

神戸市外国語大学 学術情報リポジトリ

The Political Relationship between Tibet and the Qing Dynasty in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century and the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis How bka' -blon was Chosen

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2014-03-01 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: Komatsubara, Yuri メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://kobe-cufs.repo.nii.ac.jp/records/1949

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 International License.



The Political Relationship between Tibet and the Qing Dynasty in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century and the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis How *bka'-blon* was Chosen

Yuri Komatsubara

Meiji University

1. Introduction

In recent years, significant advances have been made in understanding the relationship between Tibet and the Qing dynasty. Ishihama (2001) observed that from the late sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, Tibetan Buddhist princes—Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchurian princes—highly valued *chos-srid*, literally the “Buddhist Government.” This opinion gave us a new point of view about the relationship between Tibet and the Qing dynasty. Oka (2002) noted that the Qing Emperor had three faces: the first was that of a ruler of imperial China; the second was that of a *han* of Manchuria and Mongolia; and the last was that of a supporter of Buddhism in the Tibetan Buddhist world—that is, the Qing Emperor behaved as a supporter of Buddhism in Tibet. In the field of study of Qing history, this concept is common today. On the other hand, the Chinese common view is that the two regulations in 1751 and 1793, which were established by the Qing, indicate that the Qing court became more influential in Tibetan politics.¹ However, I consider the opinions above to be only concepts, and need to verify the actual relationship between Tibet and the Qing dynasty through case studies. Accordingly, this study investigates how the *bka'-blon*, a government minister of the Dalai Lama’s government, was chosen. Many Chinese studies have stressed that the Qing Emperor appointed *bka'-blon* based on these regulations, meaning that the Qing really influenced Tibetan politics. The *bka'-blon*, therefore, is an important key to understanding not only Tibetan politics, but also the relationship between Tibet and the Qing dynasty. However, I consider that many differences should have existed between the contents of these regulations and the actual

¹ See Wu and Song (1989); Zhang Wuxin (1998); Zhang Yongjiang (2001).

process of choosing *bka'-blon*. Nevertheless, few studies have examined the *bka'-blon* itself.² We need more specific studies on *bka'-blon*.

For the purpose of this paper, I analyze the way *bka'-blon* was chosen by examining the Chinese documents mainly written in Manchu and Chinese, and reconsider the relationship between Tibet and the Qing dynasty in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century.

2. How *bka'-blon* was chosen from 1751 to 1793

2.1 Who was the *bka'-blon*?

The *bka'-blon* was a government minister of the Dalai Lama's government. It is said that the *bka'-blon* began to play an important role in Tibetan politics in 1720.³ After the Dzungar Mongols withdrew from central Tibet, the Tibetan political system was renewed, and the government, which was constructed by four *bka'-blons*, was formed. Later, the confrontation among the *bka'-blons* evolved into the civil war in the Dbus and Gtsang districts (1727–1728), and the member of the *bka'-blons* were renewed. Finally, Pho-lha-nas, one of the *bka'-blons*, became the Tibetan king. After that, the *bka'-blon* played an important role in Tibetan politics under the Tibetan kings Pho-lha-nas and 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal. On the other hand, the Qing court sent two *ambans* to Lhasa formally after the civil war. They played a role in negotiating with the Dalai Lama's government.⁴

In 1750, two *ambans* killed the Tibetan king 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal, and they were also killed by supporters of 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal. In that situation, the Qing court sent the army and suppressed the disturbance. As a result, in 1751, a new political system emerged in Tibet: the Tibetan king was abolished, the seventh Dalai Lama became the head of the government, and four *bka'-blons*—three laymen and one monk⁵— organized the ministry named *bka'-shag* with the support of the Qing court. Since then, the *bka'-blon* has played an important role in Tibetan politics.

This ministry held a council system of four *bka'-blons* and submitted a final ruling to the Dalai Lama. This means that every *bka'-blon* was equal politically, and no one

² Komatsubara (2010) analyzed how *bka'-blon* was chosen from 1751 to 1793, specifically.

³ As Katagiri (2009: 4) noted, we can find the title of *bka'-blon* before 1720; however, we need more study to know how *bka'-blon* played a role in Tibetan politics at that time.

⁴ There are many studies about the *amban* in China. They consider *amban* a symbol that the Qing ruled Tibet, and analyze the *amban*'s authority in every period by the regulations. See Wu and Song (1989); Zhang (1998).

⁵ Yamaguchi (1987: 216–217) noted that the *bka'-shag*, organized by three laymen and one monk, followed the political system of three *blons* and one *zhang*, in the age of Khri-srong lde-btsan in the eighth century.

had special power like the Tibetan king. Moreover, they did not have their own jurisdictions in Tibet, unlike the former *bka'-blons*.

2.2 How *bka'-blon* was chosen from 1751 to 1793

In 1751, the Qing court also established article 13 of the Tibetan regulations. In this regulation, the process for choosing *bka'-blon* was also defined in article 7, and the text is as follows:

If a vacancy of *bka'-blon* occurs, the Dalai Lama and the *ambans* consult together to appoint a new *bka'-blon* and send a letter to *Lifanyuan*⁶ begging the Qing Emperor's permission.⁷

The Dalai Lama and the *ambans* chose a candidate and begged the Qing Emperor's permission. In other words, the Qing Emperor had final appointive power to choose *bka'-blon*.

