

西藏历史与封建农奴制

The History of Tibet and the Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

西藏封建农奴制

The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

政教合一、等级森严的社会

1959年以前的西藏是封建农奴制社会。它是一个比欧洲中世纪农奴制还要黑暗、落后的社会。保护农奴主利益的是神权与政权相结合的政教合一的政治制度。它从精神和政治上对人民实行统治和压迫。旧西藏地方政府，由地位显赫的僧侣和贵族组成，并拥有一套等级森严的法律。这种腐朽没落制度的存在，扼杀了西藏社会生产力的发展，严重阻碍了社会进步，使西藏长期陷入贫困落后和封闭停滞的状态。

Rigidly Stratified Society with the System of Unification of Political and Religious Affairs

Before 1959, Tibet was a feudal society of serfdom, darker and more backward than European slavery in the Middle Age. The political system with unification of political and religious affairs was a combination of theocracy and regime, which protected the interest of serf-owners. Broad serfs suffered from serf-owners' cruel rule and oppression in such rigid stratified laws. The existence of this decadent, declining system strangled the development of productivity in the society of Tibet and greatly hindered progress of society, making Tibet for a long period in poverty, backward, isolation and stagnation.

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政权组织

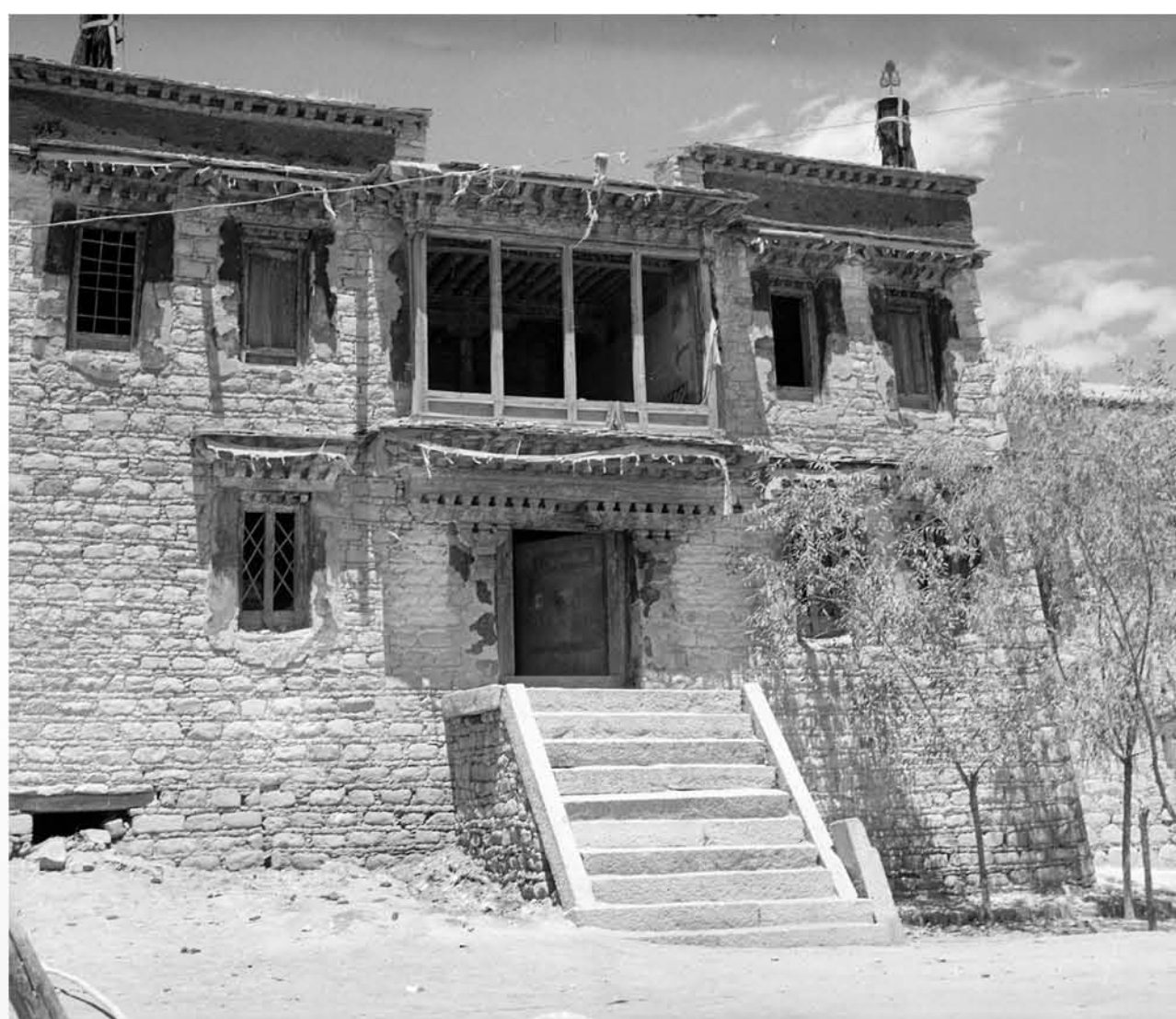
以达赖为首的旧西藏地方政府,藏语称“噶厦”,是由贵族、僧侣联合执政的政权组织。设噶伦官员四人,三俗一僧。“噶厦”下设“译仓”(秘书处)和“仔康”(审计处)两个机构。“译仓”设四位僧官,负责处理一切印信文书、僧官任免升迁事宜,直接受达赖指挥。“仔康”设四位俗官,负责管理地方财政、发布政令和俗官的任免培训等。

“噶厦”政府下设“基巧”(相当于专区)和“宗”(县)两级行政组织,所设官员一般是一僧一俗。

Setups of the Regime

The local government of old Tibet, headed by Dalai Lama, was called bKav-shag in Tibetan language. It was an organ of the regime jointly controlled by aristocrats and monks (four bKav-blons, i.e. ministers, including three laymen and a monk). And it set up two offices: Yig-tshang (Secretary Office) and rTsis-khang (Auditing Office). Four monk secretaries in Yig-tshang (receiving direct instructions from Dalai Lama) took charge of all seals, letters, official dispatches as well as officials' appointments, dismissals and promotions. Four secular officials in rTsis-khang were responsible for administering local finance, issuing government decrees, and taking charge of secular officials' appointments and dismissals as well as training.

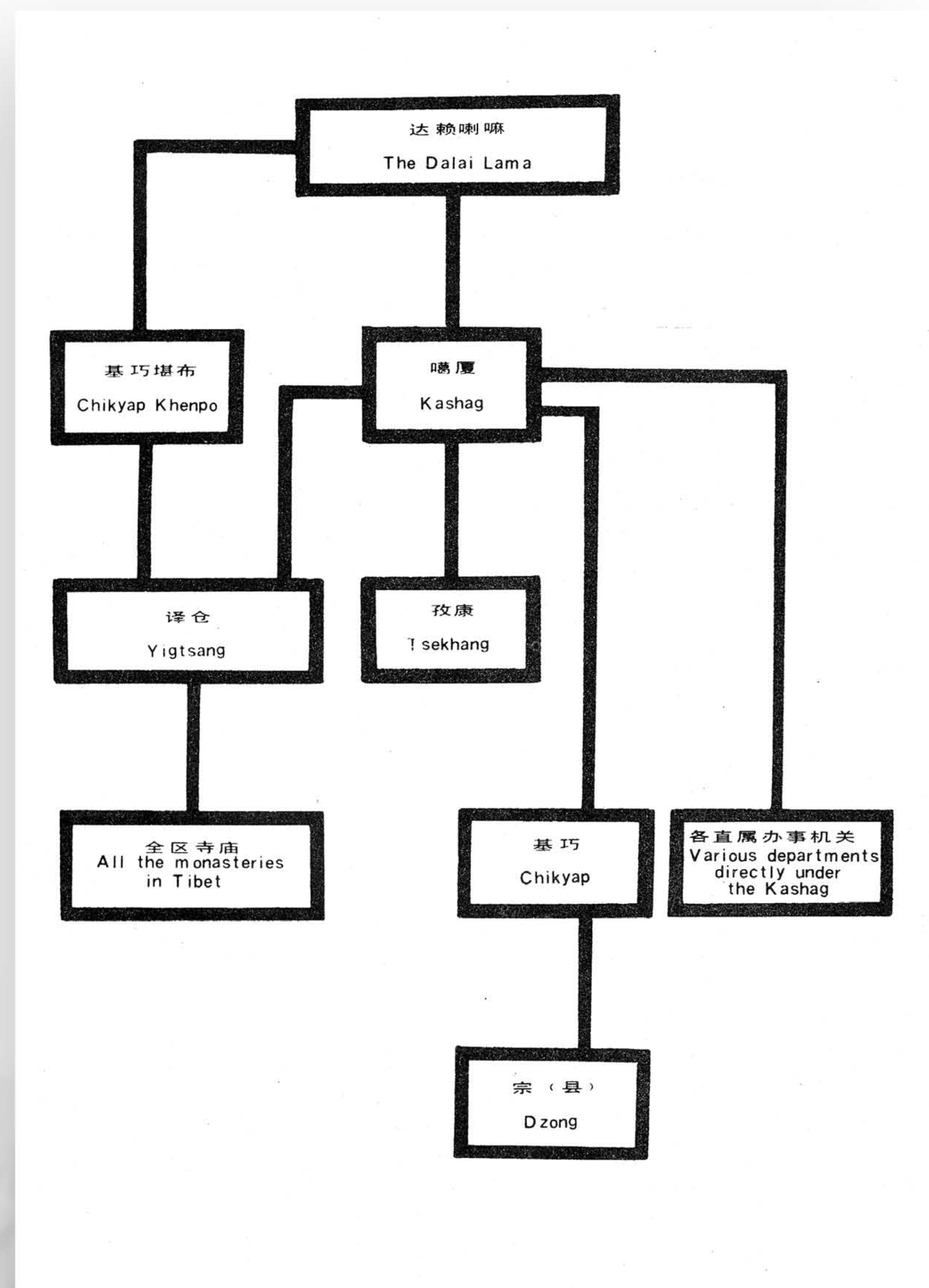
The bKav-shag set up two-level administrative organs, including sPyi-khyab (prefecture) and rDzong (county) and the officials assigned usually included one monk and one layman.



噶厦政府所属拉萨市政府机关——“朗子辖”
sNang-rtse-shag, Lhasa Municipal Government under the jurisdiction of the bKav-shag



噶厦政府官员
Officials of the bKav-shag



噶厦政府机构示意图
Setups of the bKav-shag
(local government of Tibet)

噶厦政府执法机关
Law Enforcement Agency of
the bKav-shag

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森严的等级

旧西藏执行的《十三法典》和《十六法典》，是保护农奴主利益的法律。它按血统贵贱、职位高低，将人分成三等九级，以法律形式确认和维护农奴主的社会地位和特权。法典明文规定，上等上级人的命价为尸体等重的黄金；下等下级人的命价仅为一根草绳。

Rigid Social Estates

The Thirteen Statutes and The Sixteen Statutes Implemented in old Tibet served as laws to protect the interest of serf-owners. In terms of high or low bloody lineages and positions, people were divided into different estates, which confirmed and maintained in a legal way the inequality in social status between serf-owners and serfs, so different people had different prices. Those statutes stipulated that the price of an upper-ranking man was equal to gold price of his body's weight while a low-ranking man only had the same price as the one of a piece of straw's weight.

