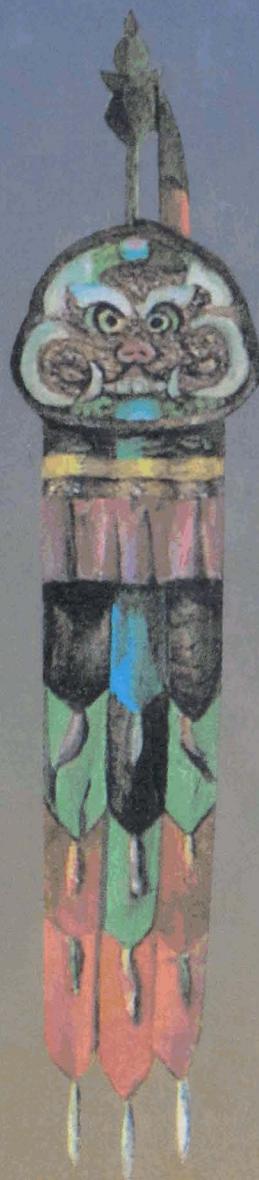


THESES ON TIBETOLOGY IN CHINA

Compiled by Liao Zugui, Zhang Zuji



China Tibetology Publishing House

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China Tibetology Publishing House
Beijing • 1996

First Edition 1996

ISBN 7—80057—247—1/Z • 115

Copyright 1996 by China Tibetology Publishing House, Beijing, China

Published by China Tibetology Publishing House

P. O. Box 9704, the Asian Games Village, Beijing 100101, China

Distributed by China International Book Trading Corporation

35 Chegongzhuang Xilu, Beijing 100044, China

P. O. Box 2820, Beijing, China

Printed in the People's Republic of China

FOREWORD

This is the second collection of *Theses on Tibetology in China* in English translation. There are altogether sixteen articles numbering about 180,000 words, which were carefully chosen from the journal *China Tibetology* (in Chinese) published during the period from 1990 to 1994.

China Tibetology, a quarterly journal published bilingually in Tibetan and Han Chinese in separate editions by the Research Centre for Tibetan Studies, in an academic journal aimed at the flourishing and development of Tibetology research in China as well as in the service of the Tibetological circles both at home and abroad.

The present collection covers the relationship between the Tibet region and the central government of China, the social — economic formation of Tibet, the religious sects of Tibetan Buddhism and documents collection, the population and the economic development in Tibet, the textual research on the reincarnation and enthronement of the 13th Dalai Lama as well as the book review on the so — called "status of Tibet" by Michael C. Van Walt Van Praag, etc.

Among the contributors of the book are not only well — known erudite scholars in the Tibetological circles but also young researchers who have displayed their talents in their various disciplines in recent years. In expounding their articles, the veteran specialists set forth their views in precise and appropriate wording, with full and accurate historical materials, strike home in their reasoning, explain the profound in simple terms and all these have shown the rather great efforts they made. Moreover, the young authors show an interesting

new approach in their works , are close to reality , bold in exploration and give us much food for thought in their theses. In short , each of them has displayed his strong points to the full. Though the selected theses of the present collection are not many , yet it should be considered as a window through which the Tibetologists both at home and abroad might have access to the new results of research in Tibetology in contemporary China . At any rate , the present collection is of both higher academic and collection values.

Prior to the translation from Chinese into English , the selected theses have been read and revised by the original contributors and polished by the editors in the process of editing. Mistakes might unavoidable owing to the limited ability of the editors . We earnestly hope that the specialists and scholars both at home and abroad would be kind enough to give us your criticism or opinion.

The Editors
January , 1996.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Sixteen papers collected in the book were translated by Chen Guansheng , Li Peizhu , Xiang Hongjia , Yuan Jie , Wang Guangyuan , Chu Junhong , Li Zengfu , Chen Naiwen , Zhang Xuehui , Jin Hongmei and Peyang , and revised by Zhang Zuji , Dr . Bruce Doar , Jill Miller and Prof . Kathy Whitt. We express to them our deep appreciation for their kind assistance they rendered to us.

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The Translation and Annotation for " An Account of the Dalai Lamas and Regents and Their Seals "

*Tibetan Original by Kadrung Nornangpa
Chinese Translation and Annotation by Liu Liqian*

Editor's Note : *An Account of the Dalai Lama and Regents and Their Seals* was written by Nornangpa , a Kadrung (secretary) of the Kashag (former local government of Tibet) during the time of the 13th Dalai Lama . The book is a special record of how the seals were bestowed by the Emperors of the Qing Dynasty on all generations of Dalai Lamas , Panchen Erdenis and other great Hutuktus , as well as how the official seals went to the local governments (including Kashag) of Tibet . Seals are symbols of power . The stories of how they were granted are very rare and valuable historical records , most of which can be confirmed by the annals of the Qing dynasty , especially when penned by a secretary of the Kashag , who was in charge of archives and drafting documents .

The Omniscient^[1] First Dalai Lama , named Gedun Trupa , was the saviour of our world and represents the top wisdom of man on earth and gods in heaven . He was born at Arntso of Shabtu , Ulterior Tibet (Tsang) in the Iron — Goat year of the 7th 60 — year — cycle (1391) .^[2] He built the Tas-

hilhunpo monastery^[3] (in 1447) , where he died in the Water — Dragon year at the age of 85.

The second Dalai Lama , named Gedun Gyatso , was born in Dorasemey^[4] of Ulterior Tibet in the Fire — Monkey year of the 8th 60 — year — cycle (1476) . He died in the Ganden Phodrang of Drepung monastery^[5] on the 8th of the 2nd month of the Water — Tiger year (1542) , when he was only 17.

The third Dalai Lama , named Sonam Gyatso , was born to the family of Tsekar Khangsar Gong in Tolhung^[6] of Anterior Tibet (U) in the Water — Hare year of the 9th 60 — year — cycle (1543) . This Dalai Lama received a gold seal , as a present from a Mongolian King Althan Khan .^[7] Called the " Gold King " , it is inscribed with the words " The seal of Dorje Chang Dalai Lama " ^[8] in Mongolian . From that time till now , all important official documents have received its impression . There was also a smaller old seal , called " Vajradhara " ,^[9] that was put to use by the 5th Dalai Lama . The details of the two seals can be seen in the " Yigtsang^[10] Book of Seals " . At the age of 36 (1578) , Buddha king III was invited by Althan Khan to Mongolian districts to explain and publicize Buddhist doctrine , winning high prestige . Learning of his good repute , emperor Wanli of the Ming dynasty dispatched an envoy to grant him the title of Dalai by imperior order , bestowed a gold seal on him and invited him to Beijing .^[11] But before he could make the trip , he died in Mongolia in the Earth — Mouse year (1588) at the age of 46 . Moreover the gold seal has never been seen since the Dzungar Incident .^[12] It may have been lost .

The fourth Dalai Lama , named Yonten Gyatso , was born to the family of king Chingir^[13] of the Segi — chuk tribe on the 1st day of the first month of the Earth — Ox year of the 10th 60

—year — cycle (1589). On assuming his seat , he inherited the title and position of his predecessors . When he was 28 years old , in the 3rd month of the Fire — Dragon year (1616) , emperor Wanli of the Ming dynasty dispatched an envoy to Tibet , bestowing on him the title of " Vajra Wielder Buddha Regent " , and gave him official uniform , hat and seal , and at the same time invited him to the Han regions . Unfortunately , he passed away in the Ganden Phodrang^[14] of the Drepung monastery on the 15th of the 12th month of the same year . Afterwards , emperor Tianqi gave him a posthumous title and a seal which was in use until it was lost after the sixth Dalai Lama .

The fifth Dalai Lama , named Lozang Gyatso (his full name is shortened here) ,^[15] was born in the Chinan Taktse Palace of Chongye in the Fire — Serpent year of the 10th 60 — year — cycle (1617). Not long after his birth , he was welcomed to the Ganden Phodrang of Drepung monastery where he was enthroned . When he was 25 years old , i . e . the year of Iron — Serpent of the 11th 60 — year — cycle (1641) , the Gushi Khan of Oirat Mongols began to occupy Do Kham and proceeded to overthrow Tsangpa Khan Karma Tenkyong Wangpo .^[16] Then , the territory and people were granted to the Dalai Lama as a source of joss sticks and candles . In the 2nd month of the following Water — Horse year (1642) , Gushi Khan escorted the Dalai Lama from Drepung monastery to Shigatse , completely wiped out the remaining forces of Tsangpa Khan , and bestowed the land and people there on the Dalai Lama . Thus the Ganden Phodrang Regime was founded and the politics and religion began to spread over the upper , middle and lower spheres .^[17]

That year (1642) , the Dalai Lama 's treasurer Sonam

Rapten (formerly Gyadon Changzod , then Sonam Chospel) assumed the power to handle local government affairs , and was respectfully called Insa Gongma. ^[18]On the 1st of the 4th month of the Wood — Cock year (1645), the foundation stone for the Potala Palace was laid , and it was finished three years later in the Earth — Mouse year. That year (1648) was the 5th anniversary of the reign of emperor Shunzhi , the first emperor of the Qing dynasty. The monarch dispatched an envoy to call the Dalai Lama to Beijing. On the 27th of the 4th month of the Water — Dragon year of the 11th 60 — year — cycle (1652) , the 36 — year — old Dalai Lama arrived in Beijing from the Drepung monastery and had an audience with the emperor. The Dalai Lama was accorded a grand reception in the capital , thus establishing a tribute — and — alms — giving relationship with the Qing government. ^[19]The next year , on the 10th of the 2nd month of the Water — Serpent year (1653) , he departed for Tibet. When he arrived at Taika on his way home , an envoy of the emperor caught up with him and brought him a gold book and a gold seal , officially conferring him the title as inscribed in the seal : " Vajra Wielder , Dalai Lama , Overseer of the Buddhist Faith on Earth under the Great Benevolent Selfsubsisting Buddha of West Paradise " . The seal is inscribed in four languages. From that time on , all important official documents were pressed with this seal. ^[20]For other documents , there were several seals :

1. The " Gold King " seal , as mentioned above ;
2. The small old seal with three lines of Mongolian for " Vajra Wielder " at the centre ;
3. A new copy of the above seal , which is still in use ;
4. Another new seal , with a blurred inscription ;
5. A big gold seal with simplified Chinese Characters ,

called the " Seal of Self —subsisting Buddha" ;

6. The seal for correcting written errors ; square and with two lines of inscriptions , it is still in use ;

7. The former Buddhas seal ; an ellipse shape , kept in the bedchamber ;

8. A replica of the above seal , kept in the translation store ;

9. A big seal with three lines of inscriptions , specially for sealing and opening storage chambers. It was highly treasured by the Dalai Lama and is still in use ;

10. A silver seal.

all these seals have remained in use till now.

Desi Sonam Chospel was in charge of government affairs from the Water —Horse year (1642) to the Wood —Horse year (1654). Gushi Khan died in 1654 at the age of 73, and his son , Tenzin Dorje , inherited the position of Khan . The emperor bestowed on him the title of Dayan Khan . Sonam Chospel continued to be in power till the 17th year and expired of illness in the Lhagang Palace at Lhasa^[21] on the 3rd of the 3rd month of the Earth —Dog year (1658). During his lifetime , when a document needed sealing , he always first put down the Gushi Khan family's square seal , which is bordered with a " 卐 " design , in red ink ; then , at its side , the square seal of Desi Sonam which is in Classic Mongolian script , in black ink. The period was known as the era of imperial red — and — black seals. ^[22]

After the death of Sonam Chospel in the Earth —Dog year , the Dalai Lama handled the government and religious affairs himself for about three years. During this time he mixed red and black ink to make a purple ink for all the seals pressed on documents. It is said that the Dalai Lama had to assume

responsibility due to the absence of a new Desi after the death of the old one. ^[23]

On the 13th of the 7th month of the Iron — Mouse year , Drungmedpa Trinley Gyatso was appointed Desi. ^[24]The following year , the Iron — Ox year , emperor Shunzhi died , and emperor Kangxi ascended the throne. Trinley Gyatso was in power for nine years and died in the Potala on the 17th of the 5th month of the Earth — Monkey year (1668). In office he used a big personal seal inscribed with three copied lines of Mongolian writing , pressed in black ink. From that time on , documents were not validated with a Gushi Khan family seal.

The Dalai Lama handled government affairs again for about a year till the 1st of the 8th month of the Earth — Cock year (1669) , when his Chospon Lozang Thuthop was appointed Desi . From the Earth — Cock to Iron — Pig year , a black ink square seal with Mongolian writing was used. Lozang held power for six years till the 8th month of the Wood — Tiger year , when he had a quarrel with his secret wife Tashila , daughter of the Sakya noble family , and was punished by the Qing court , relived of his post and sent into exile to Dongkar. At the request of the Sera and Drepung monasteries and all the officials , the Qing court agree to give him the title of ex — Desi , granting Sanri Shika as his territory. He went into retirement in Sanri and was called Desi Sanriwa.

In the 8th month of the Wood — Hare year (1675) , Steward Lozang Jinpa of the Namgyal Dratsang (a Buddhist monastery of the Potala Palace) took the position of Sanriwa to handle local government affairs . He was called Desi edongpa. ^[25]During this period , the black ink square seal with Mongolian script was still in use. After being in office for five years , he asked to resign in the 5th month of the Earth — Goat

year (1679). Honoured as the ex — Desi , he lived in retirement at Ganden Khangsar Phodrang , and was granted Nedong Shika as his territory .

On the 6th month of the same year , Sangye Gyatso^[26] succeeded to the post . In the Iron — Cock year (1681) the Mongolian Khan Ganden Tsewang^[27] conquered Ngari Korsum , and presented the land and people to the Dalai Lama as Buddhist offerings .

By the Water — Dog year of the 11th 60 — year — cycle , the 21st year of (emperor) Kangxi (1682) , Sangye had been in power for four years , and the Dalai Lama passed away happily on the 15th of the 2nd month at the age of 66 . Apart from all the official seals mentioned previously , the Dalai Lama had another gold seal bestowed by the emperor , which carried the inscription : " The Seal of Vajra Holder Dalai Lama , Overseer of the Buddha of West Paradise . " Sangye kept the death of the Dalai a secret for as long as 16 years , making no report on it to the emperor either . During his term of office , he built the red palace of the Potala .^[28]

In the Water — Pig year (1683) , the 6th Dalai Lama , named Tsangyang Gyatso ,^[29] was born at a place called Lawo Yusum , Tsona county , Monyul . But he was not welcomed to the Potala to be installed until the 15th of the 10th month of the Fire — Ox year of the 12th 60 — year — cycle (1697) , the 36th year of Kangxi when Desi Sangye had been in power for 19 years . Sangye still acted on the Dalai 's behalf for six more years till the Water — Goat year (1703) when , at his suggestion , Nyawang Rinchen was appointed assistant Desi . But in fact , the power was still in the hands of Sangye Gyatso . Two years later , in his 27th year in control , he was captured by Lazang Khan^[30] and executed at Langzi of Tolhung on the 29th of

the 7th month. When Sangye was in office, the emperor of the Qing dynasty bestowed a gold seal on him, with the inscription: "The Seal of Butada Ahbahdi, Steward in Charge of Propagating Buddhism for the Buddha Law Sovereign Vajra Holder Dalai Lama." He also had a three line inscription seal, but it was indistinct, and lost when he was taking a bath at Nyang. The new seal made to replace it was square with four lines of Mongolian. The top line shows the character " 𐠊 " and the rest is unclear. It was only used when he was issuing an order. Another square seal carved with two lines of Mongolian printed in red ink was solely for documents for various border states and was unreadable. There was a big square gold seal for black ink, which was not used on order document.

Desi Ngawang Rinchen assumed control of government affairs till the Fire — Dog year (1706). As early as in the Wood — Monkey year (1704), Lhazang Khan sent a secret report to the Emperor, slandering Desi Sangye as undermining the Yellow Sect of Buddhism and openly posing as the Dalai Lama. Consequently, he killed the Desi first and then threw Dalai Lama Tsangyang Gyatso out of the Potala on the 1st of the 5th month of the Fire — Dog year the 12th 60 — year — cycle (1706), (the 46th year of Kangxi), ordering him to move to the Lhalu Katsel garden. Then the Khan put Pakarzinpa Yeshe Gyatso, ^[31] who was said to be his own son, onto the seat in the Potala. The Emperor ordered Bitieshi ^[32] (a Manchu clerk in public office in Beijing), Baima, and others to send the sixth Dalai Lama under guard to Beijing. On his way to the capital, the Dalai perished of illness at a place called Gongkarlho lake, at the age of only 24. Lhazang Khan proclaimed himself Khan monarch in the Fire — Dog year (1706) and arrogated all powers to himself ^[33] for 11 years until the Fire — Cock year

(1717), when he was killed by Dzungar Khung Teji^[34] on the 1st of the 11th month. A square seal with six lines of Mongolian script using red ink was bestowed by the Emperor at the request of the sixth Dalai Lama. Showing a grand Buddha holding a lotus flower, it is inscribed: " The Seal of the Sixth Dalai Lama, the Sole Propogater of Buddhism. " It was later changed to: " The Seal of the Sixth Dalai Lama, the Sole Receiver of Buddhism. " The seal was later taken away by Dzungaria and never seen again.

Dzungar Khungteji gained hold of political power at the end of the Fire — Cook year, and everything had to be done by his order. He appointed Taktse Lhagyal Raptan^[35] otherwise called Kyishod Ganden Teji as Depa, removed Grand Buddha Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso, the lotus — holder, from his office and put him to jail at the foot of Mount Chakpori. One official seal of this Desi is a rectangle with a triple — eyed jewel on its head. Another is larger with four lines of Mongolian and an eye — jewel. Taktsepa remain at the helm untill the Iron — Mouse year (1720), when he was executed by the Qing Court for helping rebels.

The Seventh Dalai Lama, named Kelsang Gytsso^[36] was born at Litang in the Earth — Mouse year (1708), or the 47th year of Kangxi. Subdued by the despotic power of Lhazang Khan, nobody dared to formally acknowledge the fact. The princes and dukes of Qinghai managed to take the holy baby to their territories, for fear of persecution. At the same time, they presented one memorial after another to the throne untill they obtained a pardon from the emperor, and moved the child temporarily to the Kumbum monastery of Xinning. By the time when the boy was 13 years old, in the 59th year of Kangxi (

the Iron — Mouse year , 1720) the emperor gave an imperial edict and sent his son ,^[37] a general , to lead his troops to escort the Dalai to Tibet to mount his dais , and bestowed generous reward on the Dalai . On the 22nd of the 4th month of that year , the Dalai Lama left the Kumbum monastery for Tibet . The emperor's son and his troops conducted the Dalai to the bank of the Jinsha river , and several of his generals and officers accompanied the Dalai to Lhasa . The Dalai Lama was enthroned at a ceremony held in the Potala on the 15th of the 9th month . In the same year , a council was formed by Mongolian and Tibetan princes , dukes and senior officials , including General Daiching , Chahan Danjin , Duke Tsewang Norbu (who returned home in the Water — Hare year , or 1723) , King Dondup Wang (a returnee in the Iron — Ox year , or 1721) , as well as King Tenzin , Prince Abobeile (who returned in the Water — hare year) , Duke Fu Ngabo Dorje Gyalpo , Lampaanas Tashi Gyalpo .^[38] The council managed Tibetan affairs for about a year , during which time , all documents for issuing orders were pressed with King Tenzin's red seal , inscribed " The Seal of Lozang Tenain " . Other documents were released with personal seals of duke Tsewang Norbu , King Dondup Wang , Prince Abobeile , or others .

In the Iron — Ox year (1721) , a council of ministers^[39] as formed by Daiching Batur , Sonam Gyalpo , Ngabopa , Lumpanas , Pholhanas Taiji Sonam Dorje , Jarana Lungdup Gyalpo to take charge of government affairs . In the Water — Tiger year (1722) , emperor Kangxi died , and a memorial tablet was enshrined in the Bedchamber of the Potala . Crown Prince Yongzheng ascended the throne in the Water — Hare year (1723) . The council remained in control for about seven years until the Fire — Goat year (1727) . During this period ,

orders were issued using the square black ink official seal of the Kashag bestowed by the emperor , engraved with six lines of Mongolian : " The Seal of Prince Khangchenpa (Khan - gchennas) , the Chief Kalon ; Prince Ngabopa , the Assistant Kalon. Auspicious Fortune. " A few documents were pressed with a square seal bordered by a " 卐 " design carrying three lines of Mongolian : " Daiching Batur , " or another seal with only three lines of Mongolian : " Daiching Batur. "

In the Fire — Goat year (1727) , the emperor ordered Pholhanas Taiji^[40] to rule Uterior Tibet. In the 6th month of that year , Daiching Batur was murdered , and from that time to the 5th month of the Earth — Monkey year (1728) , the political power was in the hands of Ngabopa , Lumpanas and Jarana . During this period , some documents appeared with a black square seal with four lines of inscriptions , and Tibet was in extreme chaos . At the end of the Earth — Monkey year (1728) , Pholhanas Taiji dispatched troops from Uterior Tibet and defeated the three rebel armies of Ngabopa and two others. Then an imperial edict ordered Pholhanas Taiji to assume overall authority in Tibet. And on 13th of the 11th month of the same year , the emperor commanded the Dalai Lama to move to Garthar.

Pholhanas held power for about seven years from the Earth — Cock (1729) to the Wood — Hare year (1735) , it was only in the 21st of the 2nd month of the Wood — Hare year , the Dalai Lama was moved from Taining to his dais in the Potala of Tibet. Emperor Yongzheng died in this year , and emperor Qianlong ascended the throne in the Fire — Dragon year (1736) . And it must have been the Iron — Monkey year (1740) , when the emperor ordered the imperial commissioners Wula and Zengge to lead troops to Tibet , captured

Ngabo and the other two chief rebels as well as their accomplices, and executed them according to the state law.

Pholhanas was in power for 20 years until the Fire — Hare year of the 13th 60 — year cycle (1747), when he died in the Ganden Khangsar Phodrang Palace . The seal he used was bestowed by the emperor . It carried the inscription : " The Seal of Duoluo , Prince of Second Rank , in charge of Tibetan Kalon Affairs. " ^[41] Besides this , there was a square black ink seal with five lines in Mongolian ; and a six — line red ink Mongolian seal engraved : " The Seal of Pholhanas Taiji Sonam Dorje Wishes All Unbounded Success and Good Fortune " . And there were two small square seals using red ink . The official seal of the Kashag in this period was square with a round lotus flower design in the centre . In the 12th year of Qianlong , or the Fire — Hare year (1747) , the emperor bestowed the favour of agreeing that Pholhanas's son , Gyumey Namgyal , ^[42] could inherit the title of Second Rank Prince Duoluo , take over his father's post and function as acting head of the local government . He held the reins for four years from the Fire — Hare to Iron — Horse year (1747 — 1750). When issuing orders , he used a square seal for red ink with six lines : " The Seal of the Second Rank Prince Duolou in Charge of Uterior Tibet Kalon Affairs. " Besides , there was a red seal with four lines of Mongolian and the sign of " 𑄆 " on the top , and a small three — line square seal . Both were the old seals of Pholhanas , and the imperial edict agreed they could in use according to rules . Gyumey Namgyal was tyrannical . On the 12th of the 10th month of the Iron — Horse year (1750) , La Daren and Fu Daren , Ambans dispatched by the emperor to Tibet , lured him to Chongserkang's office and killed him . ^[43] Doring Pandita ^[44] was then appointed Steward for about a year . The em-

peror granted the title on him by an imperial edict , but did not give any seal.

In the 16th year of Qianlong (1751) , which was the Iron — Goat year of the 13th 60 — year cycle , the 48 — year — old emperor issued an imperial edict that all government and religious affairs must be assumed by the Dalai Lama personally with four Kalons assisting him. ^[45] So , begining from this year , the Seventh Dalai Lama Kelsang Gyatso took over this responsibility for seven years till the Fire — Ox year (1757). All the seals conferred by imperial mandate were used according to the rules of the fifth Dalai , except the " Seal of the Self — subsisting Buddha , " used infrequently . The emperor bestowed on him another gold seal with the same inscription as that of the fifth Dalai : " Vajra Holder Dalai Lama , Overseer of the Buddhist Faith on the Earth under the Great Benevolent Self — subsisting Buddha of West Paradise . " ^[46]

The Dalai Lama handled government and religious affairs himself , and under him , there was the chief Kalon Doring Normen Khan Pandita , assitant Dzasa Dokhar Shabdrung Tsewang Dorje , Dzasa Thanpa Tsewang , as well as monk officials Tsedron Dar Khan Nyima Gyaltzen and others . The five Kalons were all very intelligent and competent . The Kashag also made several seals for other purposes , such as the Dekyima seal , the seal for amending written errors , storage — sealing seal , etc . They are still in use now . Imperial favour enabled the Dalai 's orders to reach Tibet proper and greater Tibet ^[47] when there was a grand Buddhist ceremony . During this period , officials such as Kadrung , Dronyer and Senga were created , ^[48] and Yigtsang Lekung , the secretariat in charge of official documents was inaugurated .

On the 2nd of the 2nd month in the 22nd year of

Qianlong, or the Fire — Ox year (1757), the Dalai Lama died, at the age of 50. His duty was taken up temporarily by the Kalons. ^[49] About a few months later, a mass meeting of the lamas and laity of Tibet unanimously agreed that the sixth Living Buddha of the Tengyeling monastery, Demo Nyawang Jampal Delek Gyatso, should be the acting Dalai and act as the first Regent. It was also concurred that this be reported to the Ambans and with the request that they present a memorial to the emperor. The emperor gave favourable assent and the Living Buddha assumed the office of regent on the 8th of the 4th month of the same year.

On the 8th of the 6th month of the Earth — Tiger year (1758), the eighth Dalai Lama Jampal Gyatso ^[50] was born at Thobgyal Lharigang of upper Ulterior Tibet. In this year, the emperor bestowed a gold imperial mandate and a silver seal on Living Buddha Demo. ^[51] It carries the inscription: " The Seal of Auspicious Normen Khan for Handling Tibetan Affairs and Advancing Buddhism. " Only six years after becoming regent, he welcomed the Dalai Lama in power for 21 years and died in the Tengyeling on the 22nd of the 1st month of the Fire — Coch year (1777). He had a big silver seal, which was used by later regents. In addition, there was a seal bestowed by the emperor on the regent Demo Living Buddha and a written error correcting seal and storage — sealing seal. All were used later, except for the big official seal without any mark on top, that was kept and locked inside the interior storage by the Han — Tibetan officials after the death of Demo. The Kalons took charge of government affairs for a few months after Demo's death.

On the 15th of the 8th month of the 42nd year of Qianlong, or the Fire — Cock year (1777), the emperor issued

an imperial edict , ordering Ganden Tripa Erdeni Normen Khan Nyawang Tsultrim, ^[52]who had been relieved of his office , to succeed to the post of regent. He went to Beijing , had an audience with the emperor and received an imperial mandate. He was an older Living Buddha of the Tsemonling monastery , called Chagdor. In the Iron — Ox year (1781) , the emperor bestowed the title of eighth Dalai Lama and a gold seal on him. The inscriptions on the seal were the same as those for earlier Dalai Lamas. By the Wood — Dragon year (1784) , the Dalai Lama took over the reins of government , and the Normen Khan remained his assistant in handling government affairs. Chagdot stayed in office for a decade to the Fire — Horse year when the emperor summoned him to Beijing to take over the post of Changkya Hutuktu. ^[53]He held the large silver seal given by the emperor to the former Demo Living Buddha for handling day — to — day affairs. After he had departed , the seal was still in interim use for issuing orders , and was later kept by the Ambans. In the Fire — Goat year (1787) , the seal was handed to special envoy Mkhan — po and held in the Gyakhang. ^[54]The official seal of the regent with four lines of Mongolian script was also used by later Tsemonling Living Buddhas. At that time , there was no " Dza" sign on top of it. The seal was later retained by the local government together with the written error correcting seal.

The eighth Dalai Lama Jampal Gyatso handled government affairs personally for about three years from the 49th year of Qianlong , or the Wood — Dragon year (1784) , to the Fire — Horse year (1786) . Later on , he shared power with Khrichen Erdeni ^[55]between the Earth — Cock and Iron — Dog year (1789 — 1790) . Then the emperor issued an imperial edict , instructing Taktra Jetsun Biletu Normen Kha n ^[56]to

move to Dagu Khangsar to assist the Kalon in dealing with Tibetan affairs.

In the 12th month of the Iron — Dog year (1790), the emperor ordered Jetsun Biletu to go to Beijing. The Dalai Lama took over power once again, with Khrichen Erdeni Normen Khan aiding him. Khrichen Erdeni died in the Potala on the 27th of the 3rd month of the Iron — Pig year (1791), and Jetsun Biletu was commanded to return to Tibet on the 12th of the 9th month.

The Taktra Jetsun Biletu, namely the first Taktra Living Buddha of the Kundeling monastery to be regent, was named at that time Yeshe Lozang Danpa Gonpo. He turned back on his way to the interior and arrived in Lhasa on the 8th of the 8th month. He helped the Dalai to handle all the day — to — day affairs in that year. In the Iron — Pig year, the Gurkhas dispatched troops to invade Tibet, and a tense situation prevailed. ^[57]The emperor sent general Fu Zhingtang in command of troops to put down the invaders. In the following year, the Water — Mouse year (1792), the emperor granted Taktra Hutu the hereditary honorific title of Samati Paksi Buddhist Master with Wisdom and Perfection, and a silver personal seal carrying the title of the Great Master of Yuanjue Zhihui Chanding (meaning " with high consciousness, profound wisdom and excellent understanding of Buddhism " — — — Translator). The emperor also agreed that his title could be handed down generation after generation. ^[58]In the Wood — Hare year (1795), emperor Qianlong died, and emperor Jiaqing ascended the throne. Between this year and the Wood — Mouse year (1804), the Taktra was the Dalai's aide, and they cooperated for a total of 14 years. The eighth Dalai Lama Jampal Gyatso died at the age of 47 on the 18th of the 10th mon-

th of the Wood — Mouse year (1804), the 13th 60 — year cycle. Upon learning the news, the emperor announced an imperial edict, appointing Jetsun Hutuktu Samati Paksi to be the general Steward to manage government and religious affairs. He used the big silver seal put in the Gyakhang in the Fire — Hare year. By the Wood — Ox year (1805), the emperor ordered the seal be given to regent Taktra. A new large square regent seal with six lines of Mongolian script was made that year for him. The seven — line Mongolian regent seal, that the seventh Dalai Lama gave to the last Taktra as a personal legacy, i. e., the one pressed on all documents between the Iron — Pig (1791) and this year (1805), had been handed over for interior storage. A new copy of the seal was made for his personal use.

The same year (1805), the ninth Dalai Lama was born. ^[59]In the 18th year of Taktra's regentship, the Earth — Dragon year of the 14th 60 — year cycle (1808), or the 13th year of Jiaqing, the ninth Dalai Lama, the Great Saviour of the Holy and Mortal Worlds, received a respectful welcome to the Potala to be enthroned on the 22nd of the 9th month. The Taktra continued as regent, until his 20th year of office, or the Iron — Horse year (1810), when he died in the Kundeling monastery. When he acted as the regent from the Iron — Pig to Wood — Ox year, for official duties he used a regent seal with seven lines of Mongolian script, that was given by the Dalai to the earlier Taktra Living Buddhas for continued personal use. The seal is inscribed: " The Emperor by the Mandate of Heaven hereby Issues the Imperial Edict to Bestow the Seal of Jetsun Biletu Hutuktu, the Great Master with High Conciousness, Profound Wisdom and Excellent Understanding of Buddhism, with Wished for Auspiciousness. " The seal was

also put into the interior storage in the Wood — Ox year . Besides this , there was a new square official seal with six lines of inscriptions reading : " The Auspicious Normen Khan in Charge of Tibetan Affairs and the Yellow Sect of Buddhism , Omnipresent Fine Fortune . " This seal , as well as the silver seal and written error correcting seal , was taken back by the Dalai Lama when a joint Han — Tibetan document was signed , and kept in the bedchamber of the Potala . After the death of the Taktra Living Buddha , Lozang Jigme Gyatso , the Living Buddha of the Tengyeling monastery , was again elected regent at a mass meeting of Lamas and laity of Tibet . On receiving a report on this , the emperor approved it and ordered that the regent continue to use his predecessor's official seals . These included a big silver seal , and an official seal of the 1st Demo regent Ngawang Jampal Delek Gyatso with six lines of Mongolian script : " The Emperor by the Mandate of Heaven hereby Issues the Imperial Edict to Bestow the Seal of Palden Normen Khan in Charge of the Yellow Sect of Buddhism , with Wished — for Auspiciousness . " There was also a written error correcting seal and storage sealing seal . All the Seals mentioned above were formally handed over to the Demo Living Buddha^[60] on the 17th of the 3rd month of the Iron — Goat year (1811) , or the 16th year of Jiaqing . The Demo assumed office on the 11th of the 4th month , and a new seal was made as mentioned above , a top of which was a character " Dra " as a sign . Upon receiving the memorial , the emperor bestowed on him the title " Erdeni Normen Khan " . In his 5th year of regentship , the 20th year of Jiaqing or the Wood — Pig year of the 14th 60 — year cycle (1815) , the ninth Dalai Lama Lungtok Gyatso suddenly passed away on the 16th of the 3rd month , at the age of 11 . This was immediately reported to the em-

peror , who as a special favour ordered the Demo Normen Khan to act as the Dalai Lama . The Demo formally assumed office on the 2nd of the 11th month , and held the regentship for a total of nine years till he died in the Tengyeling monastery on the 3rd of the 3rd month of the Earth — Hare year (1819). Before the infant with the transmigrated soul of the Dalai was found , the above — mentioned seals were pressed under the supervision of the Ambans Yu and Ke ;^[61] and the keys to the seal — cases were kept by the Kalon . Another mass meeting of Lamas and laity was called to decide a successor to the regent . A consensus was reached that Erdeni Samati Paksi Living Buddha Ngawang Jampal Tsultrim Gyatso be the successor . This was reported to the two Ambans , asking them to present a memorial to the emperor . On the 5th of the 3rd month of the Earth — Hare year (1819) , that individual took over the Demo Living Buddha 's silver seal , regent seal , storage closing seal , written error Correcting seal , etc . to act on the regent 's behalf . As the emperor 's imperial mandate had yet to arrive , all the seals were still in use untill the 12th of the 8th month , the 24th year of Jiaqing or the Earth — Hare year (1819) . The imperial mandate came the next day and the Samati Paksi Tsemonling second Living Buddha , Ngawang Jampal Tsultrim Gyatso^[62] officially assumed the post of regent . All the big and small seals were handed to the interior storage , except for a big seal with six lines of Mongolian script : " The Seal of Erdeni Normen Khan for Advancing Buddhism . " Its further use was sanctioned by the emperor . On top of the seal , the character " Dra " was added . He was also permitted to employ the storage — sealing seal and written error correcting seal . In the Iron — Dragon year (1820) , the emperor issued another mandate , bestowing on him the official title of

Erdeni Normen Khan. The emperor died not long afterwards, and Daoguang ascended the throne in the Iron — Serpent year (1821). In the 4th year of the Normen Khan's regentship, the Water — Horse year of the 14th 60 — year cycle, or the 2nd year of Daoguang, three possible reincarnations of the Dalai were finally found. So the Panchen Erdeni was invited from Ulterior Tibet to Anterior Tibet to confirm which was the genuine reincarnation. On the 15th of the 1st month, a ceremony was held to draw lots, at which the Living Buddha named Tsultrim Gyatso born at Litang was confirmed to be the tenth Dalai Lama. On the 8th of the 8th month, he was welcomed to the Potala to be enthroned. ^[63]In the Iron — Tiger year (1830), a widespread investigation compiled statistics for an inventory of the year. ^[64]The tenth Dalai Lama died in the Fire — Cock year of the 14th 60 — year cycle (1837), or the 17th year of Daoguang. The eleventh Dalai Lama, named Khedrup Gyatso, ^[65]ascended the dais in the Potala in the Earth — Dog year (1838). By the Wood — Dragon year (1844), or the 24th year of Daoguang, the emperor approved the memorial presented by Amban Qi Zhongtang, ^[66]and dismissed the Tsemonling Living Buddha from his post of regent in his 26th year, sending him into exile in a Han — inhabited area. Then Qi Zhongtang recommended the Panchen Erdeni to assume the regentship, to which the emperor assented in an imperial edict. So the Panchen Great priest Tenpai Nyima ^[67]was welcomed to Lhasa. He held the post for more than eight months till the 26th of the 4th month of the Wood — Serpent year (1845). He continued use of all the big and small seals of Tsemonling. Besides a regent's square seal with four lines of Mongolian script, he stamped documents with his personal round Buddha seal with conch motifs.

In the 25th year of Daoguang , the Wood — Serpent year (1845) , the emperor issued another imperial edict , ordering ninth Rating Living Buddha to be regent. ^[68]This Living Buddha line assumed the regentship twice . The first regent from it took up the post on the 26th of the 4th month of 1845. The emperor bestowed on him the title of Achi Hutuktu . The Dalai was initiated into monkhood in the Fire — Horse year (1846) . Emperor Daoguang died in the Iron — Dog year (1850) and emperor Xianfeng ascended the throne following Iron — Pig year . Rating held the regentship for 11 years till the wood — Hare year (1855) of the 14th 60 — year cycle , the 5th year of Xianfeng , when the eleventh Dalai Lama took over the reins of government . All the big and small seals were used in accordance with the rules of former Dalai Lamas. ^[69]However , he was in power for only a few months , and died on the morning of the 15th of the 12th month , when only 18 years old . A mass meeting was called immediately , at which , a consensus was reached that Rating Hutuktu Ngawang Yeshe Tsultrim Gyatso should take charge of government affairs . So he assumed the regentship once again on the 26th of the 12th month. ^[70]The Gurkhas launched further armed aggression in this year , and negotiated peace with Tibet in the Fire — Dragon year (1856) . ^[71]In the Earth — Horse year (1858) , three possible child reincarnations of the Dalai were found , and the one born at Vol — dya was confirmed , by drawing lots. ^[72]In the Iron — Monkey year (1860) , the 6th year after rating resumed his office , or the 10th year of Xianfeng , the 12th Dalai Lama Trinley Gyatso (the name is simplified since it is overly long) was enthroned in the Potala . Emperor Xianfeng died in the Iron — Cock year (1861) and Tongzhi ascended the throne in the Water — Dog year (1862) . When rating entered his 8th

year of regentship , he had a dispute with the monks of Drepung monastery over property , and fled to the interior in a hurry , taking his seal with him . During his two terms of office , the regent used a big official seal inscribed with five lines of Mongolian script : " The Seal of Erdeni Normen Khan in Charge of Tibetan Affairs and the Yellow Sect of Buddhism . "

" [73]

At the end of that year (1862) , Desi Shatra Wangchuk Gyalpo^[74] was appointed to help handle Tibetan affairs . Upon receiving the report , the emperor gave a mandate bestowing the title of " Normen Khan " and an official seal on him . In the Water — Pig year (1863) , Gompo Namgyal of Hagayrong led his troops to attack Tibet . The Tibetan troops smashed Gompo's rebellion , and then the Hagayrong region was included in the jurisdiction of the Tibetan government .^[75] After being in power for three years , Shatra died of illness in the Kasang temple of Norbulingka in the Wood — Mouse year (1864) . During his term of office , all orders and decrees were issued under the seals of the Dalai and Kashag . There was no regent's seal or its like . After his death , a mass meeting was held to make a decision on the regentship . It was unanimously agreed that the Dalai's former canon teacher , Ganden Tripa Lozang Chenrab Wangchuk act in this capacity . The emperor later approved his regentship and bestowed the title of Hutuktu on him .^[76] In the Iron — Goat year of the 15th 60 — year cycle (1871) , the Chief Minister plotted to seize power , touching off internal conflict in the Ganden monastery .^[77] Chenrab Wangchuk held his post for 10 years and died in the Kasang Palace of the Norbulingka in the Water — Monkey year (1872) . During his term , all documents were pressed only with the seal of the Dalai's Palace and the official seal of Kashag . The Dalai

Lama took over the reins of government and Buddhist affairs when he was 18 years old, in the Water — Cock year of the 15th 60 — year cycle, or the 12th year of Tongzhi (1873). He continued use of the big and small seals in accordance with the rules of his predecessors. Emperor Tongzhi died in the Wood — Dog year (1874), and Guangxu became the emperor in the Wood — Pig year (1875). After being in power no more than three months the Dalai died on the 20th of the 3rd month, when he was only 20 years old (sic). In the few months after his demise local government affairs were handled by the Kashag. It was unanimously agreed at a mass meeting of lamas and laity of Tibet that the Kundeling Taktra, the 10th Jetsun Hutuktu Nyawang Palden Choskyi Gyaltzen, should be the successor of Chenrab Wangchuk as regent. ^[78]In the Fire — Mouse year (1876), the thirteenth Dalai Lama, ^[79]named Thubten Gyatso, was born at Langdun of Dagpo. In the Fire — Ox year (1877), the emperor issued a mandate ordering that the Taktra Hutuktu be the acting Buddha head and regent for five years. Only in the Earth — Hare year (1879), did he report to the Ambans on the discovery of the Dalai's 13th reincarnation in Dagpo Langdun. he asked the Amban to present a memorial to the throne, saying that the reincarnated child born at Langdun of Dagpo was of great intelligence and was no doubt the genuine reincarnation of Dalai bestowed on our Tibet by heaven, that the masses unanimously demanded an exception from drawing lots from the gold — vase, and that the boy should be welcomed to the Potala to be enthroned, and so on. Thanks to the kind approval of the emperor, the thirteenth Dalai Lama assumed his dais in the Potala on the 14th of the 6th month of the 5th year of Guangxu, the Earth — Hare year of the 15th 60 — year cycle (1879). In the Water — Horse year (1882), the

Dalai was initiated into monkhood by Taktra the regent. In the 12th year of his regentship, the Fire — Dog year (1886), Taktra died in the East Phodrang Palace of the Potala on the 8th night of the 8th month. During his term of office, the seals he used were : the regent seal with seven lines of Mongolian script, used by former Taktra, with the following inscriptions : " The Great Emperor by the Mandate of Heaven hereby Bestows Auspiciousness on Jetsun Hutuktu with Complete and Profound Wisdom and Excellent Understanding of Buddhism. " Some time later, a seal was taken out of interior storage, and then engraved with a " Dra " in Urdu writing. ^[80] There was also big silver seal used by his predecessors, with inscriptions in several languages and regular Tibetan script : " The Seal of Palden Normen Khan for Handling Tibetan Affairs and Advancing the Yellow Sect of Buddhism. " After the death of the Taktra, documents were again sealed by Han and Tibetan officials, and all the above — mentioned seals were kept in the Bedchamber. All those present at a mass meeting of lamas and laity of Tibet unanimously agreed that the ninth Tengyekling Demo Living Buddha Ngawang Lozang Trinley Rabgyas act on the regent's behalf. He assumed the provisional post in the 12th month of the Fire — Dog year (1886) or the 12th year of Guangxu, sending a memorial to the emperor, who issued an imperial mandate not long after. He officially assumed the regentship on the 13th of the 5th month. The big silver seal of the two previous Demos, mentioned above as that with six lines of Mongolian script, was removed from interior storage. The seals were handed to the new regent for issuing orders and decrees. In the Earth — Mouse year (1888), the enemies of Buddhism, the British imperialists, launched armed conflict by attacking the heart of Tibet from

Phayri. The Demo Living Buddha held the regentship for nine years from the Fire — Dog to Wood — Horse year (1894),^[81] and the Dalai took over the reins of government on the 8th of the 8th month of the Wood — Goat year (1895), the 21st year of Guangxu. From that time on, the Tibetan people enjoyed unparalleled happiness. Emperor Xuantong ascended the throne in the Earth — Cock year. It is now the year of Xin — hai.^[82]

Notes

[1] Omniscient. (Clever of universal intelligence) Buddha Monarch " Omniscient " in the Tibetan language is " Tam Gyitsen " and in Sanskrit " Sarvajna " , meaning there is nothing unknown. So it is translated in Qing dynasty books as " Know all " or " Know everything " . It, as well as " Buddha King " , are all titles of Buddhas, and they are usually used as honorific title for the Dalai Lamas and other great Living Buddhas. (*A Tibetan — Chinese Dictionary* , Nationalities Publishing House, Beijing, 1985, pp. 151, 555)

[2] Raojong ; A term referring to the 60 — year cycles in *Sutra of the Time — wheel* , a book on the lunar calendar of the sexagenary cycle (60 — year cycle). In the year 1026, the *Sutra of the Time — wheel* was introduced to Tibet. Jijo, the translator, created a way to number the years on the basis of the book, thus starting the first Raojong with the Fire — Hare in the following year (1027). From that year on, Tibetan years were numbered in this way, which was much more accurate than earlier methods. (The Chinese translation of the Tibetan book entitled *The Origin and Development of Sects of Tuguan* , the Tibetan People's Publishing House, 1984, p. 342)

Shabtu, the area of the upper reaches of the Sharchu river, now in Sakya county of Shigatse region. (*A Concise Edition of Tibetan Place Names* , printed by the Headquarters of the Tibetan Military Area Command, p. 51)

Concerning the date of Gedun Truppa's death, the book gives it as the Water — Dragon year (1472), at the age of 82. According to *The*

Origin of Tibetan Monks (Tibetan People's Publishing House, 1982, p. 1) and other works on the Buddhist calendar, he died in the Wood—Horse year (1474), at the age of 84. It seems the latter is sound. He was one of the two disciples of Tsongkhapa. His reincarnation originated the Living Buddha system of Dalai Lamas. So he was posthumously acknowledged as the first Dalai Lama.

[3] Tashilhunpo monastery: One of the biggest monasteries of the Gelug—pa sect of Buddhism in Ulterior Tibet. It was built in the Fire—Hare year (1447) by Tsongkhapa's disciple, the first Dalai Lama Gedun Truppa, who then stayed in the monastery situated on the outskirts of Shigatse. After the death of Gedun Truppa, nearly a hundred years passed before the Living Buddha Lozang Choskyi Gyaltsen, was welcomed to set his dais in the monastery in the 4th year of Longqing of the Ming dynasty (1570). Since then, the monastery has been a residence for all reincarnations of the Panchen Erdeni with Lozang Choskyi Gyaltsen honoured as the first reincarnation. (*The Origin and Development of the Sect of Tuguan*, pp. 326—328; *The Illustrated History of Tibet*, Tibetan People's Publishing House, 1982, p. 245)

[4] Dorasemey: A place situated in the Dora river valley to the northwest of Shigatse. It now belongs to Xietongmen county of the Shigatse region. (*A Concise Edition of Tibetan Place Names*, p. 75)

[5] Ganden Phodrang: A palace built by the 2nd Dalai Lama in the Drepung monastery. The Dalai was born at Dora Dorjidian of the Ulterior Tibet in the 12th year of (Emperor) Chenghua of the Ming dynasty (1476). He was initiated into monkhood by Panchen Lunrab Gyatso when he was 11 years old. He built the Chokhorgyal monastery and died there at the age of 66, in the 21st year of Jiajing (1542). (*Biographies of Tibetan Lamas*, p. 1; *A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 59)

[6] Tsekar Khangsargong of Tolhung: "Tolhung" is Tolhung Dechen county to the northwest of Lhasa and within the jurisdiction of the city. Tsekar Khangsar was a noble clan. (*Concise Edition of Tibetan Place Names*, p. 1)

[7] Althan Khan: Another translated version for the Mongolian Althan Khan, meaning gold King. He was the chief of the Mongolian Thumed tribe, that camped around the Hetao area (great bend of the Yellow river) with Guihua city as its hub. In the 38th year of (em-

peror) Jiajing (1559) , the tribe moved to Qinghai . In the middle of emperor Longqing 's reign (1573) , Althan Khan was made the Shunyi Prince and began to pay tribute to the emperor . (*Record of the Ming Dynasty* , roll 470 , p. 1 ; *A History of the Ming Dynasty* , Biographies 218) Althan Khan was weary of war in old age . So he took the advice of his nephew , Bosbok Tuchinong of the Ordus tribe , and dispatched an envoy to invite the 2nd Dalai to the Chabhale monastery (the Yanghua Monastery of Qinghai) . The Dalai explained and propagated Buddhism , advising the Mongolian nobles to give up the bad institution of burying the living with the dead . He prohibited the killing of animals , fishing and hunting , and established a supremely benevolent joyous government . The Mongolians gave him the honorific title of " Omniscient Vajra Wielder Dalai Lama " . And the Dalai also granted the Khan and Tejis the title of Guardian of Buddhism and the Doctrine . (*A Religious History of Tibet* , Tibetan People 's Publishing House , 1982 , p. 60)

[8] Dorje Chang : Translated as a Bodhisattva holding a diamond device . In Sanskrit , it is Vajra . In *the History of the Qing Dynasty* , it was also translated as Vajra Wielder . It was an image of Sakyamuni when he was lecturing on tantric Buddhism , and of the esoteric master of the sect . Usually an honorific title for those who have special achievements in practising the tantra doctrine , it is here a title for the Dalai .

[9] Banza Dala : It is another translation of the Sanskrit " Vajra Wielder " .

[10] Yigtsang : An office for handling official documents , or a place for keeping them . Here it means an organ under the former local government of Tibet , called Yigtsang Lekung , in charge of all the affairs of the Dalai and monks and laity . All transfer and promotion formalities for monk officials went through this organ . There were four grand secretary generals (4th rank) and a number of office workers .

[11] About the emperor 's bestowal on Sonam Gyatso : The record of the 6th year (1578) of Wanli , Ming dynasty , says : " The Propagation Prince of Persuasion in U — Tsang , dispatched a monk from Tubo to the west Sea (Qinghai) . The monk witnessed his master the Living Buddha of Tubo expounding Buddhism to Prince Shunyi and his descendants , persuading them to act virtuously . So he asked prince

Shunyi, Althan, to pay some native produce to the emperor as tribute on their behalf, requesting a mandate from the throne." (*Records of the Ming Dynasty*, roll 72, p. 10)

The Living Buddha mentioned above was the 3rd Dalai Sonam Gyatso. The record of the 7th year of Wanli (1579) says: "The monk Sonam is the Living Buddha mentioned by Prince Shunyi Althan, the tribal dependent chief." (*Records of the Ming Dynasty*, roll 84, p. 6) The Ming government's bestowment on Sonam Gyatso was made in the 6th year of Wanli (1578): "His Majesty says: the lama is worthy of my praise for advocating civilization, supporting our dependency, and showing reverence to the throne, hence I grant to him the posts of Dajue Chanshi (an honorific title meaning Buddhist priest with high consciousness) and Dugang and a monk's cap, Kasaya (robe) as well as materials for making garments, tea, coloured satin, sent by an envoy." (*Records of the Ming Dynasty*, roll 72, p. 1) The honorific title Althan Khan gave him, was also approved by the Ming government. The record of the 15th year of Wanli (1587) says: "It was agreed that the monk Dalai (Sonam Gyatso), be granted the title of Duoerzichang' (Vajradhara), with an imperial mandate and book." (*Records of the Ming Dynasty*, roll 191, p. 7) "Duoerzhichang" is the transliteration of the Tibetan word "Dorje Chang".

[12] The Dzungarian Incident: In the 56th year of Kangxi (1717), Dzungar Khan, Caiwang Raptan (written as Cewang Alabutan in Qing books) ordered his general Tsering Dondrup (written as Tsering Dondup in Qing books) to lead his troops to invade Tibet and capture Lhasa.

A Religious History of Tibet says (p. 64) that he encircled the Potala, caught and killed Lhazang Khan, captured the Khan's wife and children, and searched all the monasteries for valuables to carry back to Ili; he put the new Dalai in jail in the Zhakbuli monastery. "The general carried out reckless sabotage of Buddhism. *A History of Tibet* says that he "Destroyed the Yellow sect of Buddhism, plunging the people into the depth of suffering and savagely devastating Tibet." (*A History of Tibet*, Tibetan People's Publishing House, 1982, p. 3) Among all sects, the Nying — ma — pa sect of Buddhism suffered the most serious havoc. According to *The Origin and Development of Sects of*

Tuguan , during that era , " All three monasteries of the Nying — ma — pa sect were destroyed. Such noted Buddhists as the abbot of the Dorje Tsa monastery Padma Trinley , Grand Translator Dharmayupta of Ugyen monastery , Panchen Konchog Chosdrak of Namling Monastery and Padma Gyumey Gyatso (son of Deda Lingpa , master of Hidden Buddhist Texts .) were killed for no reason . Then Tsering Dondrup drove many elders and lamas out of Sera , Drepung and other Ge — lug — pa monasteries or temples on the pretext of rectifying the monasteries . " (*The Origin and Development of the Sects of Tuguan* , p . 97 ; *Biographies of Kalons* , Tibetan People's Publishing House , 1986 , p . 6) In the end , Tsering Dondrup was defeated by Qing troops , " he dared not go back to Tibet but fled to the north by the same way he had come . As the road was very rugged , and they were plagued by cold and hunger , no more than half of the troops returned to Ili . " (*A Religious History of Tibet* , pp . 64 — 65 ; *The Annals of Tibet* , the Tibetan People's Publishing House , 1982 , pp . 348 — 351 ; *Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , the Tibetan People's Publishing House , 1983 , p . 69)

[13] The Chingir family of the Mongolian Seqi — chuk tribe : according to *The Origin of Tibetan Monks* (p . 2) , it must have been the clan of the chief of the Mongolian Alten tribe . But *A Religious history of Tibet* cites it as the family of the " Tugulong Khan of Mongolia" . It is hard to determine which is correct .

[14] Bestowment on the fifth Dalai : *The Origin of Tibetan Monks* notes (p . 2) , " emperor Shenzong of the Ming dynasty issued a special mandate , bestowing seals for governing Buddhism and monastic robes and caps . " The title bestowed was the same as that on earlier Dalais : " Master Vajra Wielder Buddha . " Master is also a title of Buddha , meaning the master of all Buddhas . Vajra Wielder is Dorje Chang in the Tibetan language , i . e . the " Duoerzhichang " in the Ming dynasty books . (see note 11) . The fifth Dalai Lama ascended the throne in 1603 . In 1612 , Tsangpa Khan Phuntsog Namgyal attacked and defeated the Phampo and Neiwu sects of Buddhism , and the Ge — lug — pa sect was suppressed . So the Dalai died in the Drepung monastery in 1616 . It was said that he was murdered by someone dispatched by Tsangpa Khan . At the same time , Tsangpa Khan prohibited the search for the Dalai 's reincarnation . In order to change the situation , Depa

Kyishodpa of the Neiwu Dzung sect, who was a supporter of the Ge—lu—pa sect, sent an envoy to induce the Mongolian Khalkha Khan to dispatch troops to attack Desi Tsangpa. (*On the System of the Integration of Politics and Religion*, Nationalities Publishing House, Tibetan edition, 1981, pp. 92—93; *A History of Buddhism in Tibet*, Publishing House of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1987, p. 178)

[15] The full name of the fifth Dalai; it was shortened in my translation from the Tibetan into Chinese. Unfortunately I do not have the original text in hand now. So I had to check it in accordance with the signature of the Dalai on the postscript of his work *Records of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*. His Buddhist name was Ngawang Lozang Gyatso, Self—Existing Virtue, Sea of Wisdom, Son of Buddhism, Laughing Vajra, Fearless, Armoured Juvenile Army of Buddhism.

[16] Karma Tenkyong Wangpo: Son of Karma Phuntso Namgyal. In the 41st year of Wanli of the Ming dynasty (1613), Karma Phuntso Namgyal conquered Phanpo and Neiwu, overthrew Phagmo Drupa, occupied all Tibet, founded the Tsangsi regime and declared himself to be the Tsangpa Khan. "Karsi" means the Karmapa regime. His son Karma Tenkyong Wangpo inherited the title, but was wiped out by Gushi Khan before long. (*On the System of the Integration of Politics and Religion*, pp. 92—100)

[17] Re Gushi Khan's offering of land: At that time, Gushi Khan offered the Dalai only the revenue from taxes on the land and people, to finance the religious activities of monasteries and temples. He also appointed a Depa as the treasurer for the Dalai Lama, to take care of the villages and land. But the real ruling power was still in the hands of Gushi Khan. Depa means the head and was the title for small feudal lords.

[18] Changzod Sonam Raptan: "Changzod" in Tibetan means a person holding the keys to the treasury. It was translated as "Shang—shang", "Shangzhuoteba" or "Cangchuba" in books of the Qing dynasty. Such a person, usually called the treasurer, was in charge of the property (including land and people) and day—to—day work for a monastery, temple, a living Buddha or a great Lama in the old days. Sonam Raptan held the post for the fifth Dalai Lama. He found the reincarnate soul boy of the fifth Dalai and acted as his guardian, there—

fore he had great power and influence. When the Ge — lug — pa sect of Buddhism was presided over and persecuted by Tsangpa Khan, he secretly dispatched someone to Qinghai in the 10th year of Chongzhen of the Ming dynasty and called in the Mongolian troops of Gushi Khan to join hands with him, defeating Tsangpa Khan. Gushi Khan supported the idea that the fifth Dalai Lama should be the supreme leader of Buddhism, and appointed the Dalai's treasurer Depa to help handle local government affairs. Sonam Rapten was the first Depa, and the organ in charge of government affairs was called Ganden Phodrang. As the local government was a coalition of all the big and small Depas (small feudal lords), it was called Depa Shung which means the government of Depa, and the chief of them was known as Desi meaning the head of Depas. (*On the System of the Integration of Politics and Religion*, pp. 93—103)

[19] The fifth Dalai's trip to Beijing: As early as the time when Tsangpa Khan had been vanquished and the Ge — lug — pa sect had become a powerful political force, and emperor Shunzhi had founded the Qing dynasty in Shengyang, the Dalai and the fourth Panchen Lozang Choskyi Gyaltzen took the advice of Sechen Chogyel, dispatched an envoy to present a letter of greetings and asked for support from the Qing government. (*On the System of the Integration of Politics and Religion*, pp. 101—102) *Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* notes that in the 7th year of Chongde (1642), "the Dalai Lama of Tibet dispatched Ireguksan Hutuktu and Dai — ching Dorje of the Oelut Mongol tribe to Shengjing (Shengyang). . . respectfully presented the Dalai's letter on a yellow Pulu (a kind of woolen material), and emperor Taizong stood up and received it. " In the 3rd year of Shunzhi (1646), the Dalai Lama and Oelut Gushi Khan paid tribute to the emperor. " They subsequently gave tribute several times, and the Qing Court dispatched an envoy, carrying an imperial mandate and gifts, to summon the Dalai Lama to Beijing. In the 9th year of Shunzhi (1652), "the Dalai Lama arrived on the Kuichou day of the 12th month, had an audience with the emperor at Nanyuan, and was granted a seat and banquet. All the horses and native produce presented by the Dalai were accepted. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, pp. 1—4; *A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 61)

[20] The seal bestowed on the fifth Dalai ; The story was also recorded in detail in Qing documents ; In the 10th year of Shunzhi (1653), " before the Dalai Lama left for home , the emperor granted a banquet at the Hall of Supreme Harmony , and offered him gold and silver , pearls and jade , silk and satin , saddles and horses , etc. The Dalai bid farewell , and the emperor ordered Chengze Prince Shuosei , together with Beizi Gurmahang and Wu Dahai to lead officers and men of the Eight Banners to escort him to Taik . " And in the 4th month , the emperor " dispatched minister of rites Locu Langchu and Deputy minister of tribal affairs Xi Dali to send the Golden Book and Gold seal to Taik , bestowing on the Dalai the title of Omniscient Vajra Wielder Dalai Lama , Overseer of the Buddhist Faith on the Earth under the Great Benevolent Self —subsisting Buddha of West Paradise . " (*The Veritable Records of the Qing Emperor Shizu* , roll 74 , p. 18 ; *Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , p. 5 ; *A History of Buddhism and Its Sects in Tibet* . p. 62) " overseer of the Buddhist Faith on Earth " were recorded in *Biographies of Tibetan Lamas* as " Governing Buddhism under Heaven , " and " Omniscient " as " knowall " . As for the gold seal , *A History of Buddhism and Its Sects in Tibet* notes : " Bestowed a gold seal , in Manchu , Mongolian , Han and ancient Tang characters . " The golden book was also written in the four languages , like the inscription of the seal. (*Biographies of Tibetan Lamas* , pp. 2—3)

[21] Lhasa Lhazang ; the Palace is at the side of the Jokhang . It was the Bedchamber of the fifth Dalai .

[22] The era of red and black seals ; In the 10th year of Shunzhi (1653), the Qing emperor granted the Dalai Lama the supreme position in the religion , bestowing a gold book and a gold seal on him . And in the same year , the emperor conferred on the Gushi Khan of the Oelut Mongol tribe the title of " Righteous and Wise Gushi Khan " , also awarding to him a gold book and a gold seal . That showed the Qing government acknowledged both the local force headed by the Dalai Lama and the reality of the Gushi Khan's power in Tibet. (*The Veritable Records of the Qing Emperor Shizu* , roll 74 , p. 19)

[23] The Dalai took over the reins of government ; After the death of Gushi Khan , his sons scrambled for power , leaving the position vacant for three years . The absence of a Khan made it impossible to ap-

point a Depa . Therefore , the Dalai had to handle the administration himself. But not long afterwards, he appointed Trinley Gyatso as Desi. (*A History of Buddhism in Tibet* , p. 188)

[24] Drungmedpa Trinley Gyatso ; Drungmedpa , also called Lower Drungyig , is not far from Yepa to the northeast of Lhasa , and is a district of Dazi county . Trinley Gyatso was an attendant of the Dalai Lama . Not long after he took over the administration , the Dalai appointed him the 2nd Desi . He and Tenzin Dorje Dayan Khan died at about the same time in 1668 . Since he was in office for nine years , it is estimated that he assumed the position in 1660 . (*A History of Buddhism in Tibet* , pp. 188 — 189) The death of Dayan Khan left his position empty and made it impossible to appoint a new Desi . The Dalai had to take up the administration once again . Later , Chodpon Lozang Thuthop was appointed the 3rd Desi . When the younger brother of Tenjin Dorje Dayan Khan , Gonchug Dalai Khan , inherited the Mongolian Khanate , he could not but accept the fait accompli . The document says that Lozang Thuthop violated Buddhist discipline by secretly keeping a wife . The Dalai told him to leave his wife , but he refused to do so and had to resign in 1675 . (*A History of Buddhism in Tibet* , p. 189)

[25] Lozang Jimpa ; Before him , Sangye Gyatso , nephew of Trinley Gyatso , was appointed Desi , but he declined the post due to youth and lack of social experience . Therefore , Lozang Jimpa became the 4th Desi . (*Theses on the History of Dzungarian* , Nationalities Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences , 1981 , p. 464)

[26] Sangye Gyatso ; He was also called Desi Sangye Gyatso , or Depa Sangye Gyatso in the official documents of the Qing government . Lozang Jimpa resigned in 1679 and Sangye Gyatso succeeded him as Desi . In 1682 , the fifth Dalai died , but this fact was kept a secret by the Desi . The Desi usurped political and religious power for as long as 15 years . It was only when he was severely rebuked by emperor Kangxi of the Qing dynasty that he welcomed the Sixth Dalai Tsangyang Gyatso back to be enthroned , while retaining the post of Desi for himself . He was killed by Lhazang Khan in 1705 . (*A Religious History of Tibet* , pp. 62 — 63 ; *On the System of the Integration of Politics and Religion* , p. 114)

[27] Ganden Tsewang ; He was a son of Dzungarian Khan Baatur Khungteji , and studied Buddhist sutras in Tibet . In 1680 , a war broke

out between Tibet and Ladakh. According to the *Chronicles of Ladakh*, the conflict was caused by a lama of the Ka — gyu — pa, who was the political and religious chief of Bhutan. In order to revenge the expansion of the Ge — lug — pa sect of Buddhism, he asked Ladakh for support, touching off hostilities between Ladakh and Tibet in 1681. Tibet dispatched a Mongolian — Tibetan allied army under the command of Ganden Tsewang, with Mongolian cavalry as the mainstay. After several victories, the allied forces conquered the city of Leh and reached Basgo. Ladakh gained reinforcements from the Moghul empire and frustrated the allied troops, hence, the armistice. (*A History of Ladakh*, excerpts translated by Li Youyi, typescript, pp. 31 — 32)

[28] The Red Palace of the Potala : According to a legend, the Palace was first built by Srongtsan Gampo, but the original building was destroyed long ago by fires and wars. When the fifth Dalai assumed power, the Ganden Phodrang of the Drepung monastery, where he stayed, became his interim administration office. In 1645, he ordered Sonam Raptan Depa to take charge of the building of the White Palace of Potala, and in 1652, the Dalai Lama moved his office from the Drepung monastery to the Potala. In 1690, Sangye Gyatso Desi began the construction of the Red Palace, where a gold pagoda was built to keep the remains of the fifth Dalai Lama. (*The Illustrated History of Tibet*, pp. 149, 244)

[29] The sixth Dalai Tsangyang Gyatso : After the fifth Dalai Lama died in 1682, Sangye Gyatso kept the fact a secret while sending his men to secretly search for the reincarnation of the Dalai. In 1685, he found the reincarnated infant at Lawo Yusum of Monyul. In 1688, he took the child to Lhatse and selected canon teachers to educate the boy. In 1697, Tsangyang Gyatso was enthroned in the Potala as the sixth Dalai, and invited Panchen Lozang Yeshe to initiate him into the Buddhist priesthood. Lhazang Khan did not like the new Dalai, Sangye Gyatso was on bad terms with him, and was forced to resign in 1703. Ngawang Rinchen replaced him as the Desi. But Sangye Gyatso was still pulling the strings behind the scenes. not long afterwards, the new Desi disappeared, and Lhazang Khan presented a memorial to the emperor, requesting that Tsangyang Gyatso be deposed. The Qing government was afraid that Tsangyang Gyatso might cause disputes if he continued

to stay in Tibet, therefore called on him to go to Beijing. He died on his way to Beijing in Qinghai, at the age of 25, in the 46th year of Kangxi, or the Ding — hai year (1707). (*A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 63; *A Brief History of the Tibetan Nationality*, Tibetan People's Publishing House, 1986, pp. 201, 202.)

[30] Lhazang Khan : Son of Mongolian Dalai Khan and great grand son of Gushi Khan. He murdered his elder brother Wandrala, and inherited the title of Dalai Baatur Khungteji, administering Ulterior Tibet. He was in bad terms with Sangye Gyatso, because he opposed the latter installing the Dalai. " Thinking that Lhazang Khan would sooner or later do him harm, Sangye plotted to poison him, but in vain. Then he called out troops, trying to drive him away. Lhazang Khan went to Qinghai, assembled his men, attacked and killed Sangye. " In 1706, the Qing government issued an imperial mandate, bestowing on him the title of " Obedient Lhazang Khan" . " Lhazang Khan presented a memorial to the emperor, requesting the deposition of the sixth Dalai put up by Sangye. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* p. 63; " *A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 63) Prior to this, when Sangye Gyatso Desi resigned in 1703, Lhazang Khan held the reins of Tibet in his own hands. He killed Sangye Gyatso in 1705, banished the sixth Dalai Tsangyang Gyatso, and put up Yeshe Gyatso as the sixth Dalai. He was murdered in 1717 by Tsering Dondrup, a general of the Dzungar ruler Tsewang Rapten. (*A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 64) As for the seals, the annals note : Sangye kept the death of the fifth Dalai a secret. Everything was done by issuing orders in the name of the Dalai. He also paid tributes to the emperor in the Dalai's name, requesting a mandate bestowing an honorific title and official seals on Sangye. He said in another memorial to the emperor that he would like to hand in the jade seal and request a gold one. The emperor agreed. But the inscriptions were not recorded. (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, p. 32; *A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 63)

[31] Pakarzinpa Yeshe Gyatso : Lhazang Khan deposed Tsangyang Gyatso supported by Sangye Desi, and put up Yeshe Gyatso as the sixth Dalai. Yeshe Gyatso was said to be the son of Lhazang Khan. Pakarzinpa is the title for the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara the Lotus — holder. Here, it is an honorific title for Yeshe Gyatso, mean-

ing that he was the incarnation of Avalokitesvara. He learned medicine in the Chakpori (medical college) in his youth , so he was called Monpa lama (a lama doctor) , or Bokta Hubihan as in the *Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* . Lhazang Khan put up him as the Ostensible sixth Dalai , and requested a title from the emperor. The Qing emperor bestowed a book and official seal , which " the Mongolians in Qinghai thought false and did not trust. " In 1717, Tsewang Rapten of the Mongolian Dzungar tribe entered Tibet with his army , killed Lhazang Khan , deposed Yeshe Gyatso and put him in jail at the foot of Mount Chakpori. It was said that he was later sent to Mount Wutai and died there. (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 63 — 64 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , pp. 63 — 64)

[32] Bitieshi ; The Manchu title of an official in charge of translation . All the ministries and departments of the Qing government had such official posts , which were usually held by bannermen. (*Cihai* , the Zhonghua Book Company of Shanghai , the 37th year of the Republic of China , p. 101)

[33] Arrogated all powers to himself ; Here it does not mean that Lhazang Khan could make decision entirely by himself. Because many people opposed his decision to put up Yeshe Gyatso as the sixth Dalai , the Qing government , for fear of disturbances , decided that " Tibetan affairs should not be handled completely by the Lhazang Khan himself and an official should be dispatched to assist him. " So , vice — minister Heshow was sent to Tibet in 1709. (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , p. 64 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 64)

[34] Dzungar Khungteji ; Who was Dzungar Khan Tsewang Rapten. Harbours the ambition to invade Tibet , he tried to make friends with Lhazang Khan by " marrying Lhazang Khan's elder sister , taking Lhazang Khan's son Tenzin (Ganden Tenzin) as a son — in — law and keeping him in Ili , not allowing him to go back to Tibet. Being old and addicted to drink , Lhazang Khan neglected to take precautions against his own relatives. In the 10th month of the 55th year (of Kangxi) , Tsewang Rapten dispatched Teji general Tsering Dondup to escort Tenzin and his wife back to Tibet with six thousand well — trained troops. The army marched round the Gobi desert , crossed the Hetian snow mountains in the south , headed directly for the Thangerrilner of Tibet ,

and defeated the Tangut forces. " The Dzungar military were later driven out of Tibet by the Qing army. (*A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 64)

[35] Taktse Lhagyal Rapten ; His other names were Taktse Shabdrung and Kyishod Katampa . When the Dzungar troops attacked Tibet , he surrendered and made it possible for them to conquer Lhasa without any fighting. He was then appointed by Dzungaria as the Desi , head of the local government. When Dzungaris was defeated by Qing troops , he was executed by the Qing government in 1720 for helping the rebels. (*The Annals of Tibet* , pp. 349 — 350 ; *The Illustrated History of Tibet* , p. 212)

[36] The seventh Dalai Kelzang Gyatso ; " Reincarnated at Litang in the 47th year of Kangxi. " When Lhazang Khan deposed the sixth Dalai Tsangyang Gyatso and put up Yeshe Gyatso as the sixth Dalai , all the high ranking lamas of Tibet and the Mongolian Princes and Dukes in Qinghai opposed the decision. So they began to search secretly for the Dalai 's reincarnation and found Kelsang Gyatso at Litang , who , being confirmed as the reincarnation , was escorted to Qinghai. A memorial on this was presented to the emperor. Afraid that this might cause trouble , the Qing government " issued an imperial edict , ordering Lobszang Kelzang Gyatso to stay for the time being in the Hongshan monastery in Xining. And not long afterwards he was moved to the Kumbum monastery. " (*A Religious History of Tibet* , pp. 63 — 64) After the Qing government put down the Dzungar rebellion , " the Dalai was escorted to the Potala to be enthroned ; he was granted the title of Dalai Lama , Leader of the Creatures , Diffuser of Teachings ' , and bestowed a small gold book and a gold seal. " (*The Illustrated History of Tibet* , p. 190 ; *Qing Records of Tibetan Affairs* , p. 78 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 64) In 1728 , " Tsewang Rapten died , and his son Gardan Tsering ascended the throne (of Dzungar Khan). He asked for permission to go to Tibet to brew tea , claiming that he was willing to send back the two sons of Lhazang Khan who were taken prisoner by Dzungaria. Moreover imperial edict instructed the troops to stand in combat readiness. " (*A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 65) That showed the Qing government had seen through the fraud ; by declaring its willingness to send back Lhazang Khan 's sons , Dzungaria was playing the same old trick of Tsering Dondup who claimed , before attacking Tibet , that he was dis-

patching Ganden Tenzin and his daughter back to Tibet. The real aim of Dzungaria was to kidnap the Dalai Lama. (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, pp. 116—117). That was why " the Dalai was moved to Huiguanmiao of Lihang. In the 8th year (of Yongzheng) (1730), the Dalai was relocated to Taining, and was guarded by a thousand troops. " (*A History of Buddhism and Its Sects in Tibet*, p. 65) In the 12th year of Yongzheng (1734), " Dzungaria sued for peace. The emperor ordered prince Guo and Changkya Hutuktu to go to Sichuan and escorted the Dalai from Taining to Tibet, and decreased the number of troops stationed in Tibet by three quarters. " (*A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 65) The 7th Dalai died at the Potala Palace on the 3rd of the 2nd month of the 22nd year (of Qianlong), the Fire — Ox year (1757), at the age of 50. (*Biographies of Tibetan Lamas*, p. 3)

[37] Emperor's son, princely general; He was the 14th son of emperor Kangxi, named Yunti. He was granted the title of Fuyuan general, commanding the six armies stationed in Xining. (*The Annals of Tibet*, p. 348)

[38] General Daiching, etc. : general Daiching was Khanchennas, son — in — law of Lhazang Khan and was in charge of Lhazang Khan's documents. In 1715, Lhazang Khan assigned him as Garpon of Ngari, and asked the emperor to bestow the title Daiching Batur on him. Chahandanzin was a Mongolian prince of Qinghai. Tsewang Norbu was the Guardian Duke of the nation from Sanyinnoryan tribe of Khalkha. Prince Dondup was the Khan of Khalkha Tushetu tribe, promoted to prince of the Qosot Mongols in Qinghai, who is recorded in Qing documents as Lozang Tenzin. Abobeile was the chief of Qosot Mongols of Alashan. All of them, except general Daiching, were princes and dukes of Mongolia and Qinghai responsible for escorting the seventh Dalai back to Tibet. Ngabo Dorje Gyalpo, who is recorded as Ngabopa in Qing documents, was from Kongpu. He was once a Kalon. When Dzungaria invaded Tibet, he was successful in defeating the Kongpu pass, thus he was granted the title of Beise (prince), commanding the troops in the area of Kongpu. Lumpanas, recorded as Longponai in Qing documents, named Tashi Gyalpo, was from Ulterior Tibet. He was formerly a Kalon. He and Jarana went to Murvssa to lead the Qing troops to fight Tsering Dondup, and therefore he

was honoured as a duke commanding the northeast forces, Jarana was recorded in the history of Tibet as Jiarewa. His own name was Lordru Gyalpo (*A History of Tibet*, p. 4; *Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, p. 85; *A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 64; *On the System of the Integration of Politics and Religion*, p. 119) In 1720 when Depa Datsepa was suppressed, the local government was left without a governor for a time. According to this article, the government was taken care by the afore-mentioned for a year. *A Religious History of Tibet* merely carried the following records: " Tsewang Norbu was ordered to take charge of the defence of Tibet, with Efuabo and Lieutenant general Wuge as chiefs of staff," and so on. (*A Religious History of Tibet*, pp. 64—65) *Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* notes that Mongols and Chahar troops were among the reinforcements during the battles against Dzungaria. (pp. 84—85)

[39] Administrative Council of Ministers: Beginning from 1721, " The old minister of Lhazang, Depa Khangchennas, Ngabopa Beise, Duke Lumpana and Jarana were appointed Kalons, administering the affairs of Anterior Tibet, and Pholhanas Teji was ordered to administer Ulterior Tibet. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, p. 65) The system under which Depa held all powers was abolished and an office (Kashag) was set up in the Jokhang for the five ministers to meet and handle all matters of Tibet. (*The Veritable Records of the Qing Emperor Shizu*, roll 17, p. 18; *A History of Tibet*, pp. 3—4)

[40] Pholhanas. His original name was Sonam Dorje, but was called Pholhanas in documents of the Qing dynasty. Since his fief was at Pholha of Ulterior Tibet. He was the Drung Yig of Lhazang Khan. When Dzungaria invaded Tibet, he commanded an army to fight against the enemy. Although taken prisoner, he did not surrender to the foe, hence was made senior Kalon in charge of all affairs of the Dalai Lama and Tibetan local government. In the 3rd year of Yongzheng (1725), he was granted the title of Jasak Teji, in charge of Ulterior Tibet. Therefore he was also known as Pholha Teji. He rendered meritorious service in putting down the Altubbar rebellion in the 6th year of Yongzheng (1728) and the emperor deemed Pholhanas as Beise, administering the whole of Tibet. He was bestowed the title of " Duoluo Beile " in the 9th year of Yongzheng and promoted to 2nd class prince

Duoluo in the 13th year of Yongzheng (1735). Tibetan people called him Benbu Miwang. Benbu means an official, and Miwang means King of the people. An official seal bestowed on him in the 9th year of Yongzheng carried the inscription : " The Seal of Ming Wang (Miwang) Duoluo Beili " (*A History of Tibet* , p. 36) The murder of Khangchennas happened in the 5th year of Youngzheng (1727). He was killed by the four Kalons — — — Ngabopa , Lumpanas , Duoluo Beile and Jarana , because they were jealous of his power. When Tibetan people reported the incident, the Qing government dispatched Jalanga , imperial co — prosecutor in command of troops on a punitive expedition. With the help of soldiers from the Ulterior and Ngari led by Phohanas Teji , the expeditionary forces took Lhasa , captured Ngabopa and other chief rebels , and executed them at the market place by dismembering their bodies. Their sons were also slain. " Peace was restored in Tibet , and Pholhanas was granted the title of Beise by an imperial mandate , and was ordered to be the general administrator of Tibet. " The father of the 7th Dalai also joined in the plotting to murder Khangchennas , so " another decision was made to move the Dalai to Lithang with a view to preventing any disputes. " (*A History of Tibet* , pp. 4 — 5 ; *Records of Qing Dynasty Shizong* , roll 52 , p. 29 ; *The Annals of Tibet* , pp. 351 — 352 ; *The Illustrated History of Tibet* , pp. 231 — 233 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 65) At the same time , the fifth Panchen Lozang Yeshe was called to Lhasa to help handle the Yellow sect of Buddhism. (*A History of Buddhism in Tibet* , p. 200) In August , 1728 , Dzungaria once again declared willingness to send Surdra back to Tibet. For fear of being kidnapped , " the Dalai was again moved to Garthar city (Taining) , staying in the Huiyuan temple. " (*The Annals of Tibet* , p. 352 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 65) Deputy Lieutenant general Mala and cabinet counselor Zeng Ge were assigned as Ambans. (*The Annals of Tibet* , pp. 352 — 353 ; *Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 113 — 114) Note : According to *The Annals of Tibet* , the seventh Dalai returned to Tibet from Taining in the 13th year of Yongzheng (1735) ; and the execution of Ngabopa and others should have been taken place in the 5th year of Yongzheng (1728) , or the Earth — Monkey year , but this article says it was in the Iron — Monkey year (1740) , which may be wrong.

[41] The official seal of Pholhanas : *A History of Tibet* notes : "

Before Pholhanas was granted the seal, all documents were pressed with small red seals. Those for Tibetan use the Tangut — word seal, and those for the Mongols the Mongolian seal. When a document was issued, all the people had to observe it. The officials below Kalons used black seals. After an official seal was granted Pholhanas in the 9th year of Yongzheng, the officials began to comprehend the use of an official seal, but still did not use one usually. All documents and letters were pressed with a small seal inscribed with the Chinese characters: " the Seal of Miwang Duoluo Beile" . (*A History of Tibet*, p. 36)

[42] Gyumey Namgyal: " 2nd class prince Pholhanas died of illness " in 1747, and Amban Fu Qing presented a memorial to the throne, saying that the eldest son of Pholhanas (who was initially granted the title of Fuquo Duke, and then promoted to Zhenguo Duke) was disable, and requesting that his second son should be allowed to inherit the title of 2nd class prince instead of the eldest son. (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, pp. 134, 141; *A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 66)

[43] Gyumey rebellion: " Before his armed rebellion, Gyumey thought that the Ambans were an obstacle to him, so he first of all requested the emperor to withdraw the troops stationed in Tibet, secretly wrote to Dzungaria asking for external assistance, and then attacked and killed his elder brother Gyumey Tseten. He assembled 2,000 rebel militia by spreading a rumor that Dzungar forces would soon appear. Fu Qing, lieutenant general to Tibet and imperial co — prosecutor Labdon learned that he was plotting an armed rebellion, but had no soldiers for a first strike. So they managed to lure him to the monastery, slew him in an upstairs room. Soon after this, they were murdered by the rebels. " (*A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 16) La Daren was Labdon and Fu Daren was Fu Qing. Chongserkhang was beside Jokhang in Lhasa, which was written as Tongsigang in the *Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*.

[44] Doring Pandita: Named Bandita in Qing dynasty documents, he was a member of the Khangchennas family and a Kalon when Pholhanas was in power. His original name was Langgye Tseten. After Gyumey was killed, the emperor instructed on a report: " The Dalai requested to assign Bandita as the 2nd class prince, saying that this was

only an expedient measure , for the Tibetan people could not do without a leader even for a day . If this is agreed , I am not sure if he will make trouble in a few years time . My idea is to take the majority suggestion and decentralize his power by some other arrangements . " As a result , the Qing government gave him an imperial mandate only , not granted him an official seal , nor the title of Desi , holding suspicious about him . The emperor instructed the council ministers : " Although Fu Qing and others have promised Bandita he would be the king of Tibet , I do not know if Bandita had heard of the news when they began to deal with Gyumey Namgyal . If he had known of it , he must have certain agreements (with Gyumey) before hand . If he had commanded the masses in helping and supporting the Ambans , Dronyer Lobzang Tashi (Gyumey 's subordinate) could not have been so reckless . In fact , he did not go to help the Ambans , but ran to the place of Dalai Lama , thinking if FuQing and others could kill Gyumey Namgyal , a great danger to his position would be done away with and his position as Tibetan monarch would be guaranteed . And if the Ambans were not successful , he could happily ease out of trouble without arousing suspicion . Is there anyone who is more cunning than this man who is betraying the imperial officials and effortlessly reaping the spoils of their fight with Gyumey . If he is made Tibetan potentate , even if he obedient as Pholhanas , we are not sure of his sons or grandsons . He is no less worrisome than Gyumey Namgyal . " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , p . 169) Therefore the Qing government considered action to divert some power from the Desi Kalon , and strengthen the clout of the Ambans . It said : " All affairs of the Kalon have much to do with power . Only when administrative power is in the hands of the Ambans , can everything be put in order . For example , message communications were blocked by a word of Gyumey Namgyal , but put through by a word of Bandita ; all communiques are fulfilled solely at the orders of the Tibetan king , while the Ambans cannot manage it . In this case , what is the use even if ten thousands troops are deployed there ? " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , p . 170)

[45] The setting up of four Kalons : As of 1751 , after the crushing of the Gyumey rebellion , " the Khan was abolished , and power was divided among four Kalons under the Dalai Lama . A further 1 ,500

troops were dispatched to defend Tibet under the command of the Ambans. " (*A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 66) It was announced , " abolish the position of Tibetan Prince. All matters have to be decided by the Ambans together with the Dalai Lama. " (*The Annals of Tibet* , p. 355) Then the system of Desi was abolished , four Kalons were set up , and the rules for the post — rebellion Tibet and detailed regulations for day — to — day work were worked out. (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 179 — 180) An office was set up in the Jokhang monastery as a meeting place of the Kalons , and called Kashag in the Tibetan language.

[46] The seals of the 7th Dalai ; *The Illustrated History of Tibet* notes ; " The 7th Dalai was born in the 47th year of Kangxi , or the Earth — Mouse year (1708). The Dalai Lama had a gold seal and a jade seal. The gold seal carries the inscription ; " The Seal Granted by Imperial Edict of Vajra Wielder Dalai Lama , Overseer of the Buddhist Faith on the Earth under the Great Benevolent Self — subsisting Buddha of West Paradise. " The jade one has the same engraving , but it is called a treasure , not a seal. There were also gold and small books. The jade book is only a little over one inch in length and four inches in width. Each page is about two tenths of an inch thick , bordered by dragon designs. The front cover is inscribed with ; " Jade Book by Imperial Edict on the Dalai Lama , " written in four languages ; Chinese , Tangut , Mongolian and official Manchu writing. If you read from the right , their order is precisely the other way round. It has a total of 15 pages , unfastened. The gold book is about the same size , in 15 pages but fastened. They are just like books , set on red sandalwood seats. " (*The Illustrated History of Tibet* , p. 191)

[47] Dazang (Greater Tibet) ; Tibet ans been called Bo or Greater Bo. Bo refers to the four wings of U and Tsang , while Greater Bo , or the Greater Tibet , includes the Ngari Korsum and the six Gangs of Dokhams.

[48] The setting up of Kadrung , etc. ; Kadrung was a lay official under Kalon . Dronyer was a protocol official . And Senga was an entrance guard or receiver of visitors.

[49] Kalons in power ; After the death of the seventh Dalai Lama , the Kalons began to act on the Dalai's behalf . Upon hearing the report ,

the Qing government was afraid that the Kalons might abuse their power, and therefore granted the sixth Demo Living Buddha Ngawang Jampel Dele Gyatso the title of Normen Khan, and ordered him to take interim charge of Tibetan government and religious affairs. At the same time, imperial ministers were instructed to " Consult with Demo Hutuktu and handle everything in accordance with the rules of the late Dalai, and try to prevent the Kalons from abusing power to make trouble. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, p. 187) The appointment of a Demo might have begun with a recommendation from the lower rank and was then approved by the emperor. The Demo held the regentship for many years until the next Dalai took over the reins of the government. From that time on, a precedent was set for a living Buddha to hold the regentship. About the use of seals, the Qing dynasty stipulated that the Kalons were to conduct day —to —day administrative work, while important matters such as presenting memorial to the throne and urgent matters relating to posts must be handled by consulting the Dalai Lama and the Ambans, and affixed with the official seals of the Dalai Lama and the imperial ministers. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, p. 179)

[50] The eighth Dalai Jampel Gyatso : He was enthroned in the Potala in the 27th year of Qianlong (1762), and was granted a gold book imperial mandate in 1781 and a jade seal and book in 1784. In 1789, the Gurkhas attacked Tibet, and the Ambans Baotai and Yamantai reported to the emperor, requesting a move of the Dalai and Panchen to Xining for refuge. But an imperial edict severely criticized and stopped them. Fukanggan and his forces returned in triumph, new rules were devised for Tibet; the Ambans were on an equal position with the Dalai and Panchen, and all officials under Kalon were to be selected and appointed by the Ambans. The Tibetan troops of Anterior and Ulterior Tibet were commanded and trained by the Youji and Dusi (Major) under the Ambans. The war with the Gurkhas was touched off by a dispute over deciding on a reincarnation of the great Living Buddha by the Chosgyong Deity. So the Qing government decreed a gold Benba Vase be put on the Altar of Jokhang. Whenever disputes over reported reincarnations arose, lots would be put into the vase and drawn in front of the statue of Buddha. (*A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 67) In the 9th

year of Jiaqing (1804), the Dalai fell ill. (The Qing Government) ordered Wen Bi , deputy commander of Chengdu , to go and see the Dalai together with a doctor. Before they could reach Tibet , the Dalai had died on the 18th day of the 10th month in the Potala , at the age of 47. " (*Biographies of Tibetan Lamas* , p. 3 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , pp. 66 — 67)

[51] Demo Living Buddha ; He was also called Tengyeling Living Buddha , because his original residence was in the Tengyeling monastery in Lhasa. His own name was Jamyang Tenpa , and he was the sixth Demo Living Buddha. His ancestral monastery was Demo of Kongpu , which is in present Linzi county . After the death of the seventh Dalai (1757) , " The emperor ordered him to take charge of Tibetan affairs " and granted him the title of Normen Khan . In the 43rd year of Qianlong (1778) the monastery for him was completed and was named Guangfa monastery by the emperor , or Tengyeling in the Tibetan language . The emperor also gave his disciple Jamyang Tenpa the title of Jasak Lama and an official seal. He died at the age of 55 after holding the regentship for 20 years. (*A Religious history of Tibet* , p. 78) He was the first from the Tengyeling Living Buddha line to hold the post of regent.

[52] Ngawang Tsultrim ; his official residence was a monastery to the west of Jokhang , called Tsemonling . So he was known as Tsemonling Living Buddha , while his own name was Ngawang Tsultrim. He was referred to as Samati Paksi in Qing documents , once the Ganden Tripa and was granted the title of Gandin Shrathu Normen Khan . In the 42nd year of Qianlong (1777) , Demo Living Buddha Jampel Delek Gyatsodied , and " Erdeni Normen Khan of the Yung Ho temple , Ngawang Tsultrim , was ordered to return to Tibet to take care of the office and seals of Demo Hutuktu . " In the 48th year of Qianlong , his private monastery was built to the west of Jokhang. The emperor named it Shouning or Zhushou monastery . It was dubbed Tsemonling in the Tibetan language . Ngawang Tsultrim held the regentship for 14 years and died in the 56th year of Qianlong (1791). He was the first from the Tsemonling Living Buddha line to hold the regentship. (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 196 , 197 , 204 , 248 , 378)

[53] Jangkya Living Buddha ; Jangkya was the Living Buddha of

Younging monastery of Qinghai. It is the name of a place between the autonomous district of the Tu ethnic group and Datong Huzhu county of Qinghai. The first in this Living Buddha line was invited to Beijing and was granted the title of Grand State Tutor by emperor Kangxi. Then he built a monastery at Dolannur, Inner Mongolia. From that time on, his reincarnations were the masters of the monastery. Jangkya, named Rul — pari — rdo — rje, was the second Living Buddha, who was born in the 56th year of Kangxi (1717). In the 3rd year of Yongzheng, the emperor granted him the honour of residence in the Yung Ho temple. He was also honoured as the Grand State Tutor during emperor Qianlong's reign, and died in the 51st year of Qianlong (1786). "Leaving the post," really means his death. (*The Origin and Development of Sects of Tuguan*, p. 443; *Draft Blue Annals of Mongolian with Translation and Annotations*, the Institute of Education of the Northwest Nationalities College, 1980, p. 78)

[54] Specially assigned M Khan — po; We have not yet found out who he was. " Jiakang " was the office of the Ambans.

[55] Khrichen Erdeni; " Khrichen " was grand Tripa or Ganden Tripa. Here it refers to Tsemonling Ngawang Tsultrim, who was transferred from the Yung Ho temple of Beijing to Tibet to take over the office of the late Demo in 1777. In 1786, the second Jangkya Living Buddha died, and Ngawang Tsultrim was called back to the Yung Ho temple. Not long afterwards, he was again dispatched to Tibet to assist the Dalai Lama. He died of illness in Tibet in 1791. (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, p. 248)

[56] Taktra Jetsun; He was a Kundeling Living Buddha. Kundeling was Taktra's private monastery. Taktra (in Tibetan language) was written as Dashi in Qing documents. He was the 8th Kundeling Living Buddha holding the regentship. His own name was Thubten Gonpo. " In the 56th year of Qianlong (1791), Ganden Tripa Samati Paksi died, and Jilong Hutuktu was ordered to go back to Tibet to help the Dalai to handle local government affairs. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* pp. 248 — 249) The Taktra Living Buddha was also called the Jetsun Living Buddha. Jetsun was an honorific title for those from a monarchical or noble family who became a monk or Lama, and in documents of the Qing dynasty, it was translated

as Jilong. The Living Buddha before him was Palden Gyaltzen , who had been " summoned to Beijing and granted the silver seal of Hutuktu and a yellow reins. His younger brother Ngawang Norbu was given the title of Jasak lama. " This Kundeling Living Buddha was also called to Beijing and awarded the title of Seal — keeping Lama . Not long afterwards , he was ordered to return Tibet to assume control of government affairs and granted another title of Biletu Normen Khan. " (*A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 77) In the first year of Jiaqing (1796) , the Living Buddha 's private monastery was built , and the emperor named it Yongan temple , or Kundeling in the Tibetan language. It is located to the south of Lhasa. He was the first Kundeling Living Buddha to hold the regentship , and he died at the age of 51. (*A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 77)

[57] Gurkha invasion ; In the 54th year of Qianlong (1879) , Gurkhas intruded into Tibet , and the emperor ordered Chengdu general Ehui to lead his troops to hit back at the invaders. Imperial bodyguard Pa Tsung and district commander Cheng De were staff officers. Soon afterwards , an armistice was negotiated. But another large — scale invasion occurred in the following year . The emperor ordered general Fukanggen and chief of staff Hailancha command the Solong Mongol troops to fight the aggressors , winning a series of victories. . . and the invaders begged to surrender . Kukanggen returned to Lhasa victoriously and worked out a 29 — article regulation. (*A Religious History of Tibet* , pp. 66 , 67) The Gurkha inroad was caused by disputes over border trade , and then the conflict aggravated by the Karmapa Red Hat Living Buddha who colluded with the outsiders. The Red Hat Living Buddha was referred as " Shamarpa " in Qing documents. (*The Annals of Tibet* , pp. 355 — 395 ; *Highlights of Tibetan History* , pp. 226 — 228) The grand secretary Fu was Fukanggen , whose former title was assistant secretary of grand council , first class Jiayong Duke. He was granted the title of grand general in the 57th year of Qianlong. (*The Annals of Tibet* , p. 372)

[58] The honorific title of Taktia ; The entry about the eighth Jetsun Living Buddha in *A Religious History of Tibet* says ; " (he was) summoned to Beijing and granted the title of Seal — keeping Lama. Not long afterwards , he was ordered back to Tibet to take charge of govern-

ment affairs and granted another title of Biletu Normen Khan. " But the title did not include characters such as " Samati Paksi" . (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of Qing Dynasty* , p. 249 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 77)

[59] The ninth Dalai Lungtok Gyatso ; He was born at Danko of Chunko in the 10th year of Jiaqing (1805). " A special imperial mandate grants him the title of Kublai Khan and says that he is not subject to lot drawing from the gold vase. He was welcomed to the Potala to be enthroned in the 13th year of Jiaqing ; " was " allowed to use the gold seal of his predecessors ; " and " an imperial edict ordered minister Wen Gan , Vice — general — commander Su Chake , Jangkya Hutuktu and others to go to Tibet to handle affairs. " In the 18th year of Jiaqing (1813) , the Dalai was initiated into the Buddhist priesthood by Pan-chen , and died in the 20th year of Jiaqing (1815) when he was only 11 years old. (*Biographies of Tibetan Lamas* , p. 4 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 67)

[60] Demo Living Buddha assumed regentship ; He was the seventh Demo Living Buddha and the second from the Demo line to hold the position. His own name was Thubten Jigmey Gyatso. He , " by the emperor 's approval , became the master of the ninth Dalai ; and an imperial edict ordered him to help handle Tibetan affairs. In the 13th year of Jiaqing (1808) , he was granted the title of Erdeni Normen Khan , and he died at the age of 41. " (*A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 78) He became the regent after the death of Jetsun Hutuktu , which should be in the 16th year of Jiaqing (1811). Jetsun Hutuktu expired from illness in Tibet. . . and Demo Hutuktu is ordered to fill the vacancy to handle Tibetan affairs. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , p. 377 — 378)

[61] Ambans Yu and Ke ; " Yu " refers to Yu Lin , who was dispatched to Tibet in the 22nd year of Jiaqing (1817). (*Records of the Qing Dynasty* , *Renzong* , roll 330 , p. 17) " Ke " refers to Koshik , who was assigned as assistant Amban in the 18th year of Jiaqing (1814). (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , p. 382)

[62] Samati Paksi ; He was the second Tsemonling Living Buddha , named Jampel Tsultrim. As the Demo died in the 24th year of Jiaqing (1819) , the emperor issued the instruction that the

administrative affairs of the Potala be taken over by Ngawang Jampel Tsultrim , who was bestowed an official seal . (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 390 , 395) He was in power for 25 years and was cashiered by the Qing government in the 24th year of Daoguang (1844) for corruption , irregularities and bullying the Dalai Lama . He was " banished to Heilongjiang , put under the strict control of the general , and prohibited to go out to make trouble or contact with any person from outside . " " Panchen Erdeni was ordered to take over the administrative affairs of Tibet for the time being . " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 411 , 413 , 415 , 439 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 68)

[63] The tenth Dalai Tsultrim Gyatso ; Reincarnated at Zhongduo of Lithang in the 21st year of Jiaqing (1816). At first , three reincarnations were said to have been found . With the approval of the emperor in the 2nd year of Daoguang , lots were drawn from the gold vase in the Jokhang temple , confirming that Tsultrim Gyatso who was born in Lithang was be the reincarnation of the ninth Dalai . He was then welcomed to the Potala to be enthroned on the 8th of the 8th month that year . In the 14th year of Daoguang (1834) , Panchen taught him the Gelong (mendicant priest) commandments . The Dalai died in the Potala on the 1st of the 9th month of the 17th year of Daoguang (1837) , when he was 22 years old . (*A Religious history of Tibet* , pp. 67 — 68)

[64] The Inventory of the Iron — Tiger year : The Iron — Tiger year (of the Tibetan calendar system) was the Geng — Yin year (of the Chinese calendar system) , or the 10th year of Daoguang (1830) . It was an inventory , made by the local government , of the land , forests and waters belonging to the three big feudal lords , as well as the serfs , corvees and taxes .

[65] The eleventh Dalai Lama Khedrup Gyatso ; The reincarnation was born at Garthar in the 18th year of Daoguang (1838) . After being confirmed by lot drawing from the gold vase and reported to the emperor in the 21st year of Daoguang (1841) , he was welcomed to the Potala to be enthroned the next year . It was granted that he could use the gold seal of his predecessor . . . and the emperor dispatched Jangkya Hutuktu to Tibet to help handle affairs and to carry the gold book to him . On the 13th of the first month of the 5th year of Xianfeng , an impe-

rial edict ordered the Dalai to take over the reins of government and religion when he was only 18 years old, because the Qing government was afraid that the regent Samati Paksi's abuse of power might happen once again. At the same time, the Qing government instructed the Ambans: "The Dalai Lama is the orthodox head of Buddhism in the west. His reincarnation and role as leader should follow an established rule and should not be manipulated by the person in charge. The report of the Ambans says that they request the emperor to issue a mandate ordering the Dalai to take over power when he is 18 years old. Then, the regent should withdraw. This is aimed at a cautious handling of power and preventing a ganging up, the report is approved. As for the seals of the regent, they do not have to be sent back to Beijing, as it is too far away from Tibet. They can be kept in interior storage by the Ambans and Dalai Lama, while a reference to the filing is sent to the ministry of tribal affairs for filing." (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, p. 419) From this, we can see that an official seal was of great importance at that time. The eleventh Dalai died in the Potala in the 5th year of Xianfeng (1855), at the age of 18. (*Religious of Tibetan Lamas*, p. 4; *A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 18)

[66] Qi Zhongtang: The name refers to Qi Shan. "Zhongtang" was, in the Tang dynasty, the central government office of the prime minister. So ministers of similar ranks were respectfully addressed as Zhongtang in later times. In the 25th year of Daoguang (1845), the second Tsemonling regent was impeached by Qi Shan and was dismissed. "Qi Shan recommended 28 amendments to the regulations; and he also suggested in a separate memorial to the throne that existing rules on auditing Tibetan accounts and training of its troops should be abolished." (*A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 68)

[67] Panchen Erdeni: he was seventh Panchen Living Buddha, Tenpai Nyima. He was born in the 47th year of Qianlong (1782) at Bailang Gyishung of the Ulterior Tibet. The honorific title "Erdeni," together with a gold book and seal was first given to the sixth Panchen Lama by an imperial mandate in the 31st year of Qianlong. In the 49th year of Qianlong, the seventh Panchen was welcomed to the Tashilhunpo to be enthroned. "An imperial edict ordered Boching'e, Iruletu, imperial guard at Chien Qing Gate to go to Tibet to help him, and

granted him monastic robes and hats. " In the 14th year of Jiaqing (1809) " by order of the emperor , a Tablet Chronicle inscription on Putuo Zhongcheng Zanli was decreed. " In the 22nd year of Daoguang (1842), " the Panchen was granted an honorific title of Xuan Hua Sui Jiang Tamer and Pacifier of the Border Area for his donation to assist the troops and people during the suppression of the Singpa and Ladakh tribes. " Two years later (1844), " the Panchen charged Gandin Shratha Samati Paksi , who was in charge of Tibetan affairs , for corruption and practising graft , which was reported to the emperor through Amban Qi Shan. When the regent was dismissed , the imperial edict approved the suggestion that the Panchen be ordered to take over interim administration of Tibet. In the 1st year of Xianfeng , when the Panchen was 70 years old , an imperial edict praised him and gave him presents in accordance with the precedent when he celebrating his 60th birthday . The Panchen died in the Tashilhunpo monastery on the 9th of the first month of the 3rd year of Xianfeng (1853) , when he was 72 years old. " (*Biographies of Tibetan Lamas* , p. 6 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 75)

[68] Rating Living Buddha ; his official residence monastery was the Shideling in Lhasa . And his original monastery was the Rating in Pengyu , in the present Linzhou county to the north of Lhasa . Therefore he was called Rating Living Buddha , noted down in the Qing documents as Lezheng . The regent was the ninth Rating , named Ngawang Yeshe Tsultrim Gyaltzen . His predecessor , Ngawang Chorten , was once the canon teacher of the seventh Dalai , and was granted the title of " Achitu Normen Khan " in the 12th year of Yongzheng (1734) , so he was also dubbed Achitu Hutuktu . The eighth Rating , named Yeshe Tenpa Rabgyal , was allowed to inherit the title of " Normen Khan " . The emperor named his official residence monastery Ningxi , called Shideling in the Tibetan language . In the 25th year of Daoguang (1845) , the Qing government gave approval for ninth Rating Living Buddha to take charge , by imperial edict , of the administration of Tibet . In the 10th year of Xianfeng , he was bestowed two further characters " Hui Ling " (meaning intelligence) to his title and granted permission to use yellow reins for his efforts in handling the Chamdo tribal affairs . (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 471 , 509 ,

520) He was the first from the Rating Living Buddha line to hold the regentship. " In the first year of Tongzhi (1862), he failed in his conflict with the Drepung and Ganden monasteries over alms giving. Then he fled to Beijing to lodge an appeal. Being impeached by Amban Manqing he was removed of his honorific title of Hutuktu , and was prohibited to reincarnate in a line. And he died in Beijing at the age of 46. " Later , the Qing government " gave back the title of Hutuktu and the official seal " to the 10th Rating Living Buddha. (*A Religious History of Tibet* , pp. 79—80)

[69] Dalai's use of seals : The use of seals by the eleventh Dalai Lama was also regulated by the Qing government . In the 4th year of Xianfeng (1854), the emperor wrote to the ministry of Tribal affairs : " Chunling reported that the Dalai has reached adulthood and should be ordered to administer all affairs. All the Jade books and seals bestowed on the former Dalai Lamas can be used on auspicious occasions , while the gold seals should be employed for ordinary matters , with a view to showing the sovereign 's intention to greatly foster the Yellow Sect of Buddhism . Other matters can be done as suggested . " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , p. 465) However , the eleventh Dalai only managed the government and religious affairs for a few months and , as reported by Amban Manqing , " died on the 29th of the 12th month " of the same year . (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , p. 479)

[70] Rating resumed the regentship again ; He had his title removed in the 1st year of Tongzhi (1862) " As Song Gui and many Lamas reported to the emperor to beg for his forgiveness , he was later granted permission to affirm his reincarnation and continue to manage the monastery with the title of Rating. " " An imperial edict gave back to him the title of Hutuktu and the former official seals. " After the death of the Dalai , " the emperor ordered Radreng Hutuktu to take over the reins of Tibet. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 479 , 487 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , pp. 79—80) This was the tenth Rating Living Buddha , named Ngawang Lozang Yeshe Tenpa Gyaltzen , who had been canon teacher of the Panchen and was the second from the Rating Living Buddha line to hold the regentship.

[71] The Gurkha Incident : This refers to the second invasion of

Tibet launched by the Gurkhas. In the 8th year of Xianfeng (1858), " the Gurkhas entered into war Tangut (Tibet). The latter suffered one failure after another , and Tsongkha and Jilong were all taken by the enemy. Amban Hetho was ordered to go to Uterior Tibet to supervise war preparedness , while Chengdu general Le Bin was ordered to command the Han and native troops to rush to Tibet. Learning that a great number of troops was coming soon , the Gurkhas were greatly frightened and dispatched their Khache (minister) to Tibet to beg for peace. The imperial edict approved the armistice. A ten — article peace agreement was reached between Tangut and Gurkha , which stipulated that Tangut pay the Gurkhas 2 ,000 tales of silver in tax , while the later give back the land it occupied to the former. " (*A Religious History of Tibet* pp. 68 — 69)

[72] The twelfth Dalai : " He was born at Vol — dya in the 6th year of Xianfeng (1856), and after reporting to the emperor , he was confirmed by lot drawing from the gold vase on the 13th of the 1st month of the 8th year of Xianfeng (1858) and welcomed to the Potala to be enthroned on the 3rd of the 7th month of the 9th year (1859). " In the 1st year of Tongzhi (1862), he was " ordered by an imperial edict to take over the reins of local government and religion . When the Dalai is young , the Hutuktu (referring to the Rating regent) should take good care of him . " " His memorial of thanks to the throne can be affixed with the gold seal. " In the 1st year of Guangxu (1875), he " died in the Potala at the age of 20. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 487 , 489 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , pp. 68 — 69)

[73] The inscriptions of the Rating 's seals : As early as the 12th year of Yongzheng (1734), the sixth Rating Living Buddha Khrichen Wangchuk Chorten was bestowed the title of " Achitu Normen Khan that carries forward the Yellow Sect of Buddhism . " When the 9th Rating Living Buddha assume the regentship , his official seal was inscribed with : " Erdeni Mongol Normen Khan who Takes Charge of Tibetan Affairs and Manages the Yellow Sect of Buddhism. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , p. 533 ; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 79) About this seal , the *Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* writes : " The Tibetan administrator previously had a seal , inscribed " The Seal of Erdeni Mongol Normen Khan Who Takes Charge of the Tib-

etan Affairs and Manages the Yellow Sect of Buddhism. " All the Hutuktus and other officials in charge of Tibet have used this seal. " In 1862, " Rating Hutuktu ran away with the seal. " And " the seal was later handed to the Qing government through the minister to Xining, " and it was then issued to the next Normen Khan regent Shenrab Wangchuk (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 500 , 529 , 533)

[74] Shatra Wangchuk Gyalpo : He was at once time a Kalon who was a layman official. He was generally called Shatra Kalon. After becoming an aide to help administer Tibet, he was called Desi, chief of Depas. That was in the 1st year of Tongzhi (1862) when the twelfth Dalai Lama died and the Rating regent fled, and Tibet was left without a chief. When the news was reported to the emperor by Ambans Manqing and Enqing, an imperial edict stated " The official duties of the Dalai Lama are of key importance. Now that the masses of Lamas and laity of Tibet have recommended the resigned Kalon Wangchuk Gyalpo for assistant administrator, he is appointed aide to handle Tibetan affairs as requested by Manqing and others, and is granted the title of Normen Khan. He is not to have the title of regent, but granted an honorary dukedom with a ruby on his hat. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 463, 501; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 69)

[75] Zhanhua incident : Zhanhua is Xinglong County of the Ganzi Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province. Its old name was Hagayrong. It had been making trouble during emperor Daoguang's rule. In the 2nd year of Tongzhi (1863), local chief Gompo Namgyal, in collaboration with headman Derge, invaded Zhongkang, " robbed grain, people, property and documents sent from Tibet. " Tibet sent troops to suppress the invaders. In the 4th year of Tongzhi (1865), Jingwen reported : " Tibetan troops attacked the Nyayrong rebels, won a series of victories and captured Gompo Namgyal's eldest son Dongdeng Gompo and grandson. " In the 12th month of the year, " Both new and old military camps of Nyayrong were conquered, and Gompo Namgyal, the rebel chief, and his two sons were burnt to death, " An imperial edict ordered that upper, middle and lower Nyayrong be " granted to the Dalai Lama " . (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty* , pp. 506, 531, 532, 537; *A Religious History of Tibet* , p. 69)

[76] Shenrab Wangchuk : His full name was Lozang Shenrab Wangchuk. He was at once time a Ganden Tripa and the canon teacher of the twelfth Dalai Lama, initiated the Dalai into the Buddhist priesthood. Because " Shatra Wangchuk Gyalpo died of illness, an imperial edict granted Lozang Shenrab Wangchuk the title of Normen Khan and ordered him to help handle Tibetan affairs. " (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, p. 522, 525; *A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 69) Shenrab Wangchuk was also an acting regent, but was not a full member of the regent system. Manqing requested the emperor to bestow on Shenrab Wangchuk an official seal for running Tibet. The emperor gave the instruction : " hand the seals for administering Tibet to the Viceroy's office of Sichuan, and let Luo Binzhang and Chong Shi put them away for the time being. At the same time, let Jingwen make a careful supervision of Lozang Shenrab Wangchuk. If he is found satisfactory, competent and well qualified to be given the seals of Tibetan administration, you will have to report to the throne before sending an official to Sichuan to take back the seals and handing them to Normen Khan Lozang Shenrab Wangchuk. When the Dalai Lama is old enough to take over power, the Normen Khan should be relieved of his post and the administration seals should be sealed up in storage by the Amban and the Dalai Lama. This is the established rule. " From this we can see that the Qing government was very cautious in granting seals. (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, p. 529) In the 5th year of Tongzhi (1866), he was bestowed the honorific title of " Dedru Hutuktu " and permitted to form a line of reincarnation for his contributions in suppressing Nyayrong rebellion. His subordinate was granted the title of " Jasad Lama " . He was granted the seals and died at the age of 73. (*A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 80) Although he had acted as a regent, he was not a formal regent Living Buddha. He also had his private monastery in Lhasa.

