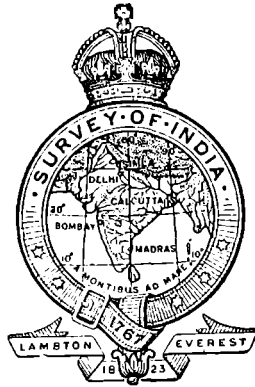


SURVEY OF INDIA



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MOUNT EVEREST AND ITS TIBETAN NAMES

A REVIEW OF SIR SVEN HEDIN'S BOOK

BY

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PREFACE

The geographical knowledge which Sir Sven Hedin gained during his extensive explorations in Tibet has been and will continue to be of great value to the Survey of India; I felt therefore that the book on Mount Everest, which the distinguished explorer has published in Germany required our attentive consideration.

This book reopens the question of the native name for Mount Everest—a question which has been frequently raised in the past.

In the 19th Century the Survey of India was pressed to adopt the Nepalese names Devadhunga and Gaurisankar in place of the name Mount Everest; in 1904 the name Chomo Kankar was advocated. Subsequent experience has shown that no one of these names is applied either by Nepalese or Tibetans to Mount Everest, and the action of successive Surveyors General in declining to accept them is now cordially approved by Sir Sven Hedin.

Sir Sven Hedin now urges the recognition of the name Chomo Lungma; his views are entitled to respect and I have therefore asked Sir Sidney Burrard, who is well acquainted with the Mount Everest controversy of 30 years ago to write his review.

Sir Sven Hedin has ably explained the arguments in favour of the name Chomo Lungma but his conclusions are weakened by Sir Charles Bell's explanation of the Lhasa passport given to the Mount Everest expedition, which has not hitherto been published. Nor are they upheld by Sir Sidney Burrard's interpretations of the Lamas' surveys.

I do not therefore consider that it would be justifiable to adopt the name Chomo Lungma for Mount Everest.

Sir Sven Hedin's history of the case illustrates the great advance in knowledge which has taken place since the Survey of India was being pressed to adopt the name Gaurisankar. This advance has, I think, been due to the patience and perseverance of many interested explorers and investigators and I feel sure that if we follow the same path, we shall ultimately find the right solution.

CALCUTTA,)
January 1931.)

R. H. THOMAS,
Surveyor General of India.

MOUNT EVEREST AND ITS TIBETAN NAMES

A review of Sir Sven Hedin's book*.

1. The highest point of the Earth's surface is the most interesting and romantic feature in geography, and this supreme summit of our planet has come to be regarded more as one of the wonders of the world than as a peak of local interest in Asia.

Much topographical knowledge of the northern slopes of Mount Everest was gained between 1921 and 1924 by the three Mount Everest expeditions which were organised by the Royal Geographical Society and the Alpine Club. On these expeditions vigorous attempts were made by experienced mountaineers to climb the mountain, and on June 8th 1924, Mallory and Irvine almost succeeded in reaching the summit; but they lost their lives in the attempt, and it was beyond the power of their colleagues to discover how far they were from their goal when they died.

Ascents to 28,000 feet were also achieved by Colonel Norton, R.H.A., and Dr. Somervell, whilst a height of 27,000 feet was attained on two occasions by Mr. Odell. The history of these expeditions was recorded in three books, namely:—

- (1) Mount Everest: The Reconnaissance, 1921.
- (2) The Assault on Mount Everest, 1922.
- (3) The Fight for Everest, 1924.

There is also a summary account, "The Epic of Mount Everest", by Sir Francis Younghusband†.

2. The height of Mount Everest was first observed in 1849-50. By 1852 the Survey had become aware that they had discovered a new peak of great altitude. But as the question of atmospheric refraction was being investigated, it was not till 1865 that the determination of the height was considered sufficiently reliable and final to be regarded as a scientific fact. From 1852 to 1865 much consideration was given to the question of the name: the native names that had been put forward were proved to be based upon mistakes of observation; and it was only after exhaustive enquiry that Sir Andrew Waugh, the Surveyor General of India, with the concurrence of Sir Roderick Murchison, the President of the Royal Geographical Society, decided to accept the name Mount Everest. In those days the Himalayas had only been observed from the side of India, and nothing was known of the mountains of Tibet; we cannot therefore complain if the name chosen under earlier conditions should at times be discussed by geographical historians.

* "Mount Everest" by Sven Hedin, Leipzig F.U. Brodhaus 1926.

† Many papers were also published in the Geographical Journal and the Alpine Journal.

The explorations of Sir Sven Hedin during the years 1906-1908 marked an epoch in the geography of Tibet; these explorations threw earlier maps out of date, and the publication in 1917 of his great work on Southern Tibet containing so much patient scientific research has placed the Survey of India in his debt.

3. His more recent book, "Mount Everest", published at Leipzig in 1926, will be given a sympathetic welcome by geographers of all nationalities.