On the other hand, in this era, it is known that *bka'-blon* was a hereditary position among high-ranking Tibetan aristocracy. Analyzing the *bka'-blons* who assumed office from 1728 to 1792, three out of four of the *bka'-blons*, except for *bka'-blon bla-ma*, were from the Thon, Dga'-bzhi, Mdo-mkhar, and Bsam-grub pho-brang (Bsam pho) families (see Table 1). The former three families belong to *sde-dpon*, which is a group of high-ranking aristocracy, and the latter one belongs to *yab-gzhis*, which is a group of noble aristocracy from which every Dalai Lama was born.⁸

Then, I have a question: How to link article 13 of the Tibetan regulations in 1751 and the hereditary nature of *bka'-blon*? To find the answer, I use the Manchu and Chinese documents, which were exchanged between the Qing emperor and *ambans*, to analyze the actual way *bka'-blon* was chosen in that period.

⁶ A central government agency of the Qing court, which deal with the works of Mongol, Tibet, Qinghai and Uyghur.

⁷ Yuanyilai vol.2: 553-554.

⁸ About *sde-dpon* and *yab-gzhis* families, see Petech (1973: 22–87).

Table 1: the *bka'-blons* from 1728 to 1792

	family name	<i>bka'-blon</i> <i>bla-ma</i>	name	term	notice	sources
1	Mdo-mkhar		Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal	1728-63	Retired because of the mental illness. A grandfather of Bsod-nams dbang-rgyal.	DPN: 245, Srid-zhi nyi-ma1989: 143
2	Thon		Sri-gcod tshe-brtan	1729-65	Became <i>bka'-blons</i> because of a big effort in the civil war 1727-1728.	Petech1973: 53, Srid-zhi nyi-ma1989: 143
3	Dga'-bzhi /Rdo-ring		Rnam-rgyal tshe-brtan	1731-39	Nephew of Khang-chen-nas and a big brother of Gung paNDita.	Huangchao vol. 3, DPN: 30, Srid-zhi nyi-ma 1989: 143
4	'Brong-rtse		Dbang-rgyal rab-brtan	1734-50	Chinese name: 布隆贊. Retired because of being blind.	Shilu vol. 385-12, Petech 1973: 132
5	Dga'-bzhi /Rdo-ring		Mgon-po dngos-grub rab-brtan (Gung paNDita)	1739-82	A little brother of Rnam-rgyal tshe-brtan. Retired because of being injured by a fall from the horse and his post was inherited by his son.	DPN: 194, Srid-zhi nyi-ma1989: 143
6	Ldum-ra khang-gsar	○	Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan	1751-67	<i>Bka'-blon bla-ma</i> . the former mgron-gnyer of pho-ta'ala palace.	Shilu vol. 386-16, Petech1973: 217, Srid-zhi nyi-ma1989: 143
7	Bsam-grub pho-brang		Kun-dga' bstan-'dzin	1763-73	Brother of the seventh Dalai Lama. The successor of Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal.	Huangchao vol. 3, Srid-zhi nyi-ma1989: 143
8	Thon		Srid-zhi dbang-'dus	1766-87	A son of Sri-gcod tshe-brtan. died in 1787.	DPN: 245, Srid-zhi nyi-ma1989: 143
9		○	Bskal-bzang yon-tan	1767-73	<i>Bka'-blon bla-ma</i> . the former mgron-gnyer of pho ta'ala palace.	Petech1973: 218
10	Bsam-grub pho-brang	○	Bskal-bzang bstan-'dzin rnam-rgyal	1773-78	<i>Bka'-blon bla-ma</i> . A son of Kun-dga' bstan-'dzin and a brother of Bkra-shis rnam-rgyal. Resigned in 1779 and went to Beijing. Died in 1788.	Petech1973: 218, Srid-zhi nyi-ma1989: 143
11	Mdo-mkhar		Bsod-nams dbang-rgyal	1773-88	Grandson of Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal. Became <i>bka'-blon</i> when he was 17 years old. Died in 1788.	Huangchao vol. 3, Srid-zhi nyi-ma1989: 143
12		○	Bskal-bzang rnam-rgyal	1779-92	<i>Bka'-blon bla-ma</i> . died in 1792.	Petech: 218
13	Dga'-bzhi /Rdo-ring		Bstan-'dzin dpal-'byor	1782-91	A son of Gung paNDita. he was dismissed in 1792.	DPN: 196 Petech: 55-57, Srid-zhi nyi-ma: 143
14	Bsam-grub pho-brang		Bkra-shis rnam-rgyal	1788-89	A son of Kun-dga' bstan-'dzin. successor of Srid-zhi dbang-'dus.	Huangchao vol. 3, Srid-zhi nyi-ma: 143
15	Gyu-thog		Bkra-shis don-'grub	1788-92	A successor of Bsod-nams dbang-rgyal.	DPN: 245, Srid-zhi nyi-ma1989: 143
16	Hor-khang (gsar)		Bsod-nams bkra-shis	1789-92	He was dismissed in 1792. Hor-khang family is established by the little brother of Pho-lha-nas.	Petech1973: 153, Srid-zhi nyi-ma1989: 143
17		○	Byams-pa stobs-ldan	1791-1808?	It is possible that he became an acting <i>Bka'-blon bla-ma</i> in 1791.	Petech1973: 219-220

2.3 The actual way *bka'-blon* was chosen from 1751 to 1793

Analyzing the Manchu and Chinese documents, the actual way of choosing *bka'-blon* from 1751 to 1793 becomes clear, as follows:

- 1) The Dalai Lama and the *ambans* consult together and advance a candidate for *bka'-blon*.
- 2) Then, the *ambans* send to the Qing court a list on which is written three candidates' names, their family names, ages, their present posts, how long they have served in those posts and their personal reputations.
- 3) Wait for the Qing Emperor's decision.

