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EDITORIAL NOTE

In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous inquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics, and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes ; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly
Director of the Historical Section.

January 1920.

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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) Position and Frontiers

Tibet[1] comprises the lofty table-land of Central Asia, and lies approximately between 78° 30′ and 102° east longitude and between 27° 20′ and 39° 20′ north latitude. Its extreme length east and west is some 1,370 miles, its breadth north and south about 820 miles. Estimates of its area vary from 463,320 square miles[2] to over a million. A mean estimate of 814,000 square miles is probably not far from the truth; the fact being that the area can be made anything from 700,000 to 1,000,000 square miles, according as the eastern frontier is allowed to encroach on the neighbouring provinces of China.

For both the application of the name and the definition of the boundaries are alike extremely vague. As a geographical expression, Tibet denotes the high plateau

[1] The Tibetans themselves are said to call their country Bod-yul (i. e. land of Bod), though this would seem to apply strictly to the central portion only. In ordinary speech Bod is aspirated and pronounced Bhöt (whence Bhutan). The name Tibet appears to be a corruption of Tö-bhöt, meaning 'high Bod', which appears in Chinese as early as the fifth century in the form of Tu-bat, later Tu-pehteh, modern Tu-fan (through change in the value of the second symbol). The usual Chinese name for the country is, however, either Wei-tsang (a corruption of U-Tsang, the names of the two central provinces), or Hsi-tsang (i. e. west Tsang). But Tsang, by itself, appears in Chinese to denote not merely the province but a wider area, different portions of which are known by the names of Ch'ien-tsang (i. e. anterior Tsang = Khams), Chung-tsang (i. e. central Tsang = U), and Hou-tsang (i. e. further Tsang = Tsang proper), whence it appears that in Chinese Tsang stands for the whole of south-eastern Tibet. This would seem to indicate that at some period the name Tsang was applied to that portion of the country over which China claimed direct control, and that of Hsi-tsang to the more independent western portion.

[2] L. Richard, *Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire*, 1908.

of the centre of Asia, more specifically termed Chang-tang or the table-land of Khor, together with the valleys running east and south-east of the same, up which Chinese influence has for centuries been advancing. Thus it happens that the name is often used to include districts which China has claimed as integral parts of the empire, at least since she conquered Tibet in the eighteenth century, and recognized divisions of Tibet are described as including portions of the western provinces of China; while at the same time the Governors of Kansu and Szechwan claim administration over districts which are unquestionably part of Tibet. In the present description the name is generally confined to those territories which are not claimed as belonging to the Chinese provinces on the east, but even so, no very strict definition of frontiers is possible, and there is no intention of deciding upon questions which at the moment of writing are believed to be still the subject of armed contention.

Tibet is habitually divided, at least by the older authorities, into two portions, the 'Kingdom' of Tibet, comprising the main part of the country, and the Koko-nor district in the north-east; and though the division may not correspond to any important political distinction, it is at least geographically convenient.

On the south and north Tibet is bounded by the escarpments of the table-land, the Himalaya and Kwenlun mountains respectively, while beyond the latter on the north-east lies the Koko-nor depression stretching up to the Altyn-tagh range. West and east there are no natural boundaries.

In the north-west the frontier between Tibet and Sinkiang, or Chinese (Eastern) Turkestan, begins on the Kwenlun range somewhere north of Lake Lighten, in about 35° 30′ north latitude and 80° 30′ east longitude, and thence approximately follows the watershed eastward to a point about 90° 30′ east, where it leaves the Kwenlun range and strikes in an irregular line northward, west of the Tsaidam basin, till it reaches the

watershed of the Altyn-tagh. This it again follows eastward through the intricacies of the Nan-shan mountains to about 101° east, where it strikes south, passing just west of Donkyr (Tangar), between Koko-nor lake and Sining. From somewhere near the northernmost point of the frontier, Bulgan Pass (94° 30′ east), eastwards the Koko-nor district marches no longer with Turkestan but with Kansu, though here again the line of demarcation is very ill defined.

From the neighbourhood of Donkyr the boundary runs generally in a southern direction to near the 28th parallel, separating Tibet successively from Kansu, Szechwan, and Yunnan, but its position cannot be regarded as in any way defined, particularly in the southern portion. All that can be said in respect of this region is that Chiamdo, an important mart and telegraph station on the Mekong, and Gartok (not to be confused with the trading station of the same name in the west) are recognized as lying in Tibet; that the trade centre and mission station of Batang on the Yangtze-kiang is on the edge of the Marches or disputed territory, and that this stretches as far east as Tachienlu and includes Litang.

Turning westward and crossing the Salwin river at a point about 28° 20′ north, the southern boundary, between Tibet and Burma is at first hardly more clearly defined.[1] Farther west the borders of Tibet are determined by those of Assam as far as where the Dihang or Brahmaputra breaks through the mountains from the north. After this the frontier follows in a general manner the Himalaya range. Immediately west of the Dihang Assam is bounded on the north by a more or less unexplored district inhabited by the wild Abor tribes, which appear to be as free of Tibetan as of British control. In about 92° east the Mon-yul district of Tibet runs down the southern slopes of the range and touches once more on Assam. Westwards

[1] The boundary from the Tsu-Razi Pass to Bhutan was recorded in a map and an exchange of notes between the British and Tibetan plenipotentiaries at Simla, March 24 and 25, 1914 (see p. 42).

again is Bhutan, lying between the Indian plain and the Himalayan divide, along which the Tibetan frontier here for the most part runs, to stretch south once more down the Chumbi valley between Bhutan and Sikkim. Since Tibetan territory does not appear to extend for more than 6 or 8 miles south of the trading station of Yatung, it does not actually touch British India at this point, although the valley affords the main avenue of commercial intercourse in this region. The Sikkim frontier is everywhere but on the south the watershed of the various tributaries of the Tista (Lachen). Farther west the boundary between Tibet and Nepal is almost wholly unexplored; it appears to run mainly along the principal ridge of the Himalayan range, but the watershed here lies in general farther to the north, and Tibet is known to maintain posts some distance down the southern valleys, particularly in the eastern portion.

The western frontier may be said to begin where the Kumaon district is reached beyond Nepal. Here, in Almora and Garhwal, the boundary continues to follow in general the main divide in a north-westerly direction along the Zaskar ridge. On reaching the Hill States of Tehri and Bashahr it takes a more northerly course, crosses the Indus at Shipki, where the river breaks westward through the great barrier, and continues in an irregular northern direction, leaving Dankhar in the Spiti district of the Punjab, Karak in Tibet, and Hanle in Kashmir, here following in fact a very winding subsidiary water-parting. The portion of Kashmir which marches with Tibet is mostly included in the district known as Ladakh or Little Tibet, of which the capital is Leh. The frontier crosses the Indus about 25 miles below Demchok (33° north), and striking somewhat west of north, cuts the Pangang–Nyak chain of lakes about midway (79° east), and skirts the basins of the western rivers in a north-easterly direction to the borders of Turkestan.

The only points at which Tibet touches immediately upon the territory of British India are in Burma, in

Assam, in Almora and Garhwal (which form the Kumaon division of the United Provinces), and in Spiti, a subdivision of the Kangra district of the Punjab. Everywhere else a native state, either independent or tributary, intervenes.

(2) Surface, Lakes, and River Systems

General Features

Tibet is, indeed, a high land, remarkable even more for the elevation of its plains and valleys than for the loftiness of its peaks. Apart from the southern frontier, which may or may not pass over some of the greatest summits of the Himalaya range, the points that reach a height of 25,000 ft. are few; on the other hand, there are many, if seldom extensive, massifs exceeding 20,000 ft., while, except in the gorge of the Dihang and on the marches of Assam and China, there is probably no point in the country below 8,000 ft. In Tibet proper (apart from the Koko-nor) about three-quarters of the surface of the country is over 15,000 ft., and the amount below 10,000 ft. wholly insignificant. Even including the Koko-nor, probably well over half lies between the elevations of 15,000 and 20,000 ft. In the north-west Captain Bower travelled for five months without once camping below 16,000 ft.

This lofty table-land, bounded by the Himalaya range on the south and the Altyn-tagh on the north, is composed of a number of roughly parallel, or rather slightly divergent, ranges, which spread out fanwise from west to east. In Kashmir, at the point where the Indus breaks through to the south, the whole mountain barrier, in which here perhaps four distinct chains can be discerned, separating the fertile plains of the Punjab from the desert Taklamakan basin of Chinese Turkestan, is comprised within some five degrees of latitude, say 350 miles. At its widest (about 92° east) the immense mountain system attains an extension of twelve degrees, or 850 miles. Farther east, three changes occur; the main ranges tend to

split up into a number of branches, or perhaps rather their component ridges become more pronounced; the ranges or ridges are regularly divided by rivers flowing through well-defined valleys; and the ridges bend southwards, so that the system of ranges running approximately east and west, characteristic of the Indian frontier and the greater part of Tibet, is replaced by the system of north and south ranges found in Burma and western China. Only in the case of the southernmost valley-fold, that immediately north of the Himalaya range, do rivers flow along practically the whole length of the valley-floor, and this appears to be due less to any marked difference in physical structure than to the fact that here the south-west monsoon makes itself felt in heavier rainfall.

Geographical Divisions

Tibet may conveniently be divided into three regions: (i) the Chang-tang or 'northern plateau', comprising the whole of the north-west; (ii) the river country of the east, together with a fringe in the south and south-west; and (iii) the Koko-nor [1] basin in the north-east.

(i) The *Chang-tang* is for the most part a desolate wind-swept expanse of bare mountains and shallow valleys filled with brackish lakes which find no outlet for their waters. It has been suggested that some at least of these mark the sites of ancient volcanoes. This is doubtful, but it is certain that the region abounds in hot springs, especially just to the west of Tengri-nor. Hardly anywhere does the surface sink below the level of the highest point of the Alps. Frozen for eight months of the year, the land, in the complete absence of external drainage, becomes a swamp during the summer, to which season, moreover, such rainfall as occurs is confined. The population is very sparse,

[1] Politically the Koko-nor, taken either as including, or as included in, the province of Amdo, extends over a considerable part of eastern Tibet; geographically it is a well-defined depression between the Kwenlun and Altyn-tagh ranges.

and consists mostly of Dokpa (Drupa) or nomads, but there is a narrow zone of cultivation on the southern border where good crops are said to be raised.

(ii) The *river region* of the east and south contains the sources of almost all the great rivers of China, Indo-China, and India. The drainage is eastwards, with the exception of that of a very small area in the southern part of the western extremity of the country, which embraces the upper waters of the Indus and the Sutlej. The river region enjoys copious rainfall; in the east and south-east the average elevation is considerably below that of the Chang-tang, and it contains the vast majority of the population, which is here largely agricultural and sedentary.

(iii) The *Koko-nor* is again a region wholly without external drainage. It might be regarded as an extension of the Chang-tang, but is a basin rather than a plateau, and sinks to a considerably lower level (8,000 ft. and less). It is, indeed, a repetition on a smaller scale of the great Taklamakan depression to the north-west. The hollow is mostly occupied by the great Tsaidam swamp. The Koko-nor lake itself lies on a strip of higher ground separating the Tsaidam from the Chinese rivers to the east. The population is mainly nomadic.

Mountains

As already said, the table-land of Tibet consists of a series of successive mountain ranges running in general east and west and divided from one another by valleys of no very great depth. Sven Hedin enumerates no less than twenty-six such ridges between Zilling-tso and the plains of Turkestan, but it will serve the purpose of a general description to distinguish a considerably smaller number of the more important chains.

On the south the great *Himalaya* range stretches for some 1,500 miles in a vast arc from north-west to south-east, convex towards India, and bounded on the

west in Kashmir by the Indus and on the east by the Dihang defile, through which the Brahmaputra breaks to the plains of Assam. This range is itself made up of successive folds, and it is possible to distinguish, besides the central chain, the lower Siwalik range on the south, and on the north the Ladakh range,[1] so called from the district in Kashmir from which it can be traced. Though containing the loftiest heights, the Himalayan is by no means the most continuous of the ranges of central Asia, since, owing evidently to the heavy rainfall on the southern slopes, it is intersected at frequent intervals by deep valleys leading up to comparatively low passes. Thus it happens that while the great peaks such as Everest (29,002 ft.) and Kinchinjunga (28,146 ft.) lie in the central chain, the watershed is frequently, or even generally, on the Ladakh ridge. In the west the central Himalayan chain includes the important Zaskar range on either side of the remarkable gorge where the Sutlej breaks through the entire mountain system; while the Ladakh range includes the well-marked ridge of the Chang Pass north-east of Leh in Kashmir, the group of the Fugeo Pass west of Gartok (between the points at which the Indus and the Sutlej cut through the range), Gurla Mandhata (25,355 ft.) south of the holy lakes, and the Ganglung Gangri and Kubi Gangri massifs containing respectively the ultimate sources of the Sutlej and the Brahmaputra.

North of the Himalaya lies the southernmost, and in some respects the most pronounced, of the folds or valleys that separate the ranges of the Tibetan plateau, that namely in which lie the head-waters of the great Indian rivers. This fact gives it, on the map at least, the appearance of a much more important break in the continuity of the table-land than it really is. Though the great Himalayan peaks rise from 10,000 to 15,000 ft. above it, the floor of the valley, at least in its western portion, lies at a depth of not more than

[1] The Indian Survey gives this chain the alternative title of Trans-Himalayan range.

some 3,000 ft. below the majority of the passes, while in certain cases the height to be climbed is not more than a few hundred feet. Again, while Shigatse itself is close on 13,000 ft. above the sea, the central lake region sinks in places almost to 14,000 ft. Thus, in spite of its drainage, it is quite justifiable to regard the valley as belonging properly to the Tibetan plateau, and as forming but one of a number of roughly similar folds. And the resemblance becomes even clearer when it is observed that the lakes of this region are essentially of the same character as those of the Chang-tang, and that towards the western extremity of the valley there is a practically drainless area.

For about three-quarters of its length the valley forms the bed of the Tsanpo or upper Brahmaputra. Farther west lies a series of lakes, and the valley is followed for a short distance by the Sutlej, which then breaks out to the south-west. Beyond this it forms the bed of one branch of the Indus, which again breaks through the western wall; while yet later, in Kashmir, it is occupied by the Shyok river.

This great southern valley is bounded on the north, and separated from the lake region beyond, by a remarkable range of mountains for which as yet no wholly satisfactory name has been found. It is perhaps best to extend to the whole the name *Kailas*, which strictly belongs to its most important constituent in the west.[1] This chain Sven Hedin declares to be 'on the whole the most massive range on the crust of the earth', a description, however, which appears to be somewhat

[1] Sven Hedin, who more than any one else has explored this range and established its continuity, proposes the name of Trans-Himalaya, which might be adopted were there no fear of confusion with the Ladakh range, to which the name has also been applied It is sometimes said to comprise the Gangri and Dangla ranges Of these Gangri, a name occasionally applied to the Kailas massif proper, is very unsuitable, being simply a generic term for a snow peak; while Dangla is equally unfortunate since by it is meant, not the well-known Tang-la mountains, but a chain north-west of Lhasa called the Ninchin-tangla range, which is, in effect, a continuation of the Kailas chain.

exaggerated.[1] In the west the chain comprises the Kailas range proper, which is broken through by the northern branch of the Indus, and the range of Aling Gangri (Nain Singh range) lying slightly more to the north, immediately south of the main chain of lakes and north of Lake Nganglaring (Ghalaring-tso). Towards the east the range passes between Lhasa and Tengri-nor, where it is known by the name of Ninchintangla, is crossed by the Shangshung Pass on the Northern Road, and gradually bending round southwards forms the massif cradling the Dibang and the Zayul-chu and dividing the Brahmaputra basin from that of the Salwin.

