

Sino-Tibetan Treaty Pillar, AD 821-822 both Tibet and China shall keep the country and frontiers of which they are now in possession The whole region to the east of that being the country of Great China and the whole region to the west being assurdly the country of Great Tibet.

LHASA

Valley of the Yarlung Kings

· Iyekundo

Chamdo

or more than a millenium, the eastern regions of Kham was controlled by local Tibet, traditionally divided Tibetan chieftains; in eastern nto two main regions of Amdo, both Tibetan and Muslim Kham and Amdo, main-d long-distance trade with military control, while in the tained long-distance trade with tained long-distance trade with bordering Chinese provinces. The rich grazing lands of the Tibetan Plateau produced pastoral products in exchange for tea and silk from China. At times the question of where Tibet and China met was of no great importance met was of no great importance in the daily lives of Tibetan and for much of its history, the Chinese lay people. The environmental differences between the Tibetan Plateau and the law lains Chinese lay people. The eastern Kham and Amdo were rarely controlled by a central the law lains Chinese law lains controlled by a central the law lains Chinese law lains controlled by a central that lains lains

This situation changed with the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, when Tibetans over local Chinese residents, not became subject to direct and far- over the local Tibetans, who reaching forms of Chinese political continued to respect their own and military control. With this chieftains and lamas. One of these control came the balkanization of areas is located in today's Qinghai traditional ethnographic Tibet, province, where the city of Siling especially the eastern lands of (Chinese = Xining) has flourished Kham and Amdo, which were because of its ease of access with incorporated into four of China's the important Silk Road junction western provinces after 1949. at Lanzhou. The second area in

THE EASTERN REGIONS

OF TIBET, CA. 750

Siling Guyuan.

Sungchu.

Mongwen

MAP

.Fengzho

Chang-and

ca. 7th - 9th centuries

China shall keep the country and frontiers of which they are now in possession. The whole region to the east of that being the country of Great China and the whole region to the wes being assuredly the country of Great Tibet" (Richardson 1978). Other versions of the text of the treaty, such as that preserved in the Chinese dynastic record, the Old Tang History (Jiu Tangshu), also refer to "strategic places and posts of defense (that) shall be carefully kept as before" (Pan 1992). That the domains of the Tibetan and Chinese peoples were never precisely delineated is reflected in the oath-taking

ceremony of the treaty that was performed once in 821 in

the Tang Chinese capital of Chang-an, and again in 822 in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa. This oath-taking

was placed in the Chinese capital, Xi'an (Chang-an), and

another along the border at Gugumeru. The third was placed in Lhasa and still stands today. (A facsimile of this pillar may be found in the upper left-hand corner of this map.)

This pillar treaty refers to agreed-upon borders between

both sides, and was the seventh such treaty concluded

between Tibet and Tang China. Though no specific maps relating to this treaty are known to exist that would help in

version of the treaty text notes that the territory of China

was specified as lying to the east of two rivers, the Tao He, located south of Lanzhou, and the Min Jiang, located south

of Chengdu. Contemporary Tibetan assertions that Tibet comprises not only U-Tsang but also Amdo and Kham are

neavily influenced by this definitive historical period when

The inscription of the Treaty of 821-822 provides

nerous examples of how the frontier between Tibet and

Tibet stood as a political and military equal with China.

China was understood and demarcated--mainly in terms of specific border posts. The closest reference to a *de jure*

boundary provided by the treaty states: "both Tibet and

emarcating the frontier from this time, an old Chinese book

ceremony served to affirm diplomatically the equal status that existed between Tibet and China. Physiographic boundaries, not only the mountains of the region but also such rivers basins as the Min and Tao, served as tangible de-limiting agents in local, day-to-day relations.

Map II: From the Late Yarlung Period to the Beginnings of Chinese Expansion into Eastern Tibet

hen the Tibetan Buddhist empire of the Yarlung Kings, a dynasty based in the Tsangpo valley eas and south of Lhasa, disintegrated in the 9th century many areas of eastern Tibet fell under the contro of local lay and monastic elites. While a panplateau socio-political cohesion, rooted in Tibetan Buddhism ceased to exist, such cohesion nevertheless continued at a more ocal scale, with local chieftains and warlords taking control o trade and community polity. Indeed, as recently as the 1940s many of the Tibetan villages of the fertile Tsong Chu valley of Amdo, just east of Tso Ngonpo, or the Blue Lake, were unde the traditional groupings of six chieftains who bore names of Central Tibetan origin. This socio-political organization served

Buddhism and mediated by local lamas and monasteries.