The Dalai Lama and the *ambans* chose not just one but three candidates and wrote a list of the three candidates' names, their family names, ages, present posts, family line, and personal reputations. This information was not written in article 13 of the Tibetan regulations.

I note the following two cases (see Table 2 and 3): Table 2 is a list of the candidates for *bka'-blon* in 1787 (September, Qianlong 52th year). After *bka'-blon* Srid-shi dbang-'dus died in 1787, a new *bka'-blon* was needed. At that time, the *ambans* also sent to the Qing court a list of three candidates' names with their backgrounds written as above. The person listed first was Bkra-shis rnam-rgyal, who was a son of Kun-dga' bstan-'dzin and a member of the Bsam-pho family, which produced the seventh Dalai Lama. He became the new *bka'-blon* the next year. This is a case in which a son assumed his father's position of *bka'-blon* after his death.

Table 3 is a list of the candidates for *bka'-blon* in 1788 (March, Qianlong 53rd year) which is the case of choosing the successor to Bsod-nams dbang-rgyal. On this list, Bkra-shis don-'grub, a member of Gyu-thog family, was listed first (see Table 3) and became the new *bka'-blon* later. His father did not hold the position of *bka'-blon*, but his great-great-grandfather was *bka'-blon*. We can also find his name, which was the third candidate on the following list (see Table 2).

Table 2 : The candidates for *bka'-blon* in 1787 (乾隆 52 年)

	name	family line	age	present post	period of reign	family name	personal reputation	inauguration
1	Bkra-shis rnam-rgyal	A nephew of the seventh Dalai Lama and a son of Kun-dga' bstan-'dzin.	47	unknown	unknown	Bsam-grub pho-brang	Stammer a little and well-versed in matters.	○
2	Rab-brtan dbang-po	A grandson of Sri-gcod tshe-brtan, the late <i>bka'-blon</i> and a son of the former <i>bka'-blon</i> Srid-zhi dbang-'dus.	42	<i>sde-pa</i>	unknown	Thon	Faithful and popular.	
3	Bkra-shis don-'grub	His great-great-grandfather Blo-bzang dngos-grub was <i>bka'-blon</i> . His great-grandfather, grandfather and father received a post of <i>mda'-dpon</i> .	30	<i>mda'-dpon</i> of Gtsang	unknown	Gyu-thog	Clear-headed and well-versed in matters.	

Note. Manwen Lufu 141-2461, 26 Sep. 1787.

Table 3: The candidates for *bka'-blon* in 1788 (乾隆 53 年)

	name	family line	age	present post	period of reign	family name	personal reputation	inauguration
1	Bkra-shis don-'grub	His great-great-grandfather Blo-bzang dngos-grub was <i>bka'-blon</i> and great-grandfather, grandfather and father received a post of <i>mda'-dpon</i> .	31	<i>mda'-dpon</i> of Gtsang	unknown	Gyu-thog	Clear-headed and well-versed in matters.	○
2	Rdo-rje tshe-ring	A nephew of <i>bka'-blon</i> bla-ma Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan.	39	<i>sde-pa</i>	unknown	Kgri-smon	Faithful and well-versed in matters.	
3	Phun-tshogs dbang-phvug	A grandson of the former <i>bka'-blon</i> Dbang-rgyal tshe-brtan.	39	<i>rtsis-dpon</i>	unknown	'Brong-rtshe	Serious and well-versed in matters.	

Note. Manwen Lufu 140-2684, 28 Mar. 1788.

In the previously mentioned case of 1787 (Table 2), Emperor Qianlong also said as follows: “Why didn't you write Rab-brtan dbang-po at the top of the list?”⁹ Rab-brtan dbang-po was a son of Srid-zhi dbang-'dus, who was the previous *bka'-blon* just passed away. Emperor Qianlong suggested that if they wished to appoint Rab-brtan dbang-po the next *bka'-blon*, they must write his name at the top of the list. In brief, Emperor Qianlong

⁹ Manwen Lufu 141-670 (6 Feb. Qianlong 53rd year/1788, the letter from *amban* Qingling and Yamantai).

admitted the hereditary nature of the *bka'-blon*. Otherwise, it became clear that the person listed first was the next *bka'-blon* that Tibet recommended. In conclusion, in article 13 of the Tibetan regulations in 1751, the Qing Emperor had the final appointive power for *bka'-blon*. In actuality, he just confirmed the person that Tibet recommended.

2.4 Emperor Qianlong regarded the Dalai Lama's opinion

It is a fact that Emperor Qianlong considered the Dalai Lama's opinion important when he chose a candidate.

In 1788, *bka'-blon khri-pa* (chairman of *bka'-blons*) Bsod-nams dbang-rgyal took ill, and it was necessary to choose a new one. Among the other *bka'-blons*, *bka'-blon bla-ma* Bskal-bsang nam-rgyal, who was 53 years old and had a career of 11 years, seemed to be the most suitable person for the next *bka'-blon khri-pa*.¹⁰ However, there was an objection that a monk should not be concerned with laymen's work. Bkra-shis nam-rgyal had just assumed his position, and Bstan-'dzin dpal-'byor was 28 years old and had only 6 years of work experience as *bka'-blon*. He was too young and had too little experiences to hold a responsible position like *bka'-blon khri-pa*. At last, the *ambans* sent Emperor Qianlong a list on which was written information about three *bka'-blons* and begged the Emperor's decision.

