

THE FOURTH BELMANG: BODHISATTVA, ESTATE  
LORD, TIBETAN MILITIA LEADER, AND  
CHINESE GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL

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ABSTRACT

Social and political changes in the greater Labrang Monastery region of northeastern Tibet, in southern Gansu, eastern Qinghai, and northern Sichuan provinces are described. Particular focus is on the major events and phases of the lifetime of Jikmé Tsultrim Namgyalba (1918-1957) the fourth rebirth of the Belmang lineage, an important member of the Labrang community during a time of major change in regional history. Though this description is specific to only one of the regional communities, its changes were typical of others in the Tibetan northeast.

KEYWORDS

Apa Alo (Huang Zhengqing), Gélukpa, Gonpo Dondrup, Hui, Muslim, Jamyang Zhépa, Machu, Labrang

## INTRODUCTION

The life story of the Fourth Labrang Belmang lama, Jikmé Tsultrim Namgyalwa (Chinese, Huang Zhengming; 1918-1957.2.11) is remarkable because of the various major roles he played in the history and culture of the Sino-Tibetan borderlands of Amdo. He crossed the divisions between Tibetan and Chinese civilizations, between political and social systems, and between monastic and lay life. More than the story of an individual, his biography is illustrative of four major phases in the history of the Labrang community-at-large and how these phases evolved and endured during the early twentieth century. Using Belmang's life experiences as an outline, and building on the tumultuous series of events in his early childhood, the four phases were first, his ordination at age ten and subsequent monastic education (1928-1937); second, the period in his life and in the community at large when new ideas and institutions were implemented (1937-1949); third, the period of restructuring community and monastery infrastructures (1950-1957); and fourth, after Belmang's death, the dismantling of the monastic and social institutions (1958-present).

During the period of Tibetan monasticism (1928-1937), the Fourth Belmang functioned as a prominent reborn lama and estate owner, holding religious and political authority over his inherited properties. The second phase in his life and that of the community was the period of Tibetan modernity (1937-1949). He was stimulated by such forward-thinking Tibetans as his brother, Apa Alo (Huang Zhengqing) (1903-1997), their Chinese associates Xuan Xiafu and Li Anzhai, such foreign friends as Marion and Blanche Griebenow and others. He was assisted or at least motivated by the governments of Sun Yatsen, Feng Yuxiang, and the Nationalists, and by the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa. He was also stirred by his 1937-1940 excursion to

central Tibet. This phase in Belmang's life and in the life of the community had many influences, but Belmang kept his monastic vows intact and the changes in the community were internally motivated and marked a period of evolution and creative thinking on the part of several of the leading Labrang Tibetans. The third phase was the period of reform (1950-1957), notably after the Chinese Communist revolution, marked by the implementation of social and political ideologies and infrastructures that originated outside of the Tibetan environment, and further by the Fourth Belmang's personal transformation. The 1950-1957 third phase marked a shift to accommodation of Chinese political structures. The fourth phase began in 1958, after Belmang's death, with the restructuring of the Labrang community's social and political structures. The first three phases are evident in the biography of the Fourth Belmang and in the history of the Labrang community, and the fourth by the sweeping changes of 1958 and the following decades.

In 1919, the Fourth Belmang was identified as the rebirth of the Belmang lineage, and as such was regarded as a living bodhisattva, an emanation body of a Buddha, and at the same time the inheritor of his predecessors' estate. He was granted all of the rights and privileges of his status, which included the highest level of social and political prestige. His inherited estate, his *labrang*, consisted of revenue-generating pasture and agricultural landholdings, corvée from the communities in those lands, and sponsorship for religious and holiday services.