[77] Palden Dondrup ; He was " once granted the title of Darhan Chief Minister. " He plotted with Lama Ngatan and others of the Ganden monastery to seize power in Tibet, force the Normen Khan Hutuktu to resign his position of assistant administrator of Tibet and depose the Dalai Lama. He killed Kalon Phuntso Tsewang Dorje and five others, causing great conflict within the Ganden monastery, which the Qing

government dispatched troops to suppress. He " gathered lamas and laity in an attempt to resist the Qing troops. The Ambans commanded the suppression, captured lama Ngatan and 24 others, and Palden Dondrup was executed by shooting. " Then the incident was put down. (*Records of Tibetan Affairs of the Qing Dynasty*, pp. 547, 548)

[78] Resumption of regentship by Kundeling Taktra ; He was the tenth Kundeling Jetsun Living Buddha, who " held the power to handle Tibetan affairs before a reincarnation of the Dalai appeared. " In the 3rd year of Guangxu (1877), he was granted an additional title of " Tongshan " (tôle benevolence). In the 8th year of Guangxu (1882), he taught the thirteenth Dalai the initial practices of monkhood, and died at the age of 32. he was the second from the Kundeling Living Buddha line to hold the regentship. (*A Religious History of Tibet*, p. 77)

[79] The thirteenth Dalai ; The reincarnation was found in the family of Langdun, a subordinate of the commander of Dapon Gyachap camp, in the 2nd year of Guangxu (1876). " The Panchen and all the official lamas and laity issued certificates with their seals, and requested Amban Song Gui make the report to the emperor. An imperial edict instructed that the child could be confirmed as the Dalai without drawing lots from the gold vase. In the 4th year (of Guangxu) (1878), he was initiated into the Buddhist priesthood by the Panchen in the Tsel Guangthang monastery and was given the Buddhist name of Ngawang Lozang Thubten Gyatso. In the 6th month of this year, he was welcomed to the Potala to his enthronement. " In the 8th year of Guangxu (1882), " canon teacher Taktra Jetsun Living Buddha taught him the great commandments. " And in the 12th year of Guangxu, (1886), " Trinley Rabgyas Demo Living Buddha acted as the administrator of Tibet on behalf of the Dalai. " In the 21st year of Guangxu (1888) [sic, it should be 1895], " the canon teacher, Demo Hutuktu resigned due to illness. And canon teacher Phagyar Shablom was ordered by an imperial edict to take charge of the government and religion of Tibet. " In the same year, the British troops staged a large-scale invasion of Tibet because they were unable to trade with Tibet. The Tibetan troops resisted the aggressors at the fortress of Mount Lungthur and held fast to their position at the Yartung valley. In the 20

th year of Guangxu (1894), they killed the former administrator canon teacher Demo Hutuktu Ngawang Lozang Trinley Rabgyas and his younger brother Letse. All the property of the Demo's original monastery (Tengyeling) was taken. The Amban, Yu Gang was asked to put a memorial to the throne, requesting to permanent abolition of the title of Demo Hutuktu. In the 21st year of Guangxu (1895), the thirteenth Dalai took over the reins of both local government and religion. In the 31st year of Guangxu (1905), the British troops entered Tibet, " the Dalai was terribly frightened and ran away northward a day earlier. " He fled to Qinghai, stayed in Xining and moved to Mount Qingliang in Wutai county of Shanxi. In the 34th year of Guangxu (1908), he went to Beijing with his disciples to have an audience with the emperor, who bestowed on him the honorific title of " Great Benovolent Self — subsisting Buddha of West Paradise Earnestly Supporting Civilization " . The emperor also granted the Dalai an annual stipend of ten thousand taels of silver and instructed him to report everything to the Amban as usual, who would pass on details the emperor for final decisions. The Dalai left Beijing in compliance with the imperial edict. The thirteenth Dalai Thubten Gyatso died in 1933. The Rating Hutuktu took charge of the Tibetan administration. (*A Religious History of Tibet*, pp. 69—72; *Highlights of Tibetan History*, p. 460)

[80] Urdu : A language with Sanskrit roots.

[81] Demo Living Buddha resumed power ; He was the third Living Buddha from the Demo line to hold the regentship. He was the ninth Demo Living Buddha, named Trinley Rabgyas. " He was ordered by an imperial edict to take charge of the administration of Tibet. In the 13th year of Guangxu (1887), the emperor agreed that he act as canon teacher of the 13th Dalai. In the 16th year of Guangxu (1890), he was granted the honorific title of " Jingshan Chanshi " (Master of Peace and Benevolence) for his effort in handling Indian — Tibetan trade. In the 20th year of Guangxu (1894), many lamas and laymen accused him of bribing Nyayrong Kangpa Lamas and asking them kill the Dalai by incantations. Amban Yu Gang reported the matter to the emperor, and subsequently the title of Demo Hutuktu was abolished forever, and his monastery's property was confiscated. In the same year, he was murdered at the age of 44 by someone sent by the Dalai. " He held the re-

gentship for nine years. (*A Religious History of Tibet* , pp. 70,78)

[82] Xinhai year ; This was the 3rd year of Xuantong , or 1911.
The writer probably completed this work in that year.

A Textual Research of Ancient Tibetan Government Post Official System

Wang Yao and Chen Jian

I. Preface

Government official post system usually reflects the structure, organization and degree of political maturity of a society. Tibetan government official post system is of course a measure of the political progress of the Tibetan people, through which we can discover the social and political evolutions which are especially evident in the transition from tribal union to slavery society. By looking into the way of setting up official ranks, dividing power and establishing authority, we can get the same important clues to our understanding of Tibetan society of that period. For example, the establishment and evolution of "Lonchen" (Blon—chen, The Great Chancellor) exerted great influence on Tibetan politics, military affairs, nationalities, economics, religion, culture and society.

Tibetan government official post system was founded on the basis of military tribal union of slavery society. After a long progression, it was perfected and finalized by the eighth century when the Tibetan king Trisung Debtsan was in power. Tibet contacted with Tang, Turk, Liyul, Nanchao and other neighbouring nationalities with a high

prestige because of its military prowess and with great ambition entered into rivalry with Tang dynasty for the throne. If there had not been a unified, restricted government official post system, how could Tibet have organized one or two hundred thousands of troops or even more eastward to encroach upon Changan (763 B. C.), the capital of Tang dynasty, and ruled Guazhou (a geographical name), Shazhou (western part of nowadays Gansu province) and the upper reaches of the Yellow River (Huanghe River) for more than seventy years, and furthermore conquered Hexi Corridor and the Western Regions (a Han dynasty term for the area western of Yumengguan, including what is now Xingjiang and part of Central Asia) for more than hundred years.

In recent years, there are a few inspiring works on the study of Tibetan government official post system, done by Chinese and foreign scholars, who have tried to construct a picture of Tibetan society with a wealth of data. As we look into Tibetan legal system, military system and etiquette and custom in the course of our work on them, we deeply feel that our idea of the structure and system of Tibetan government official post is vague, or our knowledge is fragmentary. We are still not clear about such questions as 1) What is the political and structural position of "the meetings of sovereigns to form alliances" When it was most prevailing in ancient Tibet? 2). What was left over when official system was shaped through its progress. Or, what was the connection between official system and the other "Gonlon, Nanglon, Yuhanpo" three official systems? 3). How were they evolved? Then, 4). What were the connection between Tibetan tribes, tribes and royal court (or government), and what were the rela-

tions between tribal clans and the local authorities? How did the tribes join the alliances and then take part in the government? ect. Moreover, some Tibetan official names recorded in the Tang dynasty documents were the same or similar to the Tang official names, but some were quite different. How were the Tibetan official names, ranks and systems constituted? How were the official positions and ranks established? All these questions call for us to further our ponderation and investigation. This is also the purpose for writing this article.

It seems necessary to study ancient Tibetan scripts or documents before we inquire into Tibetan official system, and the document P. T. 1089 is one of the most interesting documents. A few major articles have already marked out its importance, but there are different interpretations and understandings, which makes it necessary to have comprehensive translation and introduction. According to the micro—films of the original documents kept in the Paris Library, we have transcribed and translated as following. From our point of view, this document reflects the official system of the new area occupied by Tibet. We also offer explanation about some points which are different from other's views.

As an addition to the document P. T. 1089 is the Tibetan official position system in *Khepa Garton (Mkhas—pari—dgar—ston, A Feast for Wise men, by Pawo Tsula Chenwa, 1565 A. D.)* which mainly was the Tibetan Central Government Post System, though this book was appeared later. But it is believed that the author had consulted the original government documents of ancient Tibetan period, therefore it is trustful. There are still some documents in Han scripts which recorded Tibetan official

names, ranks of that time discovered in Dunhuang. They could be used as reference of the Tibetan ones. Anyhow, those Tibetan official names recorded by Tang people are proven data. Therefore, after we compared, verified and checked up with various scripts of documents, we listed out a considerably believable Tibetan official names (There are two tables, one of which is The Central Government Official System of Ancient Tibet, and the other is the Local Government Official System) for the reference of those who are interested in Tibetan history.

II. P. T. 1089 The Tibetan Transcriptions of the Original Document

1. *khyi*^① *vi lovi dgun sla tha cungs la gdan sa zha nas// rtsi gyi phyag rgya phogste . . .*

2. *thabs la mchid myi mjal pav// sha cuvi khri dpon khri spyang gis yang slad du zus . . .*

3. . . . *snga slad du blar gsol nas// dbyang ste mchid kyis bcad pavi (gral) . . .*

4. (*gsol*) *nav// de phyag rgyas btab ste (vchang) ru stsal pav// gral thabs . . .*

5. *sha cuvi (rtse) rje blon man cad dpon sna phra mo yan chad// gral thabs la mchid myi mjal pav// slan cad gral thabs vdi bzin mchis par/*

6. *dkar cag (du) bris pa ni// khyivi lo vi dgun pho brang () na bzungs// bde blon gyi vdun sa// zang btsan bzang dang/ blon rgyal sgra dang/*

7. *spyang blon byang bzher dang blon g. yu . . . ra bs-dus ste lug ngan sde (gnyis) dang dkor pa dang/ slungs rma grom pa thang la brgal bavi lan la//*

① "i" in italics is a symbol of "y"

8. sha cuvi (khri) dpon dang khri spyen gyi zhu sa . . .
// sha cu na yang sngon ni bod las stong pon gong tsar
bskos pav/ gtsang cen pa zhig mchis par yung bas//

9. na ning slad kyis rgya sha cu pa rgod du bton nas//
stong pon stong cung yang ste bcad nas// stong bon ni
thabs ra gan chungu stsald//stong cung ni thabs//

10. zang ched po stsal/ pav// rgyavi to dog dang
stong pon su yang gral thabs la mchid myi mjal// stong
cung bod las bskos (pa) dang rgyavi to dog vog//

11. pon dang rgyavi stong zla ra gan pa dag cig mchis
yang gral thabs (la mchid myi) mjal par gyur pa// da ltar
rtse rje vog po na gyi gral ni// to tog/

12. chen povi ni vog// to dog vog pon an bung yig
dang rgya las spyen du bskos pa// cang stag legs gyi ni
gong na mchis// na ning mkhar tsan khrom gyi//

13. dpon sna gral thabs la mchid myi mjal pav// dmag
pon gyis byangste// zhang lon chen po blon rgyal tsan
dang blon legs sgra la zhus te//

14. mchid kyis bcad pa las ni// bod sum gyi stong pon
gyi vog du mthong kyab dang va zhavi stong pon// devi
vog du rtse rje zangs (yig)/ devi vog du bod/

15. sum gyi stong cung dang mthong kyab dang va
zhavi stong cung// devi vog du zangs pa sug stong dang
stag gi zar can pa vbyung (pavi) (sca) gs// rtse rje dang/

16. to dog gi gral thabs ni// sngon rim pa ci ltar mchis
snga lugs tsam du bsal yang vdra ste//bod las stong pon
stong cung gcyug mar gsar/

17. du bskos pavi rim pa gral thabs ci ltar mchis pa
ni// bdag cag gis mchid kyis gcad du myi gdav ste// bla
(na) . . . / las ma/

18. bcad na / dpon sna thog ma mchis ma thag du/
vphran tshegs vdi tsam gyi slad nas/ mchid myi mjal cing

rtsad par gyur na// rje blas vtshal ba/

19. dag la yang myi bde zhing blar yang myi dpen par vgyur zhing mchis na// stong pon rnam gyi gral// to dog gnyis dang rtse rje vog pon dag dang/

20. rim pa ji ltar mchis pa dang/ rgyavi stong zla dang bod kyi stong cung yang kang gong rda mchis pa/ lung stsal pa tsam du gsol zhes vbyung//

21. rgya sha cu pavi dpon sna gsol ba las ni// sha cuvi to dog dang bdag cag stong pon stong cung gi gong du mchis par gsol ba// lho bal gyi to dog/

22. dang ldong zla ra bskos pavi rnam// dpon sna gnyug mavi gong du mchis pavi lugs dang zla dpe ma mchi ste/ dper gsol na/ li rje lta bu/

23. zho sha dang sbyar nas// bla nas thugs pags mdzad de/ rgyal mtshan stsal nas// rgyal chos gnang ba yang// livi blon dngul pavi vog na/

24. mchis pa lags// livi a ma ca la stsogs pa/ thabs gser dang ... stsal pa la stsogs pa yang/ rtse rje zangs pavi vog na mchis// lho

25. bal stong vdul pavi khri dpon dang stong pon stong cung thabs g. yu dang gser mchis pa yang// dmag pon chen po gtsang chen pa lta smos kyang myi

26. Vtshal// dmag pon chungu sgo gtsang pavi vog na mchi ste// vdi ltar dbung mthav gnyis kyi gral thabs gnang nas chad de// lugsu chud par

27. ni/ thugs chod bla na mngav ba lags// sha cu pavi to dog dang stong zlarbskos pavi rnam lho bal sde chen gong nas gsol pa gzhan bas// zho

28. sha myi che zhing thabs myi mtho na// gral thabs sngar chad pa dang zla dpe bzhin/ bdag cag gong du mchis par ji gnang// zhes gsol// sha cuvi to

29. dog dang stong zla rnam gyi gsol balas ni// bdag

cag to dog ched po/rtse rjevi zlar bskoste/ thabs phra men
stsal nas// rtse rje zangs pa gong/

30. mchis pavi gong du/ rgod kyi stong pon gyis myi
chud par gdav ba las// da ltar mkhar rtsan khrom nas/
dmag pon gyis zhus pa las/ stong pon gyi/

31. rnames/ rtse rje zangs pavi gong du mchis par chad
pa la brten nas// stong pon gi rnumg/ to dog ched po vi
gong du mchis par gsol ba dang/

32. to dog vog pon dngul pa dang/ stong zla thabs ra
gan mchis pavi gong du/ stong cung zangs pas myi chud
par gdav ba lags na// bdag cag/

33. to dog cam zhid stong pon stong cung bod las
bskos pavi gong du mchis par ji gnang gis gsol// khar tsan
khrom gyi dpon snavi gral

34. thabs// zhang blon chen po la zhu ste/ mchid kyis
bcad pavi dpev/ rgyavi dpon sna bod las bskos pavi sug pa
na dpe phyag rgya can vchang ba/

35. las vbyung ba// mkhar tsan khrom gyi dpon sna
gral thabs la mchid myi mjal pav/ sngar bcad pavi lugs
dang rje blas gyi gnyer dag du

36. sbyar nas// zhang blon chen po la zhuste mchid
kyis bcad pa// gral thabs la// ru dpon// khri dpon//dgra
blon chen po// rtse rje

37. ra gan pa// zhing pon chen po// mkhar dpon chen
po// stod smad gyi phyug mavi gzhis pon chen po// ru
sphyan nang kor las bskos pa

38. rnames// dgra blon vbring po// ru theb/ dgra blon
chungu// khral pa chen po// gsang gi yige pa chen po//
rtsis pa chen po// zhal ce pa chen

39. po bod sum gyi stong pon// mthong kyab dang va
zhavi stong pon// rtse rje zangs pav// gsang gi pho nya//
gsang gi yige pa vbring po//

40. gsang gi rige pa chungu// spyi gcod// bod sum gyi stong cung// rgra drugi lo tsa pa/ lung dor gyi dmag pon/ zangs pa sna la gtogs pa/ rtsis

41. spyan// mthong kyab dang va zhavi stong cung// stagi zar can pa sna la ma (?) gtogs pa// gsang gi rub ma pa dang vgyed ma pav// gzhis pon spyan//

42. byung vtsho chen po// stagi zar cung pa/ gzhis pon vog pon// gsang gi yige pa phra mo/ lho bal gyi dmag pon chungu/ byung vtsho chungu/ chos gyi/

43. rtsis pa/ khram pa/ sa mkhan zhes vbyung// sha cu rtse rje vi phrin byang pho nya tshevu shun tse las// khyivi lovi dpyid sla tha cungs tshes/

44. bdun la mchis pav/ rtse rje man cad/ rgyavi dpon snavi rnam gral thabs la mchid myi mjalte/ rtag du rtsod nas/ gral thabs/

45. kwa cuvi dmag pon gyis mchid kyis bcad pavi dpev gsol pa lags na// slan cad vdi bzhin du vtshal na nongs sam ma nongs/

46. shes vbyung// sha cuvi rtse rje blon man cad/ rgyavi dpon snavi gral thabs/ re shig vdi bzhin mchis par vtshol cig ces// kwa cuvi/

47. dmag pon dang spyan gyi mchid kyis bcad ces// sha cuvi rtse rjes brtsangs pavi gral thabs lsa vbyung bav// rtse rje blon rgyavi khri dpon/

48. rgyavi khri spyan to dog chen po/ rtse rje vog pon/ to dog chungu/ rgyavi spyan/ stong pon bod las bskos pavi rnam// stong pon gyi zla rgya las bskos pavi/

49. rnam// rtse rje chungu dang mngan go cu rub/ sha cu spyivi dgra blon bod las bskes pav/ rgyavi stong cung bod las bskas pavi rnam// stong cung gi zia rgya las/

50. bskos pavi rnam// dgra blon rgya las bskos pa/

rgya spyivi khral dpon chen po// khri dpon gyi yi gi pa zhes vbyung// rgya sha cu pavi dpon sna// zhang lon chen po/

51. bskos pavi gzhi dang gthugs na// phrin blon stag bzher rgod khyung la stsogs pavi phrin byang/ cog ro legs vdus las// byi ba lovi dpyid sla tha cungs

52. tshes bzhi la mchis las vbyung ba//byi ba lovi db-yar/ zhang lon chen po so la mchis pavi vdun tsa long cur btab pavi lan la// rgya sha cu pa sde gnyis

53. (su) bcad nas/ las sgo dang/ dpon snar bskos pa dang/ lung stsal pav// bod las sha cu pavi dpon snar bskos pav/ ro ngos po g. yu gong rtse rje blon/ khyung po/

54. klu rma rtse rje spyan/ vbro g. yu gong rtse rje vbring po/ vbal dra ma legs rtse rje chungu dang dgra blon go cu rub// tshang lo spa sha stong cung ur bskos nas/ zangs gyi/

55. yi ge rtsal/ ser lha rma stong cung ngu bskoste thabs zangs chu ngu byin no// rgya las dpon sna bskos pav/ do stag skyes rgyavi to dog dang bod kyri rtsi rjevi/

56. zlar bskos te/ vphra men gyi yige chungu snga na yod pa las/ thugs pags mdzad de/ na cig gis bstod nas/ phra men gyi yige ched po stsal// an bung yig

57. to dog og pon du bskos te/ thabs ra gan gyi yige yod pa las/ ngovi tshe thugs pags mdzad nas/ ra gan gyi yige ched po byin no// sde/

58. gcig gi dpon snar bskos pav// yem pheng stong zlar bskoste/ thabs ra gan gyi yi ge chu ngu dbang ba/ snga na ra gan gyi yi ge chungu mchis pa las/ thugs/

59. pags mdzad de/ ngovi tshe na cig bstod de/ ra gan gyi yige ched po byin no// cang mdo tse sde gcig gi khral pon dang gzhi rdzngsu bskos so// sag pho sngon to dog/

60. gi rgyud lags pas/ rjesu thugs pags mdzad de//

spyivi khral pon chen po bskoste/ gtsang chen rkyen gyi
bya dgav zhig byin no// tshevu cang zhi stevi chu mngan/

61. du bskoso// li pu hwar spyivi zhing pon chen po
bskoste/ thabs gtsang chen mchis pa/ thugs pags mdzad
de/ gtsang chen rkyen gyi bya dgav zhig stsal/

62. to/ : / chang stag legs chu mngan du bskos so//
sde gcig gi dpon snar bskos pav khang sevu tam stong zlar
bskos te/ thabs ra gan gyi yi ge chungu

63. dbang ba las/ ngovi tshe thugs nags mdzad/ nas/
na cig gis bstod de/ ra gan gyi yi ge ched po byin no// livu
hwang khral pon dang gzi rdzong su bskos so/

64. an hing tse sdevi zhing pon du bskoso// li phyin
spyivi chu mngan du bskos so// cang devu vdo stong
chung du bskoste/ thabs zangs chungu dbang la las/

65. sug pa na ra gan chungu mchis pas/ thugs pa
mdzad de/ zangs chu ngui rkyen rdungs dang vdrubs rt-
salto// bam stag zigs mngan du bskos so/

66. jeng lha rtom mngan du bskos so// yang klu legs
chu mngan du bskos so// vwang an sdevi chu mngan du
bskos so/ dza an sdevi zhing pon bskos so/

67. zhes vbyung// vbring yas btsan kong dro rtsal te
rmas na/ snga lugs gyis bod las bskos pavi dmag pon
chunguvi rnames/ lho bal nang gi khri dpon dang/

68. stong pon gi gong du mchis pa las/ tse nge pong
bra skyes pu yog pavi stong zlar bskos pas/ lho bal kyi
stong chung bod las bskos pavi gong du/ stong/

69. zla mchis par gnang zhes gral thabs gyi bla sbring
gcig mchis nas// lho bal gyi stong pon rnames gyis devi zla
dpev blar gsol nas/ dmag pon/

70. chungu rnames gyi gong du mchis par bcad de//
phyag rgya rtsal pa las// sprevu lovi dbyar dmag pon
chungu rnames gyis gsol nas/ rtsis pa dang/

71. gsang pa gtogs pas/ dbyangs bkyig ste zhus pa las/ slad cad lho bal gyi nang nas bskom pav/ khri dpon la stsogs pa/ g. yu pa gser pavi/

72. gong du dmag pon chungu mchis par/ zhang btsan bzang dang/ zhang khri brtsan dang zhang rgyal tsan dang/ zhang khri dog rjes mchid gyis bcde/khri ste re re/

73. pyag rgya re re stsal ces gsol/ spreuvuvi vo la lho bal stong vdul pavi dpon sna bod dang lho bal las bskos pavi rnam/ gral thabs la mchid/

74. myi mjal nas// bde blon dang spyen gyis mchid kyis bcad pa bla nas ni mchis pa gyur/ stong sde re re yang phyag rgy re re stsal pa yang/ vpral du/

75. vdun tsar gthug du ma mchis// vdi ltar mchid kyis bcad par ni/ (gsang) la gtogs pa/ blon legs bzher khyi ma vdod la stsogs pa la g. yar

76. tshod mchis shes gsol nas// dbyangs dkyig ste zhus pa las// sha cuvi dpon snavi gral thabs slan cad vdi dzhin mchiv shig (c) es par

77. rtse rje blon dang spyen gyi (steng du) spring shig ces// (zhang btsan bzang dang) blon rgyal sgra dang spyen blon byang bzher dang blon g. yu sgras mchid/

78. kyis bcad// sas// blon leg bzher khyi ma vdod dang blo klu bzher sngon brtsan gyi sug rgya vog nas gtad nas// sha cuvi rtse rje dang//

79. dpon snavi gral thabs slan cad vdi bzhin du mchis par dkar cag vog dpev bris pav// sha cuvi dpon snvi gral thabs mchid

80. kyis bcad de// slan cad vdi bzhin mchis pa la// rtse rje blon dang khri dpon go cu rub// khri spyen// to dog ched po// stong pon bod las/

81. bskos pavi rnam// rtse rje vog pon// to dog chungu// rgyvi spyen// stong zla rgya las bskos pavi

rnam// stong cung bod las

82. bskos pavi rgams// rtse rje chungu dang mngan
go cu rub// sha cu spyivi dgra blon bod las bskos pav//
stong cung gi zla rgya las/

83. bskos pavi mams// dgra blon rgya las bskos pa//
rgya spyivi khral pon chen po// khri dpon yige pa zhes
vbyung// zhang klu sgra dang/

84. blon zla bzang dang/ blon g. yu bzher dang blon
mang rje la zhus// lha lung zigs gyis gtugste (spad)/

III. Translation

1. Interpretation

Text P. T. Vol. 1089 is not included in two — Vol. *Selected Documents of Ancient Tibet at Dunhuang* published in Paris in 1978 and 1980. But there is a full translation by Madam M. Lalou carried in *Asiatic Journal* of 1955. The article is entitled *The Statistical Tables of the Eighth Century Great Tibetan Officials Applying for Resumption of their Posts*, which very few people in China have the access to. According to the microfilm of the original document, we copy down the text with 84 lines, however, there are some missing parts at the end. We consider it more or less a complete document, therefore, we study and classify it into five parts. It is a record of government document about official positions, ranks, disposition of officials and others. Now we list out as follows.

Part one: line 1 — — — — line 20;

Part two: Line 21 — — — — Line 33;

Part three: Line 33 — — — — Line 43;

Part four: Line 43 — — — — Line 73;

Part Five: Line 73 — — — — Line 84.

It is not only a *Statistical Tables of Great Tibetan Of*

officials Applying for Resumption of Their Post, but also with Japanese translation by Professor Yamakute Zeihowu (collected in his lecture on Dunhuang: Part four: *History of Dunhuang — — Dunhuang under the Control of Tibet*). He made a careful analysis of the text and translated the official names one by one, which is valuable for reference. *Tibetan Studies* Vol. 3, 1987 carries a Chinese translation in full of P. T. Vol. 1089 done by Wen Jiang, (According to which, the original document has only 81 lines, which must be a mistake). After reading the Tibetan script, we feel it is necessary to publish the original document and our translation of the text for readers. Because it is an important document, there should be a reliable and satisfying translation as a base for further study. Work should be gradually improved and perfected. Our work is done belately with the help of other versions. Some special terms used in our translation are explained in the notes.

2. Translation of Document P. T. 1089

(1). In December, the year of Dog of Tibetan calendar, Tsipa (rtsis — pa, Comptroller)^[4] transmit the order with sealing from the military camp meeting^[3]...

(2). There are different views (about official ranks), Shazhou Tripon (Khri dpon, Myriarch)^[5] followed by ten thousand soul Spyan (Supervisory Inspector)^[6] inquired for instruction...

(3). ... successively we had inquired the superior to make an impartial decision.

(4). Plead to issue deserved official titles and ranks.

(5). From Shazhou Tserlon (rtse — rje — blon, military governor)^[7] and below, different levels of officers and assistants and above are not in a harmonious atmosphere, because of different views about official ranks and status.

Later, the original official ranks and order remain unchanged.

(6). and list out this register. In the winter of the year of Dog, at the office camp of Tsangpo [btsan—po] at (...) the meeting of the pacification envoy^[8] that was called by Zangtsanzang (Zang — btsan — bzung) and Longyaldra (Blon—rgyal—sgra) and

(7). Janlon Jansher (Spyan—blon—byan—bzher) and Lonyu (Blon—g. yu) ... Later, made a reply for their inquiries about official titles and ranks, that went beyond the limit, which was asked by Lungan (lug—ngan) two tribes and Korpa (treasure) and the officers of the General Office in Machu District.^[9]

(8). Shazhou Myriarch and the ten thousand souls' Jan (sryan, supervisory inspector) said ... In the past, Tibetan chiliarch and those posts higher than that shared equal authority as Tsangchen (Gtsang—chen).^[10]

(9). Last year, since Shazhou Tang people parted from Gui (Rgod,^[11] the army), the chiliarch and minor chiliarch were divided into two tribes. Conferred the chiliarch minor brass insignia and the minor chiliarch.

(10). Major copper insignia; the Tang people governor and chiliarch are on bad terms for the official ranks and status. A Tibetan who holds the post of minor chiliarch has the same rank as the deputy governor of Tang people and

(11). enjoys the same rank as the Tang people who had brass insignia, thus they are all not in a harmonious mood. Now the rank and status of vice Tser is lower than

(12). that of chief governor, and higher than the deputy governor Anbungyi (An—bung—yig) and Tang people Jancang Tale (Spyan—cang—stag—legs). Last

year, in the front commander's headquarter,

(13). the officers of the front military administrative district are at odds because of the questions of ranks and status. After inquired the Zhanglon Chenpo Longyaltsan and Lonledra for instructions, the general made the decision.

(14). The instructions are as follows:

"Tibetan and Sumpa chiliarch, lower than above are 'Thongja' (Mthong — khhyab)^[12] and Azha (Va — zha) chiliarch, lower are those Tser given a copper insignia, lower are Tibetan and

(15). Sumpa minor chiliarch and "Thongja", Azha minor chiliarch, lower are those to be awarded with a minor copper insignia and those heroes given a tiger fur insignia.

(16). The ranks and status of the Tser and the governor, should be issued according to old usage. How to settle their ranks and status of those Tibetans, that are newly appointed to be the chiliarch

(17). and minor chiliarch in reality? We may not be in the position to decide . . . If the superior did not make out the decision,

(18). while the officers assume their posts, they would carry on endless disputes and would be difficult in harmony, because of such subtle trifles.

(19). It would also do no good to the superior as well as the implementation of corvee for the imperial court (Rje — blas).^[14] How are the ranks and status of chiliarch, chief and deputy governor and that of vice

(20). Tser? Please give a definite instruction for who's rank is higher, that of Tang people deputy chiliarch and Tibetan minor chiliarch? Earnestly request (as

above).

(21). Officers from Shazhou Tang people plead, "The rank of Shazhou governor is higher than that of our chiliarch and minor chiliarch; the border people (Lho — bal)^[15] that had been appointed

(22). to be the governorship, his assistants and officers, their ranks are not formally stipulated as above. For example, the king of Liyu . . .

(23). according to his tribute (Zho — sha),^[16] and the concern of superior had conferred him the king title, reward him Buddhist doctrine and scripture and awarded the chancellor of Liyul a silver insignia and lower.

(24). Granted Amaca and others of Liyul a gold insignia and . . . etc. , but their ranks are lower than that of Tse brass insignia.

(25). The myriarch, chiliarch and minor chiliarch of the border people, those are guarding the boundaries are given a fine jade insignia and a gold insignia. As it needs no further explanation that major military officers are the same as Tsangchenpa (Gtsang — chen — pa).

(26). These minor military officers are lower than that of Gotsangpa (sgo — gtsang — pa), no matter whether they are in the central area or in the border area, their ranks should be decided according to the old usage,

(27). of course, that is the power of superior. The governor and assistants dispatched to Shazhou, their ranks should higher than those who are the headmen of the large tribes and should distinguish with those,

(28). who are not in a high post and do not make great contributions, their ranks should be decided according to the old usage and please raise our (ranks)." Shazhou governor

(29). and assistants plead.

We are appointed to be the chief governor, Tser, assistants, please grant us a phramen insignia, our ranks should be higher than those of Tser brass insignia.

(30). chiliarch of "Gui" does not agree, now, the military officers of the Mighty front (mkhar—tsan) military administrative

(31). district plead: "According to the rule, the rank of chiliarch is higher than that of brass Tser, therefore, please agree that the rank of chiliarch should be higher than that of chief governor;

(32). please grant deputy governor a silver insignia, grant their assistants higher ranks than those of brass insignia. If you does not confer minor chiliarch a copper insignia, then we

(33). governor (rank) should be higher than those of Tibetans that hold the post of major and minor chiliarch. The official ranks of the Mighty Front Military Administrative District

(34). inquired the Zanglon Chenpo and decided as follows:

Officers of the Tang people should appoint those Tibetans who had been granted titles and insignia.

(35). There are different views about official ranks and status of the Mighty Front Military Administrative District. Consult the custom in the past and their service for the king,

(36). asked Zanglon Chenpo for instruction and made the decision about following official ranks and status:

"Clan chief, myriarch, Defence Scout Commander, military government with

(37). a brass insignia, major Agricultural Officer,

High Front Commander, Great Herd Officer of the Upper and Lower Tribes, Observer appointed inside the clan,

(38). Associate Defense Scout Commander, Clan Assistant, Scout Captain, Major Tax Officer, Major Confidential Secretary, Major Accountant, Major Judge,

(39). Tibetan and Sumpa chiliarch, Thongja and Azha chiliarch, military governor with a copper insignia, confidential emissary, middle confidential secretary

(40). low confidential secretary, manager, Tibetan and Sumpa minor chiliarch, Turkisk language official translator, military officer of Lungdor, comtrollers who are given copper insignia,

(41). supervisory inspector, Thongja and Azha minor chiliarch, not (superfluous word —note by translator) the hero who is awarded a Tiger Fur Insignia, Intelligence Officer, Intelligence Carrier, Observer of the Estate,

(42). Senior Quartermaster, the Hero who is awarded a minor Tiger Fur Insignia, (estate) Assistant Supervisory Inspector, confidential clerk, minor military officer of those nationalities in the boundary area, junior quartermaster,

(43). Buddhist Accountant, Clerk, Divinatory Geomancer (guide)

(44). On March 7, Spring of the year of Dog, post messenger Tsheru Shuntse, who holds the order of Shazhou Tser, said:

"From Tser below, Tang officers carry on endless disputes for official ranks.

(45). Is there any problem, if we pursue the decision of official ranks, that was decided by Guazhou General from now on?"

(46). "From Shazhou Tserlon (military governor)

and below, Tang official ranks should perform as this temporarily." Guazhou

(47). General and Spyan (supervisory inspector) made the decision.

The officials that were appointed by Shazhou Tser, their ranks and order are as follows: "Tser blon Tang people myriarch, Tang

(48). people myriarch spyan, chief governor, associate Tser, junior governor, Tang people spyan, chiliarch held by Tibetan, assistant of chiliarch held by Tang people,

(49). minor Tser, military financial and supply officer, Shazhou Defence Scout Commander held by Tibetan, minor chiliarch of Tang people held by Tibetan, assistant of minor chiliarch

(50). held by Tang people, Defence Scout Commander held by Tang people, Tang people chief tax officer, clerk of the myriarch."

(51). Shazhou Tang officers with the same rank as the local officers who are appointed by chief Zhanglon; transmit order officer Tazher (stag—bzher), Go (Rgod), Chung(Khyung); they are given appointment signs

(52). on March 4, Spring in the year of the Mouse, by Joro Ledu (Cog—ro—legs—vdus). Summer in the year of the Mouse, Great Zhanglon made an inspection tour to Longzhou meeting, replied as follows: Shazhou Tang people had divided into two tribes, they are ordered to set up organizations and

(53). appoint officers. There should appoint Tibetans to be Shazhou officers and clerks: Assign: Rongopo . Yu-gong (Ro—ngos—po—g. yu—gong) to be the Tserlon, Chungpo Lima (Khyung—po—klu—rma) to the Tserjan

(Tser—sryan), Zoyugong (Vbro—g. yu—gong) to be the middle Tser, Badra Male (Vbal—dra—ma—legs) to be minor Tser and scouting captain, send Tshanglo Pasha (Tshang—lo—spa—sha) to be minor chiliarch with a copper

(55). insignia, assign Serlama (Ser—la—rma) to be minor chiliarch with a minor copper insignia. Assign Tang people to the officers and clerks are as follows:

Appoint Dotaje (Do—stag—skyes) to be Tang people governor and the assistant Tibetan Tser.

(56). He already had a minor Tshamen (Vphra—men) insignia in the past, now we should put him in an important position and award him a major Tshamen insignia. Designate Anbungyi (An—bung—yig) to be

(57). Vice governor. He already had a copper insignia, now we should appoint him in an important position and award him a major brass insignia and let him held a concurrent post as the commanding officer

(58). of a tribe; appoint Yepeng (Yem—pheng) with a minor brass insignia to be his assistant. Though he had already been granted a minor brass insignia,

(59). because of important designation, now we should award him a major brass insignia in his presence as our unanimous commendation. Appoint Cangmdotse to be the tax officer of a tribe and let him concurrently hold the post of the manager for local financial affairs. As Sag—pho is from the origin of a well—known governor family

(60). Later he held an important position, now we appoint him to be the chief officer of local taxation, award him a " Tsang—chen " remuneration. Appoint Tsheru Cang Zhi to be an officer in charge of water conservancy in the tribal area.

(61). Appoint Li Puhwar to be the chief officer in charge of local farm land, his rank is the same as " Tsang — chen ". He was regarded highly and was appointed an important position and was awarded with " Tsang — chen " remuneration.

(62). Appoint Chang Stag Legs to be the officer in charge of water conservancy and he is concurrently the commanding officer of a tribe; appoint Khang Seru Tam to be his assistant, had awarded him with a minor brass insignia.

(63). Now commend and award him a major brass insignia in his presence as the same. Appoint Liu Huang as tax officer and he is concurrently the manager of local financial affairs.

(64). Appoint An Hingtse to be the Agricultural officer of the tribe. Appoint Li Phyin as the chief officer in charge of local water conservancy. Appoint Cang Deru to be the minor chiliarch, though his rank is minor copper insignia,

(65). but award him a minor brass insignia, put him in an important position and give him a minor copper (brass, noted by translator) remuneration and status. Appoint Bam Stagjigs to be the officer in charge of finance;

(66). Appoint Jeng Lharton to be the officer in charge of finance. Also appoint Yang Klulegs to be the officer in charge of water conservancy; appoint Wangan to be the officer in charge of water conservancy of the tribe; appoint Dzaan the agricultural officer of the tribe."

(67). Vbringyas bTsankong said on the alliance meeting: In the past, appointed Tibetans to be the minor military officer, (their ranks) are higher than those of myri-

ach and

(68). Chiliarch of the border tribe. Owing to Tse Ngepong is the assistant of Bra — skyes Puyeg, we earnestly request : Besides that minor chiliarch of border tribe should appoint Tibetans, his assistant should also appoint those who had ranks.

(69). Chiliarch of the border people plead the superior, take this as an example; as a rule (Chiliarch)

(70). is higher than that of minor military officer that had granted title and insignia; but in the summer of the year of the monkey, those minor military officers plead as follows: The auditor

(71). and the clerk who are in charge of confidential documents, they work hard and handle matters impartially. Later when appointed border people to be the myriarch and other high officials, still granted them a fine jade insignia and a gold insignia,

(72). (their ranks) are higher than those of minor military officers. Zhang bTsan—bzang and Zhang Khribrt-sam and Zhang rGyaltsam and Zhangkhri Dogrjes issue an order as follows: grant each myriarch

(73). a title and insignia. The year of monkey, the garrison officer of the border people (Chiliarch Garrison ?) that from Tibetan and border

(74). People are in dispute for official ranks and status. The pacification envoy and supervisory inspector made the decision and made the change from the superior. Grant each chiliarch a title and insignia,

(75). do not appeal to the military camp meeting immediately. This is a confidential decision, please ask Blon-legs bZherkhyi Mardod

(76). to conduct this matter by themselves and handle

it impartially. The ranks and order of Shazhou officers should be performed according to this decision from now on.

(77). Send a letter to Tser blon (military governor) and Spyan (supervisory inspector). After (Zhang btsan bzang and) Blo rGyalsgra and supervisory inspector Blon Byangbzher and Blon Gyusgras

(78). Made the decision, Blonleg bZherkhyi Mardod and Blonklu bZhersngon — brtsan stamped seals underneath.

(79). The ranks and status of Shazhou Tser and officers should be copied according to the above books from now on. The ranks and status of Shazhou officials.

(80). had decided and should be carried and according to this from now on :

Tser blon (military governor) and myriarch military supply officer myriach Spyan (supervisory inspector), chief governor, Tibetans that have been appointed

(81). to be the chiliarch, rich Tser, minor governor, Spyan of the Tang people, the Tang people appointed to be the assistant, the Tibetans appointed to be the

(82). Minor chiliarch, minor Tser and the military financial and supply officer, the Tibetan appointed to be the Shazhou chief officer of defence. The Tang people that have been appointed to be the assistant

(83). of minor chiliarch , The Tang people that have been appointed to be the officers of defence, chief tax officer — generals of the Tang people area, secretary and clerk of the myriach. "

(84). Blon Zlabzang and Blon Gyubzher and Blon Mangrje for instructions. Lha Lungzigs listened and took notes.

The Government Official System of Ancient Tibet

I. The Central Government Official System

| English Name | Chinese Name | Tibetan Name | Sources | Annotations |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|---|
| 1. Great state chancellor | 宰相 (Zai Xiang) | Chap-srid-kyi-blon-po-chen-po | Lines of the 4, 16, 18, 20th, and 22nd of "The Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821-822". Lines of the 17, 29, 49th of "The Inscription Zhwavi-Lha-Khang" (I), The 36th line of "The Inscription of Zhwavi-Lha-Khang" (II). P. 2765. | P. 2765 also written as 令公 (Ling gong). 尚书令 (Shang Shuling) 中书令 (Zhong Shuling) |
| 2. Great state chancellor | 论苕 (Lun Chai) 大论 (Da Lun) | Blon-chen, Blon-po-chen-po | <i>The Tibet Biography of Xin Tang-shu and Jiu Tang-shu</i> Chronicals in <i>Don-hong-nas-thon-pa'i-Bod-kyi-lo-rgyus-yig-cha</i> . The 6th line of "The Inscription in Front of Potala". | 大论 (Da Lun) Perhaps also called 大相 (Da Xiang). |

| | | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------|--|---|
| 3. State chancellor, Deputy Commander of the Army | 贡论 (Gong Lun) | (d) Gung - blon) | The 12nd line of the North face of " The Sino - Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821 - 822" | |
| 4. Minister of the Interior | 囊论 (Nang Lun) | Nang - blon | The 26th line of " The Sino - Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821 - 822". <i>The Tibet Biography of Xin and Jiu Tang - shu</i> . The second line of the left side of " The Inscription in Front of Potala". The 24th line on the back of above Inscription | In history book 册府元龟 <i>Ce Fu Yuan Gui</i> it is written as 内大相 (Nei Da Xiang) 内相 (Nei Xiang) |
| 5. Great administrative chancellor | 喻寒波 (Yu Han bo) (整事大相 Zhengshi Daxiang) | Go - gal - (vchos) - pa | The third line on left side of " The Inscription in Front of Potala". <i>The Tibet Biography of Xin and Jiu Tang - shu</i> . | |
| 6. Supervisory Inspector in - chief | 都护/悉编掣通 (Du Hu/ Xibian Chebu) | Spyan - chen - po | <i>The Tibet Biography of Xin and Jiu Tang - shu</i> . Items of the 30, 392, 393rd of "Tibetan Wooden Slips". | Also seen as 都监军使 (Dujian Junshi) |
| 7. Minister of the exterior | 纛论 (Pi Lun) | Phyi - blon | The 38th and 28th lines of " The Sino - Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821 - 822" | |

| | | | | |
|--|--|------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 8. Custodian general of fiscal affairs and revenue | 岸奔 (An Ben) | Mngan — dpon/rngan —pon | The 32nd line of "The Sino — Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821 — 822". P. 3770. The 30th item of "Tibetan Wooden Slips". | 度支官 (Su Zhiguan) fiscal officer |
| 9. State Commander — in — chief of the Army | 天下兵 马都元 帅 (Tian Xia Bing Ma Du Yuan Shuai) | Dmag — go — chog — gi — blon | The 10th of "The Sino — Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821 — 822", The 27th line on the back of "The Inscription in Front of Potala". | |
| 10. Secretary — general | 给事中 (Gei Shi — zhong) | bKari — phrin —blon | The 34th line of "The Sino — Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821 — 822". | |
| 11. Great state chancellor, the Buddhist monk dPal — chen — po | 钵阐布 (Bo Chan — bu) | | " The Inscription of Zhwavi Lha — Khang" (I). The 9th line of "The Sino — Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821 — 822". <i>The complete works of Bai Ju — yi</i> vol. 39, <i>The Tibet Biography of Xin and Jiu Tang — shu.</i> | |
| 12. The president of the board of justice | 刑部尚书 (Xingbu Shang — shu) | Zhal — ce — pa —chen — po | The 39th line of "The Sino — Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821 — 822". The 394th item of "Tibetan Wooden Slips". The 38th line of P. T. 1089. | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| <p>13. State chancellor, Participating in the deliberations of state affairs</p> | <p>平章政事/伽罗笃波 Ping — zhang — shi or Jialuo Dubo)</p> | <p>bKal — la — gtogs — pa</p> | <p>It occurs many times in " The Sino — Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821 — 822" and " The Inscription in Front of Potala".</p> | |
| <p>14. Minister of the Interior participating in the deliberations of state affairs</p> | <p>囊论伽罗笃波 (Nang — lun Jialuo Dubo)</p> | <p>Nang — blon — bkal — la — gtogs — pa</p> | <p>The 24th line on the south face of " The Inscription in Front of Potala".</p> | |
| <p>15. Minister of the exterior participating in the deliberations of state affairs</p> | <p>纛论伽罗笃波 (Pi — lun Jialuo Dubo)</p> | <p>Phyi — blon — bkal — la — gtogs — pa</p> | <p>The 28th line on the north face of " The Sino — Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821 — 822".</p> | |

I . The Local Government Official System

| English Name | Tibetan Name | Chinese Name | Sources |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|--|---|
| 1. Pacification envoy | bDe—blon | 安 抚 大 使 (Anfu Dashi) | The 6th line of P. T. 1089 |
| 2. Military governor | rTse — rje (Tser) | 节 儿, 节 儿 总 管, 节 度 使 (Jieer, Jieer Zongguan, Jie Dushi) | Items of the 87, 386, 387, 395th of "Tibetan Wooden Slips", S. 5816" Young Qian—rang Con- tract ". S. 2146. 6101. 6172. 2807. P. 3633. The 5th line of P. T. 1089. |
| 3. Supervisory inspector | sPyan | 悉 编, 观 察 使 (Xi Bian, Guan Cha — shi) | Items of the 392, 393rd of "Ti- betan Wooden Slips". The 7Th line of P. T. 1089. |
| 4. Agricultural offi- cer | Zhing— dpon | 营 田 使 (Ying Tianshi) | Items of the 12, 28, 383rd of " Tibetan Wooden Slips". The 66th line of P. T. 1089. |
| 5. Water conservan- cy officer | Chu—dpon | 水 监 (Shui Jian) | The 66th line of P. T. 1089. |
| 6. Tax of- ficer | Khral— dpon | 税 监 (Shui Jian) | Items of the 28, 68, 183rd of " Tibetan Wooden Slips". The 38th line of P. T. 1089. |
| 7. Chil- iarch | sTong — dpon | 千 夫 长 (Qian Fuzhang) | Lines of the 42, 46th of "The In- scription in Front of Potala". The 14th line of P. T. 1089. |

| | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|--|
| 8. Pasture officer | vBrog— dpon | 牧 监 (Mu Jian) | The 413rd item of " Tibetan Wooden Slips". |
| 9. Officer of the Tribe | sDevi— dpon—po | 部 落 使 (Bu Luo—shi) | The 42nd line of " The Inscription of Zhwavi—Lha—khang" (I). |
| 10. Myriarch | Khri— dpon | 乞 利 本 / 一 万 人 将 / 万 夫 (户) 长 (Qi Liben / Yi — wan Ren-jiang / Wan Fuzhang | S. No. 1000. The 61st item of " Tibetan Wooden Slips". The second and 25th lines of P. T. 1089. |
| 11. Clan chief also military officer | Ru—dpon | 茹 本 (Ru Ben) | The first and 4,405,410th items of "Tibetan Wooden Slips". |
| 12. Clan assistant, also a military officer | Ru—theb | 茹 特 (Ru Te, 副茹本) | The 38th line of P. T. 1089. |
| 13. Comptroller | rTsis—pa | 资 悉 波 / 算 使 (Zi Xibo / Suan shi) | The second and 4th items of " Tibetan Wooden Slips". The 38th line of P. T. 1089. |
| 14. Defence scout commander (chief, assistant) | dGra— blon | 料 敌 防 御 使 (大、中、小) (Liaodi Fangyu — shi) (Da Zhong Xiao) | Items of the 4,7,401,402,410th of " Tibetan Wooden Slips". Lines of the 36, 38, 49, 50, 54, 82, 83rd of P. T. 1089 |
| 15. High fort commander | mKhar— dpon | 大 防 城 使 (Da Fang Cheng-shi) | The 37th line of P. T. 1089 |

| | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| 16. Confidential secretary (higher, middle, lower) | gSang — gi — yi — ge — pa | 机 密 书 记 (大、中、小) (Ji Mi Shu Ji, Da Zhong Xiao) | Lines of the 38, 39th of P. T. 1089. |
| 17. Confidential emissary | gSang — gi — pho — nya | 机 密 信 使 (Ji- mi Xinshi) | The 39th line of P. T. 1089 |
| 18. Official translator | Lo — tsa — pa | 通 事 舍 人 (Tong — zi Sheren) | The 40th line of P. T. 1089 |
| 19. Intelligence officer | gsang — gi — rub — ma — pa | 秘 密 征 集 使 (Mi Mi Zheng Ji Shi) | The 41st line of P. T. 1089 |
| 20. Intelligence carrier | gsang — gi — vgyed — ma — pa | 秘 密 传 导 使 (Mi Mi Chuan Dao Shi) | The 41st line of P. T. 1089 |
| 21. Senior quartermaster | Byung — vtsho — chen — po | 大 军 需 官 (Da Jun Xuguan) | The 42nd line of P. T. 1089 |
| 22. Junior quartermaster | Byung — vtsho — chungu — pa | 小 军 需 官 (Xi- ao Jun Xuguan) | The 42nd line of P. T. 1089 |

| | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 23. Military financial and supplying officer. | Mngan— go — cu — rub | 岸武库令 (An Wu Ku Ling) | The 49th line of P. T. 1089 |
| 24. District garrison commander | sTong— vdul — pavi — pon | 镇守官 (Zhen Shouguan) | The 73rd line of P. T. 1089 |
| 25. Governor | To—dog | 都督 (Du Du) | The 10th line of P. T. 1089 |
| 26. Tsang — chen, An officer of the district | gTsang— cen — pa | 大 藏 (Da Zang) | The 8th line of P. T. 1089 |
| 27. Military officer | dMag— dpon | 军 官 (Jun Guan) | The 13rd line of P. T. 1089 |
| 28. Major military officer. | dMag— dpon— chen — po | 大 军 官 (Da Jan — guan) | The 25th line of P. T. 1089 |
| 29. Minor military officer | dMag— dpon— chungu | 小 军 官 (Xiao Junguan) | The 26th line of P. T. 1089 |

Notes

① These Works are:

1. Chen Qingying (陈庆英): *A Discussion on Tibetan King's Power and Tibetan Official System*, *Journal of the Tibetan Institute for Nationalities* Vol. 4, 1982. According to Tibetan history book *A Feast for Wise Men (Mkhas—pavi—dgar—ston)*, he classified central government official system of ancient Tibet into three parts:

Gunglon: State chancellor, Deputy commander of the army. Who participates in the deliberation of state affairs. (Legislation)

Nanglon: The minister of the Interior. Who executes king's order, responsible for financial affairs, statistics, civil affairs and supplies living necessities for the royal family (Administrative affairs)

Yuhanpo (yo—gal—vchos—pā): Participate in the great discussions, in charge of picketos, judicature. (Supervision)

According to Tibetan Documents, the author made a comparison with Tang Dynasty Government organization. Just as shang—shu (尚书: Department of Government Affairs) Zhong—shu (中书: Department of the Imperial Secretariat) Men—xia (门下: The Department of the Imperial Chancellery) and deduced these government posts. It is a reasonable classification, but there are still many difficulties when we study into Tibetan Documents.

2. Chen Nan (陈楠): *A Research and Discussion on the Functionary System of Tubo* "No. 2, 1988, *China Tibetology*.

The author wrote this thesis for her master's degree, while she studied in the Central Institute for Nationalities. She accumulated a wealth of data and directed by professor Su Jin—ren (苏晋仁). She made a good study and her line of reasoning is close to professor Chen Qing—ying, she also advocates that there are Gunglon, Nanglon, Yuhanpo three parts of Government posts in ancient Tibet. Her textual research is full and accurate, such as Shang (尚 Zheng), Lon (论, blon), persons of royal lineage (王族) and the persons from the family which had furnished queens to the Tibetan Kings (宦族), she expounded how they set up official po-

sitions as mentioned above and Lon Chen and Po Ch'an pu (钵阐布, The Buddhist monk minister), their number and changes. The author paid special attention to the difference between Tubot central government post system and the local official position system. That is to say that she noticed the difference and connection between the tribal clan and the central kingship.

It is characteristically written :

3. G. Uray: *Khepe Garton (Mkhas—Pari—dgar—ston) analyse*, Carried in *Acta Orient*, Hungary, Vol. 26, No. 1.

But there is a Chinese translation by Wang Qing—shan, Carried in *Collected Translations on Tibetology in Foreign Countries*, Vol. I. 1982. It is the author who first pointed out the importance of *Khepe Garton* for study Tibetan Government post. He has rendered great service.

4. Japanese professor Yamaguehi Zuiho, *Dunhuang Under the Control of Tubot* published in 1980, collected in his lecture on Dunhuang ; part four: *History of Dunhuang*. It consists of two parts, seven subjects. He translated the official names in detail of document P. T. Vol. 1089.

a. Dunhuang under the Occupation of Tubot.

(1) The Occupation of Dunhuang.

(2) The Loss of Dunhuang

(3) The General of Dunhuang Expedition

b. Social Changes in the Forms of Tabo 's Rule of Dunhuang.

(1) Dunhuang and Tubo Society.

(a) Official ranks

(b) Tubo central government

(c) The organization of army group

(d) The tax system, judgement

(2) The Social Forms under Tubo's Rule of Danhuang

(a) The estimate to the Han people society.

(b) The official post order under the military regime

(c) The meaning of the nonnative people tribe.

(3) The Constitution of Two Tribes of the Han People Army.

(a) The registration book of the Han people official post.

(b) The order of the Han people official post

(4) The Founding Time of the Two Tribes of Shazhou Han People Army.

(a) The upper tribe and the lower tribe.

(b) Note on the time of "the text of commemorative prayer of the three—states alliances.

(c) The military tribe and the tussah silk tribe

(d) three tribes in Shazhou

(e) The first year of the Chinese Twelve Earthly Branches.
(The year of mouse)

5. Wen—jiang (文江), *Textual Research on the System of the Official Title of Tubo—A Study into Dunhuang Tibetan Manuscript of Document P. T. 1089*, Carried in *Tibetan studies* No. 3, 1987. Wen—jiang noticed the importance of P. T. 1089 and made many useful inquiries, it deserves admiration. But he took Gunglon Chenpo, Lonchen and Lon Chai all these official names as one dGung—blen—chen—po. Again took bKa—yo—gal—chos—pa—chen—po, the Great Administrative Chancellor, Ya—gal—(vehos)—pa as Zhal—ce—pa—chen—po, (刑部尚书: The Minister of the Board of Justice) ? These points are all open to question. Wen—jiang points out that "rje—blas" is a high rank official, who is not only in charge of official records but his advice is also required if there is a chance of selecting or promoting officers and he translated it as "The Minister of Official Personnel Affairs in Feudal China, 吏部大臣." This point is also needs further discussion.

② 1. Wang Yao and Chen Jian (王尧、陈践), *A Survey of the Ancient Tibet Military System* carried in *Chinese History Studies*, No. 1. 1986

2. *Documents of Legal Enactments of Ancient Tibet*

The Texts and Documents of Ancient Tibet in Dunhuang, PP. 1—29.

3. Wang Yao, Chen Jian; *Annotated to the Etiquette Scrolls of Dunhuang in Ancient Tibetan Language, Historical and Geographical Review of Northwest China*, No 2, 1983, Published by Lanzhou University.

③ Tsi—pa (rtsis—pa), see right face inscription on the tablet of "The Sino—Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821—822." See

also Chinese translation text P.52 of *Tu—bo Chin Shi Lu, Peking*, 1982. Tsi—pa—chen—po (rtsis—pa—chen—po), Great Comptroller specific duty for account book. This post was continued up to Ming Qing Dynasty, and still kept up in Tibetan Local Government, named Tsi—pon (rtsis—dpon).

Also see *A study of the Ancient Tibetan Inscriptions* by Fang Kuei Li and W. south Coblin, published by Nankang, Taipei, Tainan, ROC, 1987, 6, P. 62, in English version.

H. Recharadson, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*, PP. 134, 1985.

④ Meeting :Dun—sa—sha—na (gdun—sa—sha—na), see the entries of chronological records of *Don—hong—nas—thon—pa'i—bod—kyi—lo—rgyus—yig—cha, Peking*, 1980. It means meeting before the king (temporary), some times it used together with khrom (Permanent or finalized). Khrom see P. 30 of *A Corpus of Tibetan Wooden Slips*.

Also in detail of notes (7): Here cited from G. uray's thesis: *khrom: Administrative Units of the Tibetan Empire in the 7th—9th Centries* (1979). The 24th item of *A Corpus of Tibetan Wooden Slips*.

khrom has following meanings:

1. Market, town, country fair or market town.
2. Tibetan scripts of a place name, Chinese call it "Gao—chang". In the west part of China, while in Tang Dynasty. (nowadays it is in the Xin—jiang Autonomous Region).
3. The army government organization during the period of Tubo kingdom (especially set up for exterior—line operations). That is the military camp meeting.
4. general or great general.

⑤ Tripon (乞利本 khri—bpon). The commander of ten thousand souls. See Documents S. T. or S. 2736. or S. 1000. Now usually translated as Myriarch.

⑥ Jien (悉编 Spyan. 观察使 supervisory inspector). See *The History of Ancient Tibet in the New Book of the Tang Dynasty, during the Period of Tubo Kingdom*. (新唐书吐蕃传). It is written in Chinese "Du—hu one (都护一人). Which is identified in the

Tibetan Sources as is *syān Chen-po* (悉编掣逋). Supervisory Inspector—in —chief". This official name also seen in the 30th item of *A Corpus of Tibetan wooden Slips*. Here "Spyan" is the subaltern of Du—hu. They are "The supervisory inspectors and the agricultural officers". Also see the 68th line of "The Sino—Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821—822." In which it is translated as "supervisory inspector (观察使)" Spyan in Tibetan term is the polite expression of eye. Therefore it could be extended as supervisory inspector.

⑦ Tser—lon: (节度使, The military governor) Tse—je (rtse—rje) is a border district military governor set up by Tubot in accordance with Tang Dynasty system. Tang official name Jie—du—shi (节度使, military governor) in addition with Tibetan word lon (blon), composed a Sino—Tibetan word "tser—lon" or in brief "Tser". See document P. T. No. 1205, 1235 in Chinese: "Zhang Yi—chao (张议潮) rise in insurrection and driven out Tubot Tser" ect. Document I. O. S. No. 5816 "Yang Qian—rang (杨谦让) contract" in which is written "August 19th in the third year of the twelve Earthly Branches (寅年). Yang Qian—rang conflict with Li Xiu—shun (李修顺). Yang was beaten and broke his shin bone... judged by Tser and ordered Yang Qian—rang go home and rest..." etc. Again. in P. T. No. 1291, The translation text in Tibetan version of "Zhan Guo Ce" (战国册, The history book of warring states) in the 6th part, "The garrison officer" is translated as "The Tser chief governor of the administrative area" (see P. 92 of *The texts and Documents in old Tibetan from Dunhuang*, 敦煌吐蕃文献选 for reference). Thus Tibetans of that time are accustomed to translate local military governor or garrison officers as Tser. In addition, in Tubot biography of Chinese history book, such as *Ce Fu Yuan Gui* (册府元龟). *Xin Tangshu* and *Jiu Tangshu* (新·旧唐书). One often sees "Tubo east way military governor" or "Tubo south way military governor" and such official names. It seems that after Tubo had occupied Gua—zhou, (瓜州) Sha—zhou (沙州) and Hexi area, they followed Tang system and set up Tser or Tser chief governor as a rule.

⑧ The pacification envoy (安抚大使, bde—blon) corresponds

with Defence scout commander (料敌使, *dgra - blon*) who is in charge of social public security. See pp. 144, the 8th part of Biography chapter of *Don - hong - nas - thon - pa'i - Bod - kyi lo - rgyus - yig - cha* (敦煌本吐蕃历史文书).

⑨ The general office in Machu district, Ma indicates *rma - chu*, it is the upper reaches of Yellow River. Grom is another form of *khrom*, *rma - grom* is *rma - khrom*, *khrom* see note ③ in detail. See the 55th item of chronicles in *Don - hong - nas - thon - pa'i Bod - kyi - lo - rgyus - yig - cha* for reference. (That is the 4th year of *chang - an* of empress Dowager Wu - Zetian 太后长安四年 *Jia - shen* [甲申]704AD) "...summer" the King Tsanpo 's father stayed at "Yo Ti Cu bSangs (约地菊桑)" of the general office in Machu district. Again, the 104th item of the chronicles in the same book. That is the Xuan - Zong Tian - bao (玄宗天宝)14th year. Yi - wei (乙未)755AD. "...The Tao Zhou Castle (洮州城堡) fall, recapture the general office in Machu district. Request Zhang mDobzher to be the commander of the general office in Machu district"

⑩ Da Zang (大藏 *gtsang - chen*, read as *tsang - chen*). There are many records in the following book "*Don - Nong - nas - thon - pa 'i - Bod - kyi - lo - rgyus yig - cha*" Such as :The 35th of "The Chronicles" (684AD.)"The four *mgnan* of *tsang - chen* merged into two". The 38th (687AD.)" Winter, settle the taxes for per mu (亩. a unit of area = 0. 0667 hectares) of *tsang - chen* place...put down the first rebellion of *tsang - chen*". The 41th (690AD.) establish the Red Book of *tsang - chen*". The 44th (693AD.), "appoint the pature officer for *tsang - chen*", the 64th (713AD.) "Nubu • Tringen Montsan died, his large number of main property and the populace family all transmit the favour to Langan Khri - sumrje of *Tsang - chen*", The 66th (715AD), Lon Langan Khri - sumrje of *Tsang - chen* gathering and discuss alliance". The 71st (720AD). "send Zhang Lon to *Tsang - chen* to collect horse grain fodder taxes". The 82nd (713AD) "Brung - pa - Lha - sang - thang - rtsan of *Tsang - chen* was sent into exile and intended to replenish *singe monpo*." In view of this , that this official name had changed into a common duty from a local specific duty.

⑪ God (桂 ryod). The warrior stratum of Tibet soldier. See the 5th of the "chronicles" (654A D.) from the following book "*Don—hong—nas—thon—pa 'i Bod—kyi—lo—rgyus—yig—cha*" Distinguish rGod and gYung (It means to distinguish warrior from slave class) ". This Kind of view also see in Vol. JA of "*Khe—pe—gar—ton*" (*Mkhas—pavi dgar—ston*), while God—sar—gi—de (rgod—sar—gyi—sde) is in detail that appeared as Gegus tribe from the Dun—huang.

⑫ Thong—jad (通颊, mthong—khyad) ;After Tubo occupied Guazhou, Hexi and Xicheng (西域, west city), they mixed up Tang people with other nationalities and organized them into one tribe. It was called Thong—jad, and the populace family was called Thong—jad common people. In P. 19 of Vol. JA, of "*Khe—pe—gar—ton*" it is written that Thong—jad is set up on the border and the east way military governor administered the Thong—jad east and west five each. In the following documents also appeared this word, such as the first item of *A Corpus of Tibetan Wooden Slips* 《吐蕃简牍综录》, and P. T. 113. P. T. 1083 of "Biography chapter " of "*Don—hong—nas—thon—pa 'i Bod—kyi—lo—rgyus—yig—cha*" and P. 4083 Document in Chinese:" the contract of Tang—Qing—nu (唐清奴 a name) buying ox ", P. 25. note ③ of *A Corpus of Tibetan Wooden Slips* 《吐蕃简牍综录》, for reference, this is the word which Wen—jiang translated as Tong—qiao (同乔)

⑬ Tiger fur award (大虫皮褒奖, stag—gi—zar—can—pa): The common practice is to award those who gained military exploits with tiger fur insignia in ancient Tibet and spreaded to Nanzhao (南诏 a local regime of Tang Dynasty, now it is in Yunnan province). There are records in "Inscription of Nanzhao De Hua Stele" (南诏德化碑). On the back side of this stone tablet it is written: "Zhao Mei—qiu (赵眉丘) had been given tiger fur garment insignia", "Zhang Biao—luo (张骠罗) had been given gown and golden belt insignia and also given major tiger fur garment insignia concurrently" (cited from "*A textual Research of collections of Ancient Inscriptions from Yunnan*" P, 59). In the No. $\frac{c}{P} \frac{10}{6}$ Mo—gao—ku (莫高窟) Cave of Dunhuang, on the east wall, south from

the door, there is the first female votive donor, which is entitled : " madam is the daughter of the revered Sir Kang with Tiger fur insignia and her father has been appointed by Tibetan as Cang Cao Cen-jun (仓曹参军, a local officer in charge of granary, tax etc.) of Guazhou local Government and he was awarded silver-gilt insignia. She is a propitious Upasika and practises Buddhism Mahayana (Great Vehicle) No. (?) and whole heartedly votive offering. (cited from PP. 363-364 of "Civilization of Chang-an and west regions of Tang Dynasty" (《唐代长安与西域文明》) Written by Xiang-da. 向达). Again, on P. 144 the 8th of "Biography section" of "Don-hong-nas thon-pa 'i bod-kyi-lo-rgyus yig-cha" also has the record as "grant a reward of tiger fur sign." The above mentioned records proved that the award to some one with tiger fur was a common practice of ancient Tibet.

⑭ Ye-la (王差, rje-blas): It is a interior tax of Tibetan Palace. It is first seen in the 18th line of "The Gon-pu Rock inscription of De-mo Samo" "工布第穆萨摩崖刻石", carried in P. 98 of Tu-po chin-shih-lu. The 18th line of "The Inscription in Front of Potala" (恩兰·达札路恭纪功碑), carried in P. 64, P 89 note (6) of "Tu-po-chin-Chih-lu." This is the word that Wen Jiang translated into Chinese as "the minister of official personne affairs in feudal China" (吏部大臣). For reference, see my article review of the New Work of Fangkuei Li and W. South Coblin, A Study of the Old Tibetan Inscriptions "Carried in No, 4, 1988, of "minzu yuwen"《民族语文》. On P, 53, I made special discussion.

⑮ lho-bal (边鄙) It is a name disdainfully called by Tibetan to those nationalities lived on the boundary areas. It is seen early on the 19th line of east face inscription of "the Sino-Tibetan Treaty Inscription of 821-822", carried in p. 32 of "Tu-po chin-shih-lu". While translated in chinese as "蛮貊", now translated as "边鄙" with same meaning but more tactful.

⑯ Tribute (zho-sha). It is a very ancient word, meaning curd and meat. It is the most important products of nomadic society. It has been derived as offerings, contribution. First seen on the 20th, 23rd line of "The Inscription of Zhwavi Lha-khang" (I)《谐拉康碑文》(甲) carried in P. 109 of "Tu-po-chin-shih-lu".

The Relationship between the Ming Central Authorities and the Phadru Regime in the Tibet Region

Ya Hanzhang

I. Whether There Were Eleven or Thirteen Desi (Chief Administrator) of the Phadru Regime

Since the reign of Wo Godan, emperor Taizhu of the Yuan Dynasty, Tibet has formally been incorporated into the Great Yuan Empire, and it was the Sakya regime supported by the Yuan emperor that directly administered the local affairs of Tibet. The Sakya regime ruled over Tibet for 89 years by altogether six ruling lamas, from the second year of the emperor Shizu of the Yuan Dynasty (1265 A. D.), when Phagspa established Labrang and appointed Ponchen (administrator) in Sakya Monastery, till the fourteenth year of the emperor Shundi of the Yuan dynasty (1354 A. D.), when the Sakya regime was overthrown by Changchu Gyantsan of the Phamo Drupa Kagyu sect, the head of Wanhu (ten thousand households). The history of this period is clear with few knotty problems. Now what is of problem is the history of the Phadru regime's rule over Tibet.

The Phadru regime also had the recognition of the

Yuan emperor Shundi, who granted Changchu Gyantsan the title of "Da Situ" (grand duke) to take over the administration of Tibetan local affairs. Immediately following the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, the regime pledged allegiance to the newly founded Ming dynasty. Thus, the Tibetan region was formally admitted into the Great Ming Empire's domain, peacefully establishing the relationship of subordination without any war. The successive ruling lamas of the Phadru regime were granted official posts and titles. Moreover, from the fifth on, they inherited the title of "Prince Chanhua" (Prince of Persuasion).

The ruling lamas of the Phadru regime proclaimed themselves to be Desi. The Phadru regime lasted for 264 years, from the first Desi Changchu Gyantsan in 1354 (the fourteenth year of Zhizheng in the reign of the Yuan emperor Shundi) to the last Desi Dzowa Gongpo overthrown by Tsangpa Khan of the Kagyu Karma sect in 1618 (the forty—sixth year of Wanli in the reign of the Ming emperor Shengzong). In regards to the historical period of the Phadru regime's rule over Tibet — the earlier phase of which was more explicit than the later one — there are few detailed works and quite different opinions on the issues concerning the number of Desi altogether, their chronological order of succession, and their term of rule. While working on *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, I made a brief study of the history of the Phadru regime and held that there were thirteen Desi altogether, whereas, in fact the number is not precise. Moreover, as for the Desi's dates of birth and death as well as the years of reign, most of them were approximate numbers and a few were even without any numbers at all. Then I had to annotate with the note: "without detailed dates of birth and

death as well as the years of reign", leaving them for further textual investigations.

Later, in the process of compiling *The Biographies of the Panchen Lamas*, I met the same problem again and was forced to devote a lot of time and energy to solve it. I tentatively found out that there were eleven Desi under the Phadru regime, not thirteen. As for their dates of birth and death as well as their years of reign, though I dare not say they are absolutely precise, they are somehow better than the exposition in *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*.

Changchu Gyantsan (1302 — 1364), the Phadru regime's first Desi, was a descendant of the Lang family which owned a large number of manors and serfs in Lhoka area of Tibet. When the Yuan emperor Shizu sent officials to Tibet to take a census in 1268, thirteen Wan Hu with a head for each were installed in U and Tsang. Phamo Drupa was one of them; his eighth head was Changchu Gyantsan. Gradually becoming powerful at the end of the Yuan dynasty, Phamo Drupa conquered and annexed the rest of twelve Wan Hu, overthrew the rule of the Sakya regime in the fourteenth year of Zhizheng under the reign of the Yuan emperor Shundi, then established the Phadru regime. Proclaiming himself to be Desi, Changchu Gyantsan possessed the capital city of Nedong Dزونг (county), Lokha area of Tibet, and also had a Drungchen (secretary—general) working under him, attending to the day—to—day affairs. Being a monk, Changchu Gyantsan did not get married. For this reason he stipulated that the post of Phadru's Desi should all be held by monks. Within the areas ruled by the Phadru regime, Changchu Gyantsan set up Dzongs (equivalent to "counties" in inland China),

the heads of which, called Dzungpons, were not hereditary, but appointed by the Desi. Furthermore, many Shikas (feudal manors) were established in rural areas, having serfs to work for them. *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* by the fifth Dalai Lama records: "During the reign of Desi Changchu Gyantsan, all areas, even including the westernmost ones, were subject to the rule of the Phadru regime without exception. Moreover, in accordance with custom, the minor heads offered tribute and handed in taxes to the regime."^[2] It can be seen from the above records that the Phadru regime had completely replaced the Sakya monarchy, marking the beginning of the Kagyu sect's Phadru rule of Tibet. At the age of 62, Changchu Gyantsan died in 1364 (the twenty-fourth year of Zhizheng under the reign of the Yuan emperor Shundi), having reigned for ten years (1354—1364).

Called Jamyang Sakya Gyantsan in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, Changchu Gyantsan's nephew Sakya Gyantsan (1340—1373) was the second Desi of the Phadru regime. Being the son of Changchu Gyantsan's younger brother Sonam Sangpo, Sakya Gyantsan became a monk when he was still a child, and was once the abbot of Tsethang Monastery. After Changchu Gyantsan passed away, Sakya Gyantsan succeeded him as the second Desi, and was granted the title of "State Initiation Master" by emperor Shundi of the Yuan dynasty. At that time there happened political upheavals causing dynastic change. The Yuan dynasty was overthrown, and the Ming dynasty was soon established. In the fifth year of Hongwu under the reign of the Ming emperor Taizu, Sakya Gyantsan sent an envoy to pay homage to the emperor who also granted him

the title of "State Initiation Master." Having reigned for nine years (1364—1373), he died in 1373 (the sixth year of Hongwu) at the age of 33. The regime's third Desi Tapa Jangchu (or Kyila Shipa Sangdru Ja Tsangpa Tsangpo as he was referred to in *The History of Ming Dynasty*), was the son of Rinchen Dorje, Changchu Gyantsan's younger brother. Becoming a monk at a very young age, he succeeded Sakya Gyantsan as the Desi in the sixth year of Hongwu, and in the eighth year of Hongwu he was granted the title of "Wan Hu of Phamo Drupa" by the Ming emperor Taizu. Later he resigned in the fourteenth year of Hongwu and became the abbot of Den Sathil Monastery. As Tapa Jangchu was well-versed in Buddhist studies, Tsongkapa once studied under him. He reigned for only eight years (1373—1381), and passed away at the age of 30 in 1386 (the nineteenth year of Hongwu).

Mentioned as "Sonam Tashi Yejan Tsangpo" in *Imperial Records of the Ming Dynasty*, the regime's fourth Desi Sonam Tapa (1356—1408), also the son of Rinchen Dorje and the third Desi Tapa Changchu's younger brother, became a monk at a very young age and once was the abbot of Tsethang Monastery. In 1381 (the fourteenth year of Hongwu under the reign of Ming emperor Taizu) he became the fourth Desi and was conferred the title of "State Initiation Master" in the twenty-first year of Hongwu. Having reigned for four years, Sonam Tapa resigned and his younger brother Tapa Gyantsan succeeded him to the post. At the age of 49 he died in 1408 (the sixth year of Yongle of the Ming emperor Chengzu).

Tapa Gyantsan (or Kyila Shipa Gyemtsan Palzangpo, as he was referred to in *The History of the Ming*

Dynasty), Phadru's fifth Desi, was the son of Rinchen Dorje and the fourth Desi Sonam Tapa's younger brother. Initiated into monkhood in his childhood, he was once the abbot of Tsethang Monastery. Later in 1385 (the eighteenth year of Hongwu of the Ming dynasty) he became the Desi, and was endowed the title of "Prince Chanhua" in 1406 (the fourth year of Yong-le under the reign of the Ming emperor Chengzu). During his term of office, Tapa Gyantsan did two very important things. First, he had post-staging stations along the road from inland China to Tibet restored, which was praised in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*: "From then on, the roads stretched unobstructed for thousands of Li and government envoys in transit travelled along these roads without fear of being attacked by bandits." Second, he assisted Tsongkapa to institute the Lhasa Prayer Festival (Known as "Monlam" in Tibetan, nowadays generally called "Monlam Chenpo") in 1409 (the seventh year of Ming emperor Chengzu's reign). In the same year he offered financial help for Tsongkapa to found the Ganden Monastery, the first one of the Gelug sect. Tapa Gyantsan died at the age of 58 in 1432 (the seventh year of Xuande under the reign of the Ming emperor Xuanzong). His reign of 47 years was the zenith of the Phadru regime. Namka Gyantsan, an aristocrat, usurped the post of Dzungpon (magistrate) of Ringpung county and changed it a hereditary position. Called Ringpungpa in Tibetan historical books, the family gradually grew stronger and more powerful, establishing a separatist rule in Ringpung County whose influence extended into the internal section of the Phadru regime.

Phadru's sixth Desi was Gyungne (1414 — 1448) (mentioned in *The History of the Ming Dynasty* as Kyila

Shipa Yongnejan Tsangpa Tsangpo), who was the nephew of the fifth Desi Tapa Gyantsan and the eldest son of his younger brother Sanggye Gyantsan. Becoming a monk at a very young age and once being the abbot of Tsethang Monastery, he took office as the Desi in 1432 (the seventh year of Xuande under the reign of the Ming emperor Xuanzong), and received the titles of "the State Initiation Master" and "Prince Chanhua" in 1439 (the fourth year of Zhengtong under the reign of the Ming emperor Yingzong). Later, following a *coup d'état* staged within the Phadru regime in 1446 (the eleventh year of Zhengtong under the reign of the Ming emperor Yingzong), Tapa Gyungne was dethroned by his father Sanggye Gyantsan, who usurped the post of Desi. He died at the age of 34 in 1448 (the thirteenth year of Zhengtong under the reign of Ming emperor Yingzong). Tapa Gyungne stayed in power for fourteen years (1432—1446).

Sanggye Gyantsan (1396—1468, referred to as Sanggye Je Tsangpa Tsangpo in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*) usurped the position of Desi in 1446 (the eleventh year of Zhengtong under the reign of the Ming emperor Yingzong. (Note: Changchu Gyantsan, the first Desi of the Phadru regime, made it a rule that all the Desi had to be monks. Sanggye Gyantsan was a layman and was not qualified for the post of Desi. In order to usurp the power of the Phadru regime, he violated the rule established by Changchu Gyantsan. From then on, the position of Desi became a hereditary system.) He was not endowed with the official title by the Ming government, and only received the title of "Successor to Prince Chanhua". He died at the age of 72 in 1468 (the fourth year of Chenghua under the reign of Ming emperor Xianzong). Sanggye

Gyantsan stayed in power for twenty—two years (1446—1468).

The eighth Desi of the Phadru regime was Kungga Lepa (1433 — 1495), referred to as "Gongga Lesi Phadrung Nelingzeng Gyantsan Palzangpo" in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*. As the second son of Sanggye Gyantsan, he succeeded to the Desi in 1468 (the fourth year of Chenghua under the reign of the Ming emperor Xianzong) and received the title of "Successor to Prince Chanhua" in 1469 (the fifth year of Chenghua under the reign of the Ming emperor Xianzong). Having remained in office for 27 years (1468—1495), Gongga Lepa died at the age of 62 in 1495 (the eighth year of Hongzhi under the reign of the Ming emperor Xiaozong). As he had no son, Gongga Lepa was succeeded by Ngagen Wangpo.

Recorded as "Aje Wangsu Tapa" in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, Ngagen Wangpo was the ninth Desi of the Phadru regime. It is still not clear whose son he was; according to *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*, there are two versions about his life. One is that he might be the son of the sixth Desi Tapa Gyungne; the other is that he was probably the son of Gongrang Robi Dorje, son of a high official. Once being a monk, Ngagen Wangpo was the abbot of Den Sathil Monastery. Resuming secular life after becoming the Desi, he married the daughter of Tsongkapa and had a son called Awang Tashi Tapa. In 1497 (the tenth year of Hongzhi under the reign of the Ming emperor Xiaozong) Ngagen Wangpo sent an envoy to Beijing to ask for the Ming emperor's granting of title. As the post—staging stations had long been out of repair, it took several years to travel to and fro between Tibet and Beijing. Having reigned for fifteen years (1495—1510),

he, however, died at the age of 72, in 1510 (the fifth year of Zhengde under the reign of the Ming emperor Wuzong), before the emperor's envoy reached Tibet.

Following the death of Ngagen Wangpo, there was no recipient of the title conferred by the emperor; and in accordance with regulations drawn up by the Ming Dynasty, the envoy was required to hand the emperor's edict back to the Board of Rite to be canceled. Therefore at that time the regime's monk officials requested that the edict, conferred on Ngagen Wangpo, be transferred to his son Awang Tapa Tashi. As a Tibetan himself, the envoy did not know the Ming Dynasty's rules, and endowed the imperial edict on the son. After he came back to Sichuan Province, however, the governor denounced him for his crime of bestowing the title without authorization, and had him arrested and sent to Beijing to be decapitated. Later, the Ming emperor ruled that: "Since Tibetans should not be punished severely, he was exempted from decapitation and sent to Ping Liang of Shaanxi in exile; meanwhile as for the officials under the deputy envoy, they would be exonerated". (see *The History of the Ming Dynasty*)

Referred to as Awang Tashi Tapa Gyantsan Palzangpo in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, Ngawang Tashi Tapa (about 1499—1571) was Phadru's tenth Desi. As he was too young to administer the affairs, Rinpungpa Chokyi Dorje and Chodra Yeshe, the fourth ruling Lama of Karma Kagyu sect known as "the black hat sect", were the acting Desi for eight years (1510—1518). During their reign they persecuted the Gelug sect founded by Tsongka-pa, and did not allow the monks of Drepung and Sera Monasteries to attend the Monlam Chenpo, an annual

prayer festival held in January. The ban was not lifted after Awang Tashi Tapa formally came into office as the tenth Desi in 1518 (the thirteenth year of Zhengde under the reign of the Ming emperor Wuzong). He was not granted the title of "Prince Chanhua" until 1563 (the forty-second year of Jiaqing under the reign of the Ming emperor Shizong). He died at the age of 72 in 1571 (the fifth year of Longqing), having remained in power for 53 years (1518—1571). With the collapse of the Phadru regime and the decline of the power of Rinpungpa, Shingshapa — the ancestor of Tsangpa Khan and one of the great serf — owners in Tsang — replaced them. Shingshapa, called Tsetan Dorje, was once the subject of Rinpungpa; later uniting with the local powers in Tsang, he captured Rinpungpa's manors and serfs, separately ruling in Tsang and calling himself "Tsangdui Gyalpo" (the king of the upper part of Tsang).

Called "Tashi Tsangpo" in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, the tenth Desi Awang Tashi Tapa's son Drowa Gongpo (1568—1618) reigned as Phadru's eleventh, and also last Desi for 47 years (1571—1618). Succeeding as the Desi in 1571 (the fifth year of Longqing under the reign of the Ming emperor Muzong), he was conferred the title of "State Initiation Master" and "Prince Chanhua" of Phamo Drupa in U and Tsang by the Ming emperor Shengzong in the sixth year of his reign. The year he was overthrown by Tsangpa Khan was 1618 (the forty-sixth year of the reign of the Ming emperor Shengzong), when he was probably persecuted to death at the age of about fifty years.

From the point of view of the religious sect, Tsangpa Khan still belonged to the Kagyu sect, whereas he be-

lieved in the Karma Kagyu sect. After overthrowing the Phadru regime, Tsangpa Khan named the tenth Karma sect's "black hat ruling lama" Chokyi Dorje as Desi, and located its capital in Samdrutse (Shikatse). We call this hierarchy the Karma Kagyu regime.

Being hostile to the Gelug sect headed by the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, Tsangpa Khan persecuted the Gelug sect by every means and tried to exterminate it from Tibet. In order to protect their own sect, the fourth Panchen Lama and the fifth Dalai Lama secretly sent for Gushi Khan of the Oirat Mongols. In 1642 (the fifteenth year of Congzheng of the Ming emperor Shizong) Gushi Khan led his army in Qinghai into Tibet and put an end to the Karma regime, which had ruled Tibet for only twenty — four years (1618—1642). Adding up the years of rule by the Phadru and Karma Kagyu regimes, the Kagyu sect ruled Tibet altogether for 288 years.

II. Whether Rinchen Dorje Had Once Been a Desi Conferred the Title of "Prince Chanhua" by the Ming Emperor Xianzong

There are different accounts of the Phadru regime in Chinese and Tibetan histories, and the life story of Rinchen Dorje is one of the most unreconciled problems. In *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, I, in accordance with Tibetan historical materials, wrote the following accounts: "In Tibetan historical data there was record of the Desi regime's ninth ruling Lama Rinchen Dorje (without detailed dates of birth and death nor the years of reign),

nor the years of reign), and his receiving the title of "Prince Chanhua" from the Ming emperor Xianzong. However he was not mentioned in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, and still less given the title."^[3]

While compiling *The Biographies of the Panchen Lamas*, I finally found out that there was really a man called Rinchen Dorje, but no detailed account of him existed. For the following reasons, it can be affirmed that he was never the Desi, nor was conferred the title of "Prince Chanhua" by the Ming emperor Xianzong:

1. According to *The History of the Ming Dynasty* and *Imperial Records of the Ming Dynasty*, all the successive Desi of the Phadru regime except the first one who died at the end of the Yuan Dynasty, were granted titles by the Ming emperors, for instance, the second and third Desi received respectively the titles of "the State Initiation Master" and "Prince Chanhua" from the Ming emperor Taizu; the fourth one was conferred the title of "the head of ten thousand households of Phamo Drupa" by Ming emperor Taizu, and the fifth was given the title of "Prince Chanhua". From then on, the successive Desi inherited the title of "Prince Chanhua" until the collapse of the Phadru regime. Neither of the accounts of the successive "Prince Chanhua" in *The History of the Ming Dynasty* included a Rinchen Dorje. In the light of the Ming Dynasty's system, when an old "Prince Chanhua" was replaced by a new one, an envoy would be sent to Beijing to change the imperial edict and the seal. Otherwise it was illegal to have a new Desi. If Rinchen Dorje had once been a Desi ("Prince Chanhua"), the above mentioned two history books of the Ming Dynasty would not have left him out.

2. According to Tibetan historical materials, Rinchen

Dorje was granted the title of "Prince Chanhua" by the Ming emperor Xianzong. In accordance with records in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, the Ming emperor Xianzong, the title of whose reign was Chenghua, had remained in office for 23 years. It was in this period, from the first year of Chenghua (1465) to the twenty-third year of Chenghua (1487), that Sanggye Gyantsan and Gongka Lepa ruled Tibet. Following the death of Sanggye Gyantsan in the fourth year of the Ming emperor Xianzong, his son Gongka Lepa succeeded him. Receiving the title of "Prince Chanhua" from Ming emperor Xianzong, Gongka Lepa ruled Tibet until his death in the twenty-third year of the Ming emperor Xianzong. Moreover, during the reign of the Ming emperor Xianzong, only Gongka Lepa, not Rinchen Dorje, was granted the title.

3. Among the Tibetan historical materials referring to Rinchen Dorje, *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* by the fifth Dalai Lama was an authoritative work. It says :

"Gongka Lepa, the brother of the Tibetan king Tapa Gyungne, studied diligently the canons and later became the abbot of Drepung Monastery. Having married a woman of Rinpung, an aristocratic family in Tibet, Gongka Lepa had a son called Rinchen Dorje Wanggyal (also Rinchen Dorje). He had once been granted the title by the Chinese emperor Chenghua, the embodiment of Manjushri. "[4]

As for the real meaning of the account, it depends on the interpretation of it. The fact that Gongka Lepa married a woman of an aristocratic family from Rinpung and had a son named Rinchen Dorje is explicit without any question, whereas the last sentence of the account is ques-

tionable.

The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers did not express clearly who was granted the title by the Ming emperor Chenghua (also called Ming emperor Xianzong), whether Gongka Lepa or Rinchen Dorje. Then some of the Tibetan historians of the later period held that Rinchen Dorje was conferred the title by the emperor Chenghua, and listed him as the ninth Desi, immediately following Gongka Lepa. In fact it was a misunderstanding.

Except for the above mentioned account, there was no more information about Rinchen Dorje in *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*, and perhaps he died very early. For this reason, there was not a son succeeding Gongka Lepa, and the monk officials of the Phadru regime invited Awang Gepu, the abbot of Den Sathil Monastery at the time, to succeed Gongka Lepa as the ninth Desi. To the question — whose son Awang Gepu is — there were different versions. *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* reads: "Some observed that Tsetan Rinpoche, Tapa Gyungne (the regime's sixth Desi) was Awang Gepu's father, and others argued that he, as a high — ranking monk, was by no means Awang Gepu's father. Whereas in the postscript of *The Sea of Karma* by Ngagen Wangpo himself, he mentioned Gongrang Robi Dorje, a son of a high official, and it can be inferred that probably Gongrang Robi Dorje was Ngagen Wangpo's father."^[5]

We can make further textual investigation into who Ngagen Wangpo's father is, but at least for now it is certain that Gongka Lepa was not his father, thus proving that Rinchen Dorje, Gongka Lepa's son, had died long before.

III. Whether the Names Tashi Tsangpo and Dzowa Gongpo Refer to the Same Person or Two Different Persons

Who was actually the last Desi ("Prince Chanhua") of the Phadru regime, then the Tibetan local government in the Ming Dynasty? The historical data (Chinese) say that Tashi Tsangpo was. The Tibetan histories, however, record him as Dzowa Gongpo. Were these two persons actually the same person or two different persons? In *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, I argued that they were two different persons and made the following points:

"Tashi Tsangpo (without either detailed dates of birth and death nor years of reign), the regime's ninth ruling Lama, received the title of "Prince Chanhua" in 1579 (the seventh year of Wanli under the reign of the Ming emperor Shengzong).

The regime's thirteenth ruling lama Dzowa Gongpo (with neither detailed dates of birth and death nor years of reign) was granted the title of "the State Initiation Master and Prince Chanhua of Phamo Drupa, in U—Tsang" by Ming emperor Shengzong."^[6]

In accordance with the following accounts of "Prince Chanhua" in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, I held that they were two different persons.

"In the seventh year of Wanli, the tribute—paying envoy said that Tashi Tsangpo, the eldest son of Prince Chanhua, requested the emperor's permission to succeed to the title of Prince Chanhua, and the Ming emperor Shengzong also granted him the title. Later following Tashi Tsangpo's death, his son asked for his inheritance

of the title, and emperor Shengzong also approved his request. The emperor issued an edict calling him Prince Chanhua, and in accordance with his minister Sheng Yiguan's suggestion, conferred on him the title of 'the State Initiation Master and Prince Chanhua of Phamo Dru-pa, in U—Tsang.' From then on, there were continued tributes to the emperor by the Desi."

As it reads in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, Ming emperor Shengzong granted the title of "Prince Chanhua" on Tashi Tsanpo. Later his son was allowed to inherit the title. As for who the son was, there was not any account of it, whereas the Tibetan historical data say that the regime's last Desi was Dzowa Gongpo. It can be seen from the above information that Daowa Gongpo was Tashi Tsangpo's son, who was permitted to inherit the title of "Prince Chanhua" by the Ming emperor Shengzong. Thus I dealt with them as two different persons in *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, in which I also noted that it still needed further investigation, for there were neither detailed dates of birth and death nor years of reign of the two ruling lamas.

Later, while compiling *The Biographies of the Panchen Lamas*, I found out that Tashi Tsangpo and Dzowa Gongpo were actually the same person. As in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, the translated name of the Desi was quite different from the original Tibetan name, and the account of the Desi was not explicitly made. Therefore it was liable to cause misunderstanding.

It is *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*, by the fifth Dalai Lama, that helped me solve the problem. It reads as follows:

"Taking the daughter of Rinpung as his wife, the Ti-

betan king (referring to the tenth Desi Awang Tashi Tapa) had two sons, the Tibetan king Dzowa Gongpo (the Lord of the Living Beings) and Jinan. Tajongwa. The king Dzowa Gongpo went to Gongka married the daughter of Sajongzhi, the magistrate of Gongka area, and had a son called His Highness Awang Tapa".^[7]

In the light of the record in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*, the tenth Desi Awang Tashi Tapa received the title of "Prince Chanhua" from the Ming emperor Shizong in the forty—second year of Jiaqing. Awang Tashi Tapa's son was Dzowa Gongpo, whose name was incorrectly translated as Tashi Tsangpo in *The History of the Ming Dynasty*. Moreover, it was stated clearly in *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* that Awang Tashi Tapa was succeeded by his son Dzowa Gongpo as Desi. As *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* was written by the fifth Dalai Lama in the sixteenth year of Congzeng under the reign of the Ming emperor Shizong, which was only twenty—five years after Tsangpa Khan's overthrow of the Phadru regime, his account of the Desi is believable and reliable.

Meanwhile, I consulted *The Imperial Record of the Ming Dynasty*, and it reads as follows:

"In February, the seventh year of Wanli (the Year of Snake), the emperor granted titles and endowed awards accordingly on the tribute—paying Tibetans, who claimed for themselves Prince Chanhua's eldest son Tashi Tsangpo, the second son Tashi Tsang Gyantsan, Tibetan monks Sonam Gyantsan, Sengge Tsangpo and others.

"In December, the fifteenth year of Wanli (the Year of Tiger), Prince Chanhua' of Tibet sent 600 people, led by monk Lingdzin, to offer local special products as trib-

ute to the emperor, and in accordance with the precedent, the emperor granted rewards on them.

"In January, the sixteenth year of Wanli (the Year of Snake), the Tibetan Prince Chanhua sent an envoy of more than a thousand people, headed by Dzi Dorje, to present local special products to the emperor.

"In August, the twenty—first year of Wanli, a banquet was held in honour of fifteen tribute—paying monks, Dorer and others, sent by Prince Chanhua of Tibet, and the Marquis Xu Wenwei received them.

"In May, the thirty—ninth year of Wanli (The Year of Goat), the emperor gave satin, silk, silver and paper money to the tribute—offering envoy Gyantsan Dorer and fourteen others.

"In April, the forty—fifth year of Wanli (The Year of Dog), Prince Chanhua of Tibet sent State Preceptor Sonam Gyantsan, and about a thousand other people to present corals, Puluo (Tibetan wollen cloth), and other goods to the emperor, and the emperor endowed silk and paper money on those tribute—offerers, both in Beijing and in Tibet."

From then on, there were no more records about the "Prince Chanhua" of Tibet.

The above quoted materials in *The Imperial Records of the Ming Dynasty*, proved the following three points:

(1). Prince Chanhua Tashi Tsangpo was still alive and was not dead during the thirty—nine years beginning in the seventh year of Wanli when he was granted the title to the forty—sixth year of Wanli. And there was no such account as "after a long time he passed away and his son asked inherit the title."

(2). It was in the forty—sixth year of Wanli that "

Prince Chanhua" sent the envoys to offer tribute to the emperor for the last time, this proving that the Phadru regime, toppled by Tsangpa Khan, was not able to dispatch envoy to present tributes to the Ming emperor any more.

(3). It can be seen that the last Desi of the Phadru regime was Tashi Tsangpo. Also Dzowa Gongpo referred to the same person, not two different persons.

Notes

[1] *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, p. 27 — p. 29, published by the People's Publishing House in 1984.

[2] *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* (Chinese edition), p. 130, published by the Nationalities Publishing house in 1983.

[3] *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, p. 28, published by the People's Publishing House in 1984.

[4] *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*, p. 139, published by the Nationalities Publishing House.

[5] *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* (Chinese edition), p. 140, published by the Nationalities Publishing House in 1984.

[6] *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, p. 28, published by the People's Publishing House in 1984.

[7] *The History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* (Chinese edition), p. 143, published by the Nationalities Publishing House in 1983.

On the Policies of Administration for the Tibet Region Formulated by the Central Government of the Qing Dynasty

Yu Chang'an

In the thirteenth century, Tibet had already become an administrative division of China. From the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries, the administration of the Tibet region was further strengthened and an overall jurisdiction over the Tibet region was exercised during the reigns of emperors Shengzu, Shizong and Gaozong of the Qing dynasty. Tibet had become a de facto province of China. The Tibetan local government was completely under the jurisdiction of the central government of the Qing.

This article attempts to examine the policies for the administration of the Tibet region by the central government of the Qing dynasty in its middle and later periods, and to evaluate this historical experience.

I. The Institutionalization and Systematization of Administration Policies

The establishment of the office of Amban (Resident Office of the Qing Dynasty in Tibet and his assistants) in the Tibet region and dispatch of resident officials to Tibet

in charge of overall Tibetan affairs by the central government of the Qing dynasty was a great development in system of policies of administration for the Tibet region by the central authorities of the Qing dynasty. This played many active roles, such as strengthening the jurisdiction and administration over Tibet, exercising state sovereignty to the full, stabilizing the political situation in the Tibet region, promoting production, resisting foreign aggression, and consolidating frontier defence. However, owing to the imperfection of the Amban system itself and the lack of systematization in the Qing's Tibet policy, the systems grew lax and ceased to be binding, resulting in widespread malpractices. Cases of corruption, embezzlement and dereliction of duty by functionaries on all levels became so serious and widespread that harassment of the border areas by powerful aggressors could not be countered. In 1788 and 1791 alone, Gurkha troops invaded the Tibet region.

The central authorities of the Qing finally realized the pivotal importance of their Tibet policy. Amban Fu Kang'an put a proposal to the Qing central government that " the Amban should henceforth be equal in status to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni in supervising the administration of Tibetan affairs. As a guarantee against the usurpation of authority, the kaloons, Tibetan chiefs, responsible Lamas and all their subordinates should receive instructions from the Amban regarding the implementation of all their duties. Since the Panchen Erdeni is still in his minority, the Tashilhunpo monastery is presently the responsibility of the Sapon Khenpo, but he should obey the instructions of the Amban in all public affairs. . . so that U—Tsang is administrated under unified

leadership. "[1] Emperor Gaozong accepted Fu Kang'an's proposal and stressed that " you should not show excessive respect to the Dalai Lama or he might abuse his powers, nor show the least sign of slighting him, or you will lose popularity. Be careful to ensure that all matters are attended to in the proper manner. "[2]

Because of the adoption of these measures, the Qing army led by Fu Kang'an drove the Gurkhan invaders out of Tibet. In 1792 Fu Kang'an complied with an edict of emperor Gaozong instructing him to "implement articles to make adjustments, wherever necessary, and to handle matters properly, in order to maintain lasting peace and tranquility in the border areas. "In conjunction with the Tibetan local officials concerned (namely, the Kyirong Hutuktu in charge of Shangshang affairs and Kaloons from the Dalai Lama's side; and, the Dzasa Lama and others from the Panchen Erdeni's side), he discussed and formulated the articles concerning policies of administration for the Tibet region by the Qing central government, and these discussions resulted in article " Imperial Ordinance ".

The Ordinance was officially issued for enforcement in 1793 after examination and approval by the central government. It stipulated in detail the functions and powers of the Amban and the system governing Tibetan local officials at all levels, clerical and secular as well as setting down regulations governing such matters as border defence, foreign affairs, finance, trade and religious activities. It has also stipulated the legal forms defining the office of Amban and the limits on its authority as well as policy stipulations for the central government's management of Tibetan affairs. The Ordinance was the consum-

in charge of overall Tibetan affairs by the central government of the Qing dynasty was a great development in system of policies of administration for the Tibet region by the central authorities of the Qing dynasty. This played many active roles, such as strengthening the jurisdiction and administration over Tibet, exercising state sovereignty to the full, stabilizing the political situation in the Tibet region, promoting production, resisting foreign aggression, and consolidating frontier defence. However, owing to the imperfection of the Amban system itself and the lack of systematization in the Qing's Tibet policy, the systems grew lax and ceased to be binding, resulting in widespread malpractices. Cases of corruption, embezzlement and dereliction of duty by functionaries on all levels became so serious and widespread that harassment of the border areas by powerful aggressors could not be countered. In 1788 and 1791 alone, Gurkha troops invaded the Tibet region.

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mation of a century of Qing experience in administering the Tibet region and the systematization, concretization and institutionalization of its Tibet policy. During the subsequent century the central government exercised its administrative functions in accordance with the policy stipulations of the Ordinance.

1. Administrative Affairs

Prior to the Ordinance, the political and religious affairs of Tibet had been monopolized by the Dalai Lama and the Kaloons. The Ordinance countered this situation by first defining in explicit terms the status, functions and powers of the Amban. " The Amban, acting as the supervisor of Tibetan administration, shall have status, powers and functions equal to those of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni. "[3] All those working under the Kaloons, as well as the Living Buddhas, shall be subordinate to him regardless of their position or rank. They were to report all special matters to the Amban in advance before disposing of them, in order to facilitate decision making during inspection visits by the Amban. All the Tibetan local officials with the exception of Kaloons and Dapons, were to be appointed by the Amban and the Dalai Lama and to be issued with certificates of appointment in three languages, namely, Manchu, Han and Tibetan. Kaloons and Dapons are selected and submitted to the Qing court for appointment by the Amban and the Dalai Lama and their recommendations. They were to enjoy unified treatment of rank and emolument as stipulated by the Qing government. In earlier practice, the clerical and secular Dzungpons of the various Dzongs were appointed in the main among the attendants of the Dalai Lama. [4] Those who could not go to the Dzongs to perform their duties in person sent agents to

work on their behalf and this led to corruption and extortion. The Qing government therefore stipulated that " all agents should henceforth be selected and appointed by the Amban and not privately by the Tsezong Lamas. "[5]

Prior to the Ordinance, the income and expenditure of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni were not subject to audit by the Amban. As they themselves concentrated their energies on religious affairs and most of their attendants were their relatives, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni were unable to supervise their private financial matters. Their attendants thus frequently came to " rely on their power and status to do unlawful things ", and to engage in embezzlement. The Qing central government authorized the Amban to audit their income and expenditure twice a year, in spring and autumn. " Cases of concealment and embezzlement will promptly be punished. " The Ordinance also stipulated : " In accordance with the wishes of Tibetan people from all walks of life and the clerical and lay residents of Tashilhunpo monastery, the relatives of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni shall not be permitted to participated in government affairs. "

For the purpose of facilitating the Amban's exercise of his functions and powers, the Qing central government stipulated that the feoff belonged to local officials, aristocrats and the various monasteries and that census registrations offices in the Tibet region should draw up complete list of names and an inventory and " send one copy to the office of Amban and the Dalai Lama respectively for recording and checking. "[6] At the same time, the Amban was given the right to enact specific administrative divisions within the Tibet region according to the specific conditions of Tibet.

2. Foreign Affairs

The central government of the Qing implemented a policy of absolute centralization in all foreign affairs for the Tibet region. The Amban was provided with full powers to handle foreign affairs on behalf of the central government. All correspondence with foreign countries, " regardless of what kind of document it may be, should be handled by the Amban in consultation with the Dalai Lama. "[7]Visitors from neighbouring countries were to be jointly received by the Amban and the Dalai Lama. " All replies to foreign countries must be written and copied in accordance with the instructions of the Amban. Important border issues should be handled in accordance with the instructions of the Amban. "[8] Correspondence from neighbouring countries to the Dalai Lama should be translated into Chinese and submitted to the Amban for examination. Replies were to be prepared by the Amban on behalf of the Dalai Lama. The Dzungpons in border areas should register foreigners from neighbouring countries entering Tibet and report such matters to the Amban. After being checked by Han officials at Gyantse and Dingri, foreigners were to be issued travel permits and allowed to proceed to Lhasa. It was also stipulated that the Kaloons were not permitted to maintain private correspondence with foreign countries; and even official communications from foreign countries to them was to be subject to censorship by the Amban and the Dalai Lama, and the Kaloons were not permitted to reply. [9]Tibetan Lamas travelling abroad and foreign Lamas entering Tibet were also required to hold travel permits issued by the Amban. All those without travel permits were not allowed to enter or leave Tibet on the pretext of engaging in Buddhist activities.

The Qing central authorities took into considerations of the special geographical position and economic conditions of Tibet. Traders from neighbouring countries were permitted to engage in commercial activities in Tibet, as long as " they abide by its laws and respect local customs. " All itinerant traders were to be registered, and " their names reported to the office of Amban for recording. " Nepaless traders were allowed to enter Tibet three times a year, and those from Kashmir once a year. These traders, regardless of their destinations, were required to possess travel permits issued by the Amban at the request of the relevant authorities, and " to demonstrate they would proceed by the shortest route. Two check points were set up, one at Gyantse and the other at Dingri; traders passing through those check points should produce their travel permits for inspection. "[10] Foreign traders who wished to proceed to Lhasa to do business were required to first send their applications to the Dzungpons of the border areas, and " the Han officials at Gyantse and Dingri will then undertake an investigation and report the results to the Amban's office for approval. "

Among the central government administrative policies for the Tibet region, the control over foreign relations was the strictest and most specific. It stated in explicit terms that " these stipulations concerning foreign relations should be followed strictly. " Tibetan local authorities were not allowed any autonomy or flexibility in implementing the stipulations. This situation fully reflected the importance the Qing central government attached to diplomatic sovereignty in Tibet.

3. Border Defence Affairs

For a long time, there was no standing army in U—

Tsang and soldiers were conscripted as temporary imperial corvees during emergencies triggered by foreign invasion. Moreover, the soldiers were neither paid nor provided with food or weapons, but had to acquire their own. This practice was not only opposed by the Tibetan people, but it also greatly weakened the fighting power of the troops who were not in a position to resist foreign aggressors and safeguard the frontier. The Qing government therefore had to muster forces from Sichuan, Yunnan and other provinces, marching thousands of miles to gain reinforcement. From 1793 onwards, the Qing central government formally decided to set up a standing army in Tibet, and so an army of three thousand men was created, of which one thousand were stationed at Lhasa, one thousand at Shigatse, five hundred at Gyantse, and the other five hundred at Dingri. Gyantse and Dingri were both important points on the routes to Shigatse and Lhasa for foreign traders. The troops were under the command of the Youji (an army officer with the rank of lieutenant — colonel) stationed at Lhasa and the Dusi (an army officer one rank below Youji) stationed at Shigatse, but the supreme right of command was in the hands of the Amban. " Two muster rolls of the army should be drawn up. One for the office of the Amban and the other for the Kashag (Tibetan local government) for merefiling, and by this means vacancies can be filled when they arise. "

After the creation of the Tibetan army, each year in May or June the Amban or the Assistant Amban will alternatively conduct inspections of the border demarcation of Tsang (Ulterior Tibet) and inspect the contingents there, and even personally drill the soldiers. The small army contingents stationed at various border points were

requested to constantly patrol the border, and maintain the ebo (cairns demarcating the boundary). At the various major border passes, determined numbers of troops were stationed to perform border patrol duties.

The Qing central government thus attached great importance to their military power over Tibet, just as the right to control foreign affairs was highly concentrated in its hands. The Amban was authorized to exercise this power on behalf of the central government. Not one iota of autonomy or flexibility was conceded to the Tibetan local authorities. The right to control foreign affairs and the military were the major embodiments of central state sovereignty.