The following passages are extracts translated from the German of Sven Hedin's latest book:—

I do not wish to rob the English surveyors of their discovery in 1852, but I feel compelled to bring to light the true facts of the forgotten past (p. 56). In 1921 the Mount Everest expedition under Col. Howard-Bury found that the Tibetans have the name Tchomo Lungma for Mount Everest; and the official instructions from Lhasa to the local district Tibetans informed the latter that the English expedition wished to visit their mountain Tcha-mo-lung-ma (p. 51). Now this correct Tibetan name Tchomo lungma appears as Tchoumou lancma on maps which were prepared from native information by French Jesuits in Peking in 1717, and these maps were printed by D'Anville in Paris in 1733 (p. 57). If the resemblance between the new name Tchomo Lungma and the old name Tchoumou Lancma is held to be merely an accidental similarity in sound, I must then draw attention to the agreement in the geographical position of the name between the latest English maps and the old French maps. On modern maps the latitude of Mount Everest is $27^{\circ} 59'$ and on D'Anville's map the latitude of Tchoumou Lancma is $27^{\circ} 20'$, the modern longitude east of Ferro, is $104^{\circ} 55'$ and D'Anville's longitude was $103^{\circ} 50'$. This is surprisingly accurate when one remembers that the Peking calculations were made at the beginning of the 18th century (p. 63). From these investigations the following conclusions are derived:—

1. *The highest peak in the world which the English claim to have discovered in 1852 was shown on French maps 119 years previously.*

2. *The real Tibetan name of Everest, namely Tchomo lungma which the English did not succeed in finding until the 20th century, was known to the Jesuits in Peking 190 years before (p.64).*

The name of Everest has been given to the highest mountain on earth which Everest himself never probably saw. Everest was Director of the Survey and was a conscientious Officer, able but not outstanding. By sheer accident without a trace of want of breath, he has become undying. (p. 20).

4. *The evidence produced by Sven Hedin to prove the identity of D'Anville's range of mountains Tchoumou Lancma with the Mount*

Everest of modern geography is certainly very interesting, his investigation has earned our gratitude. But as in some ways his outlook is different from my own, I am venturing with all respect to analyse his conclusions.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

5. The following historical summary constitutes a brief outline of the case :—

1711. Chinese Lamas, instructed by Jesuit Fathers, made a survey of Tibet under the orders of the Peking Government.

1717. Jesuit Fathers in Peking compiled a map of Tibet from the Lamas' surveys, and on the southern border of this map they showed a mountain range (40 miles long), named Tchoumou Lanema.

1733. D'Anville the famous French geographer published his map of Tibet in Paris and he based it upon the Lamas' survey.

1849. The Survey of India fixed a high peak in the Himalaya by means of observations taken from the low-lying jungle plains of India.

1852. The computations of the Survey indicated that this newly discovered Peak possessed a height greater than that of any other known mountain. There was no evidence whatever that this peak fixed from the south was standing on the Lamas' range fixed from the north.

1852 } The names Devadhunga and Gaurisankar were
to }
1865. } put forward for the peak but not accepted.

1865. The height was finally determined by scientific calculations as 29,002 ft.: the name Mount Everest was selected.

1904. Colonel Waddell and Sarat Chandra Das heard the name Chomo Kankar applied to Mount Everest by Tibetans in Tibet.

* 1907. An officer of the Survey of India, Natha Singh, who was allowed to survey the Nepalese slopes of Mount Everest, heard the name Chholungbu applied by Tibetans to Mount Everest.

1909. General Bruce was given the name Chomo Lungmo by Sherpa Bhotias, whose home was high up in the Dudh Kosi valley of Nepal †.

1921. Sir Charles Bell, the British representative in Lhasa, received an official order from the Tibetan Prime-Minister, sanctioning the Mount Everest expedition, and in this order it was stated that the Sahibs wished to see Chha-mo-lung-ma.

* Natha Singh is sometimes quoted as having heard the name Chomo Lungma, but this is a mistake. The only name he heard was Chholungbu.

† "Twenty Years in the Himalaya" 1910, by the Hon. C. G. Bruce.

1921. Colonel Howard-Bury, leader of the first Mount Everest expedition was given the name Chomo Uri for Mount Everest. He was also given the name Chomo Lungma for both Everest and Makalu.

1926. Sven Hedin showed in his book "Mount Everest" that the position in latitude and longitude given to Mount Everest in 1865 by the Survey of India differs only by 60 miles from the position of an imaginary point on the Tchoumou Lancma range, given by D'Anville in 1733. D'Anville named a long range: he neither fixed nor named any individual mountain.

6. Having thus recorded all the available evidence, I will now refer to the two main conclusions which Sven Hedin reached in his book (p. 64). They may be stated as follows:—

(1) "The highest peak in the world, which the English claim to have discovered in 1852 was shown on French maps 119 years previously."

(2) "The real Tibetan name of Mount Everest, namely Tchomo Lungma which the English did not succeed in finding until the 20th century, was known to the Jesuits in Peking 190 years before." (p. 64).

These conclusions should be impartially considered; the highest peak of the earth is beyond the reach of nationalism. Although in the vicissitudes of history it fell to the lot of English observers and of Indian computers to be the first to bring the Himalayan peaks within the net of scientific geography, the English have never claimed the discovery of Mount Everest. The only claim that has been made, with pardonable pride, is that the height of Mount Everest was first discovered (1849 to 1852) by the scientific organisation known as the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India.

Mount Everest stands upon the boundary line between Nepal and Tibet. It stands between the Aryan and Mongolian races. It belongs to no people to no nationality.

7. The interest that now attaches to Mount Everest is due only to its great height. The Lamas and Jesuit Fathers discovered that the whole of this region was mountainous, and that it abounded in ranges and peaks; but their map shows that they were unaware that any mountain of exceptional height was standing here. In fact they knew no more about Mount Everest than the Tibetans themselves knew. Nothing was known about Mount Everest, until it was observed by a theodolite from the plains of India in 1849. Until that observation was made, the world was ignorant that their highest mountain was standing here.

If the discovery of Mount Everest be compared with the discovery of the planet Neptune, (the two discoveries were made about the same time,) it will be realised that in the case of the mountain it was its height that was discovered, but in the case of the planet

it was its existence. Although for the sake of brevity we may sometimes talk of the discovery of Mount Everest, we are really referring to the discovery of its height.