North of the Kailas range, in a broad depression, lies a long chain of lakes stretching from Lake Pangong in Ladakh to Tengri-nor north-west of Lhasa.

The ranges of the Chang-tang, though, if reports are to be believed, rising in places to greater heights than the Kailas chain, would appear, so far as they have been explored, to consist more generally of broad undulations with features less marked than those in the more rainy southern area.

The Kailas chain itself may be regarded as one branch of the great Karakoram range of Kashmir. Of this another branch runs more directly east through the middle of the Chang-tang, and includes the lofty Dupleix group (26,247 ft.) and the well-known *Tang-la* mountains, or range of the Tang Pass. Farther east this chain spreads out into an important massif which harbours on its northern flank the head-waters of the Yangtze-kiang, on the east those of the Mekong, and on the south those of the Salwin.

North again lies another region of lesser lakes, in the midst of which stands the rather isolated *Kokoshili* range, whose chief summit is known as King Oscar Mount.

[1] He continues: 'Its average height above the sea level [is] greater than that of the Himalayas. Its peaks are 4,000 to 5,000 feet lower than Mount Everest, but its passes average 3,000 feet higher than the Himalayan passes.' But see Hedin's own map, and his *Trans-Himalaya*, ii. 410.

Beyond this the *Kwenlun* mountains rise in a fairly continuous series of peaks of 20,000 ft. and over from the borders of Kashmir and Chinese Turkestan to the Koko-nor (92° east). Farther east their elevation is less and the chain splits into two main branches. Of these the northern skirts the southern edge of the Tsaidam basin and includes the Shugan and Amne Machin ranges, with a northern spur, the Koko-beili massif, stretching towards the Koko-nor lake; while the southern branch, passing south of the Tsaring and Oring lakes, includes the ranges of Baian-kara, Baian-tukmu, and Yabain-kara, and from the Baian-kara a long spur runs south, separating the valley of the Yalung from that of the Yangtze. Between these two main branches rises the Huang-ho, which encircles the end of the Amne Machin ridge before turning again north and east on its course through China.

Lastly, from the Kwenlun range, at a point about 80° east, or not far from where Kashmir, Tibet, and Chinese Turkestan may be supposed to meet, branches the *Altyn-tagh*. Running at first close to the higher southern range, it gradually diverges to the north, reaching heights of some 17,000 ft., bends round the Tsaidam basin, and ends north of Koko-nor in the complicated massif of the Nan-shan, with its series of parallel ranges running north-west and south-east, and known by the names of Richthofen, Tola-shan, Alexander III, Süess, Humboldt, and Ritter, the highest points of which touch 20,000 ft. In its western portion the Altyn-tagh is believed to be cut by at least two rivers which rise on the northern slopes of the Kwenlun range and lose themselves in the sand of the Taklamakan desert. Between these and the Tsaidam lies the drainless area of the Achak-kum lake.

The level of perpetual snow varies considerably on the Tibetan ranges. On the southern slopes of the Himalaya, owing to heavy precipitation, it is as low as 14,000 ft.; on the northern slope it does not descend below about 16,000 ft. In central and western Tibet, where the fall is inconsiderable, it would seem to be

much higher, rising in parts to about 19,000 ft. It appears to be about 18,000 ft. in the Kwenlun mountains, while in the Altyn-tagh it is about 16,000 ft. on the southern, and 13,000 ft. or less on the northern, slope.

Lakes

The numerous lakes of Tibet appear to be all of one character, not river lakes, but accidental depressions in the ground filled with stagnant water. They may receive streams of some size, and, of course, sometimes drain into one another, but they have normally no outlet, the water escaping partly by evaporation and partly by gradual soaking through the surrounding soil. It seems likely that the apparent exceptions, such as lakes Tsaring and Oring on the upper course of the Huang-ho, are merely cases in which a river has eaten its way back, and so tapped already existing lakes. This is pretty clearly the case with the twin lakes near the source of the Sutlej, while the important Yamdok-tso, which was probably at one time connected with the Tsanpo, has now lost its drainage. Thus, to divide the lakes of Tibet into those of the north-western plateau and those of the river region, is to make a distinction more convenient than correct. Observers agree that almost all Tibetan lakes show a present tendency to shrink and dry up.

The lakes of the Chang-tang, which are about equally divided between salt and fresh, appear from the map to be mainly collected in two groups, lying respectively in the north-west and the south-east of the district. This appearance may well, however, be deceptive, the result merely of imperfect exploration.

Of the north-western group, geographers enumerate as the most important lakes *Pangong* and *Iki-Namur*. The former is one of a string of lakes, including also lakes Tsomonang (or Tsomognalari), Nyak, and Noh —the application of the names is far from certain— which form an almost continuous sheet of water nearly a hundred miles long. Lake Pangong itself is the most

westerly, and lies over the border of Ladakh at an elevation of 14,000 ft. *Iki-Namur*, a lake reported to be as much as 40 miles long, and to lie in about 34° 15′ north latitude and 83° east longitude, appears now to have almost entirely dried up; the elevation would be over 15,000 ft. Other important lakes in the north of the district and close to the Kwenlun mountains (35° north and 81° and 83° east respectively) are the two freshwater lakes of Lighten (16,073 ft.) and Markham (16,480 ft.), each about 20 miles in length.

The lakes in the south-east of the Chang-tang, towards Lhasa, are considerably larger. *Lake Dangra*, or Dangrayum-tso, on the west of the group, has a reputation for holiness and a fertile shore on which large crops of barley are grown. It is about 35 miles long and over 15,000 ft. above sea-level. On the north is *Zilling-tso*, 55 miles long and 22 miles wide, covering an area of 500–600 square miles, at an elevation of about 14,500 ft.[1] Nearest to Lhasa lies the great *Tengri-nor* (15,190 ft.) with an extreme length of 50 miles and breadth of 25 miles, whose area must be about 700 square miles, making it second only to Koko-nor among Tibetan lakes. Its waters, like those of Zilling-tso, are salt, and are subject to a curious rhythmic swing, which has also been observed in the Lake of Geneva (*seiche*) and elsewhere. Like other lakes of the district it shows signs of shrinkage.

Outside the Chang-tang the principal lakes of Tibet are Koko-nor, the twin lakes of the Huang-ho, Yamdok-tso, and the twin lakes of the Sutlej.

In the extreme north-east, at an elevation of between 10,000 and 11,000 ft., lies the sheet of water known in Mongolian as *Koko-nor* or ' blue lake ', and in Chinese as Tsing-hai or ' azure sea '. It is some 77 miles long and 37 miles across at its widest, and may have an area of some 1,800 square miles. It contains five

[1] The Indian Survey gives the height variously as 14,000 and 15,128 ft., but there are difficulties in the way of accepting either of these figures, and a mean figure, 14,534 ft., given on some maps, appears more probable.

islands, on one of which is a temple. The height of the water varies greatly, the lake being considerably reduced in summer in spite of a fair-sized river, the Bukhain-gol, that flows into it from the north-west. Its greatest depth is at the southern end, but even there does not exceed 60 ft. It is frozen from November to March. The tribes on its shores neither fish in its waters nor own boats.

The two lakes, *Tsaring-nor* and *Oring-nor*, which lie some 10 miles apart on the upper course of the Huang-ho, are approximately the same size (25 miles long) and at about the same elevation (13,890 and 13,900 ft.). It is possible that there may be similar lakes near the sources of the Yangtze-kiang farther west.

In the south, and skirted on its north-western shore by the road from Lhasa to Gyantse, lies the holy *Yamdok-tso* (Yamdrok-tso) or Lake Palti, at a height of 14,350 ft. Its shores extend for 160 miles, but owing to its irregular shape, which has been aptly compared to that of a scorpion, this measurement is out of all proportion to its area, which can hardly be more than about 350 square miles. Between the claws of the scorpion lies the small Dumo-tso, or 'demon lake', with the Samding monastery on its banks. The Yamdok lake is sometimes said to be connected with the Tsanpo. This is not correct as regards present conditions, but the water of the lake is only slightly alkaline, and it is highly probable that in comparatively recent times the level was higher and the lake found an outlet at its north-western corner by Yasik into the Rong-chu. A number of smaller lakes in the region south of the Tsanpo appear to be all alike devoid of outlet; Lake Teltung, or Motretung-tso, near Kampa-jong, is possibly an exception.

Lastly, *Lake Manasarowar*, or Tso-Mobung, the holy lake of the Hindus, lies with its twin, Lake Lagong, or *Rakas-tal*, immediately south of Mount Kailas, the abode of Siva and the gods. The two lakes are connected by a channel of two or three miles, through which at times of exceptional flood the water of Lake

Manasarowar (14,900 ft.) is known to flow into that of Rakas-tal (14,850 ft.). There is also an old channel connecting the latter with the bed of the Sutlej, but this is now dry, and if, as seems probable, there is still some overflow, it takes place by an underground passage. It is clear that the level of these lakes has fallen considerably, and, according to Sven Hedin, the same is true of the small, and now drainless, Gunchu-tso, 30 miles to the east, which would appear to have once overflowed into Manasarowar lake.

Rivers

While almost all the great rivers of south-eastern Asia, from the Arabian to the Yellow Sea, have their sources in Tibet and are conveniently referred to by the names under which they are familiar in other lands, few, if any, of them bear those names within the confines of Tibet itself. They may, for purposes of description, be divided into (i) the Chinese rivers, having their sources in eastern Tibet, and (ii) the Indian rivers, which all rise within a small district on the south-western border.

(i) The most northerly of the Chinese rivers is the *Huang-ho*, the 'yellow river', known in its upper course as the Ma-chu, which, rising as the Kwan-chu (Kwar-chu) not far from the Northern Road (about 35° north and 95° 30′ east), flows east through the Tsaring and Oring lakes and down the valley between the Baian-tukmu and Amne Machin ranges. It then turns north, encircles the end of the latter range, and flows for a while north-west before turning once more upon its eastward course. It here traverses the country of the Sifan, or nomads of the Chinese border, passes within 35 miles of the south-eastern corner of Koko-nor lake, and enters Kansu not far from the famous lamasery of Kumbum, south of Sining.

On the southern side of the Baian-tukmu mountains rises the Ja-chu (Dza-chu), which, as the *Yalung*, forms a principal tributary of the Yangtze, joining it on the borders of Szechwan and Yunnan.

The *Yangtze* itself, known in its upper course as the Di-chu (Dre-chu), or, in Mongolian, Murus-ussu, rises between 91° 30′ and 92° 30′ east longitude, on the east of the Kokoshili and north of the Tang-la ranges, in several branches, of which the Namchutu-ulan-muren unites with the main southern stream at Dichu-rabdun, where the Northern Road crosses. The Di-chu is separated from the upper Huang-ho by the Baian-kara mountains, and from the Yalung by a southern spur of the same. On its banks, as it flows south-east, lies the important centre of Jyekundo on one of the main trade routes to China, while lower down, where its course runs approximately south, is Batang, the chief town of the Marches between Chiamdo and Tachienlu. Thence it continues its course in a southerly direction and passes into Yunnan.

Next on the south and west is the *Mekong*, known in Tibet successively as the Dza-chu (not to be confused with the upper Yalung), Om-chu, and Da-chu. It takes its rise on the east of the Tang-la group some distance from the Northern Road, and after passing the important trade mart of Chiamdo on the southern Chinese Road, flows parallel with the Yangtze, passes through Yunnan in an almost direct line from north to south, and after leaving Chinese territory forms the boundary between Burma (and later Siam) and Tongking.

Next and last of the Chinese rivers, the *Salwin*, or Giamanu-chu, rises on the southern slopes of the Tang-la range in several branches, of which the most important, the Nag-chu, probably has its source about 91° east, and crosses the Northern Road at Nagchu-kha. The river flows first east and then south-east till it too becomes parallel with the Yangtze. In this region so close do the successive ridges approach one another that on the 28th parallel the three rivers are all spanned by a stretch of fifty miles. Continuing southwards the Salwin passes through the westernmost portion of Yunnan and enters the northern Shan States of Burma.

(ii) The sources of the western rivers centre round Mount Kailas and the Manasarowar lake, and three of them lie in the fold between the Ladakh and Kailas ranges. Following this fold up the southern branch of the Indus, the Jerko or Sharko Pass (16,200 ft.) leads over to the twin lakes and the upper waters of the Sutlej, which find an exit to the west; thence the Pochenkong Pass (about 16,000 ft.) leads to the drainless Gunchu lake, and from there the Mayum-la, or Mariam Pass (16,900 ft.), to the valley of the Tsanpo.[1]

The *Indus* rises in two branches north and north-west of Lake Manasarowar. Of these the Gartang-chu lies in the great valley fold, where it springs from the mountains overlooking the Jerko-la and flows in a straight line north-west past the trading station of Gartok. The northern branch, the Singh-gi river, to which by preference the name Indus is given, has its source north of the Kailas range at a point in about 31° 30′ north latitude and 81° 50′ east longitude, and some 17,000 ft. above the sea. Thence it flows west and north and west again, and after a course of perhaps 190 miles joins the southern branch (which has run almost exactly half that distance) near Tashigong,[2] 65 miles below Gartok and 25 miles above Demchok. The united streams continue the straight north-western course for another 50 miles, and enter Kashmir above the gorge of Iskardoh at a height of some 13,000 ft.[3] Here the river leaves the great fold and breaks south-west through the Ladakh range, at this point not more

[1] This is the more direct and lower route followed by the road from Shigatse to Leh. But the fold is as it were doubled at this point, and it is possible to pass direct from the valley of the Sutlej to that of the Tsanpo by the higher Tamlung Pass (17,382 ft.) south of Gunchu-tso.

[2] There appears to be another place of this name 50 miles further down the river on the borders of Kashmir.

[3] The report, mentioned by Holdich (*Tibet*, p. 13), that this gorge is 14,000 ft. in sheer depth cannot be true, for none of the neighbouring peaks is much over 20,000 ft. high. Perhaps 1,400 ft. is meant.

than 10 miles across, into the parallel valley of Leh. Down this it flows till it turns south-west once more, and encircling the final outposts of the Great Himalayan Range (Nanga Parbat, 26,620 ft.), becomes the mighty river that waters the plains of the Punjab and loses itself in the Arabian Sea.

The next Indian river to find its source in Tibet is the *Sutlej*. According to Sven Hedin's account the Tagetsanpo springs from a glacier (about 30° 20′ north and 82° east) towards the eastern end of Ganglung Gangri, a massif of the Ladakh range between Gurla Mandhata on the west and Kubi Gangri on the east, and approximately south-east of Manasarowar lake, into which the river flows. Formerly there was a regular discharge from Manasarowar into Rakas-tal, and thence into the valley to the north-west, but now these channels are dry save at times of exceptional flood, and the river springs again by a second birth from a subterranean fountain in its ancient bed. It here takes its name from the monastery of Tretapuri or Tirtapuri (Tirthapura), which stands 32 miles north-west of Lake Rakas at the point where the river, turning west, breaks through the Ladakh range. Known now as the Langjen-kampa (Langchen-kamba) or 'elephant river', it continues its course north-west down the broad valley between the Ladakh and Zaskar ranges, past Totling (Tu-ling), the meeting-place of several routes, to Shipki on the frontier of the Hill State of Bashahr. Here it turns south-west through a narrowing gorge in the great mountain wall, flows past the mart of Rampur and below Simla, and at length issues from the last hills of the Himalayan range on its way to the plains and the Indus.