Emperor Qianlong replied as follows:

amban Qingling and the others reported that *bka'-blon* Bsod-nams dbang-rgyal took ill and retired from his post. By another letter, they asked who is the best for *bka'-blon khri-pa*. They took halfway measures. Who is the best? They should explain the Dalai Lama's opinion.¹¹

Emperor Qianlong criticized the *ambans* because they had not informed him of the Dalai Lama's opinion. From these communications, it is clear that Emperor Qianlong respected the Dalai Lama's opinion when he made a decision. Then, the *ambans* asked the Dalai Lama's opinion, and the Dalai Lama referred to the selection of a new *bka'-blon* as follows:

The Dalai Lama said, "Those three *bka'-blons* took their posts with Emperor Qianlong's nominated mercy. Every *bka'-blon* has been making an effort to do

¹⁰ DPN: 552; Komatsubara (2010: 66–67).

¹¹ Manwen Lufu 142–1328 (21 Jun. Qianlong 53rd year/1788, the letter from *amban* Qingling and Yamantai).

their official works, because they are very impressed with your deep mercy. Whomever Emperor Qianlong appoints, every *bka'-blon* will be able to do his best as a new *bka'-blon khri pa*.”¹²

The Dalai Lama said that every *bka'-blon* would be able to do his best as *bka'-blon khri ba* and put the choice into the Emperor's hands. It is remarkable that the Dalai Lama saved Emperor Qianlong's face, who had asked his opinion. From these words, we know that they respected each other.

Finally, Emperor Qianlong nominated Bstan-'dzin dpal-'byor as *bka'-blon khri-pa*. In other words, owing to the Emperor's nomination, Bstan-'dzin dpal-'byor was able to be *bka'-blon khri-pa* in spite of his young age and short career.

3. A reconsideration of how *bka'-blon* was chosen after the first Tibet–Gurkha war in 1788

After the first Tibet–Gurkha war broke out in 1788,¹³ the Qing court reconsidered how to treat Tibet. Emperor Qianlong explained how to choose *bka' - blon* as follows:

That is to say, any *bka'-blon*, *mda'-dpon*, and *sde-pa chen-po* are responsible for the affairs of the Tibetan government. Until now, if there was a vacancy of these posts, we appointed a son of the predecessor by following the old rule. Now, if we revise all rules, some people will hold tenaciously to the old rule. On the other hand, if we appointed a son of the predecessor by following the old rule, it really seems hereditary and we will certainly employ a bad person. It is useless for Tibetan politics. From now on, even if there is a vacancy, we should consider whether or not the son is clever first of all, and then decide. We can appoint a person who is good at working, but cannot do it if the person has no ability. Never show mercy to them.¹⁴

This remark was based on the situation in which someone young of aristocratic heritage took his father's post, and it influenced Tibetan politics badly (Komatsubara 2010: 63). I present the two cases: first, Bsod-nams dbang-rgyal, who was a grandson

¹² Manwen Lufu 142–1328 (21 Jun. Qianlong 53rd year/1788, the letter from *amban* Qingling and Yamantai).

¹³ Gurkha, who was a ruler of Nepal, attacked Tibet in 1788 because of problems of trade, coin, and the inheritance of the third Panchen Lama. About this war, see Sato (1986a: 521–597).

¹⁴ Balbu vol. 17: 12–13 (18 Feb. Qianlong 54th year/1789).

of the late *bka'-blon* Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, obtained a position of *bka'-blon* at the age 17 with little official experience. It is told that Gurkha invaded Tibet because he conspired with *sde-pa* (headman) of the Gnya'-nang province and imposed heavy taxes on Nepalese merchants. Second is Don-'grub bkra-shis, who was a *sde-pa* of the Gtsang distinct and resigned in 1787, after which 10-years-old brother took over his position, as he pretended to be 17 years old.¹⁵

From his remarks, we can know that Emperor Qianlong still admitted that following the custom of choosing *bka'-blon* was hereditary, but he stressed the necessity of checking whether or not a person was clever, and had the ability to work in government before choosing *bka'-blon*.

Therefore, the Qing court made a new measure for Tibet: article 19 of the Tibetan remedial measures in 1789. The new way of choosing *bka'-blon* is also provided in this measure:

If there is a vacancy of *bka'-blon*, we have to select carefully and approve a candidate. If he is young and has no faculty, we should make him study first, and after that, reconsider appointing him. Although the vacancy is left by his father, you are never allowed to succeed to it unconditionally. Don't make wrong choice.¹⁶

In shortly, this regulation remarks that if a son succeeded to his father's high post, they may appoint him after he studies and acquires the knowledge. Nevertheless, we should pay attention that it does not prohibit the heredity of a high post like the *bka'-blon* itself.

4. How *bka'-blon* was chosen after article 29 of the imperial regulations for Tibet in 1793

4.1 Article 29 of the imperial regulations for Tibet in 1793

After the second Tibet–Gurkha war (1791–1793) was over,¹⁷ the Qing court reconsidered Tibetan politics and made article 29 of the imperial regulations for Tibet.

¹⁵ Xizang Dang 1710–4 (the book of Nov. to Dec. Qianlong 53rd year/1788); Balbu vol. 14-17 (11 Dec. Qianlong 53rd year/1788).

¹⁶ Balbu vol. 22-22 (13 Jun. Qianlong 54th year/1789).

¹⁷ Gurkha reattached Tibet in 1791 and invaded Bkra-shis lhun-po monastery. At this, the Qing court sent a large military to defeat Gurkha. About this war, see Rose (1971); Sato (1986b: 597–740). Besides these, there are a number of other studies.