The Fourth Belmang's identification as a rebirth, a *tulku*, by the senior lamas at Amchok Monastery<sup>1</sup> in about

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<sup>1</sup> The word 'monastery' in English is used for the Tibetan *dgon pa*, literally an isolated place, or hermitage, a place of solitude where religious practitioners live. The Tibetan word *grwa tshang* also carries the meaning of 'monastery',

1919 and the 1924 verification by the Ninth Panchen Lama brought considerable wealth and power. The process of inheritance whereby the estate remained intact and increased from one rebirth to the next brought wealth, status, privilege, and political responsibility. In later years, by virtue of his inherited and acquired status, the Fourth Belmang held monastic offices at Labrang Monastery, including Treasurer and Regent.<sup>2</sup>

Two of the Fourth Belmang's brothers were Apa Alo, a key figure in contemporary Gansu, and the Fifth Jamyang Zhepa (1916-1947), the rebirth in the leading lineage of Labrang Monastery. With two reborn bodhisattvas in the family, as well as Gonpo Dondrup, the fierce patriarch of the family, and Apa Alo, the eldest son, this family was arguably among the most powerful in early twentieth century Amdo.

#### THE EARLY YEARS—1918-1928

The Fourth Belmang was born in Lithang (then in Xikang Province, but now Sichuan Province) in the Tibetan Kham region. The family patriarch, Gonpo Dondrup, is known to have had interactions with the Chinese in the early twentieth century, but in the early years after the fall of the Qing Dynasty, the family left Lithang for the grasslands of northern Kham and Amdo. Belmang and his siblings were

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because it means a place where groups of monks study, worship, and live. The latter term is also sometimes translated as 'college', which is used here.

<sup>2</sup> See the photographs of the Fourth Belmang's residence; the Labrang seat of his monastic estate and temple; the Fourth Belmang, ca. 1945; and also the delegation to Chongqing in Zhabs drung tshang 1948, photo appendix, 15-16 and 28.

raised in Tibetan nomad camps.<sup>3</sup> On their way to Labrang and the installation of the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa, the family stayed at Amchok, where reports say that the boy was named Belmang's rebirth. This was confirmed in 1924 by the Ninth Panchen Lama.<sup>4</sup>

The family arrived in Labrang by 1919-1920. Tension between the Muslims and Labrang Tibetans was high and conflicts common in the 1920s, e.g., on 27 June 1924 there was a battle between the Muslims and Tibetans in Ganjia, and again in Ganjia, on 25-27 April 1925 at Serchentang.<sup>5</sup> In both battles, the Tibetans commanded by Gonpo Dondrup fought the predominantly Hui, Xining-based Ninghai Army led by Ma Bufang. The Tibetans were ill-equipped, sustained heavy losses, and were routed.<sup>6</sup> Gonpo Dondrup, Apa Alo, the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa, and the entire family left Labrang just weeks after the 1924 incident in July 1924 and remained in exile until 1927.

The group went first to Lanzhou,<sup>7</sup> but soon went on to Tsandrok Monastery in Méma, Gannan for the winter of

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<sup>3</sup> The period between the family's departure from Lithang and their 1919-1920 arrival at Labrang is not well documented. The family left Lithang in about 1911 because of the unstable political and military environment there, and lived in Amdo nomad territory of northern Sichuan and southern Gansu until 1919 (see Huang Zhengqing 1989, Huang Zhengqing 1994).

<sup>4</sup> See for example Chen Zhongren 2001, 1,009.

<sup>5</sup> A brief description of this battle is given in Gong Ziyong 1933, 23, 30.

<sup>6</sup> A brief account of this battle appears in Zhang Yuwen 1991, 93.

<sup>7</sup> Zhang Yuwen 1991, 93; see Huang Zhengqing 1989, 31.

1924-1925.<sup>8</sup> They traveled further to Gomang Monastery in Ngawa Tsodru, Sichuan, where they stayed for two years,<sup>9</sup> after which they returned to the high plains near Hezuo, Gansu, at Mépo Garsar, where they stayed until June 1927.<sup>10</sup> In these years Apa Alo went to Lanzhou and appealed to the Chinese authorities, then led by Feng Yuxiang and his appointed officer, Liu Yufen, to intervene.<sup>11</sup>

The Fourth Belmang, his brother, Jamyang Zhépa, their family, and entourage returned to Labrang in 1927, after which the Xiahe County government was formally established in 1928. Building on earlier initiatives, the

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<sup>8</sup> Interview. Tsandrok Monastery was founded in 1819. See also Zhang Wenyu 1935, 308–309. For a description of Tsandrok Monastery see Dbang rgyal 1993, 200–210.

