

SOCIAL HISTORY OF TIBETAN SOCIETIES



History and Organisation of Labour in Tibetan
Societies (mid-17th to mid-20th centuries)

9–11 December 2015, Bonn

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Conference Schedule

“History and Organisation of Labour in Tibetan
Societies (mid-17th to mid-20th centuries)”

*9–11 December 2015,
Hotel Bristol Günnewig,
Prinz-Albert-Str. 2, 53113 Bonn,
Room: Bonn I+II*

Tuesday, 8 December

Arrival of Participants at Hotel Bristol Günnewig, Prinz-Albert-Str. 2, 53113 Bonn

19:00 Dinner at Restaurant *Kupferklause*, Hotel Bristol Günnewig

Wednesday, 9 December

9:30 Welcome and Introduction

SESSION 1

Chair: *Elliot Sperling*

10:00 *Charles Ramble*: The Meaning of Labour in Tibetan Societies

10:40 *Peter Schwieger*: Rule and Labour in Tibet

11:20 *Coffee Break*

SESSION 2

Chair: *Saul Mullard*

11:50 *Fernanda Pirie*: The Value of Labour: Concepts of Work in Traditional Tibet

12:30 *Jeannine Bischoff*: Tracing the Re-location of the Labour Force in Pre-1959 Tibet

13:10 *Lunch*

SESSION 3

Chair: *John Bray*

14:30 *Alice Travers*: The Remuneration of the Ganden Phodrang Government's Service:
Forms, Evolution and Questions During the First Half of the 20th Century

15:10 *Hanna Schneider*: The Organisation of Labour in Fulfilment of Tax Obligation in
Ding-ri and Shel-dkar in the First Half of the 20th Century

15:50 *Coffee Break*

16:30 *Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy*: Performance as Tax: A-lce lha-mo Actors in the Estate
Economy of Tibet in the First Half of 20th Century

19:00 Dinner for Conference Participants: *Himalayak*, Bornheimer Str. 74, 53111 Bonn

Thursday, 10 December

SESSION 4

Chair: *Peter Schwieger*

9:30 *Elliot Sperling*: Military Service in 17th and 18th-Century Tibet

10:10 *Saul Mullard*: The Dodgy Dealings of Zhal ngo Amar and Karma Wangyal: A Case of Slavery and Human Trafficking in the Sikkimese Himalayas

10:50 *Coffee Break*

SESSION 5

Chair: *Fernanda Pirie*

11:30 *Petra Maurer*: Running horses: The Function of Horses in Labour Practices

12:10 *Heidi Fjeld*: Performing the Dirty Work: The Organisation of Labour among the “Lower Ranked” (*smad rigs*) in Rural Tsang and Lhasa

12:50 *Lunch*

SESSION 6

Chair: *Charles Ramble*

14:30 *Patrick Booz*: Tibetan Labour and the Tea Trade

15:10 *Saadet Arslan*: *Lam yig* – An Official Document Granting Travel Privileges in Tibet

15:50 *Coffee Break*

SESSION 7

Chair: *John Ardussi*

16:30 *Diana Lange*: Visualising Labour in Late 19th Century Tibet: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence

17:10 *John Bray*: ‘Work and Pray’: Moravian Missionaries, Labour and Social Order in the Western Himalaya

19:00 Dinner for Conference Participants: *Taste of India*, Rheingasse 13, 53113 Bonn

Friday, 11 December

SESSION 7

Chair: *Heidi Fjeld*

9:30 *Berthe Jansen*: The Monk's Work Ethic: Attitudes toward Labour According to the Monastic Guidelines (*bca' yig*)

10:10 *Kalsang Norbu Gurung*: The Impact of Religious Perspectives on Construction Labour in Tibet

10:50 *Pause*

SESSION 8

Chair: *Diana Lange*

11:30 *Christian Jahoda*: Organisation and Social Division of Labour in Spiti Valley in Historical Perspective

12:10 *John Ardussi*: Peasants, Monks, Farmers, Kings and Citizens. Some Observations on the Evolution of Social Organisation and Labour in Bhutan

