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Edited by Clements R. Markham

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### **Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet**

First published in 1876, this volume contains first-hand accounts of the first expeditions to Tibet by British diplomat George Bogle (1747–81) and scholar Thomas Manning (1772–1840) in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1774 Bogle was appointed the leader of the first British diplomatic mission to the previously unexplored country of Tibet in an attempt to establish friendly relations and open trade links. Bogle spent six months wintering in various places in Tibet, exploring the culture and politics. Thomas Manning became the first English national to enter the city of Lhasa and to speak with the Dalai Lama in 1811. Edited by prolific writer and president of the Royal Geographical Society Sir Clements Markham (1830–1916), this fascinating volume also includes a detailed introduction providing the historical and geographic context of the expeditions, together with biographies of the two adventurers.

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Narratives  
of the Mission of  
George Bogle to Tibet  
*and of the Journey of  
Thomas Manning to Lhasa*

EDITED BY CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM



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Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,  
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo, Mexico City

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108022552](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108022552)

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This edition first published 1881  
This digitally printed version 2010

ISBN 978-1-108-02255-2 Paperback

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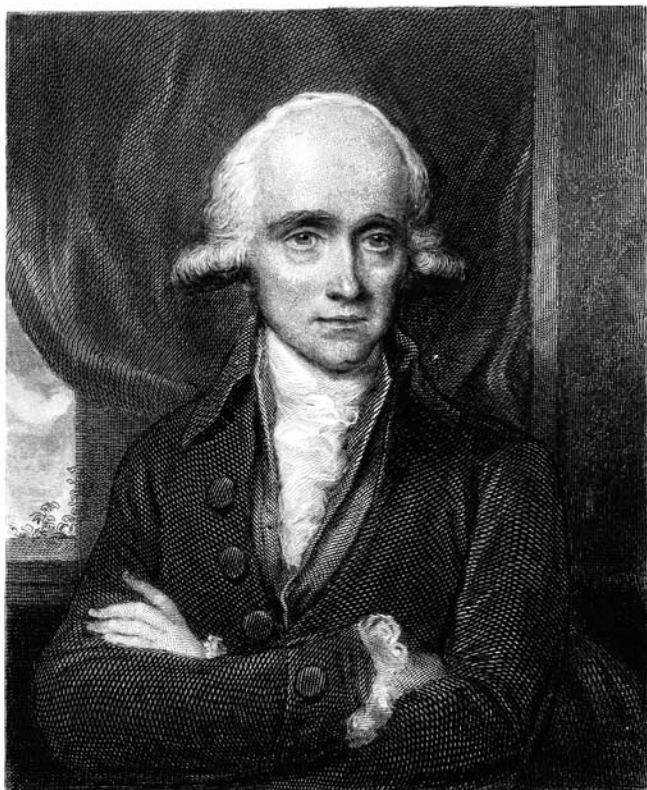
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W. Cravatbatch, ec.

THE RIGHT HON. WARREN HASTINGS.

FROM AN ORIGINAL MINIATURE BY OZIAS BOMPHERY, F.A.

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NARRATIVES  
OF THE  
MISSION OF GEORGE BOGLE  
TO  
TIBET,  
AND OF THE  
JOURNEY OF THOMAS MANNING  
TO  
LHASA.

*EDITED, WITH NOTES, AN INTRODUCTION, AND LIVES OF  
MR. BOGLE AND MR. MANNING*

BY  
CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S.  
GEOGRAPHICAL DEPARTMENT, INDIA OFFICE.

LONDON :  
TRÜBNER AND CO., LUDGATE HILL.  
—  
1876.

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## DEDICATION.



*To the RIGHT HON. THE LORD NORTHBROOK, G.M.S.I., Viceroy  
and Governor-General of India.*

MY DEAR LORD NORTHBROOK,

I AM glad to be allowed to inscribe to you, from whom, when I was your Private Secretary, in times past, I received so much kindness, my editorial labours in connection with a book which cannot, I venture to think, fail to have interest for the Viceroy of India.

