

A Study of Hong-hua-si Temple Regarding the Relationship between the dGe-Lugs-Pa and the Ming Dynasty

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1. Preface

It has been frequently indicated when discussing the relationship between the various Tibetan sects and the Ming Dynasty that while there are abundant Ming Chinese documents on the Karma-pa and Sa-skyapa sects, those on the dGe-lugs-pa are relatively few. While the religious title of *Fawang* (法王)¹⁾ given to the major Tibetan sects by the Ming Dynasty, such as *Dabao* (大寶) *Fawang* and *Dasheng* (大乘) *Fawang* granted to the Karma-pa and Sa-skyapa respectively, were passed on almost throughout the Ming Dynasty, the title of *Daci* (大慈) *Fawang* given to the dGe-lugs-pa was discontinued after the first generation, and therefore it can certainly be said that the dGe-lugs-pa was left out in an early stage in negotiations with the Ming Dynasty through the *Fawang*s. Consequently, the widely accepted belief that the relationship between the dGe-lugs-pa and the Ming Dynasty was insubstantial is not totally ungrounded. Furthermore, a paper in search of a causal relation with the fact that the dGe-lugs-pa became close to the Mongols under Altan Qayan during the era of the third Dalai Lama in the second half of the sixteenth century and that the relationship between the dGe-lugs-pa and the Ming Dynasty was remote has been published.²⁾ If this interpretation were to be developed, a trend specifying that the dGe-lugs-pa approached the Mongols because the former was unable to participate in the negotiations with the Ming Dynasty, and hence it established a relationship only between the Tibetans and Mongols independent of China must be described.

However, the above-mentioned interpretation is contrary to the following facts indicated by the author in a recent paper. The dGe-lugs-pa, which was gradually forming a coalition with the Mongols, insisted to the Ming court in various forms that it was not ignoring the existence of China in its missionary work to the Mongols, but on the contrary, that it was taking action to make the Mongols yield to the dynasty. Moreover, such assertions were actually evaluated favorably by the Ming court.³⁾ Based on such facts, it can be said that the coalition between the dGe-lugs-pa and the Mongols was not to establish a relationship merely between the two parties, but was a reform under which a relationship of

three parties, including China, was to be newly formed. Therefore, the author theorizes that the Ming Dynasty abandoned the traditional Chinese foreign policy of distancing the Tibetans and the Mongols, and decided to choose the realistic line of using the Tibetans to appease the Mongols as a result of the approach of the dGe-lugs-pa which acted as go-between for the Mongols and China.

In order to validate this hypothesis, it must be substantiated that the connection which existed between the dGe-lugs-pa and the Chinese was so strong that the sect was involved in forming the foreign policy of the latter. In this study, the author takes up a Buddhist temple called Hong-hua-si (弘化寺) in the Qinghai (青海) region in order to indicate the role the temple played in the relationship between the Ming court and the dGe-lugs-pa.

The followings are facts about Honghuasi temple that have been clarified in earlier papers.⁴⁾ Shākya-ye-shes, a dGe-lugs-pa high priest, called on the Ming court and was granted the title of *Daci Fawang*, but died in the tenth year of the Xuande (宣德) era (1435), on the way back to his homeland. Honghuasi was the temple built at the site of his death to commemorate his virtues. The imperial edict stating that the name of Honghuasi is bestowed upon the temple and that fields of rice, farmland, woodland etc. are granted to it can be found in the record dated *xinhai* (辛亥), eighth month, seventh year of the Zhengtong (正統) era (1442) in *Ming Yingzong shilu* [『明英宗實錄』, (Authentic Records of Emperor Yingzong of the Ming Dynasty), hereafter abbreviated as *MSL*].⁵⁾ Facts such as that the area was called mDzo-mo-mkhar, that the third Dalai Lama visited the site during his preaching tour to the Mongols, that the temple was related to a person concerned in the revelation that the fourth Dalai Lama would transmigrate to the grandson of Altan are recorded in Tibetan literary documents. Also, the remains of Honghuasi temple have been confirmed in Zhuandao Village (轉導村), Minhe Huizu Tuzu Autonomous Prefecture (民和回族土族自治縣), Qinghai Province by research conducted in recent years in China.⁶⁾ Please also refer to the detailed information on Honghuasi temple itself summarized by the author in an earlier paper.⁷⁾

2. Honghuasi as a Buddhist Temple

Records on the establishment of Honghuasi temple can be found in Tibetan literary documents such as *Deb ther rgya mtsho*⁸⁾ (part 1, fols. 271b–273a) and *Bai dūra ser po*⁹⁾ (fol. 112b and fols. 267a–267b). When these are pieced together, the following details can be described. First, Shākya-ye-shes, who would later be titled *Daci Fawang*, prayed at mDzo-mo-mkhar to bless the area on his way to Ming China. Later, the temple was founded by Shākya-tshul-khrims, a disciple of the *Fawang*, either before or after the master's death. A *stupa* was constructed by imperial order after the *Fawang*'s death, and Seng-ge-bzang-po, another of his disciples, was inaugurated as the abbot of the expanded temple. Also, a letter dated the fourth year of the Yongzheng (雍正) era (1726) by Zhang Luozhujian-

cuo (張洛住堅錯, Blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho),¹⁰ a monk with the high-ranking title of the Most Reverend Priest (*Guoshi* 國師) of Honghuasi temple and other individuals can be found in the record on Honghuasi under *Temples*, volume six of *Xunhuating zhi* [『循化廳志』, (Local Gazetteer of Xunhuating), abbreviated as *XH* hereafter] as a Tibetan oral tradition documented in Chinese literary sources. The name of Seng-ge-bzang-po is given as the founder of the temple in this record. However, these Tibetan literary documents convey in detail the names of the Tibetans involved in the founding of Honghuashi temple, but offer no information on the particulars of how it was granted the status of *chijiansi* (敕建寺), which is a temple constructed by imperial order (sometimes the status was given to an already existing temple), other than give the self-evident reason that it was the burial ground of *Daci Fawang*.

On the other hand, while the name of Honghuasi temple is cited for the first time in Chinese literary documents in the account dated *xinhai*, eighth month, seventh year of the Zhengtong era in the *MSL* as mentioned before, there are seven other records in the *MSL* with close dates that can be assumed to concern the founding of the temple. To mention them chronologically, they are those dated A) *xinyou* (辛酉), tenth month, second year of the Zhengtong era (1437); B) *dingchou* (丁丑), first month, C) *guiwei* (癸未), first month, and D) *dingsi* (丁巳), fourth month, seventh year of the Zhengtong era (1442); E) *renshen* (壬申), fifth month, eleventh year of the Zhengtong era (1446); and F) *xinwei* (辛未), fourth month, and G) *dinghai* (丁亥), eleventh month, thirteenth year of the Zhengtong era (1448). All of A) to F) are records about a person by the name of Lingzhan (領占, Rin-chen). In these seven records, “Lingzhan” appears under several titles such as the disciple of *Daci Fawang*, *Puying Chanshi* (普應禪師) from Hezhou (河州), and *Puying Chanshi* from Wusizang (烏思藏, dBus gTsang). As it will be explained later, all of these are assumed to refer to the same person, and moreover, the person can be considered as the one who first received the title of *Puying Chanshi* given to monks of Honghuasi temple. It is recorded in G) that the title of *Puying Chanshi* was “handed down” to Lingzhanjiemu (領占節木, Rin-chen-rtse-mo) of Honghuasi temple. The existence of G) is the basis for the interpretation that the title of *Puying Chanshi* had been placed in Honghuasi temple prior to that, and that it is the same *Puying Chanshi* Lingzhan mentioned in A) to F). The circumstances of negotiations between the Ming court and the dGe-lugs-pa that led to the *chijiansi* status of Honghuasi temple will be reconstructed hereunder according to these documents.

First, it is stated in A) that *Chanshi* Lingzhan, a disciple of *Daci Fawang*, brought tributes to the Ming court in the second year of the Zhengtong era. Although only the term “*Chanshi*” is mentioned here, it is assumed that the title *Puying Chanshi* cited from B) onward is indeed the *Chanshi* title of A), because the Chinese characters for “*Puying*” are found in the formal name of *Daci Fawang* title in the record dated *gengshen* (庚申), sixth month, ninth year of the Xuande era (1434) in the *MSL*. Next, it is recorded in B) that Lingzhan, as *Puying Chanshi* of

Hezhou, sent tributes to the Ming court via an envoy in the seventh year of the Zhengtong era. Through C), it can be known that several tens of Buddhist monks headed by Lingzhan were looking after someone's grave in Hezhou, and that stipends were provided to them by the Ming court but that they were terminated in the first month of the seventh year of the Zhengtong era. This must be the tomb of *Daci Fawang*. In the fourth month of the same year, Lingzhan again dispatched an envoy to send tributes to the court, as recorded in D), and it was probably to request for a withdrawal of the decision to terminate the stipends. Now, the document dated *xinhai*, eighth month, seventh year of the Zhengtong era in the *MSL* mentioned earlier on the granting of the *chijiansi* status to Honghuasi temple shall be inserted here. It is clearly indicated in this record that the property of the temple such as farmland would be secured. The contents of this record can be linked to that of D) in which tributes were sent to request for some economic foundation as an alternative to the stipends that had been terminated in the first month of that year, and subsequently, an imperial order was issued in the eighth month of the same year designating the burial ground of *Daci Fawang* as a *chijiansi* and that property such as farmland was granted. Records E) and F) are both on *Puying Chanshi* Lingzhan's tributes to the court, and they indicate that the negotiations between Honghuasi temple and the Ming court became intimate after the former had obtained the *chijiansi* status.

It is mentioned in a later record dated *jiawu* (甲午), fifth month, fourth year of the Tianshun (天順) era (1460) in the *MSL* that the decision to provide stipends to the monks of Honghuasi temple was made. This must signify that the stipends which had been terminated in the first month, seventh year of the Zhengtong era, were restored. This fact is also the supporting evidence to view records A) to D) as the preliminary to that dated *xinhai*, eighth month, seventh year of the Zhengtong era, regarding Honghuasi temple's status as a *chijiansi*. To summarize, the predecessor of Honghuasi temple (built as the burial ground of *Daci Fawang*) already existed as an entity prior to the seventh year of the Zhengtong era. The Buddhist monks of the temple approached the Ming court for its recognition of the temple as a *chijiansi*, and as a result, obtained an economic foundation, namely temple estates and the authority that it is a temple related to the Ming Dynasty. In addition, eighteen years later the monks succeeded in restoring the provision of stipends which had once been terminated. In short, the dGe-lugs-pa were able to maintain preferential treatment from the Ming court in spite of the fact that the title of *Daci Fawang* had been discontinued, because it made the court acknowledge Honghuasi, the burial ground of the *Fawang*, as a *chijiansi*.