12:50 *Lunch*

14:30 Business Meeting

16:00 *Coffee*

19:00 Dinner for Conference Participants: *Restaurant Majestic*, Hotel Bristol Günnewig

ABSTRACTS

Peasants, Monks, Farmers, Kings and Citizens. Some Observations on the Evolution of Social Organisation and Labour in Bhutan

John Ardussi, University of Virginia

Bhutan is geographically adjacent to Tibet. The two countries share linkages of Buddhist culture, language, ethnicity and history. Yet there are significant differences in their social organisation and its evolution over the centuries. Due in part to complex geography and regional features, the unification of Bhutan into its modern form was a lengthy process with fairly distinct phases marked by transformations in governance. The most recent such transformation occurred in 2008 with the adoption of parliamentary democracy and a written constitution. For each of these phases, we have rather substantial written sources which illuminate the changing roles and status of ordinary people in the economic and social order. In this paper, I will briefly explore the key features of this society and suggest some differences between Bhutan and Tibet.

***Lam yig* – An Official Document Granting Travel Privileges in Tibet**

Saadet Arslan, University of Bonn

The *lam yig* is a specific document type among Tibetan historical documents; it belongs to the category of governmental documents (*bka' shog*) that grant travel privileges to officials or state guests. Issued by the dGa' ldan pho brang administration (1642–1959) with its two chanceries (*bka' shag* and *yig tshang*) or subordinate departments such as the Trade Agency of Gyantse (*tshong spyi lhan khang*) it had three functions: 1) granting permission to travel, 2) authorising the requisition of supplies and transport service, and 3) serving as an entry visa to Tibet (Wylie 1969).

There were two kinds of *lam yig* documents: permanent/annual and temporary ones. Recipients of permanent *lam yig* letters were the postmen (*sbrag ba*), the governmental carriers (*e drung*) and trade agents delivering goods for the government (*tshong spyi*). Beneficiaries of temporary or one-time *lam yig* documents were mainly governmental officials like tax collectors, *dzong dpons* etc. and foreigners.

In my paper I will in particular examine the following questions: What kind of corvee labour had to be provided for travellers who held a *lam yig*? Who were the people obliged to perform such a service? What type of travellers was entitled to receive a *lam yig*? Who was authorised to issue a *lam yig*?

Tracing the Re-location of the Labour Force in Pre-1959 Tibet

Jeannine Bischoff, University of Bonn

Mobility—on both a group and individual level—has often been defined as a key concept of human behaviour and development (de Haas 2009: 2). In pre-1959 Central Tibetan society, however, we are faced with a severe limitation of freedom of movement: only if the estate lord gave his permission was mobility legally possible. The “normal” situation was, hence, a static one. Nevertheless there have been plenty of exceptions to the rule. This is vividly shown by the quantity of documents that are available relating to the mobility of single persons or groups. When people moved from one estate to another, this was always connected to a movement of the labour force as well. While one estate lost part of its labour force, the other gained it. It is clear that pre-1959 Central Tibetan *mi ser* had various motivations to be mobile. In this paper, however, I will take a closer look at the connected administrative procedure by which the estate lords secured and moved around the available—but certainly limited—labour force they had at hand to run their estates.

Tibetan Labour and the Tea Trade

Patrick Booz, Penn State University

From the beginning of the 18th century onward, the era of large-scale tea packaging and transport from China to Tibet began in earnest. In the great commodity chain that brought millions of pounds of tea annually to the entrepôt of Dartsedo (Kangding), and then onward to the towns and monasteries of Tibet, workers conducted a number of essential and varied practices. Although Chinese produced the tea, the human labour transport from the factories included Tibeto-Burman people such as the Qiang. Once delivered to Dartsedo after 20 days of carrying, the tea packages underwent a series of transformations that required stages of specialized skill and work. The *jadruwa* (Tib. *ja bru ba*; Ch. *fengchagong*) – “tea-stitchers,” a specialized group of craftsmen – dismantled the Chinese-style bamboo packages and sewed up all of the tea in untanned yak hides. These were soaked in water until soft and pliable, then sewn very tightly around the tea bricks. Intimately tied to the *jadruwa* was the skin and tanning industry, including suppliers of special products such as knives, needles, twine and rawhide rope. In addition, others contributed labour that made the entire tea enterprise possible: local inventory and short-distance transport fell to a “guild” of Tibetan women famous for their distinctive waistcoats, high spirits and strength. Finally, with Dartsedo the point of departure for the grand Tibetan tea caravans, huge resources – monetary, animal, human – were expended to fulfill the consignments requiring over 80,000 animal loads out of Dartsedo annually. Organization and labour bring into focus the economic and social concerns of the Tibetans as they handled the all-important tea trade through the centuries.