Evidence of this identity appeared by the thirteenth century and flourished for over a hundred years in the form of a new Tibetan literature known as "Treasures" (gter ma), volumes said to be newly uncovered texts that had been hidden during the collapse of the early Tibetan empire of the Yarlung kings. One of the most important of these texts, the Mani bka bum, depicts Tibet as a non-Buddhist country civilized by Buddhism due to the acts of the early kings. In particular Tibet is transformed by the beneficent activities of Avalokiteshvara, the Compassionate Boddhisattva and the patron-deity of Tibet. It is Avalokiteshvara who manifeste nimself in Tibetan history as the king Songtsen Gampo, and who, as a boddhisattya, has continued to return to material existence in the form of the lineage of the Dalai Lamas.

After the collapse of the Tibetan empire of the Yarlung kings, self-identity and the daily fabric of a social and religious polity resided at a local scale, in the monastery, or

as Tibetan lands by the designation of so-called Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties. This balkanization of the areas traditionally inhabited by Tibetan peoples and civilization extends even beyond the level of province and prefecture. Numerous Tibetan autonomous townships may be found within regular Chinese counties east of the aforementioned autonomous areas in Gansu and Sichuan, most notably Mutso, Shonphing and Poan identity of the Tibetan people among several non-Tibetan

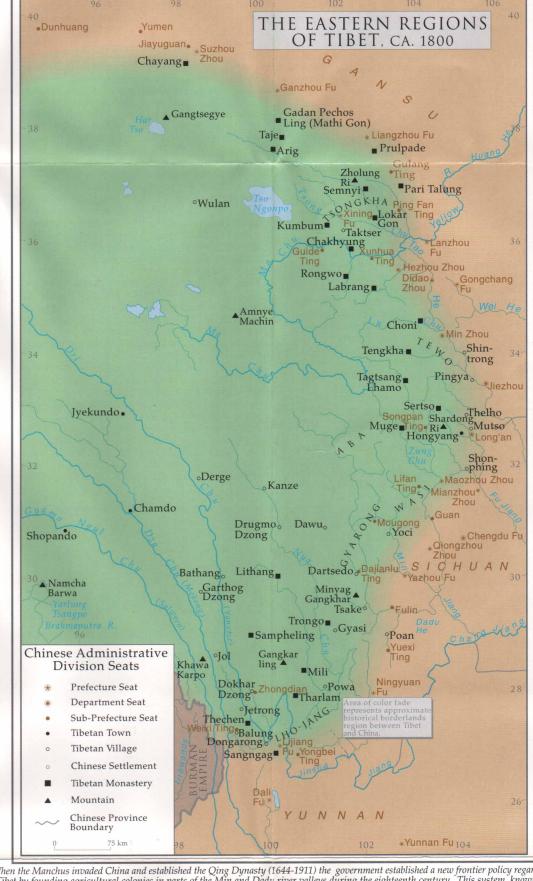
ethnic designations. This new state-sanctioned landscape is, in turn, a product of the state nationalities program of the People's Republic of China and its inherent bias towards the fragmentation of Chinese peoples.

About the Maps

his map series and its companion essay constitute a work in progress. We have used only data whose veracity we could substantiate through historical sources, which often led to the decision to exclude certain information. Thus, some regions in the borderlands area contain dense clusters of Tibetan place names, while others are devoid of names. Additionally, by concentrating our efforts on the historical borderlands region between Tibet and China, we have included only selected Tibetan towns, villages

