at once and puts others in their stead--all the houses and farm buildings passing to the new comer.<sup>79</sup>

In *Wassu* the village headmen were reported to supply servants at the king's castle and "men who till the king's private lands."<sup>80</sup>

#### *Tribal and Monastic A-mdo*

The Tibetans of A-mdo are partly agricultural and partly pasto-

ral. The agricultural groups are called rong-pa, that is, the people of the valleys; the pastoralists, 'brog-pa, people of the pastures. While the pastoralists are mostly independent tribes, the agriculturalists are for the most part under the rule of their own princes or of monasteries, in their turn under Chinese control, which accounts for the name of "tame barbarians" (Chia fan-tzu) or "half barbarian" (Pan fan-tzu) that the Chinese give them.<sup>81</sup>

In the days of the Ch'ing dynasty the Tibetans of A-mdo were under the supervision of an Amban residing at Sining.

Among the Tibetan lay princes the most powerful was the prince of Co-ni (*Choni*), who ruled over forty-eight "tribes."<sup>82</sup> He traced his lineage back eighteen generations to a Lhasa family (as of the 1930's). The local tradition is that the people of his district came wholly or in part from Central Tibet shortly after the fall of the Mongol dynasty. The rule of the Co-ni princes lasted until late in the 1930's.

The Co-ni prince had in Tibetan the title of dpon-po, and that of t'u-ssu in Chinese. He appointed a headman (seng-kuan) in each village. Several villages were organized into "banners" for the organization of the militia. Matters concerning the banner were settled in a council of the headmen under the direction of officials appointed by the prince. These officials, called t'ou mu in Chinese, collected the taxes from the people. They had commoner status and their position was not hereditary; the prince could name and depose them at will.<sup>83</sup>

A good number of both farming and pastoral Tibetans are under the rule of monasteries. The most important monasteries in A-mdo are those of Kumbum (sku-'bum) and Labrang (Bla-brang), both dGe-lugs-pa.

In the area subject to Labrang, the land is held by various Living Buddhas and monastic colleges. The case of the highest Incarnation in Labrang clearly shows the way in which church hierarchs are closely connected with the lay upper class. In the 1930's the then Living Buddha had been found reincarnated in the ruling family of Le-thang; two of his brothers were lamas, one of them also a Living Buddha. His two other brothers were the manager (phyag-mdzod) of the monastery, and the commander of the district. His two sisters were married to *Golok* chiefs.<sup>84</sup>

The administration of the lay subjects and the management of the monastery property is trusted to the phyag-mdzod. For the administration of the subject villages and pastoral groups he names headmen ('go-pa) and stewards (gnyer-pa). These are monks who hold their jobs for three-year periods. They do not receive any

salary but receive fines from their administration of justice. They in their turn name lay headmen from among the people they administer.<sup>85</sup>

The rule of monasteries tends to be autocratic. In the villages and nomad groups under them, the role of the elders in determining policy is much less important than in the independent tribes with their own chiefs.<sup>86</sup>

Among the tribal Tibetans the basic unit is the village, among farmers, or the encampment, among pastoralists. They are both called in Tibetan *sde-pa*. Each *sde-pa* is ruled by a group of the most influential men, the elders. Often there is a headman. Among the farmers there is a tendency to have a properly chosen headman, but among the nomads he is seldom chosen formally; he is simply the most influential of the elders.<sup>87</sup>

A number of *sde-pa* are organized into tribes (*brgyud*) for the purpose of defense and the maintenance of land rights.<sup>88</sup> Some of the tribes, especially some of the smaller ones, have no chiefs. All questions of importance are decided at a council of elders similar to that of the villages and camps. Other tribes have hereditary chiefs (*'go-pa*). In these the real power of the chief is of varying effectiveness. In some tribes the chief has little power and the real power resides in the council of elders, while in other tribes the chief is all-powerful and the council of elders is an "advisory" group which always agrees to his decisions.

Some tribes have a more complex organization, probably the result of the merging of several groups of tribes into a single organization. One such tribe is divided into twelve divisions (*thsu-ba*), each one of which occupies a different campsite in winter and is under the direction of a hereditary chief. The chief of one of the twelve divisions is also the chief of the whole tribe. Still another tribe has a similar organization although the divisions are less dependent on the tribal chief.

Some chiefs have extended their power through the absorption of lesser tribes, the attraction of refugee groups, and their military leadership. Instead of chiefs (*'go-pa*) they are called kings (*rgyal-po*) by the Tibetans.<sup>89</sup>

The position of chief is hereditary, transmitted from father to son. If a chief has no son, the line can be continued through a daughter. The chief acts as the leader of the tribe, representing it with other tribes. He leads the tribe in war, summoning his people for defense against bandits and leading them in revenge expeditions. The chief also acts as judge of local disputes. Feuding, however, is continuous. The right of refuge is inviolate; a criminal fleeing

to another tribe will escape punishment. The role of the chiefs and the elders is often merely that of arbitration, and at times one of the parties to a feud can refuse to accept settlement.<sup>90</sup>

The tribal Tibetans do not pay any kind of regular taxes. The expenses of war or of settling disputes are shared by all upon the decision of the chief and the elders. The chiefs profit mostly from the opportunity to amass wealth offered by their influence. There are no paid public officials. The men handling affairs for the chiefs act as their personal retainers, and the chief may pay them or more likely give them opportunities to profit in trade and war. The chiefs receive shares of the fines paid by the loser in the cases they settle. If a chief has more cattle than he can handle, he has it tended by his people who use it as they want but have to hand it back when the chief requires it. Only for milch cows do the tenders give a certain amount of butter annually.<sup>91</sup> The chief also receives products from the farming families. Land is given to the farmers after a request to the chief. They pay no fee for receiving the land but once it is under cultivation they pay some sort of dues to the chief. The land received by each family cannot be sold. If a man does not need the land and wishes to let others cultivate it, he has to notify the chief.<sup>92</sup>

The *Mewu*, visited by Stübel in 1936, include both farmers and herders. They were originally subject to Labrang. At the time of Stübel's visit their chief (t'ou-mu) was subject to the Chinese district official of Hsia-ho in administrative matters, to the commander of Labrang in military matters, and to the Labrang lamasery in religious matters. There are three branches of the Labrang monastery in *Mewu* territory. One of the lamaseries is directly under the administration of the t'ou-mu. The territory of another one is under three subchiefs and that of the third one under two subchiefs.

The monasteries have their own pasture lands where they keep yaks tended by young lamas. They do not receive taxes from the people, but families that have relatives in the lamasery provide them regularly with food and also take turns at paying the expenses for temple festivals. Monks also regularly beg for presents.

The position of t'ou-mu is hereditary from father to son. A definite number of families is under the jurisdiction of each such chief and his five subchiefs. The t'ou-mu also has a lama representative in each one of the three lamaseries and more than ten lay officials, all of them called kuan-shih in Chinese. They are not paid; they usually are named for one to three years and can be discharged by the t'ou-mu. They help the t'ou-mu in carrying out his duties.

The t'ou-mu regulates the use of pasture land. He recruits soldiers and puts them at the disposal of the commander at Labrang. He collects taxes and hands them over to the Chinese official at Hsia-ho. He also is in charge of supplying 'u-lag to Chinese officials. Taxation is very light. Each family pays fifty cents to a dollar a year, according to size.

The camps have no chiefs but there are among the *Mewu* certain societies called *ts'aowa*,<sup>93</sup> whose chief function is to provide legal protection. They consist of four groups, each one comprising from forty to one hundred families. Each group chooses a council with an indefinite length of tenure. The t'ou-mu cannot influence the choice of such a council. A *ts'aowa* group is jointly responsible for a crime committed by one of its members, and it works together with the t'ou-mu in the settlement of crimes.<sup>94</sup>

The *Zung Ts'a* is another tribe that includes both farmers and herders, each one in a separate territory, with land of another tribe lying between them. The farmers occupy fifteen to twenty villages of fifteen to fifty families each. The herders have about a dozen camps with from ten to eighty tents. There is a chief who has a farm and a house in the largest farming village but spends most of the year with his nomad camp.

Each farming village is a closely knit group with family ownership of land but with strong community regulation of land usage.<sup>95</sup> There are no properties of monasteries or lay noblemen. No taxes are paid, but contributions are levied for communal purposes as needed.<sup>96</sup>

The independence of the tribal Tibetans stands out clearly in some recent reports, but it has never been complete. At some times the weakness of the Chinese or Tibetan rulers may prevent their active control of the tribes, but attempts to bring the tribes under control have been going on for centuries and must have been an important factor in shaping the social organization of these areas. During the Ch'ing dynasty the various Tibetan chiefs were responsible to the Amban of Sining for the good behavior of their people, for the rendering of transportation services, and the payment of tribute. They received official titles and buttons. Probably at all times, however, there have been tribes very weakly controlled from the outside.<sup>97</sup>

## 2. THE OLD KINGDOM OF LADAK

Before the Dogra conquest the kingdom of Ladak extended 'from the 'Du-zhi [Zoji pass] upwards, from the Chos-'bad pass of sBal-

ti-yul upwards, and from La-'dar in Zangs-dkar upwards; [the region] within the She-'du-la pass of lDum-ra [Nub-ra], and within Pho-long-'dra-'dra of Byang-thang. <sup>98</sup>

It comprised, then, the core area of the Indus Valley or Ladak proper, surrounded by the more remote valleys of Dras, Pu-rig, Nubra, Zangs-dkar, and Spiti, and by the sparsely inhabited highlands of the Byang-thang and Rupshu.

The old kingdom of Ladak was close to 75,000 square kilometers in extent. The modern tehsil of Leh, which includes the core of the old kingdom, is 60,735 square kilometers, of which 12,216 comprise the inhabited area and only 100 are cultivated. The modern tehsil of Kargil, which includes part of the old kingdom and a few old chieftaincies subject to Ladak, has 14,180 square kilometers, of which 1,214 are inhabited and only 92 cultivated. <sup>99</sup>

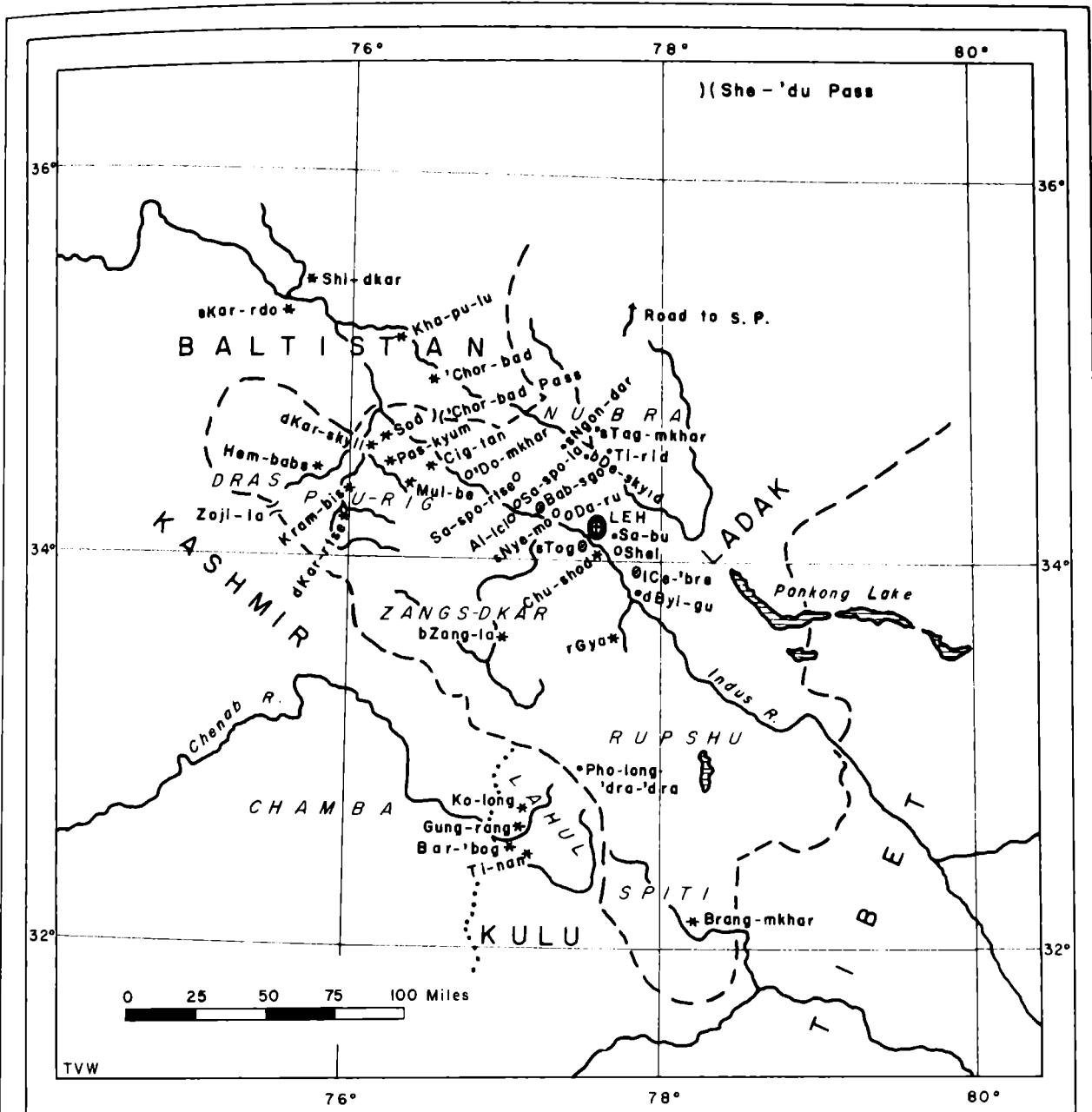
The data available on the population of old Ladak have been well compiled and discussed by Dainelli. Moorcroft estimated the population of the kingdom in 1822 to be 150,000 to 180,000. Cunningham obtained a figure of 24,000 tax-paying houses, which he calculates, at the rate of 6.7 inhabitants per house, to be 160,800 souls. Adding 12,000 monks, he gets a total of 172,800 inhabitants for the kingdom. According to census reports, the combined population of the tehsils of Leh and Kargil amounted to only 53,766 in 1891 and to 74,915 in 1911. <sup>100</sup> According to Dainelli, in 1911 the population density in the tehsil of Leh was 0.5 per square kilometer in the total area, 2.6 in the inhabited area, and 361 in the cultivated area. The figures for the Kargil tehsil were 2.8, 33.3, and 467 respectively. <sup>101</sup>

The population of Spiti in 1868 was 3,014. <sup>102</sup>

The ethnic composition of Western Tibet is fairly uniform, consisting of Tibetan-speaking Buddhists. In Pu-rig and in Chu-shod there are also Moslems culturally close to the Balti, and in Dras there is a group of Dards. The pastoral population, or Byang-pa, also constitute a separate regional culture. <sup>103</sup>

### *Political Organization*

The head of the kingdom of Ladak was the king (rgyal-po), who ruled from his capital at Leh (Slel). Within Ladak proper and more so in bordering territories, there were other local rulers who also bore the title of rgyal-po, or more commonly chief (jo), who were in some way under the king of Leh. Cunningham mentions the rgyal-po of Nubra, rGya, Spiti, Zangs-dkar, Pas-kyum, Sod, Su-ru, and Hem-babs (Dras). <sup>104</sup> In the Chronicles of Ladak not all of these



MAP 5

THE KINGDOM OF LADAK BEFORE THE DOGRA CONQUEST

- Capital of Ladak
- Village or place named in the text
- Seat of a blon-po
- ◉ Seat of a bka'-blon
- \* Seat of a chief (jo) or petty king (rgyal-po)
- Approximate boundary of the kingdom before the Dogra conquest
- ..... Western border of the kingdom of Kulu

places are attributed to kings, at least for the later times. There we read of rgyal-po of rGya (but also called jo),<sup>105</sup> of Mul-be<sup>106</sup> or Pu-rig,<sup>107</sup> and of various places in Zangs-dkar.<sup>108</sup> The title of jo is used for the Tibetan chiefs of places like rGya and Lahul,<sup>109</sup> but it was in most cases the title of Moslem chiefs, like the one of Chu-shod in the basin of Leh<sup>110</sup> and many more on the western borders of Ladak such as Sod,<sup>111</sup> Kha-pu-lu,<sup>112</sup> Shi-dkar,<sup>113</sup> Cig-tan,<sup>114</sup> Pas-kyum, and so forth. Some of them, like the Balti, were completely independent of Ladak, but others, like Pas-kyum and Chu-shod, were under the Ladak king.<sup>115</sup>

The king of Ladak ruled with a council formed of three grades of councilors. The first were the prime ministers (bka'-blon), in number four or five and hereditary; the second, the ministers (blon-po), hereditary and also few in number, and the third and lowest, the elders (rgan-gsum), three or four persons of some standing and experience specially selected.<sup>116</sup>

This council or group of officers seems to be referred to in a number of cases as sku-drag-rgan, or sku-drag-rgan-gsum,<sup>117</sup> the first term (sku-drag, officials, nobility) referring to bka'-blon and blon-po,<sup>118</sup> and rgan to the elders.

The council in the form described was established by King Nyima-rnam-rgyal (1680-1720), who is described in the Chronicles of Ladak as follows:

In pronouncing judgement even he never merely followed what first presented itself to his own mind but [always] in the first place consulted his state officers [sku-drag]. From every village he appointed as elders [rgan-po] men of superior intelligence to assist him, and such as wanted his decision in re-scripts, questions relating to field or house [property],<sup>119</sup> he did not leave at the mercy of interlopers or partial advisers; but, having instituted [the councils of] 3 state officers and elders [sku-drag-rgan-gsum], he introduced the oath on the three symbols.<sup>120</sup>

From some important events described in the Chronicles it is seen that king, ministers, and elders also took council with important monks.<sup>121</sup>

The bka'-blon were hereditary governors of districts.<sup>122</sup> The Chronicles of Ladak mention bka'-blon of Ba-sgo,<sup>123</sup> Pu-rig,<sup>124</sup> sTog,<sup>125</sup> and lDum-ra (Nubra).<sup>126</sup>

From among the bka'-blon was chosen a prime minister. Cunningham wrote: "The choice was determined, as in other countries, either by royal favor and successful intrigue or by greater



popularity and superior abilities. Possession, however, gave so firm a grasp of power that the office was usually retained in one family for several generations."

Cunningham further states that the prime minister in the time of Moorcroft's visit was the bka'-blon of the *Chimra* (lCe-'bre) Valley. If so, this is another district ruled by a bka'-blon.<sup>127</sup>

The prime minister was called simply bka'-blon, or La-dwags-kyi bka'-blon,<sup>128</sup> or perhaps bka'-mdzod;<sup>129</sup> the title dbang-kyi bka'-blon given by Cunningham does not appear in the Chronicles.

From the Chronicles of Ladak it is not always ascertainable from which district the prime minister came. The last one before the Dogra conquest is introduced as a certain No-no Tshe-dbang-don-grub, who married the king's daughter and was made bka'-blon.<sup>130</sup> In another case the bka'-blon was a younger brother of the chief of rGya. First he became a monk, and later he left the church, joined the court of the king, and became bka'-blon. Probably he left the church to become chief of rGya, since it is he who distributes the territories of rGya to his children.<sup>131</sup>

According to Cunningham, "the king literally did nothing," leaving the government to the prime minister who was also his treasurer.

The conduct of affairs was generally intrusted to the prime minister, or *Kahlon* [bka'-blon] and the king was well satisfied with both his minister and with his subjects, if the former gave him sufficient means for the enjoyment of his royal pleasure. . . . The apparent power of the prime minister was absolute, but his real power was much curbed by the wide-spread authority of the monastic establishments, and by the partial independence of the petty *Gyalpos* and district *Kahlons*.<sup>132</sup>

With the prime minister was a deputy prime minister or No-no bka'-blon, who in Moorcroft's time seems to have been the governor of Mul-be, perhaps the same person as the bka'-blon of Purig.<sup>133</sup>

According to one report, when a son was born to the king, he abdicated and the ministers governed in the name of the prince.<sup>134</sup> According to other data it seems that a prince was associated in the government with his father from the age of thirteen.<sup>135</sup>

From the events described in the Chronicles of Ladak the relative power of king and minister seems to have been variable. In the case of the nobleman of rGya who became bka'-blon of King Nyi-ma-rnam-rgyal (ca. 1705-34), we are told that "he began to nibble away the royal power"; he appropriated lands in places as

far as Pu-rig, and instead of sending his younger sons to the church he gave them lands. "His family [rigs] he made dominant. He hoped that in the end the kingdom would really become his own."<sup>136</sup>

On the other hand, of King Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal (*ca.* 1790-1841), it is written:

With the officials of the old regime he could not agree. This king took the privy seal from the Prime Minister [to the palace] and himself consulted with the headmen of villages, lords, etc. all men of a new type. The noble families [sku-drag rigs] he did not attend to. The king of Zangs-dkar, the minister [bka'-blon] of Bu-rig, and others were kept in La-dwags imprisoned. The new men that stood before him were made governors of the palace [mkhar-dpon], and everywhere the old good customs were destroyed.<sup>137</sup>

Below the bka'-blon were the blon-po, also hereditary members of the council and according to Cunningham governors of towns.<sup>138</sup> All the blon-po mentioned in the Chronicles of Ladak are connected with a specific town. We read of blon-po of Leh,<sup>139</sup> bDe-skyid,<sup>140</sup> Da-ru,<sup>141</sup> Sas-po-tse,<sup>142</sup> Sa-spo,<sup>143</sup> Al-lci,<sup>144</sup> sNye-mo,<sup>145</sup> and Shel.<sup>146</sup> All of these are in the valley of the Indus except bDe-skyid in Nubra. At one historical period blon-po are also mentioned from Zangs-dkar and Grang-dkar,<sup>147</sup> and we know there was also one in 'Do-mkhar.<sup>148</sup> In one case we read of a Slei bka'-blon; the impression is that it is the same person as the Slei blon-po.<sup>149</sup>

rGyal-po, jo, bka'-blon, and blon-po are actually all titles of local chiefs. There are a few cases in which more than one title is used for what seems the same person. For instance, in the text which tells of the chief of rGya who became bka'-blon, the titles jo, bka'-blon, blon-po, and rgyal-po are all used.<sup>150</sup> Perhaps the rank of the chief of a given district might have changed according to his importance.

Also local governors like the blon-po were the mkhar-dpon or commanders of forts. According to Cunningham, the castles of Western Ladak such as Pas-kyum and Sod belonged to local chiefs. In Eastern Ladak they were nearly all fortified monasteries, the defense of which was entrusted to the monks assisted by a few of the armed peasantry, who performed the duty by turns under the command of one dignified with the title of mkhar-dpon.<sup>151</sup>

It seems then that the local government, civil and military, was in the hands of local hereditary chiefs. There are a few specific cases, however, which suggest that there might have been excep-

tions, and that officials sent from the central government also exercised local power.

In Dras (Hem-babs) there was a local ruler (jo-mal) and a mkhar-dpon or governor sent from Leh. They collected the revenue, managed to pocket one third, and sent the rest half to Leh and half to a neighboring Kashmiri landlord who shared the district with Ladak; also the No-no bka'-blon had authority to raise contributions in the district toward the expense of building a fort.<sup>152</sup>

A similar situation seems to have existed in Spiti. There was a local chief or No-no and a mkhar-dpon sent from Leh who exercised very little authority and went there only to collect the revenue.<sup>153</sup>

In two other cases we read of mkhar-dpon, installed by the Lada-ki, who are not local chiefs; but both instances take place in the course of fighting and in enemy territory.<sup>154</sup> There is also the case of King Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, mentioned above, who put in prison some of the local kings and named new mkhar-dpon.

As to the military organization, the bka'-blon, blon-po, and village headmen had to furnish, in case of need, a number of soldiers from their respective districts and villages, all peasant landholders being subject to military service, and they ranked in the army according to the number of men they brought.<sup>155</sup> Of the master of the horse, ruler of Bang-kha, we know that as lord of seventy villages he had to provide seven hundred soldiers.<sup>156</sup>

In the Chronicles of Ladak the position of general (dmag-dpon) is usually conferred upon a bka'-blon or blon-po at the beginning of a campaign.<sup>157</sup> There was consequently no centralized army but an army based upon the military duties of local chiefs.

At Leh (Slel), the seat of the central government, resided the king, the prime minister, and the Slel blon-po. In addition there were a phyag-mdzod or treasurer, sho-gam phyag-mdzod or head collector of taxes, gshags-dpon or chief justice, and khrims-dpon or magistrates. Also, a dmag-dpon, general, a ga-ga rta-rdzi, master of the horse, and a *Chagsi Goba* or "mayor."<sup>158</sup> Some of these positions were filled by one or another of the district or town governors (bka'-blon and blon-po).

The organization of the king's household followed the same principle of assigning special duties to local chiefs or perhaps to landholders who paid their dues in special services of this type. We have already seen that the prime minister was named from among the district governors (bka'-blon). The last king's treasurer was the blon-po of sNye-mo,<sup>159</sup> and the master of the horse was the

ruler of Bang-kha (not clear whether bka'-blon or blon-po).<sup>160</sup> The 'degs-dbon was a man named gsol-dpon (literally cook) of Wan-le.<sup>161</sup> The chief purveyors of meat (sha-dbon) were the meat provider (sha gnyer-pa) of Al-lci and the headman ('go-pa) of Rub-sho (Rup-shu); the "chief caterer of victuals" (khar-ji-yi gnyer-pa chen-po) was a Ga-ga bsTan-'dzin of Nubra, probably the same person mentioned in other places as a minister of Nubra. The annual embassy from Kashmir was reciprocated with presents sent with a man from Kha-la-tse, and the trade with Kulu was for three generations in charge of a man from Shel.<sup>162</sup>

The rules of inheritance and the family organization of the royal house and the nobility of Ladak are not well reported. In the early historical period the king sometimes divided his realm among his different sons or gave them substantial appanages.<sup>163</sup> The same custom is documented among the chiefs of Zangs-dkar<sup>164</sup> and there is also a case in Lahul.<sup>165</sup> Another case is reported in rGya,<sup>166</sup> where the custom, according to tradition, was primogeniture from the beginning.

In the ruling house of Ladak, primogeniture was confirmed during the kingdom of Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal (*ca.* 1740-60). This king and his brother (his elder) "were quarrelling about the government." The Dalai Lama sent a high lama of bKa'-thog as peace-maker. He met with the king of Ladak and his ministers and the Pu-rig king and minister. The following was decided:

Whatever the number of sons born at the castle of La-dwags may be, the eldest only shall reign. The younger ones shall become lamas at dPe-thub, Khri-rtse, etc., but there shall not be two kings. The King of Zangs-dkar, having his dominion at the Indian frontier, shall remain king as before. The Henas-sku [rulers], obviously being of royal descent, and their kingdom of little importance, shall also remain. With these two exceptions, it shall not be permitted that in one kingdom exist two kings.<sup>167</sup>

For the noble families, information is indirect and inconclusive. In a number of cases important lamas come from noble families, perhaps indicating the same custom as of the royal family, but there is also the suggestion that not all younger brothers joined the church. Moorcroft mentions three different villages as residences of three different sons of the *Khaga Tan-zin* of Nubra,<sup>168</sup> and both the minister of Ba-sgo and his younger brother appear in the accounts of the Dogra as leading Tibetan armies.<sup>169</sup>

The most important monastic orders in Ladak are the dGe-lugs-pa, with its main monastery at Spituk (dPe-thub), and the bKa'-

rgyud-pa, with its main monastery at He-mis, although other sects are also represented.<sup>170</sup>

The kings of Ladak were great patrons of the monasteries, but it cannot be said that the monks achieved as much power in Ladak, always under a lay ruler, as in Central Tibet, under the Dalai Lama. In the Chronicles of Ladak, high lamas appear participating in affairs of state,<sup>171</sup> but apparently all officials of government were laymen and there is nothing similar to the body of monk officials found in Central Tibet.

The younger sons of the royal family and other leading families became lamas at the monasteries. The sons of the king seem usually to have entered the He-mis monastery.<sup>172</sup>

### *Revenue*

As in Central Tibet, an accurate picture of the revenue system is difficult to obtain. The nature of the economy itself would make it difficult, even if more abundant source materials were available, because of the limited payments in cash and the great importance of payments in different kinds of products and in services, many of which were levied without well-established rates.

General descriptions of the revenue system of Ladak are too brief and do not do justice to the complexity of the system. Before summarizing the few data available on Ladak as a whole, we will analyze the somewhat fuller data on Spiti, when it was a remote province of the kingdom of Ladak.

The Spiti peasants paid their taxes in cash, kind, and labor. The available reports differ in the amounts demanded and the relation between cash and kind. According to Moorcroft, the whole revenue of Spiti was collected in grain; it was levied upon 267 houses (or household allotments). The average tax was 11 khal per household (with a range of 15 to 7), the total amounting to 2,937 khal then valued at Rs. 2,386.<sup>179</sup> According to J. D. Cunningham's corrections of Moorcroft, the grain figure represents not grain actually collected but an estimate. In 1841-42 there were in Spiti about 250 paying houses, but of that number 52 or 53 were assigned to the monasteries of the district. The sum demanded from 197 or 198 houses was Rs. 398 and about thirty pieces of woolen goods; this tax was called mad-khral; in addition to the above the king of Ladak levied from all Spiti a tax named hor-khral and a second mad-khral amounting to Rs. 36 and Rs. 18. The king of Ladak further demanded a quantity of iron, cotton goods, paper, madder,

and so forth, from the whole of the district, for which he gave Rs. 50, although the goods he took were worth Rs. 200.<sup>174</sup>

These other payments in kind are better specified in later reports. The king of Ladak, before 1839, took as revenue from Spiti Rs. 396 cash, 200 khal of grain, 100 iron crowbars, 34 pieces of Barmaur cloth, and 132 reams of paper. The crowbars or the iron to make them came from Basahir and were paid for out of a common fund; the other manufactured articles were made in Spiti.<sup>175</sup>

The households assigned to the monastery paid in grain only at the rate of from fifteen to twenty khal each; the others paid in grain, cash, cloth, and paper, but the last two items were not assessed on all holdings. The cash assessment of all household allotments in a village was with very few exceptions the same, though the holdings differed to some extent in size; the grain assessment varied from one to ten khal according to the amount and quality of the land held. The amount of grain collected from the nonassigned households, the author of the gazetteer estimates, must have been more than the two hundred khal reported by Hay, but he thinks two hundred probably was the amount actually sent to Ladak, for the greater part of the collections was spent in Spiti.<sup>176</sup>

After the British land revenue settlement, taxes in grain were collected from the regular landholders only, but their dependents--retired parents, relatives, and farm workers--also paid small amounts in cash, more as a hearth-tax than as land-tax. Only when a retired parent had a sizable plot of land did he pay in cash or grain a share of land revenue.<sup>177</sup> Probably this was a continuation of native usage.

The revenue collected in Spiti in cash, cloth, iron, and paper, and part of the grain revenue went to Ladak and we do not have any information about its usage.

Part of the grain revenue was spent in Spiti "in the king's name in certain annual ceremonies and state charges."<sup>178</sup> From the use of the grain revenue in the early days of the British administration, when "most of it the No-no expended in the manner customary in the time of the kings of Ladak,"<sup>179</sup> we can get an idea of how the revenue was locally spent. At that time, part of it went to meet expenditures of three fairs, part went as a grant to the lamas of Grang-mkhar, part was consumed by the leading men of Spiti when they met to settle accounts, and part went as allowances to the headmen of districts (this being a British innovation) and other local officials. The balance was appropriated by the No-no as a perquisite of office.<sup>180</sup>

Spiti also paid a very small tribute of cash and cloth to the Rajas

of Basahir and Kulu for the privilege of free access for trading purposes.<sup>181</sup>

Landholders also had to render a number of labor services. Agricultural labor services do not seem to have been important in Spiti. They were given by the peasants assigned to the monasteries in cultivating monastic lands but these were of small extent.<sup>182</sup> Who cultivated the fields attached to the fort at Grang-mkhar and those of the No-no we are not told, though it is probable that some agricultural labor service was used.

Ordinary road repairs from village to village were performed by the regular landholders; the subordinate landholders were called upon to assist with extraordinary repairs only.

For the duty of carrying letters or travelers' baggage across the passes, the regular landholders alone were liable and a roster was kept. A landholder often got a farm worker or other dependent to go in his stead, but the latter was free to refuse and had to be paid. There was another roster for the carrying of loads from village to village; usually only regular landholders gave service, but when the number of loads was very great other people also helped. Supplies of grain for travelers were met from levies raised on all household allotments.<sup>183</sup>

Finally, all the landholders were under the obligation of military service.<sup>184</sup>

In the light of the data from Spiti it is clear that in the old Ladak kingdom the dues levied from the holders of household allotments were taken in cash, grain, and other products; that dependent landholders were liable only to a limited extent; and that various households were taxed at different rates or in different products.

The most important source of taxation in the kingdom of Ladak was the household. The head of each peasant family holding an allotment was responsible to the state for the payment of taxes and services.<sup>185</sup> A. Cunningham, the only source to give an overall picture of the revenue system of Ladak, states once that the tax was levied "on the dwellings and not on the land; for as the lands did not produce sufficient food for the sustenance of the people, the establishment of a land-tax would have been absurd."<sup>186</sup> He contradicts himself, however, by saying that "no houses are taxed except those which have lands attached to them." The reason for his former statement probably is that the household allotment, the "landed or paying houses," as Cunningham himself writes, was the unit of taxation;<sup>187</sup> the tax rates may not be based on the size, quality, or actual production of the land, but it was a land tax as much as a household or property tax.

According to Cunningham also, the tax on houses was regulated according to their size. There were different rates for a large or full-sized house (khang chen), for middle-sized or half-house (khang phyed) and for a small or quarter-house (phyedi-phyed).<sup>188</sup> The same classification is mentioned in the Chronicles of Ladak as prevailing during the lifetime of Maharaja Gulab-sing (1842-57) just after Ladak lost her independence; then the households were classified into great peasants (grong chen), those who had only half a portion of fields and houses (zhing-khang phyed-ka), and those who had only a quarter-portion (yang-phyed). The cash rates are the same in both reports.<sup>189</sup> This ties in with data on Spiti, where the household allotments were classified into full and half allotments.<sup>190</sup>

Tax rates were probably never based on a good estimate of the value of land. In Spiti the full allotments were not all of the same size and yet taxes were levied by allotment "with little or no reference to area."<sup>191</sup> Of Ladak the Imperial Gazetteer of India still reports, ". . . the land revenue system in the past has been of a very arbitrary description the basis of the assessment being the holding or the house. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil receives little consideration."<sup>192</sup>

One report states that the grain tax paid by each household around 1820 varied from fifteen to seven khal of grain,<sup>193</sup> but we do not know to what extent the difference in rates was due to the fact that the size or the fertility of the land was taken into account or to the fact that not all households paid their taxes in the same manner, some paying all in grain, others part in grain and part in other goods.

According to another report of the same period:

The ruler has no claim to any part of the crops, but derives his income from a tax on the head of each house; he levies 1 or 2 rupees a year according to the ground, but this is not determined by the begah or jerib, but the land is divided according to the water; that is they calculate the proportion of water required daily for a mill or half a mill and then estimate the daily consumption of it in the irrigation of the land in that ratio.<sup>194</sup>

The amount of taxes paid in Ladak in kind and labor was proportionately high. One author, Moorcroft, even states that the people of Ladak paid no money taxes but only "are bound to suit and service, both domestic and military, and furnish contributions in kind for the support of the Raja and the governors of districts."<sup>195</sup>



A great variety of products other than grain was paid as taxes. For Spiti we have mentioned iron, cloth, paper, and madder. The king's household in Leh was provided by the people around the capital with fuel, milk, butter, tea, and grass.<sup>196</sup> Moorcroft met in Dras the No-no bka'-blon, who had arrived for the purpose of raising contributions toward the expense of building a fort, and while in the district had exacted fifty sheep, besides a large quantity of butter, milk, and firewood for the use of himself and attendants.<sup>197</sup>

Dues in labor were also very important, all landholders being under the obligation to provide labor services. Every village, as in Spiti, kept a roster of men liable to forced labor and each in turn had to do, or to arrange that someone else should do on his behalf, such services as might be demanded.<sup>198</sup> Labor services were called in Ladak khral, or by the Hindi term, begar. To some extent this way of paying taxes divided the population between the foot-goers (rkang-'gro, the poorer classes, paying duty by serving as messengers or porters) and the hand-doers (lag-'don, paying in money or kind).<sup>199</sup>

The main kind of forced labor consists of the transportation services, like the 'u-lag of Central Tibet. A special type of forced labor which every village had to provide was the sending of one man to Lhasa to attend the trade embassy. All other peasants in the village had to help pay his wages.<sup>200</sup> Also, at the time of Ramsay's dictionary, the borax mines of *Pooga* were worked by the forced labor of certain villages.<sup>201</sup>

Cunningham gives an estimate of the total revenue of the kingdom before the Dogra conquest. The main source of income was the household tax, collected partly in kind and partly in money. A full house paid Rs. 7, a half-house 3 1/2 and a quarter-house 1 3/4. Not counting the households assigned to the king, the royal family, and the monasteries, there were 18,000 paying houses, of which 400 were large, 1,600 of middle size, and 16,000 small, paying a total of Rs. 36,400.

Sources of cash revenue other than the household tax were customs and tolls, a tax on brokers, and presents from ministers and other officers of government. The customs were collected at the custom houses and the tolls on the highroads. These duties were taken partly in kind and partly in money, generally in equal portions. The gross annual collections usually averaged Rs. 18,000. The tax raised on the brokers who transacted all commercial affairs between the various merchants, both home and foreign, generally amounted to nearly 35 ingots of silver, or Rs. 5,700. The annual presents received from the various bka'-blon, blon-po,

mkhar-dpon, and other officers of government were worth about Rs. 5,000.