‘Work and Pray’: Moravian Missionaries, Labour and Social Order in the Western Himalaya

John Bray, International Association for Ladakh Studies

Wilhelm Heyde, one of the two pioneer Moravian missionaries in the Western Himalaya, emphasised the importance of the Christian maxim “Work and Pray”. The phrase that he used – *Bete und arbeite* in German and *Ora et labora* in Latin – has deep resonance in Christian history. Since the 6th century AD it has been associated with Benedictine monasteries, whose monks were expected to combine contemplative prayer with productive work. Much later, the Moravian Church (Herrnhuter Brüdermeine) applied it to their own communities from the 18th century onwards. The Moravians were exemplars of the ‘Protestant Ethic’, which emphasised personal industriousness as a core Christian value.

This paper explores the ways that the concept was applied – and only partly absorbed – in the Moravian missions in the Western Himalaya, particularly in Kyelang (Lahul) and Poo (Kinnaur), in the 19th and early 20th centuries. From the beginning, the missionaries wished to ensure that their converts enjoyed a degree of economic security and therefore social and religious independence from their non-Christian peers. In Kyelang the first Christians were Ladakhis who had fled from their homeland because of harsh tax and labour obligations imposed by the Dogras. Since they had no land of their own, the missionaries brought new land into cultivation for a mission farm. They did the same in Poo, where most of their converts came from the lower social strata.

As the missionaries themselves recognised, this approach raised the risk of a conflict of interest in that converts might seek baptism in return for material benefits. It also created a tension between the missionaries’ roles as spiritual leaders and economic managers. Ultimately, both missions failed: Poo was closed in 1924 and Kyelang in 1940, and there are no Christians in either place today. The paper discusses how far contrasting Western and Himalayan concepts of labour and social order contributed to this failure.

**Performing the Dirty Work:
The Organisation of Labour among the “Lower Ranked” (*smad rigs*)
in Rural Tsang and Lhasa**

Heidi Fjeld, University of Oslo

The perceived polluted nature of their work and the break with Buddhist morality is often claimed to have designated blacksmiths, butchers and “corpse-cutters” to the outskirts of Tibetan communities. At the same time, iron tools, butchering and funeral services were in high demand in communities throughout Tibet, and these craftsmen lived and served in the same localities for generations, constituting an integrated part of rural communities.

Based on oral histories produced together with people from blacksmith (*lcags bzo pa*), butcher (*bshan pa*) and “corpse-cutter” (coll. Tsang *ba ru*, Lhasa *rtogs ldan*) families primarily in Panam (Shigatse) but also in Lhasa, I describe several aspects of the organisation of this kinds of work. My focus is on the distribution of tasks and localities between the families, and on relations to their co-villagers (including other *smad rigs*), administrators of the land and the state. Moreover, I discuss the significance of labour organisation for social relations and integration, exemplified with labour exchange networks (*las rogs* and other mutual aid relations such as *dga’ po nye bo* and *skyid sdug snga lag*). I argue that in addition to the inherently polluting nature of these kinds of work itself, the organisation of labour contributed to the (re)production of relations between *smad rigs* and their co-villagers as both limited in extent, and restricted in kind.

The Impact of Religious Perspectives on Construction Labour in Tibet

Kalsang Norbu Gurung, University of Bonn

Although labour in Tibet has a long history, it has never been studied with regard to the discipline of labour history as developed in the West. Tibet's historians have mostly discussed labour in connection with the social status and obligation of Tibetan *mi ser*—“legally bound subjects”—as labourers. That is to say that *mi ser*'s rights, their obligation to the Tibetan government, and their relation to their manorial lords was often discussed only when the history of Tibetan societies, social structure and taxation in Tibet is written. However, my objective in this paper is not to extend the discussion on labour history in general, but to focus on one particular case of construction labour, which is related to organisation within the history of labour in Tibetan societies.

