

# **The Melong**

An Example of the Formation of a Tibetan Language  
Press

*Revised Edition*

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## Abstract

Until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was no such thing as “press” in the Tibetan-speaking world. Texts, the act of printing, and the act of reading were highly entwined with religious, i.e. Buddhist, aspirations and did not necessarily fulfil the goal of acquiring knowledge or spreading news. On the contrary, printing and reading were often expected to accumulate merit. The concept of “news” in the modern sense did not exist. It were Christian missionaries on the one hand, and Chinese representatives residing in Lhasa on the other hand, who introduced first attempts of producing newspapers in the Tibetan-speaking world in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1925, the first Tibetan stepped into the scene: Dorje Tharchin founded the *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* (The Mirror of News from Different Regions), in short: the Melong (Mirror) which was usually published monthly. The Melong existed until 1963 and in the course of time grew to be a serious piece of journalistic work.

This study deals with the Melong, as an example of the formation of journalistic Tibetan publications. The general question is raised: how can the Melong be characterized? To answer this question, the study clarifies the Melong's position in reference to the two journalistic genres of newspapers and magazines. Furthermore, the different titles of the publication are introduced. Then, the situation of print and press in Tibet until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is examined from three different perspectives: the technical (printing techniques), the social (social system, attitude of the people), and the organisational (delivery of news). This goes hand in hand with introducing the *La dwags kyi ag bar* (Ladakh News), produced by Christian missionaries in North-western India, and the *Bod yig phal skad gsar 'gyur* (Tibetan Colloquial Newspaper) by Chinese imperialists in Lhasa.

This discussion leads directly to the Melong: Though it also evolved from a missionary tradition, it presents the first Tibetan language publication founded by a Tibetan. To further characterize the Melong, its place of publication (Kalimpong, North-east India), its editor (Dorje Tharchin), and its mode of production (history of production, financing, distribution, aims and impact) are explained. Next, the appearance and content of the Melong are addressed: Concerning the content, an exemplary quantitative content analysis of one publication year (June 1930 – May 1931) is conducted in order to establish the Melong's core departments and to investigate their quantitative distribution over the newspaper in the aforementioned period. Finally, one article of each of the most prominent departments is translated.



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## **Acknowledgements**

I first came across the Melong through a casual talk with my colleague Markus Viehbeck at Vienna University. After a brief online investigation, I found the Melong to be "The first Tibetan newspaper" – which attracted my attention even more. Luckily, Columbia University in New York City had just finished uploading about a third of the whole run of the paper, and made it available in digital form through their website. I started to read the pages, being quite entertained by some illustrations, astounded by some articles – but mostly overwhelmed by the mass of content, and the many possible ways of approaching the material. It took some weeks of organizing until I found my way to a more focused and organized approach of research. After my encounter with Paul G. Hackett, who has worked with the Melong for a long time, some targets of this paper unfolded. Paul Hackett did not only give me the nearly full run of the paper, but also gave me a hint of what to do with this rich material. Professor Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes, my supervisor in Vienna, subsequently helped me to structure my paper and develop it to the form it has now. I am greatly indebted to both of them.

A seminar with Johanna Buß at Vienna University gave me the opportunity to investigate print culture in old Tibet. I am thankful to Isrun Engelhardt, who answered my questions concerning the Melong in great detail and for letting me use her yet unpublished article on the Melong (Engelhardt, at press). Furthermore, I am grateful towards Professor Dr. Klaus Lojka (Institut für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, Universität Wien) for his help in choosing the journalistic method concerning the Melong's content. I am greatly indebted to Katharina Kleinen-von Königslöw (Institut für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, Universität Wien) for her insightful feedback on the second and third chapter of the present work. I want to thank Sylvie Kourilova (Institute of Psychology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic), and Jürg Graf for reviewing the content analysis.

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# 1 Introduction

In 1944, the American journalist Archibald T. Steele stayed in Lhasa for two weeks, working as a foreign correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News*. He was one of the few Westerners allowed to enter "the holy City", at that time. What he found in Lhasa, was "an under-developed Shangra La [sic] waiting only for the world recognition of its independent status";<sup>1</sup> a place where "people who want change are not popular [...] and don't last long in important official positions." Where "shrewd though ultraconservative monks" had great influence on the everyday politics, where "religion always gets the breaks."<sup>2</sup>

He saw a government, half comprised of aristocrats, half of monks; he reported that the only wheeled thing he saw during his stay was "one bicycle owned by a messenger in the British mission [...]", which people would stop to stare at. He reported the prohibition of motorcycles which were believed to "frighten animals, disturb the tranquillity of the holy city and were frowned upon by the gods"; and also of the prohibition of football, which had become popular in Lhasa. "But one day, during a match, a hail storm descended on the Lhasa region, seriously damaging crops. This was interpreted as a sign of the wrath of the gods. No football has ever been played since." The secluded Tibet, "the little country [which] was at peace with the world",<sup>3</sup> had virtually no machinery, it had no broadcasting station, and it had no newspaper. During his two-week stay in Lhasa, Steele asked a Tibetan official, *why*. Why was there no newspaper? The answer was short and simple: "Nothing ever happens in this country."<sup>4</sup>

In 1944, Tibet was heading into a time of great turmoil, and only ten years later the Chinese were in the middle of their momentous over-take. Also the previous 40 years had been marked by intrusions of all kinds, may it have been the violent British Younghusband-expedition in 1904, or different political and militaristic attempts by the Chinese. Tibet was full of inner tensions, as well: The intrigues of the Tibetan noblemen and Lamas, their relentless struggle for power, as demonstrated by the fact that one of the high dignitaries either Dalai Lama or Panchen Lama was almost constantly in some kind of exile.

There would have been enough to report on. "News" is not an absolute term, though. The Western sense of news and newspaper-making, unsurprisingly, was totally different from the mindset of the Tibetans, living beyond the highest mountains of the world with their "superstitions" and religious devoutness. Recognizing "news" as "news" is crucial in order to

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<sup>1</sup> Steele 1993, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Steele 1993, p. 61f.

<sup>3</sup> Steele 1993, p. xi.

<sup>4</sup> Steele 1993, p. 68; cited in Fader 2002, Vol.2, p. 245, McKay 1997, p.214.

report of it. But even more so, a newspaper needs more than just news; there are a variety of preconditions for its establishment, may they be technical or social.

Of course, Steele's question itself was not quite right. Somehow, Tibet did have a newspaper. Notably, it was not produced in Tibet itself, but a few kilometers south of its border, in the Indian town of Kalimpong, published by the ethnic Tibetan Christian convert Dorje Tharchin, who grew up in Himachal Pradesh, right at the Tibetan border, educated by Europeans.

The 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama recounts the newspaper:

There was a Tibetan paper published in Kalimpong and that was the only source of news in Tibetan. Through that monthly newspaper, Sargyur Melong (Tibetan Mirror) [sic], I saw some pictures, and I was very eager to read it.<sup>5</sup>

Kalimpong was the natural bottleneck on the old wool trade route between Tibet and India, where Tibetan, Nepali, or Indian traders came tripling in and out. It was the gate to Tibet for British politicians and explorers from all over the world, the gate to India for Tibetan noblemen, a place for exchange for famous Tibetologists, and a place to proselytize for Western missionaries. From there the "Melong" was brought into Tibet, almost every month, from 1925 until 1963. The noble smart set of Lhasa read the Melong; the Dalai Lamas (both the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup>) were subscribers and sponsors. Apparently Heinrich Harrer and Peter Aufschnaiter benefitted from a sympathetic article in the Melong in gaining Tibetan visas.<sup>6</sup> The Melong was the only Tibetan language source for international news in Tibet and a platform for all different kinds of progressive thinkers. In the end, some of Archibald T. Steele's work was published in the Melong, as well.<sup>7</sup>

## 1.1 Object of Research

This work investigates the characteristics of this Melong, and the state of print in Tibet prior to and during its founding. The object of my research is to give a comprehensive introduction to the Melong, as an example of the formation of a Tibetan language press.

There is the massive three-volume biography of the editor Tharchin by H.L. Fader (2002, 2004, 2009), providing a great pool of useful information. Isrun Engelhardt has written two informative articles on the newspaper (at press, 2010). Paul Hackett has worked on the Melong extensively for his work on Theos Bernard (2008) and wrote a short introduction to

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<sup>5</sup> Laird 2006, p. 290f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Fader 2002, Vol.II, p. 283; Engelhardt, at press, p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Melong 13/9/3.

the material provided by Columbia University.<sup>8</sup> In Tsering Shakya's dissertation on the "Emergence of Modern Tibetan Literature" (2004) one finds a chapter on Tharchin's Melong, and a more extensive one about traditional print culture in Tibet. Luc Schaedler's dissertation project on Gendun Chopel (2007) provides another rich source of insightful information on the Melong, especially various interviews with Tibetan intellectuals. Some Tibetan scholars, such as Tashi Tsering, Dawa Norbu, the journalist Lobsang Wangyal, and Thubten Samphel provided short introductory material about the newspaper. There is numerous further mentioning of the Melong in all kinds of works by contemporary authors who knew the editor Tharchin (such as British officials, travellers to Kalimpong, locals etc.) and today's scholars, both shortly mentioning Tharchin or the Melong without much further information - surely still indispensable for putting the Melong-pieces together. To sum it up: there is quite a good amount of literature available, which deals with the Melong briefly, but very few works go into detail. Additionally, as far as I could observe, the study of the history of production and the study of the content of the Melong has been quite neglected. Based on aforementioned sources and the Melong itself, in my work, I want to close some of these gaps and approach the material from a slightly different angle than has been done before; that is from the viewpoint of journalism and communication science, in order to give justice to the Melong as a *newspaper* as such. What is a newspaper? Where did it develop? How did the Melong, a Tibetan language newspaper come into being? And how did it turn out to be?

## 1.2 The Research Questions

In order to structure this paper, the six basic questions for writing the classical journalistic report were borrowed: Who did what, when, where, how and why?<sup>9</sup> Here – adapted concerning their sequence – they turn out to be a very useful hermeneutical tool structuring my investigation of the Melong's characterization. The main research question is: ***How can the Melong be characterized?***

**RQ 1a:** *What type of publication is the Melong?* Here, on the basis of Groth (1928), Dovifat (1937) Schaffrath (2003), Münster (1955) and Winter (2003) the Melong's position in relation to the two journalistic genres newspaper and the magazine is addressed.

**RQ 1b:** *What is the name of the Melong?* Here, the different titles of the Melong are addressed, using primary source (Melong).

**RQ 2:** *Why was the Melong published?* This part aims towards causal relationships and can therefore explain the situation in Tibet prior to the entry of modern printing techniques. It will

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<sup>8</sup> <http://librarytibetan/tharchin.htmlcolumbia.edu/indiv/eastasian>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hruska 1993, p.28.

be answered with the help of primary (Francke 1906) and secondary sources such as Shakya (2004), Bray (1988), Walravens (2002 and 2010), Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1949); and in the field of communication science Münster (1955), Keane (1991) and Böning (2008).

**RQ 3&4:** *Where and when was it published?* This part deals with the development of Kalimpong, where the Melong was founded, integrating the historical dimension, using primary sources such as the Melong, Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1955/56), and Macdonald (1930) and secondary sources such as Hackett (2008) and Kansakar Hilker (2005).

**RQ 5:** *Who published it?* Even though this part is extensively dealt with in Fader I-III, a condensed biography of Dorje Tharchin, the founder and editor of the Melong, is indispensable, using secondary sources (primary sources unavailable to me) such as Fader (2002-2009), Hackett (2008), and Engelhardt (at press).<sup>10</sup>

**RQ 6:** *How was it published?* This part explains everything concerning the production of the paper (technique, finance, circulation, etc.). In this and the following chapter, I have worked most closely with the Melong itself, often comparing the issues to Fader's biography, in order to develop a picture of the production of the Melong. For this purpose I also created a table of all available issues (Volume / Issue / Number of Pages / Date / Interval / Additional Titles / Imprint / Comments), which is presented as Appendix 1.

Finally, the question is addressed: **RQ 7:** *What did the editor Tharchin publish?* At first, the paper will be described concerning its formal appearance, and secondly, the content of the Melong will be investigated. In order to exemplify the Melong's content, a quantitative content analysis of one year is conducted, identifying the Melong's departments and their quantitative distribution throughout the paper. Lastly, one exemplary article of each department will be introduced by translating it into English.

As will be seen, due to the limits of this paper and the very nature of object, this work points out possible modes of dealing with the Melong rather than presenting definitive answers to some of the aforementioned questions. This is particularly true for the content analysis. Additionally, it should be understood that due to the available resources, I did not succeed in collecting every piece of material relevant for the study of the Melong. Some works, I only received at a late stage of my studies, e.g. Shakya 2004, Engelhardt (at press) and 2010 or Fader 2009. Yet, I hope to stimulate further and more extensive studies on the rich material of the Melong.

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<sup>10</sup> I am grateful to Isrun Engelhardt for letting me use the article, which is still at press.

### *Available Melongs*

A list of available issues is provided in Appendix 1. It is a nearly full run, from the first issue 1/1 of October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1925, until November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963, assuming the last issue is 28/8.

In total, there should be 311 issues, of which 300 are available (approximately 96 percent).

Eleven issues are missing: 1/11, 10/9, 13/2, 13/10, 14/1, 14/4, 14/8, 14/9, 14/10, 15/7, 23/4.

Further four or six issues are only partially existent. They include 9/7&8, 11/5, possibly 11/12, 15/6, 19/12, possibly 27/3.