The gross revenue of Ladak, collected from all these sources amounted, then, to Rs. 58,700. Out of the gross collections made for government, one-half of the customs and one-half of the tax on brokers were the perquisite, or salary, of the prime minister.<sup>202</sup> The net amount received by the king was therefore only Rs. 48,850.

In addition to his public income, the king received the house-tax paid by his own villages. He was also the chief trader in his own kingdom, and as all his traffic passed duty-free through Ladak, he always realized between forty and fifty thousand Rs. a year. His average income from all sources thus amounted to about one lakh of rupees or nearly £10,000 a year. In addition the king "enjoyed the royal prerogative of drawing his food from those districts which possessing no chiefs of their own, were immediately dependent on the supreme government."<sup>203</sup>

### *Granting of Lands*

A basic feature of the economic organization is the assignment to specific institutions or individuals of the revenue derived from certain lands and their inhabitants. Although figures are not available, it appears that this practice was more important in the financial organization of the state than the salaries paid either in kind or cash.

Most of the country was partitioned among petty kings (rgyal-po), chiefs (jo), and ministers (bka'-blon and blon-po), who were hereditary chiefs of their districts, from which they drew the revenue. Monasteries also received grants of land as religious endowments, and petty officials enjoyed tax-free lands as payment for their specialized services.

The king himself had certain private estates apart from the public income of the kingdom. He thus had his own villages containing about 1,000 households<sup>204</sup> paying Rs. 2,000, and he received payments in kind and labor services from districts not having chiefs of their own. In this way he was supplied with all kinds of goods from all over the country. "He was supplied with corn and butter, wood and grasses, for four months in the year by Nubra; for two months by Rukchu; and for four months by Tangtse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricots, apples and grapes."<sup>205</sup>

Another source tells us that the king obtained his butter from

Zangs-dkar, and his grain from Nubra. The pastoral area of Rupshu and Al-lci provided the king with meat. <sup>206</sup>

According to the Chronicles of Ladak:

During the time of the kings each peasant had to give 1 srang of straw. As a special kind of forced labour (khral), all the peasants had to bring from Phyi-gling (Ci-ling) 800 srang of wood, and from Tar of Nang shing (?) Sngon-dar (Hundar) of lDum-ra, two outlying places, as much wood as was needed. <sup>207</sup>

"The inhabitants of the country about Leh," wrote Moorcroft, "supply the Raja with fuel, milk, butter, tea, grass for his cattle, servants for his person and labourers in his fields." <sup>208</sup> One of these fields was probably the king's field at Leh, which the Dogra later turned into a bazar. <sup>209</sup> Ramsay defines the khral-pa (tax-payers) or sa-khral-pa (land-tax-payers) as the "unpaid labourers who in the old days were attached to the Raja's palace." <sup>210</sup> It seems, then, that, as in Central Tibet, estates include demesne land cultivated with the labor of drafted peasants.

Members of the royal family also enjoyed their own estates. Thus the cash revenue of one thousand households was assigned for the support of the queen and other members of the royal family. <sup>211</sup> The village of sTog was assigned to the crown prince, <sup>212</sup> and we know that the queen had her own steward (phyag-mdzod). <sup>213</sup>

It will be remembered that ministers of the king (bka'-blon and blon-po) were hereditary chiefs of certain districts that can be considered as their estates or assigned districts. A few available documents tell of the granting of estates by the king to his officials. No clear material is available about the king's power to resume lands, but it is suggested by the story of the curtailment of the power of the chiefs of rGya. <sup>214</sup> Francke has published part of a decree by King bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal (1734-50) rewarding with land the services of his general, Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje. We do not know who he was before he became the king's general. Unfortunately Francke published only the part dealing with the general's services, not that which "contains a list of sites given to his faithful general." <sup>215</sup>

At the time of Moorcroft's visit, the master of the horse was the ruler of the Bang-kha district. It included seventy villages, and he had to bring seven hundred armed men into the field when required. Since each peasant landholder was subject to military service, seven hundred must have been about the number of landholders under the Bang-kha. <sup>216</sup> The Bang-kha were probably the descendants

of Sakya-rgya-mtsho, a general (dmag-dpon) and minister (blon-po) of King bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal (1640-75). His daughter married a certain dBang-phyug from Zongs-dkar and the couple received the villages of dByi-gu (*I-gu*) and Sa-bu, according to a decree of King Nyi-ma-rnam-rgyal.<sup>217</sup> Moorcroft was lodged in the Bangkha's house in *Chumri* (lCe-'bre); he also saw "some brood mares belonging to the Banka" near *Muglib* (west of Pangkong Lake), and at *Ralmanag* (south of that lake toward the Indus) he saw "a large house, the residence of a lama who was a kind of deputy to the Banka."<sup>218</sup>

Another document published in part records a grant of land to bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin, who was warden (nang-gso) of Nubra and minister of sNgon-dar; the grant was made by King Tshe-dpal-mi-'gyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal as reward for the minister's military services. Francke has published the part reporting the deeds of the minister but not a list of estates given to him.<sup>219</sup>

Moorcroft also reports on the holdings of the family of *Khaga Tan-zin*, probably the same as this bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin. In his trip to Nubra, he was received in *Tirit* (Ti-rid) in a house belonging to a son of *Khaga Tan-zin*; in *Tagat* (sTag-mkhar) was the residence of the *Khaga Tan-zin*'s youngest son. At *Chusan* there was a house belonging to *Khaga Tan-zin*, while at *Undar* (sNgon-dar) was the residence of *Dur-je Tan-zin*, the eldest son of the *Khaga Tan-zin*. This latter place consisted of a village and several estates detached.<sup>220</sup>

This last statement suggests that the holdings of a nobleman did not include a compact continuous territory; the same thing is seen from the grant to the daughter of Sakya-rgya-mtsho of two villages, Sa-bu and dByi-gu, which are widely apart. The same point can be made in regard to the monastic estates discussed later.

The No-no, or chief, of Spiti also had a landed estate. Some fields at Grang-mkhar, attached to the old fort there, were, like the fort, the property of the government. The No-no in virtue of his office provided for the cultivation of the fields and took the produce. He was bound in return to keep the fort in repair. He also held other lands equal to several holdings in extent, which were his ancestral property; they were rent-free and mostly situated at Kuiling where he resided.<sup>221</sup>

Of lower rank than generals, ministers, and district governors, some petty chiefs and officials had small grants of land. Thus in Spiti, the No-no or chief of Pin had some revenue-free land, but not more in extent than that of an ordinary peasant allotment. and at *Tashigong* a family of hereditary astrologers had a grant

of two allotments free from revenue given by the king of Ladak.<sup>222</sup>

Soldiers who distinguished themselves in the field were also given grants of land by the king.<sup>223</sup> One document, also published by Francke, is a decree of King Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, dated 1810, giving to a member of the Drag-shos family of Kha-la-tse a piece of land to be irrigated with new irrigation ditches, in reward for military services.<sup>224</sup>

Other hereditary petty officials such as the messenger (pho-nya) of Shel<sup>225</sup> or the chief cook of Wan-le<sup>226</sup> were probably also holders of tax-free land.

### *Monastic Estates*

An important portion of the wealth of Ladak was under the control of monastic establishments. From ancient times the kings had made numerous grants of lands to the monasteries<sup>227</sup> and some, like Hemis, the monastery of the royal house, held extensive properties.<sup>228</sup> According to A. Cunningham's estimate of the revenue of Ladak before the Dogra conquest, 4,000 households were assigned to monasteries, as against 18,000 held by the Crown, 1,000 held privately by the king, and 1,000 held by other members of the royal family.<sup>229</sup> In 1885 the monasteries held 2,210 acres as against 1,321 held by state officials and 14,140 by peasants, the monastic population being one-sixth of the total.<sup>230</sup>

The document published by Francke under the title of *Chronicles of Zangs-dkar*<sup>231</sup> is an extract from a book which once existed at the monastery of Phug-thal containing the amount of grain which each peasant in the dependent villages had to send every year to the monastery. The document tells the story of the various grants that were made at various times to the monastery. The donations were made by different rulers of Zangs-dkar and even by outside rulers such as the kings of Ladak and of Kulu; they represent an accumulation of properties widely scattered over a large territory.

The endowments of land are called chos-gzhi (religious estate). The grants include agricultural fields as well as tracts of mountain or forest. Usually peasants (gron-pa) or households (dud-kha) are given as grants (i. e., their revenue), their names being specified. One of the grants differentiates between land as the building site (sa-khyad) and the endowment (chos-gzhi) proper. One grant gives the castle of Shi-lha and two great peasant holdings. This means presumably the revenues collected at the castle and perhaps the political power associated with it.

In one grant the property given is assigned to different purposes, some of it to Byang-sems (a lama), some to the treasury (dkor) of Byang-sems, and some for the sustenance of the steward.

The grants are made to monasteries or to individual lamas; one of the grants erects a monastery for a high lama and assigns an estate to it.

The best information about a monastic estate refers to Spiti. The five monasteries of Spiti were endowed with the revenue paid by a certain number of households grouped for this reason into a separate district. They also received a share of the revenue collected by the nonassigned districts, and they held a few fields of demesne land under the direct management of the monastery.

The fields directly held by the monasteries paid no revenue and were few in number, amounting to 27 holdings (as against 330 holdings of regular tax-paying peasants or khang-chen-pa) with 3.74 per cent of the total cultivated land of Spiti. They were generally either near the monastery to which they belonged or in adjacent villages. The land of the Grang-mkhar monastery was cultivated by six tenants, landholders in Grang-mkhar, who paid half the produce as rent; that of the Pin monastery was cultivated gratuitously by the No-no of Pin; the men of the Chos-gzhi district as the special clients of the monks cultivated the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks were expected to reward the men who did the actual work.<sup>232</sup>

The households whose full revenue was assigned to the monasteries were grouped into the district named Chos-gzhi (religious estate), although they were scattered throughout the whole of Spiti (excluding Pin). In 1841, they numbered 52 or 53 out of 250 paying households.<sup>233</sup> They paid only in grain, from fifteen to twenty khal each, and not the items in kind paid in other districts.

The grain from the crown districts also had in many cases been from time to time assigned to monasteries. All the assigned grain was termed bun (literally debt, obligation) or, more specifically, gon-pa'i-bun (monastery due), while the nonassigned grain paid to the government was named mkhar-kyi-bun (fort due) or nas-khral (barley tax).

Table 4 shows the number of monks in each monastery and the amount of bun they drew from each district (kothi), as of 1871.

Actually, it was found later in the 1891 assessment that the monastic due was higher (264 more khal than the former estimate); the increase was mostly in tax paid by the people of Pin, which was 228 khal instead of 81 1/2.

In addition to the assessments listed in the table, the *Tolang*

TABLE 4

Name of Monastery	Number of Lamas	Name of District	Amount		Remarks
			khal	bre	
Grang-mkhar (dGe-lugs-pa)	90	Sham	137	14	17 khal assigned to the family of astrologers, and 40 to the Spituk monastery in Ladak, have to be added to make up the sum total of the bun, viz. 1,461 khal 7 bre.
		Chos-gzhi sTod-pa	120 73	17	
Total			331	11	
Ta-bo (dGe-lugs-pa)	32	Sham	53	5	
		Chos-gzhi sTod-pa	134 10	19 10	
Total			198	14	
dKyil (dGe-lugs-pa)	100	Chos-gzhi	379	4	
		Bar-jik sTod-pa	14 60		
Total			453	4	
bTang-rgyud (Sa-skyapa)	60	Chos-gzhi	222		
		Bar-jik	87	16	
		sTod-pa	9	12	
		Pin	20		
Total			339	8	
Pin (rNying-ma-pa)	100	Pin	81	10	

monastery in mNga'-ris received in pre-Dogra days something less than 200 khal, and after the 1871 assessment the Grang-mkhar lamas also received 30 khal assigned to them from the nas-khral.

The monastic due was collected by the lamas themselves but apparently not the allowances from the nas-khral.<sup>234</sup>

The revenue assigned to the monasteries was probably endowed to them by the state. However, the monks were to some extent obligated toward the peasants whose payments they received. This appears clear from the early attempt of the British to commute the monastery dues paid in grain (bun) for a fixed allotment of land. Egerton writes:

I explained that the government could not sanction the collection of a compulsory grain tax and could not interfere if payment were withheld, but if the zemindars [landholders] chose to make over a certain amount of land for the main-

tenance of the monasteries, without diminution of the government revenue, they could do so, the transfer would be recorded in my office and no future dispute would arise.

The monks seemed to relish the idea very much as it would give them a "material guarantee" for their livelihood; but the zemindars unanimously objected. They urged that under the present arrangement the monks had a direct interest in the welfare of their parishioners--helped them in their fields and in carrying travellers' baggage, did any bit of handicraft required, frequently came among them and in short, were to some extent dependent on their parishioners: whereas by the proposed arrangement the monks would be quite independent; they would cease to look after their welfare, spiritual and temporal, and would no longer take a share in their labors.<sup>235</sup>

### *Subdivisions of the Ruling Class*

For Central Tibet, subdivisions of the ruling class have been defined in terms of the lay or clerical status of their members, their sources of income, political power, and the process of class reproduction. Thus differences were pointed out between territorial chiefs (lay or monastic), rulers of their own districts although subject to the central government, and the bureaucratic nobility, hereditary members of the officialdom receiving their income from their family estates in a way similar to that of territorial chiefs but participating in the bureaucratic central government. Finally, the monk officials as a nonhereditary group, paid not in land but in salaries and allowances, represent the most bureaucratic element in the Lhasa government.

In Ladak these subdivisions of the ruling class cannot be equally drawn. The church was less important since the supreme ruler was a lay king and not an incarnate lama as in Lhasa; and although monasteries were well endowed with lands there were no monastic principalities comparable to those held in Central and Eastern Tibet by the great monasteries and Living Buddhas. A group comparable to the monk officials of Lhasa was entirely absent in Ladak.

As far as the available evidence goes, the government of Ladak was in the hands of hereditary officials who were local rulers in their own districts, where they collected revenue, administered justice, and had military duties. They were subject to the superior power of the king, but there was no well-developed system of local administration other than that of these hereditary local chiefs. The central government was largely organized by assigning to these



local rulers additional functions which also tended to become hereditary.

The income of these chiefs and officials was basically that derived from their estates or districts. As Moorcroft described it, most officials were paid 'by assignments of land, and by claims on the people for contributions of articles of daily use.'<sup>236</sup> The No-no of Spiti, for instance, received the produce from his personal estate and from the fields attached to the fort at Grang-mkhar, and he also pocketed part of the revenue collected in Spiti for the kings of Ladak.

The only salaried officers of the state were the governor of Leh (Slel blon-po), the gshags-dpon, or chief justice, the different khirms-dpon or magistrates of Leh, the Ga-ga rta-rdzi or master of the horse, and the phyag-mdzod or treasurer. The prime minister or bka'-blon received as salary half the collections from the customs tax and the tax on brokers. The gross amount of civil charges in the budget including salaries was Rs. 20,000 a year, less than one-third of the total revenue.<sup>237</sup>

We can infer that the king kept some right of taxation over the districts held by bka'-blon and blon-po. Cunningham's estimate of the royal revenue mentions assignments of tax-paying households only to the king, members of the royal family, and monasteries, and he also mentions presents received from the ministers. As in Spiti, local chiefs collected taxes for the king of Ladak, and kept only part as their perquisite.

The source of income of Ladaki chiefs and ministers is then basically landed estates, the same as that of the bureaucratic nobility and territorial chiefs of Central Tibet. In Central Tibet, however, the difference between bureaucratic nobility, participating in the central government, and territorial chiefs, acting only as subject local rulers, is very marked because of the bureaucratic organization of the central government and the existence of local officials from Lhasa in the areas where bureaucratic noblemen hold their family estates. In Ladak, instead, we find a political organization with no bureaucratic traits: no provision for the formal training of officials, no fixed scale of offices and promotions, and no limitations to the period of tenure. Furthermore there is no centralized system of local government.

In Ladak the lay ruling class, then, is in part similar to the territorial chiefs of Central Tibet and in part intermediate between these and the bureaucratic noblemen. A difference can be established in Ladak between local chiefs acting only as local rulers subject to the king, such as the No-no of Spiti, and local rulers

such as the ministers (*bka'*-*blon* and *blon-po*), who in addition have special functions in the central government. Some of these received their main income from their hereditary districts while others may have received a substantial income in the form of salary. The local rulers participating in the central government were mostly those from the central area of Ladak, while the subject chiefs were mostly in the periphery of the kingdom.

### 3. THE CHIEFTAINS OF LAHUL

Lahul was once under Tibetan rule,<sup>238</sup> but in the recent historical period it has been subject to the rule of the Hindu kings of Kulu. Even then, however, connections with the kingdom of Ladak have been close. Lahul kept paying a small tribute to Ladak, and there even were four villages which 'whilst they acknowledge military fealty to the Raja of Kulu pay rent to the state of Ladakh.'<sup>239</sup>

The whole of Lahul was at one time divided among a few petty chiefs (Tibetan *Jo*, Hindi *Thakur*). Four or five of them survived under the rajas of Kulu and later under the British. After a long period of Hindu rule, these chiefs claim a Rajput origin and the peasantry is being identified with the Kanet caste of neighboring Hindu areas, but both the chiefly families and the peasantry are undoubtedly Tibetan in origin and culture. Only in the Pattan Valley has the Hinduization proceeded to an important extent.<sup>240</sup>

Under the rajas of Kulu, the Lahuli chiefs were allowed to rule supreme in their own estates subject to the payment of tribute and to military service. The villages not under local chiefs paid directly to the rajas of Kulu.<sup>241</sup> Apparently, at least at some time, one of the local chiefs was also in charge of the whole of Lahul for the rajas of Kulu.<sup>242</sup> The Lahuli chiefs, then, are comparable to the territorial chiefs that have been described for Central Tibet, although they were subject to the rajas of Kulu rather than to another Tibetan ruler.<sup>243</sup>

In the crown districts under the rajas and in the jagirs or estates of the local chiefs, the household allotment (*jeola* in Kulu) was the basic unit of taxation.<sup>244</sup> Taxation was levied in equal rates on all the household allotments in each district, although sometimes a small difference of rate prevailed between different villages with regard to difference of soil or water supply.

Dues were levied in cash, kind, and labor. The items in kind were grain, cloth, and colts. As to labor services, agricultural field work is mentioned in the chiefs' estates described below. Forced labor (*begar*) all took place within the six months of sum-

mer and included repairing roads, transporting travelers and their baggage, and providing travelers with supplies (really a tax in kind but considered part of *begar*).

Finally, the landholders were subject to military service. "The Thakurs, with a following of their tenants, and one man for each holding in the royal *kothis*, were compelled to attend the Raja at his capital, Sultanpur, for the six winter months of the year, and do any service, menial or military, which might be committed to them."<sup>245</sup>

The custom of primogeniture prevailed in the chiefly families of Lahul. On the death of the father the eldest son succeeded. As long as his younger brothers lived with him they were maintained, but when they set up house for themselves they got a small allotment from the home lands under the name of *dotoen zhing*, "younger son's land," with which to support themselves. After two or three generations, the descendants of younger sons became like other landholders and had to do service or pay rent to the chief.<sup>246</sup>

### *A Chief's Estate*

The lands of a chief's estate fell into two principal divisions: the demesne or home lands and the lands under various types of peasants.

The chief's demesne, or *garhpan*, as a general rule consisted of fields situated in villages near which he lived. The whole produce of these fields was taken by the chief; they were cultivated by farm servants assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders.

The great bulk of the fields formed the household allotments (*jeolas*) of the villagers (*yulfa*, *yul-pa*), subject to payments of revenue (*khral*) and to the performance when required of forced labor for the state and of certain services to the chief.<sup>247</sup>

Other fields were held as payment for continuous service by the chief's retainers (*chaksi*, *phyag-phyi*?) or by his farm servants (*kang chumpa*, *khang-chung-pa*, "small-house-one").<sup>248</sup>

Still other fields were held free of revenue by junior branches of the chief's family (*dotoen*). After a few generations, however, when the sense of relationship to the chief became faint they were degraded to the status of retainers and had to do services as such.<sup>249</sup> Brides of chiefs were also given some land that they held independently during their lifetime.<sup>250</sup>

An average household allotment contained about five acres. A *dotoen's* holding was on an average equal to from one to two allot-

ments; a *chaksi's* holding varied between a half and a whole allotment; and a *khang-chung-pa* generally held only about a quarter allotment or less.<sup>251</sup>

There were other revenue-free lands, held by smiths and other menials, the revenue of which can be considered to have been remitted for the good of the whole community, and some holdings, the produce of which was used for communal purposes.<sup>252</sup>

According to the writers of the land settlement and the gazetteer of the district, all tenures were permanent: the *garhpan* or demesne land was considered to belong to the Thakur, who was also "landlord" of the whole district. Lyall, the revenue officer, wrote:

The *yulfa* or villagers I hold to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first I was inclined to think that the *chaksis* and *kang chumpas* were mere tenants in the *garhpan* or private lands of the Thakurs, but on further inquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also subordinate proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the *yulfas* inasmuch as they pay no rent and do private service only to the Thakur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the state (*begar*) as well as occasional private service to the Thakur.<sup>253</sup>

The chief was also considered the owner of the wasteland, although his subordinate landholders had customary right of use. Certain patches of wasteland situated below water channels or by the cultivated fields produced, with the help of irrigation, abundant crops of hay; these were held by individuals as part of their allotments.<sup>254</sup>

The nature of the holdings and of the dues in cash, kind, and services paid to the Thakur was the same in all the estates. Differences of detail were said to exist but were not mentioned in the source.<sup>255</sup>

Fuller information is available for the estate of Gung-rang held by Devi Chand.<sup>256</sup> Gung-rang contained fifty-eight *jeolas* or full-sized peasant holdings, twenty-four full-sized holdings of retainers (*chaksi*), and eight of farm servants (*khang-chung-pa*).

The dues paid by the peasant holders (*yul-pa*) on a full allotment consisted of cash, grain,<sup>257</sup> and cloth (Table 5).

TABLE 5

Item	Rate per Allotment	Remarks
Old cash assessment	4-8-0	On 14 allotments 5 Rs. were taken
Grain (nas-khral)	3 lakhs, 3 path of barley	3 allotments paid 6 and 3 paid 4
Cloth ( <i>phari</i> )	1 <i>phari</i> or 8 annas in cash	<i>lakh</i>
"Bribes" ( <i>suri</i> )	from Rs. 5-4 to 2-8	

The services rendered to the chief by the men of this same class of regular landholders were as follows:

1. On certain days, each allotment had to furnish one man to work on the chief's demesne land. The chief supplied food and drink but no pay. There were eleven such days in the year, but on two of them, the sowing and the mowing days, a man from every allotment attended; on the other nine only some fifteen or sixteen men who lived nearby actually attended. The others remained at home and paid the chief annually, in lieu of attendance, the sum of one rupee.

2. Each allotment was bound to stable and feed for the six winter months one of the chief's horses. The old standard was one horse to an allotment, but as the chief did not have that many horses, every two allotments divided between them the care of one horse.

3. Each allotment was bound to transport, once a year, about sixteen pounds of rice (a light goat or sheep load) from Kulu to the chief's house in Lahul.

4. It was the custom in all the districts of Lahul that the regular landholders each year provided in turn a certain number of men to supply with fuel the common quarters of the district at Akhara in Kulu. For the six winter months spent in Kulu these men were steadily employed in bringing in fuel for general use, and they were in some degree remunerated by being paid Rs. 6 each, raised by a rate on all the allotments of the district. In the estate of Gung-rang, each year four of the allotments furnished four men for this duty; they were also bound to carry loads for the chief in going to and from his house to Akhara, and to furnish him with fuel while he remained there.

There were no cadet families (*dotoen*) in the Gung-rang estate.

A retainer's (*chaksi*) holding was held rent-free in exchange for the following services:

1. It was bound to furnish one man for continuous attendance on the chief, and for the performance of light work, such as cooking his food when on the march, leading his horse, and so forth. As there were many *chaksi* holdings in Gung-rang, only three holdings at a time furnished one man each for ten days and then recalled their men till their turn came again. But for the privilege of not supplying one man continuously each allotment paid the chief eight annas per month or Rs. 6 per year. A few of the *chaksi* were distinguished by the name of *lalok* or "pass-crossers." These were bound only to furnish a man to cross a pass to Ladak, Zangs-dkar, or Kulu on the chief's business. If they crossed a pass once in the year, they had no more payments to make, but otherwise they paid Rs. 7 a year. Some *chaksi* of all kinds had commuted all their services for a similar payment of Rs. 7 a year.

2. All *chaksi* holdings sent a man to work on the two days when the chief's demesne was sowed and mowed.

The farm workers (*khang-chung-pa*) were bound to furnish one man for continuous work at the chief's house or on his home land. Some people of this class were found near whatever place the chief had fields of his home lands. When there was much work, the head of the family attended in person; otherwise he sent his wife, son, or daughter. The person in attendance got food five times a day. He did field work of every kind, or cut and brought in wood or grass, swept the house, or combed wool, and so forth. Those who lived at a distance from the chief's house could not easily attend: they, therefore, did only field work on the home land near them, and fed and kept one sheep for the chief during the winter months. Some *khang-chung-pa* had commuted all services for the payment of five rupees per year.

Fillies were kept by the owners of a mare but if a colt was born, his master took both mare and colt to the chief's house. There he was presented with a new cap and left his mare to be kept for six months at the chief's expense.

### *Monastic Estates*

In Lahul the big monastery of *Guru Chantal*, with its chapels of *Koksar* and *Sansa*, held a good deal of rent-free land in different districts as endowment. More than half was held of the monastery by farm workers, *khang-chung-pa*. They had to perform certain fixed services, such as the cultivation of the rest of the monastery land, the sweeping of snow off the roof of the monastery in winter, the bringing in of fagots for winter fuel, and so forth. They also

gave the monastery annual presents of shoulders of mutton, pots of whisky, and plaited sandals.<sup>258</sup>

In some other places fields were held rent-free by a monastery, and cultivated jointly by the neighboring landholders.<sup>259</sup>

#### 4. THE KINGDOM OF SIKKIM

The state of Sikkim (Tibetan 'Bras-ljongs, "the rice country") was established some time in the sixteenth century by Tibetan immigrants who dominated the older aboriginal population, the main group of which were the Lepchas or Rong.

Both in territory and population it comprises elements not typical of Tibet as a whole. Geographically speaking, it includes all the different altitudes in the southern slopes of the Himalayas from the water divide down into the Terai jungle, here called Morung.

The higher mountain valleys are inhabited by people of Tibetan stock who combine herding with agriculture and trade. At lower altitudes live agricultural Tibetans and the aboriginal groups of speech related to Tibetan. In later times the southern part of Sikkim was also settled by Nepalese, who eventually became the major element of the population. Before the British annexation in 1850, Sikkim also controlled the Morung, whose native population is very different from the Tibetan. We need concern ourselves only with the Tibetan, or Bhotia, and the Lepcha, which form the Lamaistic population and were the majority before the influx of Nepalese. The Bhotias provided the dominant families, but some Lepchas also achieved positions of importance and some of the noble families have been said to have Lepcha admixture.<sup>260</sup>

In 1840 the population was estimated at 3,000 Lepchas and 2,000 Bhotias. In 1891 the Lepchas numbered 5,762 and the Bhotias 4,894. Aboriginal groups and Nepalese raised the total to 30,458.<sup>261</sup>

#### *Political Organization*

The social stratification of Sikkim was in part defined by ethnic origin and kinship. The most important families were descendants of a group of brothers descended from the Tibetan King Khri-srong-lde-btsan, who settled in Sikkim in the sixteenth century. Their descendants formed fourteen clans (rus), to one of which belong the kings and various families of local chiefs (*kazis*). Only members of these fourteen clans were admitted to the state monastery of *Pemiongchi* without the payment of heavy entrance fees. There

are also many other clans of Tibetan origin, some of which have provided a number of local chiefs or *kazis*.<sup>262</sup>

As far as we know, all high positions in government were hereditary within certain privileged families, and these families also received preferential treatment in the church. Nothing is known about the status of younger branches of the above-mentioned clans.

The kings of Sikkim trace their descent from the old Tibetan dynasty. They stem from a son of Khri-srong-lde-btsan who migrated eastward and became king of *Kham-Miñag-Andong*. Twenty-five generations later was born a prince who went with his five sons westward on a pilgrimage. They went to Sa-skya, where one of the sons, *Khye-Bumsa*, married the daughter of the hierarch. They then moved south, built a monastery at *Pa-shi*, northwest of *Khambagong*, and left one of the brothers in charge. Three other brothers migrated to *Ha* in Bhutan, while *Khye-Bumsa* settled at Chumbi near the site of the palace of the later kings of Sikkim. His three sons settled in Sikkim and from them and from the settlers in Bhutan descend the principal families of the country. Phuntshogs rnam-rgyal, born in 1604, a great-great-great-grandson of *Khye-Bumsa*, became in 1641 the first king of Sikkim.<sup>263</sup>

Succession to the kingdom is from father to son. For lack of other male offspring a lama has been known to leave the church in order to marry and succeed to the kingship.<sup>264</sup>

For purposes of local government and collection of revenue, the country was divided into sections placed under various officials, the more important of which are usually named *kazis*:<sup>265</sup>

[The 12 *kazis* and] several other officials of various names exercise jurisdiction over specific tracts of land. Each of these officers assesses the revenue payable by all the people settled on the lands within his jurisdiction and as far as I can make out, keeps the greater portion for himself, paying over to the Rajah a certain fixed contribution. At the same time he has no proprietary right in the lands, though the *Kazis* have at least a kind of hereditary title to their office. The *Kazis* and other officers exercise limited civil and criminal jurisdiction within the lands the revenue of which they collect, all important cases being referred to the Rajah and decided by Changzed and the Dewans, who are at present three in number.<sup>266</sup>

The *kazis* are named after the localities they rule. The extent of territory and people under each *kazi* is difficult to determine. The *Gantok Kazi* ruled over eight hundred homesteads at the time of



Edgar's visit,<sup>267</sup> and both Macaulay and Waddell report that the *Lassoo Kazi* had fifty villages under his orders.<sup>268</sup>

The number of *kazis* is stated to be twelve,<sup>269</sup> and Waddell gives the list of twelve; but in various writers there are names of *kazis* not included among those twelve. The Imperial Gazetteer of India gives the number of *kazis* as twenty-one.<sup>270</sup>

The *kazis* (or rdzong dpon in this source) were originally chosen (1773) from the fourteen leading families descending from the first Tibetan settlers and rulers of Sikkim, but in a later period a large number of *kazis* are members of clans, which, although of dominant Tibetan stock do not count among the fourteen leading families and have some Lepcha ancestry.<sup>271</sup>

The *kazis* had residences in the capital around the palace of the king.<sup>272</sup> At least some of them, besides their function as provincial rulers, had additional functions with the central government. Thus, one *Lassoo Kazi* was the Sikkim representative at Darjeeling;<sup>273</sup> the *Birmiok Kazi* was once steward<sup>274</sup> and at another time secretary.<sup>275</sup> One *Rhennock Kazi* was treasurer<sup>276</sup> and administered for the king his estate at *Zongu*; before the *Rhennock Kazi* the *Mali Kazi* had once been the administrator of *Zongu*;<sup>277</sup> the *Yangthang Kazi* was a writer in the king's palace.<sup>278</sup> La-chen and La-chung were administered for the queen by the *Singthem Souba*.<sup>279</sup> The officer named in Tibetan *changzed* (Phyag-mdzod) is probably one of the *kazis*.<sup>280</sup> This is most probably the Tibetan title of what in English some writers called the treasurer, steward, or secretary of the king. He seems to have been a very important official.<sup>281</sup> The holders of this post were relatives of the king;<sup>282</sup> some of them were from the same *hBar-phong* family to which many *kazis* belong.<sup>283</sup>

It is not quite clear who the other local officers are who, according to Edgar, administer tracts of land in conditions similar to those under which are the *kazis*. The Imperial Gazetteer of India mentions besides twenty-one *kazis*, thirteen lama landlords and thirty-seven *thikadars*. These last are the headmen over the Nepalese immigrants, and can be considered as a recent development, at least in such a high number. The lama landlords are probably a number of important abbots or reincarnations that are mentioned by several writers throughout the nineteenth century as personages of influence and members of the king's council.

Other important officers in the central government were the ministers usually called *dewans*. At the time of Edgar there were three.<sup>284</sup> The position is probably the same as that of the five minis-

ters or blon-po mentioned in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, two of which are always in attendance on the king.<sup>285</sup> From the records of different writers we read of the *Pagla Dewan*; the *Shoe* or *Purba Dewan*; the *Jerung Dewan* of *Chakung*; and the *Khangsa Dewan*. It is not clear to what extent these ministers might also be local officers. At least in one case a *dewan* has a district under his management, the La-chen and La-chung valleys, which was considered as his 'property.'<sup>286</sup>

One of the ministers or *dewan* was a prime minister. This position seems to have been filled by appointment of the king and apparently the holder of the office changed with a new king.<sup>287</sup>

The families of ministers, phyag-mdzod, and *kazis* intermarry with the royal family.<sup>288</sup> Minor officials of lower rank than the *kazis* were the military officers, lding-dpon, and dmag-dpon.<sup>289</sup> We also read of gnyer-pa,<sup>290</sup> probably stewards in the household of the king and the high officials.

Besides the king there was a council formed by the chief *dewans*, *kazis*, and church hierarchs of the country. The functioning of the council in later times was shaped under British influence.<sup>291</sup>

The close connection between the lay upper class and the church is clear in Sikkim. There were in the country thirty-five monasteries with nearly one thousand monks. The great majority are of the rNying-ma-pa sect; the most important is *Pemiongchi* (108 monks). Only three monasteries are of the Kar-ma-pa sect; the chief one is *Phodang* (100 monks). The proportion of monks is one to every ten or eleven of the Buddhist population (Bhotias and Lepchas).<sup>292</sup>

The head of *Pemiongchi* was the *Kupgain Lama*, avatar of the founder of *Pemiongchi*. He resided in *Pemiongchi*, but in 1844, when the incarnation was found in the eldest son of the king, the *Labrang* monastery was founded in *Tumlong* to be his residence. The *Kupgain Lama* as head of the dominant sect is superior of nearly two-thirds of all the monasteries of Sikkim.<sup>293</sup>

*Pemiongchi* was subsidized by the state<sup>294</sup> and admitted only monks of pure Tibetan ancestry.<sup>295</sup> Only members of the fourteen leading lineages of the country were admitted without the payment of an entrance fee.<sup>296</sup>

The high lamas of Sikkim were often members of the ruling families. Among the sons of King *Cho-phoe Namgyal* were found a *Kupgain Lama* of *Labrong* (head incarnate lama of *Pemiongchi*) and the incarnate lama of *Namchi* (*Ngadakpa* subsect of rNying-ma-pa),<sup>297</sup> and one of his daughters was the abbess of the nunnery of *Lagong*.<sup>298</sup> The incarnate lama of *Phodang* (Kar-ma-pa) was a

grandchild of gTsong-Phud-rnam-rgyal and son of King mThu-stobs-rnam-rgyal.<sup>299</sup> Not all incarnate lamas, however, are found in the royal family.<sup>300</sup>

A case outside the royal family also showing the connection between the church hierarchs and the lay ruling families is that of the prime minister (1887), the *Khangsa Dewan*, whose brother was *Phodong Lama* and whose son was head of the *Kartok* monastery (*Kartokpa* subsect of rNying-ma-pa).<sup>301</sup>

The lama landlords and lama members of the council must have been thus closely related to the lay ruling families.

### *Land Revenue*

All land was held from the king. Edgar described the revenue system as follows:

The land is not assessed and pays no revenue. The assessment is on the revenue-payer personally, and I think that in theory he is supposed to be allowed the use of the Rajah's land in order that he may live and be able to render to the Rajah the services which he is bound to do as the Rajah's live chattel; and possibly if the system were carried to theoretical perfection, he would be bound to give over to the Rajah all the produce of the land--that is all the fruit of his labour beyond what might be actually necessary to support himself and his family. In practice the subject is only bound to give a certain portion of his labour or of the fruits of his labour to the State; and when he does no actual service the amount of his property is roughly assessed, and his contribution to the State fixed accordingly; but such assessment is made without the slightest reference to the amount of land occupied by the subject. The value of his wives and children, slaves, cattle, furniture, etc. are all taken into account, but not the extent of his fields.<sup>302</sup>

Other writers confirm that there was a general property tax not directly based on land. Waddell states that the assessment was based on 'the number of persons and cattle and not on the land.'<sup>303</sup> Campbell writes of a 'house or family tax, which takes the place of land-rent in Sikkim.'<sup>304</sup> Bell states that the cultivator was taxed according to his 'general prosperity.'<sup>305</sup>

The exact rate of assessment is not known. Theoretically the right of the king was unlimited,<sup>306</sup> and in practice some levies, especially labor services, were due wherever people were called upon to furnish them.<sup>307</sup> For the La-chung Valley Campbell wrote,

"The payments are in kind . . . in quantities and proportions I could not determine, nor are they fixed I believe by any specific agreement."<sup>308</sup>

Taxes were paid in kind<sup>309</sup> and these taxes were paid in several products. The peasants in the king's estate in *Dobta* (in Tibet) paid in grain and other local produce;<sup>310</sup> the rate was half the produce of the fields.<sup>311</sup> The herders of *La-chen* paid to the Sikkim Raja in curds, ghee, and kine; to Tibet in shingles, bamboos, dye stuffs, and dairy products.<sup>312</sup> *La-chung* paid ponies, yaks, blankets, and salt according to one report;<sup>313</sup> according to another it paid one seer of butter for each milch yak and a seer of salt for each house.<sup>314</sup> The herders on the *Chola* range between Sikkim and the Chumbi Valley paid revenue both to the Raja of Sikkim and to the Tibetan government in butter and cheese.<sup>315</sup> The Lepchas of the Darjeeling area paid in rice and pigs.<sup>316</sup>

Labor services were also due to the king and transportation was especially important. The subjects of the raja in Chumbi paid only this service.<sup>317</sup> Transportation service was used in moving both people and goods. The revenue in kind from the *La-chung* and *La-chen* valleys was taken to *Chongtam* and thence to the court from village to village by the unpaid people. When the raja was at Chumbi goods were sent there; the people of *La-chung* and *La-chen* took them to *Geree* in Tibet. The people of the raja's estate in *Dobta* went there in two days and carried the goods in six more days to the king's palace at Chumbi.<sup>318</sup>

The yearly trip of the king to Chumbi was another occasion for a transportation tax. The peasants of the crown lands were required to help in carrying the king's effects, and the other peasantry throughout Sikkim had to pay Rs. 2 per house except in cases of great poverty.<sup>319</sup>

At the time of Gorer's study of the Lepchas the taxation system had already changed and was paid in money and assessed on the amount of seed sown.<sup>320</sup> but people still have the obligation to supply boys to act as servants in the king's palace and others to be trained as state carpenters.<sup>321</sup> These duties are undoubtedly survivals of the old economic organization.