Several tributaries of the Ganges, including the Alaknanda, recognized as the head-waters of the great river itself, rise in the mountains south of the upper course of the Sutlej, but of these only one certainly has its source in Tibet.[1] This is the Karnali, or Map-

[1] Probably the Bhagirathi has likewise, but the boundary is undefined on its upper course.

chu, known in the United Provinces as the Gogra (Ghagra), which rises, between the Zaskar and Ladakh ranges, immediately south-west of the twin lakes and west of Gurla Mandhata. After passing Taklakot (Taklakhar), and flowing for some 80 miles in a south-easterly direction, it receives a tributary from the Kangula Pass in the Kubi Gangri group, and, turning south-west into Nepal, breaks through the main Himalayan range to the plains beyond.

The *Brahmaputra* does not properly receive that name till, as the Dihang (Dihong), it issues from its mountain gorge, and, uniting with the Dibang and the Luhit, or Zayul-chu, flows down the broad valley of Assam. North of the Himalayas, it is known in its upper course as the Martsang-tsanpo or Tamdshan-kampa, lower down as the Yaru- (Yuru, Yero, Yere) tsanpo, or more generally and conveniently simply as the *Tsanpo*. The observations of Sven Hedin place the source of the river at the height of 15,958 ft. (about 30° 10′ north and 82° 15′ east) in a glacier of the Kubi Gangri, a massif of the Ladakh range, south-east of Manasarowar lake, which includes the Kangula pass. From this glacier flows the Kubi river, meeting other streams from farther west and north, the Chemayundung and the Kyangtse (or Mayum-chu), at Shamsang (or Lak-tsang, 15,410 ft.), where there is a ferry across the united river. The general course of the Tsanpo lies south-east for some 130 miles, then almost due east for about 565 miles, and after that north-east for perhaps 140 miles, before it turns sharp south on its way through the mountains.

About 95 miles below the junction of the source streams the Tsanpo is joined, near the monastery and village of Tradum, by the Cha-chu (Tsa-chu), and 75 miles farther down, near Takbur, by the Chaktak-tsanpo. After another 180 miles or so it is joined near Pindzoling, 25 miles below Lhatse-jong (Jang-lache), by the important and almost parallel Raka-tsanpo (Raga-tsanpo or Dok-chu). About 55 miles below Pindzoling the Tsanpo passes Shigatse and

receives the Nyang-chu. This is the only tributary of any importance that reaches it from the south, but 50 miles below there flows into it from the same side the Rong-chu (Rang-chu), a small stream which in all probability once bore the overflow of Yamdok lake. It is about 115 miles from Shigatse to Chushul at the confluence of the Kyi-chu, 35 miles up which Lhasa is situated.

Comparatively little is known of the lower course of the Tsanpo. It is crossed by several ferries and is said to be navigable for some hundred miles east of Lhasa, and later to become of a more torrential character; but, owing to the wildness of the tribes about its banks, the district has been little explored. Recent survey work has, however, considerably modified previous ideas regarding the course of the river. This now appears to run approximately east for some 175 miles beyond the junction of the Kyi-chu, and then to turn pretty definitely north-east for another 125 miles or so. At this point (approximately 95° 10′ east) it receives from the north the Po-tsanpo, which drains the Po-yul valley to the east, turns east for a matter of 15 miles or so, and then strikes due south for a somewhat greater distance. Circling round the Namcha Barwa peak (25,445 ft.), which stands out as the last bastion of the Himalaya range, the river, its course confined within a narrow gorge and broken by many rapids, turns south-west for approximately 55 miles, and then roughly south-east for another 85 miles, before it reaches, as the Dihang, the borders of Assam.

The course of the river through the mountains has not been fully explored, but it was followed downwards by the Indian surveyor Kinthup as far as Onlet (28° 15′ north and 94° 55′ east), 35 miles from the Assam frontier. The Dihang has been ascended to this point, thus establishing the identity of the two rivers, and disposing of the idea once prevalent that the Tsanpo was the head-waters of the Irawadi.

From Shamsang to the southward bend, the Tsanpo

has a course of between 830 and 850 miles,[1] in which it falls from a height of over 15,000 ft. at the confluence of the head streams, to a little under 13,000 ft. at Shigatse, 11,000 ft. when joined by the Kyi-chu, and some 6,000 ft. at the bend. In passing through the great gorge the Dihang falls in the course of some 180 miles from this still considerable level to less than 500 ft. above the sea.

On reaching the plain of Assam the Dihang receives from the north the waters of the Dibang or Nagong-chu, and from the east those of the Luhit from the Za-yul valley, and, taking the name of the Son of Brahma, flows on its majestic course down the widening valley to mingle its waters with those of the holy Ganges in the Bay of Bengal.

(3) Climate

The climate of Tibet varies greatly in different parts. The Himalayan and subsequent ranges to the north shut off the influence of the south-west monsoon from the northern and western parts of the country, though it is very marked in the east and is likewise felt in the south up to the fringe of the lake region.

Thus it comes that the north-west is very dry, and so little snow falls that the passes are open almost all the year. The north is an arid waste, intensely cold in winter and relatively hot in summer, the average temperature in December being 19° F. in the morning, and in July 71° F. an hour after noon. Pasture is scanty and scattered, and population almost absent. The central district, where the great lakes lie, is also very dry, except in summer, when abundant rain falls. This promotes vegetation, and there is a strip of rich cultivated land with an agricultural population along the southern border, especially round Lake Dangra.

The valley of the Tsanpo and the whole of the

[1] The distance from the Kubi glacier to the frontier of Assam may be taken as 1,030–1,040 miles; the Brahmaputra confluence is 20 miles farther.

eastern river region is very wet throughout the year, and has the same abundance of hail, snow, and rain that characterizes the eastern Himalaya.

(4) Sanitary Conditions

The climate just described is rigorous but healthy, though there is some danger from the great variations of temperature. The natives support it with apparent indifference, but suffer greatly from small-pox, which is the scourge of the country. The wonder perhaps is that disease is not commoner than it seems to be, considering the insanitary habits and surroundings of the people. Unclean in their persons and their houses, they make a practice of disposing of their dead by cutting up the bodies and leaving them to be devoured by vultures, dogs, and pigs. This gruesome custom, the execution of which is in the hands of a special caste of *ragyaba*, appears in some measure due to the general scarcity of wood, which precludes cremation, and the difficulty in many parts of digging graves in the frozen and salt-encrusted ground, but is reinforced at any rate by religious sanction. It is to be supposed that only the cold, and in parts the dryness of the climate, render these practices comparatively innocuous. Tibetan medicine consists for the most part of charms.

The water-supply is presumably adequate in those parts of the country which have a settled population. In the north and west the prevalence of salt lakes is sometimes an obstacle to travel.

(5) Race and Language

Race

The Tibetans (Bod-chi) are of Mongolian race, and are the latest survival of the Turco-Mongol stock, which was once general throughout high Asia. As with the Mongols proper the cheek bones are prominent though not so high, the lips often large and thick, but the nose more flat. These folk probably entered Tibet

from the north-east, and were, it seems likely, later reinforced from the south-east by a contingent of Tibeto-Burmans belonging to the Mongoloid type common in Assam, northern Bengal, Bhutan, and Nepal.

There are in Tibet likewise a good many Mosos, a people whose country formerly included much of south-eastern Tibet and Yunnan, and who speak their own dialects, which differ widely and are not written. There are also a few Mongols (Sokpa), Turks (Hor), and Chinese, the latter mostly officials, while a certain number of Bhutanese, Nepalese, and Kashmiris are found in the south and west.

Language

The Tibetan language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family of the Indo-Chinese group, and is spoken in a variety of dialectal forms, in many districts beyond the frontiers of Tibet, by, it is said, some 8,000,000 people in all. It is usual to distinguish three main dialects, which do not, however, differ very widely in pronunciation. Of these the western is spoken not only in north-western Tibet, but in Ladakh over the border of Kashmir, and in Lahul in the Kangra division of the Punjab; the central dialect is found from Spiti, in the same division, eastward to Lhasa and the district of U-Tsang; while the eastern occurs in Khams and the Chinese Marches generally, as far as Tachienlu. There are also numerous minor variations of the central dialect current in the Himalayan valleys, such as those of Garhwal and Kumaon, the Serpa and Mirmi of eastern Nepal, Danjong-ka in Sikkim, and Lho-ka or Duk-ka in Bhutan. The Takpa spoken at Tawang in the Mon-yul country is intermediate between central Tibetan and the Sifan dialects of the Chinese border.

The language is properly monosyllabic and uninflected, and tonic accent has arisen in the central dialect. It has, however, developed distinct traces of agglutination and inflexion through the use in con-

nexion with primary notional roots of others possessing a modifying force. The language was reduced to writing in the seventh century, a syllabic alphabet, based on that of Sanscrit, being introduced from India for the purpose. The spelling then adopted has been preserved unchanged to this day, while pronunciation has in the course of time been modified, with the result that the two are now at least as far apart as in English.

(6) Population

The population of Tibet can in respect of numbers only be estimated or perhaps rather guessed. It is said that the one census, taken by the Chinese in 1737, showed for the provinces of U and Tsang a population of 316,200 lamas and 635,950 laymen, or nearly a million all told. Rockhill, the chief authority on Khams, reckons the population of that province at 300,000, and this Colonel Waddell regards as the most populous district. The nomads of the north-west are comparatively few. These data lead to an estimate for Tibet of no more than one and a half millions, but it is not clear whether this includes the Amdo-wa and tribes of Koko-nor. A Chinese official estimate puts the population at 4,000,000, another guess is 5,000,000, but these are certainly exaggerated, and so, very likely, is the more commonly accepted figure of 3,000,000. It would appear that owing to celibacy, polyandry, and disease, not to mention the probably high rate of infant mortality, the numbers of the population are at least stationary and possibly declining.

Socially the population is divided into religious and lay. Monastic houses cover the land; in the chief centres are found cloisters, often several together, sheltering two or three thousand monks, and houses of two or three hundred are common, while small foundations, little more than hermitages, containing a few lamas, exist in every valley and on every hillside where habitation is possible. All alike live on the industry of the neighbouring peasants or on the proceeds of the trade that is largely in their hands. It is agreed that

the celibate religious of both sexes (for there are convents of women too) have an evil influence on the morality of the country. On the other hand, learning flourishes in the cloisters, education is fostered, and the consequent cultural level of the people is not low. In lay circles polygamy is found among the wealthy land-owning nobles, while the peasants, as a rule, practise polyandry, several brothers having one wife in common.

Tibet, or at least that part of Tibet which has some perceptible population and is under some sensible control, is usually divided into five provinces. Not only, however, are the boundaries of these so-called provinces extremely vague, but some of them are rather to be regarded as ethnological or administrative divisions, including, besides Tibetan territory, portions of the western provinces of China.

(i) Amdo in the north-east includes that part of Kansu which is inhabited by men of Tibetan race, together with the country about and immediately south of the upper course of the Huang-ho, as far south as the Yangtze, and north-west to the Tsaidam steppes. The inhabitants are in part agricultural and in part nomadic. They are called Amdo-wa; those who cultivate the more fertile valleys being known as Rong-wa (from *rong*, a ravine), while the nomads pass by the Mongol name of Tangutu. Amdo is dependent on the Governor of Sining. It is sometimes included in the political division of Koko-nor, while at other times the strictly geographical region of Koko-nor is taken as forming part of Amdo. The tribes of this region, however, are much more independent of Chinese control, and are gathered into two groups, about the Tsaidam and about the lake, under their own princes, who are vassals of China. The latter group, the Panaka-sum, or three Pana tribes, are ruled by a Mongol chief, known as the Prince of the Koko-nor, who lives at Dulan-kuo, south of the lake. Amdo contains no Tibetan towns of any importance, Sining and Donkyr (Tangar) lying over the border in Kansu.

(ii) Kham, Khams, or Khamdo, in the south-east, is also known in Chinese as Ch'ien-tsang, that is, 'anterior Tsang' or Tibet, and is, or was, under the rule of the Viceroy of Szechwan. Stretching west almost to 96° east (Lhorong-jong or Lhong, 65 miles to the east of Chiamdo, is subject to Lhasa) and north to the Di-chu or Yangtze river, it extends vaguely but far eastwards, including the Marches between Tibet and the provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan. In it lie the towns of Chiamdo on the Mekong, the capital of this portion of Tibet, with a population of some 7,000, including 2,000 lamas and 500 Chinese; Jyekundo on the Yangtze; Derge, a populous district in the same valley; Batang and the eastern Gartok farther south; Litang, some 70 miles to the east; and Tachienlu (or Darchendo as the Tibetans call it), in the heart of what is claimed as Szechwan, the capital of the local Tibetan princedom of Chala. Chiamdo and Chamdum Draya (between Chiamdo and Batang) are ecclesiastical fiefs held by high Tibetan dignitaries of the Gelugpa sect (yellow lamas). Derge, Litang, and Batang are under independent *gyalpo* or princes, while in the Horba or Nyarong country on the upper Yalung are a number of petty states, each under a *deba* or chief.

In 1906 China, or at least the Viceroy of Szechwan, endeavoured to modify profoundly the status of Khams by declaring large portions an integral part of the Chinese Empire. But the claim has never been allowed; in 1911 the Chinese revolution threw the administration of the country into a confusion from which it has not yet emerged; in 1912 the Tibetans declared their independence and endeavoured to throw off Chinese control; and in 1913 the Simla Conference broke down upon the very question of the status of the towns of the Marches.

A consular report from Tachienlu, written in the autumn of 1916, gives the latest available information on the state of the Marches, and supplements the valuable account rendered in previous years. Accord-

ing to this, Tachienlu is on the exact geographical and ethnological boundary between China and Tibet. To the east all the conditions are those regularly found in China. To the west the inhabitants, except for a few Chinese officials, merchants, and soldiers, are Tibetans, the ordinary Chinese coinage is not current, and the mode of transport is different. The population of the Marches is scanty and poor and affords little opening for trade. Chiamdo is recognized as Tibetan, and how far the country to the west was ever under the effective control of Szechwan seems doubtful. In recent years there has been no control west of Tachienlu, though there has been fighting between Chinese troops seeking to establish it and the Tibetans. For some time, while fighting was in progress towards Chiamdo, trade between Tachienlu and Lhasa continued uninterrupted *via* Jyekundo, but in 1916 the whole country was disturbed, Tachienlu had been looted by unpaid soldiers, trade was at a standstill, and there was no control of any description. Fighting was still in progress in the summer of 1918.

In Khams, which is traversed from east to west by the trade route known as the Gya-lam or China Road, may for convenience be included a district, called by the Tibetans the Gya-de (Rgya sde) or 'Chinese province', which, though enjoying its own native chiefs, is under the control of the Chinese 'Superintendent of Savage Tribes' resident, at least formerly, at Lhasa. It consists of a strip of country lying north of Lharago and Lharong and the Gya-lam, and stretching west to Tengri-nor and north to the Tang-la mountains. The inhabitants follow the Bon religion, a form of Shamanism in origin pre-Buddhistic but not differing widely in teaching from Lamaism.

(iii) The province of U (corrupted in Chinese to Wei), known also as Chung-tsang or 'central Tibet', consists of the capital, Lhasa, with the country immediately subject to it on the south and east. Connected with it are the outlying districts of Mon-yul, including Tawang (between Bhutan and the Daphla country to

the east), and Po-yul and Za-yul, north and north-east respectively of the upper Assam valley.

