

The Changes of Tibetan Buddhist Monastery in the Past Half Century

— A Case Study of Drepung Monastery

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The most unique characteristic of Tibetan society has been the prevailing domination of Tibetan Buddhism for centuries and its regime combining administration and religion. As Melvyn Goldstein said, “Buddhism has played a central role in Tibetan society, defining morality and the fundamental meaning of existence through its core notions of karma, rebirth, and enlightenment” (Goldstein, 1998:5). In history, not only Dalai Lamas had been the supreme leaders of the regime and monks occupied key positions at all administrative levels, but monasteries also played the unique role in the society and people’s daily life. First, “these monasteries represented a new factor in the political structure of Tibet..... (second) the monastery formed a self-governing economic unit” (Tucci, 1980: 8—9). Monasteries own a large percent of Tibet’s arable land (estates) and serfs¹, managed various kinds of trade, and were economically powerful. Third, many monasteries even had their military force (fighting monks). This social and economic structure in Tibet was very different from other parts of China.

Among all Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, the “three seats” (Drepung, Sera, and Ganden) have played a key role in the whole system and “acted as the main monasteries for hundreds of smaller branch monasteries” (Goldstein, 1989:24). These three “are generally referred to as ‘State Monasteries’ because, while they possessed their own property, they often received assistance from the state in case of need” (Tucci, 1980:146). “The three great monasteries of Lhasa, housing between them some 20,000 monks, were the most powerful instrument for dominating the administration. Each of them had a proportion of sturdy, not very highly educated monks, who were maintained more or less as a monastic army”(Richardson, 1984: 130). “All three of these monasteries were in the Lhasa area and were to become pre-eminent in the ruling of Tibet”(Grunfeld, 1996: 40).

Among the “three seats”, Drepung (vbras-spung) was the largest and most important monastery in Tibetan history. Many studies on Tibet have introduced Drepung Monastery and other two “seats”, regarding their important role in Tibetan Buddhism (Goldstein, 1989: 24—31), and their teaching system (Tucci, 1980: 137—138). A whole chapter of a lead-

ing book on Tibetan Buddhist (Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet) focused on Drepung monastery, introducing its history, its colleges, and its financial situation (Goldstein and Kapstein, 1998: 16—52).

Therefore, to study the three monastic “seats”, especially Drepung, is an important for an in-depth understanding of the role of Buddhism in contemporary Tibetan society. Although many western scholars have paid special attention to Drepung Monastery, their studies were mainly on written literature or individual interviews. It has been difficult for western scholars to obtain official statistics of registered monks and relevant information needed for a demographic analysis. Such a study may reveal the dynamic process of the social transition of this leading monastery and its monks and might be a special contribution to the studies of Tibetan Buddhism and Drepung. This is the main focus of this paper.

In this paper, the history of Drepung Monastery will be briefly introduced, and then the historical changes in the size of its monks will be reviewed. The second part of this paper analyzes the age structure of the monks and geographic distribution of their place of origin. The third part discusses the organization of Drepung before and after 1959 when the Dalai Lama left Tibet. The fourth part introduces the life experiences of three monks and the incomes of the monastery and monks. The final part is the conclusion and discussion. This paper discusses how Drepung – the largest monastery for Gelugpa sect of Tibetan Buddhism – evolved in recent 50 years based on author’s sociological research in this monastery. It provides a comparative analysis of the monastery by analyzing the quantity and composition of the monks, the organization and economy of the monastery and the life of these monks in half a century since about 1959.

The development of Drepung in the period from its foundation in the 15th century to 1959 is not in the focus of this paper, rather the focus of my analysis is a case study comparing Drepung monastery before 1959 as a model of a Gelugpa monastery in the old Tibet, and the current Drepung. My aim is to discuss what are the differences in its development, how the development proceeded, and what factors influenced the development. The survey and analysis of case studies is meant to tell how Drepung monastery has adapted to the socialist system with Chinese characteristics and how it has developed under such a political system. From this, the development milestones, current status and trend of the Chinese ethnic and religious policies in Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) can also be understood.

The Tibetan population reached 5.4 million in 2000, and the Tibetan–Han relationship is one of the most important ethnic relations in today’s China. When we discuss the ethnic relations in contemporary China, Tibet cannot be ignored. Since Buddhism has dominated Tibetans’ daily life, and lamas and monks were highly respected in Tibetan society, the case study of Drepung monastery might provide some insights in better understanding of ethnic relations in China.

I. The Brief History of Drepung Monastery

Drepung Monastery (“Bras-spungs Monastery), literally the “Rice Heap”, is located about five kilometers west of Lhasa, Tibet. It was founded in 1416 AD by Jamyang Chöje

(‘jam dbyangs chos rje) (1379—1449), who was one of the main disciples of Tsongkhapa (1357—1419), the founder of the Gelugpa (Dge lugs pa) sect.

Drepung was founded and developed in a very difficult period in the 15th century, when Tibet was separated into parts and ruled by different local powers. The cost and labors for building the monastery subject to the monastery were provided by Nammkha’ bzang-po, an official of Phakmodrupa’s government. Drepung has become the largest monastery in Tibet with the most monks, and was where the earliest five Dalai Lamas resided. It was a religious and political center where the Gelugpa sect was founded and developed, and it also became a center for study and research for Tibetan Buddhism.

From a historical point of view, the Gelugpa founder and great Buddhist Master Tsongkhapa succeeded in reforming religious practice. His Gelugpa was founded on basis of the doctrine of the Kadampa but adopted the essence of other religious sects. He emphasized that Buddhists must follow a strict moral code of discipline. He held the annual Mönlam (Great Prayer Festival) and preached sermons at the Mönlam. He advocated the procedure for studying that included first Sutra and then Tantra, and stipulated that monks must study at least five sutras. He promoted the study of logic, and encouraged formal debates as part of Dharma studies. He introduced the systems of debates, examinations and Geshe degree granting (titles or degrees in Gelugpa sect)². He provided wide Buddhist teachings and recruited numerous students, many of whom have become outstanding activists of Tibetan Buddhism. He and his followers established the foundation and bases for the development of Gelugpa by building the three “Monastic Seats”, the monasteries of Ganden (Dga’ ldan) in 1409, Drepung (‘Bras-spungs) in 1416, and Sera (Se ra) in 1418.

During the period of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), through association with the Mongolian Gūshi (or Gushri) Khan (1582–1655) and Mongolian tribes, and especially the political and military support of the Qing Government, the Gelugpa sect eventually consolidated its political and religious position in the history of Tibet.

The Ganden Podrang (dga’ ldan pho brang) in Drepung was the residence of the Dalai Lamas until the construction of the Potala Palace which was completed in 1645. Since then, the Potala became the residence of the Dalai Lama. From then on, Ganden Podrang was regarded as a synonym of the local authority of Tibet. Therefore, the history of Drepung is tightly associated with the theocratic history of the local Tibetan authority for more than 300 years, and is the religious and social relations in miniature in the history of Tibet.

Before discussing about how Drepung has changed, it is necessary to learn about the practice of Chinese ethnic and religious policies in TAR, which can be preliminarily summed up in the following four phases.

1. Phase I: 1951–1959, when the Central Government allowed the social and political systems of TAR to remain unchanged.

The Agreement of the Central People’s Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet (known as the 17-Point Agreement

in short, for its English version, see Karan, 1976: 89—91) was signed on May 23, 1951. The Agreement explicitly stipulated the fundamental policies of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to Tibetan religions that are “to implement the policy on freedom of religious belief as stipulated in the Common Program of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, to respect the religious beliefs and social customs of the Tibetan people, and to protect Lamaist Temples. The Central Government would allow no change in the revenues of monasteries.” And, “the Central Government will also allow no change in the current political system of Tibet and allow no change in the inherent position and authority of the Dalai Lama. Tibetan government officials at different levels are allowed to hold their offices as usual.”

The Tibet Branch of the Buddhist Association of China was established in 1956 in Lhasa. Before its founding, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama had become President and Vice President of the Buddhist Association of China, marking the cooperation between the Tibetan religious community and the new society, and a new period in Tibet’s history. In this period, how a mutual adaptation could be realized between the social and political systems of Tibet and the socialist system of China became a major contradiction and challenge for the Tibetan society since its social and political systems were not radically changed and especially since its theocratic system remained unchanged.

In 1959, the records show that there were 2,716 monasteries in Tibet including temples and hermitages, and there were 114,925 monks and nuns who comprised over 10 percent of the total population of that time.³

In March 1959, an armed rebellion occurred in Lhasa and some monasteries directly participated in and provided support for the rebellion. Many senior monks left Tibet for exile in India following the Dalai Lama. On July 17, 1959, the Resolution on Democratic Reforms was passed by the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region (PCTAR). The resolution determined: on the one hand, to continually protect the freedom of religious belief and to continue conservation of the monasteries as well as historic landmarks and sites that are patriotic and legal and have historical significance; and on the other hand, to launch a campaign in monasteries against rebellion, feudal privileges and feudal exploitation, and to square accounts with political persecution, hierarchical oppression and economic exploitation.

