# A SELECTIVE SURVEY OF LITERATURE ON TIBET

BY

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## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ARTICLE

### A SELECTIVE SURVEY OF LITERATURE ON TIBET\*

The literature on Tibet is voluminous and unwieldy. Much of it has been produced by the many travellers who, tempted by the lure of the unknown, have penetrated Tibet's barriers and ventured to explain, usually at length. what makes it mysterious. Another sizeable portion can be ascribed to the long struggle for political control of Tibet. From 1914 until Communist China assumed control of the whole area, political Tibet, i.e., Lhasa-controlled Tibet, was a relatively small segment of cultural Tibet. It was bounded on the north by Sinkiang, on the east by the Chinese provinces of Ch'ing-hai and Hsi-k'ang. on the south by Yünnan, Assam, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, and India, and on the west by India, including Kashmir. Cultural Tibet, however, extends over a much greater area, including part of Ch'ing-hai, almost all of Hsi-k'ang, parts of Yünnan and Szechuan, most of the highland areas of Bhutan and Sikkim, northeastern Nepal, and the inhabitants of the Himalayan uplands of India, as well as the eastern part of Kashmir, Ladakh. Thus, for much of the past two centuries parts of cultural Tibet have been under the real, or nominal, control of different great or lesser powers. None of these powers would agree with the others as to the exact definition of the boundaries of their claims. These political divisions of the area help to swell the mass of literature on Tibet with validations of claims for political control and denials of or protests against such claims. They have also rendered some portions of cultural Tibet more or less accessible to travellers and scholars.

With all this embarrassing wealth of material on Tibet, we have still a relative poverty of information. It is hoped that this highly selective survey will help to bring some order out of the confusion. We deal here only with writings of the past twenty-five years, and particularly with sources of special interest to the political scientist.<sup>2</sup> We begin with some of the more important bibliographic sources.

#### I. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Bibliographies concerned exclusively with literature on Tibet are rarely found in Western language publications. Rolf A. Stein's "Récentes études Tibétaines," *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 240, No. 1, pp. 79-106 (1952), unfortunately

- \* For a discussion of the literature on the general area, see Robert J. Miller, "A Selective Survey of Literature on Mongolia," this Review, Vol. 46, pp. 849-66 (Sept., 1952).
- <sup>1</sup> The 1914 treaty agreement between British India, China, and Tibet, setting the eastern boundaries of Lhasa Tibet, was never ratified by the Chinese. Yet, despite the fact that China reckoned Ch'ing-hai and Hsi-k'ang as two of her own provinces, the Chinese Communist government could, and did, claim liberation of Tibet when the Chinese troops marched into Hsi-k'ang.
- <sup>2</sup> Items concerned exclusively with religion and philosophy are not included. The best and most inclusive bibliographic reference for the religious and philosophical literature on Tibet is the *Bibliographie Bouddhique*, 20 vols. (Paris, 1930–1949).

concerns itself with less than a dozen books. This is a scholarly analytic work, but for the non-Tibetanist the majority of the sources mentioned will be of relatively little interest. Robert Fazy, in his less limited study, "Essai d'une bibliographie raissonnée, de l'exploration tibétaine," Mitteilungen der schweizerischen Gesellschaft der Freunde ostasiatischen Kultur, No. 2, pp. 3–22 (1940), covers a considerable portion of the travellers' reports from earliest times to the present. One shortcoming is that only works dealing with Lhasa-controlled Tibet are considered.

Since Tibet has occupied much of the interest of the Chinese government in the past decades, it is only natural that Chinese authors have paid considerable attention to sources on this problem area. Several extensive bibliographic articles have appeared in the periodical Yü Kung [The Chinese Historical Geography Magazine]. Among these are Wu Yü-nien's "Hsi-tsang t'u-chi lu" [Bibliography of Tibet], Yü Kung, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 53-63 (Sept. 16, 1935), and the same author's "Hsi-tsang t'u-chi lu shih-i" [Supplement to the Bibliography of Tibet], Yü Kung, Vol. 6, No. 12, pp. 107-11 (Feb. 12, 1937). Wu Yü-nien's early effort is supplemented by Fu Ch'eng-yung's "Hsi-tsang t'u-chi lu pu" [Addenda to the Bibliography of Tibet], pp. 65-69 of the same issue of Yü Kung. The later article is accompanied by Cheng Yün-ming's "Hsitsang t'u-chi-lu tsai-pu" [Further addenda to the Bibliography of Tibet], pp. 95-105 of the February 12, 1937 issue. With the exception of Wu Yü-nien's second article, all the above-mentioned writings list publications in English as well as in Chinese. Unfortunately, most of the English citations are incomplete and many contain serious errors, thereby greatly diminishing the usefulness of these articles.

For more specialized Chinese bibliographic data, the reader is advised to consult Chou Ch'ang-hai, "Chin-tai Kuo-jen Hsi-tsang wen-hua yen-chiu shu-lüeh" [Recent Chinese studies on Tibetan culture], Chung-yang Ya-hsi-ya, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 60-64 (Oct., 1943); and Yü-nien, "Chin-tai Kuo-jen hsüan-shu chih Hsi-tsang shih-chi" [Recent Chinese contributions to the history of Tibet], Chung-yang Ya-hsi-ya, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 42-49 (Oct., 1943).

Except for the articles mentioned above, there are no bibliographic aids for work on Tibet comparable to Mr. Chang Chih-yi's "A Bibliography of Books and Articles on Mongolia" (reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Central Asiatic Society, Vol. 37, parts II and III, 1950). However, several of the bibliographic works mentioned in "A Selective Survey of Literature on Mongolia" (cited above), have pertinence also for Tibet. Among these is Robert J. Kerner's Northeastern Asia; A Selected Bibliography, 2 vols. (University of California, Berkeley, 1939). While this work covers the literature on Tibet to a lesser extent than that on Mongolia, it is still of great assistance for the Tibetan field, especially in its listing of Chinese, Russian, and Japanese language sources. One will find sources of interest under the rubrics "Northwestern China" and "Frontier Problems," as well as in the section labelled "Tibet." Another important bibliographical source for Tibet is the Bulletin of Far Eastern Bibliography, edited by Earl Pritchard (1936-40) and published by the Committee on Far Eastern

Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D. C. Its successor, the bibliographic section of the Far Eastern Quarterly, should also be consulted. The two works by Rudolf Loewenthal, "Bibliography of Russian Literature on China and Adjacent Countries, 1931–1936" (Harvard Russian Research Center, 1949; mimeographed); and "Works on the Far East and Central Asia Published in the U.S.S.R., 1937–47," Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. 8, pp. 172–83 (Feb., 1949), are useful, although Tibet received far less attention from the Soviet authors than did the other lands of Central Asia.