and monasteries as one moves west of this borderlands

MAP II



When the Manchus invaded China and established the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) the government established a new frontier policy regarding. Tibet by founding agricultural colonies in parts of the Min and Dadu river valleys during the eighteenth century. This system, known as the tun-tian, or "colony-field" system, had been utilized by the Chinese empire for over two millennia as a way to establish self-sufficient Han Chinese communities in remote border regions. Manchu administrative hegemony in eastern Tibet linked these islands of Chinese control to the courier route from Sichuan to Lhasa, itself established in the early 18th century. Known as the "Gya Lam", or "China Road", this route ran from the subprefect of Dajianlu (Tibetan: Dartsedo) west to Lhasa, via Lithang and Bathang. Though Chinese garrisons were located at nine points along the route (Edgar 1930), these small detachments of soldiers were unarmed, had no authority over local Tibetans, and were, by the late nineteenth century, paid exclusively in tea from the Tibet-China tea trade (Rockhill 1894).

region. This gives much of Tibet the appearance of being sparsely populated throughout its history. Tibet has always had both a low population density and a virtually stable population growth rate. Still, we do not wish to imply that the absence of place names in the central and western regions of these maps means that these regions were either uninhabited or not historically Tibetan in identity. Tibetan place names have been romanized according to the Wylie system, and Chinese place names have been romanized according to the Pinyin system. In a few instances, we have deviated from this protocol in order to provide a more commonly recognized name. Thus, we use Siling instead of either Xiling or Xining. Finally, these maps use names that may not be familiar

to readers of today's maps of occupied Tibet. Thus, instead of Golmud we use Karmo; instead of Delingha we use

Telhi; instead of Kangding we use Dartsedo, and so on.

Selected Bibliography

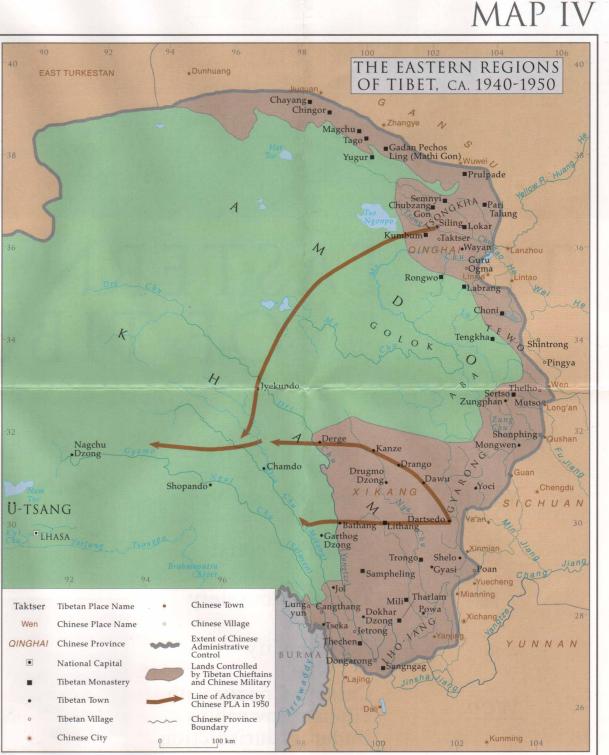
Research for these maps was undertaken using Tibetan, Chinese and western cartographic and textual records. Field work served and western cartographic and textual records. Field work served to substantiate important sections of the maps.

The main Tibetan texts studied were The Mirror which Illuminates all the Inanimate and Animate Things and Explains Fully the Great World (Dzam gling chen po'i rgyas bshad snod bcud kun gsal me long zhes bya ba). This work was written in 1820 by the incarnate lama Tsanpo from Amdo. A second major source of information came from The Chronicla of the Swad of Buddhesi in formation came from *The Chronicle of the Spread of Buddhsm in*2 Domed (eastern) Region (Deb ther 1940 myritten in 1865

7 Konchog Tsanpa Rabgya, a lama from Amdo.

Numerous dynastic Chinese documents and records were consulted. These include the Qing period gazetteers of Sichuan, Yunnan and Gansu provinces, documents which included

valuable maps. A second important source was the *Historical Atlas of China* edited by Tan (Shanghai: 1987, 8 vols.).