The most important portion of the volume would, without doubt, have been dedicated to Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, by his envoy Mr. George Bogle, if untoward circumstances had not intervened to prevent its publication. A century has since elapsed, and now that the intention of Warren Hastings that it should be given to the world is fulfilled, it is appropriate that the book should be dedicated to his successor, the present Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

In the long period that has intervened, since the first Governor-General retired, no greater advances have been made towards the establishment of friendly commercial intercourse between India and the countries on the northern side of the Himálaya than in the time of your Lordship's administration. A

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mission has visited Kashgar, the Pamír table-land has been explored, and Mr. Edgar has held friendly converse on the Jelep-la with the Tibetan officials of Pari-jong, the prelude of further steps towards acquiring the goodwill of the Lhasa Government.

The contents of the present volume will, I trust, prove to be useful contributions towards that knowledge which will be the means of some day re-establishing friendly intercourse between India and Tibet; and in the hope that my efforts towards that end will receive your approval,

I remain,

Dear Lord Northbrook,

Yours with much regard and respect,

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.

GEOGRAPHICAL DEPARTMENT, INDIA OFFICE,

*December, 1875.*



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## PREFACE.



It has long been known that the first British mission to Tibet was sent by Warren Hastings in 1774 under Mr. George Bogle, B.C.S., that a great friendship was formed between Mr. Bogle and the Teshu Lama, and that intercourse was then established between the Governments of British India and Tibet. But up to the present time no full account of this important mission has been given to the world. All attempts to find adequate materials among the records at Calcutta, or at the India Office, have failed.

It is less generally known that the only Englishman who ever visited Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, and saw the Dalai Lama, was Mr. Thomas Manning, an adventurous traveller who performed that extraordinary feat in 1811. No account has hitherto been published of Mr. Manning's remarkable journey.

These two gaps in the history of intercourse between India and Tibet have now been filled up.

The whole of Mr. Bogle's journals, memoranda, official and private correspondence, have been carefully preserved by his family in Scotland. Through the kindness and public spirit of Miss Brown of Lanfine, in Ayrshire, the representative of the Bogle family, these valuable manuscripts, after having been judiciously arranged by Mr. Gairdner of Kilmarnock, were placed in the hands of the present editor. They were contained in a large box, and consisted of journals, memoranda of various kinds, and on many subjects; numerous bundles of private letters, including correspondence with Warren Hastings, Sir Elijah Impey, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Mrs. Morehead, Dr. Hamilton, and the members of Mr. Bogle's family; appoint-

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ments, minutes of conversations, and official despatches. No commencement had been made of a work intended for publication. The whole of this voluminous mass of papers had to be carefully read through and annotated before any attempt could be made to arrange a consecutive narrative of the mission. My object has been to keep the author constantly in the foreground, and to avoid any sign of editorial intrusiveness, and, as the journal was fragmentary, and it was necessary to supplement it occasionally with extracts from letters and other materials, there were some difficulties in adhering to this plan. They have, however, been overcome, and a connected history of the Mission to Tibet is now presented to the world. It must, however, be remembered that Mr. Bogle had not prepared any of his materials for the press, that they are submitted in a more or less crude form a century after they were written, and that, therefore, it would be unfair to judge of them as of a work completed and revised by its author.

Mr. Manning appears to have hastily jotted down his first impressions, day by day, in a rough note-book, which was copied out fair by his sister, and has since remained in manuscript. He was a man of learning and great ability, and was well able to have written a good account of his remarkable journey. He never did so. But, through the kindness of his nephew, the Rev. C. R. Manning, Rector of Diss, in Norfolk, I have had the rough journal placed in my hands. Thus an account of the visit to Lhasa of the only Englishman who ever entered that famous city, is presented to the world. It must be remembered that Manning's narrative is from the hasty and desultory jottings of a note-book. We are fortunate to have obtained this relic, and must make the most of it. Good or bad, it stands alone. No other countryman of ours has ever followed in Manning's footsteps. And, for those who know how to find it, there is much wheat to be gathered from amongst Mr. Manning's chaff.