On September 2, 1959, the Tibet Work Committee released the Proposal on Issues of the Three Major Monasteries⁴, which stipulated ten specific actions including thoroughly obliterating all rebel organizations and counter-revolutionary organizations, thoroughly eliminating the rebels and counter-revolutionaries within the monasteries, abolishing all privileges of the monasteries (jurisdiction, Lhasa municipal management, appointment of officials, usury, corvee labor, feudal hierarchy, etc.), and to confiscate all lands, pastures and livestock from the three major monasteries. The land and livestock were distributed fee among serfs and slaves. These reform measures and actions specifically targeted at the monasteries radically changed the theocracy of the old Tibet by introducing the separation of church and state and cutting off the link between religion and the secular

administration. This was a major reform to Tibetan Buddhism. The Tentative Regulations for Democratic Management of Monasteries (1959) was constituted, and a Committee for Democratic Management of Monasteries was established in all monasteries, including Drepung. For legislation, the policies on political unification, freedom of religious belief, and separation of church and state were implemented. All monks and nuns enjoyed equal civil rights, and all different religions had equal positions.⁵

In 1961, at the end of the democratic reform of monasteries, there were 553 monasteries and 7,000 monks and nuns remaining in Tibet according to an official announcement. In a talk with the 11th Panchen Lama in 1961, Mao Zedong said: "There used to be 110,000 monks and nuns. Now we keep a few thousands of them for sutra studies, and put nearly 100,000 others into production activities. This is very helpful to the development of the economy and population"(Mao Zedong, 2001:216).

2. Phase III: 1966—1979, the period of the Cultural Revolution, when vandalization of religions and the socialist transformation happened.

The Cultural Revolution was a disaster in contemporary Chinese history, and this was also true for Drepung monastery. The number of monks and nuns was sharply reduced, and monasteries were severely damaged. The monks and nuns were transferred from religious professionals to production activities. Management and distribution systems similar to those for the people's commune were established among them.

In 1965, after six years of the practice of monastery democratic management (1959—1965), the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region made amendments and supplements to the Tentative Regulations for Democratic Management of Monasteries (1959), and adopted comments and suggestions from the Buddhist community. In February 1966, a new Tentative Regulations for Democratic Management of Monasteries was promulgated. However, the new regulations were not able to be implemented due to the start of the Cultural Revolution.

The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of CCP opened in 1978, marking the beginning of China's reform and opening-up. In the previous year, the Tibet Autonomous Region established its Policy Implementation Office. The primary mission of this office included the settlement and correction of various cases caused by activities of the Cultural Revolution, especially those cases relating to mishandled cadres. The office was also responsible for the rehabilitation of ethical and religious representatives who had been persecuted in the Cultural Revolution.

By 1978, there were only eight monasteries in Tibet remaining open and a few hundreds of monks and nuns still doing religious practice.

3. Phase IV: 1980—1990, implementation of the policy on religions, including revival of religions and reconstruction of monasteries.

In March 1980, Hu Yaobang held the First Tibet Work Conference of the Central Committee of CCP, which formed the Tibet Work Conference Summary. According

to the Summary, the TAR worked out the Directive on Further Implementation of the CPC Policy on Religions, and in October of the same year released the Proposal on Implementing the CCP Policy on Freedom of Religious Belief and Strengthening the Administration of Religious Activities. On March 31, 1982, the Central Committee of CCP promulgated a document titled Basic Viewpoints and Basic Policies on the Religious Issues in China during the Socialist Period, which laid an important foundation for rehabilitation and implementation of policies in the field of religions.

Throughout the 1980s, “policy implementation” became one of the most important policy issues for Tibet, and a popular term that influenced important policies on the revival of religions and the reconstruction of monasteries. With the policy implementation, religious activities promptly became open to the public and religious traditions were revived. Youngsters could volunteer to become monks and nuns, and many monks and nuns who had been forced to leave monasteries to work at factories or at other places in rural or urban areas were now coming back to their monasteries.

Major changes in the revival of religion and reconstruction of monasteries in Tibet included: a Buddhist Institute that was founded in Tibet in 1983; the Mönlam was revived in Lhasa in 1986 after an interruption of more than 20 years; the government invested in the repairs, maintenance and reconstruction of monasteries; and in 1987, a High-level Tibetan Buddhism College of China was founded in Beijing.

The official statistics of the TAR showed that: there were 234 approved monasteries in 1986, and 6,499 monks and nuns, which comprised 0.32 percent of the total TAR population (2,024,900); in 1988 there were 1,245 monasteries and 34,600 monks and nuns; and the number of premises for religious activities in TAR grew to 1,353 in 1990 with more than 40,000 monks and nuns, about 1.94 percent of the total population of TAR (2,180,000) in that year.⁶

4. Phase V: 1991 to date, a new turning point in the history, when activities have been carried out for education in patriotism at monasteries.

In the 1980s, under the background of China’s reform and opening-up, the “policy implementation” in Tibet boosted the revival of religion and reconstruction of monasteries. Meanwhile, four disturbances occurred successively in Lhasa in the years 1987, 1988 and 1989. Why did such disturbances happen in an environment characterized by lenient policies on religion? Up to now, this remains a question that calls for in-depth consideration and investigation. According to local Tibetan officials, the out-of-order expansion of monasteries and monks/nuns enhanced the monasteries’ influence on and interventions in the grassroots society, and the Dalai Lama (Dalai Clique) took the advantage of such a religion boom and committed wild penetration and separatist activities which caused the turmoil. On the contrary, the side of Dalai Lama and some observers from the western world claim that the cause of the disturbances in an opposite way.

In September of 1989, the Government of the TAR released the Proposal on Strengthening the Management of Monasteries and Rectifying Monasteries, focusing on

the education in patriotism and law popularization. In addition, the government organized Monastery Work Groups to station in monasteries.

In 1996, the TAR government started “Patriotic Activities” in Monasteries, which were aimed at strengthening and regulating the management of monasteries to clean up and rectify the monasteries. For example, one must have reached the legal age of 18 or above before he/or she can serve in a monastery as a monk or nun. More relevant measures include the regulated management system for monastery finance and the legal education at monasteries.

In 1996, the total number of monasteries in Tibet was up to 1,787. And in 2010, there were more than 1,700 monasteries, and the total number of monks and nuns was up to 45,000, about 1.6 percent of the total Tibetan population.

In 2008, the March 14 Incident arose in Lhasa and had a strong impact on the social stability and religious life in TAR and the four other provinces. Again, the impact of religion on society and how religion can exist in harmony with society became outstanding issues.

The Historical Comparative Analysis of the Monk Population Changes of Drepung Monastery

Population Changes of Drepung Monastery

Drepung monastery was founded in 1416 by Jamyang Choje Drashi Palden (1394—1449), whose predecessor was Tsongkhapa (1357—1419)⁷. In the 15th century, the Chief of Newu Dzong (Dzong is equivalent to a county, on the southern bank of the Lhasa River was ruled by Phakmodrupa, They provided the building costs for Drepung Monastery and the slaves for its manor. The first building was the Tsokchen—the main assembly hall for the monks. It was said that seven person were involved in consultation for building a small-sized Manjusri Hall after Tsokchen was built up by Tsongkhapa and Jamyang Choje Drashi Palden.

It was said in Biography of the 5th Dalai Lama: “.....that on the ninth day of the month, tea was being boiled in Drepung Monastery and other big monasteries...About 3.125g gold offered together to each 15 monks. The total amount of gold was 286×3.125g” According to this calculation method, there were 4,290 monks in Drepung Monastery. In Vidurya Serpo, written by Desi Sangye Gyatso (1653—1705) after the 5th Dalai Lama passed away, it said that: “There were 4,200 monks in Drepung Monastery”. The population accounting in these two sources was close to each other. We can find the history course of development of the total number of monks in historical documents (Table 1).

Table 1. Recorded Number of Monks in Drepung Monastery

Time	Numbers of monks	Time	Numbers of monks
1416 (Beginning)	7	1966	984
The 5 th Dalai Lama	7700	1972	320
Desi Sangye Gyatso	4200	1980	151
1934	6521	1992	775
1951	6000	1997	714
1959	10300	The end of 2005	612

Sources: Biography of the 5th Dalai Lama, Vidurya Serpo, Drepung Monastery

Statistics,

Statistical records of the Lhasa Municipal Ethnic and Religious Affairs Bureau.

After the 13th Dalai Lama passed away in 1934, the Republic of China government (1912—1949) sent Huang Musong to Lhasa to attend the funeral ceremony. During his visit in Tibet, Huang made donations [alms] to the Three Monastic Seats. Based on his records, there were 6,521 monks at that time. In 1938, Wu Zhongxin, as the chief of the Mongolian-Tibetan Affair Commission of the Republic of China, also came to Tibet to attend the incarnation ceremony of the 14th Dalai Lama. The statistics of Wu's donation indicate that there were 4,700 monks. In 1951 the central government representatives Zhang Jingwu gave donations for 6,000 monks.

Before 1959, about 10,300 monks lived in Drepung Monastery. After 1959, Tibet's 'Democratic Reforms' completely smashed the serf system that mingled politics with religion in old Tibet. It was a fact that Buddhism in Tibet had a long history and residents always had religious beliefs. So the government at the time required that: "Religious beliefs must be strictly distinguished from feudal privileges and the exploitation of feudal serfdom system in monasteries and temples. The two issues are different in nature. The feudal privileges and exploitation of feudal serfdom system have to be abolished, political unity shall be implemented, religion shall be separated from politics, and religious institutions and religious leaders are not allowed to interfere with administration, judicature and education." (Danzen, 1991:2).

Around the rebellion and following democratic reforms in Tibet in 1959, the CCP Tibet Work Committee carried out much research in the three Monastic Seats and prepared a report regarding "the opinions on measures for handling some issues". The regulations referring to Buddhist monks were made as following in this report: "No. 7. The future of monks. Buddhist monks may decide voluntarily whether they leave or stay in the monastery. Therefore, out of total monk population of 4600, it is planned that 1,200 to 1,500 monks would stay in Drepung Monastery. There are five types of monks to stay in monasteries:

Buddhist monks who are old, weak, ill or disabled would be kept in the monastery.

Buddhist monks who choose to stay in the monastery.