4. Religious Affairs

Almost all Tibetans have faith in their brand of Buddhism, and their religious leaders were simultaneously the political leaders of the Tibet region. The smooth conduct of Qing's Tibet policy greatly depended on their proper administration of religious affairs. The Qing central government implemented a policy of respecting and protecting religious beliefs with fully demonstrating their strict management of religious activities by means of state power. The Qing policy recognized the lofty status of religious leaders while placing them under the control of the central authorities.

The "Hubilehan" (soul boy)^[11] of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni, as well as the Hutuktu of various monasteries, were customarily determined by the practice of "Lhamo Chosgyong" divination.^[12] Such a practice was open to political abuse, and those selected by the practice were not trusted by the people,^[13] which led to quarrels or disputes which threatened central government's ability to administer Tibetan affairs. From

1792 onwards, the Qing central government therefore decided to set up the system of lot—drawing from a gold urn to determine reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Erdeni and other Hutuktus. According to this practice, after the demise of the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Erdeni or other Hutuktu, the Four Guardians of the Doctrine were ordered to perform the divination, seeking Hubblehan with a sound background and intelligence.^[14] When the Hubblehan were found, their names and dates of birth were to be written in Manchu, Han and Tibetan on ivory slips, and then be placed in a gold urn provided by the Chinese emperor as a symbol of his support for the Yellow Sect. This procedure was to be followed by a seven—day prayer session conducted by erudite Living Buddhas. The reincarnations were then to be officially confirmed before the image of Sakyamuni in the Jokhang temple by the Hutuktus and under the strict supervision of the Amban. The confirmed Hubblehan were then to be reported to the Qing central authorities for confirmation and approval. When only one Hubblehan needed to be confirmed, a blank ivory slip was to be placed in the gold urn in addition to the one bearing the name of the boy. If the blank slip were drawn out, the boy would not be recognized as the reincarnation, and a new reincarnation would be sought.

The confirmation of the Hubblehan of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni, and their specific dates of enthronement and assumption of temporal power were to be reported to the Qing emperor for approval by the Amban. Only after the approval was issued, could the effective dates for implementation be calculated. In order to embody the strict relationship between the monarch and his subjects, when the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni

were about to assume temporal powers upon their majority, imperial approval of the Amban's memorial to His Majesty was required before the gold seals of office were issued and the functions and powers of the religious leaders could commence. Emperor Wenzong, for example, an edict to the Twelfth Dalai Lama on 18 September, 1858, saying that " the Dalai Lama is granted my permission to use yellow cloth to drape the walls of the city, and to use a yellow palanquin, yellow carriage, yellow cushions... and gold seals. " [15]

In addition to the stipulations governing the selection of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni, the activities of the other Lamas and Living Buddhas also required the supervision of the Amban. it is stipulated that for the purposes of control, the offices of Amban and the Dalai Lama were each to be provided with a complete list of names of Living Buddhas and Lamas of monasteries for checking. No Lamas or Living Buddhas were allowed to conduct political activities in the name of religious activities. Living Buddhas on pilgrimage outside Tibet also required travel permits. " If they have private contacts and illicit correspondence, they shall be removed from office by the Amban . " [16]

The above facts demonstrate that the Qing central government exercised strict control over religious affairs, while respecting and protecting religion in the Tibet region. Religious was not allowed to transcend politics and become an independent force. The Qing government spare no effort to make religion serve state power.

5. Systems of Personnel Affairs

According to the stipulations of the Qing government, when vacancies arose in the Kashag, candidates were to be

selected from among the Dapons, Tsepons and Chanzods on the basis of their capabilities and performance as government officials. Two lists of candidates were to be jointly prepared by the Amban and Dalai Lama, and submitted to the central authorities for selection and appointment by the emperor. Candidates for vacancies left by the Kaloön Lamas were to be selected from among the grand Khenpos, and their names submitted to the central authorities for appointment. Positions left vacant by the Dapons were to be filled by promoting Rupons, or by selecting Dzongpons of the border areas from two lists of candidates and submitted to the Amban for approval. The positions of Tsepons and Chanzod, when left vacant, were to be filled by selecting from officials holding the rank of Nyertsangpa, Shipon (law — enforcement officials), Grand Secretary of the Kashag or Tsezong Lama (monk official). The promotion of officials at all levels, clerical and secular, shall be instituted by one rank at a time. For the purposes of managing local officials, Amban Qi Shan in 1844 classified and unified the ranks of Tibetan local officials, both clerical and secular, at all levels in accordance with the unified official ranking system of the Qing, and his ranking was ratified by the Qing central government. Emperor Xuanzong in 1858 approved the memorial determining official headgear designating rank for Tibetan local officials following the recommendation of the Board of National Minority Affairs based on Amban Qi Shan's written memorial. Henceforth, the treatment of official ranks for the Tibetan local monk and lay officials conformed with the contemporary official ranking system used in the inland provinces of China.

For the different categories of appointed local Tibetan

monastic and lay officials at all levels, the Qing government implemented a policy of rewarding worthy officials and punishing venal officials. Emperor Muzong, for example, commended Lobzang Chenrab Wangchuk twice and rewarded him with the post of acting regent of Tibetan local government and other material rewards. It was because of the right to appoint Tibetan local officials at all levels, clerical and secular, and because rewards and punishments were concentrated in the hands of the Qing authorities (or on their behalf by the Amban) that all Tibetan local officials were aware they would be held responsible for their behaviour by the Qing central government and the emperor. Hence, the smooth implementation of Qing central government decrees and the various policies of administration for the Tibet region were guaranteed.

6. Judicial Affairs

Tibet was a region ruled by the combined dictatorship of Lamas from the upper stratum and by the powerful serf—owning class. The social formation totally differ from that of the inland provinces. Taking full consideration of the specific conditions of Tibet, the Qing central government permitted the monasteries and serf—owners to handle criminal and civil cases themselves according to religious injunctions and local statutes, while determining a series of policy stipulations which would act as restrictions on arbitrary punishment of the common people. This practice not only provided local autonomy, but was also the embodiment of Qing state power.

In 1792 the Qing central authorities stipulated that in handling disputes murder and theft, "old statutes and practices may be continued, but judgements should be fair and conform to the degree of seriousness of the crime."^[17]

They also stipulated that "henceforth, all fines should be registered and handed over to the Amban. Penalties for the offenders shall be subject to approval of the Amban. Property confiscation shall also be subject to the Amban's approval."^[18] All lawsuits shall henceforth be handled impartially according to law regardless of whether the offenders are civilians or officials. If Kaloons are found guilty of illegally grabbing another person's property by reliance on their own power and influence, they shall be dismissed from their posts and have their property expropriated. The said property should be returned to its original owner."^[19] In 1844 the Qing central government issued further specific stipulations regarding the criteria of punishment for criminal offences. These played a role in preventing Tibetan local officials from abusing power by confiscating property without permission or inflicting indiscriminate punishments, thereby abolishing the malpractices of local and religious statutes and protecting the Tibetan common people, both clerical and secular. In its final century or so the Qing central authorities grew corrupt with each passing day, but their administration of Tibet was carried out to the letter by the entirety of the Tibetan local government. Their judicial policy was strictly implemented.

7. Finance and Tax

The economy of Tibet was backward in comparison with the inland provinces of China, and so the central government provided subsidies and assistance to Tibet in the form of annual disbursement. However, the Qing government strictly governed Tibetan financial and tax revenue affairs.

According to the Qing government's stipulation of

1793, the income from financial and tax revenues and expenditures of the Tibetan local government would be subject to auditing, verification by the Amban and unified rational arrangements. Obligatory labour was to be borne equally regardless of wealth. Nobody was allowed to assign Ula service^[20] without authorization regardless of their station. The unpaid labour service entitlement papers issued to those traveling on government duties was to simultaneously carry the seals of the Amban and the Dalai Lama, and those traveling would be provided with services stipulated in the papers. All rents and taxes were to be paid on time, not in advance. Runaway households, if any, were to be exempted from taxation until their return. Unpaid rents and taxes on runaway households were not to be shifted to other households in the locality. In the case of natural disaster, all unnecessary rents and taxes were to be reduced or exempted. In times of peace, land rents collected by the Shangshang were to be paid according to the tax quotas. Local officials were not allowed to impose the taxes on increased quotas without authorization. The regulations also stipulated that only silver coins minted under the supervision of the Amban were permitted to be used in the entire Tibet region. Tibetan silver coins were to be stamped with the words " Qianlong Baozang " (Emperor Gaozong's Treasury) on both the sides and in both the Chinese and Tibetan languages, coins from neighbouring countries were prohibited from circulation in Tibet.

The financial and tax policies of the Qing central authorities played an active role for the economic development of Tibet.

The Qing authorities required the Tibetan local gov-

ernment to attach importance to the production and livelihood of the people, unlike inland China.

II . Qing Economic Administration of Tibet

The Qing authorities mainly exercised their jurisdiction over three aspects of Tibet administration, foreign affairs, and the military. The Qing government simultaneously determined corresponding policies for the development of economic construction, the improvement of the people's livelihood, and providing Tibet with the initiative to develop their economy.

1. Adoption of a Unified Currency

For a long time, exchange in Tibet was based on barter. From the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries as commodity trade with neighbouring countries increased, silver coins minted in Nepal was gradually introduced and circulated in Tibet. At that time, Chinese currency was not used in Tibet due to transport difficulties and high freight costs. The Qing government chose instead to send silver ingots into Tibet as financial subsidies, but Tibetan local government still relied on Nepalese silver coins. The large quantity of silver flowing out of Tibet destabilized neighbouring countries.

In order to safeguard economic independence and to ensure the steady development of the Tibetan economy, the Qing central authorities banned the circulation of Nepalese silver coins in 1791. After approval by the Qing central authorities, a mint was formally set up in Tibet under the supervision of the Amban Fu Kang'an in 1793. The new Tibetan coin was stamped with the words "Qianlong Baozang" on both sides in Chinese and Tibetan and circulated in Tibet.

As a sovereign state, the minting and use of domestic legal currency is the symbol of sovereignty and state power. The establishment and management of the system of the Tibetan local currency fully reflected this idea.

To ensure the healthy circulation of Tibetan currency, the

Qing government also fixed the exchange rate between the Nepalese and Tibetan local currencies, and the system for supervising and manufacturing the currency.

It can be seen that the key note of the management for the minting and circulation of Tibetan local currency by the Qing government stressed unification with inland China. The policy was very strict, but took into consideration the special conditions governing the circulation of foreign currency.

The installation of this currency in Tibet was not only significant in the history of Tibetan currency, but also in the history of Chinese currency. It had exceedingly important political and economic significance. These silver coins made their appearance in Tibet under Qing rule and their minting was a major policy of the Qing central authorities. In inland China, silver coins only made their appearance in 1821, but were widely used by 1888.

This fully shows that the Qing government paid great attention to its Tibet policy.

2. Opening under State Control

The Qing government implemented a policy governing Tibetan trade with neighbouring countries and controlling foreign traders doing business in Tibet different from that of the inland provinces. It was not a policy of seclusion, but rather a policy of opening to the outside world. It was a policy of opening to the outside world under the strict state control over foreign trade and foreign traders. The needs for the production and livelihood of the Tibetan people were thus solved, while the financial income of the Tibetan local government was increased by the rational imposition of taxes on foreign trade and foreign traders, thus lightening the financial burdens of the Qing government.

According to the memorial to the throne by Amban Fu Kang'an, the Qing central authorities finally approved the policy of opening to the outside world in Tibet, but under state control in 1794. The main contents of this policy were:

A. Practising the state control over foreign trade and foreign traders and applying different methods to control different trading situations. Foreign traders was required to enter Tibet at set times

each year and to hold unified travel permits issued by the Amban. They were subject to inspection by special officials and they could not freely cross the border.

B. Rational taxation on foreign trade in order to increase the financial income of Tibet. The Qing government decided to appropriate a great portion of the financial income from taxation for expenditure on prayer sessions at the Jokhang temple and other monasteries. This decision reduced financial subsidies to the Tibetan local government by the central government, and also lessened, or at least did not increase the economic burden imposed on the Tibetan people by the monasteries. This policy was smoothly conducted up to the peaceful liberation of Tibet, except at the end of the Qing dynasty and during the early period of the Republic of China.

3. Light Corvee and Light Tax.

Tibet was a theocratic, feudal serfdom. The monasteries, local officials and the manorial lords imposed unbearable burdens on the Tibetans by various means. This was the main reason for the economic backwardness of Tibet. Hence, the Qing central government paid great attention to compelling the Tibetan local government to lighten the people's burden and to build up their strength to develop production.

A. The greatest burden on the Tibetan people was the private use of unpaid Ula services. However, in 1793, the Qing government stipulated that the private use of Ula services without restrictions was entirely banned. Corvee and Ula could be imposed only under the administration and control of the Dalai Lama and the Amban. Also in view of the fact that in the past "on the villagers in Tibet was imposed Ula service on man — power and horses, the Dalai Lama and others issued corv'ee — exemption papers indiscriminately and the big manors of the Kaloons, Dapons and the grand Lamas also requested exemption from corvee services."^[21] The Qing government ordered that "all such papers should henceforth be cancelled. Only those who have performed meritorious deeds and recruits within the army quotas are entitled to the corvee — exemption papers. These papers should jointly be issued by the Dalai

Lama and the Amban. "This policy restricted the unfair distribution of corvee and unreasonable reductions or exemptions.

B. The Qing government formulated a series of measures to restrict Tibetan local officials from extorting people by force or trickery and prohibit manorial lords and monasteries from imposing penalties at will. It also stipulated that "Kaloons, Dapons and others are customarily given official houses and estates by the Dalai Lama during their tenure of office. Some did not hand over their official houses and estates to their successors. They should return them on leaving office, and will be prohibited from taking possession of them." It was also stipulated that no advance payment of salaries to Living Buddhas and Lamas should be allowed and that rents and taxes should be reduced or exempted in years of bad harvest due to natural disasters or war. These policies all helped lighten the Tibetan people's burden.

C. The Qing transformed the supply system of the Tibetan troops and reduced the burden on the people's military services. Before 1792, the military services of the Tibetan troops were almost the same as Ula services. Rank—and—file soldiers were recruited through Ula service. They were neither paid nor provided with rations or weapons, but had to provide their own. They were not only utterly indisciplined and lacked a fighting capacity, but the enlisted men and their families incurred a heavy burden. To change this state of affairs, the Qing government decided in 1794 that "each soldier would be issued with 2.5 dan of Chingke barley each year as food rations for the 3,000 Tibetan troop quotas. When recruited, soldiers were to be supplied each year with a total of 7,500 dan of Chingke barley. Tibetan local authorities could not meet the military expenditure of the Tibetan troops, and so the Qing central government proposed a policy of sustaining the army by army reclamation, whereby they took advantage of the proceeds from the sale of confiscated properties in war, and engaged in military reclamation farming. This policy enabled enlisted men understand that their interests as individuals were well looked provided their morale remained high. They were given papers by the Dalai Lama exempting them from corvee.

These various economic policies for Tibet formulated by the Qing government played a positive role.

III . The Implementation of Tibet Policy in the Late Qing

The British imperialists long coveted Tibet, so they finally launched wars of armed aggression against Tibet on two occasions in 1888 and 1903 respectively. The British aggressors threatened the Qing rules with their military power and sought to weaken and damage the administration and sovereignty over Tibetan region by the Qing central government, thereby confronting Tibet with the crisis of being reduced to a colony.

However, in the long process of historical development, Tibet and inland China had already become an inseparable whole. The hard reality of the stubborn struggle of the various nationalities of China for the unification of their mother—land have forced the British and other imperialists to reluctantly recognize the unification of China, its sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the late Qing dynasty, although the central government had become corrupt and the various nationalities confronted disaster, British imperialism launched a series of covert and overt activities in Tibet. The administrative policies for Tibet worked out by the Qing central government were still applied in Tibet. The Qing government still exercised state power over Tibet and continued to send Amban to supervise Tibetan affairs. In the seven decades or so from the Opium war to the end of the Qing, the central government successively appointed and despatched more than sixty

Ambans who acted on the edicts of the Emperor to handle all important political and military affairs in Tibet, representing the Qing central authorities to supervise the administrative, official, judicial and financial affairs in Tibet, and in direct command of the foreign affairs and military rights. The Dalai Lama, Panchen Erdeni and Tibetan local monk and lay officials from the Kashag always handled Tibetan local affairs by "taking orders from the Resident Official" and implementing the various administrative policies still in the capacity of subordinates and inferiors.

1. Reincarnations, Enthronements and the Ordination Ceremonies of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni, Together with the Assumption of Temporal Power by the Dalai Lama Subject to Approval by the Qing Central Government.

In The late Qing dynasty, the inner struggles within the upper strata of the Tibetan ruling cliques were quite intense. The premature deaths of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dalai Lamas were occasioned by the rivalries among the powerful manorial lords, clerical and secular, intending to install the person representing their interests as Dalai Lama. However, although the power struggle within the Tibetan upper stratum was intense, they all took orders from the Qing central authorities. Regardless of the candidate for installation as Dalai Lama, it was a matter of course that they would report it to the Amban in order to gain the approval of the emperor and handle it according to established policies.

In March 1877 the Hubblehan of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, namely Tupden Gyatso was finally found after a struggle within the Tibetan ruling cliques. As there was no rival claimant, the Kashag, supported by confirmation,

established the identity of the boy from Langdun as the prospective Dalai Lama. A joint request was then made by the Eighth Panchen, the Regent, and the entire lay and clerical staff of the three great monasteries and the Tashilhunpo, asking the emperor through the Amban Song Gui for permission to omit the lot — drawing process on the grounds that the boy was the sole candidate whose identity as the Dalai's reincarnation had been confirmed by all those involved in his selection. In the third month of 1877, Emperor Dezong wrote at the end of the petition, "Lobzang Tupden Gyatso,^[22] the son of Kunga Rinchen, may be proclaimed the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama without resorting to the drawing of lots from the urn."^[23] Thus, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's confirmation was exempted from lot — drawing from the gold urn. As for the date of enthronement, the date of commencement of his use of his predecessor's gold seal of authority, and the enjoyment of rites concerned, all were arranged according to the imperial edict.

According to the old practice, just before the enthronement on June 13th, the Dalai Lama first went to the Jokhang temple. There he offered a Khata over a plaque on the pillars of the front gate inscribed with "A long, long life to the present emperor." Then he proceeded to the main hall where he offered a Khata to the statue of Sakyamuni and performed other religious rituals. After the enthronement, before officially starting to use the gold seal of his predecessor, the Dalai Lama would "express his gratitude like his predecessors in a memorial to the Emperor." The memorial was prepared in advance by the Gyigyab Khenpo and the four Drungyi Chenpo (grand secretaries) for the Dalai Lama who affixed the seal to the memorial.

The memorial customarily contained a verse in Tibetan eulogizing the emperor: "we live in a land of poverty and misery, but you give us peace and tranquility. In Your Majesty we trust, for in whom else can we do so?"^[24]

After the enthronement of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, on the night of the third day of the first month in Tibetan calendar, he would ask for divine prophecies before the statue of the Auspicious Deva in the Potala Palace, first concerning the well-being of the Chinese emperor in the coming year, second the well-being of the Panchen and himself, third the operation of the Kashag in accordance with the administration of the Qing central authorities, and lastly the well-being of the clerical and lay populace of Tibet. Here, the Dalai Lama placed the Qing Emperor first. In his eyes, only when the Emperor and the Qing central authorities enjoyed well-being, could he himself, the Panchen Erdeni and the whole of Tibet also enjoy well-being.

2. The Right of Appointment, Removal, Reward and Punishment over Local Important Tibetan Lay and Monk Officials by the Qing Central Authorities.

At the end of the Qing dynasty, because Qing rule over the interior provinces was tottering, its rule in Tibet was also on the decline and the Amban's leadership had become too feeble to halt the aggressive advances of the British imperialists. Hence, the Tibetan people turned their backs on the Qing dynasty and violent incidents ensued in Tibet.

Given this situation, the Tibetan local government placed themselves in a position of subordination regarding important personnel matters and dared not take presumptuous actions on their own. In 1903, for example, the

Thirteenth Dalai Lama asked the emperor through the Amban Yu Gang for permission to dismiss Kaloön Paljor Dorje and other three Kaloons from office because of their abuse of their powers and their lawless activities.

3. The Central Government's Exercise of Absolute Rights in Foreign Affairs over Tibet in the Late Qing.

The foreign policy of the Qing government in Tibet was just as reactionary as that in interior China. It was natural that the policy of capitulation to foreign powers and national betrayal was strongly opposed by the Tibetan people and led to increasing confrontation between Tibet and the Qing government. Even under these circumstances, the Dalai Lama and officials from the Kashag all addressed their opinions and criticisms to the Qing government in their capacity as subjects and from the viewpoint of local officials, hoping to gain the central authorities' support for the Tibetan people in their struggle against aggression in the greater interests of the whole of China. They believed that the importance of Tibet could not compare with that of Tianjin and Beijing, "but Tibet is what limbs are to the body; when something goes wrong with the limbs, the body can not relax, perhaps the ministers do not realize that ceding land is not a move in the right direction." [25]

Although the Tibetan people suffered great misery caused by the policy of capitulation and national betrayal by the Qing central authorities, they always upheld the Concept of unification of the motherland and respected the Qing central government's exercise of state power in foreign affairs. An unequal treaty, the Chefoo Convention, was signed between China and Britain in 1876. The Convention contained a separate article that was included un-

der British pressure. The Qing government agreed that Britain sending an "mission of exploration" to Tibet in the following year. The policy of capitulation of the Qing government was strongly opposed by the Tibetan local officials. In 1897 the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni, all the Hutuktus of the monasteries and the Tibetan secular and ecclesiastical officials requested the Amban in Tibet to forward their joint petition to His Majesty. "We have received from the Amban in Tibet several communications in Tibetan with regard to travel by Westerners in Tibet. The communications say that as their entry into Tibet has been provided for by the Convention and they have been granted the permission by the Court... the presence of Westerners in Tibet... may bring harm to this land of Buddhism... Tibet (Anterior and Ulterior Tibet) owe so much to the Great Emperors for their grace in revitalizing the Yellow Sect and protecting this land of Buddhist Dharma that it has never occurred to us to disobey, still less dispute, the wishes of Your Majesty. However, the westerners, as we have realized, are by wicked persons who insult Buddhism in order to destroy it. They cheat and fool us with lies, so it is impossible to get along with such people. The entire Tibetan people, clerical and secular, have sworn an oath that the Westerners shall not be permitted to enter Tibet and vow to keep our oath forever. If any Westerner attempts to enter Tibet, we shall send troops to the various routes of entry to stop them and advise them to turn back; should they resort to force, all Tibetans will fight them with all our might. We are fully determined that Tibet will never be devastated by them. Since Tibet is blessed by Lord Buddha and Buddhism is protected by the grace of the Great Emperor, we are submitting this petition to

Your Majesty through the Amban, appealing to Your Majesty's infinite benevolence for your protection of the lives of the entire Tibetan people. "[26]

The petition was in fact a declaration by the Tibetan people that they would resist imperialist aggression. It expressed their grief and indignation .

The British imperialists cast aside the cover of "exploration" and "travels" in February, 1887 and openly conducted armed provocations at Lengtu on the Tibetan side of the border between China and Sikkim . The Tibetan troops resolutely resisted the invaders. The Qing central government feared "complicating the security problem on the western frontier". It not only did not support the anti-British struggle waged by the Tibetan people of various circles and social strata, but also ordered the Tibetan troops to withdraw from Lengtu.

In December, 1889 the three great monasteries and the entire monk and lay officials submitted to the Amban still another petition that openly criticized the Qing's foreign policy. The petition read: "Mt. Lengtu is the gateway to Tibet. If we give up Mt. Lengtu, our frontier would be left wide open to the invaders. Has there been anything like this in history? His Majesty, being open-minded, always turns to his ministers for advice, but those not posted in the capital but who have taken charge of foreign affairs may not know what happens in remote areas. Moreover, the foreigners have recently been threatening us with force. Mt. Lengtu, being a tiny piece of land, may not count for much, and perhaps not even Tibet, compared with places near the capital. But they are what limbs are to the body; when something goes wrong with the limbs, the body cannot relax. Perhaps the minis-

ters do not realize that ceding land is not a move in the right direction. In short, trade will bring trouble in the future and ceding land is all the more preposterous."^[27] The three great monasteries and the monk and lay officials submitted the petition to the Emperor through the Amban in their status of subordinates, stating clearly how the danger to Tibet was closely related to that of the whole of China, hoping that the Qing central authorities would pay attention to the security of Tibet as it did to places near the capital.

The Qing central government pushed an erroneous policy of begging for mercy and flattering the foreign powers and domestically oppressing the Tibet people's anti-imperialist struggle. The Amban Sheng Tai representing the Qing government finally signed the Anglo-Chinese Convention Relating to Sikkim and Tibet with the British representative Lord Lansdowne in Calcutta on March 17, 1890. The Convention was denounced by the Tibetan people because it violated the wishes of the Tibetan people. Afterwards, the Regulations Regarding Trade, Communication and Pasturage to be Appended to the Sikkim-Tibet Convention of 1890, were signed.

After the signing of the Convention and the regulations, Britain became insatiable in its demands. From 1903 onwards, Britain launched its second aggressive war against Tibet. The Tibetan people, like the people in the eastern part of China, heroically resisted the invading British army. Unfortunately, under the influence of the Qing central government's policy of compromise and capitulation, the anti-imperialist struggle of the Tibetan people regarding the situation in the interior provinces suffered a disastrous defeat. At the request of Britain the

Qing central government sent Tang Shaoyi and Zhang Yintang as plenipotentiaries to Calcutta to conduct negotiations in 1905 and 1906 respectively, and they were finally forced to sign an unequal treaty, called the Convention between Great Britain and China, and to accept to pay a total indemnity of 1,250,000 Liang (ounces) of silver.

The Tibetan local government was originally sustained by the Qing central government's financial subsidies and was unable to pay the indemnity, not to speak of the successive years of war. On November 13, 1905 the Kashag said in a report to the Amban You Tai, "As we reported earlier that Tibet is unable to pay the indemnity, we are appealing, through Your Excellency, to our Sovereign Ruler, the Great Qing Emperor, to provide the money and pay it to Britain."^[28] The Qing government granted the request immediately. The Foreign Affairs Board of the Qing central government said in a communication to You Tai on December 14, 1905 that "Now Tibetans are suffering hardships and having financial difficulties, the Court is deeply concerned about them and hence decided that the indemnity of over 1,200,000 Liang of silver will be paid by the central government on Tibet's behalf to show solicitude for the Tibetans. You Tai is ordered to announce this decision to Tibet."^[29] And the British government finally agreed to accept the payment of the indemnity by the Chinese central government.

It can be seen that on the question of indemnity the Tibetan local government appealed to "our Sovereign Ruler, the Great Qing Emperor, to provide the money and pay it to Britain." The Qing central government also decided that "the indemnity of . . . will be paid by the central government on Tibet's behalf . . ." while the British gov-

ernment agreed to accept the payment of the indemnity by the Chinese central government." All acknowledged one fact; for the Tibet region, the Qing central authorities was naturally and logically exercising state power either by forcing the implementation of its policy of capitulation, signing an unequal treaty, or accepting the payment of war indemnity. However, due to the corruption of the state ruling bodies, the central government was reduced to a pitiable weakness and was bullied diplomatically. As in coastal areas of inland China, inner and outer Tibet underwent serious crises at the end of the Qing dynasty.

In the early twentieth century, some officials, influenced by the reformist ideology of the bourgeoisie headed by Zhang Yintang, were sent to Tibet by the Qing central government, aware of the Tibetan people's misery and the crisis caused by British aggression against Tibet. They attempted to "put things in order in Tibet" and put forward a series of proposals designed to remove malpractices, in the hope that Tibet could be rejuvenated to resist foreign invasion and the motherland could be consolidated. However, under the macro-climate of Qing political corruption it was impossible to implement a new deal in a region so far away from the center, and which was economically and militarily weak. Hence, in the later period, this situation provided imperialism with the opportunity to disrupt domestic relations among China's nationalities and attempt to split Tibet from China.

Concluding Remarks

After discussing the policies of Tibetan administration of the Qing central government, we can conclude : The

policies of the administration for the Tibet region by the Qing central government were formulated under the guiding principle of taking into consideration the particularities of various aspects of the Tibet region and persisting in the maintainance of the dignity of state power. In the process of implementation, they not only persisted in the principle, but also demonstrated great flexibility. Hence, these historically proven policies played an active role in safeguarding the unification of the motherland, and promoting social progress and the economic development of Tibet. However, it must be realized that the aim of the formulation and implementation of the central government's policies of administration for Tibet was the establishment of an autocracy exercised by the feudal landlord class and the feudal serf — owning class of Tibet in order to maintain feudal rule. Although these policies played an active role in maintaining the unification of the motherland and in encouraging Tibetan social progress, they were unconscious policies. Therefore, erroneous policies inevitably appeared, and these violated the fundamental interests of the Tibetan people in the late Qing dynasty so that state power was wrongly exercised and a centrifugal tendency among China's nationalities emerged. Only after liberation, and under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government, did the various formulated policies concerning national equality, unity and autonomy really embody a complete unanimity of fundamental interests between the central authorities and the various nationalities of the whole country. The Tibetan people, together, with other fraternal nationalities, have entered a new era of historical development. The unification of the motherland, including the Tibet region, has acquired a le-

gal form with the ideological cohesion.

Notes

[1] *A General History of U—Tsang*, Vol. IX.

[2] *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*.

[3][6] *A General History of U—Tsang*, Vol. XII.

[4] "Dzong", the administrative unit of Tibet, equal to county. "Dzongpon", the administrative chief of a Dzong in Tibet.

[5] *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, P. 66.

[7][8][9][10] *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, PP. 68—69; P. 64.

[11] A reincarnated "soul boy".

[12] The title of advanced Living Buddha.

[13][14] *A General History of U—Tsang*, Vol. V.

[15] *Abstracts on Tibetan Affairs during the Qing Period*, P. 489.

[16] *Abstracts on Tibetan Affairs during the Qing Period*, P. 460.

[17][18][19] *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, P. 70.

[20] The most common name of corvee in Tibet.

[21] *A General History of U—Tsang*, Vol. XI.

[22] The secular name for the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.

[23] *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, P. 93.

[24] *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*, P. 96.

[25][26][27][28][29] *The Biographies of the Dalai Lamas*. P. 121, P. 106, P. 121, P. 186, P. 187, P. 187.

Tibetan Traditional Modes of Thought

Peng Yinquan and Qiao Gensuo

Ethnic thought patterns including customs and habitual modes of thought, represents the way in which an ethnic group understands the objective world, and embodies their ethnic culture and the accumulation and combination of an ethnic cultural consciousness. Those who wish to understand the basic characteristics of an ethnic cultures need to study ethnic thought patterns. Tibetans live in an unusual geographical and natural environment, and their social history, religious beliefs and way of life are unique. They therefore have a completely different way of thinking from other ethnic groups. Studying traditional Tibetan modes of thought in order to reveal and understand the mystery of traditional Tibetan culture , develop it and promote cultural exchanges is of great importance. For some reasons, there are still difficulties in such research. Although there are no doubt omissions, in this article we would like to propose views on traditional Tibetan modes of thought.

Experiential Thought

Tibetans have lived in a hostile natural environment on the Qinghai — Tibet plateau for generations. Their economy was based primarily on agriculture and animal

husbandry and for a long period a backward system of feudal serfdom was maintained by religious and secular rules. Under this system the standard of productive forces was very low, living conditions remained almost unchanged and society developed very slowly. As a result Tibetans adopted a very simple attitude to life based on experience and custom. The limited requirements of a natural economy made people content with the status and made intellectual enquiry into the nature, properties and development of the external world unnecessary. There are two fundamental types of relationships; those between man and nature, and those between individuals and individuals and society. As with other ethnic groups, Tibetans deal with these two types of relationships in completely different ways. Relationships also depend either on direct practical experience or on mystical or religious beliefs. Tibetans deal with practical relations on the basis of experience and customs handed on from one generation to another. Hughman, a modern British philosopher, said, "Habits are the great guide to life."^[1] All the knowledge that Tibetans have is based on experience. Without social collective and individual experience it is almost impossible to acquire knowledge. Even Tibetan mystical or religious beliefs are based on experiential thought.

Experiential thought is used to explain and deal with various objects and phenomena by means of personal experience. Such thought is often coloured by individual emotions and experience. It is simple, directly figurative and concrete, and is ultimately materialistic. However, this type of thought process is elementary and only able to master the superficial relationships between things. It difficult to raised this kind of thought process to the higher

level of rational knowledge. Because it is subjective, it achieves only a lukewarm relationship with mystical thought .

Experiential thought based on everyday knowledge and cultural traditions was passed down from ancient times and encompassed the living standards, ethics and morals established by usage. Such thought is recorded in innumerable proverbs, sayings ballads and poems in Tibetan culture. Tibetans believe that "Gold comes from the mouths of the elderly", because in a preliterate society, knowledge can only be obtained through generation of oral transmission. Since the elderly are the transmitters of knowledge, they are valued both in religious and secular society. In Tibetan Buddhism, importance was also attached to subjective cognition and experience.

In experiential thought subject is directly related to object. Knowledge related to agriculture and animal husbandry was obtained through induction, analogy and association of ideas on the basis of personal practice, direct observation and long — term experience. According to Tibetan proverbs, "when the morning sun shines behind a mountain, you should grow crops as soon as possible;"^[2]"Flowers in the mountains are in bloom you should grow rape;"^[3]"If the water in a river becomes muddy, you should be busy preparing for spring cultivation."^[4]These proverbs reflect the agricultural knowledge acquired by Tibetan peasants from repeated observations of natural phenomena. Knowledge of astronomy, the climate and other seasonal phenomena has been accumulated in the same way. For example "when the warm breeze blows and trees sprout, the sun in the sky moves northward ; when the fruit is ripe and the cold wind comes, the sun in the

sky moves southward;”^[5]”Dim moonlight can be seen on the third day of the lunar month and the ring of the moon appears; a half moon appears on the eighth day of the lunar month and the full moon on the fifteenth day.”^[6] These proverbs describe vividly and simply movement of the sun and the moon according to direct observation, and played an important role in determining agricultural life. By experiential thought the laws of nature are determined by induction to meet the needs of general production. However, in a natural economy experiential thought is restricted and concepts can remain static for long periods of time. It is also inevitable that experiential thought is limited and that mistakes are made. For examples, ”In summer, the earth is close to the sun, so the air moves slowly while in winter, there is a long distance between the sun and the earth, so the air moves rapidly.”^[7] Although superficial observation of natural phenomena might lead to such conclusion, in fact, the length of days and nights and changes in atmospheric temperature do not depend on the distance between the earth and the sun, but on the angle of irradiation during the movement of the earth around the sun.

Relying on experience and the association of ideas, experiential thought seeks to discover the essential relationships between things. In ancient Tibetan astronomy, the shadow cast by long vertical pole was used to determine the changes of the seasons and the time. Using this method the Tibetans were able to calculate the winter and summer solstices and the Spring and Autumn equinoxes, and that the length of a year was 365 days, 15 hours and 32 minutes, scientific observation has been influenced by other national cultures, but the knowledge was reinforced

by personal observation and practice, and by the association of ideas.

Another important aspect of Tibetan experiential thought is the use of analogy—beginning with a concrete idea generalizations can be made by deduction. For example the Kalacakra calendar uses concrete expressions to describe the abstract, unknown universe; "The vault of heaven is like a huge umbrella constantly turned by the force of the wind, the highest point in the center of the umbrella is connected to the top of mount Sumeru. There are four levels, the lowest of which is connected to the top of the rTa—gdong volcano. It has a height of 7, 500 Yojana (a unit of measurement). The surface of the umbrella is uneven with bumps and hollows. Twelve palaces are arranged like the twelve spokes of the umbrella while the twenty—eight constellations are like gems inlaid on its surface. Their position remains unchanged, but they revolve around the clock as the umbrella turns."^[9] According to Tibetans, heaven can be recognized by man according to his experience, the unknown can be deduced and reasoned from experience. Although this involves conjecture it is important in the history of thought and scientific understanding.

Tibetans also often use similes or comparisons to determine the nature or properties of things. This is a logical, didactic process. For example, the young shoots of poisonous weeds and herbs do not produce the same kind of fruit, living creatures who perform good or bad deeds do not achieve the same Karma."^[10] "A thing which is beneficial on the one hand may be harmful on the other; when the moon rises, water lilies bloom while red lilies shed their petals."^[11] "Even if he is your enemy, he can be your

friend if you can deal with the situation properly; even if something is poisonous, it can become good medicine if it is well prepared."^[12] These phrases reveal the dialectical concept of contradictions existing in all things, although such contradictions can be transformed under certain conditions. Other sayings indicate how transformations can occur when things are taken to extremes for example, "Clever people may become victims of their own cleverness."^[13] "When something is taken beyond its extreme, it will be broken."^[14] Using vivid, refined language, Tibetan people thus express this very general and profound truth. They also express many simple dialectical ideas in the same way, such as the change from quantitative to qualitative, and going beyond appearance to obtain the essence. In this type of thought process two things are compared and their common properties used to obtain greater knowledge or to confirm the correctness of certain experiences. This reveals the general laws of the objective world, although the thought process must not violate elementary logic. Only when considerable experiential knowledge is obtained can judgements be made, and only when things are compared dialectically, can conclusions in accordance with objective reality be drawn. Otherwise, fantasies are incorporated which leads to mysticism .

Tibetan experiential thought is reflected in mottoes, poems, proverbs, ballads and other literary works which contain profound philosophical ideas. These works reveal specific properties and laws deduced from the association of ideas, analogies and induction. It is very important to obtain a correct understanding of things since such understanding plays vital role in directing their social practice.

However, experiential thought has weaknesses that

are difficult to overcome. Firstly it is very primitive based on superficial phenomena, it ignores concrete analysis of the nature and properties of things and does not look into their ultimate purpose. Therefore, knowledge and experience remain in a primitive perceptive state for a long time and are not based on scientific accuracy. Secondly, it is biased. In experiential thought a connection is made between repeatedly occurring phenomena, but accidental repetitions may lead to false conclusions. Thirdly, it is random. In experiential thought comparisons are frequently made between known or observed phenomena, but uncertain and unknown factors are involved during the intellectual process of comparison which are not subject to scientific testing. Subjective elements can give a warped interpretation. Because of the three points mentioned above, experiential thought does not lead to scientific theories but leaves a great deal of room for religious mysticism. Fourthly, it is conservative. In experiential thought, experience, common sense, habit and tradition are used as a foundation for reasoning and determining standards. Such thought processes have played a historical role in preserving national cultures, cultivating national psychology, uniting national groups and promoting a national spirit. However, from a historical perspective, experiential thought which fits in with the productive forces of a natural economy has some weak points. It is closed conservative, and adheres to old customs and traditional ideas.

Mystical Thought

Religious beliefs are a common phenomenon in human society. The thought processes of those with religious be-

liefs inevitably involve mystic elements. Religious life has permeated the whole development of the Tibetan nation. In primitive society, there were mystic collective practices and animistic beliefs. In the early stage of a slave society, the Bon religion was central to social consciousness. After Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in the seventh century, there was a fusion of religious and secular life. Firm religious beliefs and customs developed over a long period among the Tibetan people. Having played a peculiar role in Tibetan social history and social life, religion is central to Tibetan traditional culture and social ideology. However, religious ideas are always based on mystical thought.

In general, mystical thought employs supernatural forces to explain the causality of the real world. Illusion based on religious concepts replaces the essential relationship between things. In other words, because of religious concepts and subjective assumptions, mystical thought often involves illusion which has nothing to do with the real nature of the world. The objects of mystical thought thus awesome and mysterious. Mystical thought eschews scientific reasoning and involves many illogical factors. It is controlled by illusion, fabrication and religious beliefs. Among those with strong religious beliefs, mystical thought usually become traditional.

Tibetan traditional mystical thought is reflected in every aspect of life. Before the democratic reform, Tibetan inhabited regions were wrapped in a thick shroud of religion belief. There were numerous monasteries and temples and prayer flags fluttered everywhere, smoke from burning incense and the call from Buddhist ritual horns filled the air. All of these had a strong religious appeal. Because of traditional beliefs and customs, chanting sutras

and worshiping the Buddha was regarded as essential. The decrees of the Buddhas and other deities were the standard by which the masses judged right or wrong and solved problems. They determined the Tibetan's outlook on life, values, moral concepts and aesthetic standards, but also limited people's way of thinking.

While analyzing the social function of Tibetan monks, Hu Yicheng pointed out that, "Another function of monks is to pray for happiness and avert disasters... For example, lamas are invited to give names to the new-born, to divine marriages, to cure the sick, to avert disasters and to release the dead from purgatory. Lamas also decide the time for sowing and harvesting. If there is no rain in a dry season or there is hails or floods, lamas are always invited to pray, they also hold grand ceremonies during festivals in spring and autumn or offer sacrifice and religious dances."^[15]

The general beliefs of the Tibetan people have been expounded by Ren Naiqiang as follows :"(1). Whether people suffer or not depends on the good or evil deeds performed in a previous existence, so there is little point in being concerned about it. What they should do is to try their best to do good deeds for the future world, which is the ultimate purpose of life. (2). The greatest service in life is to recite the six words sacred the mantra — — Om Mani Padme Hum. (3). The greatest virtue is obtained by making a pilgrimage to the sacred city — — Lhasa — — or offering everything one has as alms."^[16] Tibetan people believe that everything divined by a living Buddha or associated with his body, even his excrement, can be used to avoid disaster, bring happiness or avert danger."^[17]" The Choskyong temple lies outside the Drepung monastery.

An oracle there can tell good or ill fortune, which proves quite correct. "[18] When people enter the Jokhang temple " they are confused by its splendour cowed by its awesomeness and swayed by its solemnity and peace, so that they lose their senses and in their dreams meet the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. They can't help prostrating themselves in front of them with respectful expressions and prudent speech. People are subordinated to them from the bottom of their hearts and their souls are confused and full of illusion so that they and their family members offer all they have as alms . "[19]

This description reflects how deep—rooted and strong mysticism is in the thinking of the Tibetan people. This is not surprising since the development of religious beliefs provides the basis for mystical thought which in turn leads to the spread and development of religious beliefs. This interaction has raised Tibetan religious worship to the highest level.

Like the mystical thought of other groups, in Tibet it originated from the concept of "group consciousness" in primitive society. During this period, the subject and object of thought remained undivided or obviously divided. Therefore, thought processes were full of mysterious mutual infiltration. In a primitive thought process mysterious forces existed in everything. Such ideas " were passed down for generations within the group, imbuing each member of the group with feelings of awe horror or reverence for the objects concerned depending on the circumstances. "[20] People in primitive societies were seldom concerned about real causality. They believed that phenomena and events occurred in a mystical way as a result of the mysterious effects that one existence had on another.

Their nature or value depended on the interpenetration of mystical properties ascribed to object of thought as a result of group consciousness and numerous emotional factors.

Primitive thought brought about the emergence of numerous mystical concepts which became part of religious ideology. Such interpenetration existed in the sorcery practised by the Bon religion, Tibetan Buddhism and the religious dances ('Chams) in which animals are imitated. In times of famine, pestilence, accidents or unexpected events such concepts are applied rather than any attempt being made to determine the actual causal. For example, twins are regarded as an ill omen connected to pestilence and disaster. In Tibetan medicine, if a patient fails to recover after being given medicine and chanting sutras, possession by monsters or evil spirits is considered, or that a woman has harmed him or whether or not the sun was visible while he was taking medicine. The Bon religion predominated in Tibet from the end of the primitive society to the beginning of the slave society. On the basis of group consciousness it developed into animalism and polytheism. The Bon religion includes the offering of sacrifices, divinations, religious dances, the rituals exorcism of evil spirits and prayer. According to historical records, in the Bon religion, "ghosts are suppressed in the Lower Realm, heavenly gods are worshiped in the Upper realm and Buddhist ceremonies are held for the well being of families in the Middle Realm."^[21] "There are 360 ways to avert disaster, 84, 000 observation methods in Phyva—gshen—theg—pa (the Way of Gshen of Prediction). In sNang—gshen—theg—pa (the Way of gShen of the Visual World), there are four ways of chanting the praises of the deities, eight

ways of praying and 42 ways to thank the deities. In 'phrul—gshen—theg—pa (the Way of gShen of Illusion), there is section on ways to obtain purification. Srid—gshen—theg—pa (the Way of gShen of Existence) contains 360 ways of releasing dead from purgatory, four ways of performing funeral rituals and 80 methods for suppressing devils. "[22] It is recorded in *Mi—la—ras—pa* that *Mi—la—ras—pa* learned the magic arts and spells of the Bon religion in order to avenge himself. As a result, that were common in the local area when his uncle' s houses collapsed, and the crops damaged three times by hail. These records demonstrate not only the power of Bon sorcery but also the relationship between such sorcery and Tibetan Buddhism .

In Bonpo consciousness, the subject and object of thought are separated and emotions and desires are usually transferred to ghosts and deities by religious means, in the hope that they will provide protection. Religious rituals and sorcery have become the link between humans and supernatural beings. When people recognize an object, they are faced with a deity rather than the objective substance. Since everything depends on the will of the god and is under the control of mysterious forces, the collective psychology is such that people do not know what course to pursue. Bonpo religious rituals and sorcery therefore reflect, to a certain extent, mystic association of ideas. The subject of thought borrows a mystic force expressed by mysterious means in order to control the object of thought. In essence, this depends on "the law of mutual infiltration". Religious rituals such as sorcery and the offering of sacrifices connect human behavior with the emotions and will of supernatural beings. This is a baseless

association of ideas and a manifestation of mystic thought. During the slave society, slave — owners and nobles took advantage of the Bon religion for a long time; "from the reign of gNga' — khri — btsan — po to the reign of khri — thog — brtsan, twenty — six kings relied on the Bon religion to rule the whole country. "[23] On the initiative of the ruling class, the Bon religion, a traditional religion of the Tibetan nationality, was passed down for generations among the people and became very popular. The Mystic thought inherent in the Bon religion has had a major influence on Tibetans. Conditions were unique in Tibetan inhabited areas; the weather was changeable and the level of productive forces very low. Both of these factors greatly restricted secular experiential thinking, and was natural that people should rely on mysticism in order to cope with the situation . The mystic thought of the Bon religion therefore become important for Tibetans ' understanding of the unknown world. This is very common in agricultural and pastoral areas. In order to gain a firm foothold, Buddhism had to borrow much of the mystical thinking of the Bon religion.

Both religions are theistic and employ primarily mystical thinking. Essentially, the mystical concepts of Buddhist and the Bon religion are completely integrated but they have different specific manifestation. Tibetan Buddhist thought is based on a fusion of Buddhist theories and Bon mysticism. According to *Records of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* and *The Origin and Development of religions by Thu 'u — bkwan*, all the fierce, supernatural beings in Tibetan — inhabited regions became extremely angry because Khri — srong — lde — btsam learned Buddhist doctrines from the Grand Khen — po Bodhisattva. "The Nyen

—chen—tang—la Mountain God struck the red Hill Palace with a thunderbolt; the Ya—lha—sham—po Mountain god submerged the ponds nearby and twelve female brTan—mas visited a pestilence on man."^[24] For this reason, Padmasambhava was called upon and he finally succeeded in subduing "all the eight kinds of ghosts". From then on, Buddhism and Bonism gradually became integrated. By the time different major sects of Buddhism emerged, Buddhism and Bonism had become interdependent. The Bon religion absorbed much of the content and form of Buddhism, which gave it social status, and many considered it a form of Buddhism. On the other hand, Tibetan Buddhism absorbed the Bon pantheon, its sorcery, practices and customs to become a unique Buddhist sect with a pronounced regional and national character. It could be said that Tibetan Buddhism would not exist without the Bon religion. Although Tibetan Buddhism acknowledges various traditional mystical concepts that prevailed in Tibetan inhabited areas, ultimately these concepts are only regarded as intermediary. The subject of thought aims to understand the law of nature, to extricate the self (from the round of birth and death) and to save all beings through recognition of these intermediaries. From this point of view, Tibetan Buddhism has, indeed, raised mysticism to a higher level and enabled it to be used to understand the universe itself. Mysticism has therefore taken on a rational, dialectical coloring. Tibetan Buddhism not only represents the mysticism prevailed in Tibetan—inhabited areas, but is a new wider system of mysticism based on Buddhist concepts and considered as a way of observing history and the real world. According to Tibetan Buddhism, social reality is only a manifestation of the power of Buddha.

Fate, differences in living conditions, wide disparities in social status, happiness, disaster, longevity and death are all the result of the virtues or sins accumulated in a previous existence. They are therefore unalterable in the present life. Reality is transient and illusory, but the complete extrication of the soul is eternal and real. In a feudal serf system, this type of mystical thinking confirmed the irrational as rational and the rational as errors. This was considered logical reasoning in accordance with Buddhist doctrines. On the basis of this logic, it became established that when people suffered a great deal in reality, they usually attributed it to their blaspheming of the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas or offenses against other deities. As people placed more and more hope in religious beliefs and religious life, social pressure increased. As the pressure grew, the more committed people became to Buddhism. They therefore tried their best to develop religion and religious life. This mode of thinking led people to lose the courage to face up to social reality and a lack of a critical spirit.

Tibetan Buddhists regard mysterious forces from deities and the Buddha as the best way of solving various problems. Religious doctrines that represent the force and will of deities and the Buddha are thought of as an encyclopedia which can direct actual practice. In daily life, people usually appeal to deities when they encounter difficulties, asking them to solve the problem instead of making a decision themselves. Even Tibetan local government officials listened impatiently to petitions and made careless decisions when hearing difficult cases. They made decisions according to the "judgement of the gods". In major decisions the Tibetan local government with the help of state

oracles, had to rely on orders given by the deities and the Buddha.

Tibetan Buddhism attempts to mystify social history. Tibetan 's have a strong historical consciousness. Most of Tibetan literary and historical works, such as *Records of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*, *The Bright Mirror of Royal Genealogies*, *The Blue Annals*, *The Red Annals*, *Writings on the History of Tibetan Buddhism* and *The Origin and Development of Religions by Thu'u — bkwan*, have been written by eminent monks and Living Buddhas, all of them have taken the history of religion as their major theme and their purpose was to spread Buddhist teachings. Famous kings, ministers and heroes in Tibetan history are regarded as incarnations or reincarnations of Bodhisattvas or deities. Tibetan history is full of fantastic and grotesque stories, and religion historians believe that the development of history are not pushed forward by the material productive activities of Tibetan people, but controlled by the power of the Buddha and divine forces. The safety or danger and decline of society have nothing to do with man's subjective efforts. Therefore, it is not a matter of prime importance in society to develop material production, but to spread religion. Works on religious history expressing this view exaggerate the religious spirit and mystical conceptions expressed in historical events, increasing people's sense of the sanctify of religion, and their sense of pride and mystery. In Mystic terms the living history of production and class struggles the history of the development of religion. Buddhist doctrines and religious ethics are used as the standard to judge historical events and figures. As a result, Tibetan history is still covered with a mysterious veil. In research on Tibetan

history, many difficult and complex adjustments must be made to restore history to its original appearance.

Thinking in Concrete Images

Thinking in concrete images is a major element of Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhism originated from the Middle Way School (Madhyamika) of Mahayana Buddhism which was introduced from India in the 7th century. Buddhist texts translated by eminent Tibetan monks include all the scriptures of Indian Mahayana Buddhism. These Buddhist scriptures contain classics of the Madhyamika and Yogacara sects and many sutras from later Esoteric Buddhism. The Middle Way School uses wisdom (Prajna) to directly identify the object of thought and understand the nature void of all laws in order to achieve direct perception for spiritual release. The Yogacara sect is by logical concepts and reasoning processes which, together with self—exploration and sudden enlightenment have constituted an important component in Tibetan Buddhist thought. The introduction and dissemination of Buddhism have therefore major role in raising the level of Tibetan thinking.

However, logical thinking, whether based on direct intuition or logic is not the major element of Tibetan Buddhism thought. Tibetan Buddhism is based primarily on the beliefs and practices of the Esoteric Sect of Mahayana Buddhism which is a fusion of later Indian Buddhism and Hinduism. Imagery is a fusion of the Bonpo mysticism that prevailed in Tibetan—inhabited areas and traditional experiential thought.

Imagery is "a repeated and concentrated mental activi-

ty related to specific concrete images so that perception is altered, psychology is refined and souls can be freed." [25] The essential element of this way of thinking is to reflect abstract meanings through concrete images and symbols. The object of thought — — the nature of the universe — — and the nature and laws of the Buddha are reflected in images, symbols and actions. The specific object is given an artificial symbolic significance which causes it to be completely fused with the law of the Buddha. Through the fusion of "body, speech and mind" (mediation, Mudras and spells), the nature of the universe can be perceived and all natural laws can be shown to be void. This way of thinking allows people to enter directly into the state of the Buddha through special practices but without reasoning. Thinking in Concrete images is of great significance in Tibetan Buddhism, it is used to explain many obscure phenomena. The general can be understood from the individual and abstract phenomena can be recognized from those that are superficial. This type of thought fuses perceptual experience and abstract understanding. It is a fusion of and improvement in traditional experiential thinking and mystic thought. It also has an original relationship with the theory of the School of Indian Buddhism.

While debating on Yogacara, Chandrakirti, the great master of the Amidst School, laid stress on the view of "without self — nature" in the Amidst School. And later on, this viewpoint developed into its extreme and the theory of "everything arising from the nature void" became another theory of "the nature void arising from conditions". That means, "without self — nature" is the basis of the theory of "everything arising from conditional causation". This theory has a practical significance. In secular life, it

confirms the theory of "everything arising from conditional causation", but denies the nature void. The extreme theory of the Void School finally reached its opposite. As a result, the teachings of the Amidst School and the Yogacara sect, which made great concessions to Hindu secular life, became fused. This gave rise to Esoteric Buddhism .

On the one hand, the Esoteric School absolutized the nature void and considered it mysterious, just like a Vajra, which is eternal, inextinguishable and indestructible. This is the ultimate aim of Buddhist practice. The Esoteric Sect is therefore also called the Vajra Vehicle. On the other hand, the Esoteric Sect acknowledges the theory of "everything arising from conditional causation", believing that all troubles in the secular world arise from this. While people are always in a calm mood, they have to eliminate their troubles through meditation in front of Vairocana and concrete images, such as *Mandalas*, designs, religious instruments and portraits, they have to use *Mudras*, spells, meditate and engage in esoteric practices so as to prove their Enlightened Mind and understand the Buddha truth. Therefore, the Esoteric Sect is also called the Convenient Vehicle. From this, we can understand that in the Esoteric Sect, the fusion of mysticism in thinking of artistic conception with empiricism has its peculiar character. The thinking of artistic conception in Tibetan Buddhism lays special stress on religious rituals and practice and it belongs to experiential thinking. However, it also strongly stresses mysterious emblems, symbols, actions and spells, which shows the character of mystic thinking. Tibetan Buddhism soon became divided into several sects: the rNing — ma, Sa — skya, bKa ' — brgyud,

bKa'—gdam and dGe—lugs sects. These sects by their own particular emphasis on specific religious practices. For example, the Sa—skya Sect has the practice of the way and result; the rNing—ma Sect has the Great Achievement (rDzogs—chen); the bKa'—brgyud Sect has the Great Mudra and the dGe—lugs Sect has the Course of the Order of Bodhi. All of them lay stress first on Exoteric and then on Esoteric Buddhism. They also have different original honored ones (Yidams) and guardian deities, but their way of thinking is exactly the same. All use the idea of "no difference between birth and Nirvana to prove the nature of law..."^[26] In their world view each sect believes that "the nature void arises from conditional causation" and "without self—nature in minds." In practice, all of them maintain that the Buddha nature can be proved through concrete matters. The rNing—ma Sect believes that which is quite similar to the Great Mudra Sect."^[28] The so—called convenience in this field means to recognize the void nature of minds through the Convenient Method.^[29] The Sa—skya sect holds that "while experiencing the void nature, people can perceive that the void nature is not really empty, everything indeed exists, but it doesn't appear. If you look at something, you can't grasp its nature, you regard it as the nature void. Although appearance and void exist, they are isolated. It proves that self—nature of mind is empty."^[30] The bka'—brgyud Sect has the same religious idea as the one held by the rNing—ma Sect, but in its practice it is similar to the Sa—skya Sect. The Sa—skya Sect believes"^[31] If peculiar matters appear in your mind or you have good or bad ideas, you'd better not make any choice and meditate attentively. They will disappear and signs will die out. A calm space will ap-

pear and you can go there calmly. If you get this kind of idea; you can surely understand the nature of law and your nature." If you meditate attentively when some peculiar matters and illusory ideas appear in your mind, you can understand the nature of law. In fact, this is only a different way of speaking about thinking of artistic conception." The dGel—lugs sect, the dominant sect in Tibetan Buddhism, also holds the same point of view. Tsong—kha—pa said: "The nature void has the meaning of everything arising from conditional causation, but not the function of void."^[32] Void has its significance, but it stresses its non—substance and "without self—nature". Matter really exists, but it is not real, it is only an outer manifestation of the Buddha nature. Therefore, people can become Buddhas through cultivation." According to Karma Mudras, people can prove two precious natures immediately."^[33] That is to say, people can become Buddhas if they cultivate themselves gradually according to Dharma Mudras. The points of view mentioned above are basic theories about thinking of artistic conception in Tibetan Buddhism.

Li Xiaoben, a Buddhist scholar in Taiwan, has summarized the basic theory of Tibetan Buddhism as follows:" Its principle idea is that realistic matters are truth. Therefore, it lays stress on the Enlightened Mind and "Great Pity". It specially establishes the Convenient Method, which can help people understand perceivably the truth of the universe through realistic matters."^[34] The so—called "matters" contain all things or objects, including the bodies of people who practice. In the work *Mi—la—ras—pa*, *Mi—la—ras—pa*'s younger sister persuaded him not to commit suicide, saying "The Esoteric Vehicle is the essence of Buddhism. It has its own rules. Buddhas and

Bodhisattvas adhere to Skandha, Dhatu (region), Aytana (abode) and everywhere. "[35] This paragraph also expresses the idea of "realistic matters are truth." Why does Tibetan Buddhism hold firmly to the principle of "realistic matters are truth"? This is up to its philosophical ontology, Tibetan Buddhism holds that the universe is composed of six original causal elements "earth, water, fire, wind, void and consciousness". Realistic matters are also made up of six causal elements. In essence, both of them are void and "without self—nature", so appearance and original body are completely united as one. Therefore, void and the nature of Buddha can be proved through concrete matters. Directed by great masters, people themselves use wisdom to prove the nature of Buddha through affections and recognition of concrete matters. The greatest obstacle to people becoming Buddhas is secular matters, the seven emotions and six sensory pleasures, ignorance and trouble, so" people have to do their best to refine themselves through Samsara, to overcome their sensory desires and the unfounded things through sensory desire and the unfounded things." It borrows some phenomena and comes across the stage of rational thinking. This mode of thought can help people become enlightened and understand the Buddha nature through their sense organs, from concrete matters to the original body and from direct consciousness to experience. The thinking of artistic conception in Tibetan Buddhism is a thought process which goes from mysticism to recognition of empiricism and back to mysticism.

Based on the theories mentioned above, Tibetan Buddhism has established a methods of practice which reflect its aim. For Tibetan Buddhists, a Mandala represents the

universe. Monasteries, images of the Buddha inside or outside monasteries, ritual instruments, religious printings and sculptures directly represent the Spiritual Body of the Buddha. Mudras, Yoga, sounds and actions have their peculiar mysterious significance. Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Vajras, guardian deities and various demons and ghosts gather together in Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhists build monasteries, lay stress on offerings, set up altars, recite spells, practice Yoga, show respects to Lamas, go on pilgrimages to sacred sites, prostrate themselves on the ground in front of images of the Buddha, practice asceticism, learn three mystic things (body, speech and mind), chant sutras and spin prayer wheels. In their minds, all of these are not only Buddhas' mysterious artistic conception, but also the primary way of understanding the nature of Buddha. Tibetan Buddhists believe that all kinds of ritual instruments can be used to unite the Truth and the Worldly Truth as one, enabling Buddhist believers to understand the nature of the void and eliminate their connections with the mortal world. Ritual instruments are also used to eliminate evil, expel the wicked, cure the sick, for protection and the achievement of happiness.

Tibetan Buddhism has only a lukewarm relationship with the mortal world. It is far from the mortal world, because it pursues an entirely unreal void, that is mysticism. But it is also close to the mortal world, since Buddhists believe that "realistic matters are truth," which depends on empiricism. On one hand, its aim is very illusory and mysterious, but on the other its methods are real and concrete. In essence, it fills in empty religious life with secular life and insufficient secular life with religious life. From this we can understand the reason why Tibetan Bud-

dhists lay particular emphasis on "the way of Convenience" in order to understand the nature of the Buddha. Disciplines and methods of practice in Tibetan Buddhism differ from those in Chinese Buddhism and other sects of Mahayana Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhist monks live a slightly different life from ordinary people. In some sects, there is no difference at all. Monks can drink and eat meat. Those in the Sa—skya Sect can get married and have children and they maintain a patrilineal system as in a secular family. Monks in the rNing—ma Sect may accept money and are not required to be celibate. The dGe—lugs Sect has strict ranks and discipline but monks may still enjoy secular life. This sect also regards esoteric practices as the highest way of the Supreme Yoga and the simplest method of becoming a Buddha.

Thinking in concrete images is not only direct perceptual mode of thought, but it also encompasses sudden enlightenment. In Tibetan Buddhism, objects of thought such as the Buddha nature, the Dharma—nature, Dharma-dhata, the original body and void are inseparable. Only through direct experience of their soul in "original body" and the interfusion of object and subject, can believers gain an understanding of it. In that case, people can gain a thorough understanding, gain enlightenment and become Buddhas. The view that people can gain sudden enlightenment and become Buddhas has some similarity with Chinese Chan (Zen) thinking, but there are still great difference in concrete methods. Thinking in concrete images is a specific form in the history of the development of human thought, and it guides human thinking to a higher trail of mysticism, thereby enhancing religious appeal and stimulating the development of religions. But, on the other

hand, it also inhibits the understanding of the objective world and lessens man's capability to reform nature and society. Thinking in concrete images is of course, often advisable, and we should acknowledge its contribution in the development of human thought.

Firstly, it is a reverse elaboration of human cognition. It involves some quite abstract and complex problems, such as the original body of the world, the value of life and so on. From the perspective of the history of the development of cognition, it is of a higher level than general experiential thinking, and so it represents historical progress.

Secondly, thinking in concrete images has greatly influenced Tibetan Buddhist art. Buddhist art adopts symbolic methods to reflect Buddhist ideas, emotions, and spirit, and relies in real matters on inspiration and imagination aroused by philosophical theories to create artistic images. Thinking in concrete images gives prominence to representationals rather than realistic writing. It has raised Tibetan Buddhist arts to a higher level. People can thereby not only aesthetically enjoy artistic images created by Buddhism, but can also obtain a concise, peculiar, and mysterious association of ideas and enlightenment. People are shocked by these artistic images, which have played an educational role in religion. It is the thinking in artistically concrete images in Tibetan Buddhism that has led Buddhist art to its summit. Its marvelous, rich and colorful culture is the focus of attention in art circles all over the world.

Logical Thinking

Logical thinking is fully reflected in cultural classics, works, and debates on religions. It represents the level of development of Tibetan traditional culture. Broad and profound, Tibetan traditional culture has a long history. There are a great number of cultural classics, which occupy a preeminent position among minority classics, second only to Chinese classics. Tibetan traditional culture represents the proud wisdom of the Tibetan people. Tibetan cultural classics began to appear with the translation of Buddhist scriptures, and works written by Tibetan intellectuals gradually emerged. Written by eminent monks and great masters, the contents of most works were related to religion, and so were generally called religious cultural classics. Religious cultural classics constituted a major component in Tibetan classical writing. The Tibetan masses have long believed in religion and so certain religious cultural ideas have naturally become a penetrating annotation in Tibetan traditional culture. Tibetan Buddhist cultural ideas and classics are imbued with profound and mysterious philosophical theories and dialectical coloring, and these necessarily adopted a higher level of logical thinking as their external expression. In terms of the development of Tibetan Buddhist history, this is an objective fact.

Translation work on Buddhist scriptures began in the time of the Tubo kingdom, especially after the establishment of the bSam — yas monastery — the first formal monastery in Tibet. The Tubo royal family invited some eminent Indian monks such as Dri — med — bshes — gnyen,

to Tibet and arranged Tibetan translators to work with them. Work places were established for them to do translation work and large numbers of classics were translated. Texts translated were preserved in lDan—dkhar, sChins—phu and 'phang—thang, and were respectively catalogued. The lDan—dkhar Catalogue is still extant. It has twenty—seven categories and encompasses seven hundred scriptures. Atisa, a famous Indian monk who visited Tibet in the Later propagation period was very much surprised by the large number of translated Tibetan texts that he encountered. He said that he would not have come to Tibet if he had known there were so many translated scriptures. During the Later propagation period more and more Buddhist scriptures were translated. At the beginning of the 14th century, mChog—ldan—rig—phai—ra—khri, the abbot of the sNar—thang monastery, compiled the first *Tripitaka* on the basis of classics preserved in the Sa—skya monastery, including two volumes, *bKa'—'gyur* and *bsTan—'gyur*, which are comprehensive collections of Tibetan Buddhist disciplines, doctrines and philosophy. Tshal—pa—kun—dga'—rdo—rje, Bu—ston—ri—chen—grub and others later successively revised and enlarged the Catalogue of the Tripitaka. Eight different types of wood block printing appeared in Tibet and inland, and these are a superb achievement of world Buddhist art, Tripitaka regarded the Five Greater Kinds of Knowledge and the Five Lesser Kinds of Knowledge as a key link encompassing all Buddhist scriptures and constituting a vast logical system of Tibetan cultures. If the compilers did not possess a profound knowledge of Buddhism, a capacity for comprehensive analysis, and logical thinking, it would have been rather difficult for them to gather up the threads from

such numerous and disorganised Buddhist scriptures. Moreover, large numbers of Buddhist cultural classics were translated into Tibetan, which involved a process of introduction, digestion and absorption of new ideas, a new culture, and new theories. Translators must have adopted a serious attitude in choosing proper Tibetan vocabularies or in creating new Tibetan terms and in using logical language and expressions which could accurately reflect profound concepts, judgements and reasoning in Buddhist theory. Tibetan Buddhist scriptures have stood the test of time since they were first published. The translations attained a high level and accorded with the criteria of "fidelity, fluency and elegance". They were not only faithful to the original texts, but were also characterized by the Tibetan ethos. They are admired by Buddhist circles at home and abroad. It can be seen that Tibetan translators over successive dynasties possessed the finest qualities of rational logical thinking.

In the Later propagation period of Buddhism, emerged large numbers of Tibetan translated scriptures, and these demonstrated how Buddhist theories had gradually developed through absorption, digestion, and explanation. During this period, Tibetan Buddhist sects were founded and developed. They each laid a different stress on the understanding of Buddhism, and so various annotations of Buddhist sutras, explanations of Buddhist teachings, and the doctrines, sources and transmission of each sect emerged in succession. Moreover, there also appeared large numbers of historical works, including biographies of Tibetan kings of successive dynasties, eminent monks, and noble families, and chronicles of local areas and monasteries. Literary works and Tibetan operas designed

to propagate Buddhist doctrines and to encourage people to worship and practice the faith became fashionable for a time. All areas inhabited by Tibetan people prospered culturally. A large number of Tibetan intellectuals were not ordinary persons. They not only possessed advanced Buddhist cultural qualities and profound historical learning, but also could provide judgements on various doctrines and teachings, elaborating on the understanding of Buddhist theories, and classifying analyzing and judging historical events and figures. Compared with translators of Buddhist scriptures, they were persons with a high level of logic.

Each religious doctrine is a vision of the world, which sets out to answer fundamental questions about the universe, nature and life. But explanations of doctrine differ among various sects. As a high level religion, Buddhism has its own systematic doctrines, which derive from Sakyamuni's Four Noble Truths and which developed progressively as written scripture. The Four Noble Truths are: (1). Existence is unhappiness. (2). Unhappiness is caused by desire and selfishness. (3). Desire and craving can be overcome by (4). Following the Eight—fold path. The Four Noble Truths reveal man's suffering and attempt to lead man to enlightenment through thorough reasoning, by opening man's mind and revealing the realm of heaven and directing man to practice truths in a convenient form. It is said that the emergence of the Four Noble Truths was inspired by ancient Indian medicine, which stressed four steps: (1). Understanding the state of an illness (2). Determining the cause of the disease (3). Drawing up a plan for medical treatment and (4). Taking practical medical measures. It can be seen that the Four Noble Truths accord with the general law and logic of

thinking. People can use the truths to acknowledge and solve contradictions as they represent an organic fusion of epistemology and methodology. Treated, supplemented and developed by many Buddhist scholars, including many Tibetans Buddhist basic doctrines, with the Four Noble Truths as its core, absorbed and contained many intellectual achievements in society. They are imbued with esoteric theory and constitute a grand and profound ideological system.

Dialectical thinking is often reflected in Tibetan Buddhist cultural works. For example, the view of the movement of birth, death and impermanence, the view regarding the general causal connections between things, and the view of the contradictions between existence and non-existence, truth and falsehood, birth and death, and permanence and impermanence are elaborated in the theory that "everything arises from the void" stressed by the dGe-lug-pa Sect. Dialectical thinking also advanced a series of dialectical concepts regarding the unity of opposites relating to philosophical categories. Examples are specificity and generality, reasons and results, phenomenon and noumenon. Tsong-kha-pa, the great master, advanced some peculiar ideas, in his work on meditation and contemplation, regarding the process of cognition from a lower level to a high one, from perceptual to rational cognition, from individual to general theories, and from theory to practice. His representative ideas reflected the high level of logical thinking in Tibetan Buddhist culture, and is worth researching. Lenin pointed out: "Clerical obscurantism (=philosophical idealism), of course, has epistemological roots, it is not groundless; it is a sterile flower undoubtedly, but a sterile flower that grows on the living

tree of loving, fertile, genuine, powerful, omnipotent, objective, absolute human knowledge."^[37] The factors of logic and dialectical thought contained in Tibetan Buddhist culture are fully covered by religious mysticism, but the light of wisdom can be seen if the cover is removed.

Tibetan Buddhist culture lays special stress on logical thought. Logic which takes logical reasoning as its main content is an important component of the Five Greater Kinds of Knowledge. Like three precious pearls, Tibetan logic, ancient Greek logic and ancient Chinese analytical logic, have an extraordinary splendor in the development of logic. The measurement of cognition is the most important theory advanced by Tibetan logic, and it can be divided into two kinds: actual measurement and rough measurement. Actual measurement means that correct cognition derives from personal testing before understanding circumstances. In other words, perceptual cognition can be obtained directly without logical reasoning. Rough measurement means that without concrete things, truth can only be obtained according to experience, knowledge, and the metaphor of reason. Actual measurement strictly speaking, is not logical thinking, but intuitional experience. Its highest stage provides proof of esoteric thinking, but actual measurement observes strict logical thinking. Actual measurement adopts a mode of reasoning using three kinds of measurement: proposition (or major premise), cause and reasons, and metaphor. It reaches a conclusion through their combination. The mode of reasoning with three kinds of measurement was not only adopted by each monastery as its basic measure for monks to use in debating sutras and passing examination for the dGe — bshes (doctor of divinity) degree, but was also ex-

tensively applied in Buddhist the classics, such as works written by the great master Tsong — kha — pa. Generally speaking, Tibetan Buddhism takes the nature void and the Middle Way as its major premises, the theory that "everything arises from conditional causation" as its reason, and concrete matters as its metaphor. By inference, the conclusion that "everything arises from the nature void" or a conclusion in accordance with the Middle Way can be drawn. Rough measurement is of three types: (1). Inference with the theory that "everything arises from conditional causation" as its cause (2). Inference with general cognition (3). Inference in accordance to Buddhist teachings. Moreover, Tibetan logic contains a mode of thinking entailing negative recounting, which is thinking in the "negative". Such terms as "negative recount" and "non — negative recount" in the classics reflect this mode of thought. Logical knowledge is widely applied in Tibetan Buddhist culture, which demonstrates that logical thinking is an important component in the Tibetan traditional mode of thinking and it also reflects its highest level. Discussing dialectical thinking in the history of human thinking, Engels pointed out: "dialectical thought — — precisely because it presupposes investigation of the nature of concepts themselves — — is only possible for man, and for him only at a comparative high stage of development (Buddhists and Greeks)." ^[38] This paragraph can be used to explain the prominence logical thinking played in the Tibetan traditional way of thinking.

The above reflects the author's limited view of Tibetan traditional thinking. The Tibetan nationality has a long history and a splendid culture among the large family of the Chinese nation and its traditional modes of thinking

are various and distinctive. This brief summary can only provide a strained interpretation and must omit much. Research needs to be deepened, and hope that this subject is discussed by specialists and scholars in the field.

Notes

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[11][12] [13] *Sa—skya's Mottoes*, PP. 27—28, P. 68, P. 62

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[37] *Selected Works of Lenin* , Vol. 2, P. 115

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A Discussion and Analysis of the Population and Economic Development in Tibet

Dorje Nguldrup, Feng Litian, and Qi Xin

The relationship between population and economic development is quite a big problem and its content is very complicated. Therefore it cannot be clearly explained in a single article. Here we want to make a macro and rough analysis of the following three problems: Tibetan population and employment, Tibetan population and economic structure, and strategic consideration about Tibetan population and the benign cycle of economic development.

Tibetan Population and Employment

Population and economic development are always socially connected by the medium of employment. The aim of this section is to analyze the age, sex, number and cultural traits of the Tibetans in the workforce.

The total size of the Tibetan workforce is firstly restricted by appropriate age categories. The third census in 1982 showed that 1,010,387 Tibetans were employed, while in the fourth census in 1990 the figure was 1,108,891. The increase was due to the increase from 1,095,558 to 1,252,635 in the current international standard 15—64

age group. The percentage of the employed between those ages is called the employment rate of labor of the appropriate age. It was 92.77% in 1982, but decreased to 84.52% in 1990. This group forms the core of the total population. Any decrease or increase in it always reflects fluctuation in the total population in the preceding period. From long-term observation, we are aware that an overall rise in population is certain to lead to greater numbers in this group. In Tibet the employment rate of the total population in 1982 was 53.71% and 50.50% in 1990.

At times rates of the total employment and that in the standard age group age may vary the direction and scope are directly determined by the following two factors.

1. The percentage of the labor force between 15 and 64.

The entire population may be divided into three age groups: the non-labor-force under the lower limit, i. e., children from birth to 14; the working population from age 15 to 64; and the non-labor-force over the upper limit, i. e., people 65 and over.

Fluctuation in the Labor Force from 15—64 (%)

Tab. 1

| Year | Total | Percentage of labor—force Population | Percentage of population under lower limit | percentage of population over upper limit |
|------|--------|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| 1982 | 100.00 | 58.97 | 36.61 | 4.60 |
| 1990 | 100.00 | 59.79 | 35.58 | 4.63 |

(Data source: The third and fourth census of the Tibet Autonomous Region)

From this table we may know that the percentage of those in the labor—force in 1990 was slightly higher than that in 1982. This was due to a drop in the percentage of juveniles from birth to 14. This led to a slight decrease in the birth rate of the Tibetan people after 1982.

If other conditions remain unchanged, a rise in the ratio of the labor force age group is usually accompanied by a climb in the employment rate of the total population. However, the data cited above shows, the employment rate of the total population in 1990 was 3.21 percentage lower than that in 1982. This quonundrum was because other conditions had changed.

2. The change in the employment rate of the labor force age group.

Compared with the employment rate in 1982, the share of this group in 1990 had decreased by 8.25 percent. The growth of the employed population (9%) far lagged behind the growth of the labor force between 15 and 64. If we compare the two rates of the labor force between age 15 and 64, collected during the two censuses, then we get the following result: (See Fig. 1)

From Fig. 1 we can see that the employment rate of all ten age—groups declined in 1990. The reasons partially are as follows:

1. The number of students in this age category who were unemployed increased rapidly from 13,956 in 1982 to 26,722, a climb of 91.4%;

2. The number of retirees increased rapidly from 1,559 in 1982 to 18,257 in 1990, an increase of 10.7 times.

The two causes mentioned above can only partially explain the decrease in the employment rate among the young and the old, but cannot account for why the figure also declined among the middle-aged. The last mentioned did not equal an increase in urban unemployed whose ranks came to 7,589 in 1982 but fell to 4,558 in 1990. The answer as to why employment fell among the middle group (20–49 years of age) can only be found through social investigation.

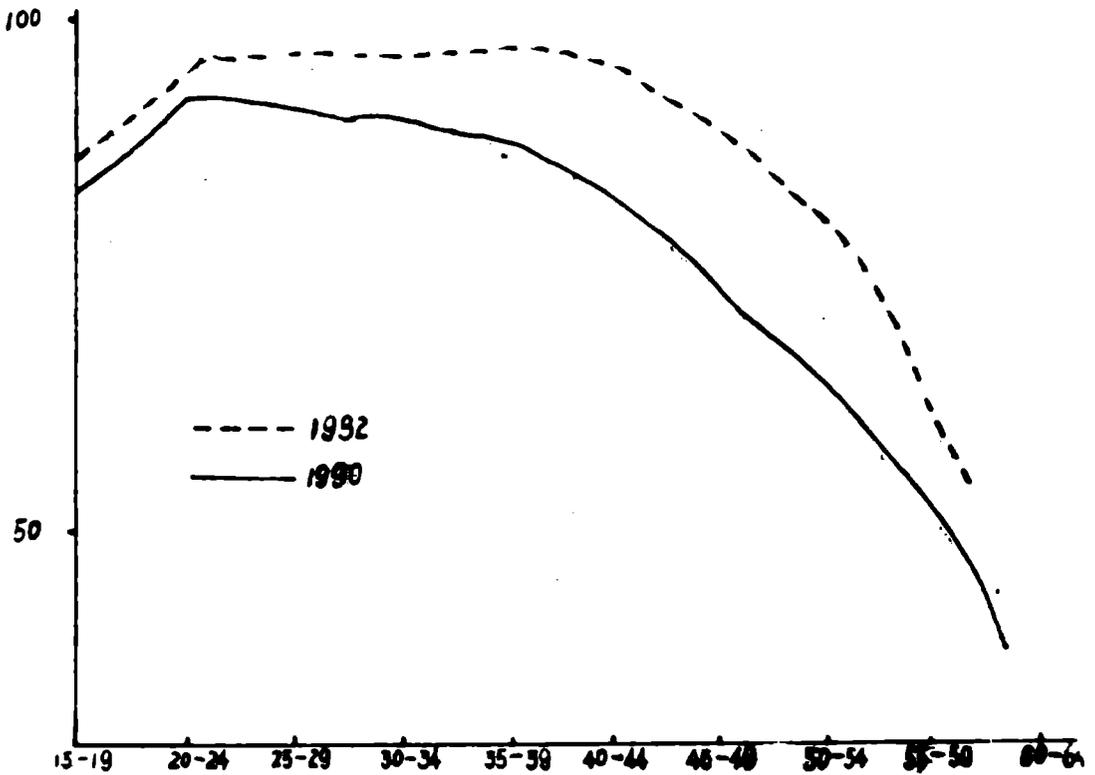


Fig. 1 Diagram of employment rate of those aged between 15 and 64 in the third and fourth national censuses.

The age characteristics of the Tibetan workforce may be seen from the following divisions. ^[1]

Standard Age—Divisions of the Employed Population *

Tab. 2

| Item \ Types | Young | Adult | Elderly |
|--|-----------|--------|-----------|
| (1) Young people (percentage of employed from 15—29 years of age in the total workforce) | over 40% | 30—40% | Under 30% |
| (2) Employment rate of senior citizens (percentage of employed over 50 years in the total) | Under 15% | 15—20% | 20% |
| (3) Average age of the employed | Under 30 | 30—35 | over 35 |

* The division of age structure of the employed has its own unique features .

According to the standard put forward in Table 2 and calculations based on the two censuses of 1982 and 1990, we get the results shown in Table 3:

Age Structure of the Employed Population in Tibet

Tab. 3

| Item \ Year | 1982 | 1990 |
|-----------------------------|--------|--------|
| Youth employment rate | 45.28% | 51.55% |
| Elderly employment rate | 18.88% | 12.80% |
| Average age of the employed | 31.12 | 28.38 |

The three indicators that decide age type in the employed population do not necessarily coincide with standard age divisions. For instance, the employment rate of the young in 1982 fitted their category, while that for the elderly and average age of employment was of adult type, so they might put in that division. Nevertheless, the employment rate and average age of the employed in 1990 both fell in the young category. The change in type of age structure among Tibetan employed is conditioned by the changing age structure of the standard labor force. From Table 5 it may be seen that in 1982 two of the three indicators for this group were in the adult type, making an adult age structure; while in 1990 two of the three indicators were in the youthful category, so the age structure was a young one.

Age Structure of Tibetan Labor Force From 15—64

Tab. 4

| Item \ Year | 1982 | 1990 |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|
| Percentage of Young | 45.11% | 48.54% |
| Percentage of old | 17.51% | 16.71% |
| Average age of labor force | 31.29% | 19.61% |

Demographic features of the Tibetan employed are also reflected in the sex ratio. Compared with 1982, 1990 witnessed remarkable unique changes. They are shown as follows:

1. The sex ratio of Tibetan employed in 1990 was 123.6, while it was only 103.9 in 1982. In every age group in 1990 it was higher than in 1982, and the divergence has tended to increase as the workforce has aged, see Figure 2. Although the abrupt disparity was related to the expanding sex ratio of those in the standard workforce age group, yet the role played by the latter was insignificant, since its sex ratio in 1990 was 102.1, increasing only 3.7 percent from 98.4 in 1982. However, the sex ratio of the total employed population rose 19.7 percent. In particular, the widening sex ratio of elderly employed cannot be explained by the standard group, because it shows a tendency to decrease. For details see Figure 3.

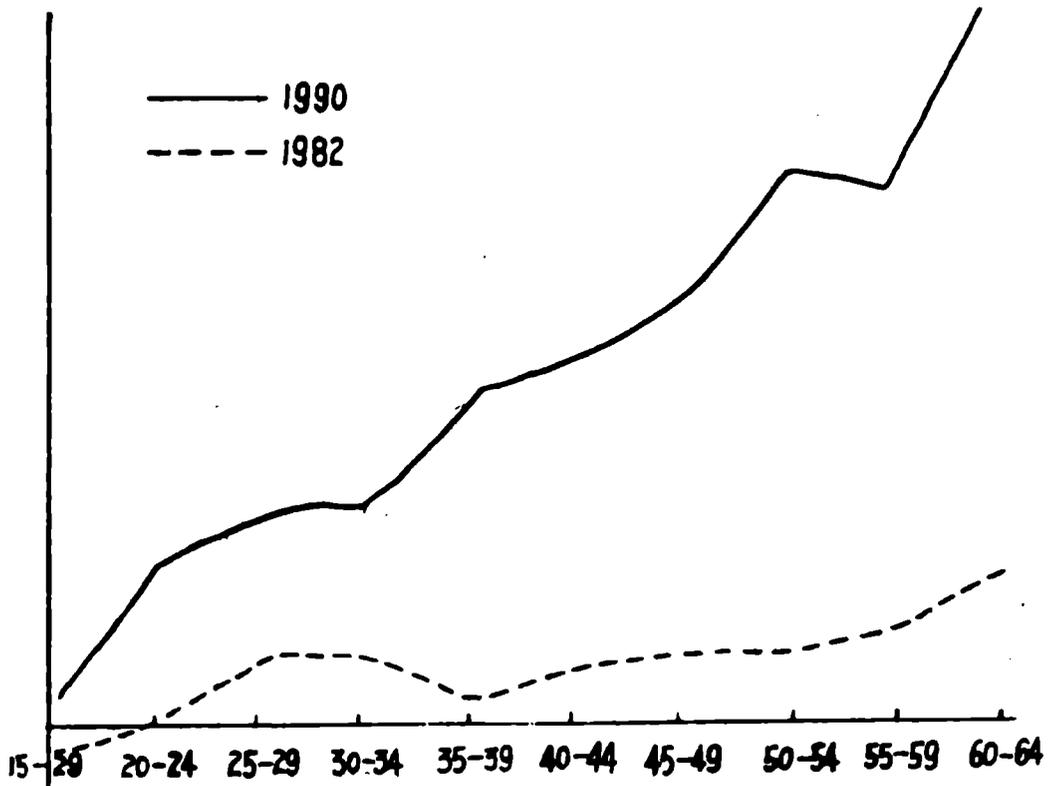


Fig. 2 Sex Ratio of the Employed in 1982 and 1990

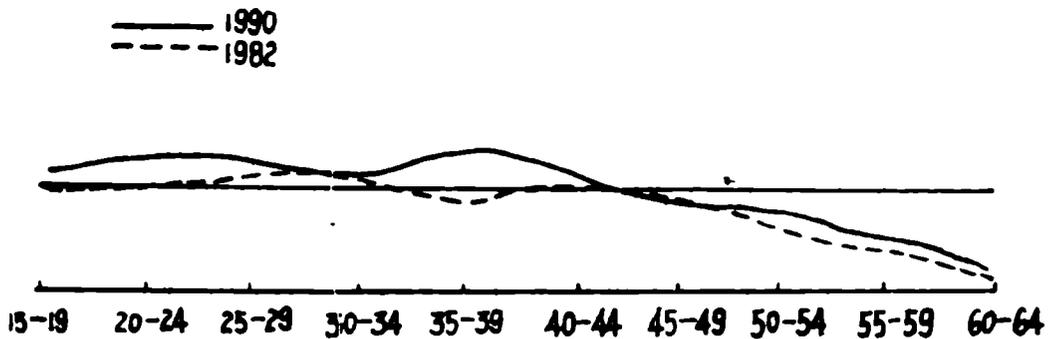


Fig. 3 Sex Ratio of Tibetan Population of Labor Age in 1982 and 1990

As to the reason for the sharp rise in the sex ratio of

the Tibetan employed, the conclusion can only be obtained after a further investigation into changes in recent years in Tibetan socio—economic life.

2. Judged from dynamic observations, the sex ratio of Tibetan and nationwide employed is driving off in opposite directions. For instance, when the Tibetan figure was only 103.9 in 1982, the national ratio went as high as 126.7. But eight years later in 1990, the former had increased to 123.6, while the latter had declined to 122.3, even lower than the level of Tibet. The national trend was toward a rational direction; the economic start—up had given more opportunity for involvement by women in social activities and employment. But Tibet's situation was unique and remains to be studied.

3. The sex ratio of the youngest employed age group, from 15—19 in terms of employment was 100.2 and 98.4 respectively in 1982. The latter was slightly lower than the former, showing that more male members of this age group chose to study rather than get a job. This conformed to the national situation (the national data were 103.2 and 94 respectively in 1982). This situation developed in the reverse in Tibet in 1990; the latter became slightly higher than the former (103.2 and 103.5), while, by sharp contrast, the national figures were 105.5 and 94.9. The reason for this reversal in Tibet is another matter worthy of investigation.

The relationship between population growth and employment and socio—economic development should be viewed not only from the aspect of pressure imposed by population growth on employment opportunities, but also from the impact of population standards.

The most important measure of the quality of the

population is education. This article takes the average indices of cultural levels and school education of people of 15 years of age and above to reflect the Tibetan population's cultural educational situation of the Tibetan populace as a whole. [2]

Cultural and Educational Indices of People Aged Over 15

Tab. 5

| Region \ Index | Cultural level | | Years of schooling | |
|----------------|----------------|-------|--------------------|------|
| | 1982 | 1990 | 1982 | 1990 |
| Tibet | 7.61 | 9.28 | 1.52 | 1.83 |
| Nationwide | 22.58 | 27.57 | 4.35 | 5.26 |

Data source: collated and calculated according to data from the third and fourth national and Tibetan censuses.

The above table shows that compared with 1982, the cultural years of schooling indices of people 15 years of age and above in Tibet had increased in 1990, but were still much lower than the nationwide level. The cultural level index of 1990 was about 33.7% of the national level, and the school — year index was only 34.8% of the national level. From a dynamic observation, the national level of these two indexes increased by 22.1% and 20.9% respectively, while the rises in Tibet were 21.9% and 20.4%, slightly slower than nationwide speed. The gross national product (GNP) per capita in Tibet is 69% of the GNP of the whole country, but the cultural and schooling indices are only one third the national level. This shows that

these factors have become a prominent problem in the harmonious development of the Tibetan population and socio-economy.

Moreover, in the youngest labor force age group, i. e. 15—19 years of age, the Tibetan indices in 1990 had declined from those of 1982. See Figure 6 for details. This drop had a general characteristic. The same was true of the nationwide situation. This is because in the first period of opening—up to the outside world and reform when the old economic system had not been completely wiped out and the new economic system had not been fully established, people were not likely to improve their way of life by receiving higher education. High level of school education constitutes a sharp contrast to personal income. Probably this inversion is an inevitability before the new economic system comes maturity. We hope that this tendency will not last long and that it will draw serious attention from decision—makers, so that it will not lead to a difficult situation.

Analyzing Fig. 6 (See next page), we may find two issues. One is that the decline in cultural and length of education indices are far greater in Tibet than in other parts of the country. For instance, the cultural level index in Tibet dropped 5%, while the national figure was only 2%; the length of education index fell 7% in Tibet, while it less than 1% across the nation. The second is the sex ratio index. The indices of nationwide females grew 1.0% and 2.5% respectively, while the same indices dropped 12.6% and 15.1% respectively in Tibet. This indicates a worsening in the cultural and educational situation of Tibetan females since the third census. The cause of the discrepancy between Tibet and the nation still remains to be

studied.

Cultural and Educational Indices in the 15—19 Age—Group

Fig. 6

| | Cultural Level Index | | Years of Education Index | |
|------------|----------------------|-------|--------------------------|------|
| | 1982 | 1990 | 1982 | 1990 |
| Tibet | 9.99 | 9.49 | 2.05 | 1.90 |
| Male | 12.13 | 12.03 | 2.51 | 2.43 |
| Female | 7.85 | 6.85 | 1.59 | 1.35 |
| Nationwide | 33.94 | 33.28 | 6.44 | 6.40 |
| Male | 37.00 | 35.37 | 6.94 | 6.75 |
| Female | 30.76 | 31.08 | 5.89 | 6.04 |

Tibetan Population and Economic Structure

The essence of economic structure is none other than the structure of productive forces and the means of production. Their operations may be reflected in industrial and departmental structure, various productive links (production, distribution, exchange, and consumption), the technical formation of the labor force and tools of production, the labor force, and the natural and social environments that modify all the above—mentioned economic activities. The economic structure of a nation or a region is not the result of popular choice; it is the product of historical development, and is ultimately restricted by the development of productive forces. Generally speaking, econom-

ic structure determines the quality of the employed and the frameworks for labor, departments, occupations, and culture for them. The spatial forms of economic structure determine the workforce and its distribution. For instance, the uniqueness of the Tibetan configuration of ground, topography, and climate obviously restricts the geographical distribution of economic structure, and this is reflected simultaneously in the employed and the entire population. The Yalutsangpo River valley and the Three River (the Lhasa River, the Nyangchu River, and the Nyang River) valleys in the east, owing to their excellent natural conditions, plains, suitable irrigation, wide strands on river banks, and abundant pastures, have naturally become the most important agricultural areas, partial crop and pasturelands, and forest zones. Over eighty percent of the population of the Tibet Autonomous Region is concentrated in these developed farming areas. On the other hand, the Northern Tibet Plateau, which constitutes three fifths of the Region's territory is a difficult place to engage many economic activities, owing to the harsh climate, cold and aridity. In areas that lie at an altitude over 4,800 meters above sea level, money making is out of the question, and those parts of North Tibet are virtually no—man's land.

The quality and numbers of the employed and the entire population also have great impact on economic structure. They may either boost economic structure to rational development, speeding up the transformation of a backward economy to a modern one, or hold back progress. Here we shall give details on the relationship between the Tibetan population and industrial and economic—technical structure.

1. Tibetan Population and Industrial Structure

In China, the national economy is classified into three big industries. Agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-line production and fisheries constitute the primary industry; light and heavy industry, geological prospecting, and construction constitute the secondary industry; and the rest make up the tertiary industry. The output of the three reflects the development stage of a nation or a region. For instance, where the output value of both the primary and the tertiary industries exceeds that of the secondary industry, represents a typical backward type. In 1990, the output values of the three big industries in Tibet were 44.38%, 14.60% and 41.02% respectively. Such a structure was related to the low per capita gross national product (GNP) of 1,127 yuan. If the structure forms an up-side-down triangle, it illustrates a developed type. For example, the output values of the three big industries in the United States are 2%, 30%, and 68% respectively, and the per capita GNP is as high as US \$18,530.^[3] Between the above-mentioned two types there is a transitional mode. This occurs during the transition period from an agricultural to an industrialized society when the secondary industry expands sharply. The GNP of the three big industries in China in 1990 were 28.41%, 44.23% and 27.24% respectively, and the per capita GNP was 1,563 yuan, 1.37 times the Tibetan per capita GNP.

It is rare that the output value of the three big industries completely conforms with employment structure. Sometimes big discrepancies may appear between them for complex reasons. They are conditioned by many factors, for instance, unequal prices and values in different industries, different consumption of manual and mental labor,

and varied labor productivity, etc. — — all these are economic reasons. If these variations are simplified, we may find in Table 7 that an efficiency coefficient is greater than 1. The higher the coefficient, the more effectual it is. On the contrary, if the figure is lower than 1, it means inefficiency, dropping as the coefficient does. The high or low coefficient of efficiency reflects the difference of comparative labor productivity.

Output Value and Employment Structure of Tibetan Three Big Industries

Tab. 7

| Indices | Total | Primary Industry | Secondary Industry | Tertiary Industry |
|---------------------------|--------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Gross National Product | 100.00 | 44.38 | 14.60 | 41.02 |
| Employed Population | 100.00 | 79.56 | 5.54 | 14.90 |
| Efficiency Coefficient | 100.00 | 0.558 | 2.635 | 2.753 |

Data source: GNP is quoted from "1991 Yearbook of Tibetan Social and Economic Statistics."

The primary industry employs of 79.56% of the workforce but turns out only 44.38% GNP; its comparative labor productivity is only about 55.8% of average lev-

el, while that of both the secondary and tertiary industries are double the average level, with the comparative labor productivity of the tertiary industry the highest. The efficiency coefficients of the national three big industries in 1990 were 0.393, 2.887, and 2.200 respectively.

The efficiency coefficient for Tibetan primary industry was higher than that of the whole country. Tibet is one of the five major pastoral areas in China. It has a grassland area of 1,244,000,000 mu (one mu is equivalent to 0.0667 hectares), with 825,000,000 mu in pastoral use. In terms of farming output value, animal husbandry in 1990 occupied 51.82%, and agriculture only 15.04%. A farming economy that takes animal husbandry as the dominant factor has a higher economic value. This is the main reason why the primary industry in Tibet ranks higher than counterparts elsewhere in the country.

The efficiency coefficient of the secondary industry in Tibet is lower than the national average level. The reasons are as follows: Tibet lies in borderland, far from the developed hinterland; its communications and transportations are backward; and no railroad has been built to link it with the hinterland. In addition, energy is in short supply, funds are lacking, information is poor, and there is a lack of all kinds of professional talent. Besides, all businesses are small in scope and improperly managed. All these factors hold back the development of the secondary industry in Tibet and hinder the improvement of efficiency coefficients.

The efficiency coefficient of the tertiary industry in Tibet may be is higher than the national average, due to the vigorous boost of borderland trade.

A survey of the employed in the three big industries

in 1982 and 1990 shows that numbers in the primary industry dropped 4.82%, while those in the secondary and the tertiary industries increased 0.96% and 3.84% respectively. Generally speaking, the structure of the employed in the Tibetan three big industries conforms with the trend of reform and opening — up. It is moving toward regular transformation of socio — economic mechanisms. For details see Table 8.

The Structure of the Employed in the Tibetan Three Industries in Two Censuses

Fig. 8

| Year | Total | Primary Industry | Secondary Industry | Tertiary Industry |
|------|--------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1982 | 100.00 | 84.38 | 4.56 | 11.06 |
| 1990 | 100.00 | 79.56 | 5.54 | 14.90 |

The tertiary industry consists of 9 major businesses. It is obviously very important to study and analyze its internal structure. If the employed population in the tertiary industry equals 100, its internal structure in Tibet and the rest of the country is as shown in the following Table 9.

A Comparison of Employment Structure in the Tertiary Industry in Tibet and the Rest of China

Tab. 9

| | Tibet | Nationwide |
|-------|--------|------------|
| Total | 100.00 | 100.00 |

| | | |
|--|-------|-------|
| Communications, Transport, Post and Telecommunications | 12.70 | 14.75 |
| Commerce, Catering, Materials Supply | 16.83 | 31.99 |
| Real Estate, Neighborhood Services | 4.11 | 7.68 |
| Public Health, Sports, Social Welfare | 6.35 | 6.40 |
| Education, Culture, Arts, Radio, TV | 28.78 | 18.84 |
| Scientific Research and Technical Services | 1.06 | 1.86 |
| Finance and Insurance | 2.09 | 2.64 |
| Government Institutions, Political and Party Organizations | 28.07 | 15.70 |
| Other businesses | 0.01 | 0.14 |

With regard to the employment structure of tertiary industry, commerce evidently lags far behind the national level. The number of Tibetans employed in the categories of education, culture, arts, radio, and TV and government institutions, political and party organizations are far higher than the national level. The education and culture category has a relatively higher percentage of employed. This indicates, on the one hand, that Tibet has put great attention upon cultural and educational undertakings to improve life for the population, and, on the other hand, that cultural and educational institutions have concentrated a great percentage of professional technical talent and, as a result, have held up the sending of skilled people to industrial and agricultural fields. This is a problem worthy of attention. In addition, Tibetan Buddhism is widespread in Tibet, and religious professionals are classi-

fied into the category of cultural institutions. This is the most important reason why the percentage working in the education, culture, arts, radio and TV category is far higher than the national average level. The employed in the category of government institutions, government and party organizations is rather big; this is because Tibet is a border area with poor communications and a poor climate, and the employees have to rotate leave. Nevertheless, attention should be put on the irrational overstaffing of organizations, etc., and defects should be overcome through reform.

2. Tibetan Population and Economic — technological Structure

Economic — technological structure refers to the qualitative and quantitative combination of the labor force and the means of production. Owing to the varied character of productive processes of different organizations, their different technological levels, and different quality labor forces, there may be big disparities between each laborer in terms of merit and the amount of means of production (including fixed assets and liquid assets) he/ she possesses. The material form of the means of production used by every worker is called the technical component, whose value is organic, i. e., the ratio between constant and variable capital. When studying technical economic structure, the labor force often denotes variable capital. Thus, different economic technical structures may be reflected by the ratio of capital (funds) and labor force.

This ratio may be classified into three types, i. e., concentrated — labor, concentrated — capital (funds), and concentrated — knowhow. Concentrated — labor force refers to low technical and organic component capital and

poor equipment. This is reflected in the low proportion of mechanization and high proportion of human labor consumption in creating the product, i. e. , manual labor plays a dominant role. Concentrated capital (funds) refers to high technical and organic component capital and advanced equipment. This is shown in a high ratio of mechanical labor and low ratio of human labor in production. The amount of manual and mental—labor is roughly the same. Concentrated—knowledge refers to a high technical component. But as advanced science and technology become widespread, the prices of high—tech goods tend downward. In order to exploit new products during the contemporary technology revolution, it is necessary to concentrate scientists and technicians, and therefore brain power occupies the dominant position. This brings about a new merge of high tech and low organic factors. The evolution of productive forces in developed countries began with concentrated—labor and then moved into concentrated—capital type. When an industrialized society turns into an information society, the industries with intensive knowhow become the pioneer departments of the new tech revolution and gradually dominate.

China is a developing country with a relatively surplus population. Owing to historical reasons, Tibet is a border autonomous region of the nation with a relatively backward economy. Although Tibet occupies only one eighth of the total area of China, yet the fourth census in 1990 witnessed that Tibet had only 2,196,010 people, making up a mere 0.194% of the total national population. Averaging less than 2 people per square kilometer, Tibet is the least populated province/region of the country. Land over 4,000 meters above sea level makes up 86.1% of the total

in the pattern of development of the Tibetan economy, judged from a technological and economic angle, concentrated—labor occupies the dominant position and economic growth mainly relies on the input of the labor force. In this case, if there are any technological progressive factors in investment in fixed assets, then technological progress plays only an insignificant role in the growth of national income. In order to raise the elasticity index of national income vs. investment of fixed assets, the only way is to meet family planning needs of the masses and to control population growth, to raise public cultural and educational levels, and at the same time delete the administrative bondage from above, deepen the reform drive and transform productive mechanisms so that producers may improve their management, widen the variety of their products and improve their productivity.

Strategic Thoughts on Tibetan Population and the Benign Cycle of Economic Development

Tibet has a vast area of about 1,200,000 square kilometers. There are rich and abundant biological, mineral, and hydro power resources. The region is sparsely populated, and fundamentally an unexploited virgin land. As to many natural resources, the per capita amount is far higher than the national average, and the potential for their economic development is so great that other provinces and regions are too far behind to catch up. After the Democratic Reform was carried out in Tibet and feudal serfdom was destroyed, the socio—economy witnessed unprecedented progress and the population also rapidly increased. In the second national census in 1964, it was estimated 1,

251,000 people; in the third national census in 1982, the number had increased to 1,892,000; while in the fourth census in 1990 it had gone up to 2,196,000. Nevertheless, owing to historical reasons, the Tibet still lags economically behind the rest of the country. There is a great disparity between per capita natural resources and practical per capita gross national product (GNP). In order to bring about a benign cycle for the Tibetan population and economic development, it is necessary to choose a strategic line suitable for Tibetan conditions and put it into practice, so that a prosperous and flourishing Tibet may soon come into being.

This strategy has already been pointed out unsystematically in documents issued by the Party Central Committee, State Council, and the party and government organizations of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Here we put it in order and add our own thoughts. This development plan may be summed up as follows: put economic construction as the key work, with agriculture and animal husbandry as the foundation, tourism as the breakthrough, and with communication, telecommunications, energy and education as the key points, and so give an impetus to the modernization of the Tibetan economy.

Generalized farming is the basis for existence and progress and it is unnecessary to go into detail about it here. It consists of planting and stock raising. Cultivated land in Tibet is quite limited. According to statistics in 1990 there were 3,337,500 mu. Per capita crop land comes to 1.52 mu, equivalent to or slightly lower than the national level. Although 200,000 mu of wasteland lies barren, the cold fact is that only half of it may be turned into tended fields, amounting to a mere 3% of existing

cultivated land. Furthermore, as the population grows, various items of capital construction are increasingly nibbling away at the existing cultivated land. According to statistics, from 1983 to 1987, cultivated land for the whole region decreased by 116,000 mu, while the Tibetan population grew at a rate of more than 30,000 people a year. Per capita cultivated land is increasingly declining. Even if the amount of area brought under cultivation is the same as that occupied by capital construction, it will have decreased to 1.25 mu by the end of this century, and it will stand at 0.75 mu in 2050 due to population growth. [4]

In order that Tibet may be self-sufficient in most items of farming products, to cut down on import of crops from other provinces and regions and to alleviate the financial burden of the Tibetan local government, it is necessary to rigorously restrict the occupation of existing cultivated land, build irrigation works, expand irrigation, improve farming skill, popularize scientific farming, and make great efforts to raise agricultural yield per unit area. In 1990, the per mu yield of crops in the region was 211.3 kg., an all-time high. It was 1.63 times the 80.3 kg of 1952, but it still was far behind the rest of the country. According to the data provided by the Tibet - Qinghai Comprehensive Survey Team under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the upper limit for planting Tibetan barley (qingke) is 4,750 meters above sea level, and the highest yield record is 579 kg.; the highest yield of spring wheat is 832 kg. and the highest limit of planting is an altitude of 4,400-4,500 meters; the highest yield of rape is 305 kg. and the highest limit is 4,600 meters; and for winter wheat the comparable figures are 836 kg., and 4,260 me-

ters. Although it is impossible to achieve a top record of per mu yield for a long time to come, this indicates the existence of the potential of raising the per mu yield. In 1990, the per capita grain output in Tibet was about 277 kg. In order that it might not drop in 2000, the total grain yield should be raised from the 608,280 tons of 1990 to 738,233 tons in 2000, but it is impossible to expand the area of cultivated land. Thus the capacity for raising per mu yield is a must to maintain agriculture as the base of the economy.

Agriculture is one of the bases of the Tibetan economy, yet viewed from local concrete conditions, animal husbandry should become the leading factor in general farming. Tibet has 1.2 billion mu of natural pastureland, amounting to 66% of the total area of Tibet. Of this, 892 million mu are usable, constituting one of the five major pastoral areas of China. Animal husbandry produces organic fertilizer, improves the soil, and provides materials for handicrafts and light and textile industries, plus main foodstuffs and materials for clothing for Tibetans. All kinds of furs and skins are goods for export. From this it is clear that we must take animal husbandry as the key link, combine stockbreeding with farming, and develop a diversified economy according to local conditions — — this is the correct way to implement the policy that places animal husbandry and agriculture as the foundation. In order to fully exploit animal husbandry, more care and attention must be paid to building up pastures, expanding irrigated pastures, improving fodder quality, and curbing deterioration of grazing areas. To increase financial income by expanding animal husbandry, exports of raw materials should be replaced by those of processed materials.

The Tibetan plateau, known as the Roof of the World, has unique vistas and landscapes, and an average altitude of 4,000 meters above sea level. There are imposing and magnificent lofty mountains. The Himalayan ranges are the tallest in the world. The plateau also has the highest rivers on the globe. The Yalutsangpo River creates a most magnificent and breathtaking spectacle. Tibet also possesses lakes in plenty. Primeval forests grow in every corner of Tibet and teem with various species of wild life. These creatures provide Tibet with a rich source of precious medicinal materials. Tibet is very rich in fauna and flora. Tibetan Buddhism has a history of 1,300 years, and there are more than 2,700 temples and monasteries in Tibet. Standing loftily above the Lhasa basin, the world-famous Potala Palace is the symbol not only of Lhasa but of all Tibet. In short, Tibet has unique resources for tourism. The party committee and the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region decided in 1986 to highlight tourism and thus give an impetus to other industries. Now it is time to make a master plan for the development of tourism, open more places to travellers, build up tourist facilities, and train tourism specialists, so that dormant tourism prospects may be turned into practical economic returns, striving by every means to make tourism income a leading part of Tibetan revenue by 2000.

Tibet has vast territory with high mountains and undulating hills. The Qinghai-Tibet Highway and Sichuan-Tibet Highway are two big arteries. However highways in Tibet have too many crooked roads; the slopes are steep and climbs are dangerous. Most sections of roads are narrow, featuring low standards and poor maintenance. Simple tracks account for 70% in the region. Poor communi-

cations and transportation conditions seriously hinder the distribution of commodities, and the development of agriculture and industry and tourism. It is a matter of the moment to improve communications and transportation in the region, as otherwise it will be difficult to alter the seclusion of Tibet and to develop a commodity economy.

Boosting of telecommunications may to a certain degree remedy deficiencies in communications and transportation. Satellite telecommunications, fax and other modern technical means, should be developed in Tibet and connected to the national network. It is also imperative to boost international telecommunications.

Document No. 6 issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1984 pointed out: "Without building up modern energy resources, there will be no modernization of Tibet." Lack of energy sources has hindered progress in all industries. If there is not enough water for farming, chemical fertilizers will be useless. If we take relevant data obtained from Lhasa, Nyingchi, Chamdo, Shannan, Shigatse, Nagchu, and Ngari for instance, with F to express the amount of chemical fertilizers and pesticides utilized, AY to express total agricultural output value of a locality, then we have a function formula for production as follows:

$$\log(\text{AY}) = 9.03 + 0.14 \log F$$

(1.83)

$$R^2 = 0.3$$

This shows that chemical fertilizers and pesticides are insignificant in terms of total agricultural output value. The main reason for this is lack of water. Furthermore, there are no modern sources of energy in the countryside, so people have to burn animal manure, grass, crop stalks,

and timber as fuel. This leads to decrease in organic content in the soil, grassland deterioration, and forest destruction. The ecology in some areas turns from bad to worse.