This characteristic of Honghuasi temple that connects the dGe-lugs-pa and the Ming court was not guaranteed only by its authority since its designation as a *chijiansi*. The temple conducted activities even thereafter to obtain preferential treatment from the Ming court.

It has already been mentioned that the decision to provide monthly stipends to the monks of Honghuasi temple was made in the fourth year of the Tianshun

era. Only a few days after that, the purport of the imperial order of the eighth month, seventh year of the Zhengtong era, which forbade the invasion and disturbance of Honghuasi temple, was repeated to the public officers and civilians in Hezhou and Xining (西寧), and items such as a *sutra* transcribed in gold pigment by *Daci Fawang* were given to the temple [record dated *xinchou* (辛丑), fifth month, fourth year of the Tianshun era, *MSL*.] In the ninth year of the Chenghua (成化) era (1473), a person called *Daying Fawang* *Zhashi* (大應法王笱實, bKra-shis), residing in *Daciensi* (大慈恩寺) temple in Beijing, requested that public funds be expended for repairing the *stupa* of Honghuasi temple, providing stipends for the monks, and allocating laborers to guard the temple [record dated *guisi* (癸巳), seventh month, ninth year of the Chenghua era, *MSL*]. *Daciensi* temple was the important basis for Tibetan monks in Beijing, and *Daying Fawang*, like *Dazhi* (大智) *Fawang*, *Datong* (大通) *Fawang*, and *Dawu* (大悟) *Fawang*, was one of the single-generation titles given to Tibetan monks in Beijing during the Jingtai (景泰) and Zhengde (正德) eras.¹¹⁾ It can be known that the Tibetan monk who won fame in the capital of Ming China took action in order to have the court pay heed to Honghuasi temple. *Daying Fawang* probably died soon after that, and in the tenth year of the Chenghua era (1474) the Ming court mobilized four thousand members of the imperial army to construct a *stupa* in order to lay the *Fawang* to rest “as in the case of *Daci Fawang*” [record dated *gengzi* (庚子), third month, tenth year of the Chenghua era, *MSL*]. *Daying Fawang* was probably a member of the dGe-lugs-pa judging from this treatment. It is also mentioned in the same record that the Ministry of Works was reluctant to construct and maintain the *stupa* for the deceased *Daying Fawang* on the basis that the expenses were wasteful, but an eunuch of the Chenghua court opposed the ministry and realized the project. This information insinuates more about the background of *Daying Fawang*. Later, in the Zhengde era, *Guanding Daguoshi* *Suonanzangbu* (灌頂大國師 鎖南藏卜, bSod-nams-bzang-po) of Honghuasi temple reported to the Emperor to issue an imperial order to protect the mountains, forests and farmland granted to his master. In spite of the opposition from the Ministry of Rites, the Emperor, who was wholehearted in granting preferential treatment to the Tibetan monks, accepted the request from Honghuasi temple under the condition that it would not become a precedent [record dated *jichou* (己丑), fifth month, tenth year of the Zhengde era (1515), *MSL*].

Next, the role played by Honghuasi temple as a tributary will be considered. The bringing of tributes by the dGe-lugs-pa that can be confirmed in the *MSL* and other documents on the Ming court is indicated in the list. It can be seen that all tributes during the Yongle (永樂) and Xuande eras are from *Shākya-ye-shes*, titled as *Daguoshi* or *Daci Fawang*. Even after the death of the *Fawang*, the tributes brought to China in the tenth month, second year of the Zhengtong era and the seventh month, eleventh year of the same era, are recorded as those from the disciple of *Daci Fawang*. However, the last record on the tributes related to *Daci Fawang* is that dated the seventh month, eleventh year of the Zhengtong era.

Later, there are records on tributes considered to be from 'Bras-spungs and Se-ra temples, which are now generally known to be dGe-lugs-pa temples. Therefore, these tributes can be determined to be from the dGe-lugs-pa, but it is doubtful whether or not Ming China considered that they had been sent to her from *Daci Fawang's* sect. In fact, the *MSL* does not even mention the relationship between *Daci Fawang* and Se-ra temple, which was established by him. On the contrary, the Ming court must have recognized the tributes from Honghuasi temple, which it acknowledged as the burial ground of *Daci Fawang*, as tributes from the *Fawang's* sect. Moreover, Honghuasi temple frequently sent tributes. Sixteen examples of the thirty-four cases of bringing tributes excluding the four marked with "□" are from Honghuasi temple. Four more cases can be added if those marked with "□", which are the tributes assumed to be from the dGe-lugs-pa according to the aforementioned proof concerning *Puying Chanshi*, are also counted, and the total cases of tributes from the temple will be twenty cases out of thirty-eight. Therefore, it can be said that the sending of tributes from Honghuasi temple continued to be the most stable means for the dGe-lugs-pa to maintain contact with the Ming court.

As shown in the list, the dGe-lugs-pa intermittently sent tributes to the court into the Zhengde era mainly through Honghuasi temple. However, Tibetan monks in general were purged in the Jiajing (嘉靖) era as a reaction to the special favor bestowed on them by the Zhengde Emperor, and as a result, records on the tributes from the various Tibetan sects decrease remarkably. Under these circumstances, tributes also from the dGe-lugs-pa were decreased to such an extent that none are recorded for over half a century. Later, the third Dalai Lama started negotiations with Ming China simultaneously as he conducted missionary work to the Mongols in the Wanli (萬曆) era. As if in concert with the Dalai Lama's actions, records on tributes from Honghuasi temple suddenly increase during the immediately preceding years. The frequency of tributes in the early years of the Wanli era seems to stand out especially after the absence of almost half a century in the Jiajing era. Moreover, it is not only the frequency of the tributes that indicates the strengthened ties between Honghuasi temple and the Ming court during this period. An imperial message for the succession of the title of *Daguoshi* of Honghuasi temple was issued according to a record dated *dingyou* (丁酉), fifth month, eleventh year of the Wanli era (1583) in the *MSL*. This Wanli era record conveys the Ming court's strong interest in Honghuasi temple at the time, because the only other record in the *MSL* on the succession of some titles for monks of the temple is that dated *dinghai*, eleventh month, thirteenth year of the Zhengtong era, immediately after the founding of the temple. The causal relation of Honghuasi temple and the Dalai Lama's actions are certainly unclear,¹²⁾ and reliable historical records only mention that the Dalai Lama called on Honghuasi temple. However, judging from the increased frequency of tributes and the imperial message concerning the succession of the *Daguoshi* title, it is beyond doubt that Honghuasi temple quickly deepened its negotiations with the Ming

court in the Wanli era when the relationship between the court and the Mongols were most tense.

Honghuasi temple was always a faithful tributary, and was a pro-Ming temple whose economic burden such as the costs of repairs was guaranteed by the court. Also, that status of the temple continued to be acknowledged by the Ming court. At first glance, Ming records on the dGe-lugs-pa certainly seem to be scarce. However, that impression is originated by simply comparing the records on the *Fawang*s of the Karma-pa and Sa-skya-pa, with those on *Daci Fawang*. In fact, Honghuasi temple as the burial ground of *Daci Fawang* continued to maintain the relationship between the dGe-lugs-pa and the Ming court in place of that title which had been discontinued.

3. Honghuasi as the Ming Base for Frontier Defense

It has been explained so far that as a Buddhist temple Honghuasi functioned as the intermediary between Ming China and the dGe-lugs-pa, which was the result of the temple's approach to the court to secure various rights and interests. However, that the temple had special significance for Ming China was in the background of these concessions. That was the aspect of Honghuasi temple as a military institution.

In volume eleven of *Lintaofu zhi* [『臨洮府志』, (Local Gazetteer of Lintaofu), abbreviated as *LT* hereafter]¹³⁾ dated the twenty-third year of the Wanli era (1595), Honghua (弘花) fortress is mentioned as one of the “eleven fortresses under the jurisdiction of the local commander (*canjiang*, 參將) of Hezhou” in the record on frontier defense and fortresses, and Honghua (弘花) beacon is cited as one of the “seventy beacon towers under the jurisdiction of the local commander of Hezhou” in the record on beacons. Do these two citings refer to Honghuasi temple? *Public Institutions*, volume fourteen of *Shaanxi tongzhi* [『陝西通志』, (Local Gazetteer of Shaanxi), abbreviated as *SX* hereafter] dated the thirty-ninth year of the Wanli era (1611) mentions that “Hezhou . . . the Honghuasi fortress warehouse is located one hundred twenty *li* (里) from the northwestern border of Hezhou,” and it is recorded in *Buddhist and Taoist Temples*, volume seventeen of the same source that “Lintao (臨洮) Prefecture . . . Honghuasi temple is located one hundred twenty *li* from the border of Hezhou,” and thus the fortress warehouse and temple are cited as being in the same location. Therefore, Honghuasi temple undoubtedly functioned simultaneously as a fortress, beacon tower and fortress warehouse.¹⁴⁾

Then, when were these military functions added to Honghuasi temple? The following is found in *Defense*, volume one of *Hezhou zhi* [『河州誌』, (Local Gazetteer of Hezhou), abbreviated as *HZ* hereafter] dated the forty-sixth year of the Kangxi (康熙) era (1707):

Honghuasi (洪化寺)¹⁵⁾ fortress . . . was installed as a result of the report to

the Emperor from the regional guard commander (*shoubei douzhihui*, 守備都指揮) Kang Yong (康永) that it is the place of rugged terrain. It is defended in winter by five hundred members of the imperial army who are disbanded when the ice melts.”

According to the biographical document on the achievements of government officials in volume seventeen of the *LT*, Kang Yong was assigned to the post of regional assistant commander (*douzhihui qianshi*, 都指揮僉事) of Shaanxi during the Chenghua (成化) era, and he undertook the defense of Hezhou. An abrupt conclusion is impossible to make because it is difficult to understand comprehensively all records on the history of his official posts conveyed in the *MSL* and local gazetteers,¹⁶⁾ but if he accomplished to institute Honghuasi fortress during his term of office in Hezhou, then the timing can be assumed to be the latter part of the Chenghua era.