According to a census of Lhasa taken in 1854, the religious inhabitants numbered 27,000 and the lay inhabitants 15,000, of whom 9,000 were women. Since then the population has greatly decreased. An estimate[1] at the time of the British mission placed the lay population at 10,000, including 7,000 Tibetans (5,500 women), 2,000 Chinese, traders, military, and police, 800 Nepalese, mostly Newar merchants, together with a few traders from Ladakh, Mongolia, and Bhutan. There is also a floating population of merchants and pilgrims numbering 1,000–2,000. There are 20,000 lamas in the three great monasteries.

(iv) The province of Tsang (otherwise Hou-tsang or 'farther Tibet') includes all the district south-west of Lhasa, whence it is ruled, as far as the frontier on the south and the lake country on the north. It includes Shigatse, the second most important town of Tibet, with a lay population of about 9,000, including a garrison of 1,000 Chinese (now presumably withdrawn) and 400 Tibetan soldiers. The town is famous for the neighbouring Tashilhunpo monastery, the residence of the Tashi or Panshen Lama. Gyantse, farther up the Nyang-chu, is as large as Shigatse, and had a garrison of 50 Chinese and 500 Tibetans. It is now a station open to trade, with a British trade agent, and the centre of the commerce with Bhutan. Another town is Kampa-jong (Fort Kamba), with a population of 1,000, the nearest military station to the Indian frontier, which lies on the northern border of Sikkim and commands the approaches of the Kangra or Serpuba Pass. Tsang likewise includes the Chumbi valley between Sikkim and Bhutan, perhaps the most fertile district of Tibet. Here the principal town is Phari, which has a population of 2,000 and commands the trade route to Darjiling. Farther south down the valley, at the foot of the Jelep Pass, lies Yatung or Nadong, another trading station with a resident agent.

The provinces of U and Tsang, which form with

[1] Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, pp. 345–6.

Khams by far the most populous division of Tibet, are often united under the joint name of U-Tsang. The boundary between them is not very clearly defined, but is said to pass over the Kampa Pass between Yamdok-tso and the Tsanpo. The pastoral Tibetans, or Dokpa, north and north-east of Tengri-nor, are also subject to U-Tsang.

(v) West of Tsang, but with boundaries equally vague, lies the province of Ngari-Khorsum (Nari) [1] or western Tibet, known in India as Hundes, and including the upper courses of the Tsanpo, the Sutlej, and the Indus. Its most important centre is Rudok, near the south-eastern end of the Pangong-Nyak chain of lakes, a small town with a vast palace and several monasteries, which lies on the direct route from Lhasa to Kashmir and practically monopolizes the trade of that region. Farther south, on the southern trade route, the western Gartok, 'a hamlet of about a dozen miserable hovels', where resides the last of the three British trade agents in Tibet, lies on the Gartang branch of the Indus, and here an annual fair is held in September. Ngari-Khorsum appears to include what is sometimes called the province of Dokthol, a district lying north of the Tsanpo and south-west of Dangra-tso, whose chief centre, Saka-jong, the meeting-place of several routes, lies 60 miles east of Tradum on the Tsanpo.

Ngari-Khorsum has a rather peculiar government, being under two viceroys or *garpun* who are appointed from Lhasa for three years. Gartok is the summer quarters of this government, which in winter migrates to Gargunsa, some 40 miles lower down the Gartang-chu.

The Chang-tang, west of the Northern Road and north of the great lakes, does not appear to be included in any of the five provinces mentioned above, and such nomad tribes as inhabit this inhospitable region are under no particular administration. It, or part of it, is sometimes described as the province of Hor or Khor, or by the name of Kachi.

[1] Ngari-Khorsum is sometimes regarded not as a separate province, but as a district of Tsang.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

[This section is intended to be read in conjunction with *China*, No. 67 of this series.]

Chronological Summary

A.D.

622. Srongtsan Gampo introduces Buddhism.
822. Treaty of peace with China.
1250 (*circa*). Kublai Khan extends his dominion into eastern Tibet and invests Phagspa with sovereign power.
1447. Gedundub founds Tashilhunpo monastery.
1500 (*circa*). Reform movement of Tsongkapa.
1576. Sodnam Gyamtso, Dalai Lama.
1642. The Dalai and Panshen Lamas tender allegiance to the Manchu sovereign.
1694. The Emperor K'ang-hsi invests the Deba (temporal Governor) with the title of Kuo Wang of Tibet.
1725. Two Chinese High Commissioners control Tibetan affairs.
1750. Suppression of the temporal sovereignty; government by the Dalai and Panshen Lamas with a council, under two Chinese Residents.
1788, 1791. Invasions of Nepal by the Ghurkas.
1792. Decree of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung regulating the choice of a Dalai Lama.
1792. The Chinese defeat the Ghurkas: peace with Nepal.
1856. Treaty between Tibet and Nepal, both acknowledging dependence on China.
1872–3. Attempts to open up trade between India and Tibet.
1876. Chefoo Agreement between China and Great Britain.
1886. Burma Convention.
1888. Tibetan aggressions in Sikkim.
1890. Calcutta Convention, settling boundary between Tibet and Sikkim.
1893. Trade regulations signed at Darjiling.
1903–4. British expedition under Colonel Younghusband.
1904. Occupation of Lhasa and flight of the Dalai Lama. Convention (September 7).
1905. Chao Êrh-fêng's campaigns begin.

A.D.

1906. Anglo-Chinese Adhesion Convention of Peking (April 27).
1907. Russo-British Convention of St. Petersburg concerning Tibet (August 31).
1907. The Dalai Lama arrives at Peking (September 28).
1908. Decree issued (March 9) at Peking on Tibetan affairs. Chao Êrh-fêng appointed Amban.
1908. Trade regulations with Tibet signed at Calcutta (April 20).
1910. Chao Êrh-fêng's troops occupy Lhasa ; flight of the Dalai Lama to Darjiling (February 12).
1910. The Dalai Lama deposed (February 25).
1911. The Chinese Revolution. Execution of Chao Êrh-fêng.
1912. Siege of Chinese troops in Lhasa.
1912. Mandate (April 21) of President Yüan declaring Tibet, Mongolia, and Turkestan Chinese provinces.
1912. Expedition from Szechwan under Chung Ying to relieve the Lhasa garrison (July).
1912. Peace concluded at Lhasa (August 12). Chinese garrison withdrawn through India.
1912. The titles of the Dalai Lama restored by mandate (October 28).
1912. Surrender of Chung Ying.
1913. The Dalai Lama returns to Lhasa (January 23).
1913. Tripartite negotiations begun at Simla (October 13).
1914. Draft Convention agreed to (April 27).
1914. The Convention disavowed by the Chinese Government (April 29).
1914. The Chinese Government informed that Great Britain and Tibet regard the Convention as concluded (June 6).

(1) Early History

There is little definitely known of the early history of Tibet except from Chinese sources. Records of the T'ang period (A.D. 620–907) contain the earliest authentic notices of the country ; and apart from them there is scarcely anything but native legend to rely upon. Thus, more is learnt of tribes dwelling in this early period along the upper Yangtze affluents than of the Tibetans of the Brahmaputra valley, though so far back as the seventh century rulers are heard of whose dominions extended from Ladakh to Koko-nor,

and there are traces to indicate that Tibetan authority extended at one time across the Himalaya to the Bay of Bengal.

Introduction of Buddhism

The first sovereign whose name stands out is Srongtsan Gampo. He is said to have introduced Buddhism from India in 622, and according to Chinese records he entered into relations with the Emperor T'ai-tsung of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 627–50), whose daughter he married. He is also the reputed founder of Lhasa. Shortly after his reign conflicts with the Chinese became frequent, and they appear to have culminated in a serious struggle which was ended by a treaty of peace in 822. The text of this treaty is still preserved on a stone pillar at Lhasa.

For some centuries after this the authority of the rulers waned. From the time of Srongtsan Gampo they had been devotees and patrons of the Buddhist religion; and, when their powers declined and the real government fell into the hands of local chiefs, who were prone to intertribal quarrels, the great monasteries became sanctuaries where the peaceful arts flourished and the heads of the monasteries gradually acquired a commanding influence.

Relations with the Mongol Empire

The Mongol Empire had relations with Tibet from the time of Kuyuk Khan, the successor of Ogotai, in the first half of the thirteenth century. About 1250, Kublai extended his dominion into Khams (east Tibet), and soon afterwards became a patron of Tibetan Lamaism. He invited to his court Phagspa, a Sakya[1] lama, who invented a Mongol alphabet which was imitated from the Tibetan, and in return for his services was invested with sovereign power in Tibet. This investiture appears to have been the foundation of

[1] So named from a monastery which had long exercised a commanding influence.

the temporal dominion of the Sakya lamas, and the beginning of the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperors over Tibet.

Reform Movement of Tsongkapa. Origin of the Lamaistic Papacy

Under Kublai's successors the Sakya lamas extended their authority, and to secure an hereditary transmission of it they relaxed the rule of celibacy. This and other abuses led, at the end of the fourteenth century, to a reformation movement headed by Tsongkapa, a Sakya priest, who was born in the Koko-nor region. He preached a reversion to the primitive forms of Buddhism; and his followers, who wore a yellow robe, were called the Yellow Church, the older sect being known as the Red Church. At first the Yellow sect did not dispute the authority of the Sakya abbots; but later, according to Chinese accounts, the Ming emperors took the new leaders under their wing, largely because the Red Church had been invested with powers by their Mongol predecessors, and two eminent followers of Tsongkapa, the abbots of great monasteries at Lhasa and Tashilhunpo, were given the titles of Dalai Lama and Panshen Lama, and were made overlords of the Church and supreme rulers of Tibet. This is said to have occurred in the fifteenth century.

The story of the origin of the Lamaistic Papacy from Tibetan sources is, however, different. The native rulers during the greater part of the Mongol and Ming periods in China (A.D. 1280–1368 ; 1368–1644) are said to have been the descendants of Phagmodu, who came on the scene as the Sakya power was weakening and conquered Tibet proper and Khams (east Tibet). During the decline of the Mings there was much internecine strife in Tibet ; Mongol khans became interested in Lamaism, and, having invited the chief lama of the Galdan monastery near Lhasa to visit them in 1576, invested him with the title of Dalai Lama. This lama, Sodnam Gyamtso, was the third successor of Gedundub, who founded the Tashilhunpo

monastery in 1447, was later elected to the more important abbotship of Galdan, and can thus be considered to have been the first of the Dalai Lamas, though the title originated later.

Relations with the Manchus. Growth of the Chinese Suzerainty

Chinese and Tibetan records are at one in assigning an important rôle to ambitious Mongol princes in the support of the Lhasa theocracy during the closing years of the Ming dynasty and the rise of the Manchus. Gushi (or Gushri) Khan, the reigning prince of the Khoshoit Mongols, came to the assistance of the fifth Dalai Lama when threatened by rival lamas and chieftains; and by his influence both the Dalai and Panshen Lamas were induced to dispatch an embassy in 1642 to tender allegiance to the Manchu sovereign, who was then about to overthrow the Mings.

The relations between the Manchu Empire and Tibet date from this event, and they developed in time into the assumption on the part of China of the sovereign tutelage of the Lamaistic Papacy. The steps by which this was reached may be shortly stated. In the latter half of the seventeenth century the Lhasa authority, with Mongol and Manchu support, gained complete predominance, and the rule of the *gialbos* (or descendants of the ancient princes and chieftains) seems to have gradually disappeared. The regent or *Deba*, who had long conducted the temporal government under the Dalai Lama, was in 1694 invested by the Emperor K'ang-hsi with the title of *Kuo Wang* (king) of Tibet; but the authority thus established was attacked by the Khoshoit Mongols and the Kalmucks, who invaded Tibet and had to be driven out by Chinese armies. While in Chinese occupation the government remained in the hands of nominees of the Chinese Emperor, and an outbreak directed against one of these gave the pretext for the appointment in 1725 of two High Commissioners to control the affairs of the country on behalf of the Chinese Government. Further revolts

occurred, resulting in 1750 in the entire suppression of the temporal sovereignty; and the government was thenceforward placed in the hands of the Dalai and Panshen Lamas, aided by a council of four lay ministers called *Kalon*, who were under the direction of two Chinese Residents appointed from Peking. Until the fall of the Manchu Empire the government continued to be conducted on this basis, the Chinese power being rendered more stable and complete by the long minorities which were entailed at the successive 'incarnations' of the two supreme lamas.

The Dalai Lama; Mode of Succession

The Dalai Lama is looked upon as an avatar of the Boddhisatva Avalokitesvara, and at the same time as a re-incarnation of one of Tsongkapa's disciples. The succession to the office occurs by a process of re-embodiment. For some centuries the relations or adherents of each successive pontiff contrived by more or less open acts of fraud to select the new avatar. To put an end to this system, which had proved obnoxious to the Chinese suzerainty, the Emperor Ch'ien-lung decreed in 1792 that the successors to the Dalai Lama, and to all re-incarnations of whatever dignity, should be determined by the drawing of lots. Accordingly, on the decease of a Dalai Lama, inquiries were made for any 'miraculous signs' which might have been observed to attend the birth of children at about the same period. Particulars of the required kind were always duly procured and transmitted in proper form to the Imperial Residents at Lhasa. After scrutiny of the documents and a regulation report to Peking, a certain number of the children were brought with their parents to Lhasa. There on an appointed day the names were inscribed on slips of wood, sealed, and deposited in the 'golden urn'. The child whose name was drawn from this was designated as the new Dalai Lama. At the age of two or three, after a short period of instruction, he was solemnly enthroned, and during his minority he remained a puppet in the hands of the Chinese Residents.

The Panshen Lama

The Panshen Lama is considered to be an incarnation of Amitabha and to share with the Dalai Lama the spiritual inheritance derived from Tsongkapa. To him is confided the maintenance of the purity of the religion, while the temporal power is the appanage of the Dalai Lama; the office and functions of the former are in some respects held in higher veneration by the Tibetans as being less contaminated by worldly influences. His seat is at Tashilhunpo, where he presides over an administration of ecclesiastics, sharing with the Dalai Lama the headship of the Lamaistic Church, but mixing little, if at all, in the secular administration. The succession is contrived in the same manner as that of the Dalai Lama.

Tibet and Nepal

Apart from China, the only country with which Tibet had any relations of political importance up to the close of the nineteenth century was Nepal. In 1788 there was an invasion by the Ghurkas, who were induced by trickery on the part of the Chinese and Tibetans to withdraw, but who resumed the aggression in 1791. Both sides then appealed to the East India Company, Lord Cornwallis receiving a memorial from the Nepal Government and a letter from the Dalai Lama. In 1793 Captain Kirkpatrick was sent to mediate, but in the meantime the Chinese had sent an army into Tibet and Nepal, which defeated the Ghurkas near Katmandu. A peace was concluded in 1792, under which Nepal agreed to pay China an annual tribute and to send a mission every five years to Peking. In 1856 Nepal, after a series of conflicts, again concluded a treaty with Tibet in which both countries acknowledged their dependence upon China.

(2) Recent History

Tibet and India

In 1872–3 attempts were made from India to open up trade with Tibet. In a separate article of the Chefoo Agreement of 1876 between China and Great Britain provision was made for a British mission of exploration to Tibet in 1877, but this mission was postponed, and in the Burma Convention of 1886 England consented to 'countermand' it, the Chinese Government undertaking to consider the question of regulations for the frontier trade between India and Tibet. In 1888 there ensued a series of Tibetan aggressions on the Sikkim border; and at the request of China a Convention was signed at Calcutta (March 17, 1890) which settled the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet. The British protectorate over Sikkim was recognized by China, who undertook to enforce the terms of the Convention on Tibet. Trade regulations resulting from this Convention were signed at Darjiling (December 5, 1893), and a mart was opened at Yatung on the Tibetan side of the frontier.