<sup>9</sup> Interview.

<sup>10</sup> Huang Zhengqing 1994, 73–74. These events are summarized in Huang Zhengqing 1989, 80 and Zhang Qiyun 1970, 31.

<sup>11</sup> In Zhang Yuwen (1991, 93), the sequence of events and who was in charge are unclear. In 1922, Gonpo Dondrup, (Huang Weizhong) is cited as chief negotiator between Muslims and Tibetans. However, after the 1924 battle in Ganjia, the text says that Apa Alo/ Huang Zhengqing and the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa went to Lanzhou and appealed to the Chinese for help. In 1924, Apa Alo was twenty-one years old, and the Fifth Jamyang Zhepa was eight years old. It appears that the editor of this anonymous manuscript has conflated the facts; other sources report that the young Jamyang Zhepa stayed in Gannan and northern Sichuan until just prior to returning to Labrang in 1927. The text states further that Apa Alo was interested in both assistance for the Tibetans' political cause and for their culture.

following years brought attempts to modernize Labrang,<sup>12</sup> whose authorities allowed a broad range of educational initiatives, the presence of different religions, and economic and technological innovations, though oral sources report resistance. This was the Fourth Belmang's childhood environment.

### PHASE ONE: BELMANG'S YOUTH AND EDUCATION, 1928-1937

There were two elementary schools in Xiahe beginning in 1928<sup>13</sup> and continuing into the 1940s. One was exclusively Tibetan and the other was for all local ethnic groups.<sup>14</sup> Oral accounts report that Belmang attended one of the new schools. From 1927 until 1937 the Fourth Belmang studied as a monk at Labrang, and completed the entire course of study, modeled on that of Lhasa's Drépong Monastery. He is described as an accomplished monk and scholar, and especially proficient at memorization. He is reported to have completed and excelled in the entire monastic curriculum at Labrang's Tösam Ling College, which included debate, tantric ritual, sand maṇḍala construction, and other subjects.

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<sup>12</sup> Other infrastructure projects at Labrang included a commercial group in 1918, a post office in 1923, a tax bureau in 1927, and a telegraph office in 1928 (Deng Long and Zhao Shi 1991, 2).

<sup>13</sup> Si Jun 1984, 76.

<sup>14</sup> Huang Zhengqing 1994, 77, 99; Huang Zhengqing 1989, 41–42.

PHASE TWO: BELMANG  
CROSSES BORDERS, 1937-1949

Belmang traveled to Lhasa with his brother, the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa, in 1937. He entered Gomang College at Drépung Monastery and studied there for at least two full years, traveling to the major monasteries in central and western Tibet, and returning to Labrang in 1940 at age twenty-three.

Building on the educational initiatives already established, the following decade brought new ideas to Labrang through the office of the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa and the assistance of Belmang, who was an increasingly active figure in public politics, and their oldest brother, Apa Alo, whose status as a political and militia leader increased rapidly. Meanwhile, Belmang remained an active religious figure. The Fifth had founded Gyutö College at Labrang in 1928, and refinished it in 1942 with Belmang's active involvement and installment as second abbot. It was at this time that Belmang wrote the Labrang Gyutö *Rulebook/Chayik*. He was a key functionary at Gyutö and deeply involved with the teaching and learning of the major Gélukpa tantras.<sup>15</sup> Evidence of his character is in his taking in and personally nursing his ailing older brother, Khyenrab Dondrup, and while occupied with other work, and against tradition, personally administering his own estate properties.<sup>16</sup> In addition to his other activities, Belmang planted a great number of trees in the Labrang region during this time.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Drakgonpa konchog tenpa rabgyé (Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas) 2001, 552.

<sup>16</sup> Drakgonpa konchog tenpa rabgyé (Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas) 2001, 552, 554.

<sup>17</sup> Chen Zhongren 2001, 1,009; Zhabs drung tshang 1948, 44.