During the first half of the 20th century, portions of the eastern regions of Tibet fell under control of the Chinese republican government. The short-ived province of Xikang, established in 1911, was comprised of southern and eastern Kham. Xikang never really existed in any de facto political sense among the local Tibetan populations of Kham, other than in the handful of Chinese settlements along trade routes. In the north, the Tibetan regions of Ngapa and

Contemporary Chinese administrative boundaries are derived from various provincial maps. The PRC Administrative Division Handbook (Xingzheng Qu Hua Jiance; Beijing: 1995) also provided important information.

The Ethno-Historical Tibetan Atlas Series compiled by Peter Kessler (Laufende Arbeiten zu einem Ethnohistorischen Atlas Tibets; Tibet Institute, Rikon/Zurich) was invaluable. Three volumes covering parts of Kham have been published to date: Ling and Derge (vol. 40, 1983); Tehor (vol. 41, 1984); and Muli (vol. 47, 1982).

China Border Research Society, #4, pp. 9-13, published in 1930; Joseph Fletcher (1978) "Ching Inner Asia ca. 1800," in The Cambridge History of Scholars and institutions devoted to critically examining historical and contemporary questions on land and life in the greater Tibetan Plateau region.

The Sino-Tibetan Treaties in the Tang Dynasty," Toung Pao, #128 pp. 116-161; Hugh E. Richardson, 1978, This map series is distributed with the aid of the International Campaign for Tibet. Additional copies of this map may be ordered through their office:

International Campaign For Tibet 1891 & 1892.

International Campaign For Tibet 1825 K Street NW, Suite 520 Washington, DC 20006 202.785.1515 (phone) 202.785.4343 (fax.)

Prior to this period, much o Tibet Autonomous Region. The term "gang drug" means "six ranges". With only minor spelling variations, both of these texts list six gang, or pastoral ranges, lying between the Salween, Mekong, Yangtze, Yalong, and Dadu river valleys. These descriptions of Tibet in no way exclude U-Tsang (i.e., Central Tibet) as distinct from a multi-regional conception of the geographic extent of Tibetan civilization. One important insight into a Tibetan identity is that both texts refer to Tibet as a source of major Asian rivers, with a cold highland climate, and enclosed by permanent snow peaks. The three traditional regions of Tibet each consist of such physiographic features. Indeed, a passage in *The Great World* lists the eight "border countries" surrounding Tibet as China, Jang (the Nakhi, a Tibeto-Burman people of northern Yunnan), Mon (tribal people of northeastern India), India, Nepal, Kashmir, Persia, and Hor (Mongols). Certainly, these surrounding peoples, and the mountainous borderlands that separate them, have the low-lying Chinese provinces political or administrative helped to maintain a natural authority, whether from Lhasa or for over a millennium helped to define the geographical extent frontier between the two China's capitals. of both the Tibetan Plateau and Tibetan civilization. But even in these two smal

Map I: Yarlung Dynasty,

he diffusion of Buddhism among the peoples of the Tibetan Plateau, beginning in the 7th century AD, promoted many aspects of inter-regional social and political cohesion, most notably the acceptance of a standardized writing system designed to transmit the teachings of the Buddha. Today, Tibetans still revere King Songtsen Gampo of the Yarlung Dyanasty, who ruled in this time over a Tibetan empire that stretched from the western edges of the Tibetan Plateau to the borders of Tang China along Gansu and Sichuan provinces in the east. Tibet's influence was so great, in fact, that in the year 763, the Tibetans, allied with the Uighur Turks, invaded the Tang Empire, captured the Chinese capital Chang-an, and replaced the Tang emperor with a candidate of their own choosing The Tibetan empire in the era of the Yarlung Kings and the Tang Dynasty, as shown in Map I, thus clearly extended beyond the physiographic limits of the Tibetan Plateau to include parts of China. (The area of color fade on other maps demarks the approximate eastern edge of Tibetan civilization and the Tibetan Plateau.)