British Expedition to Lhasa, 1903–4

For the next ten years India was faced with constant obstruction in Tibetan affairs arising from the inability of the Chinese to carry out their undertaking. Matters came to a head when it was discovered, at the time of the discussions arising out of the Russian occupation of Manchuria in 1900, that the Dalai Lama was intriguing with the Russian Government through a Buriat Mongol named Dorjieff. An expedition under Colonel Younghusband was undertaken in 1903–4 to bring the Tibetans directly to account. A British force entered Lhasa, where a Convention was signed (September 7, 1904). By this Tibet undertook (i) to respect the Sikkim frontier; (2) to open trade marts at Gyantse and Gartok as well as at Yatung; (3) to pay an indemnity of £500,000; (4) not to alienate Tibetan territory to

any foreign Power; (5) not to permit any such Power to intervene in Tibetan affairs or to send representatives to Tibet; and (6) not to grant any concession or to pledge Tibetan revenues to any foreign Power or foreign subject.

Anglo-Chinese Adhesion Convention, 1906

China interposed as suzerain; and by a Convention concluded with Great Britain at Peking (April 27, 1906) the Lhasa Convention was confirmed. Great Britain engaged 'not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet'; and China undertook 'not to permit any other foreign state to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet'.[1]

Russo-British Convention concerning Tibet, 1907

The Adhesion Convention was followed by an arrangement between Great Britain and Russia, recorded in a Convention signed at St. Petersburg (August 31, 1907), in which the suzerain rights of China over Tibet were recognized by both Governments, but it was agreed 'that Great Britain, by reason of her geographical position, has a special interest in the maintenance of the *status quo* in the external relations of Tibet'. While recognizing the relations and engagements recorded in the Lhasa Convention of 1904 and the Adhesion Convention of 1906, Russia and Great Britain undertook (1) to respect the territorial integrity of Tibet and to abstain from interference in the internal administration; (2) to treat with Tibet only through the intermediary of the Chinese Government; (3) not to send representatives to Lhasa; (4) not to seek concessions of any kind in Tibet; and (5) not to acquire any lien on Tibetan revenues. In an exchange of notes of the same date (August 31, 1907), the two

[1] New trade regulations with Tibet were signed at Calcutta on April 20, 1908, and ratifications were exchanged at Peking on October 14, 1908.

Governments agreed to forbid scientific expeditions from either country to Tibet for a term of three years, and to approach the Chinese Government for the purposes of obtaining a similar engagement from them. At the close of the three-years' term they were to come to an agreement, should occasion arise, as to the 'ulterior measures to be taken concerning scientific expeditions to Tibet'.

Chinese Forward Policy in Tibet, 1905–11

From Burma to Kansu the western frontier of China Proper is ill-defined, and runs through regions inhabited by various tribes of Tibetans and other mountaineers, over whom China at no time exercised much control. The British expedition to Tibet in 1903–4 turned the attention of the Chinese Government to these remote highlands; and in 1905 a determined effort was commenced to bring the Szechwan Marches, and eventually Tibet itself, under direct Chinese administration. Chao Êrh-fêng, a capable and energetic official acquainted with Szechwan affairs, was given a free hand; and in campaigns from 1905 to 1910 he succeeded in subjugating the March country, introducing an administrative control over the unruly tribesmen and lamaseries, and establishing garrisons in every frontier town between Tachienlu and Chiamdo. Chinese settlers were imported, military posts were carried all the way to Lhasa, and in 1910 a force of 1,000 men was stationed at Lhasa itself.

When the British were nearing Lhasa in 1904, the Dalai Lama fled to Mongolia, and took up his abode first at Urga (Outer Mongolia), then at Kumbum (Kansu), and in 1908 at Wu-t'ai Shan (Shansi), all three places being centres of Lamaism. He was summoned to Peking by a decree of July 19, 1907, reached that city by rail on September 28, and was accommodated at the Yellow Temple, built by the Emperor K'ang-hsi to receive a predecessor in 1653, the only previous occasion on which a Dalai Lama had visited

the Manchu court. A decree appeared on March 9, 1908, laying down a large programme of modern improvements for Tibet. The government, education, industries, military organization and communications were all to be reformed or fostered; and Chao Êrh-fêng was appointed Amban to see to these matters, with his brother Chao Êrh-hsün as Viceroy of Szechwan to support him. Soon afterwards the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa, not over-pleased with his treatment in Peking, and, taking serious alarm at the operations of Chao Êrh-fêng, he invoked the assistance of the British Government. At the end of 1909 China asked, and was refused, permission to send troops *via* India to Tibet. On the arrival of Chao Êrh-fêng's troops the Lama fled from Lhasa (February 12, 1910) and took refuge at Darjiling. By a decree of February 25 he was deposed; at the same time Great Britain was informed that this step did not affect the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1906. However, Chao Êrh-fêng's campaigns having roused Sikkim, Nepal, and Bhutan, the British Government formally warned China (March 12) that they could not allow any administrative changes in Tibet to prejudice those three States; and, though the deposed Dalai Lama remained in Indian territory, no successor was appointed. In connexion with these events China urged claims to suzerainty over Nepal and Bhutan; and in the early part of 1911 the British Government had to intimate that they would resist any attempt to give effect to these pretensions.

Chinese driven from Tibet, 1912

The revolution in China and the execution of Chao Êrh-fêng at the end of 1911 made a complete change. The outlying garrisons of Chinese in Tibet were forced to lay down their arms, and the main body was besieged in Lhasa by, it is said, 20,000 Tibetans. On April 21, 1912, President Yüan issued a 'mandate' declaring that Tibet, with Mongolia and Turkestan, would henceforth be regarded as provinces and integral

parts of China. Against this the British Government protested, and desired an assurance that the *status quo* in Tibet should be maintained (May 24). The internal affairs of China having by this time to some extent settled down, the provincial Government of Szechwan hurriedly equipped an expeditionary force and dispatched it in July to restore the position in Tibet and relieve the Lhasa garrison. The British Government thereupon addressed (Aug. 17) a memorandum to China defining its views, which were that, while recognizing the Chinese suzerainty, they were not prepared to admit the right of China to interfere in the internal administration of Tibet, to maintain there an unlimited number of troops, or to make use of the Indian route for communications with Tibet pending the conclusion of some satisfactory agreement concerning its relations with that country.

A peace was concluded at Lhasa on August 12, and 1,500 Chinese troops were allowed to leave the country by the Indian route, through the good offices of the Nepal envoy in Tibet and the Indian Government. Chung Ying, the Chinese representative, remained with a guard of 200 men; and, to propitiate the Dalai Lama, his titles were restored to him by a presidential order of October 28, 1912. But the Szechwan expedition failed to make any serious advance; Chung Ying surrendered to the Tibetans; and, with his departure through India with 800 of his people (December 19), China saw the last phase of her Tibetan adventure. A reply was now sent to the British memorandum of August 17 opposing the British views. It was pointed out that the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1906 contained no stipulation to preclude China from intervening in Tibet, and that to preserve order she must maintain a sufficient force in the country (December 23). On January 23, 1913, the Dalai Lama returned once more to Lhasa; and the remainder of the year was occupied by negotiations in which China endeavoured to find some method of restoring her position in Tibet with the friendly co-operation of the British Government.

Tripartite Negotiations at Simla, 1913–14

Tripartite negotiations began at Simla on October 13, 1913, and resolved themselves into a struggle between the Chinese and Tibetan representatives over the boundaries of Tibet, in which the British representative filled the rôle of arbitrator. The Tibetan case was supported by documents and records of undoubted authenticity. A Sino-Tibetan treaty of A. D. 822, which was engraved on three identical stone pillars, one in the Ta Chao Ssŭ, a monastery at Lhasa, one at Sianfu, the then capital of China, and one at Marugong on the Koko-nor–Kansu border, outlined the historical and traditional frontier. Original records of Tibetan states were produced to prove that the lamaseries and tribal chiefs had, for many centuries, exercised a continuous administrative control over the country as far east as Tachienlu, and that they held their lands and collected taxes by virtue of association with the Government of Lhasa. As opposed to this the Chinese set up the *status quo* at the date of the 1911 revolution, as the result of Chao Êrh-fêng's campaigns and many years of Chinese administration. The Indian boundary line from the Isu Razi Pass—the point of junction of Tibet, China, and India—on the Salwin–Irawadi divide on the east, to Bhutan on the west, was arranged by the British and Tibetan plenipotentiaries and recorded in a map and exchange of notes of March 24 and 25, 1914. After prolonged discussion, a draft Convention was agreed upon, based on a compromise suggested by the British representative; it was initialled on April 27, 1914, by all three plenipotentiaries, but the action of the Chinese plenipotentiary was at once disavowed by his Government (April 29). In a note of June 6 the Chinese Government was informed by the British Minister at Peking that Great Britain and Tibet regarded the agreement as concluded by the act of initialling, and that in default of China's adherence they would proceed to sign the document independently.

Under this Convention Tibet was divided into Outer and Inner Tibet, after the example of Outer and Inner Mongolia. Outer Tibet was drawn to include a larger extent of territory than China had previously conceded to the Lhasa authorities; and to Inner Tibet were added portions of west Szechwan and the Mongol Tsaidam country of Koko-nor, which had been under direct Chinese control for a long period. China's refusal to sign was based on objections to these boundaries. The whole of Tibet, Inner and Outer, was recognized as being under China's suzerainty; China was not to convert it into a Chinese province, and Great Britain was not to annex it or any portion of it; China and Tibet were not to enter into arrangements regarding Tibet with one another or with any other Power (the Lhasa Convention of 1904 and the Adhesion Convention of 1906 excepted). Recognizing the special interest of Great Britain in Tibet, China was not to send troops into Outer Tibet, or to station troops or officials or establish colonies there; Great Britain was to make a similar engagement as regards Tibet; but these arrangements were not to preclude the continuance of a Chinese high official at Lhasa with a suitable escort, and the British agent at Gyantse was to be allowed to visit Lhasa with his escort whenever necessary. Nothing in the Convention was to prejudice the existing rights of the Tibetan Government in Inner Tibet; and new regulations for the Indian trade were to be negotiated with Outer Tibet.

By these arrangements there would be a buffer state, Inner Tibet, comprising the March country from Sinkiang to Yunnan, in which China would be at liberty to re-establish such a measure of control as would safeguard her historic position, without infringing the integrity of Tibet geographically or politically; and Outer Tibet would become an autonomous state under Chinese suzerainty and British protection. However, until the Chinese objections to the territorial limits are overcome the arrangements cannot be considered complete. Szechwan, which is an unruly province, will not

easily consent to be shorn of the Tachienlu[1]–Batang region in order to enlarge Inner Tibet; and, if the only reason for including Koko-nor territory in Tibet is the fact that this country was considered Tibetan many centuries ago, it is probable that this point will also remain a difficulty.

Mongol-Tibetan Treaty, 1913

Attention may be drawn here to a Mongol-Tibetan treaty of alliance which, though of no political importance, is interesting from the fact that the initiative in the matter is said to have come from the Tibetans. This treaty was concluded at Urga (January 11, 1913). In the preamble Mongolia and Tibet are declared to have freed themselves from Manchu dominion and to have become independent states, and to have allied themselves in view of the community of religion. Each state recognized the other's independence, and both agreed to work together for the advancement of Buddhism, and engaged to assist each other against external and internal dangers.

[1] As to Tachienlu, see above, p. 26.

III. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) *Roads*

LHASA is the heart of Tibet, and from Lhasa radiate the so-called roads used for the trade of the country. These have for centuries formed the traditional lines of communication with the outer world, but they are in fact little more than routes or tracks marked by cairns.

The Chang-lam or 'Northern Road' runs north from Lhasa, crosses the eastern extension of the great Kailas range, here known as the Ninchin-tangla mountains, by the Shangshung Pass, and so reaches the important junction of Nagchu-kha, perhaps more strictly called Mane-khorchen. Thence, crossing the various head-streams of the Salwin, and the intervening passes, the most important of which is the Tateang-la, the road climbs the next great mountain chain, which it crosses by the well-known Tang-la, and descends into the basin of the Yangtze. Here, apparently, there is a choice of ways, one crossing the river at Dichu-rabdun, where there is a ford or ferry immediately below the confluence of the Namchutu-ulan-muren and the Murus-ussu, the other skirting the upper waters of these streams by a more westerly and circuitous route. After this the road crosses the various ridges into which the Kwenlun range breaks up in this eastern region, and which different writers call by the most various and often misleading names. Probably there are several branches of the road, which proceed by different passes, all, however, leading ultimately to the neighbourhood of Koko-nor. The main route here skirts the southern shore of the lake, and then strikes eastward by Donkyr to Sining in Kansu.

The highest point of the Northern Road would

appear to be the Shangshung Pass, the height of which does not seem to be known, but which is in the proximity of various points over 20,000 ft. Several of the passes traversed are between 16,000 and 17,000 ft., and at no point does the road appear to fall as low as 10,000 ft. till the neighbourhood of Koko-nor is reached. Lhasa is 11,830 ft., Sining 7,431 ft. above the level of the sea.

Caravans take about fifty days to traverse this route in either direction. They usually start in May or early June, and complete the return journey in October, thus securing warm weather with plenty of grass and water on the way. Since the Mohammedan rebellions of 1861–78 and 1895–6 in north-western China, the Chinese Government has discouraged the use of the Northern Road.

From the Chang-lam several branches run eastwards towards the Chinese border. Two such diverge from the Tateang Pass, north of Nagchu-kha. The more southerly runs east to meet the Gya-lam (see below) at Chiamdo, while the northern proceeds by the Niakarnarbo and Zanglungnung Passes over the eastern spurs of the Tang-la range, to Jyekundo on the Yangtze, which it follows down to the district of Derge, then striking eastwards across the Yalung to Tachienlu in western Szechwan. From Dichu-rabdun another track leads down the Yangtze to Jyekundo.

East from Lhasa runs the Gya-lam or 'Chinese Road', also known as the Ja-lam or 'tea road', from the amount of that article that used to pass over it. Leaving Lhasa it strikes north-east over several spurs of the Ninchin-tangla range, and runs by Lharago Giachug (Lhari or Lharego) on the confines of the Gya-de (see p. 27), to Lhorong-jong (Lhong) in the valley of the Salwin, and thence to Chiamdo on the Mekong. From Chiamdo it passes eastward, crossing range after range to Batang, Litang, Tachienlu, and finally reaches Chengtu in the heart of Szechwan. Though in days when the country was less disturbed a great trade used to pass over this route, it is at best an arduous one and has to

surmount considerable altitudes, since it runs for much of its course at right angles to the trend of the mountains. Thus, starting from Chengtu at a height of only 1,700 ft., it rises to 9,540 ft. on the Tawongling Pass; it is 8,400 ft. at Tachienlu, and reaches 13,800 ft. at Litang on the divide between the Yalung and Yangtze. After crossing several minor ranges it falls to 9,400 ft. at Batang, and then climbs to over 15,000 ft. before reaching Chiamdo at about 12,000 ft. Thence it keeps crossing the 15,000-foot line till it reaches Lhasa, and attains a height of no less than 17,940 ft. on the Nubkong Pass east of Lharago.