《十三法典》、《十六法典》。两部法典于公元17世纪初形成，一直沿用到1959年。

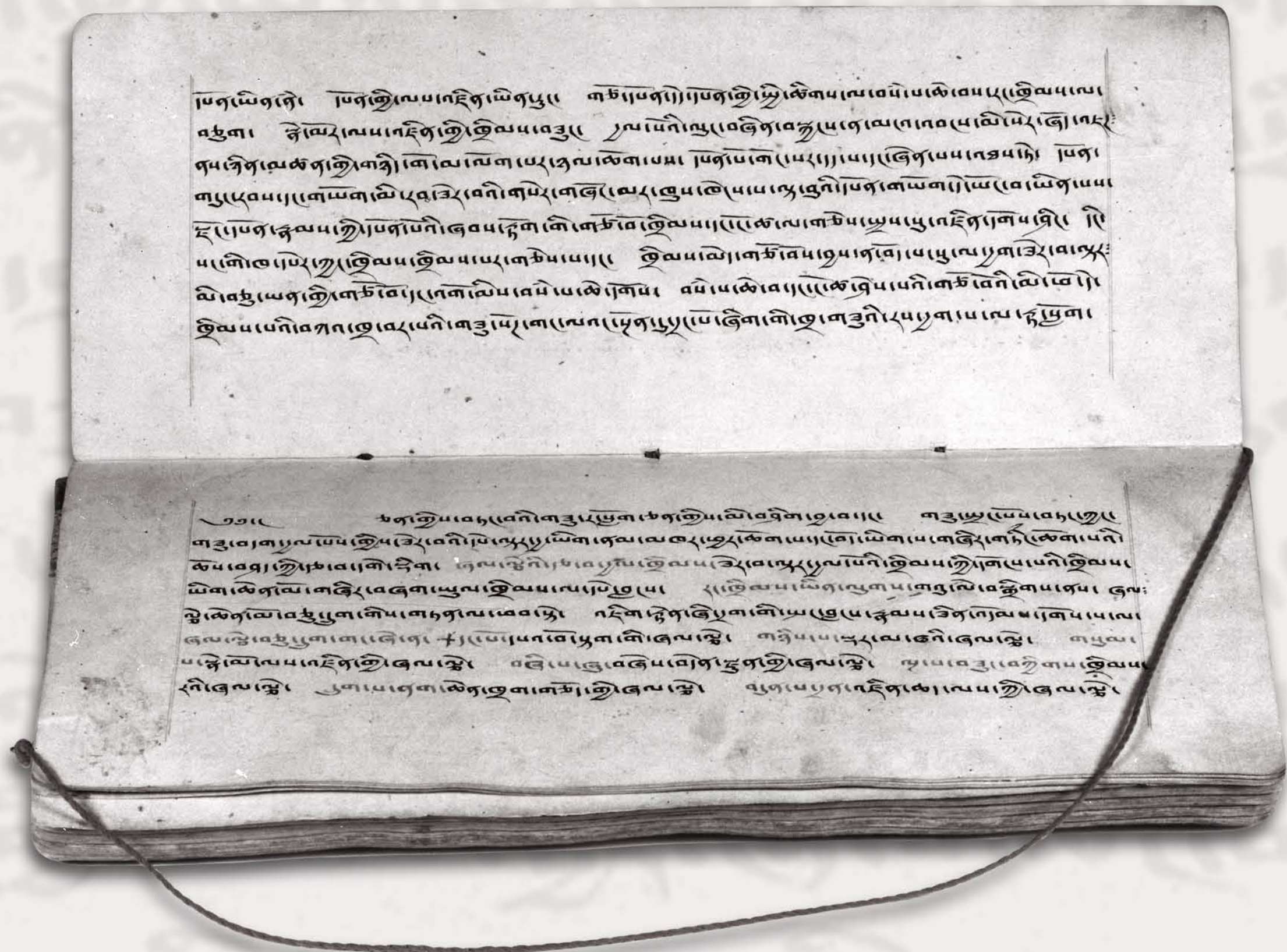
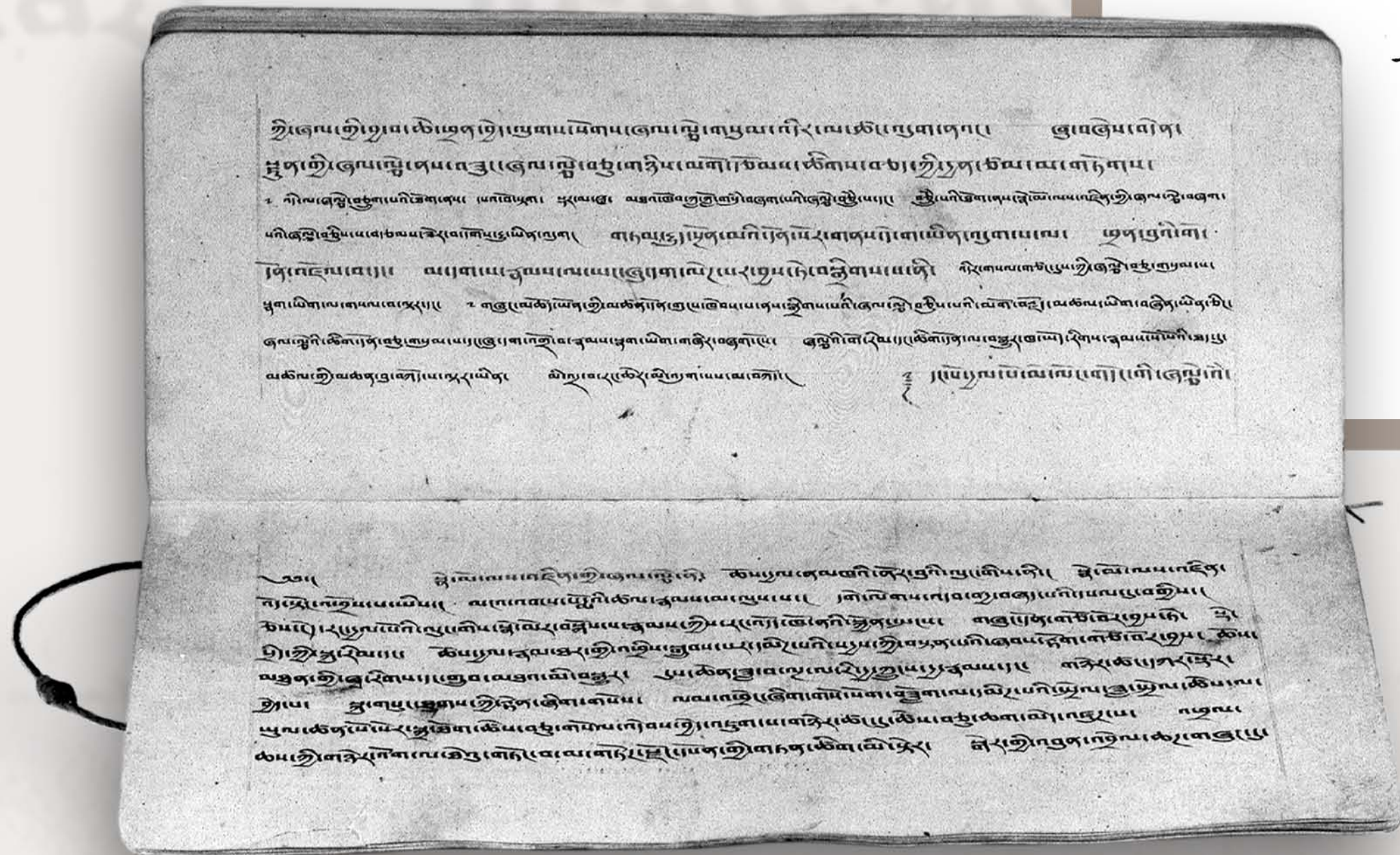
The Thirteen Statutes and The Sixteen Statutes stipulated at the beginning of the 17th Century and Implemented till 1959

西藏地方法典所反映的等级情况

| | |
|----|---|
| 上等 | 上上:藏王等最高统治者(无价) |
| | 上中:善知识、轨范师、寺院管家、高级官员 [有三百以上仆从的头领、政府宗本、寺庙的堪布等(命价三百至四百两)] |
| | 上下:中级官员、僧侣 [扎仓的喇嘛、比丘、有三百名仆从的政府仲科官员(命价二百两)] |
| 中等 | 中上:一般官员、侍寝小吏、官员之办事小吏 [属仲科的骑士、寺院扎仓的执事、掌堂师等(命价一百四十至一百五十两)] |
| | 中中:中级公务员 [小寺院的扎巴(命价五十至七十两)] |
| | 中下:平民 [世俗贵族类(命价三十至四十两)] |
| 下等 | 下上:[无主独身者,政府的勤杂人员(命价三十两)] |
| | 下中:[定居纳税的铁匠、屠夫、乞丐(命价二十两)] |
| | 下下:妇女、流浪汉、乞丐、屠夫、铁匠(命价草绳一根) |

本表据《十三法典》、《十六法典》编制。方括号内的内容,摘自《十六法典》。

西藏地方法典反映的等级与命价的情况表
Chart of Estates and Life Prices in Local Statutes in Tibet



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社会结构

社会结构

西藏藏族总人口 98万余人
农奴主 占5%
农奴、奴隶 占95%

Structure of Society

The total number of Tibetan population: over 980,000
Serf-owners: 5% of the total
Serfs: 95% of the total



达赖喇嘛的雕梁画栋马厩
A stable with carved beams and painted rafters in Dalai Lama's Palace



农奴主赤江·洛桑益西的卧室。

农奴主由寺院（上层僧侣）、官家和贵族及其代理人组成。历代被封为贵族的大约400家左右。1959年以前，噶厦系统共有贵族197户，其中大贵族25户，中等贵族26户，小贵族146户。拥有经济实权的上层喇嘛4000余人。农奴主过着奢侈、腐朽的生活。

Serf-owner Tshe-rgyal Blo-bzang-ye-shis' bedroom

Serf-owners were composed of monasteries (high-ranking monks), officials and aristocrats as well as their agents. About 400 households were granted as noble families in successive generations. Before 1959, there were 197 noble families in the system of the bKav-shag, among which there were 25 large, 26 medium and 146 small noble families. Over 4,000 high-ranking lamas wielded actual powers. Serf-owners lived a luxurious and dissipated life.

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“朗生”，意为“家里养的”，是奴隶。占西藏总人口的5%。他们没有任何生产资料、没有丝毫人身权利，被农奴主视为“会说话的牲畜”。图为住在厕所下面的“朗生”泽仁卓玛。
Nangzan, a Tibetan word meaning "fed in the house," were slaves. In old Tibet, five percent of the Tibetans were Nangzan. Without means of production or personal freedom, they were considered by serf-owners as "live-stock that can speak." Pictured here is Tsering Drolma, a Nangzan, who lived under the lavatory of the lord.



农奴由“差巴”、“堆穷”等阶层组成。占农奴60——70%的“差巴”，是给农奴主支差的人。图为“差巴”给布达拉宫背运货物。
Khral-pas carrying goods for the Potala Palace. Serfs consisted of Khral-pas, Dud-chungs and others. Khral-pas, taking up 60-70% of serfs, were those who did unpaid labor (Ula) for serf-owners.