Buddhist monks who were active in fighting with rebels would be selected to be persuaded to stay in the monastery. And some young Lamas would be considered to be asked to stay in the monastery.

Except for monks with reactionary ideas, and suspect due to their political attitude, or those who voluntarily return to secular life, it would be better to be keep monks in the monastery.

Buddhist monks who are homeless, or have their home in border areas, or live in the areas where we have not worked yet, although some of them are voluntarily returning to secular life, are considered to be persuaded not to leave the monastery."⁹

Later in 1959, rebellion, Anna Louise Strong reported that: "There had been 5,678 lamas in Drepung before the rebellion; now there were only 2,800. Part of this was due to

seasonal variation for lamas always gathered in Drepung in winter for shelter and to get contributions at the great Prayer Festival while in summer they went to the harvest areas to get grain. The main cause was due to that more than two thousand armed monks were sent to fighting in Lhasa at Jewel Park and few of them had returned. Only a handful was killed while many were captured and many more had run away to their homes after the defeat. Some had gone to stay in monasteries in the Panchen Ardeni's territory, to be out of the political pressures caused by the rebellion"(Strong, 1995: 156—157).

There were 990 monks in Drepung Monastery in 1960.¹⁰ This was reduced to 684 monks in 1966. During the period between 1966 to 1976 during the Cultural Revolution, the policy of the Chinese Communist Party toward the freedom of religious belief was subverted; a large number of ancient relics and monasteries were damaged; a lot of unjust verdicts were made; the relationship among the masses was destroyed and even estranged the relationship between Tibetan and other ethnic minorities in China (Jiang ping, et al. 1995:105—106). The religious management and the religious policy had been seriously damaged during the Cultural Revolution. The monastery became a symbol of reactionary and backward in the background of "Atheism" and the class struggle, etc.

According to a government report on Drepung Monastery in 1972, there were a total of 298 people living in this monastery. Among them, there were 193 "poor monks", 19 Geshe (Master of Metaphysics), 70 "agents of lords", and 16 "four groups" (landlords, rich persons, reactionaries and released prisoners), 14 of these were married and 9 had their wives staying in monastery. In addition to those mentioned above, there were 21 "other" people who lived in Drepun: 9 women, 8 boys and 4 girls.

In 1980 and 1984, the CCP Central Committee Secretariat held the first and the second "Tibet Work Conference" and made certain important decisions on Tibet. In 1982 the CCP Central Committee issued a document of China's basic views and basic policy on religious issues during the socialist period, which was guided by the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee., It interpreted fully and implemented the policy of the Communist Party of China toward the freedom of religious beliefs, formulated programmatic documents with resolutions for adaptation and coordination of religion development in the context of socialist modernization.

There were only 151 monks in Drepung Moastery in 1980.¹¹ In 1985, the number increased to 450 monks. According to the data from the third census in 1990, there were 775 people in Drepung Monastery. The total population in the Drepung area in 1995 was 1,138 (95 were migrant trainees of Buddhist doctrine from other places, 80 were local trainees of Buddhist doctrine). There were also 111 dependents of monks, including children, in Kyiri Village (at the foot of the mountain owned by Drepung Monastery). The actual number of monks in Drepung Monastery was 852, among which 252 monks kept permanent residential registration in the monastery (29.98 percent). Another 600 monks (20.42 percent) had their residential registration in other places. 495 monks were formally registered as "Drepung monks" (58.09 percent of the total) and 357 monks were without such a status (41.9 percent). There were 13 retired employees moving back who lived in Drepung monastery.¹²

After the 1996 “patriotic education movement” 714 monks remained in Drepung in 1997. They could be grouped as follows: (1) “cleared ” monks 150, (2) “long time Absence on the loose,” 114, (3) “dismissed” monks 11, (4) “sent to Re-education in labor camp,” 4, (5) “persuaded to return home,” 4, (6) “voluntarily returned home,” 45, (7) “left the monastery without giving notice,” 3, and (8) another 84 who were under the age of 15.

By the end of 2005, 612 monks were registered as within “the authorized size” of monks. During October of 2006, for reasons of death or quitting, there were 570 monks left. In addition, there were more than 500 migrant monks in Drepung Monastery. Among them, 140 monks were registered, but 400 monks had never been registered. They mainly came from Tibetan areas in Gansu and Qinghai provinces and some came from Inner Mongolia. These monks always lived in monasteries and created certain difficulties for the monastery management and the protection of cultural relics.

2. The analysis of Population Changes of Drepung Monastery and the Correlative factors

(1) Relationship between the number of monks and the 5th Dalai Lama’s Population Regulation of the Three Great Monasteric Seats.

Contemporarily, many documents cited numbers from the so-called “regulations on population of main monasteries in the whole of Tibet in 5th Dalai Lama’s times” (Dungkar Lobsang Trinle and Chapel Tsetan Puntshog), which regulated popularity below: Drepung Monastery 7,700 monks, Sera Monastery 5,500 monks, and Gandan Monastery 3,300 monks.

The so-called ‘regulations’ could not be demonstrated in literatures at the 5th Dalai Lama’s times. Many cited documents could not be found their origin literatures. Even if such so-called “regulation” existed, there are different understandings on it. Ones thought that the “regulation” was set in order to enhance the status of the Gelukpa at that time, and that the monastery population of Gelukpa met the regulated numbers that consolidate the status of monastery as a gathering place for emerging forces. Gelukpa indeed achieved its aim in the aspect of rapid development of the population in subordinate monasteries and the relationship built-up between subordinate and leading monasteries. Some people thought it was Authorize/fix the size of monk to population in the monastery that means numbers of monks shall not exceed a certain limit that determined the expenditure from the government and subordinate classes. There were different understandings in interpretation of the Tibetan population and religious relations, so the distortion and misunderstanding came out. In fact it is not the case that the 5th Dalai Lama’s population “regulatory” was taken as standard numbers.

The changes in the total size of monks in Drepung Monastery could illustrate the following points:

First, historical materials in times of the 5th Dalai Lama and Desi Sangye Gyatso demonstrate that Buddhist monks’ population were same in the two times.

Second, at least it shows that the regulated numbers of monks were instable which

could be found in cited literatures. For example, the quantity of Buddhist monks were not reach the standard actually from the times of the 5th Dalai Lama to Desi Sangye Gyatso, and the year of 1934 to 1951.

Third, the statistics in 1934 and 1951 shows the number of monks changed constantly. Therefore, it is not reliable and scientific to take the 5th Dalai Lama's regulatory to monks' population as the monks' standard number without any change.

Fourth, the monks' population increased or decreased in different historical time. Since creation by Tsongkhapa, Gelukpa and its Gandan Podrang regime was directly influenced by local forces, religion sects, tribal forces in Mongolia and the Qing government's power. The main characteristics since 17th century in Tibetan history in the aspect of population, politics and economy in the monastery is: when Mongolia tribes and Tibetan Gelukpa supported strongly, and leaders of Gelukpa were capable of achievement, Gelukpa and its Gandan Podrang regime could play an important role; when the Gelukpa was weak, the local government and the religion forces also languished. Therefore, the population in the monastery would be affected by the characteristic to wane and wax. The so-called regulatory in 5th Dalai Lama was not invariable.

Fifth, there was population mobility of monks. The population mobility was an obvious characteristic. Monks' returning to secular lives and belonged to different religion sects caused the quantities of monks to change. The important reason since 15th century Gelukpa rapidly developed and became a major force is not only because the support from Mongolia tribes and Qing government but also religious reform by Tsongkhapa. Gelukpa emphasized various commandments and cultivating moral conduct in sequence, which all formulated for reality at the time of religious loosen and secularization that means no obvious difference between monks and laity. Successful Dalai Lamas in the history as well as Tsongkhapa all emphasized purging the standard norms and commandments. For reorganized the monastery and monks, the 5th Dalai Lama led a check and clear up population to various monasteries in 1633, and he divided three cultivating levels for monks according to: whether lead a simple and pure life or not, personal integrity and devotion to the training of Buddhist Doctrine.

The monks at the first level were good at Tantric, and did not show off.

The monks at the second level were simply observing the commandments.

The monks at the third level were ser kyin who married and live at home.

In accordance to the above principles the statistics follow: The purest monasteries generally led by Gelukpa, included 750 monasteries with 50,900 monks. The second leveled monasteries were 400. The third leveled monasteries were 650 mixed with 20,000 btsan btsun and male or female ascetic sadhu.¹³ Therefore, it can be proved once again that the Tibetan monks' total and specific population is connected to economic and monks' benefits directly as well as Tibetan religion, politics and society.

Before 1959, monasteries and monks lived on land owned by monasteries, domestic animals and various "donation". In a monastery, the population of the monastery and differentiation among monks brought conflicts of interests. For example, there

once happened “Tashi Gomang Tratsang affairs”(Goldstein, 1998: 31—34) in Drepung Monastery. In the middle of 19th century, only two or three monks passed Geshe exams and graduated, so that the local government accused Khenpo (khenpo attendant monk official of Dalai Lama) in Tashi Gomang Tratsang of Drepng Monastery. Through investigation, only 100 to 200 monks attended training of Buddhist Doctrine among the whole of more than 4,000 monks then. In order to reverse this negative situation, a decision of reformation was made by Tashi Gomang Tratsang. To urge all monks to participate group chanting activity before attend or participate in debating, the donation activities which was used to be held outside the Lhakang of Tashi Gomang Tratsang was moved to held in Debating center at the institution of doctrinal study. However, this “reformation” was opposite by many ordinary monks. Because many monks thought they worked for the greater good to the monastery, but those monks who attended training of Buddhist Doctrine just for their own reputation, and they said that: “The monastery should be like the ocean which contains fish and frogs.” There was a conflict of donation between “trainee of Buddhist doctrine” and ordinary monks. The conflict led the failure of the reformation. On the surface, the affair of Tashi Gomang Tratsang about reformation was only the problem to religious piety. Actually, it was the interests conflict between “trainee of Buddhist doctrine” and ordinary monks. Throughout the twentieth century, the standard of the Great Three Monasteries was a “controversy” in the eyes of many monasteries including the 13th Dalai Lama, and it should be strictly separated and scientific analysis.