A trade route from the south connects Tali and Likiang in Yunnan, *via* Chungtien, with the Gya-lam at Batang. Traders from Sungpan in the north of Szechwan also are often met with in Tibet, where they are known as *sharba*. They either find their way by the Gya-lam to Chiamdo, or else follow up the course of the Huang-ho, and cross the Baian-kara range to Jyekundo.

A route about which little is known runs south-east from Lhasa, over the Gokhar Pass, to Samaye monastery on the Tsanpo, which is crossed by ferry to Chetang. From here various tracks lead over the mountains to the upper waters of the Kuru and Bhutan on the south-west, and to those of the Subansiri and Assam on the south-east, while almost due south a route of 150 miles connects Chetang with Tawang in Mon-yul.

South from Lhasa the main trade route descends the Kyi-chu to Chushul, and crosses the Tsanpo three miles farther up to the south bank at Chaksam. It is here served by a ferry, while a little way below an old iron chain bridge spans the main or southern branch of the river. From here the road strikes south over the Kampa Pass (15,400 ft.) to the Yamdok lake, after skirting which it runs west over the Karo Pass (16,200 ft.) and through a narrow defile to Gyantse on the Nyang-chu.

From Gyantse a road ascends the course of the river,

following the Kianglopo branch, to the neighbourhood of the Kala lake. Here it divides, one track striking west to Kampa-jong and thence south over the mountains into Sikkim, while the other continues south over a pass into the Chumbi valley, which is the main avenue of trade between Tibet and Bengal. At its head is the fort and town of Phari, while lower down the road passes Yatung before striking south-west over the hills to Gnatong in Sikkim, and so, *via* Kalimpong, to Darjiling. At Phari a 10 per cent. toll is levied on all goods going either in or out, and those for India pass into the hands of the Chumbi carriers, who ply with their mules between Phari and Kalimpong (some 80 miles) or Darjiling (20 miles farther).

From Gyantse, again, the main road leads down the Nyang river to Shigatse, some three miles from the Tsanpo. Hence a route strikes south-west over the Ladakh range (joining another track from Kampa-jong), and leads, *via* Dingri, to Katmandu in Nepal. This is regarded as the continuation of the Gya-lam.

Meanwhile, the western route leads from Shigatse up the valley of the Tsanpo. Keeping at first some way south of the river, it rejoins the stream at Pindzoling (where is an iron chain bridge) and ascends it to Lhatse-jong, where it crosses to the northern bank. It now again leaves the course of the river and strikes somewhat north of west over the hills to join the Raka-tsanpo, which it ascends past Raka-tasam to its source, and then strikes west past Saka-jong, regaining the Tsanpo near Tradum. This it now follows up to the junction of the source-streams, crosses the Mariam Pass, skirts Lake Manasarowar, and passes near the Tretapuri monastery on the upper Sutlej. Hence a road leads west down that river, past Totling and Shipki, to Rampur and Simla. The main route, on the other hand, runs north-west over the Jerko Pass to Gartok on the Indus, which it descends past Tashigong and Demchok to Leh, the capital of Ladakh or Little Tibet, now part of Kashmir. This road from Lhasa is well defined, loose stones are cleared away in

the defiles, and on the open table-land the way is marked by cairns surmounted by sticks or flags. Between Lhasa and Leh, a distance of some 900 miles, there are 25 posting stations where accommodation can be had and fresh horses hired, the stages varying from 20 to 75 miles.

A more direct route from Lhasa to Kashmir runs through the central lake district to Rudok, the important trading post south of Nyak-tso. Thence it is continued west past Lake Pangong into the valley of the Shyok river, a tributary of the Indus, which here runs parallel to the valley of Leh. Several high passes over the Ladakh range connect the two valleys, the most frequented being that known to explorers as the Chang-la (17,585 ft.) between Drugub and Sakti. The Shyok valley is, of course, the continuation of that of the upper Indus before it breaks through the Ladakh chain, and the two are connected in a direct line by the Taska Pass. Rudok also is connected with the Indus by at least two passes over the western spurs of the Aling Gangri massif, a second Chang-la [1] to the north, and the Jara-la farther south. From Noh, north of Rudok, a long and circuitous route leads north, by the Lanak Pass (18,000 ft.) in the Karakoram range on the borders of Kashmir, and over the Kwenlun mountains to Khotan in Chinese Turkestan.

(2) *Passes*

Since the future of communication between Tibet and India is less concerned with the presence of roads, which are anyhow little more than tracks, or of traditional routes, which are largely dependent upon political considerations, than with the existence of practicable and accessible passes, it may be well to

[1] Chang-la, as the name of a pass, is only less common than Tang-la. It means nothing but 'north pass', and is very likely not a specific name at all. Sven Hedin mentions that the term Chang-la-pod-la is applied to any pass over the central portion of the Kailas range, any pass, that is, connecting the 'north' with the land of 'Bod' or southern Tibet.

enumerate the more important of these as at present known.

The Himalayan passes leading into Tibet fall into three main groups [1]: (1) the passes of the Hill States (Bashahr and Tehri) and Kumaon district (Garhwal and Almora) communicating with the upper valley of the Sutlej and the region of Lake Manasarowar; (2) the Nepalese passes communicating with the valley of the Tsanpo; and (3) the Sikkim and Bhutanese passes, the only ones of present importance being those in the neighbourhood of the Chumbi valley.

(1) Of what may be called the Kumaon group, the westernmost is the Shipki Pass (15,404 ft.), near Shipki on the Sutlej. This is not properly a mountain pass at all, but is one of a series by which the road up the river, when forced away from the precipitous banks of the torrent, crosses the spurs that descend from the surrounding heights. It happens to be the first on the way up-stream and the only one on the southern bank. The next, after crossing the river by the bridge above Shipki, is the Shiring Pass, which is a thousand feet higher, and there are a number of others before reaching the bridge at Totling, whence the road continues up the river to meet the main route from Lhasa to Leh. Before descending to the river bank at Totling a branch track strikes over the Ladakh range to Gartok by the Zongchung Pass (18,186 ft.), while from Totling itself the Fugeo Pass (19,220 ft.) leads over to the same centre. The Sutlej route serves the whole trade of Bashahr.

From Tehri a single route leads over to Tibet. Starting from Mussoori in British territory, not far from the railway terminus of Dehra, this route crosses the hills to the town of Tehri and ascends the valley of the Bhagirathi to the neighbourhood of Gangotri. The frontier in this region is imperfectly defined, but it would appear that the upper portion of the valley

[1] It is not necessary for goods from Leh to cross any pass entering Tibet. The passes of Lahul and Spiti are unimportant (see, however, p. 70).

above Lilang (Nilang) lies in Tibet. From this district the Lilang Pass (? Muling Pass) crosses the Zaskar range to Chaprang (Chabrang-jong) near Totling, but there appears to be another pass, the Thaga-la, leading over farther west to the neighbourhood of Shipki.

In Garhwal several passes cross the Zaskar range from the Alaknanda, the principal source-stream of the Ganges. At the head of its westernmost branch is the temple of Kedarnath at the foot of the peak of the same name (22,770 ft.), in a district sacred to Siva, but from this there is no practicable pass through the desolate glacier region to the north. Immediately east, however, is the valley in which lies the temple of Badrinath, and from the head of this the Mana or Chirbitya Pass, called by the Tibetans Tunyi-la (17,890 ft.), leads over to Daba, Chaprang, and Totling. East again, another affluent of the Alaknanda flows down the Niti valley, at the head of which the Niti Pass (16,600 ft.) also crosses to Totling.

The remaining passes of this group belong to Almora, and cross the Zaskar range from various branches of the Kali or Sarda river, which forms the boundary between Kumaon and Nepal. Of this the westernmost tributary is the Gori, flowing down the Milam valley, at the head of which lies the Untadhura Pass, in Tibetan Kyunam-la (17,500 or 17,590 ft.). This pass actually leads over into a branch of the Niti valley, but two further passes, the Janti-la (17,000 ft.) and the Kungribingri-la (18,300 ft.) afford a rather long and complicated but not unfrequented passage to the Gyanima basin, west of the twin lakes. From the Untadhura Pass another route leads over the Kungr Pass (17,000 ft.) and the Shelshel Pass (16,390 ft.) to join the Niti road to Totling. The next tributary of the Kali towards the east is the Dhanli, on which lies Dawe, a village whence the Darma or Neo-dhura Pass (Tibetan Nooi-la or Shekhu-la, 18,510 ft.) strikes over the ridge to the north-east. The third tributary is the Kuti or Kuti Yangti, at the head of whose valley is the Lankpya Lek Pass (18,150 ft.). These two passes

lie close together, and both lead over, like the Kungribingri-la, to the Gyanima basin. The Kuti stream joins the main valley of the Kali at the important trading centre of Garbyang, which lies just over the frontier of Nepal. From Garbyang the direct Kali valley runs up to the easy and much frequented Lipu Lek Pass (16,750 or 16,780 ft.), known to Tibetans as the Jang Lhan-la. This does not cross the main watershed, but leads over to the upper valley of the Karnali (the principal tributary of the Ganges) at the considerable village of Taklakot (Taklakhar) or Purang. From this valley, however, which is already in Tibet, a number of passes cross to Gyanima and the twin lakes. From Garbyang to Taklakot is an easy day's ride of 26 miles. The lower valley of the Karnali, being in Nepal, is not open to trade, and, indeed, the course of the river below Taklakot is unexplored.

It must be remembered that the practicability of passes, both here and elsewhere, is not conditioned solely by the conformation of the country, but depends in large measure upon the presence at reasonable intervals of suitable camping grounds offering pasture for sumpter animals.

The trade of the Kumaon passes is served on the Indian side by one standard and three metre-gauge railways, which bring goods to the edge of the hill country. The westernmost of these (with a gauge of 5 ft. 6 in.) has its terminus at Kotdwara, and would naturally connect with the Garhwal routes over the Mana and Niti (and possibly Lilang) passes. The next two lines connect with the main system at Moradabad and Bareilly respectively, and have their termini at Ramnagar and Kathgodam. They are both connected by main roads with Almora, and though they do not directly serve any pass, some goods from them are said to cross the hills to the Milam valley for the Untadhura Pass, while others very likely find their way into Garhwal. Lastly, the line from Pilibhit to Tanakpur on the borders of Nepal naturally serves the passes of the Kali valley.

(2) Of the Nepalese passes comparatively little is known, since no Europeans are allowed to travel in the country. Sven Hedin made an interesting exploration of what he calls the Kore-la, the Photu Pass of the Indian surveyors (29° 20′ north, 84° east). This lies about two days' journey south-west of Tradum, near which there is a ferry over the Tsanpo, and seems to be a good deal frequented by traders. The 20 miles or so between the river and the pass are almost flat, the latter being no more than 15,200 or 15,300 ft. above the sea, and 300 or 400 ft. above the ferry. On the southern side the track falls far more steeply, but without difficulty, to the village of Loh Mantang (Mentang) on the Kaligandak, a stream flowing almost due south towards the plains.

The only other passes of any commercial importance appear to be three lying north of Katmandu, the accounts of which are by no means clear owing to the uncertain nomenclature of this region. Two of these routes follow the valleys of tributaries of the Gandak. The westernmost crosses the Ladakh range by the No Pass (16,600 ft., 28° 50′ north and 84° 33′ east) to Kyang-gyap on the Tsanpo, whence the main route can be joined either at Tradum or Saka-jong. The other ascends the easternmost source-stream of the Gandak past Kirong (? Thasa) to Jonkha-jong (29° north, 85° 10′ east) and Lake Palgu. Here it divides, one branch descending direct to the Tsanpo, the other crossing the Tsong Pass to the east and joining the route next to be described.

This third route from Katmandu crosses the hills to the east into the valley of the Kusi, the westernmost branch of which (the Rhotia-kusi) it ascends and crosses the Himalaya range by the Thung (Tung) Pass (28° 30′ north, 26° 20′ east) to Dingri (Tingri). But Dingri, where the Tibetan Government maintains a frontier post, is on a tributary of the Arun, itself a tributary of the Kusi, so that the main watershed on the Ladakh range has yet to be crossed. This may be done by two routes. One of these ascends the

valley from Dingri, passes Nilum-jong (Kuti), joins the previous route over the Tsong-la, and crosses either by the Sherula-la (17,600 ft.) to the west or the Kura-la (17,900 ft.) to the east, the actual divide, which is here no more than 10 miles south of the Tsanpo. The other branch descends the stream by Fort Shekar to the Arun, which it then ascends, and passes by the Dong-la (Dango Pass) to Lhatse-jong or Shigatse. It is by this last route that the Gya-lam would appear to pass, though it is sometimes said to cross the much less direct No-la.

(3) There remain the Sikkim and Bhutanese passes. From the Lachen (Tista) valley in Sikkim a pass leads over to Kampa-jong, and is variously known as the Kampa-la (a name better reserved for the pass north of Yamdok-tso), Kangra-la, or Serpuba-la. It appears to consist of a pass over the main ridge, the Koru-la (17,790 ft.), and a further pass, the Sepo-la, over a spur on the northern side. The valley of the Lachung, a tributary of the Lachen, leads up to the Dongkhya (Donkia) Pass (18,131 ft.), by which the Kampa-jong–Gyantse road may be reached. Farther south-east the Jelep Pass (14,390 ft.) carries the road from Gnatong and Darjiling over to the Chumbi valley. Near it is the Nathui Pass between Gangtok in Sikkim and Yatung. From the Chumbi valley the watershed is crossed to the north by the Tang-la,[1] which leads over from Phari to the Kola lake and so to Gyantse.

From Paro, in western Bhutan, the Pempa Pass is said to afford an easy route over to the Chumbi valley. East of this little is known of the passes owing to the hostility of the Bhutanese and Assam tribes. The watershed here is, however, some way north of the frontier, and the trade routes of the Tsanpo appear to connect with a number of passes leading to southern valleys. Thus the Yeh-la (17,000 ft.) and Monda-la (17,450 ft.) from Yamdok-tso, and the Che-la (17,000 ft.)

[1] This, of course, has nothing to do with the pass which gives its name to the Tang-la mountains. The name is a common one, and is said to mean 'clear pass', that is, one clear of snow.

and Shar-khalep-la (16,800 ft.) from Chetang, lead over to the upper waters of the Kuru river, which becomes the Manas in Assam. Quite a number of passes—the Karkang-la, Shobotu-la, Tak-la, Druk-la—cross from Chetang to the valley of the Subansiri, whence again the Mata and Hor Passes (17,680 ft.) and the Nyala Pass (16,690 ft.) lead to Tawang in Mon-yul on the Nyamjang river, another tributary of the Manas.

Sir Thomas Holdich observes that there are three possible trade centres in the region north of Assam—Tawang, Miri Padam, and Rima. Tawang has already been seen to be connected by a trade route with Lhasa, and might perhaps be reached from the south by the valley of the Manas. Miri Padam, in the Abor district, is on the Dihang, 35 miles from the Assam frontier. Rima is the chief town of the Za-yul country, and lies on the Lohit or Zayul-chu, some 130 miles above Sadiya, the Indian frontier station near the confluence of the Brahmaputra. A possible trade route between India and China lies over the Tila Pass (16,100 ft.) from Rima to the Salwin (about 80 miles), and thence, by the Mekong, Gartok, and the Yangtze, to join the Gya-lam at Batang (about 100 miles), a line which was explored by the Indian surveyor, Krishna. But nothing can be achieved in these directions so long as the native tribes maintain their present hostility to all commercial intercourse.