### *Estates*

The revenue collected in different areas was destined for the king himself or else was assigned to other members of the royal family, to *kazis*, lama landlords, or monasteries.

The king took "what he required as he wanted it from the people, those nearest the capital having to contribute the larger share,

while those more remote had toll taken from them by the local officials in the name of the Raja though little found its way to him; no courts of justice, no police, no public works. . . .<sup>322</sup>

One of the estates of the king in recent times was the Lepcha country of *Zongu*; it was administered for the king by one of the *kazis*.<sup>323</sup> According to the Gazetteer of Sikkim the *Re-doo-mo* Lepchas near *Rinching-pung* were also directly under the king.<sup>324</sup>

The king had his own property in cattle. At the time of Campbell's trip he had 100 head in *La-chung*, about the same number in *La-chen*, 150 in *Lhonak*, some in the *Ryote* Valley leading to the *Chola* Pass, and in the *Rungbo* Valley, which leads to the *Yak-la* Pass. He also had a herd at *Jongri*, northwest of Darjeeling. The animals were quartered on the inhabitants, who tended them and managed the dairy, receiving a small yearly allowance for their labor.<sup>325</sup> Edgar also met some of the king's yak herdsmen on his trip from *Tumlong* to Chumbi.<sup>326</sup> Later, in 1902, all yaks then grazing in the *Giarong* Valley belonged either to the king or to the *Jerung Dewan*, and all the sheep and yaks in the *Lhonak* Valley were the property of the king.<sup>327</sup> *La-chen* and *La-chung*, where these valleys are situated, were at that time under the *Jerung Dewan*.<sup>328</sup>

During the time of their independence, the kings of Sikkim always had estates in Tibet. Early in the eighteenth century the king *Phyag-rdor* fled to Lhasa when the Bhutanese invaded his country, and there he became *rChi-Tung-yig* (sic) to the Dalai Lama until he returned to Sikkim. For his services in the Dalai Lama's household he was given *Pedi-gong* near Lake *Yam-dok* and *Hre-Rin Chhen-rTse-Jong* near Shigatse. These estates were kept by his successors until resumed by Tibet at the time of the war with Nepal.<sup>329</sup>

During the nineteenth century the kings of Sikkim had *Dobta* on the *Tsomotretung*, west of *Khamba Dzong*. The hamlet of *Charka* was included in *Dobta* and the king of Sikkim also had *Sareh* in the same general area.<sup>330</sup> The ruler of Sikkim likewise had an estate in the Chumbi Valley where he lived during the rainy season.<sup>331</sup> According to local tradition Chumbi came into the possession of the king of Sikkim around the beginning of the nineteenth century as the dowry of a Tibetan wife.<sup>332</sup> According to another report Chumbi had been part of Sikkim until the Bhutanese invasion. The Tibetan government expelled the Bhutanese but kept possession of the valley.<sup>333</sup> All these possessions were lost as the British tightened their control of Sikkim. But *Dobta* was granted to the eldest son of the king of Sikkim, who went to Tibet to reside and took up the name of *Te-ring* ('Phreng-ring) after another state near Gyangtse granted him by the Tibetan government.<sup>334</sup>

Members of the royal family also had assigned estates. We know, for instance, that the district of *Gereh* was assigned at the time of Campbell's visit to the heir apparent of the raja, and that of *Sing-tam*, including the *La-chen* and *La-chung* valleys, to the queen.<sup>335</sup>

The *kazis* have already been mentioned as local officials. Apparently no difference existed between their estates and the districts which they administered. They can be described equally as local rulers in their estates or as district officials drawing their income from the revenue of their assigned districts.

The control of a given district could change from one person to another. *Zongu* was once given by the king to the *Lasso Kazi* but later was taken back and became part of the king's private estate.<sup>336</sup> As such it was administered once by the *Mali Kazi*, later by the *Rhennock Kazi*.<sup>337</sup>

The *La-chen* and *La-chung* valleys were assigned to the queen at the time of Campbell's visit,<sup>338</sup> but later Das reports they were the *dewan's* property.<sup>339</sup> In the administrative report of 1911-12 we read that the valleys had been placed under the management of the *Jerung Dewan* of *Chakung* by the British Political Officer, and in that year, owing to friction between the *dewan* and the people, these lands were placed under the Maharaj Kumar.<sup>340</sup>

From the Gazetteer of Sikkim we know that the *Namtchi-mo* Lepchas "were formerly subordinate to the *Gnabdeh* Lama's people but subsequently were granted a special *Jongpen*."<sup>341</sup>

In another recent case, in 1911, the *Dharmadin* estate of the late Raja *Tenduk*, which had been placed under the management of the *Jerung Dewan* the year before, was "given back to *Kumar Palden*, the eldest son of the late Raja *Tenduk*."<sup>342</sup>

At least in recent times this assignment of districts was clearly made on revenue farming terms; in this last case *Kumar Palden* received back the estate on his payment of arrears of rent and taxes due to the state and on the condition that he reside on the estate in the future and not leave its management to others. He also furnished security for the due payment of rents and taxes in future.<sup>343</sup>

We do not know the exact conditions under which districts or estates were assigned but apparently the king kept his rights over certain revenues. At the *Lasso Kazi's* estate, for instance, Waddell met with complaints from the people there because an order had been sent to the *kazi* "to send a large quantity of building materials and labour, as well as cash, towards the erection of new buildings at the Rajah's headquarters."<sup>344</sup>

The monasteries also enjoyed landed estates. The lamas were not

bound to labor for the raja, and paid no dues of any kind, no matter how much land might be cultivated by themselves or their bondsmen.<sup>345</sup> This applied to monasteries as well as to the land of individual lamas who could have a family and engage in farming and animal husbandry like the peasants.<sup>346</sup> Lama landlords have been mentioned before.

In 1910 there were forty-three monasteries in Sikkim of which six owned lands, twenty-nine received annual subsidies from the state for their support, and eight depended entirely on voluntary contributions.<sup>347</sup>

*Labrang* (thirty monks), *Phodang* (one hundred), and *Phensung* (Phan-bzang) (one hundred) were among the monasteries holding grants of land free of revenue.<sup>348</sup> The monasteries of *La-chung* and *Lingthem* are among those without lands and are supported by contributions from the villagers.<sup>349</sup> A monastery at *Gantok* was built and supported by the family of the *Gantok Kazi*.<sup>350</sup>

Very little is known as to how an estate was administered. In recent times a landlord paid to the state a sum fixed at the commencement of his lease and he collected the revenue of his estate.<sup>351</sup> Of the recent agrarian reform we read that the landlords "were left undisturbed on the holdings they cultivated themselves," which are called "home farms."<sup>352</sup> This probably means that as in other parts of Tibet certain land within an estate, the "home farm," is cultivated with the labor of the tax-paying peasants, and the produce therefrom is taken by the landlord.

The *Bodo* and *Dhimal* subjects of the Sikkim raja in the plain, had, among other duties, to help him four times a year to till his fields,<sup>353</sup> which also points to the same conclusion. But neither in *Lingthem* nor in the *La-chen* and *La-chung* valleys is there any reference to home lands or to agricultural labor services.

As was stated above, the king of Sikkim had estates in Tibet proper. Related to the practice of granting land, and probably a remnant of past political situations, is the fact that the boundaries between Sikkim and Tibet did not define exactly the rights over revenue derived from land and its inhabitants. The border herders of the *La-chen* and *La-chung* valleys and of the *Chola* range moved across the border during their seasonal migrations, and they paid revenue both to Sikkim and to Tibet. An interesting situation is reported by Edgar in the village of *Kubbi* near *Tumlong*. The people of this village paid their chief revenue to Tibet, but they also owed certain services to the king of Sikkim and had to supply food for his household. The explanation was that the people were really Tibetans and the fact of living in Sikkim and of cultivating land there

did not release them from their obligation to their own state.<sup>354</sup>

The native organization of Sikkim experienced profound changes after the 1880's under British influence. The basis of taxation was changed; the country was surveyed and assessed at so much per acre<sup>355</sup> or per quantity of seed sown;<sup>356</sup> most taxes became payable in money;<sup>357</sup> and the Nepalese population has grown tremendously.

In recent times the *kazis*, great lamas, and Nepalese *thikadars* held their lands on revenue farming terms; the *kazis* for leases of fifteen years and the other landlords for ten.<sup>358</sup> There were four classes of *kazis*, according to the importance of the cases they were allowed to try.<sup>359</sup> Nepalese officials could become members of the council<sup>360</sup> and of course the British Political Officer played an important role.

In summary, Sikkim, like Ladak, had under its absolute king a number of territorial chiefs, hereditary rulers of their districts with additional functions in the central government. The paramount power of the king over the local rulers was clearly established, as is shown in his ability to reassign districts and in his rights to revenue from the chiefs' districts. Unlike Lhasa and like Ladak, there were no bureaucratic traits in the central government and no well-developed local government aside from that of the local chiefs.

## 5. THE CHURCH STATE OF BHUTAN

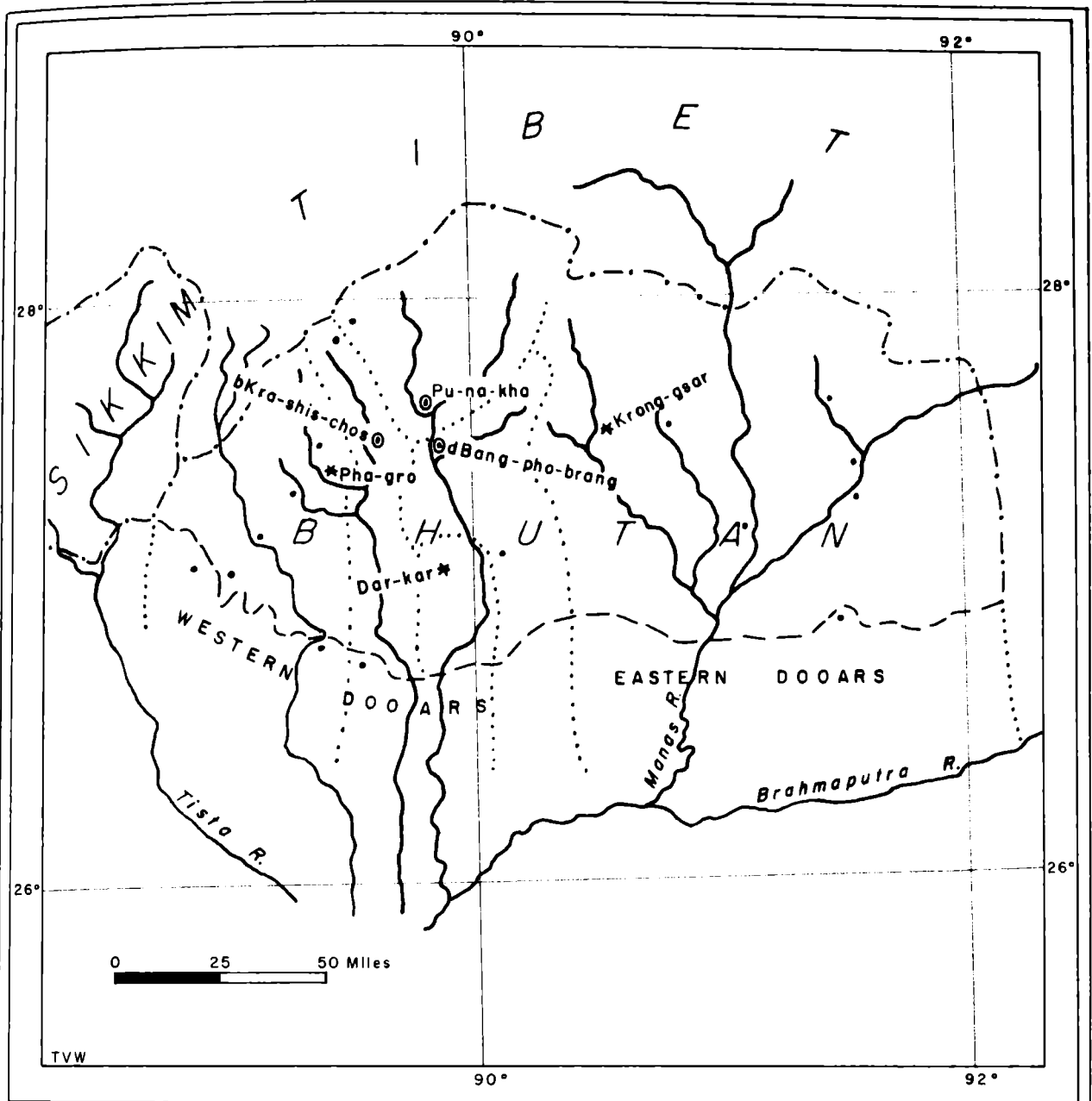
Bhutan (in Tibetan, 'Brug-yul, "land of thunder") occupies, with Sikkim, the southern slopes of the Himalayas; its territory ranges from the high valleys near the water divide down through temperate valleys into the foothills and the jungle in the immediate plain.

The hill population was estimated by Pemberton at 79, 200 in 1837, but Eden in 1864 considered this too high an estimate. His own was 20,000 for the hill areas and 40,000 for the lowlands or Dooars.<sup>361</sup>

In Bhutan, as in Sikkim, the population consisted of different ethnic groups.<sup>362</sup> The people of the mountain area were of Tibetan stock, while those of the plains were Hindus akin to the people of Assam, Cooch Behar, and Bengal. The menial and slave population of the mountain area was also of the latter kind, either recent captives or remnants of an older population.<sup>363</sup>

Some groups are defined in terms of a specific occupation or privilege. Thus there were some groups from which the high officials were recruited, other groups were yak herders, and still others were menials.<sup>364</sup>





MAP 6

BHUTAN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- · — · Borders between Tibet, Bhutan, and Sikkim
- — — Border between Bhutan and India after 1865
- · · · · Borders between the main territorial divisions of Bhutan
- ⊙ Seat of a rDzong-dpon; seasonal residences of the court
- \* Seat of a dPon-slob
- Capitals of districts subject to a dPon-slob

Kinship also enters into the picture, since at least one of the groups was clearly a descent group. The division called *Waa* or *Wang* (dbang ?) was formed by the descendants of the followers of the first Dharma Raja. The descendants of the Dharma Raja himself formed the "Clan" of *Chu-je* (Chos-rje); they were exempt from taxation and managed the affairs of the Dharma Raja.<sup>365</sup>

Finally, most groups were also regional groups, even those who had a specific occupation.<sup>366</sup>

It can probably be safely concluded that in Bhutan we have two main ethnic elements: one, which is politically dominant, formed by descendants of immigrants from Tibet; and a second formed by the older aboriginal population and peoples from the lowlands. From the Tibetan population were drawn the monks and the government officials, the top positions being reserved to members of special groups (probably clans). The people of the second element were subdivided into groups of menials in the hills (perhaps castes) or were slaves.

### *The Ruling Class*

Leaving aside possible kinship and caste groups, the basic class difference was that between the producers, farmers, and herders and the rulers, whether priests or lay officials.

Bogle in 1775 best described this basic class division:

The inhabitants . . . may properly be divided into three classes: the priests, the servants or officers of government, and the landholders and husbandmen.

The priests are formed from among the body of the people. They are received at an early age; instructed in the arts and initiated in the mysteries of the profession for which they are destined. When admitted into orders, they take a vow to live chaste, to kill no living creature and to abstain from eating animal food on the day on which it is killed.

The second class comprehends ministers, governors of provinces, collectors and all their train of dependents. These, though not absolutely prohibited from marriage, yet finding it a bar to their preferment, seldom enter into that state. They are taken like the priests, from families in the country; are bred up in the palaces under the patronage of some man in office, by whom they are fed and clothed, but receive no wages; they seldom arrive at places of trust or consequence till far advanced in life; and having passed through all the different

gradations of service, it is no uncommon thing to see a minister as expert in mending a shoe or making a tunic, as in settling the business of the nation.

The landholders and husbandmen, although by far the most numerous class, and that which gives birth to the other two are entirely excluded from any share in the administration. They live at home, cultivate their lands, pay taxes, serve in the wars, and beget children who succeed to honours to which they themselves could never aspire.<sup>367</sup>

Davis, who gives the same three divisions, wrote in 1783 of the lay officials:

The second order of the inhabitants of Boutan, called Zeen-Caab, are like the priests received when young from families in the country and bred up in the public castles and palaces. Their department lies in the performance of more active duties and they are very properly styled "servants of government." They attend at the public buildings to see that provisions, firewood and other necessaries are supplied regularly by the country people and in short superintend every public service of labour, which they themselves, however are exempted from. . . .

In war this class arm themselves and take the field and are esteemed those on whom the Rajah can most depend for attachment, activity and courage.

They seldom arrive at any office or government of importance, such appointments being always occupied by the priests.

They marry and possess farms and are appointed to preside in some of the inferior districts; but are expected to be ready when called upon for duty, either at the palace or in the field. None of them however while residing in the public building where the gylong [dge-slong] are lodged, can possibly have the society of his family; no females being admitted except in the day time as coolies with loads, to stay no longer than is necessary for the dispatch of the business they are employed on. The gates of these buildings are regularly closed every evening about dusk.<sup>368</sup>

Little can be added to this picture. One important point is that the lay officials were not quite recruited from the peasant population at large but only from some groups, and the higher positions could be reached only by members of the dominant families. As to requirements for the monkhood, we do not have any information, but

one would expect that as in Sikkim only the sons of high-ranking families are to be admitted to the main monasteries. In the case of the Dharma Raja one source says that he always reincarnated in the royal family (chos-rje).<sup>369</sup>

The head of the Bhutanese state was a church hierarch of the 'Brug-pa sect, and the whole of Bhutan can be considered as a church endowment.

The 'Brug-pa monks of Bhutan renounced all connection with women and the cultivation of the ground. Each of the main forts was connected with a monastic college (grwa-tshang), where the state monks resided.<sup>370</sup> There were 500 each in *Tashicho-dzong* and *Punakha*, 300 each in *Paro* and *Tongsa*, 250 at *Taka*, and 200 in *Wangdu-Phodrang*, besides one or two at each of the stations of the inferior officers, supposed to be about 300, making altogether some 2,000 monks. There were also other monasteries (dgon-pa) with a total of 3,150 monks. These monasteries were chiefly founded by Deb rajas or other retired officers of state.

All the monks residing in the capitals with the government officers were fed from the state storehouses, while those residing in the country monasteries had to support themselves, although they were also entitled to their share of the alms distributed by the government.<sup>371</sup>

These country monasteries probably had landed endowments. There is no definite report on this point, but the Laws of Bhutan state that "no freehold grants to lamas for their support shall be sold,"<sup>372</sup> and Eden remarked that the best lands of each village were generally in the possession of the monks.<sup>373</sup>

The earliest reports also emphasize the political pre-eminence of the monks:

Among these different classes the priests in point of political importance hold the first place. . . . The lamas<sup>374</sup> though nominally supreme in the government, yet, as they owe their appointment to the priests, are tutored by them from their earliest infancy, and deriving all their knowledge of public affairs from them, are entirely under their management. The right of electing the Deb Rajah is vested in the superiors of their order, jointly with the lamas. He is bound to consult with them as to peace or war, and in general to take no measure of consequence without their advice and approbation. He is accountable to them for the exercise of his power and holds it only during their pleasure. Their sacred profession so far from disqualifying them from the conduct of civil affairs, is the

means of advancing them to it. They are often appointed to the government of provinces, employed as ministers, or entrusted with other offices of the first consideration in the state. The chief is frequently chosen from the sacerdotal order, or if from among the lay officers is immediately received into it.<sup>375</sup>

Davis also found, in 1783, the following situation:

The government of the country, as well as particular districts is completely in the hands of the priests. They are in fact the noblesse of the country, exercising under the sanction of religion a pre-eminence over the common people on whose labours they entirely subsist and to whose services on all emergencies they lay claim.<sup>376</sup>

When Davis met the Deb Raja he found that his principal attendants were the "Kelidar,"<sup>377</sup> the *dewan*, the chamberlain (*gzim-dpon*), and the chamberlain's nephew. They were all monks.<sup>378</sup>

Not only were the monks pre-eminent in government, but the life of the lay officials also had a monastic quality. Most writers remark on the rule that the lay officials were celibate or if married they lived separated from their families or even renounced them when reaching important positions.<sup>379</sup>

The reason for this rule is stated by Bogle: "When they rise to any post of honour and trust in their country they are separated from their families, and never after permitted to hold any intercourse with them lest their attachment to their children should induce them to attempt rendering the government hereditary in their families."<sup>380</sup>

Another practice which brought the life of the lay officials close to that of monks was having their meals in common at the forts.<sup>381</sup> Although it is mentioned that, if married, they had their houses and farms, it is undoubtedly significant that these are never mentioned as an important source of income.<sup>382</sup> In theory, according to Eden's report in 1864, celibacy was supposed to be observed by all the officials in Bhutan, and the origin of the rule was that formerly only lamas were eligible for office.<sup>383</sup>

It seems most probable that the officialdom formed a special branch or grade of the monkhood, like the *las-byed-pa* ("workers") monks reported by Ramsay in Ladak who devote themselves to the administration of the monastic property, or the *tGar-na-pa*, "lay officials to serve with the lamas and assist them in secular business," appointed by the king of Sikkim when he founded and endowed the *Pemiiongchi* monastery.<sup>384</sup>

Pemberton in 1838 reports the case of a provincial governor (dpon-slob) of *Tongsa*; it seems that at his time the breaking of the rules was grave:

The late Tongso Pillo who had a family before he obtained the rank complied for a time with the injunction [of celibacy] but shortly afterwards violated it in opposition to the remonstrances of the priests who form a very large proportion of the establishment of his castle; he was in consequence no longer permitted to share in their meals, and though he continued too powerful to be summarily removed from office, the impurity supposed to have been contracted by this relapse, excluded him from the castles of Poonakh and Tassisudon and from the presence of the Dhurma and Deb Rajahs. <sup>385</sup>

In spite of this, however, the British envoys during the nineteenth century actually found most high officials married. At the time of Eden's mission, wives of officials were excluded from the forts. In the Paro Valley Eden remarks on the pretty villages and accounts for their prosperous look as follows:

. . . they belonged to the sepoy and officials of the fort; we ascertained that every evening the whole of the garrison of the fort was allowed to leave and remain in their own homes for the night; many of them were on a sort of furlough and were permitted to remain in the villages for months together and during harvest and seed time the men are nearly all absent at their little farms. <sup>386</sup>

The same thing applied to the high officials. <sup>387</sup> At the time of White's visit in 1905 the women were still excluded from the forts, <sup>388</sup> but most high officials were married, and in 1907 a hereditary maharaja was proclaimed.

In spite of the scattered information the main lines of a change can perhaps be drawn. Bhutan began as a state under church rule, governed by the monks with the help of a group of lay officials who seem to have been bound by some monastic rules, perhaps even belonging to some grade of the monastic hierarchy. The forts with monasteries attached, as travelers report them, should perhaps more properly be styled monasteries with governmental offices attached to them. All through the nineteenth century, however, there was a strengthening of the lay officials, who gradually occupied all the political offices, married, and kept all the positions within their control; eventually, one family succeeded in becoming the hereditary lay rulers of the country.

*Political Organization*

During the nineteenth century the head of the Bhutanese state was a hierarch, Incarnation of Naropa and head of the 'Brug-pa order (the Zhabs-drung rin-po-che, usually called Dharma Raja by English writers).<sup>389</sup> He was not supposed to attend to the temporal affairs of his realm. For this purpose the head of the government was the 'Brug sde-srid or phyag-mdzod, the Deb Raja of English writers, named by a council of high officials and provincial rulers.<sup>390</sup>

The Deb Raja and his court administered a minimum part of the country (1/64), and a similar amount was under the Dharma Raja. Bhutan was divided among six provincial governors. They were the spyi-bla or dpon-slob (*Chiolah, Penlow, or Pillo* of English writers) of *Paro* (Pha-gro, or Rin-spungs), *Taka* (Dar-kar), and *Tongsa* (Krong-gsar); and the rdzong-dpon of *Tashicho-dzong* (bKra-shis-chos-rdzong), *Punakha* (Pu-na-kha or sPungs), and *Wangdu-Phodrang* (*Wandipoor* of some writers, dBang pho-brang, or dBang, for short).<sup>391</sup> Each of these provincial governors had lesser local officials under them with a variety of titles, usually rdzong-dpon. They all were revenue officers as well as judges.

The Dharma Raja, the Deb Raja, and the provincial governors had a number of officials under their orders. The Deb Raja had a *zimpe*, or "private *dewan*" (chamberlain, gzim-dpon), a *zim-pemum* or "steward," a dony, "public *dewan* and sheriff" (mgron-gnyer), a mgron-tshab, or deputy mgron-gnyer, a warden of the fort's gate, a chief of messengers and soldiers, a head groom, a storekeeper of rice, a keeper of salt and groceries, a chief butterman, a larder, a chief cook, a physician, and two secretaries. The provincial governors are said to have had similar staffs. Every high official from the Dharma Raja to the subordinates of the Deb Raja or the provincial governors also had a number of soldiers and messengers according to rank. Each administrative center also had a monastery attached to it with a specified number of monks.<sup>392</sup>

The Dharma Raja and the Deb Raja with all their officials did not have fixed residences. They spent the winters at *Punakha* and the summers at *Tashicho-dzong*, except for thirteen days spent at *Wangdu-Phodrang* when moving from one place to the other. Once each season at each of the two main residences a great assembly and religious ceremony was held when the officials gave account of their administration. This was also the time when new officials could be appointed.<sup>393</sup>

The council that named the Deb Raja and assisted him in the

government was formed by the six provincial governors (dpon-slob or spyi-bla, and rdzong dpon) and by the highest officials under the Dharma Raja and the Deb Raja, although there are slightly different reports on its exact composition.<sup>394</sup>

In the document proclaiming an hereditary king in 1907 all the officials signing are grouped in three ranks, the highest of which consists of the members of the council, the second of officials of their court or dependent districts, and the third of officials of unspecified titles from the provincial capitals.<sup>395</sup>

The officials of government were supposed to go through a scale of offices going from the lowest ranking to the highest. They started as soldiers or messengers, became next local district officials of three different categories under the provincial governors. Then they could become chamberlain (gzim-dpon) to a provincial governor (dpon-slob) eventually to become themselves dpon-slob. The next step was to become Deb Raja.<sup>396</sup>

This scale of offices was not equally open to all. The highest positions could be occupied only by officials coming from some privileged families. It is clear from the specific cases reported that the highest officials were all closely related, and their children succeeded in reaching high offices.<sup>397</sup>

According to theory, appointment to office took place at one of the two yearly assemblies. The Deb Raja was named from among the councillors for terms of three years. He in his turn named the provincial governors of dpon-slob, and these named all their subordinates.<sup>398</sup>

In practice Bhutan continuously went through a series of revolts by which officials fought their way up, and in this struggle the provincial governors of *Paro* and *Tongsa* were usually the most powerful and the main contenders to become Deb Raja or to dictate to him; the Deb Raja was usually unable to dominate these two most powerful governors.

All the reports on Bhutan always mention a revolt going on or recently consummated, the rules of orderly succession being broken. Thus there were cases of people of "low extraction" who managed to reach high positions, supposedly reserved for members of privileged lineage, and of low officials who suddenly reach high positions without going through regular promotions.<sup>399</sup> Also, a powerful official could unduly extend his term of office.<sup>400</sup>

Very often because of raging revolts, there was more than one claimant to a position.<sup>401</sup>



*Revenue*

The Laws of Bhutan contained in the Lho'i Chos 'byung commend good treatment of the peasants and consider the contentment of the peasants, together with respect for the officials and the support of the monkhood, as the three ends to be secured by the state.<sup>402</sup> It is even said that the first Dharma Raja made a code of laws for the protection of the peasants, forbidding the levy of anything beyond voluntary contributions.<sup>403</sup>

The reports of the British visitors to the country, on the other hand, portray a picture of great oppression but without precisely describing the ways of raising revenue. Eden writes thus about the revenue system:

Strictly speaking there is no system. The only limit on the revenue demand is the natural limit of the power of the officials to extort more. Nothing that a Booteah possesses is his own; he is at all times liable to lose it if it attracts the cupidity of any one more powerful than himself. The lower classes, whether of villagers or public servants, are little better than the slaves of the higher officials. In regard to them no rights of property are observed and they have at once to surrender anything that is demanded of them.<sup>404</sup>

As mentioned in the chapter on the peasantry the Bhutanese peasant held his land as lifetime assignment from the state. At his death it probably was resumable in theory but it was in practice transmitted undivided to his successors.<sup>405</sup> In return for his holding, the peasant was responsible for contributions in kind and labor.

A sizable portion of the grain crop was due to the state, but nowhere is the basis of assessment clearly described. "Whatever rice they grow," wrote Bose, "is taken almost entirely for revenue by the Government, and they are also obliged to deliver the grass and straw. Of wheat they retain a larger portion and they do not give to Government any part of their *dhemsi*."<sup>406</sup> This description implies that the state took a determined share of the crop. Eden's report on the other hand, describes a village assessment based on the seed capacity of the land:

The lands of each village were estimated many years ago as being capable of being sown with a certain number of measures of seed; this estimate was duly placed on record, and the

demand standing against the village was fixed at forty measures of grain for each such measure of seed. The population is very rapidly decreasing and the land is going out of cultivation; no allowance, however, is made to the village on this account; the remaining villagers are expected to make the deficiency; this of course they cannot do, and the consequence is that the demand is insisted on; a constant screw is applied to extort the quantity of grain leviable under the old settlement made in the days of Bootanese prosperity, and all the village property is held liable to seizure until this amount is made up.

A field is calculated to produce a certain quantity and the cultivator shows that he has only a certain quantity of grain to be extracted from him by pointing to the fields and offering to surrender the whole of the estimated produce except the usual subsistence allowance which all cultivators are permitted to keep; but in point of fact his whole energies are devoted to making the land produce twice what it is estimated to produce.<sup>407</sup>

Another report says that each family was rated at a particular sum often received in produce "according to its substance."<sup>408</sup> Charles Bell, contrasting the Tibetan, Sikkimese, and Bhutanese units of land taxation, states that in Bhutan each landholder paid according to the number of members in his household, not on the basis of his general prosperity, as in Sikkim, nor on the basis of the seed capacity of the land, as in Tibet.<sup>409</sup>

The peasant landholders also contributed blankets at a low price; provided the usual transportation services of animals, porters, and supplies; gave other kinds of labor such as building; and were subject to military service.<sup>410</sup>

Animals were taxed; each cow paid six narrainee rupees and two seers of butter per month<sup>411</sup> and all colts became the property of the state, peasants keeping only the fillies.<sup>412</sup>

Further revenue was obtained from fines,<sup>413</sup> from the property of the dead, which escheated to the government,<sup>414</sup> from presents from officials upon appointment, and from trade.<sup>415</sup>

Up to the war with the British in 1864-65, Bhutan controlled part of the lowlands, the so-called *Dooars*, inhabited by non-Tibetan peoples. This area contributed a very important proportion of the total revenue of Bhutan, about Rs. 40,000 a year out of a total revenue of not quite two lakhs of rupees.<sup>416</sup> Land tenure conditions in this area have not been considered.<sup>417</sup>

*Income of Officials*

The Dharma Raja and the Deb Raja with their respective dependent officials collected the revenue from only a limited territory in the lowlands; each controlled directly about 1/64 of the total territory of Bhutan. The greater part of the country was under the provincial governors. The *Paro* dpon-slob, with 1/4 of the country, and the *Tongsa* dpon-slob, with 9/32, were the most powerful and controlled most of the *Dooars*. The *Taka* dpon-slob had 3/16 of the country, the *Tashicho-dzong* rdzong-dpon 1/8, and the *Wangdu-Phodrang* rdzong-dpon 3/32. The rdzong-dpon of *Punakha*, with 1/32 of the country was the only one who did not control a section of the lowlands.<sup>418</sup>

The court of the Dharma Raja and the Deb Raja was supported by the province where it resided, that is, half the year by *Punakha* and the other half by *Tashicho-dzong*, with the exception of thirteen days when they resided in and were supported by *Wangdu-Phodrang*. All the officials from the Dharma Raja to the soldiers and messengers received daily rations of rice. The government stores also provided them with tea, clothes, and other necessities.

The provincial governors of *Paro*, *Wangdu-Phodrang*, *Taka*, and *Tongsa* made yearly payments in cash to the court. Although information is lacking it can be assumed that the officials in each provincial fort received allowances from the provincial stores similar to those of the officials of the Deb Raja and the Dharma Raja.<sup>419</sup>

All officials also held their posts on farming terms; that is, all the revenue they could collect above their stipulated obligations became their personal property.<sup>420</sup>

The best available information refers to the Deb Raja. He received the above cash contributions from the provincial governors. His court and the Dharma Raja's were entitled to daily rations of rice from the government stores of the fort where the court was residing; the daily allowance of the Deb Raja was three pounds. The Deb Raja also received income from the following sources: (1) presents offered by all persons upon being appointed to an office; (2) the whole revenue of lowland estates in Moinagooree and other places, about Rs. 30,000 a year; (3) trade, with a capital of about Rs. 40,000; (4) a fine in all cases of homicide of Rs. 126 from the offender; (5) the property of all officials on their demise, except those dependent upon the Dharma Raja, who in such cases gained the property; (6) profit from presents of horses, silk, salt,

and hoes to the farmers, for which he received much more than their value in return.

With all these sources of income he had to feed the officials of government and attend to the religious ceremonies. When vacating his office he had to leave to his successor Rs. 500 in cash in the treasury, 126 slaves, 126 horses, and the ensigns and appendages of state; the remainder of his wealth he could retire as he pleased but upon his death the ruling Deb Raja became the heir to his property.<sup>421</sup>

Landed estates as a source of income are mentioned only for the Dharma Raja and the Deb Raja,<sup>422</sup> but they were really office lands the whole revenue of which went to the temporary holder of the post as one of various sources of income, all of them held on farming terms. They were not personal estates such as those of the nobility of Lhasa. They are really comparable to the half of Bhutan held by the *Paro* dpon-slob, that is, a province from which revenue is raised by a local official.

The officials who were married and had their family residences outside the forts also had some farmland,<sup>423</sup> but it is significant that while some writers go into details of the income of various officials none of them mentions land. The main sources of income as a whole for the official class seem to have been the profits from holding their jobs on farming terms and their rice and other allowances from the public stores.

In summary, the political and financial organization of Bhutan was patterned after that of a monastery and its endowment. The 'Brugpa order was the only one in the country and its head, the Dharma Raja, was the supreme ruler. The actual administration, however, was in the hands of a special group of officials, corresponding to the non-studying monks who in the monasteries devote themselves to the administration of the monastic properties.

Monks and officials had no private property either in landed estates or political office. They held various offices for short terms, passing through a graded sequence, and they drew their income from allowances issued by the state storehouses and from their posts, held on farming terms.

In comparison with other Tibetan states the most remarkable trait was the absence of hereditary landed estates as the main source of income for the officials, and the apparently greater social mobility within and into the official class. In this respect the officialdom of old Bhutan closely resembled the monk officials of Lhasa, without a class corresponding to the lay nobility of Lhasa.

## 5. CONCLUSION

MANY WRITERS have defined Tibet as a feudal country or have employed a feudal terminology in describing its organization and history. The topic of this essay--the land system and its relation to political organization--is the core of any discussion as to whether Tibet is feudal or not. Such a discussion would demand first a clarification of what are the diagnostic features of feudalism. Feudalism is one of the most loosely used words in the vocabulary of the social scientist and the politician. As a type of social and political organization once prevalent in Europe it has been well defined.<sup>1</sup> As a type of society of possible world-wide occurrence it has received widely different meanings. In the usage of some writers it seems to include practically all class societies based on an agrarian economy. Others would consider as its distinctive feature the existence of a certain kind of personal relationship--vassalage--as the basis of the political organization.

In comparison with European feudalism, Tibet offers great similarity in a few fundamental traits such as the importance of labor rent, the granting of land in return for services, and the close connection of rights over land with political functions. In this essay the terminology of European feudalism has been avoided in order not to suggest misleading interpretations; but it is clear that the Tibetan landed estates as units of production resemble the manor, and as rewards for services are comparable to the fief, while the home lands of an estate correspond to the lord's demesne, and the labor services of the Tibetan peasant to the European *corvée*.

On the basis of these fundamental traits shared by Tibet with feudal Europe it can be said that both situations present a roughly similar level of complexity in which a still simple division of labor does not allow for a differentiation between the economically dominant class and the personnel of government. There is a 'primitive

fusion" of economic, political, and military roles which in more complex societies become differentiated.<sup>2</sup> Both feudal Europe and Tibet had a status economy, not a market economy. The limited development of a mercantile economy results in the fact that most exchanges are not made in money but in kind or labor, and large or long-range payments are made, especially by the government, by granting the source of wealth itself, which in most cases is land. Payments in land--whether fiefs or office lands--are, then, fundamental in both situations.