Sir Sven Hedin's two conclusions quoted in my paragraph 6 above are based upon the assumption that the identity of the Lamas' range Tchoumou Lancma with the Mount Everest of the Survey was known to the Lamas and Jesuits 119 years before Mount Everest had been observed by the Survey.

THE ABSENCE OF A NEPALESE NAME

8. When the new highest peak had been discovered, the Survey was confronted with a difficulty that had not arisen before. A peak of great geographical interest was without a name either Indian or Nepalese. The responsibility rests upon the Survey of proving the authenticity of a native name, before it is entered upon a Government map.

In 1854 Mr. Hodgson maintained that the native name of the new highest peak was Devadhunga, and in 1855 Hermann von Schlagintweit contended that it was Gaurisankar. In 1858 the Surveyor General appointed a committee of experienced Survey officers to consider the question; from their knowledge of the latitude and longitude and height of the new peak they were able to satisfy themselves that Hodgson was mistaken in his direction, and that Schlagintweit's panoramas did not show the new peak at all. For many years Hodgson and Schlagintweit had supporters, and the two names, Devadhunga and Gaurisankar, were pressed upon the Survey for adoption.

Even as late as 1903 a geographer wrote as follows: * "The reason for which the surveyors argued so strenuously 45 years ago, that the 29,002 feet peak cannot be the Gaurisankar of Nepal, was of course, that their chief's proceeding in giving the mountain an English name was excused or justified at the time by the assertion that it had no local or native name."

When the Surveyor General refused to accept the name Gaurisankar, he was accused of disregarding the interests of the Nepalese; but his action was taken in their interests. He would have done the Nepalese a bad service, if he had removed their name Gaurisankar from the peak which they all knew as Gaurisankar, and had attached it to another peak which they had never singled out for reverence.

In 1903 Captain Henry Wood, R.E., visited Nepal by order of Lord Curzon. He proved by trigonometrical observations that Gaurisankar and Mount Everest were different peaks, 36 miles apart, and that the peak called Devadhunga by Hodgson and Gaurisankar by Schlagintweit was a lower peak, height 23,440 feet. Captain

* Geographical Journal, March 1903.

Wood's enquiries confirmed the opinion, formed in 1858, that there was no Nepalese name for Mount Everest in use among the people.

THE ADOPTION OF THE NAME EVEREST

9. The discovery of Mount Everest was one of the incidents in the history of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India. This scientific organisation was founded in 1821, and it came to an end as a separate entity in 1880, when it was amalgamated with the topographical surveys. The word "great" was included in its name because it was the first survey designed to embrace the whole of India.

In the course of its short existence it covered a large portion of southern Asia with geodetic triangulation, it measured a great arc of meridian from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, it furnished the world with a valuable determination of the Figure of the Earth, and it observed the heights of the Himalayan and Karakoram peaks with an accuracy of observation that has stood the tests of time.

In 1892 Sir Martin Conway, standing on the Karakoram Mountains of Western Tibet, and seeing how their peaks had been fixed by triangulation, brought up from Cape Comorin, wrote:—
 "The Great Trigonometrical Survey of India is one of the most remarkable Survey undertakings ever attempted in the world. If so vast an area was to be mapped with even approximate truthfulness, it was above all things essential that the position of points should be determined with perfect accuracy. Such accuracy seems to have been throughout attained, as far as human powers reach. The peaks whose positions are determined do in every important case occupy the positions indicated for them."

10. Sven Hedin has asked the question,—by whom was Mount Everest discovered? It cannot be said that any *individual* observer or computer discovered the height of Mount Everest. The triangulation through the jungles at the foot of the Nepal Himalaya was observed by many observers; Mr. George Logan, Mr. C. Lane, Mr. Peyton, Lieut. R. Walker and Capt. Renny Tailyour. The actual rays from the triangulation to the peak were observed mostly by Mr. G. O. Nicholson. The computations of the triangulations were carried out by many computers from Radhanath Sikdar and Mr. Hennessy to Ganga Prasad and Kali Mohun Ghose.

When the height of Mount Everest was found to be greater than that of any other peak, the discovery was not regarded as epoch-making, because the idea was prevalent that higher peaks than Everest still remained to be discovered. Mount Everest had never been included by the Sanskrit-speaking people of India amongst their group of revered and named high peaks, and if one so high had escaped the notice of India, might there not be others rivalling or surpassing it?

Prior to 1850 Nanda Devi had been regarded as the highest mountain of the world, then for several years Dhaulagiri was given the distinction until it was superseded by Kanchenjunga. As late as 1864 Keith Johnston wrote in their gazetteer:—

“Kanchenjunga is at present regarded as the most elevated summit on the globe being more than 100 feet higher than Dhaulagiri. Another mountain mass, hitherto not accurately measured, is believed to exceed 28,000 feet. It lies about 80 miles west of Kanchenjunga. It seems probable, from vague information we have received regarding other mountain ranges of Tibet, that peaks may yet be found there still loftier.”

11. During the 13 years, 1852-1865, which elapsed between the first calculation of the height and the final determination, many endeavours were made by the Survey to find a native name for the newly discovered mountain, but they all proved fruitless; and the responsibility of introducing a name fell upon Colonel Waugh, the Surveyor General. Colonel Waugh had been one of the observers of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, and he was impressed by the success of its achievements. Its work had culminated in the discovery of an unnamed mountain, and if that work deserved geographical record, it could best be commemorated in the name of Everest.