(3) *Rivers*

The torrential nature of most of the Tibetan rivers renders them unsuitable for navigation. The Tsanpo is navigable by the Tibetan wicker-work hide-covered boats from Lhatse-jong down to Shigatse,[1] a distance of 80 miles, and also for some 100 miles above and perhaps the same distance below the Kyi-chu,[2] though the current is swift and dangerous. Sven Hedin travelled by boat from Pindzoling to Shigatse, and also

[1] Holdich, *Tibet, the Mysterious*, p. 234.
[2] Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 436.

on the Raka-tsanpo. Wicker coracles, and occasionally, where there is much traffic, larger boats as well, are used on the ferries.

(4) *Posts and Telegraphs*

The only postal service in Tibet is the system of couriers known as *te-tai* between Lhasa and Peking. The distance is divided into 120 stages called *gya-tsug*, and the couriers cover it in 72 days. The local officers in charge of this Government service are called *tarjum*. Since 1906 the British trading stations have been connected by telegraph with India. There is also a telegraph station at Chiamdo, as well as at Batang, Litang, and other places in the Marches of China.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) Labour

For what industries exist, and for what agriculture is possible in Tibet, the supply of labour is presumably sufficient, and were a greater demand to arise it might be expected to attract some of those who now live a nomad life. Neither immigration nor emigration is reported. The conditions of labour are bad, the peasants being practically in the condition of serfs of the monasteries and great landowners ; their status is discussed below in connexion with land tenure.

(2) Agriculture

(*a*) *Products of Commercial Value and Methods of Cultivation*

Wheat, barley, peas, beans, maize, radishes, apricots, and walnuts are mentioned among the produce grown for home consumption. The main product of commercial value in the country is wool, especially *pashm*, the matted, silky underwool of a species of Tibetan goat, from which is manufactured the Kashmir *pashmina* or *Rampur chaddahs*, so called after the important mart of Rampur on the Sutlej. The trade

in *pashm* is practically a monopoly of the Kashmiri merchants, who collect it from the western districts and export it to Rampur and Leh; for this reason this species of wool is said to be of comparatively little value in southern and eastern Tibet.

In spite of the rigours of the climate, and the necessity of using the *argol* or yak-dung as fuel instead of as manure, the fertility of the ground in some parts is very great, and in the lower valleys, e.g. in those of Shigatse, Gyantse, and the Kyi-chu, two crops a year are reaped. On the north bank of the Tsanpo, opposite Chaksam, where the ferry crosses on the Lhasa road, Colonel Waddell[1] saw wheat, barley, peas, and beans growing breast high and equal to the best English crops. Barley is also said to grow plentifully in the district south of Lake Dangra, while Landon[2] describes the careful cultivation round Gyantse, where 'there are no trees, no hedges, not even a weed. The very dykes which restrain the irrigation channels are grudged from the rich, dry, grey loam, as fertile as the Darling Downs.' The practice of irrigation is confirmed by Waddell,[3] who mentions weirs and channels on the Tsanpo and its tributaries, while Sherring[4] figures an irrigation tank and channels in the far west at Taklakhar on the upper Karnali, south-west of Lake Manasarowar, and Sven Hedin[5] mentions irrigation channels on the Nepal border by the Kore-la.

(*b*) *Forestry*

There is abundance of pine, silver fir, and other valuable timber in the Chumbi valley, but there is no provision for the care of forests or for the prevention of waste and destruction.

(*c*) *Land Tenure*

Of the state of the Tibetan peasant an eminent authority writes: 'The peasant on an estate is in

[1] *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 315. [2] *Lhasa*, p. 131.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 432. [4] *Western Tibet*, p. 199.
[5] *Trans-Himalaya*, ii. 80.

almost every sense a serf. He is bound to furnish the greater part of his agricultural produce for the use of his landlord, keeping only enough for the bare support of himself and his family. He cannot without his lord's permission leave the soil or the country, and he is compelled to furnish free transport and supplies to all official travellers or visitors—Chinese or Tibetan.'[1] The *misser* or peasants on the lands of the lamaseries or great landowners are each bound to give ten days' labour a year to the cultivation of their landlords' estates. The liability to supply transport is called *ulag*, and consists in the obligation to provide ponies, mules, yaks, or donkeys to convey the person and goods of every holder of a Government pass. The *misser*, however, have land in their own hands, and on this they pay an annual land-tax of 50 srang a kang. The srang is an ounce of silver, and 50 srang are equivalent to about 125 Indian rupees or £8, while the kang is defined as that measure of arable land which it takes about 400 lb. of seed grain to plant. If the tax is paid in kind instead of in silver, it is assessed at 150 khal or 7,500 lb. of grain per kang. Every *misser* household cultivates two or three kang, and registers of the holdings are kept in each of the 53 *jong* or districts (administered by *jongpens*) into which the country is divided. The State is able at times to take up as much as two-fifths of the entire crop, but to this proportion it is limited. The tax is payable in instalments in November, December, and January. Every landholder, for each kang of land held, is further liable to find a man to serve in the army or militia. Furthermore the peasants are bound to purchase such goods as tea, cloth, and carpets from the *yungchong* or Government merchants, who charge prices above the market rate.[2]

[1] Captain O'Connor, in Landon's *Lhasa*, p. 463.

[2] One right the *misser* have, which S. Chandra-Das terms 'the Magna Carta of Tibet', namely, that if a man has but one yak or milch cow or plough, no creditor, whether the Government or a private person, can seize it for debt, nor can a creditor seize the person of the debtor.

Besides the *misser* or cultivating class there is a landlord class who pay yearly in land-tax sums varying from 1,250 to 3,750 rupees (£80 to £240); but, on the other hand, the monasteries, which own large quantities of land, are exempt from tax. Persons holding no land but only a homestead pay a tax of two or three srang per household.

(3) Fisheries

The lakes and rivers of Tibet contain plenty of fish, which are caught with line and net. The Tsanpo is said to be full of fish, and the existence of the fishing villages, mentioned by Landon, on the shore of the Yamdok lake seems to imply a regular industry. The fish are preserved by being split, cleaned, and dried in the sun.

(4) Minerals

Gold.—This is the most important mineral worked in Tibet, and the most important fields are reported to be at Gork in the east and Thok Jalung in the west.

The position of the Gork fields appears to be extremely uncertain, but is somewhere in the region of the upper Huang-ho south or south-west of Koko-nor. They were discovered in 1888 and at first yielded a rich return, but when the richest placers were exhausted the primitive methods in use ceased to be remunerative and work was discontinued.

Thok Jalung lies north-east of Gartok, beyond the northern branch of the Indus (about 32° 25′ north and 81° 35′ east, 17,306 ft.). The workings here are also said to be exhausted, but gold is reported to exist at Thok Amar, Thok Marshera, Thok Daurakpa and Sarka Shyar east of Thok Jalung, and at Thok Sarlang, Rungma Thok, and Munak Thok to the north; while another group of workings occurs in the district between the Aru-tso and Lake Markham (34–5° north, 82–3° east). Old pits are also said to be found from the far north-west, close to the Kwenlun mountains, right across the Chang-tang to the neighbourhood of Lhasa.

Another auriferous tract is reported east of Lake Tigu, which lies to the south-east of the Yamdok lake near the source of the River Subansiri, the 'Golden River' of Assam. Here gold is said to be found at Maril Serkha and Michung.

Gold is also found in the rivers on the Chinese frontier between Chiamdo and Tachienlu. Bower[1] records that at Litang the silver exchange for gold was as low as 14 to 1. The state of gold production in this district is described in a British consular report for 1913 from Tachienlu. The gold imported to Tachienlu from the west was that year valued at £30,625, the price being £3 1*s.* 8½*d.* per oz. Troy. But this represents merely the gold dust and nuggets brought in by merchants as a purchasing medium, and must not be taken as the production of the Marches. Chao Êrh-fêng, when Governor of Szechwan, instituted a policy of Government exploitation of the mines and river deposits of this district. A report was obtained from a Chinese mining engineer, who reported unfavourably, but work was nevertheless continued and even resumed after the revolution, being only abandoned in 1914 after a definite loss had been incurred. Since then it has been continued by private enterprise under licence, but without much success. In 1914 twelve principal mines were reported to be working, from which the Government obtained a revenue in tax of more than £2,000 a year. The total output of the Marches, according to the estimate of a Chinese official, was about 12,000 Chinese oz. per annum, having a value of £45,000. The methods employed are very primitive, but in view of the uncertainty as to the existence of any continuous veins, it is doubtful whether better machinery would result in a greatly increased output.

In the Marches the production of gold is of course under the control of China. Elsewhere the goldfields are in charge of a Tibetan official called the *sarpen*. Some gold is exported to India, some to Kashgar in

[1] *Diary of a Journey across Tibet*, p. 243.

Chinese Turkestan, but the great bulk goes to China. No general statistics are available, but it is believed that, for the primitive methods of extraction in use, the output was at one time very considerable. This is hardly the case at present, but the fact has little bearing upon the future possibilities of the country. Holdich [1] sums up as follows: 'Tibet is not only rich [in gold] in the ordinary acceptance of the term; she must be enormously rich—possibly richer than any country in the world. For thousands of years gold has been washed out of her surface soil by the very crudest of all crude processes. . . . From every river which has its source in the Tibetan plateau, gold is washed. Every traveller . . . refers to the vast extent of the abandoned mines . . . shallow and superficial, from which probably not even one-half of the gold upturned has ever been extracted.'

Other Ores.—According to Rockhill, silver, copper, lead, iron, and mercury are all found and to some extent worked in south-eastern Tibet, and this is confirmed by Waddell,[2] who states that silver and mercury occur at Litang and Batang. Iron-smelting is said by Bower [3] to have been carried on near Chiamdo.

Salt and Borax.—Salt occurs largely and is often found in almost pure deposits, due to the evaporation of the salt lakes. In the same way large beds of borax occur on the shores of lakes in the Chang-tang from the Ladakh border to Tengri-nor. Some of the best, however, is produced at a place called Lingmer in the Indus valley, between Gargunsa and Tashigong. In 1913–14 borax to the amount of 14,344 cwt. was imported into India from Tibet, while in 1914–15 the amount was 17,884 cwt. This is nearly all consumed in glass and metal factories in the United Provinces. The average price has risen considerably, being quoted in Calcutta at 11 rupees 9 annas per maund in 1912 and at 15 rupees 12 annas in 1916.

[1] *Tibet, the Mysterious*, p. 329.
[2] *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 475.
[3] *Diary*, p. 181.

(5) Manufactures

The chief manufactures of Tibet are woollen cloth and pottery. Woollen cloth (Chinese *pulo*, Tibetan *truk* or *tirma*) is woven on rude looms as a domestic industry, and is largely exported to China. Pottery comes chiefly from villages in the neighbourhood of Shigatse.

Waddell mentions the rug and carpet factory of Little Gobshi, near Gyantse, as 'capable of large development, were a demand to arise for the products, which are as fine a quality as any in the Orient',[1] while Landon writes: 'The patterns used are native Tibetan and the colours are excellently blended, and rich in themselves. It is difficult for them to make a piece of stuff wider than about thirty inches, nor do they attempt a pattern larger than can be contained upon a single width. The plain orange and maroon rugs are made in narrow strips and sewn together to any desired width, but this is not done with the figured cloths.'[2]

With the exception of these Gyantse rugs, most Tibetan goods of any artistic merit come from eastern Tibet. Derge produces bits and stirrup irons inlaid with gold or silver, and other saddlery. It also manufactures artistic ecclesiastical vessels, and domestic utensils of copper, some of which are beautiful examples of *cloisonné* work.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) Domestic

Towns, Markets, and Fairs

The principal fairs in Tibet are the September fair at the western trading station of Gartok, and those of the Koko-nor district mentioned by Rockhill as held at Donkyr, between the lake and Sining, at Kweite on the Huang-ho, and at Mobachen. There is also said

[1] *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 478. [2] *Lhasa*, p. 127

to be a fair called *Kumb Mela* held every twelfth year in the neighbourhood of Mount Kailas, but this can hardly have much relation to the regular trade of the country.

Several fairs are held on British territory at which the chief goods on sale come from Tibet. Of these the most important is that at Rampur on the Sutlej, originally established by Warren Hastings to ensure that the opening for commercial intercourse with Tibet obtained by his emissary Bogle should not be lost. Fairs are also held at Diwangiri and Udalgiri in Assam, whither the Bhutanese and Tibetans bring down large droves of ponies every year.

Darjiling and Kalimpong are the chief marts for Tibetan produce coming to India *via* the Chumbi valley. On the frontier of Nepal the centre of trade is Kuti (Nilam-jong), through which goods from Tibet reach Katmandu and find their way thence into Indian territory. In the west the chief centre of exchange is Leh, the capital of Ladakh.

(2) Foreign

In the almost complete absence of statistics and the great dearth of reliable information regarding the imports and exports of Tibet, no systematic account is is possible. It is necessary, however, to distinguish the trade with China on the one hand from that with India on the other, and in the case of India to differentiate between that of Bengal and that of the north-western territories. There are thus three avenues of commercial intercourse between Tibet and the outer world. Some trade undoubtedly takes place between Tibet and Turkestan, Nepal, and Bhutan, and a small amount of goods presumably passes through these districts into other countries, but as to the extent or nature of this trade there is practically no information.

(*a*) *Trade with China*

The chief marts for Tibetan trade in China are Sining in Kansu, Tachienlu and Sungpan in Szechwan,

and Talifu in Yunnan. Sungpan and Talifu, however, are of little importance, and although Sining is mentioned as the centre of a considerable trade, the British consular reports from Tachienlu state that actually little Tibetan trade passes through Kansu. It is possible that Sining was at one time a more important centre commercially than it is now.

It is usually said that, at least at Sining, the imports into Tibet greatly exceed the exports, the balance being paid for mainly in Indian rupees, which are melted down into ingots and pass current in the Marches. This may be so, but it is not borne out by the available figures for the Tachienlu trade in 1913; and Tachienlu claims to be by far the most important centre for trade between China and Tibet. In that year the exports to Tachienlu were valued thus:

	£
Musk	75,000
Gold	30,625
Materials for medicine	15,000
Wool	10,000
Skins and hides	5,625
Carpets and rugs	3,125
Total	139,375

The imports from Tachienlu in 1913 were valued thus:

	£
Tea	72,187
Cottons	25,000
Silk	15,000
Miscellaneous	13,750
Total	125,937

It will be seen that the exports exceeded the imports by £13,438, if the figures can be trusted. It does not appear, however, that 1913 was a normal year.

In 1915 trade was apparently too disorganized for any systematic figures to be collected. The demand for wool rose, and with it the price, from 10 to 35 taels the *picul*, and the total value of the export was estimated at £79,500. On the other hand, the price of

musk declined. The demand, however, appears to have been to a considerable extent maintained, one French firm in Chungking alone taking £6,000–£10,000 worth annually.

The chief commodities exported from Tibet eastwards are wool, cloth, rugs, musk, gold, salt, rhubarb, deer-horns, amber, skins of sheep and fox, yak hides, *gur* (unrefined sugar), borax, and Buddhist books, also soap and dried dates from India, and saffron (much used as a dye in China and Tibet) from Kashmir.

Wool and musk appear to be the most valuable exports, but the figures obtainable, which are at best scanty, fluctuate widely. European merchants at Tientsin and other Chinese ports are said to send agents to buy up wool from Tibet at Sining and the fairs of the Koko-nor district. According to Rockhill, one of the principal authorities on eastern Tibet, but now rather ancient (1891–4), good musk is worth in Kansu four times its weight in silver, but is largely adulterated by the Tibetans by being mixed with blood and roasted barley. Whether it is equally adulterated in the south does not appear, but at Tachienlu in 1913 it fetched 12–14 taels the Chinese ounce, the tael being nominally at least an ounce of silver.

