约翰·斯图尔特版六世班禅致 瓦伦·哈斯丁斯信函解读

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内容摘要:1774年3月,六世班禅应不丹德布王公之请致函瓦伦·哈斯丁斯,意在及时制止英国东印度公司的侵略行径,恢复地区和平。一直以来,学界普遍认为这封六世班禅信函仅有两个版本,即1800年塞缪尔·特纳版本和1876年克莱门茨·R·马卡罕姆版本。然而,笔者近期发现了1777年由英人约翰·斯图尔特公布的英文版信函,这应是目前可见的六世班禅信函的最早版本。本文将对该版信函进行解读并分析其作用与影响。

1772 至 1774 年间,英国东印度公司与不丹之间爆发了第一次"英不战争",起因在于不丹侵占了库奇·比哈尔(Cooch Behar),及此后英国东印度公司侵略势力的直接介入。英国东印度公司借维护和平之名插手该地区事务,其客观影响在于,"当英国与不丹对库奇·比哈尔的兴趣发生冲突后,两国之间的关系便开始摇摆不定了,其结果就是1772 年第一次英不战争的爆发。这是英国将不丹作为其发展与西藏之间贸易通道的开端。很多有关'开拓知识新领域'与打通中亚贸易之路的外交之旅便随即展开"。由此,

¹ Dorji Penjore, "Security of Bhutan: Walking Between the Giants", Journal of Bhutan Studies, 2004(10): 111-112.

作为西藏地方藩属的不丹的形势已岌岌可危。于是,不丹德布王公便向身处后藏的六世 班禅求助。1774年,为了及时制止英国东印度公司的侵略行径并恢复地区和平,六世班 禅以调解人的身份,致函时任英国东印度公司驻孟加拉国总督瓦伦·哈斯丁斯 (Warren Hastings),这就是著名的"六世班禅致瓦伦·哈斯丁斯信函"(以下简称六世班禅信函)。值得注意的是,1777年由英人约翰·斯图尔特 (John Stewart) 公布于世的该信函的英文版本,是目前可见的六世班禅信函的最早版本。从版本学方面讲,约翰·斯图尔特版本的文献价值与史料价值均值得深入研究。

一、目前可见的六世班禅信函的最早版本

1777年,约翰·斯图尔特公开发表了《西藏"王国"》(An Account of the Kingdom of Tibet)²,该文原为作者写于 1777年 3 月 20 日的一封信函,并由作者于同年 4 月 17 日在英国皇家学会(Royal Society)宣读,其主要内容是对西藏的地理、政治、宗教、物产等情况的介绍。难能可贵的是,约翰·斯图尔特在该文末附上一份英文版本"六世班禅致瓦伦·哈斯丁斯信函"(Translation of a Letter from the Tayshoo Lama to Mr. Hastings,Governor of Bengal,received on the 29th of March,1774),而这也是迄今为止可见的六世班禅信函的最早版本。

对于六世班禅信函,约翰·斯图尔特在文中说道:"我希望学会能够接受六世班禅致瓦伦·哈斯丁斯信函的译文,并视之为珍品,此封信函是由六世班禅委派使者送来,旨在为不丹大公寻求和平的。在我办公期间,此信函转到我处,并且经由总督许可,我保留了一份复制件。此信函原件采用波斯文(Persian),波斯文为六世班禅所推崇,尽管在西藏,波斯文极具雅致品位且意味深长,但在孟加拉国,这种文字却晦涩难懂。"³由此可知,一方面,该信函的原始版本应为波斯文版本。说明六世班禅非常重视语言学习,对波斯文亦有所掌握,并较为熟练;另一方面,出于对外交往的需要,尤其是为了更好地调解冲突,针对瓦伦·哈斯丁斯身为英国东印度公司驻孟加拉国总督的特殊身份,六世班禅选择使用波斯文这一层次相对"高级"的语言文字来撰写调解信函,此举不仅表明了其对瓦伦·哈斯丁斯的尊重,更表现了其对喜马拉雅山麓各国地域文化的熟知,透

² John Stewart, "An Account of the Kingdom of Tibet. In a Letter from John Stewart, Esquire, F. R. S. to Sir John Pringle, Bart. P. R. S.", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, 1777(67): 465-492.