“堆穷”意为小户，主要是差巴破产后形成的。其社会地位比“差巴”低，生活比差巴苦。“堆穷”约占农奴的30——40%。图为住在农奴主马棚里的“堆穷”阿男一家。
A-rnam, Dud-chung, and his family members living in a serf-owner's stable. Dud-chungs (small households) were Khral-pas who had bankrupted, occupying 30-40 % of the total number of serfs. They had lower social statuses than Khral-pas, so they lived a more terrible life than them.

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The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

农奴主对生产资料的占有

官家、贵族、寺院三大领主占有西藏的全部土地、草场和绝大部分牲畜。这些生产资料主要是达赖喇嘛封赐的。他们拥有对这些土地和草场的支配权、世袭权和经营权。

Means of Production Occupied by Serf-owners

The Three Major Lords (officials, aristocrats and high-ranking monks in monasteries) occupied all land, meadows of Tibet and most of domestic animals granted mainly by Dalai Lama. They also had rights to control, inherit and manage these land and meadows.

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农奴主占有耕地情况

西藏实耕土地330万克（克相当于市亩）

| | | |
|-------|----------|--------|
| 其中：官家 | 128.37万克 | 占38.9% |
| 贵族 | 79万克 | 占24% |
| 寺院 | 121.44万克 | 占36.8% |

（1959年统计）

Arable Land Occupied by Serf-owners

Actual arable land in Tibet: 3,300,000 Ke
(15 Ke equal to one hectare)

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------|
| Officials: | 1,283,700 Ke | 38.9% |
| Aristocrats: | 790,000 Ke | 24% |
| Monasteries: | 1,214,400 Ke | 36.8% |

(Statistics in 1959)

农奴主占有牲畜情况

农奴主占有绝大部分牲畜

（以日喀则地区昂仁县为例）

| | |
|-----|----------|
| 农奴主 | 占70%（牲畜） |
| 农奴 | 占30%（牲畜） |

（1959年统计）

Domestic Animals Occupied by Serf-owners

Serf-owners occupied a great majority of domestic animals (Ngam-ring County of Shigatse Region as an example)

| | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| Serf-owners: | 70% (domestic animals) |
| Serfs: | 30% (domestic animals) |

(Statistics in

1959)



六世达赖喇嘛给夏鲁寺的封地文书
Official dispatch issued by the Sixth Dalai Lama on granting land upon Zha-lu Monastery

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西藏历史与封建农奴制

The History of Tibet and the Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

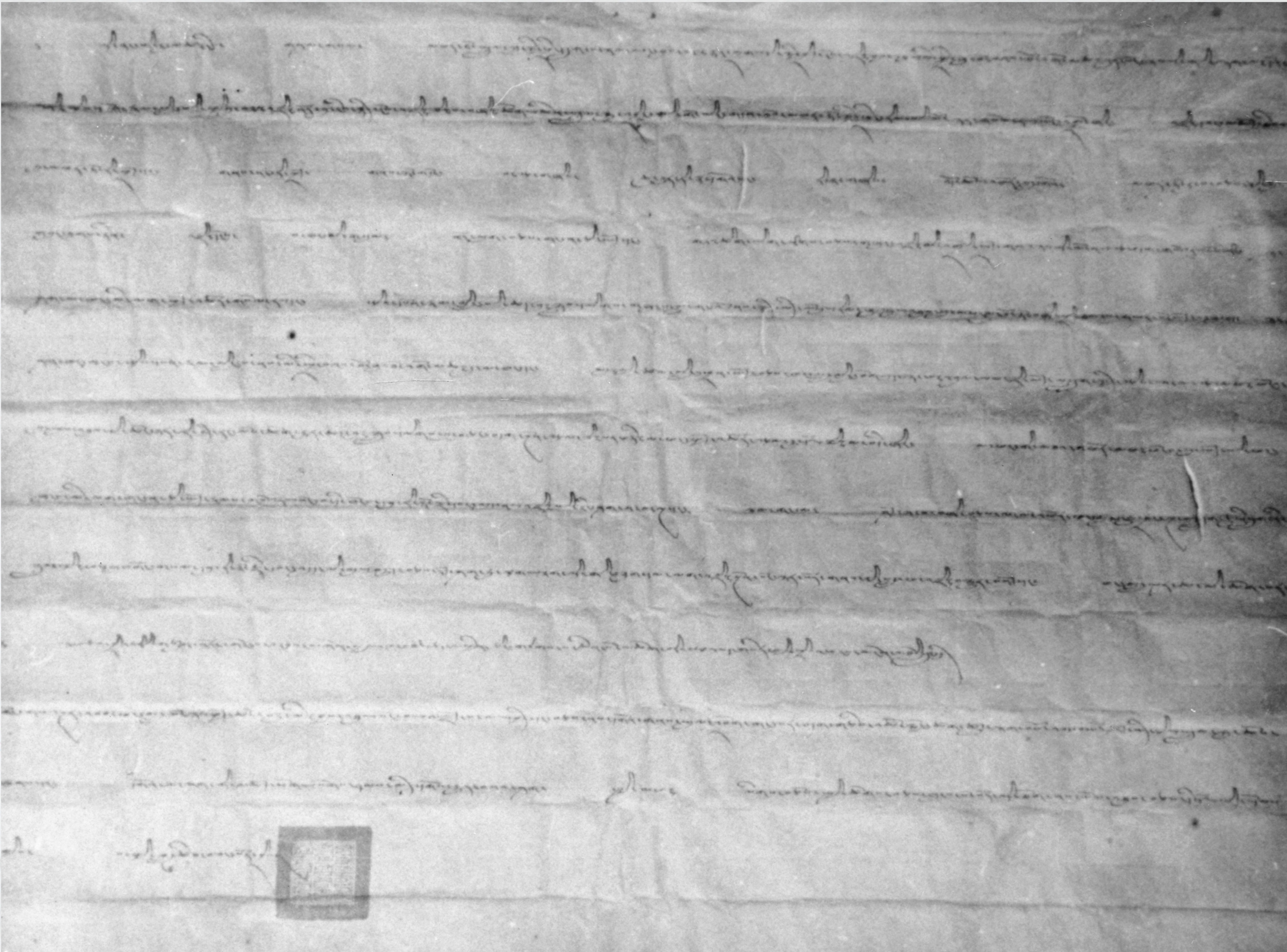
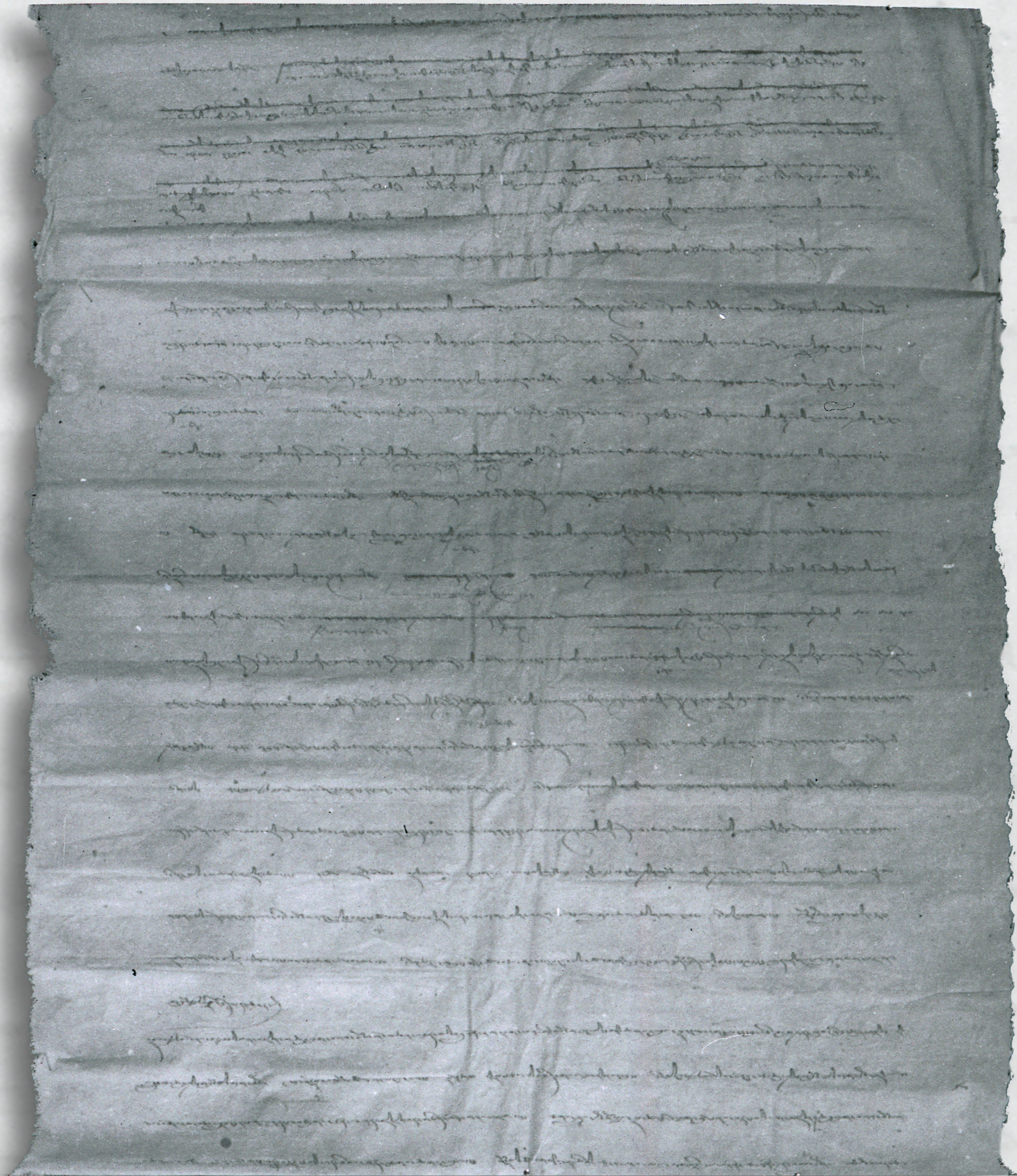
西藏封建农奴制

The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

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十四世达赖将桑雄地区20个部落的牧奴、牛羊等给达札永世占有，并免除一切差役的封文。
Decree issued by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama on granting Zla-grags to have gazing rights of 20 tribes in Sangs-chung Region as well as cattle and emitting all his services

十四世达赖给活佛土登宁札之转世灵童继承寺院庄园、牧场等权利的文告。
Official dispatch issued by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama on granting the reincarnated soul boy of Rin-po-che Thub-bstan-snyan-grags to have the right to inherit monastery's manors and gazing land



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The History of Tibet and the Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

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The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

农奴主对农奴人身的占有

旧西藏农奴和奴隶占西藏人口的95%。他们同其它生产资料一样，被农奴主作为财富占有，没有政治权利和人身自由。农奴及其子女注定终身为农奴。农奴主之间可以随意将农奴及其子女互相转让、抵押、赠送或买卖。农奴结婚，要经农奴主同意，嫁出或外赘的缴纳赎身费。不能支差或出外谋生者，要缴纳人役税，以表示对农奴主的依附关系。对于丧失劳动能力的农奴主可以收回他们耕种的差地和牲畜、农具；死亡无嗣的则没收其财产。