Paul Hackett collected the issues at different institutions worldwide. Columbia University is gradually making them available these days in digital format.<sup>11</sup> The institutions are (in alphabetical order):

Bavarian State Library; Beineke Library, Yale University microfilm (New Haven, CT); Columbia University (New York, NY) [gift of David Tharchin]; Elliot Sperling / Amnye Machen Institute (Dharamsala, HP, India); Institute of Tibetology (Gangtok, Sikkim); Library of Congress microfiche (Washington, DC) [Originals now held at: Tibet Institut Rikon (Switzerland)]; Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (Dharamsala, HP, India); Musée Guimet (Paris, France); Theos Bernard Collection (Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley); Tibet Institut, Rikon, Switzerland; Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (New York, NY); University of California - Berkeley microfilm (UC Berkeley); University of Washington, Seattle, WA.

### *Transliteration of Tibetan*

I follow the (extended) Wylie-transliteration scheme. Exceptions are proper names (Tharchin, Melong, Songtsen Gampo ...).

### *Citation of Melongs*

I am using the following numbering system for citing issues of the Melong: For example, "18/2/7" refers to Melong Volume 18, Issue 2, page 7.

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<sup>11</sup> [http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd\\_6981643\\_000/index.html](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd_6981643_000/index.html), accessed June 15th 2011.



## 2 The Newspaper - The Melong?

First of all two very general issues concerning the Melong need to be addressed and clarified: the name of the publication and the typification.

### 2.1 The name of the newspaper

The original title, as it appears on every single issue of the newspaper, is: *yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long*. It means "Mirror of News from Different Regions". While *yul phyogs* is translated here as "regions", *phyogs* on its own literally means "direction". Therefore, the title implies a notion that the news arrive from the North, the West, the South and the East. In free translation, one could simply say "Mirror of World News", i.e. including the English word "world", as has often been done.<sup>12</sup> Then again, "world" might be quite a stretch.

Often, the title appears with the add-on "dge'o", or "dge" which is a set phrase aiming towards auspiciousness, meaning "[This] is the good [Mirror of news etc.]" or also "May the [Mirror of news etc.] be auspicious". As Shakya points out, the first Bengali newspaper founded 1821 by Rammohun Roy held a very similar name, namely "Sambād kaumudī" ("The Mirror of the News").<sup>13</sup> The editor Tharchin has published all different sorts of additional names, as well, in Tibetan, English and Hindi. The most significant shift took place when the Tibetan name *yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* written in Tibetan *dbu chen*-script, moved from the main title head up to the uppermost edge of the front page and gave place to "YULCHOG SOSOI SARGYUR MELONG", a Western transcription of the name. The change took place in March 1948 (at the same time when movable types were used for the first time) and it remained like that until the last issue. In brackets there was the name in English: "The Tibetan Newspaper", or similar names. The reasons for this move can only be assumed. Maybe the editor wanted everybody, also non-Tibetan-speaking people, to understand at first glance what this paper was or was about.

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<sup>12</sup> E.g. Shakya 2004, p.17: "The Mirror of News from Various Parts of the World"; Engelhardt 2010: "Mirror of News from All Sides of the World".

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Shakya 2004, p.17.



Fig. 1: Front page old, up until March 1948, Melong 5/1/1.



Fig. 2: Front page new, since March 1948, Melong 17/2/1.

Below, all the different names, titles and subtitles the newspaper held besides the line *yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long*, over the course of time, are summarized in order of first appearance:

<i>Bhoṭ māsik samācār-patra</i> <sup>14</sup> (1/1 – 2/9)	20 times
The Tibetan Newspaper (1/1, 1/2, 16/5 – 18/12)	33 times
The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper (1/3 – 1/12, 5/2, 5/3)	11 times
The Tibetan Newspaper, Kalimpong (2/10 – 2/12)	3 times
<i>Tibetīn māsik patrikā</i> <sup>15</sup> (2/12)	once

<sup>14</sup> In Devanāgarī-script, meaning "Tibetan Monthly Newspaper [lit. newsletter]".

<sup>15</sup> In Devanāgarī-script, meaning: "The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper".

<i>Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long dge</i> (3/1&2 – 4/7&8, 4/10&11, 4/12, 5/4 – 7/9, 7/11-11/6, 11/11, 16/5 – 16/11)	96 times
<i>Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long dge'o</i> (4/9, 5/1 – 5/3, 7/10, 11/8 – 11/10, 11/12 – 12/3, 12/5, 12/6, 12/10, 13/5, 13/9, 13/11&12, 16/12, 17/1, 22/5 – 23/1, 23/8, 23/11, 24/1, 27/2)	33 times
<i>Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long zhes bya ba dge</i> <sup>16</sup> (11/7, 13/6)	twice
<i>Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long zhes bya ba dge'o</i> <sup>17</sup> (12/4, 12/7, 12/9, 12/11 – 13/4, 13/7, 13/8, 14/2 – 15/4&5, 15/10 – 15/12)	23 times
<i>Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long zhes bya ba bzugs so</i> <sup>18</sup> (15/6 – 15/9, 16/1 – 16/4, 17/2 – 22/4, 23/2 – 23/7, 23/9, 23/10, 23/12, 24/2 – 27/1, 27/3 – 28/8)	122 times
Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong (16/5 – 28/8)	134 times
The Tibet Mirror (19/1&2 – 22/4)	38 times
Tibetan Newspaper (19/10c)	once
<i>Gza' 'khor re'i yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long dge'o</i> <sup>19</sup> (22/5 – 23/1)	9 times
The Weekly Tibet Mirror (22/5 – 23/2)	10 times
Tibet Mirror (23/3 – 23/7, 23/3 – 23/7, 23/9, 23/10, 23/12, 24/2 – 28/8)	52 times
<i>Subtitles:</i>	
<i>Rgya dkar nag sogs kyi gnas tshul bod skad du phab pa dge</i> <sup>20</sup> (2/11, 2/12)	twice
First published in October 1925 <sup>21</sup> (19/1&2-19/10b, 19/11-22/4, 23/2-23/12, 24/2-27/5, 27/8&9-28/8)	85 times
Silver Jubilee Number (19/1&2)	once
True Copy of His Holiness the 14 <sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama's letter to the Editor (19/10c)	once
First published in October 1926 (27/6, 27/7)	twice
Independence Number (17/12, 18/10, 22/5)	3 times

In literature, this newspaper was referred to as "The Tibet Mirror", "Tibetan Newspaper", "The Mirror", "Melong" and so on. I decide to call it "Melong" as Engelhardt does as well. As we have seen, the editor Tharchin has given it all kinds of names, including more practical ones than *yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long*. But within his variety, he did not make the choice any easier. To me, "Melong" conveys the original Tibetan-ness of the paper, and holds up the newspaper's own, original name, as well.

<sup>16</sup> "The auspicious so-called Mirror etc."

<sup>17</sup> "This is the auspicious so-called Mirror etc."

<sup>18</sup> "The auspicious, established so-called Mirror etc."

<sup>19</sup> "This is the Weekly auspicious Mirror etc."

<sup>20</sup> "The auspicious rendering of Indian, Chinese etc. News into the Tibetan Language".

<sup>21</sup> With or without correct or incorrect comma.

## 2.2 Differentiation between "newspaper" and "magazine"

So far, I have called the Melong a "newspaper", and in the literature as well, the Melong is usually designated as such. One can rightfully ask the question, though, whether the richly illustrated Melong, a monthly, can even be called a newspaper, whether according to contemporary or modern definitions. Is it not more of a magazine?

There are hundreds of definitions of "newspaper", according to Martin, at least 50 only by US-American scholars.<sup>22</sup> When the Melong was first published in 1925, academic refurbishment of journalism had just started two or three decades before. It was the German Otto Groth who provided the first lasting definition of the modern newspaper ("*Zeitung*"<sup>23</sup>) in 1928 which is widely accepted up until today with sometimes minor, sometimes major adaptations. It states that a newspaper must be:

- 1) *Periodical* in publication, and, in practice, of a frequency not less than weekly. It must be regular.
- 2) *Mechanically* in its reduplication. This bars the handwritten newsletters, but admits the possible radio and screen newspapers.
- 3) *Available* to all comers who are willing to pay the price. Its circulation must not be exclusive or esoteric.

And its content must be:

- 4) *Miscellaneous*, varied, catholic<sup>24</sup>, universal, complete, including every occurrence that is publicly interesting, so long as this interest is:
- 5) *General* in its appeal. The newspaper ideally should not include much matter that is interesting only to small groups. It should appeal to the public as a *public*.

And so long as the material is:

- 6) *Timely*. The German word for this quality is *aktualität* [sic], and it is, of course, fundamental.

Passing from content to organisation, the newspaper should possess an

- 7) *Effective Organization*. It should be a going concern. Its continuity should be reasonably provided for. Organization and continuity become the seat of policy and influence – the power of the press.<sup>25</sup>

In 2003, Schaffrath makes Groth's definition somewhat more universal when he summarizes the media-specific characteristics of the newspaper as follows:

- 1) Publicity, i.e. public ("*Öffentlichkeit*") and general accessibility,
- 2) Timeliness ("*Aktualität*"), i.e. focus on the present and nearness-in-time/recency ("*Zeitnähe*"), respectively,
- 3) Periodicity, i.e. regularity, recurrent publication,

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. Martin/Copeland 2003, p.8.

<sup>23</sup> Martin/Copeland 2003 and Allen 1930 verify the translation of the German "*Zeitung*" as the English "newspaper".

<sup>24</sup> "Catholic" is not meant in the religious sense, here, but in the sense of "all-embracing".

<sup>25</sup> Allen 1930, p.311, cited and translated into English from Groth 1928, p.21f. in German.

- 4) Universality, i.e. diversity of content, thematic openness,
- 5) Availability ("*Disponibilität*"), i.e. free availability regarding place and time,
- 6) Fixation in script and print.<sup>26</sup>

Dovifat provides a definition of the newspaper in 1937, which is more abstract and open than Groth's:

The newspaper mediates most recent events<sup>27</sup> in shortest regular sequence for the widest public (sphere).<sup>28</sup>

He specifically notes that all of these three characteristics are understood in the superlative on purpose, implying that each of the characteristics will vary depending on time, place, number, informational needs ("*Nachrichtenbedarf*") and intellectual situation of the readers, velocity of news flow and graphic copying, and economic potential of the publisher.<sup>29</sup>

The magazine, on the other hand, is even more difficult to define than the newspaper. Its differentiation to the newspaper has caused discussions and problems up to today. The magazine and the newspaper sure share some characteristics (such as availability), but there are some differing ones, as well.<sup>30</sup> Winter mentions Faulstich's five characteristics of the magazine:

- 1) Thematic centering (in contrast to universality),
- 2) Temporizity ("*Temporizität*") (in contrast to periodicity),
- 3) Specification of interests,
- 4) Contextualisation,
- 5) Partial visualization.<sup>31</sup>

Clearly, the Melong does not fulfil the criteria of the magazine. The Melong is orientated towards universal content, it thrives for the shortest possible interval in publication, it does not contain content solely of specified interest, nor is the content contextualized into a specific subject. The only criteria that it might meet, especially in the later years, is partial visualization. On the other hand, the Melong does meet all the aforementioned requirements of a newspaper, apart from Groth's "periodicity" (he states, it must be less than weekly). "Timeliness" might be arguable to some extent. But taking into consideration Dovifat's

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Schaffrath 2004, p.484.

<sup>27</sup> In German: "Gegenwartsgeschehen", which indicates anything happening in the present time.

<sup>28</sup> Dovifat 1937, p.6: "Die Zeitung vermittelt jüngstes Gegenwartsgeschehen in kürzester regelmäßiger Folge der breitesten Öffentlichkeit." (translation A.S.).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Dovifat 1937, p.6.

<sup>30</sup> See Winter 2003, p.454 for details.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Winter 2003, p.455.

comment concerning the setting, the Melong can well be seen as a publication, which is published with the highest possible frequency (considering the machines, the news flow and the economic resources), with the main aim to report of most recent events. The Melong can – according to both contemporary and present definitions – well be called a newspaper. It does have some magazine-style elements, but in the end, when compared to other newspapers, this aspect is again part of a newspaper's universality, as the German publicist Karl Bücher has already said in 1912: "By extending its content, the newspaper breaks into the sphere of magazines; and that's not all: it absorbs also parts of the book and art trade by providing novels, art supplements etc. It becomes the universal supplier of intellectual nourishment [...]."<sup>32</sup> It is this universality – among other factors – which makes the Melong more a newspaper than a magazine. It might reach into the domain of magazines - not into just one type of magazine, though, but into all different kinds. That is a characteristic of a newspaper.

Now, turning away from the manifest characteristics of a newspaper, Schaffrath further extends his definition, by mentioning its specific function in liberal-democratic systems:

[...The newspaper] is held as a part of the public which informs, shapes opinions, entertains, criticizes and controls the law- and rightful activities of a government, parliament, administration, jurisdiction, and other institutions in the public sphere.<sup>33</sup>

Münster, as well, addresses this special function, when saying:

[Newspapers] want to take into account the general human need for news and knowledge, which is narrowly entwined with the human desire, to live consciously in his time, by serving everybody [...] in a certain area of circulation.<sup>34</sup>

This leads us to the discussion of "liberty of the press", which is a crucial premise for fulfilling these functions. We need to go back to the origins of the newspaper to really understand its role in society and in which tradition the Melong stood.

The newspaper developed in Germany from the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 17th century,<sup>35</sup> from which point it slowly spread across the globe. According to some, it was the main motor of

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<sup>32</sup> Bücher 1926, p. 248: "Die Zeitung bricht [durch die Ausweitung des Stoffgebietes] in den Bereich der Zeitschrift ein; ja, damit nicht zufrieden, zieht sie durch Gewährung von Romanlieferungen, Kunstbeilagen u.dgl. auch einen Teil des Buches- und Kunstverlags an sich. Sie wird zum Universallieferanten geistiger Nahrung für ganz große Volksschichten, der nichts anderes neben sich duldet." (translation A.S.).