In my introduction, I have attempted, in a narrative form

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with foot-note references, to enumerate all the sources of information respecting Great Tibet, and the region between it and British India; and especially to furnish particulars as to the visits of Europeans to those countries. My first object is thus to show the exact positions, in history, which are occupied by the mission sent by Warren Hastings and conducted by Mr. Bogle, and by the journey of Mr. Manning to Lhasa. My second object is to supply facilities for the exhaustive study of an important subject, and one which ought to be thoroughly understood by all public men connected with British India, and by all who interest themselves in the progress and welfare of our Eastern Empire.

The introduction is followed by two biographical sketches, one of Mr. George Bogle, B.C.S., and the other of Mr. Thomas Manning.

The narratives of Grueber, Desideri, and Horace della Penna, Catholic priests who visited Lhasa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are given in an Appendix.

I should not have been able to complete my task if I had not received much kind assistance from many quarters. In the first place, the proof sheets of Bogle's narrative have had the inestimable advantage of revision from Mr. Brian Hodgson, who, in addition, has supplied me with many hints from his vast storehouse of information. I have also to thank Sir John Davis, Colonel Yule, Colonel Haughton, Dr. Hooker, Commodore Jansen of the Hague, Professor Veth of Leyden, the learned President of the Dutch Geographical Society, Mr. Major of the British Museum, Mr. Charles B. Phillimore, and Colonel Montgomerie, for valuable assistance.

The staff of the Geographical Department of the India Office have zealously made the aid they have given in the production of this volume a part of their extra work. Mr. Trelawney Saunders, besides preparing the maps, has been indefatigable in identifying names of places, and in conducting difficult bits of research. It must be remembered that a single identification, represented

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perhaps by a sentence or a word, may have occupied many hours and even days of weary searching and close study. Mr. Charles E. D. Black, whose aptitude for orderly and lucid exposition, and whose accomplishments as a linguist render his co-operation most acceptable, has given a helping hand, which is only very partially represented by the translations in the Appendix. Last, but not least, Mr. W. Ronson has been a most valuable assistant in the labour of passing the sheets through the press, and in attending to their methodical arrangement.

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(1774).

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(1811–12).

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ERRATA.

- Page lix, line 24, *for* 1780 *read* 1680.
- „ lxiii, „ 2, „ Gauvil *read* Gaubil.
- „ „ „ 10, „ Bicin (Bi-tsiou) *read* Biciu (Bi-tsiou).
- „ lxvi, line 2 from bottom; page lxvii, line 2 of note <sup>1</sup>; and page 126,  
line 14 of note <sup>3</sup>, *for* Guiseppe *read* Giuseppe.
- „ xciv, line 8 of note <sup>1</sup>, *for* Tubeto riental *read* Tubet oriental.
- „ cxxv, line 5, *for* Furbe tou *read* Purbet ou.
- „ 135, line 6 of note, *for* desert of Gobi *read* Kirghiz Steppe.

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POLICY OF WARREN HASTINGS.

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## INTRODUCTION.



THE first Governor-General of India conceived the plan of opening friendly commercial intercourse between the people over whom he ruled and the natives of the lofty table-land behind the snowy peaks to the north. On this grand object Warren Hastings bestowed much thought, and he gradually developed a policy which was continuous while his influence lasted. He took a broad and enlightened view of the requirements of the case, and he appears to have seen from the first that the end could only be gained by persistent efforts extending over a long period.

It is owing to the absence of a continuous policy that this and many other great measures which were once full of promise have produced no permanent results. Warren Hastings opened a correspondence with the rulers of Tibet and Bhutan; he succeeded in establishing most friendly relations by the despatch of an embassy; his liberal encouragement of trade brought down crowds of mountaineers to his fair at Rangpúr; he followed up his first mission by a second and third to Bhutan, with the object of cementing the recently formed friendship; and finally, he sent a fourth embassy to Bhutan, which extended its operations into Tibet. Yet, when the master-mind was removed, the work so admirably commenced was abandoned. No English official has since held personal intercourse with the rulers of Tibet, and when, a quarter of a century after the retirement of Warren Hastings, a solitary Englishman did once force his way to Lhasa, no use was made

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OBJECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION.