Of course no listing of bibliographical references for Tibet can afford to omit the excellent and comprehensive bibliography found in Henri Cordier's Bibliotheca Sinica, Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire Chinois, 2nd ed., 5 vols. (Paris, 1904–1924).

Along with these more general bibliographies, attention is called to the Library of Congress, Division of Orientalia, Southern Asia: Publications in Western Languages, A Quarterly Accessions List, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan., 1952) and No. 2 (April, 1952), Washington, D. C. Worth mentioning also is the August, 1951 number of the journal Nachrichten (published by the Gesellschaft für Natur und Volkerkunde Ostasiens, Hamburg). This number, the first issue of Nachrichten since 1945, contains two bibliographic sections. The first, "Bibliographie," pp. 12–17, itemizes all the material dealing with the Orient published in Germany since 1948. It contains some items of interest to the student of Tibetan affairs, especially on Tibet's early history, but is not inclusive. The second article, "Bibliographie zur ostasiatischen Kunst und Ärchäologie," pp. 17–24, is a brief account of both German and other European language books since 1939, abridged from Archiv für Ostasien, Vol. 1 (1948). Further bibliographic data may be obtained from many of the sources to be discussed later.

#### II. GENERAL TREATMENTS AND TRAVELLERS' WORKS

A relatively small proportion of the literature about Tibet has been written by professional Tibetanists, or by scholars trained in the social sciences. We must rely, in most instances, upon the official, the traveller, the sportsman, the explorer-geographer, and the missionary. These people have produced many writings worthy of consideration here, as well as some which will be mentioned as a precautionary measure.

One of the best known writers on Tibet was the late Sir Charles Alfred Bell, the Englishman who became the unofficial chronicler of the 13th Dalai Lama and one of the prime interpreters of things Tibetan for English and European readers. From 1908 to 1921, Bell was the British Political Representative for Tibet, Bhutan, and Sikkim. When the Dalai Lama fled to India in 1910, Bell had a chance to become well acquainted with him, and the acquaintance formed then continued up to the death of the late Dalai. Thus Bell was in a unique position to gather information about Tibet. To the works by which he is best known, i.e., Tibet: Past and Present (Oxford, 1924), The People of Tibet (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924), and The Religion of Tibet (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1931), should now be added his Portrait of the Dalai Lama (Collins, London,

1946). All his writings have, of course, been influenced by his role as British official and friend of the 13th Dalai. He can hardly be classed as an objective writer when dealing with the political situation in Tibet since the period of British influence, yet he has contributed greatly to our knowledge of political and cultural Tibet.

Sir Frederick O'Conner, in his On the Frontier and Beyond (London, 1931), drew upon his years of experience and friendship with the Tibetans, including the late Panchen Lama, to present much of interest and value. David Mac-Donald, son of an English civil servant who married a Sikkimese, spent over twenty years in constant association with the Tibetan government and its people. He served as the British Trade Agent both in Gyangtse and Yatung, and had more opportunity than most officials to become acquainted with Tibetans from all walks of life. His Sikkimese parentage and sound grounding in the Tibetan language also stood him in good stead. Among his many writings The Land of the Lama, A Description of the Country of Contrasts and of its Cheerful People of Hardy Nature and Curious Customs; Their Religion, Ways of Living, Trade and Social Life (Seeley, Service and Co., London, 1929) is most useful for data on Tibet. His Twenty Years in Tibet, Intimate and Personal Experiences of the Closed Land among All Classes of its People from the Highest to the Lowest (London, 1932) also makes interesting reading. In this volume he presented his impressions of the Western travellers in Tibet who sooner or later sought his assistance. More recently, in a brief pamphlet entitled Tibet (Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1945), he has presented a useful description of the area.

Other members of the Indian Civil Service have also contributed to the store of English literature on Tibet. Many of the more important writings, including Waddell's classic, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamism*, reprinted (Cambridge, 1939), appeared early in the 20th century, or at the end of the 19th, and therefore fall outside of the purview of this article. The reader will find of interest, however, the works of Sir Francis Younghusband, L. A. Waddell, and John Claude White.

A well-written account of Tibetan life and customs as noted in the capital may be found in Frederick Spencer Chapman's Lhasa: the Holy City (Chatto and Windus, London, 1938). An abridged version of this account and of Chapman's mountain-climbing experiences, Helvellyn to Himalaya, including an Account of the First Ascent of Chomolhari (Chatto and Windus, London, 1940), has recently appeared as Chapman's Memoirs of a Mountaineer (Chatto and Windus, London, 1951). A mountaineering companion of Chapman, Marco Pallis, although he did not succeed like Chapman in visiting Lhasa, has written a work which has become almost a modern classic on Tibetan religious philosophy. Pallis' Peaks and Lamas was originally printed in London (1939), but according to the author the revised third edition (Knopf, New York, 1949) is the edition to be regarded as authoritative. Apart from its philosophic content, the work also contains much of interest on Sikkim and Ladakh.