Devoting major efforts to developing energy resources, especially hydro—power, together with the exploitation of wind power, solar energy, and geothermal power, is the optimum plan that tallies with Tibetan natural conditions. There are many rivers in Tibet and they have a massive drops. Theoretically, their potential hydro—power is the biggest in the country, coming to over 200 million kilowatts (kw), accounting for 29.7% of the nation. Exploitable hydro—power resources equal 56.59 million kw., or for 20% of the country. Theoretically, the Yalutsangpo River offers potential of 11.347 million kw., accounting for 56.6% of Tibet in capacity. Utilization of hydro—power resources and creation of hydro—power stations of various types in a planned way is imperative. It will not demand much investment but will yield high efficiency. It is also necessary to build medium and large hydro—power stations in suitable places. For example, from Mainling County to Medog County there is a big bend in the middle reaches of the Yalutsangpo River. It is 213 km. long, but has a drop of 2,190 meters. The distance between the two ends of the bend is a mere 36 km. If a tunnel is dug between the two, a big power station with installed capacity of 40 to 60 million kw. could be erected there. Once the major energy project is completed, the future of Tibet will change tremendously.

According to 1990 census statistics, illiterates in Tibet have constituted 69.34% of the population. Table 6 in this article has cited the cultural level and length of educa-

tion indices of the 15—19 age group in 1982 and 1990 and showed how they dropped. We should tackle this problem seriously. To exert all possible efforts to raise the educational and cultural levels of the Tibetan population is the best strategy for freeing Tibetans from socio—economic underdevelopment.

The four changes refer to economic transformation, i. e. from supply to management, from self—sufficiency to commodities, from a closed economy to an all—round open economy, and from transfusion to production. These four are the demands of the deepening reform and opening to the outside world and the key link of realizing the modernization of the Tibetan economy. They pose a challenge and a break with traditional ideas. The key to socialist modernization is the modernization of thinking. Whether the socialist modernization can be realized depends on decision makers upgrading their economic ideology.

We believe that, under the guidance of a correct strategy and with the fulfillment of all necessary measures, a beneficial circle for progress for the Tibetan population and socio—economic will be realized by the middle of the next century.

NOTES

[1] This age division standard for population structure was first proposed by Feng Litian in the chapter "Labor Population" of his book *A General Introduction to the Chinese Population Series*.

[2] The average index of cultural level = (E number of people of 15 years of age and above with any level of school education * education level points)/number of people of 15 years of age and above. Education level points are as follows: university 100, senior high 60, junior high 40, primary school 20, and illiterate or semi—

literate 0.

The average index of school education years, referred to briefly as education index = (E number of people of 15 years of age and above with any level of school education * school education years)/people of 15 years of age and above. The authors specify years of education as follows: university 14.5, senior high 10.5, junior high 7.5, primary school 4.5, and illiterate and semi-literate 0.

[3] The World Bank: *Report of World Development in 1989*.

[4] According to the estimation made by Yang Shuzhang and Huang Rongqing, the total birth rate will drop from the 4.13 of 1990 to 3.34 of 2000, and by then the total population will be 2,665,100; in 2050 the total birth rate will be 2.10 and the total population will be 4,433,100. In addition, owing to inertia, the Tibetan population will continue to grow up for a long time before it reaches its peak and stabilizes.

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An Investigation and Studies On the Musical Culture of Gyarong

—Tibetan Area in the Northwestern Sichuan

Zhong Zhong

Nationalities being a comparatively steady community of human beings is gradually formed by merging many tribes together throughout history. This kind of community, though, is often forced to divide into many mutual nonsubordinate and independent groups due to certain historical reasons such as war, disaster, famine and so on. These groups reclaim their regions and natural environments suitable for their existence, enabling the original culture of the community to change under new living conditions as the result of migration, mixed inhabitation, trade, intermarriage, assimilation and merging. Musical culture, as a component part of community culture, is adjusted more or less to fit in with the needs of the new living conditions.

In view of the above — mentioned ideas, I've carried out an investigation about the Tibetan musical culture of the Gyarong area which people call "Keru", located along the bank of Da Duhe river, source of Mingjiang river, in the northwestern part of Sichuan province. I have mainly researched various kinds of cultural phenomena in Gyarong music, which is also involved in other Tibetan musical culture nearby. In addition, I have also expounded

on various cultural elements which consist of Gyarong music such as history, culture, language, religion, region, customs and national feelings, thus revealing the nature and intention of the musical culture of Gyarong.

I . General Situation of Gyarong

Gyarong is located in the northwestern part of Sichuan province, being part of the eastern stretches of the Qinghai—Tibet plateau. It is bounded by Gansu and Qinghai provinces in the north, contiguous to Chengdu basin in the east, connected with the Traverse Mountains to the south and bordered by the Jing Shajiang river to the west. The region is situated in the central zone of the "Nationalities Corridor" which is a place where the Qiang tribes were active in ancient times; according to some scholars it is also the birth place of Tibetan primitive religion Bonpo, and also the only way and place for migration, doing business and trade for various nationalities from the northwest, central plains and southwest of China. It is historically a place for cultural convergence of various nationalities and a great amount of rich historical culture was left in this region in its long history.

The approximate population of Gyarong is 150,000, accounting for 3.8 percent of the total Tibetan population, and they are distributed over Jingchuan, Markhang, Xiaojing, Lixian, Heishui, Wenchuan of Aba Tibetan and Qiang Nationalities Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan Province, Danba of Ganzi Prefecture and Baoxing of Yaan Prefecture and other counties.

The appellations for Gyarong varied in different historical periods, such as "Geling", "Gyarong", "Fuguo", "

Dongnuguo", and " Xishan Baguo". These titles were named by the Gyarong language itself or by others and were recorded in Chinese documents. Except for part of the Tubo people from the Chungpo area of Dbus Gtsang, the lineal ancestors of Gyarong mainly originated from the merging of aboriginal tribes.

In history when the Tubo kingdom was powerful and prosperous it repentedly expanded its territory to the east and conquered most part of northwest Sichuan, but due to the distance between the Gyarong area and Tibet was beyond the reach of Tubo's power so that for a long period it was actually in a separatist and decentralized situation. At that time although it belonged to the jurisdictional areas of Tubo and speaking the same language, owing to the differences in geography, customs, religion, economy, culture and local dialects, they were seldom in contact with each other. Thus it was hard to interchange feelings and informations directly, so there are obvious differences in culture, including music, between the Gyarong area and other Tibetan areas of Tibet, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan Provinces.

II . Music and Totemism in Gyarong

Totemism was a kind of ideology popular during the age of barbarism. In this period people were not able to make distinctions between human beings and natural animals and plants. Instead people served objects as a member of the same clan and personified them. Nowadays a ceremony of offering sacrifices to the ancestors named " Sege Rangde" is held annually at the end of the current year and the begining of the coming year in the Gyarong

areas. Among the activities, Gyarong people would first hold a ceremony of hanging huge totem Tangkhar. On the Tangkhar "Khyung", a symbol of the tribes' ancestors would be drawn ("Khyung" means big bird with golden wings in Gyarong dialect). The Tangkhar was drawn based on a legend by Gyarong ancestors;" in remote antiquity a big roc flying in the sky, landed on Orlung mountain and laid three eggs which were sensitized to light and being pregnant to be the ancestors of Gyarong."

All the members of the tribe knelt down on the ground before the Tangkhar regardless of age, listening to the elder's singing achievements of their ancestors. Then there would be a performance named "Tso Shingshing". The song and dance performance showed scenes of production and living, teaching labour skills by their ancestor. What deserves to be mentioned is that in this performance when the elder was teaching hunting skills, the geographical distribution was arranged based on various parts of a female's body. Isn't this the remnants of female—worship reappearing in their performances?

Gyarong people have been settled in places 2000—3000 meters above sea level for generations. There are forests in clusters, which are very suitable for hunting. When they go hunting in the mountains the first thing they do is worship the mountain god "Ruwudar". When doing this, Gyarong people have contradictions in their minds; on the one hand, killing a living being is a blasphemous to the mountain god and will be punished, but on the other hand they have to do so for subsistence. To make a balance of the contradictory and fearful psychology, first they pray to the gods. However, in their hunting, the sense of fear is still dashing against the hunters'

hearts. This feeling is intensified when they are walking in a dense, primitive forest. In those moments the instinct for survival urges them to blurt out voices of "Wo He, Wo He..." in various pitches, at the same time accompanied by beating and tapping tree with extra movements of body, so as to relax the sense of fear lingering in their minds.

Having no musical form in this simple shouting and beating sound, it is single sound without scale and temperament just to boost Gyarong people's courage and dispell fears, a kind of means to produce sound when they first get away from innocence. This instinctive sound of human beings was caused by fear being the source of singing and dancing in the Gyarong people in early times.

III. System of Gyarong Music

There is a complete set of system of Gyarong music, including Dardo, sad melody, love song, folk song, work song, religious music, traditional opera and others. Once the music has something to do with the various activities in the social life, its founctions and values would be expanded, its cultural connotation to be enriched and colorful, and once the scope in which the music has connection with the society was reduced, Gyarong music would simply appear as a form of pure music.

1. Dardo

Gyarong Dardo originated in the earliest time from the activities being celebrated for successfully subduing demons by Amo Nire Gertong. According to legend, after Amo Nire Gertong successfully subdued demons in the Gyarong areas, Gyarong people piled up the demons' bod-

ies like a hill and burnt them. By the fire heap people set up a stage for their hero who got rid of the demons and were singing and dancing around him. Later, this dancing performance showed up in the ceremony of welcoming or seeing off the great Buddhist master Stonpa Shesrab. People around him sang and danced with white Yak — tails in their hands. Afterwards this performing form has gradually used in various ceremonies of festival celebrations and welcoming and seeing off upper class people and has been handed down till now.

Dardo is the most ancient musical song — and — dance art in the Gyarong area. It has a nearly regular procedure: general terms, Dardo, and some sub — terms under the general terms, namely Dardode, (grand dancing performance), Dardotse, (medium dancing performance), Dardoren (small dancing performance), and Chula Redor (royal dancing performance). Each sub — term has different cultural functions and values in the social activities of Gyarong.

There was no written language in the Gyarong area even with the Tibetan Buddhism introduced into the Gyarong area. Only very few people knew Tibetan language. Those who had some knowledge were restricted to the monks of various monasteries. Most of the monks could only recite scriptures but didn't know the meanings. From generation to generation Gyarong people have used their own native language (Gyarong language) as the principal tool for social contact and exchanging informations, thus Dardo becoming a main art form to preserve their own nationality's history and culture. Although some modern chieftains regarded Dardo as a tool to sing praises of upper strata people and forced folk artists to compose

various eulogies on Dardo, many contents concerning history and culture still existed in ancient Dardo. Things closely linked with the social life of the Gyarong have been sung, for instance, in such and such year and month happened such and such things in the history of Gyarong; reasons for various changed phenomena of the natural world in the universe; the changes of constellations of each month; the changes of climate; the importance of land for Gyarong people; in what way it is suitable to cultivate; and so on. The words of songs in explanatory nature have played the role of living teaching materials for the Gyarong people—without written language. Thus, the Gyarong people's history and culture was not lost due to no written records.

When Gyarong people performed Dardo, they handed down their national history and culture in the form of combining sound actions (singing) with body movements (dancing). All these were going on naturally. Apart from this, it also contained the expression of feelings and the displaying of human nature by the Gyarong people, that is to arouse sympathy from listeners by relying on the singers' sound and by using body's movements (dance for joy) to show the connotations that couldn't be expressed by words.

On the other hand, in the Gyarong society, whether the tribal member would be accepted or not by the public depended on how well that person knew Dardo to a great extent. In order to be accepted by the native community, every member when they were very young had to learn to sing and dance following the elder generation until they were qualified to take part in Dardo performance. Hence, Dardo became the symbol of the tribes in Gyarong society.

With Dardo being a symbol of the Gyarong people, naturally, it has the function of carrying forward national spirit and strengthening the cohesion of the nationality. This kind of coagulability can be seen from the place, and time chosen by Gyarong people when they show Dardo performance.

From list one we can see that Gyarong people always chose some important place in which people can easily gather to hold the performance. This choice reflects the important role played by Dardo in the Gyarong area, that is to unite the nationality, improve the consciousness of community, and strengthen the coagulability. When Gyarong people show Dardo performance, whether they are conscious of it or not, this activity is really beneficial to the strengthening of coagulability within their own nationality.

Table 1:

| Time | Place | Music | Festival |
|---|----------------------------|-------|--------------|
| At the end of current year and the beginning of next year | Official stockaded village | Dardo | Shige Rangde |
| July | Hillside, lawn | Dardo | Remonyu |
| Spare time, evening | Open ground, by campfire | Dardo | |
| Wedding | Indoor, open flatland | Dardo | |
| "Grown up" ceremony | God mountain | Dardo | |

| | | | |
|---|----------------------|-------|------|
| Tibetan New Year | Indoor, god mountain | Dardo | Deru |
| Welcoming or seeing off upper strata people. Celebrations | Center of village | Dardo | |

Example 1. "Tangpo Nadron" (the earliest song)

The image shows two staves of musical notation in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written on the first staff, and the lyrics are written below it. The second staff continues the melody and lyrics. The lyrics are: dang bo na zhong ne sho, SAR jie y na sho o ya a ; SAR jie nasho SAR jie sa kay na zhong ya.

The words of the song mean: "land is as precious as gold, which enables us to live and multiply. The moon and sun bring us light and warmth. Today we offer bumper harvest fruits to gods and goddesses respectfully. The coming year will grant us more favour."

When a male of the Gyarong reached the age of eight, the family clan he belonged to would hold a "grown up" ceremony for him (very common before the liberation, now seldom seen). This activity was generally held on the god mountain of the tribe. For the first time he was asked to burn incense "Ruwusang" on the god mountain, then an elder man told him about the history of their nationality. From then on the person was recognized and had qualifications to take part in various activities held by their tribe; people would gather round him singing and dancing. Undoubtedly in doing so it deepened his understanding of his native nationality and left an indelible mark on his immature heart.

Generally, the traditional festivals of Gyarong tally with their farming seasons. The festivals are arranged during slack season or after sowing and harvesting. Dardo has been performed frequently in "Losar", "Deru", "Remonyu", and "Shige Rande". During these festivals all the tribes of Gyarong turn out in full strength. They gather together with food, wine and meat. Due to their scattered settlements, the Gyarong people's different tribes seldom get together in ordinary times except to do business, so the main purpose in these festivals is to deepen feelings among each tribe, and Gyarong people also have Dardo performances to celebrate "International Labour Day", "Youth Day", "National Day" and "The New Year".

2. Wedding Ceremony and Dardo in Gyarong

Dardo in wedding ceremonies is the product of marriage customs of the particular society of Gyarong. In history Gyarong was a vassal state of the Dongnu empire in ancient Xishan mountain of China. The most outstanding characteristics of the culture of the ancient Dongnu empire was to regard the female as the center and female worshipping. At the present time, the biggest mountain of Gyarong is named "Shipa Gyalmo" i. e. "Queen" or "God Concubine". Anually Gyarong people would pay religious homage to the "Queen" mountain, for in those times the female was the center and female—worshipping existed in Gyarong area. The traces of the ancient culture, of the Dongnu empire remained in Gyarong people's wedding customs. This special cultural background determined the formation of wedding customs in Gyarong and the formation was reflected in the singing and dancing performance in wedding ceremony, in which the unique style and fea-

tures of wedding activities have been formed. Monogamy is popular in the Gyarong area and it is used to be their custom of respecting the female and regarding female groups as the center of the society. Before the liberation (1949), many women served as chieftains in the Gyarong area. The lord of manor under a female king can be inherited by women. The power of taking a husband to bear the bride's family name and bearing children was still held in the female's hands.

The tradition of marrying into and living with one's bride's family were very popular in the wedding customs, no matter how many sons a Gyarong family might have. So long as it had one daughter it had to take a son—in-law to bear the bride's family name. This thought of female worship was especially reflected during the complicated wedding ceremony; when boys grew up, their parents acted as matchmakers. The choice was first made among the cousin sisters from the mother's brothers and son—in-law's families. It seemed they had a kind of preference, i. e. the important role played by the uncle in the Gyarong family and the specific reflection showed by the sense of the maternal side to be close kin in the wedding customs of the paternal side of society.

Although now in most Gyarong families males usually manage household affairs, in fact most Gyarong males are under the condition of marrying into and living with their wives' families, so all the family powers are taken into female's hands. This kind of power structure is just like the book "Families, Private Ownership and the Origin of Nations" by Engels which said that "matriarchy replaced by patriarchy was one of the most radical revolutions that mankind has experienced". But in wedding customs of the

Gyarong this revolution met with various resistances and revolts from the traditional ideas of matriarchy.

When the bridegroom's side want to meet the bride they would suffer from many obstructions of every description created by the bride's side. The bridegroom's side would be asked to kneel down on their knees outside the gate, then the bride's side would sing an "inquiry song" inside the door, singing like this: "you come to meet the bride, what kind of presents do you bring? Do you bring the coral sparrow which can speak? Do you bring the truguoise which can fly? Do you bring the truguoise ox which can cultivate land? We have many sisters, how many pair of shoes, how many gold bracelets, how many multicolored belts have you brought for us ?" Then the bridegroom's side answered the inquiries song and put five silver dollars and one hada on the tray as a present to be give for opening the door. The bridegroom's side could only enter the bride's home. After they sat down, both sides would begin to sing "Deshimi" (which means talking about history in Gyarong language). First, the bridegroom side would sing "the formation of the universe, the origin of all things on earth, source of ancestors." After that the birde's side would sing "the bride's uncle as of a good family root, hence the same of the bride's family. Girls from the family have good manners and the girls who married were all well behaved and show filial obedience to the aged, wishing the family to be in harmony, prosperity both for human beings and animal, good fortune as we wish after the bride marries into your family."

Example II .

Sherje Darte (song of wedding ceremony)



The meaning of the song: the new couple should love each other devotedly, like branches of a tree crisscross hand in hand, like roots of tree link together.

3. Gyarong Dardo is faced with crisis

Gyarong people want to maintain their own traditional culture by performing Dardo in various occasions, but since the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties, especially since the Yuan Dynasty, the feudal central ruling group was carried out the measure of "playing off one power against another" in minority nationality areas by conferring the titles upon the chieftains in minority areas while ordering these areas to give performances of inland royal music and dance once or twice annually, so as to express respects to the emperor. On the other hand Tibetan Buddhist culture penetrated into Gyarong areas on a large scale, particularly during the period of the Qing emperor Qianlong. The central areas of Gyarong—great Jingchuan and lesser Jingchuan were conquered twice and the war lasted for 28 years. In this period the imperial court forced Gyarong people to convert to Gelug sect religion. After putting down the rebellion of the two Jingchuans, the biggest Bonpo monastery in Tibetan areas — Yondron Lhaten was changed into an imperial temple. Many Gelug monks

were sent to take charge of the monastery. When the troops returned inland after victory, a great number of soldiers and officials from various places were left to be stationed in Gyarong areas. This assault from many aspects of various cultures urged the Gyarong people to develop toward the direction of using two languages (i. e speaking their native language at their stockaded village, and speaking Chinese when out.) "Dardo" as a tool to replenish the shortcoming of lack of written language in Gyarong continuously suffered from assaults. Especially in recent years, young people are very fond of alien culture, disco, break dancing etc. pop songs of highly civilized modern culture have already spread into the remote mountain areas of Gyarong through various disseminating media, and are threathening the traditional culture of the Gyarong to some extent. The wave of modern culture spurs the Gyarong people into paying more attention to their own traditional culture. During festivals, people consciously let traditonal culture play the principal role. Non — governmental" Dardo Assosiations" have been founded in various areas, under the prerequisite of inheritance, to make Gyarong musical culture fit in with the changes through methods of turning it into a more popular style.

4. Long Tune Sad Melody

Long tune is a kind of song being performed when Gyarong women recount the unfair treatment they suffer from their families such as discrimination, maltreatment, etc. Named "Dartrure", "Redormu" in Gyarong language, means "two people singing in union".

From ancient time Gyarong people settled down through generations in mountain areas suitable for herding, with forests fit for hunting, and river valleys with tem-

perature suitable to cultivation. Due to the lack of cultivated land with too many mountains in the river valleys, the productive forces there are very low. Yearly cultivation can't support one's family. For this reason, the men take hunting as their main job, while women take charge of daily works and odd jobs of the families. Because of the favourable physical geographical conditions which make it possible for the men capture quite number of prey in a comparatively short time, the men exchange prey for money, daily necessities, and food from inland businessmen in order to make up the shortage of agricultural income. In this way, men accumulate quite a lot of money, holding the economic power and becoming the backbone of families both in economy and spirit. This kind of power laid down the foundation for men to have an absolute position in family, led to discrimination and illtreatment against women, and caused women to suffer pain both in heart and body. Thus, on the basis of these circumstances, the folk song—"long tune sad melody" appeared to recount humiliation and discrimination suffered by Gyarong women.

Although Gyarong women don't know the general principle of uniting the womens community and struggling with deseminating activities, they take the oportunities of tribes gathering to make public the phenomenon of suffering descrimination and oppression from their families by performing "sad melody" so as to gain support from other people.

At the begining "sad melody" was only limited to singing the pain women suffered when doing housework. Later it was developed to be performed during outdoor work. As time passed by , the folk song has aroused sym-

pathy from most Gyarong women and become a kind of song which had to be sung when they gathered.

Gyarong women made use of this special gentle way to express their pains and they eventually won sympathy from people of their own tribes.

When Garong people gathered together, they liked to mention a singer by name to give performance according to their aesthetic standards. The singer being mentioned should be generally acknowledged. Based on this, the singer has the qualification to sing songs. Once while the author was collecting folk songs outdoors, he visited a sad melody expert named Agen who was 77 years old living in Zhou Shan village. She told the author that her mother was also a very famous singer of creating and singing the sad melody, who was generally acknowledged in this area. The sad melody she often sang was taught by her mother.

Generally speaking, the singers being recommended were all being regarded as the best singers of their tribes. The singer would invite another singer as her accompaniment. They would know each other's performing style well and have a long-term co-operation. When a singer was singing in a performance the audiences were deeply moved and they would chime in with the singer softly. Most of the sad melody singers were middle-aged women among the Gyarong people. They were of the same view on the experiences they suffered. This was the reason for arousing common feelings among those fellow sufferers commiserating with each other.

The sad melody of the Gyarong musical culture was only limited to performance by housewives at the beginning. Later it was developed to be performed in various social gatherings; finally some old men also took part in the

performances. This kind of cultural intention was gradually being adopted into the whole Gyarong society from a small family scope in four stages as follows: single family — same sex community — the opposite sex community — Gyarong society. Judging from the contents, it was developed like this: at the beginning it only recounted the pains suffered by housewives from Gyarong single families — then whole Gyarong women revolted against men's discrimination — the all members of the tribe condemned the behaviours of violating their own code of ethics — then Gyarong men being condemned joined in the ranks of defending the honor of local community conscientiously. The social function of the sad melody changed completely as its intention was extended in the greatest length. It has the social function of teaching people through songs and purifying people's thinking.

Example III.

Ashi Tsogba (businessmen)



performed by Argen, Zhou Shan village

The general meaning of the song: "young men from the opposite bank of the river, your snow—white horse is just like the white dog. Sermutsu and Tongtsu have grown up together just like saplings. Garwu has two pieces, you are the upper piece, I'm the lower one. Now you will part from me, just like Garwu will be divided into

two."

5. Work Songs of Gyarong

Since a long time ago Gyarong people have mainly taken agricultural activities as the source of their livelihood. In musical culture, the farming cultural characteristics has made a deep mark on their spiritual product: work songs. The Gyarong people's productive labor is based on planting. They chose to plant according to natural ecological environment. They take barley, highland Chingko barley, peas, broad beans, buckwheat, maize, oats, potatoes and Niuma (tarnip radish) as main crops. The work songs are in direct service of these productive labor.

In history, highland Chingko barley, wheat and oats were mainly the traditional grains in Gyarong families. Hence, the song of sowing seeds and the song of threshing wheat occupied the great part of their work songs. Each year, during the sowing season such labour scenes were most splendid. On both sides of the valley Gyarong people were formally clothed and were sowing seeds in terraced fields layer upon layer. On the land being sowed, the enthusiasm of the Gyarong people in their holiday best ran high. Usually, when building furrows and leveling the land on open valleys and fields, the Gyarong people would sing a land-leveling song with rhyming sounds by hoe.

Example IV.

Song of leveling the land:

Zhou Shan village

wo yi wo ia wo ia g.

o wo yo wo ia wo ya g.

While Gyarong people were threshing wheat, the joy

of a good harvest increased the happy atmosphere of the labour scenes. Gyarong men and women were usually divided into two groups face to face and with wood flails in hands, they moved forward and backward alternatively from time to time. With the wood flails going up and down, the song of threshing wheat changed rhythm regularly. Example V.

Nasgyashog (Song of threshing wheat)
Tanpa Village



Most Gyarong work songs are not restricted to certain concrete work, because most contents of the work songs have nothing to do with certain labour activities. For instance in "The Song of threshing grain", its content is related to young people's love affairs, but its rhythm suits the wood flail's movements regularly up and down while threshing grain. Therefore this kind of song is sung during the time of threshing. This rhythm also accords with the steps when walking, especially similar to the rhythm when carrying firewood on the back. For this reason songs of threshing grain are performed while walking or carrying firewood.

In Gyarong areas, there are a complete set of songs from ploughing land to harvesting, such as the song of ploughing the land, the song of breaking the clots, the

song of cutting wheat, the song of threshing wheat, and so on. This series of work songs is based on farming activities. From this we can see the important role played by the farming culture in the social life of Gyarong areas.

6. The Religious Culture in the Social Life of Gyarong Areas.

In history, the whole Gyarong people believed in the Bon religion. There were special Bonpo masters in each area, and these Bonpo masters controlled every aspect of politics, economy and culture. Even now a strong Bonpo cultural color is still present in Gyarong area.

In the fifteenth century, Tsongkhapa sent one of his disciples Tshage • Ngawang (son of a chieftain of a tribe in Gyarong area) to return to Gyarong to spread Buddhism there. Before he set out, Tsongkhapa gave him 108 rosaries and Tshage • Ngawang vowed to establish 108 Buddhist monasteries in Gyarong area. In 1410 B. C. Tshage • Ngawang came back to the Gyarong area, and really built 108 Buddhist monasteries (the first one was named "Wargu monastery", meaning having a good start, the last one named "Daryog monastery", meaning the wishes came true.) From then on the dominant situation of the Bon religion in Gyarong area was gradually changed.

During the period of the Qing emperor Qianlong (1775) the war of major and minor Jingchuan broke out and it lasted for as long as 28 years. During the war most Bonpo monasteries were destroyed. After the war the Qing government ordered the second largest Bonpo monastery Yongdrulang (located in Anning district of Jingchuan in Gyarong area) to become the Gelug monastery of Tibetan Buddhism. Moreover, they appoint-

ed abbots from the monasteries of Tibet to take charge of it, forced local people to believe in Buddhism and Banned on Bon religion. Although Bon religion suffered heavy attacks many times from various aspects, from the liberation till now Bonpo monasteries still can be seen everywhere in Gyarong areas and Gyarong people still worship the Bon religion.

Most of the Bonpo monks take a cave in a certain mountain they worshipped or a primitive forest as their practising place. Monks are the same as common people. They can take wives and kill living beings, and live just as the laymen do. The religious songs of the Gyarong area are compiled and performed based on the contents involving in the interesting news and anecdotes of these monks' lives.

When Bonpo believers taking the circumambulation, they must turn around chapals and pogodas anti-clockwise—from right to left. This kind of circumambulation route is based upon the turning direction of the symbol of the Bon religion—" " (Yongdru). When passing through Mani piles at the crossroads they'll turn from right to left as well. When two people meet face to face on a mountain narrow path one should make way for the other who is on the lower right. While they are taking circumambulation to expiate the sins of the dead they'll sing a circumambulation song i. e. " Akharma, dzhse, labo, ri, ri, mar, mar, so. "

Example VI.

Circumambulation Song
Drosegya Official Stockaded



There is specialized music score at the monasteries of Chenmo in the Gyarong area. It is called "Chenmo Sepomiyong" in Gyarong language. They say this music score is handed down by the Red religious sect (Nyingma Sect), and is written in Tibetan language and a small part of Sanskrit and Gyarong pronunciation.

"Chenchung Sepomiyong" mainly is the music score for religious songs in Chemo. The music score of religious songs has comparatively fixed music for voices.

Example VI.

Music Score of Religious Songs



On the music score various undulating symbols are marked to show the pitch of a voice of phonology. Under each symbol there is an individual Tibetan character to give explanation, with strict form for the music score of religious songs. Most of them are written in Tibetan motto style, and many onomatopoeic words are used word to word such as "oo", "ai", "ou", "ya", and so on in order to make complete and smooth music for voice.

Although most of the Chenmo music score was handed down through oral instruction and learning by heart, according to the pitch learned by heart and the phoneme expressed by the score, the two aspects have certain differences due to the performers' age, sex, health conditions,

breath and other elements. But the differences are not very obvious. According to the monks, in order to practise the music voice well some monks practised by the fire-pond (which being enclosed by four rectangular slabs of stone 4—8 inches thick, was usually used as table on which to put bowls and other utensils). After a considerable period of time, the smooth stone's surface might become concave due to practises.

The contents of the Chenmo music score for scriptures in the Gyarong area express sacred and specialized religious thinking and feelings. Therefore, performers taking part in scripture singing activities should do so with deep devotion, being affected by this kind of feeling and being restricted by special regulation of the language. In the process of the performance the melody shows the rule of one slight pause after reading one sentence, and the rise and fall of a pitch often circles round between a semitone and a whole tone. At the end the long tone of each sentence was accompanied by drum and cymbals to add the solemn atmosphere. Although there is music score, to a great extent it can have its own way as far as it can, but by no means following one's inclinations by losing contact with the specific contents.

Through investigation and sketchy analysis on Gyarong musical culture, it is really difficult to have a fair judgement on it, and this article can't address this problem anyway. As a branch of the Tibetan nationality, the history, language and even musical culture of the Gyarong area showed many differences or many unsimilar aspects. These differences in the historical changes as a same branch nationality, that is which things changed, which things remained unchanged in their existing circumstances

are yet to be further investigated and analyzed.

Notes

[1] Fei Xiaotong, *On the Problem of Distinguishing Nationalities in China*, *China Social Sciences*, No. 1, 1980. P. 58.

[2] Yan Chunyuan, *Tibetan Areas of Gyarong Are the Birth Place of the Bonpo Religion*, *Tibetan Studies*, No. 3, 1989. P. 133.

[3] Traditional Festival of Gyarong.

[4] "Ruwudar", Gyarong language, i. e. a general designation for god mountain, god tree, god bird, and god land.

[5] "Ruwusang", Gyarong language, i. e. pray by burning branches of cypress near Mani piles of god mountain.

[6] Ma Changshou, *Social History of Gyarong*, collected issue of ethnology, 1945.

[7] Tibetan ornament, square, made of silver, a square hole inside which can load a image of Buddha, hanging in front of the chest as a talisman.

Tibetan Incense Offerings and Sacrificial Ceremonies

Chapal • Tseten Phuntso

Incense offering is very popular in Tibet, though it may seem to be an unimportant trifle and hardly worth mentioning judged from the modern point of view. However, it is a unique Tibetan custom, a religious activity for almost every Tibetan, and very prevalent all over Tibet. It is not only popular in Tibet, but also in Tibetan areas of Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces. As a religious practice closely related to Tibetan people's lives, it merits study of its history, development, evolution, and internal relations. This is also necessary for Tibetological researchers to help other minority nationalities and foreign friends better understand Tibet.

I. The History and Origins of Incense Offering

Just as in seeking the origins of other phenomena in Tibetan society, one should refer back to eras before the seventh century to investigate the origins of incense offering. According to historical documents and materials, it is certain that incense offering has a history of at least several thousand years. It first came into being in a barbaric

age. People were both ignorant of and curious about natural forces, and they held that every aspect of nature had its spirit. Thus primitive polytheism emerged. Incense offering is just one phenomenon left over from primitive religion. *Yoga Lhagyi Jan* (*Yoga Which Makes the Gods Happy*), the first of five chapters in the earliest historical document, *Jan Nga*, refers to the successive gods and deities before the universe was shaped. It says:

"Residing in the great illusory void, Ode Gonggyal took nine 'Thang Nga' of the void as his concubines, and gave birth to 921 children, whose descendants and servants are as many as the raindrops. Marrying nine 'Thang Nga', he lived in the Middle Realm with his children, who were as numerous as the dust of Mt. Sumeru; he descended to earth... the eight tribes entertained him at banquets and he became the deity of the world — the father of the nine deities."^[1] Thus it can be seen that people of remote antiquity believed that gods and deities existed everywhere all over the world and that they created the universe as well.

It continues to illustrate the origins of the world, gods, and deities in the Tubo Dynasty: "Ode Gonggyal married Kusa Kuma and had as many as ten more sons, such as Yalha Shangpo... Chenlha Thentso... Yelha Gyika — the elder brother, Drolha Gangpo — the younger brother... the elder brother Tsanglha Lhada, the younger brother Zala Chiwu... Talha Gangpo... Thanglha Yashu... Gonglha Diya... and Gangle Lha etc., who were princes as well."^[2] These descendants of the god are thought to be the earliest gods of the ancient Tubo Kingdom. If we make textual study into the geographical location of the snow mountains and schist mountains men-

tioned in the book, we can naturally conclude that the birthplace of ancient peoples in the Tibetan plateau are Gongpo, Dapo, Yarlung and other places.

The book discusses the genealogy of deities such as Shangshung, Sumpa and Ogyal. It also states: "Taking Dongsa Chuma as his wife, Lhagyal Gongtsan had seven princes — the pass god in a high place, the boat god in a low place, the god of the native place, the protection deity of the castle, the inner god, the outer god, the door god, etc. . "[³] Here these gods are more and more closely associated with the life of mankind.

The book continues: "Lhaje Sangda married Sai Jue-ma, and gave birth to Tsangpa, Chayu, Mengpo, Gaya, Muya and the son Mapo, who were respectively the gods of fields, water, narrow place, longevity, the Tsangpo's (the king), and the Tsangmo's (the queen) private inner gods." As quoted above, there emerged a field god, a water god, and special gods for Tsangpo and Tsangmo, who were worshipped by everyone. This indicates that class polarization had appeared in the society with the development of social productive forces. *Dzon Zazei (Commentary to the Canon)*, one of the Bon religion's canons, reads as follows:

"The eighteen Muya deities are the red horse god, the fierce yak god, the meek cow god, the agile sheep god, the savage and cruel goat god, and the gods of tigers, leopards, brown bears, bears (Drimu), jackals, wolves lynxes, and fog." This shows that ancient Tibetan people believed that all animals and beasts had their own gods and deities. In a word, at that time they held that everything in the world was related to deities and gods.

Many other Tibetan history books state that Tibet

was ruled by ten ghost gods according to some, six according to others. There were semigods (titans), such as Yaksha (a malevolent spirit), world gods, dragons, ghosts, Nyan (one of the world gods who made people and livestock suffer from plagues), Tsan (one of the malevolent ghosts or demons), Dun (one of the ghosts or demons who did harm to people), Sin (a malevolent ghost), Masang (a semigod), and Serang (one of the semigods). Moreover, examining place names and tools of that time, we can infer about the illusions the people held and all the legends about them. In *The Origin of the Bon Religion*, there are detailed accounts of the mysterious way the rulers — semigods and ghosts — lived with Tibetan ancestors, gradually intermarried with them, and gave birth both to the descendants of gods and to human beings. Here is one of the paragraphs:

*Demons and ogres dominated the world,
Persecuted the common people and did harm to them;
They lived in brown grottoes and dense forests,
People who ate flesh were red-faced.
Thus Tibet got the name of ghost realm,
Full of darkness and ignorant of Buddhism;
Man united with ogress and had numerous children,
They offered sacrifice to the gods of native places
when disaster came.*

The paragraph above confirms the view that the maternal ancestor of Tibetans was the cave ogress. It also confirms that animal sacrifices to the gods of native places came into being during the rule of ghosts and semigods. Such sacrifices were employed to avert threatened disasters. The book continues:

Ghosts and demons conquered human beings,

*Taking tree, cave and cliff as their homes;
 They ruled all over Great Tibet,
 Opposing Sherab Thonpa along with common beings.
 Demons and monsters convened,
 What a long period of time — six kalpas;
 The world united when Thonpa came,
 Gods and dragons of eight sects were subdued.
 Thonpa taught people to worship gods of native
 places,
 Thus human beings and gods were separated;
 Going around and around for fairly long years,
 There people lived in caves and grottoes,
 Began to build houses of stone,
 Not knowing about timber cutting and sewing;
 Taking fruits and animals as their food,
 No one knew how to till the land.^[7]*

Judged by the above quotation's style of writing, the book seems not to be a history book written one thousand years ago, but might be a translation of Shangshung language in its later period or a popular adaptation of the Bon religion's Hidden Book (Terma). No matter when the book was written, earlier or later, its content is so important that we should pay attention to it.

Many Tibetan history book recount legends about the rule of semigods in Tibet. In *The Origin of the Bon Religion* one hard — pressed tribe invaded another richer and more backward tribe in ancient Tibet. Unable to resist, the invaded tribe regarded the enemy as gods or demons, supermen who slaughtered common people. This is just the background of the above two paragraphs in *The Origin of the Bon Religion*. In my opinion, however, the two tribes lived together and gradually intermarried, then later

multiplied in great number and became the Tibetan nationality. So those records in *The Origin of the Bon Religion* are valuable references and materials for the study of ancient Tibet's history and origins, and it is the very reason why I quote them in the paper. What specially merits attention is the book's statement that "the great Bon master, Thonpa Chenrab, taught people after he came to Tibet how to worship worldly gods in order to ward off evil spirits . . ." and it shows that sacrifices to the gods originated in the Bon religion. According to the Bon religion, demons and ogres dominated the world after the universe came into being. Then, gods and human beings had not yet separated. This only occurred when Thonpa Sherab was born. It took human beings six kalpas ("kalpa" is an extremely long period of time according to Buddhism scriptures) to complete the transformation. Today, whether it really took people such a long time is still an open question. It, however, is certain that the custom of worshipping gods had appeared long before Netri Tsangpo was born. We can note that where there were worshippers there were sacrificial ceremonies. It is certain that Tibetan sacrificial rites have a history of at least several thousand years.

Incense offering is an essential sacrificial ceremony. Its purpose is to rid the area of the people's foul breath in order to welcome the god. As recounted in *Commentary to Universal Compassion*, a Bon scripture, "When Netri Tsangpo descended to the world from heaven, the god also sent three ministers — Yaar, Tsemi and Dromi — to accompany him. Netri Tsangpo's father the king said: "When the god Netri Tsangpo is sent to the world, where all is dirty and full of plagues, I order Yaar to lead the

horse and offer incense to get rid of evil spirits, Tsemi to protect him on the left side, and Dromi on the right. . . " We can infer that incense offering to get rid of bad breath existed at the very beginning of invoking gods.

II. The Relationship between Worshipping Gods and Buddhist Ceremonies

Buddhism was very popular in the eighth century during the reign of the Tibetan king Trisung Debtsan. At that time, the king prohibited Bon worship, and to the contrary, ordered his people to adopt Buddhism. On the tablet which still stands in front of Samye Monastery there are detailed accounts of the event.

Judged from orthodox Buddhist viewpoints, worshipping worldly gods is against the aims of Buddhism and is forbidden. Jese Thome, a high ranking monk of the Sakya sect, says, "Since the worldly gods are reborn in the cycle of life, how can they save all living beings?" According to Buddhist teachings, the worldly gods living in the mundane world are only one of three forms of benevolent beings in the cycle of life, and they do not have the virtues to guide as well as save all living beings. Thus, with Buddhism's victory over Bon during Trisung Debtsan's reign, all Bon ceremonies and rites should have disappeared. But incense offering did not die away. To the contrary, it became even more popular than before. Accounts in *Bashed* and *Religious Work with Five Books* state that, after Padmasambhava had subdued the great worldly gods — Yalha Shangpo and Thangga Yashu — and the twelve worldly goddesses — Thangga Sharme, and Gungdzin Demu, he conferred on them the titles of protec-

tion deities. Besides, while building Samye Monastery, he made four deities remain all in one body to give instructions to them. This was a precedent to "the god descending ceremony (Lhabob)". From then on, incense offering became so popular that even the king himself took part in it. It is said that "the universal prayer day", which is popular in Lhasa, came into being during the reign of Trisung Debtsan. On the 15th of May in the Tibetan lunar calendar, Lhasa people of high rank or low dress in their best to offer incense to the gods on the roof of Jokhang Temple and other monasteries, on mountain tops, at riversides, and in fields. To celebrate the completion of Samye Monastery, Trisung Debtsan built a huge burner at the top of Hepu Mountain, opposite Samye Monastery, and they offered incense to gods on the 15th of May of the same year. During festivals, so much smoke curls upwards that it seems to spread all over the whole world. That is why it got the name "the universal prayer day". Three successive Tibetan kings following Trisung Debtsan presided over the festival. Only after Langdama's persecution of Buddhism did the festival end for several hundred years. It is said that it was not restored until the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama.

A description of the ceremony is also found in *Religious Work with Five Books: Book I 'Work of the King'*: "Fragrant air spread in all direction . . ."

At that time, people made not only incense offerings, but also animal sacrifices.

Some Bon scholars maintain that animal sacrifice, a primitive Bon ceremony, had already existed before Thonpa Sherab came to Tibet. However, Thonpa Sherab's Bon religion did not advocate animal sacrifices to the gods. Still,

it is an ancient custom to swear by the gods. In *The White History Book* the author quoted the accounts in Chinese historical records of Tibetan swearing oaths: "While taking oaths every year, the Tibetan king and his ministers would offer sacrificial sheep, goats, dogs, and monkeys to gods. When they held a grand ceremony every three years, they would offer horses, Yaks, oxen, and donkeys without four legs on sacrificial altars. One monk plied magic arts: "Let the heavens, the earth, the mountains, the sun, the moon and the stars give evidence, if anyone does not protect his neighbours, and has selfish and wicked ideas, he will be killed like the sacrificial animals. " According to Buddhist teachings, this is an act " which destroyed good things along with the bad, so he should be punished . . ." In fact the practice goes completely against Buddhist teachings and should have died away. But there is clearly recorded on the Changching Tang and Tubo Alliance Tablet, built during the reign of Trisung Debtsan, the following:

"The sun, moon and stars giving evidence, by offering sacrifice and signing the treaty, we are in alliance from now on." We can infer from the above paragraph that incense offering, which had been very popular in Tibet, did not die out with the spread of Buddhism, but to the contrary, was still as prevalent as before. Yet we should notice that Buddhism, not Bon, influenced it during the reign of King Trisung Debtsan. The more than one hundred years after Langdama's persecution of Buddhism was a time of free competition between Buddhism and Bon. Then came "the latter prosperity of Buddhism", during which many religious sects developed, and so Buddhism had more and more impact on incense offering. It changed

in following aspects: First, the common people of that time mainly offered sacrifice to protection deities and gods, and the Bon religion's worldly gods and earth dragons; secondly, monks and sorcerers presided over the rite instead of Bon priests; thirdly, the content of the ceremony changed into offering sacrifices to the protection deities of the five major groups and others, praising war gods, and holding auspicious grand sacrificial ceremonies; fourth, people had stopped animal sacrifice since the beginning of "the latter prosperity of Buddhism"; fifth, prayers for happiness and the concerns of this life, such as safety, longevity, good fortune, and the avoidance of disasters, began to emphasize that one should accumulate virtues by doing good deeds to be reborn as one of the three. benevolent beings and enlightened in the next life. But common people still followed traditional customs while they offered sacrifices to the gods, such as hanging prayer flags, offering incense and circumambulating holy mountains. In all, incense offering had become a unique tradition combining Buddhism and Bon. But its history and evolution naturally relating to many disciplines still need to be further studied by sociologists.

III. The Relationship between Sacrificial Ceremonies and Politics

1. As recorded in the Bon religion's history, there was a "state tutor" (Gupo) for every king during the reign of the seven earliest Tibetan kings (Bugyal) two hundred years ago. The state tutor's responsibilities were to offer sacrifices to gods, subdue demons in order to pray for the king's good fortune, ward off disasters and safeguard the

country's prosperity. After that, the successive Tibetan kings regarded offering sacrifices to state gods as an important national affair. The Moya rock inscription in Demu, Gongpo (now a county in Lingchi prefecture, eastern Tibet) is a strong evidence for this. The six lines in the inscription state, "When King Grigung Tsangpo (Garpo's father) passed away, the prince Garpo (Nitri) gave alms to the state tutor to worship the king's space ancestor god, and had the tutor marry a girl from Demu. Therefore, to pray for the good fortune of the prince, Lhadaje, the king's ancestor god, balked at no sacrifice, even that of his own life. Owing to this, the country was strong and stable." That is to say, that owing to prince Nitri's homage to the king's ancestor god after Grigung Tsangpo was murdered, the country was prosperous and stable during the reign of Bude Gunggyal, Nitri's younger brother (Shatri). That was Gungka Bugyal's main achievement in his official career and it was mentioned in rock carvings eulogizing the king. It shows that offering sacrifice to gods was an important part of praying for the country's prosperity.

2. At the end of the eighth century, when Trisung Debtsan passed away, there were arguments over whether they should hold the sacrificial rite in accordance with the Bon religion's tradition or carry on "the ceremony of releasing the soul from purgatory" following Buddhist teachings. The minister Chendzin Shelesi and the great translator Varocana had a heated dispute in Muni Tsangpo's presence. One history book says: "Chendzin Shelesi argued that successive kings had held sacrificial rites in accordance with Bon teachings: 'The king had their royal palaces built with four gates of very auspicious appear-

ances; they took Yalha Shangpo as the national god and had their tombs constructed in Rewathang. Because Yalha Shangpo was fierce and excelled in supernatural powers, and Rewathang had a good geomantic omen, the Tubo kingdom — which had conquered small countries, such as Sangpogyal Tripungsung, and Shangshung king Neku Lame — was very strong and famous everywhere. When the king died, they held very grand memorial ceremonies and built huge tombs. Today we run counter to the king's established practices if we carry on the ceremony in the light of Indian Buddhist teachings, and if there appear any ill omen, the country will be bound to decline. Therefore, high ranking Lamas and ministers should agree to hold a ceremony in line with the Bon religion's rites.' Varocana responded, 'It is absolutely out of the question... It is a big mistake to worship Yalha Shangpo as a state god. In fact, the four guardian kings and supreme Vadradara have greater supernatural power... and they govern all nature. Really it is a great mistake to believe in Bon religion and its worldly gods. Sangpugyal Tripungsung worshipped two heartless gods such as Thanglha and Yalha; Ar and Shing from Pengyul slaughtered countless Yaks, oxen, goats, sheep, and horses to offer to demons, and human beings themselves became as vicious as devils. They willfully acted in line with the Bon religion, considered evil deeds as good ones, and added new crimes to old ones. As a result, subordinate tribes, such as Nulang, Pel, Nan, Tribintsi and Khakhong Lungchoe Bulang, came over and pledged alliance to the Tubo kingdom. Is this what is called the country being prosperous? The king of the Shangshung Kingdom Nekhu Lani paid homage to wicked Gedo and Mutu and persecuted the kingdom's four

major religions. Finally Shangshung kingdom was destroyed, and Katseto and Goding were conquered by the Tubo kingdom; moreover, king Weng Arshi, Nupo Hetri and Chen Darpo worshipped the vicious gods — Sedzi Garpo and Nula Thochu — and believed in the black Bon religion. At last their regimes were conquered by Tubo kingdom, and Shang Tsanshe, the Cheng Darpo's king, was reduced to the status of a servant. Since the Bon religion brought untold trouble, how can we hold the memorial ceremony in accordance with its teachings? Buddhism used Logic (Hetuvidya) and benevolence as its ground, and tends to be kind, but killing animals is evil and vicious. King Trisung Debsan reincarnated as a human being, took refuge with Buddhism and had one hundred and eight monasteries built. Also he had a total of one hundred and eight volumes of Vadjra scripture written. He accumulated infinitive virtues and produced wonderful fruits. If we are misled by the reincarnation, just like a white horse with a black saddle, it is bound to be an obstacle to the king's enlightenment. I earnestly request that we hold the ceremony in the light of Darma (Buddhist teachings). ' Chengtsan Shelesi said, 'The monk places his hope in his future lives and regards the void (or emptiness) as his foundation. Your Majesty, please don't be swayed by what we have said and decide by yourself what we should do next. If monks refuse to comply, you can order them to be entrance guards for palaces, imperial bodyguards, trusted followers and frontier soldiers. "No one else dared to reply then except Varocana." I would like to do whatever I am required to do, he said. Thereupon, the king was very happy. . . " Although this seemed to be a conflict between religions, in fact, it was a strug-

gle between different political sects. The point at issue was which god they should worship to provide prosperity for the country. That is why Buddhists and Bon followers carried on a heated debate by quoting historical facts as proof. It fully shows that worshipping gods was considered necessary to safeguard the country's prosperity and stability.

3. During military action, praying for a god's blessing was an important preparatory activity to defeat the enemy. The tradition has lasted for a long time. *King Gesar*, the famous epic, is the strongest evidence of this. The epic amounts to scores of volumes, including recorded and oral versions, and has several thousand poems which always begin with worshipping gods. Whenever the fight reached the most crucial moment, they could only win with the help of god's supernatural power. Thus it can be seen that the ancient clans and tribes would always offer incense to gods before going to war in order to defeat their enemies.

4. "The gods or the devils descend to give instructions." As recorded in *Bashed*, the history of a god's giving instruction by staying in a human body should trace back to the period when Padmasambhva, the great Buddhist master, came to preach Buddhism in the Tubo kingdom. Though we have not found the exact records of how the practice became popular in the Tubo kingdom, we are sure that it gradually became prevalent when Tibet was splitting—up after the Tubo kingdom had collapsed. The Tibetan local government, the "Kashag" began to worship various protection deities, such as Nechung Chogyong, Lhamu Tsangpa, Samye Tsewu Mupo, Drepung Tanma and Garwa Thongnesung at the end of the seventeenth

century. Meanwhile it instituted the practice of "the gods descending ceremony" (Lhabob). Whenever there were important political affairs and military operations, they would hold the ceremony of "the gods descending" — First, they would plead with the protection deities to predict the outcome, give instruction, settle delicate problems and clear up doubts. The practice lasted until a little after the peaceful liberation of Tibet (1951). At that time, four ministers (Kalons) would take turns paying homage to the Nechung Oracle on behalf of the government. This occurred on the third day of every month in the Tibetan calendar, and it was called "the third major sacrificial rite". Especially worth mentioning what is called "meeting the gods in the Dalai Lama's bedroom". No matter where the Dalai Lama stayed, he would invite the protection deities, who were frequently given such titles as "great Lama", and "Khenchen" (great abbot), to hold the ceremony in his bedroom. In the mid twentieth century the Tibetan local government still decided important political and military affairs with "gods descending to give instructions" ceremonies. It was a rare phenomenon in the world even then.

Sacrificial rites also played an important role in the government's routine duties. For example, the government used to hold a major ceremony, which it presided over itself, on the roof of Jokhang temple once every summer and winter. Every single government official, of high or low rank, was required to take part in the rite. On that day when the rite began on the roof of the smoke-filled Jokhang temple, scores of monks from Meru monastery held various sacrificial rites accompanied by religious horns. The imperial guards frequently fired firelocks, and

four noble women held gold cups to offer a sacrifice to the gods. Meanwhile Lhazhang Chadzo would offer fried dough, and fresh and dried fruits. The ceremonies were called "the white sacrificial rite of summer" and "the white sacrificial rite of winter". Also government officials would go to Nechung monastery to worship the Nechung protection deity once every summer and winter. And they used to go to Garwadong to pay homage to the protection deity there. All these activities were listed in the government's itinerary of important rites and ceremonies. Of course, there were other temporary rites, of which government officials took charge.

The Dalai Lama's family would worship his god of birth in the Temple of the Birth God, east of Lhasa, every year in July of the Tibetan lunar calendar, and invited all government officials to come. It was naturally listed in the government agenda too. In fact, it was an important government sacrificial ceremony.

Here it is particularly worth mentioning that May 10th of the Monkey year was Padmasambhava's birthday. As we mentioned above, he subdued Tibet's heavenly gods and earthly dragons after coming to Tibet. Thus people regarded May 10th of the Monkey year as one of the most auspicious days. Dressed out in his finest, the Dalai Lama would lead all monks and lay officials, such as Silons (the prime ministers), Kalons (ministers), and Khanpos (abbots general), to Nechung monastery. More than ten protection deities from Tanma and Garwadong, close to Drepung monastery, would come to the monastery. On that same day the Dalai Lama would be in the seat of honour in Nechung's Assembly Hall, and his entourage sitting on both sides according to their ranks.

Blowing horns and playing religious music, the monks of Nechung welcomed the protection deities — Nechung, Tanma, Garwadong and others — to take their seats in proper order. Except for the Nechung oracle, they were escorted to the Veranda by their followers, and separated from each other with drapes. In the middle of the yard, the gods of the four directions danced around the Nechung Oracle. Soldiers from the battalion of imperial guards dressed in ancient warrior costume, fired guns, whistled, beat drums, blew horns, and clashed cymbals. Such a grand sacrificial rite was a rare event anywhere in the world. People took turns paying homage to the Dalai Lama after it was over. Then, led by the protection deities, the Dalai Lama, with monk and lay officials, circumambulated the outer wall of the monastery once. The monks of Drepung lined up to wait for him on both sides of the road with prayer flags, incense burners, and religious instruments in their hands. Once in a while there were tents, set up by Drepung or other monasteries, in which the Dalai Lama and his followers could rest, drink tea, and eat. With incense in hand, millions of common people waited to pay homage to the Dalai Lama on both sides of the road. It was truly grand occasion.

All the above examples show that the Tibetan local government regarded the sacrificial rite as an important government activity.

IV. Sacrificial Ceremonies of Modern Tibetans

1. Worshipping the "pass—god" in high lands

In order to explain this issue more clearly, I first need to discuss several ceremonies of ancient Tibet.

In the first part, we have already referred to this ceremony — worshipping pass gods. Why do Tibetans do

it? Tibetans have always lived on "the roof of the world", which is crowded with mountains rising each one higher than the other. Wherever people travel, they have to climb over mountain after mountain. The passes they traverse are called "Lhatsi" in Tibetan. There were also always "Lhatse", stone piles hung with prayer flags, scriptures, and wool, made by travelers who crossed the passes. When travelers of high or low ranks passed by a stone pile, they would tidy it up. Those on horse—back would get off to show respect for the gods, and hang colourful prayer flags, Khatas (ceremonial scarfs), scriptures, and wool on poles and string. While offering incense, Tsampa (ground barley flour), and butter, they would take off their hats to pray: "I wish for a pleasant journey for me and hope that all my wishes come true; I myself give welcome and farewell dinner to me..." Thereafter, with handful of Tsampa in their right hands and facing a "stone pile", everybody on the spot would first shout "Suo" three times, then cry out "Jesuso, the gods are bound to victory!" Meanwhile they would throw Tsampa into the air. This is called "crying out the gods' victory." After it was over, everybody would step back several paces and start down the mountain to continue his journey.

The purpose of travelers' worshipping "stone piles" in passes was to pray to the gods along the way to stop devils from following them, and to welcome the gods escort them.

2. Worshipping "boat and vessel gods" in the low lands

In ancient Tibetan areas, there were so few bridges that people could only depend on boats, vessels, and coracles. At riversides, before boarding, they would offer in-

cense to the gods, and pray for a safe journey. They hoped to ward off accidents, such as boats being tossed in storms, washed away by the river or sunk because of leaks. After boarding, they would hang a khata on the wooden horsehead of the stem, throw barley into the air, and take off their hats to pray. It was called "worshipping the boat and vessel Gods."

3. Paying homage to "the god of the native place"

Wherever Tibetans lived, in cities, towns, the countryside, and nomad areas, there were "the gods of native places" worshipped by native people. Even in remote places with only one or two households, people there had their own god of native places, to which they offered sacrifices on holidays and auspicious days at regular intervals every month. Everybody, of high and low rank, was required to take part in the rite. Besides, along with other important activities, such as weddings, funerals, and the rites to eliminate plagues and evil, people would also offer sacrifices to "the gods of the native place". The procedures were similar to the rite of worshipping boat gods, that is, offering incense and putting up prayer flags. It was so popular in Tibet that those living in distant places regarded "the god of native places" as their "birth god", and offered sacrifices to it regularly. Facing their native places, all households without shrines or altars would choose a clean spot, on the roof of house or near the house, to build three small stone piles and worship "the god of the native place". They would certainly offer incense and toss barley into the air. The ceremony probably developed from the ancient tribal customs of offering sacrifices to deceased chiefs and headmen. In ancient Tibet every single inhabitant of the tribe, even when far from

home, was under the leadership of the chief and required to pay a head tax (capitation) to the headman. Moreover, he had to offer sacrifices to deceased headmen and chiefs.

4. Worshipping "the roof gods"

On palace and monastery roofs in Tibet, the four corners are decorated with prayer flags and images of banners of victory, but common households have altars with prayer flags in five colours, each of which stands for a different symbol: blue for heaven, white for clouds, red for fire, green for water, and yellow for earth. They are sewn with white knitting wool. Because blue, green, red, yellow and white represent the five elements — water, wood, fire, earth and iron — people also arrange prayer flags in order beginning with the colour of their own birth year. Some will sew prayer flags on white woolen or hemp ropes, then hang them between two poles. They usually change the flags on the third day of the first month of every year, taking down the old flags and putting up the new ones. The common practice is to offer incense to the roof god on the roof every morning. Whenever there are auspicious family holidays and festivals, they will change prayer flags and hold an additional sacrificial rite for the roof god on a large scale. For example, when there is a wedding, all the family members will choose an auspicious day to change prayer flags, which must be handed to the bridegroom, and worship the roof god. The ceremony was called "Lhado" (fastened by the god) — which shows that the bridegroom becomes a full family member from this day on. When a married daughter returns to her parents' home, some households will hold this same rite and pass the prayer flag through the daughter, too. The ceremony is called "Lhadzo" (untied by the god), which

means that she no longer belongs to her parents' family from this day on. These customs are clearly passed from ancient clans.

In pastoral areas, there is often a flag in front of Yak hair tents, and in rural areas where houses are built with wood, a flag in the middle of the roofs. The great Tibetan scholar Gedun Chopel writes of Tibetan customs, "Common people live in compact tribes, and it is a unique Tibetan custom to erect a flag on the door of each and every home. This at first developed from the practice of using flags as symbols in military camps, and gradually has become a religious symbol. Tibetans, no matter whether living together with Indians or Han people have kept it. It is also a practice left over from Bon worship of roof—gods.

5. Worshipping door—gods

Each and every household in Tibetan areas will worship a statue of a god or Buddha in its lintel. This is called "worshipping door—gods".

Some households used to ask a sorcerer to place a sheep or a goat head bound with five coloured wool in door frames. This was called "seal doors of heaven and earth".

In rural areas, almost every household will put Yak horns and white pebbles on the tops of gates. During the autumn harvest every year, people will offer the first handful of grain ears to the door—god.

These sacrificial ceremonies were undoubtedly developed from the Bon religion and are ancient customs. It was said that there were sacrificial platforms built near holy mountains, rocks, trees, and lakes in Dingchen (a county in Shigatse prefecture), where people believed in the Bon religion. These platforms were decorated with antlers and wild Yak horns (called "Tagun"), on which flags without

any patterns or bound with clean white wool were hung. It was difficult to find antlers and wild Yak horns in Tibet's rural areas, so people used sheep and Yak horns instead. This is also a way of worshipping the door—god. Because of Buddhism's prevalence in Tibet, people began to place slabstones and rocks, on which the images of Buddhas of the three times and six — syllabled Mantra (Om Mani Padme Hum) were carved, on the top of the gate.

6. Offering sacrifices to the mountains and rivers

Worshipping mountains and rivers, or offering incense by rivers and at the top of the mountains, is a very popular practice in Tibetan areas.

"Offering sacrifice to the mountain" means to worship the local holy mountains, divine mountains and altars at the highest peaks of nearby mountains. Family members usually go to offer sacrifices to mountains by themselves. If none of the family members is able to climb the mountain, however, they can employ someone else to do it. Sometimes several households or the whole village will send a representative to worship the mountains, carrying prayer flags, scriptures and incense from every household. The households repay the man with food. He will set out late at night before dawn in order to reach his destination when the sun begins to touch the top of the mountain.

"Worshipping rivers" means to hang strings of prayers and prayer flags on tree branches, offer incense on the local river bank, or set earthenware jars or wooden boxes with burning incense adrift on the stream.

7. Public incense offerings

In the past, a public memorial ceremony — incense

offering — was held by the government, large villages, and townships. Whenever it was held, the army or a group of men would sing songs of praise, eulogizing gods and deities, mountains and rivers, horses and weapons. When the Tibetan local government held memorial ceremonies, the imperial guard battalion was required to recite eulogies. As well, fishermen in Lingchi prefecture recite praise. Tamushu in Lhoka prefecture also has "nine auspicious songs of horses", which are songs of praise. It was and is a very common practice all over Tibet.

Here I would like to touch briefly on the incense itself, which is made up of cypress, cypress branches, pine, and Chinese ilex seed, very often with purple sandalwood, white sandalwood, saffron crocus, and other materials. Of course, all incense is mixed with Tsampa and butter, and households take particular care with the ceremony and add cheese, condensed milk, crystalized sugar, brown sugar, honey and herbs. And some will spray a little tea, barley beer and water while they offer incense.

8. Animal Sacrifice

Over the centuries, animal sacrifice has gradually died out, but recently still occurred in a few places such as in Gongpo Gyangda and Pomi Thangme just before 1951. When grand sacrificial rites were held in these places, every household would butcher sheep and goats, or kill chickens, then threw the meat and blood into the fire. If the family was too poor to afford sacrificial animals, it would at least throw an egg into the fire. It is said that animal sacrifice was also popular in Qinghai and Kham.

The above paragraphs have briefly introduced the customs of incense offering and sacrificial ceremonies in Tibetan areas. Though most of them are only what I have

seen and heard about, they will give you a broad outline of the ceremonies.

Due to natural living conditions, Tibetans have revered gods and deities since ancient times. Along with the slow development of social ideology, both the Bon religion and Buddhism influenced the custom of revering gods and deities, its content and style, and its various forms. At last the unique Tibetan idea of worshipping supernatural forces came into being.

Tibetans have strong faith in incense and sacrificial offerings, but do they really believe in gods and gods' instructions? It is still an open question. As we mentioned above, the Tibetan government solved doubtful political affairs or knotty problems by means of "gods descending and giving instruction". It seemed to have supreme authority, but in fact, if the instruction did not conform to the ruler's wishes, the oracles would be punished. Sometimes they were recalled, jailed, flogged, sent into exile, or relieved of their possessions. There were several such cases told of in history. However, minor oracles punished for such failures were countless. Under such circumstances, those oracles had to pander to rulers' desires and wishes when they gave instructions. People always said, "Not deities in human bodies, but people's ideas bestowed on gods." Proverbs also say, "Those protection deities can not even fend for themselves, how can they bless and protect living beings?" It is more surprising that some instructions say that, "When common people can not decide what to do, they will ask the deities and gods for advice, but if gods can not decide either, they will fabricate lies." These proverbs and common sayings are conclusions Tibetan people formed from sacrificial offerings over a long

period of time, and it shows what people know about the essence of gods. Still the custom of sacrificial offerings over several thousand years will not die out. Many people hold that it is a traditional custom handed down from generation to generation, and they will be disturbed if they break the ancestral instructions; others think they should follow the neighbours and continue the tradition; many more people treat them with the attitude of "do as the Romans do" and "join in the fun of the occasion". Under the influence of society, many people will just imitate others, not knowing why they do what they do, as in the common saying goes "Everybody's doing it"!

Notes

[1][2][3][4] *A Detailed Record of the Origin and Development of Dharma Among Chinese and Tibetan People*, by Dewu, manuscript pp. 129—130.

[3] [6] [7] [8] *An Essence of the Annotations to Canons*, new edition, p. 14, p. 24, p. 25, p. 65.

[9] *A Great Canon on the Origin and Development of Dharma by Ancient Sages*, block edition, chapter VII, at the back of p. 108 to p. 111.

[10] *The Prince's 37 Deeds*.

[11] *The White Annal*, block edition, p. 19.

[12][13] *The Selected Materials and Documents of Ancient Tibet*, Beijing edition, p. 8, p. 64.

[14] *Bashe*, manuscript, p. 26.

Nyingmapa of Tibetan Buddhism

Liu Liqian

Tradition of Nyingmapa

The tradition of Nyingmapa sect can be traced back to that of Buddhism in the period of the first rise of Buddhism in Tibet.^[1] When Buddhism was forbidden in Tibet,^[2] it went into underground and was spread secretly. After Tubo Dynasty collapsed there were no monks or monasteries for a long time. Only a few people practiced Buddhism at home to maintain the tradition, which was passed from father to son. Thus Buddhism could continue to exist. (Blue Annals p. 84)^[3]

According to the Blue Annals, those Buddhist laymen at home or in caves followed Buddhism and devoted themselves to its practice sincerely. They preserved the Kangyur and Tengyur^[5] before the reign of Tibetan King Ralpachen.^[4] Most of the sutras translated into Tibetan during the Tubo period can be found today. Why did those laymen not suffer from the disaster in the period of the ban of Buddhism? It is because King Langdarma^[6] only concentrated his mind on destroying Buddhist monasteries

and monks and had no time to deal with the Buddhist laymen.

According to *Records of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*,^[7] many people who seemed to be secular were in fact Buddhist monks of Tantricism^[8] and they did not let other people know they were monks. The Tibetan king and ministers did not pay attention to them at the time. That was why they could escape the disaster. The number of the Buddhists of this kind was not small. Sarvajna Yezang Tsepa said,^[9] at that time the discipline tradition of Buddhism^[10] had declined, but tantricism had never declined (*Records of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*. p. 76).

During the 10th—11th centuries, in the early period of second rise of Buddhism in Tibet, some people went by themselves or were sent to India and Nepal to study Buddhist sutras; some Indian and Nepalese eminent monks were invited to Tibet to spread Buddhism. Many sutras of Tantricism were translated into Tibetan language. Owing to the fact that there were different masters and traditions, new sects were set up; they were generally called New Tantricism or New Sect, including Ganden, Sakya, Kagyu, and others.

The Nyingmapa sect was also founded in that period. Its founder was Sur Shakya Jungna. He acquired many Tantric sutras handed down from the 8th and 9th centuries and compiled them into a system. He founded Upalung Monastery,^[11] where he taught students, openly spread Buddhism. Thus he founded the Sur tradition. Besides, there were Rongsong, Ro and Longchin Nyingtig traditions. These traditions spread the sutras of the period of the first rise of Buddhism in Tibet, so they were formed as an independent system. Historians called them the Former

Tantricism or the Old sect (Nyingmapa).

The Old sect or Nyingmapa sect had two traditions: Sutra Tradition, directly handing down old sutras; Hidden Sutra Tradition, handing down the sutras which had been hidden and then found out.

In addition to these two traditions, there were some other traditions such as Buddha — Heart Tradition, but they did not have so detailed records as those for the Sutra and Hidden Sutra Traditions.

1. The Sutra Tradition

The tradition can be traced back to King Trisong Detsan^[12] and King Tri Ralpachen of the 8th — 9th centuries. The two kings invited eminent Indian Buddhist monks such as Padmasambhava, Darmayasas, Vimalamitra, and Sangye Sangpo to Tibet to usher in the last three vehicles of the nine vehicles of Nyingmapa, i. e. the Three Yogas of Mahayoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga.^[13] The sutras were translated by Paljor Chena, Mar Rinchenjor, etc. The Tibetan edition fell into three parts: Sutras, Vision and Mind. According to the order of the Nine Vehicles, it should be "Vision, Sutras, and Mind".^[14] The following is a description of the lineage of succession of the three Tantric traditions:

(1) The Vision Tradition.

The Vision Tradition of Tantric Buddhism was passed from Vimalamitra to Mar Rinchenjor, who handed it down to Tsu — ru Rinchen Shunu and Gya Chojong, who in turn passed it to Dargye Palgye Drakpa. The tradition handed down by Dargye was called Chimpu sect, which was spread from ü — Tsang to Do Kham. Thus "ü sect" and "

Kham sect" were founded.

Vimalamitra passed it to Nya Zyana Kumar, who in turn passed it to Sogpo Palgye Yeshe, who to Nu Sangye Yeshe, who to Kulunpa Yonten Gyatso. They were important masters of the Nyingmapa in the period of the first rise of Buddhism and during the period of the ban of Buddhism in Tibet. Among them the most eminent was Nu Sangye Yeshe. He had learnt all the sutras of the "Sutras, Vision and Mind" department existing in Tibet at the time. But he did not feel satisfied with that. He went to India, Nepal and to Bolu to get back all sutras of Tantricism that had been spread abroad. He made great contributions to the Tantric Buddhism.

It was said that the Tantric Buddhism in the period of the first rise of Buddhism in Tibet went through three periods of spreading: the first period represented by Padmasambhava, the second by Paljor Chena, and the third by Nu Sangye Yeshe (*Analects on the Historical Relations between the Hans and Tibetans*, pp. 446—447).^[15] Nu was born in the time of Tibetan King Tri Ralpachen in the 9th century and died in the time of Tri Tashi Tsekpai.^[16] It was said that he lived to the age of 113. He saw the first and second rise of Buddhism in Tibet and played a great role in forming a connecting link between the preceding and the following. In the period of King Tri Ralpachen he was honored with the title of the Great Tsenpo and enjoyed great prestige.^[17] Thus he could preserve many sutras (see *Blue Annals*, p. 141; *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men* p. 614).^[18] He passed the tradition on to his son Kulunpa, who after four generations passed to Nyang Yeshe Jungna, who in turn passed it to Sur Shakya Jungna.

Sur Shakya Jungna (1002 — 1062) was also called

Lhaje Upalungpa. He learned the whole sutras of Vision, Sutras and Mind handed down by Kulunpa as well as other sutras of the period of the first rise of Buddhism in Tibet. He separated the sutra text from sutra explanation, and made notes of the text. For esoterism and exoterism he made methods convenient for practicing Buddhism, in which he stipulated rituals, including chanting sutras. Thus the Nyingma tradition became a complete system in theory and practice. He built Drophu Monastery for further development of Buddhism. Since then the Nyingmapa became a famous sect. (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, pp. 143—144)

Kulunpa and his son passed the tradition to Nyang Sherab Chog, who in turn passed it to Nyang Yeshe Jungna, whose tradition was known as the Rong sect, a branch of the Sutra Tradition.

Sur Yeshe Jungna passed the tradition to his adopted son Surchung Sherab Drakpa (1014—1074). Surchung (meaning Junior Sur) was also called Deshe Gyawopa, whose son was Drohupa Shakya Sengge. He learned from Kachentse, a disciple of his father's, the Tantric sutras of "Sutras, Vision and Mind", and learned "Great Perfection" sutra^[19] from Lun Shakya Changchub, and "Heart Nature" (a sutra)^[20] from Dharma Sonam, and went to Jang—Khul^[21] in the north to learn the doctrine of Nyingmapa. Drohupa had many disciples and his tradition had several branches. In three generations' time the Sur family made its fame reach peak. (*A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, Vol. 1, pp. 615—617)

Lhaje Gyeton Gyana (1126—1195) was Drohupa's favorite disciple. At first he had a debate with Drohupa and won it. Drohupa was so happy that he passed all his

knowledge of Buddhism to Lhaje. Besides, Lhaje learned essential Tantric sutras from Dharma Sonam. Thus he learned more doctrines of Nyingmapa than other followers of the Sur sect (*A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, Vol. 1, p. 618).

Gyeton Gyana had many disciples. The best of them was his nephew Great Lama Yonten Song (or Gye-ton-jo-zong, 1126—1195), who had learned from his own uncle Gyetonshe the eight sutras of exoterism and the sutras and practice of Anuyoga and Atiyoga before he became the disciple of Gyeton Gyana (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, pp. 165, 168).

Shepo Dutse (1149—1199) was Yonten Song's known disciple. At first he learned from his maternal uncle The Great Perfection of the Rongpa sect. After his uncle died he learned the "Heart Sutra" from Yonten Song. Then he studied the doctrines of Go, Rong and Kham sects (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, pp. 168—169; *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, Vol. 1, p. 618).

Taton Joye (1163—1230) was a disciple of Shepo Dutse. Taton's disciple was Taton Zigyi (*A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, Vol. 1, p. 619).

Drophupa's another branch tradition was founded by his another disciple Tsangpa Gyeton, who passed it to Tsangna Wopa, who in turn passed it through five generations to Sur Jampa Sengge. Sur's two disciples, Yuntonpa and Jamyang Samdrup Dorje (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, pp. 188—189) were of the same branch.

Yuntonpa was also called Dorjepa. He was an eminent monk of Nyingmapa. In 1298 he was invited to the capital city by Yuan Emperor Shizu (Kublai Khan), who bestowed many gifts on him. At the Bikchu ceremony he

was given the religious name of Dorjepon (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, pp. 189—191; *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, p. 620)

Yuntonpa's disciple was Kadampa Deshe, who built Kathog Monastery at Dege on the eastern bank of the Jinsha River.^[22] Thus the Nyingmapa was spread over Do—Kham and became a Kham sect. Drophupa's tradition had many other sub—branches. The *Blue Annals* and *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men* had a detailed account of them.

The Vision Tradition was spread not only by the Sur family but also Rog family. They preached sutras and practiced inauguration or consecration ceremony and taught many people in Danpa,^[23] Tsangtod,^[24] Manggur and south and north Latod.^[25] What mentioned above is an account of the main traditions of Vision Tradition.

(2) Sutra Tradition.

At first an Indian monk named Dhayarashita passed "Bian—ji—ming—liao—jing" Sutra (in Tibetan "mdo—dgang—po—vdus—pavi—mdo") and "Ji—mi—yi—jing" Sutra (in Tibetan "kun—vdus—rig—pavi—mdo") to Sthiramati, who in turn passed them to Nepalese monks Dharmabodhi and Basudhara, who passed them to Chitsan—dye, who translated the sutras into Tibetan. The three monks passed the sutras to Nu Sangye Yeshe (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, p. 201). Sangye Yeshe passed the sutras to his son Yunton Gyatso and through four generations to Sur Shakya Jungna. After Shakya Jungna the Vision Tradition was combined with the Sutra Tradition. The two traditions were finally kept by the Sur family. This is a tradition with its emphasis on the explanation of sutras.

Another branch of the Sutra tradition was represented by Rongzom Chorje Sampo, a contemporary of Sur Shakya

Jungna. He had rich knowledge of sutras and was good at the Five Sciences of India and Sanskrit. In Tibet he was known as Pandita. He got the traditions of "Vision, Sutras and Mind" sutras.

The Rongzom tradition took Mind Division as its main part. The Mind Division tradition was founded by Padmasambhava. He passed it to his disciple Nanam Dorje Dujom, who in turn passed it to Rongpon Rinchen Tsultrim. Thus the Mind—Division tradition was founded.

In the period of the first rise of Buddhism in Tibet Berochana passed the tradition to Yudra Nyingpo. After five generations it was passed to Rongzom.

At Deng Longtang Drolma^[26] there was a Buddhist monk named Aro Yeshe Jungna. He was said to have learned from Indian and Chinese monks. He taught what he had learnt to Jogro Zangkar Dzokung and Yazi Bonton, who in turn passed it to Rongzom. This branch was called The Great Perfection Kham sect (*Blue Annual* Vol. 1, p. 211).

The doctrines Bimala passed to Nyang Dingchen Sampo, Ma Rinchenchog and Nya Chena Kumar in the period of the first rise of Buddhism were passed by Jogro Zangkar Dzokung and Yazi Bonton to Khu Changchub Od, and then to Rongzom. Rongzom's tradition was prosperous and was spread in Do—Kham. After Rongzom it was not known (*Blue Annals* p. 211).

(3) Mind—Division Tradition

Having been included in "Great Perfection" (Tibetan: rdzogs—chen), the Mind—Division consisted of three departments: Heart Department, Realm Department, and Essential Door Department.

A. The tradition of the Heart Department.

The Heart Department had 18 sutras, of which the first 5 was translated and handed down by Berochana, and the rest 13 was by Vimalamitra. It was also called "the Twenty Sutras of Heart—Department". (*Records of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*, p. 82)

The tradition of Heart—Department came from India. After coming into Tibet it began to have several branches. It was passed from Indian monk Sherab Sengge to Sangye Sangpo and from Sangye Sangpo to Vimalamitra, who went to Tibet and passed it to Tibetan translator Nya Chena Kumar. Besides Sanggya Sangpo passed it to Berochana, who passed it to Tibetan king Trisong Detsan.

Then Berochana went to Do—Kham three times and preached the tradition there. Firstly, he passed it to Yudra Nyingpo, then to Sogpo Sangye Yeshe, who passed it to Nu Sangye Yeshe. The tradition became a branch of Heart Department. Secondly, Berochana passed it to Bang Sangye Gonpo and through four generations to Marpa Sherab Od. That was another branch. Thirdly, Berochana came back to Tibet and passed it to Chomo Tsemo and Marpa Sherab Od and through six generations to Drophu-pa of the Sur family. That was the third branch (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, p. 216).

B. The Tradition of Realon Department (Jie—bu).

It was passed first from Indian monk Sangye Sangpo to Berochana, who passed it to Pang Mipham Gonpo and through seven generations to Dharmabodhi (1052—1168). Dharmabodhi passed Dorje Bridge (Dorje Zamppa)^[27] to Sur Chungpa (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, pp. 215—236). He had many disciples, who established various traditions. The Blue Annals had a detailed introduction of it.

C. The tradition of Essential Door Department (Yao — men — bu).

It consisted of two branch traditions: "Shin — tu — zab — pa — dzogs — pa — chen — po — nying — tig"^[28] and "Khav — gro — snying — tig." (i. e. Dakini Nyingtig)^[29]

a) "Shin — tu — zab — pa — dzogs — pa — chen — po — nying — tig".

It was passed by Indian monk Sherab Sengge to Yeshe — mdo. The tradition before Sherab Sengge was the same as Heart Department. Yeshe — mdo passed it to Vimalamitra, who passed it to Tibetan King Tri Ralpachen and Nyang Dingchen Sampo. Dingchen Sampo built Lhakang Monastery in Wu — ru.^[30] He preserved "Nying — thig" in the monastery (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, p. 239).

In the period of the second rise of Buddhism, Danma Lhundrub Gyaltzen discovered the Hidden sutras and passed them to Chetsun Sengge Wangchuk, who passed "Nying — tig" to Nyang Gadampa. Nyang preserved the sutras in three places. About thirty years later Chegon Nagpo from Rongnarda took a part of the sutras for practice by himself and passing them to other people. In 1076 Shangpa Ralpa from Langdrong Changpada also took out a part of the sutras. Ten years after Chegon discovered Hidden Sutras, Shang Drashi Dorje from Yamdrok also discovered and took out Hidden Sutras and discovered the sutras Chegon and Bimala preserved secretly in Jalgyiphu and Chimpu. He preached the sutras and passed them to his son Nyibum (1158 — 1213), who passed them to Jobe (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, pp. 238 — 242)

Jobe, also called Guru Jobe, was son of Nyibum's brother. After studying Nying — tig with his uncle he learned from some other teachers the esoterism of new

sects, paying attention also to exoterism (*Blue Annals*, Vol. 1, pp. 242 — 243; *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, Vol. 1, p. 576).

Jobe's disciple was Tsulchi Sengge Drakpa (1223 — 1303), whose disciple was Melong Dorje (1243 — 1303), whose disciple was Rinchen Kumaraza (1266 — 1343), whose disciple was Longchin Rabjangpa.

Longchin Rabjangpa (1308 — 1364), originally called Drimed Oser, studied Shin — tu — zab — pa — rdzogs — pa — chen — po — nying — tig with Kumaraza and then Sutra, Vision and Mind with Acarya (spiritual teacher) Zhuna Don-drup in Danpa. He preached Gsang — ba — nying — po (Secret Tibetan Tantricism) according to Nying — tig, wrote thirty — five kinds of Nying — tig, generally called Lama — yang — tig^[31] and Seven Treasures, which expounded essential doctrine of Great Accomplishment, the most important sutra of Nying — tig tradition of Nyingmapa sect. He preached the Nyingmapa doctrine in Bhutan. At his old age, he several times preached Khav — gro — nying — tig. The sect had many disciples, called Long — chin — nying — tig sect (see *Blue Annals*, pp. 248 — 250; *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, pp. 576 — 587).

(b) The tradition of Khav — gro — nying — tig.

It was passed from Indian monk Gera Dorje to Rinchen Sri Sengge, who passed it to Padmasambhava. Padmasambhava passed it to his consort Yeshe Tsogyel. She hid the sutra somewhere for protection. In the 12th century Padmala Dreletsal took the hidden sutra out and passed it to Gyasa Legpa Gyaltsen and Yonten Dorjepal (*Origin of Tibetan Buddhism by Thukhuan*, pp. 66 — 67).

After the 14th century, the Sutra Tradition was seldom known. Since the 13th century the tradition of Hid-

den Sutras had spread out, and many Buddhists began to study the Hidden Sutras. For example, Migyur Dorje, son of Shepo Dutse preached the sutras. In the 14th century Yonten Dorjepal also spread the sutras. Longchin Rabjangpa not only spread the sutras, but also made contribution to the finding of the sutras. Most of the followers of Sutra Tradition turned to Hidden Sutra Tradition.

2. Tradition of Hidden Sutras

The origin of Hidden Sutras was as follows: Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, King Trisong Detsan, Yeshe Tsogyel, Nu Namkha Nyingpo, Berochana and Nu Sangye Yeshe and others hid the sutras in caves in the period of the first rise of Buddhism in Tibet, and the sutras were found out and spread at the second rise of Buddhism. "Ji—mi—yi—xu", "Mi—ji—xu", "Huan—bian—wang", "Xiu—bu—ba—jiao" (Eight Teachings on Tantricism), "Ru—lai—ji—hui" (Wisdom of Tathagata), "Weng—wu—bai—sheng," "Yamantaka," "Hayagriva" (Horse—Necked Raja) and "Vajradhara" and other sutras were of the Hidden Sutras. There were sutra preaching, consecration, meditation, practice and rituals for the Hidden Sutras. All these were generally called tradition of Hidden Sutras. The most important Hidden Sutra was the Great Accomplishment. The discovered Hidden sutras were almost the same as those of Sutra Tradition, though there were forged sutras. The tradition of Hidden Sutras originated in ancient India. In Nyingmapa sect it had a complete system in doctrine and practice.

In the 11th century Drakpa Ngon—she—can collected the already discovered sutras and preserved them in 108 temples with the Drathang Monastery as the center, which were built by him. At that time the most significant

discovery was the Four Books on Medicine (rgyud — bzhi). It was in the 12 — 13th centuries that the Nyingmapa discovered important Tantric sutras. The discovery was made by Ngadagnyang and Guru Chokyi Wangchuk.

Ngadagnyang originally called Nyima Oser or Nyang Rolpa, who discovered the most important Tantric sutras and religious objects in Lhodrak Khoting, Drasinmo Barje and Mawoko. ^[32] He passed the tradition to his son, Anda Drogon Namkhapal, who passed it to his son Lodan, who passed it to his son Duidul (*A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, pp. 627, 630, 631).

Guru Chokyi Wangchuk (1212 — 1273) discovered some sutras, including "Xiu — bu — ba — jiao" (Eight Teachings on Practice), "Mi — ji" (Tantricism), "Vajrapani" and "Horse — necked Raja" in Kharchu and Nagadrag of Lhodra. His disciple Padma Wangchen inherited the tradition (*A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, Vol. 1, pp. 634 — 649).

The most important discovered sutras were four "Nying — tig" :

Bi — ma — nying — tig found in Samye Chimpu by Donma Lunje ;

Khav — dro — nying — tig, passed by Padmasambhava to his female partner Yeshe Tsogyel, was found by Padma Wangchen ;

Lama — yang — tig was found by Long — chen — ran — jam — pa ; it was a notebook of Bi — ma — nying — tig.

Khav — gro — yang — tig was also found by Long — chen — ran — jam — pa ; it was a notebook of Khav — dro — nying — tig.

The sutras discovered by the two Buddhist sutra — discoverers became Nyingmapa's essential sutras, the base

of Nyingmapa's doctrines and practice.

After them other known Buddhists also discovered the Hidden Sutras. For instance, in the 14th century Ogyan Lingpa discovered "Bkav—thing—sde—lnga."

In the 15th century Ratna Lingpa collected the sutras discovered by the two Buddhists. The collection was called Southern Hidden Sutras. In the 17th century Gyumey Dorje built Mindroling Monastery on the southern bank of the Yarlungtsanpo River,^[33] where the Southern Hidden Sutras were preached and practiced. In the 16th century Rinchen Kotseding Trulkim also discovered many sutras and made a collection of the sutras, which was called the Northern Hidden Sutras. In the 16th century Drashi Togyel from Jang of North Tibet built Ewam Garpa Chode Temple on the northern bank of Yarlungtsanpo River. His son Rinchen Agi Wangpo built Dorjedra Monastery,^[34] where the Northern Sutras were preached (*Selected Works of Jamyang Chintse*, pp. 12, 15). Buddhist masters who discovered Hidden sutras each built a monastery for preaching the sutras he had discovered and hence established his own tradition with the monastery as its base.

Sutras of Nyingmapa

The sutras of Nyingmapa consisted of two parts: Xu—bu (Tantra, on whose basis sutras are interpreted) and Xiu—bu (practice on the basis of sutras). The Tantric sutras of Nyingmapa belongd to Mahayoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga of the Supreme Tantra (wu—shang—xu—bu), generally consisting of three departments: sutras (jing), Illusion (huan), and mind (xin), called Eighteen Great

Tantras.

1. **Xu—bu (Tantric Department)**

"Huan" (illusion), or "huan—bian—xu" (illusion—change tantra) referred to Sheng—qi (birth and what arises from it) and ci—di (one after another) of new supreme Yoga. The chief buddha the sect worshipped is Vajrasattva. According to the buddha's body, speech, mind, achievement and cause, there were five parts of the Tantric sutras:

Three Tantric sutras of body: "Fo—ping—deng—he—xu," "Da—xiang—huan—mi—xu," and "Da—xiang—ru—hai—xu";

Three Tantric sutras of speech: "Jue—mi—jing—di—an—xu," "Chong—yi—fang—she—xu," and "Chong—do—fang—she—xu";

Three Tantric sutras of mind: "Ji—xiang—mi—ji—xu," "Shan—yue—ju—ji—xu," and "Ju—yu—yi—ding—xu";

Three Tantric sutras of meritorious achievements: "Sheng—ji—xiang—di—yi—xu," "Sheng—gan—lu—di—yi—xu" and "Ru—yi—bao—xu";

Three Tantric Sutras of undertaking: "Ja—ma—ma—le—xu," "Zhi—ran—ju—guang—xu" and "Ge—nai—ye—shi—e—zhi—li—xu."

The above—mentioned fifteen Tantric sutras together with three chief Tantric sutras, "Da—huan—wang—mi—mi—cang—xu," "Jian—li—san—wei—ye—xu" and Fang—bian—juan—suo—xu," were eighteen Tantric sutras of Huan—bian—wang (Illusion Net), which had four explanatory sutras (see *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, p.

606; *Analects on Historical Relations between the Hans and Tibetans*, p. 433).

Besides, eight sutras of Illusion Net were recorded in *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, consisted of fundamental sutras and explanatory sutras.

Eight fundamental Tantric sutras: "Mi—mi—cang—xu," "Huan—bian—tian—nu—xu," "Da—da—huan—bian—xu," "Huan—bian—si—shi—ping—xu," "Huan—bian—shang—shi—xu," "Huan—bian—ba—shi—ping—xu," "Wen—Zhu—da—huan—bian—wang—xu" and "Huan—bian—zhi—fen—xu."

Four explanatory Tantric sutras: "Zhi—hui—cang—xu," "Jin—gang—jing—xu," "Jin—gang—chen—xu," and "Jin—gang—hai—xu." (see *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men* Vol. 1, p. 606; *Analects on Historical Relations between the Hans and Tibetans*, p. 449.)

(2) "Jing" (Sutras), referring to "Ji Sutra", belonged to Anuyoga, the same as "yuan—man" (completion) "ci—di" (order) of the new Supreme Yoga. The "Ji Sutra" consisted of a fundamental sutra "Bian—ji—ming—liao—jing" and explanatory sutra "Ji—mi—yi—jing." It was said that the sutras consisted of four scriptures, or three fundamental Tantric sutras and ten explanatory sutras. (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, Vol. 1, pp. 501, 513.)

(3) "Xin" (mind or heart) belonged to Atiyoga and was characteristic of Nyingmapa. "Xin—ping" (heart series) sutra was "Pu—cheng—wang—jing" sutra; "xin—bu" (heart division) consisted of many scriptures; some said there were two scriptures in the Heart division, while some said there were eighteen scriptures, which had two translation editions; the first five were translated by Be-

rochana and the rest thirteen by Vimalamitra.

The above was an introduction of the Jing (Sutra) Huan (Illusion) and Xin (Heart) divisions. (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, Vol. 1, p. 394).

Besides, "Da—yuan—man—jing" (Great Completion Sutra) had another scripture, "Nying—tig fa—men" (Doctrines of Buddha). There were four Nying—tig sutras in "Mi—mi—xin—yao—bu" (Secret important heart division): "Kan—zhuo Nying—tig" (the practice of the immaterial), "Bimala Nying—tig" (Bimala Heart division), "Kan—zhuo neiti" (important doctrines of the practice of the immaterial), "Lama neiti" (wisdom of supreme master) (see *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men* Vol. 1, p. 578; *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, Vol. 1, p. 394).

2. "Xiu—bu" (Tantra)

It consisted of eight doctrines.

Five divisions about the Buddha appearing in the world:

- (1) the body of Manjusri (Vairocana),
- (2) the speech of lotus—flower (Amitabha),
- (3) the true mind (Akshobhya),
- (4) the ambrosia (sweet dew) achievements (Ratnasambhava),
- (5) the Vajra—bolt cause (Amoghasiddhi).

Three divisions about the Buddha in the world:

- (1) sending asura on errand,
- (2) worshiping the world deities,
- (3) making mantra, an incantation for raising the ve-tala.

There was also "Wen—wu—bai—sheng" (all military and civil saints) and other sutras, consisting of five fundamental and five explanatory sutras (see *Blue Annals*, vol. 1, p. 139; *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, pp. 609, 610; *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, pp. 394, 395).

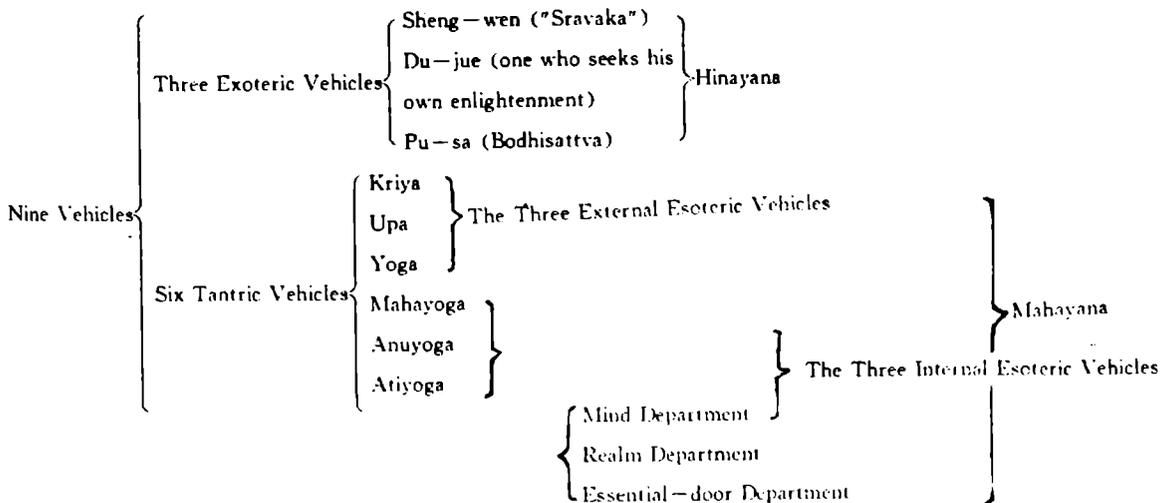
The Nyingmapa had so many scriptures that some people thought there had to be forged ones among them. The *Blue Annals* said, of the well—known eighteen Tantras the first three as "Ji—xiang—mi—ji—xu", "Jing—gang—xiao—mi—ji" and "Fo—ping—deng—he—xu" and their explanatory sutras appeared very early. According to master Buton, the "Jing—gang—xiao—mi—ji" of "Jing—gang—xiao—fa—men—ping—nei" cited "Mi—mi—zang—xu" and made the same explanation as "Mi—ji" sutra. The sutra was also recorded in "Mi—ji—hou—fen—xu—shi", a catalogue about Tibetan sutras written by Bishu Mitsa. It was one of Nyingmapa's scriptures. The "Fo—ping—deng—he—xu—shi" written by Gyagyan Donpo also cited the "Mi—mi—zang—xu". The master was satisfied with the explanation in the scripture and made fair remarks about it (see *Blue Annals*, p. 135). There was criticism about the doctrine of Vajra—bolt, one of the eight doctrines of Xiu—bu. The *Blue Annals* said, the Dharma—king of Sakyapa got Master Padmasambhava's genuine Sanskrit scripture at Sachin of Shang and had it translated into Tibetan. Since then all believed the scripture was true. Kache Panchen came to Samye and got Sanskrit edition of "Mi—mi—zang—xu". Then Dadun Shiji got it and gave it to Lotsawa Shagang. Shagang gave it to Jondan Rezhi, who compiled "Mi—mi—xu—xiu—fa—hua—zhuang—yan—lun" (Tantra on Dharma Flower Splendor) on the basis of the Sanskrit edition. He gathered in-

cantators in Mamo, showed them the Sanskrit edition and enjoyed much praise (*Blue Annals*, p. 135). The "three divisions about the Buddhas in the world" was three Dharmas made by Padmasambhava, who suppressed devils and monsters in Tibet and forced them to protect Buddhism in the world. So naturally the Nyingmapa's scripture had the Bon's usages in them (*Blue Annals*, p. 139) *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men* says: "Saint Atisha went to Samye, opened book—storehouse there and found many scriptures that he had not read before." (see *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, p. 540; *Blue Annals*, pp. 70, 315.) So it can be proved that of Nyingmapa's scriptures most were based on Sanskrit editions and only a small part was forged.

Doctrines of Nyingmapa

Doctrines of Nyingmapa consisted of nine vehicles and three divisions.

Nine Vehicles Doctrine



The nine vehicles were nine ranks. Why were there the ranks? Because all living beings were different to one another in roots, intention and opportunity, and the Buddha taught them in accordance with different root, intention and opportunity (A Comprehension of Knowledge, p. 575). The Buddha's power was limitless, but generally speaking, the problem for him to solve was to make all living beings be released from bitterness (anxiety — the root of bitterness) and achieve happiness (Bodhi of Nirvana).

The first three of the nine vehicles were the three exoteric vehicles: "Sheng — wen", "Du — jue", and "Pu — sa". For the Nyingmapa, they represented the beginning of Buddhism. The doctrine about the three vehicles was the same in all Buddhist sects. In Tibet there was no difference about it between new and old sects. They all held that without complete liberation of anxiety, one could not avoid birth — death — transmigration or achieve Bodhi of Nirvana. As to how to cut anxiety and get the Bodhi, Mahayana and Hinayana had different theories and practice on it. According to the Sheng — wen vehicle of the Hinayana, one should cut the three Karmas,^[35] do the twelve practices of ascetics,^[36] have the four "di" and sixteen "guan",^[37] perceive Man as without ego,^[38] cut the barrier of distress,^[39] give rise to Bodhi wisdom to prove Arhant.^[40] According to "Du — jue", one should enter the twelve "Yin — yuan" door,^[41] perceive Dharma without ego,^[42] cut knowledge barrier^[43] to get Bodhi — wisdom and prove Arhant achievement. As they all sought their own interest and paid no attention to the people, the Bodhi wisdom they proved was not complete. So the sect was called Hinayana, or Small Vehicle.

According to "pu—sa" (Bodhisattva) vehicle, the last one of the three exoteric vehicles, in addition to cutting distress and adhering to monastic disciplines, one should practice four immeasurables,^[44] have seven riches,^[45] do the ten acts of hascetics,^[46] have the Bodhi heart and practice the six "du"^[47] and perceive two "without ego" for man and Dharma, and cut the two "barriers".^[48] Only in this way can one have the Bodhi—wisdom. Although Bodhisattvas have not reached the complete enlightenment of the Buddha, yet the Bodhisattva—mind could improve oneself for the purpose of benefiting others and the way is wide, so it is called Mahayana, or Great Vehicle.

In a word, both Mahayana and Hinayana held that only with complete liberation of distress can one achieve Bodhi. So one should adhere to the ways of hearing, thinking and practicing, diligently practice discipline, meditation and wisdom, have the "leaving" heart and "Bodhi" heart and go the way of concentrating mind and practicing meditation and wisdom.^[49] So, only with a lot of hard training and practice, can one achieve a little. Thus the three exoteric vehicles were called "Yin—Du—Ye—Nao" (Redeem men from misery of the world) vehicle.

Why did the Exoteric Buddhism hold the doctrine of entering Buddhahood by way of hard training? The reason is that they believed that all living beings had Buddha—nature, but there was difference between the Buddha and living beings, and the difference was so great that one had to pass through three Asankhya^[50] and then could attain Buddhahood. So the Exoteric Vehicle was also called "yin" (cause) or "xing—xiang—yin" (nature—expression—cause) Vehicle. The Yin Vehicle referred to the cause

leading to Buddhahood and the thirty — seven "Daoping" (conditions)^[51] leading to Nirvana. It was the Vehicle of gradual practicing Buddhism in the Exoteric Buddhism. (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, pp. 733—735.)

The Great Vehicle of later period held a different view on anxiety. It said, the anxiety was in the mind and Bodhi was also in the mind; the difference between them was that between confusion and enlightenment of the mind. So one did not need to get rid of anxiety. Instead, he should change anxiety into Bodhi in the mind. The Vajnanamatra sect of the Great Vehicle had the doctrine of "changing knowledge or mind being stirred or the external world into consciousness, changing Astrava (whatever has trouble) into Anastrava (no leak, outside the passion—stream), to attain Bodhi." The Middle School of the Great Vehicle developed the doctrine of "everything arising from nature—voidness": changing the permanent mind on anxiety into impermanent mind or voidness — — Bodhi. To the Esoteric Buddhism changing anxiety into Bodhi was more convenient. To attain the Buddhahood did not take a long time of hard practice of Buddhism. Why could Buddhahood be attained so fast in the Esoteric Buddhism? Because the Esoterism believed all living beings not only had Buddha—nature, but they themselves also were Buddhas. That is, one's mind was Buddha; the difference between the Buddha and living beings was that between confusion and enlightenment; the confusion was the anxiety and the enlightenment was Bodhi. The three External Tantric Vehicles developed "shan—mi—xiang—ying—fa" (the correspondence of three mystic things): changing the three karmas of body, word, and thought which caused anxiety into the three mystic things of the body, mouth (or voice)

and mind of the Buddha. With the correspondence one can attain the Buddhahood. However, people haunted by Karma anxiety could not get rid of worldly thoughts,^[52] they dared not seek the Buddhahood and even dared not consider themselves as Buddhas. So the External Tantricism had three vehicles.

The External Tantricism's three vehicles are Kriya, Upa and Yoga, almost the same as the three Tantras of the new sect: Ceremonial Tantra (artha—nikaya), Devotional Tantra (Samskara—nikaya), and Yoga. The three Vehicles all tried to change people's habits step by step.^[53] The Ceremonial Tantra used the correspondence of the three mystic things to get their achievements; the Devotional Tantra got the three mystic things' achievements by way of depending on the three karmas; and the Yoga Tantra got them through meditation of the four signs^[54] (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 509).

The Devotional Tantra stressed both purity of body and speech and practice of meditation, a dual (external and internal) practice of yoga. To it the Buddha and ego were equal, but the Buddha was primary and the ego secondary (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, pp. 589—590).

The Yoga Tantra stressed practice of meditation, considering ego as Buddha. It dared to claim it.

The practice of the three Tantras consisted of seven parts:^[55] looking at the Buddha, protection of the land, honoring deities, taking a bath, eating vegetarian food, building an altar and holding inauguration ritual on it,^[56] and taking Samaya commandments.^[57] All tantras engaged in the practice, sometimes simple and sometimes complex. For instance, the altar (Tan), or Mandala in Sanskrit, re-

ferred to the residence of Buddhas and deities. It could be made with colorful earth or painted cloth. In the Ceremonial Tantra the inauguration ritual consisted of flower, water and crown; in the Devotional Tantra a bell and a bolt in addition to the three mentioned—above; in the Yoga Tantra the above five as well as Atuli inauguration and secret inauguration. Regarding Samaya commandments the three tantras were different to each other in its worshipped tutelaries and commandments. After the inauguration ritual the monk was considered to be qualified to learn Tantricism (secret doctrine) and Tantric sutras,^[58] and to give guidance to other people (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, pp. 601—603).

The right action of the three tantras. The Ceremonial Tantra practiced "The Six Heavens Doctrine."^[59] The Six Heavens were concluded in word (incantation), sign (manual signs), and body (the Buddha's body), or the three mystic things. With meditation on them, one could attain the Buddha's three mystic things (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, pp. 596, 601). Besides, there were Samaya of fire and Samaya of sound. The two Samayas were of You—xiang (with form) Yoga. Wu—xiang (without form) Yoga meant the understanding of self—nature—void after meditation and thus achieving liberation. (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, pp. 586, 588)^[60]

In the Devotional Tantra the yoga practice also consisted of You—xiang (with form) and Wu—xiang (without form). The You—xiang practice was the same as the practice of the Ceremonial Tantra, engaging in Six Heavens Yoga and Four Branches of Incarnation.^[61] However, the practice of Heaven Yoga would be connected with Ten True Things: heaven, Mandala, mystic incantation,

etc.^[62] Thus one could attain the enlightenment of true nature. According to Nyingmapa, the true nature of the Ceremonial Tantra referred to enlightened natural wisdom.^[63] All forms came from purity of wisdom. But the true nature was not of natural wisdom. The Wu—xiang practice referred to the practice of Great Piety doctrine, or entrance, stay and rise, the practice of supreme Bodhi heart.^[64] The true nature of Ceremonial Tantra in the inauguration ritual came from the deities of Thunderbolt class.^[65] (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 597.)

The Yoga practice of the Yoga Tantra was the practice of Four Great Signs, Four Yogas^[66] as well as two surpassing causes of the You—xiang Tantra^[67] and the two wisdoms of the Wu—xiang Tantra.^[68] (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, pp. 605—608.)

The three tantras also practiced breathing yoga.^[69] Controlling breathing and mind^[70] could make one to get rid of secular world and be represented by the body of deity,^[71] and to consolidate the pride to claim to be Buddha.^[72] Breathing was considered as heart—horse, if it was controlled, the heart was controlled and could rapidly reach samadhi (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 589).

The breathing exercise of the three tantras before "Zheng—xing" (the right action) was different from the Yoga practice of Supreme Tantra. After the right action all tantras practiced Siddhi,^[73] consisting of "Sheng" and "Gong." The Gong Siddhi sought worldly achievements such as the mysterious ability of "heaven—eye," which the Sheng Siddhi aimed at attaining Buddhahood though "Di" and "Dao".^[74]

Tantric sect practiced not only esoteric teachings but also exoteric teachings, and the former could not be prac-

ticed before the latter as its basis. The Nyingmapa Longchin Nying — tig's " Oral Teachings of Samantabhadra" was a basic text. Right actions had their rituals. ^[75] Buddhist ceremonies were done according to the rituals. Each department and deity had its and his ritual. The ritual was the guide of the practice. There were also various sub — rituals for worshipping guardian — deities, practice of the immaterial, and giving alms to deities and ghosts. In practicing Buddhism many real things were used to express doctrines. ^[76] The Tantric sect put effect — stage on the position of cause — stage as a goal to be practiced to attain the Buddhahood. So the Tantric Vehicle was also called Effect Vehicle or Thunderbolt Effect Vehicle. Owing to practicing the three Tantric merits of nirvana, all phenomena were the Buddha's body, all sounds the Buddha's words, and all thoughts the Buddha's thought. It could change secular views and three karma activities that caused anxiety into quietness of attainment of the Buddha. That was the way to change knowledge into wisdom, anxiety in Bodhi (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, pp. 579, 603, 608). They believed in the doctrine of "being in response to appeal." In order to respond rapidly they practiced Shang — shi — xiang — ying — fa, upholding the belief that their masters would pass on to them the mysterious power the masters had got from their own masters. It was believed that the master passed the mystic ability from generation to generation. The Nyingmapa said if one did not forget three fundamental things, he would achieve the response rapidly. The three things (super — master, tutelary, and the immaterial) were what they always relied on.

In a word, the Nyingmapa called the three tantras

(Ceremonial, Devotional, and Yoga) three External Tantric Vehicles. Why "External"? Because they believed that all living beings were Buddhas and that they did not dare to claim themselves to be Buddhas. They considered the Buddha and ego as superior and inferior. Sentient beings did not dare to say that anxiety was Bodhi and that anxiety and Bodhi were in one mind. The main reason was that the three External Tantric Vehicles took Sheng — yi Di (Superlative Satya) and Shi — su Di (Earthly — ideas Satya) as two things.^[77] Their study — practice was external. That was the reason for the term "external". As to the reason for the "Three Internal Tantric Vehicles", it was that the three Vehicles took the two Di (Satya) as a whole one. All earthly forms were represented by Buddha wisdom and one mind. Their views and practice were internal. Thus they were called "internal". (see *Analects on Historical Relations Between the Hans and Tibetans*, pp. 438 — 439; *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 573.)

The three External Tantric Vehicles had the way of discipline in accordance with Buddha — fruit — virtue but had no appearance of things in accordance with the three forms of existence;^[78] they had the way of discipline to prove the Trikaya (three bodies to each of the honored ones) but no way to Ji — shen — cheng — fo (the body is to become consciously Buddha by Yoga practices) (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 580). There were six Vehicles: the three External Tantric Vehicles and the three Internal Tantric Vehicles. The New — Translation — Esoteric — Incantation Sect and the Old — Translation — Esoteric — Incantation Sect both had the doctrines (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 573).

Besides, the three External Esoteric Vehicles espe-

cially engaged in the supreme Samadhis practice — dharma of Yoga. It was also called the most supreme Yoga, because it could not be surpassed. The three External Esoteric Vehicles had certain ascetic practice and thus were called the three Ascetic — Practice — Enlightenment — Vehicles. The three Internal Esoteric Vehicles achieved the Buddhahood by a free, expedient way. So it was called the three Secret — free — expedient Vehicles. They had Mahayoga and Atiyoga, almost the same as the Father — Tantra, Mother — Tantra and Non — duality — Tantra of the new sect. The Father — Tantra or Expedience — Tantra engaged in the practice of illusion — body of Ju — sheng — da — le — zhi (Natural — Great — Happy — Wisdom) Buddha, including Bihu, Da — huan — wang, Miji. The Mother — Tantra or Shen — Hui — Tantra engaged in Guang — ming (brightness) practice — Dharma, including Sheng — le (supreme — happiness) and Fo — ping — deng — he (Buddha — equality — union). The Non — duality Tantra was a union of the above — mentioned Guang — ming and Huan — sheng, and was called Da — yuan — man — fa (Great — Complete Dharma). Actually the Father — Tantra included also the doctrines of Guang — ming, and the Mother — Tantra the doctrines of Da — le. There was no strict difference between them. (see *Wu — bu — yi — jiao*, pp. 351, 366; *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, p. 603.)