Colonel Everest was the dominant figure of the Great Trigonometrical Survey. He had been the first observer to foresee the necessity of greater accuracy of observation, and he had been the first geodesist to foresee the effects of mountain attraction upon geodetic measurements. He foresaw that the Nepal jungles could never be triangulated unless he could raise his theodolites 30 to 40 feet above the ground, and his signal lamps still more, and he was the brilliant mathematician who measured the great Indian Arc of Meridian, and who made a new calculation of the Figure of the Earth. In the choice of the name of Mount Everest no question of nationalism has ever been heard in India. In 1865 Europeans and Indians of the Survey were unanimous in feeling that the scientific successes of their department would never have been achieved without the genius and inspiration of Everest.

12. In the case of the planet Neptune the existence of which was simultaneously foretold by Adams and Leverrier and subsequently proved by Dr. Galle in Berlin, no question of nationalism has marred the greatness of the discovery. Everest's determination of the Figure of the Earth remains an important event in the history of international geodesy; that he regarded it as part of an international investigation can be seen from his own words. In 1843 he wrote, “The great Arc of India now extends from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas; whether it will ever be carried north of the Himalayas is a question upon which I cannot now hazard an opinion. An Arc of Meridian extending from Cape Comorin

to the northern extremity of the Russian dominions is a vast project. Utilitarians will scoff and say *Cui bono*. Let these gentlemen prove to me the use of any earthly thing, and I will then demonstrate the point at issue. Till then I shall confine myself to stating that it would increase our knowledge of the Globe we inhabit."

In 1895 Professor Helmert, Director of the International Geodetic Association at Potsdam, asked the Indian Survey to obtain for him a portrait of Everest to hang on the walls of the Institute beside those of Laplace and Bessel.

13. Sven Hedin is correct when he writes that "Colonel Everest himself never even saw Mount Everest" (p. 9). Everest's colleagues gave his name to the mountain to commemorate his scientific work, just as astronomers have given the names of Copernicus and Tycho to mountains in the moon. But when Sven Hedin goes on to say that "Colonel Everest has become undying without a trace of want of breath", I have to reply that Mount Everest was discovered by observations from the low plains of India and not by hill-climbing; heat has its hardships no less than cold; two of the Nepal triangulators died of malaria, Lieutenant Walker was found dead in his dooly by his bearers when he was being carried from the jungles south of Mount Everest to Darjeeling, and Mr. Logan died at the age of 45 from malaria contracted in the same district.

THE TIBETAN NAMES FOR GAURISANKAR

14. Up to 1904 our geographical knowledge of the Nepal Himalaya had been derived from observations from the side of India. In 1904 the Lhasa expedition furnished an exceptional opportunity, and at its close a strong survey party (Rawling, Ryder, Wood, Bailey) explored the Tsangpo valley from east to west, and were able to observe Mount Everest from the north.

The next opportunity came in 1921 when the Mount Everest expedition was organised. On this expedition a remarkable example of Tibetan mountain nomenclature was brought to light in the case of the peak so well known in India as Gaurisankar. Gaurisankar is approached by a Tibetan valley so sacred that the slaughtering of animals is forbidden. Colonel Morshead writes,* "This mountain which is called by the Tibetans Chomo Tsering or Trashi Tsering is the westernmost of a group of five very sacred peaks known collectively as Tsering-Tsenga"; and Morshead gives the names of the peaks which he learnt.

From a book of Tibetan ritual Mr. Van Manen, the distinguished Tibetan scholar, learnt the names of the peaks independently of Morshead, and it is interesting to compare the two sets of names derived from different sources.

* Howard-Bury's *Mount Everest*, 1921, p. 326.

	Morshead's names obtained from people of the valley	Van Manen's names
Group of 5 peaks	Tsering-Tse-nga	Tshe-ring-mched-linga (the five long-lived sisters)
Western peak (Gaurisankar)	Trashī Tsering	Tshe-yi-dbang-phyng (mistress of long life)
	Tingki Shalzung	Mthing-gi-zhal-bzung (azure good face)
Southern peak	Miyo Lobzung	Mi-gyo-glang-bzung (immoveable good cow)
	Chopen Drinzung	Cod-pan-mgrin-bzung (crowned good throat)
	Tekar Drozung	Tal-dkar-hgro-bzung (white good being?)

The discovery of these names in the field would not have been made, had it not been that Colonel Morshead, a skilled mountain surveyor, was also a Tibetan linguist. It was in 1912 that Morshead and Oakes discovered the Tibetan peak of Namcha Barwa, a discovery that has led to the prolongation of the Great Himalayan crest-line for 300 miles. In 1913 Morshead shared with Bailey the honour of discovering the gorge where the Tsangpo river escapes from Tibet.

Mr. Van Manen writes, "I found a Tibetan from the Lapche valley and interrogated him. He knew his country well. I wanted to have confirmation of the relative positions of the five peaks. His explanation was beautiful in its simplicity. He said that the five sisters were like the flat hand with the thumb sticking out. The thumb represents Gaurisankar or Tshe-ring. The four fingers on the other side of the valley are the four other sisters".

THE TIBETAN NAMES FOR MOUNT EVEREST

15. In considering the Tibetan names for Mount Everest I am referring only to the peak of that name, height 29,002 feet. I wish to make this clear, because I have seen the name of the region discussed as if it were the same thing as the name of the peak. A Survey that has to deal with many thousands of peaks is obliged to be precise in its nomenclature. The most conspicuous Himalayan summits have been given Sanskrit names that are applicable to the peaks only and not to regions. Each region contains many peaks. The question at issue now concerns the Tibetan name for the highest peak of the world.

16. Five Tibetan names have been applied in recent years to Mount Everest; they are as follows, the third and fifth being identical except for one vowel.