Whereas British traveller-authors have generally approached central Tibet

from India, the French approach has usually been from the Chinese border. Foremost among the French authors is the indefatigable Madame Alexandra David-Neel. Madame David-Neel has travelled over much of eastern and central Tibet as well as Sikkim and southern Central Tibet, with only her adopted son, Lama Yongden, as a companion. A confirmed Buddhist, feminist, and French nationalist, she has spared neither British policy nor the Lhasa government in her many works. Her travel accounts are liberally spiced with sharp commentaries on officialdom and on the official British attitude toward her as a woman, and a Frenchwoman at that. Her literary output is matched only by her exploratory and explanatory zeal—and perhaps by her credulity for things miraculous. The work by which she is probably most widely known is My Journey to Lhasa (Heinemann, London, 1927), an edition judged superior to the original publication in French, Voyage d'une Parisienne a Lhassa, à pied et en mendiant de la Chine, à l'Inde à travers le Thibet (Librairie Plon, Paris, 1927). In addition, her Tibetan Journey (London, 1936), which is a translation of Au Pays des brigands-gentilshommes: Grand Thibet (Librairie Plon, Paris, 1933), and her A l'ouest barbare de la vaste Chine (Librairie Plon, Paris, 1947) comprise the major accounts of her travels and adventures. Her interpretative works include Magic and Mystery in Tibet (C. Kendall, New York, 1932), Initiations and Initiates in Tibet (Rider and Co., London, 1931), and Magie d'amour et magie noire: Scenes du Thibet inconnu (Librairie Plon, Paris, 1937). In all these works, and in the many other titles omitted here, Madame David-Neel's unique understanding and sympathy for Tibetan religious life and thought are manifest. Worth mentioning too is a little book by a young compatriot and protégé of the well-known author. Madame Lafugie's Au Thibet (J. Susse, Paris, n.d.) is, as Madame David-Neel aptly remarks in the preface, a beautiful book. Lafugie's expeditions took her through Ladakh, Sikkim, Gyantse and Spiti. Her account is made remarkable by her beautiful sketches and photographs.

One cannot go far into the field of Tibetan studies without coming across two intrepid French travellers of the mid-nineteenth century, the Lazarist Abbés Regis-Evariste Huc and Joseph Gabet. Innumerable editions of the account of their journey from Peking to Lhasa, F. R. Huc's Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine pendant les années 1844, 1845, et 1846 (Paris, 1850), have appeared. The most valuable edition is Huc and Gabet, Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 1844-46, translated by William Hazlitt and edited with an introduction by Professor Paul Pelliot, 2 vols. (Broadway Travellers series, Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London, 1928). It requires the expert hand of Professor Pelliot to enable the reader to sift fact from fiction and error, but the account is valuable to the student of Mongolia and of Tibet.

A book by a more recent French missionary is of interest to the political scientist as well as the general reader. Father Francis Gore, of the Missions-Etrangères de Paris, lived for years on the frontiers of Hsi-k'ang and Szechuan and Yünnan. Thirty years of this sojourn, from 1908 to 1938, are recorded in his Trente Ans aux Portes du Thibet Interdit (Hongkong, 1939). Many of the chap-

ters of this work have appeared in various journals, such as the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient, La Geographie, and others. In light of the recent "liberation" of Tibet, Father Gore's observations on Lhasa's reactions to Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung and the "long march—" which touched Hsi-k'ang in 1936, should be of interest. One intriguing item is that the Communists, like the Tsarist Russians at the turn of the century, tried to equate Tibet's promised land, Shambala, with Russia. Another member of the Missions-Étrangères, Christian Simonnet, reports his experiences along these same frontiers in the 1940's in Thibet: Voyage au bout de la Chrétienté (Monde Nouveau, Paris, 1949). For further data on missionaries in Tibet, there is the French survey of the Capuchin missionaries in F. Callaey, Missionaires capucins et civilisation Thibétaine (Etudes Franciscaines 46, Paris, 1934).

The listing of the works of French travellers and explorers in Tibet would not be complete without mention of Andre Guibaut's account of the second Guibaut-Liotart expedition in Hsi-k'ang, Tibetan Venture: In the Country of the Ngolo-Seta, translated by Lord Sudley (John Murray, London, 1947). While much of the book concerns areas covered by other authors, first-hand observations of the life and activities of the Ngoloks are not often found. Another Frenchman, Amaury de Riencourt, has written a not unprejudiced appraisal of Tibet's political position at the time of his trip and of his audiences with the Dalai Lama and his regent, in Roof of the World, Tibet, Key to Asia (New York, 1950). A vivid book, it is of special interest, since it deals with events of the past decade, and with the people who had to make the decisions.

Germany also has had its share of travellers in Tibet. One of the most prolific writers in this group is Dr. Wilhelm Filchner, who has made numerous expeditions into the area during the past half-century. Many of his works are of interest only to the geographer or to the Tibetanist proper, but some have a less specialized appeal. In this latter category, one might include Quer durch Ost-Tibet (E. S. Mittler, Berlin, 1925); Om mani padme hum. Meine China und Tibet expedition, 1925-28 (Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1929); and Im Machtbereich des Dalai Lama (Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1944), an abridged version of Om mani padme hum. Of unique interest is his Kumbum Dschamba Ling, das Kloster der hunderttausend Bilder Maitreyas (Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1933), with introductions by Berthold Laufer and Ferdinand Lessing. This work, which Filchner himself describes as a "Baedeker" of the famous lamasery of Kumbum, contains two thousand footnotes, prepared with the aid of Dr. W. A. Unkrig. It is in this massive collection of notes, rather than in the formal bibliography, that one should look for citations of interest. It should be noted that the footnotes do not always acknowledge the actual source of some of the contents of the volume. It is Filchner's Kumbum Dschamba Ling, incidentally, and not his earlier work, Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte (E. J. Mittler, Berlin, 1906), literally and figuratively a much thinner book, that one should consult for a really detailed study of the historically important Kumbum.

Lacking Dr. Filchner's years, but vying with his output, is Ernst Schäfer, who spent much of the past twenty years in and near Tibet. Despite its sugges-

tive title, Dach der Erde (P. Parey, Berlin, 1937) is only the prologue to his actual entry into Tibet, which is recorded in Unbekanntes Tibet: Durch die Wildnisse Osttibets zum Dach der Erde, Tibet Expedition, 1934-1936 (Paul Parey, Berlin, 1937). Even this latter volume takes Schäfer only as far west as Batang, and is marred by the author's flagrant nazism. Published later, but based on his participation in the first Brooke Dolan expedition, is Schäfer's Tibet Ruft: Tibet Expedition, 1931-32 (Berlin, 1942) and Berge, Buddhas und Bären: Forschungen und Jagd im geheimnisvollen Tibet (Paul Parey, Berlin, 1933). Fest der weissen Schleier. Eine Forschung, durch Tibet nach Lhasa, der heiligen Stadt des Gottkönigtums (Vieweg, Brauschweig, 1949) actually gets Schäfer to Lhasa. This volume was followed by Über den Himalaja ins Land der Götter. Auf Forscherfahrt von Indien nach Tibet (Vieweg, Braunschweig, 1950). Of all his books, Fest der weissen Schleier is the most interesting. By then (1938-39) Schäfer was on terms of unusual intimacy with the leading personages of Tibet, having come to Lhasa on "invitation." The book is also marked by superb photographs of Lhasa.