Belmang was actively involved in resolving confrontations between Machu in Gansu and Ngawa in Sichuan<sup>18</sup> in 1942 and, in 1943, he was appointed senior member of a delegation to Chongqing, where he met Chiang Kaishek, and presented the Nationalists with support for a reported thirty aircraft for the Chinese military.<sup>19</sup> He was appointed Treasurer of Labrang Monastery in 1944, the second highest monastic office at Labrang. A year later he was appointed as a functionary of the Nationalist government, the Director of Xiahe County's Provisional Advisory Committee and he was selected to represent Labrang at a Gansu provincial meeting in Lanzhou<sup>20</sup> in 1946 during which modern sources report that he introduced ideas about developing and revolutionizing the borderlands.<sup>21</sup> The Fourth Belmang was thus fully engaged in his dual monastic and political offices; recognized by the monastic and lay religious community as a reborn bodhisattva and estate owner, and as a regional political authority by the central Chinese Nationalist government.

He served as Chief Administrator of the Xiahe branch of the Nationalist government's Three Principles of the People<sup>22</sup> Youth League later in 1946 and, in the same year, established the *Amdo Monthly Journal* and served as

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<sup>18</sup> Chen Zhongren 2001, 1,009.

<sup>19</sup> Chen Zhongren 2001, 1009. The Chinese sources agree that the Labrang authorities donated aircraft, which suggests the Labrang authorities provided money designated for aircraft.

<sup>20</sup> Zhazha 2002, 187.

<sup>21</sup> Chen Zhongren 2001, 1009. This is fairly strident rhetoric, and if it does describe Belmang's activities, he did this as a functionary of the Nationalist government and as Treasurer of Labrang Monastery.

<sup>22</sup> Chen Zhongren 2001, 1009; see also the detailed account in Che Manbao 1999, 628-630, 124-130.

its editor, or according to certain reports, co-editor with Wu Zhengang. Later in early 1947, he worked with the Gansu provincial government to promote Labrang's communications, public health, and education infrastructures.<sup>23</sup> Shortly after the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa's death in 1947, Belmang was assigned Regent of Labrang Monastery and later (in 1951) took charge of locating and identifying the Sixth Jamyang Zhépa;<sup>24</sup> again demonstrating mastery of monastic and religious affairs. At the same time he was engaged in innovative initiatives with Labrang's Han neighbors. Belmang continued to serve as Regent of Labrang Monastery from 1948-1949.

In this phase of his life, and in the life of the community, there was much contact and sharing with Labrang's Chinese neighbors; a continuation of cross-border contacts established at the founding of the monastery and earlier in Amdo history. Belmang's family was from Lithang, where the patriarch Gonpo Dondrup had had much contact with the Chinese. Selective borrowing of innovations from the Chinese was an ongoing process. This period marks a new interest in innovations taken from various sources, not only from Labrang's Chinese neighbors.

The list of initiatives and exploration of outside sources in this period is long. First, public education was increasingly valued in Labrang and even in remote areas, and in some cases for women.<sup>25</sup> Chinese sources and resources were tapped, but the Labrang authorities also established contacts with foreign, non-Chinese missionaries,

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<sup>23</sup> Zhazha 2002, 187.

<sup>24</sup> Drakgonpa konchog tenpa rabgyé (Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas) 2001, 554.

<sup>25</sup> For a full list of the educational and other initiatives at Labrang, see Nietupski, forthcoming.

including the Griebenows, and others.<sup>26</sup> A degree of ideological pluralism from sources other than China is marked by documented encounters with the Griebenows, and by the Labrang authorities allowing the construction of their Christian mission on monastery property. Other advances included allowing the rebuilding of a Linxia-based Muslim mosque in Xiahe, and support for construction of a Guandi Temple in Xiahe, both on monastery property. Further, in these years the Jamyang Zhépa and his family personally supported the expansion of the Ngakpa College just outside of Labrang's monastery walls, a development without precedent in other Tibetan areas.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to these local developments, Jamyang Zhépa's and Belmang's 1937-1940 excursion to Lhasa resulted in initiatives at Labrang based on central Tibetan models. For example, the central Labrang political office, the Yiktsang, was established on the model of Lhasa's Ganden Potrang. The Jamyang Zhépa also built a family residence, Tashi Rabten, outside of Labrang Monastery modeled on Lhasa's Norbu Lingka. Other rather 'grassroots' Tibetan initiatives included the revitalization of Labrang's Tibetan arts, notably the development of Namthar, a monastic music troupe. China served as one source for this 1937-1949 phase of Labrang's development, but it was by no means the only well-spring of culture and politics. Using Belmang's life history as an indicator, he retained his monastic vows during these years and was fully involved in Buddhist monastic life.