<sup>33</sup> Schaffrath 2004, p. 484: "In freiheitlich-demokratischen Systemen gilt das privatwirtschaftlich organisierte Zeitungswesen als ein Teil der Öffentlichkeit, der informiert, meinungsbildend wirkt, unterhält, kritisiert und das gesetz- und rechtmäßige Agieren von Regierung, Parlament, Verwaltung, Rechtsprechung und anderen Institutionen im öffentlichen Raum kontrolliert." (translation A.S.).

<sup>34</sup> Münster 1955, p.143: "[Die Zeitungen] wollen dem allgemein-menschlichen Neuigkeits- und Wissensbedürfnis, das eng verknüpft ist mit dem Verlangen des Menschen, bewußt in seiner Zeit zu leben, Rechnung tragen, indem sie in einem bestimmten Verbreitungsgebiet jedermann, nicht nur einem fachlich oder sonst wie interessierten, begrenzten Leserkreis, dienen." (translation A.S.).

<sup>35</sup> Münster 1955, p.8: Schaffrath 2003, p.487.

the European enlightenment, the movement which essentially formed the modern Western world, consisting of – more or less – informed people, actively taking part in political decisions, actively shaping their surroundings. Very simply summarized: The large-scale availability of information produces an informed audience, and informed people are not as easy to subdue. Leaving aside the fact that exactly the opposite can happen, as well, the idealistic newspaper is the "groundwork of the power of judgment",<sup>36</sup> as Böning calls it, and "an expression of increasing orientation towards worldly things".<sup>37</sup> Beneath it all lies, as the main premise of the development, the invention of the printing press with movable types by Johannes Gutenberg, which set the keystone of *quickly* informing *many* people.<sup>38</sup> At first, circulation was extremely small, mass printing (as exists today) only developed in the 19th century in the USA and spread from there.<sup>39</sup> In the early 18th century, the idea of a free uncensored press, i.e. the "liberty of the press" emerged in Britain, in contrast to a controlled press by censorship, which was often justified by religion. The British philosopher Matthew Tindal wrote in 1704, how "those who yearn for theocratic rule are 'pious frauds and holy cheats. [...] The noble art of printing, that by divine providence was discovered to free men from the tyranny of the clergy they then groaned under, ... ought not to be made a means to reduce us again under sacerdotal slavery."<sup>40</sup> Many more would follow Tindal's opinion, and Britain was henceforth seen as the "birthplace of the modern principle of liberty of press",<sup>41</sup> as Keane says. Some 200 years later, as Tönnies points out, "[...] the call for press freedom is a distinctive organizing principle of the modern European and North American worlds, and [...] the theory and practice of publicly articulating opinions through media of communication developed endogenously in no other civilisation",<sup>42</sup> writes Keane.

It needs to be anticipated at this point, that the Melong clearly held as its model this British style newspaper (details see below); it is a product of this Western idea of a newspaper. Of course it differs in its outcome and its aims; it sure adapted to its Tibetan context. But it does not derive from an intrinsically Tibetan idea. On the contrary, the Melong originally is a product of the "Euro-American intellectual culture".<sup>43</sup> This fact renders a discussion of the

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<sup>36</sup> Böning 2008, p. 295: "Für einen Zeitraum fast eines Jahrhunderts entstehen die Grundlagen für eine Urteilsfähigkeit, ohne die Aufklärung nicht denkbar ist." (translation A.S.).

<sup>37</sup> Böning 2008, p. 295: "Nicht nur in den Berichten über die aktuellen konfessionellen Konflikte, die zur Identitätsbildung der Leser beitragen, wird deutlich, daß die Zeitungen Ausdruck zunehmender Weltbezogenheit sind." (translation A.S.).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Münster 1955, p.7.

<sup>39</sup> Münster 1955, p.10.

<sup>40</sup> Cited in Keane 1991, p.14.

<sup>41</sup> Keane 1991, p.11.

<sup>42</sup> Keane 1991, p.6f.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Caberzon / Jackson 1996, p.17 for a discussion on the transfer of the term "literature" into Tibetan.

validity of the transfer of the essentially Western genre "newspaper" into the Tibetan context unnecessary.

The modern Tibetan word for "newspaper" is commonly known as *tshag par*, according to Goldstein (1984) *gsar shog* is an alternative term. *Tshag par*, or its alternative spelling *tshag dpar* (Goldstein 1984), appears very seldom in the Melong.<sup>44</sup> Only the latter, *gsar shog*, is widely used.<sup>45</sup> While in the first issue, the Hindi-derivative *kha bar ka ka si*<sup>46</sup> (for an explanation of the term see Engelhardt, at press) is found, the term most often used (subjective reading) is *gsar 'gyur*, which in most dictionaries is literally translated as news, and certainly also has this meaning in the title of the Melong (*yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long*). Yet, within the publication Tharchin often uses the term to say "newspaper".<sup>47</sup> According to Goldstein, within a compound (such as *gsar 'gyur khang*, "newspaper office"), it does signify newspaper. Also Richter (1966) mentions the meaning "Zeitung" (newspaper) as a third possible translation.<sup>48</sup> In the older dictionaries (Schmidt 1841, Jäschke 1881, Das 1902) the term is – unsurprisingly – not found, only in Dawasamdub Kazi (1919) it appears, as a translation of "news" (also *lo rgyus gsar pa*). Bell's dictionary (1920) presents *gsar 'gyur shog gu* as "newspaper". In the Tibetan Dictionary by Dagyab (1966), the entry for *gsar 'gyur* states *gsar pa'i 'gyur ba'am gnas tshul gyi 'gyur ba gsar ba*. It means: *gsar 'gyur* "[stands for] what has become new (*gsar pa'i 'gyur ba*), or new developments of a situation (*gnas tshul gyi 'gyur ba gsar ba*)", i.e. news.

This leads us to the term *gnas tshul* which is often used in the Melong, signifying "news" or "report" or "events". The word is prominently used in the headlines of articles. Literally it means "the way of abiding", "the way of being", therefore "conditions, circumstances, situation" in its first meaning according to Goldstein. He secondly lists also "news, issue".

The difference between *gsar 'gyur* and *gnas tshul* therefore lies in the mode of activity, whereas *gsar 'gyur* carries an active notion, "becoming new" and *gnas tshul* connotes a static situation "the way of being". It makes sense, therefore, to call the newspaper *gsar 'gyur* and the news contained *gnas tshul*.

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<sup>44</sup> See e.g. Melong 4/1/4.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. Melong 16/11/4,5 including an English translation of the term as "[news]paper".

<sup>46</sup> Melong 1/1/1.

<sup>47</sup> Again, see e.g. Melong 16/11/4: *bod yig gsar 'gyur*, including the English translation "Tibetan newspaper".

<sup>48</sup> After "Nachrichten" (news) and "Neuigkeiten" (news).





### 3 Printing in Old Tibet

So far, we have talked about and explained the genre "newspaper" in its liberal form, of which the Melong is an example. Now, we shall finally turn our attention to the Tibetan world, where the Melong was distributed.

It is difficult to imagine a historical epoch, in which the great majority of people did not have the opportunity to get regular information on what's happening in their own country or in the world. To them, political, economical or military happenings must have seemed like natural phenomena, emanating from strange, unknown powers, incalculable, inscrutable, and without the possibility of taking influence. All they felt were only the consequences which affected their everyday-life.<sup>49</sup>

When Böning talks about the state of information policy in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Europe, he could just as easily talk about Tibet up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Tibet has been inhabited for thousands of years, its literary history dates back to the seventh century A.D.<sup>50</sup> But in order for the Tibetan language sphere to see its first newspaper, it had to wait up until recently. In old Tibet, the Western concept of news, news gathering, or media for the sake of public entertainment or public education simply did not exist.<sup>51</sup>

Münster explains the foundation of the newspaper in Europe in reference to five main preconditions: Technical (i.e. Material), Social (i.e. Immaterial)<sup>52</sup>, Postal (i.e. Organizational), Economic, and Judicial.<sup>53</sup> In each department, the conditions in the very early 17<sup>th</sup> century were fit for the advent of the "newspaper", or its forerunners, respectively. In Asia, the modern newspaper was introduced without exception through European colonists and missionaries. Keane writes: "Wherever Europeans settled in the world – in the North American territories, in the colonies of the West Indies, India or Africa – they created media modelled on those at home."<sup>54</sup>

When Tharchin founded the Melong, the newspaper had become an inherent part of society in neighboring India, introduced through the British, and in China, where a revolutionary press was predominant. In Tibet, however, forces were predominant who met such innovations with

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<sup>49</sup> Böning 2008, p. 287: "Es ist schwer, sich eine historische Epoche vorzustellen, in der es für die große Mehrheit der Bevölkerung keinerlei Möglichkeit gab, sich regelmäßig über das Geschehen im eigenen Land und in der Welt zu informieren. Politische, wirtschaftliche und militärische Ereignisse müssen dem einzelnen wie Naturereignisse erschienen sein, ausgehend von fremden, unbekanntem Mächten, unberechenbar, undurchschaubar und unbeeinflussbar durch ihn selbst. Spürbar waren allein die Konsequenzen, die in das Alltagsleben hineinwirkten." (translation A.S.).

<sup>50</sup> E.g. McKay 2003, p.17.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Samphel 2007, p. 170.

<sup>52</sup> In German: "geistig".

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Münster 1955, p. 7,8.

<sup>54</sup> Keane 1991, p.7.

reluctance. In the Tibetan context, it is crucial to look at the technical status quo, the social status quo and the organizational status quo, to understand in which contextual situation the Melong was born.<sup>55</sup>

### 3.1 Technological Status Quo

The big difference between writing and printing is the speed with which one can copy and multiply texts, i.e. knowledge. The aim of printing is to produce an exact duplicate of an original, in contrast to reproducing texts by writing them over and over again.<sup>56</sup> The first printed book ever found is a Chinese version of the "Diamond Sutra", found in the caves of Dunhuang, printed in the year 868 A.D., through the method of wood-block-printing. The Chinese, Tibet's neighbors, were much advanced compared to the West, at that time. In wood-block printing, reliefs were carved out of wood, producing so-called "xylographs", which were dipped in ink, and pressed on paper. The obvious disadvantage is the tedious process of carving. It was a Chinese, as well, who first had the extraordinary idea of movable types, around 1000 AD:<sup>57</sup> He produced metal characters of the Chinese symbols and could therefore flexibly print different texts and pages, with the same characters again and again. Still, this new method did not prevail in China or Asia. The German Johannes Gutenberg is seen as *the* founder of the printing press with movable types, about 500 years later. Crompton argues that the movable types simply did not prove practical for the Chinese script, which consists of thousands and thousands of signs: "Had the Chinese used a phonetic alphabet, chances are that they would have led the world in printing and consequently would have been technologically ahead of the West."<sup>58</sup> Speculations aside, block-printing dominated Asian printing for centuries.

Block-printing (*shing par*)<sup>59</sup> must have arrived in Tibet, according to Nebesky-Wojkowitz, after the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D, as it was only then invented in China.<sup>60</sup> When exactly it was first used in Tibet is not known. According to Diemberger, it was introduced in the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>61</sup> while according to Shakya it first appeared in the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>62</sup> Erhard mentions the "Mongol xylographs" (*hor par ma*) from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, of which the printing of a Tibetan translation of the *Guhyagarbhatantra* by Sakya Paṇḍita at the Yuan-court, printed

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<sup>55</sup> For a presentation of this period in relation to the emergence of modern Tibetan literature, see also Shakya 2004, chapter one and two.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Crompton 2004, p.14.

<sup>57</sup> Crompton 2004, p.16.

<sup>58</sup> Crompton 2004, p.16.

<sup>59</sup> For a discussion on words for block printing in Tibetan see Shafer 1960.

<sup>60</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1949, p.67.

<sup>61</sup> Diemberger 2007, p.16.

<sup>62</sup> Shakya 2004, p.46.

between 1310 and 1320, is an example.<sup>63</sup> Schaeffer again writes that the earliest block-printed Tibetan text known dates to 1153 (a small prayertext from Khara Khoto), while the earliest printed Kangyur (*bka' 'gyur*) known dates to 1411.<sup>64</sup> From this time onwards, we find a vast amount of printed Tibetan texts, almost without exception in the field of religion, i.e. Buddhism. The printing facilities were usually within or attached to a monastery, the largest and most famous being Narthang, close to Shigatse, where more than 30 monks were employed.<sup>65</sup> Another famous printing place was Derge in Eastern Tibet, the only place where the blocks were additionally made of metal.<sup>66</sup>

As mentioned above, the process of block printing is tedious. Besides carving the blocks, printing itself takes a lot of effort: The printing ink was made by burning yak dung, and then mixing the generated soot with water.<sup>67</sup> Three printers worked together, one taking the impressions, the second handing the paper, and the third looking after the blocks.<sup>68</sup> On average, a group of printers produced 200 pages a day. Printing the Kangyur, for example, took about 45 monks working for three months in a row. Printing the Tengyur (*bstan 'gyur*), took six months.<sup>69</sup> Harrer describes the printing facility in Lhasa, the Zhol, as a place, "where only rarely a sound emerges into the outside world", where "no machines buzz", "where only the damped voices of the monks echo through the halls".<sup>70</sup> When Alexandra David-Neel came to Narthang in 1915 or 1916, she found "monks sitting on the floor inking engraved wooden blocks and cutting beautiful rice paper, all the while chatting and drinking buttered tea. 'What a contrast,' she exclaimed, 'to the feverish agitation of our newspaper printing rooms.'"<sup>71</sup>

Considering this enormous process of printing a book, the monks in the printing facilities only started their work when somebody made an order for a specific title,<sup>72</sup> besides some popular texts (like prayer books) sold on the markets<sup>73</sup> by booksellers.<sup>74</sup> Das reports from Tashi Lhunpo in December 1881 that the booksellers also made house calls.<sup>75</sup> When it comes to prices, the complete edition of the Kangyur, for example, cost about as much as a precious

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<sup>63</sup> Ehrhard 2000, p.11.