During this period Tibet and China negotiated a series of treaties, the most famous of which is the Treaty of 821-822 and which was inscribed on three stone pillars. One pillar

MAP V

CHINESE ADMINISTRATIVE XINJIANG REGIONS, EASTERN TIBET, 1996 Jiayugua Chayang Gon Haixi (Mongolian, Tibetan and Kazak) o Pekha Dulan Chakhyung Hainan Huangnan Yushi Ivekundo. Shonphing Wassu Chamdo TIBET **AUTONOMOUS** Shopando • REGION (XIZANG) Sichua Lithang Dartsedo ▲ Namcha Barwa LHASA Tagtsher Tibetan Place Name Tibetan Monaster Chinese Place Name Tibetan Region Tibetan Village Chinese Province Chinese Town XIZANG or Autonomous Region Chinese Village UNNAN Tibet Autonomous Golog Prefecture or County National Capital Approximate Historical

China's new administrative landscape recognizes Tibetan lands by the designation of so-called Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties. This balkanization of the areas traditionally Sichuan, most notably Mutso, Shonphing and Poan. These divisions fragment the identity of the Tibetan people among several non-Tibetan ethnic designations.

Extent of Tibetan

Autonomous Region

Tibetan Autonomous

Prefecture or County

Province or

Horchen Tibetan Place Name Chinese Place Nam National Capital Horchen. Tibetan Settlement During the era of the Yarlung Kings, Tibet and China negotiated a series of treaties, the most famous of which is the Treaty of 821-822. This treaty refers to Lanny the era of the tartung Rings, twee and China negotiated a series of treaties, the most famous of which is the Treaty of 821-822. This treaty refers to a dejure boundary between the two nations: "both Treaty concluded between Tibet and Tang China. The text of the treaty provides the closes reference to a dejure boundary between the two nations: "both Tibet and China shall keep the country and frontiers of which they are now in possession.

The whole region to the east of that being the country of Great China and the whole region to the west being assuredly the country of Great Tibet." question comprises the valley of the Sung Period in the early 1200s and continuing into Things and Explains fully the Great World), Chu (Min river) that provides direct access the Manchu and Republican eras. hereafter referred to as The Great World. or highland Tibetan trade caravans to the An alternative school of thought maintains Written in 1820 by Lama Tsanpo (1789-

Dartsedo.

for highland Tibetan trade caravans to the fertile Sichuan Basin and the Chinese city of Chengdu. Outside of these two areas the pre-modern extent of dynastic China's territorial administration in Tibet was limited to the posting of small numbers of officials and couriers along only one long-distance trade route, a route which ran from Lhasa to Sichuan.

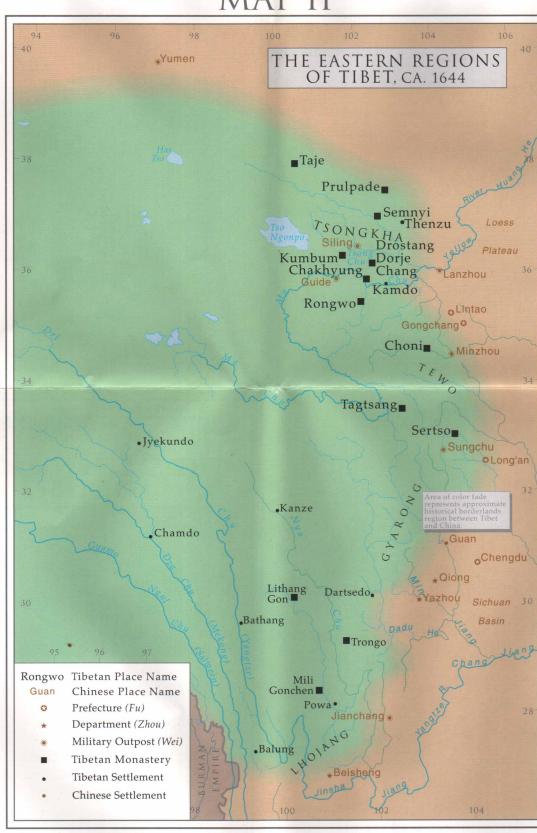
An alternative school of thought maintains Written in 1820 by Lama Isanpo (1789-1838), an incarnate lama from Amdo, the provincial boundaries on the Tibetan Plateau work is unique because it discusses the were largely a cartographic fiction, and were geography of Tibet in toto. The second seminal Tibetan geography of Tibet in toto. The second seminal Tibetan geography of Tibet in toto. The second seminal Tibetan geographical volume is entitled *Deb ther rgya mtsho--*in English, the on any *de facto* or *de jure* hegemony in the region. Indeed, when we examine how Current Chinese policy maintains that their writings reveal both how they Amdo. This latter text deals mainly with only communities west of the upper Yangtse drainage were ever part of the effective sphere of political control of the Lhasa-based sphere of political control of the