But the granting of land, even if a basic trait, is not diagnostic of feudalism. As a feudal institution the grants of land are part of personal, contractual relations of vassalage which establish well-defined and limited duties between members of a military class and form the basis of the political system. The situation in Tibet is different. Here land is granted as salary to officials of an absolute ruler who demands unrestricted obedience and who can resume the land at will.<sup>3</sup> Rather than in Europe, the closest parallels to the precise type of land grants and the general political set-up of Tibet are found in India and the Islamic countries, in what Max Weber called *praebendal* feudalism.<sup>4</sup>

The posing of the question whether Tibet is feudal or not implies the existence of a typological classification of all existing societies. But it is doubtful whether the social sciences have developed such a classification. Furthermore, not all social forms can be analyzed with equal profit in reference to a given typological scheme. While the concept of feudalism raises some important questions for an interpretation of Tibetan society, the theory of Oriental or Hydraulic society as developed by Wittfogel provides a more useful frame of reference to classify Tibetan society as belonging to a certain type. The absolute proprietary rights of the state, the fact that the upper class receives its income as shares of state revenue, the absence of strong private property in land, and the state's control over most trade and industry, all fit Tibet into Wittfogel's simple form of Oriental society. If greater weight were given to the existence of some free trade, Tibet could then be classified as belonging in his semicomplex type.<sup>5</sup>

In this concluding chapter we shall outline those characteristics which we consider basic to an understanding of the social structure of Tibet and which must be taken into account in any typological comparison. We shall also try to compare regional variants and to relate them to the over-all historical development of Tibet.<sup>6</sup>

## THE LAND SYSTEM

In Tibet all land is considered to belong to the ruler. Individuals can hold land only from the ruler, who has the right to resume it at will. There is thus no private property in land in the Western sense.

The mobilization of land is limited. There is no free transfer of land, and the power to sell is restricted or completely lacking. Inheritance is the main form of transfer, and even in such cases no subdivision of land is made.

Those who hold land from the state owe, in return, duties which are usually rendered in kind or labor. One type of labor service is agricultural labor, which is connected with the working of public lands to raise state revenue. Assignments of land, either by the state or by its grantees, are given in payment for all kinds of obligations. The main types of land existing in Tibet can be classified according to several criteria. According to the relation between the land and the producer, there is, first, peasant land, granted to peasants as family allotments in return for which they have to pay taxes and labor services; and second, demesne land, not allotted to peasants but directly managed by the state or its grantee and worked with the labor of servants or conscripted peasants.

Another criterion is the nature of the recipient of the surplus produced by the peasantry. Both demesne land and the revenue from peasant land can be either received and managed by the state through its treasury or any other office, or else granted out to noblemen or monasteries.

In this way we have four initial categories of land, with the possibility of still further subdivisions: peasant land paying dues to the state, peasant land the revenue from which is paid to a grantee, demesne land managed by the state, and demesne land granted out.

In the consideration of the basic units of production and management, however, it makes little difference who is the recipient of the surplus. Two basic types of holdings clearly stand out: (1) the peasant allotment, held, managed, and worked by a peasant family; in the form of taxes or service this always is the source of a surplus which can be received either by the state or by a grantee; (2) a holding of land involving in one form or another the extraction of surplus from the peasants, constituting what we have called an estate.<sup>7</sup> An estate may consist simply of the right to collect the revenue from a number of peasant households, but most commonly

it includes demesne land. Since this demesne land has to be cultivated, the estate also includes the right to draft regular peasants to do farm work, and/or farm workers who are paid, in lieu of salary, with assigned lots from the demesne land.

Of these two types of holdings, the peasant allotment materializes the rights over land held by the peasant producers; the estate, the rights exercised by the state. They thus correspond to two different levels of organization and the holders constitute the two major classes of Tibetan society.

The peasantry mainly consists of the holders of family allotments. Since part of their duty is working the demesne lands, the landless farm-workers of demesne lands occupy only a secondary although important role.<sup>8</sup> The holders of estates constitute the ruling class organized into a state.

That both peasant holdings and estates form part of a single land system comes out very clearly from a comparison of the two.

As regards the forms of tenure, they are both held from the ruler, who has the right to resume the land. In both cases the assigned land is not freely alienable and it is transmitted undivided by inheritance. The family organization is related to this form of inheritance. If there are several sons, polyandry makes a place for them in the undivided household, or else monasticism finds a place for them outside. If there is a lack of males, the adoption of a son-in-law insures the continuity of the household as a unit. These rules apply both to peasants and to lay noblemen. In the case of church hierarchs the transmission of estates can be done either by inheritance or by reincarnation. The problem of inheritance, of course, does not arise in the case of the estates of monasteries or of those directly administered by the state.

The close connection between the landholder, whether peasant or noblemen, and the land is seen in the fact that the man is named after the land. If a man takes up a vacant holding he takes the land's name.

Peasant and nobleman hold their land in return for service (khral) to the ruler. A peasant's khral is the contributions in kind and the labor services. A nobleman's khral is first of all the service rendered as officer of the state.

As regards the management of land there is a great difference between the two in that the peasant is the immediate producer while the noblemen is simply the receiver of surplus produce. But both in the peasant holding and in the nobleman's estate we can find again the practice of making payments in land: a farmer gives plots for his dependent relatives or farm workers; a nobleman



gives plots for dependent relatives or as wage-land for the farm workers on the demesne land. The farm of a wealthy peasant with many farm workers would then come close to a nobleman's estate, except that the latter can also have tax-paying peasants under his control. Some such transitional cases may well exist, but apparently the small plot of the average peasant keeps the line between the two classes sharply defined.

The state regulation of peasant land, the direct administration of some estates, and the granting of others as payment or donations to nobleman and monasteries necessitate the keeping of detailed records. Although they are not available for study, the existence of cadasters and other land documents in the districts and in the capital is well attested.

The relation of land to the revenue system is difficult to characterize. It is clear that the peasant household is the basic unit of taxation, but in Tibet there are many taxes, some in money, but mostly in kind or labor services, all of which are levied to meet specific needs of the state organization. There are thus duties levied in grain, butter, animals, transport, farm labor, and so forth. Taxes and services are usually named after the product or labor they provide, but the unit that is taxed and the rate of assessment are rarely stated in our sources. The picture is also complicated because of regional differences, since each area pays in whatever goods or labor it can best provide. Furthermore, the assessment is often made of the village community as a whole and the determination of the load on each peasant is left to the community.<sup>9</sup>

During the recent period in Central Tibet there are apparently (1) household or head taxes, usually levied in money; (2) a land tax in grain assessed in terms of the amount of seed sown in the land; and (3) extra taxes in kind and labor services, levied on each household, apparently not at a fixed rate but varying according to the needs of the state. Animals are also taxed and in pastoral areas taxes in animal products replace the grain tax in importance.

Recent information on some areas, especially Western Tibet, and on older historical periods, shows that the basis of the revenue system approaches one of allotting equal holdings to each peasant household. The household of the land-holding peasant is then the basis of taxation; land is not taken into account at all, or only very roughly by classifying holdings into full, half, or quarter allotments. The difference between the house tax and the grain tax is, then, that one is paid in cash, the other in grain; the unit bearing

the tax, in these and in all other taxes and services, is the land-holding peasant family.

Other systems of equal peasant holdings, such as in early T'ang China or Incan Peru, resort to periodic reallotments of land in order to maintain the balance between population and land, keeping equal the tax-bearing ability of each household. Some kind of land redistribution is apparent in Tibet in at least two instances.<sup>10</sup> But on the whole it can be said that the problem in Tibet, with stationary or decreasing population and heavy taxation, has been not to provide land for new householders but to keep the peasants on their land.<sup>11</sup> Provision for new allotments, although reported, does not seem to be a basic feature of the Tibetan land system. This is clear from the prevailing rules of inheritance. The transmission of the undivided holding to a single inheritor results in a mechanical reallotment of the holding by inheritance. Resumption and reallotment of a holding are necessary only in the case of a family left without an heir, and this is unusual because of the possibility of adoption. Male children of a landholder other than the inheritor are taken care of by polyandry and monasticism. It would appear, then, that rules of inheritance, polyandry, monasticism, and the revenue system combine to produce a rigid and static distribution of land. The scarcity of the information available makes it impossible to tell to what extent such a system has been approached in reality. It is an important problem to work out in further research.

We can conclude, then, that, as far as the land system is concerned, Tibet offers traits characteristic of Wittfogel's simple type of Oriental society: the absolute property of the state, the corresponding lack of private and transferable property of land, and upper-class income received as assigned shares of state revenue. Tibet is further characterized by indivisible peasant allotments maintained by single inheritance, polyandry, and monasticism; by the existence of public lands under the direct administration of the state or its grantees, worked by the drafted labor of peasants; and by the general use of the assignment of land as a mode of payment.<sup>12</sup>

## TRADE AND INDUSTRY

The former characterization of Tibetan society has been based on an analysis of the land system. An examination of the importance of trade and industry does not significantly change the picture.

The limited scope of the private economy and the strong control by the state also stand out clearly.

All segments of the Tibetan population engage in trade: government, monasteries, individual officials, monks, and peasants. Some writers even characterize Tibet as a nation of traders.<sup>13</sup>

In many areas the most profitable items of trade, such as tea, wool, or rice, are government monopolies.<sup>14</sup> The government either has its own trade agents, or grants or leases trading privileges to monasteries, noblemen, or private traders.<sup>15</sup> Officials may obtain at favorable rates from the government capital which they invest at a higher interest.<sup>16</sup> And abusing their position as officials, they may use the transportation services of the peasants in their private trade or force their items of trade upon their subjects.<sup>17</sup> The monasteries and especially the Living Buddhas are among the greatest traders of the country. They are also the main money-lenders, to whom even wealthy noble families are in debt.<sup>18</sup>

The importance of commoner traders is limited. Many are in the employ of the government, the officials, or the monasteries. There are some wealthy traders in Lhasa, but their social status is relatively low. As commoners they rank below the lowest officials and are not allowed to wear silk. Noblemen who trust them with goods always expect a profit no matter what the outcome of the trade.<sup>19</sup> Only some local groups, like the Gro-mo-pa in the Chumbi Valley, advantageously located on the main trade route to India, have successfully specialized in trade.<sup>20</sup>

Petty trade is practiced by peasants and herders, often in connection with pilgrimage. The exchange of agricultural and pastoral products is everywhere an important aspect of trade.<sup>21</sup>

Specialization in crafts does not result in well-defined artisan classes. Some crafts are home industries in which every household engages. Other more specialized activities, such as the manufacturing of certain textiles, are carried on by the government, or by noblemen who manage them, at least in part, with the labor services of their agricultural subjects.<sup>22</sup> Other craftsmen are heavily burdened by their obligation to supply their wares to the government at very low prices.<sup>23</sup> The monks also perform an important role in many occupations. Some trades, such as painting and printing, are primarily the activity of monk artisans.<sup>24</sup>

Mining is of little importance. The gold mines of mNga'-ris are farmed out by the government to a contractor every three years. In one case reported, the contractor was one of the district of-

officials of the province.<sup>25</sup> Peasants are made to give free labor in the mines.<sup>26</sup>

It is significant that several groups of traders and craftsmen are outside what might be called "normal" society, either as foreigners or as outcasts. Many of the traders, shopkeepers, and artisans of Lhasa are foreigners: Kashmiri, Nepalese, or Chinese; even the Tibetan traders are from Khams. In other areas foreign traders are also met, such as the Bhotias in mNga'-ris and the Chinese Moslems in A-mdo.

At the bottom of the social scale there are outcast groups, craft specialists, who have little connection with land. In Central Tibet they are fishermen, ferrymen, smiths, corpse-cutters, and butchers. These castes are endogamous; their members live in segregated quarters, may eat only with caste-fellows, and are barred from entering the church. In Western Tibet the main outcasts are smiths and musicians, apparently of Indian origin.

Thus, although crafts, trade, and usury are important activities and there is some private enterprise, these circumstances have not led to the formation of a powerful middle class. In fact, social differences based on trade and industry reinforce the stratification based on land and the control of political power. The state directs and controls trade, and the highest profits go into the pockets of church hierarchs and officials. In all aspects of the economy the state draws the surplus. As the Tibetan proverb says: 'Private fortunes run into the royal treasury as water runs into the valley.'<sup>27</sup>

### THE RULING CLASS

We have defined the ruling class of Tibet as a group of people who are at the same time the officials of the state and the controllers of the land. There are, however, subdivisions within the ruling class. These subdivisions are to be defined in terms of the process of class reproduction and of the relation between members' rights over land and their political functions. The categories thus defined can be used in comparing the structures of the different regions with other regions and with the historical development of Tibet.

Two basic criteria are applied in examining the relation between rights over land and political functions. One refers to the precise way in which rights over land are related to political functions. Is ownership of a certain land enjoyed in return for a specific political function, or only for generalized duty to serve in government, resulting in variable actual offices? Or, is the land held without any obligation to a superior? Conversely, are political functions

rewarded with grants of land? If so, what kinds of rights over land are implied, and where is the land located in relation to the seat of the political function? Or are political functions rewarded in ways other than by grants of land?

Another criterion is the way and the degree to which the rights to land and to political office are appropriated by individuals and groups, or conditionally held from and subordinated to the supreme power of the state.

In applying these criteria we find in Tibet three main subdivisions within the ruling class: (1) the territorial chiefs, (2) the bureaucratic nobility, and (3) the monk officials.

(1) In the case of territorial chiefs, land and political function are closely tied together. The chief is the local ruler in the territory from which he draws his income, and that is his main or only political function. He receives dues from the people he rules. The chiefs of Lha-rgya-ri and Po-yul and the rulers of the petty states of Khams are territorial chiefs. In their case the position is inherited. Among the church hierarchs, the heads of petty states, such as the hereditary Sa-skya abbot or the reincarnated lamas of the dGe-lugs-pa order, are also territorial chiefs since they are the local rulers of their extensive estates.

In these cases there are differences in the degree of independence from or subordination to the central government, but in all cases the political function of the chief as local ruler is exercised over the same territory and people from which he receives his income. Since both land and political function are transmitted by inheritance or reincarnation, they can be considered to be permanently appropriated by the territorial chiefs.

(2) In the case of the bureaucratic nobility of Lhasa, we find a hereditary nobility, the members of which are endowed with hereditary family estates. In their estates the noblemen also have jurisdictional rights, which make them similar to territorial chiefs, but this is not their main political function. They hold their estates subject to the rendering of service to the state as officials, and as reward for the rendering of such service. As officials they obtain additional income from salaries and revenue farming. While the estates are hereditary the political offices are not, and a nobleman will occupy during his life a series of different offices. In this way no office is attached to any particular estate; the noble official exercises his main political function outside his hereditary estate. Land and political office are clearly separated.

Furthermore, the political organization of which the noblemen form a part is a bureaucratic one, which prevents the individual

appropriation of office. It is characterized by the formal training of the noble officials, short terms of office with frequent changes, promotions based on seniority, and employment in most offices of teams of officials who are jointly responsible. The supreme power of the state, the Dalai Lama, is beyond the reach of the nobility. The Dalai Lama reincarnates in a commoner, and although his family is granted noble status, it does not give officials to the state until after his death.<sup>28</sup>

In the case of the bureaucratic nobility we find, then, that they enjoy hereditary landed estates, which, although conditional upon the rendering of service and resumable by the state, are under normal conditions permanently appropriated. As to political functions, on the other hand, the noblemen have a permanent right to share in the administration of the state, but they do so by means of participation in a bureaucratic organization which makes impossible the permanent appropriation of any one office.

(3) In contrast with hereditary noblemen and territorial chiefs, monk officials do not inherit their status. They are for the most part recruited from among the commoner monks. They render their services to the state in the same bureaucratic set-up as the lay officials. Unlike them they do not receive any landed estates but receive all their income from salaries and from holding some jobs on farming terms. Those who hold the posts of minister or district official also enjoy during tenure the estates attached to these offices. In these cases, since the offices are never permanently appropriated, neither are the lands attached to them. Otherwise the only right over land these monk officials can be considered to have is their right to a share of the land revenue which they receive as salary or as profit from revenue farming. Basically, then, the monk officials participate in government but without the possibility of appropriation of office, and they enjoy a share of the revenue of the country but without individual appropriation of land.

In all cases, territorial chiefs, bureaucratic noblemen, or monk officials, rights over land imply a political function, and vice versa; officials always receive a share of the land revenue in one form or another. There is no class of private landowners not engaged in government, and there is no group of officials that does not also have a privileged economic position. That is, there is no separation between economic power and political power. The same people who control the land also control the state; in fact, they *are* the state; and the state, that is, its personnel as a group, owns the land.

Thus in all cases and in all areas the ruling class controls both

land and power. What differences exist within the ruling class are due to the fact that in the case of territorial chiefs there is individual appropriation of land and power, while in the case of bureaucratic noblemen and monk officials the individual appropriation of land or office is greatly limited or completely lacking. Divisions within the ruling class are therefore the result of different ways or degrees in which collective rule predominates over individualized power.

In Lhasan Tibet, the upper class clearly rules and owns the land as a body. The power of the state to resume lands, the unconditional service demanded from officials, the collective responsibility of officials, the short terms of office are traits which express the collectivization of the upper class, that is, the fact that the individual interest is subordinate to the interest of the class as a whole. Since the members of the ruling class are the appointed officials of the state and the administration is characterized by specialization of function, hierarchy of offices, and formal training of officials, the Tibetan ruling class can also be characterized as a bureaucracy. Collective rule and bureaucratic organization, although not necessarily identical, are in this case coalescent. Most of the traits mentioned as typical of the Tibetan administration have the double function of preventing the individual appropriation of power and of introducing a businesslike or bureaucratic organization.

The corporate or collective rule of the upper class also finds its political expression in the absolute power of the Dalai Lama, his personal ownership of all the land, and the subordination of all the people as his subjects. It is perhaps unnecessary to argue that every absolute ruler is the creature of his environment and is conditioned by it; the selection of a new Dalai Lama when he is still a child, the thorough training to which he is subjected, and his secluded life among the monk officials of his court make the point evident. And not only that; of all the Dalai Lamas of the period with which we are concerned, from the seventh to the thirteenth, only one, the thirteenth, ever exercised his theoretical power: all the others died before or shortly after reaching majority.<sup>29</sup>

The absolute power of the Dalai Lama, then, is simply a fiction of Tibetan political theory.<sup>30</sup> The ruling class of Tibet consists of the noblemen and church hierarchs who hold landed estates and receive shares of revenue as grantees of the state into which they are collectively organized. The primacy of the class as a whole versus its individual members, and the interest of the society as a whole versus its ruling class are personified in the Dalai

Lama, absolute ruler of all the people and owner of all the land.

### THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

In defining the Tibetan ruling class and its subdivisions, the church has not been considered as a unit. Only some groups within it, the monastic hierarchs and the monk officials, have been held to belong to the ruling class, and within it to the two most contrasting types. Most hierarchs are territorial chiefs, while the monk officials are the most bureaucratic element in the Lhasa government.

Since the church, however, plays such an important role in Tibet it should be examined as a whole and in its relation to lay society.

Most of the class differences within the lay society are carried over into the church. Monks receive titles of distinction according to their social origin.<sup>31</sup> and outcasts are barred from becoming monks. Certain monasteries admit only people of the upper classes. The Dalai Lama's personal monastery (rNam-rgyal grwa-tshang) is, for instance, mainly staffed with monks of noble origin.<sup>32</sup>

Monks from the upper class also have a better chance for advancement within the church, as their wealth allows them to pay fees and buy exemptions.<sup>33</sup> Married hierarchs, of course, form a nobility of blood wholly comparable to the lay nobility, with whom they intermarry. Even reincarnated lamas to a large extent come from noble families. The Chinese succeeded in having the Dalai Lama and probably other Living Buddhas of the two higher ranks selected from peasant families, but among the lesser reincarnations many come from the nobility.<sup>34</sup> Even in the case of monk officials, 40 out of 175 have been reported to come from noble families.

Thus the basic class differences of lay society appear also within the church. The great majority of monks in the lower ranks correspond to the peasantry from which they come and with which their family and economic ties are not completely cut; while the church hierarchs holding large landed estates roughly compare with the lay nobility from which most of them originate. A less exact parallel can be traced between the difference existing within the nobility of territorial hereditary rulers versus the landed officialdom of Lhasa, and that appearing in the church between the hereditary and reincarnate hierarchs, local rulers in their estates, versus the monk officials at the service of the Lhasa government.

The church, however, considerably modifies the total class picture one would draw by examining only the lay society. The monks



constitute a large basically nonproductive population that absorbs a great part of the national income. As far as the land system is concerned, the monasteries are corporate landholders without parallel in lay society, which have accumulated a tremendous amount of land. Some of the estates are assigned to the support of the monks, so that even the lowest monks profit materially from their membership in the church.

In relation to the family organization of lay society, monasticism is closely related to the undivided inheritance prevailing among farmers and noblemen, since it provides a way out for the extra sons deprived of inheritance.

Social mobility within the church is greater than in lay society, where it practically does not exist. Only in the case of hereditary hierarchs is the situation as rigid. In the case of reincarnated hierarchs there is a chance for the introduction of new people into the ruling group; and although reincarnations occur most often in noble families, no particular family can control any given reincarnating position. Finally, there is the possibility for commoners to achieve those positions in the church hierarchy not occupied by reincarnations. In the dGe-lugs-pa order this hierarchy by achievement can lead to the position of the Khri Rim-po-che, the successor to the founder of the order and one of the highest posts in the country.

The monasteries, as corporate bodies, have developed a bureaucratic organization. Its personnel are monks who in some degree cut their connections with their families; they receive a literary education, and promotion along the monastic grades depends on the passing of examinations. Administrative positions in the monasteries are filled by monks for short terms and remuneration is not based on the granting of land. Monasteries thus developed a bureaucratic administration that could later be extended to the temporal government of the whole country.

The various monastic orders have spread through different regions and political units forming a net of overlapping allegiances that constitute a powerful factor for integration in a country so segmented by natural and political boundaries.

The church thus plays a most important role in many of the fundamental traits of Tibetan society. All this does not suppress the fact, however, that the basic class divisions cut across the lay and clerical segments of society.

#### REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

In establishing subdivisions within the ruling class we have con-

sidered all the petty rulers and officials subject to the Dalai Lama. Within the latter's realm there are marked regional differences because of the different types to which the ruling class represented in each area may predominantly belong, and because even within a single area the members of the ruling group can be of different types at the different levels of the administrative hierarchy.

In places of Central Tibet, like Gyangtse, the appointed officials, both noblemen and monks, with the help of a few clerks, deal directly with the peasantry. Within the district there are also several estates held by noblemen and monasteries. In mNga'-ris the appointed district officials are all noblemen. There are monastic estates but not estates of the nobility, and most peasants and herders are under petty chiefs subordinate to the district officials. In other places there are large areas under territorial chiefs such as the church hierarchs of Western Khams and the king of Po-yul, who in their turn rule over a local administration. At the end of the nineteenth century, when Lhasa extended its influence into sDe-dge, Hor, and Nyag-rong, an appointed official from Lhasa was placed over hereditary territorial rulers who in their turn headed an administration partly bureaucratic, partly based on lesser chiefs. The scanty data available cannot fully clarify all the regional differences along these lines.

The lesser states outside of Lhasa-ruled Tibet are of much smaller size and this fact alone gives them a somewhat different character, since to some extent it is the very size of the Lhasa-held territory which accounts both for the bureaucratization of its central government and for the semi-independence of marginal territories under territorial chiefs. The lesser states also are all marginal to Central Tibet and more exposed to outside influences either from India or China. Developments there are more like simplified locally adjusted remnants of wider phenomena than independent or essentially different developments. It is only because of the "accident" of British intervention that Sikkim has been considered outside the Lhasa realm and the petty Kingdom of Po-yul inside.

Some of the lesser states present bureaucratic traits similar to those described for Lhasa. This is the case in 'Ba'-thang, where the local officials are endowed with family estates and throughout their careers occupy various positions for short terms. The joint participation of the officials of the two sde-pa in government somewhat resembles the joint rule of noble and monk officials in Lhasa.

Under the Dharma Raja, Bhutan had a strong bureaucratic organization entirely under the control of the church. The officials, who had no private landed estates, received their income as allow-

ances in kind and as revenue farmers. Offices were hierarchically graded and held for short terms. Bhutan was then thoroughly bureaucratized, perhaps even more so than the Lhasa government.<sup>35</sup> This bureaucratic organization of Bhutan is explained by its being a state ruled by a monastic order, where the corporate bureaucratic organization of the monasteries was applied to the government of the whole country. If we had better information on other church states it is probable that we would find similar situations. The few data on Bla-brang in A-mdo seem to point that way.<sup>36</sup>

On the other hand, bureaucratic rule was not at all developed in the old kingdom of Ladak. Here the central government was largely built up by assigning additional duties to noblemen who were petty rulers of districts. Although the king was the supreme authority and he could grant estates to his subordinates, it is not clear to what extent he actually had the power to resume the land of the local rulers. A local administration by appointed officials of the king as against the local rule of noblemen seems to have been weakly developed. There is also no system of controlling the officials of the central government by such methods as short terms of office or the joint responsibility of teams of officials, and there is no body of monk officials of the Lhasa type.

Sikkim's organization is similar to that of Ladak.

Practically every Tibetan state includes some territory which is sparsely inhabited by pastoral nomads. The Byang-pa of Rupshu in Ladak and those of the larger part of the Byang-thang under Lhasa are outstanding examples. Most of the Tibetan territory which was placed under the Amban of Sining was also pastoral country. These remote pastoral areas have been more loosely integrated into the political structure of the various states than the agricultural centers. Their internal organization, although very poorly reported, can roughly be characterized as "tribal" or stateless, in that there is no machinery of government in the hands of a specialized ruling group which assumes the maintenance of law and order to the exclusion of all independent action. Feuding and arbitration, that is, direct action of the people concerned, are instead the main legal mechanisms. When trade routes go through these areas, the danger of robbers is ever present. The authority of Tibetan or Chinese state officials is at times enforced, usually through local chiefs, but at other times these areas relapse into complete independence. These areas form, then, Tibet's "land of insolence,"<sup>37</sup> regions always ready to fight for independence, which only occasionally are brought under the authority of the state.

During the period considered, the nomads of the Byang-thang have been apparently controlled, even if loosely, by the central government of Lhasa. The nomads of A-mdo, however, have been for the most part largely free from any effective control of outside authorities. The *Golok* especially are renowned for their robberies and independence.

In Eastern Tibet several kinds of semitribal organization probably exist, varying gradually as to the degree of outside control either from Lhasa or from Chinese authority, and also varying as to the type of internal organization. This is another question on which the available information does not yield much beyond stating its existence.

The various subdivisions of the ruling class that have been defined form a gradual sequence of types merging one into another. There are, at one extreme, territorial chiefs such as those of Lahul, Spiti, and Lha-rgya-ri, and some of the petty chiefs of khams who are primarily local rulers of small principalities. They may acknowledge the suzerainty of some wider political unit but do not participate in its central government. Another situation is that of Ladak and Sikkim, where the central administration is built by assigning duties to a number of territorial rulers; these are, then, territorial chiefs who besides the ruling of their own estates have additional political functions in the central government. In the case of the bureaucratized nobility of Lhasa the relative importance of these two political functions is inverted; the main political function is participation in the central government, a centralized system of local administration is set up, and the hereditary estates are simply a source of income. Instead of local chiefs performing duties in the central government, we have officials of the central government paid in land.

The monk officials of Lhasa and the officials of Bhutan represent a further step beyond the bureaucratized nobility since they are not basically paid in land. In case they are local officials, however, their bureaucratic character depends primarily on their short terms of office and their celibate life and monk status in general which prevent them from appropriating and transmitting their offices. As local officials they are revenue farmers, thus having an interest in the land they administer. Were they to perpetuate themselves as local officials their situation would then be similar to that of territorial chiefs.

#### THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF TIBETAN SOCIETY

A comparison of the different periods of Tibetan history also

evidences that there have been close relations among the various types of the ruling class. From cases in which the histories of some ruling families are known, it is clear that although sociologically they may belong to different types, they all form a group with a single origin and a common history. Among the descendants of the early kings of Tibet we find such a bureaucratic nobleman as Rag-ga-shag, but also the chief of Lha-rgya-ri and the kings of Ladak, Po-yul, and Sikkim. Similarly some of the descendants of ministers of the old kings still provide officials to the Lhasa government (rDo-ring, Nu-ma), while others became chiefs of independent states (sDe-dge). Local kings, under the growing central power of Lhasa, either lost their power and became little more than village chiefs, or else joined the ranks of the bureaucratized nobility.

The period dealt with in this essay has been one characterized by the centralization of the Dalai Lama's government under Chinese influence, and consequently it exemplifies the growth and development of the bureaucratized nobility and monk officials of Lhasa at the expense of the territorial chiefs. The organization of Lhasan Tibet, however, still shows the way in which a centralized government of its type might dissolve into the rule of semi-independent territorial chiefs. The noble officials are paid in hereditary estates where they collect revenue and have jurisdiction over the peasants of the estates. It is even customary to name district officials from among the largest estate holders of the district. Thus the basis clearly exists for officials to set themselves up as territorial rulers in their estates. Such a happening is reported for relatively recent times in Eastern Tibet where the greatest landholders of the areas, lay or monastic, were made into territorial rulers in order to simplify the administration and collection of taxes.<sup>38</sup> Similar occurrences must have happened time and again throughout Tibetan history. The centralized government of Lhasa is not the first of its type to have existed in Tibet. It is the culmination of a trend which has not proceeded steadily but has been broken now and then by periods of decline of the central power and political fragmentation, with the result that most territorial chiefs now existing acquired their power as a consequence of the breakdown of some period of relatively centralized government.

The bureaucratic organization of the Lhasa government is in some respects the result of Chinese administrative reforms, and the total situation was developed under the superior political control of China. Chinese influence, furthermore, has been present in Tibet in one way or another from the beginning of Tibetan history. The

question naturally arises as to what extent the bureaucratic-collectivistic nature of the Lhasa government as a whole is the result of Chinese influence.

This question is especially significant because of the weak economic basis of Tibet. In Wittfogel's theory, typical Oriental or Hydraulic societies have a strong productive basis centered in areas of high agricultural productivity where the upkeep of a complex irrigation system demands the intervention of the state in the regulation of the economy. More information is needed before a conclusion can be reached as to the degree to which the Tibetan economy itself may have fostered the development of a bureaucratic state. On the basis of what little is known it is clear that agricultural productivity is rather low, that irrigation works, although indispensable, are small-scale affairs limited to individual valleys, and that no large constructive activities are involved that would lead to the economic intervention of the state. Neither has Tibet a compact productive key area to act as the undisputed center of the economic and political life of the country. We find instead small cultivated valleys, separated from each other by pastoral areas often occupied by unruly nomads. The ecological situation is thus not conducive to a typical Hydraulic or Oriental society.<sup>39</sup> Consequently we find the bureaucratic-collectivistic state organization developed to but a limited extent. It appears only in the central government of Lhasa and, among the lesser states, in small but rather compact areas such as Bhutan and 'Ba'-thang. There are, on the other hand, many territorial chiefs and many marginal areas loosely integrated into the central government, and some of the lesser states, such as Ladak, are organized on the basis of territorial chiefs.

Although the history, especially the early history, of Tibet is very poorly known, one might speculate that the intensive irrigation agriculture of the most important valleys led to tightly integrated, even if small, states and that out of the conflict between them the conquest state of the early dynasty originated. The unfavorable ecological conditions of Tibet, however, which barred the economic unification of the country, account for the relative weakness of the central government during many periods and the frequent relapse into complete political division. After the downfall of the early dynasty the periods of centralization have always depended on outside political interference, and perhaps the exuberant development of Lamaism as a way of holding together the different corners of Tibet can be related to the weak cohesiveness provided by the economy. The historical development of Tibet

should then be reviewed with reference to the possible decisive influence of China in shaping the trend toward a bureaucratic organization.

From the oldest time we have considered--the early dynasty--the technological equipment of Tibet has apparently been the same. Throughout its known history Tibet has experienced no drastic change in its economy. All that history records is a series of changes in the organization by which the surplus produced by the peasantry is appropriated by the ruling class, and in the composition of the ruling class.

One very important but difficult field in which to examine changes is the nature of the peasant holding and the basis of taxation. From old reports and from the situation in marginal areas, mainly Western Tibet, which in other respects seem to have remained close to the older periods, it appears that the peasant household was the basis of taxation and that together with it went a system of equal allotments. In the Central area one can detect a change toward a greater importance in land itself rather than the household as the taxation unit.

Changes in the character of the ruling class are easier to define. There is definite information that throughout all historical periods land was assigned to officials and monasteries, so that the ruling class was always a land-holding class. Changes appear in the way in which the land grants are connected with political office and in the amount of individual appropriation of land and office, that is, along the same lines that we have used in discussing the subdivisions within the ruling class and the local differences during the modern period.

At the time of the old dynasty we find a greater importance of territorial chiefs. As grantees from the king or as old petty chiefs incorporated into the kingdom, the ruling class consisted of territorial chiefs who in varying degree also participated in the central government. There was a tendency toward the inheritance of office as well as of the granted land. There was little if any development of a bureaucratic class like the noble or monk officials of Lhasa.

In later periods a trend sets in toward a more bureaucratic organization. This trend is broken at times when local chiefs prevail and there is no strong central government. But in broad perspective the trend is definite. It is associated with the decline of territorial chiefs and with the growth of monasticism.

The territorial chiefs grow fewer in number and become less powerful. They are brought into the bureaucratic organization of the central government and become part of the bureaucratized nobility

of Lhasa. Their personal estates even if hereditary become, rather than small principalities, salary lands easily resumable by the state if the need arises.

In the development of monasticism a similar trend is discernible. In the older sects hereditary hierarchs prevail, so that there are noble families who are church hierarchs as well as temporal rulers. In the later sects, succession by reincarnation breaks the control of specific monasteries by specific families even when most reincarnations take place in noble families. A special group of monk officials develops as in Lhasa, in Bhutan, and probably in other church states which applies the principles of monastic management to the administration of the state. Monk officials are recruited, at least in part, from among the commoners and they are not paid in land but in kind; they represent the most bureaucratic element of Tibetan society.

Comparing regional differences with historical periods, it seems that Ladak and Sikkim have kept many of the traits of the older periods of Central Tibet. The most bureaucratic organization is found in the most recent period in Central Tibet, and it developed under Chinese control. Is it a Chinese introduction?

The Chinese are obviously responsible for the introduction of several of the traits of the political organization of recent Tibet which characterize it as bureaucratic. There is documentary evidence that the short terms of office, the system of ranks and promotions, and the joint responsibility of teams of officials were the result of Chinese reforms. But the receptiveness of the Tibetan organization must be taken into account, since the Chinese also attempted other reforms that did not succeed. The basic traits which characterize the Lhasa nobility as a class were not changed by the Chinese. The process of class reproduction, that is, the selection of officials, is still based on heredity; and the main source of income is still the hereditary grants of land. Both traits define the Tibetan nobility as a quite different kind of class from the Chinese officialdom. To find in Chinese history a situation similar to that of Tibet (a system of inalienable peasant allotments, demesne land to be worked with drafted labor of peasants, and a ruling class formed by territorial chiefs and officials paid in hereditary landed estates) we would have to go back as far as the Chou period.<sup>40</sup> In this case there is no question of a direct historical influence but only of typological coincidence. A probable historical connection could be propounded between the system of equal allotments of the early T'ang<sup>41</sup> and the somewhat similar arrangements in Tibet. Tibet became a unified state under Sron-btsan-sgam-po (died



650), and during his time close connections were established with China. It is quite possible that the new Tibetan state would try to follow the Chinese model. This historical problem, however, will require more information before it can be solved.<sup>42</sup>

It is also doubtful whether all the bureaucratic elements in the political organization of Tibet can be attributed to direct Chinese influence. The Lamaistic Church developed within its ranks a class system more mobile than that of the laity, and the monastic organization also presents bureaucratic traits which were probably native developments rather than outside borrowings. As seen in Bhutan this type of organization can be extended to the government of a whole country.

Although all the bureaucratic traits of the monastic organization, such as scales of offices, promotions based on examinations, short terms of office, and remuneration not based on land, make the Tibetan monastic group similar to the Chinese officialdom, the problem of historical connection between the two cannot be easily decided. The monk officials of Lhasa were reportedly established by the Fifth Dalai Lama before the Manchu occupation of Tibet, at a time when Chinese influence was practically nonexistent, and Bhutan was organized as a monastic state also without Chinese intervention.

It is clear that the development of Tibet was never a simple copy of foreign institutions. The development which we have attempted to define from an organization based on territorial chiefs to a bureaucratic one seems to have proceeded through stages, with setbacks as well as advances, each one of them growing out of the preceding situation. It is a development which in general lines seems to follow the same steps taken in similar developments in other parts of the world, and a closer analysis of it would take us to more and more typological similarities and evolutionary parallels as well as to problems of historical connection. Thus the trend toward a bureaucratization of Tibetan society is to be seen both as an internal development and as the result of Chinese influence. And Chinese influence is not only a question of direct borrowing of traits. The very might of China (or the Mongols) has at times acted as a challenge, at other times provided the physical power to bring about the political unification of Tibet. During the period of the Dalai Lamas, the Chinese conquest of Tibet insured, first of all, the unity and stability which in turn made possible the collectivization of the Tibetan ruling class and the bureaucratization of its state organization. In this process the native institution which was leading toward bureaucratization, the Lamaistic Church, was

reinforced, while the lay nobility, in becoming bureaucratized, took some of the old tested forms of organization that China had ready to offer. But this development proceeded only as far as the internal condition of Tibet could allow. The importance of land grants in the total economy, especially as hereditary endowments to hereditary officials and chiefs, reveals the limits imposed by the meager development of the Tibetan economy and ecology on a more complete bureaucratization.