Serf-owner's Occupation of Serfs

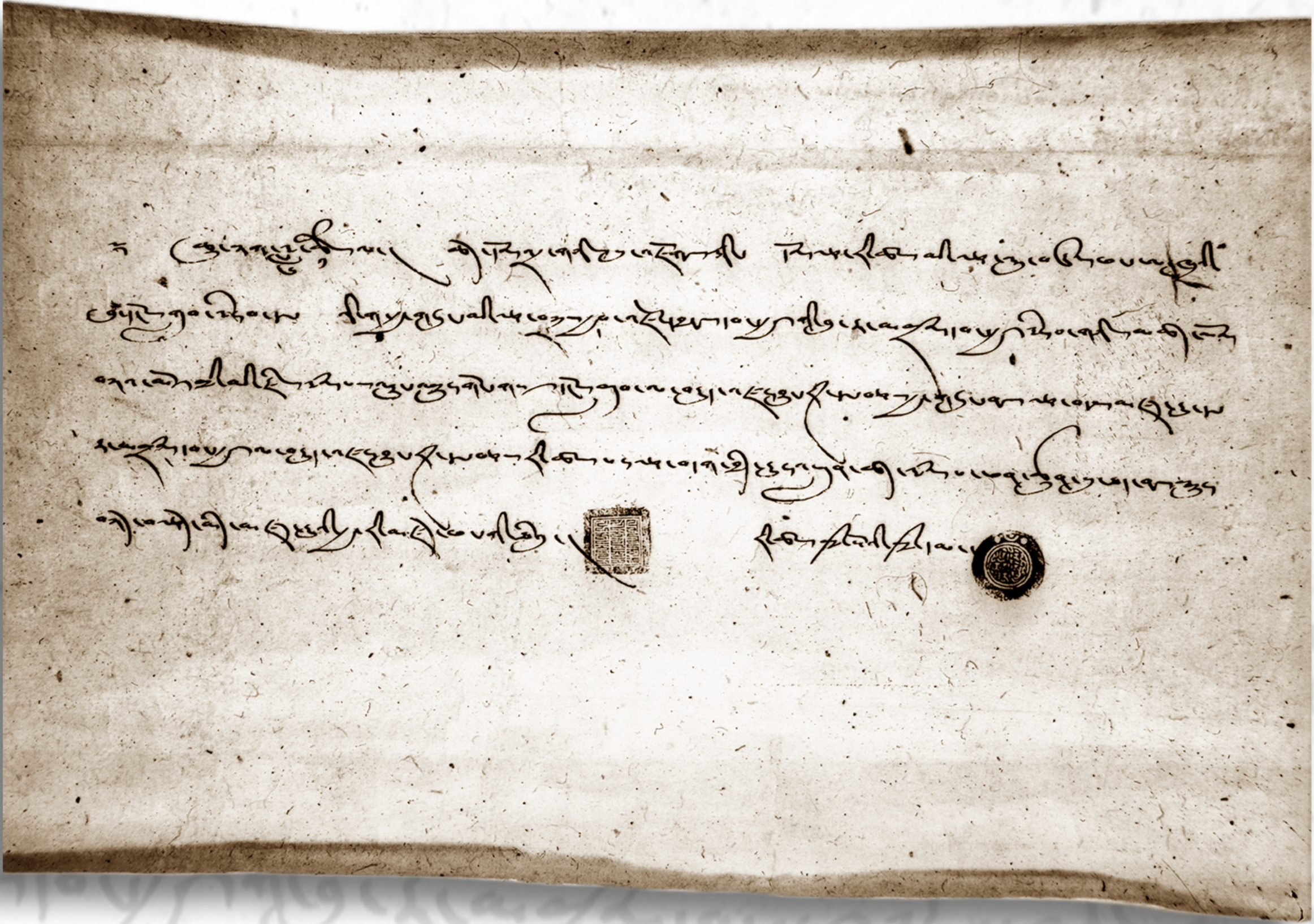
In old Tibet, serfs and slaves occupied 95% of the total Tibetan population. Like other means of production, serf-owners took them as their property. Serfs and slaves had no political rights and personal freedom and their children were destined to be serfs all their lives. Serf-owners could easily transfer, mortgage, present, and buy or sell serfs and their children. Serfs should receive permits from serf-owners if they wanted to get married. Those who were married to other families had to pay money so as to redeem them. Those who failed to do unpaid service or went out to seek a livelihood had to pay service taxes, which showed the relation of dependence of serfs to serf-owners. Serf-owners had the right to get back arable land, domestic animals and farming tools from those who had lost labor capacity, and to expropriate their property from those who died but childless.

西藏历史与封建农奴制

The History of Tibet and the Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

西藏封建农奴制

The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet



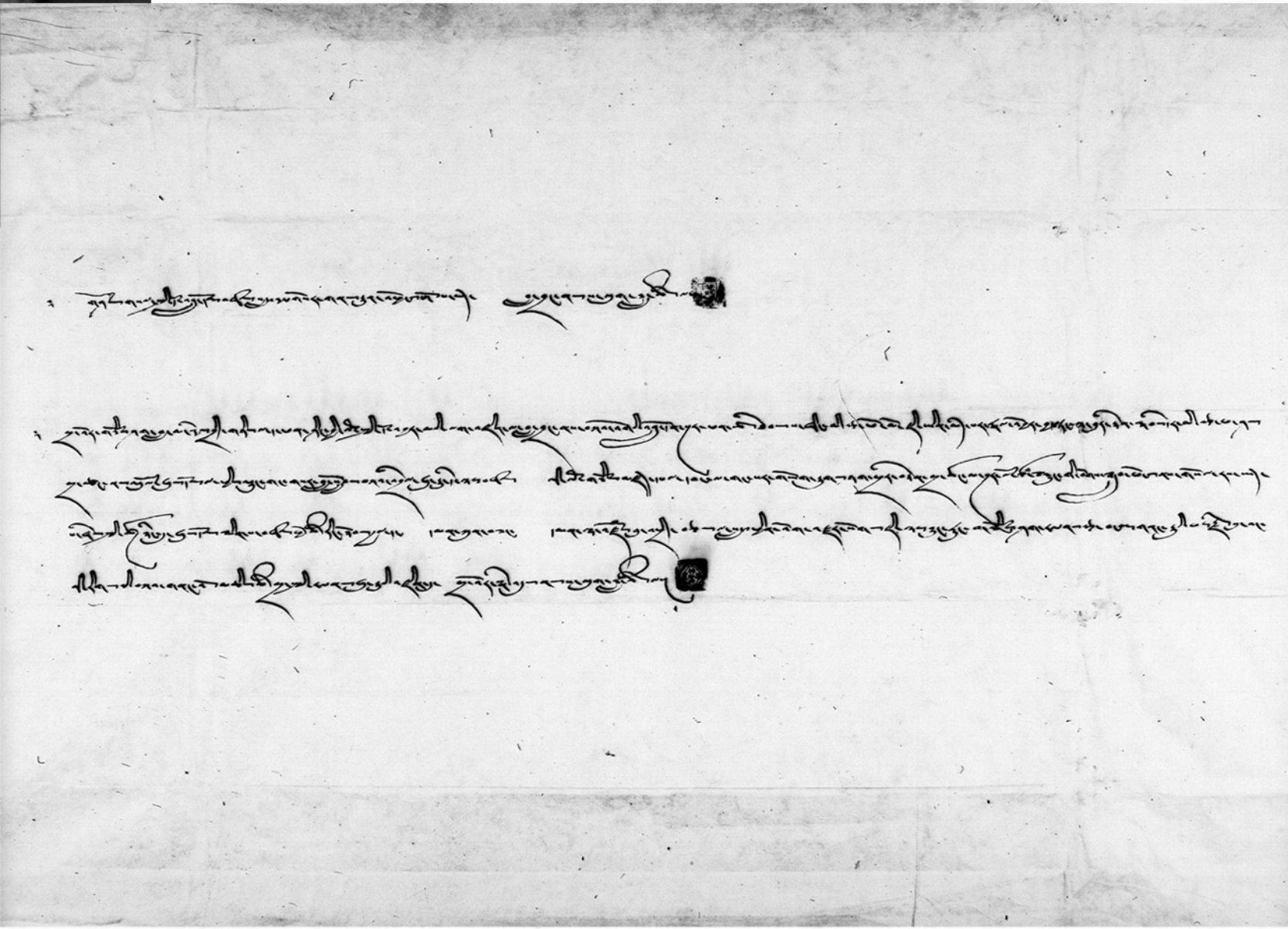
农奴主可以交换农奴。这是日曲寺和本甲雄对换农奴的文契。

Contact concerning the exchange of serfs between Ri-chu Monastery and sPan-rgya-shung Monastery. Serf-owners had the right to exchange serfs.



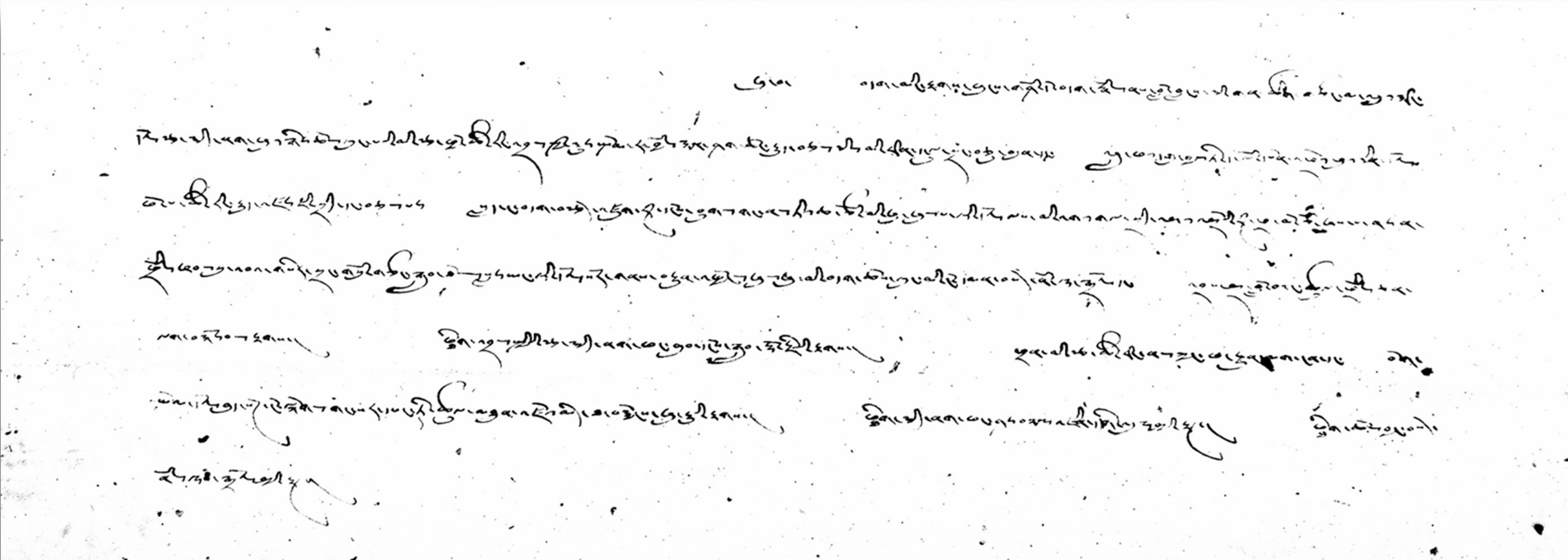
农奴的子女一出生就是农奴。图为农奴抱着新生儿来农奴主家登记，并缴纳人头税。

A serf with his new-born baby registering in a serf-owner's house and paying for poll tax



农奴主可以将农奴赠送。图为寺院“拉让”将农奴次仁多吉、贡桑（女）和宋布尺（女）送给扎沃寝宫为仆的加印批文。

Official dispatch sealed with a stamp concerning Bla-brang in a monastery presenting Brag-vod's Residence Palace with serfs named Tshe-ring-rdo-rje, Kun-bzang (female) and Srong-bu-khri (female) as servants. Serf-owners had the right to present others with serfs as gifts.