<sup>64</sup> Schaeffer 2009, p.9.

<sup>65</sup> Bell 1992, p.86.

<sup>66</sup> Bell 1992, p.86; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1949, p.69,70; For a table of major printing houses in Tibet prior to 1950, see Shakya 2004, p.49.

<sup>67</sup> Harrer 1952, p. 221.

<sup>68</sup> Bell 1992, p.86.

<sup>69</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1949, p.72.

<sup>70</sup> Harrer 1952, p. 221.

<sup>71</sup> Miller 1984, p. 156f..

<sup>72</sup> Harrer 1952, p. 221.

<sup>73</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1949, p.76.

<sup>74</sup> See Harrer 1952, p. 221: "You can either order the completed books at the printing plant, or buy them at one of the book traders at the Parkhor."; for a picture of the book sellers see Bell 1924, p.93.

<sup>75</sup> See Das 1988, p. 59: "Phurchung and Ugyen, whom I had sent out to buy books for me, returned towards 2 o'clock with a quantity, and later on, while I was sitting making my choices of volumes, the bookseller's son came in to carry back those I did not require."

horse or a dozen strong yaks, according to Harrer.<sup>76</sup> According to Schaeffer, the total cost of the production of the Tengyur at Derge in the 18<sup>th</sup> century amounted to 274,932 bushels of barley.<sup>77</sup> A printer averagely earned two tankas per day. Some monasteries, though, set fixed prices for a set of 50 or 100 pages.<sup>78</sup> Some other monks, again, did not ask for money at all, but only for food. The reason is that the act of printing religious books itself was considered meritorious. That goes to the extent that printing in red ink supposedly accumulates more merit than printing in black ink, according to Nebesky-Wojkowitz.<sup>79</sup> It is interesting to note, that some copies of the silver-jubilee-issue of the Melong held a front page and page 5 in red ink, for example.<sup>80</sup>

### *The Secret Printing Press of Tashi Lhunpo*

In 1879, Sarat Chandra Das spent six months in Tashi Lhunpo as a guest of the 8<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama, and returned there in November 1881. He tells of the Panchen and his ministers' interest in new things, especially concerning printing:

Next day worked [we] [sic] some exercises with the Minister in simple division and multiplication from a small Tibetan arithmetic, printed and published by the Moravian Mission at Kylong [...]; after which we had a long talk on the printing system. He admired the wonderful neat engravings in [the] books, and deplored the wretched block printing used in Tibet. I described to him the printing press and lead types used in India and Europe, and also gave a short account of lithography, of which the Kylong arithmetic was a specimen. He thought a printing press would too heavy [sic] to be brought into Tibet, but that a lithographic press would answer his purpose just as well, and asked me to draw up an estimate of the price, packing and carriage of one to Tashi-lhunpo.<sup>81</sup>

The Panchen Lama approved of it, and paid the money (150 Rupees) from his private funds. When Das returned to Tibet in November 1881, he had made all the arrangements for the lithographic press to be sent to Tashi Lhunpo. In the diary entry of January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1882, he noted that the minister had received the boxes containing the lithographic press, but did not open them yet due to the fear of small-pox.<sup>82</sup> The minister had said: "One night I smelt some gaseous emanations coming out from the boxes, which I thought contained the germs of small-pox; so I could not sleep that night, so troubled was my mind lest small-pox should

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<sup>76</sup> Harrer 1952, p. 222.

<sup>77</sup> Schaeffer 2009, p.159f.,

<sup>78</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1949, p. 73.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1949, p.74.

<sup>80</sup> See Melong 19/1&2/1 and 19/1&2/5; also the cover of 7/1 is in red ink; or Melong 18/1/4.

<sup>81</sup> Das 1969, p. 78f.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Das 1988, p. 105.

attack us.”<sup>83</sup> The reaction of the minister is a good example of how modern things were somehow perceived as dangerous, with skepticism, in any case observed with an uneasy feeling, leading even to sleeplessness. January 20<sup>th</sup>, 1882, finally, was the day of the press' inauguration. Das writes:

I asked [the minister] to print a very auspicious hymn, that the first fruit of our labour might be a sacred composition. He at once ran to his study and brought a stanza [...] composed by the present Grand Lama (of Tashilhunpo?) in honour and praise of the minister. This he copied himself on the transfer paper, and we obtained excellent impressions of it, much to his delight. The 'stone press' (do par) was forthwith given the name of the 'miraculous press' (tul par).<sup>84</sup>

What happened to the press of Tashi Lhunpo is not known. I neither found any hint on conserved printed sheets, nor on the whereabouts of the press. Das' entry from January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1882, where he states he "had been told not to talk of the press to outsiders",<sup>85</sup> confirms that the acquisition of the press was somewhat secret.

### 3.1.1 Development of Movable Types

Up until the Chinese take-over no movable types for the Tibetan script were used inside Tibet. Johannes Schubert, who was incidentally a subscriber of the *Melong*,<sup>86</sup> wrote in 1950, that "within the [Tibetan] boundaries, up until today, only the wooden block print, not the type press is in use."<sup>87</sup> Around 1950, they were recently introduced in Peking, in Mongolia and in Europe. In Eastern Tibet, as well, some attempts were made to use them. But the conservative Lamas strictly opposed and prevented their usage.<sup>88</sup>

From the 17th century onwards, it became more and more popular for European missionaries and explorers to make their tours through Central Asia and Tibet. The consequences were the formation of Oriental and Central Asian Studies. For the Western scholars it became more important, consequently, to be able to print their research results, including Tibetan texts. The methods in use were: photomechanical reproduction;<sup>89</sup> simply bringing the original

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<sup>83</sup> Das 1988, p. 105.

<sup>84</sup> Das 1988, p. 107.

<sup>85</sup> Das 1988, p. 113: "Lobzang [an astrologer], seeing the lithographic press, was curious to know what 'those stones and wheeled apparatus', as he put it, were meant for. He begged me to explain the process of printing, but I evaded his questions, as I had been told not to talk of the press to outsiders."

<sup>86</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p. 218.

<sup>87</sup> Schubert 1950, p. 280: "Was den Buchdruck betrifft, so gehört das Land Tibet zu den wenigen Gebieten des Erdkreises, die innerhalb ihrer Reichsgrenzen bis heute nur den Holzbuchdruck, nicht aber den Typendruck verwenden." (translation A.S.).

<sup>88</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1949, p. 68.

<sup>89</sup> Schubert 1950, p. 280: Example: *Album der 300 Buddhas* in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica V* (Petersburg 1903) by S.F.Ol'denburg.

xylographs to Europe and use them there;<sup>90</sup> stereotyping, i.e. reproducing the plates in Tibet with the help of easily transportable matrixes.<sup>91</sup> But the need for movable types also grew for the Tibetan script. The first print types were created as early as in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

It should be added, it was always the *dbu can*-script, rather than the *dbu med*, which is used for printing. Schubert suggests a 5-line-scheme for the Tibetan Type:

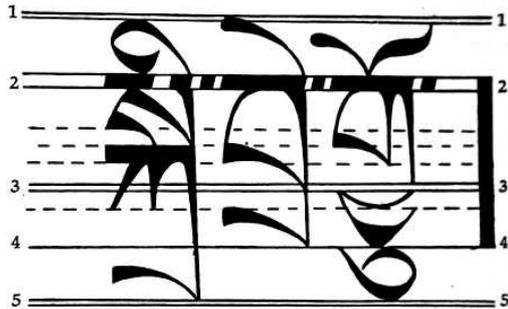


Fig. 3: Five-line-scheme for the Tibetan printing type, Schubert 1950 (© Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1950, Abb.2, p.283).

In order to reach this outline of printed Tibetan script, it took about 120 years of trial and error by different individuals. Following, there is a short summary of this development, taken from Schubert's article about Tibetan typography:<sup>92</sup>

#### 1) Orazio-Type

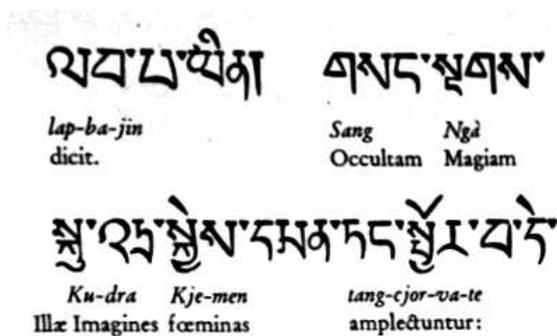


Abb. : Orazio-type (© Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1950, Abb.3, p.285).

The *Orazio* was developed in Rome, Italy, by the Capuchin monk Francesco Orazio from Penna di Billi. It was first published in 1762<sup>93</sup> in the "Alphabetum Tibetanum" by Agostino Antonio Giorgi, and is the first publication made with printing types of the Tibetan script. The

<sup>90</sup> Schubert 1950, p. 280: Example: *Buddhistische Triglotte...* (Petersburg 1859) by Anton Schiefner; a Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary.

<sup>91</sup> Schubert 1950, p. 281: Example: *Prajñāpāramitā- and smon lam bcu tham 'abyor[sic!] bai lhag smon lam bsngo ba*-texts (Leipzig 1835).

<sup>92</sup> See Schubert 1950, p. 284-294. A similar summary of Johannes Schubert's work can be found in Peter Lindegger: "Kurze Geschichte der tibetischen Schrift", Tibet-Institut Rikon, Schriften 28, 2002; p.28ff.

<sup>93</sup> Note that it was already cut in 1738. (See Schubert 1931, p.5).

script was highly criticized by his contemporary colleagues; Jakob Schmidt called it "wayward" ("mißrathen") and "monstrous", the orientalist Heinrich Julius Klaproth said, "the types are as far off the best examples of Tibetan calligraphy as they are off the best samples of wooden block print".<sup>94</sup> A smaller cut of the *Orazio* appears in India, in a Tibetan-English-dictionary, which was printed in 1826 in Serampur, the main base of the Baptist Mission close to Calcutta. Despite its apparent imperfection the *Orazio* remained *the* Tibetan printing script for about 75 years.

2) Csoma-Type

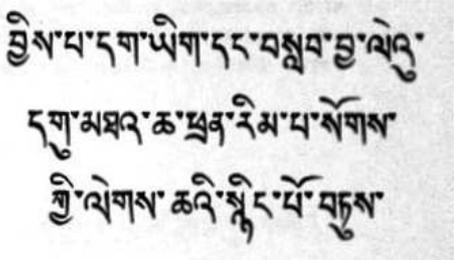


Fig. 4: Csoma-type (© Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1950, Abb.4 & 5, p.286).

This type was developed in Calcutta by the Hungarian nobleman Alexander Csoma of Körös. He had traveled to Inner Asia, where he wrote a Tibetan grammar and dictionary, which, in 1834, the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta agreed to print in 500 copies for the price of 6412 rupees and four annas,<sup>95</sup> including the new cutting of the letters. The script bears resemblance to the *Orazio* and remained the favored type of the Baptist Mission Press until the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

3) Schmidt-Type

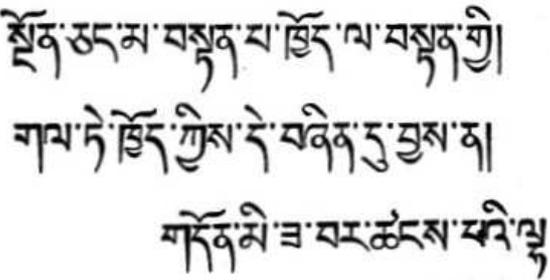


Fig. 5: Schmidt-type (© Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1950, Abb.6&7, p.287).

The born Dutch Jakob Schmidt developed a new script in Petersburg, Russia, totally independently from the *Orazio* and *Csoma*. He cut it around 1840, for the first time in the 5-

<sup>94</sup> Schubert 1950, p. 285.  
<sup>95</sup> See also Terjek 1984, p. 27.

line-scheme (in contrast to a 4-line-scheme, which was always used before). Overall, it was a decent script and remained in use for more than 100 years at the Russian Academy.

4) Landresse-Legrand-Typ

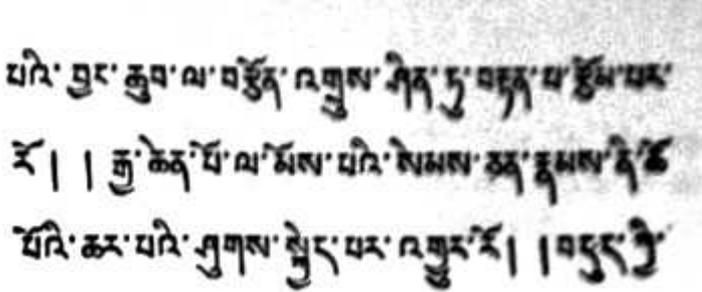


Fig. 6: Landresse-Legrand-type (© Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1950, Abb.8, p.289).

The *Landresse-Legrand* was cut in France, before 1850, by two cutters (Marcellin Legrand and Ernest Augustin Xavier Clerc de Landresse) of the Imprimerie Nationale, the National French Press. By 1848 the Imprimerie Nationale possessed 52 foreign scripts, amongst them also Tibetan. For example, the French orientalist Philippe Edouard Foucaux printed his works with these types. They did not remain in use for very long, though; among others a new cut from Lyon took their spot.

5) Auer-Type

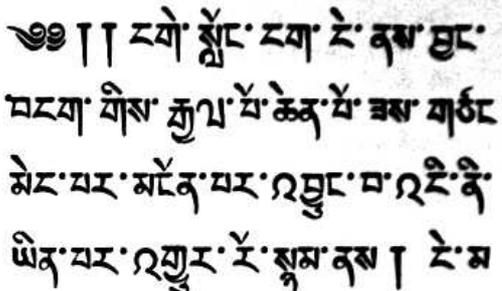


Fig. 7: Auer-type (© Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1950, Abb.9&10, p.290).