## Chapter 1

1. Next to the lack of modern scientific field studies, the most serious deficiency lies in the almost complete absence of native documents. Some materials exist for early historical periods (Bacot *et al.*; Thomas; Tucci 1949, 1950b; Roerich 1949-53), and for Ladak (Francke 1907, 1926); but no body of administrative and legal documents has been available for this study. The lack of this kind of literature in Western collections and translations of Tibetan literature is due solely to the fact that collectors and students have devoted themselves almost exclusively to religious literature and have shown little or no interest in sociological matters.

That an administrative and legal literature does exist in Tibet is well attested. There are legal works (Bell 1931, p. 185; MacDonald 1929, pp. 60, 195; Shen and Liu, pp. 23, 113), administrative manuals, and sets of instructions to officials (Das 1902b, p. 1012, under *rtsis-gzhi phyogs-bsgris*, *rtsis-gzhi nor-bu'i bang-mdzod*). Government offices keep, among others, records of landholdings, taxation, and irrigation plans (Shen and Liu, pp. 140-41, 144; Bell 1928, p. 36; Das 1902a, p. 182); and monasteries and private individuals keep records of land grants, suits, marriage contracts, and so forth (O'Connor, p. 459; Shen and Liu, p. 185; Das 1902a, pp. 186, 190-91). The list of documents brought by the Tibetan government to the Simla conference in 1913 provides the best picture of the type of documentation that may some day be available for the study of our subject (Boundary Question).

The historical periods considered in the bulk of this essay are the most modern periods within each area before the disruption effected by modern civilization. The periods emphasized thus cover a somewhat different time lapse in the various areas. For many

areas, however, information is used that refers to more recent periods. This is especially the case in reports on ecology, economy, and peasant life, which have been slow to change. Also some traits of latter-day political organization have been considered if they were continuations of the native conditions. But in no case is the attempt made to discuss the changes brought about by the impact of modern civilization through the influence of British or late Chinese occupation.

The last historical period with a basically uniform culture and political organization in the parts of Tibet which were under Chinese suzerainty is that which starts with the consolidation of the rule of the Ch'ing dynasty in the eighteenth century. In Central Tibet it ends with the Communist occupation of 1951. In Eastern Tibet we are especially interested in the petty states as they existed under the Ch'ing dynasty up to 1911, but later materials are also used when they show a continuation of the earlier pattern.

For the beginning of the period in Central Tibet, we have used the documentation in the Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, which provides important information about the reforms introduced during the last years of the eighteenth century upon the consolidation of Chinese control. The history of the establishment of Chinese power in Tibet during this century has been studied by Petech, and the Italian missionary Desideri left a good general description of Tibet in the first part of the eighteenth century. The literature for most of the nineteenth century is poor or completely lacking, and good reports appear only at the end of the century. The most important are those of the Indian explorers connected with the survey of India, especially Sarat Chandra Das (Das; India). Tsybikov, a Buryat pilgrim, and Kawaguchi, a Japanese monk, wrote substantial reports especially valuable because as Buddhists they participated in the monastic life of Tibet and their reports contribute a different point of view from that of Western observers.

The British officials connected with the 1904 expedition to Lhasa and the subsequent envoys to Lhasa provide another group of valuable reports. Landon's and Waddell's are the most important accounts of the 1904 expedition. Bell and MacDonald have written the best general descriptions of Central Tibet of the 1920's. Bell's is especially valuable in that it gives not only general descriptions but also specific case material particularly applicable to our topic, such as his description of a landed estate. Walsh, who was connected with the administration of the Chumbi Valley during the days

of the British occupation, has left the only good account of village government in Central Tibet. Some important data are also obtainable in the parliamentary papers relating to Tibetan affairs (Great Britain 1904a, 1904b, 1905, 1910).

A good number of travel reports of foreign representatives, travelers, and explorers of various descriptions are available. Most of them are much poorer than Bell's or MacDonald's. A number of them, however, are important in providing good specific information about various regions. Bailey's report on Southeast Tibet (Dwags-po, Kong-po, and Po-yul) is perhaps the most valuable; Strachey, Tucci, and Pranavananda have data on Western Tibet (mNga'-ris), while Hedin and Roerich have data on the Byang-thang.

In recent times the outstanding contribution has been that of the last Chinese representative to Lhasa, T. L. Shen, who provides the best account of the political structure of the Lhasa government. Other Chinese writers such as Li Yu-i and Wu Chung-hsin have also produced some important recent contributions. Of reports after the Communist occupation we have used Winnington, who refers to peasant conditions as they were before the reforms introduced by the Communists.

In general, data on Central Tibet are fair on the political organization and class divisions, poorer on the land system (with the exception of Bell's account of an estate and the data on the Treasury estates in the Wei-tsang t'ung-chih). Except for some information on the Chumbi Valley, data on peasant conditions are extremely poor.

Although Eastern Tibet has been more accessible to Westerners than Central Tibet, no good reports are available. The general books like Rockhill's or Goré's are too shallow and do not offer enough specific information on any one of the many different political units. We have based our treatment on the more detailed information available for a few political units. Thus for Hor, sDe-dge, Nang-chen and rGyal-rong we have mainly relied on the 1905 reports of Tafel, a German traveler. Soulié, a French missionary, has been our main source on 'Ba'-thang in the early years of the present century. A few of the documents published in connection with the Simla conference, in which both Tibet and China argued for their rights over these areas, also provide important data on Eastern Tibet (Boundary Question). Among recent reports, Chen Han-seng's study of land tenure in Hor and sDe-dge in 1940 is weak in describing the total social structure in which the land system operates and is vitiated by his attempts to find everywhere feudal or semifeudal

systems, but it does provide a good amount of factual information for that period and occasionally for the Ch'ing period. It is our main source for peasant conditions in Eastern Tibet as well as for some data on the political organization in Hor and sDe-dge. Li Anche has also recently published studies on Eastern Tibet, but his reports have very little that is relevant for our study. Ma Ho-t'ien traveled in Eastern Tibet during the 1930's accompanying the Panchen Lama during his return to Tibet until the Lama's death on the road. We have used his data on rGyal-kun-mdo.

A-mdo has also been accessible to Western scholars and missionaries. Our account of this area is based on the anthropological reports of Ekvall, Hermanns, and Stübel. An important Chinese source, Yu Hsiang-wen, was only in the process of translation at the time of our research and has not been fully used.

In Western Tibet we study the last period of the independent kingdom of Ladak, from the seventeenth century to the Dogra conquest of 1834 and the period immediately following. For Lahul and Spiti, the best known areas of Western Tibet, all the information used reports the situation found by the British and existing during the first years of their rule, roughly from 1830 to 1890.

The native Chronicles of Ladak and other local documents published by Francke constitute some of the most important sources for this area (Francke 1907, 1926). Unfortunately Francke's limited interest led him, when dealing with land grants, to publish only parts of historical interest and not the whole documents. The reports of Moorcroft, who visited Ladak during the last years of its independent life, and of Cunningham, who visited it shortly after the Dogra conquest, are the most important of the early accounts.

Basic to the study of land tenure in Lahul and Spiti are the data derived from the British land settlement reports. Although the main settlement report, that of Lyall, has not been available for this study, we have used the data in the local gazetteers which apparently quote fully from Lyall's report (Punjab 1883-84, 1899). These materials are not only important for Western Tibet, but are also the key to an understanding of much less complete data from other parts of Tibet. They show an excellent understanding of the local social structure on the part of the revenue officers. In this essay parts of the gazetteers have often been paraphrased in order to avoid the use of too many local terms.

By comparison, the data on peasant conditions in Ladak proper are weaker than those on Lahul and Spiti. Of the old sources, Ramsay's dictionary is the most useful; it checks in most respects with the data on Lahul and Spiti. A number of more recent studies also

add valuable information. The human geography studies of Dainelli in 1913-14 are excellent both as field reports and as a compendium of all the written evidence available at the time. Ribbach, a Moravian missionary, has published a Tibetan's life history that gives a good picture of the ethnography of Kha-la-tse, a village in Lower Ladak. On the subject of agriculture, Asboe has published useful articles both on Lahul and Ladak. Important contributions have also been published by Peter and Douglas. Although much of this later literature does not relate directly to our subject, it occasionally offers valuable data.

Sikkim came under British influence in 1861, and a number of reforms were introduced near the turn of the century. Early reports are very poor and we have been forced to use mostly information from the end of the nineteenth century.

Of the early reports, that of J. W. Edgar, who visited Sikkim in 1873, is the most valuable for a general characterization of the land system in the native period. On peasant conditions there are several reports about the people of the La-chen and La-chung valleys in northern Sikkim, and the modern study of a Lepcha village by Gorer. The political organization is poorly reported, and we have relied mainly on the older reports of Campbell, Waddell, and White, and on the native History of Sikkim published in the Sikkim Gazetteer. We have also used data in the administrative reports of 1908 to 1912, when Charles Bell was political officer, although they might present a situation already changed by British reforms.

As to Bhutan, we cover the period before 1907, when it was a monastic state. The main reports used are those of various British missions covering the period from 1774 to 1907 (Bengal 1865; Davis; Markham; Turner; White).

2. For the concept of levels of sociocultural integration, see Steward, pp. 43-63.

3. There are several accounts of the economy of various Tibetan areas. The best among them and the ones on which this summary is primarily based are: for Western Tibet (Ladak, Lahul, and Spiti), A. Cunningham, Dainelli 1924, Asboe 1937, 1947, and the Gazetteers of the Kangra district (Punjab 1883-84, 1899); for Central Tibet, Bell 1928; for Sikkim, the Gazetteer of Sikkim (Bengal 1894) and Gorer (for the Lepcha); for Khams, Desgodins and Chen; and for Amdo, Ekvall 1939 and Hermanns.

4. Shen and Liu, p. 130.

5. Dainelli 1924, pp. 143-45 (Western Tibet); for Central Tibet, Turner, p. 354, and Byron, p. 260, report the practice of flooding

in the Gyantse Valley. Harrer, p. 129, in the Lhasa area simply reports the watering of the fields against spring storms.

6. Asboe 1937, p. 75.
7. Bell 1928, p. 36.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 35; Tsybikov, p. 172; MacDonald 1929, pp. 122, 128; Dainelli 1924, p. 150; Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 271; Chen, p. 133.
9. Jäschke, p. 158, *s.v.* chu-sa.
10. Turner, p. 57; Griffiths, p. 177.
11. Das 1902a, p. 220.
12. Rockhill 1891a, p. 98; Ekvall 1939, p. 29.
13. Bell 1928, p. 33. Cf. also O'Connor, p. 441, Kawaguchi, pp. 245-46. Asboe 1947, p. 191. Chen, pp. 132-33.
14. Bell 1928, p. 33; Chen, p. 132.
15. Only Dainelli 1924, pp. 313-14, gives such data.
16. Asboe 1947, p. 191.
17. A. Cunningham, pp. 224-25.
18. Asboe, 1937, p. 75
19. Hay, p. 440.
20. Kawaguchi, pp. 235-36
21. MacDonald 1928, p. 19.
22. Das 1902a, p. 182.
23. O'Connor, p. 441.
24. Penna, p. 274.
25. Chen, pp. 133-34.
26. Bengal 1894, p. 74. As comparative material we might note that in India well-manured irrigated wheat yields sixteen times the amount of seed, while the yield of dry wheat is from eight to thirteen times the amount. Transplanted rice yields thirty to eighty times the amount (after the data in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, III, 27, 29, 30, 31).
27. Das 1902a, p. 183.
28. For Western Tibet, Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 288-95; Dainelli 1924, p. 326.
29. In Amdo, Ekvall 1939, p. 76; also in the Chumbi Valley, Walsh, p. 307.
30. See map 1.
31. Bell 1928, pp. 1-2.
32. Chen, p. 130.
33. Hermanns, pp. 268-69.
34. Bell 1924, p. 26.
35. Detailed information on Western Tibet in Dainelli 1934, p. 284; 1924, pp. 170 ff. Cf. also Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 446.



36. Grenard 1929, p. 370.
37. See note 1 in this chapter where the time period of the main sources used for each area is mentioned. Further details on the main political divisions of Tibet are given in chapters in which the political organization is discussed. See map 2.
38. The following brief survey of the historical development of Tibet is related to the key subjects dealt with in the present work and is provided merely to show the nature of the developments which have led to situations to be described. The survey is in no sense exhaustive. In fact, some source materials already available, but only partially used in the present study, will surely provide important facts pertinent to the social history of Tibet, particularly the documents of Tun-huang (Bacot *et al.*; Thomas), and the material made available by Tucci in his *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Tucci 1949). A definitive social history of Tibet, however, will have to wait upon the finding and interpretation of new documents.
39. Bushell, pp. 441-42.
40. Francke 1926, p. 79.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 90; Bell 1931, p. 43; Das 1881a, p. 228 (5 households according to Das.)
47. Bacot *et al.* 1940, pp. 138-39.
48. Toussaint, p. 269.
49. Bacot *et al.* 1940, pp. 30-31, 36, 37, 41, 43, 44, 45; Thomas, II, 326-27, 359 ff.
50. Bacot *et al.* 1940, pp. 134, 138-39, 140, 143, 146; Tucci 1941, I, 50-51, 53-54, 142; Thomas, II, 349, 356, 359; Roerich 1949-53, pp. 41-42.
51. Richardson 1952, p. 30; Bacot *et al.* 1940, p. 146. See also Richardson 1952-53.
52. Bacot *et al.* 1940, p. 43.
53. Thomas, II, 357.
54. Bacot *et al.* 1940, pp. 44, 45; Thomas, II, 318, 356.
55. See list of principalities in Bacot *et al.* 1940, pp. 83-85.
56. Richardson 1952, p. 30.
57. See list of ministers in Bacot *et al.* 1940, pp. 128-32. Also, for changes and appointments, pp. 36, 41, 46, 47, 48.
58. Thus we read in the Blue Annals (Roerich 1949-53, 1087):

In general, in this country of Tibet, people call a country by the name of the clan which occupies the greater part of the region. For instance Rog-pa-sa (a country populated by the Rog clan), dGyer-pa-sa (the country populated by the dGyer clan). The borderland of Ma-yul-rdzoñ in Lower Yar-kluns was called Bya-sa because most of its inhabitants belonged to the clan of Bya.

A clan organization such as that described by Schram for the Mon-guor, in which a clan is a local group including a core of actual patrilineal kinsmen of the clan chief as well as attached commoners of various origins, would fit very well the early Tibetan situation as seen in the scanty documents available.

59. Jäschke, p. 471.
60. Benedict, pp. 327-28.
61. Tucci, 1949, p. 5.
62. Tucci 1950b, p. 53; Roerich 1949-53, p. 42; Francke 1926, p. 90; Tucci 1941, I, 53-54, 142; Thomas, II, 41, 69, 88.
63. Tucci 1950b, p. 54.
64. Tucci 1949, pp. 3, 6, 17.
65. Evans-Wentz, p. 48.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52, 54.
69. Roerich 1949-53, p. 427.
70. Evans-Wentz, p. 55.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 63, 73.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 57 ff.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 187, 189.
75. See pp. 45, 55, 72.
76. See pp. 40, 48.
77. Cf. p. 36 the custom in Spiti according to which a young widow with small children should marry the deceased husband's brother.
78. See pp. 31-32.
79. Evans-Wentz, p. 78; cf. a similar custom today in La-chen, David-Neel 1933, pp. 44-45.
80. Evans-Wentz, p. 118.
81. Tucci 1949, pp. 13-14.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 667, 668, 704, note 898.
83. See pp. 29, 169-70.
84. Tucci 1949, pp. 667-68.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 38, 669; Das 1887, p. 71; Das 1881b, pp. 248, 251.
86. Tucci 1949, p. 39.
87. Das 1887, pp. 57-58.
88. Tucci 1949, pp. 18-19, 26-27, 28-29.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 31
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 34.
91. Tucci 1941, I, 84-92; Tucci 1949, pp. 37-38, and pp. 625-51, where Tucci translates from the Chronicle of the Fifth Dalai Lama the material relating to the main families of the period.
92. Tucci 1949, pp. 27, 38.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
95. Tucci 1941, I, 82-84; Tucci 1949, p. 35, and the material from the Chronicles, pp. 662-70.
96. Tucci 1949, pp. 69-70.
97. Bell 1924, p. 35.
98. Bell 1931, p. 182.
99. Boundary Question, p. 26.
100. Bell 1931, p. 134.
101. Petech 1950, pp. 108-9.
102. Magnaghi, pp. 113, 114; Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 334.
103. Petech 1950, p. 48.
104. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 335, 340-41.
105. Desideri, pp. 172-73.
106. Petech 1950, p. 233
107. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
108. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5, 211-13, 223-25, 257-59; Wei-tsang t'ung chih, pp. 161 ff.
109. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 165 ff.

## Chapter 2

1. Desideri, p. 175; Shen and Liu, pp. 101-4; Launay, I, 230; Desgodins, pp. 242-43; Goré 1923, p. 389, 1939, p. 210; Chen, pp. 92-93.
2. Bell 1946, pp. 149, 159, 164, 198-99; MacDonald 1929, p. 54; Bell 1931, p. 188; Bell 1924, p. 57.
3. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 122-23.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.
5. Punjab 1899, p. 103.
6. Ramsay, p. 42.

7. See discussion of revenue in the old kingdom of Ladak, chapter 4.
8. A. Cunningham, p. 225.
9. Dainelli 1924, pp. 315-16.
10. For Ladak, Ribbach, p. 237; cf. in Lahul, Punjab 1883-84, p. 122.
11. Francke 1906-7, pp. 239-40.
12. Punjab 1883-84, p. 100.
13. Peter 1948, p. 213.
14. Francke 1926, p. 107. Similar policies are reported for Central Tibet in early times. See p. 15.
15. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 122, 130.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
18. Punjab 1899, p. 98.
19. Punjab 1883-84, p. 131.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 121, 131.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Jäschke, p. 252, defines du-ba-pa as meaning in Spiti 'very poor people that pay but a trifling tax, proletarians (prop. 'smoke-people' that have nothing but the smoke of their fire)."
24. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 131-32.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 132.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
29. Ramsay, pp. 37-38, *s.v.* entail; also Heber, p. 116.
30. Ramsay, pp. 37, 55, *s.v.* cottage, entail; Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 321; Peter 1948, p. 214; Knight, p. 140.
31. Heber, p. 116.
32. Shah, p. 71.
33. Ribbach, p. 254.
34. Heber, p. 116.
35. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 94, 120, 121; Punjab 1899, p. 99. The number of holdings here quoted from Punjab 1899, p. 99, does not agree with the statement (Punjab 1883-84, p. 130) that there were 296 allotments. These figures probably refer to different years.
36. Punjab 1883-83, p. 97.
37. After figures in Punjab 1883-84, pp. 94, 120, 130, subtracting from the total population the number of monks and of members of the smith and minstrel castes, and dividing by the number of allotments. Cunningham, however, quoting from an older cen-

sus, reports 262 houses in Spiti with a total population of 1,407 persons, or 5.3 per house (A. Cunningham, p. 289).

38. Punjab 1899, p. 97; 8.1 according to A. Cunningham, p. 289.

39. Dainelli 1924, p. 275. This is the figure from the 1911 census. Cunningham found the same figure in 1847 (p. 289). Dainelli, pp. 271-77, summarizes various estimates and discusses the problem of relating the very low number of inhabitants per house to the fact that polyandry and a joint family system is reported for the area. The difference between the big house, the small house, and the houses of other dependents probably lies at the root of the problem.

40. Asboe 1937, p. 74.

41. Tucci 1936, p. 82; Dainelli 1934, p. 45; Ribbach, p. 120.

42. Punjab 1899, p. 103.

43. Asboe 1937, p. 76.

44. Asboe 1947, p. 187.

45. Ribbach, pp. 119-20.

46. Ramsay, pp. 14, 37, 42, 64, 133-34. With small variants a number of writers report the main lines of polyandry in Ladak (Ribbach, pp. 247-48; Knight, pp. 140-41; Fraser, pp. 108-10; Shah, pp. 52-54; A. Cunningham, p. 306; Heber, p. 191). Only Peter 1948 and Douglas, pp. 178 ff., give concrete cases showing the actual working of the system.

47. Punjab 1883-84, p. 98; cf. also pp. 100-1.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

49. Ramsay, pp. 38, 65. For Lahul, Punjab 1883-84, p. 98.

50. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 99-100. Cf. Calvert, p. 50.

51. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 232.

52. Ramsay, p. 37.

53. Dainelli 1934, pp. 246-47; 1925, pp. 141-47.

54. Punjab 1883-84, p. 100; Calvert, p. 50.

55. Ramsay, pp. 2-3; Calvert, p. 50.

56. Ramsay, p. 33.

57. Punjab 1883-84, p. 101.

58. Ribbach, p. 237; Heber, pp. 132, 190; Ramsay, pp. 49-50; Jäschke, p. 330; Francke 1904, pp. 364-65. On Tibetan kinship terminology see Benedict.

59. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 119, 120; Punjab 1899, p. 93; Calvert, p. 49. See Rose, III, 10, for list of clans in Lahul, and Punjab 1899, p. 93, and Francke 1914, pp. 47-48, for those in Spiti.

60. Punjab 1883-84.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 124, 132.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 124. Thakur is the local chieftain.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
66. Punjab 1899, p. 99.
67. Punjab 1883-84, p. 133.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 133.
69. Punjab 1899, p. 99.
70. Ramsay, pp. 119-20, *s. v.* perquisite. Cf. Jäschke, p. 238.
71. Punjab 1883-84, p. 123.
72. Asboe 1937, p. 76.
73. Punjab 1883-84, p. 123.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
75. Ramsay, pp. 55, 61, 87.
76. Imperial Gazetteer of India 1909, p. 101.
77. Francke 1906-7, pp. 239-40.
78. Ullah, p. 290.
79. Punjab 1883-83, pp. 127-28.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 122. See list of villages and districts in Punjab 1899, pp. 64-68.
81. Punjab 1883-84, p. 122.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 129; see list of villages in each district in Punjab 1899, pp. 121-23.
83. Punjab 1883-84, p. 129; Punjab 1899, p. 95.
84. A. Cunningham, pp. 260, 262, 275-77.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 262. See also the decree of Nyi-ma-rnam-rgyal in Francke 1906-7 addressed to the elders (rgan) of Kha-la-tse, and Ramsay, p. 30, where a rgad-po acts as arbitrator in cases of divorce.
86. Ribbach, pp. 18, 49, 179, 192.
87. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 134-35; Egerton, p. 17.
88. Das 1902b, p. 962.
89. Das 1902a, p. 182. According to Das, the *kang* is a piece of land in which ten khal or yak-loads of barley are sown (Das 1902a, p. 180). Das' estimate of the khal varies from thirty pounds (Das 1902b, p. 143), to forty (Das 1902a, p. 86), to fifty pounds (Das 1902a, p. 182). One khal equals two 'bo or twenty bre (Das 1902b, p. 143).

According to Bell the quantity of seed that goes into each *kang* varies in different estates and districts. The *kang* of the Gyantse district has four or five times the seed capacity of that of Phag-ri; in general it averages about forty khal. The khal contains some thirty-three pounds of barley or peas and seventeen of barley flour (Bell 1928, p. 301). According to MacDonald, the *kang* takes sixty

*tenzin kharu* of seed, each *kharu* (or *khal*) containing twenty-seven pounds of peas or barley and seventeen of flour (MacDonald 1929, p. 224). According to Winnington, a *khal* (*ke*) is about twenty-eight pounds, and it takes six *khal* to sow one acre. The *kang* varies from eight to twelve acres (Winnington, pp. 167, 170).

Also the fact is to be kept in mind that for each measure in addition to the average box there is one holding one-and-a-half times as much and another holding only one-half. In the collection of taxes the government can use the large size in the district it wants to punish or the smaller in one to be favored (Kawaguchi, pp. 555-56).

90. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 338.

91. Das 1902a, pp. 86, 182; MacDonald 1929, p. 224.

92. Walsh, p. 306.

93. Bell 1928, p. 88.

94. Petech 1950, pp. 76-77.

95. See pp. 93-94 for full quote from Das 1902a, p. 177.

96. Winnington, pp. 148-49, 166, 169-71. The first element in the term *dui-chun*, "black people," is probably *dud*, "smoke," and is thus a term similar to terms used in Spiti. Cf. note 23 above.

97. Kawaguchi, pp. 439-40.

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 430-31.

99. Rockhill 1891a, pp. 285-86; Bacot 1912b, pp. 207, 209-10. Cf. Bell 1924, pp. 78-79.

100. Desideri, pp. 193-94; Grenard 1904, pp. 253-56; Bell 1928, pp. 193-94; Das 1887, pp. 76-77.

101. Bell 1928, pp. 193-94. For cases among nomads, also Harrer, pp. 105, 108; Hedin, III, 89.

102. Das 1887, pp. 76-77; 1902a, pp. 216, 251-52; Kawaguchi, p. 352; Peter 1948, pp. 217-18; 1955, pp. 180-81; MacDonald 1929, p. 143. According to Tsybikov, fraternal polyandry and sororal polygyny are both considered the ideal type of union and are practiced even in informal unions (Tsybikov, p. 177). Das (1905, p. 107) on the other hand reports an extremely high incidence of concubinage as an outlet for younger husbands of polyandrous households and unmarried women.

103. Desideri, p. 193; Grenard 1904, pp. 251-52.

104. Peter 1955, p. 178.

105. Bell 1928, pp. 88, 156-57.

106. Shen and Liu, p. 145, probably this applies to the nobility; Kawaguchi, p. 364.

107. Das 1887, p. 76.

108. Winnington, pp. 170-71.

109. Sherring, pp. 189-90.

110. Bell 1928, pp. 42, 111; Bell 1946, pp. 19-20, 44; MacDonald 1929, p. 246; Das 1887, p. 52; Hedin, I, 409.

111. Bell 1928, pp. 57-58. Bell seems to imply three different types of letting, but we fail to see any difference between his first and his third.

112. Walsh, p. 306.

113. Das 1902b, p. 1279. Bell 1928, pp. 43-44. Bell calls them *Ngak-pa* (sngags-pa).

114. The landholdings of some petty officials and specialized workers could also be considered here. We shall discuss them in chapter 3 in connection with the revenue system, since they supply their services to the government, not to the village community.

115. Walsh, p. 307. Cf. also Great Britain 1904a, p. 29, where Gro-mo-stod is divided into four blocks; the same division apparently in Campbell 1875, pp. 136-37.

116. Campbell 1875, pp. 136-37 gives the names and number of houses of all sixteen subdivisions in the Phag-ri district without specifying the communities to which they belong. White in Great Britain 1904a, pp. 28-29, gives the list of the four communities and their subdivisions, but the names in the two lists coincide only in part.

117. Maraini, p. 107, spells it *gong-thu*.

118. Walsh, pp. 304-5.

119. *Ladhopa* of Great Britain 1904a, p. 28; *latho* in MacDonald 1932, pp. 121-22.

120. Walsh, p. 307.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

122. MacDonald 1932, p. 122. This does not quite agree with the procedure for election as reported by Walsh, with alternating *kong-du* from two divisions partly chosen by lots.

123. Walsh, pp. 306, 307.

124. Nineteen according to Walsh, twenty according to Bell.

125. Walsh, p. 307; Bell 1928, p. 49.

126. Walsh, pp. 304, 306, 307; MacDonald 1932, pp. 121-22; Bell 1924, pp. 75-76, 249; Bell 1928, pp. 49, 58, 88.

127. Walsh, pp. 307-8.

128. Great Britain 1904a, p. 29.

129. Bell 1928, p. 49. As seen from the reports here summarized the communities of the Chumbi Valley are subdivided into villages, which are then grouped into a set of units for the regulation of grazing grounds and into another set for the purpose of electing officials. The precise relation between these three groupings is not clear. The Tibetan community of *Tsumje* in Nepal is



divided into 3 *tsosum* [probably *tshogs-gsum*, i. e., the three assemblies (*tshogs*)], which are three clan-barrios, patrilocal and exogamous. Each *tsosum* is represented by its own village officials (Kawakita, pp. 39, 42). The *tsho* of Chumbi perhaps correspond to the *tsosum* of *Tshumje*. Three groups in Upper Gro-mo and two in Lower Gro-mo trace their origin from different immigrations into the valley that might well be descent groups. (Walsh, p. 304). Cf. the three subdivisions of the *Tumu-sTod-pa* (Gro-mo *stod-pa*) and the six of the *Chombi-pa*, or people of lower Chumbi, described in the Gazetteer of Sikkim (Bengal 1894, p. 29).

130. Desideri, p. 190.
131. Ward 1934, p. 155.
132. Bell 1928, p. 58.
133. David-Neel 1933, p. 317; Hedin, I, 205; II, 379, and *passim*.
134. Das 1887, pp. 27, 56.
135. Sandberg 1894, p. 191. Cf. the *tsho-pa* of Chumbi just described and the *tso-pön* of *Serchok* estate (p. 97). Cf. also, the *spyi-dpon* of La-chen.
136. Das 1902a, p. 70; Hedin, III, 285-86.
137. See pp. 58-59, 135.
138. Walsh, pp. 303, 304.
139. Bell in Great Britain 1910, p. 36; MacDonald 1932, p. 121.
140. Walsh, p. 304; Bengal 1894, p. 8; Eden, p. 109.
141. J. W. Edgar, p. 62. Cf. Waddell 1900, p. 106.
142. J. W. Edgar, pp. 62-63.
143. Gorner, p. 123.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 70. cf. also p. 110.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 109. Mandal is the village headman.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
147. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-7.
148. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
149. *Ibid.*
150. *Ibid.*, p. 180 and Table IV, pp. 460-61.
151. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
152. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8.
153. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
154. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.
155. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-6, 156.
156. Lall, pp. 28-29; David-Neel 1933, p. 49; Macaulay, p. 35.
157. Macaulay, p. 28.
158. Campbell 1852, p. 572.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 479.

160. Macaulay, p. 33
161. David-Neel 1933, p. 41; Lall, p. 29.
162. David-Neel 1933, p. 41.
163. Lall, p. 29.
164. *Ibid.*, David-Neel 1933, p. 41.
165. Lall, p. 29.
166. White, pp. 79-80; cf. an older description in Campbell 1852, p. 485, for La-chen, and a recent one in Lall, p. 30.
167. Lall, p. 29.
168. David-Neel 1933, p. 41; Lall, p. 29.
169. David-Neel 1933, pp. 44-45; Lall, p. 30; Imperial Gazetteer of India, XXII, 372.
170. Lall, p. 30.
171. David-Neel 1933, p. 47; cf. White's description of 'u-lag (White, p. 80).
172. David-Neel 1933, p. 44.
173. *Ibid.*, pp. 41 ff.
174. Gorer, p. 123.
175. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
176. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
177. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-68.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
179. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
180. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
182. *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 158.
183. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.
184. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32.
185. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
186. White, pp. 308-9. Emphasis mine.
187. *Ibid.*, pp. 307-8. Bell 1928, pp. 88-89, translates this passage in a slightly different way.
188. See note 414 to chapter 4.
189. Pemberton, p. 62.
190. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
191. Casserly, pp. 80-81.
192. White, p. 320, reports on the marriage customs of all three groups at the same time.
193. Bose, p. 200.
194. Pemberton, p. 93.
195. Davis, p. 499.
196. *Ibid.*, pp. 498-99; Griffiths, p. 147, Assamese slaves, about *Punakha*.

197. White, pp. 305, 307.
198. Cf. discussion of village organization in this chapter, sections 2 and 3. See Eden, p. 109, on the Bhutanese influence on the government and revenue system of Chumbi.
199. Das 1902b, p. 90.
200. White, pp. 305-7.
201. *Ibid.*, pp. 302, 306, 307.
202. Goré 1923, p. 389; 1939, pp. 90, 210, 236; Chen, pp. 87, 92; Tafel, II, 227-29, on rGyal-rong.
203. Chen, pp. 104-5, 112.
204. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
205. Bacot 1909, p. 201; Tafel, II, 229, on rGyal-rong.
206. Goré 1923, p. 381; Clark, p. 46, on A-mdo.
207. Chen, p. 100.
208. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
209. The unit of land measurement used in Khams according to Chen is the *tai chung ti* or "land sown with a sack of seed." It is equal to 0.23 hectare or roughly half an acre. Chen does not give the Tibetan name of this measure. Originally, it is probably the same as the khal of other parts of Tibet. In the following pages we change Chen's *tai chung ti* into half-acres.
210. *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89, 105-6.
211. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
212. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
213. Goré 1923, p. 382.
214. Goré 1923, p. 380; 1939, p. 90.
215. Chen, p. 129.
216. Ekvall 1954, p. 42.
217. From Chen, pp. 89-90.
218. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
219. Data from Chen, in several tables, pp. 103-9.
220. *Ibid.*, p. 109. More detailed information is available in Chen showing the size of landholdings for each class in a number of villages.
221. *Ibid.*, p. 104. Chen gives detailed figures both for revenue land and crop land.
222. Goré 1922, p. 244.
223. Goré 1923, p. 377.
224. Bacot 1912b, pp. 209-10.
225. Goré 1923, pp. 377-78; 1939, p. 91; Tafel, II, 155; Chen, pp. 127, 133.
226. Chen, pp. 128-29.
227. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.

228. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
229. Rockhill 1891a, p. 212; Tafel, II, 122, 124; Chen, pp. 95-97.
230. Rockhill 1891a, p. 211.
231. Chen, pp. 95-97.
232. Combe, pp. 73-74.
233. Schäfer 1937, p. 289, of a noble family.
234. Bacot 1912a, pp. 288-89.
235. Tafel, II, 124.
236. *Ibid.*
237. *Ibid.*
238. *Ibid.*
239. Rockhill 1891a, p. 80; Ekvall 1939, p. 74; Hermanns, p. 264.
240. Das 1902a, pp. 251-52.
241. Rockhill 1891a, pp. 211-13; Combe, pp. 73-74; Tafel, II, 124-26; Goré 1923, pp. 382-83.
242. Chen, pp. 94-95.
243. Ma, p. 641.
244. Goré 1923, pp. 380-81; Shelton, pp. 139-40 ('Ba'-thang); Tafel, II, 124, sDe-dge.
245. Chen, pp. 126-27, gives more detailed figures. Li An-che 1947 gives an analysis of the population of sDe-dge showing very small families, a large number of them of single females, but no discussion of the household in its relation to land tenure.
246. Goré 1923, p. 389.
247. See examples in Chen, pp. 93-94.
248. Chen, p. 93.
249. Goré 1923, p. 389.
250. Cf. above the section on "Types of Landholders" for the relation between tax-paying households and their dependent servants or "side-dwellers." Chen does not distinguish clearly the transactions between taxpayers from those between taxpayers and dependent landholders.
251. Chen, p. 95.
252. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
253. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
254. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
255. *Ibid.*
256. *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 109.
257. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
258. Launay, I, 9. Cf. Dictionnaire, p. 710.
259. Chen, p. 82.

260. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
261. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
262. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85, gives more details.
263. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
264. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22, details for dKang-mdzes.
265. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
266. Goré 1923, p. 389.
267. Ekvall 1954, pp. 42-44.
268. See pp. 105-6.
269. Tafel, II, 123-24.
270. Gill 1880, II, 193-94.
271. Tafel, II, 309.
272. Hermanns, p. 224.
273. Tafel, I, 273.
274. Hermanns, pp. 224-25.
275. *Ibid.*
276. Yu; Stübel, pp. 50-51; Rockhill 1895, p. 724.
277. Stübel, p. 17.
278. Hermanns, pp. 84-85, 224.
279. Stübel, pp. 18, 20.
280. Combe, p. 106. Some comparable figures are available for the pastoral areas of Northern Central Tibet. Among the Hor of Nag-chu-kha, an average household has from 20 to 50 yak and from 100 to 300 sheep, and a local trader has a herd of 500 yak in charge of a local nomad who has to supply the owner a fixed amount of yak hair, tails, hides, butter, and dairy products (Roe-rich 1931, p. 337). Kawaguchi reports the size of the herds owned by some wealthy herders he met on his trip through the Byang-thang. One, who was the second man in the province of *Bomba*, had 2,000 yak and 5,000 sheep. A pilgrim family from Eastern Tibet had about 160 yak and 400 sheep; and of a lama who had 60 yak and 200 sheep he writes that "he was very well circumstanced though he might not perhaps be called a very rich man" (Kawaguchi, pp. 102, 155, 213).
281. Yu, MS.
282. Hermanns, pp. 85-86.
283. Ekvall 1954, p. 47.
284. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
285. Hermanns, p. 221; Ekvall 1954, p. 46; Stübel, p. 59; Li 1950, p. 131.
286. Hermanns, pp. 220-21; Stübel, p. 14.
287. Ekvall 1954, pp. 46-47; Hermanns, pp. 222-23.
288. Ekvall 1954, pp. 46-47.

289. Stübel, pp. 14, 22, 59.
290. Hermanns, pp. 221-22; Ekvall 1954, p. 46.
291. Stübel, p. 14.
292. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
293. Ekvall 1954, p. 41.
294. Filchner 1907, pp. 322-23; Tafel, II, 72.

### Chapter 3

1. Shen and Liu, p. 10.
2. MacDonald 1929, p. 17. Bell's estimate of 800,000 square miles probably refers to all areas of Tibetan culture rather than to Lhasa-controlled Tibet (Bell 1928, p. 1).
3. See map 2.
4. MacDonald 1929, p. 115.
5. Bailey 1914, p. 25.
6. Das 1905, p. 106.
7. Boundary Question, pp. 27-28, 43-44; Goré 1923, p. 395.
8. In a similar way the estates of 'Brug-pa monasteries in the Kailas region actually are extensions of the Bhutanese church-state (Pranavananda, pp. 81-82, 106-7; Sherring, pp. 278-79).
9. Das 1902a, p. 241.
10. J. W. Edgar, p. 72.
11. Francke 1926, p. 121; Petech 1950, p. 146.
12. See, for instance, the claims of the Tibetan government at the Simla conference, Boundary Question, *passim*.
13. Shen and Liu, p. 102.
14. Wu, p. 38.
15. Shen and Liu, pp. 101-3.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 108.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 110.
18. The most complete lists of officials are those in MacDonald 1929, pp. 115-20; Rockhill 1891b, pp. 219-21, 238-43; Wu, pp. 65 ff.
19. Shen and Liu, pp. 112-14.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
21. Das 1902a, p. 176; MacDonald 1929, pp. 57-58; Shen and Liu, p. 114. Some sources give a different number of districts; Wu, p. 68, states there are ninety.
22. Shen and Liu, p. 114.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 112; Bell 1928, p. 36; Bell 1946, pp. 156, 158; MacDonald 1929, p. 119; Kawaguchi, pp. 432-33.