农奴主可以买卖奴隶。图为黑河农奴才仁卖身文契。

Indenture of a serf named Tshe-ring from Heihe. Serf-owners had the right to buy or sell serfs.

农奴主对农奴人身的占有

西藏历史与封建农奴制

The History of Tibet and the Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

西藏封建农奴制

The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

农奴主对农奴的剥削：差役、高利贷

旧西藏的差役是一个包括徭役、地租、赋税在内的含义十分广泛的差税总称。农奴主将70%的好地留给自己自营，叫做“自营地”，其余土地作为“份地”划给农奴耕种。领种“份地”的农奴，必须自带耕畜、农具于规定的时间内在农奴主的“自营地”上无偿的服劳役，此为主要的内差。除内差外，农奴还要向地方政府支服所派的各种外差，包括各种实物和货币等。在西藏的各种差役中，劳役差占到60%左右，实物和货币差占到40%左右。劳役差一般占农奴劳动日的65%以上，实物差的剥削量一般也在65%以上。除了各种差役，农奴还要负担繁多的赋税，如土地税、草场税、出生税等。高利贷是西藏三大领主剥削农奴的主要手段。领主几乎没有不放债的，而且，在很大程度上具有强制性性质。借债十分普遍，因利率甚高，许多农奴一旦借债，子孙后代也还不清，成了越欠越多的“子孙债”。另一种债叫“连保债”，即一人借债，几家担保，一旦借债人破产或逃亡，担保户要替其偿还巨额债务。

Serf-owners' Exploitation of Serfs: Corvée and Usury

In old Tibet, corvée was a general title with extensive meanings, including conscript labor, land rent and taxes. Serf-owners themselves managed 70% of fertile arable land, called "self-managed land". And the rest land was assigned as lotments to serfs to cultivate. Serfs with lotments had to use their own domestic animals and farming tools to do unpaid service on serf-owners' "self-managed land" in a scheduled time, which was called "internal corvée". In addition, serfs had to do external corvée assigned by the local governments, including material objects and currency. In various kinds of corvée, doing unpaid service took up about 60% while material objects and currency 40%. Doing unpaid service accounted for over 65% of their labor days. And the amount of exploitation that serf-owners gained from material objects reached over 65%. Apart from various kinds of corvée, serfs had to undertake a great variety of taxes, such as land tax, meadow tax, birth tax and so on.

The Three Major Lords used usury, the major means, to exploit serfs in Tibet. Almost all lords lent money for interest, which, to a great extent, was compulsory. It was very common for serfs to borrow money. Once they borrowed money, their descendants were unable to pay it back due to high interest. The increasing debts were called "debts paid by descendants". Another one was called "co-guaranteed debts", that is, if a man borrowed money, several families would be involved to guarantee the debts. Once the person who had borrowed money bankrupted or escaped, the "co-guaranteed families" had to pay a huge sum of debts.

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The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

差役
高利贷



因主要劳动力去给农奴主支差，在“份地”上劳动的只剩下老人和小孩。
During the busy farming season, because able-bodied serfs had to perform corvée for their manorial lords, only old people and children were left to work on their "contracted fields."



领种“份地”的农奴在农奴主的“自营地”上劳动，以支付地租。
In payment of the land rent, all serfs who tilled the land rented from their manorial lords had to do farm work on the land directly managed by the lords.

一户差巴一年的差役负担

| 人名：拉巴赤雷、地点：一墨竹工卡宗绒读庄园、时间：1949年 | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|------------|
| 劳役 | 实物 | 货币 |
| 一、短站差 | 一、皇帝粮 | 一、兵役费 |
| 二、运输差 | 二、邮政粮 | 二、交英吉利木炭费 |
| 三、宗(县)政府马差 | 三、划船粮 | 三、木炭费 |
| 四、运政府酥油 | 四、送邮政官礼 | 四、新兵役费 |
| 五、运獐子毛 | 五、交政府菜油 | 五、送“甲甩”官员费 |
| 六、运羊毛 | 六、交直贡寺菜油 | 六、送“直对”官礼费 |
| 七、运毛皮 | 七、交直贡寺马草 | 七、交菜油税 |
| 八、运寺庙酥油 | 八、送盐官礼 | |
| 九、运木材木炭 | 九、送同盖(地名)头人丁俸金 | |
| 十、运送英吉利木炭 | 十、舂冰雹粮 | |
| 十一、运菜油 | 十一、接送官员费 | |
| 十二、送直贡寺菜油 | | |
| 十三、送直贡寺马草 | | |
| 十四、送拉萨木炭 | | |
| 十五、杂役 | | |
| 十六、破柴差 | | |
| 十七、修房屋差 | | |
| 十八、送信差 | | |
| 十九、长站差 | | |

西藏地方政府及各宗谿的差役多达数十种。繁重的劳役占农奴全部劳动量的60—80%。此外，还有名目繁多的实物差，如错那宗的药材差、染料差、水果差、太昭宗的纸张差，贡嘎宗的糌粑差、穷结宗的肉差等等。这里展示的只是墨竹工卡宗某庄园一户差巴的差役。

一户差巴一年的差役负担表
Chart about a Khral-pa's assignment of corvée in one year

西藏历史与封建农奴制

The History of Tibet and the Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