Date	Name	Authority
1904	Chomo Kankar	Colonel Waddell and Sarat Chandra Das.
1907	Chholungbu	Surveyor Natha Singh.
1909	Chomo Lungmo	General Bruce.
1921	Chomo Uri	Colonel Howard-Bury.
1921	Chomo Lungma	Colonel Howard-Bury.

The word Chomo is very common in the Mount Everest region; it is not I think prevalent elsewhere. On the Mount Everest expedition Morshead found it prefixed to the Tibetan name for Gaurisankar, although it is not so applied in Tibetan literature. The first half of the Sanskrit name Gaurisankar means Goddess, and Chomo is an approximate Tibetan equivalent*. The Tibetans frequently accept names on their borders from their foreign neighbours.

They sometimes adopt them without change and they sometimes "tibetanise" them. It is possible that they took the word Gauri and turned it into the local prefix Chomo. Sir Charles Bell says that many of the Nepal tribes are racially connected with the Tibetans, but that the Hindi dialect of the Gurkhas is the means of communication in Nepal. He also says that Tibetans can worship in Hindu temples†.

When the word Chomo has come to be prefixed to numerous mountain names in one locality, its original religious significance must be lost (as is the case in English with 'Goodbye'), and its geographical meaning can hardly be more than that of our word "Mount".

17. *Chomo Kankar*.—The evidence we possess concerning the name Chomo Kankar may be summarised as follows: Sven Hedin shows that the name appears in a reversed form Kankar-Chami on the Lamas' map, 70 miles NW. of Mount Everest (p. 63). He also writes (p. 62), "Colonel Waddell and Sarat Chandra Das have picked up the name Chomo Kankar, and on their authority Freshfield has introduced it for Mount Everest‡. Such a name is heard in places, but it is nowhere applied by Tibetans to Mount Everest". General Bruce wrote, "I failed to find anyone who had heard of it." §

* See Bell's letter quoted on a subsequent page.

† Tibet, Past and Present, 1924.

‡ "Round Kangchenjunga", by Freshfield, 1903, p. 201.

§ Twenty years in the Himalaya, 1909

18. *Chholungbu*.—Surveyor Natha Singh of the Survey of India, who was on special duty in Nepal in 1907 heard the name Chholungbu used by Tibetans on the southern side of Mount Everest. The Tibetans were bringing salt across the border for sale in Nepal.

19. *Chomo Uri*.—Colonel Howard-Bury heard the name Chomo Uri (Goddess of the Turquoise peak) applied to Mount Everest by his drivers. He writes that the name Chomo Uri is a local name for the mountain.

20. *Chomo Lungma*.—General Bruce heard the name Chomo Lungmo used by Sherpa Bhotias in Nepal*. In his book, "Mount Everest", Colonel Howard-Bury writes that he heard the name Chomo Lungma applied by Tibetans to both the peaks, Mount Everest and Makalu: Mallory also writes as follows: "We gained one piece of information; there were two Chomo Lungmas. Across the glacier we saw gigantic precipices: we guessed they must belong in some way to Makalu; we were told that this was the first Chomo Lungma." The Surveyor, Natha Singh has been quoted by Bruce and Hedin as the first explorer to learn the name Chomo Lungma, but this is a mistake, for Natha Singh only brought back the name Chholungbu.

No such name as Chomo Lungma was heard by Ryder or Wood or Bailey during their explorations in Southern Tibet ^{in sight} of Everest. I think that the name Chomo Lungma must be applied to an undefined mountain district.

21. Sven Hedin has attached much weight in his book to the official passport, which Colonel Howard-Bury received from Lhasa, and he writes, "The most important evidence is the fact that the official instructions from Lhasa to the Mount Everest Expedition said that the Sahibs wish to see Tcha-mo-Lungma mountain," (p. 51).

Sir Charles Bell who was the British representative at Lhasa to receive this passport, and who is described in it as the "Great Minister Bell", has himself written as follows:—

When the Dalai Lama gave me the permission for the Mount Everest Expedition to take place, a week or two after I had reached Lhasa, he handed me a paper on which was written in Tibetan, "To the west of the five treasuries of Great Snow (in the jurisdiction of 'White Glass fort' near 'Rocky valley inner monastery') is the Southern District where birds are kept (Lho-Cha-mo-lung) (Lho=South)." Later on in Lhasa one of the Dalai Lama's secretaries who was in attendance on my party, a man of exceptional knowledge and intelligence, told me that Cha-ma-lung is short for Cha-Dzi-ma-lung-pa, which means "the district where birds are kept." He told me that in the Ma-ni-Ka-bum, a well-known Tibetan book, it is recorded that in the times of the early Tibetan kings, 650 to 800 A. D., a large number of birds were fed in this district at the expense of the king. Now lung in Cha-ma-lung

* Op. cit. 1909.

means a district that has a valley or valleys in it, and it often means just a valley. It cannot be applied to a mountain summit, nor would a bird sanctuary be on the top of a mountain. In fact *Cha-ma-lung*, which is a common contraction from "*Cha-dzi-ma-lung-pa*" cannot be the name of a mountain. Nor did the Dalai Lama or his secretary use the name in that sense. I never heard *Chomo-lung* or *Chomo-lungma*. People would be very likely to change *Cha-mo* into *Cho-mo*, for the latter occurs in mountain names such as *Cho-mo Lha-ri* or *Chomo Kangkar*. *Cho* means Lord amongst Gods, and *Cho-mo* is the corresponding feminine. In the Dalai Lama's paper, it was clearly *Cha* and not *Cho*.