The new rule for how to choose *bka'-blon* was written in article 11. The content of article 11 is as follows:

If there is a vacancy of *bka'-blon*, the *ambans* and the Dalai Lama choose two persons from *mda'-dpon*, *rtsis-dpon*, and *phyag-mdzod-pa* on the basis of their talent and achievements and send a letter to the Qing Emperor to beg his decision.¹⁸

Compared with the previous regulation, clearer conditions were written for choosing, like the number of candidates, category, and background. Srid-zhi nyi-ma stated that this regulation caused the hereditary nature of *bka'-blon* to stop, basically, in the latter part of the Qing dynasty (Srid-zhi nyi-ma 1989:142). However, I found two cases in which a son took his father's post in spite of the regulation. First, Mi-'gyur bsod-nams dpal-'byor, who was a son of Bstan-'dzin dpal-'byor, became *bka'-blon* in 1805, but he took his post a while after his father resigned.¹⁹ Second, Don-grub rdo-rje, who was a son of Kun-dga' dpal-'byor, held the position of *bka'-blon* in 1806. That is to say, this regulation did not explicitly forbid the heredity of *bka'-blon*, but, in actuality, this regulation excluded a young son from taking his father's post hereditarily. On the other hand, it was possible for a son to inherit his father's post if he was satisfied with the condition of the regulation.

4.2 The actual way *bka'-blon* was chosen after 1793

From Manchu and Chinese documents, which were the letters exchanged between the Qing emperor and *ambans* in the nineteenth century, I analyze the actual way of choosing *bka'-blon* in that period as follows:

- 1) Not only *mda'-dpon*, *rtsis-dpon*, and *phyag-mdzod pa*, but an official who has a four rank, like *phogs-dpon*, a military leader, was chosen as *bka'-blon*.
- 2) Dalai Lama and the *ambans* made a list on are written which two, full and sub-, candidates' names, their the family names, ages, their present posts and

¹⁸ Liao, Li Y and Li F (2006: 67).

¹⁹ Srid-zhi nyi-ma (1989: 142) observed that Dbang-phyug rgyal-po, who was a son of Don-grub rdo-rje, became *bka'-blon* in 1843. However, Petech (1973: 15) noted that Dbang-phyug rgyal-po was not a son but a son-in-law of Don-grub rdo-rje. For this reason, this case does not fulfill the hereditary tradition of a son taking his father's post.

how long they work at their posts, when they began to work, and their personal reputations.

3) Send to the Qing court to submit to the Qing Emperor's decision.

I call attention to the following new points: first, although article 29 of the imperial regulations for Tibet ruled that *bka'-blon* is chosen from officers of *mda'-dpon*, *rtsis-dpon*, and *phyag-mdzod pa*, I found four *phogs-dpons* were chosen as candidates of *bka'-blons* because of their efforts in the wars (see Table 4). *Phogs-dpon* also has a four rank like *mda'-dpon*, *rtsis-dpon*, and *phyag-mdzod pa*, so it is possible that *phogs-dpon* could become a candidate without objections. Second, three candidates decreased to two, and the number of candidates were written in the article. The two candidates were categorized as full and sub-, and I could check twenty-two cases of it (see Table 4).

In additions, there are the other distinctive features of the actual way of choosing *bka'-blon*. I found eight cases in which a sub-candidate became the next or later full candidate (see Table 4). For example, Bsod-nams bkra-shis was a sub-candidate in 1845, and he also became a full candidate in the next year. The information that he used to be a sub-candidate was also written in the list that *ambans* sent to the Qing Emperor.

I can check this actual way in the *amban* Manqing's letter to Emperor Xianfeng, written in January 1859 as follows:

···excluding Rdo-rje rgyal-po, who is a four-ranked *mda'-dpon* and became a second candidate twice, and who could not be made a full candidate because of illness, I respectfully recommend Rnam-rgyal dbang-'dus rdo-rje, a four-ranked *rtsis-dpon*, as a full candidate, because he is young, hard-working, and making efforts in management.²⁰

In this letter, *amban* Manqing referred especially to Rdo-rje rgyal-po, who became a sub-candidate twice, and who could not be made a full candidate because of his illness. This means precisely that it was customary in that era for a sub-candidate to become the next full one.

²⁰ Gongzhongdang 010076 (27 Jan. Xianfeng 9th year/1859, the letter from *amban* Manqing).

4.3 An extra case of no list and only one candidate

As the following case shows, there was also a pattern where there was no list of candidates, and only one candidate was recommended:

Because Spel-shi, four-ranked *mda'-dpon* of Dbus district, had made a big effort in the Dogra war²¹ last year, we *ambans* recommend him as a next *bka'-blon*, and Emperor Daoguang had already had allowed it before.²²

Spel-shi was recommended as the next *bka'-blon* for his military exploits.²³ In this case, there was only one candidate, and no list was sent to the Qing Emperor.

There is another example of Rgyal-mtshan dngos-grub, as follows:

Rgyal-mtshan dngos-grub, four-ranked *phogs-dpon* and a title of second class *taiji* (二等台吉), had made a big effort attacking Brag-gyab,²⁴ and the former *amban* Qishan recommended him as the next *bka'-blon* with priority if there were a vacancy and the Qing Emperor approved it.²⁵

Because Rgyal-mtshan dngos-grub had made a big effort controlling the battle of Brag-gyab, *amban* Qishan recommend him as the next *bka'-blon* if there were a vacancy and the Qing Emperor approved it, too. I can confirm that Rgyal-mtshan dngos-grub became a *bka'-blon* later. Both of them were recommended as the next *bka'-blon* without a candidate's list, because they had distinguished themselves in war.