Among the more limited works of German travellers are Walter Bosshard's Durch Tibet und Turkistan, Reisen im unberührten Asien (Stuttgart, 1930), which concerns northeastern Tibet; W. Lentz's Auf dem Dach der Welt (Berlin, 1931), an interesting and informative account; and Emil Trinkler's Im Land der Stürme. Mit Yak und Kamelkarawanen durch Innerasien (Leipzig, 1930), translated into English as Stormswept roof of Asia. By Yak, Camel and Sheep.

Perhaps the most prolific writer on Tibet is the recently deceased Sven Hedin, but most of the material which he published after 1926 consists of popularized versions of earlier works, or of books adapted for a juvenile following. In these categories fall such titles as A Conquest of Tibet, translated by Julius Lincoln (Dutton, New York, 1934); Eroberungszüge in Tibet (Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1940); Abenteuer in Tibet (Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1940), a considerably abridged version of the original; and Im verbotenen Land (Leipzig, 1937) and Wildes heiliges Tibet (Leipzig, 1944), both intended for a young audience. A commentary on Hedin's travels in Tibet is Walter Heichen's Der Todesgang der Karawane, ein Tatsachenbericht über Sven Hedins Reisen durch Tibet (Weichert, Berlin, 1936).

Worth at least a glance is Arnold Heim and August Gansser's *Throne of the Gods*, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (Macmillan, New York, 1939). Although Heim and Gansser were primarily concerned with mountaineering, they did have an understanding and appreciation of the people with whom they came in contact, and they have enriched their work with extremely good photographs.

It is when we deal with the Italian traveller-explorers in Tibet that we come across a store of some of the most valuable and well-written literature on the area. Many of the Italian authors of informative general travel books also have brought the social sciences to bear upon Tibetan problems and belong in the category of experts in the field of Tibetan studies.

One of the earliest accounts of Tibet we have is Father Ippolito Desideri's story of his adventures early in the 18th century. Entitled An Account of Tibet,

The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S.J., 1712–1727, edited by Filippo de Filippi, with an introduction by C. Wessels, S.J. (rev. ed., The Broadway Travellers series, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London, 1937), this work is interesting not only as the report of an early traveller, but also because of the scholarship of De Filippi. Even without the added value of De Filippi's extensive notes and bibliography, however, this volume would be extremely important. It was in the period of Desideri's stay in Lhasa that the first effective Chinese claim to sovereignty over the area was made. Here we have an eyewitness account of the turmoil in Tibetan politics that brought the Manchu empire's forces into the Tibetan capital. Here also we have a very human account of a Tibet which was most hospitable to the foreigners in its confines. For further reports by Father Desideri, there is the collection and publication of his letters by H. Hosten, "Letters and other papers of Father I. Desideri, S.J...," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (3rd series), Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 567–767.

In his La prima missione Cattolica nel Tibet (Istituto and Missioni Estere-Parma, Hongkong, 1951), Giuseppe M. Toscano tells the story of the first Catholic missionaries—particularly the Portuguese Father Antonio de Andrade. This work also gives an account of the history of the small states of Guge and Tsaparang, where these first missionaries had established themselves. Much of the data presented are gleaned from de Andrade's reports.

Filippo de Filippi's contribution to the literature on Tibet does not end with his editorship of Desideri's Account. As leader of the De Filippi (Italian) expedition to western Tibet in 1913-14, he acquired a first hand knowledge of Tibetan life. The Italian Expedition to the Himalaya, Karakoram and Eastern Turkestan (1913-14) (Edward Arnold & Co., London, 1931) is the popular English account of this expedition. One of the most valuable chapters in this volume is that by Giotto Dainelli in which he presents sound ethnographic observations on the Ladakhi. Also of value is the bibliography.

Almost twenty years later Dainelli returned to Ladakh. The account of his return is presented in *Buddhists and Glaciers of Western Tibet*, translated by Angus Davidson (Kegan Paul, London, 1933). Although Dainelli responded to the physical challenge of the great mountains like many others who have braved the rigors of the Himalaya, this book devotes relatively little attention to the "glaciers" and much more to the "Buddhists" of the area. Again the author presents ethnographic data, even more valuable than his earlier observations. His liking and sympathy for the Ladakhi avoids, fortunately, the pit-fall of the "noble savage" concept.

Perhaps the outstanding scholar-traveller of the region is Giuseppi Tucci. Many of Tucci's works by right belong in the following section, but even in the realm of "general treatments" he has a special niche. Tucci has led several expeditions into different sections of western and central Tibet, and in 1952 conducted an expedition in Nepal. An account of one of his earlier expeditions is given in Secrets of Tibet, Being the Chronicle of the Tucci Scientific Expedition to Western Tibet, 1933, by Giuseppi Tucci and Captain Eugenio Ghersi (Glasgow

and London, 1935). This is translated from Tucci and Ghersi's Cronaca della missiona scientifica Tucci nel Tibet occidentale (1933), Reale Accademia d'Italia, Viaggi di studio ed esplorazioni 2, (Rome, 1934). A revised and conventionalized narrative version was published in the United States as Shrines of a Thousand Buddhas, Exploring for Tibet's Hidden Art, by Tucci and Ghersi (McBride and Co., New York, 1936). A subsequent expedition, in 1935, is presented in Tucci's Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto (Milan, 1937). Only years later did this eminent Tibetanist receive the necessary permission to travel to Tibet's capital. The story of this at long-last realized expedition appeared as A Lhasa e oltre, Diario della spedizione nel Tibet (Rome, 1950).

Outstanding also, but in a different way, is the work of another Italian mountaineer-traveller, Fosco Maraini. His Secret Tibet (Viking Press, New York, 1952) contains a most valuable collection of photographs of Tibet and Tibetans. Some of these pictures had appeared earlier—and more expensively—in portfolio form. The present collection includes many new photographs and a well-written text, translated by Eric Mosbacher. Maraini dedicated his book to his "master" Tucci and it bears the same stamp of high quality that has marked other Italian works on Tibet. It also includes a short but good bibliography.