polity of the Dalai Lamas, a region which into our attempts at delimiting the into Chinese in 1989 under the title *Anduo* was historically comprised of U-Tsang and geographical extent of traditional Tibetan Zhengjiao Shi (Political and Religious History western Kham, and re-named Xizang--in civilization, and, in turn, the historical extent of Amdo) Chinese, the Tibet Autonomous Region. All of Amdo and Kham. Thus, before examining Tibetan communities outside of the Tibet of Amdo and Kham. Thus, before examining Both of these texts refer to Tibet as consisting of three main regions, an upper, Autonomous Region are assumed to have eastern regions of Amdo and Kham, it is middle and lower corresponding to resided within clearly defined borders of Chinese provinces since at least the early of the meaning of Tibet's regions. Two texts repsectively. The Great World lists this 18th cntury. The recent multi-volume historical atlas series of China (Tan 1987) subscribes to this school of thought, tanslated into English the section on Tibet western region as Tod (i.e. above, or in the west) Nga ri kor sum; in the Spread of Buddhism it is described simply as Nga ri.

100 km

presenting practically the whole of the Tibetan Plateau neatly parceled into administrative divisions under the control of China beginning with the Yuan or Mongol in the classic Tibetan world geography book administrative divisions under the control of China beginning with the Yuan or Mongol in the classic Tibetan world geography book and the classic Tibetan world geography book are poi in the classic Tibetan world geography book and the classic Tibetan world geography book and the classic Tibetan world geography book are poi in the classic Tibetan world geography book are pointed in

MAP II



Despite the collapse of the Tibetan empire of the Yarlung Kings, Buddhism continued to flourish in northeastern Tibet, eventually enabling the Dharma teacher Tsong Khapa (1357-1419), to undertake one of the greatest reform movements in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. This movement's teachings re-established and strengthened religious ties across Tibet and led to the founding of many of Tibetan Buddhism's largest monasteries, from Drepung, Sera and Ganden in the Lhasa Valley region, to Kumbum Monastery, located in the far northeast of Amdo in the mountains above the Tsong Chu valley, and but a few miles from Taktser, the birthplace of today's XIV Dalai Lama.

Do Kham gang drug. Today, Tibetans still refer to themselves as from one of these three traditional macro-regions, even hough a more localized regional identity based on an agricultural valley or pastoral grassland is used by Tibetans for day-to-day identity. Additionally, few Tibetans refer themselves as from Do-Kham; rather, they will usually identify either Kham or Amdo as their home. In the mid-1800's, the term Do-Kham would thus appear to

have been a synthesis of the two main Tibetan regions of Kham and Amdo that border upon China. Further insight into how these writers conceptualized Kham and Amdo as separate regions from the larger region of *Do-Kham* is made clear through the listing of specific river valleys and mountain ranges that comprise the heartland of Kham--today composed of western Sichuan province and the eastern boundary region of the

gomba as it is known in Tibet. During this long period, the rugged mountains of eastern Kham and Amdo provided a degree of insulation from the centralizing political authority of both Lhasa and China, allowing local chieftains colonists originally consisted of Chinese soldiers sent into the to rule in concert with the lamas of local *gombas*. Trade and religious pilgrimage continued to provide sustained, though less consistent, links across Tibet and into China's Sichuan

City

Chinese County with

under its Jurisdiction

These lines of communications enabled the great Dharma teacher Tsong Khapa (1357-1419), to undertake founded many of Tibetan Buddhism's greatest monasteries, from Drepung, Sera and Ganden in the Lhasa Valley region, to Kumbum Monastery, located in the far northeast of Amdo in the mountains above the Tsong Chu valley, and but a few miles from Taktser, the birthplace of Kham to central Tibet.