This paper will first explore the types of construction labour (Tib. *ar las*, *ar rgyag*, *ar 'ul*) that the Ganden Phodrang government or manorial lords demanded from their *mi ser*; and then I will focus on the particular case, which was implemented evidently due to a strong influence of the Buddhist religious faith among the government officials. In general, construction labour is a part of service to the government or to the manorial lord as tax obligation; and this service should be allowed at the *mi ser*'s convenience, and free from a justification based on a religious belief. However, this issue was considered very seriously in Tibet when an important day or year was approaching. There are a few documents, including an edict (Tib. *bka' rgya*) issued by the bKa' shag, which gives notice of a restriction on construction-related labour during those days or the years. Based on these documents, I will explain when and why construction labour is not permitted and the legal consequences if the restriction is not followed.

Performance as Tax: A-lce lha-mo Actors in the Tibetan Estate Economy in the First Half of the 20th Century

Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy, Université Laval, Québec

It is well known that the Zho-ston festival, held in Lhasa at the beginning of the 7th lunar month, comprised a-lce lha-mo (opera) shows delivered by twelve troupes from dBus and gTsang called to perform as a "tax" (*khral*, obligatory service) for the Tibetan government. But what were their exact obligations and what was the nature of their bond to the government? The Zho-ston was actually not the only occasion for a-lce lha-mo to be performed as tax, nor was this sort of obligation limited to the twelve official troupes. They have to be understood in the wider taxation system in central Tibet, rooted in estate economy. The Zho-ston seemed to have actually entailed multiple layers of obligations, ultimately resting on non-professional, sometimes reluctant, actors. The emergence of the sKyor-mo-lung and other semi-professional troupes at the beginning of the 20th C. brought some transformations not only to the art but also to the organisation of labour of opera troupes, and their relationships with their sponsors. Based on interviews with old sKyor-mo-lung actors carried out in the 1990s and Tibetan modern written materials, this presentation aims to shed some light on the diverse social fabric of actors in the first half of the 20th C.

Organisation and Social Division of Labour in Spiti Valley in Historical Perspective

Christian Jahoda, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

Obligatory labour and transport services were an intrinsic part of the tax system in many historical Tibetan societies, in the past also in Spiti, a Tibetan-speaking region in Himachal Pradesh. Known as *'u lag* in Tibetan, in the Western Himalayas these labour services were often also referred to as *begār* (from Persian *begār*, 'forced labour'). The administrative and organisational duties on the village and district level relating to these obligatory services, in particular the transport services, were part of the office of *rgad po chen mo* ('superior headman').

Lesser known is the local, intra-village system of organisation and social division of labour. One aspect of this which seems to have existed all over historical Western Tibet and which now is almost about to disappear is a particular social division of labour which bound the blacksmiths (who are regarded as lowly or impure, *rigs ngan*) to the landowning peasant population (in particular the former tax-paying households or *khral pa*, now constituting the 'great-house' or *khang chen* stratum). Its main feature was the exchange of services performed by the blacksmiths for dues in kind by the group of *khang chen* households.

While the social division of labour between the landowning population and the smiths – apart from the factor of social exclusion – is based on wholly different economic activities, there exist within the peasant stratum itself also certain forms of cooperation or working groups determined by other factors that are dependent on the manner of production of the peasant population and the differing ownership of the means of production in the 'great-house' (*khang chen*) and 'small-house' (*khang chung*) households. These forms of intra-village labour organisation which play an important role in most agrarian activities are based on symmetric and asymmetric exchange between households.