³ John Stewart, 1777: 488.

过这种"高雅的"文字,信函中隐含的震慑作用也呼之欲出。可惜的是,六世班禅信函的波斯文版本可能佚失。迄今为止仍未而世。

值得一提的是,对于六世班禅信函,意大利著名藏学家伯戴克教授(Luciano Petech)曾言及:"我怀疑,也许六世班禅致瓦伦·哈斯丁斯信函的藏文原版,现在仍保存在印度政府档案馆之中。" ⁴ 但是,根据约翰·斯图尔特的描述,也基本可以排除存在伯戴克所言的六世班禅信函藏文版本的可能。

此前,国内外学界普遍认为六世班禅信函仅有两个版本,即:1800 年塞缪尔·特纳(Samuel Turner)版⁵和 1876 年克莱门茨·R·马卡罕姆(Clements Robert Markham)版⁶。 英帝国主义侵略者荣赫鹏曾指出:"六世班禅给瓦伦·哈斯丁斯写了一封意义非常的信,该信函被特纳和马卡罕姆引述。" ⁷同时,学界普遍认为,1800 年出版的塞缪尔·特纳的个人游记《扎什伦布寺访问记》(An Account of An Embassy of the Court of Teshoo Lama in Tibet)中,首次刊载了这一信函的英文版本。如著名藏学家柳陞祺先生曾提及:"此信件原件据说用波斯文写成,可能佚失,英译文首先见于《入藏纪行》(S. Turner, An Account of an Embassy of the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet)"⁸。此外,还有学者认为:"根据笔者掌握的材料,'班禅信函'有两个版本。一个版本是由克莱门茨·R·马卡姆编辑,于1876年出版的《乔治·博格尔使团赴藏和托玛斯·曼宁拉萨之行纪事》。……其收录的'班禅信函'应该是原始的英译文本。然而最早面世的版本却是于1800年出版的塞缪尔·特纳(Samuel Turner)所著《一位赴扎什喇嘛教廷使者的纪事》一书收录的'班禅信函',该书早于前书 76年出版。……特纳没有说明他所引'班禅信函'的出处。" ⁹

显然,约翰·斯图尔特版要比塞缪尔·特纳版早23年,较克莱门茨·R·马卡罕姆版早99年。因此,在版本学方面讲,约翰·斯图尔特版具有重要意义,对我们进一步

⁴ L. Petech, "The Missions of Bogle and Turner According to the Tibetan Texts", *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, 1950(39), Livr. 4/5: 57.

⁵ 参见 Samuel Turner, An Account of An Embassy of the Court of Teshoo Lama in Tibet: containing a narrative of a journey through Bootan, and part of Tibet, London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1800: ix-xii.

⁶ 参见 Clements Robert Markham, Narratives of the mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa, London: Trübner and co., 1876: 1-3.

⁷ Francis Edward Younghusband, *India and Tibet: a history of the relation which have subsisted between the two countries from the time of Warren Hastings to 1910, with a particular account of the mission to Lhasa of 1904*, London: J. Murray, 1910: 5.