The *Auer* was developed in Vienna, Austria, in the State Press Vienna, (K.K. Staatsdruckerei Wien) under Alois Auer, around 1850. At that time, the Tibetans Studies were not highly developed in Austria; the ideas to cut Tibetan script came directly from the State Press. It had been collecting types from all around the globe and had won high reputation for their collection. The script, which echoed some of the *Orazio*- and *Csoma*-type, was widely spread, to England and Calcutta. August Hermann Francke printed some of his works with the help of the *Auer*.

6) Theinhardt-Jäschke-Type

དེ་ནི་ཆེ་ཞིང་གསལ་བའི་དོ་ལག་ཅུག་ན་སྐྱེད་འཛིན་པའི་རྒྱུ་བ  
 རྟུག་རྟུག་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གཏོར་མ་མཚོར་དོ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་གསལ་བས་ལུ  
 གང་ཞིག་མཐོང་ན་ཕྱེད་པས་ལུས་པའི་ཕྱིག་པ་རྣམས་ནི་མེད་རྒྱུ་རིང  
 གསལ་བ་འཛིན་པ་རྣམས་ནི་དེ་ལེ་འཁོར་དུ་གནས་པ་ཕྱོག་ཕྱེད་བརྟན

Fig. 8: Theinhardt-Jäschke-type (© Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1950, Abb.11, p.292).

The *Theinhardt-Jäschke* was developed in Germany, its creator is not known. It is a kind of precursor to the *Jäschke*-script, so it is not unlikely that Jäschke did influence its development. It was produced in the studio of Ferdinand Theinhard, the developer of hieroglyph-types. From around 1860 onwards, it was the preferred script of the German National Press (Reichsdruckerei).

7) Jäschke-Type

།ལུ་དང་པོ།  
 །ཡང་ཡོད་ལྷས་མོ་ཤེ་བོས་ནས་འདུན་མའི་གུར་མཚོ  
 ས་པ \* །ཡིས་ར་ཤེལ་གྱི་བྱ་རྣམས་ལ་གསལ་འདི  
 རས་མི་སྤྱས་ཀྱང་ཡོད་ལྷ་ལ་འབྱུང་བ་ཞིག་འབྱུང་བ  
 ལ་བ་དེ་ལྷག་ཕྱགས་ལས་འབྱུང་བར་དགོས་སོ།  
 །སྤྱིན་སྤྱིག་གི་ཕྱིར་ཕྱུང་བའི་འབྱུང་བ་དེ་ནི་ཕྱགས་ཀྱི  
 མེད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་དེ་གཟིགས་ངོ་ཐོབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཡོད་  
 ར་མཚོག་གི་སྤོང་དུ་འབྱུང་བར་དགོས། \*

Fig. 9: Jäschke-type (© Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1950, Abb.12, p.293).

Jäschke's influential Tibetan-English-dictionary was printed in 1881, and therein the deficiencies of the earlier scripts were manifest. Jäschke created his new script with the help of Theinhardt, which was first published in 1883, in the Tibetan translation of the New Testament. According to Schubert, the *Jäschke* is a script perfect in form: "[Jäschke and Theinhardt] created a form of the Tibetan type, which corresponds 100 percent to the

particularities of Tibetan script."<sup>96</sup> It was used in Germany, in Calcutta at the Baptist Mission Press (next to the *Csoma*), but could also be found in Peking on the book market. Notably, the Melong was printed with these types from 1948 onwards, with old types Tharchin got from the Baptist Mission Press from Calcutta.<sup>97</sup>

### 3.2 Social Status Quo

As is well-known, Tibet has for the longest time been a theocratic state,<sup>98</sup> ruled by a clergy, with Tibetan Buddhism pervading most aspects of daily life. As some missionaries in China put it in 1908: "The Tibetans are so in the grip of Lamaism that it seems to have entered into the very marrow of their bones, so that whether they walk or sit, work or rest, in health or illness, life or death, they are chanting prayers to Buddha."<sup>99</sup> Not only the act of printing, but also the act of reading was considered to bring about merit in the Tibetan world.<sup>100</sup> In 1904, the Moravian missionary August Hermann Francke, who was also the editor of the first journalistic Tibetan language publication, writes in a – slightly enervated – letter to his home-monastery in Germany:

Although Tibet has a literature which is at least 1200 years old there are hardly any people here who read because of interest in the subject matter. The doctrine that you may earn religious merit by reading the holy Tibetan letters and the old classical language turned reading into a magic action and led people not to pay attention to the contents of the reading matter.<sup>101</sup>

Much later, Samphel puts it like this: "[The traditional attitude towards news and information] was deferential and because of this deference, information and knowledge were enshrined on the altar and become **remote, inaccessible, the object of unquestioning faith.**"<sup>102</sup> Samphel dares a somewhat exaggerated comparison, when he calls the Tertons (*gter ston*) "old Tibet's version of a nose reporter".<sup>103</sup> He describes their "work" as follows:

In old Tibet when a Tibetan author wrote a masterpiece, his instinct was not to rush to the printers. He buried his work, in the hope that centuries later [somebody] would discover his work,

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<sup>96</sup> Schubert 1950, p. 295: "Beide schufen damit diejenige Form der tibetischen Type, die 100prozentig den [...] Anforderungen tibetischer Schrifteigenart entspricht." (translation A.S.).

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1955, p.76.

<sup>98</sup> For a critical discussion of this term see Pallis 1997, p.49f.

<sup>99</sup> Missionary Review 1908, p.232.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. also Shakya 2004, p.52-54.

<sup>101</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, p. 36.

<sup>102</sup> Samphel 2003, p. 169 (accentuation by A.S.).

<sup>103</sup> Samphel 2003, p. 169.

its antiquity giving it a halo of wisdom, sacredness and a special spiritual significance [...]. Those who discovered such works of lasting value were called *tertons*, discoverers of buried treasures.<sup>104</sup>

If we recount some of the defining characteristics of a newspaper, the contrast between the Tibetan printing industry up until the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the principles of modern news-making cannot be greater: "Remote" in contrast to available (characteristic 5, chapter 2.1), "inaccessible" in contrast to accessible for everybody (characteristic 1, chapter 2.1), and "the object of unquestionable faith" in contrast to the object of critical reception. Let us recount Schaffrath's function of a newspaper: "[...The newspaper] is held as part of a public which informs, shapes opinions, entertains, criticizes, and controls the law- and rightful activities of a government, parliament, administration, jurisdiction, and other institutions in the public sphere." One should not be surprised that a liberal press did not have any room in Tibet, a place where not only did anything like the age of enlightenment never happen, but the aforementioned institutions never even existed. It was instead ruled by a clergy eager to protect its powers. Tönnies points out a relationship between "religious believes" and "public opinion",<sup>105</sup> which Keane takes up: "In modern times, public opinion expressed through an independent free press breaks down the dark unreasonable secrecy of 'unproven imaginings, beliefs or authority'. [...] "The rise of a free press breaks down dogmatic traditions. It fosters reflexiveness, [...] publicly decided judgements about desirable goals and deliberate calculations about the means of achieving them. The growth of public opinion in this sense has deep political implications. States are dragged before the court of public opinion."<sup>106</sup>

These developments have not taken place in Tibet. It seems to be a safe assumption, that the general mechanism between "religious believes" and "public opinion" works the same in Tibet as it does in the West. The 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama talks about the attitude of the ruling classes and the public at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and its early decades:

I think the public was not educated, and those who were educated were mainly educated through religion, so usually they were not interested in politics or the national self-interest. The rest of the people, because of a lack of education, had a very limited vision. [...] The regents had no experience about what was happening outside in the rest of the world. They had a false sense of their own power and the actual power of those around them. The main problem was ignorance, because Tibet was so isolated. Monastic institutions became an obstacle for development of the country [...].<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Samphel 2003, p.169.

<sup>105</sup> Tönnies, cited in Keane 1991, p.21: "In recent centuries, the Christian religion has lost what public opinion has gained."

<sup>106</sup> Keane 1991, p.21.

<sup>107</sup> Laird 2006, p. 197f.

[...] Among officials and even among the public, there was a tendency to follow the traditional path, the way things were in the past. And whenever people did something other than the traditional way, then there was opposition. Ngarlam, we say, in Tibetan (following the traditional way). [...]. I think when some old monks or lama saw some of the modernization, they saw it as British, and they sincerely felt that the British were the enemy of the Dharma. They saw modernization as atheism.<sup>108</sup>

When the Dalai Lama talks of "the public", one has to be aware that this "public" was not constituted by sophisticated media channels, but the simple exchange of information on the streets, for example. As Gould reported: "For the upper classes in Lhasa long-drawn-out luncheon parties took the place of the daily newspaper and the official gazette."<sup>109</sup> At the time in question in the West, newspapers and so on were the media of the public sphere. In Tibet, these kinds of media did not exist. The public of old Tibet, operative within a climate that "does not permit public participation on political affairs and did not condone, leave alone encourage, overt criticism of either superiors or governmental decisions",<sup>110</sup> according to Goldstein, found a different channel for expressing social criticism. This media (channel) is the Lhasa Street Songs (*srid don dang 'brel ba'i gzhas*<sup>111</sup>), described at length by Goldstein.<sup>112</sup> In old Tibet, some people would sing in the streets of Lhasa satirical, witty, and sometimes rude songs criticizing the highest ruling elite, as a kind of "socio-political commentary".<sup>113</sup> The songs were well-known melodies supplied with new lyrics, usually 4 stanzas with 6 syllables.<sup>114</sup> Goldstein compares it to the Western political cartoons, with the exception that the songs were a verbal medium, of course, and that they were produced in a different environment. He writes:

[...] They illustrate the manner in which events [...] were aired in public in a system which normally required deference and which possessed no radios or newspapers through which to communicate opinions. [...] They were a vehicle for the expression of strong feelings and frustrations about political events and figures which could not otherwise be publically expressed.<sup>115</sup>

Bell, as well, reports of having heard of them:

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<sup>108</sup> Laird 2006, p. 249f.

<sup>109</sup> Gould 1957, p.237.

<sup>110</sup> Goldstein 1982, p.57.

<sup>111</sup> Goldstein 1982, p.56.

<sup>112</sup> See Goldstein, 1982.

<sup>113</sup> Goldstein 1982, p.57.

<sup>114</sup> Goldstein 1982, p.56.

<sup>115</sup> Goldstein 1982, p.66.

The laboring classes of Lhasa, men and women, are fond of composing topical songs about their own officials, high and low. These, which are usually of an uncomplimentary character, they sing in the streets in loud voices, especially when going to and returning from work. No check is put upon them; it is one of the ways in which public opinion finds expression.<sup>116</sup>

Apart from all this, one factor needs to be taken into consideration: Alphabetization. In Tibet, even in 1956, 93-94 percent of the Tibetan population was illiterate.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, the great bulk of the population was not even concerned at the least with things like reading, books, let alone newspapers.

### **3.3 Organizational Status Quo: News delivery**

Another important aspect of news business is its delivery. The speed of news dissemination is a crucial point in the development of the newspaper. Moreover, it is due to the good delivery network between Kalimpong and Lhasa that the Melong could disseminate to Tibet. The original purpose of news delivery was usually of military and political nature. In times of war or intrigue, quick notification / information was crucial to appropriate action. In order to quickly deliver important messages, a relay was established.<sup>118</sup>

At the time of the Melong's founding, the Tibetans have had a fairly efficient postal service for a couple of years, as Bell writes. It was limited of course, but "letters and newspapers took eight to eleven days only from Calcutta to Lhasa."<sup>119</sup> In Tibet, messages were transmitted through runners, which run six and a half kilometers each leg. On the main routes, the next runner waited in little postal huts. The postal runners carried a spear and bells with them, in order to have a weapon against aggressors and to scare off animals at night.<sup>120</sup> One had to put the letter into double envelope, endowed with Tibetan stamps. At the border, a messenger threw away the Tibetan envelope and put Indian stamps on the second envelope. From India the letter was disseminated into the whole world. A letter to Europe usually took fourteen days in the 1940s, to the United States twenty days.<sup>121</sup>

The 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama had wanted a telegraph line to Lhasa ever since 1912, but it was refused by the British due to "international obligations".<sup>122</sup> The telegraph line to Gyantse, where a British official was stationed, had been erected in 1904.<sup>123</sup> From Gyantse to Lhasa, it takes

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<sup>116</sup> Bell 1992, p.206.

<sup>117</sup> Dovifat 1960, p.759.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Wilke 2000, p.9.

<sup>119</sup> Bell 1992, p.201.

<sup>120</sup> Harrer 1956, p.117.

<sup>121</sup> Harrer 1956, p.117.

<sup>122</sup> See Richardson 1962, p.124.

<sup>123</sup> Bishop 1989, p.192.

three days in order to march the 136 miles; therefore, communication with Lhasa took about seven days.<sup>124</sup> Only in 1923 was a telegraph line constructed there. The Tibetan government paid for the construction, the "Telegraph Department of Bengal" (Indo-British) provided the telegraph engineers,<sup>125</sup> and all the materials, including posts and skilled workers, were carried up from India. Furthermore, in Lhasa, telephones were installed in the important state offices. Later on, a Tibetan who was trained in India was put in charge of the telegraph line. Macdonald reports in 1932, "Tibetan government and traders use their part of the line more and more."<sup>126</sup> In practice, the system did not always work as intended, as demonstrated by a letter written by Tharchin to Charles Bell in 1937. Tharchin complains that postmasters would take the money for stamps, but not actually stamp the letters, therefore sending them bare or not at all. Furthermore, stamps would get lost on the way due to bad sealing. Apparently he planned to even run a "campaign" in his newspaper:

It would be good if the Tibetan government joins the postal service with [that of] our Government. Some have asked me to print in my Newspaper the post office rules and write showing proper methods. But again, I need assistance from a person who has experience about the post office.<sup>127</sup>

In 1954, when India left its posts in southern Tibet, it handed over the postal, telegraph and public telephone, plus its full equipment to the Chinese at a "reasonable price", as the contract states.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Bell 1992, p.176.