After so many stimulating accounts by European travellers, it is a let-down to turn to the works of Americans. As the worst examples seem to be standard equipment in university libraries, it seems advisable to review some of these writings.

Gordon Bandy Enders had the advantage of growing up in Almora, near the Indian borders of Tibet, and he became acquainted with many of the Indo-Tibetan traders. As a child he made a trip across the border to Rakas Lake, but this seems to have been the total of his penetration into Tibet Proper. His Nowhere Else in the World (Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1935) takes him all over the world, except into Tibet, despite his preoccupation with the country. The book is filled with annoying inaccuracies and outright errors, even about geography. One might be inclined to dismiss both this effort and his subsequent publication, Foreign Devil: An American Kim in Modern Asia (Simon Schuster, New York, 1942), largely a rehash of the period covered in the first book, except that he has laid claim to being the American confidantadvisor, and self-appointed champion, of the late Panchen Lama during the years 1932-37, when the Panchen was in exile in China. He should therefore, perhaps, be read for his accounts of the Panchen's version of Tibetan-Chinese relations.3 In the course of his adulation of the late Panchen, he has attributed to him the "scorched earth" strategy against Japan, and has his hero, practically single-handedly, staving off Japanese aggression in Inner Mongolia.

Another American writer on Tibet with an overdeveloped sense of the dramatic and an underdeveloped devotion to facts is Harrison Forman, author of Through Forbidden Tibet; An Adventure into the Unknown (Longmans, Green

The late Panchen Erdeni disavowed the claims made on his behalf, in a letter to Basil Crump. See Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. 23, p. 720 (1936).

and Co., New York, 1935). Forman went neither through, nor even into, "forbidden Tibet," but spent his time in the then highly accessible Chinese areas of Lhabrang and Hsining. In his account he conveniently ignores the presence of many other Westerners. As Li An-che stated in his "Through Forbidden Tibet?", Yenching Journal of Social Science, Vol. 2, pp. 289-93 (Feb., 1940), this work can only be classed as a novel.

Edwin G. Schary's In Search of the Mahatmas of Tibet (Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd., London, 1937) would ordinarily be regarded as completely fantastic, except for the fact that it is true. This young man, blissfully unaware of Tibetan adventuring protocol and without a single companion, porter, or disguise, strolled across western Tibet to become the first Westerner since Desideri to take this west-east route. Aside from the account of this accidental achievement and Schary's naively charming style, the book has little to recommend it.

In a different category is Lowell Thomas, Jr.'s Out of this World, Across the Himalayas to Forbidden Tibet (Greystone Press, New York, 1950). The Thomases, father and son, did get into Tibet and to Lhasa; in fact, they went by invitation. Although the number of Westerners to get into Tibet and even to Lhasa was hardly as small as claimed, the fact remains that the Thomases may well have been among the last. It is therefore regrettable that a large part of the book is concerned with their own tribulations. Even so, it does throw a little light upon Lhasa just before the Chinese Communists began Tibet's "liberation."

Another American to receive one of the coveted invitations to Lhasa was Suydam Cutting. As a member of the Cutting-Vernay expedition for the American Museum of Natural History in 1935, he collected many of the items of that museum's Tibetan exhibition. His *Fire Ox and Other Years* (New York, 1940) is an interesting and well-written narrative of his travels in Tibet and its capital, as well as in other lands.

While he did not get into political Tibet, our peripatetic Supreme Court Justice, William O. Douglas, has given us, in his Beyond the High Himalayas (Doubleday, New York, 1952), a book definitely deserving of attention for its warm account of the peoples of Ladakh and their neighbors.

Among authors who have written general accounts as well as analytic works on the Tibetan field is George Roerich. His Trails to Inmost Asia: Five Years of Exploration with the Roerich Central Asian Expedition (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1931) is interesting both on Mongolia and on Tibet, though much of the work is distorted and unreliable. The same can be said for another product of this expedition, Heart of Asia (New York, 1930), by Nicholas Roerich, the father of the previous author.

One American Tibetanist has even made the ranks of the book-club authors. Robert Brainerd Ekvall, son of an American missionary on the China-Tibet border, spent his early youth in this area of northeastern Tibet, known as Amdo. He too became a missionary to the Tibetans for a period of his adult life, and the accounts of his Tibetan friends presented in his *Tibetan Skylines* (Farrar, Strauss and Young, New York, 1952), a Natural History Book Club

selection, make the sort of reading one finds very rarely in this field. In other works Ekvall has made contributions to the analysis of Tibetan-border culture, but in this series of sketches of individual Tibetans, the reader sees the Tibetan nomads as persons instead of as museum pieces. Ekvall, moreover, deals with the Tibetan "man in the street," or more appropriately "man in the saddle," rather than only with important personages.

Among works by Asiatic authors is Shen Tsung-lien's Tibet and the Tibetans (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1952). Shen Tsung-lien was the last Chinese Nationalist Resident in Tibet. During his three years in this office Mr. Shen, now residing in the United States, had considerable contact with the officials—both lay and clergy—who composed the Tibetan government. Due to his own high position, he had excellent opportunities to meet and study the Tibetan noble families. For his descriptions of the workings of the government and of high society, his work is decidedly worthwhile, and relatively free from the biases one might expect.

Another Chinese official, Ma Ho-t'ien, who has also written on Outer Mongolia,4 has published, in Chinese, a three-volume work, K'an, Ch'ing Tsang pien-ch'ü k'ao-ch'a-chi [A record of investigation on the Kansu, Ch'inghai and Tibetan frontier] (Shanghai, 1947). This lengthy diary, which deals with all the border peoples of the area, including the Moslems as well as the Tibetan and Mongol populations, is now being translated into English (by Lincoln Wong of the Inner Asia Project of the University of Washington's Far Eastern and Russian Institute) as Diary of Travels in the Border Region of Kansu Ch'inhgai and Tibet, for the Human Relations Area Files, Inc. Another Chinese travel account is Liu Man-ch'ing's K'ang Tsang yao-cheng [A travel to Hsi-k'ang and Tibetl (3rd ed., Changsha, 1938). As might be expected, the bulk of Chinese material on Tibet is primarily concerned with the "Tibetan problem" and relatively few pieces have appeared which can be classed as "general accounts." One other item of this nature, however, is Chang Ch'ih-seng's "Hsi-tsang Feng-su sho-shih" [A collation of customs of and folkways in Tibet], which appeared in Chung-yang Ya-hsi-ya, Vol. 1, pp. 52-61 (July, 1942). In the course of the Inner Asia Project's translation of this work it was discovered that Mr. Chang had lifted his material bodily from Mrs. Louis King's We Tibetans, without, of course, any acknowledgements. Chang Ch'ih-seng is an obvious pseudonym, so there is little chance of discovering what other plagiarisms he may have perpetrated under other names.