The Monk's Work Ethic: Attitudes toward Labour According to the Monastic Guidelines (*bca' yig*)

Berthe Jansen, University of Leiden and University of Heidelberg

According to the Vinaya a monk is not allowed to plough. Harvesting crops is also seen as problematic. Furthermore, it is often thought that monks are meant to live off the charity of lay people alone. Possibly on the basis of these (mis-)understandings regarding Buddhist monasticism, common assumptions are that Buddhist monks are not allowed to work or that they may not work for money. When monastic Buddhism was introduced to China the Indian monastic attitudes to farming were received with great apprehension by the authorities. Monastics were initially seen as a possible burden to the agricultural economy. Partly due to a culturally engrained emphasis on farm work and state pressure, monks' attitudes to agricultural labour were adapted accordingly and Chinese monastics, particularly those belonging to Chan monasteries, have long been encouraged to toil the land, keeping in mind the adage, attributed to the Chan master Baizhang (720-814), that 'he who does not work, shall not eat'.

The Tibetan Buddhist scenario is rather different. While we know that many monks and nuns were engaged in farming and performed all manner of manual labour, the attitudes to working in general are ambiguous. In this paper I will elaborate on the types of jobs monks and nuns performed according to a number of historical sources and further explore the various positions taken by Tibetan monastic authors regarding labour, as found in the monastic guidelines (*bca' yig*). I will further discuss the way in which the Vinaya was employed by these authors in their arguments and I will compare the Tibetan attitudes toward labour with those found in other Buddhist cultures.

Visualizing Labour in Late 19th Century Tibet: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence

Diana Lange, Humboldt University Berlin

The role of visual representation in Tibetan society has been significant – particularly in the religious and medical context. Every Tibetan would recognize image representations of places like the holy city of Lhasa or the most important pilgrimage destination, Mt. Kailash, in Western Tibet – even without having visited them. Visual representation of everyday life activities like daily labour is hard to find. In my presentation I will introduce a collection of drawings that I found in the British Museum. These drawings were made by a local Tibetan from Southern Tibet and commissioned by an Englishman in the late 19th century. They show a selection of scenes from Tibet, including different kinds of work activities. I will compare these illustrations with other drawings from Tibet with the same content and discuss their potential as historical sources and evidence.

Running Horses: The Function of Horses in Labour Practices

Petra Maurer, Ludwig-Maximilians-University and Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Munich

The Tibetan transport system relied on human labour and a variety of pack animals, notably horses. Thus, we find in Tibetan documents several terms related to horses and their function in labour, such as *rta khal*, *rta do (dos)*, *rta 'ul*, *rta zam* and *rta g.yogs* or *rta g.yar*. Another term relating to the transport system is *sa tshigs*, used in documents to denote the stages of transport or communication and sometimes abbreviated to denote *sa tshigs kyi khral*, the corvée tax of providing animals to transport goods from one station to the next.

In this paper I would like first of all to shed light on the terminology for transport services related to horses. A second task will be to enquire into Chinese and Mongolian influences on these transport systems and postal services.

The Dodgy Dealings of Zhal ngo Amar and Karma Wangyal: A Case of Slavery and Human Trafficking in the Sikkimese Himalayas

Saul Mullard, NIT, Sikkim

The establishment of Darjeeling as an outpost of British India from 1835 onwards had a tremendous impact on social organisation in Sikkim. The rapid growth of Darjeeling town from a monastic village into an ever burgeoning urban and cash-fuelled environment proved to be an attraction for many Sikkimese commoners. Not only were these people allowed to settle in Darjeeling, they were, in fact, very welcome as since the construction of the road to Darjeeling in 1838-9 there was an ever-increasing need for labour. This proved disastrous for Sikkim, creating a serious labour shortage on the estates as family after family, emboldened by the existence of a viable alternative in Darjeeling, liberated themselves from their tradition obligations and fled their homes and fields. The problem became very serious after the 1861 war between British forces and Sikkim and the signing of the Treaty of Tumlong. That treaty, amongst other things, prohibited the traditional practice of Sikkimese lords to track and abduct escapees from their estates: a practice which acted as a deterrent to widespread de-population. Population registers from this period highlight the scale of the problem where a 25% reduction of taxable households is recorded. It was at the height of this dramatic change in Sikkimese society and labour organisation that the two brothers Zhal ngo Amar and Karma Wangyal became embroiled in a case involving the abduction, transport, and sale of individuals from Sikkim. This paper will explore these case records from the Sikkimese Palace Archives, the concern this case raised, and raise questions as to how widespread such a practice was in Sikkim during this period.