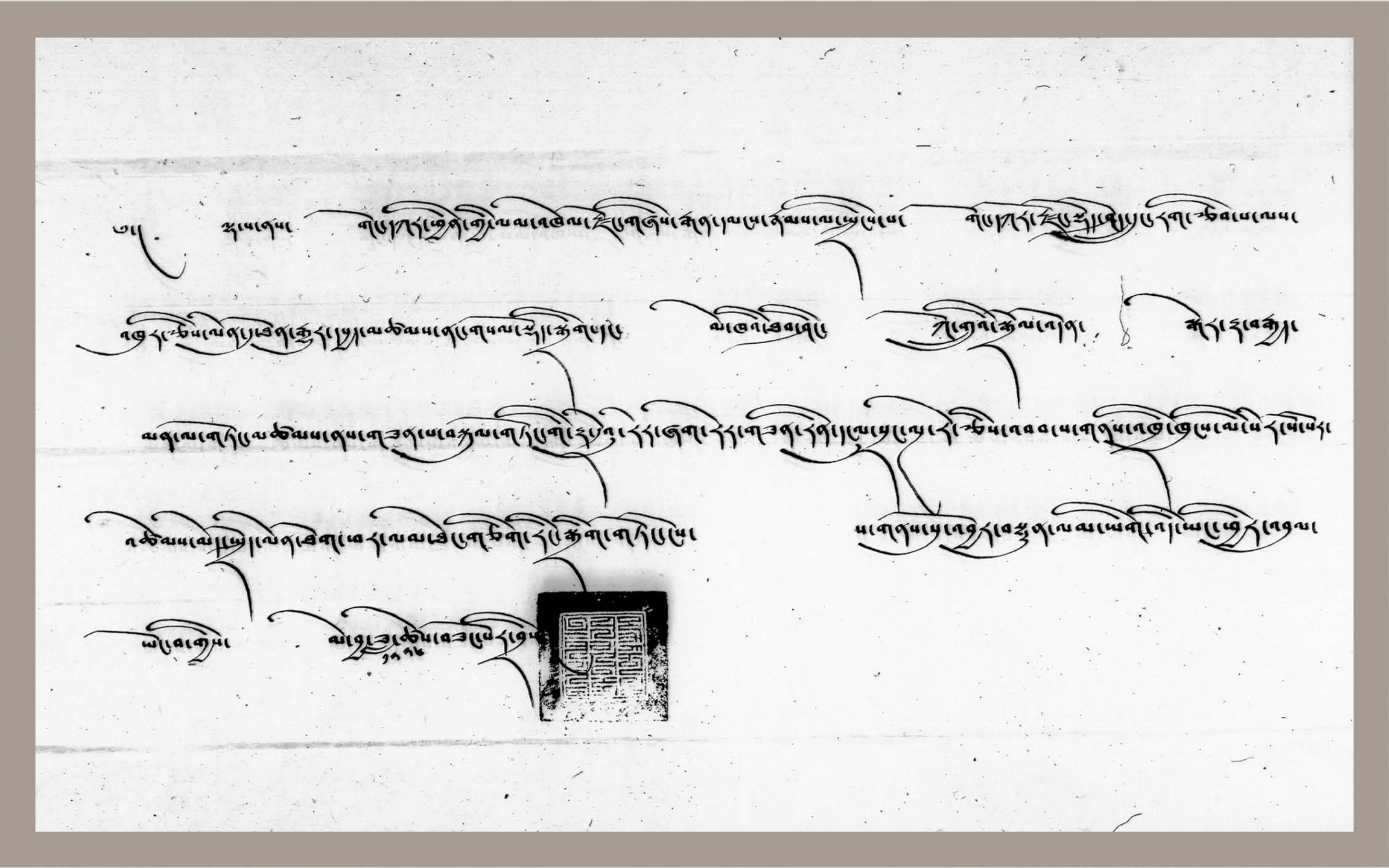
西藏封建农奴制

The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

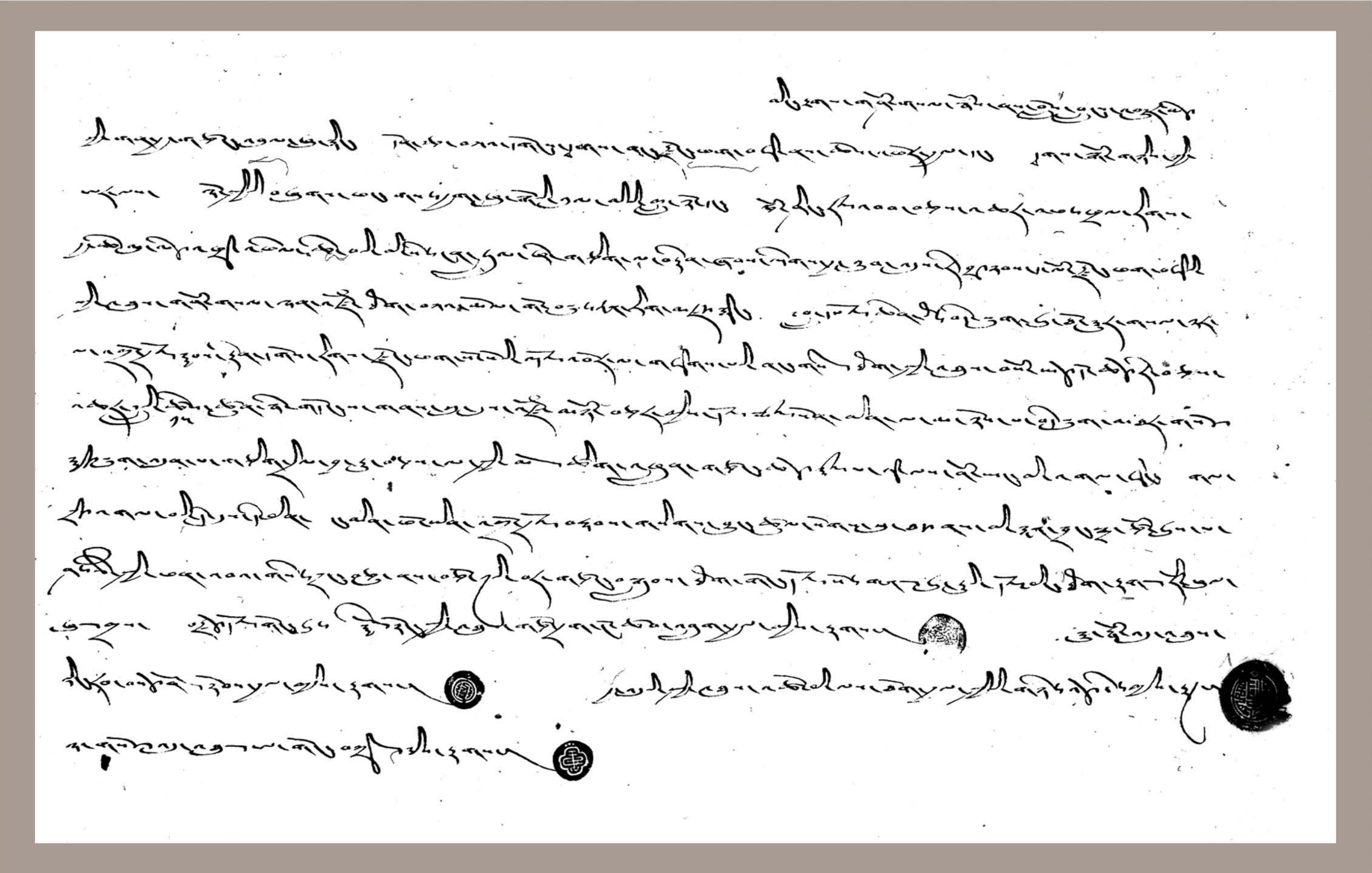
差役
高利贷



噶厦政府下达支差“马牌”（路照）后，农奴必须按“马牌”规定的项目、要求，如期完成。背负官员翻山越岭也是农奴的一项外差。
Carrying officials to tramp over mountains and through ravines, one of Khral-pa's external corvée. After receiving corvée notices issued by the bKav-shag (the local government of Tibet), serfs had to complete unpaid labor on time according to the demands in notices.



支差马牌（路照）
Corvée notice



申请减轻徭役的协议
Agreement of applying for reducing conscript labor

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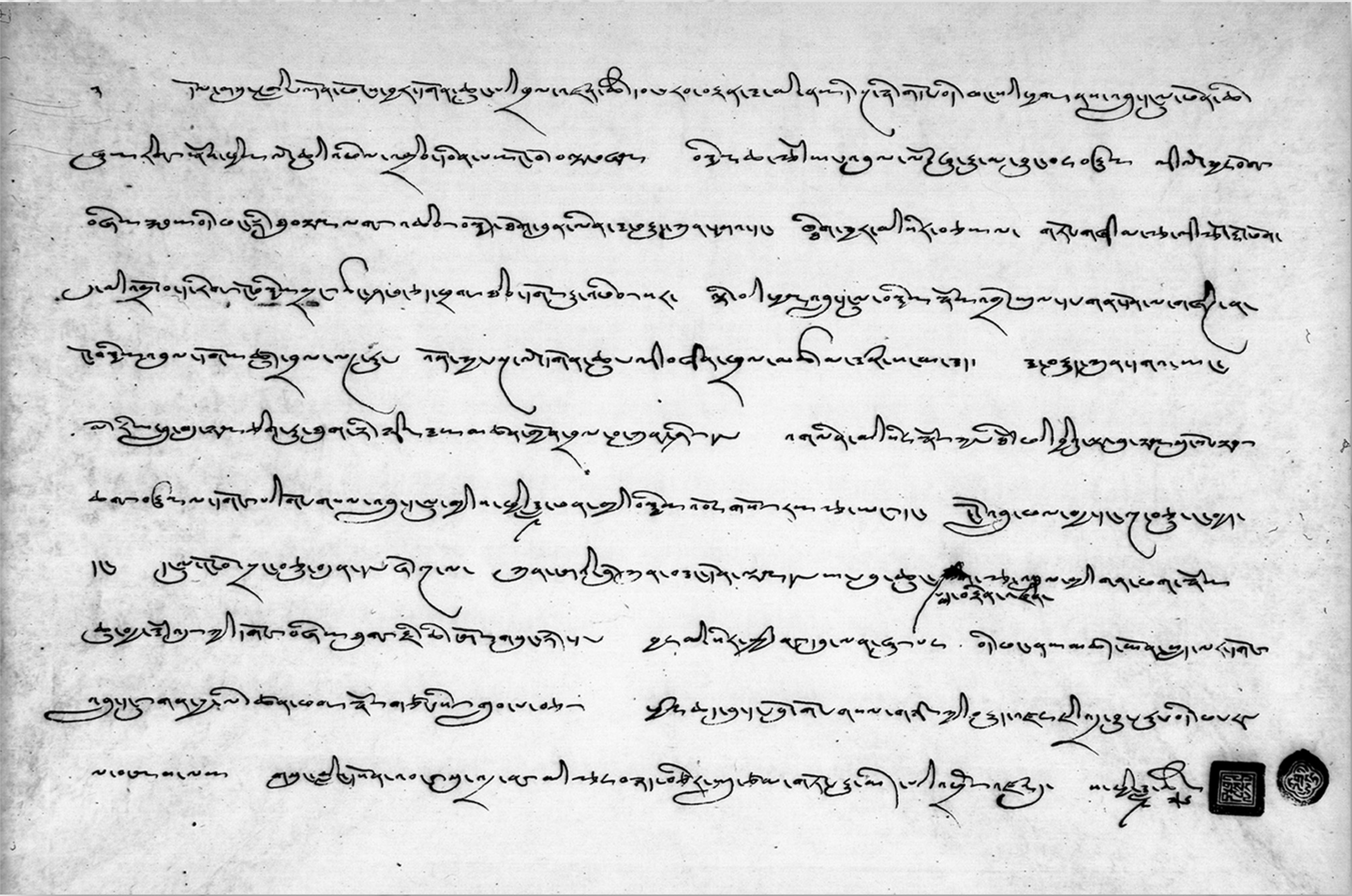
差役高利贷

| 哲蚌寺农奴累计欠债统计 | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 人 数 | 20000人 |
| 欠粮总数 (青稞) | 1000万克(合1.4亿公斤) |
| 平均每人欠粮数 | 500克(合7,000公斤) |
| 欠款总数 (银元) | 1.333多万元 |
| 平均每人欠款数(银元) | 666.5元 |

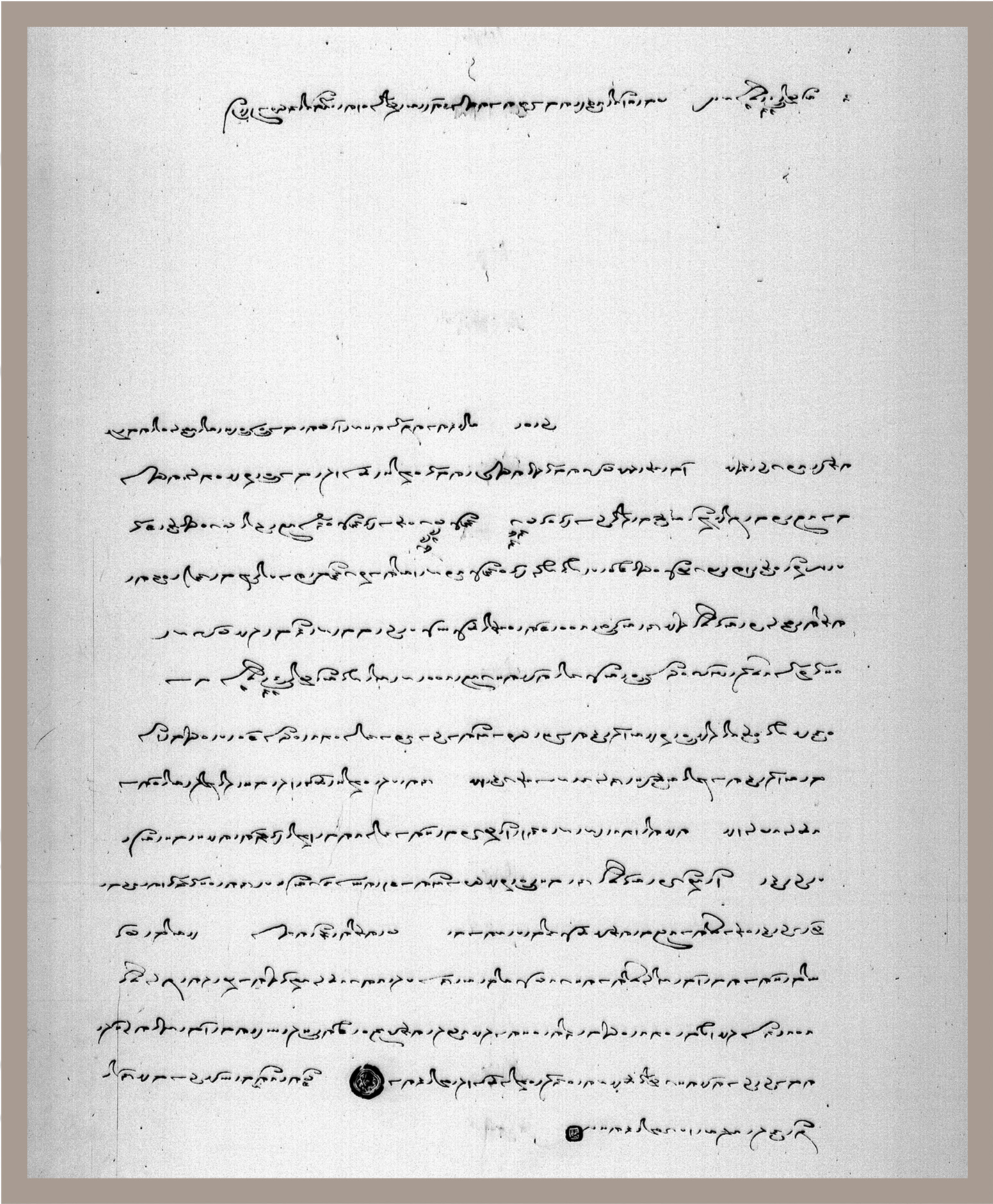
截止1959年

哲蚌寺农奴累计欠债统计
Debts of the serfs of Drepung Monastery

扎西曲达被迫让妹妹次仁拉姆为寺庙拉让无偿劳动十年，以抵所欠债务的文契。
Contact signed by bKra-shis-chos-dar for paying debts by letting Tshe-ring-lha-mo, his younger sister, do 10 years' unpaid service in Bla-brang of a temple.



农奴以身抵债。图为属民次旺饶登夫妇被迫以女儿抵债的文契。
Subject Tshe-dbang-rab-brtan and his wife forcibly paying debts with their daughter. Serfs had to pay debts by selling them.