On the other hand, Kang Yong's motive for instituting Honghuasi fortress is clear. In the Chenghua era, Kang Yong was engaged in defending Hezhou from the Mongols who had invaded the area, as the following is entered in the record dated *gengzi*, eighth month, first year of the Hongzhi (弘治) era (1488):

“Kang Yong, the regional assistant commander of Shaanxi, is demoted by one rank. This is because he was unable to defend Hezhou from the slaughter and plunderage of people and cattle by the Mongols who had invaded the area.”

Hence, he must have set up Honghuasi fortress to carry out his duties. The Mongol invasion mainly in the Yansui (延綏) area is recorded in the *MSL* from the early part of the Chenghua era, but as the record dated *jiawu* (甲午), eighth month, twenty-first year of the Chenghua era (1485) in the *MSL* cites a report to the Emperor from a local officer in Shaanxi urging him to reinforce military force in the Guyuan (固原), Taozhou (洮州) and Hezhou areas, it can be known that Mongol forces were advancing westward to the Lintao region. The actual record of the Mongols' invasion of this region can be found in the entry dated *renxu* (壬戌), third month, twenty-second year of the Chenghua era (1486) in the *MSL*, which mentions:

“The Mongols invaded Jinxian (金縣), Lintao in the first month this year, and slaughtered and stole over thirty military members and civilians, as well as ten thousand domestic animals such as cows and sheep.”

This entry continues to convey that the Mongols were stationed in the northern area covering Ningxia (寧夏), Lanzhou (蘭州) and Zhuanglang (莊浪) Guard, and were keeping their cattle there; and that the Ministry of War submitted a report to the Emperor that proposed repairing and establishing fortresses and beacon

towers in this area, and the proposal was approved. Honghuasi fortress was instituted by Kang Yong as a response to the said movements of the Mongol forces in the late Chenghua era.

An incident occurred later in the twelfth year of the Hongzhi era against which military preparations in Honghuasi were actually mobilized. That was the riot reported by Lu Lin (魯麟), the left local commander and regional assistant commander responsible for defending the Zhuanglang area [record dated *bingshen* (丙申), twelfth month, twelfth year of the Hongzhi era (1500), *MSL*]. Lu Lin reported to the Emperor that thirteen Tibetan groups such as the Basha (巴沙) tribe are taking alarming action in recent years, and proposed to subjugate them and station military force for that purpose. Lu Lin planned to concentrate the military forces in the Zhuanglang Guard and Hongchengzi (紅城子) areas, and at the same time, “to relocate the imperial army in Honghuasi ready by the river for the defense of Hongchengzi.” The imperial army ready by the “river” may be read literally as that defending “Hezhou,” i.e. “River Sub-Prefecture.” However, when considering the record in *Defense*, volume one of the *HZ* which mentions that the imperial army stationed in Honghuasi in winter is disbanded when the ice melts, it can also be read that the military force is “made ready” when the “river,” whether it be the Yellow River or the Huangshui (滄水) River, freezes. The aforementioned record in the *MSL* continues to convey that the thirteen groups are *shufan* (熟番), or in other words, Tibetans who are quite familiar with the Chinese, and therefore the Ministry of War adopted the policy of only expelling them from the area instead of slaughtering them. At any rate, the military force that Ming China stationed in Honghuasi, a Tibetan temple, was mobilized to suppress the riot of Tibetan inhabitants.

According to the record dated *renyin* (壬寅), twelfth month, twelfth year of the Hongzhi era in the *MSL*, that month the Mongols invaded Yongchang (永昌) and Liangzhou (涼州), which are northwest of Zhuanglang. A military camp (*zhen*, 鎮) was established in the district of Guyuan in the fourteenth year of the Hongzhi era (1501) [*Frontier Defense*, volume ninety-one of *Ming shi* 『明史』, (Ming Dynastic History)], and it was to defend the area from the Mongol invasions during that time [*Defense of Guyuan*, volume hundred thirty of *Da Ming huidian* 『大明會典』, (Statute of the Great Ming) issued in the Wanli Era]. In the above-mentioned record dated *bingshen*, twelfth month, twelfth year of the Hongzhi era, it is mentioned that the imperial army in Honghuasi was to defend the area from the Tibetans who were active at the time, but the moves of the Mongols cannot be ignored when considering the overall conditions of the area. The Ministry of War and Lu Lin must have been planning scrupulous tactics such as the mobilization of the forces in Honghuasi not only to suppress the Tibetan inhabitants but also to guard against the Mongols.

In the Jiajing era, an enemy called the “Huozei (火賊)” invaded the Hezhou and Taozhou areas, as indicated in the following record on Honghuasi fortress in *Defense*, volume one of the *HZ*:

“About the time of the Jiajing era, the Huozei crossed the Datong (大通) River and invaded far into Heitai (黑臺). The local commander (*canjiang*) of Taozhou and the garrison commander (*shoubei*, 守備) of Hezhou led the cavalry and fought. Later, the post of garrison commander of Hezhou was finally changed and the post of local commander was established.”

Both the local commander of Taozhou and the garrison commander of Hezhou are military officers affiliated to the military district of Guyuan. According to the record in *Commanders Undertaking Defense*, volume hundred twenty-six of *Da Ming huidian* issued in the Wanli era, and that dated *yihai* (乙亥), third month, thirty-eighth year of the Jiajing era (1559) in the *MSL*, the garrison commander of Taozhou was promoted to local commander in the eleventh year of the Jiajing era (1532) and the garrison commander of Hezhou was promoted to local commander in the thirty-eighth year of the same era, and therefore the above-mentioned record pertains to the conditions of the time between these years. It is yet unclear what kind of an invader the “Huozei” was. Moreover, this record in the *HZ* does not explain the significance of Honghuasi fortress, the subject of the record, against the invasion by the “Huozei.” “Heitai” probably refers to the fortress known as Heitaishi (tu?)-renbao [黑臺士(土?)人堡] located in the southeast of Datong River Postal Relay and northwest of Lanzhou in the entire map of the military districts defending nine frontiers in *Jiubian tulun* [『九邊圖論』 (Maps and Comments of Nine Frontiers)]. Therefore, what can barely be known is that the prose merely tries to relate that the “Huozei,” who advanced southeast from the Datong River area to Heitai, passed by Honghuasi fortress on the way. However, while Honghuasi temple was in the position of providing military force as the site immediately behind the front during the Hongzhi era, it is clear that the whole area of the temple was directly endangered by the “Huozei,” who crossed the Datong River and invaded the region in the Jiajing era. It can be said that the military situation surrounding Honghuasi temple was becoming gradually acute.

The forces led by Altan Qayan advanced to Qinghai in the second half of the Jiajing era. The already-mentioned promotion of the garrison commander of Hezhou, who had jurisdiction over Honghuasi temple, to local commander, was to respond to the situation. Also, the Ming Dynasty extended the Great Wall from Lanzhou to Jishi (積石) Pass from the thirty-second to thirty-ninth year of the Jiajing era (1553–1560), as a part of the defensive measures against Altan. It has been indicated that Honghuasi temple was included at a point of the newly extended Great Wall.¹⁷⁾ Honghuasi temple further strengthened its aspect as a defense organ of the Ming Dynasty because the garrison commander of Hezhou, to whom it was affiliated, was promoted to local commander, and also because it was incorporated in the Great Wall line at about the same time.

This fact is clearly indicated in the illustration of the city of Hezhou among that of the military district of Guyuan in *Jiubian tushuo* [『九邊圖說』 (Maps and Explanations of Nine Frontiers)], published in the third year of the Longqing (隆

慶) era (1569). Honghuasi fortress, indicated on the northern bank of the Yellow River, and Dangjiatai (黨家臺) fortress [Dangjia (黨家) fortress in figure 2], in the east of Honghuasi, are the only two fortresses in the illustration depicted with walls on all four sides and with gates in the north and south. This illustration expresses the importance of Honghuasi fortress in its scale or function, because all other fortresses, excluding Dangjiatai fortress, are indicated only with their names. Furthermore, the following passage is found in the short explanation written in the map of the city of Hezhou:

“Hezhou (Guard). . . . This Guard is located in the west of the military district of Guyuan and indeed borders on the frontier. The Mongol bandits headed straight to Hezhou via Honghuasi and via Lanzhou.”

Honghuasi, which was originally only a temple, is specially mentioned along with Lanzhou as the route of the Mongol invasion of Hezhou. Also, it can be known that Honghuasi indicated the western limit of the military district of Guyuan, because the boundary of Lintao Prefecture is: “the east end is Huining (會寧), which abuts on Jinglu (靖虜) in the Guyuan region, and the west end is Honghuasi, which abuts on Zhuanglang in the military district of Gansu (甘肅),” according to a later record on *Defense of Guyuan*, volume two hundred eight of *Wubei zhi* [『武備志』 (Book on Armament)]. The complex military importance explained above was concentrated in Honghuasi temple.

Altan yielded to Ming China in the fifth year of the Longqing era (1571) and accepted the imperial document appointing the title of *Shunyi Wang* (順義王) to him, but it did not mean that he withdrew from the Qinghai region. Ming China was troubled with the antinomy that while she showed understanding to the dGe-lugs-pa's missionary work to the Mongols, she could not help harboring the sense of crisis regarding the activities of the Mongols in Qinghai. The apprehension became a reality in the sixteenth year of the Wanli era (1588) when Holochi of the Doloγan Tümed tribe, who had been keeping cattle in the southern part of Qinghai until then, moved to the south of the Yellow River, and dominated the region of Hezhou and Taozhou. It is said that Holochi was not the only one, and that many other Doloγan Tümed chieftains assembled in the area.¹⁸⁾

Yang Youren (楊有仁), who was the regional inspector and censor (*xun-an yushi*, 巡按御史) of Shaanxi, told the following about Honghuasi temple in his report to the Emperor, recorded in the document dated *yichou* (乙丑), fourth month, fifteenth year of the Wanli era (1587) in the *MSL*. Yang Youren explains that defense is necessary because the Mongols are gathering in the Qinghai area under the pretext that they are receiving a Tibetan monk, and he refers to key fortresses. Honghuasi is mentioned as one of the fortresses where defense must be reinforced, and it is recognized as the foremost line in the defense against the attack by the Mongols.