The Nyingmapa's three most supreme yogas consist of three departments (bu): Sutra (Jing) Department, Illusion (Huan) Department, and Mind (Xin) Department. The Sutra Department's sutra He — Lu — Jia — Ge — Bu taught the same practice — order as that in the new sect's "Liu — jia — xing" (six additional austerities),^[79] "Wu — ci — di" (five orders),^[80] and Dao Guo (Fruit of the Way).^[81]

The new way of release in the Illusion Department's "Huan—bian—wang" (illusion net), "Liu—ci—di" (six orders), "San—ci—di" (three orders), and the "way of expedience" in "Mi—dian", were almost the same as the "Ren—yun" (let things follow their own course) practice in the Sutra Department's Ji Sutra, the doctrines of Wu—ci—di (five orders) in Illusion Department's Xiu—bu—ba—jia (Xiu—bu's eight doctrines), and new sects doctrines. However, the Nyingmapa stressed the Mind Department's "Da—yuan—man—fa" (Great Completion). (see *Origin and Development of Various Religious Sects by Thukwan*, p. 69.)

The three great Yogas' practice. Before practicing the main part of Yoga cultivation, the rituals of Mandra, inauguration, and Samaya commandments should be practiced. The Supreme Yoga's inaugurations consisted of the Vase Inauguration, Secret Inauguration, Wisdom Inauguration, and Sentence Inauguration. After practicing them one after another, the practitioner might be qualified to do the main Yoga cultivation.

Mahayoga belonged to the Illusion Department. Its practice, in accordance with the Illusion Net, consisted of two ways: expedience and liberation. The expedience way included upper door and lower door. The upper door in accordance with Liu—mai—lun (six—vessel—wheel)^[82] practiced Ran—di—fa (burn—drop method)^[83] to attain the wisdom from four happinesses.^[84] The lower door in accordance with Yin—yang secret way practiced Jiang (falling), Chi (holding), Hui (returning) and Bian (universal) to give rise to wisdom without differentiation between happiness and voidness in an instance (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, pp. 276—277).^[85] With the way of

liberation one could get a right view of non — difference between the two Satyas through three wisdoms, free himself from mind — confusion, and finally attain liberation in Dharma — Nature realm (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, Vol. 2, pp. 740 — 746; Vol. 3, pp. 276 — 277).

Anuyoga belonged to the Sutra Department. It practiced mainly the wisdom — completion — order. It by way of enlightenment of Jie — jue — wu — fen — bie — zhi (dharma realm and original Bodhi — — non — dual wisdom)^[86] attained liberation. The expedience way of Anuyoga had Upper — door and Lower — door practice — dharma. Its way of liberation followed the correct doctrine of Buddha and the correct view of Jie — jue — wu — bie (dharma — realm and Bodhi — — no difference) and then entered the three Samadhis of true — things, non — forms, and non — discrimination. There was also you — guang — xing (complex practice — dharma) and wu — guang — xing (simple practice — dharma)^[87] (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, Vol. 2, pp. 748, 749, 751).

Atiyoga belonged to the Mind Department. It was also Yao — men — da — yuan — man (essential — door to the Great Completion) further confirming " Buddha in the mind ", " with the whole mind on complete enlightenment ", " getting rid of anxiety was attaining Bodhi ", " all beings are Buddhas ". It was the doctrine about an important way to Buddhahood.

2. The three doctrines of Great Completion.

The doctrines consist of Mind (or Heart) Department (xin — bu), Realm Department (jie — bu), and Essential — door Department (yao — men bu).

(1) Mind Department: The doctrines of the Great Completion of Nyingmapa was Dharmaparyaya (doctrines,

or wisdom of Buddha regarded as the door to enlightenment) about mental ground, from which all things spring, to awaken the mind. It was similar to the Chan's common saying: to behold the Buddha—nature within oneself. But the Nyingmapa was an esoteric sect. The Xin or mind it talked about consisted of three parts: body, form (nature), and function. So it was different from the exoterism.

The sect had a common saying: "The mind—body was pure, the self—nature was complete perfection, and the Great Mercy was on every side." (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, Vol. 1, p. 260.)

The saying was about the mind's three aspects: body, form, and function.

The body: it was pure, empty, and bright;

The form (nature): it was complete perfection and illuminating;

The function: the great mercy (Buddha's kindness) was everywhere and functioned according to conditions.

First of all, let us talk about the body of mind. There are true mind and untrue, false or misled mind. The body of true mind was pure, still, empty and bright. But it was not so lifeless as stone. Instead it had consciousness and wisdom. So it was called nature wisdom. *A Comprehension of Knowledge* says: "All phenomena emerging in the mind were caused by the mind itself. The mind—nature was nature wisdom" (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, Vol. 1, p. 260).

That is to say, all phenomena (forms) could emerge in the mind, but the mind though with wisdom did not feel about them. That was due to the function of mind—nature. The mind—nature was voidness, so it was called "

bright — voidness — great — consciousness. ,” or nature wisdom. It was the true mind. The true mind never changed, without birth and death. The untrue mind was composed of the root (gen), environmental conditions (jing), and consciousness (shi).^[88] It could be born and die away instantly. The Da yuan sheng hui (Great Completion and Supreme Wisdom) says: “The nature wisdom that is without beginning or end was rare indeed” (p. 79). Why? According to *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, the true mind was not born out of cause, nor did it come from and go to any place. It was always still and void. Because its body void, it had no birth or death. Though there was nirvana and the cycle of transmigration for the true nature, the true body did not change (*A Happy Banquet for Wise Men* Vol. 1, pp. 551, 590). It means it had no birth or death.

The true mind’s body was not born out of cause, nor would it die from secondary cause. Nor was it made of any thing. However, all phenomena would appear in it and its true body did not move. It would not be damaged a little. So it was possible that “one thing mysterious forever could cover the heaven and earth.”

According to the Great Completion doctrine about mind, consciousness and voidness were the same to the mind — body. It was similar to the Chan’s doctrine of mind. “Where all dharmas were void, spirit — knowledge did not hide itself. It was not the same as the realm without feelings.” (see *The Outline of Chan Sect*, p. 139).

The Buddha and all beings had the bright, clear and void mind. The Mind Department tried to attain enlightenment of the void mind — body, or the enlightened mind free from all illusions, that was to behold Buddha within oneself.

The Puchen Sutra says: The Past Tathagatas attained Buddhahood by way of holding buddha — nature within themselves. The Present and Future Tathagatas also will attain it by the same way. There is no other way to attain Buddhahood (*Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 80).

Secondly, about the mind — nature (form). The bright mind — nature of nature — wisdom was accomplished by itself. Illumination together with great function could reflect impure and pure realms. Owing to the great function of nature wisdom, complete perfection and wonderful image emerged as a reflection of the cycle of transmigration and nirvana (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 756).

Mind — body was void and lifeless. How could it reflect the cycle of transmigration and Nirvana? It was void but did not have nothing. The mind — body was void, but the mind — nature was not void. The mind — nature was bright. So being void and bright, it could make reflection. The mind consisted of two parts: the void part and the bright part. The bright part belonged to original existence, which was not void.

Mind — body was originally pure. How could it reflect the impure realm — the cycle of transmigration? The impure and pure images were made by delusion and enlightenment of all living beings. The delusion and enlightenment were of one root. *Da yuan sheng hui* says: The nature was originally bright. Enlightenment was the root of getting freedom; delusion was the root of anxiety. (p. 205) The root was the bright original nature. An enlightened person could see bright pure realm; while a misled one would see impure realm. Just like a white conch, it could be seen as white by a healthy man, but as yellow by one

suffering from jaundice. The yellow color became void after the illness was treated. But the white color was possessed by the conch by nature and thus could not be void. When all beings got rid of dirt, the impure realm became void. The bright pure realm was the bright part of the mind, the Buddha — nature's original attribution. This root could not be void.

If the mind did not have the bright part but have only the void part, it could only attain Dharma — body. With Dharma — body only, one could not attain Buddhahood. Only with Dharma — body, reward — body and transformation body, could one attain the Complete Perfection and Sambhodi (Buddha's wisdom). The doctrine was accepted by all exoteric and esoteric sects of Mahayana Buddhism. If the mind had only the void part but no bright part, where did the reward body and the transformation body, the two material phenomena come from? *Da yuan sheng hui* says: Originally pure self — nature could not have metamorphosis and manifestation of Buddha. Self — body's Dharma — nature is bright and had the power of Dharma and the material manifestation." "Dharma — nature and brightness possessed by nature were the origin of reward body and the transformation body, the two material phenomena (*Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 237). "The void part belongs to Dharma — body and the bright part belongs to the reward body and the transformation body. The three bodies are in one mind. So it was self — nature's feature that light emerged in the realm with the appearance of the three bodies." (*Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 107)

The void — nature was Dharma — body, which had no form. The reward body and the transformation body were material and had form. How could it be without form

when the reward body and the transformation body had form? The "without form" meant "without false material form", but not without absolute voidness and mysterious material (see *Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 170). The brightness belonged to the "absolute voidness and mysterious material." It was a mysterious phenomenon of complete attainment, or mysterious phenomenon of void—nature.

How could brightness have the appearance of phenomenal world? The brightness was five colored and with the appearance of three mysterious phenomena (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 260). The five—colored brightness was the bright part of enlightenment (*Shi xiang zang lun shi*, p. 29). The five—colored brightness of the bright part and the appearance of the three realms, the cycle of transmigration, and Nirvana. It was the origin of the appearance of all worldly phenomena. It was called the mysterious phenomenon of Complete—attainment.

How could the five—colored brightness have the appearance of all living beings passions, the world as a vessel, the cycle of transmigration and Nirvana? *Shi xiang zang lun shi* says: "The enlightened—nature was the wisdom by nature, which was like a crystal ball, pure, void and wide, with the five—colored brightness of the complete—attainment, which was the five elements. The outside material phenomena appeared to be the five—colored brightness, just like the light inside the ball appeared to be as if outside of it. At the beginning it was held for one—self, but then it became the worldly five elements, and thus had the appearance of all beings; passion and the world as a vessel." (pp. 31,07, 9.) The five elements are five kinds of material; earth, water, fire, wind and sky. So brightness belongs to material phenomenon. But the

phenomenon was not ordinary worldly material phenomenon, thus it was called "void nature and mysterious material phenomenon."

So, to attain enlightenment meant to attain both the bright and dark parts of the mind. Owing to ignorance, living beings separated the two parts from each other. However, an enlightened man must combine the two together. Only in this way could he find his mind's original nature. He could not attain the Buddhahood with the virtues of three bodies of Buddha before realizing the bright voidness and mysterious consciousness.

The Chan sect seldom talked about brightness. An ancient Chan Master said: "You realized the true knowledge, then your body and mind would be open and spacious, without any dirt. The body would be solitary, the material phenomenon bright and the function active, as vacant as the outer space." That was a description of the true form of mind in three aspects. The "bright" referred to the brightness of light, which originally existed, but with material nature. The "Great Perfection" was a doctrine of the Esoteric sect, which stressed both material (form) and mind.^[89] So it secretly said: the mind's two parts had the brightness of material's nature. On the other hand, the Chan as an exoteric sect stressed only enlightened mind instead of material mind. It was afraid that talking much about the material world would lead to misunderstanding.

The Mind Department (xin—bu) stressed the brightness of mind—nature. It was different from Essential—door Department (yao—men—bu), which stressed the practice of looking at light. The practitioner concentrated his mind on what he saw through looking at the bright

heart form. He cared about nothing and let the heart be what it liked to be. To him there was no difference between the bright and void part. In that way he could see his heart's true form.

Third, mind—function. With the function of wisdom by nature, the Great Mercy of the Buddha was universal. Great function was in accordance with circumstances. To begin with the body, in accordance with circumstances, there would appear the pure and impure realms.^[90]

"The appearance of all things was the result of the function of the wisdom by nature." The wisdom by nature was void in body—nature. It was originally non—material. However, it was void but could be seen. It was not all, but could reflect all." (see *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, p. 544; *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 756). The forms of objective phenomena could be reflected in subjective mind. It was mind's original nature — — brightness. To reflect all things was the great function of mind. So the mind had bright part and a manifesting part.

The true mind was vacant, without form or material. Nor was it made of material (phenomenon). But its great function could make various material phenomena; the heaven, hell, Buddha, all living beings and ten realms"^[91] in accordance with conditions. If deluded, with impure conditions there would be manifestation of the cycle of transmigration for all living beings; if enlightened, with pure conditions, the nirvana of Buddha—realm. For all rise or fall in accordance with different conditions,^[92] mind—body would not change. "The origin of function and manifestation was the obvious (form) part of enlightenment. Brightness (enlightenment) emerging was the non—extinction (function) part of manifestations." (*Shi xi-*

ang zang lun shi, p. 29.)

Why could the mind reflect impure and pure realms in accordance with conditions?

To be deluded or enlightened, impure or pure, was interpreted according to the doctrine of mind — function that all living — beings could reason. Since original nature was bright, it was neither deluded nor enlightened, neither impure nor pure. the reason is that all living beings' original nature was Bhutatathata body,^[93] the same as Buddha. The Bhutatathata could accord with conditions, but mind — body did not change. So the differentiation of impure from pure realm was not on mind — body but on function in accordance with conditions. *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men* says: In the respect of the cycle of transmigration and the nirvana, the Buddha and all living beings were the same in body. When the body had the manifestation of Great — phenomenon and Complete — attainment realm because of not knowing it, it would be misunderstood as a result of Karma wind.^[94]

It was because of not knowing the Buddha — nature that one began to employ it and wrongly took Buddha — nature in self — mind as something to be able to serve self — mind — body and to make mind and conditions opposite to each other.^[95] The cycle of transmigration appeared. Though the cycle appeared, the mind — body would not change." (see *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, p. 552.) " The manifestation was the result of mind — function. The Buddha — nature of mind was the wisdom by nature. Concentrate your mind on the original mind — body, all images of delusion would be got rid of." (A Comprehension of Knowledge, pp. 289.)

Origin and Development of Various Religious Sects by

Thukwan^[96] says: " There should be great enlightenment of Bright Voidness. Let it be what it likes to be. Let the circumstances — phenomena of delusion change freely. Do not differentiate between good and bad. Do not destroy and establish anything. Let enlightenment — voidness come out. That was the important point of practicing Heart (Mind of the Great Perfection. It was the most supreme Heart — seal of Padmasambhava." (pp. 72—73.) The Buddha was enlightened one, who could combine Heart and Circumstances together. What appeared when the function began was great function. It appeared according to conditions. The Great Mercy of the Buddha prevailed. So the root of the cycle of transmigration and the Nirvana was in the Bright — voidness and Great Enlightenment which could appear.

The mind — body was shapeless and could not be seen. One who tried to attain the enlightenment should begin with " function." The Mind (or called Heart) Department stressed Mind — function. The Chan put its efforts on it when Heart began to work. "It was your mind instead of your body that knew you could see and hear." (*The Outline of Chan Sect*, p. 138.)

In a word, the mind of the Great Perfection could be understood from three respects: body, phenomenon and function. That is, the body was originally pure, the nature (phenomenon) was illuminating, and the function universal. "The true heart was original wisdom. The Buddha — nature was bright and pure. The Mind — measure was universal. Such a true heart (mind) was easy for all living beings to get. It did not leave, but the living beings did not know it." (see *Da yuan sheng hui*.) The true heart was the Buddha — nature, original nature of self's

heart. The Mind (Heart) Department of the Great Perfection sought the bright and void true heart with conditioning power of looking straight and true phenomenon universal and in accordance with conditions. The enlightened heart was referred to the enlightenment of heart; seeing nature was to see the heart. The Chan Master Zong Mi said: "All the sentient beings who had passion had the true heart. Without beginning and end, always pure and quiet, the heart was also called Buddha—nature or Buddha—heart."

According to the Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch,^[97] "All Dharmas would not leave self—nature. The self—nature was originally clean and pure. It had no birth and death. It was self—perfection (completion). It did not move. It could give way to all Dharma (functions)." The doctrine was the same as that of the Great Completion. The sutra mentioned the true form of self—nature, void and clean. But it did not say that the nature was bright. Buddhist Master Baizhang said: "When the heart was void, wisdom—sunshine would appear, just like the sun rising up from cloud." The sentence (Buddhist light shone" was also about the brightness. Chan Master Shen—na said: "The heart was illuminating, shining on the world. It was shining continuously, without stop for a moment." Chan Master Ling Ji said: "It was shining alone." What they said above was the same as the Great Completion.^[98] But the latter gave a more concrete explanation.

The Great Completion talked about mind—body void and mind—nature existing. It meant body—void and nature—existing. The mind—body—void meant non—existing. The mind—nature (phenomenon) non void meant

non — existing. The non — existing and non — voidness were contradictory to each other. But the body — void was not without anything. In the body — voidness was the nature — existing. It meant the voidness of non — voidness was the voidness not without anything, or called True Voidness; the nature — existing was not self — nature existing, in the nature — existing was body — void, it was the existing of non — existing, or the existing of not self — nature existing, or called Great Existing. The Voidness and Existing were in one heart, not contradictory to each other. So the sect did not accept the doctrine of some other sects that voidness and existing both would be practiced. "Voidness and existing mixed together, and thus there was no need to practice them separately." (see *Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 73.) They thought, the non — voidness and non — existing were the doctrine of Middle Way. "The wisdom by nature in the mind — nature was universal in both impure and pure realms. Its existing — part was not real existing and its void — part was not without anything. Its body — nature was void. Its great function was not extinct. That was the right view of going out of bitterness and happiness." (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 756.)

The doctrine of body — void and nature — existing was difficult to understand. The Heart Department called "void — nature" "supreme void — nature"; the Heart Department was called Supreme Department.

(2) Realm Department (Jie — bu). It included four or nine realms (Jie). Generally speaking, the Realm Department had the same doctrine regarding the heart's void part as the Heart Department. On the bright part of the heart (or mind), they talked about realm and about brightness.

They thought the Dharma nature of heart—body was the wisdom by nature. Thus all realms that appeared in heart—body were in the realm of Samantabhadra, which was also the realm of Dharma—nature, or Buddha—realm, the same as the Buddha's wisdom and virtue. All was the brightness appeared by itself (*Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 237) Brightness was a material phenomenon that could be seen. So we said that the bright part was not extinct and it could often be seen (Origin and Development of Tibetan Religious Sects by Thukwan, p. 72).

All the images which appeared in the brightness emerged by themselves. Thus, "all the images produced by the wisdom by nature in the wide Dharma realm emerged by themselves. To them there was freedom. There was no differentiation between existence and non—existence, right and wrong, pure and impure. There was only wide freedom for them." (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 756.)

The realm emerging by itself was the brightness realm by itself. It was original mind (heart)—nature realm. There was no differentiation between right and wrong. Let it be free. The purpose was to get freedom in the brightness realm.

The brightness was self—heart's Buddha—nature. The Buddha and all living beings had the nature. So all the wisdom—and—virtue images of the Buddha existed in the heart of all living beings. Thus the brightness was said to be the Completion by itself (*Shi xiang zang shi*, pp. 29, 33). It meant the brightness was not made. "Just as the brightness of jewel was jewel's inherent attribute, which was not made by outside causes." (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 33.) When the heart—body was freed

from dirt,^[99] all beautiful views of brightness naturally appeared. They were not made, but emerged by themselves. The Kong — ming Jing (Voidness — Brightness Sutra) says: "The heart had inherently the Buddha — nature. Five bodies and five wisdoms, five departments and five lights, five Qi (breath) and five wisdoms, they were virtues." (*Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 134.) Why could not the ordinary people see the inherent brightness? With the obstacle of anxiety ordinary people could not see it. Even the practitioners of Exoteric Buddhism^[100] could not see it with concentration method, either. Only the practitioners of Yoga could see it by way of moving the wind at the left and right vessels in the middle vessel^[101] (*A Comprehension of Knowledge*, pp. 358 — 359). "After you got rid of anxiety, you could see the brightness of Buddha — nature."^[102] (*Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 93.) When the four major material elements^[103] were separated from the heart, the original brightness appeared (see *Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 169). In practicing the Brightness — yoga of Great Perfection, through the way of special expedience, one could see the brightness.

As the brightness was original, the practitioner could practice the brightness way.^[104] By way of clever expedience, the realm emerging by itself could appear and one could attain Buddhahood in the brightness. The Realm Department took the practicing of brightness as the main way. The Heart Department stressed enlightened mind and body voidness without form instead of practicing brightness only. The Realm Department stressed the practicing of brightness, but the practicing must be done on the basis of enlightened mind, because with the brightness only, one could not attain Buddhahood. Both brightness

and voidness must be practiced.

Esoteric Buddhism said that all living beings could attain Buddhahood directly in this world. Did it mean their bodies could attain Reward body (the Sambhoga—kaya of Buddha) and Transformation body (Nirmanakaya, the third characteristic of Trikaya)? It was dependent on brightness. The brightness came from Qi (breath). The Qi in the bodies of all living beings could become brightness, because their bodies were made with four Mahabhuta (the four elements of which all things are made) and five Skandha (the five tenacious bonds: form, perception, consciousness, action and knowledge),^[105] whose elegant Qi could give out brightness. Nevertheless, it was brightness of rough Qi. Only after the rough Qi, the Qi in the body, changed into elegant brightness of the wisdom by nature, could the two material bodies be achieved.

The practitioner of brightness had to converse the brightness into the four Mahabhuta. The realm made by the four Mahabhuta also changed itself into brightness. Thus the realm of Three Bodies could fully appear (*Da yuan sheng hui*, pp. 105—106).

The brightness from Qi could become rainbow—formed body. To practice it requires freedom from resistance and doing nothing. "Leaving forever Alambana (that upon which something rests hence object of perception),^[106] resting in doing nothing, and practicing both Void—nature (true voidness) and Brightness (great existence) would lead to the attainment of rainbow—formed Vajra—body"^[107] (*Origin and Development of Tibetan Religious Sects by Thukwan*, p. 71). "Do nothing. Put everything aside. Let the world be what it liked to be. Let the brightness appear by itself in your body. Let the wisdom

be open to you. Then the five Qi in the body would become elegant brightness going into Dharma — nature. On your body there would be colorful light, as the light of rainbow, or sunshine." (*Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 88). The Dharma — way for the Realm Department was doing what one liked, freedom from resistance, and doing nothing so as not to be against the fate. So the Realm Department was also called "Freedom Department."

In the Realm Department the practice included "four essential points" (Shi — e — yao), "four fundamental destinies" (shi — li — qu), and four consecrations" (shi — guang — ding). (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 290.) Its esoteric sutras for preaching the doctrine of Brightness included "Vajra Bridge."

(3) Essential — door Department (Yao — men — bu) "Essential — door" meant to put the Dharmas of the cycle of transmigration and Nirvana into the realm of non — void and non — persisting Dharma — nature. With this essential point, the realm of Dharma — nature could be proved in the realm of Dharma — nature both of the cycle of transmigration and Nirvana (*Origin and Development of Tibetan Religious Sects by Thukwan*, p. 71). The Dharma — nature was the inherent Brightness realm emerging by itself, in which there was a circle of its own nature (zhi — xing — huan — lian). To get freedom in the circle — body^[108] was to attain freedom in the essential point. Just like curing illness with moxibustion, when moxibustion touched the point, the illness was cured.

The department included two doors: Trechod (khregs — chod) and Thogal (thod — rgal). Trechod meant "persisting" and thogal "supreme." "A supreme man of original wisdom (wisdom by nature) who has nothing special

to practice and prove and see his own heart, is called Trechod. A supreme man of original wisdom who practiced diligently and made great progress and with the practice he saw the manifestation of the three bodies of his own nature, and being free of five Skandha and becoming brightness — body, is called thogal." (*Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 70.)

The Essential — door Department also divided a heart into two parts: bright and void. "Its void part is original pureness and great consciousness, and the void part is included in the Dharma — nature realm in which all laws become extinct.^[109] That is original pure Trechod. Its bright part has brightness appearing by itself. The brightness got rid of all obstacles in the light and achieved the realm in which all laws become extinct. That was the Completion of thogal." (see *A Comprehension of Knowledge*, p. 292.)

The Trechod's practice in seeking enlightenment of pure heart was almost the same as that of the heart Department. At first the practitioner would be given consecration and then Samaya monastic disciplines by supreme master; then the master made him know the wisdom by nature, or Buddha — nature in his heart. By looking into the heart — body he could get rid of delusion and became free. Before practicing, the master would teach him the way to seek the heart — body, in other words, to know the heart's coming, going, and residing as well as its birth and death.

As to the Thogal's Dharma — door, it takes brightness as its main way. In practicing brightness one can attain Buddhahood in his heart. All living beings have brightness. At first by way of looking, the brightness is

taken as the realm of Nirmanakaya — buddha, the longer one looks, the clearer one would see. When the virtue in the heart becomes seen outside, the realm of Reward — body Buddha of the wisdom by nature is seen. Finally, comes the light of Dharma — nature or the realm of dharma — body Buddha. The four realms emerge by themselves and are bright by nature, but without important instruction one could not see the realms emerge. So it is necessary at first to get important instruction from the supreme master, adjust the three deeds of the body, mouth and mind, and open the door to the wisdom. Only after that could the realm of three — bodied Buddha appear. When it appears, if one knows it, he would be free. "The brightness is the root of getting freedom." (*Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 205).

The three — bodied buddha emerged owing to the power of Great Perfection. Though it was body — nature of the wisdom by nature, it was not the true body of Dharma, which was originally void heart — body. The Brightness was not the true body of Dharma, it was one of the aspects of true body. If the brightness was combined with voidness to be practiced, freedom would be got in the brightness. (*A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, p. 551.)

The fourth stage of practicing the brightness was not only to make clean the three rough deeds^[110] in the most elegant body,^[111] but also to reach the realm in which all laws were extinct.^[112]" To make both rough and elegant deeds extinct in both body and wisdom would lead to wisdom — body attaining achievements in rainbow — body." (*Origin and Development of Tibetan Religious Sects*, p. 71) "By looking at brightness, when the body of Diamond — circle appeared, one can be freed in Diamond — circle. In

the fourth stage all laws were in Dharma—nature, the material body was dissolved and became bright, and the Diamond body was attained" (*Da yuan sheng hui*, p. 94). The thogal's important sutras included "The Order of Practicing Buddha—nature in *Da yuan sheng hui*," etc.

The Trechod and Thogal of the Essential—door Department were the ways to attain Buddhahood. The former stressed the void part of the heart, the pure realm, while the latter the bright part, the realm of brightness of Great Perfection. The former took the Dharma—nature (heart) from voidness as "mother"; while the latter took the great function from the pure Dharma realm of Perfection as "son". So the relationship between them was that between mother and son. They should be treated equally. So the Essential—door Department combined them and the combination was called "true—voidness and great function". The purpose was for the secular body to attain the realm of three—bodied Buddha, or the Great Perfection.

The Essential—door Department's practice stressed the order: first Trechod, to have the enlightenment of Buddha—nature of self—heart, and then, Thogal, through brightness to attain the three—bodied buddhahood, freeing of five Skandha to seek the body of brightness.

In a word, the Heart Department, Realm Department and Essential—door Department were the three departments of Great Perfection. The three departments all sought the buddha—nature of self—heart, but stressed each its own point. The Heart Department stressed the void—part of originally clean heart—body, the Realm Department stressed the bright part of the bright heart—na-

ture, and the Essential —door Department stressed both the void—part and bright part. Stressing differently, they all held that to stress bright part did not mean to be without the void part, to stress the void part did not mean to be without the bright part, and the two parts both should be practiced so as to reach to true form of self—heart. On originally pure heart—body, the Great perfection stressed three "no differentiations": the body was of voidness and consciousness and there was no difference between voidness and consciousness; brightness could become voidness and there was no difference between brightness and voidness; voidness could become brightness and there was no difference between voidness and brightness. No—difference meant no—duality. Owing to their ignorance, secular people separated the dual, thus caused Karma and fell into the cycle of birth and death. Hence was the doctrine of three combinations of brightness and voidness, enlightenment and brightness, and appearance and voidness. Thus a couple of opposite things were combined together, and the Dharma—nature was in its original state. Only in this way could one get the liberation.

The doctrine of the Great Perfection on cause, way and result. Generally speaking, the "bright—voidness and great existence" as the Buddha—nature was the "cause"; to let the heart be free and to have sudden enlightenment and sudden practice was the "way"; completely getting rid of all anxieties and accumulating enough virtues to attain Bodhi was the "result".

The Characteristics of Nyingmapa Doctrine

The Nyingmapa's doctrine was included in the nine

Vehicles and three Departments. The last of the nine Vehicles was the Great Perfection, which was, for the most part, taken from the Hidden Sutras that were found out and spread only in the 12—13th centuries. The rest was from the sutras translated into Tibetan in the 8th and 9th centuries. Of the nine Vehicles the three Vehicles of the Esoterism and the three Vehicles of the Outer Esoterism were accepted by all sects of both Exoteric and Exoteric Tibetan Buddhism. But the Supreme Yoga of the Inner Exoterism was somewhat different. The Mahayoga of the old sect was equivalent to the "Sheng—qi—ci—di" (order of birth and rise) of the new sect. The Anuyoga was equal to the "Yuan—man—ci—di" (Order of the Perfection) of the new sect. But the "Sheng—qi—ci—di" of the old sect had the practice of "Feng—mai—ming—dian", and the "Yuan—man—ci—di" had "Guan—xiu" (practicing by looking). It reflected the early Indian Tantricism. At that time Tantricism had not developed into a system as complete as it was later.

Of the three Yogas the last one was Atiyoga, or the three departments of the Great Perfection. It was a unique feature of Nyingmapa.

It was shown in doctrine. The Great Perfection stressed sudden enlightenment of heart, the heart being originally pure and bright. Heart was void and bright. The heart—body—voidness meant voidness; the heart—nature—brightness meant existence. The heart without body was non—existence. The heart had the function of brightness and thus was without nothing. So the heart was neither void nor existent. The heart—nature was bright. The brightness was from Qi, or wind, one of the four material elements. The Qi and heart were mixed together. So

the heart was material as well as spiritual. Voidness and existence coexisted; form and heart coexisted. It was fundamental in the Dharma realm. The Gelukpa said, form and heart, the two Dharmas, were false names. All laws were void by nature. As to the doctrine that the heart had the void part and the non-void part, it was the doctrine of "Self nature is real existence." The Great Perfection said, stressing existence referred to the realistic and stressing non-existence referred to voidness. It was the doctrine of non-existence and non-voidness that made the Great Perfection hold a middle view of voidness and existence, not stressing either of them.

The "existence" the Nyingmapa talked about was not "real existence." The Nyingmapa made no differentiation between the cycle of transmigration and Nirvana. In other words, the cycle of transmigration and Nirvana were not the same thing, so in Dharma-nature they were different from each other. Even the three bodies of the Buddha were not considered as the Buddha's real body. To the Nyingmapa, all Dharmas were void, without body. The body-voidness had great function. The great function had body-voidness. The voidness and existence should be combined together. That was the Middle Way of view. The Great Perfection stressed complete enlightenment of one heart, taking a view from existence to voidness to go back to Dharma-nature and at the same time from voidness to existence for wide spreading. Only in this way could one handle all things well and achieve liberation. The Nyingmapa's doctrine was similar to that of Kagyupa and Sakyapa, but quite different from that of Gelukpa.

To the Nyingmapa, all living beings were Buddhas and the bright and void "bright-voidness and great-

function" was Buddha—heart. The difference between all living beings and Buddha was that between delusion and enlightenment, and there was no difference between bright voidness and great enlightenment. On the other hand, the Gelukpa did not consider all living beings as Buddhas. It said the living beings' hearts were dirty and only after having their hearts made clean was it possible for them to attain the Buddhahood. The Nyingmapa said all beings' hearts were originally clean. But the Gelukpa did not think so. It said, secular people could not have originally clean hearts. It did not think the heart—body was the "bright—voidness and great—existence." The Chan in the hinterland stressed the pure part of heart instead of its bright part, much less the Reward body and Nirmanakaya body.

In practicing Buddhism, the Nyingmapa said, with sudden enlightenment of one heart, self—nature could attain Buddhahood. All was sufficient and there was no need to do the practicing. The Gelukpa opposed the doctrine of self—sufficiency. It held that all, from the form to Buddhas, were made by causes. To be a Buddha required conditions. Only after accumulating virtues and wisdom and practicing Buddhism for a long time could one with various conditions attain the Buddhahood. There was no born Buddha by nature. The Nyingmapa said, to see the nature was to see its bright and void parts. To see the void part was to prove the Dharma body, and to see the bright part was to prove the Reward body and Nirmanakaya body. The brightness was a natural attribution of self—heart. It was not made through practicing Buddhism. So it could be attained only through sudden enlightenment, while practicing could not help. Esoterism, or Tantra, held that all

beings could become Buddhas directly. But if there were no conditions to attain the Buddhahood, how could they become Buddhas? Without cause there could not be a result.

In practicing Buddhism the Nyingmapa stressed sudden enlightenment. After having the sudden enlightenment, practice should be carried out in a free way instead of a scheduled way. The Nyingmapa did not think "Guan — cha — xiu — fa" (the practice by looking with wisdom)^[113] could make one see real form of self heart, because the real form could not be conceived with words and thought. How could it be thought of with secular feelings? The Gelukpa stressed "practicing in a free way" (practicing Buddhism without thought). It was similar to the "Wu — xiang — ding" (Meditation without thought) stressed by the Chinese monks. The "Wu — lian" (without thought) stressed by the Gelukpa was a means but not a purpose. It did not mean to get rid of all thoughts. Instead, it meant to get rid of wrong thoughts, because one could not have no thought. That was just as the Chan said: "Do not let your heart touch anything. Do not let your step touch any place." It meant "without thought." But that was not "An — zhu — xiu".^[114] They did not support practicing by way of "Ding, Fa, Hui" (meditation and wisdom). Instead, they thought that original wisdom, or wisdom by nature, could be attained through enlightenment instead of practicing. A heart without thought could attain it.

In practicing Buddhism to attain bright body, the new sects of Tantricism such as Kagyupa and Gelukpa practiced Yuan — man — ci — di (the order of attaining completion) and the Supreme Yoga. For instance, "Jin — gang —

song" (Vajra chanting) and "San—yuan—li" (three times of being far—away) were to put a temporary end to life. That was followed by the brightness of death and from the brightness to phantom body of Buddha so as to practice for the Reward body and Nirmanakaya. Besides, there was the practice for "form" and "voidness", which required "Feng—mai—ming—dian—fa" of "Yuan—man—ci—di" to lead to the Great Happiness Wisdom and Phantom body. In practicing the Great Happiness and Wisdom both old and new sects of Tantricism required the practice be done by a couple of man and woman. It was believed that only in that way could the Great Happiness and Wisdom be attained. All these were Dharma—door with function. The three yogas of the Nyingmapa required the practice done by a couple of man and woman. But the Great Perfection sect held that the Brightness had originally the three bodies of Buddha and that they could appear with the practice of "wu—zuo" (doing nothing). With the coarse five Skandha and coarse "se—xiang" (form) from the Brightness the three bodies could be liberated from it and became rainbow body. It did not use sexual practice by man and woman. It was said to be the most supreme Dharma—door without function.

As to the "Brightness", all the exoteric and esoteric sects had different interpretations of it. The exoteric sects said, the heart which could prove real void—nature was the Brightness. According their interpretation, the Brightness was abstract. But according to the Great Perfection Sutra, the Brightness was concrete. It said, heart—body was not only an abstract spirit — — formless and void, and with the nature of Brightness — — but was also in form and not void. The Brightness could reflect the

realm and was of the form (appearance) part.

Esoterism said, the material world was made of four elements (earth, water, fire and wind); living beings were made of six elements (earth, water, fire, wind, sky and consciousness), of which the former five was material and the last one was spirit. According to the Esoterism, a human being's life was originally the finest wind — heart^[115] that came into mother's womb. The Exoterism talked about abstract consciousness instead of material. Wind was one of the four elements. Its fine material could give out light. A practitioner of Yoga, when he saw in meditation a man thinking, his heart giving out light. Brightness was the finest heart. Thus the heart was not absolutely formless spirit. It was based on material in form. The abstract spirit must be contained in something. Qi was the container of heart; "Qi is the horse for heart and heart rides on Qi." It was accepted by all sects of Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism.

Brightness was material. The Exoterism did not say there was material outside heart. The Chan said: "The heart was not completely void." "It was originally not void but bright. Why was it a void body? It was formless. It could not be expressed with words." Dharma—door could not be expressed with words; or heart was formless. "Heart was formless" was in terms of what secular people could see. Brightness could be seen only by one with wise eyes.

The heart — nature was bright. The heart was void but not without anything. The practice of modern Qi — gong masters proved that the activities of thinking could pass information through electric — magnetic waves. Thus Nyingmapa said, the heart was an abstract spirit.

The doctrine of the Nyingmapa was ancient. Later, there was the doctrine of the Hidden Sutras, that was a little different from the ancient. Obviously the doctrine was developing. Especially, the Great Perfection, three Hidden Sutras, was much richer in content than earlier sutra "Xin—Ping".

After new sects were established, a question was raised: Was the Nyingmapa pure and right? In the Tubo period, when Padmasambhava came to Tibet to preach Tantric Buddhism, he was opposed by Bon, Tibetan aboriginal belief. In order to stand firm in Tibet, Buddhism had to accept some elements of the Bon in its lower three Tantric doctrines^[116] in accordance with Tibetan people's habits and customs. In terms of Upper Tantricism such as the doctrine of the Great Perfection, it was Xin (Heart) sect, so it did not worship gods or ghosts.^[117] In the Hidden Sutras there were false sutras. Besides, Darma Tsanpo suppressed Buddhism. So in a period of time the Tibetan Buddhism fell in chaos. It was just as Great Buddhist Master Tsongkhapa said, the Nyingmapa was pure and right, but later some scholars put their own views into its sutras.

There were different levels of intellectual capacities: upper, middle and lower. The Nyingmapa stressed the Great Perfection, which could be understood only by persons of upper intellectual capacity. Some people on the excuse of sudden practice for sudden enlightenment, acted wildly in defiance of Buddhist law. Ordinary monks could not understand great doctrines. They could only engage in popular Buddhist activities, such as chanting sutras and offering sacrifice and giving alms. Some were even still engaged in Bonist activities and wrongly took them for Bud-

dhist activities. This phenomenon was also not good for Bonism.

Notes

[1] Tibet witnessed two rises of Buddhism: the first the 8—9th centuries and the second in the 11th century; the second rise was after Buddhism was forbidden in Tibet.

[2] It referred to Darma Tsanpo forbade Buddhism from spreading in Tibet.

[3] *Blue Annals* by Gos Shunupal, Sichuan Minzu Publishing House, 1985.

[4] Ralpachen (804—836), the 8th Tsanpo in Tubo Dynasty.

[5] Kangyur and Tengyur are the Tibetan Buddhist canons.

[6] Darma Tsanpo, or Langdarma, the last Tsanpo of the Tubo Dynasty.

[7] *Records of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* (in Tibetan) by the 5th Dalai Lama.

[8] Vajrayana Vehicle: a name for Tantricism, meaning Tantricism was as hard as diamond.

[9] Gos Shunupal, alias Yezang Tsepa.

[10] The discipline tradition was made to spread the disciplines specified by the Buddha.

[11] Lhaje Upalungpa: Lhaje means "doctor"; Upalung, a place name, located in Namling. Sur Shakya Jungna was born there and thus was called Upalungpa.

[12] Trisong Detsan (730—786), the 5th Tsanpo of the Tubo Dynasty. He and his ancestor Songtsan Gampo, and his grandson Tri Ralpachen supported Buddhism and thus were called Dharma kings.

[13] Mahayoga stressed "Sheng—qi—ci—di" (order of birth and rise); Anuyoga stressed "Sheng—hui" (supreme wisdom); Atiyoga was Dharma—door of Great Perfection. he three yogas were supreme Tantra.

[14] According to the Nine Vehicles, it was "Vision, Sutra,

and Mind". The Vision was of Mahayoga of the 7th of the Nine Vehicles, the Sutra was of the Anuyoga of the 8th of the Nine Vehicles; the Mind was of Atiyoga of the 9th Vehicle.

[15] It was written by Palgye Zangpo, Sichuan Minzu Publishing House, 1985.

[16] Tri Tashi Tsepal, Od—sung's grandson. After the collapse of the Tubo Dynasty, he proclaimed himself the Yalung king.

[17] Great Tsenpo, a title given to monks who engaged in political activities at the time.

[18] *A Happy Banquet for Wise Men*, written by Pavo Tsuglag Chengwa, Minzu Publishing House, 1986.

[19] The Great Perfection, the supreme vehicle of the Nine Vehicles.

[20] "Xin—Ping" was the earliest sutra of the Great Perfection.

[21] A general name for the grassland in North Tibet with Ngamring Dzong as its center.

[22] The Kathog Monastery is in the present—day Baiyu County of Garze Autonomous Prefecture. It was built in the 12th century by Kadampa Deshe.

[23] A place on the way from Lhasa westwards to Duilong.

[24] The Upper Tsang, a general name for Pentsoling and Shetongmoin.

[25] Manggur is to the south of Lhatse, near Nepal; the North Latod is to the west of Lhatse, with Ngamring Dzong as its center; the South Latod is to the west of Sakya, with Ding—ri as its center.

[26] Deng, place name, also called Dengke, is in Shiqu County of Garze Prefecture; Longtang Drolma, name of a monastery, built in the 7th century by Songtsan Gampo.

[27] Dorje Bridge: an important doctrine on practicing Brightness and Voidness to attain the rainbow body.

[28] Nying—tig means "important": the Dharma—door is most important.

[29] "Dakini" refers to female deities, such as the Guardian—Goddess and Buddha's Mother.

[30] The monastery was at the Lhasa River northeast of Medrogunkar, built in the 9th century by Nyang Dingchen Sampo.

[31] It meant "the most important."

[32] Lhodrak Khoting, name of a monastery; Drasimo Barje, Mawoko are place names.

[33] The monastery is on the southern bank of the Tsangpo River of the present-day Zhanang County. It was built by Deda Lingpa in 1646.

[34] Dorjedra Monastery was in the present-day Gonggar County in Tibet, built in the 16th century by Drashi Dorje, a landlord in Jang.

[35] Three Karmas; deed, word, and thought. (1) the three commandments dealing with the body, prohibiting taking of life, theft, unchastity; (2) the four dealing with the mouth, against lying, exaggeration, abuse, and ambiguous talk; (3) the three dealing with the mind, covetousness, malice, and unbelief.

[36] The twelve practices of the ascetics: (1) live in a hermitage; (2) take turns at begging food; (3) one meal a day; (5) reduce amount of food; (6) do not take a drink made of fruit or honey after midday; (7) wear dust-heap garments; (8) wear only the three clerical garments; (9) dwell among graves; (10) stay under a tree; (11) on the dewy ground; (12) sit and never lie.

[37] Four chiders; misery, accumulation, extinction and path. Each consisted of four.

[38] Man as without ego.

[39] The barrier of temptation; desire, detestation and delusion.

[40] The fruit of arhat discipline; arhat, a word in Sanskrit for enlightened saints.

[41] The twelve nidanas; ignorance, action, consciousness, name and form, the six sense organs, contact, sensation, desire, grasping, birth, old age and death.

[42] Things have no independent reality.

[43] The barrier of the known, arising from regarding what is known as real.

[44] The four immeasurable Buddha-states of mind.

[45] The seven ways of becoming rich in the Buddhist Law: faith, abstention, moral restraint, shame, obedient hearing, abnegation, and wisdom arising from meditation.

[46] The ten ways of devotion to the Buddhist sutras: to copy them, serve the places where they are kept, preach them to others, listen attentively to their exposition, read, maintain, discourse on them to others, intone them, ponder over them, observe their lessons.

[47] The six things that ferry one beyond the sea of mortality to nirvana: charity, keeping the commandments, patience under insult, zeal and progress, meditation, wisdom.

[48] The two hindrances: vexation and worldly knowledge.

[49] The wisdom by nature: knowing by the inner light.

[50] Three Asankhya: "Asankhya" in Sanskrit meaning "innumerable" or "a very long time".

[51] The thirty—seven conditions leading to Bodhi or Buddhahood, i. e. four states of memory, four proper lines of exertion, four steps towards supernatural power, five spiritual faculties, five powers, seven degrees of enlightenment, and eightfold noble path.

[52] Not getting rid of worldly thoughts.

[53] The force of habit: the recurrence of passion after it has itself been overcome.

[54] Four great symbols: Great symbol, Dharma symbol, Samaya symbol, and Karman symbol.

[55] The seven branches: mediating upon Buddha, protecting the land for Buddha, making a splendid site, welcoming the Buddha, showing symbols and praising the Buddha.

[56] The initiation ceremony held on an altar to grant the disciple the right to study and practice Tantric sutras.

[57] Samaya discipline, a discipline of Tantricism.

[58] Being qualified with heart—nature.

[59] Six heaven laws: void heaven, word heaven, sound heaven, color heaven, symbol heaven, and form heaven. Heaven means the god upon whom one meditated to assimilate his six images.

[60] Meditation on fire or sound; Samadhi, with "three entering one" meaning "dhi"; with form, i. e. meditating upon things

with form, and without form, i. e. meditating upon formless doctrine (voidness).

[61] Four branches of chanting.

[62] Ten true things: 1. Mandala; 2. Outer and inner Tantric mantra; 3. Four indicative signs; 4. Protecting the ego and Pirthivi (the earth) Yoga; 5. Welcoming Wisdom Buddha; 6. Chanting; 7. Practicing Samadhi; 8. Inner and outer Homa (worshipping with fire); 9. Opening and closing signs; 10. Seeing the god off.

[63] The nature—wisdom is bright and empty.

[64] Entrance, stay, rise and bodhi—heart.

[65] The gods of Diamond realm, that are the main gods of Mandala of Yoga department.

[66] Four Yogas: Samaya Yoga, Non—duality Yoga, the Whole Yoga, Supreme Yoga.

[67] Two victorious causes: Mandala and Karman.

[68] Two kinds of knowledge: differentiated knowledge and non—differentiated knowledge.

[69] Wind—stopping Yoga: it is equivalent to what we call Qigong (breathing exercises).

[70] Activities of mind.

[71] Meditation upon the body of Buddha.

[72] Arrogant attitude.

[73] Siddhi (in Sanskrit): accomplishment.

[74] Five Pirthivi (in Sanskrit, earth) and ten Marga (in Sanskrit, the right path), through which the Buddha went to Buddhahood.

[75] Rituals: a series of rules for practicing Esoteric Buddhism.

[76] Some things are used as symbols of Buddhist Philosophy, sun symbolises Wisdom moon as symbol of mercy, lotus—flower as symbol of Bodhisattva.

[77] Two forms of statement: ordinary statement, and the correct dogma of the enlightened.

[78] The three forms of existence: birth ditto, death ditto and intermediate ditto.

[79] Six ways of practicing in Esoteric Buddhism's Time — Wheel — Diamond.

[80] Five ways of practicing in Esoteric Buddhism's Vajradhara.

[81] The result of Buddha — way, i. e. nirvana: the practice of Hevajra, the highest stage of the Sakya order.

[82] Six pulse wheels of the Esoteric Buddhism referring to: the top of hair, top of heart, Adam's apple, heart, navel, and "mi".

[83] Ran — di (burn — drop): an important way of practicing Feng — mai (wind — pulse).

[84] Four Happy Wisdoms: the wisdom arising from the Four Happinesses.

[85] *A Comprehension of Knowledge* by Kongdrup Yonten Gyatso, Nationality Publishing House, 1982.

[86] Non — duality of Realm (Dharma realm) and Conciseness (original wisdom).

[87] You — guang — xing (complex practice) and Wu — guang — xing (simple practice).

[88] Root (six means of perception: sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and mind), the field of any organ (color, sound, good smell, taste, touch and Dharma) and original intelligence.

[89] Co — existence of form and mind.

[90] Impure world (secular world) and pure world (Buddhas' world).

[91] Ten Dharma realms: according to Tian — tai, (1) Buddha, (2) Bodhisattva, (3) consciousness, (4) hearing, (5) heaven, (6) human being, (7) Asura, (8) ghost, (9) animal, and (10) hell.

[92] Rise to heaven or fall to hell according to conditions.

[93] True — nature (Bhutatahata) body.

[94] Impure wind.

[95] Heart and condition.

[96] *Origin and Development of Tibetan Religious Sects* by Thukwan Lozang Chokyi Nyima, Gansu Nationality Publishing House, 1984.

[97] *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* ("Liu — zu — tan — jing", a record of the sixth forefather's acts and words) by Fa Hai.

[98] The words of famous monks as cited above.

[99] Leave behind worries to attain Buddhahood.

[100] To attain enlightenment through "Jie" (discipline), "Ding" (meditation) and "Hui" (wisdom).

[101] Tantra regarded the middle pulse in addition to the right and left pulses in a human body as the three principal vessels.

[102] The five skandhas, twelve Ayatana (bases) and eighteen Dhatu (elements).

[103] Earth, water, fire and wind.

[104] Practicing the way of brightness.

[105] Four Bigs: earth, water, fire and wind; five skandhas: form, receiving, thinking, acting, knowing.

[106] The object which the mind can obtain.

[107] Rainbow — diamond body referred to the enlightened one as bright as rainbow and as strong as diamond.

[108] The body made with the circle — light on the third stage of enlightenment coming out of nature — wisdom.

[109] All Dharma established by mind came to an end in the realm of Dharma — nature.

[110] Secular or unreasonable actions caused by body, mouth and heart.

[111] The most elegant wind ("Qi" or breathing) and heart, that are connected together.

[112] The realm of Dharma — nature where all Dharma come to an end.

[113] Practicing by way of observation.

[114] Practicing by way of meditation.

[115] The most elegant mind — heart, a doctrine of Tantricism.

[116] Of the eight departments of Nyingmapa practice, three departments of "Shi — jian" (secular world) were adopted from Bonism, and the rest five departments belong to "Chu — shi — jian" (coming out of secular world).

[117] Heart — sect, referred to Chan Sect, holds that one's mind could naturally attain Buddhahood. According to it, the mind of human beings was Buddha, the supreme one, equal with the Buddha.

The Bonpo Documents and Their Assembling

Tsering Thar

In the study of the Bonpo Culture, we find that ancient Bonpo documents which are passed down from generation to generation provide for significant research. Despite their unexpectedly large quantity and numerous, jumbled contents, they have become the most important and basic material for the Bonpo cultural research. Yet the Tibetology circles in China have so far not begun the research work using the documents themselves.

We have still less to be benefit from those documents in the study of the history of Tibet ,the history of Tibetan religions ,and the history of ideological development of Tibetans ,though they are important elements in the formation of Tibetology. Hence this article attempts to discuss the formation, the development, and the assembling of the extant Bonpo documents in relation to the history of development.

1. The Early Propagation, the Middle Propagation and the Bonpo Documents at That Time

Bonpo historians divided the Bonpo history into three Periods: the Early Propagation, the Middle Propagation

and the Later Propagation. On the whole the time of each period is considered the same; the period from the time when Sherab (Gshen—rab) began preaching Bon in Tubo to the persecution of Bon launched by Drigum Tsanpo (Dri—gum Btsan—po) is called the Early Propagation of Bon; from the reign of Po—lde Kong—rje Btsan—po to the persecution of Bon launched by Khri—srong Lde—btsan Btsan—po is called the Middle Propagation; events after this time is called the Later Propagation of Bon. Some scholars only divide the Bonpo history into two periods; the Early Propagation and the Later Propagation, using the persecution of Bon launched by Khri—srong Lde—btsan as the demarcation line. From the view of the Bonpo development history, the three—period method is more representative, and can show the developmental periods of Bon more specially. But both the three—period method and the two—period method are not comprehensive, because they are only based on attitudes that the Tubo kings had concerning Bon, or on the spread and development of Bon in Tubo, but do not have any direct relation to the development history of Bonpo in Zhang—zhung.

Examining the extant Bonpo documents, we find that most of them were formed after the 10th century A. D. But Bonpo tradition gives the idea that Bonpo documents existed long ago in the Early Propagation of Bon, and describes the existence of Bonpo documents detailing in every religious disaster that befell Bon during the Early and the Middle Propagations. What is worth our attention is that Bonpo historians generally consider the Gter—ma (rediscovered texts), which was dug out by Gshen—chen Klu—dgav and belongs to the Lho—gter as one of the Five Great Gter—ma, was buried under ground when Dri—

gum Btsan—po launched the persecution of Bon . As paper was introduced and used from the time of Srong—btsan Sgam—po, the "documents" before his time should be understood as early documents. This kind of record is significant data which records Bonpo documents before the age of Khri—srong Lde—btsan. Thus it is of value to discuss the history relating to the Early and Middle Propagations of Bon.

The upper limit of the Early Propagation of Bon in Tubo is still under discussion in academic circles. The extant Bonpo historical books like *Legs Bshad Mdzod* quote the records from *Byams Ma* to prove that twelve *Rgyuvi Bon* were popular in Tubo as early as the time of Nya—khri Btsan—po. Buddhist records also affirm information in the historical books. I propose that if some *Rgyuvi Bon* were in vogue during the time of Nya—khri Btsan—po, it was not the earliest data. It is plausible that all kinds of original *Rgyuvi Bon* existed long before his time. But because we have had no way to settle the exact date from which the Early Propagation began, the tentative decision that it started before the time of Dri—gum Btsan—po is more acceptable. The historical reason why he forbade Bon is said in various ways. Since it has no relation with this article, I will put it later in our discussion, though Bonpo historical books illrecorded it in detail.

According to Bonpo historians, because Dri—gum determinedly exterminated Bon , the Bonpo carried their many documents to Vbri—mtshams or some other places to be hidden under ground, to wait for a suitable time to recover them. The contents of Bon in the Early Propagation and the part exterminated of them are classified by *Gyung Drung Bon Gyi Dkar Chag Ngo Mtshar Nor Buvi*

Phreng Ba.^[1] (hereafter its abbreviated form will be *Bon Gyi* .) It is in two parts : One is called *Gsang and Sems* , the other is called *Vdul Ba* . The former actually means *rDzogs—chen* . It is documented according to the available materials . Taking *Rgyuvi Bon* as its foundation , *Gsang Sngags* grew . It has similarities with other primitive religious rituals for summoning good fortune , averting misfortune , and pacifying evil . According to the historical works about *rDzogs—chen* like *Zhang Zhung Snyan Rgyrd Bla Ma Rgyud Kyi Rnam Thar* , *rDzogs—chen* in *Bod* , its original tradition began from a very early time . As to the source and development of *Vdul Ba* , the views held by the Buddhist historians are quite different from that held by the Bonpo historians , however , they are left to be discussed in my other articles .

Bonpo historical books generally consider the exterminations launched by Dri—gum Btsan—po and Khri—srong Lde—btsan as the biggest religious disaster that Bon has ever undergone . The Bonpo wrote down the details of the religious disasters in a sad tone . Yet full of confidence , they record the subsequent indomitable rejuvenation that Bon experienced after each disaster . The most systematic descriptions about Dri—gum exterminating Bon is given by *Gyung Drung Bon Gyi Bstan Vbyung Legs Bshad Skal Bzang Mgrin Rgyan* ,^[2] whose six parts tell when and where the extermination of Bon took place , what concrete contents were exterminated , etc . According to the book , the exterminated texts are : Among *Rgyuvi Bon* the whole *Snang Gshen* and a part of *Srid Gshen* ; half of *Vdur Von* and the whole *Sems* . The main region where the texts were forbidden was present Gtsang . The southern area from Dbus was only slightly involved

Other than Dri—gum Btsan—po, a king once exterminated Bon before or after him. It reads in *Bon Gyi* that once Zhang—zhung and Bod were ruled by a man called Mu—la Mu—sangs,^[3] who did not belong to the system of the kings ruling Zhang—zhung, nor of that ruling Bod. Since listening to an Indian slanderer he tried his best to exterminate Bon, especially the content of *Vdul Ba*, thus parts of the Bonpo classics were also hidden then. In Bonpo tradition the history of this period was incorporated into the Early Propagation of Bon. The Bonpo contents and documents in the Early Propagation are recorded in later historical books. In view of their reliable existence, now I do not list their names here.

From the Middle Propagation, that is, during the time from Po—lde Kong—rje to Khri—srong Lde—btsan, Bon got its new development. In accordance with the records in *Bon Gyi*, Po—lde Kong—rje once invited the great scholar Stong—rgyung Mthu—chen from Zhang—zhung to preach Bon in Bod. From that time cover more than one hundred years, the great scholar Li—shu Stag—ring introduced many Bonpo classics from Vol—mo Lung—ring.

The Books record various concrete evidences concerning the Bon propagation in the time from the King Po—lde Kong—rje to the thirteenth king after him; the period was also called "Bar Gyi Gdung Rgyud Bcu Gsum" by the Bonpo tradition. In accordance with *Byams Ma* the current contents are thirteen kinds: *Pha Rgyud Lung Chen*, *Lta Ba Rdzogs Chen*, *Byang Sems Theg Chen*, *Gsas Mkhar Rgyud Chen*, *Kun Gsal Byams Chen*, etc. In the following period of Six Tibetan Kings,^[4] Bon was also prosperous, and many famous scholars wrote at this time. Led by *Legs Bshad Mdzod* some historical books propose that six

Rgyan Drug renown in Bonpo history appeared at that time. The next was the "Bon Rgyal Bzhi", that is, the four Btsan—po from Tho—re Long—btsan to the father of Gnam—ru Srong—btsan. They were also called the "Bon Rgyal Bzhi of Achievement" by *Bon Gyi*. The four Btsan—po deeply respected Bon, so Bon enjoyed its greatest development. During that time Khyung—po Stag—sgra Dun—gtsug, Li—shu Da—ring, Hbe Shod—gram Chen—po and Sum—ba Mu—phya translated many Bonpo classics from Zhang—zhung. ^[5]

Up to the reign of Srong—btsan Sgam—po the situations became complicated. As the founder of the Tubo Dynasty, Srong—btsan Sgam—po himself and his outstanding feats are well known by us from the Buddhist historical books. Because the books take more delight in talking about his introduction to Buddhism, his attitude towards Bon is not well known. According to the records held in Bonpo historical books, his attitude once had a reversal. *Stong Thun Sems Kyi Sgron Me* says: "Bon flourished in Srong—btsan Sgam—po's early life, declined in his middle life, and rejuvenated in his later life." This kind of records exists in *Bon Gyi*, *Srid Rgyud Kha Byang Chen Mo* and *Legs Bshad Mdzod*. Furthermore, *Bon Gyi* lists the Bonpo contents he practised in the early life. Even though it is not enough only to take what *Bon Gyi* says as a proof of concrete Bonpo traditions he practised, it is probable that he was once exposed to Bon and even to studied it. It is common knowledge that the kings of the Bod Dynasty beginning from Srong—btsan Sgam—po were deeply influenced by Bon, whose tenacious influence extended even the last one. Apart from the detailed records in Bonpo documents, *Chos Vbyung Me Tog Snying Bo Sbrang Rtsivi*

Bcud, by Buddhist Nyang Nyi—ma Vod—zer who lived in a comparative early time does not tire of writing down the names of the Bonpo Sku—gshen who served each Btsan—po and their religious activities quite a few.

After Srong—btsan the Btsan—po worth mentioning is Khri—srong Lde—btsan, the maker of the second extermination in Bonpo history. Since in his reign both the political military power and the territory reached the summit of the Bod history, his persecution of Bon is much more thorough than that of Dri—gum Btsan—po, though in Bonpo history the two were mentioned in the same breath. The latter, with a shorter time and a smaller influence, only happened in the river valley of Yar—long. It did not touch Zhang—zhung at all, nor Eastern Tibet. The former percecution carried out in a very large geographical area including Zhang—zhung, Dbus, and even the Eastern Tibet. Its influence was profound.

At the age of Khri—srong Lde—btsan, Dbus had already become the center of political power of the Tubo Dynasty, and gradually the Buddhist force became much stronger than during the time of Srong—btsan Sgam—po. For a long time Khri—srong made his determination to exterminate Bon, and the way he used was very clever. He ordered the Buddhists and the Bonpo to debate and to compete with magic arts, in order to decide which would prevail, and which would be forbidden. This way his policy of persecuting Bon and promoting Buddhism would be carried out with perfectly justifiable reasons. After his tendentious adjudication, the Bonpo were forced to take up Buddhist practice, or to be banished. Nonetheless, they kept their valueble Bonpo texts hidden. Bonpo documents say under Khri—srong's deterrent power Dran—pa Nam

—mkhav, the famous Bonpo scholar, conceded to believe in Buddhism, if he would be allowed to bury lots of Bonpo classics under ground. If the account is accurate it was he who prepared the ground for saving the Bonpo classics and for their great influence in later days.

In accordance with *Legs Bshad Mdzod* among the most important places where the Bonpo classics were hidden at that time were the four called "Gter Gyi Rgyal Bo" — — — the Black Tower in Bsam—yas, Mchims Kyi Gad Pa Stag Vbring, Jokhang Temple and Bye—ma Gyung—drung, besides places on the Bod border. The more important were the 37 places called "Gter Gyi Blon Po", and one place called "Gter Phyi Blon Po", whose contents were also classified into detailed sorts. But the account given by *Bon Gyi* is different from that by *Legs Bshad Mdzod*. It says: "Five secret Gter—ma and 1700 small Gter—ma were buried from the first day of the first month of spring, in the year of Earth—Ox, when Khri—srong was at the age of 31." In addition, "Eight volumes of *Gshen* consisted of *Vdul Ba* and *Phan—yul* were not buried with the Gter—ma because *Vdzin—bon Dbang—grub*, *Rno—bon Ye—mkhyen* and *Sngags—bon Lha—gnyan* brought them to Stag—gzig. The Bonpo classics *Dbal Chen Ram Pa* and *Dbal Chen Dbang Chen Vbum Pa* were not destroyed since *Mi—nyag Khyung—gsags* made black wolf running away to Mdo—khams, with them on its back."

The persecution of Bon in Zhang—zhung was unleashed with military force and power ruling. Only because the episode of conquest of Zhang—zhung was transplanted from Srong—btsan Sgam—po to Khri—srong Lde—btsan by all the documents of the Later Propagation it became more complicated. *Bstan pa Dar Nub Gyi Lo Rgyus Gsal*

Byed Sgron Ma narrates the rule of Khri—srong Lde—bt-san over Zhang—zhung, following the mistake of the transplantation which may be made by *Zhang Zhung Snyan Rgyud* originally. However, compared with what happened in Dbus, it is obvious that the persecution of Bon carried out in Zhang—zhung was not thorough. It is known from *Bon Gyi* that just after the time of Khri—srong, Dun—tang Rgyal—ba, one of the two Sku—gshen of Khri—ra Ba—can who once devoutly worshiped Buddhism, was invited from Zhang—zhung where the founder Pha—ba Rgyal—Gzigs Gasa—chung was still preaching Bon. Except Rgyal—gzigs Gsas—chung, Dmu—gshen Tso—ge and Gyer—gshen Tso—tang tried their best to preach Bon under the reign of Dar—ma.

Generally, in accordance with the records in Bonpo historical books, the Bonpo documents in Zhang—zhung language existed in Zhang—zhung long long ago, and even in Tubo the history of their Tibetan translations may go back to the Early Propagation. But not all that was written down with words is "real" history, and not all real history is recorded. From the view of Dpav—bo Gtsug—lag Phreng—ba it is 800 years from Nya—Khri Btsan—po to Srong—btsan Sgam—po, So it is more than 2000 years from the former to now. After such a long time in which many changes took place in the royal systems, declines and prosperities of religious views, and uncountable natural and man—made calamities, it is absolutely impossible to ask modern people to give an exact picture of Bon in the Early Propagation, i. e. before 2000 years. Even to know whether Bonpo documents came into being or not during the Early Propagation is still an insolvable mystery, unless we uncover them. There is no doubt about the exis-

tence of the documents in the Middle Propagation of Bon. But to classify the documents concretely or to tell the true from false documents that are reputed to be of the Middle Propagation is not an easy thing. It requires lots of study and textual research. For more reasons than one nowadays there is no way to do this kind of foundational work, which has to be left for later days.

2. The Gter—ma in the Later Propagation of Bon

First and foremost, the meaning of the term Gter—ma needs some explanation. Generally speaking, Gter—ma means the texts which were hidden under the ground during the turmoil and were dug out later. Strictly speaking, these are variations. First, in the matter of the forms of Gter—ma, not all Gter—ma were dug out under the ground. Those found this way are only a part of the whole, and they are called Sa—gter. Those hidden in water are called Chu—gter, while those hidden under rocks or in rocky caves are called Brag—gter. Some texts were not hidden. They were only sealed, and not allowed to spread. When they were found and unsealed, they were also called Gter—ma, for example, the main part of Byang—gter found in the palace of Bsam—yas. Apart from the above, there is still a special Gter—ma called Dgongs—gter which is according to the traditional explanation the Gter—ma hidden in the innermost recesses of the consciousness of the people. The Bonpo maintain that if a certain religious doctrine or a certain text could not be passed down because of natural or man—made calamities, it would be put by a Bonpo god or a Bonpo sage into the depth of his consciousness or the consciousness of others.

Some years later, so long as the conditions permitted its propagation again, enlightened by a mysterious force, the persons in whom the doctrines had been placed suddenly recited the doctrines fluently. When the contents of his recitation were written down, a text of Dgongs—gter was born. Those who possessed Dgongs—gter might be Bonpo Sku—gshen, or the herdsmen and villagers who did not know their ABC. The granter of Dgongs—gter and the recipient of that might be the same person, or someone of the several generations later. In a special situation, like somniloquence, Dgongs—gter was narrated out by the recipients in a state of half—unconsciousness. It is said *Khro Gnyan Bskal Bzang*, one of the famous Bonpo classics, is the Dgongs—gter passed down by Spral—sku Khro—gnyan. Besides, a special way of passing on called Snyan—rgyud is also classified into Gter—ma by some Bonpo historians. For instance, some historical figure is included in the group of Gter—ston, in fact he is only a recorder or a spreader in a certain system of Snyan—rgyud, without any experiences of digging Gter—ma in the field.

Secondly, in the matter of the contents of Gter—ma, not all of the Gtar—ma is in textual form other items include many gold or silver statues of Buddha, musical instruments used in mass, or the clothes of some great Bonpo masters. The Bonpo think those articles are sacred, with irresistible mystical power. Now these articles can be seen everywhere in the temples of rNying—ma—pa and the monasteries of Bon, or even of the other religions all over Tibet. Many vivid legends about every article can be heard from the pious collectors. But it seems too naive if we take all that is called Gter—ma in existence as a gen-

uine cultural relic. To Meet the needs of religious struggles, many false Gter—ma appeared one by one in history. The appearance of them brings more complexity to the history of Bonpo development, and adds more difficulties to our research work as well. One of the problems I meet in my research with Bon is just the age of the documents of Gter—ma, especially the age of some important ones. It will perplex people for a long time.

The historical period of the Later Propagation of Bon is generally considered from the persecution of Bon by Khri—srong, while *Bon Gyi* thinks the period should be considered from Gshen—chen Klu—dga, who passed his Dkar—chag to Zhu—yas Legs—bo and Rin—chen Rgyal—mtshan. The main proof of this idea is from the very time the Vchad Rtsod Rtsom Gsum of Bonpo texts started. But strictly speaking, both of the two ideas are not accurate enough. Firstly, after the persecution of Bon by Khri—srong Lde—btsan, for quite a long time Bon was not rejuvenated. The real activities started in Tibet only from the Nepalese A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum who found the Gter—ma. Secondly, the activity that A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum found Gter—ma took place before Gshen—chen Klu—dga and existed as the basis of his Vchad Rtsod Rtsom Gsum which he Pioneered by himself later. Moreover, including A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum fifteen Gter—ston came forward altogether before Gshen—chen Klu—dga, and their discoveries formed Byang—gter, one of the Five Great Gter—ma in Bonpo history. So the activities of digging and spreading Gter—ma exercised by Gshen—chen Klu—dga and the fifteen Gter—ston are the harbinger and an important part of the whole Bonpo rejuvenation. It can not offer a tenable argument if we cut off what they did from the Later Propaga-

tion of Bon. I think the time of the Later Propagation should be counted from the time when A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum discovered Gter — ma, because among the fifteen Gter — ston they are the earliest to find Gter — ma, and what they found is the most representative. Their Gter — ma is therefore reputed to be the major part of Byang — gter.

As to the exact year when A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum discovered Gter — ma and the exact time of Byang — gter Bonpo historians are not unanimous in their opinions. But it is likely between the 9th and the 10th centuries A. D. Both Spa Bstan — rgyal Bzang — bo and Bkrv — shis Rgyal — mtshan thought A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum were Nepalese. Even though the Bonpo historians say with one voice that A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum went northward because of the prayers of Bonpo sages led by Dran — pa Nam — mkhav for the Bonpo rejuvenation, there is no way to cover their secular aim of the advantages in the same historical books. It is the longing for gold that made the Nepalese go northward. Their names are as the following: Dkon — mchog Grgs — pa, Nya — mo Mgon — po and Sad — kun Rad — na. But in Bonpo history their names are normally not mentioned directly. They are well — known as A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum. The first destination of their advantage from Nepal to Tibet was La — stod, but they found nothing there. Hearing of there being gold in Bsam — yas, they journeyed farther. Luckily they came across the Gnyer — ba of the Monastery of Bsam — yas one evening. Because their pilgrimage was so long, he let them enter the palace monastery, shut the door and left then. But they were not pious believers at all. At last they found the box of books that was sealed with bronze and hidden in the palace. It was so heavy that they thought it was a box of gold, and with it they fled. Hiding

themselves by day and traveling by night, they arrived at Sri, where they opened the box. Instead of gold, inside they saw three bags — — — made of tiger leather, leopard leather and bear leather — — — full of Bonpo classics. On their way they ran out of grains in Stod—lung, where they had to leave one of them to guard the box while the others to look for food. They found a Bonpo Sku—gshen called Mthav—bzhi Vphrul—gsas, with whom they exchanged a copy of text for some food. The text was *Dbal Phur Nag Povi Sgrub Thabs Dang Rtsa Vgrel*^[7] and from then on Bonpo Dbal Phur Nag began its spread in Tibet again. Later Mthav—bzhi Vphrul—gsas passed it to Vo—yug Rgya—ston Khro—vphen who passed it to Zug—ra Vphen. . . This line of passing on and receiving is called the Southern Line of Byang—gter.

After finding some food, the three Nepalese went northward from Stod—lung, and arrived in a place named Byang—nam—ro. There they bartered with three Buddhists who were looking for Buddhist Gter—ma there, using three leathern bags of texts in exchange for their horses and pack. Coming back, the Buddhists did not know they were cheated until they had opened the bags, finding inside were Bonpo textbooks. At last the lot of texts fell into the hands of Gzer—ban Shes—rabs Rgyal—mtshan. He was a Buddhist, but from then on he changed his religion, concretely practising, preaching and teaching Bon. Among his lots of disciples the four best ones who are called Ka Chen Bzhi by Bonpo historians are the most famous. The line that goes down from Gzer—ban Shes—rabs Rgyal—mtshan and his disciples is the Northern Line of Byang—gter. The possessions of the Northern Line is much richer than that of the Southern Line. For instance,

it contained the famous *Vdul Ba Rgyud Drug*, *Kham Chen Brgyad*, 34 volumes of *Vbum Sde*, several volumes of *rDzogs Chen*, *Gze Phurdmar Nag*, *Ge Khod Dkar Nag*, and *Zhang Zhung Thiu Rphen*. The contents of the Southern Line and that of the Northern Line joined together in the hands of the Bonpo Sku — gshen Zug — ra Vphen when the former was in its third generation and the latter in its fifth generation. From then on Byang — gter spread in its integrated contents. In Bonpo historical book *Legs Bshad Mdzod*, which has been published now, there are detailed accounts of Byang — gter's contents which obviously come from *Bon Gyi Bstan Vbyung Dar Rgyas Gsal Bavi Sgron Me* by Spa Bstan — rgyal Bzang — bo. Shar — rza Bkrv — shis Rgyal — mtshan maintains that the total of Byang — gter classics in the Northern Line is 340 volumes. If the figure is accurate, it states that before Gshen — chen Klu — dga, Bonpo classics had begun to take shape in rather considerable quantity. But we can't rule out the possibility that the figure is inflated. Byang — gter got its name because the Gter — ma of A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum spread northwards from Bsam — yas and spreaded widely in La — stod, the place in Northern Tibet. Some smaller Gter — ma belong to Byang — gter also, such as the Gter — ma found on Mount Ti — se by Ngag — tshangs Glud Dbang — phyug and the one unearthed in Bzand — brag Rje — po by Khro — tshang Vbrug — lha.

The Gter — ma which Gshen — chen Klu — dga excavated in Vbri Mtshams Mthav Dkar is the major part of Lho — gter. What deserves attention is that some historical books hold that Gshen — chen Klu — dga's Gter — ma was hidden under ground during the persecution unleashed by Dri — gum Btsan — po. However the language used in the

available materials and their Buddhist style express that they are not the original edition of Dri—gum Btsam—po's age at all, and this point can be affirmed. But how many of them are genuine ? How many of them are the forgery of the later generation ? when were they written or buried? All of these need strict scientific and specific study.

Gshen—chen Klu—dga, the major Gter—ston of Lho—gter, is a very famous historic figure in Bon. When he was young, he took part in wrestling match and was injured, then became a hunchback. So he used to be called "Gshen Sgur" in Bonpo history. He was a layman, living between the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. In tradition it is said that under the instruction of god he found Gter—ma because he was the incarnate of Stong—rgyung Mthu—chen. But several years passed by from god giving him the first instruction when he was thirteen to the first Gter—ma he found when he grew up. Among the Gter—ma he unearthed there are famous *Srid pa' i Mdzod Phug Kham Chen*, and many documents of *Gsang Sngags* and *Sems Sngags*, which have been the most essential texts of Bon. Not like A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum who only discovered Byang—gter but had no relations with Bon, he was not only the descendant of the famous family Gshen, but also practised Bon himself from his childhood. His outstanding achievement was not only finding out and excavating Gter—ma, but also studying, teaching, and preaching the texts he discovered. Among his famous students are Bru Nam—mkha Gyung—drung, Zhu—yas Legs—po, Spa—ston Dpal—mchog and Cog—la Gyu—skyid. They not only carried forward the scholarship taught by Gshen—chen Klu—dga, but also pioneered the cause of Vchad Rtsod

Rtsom Gsum of Bonpo texts. So the achievement of exploring Bon by Gshen — chen Klu — dga and his students had become an important milestone in Bonpo history.

But Gshen — chen Klu — dga's cause was sharply opposed by Buddhists who criticized him, saying he distorted Buddhist text. In turn the Bonpo criticised the Buddhists, saying they distorted the Bonpo text. The debate lasted for about one thousand years. Even at the beginning of this century the famous Bonpo Master Shar — rza Bkrv — shis Rgyal — mtshan still agreed in favour of Gshen — chen Klu — dga. ^[8]

About the quantity of Gshen — chen Klu — dga's Gter — ma there is not a unanimous opinion. We do know that he once dug out two wooden trunks full of Bonpo classics. They say there is still some Gter — ma which could not be dug out. A few other small Gter — ma are grouped into Lho — gter also. The first is Spa — bro Gter — ma. It was discovered not long after Gshen — chen Klu — dga excavated Gter — ma, by Bonpo Sku — gshen Khu — tsha Zla — vod — vbar^[9] in Spa — bro. It is composed of three aspects: Buddhism, Bon and medical science. Khu — tsha gave the contents of Buddhism to Buddhists, the contents of Bon to a Bonpo Sku — gshen named Mgar — nag Vbum — chung to study and disseminate, while he kept the medical contents to study by himself. Later he became a famous Bonpo doctor, and the name Doctor Khu — tsha well — known all over Tibet. The followers of Mgar — nag Vbum — chung brought forward the famous Mgar Gyi Bu Chung Bzhi. He preached the Spa — bro System of Bon whose contents are quite rich, and whose classics about *Gsang Sngags* especially influenced the later generations.

The next is Shel — brag — ma Gter — ma. ^[10] It was dis-

covered by Gnyan — ston Shes — rab Rdo — rje under the rock of Gnyav — long in a place called Nyang — stod when he was grazing cattle there. In it the most prolific is *Rgyu-vi Bon*, with all kinds of doctrines and rituals about *Sel*, *Gto*, *Glud*, *Mdos* and *Vdur*. In addition, the Gter — ma found by Bzhed — ston Dngos — grub Grags — pa in Lho — kha belongs to Lko — gter, called Lho Brag Khom Mthing Ma in history.

Dbus — gter is mainly divided into two parts: Yer — rdzong — ma and Bsam — yas — ma. The former got its name because in history they say it was buried in Yer — rdzong, Lhasa, by Dran — pa Nam — mkhav and Bee — ro Tsa — na in the 8th century A. D. There were three Buddhists from Gtsang — — — Sum — pa Dbang — tshul, Vbri Tshul — bzang and Vjang — bo Dbang — phyug Grags — — — going to Bsam — yas to look for Buddhist Gter — ma. Without any discovery, they continued their seeking journey to Dbus, where they at last discovered Gtey — ma in Yer — rdzong. Instead of Buddhist Gter — ma, it was a Bonpo classics, whose contents included the famous *Bdal Vbum*, *Vbum Nyi Ma Dgu Shar*, etc. The Gter — ma last came into the hands of Gnyen — ston Lha — vbar, whose son Gnyen — ston Gzi — brijid practised Bon and inherited it. The most famous student of Gnyen — ston Lha — vbar was Gyer — ston Khro — gasas, who once Mi — la Ras — pa took as his teacher in accordance with *Legs — Bshad Indzos*.

As a name Bsam — yas — ma is not exact enough, for in the area of Bsam — yas many other Gter — ma were discovered, such as the one which was found there by Nepal A Tsa Ra Mi Gsum, and which was grouped into Byang — gter because the region of its spreading was different. The Bsam — yas — ma that consists of Dbus — gter actually

means Bsam — yas Ca Ti Ma, whose name followed the name of the Tower — — — Ca Ti Sgo Mang Mchod Rten Dmar Po which was built in the graveyard in the South-west to the Monastery of Bsam — yas for awing raksasa, and in which it was said in history the Gter — ma was buried by Snya Li — shu Stag — ring and Bee — ro Tsa — na under the reign of Khri — srong Lde — btsan. Time passed, the Tower was denuded of its outer layer and some pages of the Gter — ma exposed. When the Tower was repaired a box was dug out, inside Bonpo classics were seen. Being afraid of Bonpo magic arts, the box was hidden behind the fresco of the palace of Bsam — yas. When Vbru Dgav — gu Ru — tsa and Sa — dkar Rin — chen — graps were working there as Gnyer — ba, the box of Gter — ma was carried to Kong — po at night by horse. Undergoing many setbacks at last it fell into the hands of the Bonpo Doctor Vo — mchog Por Wa — Pa. In the lot of Gter — ma there are *Khro Bo Rgyud Lnga*, *Mu Mar Gser Dza* and so on. The Bon which was propagated by him is the System of Ca Ti Ma. Also, Bkav Drang Nga Ma and Ka Khol Ma are parts of Dbus — gter, too. (Note: There is also Buddhist Gter — ma "Ka Khol Ma".)

Khams — gter is formed by several smaller Gter — ma, including Mkhas — pa Ban — chung found in Vbrug Ri Khyang Mgo, Skyang — vphags discovered under the rock of White Eagle, Drang — sgom Ting — gsas found in Rma Chen Bom Ra, and Kang — po Gter — ston discovered in Sku Bla Gangs Brag.

The last one is Gter — gsar. It is the main content of the School of Gter — gsar, whose opposition is the School of Gter — rnyig as it is divided in Bonpo history. In Tibetan history, from the decline of the Tubo Dynasty till

the beginning of this century, neither Bonpo nor Tibetan Buddhism Ning — ma — pa stopped their activities of digging up Gter — ma. All the Gter — ma, both the four great ones mentioned above and those dug out at the beginning of this century, belong to Gter — gsar. Therefore among the Five Great Gter — ma, Gter — gsar covers the longest time, has the most complicated possessions. Hence there are many different views towards the problems with regard to some aspects mentioned above, one of which is finding the beginning of Gter — gsar. Spa Bstan — rgyal Bzang — bo^[11] maintains the Gter — ma that Rma — srid Vdzin discovered should be chosen as the beginning of Gter — gsar. On his journeys the Bonpo Sku — gshen Rma — srid Vdzin met a recluse who was the incarnate of Dran — pa Nam — mkhav. After teaching him *Rtsa Rgyud Gsang Ba Gsen Thuo*, the recluse indicated him that if he continued his practices, he could excavate the Gter — ma in Ting Ra Khyung Rzdong. Under the instruction of the recluse he excavated many Gter — ma, including *Srid P'ai Mdzod Phug*, *Gnyen Gyi Snying Bcos Dkar Nag*, etc. Among the students he taught in person there were Bru — ston Nyi — ma Rgual — mtshan, Zhu — chen Ye — shes Rin — chen and so on. Both his son Rma — ston Sdyang — med and his grandson Rma Shes — rab Seng — ge once dug out Gter — ma. During the time from Rma — srid Vdzin to the beginning of this century almost all Tibet Gter — ma were continuously unearthed. Their lists and title catalogues are generally written down in all kinds of Bonpo historical books. Shel — zhid Gyung — drung Rgyal — bo, Sangs — rgyas Gling — ba and Kun — grol Grags — pa are the most famous Gter — ston and scholars of Bonpo Gter — gsar. They are called "Gsar Mavi Sprul Sku Rnam Gsum" in his-

tory. Among the three persons, the first and the last are laymen, while the middle is a monk what is worth of noting is that their Gter—ma is different from the Gter—ma in general. All of that passed down by the first person, Master Shel—zhig, is Snyan—rgyud. What passed down by the middle one, Sangs—rgyas Gling—ba, is divided into two parts: Snyan—rgyud and Sa—gter. The Gter—ma of the last one, Kun—grol Grags—pa, is formed with both Dgongs—gter and Sa—gter. Apart from these, the Gter—ma of Blo—ldan Snying—po is also the most important. It is followed by the ones of Sangs—nga Gling—ba and Gyung—drung Gling—pa, and uncountable smaller ones as well.

By the way, about the Gter—gsar there is an interesting debate between the Buddhists and the Bonpo. Since the fact that the contents of Gter—gsar have thicker Buddhist style, the attitude the Buddhists keep towards Gter—gsar is with some goodwill, and the ones discovered by Ble—ldan Snying—po, Mi—shigs Rdo—rje, Sangs—rje Gling—ba and Kun—grol Grags—pa especially find favour in the eyes of Buddhists. The four are called "Sprul Sku Rnam Bzhi" by the Buddhists who consider that in order to save all mortal beings, Buddha made the Buddhist text spread in the name of Bon whose Four Seals of Doctrines are not against the Buddhist principles. In favor of this point the Bonpo give an clear argument, especially some later Bonpo who extend the recognition of the Four Seals of Doctrines in public and think that the theory of the Buddhists and of the Bonpo are the same, without concern about who follows who. In fact, in the Tibetan history it is the most important and the latest place where Buddhism and Bon both came and mixed with each other.

The above is the main situations of the Five Great Gter—ma of Bon.

3. The Assembling of Bonpo Documents

From the accounts in *Bon Gyi* we can know Gshen—chen Klu—dga handed down his Gter—ma catalogue to the later generation. It may be the earliest Dkar—chag of Bonpo documents in Bonpo history, but we have no way to know for certain. According to the Bonpo historical materials available, the earliest one to epitomize the Bonpo documents was the Bonpo Master Kun—grol Grags—pa of the 18th century A. D. He is the last one of "Gsar Mavi Sprul Sku Rnam Gsum" mentioned in the previous chapter. As a village scholar he is well—known in the Bonpo history for his two books: *Gyung Drung Bon Gyi Bakav Chems Dkar Chag Nging Byed Vod Snang* and *Bstan Pa Spyi Yi Vbyung Khungs Yid Bzhin Nor Bu Vdod Pa Vjo Bavi Gter Mdzod*. The former was finished in 1751, as the first catalogue of *the Bonpo Canon* in Bonpo history. So its unique value is not only in listing bibliography, but also in the formation of the great comprehensive series of *the Bonpo Canon*.

To classify the Bonpo documents which are considered the Word of Gshen—rab there are thirteen methods. They are the Nine Ways, the Four Portals and One Treasury, the Three—division: Common, Outer and Inner, the Three Words, the Four—part Method, and so on. Among them, the method Three words is quite typical. It classifies the spreading and assembled of Bonpo documents in three ways: the Word of Gshen—rab, the Works that Depend on the Word of Gshen—rab, and the Assembly of

the Word of Gshen — rab. What is called the Word of Gshen — rab is the teaching of Bon taught by Gshen — rab, the Works that Depend on the Word of Gshen — rab is the doctrines that are passed down by giving Gshen — rab thought a certain great virtue, and the Assembly of the Word of Gshen — rab is the assembly of the documents about Gshen — rab ' s teaching made by the later generations. The usage of this Three Words method is earliest reputed to *Gzer Mig*. But *the Bonpo Canon* is classified in conformity with the contents. Kun — grol Grags — pa divided the Word of Gshen — rab into four big parts: *Mdo*, *'Phan — yul*, *Gsang* and *Sems*. Among the Bonpo documents the earliest one that put forward the Four — part Method is *Mdo 'Dus*:" After my death, my disciples should assemble (my teachings) in accordance with *Mdo*, *'Phan — yul*, *Gsang*, and *Sems*. Later Spa Bstan — rgual Bzang — bo once quoted this sentence in his book *Bon gyi Bstan Vbyung Dar Rguas Gsal Bavi Sgron Me* with the explanation for it. But the real one who first used this classification to assemble and classify the Bonpo documents in detail may be Kun — grol Grags — pa. Later following him exactly Nyi — ma Bstan — 'dzin and Bkrv — shis Rgyal — mtshan also quoted the sentence, with the result that it became the basis for Bonpo to classify the documents. In spite of the Bonpo quoting what Gshen — rab said to prove the Four — part Method is an orthodox Bonpo method, it is obvious that the Three — division; Common, Outer and Inner and the Four — part Method were influenced by the Buddhists who had already precedents of the two methods.

Kun — grol Grags — pa was from rGya — rong, born by the end of the 18th century A. D. As the tutor of Nam —

mkha' Rab—brtan who was the King of Khro—bco Principality in rGya—rong, he made an extensive plan, with Nam—mkha's energetic support. Their Cooperation efficiently facilitated the biggest assembly of Bonpo documents in Tibetan history, for which they mainly fulfilled four tasks:

The first was collecting documents and catalogues. From the catalogue made by Kun—grol Grags—pa it can be seen he was not the first one to collect the Bonpo documents and his Dkar—chag was not the earliest either. Before him the Bonpo everywhere collected various Bonpo documents in their regions and made catalogues. Some of them can be seen even today, and all of them was assembled very crudely, with the quantity not plentiful nor complete. His work was to try his best to gather the catalogues and books together from every location.

The second task was to add the Gter—gsar. Because Gter—gsar was unearthed later and there were many controversies over it, the catalogue before him did not consist of its contents. It was Kun—grol Grags—pa who grouped Gter—gsar into *the Bonpo Canon*.

The third was classifying and cataloguing. What he must do was not only to collate and classify the newly gathered documents, but also to catalogue the ones which were catalogued in the past by the others. He mentioned clearly in his catalogue that the catalogues before him mixed up the two parts — — — *Mdo* and *Gsang*, which he had to separate. It was extremely complicated to distinguish, classify and catalogue all the documents.

The fourth was to make wood—blocks of the documents catalogued and to print it. Because the carving of the wood—blocks was extremely fine and its procedure

was very slow, the catalogue began to be printed and published only in the middle of the 19th century A. D. It is the famous Khro—bcu edition of *the Canon*.

Important to note here is the catalogue of Kun—grol Grags—pa was not completely similar to the catalogue actually printed by the wood—blocks. In his catalogue, he added some bibliographies that existed in fact but he had no way to obtain them. Perhaps there were other reasons. Anyhow it is better to leave them for further research.

The catalogue made by Kun—grol Grags—pa has thirteen chapters, consisting of 281 categories, among which *Mdo* is, from K to Ri, 55 categories; ' *Phan—yul* is, from K to Tshe, 108 categories; *Gsang* is, from K to Su, 88 categories; and *Sems* is, from K to A, 30 categories. In theory based on an exposition quoted in the classics, he divided *the Canon* into two great parts: The Word of Gshen—rab and the Works that Depend on the Word of Gshen—rab, i. e. *Kanjur* and *Tenjur*. But when he compiled the catalogue in practice he still assembled the whole *Canon* using the Four—part Method. He did not put forward a believable dividing line between the Word and the Works. It was just the focus that was intensely criticized by the later scholars led by Nyi—ma Bstan—'dzin.

After Kun—grol Grags—pa, the accomplished compiler of Bonpo catalogue was Nyi—ma bstan—'dzin, the renowned abbot of the Monastery of Sman—ri. He was born in the beginning of the 19th century A. D. In his childhood he acquired an elementary education and studied Bon from his uncle Gyung—drung Ne—rje, and built the foundation of making a contribution as soon as possible. Since he was thought highly of by Shes—rabs Kong—rje, the abbot of the Monastery of Sman—ri who went to

preach Bon in Mdo—khams, he went to Gtsang led by his uncle to enter the Monastery, under the initiation of Shes—rabs Kong—rje. Then he practiced Bon there under the teaching of Shes—rabs Kong—rje and other famous Bonpo masters. At the age of twenty—two he compiled the famous catalogue *Gyung Drung Bon Gyi Bkav Brten Vgyur Gyi Sde Tshan Bsgrigs Tshul Gyi Dkar Chag Nyung Thus Gshen Bstan Pad Mo Rgyas Pvi Nyin Byed*, whose difference from the catalogue of Kun—grol Grags—pa mainly involved the aspect of classifying thought. He insisted that the catalogue made by Kun—grol Grags—pa is suspected of being asham since he incorporated the documents that did not belong to the Word at all into the Word, especially in the part of *Gsang*. He reclassified, according to his own thought, the work of Kun—grol Grags—pa and made a catalogue himself. According to his catalogue, the Word has 113 categories, while the Works has 293 categories. The two together are 416 categories. In fact he deleted many contents of the former catalogues, so the contents of his catalogue are much less rich and less detailed than that of Kun—grol Grags—pa. In his classification, there is an obvious dividing line between the Word and the Works. His classifying thought to the Word is the structure of the Four—part Method mentioned above. The only difference is he considered the four major parts of the Word to have their own aims: *Mdo* is directed against avariciousness, *Phan—yul* is directed against anger, *Sems* is directed against idiocy, and *Gsang* is directed against the three sources: avacriciousness, anger and idiocy. He thinks this is his newest explanation of the Word. In the Works, he divided each category into two great parts: the Works on the concrete Word, and the Works on the whole thought

of the Word. Further each part is divided into many units of arrangement. The catalogue of Nyi — ma Bstan — 'dzin was studied by professor Per Kvaerne from Oslo University, Norway, and was published in 1974 in the Indo — Iranian Journal, drawing attention from the international Tibetology circles.

Except for the two extant catalogues, there are still other catalogues of books kept in the studies of Bonpo Sku — gshen everywhere, and by the local tribal chiefs, and in temples. Some exist as a part of the catalogue of Bonpo documents, while most are only the bibliographies of the books kept by themselves, but exist no longer. We can only have a restricted view from a few catalogues and some odd scraps of records that luckily exist until today. Both Kun — grol Grag — pa and Nyi — ma Bstan — 'dzin proclaimed in writing in their catalogues that they reclassified and rearranged the catalogues of the predecessors, whose mistakes they corrected. Besides, Nyi — ma Bstan — 'dzin pointed out he corrected the mistakes of classifying in the part of *Gsang* of two catalogues, one of which referred to the catalogue of Kun — grol Grag — pa, the other was not pointed out. It signifies that prior to him, besides the catalogue of Kun — grol Grag — pa, there was another one with rather strong influence also. Among the existent catalogues, *Dpe Rtsis Mun Sel Sgron Me* by Shes — rab Dpal is quite characteristic. He classified the Bonpo documents that were kept in the Monastery of Bkra — shis Meng — bro in Amdo into the categories of *Mdo*, *'phan — yul*, *Gzung*s, *Sems*, etc, and made a catalogue of them with the set more than 40 volumes. At the end of the set he declared his aim of editing the catalogue, saying under the situation that there was only the total number of the books, but not

the titles of them. He did it for the benefit of the later generations. The book also contains all the Bonpo documents that appeared during the time the first Bonpo Gter — ma was found to the time of Khyung — pa Lho — vbri Rgyal — tshan which once reached the figure of 900 volumes, later more than 100 volumes brought forward, and 150 volumes appeared in the region of rGya — rong as well. The author only gives the number, but no detailed materials to study for the later generation. Otherwise the year when it was written is not known.

While Bonpo Master Shar — rzda Bkrv — shis Rgyal — mtshan wrote books and set forth his views on all the life, he collected lots of Bonpo documents. According to the statistics made by his brilliant disciple Grags — ston Ge — seng Bstan — pa'i Rgyal — mtshan^[12], the Word altogether is 127 volumes, consisting of 50 volumes of *Mdo*, 62 volumes of ' *phan — yul*, 11 volumes of *Gsang*, and 4 volumes of *sems*. There are still various categories of the Works, but there are no statistics of them available. Of course the list offered above is only the books kept by Master Bkrv — shis Rgyal — mtshan personally, not the total contents of the *Canon* at that time.

Now what deserves noting is though *the Canon* is mainly composed of Gter — ma we see it not only as an assembly of Gter — ma, because strictly speaking in Bonpo history many documents of their systems of transmission were not buried as Gter — ma. They were recorded in many Bonpo documents, such as *Bon Gyi* and *Legs Bshad Mdzod*, and all the documents were collected into *the Canon*. Besides, according to Mr. Karmay's account, in 1922 J. F. Rock, the American scholar, saw a set of books about *the Canon* in a temple in the district of Tso — so in

the extreme southeastern region of Tibet. In 1928, in the Monastery of Sharugon, in the Northeastern Tibet G. N. Roerich, the Russian Tibetologist, came across the Bonpo documents consisting of 140 volumes of the Bonpo *Kanjur* and 160 volumes of the Bonpo *Tenjur*. The records above are reliable. The Southeastern Tibet and the Northeastern Tibet mentioned here are actually the district of Mdo — khams, the area where the only two xylographic editions of *the Canon* — — — Chos — chen and Khro — bcu — — — are carved, printed and spread.

The Tibetan outflow in the middle of this century caused a lot of Tibetan documents to be sent abroad, the Bonpo documents included. Samten G. Karmay, the Tibetan expert of Bon who is residing in western Europe, once compiled a book, *Bon Gyi Yig Tshang Mthan Byang* which was published in Japan, 1977. The author consulted the catalogue of Nyi — ma Batan — 'dzin and *Bon Gyi Lo Tshigs Rin Chen Sgul Rgyan* by him, *Legs Bshad Mdzod* by Bkrv — shis rgyal — mtshan, etc. But he did not mention the catalogue of Kun — grol Grag — pa. In his catalogue Mr. Karmay classified the documents he had seen into eighteen parts: Mdo, Rituals, Gcod, RDzogs — chen, Protection of the Word, Order of the Word, Founding Ceremony, New Bon, Collected Works of Shar — rzda Bkrv — shis Rgyal — mtshan, and so on. The titles of the books in his catalogue are translated into Latin, while the important ones have English commentaries. The publication of this catalogue offers a good reference book and many materials that were rarely seen before to international Tibetology circles, such as the Collected Works of Bkrv — shis Rgyal — mtshan. It is only 200 years from the age of Kun — grol Grag — pa to now, but after the natural and

man-made calamities that happened in the 200 years none of the two xylographic editions of *the Canon* is found extant. Fortunately a hand-written copy of *the Canon* is kept in Xinlong, Ganzi, escaping the damage by sheer luck after every upheaval. It has been offset printed under the effort of the comrades concerned from the Sichuan Institute of Nationalities. Then *the Catalogue of the Bonpo Canon* is made according to it. It is comprised of 157 categories altogether: 63 categories of *Mdo*, from K to Gu; 67 categories of *Phan-yul*, from K to Ju; 20 categories of *Gsang* from K to W; and the categories of *Sems*, from K to Jt. I compared the classics concerned in the copy of *the Canon* with that in the editions of Chos-chen and Khro-bcu, and found the difference between them is quite significant. It is obvious that they do not belong to the same system of transmission and it enhances the value of this copy. Today it can be seen in many Bonpo monasteries, every university, college and institute concerned. Its publication makes important contribution to the preservation of Tibetan ancient documents as well as to the Tibetological research in China. Apart from the above mentioned religious documents which take the contents of *the Bonpo Canon* as its main part, a large number of books on the histories of religion, monasteries and biographies of personages are also the main component part of Bonpo documents, and its quantity is very considerable.

III. Conclusion

Up till now, besides Tibetan scholars own practice and studies of their culture, scholars of other nationalities at home and abroad, pay great attention to studies on Ti-

betan culture as well. All of this effectively proves the value and significance of the traditional culture of Tibetan nationality. But as one of the two great systems of traditional culture of Tibetan nationality, Bonpo culture has all along the problem that ought to be understood again, for at present some viewpoints on Bonpo culture by Tibetological circles are still based on the understanding obtained from the books by Tibetan Buddhists. There is a lack of modern scholarly breakthroughs concerning several basic established conclusions: A.) The essential contents of Bon religion was just limited to primitive worship of the heaven, earth, mountains and rivers as well as their ancestral gods. It hadn't developed into an artificial religion yet; B.) After its introduction into Tibet, Buddhism gradually replaced Bon religion and became the sole—religion of Tibetan nationality. Furthermore, the so—called Bonpo documents were entirely originated from the documents of Buddhism and therefore without its own traditional documents. The conclusion based on the above mentioned three viewpoints is that only the Buddhist culture is the basis of the origin and the contents of the brilliant ancient civilization of Tibetan nationality. These opinions have some reasonable elements but still need to be further discussed, because of its one—sidedness and not objective. I think the formation of this ideology has three reasons. First, the ideology of worshipping Buddhism and restraining Bon religion in the history of Tibetan nationality. Buddhism was formally introduced into Tibet during the reign of Tibetan king Srong—tsan Gam—po, it prospered during the reign of Tri—song De—tsan and Repachen. From the Later Propagation period, Tibetan Buddhism has gradually held an absolute predominance. The enegetic support

to Buddhism by the Tibetan ruling class and the change of principal religions' position as well as the abstruse theories and systematic rituals that Buddhism possessed caused an oppression of traditional psychology of Tibetan nationality which brought about the fission of Tibetan traditional cultural thought in which Bonpo ideology acted as a basic element. After experiencing an adaptation and readjustment in the process of cultural choice, Tibetans have gradually become believers of Buddhism. Of course, the factors of unyielding elements could not be ruled out. Choosing a kind of new culture and even having the greatest esteem for it must come a negation of the original culture to a certain extent. The failure of Bonpo culture during the struggle between Buddhism and Bon religion is a kind of expression which showed the survival of the fittest to a certain degree. During the painful choices, Bonpo culture was the loser.

The loser, was exiled to the remote countryside far beyond the developed centers of Buddhism. Up to then the final conclusion in the psychology of the Tibetan nationality — — — advocating Buddhism but restraining Bon — — — had basically formed. Later, especially after the formation of both religious and political confusion in Tibet, this idea became more stable and complete. Under the double pressures of political power and religious power the development of Bonpo Culture was at a low and its activities were only limited to the border area. With the long — standing practice of Buddhism by the Tibetan ruling class and the psychological conclusion of advocating Buddhism while restraining Bon, the documents represented a kind of cultural ideology which was infiltrated into the text by the writings of the Buddhists. Because of the outstanding

position and the wide, deep influence of Buddhism in Tibet, the Buddhist works became the main materials for studying the ancient history and culture of Tibet. While most of the Bonpo documents only spread in the small circles of the Bonpo or in Bonpo monasteries, never did they appeal to refined taste. So this cultural ideology is not only passed down by the Buddhists generation after generation, but also influenced other ethnologists whose ideas of Tibetan historical culture are not complete. Although the other ethnologists do not subjectively have any prejudice against Buddhism or against Bon, they were influenced consciously or not conscientiously by the Buddhist ideology. Concerning the Bonpo Culture, they hold many ideas that are not objective, because they have no way to read the Bonpo documents and have no materials to make a comparison. All they read is Buddhist works, which are particularly translated into other national languages, in order to have more readers.

The second reason is made from the prejudice of some research members. In current days, some scholars, including some Tibetan ones, look at the Tibetan Culture as an assembly that is formed by many other national imported cultures. In their eyes, every original source of model of Tibetan historical cultural phenomenon must come from the culture of the neighbours, and the Tibetan Culture is only a receiver of the other mixed national cultures, becoming a multifaceted culture of its own. This kind of prejudice and the model of thinking not only negates the value of the Tibetan Culture and its historical course and developing, but also negate consciously or not conscientiously the basic law that in the same cultural environments and conditions the same cultures may occur in two different

cultural circles. In fact, it is quite natural that the same cultures develop in different nationalities or cultural circles because of the same cultural environments and conditions. But it is too simple to use this phenomenon to explain the cultural link between the different nationalities, or to determine if the other nationalities have the same culture as ours, as a result of our cultural growth. The essence of the thinking is the expansion of a narrow self-centered theory. It must not be done like that. They only see that the Tibetan nationality imported and received many cultures from the other nationalities, but neglect the cultural value of its own cultural system that developed taking Bon as its line, and neglect the national and regional features of the Buddhist Culture which were mixed up with the native culture in Tibet. In the matter of the Bonpo Culture, many people as soon as see the elements of the Buddhist Culture which were drawn and adopted by the Bonpo Culture, take the Bonpo Culture as a branch of the Buddhism or as the Bon which is entirely Buddhilized, but completely neglect the existence and the value of the Bonpo Culture itself as the system of Tibetan native culture, and neglect its common influence and deep influence in the whole Tibetan ancient culture.

The next is the lack of materials and the difficulty of transmission. As the believers of religions, most of the Tibetan ancient and modern scholars of Buddhism or of Bon have a prejudice against each other. In spite of this, many modern middle-aged or young scholars, especially the scholars of other nationalities, study both Buddhism and Bon with an objective attitude, and many of them have penetrating judgement. For historical reason, many Bonpo documents still can't be published to the public, many

precious ones are only kept in small circles of the Bonpo. Since many scholars who desire to research Bon have no way to read them, the objective degree of their research conclusion is influenced. In view of the above mentioned reasons, I insist that our academic circles implement a process to develop another understanding of the Bonpo Culture.

In fact, the Bonpo Culture is not as rich and comprehensive as the praises sung by the Bonpo, nor as simple and coarse as the depreciation given by the Buddhists. Not only is both its sources in Zhang—zhung and its spread in Bod very early, but also its contents are much richer than what we imagine. This is not only reflected in the Bonpo works, but also in the non—Bonpo documents. *Records of the Tibetan Royal Lineage* writes that in remote antiquity the Bonpo divined by astrology. Dunhuang Ancient Tibetan language records the unique theory of acupuncture and moxibustion in ancient Zhang—zhung. Many simple cultural features which are thought to be the Bonpo rituals, doctrines or principles actually contain the seeds of ancient Tibetan science and culture. Along with the development of Bon itself, a lot of knowledge of science and culture which belonged to the Bonpo Culture was incorporated into Bon continuously and enriched, so as a cultural tradition it indomitably acted on Tibetan ancient society. The impression which the works of some Buddhist historians give seems that from the first day when Buddhism was imported Bon was in its last gasp, and from the beginning of the Later Proagation of Buddhism Bon basically disappeared in the Tibetan history. But it is not true. *Bon Gyi* reads: "That time (of khri—ra Ba—can Bstan—pa) was the time when Pha—ba Rgyal—gzigs Gsas—chung 's Bon

was very popular in Zhang—zhung." It shows when Buddhism was initiated at the height in the central region of the Tubo Dyansty, Bon was still flourishing in Zhang—zhung in the border. The Buddhist force was only active in the center of Tibet. It was just the time of the Tubo Dynasty.

The total prosperity of Buddhism began from the Later Propagation of Buddhism. It spread outwards like the shape of a wheel with spokes, but did not reach everywhere. Up to now in Tibet exist large Bonpo parishes. They are the dead spaces which were untouched by the spread of Buddhism. Since all these dead spaces were in the border area that were far from the political and cultural center, they had a comparatively good environment and conditions for developing in every area. Because of the historical changes the Bonpo monasteries could be built and developed in the central region of Dbus later, though with some limitation. The situation of Bonpo documents was just the same. Other than the first lot of Byang—gter from Sman—yas and the Dbus—gter from Lhasa, most of them were unearthed from the Bonpo compact communities in the border area. About the appearance of Gter—ma which included the Bonpo documents in Tibetan history, it is not enough to use fabrication and falsification to explain the property of Gter—ma like the Buddhists and the Bonpo charging each other — — — only for the religious needs. I think the causes of Gter—ma 's formation, other than the disasters that every religion underwent, require more perspective and study from the point — of view of the whole history of cultural development. Observing the developmental history of every national culture, it seems that many aspects of cultural development are the result of

the sudden changes in culture, which occur when history develops on a long time, and whose direct cause is usually the cultural clash. The Gter — ma frequent appearing was the direct result of the time when the Bonpo Culture and the Buddhist Culture, which came from two different sources, got in touch with each other. The cultural clash is the important condition of the cultural sudden change. From Srong — btsan Sgam — po, the wise leader of Tubo, some Bstan — pa carried out enlightened policies. Then they imported from many neighbour nationalities the cultures with different distinctive features in which the Indian Buddhist Culture was a major part, and made Tubo the place where various cultures from different sources united. The cultural unity led to the sudden cultural change, and so produced the great Tubo Culture, which kept forging ahead. The result of the mixture of Buddhist Culture and the Bonpo Culture formed a state of co — existence in one culture. The formation of the Bonpo documents is a very typical example. No doubt, except the documents that have obvious suspicions of falsification, the tradition of the Bonpo Culture is the main line of the Bonpo documents. But the Buddhist influence is also evident. In the matter of the Bonpo documents, they mixed with Buddhism in ideology internally and externally they modelled themselves more after the forms of the Buddhist works. The assembly, the stylistic rules and the layout of *the Canon* just followed the example of the Buddhists. At this point it was similar with the Taoists of the Han nationality who imitated the Buddhists. Mr. Yao Mingda once said: "Taoism rose because of Buddhism; Taoist scripture formed because of Buddhism."

But it is not enough to explain the formation of the

Bonpo documents only from modeling, for it has a complicated history. In the long process of cultural development, the Buddhist incorporated numerous and jumbled doctrines and principles into Tibetan culture. Its rigorous philosophy of thinking dialectics, and its ways of argument developed steadily in the system of scholastic education which became more and more perfect, and gradually adapted and conformed to the Tibetan original culture. All of this made the Buddhist Culture in Tibet more universal and struck a root in the hearts of the people. When they received Buddhism they received the elementary structure of the Indian culture, "The Ten Courses", at the same time. basing on believing in Buddhism and Indian culture. Eminent monks and scholars who had a good command of the Ten Courses (Five Major Courses and Five Minor Courses), were well versed in both Indian and Tibetan learning, and had the outstanding ability of Vchad Rtsod Rtsom Gsum. This way, being pushed by their belief and the development of Bon, they tried their best to classify and grade their own documents; following the Buddhists. On the other hand they tried their best to study the Buddhist classics, and some of them did not hesitate to study in Buddhist temples. For example, both Bonpo Master mNyam—med Shes—rad Rgyal—mtshan and Khan—chen Nyi—ma Bstan—'dzin studied in some Buddhist temples. So long as they graduated and came back they mixed many Buddhist contents with Bon, preached Bon and taught students, wrote books and set forth their views to substantiate the cultural system of their own. So a lot of documents were produced. In this way the system of the Middle Way and the system of the Country of 'Phan were established in later Bon.