(2) Influence of Political System to the Total Number of Monks

The government of Tibet of Ganden Potrang, as well as local Tibetan politics, economy, and society, all served for religious classes and interests of monasteries. Under the old system of “combining of administration and religion”, Tibetans had to use the unique chances to learn Buddhist doctrine in monasteries in order to improve their social statues. After the Democratic Reform in 1959, the number of monks in the monasteries declined sharply, which is primarily because of Tibet’s social and political system has undergone fundamental changes. After the democratic reform in 1959, system with privileges of monasteries endowed in the aspect of politics, economy and judicature disappeared and collapsed. The reform of the land system and people becoming their own masters has brought chances for people to lead a new way of life and change their social statues. With the establishment of the socialist system in Tibet, it has experienced fundamental change to Tibetan social system, along with which the social structure has changed.

The monks’ proportion in the total Tibetan population not only affected social structure but also influenced directly to the production, consumption and expansion of the social economy. Tibetan system of both religious and political confusion would inevitably produce “religious economy” structure which served for religion from all side. “Tibetan system of both religious and political confusion” and “religious economy” only led Tibetan society and economy recession. The reduction of the Tibetan total quantity meets the basic needs and conforms to the developing trend of modernization. However, religious

concept and personal traditional religious values, personal beliefs, rituals, ways of life, etc. are still strongly influencing Tibetans and lay a relatively solid position. In society and the monasteries there are still a great number of people and monks engaging in religious activities.

The social reputation and religious status of monks in the society are decaying and disappearing along with the old Tibetan system. Many monks returned to the secular life and go back home for work, partial monks accepted to learning new policies. The number of monks reduced even more. After 1980, the new religious policy revived Tibetan religion. The monastery began to recruit some monks. The number of young monks in the monastery is growing gradually.

(3) Influence Factors of the Policy to the Monks Quantity

When we observe and analyze reasons of the rapid development of Tibetan monks' population since the middle of 1980s, the main factors are:

First, the restoration and implementation of the religious policy is a major factor lead to the total population increase in monasteries. Since the 1980s the Chinese government held two special meetings for Tibetan work. In particular, the CPC Central Committee issued in 1982 a document named "The basic standpoint of views and policies of religious issues in the socialism Period", thoroughly rectified improper "left" leading policies and ended the situation of "Cultural Revolution" and restarted a new era, and made practical religious policies for China. However, some questions came out in the process to grasp the important points of the ethnic and religious policies implemented: in the aspect of ideas is conflict between "theism" and "atheism"; the conflict between regulatory to monks and nuns from the government, whose standing point are the fundamental interests of the population control, and the masses and monks living or leaving monasteries; the conflict between implementation of Free Religious Belief Policy and the influence in the aspects of society, politics and economy due to monks' population increasing. Although the total number of monks and nuns before 1986 were "moderate" growth, the above problems has not been solved thoroughly.

Second, since 1980s tradition has been rapidly development, such as the traditional customs, ideas, behavior restored popular in the vast rural and pastoral areas, cities and towns.

Tibetan society with old feudal serf system under "confusion of the state and the religion" advanced into new Tibet with socialist system. The fundamental issue for the new Tibet is to develop its social productivities and build up new superstructures. The main task is to achieve "society transmission". During the Tibetan society transmission, many dilemmas and challenges came out: the relationship between socialist market economy and backward social productive forces proactively; the relationship between modern social system and the old social structure; the relationship between goal of socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics to be established and the influence from the concept of behavior and traditional beliefs with Tibetan characteristics; the relationship between the actual level of Tibetan social development and subjective judgments on

Tibetan society. As the renowned historian Li Shu said: "Thirty years ago we celebrated the liberation of Tibet. Many years later, we gradually understand the liberation is significant. After all, it was only political liberation for Tibet. As for the ideological emancipation, it goes along with development of material production and popularization of science and culture. The development of material production is an indispensable prerequisite, in which context, popularize science and culture will naturally reveal layers covered on the reign of religious authority in people's minds. And then people will awaken with the brilliant science and find the true themselves."

Third, Chinese "household registration system(Hukou system₁₄)" affects monks' structure in monasteries. After the Democratic Reform, the new Tibet established completely identical "household management" like other parts of China. Meanwhile, the religious policy of "local administration management", which allowed monks to study by administration divisions, has affected the monks' structure in major monasteries in Tibet. In traditional society, by masters' approval monasteries allowed monks to study in Khamtsen (khams-tshan) which was the primary organization (equivalent to Mainland China's hometown association), later obtained "Tratsang's (grwa-tshang) approval" (equivalent to college) and are recognized as some certain "Tratsang", finally became a monk in a monastery. The above formulated monks' three grade management.

Under planed economy like elsewhere in China, people did not have the possibility to move freely and a person to change his or her registered household was very difficult. Therefore, that the rural people desired to enter cities to get so-called "urban household" was an idealistic dream.

After the Democratic Reform, according to the unified management system of "household registration", Drepung Monastery only charged within monks in the scope of Lhasa, had completely broken the old system of opening its door to monks in all the Tibetan areas, whole China, and even other areas living Buddhist monks in the world. It comes that in the monks' structure the source of them was "localization". The monks mainly came from Tolung Dechen, Lhundrub County and other areas in Lhasa. This seriously affected the structure of the monks' origin of the monastery. Meanwhile, it creates an obstacle for other monks to study in the monastery through fair competition.

Fourth, on the one hand, the social statues and impact of religion is long and general in scale. The number of monks remained relatively stable or grew sustainable that reflected the CPC's policy of "free religious belief" and its fruit. On the other hand, it also must be noted that the monasteries diverted and absorbed a considerable number of population in fact. The direction and trend of people's mobility in agricultural and pastoral areas is an aspect led by influence in Tibetan society, and also a factor to reflect the gap between rural areas and the city. People grew in agricultural and pastoral areas chose to live in monasteries also because the chances in the aspects of education, job hunting, etc. are unfair for masses of people in agricultural and pastoral areas and for Tibetan cadres, workers and staff of enterprises and residents in cities and towns. The reason for them to choose monasteries was not only it takes an important position but also the way to spend lowest cost and

affords lowest risk to change their social statuses. In the market economy, the monastery became a natural place for masses of rural and pastoral areas to transfer the families' burn and the opportunity to achieve personal goals. There are two evidence could support this view. First, among all monks of Drepung Monastery, only six came from streets, enterprises and the public institution in Lhasa. Before the end of 2005, just more than ten people from the city became members in the Drepung Monastery. That is to say people who grow up by "eating the commodity grain" and grow in workers' families did not take the monastery lives as a way out, rather than urban residents and workers' families of enterprises were not pious. Second, since reformation and opening, it was an opposite phenomenon for rural population mobility that large number of their daughters or sons were sent to the mainland China to study by urban residents, workers of enterprises, cadres. The phenomenon proved once again that rural population move to monasteries mainly affected by economy, occupation, rural-urban disparities and other factors.

III. The Comparison and Analysis of the Contemporary Population Structure of Monks in Drepung Monastery

1. The Changes and Characteristics of Monks' Source Region

Before 1959, with many monks Drepung Monastery was the largest monastery in Tibet and among Tibetan Buddhist monasteries. The monks here not only came from Tibet Autonomous Region but also came from all Tibetan areas and places where Tibetan Buddhism covered, for instance, the mainland China, Inner and Outer Mongolia, Russia, Kashmir, Nepal, India, Bhutan and Sikkim, and other regions and countries. For example, before the year of 1959, population from non-Tibet Autonomous Region or non-Tibetans accounted for about 33.33% to the total numbers of Tashi Gomang Tratsang in Khamtsen of Drepung Monastery. Through Huang Musong's donation got the statistics in the year of 1934: "there were more than 1900 monks in Tashi Gomang Tratsang..., among them 200 people came from Inner and Outer Mongolia or Han." According to the statistics by the Drepung monastery investigation team in 1959, "about 60 monks with nationality of Ladakh lived in Loseling tratsang (Loseling colleges) of Drepung Monastery". Khamtsen attracted Buddhism believers from different areas to come, which mainly because it had played a unique role in the formation of Tibetan Buddhism Gelukpa.

First, since the 3rd and 5th Dalai Lama taught religion in the mainland China and Inner and Outer Mongolia, which influenced largely, Drepung Monastery became the largest monastery in Tibet. Led by Drepung Monastery, Gomang tratsang (Gomang colleges) posted important with great reputation. Until now, monks were not registered as trainee of Buddhist doctrine here or reside from Inner Mongolia. Since the custom of train of Buddhist doctrine in Tibet, they could take the chance to train of Buddhist doctrine in Drepung and even get religious degrees which are all important goal and task for monks of non-Tibetan areas.

Second, the regime of Ganden Potrang founded and played a role. Ganden Potrang of Drepung Monastery was not only a religious center of Gelukpa before the 5th Dalai Lama,

but also the cradle of political power development of Gelukpa. Gelukpa used their religious privileges, by tribes' forces of Mongolia defeated the local forces and other religion forces in Tibet, got the support from the Qing government, and finally established priority status in Tibet and Tibetan areas.