At that time, the Mongols and the dGe-lugs-pa were getting close to each other in Qinghai. The third Dalai Lama visited Honghuasi temple some time between the end of the eleventh year of the Wanli era (1583) to the beginning of the following year, and conducted the Buddhist ritual of pouring perfumed water on the head of a person who is entering a religious life or a monk who is being promoted, and those of ordination (fol. 102b, *Biography of the Third Dalai Lama*).¹⁹⁾ Nonetheless, Honghuasi temple did not play any role in religious negotiations between the dGe-lugs-pa and the Mongols during the era of the third Dalai Lama. While it must have been quite natural for Honghuasi temple to be actively employed by the dGe-lugs-pa as the base for missionary work to the Mongols because of its status, tradition and origin of founding, it seemed as if the temple stayed apart from the trend. The temple's military situation, explained above, must be considered as a background for this aloofness. Although Honghuasi was an important dGe-lugs-pa temple where the Dalai Lama would pay a visit, but at the same time, it also had the characteristic of a bastion against the Mongol forces. Honghuasi temple would never be chosen as a meeting place where the dGe-lugs-pa, who were indeed trying to convert the Mongols, and the Mongols, who were planning to advance to Qinghai under the pretext of seeing a Tibetan monk. On the other hand, however, that the Dalai Lama, who was on his journey of conducting missionary work to the Mongols, visited Honghuasi temple, must have been an intentional act on part of the dGe-lugs-pa. It can be considered that the dGe-lugs-pa arranged to have the Dalai Lama visit Honghuasi, a *chijiansi*, as a means of conveying to Ming China that its missionary work to the Mongols would not be against her interests.

Now, let us go back to the records in the *LT* and *SX* mentioned at the beginning of this section. The military functions of Honghuasi during the Wanli era are summarized in those records. The fortresses under the jurisdiction of Hezhou are roughly divided into eleven that are privately operated and ten administered by the local commander of Hezhou. Honghua (弘花) fortress is classified in the latter. It can be assumed from the naming of the latter group that the fortresses classified under it are directly related to the official military organization, and thus greater military functions are expected. Honghuasi was quite an intensive military base during the Wanli era because according to the *LT*, it was not only a fortress but was furnished with a beacon tower as well,²⁰⁾ and moreover, according to the *SX*, it also had an imperial warehouse annexed to the fortress.

Honghuasi temple alone is depicted in the drawing of Hezhou (figure 2) in the *LT*, while twenty Buddhist and Taoist temples are listed in volume six. The temple is depicted in the drawing as being extremely close to Jishi Pass, the northernmost stronghold among the twenty-four passes surrounding Hezhou, and furthermore, it is positioned partly over the Yellow River. In short, Honghuasi is set further south than its actual situation in figure 2. One reason for this is the difficulty in allocating the space of the picture plane to Honghuasi

because the periphery of the city of Hezhou was depicted so minutely that the location of the temple had to be shifted in order to include it in the drawing. On further reflection, however, this expresses the intention of the editor who dared to include the temple in the drawing even by breaching the rules of a map. It is beyond doubt that the military importance of Honghuasi is reflected in the background of this drawing.

It can be known that a fortress was positioned in Honghuasi temple even in the Chongzhen (崇禎) era because its name is mentioned in the list of passes and fortresses in Hezhou administered by the military district of Guyuan, in the second volume of *Huang Ming zhifang ditu* [『皇明職方地圖』 (Maps and Explanations of the Areas Inside and Outside the Ming Dynasty)].

A survey of the military aspect given to Honghuasi temple has been made so far. The remaining question is the relationship between Honghuasi as a temple and that as a fortress, beacon tower and warehouse. Was the temple name given to these military facilities merely because they were installed within the temple grounds?

4. Honghuasi as the Organ of Political Power in the Region

In the author's opinion, literary documents from the Ming times that answer the above-mentioned question do not exist. However, in a literary document from the Qing (清) Dynasty, it is conveyed that Honghuasi temple exercised political and economic power in its region inhabited by Tibetans, and that it participated in the frontier defense of Qing China in exchange of having her acknowledge its powers. The following is an observation of the authority exercised by Honghuasi temple over the Tibetan inhabitants during Qing times, and whether or not the situation can also be recognized in Ming times.

A letter of appeal dated the fourth year of the Yongzheng era by Han Dan (Qie?) lingzhashi [韓旦(且?)令札矢, (Tshe-ring?)-bkra-shis]), the hereditary *Guoshi* of Yongchangsi (永昌寺) temple in Hezhou, Zhang Luozhujiancuo (張洛住堅錯, Blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho), the hereditary *Guoshi* of the two temples of Honghua (鴻化) and Xianqing (顯慶), and Zhao Zhashiladan (趙札矢刺旦, bKra-shis-rab-brtan), the hereditary *Chanshi*, is found in *Regions Inhabited by Native Tribes*, volume four of the *XH*. In this letter, the monks list eight headings to protest the move towards including in the regular census registration the inhabitants and the farmland they have been inheriting, and making them taxable. The following passages are found under the second heading:

“The native officials (*tusi*, 土司) and temples located in the frontier have been protecting the inhabitants of the area, have guarded the beacon towers and have contributed to defense, and have acted as bastion of the mainland during the past century. If these inhabitants were to be taxed now, they would flee to the mainland or would avoid being engaged in defense. This is a

serious matter for China regarding the integrity of the entire frontier area,”

and

“The soldiers conscripted locally are natives of the frontier. When the Mongols invaded Qinghai in the past, the native officials and temples in the frontier supplied the soldiers. If the farmers (*dianmin*, 佃民) owned by the native officials and temples were to be included among regular inhabitants and were taxed, they would never respond to military service.”

These reveal that Honghuasi was not only a place where Chinese military facilities were installed, but the temple itself was a powerful organization that owned land and inhabitants in the surrounding areas, and that it exercised its authority to maintain military functions.

According to this record, the farmers owned by Honghuasi temple were responsible for the military service of defending the military bases in the frontier, while they were exempted from taxes. In addition, the temple conscripted soldiers from these farmers and sent them as members of the Chinese imperial army. In short, Honghuasi temple was exercising the functions of maintaining the fortress and beacon tower, and supplying locally conscripted soldiers to the Chinese army, as a benefit in return for having Qing China acknowledge its ownership of tax-exempt farmers. In the letter of appeal dated the fourth year of the Yongzheng era, Honghuasi asserted that its own power is indispensable to Qing China's frontier defense by objecting to her, who was trying to take away the political and economic authority that the temple had assumed.

In spite of the appeal from the *Guoshi* of Honghuasi temple, the farmers owned by Honghuasi and the other temples were included in the census registration of the regular residents that year or the following year.²¹⁾ This was a ubiquitous treatment along the line of the reformation of Qing Chinese policy of that time which was disorganizing native political authorities and replacing them with public officials dispatched from the Qing government. In the case of Honghuasi temple, the report dated the forty-fifth year of the Kangxi era (1706) to the emperor from Wang Quanchen (王全臣), the governor of Hezhou, actually led to its reformation as indicated in *Regions Inhabited by Native Tribes*, volume four of the *XH*. In the *HZ*, for which Wang Quanchen was one of the editors, the same text is mentioned twice, once each in *Tea and Horses* and in *Belles Lettres*, volumes two and six respectively. The situation of Honghuasi temple during the Kangxi era according to the said report to the emperor will be observed next.

The report conveys:

“There are nineteen tribes led by native officials and *Guoshi* in the Hezhou area according to a survey. Of these, Zhang Laobuzangjiancuo (張老卜藏堅錯, Blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho), the *Guoshi* of Honghuasi (洪化寺) which is

the temple of the Honghua (洪化) tribe; Zhao Luozangsuonan (趙羅藏質南, Blo-bzang-bsod-nams), the *Chanshi* of Mayingsi (馬營寺) which is the temple of the Lingzang (靈藏) tribe; and Han Qielingtuoshi (韓且令托失, Tshe-ring-bkra-shis), the *Guoshi* of Yongchangsi which is the temple of the Zhenzhu (珍珠) tribe have the letter of imperial authorizations. Su Chengwei (蘇成威), the chieftain of the Shama (沙馬) tribe; and Wang Zhenhai (王鎮海), the chieftain of the Qiezang (乩藏) tribe do not have the letter of imperial authorizations but have the letter of authorizations issued by the Ministry of War²²⁾ which are passed on from generation to generation. . . . Each of these tribes and *Guoshi* have their public offices and implements for punishment, and are influential in the area.”

Obviously, the person mentioned here as Zhang Laobuzangjiancuo, the *Guoshi* of Honghuasi, is the same as Zhang Luozhujiancuo, the hereditary *Guoshi* of Honghuasi and one of the members who submitted the appeal dated the fourth year of the Yongzheng era, recorded in the *XH*. Also, the groups mentioned as “the nineteen tribes led by native officials and *Guoshi*” in Wang Quanchen’s report to the emperor are the same as those mentioned as “the nineteen tribes” referred to as “the Tibetan groups that supplies horses to the Qing Dynasty” in volume two of the *HZ*. Wang Quanchen categorized the nineteen groups according to the rank of the documents issued to them by the Qing Dynasty, and related that the Honghua tribe has the highest ranking imperial authorization. To be designated as a Tibetan group to supply horses to Qing China meant that the group obtained in exchange of the price of the horses the financial profits granted by her and the political power by forming an alliance with her. Because it is recorded that the native officials and *Guoshi* of the nineteen groups had their own public offices and implements for punishment, it can be interpreted that the groups were autonomous organizations with political power which also had judicature. As seen, according to Wang Quanchen, Honghuasi was an existence equal in nature as that of the native officials who led the autonomous organizations with political power in the region inhabited by Tibetans, and moreover, that it was at the top of these organizations in the Hezhou area. Now, did Honghuasi actually have the same functions as those of a native official?

Wang Quanchen explained how out of the nineteen groups Honghuasi and its subsidiary temple Mayingsi,²³⁾ commanded political power in the peripheral regions as follows, although they were religious institutions. Tibetan Buddhism was popular in the Hezhou area. Influential families had their own temples, which were subsidiaries of Honghuasi temple. Moreover, according to local custom, each local family always had one child become a Buddhist monk, the father distributed to that child land equal in area as those to his other children, the land inherited by that child was absorbed by the temple as its property and in effect came to be owned by Honghuasi, and thus tax was not paid to the national treasury. This land which had hence become temple property was called *xiangtian* (香田).