Tea is by far the most important import, being an article of universal consumption in Tibet in all grades. Formerly the Emperor of China used to send an annual present of tea to the Dalai Lama and the monasteries of Tibet, amounting, it is estimated, to 800,000 lb. The finer sorts of tea were also in considerable request on the Tachienlu market for the consumption of the lamaseries. But the great bulk of the import was and is of very low quality, being intended for general consumption largely as 'buttered tea', a sort of soup made by boiling tea leaves with butter, flour, and salt and churning them up in a cylinder. Most of these lower grades are made up into 'brick tea', being ground up, mixed with rice water, and compressed into hard blocks weighing about 4½ lb. each. The manufacture of brick tea is chiefly centred in

Yachow, an important mart about 60 miles east of Tachienlu.[1] Brick tea is of a reddish colour and peculiarly stimulating quality, the cause of which was accidentally discovered by the Berenag Kumaon Tea Company, who found enclosed by chance in a sample a leaf of a different plant. This plant is known on the Kumaon hills, and Kumaon and Doars planters have since experimented by blending it with their tea, without, however, achieving much success.[2] The inferior sorts of brick tea are much mixed with twigs and even with used leaves. As the bricks are in general demand, fairly portable, uniform in size, and of recognized grades, they pass current in Tibet to some extent in place of money. A common sort is called *chuba* or 'tens' because each brick costs 10 tengas (3–4 Indian rupees), while the lowest grade is known similarly as *gyeba* or 'eights'. This seems to be what is otherwise called *shingcha* or 'wood tea' because it is all twigs and no leaves. These prices it must be supposed are the retail prices in the interior of Tibet; it will be seen that they are greatly above the average wholesale prices obtaining on the Tachienlu market.

The annual consumption of tea in Tibet is estimated by Waddell and Rockhill at 11,000,000 to 13,000,000 lb. Of this the great bulk passes, or used to pass, through Tachienlu. The Szechwan government issues annually up to 108,000 licences, each costing one tael and authorizing the holder to export five packages of tea of unspecified weight. These licences are allotted by the Tea Guild to merchants by custom entitled to them. There is thus a customary monopoly, but merchants are allowed to sell their licences. The licences are not always all taken up, while, on the other hand, if there is an unusual demand for export, matters

[1] The Tachienlu trade report states definitely that Yachow is 150 miles east of that town. Since, however, all available maps agree in making it about 60 miles only, it would appear that in the report 'miles' must be an error for 'li'.

[2] Sherring, *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, p. 138.

can be arranged with the officials—presumably for a consideration. In a normal year when all the licences are used it is estimated that about 11,500,000 lb. would be exported, to the value of some £140,000. In the boom year 1910 over 17,000,000 lb. were exported and realized £210,000. On the other hand, in 1913 only 55,000 licences were issued, the amount exported being 5,866,660 lb. and the price £72,187. This year the average weight of packages was 16 chin (or catties, i.e. about 21 lb.) and the cost 2·1 taels. The selling price worked out at just under 3*d.* a lb., and as the export merchant paid just under 2*d.* a lb., he made a profit of 50 per cent., out of which he had to pay for the licence, which was equivalent to a tax of about 10 per cent. In 1915 the quantity exported from Tachienlu was estimated at about 9,000,000 lb., but no detailed figures were obtainable. It is said that large quantities of tea held up in China owing to the revolution have been released and thrown on the Tibetan market at a very low price.

The next article of importance passing through Tachienlu to Tibet was in 1913 cotton goods, both Chinese and European, mostly from Shanghai, valued at £25,000. No figures for 1915 were obtainable. Silks from Szechwan and Shanghai amounted in 1913 to £15,000 and in 1915 rose to £33,000. Miscellaneous articles worth £13,750 in 1913 included Szechwan tobacco and foreign cigarettes, clocks, trinkets, &c.

The trade of Tachienlu reached its zenith in 1910, after which it fell off owing to the Chinese revolution of the following year and the struggle for independence on the part of Tibet which has continued ever since. Moreover, the outbreak of the European war had the effect of almost stopping the export to China of Tibetan and frontier products, since these found their chief market in Shanghai, where they no longer meet with the same demand. It is the opinion of the British Consul-General at Chengtu, reporting on the trade of Tachienlu, that the latter town will probably have to content itself in future with being the chief trade centre for the

Chinese sphere of control, and that 'the merchants of Tibet, once freed from political restrictions, will turn to India as their natural market and trade outlet'. It must, however, be remarked that in the important item of tea they do not as yet show much sign of so doing, and that, apart from any artificial restriction, it may take some considerable time to effect a change in the taste of the consumer.

The best Tibetan traders used to be allowed from 6 to 12 months' credit at Tachienlu, and settled their accounts by remittance to Shanghai *via* India. Evidently Tibetan credit stood high, and many merchants had accounts running on from year to year. In 1916, when the usual caravans failed to appear, very considerable losses resulted to Tachienlu houses.

(*b*) *Trade with India*

Tibetan trade with India, which Sir Thomas Holdich, writing in 1906, described as 'ridiculously small', falls into two categories: that with Bengal on the one hand and that with Kashmir, the Punjab, and the United Provinces on the other. These should, and as far as possible will, be considered separately, but there are certain goods, both exported and imported, which in the only available returns are described as going to or coming from India, without further differentiation. Such, among exports, are live animals, of which 28,350 of the value of 3·65 lakhs were exported in 1914–15, 38,200 (3·98 lakhs) in 1915–16, and 38,700 (4·16 lakhs) in 1916–17; salt, nearly all of which went to Upper India, amounting to 2,336 tons (1·69 lakhs) in 1914–15, practically the same in the following year, and 3,040 tons (2 lakhs) in 1916–17; and foreign tea, the export of which rose from 9 tons of the value of 30,000 rupees in 1914–15 to 19 tons (81,500 rupees) in 1915–16, and 20 tons (80,400 rupees) in 1916–17.

The quantities and values of the principal goods imported from India into Tibet during three years appear in the following table:

Goods.	1914–15.		1915–16.		1916–17.	
	Tons.	*Lakhs.*	*Tons.*	*Lakhs.*	*Tons.*	*Lakhs.*
Cotton piece-goods (Indian) . .	196	3·37	152	2·29	131	2·07
Cotton piece-goods (foreign) . .	65	1·81	142	3·8	82	2·45
Grain and pulse .	2,088	2·87	1,852	2·88	1,967	2·63
Metal and metal manufactures .	268	1·87	167	1·7	207	2·68
Wearing apparel .	—	0·78	—	0·56	—	1·05
Silk . . .	2½	0·48	3½	0·9	2¾	1·14
Tea (Indian) .	13	0·1	27	0·2	21	0·17

The total values of goods exported from Tibet to India in the three years 1914–15, 1915–16, and 1916–17 were 32·74, 44·95, and 49·69 lakhs respectively; and of goods imported into Tibet from India, 17·82, 19·1, and 21·71 lakhs. The largest item in the export trade was wool, the figures for which are given under the particular countries of destination. In the same years treasure was exported to the value of 2·85, 3·79, and 3·41 lakhs, and imported to the value of 5·23, 4·6, and 4·58 lakhs.

Trade with Bengal.—Of the export trade of Tibet with India about half, and of the import trade perhaps two-thirds, is done with Bengal; the value of the former in respect of that province having been 15·75 lakhs in 1914–15, 25·3 in 1915–16, and 26·22 in 1916–17, and of the latter 11·65, 12·74, and 13·08 lakhs. In the same three years 1·96, 3·57, and 3·15 lakhs of treasure were exported and 1·42, 1·16, and ·6 lakhs imported.

By far the most important article of export is wool, of which Bengal took 1,700 tons, worth 11·8 lakhs, in 1914–15, 2,200 tons (19·83 lakhs) in 1915–16, and 2,400 tons (21·02 lakhs) in 1916–17; the average before the war having been only about 1,350 tons. The value of yak-tails exported to Bengal was 0·78, 1, and 0·66 lakhs; of live animals, in 1916–17, 1·67 lakhs, and of skins, in the same year, 1·62 lakhs.

The most valuable imports into Tibet from Bengal are cotton piece-goods (3·84 lakhs in 1914–15, 4·59 in

1915–16, and 3 in 1916–17); metal and metal ware (1·69, 1·45, and 2·54 lakhs); woollen piece-goods (1·59 lakhs in 1914–15 and 0·95 in 1915–16), and silk manufactures (1 lakh in 1916–17).

Trade with Kashmir, the Punjab, and the United Provinces.—At the beginning of the century, according to Sherring,[1] who wrote in 1906, the total trade between western Tibet and its neighbours, including Nepal and the native states, amounted to £90,000 a year, of which that with the United Provinces, Tehri and Garhwal accounted for £70,000, trade to the value of £67,000 being carried over the Kumaon passes. The chief markets for this trade were Taklakot and Gyanima, which lie 8 and 25 miles respectively from the British border, Gartok being avoided for fear of dacoits and on account of the roughness of the road. Commerce between Tibet and Kashmir was worth some £13,000: £8,000 in exports from Tibet, which consisted principally of wool (including *pashm*), musk, salt, precious stones, and tea, and £5,000 in imports—dried apricots, European woollen and silk piece-goods, grain, sugar, tea, and precious stones.[2] Besides the ordinary trade between Rudok and Leh, there was a yearly caravan to Leh from Lhasa, while every third year an official caravan bringing letters from the Maharajah of Kashmir to the Dalai Lama combined commerce with its diplomatic function. Lastly, a small trade between Tibet and the Punjab resulted from the yearly visit to Rudok and other parts of western Ngari of men from Lahul, who bought wool and *pashm* to the value of £3,500, bringing no goods in exchange but paying for their purchases in Indian coin.[3]

From the following figures it will be seen that since Sherring wrote there has been a considerable increase in the trade along all these avenues, and that the increase has been proportionately greater in the trade with Kashmir and the Punjab than in that with the United Provinces:

[1] *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, pp. 139–40, 159–61.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 157–8.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 310–11.

	1914–15.	1915–16.	1916–17.
	Exports to the United Provinces.		
	Lakhs.	*Lakhs.*	*Lakhs.*
Goods . . .	9·53	10·18	12·74
Treasure . . .	0·001	—	0·005
	Imports from the United Provinces.		
	Lakhs.	*Lakhs.*	*Lakhs.*
Goods . . .	3·9	4·43	3·96
Treasure . . .	1·43	0·89	1·04
	Exports to Kashmir.		
	Lakhs.	*Lakhs.*	*Lakhs.*
Goods . . .	4·28	5·17	5·56
Treasure . . .	0·89	0·22	0·25
	Imports from Kashmir.		
	Lakhs.	*Lakhs.*	*Lakhs.*
Goods . . .	1·89	1·61	1·74
Treasure . . .	2·27	2·27	1·87
	Exports to the Punjab.		
	Lakhs.	*Lakhs.*	*Lakhs.*
Goods . . .	3·18	4·29	5·14
	Imports from the Punjab.		
	Lakhs.	*Lakhs.*	*Lakhs.*
Goods . . .	0·37	0·31	2·93
Treasure . . .	0·1	0·28	1·07

The only commodity for which separate figures are available is wool, which during the three years was exported in the quantities and to the values shown in the following table:

	1914–15.		1915–16.		1916–17.	
	Tons.	*Lakhs.*	*Tons.*	*Lakhs.*	*Tons.*	*Lakhs.*
To the United Provinces . .	622	4·99	549	4·48	569	5·88
To Kashmir .	518	2·96	421	3·3	556	3·65
To the Punjab .	252	2·89	376	3·89	293	3·29

Borax, of which 894 tons to the value of 1·99 lakhs were exported in 1914–15, 1,063 tons to the value of 2·66 lakhs in 1915–16, and 1,250 tons to the value of 4·16 lakhs in 1916–17, all goes to Kashmir, the Punjab, and the United Provinces, but how it is divided between them does not appear in the official returns. As elsewhere stated, however (p. 61), it is mainly used in the glass and metal factories of the United Provinces. Salt also, of which the figures have already been given, is sent almost entirely to Upper India.

(c) *Commercial Treaties now in Force*

On July 3, 1914, regulations concerning trade between Tibet and British India were signed by the representatives of the two Governments. By these regulations, superseding those of 1893 and 1908, British subjects may lease land for building houses and go-downs at the marts of Tibet, and may employ Tibetan subjects in any lawful capacity, those so employed not to suffer any loss or punishment for entering into such employment; no rights of monopoly in commerce or industry are for the future to be granted in Tibet; British subjects are to be at liberty to deal in kind or in money, to sell their goods to whomsoever they please, to hire transport of any kind, and to conduct their business without vexatious restrictions or oppressive exactions; disputes between British subjects are to be settled exclusively by the British authorities, and, in case of dispute between a British subject and a Tibetan, the Tibetan trade agent is to be represented in the British trade agent's court, or vice versa. These regulations are to be in force for ten years, at the end of which, if neither side makes a demand for revision within six months, they are to hold good for another ten years, when, and at the end of every succeeding ten years, they are to be renewed for a similar period under the same proviso. The vexed question of the import duty to be paid on Indian tea entering Tibet,

as to which it had been found impossible to reach an agreement in the course of earlier negotiations, was again left unsettled.

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Taxes and Public Revenue*

The taxes levied on land and householders have already been discussed in connexion with land tenure (see p. 58–9). No estimate of the sums so raised is available.

General import and export duties are not charged at any fixed rate, but are usually about 10 per cent.

There is also a tax on traders. Rich merchants from foreign countries pay 50 srang (about 125 rupees) a year, large traders 25 srang, and small traders 3. Shopkeepers and pedlars pay 5 sho (about 20 annas). Taxation under this head is therefore not heavy.

There are over a million head of cattle (cows and female yaks) belonging to the State, which are pastured on State lands and tended by the Dokpa or nomads of the Chang-tang. Those in charge of the herds have to produce 5 lb. of butter per head yearly. Private cattle pastured on the State lands pay 5 sho a head, and the Government levies a tax of 1 tenga (about 6 annas) for every pig kept.

S. Chandra-Das estimated the Tibetan State revenue at 20 lakhs of rupees, or over £130,000. This is partially spent on the Church and alms to the lamas of the Potala, Sera, Datung, Gaden, &c. But it is difficult to ascertain how much of what is collected in taxes actually reaches the State coffers, since the officials buy their posts from the Government for terms of three or five years, during which periods they are entitled to receive all revenues, fines, and other State incomes under their control. As an example of the means sometimes employed by these officials, Sherring[1]

[1] *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, p. 309.

mentions that the Jongpen of Daba made it a practice to buy up Indian tea cheap and, putting it in Government bags, to sell it at the higher Government rate charged for the genuine Chinese article, while in 1916 the British trade agent at Gartok reported an attempt on the part of the Jongpen of Taklakot to corner the trade in wool, an attempt which was only partially frustrated by representations to Lhasa.

(2) *Currency*

There is a Tibetan silver coin known as a *tenga* or *tunka* (corrupted from the Hindi word *tanka*, a rupee). It is about the size of a half-penny but not thicker than a sixpence, and contains silver to the value of about $5\frac{1}{2}d$. Tengas are cut into halves, thirds, or quarters to form coins of smaller denomination.

Indian rupees, worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 tengas, are also current, as likewise are Chinese rupees. They are often melted down and pass current by weight as *sycee*.

The *srang*, worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ Indian rupees, appears to be a measure of value, and represents an ounce of silver. It is, therefore, the equivalent of the Chinese tael. The *sho* is evidently a tenth of a srang.

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