Recently published, although based upon expeditions in the period 1902–1914, is Uehara Yoshitaro's Shin-Sei Iki Ki [New record of Tibet] (Yukosha, Tokyo, 1937). This major work is based upon the three Otani expeditions.

India also has had its spate of traveller-authors on Tibet. Unfortunately, none of the recent Indian writers can approach the position held by Sarat Chandra Das, one of the best and most prolific sources of Tibetan data for the late 19th and early 20th century. Of the current travel reports, Swami

<sup>4</sup> See his Chinese Agent in Mongolia (Baltimore, 1949), translated by John de Francis.

<sup>5</sup> This author is preparing an article revealing the details of the plagiarism.

Pranavananda's Kailās-Mānasarōvar (Calcutta, 1949) and Pandit Aman Nath's An Echo of the Unknown or Guide to Ladakh (Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1931) are the most useful for Western readers, especially for the detailed information they present on the areas visited.

Worth noting are three books whose inspiration was derived from individual Tibetans. We Tibetans (Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd., London, 1926), by Rinchen Lha-mo (Mrs. Louis King), is a pretty tale of Tibetan life by a Tibetan woman who married a British civil servant. The Tibet of the book bears a strong resemblance to Shangri-la, but slight resemblance to any other versions of Tibetan life which have appeared. S. H. Ribbach's Dropga Namgyal, Ein Tibeterleben (München-Planegg, 1949) is a composite and fictionalized biography of a west Tibetan nomad. The third work is Combe's A Tibetan on Tibet: Being the Travels and Observations of Mr. Paul Sherap (Dorje Zödaba) of Tachienlu (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., London, 1926), an extremely valuable contribution.

Access to the Tibetan area now being definitely limited, we can anticipate few additions in the near future. Useful, sometimes first-hand general information may still be obtained, however, especially from *The Himalayan Times* (Kalimpong, India), a small weekly newspaper serving the traders and merchants of the Himalayan area, and from the *India Press Digests* published bimonthly by the Bureau of International Relations of the Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

#### III. ANALYTIC STUDIES

While it cannot hope to rival the profusion of travellers' accounts published in the past twenty-five years, the number of analytical studies on Tibet published in this same period is surprisingly large. In view of the recent political importance of Tibet, and the surge of interest which this has caused, it has seemed advisable to restrict the bibliographic suggestions here to those works which have some bearing on the current situation. This restriction, unfortunately, means that some of the best studies which have appeared to date, ranging from the massive and impressive work of Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls (Libreria della Stato, Rome, 1949, two vols. and portfolio), to the short but exciting article by Helmut Hoffman, "Tibets Eintritt in die Universalgeschichte," Saeculum, Vol. 1, pp. 258-79 (1950), must be excluded.

Political History. Despite the fascination which the early history of Tibet holds for the scholar, for all practical purposes the seeds of Tibet's present condition were sown early in the eighteenth century. It was then that the Chinese army twice crossed Tibet—once with a young 7th Dalai Lama and once to repel the Gurkhas. After each of these exploits the Ch'ing imperial government tightened its control over Tibet, ultimately reducing the land of the lamas to the status of a Chinese protectorate, a status it was to occupy until the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. It was this century also that witnessed the first tentative steps taken by the British East India Company to cross the Himalayas and to establish relations with the Tibetan hierarchs—steps

which culminated in the Younghusband expedition of 1904-05 and the establishment of Britain's interest in the affairs of Tibet.

For this momentous period we have two especially valuable studies. One, by Luciano Petech, a colleague of Tucci's, China and Tibet in the Early Eighteenth Century: The History of the Establishment of the Chinese Protectorate in Tibet, T'oung Pao Monographs, #1 (Leiden, 1950), deals with the internal developments in Tibet which preceded and followed the battle over the rightful successor to the seat of the Dalai Lama. Petech used the magnificent collection of Tibetan documents that Tucci had acquired, and his work is enriched by material from both Chinese and Tibetan sources. For those interested in Mongol affairs during this same period, this might be classed as a "bonus" book, for it studies closely the role that the Mongols, as well as the Chinese, played in the struggle to control Tibet. Petech has included a very useful bibliography of Chinese, Tibetan, and Western sources, as well as genealogical tables, maps, and charts.

A companion piece to the above is Schuyler Camman's Trade through the Himalayas: The Early British Attempts to Open Tibet (Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, 1951). Dr. Camman, in addition to gathering data on the first British opening of the Tibetan oyster, places events in the context of the then current situations in China and in England. He thereby enables us to see the missions of George Bogle (1774) and Samuel Turner (1783) not as isolated events, but against the backdrop of British attempts to trade with China Proper. He also supplies a picture of the workings on the British political scene which were to play their part in giving Tibet almost a century's grace. Camman utilizes both European and Chinese sources, and has appended an annotated bibliography to his work. Other recent data on these British missions to Tibet can be found in D. B. Diskalkar's "Bogle's Embassy to Tibet" (1933) Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 9, pp. 420-38, which includes previously unpublished letters of Bogle, and in Petech's "Missions of Bogle and Turner according to the Tibetan texts," T'oung Pao 39, 4-5 (1950), pp. 330-47. Petech has used the official biographies of the 8th Dalai and the 4th Panchen, or Tashi, Lama and various other contemporaries. Another brief article by Diskalkar, "Tibeto-Nepalese War, 1788-1793," Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 19 (1933), pp. 365-66, discusses the events which led directly to China's assuming open control of Tibet.