Furthermore, the child who had become a Buddhist monk could not keep up with the obligatory payments to Honghuasi temple, and would ask his clan for assistance. The clan, who pitied him, would offer a donation called *bangzhong* (幫中), and this gradually became a regular income for the temple. In addition, alms called *xiangqian* (香錢), which had originally been silver donated by the residents of the area for Buddhist rituals, became a convention and the temple demanded payment every year. *Xiangtian*, *bangzhong* and *xiangqian*, which were considerably unreasonable, were the three major sources of income for Honghuasi temple. Furthermore, the temple collected from the inhabitants horses to be supplied to the Qing Dynasty, and as a supplier accumulated land for this purpose. Those who did not comply to the demands of Honghuasi temple were arrested and subjected to punishment “that was a hundred times more stringent than that imposed by the national law.” Even if there were appeals or opposition, Honghuasi temple’s rights and interests were guaranteed because its demands were shielded by the argument that it was fulfilling the responsibilities to the Qing Dynasty.

Honghuasi temple’s activities according to Wang Quanchen as indicated above can be described as the following from the viewpoint of economic operation. First, on the basis that it was a Buddhist temple, Honghuasi exploited the inhabitants by making use of the high rate of those who became monks and the custom of donating alms. At the same time, the temple collected horses and land for their supply, and accumulated both as temple property on the basis that it was in charge of supplying horses to the Qing Dynasty. Also, from the viewpoint of political authority in the regional society, Honghuasi temple did not only have the authority as a Buddhist temple over its subsidiary temples and related inhabitants, but also accumulated land under the pretext of fulfilling its responsibility of supplying horses to the Dynasty and exercised political power including judicature in that area. In short, Honghuasi temple was a powerful organization that formed a realm of regional society where the national authority of the Qing Dynasty had no influence both financially and politically.

Qing China consented to Honghuasi temple’s economic exploitation and exercise of political power because it fulfilled the responsibility of supplying horses and military cooperation to her. However, Wang Quanchen did not acknowledge this logic. First of all, the price of the horses supplied by Honghuasi temple was higher than the market price when the price of tea Qing China gave to the temple as payment for the horses was converted to silver, and these horses were inferior with low value of use. In brief, the business of having the temple supply horses was low in economic efficiency. Moreover, it was a double evil because it encouraged illegal occupation of land on which tax could have been imposed. Secondly, although the temple claimed to be engaged in frontier defense, it has never caught even one bandit as a fact, and on the contrary, the area governed by Honghuasi temple was nothing but a hotbed of disturbing elements. Wang Quanchen mentioned these two points and insisted to deprive the

temple of its political authority. Wang Quanchen's report to the emperor reflected his belief that autonomous organizations of the Tibetan society in the entire region of Hezhou with religion existing among them were considerable obstacles for the Qing Dynasty's policy of liquidating local organizations with political power, and replacing them with public officers sent from China.

As mentioned, the hereditary *Guoshi* of Honghuasi insisted in the letter of appeal dated the fourth year of the Yongzheng era that the temple was bearing the financial burden of maintaining the frontier fortress and providing soldiers as in the case of the native officials. On the other hand, Wang Quanchen denounced the roles of the temple that they were in reality totally ineffective or had the reverse effect. However, Wang Quanchen denounced Honghuasi and other temples in Qinghai as well as the native officials on the premise that they should fundamentally bear military responsibilities for the Chinese dynasty. Therefore, regardless of whether or not Wang Quanchen felt that Honghuasi was loyal in its military cooperation, it is beyond doubt that the Qing Dynasty expected the temple to maintain military facilities and secure soldiers, and that the temple possessed enough economic and political foundation in the local area to implement its responsibilities. Consequently, it can be interpreted that Honghuasi temple was indeed equal in nature as the native officials who headed powerful local organizations.

So far, it has been discussed that in the Kangxi era Honghuasi temple was exercising political power equal to that of native officials, and that it was guaranteed to do so by the Qing Dynasty. Next, whether or not the same elements can be traced back to Honghuasi temple during the Ming Dynasty will be analyzed.

The first material for judgement is the following passage in *Native Officials*, volume five of the *XH*.

"It is not clearly known today about the native officials at the twenty-four passes under the jurisdiction of the assistant prefect of Hezhou during early Ming times. However, many of them were among the nineteen groups that supplied horses to the Ming Dynasty. . . . Some of the groups led by these native officials continued to exist and others became extinct. Some continued to exist even in the Kangxi and Yongzheng eras. . . . However, nothing is heard about them now. This is because these groups have been liquidated and the farmers owned by them have been included in the national census registration. Also, some Buddhist titles were hereditary. Titles such as *Guoshi* and *Chanshi* were handed down from one generation to the next in temples such as Honghua (鴻化) and Lingzang, and like the native officials, they controlled tribal people. The letter of imperial authorization was recalled in the fifth year of the Yongzheng era (1727) and heads of these temples were demoted to the title of *Dougang* (都綱), and thereafter the monks with this title only controlled the other monks in their temples and no longer the inhabitants of the area."

It is mentioned in this passage that the majority of the nineteen groups such as Honghuasi temple that supplied horses to China and cited in the *HZ* were headed by the native officials already in Ming times. It is clearly indicated that the title of *Guoshi* was handed down from one generation to the next in Honghuasi temple, that he had control over the farmers the temple owned known as the Honghua tribe and that his role corresponded to that of a native official. Judging from the context, it can be interpreted that the editors considered that the situation continued from Ming times to the Yongzheng era. However, the basis for this idea is not indicated in the text.

Nevertheless, the second material for judgement can be drawn from the same part of the article in the *XH* where the succession of the title of *Guoshi* in Honghuasi temple is mentioned. It cites that the position of *Guoshi*, although it is the rank of Buddhist monks, is hereditary. To supplement this article, the letter of appeal dated the fourth year of the Yongzheng era by Zhang Luozhujiancuo, the “hereditary” *Guoshi* of Honghuasi temple, and others recorded in the *XH* will be used again as reference here. It is mentioned in the letter that Zhang Xingjizangbu (張星吉藏卜, Seng-ge-bzang-po) is the founder of Honghuasi temple, and that his *tuyi* (徒裔) were “given the post of *Guoshi* and *Chanshi* through successive generations.” It can be confirmed that the Honghuasi side took the position of designating Xingjizangbu as the founder of the temple already in the record dated *jichou*, fifth month, tenth year of the Zhengde era in the *MSL*. The question is the meaning of *tuyi* mentioned in the letter of appeal dated the fourth year of the Yongzheng era. Luozhujiancuo referred to himself as the “hereditary” *Guoshi*, and as in the case of Xingjizangbu, used the Chinese-style family name of Zhang. Therefore, perhaps the title of the *Guoshi* of Honghuasi temple until Luozhujiancuo was succeeded not from master to disciple but within the kinship of the Zhang family. If this point were to be confirmed, it would mean that after the Zhengtong era person Xingjizangbu, the title of *Guoshi* was inherited by kinsmen calling themselves Zhang who continued to control the temple, and it could be concluded that in Ming times the temple was already a powerful organization similar in character as those led by native officials in the aspect of the inner structure based on the principle of kinship. In short, the second judgement material is whether or not the *Guoshi* of Honghuasi temple was inherited by blood relatives.

Wang Quanchen also referred to the succession of *Guoshi* of Honghuasi temple. In his report to the emperor dated the forty-fifth year of the Kangxi era, he cited that “the *Guoshi* (of Honghuasi temple) and the *Chanshi* (of Mayingsi temple) always handed down the title to the son of a brother,” and thus it can be known that the *Guoshi* of Honghuasi temple was inherited by a nephew of the last *Guoshi*. A similar record can be found also in *Bai dūra ser po* (fol. 112b), which states that “the temple in mDzo-mo-mkhar was controlled by the lineage of nephews.” It is beyond doubt that the *Guoshi* of Honghuasi temple was inherited from uncle to nephew because it is acknowledged in the Tibetan literary

document of the dGe-lugs-pa. The dGe-lugs-pa are generally said to have adopted the system of succession from master to disciple or transmigration, but it can be seen that in the case of Honghuasi, the position of abbot was handed down from one generation to the next within the Zhang family, who were related by blood to Xingjizangbu, the disciple of *Daci Fawang*. Consequently, although Honghuasi is a Buddhist temple, its role was similar to that of a native official in the aspect that it was a politically powerful local organization headed by a hereditary leader. Also, this feature of Honghuasi temple may be traced back to the Zhengtong era of the Ming Dynasty when the temple was founded, because it is said that Xingjizangbu of the Zhang family was involved in the establishment of the temple.

The third judgement material is whether or not Honghuasi temple was responsible for supplying horses to China also in Ming times. The Qing Dynasty official Wang Quanchen indicated that the power of Honghuasi temple equal to that of native officials was entirely supported by its position as the supplier of horses to China. Therefore, the most definite index to determine whether or not Honghuasi temple had the functions of a native official during Ming times would be to examine whether or not Ming China counted it as a supplier of horses.

In *Tea and Horses*, volume ten of the *LT*, the Honghua tribe of Hezhou is listed as one of the fifty-six Tibetan groups responsible for supplying horses. It can be known from this passage that the group of farmers owned by Honghuasi temple was counted as a supplier of horses by the Ming Dynasty during the Wanli era at the latest. The same list is recorded in *Tea and Horses*, volume nine of the version of the *LT* dated the thirty-third year of the Wanli era as that dated the twenty-third year of the same era. The name of the Honghua tribe is mentioned also in a similar list, although there are some differences in order and Chinese characters used, in the version of the *LT* dated the twenty-sixth year of the Kangxi era. Therefore, it can be said that Honghuasi temple was consistently counted as a supplier of horses by China and that it had the same functions as a native official at the latest from the twenty-third year of the Wanli era, throughout the Kangxi era based on the record in the *HZ* in mentioning that the Honghua (洪化) tribe was a supplier of horses, and until the early Yongzheng era when China adopted the policy of liquidating native powers and replacing them with public officials sent from the dynasty. Based on these three judgement materials, the author concludes that the aspect of Honghuasi temple as a politically powerful local organization similar to that of a native official can be traced back to Ming times.

It is rather a general phenomenon that Tibetan Buddhist temples in the region bordering China and Tibet also had the same characteristic as that of a native official. However, the function given to Honghuasi was clearly special compared with those of other temples in that it was important to Ming China in the aspect of border defense. If that were the case, Ming China might have wanted to control directly the region surrounding the temple without the intermediary of the Zhang family. But in reality, however, Honghuasi held a

realm which was free of Ming China's political authority like the other Tibetan Buddhist temples or even more securely than them because of its status as a *chijiansi*.