⁸ 柳陞祺、邓锐龄:《第六辈班禅额尔德尼·洛桑贝丹意希生平事迹述评》,《柳陞祺藏学文集》(上册),北京:中国藏学出版社,2008:193。

⁹ 扎洛:《六世班禅致沃伦·黑斯廷斯的信函及相关史实考辨》,《世界民族》,2004 (3):59。

认识这封旨在调解地区冲突的信函及六世班禅在其中发挥的重要作用,均有着重要的史 料参考价值。

兹将约翰·斯图尔特版六世班禅信函移录如下,

The affairs of this quarter in every respect flourish: I am night and day employed for the increase of your happiness and prosperity. Having been informed, by travelers from your quarter, of your exalted fame and reputation, my heart, like the blossom of spring, abounds with satisfaction, gladness, and joy. Praise God that the star of your fortune is in its ascension. Praise him that happiness and ease are the surrounding attendants of myself and family. Neither to molest or persecute is my aim: it is even the characteristic of our sect to deprive ourselves of the necessary refreshment of sleep, should an injury be done to a single individual; but in justice and humanity, I am informed you far surpass us. May you ever adorn the seat of justice and power, that mankind may, in the shadow of your bosom, enjoy the blessings of peace and affluence! By your favour I am the Rajah and Lama of this country, and rule over a number of subjects; a particular with which you have no doubt been made acquainted by travellers from these parts. I have been repeatedly informed, that you have been engaged in hostilities against the Dah Terria, to which it is said the Dah's own criminal conduct, in committing ravages and other outrages on your frontiers, gave rise. As he is of a rude and ignorant race, past times are not destitute of the like misconduct which his avarice tempted him to commit. It is not unlikely that he has now renewed those instances, and the ravages and plunder which he may have committed on the skirts of the Bengal and Bahar provinces, have given you provocation to send your vindictive army against him. However, his party has been defeated, many of his people have been killed, three forts have been taken from him, and he has met with the punishment he deserved. It is as evident as the sun that your army has been victorious; and that, if you had been desirous of it, you might in the space of two days have entirely extirpated him, for he had not power to resist your efforts. But I now take upon me to be his mediator; and to represent to you, that, as the said Dah Terria is dependent upon the Dalai Lama, who rules in this country with unlimited sway (but, on account of his being in his minority, the charge of the government and administration for the present is committed to me) should you persist in offering further molestation to the Dah's country, it will irritate both the Lama and all his subjects against you. Therefore, from a regard to our religion and customs, I request you will cease all hostilities against him; and in doing this, you will confer the greatest favour and friendship upon me. I have reprimanded the Dah for his past conduct; and I have admonished him to desist from his evil practices in future, and to be submissive to you in all things. I am persuaded he will conform to the advice which I have given him; and it will be necessary that you treat him with compassion and clemency. As to my part, I am but a Faquier; and it is the custom of my sect, with the rosary in our hands, to pray for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of this country; and I do now, with my head uncovered, entreat that you will cease all hostilities against the Dah in future. It would be needless to add to the length of this letter, as the bearer of it, who is a Goseign, will represent to you all particulars; and it is hoped that you will comply therewith. In this country, worship of the Almighty is the profession of all. We poor creatures are in nothing equal to you; having, however, a few things in hand, I send them to you by way of remembrance, and hope for your acceptance of them. ¹⁰

二、六世班禅信函三种版本比勘

塞缪尔·特纳版和克莱门茨·R·马卡罕姆版信函被后世广为参考,其中,后者的征引率最高。鉴于此,有必要将约翰·斯图尔特版(1777年)、塞缪尔·特纳版(1800年)、克莱门茨·R·马克罕姆版(1876年)这三个版本的六世班禅信函进行详细比较,以揭示并研究其中的诸多不同。经过笔者比对,现将三者不同之处标记于下表:

六世班禅信函三种版本比勘

序号	约翰·斯图尔特 (John Stewart) 版(1777)	塞缪尔·特纳 (Samuel Turner) 版(1800)	克莱门茨·R·马克罕姆 (Clements Robert Markham)版(1876)
1	For	in prayers for	in prayers for
2	your quarter	your country	your quarter
3	the blossom	the blossoms	the blossom
4	abounds with satisfaction	abounds with satisfaction	abounds with gaiety
5	Praise God	Praise be to God	Praise
6	Praise him	Praise be to him	Praise
7	Or	nor	nor
8	of our sect	of our sect	of my sect

¹⁰ John Stewart, 1777: 489-492.