Third, a special monastery system was set up by Tibetan Buddhism sects. In the development progress, Gelukpa changed the religion sects from former monasteries constantly, merger and governed them, among which Drepung Monastery was a unique type that formulated the relationship between leader monastery and subordinate monasteries. This relationship mainly reflected in the monks' mobility between the leader monastery and the subordinate. For example, Drepung Monastery which was in the leader's position, and each Dratsang which was in the subordinate position, both directly sent their managers and Instructor team to receive economic interests and share income.

After the survey of 1959, there were totally 3,417 monasteries under the supervision of the Drepung Monastery. The geographic distribution of these monasteries as follows: 1,018 in other countries (Outer Mongolia: 13, Russia: 13, India: 4, Bhutan: 1), 1,792 in other regions in China (Inner Mongolia: 947, Gansu: 91, Qinghai: 216, Sichuan: 471, Yunnan: 3, Ningxia: 8, Xinjiang: 33, Liaoning: 23); and 640 in Tibet Autonomous Region. Among the 640 monasteries within the TAR, 54 were Nunnery (with 766 nuns) and 586 for male monks (24,536 monks) (the Survey Report of Drepung Monastery in 1959).

Fourth, the distribution of the place of origin of these monks in 1997 (*Table 2*) provides information from where the Drepung recruited its monks in recent years.

Table 2. The Place of Origins of the Registered Monks in Drepung Monastery

Place of origin	1997	2005
Lhasa City	557	441
Tolung Dechen County	—	(213)
Lhundrub County	—	(98)
Meldro Gungkar	—	(62)
Damzhung County	—	(27)
Chushul County	—	(14)
Nakchu County	—	(9)
Naq-e-n	—	(7)
Nyemo County	—	(6)
Lhokha District	64	57
Zhigatse District	34	25
Nakchu District	20	8
Chamdo District	18	18
Nyangtri District	5	14
Ngari District	2	0

Sources: statistical records of Drepund Monastery.

There are some characteristics on source region of Buddhist monks of Drepung Monastery. First, Buddhist monks mainly came from farming areas, especially Tolung

Dechen County. It is almost only 10 km from Drepung Monastery to Tolung Dechen County which only needed 2 yuan by taxi in 1997. Second, it could be found through the investment that was convenient for management of account registration system and leading by Lhasa so that Buddhist monks chose Drepung Monastery to live or study in. Since 1982, Buddhist monks mainly came from Lhasa which was relatively easy to transfer. The account floated only in the Tibet Autonomous Region, while the other was more difficult or even impossible to transfer. Third, living conditions and living level are better in Drepung Monastery than rural areas. Buddhist monks who came from the rural areas generally reflected that the living standard in monasteries was at the higher level than in rural areas and monk's income were higher. Even some monks said: "in comparison to the hard life in rural areas, difficulties of training of Buddhist Doctrine in monasteries are easy to overcome." The monasteries accepted some young monks from the city but the poor and the lonely caused them to quit. Therefore, many youth from the city could not adhere to it. It was wrong to say the youth from the city never came here to be monks.

2. Monks' Age Structure and Its Characteristics

Buddhist Monks' Age Structure is unique in Drepung Monastery. Before 1959, the structure was not investigated. But according to historical materials, the population of the whole monastery was a "spindle" type. The old and little aged groups were less in quantities than the middle aged groups that means old aged which was older than 65 years old and little aged groups which was less than 15 years old both accounted for a lower proportion the total numbers of monks. Therefore, in the middle times of 1980s, 120 Buddhist monks lived in nursing home in the Drepung Monastery. After 1986 a lot of young people lived in the monastery as monks which changed the age structure of Buddhist monks.

According to the investigation statistics in 1995, there were 1036 people in Drepung Monastery and included 39 female ones within 3 nuns. The age structure is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Monks' Age Structure (1994 and 2006)

Age Group	1994	2006
5-9	20	0
10-14	133	0
15-19	288	11
20-24	177	85
25-29	175	112
30-34	95	108
35-39	23	96
40-44	18	61
45-49	11	28
50-54	12	13
55-59	7	5
60-64	8	7
65-69	2	11
70-74	26	7
75-79	15	16
80-84	4	9
85-89	3	6
Above 90	2	0
Total	1019	575

In 1996 “patriotic education” was held in the monastery which was reorganized. Especially, population of the monastery was made clear and reformed the population management. People without duties especially their accounts left since the Cultural Revolution and relationship built-up between the personal and the monastery, where all had to be separated. People once to be monks but married later were arranged to village Dampa led by the monastery. It also regulated that monks younger than 18 years old should return their accounts to hometown, and monks who did not meet the conditions were expelled or persuade them to return home.

Through analysis of the registered monks table of Drepung Monastery in the end of 2005, the age structure of Buddhist monks changed obviously. In the monastery, no monks were under the age of 15; only 11 monks were in the age group of 15 to 19; monks in the age group of 20 to 34 were 305, which accounted total registered for 53%; monks in the age group of 35 to 49 were 180, which accounted total registered for 31%. Currently, the Buddhist monks’ age structure of Drepung Monastery is young type, which is benefit to the development and production of the monastery and reducing some burdens. Meanwhile, the young type age structure presented a new challenge for training of Buddhist Doctrine, management and other problems.

3. The Time of Entrance and characteristics of Cultural Education in Drepung Monastery for Contemporary Monks

The time of monks’ entrance to the monastery and the changing reality not only reflects the policy of “free religious belief” but also meets the natural selection by the monastery itself according to their own circumstances and development.

Table 4. The Recruitment statistics from the Registered Monk Records Of Drepung Monastery (the end of 2005)

Period	Number of monks accepted
1979—1981	14
1982—1989	195
1990—1999	186
2000—2005	139

According to analysis of statistics from the registered monks table of Drepung Monastery in the end of 2005, the education level of monks in Drepung Monastery as follows: people educated in the level of the elementary was 562; people educated in the level of (graduated for) the junior high school was 562; people educated in the level of the high school was 562; people educated in the level of junior college was 8; and most monks were in the elementary level. There are two main reasons caused this situation. First, the monks’ overall educational level is relatively low before they live in the monastery. Second, training of Buddhist Doctrine of the monks in the monastery is not the national education system and no regulatory of academic qualifications according to the age for taking monastic Disciplines or vows. Therefore, regardless of how long a monk live in the monastery and whether literate or continue studying, they registered their latest academic qualifications before live in the monastery.

IV. Organizational Structure Change and the Characteristics of the Monks in Affiliated Monastery

1. Organizational Structure of the Monastery before 1959

The monks will be classified to special Dratsang and Khamtsen according to their native place and teacher of the Buddhist doctrine when they first come to the Monastery during the old times. Dratsang, Khamtsen and Mitsen are the 3 structure of Drepung Monastery. Dratsang means monastery, a monk group demarcated by time of establishment, place and learning. Khamtsen is yard demarcated by the monks' hometown; Dratsang is composed of many Khamtsen. We take the 3 significant monasteries for example, Sera Monastery has 30 Khamtsens; Drepung Monastery has 80 Khamtsens and Dga' ldan Monastery has 26 Khamtsens. Khamtsen is like the clansmen association in a way. Mitsen means the monk' Hall.

There were 4 Dratsangs including 3 sutra Dratsangs and one Tantric Dratsang before 1959. Dratsang is a separate organization with its own independent economy just like a college. Dratsang is composed of the lower-level unit, Khamtsen, a regional organization to which the monks from the same place or related belong. Which Khamtsen a monk belongs to must be followed the traditional rules strictly, the monks can not choose. There are 16 Khamtsens in Gomang Dratsang, 24 in Loseling Dratsang in Drepung Monastery. And 9 Mitsens in Hardong Khamtsen, which is subordinated to Gomang Dratsang.

Tsokchen (Great Hall), Dratsang and Khamtsen formed the 3 interior structure of the Drepung Monastery. Traditionally, the monks are classified into 5 categories:

- (1) The first one is the professional religious trainee. They always go out to take part in the religious activities, such as pray, release the soul and fortune-telling for the purgatory;
- (2) The second are those with specialized knowledge, such as Tibetan doctors, painters, sculptors etc;
- (3) The third are the laborers, such as the slaves, sextons and the monk soldiers;
- (4) The forth are those in charge of the administration, judicature, finance and business;
- (5) The fifth are those trainees of Buddhist doctrine like "Pechawa"; they are dedicated to the doctrines and the religious bachelor.

There are many illiterate monks in monasteries during the traditional society. Few could get religious status. Those monks with good understanding of the doctrines might spend all their lives reading scripture because they have no economic sources and support from the noble benefactor. The Tibetan religion became more secular since the 20th century. Many monks even commit bribery for the title of geshe(dge-bshes). Monks¹⁵ told us that one monk offered 11,000 silver dollars to the local government officials for khenpo (mkhan-po)¹⁶. Buying official status is not a secret.

2. The monastery structure after 1959

The monastery no longer belongs to any Monastery organizations after the

democratic reform. The Monastery Democratic Management Committee was founded and new regulations were formulated instead. Most of the Buddhist doctrine class and religious activities before 1980 were stopped, and the monks had to work to feed themselves. But the religious activities started to “revive” since 1982; the old organizational structures do no longer exist. The monks all lived in the large Drepung Monastery according to their duties. The following table is the division and the duties of the monks in the monastery based on the investigation in 1997.

Table 5. The Division of the Monks in Drepund Monastery (1997)

Department	Number	Department	Number
Nursing House	65	Restaurant	9
Monastery	8	Transportation	8
Nechung Monastery	31	Tailoring	9
Meru Monastery	2	Shop	3
Gomang	5	Ticket Office	3
Sngas pa	3	Democratic Management Committee	27
Bde Yangs	1	Tantric Master	1
Tsawa Khamtsen	1	Master	7
Nyangra Khamtsen	1	Probationary Class of Buddhist Doctrine Training	15
Rewu Khamtsen	1	Junior Class of Buddhist Doctrine training	89
Lawa Ling	20	Senior Class of Buddhist Doctrine Training	107
Loseling	6	Tantric Class	25

Note: other 267 monks are not specified.