Why was Ming China resigned to let Honghuasi, an important military base, continue as a local politically powerful organization? Why did she retain the political power of Honghuasi in spite of the fact that the temple was assimilating the inhabitants and land as its property and was being an obstacle to the permeation of national authority?

The only reason for these is that the Ming Dynasty decided that the existence of Tibetan local powers is indispensable in maintaining stability in Qinghai, the region that stood at the border of the Han and non-Han races. For example, it is mentioned in the record dated the nineteenth year of the Wanli era (1591) in *Gansu Region*, volume five of *Quanbian lieji* [『全邊略記』 (Records on Frontiers)] that Ming China needed Tibetan inhabitants as troop strength. Ming China concentrated elite troops in Hezhou because four hundred Mongols led by Holochi were stationed with their cattle by the Mangla (蟒刺) River that year. On that occasion, eight hundred Tibetans led by a Tibetan chieftain joined the Ming forces "as it had been promised." The activity of the Tibetan soldiers in this battle is also found in the biography of Kechou (克臭) in volume nine of *Wanli wugonglu* [『萬曆武功錄』 (Records of the Ming Dynasty's Military Activities Published in the Wanli Era)], in which the cunning plan of using the Tibetan soldiers to attack the Mongols is favorably evaluated. On the other hand, there is a report to the emperor from the supervising secretary (*dougeishizhong*, 都給事中) in the Office of Scrutiny of War [in the biography of Huoluochi [火落赤 (Holochi)] in volume nine, *Wanli wugonglu*, and *Gansu Region*, volume five of *Quanbian lieji*] who warned that it is difficult for the Ming soldiers to collaborate with the Tibetan soldiers, because the latter set up tents anywhere as they liked. These records indicate that the Ming imperial forces depended on the military power of the Tibetan soldiers but were not in full control of them. The existence of Tibetan chieftains were indispensable for Ming China to use Tibetan military power. This is why the Ming Dynasty was compelled to acknowledge the existence of native officials and temples with similar functions.

Because Ming China was destined to defend the northern border, she intended to steer the Tibetan soldiers, who were strong and brave but difficult to command, against the Mongols. Also, she tried to procure from the local Tibetan society the materials and labor force needed to sustain the military facilities for frontier defense. She was at least resolved not to allow an incident like the uprising of the thirteen Tibetan groups such as the Basha tribe in the Zhuanglang area to happen near Honghuasi temple, the route of invasion for the Mongols. However, Ming China was also aware of the fact that she was unable to achieve the objective independently. She was compelled to coexist with the political power of the Zhang family in spite of the heightened military importance of Honghuasi temple from the Chenghua era onwards because the temple was forming its own

sphere of influence in the local Tibetan society where religious authority was readily transferred to political power, as a *chijiansi* since the Zhengtong era or as the cemetery of the dGe-lugs-pa Buddhist dignitaries.²⁴⁾ Hence, the third aspect of Honghuasi as the political office of the Zhang family manifested itself at a point where the limit of Ming China's political authority in the Tibetan society in the western frontier and the Zhang family's value of use for the Ming Dynasty came into contact.

5. Conclusion

The three aspects of Honghuasi, namely as a Buddhist temple, military base and local politically powerful organization have been discussed.

For the dGe-lugs-pa, Honghuasi temple was the only organ which guaranteed constant contact with the Ming Dynasty after the title of *Fawang* had been discontinued. Ming China granted considerable preferential treatment to the temple such as the acceptance of tributes and repairs using national funds. Ming Chinese historical documents concerning the dGe-lugs-pa seem to be rare at first glance on account of the fact that the *Daci Fawang* title was discontinued, but negotiations between the Ming Dynasty and the dGe-lugs-pa were closely maintained through the existence of Honghuasi temple. In short, none of the facts convey that the relationship between Ming China and the dGe-lugs-pa was weak. It is difficult to consider that the dGe-lugs-pa itself had ever felt it was alienated by Ming China, and consequently, it is not valid to deem that the weak relationship between the two parties led to the latter's approach to the Mongols.

The favorable relationship between Honghuasi temple and Ming China seems to have been realized exclusively by the approach of the temple to the court at least until about the middle of the Chenghua era. In the latter half of the era, however, a situation resulted in which the Ming side needed to maintain close relations with the temple. This was because Honghuasi temple began to assume an important military position as the defense of the Hezhou and Lintao areas was necessitated by the encroaching Mongols. Moreover, Honghuasi temple did not merely provide a place to install a fortress for the Ming imperial army. The temple itself mobilized the local Tibetan inhabitants, maintained and administered the fortress, and supplemented soldiers. Honghuasi temple had political and economic power in the region with the support of the local Tibetans' deep belief in Buddhism, and could shoulder these military responsibilities. From the viewpoint of Ming China, she acknowledged the existing power of Honghuasi temple to subsist as an intermediary between the state and inhabitants and chose to indirectly control the Tibetan society in the frontier, in order to devise for peace with them and to obtain their cooperation for battles against the Mongols. This decision by the Ming Dynasty indicates that she was compelled to coexist with Honghuasi temple because its system of power was firmly established in the regional society.

It has been discussed in this paper that the relationship between Honghuasi temple and the Ming Dynasty embodied the above-mentioned urgent issues, and thus exceeded the character of mere religious preferential treatment. It should be called to mind again that during the period of the third Dalai Lama, the dGe-lugs-pa showed consideration to the relationship with the Ming Dynasty while it proceeded with missionary work to the Mongols. It should be remembered that Ming China also resumed sudden interest in negotiations with Honghuasi temple until the early part of the Wanli era after she had lost the will to negotiate with Tibetans in general in the Jiajing era, and at the same time, positively evaluated the pro-Ming message generated by the third Dalai Lama. These phenomena cannot be explained unless some connection between Ming China and the dGe-lugs-pa existed and functioned theretofore. The role of Honghuasi temple that has been followed heretofore should enable this explanation as a factor that supported the relationship between the Ming Dynasty and the dGe-lugs-pa.

Notes

- 1) In this paper, several titles bestowed upon Tibetan priests and monks by the Ming Dynasty will be mentioned. They can be arranged in order of rank: *Fawang* [法王 (The King of Buddhism)], *Guanding Daguoshi* [灌頂大國師 (The Great Master of the Dynasty Who Performs the Ritual of Pouring Water)], *Daguoshi* [大國師 (The Great Master of the Dynasty)], *Guoshi* [國師 (The Master of the Dynasty)], *Chanshi* [禪師 (The Master of Zen Teaching)], and the *Dougang* [都綱 (The Supervisor of Buddhist Precept)]. However, it should be noted that the title itself does not necessarily mean an actual attribute of a priest or monk. For example, even if a Tibetan monk was bestowed the title of *Chanshi*, he might not have any relationship with the Zen sect. On these and other titles for Tibetans, see Noguchi Tetsurō, “*Mindai chūki no Bukkyōkai*,” pp. 199–210.
- 2) See Turell V. Wylie, “*Lama Tribute in the Ming Dynasty*,” p. 338.
- 3) See Otosaka Tomoko, “*Gerukupa-Mongol no Sekkin to Minchō*,” pp. 2–7.
- 4) See Satō Hisashi, *Chūsei Chibettoshi kenkyū*, pp. 204–208, 244 etc. See also tr. and ed. T.V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet: According to the 'dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*, pp. 199–200.
- 5) When the *Ming shi lu* from the reigns of the respective emperors are quoted hereafter, the formal names and volume numbers of the documents will be abbreviated and dates of the corresponding records will be indicated.
- 6) See Huang Hao, “*Beijing Fahaisi Zangzu shuyuan sengren kao*,” pp. 72–73.
- 7) See Otosaka, “*Min chokken Kōkaji kō*.”
- 8) dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas, *Yul mdo smad kyī . . . deb ther rgya mtsho* (The Ocean Annals of Amdo).
- 9) Sang rgyas rgya mtsho, *dPal mnyam med ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa . . . gsal bar byed pa bai dūra ser po'i me long* (Book of the Yellow Jewel Revealing the Bases of the dGe-lugs-pa's Teachings).
- 10) Tibetan names that could be assumed from their indications in Chinese characters are shown in brackets.
- 11) See Otosaka, “*Minchō Chibetto seisaku no kihonteki taisei*,” p. 40, note 48.
- 12) See the record in *Biography of the Third Dalai Lama* to be mentioned hereafter in the paper or *Bai dūra ser po* (fol. 267b) as for the third Dalai Lama's visit to Honghuasi temple. Also, Deng Ruiling theorizes that the monk of Honghuasi temple who obtained the title of *Daguoshi* is the third Dalai Lama himself (see Deng, *Yuan Ming liaodai zhongyang yu Xizang difang de guanxi*, p. 89). The author has examined that possibility but feels that there are not enough historical evidence to confirm this theory at present.