The Value of Labour: Concepts of Work in Traditional Tibet

Fernanda Pirie, University of Oxford

What sorts of value were attributed to work and labour in traditional Tibet? It is hard to imagine a society in which a significant majority of the population did not recognise the obligation to work, even if some sections of it, including pastoralists in Tibet, took some pride in minimising their work obligations. To the extent that there is a difference between work and other forms of social activity, it would seem to lie in the sense of obligation: work must be performed, and for a reason, implying that it has value. On a Marxist account work is, in turn, distinguished from labour on the basis that the latter has economic or monetary value, meaning that it can be commoditised, and ultimately bought and sold. The value of work or labour is inevitably implicated in wider social relations, which may include ideas and ideologies by which unequal forms of organisation are justified.

For the purpose of understanding the organisation of labour in Tibet it is, therefore, useful to ask about the sorts of value that were attributed to work in different contexts. In this presentation I will consider forms of household arrangements, the organisation of *begar* in the Ladakhi kingdom, participation in warfare among the nomads of Amdo, and relations between serfs and lords in central Tibet. I will suggest that even though serfdom and debt bondage were common, there was an apparent resistance to putting a monetary value on labour. Instead of payment, we find labour obligations conceptualised as duties attached to status, arising from bonds of loyalty and affection, or simply as matters of morality. In these ways, the consideration of labour organization can shed valuable light on the heterogeneous social forms that constituted traditional Tibet.

The Meaning of Labour in Tibetan Societies

Charles Ramble, EPHE and CRCAO, Paris

A survey of sources from Tibetan societies suggests that labour cannot readily be quantified in terms of the value of what is produced, but should rather be understood as a commitment of time and presence to an activity. This value varies according to the status (variously defined) of the individual or group concerned. The only exact equivalent of labour is reciprocal labour, as seen, for example, in agrarian work-exchange arrangements known as *lag tshab*. Such exchanges may also be indirect: they may, for example, be mediated through the community in the form of civic duties such as headmanship or other offices: although these duties deprive the incumbent of the possibility of generating private wealth, their rotational character amounts to a deferred reciprocity. Failure to participate in community activities may be punished with fines. These fines are not simply a substitute for labour withheld, but compensation to the members of the community for the loss they suffered *relative* to the delinquent's self-enrichment implied by his/her absence. By the same token, those who are legitimately excused from public duties (for example, due to bereavement or illness or because they are monks) are restricted in terms of the labour they are permitted to perform for their private benefit. It is for this same reason that participation in (economically non-productive) ceremonies is not distinguished from participation in community labour: presence is mandatory in order to prevent truants from gaining unfair economic advantage over dutiful participants.

The significance of labour is affected by social asymmetry arising from circumstances such as 1) marriage: the inferiority of bride-takers translates into unpaid labour for the bride-givers; 2) age: documents from monasteries and nunneries make it clear that younger monks and nuns had a heavier workload than their senior fellows; 3) social rank: commoners were required to provide *corvée* labour, while priests were exempt; 4) economic status: there is evidence from documents concerning compensation for loss as well as from debt-bondage contracts that there was a correlation between an individual indigence and the value of his/her possessions and labour.

The Organisation of Labour in Fulfillment of Tax Obligation in Ding-ri and Shel-dkar in the First Half of the 20th Century

Hanna Schneider, Erwin Schneider Archiv Lech a/A

This paper will investigate the organisation of labour in Ding-ri and Shel-dkar according to the legal manuscripts collection of south-western Tibet in the Oriental Manuscripts Department of the State Library at Berlin (Orientabteilung der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz zu Berlin), also scanned within the Digitized Archives of Bonn database.