A Chinese historian, Wu Feng-p'ei, has rendered valuable aid to students of Tibet through his Ch'ing-tai Hsi-tsang shih-liao ts'ung-k'an ti-i chi [First collection of historical material on Tibet from the Ch'ing Dynasty] (Shanghai, 1937) and his Ch'ing chi ch'ou-Tsang tsou-tu [Memorials concerning Tibet of Ch'ing times] (Changsha, 1938, three vols.). The former work contains data on Indo-Tibetan relations and the latter, as indicated by its title, is a collection of the official memorials concerning Tibet.

These last two sources bring us beyond the eventful 18th century into our

<sup>•</sup> Father Desideri's Account presents his eyewitness version of the occurrences surrounding the first of these invasions.

own era. Several authors have covered the history of Tibet from the 1700's to the 1900's, but the quality of their work does not approach that achieved in the more intensive studies of the earlier period. Among these efforts one should include Dr. Wei-kuo Lee's Tibet in Modern World Politics (1774–1922) (Columbia Univ. Press, New York, 1931), which contains a good collection of information but tends to project modern problems back to the 18th century. The historical section is weakened by the failure to consult the official dynastic histories and their mass of data. Dr. Lee also traces the gradual encroachments by the British in "Ying-kuo chin-lüeh Hsi-tsang chih hsia-tuan" [The beginning of British exploitation in Tibet], Quarterly Review of the Sun Yat-sen Institute for the Advancement of Culture and Education, Vol. 2, pp. 228–41 (1935).

Several notches below Dr. Lee's doctoral dissertation is Lai Tze-sheng's Le problème thibétain (Pedone, Paris, 1941). Dr. Lai's work deals primarily with Tibet's relations with Britain, although there is a small section on Tsarist Russia and Japan. The author's thesis seems to be that the Tibetans are really Chinese plus a little extra, and that there is no room for argument as to the relationship of Tibet to China: Tibet is just part of the one big family. Lai's work is marred also by an exceedingly poor collection of Western bibliographic sources. Britain's role in Tibet receives more scathing words from Taraknath Das in British Expansion in Tibet (Calcutta, 1929) and from D. Ferestanov in his "Angliiskii imperializm v Tibete" [English Imperialism in Tibet], Zarubezhnom Vostoke, 2, 7 (1934), pp. 70-80. A somewhat calmer but decidedly sketchy treatment is to be found in E. T. Williams' Tibet and Her Neighbors (Univ. of California Press, Berkeley, 1937).

Perhaps one of the most useful sources on the controversy between China, Britain, and Tibet after the Manchu period is The Boundary Question between China and Tibet. A Valuable Record of the Tripartite Conference between China, Britain and Tibet, Held in India, 1913–14, by "A Pekinese" (Peking, 1940). This little book consists of translations of the official papers presented at the Delhi (January 12, 1914) and Simla (April 22 and 27, and July 3, 1914) conferences. They include the claims of the Tibetan plenipotentiary, the Chinese counterclaims, the British proposals, and the general proceedings of the conferences. The book marked the first airing of the actual claims and counterclaims and of the evidence produced in support of each side. The papers are valuable also in that they demonstrate the close records kept by the Lhasa government of its claims for authority. Although it is not specifically stated, one can assume that the texts presented are those of the official translations checked by the officials involved, and not retranslations.

A Chinese portrayal of the two flights of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the first to China to escape the British under Younghusband and the second to India to escape the Chinese, Wu Feng-p'ei's "Ch'ing-chi Ta-lai la-ma ch'uwang shih-chi k'ao" [A historical study of the flights of the Dalai Lama in the Ch'ing period], Chung-te hsueh chih, 5 (1943), pp. 310-45, has been translated by Mr. Perry Chang of the Inner Asia Project for the Human Relations Area

Files, Inc. Further insight into the character of the late Dalai—the first since the famous Fifth Dalai to assume effective temporal control—is afforded by an article which, on the surface, has little political significance. This is René Nebesky-Wojkowitz's "Das tibetische Staatsorakel," Archiv für Volkerkunde, 3 (1948) pp. 136–55. In the course of discussing the historic role of the oracle in state affairs, the author reveals the transfer of the oracle from one important monastery to another by the late Dalai, an act which called for an extremely powerful hold over the many factions within and without the ecclesiastic organization.

From the early days of the Chinese Republic until the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the Lhasa government had a heyday of relative independence (if we ignore the British mission). With his death this independence again tottered. According to A. J. Hopkinson, last British Political Officer of Sikkim, in his "The Position of Tibet," Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. 37, pp. 221–39 (1950) and H. E. Richardson, head of the last British Mission to Lhasa, in his "The State of Tibet," Ibid., Vol. 38, pp. 112–22 (1951), the Chinese delegation, which officially came only to honor the dead Dalai, stayed for over a decade and definitely wore out its welcome.

The recent events in Tibet, including the "triumphal" return of the young Panchen Lama with his escort of Chinese Communist troops, mark a continuum with the Tibetan policies of the Kuomintang and Manchu governments. These events are much too current to have produced studies with any real perspective, but there has been a veritable rash of articles, including the two last-mentioned British pieces. On the other side of the fence is Dr. André Migot's "Les lamas souverains du Tibet," France-Asie, Vol. 66-67, pp. 549-62 (1951); Vol. 68, pp. 684-96 (1952). While primarily a slight treatment of the succession of Dalai and Panchen Lamas up to 1952, this article is interesting for its attempt to prove the "co-sovereignty" of the two incarnations, the right of the Chinese Communists to take over, and the liberality which they have exhibited. Like the Chinese, Migot feels that Tibet's role as a Chinese dependency began in the Yüan Dynasty under Kublai Khan and has continued ever since.

With the establishment of the Republic of India, India fell heir to Britain's interests in Tibet. Both Hopkinson and Richardson served the new nation in their old posts, the former from Sikkim to Gyantze, the latter at Lhasa. As we know, what India inherited here was hardly a peaceful legacy. The India News Bulletin, Nov. 14, 1950, contains the text of the notes exchanged between the Peiping and New Delhi governments on the annexation of Tibet. A. C. Banerjee, in his The Problem of Tibet (Uttarayan Monographs on Current Affairs, #11, Calcutta, 1951), a pamphlet intended for popular circulation, traces Tibet's foreign relations up to 1950 and presents the opinion of a strong Indian faction on India's rights in Tibet and the position that India should take with China to maintain these rights. A more recent article on India's relations with China and the Tibetan situation is Dr. Shao Chuan Leng's "India and China," Far Eastern Survey, Vol. 21, pp. 73–78 (May 21, 1952).