All the monks in Drepung Monastery scattered in places where Dratsang, Khamtsen and Mitsen used to be. The Democratic Management Committee of the Drepung Monastery was building in the place for Ganden Podrang; the top organization of “Jiso” has been the office and house of the patriot; Lhawaling Khamtsen and Gongbo’ Khamtsen have established the schools for the monks. All in all, everything changed as time flies.

V. Adaptation of the Modern Monks’ Life in Drepung Monastery

The lives of the modern monks in Drepung Monastery have experienced profound changes. There are 3 historical periods. The first one is from 1959 to 1980 which can be divided into another 2 periods, one is from 1959 to 1966 and the other one is during the Cultural Revolution; the second period is from 1980 to 1992, when we took the reform and opening-up policy, carried out the religion policy and established the market economy; the third period is from 1992 up to now. The new Monastery Management Committee was founded instead of the Democratic Management Committee after the patriotic education campaign was launched in 1996, and all the regulations were all formulated.

In the past, the monks in Drepung Monastery depended on the lands, livestock, charity and business for economy and operation. According to the survey, there were 185

manors, more than 51,000 acres of land, 300 plus pastures and tens of thousand of slaves before 1959. The total usurious grains were about 160 Millions Jin (500 kg) and silver dollars were more than 100 millions. The fixed food portions are including roasted barley flour, barley and butter, but everyone's quota is different according to religious status and rules. For the common ones, they can get 4 grams of barley and 10 liters of roasted barley flour annually. Every Dratsang will distribute based on their own situation. But buttered tea and tea will be provided during the routine scripture reading, and at the monthly or yearly religious anniversary, the buttered tea, porridge and even cash will be provided by the benefactors. And during the grand Praying Conference, the monks will get the most. At that time, the monks of Drepung Monastery will take over all the powers, enjoy each charity. We can say that the monks in the old Tibetan enjoyed higher treatment than the commons. We can further understand the changes of the monastery and the monks before and after the democratic reform through the interviews of the following 3 Monks in Drepung Monastery.

1. Live adaptation narrated by themselves

Case 1. Tanpa Lodro, 74, the former Chairmen of the Poverty Association,

"I am from Lhoka Dranang County and my family was every poor then. I am the oldest among 7 children in my family. My father died when I was 8 or 9. We were too young to work for the landowners, so my auntie adapted us. But very unfortunately her husband died later. Even worse, the landowner said we owed him, so he expropriated all our land, livestock and property. The children were sending to the farmers and we became the slaves, but I run away and went to Drepung Monastery when I was 20".

"I had a fellow townsman there at that time, so I went to see him and found a master to enter into Hardong Khamtsen of Gomang Dratsang. I had to do all the things in both Dratsang and Khamtsen before 1959. I was poor then, so I will help others to reap the barley about 2 months in autumn from which I can get about 10—15 grams of grain as my salary, and the monastery will give me about 2 grams of food every year. The others like me who were poor and didn't read any scriptures will do the chores or learn the scripture. A conflict happened before because of the food distribution between Lagyopa ("Management and work monks") and Pechawa ("scholar monks"¹⁷) the trainee of the Buddhist doctrine in Gomang Datsang. There were many manors in the monastery, and reasonably, the monks' income should increase accordingly, but the fact was that their incomes were too low. For the Lagyopa, they think all the incomes are from their labors while the Pecha didn't make any fortune as they just concentrated on the doctrines and scriptures, but for the Pecha, they think what they did is the real inheritance of the Buddhist and the Monastery. They resorted to Gasha and Dalai Lama at last for adjudication. Some of the monks were dismissed and some were punished. They quelled this by increasing 1 gram for each one. All from 18 to 60 must take part in the rebellion in 1959, Dratsang divided us into small teams with 10 monks and gave two of us a gun, but these two went to Dge 'phel Mountain and never return. The liberation army controlled the situation later and divided the monks as rebellion and anti-rebellion, organized the monks to educate and treated

them differently. We worked in the electric penstock from September to December of 1959 and took part in the education organized by the government when we were back to the monastery in 1960, and I was sent to the new-established Nursing House to take care of the patients, getting water, boiling, cooking and serving them.”

“Another 3 colleagues worked with me to serve the monks there for 5 years. My provisions were increased from 29 Jin to 32 Jin (by month, Jin=500kg), and the working point were about 25 RMB (month.) But when natural disaster happened in hinterland in about 1962 or 1963, the provisions were reduced from 29 Jin to 26 Jin, and increased a little bit after that. I was elected as the vice director when the poor and lower-middle peasants Association was founded in October, 1965. There were 5 persons in charge and many poor and lower-middle peasants. Our duty then was to organize and arrange the study of the current affairs and class education. I was promoted to be the director when the former left in 1966 when the Cultural Revolution started. We worked together with the members from the Democratic Management Committee. Our main responsibility was to study the politics, arrange the planned production and take care of the old. I was also the member of the public security, had to be in charge of the stock raising and the Nursing House, I had to quarry and plant to feed myself. The government fixed the living standard based on the citizen’s situation in 1966, and my income was 20 RMB, the grains were about 32 Jin, the main grains were roasted barley flour and flour, which is purchased by the monastery and bought by each accordingly.”

“The Association was dissolved because no poor and lower-middle classes existed according to related rules. I retired in 1979 but until now my salary is still 20 RMB (1992). I did the chores at the monastery about 2 years after the retirement because new rules stipulated that married monks can not stay at the monastery, I moved to Kyiri Village, a place under the mountain with the other 8 or 9 couples. There was little land at the village, so we were distributed 2.5 acres by contract, and the tax for the land was not collected for 2 years, but the land-owner decided to collect 100 RMB per acre for tax later. Many suggested reducing the tax, as they can not afford, but no reply, so only 3 of us grew vegetables, tomatoes and carrots. ”

“The monastery began to undergo the socialism education at about 1987, and some members said the tax was too high, so they decided to reduce to 25 RMB per acre which lasted only for one year. But they increased to 50 RMB per acre until the end of 1996 as the monastery said it was too low. Last year (1997), more than 100 people of 25 families were classified as Danpa Township and Kyiri Park and the land was divided as monastery and Kyiri with the attendance of the officials from various levels and members from the Monastery Management Association. At present, I don’t know where to buy the food. It is the national policy to make the poor rich, but for me, it didn’t and I am poorer instead. The kids who were not registered were allocated 0.5 acre for each. I have no child, so my land belongs to the monastery. I have 2 cows and a few chickens; I can make business by make yogurt and get 20 RMB per month. I am 74 now, I worked for the monastery when I was young, but now it is so miserable. At the beginning of the revolution, the government

rules said the monks can go out for work or go back to home by their own will. I planned to leave but the leaders at the monastery didn't agree and asked me to work for the monastery."

"I married a local farmer in 1970 through my friend's introduction. Now I have 2 children. My son is 26 and he became a Drepung monk when he was 10 and my daughter has been a nun for 11 or 12 years at Ani Tshamkhung Nunnery (Female Buddhist Monastery in Lhasa), so only my wife and I are at home. I have a side line job. Though I am too old to do the labor work, but I can give advice for Arka. I worked for Gandan monastery for 3 months last year and 1 month this year and they gave me meals and 15 RMB each day. Now there are about 8 or 9 married monks from the Drepung Monastery are at Kyiri Village."

Case 2. Tanpa, 69, the secretary of the Management Committee of the Monastery

"I am from Kyiri Village. There are 7 members in my family: my parents, a brother and 2 older sisters. I was sent to the monastery to become a monk when I was 7. My teacher was Sherab Tarchin from Hardong Khamtsen and we all were familiar with him. I fed myself by reading scriptures and helping doing chores. After 7 years' reading, I need to learn some classics, so I spent the following 4 years in my teacher's dormitory."

"I depended on my teacher prior to 1959, and we will get about 2—3 grams of provisions, it was called '13 Gram'. We will attend the religious ceremony during 'JI' and 'MANG JA', otherwise, we will read scriptures. I don't have any bad records at the monastery because I followed the rules strictly. I didn't make business with others. When the rebellion happened in 1959, I had to take care of my teacher who is in bad condition. All monks from 15—60 were forced to take part in, and were given dozens of gun, but it was under control quickly. The Liberation Army surrounded the monastery and asked the rebellion to disarm and surrender. But some of the rebellions ran across the Dge 'phel Mountain. Members from Hardong Khamtsen and "Yabshi Family" family of Dalai Lama were in charge of all the affairs in the monastery. All the monk were classified as rebellions and anti-rebellions and were gathered together to attend the policy publicity education organized by the working team. Because I just took care of my teacher and didn't participate in the rebellion, I go back to the dorm with my teacher. The team launched "3 Antis and 3 Investigations, they advised the poor monks to expose the rebellion. (3 Antis: Anti-Rebellion. Anti-Slave and Anti-feudalism Privilege; 3 Investigations: Investigation of the political persecution, investigation of class persecution and investigation of economic exploitation.)"