24. Shen and Liu, p. 115; Bell 1928, p. 91; Bell 1931, p. 182; Wu, p. 75.

25. Das 1902a, pp. 86, 180; Kawaguchi, p. 550; Waddell 1905, pp. 164-75.

26. Bell 1928, pp. 105, 205; Shen and Liu, pp. 108, 110-11; Bell 1931, pp. 175-76.

27. Information on the seven ranks is not complete, and there are some contradictions. MacDonald 1929, pp. 114-20; Waddell 1905, p. 165; and Rockhill 1891b, pp. 219-21, 238-43, are the best sources.

28. Das 1902a, p. 176; Bell 1928, pp. 106, 107; Bell 1931, p. 181; Sherring, p. 153.

29. The sras-rnams-pa, see below, p. 132.

30. Chapman, pp. 83-84; Kawaguchi, p. 437; MacDonald 1929, p. 56; Bell 1928, pp. 105-8, 127; Bell 1946, pp. 153-54; Shen, personal communication.

31. Bell 1928, pp. 91, 93, 106; MacDonald 1932, pp. 157, 209-10; Bell 1946, pp. 51, 54, 141, 154, 392; Chapman, pp. 91-92; Kawaguchi, pp. 319, 433, 437; Das 1902a, p. 51; Waddell 1905, p. 110.

32. Shen and Liu, pp. 108-15. See chart giving complete list of government officials in Wu, pp. 68-73.

33. For a brief account of the main historical events within this period see Shen and Liu, pp. 46-65. See also Li Tieh-Tseng; and Bell 1946. For the Chinese control over Tibet: Rockhill 1891b, pp. 7-14, 238-46; Das 1902a, pp. 176, 178.

34. Other sources of revenue, such as customs, can also be granted; cf. a case in Bailey 1914, p. 34.

35. Manor of fief would suggest conditions of European feudal tenure absent in Tibet. The Indian jagir is a more suitable parallel.

36. Das 1902b, p. 1081; Waddell 1905, p. 320; India, part 2, p. 323; Tucci 1949, pp. 27, 69, 691.

37. Das 1902b, p. 276.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 433; Tucci 1949, p. 691.

39. Tucci 1949, p. 69.

40. Das 1902a, p. 182.

41. Shen and Liu, p. 103; Li Yu-i, p. 122; Gould and Richardson, p. 100.

42. This last figure includes the value of the granted lands--probably most of it--as well as direct payments from the government.

43. Bell 1946, pp. 165-66. The proportion of land granted is probably still larger since the figure for the government's in-

come must also include taxes paid by land grantees as well as other taxes that probably are not granted out in so great a proportion as the revenue derived from land. In 1948 Li Yu-i estimated the lands held by monasteries and Living Buddhas as more than half of Tibet's total cultivated land (Li Yu-i, p. 122).

44. Bell 1946, p. 165.
45. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 337-38, 369-71.
46. Shen and Liu, pp. 108, 110; Bell 1946, pp. 160, 162-63; Das 1902b, p. 1011.
47. Petech 1950, pp. 228-30.
48. Das 1902a, pp. 177, 182.
49. Shen, personal communication; MacDonald 1929, pp. 228, 246.
50. Boundary Question.
51. Kawaguchi, p. 429. Cf. below the landless peasants drafted to till the treasury farms; they were supposed to be paid for their work.
52. Kawaguchi, p. 237.
53. On the values of *kang* and *khal* see note 89, chapter 2.
54. Bell 1928, p. 301.
55. Das 1902a, pp. 86, 180, 182.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83. The inspection of crops in the fields by the tax collector is also reported for monastic estates (O'Connor, p. 439).
57. Das 1902a, p. 183.
58. Winnington, pp. 170-71.
59. Walsh, p. 307.
60. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 363-64.
61. Walsh, p. 307.
62. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 338.
63. Tucci 1949, p. 14.
64. See pp. 29-34.
65. Das 1902a, p. 182.
66. Campbell 1855, p. 238.
67. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 336-37.
68. Rockhill 1891a, p. 292, quoting the Li-fan-yüan tse-li.
69. Das 1902a, pp. 183-84.
70. Rockhill 1891a, p. 292; Grenard 1904, p. 344; Bailey 1914, p. 17; Bell 1928, p. 25; Kaulback, p. 175.
71. Rockhill 1891a, p. 292.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Rockhill 1891a, p. 292; Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 363.
74. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 367.



75. Grenard 1904, p. 344.
76. Rockhill 1891a, p. 292; Grenard 1904, p. 344
77. Rockhill 1891a, p. 292; Chapman, pp. 159-60.
78. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 362; Bailey 1914, p. 36 (in Lha-rgya-ri).
79. India, part 2, p. 374.
80. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 363.
81. Rockhill 1891a, p. 292; Bailey 1914, p. 63.
82. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 338.
83. Walsh, p. 306.
84. Grenard 1904, p. 344.
85. Tsybikov, p. 320.
86. *Ibid.*
87. Sherring, p. 171.
88. Bell 1928, p. 111.
89. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 337.
90. Grenard 1904. p. 282.
91. Tucci 1950a, p. 35.
92. Tsybikov, p. 194; Chapman, p. 313.
93. Bell 1928, p. 278.
94. Das 1902a, pp. 182-83. Most travelers write about 'u-lag, since it is the kind of transportation they all used. A good report is Bailey 1945, pp. 51-52.
95. Walsh, p. 306.
96. Das 1902a, p. 180.
97. The proclamations in Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, especially pp. 362-68, give a very good idea of how different products were levied in different areas, although it is hard to get a picture of the total taxation of any one place. See examples for a recent period in Bailey 1914 *passim*. A specially interesting case is that of the taxes levied in Phag-ri. Great Britain 1910, p. 167; cf. for the same place one century earlier Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 364. For the total taxes paid by Upper Gro-mo, see p. 51.
98. Rockhill 1891a, p. 282, note 2.
99. Tucci 1950a, p. 35.
100. Tsybikov, p. 194.
101. Chapman, p. 313.
102. Bell 1924, p. 158; Sherring, p. 161. India, part 2, p. 243.
103. Cf. Shen and Liu, p. 103.
104. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 337.
105. *Ibid.*; chapters on relief give a number of cases.
106. Das 1902a, p. 183.
107. Bell 1946, p. 163.

108. Or bla-brang chen-po, bla-brang phyag-mdzod (Kawaguchi, p. 554; Bell 1928, p. 85).

109. *Tre de* or rtse bla-brang, rtse phyag-mdzod (Kawaguchi, pp. 558-59; Bell 1928, p. 85).

110. Bell 1946, pp. 162-65; Bell 1928, p. 85; Kawaguchi, pp. 554-55, 559; Rockhill 1891a, pp. 293-94 (quoting the Li-fan-yüan tse-li); Tsybikov, p. 245; Bell 1931, pp. 177-78; Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 180, 372-76. Cf. also certain estates or taxes from certain districts assigned to the support of the army. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 167-68, 354.

111. Bell 1946, pp. 163, 165.

112. Das 1902a, p. 182; MacDonald 1929, pp. 57-58. The Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 390, states that there were ninety-three districts although only eighty are listed.

113. MacDonald 1929, pp. 57-58; Shen and Liu, p. 114; Das 1902a, p. 176; Tsybikov, p. 245; India, part 2, p. 238; Bell 1928, p. 106; Tucci 1937, p. 26.

114. Das 1902a, p. 176.

115. Great Britain 1904a, p. 28.

116. Das 1902a, pp. 177, 184; Das 1902b, p. 61.

117. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 339-40.

118. Bell 1946, pp. 153, 156-57; Sherring, pp. 146, 309; MacDonald 1932, pp. 191-92; Maraini, p. 162; Ford, p. 47. According to Kawaguchi, p. 557, the rdzong-dpon subtracts his pay from the taxes he has collected.

119. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 376-77; Grenard 1904, pp. 345-46.

120. Sherring, p. 286.

121. Bell 1928, pp. 38, 55, 86.

122. Das 1902a, p. 177.

123. Walsh; Bailey 1914.

124. Das 1902a, p. 184.

125. Winnington, p. 98.

126. Sherring, p. 202.

127. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 355-62. See Appendix III.

128. A later source mentions among the officials of the sixth grade the *Zhinyer* (gzhis-gnyer), managers of the government estates, and among those of the seventh rank the *Dzomora Tsetrung*, supervisors of the state farms (MacDonald 1929, p. 120). Some of these officials might correspond to those mentioned in the Chinese proclamation.

129. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 375-76.

130. Unless otherwise noted this description is based on Bell 1928, pp. 302-4.

131. Shar phyogs, eastern quarter? Probably the village which Das calls *Shar-chyog Aniung*, also called *Isa*. It is situated on the Nyang River between 'Brong-rtse and *Panam Dzong* (Das 1902a, p. 76).

132. It is not explained what is meant by farm.

133. Or could be taxes paid by herders? Cf. Bell 1928, p. 83.

134. Bell 1928, pp. 24-25.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

136. Bell 1946, p. 274.

137. Das 1902a, pp. 183, 184.

138. Das 1887, p. 28; Das 1902a, p. 217.

139. As described above; also Bell 1946, pp. 163, 164.

140. Kawaguchi, p. 558; Combe, pp. 115, 165; Chapman, pp. 259-60.

141. Das 1902a, p. 262.

142. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 167-68.

143. Das 1902a, p. 174; Shen and Liu, p. 113.

144. Das 1902a, p. 177; Bell 1928, p. 106.

145. Waddell 1905, p. 172; Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 168-69.

146. Shen, personal communication; see also cases below.

147. Bell 1928, p. 93; Bell 1946, p. 51.

148. Bell 1946, p. 375.

149. Cases in Petech 1950, pp. 196, 209-10; Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 354; Bell 1924, p. 122; MacDonald 1932, pp. 157, 245; Kawaguchi, pp. 319, 433; Bell 1928, p. 91.

150. Shen and Liu, p. 103.

151. Das 1902a, p. 191.

152. Shen and Liu, pp. 103, 110; Das 1902b, pp. 322-23, defines sger-pa as follows: "a private land-holder; gzhung-khral chen-po med-par rang-la mi-ser yang yod-pa las khral-bsdus nas za bsdad-khan, a land-holder who without paying a large tax to the Government enjoys an estate is called sger-pa, also one who holds land fee-simple." The Tibetan definition Das gives can be more closely translated as "one who without paying a large tax to the government, yet having his own peasants, makes his living by collecting taxes." I have changed the transcription of Das to that used in this monograph.

153. Shen and Liu, p. 103; Bell 1928, p. 87.

154. Shen and Liu, p. 103.

155. Cf. also the two meanings that Das gives to sger-pa as

quoted in note 152. We take his first definition to apply to the nobility and the second ("one who holds land fee-simple") to apply to the petty chiefs.

156. Grenard 1904, pp. 269-70; Tsybikov, pp. 150-51; Rockhill 1895, p. 680; MacDonald 1929, p. 246; Harrer, p. 252.

157. MacDonald 1929, p. 246; Chapman, p. 84.

158. Bell 1928, pp. 25, 100-1; cf. Landon, p. 110.

159. Shen, personal communication.

160. MacDonald 1929, pp. 246, 228; Bell 1928, pp. 100, 302.

161. MacDonald 1929, p. 228.

162. Das 1902a, p. 146; 1902b, p. 1081.

163. Das 1887, p. 19.

164. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 19; Das 1902a, p. 75.

165. Bailey 1914, pp. 8, 60.

166. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13, 75, 80.

167. MacDonald 1929, p. 246.

168. Shen, personal communication.

169. Bailey 1914, p. 8.

170. Das 1887, p. 14.

171. Bell 1928, pp. 83, 93; Bell 1946, p. 375; Kawaguchi, p. 557; Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 341-42.

172. Bell 1928, p. 65.

173. Das 1887, pp. 21, 85.

174. Bell 1946, p. 386. For other holdings in the same area, some of them perhaps part of one of these estates, see Appendix I, under Pha-lha.

175. Bell 1928, p. 65. By "farm," Bell seems to mean in one passage some kind of unit within the home lands. Thus for *Serchok*, he says the sixteen pieces of home lands contained about one hundred farms (see above). But here it seems rather to mean the farm of a tax-paying peasant.

176. Bell 1928, p. 83.

177. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25; see pp. 97-98 in this volume.

178. Das 1887, p. 15; also Das 1902a, p. 213.

179. Das 1887, p. 14.

180. Bell 1928, p. 84.

181. Das 1902a, p. 213; Das 1887, p. 14; Bell 1928, p. 25.

182. Bell 1928, pp. 75-77, 223-24; Waddell 1905, pp. 275-76.

183. Bell 1928, p. 224.

184. Das 1902a, p. 85

185. Bell 1928, pp. 83-84.

186. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-80.

187. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

188. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
189. Bailey 1914, p. 8.
190. *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 111.
191. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
192. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
193. Shen and Liu, pp. 72-75.
194. Li Yu-i.
195. Cf. chapter 4 for fuller data on monastic estates in other regions of Tibet.
196. Great Britain 1904a, pp. 28-29; Bell 1928, p. 59; MacDonald 1932, pp. 59, 124.
197. Bailey apparently makes a point of mentioning the administrative authorities, including estate holders of the areas he visited; his report can be taken as fairly complete on this point.
198. Das 1887, p. 47; Tsybikov, p. 391. See Appendix I under Pha-lha, lHa-sdings, 'Phyon-rgyas-phun-rab-pa.
199. Bailey 1914, p. 81. It is not discernible from the text whether as a family estate or as an estate attached to the post of minister.
200. Pranavananda, pp. 21, 63-64, 157 and Appendix.
201. See Appendix I, under Tsha-rong.
202. See Appendix I; see also under Pha-lha, Tsha-rong, 'Phren-ring, *Te-ling*, bShad-sgra, bSam-grub Pho-brang, Lho-ling. Also the holdings of Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs in Appendix II.
203. Bell 1928, p. 87.
204. Bailey 1914, p. 8; Roerich 1931, p. 384.
205. This is probably in *Gyade*. Boundary Question, p. 54.
206. Das 1902a, p. 183.
207. Bell 1928, pp. 83-84.
208. Das 1902a, p. 183.
209. Bell 1946, p. 156; Grenard 1904, pp. 349-50.
210. Bell 1928, pp. 64, 86-87.
211. Das 1887, p. 14.
212. Bell 1928, pp. 29-30. Cf. also MacDonald 1929, p. 123; O'Connor, p. 437; David-Neel 1937, pp. 120-21, 275; Winnington, p. 166. But Rockhill 1895, p. 679, reports freedom of movement.
213. Winnington, pp. 100-1; Das 1887, pp. 75-76.
214. Das 1902b, p. 959.
215. Filchner 1933, p. 198.
216. Shen and Liu, pp. 103-4.
217. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.
218. Das 1905, p. 106, gives the number of dGe-lugs-pa monasteries for each province. Cf. the complete list in Das 1887, pp. 89-100.

219. Filchner 1933, pp. 199 ff.; Waddell 1895, pp. 170 ff.; MacDonald 1929, pp. 94 ff.; Shen and Liu, pp. 75 ff. For specific sects or monasteries other than dGe-lugs-pa, Bengal 1894, pp. 297 ff.; Gorer, pp. 195-99; Li An-che 1945, 1948b, 1949.

220. Shen and Liu, pp. 76-77, 79, 82; Gorer, pp. 195-99; Bengal 1894, pp. 297 ff.; Hedin, I, 351-52; Tsybikov, 291-92, 337-40; Kawaguchi, pp. 348-50.

221. Shen and Liu, pp. 77-78; Waddell 1895, p. 224; Das 1902a, p. 69; Kawaguchi, pp. 291, 325; Campbell 1852, p. 418; Pranavananda, p. 54; MacDonald 1929, p. 104.

222. Sandberg 1906, pp. 101 ff.; Bell 1946, p. 283; Das 1902b, s. v. gling.

223. Das 1902b, p. 239.

224. Sandberg 1906, pp. 101-4; Shen and Liu, pp. 72-74; Tsybikov, pp. 286-87; MacDonald 1929, pp. 69-70, 97. Also a Bon monastery, Das 1887, pp. 16-17. Some sources such as Waddell 1895, pp. 188-89; Kawaguchi, p. 290; Das 1887, pp. 79-88; 1902a, p. 264; Tsybikov, pp. 311, 325-26, 347-49, 366, name all the subdivisions of some of the main monasteries.

225. Sandberg 1906, pp. 101-4, I, 217, n. 1.

226. For example in Simbiling 6 "lamas" out of 170 "monks" (Pranavananda, pp. 62-63).

227. Pranavananda, p. 21, and appendix.

228. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64, 157; Tucci 1936, p. 167; Tucci 1937, p. 26.

229. Tucci 1936, p. 64; Li Yu-i, p. 127.

230. On sects in general Waddell 1895, pp. 54-75; Bengal 1894; also Li An-che 1945, 1948b, 1949; Tucci 1949, pp. 81-93.

231. Shen and Liu, pp. 72-75; Li Yu-i, p. 122.

232. Cases in Hedin, III, 182; Das 1887, pp. 30, 43.

233. Pranavananda, for instance, lists holdings of monasteries in the Kailas area that are all branches of larger ones in Central Tibet or Bhutan. Other cases in Hedin, II, 130; III, 53, 93.

234. Bell 1946, pp. 165-66; Shen and Liu, p. 183. Cf. a fund for scholarships in a rNying-ma-pa monastery, Li An-che 1948b, p. 153.

235. Bell 1946, pp. 165-66; Great Britain 1904a, p. 240; MacDonald 1929, p. 75. Cf. the annual budget of Tashilhunpo, Weitsang t'ung-chih, pp. 378-79.

236. Bell 1928, p. 86, gives a case.

237. Chen, p. 100.

238. Tsybikov, p. 286; Filchner, 1933, pp. 218-19; Waddell 1895, pp. 187-88; Pranavananda, pp. 63-64; Li An-che 1948b, pp. 158-59; Ma, p. 414.

239. Pallis, pp. 332-33; Li An-che 1948b, p. 159 (three, four, or five years, re-election possible).

240. Pallis, pp. 332-33 (on Ladak); Tsybikov, p. 286 (on the three main monasteries near Lhasa).

241. Ramsay, pp. 83-84; Filchner 1933, pp. 218-19; Waddell 1895, pp. 187-88.

242. Shen and Liu, pp. 76, 80, 81; Sandberg 1906, p. 101; Das 1887, p. 61; Kawaguchi, pp. 326-27.

243. They are, however, at Tashilhunpo (Tsybikov, p. 367).

244. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 99, 112, 113, 131, 132; Harcourt, pp. 218-19; Egerton, p. 17.

245. Snellgrove, p. 218; Winnington, pp. 92, 138; Ma, pp. 377-78; Chen, p. 100; Goré 1923, p. 395.

246. Sandberg 1906, p. 122.

247. Bell 1946, pp. 200-1; Tsybikov, p. 294.

248. On Sikkim, David-Neel 1933, p. 44; on the northeast, Rock-hill 1891a, p. 91; Goré 1939, p. 50. Cf. also the life of Mar-pa as a wealthy landholder in Mi-la-ras-pa's life story, Evans-Wentz, pp. 88-90, 185.

249. J. W. Edgar 1874, p. 59; cf. Marx, p. 122; Li An-che 1948a, p. 41.

250. Kawaguchi, p. 325, does mention landholdings of individual monks, but it may refer to hierarchs (his high-class monks) or to the family's field assigned to the monk. According to Bell 1946, p. 200, the monks are not allowed to cultivate land.

251. The best descriptions are those of the three great monasteries near Lhasa: Shen and Liu, pp. 69 ff. For the "Red" sects, Waddell in Bengal 1894, pp. 302-4. Cf. also Desgodins, pp. 229-30; Goré 1923, p. 395; Li An-che 1945, 1948b, 1949.

252. Tsybikov, pp. 287, 335.

253. Shen and Liu, pp. 71, 83; Tsybikov, p. 284.

254. Shen and Liu, p. 85; Das 1902a, pp. 239-41; Desideri, p. 131.

255. Das 1902a, p. 239.

256. The Khojarnath monastery, Tucci 1937, pp. 38-39.

257. Sandberg 1906, pp. 130-31; Das 1902a, p. 235; Das 1887, p. 52; Das 1902b, p. 990. For the main families, prominent both in church and lay politics during the Sa-skya and Phag-mo-gru-pa periods, see Tucci 1949, pp. 28-29, *passim*.

258. Bose, p. 188; Eden, pp. 99-100.

259. Heber, pp. 226-28.

260. Li Yu-i.

261. On the monk officials in general: Das 1902a, p. 176; Bell

1931, pp. 175-83; Shen and Liu, pp. 107-9; Harrer, pp. 180-81. Prince Peter (Peter 1954, pp. 9-10 and *passim*) includes in his list of noble families fourteen Lhasa families which supply monk officials. "Such families specialize in supplying the administration with monk officials . . . and they are recruited within these families from the nephews of former monk officials. These being celibate, cannot have children to whom they could pass on their charge." It is possible that some noble families provide monk officials exclusively. Unfortunately Prince Peter does not give any information on the status and political functions of the lay members of these families providing monk officials. In at least one case, one of the families of monk officials mentioned by Peter, that of Rin-sgang (Peter 1954, p. 32), is really a lay noble family in which the senior member was a lay official and was married, and a junior member was a monk official (Chapman, pp. 83-84, 254).

262. Shen and Liu, p. 110; Bell 1928, p. 228; Tucci 1950, p. 66; Jäschke, pp. 260-61.

263. Bell 1928, p. 192; Maraini, pp. 162-63; Kawaguchi, p. 436; Das 1902b, pp. 322, 323. See Das's definition of *sger-pa* in note 152 above.

264. Shen and Liu, p. 112.

265. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

266. Peter 1954.

267. Shen and Liu, pp. 103, 110. Some data given by Das are difficult to interpret. He writes that "under the Lhasa Government there are about a hundred and twenty landlords, out of whom about twenty are very rich and powerful." He gives three examples, all of churchmen, but he also refers to "other great lamas and laymen" in this group; so that in the 120 must be included both church hierarchs and lay noblemen. Later, he reports that besides these and the great monasteries, "there are more than three hundred landholders, called *gerpa*, who pay a nominal revenue to the Government, varying from ten to thirty *doche* (1250 to 3750 rupees) and who are also called upon to furnish *ulag*, *ta-u* and other indirect taxes." (Das 1902a, p. 183). Unfortunately, Das gives no details as to the political function of these two groups of landholders or on their lay or monastic status, so that it is not possible to relate his data to our classification into church hierarchs, lay bureaucratic nobility, petty chiefs, and dependent local rulers.

268. Bell 1928, p. 66; Kawaguchi, p. 436.

269. From the brother of the Seventh Dalai Lama, Bell 1928, p. 66; Peter 1954, p. 12.



270. From the merging of the descendants of the Eighth and the Twelfth Dalai Lamas' families, Bell 1928, p. 66; Peter 1954, p. 11; from those of the Tenth and Twelfth according to Tucci 1950a, p. 66.

271. From the brother of the Tenth, Bell 1928, p. 66; from that of the Eleventh, Tucci 1950a, p. 66; Peter 1954, p. 12.

272. From the family of the Tenth Dalai Lama, Peter 1954, p. 12.

273. From the family of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Peter 1954, p. 12.

274. Peter 1954, p. 12.

275. *Ibid.*, p. 7; cf. Kawaguchi, pp. 436-37.

276. Bell 1928, p. 66. Bird in Tibetan is Bya. Probably Ragma-shag descends from Bya-khri, also named Spu-de-gung-rgyal, mentioned in the Chronicles of Ladak (Francke 1926, p. 79). There is also a Bya-ba family, on which see Tucci 1949, p. 647.

277. Bell 1928, p. 66. Kawaguchi, p. 436, counts Lha-rgya-ri among the Yab-gzhis families. A god 'Od-gsal is mentioned in the Chronicles of Ladak (Francke 1926, p. 64); and a certain person of the same name was an ancestor of the Lahuli chiefs of Ti-nan (Francke 1926, p. 213). This Lha-rgya-ri seems to be the same family as that mentioned by Das under somewhat different spellings in his dictionary: "Ge-ra-lha-pa name of a Tibetan chief, said to have descended from the royal line of kings, i. e., from Srong-btsan-sgam-po and belonging to a place called Ge-ra lha situated to the east of Lhasa on the Yaru Tsang-po beyond Chethang" (Das 1902b, p. 224). On page 236 he spells the name of the place Gye-re and that of the family Gye-re-lha-pa.

278. Bell 1928, p. 66.

279. Das 1887, p. 122; Peter 1954, p. 13.

280. Bell 1928, p. 98; Peter 1954, p. 13.

281. Bell 1928, p. 65.

282. *Ibid.*

283. According to Peter 1955, p. 181, there are exogamous patrilineal lineages (rus-brgyud, "bone relations"), while on the mother's side (sha'i-brgyud, "flesh relations") marriage is forbidden until the seventh degree of relationship. Cf. Harrer, p. 198. Desideri in the eighteenth century reported strict exogamy of the patrilineal "bone" but no "flesh" exogamy except in the first degree of kinship so that marriage with a cousin on the mother's side was frequent (Desideri, p. 192).

284. Shen and Liu, pp. 142, 143; MacDonald 1929, p. 143; Chapman, pp. 81, 241; Bell 1928, p. 192; Grenard 1904, pp. 93-94; Bell

1946, p. 141; Hayden and Cosson, p. 59; Harrer, pp. 196-97; Peter 1955, pp. 181-83.

285. For instance the Pha-lha once adopted a son from Nu-ma (Bell 1928, p. 65), bShad-sgra from *Shang-ka* (Bell 1928, p. 65), lHa-klu from Lung-shar (Chapman, p. 319), and probably Kun-bzang-rtse from Zur-khang (Harrer, p. 140).

286. Shen and Liu, p. 110.

287. Das 1901, pp. ii-iii. This is the same as *Shatra* mentioned in Bell 1931, pp. 173, 185.

288. Bell 1946, pp. 140-41; Chapman, pp. 80-81, Hayden and Cosson, p. 59.

289. Bell 1946, p. 264; Kawaguchi, p. 559.

290. Bell 1931, p. 181.

291. Schaefer 1952, p. 59; Shen (personal communication).

292. Peter 1954, pp. 40-42; see also Bell 1931, p. 181, for the case of bShad-zur.

293. MacDonald 1932, pp. 133, 180, 287; Waddell 1905, p. 204; Chapman, pp. 48, 55. I assume this is the 'Phreng-ring (*Ta-ring*) family of Prince Peter's list who counts it among the Tashilhunpo nobility.

294. Waddell 1905, p. 251; Great Britain 1904a, pp. 239-40.

295. Teichman, p. 26; Chapman, p. 252; Tolstoy, p. 200; Ford, p. 67.

296. Peter 1954, p. 10.

297. Peter 1954, p. 43; Ford, p. 49; Winnington, p. 185. Chapman, p. 93, writes of sPom-mda'-tshang as a trader, "neither a monk nor a lay official"; Maraini, p. 164, states that he "has received the privileges of the gerpa."

298. Shen and Liu, p. 103.

299. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

300. As an example, the career as an official of a member of the Pha-lha family is given in Bell 1928, 105-8.

301. According to Shen (personal communication), the title of kung is held for three generations; the next three generations have the title of Jassak, the three following that of Taiji; the next become untitled. For the early days of Manchu control Tsybikov gives one case in which the title of kung is inherited for one generation. The father of the Seventh Dalai Lama and his son both had the title of kung; the son of the latter was given a hereditary title of first degree, Taiji. According to this writer, in later times the title of kung was not inherited (Tsybikov, pp. 248-49). Yet Bell writes of two lHa-klu kungs, father and son (Bell 1928, p. 78). Bell also writes that the title of Jassak descends from father to

son (Bell 1928, p. 67); Chapman, p. 78, and MacDonald 1929, p. 116, say that as a rule it is not hereditary.

302. MacDonald 1929, pp. 115-16.

303. Shen and Liu, p. 111; cf. Bell 1928, p. 273.

304. MacDonald 1929, pp. 55-56.

305. Bell 1946, pp. 153-54; Kawaguchi, p. 558.

306. Bell 1928, p. 86; Bell 1946, p. 321. Bell gives as example the case of the Prime Minister Zhol-kang whose estates were small. He seems to be a member of the lesser nobility, since Bell writes, "his income is much less than those of the nobility, with whom his social connections lie" (i. e., less than those of the top nobility).

307. Bell 1946, p. 154.

308. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

309. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

310. Kawaguchi, p. 432.

311. Das 1902b, p. 270, s. v. dge-'thud.

312. Kawaguchi, p. 558.

313. See note 118 above.

314. Kawaguchi, pp. 275-76, 438, 439. The *Ngak-pa* (sngags-pa) are really exorcists of the rNying-ma-pa order (Tucci 1949, p. 88). Nowadays zhal-ngo is the title of certain officials in the three monasteries near Lhasa. The meaning of "noble sons, princes" is also given by Jäschke, p. 473 (quoting Schmidt), cf. Tucci 1949, note 83, p. 685. According to Das in his dictionary, it was formerly applied to an officer over fifty soldiers, inferior to a captain (Das 1902b, p. 1068). In Khams, zhal-ngo are subdistrict officials under the rdzong-dpon sent from Lhasa (in Lower Khams) or under local hereditary rulers. In the independent states they form a local nobility (see p. 142). In the provinces of Lower Khams under Lhasa it is not clear whether the zhal-ngo are a local group ranking as nobility or whether they are also named from among the noblemen of Lhasa. Das also mentions sngags-pa and zhal-ngo as high-status groups together with the nobility: In Tashilhunpo the Panchen Lama "adds certain titles of aristocratic distinction to the names of those who have sprung from the upper sections of the people" when they are accepted as novices. "The scions of the old nobility and descendants of the earlier Tantrik (Lamaic) families called Nag-tshang are given the title of Shab-dung. The sons of land-holders and high officials, the title of Je-dung, and those from the class of gentlemen and the family of Sha-ngo are called choi-je" (Das 1893, p. 18).

315. See p. 101.

316. See p. 91.

317. Great Britain 1904a, pp. 28-29.
318. Das 1902a, p. 230.
319. Ward 1926, pp. 174-75. Probably these barons are the sde-pa of Bailey 1914, pp. 7-8.
320. Hanbury-Tracy, p. 154; Kaulback, p. 66.
321. Kaulback, p. 133.
322. Strachey, p. 342; Sherring, pp. 150-51, 154-55; Tucci 1936, pp. 181-82, 194-96.
323. Sherring, p. 153; Tucci 1936, pp. 208-9; Pranavananda, pp. 230-32.
324. Sherring, pp. 278-79; Tucci 1937, p. 88; Pranavananda, pp. 81-82, 106-7.
325. Strachey, pp. 344 ff., gives a complete list.
326. They are *Toyo*, *Kirong*, and *Thiti*. Strachey, pp. 174, 345; Pranavananda, p. 231, describes them as three patti jointly called *Chho-sum*, and says there is a Panchayat of the same name. In pp. 230-31 he gives a complete list of all the villages of Pu-rangs and their holders.
327. Hence the name *Richoba* of the maps. Tucci 1935, p. 12.
328. Tucci 1935, p. 8; 1936, p. 246.
329. Tucci 1935, p. 12; 1936, pp. 254, 255-56.
330. Tucci 1936, p. 182; *Chumurti* is also one of the thirteen chiefs of Strachey.
331. India, part 2, pp. 170-72.
332. Rockhill 1894, pp. 235-36.
333. Roerich 1931, pp. 336-38.
334. Bailey 1914, p. 9.
335. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 114.
336. India, part 2, p. 329.
337. Bailey 1914, p. 64.
338. Hayden and Cosson in the 1920's visited Lha-rgya-ri and report the place as once under its own independent princes but at that time under Lhasa. They met, however, the successor of the ancient rulers, a married lama, who probably was still the local chief, since he provided quarters for the travelers in the rdzong (Hayden and Cosson, pp. 207-8).
339. Tucci 1949, pp. 646, 649.
340. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 404.
341. Boundary Question, p. 46. Cf. India, part 2, p. 325.
342. Bailey 1914, p. 1.
343. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
344. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
345. Boundary Question, pp. 46-47; Bell 1946, p. 300.

346. Kaulback, p. 133.
347. MacDonald 1932, p. 129.
348. Das 1887, pp. 60, 61.
349. Great Britain 1910, p. 186. The reports on Chab-mdo are sketchy and contradictory. Cf. also Rockhill 1891b, p. 55; Rockhill 1894, p. 307; Sandberg 1906, pp. 154-55; Teichman, pp. 114-15.
350. Rockhill 1894, p. 325; Teichman, p. 126.
351. Boundary Question, pp. 44-45.
352. Das 1902b, p. 787; Kaulback, pp. 234-35; Ward 1934, pp. 153-54.
353. Petech 1950, p. 139; Das 1882, p. 29; Bell 1946, p. 64.
354. Macaulay, p. 39; Great Britain 1905, p. 126.
355. For details on its borders, Petech 1950, pp. 71-72; Hedin, I, 199, 259; III, 286.
356. MacDonald 1932, pp. 295-96; Peter 1954, p. 10.
357. Das 1902a, pp. 41, 55, 60; Das 1887, p. 9; Wei-Tsang t'ung-chih, p. 379.
358. Peter 1954, *passim*.
359. Shen and Liu, p. 72; Das 1901-4, *passim*; Das 1893, p. 13; Macaulay, p. 39; Turner, pp. 245-46.
360. Das 1902a, pp. 72-73; Das 1901-4, p. 29. See in Wei-Tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 378-79, important data on the annual revenue and expenditures of Tashilhunpo.

#### Chapter 4

1. Rockhill 1891a, pp. 219-20; Launay, pp. 8-10.
2. Chen, p. 93; Goré 1923, p. 389; 1939, p. 210. This corresponds to the *dotoen* of the Lahuli chiefs; see p. 181.
3. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 407; Rockhill 1891b, pp. 46-47.
4. Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 408; cf. Goré 1923, p. 388.
5. Gill 1880, II, 196. The first sde-pa's eldest son married the second sde-pa's daughter as an adopted son-in-law, thus becoming heir to the position of second sde-pa. The first sde-pa's younger son married two other daughters of the second sde-pa, remaining as heir to his father's position as first sde-pa.
6. Soulié, p. 92, spells these *Ba Deba* and *Guia ngun Deba*. gNya'-ngan-tshang was the family name of the second sde-pa according to Dictionnaire, p. 384.
7. Soulié, p. 92.
8. Gill 1880, II, 193; cf. Desgodins, pp. 273-74; Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, p. 408.

9. Gill 1880, II, 193.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 192; cf. Desgodins, p. 274.
11. Soulié, p. 102, writes: "Une partie de cette noblesse est suzeraine ou dépend du Ba Deba et l'autre partie du Guia ngun Deba."
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 102.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 94 ff.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-4.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Li An-che 1947, p. 280; Great Britain 1910, p. 185.
20. A short sketch of the history of this family and of sDe-dge in Li An-che 1947, pp. 280-83.
21. Boundary Question, pp. 40-41, 73-75, 80-87; cf. Tafel, II, 185.
22. Chen, p. 82; cf. names of officials signing the documents in Boundary Question, pp. 75, 86-87.
23. Chen, p. 82.
24. Boundary question, p. 85.
25. Teichman, p. 208 and *passim*; Tafel, II, 119, 168.
26. Winnington, pp. 47-48.
27. Chen, pp. 82, 98.
28. Time not stated. Chen, pp. 88, 92. For more details on the labor services, *ibid.*, pp. 118 ff. Goré 1923, pp. 389-90, mentions for Khams in general the following dues: taxes in cash and kind in undetermined rates, varying according to need, transportation services, feeding the herds of the chief, field work in his land, building and repairing his house, and supply of firewood.
29. Chen, p. 89.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
31. *Ibid.*, note 18, p. 149; Tafel, II, 181; Rockhill 1891a, p. 242.
32. Tafel, II, 181; Teichman, pp. 64-65; Rockhill 1891a, p. 253.
33. Tafel, II, 181; Teichman, p. 71.
34. Chen, pp. 83, 84, 92.
35. See Boundary Question, pp. 38-40, 66-73, 75-76.
36. Chen, p. 92.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 100.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 100. Share-cropping in half shares is also reported in Soulié, pp. 95, 96, and Desgodins, p. 334.
42. Chen, p. 100.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
46. Data from Chen, in several tables, pp. 103-9. Goré 1939, p. 317, however, mentions small villages wholly inhabited by subjects of monasteries.
47. Chen, p. 99.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
49. Tafel, II, 29-30, 98.
50. Ma, pp. 402-5, 668, 426-31.
51. Tafel, II, 145. The precise number of the tribes has occasionally changed. A complete list is available for the 1930's in Ma, pp. 426-31; cf. also Younghusband, pp. 128-29; Teichman, p. 108; Combe, p. 140; Tafel, II, 143. For the limits of the territory of the twenty-five tribes see Tafel, II, 143-44 and Ma, pp. 426 ff.
52. Tafel, II, 144-45; Combe, p. 140.
53. Combe, p. 140.
54. Ma, p. 426, gives a complete list of them.
55. Tafel, II, 145.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Ma, p. 403.
58. Tafel, II, 145.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 160; Ma, pp. 426, 430.
60. Tafel, II, 135, 148.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 142; Younghusband, pp. 128-29.
62. Tafel, II, 142; Ma, p. 430.
63. Ma, pp. 603, 668
64. *Ibid.*, p. 615.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 603, 668.
66. Tafel, II, 147.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 145, 147; Ma, pp. 426 ff.
68. Tafel, II, 224 ff.; J. H. Edgar, p. 59.
69. Tafel, II, 246.
70. J. H. Edgar, p. 57; Fergusson, pp. 104, 255.
71. Ainscough, pp. 51-52; J. H. Edgar, p. 56.
72. Tafel, II, 223 ff., Stötzner, p. 138; Ainscough, p. 12; for the Chinese conquest of the rGyal-rong see also Hänisch.
73. Fergusson, p. 254; Gill 1878, p. 74; Tafel, II, 228; Stötzner, pp. 138, 188.