The political importance of Labrang's close Chinese neighbors was certainly not ignored, a fact that in itself marks a degree of innovation. Belmang represented a group

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<sup>26</sup> The contacts between the Fifth Jamyang Zhepa and the Griebenow family are well documented in the Griebenow letters, e.g., Nietupski 1999.

<sup>27</sup> See Nietupski, forthcoming.

in 1948 consisting of Apa Alo and seventeen officials from Labrang's main and branch monasteries at a meeting of Nationalist government delegates. This group remained intact until 1949, when the Fourth Belmang at least acknowledged and Apa Alo formally joined the Chinese Communist Party.<sup>28</sup> The impact of this on Labrang's fortunes was far reaching, extending in the following decades to Labrang's benefit. Apa Alo was appointed governor (*zhou zhang*) of Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. The 1949 Communist victory brought only minor changes in Labrang.

In sum, it is fair to ask how much influence the Chinese had at Labrang and the extent of their reforms, or how much reform the Tibetans implemented at Labrang. The Fourth Belmang and his associates clearly saw the need for engaging the Chinese, and were also keenly interested in new political ideas but this does not, in itself, indicate a willingness to abandon Tibetan religion and cultural systems. Evidence of both modern innovation and adherence to traditions is discernible in Belmang's public life and ongoing religious activities.

### PHASE THREE: MACHU, 1950-1957

Many of Labrang's territories (e.g., Ngulra and Machu) had monastery-appointed representatives (*mgo ba*), but in Dzogé Méma and Machu there were also other officers from the Labrang Monastery central office. The next phase of the Fourth Belmang's life and that of the Labrang community is marked by his assignment to a monastery office in Machu, where his office was later conflated into the Chinese

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<sup>28</sup> For Apa Alo, Sheng Jingxin (1989, 18); for Belmang, Drakgonpa konchog tenpa rabgyé (Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas; 2001, 558).

Communist Party's local government, which regarded Machu as a county (*xian*). Belmang was the first of the Machu CCP office holders, beginning in about 1953. Thus there was some attempt to preserve Labrang's political hierarchies at the same time as allowing new structures, but this period marked a significant change in Belmang's life and in the life of the community. These were the post-Communist revolution years, marked by the formal entry of Apa Alo into the Communist Party in 1949, and by the urgent need for the Labrang Tibetans to recognize the changes in the Chinese vision of their new political system.

These post-revolution years were chaotic in China, and though ideologically cognizant and often sympathetic to the new political ideas, there was little change in sovereignty and administration in Labrang and in its territories. This is made evident for example by the ongoing and long-simmering conflict between two *tsowa* 'clan groups'<sup>29</sup> Métra Shul and Tu Mé, in Machu and Ngulra that had been smoldering since violent clashes in 1937 and 1941. The Labrang authorities attempted to intervene each time. Belmang was involved in negotiations between Machu and Ngawa in 1942. Again, in 1951, there was fierce fighting in Ngulra, and a local fighter (Abo Karmo) killed two men from Ngawa. An oral account cites 1952, when Apa Alo called a meeting of all the local leaders, as a pivotal year in the effort to resolve this dispute.<sup>30</sup> However, several local leaders were unwilling to join what was reportedly perceived as a Beijing-instigated attempt at unity mediated by the Labrang authorities. Belmang and the

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<sup>29</sup> For a detailed discussion of this complex social unit, see Nietupski, forthcoming. '*Tsowa*' may indicate an extended family or clan, or several unrelated families or clans. It was a common social unit in nomad areas.

<sup>30</sup> Interview.

Labrang authorities were nonetheless in charge of the greater Machu region.