9	in the shadow	in the shadow	under the shadow
10	peace and affluence	peace and affluence	Happiness and ease
11	the Rajah	the Raja	the Rajah
12	a number of	a number of	numbers of
13	a particular	a circumstance	a particular
14	been acquainted	been made acquainted	Been made acquainted
15	have been engaged	have engaged	have been engaged
16	the Dah Terria	the Deh Terria	the Deb Judhur
17	the Dah's	the Deh's	the Deb's
18	gave rise	gave rise	has given rise
19	of the like misconduct	of instances of the like faults	of instances of the like misconduct
20	his avarice tempted	his avarice has tempted	his own avarice tempted
21	But	that	that
22	the Bengal and Bahar provinces	the provinces of Bengal and Behar	the Bengal and Bahar provinces
23	vindictive army	avenging army	vindictive army
24	However	Nevertheless	However
25	It is	It is	and it is
26	that your army	that your army	your army
27	Dah Terria	Deh Terria	Deb Rajah
28	But	though	but
29	in his minority	yet in his minority	in his minority
30	the charge of the government and administration	the charge and administration of the country	the charge of the government and administration
31	the Dah's country	the Deh Terria's country	The Deb's country
32	cease	cease from	cease
33	the Dah	the Deh	the Deb
34	in all things	in all things	in all matters
35	he will	he will	that he will

36	Faquier	Fakeer	Fakir
37	the welfare of mankind	the welfare of all mankind	the welfare of mankind
38	and for the peace	and especially for the peace	and for the peace
39	intreat	entreat	entreat
40	may	will	may
41	cease	cease from	cease
42	the Dah	the Deh	the Deb
43	Goseign	Gosein	Gosain
44	you will	that you will	that you will
45	worship	the worship	worship
46	having, however	Having, however	Having
47	by way of	as tokens of	by way of

在克莱门茨·R·马克罕姆版中,编者曾指出其引述的六世班禅信函与塞缪尔·特纳版相比,共有21处不同,两版本之间的差别均体现在不同用词方面。但根据笔者认真比对,发现以上两版本中不同者实有42处之多。同时,约翰·斯图尔特版与塞缪尔·特纳版相比,共有37处不同,约翰·斯图尔特版与克莱门茨·R·马克罕姆版相比,也有30处不同。由此可知,相对来讲,克莱门茨·R·马克罕姆版与目前可知的最早版本约翰·斯图尔特版之间的相似度较高。

诚然,以上三个版本的不同之处均体现在用词差异及语法表述方面,但在关于六世 班禅在西藏政治地位的表述方面,则是其中最值得注意的区别之处,这也直接体现出约翰:斯图尔特版六世班禅信函的版本价值。

对于当时六世班禅在西藏的政治地位,在约翰·斯图尔特版中,表述为:

"as the said Dah Terria is dependent upon the Dalai Lama, who rules in this country with unlimited sway (but, on account of his being in his minority, the charge of the government and administration for the present is committed to me) should you persist in offering further molestation to the Dah's country, it will irritate both the Lama and all his subjects against you." 11

¹¹ John Stewart, 1777: 490-491.

可译为:

如前所述,不丹德布王公乃达赖喇嘛之臣属,达赖喇嘛以无限权威统御西藏(但是,其尚年幼,其政府行政管理之权委托于我),若阁下坚持挥师深入不丹, 势必会激怒达赖喇嘛及其属民共同对抗阁下。

在塞缪·特纳版中,表述为:

"as the said Deh Terria is dependent upon the Dalai Lama, who rules in this country with unlimited sway, though, on account of his being yet in his minority, the charge and administration of the country, for the present, is committed to me; should you persist in offering further molestation to Deh Terria' country, it will irritate both the Lama and all his subjects against you." 12

可译为:

如前所述,不丹德布王公乃达赖喇嘛之臣属,达赖喇嘛以无限权威统御西藏,尽管其尚年幼,如今,其管理之权委托于我,若阁下坚持挥师深入不丹,势必会激怒达赖喇嘛及其属民共同对抗阁下。

而在克莱门茨·R·马克罕姆版中,则表述为:

"as the said Deb Rajah is dependent upon the Dalai Lama, who rules in this country with unlimited sway (but on account of his being yet in his minority, the charge and administration for the present, is committed to me), should you persist in offering further molestation to Deb Rajah' country, it will irritate both the Lama and all his subjects against you." "13"

可译为:

如前所述,不丹德布王公乃达赖喇嘛之臣属,达赖喇嘛以无限权威统御西藏(但其尚年幼,其管理之权如今委托于我),若阁下坚持挥师深入不丹,势必会激怒达赖喇嘛及其属民共同对抗阁下。

仔细观之,三者之间的最主要区别在于约翰·斯图尔特版使用了 but,以转折语气来强调六世班禅在当时西藏的政治地位之高、权力之大,从而为英国东印度公司主动遣使乔治·波格尔(George Bogle)入藏与六世班禅建立联系提供了舆论和认知方面的佐证。

¹² Samuel Turner, 1800: xi.