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of his brave and successful enterprise, and he was left to perish or to return, as chance would have it.

So completely was the policy of opening commercial intercourse between India and the Trans-Himálayan region abandoned, that the very history of the Hastings negotiations was forgotten,<sup>1</sup> and most of the valuable records of the Tibet and Bhutan missions were lost. Thus the knowledge that was then acquired with so much care, the lessons of experience that were taught, instead of being carefully stored up and made available as a point of departure for future efforts, have been totally disregarded. It is by a series of mere accidents that copies of records long since lost or destroyed, owing to official neglect, have been preserved through the more patriotic and discriminating care of private families.

The account of the important mission of George Bogle to Bhutan and Tibet has been gathered partly from journals, partly from official despatches, and partly from private correspondence; and it is now presented for the first time in a connected form. That of Mr. Manning's extraordinary journey to Lhasa is from a fragmentary series of notes and jottings which alone remain to bear testimony to a feat which still remains unparalleled.

As an introduction to the perusal of these narratives, I propose to give an account of the region to which they refer; to furnish some information respecting what is known of the inhabitants, their history and religion; and to pass in review the several steps by which our existing knowledge has been acquired, and the events, so far as we can learn them, which have formed the more recent history of Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. To perform such a task with any approach to completeness would require a separate volume, and the possession of local knowledge. My aim in this introduction will therefore

<sup>1</sup> See Hamilton's 'East India Gazetteer.' This writer, with access to official records, was so ignorant, that

he did not know the difference between the Deb Rajah of Bhutan and the Dalai Lama.

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INTR.]

## THE HIMÁLAYAN REGION.

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be confined to such a general glance at the subject as will suffice to place the narratives in their due relative positions, and to explain all circumstances relating to them directly or indirectly. Another object will be to furnish references, in their proper order, through which this important subject may be more thoroughly studied and understood; and thus, in some measure, to assist in replacing and restoring those foundations of a great policy which the genius of Warren Hastings had laid, but which subsequent neglect has destroyed.

The Himálayan system is composed of three great culminating chains, running more or less parallel to each other for their whole length, from the gorge of the Indus to that of the Dihong; and the lofty region of Great Tibet lies mainly between the inner and outer range, with the Central Chain, whence most of the rivers of northern India take their rise, running through its length. It is with the portion of the Himálayan region which includes Great Tibet and the countries between it and the plains of India, that the narratives composing this volume have to do; and, therefore, the introductory remarks will be mainly confined to that portion.

The inner and most northern of the three ranges is naturally divided into a western and an eastern section. The western is known as the Karakorum Range, separating the valley of the Indus from that of the Yarkand River and other streams belonging to the inland system of Lob-nor. It has vast glaciers and lofty peaks, including that called K 2, which is 28,000 feet above the sea,<sup>1</sup> while it is traversed by passes of great height, such as the Chang-chenmo, 19,000 feet,<sup>2</sup> and the Karakorum, 18,000 feet above the sea. The sources of three great rivers are on the southern slopes of the northern range, and forcing their way through the central and southern chains, they reach the plains of India: namely, the Indus, Sutlej, and Brahmaputra.

<sup>1</sup> K 2 stands between the parts of this range called Mustang and Karakorum, referring to the Mustang and Karakorum passes.

<sup>2</sup> There are two Chang-chenmo passes: that of Pangtung-la, 18,900, and of Changlung-barma la, 19,280 feet above the sea. (Trotter's Map.)