22. Sir Charles Bell's conversations with the Tibetan officials at Lhasa show that the passport given to the Expedition has been misinterpreted. And that far from being favourable to the name *Chomo Lungma* it is the reverse. The evidence in favour of *Chomo Lungma* is hardly stronger than that recorded for *Chomo Kankar*. It is not possible to maintain the view that either of these names is the authentic name generally accepted by Tibetans.

I think it advisable to make the following further quotation from one of Sir Charles Bell's letters:—

see David Macdonald, the British Trade Agent at Yatung and Gyantse, from 1909 to 1923, and since then the Resident at Kalimpong, told me in October 1930 that the Tsarong Shap-pe, who has lived a long time at Lhasa, wished to find out whether there is a Tibetan name for Everest, and has decided that the name is *Mi-ti Gu-ti Cha-pu Long-nga*, (*) which means "No line,—nine lines,—Flying bird blind." The full meaning may be written as follows:—"You cannot see the summit from near it, but you can see the summit from nine (†) directions, and a bird that flies as high as the summit goes blind."

But this name was not heard by any member of the Mount Everest expeditions, and it could not be seriously considered without further enquiry.

THE LAMAS' SURVEY

23. We can now consider the evidence furnished by the Lamas' Survey. In 1711 the Chinese Emperor decided to have a reliable map made of Tibet. Two Lamas who had been instructed by Jesuits at Peking were sent to survey the country and by 1717 they had finished their work. Their map was much used by European geographers during the 18th century, but after the 19th century had opened, the explorations of Europeans began to throw the Lamas' work out of date.

In 1888 the following account of the Lamas' map was published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "Geographers have long been in possession of maps of Tibet compiled from surveys executed

* The above is the pronunciation in the Central Tibetan (Lhasan) speech; the Tibetan spelling is "Mi thik dgu thik bya phur long nga".

† "Nine" in Tibetan is also used for "a large number of".

early in the 18th century by Chinese Lamas. The Lamas' maps were the basis of D'Anville's Atlas, 1733. But they are meagre, only reliable in the vicinity of the principal roads, and occasionally very misleading. They must have been compiled from rude estimates of distance and direction, and in some parts from hearsay and conjecture."

Sven Hedin has included D'Anville's map, based upon the Lamas' survey, in his valuable history of the geography of Tibet, Volume III of "Southern Tibet". No one has explained, more clearly than he has, the weak points of the Lamas' Work. "Their map," he writes, "is of different value in different parts..... Extremely seldom, practically only in the cases of the sources of the Indus and Tsangpo, are the mountains correct. Some parts have been roughly surveyed, others filled in from verbal information which is always misleading..... One loses oneself in guesses when trying to identify the representations on D'Anville's map." If an explorer of so much experience can pass these criticisms, it is hardly a matter for surprise that less informed map-makers should have come to regard the Lamas' survey as untrustworthy.

24. In the Alpine Journal Vol. XL, May 1929, Mr. N.E. Odell referring to the *identity* of Mount Everest with the range called by the Lamas "Tchoumou Lanema", wrote as follows:—"It is perhaps surprising that this fact has lain buried amongst French archives for nearly 200 years." Mr. Odell was the geologist of the Mount Everest expedition, and his opinion carries great weight. So I should therefore like to say a few words concerning the burial of geographical knowledge.

I will not however enter upon the mystic question, whether the identity of Mount Everest with Tchoumou Lanema was known before Mount Everest was discovered; I will limit my considerations to the simpler problem, whether that identity is known now.

25. I recognise the debt that we owe to Sven Hedin for discovering upon the ancient map the two names Dsarinjou and Tchoumou Lanema which he identifies with the modern names Tsering and Chomo Lungma. In order to consider the lessons to be learnt from these names I have prepared two small maps of the Mount Everest region,—one copied from the Lamas' survey, and the other taken from a modern map.

It is not possible to compare the two maps by means of latitude and longitude, for the Lamas' map has many errors varying from half a degree to a whole degree and more. Nor is it possible to compare the two maps by means of their mountains, for the Lamas' mountains are not identifiable with modern representations.

The position assigned by the Lamas to the sacred peak of Kailas was in error by 85 miles in latitude; such an error as this is

sufficient to displace Mount Everest from the crest of the Himalayas to the plains of India.

26. And thus the only available basis of comparison is by means of the rivers. The Lamas followed the beds of the main rivers and laid down their courses; the modern maps show the same rivers. In the chart shown at the end of the book, I have drawn the Himalayan area embraced by the two main arms of the Kosi river, the western arm known as the Sun-Kosi, and the northern arm known as the Arun. This area is crowned by the peaks of Makalu, Mount Everest and Gaurisankar. The upper drawing shows the Lamas' map, the lower drawing shows the modern representation. These two small maps which are limited by the courses of the rivers agree closely in shape.

THE LAMAS' EVIDENCE

27. If we compare the two small maps of my chart, we see that on the modern map Mount Everest is surmounting the highest ground of the region of perpetual snow, whereas on the ancient map the name Chomo Lungma (Tchoumou Lancma) is placed on the lowest ground of the map (height 10,000 feet), in the angle between the two rivers Sun-Kosi and Arun. On the modern map I have added the letters T. L. at the place where Tchoumou Lancma is entered by the Lamas. It will be seen that the modern map shows all drainage running away from Mount Everest, whereas the letters T. L. are enveloped by streams running down from above them. The mountain of the Lamas' that is nearest to the position of Mount Everest is their M. Nadsar, and not Tchoumou Lancma.