<sup>125</sup> Macdonald 1932, p.287f.

<sup>126</sup> Macdonald 1932, p.287f.

<sup>127</sup> A letter from Tharchin to Charles Bell, dated 25 July 1937, cited in Fader II, p.271.

<sup>128</sup> Richardson 1962, p.296: 29.4.1954 Sino-Indian Agreement: "The Government of India will be pleased to hand over to the Government of China at a reasonable price the postal, telegraph and public telephone services together with their equipment operated by the Government of India in Tibet Region of China. [...]."





## 4 The First Tibetan Language Publications

As we have seen, technical and social conditions were not favorable for any kind of journalistic attempts in Tibet. Only outside of Tibet, printing types were produced, as Western scholars and missionaries developed an ever-growing interest into the subject matter Tibet. Now, after Tibetologists had been writing about Tibet, and missionaries engaging in proselytizing attempts, it was only a matter of time until the first printed publications appeared *for* Tibetans. The first newspaper-like publications were founded in the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, the press had been flourishing in Great Britain for centuries. Germany, the cradle of newspapers, possessed between 3000 and 4000 newspapers in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>129</sup> In Tibet's neighbor India, the press had been developing for well over 100 years, ever since the British Colonist James August Hickey had started "*Bengal Gazette*", the first Indian newspaper, in 1780. The Indian press was split into two opposing strings: The Colony-supporting English-language press and the Hindi-language press fighting for independence.<sup>130</sup> Tibet's other big neighbor China was in the middle of a second newspaper boom – starting a newspaper in contemporary China was extremely hip.<sup>131</sup> The first modern newspaper in China had been founded in 1815, again by an English missionary.<sup>132</sup> It is noteworthy to mention that the first newspaper of the world is assumed to have been published in China. It was a Court Circular though, and did not have much in common with modern-style press.<sup>133</sup> After the downfall of the Qing dynasty in 1912, freedom of speech and opinion was announced in the constitution, which led to the creation of about 500 newspapers shortly after. In 1926, there were 628 newspapers registered in China. Circulation at that time varied from very little up to 150 000 copies.<sup>134</sup> More distant South-Asian countries like Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam have had newspapers for decades due to Colonialists and/or missionaries.<sup>135</sup> The first modern Japanese newspaper was printed in 1861 ("*Batavia Shimbun*").<sup>136</sup> Korea also had a Court Circular which began in 1392 ("*Chobo*"); modern-style newspaper was founded in 1883.<sup>137</sup> Burma saw its first newspaper in 1836 (in English and Burmese language).<sup>138</sup> The small kingdom of Nepal saw its first

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<sup>129</sup> Wilke 2000, p. 260.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. e.g. Gunaratne 2000, p. 87.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Wernsdörfer 2006, p.98.

<sup>132</sup> Gunaratne 2000, p. 499.

<sup>133</sup> E.g. Keane 1991, p.8

<sup>134</sup> Dovifat 1960, p. 753ff.

<sup>135</sup> Gunaratne 2000, p. 266, 431, 464.

<sup>136</sup> Gunaratne 2000, p. 562f.; Keane 1991, p.8.

<sup>137</sup> Gunaratne 2000, p. 612.

<sup>138</sup> Gunaratne 2000, p. 352.

newspaper in 1901 ("*Gorkhapatra*", a mouthpiece of the Rana-kings),<sup>139</sup> and Mongolia's first newspaper was "*Shine Tol*", founded in 1911, a paper of the new government.<sup>140</sup> Mongolia and Bhutan, which got its first newspaper only in 1965 ("*Kuensei*"),<sup>141</sup> present the only two countries in Central and Southeast Asia, who got their first newspaper after Tibet did.

Politically, Tibet was much-courted, on one side from the British, on the other side from the Chinese. Tibet replied with an attitude of rejection, highly restricting all entries and exits. It is of no surprise that the first newspapers were therefore founded outside of Tibet.<sup>142</sup> Tibetan language newspaper-projects were led by

- a) the Moravian Mission in Northern India and
- b) the Chinese in Lhasa.

In the literature, a couple of publications are described as the "first Tibetan newspaper". Of course, this is a contradiction. Whether the first Tibetan newspaper was founded in China or India, and in the case of the latter: by Christian missionaries or a Tibetan, is also a political question. I have identified three publications, held to be the "first" newspaper. They are the *La dwags kyi ag bar* in Leh (1904-1907), the *Bod yig phal skad kyi gсар 'gyur* in Lhasa (1908-1911(?)) and the *Melong* in Kalimpong (1925-1963).

#### **4.1 From India: *La dwags kyi ag bar* (Ladakh Newspaper)**

The *La dwags kyi ag bar* was published between 1904 and 1907<sup>143</sup> by monks of the Moravian Mission in Leh, Ladakh. I introduce this paper at some length as it served as a model for the *Melong* twenty years later.<sup>144</sup> Plus, sources concerning the reception of the *Melong* are rare.

The Moravians (Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine), an evangelical protestant church, had been active in Ladakh ever since 1855.<sup>145</sup> In Leh, they possessed a lithographic press and were busy in using it. They printed more than 250 publications,<sup>146</sup> including school books, travel reports, prayer books, pamphlets and more.<sup>147</sup> Some of their extensive printing work was done by famous people, such as Heinrich August Jäschke, the compiler of the Tibetan-English

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<sup>139</sup> Gunaratne 2000, p. 135.

<sup>140</sup> Gunaratne 2000, p. 640.

<sup>141</sup> Gunaratne 2000, p. 70.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Schubert 1935, p. 95: "Trotz der immer noch stärksten Abgeschlossenheit Tibets gegenüber dem Eindringen alles Fremdartigen, zeigt sich doch auf kulturellem Gebiete so manche Neuerung, die europäischen Einfluß verrät. In der Hauptsache freilich gehen derartige Erscheinungen von Stellen aus, die nicht selbst im eigentlichen Tibet, sondern hart an dessen Grenze liegen." (translation A.S.).

<sup>143</sup> Römer and Erhard 2007 and Walravens 2002, p. 30.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. also Engelhardt 2010, p.1; Jamyang Norbu interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.209.

<sup>145</sup> Walravens writes they were active in Ladakh ever since 1863. (Walravens 2002, p. 29). Bray adds that a permanent missionary station was only founded in 1885 (Bray 1988, p. 58).

<sup>146</sup> Walravens 2002, p. 30.

<sup>147</sup> Römer and Erhard 2007, no page numbering.

dictionary, or August Hermann Francke, who translated the Bible into Tibetan.<sup>148</sup> This very Francke was the founder of the *La dwags kyi ag bar*.

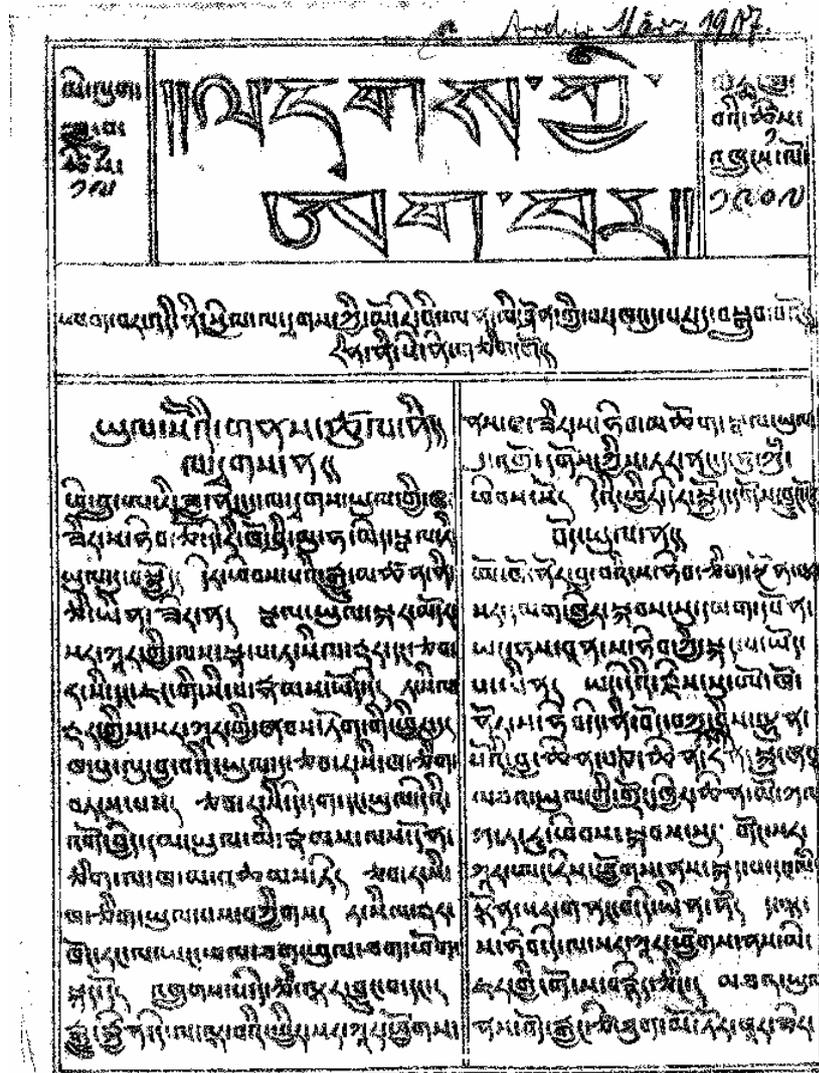


Fig. 10: Front page of *La dwags kyi ag bar*, issue March 1907 (© Herrnhut Archiv)

*Production*

The paper was printed once a month in Leh, on the lithographic printing press of the missionary station, each issue consisting of four pages. Starting from the February-issue of 1907 it held a subtitle: "Ag bar 'di ni slel La dwags kyi Mo re wi an mi shon gyi par khang du bsgrub so", which means: "manufactured in Leh in the printing shop of the Ladakh Moravian Mission", according to Walravens.<sup>149</sup> The cost of one issue was about three pfennig.<sup>150</sup> Besides Francke, at least two other missionaries worked on the paper: Ernest Shawe and Friedrich Peter,<sup>151</sup> plus native helpers.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Walravens 2002, p. 30.  
<sup>149</sup> Walravens 2002, p. 30.  
<sup>150</sup> Walravens 2002, p. 32.  
<sup>151</sup> Walravens 2002, p.31.

### *Circulation*

In the beginning, 150 copies of the paper were printed, but later Francke decreased the circulation steadily to 60 copies.<sup>153</sup> Thereof 20 copies were sent to Darjeeling, Bengal, where the Moravians had another branch office.<sup>154</sup> This may seem like a very small circulation pool, but it can easily be compared to early printing in Europe, when circulation was similarly small and distributed mostly among elites. It is also important to note that one issue was often read by (or read aloud to) ten people or more. The reach of the paper was therefore perhaps significantly higher.

### *Appearance*

The paper's format was 23 x 27,5 cm, some issues 21,2 x 26,5 cm.<sup>155</sup> The layout was split into two columns. Some issues contained illustrations. The title line "*La dwags kyi ag bar*" was written in double-lined letters, which were also used by the locals for carving the sacred Buddhist formula *Om mani padme hum* into stones.<sup>156</sup> The text of the paper was written in the colloquial *dbu med*-script, in simple, understandable language.

### *Content*

Walravens divides the content of the paper into three main sections:

- 1) *Yul so so'i gnas tshul ni*, "Reports on individual countries",

The regularly recurring sub-sections are:

- a) *bod yul na*, "In Tibet"
- b) *rgya gar yul na*, "In India"
- c) *ja pan yul na*, "In Japan"
- d) *o ros yul na*, "In Russia"

The contents were taken from Indian newspapers, f.e. the *Bombay Guardian*.<sup>157</sup>

- 2) *sgrungs ni*, "Stories"
- 3) *gtam dpe*, "Proverbs"<sup>158</sup>

As we will later see, this division and word choice highly resembles that of the Melong.

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<sup>152</sup> Walravens 2010, p.6.

<sup>153</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, p. 33; Cf. Walravens/Taube 1992, p.267 where it is stated that 100 copies were distributed.

<sup>154</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, S. 33.

<sup>155</sup> According to information of the Herrnhut Archive.

<sup>156</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, p. 32.

<sup>157</sup> Bray 1988, p.59.

<sup>158</sup> Walravens 2002, p.31f..

### *Aims of the paper*

Naturally, being a missionary paper, the main goal of the *La dwags kyi ag bar* was to spread Christian ideas and morals. In order to successfully reach that goal, the Moravians wanted to reach deeply in order to change the every day customs and habits of the Tibetans. A newspaper was something incredibly revolutionary at that time, and it aimed to change daily routine at its roots. As John Bray says: "[Francke] intended [the newspaper] to be educational in the broadest sense in that he hoped it would popularize an unfamiliar concept of secular, or at least non-Buddhist, writing."<sup>159</sup> As Francke admits in one of his letters to his home monastery, the Christian books that had been vastly published by the Moravians were not as successful as they had hoped for:

[One] point is educating Tibetans to pay for books. It is almost impossible to get even the slightest payment for our Christian books [...]. Regarding our religious texts we face the alternative of either no readers at all or free distribution!<sup>160</sup>

Francke goes on in admitting that it is even dangerous for the Tibetans to possess the Christian books: "The Buddhist Tibetans do not want this kind of literature, they even have to take care that Lamas do not find such things in their place, and therefore consider it a great courtesy on their part to accept the books."<sup>161</sup> Therefore, he explains, the newspaper is considered to be a means to an end: "It is different with the paper: We get payment, often, however, in form of goods. The distribution of the paper is therefore not to be underrated with regard to a changing attitude of the people towards our literature."<sup>162</sup> Francke wrote this in 1906 in a report to his home monastery. He was seemingly at a loss to explain his expensive project.<sup>163</sup> As Römer and Erhard mention, the newspaper was under tremendous economical pressure, because the mission should work self-sufficiently, or even better: it should make profit.<sup>164</sup>

To sum it up: Books and texts in general have been thitherto narrowly entwined with Buddhism by the Tibetans. The missionaries wanted to teach them a new way of reading. Francke's idea was simple: if the Tibetans were used to a newspaper, they would also get used and more receptive to Christian ideas.<sup>165</sup> This is also reflected in the outer appearance of the paper: While the title line is held in ornamented letters (see "Appearance"), in order to draw

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<sup>159</sup> Bray 1988, S. 59.