In response to the ongoing hostility to attempts at promoting group solidarity in the Labrang community on a Chinese Communist model, Belmang went to Beijing in 1952 to study the Chinese language, politics, and history at the Central Nationalities Institute. This course of study was rather brief (the level of Belmang's comprehension of the Chinese language, for example, is unclear), but it was a tacit acknowledgement of Chinese authority for, in the next year, Belmang returned to serve as a delegate to the People's Committee in the newly formed Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Region. When the Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture was founded, Belmang served as delegate to the People's Committee for the first two terms of that office.

In Machu, Belmang retained his local prestige and properties, and after his return from Beijing in about 1953 he was a delegate to the Committee on Governance in the Border Regions of Three Provinces and in 1955 'county commissioner' of Machu County.<sup>31</sup>

The Fourth is reported to have become a swashbuckling figure in these years—perhaps on his return from Beijing and assumption of his assignment in restive Machu. A number of his contemporaries reported that he rode with the local militia in skirmishes against neighboring nomad groups, and the Sichuan Méwo, and otherwise abandoned his monastic vows. The disputes between Labrang's territories and Méwo in Sichuan continued until

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<sup>31</sup> Drakgonpa konchog tenpa rabgyé (Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas; 2001, 562). The Tibetan refers to Belmang's position as *gtso 'gan* 'executive leader', 'director' for both of these posts, but the Chinese uses 'delegate' (*wei yuan*) for the first and 'county leader', 'county director', or 'county commissioner' (*xian zhang*), for the second.

1956-1957, when they were finally resolved by the Labrang authorities.<sup>32</sup>

From 1953-1957, Labrang authorities promoted development in agriculture, the pastoral economy in nomad areas, commerce, the introduction of technology and transportation infrastructures, increase of population, and regional recognition of the Communist Party, and unity among minority groups.<sup>33</sup> In his essay describing three years of development in the region (dated 1 October 1956, published in 1957), Apa Alo reported progress in all of these areas.<sup>34</sup> Belmang worked as a Labrang estate owner and political representative with two loyalties: Labrang and his heritage, and Beijing and its power. He died in 1957, leaving behind a relatively intact religious infrastructure, nomad society, and religious hierarchy.

#### PHASE FOUR: DISMANTLING AND REDEFINITION, 1958

The period after Belmang's death is marked vividly by the decade beginning in 1958, during which the Chinese Red Army and central government took Labrang's territories. The much reduced Xiahe County was now fully under the jurisdiction of the Chinese central government. Monastic officials were dismissed, monks were often forced to

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<sup>32</sup> Interview. This source mentioned the Fifth Jamyang Zhépa's 1940 visit to Ngulra. See the account of these events from 1937–1951 in 'Jam dbyangs (1991, 61–62).

<sup>33</sup> On several occasions, Apa Alo mentions successes in the Mé (Mes, dMe) region, which has a long history of conflict with Labrang (See Huang Zhengqing 1957, 8, 20).

<sup>34</sup> See Huang Zhengqing (1957, 15) on the role of religion in 'new society', and how monks were working in community offices.

renounce their vows, and community tribal leaders were forced to capitulate, or in cases of resistance, engage in battle with the Red Army, be imprisoned, or executed. Monastic buildings and temples at Labrang Monastery were destroyed or converted to different uses in attempts to redefine community values, for example by building a livestock slaughterhouse on the site of a destroyed Buddhist temple. Makley (2007) has shown that gender roles were modified after 1958. Livestock and property were confiscated, and attempts made to increase industry and agriculture. In brief, this phase, marked by the death of the Fourth Belmang, signaled a major Chinese effort to change social, religious, and political structures at Labrang.

## CONCLUSION

The Fourth Belmang was a reborn bodhisattva, an example of the fully developed Tibetan Gélukpa model. His rebirth was prophesied, he was identified, was educated to the standards of Gélukpa scholarship, and was fully initiated into and educated in many aspects of Tibetan Buddhist tantrism. He was also an estate owner, whose estate was an example of a pre- and post-Chinese Amdo social, political, and economic community.