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西藏封建农奴制

The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

农奴主对农奴的压迫

在旧西藏，不仅各级地方政权设狱办案，各个贵族庄园、大的寺院、部落头人也可以私自设立监狱，关押农奴。如农奴触犯农奴主的利益，或者仅仅是没有按时缴纳租税等，农奴主便按《十三法典》、《十六法典》之规定，对农奴处以挖眼、割耳、刖足、砍手、戴石帽、站囚笼等野蛮残酷刑罚。

Serf-owners' Oppression of Serfs

In old Tibet, not only local regimes of various levels set up prisons and took charge of cases, but also noble manors, major monasteries and tribe chieftains illegally put serfs behind bars and set up prisons. If serfs revolted serf-owners, offended their interest or failed to pay taxes on time, serf-owners, according to the stipulations in *The Thirteen Statutes* and *The Sixteen Statutes*, had the right to conduct the following punishments: gouging out serfs' eyes, cutting down their ears, feet or arms, putting cap-shaped stone implements over their heads or forcing them to stand in prison's cages.

西藏历史与封建农奴制

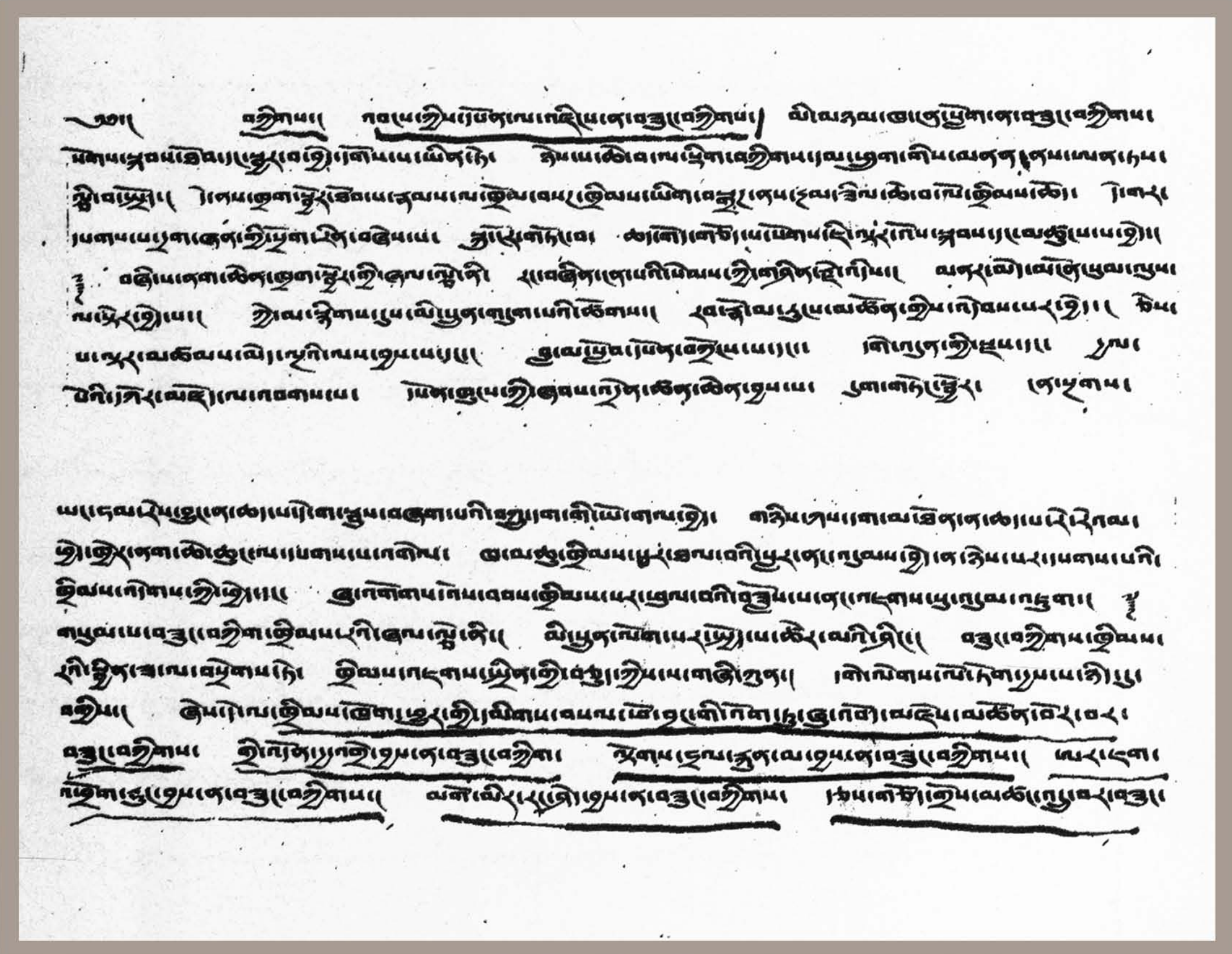
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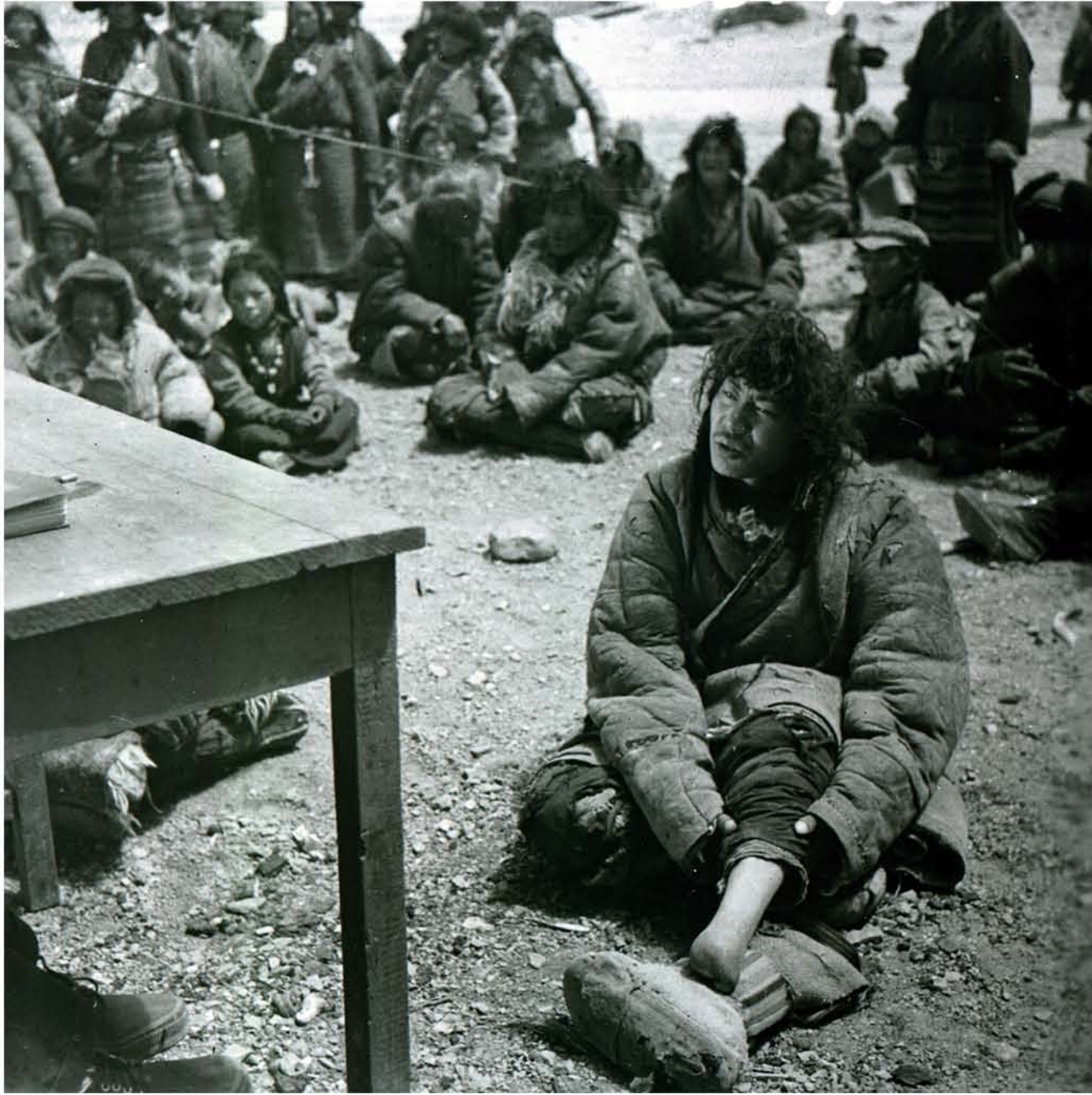
《十三法典》之第三条规定（部分）
Act 3 in *The Thirteen Statutes* (part)



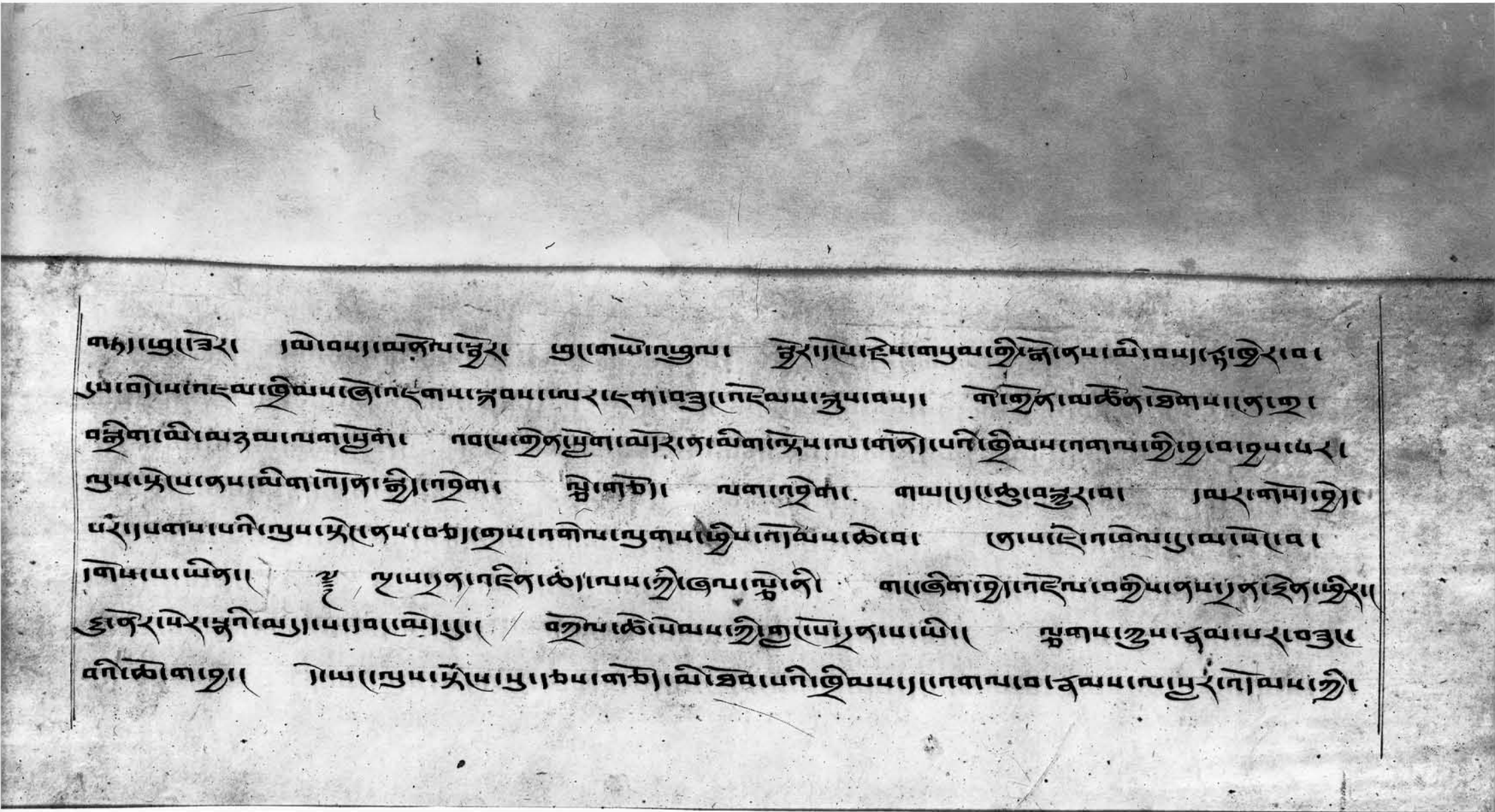
牧民贝姆洪贞被砍掉右手
dPal-mo-chung-skyid, a herder, whose
right arm was chopped off