28. There are two kinds of identity, namely the identity of names and the identity of topographical features. I agree that the modern name Chomo Lungma may be identified with the ancient Tchoumou Lancma, but these two names are applied to different features. The only topographical identity that seems probable in these two maps is that of the rivers; there is no identity of our Mount Everest with the Lamas' mountain called Tchoumou Lancma. The different kinds of identity can be illustrated by a few examples. The mountain of Kanchenjunga can be distinguished on the Lamas' map from the topographical representation, but it has been given the name Rimola; similarly the famous peak of Kailas can be identified on the Lamas' map from the topography, but the name attached to it is Kentaisse; this name would not be a clue to identification, as the Tibetan name for Kailas is Kang-rim-poche. These are cases of topographical identity without identity of name. The case of the well-known mountain Chumalhari furnishes an example of identity of name without topographical agreement. The modern survey places Chumul (Chomo-Lahri) 70 miles east of Kanchenjunga, whilst the Lamas' survey places Tchoumour-Lari 40 miles west. The Tibetan range near Lhasa cannot be identified

in any way; the modern Tibetan name is Nien-Chen-Tang-La, which is nowhere found on the Lamas' map; and whereas the modern surveys show the range trending from SW. to NE., the Lamas' survey shows it at right angles.

May I ask Mr. Odell a question? Supposing that there were valuable mining rights in the Mount Everest region and that these rights had been granted to him by a Tibetan agreement worded "as far south as Tchoumou Lanema," would he interpret this agreement to mean in modern geography "as far south as Mount Everest"?

SVEN HEDIN'S IDENTIFICATION OF GAURISANKAR

29. Sven Hedin identifies the name Dsarinpou of the Lamas' map with the Tibetan name Tsering, which was obtained for Gaurisankar by the Mount Everest expedition in 1921. The names Dsarinpou and Tsering are rare, and their similarity is striking. There will I think be a general agreement in support of Sven Hedin's contention that Dsarinpou was the Lamas' equivalent for Tsering. The Lamas however seem to have never appreciated either the topographical or the religious significance of the name. They thought that Dsarinpou was a range 70 miles long running north and south, and they were ignorant of the fact that the Tibetans had limited the name to a group of sacred peaks on a range running east and west.

Sven Hedin has suggested that the name Kentchian shown on my upper map is identical with Kangchen which is the name of a pass on the lower map. Such a well-known pass furnishes a good test. On the Lamas' map this pass is 60 miles from Dsarinpou, but on Howard-Bury's map it is only eight miles from Tsering. It seems therefore certain that the Lamas never visited Gaurisankar, and that they depended for their information upon hearsay.

The question of the identification of Gaurisankar upon the Lamas' map is quite different from that of Mount Everest. In the case of Gaurisankar its modern Tibetan name has been proved to be Tsering, its identification with Dsarin of the Lamas is only a matter of historical interest and we can overlook the topographical errors. But in the case of Mount Everest its identification with Tchoumou Lanema is of scientific importance to modern geography, and the topographical disagreements cannot be overlooked.

In scientific geography the names of Mount Everest and Gaurisankar are attached to definite mountain points, as are also the names of Nanda Devi, Nanga Parbat, Mont Blanc, Ben Nevis, and Aconcagua; on D'Anville's map the names Tchoumou Lanema and Dsarinpou are given to extensive mountain ranges. The modern name Tsering, according to Morshead, has been extended by the Tibetans from the peak of Gaurisankar to embrace its four close companion peaks, but it is still limited to a close peak group. And what is worthy of notice, the Tibetans have given individual names

to each peak of the group in addition to the group name. The accuracy and the complexity of modern mountain surveys makes it incumbent upon the Survey of India to introduce a greater precision in nomenclature than was in vogue 200 years ago.

A CONSIDERATION OF THE PRINCIPLE INVOLVED

30. In this paper the name Mount Everest has been considered from a local point of view, but the general principle involved should not be overlooked. Within the mountain zone which follows the Tibeto-Himalayan border many thousands of peaks are situated, and two networks for distinguishing the peaks have been thrown over them independently of one another; firstly came the network of mystic poetic nomenclature which the various hill-peoples have attached to their peaks, and secondly there followed the network of scientific points which have been fixed by the Survey. The principle observed by the Survey has been to confine its activities to the scientific net, and faithfully to record the popular nomenclature without interfering with it. When it has happened that a feature named by the people has escaped the Survey net, the latter has been extended. But this has rarely been necessary, whereas it has been a very frequent occurrence for peaks fixed by the Survey to be without names from the people, and for this want of connection no remedy has been devised.

31. On one occasion only has the Survey departed from principle, and trespassed upon the people's ground; the case of Mount Everest has been the only exception to its rule. In this case the requirements of world-wide geography could not be overlooked; the highest mountain in the world could not be left permanently nameless. When this emergency occurred, the Survey selected an English name which has the advantage of possessing, in Sven Hedin's words, "a very pleasing sound". Thirty-five years ago at Darjeeling I overheard an American lady traveller say to her companion, "Mount Everest is the most beautiful name in geography, it is suggestive of perfect solitude." The only disadvantage of the name Mount Everest has been the creation of a precedent; but the case was unique, it can never occur again, and the Survey has for 70 years refused to regard it as a precedent.

32. The European mind is different from the Tibetan; the European is interested in peaks as definite points, he is interested in their relative heights and in the possibilities of climbing them. But the Tibetans have none of these ideas. In his "Great Plateau," 1905, General Rawling, writing of Mount Everest as seen from Southern Tibet, described it as "a glittering pinnacle of snow rising like a giant amongst pigmies." And this object of wonder has been confronting the Tibetans for generations; and yet General Rawling goes on to say, "The Tibetans questioned by us replied that the mountain was nameless."