¹³ Clements Robert Markham, 1876: 3.

值得一提的是, 1783 年即六世班禅圆寂三年后, 塞缪尔·特纳受英国东印度公司指派入 藏,并居住在扎什伦布寺,由此,他对六世研禅在当时西藏的政治地位应有一些切身体 会。但塞缪尔·特纳版则使用了语气相对较弱的 though, 这对十分讲究语法的英人来讲, 在语气轻重与表意指向方面显然是有很大差别的。同时,从出版时间方面考量,塞缪尔·特 纳和克莱门茨·R·马卡罕姆均有很大可能阅及约翰·斯图尔特版六世班禅信函,但值得 注意的是, 在较晚的克莱门茨·R·马克罕姆版中, 在此关键内容表述时, 却沿袭了约翰·斯 图尔特版的相似表达。而且令人遗憾的是、自1876年之后、大部分英人的相关著作却 参考并采用了克莱门茨·R·马克罕姆书中所载,即沿用约翰·斯图尔特版中的相关表述, 这便在一定程度上对六世班禅的意思表达产生了曲解。受不可避免的文化差异的影响, 加之当时西方与西藏的接触极其有限,对西藏的政治、宗教、文化等基本情况的了解更 是少之又少、在这种情况下、约翰·斯图尔特版六世班禅信函中关于六世班禅在西藏政 治地位与影响的夸大性表述、就难免为西方关于六世班禅的认知带来先入为主的影响。 这一点在此后西方的涉藏著作中多有体现,例如,黎吉生(Hugh Edward Richardson) 在其《西藏文化史》中,对六世班禅的描述是:"在藏人眼中,摄政身上完全缺少达赖 喇嘛的光环,这就使得一位备受尊重和爱戴的伟大的班禅喇嘛获得了巨大的影响力。这 位喇嘛就是六世班禅洛桑贝丹意希。"14

三、六世班禅信函的作用与影响

关于六世班禅信函的汉文译文,因国内学界多引用著名藏学家柳陞祺、邓锐龄先生的精妙译文,故兹将其转录如下:

此间诸事顺遂,予昼夜讽经,祈祷阁下芳祉纳福,日盛月新。兹因贵方来客,得闻令名,方寸之内,如春华敷荣,欢悦曷胜。敬维阁下福星高悬,予左右眷属安宁清吉为颂。窃以为侵犯邻境,凌辱他人,均韪予之本意。揆诸本宗宗风,倘若加害一人,虽眠息颐养,均在禁例,惟素稔阁下,公正仁爱,且远胜吾人,敬企台绥倍增,荣华骈臻,亿万庶民,均叨福庇。承蒙雅许,予任此方之喇嘛法王(Raja-Lama),统御臣庶,阁下亦必自此间旅客闻知此事矣。迩来屡屡获悉:阁下大兴戎行,挞伐不丹,据云不丹王侵掠蹂躏贵方边境,其罪实为启衅之由。

¹⁴ Hugh E. Richardson & David Snellgrove, A Cultural History of Tibet, Boston; Shambhala, 1995; 225.