<sup>160</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, p.36.

<sup>161</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, p.36.

<sup>162</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, p.36.

<sup>163</sup> See Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002. p.36.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Römer and Erhard 2007.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Bray 1988, p.59.

attention and acceptance to the paper, the text itself is in a very colloquial style, both in writing (*dbu med*), and linguistically (no Classical Tibetan). This was an innovation at that time: printing and publishing solely for a worldly, or at least non-Buddhist purpose. Francke makes his point very clear when he writes: "Those who read the paper do not have the option of earning religious merit."<sup>166</sup>

### *Reception*

Interestingly, Francke's project worked to some extent. At least, when considering the first part of the plan, i.e. getting Tibetans accustomed to a new way of reading. Francke reports that the first part of his newspaper, the news section, was the most popular among his readers. This applied especially, as he adds, if the cover contained news on Tibet.<sup>167</sup> This is not surprising, for "proximity" is one of the news values which make up an interesting news report. According to Golding and Elliott, these news values are: Entertainment, Importance, Drama, Visual Attractiveness, Proximity, Brevity, Negativity, Regency, Elites, and Personalities. Furthermore, proximity has two senses, cultural and geographical.<sup>168</sup> Here, both prevail, the first more than the latter.

The Tibetans were not without suspicion and skepticism towards the new "journalists" in Leh. When *La dwags kyi ag bar* reported on the victory of the British Younghusband expedition into Tibet in 1904, the reactions were described by Francke as follows: "Our news on the English victory over the Tibetans were by no means believed. Our people regarded it as practically impossible that the soldiers and Lamas, endowed with freshly consecrated talisman, could ever be wounded."<sup>169</sup> Only when some Ladakhis, who worked in the prison of Shimla, heard the story themselves from some Tibetan prisoners of war, they believed it. Another article about the sea battles in the Russo-Japanese War met a similar fate:

[Francke] was rather taken aback when the [Ladakhi helper] came to write down the story he used the word for 'river' rather than the word for 'ocean', suggesting an image of battleships on the Indus. Even when this mistake was corrected, local readers found the story hard to understand: even if the Russians and the Japanese did wish to blow each other up, it was not entirely clear why they had to go to sea first.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, p.36.

<sup>167</sup> See Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002. p.33.

<sup>168</sup> Golding/Elliott 1996, p.405-415.

<sup>169</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, p. 34.

<sup>170</sup> Bray 1988, p.59.

Concerning the main goal, the spreading of Christian ideas, the newspaper was not very successful. In the third section of the paper, the "spiritual part"<sup>171</sup> as Francke called it, the authors usually provided a Christian interpretation of a Tibetan proverb.<sup>172</sup> Talking about the production of this, one can hear the frustration in Francke's report:

[It] should always be done by a missionary, [... because] the interpretation of a Tibetan proverb is a difficult matter for a native. Also the sermons of the native assistants show that it is almost impossible for them to cling to a basic idea during the whole speech. They get sidetracked by a ramification which they find personally interesting and never get back to the main idea. [...One native assistant] was given the proverb: He who does not see his one face ridicules the faces of other people [...]. Nothing would have been more suitable than to think of Christ's word about the splinter in neighbour's eye and the beam in your own. The native assistant instead preferred to link the proverb to Adam and Eve, two persons of whose existence the Buddhist Tibetan does not have a ghost of an idea.<sup>173</sup>

As the missionaries were under heavy economic pressure as mentioned above, and the Christian contents were not selling at all, the editors marginalized them over the course of time.<sup>174</sup> Yet, the *La dwags kyi ag bar* always remained a paper with a clear proselytizing mission.

According to Bray, Francke moved from Leh to Kyelang, Lahul, in 1906. Some of his colleagues continued the paper, changing the name to "*La dwags kyi pho nya*" in 1907.<sup>175</sup> *Pho Nya* means "messenger", but is also the word that Jäschke translated as "angel".<sup>176</sup> The newspaper is usually translated as "Ladakh Herald". Only a year later or so, the paper was stopped all together. Walravens writes that the *La dwags Pho Nya* was published from 1908 until 1910. This is also very possible. I have no means to verify the true publishing date of the paper. In any case, the *Pho Nya* was the short-lived successor of the *La dwags kyi ag bar*.<sup>177</sup>

In 1926,<sup>178</sup> Walter Asboe, another monk of the Moravian mission and successor to Francke in Kyelang "revived the Moravian journalistic tradition"<sup>179</sup> by starting the *Kyelang kyi*

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<sup>171</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, p. 35.

<sup>172</sup> Francke mentions an example for this in "Eine literarische Neuheit", Missionsblatt aus der Brüdergemeine 68 (1904), p. 99 (cited in Walravens 2002, p. 32) according to Bray 1988, p. 60 from the first issue of the paper: "If the Lama is not perfect, how can he help dying people upwards (in transmigration, to a better rebirth, perhaps in the Buddhist paradise, called Thoris)?" Conclusion: The true, really sinless great Lama is Jesus Christ. [...]"

<sup>173</sup> Francke 1906, cited and translated into English in Walravens 2002, p. 35f.

<sup>174</sup> Römer and Erhard 2007, no paging available.

<sup>175</sup> Bray 1988, p. 60; Walravens 2002, p. 31. Bray cites the paper as "*La dvags pho nya*" (in contrast to "*La dvags kyi pho nya*") in Walravens.

<sup>176</sup> Bray 1988, p. 60.

<sup>177</sup> 8 issues exist in the Herrnhut archive, according to Walravens 2010, p.6.

<sup>178</sup> Walravens/Taube 1992, p. 267, Missionsblatt 1927: "Die tibetische Zeitung, die Br. Asboe seit 1. September 1926 herausgibt, macht gute Fortschritte [...]". According to Bray it was started in m 1927 (Bray 1988, p.60).

*Akhbar*,<sup>180</sup> another monthly paper printed at first on the – by that time – very old lithographic press. The "Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeine" reports the name as "The Good News".<sup>181</sup> Later Asboe used a plex duplicator.<sup>182</sup> The paper had a circulation of about 40 or 50<sup>183</sup> copies and ran until 1935.<sup>184, 185</sup> This paper was also primarily a means of proselytization. The Moravians knew what (might) work and what did not. The *Missionsblatt* from 1927 reports: "In our Himalayan mission, especially medical work and dissemination of the Scriptures must be used as means of proselytizing, because their effects are usually greater than that of the sermon."<sup>186</sup> Interestingly, when Asboe was on leave in Europe in the beginning of 1936, he reported his newspaper as the only Tibetan language publication in the world. By then, the Melong had been published for eleven years. Furthermore, he spread the information that even though only 50 issues were printed, there were hundreds of thousands of readers. The educated monks who were literate, would gather all the villagers and read the articles out loud. We find this description in German, French and even Singaporean publications.<sup>187</sup> In 1936, Asboe moved from Kyalang to Leh, but continued his paper under an old new name: *La dwags Pho Nya*.<sup>188</sup> Concerning international news, Asboe did not just take them from Indian

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<sup>179</sup> Bray 1988, p. 60.

<sup>180</sup> Walravens/Taube 1992, p.178 (here it is called "Kye-lang ag-bar").

<sup>181</sup> Walravens/Taube 1992, p.267.

<sup>182</sup> Compare with Walravens/Taube 1992, p. 178, who note that this paper was "at first produced on a lithographic press, and later on with types."

<sup>183</sup> The Straits Times, January 12th 1936, p.13.

<sup>184</sup> Bray 1988, p. 60.

<sup>185</sup> For a short summary of content see Walravens/Taube 1992, p. 267.

<sup>186</sup> Walravens/Taube 1992, p. 267: "In unserer Himalayamission müssen so ganz besonders ärztliche Arbeit und Schriftenverbreitung als Missionsmittel dienen, da sie meist weiter wirken als die Predigt." (translation A.S.); No. 3-95 exist in the Berliner Staatsbibliothek, Libri tibetici 13, Oriental Department, according to Walravens 2002 p.37.

<sup>187</sup> Compare *Zeitungswissenschaft* 1936, p. 330: "Von der einzigen im Bereich des Dalai Lamas erscheinenden Zeitung berichtet 'Journal de Genève' auf Grund der Angaben von deren Hauptschriftleiter, der kürzlich Europa besuchte. Die Zeitung hat eine Auflage von nur 50 Exemplaren, aber mehrere hunderttausend Personen kennen sie. Sie wird in den Gebirgen von Tibet in einer Höhe von 3500 Meter gedruckt, und die Bezieher sind die vornehmen Lamas der Klöster. Sie sind fast die einzigen, die lesen können. Wenn die Zeitung in ihre Hände gelangt ist, versammeln sie die Bevölkerung und lesen ihr sie vor.";

The Straits Times, January 12th, 1936, p.13: "The Rev. Walter Asboe, a Moravian missionary, is in London on leave from his station - the village of Kyalang [sic], 10,500ft. high in the rainless Tibetan plateau. The only communication with the rest of the world is by a pass 13,500ft. high, which is snowed under for five months in the year. Mr. Asboe's parish is the size of Wales. He says that only 146 converts have been made in 80 years. He himself has made only two in 14 years. Mr. Asboe has the distinction of being the publisher of the first and only newspaper in the Tibetan language. He produces 50 copies on an old-fashioned cyclostyle, but the 'circulation' is in the hundreds of thousands, as it is read to villagers by the Lamas, the only people who are literate."

*Journal de Genève*, April 19th, 1936, p.2: "Un journal tibétain. Il faudrait plutôt écrire 'le' journal tibétain, car cet organe serait, paraît-il, le seul existant au pays des lamas. Le rédacteur en chef de ce journal, de passage dernièrement en Europe, a donné sur lui quelques précisions. Il ne tire qu'à cinquante exemplaires, mais plusieurs centaines de milliers de personnes[sic] le connaissent. Il est imprimé dans les montagnes tibétaines à 3,500 mètres d'altitude, et ses abonnés se recrutent uniquement parmi les principaux lamas des monastères. Ils sont à peu près seuls à savoir lire. Aussi, quand le journal leur parvient, réunissent-ils la population à laquelle ils donnent lecture des articles. Mais on ne nous dit pas si ce singulier journal couvre ses frais."

<sup>188</sup> Both Bray 1988 and Walravens 2002 write *La dwags pho nya* without *kyi*; Walravens/Taube 1992, p.178: This source states, it was called *La-dwags pho-nya*, starting from 1935.

newspapers any more, but also had a radio at his disposal.<sup>189</sup> Asboe left Ladakh in 1947<sup>190</sup> and the *Ladakh Pho Nya* closed down for five years. In 1952 the Swiss missionary Pierre Vittoz and Eliyah Tsetan Phuntsog<sup>191</sup> revived the paper again. Bray reports on the appearance of the paper: "During this period expensively-produced Chinese propaganda pamphlets in Tibetan were trickling across the border and Vittoz remarked that the La dwags phonya [sic!], which was still prepared on a simple rotary duplicator, looked scrappy in comparison."<sup>192</sup> Nobody continued this paper after Vittoz left Ladakh in 1956 and Phuntsog in 1959.

#### 4.2 From China: *Bod yig phal skad gsar 'gyur* / Xizang Baihua Bao

At about the same time as the Moravian missionaries made their first walking attempts in Tibetan language journalism, a different Tibetan language publication was founded in Lhasa. It was the *Bod yig phal skad gsar 'gyur*, a bilingual publication, started by the Chinese Amban Lian Yu in the last years of the Manchu/Qing dynasty (end:1911). The name translates into "News in Colloquial Tibetan". The Missionary Review referred to it as the "Tibet Times".<sup>193</sup> Unfortunately, not much is known about this publication. In literature, there has been a variety of allegations concerning the date of publishing, the place of publishing etc. Two things we can ascertain are that it was started in the late Qing-dynasty in Lhasa, and that Amban Lian Yu and Zhang Yintang founded it. An Amban was the permanent, Tibet stationed representative of the Chinese Government, i.e. the Chinese Emperor.