On the other hand Colonel Morshead found that Gaurisankar had been distinguished by a profusion of Tibetan names ; the anomaly is a reflection of the Tibetan mind ; their sacred mountain is an object of reverence, the others, though higher, are of no account.

33. The map prepared by the Mount Everest Expedition, 1921, made a new departure from principle, and it is deserving of mention here, because in the long controversies over Mount Everest the critics of the Survey have always laid stress upon the main principle, and have attacked the Survey for departing from it, even in the exceptional case of Mount Everest. The Mount Everest Expedition showed upon their map certain Tibetan names which their map-maker had devised, and which had not been derived from any Tibetan source. Spurious names such as Changtse, Lhotse, Nuptse and others for peaks standing within a few miles of Mount Everest are thus creeping into geography, and will gain a permanent footing unless they are replaced by symbols at an early date. These names are more objectionable than a straightforward English name.

Changtse means "north peak", i.e. north of Everest ; Lhotse means "south peak", i.e. south of Everest ; Nuptse is west peak. No Tibetan would take an inaccessible point like Mount Everest as his view-point, nor would a Tibetan think of naming peaks "north" and "south", because they were standing north and south of some other peak which he had not named at all.

34. The place-names of the border show a tendency in the Tibetans towards geographical co-operation. The peak of Kailas which is inside their border, was discovered by the Sanskrit-speaking people in very early centuries,—and has been a goal of Hindu pilgrimage from time immemorial, long before Buddhism was introduced into Tibet. In sympathy with the Hindus the Tibetans have named Kailas "the precious snow-mountain" (Kang-rim-poche), and have made it a place of pilgrimage for Buddhists.

Since 1846 Western Tibet has been under Kashmir, and has thus, unlike Mount Everest, been open to European explorers. In 1856-59 Colonel Montgomerie of the Survey observed the Karakoram peaks and distinguished them by the symbols K1, K2, K3,..... He showed that his peak K2 was the second highest mountain of the world, inferior only to Mount Everest, and that like Mount Everest it was without a native name.

Many names have been proposed for this peak K2 ;—Mount Waugh and Mount Albert were considered in 1860 ; Mount Montgomerie and Mount Godwin Austen were suggested about 1886 ; Mount Akbar and Mount Babar were names considered in 1905-6. But none of these names met with general approval in India. So the peak of K2 has continued to be known as K2 for 70 years. The unforeseen has now happened.

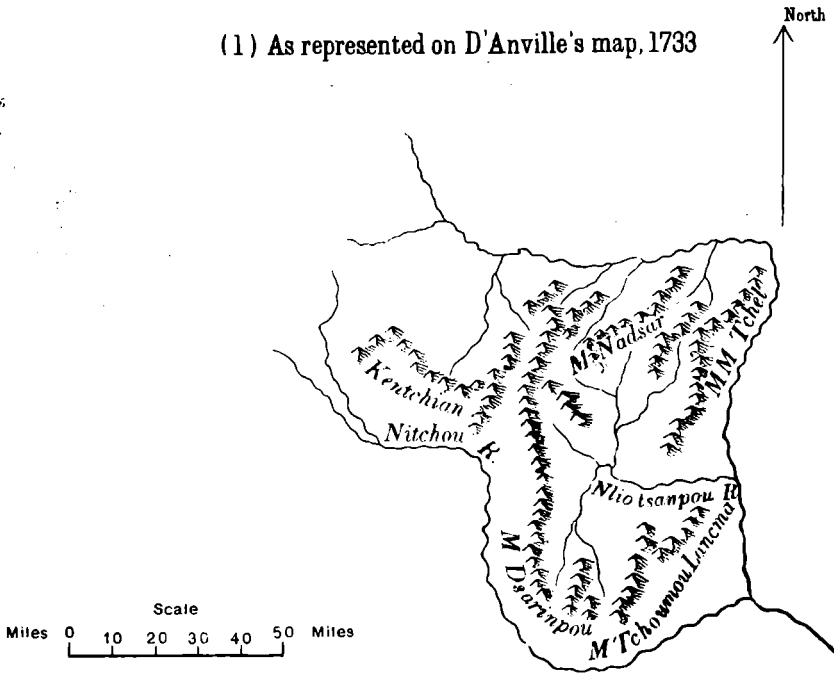
Since 1860 surveyors and sportsmen have been telling their followers that the high peak is named K2, and from the followers

the name has been filtering through to the inhabitants. During the last decade explorers have been finding that the Tibetans of Baltistan are turning the symbol K2 into a geographical name Kaytoo, Kaychoo. The sound of K2 in English speech may have reminded them of some word or name in their own language. Dr. Franck, the Moravian missionary, has been the leading authority on the Balti dialect of the Tibetan language, and he was a geographic enthusiast (1900-1910). He never mentioned the possible development of such a name as Kaytoo, but he was one of those who used to explain to the people that the Survey called their peak K2. The name Kaytoo is a product of local evolution, and it possesses originality, a quality that was lacking in the personal names proposed by geographers.

35. The Tibetans have not realised that the highest point of the Earth is on their boundary. The time will come when they will understand the interest taken in this mountain. We ought not then to rush them into an indefinite regional name, which may hereafter be found unsuitable. In the future the Tibetans may wish to adopt the name Mount Everest in some form of their own and thus co-operate with the outside world in naming the highest mountain. May I appeal to Sir Sven Hedin and to General Bruce to Sir Charles Bell and to Mr. Van Manen to use their influence in furthering this prospect of world-wide unanimity.

The HIMALAYAN area embraced by the arms of the RIVER KOSI

(1) As represented on D'Anville's map, 1733



(2) As represented by the Survey of India, 1926