74. J. H. Edgar, p. 58; Fergusson, p. 256.
75. Tafel, II, 228, 233.
76. Stötzner, p. 139; Ainscough, p. 61.
77. Stötzner, p. 181.
78. Tafel, II, 227-29, 246.
79. Gill, 1878, p. 74.
80. Ainscough, p. 61.
81. Hermanns, p. 262; Ekvall 1939, pp. 31, 63.
82. Tafel, II, 305-6.
83. Ekvall, 1939, p. 31; Joseph Rock, personal communication.
84. Ma Ho-t'ien, pp. 24-25, 52; Stübel, p. 54.
85. Li An-che 1942, pp. 66-67; also Yu.
86. Ekvall 1939, p. 69.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-70.
90. Yu; Ekvall 1939, p. 70; Li Shih-Yü Yü; Hermanns, pp. 231-32; very good case material on feuding and robbery in Ekvall 1952.
91. Ekvall 1939, p. 70; Yu.
92. Yu.
93. Cf. the *thsu-ba* of Ekvall 1939, p. 69.
94. Stübel, pp. 26, 45-46, 54-56.
95. See p. 72.
96. Ekvall 1954, pp. 40, 41, 42, 44.
97. Rockhill 1891a, pp. 73-74.
98. Francke 1926, p. 250. Francke's transliteration has been changed to that used in the present work. .
99. Dainelli 1924, p. 258.
100. *Ibid.*, pp. 233 ff.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
102. Punjab 1883-84, p. 94.
103. On the ethnic groups of this area see Dainelli 1925.
104. A. Cunningham, p. 258.
105. Francke 1926, pp. 131, 226-27.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 226-27.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22, 159, 226.
108. *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 122, 125, 151-66. In older times there might have been local kings in several other places. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 273-76.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 212-14, 219.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 176.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 190.



113. *Ibid.*, pp. 232, 238.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-74.
115. See map 5.
116. Note by K. Marx in Francke 1926, p. 123.
117. Francke 1926, pp. 118, 120, 122.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 123, 125, 133, 138, where sku-drag is used for the nobility.
119. In the Tibetan text zhing-khang, i. e., the household allotments described in chapter 2.
120. Francke 1926, p. 118. I add the Tibetan terms in brackets.
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 126.
122. A. Cunningham, p. 258.
123. Francke 1926, pp. 131, 133, 141; also A. Cunningham, p. 259.
124. Francke 1926, p. 125. Probably the same as the *Nuna Khalun* (No-no bka'-blon) or deputy first minister of Moorcroft who had his residence in Mul-be (Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 334-35; II, 18, 19, 85).
125. Francke 1926, pp. 122-23, 127-28, 251.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 128; see map 5.
127. A. Cunningham, p. 258. But Cunningham seems to confuse the prime minister with the minister of Leh and with the Bang-kha, all three different people in the Chronicles of Ladak and in Moorcroft; and the Chimra Valley is the same district as Bang-kha. The ruler of Bang-kha was the master of the horse, but I have found in no Tibetan text either a title of bka'-blon or blon-po. Shakya-rgya-mtsho, the ancestor of the Bang-kha, was a blon-po (Francke 1926, pp. 113, 243-44).
128. Francke 1926, p. 252.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 238; Francke 1906-7, p. 93.
130. Francke 1926, p. 123.
131. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27.
132. A. Cunningham, pp. 257-58; cf. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 255.
133. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 248; II, 18, 19, 85.
134. Ullah, p. 291.
135. Petech 1939, p. 151.
136. Francke 1926, pp. 226-27.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 125. I add the Tibetan term in brackets. Francke's transliteration of place names has been changed to that used here. I would translate mkhar-dpon as "provincial fort governors," rather than as "governors of the palace."
138. A. Cunningham, p. 259.

139. Francke 1926, pp. 137, 252.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
141. *Ibid.*, p. 239.
142. *Ibid.*
143. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
148. Ribbach, p. 131.
149. Francke 1926, p. 141; see map 5.
150. Francke 1926, pp. 226-27.
151. A. Cunningham, p. 279.
152. Moorcroft and Trebeck, II, 41-42, 89, 90; Ullah, p. 286; Francke 1926, p. 181.
153. Punjab 1883-84, p. 93; Gerard, p. 147; Moorcroft and Trebeck, II, 69. Another report, however, states that the mkhar-dpon was a hereditary post of military and police duties held by a resident of Pin, while the No-no was the civil administrator (Egerton, pp. 28-29). Perhaps there were two mkhar-dpon in Spiti, one the military commander in Pin and the other the official sent from Leh to collect the revenue.
154. Francke 1926, pp. 133, 240.
155. A. Cunningham, pp. 275-77.
156. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 425.
157. Francke 1926, pp. 113, 127, 128, 238, 239, 240, 253; also A. Cunningham, p. 276.
158. A. Cunningham, p. 259.
159. Francke 1926, p. 250.
160. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 425.
161. Francke translates it as "chief cook (store keeper)." According to Jäschke, "it is said to denote a military dignity, but is not generally known; as 'servant waiting at table' it ought to be spelled *stegs-dpon*" (Jäschke, p. 274).
162. Francke 1926, pp. 224, 250; on the Ga-ga bstan-'dzin, see p. 174.
163. Francke 1926, pp. 94, 113, 120-22.
164. *Ibid.*, pp. 157, 164.
165. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
168. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 402, 403, 408.
169. A. Cunningham, p. 352.

170. Ramsay, p. 83, gives a list of monasteries according to sect.
171. Francke 1926, pp. 122, 123.
172. *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 121, 122, 123, 226.
173. Moorcroft and Trebeck, II, 70-71.
174. J. D. Cunningham, p. 211.
175. Hay, p. 438; Punjab 1883-84, p. 145.
176. Punjab 1883-84, p. 146.
177. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
179. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.
180. Punjab 1899, p. 115; Punjab 1883-84, p. 147.
181. Punjab 1883-84, p. 145; Hay, p. 438; J. D. Cunningham, p. 211.
182. Punjab 1883-84, p. 132.
183. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-34.
184. Moorcroft and Trebeck, II, 62, 64.
185. See chapter 2, section 1.
186. A. Cunningham, p. 268.
187. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
188. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
189. Francke 1926, p. 124.
190. Punjab 1883-84, p. 129. The oldest reference to such a classification of holdings may lie in the Chronicles of Ladak, which attribute its introduction to King Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal (*ca.* 1780-90): "As there had been thus far no principle regulating the taxes and revenue, he [made a rule] that henceforth taxes should be raised only [in accordance with the income], great or little proportionately" (Francke 1926, p. 124).
191. Punjab 1899, p. 118. Cf., however, Punjab 1883-84, p. 146, where quantity and quality of land is taken into account in assessing the grain tax.
192. Imperial Gazetteer of India, XVI, 94.
193. Moorcroft and Trebeck, II, 70-71.
194. Ullah, p. 290. Bigha and jarib are Indian land measurements.
195. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 320.
196. *Ibid.*; cf. pp. 172-73 in this volume.
197. Moorcroft and Trebeck, II, 42.
198. Ramsay, p. 47.
199. A. Cunningham, p. 269; Jäschke, pp. 15, 542.
200. Francke 1926, p. 250.

201. Ramsay, p. 103.

202. According to Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 334-35, the produce of taxes on merchandise in transit was divided among the king, the prime minister and the *lompa* (Slel blon-po).

203. A. Cunningham, pp. 269-72. It seems that Cunningham's estimate does not take labor services into account and apparently did not consider payments in kind. Another question not explained in his estimate is the exact limits of the area he considers. We do not know whether the territories of dependent kings and chiefs (rgyal-po, jo) such as rGya, Zangs-dkar, and so forth, are included or not in the estimate. Also he is not clear as to the place in his estimate of the revenue derived from the estates of ministers and monasteries. He does mention some revenue alienated for the support of monasteries and members of the royal family, but does not mention any granted to noblemen and ministers, although we know it existed. On the other hand he includes, as a source of revenue, payments from these ministers. Roero, I, 283-84, gives another estimate of the king's income which agrees with Cunningham's in the total sum but differs slightly in details. For the taxes and revenue of Ladak after the Dogra conquest, see A. Cunningham, pp. 270, 272-75; Ramsay, p. 136; Francke 1926, pp. 138-48.

204. A. Cunningham, p. 270.

205. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

206. Francke 1926, p. 250.

207. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

208. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 320-21.

209. Francke 1926, p. 146.

210. Ramsay, p. 77.

211. A. Cunningham, p. 270.

212. Roero, I, 285. In the Chronicles of Ladak there is frequent mention of a bka'-blon of sTog.

213. Francke 1926, p. 126.

214. *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27.

215. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-35.

216. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 425.

217. Francke 1926, pp. 242-44.

218. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 424, 439.

219. Francke 1926, pp. 236-41.

220. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 402, 403, 405, 408.

221. Punjab 1883-84, p. 132. Kuiling and two other sites are mentioned as held "in jagir" by the No-no (Hay, p. 450).

222. Punjab 1883-84, p. 132.

223. Ramsay, p. 101.
224. Francke 1907, pp. 609-11.
225. Francke 1926, p. 224.
226. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
227. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
228. *Ibid.*, p. 110; Pallis, p. 299; Hedin, III, 63; Knight, p. 193.
229. A. Cunningham, p. 270.
230. Ramsay, p. 83.
231. Francke 1926, pp. 151-62.
232. Punjab 1883-84, p. 132.
233. J. D. Cunningham, p. 211.
234. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 111, 132, 145, 146; Punjab 1899, pp. 99, 115-18. For the sect of the different monasteries and the spelling of place names, Francke 1914, pp. 38-47.
235. Egerton, p. 30.
236. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 335.
237. A. Cunningham, pp. 271-72. Cf. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 334-35.
238. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 91-92; Francke 1926, pp. 202-3.
239. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 198; Punjab 1883-84, p. 92.
240. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 107, 118. For the origin and history of the chiefly families, Francke 1926, pp. 195-224.
241. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 198; Punjab 1883-84, p. 143.
242. Moorcroft and Trebeck, I, 206; Punjab 1883-84, p. 92. Francke 1926, p. 203.
243. The land system of Kulu offers great similarities to that described for Lahul, Ladak, and Spiti. This is not, however, because of recent Hindu influence in these Tibetan regions, but rather because Kulu has to a large extent a land system of Tibetan type. Other cultural traits in Kulu, such as agricultural field work done by women, polyandry, late marriage, and cousin marriage, resemble Tibet rather than the typical Hindu culture of northern India. (Punjab 1883-84, pp. 25-26, 49.)
244. See p. 29.
245. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 128-29, 143.
246. Punjab 1883-84, p. 98. The *dotoen* is the *dothain* or cadet (Sanskrit *Dwistaniya*), a term applied to the cadet branches of Rajput sects in Gurdaspur (Rose, III, 11, note). The same custom is explained in the chronicle of the chiefs of Ko-long, in Francke 1926, p. 203.
247. Punjab 1883-84, pp. 123-24.
248. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

249. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 126.

250. Rōse, III, 13.

251. Punjab 1883-84, p. 124.

252. These have been discussed before, see pp. 38-40.

253. Punjab 1883-84, p. 124.

254. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.

255. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

256. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-27. On this chief, see Francke 1926, pp. 201, 202, 209, 210.

257. In Lahul a *lakh* contains twenty *path*. The *path* as a measure of seed equals about one *seer* of standard weight. Punjab 1883-84, p. 142.

258. Punjab 1883-84, p. 127.

259. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

260. Bengal 1894, pp. 31-33.

261. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 259.

262. *Ibid.*, pp. 27 ff.

263. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-10; see also White, pp. 16 ff.; J. W. Edgar, pp. 69-70.

264. In 1841. Campbell, 1849, p. 493.

265. The term *kazi*, usually employed for these local officers, seems to be taken from the Moslem rulers of India. It derives from the Arabic *qādi*, a magistrate, and is not generally used in Tibetan (Waddell 1900, p. 433), although the Tibetan spelling *bka-gzigs* is recorded (Sandberg 1888, p. 97). The Tibetan equivalent of *kazi* is said to be *blon-po* or minister (Waddell 1900, p. 433) or *rdzong-dpon* (Bengal 1894, p. 15; cf. also Waddell 1900, pp. 101, 108). But the term *rdzong-dpon* "fort commander," is also the equivalent of the Persian title *soubah* (*sūba*), also used by some writers on Sikkim. Sometimes it seems synonymous with *kazi* (e. g., "the Soubahship of the Gangtok Kazi," Hooker, II, 228-29), but in one case, Campbell seems to use *kazi* for officials who administer their own districts and *soubah* for those who administer districts assigned to the heir-apparent or the queen (Campbell 1852, pp. 415-16). The equivalence of *kazi* and *blon-po* is not well established, since one source writes of twenty-one *kazi* and five *blon-po* (Imperial Gazetteer of India, XXII, 371-72). In this case the *blon-po* are probably what most other writers call *dewan*. The equivalence, then, of the Anglo-Indian terms *kazi*, *soubah*, and *dewan* and the Tibetan *blon-po*, and *rdzong-dpon* is not entirely clear.

266. J. W. Edgar, p. 62. The *changzed* is the phyag-mdzod or treasurer; the *dewans* are the ministers.

267. *Ibid.*

268. Macaulay, p. 1; Waddell 1900, p. 102.
269. Waddell 1900, p. 433; J. W. Edgar, p. 62.
270. Could it be a misprint for twelve? Imperial Gazetteer of India, XXII, 372.
271. Bengal 1894, pp. 14-16 and 31-34, gives detailed genealogy of the *Adin* and *hBar-phung*.
272. Combe, p. 26.
273. J. W. Edgar, p. 5; Bengal 1894, p. 32.
274. Sikkim 1909, p. 11.
275. Bernard, p. 31; Riencourt, p. 25.
276. Bernard, p. 31.
277. Gorer, p. 123.
278. Sikkim 1909, p. 11.
279. Also a *kazi*? Hooker, II, 15; Campbell 1852, p. 416.
280. Bengal 1894, p. 15.
281. *Ibid.*, p. 25; Macaulay, pp. 7, 10.
282. Bengal 1894, p. 23; J. W. Edgar, p. 68.
283. Bengal 1894, pp. 31-33.
284. J. W. Edgar, p. 62.
285. Imperial Gazetteer of India, XXII, 371.
286. Das 1901-4, p. 79.
287. Campbell 1849, p. 511.
288. Bengal 1894, pp. 23, 25, 31-33.
289. Waddell 1900, p. 433; also Macaulay, pp. 7, 8, 13.
290. Macaulay, pp. 4, 7, 8.
291. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 14; White, pp. 25, 26.
292. Bengal 1894, pp. 257-59; cf. J. W. Edgar, pp. 56-60.
293. J. W. Edgar, pp. 59-60.
294. Sherwill, p. 461.
295. Bengal 1894, pp. 258, 297.
296. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; also MacDonald 1932, p. 259.
297. Bengal 1894, p. 23.
298. Hooker, II, 191.
299. Bengal 1894, p. 24.
300. J. W. Edgar, p. 60.
301. White, pp. 19, 20.
302. J. W. Edgar, pp. 63-64.
303. Waddell 1900, p. 106.
304. Campbell 1849, p. 528.
305. Bell 1928, p. 301.
306. J. W. Edgar, quoted above.
307. Waddell 1900, p. 108.
308. Campbell 1852, p. 572.

309. See Gorer, p. 132, for the Lepcha of *Lingthem*; Campbell 1852, p. 572, for La-chung.
310. Great Britain 1904a, p. 235.
311. Das 1902a, p. 211.
312. Campbell 1852, p. 479.
313. *Ibid.*, p. 572.
314. Macaulay, p. 28.
315. J. W. Edgar, p. 4.
316. Rennie, p. 369.
317. White, p. 111.
318. Campbell 1852, p. 572.
319. Macaulay, pp. 15-16.
320. Gorer, p. 132.
321. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.
322. White, p. 26.
323. Gorer, pp. 37, 109, 123.
324. Bengal 1894, p. 35.
325. Campbell 1852, p. 572.
326. J. W. Edgar, p. 54.
327. Great Britain 1904a, p. 174.
328. Sikkim 1912, p. 2.
329. Bengal 1894, pp. 12-13. On p. 19: "(Tibet) resumed the Rajah's fiefs at Piahte Jong and Samye." Rin-chen-rtse was seized by Pho-lha-nas around 1715 (Petech 1950, p. 22).
330. Das 1887, p. 68; Campbell 1875, pp. 137-38; Great Britain 1904a, p. 235; Campbell 1852, p. 423; Das 1902a, pp. 210-11.
331. MacDonald 1932, p. 124; J. W. Edgar, p. 72; Waddell 1905, p. 88.
332. White, p. 111.
333. MacDonald 1932, p. 124.
334. *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 180, 287; Waddell 1905, p. 204; Chapman, pp. 48, 55.
335. Campbell 1852, p. 416; Hooker, II, 15.
336. Morris 1938, pp. 55-57.
337. Gorer, p. 123.
338. Campbell 1852, p. 416.
339. Das 1901-4, p. 79.
340. Sikkim 1912, p. 2.
341. Bengal 1894, p. 35.
342. Sikkim 1912, p. 2.
343. *Ibid.*
344. Waddell 1900, pp. 105, 108.
345. J. W. Edgar, p. 64.



346. David-Neel 1933, p. 44.
347. Sikkim 1910, p. 1.
348. J. W. Edgar, pp. 59-60; number of monks after Bengal 1894, pp. 257-58.
349. Campbell 1852, p. 571; Gorer, pp. 192-93.
350. J. W. Edgar, p. 61. Probably it was the bTsan-mkhar monastery (three monks, Bengal 1894, p. 257).
351. Imperial Gazetteer of India, XXII, 372.
352. New York Times, August 24, 1952; Himalayan Times (Kalimpong), August 31, 1952, p. 5.
353. Hodgson, I, 119.
354. J. W. Edgar, p. 55.
355. White, pp. 26-27.
356. Bell 1928, p. 301.
357. Gorer, p. 132.
358. Sikkim 1910, p. 2.
359. Sikkim 1909, p. 28.
360. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
361. Eden, p. 131.
362. The information available on this matter is hard to evaluate. Different people give names of what they call tribes, classes, castes, or clans of Bhutan without a definition of these terms; these names coincide only partially. Bose, pp. 198-99; Eden, pp. 109-10; Pemberton, p. 81; and Bailey 1914, p. 15, are the main lists. Cf. also the eight groups of subjects in the document published in White, pp. 226-28.
363. Eden, p. 108.
364. Pemberton, p. 81; Eden, p. 108; Bose, pp. 198-99, 201.
365. Eden, p. 110.
366. Bailey 1914, p. 15; Bose, pp. 198-99.
367. Markham, pp. 34-35.
368. Davis, p. 498.
369. Imperial Gazetteer of India, VIII, 161.
370. White, p. 132.
371. Bose, p. 197.
372. White, p. 308.
373. Eden, p. 127.
374. I. e., the three highest incarnate lamas.
375. Markham, p. 35.
376. Davis, p. 496.
377. I. e., Killadar, "commander of fortress," probably the rdzong-dpon of *Tashicho-dzong*; cf. *ibid.*, p. 501.
378. *Ibid.*, p. 504.

379. Pemberton, p. 57; Eden, pp. 65, 86.
380. Markham, p. 57; cf. also p. 31.
381. Pemberton, p. 85.
382. Eden, p. 91, quoted below; Davis, p. 498, quoted above.
383. Eden, p. 65.
384. Ramsay, pp. 83-84; Bengal 1894, p. 13.
385. Pemberton, p. 57.
386. Eden, p. 91.
387. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
388. White, p. 122.
389. Petech 1950, p. 145; White, p. 304; Das 1902b, p. 1067.
390. White, pp. 103, 310. On the establishment of church rule in Bhutan, Eden, pp. 108-11; Petech 1950, pp. 145-47.
391. Bose, pp. 192-94; Eden, pp. 113-14; White, pp. 227-28. See map 6.
392. Bose, pp. 191 ff.
393. *Ibid.*, pp. 193-95; Davis, p. 517; Griffiths, p. 154; Eden, pp. 98-99.
394. Bose, p. 190; Eden, pp. 112-13; Pemberton, pp. 53-55; Griffiths, pp. 157-58.
395. White, pp. 227-28.
396. Bose, pp. 196, 201-2. This is probably a simplified scale since not all offices are included in it. Cf. also Pemberton, p. 55; Eden, pp. 88, 115.
397. Examples in Turner, pp. 376-77; Eden, pp. 72, 78; India, II, 368; Bose, p. 195.
398. Pemberton, p. 51; Bose, p. 195; Eden, pp. 115-16.
399. Pemberton, pp. 51, 53, 54; Griffiths, p. 141; Eden, pp. 101-2.
400. Pemberton, pp. 89-90.
401. Eden, pp. 72, 96, 116.
402. White, p. 303.
403. Eden, p. 111.
404. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
405. See p. 61.
406. Bose, p. 202.
407. Eden, pp. 119, 120.
408. Markham, p. 36.
409. Bell 1928, p. 301.
410. Bogle, pp. 17, 193; Bose, p. 202; White, p. 219.
411. Eden, p. 119.
412. Davis, p. 503; Eden, p. 124; Pemberton p. 70.
413. Griffiths, p. 159; Eden, p. 120.

414. Pemberton, pp. 56, 62; Eden, p. 123; Markham, p. 38.
415. Bose, pp. 190, 191.
416. Pemberton, pp. 61-62, 107-8.
417. A good report on land tenure after the British occupation is Bengal 1895. Also omitted here is information of the recent Nepalese settlements. See Morris 1935.
418. Bose, pp. 190-96. It is not clear whether the shares refer to surface, population, revenue, or what.
419. Bose, pp. 190-96, gives many interesting details.
420. Eden, pp. 118-19; Pemberton, p. 56.
421. Bose, p. 191.
422. *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 191.
423. See pp. 197-200.

## Chapter 5

1. Vinogradoff; Bloch; Ganshof.
2. McIver, pp. 479 ff.
3. Even in the relation between the Dalai Lama's government and the rulers of subject states, which is closer to that of feudalism, the elements of personal fidelity and contractual agreement between the two parties seem to be lacking. See the oaths of allegiance of the sDe-dge and Hor rulers to the Lhasa government published in *Boundary Question*, pp. 66-76, 80-87.
4. Weber, pp. 378-81.
5. Wittfogel 1938; 1957, chapter vii.
6. Although in this summary a definition of regional differences is aimed at, material from different areas is at times put together in order to compensate for the gaps in information which have been mentioned in the bulk of this monograph. The resulting composite picture may therefore suffer from errors that will have to be corrected by further research. Most of this summary is based on the material presented in the preceding chapters. Detailed source references are provided only in the case of subjects not discussed before.
7. The material on the estates has been discussed separately in chapters 3 and 4 in the sections on each political unit.
8. More material is needed on the relative importance of these two types of peasants throughout the different areas of Tibet.
9. Cf. pp. 58 on Sikkim, 51 on Chumbi, 142 on 'Ba'-thang, and 203-4 on Bhutan.
10. See pp. 15, 30.

11. Tucci 1949, p. 668; Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, pp. 335, 340-41. Cf. also pp. 45 and 135.

12. Wittfogel considers the lack of division of land by inheritance and corvée work in public lands untypical of Hydraulic societies. Wittfogel 1957, pp. 69, 79 ff.

13. MacDonald 1929, p. 124; Kawaguchi, pp. 457-58; Bell 1928, p. 125.

14. Bailey 1914, p. 34; Great Britain 1910, p. 167.

15. Bell 1928, pp. 125-27; Das 1902a, p. 193; Strachey, p. 344; Ramsay, p. 20; Bailey 1914, pp. 34-35; Great Britain 1910, pp. 167, 182, 183.

16. Kawaguchi, p. 558.

17. Sherring, pp. 203-4.

18. Li-Yu-i, *passim*; Bell, 1928, pp. 85-86; Desgodins, pp. 243-44.

19. Bell, p. 109; Shen, personal communication.

20. Great Britain 1910, p. 36; MacDonald 1932, p. 51; Bell 1924, pp. 77-78.

21. Best local descriptions of trade are: Pant, on mNga'-ris; Ekvall 1939, on A-mdo; Bailey 1914, pp. 32-35, on Southeastern Tibet from Dwags-po to Po-yul.

22. Das 1902a, p. 213; Grenard 1904, p. 282; Bell 1928, pp. 100-1.

23. In recent times in Shigatse, shoemakers had to make boots for a regiment of soldiers. This took two months a year of their time, during which they were paid half a day's salary and a handful of barley a day. When the government wanted more boots, shoemakers had to supply them at one-third the market price. Woodturners had to make bowls for the district officials and their underlings for whatever fee might be offered them as "charity." They also made whatever the temples ordered free of charge. Winnington, p. 200.

24. Kawaguchi, p. 325; Shen, personal communication.

25. Strachey, p. 348.

26. Bell 1928, p. 111.

27. Goré 1939, p. 218.

28. This rule, however, was changed by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, who named his nephew prime minister.

29. Even in Tibetan theory there is some qualification to the absolute power of a Dalai Lama. Sometimes, once in a lifetime, a larger version of the national assembly (Tshogs-'du) meets, when representatives from all administrative units in Tibet are invited to attend. Not even the Dalai Lama, it is said, may alter

the resolutions passed there. Unfortunately we do not know exactly who participates in the assembly, nor do we know of actual meetings and resolutions, but, as Shen says, it illustrates the principle of collective responsibility (Shen and Liu, p. 105).

30. Native political theories are not necessarily the scientifically correct ones. The Burmese, with a land system and a political organization basically similar to those of Tibet, held the opposite theory, namely that land was originally the property of the people, who freely gave 1/10 of its produce to the king that he might devote himself to running the public affairs. See Scott, chapters lvi, lvii.

31. Das 1893, p. 18.

32. Kawaguchi, p. 559; Bell 1946, p. 264. Also the *Pemiongchi* monastery in Sikkim (Bengal 1894, p. 258).

33. Shen and Liu, pp. 77, 82.

34. MacDonald 1932, p. 253; Das 1902a, p. 138; Bell 1928, p. 90; Harrer, p. 145; India, part 2, p. 344; Heber, p. 236; Teichman, p. 208; Tafel, II, 127, 128. These provide a number of cases. See also Kawaguchi, p. 422. An especially interesting case is that of a Living Buddha in the Chumbi Valley who was claimed by the Sikkimese to have been reincarnated in a brother of the *Gantok Kazi* and by the Bhutanese in a relative of the *Paro dpon-slob* (Campbell 1875, p. 138).

35. This is hard to evaluate since there is no complete information on the extent to which the Bhutanese officialdom is controlled by a select number of families.

36. Cf. also the data on the district ruled by the *Towang* monastery in Southeastern Tibet (India, part 1, p. 178).

37. See Coon, for the extension of this Moroccan concept to various areas of the Middle East.

38. Boundary Question, pp. 26-27.

39. In Wittfogel's typology Tibet would be not a "compact" but a "loose" and partly "marginal" Hydraulic society (Wittfogel 1957, chapter vi).

40. Maspero, pp. 111-46; Huang, pp. 24-29. Wittfogel now considers Chou China not a feudal but a Hydraulic society (Wittfogel 1957, p. 33).

41. Maspero, pp. 164-75; Huang, pp. 44-48.

42. Equal peasant holdings and periodical redistributions have also been important in Iran (Lambton, pp. 4-6, and chapter 6 in this volume).



## GLOSSARY

- Amban.** Manchu High Commissioner to Tibet during the Ch'ing dynasty.
- bKa'-blon.** Prime minister.
- Blon-po.** Minister, counselor.
- Bre.** A measure, twentieth part of a khal.
- dGe-bshes.** A high scholarly degree in the lamaistic hierarchy.
- dGe-lugs-pa.** The most numerous lamaistic sect to which the Dalai Lama belongs. Also called the Yellow sect.
- dGe-slong.** A fully ordained monk.
- Djong.* See rdzong.
- Djongpon.* See rdzong-dpon.
- Dotul.* In Spiti, one of a class of farm workers, dependents of peasant landholders.
- dPon-po.** Lord, chief, or official.
- dPon-slob.** Title of a provincial governor in Bhutan.
- Dzongpon.* See rdzong-dpon.
- Gerpa.* See sGer-pa.
- gNyer-pa.** A steward or manager.
- 'Go-pa.** Headman (of a village).
- Gyalpo.* See rgyal-po.
- Jo.** A chieftain.
- Kang.* A land measure. See note 89 to chapter 2.
- Kazi.* A local chieftain and minister in Sikkim.
- Khal.** A load, a dry measure of variable value. Also, the measure of land that can be sown with a khal of seed. In Western Tibet the khal is said to be from 24 to 32 pounds, or one-third of an acre. For Central Tibet, see note 89 to chapter 2.
- Khol-po.** A farm servant or tenant farmer.
- Khral.** A tax, duty, or service due to a superior.
- Khral-pa.** Tax-payer, name of a peasant holding a land allotment

- from the state for which he has to pay taxes and labor service.
- Kongdu.** A village official in the Chumbi Valley.
- Kothi (Hindi).** Literally granary, a district in Kulu and Lahul.
- lHa-bran (or *la-da*).** Peasants subject to a monastery.
- Mandal.** In India, a village headman.
- mDzo.** A hybrid of yak bull and common cow.
- mDzo-mo.** Hybrid cow.
- Mi-ser (or *missar*).** Yellow-men, applied to the peasants in Central Tibet.
- mKhar-dpon.** Commander of a fortress.
- mTha-'dug (*ta-du*).** Literally, side-dweller. A low-class, usually landless, peasant in Eastern Tibet.
- No-no.** In Western Tibet, title of a young nobleman. Also title of some chieftains, particularly that of Spiti.
- Phyag-mdzod.** Treasurer or steward. Title applied to that kind of officer in government, in an estate or monastery.
- rDzong.** Fort or district.
- rDzong-dpon.** District governor.
- rNying-ma-pa.** Name of the oldest lamaistic sect, also called Red.
- Sa-skya.** A place in Central Tibet. Also, a lamaistic sect with its main monastery there.
- sDe-pa.** From sde, province, district, nation, village. Name of chiefs or officers of varying importance.
- sGer-pa.** The land-holding nobility or officialdom of Central Tibet.
- sKu-tshab.** The local nobility and officialdom of Eastern Tibet.
- Srang.** A measure of weight, one ounce. Also, a coin of variable value.
- Trang-ka.** A coin of variable value. In the 1920's the exchange rate varied from 3 to 7 for a rupee.
- 'u-lag.** Unpaid transportation service provided by the peasants.
- yang-chung-pa.** In Spiti, relative of a peasant landholder residing in a separate house and small plot of land provided by the landholder.
- zho.** One-tenth of an ounce, a coin.



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- Adoption, 37, 47, 56, 63, 69, 129, 130, 152, 210
- Agriculture: in Tibet, 4, 5-9, 10-12, 15, 148, 152, 265; in Bhutan, 5, 8, 10, 11; 63; in Sikkim, 5, 9, 10, 11, 54, 58, 75; in Lahul, 8, 9, 29, 42, 181; in Lhasa, 9, 10, 11; in Spiti, 9, 43; in Hor states, 10; in mNgar'-is, 10, 48; in sDe-dge, 10; of Lepchas, 55-56; in Khams, 68; in A-mdo, 72-74 *passim*, 155-56; in *Nang-chen*, 151; in India, 234
- Ahpatsasung, 148
- Akhara, 183
- Al-lci, 164, 166, 173
- Allotment, household: in Tibet, 15, 18, 20, 21, 69, 209-11 *passim*, 226; in Western Tibet, 28, 29-30; types of landholders, 31-35, 45-47, 65-68; in Central Tibet, 44-45, 167; in Sikkim, 53-55; in Bhutan, 61-63; in Khams, 64-65; in Lhasa, 87, 88, 89; in Ladak, 169-72 *passim*; in Lahul, 180, 181-82. *See also* Land
- Altan Khan, 24
- Amban of Sining, 26, 151, 156, 159, 221
- Ambans, 82, 83, 89, 95, 96, 106, 141
- A-mdo: agriculture in, 8, 10, 11, 66; as political unit, 13, 151; in Ch'ing dynasty, 26; discussion of, 72-77, 155-59; polyandry in, 69; nomads of, 73-77, 222; trade of, 214; mentioned, 221, 232, 245, 278
- Amitabha, 139
- Animal husbandry: in Tibet, 9-12 *passim*, 15, 247; in Spiti, 43; in Chumbi Valley, 51, 52; of Bhotias, 57; in Sikkim, 58; in Bhutan, 64; in A-mdo, 72, 73-77, 155-56; of Tibetan government, 99; of monasteries, 148; in *Nang-chen*, 151
- Assam, 78, 194
- Avalokitesvara. *See* sPyan-ras-gzigs
- 'Ba'. *See* 'Ba'-thang
- Bacot, Jacques: quoted, 18, 68
- Bailey, Frederick M.: quoted, 105; mentioned, 231
- Balti, 160, 162
- Baltistan, 14
- Bang-kha district, 165, 166, 173, 267
- Barjik district, 42
- Barkha, 135
- Basahir, 168, 169
- Ba-sgo, 162, 166
- 'Ba'-thang: agriculture in, 10, 70; as political unit, 13, 141, 224; and hereditary rule, 24, 200; polyandry in, 69; animal husbandry in, 73; discussion, 142-43; mentioned, 231
- bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, King, 174
- bDe-skyid, 164
- bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal, King, 173
- Bell, Sir Charles: quoted, 47, 48, 53, 86, 95, 96, 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 133, 189, 204; mentioned, 230, 231, 233
- Bengal, 194
- Bhaga Valley. *See* Punan
- Bhotias, 57, 185, 188, 214
- Bhutan: agriculture in, 5, 8, 10, 11, 63; as political unit, 13, 14, 27, 53; ownership of land in, 28; household allotments in, 61-63; village organization of, 63-64; political organization of, 79, 135, 201-2, 220, 221, 222, 224, 227; monasteries in, 122, 226; population, 194, 196; class structure in, 196-200; revenue of, 203-6; mentioned, 78, 186, 233, 245, 248, 256, 275, 276, 279
- Bhutanese Church, 126, 135

- Bhutanese invasion, 191  
 bKra-shis-chos-rdzong, 201  
 bKra-shis-lhun-po. *See* Tashilhunpo  
 bKa'-rgynd-pa, 166-67  
 bKa'-thog, 166  
 Blabrang monastery, 13, 221. *See also*  
     Labrang monastery  
 Bla-brang-rnying-pa family. *See* Thon-  
     pa  
 Blue Annals, 235  
 Bod-Chen, 121  
 Bodo, 193  
 Bogle, George: quoted, 199  
 Bon-grong-shod-pa family, 109  
 Bon religion, 133, 153, 256  
 Bose, Kishen Kant: quoted, 63, 203  
 Boutan, 197. *See also* Bhutan  
 'Bras-ljongs, 10. *See also* Sikkim  
 'Bras-spungs monastery, 79, 106, 107,  
     125, 139  
 'Bri-gung-pa sect, 21  
 British: in Tibet, 12, 13, 14, 26, 44, 62,  
     83, 84, 130, 131, 168, 177, 180, 185,  
     188, 192, 194, 200, 220, 229, 231,  
     232, 233, 277; war with Bhutan, 204  
 British Punjab, 13  
 'Brong-rtse, 98, 101, 102, 103, 107,  
     253  
 'Brug-pa order, 27, 198, 201, 206, 248  
 'Brugsde-srid. *See* Deb Raja  
 'Brug-yul. *See* Bhutan  
 bSam-grub Pho-brang family, 101, 106  
 bSam-'grub-rtse. *See* Shigatse  
 bShad-sgra family, 101, 105, 129, 260  
 bSod-nams-bstan-'dzin, 174  
 bTsan-mkhar monastery, 275  
 bTsong-kha-pa, 23  
 Buddhism: introduction of, 14, 19; men-  
     tioned, 3, 79-141 *passim*, 230. *See*  
     *also* Tantrik Buddhism  
 Bu-rig, 164. *See also* Pu-rig  
 Burmese, 279  
 Buxa area, 62  
 Byang-pa, 160  
 Byang-thang, 11, 12, 13, 73, 78, 106,  
     135, 139, 160, 221, 222, 231, 247  
 Bya-sa, 236  
 Bya-yul. *See* Chayul  
  