Tibetan Culture. Before concluding this survey, it seems advisable to mention

a few of the works which tell something about the people and the economy of the area. Two useful introductions to Tibetan culture in general are to be found in An Introduction to Tibetan culture, by Cheng Te-k'un and D. M. Sullivan (West China Union, Guidebook #6, pp. 1-40), and the Catalog of the Tibetan Collection and Other Lamaist Articles, published as several pamphlets (1950—) by the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey. While both of these works are concerned with their respective museum exhibits of Tibetan material culture, the former also presents a concise account of Tibetan society, and the latter deals with different aspects of Tibetan culture in each of its numbers. To these might be added Robert Bleichsteiner's Die gelbe Kirche (Josef Belf, Vienna, 1934), with a French version entitled L'Eglise Jaune, translated by Jaques Marty (Paris, 1937). Bleichsteiner's work is useful for its description of paraphernalia and practices of the Yellow Sect of lamaism, and in general surpasses L. A. Waddell's classic, The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism (London, 1895). Whereas Waddell was perforce restricted largely to material from the lamaism of Sikkim, which is not of the Yellow Sect, Bleichsteiner was able to discuss directly the official sect of Tibet and Mongolia.

A Chinese anthropologist who has published widely in English, Li An-che, has written a number of articles examining the different lamaist sects from the viewpoint of a social scientist. Included among these, and useful as aids through the maze of sects and cult practices, are "Tibetan religion," in Forgotten Religions, edited by Vergilius Ferm (Philosophical Library, New York, 1950), pp. 251-71; "The Bkah-brgyud sect of lamaism," Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 69, pp. 51-59 (1949); "The Sakya sect of Lamaism," Journal of the West China Border Research Society, Vol. 16, series A (1945), pp. 72-87; "Rnin-ma-pa: the early form of lamaism," Journal Royal Asiatic Society (1948) pp. 142-63; and "Bon: the magico-religious belief of the Tibetan-speaking peoples," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 4, pp. 31-43 (1948). The same author deals with the ubiquitous Tibetan monastery in "A Lamasery in outline," Journal of the West China Border Research Society, Vol. 14, Series A (1942), pp. 35-68.

One of the most distinctive features of Lamaism is the system of reincarnation and the "Living Buddhas," from the Dalai and Panchen Lamas down to a host of minor incarnations. The methods employed in finding, recognizing, and training these incarnate Buddhas, and their roles in Tibetan life, are discussed by Professor Li-Yu-i in "Hsi-tsang ti huo-Fo" ["The Living Buddhas of Tibet"], Yenching Journal of the Social Sciences, Vol. 1, pp. 117-31 (1948). This very useful article has been translated for the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., by Mr. Perry Chang of the Inner Asia Project at Washington.

<sup>7</sup> In view of the frequent discussion about differences between "Asiatic" and "Western" minds, it is not inappropriate to mention Dr. Giuseppe Tucci's "Teoria e pratica del mandala con particolare riguardo alla moderna psicologia del profondo," Psiche e consienza, Vol. 12 (1949). In this intriguing article, Dr. Tucci examines one of the most esoteric aspects of Tibetan religion, i.e., its cosmology and the methods employed to achieve "oneness" with the universe, in terms of the Jungian school of psychology.

Regional Studies. While little has been done on Central Tibet by the social scientist, several excellent studies have appeared for particular regions, especially for eastern Tibet and the Sino-Tibetan borders. In this category falls Robert Brainerd Ekvall's Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939). This is a social anthropological study of the interrelations of Chinese, Moslem, nomadic, and sedentary Tibetans in the modern period. A detailed study of the nomadic population of this area is Matthias Hermanns' Die Nomaden von Tibet. Die sozial-wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Hirten-Kulturen in Amdo und von Innerasien. Ursprung und Entwicklung der Viehzucht (Vienna, 1949), which appeared originally as Dr. Hermann's doctoral dissertation under the title, Die Amdo-pa Grosslibeter; die sozial-wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen der Hirtenkulturen Innerasiens (Freiburg, 1948). This is a major contribution to the studies of nomadism. Also dealing with the nomad population of this area is Yu Hsian-wen's Report on the Social Conditions of the Nomad Population in the Tibetan area of Northwest China (in Chinese) (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1947). A more specialized study for this same Kansu-Ch'inghai region is the work by Li Yü Shih-yü, wife of Dr. Li An-che. In "Tibetan Folk-law," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1950), pp. 127-48, the author draws upon her four years of field experience in the area. In addition to the data on folk-law, a Manchu court edict of 1733 A.D., "Rules of punishment for Tibetans," is presented.

For the region south of Amdo, Li An-che has provided a study of the (then) semi-independent state of Derge, in Hsi-k'ang, in his "Derge: a study of Tibetan population," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 3, pp. 279-94. Hsi-k'ang Proper has been the scene of quite a few investigations. Among these should be included Lin Yueh-hwa's "Social life of the Tibetans in northern Sikang" (in Chinese), Comet Monthly, Vol. 1, #1-5 (1945), and Jen Nai-ch'iang's Hsi-k'ang t'u-ching [Pictures from Hsi-k'ang], 2 vols. (Nanking, 1933). The first volume deals with Hsi-k'ang geography and the second with the people. A valuable socio-economic study of this area is Ch'en Han-seng's "Frontier land systems in southernmost China. A comparative study of agrarian problems and social organization among the Pai-Yi people of Yunnan and the Kamba people of Sikang" (International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1949, mimeographed).

For the Ladakh region, the Relazioni scientifiche della spedizione Filippi nell' Himalaya, Caracorum et Turchestan Cinese (1913-1914), 15 vols. (Bologna, 1932-34), written by various members of the expedition, presents a very thorough picture. Perhaps of most pertinence is the volume (VIII) by Giotto Dainelli, Le condizioni della Genti, which utilizes official reports of the local government and other documentary sources. The bibliographic appendix is very useful.

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