4.4 How *amban* played a role in choosing *bka'-blon*

From the above study, I can show the *amban*'s two roles in choosing *bka'-blon*. First, the *ambans* selected a *bka'-blon* candidate with the Dalai Lama. Second, they sent a list in which the candidates' information was written to the Qing Emperor begging his decision, using a messenger between Tibet and the Qing court to report a new candidate

²¹ The Sikh and Ladakh armies attacked western Tibet in 1841. The Dalai Lama's government sent the army to Nubra and fought a battle. In the next year, they concluded the treaty. See Shakabpa (1967).

²² Hanwen Lufu 405007057 (7 Nov. Daoguang 22th year/1842, the letter from *amban* Mengboo and *amban* Haiboo).

²³ Spel-shi also participated in the conclusion of the treaty in the Dogra war. In spite of this instruction, I could not confirm whether Spel-shi became *bka'-blon* after all.

²⁴ Brag-gyab is a place in Khams district.

²⁵ Gongzhongdang 405011028 (27 Dec. Daoguang 30th year/1850, the letter from *amban* Mutonnga and *amban* Eshungga).

to the Qing court and to receive the reply. Besides these, there is another role, as seen in the following case of the registration of Sri-gcod tshe-brtan:

The other day, Demo *hothogtu*²⁶ sent us the guaranteed letter that *bka'-blon* Sri-gcod tshe-brtan was ill and begging forgiveness to retire from his work. After receiving this letter, we sent *youji* (遊擊)²⁷ Siyoo tai he to check immediately whether or not Sri-gcod tshe-brtan's illness was real. He reported that Sri-gcod tshe-brtan had gone into trances and that he was really ill. Therefore, as Demo *hothogtu*'s apply, we discussed a successor to Sri-gcod tshe-brtan with the Dalai Lama and Demo *hothogtu* ...²⁸

This case indicates that when a *bka'-blon* resigned because of illness, the *amban* sent *youji* to check whether the illness was real or not.²⁹ Considering that *ambans* did not always send *youji* to check whether *bka'-blon* were ill or not, it seems that the *amban* sent *youji* only when it was doubtful whether he really was ill. This means that *ambans* prepared for the election of *bka'-blon* before consulting together with the Dalai Lama and putting up a candidate for *bka'-blon* smoothly.

There is a pattern of *amban* objecting to Tibet's request. In 1842, the second Tshe-smon-gling who was *rgyal-tshab* at that time³⁰ wrote the *amban* a letter to recommend Rnam-rgyal dbang-'dus rdo-rje as a *bka'-blon* or *bde-dpon*, because his father, *bka'-blon* 'Grur-med tshe-dbang dpal-'byor had been distinguished in war and had died. However, the *ambans* refused his offer as follows:

Bka'-blon has a responsibility for conducting all matters of the Dalai Lama's government, unlike a military officer just commanding army. If we appoint his son [= Rnam-rgyal dbang-'dus rdo-rje] as the next *bka'-blon*, this treatment is well too much for him. ...After promoting *mda' dpon* Spel-shi as *bka'-blon*, we set

²⁶ *hothogtu* is a title that the Qing Emperor gave for virtuous *sprul-sku*. The seventh De-mo *hothogtu*, blo-bzang thub-bstan 'jigs-med rgya-mtsho, was *rgyal-tshab*, a regent of the Dalai Lama's government, at that time. When the Dalai Lama was not present or was young, *rgyal-tshab* had political power and decided on a candidate for *bka'-blon* instead of the Dalai Lama.

²⁷ *youji* (遊擊) is a Chinese military commander who had a sub three rank (從三品).

²⁸ Manwen Lufu 185-1436 (2 Nov. Jiaqing 19th year/1814, the letter from *amban* Himing and *amban* Kesike).

²⁹ I found four similar cases in the nineteenth century: see Manwen Lufu 189-3335 (7 Mar. Jiaqing 24/1819), 200-0516 (1 Nov. Daoguang 9/1829), and 209-0196 (20 Sep. Daoguang 19/1839).

³⁰ Ngag-dbang 'jam-dpal tshul-khri-m. He took a post of *dga'-ldan khri-pa* (1837-1843).

Rnam-rgyal dbang-'dus rdo-rje, who is a son of the former *bka'-blon* 'Grur-med tshe-dbang dpal-'byor, as *mda'-dpon* instead of Spel-shis.³¹

The *ambans* cautioned that they should not appoint a son of a predecessor as *bka'-blon* only because of his father's exploits in war. This indicates that there still remained the custom of a son inheriting his father's position in Tibet; however, if the person were not suitable, the *ambans* rejected the Tibetan offer and made another proposal.

5. Conclusion

These analyses provided the following result: From 1751 to 1793, although the process of choosing *bka'-blon* was defined by article 13 of the Tibetan regulations in 1751, actually, *bka'-blon* was chosen based on the custom that *bka'-blon* was a hereditary position among high ranking Tibetan aristocracy, and the Qing Emperor also allowed it. In 1793, the process of choosing *bka'-blon* was redefined by article 29 of the imperial regulations for Tibet, and its content became more specific than that of the former regulations in 1751. After 1793, without some exceptions such as distinguished service in war, *bka'-blon* came to be chosen according to this regulation, basically. However, the Qing Emperor merely ratified the *bka'-blon* who was recommended by the Dalai Lama's government through the latter half of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century. The common view is that these two regulations indicated that the Qing court was influential in Tibetan politics, but I consider that this is not true. After all, Tibet was actually ruled by the methods of the Dalai Lama's government within the framework laid down by the Qing court.