 Campbell, A.: quoted, 49, 57, 189, 191,  
     192; mentioned, 233  
 Census: early, 18, 21; of households,  
     34-35, 47-48, 69-70, 144; of *Lingthem*,  
     59. *See also* Population  
 Chab-mdo ecclesiastical estate, 106, 107,  
     134, 138, 139, 141, 263  
 Chala. *See* lCags-la  
 Chandra Bhaga. *See* Pattan  
 Chandra Valley. *See* Rangloi  
 Ch'ang-an, 14  
 Chanhua. *See* Nyag-rong  
 Chaprang, 93  
 Charang, 135  
 Chawu tribe, 151, 152  
 Chayul, 107  
 Chen, Han-seng: quoted, 9, 66, 67, 69,  
     70, 144, 145, 148; mentioned, 231  
 Chenab, 12  
 Chetang, 259  
 Chimra Valley, 163, 267  
 China: relations with Tibet, 3, 19, 121,  
     142; and sDe-dge, 144  
 --and Chinese influence: in Tibet, 14, 22,  
     23, 24-27, 44, 82, 106, 131, 141, 153,  
     154, 155, 156, 159, 214, 221, 223-24,  
     225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 231; and re-  
     forms, 25-26; in Lhasa, 78, 83-84, 92;  
     and aid to monasteries, 123  
 Chinese Revolution, 83  
 Ch'ing dynasty, 14, 22, 25, 26, 82, 141,  
     147, 156, 159, 230, 232  
 Ch'inghai province, 26  
 Chola range, 190, 191, 193  
 Chongtam, 190  
 Choni, 26. *See also* Co-ni  
 Cho-phoe Namgyal, King, 188  
 Chos-'bad pass, 159  
 Chos-gzhi district, 176. *See also* Chuzi  
 Chos-rje. *See* Chu-je  
 Chou period, 226  
 Chronicles of Ladak, 160, 162, 163, 164,  
     165, 167, 170, 173, 232, 259, 267, 269,  
     270  
 Chronicles of Zangsdkar, 175  
 Chu-je clan, 196  
 Chumbi Valley, 11, 45, 48, 49-53, 57,  
     64, 70, 72, 75, 89, 91, 94, 105, 186,  
     190, 191, 213, 230, 231, 242, 243, 245,  
     279  
 Chu-mo, 67  
 Chumri, 174  
 Chumurti, 135  
 Church: and class structure, 21-22; as  
     landholding group, 53; its role in Tibet,  
     218-19. *See also* Buddhism; Dalai La-  
     ma; Monasteries; Monasticism  
 Chusan, 174  
 Chu-shod, 160, 162  
 Chuzi district, 42. *See also* Chos-gzhi  
 Cigtan, 162  
 Ci-ling. *See* Phyi-gling  
 Class structure: and land, 3-4; in early  
     history, 15, 18, 19-20; and church, 21-  
     22; of peasantry, 25, 28-29, 45-47, 96;  
     in general, 31-35 *passim*, 38, 48, 210,  
     211, 218-22; *dotul* class, 32, 33, 39;



- lapa* class, 33; slavery, 47, 56, 63, 66, 68, 155, 194, 206; in Khams, 65-66, 67, 68, 141-42; in A-mdo, 74-75; in Lhasa, 79-80; and monastic rulers, 120-27; and ruling class, 120-40, 214-18, 225, 226, 258; outcastes, 121, 214; in 'Ba'-thang, 142-43; in sDe-dge, 144-46 *passim*; in Hor states, 146-47; in rGyal-rong states, 153-54, 155; in Ladak, 166, 170, 178-80; Kanet caste, 180; in Lahul, 182, 183, 184; in Sikkim, 188-89; in Bhutan, 196-200 *passim*, 202, 206
- and nobility: discussion, 23-26; and pastoral lands, 72-73; and ownership of estates, 53, 109-16; and revenue from land, 86, 132-33; and land grants, 100-4, 105-9 *passim*; and bureaucracy, 127-33; and kinship, 128-31; political functions, 131-32; the lesser nobility, 133-36; territorial nobility, 136-40; in Ladak, 166-67
- Communist occupation: of Tibet, 14, 230, 231
- Co-ni, 13, 156. *See also* Chomi
- Cooch Behar, 194
- Cunningham, A.: quoted, 30, 160, 162, 163, 164, 169, 170, 171, 175, 179; mentioned, 232
- Cunningham, J. D.: quoted, 167
- Daba*, 93, 135
- Dainelli, Giotto: quoted, 37, 160; mentioned, 233
- Dalai Lama: and administration of territory, 80-83; mentioned, 13, 14, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 78-140 *passim*, 142, 166, 167, 191, 216, 217, 218, 220, 223, 227, 258, 259, 277, 278
- 'Dam, 106
- Darjeeling, 187, 190, 191
- Dards, 160
- Dar-kar. *See* Taka
- Dar-rtse-mdo, 13, 65, 69, 70, 153
- Da-ru, 164
- Das, Sarat Chandra: quoted, 44, 69, 78, 88, 90, 93, 100, 101, 102, 107, 108-9, 121, 134, 192; mentioned, 230
- David-Neel, Alexandra: quoted, 53, 58
- Davis, Samuel: quoted, 199
- dBang pho-brang, 201
- dBus province: agriculture in, 10; as political unit, 13, 26; and monasticism, 23, 121; peasants in, 47; population, 78; taxation in, 88; land estates of, 105, 106; and nobility, 139
- dBus River. *See* Skyid Valley
- dByi-gu village, 174
- Deb-Raja, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 205, 206
- Deda*, 151
- Demesne lands, 18, 28, 85-86, 94-95, 101, 147, 148, 150, 155, 173, 181, 182, 183, 209, 210, 211, 226
- Derge. *See* sDe-dge
- Derong*, 143
- Desideri, Ippolito: quoted, 25, 52; mentioned, 230
- Devi Chand, 182
- dGa'ldan, 79
- dGe-lugs-pa order, 23-24, 79, 80, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 138, 143, 156, 166, 215, 219, 255
- Dharma Raja, 53, 125, 196, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 220
- Dharmadin* estate, 192
- Dhimal*, 193
- Djunda* district, 44, 46
- dKang-mdzes, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 247
- Dobta*, 190, 191
- Dogra conquest, 12, 27, 159, 163, 166, 171, 173, 175, 177, 232, 270
- 'Do-mkhar, 164
- Dooars, 62, 194, 204, 205
- Dotul*. *See* Class structure
- Douglas, William O., 233
- dPag-shod: district, 52, 139; ecclesiastical estate, 106
- dPal-'khor-chos-sde monastery, 98
- dPe-thub, 166
- Drag-shos family, 175
- Drag-yab ecclesiastical estate, 106, 138, 139
- Dras, 160, 165, 171
- 'Du-zhi, 159
- Dwags-po province, 13, 105, 107, 137, 231, 278
- dGyer-pa-sa, 236
- Dza-yul district, 106, 134, 141
- Dzungar Mongols, 25. *See also* Mongols
- Early dynasty, 14-19, 225
- Eastern Tibet. *See* Khams
- Ecology: in relation to political units, 12-13
- Eden, Ashley: quoted, 194, 198, 199, 200, 203
- Edgar, J. Ware: quoted, 53-54, 187, 189, 191, 193; mentioned, 233
- Egerton, P. H.: quoted, 177-78
- Ekvall, Robert B., 232
- Emperor Chien Lung, 83
- Estate lands: granting of, 28, 29; in Lhasa, 79, 86, 94; and Treasury estates,

- 95-96, 117, 119; government of in Lhasa, 99; of nobility in Lhasa, 100-4, 105, 107, 109-16, 131-33 *passim*; of church, 104-6, 107, 116-17, 142-43, 147-51, 175-78, 192-94; in Hor states, 146; in Ladak, 172-78 *passim*; in Lahul, 184-85; in Sikkim, 190-94; mentioned, 210  
Europe: and feudalism, 207, 208
- Fifth Dalai Lama: reforms of, 24; mentioned, 137, 227
- Feudalism: discussion, 207-8; mentioned, 249
- Fourteenth Dalai Lama, 107, 109, 128
- Francke, A. H.: quoted, 30, 173, 174, 175; mentioned, 232
- Gacha*, 102, 104
- Galling*, 49
- Ganga*, 49
- Gantok* monastery, 193
- Gara* district, 29, 42
- Gar tung tsan Yul sung*, 144
- Ga-wo*, 129
- Gazetteer of Sikkim, 191, 192
- Gedja* village, 46, 47, 88
- Ge-ra lha, 259
- Geree*, 190
- Gereh* district, 192
- Gian Keng* monastery, 150
- Giarong* Valley, 191
- Gill, William John: quoted, 155
- Glang-dar-ma, King, 19
- Glang-mdun family, 107
- Golok*, 13, 69, 74, 156, 222
- Gondza* district, 137
- Goré, F.: quoted, 66, 70; mentioned, 231
- Gorer, Geoffrey: quoted, 54, 56, 190; mentioned, 233
- Goyug*, 102
- Grang-dkar, 164
- Grang-mkhar monastery, 168, 169, 174, 176, 177, 179
- Gro-mo, 213, 243, 251. *See also* Chumbi Valley
- Gro-mo-med, 49, 52, 105. *See also* Gro-mo
- Gro-mo-stod, 45, 49-52, 89, 105, 242. *See also* Gro-mo
- gTsang-pa kings, 21, 23
- gTsang province: agriculture in, 10; as political unit, 13; under Chinese control, 25, 26, 83, 84; and household allotments, 44; peasants in, 46, 47; population, 78; taxation in, 88; land estates of, 105, 106; and monasteries, 121, 124, 138; and nobility, 139; mentioned, 19, 23
- Gu-ge province, 12, 27, 135. *See also* Sutlej
- Gung-rang estate, 182, 183, 184
- Gung-than province, 19
- Gurdaspur, 271
- Guru Chantal* monastery, 184
- Guśri Khan, 23, 25
- Gyang-khar*, 103
- Gyangtse, 13, 21, 22, 23, 73, 78, 96, 98, 101, 102, 103, 105, 107, 191, 220, 234, 240
- Gyao*, 107
- gYu-thog, 105
- Ha*, Valley of, 11, 57, 63, 186
- 'Ha-bzang Khan, 142
- Hail-chasers, 20, 49, 133
- Hangjo* village, 138
- Hay, W. C.: quoted, 168
- hBar-phong family, 187
- Hedin, 231
- Hem-babs. *See* Dras
- He-mis monastery, 126, 167, 175
- Hermanns, Matthias: quoted, 74, 75; mentioned, 232
- Hindu rule: in Lahul, 180. *See also* India
- Hor states: agriculture in, 10; as political unit, 13; polyandry in, 69; and herdsmen, 106; monasticism in, 124; government in, 136, 141, 146-47; monastic estates in, 147-51; and Lhasa, 220; mentioned, 153, 231, 232, 247, 277
- Hre-Rin Chhen-rTse-Jong* estate, 191
- Hsia-ho, 158, 159
- Hsik'and province, 26, 144
- Hsun-en*, 67
- Hundar. *See* Sngon-dar
- Hwang Ho, 13
- Hydraulic society. *See* Oriental society
- I-gu*. *See* dByi-gu
- Imperial Gazetteer of India, 170, 187, 188
- Incarnation of Labrang, 156
- Incarnation of Naropa, 201
- Incas, 212
- India: and relations with Tibet, 3, 14, 27, 208, 213, 234, 272; exports to, 9; independence of, 27
- Indus River, 8, 10, 12, 160, 164, 174
- Industry: of Tibet, 213-14
- Inheritance: in Tibet, 18, 101, 210, 212, 225, 228; of position, 21-22; in Lahul, 30; in Spiti, 30; and kinship, 35-38; of land, 47, 54, 55, 61-62; among Lepchas, 56-57; in Bhutan, 61-62, 206; in Khams, 68-69; in A-mdo, 73, 74, 157,

- 158; in Lhasa, 132; in *Nang-chen*, 151; in rGyal-rong states, 154; in Ladak, 164, 166, 173, 178-80; in Lahul, 181; in Sikkim, 186; of titles, 260-61
- Irrigation, 4-5, 8
- Isa*, 253
- Islam, 14
- 'Jam-dbyangs-rnam-rgyal of Ladak, King, 30
- Jammu and Kashmir, kingdom of, 12, 27
- Jing-hsia*, 89
- Jongri*, 191
- Jyekundo*. See rGyal-kun-mdo
- Kahlons* district, 163
- Kailas region, Mount, 11, 13, 122, 248, 256
- Kalimpong, 131
- Kampu* Valley, 48, 52, 98. See also *Khangba*
- Kanachu* province, 143
- Kanam sde-pa*, 137, 138
- Kanet. See Class structure
- Kang Ma* monastery, 150
- Kangra district, 27
- Kansu, 13, 153
- Kantze*. See dKang-mdzes
- Kargil, 160
- Karma-pa order, 21, 188
- Karmoling*, 99
- Karnali River, 10, 13. See also Pu-'rangs
- Kartok* monastery, 189
- Kashmir, 166, 214. See also Jammu and Kashmir
- Kata* district, 137
- Kawaguchi, Ekai: quoted, 46, 133; mentioned, 230
- Ke-ta*, 89
- Khaga-Tan-Zin*, 174
- Kha-la-tse*, 30, 38, 41, 166, 175, 233
- Khamba Dzong*, 12, 57, 139, 191
- Khambagong*, 186
- Kham-Miñag-Andong, 186
- Khams: agriculture in, 9, 10, 11; as political unit, 13; and Ch'ing control, 26; household allotments in, 64-65; landholders in, 65-68, 106; polyandry in, 69; in rule of Dalai Lama, 78; conflict with China, 84; monasteries in, 121; and nobility, 131, 215, 220; church states in, 138; discussion of, 141-55; traders in, 214; mentioned, 245, 261, 264
- Khangba*, 49, 105. See also *Kampu*
- Khang-gsar*, 71, 146, 147, 149
- Khang-zhing, 21. See also Allotment, household
- Kha-pu-lu, 162
- Kharu*, 107
- Khojarnath monastery, 257
- Khri-rtse, 166
- Khrismon, 105
- Khri-snyan-bzung-btsan, King, 15
- Khri-srong-lde-btsan, 18, 19, 185, 186
- Kinship: in early history, 3, 13, 14, 18-19; in allotment family, 31-34 *passim*; and inheritance, 35-38; and clan, 37, 38; and divorce, 37, 47, 73, 240; of peasant household, 47-48; of Lepcha household, 55-57; in Bhutan, 62-63, 65-66, 196-200; in A-mdo, 74; in Lhasa, 128-31; mentioned, 239. See also Class structure; Polyandry
- Kishung*, 101
- Kiulung* district, 70
- Koko-nor region, 11, 13, 74, 152
- Koksar* monastery, 184
- Ko-long, 271
- Kong-po province, 9, 13, 90, 101, 104, 105, 107, 121, 134, 231
- Kourong* province, 143
- Krong-gsar. See *Tongsa*
- Kubbi* village, 193
- Kuiling, 174, 270
- Kulu, 12, 27, 29, 42, 166, 169, 175, 180, 183, 184, 271
- Kumbum monastery, 156
- Kun-bde-gling monastery, 139
- Kun-bzang-rtse, 260
- Kung-sie* village, 147
- Kupgain* Lama, 126
- Kv'a-rtse*, 135
- Labrang monastery, 156, 158, 159, 188, 193. See also Bla-brang monastery
- La-chen Valley, 11, 12, 53, 57, 60, 61, 63, 72, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 233, 236, 244
- La-chung Valley, 11, 12, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 72, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 233, 274
- Ladak: agriculture in, 8, 9, 10; kingdom of, 12, 43, 159-80 *passim*; as political unit, 13, 14, 27; early history of, 19; ownership of land, 28; household allotment in, 30; family organization in, 33, 38; polyandry in, 35-36, 37; land transfer in, 40, 41; water rights, 41; political organization of, 79, 160-67, 221, 222, 223, 224, 226, 179-80; monasticism in, 122, 126, 199; chieftainship in, 135; revenue system of, 167-72, 184; mentioned, 229, 232, 233, 270, 271
- La'dar, 160

- La-dwags, 164, 166. *See also* Ladak  
*Lagong*, 188
- Lahul: irrigation in, 8; agriculture in, 9, 35, 42, 181; as political unit, 12, 13, 27; household allotments in, 29; inheritance in, 30; polyandry in, 36; and rus-pa clan, 38; transfer of land in, 39, 40; and water rights, 41; divisions of, 42; and special landholdings, 49; chiefs of, 136, 162, 166, 222, 259, 263; government, 180-84; monastic estates in, 184-85; mentioned, 232, 233, 239, 271
- Lall, J. S.: quoted, 57
- Lamaism, 3, 4, 14, 153, 224, 227. *See also* Church; Dalai Lama; Monasteries; Monasticism; Reincarnation
- Land: and social structure, 3-4; and regional variations in relationship to cultural and political units, 10-12, 13-14; grants, 15, 18, 21, 28-29, 85, 91, 100-9, 144, 145, 153, 172-78, 225, 228; transfer of, 33, 40-41, 45, 48-49, 70-71, 154; holdings by special groups, 38-40, 49, 91; communal, 39-40, 52, 72, 74, 94, 159; and the landholding unit, 41-42, 47, 75-77, 85-86, 152, 181-82; government ownership in Lhasa, 92-99; estates, 105-7, 190-94; system of in Tibet, 209-12. *See also* Allotments, household; Demesne land; Estate lands; Treasury estates
- Landon, Perceval, 230
- Lapa. *See* Class structure
- Larung, 9
- Latsa village, 134
- Launay, Adrien: quoted, 71, 141
- Laws of Bhutan, 198, 203
- lCags-la state, 13, 141
- lCe-'bre. *See* Chimra Valley; Chumri
- lDum-ra. *See* Nubra
- Leh Basin, 8, 10, 12, 43, 160, 162, 164, 165, 170, 171, 173, 179, 267
- Lepchas, 10, 53, 54, 55-57, 58, 64, 185, 188, 190, 191, 192, 233, 274
- Le-thang state, 13, 24, 69, 70, 71, 72, 141, 156
- lHa-klu family, 101, 102, 103-4, 105, 125, 130, 260
- Lha-rgya-ri, 137, 215, 222, 223, 262
- Lha-rgya-ri family, 128, 259
- Lha-rtse district, 139
- Lhasa: irrigation in, 8; agriculture in, 9, 10, 11; as political unit, 13, 14, 22, 24, 27; in Ch'ing dynasty, 25, 26; and ownership of land, 28; class divisions in, 78-80; administrative organization, 80-83, 178, 179, 222, 223, 224, 225; Chinese control in, 83-84; land system, 84-120; taxation of peasant land, 87-92, 97; government lands in, 92-99; animal husbandry, 99; and land grants, 100-9; nobility of, 100-4, 105, 127-40, 215, 217, 226; church lands, 104-5, 106, 107, 108; ruling class in, 120-40; monasticism in, 120-27; 128-40 *passim*; trade in, 171, 213, 214; role of church in, 218, 221, 227; mentioned, 18, 19, 46, 47, 49, 141, 144, 146, 191, 194, 206, 220, 230, 231, 234, 248, 257, 258, 259, 261, 277
- lHa-zhing lands, 39
- Lho-brag, 121
- Lho'i Chos 'byung, 63, 203
- lHo-ling family, 105
- Lhonak Valley, 191
- Lhontse, 96
- Li, An-che, 232
- Li, Yu-i, 231
- Liklyang village, 59, 60
- Ling-ma thang plain, 89
- Lingthem monastery, 54, 57, 59, 60, 61, 193, 274
- Living Buddhas, 73, 79, 80, 104, 107, 122, 125, 126-27, 130, 138, 139, 151, 156, 178, 213, 218, 279
- Liu, Shen-chi, quoted, 100
- Loro Valley. *See* Kishung
- Lower Chumbi Valley. *See* Chumbi Valley
- Lung-shar, 260
- Lyall report, 182, 232
- MacDonald, David: quoted, 53, 78; mentioned, 230, 231
- Macaulay, Colman: quoted, 57, 187
- Mago, 101, 106
- Ma, Ho-t'ien: quoted, 151, 152; mentioned, 232
- Maharaja Gulab-sing, 170
- Makti, 138
- Manasarowar, Lake, 13
- Manchu dynasty, 24, 26, 83, 227, 260
- Mandal *See* Village headman
- Ma-yul-rdzon, 236
- Ma-zur, 71, 146, 147, 149
- Mekong River, 13, 151
- Meto village, 138
- Mewu herders, 74, 76-77, 158, 159
- Mi-la-ras-pa, 19-20
- Minda, 101
- Ming dynasty, 23
- mNga-'ris province: agriculture in, 10, 48; as political unit, 12, 13; government in, 25, 26, 27, 78, 134, 135, 220; and land leasing, 93, 94; monasteries

- in, 177; and traders, 214; mentioned, 106, 231, 278
- Moinagooree, 206
- Monasteries: and early dynasty, 19; membership in, 36-37, 65; and leasing of land, 41, 67; pastoral lands, 72-73; for study, 79; in Lhasa, 120-22; and church hierarchs in Lhasa, 125-27, 134, 143; as providing government officials, 127; mentioned, 21-22, 26, 33, 68, 85
- and land estates; in Hor and sDe-dges states, 147-51; in A-mdo, 156, 157, 158; in Ladak, 164, 166-67, 168, 169, 172, 174, 175-78, 213, 218; in Lahul, 184-85; in Sikkim, 188, 192-93; in Bhutan, 197-200, 206; mentioned, 24, 28, 45, 86, 100, 104-5, 106, 116-17, 142, 152, 209, 213, 225, 250, 256, 257, 265, 269, 271
- Monasticism, 3, 14, 18, 20, 23-24, 32, 33, 35, 36, 69, 74, 79-80, 123-25, 212, 226. *See also* Church; Dalai Lama; Lamaism; Monasteries
- Mönba, 104
- Mongol dynasty: political organization of, 22-23, 156
- Mongols, 5, 9, 19, 21, 24, 27, 227. *See also* Dzungar Mongols
- Monguor, 236
- Moorcroft, William: quoted, 37, 160, 163, 166, 167, 170, 171, 173, 174, 179; mentioned, 232
- Morung, 185
- Moslems, 160, 162, 214, 272
- mThu-stobs-rnam-rhyal, King, 189
- Mu gung, 154
- Mul-be, 162, 163
- Mu-khri-btsan-po, King, 15
- Nag-chu, 106
- Nag-chu-kha, 106, 107, 247
- Nagong district, 52
- Naktsang Gomnak, 135
- Naktsang province, 135
- Nam Lake, 136
- Namling, 96
- Nam-ru, 106, 107, 136
- Nang-chen, 151-52, 231
- Nang shing, 173
- Nepal, 19, 25, 27, 83, 89, 124, 185, 187, 191, 194, 214, 242, 277
- Ngam-rings district, 139
- Nieh-la-mo, 89
- Ni-mo village, 147
- Nubra Valley, 12, 160, 162, 166, 172, 173, 174. *See* lDum-ra
- Nu-ma, 129, 223, 260
- Nyag-rong state, 72, 141, 144, 220
- Nyag-rong war, 144, 146
- Nyang River, 10, 13, 102, 105, 121, 253
- Nyilo district, 137
- Nyi-ma-rnam-rgyal, King, 162, 163, 174, 240
- O'Connor, Captain W. F. T.: quoted, 9
- 'Od-dpag-med. *See* Amitabha
- Oriental society, 208, 212, 224
- Pachakshiriba, 104
- Pad-ma-bkod, 90, 138
- Padma Sambhava, 129
- Panam Dzong, 253
- Panchen Lama, 84, 126, 131, 139-40, 232, 261
- Pang-da-tshang. *See* sPom-mda'-tshang
- Pangkong Lake, 12, 174
- Panung village, 59, 60
- Pao-Chia administration of China, 72
- Pari village, 138
- Paro monastery, 198
- Paro province, 201, 202, 205, 206
- Paro Valley, 200
- Pa-shi, 186
- Pas-kyum, 160, 162, 164
- Pa-to-erh, 89
- Patong, 69
- Pattan district, 29, 36, 42
- Pattan Valley, 180
- Peak School, 82
- Pedi-gong estate, 191
- Peking, 3
- Pemberton, R. B.: quoted, 194, 200
- Pemiongchi monastery, 185, 188, 199
- Pen-jor Lhiin-po estate, 102
- Penna, Fr. Francesco Orazio della: quoted, 9
- Petech, Luciano, 230
- Peter, Prince of Greece and Denmark: quoted, 30, 109, 128, 130, 139; mentioned, 233
- Phag-mo-gru-pa period, 20-23, 137, 257
- Phag-ri district, 49, 51, 52, 93, 98, 105, 134, 240, 242, 251
- Phag-ri rDzong, 98
- Pha-gro. *See* Paro district
- Phags-pa-lha, 138
- Phags-pa-sha of Chab-mdo, 107
- Pha-lha family, 73, 96, 98, 101, 102, 103, 105, 107, 108, 129, 260
- Pha-lha-nas, 24, 25, 45
- Pha-lha'i sras, 96, 97, 105
- Phan-bzang. *See* Phensung monastery
- Phensung monastery, 193
- Pho-brang rDzong, 134
- Phodang monastery, 188, 193

- Pho-long-'dra-'dra, 160  
*Pho Mo Chang Tan*, Lake, 106, 107  
 'Phreng-ring family, 105, 260. *See also*  
*Te-ring* family
- Phug-thal monastery, 175
- Phun-khang family, 105, 109
- Phun-tshogs-gling district, 139
- Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, King, 166, 186
- Phyag-mzod. *See* Deb Raja
- Phyag-rdor, King, 191
- Phyi-gling, 173
- Piahte Jong, 274
- Pin district, 32, 42, 43, 174, 268
- Pin monastery, 176
- Pi-shipa*, 129
- Polyandry: in allotment family, 32; in  
 Ladak, 35-36, 37; in Lahul, 36; in Spi-  
 ti, 36-37; in gTsang province, 47; in  
 mNga'-ris, 48; throughout Tibet, 68-  
 69, 210, 212; in Lhasa, 129; mentioned,  
 3, 74, 239, 241
- Pooga* mines, 171
- Population: of Spiti, 34, 160; of Phag-ri,  
 49; of Lhasa, 78; of estate lands in Lha-  
 sa, 107; of 'Ba'-thang, 142; of sDe-dge,  
 144; of Hor states, 146; of *Nang-chen*,  
 151, 152; of A-mdo, 159; of Zung Ts'a,  
 159; of Kargil, 160; of Ladak, 160; of  
 Leh, 160; of Bang-kha district, 173; of  
 Sikkim, 185; of Bhutan, 194; mentioned,  
 212. *See also* Census
- Potala, 24, 127, 130
- Po-yul, 22, 84, 134, 137-38, 141, 215,  
 220, 223, 231, 278
- Pranavananda, Swami, 231
- Professions: and special land holdings,  
 38-40, 49, 91, 174
- Pu* Pass, 137
- Punakha* monastery, 198
- Punakha* province, 63, 201, 205
- Punan*, 42
- Pu-'rangs province, 12, 27, 53, 135,  
 262. *See also* Karnali
- Pu-rig Valley, 160, 162, 164, 166
- Pü-tsho* Valley, 106
- Qōśot Khan. *See* 'Ha-bzang Khan
- Rag-ga-shag family, 107, 128
- Rajput orders, 180, 271
- Rakashar*. *See* Rag-ga-shag family
- Ralmanag*, 174
- Ral-pa-can, King, 15
- Ram-pa, 106, 107
- Ramsay, H.: quoted, 37, 171, 173, 199;  
 mentioned, 232
- Rangloi* district, 29, 42
- Raniki district, 42
- Rardan* state, 153, 154
- rDo-ring family, 105, 107, 109, 128,  
 223
- rDo-rje-brag, 8
- rDzong-sngon district, 143
- Reincarnation, 3, 23-24, 26, 79, 80, 82,  
 125, 126, 139, 152, 156, 187, 210, 216,  
 218, 219
- Rey-yun*, 143
- Revenue system. *See also* Land: grants;  
 Taxation
- rGya, 160, 162, 163, 164, 166, 173, 270
- rGyal-kun-mdo town, 69, 124, 152, 232
- rGyal-rong states, 69, 153-55, 231, 245
- Ri*, 135
- Riban*, 49
- Ribbach, 233
- Rin-chen-rtse, 274
- Rinching-pung*, 191
- Rin-sgang family, 258
- Rin-spungs family, 21, 22, 23
- rNam-rgyal-grwa tshang monastery, 218
- rNying-ma-pa order, 32, 125, 153, 188,  
 189, 256, 261
- Rockhill, W. W.: quoted, 141; men-  
 tioned, 231
- Roerich, George N., 231
- Rog-pa-sa, 236
- Rong. *See* Lepchas
- Rongchakar*, 137
- Rub-sho. *See* Rup-shu
- Rudok*, 135
- Rukchu, 172
- Rungbo* Valley, 191
- Rupshu Plateau, 12, 160, 166, 173, 221
- Rwasgreng, 11
- Ryote* Valley, 191
- Sa-bu, 174
- Sa-'du-tshang family, 131
- Safo* village, 59
- Saima* district, 44, 46
- Sakya-rgya-mtsho, 173
- Salim* village, 59
- Sa-lu* village, 107
- Salween River, 13
- Samye, 274
- San Chu* monastery, 150
- Sandberg, Graham: quoted, 52, 53
- Sansa* monastery, 184
- Sarang*. *See* Charang
- Sa-skya district, 53, 138, 186, 215
- Sa-skya order, 79, 106, 125, 152
- Sa-skya period, 20-23, 257
- Sa-spo, 164
- Sas-po-tse, 164
- sBal-ti-yul, 160
- Schram, Louis M. J.: quoted, 236

- sDe-dge: agriculture in, 10; as political unit, 13; under Dalai Lamas, 22, 122; and ownership of land, 28, 73; polyandry in, 69; village headmen, 71; taxation in, 72; government in, 141, 144-46, 220, 223; monastic estates in, 147-151; mentioned, 131, 231, 232, 246, 264, 277
- Seat of Tsong-kha-pa, 125
- Sentsa Dzong*, 135
- Se-ra monastery, 79, 106, 125, 139
- Serchok* estate, 95, 96-99, 101, 102, 105, 243, 254
- Seventh Dalai Lama, 128
- sGar-thog, 135
- Shal-ngo*, 133
- Sham district, 42
- Shang-ka*, 260
- Shar-chyog Aniung* village, 253
- Shatra*, 260
- She-'du-la pass, 160
- Shel, 164, 166, 175
- Shen, T. L.: quoted, 100; mentioned, 231
- Sherring, Charles A.: quoted, 48
- Shes-rab sdong-bu: quoted from, 93-94
- Shi-dkar, 162
- Shigatse, 13, 22, 78, 105, 107, 191, 278
- Shih-tse*. See *Shigatse*
- Shi-lha, 175
- Showa*, 137
- Sikkim: agriculture in, 5, 9, 10, 11; as political unit, 13, 14; founding of, 27; ownership of land in, 28; household allotments in, 53-55; village organization in, 57-61; monasticism in, 122, 126; nobility in, 130, 131; government, 185-89, 194, 220-23 *passim*, 226; land revenue in, 189-90; mentioned, 63, 64, 72, 75, 79, 105, 191, 199, 204, 233, 279
- Sikkim Gazetteer, 233
- Simbiling, 256
- Simla Conference, 139, 229, 231, 248
- Si-Ngo* village, 147
- Singtam*, 192
- Sining, 26, 151, 156, 159, 221
- Sixth Dalai Lama, 25
- Siyom* River, 104
- Sku-'bum. See *Kumbum*
- sKyid-sbug family, 105
- sKyid Valley, 10, 13, 105
- Slel. See *Leh*
- sMar-kham sGar-thog, 141
- sMin-grol-gling monastery, 125
- sMong-grong, 107
- sMon-lam festival, 91
- sNang-rdzong, 107
- sNe-stod, 105
- sNeu-gdong, 23
- sNgon-dar, 173, 174
- sNye-mo, 164, 165
- Sod, 160, 162, 164
- Sog-sde district, 106, 141
- Soulié, J. A., 231
- Spiti: agriculture in, 9, 35, 43; as political unit, 12, 27; dependents in, 20, 69; household allotments in, 29, 30, 31; inheritance in, 30; population, 34; polyandry in, 36-37; special land holdings, 38, 39, 49; sale of land in, 40-41; divisions of, 42-43; government, 43-44, 135, 165, 222; kinship in, 47; monasticism in, 124; revenue system of, 167-72, 179; estates in, 174; monasteries in, 176-78; mentioned, 33, 160, 232, 236, 239, 241, 268, 271
- Spituk. See *dPe-thub*
- sPom-mda'-tshang family, 131
- Spu-de-gung-rgyal, King, 15
- sPungs, 201
- sPyan-ras-gzigs, 80
- sPyi-dbang monastery, 124
- Srong-btsan-sgam-po, King, 15, 19, 24, 128, 129, 144, 226
- Sse-mo* village, 147
- sTag-mkhar. See *Tagat*
- sTag-ri-snyan-gzigs, King, 15
- sTag-'tsher, 105, 109
- sTod-pa. See *Todpa*
- sTog village, 162, 173
- Strachey, Henry, 231
- Stübel, Hans: quoted, 74, 158; mentioned, 232
- Sultanpur, 181
- Sung Pan Ting, 69
- Su-ru, 160
- Su-ta-erh-chieh-ling*, 89
- Sutlej River, 10, 12, 13. See also *Gu-ge*
- Szechwan, 26, 141, 142, 153
- Tach'ienlu. See *Dar-rtse-mdo*
- Tafel, Albert: quoted, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155; mentioned, 231
- Tagat*, 174
- Taheu* province, 143
- Taka* monastery, 198, 201, 205
- Taklakot, 135
- Tambu* village, 138
- Tanag*, 107
- T'ang dynasty, 14-15, 212, 226
- Tang me* district, 137
- Tangtse, 172
- Tan-pa* district, 65
- Tantrik Buddhism, 49, 129

- Tar, 173  
 Tar-chen, 135  
 Tarim Basin, 14  
*Ta-ring* family, 260  
*Tashicho-dzong* monastery, 198, 201, 205, 275  
*Tashigong*, 38, 174  
*Tashilhunpo*, 106, 129, 130, 137, 139-40, 256, 257, 260, 261, 263  
 Ta-tsag Rim-po-che, Regent, 107  
*Tawang*, 137  
 Taxation: in early periods, 17-18, 21, 24, 25; of peasantry, 31, 32, 45, 46, 49, 209, 225; in Chumbi Valley, 50-52; in Sikkim, 54, 189-90, 192, 193; in Bhutan, 61, 64; in Khams, 65, 66, 67, 68, 72; in Lhasa, 79, 85-86, 87-92, 93-98 *passim*, 102, 103, 104, 121, 124, 131, 134, 136, 138; in 'Ba'-thang, 142; in sDe-dge, 144, 145-46, 152, 155; in *Nang-chen*, 152; in A-mdo, 158, 159; in Ladak, 167-72 *passim*, 179; in Lahul, 180-81; on chief's estate, 182, 183; in Bhutan, 203-4, 205, 206; in general, 211-12; mentioned, 250, 251, 254, 264, 270  
*Te-ling* family, 131  
 Terai jungle. *See* Morung  
*Te-ring* family, 131, 191. *See also* 'Phreng-ring  
 Tertalingpa family, 125  
 Thirteenth Dalai Lama, 84, 100, 107, 109, 129, 130, 278  
 Thonmi Sambhota, 128  
 Thon-pa family, 128  
 Ti-nan, 259  
*Tinchenpong* monastery, 138  
 Ti-rid. *See* *Tirit*  
*Tirit*, 174  
*Todpa* district, 42  
*Tolang* monastery, 177  
*Tongsa* monastery, 198, 200, 201, 202, 205  
*Towang* monastery, 279  
 Trade, 57, 171, 212-14  
 Treasury estates, 95-96, 117, 119, 231  
*Tsa*, 70  
 Tsangpo River, 8, 12, 13, 14, 137, 138, 139  
*Tsanla*, 153  
*Tsaparang*, 135  
*Tsela* district, 101, 104  
*Tsela Dzong* district, 105  
*Tse-mar*, 136  
*Tsensar*, 129  
 Tsha-rong province, 47, 68, 106, 129, 141  
 Tsha-sprul-tshang family, 131  
 Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal, King, 269  
 Tshe-dpal-mi-'gyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal, King, 174  
 Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, King, 164, 165, 175  
 Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, 173  
*Tsomotretung*, 191  
*Tsumje*, 242  
 Tsybikov, G. T., 230, 241  
 Tucci, G.: quoted, 135, 237; mentioned, 231  
*Tumlong*, 188, 191, 193  
 Tun-huang documents, 18, 235  
 Turks, 9  
*Undar*. *See* sNgon-dar  
 Upper Chumbi Valley. *See* Chumbi Valley  
 Village: headman, 43, 44, 52, 55, 56, 58, 59-60, 64, 71, 72, 84, 134, 136, 143, 144, 146, 155, 156, 157  
 --organization of: in Spiti, 43-44; Gromo, 49-53; Sikkim, 57-61; Bhutan, 63-64; Khams, 71-72  
 Volga River, 3  
*Waa*, 196  
 Waddell, L. Austine: quoted, 187, 189, 192; mentioned, 230, 233  
 Walsh, E. H.: quoted, 53; mentioned, 230  
*Wandipoor*, 201  
*Wang*, 196  
*Wangda* village, 101  
*Wangdu-phodrang* monastery, 198, 201, 205  
 Wan-le, 166, 175  
*Wassu*, 154, 155  
 Water rights, 41  
 Weber, Max: quoted, 208  
 Wei-tsang t'ung-chih, 230, 231  
 Western Tibet. *See* mNga'-ris  
 White, John Claude: quoted, 57-58, 63, 200; mentioned, 233  
 Winnington, Alan: quoted, 44, 45, 47, 88; mentioned, 231  
 Wittfogel, Karl August: quoted, 208, 212, 224  
*Wogsche*, 154  
*Wön* Valley, 107  
 Wu Chung-hsin, 231  
 'Yakla Pass, 191  
 Yalung River, 10, 13  
*Yam-dok* Lake, 191  
 Yangtze River, 10, 13, 151  
*Yao-la*, 89



- Yarklungs Valley, 13, 14, 105, 134, 236  
 Yaru Tsang-po, 259  
 Yig-tshang, 126  
 Yu, Hsiang-wen: quoted, 75; mentioned, 232  
 Yuan emperor, 22  
 Yur-zhing lands, 39  
  
 Zangs-dkar, 12, 160, 162, 164, 166, 173, 174, 175, 184, 270  
 Zeen-Caab, 197  
 Zhabs-drung Rim-po-che. *See* Dharma Raja  
  
 Zhal-ngo. *See* Shal-ngo  
 Zhing-khang. *See* Allotments, household; Khang-zhing  
 Zhol inscription, 18  
 Zhol-kang, 261  
 Zing-kom. *See* Allotments, household; Khang-zhing  
 Zoji pass. *See* 'Du-zhi  
 Zongu, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 187, 191, 192  
 Zung Ts'a tribe, 66, 75, 76, 77, 159  
 Zur-khang, 260