History Map III, the Western Extent of the Manchu Empire, ca. 1800

hen the Manchus invaded China and established the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) they established a new frontier policy regarding Tibet and, especially, the mountainous borderlands of eastern Kham and Amdo. Being themselves a people with a nomadic past, the Manchus recognized that the Tibetan and Mongolian peoples might pose a threat to their empire, based at the time on the great population centers of eastern, agrarian China. Though the expansion of Manchu territorial administration into Tibetan lands was still limited to the main avenues of economic exchange that the Ming had established on a limited scale, several capable emperors ruled under the period known as the High Qing. It was during this time that the Manchus managed to place officials further along the great caravan routes between Tibet and China than ever before. Despite this increased presence, after about 1800, this trade-route system was tept operational mainly due to the continuing support of

local Tibetan officials and chieftains. Four levels of Chinese territorial existed below the imperial capital, a system which left its stamp in the eastern regions of Amdo and Kham. First, a province was under a governor, or governor-generalship. The next level consisted of a circuit, or dao. Prefects, county magistrates and other officials at the next lower levels wide range of civil and military affairs. Also, the circuit intendant was primarily responsible for diplomatic relations with foreigners. A logical argument may be made that eastern Tibetan communities not included within the range of the circuit intendant's inspections were independent of Chinese control.

Within this administrative framework, agricultural colonies were founded in parts of the Min and Dadu river valleys during the eighteenth century. Just to the west of Lifan Ting, on the upper reaches of the Min watershed, five colonies (tun) were founded in 1757. The tun-tian, or 'colony-field" system, had been utilized by the Chinese empire for over two millennia as a way to establish selfsufficient Han Chinese communities in remote border regions. Although surrounding local people and their daily lifeways were not controlled by the colonies, the system did act to lessen the chances of strong local chieftains establishing themselves as a threat to China's

colonists originally consisted of Chinese soldiers sent into the region to fight several local Tibetan kings, and who were subsequently stranded there by the Manchu court. As years passed without contact, these soldiers married local women and settled down to a life of farming. The subprefect yamen of Mougong was located at one of the five colonies. Despite Mougong's inclusion in the inspection route of a circuit one of the greatest reform movements in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. While Tsong Khapa's place in Tibetan rather five little islands, of Chinese control surrounded by teachings re-established and strengthened religious ties across Tibet. In addition, following his death, his disciples founded many of Tibetan Buddhism's greatest mountains. Manchu administrative hegemony in eastern Tibet linked these islands of Chinese control to the courier route from Sichuan to Lhasa, itself established in the early 18th century. Known as the "Gya Lam", or "China Road", this route ran from the subprefect of Dajianlu (Tibetan: Dartsedo) west to today's XIV Dalai Lama. The historical persistence of these Lhasa, via Lithang and Bathang. Though Chinese garrisons monasteries attests to the social and religious coherence that Tibetan Buddhism provided Tibetans across the Tibetan small detachments of soldiers were unarmed, had no authority Plateau for over 600 years, especially in linking Amdo and over local Tibetans, and were, by the late nineteenth century paid exclusively in tea from the Tibet-China tea trade (Rockhill 1894). In fact, the Tibetan town of Dartsedo, where the subprefect yamen of Dajianlu was located, also served simultaneously as the seat of the local Tibetan kings of Chagla, where they had a palace. An annual sum from the Dajianlu customs was even paid to the Dalai Lama (Fletcher 1978). The third region of isolated and limited Chinese administration stretched along the borderlands between southern Kham and the Chinese province of Yunnan. Due

This design would appear to have succeeded in the upper Dadu river valley, in the Tibetan region of Gyarong, where

o the great demand for tea in Tibet, a southern branch of the Gya Lam facilitated the importation of tea from Yunnan into Tibet. In the prefecture of Lijiang the Manchus established two sub-prefectures during the 1700s along the main caravan routes--Weixi, located in the valley of the Dza Chu (Mekong River), and in Zhongdian, located in the valley of the Dri Chu Yangtze River). Further evidence of the historically enduring character eastern Tibetan regions, and how they are considered part