农奴布巴被挖去双眼
Bu-lde, serf, whose eyes
were gouged out



安多县牧民推托被部落头人砍去
一只脚
vDul-rdo, a herder from A-mdo,
whose leg was cut off by a tribe
chieftain



《十三法典》之第四条规定（部分）
Act 4 in *The Thirteen Statutes* (part)

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西藏封建农奴制

The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

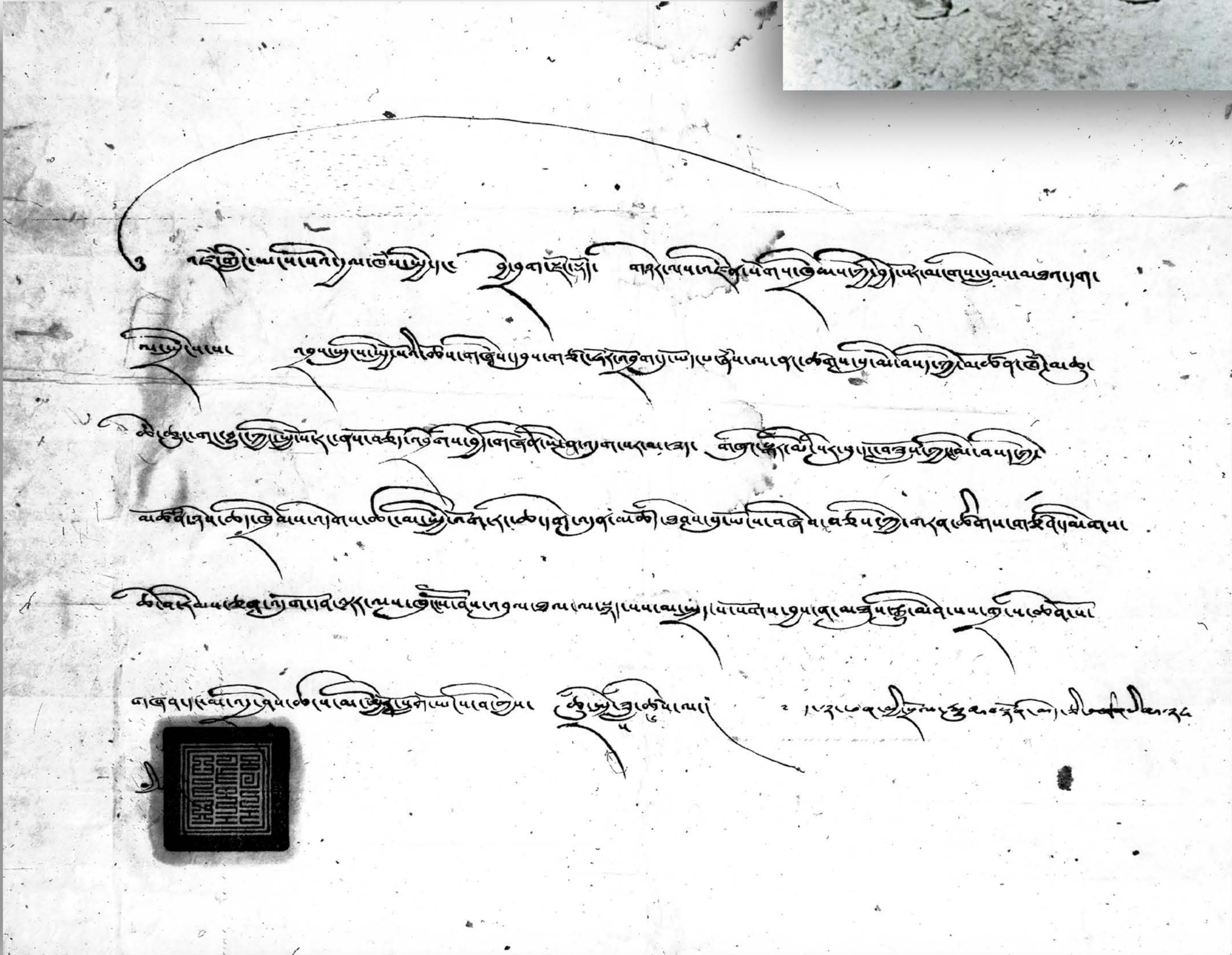
农
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朗子辖（拉萨市政府）所关的囚犯在街上乞讨
Prisoners locked up by sNang-rtse-shag (Lhasa Municipal Government) begging in the street



被农奴主毒打致残的贫苦喇嘛巴桑
Pa-sangs, a poor lama, who was cruelly beaten and crippled by a serf-owner



达赖喇嘛给各宗本官员关于哲蚌寺有权
处理各种诉讼案件的命令
Order issued by Dalai Lama to rDzong-dpons (heads of counties) allowing vBras-spungs Monastery to have authority to deal with all kinds of cases

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The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

农奴的悲惨生活

在长期封建农奴制度统治下，社会财富的80%高度集中在农奴主手中。占人口总数95%的广大农奴，负担着沉重的差役租税，忍受强制性的超经济剥削，生存权横遭践踏，生活极端贫苦。他们用消极怠工，抗租抗差和逃亡等方式，反抗农奴主的剥削压迫。

Serfs' Miserable Lives

Due to a long-term rule of feudal serfdom in old Tibet, 80% of wealth of the society was greatly controlled by serf-owners. However, broad serfs, occupying 95% of the population, undertook heavy corvee and taxes and had to suffer from compulsory economic exploitation. Their survival rights were trampled, and they lived in an extreme poverty. They were sack in work, refused to pay taxes and to do unpaid service or escaped. By doing so, they revolted serf-owners' exploitation.

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西藏封建农奴制

The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

农
奴
的
悲
惨
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穷困潦倒瘫卧路边的老人靠乞讨度日
An elderly man, penniless and frustrated, lying on the roadside, who lived by begging



拉萨贫民窟一角
A glimpse of a slum in Lhasa



生活贫困，牧民拉吉四处流浪，成了乞丐。
Lha-skyid, a herder in poverty, who became a beggar, wandering here and there



因饥饿与病痛交加而倒卧街头的儿童
A child lying in the street due to starvation and sickness

疫病流行死亡人数统计 (以拉萨郊区为例)

| | |
|---------|---------|
| 天花流行： | |
| 1925年死亡 | 7,000余人 |
| 伤寒病流行： | |
| 1934年死亡 | 2,800余人 |
| 1937年死亡 | 2,000余人 |

拉萨郊区疫病死亡人数统计表
Statistical chart of deaths from a pestilence (suburb of Lhasa)

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The Feudal Serfdom in Old Tibet

农
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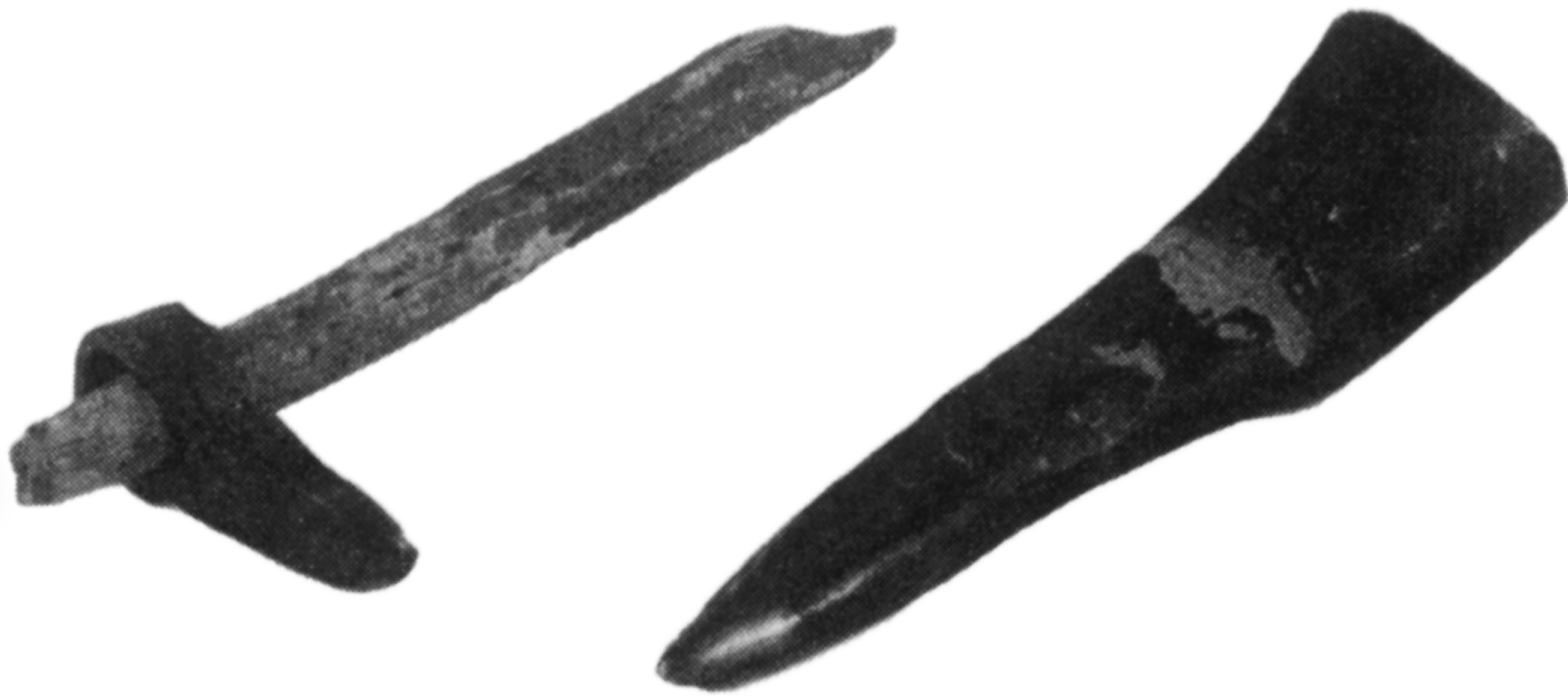
农奴阿男一家三代人穿的破衣
The cloth worn for 3 generations
by herdsman Anan's family.



差巴哈珠戴了几十年的破帽
The hat worn for 73 years by Chaba Hazhu.



农奴用的砂锅、茶具
Earthen pots and tea utensils
used by serfs.



差巴使用的犁头、锄头等生产工具
The Chaba's tools: a plow and hoe