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The eastern section of the Northern Range forms the natural northern boundary of Great Tibet; for although an extensive region farther north is included on the maps as part of Tibet, it is really inhabited by wandering, independent tribes, called Hor and Sok.<sup>1</sup> Tibetan influence, so far as we yet know, is here confined to the route to Rudok and the Thok Jalung gold fields,<sup>2</sup> and to a few monasteries in the mountains and on the banks of Lake Tengri-nor, although Tibetan sovereignty must be considered as extending to the Kuen-lun Mountains. This lofty region is almost entirely unknown to Europeans, except through the Lama surveys.<sup>3</sup> It is drained by streams flowing into a system of inland lakes, and its elevation above the sea has only been ascertained at three points. Mr. Johnson, in his journey to Khotan, entered the region of inland drainage by the Chang-chenmo pass, and found the height of the Lingtsi plain to be 17,000 feet. The Pundit of 1867 found the gold mines of Thok Jalung, which are on this lofty plateau, to be 16,330 feet; and Colonel Montgomerie's explorer of 1872 reached the shores of Lake Tengri-nor, and ascertained its height to be 15,000 feet above the sea. The great Northern Chain of the Himálayan system, called the Karakorum Range in its western section, is here known as the *Ninjinthangla* or *Nyenchhen-tang-la* Mountains, and separates the inland system of lakes from the basin of the Brahmaputra. To the westward it commences at the famous central peak or knot called Kailas<sup>4</sup> by the Hindus, and Gangri by the Tibetans, which is 22,000 feet above the sea

<sup>1</sup> Horsok is the name given by the Tibetans to the whole region between the Northern Himálayan Range (*Nyenchhén-thanglá*) and the Kuen-lun. It is inhabited by two distinct races, called Hor and Sok: Horpa is the western half of this region, and Sokpa the eastern half, as well as part of Sokyeul, round the Kokonor Lake. They are all styled *Kháchhén* (Muhammadans) by the Tibetans. Sokyeul is the same as Tangut. The Hor are Turks, and

the Sok are of Mongol race. *Yeul* means an encampment, so that Sokyeul is the encampment of the Soks or Mongols.

<sup>2</sup> The northern slopes of the range are reported to contain a whole string of gold fields, extending from the meridian of Lhasa to that of Rudok.

<sup>3</sup> See p. lxi for some account of this survey.

<sup>4</sup> On the map of D'Anville, in Du Halde, it is called *Kentaisse*.

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THE CENTRAL CHAIN.

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The chain then continues in an easterly and north-easterly direction, forming the northern watershed of the Brahmaputra, throwing up lofty peaks, one of which is reported by the explorer of 1872 to be at least 25,000 feet high; while the pass by which he crossed the range to the inland plateau was 17,200 feet above the sea. The name given to the eastern section of this most northern of the ranges by Mr. Brian Hodgson is *Nyenchhen-tang-la*;<sup>1</sup> and the same name is referred by the explorer of 1872 to one of the peaks. Mr. Trelawney Saunders has proposed as the name of this range, *Gang-ri*,<sup>2</sup> the Tibetan for "snowy mountain," by which the Kailas Peak is known in Tibet. But perhaps the most convenient way of distinguishing this important but almost unknown mountain chain will be by referring to it as the inner or northern chain of the Himálayan system.

Parallel to the Northern Range runs the Central Range of the Himálaya, which is also little known, and but very partially explored. The section of this range with which we have to deal commences at the Mariam-la pass, near the Kailas or Gangri Peak. Here a comparatively low saddle connects the Northern and Central ranges, and separates the valley of the Sutlej from that of the Brahmaputra. To the eastward this Central Chain, on its northern side, forms the southern watershed of the Brahmaputra, while on its southern slopes are the sources of many important rivers, which, forcing their way through the Southern Chain of the Himálaya, eventually join the Ganges or the Brahmaputra. Such are the rivers Kali, Karnali, Narayani, Buria Gandak, Tirsuli Gandak, Bhotia Kosi, and Arun, in Nepal; possibly some of the feeders of the Monass, in Bhutan, and the Lopra-cachu, or Subanshiri, farther east. Only three Englishmen have ever crossed the Central Chain to the eastward of the Mariam-la pass (all at the same point), namely, Bogle, Turner,

<sup>1</sup> See 'Selections' (Government of Bengal), No. xxvii. p. 93; and 'J. A. S. B.', ii., of 1853.

<sup>2</sup> Klaproth has *Gang-dis-i*. *Gung* is snow, in Tibetan; *dis*, colour, in Sanscrit; and *Ri*, a mountain, in Tibetan. ('Magasin Asiatique,' p. 233. Paris, 1825.)