"The Democratic Management Committee of the Drepung Monastery was founded in 1959 and 15 persons were in this committee, including Management Committee, political theory study team, Public Security Department, Economic Department and Production Department. I was a bookkeeper at the economic department, and my job was to count and check the pamphlet of gold, silver, property and cushion, tools and grains of each Dratsang until 1962. When the rebellion happened from 1959 to 1961, we relied on the savings of our own Dratsang. Later we got tea, salt and reserve grains. And according to the citizen's standard, we can get fixed oil, grains, tea and salt from both the monastery

and country. The poor and the old can get clothes and food allowance from the monastery and the country every year. We dug the channel at the Ngachen Electric Company to get water and developed two pieces of farmland near the monastery of Gyagon and Yangda (in Tolung Dechen County). It was more than 100 acres, and farmed by 60—70 monks in turn. The leader, Zhang Guohua from Tibet work Commission has pointed out that the channel facing south has plenty of sunshine and it was good to plant some fruit trees which are good for both the monastery and our descendants. So we turned the wasteland into an apple tree garden which is one of our profit sources. All the apple seedlings were from the hinterland. Common religious activities will be held in the monastery every year”.

“The Poverty Association established after the Cultural Revolution, and all activities stopped. Only one Khamsten left, the other 38 and 17 Mitsen, Doctrines, Buddhist status and cushions at the Hall were all destroyed. The Grand Hall and 4 Dratsangs survived thanks to the contribution of Jigme Rigdzin, the director of the government and the monastery. The monks were reduced from 700 to 270 before and after the Revolution, most of them went back to get a job, and some of them passed away. I applied a job and planned to leave, but the Committee and the director Jigme Rigdzin disagree, the reason is that I have been there since 1959 and know better about the monastery, while most of the monks then were old already. So I kept staying there, dealing with the daily economic production and management, even the production, arrangement, the monks’ revenue and expenditure and the repair and maintenance of the monastery, I had to take care myself. Except this, I also attended the activities to earn working point for myself until 1986 or 1987. Many visitors from both domestic and abroad comes nowadays, and the ticket is about 15 to 20 RMB, but the ticket for the domestic visitors then was only 2.5-5 RMB, though not too much, but it was enough for us. The production and management is worse than that of the past. For example, we can earn money because we had livestock in the monastery, but livestock is a waste for the monastery now, some were sold at a very low price because of the personal relationships. The other example is the apple tree, most of the tree died of lacking of water. The management was much looser. Now they have to drive down the mountain to buy the vegetables. The highest working point is 10 Fen, about 0.7 RMB and it increased gradually. You will be very famous once your working point is 0.2 RMB in 1966, the highest was about 2 RMB, but for the skilled carpenter and workman, they can get about 2.5 RMB.

“The distinguish changes happened after the 3rd session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and it also happened to the monk’s life. All the incomes will be distributed to the monks after the deduction of a certain percentage of the reserve funds. I can get about 1200 RMB per year according to my working point. I was appointed as the secretary of the Patriotism Team and the Management Committee during my spare time, so I went back to the monastery again. I got 1100 RMB as my salary at the end of the year (only 6 months)”.

“From 1995, I got the allowance 140 RMB very month, so I can get 1,600 RMB during the first 6 months of the year.”

Case 3. Gyape Sangpe, 34, he is in charge of the management affairs of the Gadan Podrang)

Gyape Sangpe is one of the first group monks who went to Drepung Monastery after 1982. He is in charge of the management affairs of the Gadan Podrang. He said "I am from Tolung Dechen county 6 people in my family, my parents, 2 brothers and 1 older sister. We have about 4 acres of Lands for each one. I had to pasture while I go to school before I was 15. In 1984, all the land was distributed to every family by contract. I went to Drepung Monastery when I was 18 (May of 1982) because someone in my family have been there before, and my family would like me to go there. I found a guaranteeing teacher when I enter the monastery. My guaranteeing teacher is Dorje from Gomang Dratsang. And the teacher who told me doctrines and scriptures were Yeshe and Tendzin. The first group is about 22 people, but only 7 of us are still in the monastery."

"We split the stones for 5 years when we enter the monastery and not too much money for us. We relied on the charity from the masses. The Monastery will hold the charity meeting twice a year, sometimes we can get 500 RMB and the masses will give me the roasted barley flour. Though I changed my registered permanent residence from the countryside to the monastery, the land there were not be taken. I have to pay 8 gram of grains for the rent. There was some allowance for those monks who don't have land in the monastery and I can get about 16 every 3 months, so I can get about 64 one year, I am not the only one, the others like me also got. The grains are more worthy for us. The land will be taken if you change your permanent residence. The income for 8 grams of grain is more than 60 RMB. Now the price for every gram of barley is near 30 RMB, but actually we can get only less than 3 grams, the income of the other 5 grams are lost. We don't have other incomes and no provision allowances. But fortunately, I have been out from those who is only reading scriptures, they have nothing. I went to the Scriptures House for another 5 years. I can get about 2—3 RMB at the beginning, and it was increased to about 5—6 RMB later. We studied the doctrines and scriptures twice or three time per day, usually from 2 P.M to 4 P.M and from 8 P.M until midnight. I have a better life recently and my job is to deal with the affairs of the Gadan Podrang and to receive the visitors and disciples. The worshippers are from all the country, and during the religious ceremony, the masses from the countryside of Lhasa come to the pilgrims. The people from Qinghai and Gan su province will take the bus or track to pilgrim three large monasteries."

The above three interviews are only the typical cases of the Drepund monks since 1988. Actually, I have interviewed more than 30 individual cases, but because of the limited space, I have to omit. From their experiences, we can find the adaptation process of these monks before 1959 and from the democratic Reform to the Cultural Revolution, and then to the Reform and opening -up period.

2. The economy of the modern Drepung Monastery

The monastery has undergone many changes since 1997, especially the incomes of the monastery and the monk. The monk' live resource, distribution mode and consumption have taken great changes since the Democratic Reform. The most significant is that they

have to own their own living. They can get fixed grains from the monastery every season or twice a year and the salary will be distributed according to their performance.

We can understand the life and economy details from the Democratic Reform to 1982 from the following 2 tables. The first one is the distribution details of each one and each production unit; the second one is the statistic of the Labor's income.

Table 6. The living details of the third season in 1972

Department	people	Fixed Standard per Month (Jin)	Barley (Jin)	Unit Price (RMB)	Total (RMB)	Butter (Jin)	Unit Price (RMB)	Total (RMB)
Water Mill	39	36	4212	0.17	716.04	117	1.5	175.50
Stone	40	47	5640	0.17	959.80	120	1.5	180.00
Pasture	21	37	2331	0.17	396.27	63	1.5	94.50
Sewing	11	31	1023	0.17	173.91	33	1.5	49.50
Agriculture	40	0	0	0.17	0	120	1.5	180
Horse-track	17	60	3060	0.15	459	0	0	0
Fruit Garden	51	36	5508	0.17	936.36	153	1.5	229.50
Carpenter in Nursing House	45	31	4185	0.17	711.45	135	1.5	202.50
Patient	50	28	4200	0.17	714.00	150	1.5	225.00
Total	297		27099		5065.83	891		1336.50

Source: The Management Committee of the Drepung Monastery, 1988

Table 7. Working Point of the laborers in Drepung Monastery

Laborer	Name	Working Days	Working Point	Point Value	Total (RMB)
Full Laborer	Tubtan Chodrag	157	1256	0.07	87.92
Half-Laborer	Tubtan Choel	145	727.5	0.07	50.95
Weak Laborer	Champa Trinle	87	348	0.07	24.36

Resource: The Management Committee of the Drepung Monastery, 1988

The sources of the monks' incomes are mainly from the following sources since 1982:

(1) Monastery Industries: Apple Gardens, Shops, Restaurants, hundreds of cows and more than 80 acres of land rented to the married monks, the total profits of these were 200,000 RMB;

(2) Monastery Funds: The monastery got about 1.32 millions RMB from the government by carrying out the national policy and its occupied real estate, the interest of this is about 70 thousands yearly;

(3) Charity Incomes: Cash from 60 to 70 thousands of worshippers plus the tickets profits was 165,000 RMB in 1991;

(4) Religious Ceremony Incomes: The ceremony held every year will bring the Monastery a big sum of money. It was 420,000 RMB in 1991. But it decreased about 200,000

RMB when the Lamrim Rinpoche died; he held the ceremony when he was alive.

(5) Incomes from Shoton Festival: It is the important festival in Lhasa, Tibet, thus becomes the main resource of the monastery's income.

(6) Family Support: Each monk will get some food support from the families.

The incomes were about 890,000 RMB in 1991, and 60 percent of this was from the masses' charity. All the money was saved by the Monastery Democratic Management Committee; it was used for the repairing expenditure, the salary for the trainee of Buddhist doctrine and other expenditure like bill of the gas, the telephone and the electricity. The monks' salary comes mainly from the Alms by religious ceremony and preaching. It can be got directly, no need to be distributed by the Committee. The monks can get about 500 and 420 from Charity and preaching respectively in 1991. It means they can earn 1320 RMB at least compared to the average of 455 RMB for the peasants and herdsman in Tibet. Thanks to the reform and opening-up policy, both the Tibetan economy and the peasants' income increased, and the income for the monastery increased subsequently. The following table is the income statistics of the Lhakang from 1987 to 1994.

Table 8. Income of Lhakang from 1987—1994

Year	Income(RMB)
1987	110,000
1988	140,000
1989	116,000
1990	110,000
1991	170,000
1992	255,000
1993	180,000
1994	130,000
Total	1,211,000

Source: The Management Committee of the Drepung Monastery, 1995.

The reform and opening-up policy also played a great role in changing the monastery's income. The profit from the tickets and the photos of the visitors has been an important part of the incomes. The following table is the fees for taking photos of the foreign visitors from 1981 to 1995. It reached 129,067.2 RMB.