³¹ Gongzhongdang 405007058 (7 Nov. Daoguang 22/1842, the letter from *amban* Mengboo and *amban* Haiipu).

Bibliography:

[HISTORICAL MATERIALS]

- Gongzhongdang: *Gongzhongdang Qianlongchao Zouzhe* (宮中檔乾隆朝奏摺).
1987–88 Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan ed. Taipei: Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan.
- Manwen Lufu: Junjichu Manwen Lufu (軍機處滿文錄副).
Microfilm. Collection of the First Historical Archives of China.
- Hanwen Lufu: Junjichu Hanwen Lufu (軍機處漢文錄副).
Microfilm. Collection of the First Historical Archives of China.
- Xizang Dang (西藏檔). Collection of the First Historical Archives of China.
- Balbu: (Qing) Fanglüeguan ed. *Qingding Balbu Jilüe* (欽定巴勒布紀略)
1991 Xizang Shehui Kexueyuan Xizang Hanwen Wenqian Bianjishi ed. Lhasa:
Quanguo Tushuguan Wenjian Xuwei Fuzhi Zhongxin.
- Yuanyilai: *Yuan yilai Xizang difang yu zhongyang zhengfu guanxi ziliao weibian* (元以來西藏地方與中央政府關係資料彙編).
1994 Zhongguo Zhanxue Yanjiu Zhongxin, Zhongguo Diyi Lishi Dang'anguan,
Zhongguo Dier Lishi Dang'anguan, Xizang Zizhiqu Dang'anguan,
Sichuangsheng Dang'anguan eds. Beijing: Zhongguo Zhanxue
Chubanshe.
- Huangchao: (Qing) Qiyunshi. *Huangchao fanbu yaolie* (皇朝藩部要略).
1884 (Guangzhe 10th year). Zhejiang Shuju.
- Shilu: Gaozong Chunhuangdi shilu (高宗純皇帝實錄).
1807 (Jiaqing 12th year).
- DPN: *rdo-ring paNDi-ta'i rnam-thar*.
1986 Bstan-'dzin dpal-'byor. Chengdu: Suchuang Minzu Chubanshe.

[Secondary Sources]

- Shakabpa, Thepon W. D.
1967 *Tibet: A political History*. New Heaven and London: Yale University
Press.
- Rose, Leo E.
1971 *Nepal: Strategy for survival*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Petech, Luciano
1973 *Aristocracy and government in Tibet 1728-1959*. Rome: Istituto Italiano
Per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Sato, Hisashi

1986a Dai-ichiji guruka-senso ni tsuite. *Chusei Tibet-shi kenkyu*. Kyoto: Dohosha: 521–597.

1986b Dai-niji guruka-senso ni tsuite. *Chusei Tibet-shi kenkyu*. Kyoto: Dohosha: 597–740.

Yamaguchi, Zuiho

1987 *Tibet* vol.2. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Syuppankai.

Srid-zhi nyi-ma

1989 Bka'-blon guanzhi (噶倫官職). *Xizang Yanjiu* (西藏研究) 1989–2. Lhasa: 142–145.

Wu, Fengbei and Song, Guoqing

1989 *Qingzhao zhuzang daqian shidu de jianli yu yange* (清朝駐藏大臣制度的建立与沿革). Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe.

Zhang, Wuxin

1998 Zhuzangdachen zhenzhi diwei he zhiqian de lishi kaocha (駐藏大臣政治地位和職權的歷史考察). *Zhongguo Zangxue* (中国藏学) 1998–2. Beijing: 47–67.

Ishihama, Yumiko

2001 *Tibet bukkyo sekai no rekishiteki kenkyu*. Tokyo: Toho Shoten.

Zhang, Yongjiang

2001 *Qingdai fanbu yanjiu: yi zhengzhi bianjuang wei zhongxin* (清代藩部研究—以政治變遷為中心). Harbin: Heilongjiang Jiaoyu Chubanshe.

Oka, Hiroki

2003 Tohoku-Asia chiikishi to Shincyo no teikoku touchi. *Rekishi Hyoron* 642. Tokyo: 50–59.

Liao, Zugui, Li, Yongchang and Li, Fengnian

2006 “*Qingding zangnei shanhou zhangcheng ershijiutiao*” banben kaolüe (《欽定藏內善後章程二十九條》版本考略). Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue Chubanshe.

Katagiri, Hiromichi

2009 *Mda'-dpon kou, Toyoshi kenkyu* 68–1. Kyoto: 1–29.

Komatsubara, Yuri

2010 The relationship between Tibet and the Qing dynasty in the latter half of the eighteenth century: An analysis of the *Bka'-blon*, Ministers in the Dalai Lama government. *The Nairiku Ajiashi Kenkyu (Inner Asian Study)* 25. Tokyo: 55–73.