盖此王出身凡愚,妄知礼义(往昔不乏如此过失,实因贪欲诱引,不能自已),近日故态复萌,殆在意料之中,彼于孟加拉国、比哈尔诸省边境必犯蹂躏抢掠之罪行,以故阁下震怒,谴军报复。然而其党徒败北,多民受戮,三城易手,本人亦已膺严惩矣。阁下军旅大胜,已昭然如日光焜耀,阁下有意,则二日之内,剿绝不丹王本非难事,盖彼已无力抵御矣。于今之时,不揣冒昧,代为缓颊,愿进一二言于阁下之前:盖此不丹大君,乃达赖喇嘛之一臣属,达赖喇嘛取御此方,具无限权威(惟因年甫冲龄,现今政务委托眇身),若阁下仍麾军深入不丹境内不已,势将激怒达赖喇嘛并其属民悉与阁下为敌,以故,俯念我方佛法民情,敢望阁下即此息争言和,是诚贶予以莫大之思惠。至于不丹王,予已谴责其已往之罪行,劝谕其日后之迁善,勉励彼遇事毋得违抗阁下,窃以为彼必将顺从予之劝导,而阁下亦应待之以怜悯宽宥之心也。予一介寒僧,依本教清规,惟知手持数珠,念佛祝祷,利益众生,祈求此方居人得享升平而已。今谨释僧冠,恳请阁下可否从此辍兵。敬肃寸束,馀言不赘,信使行脚僧人,将代陈详情,惟祈俯允。此方人众唯以敬奉天神为务,我辈寒素,未敢与足下比伦。附呈薄仪数色、聊表心意、统希哂呐。15

六世班禅的这封信函,言语陈述清晰、措辞有理有据,目的在于居间调停、平衡双方利益,以真正实现地区和平。对此,可以从以下三个层面加以解读:第一,六世班禅明确承认不丹在此次边境冲突中有错在先;第二,六世班禅认为,虽然不丹此次举措失当,但也已经遭到了镇压与惩罚,其已再无能力采取敌对行动,因此,他希望瓦伦·哈斯丁斯就此罢手,以宽容与怜悯之心来恢复该地区的和平与安宁,由此可见,恢复正常秩序、维护和平,便是六世班禅此次调解的根本目的;第三,六世班禅之所以有资本奉劝英人不要再次"扰乱残杀",除了以佛教之爱护众生的根本宗旨外,最重要的一大信心保障在于:不丹法王臣属于达赖喇嘛即西藏地方,英人进一步的军事行动必将激怒达赖喇嘛,这就会引起更多的麻烦,可见,六世班禅对西藏地方及达赖喇嘛的实力与影响力持有高度自信。

那么,六世班禅的信心从何而来?显然,六世班禅深知:英人必定清楚不丹为清中央政府治下的西藏地方之藩属,若英人将此次冲突无端扩大并进一步威胁西藏地方安全,

¹⁵ 柳陞祺、邓锐龄:《第六辈班禅额尔德尼·洛桑贝丹意希生平事迹述评》, 2008:192-193。

则不仅会引起西藏地方的强烈不满,更会促使清中央政府采取军事行动。这一点也在之后的廓尔喀战争的进程与结果中均得以证明。事实上,正是因为拥有强大政治、经济与军事实力的清中央政府的客观存在,才使得英国东印度公司必然选择主动停战,这也促使六世班禅的调解信函发挥了作用。

一方面,虽然在一定程度上来说,在封建专制体制下运行的清中央政府,还不会产生西方近现代政治文化视野下的国家、民族及疆域观念,但是,其在对待维护领土安全问题上,则始终秉承着寸土必争的根本原则,这一点在"康乾盛世"时期得到了显著体现,尤其对于后来自诩为"十全老人"的乾隆帝来讲更显突出。另一方面,英国东印度公司对其时中国经济、军事实力的了解与忌惮,及其在对华贸易过程中的遭遇,也必然促使其选择主动停止战争。同时,采用接受六世班禅调停的方式,以此向六世班禅示好,自然会成为其建立与六世班禅直接联系的绝佳时机。从这一角度看,英国东印度公司是这场"英不战争"的最大受益者,并始终处于"待价而沽"的有利地位。

值得注意的是,六世班禅的这封信函"是由藏人白玛(Paima)和印度游方僧普容吉尔(Purungir Gosain)送到加尔各答的"¹⁶,同时还带去了一些礼物:中国丝绸、皮革钱包、麝香和金银锭等土特产。将这些带有诸多中国元素的礼物送给瓦伦·哈斯丁斯,必定是六世班禅精心选择的结果,其政治寓意与威慑作用不言而喻。