Still in the Buddhist works there are reflections about the Bonpo activities. The force of Bon only operated and set against Buddhism during the time of the Tubo Dynasty. It seems to disappear in the stage of Tibetan history when the Later Propagation of Buddhism came, except the time when a few Bonpo came to act as the losers to serve as a foil to the magic arts or the ability to give a convincing argument to a certain Buddhist sage such as Mi—la Ras—ba and Po—thun. In fact, the Bonpo culture was far beyond stepping down from the stage of history. As a latent form it widely exists everywhere in Tibetan society. As a public form its tradition has been operating in the border area of Tibet, and is developing in some places. Buddhist scholars tried their best to cover up the roles that the Bonpo and Bon had played in the Tibetan history — there were two Panchen were from Bonpo families, which were not mentioned in their biographies by Buddhists, but history is fact that once happened and can't be covered up. Hence the influence that the Bonpo Culture had over the development, the formation, the psychological quality, and the cultural mind of the Tibetan nationality is not less than that of Buddhism. So if people want to research the Tibetan Culture, they have to study the Bonpo Culture, and these Bonpo documents are the most essential materials for the study. Along with the further development of the China Tibetology cause, along with the further excavation and the usage of the Bonpo documents, the research work of the Tibetan Culture, especially the ancient culture, will present new ideas. Some final conclusions that seem to be generally acknowledged will be suspected, corrected or negated because of the discovery of new materials; some difficult puzzling problems will get a

more reasonable explanation because of the discovery of new materials; the history of Tibet and the history of Tibetan culture will be described more factually along with the research work of the Bonpo culture which goes deeper and deeper. Bonpo documents are a treasury to which people have not paid much attention, and of which people do not think of highly yet, and it will certainly bring benefit to our cause of Tibetology research.

Notes

[1] Tshul—khrims Rgyal—mtshan, the hand—written copy, in Tibetan language.

[2] Dpal—tshul, the First Volume, pp. 213—219, letter-printed copy published by the Civil Administrative Department of Tibet Autonomous Region, in Tibetan.

[3] Khyung—po Lho—vbri Rgyal—mtshan, Kham—chen Nyi—ma Bstan—'dzin and Shar—rzda Bkrv—shis Rgyal—mtshan all talked about him. It needs further research with whether he once ruled Zhang—zhung and Bod really or not. Anyhow his existence and taking part in the persecution of Bon are possible.

[4] Because the order of their thrones and their names are not the same in the documents of Buddhism and Bon, I don't quote them here.

[5] Shar—rzda Bkrv—shis Rgyal—mtshan, *Legs Bshad Mdzod*, p. 199, Nationalities Publishing House.

[6] Spa Bstan—rgyal Bzang—bo, *Bon Gyi Bstan Vbyung Dar Rgyas Gsal Bavi Sgron Me*, p. 114, the hand—written copy, Tibetan, Shar—rzda Bkrv—shis Rgyal—mtshan, *Legs Bshad Mdzod* p. 239.

[7] According to *Legs Bshad Mdzod*, not only the book was changed for food.

[8] *Legs Bshad Mdzod*, p. 255.

[9] Spa Bstan—rgyal Bzang—bo, *Bon Gyi Bstan Vbyung Dar Rgyas Gsal Bavi Sgron Me*, pp. 125—128.

Dpal—tshul, *Gyung Drung Bon Gyi Bstan Vbyung Legs Bshad Skal Bzang Mgrin Rgyan*, the last Volume, pp. 155—161.

Tshul—khrims Rgyal—mtshan, *Bon Gyi*, p. 65.

[10] *Bon Gyi Bstan Vbyung Dar Rgyas gsal Bavi Sgron Me*, pp. 128—129.

Gyung Drung Bon Gyi Bstan Vbyung Legs Bshad Skal Bzang Mgrin Rgyan, the last Volume, pp. 161—163.

legs Bshad Mdzod, pp. 278—282.

[11] *Bon Gyi Bstan Vbyung Dar Rgyas Gsal Bavi Sgron Me*, p. 139.

[12] *Kun Mkhyen Shar Rdza Bo Okra Shis Rgyal Mtshan Gyi Rnam Thar Ngo Mtshar Nor Buvi Phreng Bo Thar Vdod Mkhas Pavi Mgul Rrgyan*, pp. 269—270, wood—block edition, in Tibetan.

The Universe Structure of Three Realms and The Development of Tibetan Shamanism's Concept about the Soul. ^[1]

Xie Jisheng

Tibetan Shamanism refers to the primitive religion of the Tibetan nationality, or primitive Bonism. It is one variety of Shamanism in Tibetan areas. ^[2] I call the Tibetan primitive Bonism Shamanism because of its theory of the structure and its concept of the soul. The most fundamental feature of Shamanism is the concept of the soul's everlasting existence and ascension. Shaman himself is also a product of the concept of soul. He is the medium between man and soul (or man and deity).

The concept of the soul moving and rising up led to the development of the concept of space. It can be said that for a nationality that believes in Shamanism, the concept of space is the result of the development of the concept of the soul. Space is the area and scope for the activities of the soul, the whole universe is full of souls, and space is divided into many areas where different kinds of souls, good and evil, live. This resulted in the leveled structure of universe, which cannot be separated from the concept of the soul. For a nationality that believes in shamanism, its myths, religious system and political sys-

tem that arise therefrom can be traced to the concept of the soul. This is a pattern that can be shown by the development of Tibetan myths, religious and political history.

The Structure of the Three Realms and Good Souls (bla) in the Heavenly Realm

The structure of the universe in Tibetan Shamanism consists of three realms: The Heavenly Realm (nam — mkhav), Middle Space (bar — snang), Ground (sa) and Underground (sa — vog). According to folk belief, The Heavenly Realm is the realm of deities (lha), The Middle Realm is the realm of btsan, and The Underground Realm is the realm of dragon (klu). This is true of Shamanism in Siberia and other places, which also consists of three realms. These Places also divide the universe into three realms and the Heavenly Realm into seven strata called "The Seven Strata Heaven". The Middle Realm is for human beings'; The Underground Realm is the place for demons and ghosts. It consists of six, three or seven strata.

The division of the universe into realms is related to primitive people's concept that souls can reside in one place or move around. People thought that there were good and evil souls: good souls rise up to heaven where they become heavenly deities and, at the same time, ancestral deities. A logical deduction is that Tibetan myths about ancestors are those of good souls and heavenly deities.

In ancient Tibetan documents discovered in Dunhuang

it is recorded "gnam—gyi—bla—dgung, rje—yab—bla—bdag—drug, 'phyav'", referring to the myth about the arrangement of the order of animals in the human world.^[3] "Gnam—gyi—bla—dgung" means "soul strata in the Heavenly Realm"; "bla" refers to "good soul" which accordingly can reside in heaven (gnam); "dgung" refers to the center of heaven. So "bla—dgung" is the place in heaven for good souls. The deity in charge of "bla" (soul) is the chief of souls (bla—bdag). "Rje—yab—bla—bdag—drug" refers to the six chiefs of souls in the six strata of heaven. "Phyav" refers to the chief of souls in the seventh or the lowest stratum of heaven, just like Shaman, medium between deities and men. So, the Tibetan word "phyav" means "fortune" or "fortune telling". Of the nine vehicles of Bonism, one is "phyav—gshen", to engage in divination, sacrifice, and calling back souls. Thus, "phyav" refers to Shaman. Some scholars maintain that the Manchurian word "shaman" originally meant "heaven" or "heaven's servant". According to Manchurian myth the first shaman was the son of Heaven, the medium between Heaven and man.^[4]

In another Tibetan ancient historical document of Dunhuang, it is recorded "Six Heavenly fathers" settle down in "the seven strata of Heaven", and "above the place where the deity made a landing on the world from the sky were six Heavenly fathers (six brothers) and Khrivi—bdun—tshigs." From these ancient documents it can be seen that to ancient Tibetans Heaven consisted of seven strata (bdun—rim). "Khrivi—bdun—tshigs" in historical documents has the same meaning as "phyav" in documents of mythology. In Tibetan "—vi" is a suffix of possessive case. "Bdun" means "seven"; "khrivi—bdun—

tshigs" refers to the seventh "khri"; the son of khrivi — bdun — tshigs (phyav) was no other than Nyatri Tsanpo, the first Tsanpo of the Tubo Dynasty.^[5] He and the next six Tsanpos were called "The Seven Heavenly Khri", hinting at the seven strata of Heaven. The seventh king, "when his son could ride a horse and shoot an arrow, flew up as a rainbow along a heavenly rope to the sky."^[6] This quotation of a typical by a plot Shaman, refers to a man's soul that could fly upwards after his death.

While practicing religious rituals, a Tibetan Shaman (sorcerer) would wear colorful silk ribbons as a symbol of rainbow; red and yellow ribbons would hang on both sides of the Tangka of a deity image called "the red rainbow" (vjar — dmar) and "the yellow rainbow" (vjar — ser), referring to two rainbows that could carry the deity up to Heaven. The Buriats in Siberia also believed that their shaman could go up to Heaven by a rainbow, so in practicing religious rituals they usually used two ribbons, a red and a blue, to symbolize rainbows.^[7] The "Heavenly rope" (rmu — thag or dmu — thag) in Tibetan myth refers to the way a soul goes to Heaven.^[8]

Color in The three — realm structure of Tibetan Shamanism has special symbolism color; white represents the Heavenly Realm with Yang (masculine) characteristic (to Mongolians and other people who believe in Shamanism, Heaven is blue; they believe in "blue Heaven");^[9] red represents the Middle Realm or the human realm with Yin (feminine) characteristic or blue represents the underground realm with Yin character. A "world tree" goes through all three realms. It is like the following diagram:

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Heavenly Realm (deities) | white Yang | A union of Yin and Yang | A union of Yin and Yang |
| Middle realm (man "btsan") | red Yin or neutral | | |
| Underground realm (dragon) | blue Yin | | |

World tree

The souls (bla) in the Heavenly Realm are the souls that attach themselves to human bodies. Bla can go away from the body and settle down in any object. For instance, bla—shing is "the tree on which the soul settled down"; and bla—rdo is "the stone on which the soul settled down". When a soul was lost and could not find its way back, it could be called back through religious rituals. As a Tibetan document of calling soul back recorded,^[10] the religious objects for calling a soul back included: six—treasure containers, an image of the person who lost his soul (ngar—mi), chang—bu, a lamp—figurine (ting—lo), glud—zdzas, auspicious flags, the viscera of the goat taken for the lost soul, images of male and female sexual organs, colorful arrows, five skeins of colorful wool thread, copper mirrors, and one—sided drums.^[11]

The name and birth date of the one who lost his soul were written on a plate with tin foil (gser—ram), saffron and cinnabar. A piece of the so—called soul—jade (bla—gyu), white barley (nas—dkar), and colorful grain were wrapped in a piece of red silk. This silk, bundled together with the name—plate, was put into the body of a goat, another name—plate and a divine arrow were put on the

back of the goat for the lost soul to go into. In addition, there was a song for calling the soul:

The east demon and evil souls cannot catch the soul,

The south demon and evil souls cannot catch the soul;

The west demon and evil souls cannot catch the soul;

The north demon and evil souls cannot catch the soul.

The soul stone cannot go up to the heaven,

The soul stone cannot go down under the ground;

I, the host of the soul, have clothes and food here;

A divine arrow for the soul to attach itself to is here;

A bright divine mirror is here;

A magic quiver is here;

Colorful wool is here;

Colorful wool thread is here;

You can go this way but not that way;

Your parents are here;

Your relatives are here;

Your brothers are here;

Your wife and friends are here;

Your meat, tea, and clothes are here;

Here are butter, cakes and sugar;

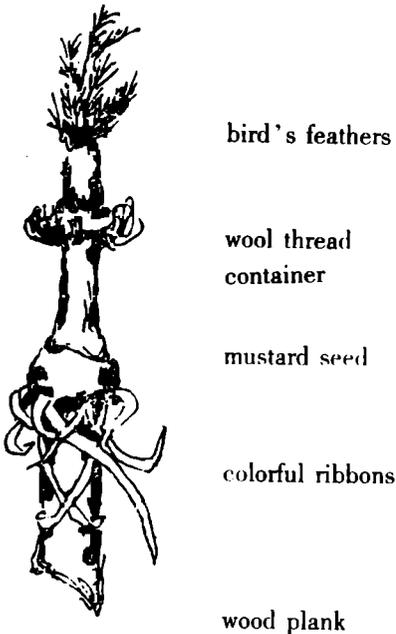
As well as tea, wine, and other things;

Have you heard us calling your soul?^[12]

The speech delivered at the ceremony of calling the soul back describes the soul as not having been caught by

ghosts and with no place to settle down. It exaggerates the happy life and calls the soul to come back. At the ceremony colorful arrows, copper mirrors and the goat for the soul to attach to are used. Similar objects were also used by Siberian Shamans at a ceremony of this kind. Also, Tibetan shamans used figurines of sexual organs and Chang—bu (rgyang—bu). Chang—bu refers to a long wooden stick that combines male and female images. At the top are bird's (usually eagle's) feathers; at the middle is a bundle of wool thread, under the wool thread is a container for white mustard seeds with colorful silk ribbons under it. At the bottom of the stick is a wood plank, on which are drawings of male and female figurines (see the picture as follows).

The colorful ribbons symbolize male sex because Tibetan men are symbolized by an arrow with five colorful ribbons twisted on it; the wool thread symbolizes female sex, because Tibetan women are symbolized by a spindle with wool twisted on it; the eagle's (or crow's) feather on the top of the stick symbolizes that a soul can fly to heaven and people have to call it back. In Tibetan Shamanism the eagle and crow are thought to be incarnations of the soul, and white mustard seeds are sacrifices offered to the deity in



charge of birth (i. e. the male deity pho—lha and the female deity mo—lha). The Chang—bu embodies the belief

in birth power, the calling for life. So it was used to call the soul back.

The body would be buried one year after the person died. The purpose is to restore the soul to the body. In the Tubo period after a Tsanpo died his body would not be buried immediately. Instead, it would be placed in the 'soul — house' and a ceremony to offer sacrifice to the body, actually a ceremony to call the soul back would be held. According to the hand — copied *Tibetan Annals of Major Events in Tibetan History*, in the serpent — year (705), "the body of Tsanpo Khri — du — song was placed in the soul — house of Mer — kevi." One year later (706), "in the winter a ceremony to offer sacrifice to Tsanpo's body was held in Phying — bar."^[13] As recorded in *Sba — bzhed (Records of the Bsam — yas Monastery)*, "when Sal — shang's daughter died, her body was put in an earthen container and the container was buried under her mother's bed."^[14]

There are several souls (bla) in a body. For instance, the soul in one's right shoulder is supposed to be the war — soul (dgra — bla) or war — god (dgra — lha), a soul for protecting the body. If it goes away, the host — person will die. In a marshal contest, Tubo Khrigong Tsanpo lost a game to his minister, who drove the Tsanpo's war — soul away with a fox — dog's body, cut down the soul's way to heaven with a soul — ax under his armpit and killed the Tsanpo.^[15] In addition to the war — soul, there is a male — deity (pho — bla or pho — lha) in the left shoulder; both are fixed in location. When the body is injured, the two souls will come out to resist the enemy. If they go away the host — person will die.

The word 'rtshe — bla' is found on a Tibetan in-

was happy, the reign of the King's three generations did not decline, and the king and his family lived a happy life."^[18] So, the safety of the king's body—soul is related to the safety of the king's state. If "the King's body—soul is not happy and thus brings forth demons, evil souls, pestilence and evil ghosts, the lives of the king and ministers would be in great danger."^[19] From these ancient Tibetan documents of the seventh century it can be seen that the body—soul was the general soul for the body. But it is different from "life" (srog). When the body—soul felt unhappy, the life would be in danger. The unhappy soul would do harm to person and country and put the king and ministers in a dangerous state.

Thus it can be seen that the soul (bla) has undergone a process of change, changing from an individual soul into a deity not included in the concept of soul; that is, "sku—bla" changed into "sku—lha". In manuscript PT1047 there is this sentence: "sku—bla—myi—pang—zhing—lha—gyang—long—bavi—ngo" (when body—soul is strong, divine cause would be prosperous). It shows the difference between bla (soul) and lha (deity). However, the inscribed wooden Tibetan slips unearthed in Xinjiang has the word "sku—lha",^[20] which shows that "bla" is tantamount to "lha". It was perhaps because the body—soul was supposed to have such a role. During the Tubo dynasty there was a ceremony for "praying to the body—soul", not "calling the soul back". It was called "sky—bla—gsol—ba" in Tibetan.^[21]

The meaning of "bla" changed from "soul" to "deity" was the result of the development of the concept of the soul in Shamanism. "Bla" means "deities" that live in the Heavenly Realm, so "bla" also means "upper". "Bla—

ma" (Lama) is supposed to be a term of Tibetan Buddhism, but in fact it reflects the influence of Shamanism. "Bla" is a word for "soul", and "ma" is a Tibetan suffix indicating female. "Mkhav — vgro — ma" is an example. Bla — ma was a word at first referring to the female Shaman in charge of the soul and then to "superior master". Tibetan words with —ma as a suffix rarely refer to male. Instead, the words referring to male always have —po, —pa, or —ph as suffixes.

The Emergence and Development of "Btsan" (Wandering Souls in the Middle Realm)

1. The Differentiation of the Soul. The Emergence of Btsan and Its Characteristics.

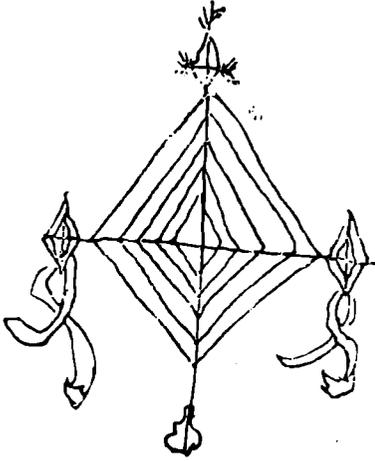
'Bla' refers to the soul existing together with his body when a man lives. It was supposed that if bla could live in a man's body or reside on some object, he would not die. This was the early concept of soul. Btsan^[22] is different from bla. Btsan refers to the soul after one has died. A Tibetan proverb says: "When one dies, 'btsan' begins to live" (mi — shi — btsan — skyes). The difference between 'bla' and 'btsan' expressed Tibetan's concept of death, as well as the fact that Shamanism did not have such Buddhist concepts as "the transmigration of the soul" or "the undying soul". According to Tibetan Shamanism, "bla" could leave one's body and live with something else when one is alive, but after one dies, 'bla' becomes 'btsan', showing that 'bla' has died away and changed into 'btsan'. It was a qualitative change. If bla could transmigrate, bla would not die. So there was no support for the saying: "When one dies, btsan begins to live."

The concept of soul transmigration is a product of syncretism between of the Buddhist and the primitive concept of the soul after the introduction of Buddhist ideology into Tibet. The Buddhist concept of soul transmigration developed on the basis of the Brahmanist concept of the soul. It is the foundation of Buddhist philosophy. The doctrine about the cycle of transmigration is a philosophical reflection of "soul reincarnation". In the concept of soul reincarnation, the soul was considered as an absolute, permanent spirit, and the human body as a container of the spirit. Essentially, it is a doctrine about retribution, i. e. , about the chain of cause and effect, which is not related to the animist's concept of the soul. Some scholars think that the tradition of the living Buddha's reincarnation in Tibet is a reflection of the primitive concept of the soul. But in fact it is a unique form of soul — transmigration in Tibet, a place where primitive religion flourishes. Therefore we cannot take it as a proof to decide that Tibetan primitive Shamanism has the concept of "soul transmigration".

In Tibetan — inhabited areas many local protectorate deities are the 'btsan' of well — known persons who died. For instance, there is a 'btsan' in a ruined castle in Shigatse. There is a story about it that goes like this: An aristocrat owned a castle. A love affair developed between his wife and his secretary. At a horse race ceremony he had the secretary killed by dropping him from a wild horse. The secretary's soul changed into a btsan. The 'btsan' killed ninety — nine of the aristocrat's horses. The 'btsan's spokesman — sorcerer often said, "I have killed ninety — nine of my master's horses to leave one horse for my beloved madam". Throughout Tibetan — in-

habited areas there are many red houses called 'btsan-khang' built for btsan.

Since the soul is an ideological concept, the concept of 'btsan' is ambiguous. This was shown in 'btsan's form, habitation and role. According to Shamanism, the soul could ascend to heaven, so Tibetan btsan, as believed, could not go down to hell. Besides, because 'btsan' is one's soul after his death, the souls of those who died tragically or unnaturally were regarded as ferocious souls, which could not ascend to the heaven to be deities as 'bla', and instead became wan-



nam-mkhav-mdos

dering souls in the Middle Realm.

Tibetan Shamans use "mdos" (a religious object) to catch 'btsan'. "Mdos" is a big cross, around which is a rhombohedron made of silk ribbons and slim sticks. The more complex "mdos" is called "nam-mkhav-mdos" (nam-mkhav-mdos means the sky), which has feathers (bya-spu) with colorful ribbons (dar) on its top, two small "mdos" (called nam-mkhavi-lag-pa-gnyis, meaning Heaven's hands) at its both sides, and a box of white mustard seeds at the bottom. The "mdos" is made to catch wandering ferocious 'btsan'. After a man dies, his soul (btsan) leaves the body and wanders in the air. It is believed that there are many 'btsan' wandering in the air. When they are offended, they cause disaster to the people, so the Shamans try to catch the 'btsan'.

Drawing great inspiration from spiders catching flies

with webs, Shamans made the web—like "mdos" as tools to catch btsan. The feather represent the soul's bird—messenger. The whole body of the "mdos" was regarded as a heaven web with two hands. Originally, the "mdos" was made only to subdue ferocious souls. After gaining the divine power of subduing demons, they became religious objects for subduing all monsters and demons. Thus, there are various "mdos": "bdud—mdos" for subduing demons, "dmu—mdos" for suppressing "mu" monsters, "thevu—rang—mdos" for one—legged ghosts, "sa—bdag—mdos" for earth evil spirits, etc.

A typical btsan—mdos is a wooden red framework decorated with owl feathers (an owl is regarded as a "btsan" bird, btsan—bya—vug—pa), which is related to wandering 'btsan'. The "mdos" pattern can be found on some other religious objects. For instance, "Khram—kha" or "Khram—khavi—shing" (a wooden plate with a web—pattern on its surface) is a religious object for catching ghosts.

During the Tubo period a religious ritual of corpse whipping was held to prevent 'btsan' from harming people. *The Records of Tsanpos* in Dunhuang Tibetan handwritten documents say: "When a Tsanpo (king) or his queen died, the hair of the dead should be knotted, the face painted in red and colorful lines painted on the body. His or her body should then be whipped. All this should be kept as a secret from the outside."^[23] The "lines" referred to the web—pattern of btsan—mdos, and red denoted that the 'btsan' was red. In addition, Tibetan shamans would hold a ritual, of killing ghosts (btsan) on every New Year's Day of the Tibetan calendar. At the ritual, shamans would wear helmets and armors. After the

'btsan' possessed the shaman's body, he would tremble all over. With a painful expression on his face and flashing eyes he would walk through all streets of Lhasa in a wild rage, shooting divine arrows to the ghosts of the old year and finally throwing ghost figurines into a fire. [24]

2. Btsan — dmar — po and the Systematization of the Btsan — Spirits — — Concurrently on the Relationship Between Btsan Belief and Zoroastrianism of Turks in the Middle East.

Btsan — dmar — po means "red btsan". The emergence of the term showed the systematization of the ferocious deities of wandering souls. Btsan — dmar — po refers to a warrior wearing a red helmet and armor, riding a red horse, and holding a red spear and a red rope. Warrior — deities of this kind can be found in epics and myths. I think this was the result of a mixture of Tibetan 'btsan' worship and fire — god (me — lha) worship, because fire played an important role in the worldview of primitive Shamanism. In Manchurian myths fire was regarded as a wandering deity. [25]

As recorded by Thu'ukwan Blobzang Choskyi Nyima in his *Origins and Development of Various Religious Sects*: "In the Drigong Tsanpo period a btsan out of violent death caused disasters. Tibetan Bon — po could not subdue it. So three superior Bon — pos were invited from Kashmir, Bolu and Zhang — chung to deal with it. One of the Bon — pos practiced after the example of the Fire God. He rode on a drum in the air. . . showing his divine power." [26]

Fire worship was the most popular belief in Turkish areas of Central Asia. In the Tubo period Tibetan "btsan" was combined with the Fire God. Obviously, it was related to the fire worship among the Turks in the Middle

East. At that time, fire worship was one of the most important beliefs in the Tubo kingdom. A well-known saying goes: "Without fire and water there is no life." (mye—dang—chu—ni/myed—du—myi—rung—ngo).^[27] In order to hold a ritualist offering to make sacrifices to Heaven (gnam—mchad), Tubo people would have a large pile of firewood (shing—spungs) and three kinds of animals as sacrifices and make a big fire (me—btang—be).^[28]

In Manchurian myths fire was in the Heavenly Realm, and thus was called "heavenly fire".^[29] One of King Gesar's concubines was called "Fire Queen" (me—bzav) because she was said to be a daughter of the Volcano King (me—ri—rgyal—po).^[30] Therefore, fire worship was something Tubo people and middle Eastern Turks had in common. In the eyes of the Tubo people fire could drive away wild animals and overcome disasters, it was a symbol of power and life, and it has something to make one feel excited. These attributes of fire had something in common with their ancestor worship. The ancestors' military qualities and fire's natural attributes made possible the connection of btsan with fire.

Tibetans believe that btsan live primarily in The West.^[31] The concept of the btsan's location is also related to fire worship. The West is where the sun sets. So Tibetans have a saying: "The king of The West is a fire cloud (de—nub—rgyal—po—me—sbyin)." ^[32] Fire worship also prevailed in the Western Regions. Naturally, the btsan, as it acquired the idea of fire deity, was believed also in The West. This conformed to the Turks' idea of The West. As the old *History of the Tang Dynasty: Chapter on Uygur* recorded, when the Tang princess married the Uygur king, she first of all kowtowed to The West.^[33]

Gaochang people also prayed to The West when a rainbow appeared.

Tibetans believed that one of leading deities of 'btsan' was the soul of a chief named A — tsar — dma — po, who lived in "black wind's mandala in a copper castle on a wide place in the Western Heaven" (nub — phyogs nam — mkhavi — klong — lang — nas zangs — mkhar — dmar — povi — nang — shed — na rlong — nag — vkhrugs — pavi dkyil — vkhor — nas).^[34] The btsan was a butcher in red who lived a short life.

The idea of fire god is embodied by btsan's dress. Btsan is always dressed in red, similar to the hero soul in Iranian Zoroastrianism. In the epic of King Gesar and Tibetan Bonist scripts, 'btsan' is described as cloaked with fire and living on a high copper mountain (zangs — ri — dmar — po) or a red cliff (brag — dmar), because copper is red. The idea of "copper in The West" was brought forth by the Buddhist idea of four directions relating to four kinds of material. So Tibetans believe that "The East relates to crystal (white); the south glass (blue); the west copper; (red) and the north gold (yellow) (shar — shel — lha — phyogs — beedvu — rya/nub — phyogs — zangs — la — byang — phyogs — gser).^[35] In Mongolian Shamanism there is a custom of burying the dead on a red cliff. It is believed that by doing so the dead body could be protected by the dead man's soul.^[36]

The idea of a red "btsan" led to that of a red Middle Realm, where the btsan wandered. It resulted in the idea of ferocious deities of the btsan system of Tibetan Shamanism. The chief of ferocious deities was Tsivu — dmar — po, who is believed by Tibetans to be the king of hell. However, he does not live underground, but above

the ground. He lives in a red castle, a typical house of the *btsan*, which stands on a copper plain surrounded by copper cliffs rising up to the sky, with red eagles flying and *btsan* wandering in the air and poisonous snakes climbing; in the center of the red cliffs is a boiling sea of blood.

Afterwards *Tsivu—dmar—po* became the protector of the *Bsam—yas* (Samye) Monastery, the first monastery in Tibet. By the side of the monastery a *btsan—khang* (soul—house for catching wandering souls) was built for him, which was always covered with red cloth. When one is dying, *Tsivu—dmar—po* would send ghost—soldiers to catch the dying man's *btsan*, which is transformed from *bla*, put it into the *btsan—khang* and chop it up on a piece of wood. It is said that the wailing and howling of ghosts was always heard in the night near Samye and traces of scratching could be seen on the small windows of the *btsan—khang*.^[37]

There are seven *btsan—khang* near Yamdrok Lake along the way from Lhasa to Shigatse. It is said that they belong to the seven fire—god brothers of the *btsan* system (*vbar—ba—spung—bdun*). Their seven wives were ghost—soldiers of the king of *btsan* and were also seven red goddesses each with a dog head; the first goddess had red eyes, vomited poisonous gas, and was a *lha—btsan*; the second one ate men's brain and was a red—cliff—*btsan* (*brag—btsan—dmar—po*); the third one had blood—red eyes, vomited poisonous gas, and was a *klu—btsan*; the fourth one had dark—blue eyes and a bag full of diseases was a *bdud—btsan*; the fifth one would kill people by biting their necks; the sixth one was the same as the fifth one.^[38] *btsan* also inhabit the divine arrow painted in red and inserted in *La—rtse*, a pile of stones on mountain tops

in Tibetan areas; btsan even exist on the red hats worn by some high-ranking Buddhist monks. The red hat, called btsan-zhav, is decorated with an image of Amitabha, the Buddha in charge of men's life-span, and covered with a piece of red silk. Some sorcerers wear btsan clothes (btsan-chas) and red hats (btsan-zhav) with an image of a human skeleton as a symbol of wandering souls.

3. "Btsan-po", a Reflection of the Idea of the Soul in the Primitive Form of "Politics Combining with Religion".

In the old and new *History of the Tang Dynasty* Btsan-po (Tsanpo) refers to the king. The word "Btsan-po" came from "btsan". Thus it was a great development of the idea of the soul. The reasons why people took "btsan" instead of "bla" as the term for king are as follows:

(1) "Btsan", referring to the soul of the dead, hints at ancestors. Ancestor worship was important in Tibetan folk religion in the early period of class society. Thus "btsan-po" (tsanpo), meaning "king", was related to ancestor worship. On the other hand, "bla", represents the soul of the living, has no relationship to "ancestor".

(2) Btsan as a deity was changeable in form and thus was more easily shaped than that fixed in form.

(3) Btsan as a deity in the Middle Realm played a role of medium between men and deities.

(4) Mixed with the traditional fire god worship, "Btsan" acquired the shape of a human being and its personification was accelerated, in accordance with the social development of the Tubo society then. Other primitive deities could not reflect the characteristics of early Tubo society. Thus, the term "btsan-po" showed traces of fire worship. For instance, the "lde" of "Khri-lde-gtsug-bt-

san" was often used in the names of btsan—po in Tibetan legendary epoch, such as "rgyal—po—lde—brgyad". "Lde" referred to the Fire of constellations. In modern Tibetan, "lde", as an adjective or a verb, still means "heat", "warm", or "to bake". For instance, "ni—ma—lde—ba" (be exposed to the sun), "me—lde—ba" (warm oneself by a fire). "Gtsug" also means "fire". For instance, "gtsug—phud—can" means fire. A tsanpo (king) was named "Me—khri—btsan—po", with "me" meaning "fire".

Tsanpo's palace also reflected the relationship between btsan—po's btsan and an evil soul's btsan. According to Dunhuang literature, btsan—po lived in brag—mar palace. Brag—mar or brag—dmar^[39] means "red cliff", a popular term for the residence of the btsan mixing with idea of fire god. Many red—cliff btsan (brag—btsan—dmar—po) dwelled on red cliff. "Btsan—po" after becoming a term used for king still had a btsan's characteristics. His dwelling was still called "brag—dmar". During fieldwork in the summer of 1986, the author found "brag—mar" was north to Bsam—Yas (Samye) Monastery and south to Mchims—bu, which was the exact dwelling place of Tsiyu—dmar—po, chief of btsan.

The author holds that "btsan—po" was originally a term for a kind of Tibetan Shaman. In affixing, —po is primarily a suffix for males. With btsan meaning "wandering souls," btsan—po probably referred to a sorcerer representing the btsan. Even today, in some monasteries, sorcerers are still called btsan—po.

Bla dwelled in the Heavenly Realm. Bla's chief, bla—bdag, was a heavenly deity. Six bla—bdag were six legendary ancestors of Tibetan nationality, ancestors of the

Tibetan royal house. Btsan dwelled in The Middle Realm. So btsan—po became the king of human beings. So, in the text of the Uncle—Nephew Alliance Tablet between Tang and Tubo, tsanpo was called "vphrul—gyi—lha—btsan—po" (the Great Shaman who can transform himself physically).

From this we can see traces of the development of the concept of the soul. Dwelling in Heaven, "bla" was considered to have more divinity and was absorbed into Tibetan Buddhism as a good soul. Bla—ma (female Shaman) became a term for superior master. On the other hand, the btsan dwelling in the Middle Realm was an evil soul and mixed itself with the fire god, and thus was characterized by bravery and power, while the meaning of "btsan—po" changed from "male Shaman" to "king".

From this it can be seen that the idea of the soul was directly related to Tibetan political and religious systems. As the systems were both based on the primitive belief of soul worship, they had common ideological roots to be combined. This led to the amalgamation of political power and religion. As a result, through the official posts of Shamans, the idea of the soul and Shamanism was consolidated in local governmental departments.

The old Tibetan society had Shamans in the highest levels of government. Political affairs, selection of the incarnation of Living Buddhas, weather forecast, etc. would be decided by oracles. Before the fifth Dalai, the oracle deity was said to dwell in Ska—ma—khyā of Dga—gdong in the neighborhood of the Sera Monastery. Then he was replaced by Pe—har, who was a deity with a human body and an eagle's head. The deity was worshipped originally by a Turkish tribe (some people said it was Yugur) in

Central Asia, and then was introduced by Padmasambhava to Tibet at about the eighth century. In Tibet, after having been worshipped in Bsam—yas Monastery for several centuries, it was moved to Tshal—gung—thang by the Lhasa River. Being on bad terms with a local sorcerer, it was caught by the sorcerer with a "btsan—mdos", put in a box and thrown into the river. The box was dredged up from the water by the side of Drepung. When the box was opened, Pe—har transformed itself into a white dove, dwelling in a tree. Thus a monastery was built by the tree, which was called Nechung (Gnas—chung).^[40] This was a myth that has the same plot, such as "bird", and "tree", as that of Turkish tales in Central Asia. The "white dove" and the "white water—bird" of a Manchurian myth have the same element of myth.^[41] It was the origin of the plot of Pe—har being thrown into the water.

**Disappearance of Hell, a Feature of
the Cosmic Structure in Tibetan
Shamanism — — a Brief
Analysis of the
Tibetan "Dragon"**

The three realms of Tibetan Shamanism are full of spirits and souls. The good souls "bla" become deities, whereas ferocious souls "btsan" although they do not fall into hell, wander in the air. Hell headed by Tsiyu—dmar—po, is also on the earth instead of under the ground. Though the Buddhist idea of hell was introduced into Tibet, it could not completely change the belief that already existed. The author holds that its origin can be traced to

Tibetan myth and the primitive idea of Yin and Yang. According to Tibetan Shamanism's three — realm world view, the difference between Heaven and Earth is that of Yin and Yang, instead of good and bad as Buddhism holds. In the Tibetan concept there is no absolutely bad soul. Although Btsan is referred to as a bad soul, it sometimes is referred to as a good deity, even as an ancestor, who could protect people. Tibetans do not have the idea that the underground is bad. Earth and Heaven are Yin and Yang which are a unity.

As recorded in Dunhuang Documents, Pra — dag (Heavenly God) dwelt on the third level of Heaven and his queen on the sixth level under the earth. The Heaven (gnam) was Yang (pho); the Earth (sa) Yin (mo).^[42] The idea was clearly recorded in a Tibetan address to deities during a sacrificial ceremony; it says that the father was the Heaven (pha — gnam), the mother was the Earth (ma — sa), and their son was a wild horse (bu). "The father is the Heaven with roaring thunder, the mother is the Earth with bright lightening, and the son was a fine horse, the cream of the snow mountain."^[43]

The order of Tubo remote kings also reflected the same idea. Nyatri Tsanpo's wife was named Gnam — mug — mug, representing the Heaven; their son was Mu — khri btsan — po (Mutri Tsanpo), whose wife's name was Sa — ding — ding, meaning the Earth.

The system of gods in Bon religion also reflects the idea. In Bonism the highest god in the Heavenly Realm is Srid — pa — sangs — po — vbum — khri. His wife, Chu — lcam — rgyal — mo (water madam), was originally called Sa — trig — er — sangs. "Sa" means "earth"; trig — er — sangs is trig — e — sang, a Bonist term, meaning Yum — che — mo

(great mother). Therefore "Sa — trig — er — sangs" can be translated as "the mother of great earth".^[44] The Tibetan "earth mother" was the same as the "earth mother Balajier" in mythical tales of Manchurian Shamanism;^[45] it was the same belief as "Heaven Yang and Earth Yin" in Mongolian Shamanism.^[46]

In the "three realms" of Tibetan Shamanism, dragon (klu) are believed to dwell in the Lower Realm.^[47] According to the Bonist canon *A Hundred Thousand Dragons*, dragons dwell in great oceans, great rivers, marshes, waterfalls, ponds, cliffs, earth, and all places of the Lower Realm.^[48] In a Naxi pictograph, a dragon is drawn in the style of the following picture:



Tibetan dragons are also drawn like this. There are "dragons with hog's heads", "dragons with ox's heads", "dragons with a horse's head," and even dragons in children's forms". The author proposes that the Tibetan dragon came from the frog, as the frog is usually offered as sacrifice to the dragon by Bonist priests. Frog is called sbal — ba in Tibetan. Some scholars claim that sbal — ba is an old term for "fish" (nya) in Tibetan. Tibetan people do not eat fish, or frog; this taboo might be a survival of dragon worship. A legend in the Tubo period tells a story in which Lha — tho — tho — ri — gnyan — btsan Tsanpo's grandson Vhrong — gnyan — lde — ru married Mchims — za — klu — rgyal, who originally was a beauty, but later became ugly. Vhrong — gnyan — lde — ru asked his wife why it was so. She answered: "There is

a kind of delicious food in my home town. But I cannot have it here, so I am becoming ugly." The king ordered his servants to get it. A lot of fried frogs were taken from her home town and kept in the storehouse of the palace. After eating frogs, the queen was beautiful again. The king was so curious about it that he secretly opened the storehouse and found dead frogs in it. Misgivings clouded his mind. He died from leprosy.^[49] The queen's name showed that she was in fact a dragon—king (klu—rgyal) in the area of Mchims. It is why in the legend of King Gesar, dragon—king is a big frog.^[50] The *Dongba Canon*, a reproduction of Bonist canon, also recorded that the Naxi people worshipped a "Big Golden Frog".^[51] From this it can be seen that Tibetans dragon worship initially was, in fact, the worship of the fish and the frog.

In the process of the development of religion, Indian dragons (naga) and Chinese dragons (long) were introduced into the primitive Bonist dragon worship. As a result, dragon worship had abstract characteristics and thus became one of the foundational religious beliefs. For this reason, the Tibetan word "klu" (dragon) was taken as a transliteration of the Chinese word "long" (dragon).^[52] However, the Tibetan dragon is different from the Chinese dragon; the former dwelling under the ground, and the latter in heaven.

As the Tibetan world view of the three Realms has the belief of Heaven (Yang: masculine) and Earth (Yin: feminine), the dragons under the ground are of Yin character, called "female dragon" (klu—mo). According to my inference, the belief that the earth was the female dragon was perhaps connected with the primitive idea of earth mother. The dragon myth was perhaps a form of the

myth of earth mother. There was a myth of earth mother giving birth to all things in the world. Accordingly there was also a myth of a female dragon giving birth to all things. The *A Hundred Thousand Dragons* said, "The dragon head became the sky, its right eye became the moon, its left eye became the sun, and its four upper teeth became four stars; when the female dragon opened her eyes, it was day, but when she closed it, it was night; her voice became the thunder, her tongue became the lightning, her breath became clouds, her tears became the rain, her blood became the ocean, and blood vessels became ocean currents, and her bones became mountains."^[53] It is thus clear that the myth of a dragon was the same as that of an earth mother giving birth to all things.^[54] The primitive Tibetan dragon was the Yin in the unity of Yin and Yang.

NOTES

[1] This is a thesis presented to "The China National Workshop of Narrative Literature of Nationalities of Altaic Languages and Shamanism Culture."

[2] According to the author, Tibetan Bonism (Bon—po) has gone through two development periods: Primitive Bonism and Bonism. The former was on the whole the same as Shamanism; while the latter, having absorbed some elements of Zoroastrianism of Iran and Buddhism, was a systematized religion based on primitive Bonism.

[3] F. W. Thomas, *Ancient Folk literature from Northeastern Tibet*, 1957, Berlin. Ch82IV.

[4] Fu Yuguang, *On Manchurian Shamanism's Concept of Heaven*, *World Religion Studies*, Vol. 4, 1987.

[5] Wang Yao and Chen Jian, *Historical Documents of the Tu-*

bos Discovered at Dunhuang, p. 97. Nationalities Publishing House, 1980, Beijing.

[6] *History of Genealogy of Kings*, Tibetan edition, p. 55. Nationalities Publishing House, 1981, Beijing.

[7] Nebesky, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, pp. 538 — 555. Some notes on Tibetan Shamanism, Graz, Austria, 1975.

[8] Dmu—thag: dmu refers to edema, or a monster under the ground, or an ancient nationality. Etymologically, in ancient Tibetan "dmu" was "mu—", together with "sman" (referring to a female goddess) forming the word "mu—sman". Other languages of the Tibeto—Burman language family, "mu" in the Kachin language refers to "heaven", "thunder", and "lightning"; "mu" in the Nu language is "heaven". Thus the "dmu" (mu) in ancient Tibetan most likely means "heavenly deity" or "rainbow". One Dunhuang document (PT126. 2)has a description about the "heavenly rope": "From the light of sky and the mist of ocean comes the white coagulum of Bonism, which is pulled by the wind and formed into a long thread twining round a tree. The thread is called Heavenly, or auspicious rope."

[9] Xie Jisheng, *A Research into Tibetan People's White—Color Worship*, *Folk Literature Forum*, Vol. 3, 1986.

[10] *Bla — bslu — bsdus — pa — vchi — med — srog — sbyin — bzhugs—so*, a Tibetan wood—block edition kept by the author.

[11] A single — sided drum (phye — rnga), Tibetan Shamanism's chief religious object and object used for flying.

[12] *Bla — bslu — bsdus — pa — vchi — med — srog — sbyin — bzhugs—so*. p. 2a — —p. 2b.

[13] Wang Yao and Chen Jian, *Historical Documents of the Tubos Discovered at Dunhuang*, p. 25, pp. 109—110. Nationalities Publishing House, Beijing, 1980.

[14] Quoted from *White Annals* by Gedun Chopel, translated into Chinese by Fa Zun, Research Center of Northwest Institute for Nationalities, 1981, Lanzhou.

[15] Records of this kind can be found in *Historical Documents of the Tubos Discovered at Dunhuang*, *A Feast for Wise Men*, and *Records of Tibetan Royal Lineage*.

[16] Wang Yao and Chen Jian, *A Record of Tubo Documents Inscribed on Wooden Slips*, Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1985, Beijing. In No. 422 there is the following words: "rtshe—bla—rtshe—sman—dang—gyang—gsol—bavi. . ."

[17] *Story of King Gesar: Subduing Demons*, Tibetan edition, pp. 27—28, Gansu People's Publishing House, 1980, Lanzhou.

[18][19] Wang Yao and Chen Jian, *A Study of the Divination in the Tubo Period*, Hong Kong Chinese University Press, 1987.

[20][21] On the inscribed wooden slips unearthed in Xinjiang there are such words "offered sacrifice to the body—soul. . ." (sprevu—lo—la/sku—bla—gsol—bavi. . .) See Wang Yao and Chen Jian *A Record of Tubo Documents Inscribed on Wooden Slips*, No. 427, Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1985, Beijing.

[22] As to btsan, I wrote another article about it. See my article entitled *A Study of Btsan and Gnyan* in the *Tibetan Studies*, Vol. 2 1987.

[23] Wang Yao and Chen Jian, *Historical Documents of the Tubos Discovered at Dunhuang*, p. 45, p. 124.

[24] Helmut Hoffmann, *Manifestations of Tibetan Shamanism*, Tibet Society Bulletin, Vol. 10, 1976.

[25][29] Fu Yingren, *Manchurian Myths and Fairy Tales*, pp. 107—113. Beifang Literature and Art Press, 1985, Harbin.

[26] Thu'u—kwan—blo—bzang—chos—kyi—nyi—ma, *Origins and Development of Various Religious Sects*, Tibetan edition, p. 381, Gansu People's Publishing House, 1984, Lanzhou.

[27] F. W. Thomas, *Ancient Folkliterature from Northeastern Tibet*, Berlin, 1957.

[28] See PT No. 986 of Tibetan Hand—written Documents Discovered at Dunhuang.

[30] *Story of King Gesar: Subduing Demons*, Tibetan edition, pp. 158 — — 159, Gansu People's Publishing House, 1980, Lanzhou.

[31] There are repeated descriptions of the activities of btsan in the west in the *Story of King Gesar*.

[32] *Teachings of Five Deceased Kings: Section on Deities and Demons*, p. 36a, wood—block printing in Tibetan, kept in the Cen-

tral Institute for Nationalities.

[33] *Chapter on Uygur*: "When they arrived at the Uygur court, an auspicious day was chosen for the princess to become the Uygur queen. . . Uygur women taught the princess how to abide with the Uygur laws and regulations. . . went out of the building to kowtow to The West."

[34] I have the wood-block printing in Tibetan; *chos-skyong-gi-gsol-mchod-skor-phyogs-bsdus-vdod-vbyung-dpal-gyi-rdzing-pu-zhes-bya-ba-bzhugs-so*, p. 40a.

[35] I have the wood-block printing in Tibetan; *bun-mong-vbrel-sgrig-byed-pavi/lha-rnams-mnyes-byed-bsangs-yig-bzhugs*, p. 40a.

[36] *Mongolian Shamanism*, translated into Chinese by Ma Manli, in *Information and Material about Mongology*, Vol. 2 1984, Hohhot.

[37] R. D. Nebesky, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, pp. 166-176, Graz. Austria, 1975.

[38] Ditto. pp. 166-176. when I was investigating I found the *btsan-khang* for *tsivu-dmar-po* had been destroyed.

[39] In the ancient Tibetan language, the letter 'd' in adjective suffixes such as *dmar* and *dkar* were often omitted and written as *-mar*, and *-kar*.

[40] Nebesky, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, pp. 166-176. Graz. Austria, 1975.

[41] Fu Yuguang, *On Shamanism's World Outlook*, in *World Religion Studies*, No. 4, 1987.

[42] F. W. Thomas, *Ancient Folkliterature from Northeastern Tibet*. Berlin, 1957.

[43] Tibetan wood-block printing, *bun-mong-vbrel-sgrig-byed-pavi/lha-rnams-mnyes-byed-bsangs-yig-bzhugs*, p. 12b.

[44] Please refer to the other articles I have written about the myths of Bonism.

[45] Fu Yuguang, *On Shamanism's World Outlook*, in *World Religion Studies*, No. 4, 1987.

[46] The highest chief of the Xiongnu (Hun) in ancient China

said he "was born by the heaven and earth, and he, the Xiongnu great chief, was installed by the sun and moon." Dorje Banzarov said, "In fact, they (the Mongolians) regard the sky as the source of masculine power of the nature and regard the earth as the source of feminine power. The former gives life, while the latter gives shape." See Dorje Banzarov, *The Black Religion, or the Mongolian Shamanism*, in *Reference Materials for the Study of Mongolian History*, Vol. 17, ed. by Mongolian History Research Center of the Inner Mongolia University, March 1965, Hohhot.

[47] There is another kind of dragon that live in the Heavenly Realm, called "vbrug".

[48] According to the Tibetan wood—block printing *A Hundred Thousand White Dragon Canon*, p. 2a, collected by the author.

[49] The story is in *A Feast for Wise Men*. Also quoted by Tong Jinhua in his *History of Tibetan Literature*, Chinese edition, p. 310, Sichuan Nationality Publishing House, 1985, Chengdu.

[50] *Battle Between Men and Ling*, Chinese translation edition by Wang Yinuan, p. 351, Gansu People's Publishing House, 1985, Lanzhou.

[51] Mu Lichun, *Totem Decorations of the Naxi People— — Sheep Skin*, in the Vol. 2 of *A Collection of Papers on Literature and Arts of Yunnan Ethnic Minorities*, China Folk Literature Publishing House, 1983, Kunming.

[52] Dragon is also called "lu" in Mongolian.

[53] Helmut Hoffmann, *Tibet, A Handbook*, Chapter VII, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

[54] See Xie Jisheng, *An Exploration into the Myths of Tibetan Bonism*, in *Nationality Literature Studies*, 1988, Vol. 4, Beijing.

A Brief Introduction to the Translation of Buddhist Scriptures during the Period of Tubo Kingdom

Xiong Wenbin

The period of the Tubo kingdom was the historical period in which the Tibetan nationality came into being. It was also an important historical stage in which Tibetan culture was gradually formed. As is known to all, Buddhism is the main component of Tibetan Culture and translation of scriptures has played a very important role in the introduction, propagation and development of the Buddhist culture. This article is going to discuss the historical role of translation in the spread of Buddhist culture and its historical status in the formation of Tibetan culture so as to push forward further study in this field.

There were two principal translation centers of Buddhist scriptures during the period of Tubo kingdom — the proper areas of Tubo and Dunhuang. This article will mainly keep discussion on the proper areas of Tubo kingdom.

Origin of Buddhist Scripture Translation

Academic circles generally hold that Buddhism was formally introduced into Tubo society on a large — scale during

the reign of the Tibetan king Srongtsan Gampo . However , according to the records of Tibetan materials the possibility could not be ruled out that Buddhism had penetrated into the Tubo kingdom during the times of the Tibetan king Lhathothori Nyantsan . Why Buddhism was unacceptable by Tubo society at that time has more than two reasons ; on the one hand , during the period of Lhathothori Nyanbtsan , the old traditional culture of the Tubo kindom which took Bon religion as its main part was flourishing , dominating the social ideology while the policy of " Bon religion supporting state administration " was carried out ; and on the other hand , the cultural and economic closed — door policy hindered cultural exchanges between the Tubo kingdom and its neighbouring countries and areas . Therefore , there were no foundations and requirements for cultural exchanges on a large — scale . Although Indian scholars such as Li These , Lhosingmtso , Leggyin , and others bringing Buddhist scriptures , vessels , and Snyan — po — gsang — ba came to Tubo in order to seek believers for the declining Indian Buddhism , eventually they had to return to India disappointed because there was no written language in Tubo then . ^[1]Tubo people did not understand Sanskrit . Maybe those Indian scholars did not know Tibetan either , ^[2]so they could not communicate with one another . Thus the evangelists could only enshrine and worship the Buddhist Dharmasecretly .

While Tibetan kings Stagri Nyanzigs , Namru Lhungtsan , and Srongtsan Gampo roused themselves for vigorous efforts to make the country prosperous , annexed and unified U and Tsang , established the Tubo kingdom , and enabled the society to make great strides , the traditonal culture of the Bon religion could not satisfy the requirements of the newly

born ideology of the kingdom. At that time Buddhism was widely disseminated in Tubo society. Compared with the Bon religion, Buddhism had its complete set of theories and religious practise which was able to meet the ruling needs of the Tubo kingdom more suitably. That had been the very purpose of successive Tubo rulers giving energetic support to Buddhism since the Tibetan king Srongtsan Gampo. However, the big language problem which lay across the way of widely disseminating Buddhism in Tubo society could not be settled in one stroke. For this reason, when Buddhism was spread to the Tubo society, learning foreign languages and training translators became the pressing matter of the moment.

The Tubo rulers were conscious of the importance and necessity of the translation problem, so they paid great attention to the cultivation of translators from the beginning. Thonmi Sangpota was the first translator cultivated by the Tubo kingdom by whom Buddhist scriptures such as *Mdo — sde — pad — ma — kar — po — dkon — cog — sbyin* (*White Lotus Scripture*), *Gzung — tsin — ma — ni* (*Chintamani Sutra*), and others were translated. ^[3] Under the energetic support of the Tubo kings voluminous Buddhist classics were continually translated and introduced into Tubo. In history it also formed the first climax of Buddhist scripture translation on a large-scale.

Way to Cultivate Translators

There were two main ways to cultivate translators during the period of the Tubo kingdom. The first was sending students to India and the Tang empire respectively to learn languages in order to lay foundation for Buddhist scriptures

translation.

During the reign of Srongtsan Gampo, students were sent to India many times to learn languages. In accordance with *Mkhas — pa'i — dga — ston* (*A Feast for Wise Men*), the first time many intelligent ministers were sent to India but failed, the another sixteen ministers with gold were sent again, but some of them were impeded by the long, hazardous route from Tibet to India. Some of them died of the intense heat of summer, and the rest returned empty — handed. ^[4] After that, Thonmi Sampota, a young and bright minded person was sent to India. He travelled extensively for study in India and sought masters everywhere. Finally he took the great Brahmana master Legyin as his teacher and learned languages and Drarigpa (s'ab — davidya) from him, bringing about Srontsan Gampo's great aspiration of " using Buddhist Dharma to pacify his subjects ". Later, Thonmi Sampota learned Drarigpa and various kinds of Mahayana classics from the great master Lharig Singge. He mastered branches of learning thoroughly and returned to Tubo with Buddhist scriptures of Mahayana. Time and again Srongtsan Gampo sent many scholars to India for study at any cost to settle the pressing needs of Buddhist scripture translation. His intention thus could be seen obviously. The Tibetan king Trisong Debtsan also carried out this policy vigorously, and sent many scholars such as Namkha Nyingpo, Nampar Nangesong and others to India to study Buddhism and Sanskrit successively. After they had finished their study and returned to Tubo, they engaged in the work of Buddhist scripture translation and they all became well known translators. At the same time, Tubo also sent scholars to the Tang empire. ^[5] The king Srongtsan Gampo appreciated the cultural system of Inland China more each day, therefore he sent many

descendants from the noble or the rich families to Inland China to learn Chinese and Chinese Buddhism. Undoubtedly, after their return some of them took part in the work of translating Chinese Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan.

Secondly, he invited great Buddhist masters from neighbouring countries and areas, cultivating translators in the proper areas of the kingdom. This was the most principal way. We can get a glimpse of the general picture of cultivating translator in the proper areas of Tubo just from the reign of Trisong Detsan. The king Trisong Detsan stipulated in explicit terms " intelligent young people must learn bi — lingual translation " and ordered^[6] " Beero Tsana and others to lead the translation of Buddhist scriptures. " ^[7] At the beginning, they learned languages from those masters the king invited from India, Nepal and the Tang empire. Then they started to translate progressively. The learners were mostly chosen from the noble and prestigious families during the reign of the Tubo kingdom. The purpose of so doing was to set an example to rely on the good reputation of those families, thereby they could play a leading role among the common people. At that time, a teacher of rules Bodhisattva was invited to teach the Tubo ministers' sons Sanskrit. The learners were descendants of notable families such as Chimnganu's son Shakya Trapa, Bagor Hendun's son Beero Tsana, Patri She's son Trizig also named Sangshita, Shangnyasang's son Lhabu Lhatsan and Shulpu Khongle and others.^[8] According to the account in *The Biography of Padmasambhava*, the " Seven Examined Men " of the Tubo kingdom were very proficient in translation, and before initiating into monkhood they could translate Buddhist scriptures.

The above mentioned learners raised and perfected their

translation skills day by day under the instruction of the invited translators and great masters . Afterwards , Tubo authorities organized large number of promising young people to learn from these people. Thereafter , the first contingent of translators cultivated by Tubo authorities themselves came into being. During this time , 108 translators headed by Ka — ba — shi — ku — the — ra — ki — ta — dpal — rtsegs — bsrung — ba were ordered to take " Seven Examined Men" as their teachers to learn translation skills. 1008 translators headed by Jog — ro • Luyi Gyaltzen and Shang • Panden Gyisheda were asked to learn translation skills from the above mentioned 108 translators .^[9] *The Biography of Padmasambhava* recorded the situation of studying the translation skills of the 108 translators , and enumerated 62 translators names such as : Yarlong • Pami Trishe , Samsheta , Kunje . Luwang Songba , and Shang • Setsen , etc.^[10] By using this method , Tubo cultivated a large number of translators for itself.

During the period of the Tubo kingdom the two ways to cultivate translators were almost developed simultaneously . There were a lot of people studying abroad in the early days , but with more and more people finishing their study and returning the Tubo kingdom established its own teaching system for studying the scriptures. The number of translators was growing steadily . During the middle and later period of the Tubo kingdom those people became the backbone elements of Buddhist scripture translation. A large number of Buddhist classics were translated through the translators ' hard work , and from then on Buddhist culture was widely disseminated in Tubo.

Invitation of the Great Buddhist Masters and Translators

Starting from king Srongtsan Gampo , the Tubo rulers paid great attention to the invitation of the great Buddhist masters and translators from neighbouring countries and areas so as to help the Tubo kingdom cultivate qualified personnel , translate Buddhist classics , and preach Buddhist Dharma . The great Buddhist masters and translators invited from India , the Tang empire and Nepal in those days were the teachers of rules Kusara from India , Shila Mandzu , Brahmana Shangkara from Nepal , Tanu from Kashmir and the monk Mahadelpthes from Tang empire. The main Buddhist scriptures translated by them were *Sher — phyin — stong — phrag — brgya — ba* , *Thugs — rje — chen — po ' — mdo — rgyud — nyi — shu — rts — gcigs* , and so on. ^[11] After that the successive Tibetan kings followed this example and it became the order of the day . Especially during the reign of Trisong Detsan , there were sharp conflicts between Buddhism and the Bon religion . In order to play down the Bon religion and build up Buddhism , many great Buddhist masters and translators were invited to Tubo .

There were some valuable materials in the historical book *Bkav — thang — sde — lang* about those Pantidas (great masters) and translators being invited to Tubo . Seventy — five translators were enumerated in this book. ^[12] Among those seventy five pantidas , most of them were from India — — the Buddhist sacred land . Next were some from Tang empire (at least five) and Nepal (no less than five) . The others were from Kashmir , Khotan , Bengal , Swat Valley etc . It could be said that it was a grand gathering to preach Buddhist Dharma in Tubo for those

Buddhist countries and areas.

According to the number recorded in *Bu — ston — chos' — byung* (*The History of Buddhism by Buton*), 192 translators and 93 Pantidas were invited to preach Buddhist Dharma in Tubo during the early and the later propagation of Buddhism,^[13] compared with the other number being recorded in Tibetan materials which was unprecedented and unrepeatable. These Pantidas were encyclopedic — minded, had a good command of the Five Great Knowledges (Rig — gnas — che — ba — lnga) and the Five Lesser Knowledges (Rig — gnas — chung — ba — lnga), and they knew many foreign languages well.

During the period of the Tubo kingdom, the policy of totally absorbing the advanced culture of neighbouring areas had been carried out. On the aspect of absorbing Buddhist culture, while absorbing Indian Buddhism energetically, they paid attention to absorbing the Buddhist culture of the Tang empire as well, especially the Chan (Zen) which has distinctive Chinese cultural features and which was more pleasing to the Tubo people. The Tibetan king Trisong Detsan sent for Padmasambhava to come to Tubo. At the same time, Trantsangshe was sent as the senior envoy, Sangshi as the junior envoy, and Pa • Salnang as the supervisor of Buddhist Dharma (Chos — kyi — spyan — pa). A total of more than thirty people were sent to the Tang empire to seek Buddhist scriptures and invite great masters in order to spread Buddhist Dharma in Tubo. At that time, the great masters and translators who were invited to Tubo were Pasang, Hashang Maha Radza, Hashang Dena, Hashang Morkeyan, the scholar Hara Nagpo, Hashang Maha Sutra, the scholar Pa • Samshi and so on.^[14] The historical book *Bkav — thang — sde — lang* gave a detailed description of the names of those Tang scholars and Ch'

an masters who engaged in the translation work of the Buddhist scriptures, medicine, and calendar calculation. ^[15] After they were invited to Tubo, they helped and cultivated many Tibetan translators, and they also preached the Ch'an in Tibet. In this way they promoted the development of Tibetan Buddhist culture.

Translation of Buddhist Scriptures in Different Languages

Buddhism was widely spread in central Asia, south Asia, south — east Asia, and east Asia, and there were many different versions of Buddhist scriptures. During the period of the Tubo kingdom a great number of Buddhist scriptures were not only translated from Sanskrit and Chinese, but also translated from some other languages. For instance, *Bu — ston — chos' — byung* noted that *Snag — brgyad — ces — bya' — b'i — rig — snangs* had been translated from the Khotani. ^[16]

Tubo society made every effort to carry out the policy of incorporating things of diverse nature in absorbing Buddhist culture from other countries. For this reason, Tubo translators were required to master different languages, to translate Buddhist scriptures of different language versions into Tibetan, and to enrich the contents of Buddhist culture in the Tubo kingdom. At that time Tubo translators were generally good at two languages; many of them knew three or four languages well; and there were also a few translators who had good knowledge of seven languages, ^[17] such as Norpu Sanggyal Yishe. Those translators had a solid language command and superb translation skills. *Bkav — thang — sde — lang* wrote some very important historical materials about the trans-

lators who mastered various languages , and it recorded this : the translators of the early , middle , and later period of the Tubo kingdom , and the 108 translators were proficient in following languages : Sam — skri — ta — lha 'i — skad , Be — ti — sha — sha — z 'i — skad , Ka — ling — k 'i — skad , Ba — li — tri — t 'i — skad , Na — ga — si — ti 'i — skad , Khang — bu — gling — gi — skad , Zang — gling — gi — skad , Ka — ma — la — ru — p 'i — skad , Sing — l 'i — skad , Ma — ru — ga — d 'i — skad , Za — hor — gyi — skad , Sham — bha — la 'i — skad , Kashmiri , Bru — zha 'i — skad , Rgya — gar — gyi — skad , Chinese , Nepali , Khotanese , and Srin — po 'i — skad . The translators could translate the above mentioned languages into Tibetan skillfully .^[18] Among the more than thirty languages recorded in *Bkav — thang — sde — lang* , except Sanskrit , Hindi , Ma — ga — rda — skad , Na — lan 'i — skad , Sing — la 'i — skad , Za — hor — gyi — skad , Kashmiri , Nepali , Khotanese and Chinese , the others have yet to be further researched . Some of those languages are minor languages , some even are dialects . India is a country with various nationalities , so especially there the languages are more complicated . In accordance with Tibetan Historical materials , during the reign of Trirapajan , there were forty — one different languages in India . Translators of India , Nepal , and the Tubo kingdom once according to the forty — one languages checked and explained Buddhist classics which were translated by their predecessors .^[19] Hence , rejecting the Buddhist terminology appeared in the prefix of those above mentioned languages , such as " Lha " (gods) , " Srinpo " (demigods) , " Mimayin " (not — men) , " Mi " (human) , " vDre " (devil) , " gNodsByin " (Yaksa) , " Klu " (dragon) , " Shaza " (cannibals) and so on . Perhaps those languages really existed at that time .

Buddhist scriptures in various languages were translated into Tibetan , which enriched the contents of Tibetan Buddhism enormously. The translations of Buddhist scriptures were not only the Sanskrit and Chinese versions. Other versions of Buddhist scriptures were translated into Tibetan as well . The contents of the Buddhist scriptures involved Mahayana , Hinayana , Sutra , Tantra , etc . The Buddhist scriptures of *Dmas — cad — yod — par* were mainly prevalent in Kashmir and Gandhara , which had been translated into Tibetan through the Kashmiri and Gandhara versions. ^[20]

The translation from various languages made for some problems such as different interpretations , difficulties of understanding , and expression . Thus , it promoted the summing up of translation theory and the standardization of translation rules of Buddhist scriptures . During the reign of Tibetan king Trisong Detsan , 814 A . D . , ^[21] *Records of Tibetan Kings and Ministers* laid bare the truth with one penetrating remark about the situation before the standardization of the rules of Buddhist scriptures translations : " when parts of different versions could not be translated into Tibetan , transliteration was used , as a result it was very hard to understand . " ^[22]

Establishment of the Translation Halls

With the emergence and development of Buddhist scripture translation , the problem of translation halls hence arose . There were only a few records about translation halls in the Tubo kingdom . According to *Ma — ni — bkav — vbum* it seems that translation halls were established during the reign of Srongtsan Gampo , because at that time some large scale and organized Buddhist scripture translation activities appeared ,

but until Trisong Detsan succeeded to the throne and founded Samye monastery, some definite records about translation halls were not found.

There were two translation halls in Samye monastery. ^[23] In accordance with *Mkhas — pa'i — dga — ston* (*A Feast for wise Men*), one was called " Translation Hall for Translators" . It was located in the front of the Indian " Continent" . *Gya — bod — yig — tshang* (*Analects on the Historical Relations between Hans and Tibetans*) and *Bkav — thang — sde — lang* noted that the other was named " Translation Hall for Indian Languages" .

Concerning the situation and shape of the translation halls, *Gya — bod — yig — tshang* noted, according to Buddhist doctrine, Samye monastery was set up with four big " Continents" and eight small " Continents" (they are four temples called " Ling" which represent the four continents. To the right and left of each of these temples are two smaller temples called " Ling — tren" , representing the sub — continents of the Buddhist universe.) To the east, south, west and north of the hall, each side has three with various shape. Jambudvipa, Camara, and Pracvamara of the two middle — continents were located to south of the hall. Camara was the Mandara and subduing devil hall, and Pracvamara was the Indian translation hall. These three halls appeared in the shape of a shoulder — blade. ^[24]

After the reign of Trisong Detsan, a lot of well known translators translated Buddhist scriptures there, such as Beera Tsana, Hanandar of Kashmir, Tanma Tsemang, Nyagkumara, Maha Tsaya Rinchenchog, Kun • luyig wangpo, Kawa paltseg, Jorog • Luyig Gyaltzen and Shang — nanam • Pande Yishede (nine noted translators of the early, middle and later period of Tubo kingdom). All of them served

as the translators for Indian Pantidas and scholars such as Pimalamitra in the Indian translation "Continent". At that time Tripitaka had been translated into Tibetan by them. ^[25]

A large quantity of Buddhist scriptures which were translated in the translation halls of Samye monastery were preserved in the storeroom, south — west of Samye monastery. ^[26] *Bkav — thang — sde — lang* has detailed an account about it, in which he writes "There are nine treasure houses in Samye monastery that are also the storerooms for the collection of sutras. In each storeroom there is a meditation room. In the meditation room of the central treasure house, seventy — six volumes of Palm — leaves Buddhist scriptures are preserved. Some of them are Indian Buddhist scriptures translated by Indian and Tibetan translators. There are also some Chinese Buddhist scriptures which were from Chinese canons translated by the monk Mahayana, which amount to twelve boxes. Most of the four hundred (volumes? /boxes?) of Tibetan Buddhist scriptures are related to the meditation way to the Tantra section. In the meditation room on the right side were preserved forty volumes of Buddhist scriptures of Tantra and one hundred and seventy parts of the esoteric Mandara section. In the meditation room on the left side, seventy — eight volumes of Prajna classics were preserved, such as *Pancavimsatisahasrika*." ^[27]

The translation halls of Samye monastery are located at the south — west corner of Samye monastery, just as in ancient times since Samye monastery has been kept in place till now. The translation halls appear in the shape of the Chinese character "井". The halls can't be considered magnificent, but they have a large area. There is clump of willow trees around them and a spring of water comes out of the wall. ^[28] All

these make the surroundings very quiet and peaceful , which suitable for people bending over their desks and doing translation work.

The frescoes of the translation halls which are well preserved in Samye monastery show the scene of translating scriptures at that time . The frescoes are drawn seperately on three sides of the walls by the east , west and south corridors of the translation hall ; and there are several dozens group of frescoes . On the bottom of each fresco there are Tibetan autographs inscribed by the Pantidas . On the fresco , the translators are sitting cross — legged and face — to — face , the first person is reading the scripture loudly , the second person is interpreting it into Tibetan , the third person is an aged master sitting on the highest place who is responsible for checking , and at last , a young Lama writes it down on two folio paper by using a bamboo pen .^[29] This method of translation is different from the method we often use at present . Compared with the translation method of Tang empire , it is also quite different . *The painting of translating scripture by Hsuantsang* shows the scene of Buddhist scripture translation in the central plains during the Tang dynasty ; Hsuantsang is sitting in the middle and higher than others , and on both of his left and right side there is a monk . A writing desk is put in front of each of the two monks . Hsuantsang is touching the scripture with his hand and seems to be interpreting , the monk on the left seems to be holding a pen , and the monk on the right seems to be reading .^[30] It appears this translation method was a kind of popular way to translate scriptures in ancient times . Some have considered that the translation method of the Tubo kingdom might have some thing to do with those monks who came to Tibet with princess Jing Cheng .^[31]

Contents of the Buddhist Scripture and Its Restrictions

The earliest Buddhist scriptures translated by Tonmi Sambota during the period of the Tubo kingdom were *Mdo — za — ma — tog — bkod — pa*, *Spang — skong — phyag — rgya*, *Mdo — sde — dkon — mchog — sprin* and others. ^[32] It can be seen from these Buddhist scriptures that almost all of the Buddhist scripture translation at that time were Mdo (Exoteric) classics. This statement tallies with the historical fact that Mdo was the first religious sect introduced into Tubo. Meanwhile, some classics of the esoteric sect (Gsang) were translated as well. In accordance with *Bkav — chems — ki — lo — rgyus — chen — mo*, among the twenty — one classics which were translated during the reign of Srongtsan Gampo like *Mdo — za — ma — tog — bkod — pa*, *Phyag — stong — spyan — stong — khi — gzungs*, *Don — yon — zhags — pa* and others, were some esoteric classics such as *Cho — ga — sngags — ki — rgyud*, *Bcu — gcig — shal — khi — gzungs*, and *Pad — ma — cod — pan — khi — rgyud*. ^[33] There is a more detailed account in *Ma — ni — bkav — vbum*. During this time, Srongtsan Gampo invited the teacher of rules Kusara from India to translate *Abhidharma Pitaka*, *S'austrantikah*, and *Prad jnaparamita* in general, detail, and shortened forms. The teacher of rules Shlu Manshu was invited from Nepal to translate *Sutrapitaka* and *Phal — po — che*, *Arya — aualokesvara — mantra*, etc. Brahmana Shangkar, whose translations were *Vinaya*, *Sloka*, and *Carya*, was invited. ^[34] Thus it can be seen that scriptures of esoteric and exoteric sects, classics of Sutra, Vinaya, and S'astras had been translated at that time. When Trisong Detsan was in power, some classics of Hinayana and

Ch'an were translated, just as the great Buddhist master Fa Zun pointed out that Tubo society took everything which was beneficial to Buddhism whether big or small, exoteric or esoteric, teaching or meditation, or even the Ch'an religion. ^[35] This shows the contents of the Buddhist scripture translation in a comprehensive way. *The History of Buddhism by Buton* which was written in 1322 by Buton Rinpochen provided in great length the catalogue of Buddhist scriptures which were translated during the period of the early and later propagation period of Buddhism. It was a precious historical material which was indispensable to the study of translators and the contents of the Buddhist scripture translation. In this book, each canon was put into different categories, marked with the number of volumes, the translator's name, and the version where the canon was translated from. Even though most Buddhist canons which were listed in this catalogue were translated during the later propagation period of Buddhism, the rough outline of the Buddhist scriptures being translated during the early propagation period of Buddhism, could be seen. During the early propagation period of Buddhism, although every kind of Buddhist canon was translated into Tibetan, in the esoteric sect except for Kriya (action) and Carya (performance), Yoga and Anuttarayoga (Highest Yoga) hadn't been translated thoroughly. ^[36] This had identical records with the catalogue of Kanjur and Tanjur — the only extant collections of Buddhist scripture translation compiled into the Tripitaka. Due to the limited scope of this article, for the situation concerning the translation of Buddhist scripture, please see the *History of Buddhism, by Buton* for details. The following passage will mainly discuss the general conditions of the esoteric classics translation.

In Tibetan historical materials there were a lot of records about the limitations of the translated content of the esoteric sect during the reign of Trisong Detsan and Tride Songtsan. In accordance with *Rba — bzhed — rgyas — shos — lugs*, Trisong Detsan stipulated: *Nang — rgyud — sde — gsum* were not allowed to be translated, three kinds of Buddhist scriptures *Sila* and *Vinaya*, *Sthavirah* and *Sammatiya* in *Dge — vdum — phal — chen — sde* of *Vinaya* section were prohibited from being translated, and in *Nang — rgyud — sde — gsum*, *Mahayoga*, *Atiyoga*, *Adharaniyoga*, and *Anuyoga* were not allowed to be translated.^[37] In fact, *Nang — rgyud — sde — gsum* just indicated the above mentioned three Buddhist canons of *Sila* and *Vinaya*, *Sthavirah* and *Sammatiya* were restricted,^[38] the restrictions were mainly directed against the Buddhist canons of *Yoga* and highest *Yoga* in the esoterics then. However, some esoteric Buddhist canons could still be translated. While Trisong Detsan stipulated translation theory and regulations in 814 A. D., he strictly prohibited esoteric canons from being translated in official order but still allowed them to be translated under permission. He also ordered: "as for the esoteric canons, apart from those permitted to be translated, nobody is allowed to translate the esoteric canons even selectively."^[39] This shows that an error was made in the *History of Buddhism by Buton* in which he said "all esoteric Buddhist canons were prohibited from translation."^[40]

The regulation of prohibiting the translation of the esoteric canons was worked out under the consideration of the following points: 1) the contents of the esoteric, *Rba — bzhed — rgyas — shos — lugs* noted that the reasons for prohibiting those Buddhist scriptures from translation were: because the contents of *Nang — rgyud — sde — gsum* indulged in wine — and —

meat, not conforming to the rules; the contents of Mahayoga failed to distinguish clean from filthy; in Adharaniyoga the talented person who had the ability to practise it had not appeared yet in Tubo; one could not get only encouragement from the contents of Atiyoga; and the contents of Anuyoga did not tally with the actual situation of Tubo, so they were restricted to be translated. ^[41] In a word, any contents of the esoteric canons which did not accord with the development of Buddhism could not be translated. 2) In the practising stages, it had to be sutra first then tantra. Only if one person learned, understood and mastered sutra in a certain degree could he practise tantra following it in order and advancing step by step. Moreover, to practise tantra one had to possess natural capacity. That meant not all of the sutra practitioners were able to practise tantra too. In doing so, some evil ways would appear. Just as *Bye — brag — du — rtogs — byed — vbring — po — sgra — sbyol — bam — po — gnyis — pa* pointed out: Tantra canons were secrets, it could not be taught or shown to the person who had no capacity to practise it. Although people were permitted to translate and practise it in the past, they might misunderstand some mild and roundabout way of saying it and do some thing departing from its real meaning. ^[42] Therefore, the translation of tantra canons had to be controlled strictly. 3) In addition, a very important political reason caused the control of the tantra canons. During the reign of Trisong Detsan, the struggles between Buddhism and the Bon religion were very sharp. Those royal relatives of the Tubo kingdom and Bonpo aristocrats supporting the Bon religion took the contents of the tantra of Tibetan Buddhism as their main handle to attack Buddhism. At that time the tantra of Tibetan Buddhism used a human's skull, intestines, blood and the bones of a girl's legs

to make ritual instruments and sacrificial offerings. Consequently, Trisong Detsan's wife Tsepangsa • Gyalmotron attacked the tantra of Indian Buddhism by considering it as black sorcery and a kind of dishonest practice. ^[43] Under such strong opposing Buddhist forces, Trisong Detsan had to relax conflicts and made concessions. He successively sent five young people such as Namkar Nyingpo and Nampar Nangtsesong who once studied tantra in India into exile to the Kham area and other places.

In fact, the restrictions on the translation of the tantra canon mainly depended on whether it was beneficial to the development of Buddhism, which by no means prohibited the translation, introduction and practising of the tantra completely. Trisong Detsan once ordered Yishi Wangpo to translate the classics of *Vu — pa — ya*, because it was beneficial to Tubo. ^[44] It was thus clear that the translation of the tantra canons was chosen carefully, not copied mechanically in disregard of specific conditions.

Regulations of the Buddhist Scripture Translation

After about two centuries of translation, a complete set of translation theory and regulations had been formed. One can see from believable records that during the reign of Trisong Detsan some rules about translation were instituted, for instance, the regulation of using terms of respect when translating Buddha's name. They actually became the basis of the regulations which were laid down in 814 A. D. I have to express my regret over the matter that there were no ample materials left about the regulation of contents of the scripture

translation at that time. During the period of the Tubo kingdom, the most complete and the most believable related to the translation theory and regulations were the ones which were instituted in 814 A. D. by Trisong Detsan. According to the records in *Bye — brag — du — rtogs — byes — vbring — po — sgra — sbyor — bam — po — gnyis — pa*, ^[45]I will conclude as follows.

Translation theory : the translated version should be true to the original meaning and fluency.

Translation rules :

1. Adjust the sentence order. If the original meaning isn't impaired and the translation goes easily and smoothly, we can translate it in the light of its original sentence order. Otherwise we should readjust the sentence order for better understanding.

2. About polysemant translation. For a word with many distinct meanings, when the translation can not express its whole meaning, transliteration can be used, on the matter of those words which can be translated in many different ways, we can't translate it only according to one of its meanings. We should ponder it from all sides.

3. About the translation of special terms. When translating the names of places, animals, flowers, plant and trees, etc. if it is apt to be misunderstood in free translation and the translation is unfluent, we should combine transliteration with free translation.

4. About the translation of numeral — classifier compounds. In that case according to the habit of Tibetan language, free translation should be used.

5. About translation of connection words and modifiers. Those words which are either true to the original meaning or are able to play a connection role can be translated into Tibetan

function words ; for those having no different meanings , literal translation should be used.

6. About the translation of synonyms. If combining the meaning of the words , some generally used and smooth words in Tibetan language can be adopted , otherwise , transliteration will be put to use.

7. About the translation of terms of respect. Use polite expressions for Buddha. On the matter of other different classes of gods such as Buddhisattva and Sravaka , etc. some words under the middle level can be used.

The above mentioned seven rules were laid down simply according to the criteria of translation theory : be true to the original , and use easy and smooth writing to convey one's ideas and of elegance . This was raised by Yan Fu — — a very famous translator in modern China. These seven rules are the same in principle as the famous " five rules of translation " raised by Hsuan — tsang :

- a. Rarely used words should be transliterated.
- b. Contents of tantra should be transliterated.
- c. Polysemant should be transliterated.
- d . Those already being translated shouldn 't be re - translated.
- e. Words without reference should be transliterated.

They just have different ways to deal with it. ^[46] Obviously , this set of translation theory and rules were summed up from long term practice , having a high theoretical and universal guiding significance even at present. The theory and rules can not only guide to Tibetan language translation , but also can guide other language translation. It fully shows the superb theoretical attainment and the excellent translation skill of the Tubo translators. Which could be used for reference.

It is worth mentioning that most Tibetan historical materials held that apart from the institution of translation rules, the activities of language standardization were done at the same time. Parts of troublesome archaic writing were deleted and changed, several lower consonantal letters such as Yatags of the Tibetan character " ལྷ " and the double suff-consonantal letter " ལ " (Tadrag) and the single letter " ལ " , etc. were cancelled. ^[47] There is no record about this language standardization in *Bye — brag — du — rtogs — byed — vbring — po — sgra — sbyor — bam — po — gnyis — pa*. Moreover, these kinds of ancient writings are still found in Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript No. P. T. 854, the incomplete manuscript of *Bye — brag — du — rtogs — byed — vbring — po — sgra — sbyor — bam — po — gnyis — pa* and the monument to the Tang empire and the Tubo Kingdom peace union which was set up in 823 A. D. The reason might be that they misunderstood the meanings of language standardization into cancelling ancient writing. Perhaps language standardization had been raised during the reign of Trisong Detsan, but never carried out exactly. For this reason, ancient writing had not disappeared until the inscription on the monument of the Yuan dynasty. Undoubtedly, ^[48] the summing up and the instituting of translation rules and theory in 814 A. D. raised the most pressing and direct claims on the language reform. As a result, many Tibetan historical materials ascribe the contribution of language standardization — the brilliant laurel to the person who summed up translation theory and instituted translation rules.

The Conclusion

Through the above — mentioned rough description on the aspect of Buddhist scripture translation , some unclusive conclusions can be derived :

1. The Culture of the Tubo kingdom was a kind of open cultural pattern . The establishment of the Tubo kingdom brought immense historic reform to Tubo society . When the outdated culture and ideological forms could not meet the requirements of the rule of the new emerging and developing Tubo kingdom , Tubo society boldly and cautiously absorbed the culture and ideology which were suitable for itself . This kind of absorption of alien culture at least has two characteristics :

(1) Not unilateral absorption but multiple assimilation . Considering the cream of Buddhist culture , the Tubo kingdom not only absorbed it from the birthplace of Buddhism — — India , but also from other countries and areas such as the Tang empire ; not only absorbed Buddhist culture , but also absorbed some knowledge of astronomy , calendar calculation , medicine etc .

(2) Not wholly absorption , but developing what is useful and discarding what is not . In the absorbing process , Tubo society paid attention to its actual situation and purposive absorption and developing requirements , doing selective and purposive absorption , and strictly controlling the contents of the tantra which were unfit for the development of Tibetan Buddhism .

2. Translation played a very unestimable and important role in the developing process of the Tibetan culture during the period of the Tubo kingdom . Tibetan Buddhism is one of the

main parts of Tibetan culture. It is reflected in every aspect of the social and cultural life. Furthermore, translation played the most essential function when Indian Buddhism and Chinese Buddhism were introduced to the Tubo kingdom. It is impossible that Buddhism, would be introduced to Tubo society effectively without the cultural disseminating medium — translation, hence the Tibetan culture which took Tibetan Buddhism as its main part couldn't be formed.

3. Cultivating translators energetically and inviting experts were the crux that enabled the Buddhist culture to be introduced to Tubo society effectively. By ways of sending people studying abroad and inviting great masters and translators to Tubo, a lot of outstanding figures and high — skilled translators were brought up, such as Kawa • Paltseg, Beero Tsana, Joro • Luyi Gyaltzen and the famous nine translators during the early, middle and later period of Tubo kingdom.

4. The translation of Buddhist scriptures promoted the development of Tibetan language and other technological classics during the period of the Tubo kingdom.

5. The translation of Buddhist scriptures strengthened the cultural exchanges and the friendly relationship between Tubo and neighbouring areas, especially the cultural and economic connections with the Tang empire and India. The phenomenon of co — translating Buddhist scriptures^[49] which appeared during the period of the Tubo kingdom was the embodiment of this close and friendly relationship to the fullest extent.

Notes

[1] *Sngon — byung — gi — gtam — me — to — gi — phreng — ba*, (*Biography of Napa Pandita*) written by Trapa • Molam Lodro, as a re-

sult of textual research by Ubehe , which was completed in 1283 A. D. pp. 704 — 764. Published in Munich , 1988. See also the relevant records in *Blue Annal* and *Red annal*.

[2] About the problem of whether there was any written language existing during the period of the Tubo kingdom , please see my article (*A Complementary Testimony to the Ancient Tibet System as Recorded in the History of Ancient Tibet in the Old Book and the New Book of the Tang Dynasty*), in *China Tibetology*, No. 3, 1989, pp. 6 — 8. I prefer the idea that there was a certain kind of written language existed at the beginning of Tubo kingdom.

[3] *Mkhas — pa — lde — vus — mdzad — pa — vi — rgya — dob — ki — chos — vbyung — rgyas — pa* , (*The Origin of Tibetan and Indian Religion by Ldevu*) by great master Ldevu , compiled by the Ancient Books Publishing House under Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences , Published by Tibet People's Publishing House , Lhasa , 1987. p. 298

[4][8][23][47] *Mkhas — pa — vi — dgav — ston* (*A Feast for wise men*) , by Pawo • Tsugla Chenwa published by Nationalities Press , Beijing , 1986 , Vol. I , p. 178 ; pp. 358 — 360 ; p. 344 ; p. 417.

[5] *Ce Fu Yuan Gui* , Vol. 978 , quoted from *Checks and Corrections of Tubo Historical Materials Recorded in Ce Fu Yuan Gui* by Su Jinren and Xiao Lianzi , Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House , Chengdu , 1981 , p. 25.

[6] In the same book of note 4 , p. 359 ; See also Huanghao's Selected Translation (8) . In *The Journal of Academic Studies of the Institute for Tibetan Nationality* , No. 3 , 1982 , p. 39.

[7] Shigya • Rinchende : *Yar — lung — jo — bavi — chos — vbyung* (*The History of Tibetan Buddhism of Yarlung*) , published by Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House , Chengdu , 1987 , p. 61.

[9] Palgyor Sangpo : *Rgya — bod — yig — tseang — chen — mo* (*Analects on the Historical Relations between the Han and Tibetans*) , published by Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House , Chengdu , 1985 , pp. 185 — 186 ; see also Chen Qingyin's Chinese version , Tibet People's Publishing House , Lhasa , 1986 , p. 111. I am of a different opinion from that book's.

[10] *The Biography of Padmasambhava* , block edition , pp. 129 — 130. Quoted from Huanghao's Selected translation (8) of *A Feast for*

wise men, note No. 51.

[11] In the same book of note No. 4, pp. 183 — 184. See also Huanghao's selected translation (2)

[12] The 75 Pantida were: " Bodhisattva, Palma Sambola, Bima Lamitra, Tada Makhon, Dawa Mati, Chosgyi Langpo, Tatha Gawa, Tatha Gata Samtrita, Butang Guta, Konglaje, Hukara, Nyetri Kara, Duhara (Nepal), Tamota, Hashang Mahayana (Tang empire), Singa Luyig Wangpo (Bengal), Trata, Shila Trapoti, Tsana Mita, Shari Bale, Tsama Suta, Ngananda, Tradug Brata, Kala Galba, Gushi Buta, Ngare Dewa, Kama Lashila, Tama Gyiti, Nyetri Dewa, Shiri Manzug, Buta Gyiti, Tsantra Mani, Ngapanta, Shiri Manzug, Buta Gyiti, Tsanma Shilo, Rashita, Binanta, Lishonnu, Trazug Gyiti, Rablang (Kashmir), Basu Tara, Shiri Singha, Taba Hatade, Rongpo Guya, Shula Shiri (Kashmir), Hu Jamchuk (Nepal), Samamta Shiri, Sakya shiri, Tana Shirila, Shila Mantsug (Nepal), Lika Tuntse (Nepal), Tilaka (Nepal), Panditas from Tang empire: Duhara Napo, Maha Sutra, Maha Ratsa and Maha Dewa, Tsanta Gyita, Salwa Retsan, Mitra Tsugje, Surenta Poti, Manshu Shili, Bara Hita Habu, Sakya Trapa, Patse Gyiti, Guna Tsanta, Choschog, Lhalodon, Lali Tapatse, Nyata Tsugna, Palan Supal, Trata Garpa, Shiri Dzuna Garpa, Gaga Tseta, Ngaka Shatse. " See *Bkav — thang — sde — lang*, Nationalities Press, Beijing, 1986, pp. 402 — 403.

[13][16][32][36][40] Buton Rinchendrub: *Bu — ston — chos — vbyung* (*The History of Buddhism By Buton*), Tibetology Publishing House, Beijing, 1988, pp. 206 — 211; see also GuoHeping's Chinese version; *on the Great Treasure of the History of Buddhism*, Nationalities Press, Beijing, 1986, pp. 195 — 207, p. 258, p. 181, pp. 212 — 317 and p. 191.

[14] In the same book of note No. 10, p. 146, on the top of p. 153, quoted from Huanghao's selected translation on note No. 10, p. 50.

[15] The twenty — four Chan' masters were: " great master Mahayana, Kunhunshen, Dzashin Shashis, Padshanshis, Dedrowo, Dewu, Sangtang, Hase, Hayan Rashi, Kalayan, Buchu, Kha, Dza, Wugu, Vdre, Nga, Len, Ha, Kan, Tse (The same as the former one?) Kyi, Je, Phagtog, Dza (The same as the former one?), Yan, Han, Shin, Nyekhas, Lang, Ma" , etc. For details, please see the book of

note No. 12, pp. 406—405.

[17][18] In the same book of note No. 12, pp. 403—404.

[19] See the book of note No. 9, pp. 200; Chen Qingying's translated version. p. 120.

[20] Please see " *Religious Dictionary* " for detailed account, Lexicographical Works Publishing House, Shanghai, 1981, p. 811

[21] See Huang hao's *Selected translation (12) of a Feast for Wise Men*, Note No. 40, *The Journal of Academic Studies of the Institute for Tibetan Nationality*, No. 4, 1983, p. 57.

[22] The Fifth Dalai Lama; *Records of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*, Nationalities Press, Beijing, pp. 94—95.

[24] See the same book of note No. 9, pp. 181—182, Cheng Qingyin's Chinese version, p. 109. According to the documents, it seems here were only one translation house.

[25] *A General Record of Tibetan Kings* by Sakya Sonam Gyaltzan, Beijing, Nationalities Press, 1987, pp. 220—221; see also the Chinese version by Cheng Qingyin and Rinchen Tashi, Liaoning People's Publishing House, 1985, p. 108. See the same account in *Bkav—thang—sde—lang*, p. 120.

[26] See the book of note No. 25, p. 209; see also Chen Qingyin and Renchen Tashi's Han—language translation, p. 168.

[27] *Bkav—thang—sde—lang*, at the top of page 62 to the bottom of page 62, quoted from Huang hao's *Selected translation (7) of A Feast for Wise Men*, note No. 18, *In The Journal of Academic Studies of Institute for Tibetan Nationality*, No. 2, 1982, p. 49.

[28][29] Li Jiajun, *Travel in Tibet*, Tibet People's Publishing House, Lhasa, 1980, p. 155—156.

[30] Xuan Zang, *Three Ancient Versions of the Travels on Western Land of the Tang Dynasty*, Xiang Da, ed, photo—offsetted and published by China Publishing House, 1981, *The painting of Translating Scripture by Huan—tsang* was its front cover.

[31] Please see note No. 27 for details, Huang hao's translations, p. 50.

[33] The same book of note No. 4, pp. 182—183, see also Huang hao's selected translations, note No. 11, pp. 4—5.

[34] *Ma—ni—bkav—vbum*, the block edition, p. 283, quoted

from Huang hao's selected translations, note No. 11 pp. 18—19.

[35] Great master Fa Zun's article, In *Chinese Buddhism*, the first part, p. 38.

[37] [41] [44] The same book of note No. 4, p. 364; see also Huang hao's selected translations, note No. 6, pp. 42—43.

[38] See *Tibetan—Chinese Dictionary*, compiled by Zhang Yixun, Nationalities Press, Beijing, 1985, the middle part (Volume I), p. 1505.

[39] [42] [48] *Bye—brag—du—rtogs—byed—vbring—po—sgra—sbyor—bam—po—gnyis—pa • Bar*, quoted from Lo Binfen and Zhou Jiwen's *An Important Documents in the History of Tibetan Translation*, in *The Journal of Academic Studies of The Central Institute for Nationalities*, No. 5, 1987, p. 53, pp. 50—51.

[43] Wang Furen, *A Brief Introduction on the History of Tibetan Buddhism*, Qinghai People's Publishing House, Xining, 1982, p. 37.

[45] *Bye—brag—du—rtogs—byed—vbring—sgra—sbyor—bam—po—gnyis—pa*, see *The Tibet Tripitaka*, the Process Plate by Japan, Volume 151; the Catalogue of the Tanjur, p. 138 in the Tibetan version, p. 194 in the Chinese version, the original please see in the same book, volume 144, pp. 71—73 and p. 87.

[49] Co—translations of Buddhist scriptures and other scientific technological and cultural classics were the main characteristics of the translation during the period of Tubo kingdom, such as *Bkav—chems—bkav—vkhöl—ma* in which recorded like this: " During the reign of Songtsan Gampo, the teacher of rules was invited from India, Tonmi Sampota acted as his translator, they co—translated *Mngonpavisdesnon* (*Abhidharmapitaka*), its three kinds of written versions (in full extent, concise form and abbreviated form), Shilo Manzug was invited from Nepal, princess Tridzun acted as his translator, they translated *Vinayapitaka*, *Ka—ra—ka—vdul—ba—vod—ldan* and *Kri—ya—vi—mdo—rgyud*, etc. The teacher of rules Mahayana was invited from Tang empire, Princess Wencheng and Lhalong Pagyal Dorje acted as his translator, they translated many books about Chinese calendar calculation and medicine." Please see note No. 9 for details, pp. 166—167; see also the Han—language translation, pp. 100—101.

The Discovery and Confirmation of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama —Tubten Gyatso

Gesang Drogar

In the snowland on the plateau with its own traditional customs from ancient times, Tibetan Buddhism formed a tradition with unique features — — the reincarnation system of living Buddhas. The Tibetan ruling clique, under a mix of politics and religion needed to settle the requirement of its leader's inheritance, has established this special system different from other religions of the world. The first reincarnated living Buddha of Tibetan Buddhism was Karmapa (born in 1204 A. D) of the Kagyu sect during the thirteenth century. Concerning the historical background of the Living Buddha's reincarnation system from the first Living Buddha, Karmapa, a lot of descriptions were made by many Tibetologists, so I won't give unnecessary details in this article.

Although the reincarnation system of Living Buddhas came into being during the thirteenth century, as a religious system widely spread and followed by various monasteries in Tibet it could be date back to the fifteenth century, at the time when Tsongkhapa reformed Tibetan Buddhism and the Yellow sect was flourishing. After the Gelug sect founded by Tsongkhapa developed to a certain

degree, it also carried on the Living Buddha's reincarnation method to solve the inheritance problem of the leaders of its own sect. The Dalai Lamas became the greatest Living Buddhas of the Gelug sect under particular social and historical conditions. The religious circles considered the Dalai Lama as the embodiment of Padmasambhava, which meant he had more magic and mysterious features. The reincarnation system of the Dalai Lamas didn't exist from the very beginning. It also has a process of emergence, development and consummation. Two of Tsongkhapa's eight great disciples — — the first Dalai Lama Gendun Drupa and the second Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatso onwards, the Living Buddha's reincarnation system for the Dalai Lamas was formally established. The honorific title of the Dalai Lama was the abbreviated form of the name "All-Knowing Vajra-Holder, the Dalai Lama" which was bestowed by Altan Khan. The fourth Dalai Lama Yonten Gyatso was born in Mongolia, and due to the special social background, his confirmation and enthronement were more cautious and ceremonious than the former three Dalai Lamas. The reincarnation of the previous four Dalai Lamas were principally reincarnation within the religious system.

When the fifth Dalai Lama was on the throne, Karmapa was just in power at that time. During the process of confirmation, the political entanglement went far beyond the religious category. With the support of his Mongolian backers, at the age of twenty-six he got the highest political and religious power of Tibet. From then on, the Dalai Lamas' reincarnation problem entered into a new stage. The confirmation of the sixth Dalai Lama proceeded under a special political background, and he was

confirmed by using particular political means. The confirmation of the seventh Dalai Lama was conducted under an abnormal procedure. Only starting from the eighth Dalai Lama, did a complete reincarnation procedure of the Dalai Lama formally appear which was in conformity to the requirement of both politics and religion. Though the method of lot—drawing from the gold urn was issued, it was not used for the confirmation of the ninth Dalai Lama until his successors.

Concerning the seeking, confirmation and enthronement of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, we read from many Tibetan historical materials that after the demise of the twelfth Dalai Lama, from prayer for reincarnation to formal enthronement, it can be divided into nineteen procedures. Some procedures are relatively simple since they just follow the old traditions; some key procedures are complicated and some principal plots are not quite clear. It's very easy to get confused. Therefore, brief or thorough descriptions have been given respectively. The whole procedures are now as follows:

I . After the Demise of the Twelfth Dalai Lama, Holding Buddhist Services to Pray for His Reincarnation As Soon As Possible.

Soon after the twelfth Dalai Lama Trinle Gyatso assumed temporal power, he demised at the Potala Palace at the age of twenty on the twentieth day of the third month in 1875 (the Wood—Hog year of Tibetan calendar or in the third year of emperor Dezhong's reign). The Kashag presented a memorial to the Qing emperor through the

Ambans, in the eleventh month of the year the emperor Dejong appointed the Kundeling Ngawang Pantan in charge of Tibetan affairs temporarily and entrusted him to be responsible for the seeking and confirmation of the Dalai Lama's reincarnation. Because of Tibetan monks and laymen's requests of seeking the soul boy as quickly as possible, Buddhist services were then held to pray for the early reincarnation of the soul boy of the Dalai Lama.

II. Determining the Direction in Which the Soul Boy Could be Found, According to the Body's Inclining Direction of the Twelfth Dalai Lama.

Tibetan historical materials noted: the twelfth Dalai Lama demised in the eastern bedroom named Nyi—vod—dgav—ldan—snang—gsal of the Potala Palace. On the very night the body of the Dalai Lama was sitting in meditation facing to south, nobody moved it, and the body inclined to the southeast by itself. Later, the body was moved to the mortuary named Nyi—vod—mtsa—gzin. It faced to south and sat in meditation with salt enclosing it, nobody moved it again, and the body inclined itself to the southeast. The historical materials also noted that this kind of situation could be seen by scripture tutors—Pubojo and some close servants of the Dalai Lama. According to the religious ritual, all these predicted the direction in which the soul boy could be found.

III . The Tibetan Local Government Issued Proclamation Twice to the Whole Tibetan Areas, for Seeking the Soul Boy of the Dalai Lama.

In the third month of the Fire—Mouse year of the fifteenth Tibetan calendrical cycle (1876 A. D.), the Kashag issued order to Tibetan areas of U and Tsang, Tarkong, Ngari, Changthang, Chamdo, Charyag, Bathang, Lithang, Derge, Horserkhag, Gyalaof Kham area and the chieftains, and local officials of all Tibetan areas. They were asked to communicate the instruction of seeking the former Dalai Lama's soul boy to each of their jurisdictional areas. The proclamation pointed out that they should report such actual situations to the Tibetan local government as to the place where the soul boy was born and what unusual circumstances the soul boy had. After that, in the seventh month of the same year he ordered the whole Tibetan areas once more to seek the Dalai Lama's soul boy. The Tibetan local government considered that only by seeking the soul boy in such a wide extent could the real Dalai Lama not be left out .

IV . Consulting to Chosgyong of the Samye Monastery and the Panchen Lama to Find the Direction in Which the Soul Boy Could be Found.

About the direction in which the reemodiment of the

incarnate Dalai Lama could be found, when the Samye Chosgyong was consulted by the regent, the Chosgyong offered a Hata in prostration in the direction of the east, a gesture that meant the soul boy could be found in the east. The Panchen consulted the invoker and said that if the soul boy had been born somewhere to the southeast, it would be greatly beneficial to all living beings. In addition, other great Living Buddhas and Chosgyongs all invoked and said that the soul boy would be found in the direction of southeast or east. Although there were omens showed by the body of the twelfth Dalai Lama, the direction was determined through consultations to great Living Buddhas and oracles.

V . Consulting the Professional Divine Oracle Invoker Nechung Chosgyong Three Times to Get Information on the Direction and the Features of the Place in Which the Soul Boy Could be Found.

The former Tibetan local government enshrined and worshipped several great protector divinities. The protector divinity is a kind of guardian god which either protects Buddhism or predicts good or evil luck. In certain significance it is also one of the participants of making policy decisions just like the descriptions in historical materials ;the seventh lord of snowland Chosgyal Konchog Pang magically embodied at the place of Kar Gronma met many great masters and Kar Gronma personally, and predicted the future of Tibet and the reincarnation circumstances of the successive Dalai Lamas.

Concerning the information on seeking direction, historical materials noted: the most important Chosgyong (protector divinity) of all, the great Dharma king Nechung, in the sixth month of this year at Senchung Yarsol of the government, offered in prostration a hata in the direction of southeast in front of the mourning tower on every suitable day. Nechung Chosgyong invoked that the hopeful fruit would appear in the eastern Buddhist land. It was consulted again and the invoker said that the soul boy's birth place would be where there was a mountain in the shape of Canopy at the back of that place and where spring water was flowing in front of that mountain. Even though the information on the direction in which the incarnate soul boy could be found had already been consulted by the Chosgyong of the Samye monastery and the Panchen Lama, it still needed to be tested and verified by the greatest oracle of the government, Nechung Chosgyong. After the direction was determined, a detailed consultation would be made about the features of the place where the soul boy was born. That was also necessary procedure which must be carried out when seeking the reincarnation soul boy.

VI. At Potala Palace, Nechung Chosgyong Invoker Predicting the Direction of the Soul Boy's Birth Place, His Parents' Name and Determining the Person Who Would Examine the Reflections in the Sacred Lake, Lhamo Latso.

An assembly for worship was held by the monks of Drepung Monastery at the Potala's grand prayer hall in

the presence of the regent Kundeling, the Living Buddhas, Khenpo, Lasne of Drepung monastery, and the officials of the Tibetan local government. Nechung Chosgyong invoker predicted: the soul boy has been born in a village east of Lhasa to Kunga and Droma. A highly and a great erudite master should be sent to the place to look for him. According to the descriptions given by the oracle, the Tibetan local government chose and enumerated places located in the direction of the east and southeast up to Tachienlu and dispatched officials to look for him in those places. When the oracle was being asked who should be sent to examine the reflections in the Lahmo Latso (the sacred lake), Nechung Chosgyong invoker said Losang Darje, a Khensur of the Upper Tantric House, could be sent from Lhasa to the southeast of Chokhorgyal where the sacred lake Lhamo Latsho was located, go around for inquiries, read a series of prayer session, then look into the lake, all things would be clear immediately.

VI. Judos Khensur Examining the Reflection in the Sacred Lake.

Judos Khensur—Losang Darje along with the team of Lamas who would perform the Buddhist affairs arrived at the place near Lhamo Latsho and they did a series of prayer sessions.

Just before the Buddhist affairs ended, Khensur came to the bank of the sacred lake to examine the reflections in it. Historical materials noted: it was the time of the end of September (Tibetan calendrical year). In the previous years the lake was already frozen over, but this time the

ice dispersed itself and the water was extremely clear. On the surface of the lake a place which had a far distance from east to west was shown. At the top of the eastern side there were overlapped fields and a large ancient tower in the northeast, a bigger square enclosure in the southeast, and not far from there a three or four storied building was visible. After that, between the building and the tower a joint village could be seen. Then the ice over the lake closed again. In the southern corner there were some people riding horses and the building also could be seen very clearly on the surface of the ice. Later, the ice became clear and bright just like glass. The distance between mountains turned narrower, there were several villages and many grassland like places, and a place where there was a grassland, rocky mountain and tamarisk trees. According to the customs except doing Buddhist affairs together, when looking at the reflections of the lake only the designated person could go and look into the lake.

VIII. The Local Official Reported an Unusual Baby Boy had been Found and Judos Khensur Went to the Place to Investigate.

On the bank of the sacred lake, when the series of prayer sessions were going to be finished, the Nyertod (local official) of Chokhorgyal reported that a boy was born before the sunrise on the fifth day of the fifth month in the Fire—Mouse year (1876 A. D.) to a peasant named Kunga Rinchen and his wife Lozang Droma in the Langdun family in the district of Dagpo of Chokhorgyal area. It is said that some omens appeared just before the boy was born: on the

third day of the seventh month in the Wood — Hog year (1875 A. D.), a package of butter suddenly split open and the butter split from the package. It was a pitious symbol. In additon, in the ninth month of the same year, there were several pear trees in front of the house, and one of the big pear trees was in full bloom. The local villagers must have seen it. On top of their house, a rainbow appeared in the sky just like a tent being put up. Meanwhile, some other omens were reported as well, such as the omen of a dream by the soul boy's mother.

The local official's information took the Judos Khensur to Langdun in person. The scenery on the way resembled in every detail the images he had seen in the Lhamo Latsho. At Langdun there was a Canopy — shaped mountain at the back of the village and a stream in front of the village. The names of the boy's parents were those revealed by the deity invoked by the Nechung Chosgyong. This baby boy had a laudable tolerant appearance unlike common babies. He was pleased by every body and he put on a cheerful look without any shyness and cowardice. It showed he was unusual and extremely intelligent.

IX . Judos Khensur Saw the Baby Boy for the First Time

The Khensur paid a visit to Langdun family and he saw the baby boy who was only five months old at that time. When the Khensur took the child in his arms, the boy stroked the Khensur's forehead and face with his fingers. When the Khensur asked the child: would you like to go to Lhasa? the boy showed cheerful countenance.

Later, the Khensur said: I must go, we'll meet soon, the baby heard and looked like he would come along with the Khensur. This time from the situation of meeting the baby boy for the first time, it could be seen that many omens were to completely tally with what the invoker said by the oracles.

**X. After Judos Khensur Returned to Lhasa,
He Submitted a Detailed Report of His
Investigation to the Khashag and
Regent. They Felt Satisfied about
the Soul boy of Langdun.**

After Judos Khensur returned to Lhasa, he reported seeking and looking at the reflections in the sacred lake and their details. The monks, laymen officials headed by the Regent Kundeling, the four leading Kaloons and Gyigyab Khenpo considered: in order to seek the reincarnated soul boy of the Dalai Lama, many Living Buddhas and the four great Chosgyongs resulted to divination, especially the Nechung Chosgyong — — the principal oracle invoker who predicted the direction in which the soul boy could be found, the soul boy's parents names, and the scenery of the soul boy's birth place. All these were totally identical with the actual situation. Furthermore, his birth date was a bright and auspicious day and the soul boy from Langdun was extremely unusual and clever. Undoubtedly, the real soul boy was found. It was in conformity with the wishes of all the people. Then the Kashag sent Senpon Khenchen Gyangchub Namdrol and a Kardrong Lhawang Norpu to Langdun to check every detail. Their observa-

tions report had no discrepancy with the one made by the Khensur of the Upper Tantric House.

XI. Seeking Processes Were Presented as a Memorial to the Emperor Through the Amban; The Qing Emperor Dezong Ordered Them to Check Again.

The Tibetan local government reported the situation of seeking the soul boy to the emperor through the Amban, and they were ordered to check the information once again. According to the regulations of the Qing government the Qing emperor had the right to determine the reincarnate soul boy of the Dalai Lama. Time again the Qing emperor Gaozong ordered that the Dalai Lama was one of the disciples of Tsongkhapa. In control of Tibetan Buddhism, he was the leader of Tibet. Tibetans and Mongolians were all believers in Tibetan Buddhism, and for this reason the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama had to be chose correctly without rival claimants. Only in this way would the people completely be convinced and Buddhism be prosperous. In accordance with this decree the Qing emperor Dezong issued an order to check again. Due to the consquence of the matter, the Living Buddhas and Chosgyongs were consulted again by the regent, etc.

The Kundeling Hutuktus consulted an oracle priest and the invoked said: the boy from Dagpo Langdun family was very suitable.

Wangyakse Hutuktus's oracle invoked and said: the boy who was born in the village of Landun in the district

of Dagpo, his divinatory symbols were excellent. Gandan Tripa's oracle invoked said: the first soul boy being found was the best choice.

The Chosgyong of Changdrug Tsangpa's oracle invoked and said: the real lord was born in the eastern land of bliss, and no doubt it was that one.

Gardong Chosgyong's oracle invoked and said: we were seeking the reincarnation of our great guide master and it was confirmed by all the Chosgyongs involved in his selection. None would be more believable than that one.

XII. Judo Khensur Was Sent Again to Langdun and Brought with Him Some of the Objects that the Twelfth Dalai Lama Had Used to Observe the Soul Boy.

In the sixth month of the fire—ox year (1877 A. D.), the Kundeling regent sent Judo Khensur Lozang Darje, Senpon Khenpo and other people and brought with them the things left behind by the former Dalai Lama once again to observe and check the soul boy through discerning these objects. The soul boy picked up from the array of objects a small bottle which had been used by the twelfth Dalai Lama (According to the rule of the yellow sect that the soul boy who would pick up the articles used by the deceased Dalai Lama was his reincarnation). Then, the Khenchen told the boy's parents to take extremely good care of their son with emphasis on cleanliness and also sent people residing near by so as to observe and protect the soul boy.