Table 4: The candidates for *bka'-blon* in the nineteenth century

A.D.	date	inauguration	name	name (written in Manchu or Chinese)	family name	class	the present post	age	the year of being a government official	experience	personal reputation	notice	amban	document	document number	list
1	1814-22 Mar. Jiaqing 19	●	Pad-ma dündakyan?	pad ma dündakyan	Pha-lha		<i>mda'-dpon</i>						湖圖札 禿保	Manwen Lufu	184-289	
2	1814-2 Nov. Jiaqing 19	●	Gunggyayao?	gunggyayao?			<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>						華明珂 策克	Manwen Lufu	185-1436	
3	1815-1 Jul. Jiaqing 20	●	Gungbugiyao?	gungbugiyao?			<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>	52			Clear-headed and well-acquainted with affairs.	sub (1)	華明珂 策克	Manwen Lufu	186-0284	○
4	1819-7 Mar. Jiaqing 24	●	Rnam-rgyal tsho-dbang	namugiyets ewang			<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>	39			Hard-working and superior.		王麟珂 策克	Manwen Lufu	189-385	○
5	1829-1 Nov. Daoguang 9	●	Btiam-dzin tsho-dbang	dandzents ewang	Thon		<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>	38			Clear-headed and close observer.		王麟珂 策克	Manwen Lufu	189-385	○
6	1839-20 Sep. Daoguang 19	○	Tsho-brtan bra-shis	glyoob-ts edanjasi			<i>phyags-mazod-pa</i>	49			Honorable and hard-working.		華顯慶 策	Manwen Lufu	200-0516	○
7	1842-7 Nov. Daoguang 22	○	Tsho-brtan rdor-je	ts'edun dagyai	Zur-khang		<i>mda'-dpon</i>	39			Clear-headed and well-acquainted with affairs.		華顯慶 策	Manwen Lufu	200-0516	○
8	1845-2 Mar. Daoguang 25	○	Bugjobje?	bujjobje			<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>	42			Faithful and hard-working.		關聖保 基保	Manwen Lufu	209-0196	
9	1846-26 Jun. Daoguang 26	○	Dor-grub stobs-rgyas	dzmei ts'ewang bangyior	Mlo-mkhar		<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>	36			Clear-headed and well-acquainted with affairs.		關聖保 基保	Manwen Lufu	209-0196	
10	1850-27 Dec. Daoguang 30	●	Dor-grub stobs-rgyas	jigyan dunjub gbbeyei	Spyi-lagas		<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>	53			Simple and honest and hard-working.		孟保海 策	Gongzhongdan	405007057	
11	1851-18 Nov. Xianfeng 1	○	Dor-grub stobs-rgyas	比畫			<i>mda'-dpon</i>				<i>mda'-dpon</i> of westan Tibet. Made a big effort in the Dagra war and participated in the conclusion of the treaty.		瑯善等	Manwen Lufu	73599 73600	○
12	1859-27 Jan. Xianfeng 9	○	Bod-nams bkra-shis	錫柱多布結	Spyi-lagas		<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>	59	Jiaqing 25	12 years	Experienced and engage in work seriously.	sub (1)	瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	405009195	
13	1860-19 Leap Mar. Xianfeng 10	○	Bod-nams bkra-shis	四郎各吾	Dual-lhun		<i>phyags'-dpon</i>	38	Daoguang 6	10 years	Clear-headed and close observer.		瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	405009195	
14	1860-8 Aug. Xianfeng 10	○	Bod-nams bkra-shis	四郎各吾	Dual-lhun		<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>				Clear-headed and close observer.	sub (1)	瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	405009195	
15	1860-27 Dec. Daoguang 30	●	Rnam-rgyal dor-grub	朗結頓柱			<i>phyags-mazod-pa</i>				Well qualified as <i>bka'-blon</i> an excellent <i>mda'-dpon</i> .		瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	405009195	
16	1861-18 Nov. Xianfeng 1	○	Rgyal-mshän dngos-grub	聖參敦柱	Bram-grub pho-brang		<i>phyags'-dpon</i>				Second class <i>ts'uiji</i> .		瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	405009195	
17	1861-18 Nov. Xianfeng 1	○	Tsho-brtan	策墊	Bkraz-khang	three rank	<i>mda'-dpon</i>				Young, hard-working and brave. Made a big effort in the Dagra war and became <i>mda'-dpon</i> . Recovered from his illness.	sub (1) last year	瑯善等	Manwen Lufu	82714	
18	1869-27 Jan. Xianfeng 9	○	Rnam-rgyal dhang-üs rdor-je	拉木結, 汪堆多爾 策	Mlo-mkhar		<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>				Young but careful, and hard-working. A son of Gur-med tsho-dbang, dbal-byor.	sub (1) last year	瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	406007076	
19	1869-19 Leap Mar. Xianfeng 10	○	Blo-bzang dar-rgyas	羅布藏達騰結	Spo-shod phun-khang		<i>phyags-mazod-pa</i>				Clever and hard-working.		瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	406007076	
20	1869-19 Leap Mar. Xianfeng 10	○	Blo-bzang dar-rgyas	羅布藏達騰結	Spo-shod phun-khang		<i>phyags-mazod-pa</i>				Hard-working, mild personality and experienced.	sub (1) last year	瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	406007076	○
21	1869-27 Jan. Xianfeng 9	○	Pad-ma rgyal-po	白瑪結布	Pha-lha		<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>				Good moral character and faithful.		瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	406007076	
22	1869-8 Aug. Xianfeng 10	○	Pad-ma rgyal-po	白瑪結布	Pha-lha		<i>rtsis'-dpon</i>				Good moral character and hard-working.	sub (1) last year	瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	406007076	
23	1869-8 Aug. Xianfeng 10	○	Ch'i-med rdor-je	朗美魯吉			<i>mda'-dpon</i>				Clever and reliable.		瑯善等	Gongzhongdan	406007076	