The Fourth was an individual seeking to bridge the gaps between Tibetan society, politics, and religion, demonstrating strong commitment to Tibetan religious, social, and political structures. He also confirmed a commitment to educational, technological, social, and political reforms after his return from Lhasa in 1940. These commitments were not seen as mutually contradictory; a devotion to Tibetan Buddhist beliefs, reborn bodhisattvas, estate structures, and nomad social and economic structures for Belmang did not preclude modernization, including education, social, and political changes. His greatest



contribution was his ability to promote and preserve Labrang's heritage while simultaneously engaging his neighbors and the new ideas and challenges they brought, unlike the contexts of his predecessors, the Nationalists and later, the Communist Chinese.

In sum, the Fourth Belmang's biography illustrates major periods in Labrang and Amdo's modern history—the Tibetan monastic phase (1928-1937), the period of Tibetan modernity (1937-1949), the period of reform (1950-1957), and the Communist-led dismantling of monastic and community social structures (beginning in 1958). Finally, Belmang and his Labrang family and associates may be considered in the same category as such other famous Amdo individuals as Dobi Shérab Gyatso and Gendun Chöpel, whose exploits and views of changing Tibet are comparatively well known. Taken together, these individuals may be best understood as prominent figures in sweeping changes in social and political consciousness, and the beginnings of a broad-based group of forward-thinking Amdo Tibetans.

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

TIBETAN

Abo Karmo, a 'bos dkar mo  
Amchok, a mchog  
Apa Alo, a pha a blo  
Belmang, dbal mang  
Chayik, bca' yig  
Dobi Sherab Gyatso, rdo sbis shes rab rgya mtsho  
Dragonpa konchog tenpa rabgyé, Brag dgon pa dkon  
mchog bstan pa rab rgyas  
Drépfung, 'bras spungs  
dzong, rdzong  
Dzongé Méma, mdzod dge smad ma  
Ganden Potrang, dga' ldan pho brang  
Ganjia, rgan rgya  
Gélugpa, dge lugs pa  
Gendun Chöpel, dge 'dun chos 'phel  
Gomang, sgo mang  
Gonpo Dondrup, mgon po don grub  
gtso 'gan, director, executive  
Gyütö, rgyud stod  
Jamyang Zhépa, 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa  
Jikmé Tsultrim Namgyalba, 'jigs med tshul khirms nam  
rgyal ba  
Khyenrab Dondrup, mkhyen rab don grub  
Labrang, bla brang  
Machu, rma chu  
Méma, smad ma  
Mépo Garsar, dme po'i sgar gсар  
Métra Shul, dme khra shul  
Méwo, Mes (Dme) bo  
mgo ba, representative  
Namthar, rnam thar

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Ngakpa Dratsang, sngags pa grwa tshang

Ngawa, rnga ba

Ngulra, dngul rwa

Norbu Lingka, nor bu ling ka

phyag mdzod, treasurer

rgyal tshab, regent

Serchentang, gser chen thang

Tashi Rabten, bkra shis rab brtan

Tösam Ling, thos bsam gling

Tsandrok, mtshan sgrogs

Tsowa, tsho ba

Tu Mé, thu dme

tulku, sprul sku

Wangyal, dbang rgyal

Yiktsang, yig tshang

zhing chen gsum gyi mtha' khul srid gzhung las don u yon

lhan khang, Committee on Governance in the Border

Regions of Three Provinces



CHINESE

Anduo yuekan 安多月刊, Amdo Monthly Journal

Feng Yuxiang 冯玉祥

Gannan zangzu zizhizhou 甘南藏族自治州, Gannan  
Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

Guandi 关帝

Hezuo 合作

Huang Weizhong 黄位中

Huang Zhengming 黄正命

Huang Zhengqing 黄正清

Hui 回

Li Anzhai (Li Anche) 李安宅

Linshi canyi 临时参议, Provisional Advisory Committee

Linxia 临夏

Litang 理塘 (Tibetan, *li thang*)

Liu Yufen 刘郁芬

Ninghai 宁海

Sanmin Zhuyi 三民主义, Three Principles of the People

weiyuan 委员

Wu Zhengang 误振纲

Xiahe 夏河

xian 县, county

xianzhang 县长

Xikang 西康

Xining 西宁

Xuan Xiafu 宣侠父 (Tibetan, *bkra shis tshe ring*)

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zhouzhang 州长