Judo Khensur performed the hair—shaving ceremony

and the longevity ritual for the soul boy. In the report that the soul boy was once again observed, it was noted: the physical appearance of the soul boy showed much more magic. Last year during the "Lighting Butter Lamp Festival" two rainbows touched down on the top of Langdun's house from the southern mountain, and between the two rainbows scripture flags like white satins appeared and did not die away for a long time. All these omens were known by the local people. On the twenty fifth day of the second month the same year, the soul boy had two pearl-like lower front teeth. He was very healthy and had no trouble at all. On the underside of the arch of his two feet was a different pattern of lines very similar to the Dharma wheel. The lines of his twenty fingers and toes were very clear to see and very shiny, his hair was very dark, and had a white hair up on the top of his head. The soul boy could make sounds like "Aada, Aada", he could stand by himself and also could walk here and there by holding another person's hand. Every now and then if one placed one's hand on his back he could stamp his feet like he was dancing. Generally, the soul boy did not cry, he often smiled, and when people came to pay religious homage to him, he could touch people's heads with his little hand. All the old men and children there said that on the top of Mount. Tala Kangpo a new star had appeared. The reexamined report said: the former Dalai Lama also had a white hair on the top of his head. From every aspect which could be observed we could see the real reincarnated Dalai Lama had been found without any fictitious phenomenon. In order to report the whole seeking process to the Qing government, the memorial gave detailed descriptions on the praying ceremony for reincarnation, the divination,

the confirming the direction, the giving order to all of Tibet, the oracle invoked, the sacred lake showing the scenery of the soul boy's birth place, the seeking, the checking, and the soul boy's confirmation.

XIII. The Soul Boys Chosen from Other Districts Were Negated, Due to Their not Seeming very Magic or Through the Way of Divination and Asking the Emperor for the Permission to Omit the Lots from Being Drawn in the Gold Urn Process.

The proclamation issued by the Kashag was sent to every Dzung of Tibet and the replies were sent back successively from various places. According to the report most of the children who were chosen as the so-called soul boys were recommended just according to their parents' "dream omen", so they were unbelievable. Two of the children were comparatively acceptable, the Dzungstod of Dardzong (Panpa Dzung) reported: a household under the Lapa Lhatrang of this area, the host of the household being Lawang Darje, who married with Pentso Padje. On the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month in the Wood—Hog year of the Tibetan calendar Pentso Padje gave birth to a boy. In addition, at a place 2450 "li" west from Lhasa, according to Ngari Garpon and Purang Dzungpon a boy was born on the seventh day of the eighth month in the Fire—Mouse year to a couple named Jangpad Tantsen and Tsering Gongzong in the district of Kokar Neyzen of Purang area. These two children had been invoked and said they were still weak in body, speech and

mind, unsuitable for confirmation. Therefore the two so-called soul boys were negated. Then the Kashag consulting an oracle to ask if they should seek the soul boy from other places. The oracle offered in prostration a five coloured hata in the direction of southeast. That meant the first soul boy being found was the only one whose divination was tallied with the observations.

Apart from the above—mentioned two boys, another two boys were mentioned in Tibetan historical materials, one from Lhamu Chosgyal family, the other from Tarp Lhato area. They were not chosen as well. In view of the situation of check and recheck, a joint request was then made eventually, asking the emperor to confirm the soul boy of the Langdun family and to omit the lot drawing process.

XIV. The Regent Asked the Panchen Lama to Interfere So As to Omit the Lot Drawing Process.

Regent Kundeling reported the matter of seeking the reincarnate soul boy of the Dalai Lama to the eighth Panchen Lama several times and the Panchen Lama also wrote replies. A letter wrote to the Panchen Lama by the Regent mentioned; under careful consideration, the soul boy from the Langdun family was indeed more magic than the other soul boys. The letter also contained; from the first Dalai Lama Gendun Grupa to the eight Dalai Lama Jampal Gyatso, they all did not resort to the lot drawing from the gold urn. Among them, except for the fourth Dalai Lama Yonten Gyatso and sixth Dalai Lama

Tsangyang Gyatso, the other Dalai lamas all lived a comparatively long life. The Qing emperor Gaozong granted the request of the lot drawing process. His intention was to confirm the reincarnate Living Buddhas more exactly, but it was extremely unfortunate that several Dalai Lamas of modern time all died when they were very young. If this time the soul boy could not live up to people's expectations, both the monks and the laymen would feel more pained. Furthermore, the Dalai Lama was usually worshiped by Mongolian and Tibetan people, so the emperor also thought highly of him. The Dalai Lama was the very base of Tibetan Buddhism and the leader of the Yellow sect. His reincarnate soul boy should be very excellent and enjoy popularity. Although the soul boy of Langdun was the real embodiment of Vajrapani, if the generally acknowledged soul boy from Langdun should have drawn a blank ivory slip from the gold urn, then it would have disrupted the general plan and it would have been too late to repent. Therefore it asked the great master Panchen Lama to get permission and understanding from the emperor, so as to satisfy both the Chinese and Tibetan people. This letter showed seeking the reincarnate soul boy was a very important matter. In order to omit the lots drawing process, they took every support from the all circles concerned. Certainly it was a demand of the system of integration of politics and religion as well.

XV. The Regent Requesting for Omitting the Lots Drawing from the Gold Urn Process.

Regent Kundeling presented a memorial to the Am-

ban in order to get permission from the emperor to omit the lot drawing process and asking for the emperor's approval for the ceremony of confirmation and enthronement. In the memorial some important things concerned were described in detail, such as the direction in which the soul boy was found, names of the soul boy's parents, the divination, the reflections in the sacred lake, the investigation and rechecks, and other things. It pointed out that the dream signs and various omens about the soul boy before and after he was born were all very auspicious. The soul boy from Langdun was extremely clever and decorous in appearance and had an easy manner. Through repeated consideration, all the monks and laymen of Tibet were completely convinced and confirmed unanimously that the boy from Langdun was the real reincarnate soul boy of the twelfth Dalai Lama, asking for approval for the ceremony of confirmation and enthronement without resorting to the lots drawing from the gold urn.

After the memorial had been reported to the Amban, the Regent was ordered to investigate and check again. Every Living Buddha divined again and said that the first soul boy was the real reincarnation. The petition of Tibetan people was submitted to the throne through the Amban for approval to the confirmation and the enthronement.

In the memorial the Regent made detailed arrangements. He wrote: according to the precedent, in the seventh year of the reign of the emperor Wenzong, when seeking the twelfth Dalai Lama, due to the eighth Panchen's young age, he could not go to Lhasa to perform the confirmation ceremony. At that time because the soul boy's birth place was near to Lhasa, the soul boy was tak-

en to Lhasa first, then in the Kelzang Phodrang of Norbu Lingkha the soul boy was confirmed and reported to the emperor. This time the soul boy's birth place was not very far from Lhasa either, so we prepared to take the soul boy to Lhasa and soon we would invite the Panchen Lama to come to Lhasa. The soul boy would be examined and approved through discussion by the Chinese and Tibetan clerical and lay officials headed by the Amban. In the past, Tibetan affairs were all carried out in this way according to the usual practices.

XVI. High—Ranking Officials Were Sent Respectively to Meet the Soul Boy and Awaiting Respectfully on His Way to Lhasa.

As soon as the Kashag received the written instruction from the Qing emperor about the confirmation of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, the Regent sent Kaloon Dorkawa Tsewang Norbu leading a batch of close attendants to Langdun before the auspicious day—on the fifteenth day of the ninth month in the Fire—Ox year (1877 A. D.), to present Hatas and gifts on behalf of the Tibetan local government.

On the twentieth day of the tenth month, three great Khanpos—Senpon, Solpon and Chodpon of the Potala Palace and Kaloons were sent and also prepared some goods according to the old customs for inviting the former Dalai Lamas. Upon arriving at Langdun they offered Hatas to the soul boy and gave him kowtows and presented gold, silver, and satins to the soul boy's parents.

On the first day of the eleventh month, the soul boy, in a monk's robe, left Langdun for Lhasa in a Yellow palanquin with his parents and in the company of Kaloons, monks, lay officials who came to meet him successively.

On the tenth day of the eleventh month, When the soul boy arrived at Medrogunkar, he was greeted by Gyigyab Khenpo and others; on the twelfth day, when he arrived at Dechen monastery, there were Gongs, and Kaloons greeting him there; on the thirteenth day, he arrived at the Gungthang monastery, and the Regent Kundeling went there in advance and waited for him respectfully. The fourteenth day was an auspicious day, as monks from nearby monasteries, Teji, Sholnyer, Tsedod, great Living Buddhas and the Nyepa of three great Monasteries, the Upper and the Lower Tantric Houses, four great Lings, Nechung, Muru, Zhide and a lot of common people lined up to welcome. When the soul boy arrived at Gunthang monastery, the Regent greeted him by the door. The soul boy got off the Palanquin, then he was carried by the Senpon Khenpon in his arms to the Kunsel bedroom with strains of music for welcome. when the soul boy sat on the throne, first the Kundeling Regent presented hata and gave him a kowtow, then the Living Buddhas, and lay officials offered hatas and gave kowtows to him one by one.

XVII. The Soul Boy Listened to an Imperial Edict about the Permission to Omit the Lot—Drawing Process at the Gungthang Monastery.

According to the precedent of the ninth Dalai Lama

who was also proclaimed to be the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama without resorting to lot — drawing from the gold urn, the two Ambans were invited to Gungthang to read out the imperial edict. Regent Kundeling, his tutor and high — ranking monks and lay officials were behind him. In the Nyiod Kang where the soul boy in a prostrate position facing east listened to an imperial edict read out to him by the Amban. In the edict the emperor Dezong gave his permission: Lozang Thabtan Gyatso, the son of Kunga Rinchen, would be the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and the request for the omission of the lot — drawing ceremony was granted. After the reading of the edict, the soul boy offered the hata to the east in acknowledgement of the imperial grace and asked for the Ambans to pass on the hata to the emperor. After that, butter tea, Ginseng meal, fried "Kapse", etc. were served to celebrate the occasion.

XVIII. The Soul Boy Moved to the Rikyasamtanling Monastery.

On the eighteenth day of the second month, accompanied by the Regent, Living Buddhas, monks and lay officials, the soul boy left Gungthang for Rikyasamtanling monastery on the north bank of the Lhasa river where he awaited the enthronement ceremony. In accordance with tradition, only after the soul boy was over four years old could the sitting — in — bed ceremony be held. For this reason the soul boy needed to stay in the monastery about one year, then an auspicious day would be chosen and the enthronement ceremony would be held.

XIX. The Qing Emperor Dezong Sent an Imperial Edict in Which the Sitting—in—Bed Ceremony for the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Was Approved.

After the soul boy was moved to the Rikyasantanling monastery, the Regent Kundeling reported to the Ambans that they were planning to enthrone the Dalai Lama in the Earth—Hare Year (1879 A. D.) and requested the Ambans to submit this petition to the emperor.

In the fifth month of 1879, an imperial edict was brought to Lhasa by the Ambans in which emperor Dezong wrote: the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama had been confirmed, the enthronement could be held on the thirteenth day of the sixth month this year for it's an auspicious day. The regent and the Kashag arranged the sitting—in—bed ceremony and the preparations were ready.

On the ninth day of the sixth month, the Ambans sent people to deliver the gold seal and the gold booklet which the emperor granted to the thirteenth Dalai Lama to the Regent Kundeling.

On the tenth day of the sixth month, the Regent Kundeling left the Potala Palace for the Rikyasantanling monastery to greet the thirteenth Dalai Lama.

On the twelfth day of the sixth month, the welcoming crowds of officials, nobles, Living Buddhas, monks and lay people lined the streets. The Dalai Lama was sitting in a large tent that the Kashag had set up at Dodguthang east of downtown Lhasa. There the Dalai Lama was greeted by the Ambans, representatives of the Panchen Lama,

Hutuktus, Kungs, Kaloons, Khannangs, Degpon, Tsegpon, sons of the noble families, monks from three great monasteries headed by east and north Dharma kings of Ganden monastery and the abbots of the Upper and the Lower Tantric Houses, etc.

On the auspicious day—the thirteenth day of the sixth month, according to the old customs a grand leaving ceremony was held. The thirteenth Dalai Lama was sitting in a yellow Palanquin, and travelling in front of the Dalai Lama Panlanquin was a guard of honour in which the religious banners, the precious Parasol and the incense burners led the way. Behind were the Regent, preceptor, lay officials, monks, aristocrats, Living Buddhas and so on. The people who took part in the greeting ceremony held in Lhasa were the Emperor's envoys and Ambans, Maharajog, representatives sent by the kings of neighbouring countries, the king of Lorwo Tsong, tribal headmen, leader of Kashmir and Nepal, officials of Mongolia. First, the Dalai Lama, as custom demanded, went to the Jokhang temple, there he worshiped the image of Sakyamuni, after that, he arrived in Potala Palace and entered into sunlight hall, then mounted "the fearless and the great independent deva (Vjigsbral Gdonglang)" throne. On the fourteenth day of the sixth month, the grand sitting—in—bed ceremony was held at the great enlightenment hall. From the fifteenth day of the sixth month, Tashilhunpo monastery, Kundeling Lhadrang, Kashag, Gyigyad Khenpon, Dalai and Regent office, officials from the Kashag, the three great monasteries, the four main Lings, great monasteries of U and Tsang, the families of predecessor's Dalais, envoys of neighbouring countries,

headmen, monasteries, Living Buddhas, laymen of various religious sects all came to congratulate successively.

In a word, the seeking and the confirmation procedure of the thirteenth Dalai Lama in comparison with the sixth, seventh, eighth, and the ninth Dalai Lamas being confirmed after the Yellow sect administered political and religious power of Tibet in 1642, their seeking and confirmation procedures were not as complicated as the thirteenth Dalai Lama's. Compare with the seeking and confirmation procedure of the tenth, eleventh and the twelfth Dalai Lamas, we can see that these three Dalai Lamas were confirmed through lot—drawing process among several candidates of soul boy being found. However, the seeking of the thirteenth Dalai Lama concentrated all attention only on one child by using various means and procedures. The other soul boy candidates were eliminated from the seeking process, especially by getting permission to omit lot—drawing process. For this reason, the seeking and the confirmation procedure had to be very prudent and the whole procedure had to be very complicated. In addition, the Dalai Lama was the greatest Living Buddha of Tibetan Buddhism, as well as the ruler of Tibet. It can be said that the seeking and the confirmation procedures of the thirteenth Dalai Lama were extremely complete and any other Living Buddhas seeking procedure could not compare with it. Hence, it is no exaggeration to say that the seeking and confirmation procedure of the thirteenth Dalai Lama was the most unusual one.

Tibet Was, Is and Will Remain an Inseparable Part of China

—Refuting the Fallacies Concerning Tibet in
the Book Titled *How Chinese Was China's
Tibetan Region?* by Nirmal Chandra Sinha

Li Maoyu

Nirmal Chandra Sinha's book titled *How Chinese Was China's Tibetan Region?* was published in 1981 in Calcutta. It preaches the doctrines of "Greater India" and pan-Asianism, denies the fact that Tibet is an inseparable part of China historically, spares no efforts in stressing the special relations between India and Tibet, instigates the activities of Tibetan separatists, and invents theoretical and historical bases for the separation of Tibet from China. The present article aims to refute the fallacies concerning Tibet disseminated in this book.

I. Surely Chinese History Incorporates Tibet

The irrefutable historical fact is that Tibet has been an inseparable part of China since the Yuan dynasty. The writer of the book, Sinha, also is aware that "the Chinese view of their place in the world has remained constant.

The Chinese concept about Tibet since the Mongol conquest of both Tibet and China in the thirteenth century is no exception to this norm. " (P. 2) Yet he put forward a so-called "question of history", saying that "On 23 May 1951 Tibet signed away her independence by a treaty with China. This treaty called the 17-point Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet opens thus: The Tibetan nationality is one of the nationalities with a long history within the boundaries of China. Three years later on 29 April 1954 China signed a treaty with her (then) best ally India. Tibet was now not merely counted among the nationalities within the boundaries of China: Tibet was also a region of China." The writer continued" it is proposed to enquire here into Tibet's entitlement to be called the Tibet region of China at the beginning of peaceful liberation. An enquiry as to how far traditional Tibet (ie. , up till 1950) conformed to the pattern of traditional China (up till 1950) can help us considerably in tracing the frontiers of Chinese history and comprehending the mystique called Chinese civilization." (p. 1-2) Hence, Sinha wrote:" The constituents of a civilization—— language, religion, polity, arts, literature, legends and history, food and dress, family life and occupational pattern—— are primary tools for an enquiry like this. Politicle history takes a secondary role." (p. 2) Using this methodology Sinha compares differences in language, religion, politics, arts, literature and history between the Han and Tibetan people and concluded that:" This clearly suggests that Tibet (till 1950) was not part of the history of China. Tibet's tradition mark the frontiers of Chinese history. Political sagas do not enter Tibet into the history of China

except for about a century between 1750 and 1850. (p. 13)

First of all, by "traditional Tibet" is actually referring to Tibetan culture and by "traditional China" is actually indicating Han culture. It is inappropriate to equate Han culture with China. Moreover, it is also preposterous to think that differences of Han and Tibetan culture posit so-called "traditional Tibet" not adhering to the pattern of traditional China, taking national culture as the demarcation line to refute Tibet's place in the history of China. National culture is the concrete expression of the characteristics of a nationality. If such an inherent culture should vanish, the nationality involved undoubtedly has been assimilated or absorbed by another nationality. Therefore, to divide boundaries between countries by national cultures is in fact to demarcate them in accordance with race. This is not only inconsistent with past world history, but also not in conformity with the reality of the present world. The fact is that no country is thus demarcated.

The actual situation is that an ethnic group is often distributed over several countries while a nation consist of frequently several scores or even up to a hundred races. That constitutes a multi-national country such as China, and India. Since the overwhelming majority of countries in the present world are multi-ethnic, this completely negates the fallacy of determining boundaries by national culture or ethnicity. Sinha has confused the connotations of the two entirely different concepts of "nationality" and "country" and drawn a far-fetched comparison, thereby making errors in methodology and logic. It is quite clear

that the ethnic culture of traditional Tibet did not belong to the national cultural pattern of traditional China. But it is a fallacy to say that consequently "Tibet did not belong to the history of China". This fallacy has not only erroneously confused national culture with country, but also mistakenly confused the Han nationality with China as well as negated the reality that China is a multi-ethnic country with several score nationalities, including the Han and Tibetan people. Furthermore, it has fallaciously taken Han culture as Chinese culture and whereas the culture of the Chinese nation has been created by its numerous nationalities, including the Han and Tibetan nationality. In fact, Sinha aims to deny that Tibet is an inseparable historical part of Chinese territory. However, the historical facts are quite clear and undeniable. Hence, the writer plays with the ambiguous concepts of traditional Tibet and China in order to perpetrate the delusion that traditional Tibet was not part of the pattern of traditional China, in an attempt to fabricate a theoretical and historical basis for splitting Tibet from China. These fallacies are unscientific and hence entirely untenable. Moreover, in order to negate the historical role of Tibet as part of China, Sinha racked his brains in vain to find all pretexts, even saying that "The US and the UK abrogate extra-territorial rights in China in January 1943; the UK extended them in Tibet and Xinjiang saying they were obviously both not part of China." (pp. 85-86) Uttering the nonsense that Tibet did not belong to China, Sinha goes so far as to fabricate that Xinjiang also was separate from China. He is anxious to advise Tibetan separatists and provide them with case instance, saying that "Ireland was a part of

Britain (United Kingdom) for more than seven centuries despite legitimate claims of separate identity. Polish people, on the other hand remained divided for a century and a half although all logic called for integration. Political and administrative boundaries may not reflect the true image of integration or otherwise." (p. 2) The writer here openly incites Tibetan splittists to carry on their activities.

Since Sinha holds that political and administrative boundaries may not reflect true unity, can a nationality reflect this actual image ? Lenin has pointed out that "There are two nationalities within each and every nationality and there are two kinds of national culture among every national culture."^[1] A class society consists of two antagonistic classes which are divided into the ruling, exploiting class and the ruled, exploited class in each ethnic group. As no nationality is totally integrated, it is naturally impossible to reflect its true singularity. Lenin has also pointed out that "There are even underdeveloped ingredients of democratic and socialist culture in each national culture. This is because there are toiling and exploited masses in each nationality. The emergence of the ideological system of democracy and socialism is inevitable and determined by their living conditions. But there exists bourgeois culture in each nationality. Moreover, there are gangster and clerical cultures in most nationalities."^[2] Before the democratic reform, there were two kinds of national culture in Tibet, namely, that of the serf-owning class and that of the serf and herder class. Inspired by democratic and socialist thinking, as a result of their living conditions, the broad masses consequently asked to carry out democratic reform and resolutely took the road of so-

cialism. The serf—owing elite was not a monolithic bloc. Some of them came to acknowledge the trend of social development, expressed willingness to abandon their exploitation and sided with the ordinary populace. A handful of oppressors who persisted firmly in domination serfs and opposed the democratic reform were cast aside by the broad masses. They then attempted in vain to carry on splitting activities, relying on foreign reactionary forces to bolster the so—called "Independence of Tibet". In fact they futilely tried to restore recalcitrant, dark and barbarous serfdom in Tibet. Hence, they were firmly opposed by all ethnic groups of the country, including the Tibetan people. This is the essence of the issue of separatist activities by a handful of Tibetan splittists.

Secondly, how could the writer leave out the century between 1750 and 1850 "that does not enter Tibet into the history of China," severing the periods before and after? In 1750 Gyumey Namgyal, the younger son of Pholhanas who died in 1747, inherited his father's title of Prince and was installed in his father's position as the chief administrator of Tibet. Power rivalry developed between Pholhanas and the seventh Dalai Lama. After Gyumey Namgyal took control of the Tibetan administration, the contradiction further intensified. "Gyumey Namgyal harboured suspicions about the Dalai Lama and jealousy of him, fearing public resentment might deepen in the long run. The Dalai Lama's patience also came to an end, thinking that Gyumey Namgyal was likely to create trouble."^[3] Gyumey Namgyal hence sent his trusted aides on a secret mission to the Mongolian Dzungars to establish illicit relations with them. "He pushed aside the people who

disagreed with him internally and attempted to throw off the yoke of the Amban externally. "[4]He schemed to stage a rebellion. Consequently, Gyumey Namgyal was trapped and murdered by the Ambans Fuqing and Labdon while Fuqing and Labdon were later killed by Namgyal's men. After the calming down of hostilities between rival serf-holders in Tibet and Khangchennas, the chief Kaloon, was slain. The Qing government strengthened its administration over Tibet in 1727. We can thus trace back to the handling of various installations and important events in Tibet by the Yuan government. After the Opium war of 1840, the British colonialists sped up their aggression against China. As Tibet is located in southwest China and an important gateway to China, nearby India became a British base for expanding forces to the Orient. Hence, Tibet turned into an important target for invasion of China by the British colonialists. Under the circumstances of British armed invasion of Tibet, the corrupt and incompetent Qing government was forced to sign the Anglo-Chinese Convention Relating to Sikkim and Tibet with Great Britain in 1890, the Regulations Regarding Trade, Communication and Pasturage to be Appended to the Sikkim-Tibet Convention of 1890 in 1893, the treaty called the Convention between Great Britain and China in 1906 and the Regulations of Trade between Tibet and India in 1908. Though those pacts relating to Tibet were consented to by the Qing government, they were unequal treaties of national betrayal and a humiliation and ratified under the coercion from the British colonialists. So how could they be separate from the history of China? All China was in a chaos when the revolution of 1911 broke out. Supported

by the British imperialists the Thirteenth Dalai Lama returned to Tibet from India and drove the Qing troops and the imperial resident official out of Tibet, thereby casting a shadow over relations between Tibet and the motherland. However, when the Thirteenth Dalai Lama became deeply aware of the wilful interference into Tibetan internal affairs by the British and his position was endangered by pro-British forces they nurtured, he drew lessons from warped events and quickly woke up to his error, truly feeling that only by relying on the motherland could he be in an impregnable position. As a result he resolutely restored political relations between Tibet and the central authorities of the newly founded national government in 1929 and sent delegates to participate in nationwide important political activities. These included the successive National political council meetings during the anti-Japanese period, the constitution-enacting national assembly convened by the national government in 1946 and the constitution-enforcing national assembly held in 1948. The Tibetan local government selected and sent delegates to those conferences. So how could anybody write Tibet out of the history of China during this period?

All these facts show that for as long as seven centuries Tibet has always been a component of history of the integrated multi-ethnic China, since it was incorporated into Chinese territory in Yuan dynasty, from the thirteenth century up to the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951. It is utterly groundless and futile for Sinha to attempt to break the continuity of history and to deny Tibet has been an inseparable historical part of China.

Thirdly, the writer says that "India, because of her

ancient and vital links with Tibet and China, and her newly acquired status in Tibet, concluded a treaty known as the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India on 29 April 1954. In diplomatic diction, Tibet became the Tibet region of China." (p. 52)

"This coinage came to circulate as pidgin parlance. Even the Sinologist Alastair Lamb, who views the Tibetans, Russians, British and Indians as culpable barbarians vis-a-vis the Chinese, prefixes the Tibet region with "so-called" or marks with inverted commas." (p. 14)

In fact, it is not the designation, "Tibet region" that should be corrected, but the name "Tibet". "Tibet" is the transliteration of "Tu-bo-te" which is derived from the sound "Tubo". In the Tang dynasty, Tubo referred to both the Tibetans who lived on the Qinghai - Tibet plateau in ancient times and the region under the jurisdiction of the Tubo dynasty. When the Yuan dynasty united China, Tibet was incorporated into the territory of China. It divided the land of Tubo into three administrative areas, namely, I. The Chief Military Command of the Pacification Office of the Tubo Office (To Bo Deng Chu Xuan Wei Shi Si Du Yuan Shuai Fu). It took charge of the Tibetan areas in the present Qinghai and Gansu provinces; II. The Chief Military Command of the Pacification Office of the Tubo Circuits (To Bo Deng Lu Xuan Wei Shi Si Du Yuan Shuai Fu). It assumed control over mainly the Tibetan areas of present Sichuan and Yunnan provinces; III. The Chief Military Command of the Pacification Commission of the Three Circuits of Dbus Gtsang Mnga'ris Skor Gsum (Wusi Zang Nali Suguluer Sun Deng Sanlu Xuan Wei Shi Si Du Yuan Shuai Fu). It succeeded to the reins of the Ti-

betan areas of present Anterior and Ulterior Tibet and Ngari prefecture. Hence, the name Tibet derived from "Tubo" referred to all Tibetans and Tibetan areas of China. According to textual studies, "Tibet" was originally pronounced "Tebet", a Mongolian word. Both Rubruquis (in his *itinerarium*) and Marco Polo coming to the Orient from Europe in the thirteenth century have it as Tebet. The moderns spell it Tibet...^[5] "Tibet" in English, French, German and Italian refers to the Tibetan race and the Tibetan areas of China. The name "Xi Zang" (Tibet) was used afterwards and appeared in official documents in 1575,^[6] up to 1633, the term "Tu-bo-te" was gradually replaced by "Xi Zang" which referred to the areas under the jurisdiction of the Chief Military Command of the Pacification Commission of the Three Circuits of Dbus Gtsang Mnga'ris Skor Gsum, that is, mainly the Tubo kingdom proper or the administrative areas formed by Anterior and Ulterior Tibet and the Ngari prefecture. Hence, the geographical scope of "Tibet" does not accord with the reality of "Xi Zang". Because of this, the British proposed to divide the Tibetan areas of Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces into so-called "Inner Tibet" while dividing the Anterior and Ulterior Tibet and the Ngari areas into so-called "Outer Tibet" at the Simla conference in 1913 and 1914. That was a vain attempt to break off the Tibetan areas of China and thus met with the resolute opposition of various nationalities of the country, including the Tibetan people. Sinha says that "From about 1880... Chinese speech was planted in the north-eastern and eastern border-lands of Tibet. In the opening years of this century, the Chinese language thus got a foot —

hold in these border — lands, conveniently called China's Inner Tibet " (p. 6). Sinha employs the name of "Tibet" in a similar way. However, the "Xi Zang " (Tibet) we refer is the land under the administrative jurisdiction of the present Tibet Autonomous Region, historically created as local administrative unit equivalent to provincial level. But some people often equate "Xi Zang " (Tibet) on a status of provincial level with "China". Ulterior motives obviously lie behind positing "Tibet" as a place independent of "China". An old Chinese saying goes " If there is no right title, words will not be proper. " For the purpose of drawing a clear line, the term "Tibet region " is used in certain occasions to correct confusion over the real meaning of "Tibet" and "Xi Zang". Use of the term "Tibet region " to indicate that Tibet is a local administrative unit of China is beyond reproach.

II. The History of an Integrated, Multi—Ethnic China Brooks No Distortion

Sinha writes that "The 17—point Agreement between China and Tibet (1951), announced the return of the Tibetan people to the Han motherland," (p. 61). He alleges that the concept of China as the Han motherland is a great distortion of the history of China and sows dissension between the Hans and Tibetans.

China has taken the shape of a unitary , multi—national country in history. There are fifty—five ethnic minorities apart from the Han; such as the Tibetans, Mongolians, Uighurs, Manchus, Huis, Yis, Miaos, and others. As early as the Shang and Zhou dynasties, there were

Guifan, Yanyun, Quanrong, Sushen, Eastern Yi, Huaiyi, Jinmang, Yong, Shu, Qiang, Mao, Wei, Lou, Peng, Pu, and other ethnic groups living together with the Huaxia (the ancestors of the Han) on the vast expanse of the land of China. During the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period, the Huaxia were surrounded by the Yi, Mang, Rong, Di, Xiongnu (Hun), Eastern Hu, Linghu, Baipu, Sui, Mo, Loufan and Baiyue, etc. When king Wuwang sent a punitive expedition against king Zhou during the Zhou dynasty, over eight hundred princes led armed forces from various nationalities, joining forces with king Wuwang at Mengjin. After long struggles of annexation, there were only seven powerful states left contending for hegemony in the Warring States period. The Qin State finally conquered the other six and set up a united, multi-ethnic feudal China with central state authority, thus laying down the foundation for national formation and development. Through out the Han, Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties, an integrated, multi-ethnic China with the limits of present territory, containing fifty-six nationalities, was formed. Over the long course of history there also appeared political splits and the political powers of the Han co-existing with ethnic minorities. However, these regimes represented eras of disunity, whether established by the dominant Han or ethnic minorities. The areas under their jurisdiction not only had mixed populations but also political organs generally composed mainly of representatives of one nationality with representatives from others. Once political divisions broke out, unification was disrupted. However, unity was restored through struggles and a unitary, multi-national

country could constantly advance along the course of historical progress.

For various reasons, such as wars, border — garrisons, troops — stationed to open up wasteland and natural disasters, great national migrations were effected. For instance, half a million people migrated to the south of the Five Ridges (the area covering Guangdong and Guangxi) during the Qin dynasty; many Han moved to Xinjiang region as resident troops to pioneer barren expanses in the Western Regions (a Han dynasty term for the area west of Yumenguan, including present day Xinjiang and parts of Central Asia) during the Han dynasty. Large numbers of Han advanced south to the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtse river and the Pearl river valley during the Western and Eastern Jin dynasties and Northern and Southern dynasties as well as later Tang dynasty and Southern Song dynasty. Numerous Han moved to Yunnan, Guizhou, Inner Mongolia and North — East China during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Other migrations occurred of ethnic minorities to the Central Plains (along the middle and lower reaches of the Huanghe river). In the Eastern Hun dynasty, substantial numbers of the Southern Han resettled in the interior of China. There were also great migration of Hun, Di, Qiang, Jie and Xianbei to the heartland of China during the Western and Eastern Jin dynasties. Similar large movements took place of the Tujue (Turk) in the Tang dynasty, the Qidian (Khitan), Nuzhen (Nuchen) in the Song dynasty, the Mongol of the Yuan dynasty and the Manchu in the Qing dynasty. These relocations promoted great ethnic amalgamation around the Han who showed the highest political, economic and cultural devel-

opment. Thus, the Han population was expanded, making it the biggest group with highest level in politics, economics and culture among the various races of China, playing a leading role in various aspects of state life. At the same time, areas with interlocking ethnic groups and close ethnic ties in economic and cultural fields formed close and interdependent relations.

In the long course of history, the Han and ethnic minorities have all made their contributions to the opening up of the vast territory of China. Each has created its culture, enriching and advancing Chinese civilization. However, rulers of successive dynasties implemented ethnic oppression, whether they were Han or ethnic minorities. China was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society after the Opium war in 1840. The nationalities of China commonly suffered from imperialist oppression, binding them by a common cause and shared weal and woe, so they rallied still closer to carry on tortuous revolutionary struggle. They finally achieved the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution in 1949, overthrew the domination of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, removed the social ethnic discrimination and oppression, realized genuine equality among ethnic groups, establishing new style relations of fraternal co-operation and solidarity and mutual assistance, thereby enabling our great homeland to become a big family for co-prosperity and progress for various nationalities. This amply shows that our great land of China has been founded by common efforts of all nationalities throughout a long history. Hence, China is not the homeland of any particular nationality, but of all people of various nationalities.

The Tibetan ethnic group is one of the members of our integrated, multi — ethnic nation and one of the founders of our great homeland. As long ago as the Tubo dynasty which was set up by King Songtsen Gampo in the early seventh century A. D. after uniting tribes on the Tibet plateau, he established close political, economic and cultural ties with the Tang dynasty on the Central Plains. The Tang Princess Wencheng married King Songtse Gampo in 641 and Princess Jincheng wed King Tride Tsugtsen in 710. The marriages played a very important role in promoting the further strengthening of ties between the Hans and Tibetans as well as the relations between Tibet and the Central Plains.

After the collapse of the Tubo dynasty in the mid — ninth century, entangled conflict broke out within Tibet. Its subordinates deserted and sought shelter from the Tang dynasty. Chaos ensued for about four centuries. After the collapse of the Tang dynasty, soon after, the Five Dynasties (Later Liang, Later Tang, Later Jin, Later Han and Later Zhou) emerged and Ten States as well as Song, Liao, Jin and Western Xia dynasties. In the early thirteenth century, the Mongols rose suddenly in the northern part of the country, starting battles that united the entire country. In 1247, the Sakya Pandita Gongkar Gyaltzen went to Liangzhou (now Wuwei county, Gansu province), taking with him his nephews Phagspa and Chakna Dorje at the invitation of the Mongolian Prince Godan. At Liangzhou he met with Godan and negotiated the terms for the submission of Tibet to the Mongol Khan. Therefore, Sakya Pandita sent a letter to all religious sects and local chiefs in Tibet (U — Tsang and

Ngari), advising them to give their allegiance to the Mongol head. After consultation they acquiesced. In 1260 when Kublai Khan ascended the throne in Shangdu, he granted Phagspa the title of "State Tutor" (and later "Imperial Preceptor") and a jade seal. In 1264, the central authorities of the Yuan dynasty established a General Council (renamed Political Council in 1288) which exercised authority over Buddhist monks and Tibetan local military and political affairs. Phagspa shared Tibetan administrative responsibilities with a Mongolian official as one of the top ranking Yuan government official. Pacification commissioners were installed in Tibet to handle specific issues regarding Tubo. The first Ponchen (administrator) at Sakya was nominated by Phagspa and approved by Kublai Khan as the head of three U—Tsang Wan Hu (ten thousand households) to assist Phagspa in taking charge of the thirteen Wan Hu heads. Important officials above the rank of political councillors, pacification commissioners and Wan Hu heads were all nominated by the Imperial Preceptor and approved by the emperor. Thus, the administrative structure of Tibet was formulated. From then on, Tibet was officially incorporated into the territory of the Yuan dynasty, becoming a local administrative unit under the Yuan central government. The Tibetan ethnic group thereupon became a member of the integrated, multi—ethnic China.

In the later Yuan dynasty, the ruling Sakya sect was replaced by the Phagdrü regime of the Kagyu sect. The leader of the Phagdrü regime of the Kagyupa sect, Changchub Gyaltzen was granted the title of Da Situ (Grand Duke) and appointed the administrator of Tibetan

local affairs. The Phadru regime was recognized throughout the Ming dynasty. In 1372 Shakya Gyaltzen, the nephew of Changchub Gyaltzen and the second ruling lama of the Phadru regime was granted the title of State Tutor. He was empowered to take charge of the thirteen Wan Hu heads of U—Tsang. The Tibet policy of the Ming government was in the main a continuation of the one pursued by the previous Yuan authorities. However, it differed in respect to the Sakya sect along while the Ming government conferred titles on the leaders of all religious sects and assigned new official posts to express mollification. During the Ming dynasty, Tibet was comparatively stable. In particular, tea and horse exchange marts formed from the Tang and Song dynasties on between Tibet and the interior of China expanded further. With the strengthening of economic ties, relations between Tibet and the motherland became closer.

In the early fifteenth century the Gelug sect (Yellow sect) founded by Tsongkhapa achieved speedy advance in Tibet with the support of the leader Gushi Khan of the Oirat Mongols. The fifth Dalai Lama eliminated the Desi Tsangpa (Khan) regime which was hostile to the Yellow sect, making the Yellow sect the dominant religion group in Tibet. In 1652, the fifth Dalai Lama went to Beijing for an audience with the emperor. The next year he was conferred the title of the "Dalai Lama, Buddha of Great Compassion in the West, Leader of the Buddhist Faith Beneath the Sky, Holder of the Vajra " as well as a gilt album and a gold imperial seal of authority. The designation of Dalai Lama was officially recognized by the Qing court. At the same time, the emperor Shizu conferred on the Mongol

Khan (Gushi Khan) a title with the customary gilt album and gold seal. The inscription on the latter read "Seal of the Righteous and Wise Gushi Khan." The emperor also accepted a *fait accompli* in handing the right of administration over Tibet to Gushi Khan, letting him "act as the emperor's shield and assistant. . .",^[7] taking charge of Tibetan administrative affairs in accordance with the orders of the Qing court. With incessant scrambles for power between Mongolian and Tibetan leaders and among the Tibetan ruling cliques, the political situation in Tibet was turbulent, creating social unrest, so administration of Tibet was strengthened by the Qing government. This included the installation of resident official (Amban); stipulations for Tibetan administration, religion, finances, trade, border defence and foreign affairs. Thus, the political and religious institutions of Tibet were gradually refined and relations between Tibet and the motherland further cemented. The ties between the Tibetans and people of other fraternal nationalities of China were also further consolidated. In the struggle against foreign invasion, the Tibetans were supported by other ethnic groups of the nation. In 1791, when Tibet was invaded by the Gurkhas, the Qing government mobilized and sent to Tibet an almost 20,000 — strong contingent, including Han, Manchu, Mongol, Dahur and Owenke members. They drove the invaders out of Tibet and safeguarded its territory. From the Opium war in 1840 onwards, the western capitalist power intensified their aggression against China. Hence, Tibet turned into an important target for penetration into south — west China. In 1888 and in 1904 the British twice carried out large — scale armed invasions a-

gainst Tibet. They met with resolute resistance from Tibetan clerics and laity. Therefore, they changed their tactics and started to foster pro-British forces within the Tibetan upper ruling strata to divide Tibet in order to attain their aim of separating Tibet from China and taking control of it. Especially during the later part of World War Two and after the victory in the Three Great Engagements of the Chinese People's Liberation War, the splitting activities of the Tibetan pro-imperialist reactionary forces were unscrupulously conducted under the scheming of the American and British mercenaries. In July, 1942 the Kashag announced the establishment of the so-called "Foreign Bureau" to show that Tibet was an "independent country". In October, 1947, the Kashag organized a trade mission to visit the U. S. and British for estensible trade surveys. Actually it represented an illegitimate diplomatic effort by the imperialists and Tibetan separatist forces to win recognition of Tibet independence by the government of Britain and the U. S. In July 1949, at a time when the Chinese People's liberation war was achieving decisive victory and the liberation of the whole country was only a matter of time, the "Han, go home!" incident at Lhasa happened, announced by the Kashag and said to be the drive of the Kumintang government; but its real aim was to sever political ties between Tibet and motherland and separate Tibet from China by taking advantage of an opportunity prior to nationwide liberation. Hence, people of all nationalities in China, including Tibetans demanded the expulsion of imperialist forces from Tibet, to free and defend Tibet. This was an important part of a century of revolutionary struggles of all ethnic groups of China, op-

posing oppression by reactionary forces both at home and abroad and seeking freedom. When the Chinese PLA entered Tibet in 1950 and won the Chamdo campaign, an intense struggle between the patriotic and progressive forces and pro — imperialist forces within the Tibetan ruling cliques formed. The patriotic and progressive forces which represented the wishes of the broad Tibetan population gained the upper hand in the end. Therefore, representatives of the Tibetan local government and Central People's Government after consultation signed an Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet on May 23rd, 1951. Thus, the Tibetan people who had long suffered from the misery of imperialist aggression returned to the big multi — ethnic family of the motherland, enjoying the right of equality, building the new Tibet and the homeland with people of all races. This was an important event with historic significance.

The foregoing facts fully show that the intergrated, multi — ethnic China was formed through long historical development, commonly founded by all ethnic groups within the bounds of China and hence is the common home of all races of the country. It was not created by the Han alone, so is not the native land exclusively. Tibetans have been members of the nation since Tibet was incorporated into Chinese territory in the Yuan dynasty. Moreover, they have likewise made contributions. China hence is also the motherland of the Tibetan people. These facts completely refute Sinha's shameless slanders, that the return of the Tibetan peoples to the large clan of all races entailed a back tracking to the Han motherland.

III. Are Tibetans Hybrid Indians?

Regarding the origins of the Tibetans, Sinha says that "In the first decade of this century some British scholars suggested Tibet — Mongol origins for several republican oligarchic tribes of the Himalayas... These suggestions were inspired by political motives and not supported by sound evidence. Since independence (1947) Indian scholars adduce adequate ethno—linguistic data in support of an Indic (Sanskrit) synthesis in which the Tibeto—Mongol races were partners with Dravidians and Aryans." (p. 22) cannot these also be out—and—out lies invented and inspired by political motives ?

The Tibetans are devout believers in Buddhism, with great reverence for the faith which originated from India. Hence, in one version in Tibetan Buddhist writings the first Tsenpo of the Tibetan ancestral Yarlung tribe came from India — — — the land of Buddha. For example, the "Chronicle of dpa'—bo gTsug—lag Phreng—ba" (*A Feast for Wise Men*), cites the Tsenpo of Tubo as the source of the Indian Sakya clan ; the *History of Tibetan Kings and Ministers*, says that the Tibetan Tsenpo was the offspring of King Ashoq. These versions on the origin of Tibetans are spurious. For how could there have been a foreign ruler of Tibet, if there were no people to be ruled or working in Tubo and who would have supported him. This shows clearly that there was human activity in Tubo proper long ago. The *New Red Annals* note that before the birth of the Buddha in the time of King Jiasen, there was a monarch named Ruxi who was defeated and fled to the snow—clad mountains in female dress and then multi-

plied in human form ; "in comparison with the appearance of the Buddha, the (Tibet) region and its humans were already manifest long ago. "[⁸] Hence, it can be seen that accounts of genealogy of the Tubo Tsenpo emanating from India were conjectured from Buddhist philosophical sources. Therefore, they are unscientific and unreliable. However, Sinha gives a strained interpretation, opportunely further alleging that the Tibeto—Mongoloid races were partners with the Dravidians and Aryans, and even Sanakrit—speaking Indians. Is this not a monstrous lie? The current Tibetan language belongs to the Sino—Tibetan language family. It is quite different from the Indo—European language family of Dravidians and the Aryans. So—called ethno—linguistic data, that is not explained in concrete terms, is advanced to parade his fantastic and preposterous ideas.

The Tibetan people of China have their own legend about the origin of their race. It relates that the macaque was united in wedlock with female demons living in rock caves and multiplied. The tale has a mythological flavour. But humanity has evolved from ancient primates, a scientifically proved and universally accepted fact. Based on the historical legend, Chinese scholars suggest that the original Tibetans lived along the Yarlung Tsanpo river, other scholars advance the theory that the first Tibetans were aboriginals in the Qinghai—Tibet plateau. The latter supposition is closely linked to historical records in Chinese which state that Tibetans came from the " Xi Qiang " (Western Qiang). This is because " Xi Qiang " was the general used term for western peoples (not referring to a single race) in ancient China by the Han. The discovery of

numerous palaeo — anthropological, cultural relics in the Qinghai — Tibet plateau has fully established that the scope of activities of the ancestors of the Tibetans was the whole Qinghai — Tibet plateau and proved the correctness of the hypothesis about aborigines and the origin of the Tibetan race.

In the last thirty years or more, Chinese geologists and archaeologists have carried out a great deal of work in the Qinghai — Tibet plateau and achieved rich results. In 1956, experts from the Geological Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences discovered stone implements of the Neolithic Age and Palaeolithic Period at Nagchu of Tibet, on the Tuotuohe river border, the source of the Yangtse river, in Qinghai as well as Houhouxili ; west of the Huanghe River's source and Gormu, to the south of the Chaidam basin, etc. ^[9]In 1966 the Comprehensive Investigation Team on Mount Qomolangma Area found stone implements within the boundary of Nyalam county, that show the transitional period from Old Stone Age to New Stone Age culture. ^[10]In 1976, the Comprehensive Scientific Investigation Team on the Qinghai — Tibet plateau under the Chinese Academy of Sciences collected Palaeolithic stone implements and fine stone artifacts within the bounds of Shenzha and Shuanghu in Changtang (North Tibet). ^[11]The same year, Old Stone Age artifacts were also discovered within the jurisdiction of Dingri County, Tibet. ^[12]From 1973 to 1985, New Stone Age objects once again appeared in parts under the jurisdiction of Meido County, Tibet. ^[13]At the same time, some ruins of the Neolithic Age were undiscovered. They included the Najin Ruins in the northern suburb of

Lhasa,^[14] the Karo Ruins at Chamdo^[15] and the Nyingche Ruins in the south—east of Tibet.^[16] Paramountly ancient human remains judged to be those of modern Mongol man were discovered at Nyingche. The skull is closely akin to those of the Tibetan group and its ancestors.^[17]

Archaeologists have conducted comparative studies of ancient cultural ruins in Tibetan areas. Old Stone Age implements in Tibetan areas reveal similar characteristics to those of North and South China. Examples are the saw-tooth—edged tools located at Santsakou; the tools with crooked edges of Huohuoxili, found at the ruins of Shuidonggou, Ningxia province and the ruins of Salasuhe, in north—west Sha'anxi province. Both of the forementioned sites typify the Hetao (Great Bend of the Huanghe River) Culture. A comparable long oval—shaped scraper has also been discovered at the Bangqiao ruins at Yiliang, Yunnan province.^[18] There are many similarities between the stone implements found at Nyalam, Tibet and the "Shayuan Culture" of the Chaoyi and Dali area, Sha'anxi province.^[19] The fine stone tools revealed at Shenzha and Shuanghu, North Tibet bear close resemblance in their shapes and manufacture with those of sites of North China. Archaeologists hold that "the fine stone implements made their appearance rather late on the Tibet plateau and there is an absence of primitive shapes. They must have inherited the fine stone tradition from North China and developed into a culture with local characteristics."^[20] The new stone culture of Nyingche and Medo was greatly influenced by the Qijia and Longshan cultures, epitomised by plate—shaped utensils, striking implements and ground knives and chisels. These are frequently seen at .

the Qijia sites in Gansu and Qinghai provinces. The quality, lines and shapes of Nyingche and Meido artifacts are similar to those of Qijia culture, especially the polished black pottery segments. They also have close ties with the Longshan Culture in the Central Plains.^[21] The stone artifacts unearthed at Karo ruins, Chamdo, Tibet belong to the same system as those of North China, the dwelling structures similar to those of the primitive culture of the Central Plains, being built above or under ground with earth and wood. Painted pottery is the main type. Judging from the carved symbols, the Karo Culture belonged to the Yangshao culture. In terms of level of skill, the crude jade axe unearthed at Najin ruins in the northern suburbs of Lhasa and the cream—coloured bone needle as well as pottery with flowing lined rhombic designs show the culture created by the forebears of the Tibetans in the New Stone Age closely corresponded to that of the interior of China.^[22] Chinese archaeologists have made comparative studies between the ancient cultural ruins of the Tibet plateau with those of the South Asia subcontinent. They hold that when "paralleling Old Stone implements at Shenzha and Shuanghu in Changtang (North Tibet) with counterparts of Pakistani Soan Culture and the Indian Nevasian Culture, obvious differences emerge, indicating that they belong to different cultural systems with no inevitable connections. "^[23] The fine stone artifacts with non—geometric designs of the Tibet plateau are unlike those that feature mainly trapezoid or triangular—edged motifs. They belong to two systems with different origins, showing at least that their distribution was demarcated by the Himalayas. "^[24]

All these facts fully show that the Tibetan race is one of the oldest in China. As early as remote antiquity, the ancestors of the Tibetans were active on the Qinghai—Tibet plateau. They were indigenous, not migrants from elsewhere. The Stone Age remains of the Tibetan areas are connected closely and inseparably with those of the corresponding period in the China hinterland but totally dissimilar to others on the south Asia subcontinent. The Tibetans are Mongols. They have no cultural or blood ties with the Dravidians and Aryans. Language is an important factor for the formation of culture and is relatively stable in nature. Since the primitive culture of the Tibet plateau has no ties with that of South Asia, linguistic connections are implausible. Conversely, since there were tight indissoluble relations between Tibet and the interior of China in the primitive stage, Chinese and Tibetan belong to the same language family. The study on original Chinese and Tibetan by Chinese etymologists in the small "Tibetan Dictionary" compiled by Jaschke, enumerates over six hundred etymons merge in ancient Chinese and Tibetan phonology.^[25] These details all explain the close links between the Tibetans and the Hans as well as Tibet and hinterland China. They show that the two regions were united throughout the long course of historical progress. At the same time, the above—mentioned facts also forcibly refute the fallacies with ulterior motives of Sinha when he alleges the Tibetans of China are non—Mongol hybrid Indians of Dravidian and the Aryan descent, or even Sanskrit speaking Indians.

IV. Does Lamaism Originate from Brahmanism ? Does the Tibetan Theocracy also Stem from India ?

Concerning the origin of Lamaism, Sinha cites the Russian traveller Philip Yefremov, a visitor to Kashmir and Ladakh, that " The evidence of Lamaism originating from India can be seen from its religious rituals and mythological discourses that vary little from Brahmanism. The prayers before religious rituals in Tibet have certain similarity with those in the Sanskrit canons, also clearly elucidating that the religious commandments emanate from Brahmanism. " The writer adds that " Tibetan scholars with knowledge of Hindu society would like the word 'bla—ma' to the Sanskrit 'brahmana' and 'brahma' ". It is not possible to transcribe "brahmana " or "brahma " in Tibetan satisfactorily as in Tibetan "br " has the sound "d " . . . On the other hand the Skt. brahma could change into the Tibetan blama through the dialects of eastern India. In the eastern dialects " r " often change into " l ", so the shift from brahma to "blahma " would be natural for Mongoloid groups. . . In parts of Bengal and Assam " h " is not pronounced with the result that in common speech "brahma" and "brahmana" sound like "bamma" and "bammon". If we add to this the fact that in Tibetan there is no short " a " and that every " a " is long, it is not difficult to accept " bla—ma " as the Tibetan for "brahma". He adds that "the lama's status was not inferior to that of the Brahmana in Indian society. " (pp. 116—117)

Brahmanism is closely connected with the caste sys-

tem in India. It divided people into four castes that form the social system, namely, the Brahmin (monks and priests); Kshatriya (warriors, aristocrats); Vaisya (farmers, herdsman, handicraftsmen and merchants) and Sudra (slaves, miscellaneous workers, servants) and so-called "untouchables". Brahmanism is a tool for upholding the interests of the privileged ruling class on the foundation of the caste system. So they advocate the Vedic revelation, priestly omnipotence and Brahmin supremacy. Yet Buddhism in India from the very start has opposed Brahmanism, advocating equality for all living creatures, opposing the caste system privileges and origins of Brahmanism based on the thought of impermanence and the authority of Veda. Indian Buddhism was founded precisely to counter Brahmanism. However, early primitive Buddhism, especially esoteric Mahayana in later Indian Buddhism, accepted some of the religious tenets of Brahmanism and developed, infused with its own doctrine, just as Hinduism as a kind of new Brahmanism formed on the basis of absorbing certain teachings of Buddhism and Jainism, reforming Brahmanism. The assimilated contents should be considered as a tributary, not a source. After Indian Buddhism was introduced to Tibet, Tibetan Buddhism, called Lamaism, emerged by absorbing deities and rituals of the original religion of Tibet, Bon, and the impact of Indian Buddhism, in the wake of long contention. Sinha cites a Russian traveller's judgement that certain similarities exist to come to the far-fetched conclusion that Lamaism originated from Brahmanism. If this was true, then Lamaism would be a sect of Brahmanism and also Tibetanized Buddhism. The canons and doctrine of

Lamaism should be those of Buddhism. If Lamaism originated from and is a sect of Brahmanism, doesn't Buddhism stem from Brahmanism and is necessarily a school of Brahmanism? This extremely rash and sheerly groundless assertion has indiscriminately confused Lamaism and Brahmanism. Moverover, Sinha wants to prove that Tibetan Lamaism comes from Indian Brahmanism, even proposing to investigate "lifestyles among predominantly agricultural and settled peoples on the plains of India and among mainly pastoral and nomadic inhabitants of the highland of Tibet." (p. 117) Looking for the social foundation of the caste system defended by Brahmanism in the pastoral districts of Tibet is only a fruitless approach. Since there is no social basis for the caste system, it is inappropriate to compare the status of Brahman priests with that of Tibetan Lamas (who differ from ordinary monks, called "Zhaba" in Tibetan).

As for the posulation that "bla—ma" is a substitution for "brahma", this represented a strained interpretation and forced analogy. The word "bla—ma" in Tibetan and word "brahma" in Sanskrit have nothing in common. "Bla—ma" in Tibetan is the honorific title of an eminent monk with hierarchic status, knowledge and cultivation who conducts himself as a teacher. "brahma" in Sanskrit refers to the god of creation, one of the three deities worshiped by Brahmans. In addition, as Sinha states, it is unusual to change "r" into "l" and in parts of eastern India "h" is elided; however, it is pronounced in Tibetan. It is unscientific to systematize Tibetan pronunciation using the rules of eastern Indian dialects.

Sinha ascribes the origin of the Tibetan theocracy to

India, not the influence of China, saying that the "Gelu (Yellow sect) was a continuation from the Kadam sect (bkah — gdams — pa), the sect commencing with Atisa's Tibetan disciple Domton (hbrom — ston, 1002 — — 1064). Like Atisa, Tsongkhapa (1357 — 1419), the founder of the Yellow sect was recognized as an incarnation of Manjusri. The Gelug sect in their zeal to assume authentic and original Indian character in their reforms not only claimed Atisa as the precursor of Tsongkhapa but even attested their priestly head's incarnation to Atisa's inspiration. Sarat Chandra Das, on the basis of Gelug sect literary sources and legends, traced the Grand Hierachy of Tibet to Indian origins. (p. 20) He reminded Indian scholars to split their attention from the birthplace of Atisa to the north where he was active, namely the Grand Hierachy of Tibet, with regard to the Dalai Lama (the incarnation of Avalokitesvara) and the Gandan Phodrang system, irrespective of whether they appear among Indian Buddhist monks or not. The concepts of Bodhisattva, Nirmanakaya and Ekotibhava, etc. are of Indian origin and they were introduced to Tibet even before Atisa. Do these concepts held the roots of theocracy ? or did social economic conditions — — the disintegration of tribal society, the collapse of the monarchy and the appearance of clerical leadership — — in the period between the introduction and final victory in Tibet, necessitate a theocracy in Tibet ? The author adds "In the present writer's finding, the capture of political power by the Lamas and the conduct of state business by the Lamas did not lack sanction in the Indic context. Though Indian history does not provide any prototypes for Lamaist polity, Buddhist literature (Pali and Sanskrit) has enough

to render legitimate a government by monks. This sanction is writ large in (I) the basic concept of early Buddhism; (II) the basic concept of Mahayana Buddhism; and (III) the Indic ethos which sought harmony between spiritual and temporal needs. " (p. 24)

Political systems and religion as part of ideology all belong to the social superstructure and correspond to the social economic base which they determine and serve. They are not set by people's subjective will, nor merely derived by relying on extant Buddhist doctrines or concepts. Still less do they originate from an utterly unrelated so-called Indic ethos which sought harmony between spiritual and temporal needs. The appearance of the Tibetan theocratic regime was determined by the social economic conditions of Tibet which it reflected, suiting the economic base and serving it. After the collapse of the Tubo kingdom in the mid-ninth century, the economic base of the Tubo vassal-owning system was destroyed by internal divisions, incessant warfare and large scale slave uprisings in Tubo proper and among its dependent tribes. Hence, the small-scale peasant economy managed by individuals with means of production came into being and Tubo period slavery was gradually tending to disintegrate. As a result, feudal serfdom made its appearance bringing in the manorial economy. In the protracted struggle of annexation, the newly-emerged peasants were once again reduced to serfs of feudal manorial lords. In order to consolidate the newly-emerging system of vassalage, the lords took advantage of Buddhism to serve their economic base. They used it to lull the rebellious spirit of the serfs since Buddhism advocates the fatalistic idea of retribution

of cause and effect (Karma), preaching that all riches and honour, poverty and low status in this life are preordained by good or evil deeds in the previous life; benevolent or malevolent acts in this life shall affect future fate. Moreover, experiencing prolonged social disturbances and cruel class oppression and exploitation, ordinary people longed for stability, peace, recovery and spiritual sustenance. This situation provided the conditions for the advance of Buddhism in the later propagation period in Tibet. Supported by the feudal estate—owners, Buddhism was widely disseminated in Tibet, including in the lower circuit in Dorkham and upper circuit in Ngari, and took off rapidly. Various religious sects took shape in the service of respective feudal separatist forces and combined with them. Thus, temporal forces combined religious powers, thereby producing feudal schismatic control cliques merging politics with religion. After the Yuan dynasty unified China, scattered separatist regimes came to the end. The central administration of the Yuan dynasty set up a political council to take charge of military and political affairs in Tibetan areas and the Buddhist affairs for all China. Sakya Pandita (the ruling Lama) was appointed to lead the council's affairs in the capacity of Imperial Preceptor. Pacification Commissioners were installed in Tibet and the Ponchen (chief administrator) was instituted at Sakya. The latter assisted the Pacification Commissioners to manage the thirteen Wan Hu heads under the orders of the Imperial Preceptor. For posts from the political council of the central government to the Chief Military Command of the Pacification Commissioners Office in Tibet region, the Wan Hu Heads Office and ranks below chief military com-

manders, both monks and laity were appointed, irrespective of military or civilian status. A theocracy was established in Tibet from that time on, becoming part of the administrative system of the country.

The system of reincarnated living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism was set up to provide successors for religious leaders. As early as the thirteenth century, it was initially founded by the Black Hat sect of the Karmakagyu sect of the Kagyu sect. It was adopted by the Gelug sect to solve the problem of finding a leader after the death of Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow sect. The Dalai Lama line started from the third Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatso. The titles of the first and second Dalai Lamas were posthumous. As Yellow sect monastic groups formed, they owned numerous manorial estates, pastoral grounds, serfs and herders. There was a need to handle affairs among religious sects and with local influential groups, so the second Dalai Lama Gedun Gyatso (formely the living Buddha of the Drepung monastery, thus it became the paramount temple) built the Gandan Phodrang at the Drepung monastery and put Depa and other officials in charge of administrative affairs. That was the beginning of local political power headed by the Dalai Lama.

As stated above, Gushi Khan and the fifth Dalai Lama were all conferred titles by the Qing court and entrusted to assume control over political and religious affairs respectively in Tibet. Due to the fact that Gushi Khan was an adherent of the Yellow sect and sustained the Dalai Lama with the revenues of the U — Tsang, so Tibetan local administrative affairs were actually managed by the Depa government. But the supreme rights of Tibet

were still in the hands of Gushi Khan who died in 1656. Rivalry for the succession by his sons and the decline of the forces of the Mongol Qoshot tribe in Tibet, intensified the power struggle between the Mongol Qoshat Khans and Depa government. In 1705 the attempt by Depa Sanggye Gyatso to kill Lhazang Khan was exposed, leading to his execution by the leaders. Lhazang Khan reported to emperor Shengzu he should unfrock Tsangyang Gyatso, the sixth Dalai Lama who was installed by Sanggye Gyatso, on the grounds that he indulged in sensual pleasures and had no regard for Buddhist discipline, making him a sham Dalai Lama. Lhazang Khan installed Yeshe Gyatso as the sixth Dalai Lama in 1707, but he was opposed by the upper echelon Lamas and Qinghai Mongols. Then contended over who was the genuine reincarnation. In 1717 Tsewang Rabten, the chieftain of the Dzungar Mongols in Tibet, on the pretext of avenging the former Depa Sanggye Gyatso, sent soldiers to slay Lhazang Khan in a surprise attack. After putting down the Dzungar Mongol rebellion, the Qing government endorsed Gesang Gyatso as the seventh Dalai Lama. He was selected by the top Tibetan Lamas of the Yellow sect and the Qinghai Mongols. In 1721 the Qing authorities reformed the Tibetan administration, abolished the post of Depa (abrogating all powers) in the Tibetan local government and instead installed four Kaloons to manage Tibetan affairs together. In 1727 hostilities broke out between rival serf-owners in Tibet and the chief Kaloon Beizi Khangchennas was killed. In order to keep a close watch on the Tibetan leaders, the Qing government instituted the office of Amban to supervise and administer Tibetan affairs in 1727. In 1751 after quelling the Gyumey

Namgyal rebellion, the Qing government once again reformed the Tibetan local administration, abolished direction by the Princes, and empowered the seventh Dalai Lama as being in charge of overseeing Tibet. The merger of politics with religion by the Yellow sect was finally established. In 1757, the seventh Dalai Lama died. The Qing Court appointed Demo Hutuktu to assume control of Tibetan political and religious affairs prior to the discovery of the soul boy and during his minority (eighteen was the legal age for him to assume office). That marked the inception of the regency in Tibet. In 1793, the Qing government issued the famous twenty—nine—article "Imperial Ordinance" to consolidate Tibetan political and religious affairs. It made specific regulations concerning Tibet administration, religion, border defence, and foreign affairs as well as finances, banking and trade, becoming the fixed system of Tibet. The Resident Official, as supervisor of Tibetan administration, should have power and authority equal to that of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni; the officials below Kaloons and Dapons could be appointed by the Resident Official and the Dalai Lama; the vacancies left by them should be filled and appointed respectively. The appointment, removal, promotion, demotion, and material rewards and penalties for Kashag officials should be submitted to the Resident Official for approval; the official ranks and treatment for those below the Kaloons were also stipulated.

It can be seen that the Tibetan political systems were formulated and changed several times under successive dynastic central authorities after Tibet was incorporated into Chinese territory in the thirteenth century. The theocracy

of the Yellow sect was also established by the Qing government. But Sinha, adopting the tone of so-called " Tibetans ", alleges " Chinese scholars hold that Tibetan society and polity came under the impact of Chinese traditions. Tibetan do not accept this and point out that Chinese influence was confined to certain items of protocol, precedence and documentation, official dress, cuisine or domestic decor and that Chinese influence did not deeply penetrate their way of life." (pp. 13—14) Thus, it is not difficult to discern that he attempted to peddle the sham that the Tibetan political system originated from India, how can lies cover the truth of historical facts ?

It should also be pointed out here that those so-called Tibetans by the writer are nothing but a handful of Tibetan separatists who surrendered to the imperialists and foreign reactionaries and betrayed the interests of their country and nationality. This national scum could not be confused with the Tibetan broad labouring people and the patriotic upper strata.

V. Are Tibetans Remote from China and Closer to India ?

Sinha stresses that so-called Tibetans, especially the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni have held special feelings towards India, saying that " When the need for a writing script was felt, the Tibetan authorities looked for a model in India and finalized on one in the first half of the seventh century. Difficulties of adapting pictographs ruled out borrowing from China. The Sanskrit alphabet (and Brahmi script) however was not the only phonetic medium known

in central Asia; Aramaic (Kharosthi) for instance was widely prevalent. Tibetan acquaintance with several phonetic scripts predominant in central Asia is well known but the linguistic and morphological grounds which called for a Brahmi script (and a Sanskrit alphabet) are not known. " (p. 23) He adds that other event is the doctrinal debate between the Indian (Kamalasila) and the Chinese (Hoshang) in the last decade of the eighth century. The dialogue was necessitated by two different views on the attainment of Nirvana. As modern research bears out, either view was valid and the Tibetan support for the Indian exponent was really because he was a native of Aryabhumi. . . In any case, the victory of the Indian Pandita was the reflex of the Tibetan mind. " (p. 24) " An equally extraordinary — ordinary fact is that under successive minor Dalai Lamas an anti — British attitude had grown in Lhasa, India never lost its great attraction for all Tibetans pilgrims or traders. In 1904 when the British expedition reached Lhasa, the thirteenth Dalai Lama fled to Mongolia, a Land of disciples and age — old protector of the Dharma. In 1910, when the Chinese occupied Lhasa the same Dalai Lama sought refuge in India where he lived for about three years. In 1950 — 1951 the fourteenth Dalai Lama, it is reported, looked for asylum in India but did not ask for it on reconsideration. The Sino — Indian Agreement (1954) affirming Chinese sovereignty over Tibet was, in Tibetan opinion, Indias betrayal of Tibets title to independence. Yet in the Buddha Jayanti Year (1956) the Dalai Lama led Tibetan pilgrims to India in the teeth of Chinese opposition. The Dalai Lama, it is now admitted by all concerned, had sought sanctuary then and was refused. Yet

in 1959 when forced to flee his country the Dalai Lama chose the auspicious south as the destination and eventually found refuge in India." (p. 58) Sinha also put that " This was more the case in the reign of Shah Jahan (1628—1658), whose son Shuja as viceroy of Bengal in 1656 sent Muslin (Bengal Calico) and other presents to the fifth Dalai Lama, the great priest—king of Tibet. A century later when the east India company gained a firm hold on Bengal Subah, the Fort William authorities promptly recognized Tibetan pilgrimage and trade in India. To foster this tradition, the British readily complied with the (then) Panchen Lama's request for a grant of land in Calcutta to build a monastery and resthouse for Tibetan visitors. The school grounds on the Howrah side of the river are still known as Bhubagan. (p. 58) Hence, Sinha examined the reason, saying " If Dharma is pronounced as the sole and prime cause for Tibet's attachment to India, one is at a loss to understand why Burma or Ceylon or the southern Buddhist countries in general never developed such attachment to India. . . The consideration which caused good relations between Tibet and India in the past, in my submission, belong to the history of materialism and not the history of mysticism. In my finding, presented elsewhere, physical geography, social customs, occupational modes and political institutions of Tibet combined to keep Tibet away from China and nearer to India. " (p. 59)

Concerning the writer's allegations about the cause of this situation, in physical geographical terms, Tibet is located on the southern fringe of the Qinghai—Tibet plateau and is separated from the Indian subcontinent by the Himalayas which form the natural barrier of south—west Chi-

na. The Qinghai—Tibet plateau moreover constitutes an integral part of the entire natural land of China. In the field of social mores, long association between the Han and Tibetan nationalities, economic and cultural exchange, mutual influence and mutual absorption are evident from the large number of words borrowed from Chinese and phononyms in the Tibetan language. All these show impact on each other and intimate connections between the two peoples in social life, especially with faith in Buddhism as the common foundation. Therefore, in protracted struggles against colonialists the Tibetan people have always taken the Han as their backing to oppose imperialists with different religions and morals. "[26] With regard to occupation, Tibetans mainly engage in agricultural production and animal husbandary. But owing to natural conditions, when compared with output in Han areas, they have their respective merits and demerits. Hence, they need to help supply each others needs to solve the demands of production and livelihood. For instance, the Han areas require animal power while for Tibetan areas tea is a necessity of life. Hence, the exchange of tea and horses between Tibet and the interior of China since the Tang and Song dynasties as well as the border tea trade since the Qing dynasty which have not waned up to the present. This activity has formed firm ties between the Hans and the Tibetans. The British imperialists tried their best to sever these links but they finally ended in defeat. As for political institutions, China is a multi—ethnic country and the developmental level of various nationalities was formally quite imbalanced. Some ethnic minorities still remained in primitive or slave communities or early feudal

societies, characterized by serfdom, while the Han had long before entered advanced feudal society. Political systems which belong to a social superstructure are the reflection of a social economic base, so a political framework fit for Han areas may not be suitable for minority nationality areas. Imposition of uniformity on them would be difficult. Therefore, successive Chinese dynasties ran administrations in accordance with the conventions and different stages of progress of respective nationalities. Hence, varied political systems were implemented in ethnic minority regions. Examples include the merger of politics with religion in Tibet; the league and Banner system in Inner Mongolia; the Boke system in Xinjiang; and the Tusi system in minority areas in northwest, southwest and south China. And there were minority nationalities which had not broken away from primitive society in the recent past, such as the Chingpo in Yunnan province who practised a mountain official system, etc. These local political frameworks were all part of the united, multi-national China. It is entirely baseless for Sinha to consider the enactment of different political systems in Tibet and the interior of China as the basis of incompatibility between Tibet and the motherland as well as between the Han and Tibetan people. Hence, with regard to the physical geography, social customs, occupational modes and political institutions of Tibet mentioned by Sinha, the relations between Tibet and the homeland are tightly indivisible and have no connection with India. It is only shameless lies for the writer to dare to say that all these factors combined "to keep Tibet away from China and nearer to India". Let us read the account by Charles Bell, *British Tibet* and one of the

schemers who invaded Tibet in his book entitled "Tibet; Past and Present:" ... Among Tibetans who have been brought into contact with Indians, some fear that Indians may come to Tibet and endeavour to obtain influence there. For various reasons they do not desire too close a connection with India... Tibet's natural affinity is no doubt with the races of the Chinese Commonwealth. In religion and ethics, in social manners and customs, there is much common ground. Historically, the connection is from the beginning of time... " Unless it joins the Chinese Commonwealth as one of the Five United States, it is likely in time to be overrun by Indians. "[27] This is not only a forceful exposure of the lies engineered by Sinha about so-called Tibetans keeping away from China and staying nearer to India, but also shows the relation between the Tibetan splittists nurtured by the imperialists and the Indian expansionists. They each have their own axes to grind and sleep in the same bed but dream different dreams.

The version about the creation of the Tibetan language based on Sanskrit is unbelievable. According to Tibetan Buddhist history, King Songtsen Gampo sent minister Thonmi Sambhota to tour India and he devised Tibetan founded on Sanskrit, and wrote a Tibetan grammar entitled "Songda" (Sum — rtags). However, studies by Tibetologists at home and abroad have discovered that the ancient Dunhuang Tibetan documents, inscriptions on ancient bronze and stone tablets of the Tubo kingdom and ancient Tibetan documents unearthed in Xinjiang differ in spelling rules from the unwritten, habitual rules applied in the "Sumda". All these facts elucidate that early Tibetan

was short of the theoretical restrictions of the "Sumda"... These customary spelling rules existed tenaciously up to the end of the Tubo kingdom. As for the present "Sumda", it was the written rules formulated for the purpose of further standardizing and perfecting the Tibetan language at the conclusion of the Tubo kingdom. Though its specific year of emergence can not yet be determined it can be affirmed that it was produced after the Tibetan language. ^[28] The Japanese scholar Yamaguchi Zuiho also holds that "Sumda" was not the work of Thonmi Sambhota, but a fabrication by later generations and the "Sumju Pa" and "Taju Pa" in the "Sumda" were created in different periods. ^[29] Studies have also established that the letters of the basic words, the pronunciation and numbers of the phonetic symbols of the vowels between the Shangshung and Tibetan languages show amazing similarities. Even the prototypes of the symbols of the prefix (Dbu), the clause (Shad) and the word — separating point (Tsheg) can be found in the Shangshung language. Specifically, traces of copies appear in documents unearthed in Xinjiang and the Dunhuang manuscripts. Moreover, these symbols did not exist in ancient Indian Sanskrit. ^[30] According to the Italian national Tibetan scholar Namkar Norbu, "The Tibetan written language existed before the Dharma king Songtsen Gampo... Strong evidence is the clear record of the Drapa Chenmo (Vdra — vbag — chen — mo) of the Biography of Varocana : 'Thonmi Sambhota reformed written Tibetan'," ^[31] All these details illustrate that the Tibetan nationality had their own tongue long ago; it originated from the Shangshung language in Tubo proper. It was not a foreign prod-

uct, but the creation of the ancestors of the Tibetans. The mistake arose because Buddhism originated from India and Sanskrit was an important language for Buddhist canons. So the Buddhists farfetchedly ascribed the creation of the Tibetan language to Sanskrit. The ruling class in Tibet saw religion as posing a tool to lull the rebellious spirit of the masses who they oppressed in their slave—owning society. In the last decade of the eighth century, a protracted doctrinal debate took place between the Chinese Hoshang of the Mahayana school and the Indian Kamalasila over whether Buddhists could attain release through sudden or gradual enlightenment. Tsenpo Trisong Detsen judged that the gradual enlightenment advocated by the Indian was the right path, since he saw the lengthy practices involved as the most effective way to fetter the masses. Sinha however rates this as a reflex of the Tibetan mind, possibly forgetting that an event of great significance occurred in the seventh century. In 648 the Tang court sent Wang Xuanche, the official historian of the Tang court and others as envoys to India, but they were robbed by the king of Central India. Therefore, Wang Xuanche, forwarded a letter to Tubo for help. Tsenpo Songtsen Gampo quickly dispatched soldiers to India to defeat and capture the monarch involved. Tsenpo also sent an envoy to Chang'an (the Tang capital) to announce the victory accompanied by the prisoner. Songtsen Gampo was the first Tsenpo to believe in Buddhism and energetically promoting the faith in Tubo. Judging from the fact that he sent Thomo Sambhota round India seek learning, it is conceivable that he had good feelings towards India as the genesis of Buddhism. But when the Tang envoy was plun-

dered, Songtsen Gampo instantly sent soldiers to the assistance of the Chinese and meted out punishment to the offenders. This showed that the relations between the Tang dynasty and Tubo went above the Buddhist faith. That was a genuine reflection of Tibetan sentiment.

Concerning the source of the Howrad temple, Graham Sandberg has a clear account in his book entitled "The Exploration of Tibet, History and Particulars." It tells how, in April, 1775 George Bogle left Tashilhunpo monastery on his return journey for India. Upon his arrival at Calcutta, he sent several letters to his friend Teesho Lama (called the Panchen Erdeni by the Bengalese). He had already mapped out his second mission to Tibet in accordance with Warren Hastings' instructions. Unfortunately death claimed him at the early age of thirty — four... However, the intention of establishing open stable relations with Tibet was not let slid. It was just this motive that kindled the desire of Warren Hastings to expand British influence. A unique step was adopted in order to advance his plan. He attempted to build a small temple at Howrad near Calcutta, the headquarters of the East India Company, to increase opportunities for interchange with any visiting Tibetan traders (just like the present one, they come each winter then). The Grand Lama of Tashilhunpo monastery who was acquainted with George Bogle even sent Buddhist statues and Tibetan books to furnish the new temple at Howrad. Strange to say this temple was rediscovered by chance in 1887 and still had certain reasons for its existence. Due to retaining the name of Bhotbagan, it reminded people of its source. The Tibetan books are still there. Consultations have con-

firmed that they were huge works of Tsongkhapa. However, the statues have been worshipped by Hindus as their own gods up to the present and the Buddhists have continued to be driven out of the temple which was specially designed by Warren Hastings to exploit them.^[33] This fact exposes Sinha's shameless lies that the Howrad temple was built at the request of the Panchen Lama as a symbol of Tibeto—Indian friendship.

VI. The Illegitimacy and Invalidity of the Simla Draft Treaty Is Indisputable

The Simla Draft Treaty was an important step manipulated solely by the British imperialists in a vain attempt to split Tibet from China. The document was not signed nor recognized by successive Chinese governments. Hence, it was illegal, null and void. But this draft was stealthily put into Aitchison's Treaties by British officials in the Indian government. This base conduct of fabrication has long been exposed and the whole truth has come out. But Sinha was greatly annoyed by exposing the misrepresentation of Aitchison's Treaties by British scholars, saying that "In 1969—70, Neville Maxwell raised a hue and cry over this affair, which in the words of Maxwell and his Indian friends, came to be described variously as 'mysterious, conspiratorial', an 'afterthought', 'fraudulent'. 'fake', and 'even' 'spurious'..." " When the new generation of British scholars, like Alastair Lamb and Maxwell speak about the imperialist designs of British officials in Asia and name Olaf Caroe and Hugh Richardson as imperialists, a touch of the British sense of justice

resounds in the research of the new generation. Indian scholars are easily misled to accept the studies and conclusions of Lamb and Maxwell as innocent protests." (p. 100) The new generation of British scholars may indeed have a touch of the British sense of justice; yet Sinha should ask Indian researchers not to accept the conclusions reached with this view of what is right. We find this hard to understand.

Sinha also endlessly defends the illegitimacy of the Simla Draft Treaty, saying that "a convention of three signatory parties signed by two may not always be invalid from the very start." "If Tibet could sign an agreement in July 1914, Tibet was no doubt an independent country on that day." (p. 101) The historical facts about Tibet being an integral part of China have been mentioned above. It is undeniable. Hence, the Tibetan local authorities have no right to sign any treaty with foreign country. This is normal international practice. Moreover, as early as 1793 the Qing government announced the twenty — nine — article imperial ordinance. It clearly stipulated that " If there are any local affairs to be consulted on from Gurkha (Nepal), Drukpa (Bhutan), Drenjong (Sikkim) and Dzum foreign tribes, they should be handled by the Resident Official in Tibet. Their communications to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni related to tributes should all be reported to the Resident Official in translation for inspection and replies be decided on their behalf. As for the Kaloons, they shall not be allowed to maintain private correspondence with foreign countries."^[34] Foreign affairs with regard to Tibet have always been managed in accordance with these stipulations. The British imperilists attempted

to have direct contact with the Tibetan local authorities by keeping clear of the Qing government. In August, 1900 the Indian Viceroy Lord Curzon sent a letter to the Dalai Lama via Kennin, the Administrative Officer at Leh, Ladakh through the Garpon at Gartok who was to pass it on to Lhasa. That missive was returned six months later with the message that he dared not to promise to transmit the letter to Lhasa, for it was in violation of stipulations. In June, 1901 Lord Curzon wrote a second letter to accompany the first, entrusting Bhutanese Urgyen Kazi who was sent by the Bhutanese king Dhama Raja to take respect gifts to the thirteenth Dalai Lama to present the letter to him in person, requesting a written reply repeatedly. The Dalai Lama said : " Without consultation with the Amban (the Resident Official) he should not write a letter... is unable to receive one or sent a reply. "[35] In 1903 on the pretext of the Tibet—Sikkim border question, Britain sent Claude White, its political officer in Sikkim, as the leader of invasion troops into Khamba Dzong of Tibet. The British government asked the Qing government to notify the Amban to arrange for Chinese and Tibetan delegates to meet the British there. It was the first time that Britain asked the Tibetan local authorities to send representatives to take part in a Sino—Britain meetings. But the Amban replied : " Prefect He Guangxie and the Yatung Customs Agent Captain Parr will act as the Chinese delegates and bring two Tibetan high—ranking officials as " Interpreters " to meet the British. The Resident Official cited the words of the Dalai Lama... He clearly prohibited the two Tibetans from being called the delegates or meeting members. "[36] In 1908 when China and Britain consulted about

the revision of the Trade Regulations between Tibet and India, the British insisted on the participation of a member dispatched from the Tibetan local authorities to facilitate the smooth implementation of the rules. Hence, the pronouncement, "the Emperor of the Great Qing Dynasty dispatches Zhang Yintang as the minister Extra — ordinary and Plenipotentiary and the King of the Great Britain dispatches Mr. E. C. Wilton as the minister extra — ordinary and Plenipotentiary to conduct negotiations and the resident official in Tibet selects Kaloon Wangchuk Gyakpo as power — holding member to take part in the negotiations under minister Zhang's instructions."^[37] This clearly shows that the foreign affairs of Tibet, as a part of China, have historically been taken charge of and handled by the central government of China. Tibet never participated in a Sino — British conference on the basis of reciprocity, or moreover to have the right to sign any treaty or agreement alone. After the break — down of the Simla conference, the Chinese government made a serious declaration, stating it would never recognize the treaty and documents signed between Britain and Tibet. It is entirely groundless and untenable that Sinha tried to explain this away.

We can clearly see from the above — mentioned facts that the writer, on the one hand endeavoured to negate the historical fact of Tibet being a member of the united, multi — ethnic China, to negate Tibet being an inseparable part of China; on the other hand, he did his best to forfeckedly attribute the Tibetan script, religion, political institutions and even the entire Tibetan culture to India. Sinha writes : " A decade ago, I visited the temples and monasteries of central Tibet in the company of some

Ladakhi Lamas. I then did not, as I still do not, suffer from the complex called Greater India and was not particular in tracing the Indic origins of the objects noticed." He also notes: "Our contributions to Tibetology, which we often claim to be an integral part of Indology..." (p. 17) Moreover, he called Tibetans Indians by legend and even Sanskrit-speaking Indians, and these "Tibetans" with special feelings towards India, "Keep Tibet away from China and nearer to India," i. e. all from the race of Tibet to Tibetan culture, belonged to India, not to China. Hence, it is natural for Tibet to be incorporated into the realm of "Greater India". Isn't it the case that Tibet should belong to India, not to China? This nakedly reveals the ambitions of the expansionists. Sinha adds that "A major, if not the central plank, of India's foreign relations for the fifteen years from 1947—1962 was Asianism or Asian Nationalism. This still holds the admiration of different political parties, to varying degree, as viable. This attitude of regard flows out of an academic thesis that India in the historic past was the moral and intellectual leader of Asia and thus, in the logic of history, India shall have the leadership, or share it, say with China, bearing authority in Asia." (p. 78) He openly stated that India should hold sway in Asia, seeking hegemony on the continent.

Sinha has repeatedly stated that he is a historian (the founder director, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim; formerly Centennial Professor of International Relations, Calcutta university). He holds he can thus at will distort, tamper with and fabricate history in order to deceive the world and profit. In fact, this sort of impracti-

cable, wishful thinking often starts with injuring others for the sake of one's own advantage, but ends in self—destruction. We continue to warmly hope Sinha will adopt an objective, scientific approach towards history fitted to a historian, respect the past and historical facts, no longer create pointless polemics to the solution of historical problems left over between China and India, promote mutual understanding and confidence between the Chinese and Indian people, and create a favourable atmosphere for improving Sino—Indian relations.

Notes

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[28][30] Tseringtar, *New Exploration on the Origin of Tibetan Written Language*, *China Tibetology*, No. 1, 1988.

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Is Old Tibet a "Shangri—La" ?

—A Summary of the 1991 China Tibetology Seminar

Liao Zugui, Zhang Shuhua

Taking "The Social Structure of Tibet before 1959 and Its Influence on Tibetan Society" as its topical subject, the 1991 China Tibetology Seminar sponsored by the Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies, was held in Beijing from September 13 to 16, 1991. About eighty scholars from various parts of China, including Hongkong and Taiwan were invited to attend the seminar, as well as others from foreign countries such as the United States, Japan, Britain, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, France, the former Soviet Union, Switzerland, and India. Now the main issues discussed in the seminar are summarized as follows:

I. An Analysis of Tibet's Social Form before 1959

As early as the 1950's, under the solicitude of the late premier Zhou Enlai, China organized a large—scale multi—disciplined Investigation Team to carry out overall and systematic social investigations in Tibet and other Tibetan areas. At the same time, the Tibetan local government organizations at various levels also sent men to make social investigations and collected a great number of detailed and

accurate materials from the on—the—spot investigations. The Tibetologists of the country devoted themselves to the collection and collation of the literature concerning Tibetan society. After they had gotten sufficient materials, some of them made a special study of the Tibetan social structure and its influence on Tibetan society before 1959. All the investigation results showed that before 1959 Tibet was a feudal society, with the integration of politics and religion. This was convincingly proved by the academic circles. Among the participants in the seminar, some were members of the Investigation Team at that time, and others took part in many field investigations in Tibet. They began their studies by analysing quite a few manors (Shikars), and performed a comprehensive and intensive research on the management of the manors by the serf—owners of old Tibet, and on the economic burdens placed on the serfs; consequently, it showed that the collapse of the old Tibetan feudal serfdom was inevitable. However, the scientific studies on old Tibet's serfdom were of practical significance and of very important academic value.

1. The Significance of the Study of Tibet's Serfdom before 1959

Mr. Dorje Tsetan, the general director of the Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies, a research fellow and the chairman of the Board of the Seminar, was the deputy leader of the Social Sciences Team under the Scientific Investigation Brigade at that time, and ever since has worked in Tibet for more than thirty years. In his opinion, the topical subject —— "the Social Structure of Tibet before 1959 and Its Influence on Tibetan Society" —— is significant at least in the following two aspects.

(1). This subject represents the basic research of Tibetan studies. Social structure decides the basic nature of the society and exerts dominant influence on all aspects of social life. So, without a comprehensive and intensive research of the social structure of Tibetan areas before the Democratic Reform of 1959, it would be impossible to arrive at a rational conclusion of the nature of the then Tibetan society and to make a scientific explanation of various social problems and phenomena of Tibet of that time. A discussion on the subject would help us have a right understanding of yesterday's Tibet and particularly offer helpful suggestions to the social reform and construction of today's Tibet and the progress and development of Tibet tomorrow. This discussion was of very important realistic significance and of academic value.

(2). It would play an academically significant role in enriching the studies of the social forms of feudal serfdom in the world. Through the investigations of social structure of Tibet before 1959, the Chinese Tibetologists generally hold that Tibet before 1959 was a society of feudal serfdom, which merged secular and religious rule together. Feudal serfdom as a universal social form could be found not only in Tibet but also in other parts of the world. But in most places it has long died out and is now a thing of past. In inland China feudal serfdom existed in the Spring and Autumn Period (770—476 BC) and the Warring States Period (475—221 BC) more than two thousand years ago. Most of the countries of Western Europe abolished serfdom as early as the fifteenth century, and many countries of Central and Eastern Europe such as Russia abrogated serfdom in the nineteenth century. Since the feudal serfdom in those countries was a social form far

back in the past, it is difficult to carry out a detailed study of it. However, the feudal serfdom that had existed in Tibet on a wide territory of more than 1,200,000 square kilometers was not wiped out until 1959, only thirty-two years ago. That's like the twinkling of an eye compared to the long life of the world. The traces of the abolished Tibetan feudal system remain clearly to be seen. Many people still remember it. A large number of documents and government records that reflect the feudal serfdom society of Tibet are well preserved, among which are as many as three million Tibetan archives about Tibetan society over a period of several centuries after the Yuan Dynasty kept by former Tibetan local government. Thus, both the subjective and objective conditions are conducive for us to make a comprehensive and thorough study of Tibetan feudal serfdom, and through analyzing the prolonged, fully-developed, and typical system to give people a better understanding of feudal government which existed for a time in human society. This is the academic contribution which Tibetan studies can make for the Chinese and world civilization.

2. The Social and Organizational Structures of Old Tibet

As is known to all, old Tibet had two antagonistic classes: serf-owners and serfs. The serf-owning class in Tibet consisted of three lords: officials of the former Tibetan local government, aristocrats, and upper strata monks together with their agents. They made up of only 5% of the total population of Tibet, but possessed all the land, grassland, and the great majority of animals. The serfs in Tibet fell into several main strata: Tsepa, Duchong, and Nangzan. The serfs, including herdsmen,

constituted 95% of the population in Tibet and had no land. They were attached to the Tsetan, i. e. farmland and pastureland of the manors owned by the feudal lords. They were forced to do various corvee labour for the lords, pay exorbitant rents and taxes and accept loans at usurious rates of interest. Nor had the serfs personal freedom. In old Tibet there was not a serf who was not owned by a lord. Serf—owners could freely give their serfs away as gifts or donations, or sell or exchange them for goods. There was a small number of Nangzan, or domestic slaves, who had no means of production and did not have any personal rights either.

In such a society, corresponding organizations came into being. As Mr. Chapel Tsetan Phuntsok, a research fellow of the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences, points out in his article entitled *A Brief Analysis of the Code of Twenty—One Provisions — a Bright Mirror* founded in 1642 (the Water—Horse year of the eleventh Rabchung in Tibetan calendar), the modern Tibetan local government Ganden Phodrang took the thirteen administrative organizations during the reign of Sakya sect as its model, and gradually perfected them with adjustments and additions. To establish the organizations of the local government and make clear each department's specific duties, Desi Sanggye Gyatso issued personally *The Code of Twenty—One Provisions — a Bright Mirror* in 1681 (the Iron—Cock year of the eleventh Rabchung in Tibetan calendar), and stipulated strict measures for implementation. Later due to continuous chaos caused by wars during the reign of Lhatsang Khan, Dzungkar and Pholhanas Sr. , and Pholhanas Jr. , the institutions of the Tibetan local government existed in name only. Under such circumstances, in 1751

the Qing emperor Qianlong conferred the title of Tibetan political and religious leader upon the seventh Dalai Lama, bestowed the gold seal on him and promulgated *The Thirteen—Article Programme for the New Administration of Tibet*. The Gurkha troops had invaded Tibetan borders several times since 1787 (the Fire—Goat year of the Tibetan calendar), thus, in 1791 the Qing government sent a large number of troops to repulse the Gurkhas' assaults. To consolidate the national defence, the Qing government specially formulated *The Twenty—Nine—Article Imperial Ordinance*, specifically regulating the establishment of the organizations for Kashag, the founding of a Tibetan army, the military affairs on the border, the monetary management, foreign affairs, and other related issues, in 1783 (the Water—Ox year of the Tibetan calendar). The setting—up of all the administrative organizations inside and outside of the local government and their respective duties was handled in accordance with the code before 1959, when the former Tibetan local government was dissolved.

Mr. Lu Qiuwen, the director of the Center for Mongolian and Tibetan Studies, Chinese Culture University of Taiwan, China, analyses the social power structure of the traditional Tibetan society as follows: "To study the core of traditional Tibetan power, one must first understand Tibet's central administrative organization. The Dalai Lama is its spiritual leader, under whom there are two committees. One is The Committee of Religious Affairs called "Yigtsang", which administered all the religious affairs by four monk officials. The other is "The Committee of Political Affairs called Kashag" — the administrative center for all of Tibet — made up of three lay officials and one monk official, who take charge of the affairs of all

of Tibet and the integration of politics and religion. Moreover, there is a liaison officer named "Silon" between the two committees, equivalent to the prime minister or the premier for the cabinet in western countries. As the highest government administrative official under the Dalai Lama, "Silon" holds a position higher than that of Kashag and can inform the Dalai Lama of his opinions and suggestions at any time. All the important political affairs are reported to the Dalai Lama for decision by "Silon", whereas the less important ones are handled by the Khashag itself. "The people's Congress", made up of about 50 representatives from the influential noble families and monasteries, convenes a conference only under emergency situations."

Mr. He Feng, the deputy director of the Institute of Tibetan Studies in the Qinghai Academy of Social Sciences, holds that the legal system is one of the most important aspects of a social system, and that studies concerning the Tibetan legal system are conducive to deepening our understanding of Tibetan society before the Democratic Reform. He made an investigation into the Tibetan legal system from the historical point of view and pointed out in his article that owing to the social and economic foundation of Tibet and the role of the traditional culture, the Tibetan law is characterized by the following features:

(1). Strong religious content. According to historical record, the early stage of the Tubo Kingdom was governed by "Bon, Sgrung, Ldevu". "Bon" refers to the original religion — the Bon religion. To a certain extent, the Bon religion played the role of the law while legal statutes such as *the Six Statutes*, *the Seven Statutes* and *the Sixteen Domestic Moral Norms* were drawn up with references to the commandments of Buddhism. In the pro-

cess of the implementation of the law, the triad of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha were used for swearing in and evidence. In the legal text of *the Code of the Bright Mirror*, the theory of causality of Buddhism such as heaven and hell was quoted to deter and fool the masses.

(2). Reflection of the estate system. Tibetan law openly admitted the people were different in legal status and that methods and criteria of dealing with the cases varied greatly if the same law was violated by citizens of different estates. Human beings were divided into "three grades and nine classes. The highest life price was 500 to 1,000 taels of gold" and "the lowest life price was ten taels of gold." In reality, the compensation was not necessarily carried out in gold in such a large amount; however, it was a fact that the compensation was measured by class status. It was stipulated in *the Sixteen Statutes* that "the life price of a woman was half that of a man of the same class." In civil disputes, sex discrimination was also demonstrated in property ownership.

(3). Cruel criminal punishments. The Statutes on Corporal Punishments made concret stipulations on various cruel punishments. For instance, "gouging out the eye, drawing out the ligament, cutting off a tongue, amputating the arm, throwing off a cliff, drowning in water, slaughter" and other capital punishments were used on capital offenders. Cases were recorded about cruel punishments in all the areas.

(4). Economic punishments were the main form. Almost all cases of crimes such as in criminal, civil, military and production fields were finally settled through economic compensation. Its advantage was to punish the offend-

ers economically and provide certain kinds of compensation to the victims while its disadvantage was likely to lower the status of law and let some of the offenders remain at large.

(5). Acceptance of accidental phenomena. It was stipulated in *the Statute on Clearing the Heart Against Sophistry* that when a case was difficult to judge, methods such as fishing for pebbles, burning mud, and practising divination should be used to make the right judgement. In the Statute on the Separation of Kinship, it was indicated that when the brothers split up to divide the property, "the parents will choose their own share due to them, then the brothers will divide up the rest by casting dice." Sometimes, the method of drawing lots was used to elect the chieftain and other matters as well. The results from these practices were purely random phenomena; however, in the Tibetan law, they were seen as absolutely fair judgements. On one hand, this reflected the backward means of investigation at that time; on the other hand, it showed that relics of primitive customs still remained in the society.

Thus, Mr. He Feng writes in his article: Tibetan law claimed that its aims were to "contain the strong and protect the weak". *The Code of the Bright Mirror* defined the law with such terms as "the law cherishes the government and its people, good or bad." In reality, the Tibetan law was also the "reflection of the will of the ruling class", the instrument to serve the minority, and in the actual implementation of legal statutes, there were many unsolvable contradictions.

(1) The law served religion. Religion was one of the most important means of the feudal serf-owners to rule

the Tibetan people. The Tibetan law openly admitted to serving religion. It was declared plainly in *The Statute on Local Officials* that "the main functions of the appointed officials were serving the Buddhist religion", "sealing the mountain and river passes in time according to Buddhist provisions", "restoring temples and pagodas", "holding regular religious gatherings", and inflicting severe punishments on those who violated the religion. (2) The law safeguarded the existing system. It requested the people to preserve the prairie and land system, provide corvee labour regularly, hand in tribute and taxes of the right quantities, respect and obey the serf — owners and abide by law and order. If anybody was not obedient to their owners or caused disorder against their superiors, he would be tied up for whipping and be subjected to capital punishment. (3) The law safeguarded the interests of the minority. To a certain extent, Tibetan law also protected the interests of the serfs. However, the greatest beneficiary of the law was the serf — owners. Detailed provisions were made in *the Code of the Bright Mirror* about the diet, services, bodyguards, and warehouse management of the serf — owners. According to *the Statute on Compensation for Robbery*, if the victim was a commoner, the compensation could be done on a one — to — one or one — to — several — fold basis in terms of materials of the same value. If the victim was an aristocrat or a monk, the compensation would be done on a one — to — ten — fold or one — to — score — fold basis. Moreover, the minority enjoyed many privileges such as "Aristocratic Jurisdiction". (4) Tibetan law exercised maximum restrictions over the freedom of serfs. The legal status of serfs was very low. It was stipulated by Songtsan Gampo that "the Buddhist doctrine should not

be passed on to common serfs" and that "serfs could not become officials." They could be incriminated for every move they made." It was against the order to complain loudly about a wrong accusation before the king's palace and whoever did it would be arrested and whipped." It was stipulated in *the Code of the Bright Mirror* — that "for those who were doing the corvee, no leave should be permitted to them unless they were critically ill," etc. In order to rule the people more efficiently, the feudal serf-owners needed to beautify themselves. The nature of the law, however, could not be altered, and therefore, contradictory phenomena in law appeared such as the abolition of capital punishment with the practice of capital punishment; advocacy of executing the law in the public interest with bribery and abuse of law. Finally, Mr. He Feng drew the conclusion: that Tibetan law had developed into a rather high level. It had formed its own characteristics and had reflected the fundamental problems in Tibetan society to a large extent.

The army, an armed group executing military and political tasks, was the chief component of the state dictatorship machinery and also a major tool for the ruling class to safeguard their interests. To study the social form of Tibet's feudal serfdom, we must investigate into the system of the former Tibetan local government and one of its chief components — Tibetan troops. The deputy director and associate research fellow of the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences Mr. Pasang Norbu holds that the term "Tibetan troops" is the abbreviation for the former Tibetan local armed forces. The Tibetan troops made their contributions in the struggles against foreign aggressions, such as the invasions of the Gurkhas, the British imperialists,

Sempa Kashmir, and the Dzungkars. Thus they guarded the frontiers, maintained social orders and served as a national defence army. They, however, also played a most inglorious part in suppressing the common people, splitting national unity, undermining the unity among nationalities and serving as accessaries and hatchet men for the reactionaries. After talking with persons concerned — some Tibetan soldiers and local government officials of the time — and analysing some precious first-hand materials, the author put forward the following views:

1. As a mixed troops of infantry and cavalry with very high combat effectiveness, Tibetan troops historically made immortal contributions to the unification of the Qinghai—Tibet plateau and the founding of the powerful Tubo Kingdom. whereas it was the tool for the ruling class and a major component of Tubo state apparatus, it collapsed following the fall of the Tubo royal families and the Tubo Kingdom. During the four—hundred—year separatist rule, there were no troops as an object of study in a real sense, though military disputes, many of which were meaningless fightings among tribes, were frequent in Tibetan areas. Due to the further spread of Buddhism and its ever increasing influence, a purely imaginary illusion gradually took place of the spirit of fighting heroically — adoring knights and extolling heroes — which was popular among Tibetan people.

After officially being included in the Chinese domain during the Yuan Dynasty, Tibet was unified under the dynasty's military deterrent. After that the various local forces of Tibet attacked their political opponents and consolidated their positions with the aid of other nationalities or outside forces, thus seizing the administration of all of

Tibet. This was the general practice of the time. None of the troops, either those of the Dzungkar tribe or the Gushi Khan, even the Gurkhas and Kashmiri, was not invited by a certain local force or religious sect in Tibet.

Taking each local force as a unit, the Tibetan local government formed infantry and cavalry based on the Tubo military system. Those soldiers were farmers and herdsmen with no regular training in peace time. Once the war broke out, with the assistance of Tibetan local government officials, the imperial government officials would go to Tibet to temporarily mobilize and organize troops according to hereditary corvee, and march to the front.

2. After the Gurkhas's invasion of Tibet, the Qing court decided to set up a standing army in Tibet, and thus formed a regular troop with 3,000 soldiers, in accordance with *The Ordinance Made by Imperial Order* in the fifty—eighth year of the reign of Qianlong. For more than one hundred years, the army, trained in line with the drill regulations of the Qing army, fought heroically to consolidate national defence, guarded the frontier, resisted invasions and expansions, and protected Tibetan traditional culture and the lives and property of the people. Tibetan troops fought four major wars from 1793 to 1904: the War of Resistance Against Sikh and Kashmiri invaders from 1841 to 1842; the War to Resist Gurkhas Aggression from 1855 to 1856; the First Anti—British War — Longtu campaign from 1887 to 1888; and the Second Anti—British War — Lhasa Campaign from 1903 to 1904. Tibetan troops manifested their own value only in the wars of resistance against invasions. The most praiseworthy and deserved eulogies, in the history of Tibetan troops, were the above mentioned military successes, which Tibetan troops took

as the greatest honour and of which they were proud.

3. Modelled after the Qing troops before the Revolution of 1911, the Tibetan troops gradually took the British army as its model, and patterned itself after the British army after 1912. On one hand, it increased its fighting capability and strengthened its regularization by introducing advanced western military theories and weapons; on the other hand, its role changed a great deal; it began to undermine the unity among nationalities, split national unification, and suppress people.

4. The Tibetan troops had unique characteristics in many aspects, such as establishment and equipment, sources of troops and conscription, supply and treatment, style of work and discipline, internal and external relationships, military training, and military and political qualities. But it also had its fatal weakness. For example, as for the military qualities, generally speaking, Tibetan troops had valour but lacked strategy — the individual soldier possessed high quality, but the whole army had low quality; moreover, they emphasized individual skills to the exclusion of military tactics, and lacked the guidance of strategic thinking.

In a word, at first the Tibetan troops were established, after learning the lessons of the Gurkhas' invasion into Tibet, to rectify military work and set up the regular troops. It was obvious that the aim of forming the troops was to guard the frontiers, consolidate national defence, and safeguard national unification. Later it completely became "the army of defending religion," fighting to safeguard Buddhism and consolidating the administration of politics and religion. This reflected that some members of the Tibetan upper strata had changed their political atti-

tudes and stands. It was also the manifestation of fragmentation—— disuniting with the central government —— in military guidelines and reflected its strong wish to safeguard the feudal serfdom. The fundamental reason for the collapse of the Tibetan troops was "its political deterioration and its serious opposition to the common people".

3. An Analysis into the Different Types of Manors in Tibet Region

1. Manors in agricultural areas

Before 1959, Tibet as a whole was under the rule of the three big feudal lords and was controlled by feudal serfdom. Owing to the vast territory in Tibet, however, the region differs from one area to another in natural geography, society, production structure, and productive forces. So, the types of serfdom were different from area to area in Tibet. For instance, the areas near the middle reaches of the Tsangpo river, the valleys of the Lhasa Kyichu river, the Nanchu river, and the Nyangchu river were the main farming areas of Tibet where the manorial system prevailed and most of the manors of aristocrats were concentrated. The farming areas were quite different from the Three—River Valleys in Chamdo of Eastern Tibet, the high, cold, and remote Ngari region, and the pastoral areas of North Tibet, as well as the areas of the Himalayas inhabited by other ethnic minorities. Thousands of manors were spread all over the interiors of U and Tsang. Being different in historical starting point and evolution, the manors were of different types. In some manors the majority of labourers were Tsepas; in others they were Duchungs; in still others they were Nangzans. In the manor of the fourth type they were hired farm —

hands (this type of manor has been disintegrated); in the manors of the fifth type the labourers were of various kinds of serfs. The most common one was a manor of the "Tsepa type". Mr. Liu Zhong, the special professor at the Institute of History Research of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, pointed out the main characteristics of the "Tsepa type" of manor (taking the Dozur manor as an example) after his field investigations into various types of manors:

(1). The land was fundamentally divided into the land managed directly by the manorial lord's family and Tsekhang land that was allocated to the Tsepa, the former accounting for 22.5% of the whole arable land of the manor, and the latter 75.9%. Two groups of Tsepas were forced to rent a small amount of land, making up only 0.2% of the whole arable land, so that the lord could get a huge amount of grain as the rent. Moreover, the nunneries and monasteries also owned a small amount of land tilled by the monks and nuns themselves, which accounted for 1.4% of the whole arable land.

The manor did not allot Tsekhang land to Duchungs. The Duchungs of the manor rented a small amount of land from the Tsepas, totaling 189 khal and making up 6% of the whole Tsekhang land. They got land through the following ways: they bought land, the price of which varied in accordance with the tenure of use (in fact the land was mortgaged land); they got land as their salaries for providing labour in autumn harvest; or were given a certain amount of land as mortgages.

(2). A Tsepa had to do corvee labour (Tse) for the manorial lord according to the amount of the Tsekhang land allotted to him. The services consisted of "outer Tse"

and "inner Tse". The outer Tse was done for the Kashag and the inner Tse was for the manorial lord. Both the outer Tse and inner Tse were paid in corvee labour, in kind, or in cash, with corvee labour as the main form of payment. The outer and inner Tse were numerous in names. There were as many as 50 items of the corvee labour of the inner Tse. The serfs had to serve local government officials on their business trips and transport various materials for the Tibetan local government. Such corvee labour services were the main items of the outer Tse.

(3). The lord provided seeds for the land managed by himself and a part of provisions for the labourers who worked on it. All work on the land was undertaken by Tsepas who had a small property. There were 36 households of Tsepas in the manor. For each Kang of land he rented, the Tsepa had to provide 463 days of man-labour and 216 days of farm animal labour in addition to all farm tools including plows, baskets and ropes, etc. for the work on the land managed by his lord. The annual payment in kind included seventeen to twenty-seven khal of Chingko barley for each Kang of land he rented, as well as sun-dried bricks, manure, sheep, wool, butter, fire-wood stones, lime, wild vegetables, and other things.

(4). The manor had managerial staff. Among them, Nyepa, Lepon and Jopon were in charge of production work on the land managed by the lord. Besides, Ganpo was elected by Tsepas to be responsible for apportioning the Tse services among the Tsepas and settling accounts. The present Ganpo of the Dozur manor inherited the position from his father. For the convenience of administration the Tsepas were divided into three groups, each under a head, called Jopon in Tibetan.

(5). Tsepas had no personal freedom and were at the manorial lord's disposal. The feudal lords had the following rights: (a) to force the Tsepas and their families (with animals and farm tools) to do unpaid labour for them; (b) to give them away as goods, donation or dowry; (c) to confiscate the property of the serfs who would not perform the Tse services or fled away; (d) to interfere into the marriage of serfs who were to be married out of the manor; (e) to punish the serfs who disobeyed or offended them by resorting to torture such as whipping.

The characteristics of the manor of Duchung were the following (taking Lhunpo manor as an example):

(1). The land was divided into the land managed directly by the manorial lord's family and the Tsekhang land that was allotted to the Tsepas. The former was about 330 khal accounting for 71% of the whole arable land of the manor, and the latter was 133.5 khal taking up 29% (according to the investigation conducted in 1957). Generally speaking, because of money—lending, the mortgaged land recovered from tenants was about fifteen khals, and the same amount of land for the hired labour as salary or land rented in kind.

(2). The Duchung of the manor provided corvee labour services for manorial land. There were Nangtse Duchung, Yanhuo Hu, and Tsepa households in the manor, all of which did labour services for the manor. That is to say the main agricultural labour of the manor was Nangtse households, however, the inner Tse, a unique pure rent labour of Tibet, did not include rent in kind or in cash.

(3). The manor for which the Duchung did most labour services had more means of production, invest-

ment, and production expenses than those of the manor of Tsepa.

(4). On the whole, the economic situation of the Nangtse Duchung was far worse than that of Tsepa. Duchung households had less land and its house was lower and smaller, and it owned fewer livestock and farm implements than those of the manors of Tsepa. Thus, the manor itself had to provide livestock and farm tools, allocate a certain amount of grain as the food for corvee providers, and labour to maintain the reproduction of the manor.

(5). As was typical of the relationships between serf and serf — owner, Nangtse households had no personal freedom and were at the manorial lord's disposal. Whereas, due to the fact that the lessee of the manor was the great Tsepa (Tsepa Chenpo), the attachment of the serf to the serf — owner was not so rigid. Meanwhile, there were indications that the powerful and influential people tried hard to enslave the peasants in the manor. Though the enslavement was limited, or even nominal, the local government included the land into Tsekhang land, and thus the land belonged to the manor and the peasants became serfs. They were called Tsepa, had to do "outer Tse" for the government, and were dependant on it. Therefore although the Tsepa was attached to the manor in name, its real manorial lord was the local authorities.

The lord of a Lhunpo manor had similar rights over Nangzans as the lord of Dorzur over the Tsepa. Though he was not able to exercise these rights over the Tsepa, the local government could take control of it.

Due to the manor's cruel exploitation, Nangzans frequently ran away from the manor.

The main features of the manor of Nangzan (taking Khangkyi manor as the example) were:

The manor of Nangzans, fewer in number and smaller in size than the manors of the Tsepa and Duchung, was one type of manor in decline in serfdom.