The main focus will be on the organisation of labour in fulfillment of individual tax obligations

1) as managed by the elders of the *gzhung-rgyugs-pa* village of Kong-rtsa (*Kong-rtsa rgan-po*), a hereditary position held, according to our documents, by three generations of the same influential family, who may be described as one of the local players of the region. Tax obligations here mainly comprised the organisation, management and responsibility towards the fulfillment of tax labour vis-à-vis the rDzong of Shel-dkar, but also, for example, for the military headquarters of Ding-ri (*Ding-ri sPyi-mda'-khang*) -e.g., the organisation and execution of transport between Ding-ri and the military outpost-cum-toll station at Rong-shar (*Rong-shar Sho-pa*).

2) Secondly, the *sMan-lha-ba* nomads' organisation of labour in fulfillment of tax obligations towards the monastery of Shel-dkar chos-sde dGa'-ldan legs-bshad-gling on the one hand, and towards the rDzong of Shel-dkar on the other hand will be examined.

Rule and Labour in Tibet

Peter Schwieger, University of Bonn

After the dGe lugs pa had established a centralised rule over great parts of the Tibetan areas they did not have the intention to rely on the military power of the Qoshot-Mongols alone. Truly convinced of their particular salvation project, they propagated it with a strong sense of mission. Thus they succeeded to a great extent in legitimising their rule in the eyes of the subjects. By making them believe in the legitimacy of the new dGa' ldan pho brang rule, subjects were willing to accept orders from above even without the application of brute force. Thus workers and material resources became available to the government on a large scale. Shortly after its foundation the new Tibetan government was able to organise and enforce labour on a large scale. The paper will look into the public organisation of labour in Tibet after the dGe lugs pa came into power.

Military Service in 17th and 18th-Century Tibet

Elliot Sperling, Indiana University, Bloomington

There are very few studies of Tibetan military history. Those that are available are essentially concerned with battles, campaigns and military movements. The questions of military levies or service in Tibet is almost never mentioned, and we are still only vaguely cognizant of how Tibetans created and or constituted fighting units in Tibet. The manner in which Mongols participated in fighting units in Tibet is also only superficially known. Indeed the materials for a study of these topics are not easily accessible. Using extant narratives (e.g., the *Mi-dbang rtogs-brjod*) and Qing gazetteers, this paper will present a preliminary examination of the organization and development of military service in Tibet in the early Dga'-ldan pho-brang era.

The Remuneration of the Ganden Phodrang Government's Service: Forms, Evolution and Questions during the First Half of the 20th Century

Alice Travers, CNRS and CRCAO, Paris

It is known that the Ganden Phodrang government ensured the remuneration of its servants (with the status of official or employees without the status of official) through various means, mainly by allocating estates and granting salaries, either in cash or in kind. Officials were supposed to work for the government as a privilege and as an obligation, mainly based on the fact that they held hereditarily an estate or several estates in exchange. The temporary tenure of extra estates was also used as a way to provide further compensation for work in a number of particular government or offices' charges, which resulted in a lack of uniformity in the remuneration system among all possible government offices where an official could work, and in a number of habits concerning the shaping of the officials' careers.

Besides, a system of salary for government servants seems to have been introduced at the turn of the 20th century, which was first distributed in kind (mainly grain) and later in cash. But the amount in cash was later disconnected from the evolution of the money value, and this resulted in these wages acquiring a nominal value, and were apparently rarely claimed by the officials. In the context of the modernisation of the Tibetan administration during the first half of the 20th century, the question of the salary of the Tibetan officials and servants was brought up several times.

Based on written and oral biographical accounts and on archives, this paper intends to present the available data on the system of remuneration of government servants in the first half of the 20th century. First, it will explain its main principles and organisation, and show that the salary system was a way of reflecting the hierarchical ladder of the government's positions. Secondly, it will show that the debates and problems related to it, and encountered by the administration of the Ganden Phodrang during this period, reflected mainly the conflicting representations of government work: on the one hand the traditional view of government work as a service, which was due in relation to the official's status, on the one hand, and on the other hand the apparently growing prevailing view that work should be remunerated *per se*. Last, I would like to question

these developments in relation to the more general context of the evolution of labour conceptions in other societies. Are these evolutions and debates regarding the remuneration of government service at the very end of the Ganden Phodrang period to be understood as the signs of an evolution from the traditional and feudal like conception of work in a context of general dependency to a more modern one, with the commodification of work?