Table 9. Incomes from the foreign visitors in June from 1981 to 1995

Year	Income (RMB)
1981	4314.00
1982	1515.00
1983	2561.00
1984	2533.50
1985	5446.00
1986—1990	8370.00
1991	2305.00
1992	16000.00
1993	20000.00
1994	26022.70
1995(First half of the Year)	25000.00
Total	15000.00
	129067.20

Source: The Management Committee of the Drepung Monastery, 1995.

The revenue of Drepung Monastery reached 960,000 RMB and the monks' incomes increased slightly in 1996, it marks a new historical period for Drepung Monastery. The total income was about 2.288 millions RMB with the tickets of 1.26 millions RMB and Scripture Hall of 991,926.7 RMB and others of 35,890 RMB (Restaurants, Sidelines, Transportation and Pastures,) and it increased to 4.6 millions RMB with the tickets of 2.24 millions RMB and Hall of 2 millions RMB and others of 360,000 RMB in 2005.

With the flow of the visitors, the incomes of the monastery and the monks both increased since 2004. The ticket price is 50 for each. The Tourism Bureau suggested raising the ticket price with their profit inside, that is, they allow increasing the price, but they will take out certain percentage from the incomes. But the Monastery refused to do this, so the ticket is still 50 RMB now.

The "Working Point System" is still adopted now in Drepung Monastery, the point value is 3 RMB and the limitation for one monk is 10 points. If the attendance is full and no problem happens, (especially lost and conflagration) the administrator of the Hall can get 30 RMB, the trainee can get 16 and those from Primary class of the Buddhist doctrine training can get 12. Beside this, they can get about 15 RMB from the religious ceremony which will be held every 8th, 10th, 15th, 25th and 30th of every month, so every year they can get 900 RMB from the ceremony. In total, the monks there can earn 5,200—11,700 RMB annually. This is not including the earning from rituals of Birth, Age, Illness and Death, rituals of Marriage and funerals. Thus, the revenue of the monks in Drepung Monastery is much higher than that of the peasants and herdsmen 18

VI. Conclusion and Discussion

Religions are typical characteristics and important contents of the Tibetan society. In the course of Tibetan social changes in the latest sixty years, the Tibetan Buddhism has experienced different stages and in-depth changes. The process of revival of religions and reconstruction of monasteries in Tibet is a process of mutual adaptation between the Tibetan Buddhism and the contemporary society. This is true because of these facts: First, the Tibetan Buddhism has been developed for more than a thousand years, while the socialist system has been existing in China for only 60 years, and Tibet saw the democratic reform and the radical changes in its social system merely 50 years ago. Therefore, the existence and development of the Tibetan Buddhism in the contemporary society are historical continuity. Second, the Chinese government bases its regime on the reality and facts of the Tibetan society, and it constructs and operates its regime in a socialist system with Chinese characteristics and Tibetan features. And third, in the process of development for more than 50 years, and especially in the course of construction of the socialist system with Tibetan characteristics for more than 30 years when China has been implementing its reform and opening-up policy, the position and influence of the Tibetan Buddhism among the public have been fully respected and taken into account, and the influence and effect of the Tibetan Buddhist professionals and living Buddhas

in the construction of the contemporary society and politics have been fully absorbed and brought into play. In addition, the policy on religions is constituted according to the combination of Tibet's religious rituals, historical conventions, and reality that is ever developing and changing.

In general, the operation of Tibetan Buddhism is faced with the development of China's social modernization and transformation, and is also faced with the influence of CPC's policy on religions. Furthermore, Tibetan Buddhism is internally faced with the question of how to adapt for the contemporary society with Chinese characteristics and Tibetan features. These issues have been existing throughout the process of development in the past 60 years. The Tibetan Buddhism is internally experiencing and faced with many challenges, which include, for example, the issue of how the traditional organization and management of monasteries can coexist and link up with the contemporary social system of Tibet, the issue of disconnections within and development of the educational system for sutra studies in monasteries, the issue of sutra study education and public education for monks and nuns, the issue of civic rights and public social services of monks and nuns, and the issue of population size of monks and nuns in relation to the government's public responsibilities for the development of social economy.

By analyzing the typical case of Drepung Monastery, we may see a clearer picture with the following points.

First, the population size of monks and nuns at Drepung Monastery varies depending on how the political and economical conditions change, and this has been true whether during or after the period of the fifth Dalai Lama. The so-called fixed population sizes determined by the fifth Dalai Lama for the three major monasteries, especially that for Drepung Monastery (7,700 as said), is in conflict with the historical fact. The numbers of monks and nuns are not invariable. This needs to be analyzed and treated in a scientific manner.

Second, the composition of monks/nuns at Drepung has been significantly changed as affected by many factors including the political system, the policy on religions, the household registration system, and the system of local administration. Drepung Monastery has a single source of new monks and nuns. This neither satisfies the religious professionals who wish to come for sutra study from within and/or outside of TAR, nor is it in conformity to the principle of equal competition and survival of the fittest. A single source will directly lead to the localization of monks and nuns, which is more harmful than good to a Tibetan Buddhist monastery that used to be world-influential and is open to all parts of China. For major monasteries like Drepung and other ones that have historical features and wide influence, the residence registration restriction should be eased for new comers, the system of local administration should be reformed, and the source structure of new monks and nuns should be changed. Professional monks and nuns from outside of the TAR and from different ethnic groups including the Tibetan, Mongolian and Han, should be admitted for sutra study. By this, it is possible for Drepung Monastery to gradually rebuild its deserved position in the world of Tibetan Buddhism.

Now, the monks and nuns at Drepung are either young or middle-aged. Such an age structure is helpful to the development of the monastery and a lower burden for it, but will also bring challenges for the monks and nuns in their study and education. That the monks and nuns are generally less educated and literate is a fact that needs to be highly considered and changed. Monasteries should establish their incentive and eliminating mechanisms for different levels of study such as further education, refresher courses, advanced study, and self-teaching, depending on the ages of monks and nuns when they are initiated into monkhood or nunhood. Monks and nuns who have passed specified examinations should receive the treatment equivalent to that for the national education system.

Third, the organization structure of monasteries is radically changed. As a monastery-based grassroots organization, the Monastery Management Committee should introduce an electoral system similar to that of other grassroots organizations. Members of the Monastery Management Committee should be generated through ballot box at the monk/nun conference according to their performance including the time of admission, level of sutra study, management capability, abstinence, and the level of satisfaction they have received for services they have provided for public religious life. This approach can meet the current need of monasteries for their institutional reform, and what is more, it can meet the trend for monasteries to establish their democratic systems and legal institutions.

Fourth, now the life standard and quality of monks and nuns at Drepung are radically changed. The government has been gradually including the welfare and well-being of monks and nuns in the system of equivalent citizen treatment, and has provided many facilities for Drepung such as tap water, power supply and sanitation. Currently, the monks and nuns at Drepung receive annual income in cash ranging from 5,200 to 11,700 RMB, higher than the level for farmers and herdsman. Their income has been increasing in the latest couple of years, as they generally admit.

Fifth, during Tibet's social transformation, it is an important mission and target for Tibetan Buddhism to adapt for the contemporary modern society. Meanwhile, where should Tibetan Buddhism go when Tibet is experiencing the social transformation and development? It is a key question for the religious community to answer, and yet the answer is subject to the trend and influence of the contemporary Tibetan society itself. And, it is even inevitable that the Tibetan society is subject to the impact of globalization.

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Note:

1 "Serfdom was the foundation for the manorial estate system and for the political and monastic system. It was an efficient system of economic exploitation that guaranteed to the country's religious and secular elites a permanent and secure labor force to cultivate their land-holdings without burdening them either with any direct day-to-day responsibility for the serfs' subsistence or with the need to compete for labor in a market context" (Goldstein, 1989:5).

2 The highest 'Lharampa Geshe' degree a degree in Buddhist philosophy in the Geluk tradition.

3 The population size and the number of monks/nuns before 1959 are estimated figures. Accurate statistics are unavailable.

4 Tibet Work Committee of CCP, *A Proposal on the Disposal of Issues with the Three Major Monasteries* (September 2, 1959)

5 Tentative Regulations for Democratic Management of Monasteries (1959)

6 Before 1990s, there was a disagreement on the quantity of monastery reconstruction. This was due to the unavailability of accurate survey data. In addition, the difference between monasteries and other premises for religious activities (Lhakang) led to different quantities.

7 Tsongkhapa (1357-1419), whose name means "The Man from Onion Valley", was a famous teacher of Tibetan Buddhism whose activities led to the formation of the Geluk School. He is also known by his ordained name Lobsang Drakpa (blo bzang grags pa) or simply as Je Rinpoche (rje rin po che). http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Je_Tsongkhapa.

8 Three seats Monasteries: Sera Monastery, Drepung Monastery, Ganden Monastery

9 "The View of Tibet Work Committee of CCP on Several Issues dealing with the three Major Monasteries" (September 2, 1959). In *Tibet democratic reform*, Tibet People's Publishing House, 1995, pp.135-139.

10 A report from Tibetan Work Group in 1960.

11 A report from Democratic Management Committee of Drepung Monastery, 1980.

12 A report from Democratic Management Committee of the Drepung Monastery, 1995.

13 "Biography of the 5th Dalai Lama" "China Tibetology Publish House, 1997. Volume 1" p.117.

14 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hukou_system.

15 "Drepung Moastery of Truth", "Tibet Daily", August 15, 1959.

16 Khenpo (also spelled Khyenpo) is a spiritual degree given in Tibetan Buddhism.

17 See edited by Melvyn C.Goldstein and Matthew T.Kapastein: *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet-Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*. Melvyn C.Goldstein *The Revival of Monastic Life in Drepung Monastery*, p.21. University of California Press 1998.

18 In 2009, rural residents' net income per capita is 3,589 RMB in the TAR.