(1). The land was managed almost directly by the manorial lord's family, and there was no land allocated to Nangzans.

(2). The Nangzan did not provide labour corvee services, but worked under the supervision of the foreman (lepon). As a remaining form of labour by serfs, Nangzans "toiled endlessly from morning to evening and from the beginning of a year to the end of it."

(3). Nangzans were in extreme poverty — without any personal property, houses, or family.

(4). In order to have Nangzans work for him, every year the lord had to give a considerable amount of grain to the Nangzan as rations.

The lord did not allow Nangzans to marry, and their illegitimates were treated as the offsprings of serfs, belonged to the manor. All those children who were not able to work did not have rations, while those who took part in light manual labour were given half of the adult's rations and they would not get the same amount of rations until they grew up. In order to cut the expenditure, on one hand, the lord strictly controlled the Nangzan's ration and clothes; on the other hand, he rented the patches of land to the Nangzans as their own land. Even though the Nangzan could only get two or three khal of grain for one khal of land, they were still willing to rent the land so as to support the children and old people without rations.

(5). The lord's enslavement and oppression of the

Nangzan were crueller than those of the manors of the Tsepa and Duchung types. Rudely interfering in the marriage of the Nanzans, the lord (a) did not allow them to marry but did allow illegal spouses; (b) did not permit them to possess any personal property and they were extremely poor; and (c) owned Nangzans and their children through personal possession, not by renting land. Moreover, Nangzans themselves were the property of their owners.

Unlike the situation of typical slaves, to a certain extent, the slaves of the manor gradually became serfs. For example, they rented land and farm cattle from the lord, and hired labourers to work for them, which was uncommon between slave—owners and slaves in such a society. At the same time, the owners of the Nangzans were great living Buddhas (called Rinpoche in Tibetan), governors, and their regents, not slave—owners.

2. Manors in pastoral areas

Taking Zhiru Pasture in Nangkartse County, Lhoka Prefecture of Tibet Autonomous Region as an example, the associate professor of the Central Institute for Nationalities, Mr. Su Jiexun analysed the management and administration of the manor in pastoral areas.

There were 36 households with more than 150 serfs in Zhiru Pasture. They mainly herded yaks, sheep and goats, altogether with about 8,600 "mipa" (an accounting unit of livestock—one sheep is equal to one mipa). The nobleman Lhalu managed the pasture with the following methods:

1. Establishment of strict organizations. The chief manager of the pasture was "Kyimi", who usually owned the largest amount of livestock. He had to obey the orders

of Yadi Gyade, the bailiff of Lhalu, and was responsible for the overall managerial affairs of the pasture at the same time. He could attend the meeting of the Dzong government and pass sentences on the herdsmen such as "Dragyu" (which means one person from each household could beat the accused with the club once). The assistant to the "Kyimi" was the "Kyiyo" and under him were four "Ganpo" whose duty was to count the attending livestock, raise fodder expenses, etc. The term of office of the "Ganpo" was one year, and the post was rotated by sixteen major herding households. Moreover, the "kyimi" could appoint three "Nyepa" who were in charge of keeping tools and other things and receiving official visitors. All of them could ask the herdsmen for various amount of payments as their salaries and enjoyed certain rights.

The whole pasture was divided into six "Takhang", which were put in order by the number of Mipa every three years when counting the livestock. From the largest number to the smallest, every six households was taken as a section. Each "Takhang" was composed of five or six households with one household from each section. These households had roughly the same amount of livestock. One "Takhang" constituted one tent village which served as both a production cluster and an attending unit. Within a "Takhang", according to the number of livestock, the head household was called the "Tapon", and specialized in herding the female sheep; the second largest household was called "Tayo", and specialized in herding rams; the third household was called the "Zhiru", and specialized in raising the lambs and stud rams. Other households were engaged in herding yaks and other specialized herding work according to the number of livestock. In each "

Takhang" those households who owned the largest amount of livestock could first make a choice about their residential locations and the ground on which to tether the yaks. It demonstrated the ideology of the ruling class centered around the close followers of the feudal lords and the enjoyment of rights and benefits according to the size of the property.

2. Enforcement of a strict class system to control the personal freedom of serfs and their rights. The residents on the Zhiru Pasture were all serfs. According to the amount of taxes they paid, and the traditional feudal concepts and various expressions of their personal dependence, they could be divided into five classes:

(1). Tsepa. There were altogether 33 households, whose work was to attend the feudal lords and who had the right to use the pasture. All the subjects of Lhalu were Tsepa and all those who had livestock were obliged to attend the feudal lords. Those who did not have any livestock would be allocated 12.5 "Mipa" of animals as the minimum for attendance from the collective income of Tsepa. Later on, when they obtained more animals, they were required to hand in their share based on the real numbers. If they lost their animals, they still had to fulfill their quota of not less than 12.5 mipa of livestock. They were shackled for life under the yoke of Ula corvee labour.

(2). Duchung. Altogether two households with three serfs. None of them were subjects of the Lhalu, and they owned eight sheep. Besides paying corvee labour taxes to the herder—owners, they had to pay the pastureland rents because they had no right to use the pasture and lived in extreme poverty.

(3). Mimayo. They were unpaid labourers for the great Tsepa, who did coolie labour without any wages, ate rotten food, wore shabby clothes, and did not have the freedom of leaving the household of their masters, suffering from extreme misery. This type of people came from two sources: (a) Illegitimate children of the local male serfs and the female serfs of the feudal lords in other regions. (b) Objects of exchange. For example, Yodron, the daughter of a Tsepa called Lhokyi Khangsa, was married to a serf under Dedru Labrang. In so doing, Lhalu lost a serf, so he asked Dedru Labrang to compensate by giving him a serf as Mimayo to the great Tsepa to be the condition of exchange.

(4). Ruba. Only one household, the numbers of which were neither Tsepa nor Duchung, and specialized in herding the livestock for the feudal lord. They had their own rich pastures to herd the livestock of the feudal lord and their own animals. They had the right to enter into the public pastures ahead of other serfs and to order small Tsepa to send messages and run errands for them.

(5). Manri or outcasts. They were blacksmiths and butchers who never settled in the Zhiru Pasture and were only temporary households. They were extremely discriminated against: people of other classes could not eat with them, sit with them, and still less marry with them, which was a strong reflection of feudal estate concepts.

3. Exercise strict management of the pastureland. The pasture was divided into public pastureland and Tsekhang pasture. The Tsekhang pasture was distributed to the Tsekhang, and not to the households. Since the pastureland was divided in terms of the number of livestock and the livestock were in a process of constant

changes, the division of the pastureland had to be readjusted every three years. During the readjustment, the number of livestock had to be counted for every household, new Takhang were formed and then, each Takhang would choose the pasture in a sequence decided by casting dice. After the choice was made, a dice title deed was written. When establishing the title deed, the Kyimi held the seal high and all Tsepas had to touch it with their thumbs before it could be put on the Deed to show that they would never regret doing so.

The pastureland was counted by units of "Tsawago". When the grazing was done in terms of Takhang, each Takhang was a Tsawago. A boundary stone was established between each Tsawago and it was strictly forbidden to remove it. Anybody who violated the rule would be treated in the same way for manslaughter. Every pasture had strict time limits for opening and no free entry and exit were allowed. The pasture for Tsepa were self-sufficient with about 30% of them for leasing. The income from it went to Tsepa, or was distributed to the households proportionately according to the amount of services they provided. The principle of distribution meant more benefits to those who provided more services.

4. Practice the fixed-quota of land rent mainly in the form of corvee labour and in kind. Those taxes handed in to the Lhalu were called "Nangtse" (InnerCorvee), and those to the Tibetan local government were called "Mita Khama" (Outer Corvee).

Nangtse: the rent quota for the whole pasture was fixed. Every year, the quota was 300 khal of butter, 600 khal of wool, 200 metres of Pulu, and 600 taels of Tibetan silver (one khal is equal to twelve kilograms). The quota

for each Tsepa was determined by the real number of Mipa when the livestock were counted annually. Each year, the number was different. The butter had to be sent to the bank of the Lhasa River and the rest of the materials to the Yada Shika (manor) in Ringbung County, which needed great amount of man power and livestock. Small Tsepa under the Shiru were called "Bangchen", who had to be responsible for sending messages and running errands. They suffered from double exploitation.

Mita Tsema: It did not contain many items. One was the expenses for conscription which were covered by the fodder rent, and the other was short—distance Ula corvee labour which was paid by the Rongpu serfs who rented the Zhiru Pasture. In general, these items were not as burdensome as in other Tibetan areas.

Besides the above — mentioned items, there were three kinds of special services that the serfs had to provide:

Gutseda (The Longevity Service). In order to enjoy longevity, the feudal lords had to collect 72 sheep for the purpose of setting them free every year. With rings around their necks and stamp marks, these sheep could not be killed. Gradually, these sheep increased in number in the total livestock of the Tsepa and they became a burden.

Chime (no — life — no — death service). No matter whether the number of the livestock increased or decreased, the serfs had to pay the corvee in accordance with the originally — fixed number of livestock in the past.

Lama service. There were three temples which had their own land and serfs in Zhiru Pasture. If a serf family had over three sons, however, it had to send the third son

to the monastery and became a monk, while the family had to repair the temple, till the land, and hand in butter for the tribute lamps for him.

3. The Ngari area

Together with the members of the Research Team of Tibetan Feudal Serfdom, Dr. Geleg, an associate professor of the Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies, went to Ngari to do field work in 1988 and 1990. In their opinion the land system and social structure of Rongchung and Korchu had the following features.

(1). The land was allotted to the Tsepa directly by the local government or monasteries. The government of the manor system, which involved the Tsepa, land, grain, stables, storehouses, and the handicraft industry, had not come into being. Every household was a basic unit to manage land and also a basic unit to pay taxes and to do corvee. The rural areas all over Ngari were more or less the same. The land cultivated by the Tsepa was mainly Tsetan. There was no land managed directly by the local government or monasteries.

(2). The former Tibetan local government secured the right to order farmers and herdsmen all over Ngari to do corvee and pay taxes. If land—ownership was the prerequisite of land rent, then the former local government was no doubt the biggest land owner in Ngari. All the land and serfs of the Dachen Labrang in Kochar were granted by the fifth Dalai Lama in the seventeenth century. The relevant official documents may serve as a proof of it. Nevertheless, the Tsepa in Rongchung, in addition to Tsetan, had privately owned land, which was handed down in a family from generation to generation. According to local inhabitants, Tsetan belonged to Tsebrang Dzong, while

the privately owned land was opened up by the family ancestors and so was private land. This was a special phenomenon existing in the land system of the Ngari rural areas.

(3). In Ngari there were no hereditary aristocrats such as Gepa or Depon who owned large tracts of hereditary land. The former local government and high-ranking lamas were the feudal lords in Ngari. Monasteries and high-ranking lamas had a secured and privileged ownership over the land they owned, being free from the duty of doing corvee and offering tributes to the local government. All the Garpons and Dzungpons were bureaucratic aristocrats coming from U and Tsang who held power over administrative, judicial, and economic affairs in the name of the former Tibetan government.

Under the Dzung was the Tso, which was a sub-district organization between the Dzung government and village. There were 85 villages or some 700 households in Tsada country. In the past the county was divided into six Tsos and the villages were under the jurisdiction of six Tsopons. As a matter of fact, a Tsopon was the headman of a Tso. Generally speaking, his position was hereditary. The local people called him the agent of the Dzung government. Politically, he had judicial prerogative to a certain extent, For instance, he had the power to arrest and torture Tsepa. The symbol of this hereditary judicial power was a particular leather-thonged whip. Economically, he owned the best land in the village, and he had the privilege to order the common Tsepa to cultivate the land for him without pay. Nevertheless, he was different from the aristocrats in U and Tsang. He did not own a manor, he was only a well-to-do Tsepa, and had to do Ula corvee

and pay taxes. The difference between him and the common Tsepa was that he, serving as an agent of the local government and monastic feudal lords, was a member of the ruling class and had some political and economic prerogatives. He was an exploiter, but at the same time he was exploited by others.

(4). The ruled class fell into three strata: Tsepa, Tsongchung (similar to the Duchung in U and Tsang), and outcasts. The Tsepa had their Dutan land left behind by their ancestors, and they may have leased the land out but were not allowed to sell or transfer it to another person. The Tsepa at Rongchung had their own small plots of land handed down from generation to generation. Politically, the Tsepa took the post of Ganpo or Tumi by turns, which was something like a village head. Some of them were assigned. Their tenure of office was one year, during which time a part of his corvee and taxes might be canceled. They had no other prerogatives. After a year's hard work, they could get few advantages from it, so few Tsepa liked to take the post. Most of the Tsongchung had no Dutan, and they were called Mibo Tsongchung. They paid only poll—taxes on the manorial land, and earned a living by cultivating a plot of land rented from a Tsepa or working for a Tsepa. Many Tsongchung had no house to live in and lived in a rented shabby room. They lived in dire poverty. Those at the bottom of the society were the outcasts, such as slaves, hybrids, and blacksmiths, etc..

In his thesis entitled *A Brief Discussion on the Social Status and the Guild System of the Hardware Craftsmen in the Tibetan Area before the Democratic Reform*, Mr. Tagar, a researcher in the Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies, argued that the Tibetan traditional hardware

handicraft industry has had a long history. It was during the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama, however, that the officially organized craftsmen's guild system appeared. As a well-organized system in charge of all hardware craftsmen in Tibet, the system was called "Shodon Paldodam Lekhong", and it was under the "Kashag" of the Tibetan government. It also enjoyed certain privileges from the fifth Dalai Lama and the local government.

The number of organization members was strictly controlled, and the total could not exceed 108, which was said to be set by the fifth Dalai Lama. And there was a very careful division of labour within the organization, including thirteen types of work such as: relief sculptors, forgers, statue workers, smiths, coppersmiths, painters, carpenters, goldsmiths, apprentices, "Drupa" (lathe operators, the workers who pushed the rotating bed for wooden article processing), door-keepers, cleaners, and others.

The two main functions of the organizations are as followings: (1). To produce hardware to meet various needs and to undertake corvee for the Tibetan local government and monasteries; (2). To control and monopolize the labour market and avoid external competition for the sake of the members of the organization. They recruited people only from U and Tsang and strictly forbade craftsmen from Kham, Amdo, and other areas to join. It became a regional organization. Most of the members were local craftsmen sent by the "Kashag", to which all had a relatively strong personal subordination. "Shodon Paldodam Lekhong" had a right to settle lawsuits, to collect taxes, and to impose labour on the craftsmen all over Tibet. He pointed out that what deserves our attention here

is the fact that although craftsmen had created lots of material wealth, they had the lowest position in society — the lowest in the Tibetan social structure. From a historical point of view, hardware craftsmen in the Tubo Kingdom were not looked down upon. Instead, there was a smith, who later became a minister of the kingdom. Then what caused the discrimination against hardware craftsmen in Tibetan history? The author maintains that many social and cultural factors contributed to the situation mainly as follows. First, there was always the tradition of "bone and blood relationship" in Tibetan society, which was used to link the present descendants with their ancient ancestors. It was also the base, from which the inherent social classes, i. e. noble and humble, were determined. The bones of a smith were considered the lowest. Secondly, from the point of view of productive relations, land was not only a means of production in Tibetan history, but also an important criterion in deciding one's social status. One was without any piece of land and had no place in society. The craftsmen were the earliest to leave land and enter the city, and they relied entirely on their skill in metal processing. Naturally, they became the lowest in society. Thirdly, the code of Tibetan feudal serfdom guaranteed the low position of the craftsmen.

IV. Ula Corvee and Usury in Tibet before 1959

Under the rule of feudal serfdom in Tibet, personal subordination, Ula corvee, and usury were three heavy burdens on the backs of the serfs. All experts and scholars attending the conference unanimously held that research on the sufferings caused by the three burdens

would help us understand Tibet at that time.

Mrs. Gesang Drokhar, an associate professor of the Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies, made comments on *The Inventory of the Iron—Tiger (Jata Shishung)*, which was prepared by the Tibetan local government following its investigation on the land and taxation for some Dzongshi in U, Tsang, and Dakong in order to increase its financial revenue and resolve the imbalance in tax obligations.

The cause for such serious contradictions was analysed in the three prefaces of *The Inventory of the Iron—Tiger* as follows: "As for the corvee and taxes obligations that the government, the nobility, and the monasteries should fulfill, the nobility and the monasteries used to fulfill or pay their fair share according to the number of Kang. There was not much difference, except for a few Depon noble families which amalgamated their Don land and enjoyed some tax reduction. Later on, more nobility and monasteries had taken over Tse land allocated to them by the government, and more and more followed suit in requesting for amalgamation of the Don land and reduction of taxes."

The authorities of the local government of Tibet were also fully aware of the seriousness of the problem. In their submission to the tenth Dalai Lama, the monks and lay officials said: "People who were doing official assignments by the government had left because of poverty. Most of the administrative organizations which had supported the monasteries were like falling walls with no support. They were in a state of chaos." The main reason was that most of the best people and fief were chosen and occupied by nobility and monasteries. Cases in which they followed others' example in demanding amalgamation of the Don

land and reduction of official assignments happened one after another." Thus, "the income of the government was decreasing and various offices were on the verge of bankruptcy." This was fairly common then 188 years had elapsed from the beginning of the Ganden Phodrang till the completion of *The Inventory of the Iron—Tiger* (it had been 79 years from the establishment of Kashag in 1751 to 1830). During this period, those in power were mostly powerful hereditary nobility, Kalon and Gunglon. They had taken a lot of good land and people from the government and turned them into their own properties, expanding many of their manors.

As for the question of refusing to increase official assignments and taxes, in their submission to the tenth Dalai lama the monks and lay officials said: "The Dontse people and land of the big monasteries and nobility of Kalon and Gunglon are all serfs and territory belonging to the great Emperor of Heavenly Fortune and the All—Wise Great Saviour Dalai Lama. People can only use them, because they did not bring these along with themselves. Today, they are still allowed to use them, but they are not grateful." The submission also cited a few examples for comparison, "The three major monasteries of Sera, Drepung, and Gandan are the main bases of Buddhism. They are tens and thousands of monks but only a few manors and not many common people. However, some noble families and monasteries with just more than a hundred monks surprisingly have over a thousand don of land, including deserted Kang. Please decide whether this is justified."

To resolve such a serious contradiction, "Following the official communication, Kalon Khanpo, Tsipon

Liang of Tibetan silver coins as annual interest, and this made up 25% to 30% of their revenue. For instance, Trijang Losang Yeshe, a lama in a temple, had lent out 823,249 Yuan, for which he received 164,129 Yuan as annual interest. Moreover, he had also lent out 97.729 khal of grain.

Compared to the government, the nobility, and other creditors, the monasteries supplied more loans and even higher interest. This demonstrated their important role in the social economy.

2. The government was the second biggest creditor. Many offices in the Tibetan government such as the Thebdra Lekhung, Drupo Lekhung, Lacha, Tsecha, and Tashi Lekhung were engaged in giving loans. And government organs and officials of the local Kyichab and Dzong were also giving out loans. Loaning and interest — collecting were made as part of the duties of the officials at different levels. During the period of 1935—1959, a total of 7,202,300.63 Liang of Tibetan silver coins had been lent out as loans, with average loan of 514,450.5 Liang per year. An annual interest of about 320,000 Liang was received. The 1955 survey on Drupo Lekhung showed that 692,573 khal of grain was lent out, which should have earned an annual interest of 69,757 khal if the interest rate was 10%. It was about 11.5% of the government revenue for the whole year.

3. The target of loaning by nobility was generally the serfs on their own manors. But the income made from such loans was far less than that of the monasteries and government. Some of the nobility were at the same time creditors and debtors. In order to meet the needs of a luxurious life, they had borrowed low — interest loans from

the government and transferred them into high — interest rate loans to their serfs through extra — economic mandatory means. By so doing they received the benefits and worsened the burdens of their serfs.

This was an outline of the decline of Tibetan serfdom. To better the situation, the Grand Minister Residents of Tibet, Songyun and He Ning worked out with the approval of the emperor ten regulations concerning carrying out a reform, giving relief to the poor, giving rewards and inflicting penalties. The proclamation of the ten regulations in Tibetan and Chinese together with a Dalai Lama's edict was posted and made known officially in every district of Tibet. The government of Tsang also took measures in the light of the ten regulations and sent officials to check the practice of them. It was hoped that all these measures could overcome the social crisis so that "the poor Tibetans could have land to till and houses to live in so as to live and work in peace."

What was the result of these measures? The measures of remedy taken at the time were a stopgap but not radical measures, which did not touch serfdom. As a result, with the passage of time, Tibetan society kept on declining, and serf — owners intensified their exploitation.

V . A Discussion of Religion , History , Geography , Economy , Culture , Education and Other Aspects in Tibet in a Wide Cultural Perspective

1. Permeating the various aspects of Tibetan society, religion plays a unique role in Tibet, therefore, it is im-

Palawa, and Maron Gesang Ngawang were appointed as investigators. They would thoroughly check residence records and files of different Dzongshi as well as documents for fief. The files would be affixed seals by Kashag and distributed to all Dzongshi in U and Tsang. They would also thoroughly check out errors, omissions, and duplications in the number of Kangdon, find out whether there were substitutes for the runaway Tse households, determine whether any local government had levied unbearable taxes on Tsepa for deserted Kangdon, and look into the situation, in which the nobility and monasteries had occupied land allocated to Tsepa, but failed to pay all the tax." It seemed that the local government of Tibet was determined for the work as well—prepared measures were taken to investigate from the top to the grassroots. Problems such as errors in the number of kangdon, desering Kang, and flight from famine would be resolutely addressed once they were found out. Taxes would be reduced according to circumstances for the Tsepa whose burdens were too heavy to bear. Taxes would be added to the nobility and monasteries who had occupied cultivated land. Clear regulations were carried in the files which would serve as legal documents for taxation since they had been stamped by Kashag.

In her essay entitled *Traditional Taxation System in Western Tibet in Cross — Cultural Perspective*, professor Nancy E. Levine of California State University, Los Angeles of the United States, discussed taxation obligations in three village communities of western Tibet prior to liberation. These obligations varied markedly in both content and cost, so that some communities were assessed exceedingly onerous taxes while others faced much smaller tax-

es. Some of the reasons behind these variations will be explored and the traditional system of assessing taxes in Tibet will be compared with other societies at comparable stages of social—economic development.

Under the rule of feudal serfdom in old Tibet, the manorial lords cruelly exploited the serfs, and those serfs who led a miserable life fell into the net of usury. In accordance with the textual investigations made by Mr. Cheng Jiajin, a research fellow of the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences, and the researcher of the Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies Mr. Tendzin Lhundru, usury already had come into being as early as the Tubo Period. It was clearly stipulated in *The Twenty Statutes of Tubo* that loans had to be paid back on time. Some of the borrowing contracts with similar contents and rather unified patterns were discovered in the Tubo documents from Dunhuang, thus, it could be proved that usury already had become a common social phenomena at the time. Mr. Tendzin Lhundru pointed out in his essay since the loan system in Tibet was based on the mode of production of the feudal serfdom featured by political and religious integration, the creditor, the nature and forms of usurer's capital, and the nature of the interest rates all had their special features.

1. The monasteries were the biggest creditors. "All monasteries in Tibet, big or small, were involved in giving loans." The creditors were mainly Drasa, Chozhi, Nyert-sang, Tsokyi, Ladru, or other lamas with status, power and money.

According to 1959 statistics, the three major monasteries had given out 1,623,273 khal of grain and 571,058,595 Liang of Tibetan silver coins as loans, which respectively earned them 28,562 khal of grain and 1,402,380

Liang of Tibetan silver coins as annual interest, and this made up 25% to 30% of their revenue. For instance, Trijang Losang Yeshe, a lama in a temple, had lent out 823,249 Yuan, for which he received 164,129 Yuan as annual interest. Moreover, he had also lent out 97.729 khal of grain.

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1. Permeating the various aspects of Tibetan society, religion plays a unique role in Tibet, therefore, it is im-

possible to conduct research on various disciplines of Tibetan nationality without first discussing religion. The scholars attending the conference had made valuable investigations into the changes of Tibetan Buddhism, the influence of religion on Tibetan society, the hierarchy of monks and lamas in the monasteries, the social functions of the monasteries, and other aspects.

Mr. Tsetan Tashi, the deputy director of the Teaching and Research Office for Tibetan History, Tibet University, expressed his views on the impact of Buddhism on the Tibetan society as follows: In the "later propagation period of Buddhism", the great number of large and small sects of Buddhism and the system of integration of political power and religion were outcome of the era in which Tibet underwent the process of the slavery system developing into feudal serfdom. That had tremendous impact on politics.

A large number of monks were trained to be mental labourers by various sects. Through their social activities, they won the support of local powerful factions and worship of the broad masses of the people. The sects they belonged to had the following characteristics:

A. They had distinctive local features.

B. They all had their own specific economic sphere of influence.

C. They were firmly based on their followers.

Those sects rising in succession all made remarkable contributions to the stability and social development of Tibet and to the learning of advanced foreign culture and production skills.

Buddhism originally stood for freedom from vulgarity and keeping aloof from world affairs. However, the

monasteries of each sect all owned a great number of manors and gradually turned into feudal economic entities. Monks of the upper strata became feudal lords when they owned means of production. As a result, a large number of monks divorced themselves from manual labour. Various sects engaged with one another in a series of fierce struggles for their political influence and economic interest, such as:

1. Struggles between the Sakya sect on one hand and the Drigung Kagyu and Padru Kagyu sects on the other during the Yuan Dynasty.

2. Struggles between the Padru Kagyu sect and those sects such as Ringpungpa and Shingshapa which worshipped local forces of the Karma Kagyu sect in the Ming Dynasty.

3. Struggles between Rinpungpa, Shingshapa, and others on one hand, and the Gelug sect on the other in the last years of the Ming Dynasty.

In addition, there were also struggles between the Depa government formed by the Gelug sect plus the regime of the Mongolian Khan versus the rivalries within the ruling circles. Incessant wars split the Tibetan society and subjected the Tibetan people to severe calamities, resulting in the stagnation of feudal serfdom which was a system of integration of political power and religion. The grave consequence was that the Tibetan society was unable to develop politically, economically, or culturally. That should be a lesson written in blood, to be learned by younger generations for knowing history and reaching their conclusions.

Drawing on notions from recent developments of postmodern sociology, Mr. Lawrence Epstein, a professor

of the Department of Anthropology of Washington University, attempted to understand through comparison of different pilgrimage places and types, how cognitive notions of Tibetan pilgrimage and related practices are dialectically expressed in and express continuities of the institutional reproduction of material and power relations. In his view, studies of Tibetan pilgrimage beliefs and practices have tended to concentrate on historical descriptions of pilgrimage places or loosely articulated historic symbolic analysis. Few of these studies have dealt sufficiently with the contextualization of the special relationships that constitute a fundamental factor in Tibetan pilgrimage ideas.

The professor of the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Mr. Li Youyi discussed the influence of the Gelug sect on Tibetan society and its future in his essay. In his view, the Gelug sect was the last sect of Tibetan Buddhism. It was, however, the sect that exerted the most profound influence on Tibetan society and the neighbouring areas. The Gelug sect was established in the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties when Tibet was in a state of chaos caused by the struggle between Buddhist sects. At that time Tibetan Buddhism was controlled by aristocrats, and Buddhist discipline was not well observed. Thus, Tsongkapa, the founder of the Gelug sect, carried out a reform. The purpose of the reform was to make religion free from the control of aristocrats and enable it to become an independent social power rather than to lay stress on monastic discipline.

The third Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatso introduced the doctrine of the Gelug sect to areas inhabited by Mongols, laying a good foundation for the close relationship between the Tibetans and Mongols. He received the title of "Dalai

Lama" from Altan Khan, chieftain of the Mongol Tumet tribe in Qinghai. The doctrine of the Gelug sect promoted the development of animal husbandry in Mongolian areas and softened the strong and sturdy character of the Mongolian people.

It was with the help of the Mongol Oylut tribe that the Gelug sect seized political power. Before that, the new sect was suppressed by old sects. After it took power, the Gelug sect was very tolerant towards other sects. Owing to its tolerance, almost all the doctrines of Exoteric and Esoteric Buddhism were well preserved in Tibet. This was of great significance to Tibetan Buddhism.

The system of reincarnation was created by the Kagyu sect. The Gelug sect accepted it and on its basis created the system of reincarnating the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama as well as many other living Buddhas. The purpose of the system was to free religion from the control of noble families.

The Gelug sect built great monasteries, which took away a part of the manors and pasture land of noble families, established their own economic organs and became an independent economic power of the Tibetan society. A Gelug monastery was always an economic and cultural center in the locality. Monasteries nearly controlled every aspect of national life.

The Gelug sect reigned over Tibet for 317 years, starting in 1642 when it seized power and ending in 1959 when a rebellion broke out in Tibet and the State Council of the Central Government ordered that the Kashag be abolished. It reigned longer than any other sect. This was a reign of feudal serfdom, which was consolidated by religion. It led to the deterioration of the economy of Tibetan

society. The regime of the Gelug sect is gone, but its religious sect still exists.

Mr. Dungkar Losang Triley, a professor of Tibet University, discussed the developmental history of Tibetan monasteries in his thesis entitled *On the Economy of the Monasteries in Tibet*.

2. Based on the documents and inscribed wooden slips in ancient Tibetan language discovered in Dunhuang and Xinjiang, Mr. Chen Qingying, a research fellow of Qinghai Academy of Social Sciences, studied the economic system of the Tubo Kingdom. In his point of view, it can be seen from these account books that aside from the nobles who possessed considerable granted land, salary land, livestock, other means of production, and slaves (the means of production and slaves were eventually owned by the Kingdom which had the right of taking them back in case the nobles had no offsprings or committed crimes), the land, grassland and livestock of both the agricultural and stock-raising tribes belonged to the dynastic government. But the peasants and herdsmen could obtain from the government (through tribes) a certain amount of land or livestock for farming or stock-raising and undertook the tax payment and corvee imposed by the government therefrom. Though without means of production, the peasants and herdsmen, subject to control by the kingdom, had the right to use part of the land and livestock, possess production tools, houses, tents and other means of daily life and their own economy (though meagre and only enough to maintain a hand-to-mouth existence after taxation). On the other hand, they had no personal freedom, were confined within tribes for generations, and were subject to slavery by the kingdom. Therefore, their

status was, strictly speaking, different from that of slaves. A fairly accurate definition of their status in social production and society should be that they were agricultural serfs and stock-raising serfs similar to agricultural serfs in nature owned by the authorities of the Tubo Kingdom. The Tubo Kingdom must have arrived at the primary stage of the Tibetan feudal society. Feudal serfdom, under which the serf owners owned serfs and means of production, came into being after the collapse of the Tubo Kingdom and saw the further development of the feudal system on the basis of the economic system of the Tubo Kingdom. When making a close comparison, one would find in the late stage of the Tibetan feudal serfdom manorial system many traces of the political and economic system of the Tubo Kingdom.

Mr. Li Jianshang, the associate research fellow of The Institute of Nationality Studies of The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and a professor of the Central Institute for Nationalities, discussed modern economic systems or economic conditions in Tibet and those in history in their essays entitled *An Exchange of Salt for Grain and Its Influence on the Feudal Economy of Tibet* and *the Changes of The Industrial Structure of Tibet in the 1950's and Their Profound Influence*.

3. Some scholars and experts studied the historical figures and their biographies, such as *A Textual Research into Chinese Monk Ke Xin Who Was Sent as an Envoy to Tibet in the Early Ming Dynasty* by the research fellow of the Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies Mr. Deng Ruiling; *The History of Incarnations (Chungrab) of Sanggye Gyatso* by Madam Yumiko Ishihama, a member of the Japan Society for Promotion Research; and *The Fifth Dalai*

Lama to Beijing (1652—1653) According to His Biographies by Dr. Yang Hochin of Washington University.

The Associate professor of The Tibetan Institute for Nationalities, Mr. Zhang Tiansuo, and Mr. Sonam Paljor, the deputy general director of the Chinese Center for Tibetan Studies, made brief accounts of the major developments and main achievements of science and technology in the feudal society in Tibet, and the scholars attending the conference facilitated further understanding of feudal serfdom and gained some valuable enlightenment.

In Mr. Zhang's view, the feudal serfdom society in Tibet witnessed the new and multi—faceted achievements in science and technology, some of which were quite remarkable and most of which had distinctive local and national characteristics.

Agricultural and animal husbandry technology, medicine, astrology, and calendar calculation and mathematics were generally called "the four major disciplines" of early human technology by the scientific and technological circle. Moreover, it was supposed that each nationality should have made achievements in these four areas. While investigating the technological development of Tibetan feudal serfdom, one will clearly see that "the four major disciplines" — among which astrology, calendar calculation, medicine and architecture were very remarkable and of distinctive local and national characteristics — developed and achievements were made in these areas. Moreover, outstanding achievements were made in several fields, such as rich records on earthquakes as well as the investigation, recording, and naming of the Summit Jomo Langma. The reasons for the development and achievements of science and technology in feudal serfdom in Tibet

is as follows :

(1). The feudal society is a step forward compared with the slave society; moreover, its early period showed an up—turn trend, thus providing a quite favourable condition for the advancement of science and technology.

(2). "There are other hills whose stones are good for making jade." An important element for the scientific and technological developments and achievements in feudal society should go to learning, drawing on the experience of absorbing, and integrating the advanced scientific knowledge and technology from surrounding nationalities, especially from the Han nationality in inland China.

(3). The development and achievements of science and technology in feudal society in Tibet were no doubt the product of the talent, intelligence, and ability of inventions and creations displayed by the Tibetan themselves. However, the roles played by the different social strata were not even, with some contributing more and others less. The great masses of people were the main force, and the scientific and technological figures were the key element whereas some people in the ruling clique served only as organizers.

The science and technology in feudal society in Tibet was seen to be moving along, but it was at a slow pace, and even at a standstill in some fields. The reason stems from the social system itself. In its latter period, the feudal society became increasingly decadent and unproductive, impeding the development of science and technology.

Mr. Sonam Paljor held that Tibetan medicine, a unique culture of Tibetan people, not only forms an important part of the treasure house of Chinese medicine, but also may well be regarded as a shining pearl of the oriental

culture. It represents a great contribution both in terms of the survival of the Tibetan nationality and in terms of human body science. Man has always managed to find ways to ensure his survival in whichever corner of the world he lives. In the course of historical development, Tibet has produced many scientists of Tibetan medicine, who, on the basis of their national medicine, have studied and absorbed the essence of medicines of other advanced nationalities and have moved Tibetan medicine to the development stage of theory well combined with practice. After reviewing the developmental history of Tibetan medicine, he pointed out: (1). In early history, our ancestors worked hard on summarizing the practice and experience of Tibetan medicine and, at the same time, absorbing the advanced experience of other nationalities. Thus they gradually developed Tibetan medicine. As a result, a system of Tibetan medical science with unique national characteristics was created for Tibetan people, which has added to the glory of Tibetan tradition and culture and contributed to the health and production development of the Tibetan people. (2). The decadence and corruption inherent in the feudal system in modern Tibetan history landed Tibetan medicine at a standstill both in practice and theory. Tibetan medicine did not generate direct and extensive practical results for health and production development of the vast number of the masses because it was not provided for in the plans for pre-determined beneficiary and the purpose for talent training in the field of Tibetan medicine.

5. The main points of *Was Tibet of 1913—1914 Fully Sui Iuris to Enter into Treaty Relations with Another State* by Mr. Josef Kolmas, a senior research fellow of The

Czech and Slovak Academy of Science, were:

(1). Were documents written at the Simla conference and signed by a Tibetan representative truly valid?

(2). Only fully sovereign states have the right to make international treaties.

(3). In the years before the Simla conference, Tibet did not perform "summa protestas" as an independent and sovereign state.

(4). China's approval of Tibet's participation in the Simla conference applied only to Tibetan participation in the negotiations, not the signing of the final convention.

(5). The events which happened in Lhasa and Eastern Tibet after 1911 the political—legal status of Tibet in several ways.

(6). The struggle that the Tibetans carried out against the Chinese after 1911 lacked a constructive dimension and was insufficient to actually change Tibet's status.

(7). The introduction of the archaic and vague term "suzerainty" to denote China's relationship toward Tibet was arbitrary.

(8). With regard to the Chinese sovereignty over Tibet (as well as a possible Chinese suzerainty), Tibet was not legally fit to conclude international conventions between 1913 and 1914.

(9). Documents signed at Simla can be regarded as legally null and void because of Tibet's lack of qualification and authority; China itself has not signed any of the Simla conference documents.

To sum up, in this seminar the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" were implemented, so that all the participants could speak their mind freely, exchanging views on vari-

ous aspects. Taking "the Social Structure of Tibet before 1959 and Its Influence on Tibetan Society" as the topical subject of the Seminar, those participants made valuable investigation into the relevant problems and exchanged their views on them. Thus, they gained a more comprehensive and profound understanding of the feudal system in Tibet before 1959: as a backward, cruel, and evil social system, the overthrow of Tibetan feudal serfdom was the inevitability of history, and it is obvious that the old Tibet by no means was a "Shangri-La". The scholars both at home and abroad not only extended the field of view in academics, and arrived at a common understanding of historical truth, but also enhanced the friendship and co-operation between themselves. Thus it was surely conducive to raising the quality and level of Tibetan studies and to the progressive development and flourishing of Tibetan studies.

**A Colonialist's Confession of the Tactics
of Aggression Against China—
A Critique of Michael C.
Van Walt Van Praag's Work
*The Status of Tibet***

Li Zerui

Mr. Michael Van Walt Van Praag, practises international law in Washington, D. C. , and London. He has taught international law and Tibetan studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies and is a former director of the Tibetan Affairs Coordination Office in the Netherlands. It appears therefore that he is an expert on international law and a specialist on one area of Chinese territory—Tibet. The title of this book is therefore surprising. Since Tibet is one part of Chinese territory, is the status of Tibet worth studying? and why does a Hollander show so much interest in the Chinese territory of Tibet that he did a tremendous effort to study the so-called status of Tibet? Mr. Van Praag makes this clear in his Preface: "the conflict that impels the writing of the present volume is one that affects the lives of millions of people, the destiny of nations, and even the stability of a continent; it is the Sino—Tibetan dispute over the status, right, and

prospects of the world's highest plateau, Tibet, and its inhabitants, the Tibetans. When Chinese armies first marched into Tibet in 1949, soon after the communist victory in China, the government of the new People's Republic of China claimed the rights to incorporate the plateau on the grounds that Tibet was and had been for centuries an integral part of China. The Tibetan government in Lhasa repudiated the Chinese allegation and accused China of aggression and violation of Tibet territorial integrity and independence. The aggregate of evidence presented in the present volume is sufficiently compelling to support the conclusions arrived at in Chapter 8, regarding the legal status of Tibet prior to the Chinese actions initiated in 1949, and in Chapter 10, regarding the present status of Tibet. (PP. XVII—XIX) That is "What the present study shows is that Tibet possessed both actual and formal independence throughout this period and, indeed, was indisputably a separate State throughout its history," (P. 140) and "as no sufficient legal grounds can be found to support the contention that since that time the Tibetan State ceased to exist and was legally incorporated to form an integral part of the People's Republic of China, the State of Tibet still exists at the time of this writing as an independent legal entity, with a legitimate government, exiled in Dharamsala, to represent it." (P. 188) It would therefore appear that Mr. Van Praag studying the status of Tibet wished to collect evidence to demonstrate that the Chinese territory of Tibet was an "independent State".

Even if a Dutchman was able to prove that Tibet was an independent State, of what interest does it mean to him? He writes: "for centuries, Tibet, located at the strategic heart of Asia, has been coveted by the

continent's great empires, including those of the Mongols, the Russians, the Manchus, the British, and the Chinese (P. III). " "The plateau's geographic location, in the heart of Asia and between the continent's three giants — China, the Soviet Union (formerly the Russian Empire), and the Indian subcontinent — has frequently caused Tibet to be the object of international political rivalry." (P. XVII) There are "the tremendous mineral resources of the Tibetan plateau." (P. 195) "The British believed that trade with Tibet could be very beneficial to the East India Company. ^[1] Existing trade, though limited, was profitable and provided a balance of payment in highly valued gold and silver, in the company's favour." (P. 26) After reading the above it becomes apparent that the Chinese territory of Tibet has been coveted by the colonialist aggressors. If they can prove that this territory is a "Tibet State" independent from China, then they can cut this area off from China and allow it to be controlled, and pillaged by colonialist—aggressors at will.

Since Britain coveted Tibet, it would be justifiable if this book were written by an Englishman, but why should a Dutchman take such an interest? Mr. Van Praag writes: "So numerous are the people who, in varying ways, contributed time and effort to this book that I am unable to name and thank them all individually. I will, however, specify the Threshold Foundation (London), the Menil Fund (Houston Texas), the Stichting Dr. Hendrik Muller's Vaderlandsch Fonds (the Hague), and the Tibet Fund (New York), without whose generous funding the research could never have been done." (P. XXI) Mr. Van Praag also thanks many universities, and American research institutes for their provision of extensive facilities

and support. . . (P. XXI) It is therefore against a powerful international background that Mr. Van Praag writes this book.

Anyone who describes this huge territory inseparable from China as an independent state, can not be successful unless he has supernatural power of reversing the course of events. Since Mr. Van Praag was supported by so many people, he should be a great writer, and perhaps he is an expert in international law. From the beginning he declares his impartiality by stating in the Preface "international law is an instrument for the resolution of conflicts, primarily among States," . . . "this study is concerned neither with strategic considerations nor with questions of a purely political and ideological nature. Neither is it the intention of the author to deal with the socioeconomic arguments advanced by both sides in the conflict to support or condemn a Chinese presence in Tibet. What the present volume does attempt is a comprehensive analysis of the legal questions that have been raised by the Tibetan — Chinese conflict." (P. XVII) However, after reading this book, it is apparent that his concepts are confused, he confused right and wrong, his work is full of contradictions, and he knows nothing about modern international law. That which he calls international law is only a cliché of traditional international law. Such a work has no value, and, indeed, does not merit our comments or refutations. However, it was produced against such an important international background that we must comment in order to save face for those who gave money and material support to Mr. Van Praag. Moreover, Mr. van Praag compares the People's Republic of China to Nazi — Germany and the militarist — colonialist — aggressor Japan,

and condemns China for committing " a crime against peace" and " an act of aggression". According to Franz Michael who wrote the Forward, "the Chinese reinterpretation of medieval imperial relations in terms of a modern nation state in order to advance the claim that the Tibetan people— — who were never a part of the Chinese people— — were in the past and are today a 'minority' within the Chinese 'nation', is part of an attempt to justify what is, in effect, a new form of Chinese imperialism." (P. XIV) These two gentlemen accuse China, the subject of aggression by colonialist — imperialist, including Holland, for more than a hundred years, of committing " a crime against peace" and becoming " Chinese imperialists" like Nazi—Germany and Japan. However, this accusation is an over — compliment to China, for China does not deserve the honour of being thought like the Nazis of Germany when they entered the great motherland of Mr. Van Praag. However, such courtesy demands reciprocity ,and I feel that it is my great pleasure to introduce this book to my compatriots of all nationalities, so that they can appreciate the cunning tactics of the colonialist—imperialist aggression against China and its ugly and atrocious features.

This book contains eleven Chapters and 204 pages, which can be analysed under four headings: A, which international law is it that Mr. Van Praag talks about immensely? B, What are the actual historical facts of the relations between the Tibetan nationality and other nationalities as well as the central governments of successive Chinese dynaties? C, what are the historical facts related to Britain's colonial aggression against China and the acts of aggression aimed at trampling and occupying the Chinese territory of Tibet? D, The fact that the People's Libera-

tion Army entered and was garrisoned in Tibet is China's domestic affair, and was never governed by international law. When Mr. Van Praag invokes traditional colonialist international law, which had been overturned, to prove that Tibet is "an independent State", what are his intentions? As space is limited, the present article will only give comment on the four topics mentioned above.

A. The Difference Between Modern and Traditional International Law

Mr. Van Praag states that, he will "analyse legal questions that have been raised by the so-called 'Tibetan—Chinese conflict' by means of international law — an instrument for the resolution of conflicts primarily among States." (P. XVII) He believes that "China's continued presence in Tibet constitutes a serious violation of international law." (P. 203) Certainly, if it were 1887, the Chinese would be petrified to hear a foreigner condemning China for violating "international law". But today we have to ask loudly and firmly which international law on the ground Mr. Van Praag has used as the basis for claiming that the Chinese territory of Tibet is an "independent State"?

(a) Mr. Van Praag's International Law Is a Mess. Mr. Van Praag defines: "international law as a body of principles, customs, and rules that are recognised as effectively binding obligations by sovereign States and international persons in their mutual relations." (P. XVII) This definition of international law seems irrefutable, but he continues: "The existing system of international law,

with its concepts and its definitions, owes its genesis and growth in large part to the interaction among European States during the past four centuries. Only in the present century has international law been significantly influenced and modified by non — western members of the family of nations," (P. XVIII) that's to say, he divides international law into "existing international law and non — existing international law, the international law developed "among European States during the past four centuries and international law "significantly influenced and modified by non — Western members of the family of nations." But which international laws is he defining? He does not explain. He also states that : "According to traditional legal doctrine in force at least until the early part of this century. . . annexation could have a legal effect only if it was undertaken after hostilities ended. . . the modern law on conquest and annexation will be discussed in a later chapter." (P. 100) After defining international law, Mr. Van Praag uses a great many words to fabricate a history of so — called Chinese — Tibetan relations (see detailed comment below), and then, produces two concepts — — "traditional" international law and "modern" international law. But what is traditional international law? He does not explain; what is modern international law? and what are the differences and similarities between the two conceptions and between the "existing international law" and the "modified international law"? Again he does not explain. It can thus be seen that his concept of international law is confused, his theory of international law is chaotic. After demonstrating the "legal status of a political entity", the "historical status of Tibet as an independent State", and the Chinese "military invasion into Tibet being an aggression", on page 153, he

finally gives the true features of his "international law". He writes, "the traditional law in force until the early part of this century, regarded as invalid only the expression of consent procured by the coercion of the party's representative, but it did not generally consider agreements to be void where force was used or threatened against the State itself. Of course, the traditional doctrine was established at a time when the use of force as an instrument of national policy was not outlawed. With the prohibition of the illegal resort to force early in the century, now embodied in Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter, the foundations of that doctrine were shaken... Now, Article 52 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties contains an accurate statement of the modern law governing international agreements, for it provides that "a treaty is void if its conclusion has been procured by the threat or use of force in violation of the principles of international law embodied in the Charter of the United Nations." (P. 153) So, after 150 pages of "analysing" and "resolving" the so-called "China—Tibet conflicts" according to his international law, he reveals the true colours of his international law. In fact, by using both "traditional international law" developed "among European States during the past four centuries," and "modern international law" based on the provisions of the United Nations Charter, he has been able to apply whichever was in favour to conclude that Tibet is an "independent State". No wonder there are so many absurd and ridiculous conclusions, such as describing the Britain's acts of imperialist aggression against China in attempting to cut off a slice of China's territory—Tibet—as an establishing "legal diplomatic relation" between Britain and Tibet, while calling a domestic affair, such as

the People's Liberation Army marched into Tibet as "aggression against the Tibet State". However, perhaps the author really does not know the differences between modern international law and traditional international law, and perhaps before we continue these should be explained.

(b) International law originated in the 15th and 16th centuries with the development of a capitalist economy in Europe, the formation of nation — States in Western Europe, and the establishment of colonial domination over feudal or slave states who's socio — economic development lagged behind that of the western European nations. The earliest works on international law, appeared in 15th century. ^[2] Those who write about international law do not enact international law. Individuals are not conversant with all the ramifications of the standards for state actions. Works of international law are noly the reflexions of the standards for State actions currently in force. The earliest works of international law were pamphlets dealing with laws governing the conduct of war and legal status of diplomatic envoys. ^[3] They reflected the willingness and practices of western European States to limit warfare and halt the disintegration of numerous small dukedoms as they fought continous battles during Medieval period. *Relectiones Theologicae: De Indis et de Jure Belli* written by Francis de Vitoria, and published in 1556, ^[4] discussing the legal ground by which the Spanish ruled Indians of new world — — the Americas, reflected the colonialist's will and practice of Western European States, who germinated capitalism, to occupy and rule those socio — economically backward States. The appearance of these pamphlets illustrates that international law at that time consisted of regulations governing relations in peace and in

war between Western European nation—states, and those between the colonising States and their colonies in Asia, Africa and the Americas. Since then, international law has been developed. Untill the Second world War, international law was only a manifestation of the will of several capitalist — colonialist States — — Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium and new comers like the USA, Japan, and Tsarist Russia — — —, and was used by them to establish colonial domination in the international community. This is the international law recognised by Mr. Van Praag as having been developed "in four centuries by European States". It is also the international law which the German scholar Mr. H. Triepel^[5] sees as an expression of the vereinbarung of "completely equal States".^[6] This is the traditional international law. The majority of western scholars now recognise that traditional international law was in fact a law of colonialist domination. For example, Mr. George Scelle states that "the colonial phenomenon... is an important component of international law,"^[7] and F. M. van Asbeck recognised the existence of "droit international colonial" of "droit international quis'applique aux colonies", and considered that "le regime des individus etrangers dans les colonies occupe — t — il la position centrale dans le domaine du doit international colonial."^[8]

After the second World War, traditional international law was transformed into modern international law. Western scholars such as professor Wittenberg have recognized this transformation : "La guerre de 1914—1918 avait déjà fortement ébranlé cette structure (des droit international)... La deuxième conflit mondial a consacré l'éclatement des normes juridiques classiques... De meme

que l'économie de Ricardo se trouve dépassée et inapplicable, de même le droit international classique issu de Grotius, doit faire place à de nouvelles règles... La désintégration graduelle de l'économie libérale de l'individualisme, ont modifié, l'assiette même du droit international... Dans le domaine colonial un fort mouvement se dessine tendant à l'abandon des conceptions Européennes en ce domaine." [9] Mr. Van Praag says, "only in the present century has international law been significantly influenced and modified by non-western members of the family of nations." (P. XVIII) In spite of its superficiality and lack of scientific insight, it does recognise, however, that in the 20th century traditional international law was transformed into a law which expressed not only the will of western states, but also that of non-western States.

How can we say that traditional international law was essentially transformed after the Second World War? Because during this war, Nazi-Germany basically put an end to western colonialist domination states, and the European powers, the Soviet Union, southeast Asia, and the U. S. A. joined forces to counter the attacks of Germany, Italy and Japan. As a result, the family of nations was no longer divided into Western-colonialist-aggressors, their subject colonies, and dependencies, but recombined and redivided into an alliance of China, the U. S. A, the Soviet Union, Britain and France opposed to military aggression on one hand, and on the other hand the German, Italian, and Japanese aggressors. The traditional colonialist-dominated international law which had incarnated the will of Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, the U. S. A, Japan, Italy and Germany vanished completely. The Al-

lied nations drew up the "Charter of the United Nations", which incorporated the fruits of their victory of antiaggression, and on which was based the postwar legal order of the family of nations. This anti—nazi—Militarist—colonialist position constitutes "modern international law", and so many western writers have dubbed Charter of the United Nations the "Constitution" or "Fundamental Law" of postwar family of nations. ^[10] Since modern international law is a common expression among the allied nations of anti—Nazi—militarist—colonialist aggression, not just an expression of Western European colonialist aggression, it is essentially different from traditional international law, in that it regulates "the equal rights of nations large and small," "respects the principle of equal rights and self—determination for all peoples." ^[11] It is thus fundamentally opposes colonialist domination which creates unequal rights, and demands self—determination for colonies and dependencies. The "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, on 14, December 1960, ^[12] enshrined the anticolonialist position of the United Nations Charter. Owing to the UN Charter formed the basis for the law among the postwar family of nations, the laws had to comply with the spirit of decolonization, that is, all traditional international colonialist laws contravened the UN Charter, and were thus null and void.

During and after the Second World War, colonies, semi—colonies or dependencies of Asia, Africa, and America sought to achieve their legal right of self—determination, but the Western colonialist aggressors fought back by supporting Chiang Kai Shek and against the Communists of China, and waging the war in Indochina, Korea,

Algeria, and the Congo. Although colonies and dependencies all over the world finally eliminated colonialist domination, from the 1950s onwards some western scholars have sought to restore colonization by resorting to traditional international law. For example, Professor Visscher of Belgium publicly declared that "the fundamental rights of man is a basis for the restoration of international law." However, ^[13]all forms of colonialist aggressive domination are still illegal, and modern international law remains in force. The existence of the united Nations is evidence of this fact.

Mr. Van Praag is not completely unaware of the fact that traditional international law developed "between European States over the past four centuries", has been transformed into an "international law significantly influenced and modified by non—western members of the family of nations". (P. XIII) He acknowledges that "when Japan entered the war, Great Britain, China and later the United States became close allies in the Asian war theater (P. 70), that "China contributed to the formulation of international law as it was codified in the Charter of the UN," "the Republic of China can indeed be said to have contributed to the evolutionary process by which international law is being transformed from an exclusively western product to one that more truly reflects the composition of the world," (P. 113) "in 1971, the People's Republic of China formally adhered to the Charter of the UN when its government replaced that of the Republic of China at the UN (P. 113—114)," in fact, the Communist Party and government of the People's Republic of China have consistently expressed strong support for the principles laid down in the Charter of the UN, to which, the former

were signatory in San Francisco and to which the later formally referred in a number of international treaties." (P. 114) Since Mr. Van Praag knows that traditional international law has been transformed into modern international law as codified in the Charter of the United Nations, if he were fair-minded, he would condemn the British launching of the Opium War in 1839, the invasion of Tibet in 1904 and the signing of the so-called "Lhasa treaty", as well as Britain's other acts of aggression against China. However, he does not do so, but on the contrary misrepresents invasion of China by Britain and others as legal relationships between states transaction." He makes it clear that he, as one of the western scholars advocating the restoration of illegal domination under traditional international law, is a new colonialist aggressor. It therefore becomes necessary to denounce his aggressive colonialist tactics against China.

B. Don't Distort the Historical Facts of China of Forming a Multi-National State, Including Tibetan Nationality

Although Mr. Van Praag declares that "this study is concerned... nor with questions of a purely political or ideological nature," (P. XVII) the title of Chapter I is "Early Political History". In his narration, he is unfair and unobjective in his distortion of China's formation a multi-national—including Tibet nationality state. In doing so, he has engaged in an international political struggle.

For much of Chinese history, the nationalities living separately in compact communities have sought indepen-

dence. In Europe, from the time the barbarians of northern Europe invaded the eastern Roman Empire until the 11th century, European states were divided into many principalities. However these Western European States had formed themselves into nation — States by approximately 1500, and several of them incorporated a variety of nationalities. China was unified as an multi-nationalities Empire in the early years of the Yuan Dynasty (1206 — 1368). Intimate relations between the Tibetan Nationality and the Han Nationality go back to ancient times. Based on motives that will be discussed later, Mr. Van Praag describes the region inhabited by the Tibetan nationality as always an "independent State", and China only as a State of Han Nationality. He also fabricates various "historical arguments", to prove that Tibet is a "State". His distortion cover the period from the reign of Emperor Tai—Zong of the Tang Dynasty to the early years of the 19th century when the British first invaded China, but concentrates on the time from the Yuan Dynasty to the middle period of Qing Dynasty. Mr. Van Praag assertion that Tibet is an "independent State" needs to be refuted.

(a) The Relation Between the Tang and Song Nationality. Mr. Van Praag reproduces the text of a treaty carved on the face of a pillar, concluded between the Tsanpo Trisug Detsen Ralpachen and the Tang Emperor Mu Zong in 821 AD, then explains the meaning of this treaty. He records that Tsanpo Songtsen Gampo unified the nomadic tribes that populated the Tibetan plateau, founded their kingdom, and took the Nepalese princess Bhrikuti and the Chinese imperial princess Wen Cheng in marriage. However, he does not mention the fact that Tritsug Detsen Ralpa8chen took imperial princess Jin

Cheng of Tang Dynasty in marriage. His distortions of Chinese history are thus clear. In fact, the Tang court more than once met Tsanpo or his deputies. The treaty of 821 AD. formulated that "the Tsanpo and Huang Di, Nephew and Uncle, having consulted about the alliance between their dominions have made a great treaty and ratified the agreement." As a result of two of the Tsanpo family marrying Tang dynasty princesses, Tang Dynasty not only exported Buddhism into Tibet, but also exported many advanced technology such as wine making, grinding or husking with a roller, paper making and Chinese ink, sericulture, were introduced to Tibet and stimulating socio-economic development. Although during the Tang Dynasty China had not yet unified into a multi nationalities State, and sometimes war broke out between them, the relation between Han and Tibet were those of brothers.

After the death of Langdarma Tsanpo, the royal family split into four royal lineages, and there was no longer a unified Tibetan royal Dynasty until the Five Dynasties period (907—960) Tibet was not at all a unified State, Mr. Van Praag acknowledges this fact, but also says, at that time, "practically no exchanges took place between the Tibetan and Chinese governments (P. 4). He is mistaken in referring to a "Tibetan government", since there was no unified Tibetan State, and therefore no "Tibetan government".

(b) Direct Rule Over Tibet by Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties. Mr. Van Praag describes Tibet as an "independent State", but mentions only in a deprecatory way of the historical facts of appointment governmental officials and the setting up of government services in Tibet by the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties.

In the early years of the Yuan Dynasty, the Nomadic tribes were still disunited. Prince Godan — — — the grand son of Chingis Khan invested Sakya Pandita with temporal authority over all the Tibet, then Tibet was unified by and by under the reign of Yuan Dynasty. In 1260, Kubilai Khan bestowed upon Phagspa the title of " State preceptor", and gave him a jade seal. In 1265, Chakna Dorji was appointed to administer the affairs of U — Tsang. In 1267, Ponchen Shakga Zanpo was appointed to deal with the affairs of U—Tsang. When Kubilai Khan established his central government in China, he installed Phagspa as the head of Zong Zhi Yuan (Ministry of General Politics) directly responsible for the civil and military affairs. Later, the Zong Zhi Yuan was changed to be Xuan Zheng Yuan (the Ministry of Publicising Policies), and installed Deputy Ministry of Publicising policies in Tibet as an agency of Ministry of Publicising Policies for administering the people of Tibet, and installed Departments of Publicising Appeasement in every region of Tibet too. Whichever of these Departments holding the concurrent military post was called Department Office of Generalissimo of Publicising Appeasement. These Departments installed their own hierachical local organisations to administer civil affairs. Thus, it can be seen that Yuan Dynasty's installation of local governmental organisations and appointment of officials in Tibet appears clearly that Tibet has been already a part of China under the reign of the court of Yuan Dynasty. This is what Mr. Van Praag acknowledges too, for he says : "Emperor's conquest of China effectively turned Tibet into a part of the Chinese State. "

The founder of Ming Dynasty, the Emperor Zhu

Yuan—zhang, adopted the policy of "bestow titles to more persons and establish more governmental organisations; choose Buddhist monks for jobs," continued to use the institutions of Yuan Dynasty, appeased and enlisted tribal chiefs in all parts of Tibet with special care. In 1373, emperor granted the title of Brilliant Treasure Buddha State Tutor to Namgyal Palganpo recommended 60 former officials of Yuan Dynasty to be Tibetan officials, this request was granted. Zhu Yuan—zhang promulgated an Imperial Edict to set up two offices of the Command Post in U—Tsang and Dogan. In 1374, office of the envoy of Command Post of the Capital of Emperor's Temporal Dwelling Palace of Sian was established at He Zhou, with Ning Zen as the Envoy of Command. The Envoy of Command, under his jurisdiction were three Garrisons of He Zhou, Dogan and U—Tsang. Namgyal Palganpo recommended again 56 former officials as new officials. When Jamyang Shakga Gyaltsan was in ruling power, Yuan Dynasty granted him the title of State Tutor of Abhiseka. In 1372, Zhu Yuan—zhang promulgated an Imperial edict, ordering Jamyang Shakga Gyaltsan conserved the noble title of State Initiation Master granted him jade seal, so that Jamyang Shakga Gyaltsan accepted the new relationship of a monarch and his subjects, Ming Dynasty restored the Phagmo Drupa Wan Hu Office and Mngaris Tribal Military Command. Thus, all the officials of Tibet appointed by Yuan dynasty were subjugated to the rule of Ming Dynasty.

Mr. Van Praag obliterated or falsified almost all the historical facts concerning the appointment of officials and the installing of governmental organisations in Tibet by Qing Dynasty. The historical facts are as follows: In 1652

Emperor of Qing Dynasty granted Dalai Lama Gold book and Gold Seal, granted him the title "the Dalai Lama, Buddha of Great Compassion in the West, Leader of the Buddhist Faith Beneath the Sky, Holder of the Vajra." Simultaneously, Qing Dynasty granted Gushi Khan the title "the Righteous and Wise Guashi Khan", Granting title to someone means granting him the title of King, made him supreme political leader of Tibet. In 1727, Qing Dynasty formally laid down the hierarchy of officials of Tibet. Court of Qing abolished the official post of Depa who was appointed by King Khan for holding whole political power, and set up four posts of Kalon, granted the title of Beizi to Khangchennas and Ngakaga, the title of Assis-tante Kung of the State to Lumpanas, the title of Teje to Polhanas, and appointed them assuming the four posts of Kalon, who administered the affairs of Tibetan region in common. Moreover, Qing Dynasty left 3000 officers and soldiers of Manchu – Tibet to garrison Lhasa. In 1727, Court of Qing recognised the government established by Polhanas, and granted him the title of "Beizi", and administered the political affairs of all Tibet. Court of Qing appointed a minister and a deputy minister resident in Tibet too, for a term of three years, and left 2000 soldiers came from Sichuan and Shaanxi to garrison in Anterior and Ulterior Tibet under the command of them. In 1751, the Kashag (government) was set up officially composed of four Kalons, they dealt with political affairs in accordance with the directions of Ministers resident and Dalai Lama. Court of Qing decided to set up a Secretariat (Yigtsang), composed of four monk officials. All the official documents and governmental decrees of Kashag must be affixed seals before coming into force. In 1788 and 1791,

Gurkhas twice invaded into Tibet, Court of Qing dispatched troops to defend, and in May 1792, recovered all the territory of Tibet occupied by Gurkhas, and drove all the troops of Gurkhas out of Tibet. In the same year, Great General Fu Kangan in joint with local officials of Tibet drafted the "Regulations formulated according to Imperial Order for dealing with the aftermath of the war," including 29 articles, which was in force in 1793 after being ratified formally. The Regulations formulated in detail the competence of the Ministers resident in Tibet, the institutions of Tibetan officials, the defence of border, the diplomatic negotiations with foreign countries, the reincarnation of living Buddha, etc... So that, this Regulations was a constituent act of Tibetan local governments elaborated by central government of the Qing Dynasty. Thus, during the years of Qian — Long, the customary rules of reign over the regions of China by means of "certificate of granting title", "bestow reward", "Imperial Edict", "Imperial decree", "governmental order", etc., had changed into constitutional statute law by which Court of Qing Dynasty Ruled Tibet.

(c) The Argument of Mongol and Manchu Conquered China. Mr. Van Praag says: "Kubilai's victory over Song China in 1279 had marked the end of independent China (p. 6), and "when China's Ming Dynasty was overthrown in 1644, that country was conquered by Manchus from the North, who established the Qing Dynasty."^[11] He sees Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties of China as Mongols vanquished China, and Ming Dynasty restored independence of China, but Manchus conquered China too, and the republic of China restored independence of China and makes known that Mr. Van Praag is ignorant of all.

We Chinese say, Song, Yuan, Ming, Qing, and the Republic of China are successive dynasties of China, they are only the changing of Dynasties, only Zhao's Dynasty, Beirzhijin's Dynasty, Zhu's Dynasty, Aixin—juelo's Dynasty vanquished, not China perished. To say so, we have several reasons. Primo, all the successive dynasties received the Chinese traditional" ancient philosophic perceptions of the world, according to which, the Emperor — — — center and apex of the world order — — — possessed a mandate from Heaven to rule all the peoples, Chinese and 'barbarians' alike" (p. XVIII). Mr. Van Praag knows well this tradition, for he not only mentions this tradition, but also says that "Manchus once they initiated the Qing Dynasty, adopted the Chinese way of live. The Manchu Emperor himself, in fact, became the son of Heaven, the apex of the Pyramid of the Confucian world order" (P. 111). Therefore, it is evident that if Yuan and Qing Dynasties were not the Dynasties of China, why would they comply with Chinese tradition? Second, the another characteristic of substitution of one dynasty to another is that the capitals of all the Dynasties were established in the "China" region as Mr. Van Praag says. All of us know that the Near — East Turkey had conquered some States of Balkan Peninsula and Middle East. But, the government of Turkey (so—called the Sublime Porte) was installed at Constantinople (Istanbul) to reign over these conquered States, and never shifted its Capital into these States. Britain, France. Holland, Spain etc. , Han also conquered many States of Asia, Africa and America and colonised them, but any western Eu—ropean State had not shifted its Capital into any State they conquered. Napoleon and Hitler had conquered many States too, but they never did

so too. Therefore, Mr. van Praag discovered the fact that Mongols and Manchurians, after "conquering China," had established their Capitals in China "to rule over China" is really a discovery of a talented man! The fact that Yuan and Qing Dynasties installed their capitals at Peking, explains that the two Dynasties' royal families ruled China as Chinese ruled it, but the royal families of Western European States were deeming themselves to be superior aggressors to oppress and exploit those subjugated States. One case is Chinese themselves ruling their own people, so that Mongols and Manchurians did not ravage the riches of "China," and used it to construct Mongolia and Manchuria to be a flourishing and developed civilized nations; another case is that one people's Royal Family ruled other peoples rather than their own people, so that they ravaged gold, silver, spices and other wealth of other peoples of Asia, Africa and America, and transported back home for reconstructing their own countries to be a civilized rich Empires. Mr. Van Praag having the talent to discover this fact, perhaps he did not taste out the flavour of the conquered Holland by Nazi — Germany. Tertio, Yuan and Qing Dynasties both adopted to a great extent the political system of all the successive Dynasties of China. For Example, in respect of Imperial examination of civil servants — — — an institution beginning from Sui and Tang Dynasties, the organisation of central and local governments and the hierarchical system of governmental officials and freedom of religious belief (Yuan Dynasty worshiped Buddhism and Daoism), the Chinese traditions were respected to a certain extent, especially both Yuan and Qing Dynasties complied with the ancient tradition of giving a title to an Emperor's reign and giving a title to the

dynasty (such as Sui, Tang, Yuan — — — titles of successive dynasties), so that from Xia Dynasty to Qing Dynasty, the titles were connected one another continually without interruption. What Mr. Van Praag says, can not change Chinese traditions which all the Emperors of the successive Dynasties of China complied with, and can not change the continual titles of Emperor's reign of successive Emperors of China. Quarto, Mr. Van Praag acknowledges himself that all the individuals and governments of western European nations deem that the State of Qing Dynasty is China. Because he grumbered at in his book that "much confusion has resulted from the careless and, at times, intentional practice of calling the Qing Empire Chinese" (P. 11). In fact, writings of Westerners and many documents of Western nations' governments, cited by Mr. Van Praag, called government of Qing Dynasty the "government of China" or "Chinese government." But Mr. Van Praag deems all of them were wrong, therefore, he add a parenthesising word (Manchurian) behind the word " Chinese," in order to correct the original manuscripts (for example, see P. 16, 30, 32, 37, 42, etc.). It appears that so many Western people and governments were stupid in calling Qing government Chinese, only Mr. Van Praag single one is clever and sagacious, by adding a parenthesising word, he could easily alter the history of so huge a country as China. How great he is! But, such a mischievous cleverish deed, does it just give a ridiculous laughing stock to people?

Why does Mr. Van Praag in saying that both Yuan and Qing Dynasties had overthrown "China," can demonstrate that Tibet was an "independent State"? Because, being conscious that Yuan Dynasty ruling over Tibet effec-

tively, if he could demonstrate that China had been vanished in Yuan Dynasty, and China had again overthrown Yuan and Qing Dynasties and restored its independence, then, even if one acknowledged the Tibet had been a part of the territory of Yuan Dynasty or Qing Dynasty, Tibet was never an integral part of territory of being vanished China; moreover, because Yuan and Qing Dynasties had already been overthrown, Tibet was no doubt not appertaining to Yuan and Qing Dynasties, therefore, in the nature of things, Mr. Van Praag had made Tibet an independent State! Nevertheless, the above reasoning appears to be an infeasible dexterous trick.

(d) To Distort the Enforcement of Sovereign Rights over Tibet by Yuan and Qing Dynasty to be a Religious Choyon Relationship. In order to prove Tibet is a State, Mr. Van Praag exploits another dexterous trick, that is : he describes the dominating and dominated relationship of the central governments of Yuan and Qing Dynasties with the Tibet region to be the religious Choyon relationship (ie. the relationship between the object of worship and the worshipper). In doing so, Mr. Van Praag denied that Tibet was reigned over by a central royal dynasty, henceforth, demonstrating that Tibet was an independent State. Of course, this argument is an absurd one. For example, Mr. Van Praag asserts the interferences in Tibet by Qing Dynasty during 18th century (1720, 1728, 1750, 1792), to be the relationship of worshipper protecting object of worship. However, the historical facts of these four times of interventions were as following: in 1720 Emperor of Qing Dynasty dispatched a huge army into Tibet to drive away Dzungars who had invaded into Tibet; in 1728 as Kalon Ngabopa rose in rebellion, killed

Khangchennas and Polhanas led his army from Anterior Tibet to pacify the rebellion, and Qing Dynasty also dispatched troops into Tibet, killed Ngabopa and other rebels, at the same time, Court of Qing ordered Polhanas to administrate Tibet affairs, and installed an office of the minister resident in Tibet; in 1750, Gyamey Namgyal comploting with Dzungars tribe of Mongol to rebel against Qing Dynasty, was killed, Seventh Dalai Lama pacified the rebellion of Gyumey Namgyal's remnant followers, and Court of Qing dispatched the governor of Sichuan Celeng leading his troops to go to Tibet to deal with the aftermath of this rebellion, and, in next year, abolishing the institution of Tibetan king, and formally established Kashag — — — the Tibetan local government; in 1791, Gorkhas invaded on a large scale in to Anterior Tibet to plunder the Monastery Tashilhunpo, in 1792, Qing Dynasty dispatched an army to counter attack aggressors victoriously. In these four events, military actions were with the aim to pacify the rebellion of tribes, to prevent tribes of Mongol from disturbing Tibetan Nationality and to maintain the appeasement and order of State, and to resist and to drive out foreign aggressors'troops. It is evident that all these actions were the actions of exercising the territorial sovereignty of the central government of a State. Mr. Van Praag takes this kind of safeguarding the State sovereignty and peaceful life as an action of a worshipper protecting an object of worship, this standpoint of view is absurd and preposterous. But, our question is: why can Mr. Van Praag use the word "Choyon" to distort the history? Two friends of Mr. Van Praag in writing "Introduction" and "Foreword" for his book say: "Choyon relationship. . . was a sui generis relationship without precedent or

parallel, and its scope and relevance has to be appreciated in its own historical context. . . By and large it served Tibet in times of peril, and it began to decline gradually as Tibet, under pressure of circumstances, acquired its own small defence force and also developed relations with other foreign countries." (XXIII) "The substance of the Choyon relations changed." (XIII) In other words, the concept of Choyon can be shifted again and again by people, whenever one want to use certain concept of Choyon is proper, one can shift it into this concept. So that, no woder Mr. Van Praag can freely describes the political relationship of Chinese central government exercising sovereign authority over Tibet — — — a local entity of China, as a religious Choyon relationship! But, how can such a sophistic argument cheat common people?

In short, to sum up, beginning from Yuan Dynasty, China has formed into an integrated multinational state, Tibet has been and is an inseparable part of the territory of China. In spite of Mr. Van Praag using whatever slib tongue to concoct whatever "historical" argument, he can not alter the ironclad fact that Tibet is only an indivisible part of the territory of China.

C. The Historical Fact of Britain's Aggression Against China Can Not be a Legal Argument to Prove That "Tibet Is a State"

After Mr. Van Praag concocts his arguments to testify that Tibet is an "independent State", he beautifys and deforms the historical facts of the aggression against China from nineteenth century by British imperialists, and us-

es these deformed facts as evidences for demonstrating that Tibet at that time had been a "State". He asserts that according to international law, these "historical facts" have constituted the acknowledgement of the so-called "State" as a political entity. This writing of Mr. Van Praag is ingenuously conceived, plausible and in detail, it seems that he has demonstrated irrefutably the existence of Tibet State. However, if one analyses a little this writing, one can see what he verified to be a "Tibet State" is nothing but a mirage.

(a) Mr. Van Praag Recognises Essential Historical Facts of British Imperialists Aggression Against Chinese Territory Tibet. Britain in peddling drugs — — — opium to China in 19th century by means of warships and cannons, began to proceed colonialist aggression against China, including the attempt to invade and occupy the Chinese territory Tibet. All these historical facts can not be denied by whomever, Mr. Van Praag is obliged to acknowledge them too.

After China formed a multi-national Nation — State in Yuan Dynasty, every nationality could live a free and calm life in its own resident region, unless there happened rebellion of tribes or invasion of foreign invaders. From Yuan Dynasty to the end of Qing Dynasty, Tibet was always as such in the whole. Nevertheless, after Britain invaded into India and colonised it, Britain enlarged the sphere of aggression, began to covet Chinese territory Tibet. But, just as Mr. Van Praag points out, Court of Qing made Tibet a "forbidden land", closed its borders to most foreigners, "especially the British and the Russians", during one hundred years (P. 21). However British tried their best to contact with Tibet as the first

step to invade Chinese territory Tibet. Mr. Van Praag admits that Britain "lacking any access to the authorities in Tibet," worrying about that Qing Court would not make concessions, so that Britain dare not to ask "Beijing to open up Tibet to British trade," but, "given the weak position in which Qing Court found itself after the disastrous Opium War and the subsequent pressure caused by western imperialist encroachment in China, concessions were made." (P. 27) Nevertheless, although Qing Court made some concessions, it still objected the aggressive actions of Britain continually, therefore, Britain could not make the Chinese territory Tibet a dependency with such a form as attached to Britain and legally existent according to traditional international law, still less transforming Chinese territory Tibet into a colony directly ruled by Britain. So that, after Qing Dynasty being overthrown and entering into the period of the Republic of China, Britain continued to engage in aggressive activities against Chinese territory Tibet by means of fabricating a "Tibet State" (P. 47—60). Mr. Van Praag knows all these activities. In spite of he deforms these aggressive activities into activities of Britain's safeguarding the "Statehood" of a non-State Tibet, yet he says that "by the time the Thirteenth Dalai Lama took over the reins of government in 1895, no Asian State could escape the attention of the great powers of Europe competing for influence and power. With the erosion of Manchu influence in Tibet, the interest of other Empires increased, for a power vacuum could not exist in the very heart of Asia." (P. 25) So that "in the late nineteenth and twentieth century, Tibet became the unwilling object of contention among the three great Empires of Asia; the Russian, British, and Manchu Empires (P. 26).

Therefore, his distortion can not powder the aggression of Britain against Chinese territory Tibet.

(b) Mr. Van Praag's Legal Arguments of Proving the Existence of Tibet State. The method of demonstration by which Mr. Van Praag proves the existence of "Tibet State" is to put forward some principles of international law concerning which legal fact can demonstrate the existence of a legal entity presumed to be a State, before pointing out some legal facts which can prove the existence of the "Tibet State."

Mr. Van Praag at first developes the principles of international law drawn up by C. C Hyde and others and using it as his further ground of argument, he says: "the conduct of direct and separate relations with the government of a putative State, particularly of such intercourse covers a wide range of affairs, tends, to support that entity's claim to Statehood, for such conduct constitute at last an acknowledgement of the State's existence. The same is true of the conduct of official bilateral relations, especially the sending and receiving of official government envoys, the negotiation and conclusion of agreement, mediation, the insistence upon the international responsibility of the entity in question, and the extension of military aid and other governmental assistance, or the conduct of trade." (P. 99) He mentions too the "principles of international law" compiled by G. B. Davis, L. Oppenheim, G. Venturini and others, deems that "a protectorate is a consensual relationship between two subjects of international law, whereby one (or more) State is legally bound to protect another State from external threat and whereby that same State is made responsible for the external relations of the protected State." (P. 130)

Mr. Van Praag is just mainly on the grounds of these "principles of international law" to demonstrate the existence of "Tibet State". The arguments he proposes are as follows. Primo, "Tibet waged war with the Dogras and the Gurkhas and concluded peace treaties with them in 1842 and 1856 respectively without Imperial assistance or intervention," this fact shows that Tibet was not Qing Emperor's vassal or protectorate, otherwise "Tibet could not have waged these wars on its own," and "the Emperor defaulted, on both occasions, in his obligation to protect Tibet from foreign invaders. Such Imperial inactivity signified an abandonment by the Emperor of his protector's role, at least in practice," moreover, the treaties concluded by Tibetan government with the Dogras and the Gurkhas as well as with Kashmir, "were comprehensive and dealt with Tibet's territorial, commercial, and diplomatic as well as international political relations, and inconsistent with the Manchu protectorate or suzerainty over Tibet." Therefore, "by concluding these treaties with Tibet, its neighbors recognised Tibet's statehood and international personality." (P. 128) Secondo, "the series of agreement concluded by those two powers (China and Britain) in the late nineteenth century, beginning with the special clause appended to the Chefoo convention and ending with the trade regulation of 1893," made it clear that "Tibet was regarded by both parties as a political entity distinct from the Qing Empire," those agreements constituted recognition by Britain of the Tibet's rights to "enter into international agreements" (P. 129—130). Tertio, "the 1904 Englo—Tibetan treaty and the military invasion that preceded it was significant," because the Emperor of Qing Dynasty "did not come to the assistance of Tibet when it

was invaded, and he refused responsibility for the actions of the Tibetans," so that he had abandoned his protecting role" and this bilateral treaty constituted implicit recognition by Britain of Tibet as a State and a subject of international law, and of the Dalai Lama's government as the legitimate government of Tibet," "otherwise, the government of Tibet could not legitimately have transferred to Great Britain the extensive powers specified therein." (P. 131) Quarto, "with the fall of Manchu Empire" in 1912, on 13 February 1913, "the Dalai Lama issued a 'Declaration of Independence', Tibet entered a new phase in its modern history and, against great odds, asserted its independence in the world of the twentieth century." (P. 46—48) After the refusal to sign the convention of the Simla Conference by the government of Yuan ShiKai of the republic of China, Britain and the clique of Dalai signed a bilateral agreement and declared: "Tibet's international Personality, recognised at the start of the conference, remained intact and buttressed by British assurances — — — for what they were worth." (P. 58 — 60) "the legal effect of Great Britain's recognition of Tibet's full independence was to preclude itself from challenging the independence in the future, in other words, it created an estoppel." (P. 138)

(c) An Anatomy to the Arguments of Mr. Van Praag. In spite of the four arguments mentioned above are not all embracing, they represent the main arguments by which Mr. Van Praag uses to demonstrate that during 19th century and first half of 20th century, "Tibet was an independent State." All such arguments seem unassailable, but it seems to us that all of them are but imperialist colonialist aggressors' gangster logic, they can not appeal to refined taste in the presence of righteous and peace —

loving peoples of China.

Primo, Mr. Van Praag distorts and deforms the historical facts before using them as evidences to prove the existence of Tibet State, this is a sinister trick of "cutting ones feet to suit his shoes." For example, Mr. Van Praag says: "Tibet waged war with the Dogras and the Gurkhas and concluded peace treaties with them without Imperial assistance or intervention," but the historical facts are as follows: during the Opium War of aggression against China launched by Britain in 1841, Britain instigated Dogras troops of Kashmir to invade the Ngari region of Tibet, the ministers resident in Tibet Mengbao and Haipu supervised and urged the Anterior Tibet and the Ulterior Tibet to dispatch 3000 troops to resist the enemy troops, killed the chief commander Wazir and annihilated all the main strength of enemy troops, and followed up the victory with hot pursuit, penetrating into Ladakh, but checked by the reinforcements of Kashmir, and the armies of both sides made peace on the spot. Due to Tibet has been an integral part of Chinese territory, local troops of Tibet was the armies of Qing empire then, moreover, the local troops were moved under the supervision and urging of ministers resident in Tibet of Court Qing, so that the so-called "without Imperial assistance or intervention" is purely ungrounded talks. To make peace on the spot and to conclude ceasing—fire treaty are the competence of the military authorities on the frontline, not a peace treaty concluded between two States. In virtue of the Nepal falling into the protectorate of Britain in 1816, in fact the invasion of Gurkha troops into Tibet in 1855 was the aggression of Britain against China, the making peace in 1856 was proceeding according to the order issued by Qing

government, and the peace treaty was signed under the presidency of the ministers resident in Tibet Hetehe, moreover, this treaty was also an unequal treaty concluded under the pressure of aggression against China by Britain and other western powers. For example again, the so-called "Declaration of Independence" was only, in reality, an open letter of the Dalai Lama, in which, there was no inclination to claim independence. The Simla Conference in 1914 was not a "trilateral conference", but only Tibetans as representatives participated the Sino—Anglo bilateral talks. As a result of Mr. Van Praag arbitrarily taking Tibet rather as a State than as a part of Chinese territory, and of his castrating historical facts, thus he distorts all the legal facts, therefore, his argument on the ground of the distorted facts makes his demonstration a pure mirage. Tibet was not originally a protectorate of Qing Dynasty, but one integral part of the territory of Qing Dynasty. When enemy invaded into Tibet region, it was of course obligatory for the local government to resort to forces, so that, fundamentally, there can not be a problem of Qing Emperor "does not assume the duty of protecting Tibet", there can not exist also a problem of whomever "recognising Tibet statehood and international personality".

Secondo, despite of the fact that Mr. van Praag knows clearly that China had been suffered, from 1830s, the aggression of British imperialists followed by other western colonialist States one after another, but, when he proceeds his demonstrations, he abstracts the colonialist aggression contents from the "legal facts" on which he bases, so that he makes all the unequal treaties in question as if they were concluded and agreed upon by free will of

both sides. This method of demonstration of Mr. Van Praag is "only talking deliriums like a open blindman." For example, as the series of agreements beginning with the Chefoo Convention and ending with the trade regulations as mentioned in his secundo demonstration, all of them were colonialist unequal treaties concluded by China under the menace of British imperialists. The characteristic of unequal treaties is that they are mainly the expression of the will and claims of colonialist aggressors, they fundamentally run counter to the will and claims of aggressed peoples. Hence, the series of treaties only illustrated that only Britain deemed that Tibet was a political entity, not both parties thought so. For example again, in the tertio demonstration, he writes: the treaty of 1904 "constituted implicit recognition by Britain of Tibet as a State and a subject of international law." This is possible, because Britain is an aggressor who can do anything. But Mr. Van Praag infers that "otherwise the government of Tibet could not legitimately have transferred to Great Britain the extensive powers specified therein," this inference is a telling bare-faced lie, because he says that the invading army of Britain invaded Lhasa of Tibet in 1903, Dalai Lama fled into interior of China, and it was the British troops compelling the local officials of Tibet to sign Lhasa treaty, but afterwards, the central government of Qing Dynasty did not recognise this treaty too. Therefore, Mr. Van Praag says "otherwise, the government of Tibet could not legitimately have transferred to Great Britain the extensive powers specified therein" is an utter delirium, because these powers were blackmailed from Tibet's local authorities of China by Britain, it was not at all actively transferred to Britain. This is the evidence

which shows that Tibet was not as a subject of international law to sign or participate in an international treaty freely.

Tertio, the fact that Mr. Van Praag takes traditional international law criterion, manifestes that imperialists ever refuse to give up their evil designs of aggression against China Analytically, the arguments mentioned above of Mr. Van Praag are nothing but three steps of aggression against China by Britain in those years of 19th century: first step is trying to establish contacts with Tibet region. Mr. Van Praag says, Britain established non—official intergovernmental contacts with Tibet easily, "once these relations had been established, the Britain attempted to use the dominant position they had secured for themselves in China by means of the 1842 'unequal treaties' in order to gain access to Tibet with the help of the Qing Emperor" (P. 129); second step is to sign various treaties by Britain with Qing government, some provisions of these treaties could be explained as an acquiescence of the "Statehood" of Tibet. Mr. Van Praag explains, the series of agreements from Chefoo Convention to the Trade regulations of 1893, signifies that they "constituted recognition by Britain of the Manchu Emperor's right to enter into international agreement on behalf of Tibet," but "this right was not considered by Britain to belong to the Emperor exclusively," that means Tibet had right to enter into international agreements too, and "these agreements also confirmed that treaties with foreign powers concluded by the Qing Emperor or his government were not valid in Tibet." (P. 129—130) In brief, these treaties were tantamount to both parties took Tibet as a political entity independent of Manchu Empire; third step, in 1904, Britain

directly concluded bilateral treaty with Tibetan locality, this treaty "constituted implicit recognition by Britain of Tibet as a State and a subject of international law, and of the Dalai Lama's government as a legitimate government of Tibet, competent to represent that country internationally as well conclude treaties." The terms of this "treaty are characteristic of instruments establishing a power's sphere of influence. The principal purpose of this treaty was to effectuate the exclusion of other powers from Tibet, and in a positive sense, to secure for the British a privileged position in this State." (P. 131) But, What does it mean" to secure a privileged position"? Mr. Van Praag says: in Russian's view, "Britain's involvement in Tibet, especially the conclusion of the Lhasa convention, amounted to the establishment by Britain of a virtual protectorate," (P. 38) and the protectorate relationship can lead to "incorporation of the protected into the protecting State." (P. 104) To sum up, the steps of Britain's aggression against China were: first, contact; second, independence; third, annexation. Among these steps, the key step is to make or to describe Tibet as an "independent or semi-independent State", because, had Tibet become a State, then, according to traditional international law, imperialist colonialist aggressors could want only invade, ravage, annex Tibet, and China could have no rights to intervene in it.

Nevertheless, it is really strange that the principles of international law compiled by Hyde and others and cited by Mr. Van Praag, just formulated three steps with which one State, longed to occupy a piece of territory of another, ought to comply, ie. at first, she can try to contact with this piece of territory, then to establish various inter-

course relations with it, thus she can instigate it to claim the status of a political entity with Statehood, and afterwards she can conclude treaties with it for establishing protectorate relationship, thus she can at last cut off and occupy this piece of territory of that another State, and this legal process of aggression just the same process as Mr. Van Praag has demonstrated with tremendous efforts concerning Britain making Chinese territory Tibet to be "subject of international law". But, in reality, this is not strange at all, for it turns out that the "principles of international law" compiled by Hyde and others were published about 1940s, but Britain's activities of aggression against China took place in 19th century and in early years of 20th century. So that, we should say that it was not Britain who engaging in activities of aggression were in accordance with the principles of international law compiled by Hyde and others, but actually it was Hyde and others who induced the practices of Britain's aggression against Chinese territory Tibet into rules of traditional international law in the benefits of future colonialist aggressors who can take this rules as legal basis of engaging in aggressive activities. In fact, in 1980s, Mr. Van Praag really finds these "principles of international law" very useful for demonstrating authentically that Britain had made "in accordance with law" the Chinese territory Tibet to be an independent State long long ago. Today, that the People's Republic of China does not recognise Tibet an independent State being considered to be illegal; that the Chinese Liberation Army marched into their own territory Tibet is being considered to be an aggression against "Tibet State". Thus in today of 20th century, Mr. Van Praag accomplishes the second key step for colonialists to aggress against Chinese territo-

ry Tibet again. But, it's a pity that a series of his demonstrations can not alter the ownership of the sovereignty over the part of Chinese territory Tibet, inversely, it exposes before Chinese peoples the steps and tactics of aggression against Chinese territory Tibet by imperialist colonialists, it shows the ugly essences of traditional international law's fooling, bullying and aggressing the States and peoples of third world in its true light.

Mr. Van Praag poses many principles of international law in his book too, as auxiliary arguments to help his demonstration. For example, he says: "the delegation of governmental functions to another State, does not imply a loss of independence, although such delegation may result in a degree of external restraint and deprivation of freedom;" (P. 101) "a distinctive feature of the protectorate is that the protected state retains its Statehood and international personality. The conclusion of the agreement establishing the protectorate as an act of state sovereignty and is consequently governed solely by international law. The agreement is an international instrument that is internationally binding," (P. 103—104) and so on, and he attempts to prove with such "principles" that since Tibet had become a "protected State" of Britain, Tibet had been an "independent State", although "Tibet government held no authority." Such kind of demonstrations are also absurd. Britain engaged aggression against Chinese territory Tibet, and afterwards said: "you see, Tibet is still an independent State!" Such a demonstration, does not it be a gangster logic?

Quardo, a criticism to Mr. Van Praag's demonstration in accordance with principles of modern international law as criterias. As mentioned above, fundamental princi-

ples of modern international law are those of the Charter of the United Nations, among them, the principle of independence of the peoples of colonies and dependencies is a retrospective principle. During several years after drawing up the Charter of the UN, western nations' colonialist rule all over the world had been overthrown on the whole, proves the retroactivity of this principle. This principle simply does not permit to reserve the colonial or semi-colonial rule established in the past. Principles of traditional international law, cited by Mr. Van Praag in his book for proving Tibet an "independent State", were compiled by western scholars and used by western countries as legal basis of establishing colonial, semi-colonial and dependency rule over third world's States. In the wake of the formulation of modern international law and of the overthrow of the world wide colonial and semicolonial rule, all these principles of colonialist aggression are illegal as well as null and void. The fact that Mr. Van Praag reproduces the colonialist aggressive principles for proving that "Tibet is a State", is aimed at legalising the British illegal actions of aggression against China in past, also is an attempt, in 1980s, to revive imperialist aggressor's colonialist rule. But Mr. Van Praag and those who support him are racking their brains in vain, because, in the wake of the overthrow of the world wide colonialist rule established by Britain, why the Britain's recognition of Tibet's full independence could create an estoppel?

D. People's Liberation Army Marching into Tibet A Domestic Affair of China, not Permit Imperialists' Interference

In 1842, imperialists launched War of aggression a-

gainst China, from then on to the Second World war, western colonialist aggressive states came to China in a continuous stream, extorted from our country silver, gold, territory and various privileges, by resorting forces and menacing with forces. People of various nationalities hate colonialist aggressors. The people's democratic revolution led by the Communist party of China, was not only to overthrow the Dynasty of Chiang Kai Shek's family, but also to overturn reactionary dominant class of all China represented by Chiang's Dynasty, as well as to strike down all the colonial and semi-colonial institutions imposed on China by colonialist countries, including abolishing all unequal treaties, recovering Chinese territories leased to them, occupied by them and ceded to them, abolishing all the privileges in China blackmailed by them. After the end of Second world war, the fact that American imperialists supported Chiang Kai Shek to launch a civil war against liberated areas, provoked the People's Liberation Army of China to engage in liberation war. From 1946 to 1951, Liberation Army liberated all Chinese territory except Taiwan and some isles. But not all China was liberated by forces, certain localities were liberated peacefully, for example, the peacefull liberation of Beiping. Tibet was liberated peacefully too. At that time, the Communist party did her best to liberate peacefully unless the reactionaries resisted the liberation army by forces.

Liberation Army of China liberated Tibet in 1950 — 1951. Before and after the liberation of Tibet, a softly worded instrument cited by Mr. Van Praag says that "Tibet is not recognised as a sovereign nation by a large majority of all countries " (P. 186), and Mr. Van Praag him-

self sighs out mournfully that "no government went so far as to formally recognise the Tibet government in exile" (P. 168), only except Mr. Van Praag's explanation that the "Anglo — Tibetan treaty" of 1904 "implies Britain recognising the Tibet's international personality" and "full independence of Tibet" (P. 131, 138). Of course, Tibet is an integral part of China, it is evident that not to recognise Tibet or Tibet government in exile is a friendly act of holding justice, but, even if certain nations recognised it, the Liberation Army of China must liberate Tibet too, it is impermissible for anybody to cut apart Chinese territory. Now it has past forty years since the liberation of Tibet, nevertheless, the remnant or new born colonialists refuse to give up their evil designs, always intend to invade China. And Mr. Van Praag after fabricating the myth of "Tibet being an independent State", produces certain principles of traditional international law compiled by western writers as arguments for condemning China, presses forward steadily, forces China to recognise that Tibet is an "independent State". However, owing to Mr. Van Praag saying at the beginning of this book "international law is an instrument for the resolution of conflicts primarily among States" (P. XVII), and Tibet is not a State, but only a part of Chinese territory, so that, to produce whatever international law to prove so — called Sino — Tibetan conflicts is shooting at random, because, even if there exists any "Sino — Tibetan conflicts", it is still a domestic affair of China, and can not be resolved by means of any international law. However, today, Mr. Van Praag has fabricated a vivid myth of "Tibet State", therefore, we ought to experience his argumens of international law for draw-

ing a lesson of more understanding about how colonialist attempted to aggress against China.

(a) Mr. Van Praag Says: "the Invasion of Tibet by the Armies of the People's Republic of China Was An Illegal Act Under Both Customary and Conventional International law. The Chinese action constituted a violation of all the basic principles of customary international law, such as the principles of State sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity; the prohibition of intervention; and the prohibition of the threat or use of force. The invasion also ran directly counter to the letter and spirit of the covenant of the league of Nations, the Kellogg — Briand Pact, and the Charter of the United Nations" (P. 154). This argument of Mr. Van Praag is utterly wrong. Primo, Tibet is a piece of territory of China, the entering and garrisoning there of the People's Liberation Army of China is to move Chinese troops from one piece of territory of China to another one. This is purely a domestic affair of China, why says invasion? If it is easy for Mr. Van Praag to confuse the "entering and garrisoning " in Tibet of the People's Liberation Army with invasion, then, we are willing to enlighten him with two examples. The entering and garrison in Holland of the troops of Nazi — Germany was invasion in June, 1940; the troops of Dutch East India Company moving from Western Europe to Southern Asia to enter and garrison in Mataram Dukedom and Batam Dukedom of the Java Island in 17th Century was invasion too. Secondo, the liberation of Tibet by the People's Liberation Army of China was just the same as the Liberation Army liberated North — East (Manchuria), Beiping, Jiangsu, Canton etc., was internal affairs of China, be-

cause, there is one principle recognised by Mr. Van Praag: "international law is an instrument of the resolution of conflicts among States." (P. XVII) Tertio, the Liberation Army entering into Tibet does not violate the principles of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, inversely, it was the colonialist troops coming from Europe and entering into Tibet violated the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of China. Mr. Van Praag mentioned the fact that in 1854, Britain offered weapons, instigated Gurkhas to invade into Tibet via British colony India (P. 27), he mentioned too that, in 1904, British army invaded into Tibet and arrived rightly to Lhasa (P. 33—34). We are surprising that when Mr. Van Praag, in mentioning all these out and out invasions, does not say a single word on these invasions which violated the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of China or of Manchu Empire. But, after forty years of People's Liberation Army of China entering into Chinese own territory Tibet in 1950—1951, why does he make a great fanfare that China violated the principles of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity? As Mr. Van Praag says, "independence and sovereignty in the system of international law" is in "the central position", and the system is "created and maintained by sovereign state for their protection," (P. 99) in reading this sagacious opinion, we become not surprising at all, because in 19th century, there were only Western colonialist countries were sovereign States, owing to the system of international law was created and maintained by them to protect them, so that, their invasion into other countries' territory was naturally legitimate. But semi—

colonial State China's troops entered abruptly into the biggest sovereign State — — — Britain's "sphere of influence", does Mr. Van Praag dare to say that Chinese troops entering into it is legitimate? Quarto, Mr. Van Praag says that China violate the covenant of League of Nations, the Kellogg—Briand Pact (otherwise known as the general treaty for the renunciation of war) and the charter of the UN (P. 154). But People's Liberation Army's entering into Tibet is domestic affairs of China, basically can not be governed by any traditional conventions, much less the people's republic of China did not participate the covenant of League of Nations and the Kellogg—Briand convention. Moreover, the League of Nations has been disbanded formally in April, 1946; the convention of the Renunciation of war, formulated under the auspice of the League of Nations had been violated thoroughly by its fourteen signatory States: Japan launched the war of aggression against China in 1937, Germany and Italy unleashed Second World War, and after the end of Second World War, USA proceeded the war of aggression against Korea in order to intervene her domestic affairs, France and USA engaged in the war of aggression against Indochina, Belgium engaged in the war of aggression against Congo, France engaged in the war of aggression against Algeria, Britain launched the war of invading Malouines Islands. . . So many signatory States did not renunciat war at all, but Mr. Van Praag only turn a deaf ear to them, however, the People's Liberation Army of China entered into Chinese own territory in 1950, he makes yet a big fanfare of China's violation of coventional international law. It is quite evident not only that he is making a fool of

Chinese as if they were colonial people, but also that traditional international law is really an instrument of oppressing the third world States and protecting those Western "full sovereign States". Nevertheless, Mr. Van Praag in saying that China had violated the Article 2(7) of the Charter of the UN formulates: "nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State," however that the Chinese army entered and garrisoned into Tibet is just a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of China which is confirmed by the historical facts of several centuries, therefore, fortunately, Mr. Van Praag slap himself's face for his delirium by citing the Charter of the UN.

(b) Mr. Van Praag Says: "China Was Among the Eleven Allied Powers That Set Up the Military Tribunal for the Far East in Tokyo. The People's Republic of China has Supported its establishment" (P. 150), People's Liberation Army's "invasion of Tibet constitute an act of aggression within the meaning of Article 2(2) of the Convention for the definition of aggression of 1933 and a crime against the peace within the meaning of article 6(a) and 5 of the Charter of the international military tribunals at Nuremberg and Tokyo, respectively (P. 154). The first mistake of these arguments is: not only the convention for the definition of aggression of 1933, which has already been null and void, but also the resolution concerning the definition of aggression adopted by the Assembly of the UN in December, 1947, formulated that "aggression is the use of armed force by a state against the sovereignty territorial integrity or political independence of another

State" (the former, Article 2, the later, Article 1), but Chinese army was marching in its own territory Tibet, so that, Mr. Van Praag's reference to the Convention of 1933 is as quite incongruous as horses' jaws don't match cow's heads. Secondly, Mr. Van Praag says, China has committed "a crime against the peace". This assertion is a more grave mistake. Article 39 of the Charter of the UN lays down clearly that "the Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression," that is to say, to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression" is the exclusive competence of the Security Council, Mr. Van Praag goes so far as to take Security Council's job into his own hand, takes the place of Security Council to determine that the Liberation Army of China in entering into its own territory Tibet committed the "crime of breach of the peace", as if the security Council were nothing but a board of directors of his own. The People's Liberation Army of China moved into the territory Tibet of China's own; even if it engaged in the campaign of Chamdo, destroyed main force of the army of Tibet Local government and liberated Chamdo, it is still an domestic affair of China, much more after the people's central government concluded "The Agreement concerning the measures of peaceful liberation of Tibet" with Tibet local government, 23 may, 1951, Tibet was liberated peacefully, we should like to ask: who's peace had been breached by China? Mr. Van Praag abuses provisions of law, and wags his tongue as too freely as to such an extent!

(c) Mr. Van Praag Presses One Step Further. He

poses the theory of Traditional international law concerning the recognition of the modes of acquisition of territory, deems that China did not on any basis of the modes of acquisition of territory acquire the ownership of Tibet. He says: concerning "the modes of acquisition of territory, two elements stand out as the most important; the creation of a title and its maintainance. . . The classical theory of international law recognised five modes by which a State could acquire a legal title to territory; accretion, prescription, conquest (or subjugation), cession, and occupation" (P. 178). "People's Republic of China could not have obtained a legal title to sovereignty over Tibet on the basis either of the military invasion of that State or of the subsequent exercise of a measure of effective control. . . Chinese government does not recognise conquest, annexation or prescription as modes of valid territorial acquisition and furthermore, that it has never claimed to have acquired a title to Tibet through any of these modes" (P. 187 — 188). These arguments of Mr. Van Praag are quite wrong. Among the five modes of acquisition of territory, except accretion, which aggrandizes the territory of one State by the force of nature, the other four modes were the "legalization" of the practices of Western colonialist States' occupation of colonies. Several western European Capitalist States formed into nation—States about in 1500 after the germing of capitalism there. Britain, France, Spain, Portugal and Holland (separated itself from Spain in 1579), were ancient atrocious colonialist powers. After forming themselves into nation—States, their territorial boundaries were fixed as nowadays (naturally Belgium separated from Holland, there were boundary disputes be-

tween Britain and France on the English Channel etc.), therefore, among them, fundamentally there were no question of acquiring the territories one from another, but among them, there happened the question of competition to occupy the immense colonial territories of Asia, Africa and America. Traditional international law rules concerning conquest, occupation, prescription and cession were used by them to legalise their actions of colonialist aggression against economically lagged behind states of Asia, Africa and America, and were also used by them as an instrument to settle the conflicts among them due to their competition to occupy colonies. Today, in 1980s, the colonialist rule of Western nations over Asian, African and American States had been overthrown, western States temporarily dare not to conquest, occupy or invade the territory of third world's States, so that the "legal modes" of acquisition of territory also have no use temporarily, but, Mr. Van Praag arranges an use of having magical effect for these principles of traditional international law, that is :considering that the People's Liberation Army although marched on Tibet, but during last fourty years, China did not according to traditional international law declare that she has "conquered Tibet", therefore, she has not acquired the prescription of occupation, thus, by means of tarditional international law, he pressed China to recognise that Tibet is an "independent State", and thus he fulfills the second step of the trilogy of the tactics of aggression against China. But, unfortunately, Tibet is China's territory, the entering and garrisoning into Tibet by the Liberation Army has nothing to do with the aggressive principles, such as conquering and occupying of west-

ern States.

The ancient civilization tradition of China not permits to make atrocious colonialist aggression as western nations did. In 15th century, after Portugals discovered the shipping line to go to India, Portugals, Hollanders, British, and French ran a ten thousands leagues from western Europe to India and south—Eastern Asia to conquer, occupy colonies; after Columbus discovered the "New continent" America in 1492, Spain, Britain, France and others have vied each other to go to American Continent to conquer and occupy colonies. Also in 15th century, Europeans invaded into Africa to catch negros and to sell them as slaves, to extort gold, spices and ivories and transported it to Europe. From the 18th century, several western European States began to conquer, occupy and partition the land of Africa. Nevertheless, as early as 1405, under the Reign of Yong—Le of Ming Dynasty, Emperor dispatched official Zeng He to sail seven times successively. The fleet of Zeng He had arrived in dozens of States and localities, such as Vietna. , Java, Sumatra, Srilanka. India, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Abas, Arab peninsula, Mogadicio, Mecca, etc. but China was never as Western European States to conquer, occupy, plunder and colonise these States and localities. In making a comparison between those historical facts mentioned above, Mr. Van Praag in saying " China aggress", should have been ashamed! But although China did not and will not make aggression against any one, China can not tolerate foreigners' invasion in Chinese territory. Mr. Van Praag always is in vain to try different ways to describe the Chinese territory Tibet as an "independent State".

(d) Mr. Van Praag Shows His Last Resort: he advocates the "self-determination" of Tibetans. This time, he is based on the instruments of modern international law, such as Article 1 of the Charter of the UN, the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" adopted by the General Assembly of the UN in 1960, etc. these documents seem ought to increase the effectivity of his arguments, but he is wrong once again. The principles of self-determination of Peoples on the modern international law is a principle of ordering the western colonialist States to grant independence to the colonial and dependent peoples under their rule. The legal effect of this principle originated from the triumph of the Allied Front of China, USA, Britain, the Soviet Union and France over the Nazi-Militarist-colonialist aggression front of Germany, Italy and Japan, so that, it is a principle of jus cogens, the title of the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" is a very good annotation of the nature of the UN Charter's principle of self-determination of peoples. Some western scholars explained this principle in various ways with the aim to hinder the peoples of colonial States to get independence, but the world wide colonialist rule has still been overthrown, all of them were in vain. Mr. Van Praag acknowledges himself that "the right to self-determination has not been accorded readily since the Second World War in non-colonial situations" (P. 192). Well, why Mr. Van Praag claims in his book to apply this principle to Chinese territory Tibet which is quite different from ancient colonies of Holland and others?

Conclusion

Notwithstanding Mr. Van Praag's book "The Status of Tibet" demonstrates that Tibet is an "independent State", he himself after all is not a magic master with supernatural powers, he can not take away this huge territory Tibet from the giant China by means of muttering incantations. Nevertheless, this book describes British steps and tactics of aggression against Chinese territory Tibet in 19th century in detail, also describes in penetrating how traditional international law consecrated the aggressive practices of colonialist into legal order, and how it became the legal basis of engaging new colonial aggression, as if the author of this book were an Englishman of 19th century who wrote a confession on "how to aggress against China". Therefore, this book makes us — — — all the nationality peoples living in the age of singing and dancing to extoll the happy time — — — to understand the sufferings and insults imposed upon our peoples by imperialist aggressors in our history. This is what we ought to say many thanks to Mr. Van Praag.

Now, in accordance with the UN Charter's principle of "we the peoples of the United Nations", "live together in peace with one another", our country practices open policy of intercourse friendly with peoples all over the world, and to maintain international peace and security. Those gentlemen who live in 1980s but indulge in wandering on the world of 19th century, seems ought to return in the temporal world to enjoy together with us the peaceful, tranquil and friendly intercourse!

Notes

[1] The East India Company, established in 1690 by Britain, was a colonialist company with the exclusive job of aggression against Indian sub-continent and Middle East Asia.

[2] Thomas Alfred Walker: *A History of the Law of Nations*, p. 212—213.

[3] Pierino Belli: *A Treatise on Military Matters and Warfare*, in Scott; *Classics of International Law*; Conradus Brunus: *De Legationibus*, 1548.

[4] Fraeciscus de Vitoria: *Relectiones Theologicae: De Indis et de Jure Belli*, 1557, in Scott: *Classics of International Law*.

[5] Untill the early years of 20th century, only several western "Christian civilised nationa" were full equal States, the States of Asia, Africa and America were unequal to them.

[6] Triepel : *Le Raports entre le droit Interne et le Droit International*, in *Recueil des cours d'Academie de Droit International*, 1923—I, Vol. 1, p. 82.

[7] George Scelle: *precis de Droit des Gens, Principes et systema — tique*, Vol. 1. 1932, p. 143; *Droit International public: Manued Elementaire avec les Texts Essentiels*, 1944, section III, Le Regime Colonial, p. 156—157. Kunz; *The Crisis and Transformations of the Law of Nations*, in RCADI, 1955—II, Vol. 88, p. 9—10.

[8] Frederick Mari van Asbeck: *Le Regime des Etrangers dans les Colonies*, in RCADI, 1937—III, Vol. 61, p. 6.

[9] J. —C. Witenberg: *De Grocius a Nuremberg, Quelques Reflexions*, in *Revue Generale de Droit International Public*, 1947, p. 99—100.

[10] H. E. H. Mosler: *The International Society As a Legal Community*, in RCADI, 1974—iv, Vol. 140, p. 31—32; Riccardo Monaco: *Le caractere Constitutionnel des Acts Institutifs d'Organisations Internationales*, in *Melanges Offerts a Charles Rousseau, La Communaute Internationale*, 1974, p. 172.

[11] Raport de Charles Visscher, in *Annuaire de i'Institut de*

Droit International, 1947, p. 155.

[12] *The Charter of the UN*, Preface and Article 1(2).

[13] *Basic Documents in International Law*, ed. by Ian Brownlie, p. 187—188.

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

中国藏学研究论文集 /陈观胜等译. —北京:中国
藏学出版社,1996.5

ISBN 7—80057—247—1

I. 中… II. … III. 藏学—研究—中国—文集 IV. K281.4—53
中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(96)第 04336 号

中国藏学研究论文集

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张祖极 副主编

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中国藏学出版社出版

(中国北京亚运村邮局 9704 信箱)

邮政编码:100101

中国国际图书贸易总公司发行

(中国北京车公庄西路 35 号)

北京邮政信箱第 2820 号 邮政编码:100044

1996 年(大 32 开)第一版

(英)

ISBN 7—80057—247—1/Z · 115(外)

03600(精)