- 13) All quotations indicated simply as *LT* hereafter will refer to the version of the *Lintaofu zhi* published in the twenty-third year of the Wanli era. The versions published in the thirty-third year of the era (1605) and the twenty-sixth year of the Kangxi era (1687) will be specified as such.
- 14) See the record dated *wuzi* (戊子), second month, ninth year of the Chenghua era (1473) for the distances between fortresses and beacon towers, as well as their sizes. The standard distance between the fortresses seems to have been slightly under one hundred *li*, and that between the beacons about one and a half *li*. Hence, fortresses were placed at considerable intervals, and many beacons, which were military facilities on a smaller scale, were positioned in between. Furthermore, a record dated the Chenghua era which conveys that one hundred to two hundred soldiers were stationed at a fortress is introduced by Tamura Jitsuzō in his paper “*Mindai no Orudosu*,” p. 8. Further, there were quite a few cases of temples functioning also as military facilities such as the Hangjia (韓家) fortress, Hangjiasi (韓家寺) beacon and Kongjiasi (孔家寺) beacon cited under the subject of fortresses and beacon towers in the Hezhou area in *Defence*, volume eleven of the *LT*.
- 15) The name of Honghuasi temple is indicated differently according to the local gazetteers such as Honghuasi (弘花寺) in the *LT*, Honghuasi (洪化寺) in the *HZ*, Honghuasi (鴻化寺) in the *Qinghai zhi* (『青海志』), *Qinghai ji* (『青海紀』) and the *XH*, as well as Honghuasi (宏化寺) in the *XH*. In particular, the original Chinese character of *hong* (弘) is not used since the reign of the Qianlong (乾隆) Emperor, whose given name was Hongli (弘曆).
- 16) See Otsuka, “*Min chokken Kōkaji kō*,” pp. 41, and 56–57.
- 17) See Ai Chong, *Midai Shaanxi sizhen Changcheng*, pp. 138–139, and 144.
- 18) As for the moves of the Mongols in the Qinghai area, see Wakamatsu Hiroshi, “*Minmatsu Uchimōko Tometojin no Seikai chiku shinshutsu*,” or Ekuni Masami, “*Seikai Mongorushi no ichi kōsatsu*.”
- 19) Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *rJe btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho'i rnam thar . . .* (Biography of the Third Dalai Lama bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho).
- 20) How must the repetition of Honghua (弘花) as a fortress and a beacon tower be interpreted if a fortress were a military base consisting of one hundred to two hundred soldiers and a beacon tower were a smaller military facility placed at the intervals of the larger ones as mentioned above in 14? It can be understood that the case of Honghuasi was not extraordinary because there are other examples of repetitions such as Hanjia fortress and Hangjiasi beacon, as well as Dangjia (黨家) fortress and Dangjiashan (黨家山) beacon mentioned in *Defence*, volume eleven of the *LT*. Especially in the case of Honghuasi temple, it owned an extensive area of one hundred *qing* (頃) according to the record in *Buddhist and Taoist temples*, volume four of the *HZ*. Therefore, it would not be illogical if both the fortress and beacon tower were installed therein.
- 21) As for when the imperial authorizations of the hereditary *Guoshi* of Honghuasi temple and other influential parties were recalled and the farmers they owned were included in the general census registration, the fourth year of the Yongzheng era is given in *Regions Inhabited by Native Tribes*, volume four, and the fifth year of the same era is given in *Native Officials*, volume five, both of the *XH*.
- 22) As for the authorizations issued by the Ministry of War, see the record on appointing native officials in *The Ministry of War: Native Officials*, volume five hundred and eighty six of the *Da Qing huidian shili* (『大清會典事例』).
- 23) In the letter of appeal dated the fourth year of the Yongzheng era by the hereditary *Guoshi* of Honghuasi and others recorded in *Regions Inhabited by Native Tribes*, volume four of the *XH*, it is mentioned that Honghuasi and Mayingsi are the same temple in substance. Chandra Das placed a footnote “Ma-yang-se” in the text that may be translated as “a gDong-ka mountain temple was divided as a branch of the mDzo-mo-mkhar” in *dPag bsam ljon bzang*, and that footnote refers to Mayingsi temple [see ed. Chandra Das, *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, p. 347]. Also, the temple name only of “Ma-yin-zi” is added to the explanation of mDzo-mo-mkhar in *Deb ther rgya mtsho* (part 1, fol. 273a). Mayingsi temple is shown at the west of Honghuasi temple in *Drawings of Mountains and Rivers*, volume one of the *HZ*. It must have been located in the present Mayingzhen (馬營鎮), Minhe Huize Tuze Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. The records pertaining to the local

political power of Honghuasi always mention that temple and Mayingsi side by side, and convey that the latter had similar political powers as the former. Details on Mayingsi temple will be omitted from the rest of the paper, but it should be noted that it existed as a subsidiary of Honghuasi temple.

- 24) The author has limited the paper to the social and political influence of Honghuasi temple only in the area surrounding Hezhou inhabited by Tibetans. However, in order to accurately evaluate the role accomplished by the dGe-lugs-pa as an intermediary for the Mongols and the Chinese, a more macroscopic study of the influence of the dGe-lugs-pa in the entirety of the Qinghai region would be necessary. Yamaguchi Zuihō, “*Jūnanaseiki shotō no Chibetto no kōsō to Seikai Mongoru,*” is a paper that responds to this need. This paper sheds light on the overall image of the dGe-lugs-pa in the Qinghai region by offering many valuable information such as the fact that an individual related to the dGe-lugs-pa in the region had much voice in the selection of the fourth Dalai Lama.

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List: Tributes by the dGe-lugs-pa

Keys:

1) On the forms of tributes:

- Tributes from *Daci Fawang* when he visited the Ming court himself (including the cases before he was granted the title of *Fawang*).
- ◐ Tributes from *Daci Fawang* when he dispatched envoys (including the cases before he was granted the title of *Fawang*).
- Tributes which can be interpreted as those from the dGe-lugs-pa sect but not from *Daci Fawang*.

2) On the relationship with Honghuasi temple:

- Tributes indicated in documents as those from Honghuasi temple.
- Tributes which can be interpreted as those from Honghuasi temple, although not clearly indicated in documents.

Documents/dates	Tributary (Under whose name the tribute was brought)	Mark
<i>MSL/Guisi</i> (癸巳), 12th month, 12th year, Yongle (永樂) era (1414)	High priest Shijiayeshi (釋迦也失 Shākya-ye-shes) of Wusizang (烏思藏 dBus gtsang)	●
<i>MSL/Wuwu</i> (戊午), 2nd month, 15th year, Yongle era (1417)	<i>Daguoshi</i> (大國師) Shijiayeshi of Wusizang	◐
<i>MSL/Yimao</i> (乙卯), 2nd month, 21st year, Yongle era (1423)	<i>Guanding Hongshan Dagushi</i> (灌頂弘善 大國師) Shijiayeshi (of Wusizang)	◐
<i>MSL/Gengzi</i> (庚子), 3rd month, 1st year, Xuande (宣德) era (1426)	<i>Daguoshi</i> Shijiayeshi	◐
<i>MSL/Yiwei</i> (乙未), 12th month, 4th year, Xuande era (1429)	<i>Daguoshi</i> Shijiayeshi (of Wusizang)	◐
<i>MSL/Yihai</i> (乙亥), 8th month, 5th year, Xuande era (1430)	Yangdaer (養答兒), the disciple of <i>Daguoshi</i> Shijiayeshi of Wusizang	○
<i>MSL/Xinhai</i> (辛亥), 2nd month, 6th year, Xuande era (1431)	Luozhuocumi (羅卓促密 Blo-gros-jigs-med?), the disciple of <i>Daguoshi</i> Shijiayeshi of Wusizang	○
<i>Volume 219: Daci Fawang, Documents on the Western Region</i> (西域傳), <i>Ming shi</i> (『明史』)/9th year, Xuande era (1434)	<i>Daci Fawang</i> (大慈法王) Shijiayeshi	●
<i>MSL/Xinyou</i> (辛酉), 10th month, 2nd year, Zhengtong (正統) era (1437)	<i>Chanshi</i> (禪師) Lingzhan (領占 Rinchen), the disciple of <i>Daci Fawang</i> Shijiayeshi of Wusizang ¹⁾	○

<i>MSL/Dingchou</i> (丁丑), 1st month, 7th year, Zhengtong era (1442)	<i>Puying Chanshi</i> (普應禪師) Lingzhan of Hezhou Guard in Shaanxi ²⁾	○ □
<i>MSL/Dingsi</i> (丁巳), 4th month, 7th year, Zhengtong era (1442)	<i>Puying Chanshi</i> lama (刺麻 Bla-ma) Lingzhan of Hezhou Guard in Shaanxi ³⁾	○ □
<i>MSL/Renshen</i> (壬申), 5th month, 11th year, Zhengtong era (1446)	<i>Puying Chanshi</i> Lingzhan (of Wusizang) ⁴⁾	○ □
<i>MSL/Yiyou</i> (乙酉), 7th month, 11th year, Zhengtong era (1446)	Gaozhuwa Jiancangzangbu (皋竺瓦簡參藏卜) ...? -rgyal-mtshan-bzang-po), the disciple of <i>Daci Fawang</i> of Wusizang	○
<i>MSL/Xinwei</i> (辛未), 4th month, 13th year, Zhengtong era (1448)	<i>Puying Chanshi</i> Lingzhan of Wusizang ⁵⁾	○ □
<i>MSL/Jiwei</i> (己未), 4th month, 14th year, Zhengtong era (1449)	Tibetan monk lama Yishizang (倚什藏 Ye-shes-bzang) and others of Maisiben (麥思奔 'Bras-spungs ⁶⁾) in Sichuan Wusizang (四川烏思藏)	○
<i>MSL/Xinwei</i> , 6th month, 2nd year, Jingtai (景泰) era (1451)	Chuojijiancan (綽吉監燦 Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan) of Xielasi (些蠟寺 Sera ⁷⁾) temple in Wusizang	○
<i>MSL/Xinhai</i> , 3rd month, 7th year, Tianshun (天順) era (1463)	Tibetan monk Sanzhuqie (三竹亂 bSam-grub-...?) of Honghuasi (弘化寺) temple in Hezhou of Shaanxi	○ ■
<i>MSL/Wuchen</i> (戊辰), 1st month, 1st year, Chenghua (成化) era (1465)	Tibetan monk Suonanwojier (鎖南斡 卽卽兒 bSod-nams-'od-gzer) and others of Liwo ge(er)dansi (哩斡革 (爾)丹寺 ⁸⁾) temple and other temples	○
<i>MSL/Jiawu</i> (甲午), 3rd month, 3rd year, Chenghua era (1467)	Tibetan monk Gonggeduanzhu (工哥端竹 Kun-dga'-don-grub) of Honghuasi temple in Hezhou Guard of Shaanxi	○ ■
<i>MSL/Yiwei</i> , 4th month, 4th year, Chenghua era (1468)	Tibetan monk Gonggeduanzhu of Honghuasi temple in Hezhou of Shaanxi	○ ■
<i>MSL/Xinchou</i> (辛丑), 11th month, 6th year, Chenghua era (1470)	Tibetan monks and native chieftains, including Wengejiancan (溫葛堅參 ...? -rgyal-mtshan), of Gedan (葛丹 dGa'-ldan ⁹⁾) temple and other temples and bases in Wusizang	○