关于六世班禅信函的作用,应该给予积极的评价,即其起到了调解与御敌两方面作用。首先,六世班禅信函对于结束英人与不丹之间的冲突、实现地区和平,起到了关键性的调解作用。瓦伦·哈斯丁斯在收到信函后给予了积极回应,遂与不丹展开谈判,最后,英、不双方于 1774 年 4 月 25 日在孟加拉国的威廉堡(Fort William)签订了《东印度公司与不丹之间的和平条约》。虽然该条约使不丹失去了一些利益,但毕竟在较短时间内实现了地区和平,由此,该信函的积极作用值得肯定。其次,该信函也在一定程度上起到了"御敌于藏外"的作用。其时,六世班禅对英国东印度公司在喜马拉雅山麓地区的贸易活动与武力侵略,已有一定程度的了解。因此,从维护西藏地方安全角度考虑,六世班禅在该信函中给予了英人一定程度的震慑,即:若英人继续诉诸武力,则达赖喇嘛及其民众将采取积极性的对抗措施。由结果上看,该信函既有效保护了其藩属不丹,又未将战争之火引至西藏地方。此后,瓦伦·哈斯丁斯采取了试探性的非暴力手段与西藏地方进行交往,这也证明了该信函确实在一定程度上发挥了"御敌"作用。

¹⁶ Clements Robert Markham, 1876: 1.

同时, 六世班禅信函也产生了一些客观影响, 对此, 可从两方面进行考虑。

一方面,通过此次调解,六世班禅及班禅系统在喜马拉雅山麓地区的宗教与政治影响力,不仅得到了事实性的验证,更得到了实质性的提升。其实,在不丹德布王公向六世班禅发出调解请求之前,曾与西藏关系不睦的廓尔喀王便已向六世班禅提出了调解之请。1773年7月,"彼时,廓尔喀王请求大师调解不丹与帕让之间的冲突。班禅大师复信廓尔喀王说:'大王所书,内情皆悉,要做有利于贸易与不丹方面之事。……'" "此举显然是源于廓尔喀王对自身实力的不自信及对自身安全的担忧,但也证明了六世班禅在喜马拉雅山麓地区的政治影响力之大。此次成功调解,无疑会进一步提升六世班禅在该地区的影响力。

另一方面,从客观上看,六世班禅信函也为英人提供了尽快结束战争、开启与西藏地方联系的有利时机。其时,虽然英国东印度公司军队在战势方面尚处于有利地位,但因其兵力较少且战线过长,已经陷入战争泥潭而难以脱身。对此,一个重要证据在于,英军因水土不服,在不丹南部的森林地带已经深受疾病困扰,"我们的部队因病死伤大半,琼斯上尉和其他军官也染上了致命的疟疾"。¹⁸ 由此,正当英军进退两难之际,六世班禅的信函恰恰给予其一个避免更大损失的良机。同时,"这封信函导致的结果之一是哈斯丁斯与不丹法王在1774年签订的和约,另一个结果就是紧接着开始的乔治·波格尔的入藏之行,乔治·波格尔是一名被寄予厚望并被事实证明精明强干的公司职员,他是作为公司专使前去拜会六世班禅的"¹⁹。可以说,正是这封六世班禅信函,为长期以来对西藏地方充满商业觊觎的英国东印度公司带来了可乘之机,从而开启了历史上第一位入藏的英国人乔治·波格尔的后藏之行,也使得六世班禅"被动地"成为中国历史上第一位与西方资本主义势力发生联系的藏传佛教宗教领袖。

◆ 柳森 中国国家图书馆古籍馆馆员

¹⁷ 嘉木样·久麦旺波:《六世班禅洛桑巴丹益希传》,许德存、卓永强译,拉萨:西藏人民出版社,1990:278。

¹⁸ Clements Robert Markham, 1876: 1.

¹⁹ Lionel James Trotter, Warren Hastings: a biography, London: J. M. Dent & sons, ltd, New York: E. P. Dutton & co., 1910: 104-105.