of Tibet by the Tibetan people, may be seen in the formal boundary claims of the Tibetan state during the Simla Conference. Organized and conducted by the British Indian government in 1913-14, the Simla Conference was primarily concerned with keeping Tibet as a *de facto* buffer state between China and India after the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911. Considerable effort was expended by the British to get the Tibetan and Chinese sides to agree upon a mutual boundary. In the end, however, the Chinese delegate, Chen Yifan, only initialed a text of a tripartite convention, which was immediately repudiated by the rew government of the Chinese Republic of President Yuan Shin-kai. Britain and Tibet were left with no alternative but to proceed without Chinese participation. Sir. H. McMahon, president of the Simla Conference, along with Tibet's representative, Lonchen Shatra, were directly accountable to the circuit intendant for a signed a joint Anglo-Tibetan Declaration which

resources on expanding de facto administrative or military control over the mountainous eastern regions of Tibet.

acknowledged the draft Convention to be binding on the two

governments. Moreover, the British Government had secured

the freedom of direct communication with the Tibetan

terms of 36 regions, including the eastern regions of Tsongkha and Tewo in northeast Amdo, and Gyarong, in eastern Kham, shown on the maps presented here. The first proposal which

McMahon proffered for the frontier of Tibet bordered on the

east in Kham at Dartsedo, included the eastern region of Gyarong, and extended as far north as Tso Ngonpo (the Blue

Lake), and the Jhilan mountains of northeast Amdo. As recently as the early 20th century, then, western nations considered Tibet as a country which covered virtually the

fter the founding of the People's Republic of China in

1949, the communist government directed the main thrusts of its conquests in Tibet towards Lhasa and

Central Tibet.

Map IV shows how this initial expansion

n the extension of China's administrative and political hegemony along traditional trade routes from Amdo and Kham towards Central Tibet. Yet, despite the arrival in Lhasa

of People's Liberation Army troops in 1950 along these occupied

outes, communist China still exercised little direct control

the short-lived Chinese province of Xikang, established during

and eastern Kham, Xikang never really existed in any *de facto* geo-political sense among the local Tibetan populations of Kham outside of the few Chinese settlements along trade

routes. Additionally, the Chinese provincial boundaries of Qinghai and western Gansu, which today comprise virtually

ll of Amdo and northwestern Kham, were only administered

Within Tibet, most of the communities of the borderlands

and monastic leaders into the 1950s. The Tibetan regions

egions of Kham and Amdo remained under their own local

of Lho-Jang and Gyarong in Kham, and Ngapa (Chinese: Aba) and Golok in Amdo, were still independent of Chinese

egemony, despite the creation on paper of Qinghai Province

in 1927. Indeed, in 1935, an official delegation from Lhasa was sent to search for the incarnate XIV Dalai Lama in the

Lhamo Dhondrub was allowed to leave Taktser, his village, and return with the official entourage, a ransom of over

US\$90,000 had to be paid to Ma Bufeng, the Muslim warlord

whose territory included Taktser. Chinese officials exercised no political or military authority in the region. Indeed, owing

warlordism, civil war, and invasion by Japan, China's

Republican and Nationalist governments could not, in the first half of the 20th century, focus their military and political

y local level Chinese officials after 1949.

over vast sections of both Amdo and Kham. Indeed, while

the Republican Period (1911-1949), was comprised of souther

entire Tibetan Plateau.

History Map IV, The End

of Isolation, 1940-1949

The territory claimed by the Tibetan side was listed in

the size and number of areas in Kham and Amdo recognized

Map V, Chinese Administrative Control

of EasternTibet, ca. 1995

he administrative landscape of eastern Tibet today has taken on a vastly different look from traditional Tibet. (Compare Map V to the main map, side one.) In Map V, only a small amount of green-the color we have used to represent Tibet-persists on the landscape. China's new administrative landscape has limited

41, 1984); and Muli (vol. 47, 1982). Five additional works proved valuable. These include J.H. Edgar's "The Old Courier Service Between Tachienlu and Lhasa," Journal of the West

Golok in Amdo were still largely independent of Chinese hegemony, despite the creation on paper of Qinghai province in 1927. The light brown area between the green of Tibet and the tan of China depicts a region that is actually a mosaic of islands of Tibetan culture and Chinese incursion.

Indeed, within most of these regions, Tibetans still lived under their own local lay and monastic leaders, even into the 1950's.