<i>MSL/Renshen</i> , 11th month, 10th year, Chenghua era (1474)	Tibetan monk Wangshuzangbu (汪束藏卜 dBang-phyug-bzang-po) and others of Xiaqing (顯慶), Honghua and other temples in Shaanxi	○ ■
<i>MSL/Bingshen</i> (丙申), 5th month, 16th year, Chenghua era (1480)	Tibetan monks, including Duanyaozangbu (端藥藏卜 Don-yod-bzang-po), of Zhashilunbu (割失倫卜 Bkra-shis-lhun-po ¹⁰) temple and other temples in Wusizang	○
<i>MSL/Yichou</i> (乙丑), 2nd month, 17th year, Chenghua era (1481)	Tibetan monk Xingjizhashi (星吉割失 Seng-ge-bkra-shis) of Honghuasi temple in Hezhou of Shaanxi	○ ■
<i>MSL/Bingwu</i> (丙午), 5th month, 20th year, Chenghua era (1484)	Tibetan monk Nangezhashi (喃葛割失 Nam-mkha'-bkra-shis) of Honghuasi (洪化寺) temple in Hezhou	○ ■
<i>MSL/Renyin</i> (壬寅), 4th leap month, 21st year, Chenghua era (1485)	Tibetan monk Xingjizhashi of Honghuasi temple in Hezhou	○ ■
<i>MSL/Gengzi</i> , 9th month, 4th year, Zhengde (正德) era (1509)	Tibetan monk <i>Dougang</i> (都綱) Suonanzangbu (鎮南藏卜 bSod-nams-bzang-po) and others of Honghua temple, and of other temples	○ ■
<i>The History of Tibet</i> (西番國統), <i>Siyi guangji</i> (『西夷廣記』) 9th month, 7th year, Zhengde era (1512)	Tibetan monk Zangbuluo-zhu (藏卜洛竹 bZang-po-blo-gros) of Honghua temple and Xianqing temple ¹¹	○ ■
<i>MSL/Jiashen</i> (甲申), 2nd month, 16th year, Zhengde era (1521)	Tibetan monk Zhubazangbu (著巴藏卜 Chos-dpal-bzang-po) of Honghuasi temple in Hezhou of Shaanxi	○ ■
<i>MSL/Yichou</i> , 7th month, 16th year, Zhengde era (1521)	Tibetan monk Zhubazangbu of Honghuasi temple	○ ■
<i>MSL/Jichou</i> (己丑), 12th month, 3rd year, Wanli (萬曆) era (1575)	Tibetan monk Suonanxingji (鎮南星吉 bSod-nams-seng-ge) of Honghuasi temple	○ ■
<i>MSL/Renyin</i> , 1st month, 4th year, Wanli era (1576)	Tibetan monk Suonanxingji of Honghuasi temple	○ ■
<i>MSL/Jiyou</i> (己酉), 1st month, 4th year, Wanli era (1576)	Tibetan monk Suonanxingji of Honghuasi temple in Hezhou Guard	○ ■

<i>MSL/Jiaxu</i> (甲戌), 2nd month, 4th year, Wanli era (1576)	Tibetan monk Zhanyangguanzhu (占羊管著 'Jam-dbyangs-dkon-mchog) of Honghuasi in Hezhou Guard of Shaanxi	○ ■
<i>Volume 8: Biography of Altan, Wanli wugonglu</i> (『萬曆武功錄』)/12th month, 7th year, Wanli era (1579–1580)	Anda (俺答 Altan) and Tibetan monk Mandunshili hubiliha (滿頓失禮虎筆力哈 Mañjushrī qubilyan ¹³⁾)	○
<i>MSL/Jiawu</i> , 12th month, 10th year, Wanli era (1582)	Tibetan monk Linzhen-e-zhu (領真俄竹 Rin-chen-...?) of Lingzang tribe (靈藏族) of Honghuasi temple in Shaanxi	○ ■
<i>MSL/Xinwei</i> , 4th month, 11th year, Wanli era (1583)	Tibetan monk Zhashi (割失 Bkra-shis) of Honghuasi temple	○ ■
<i>Volume 8: Biography of Qong tayiji, Wanli wugonglu</i> /7th month, 13th year, Wanli era (1585)	Qiqingha (乞慶哈 Secen qayan) and Tibetan monk Dalai (答賴 Dalai) ¹⁴⁾	} 15) ○
<i>MSL/Bingyin</i> (丙寅), 11th month, 13th year, Wanli era (1585)	<i>Shunyi Wang</i> (順義王) Qiqingha of Mongol and Dalai of Tibet	
<i>MSL/Renxu</i> (壬戌), 10th month, 15th year, Wanli era (1587)	<i>Shunyi Wang</i> Chelike (播力克) of Mongol, . . . , and Tibetan monk lama <i>Jueyi</i> (覺義) Dalai ¹⁶⁾	○
<i>MSL/Xinyou</i> , 12th month, 25th year, Wanli era (1597)	Tibetan monk Tongzhujiancock (統諸堅錯...?-rgyal-mtshan) of Honghuasi temple in Shaanxi	○ ■

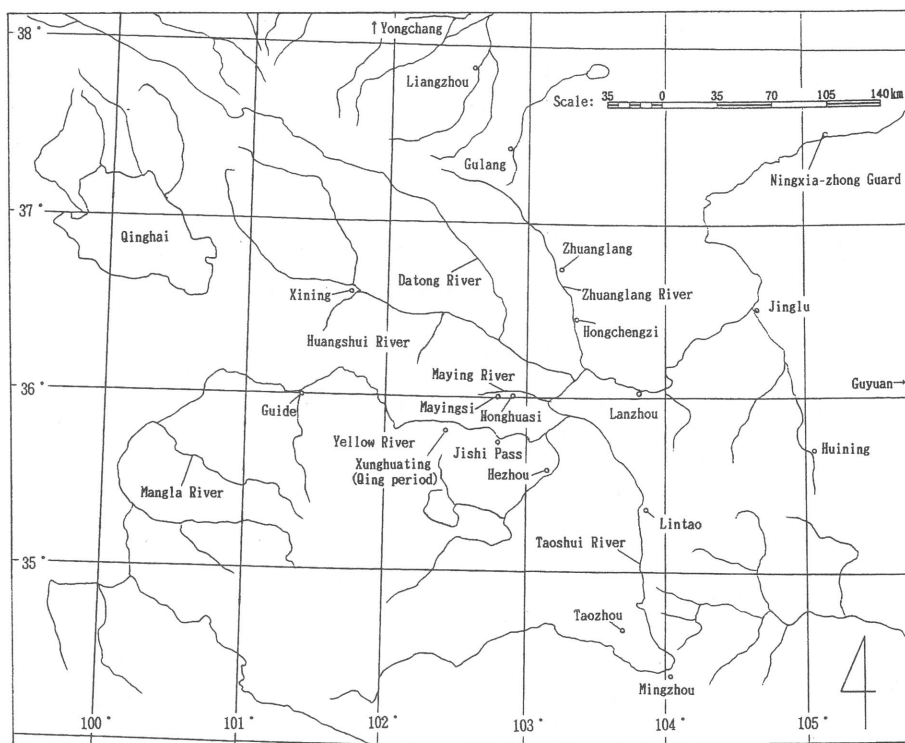
Notes on list:

- 1) See the record A) given in chapter 2.
- 2) See the record B) given in chapter 2.
- 3) See the record D) given in chapter 2.
- 4) See the record E) given in chapter 2.
- 5) See the record F) given in chapter 2.
- 6) See Satō Hisashi, *Chūsei Chibettoshi kenkyū*, p. 207.
- 7) See Satō, *ibid.*, p. 206.
- 8) Every text of the *MSL* indicate the name of this temple as “Liwo genidan (哩幹革你丹),” but the character “ni (你 *i.e.* 爾),” should be corrected as “er (尔 *i.e.* 爾).” In the *MSL* the characters “你(爾)” and “尔(爾)” are frequently intermingled. For example, a Tibetan monk of Huijicheba (慧濟扯把) temple in Shaanxi is indicated as “Maniwanbu (馬你完卜)” in the record of *Gengxu*, first month, fourteenth year of the Wanli era (1586), while his name is mentioned as “Ma-er-wanbu (馬爾完卜)” in the record of *Xinyou*, fifth month, eighteenth year of the same era (1590), and *Wuyin*, third month, twenty-fourth year also of the same era (1596). Therefore, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the temple name in this case would be “Riwo ge-er-dan (哩幹

革爾丹). Besides, “Ri-bo dGa’ldan” is a general expression of dGa’ldan temple, or that of the dGe-lugs-pa sect as a whole. The pronunciations “Ri-bo dGa’ldan” and “Riwo ge-er-dan” are close to each other. Consequently, this item should be thought as a tribute from “Ri-bo dGa’ldan,” the temple of the dGe-lugs-pa.

- 9) See Satō, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
- 10) See Satō, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
- 11) No record in the *MSL* mentions this tribute. However, the record dated *Jichou*, fifth month, tenth year of the Zhengde era in the *MSL* describes that *Guanding Daguoshi* Suonanzangbu (灌頂大國師 鎖南藏卜) of Honghua temple and Xianqing temple was given an imperial order to guarantee the temple’s estate that had been granted in the past. It is clear that Honghua temple and Xianqing temple had sent tribute before this order was issued. Therefore, it is valid to accept the record of the *Siyi guangji*, though the interval between seventh year and tenth year of the Zhengde era seems to be too long, and the names of the tributaries are different.
- 12) It can be determined that these three records refer to the same tribute.
- 13) Mañjushrī qubilyan belonged to dGe-lugs-pa. See Satō, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
- 14) Tribute from the third Dalai Lama.
- 15) It should be interpreted that these two records in different documents refer to the same tribute because of the following reasons. Firstly, the names of the tributaries are identical. Secondly, the *Wanli wugonglu* says the tributary envoys were dispatched, and the *MSL* says the envoys were given the gifts in return. Therefore, these two records should be understood as those of continuous events of one tribute.
- 16) “Tibetan monk lama *Jueyi* Dalai” is to be identified as the third Dalai Lama.

Figure 1



Reference materials:

- Tan Qixiang (譚基驥) et al. ed. *The Historical Atlas of China, Vol. 7: The Yuan Dynasty Period, The Ming Dynasty Period* (『中國歷史地圖集』第7冊 元·明時期). Beijing: Cartographic Publishing House, 1982.
- Tan Qixiang et al. ed. *The Historical Atlas of China, Vol. 8: The Qing Dynasty Period* (清時期). Beijing: Cartographic Publishing House, 1987.
- Li Qiguang (李啓光) ed. *The Map of Qinghai Province* (青海省地圖). Beijing: Xinhua Shudian, 1987.

Figure 2

From Volume one: Landform, *Lingtaofu zhi* (the version dated the twenty-third year of the Wanli era)