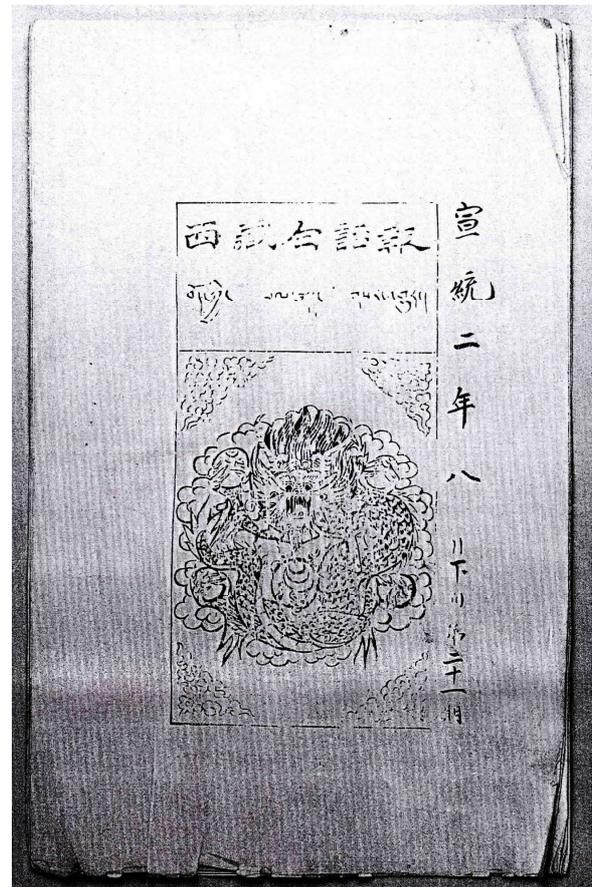


Fig. 11 (p.41): Cover of the *Bod yig phal skad gsar 'gyur* issue 21 (© Zheng 2000, p.23).

<sup>189</sup> Bray 1988, p.61; apparently, Moravian Church House London holds a few issues, according to Walravens 2002, p.38.

<sup>190</sup> Bray 1988, p. 61 and Walravens/Taube 1992, p. 178.

<sup>191</sup> For a short biography of him see Walravens/Taube, p. 200, or Lungta 11, p.7-8.

<sup>192</sup> Bray 1988, p.62.

<sup>193</sup> See Missionary Review 1908, p.232.

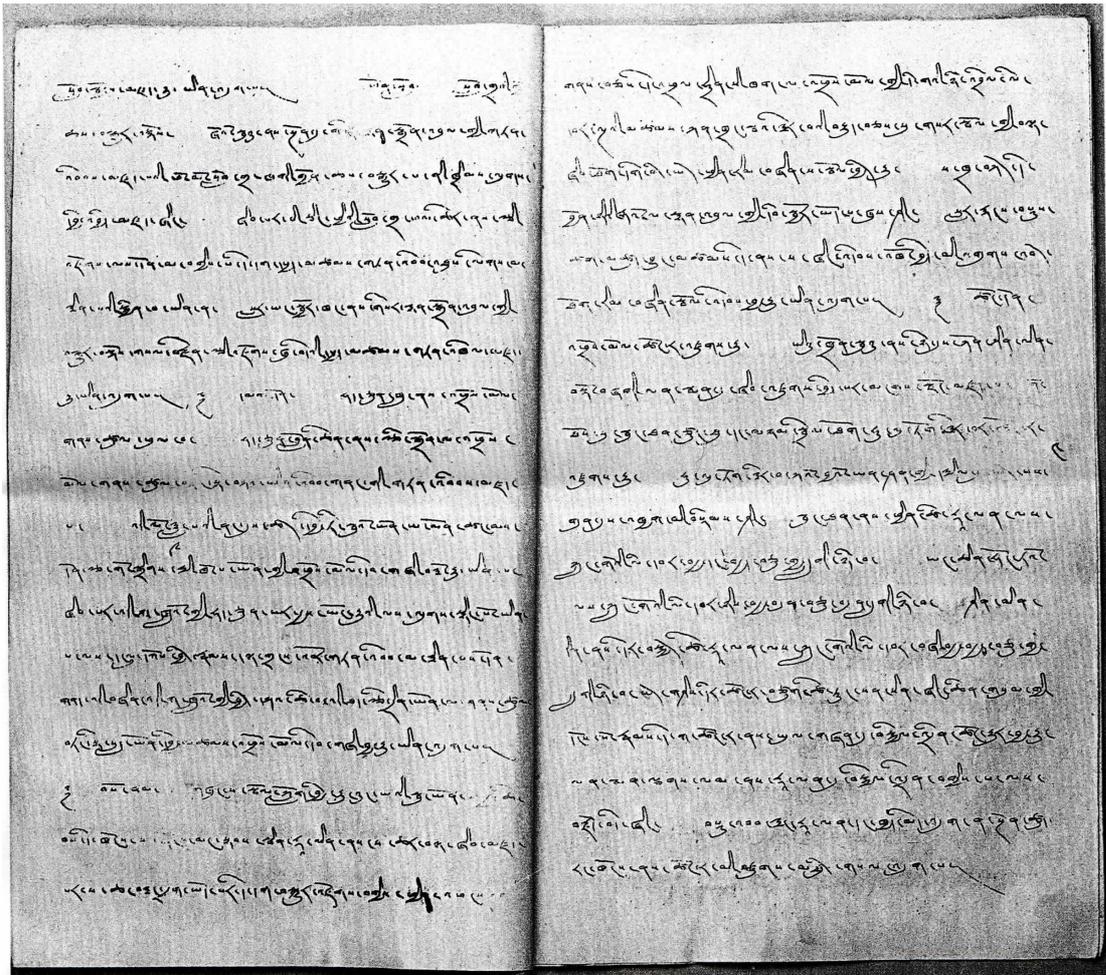


Fig. 12: Pages 3 and 4 of *Bod yig phal skad gsar 'gyur*, issue 21 (© Zheng 2000, p.23).

**Production**

Usually the Amban and Assistant Amban were permanently stationed in Lhasa for one or two terms of four years each.<sup>194</sup> According to the Kolmaš chronicle, Lian Yu arrived in Lhasa on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1906, originally as the Assistant Amban. In December of the same year the Amban Youtai left and Lian Yu took his spot. His assistant Zhang Yintang arrived in Lhasa in November 1906, resigning soon after from his post, but staying in Tibet until 1910. Lian Yu effectively worked both titles then: Amban and Assistant Amban.<sup>195</sup> He left Tibet for India in 1912, after the Chinese Revolution and the abolishment of the Empire. The newspaper must therefore have been published during this time. We find a very useful hint in a short footnote in Römer and Erhard:

In the Tibet Museum (2003) in Lhasa, however, there is a newspaper, *Bod kyi phal skad gsar 'gyur*, which dates to the second year of the reign of Emporor Xuantong (Puyi, reign 1908-1912), but is, unfortunately, not further described. The cover of the newspaper shows the title ,Tibetan

<sup>194</sup> Kolmaš 1994, p. 5, 8, 10, 12.  
<sup>195</sup> See Kolmaš 1994, p. 64f.

News in Standard Tibetan' in Tibetan and Chinese. The text is italic. The description in the museum reads: '*bod kyi phal skad gsar 'gyur. shon thung khri lo 2pa.*'<sup>196</sup>

Bai writes, that the first issue was published in March or April 1909. This must be wrong, as apparently there are issues available dated 1908 (third and seventh month), as Walravens says.<sup>197</sup> Walravens dates the first issue of the paper to the first half of February of 1908, which might be true, but could be a bit later as well. It corresponds to a *London Times* report of March 13<sup>th</sup> 1908: "The officials in Lhasa are importing machines for the purpose of printing a Tibetan newspaper." By late March, the newspaper had begun publishing there.<sup>198</sup> Yet, some kind of precursor to the publication must have existed before: The *London Times* reports of a *Reuter* message dated July 11<sup>th</sup> 1907, where the newspaper is already mentioned: "[Zhang Yintang] also reports the establishment of a native newspaper for the enlightenment of people in both inner and outer Tibet. This newspaper will be the first in the Tibetan language."<sup>199</sup> And the *Straits Times* is more specific in August 1907: "[The Chinese Imperial Commissioner] has issued a sort of Government Gazette [...]. In a short time, three hundred subscribers were enrolled. The Commissioner expresses the intention to improve the journal [...]"<sup>200</sup>

Concerning the printing press, Bai provides conflicting information: The first issue was printed on a lithographic press which the Assistant Amban Zhang Yintang had brought to Lhasa in 1906. Later he sent men to Calcutta to buy printing machines.<sup>201</sup> According to Bai, it appeared every ten days.<sup>202</sup> It was probably mimeographed on white machine-processed paper after the text had been cut in steel plates.<sup>203</sup> The price is not known, but it was likely distributed for free.

### *Circulation*

Bai writes that 300 to 400 copies were printed per issue,<sup>204</sup> and a *China Daily*-article reports of 100 copies per issue.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Römer and Erhard 2007 **PAGE**: "Im Tibet Museum (2003) in Lhasa allerdings ist eine Zeitung, *Bod kyi phal skad gsar 'gyur*, zu sehen, die auf das zweite Regierungsjahr des Kaisers Xuantong (Puyi, Regierungszeit 1908-1912) datiert, aber leider nicht weiter beschrieben ist. Das Titelblatt der Zeitung weist den Titel "Tibetische Nachrichten in Standardtibetisch" in Tibetisch und Chinesisch auf. Der Text ist in Kursivschrift. Die Beschreibung im Museum lautet: '*bod kyi phal skad gsar 'gyur. shon thung khri lo 2pa.*'" (translation and accentuation by A.S.).

<sup>197</sup> Walravens 2010, p.10.

<sup>198</sup> See *Missionary Review*, Vol. 31, 1908, March, p.232: "The *Tibet Times*, the first newspaper in Tibetan, has begun publishing [in Lhasa]."

<sup>199</sup> *The Times*, August 24th 1907.

<sup>200</sup> *The Straits Times*, August 23rd 1907, p.6.

<sup>201</sup> Bai 1990, no paging available.

<sup>202</sup> Bai 1990, no paging available.

<sup>203</sup> Zheng 2000, p. 23.

<sup>204</sup> Bai 1990, no paging available.

<sup>205</sup> *China Daily* 2008, no paging available.

### *Appearance*

In Zheng 2000 (Precious Deposits) a whole issue is depicted. According to the English accompanying text it is issue number 21, published in 1910. Its size is 34.5 cm in height, and 21.5 cm in width.<sup>206</sup> The available issue contains five pages. The first page serves as a cover, reading the title in Chinese and Tibetan. The inner pages hold Tibetan *dbu med*-text on pages 2-4, accompanied by Chinese-language and Tibetan language text on page 5.<sup>207</sup>

### *Content*

The contents in each issue include "Tibet, the inland, and international news and some popular scientific knowledge", according to the text in Precious Deposits. The available issue included "news and reports about strengthening navy, reclaiming wasteland, and establishing commercial ports in the Gourd Island as well as some Tibetan news about organizing teams of the police and training patrol police in Gyangtse [sic]."<sup>208</sup> The article of the *Straits Times* of August 1907 describes the content as "containing articles on patriotism, the fulfillment of military duties, and the need of maintaining standing armies." Some translated sample articles from the year 1908 show that the content was always propagandistic in favor of the Ambans and critical towards "foreigners", i.e. British.<sup>209</sup> Bell writes, about 1908: "A Chinese paper, which had been started in Lhasa, after vilifying the British, exhorted the Tibetans to combine with the Nepalese and Bhutanese – a people of the same race and religion as themselves."<sup>210</sup>

### *Aims of the paper*

The paper was founded in an eventful time, with the Chinese revolution about to start, the balance of powers unsettled. The Ambans were in a situation where they tried to strengthen and broaden their power as much as possible. Zhang Yintang composed a 24-points plan, which included: administrative reforms, secularization of the Tibetan government, fights against corruption of Qing and Chinese officials, and decreasing the conservative influence of the clergy.<sup>211</sup> He planned some "educational" means to fulfill this plan; one of which was the new bilingual newspaper. Some lines from Lian Yu's memorial are translated in the accompanying text in Precious Deposits, which reveal the Amban's intention:

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<sup>206</sup> Zheng 2000, p.23.

<sup>207</sup> See Zheng 2000, p.23-26.

<sup>208</sup> Zheng 2000, p.23.

<sup>209</sup> See Walravens 2010, p.10 & 13 for some sample articles of the paper (translated into English; sent by the British Trade Agent, Gyantse, to the Political Officer, Sikkim, on February 11<sup>th</sup>, 1909).

<sup>210</sup> Bell 1992, p.102.

<sup>211</sup> See Wernsdörfer 2008, p. 95.

I have learned that Tibetans are ignorant and are difficult to be educated in a short time. I think it is a better way to enlighten them with the help of a popular newspaper. It would be better to enlighten them in popular words (which can exert a subtle influence on their thinking) than to give guidance to them by talking round (which is hard to make known to every household). I have established a popular newspaper office in the central part of Tibet. Following the example of the Sichuan Xun Newspaper and other official newspapers in different provinces, this newspaper intends to advocate patriotic actions, encouraging military spirit, and educating common people. All the articles are translated into Tibetan so as to be easy for Tibetans to read.<sup>212</sup>

It was a strategic decision. The aristocratic and clerical Tibetan elite stood strictly against the Ambans, who tried to broaden their sphere of influence in the administrative and educational field.<sup>213</sup> It was a trendy decision, as Wernsdörfer explains: "[In China,] in the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, reformist thinking intellectuals [...] liked to use the medium newspaper, in order to popularize their ideas and create a new political awareness among the population."<sup>214</sup>

### *Reception*

Nothing is known about how the paper was received by the Tibetans. In his travel report, Eric Teichmann, an officer in Eastern Tibet, talks about Lian Yu's popularity:

Unlike his junior colleague, the assistant Amban Wen Tsung-yao, who was a gentleman of liberal ideas and popular with the Tibetans, Lien Yü [Lian Yu] made himself intensely disliked, and through his unwise and arrogant behaviour appears to have been largely responsible for the Chinese débâcle in Tibet which followed the revolution in China.<sup>215</sup>

In the end, the new Republican Government dishonorably discarded Lian Yu, and he flew to India in July or August 1912.<sup>216</sup>

The likely follower to this paper was the "*Bod-yig phal skad (kyi?) gsar 'gyur*" published 1913-16 in Peking.<sup>217</sup>

### *Some more projects*

In a yearly published handbook on international newspaper research in Germany, there is mentioning of another Tibetan language publication in 1942. It was established in Kangting

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<sup>212</sup> Lian Yu in Zheng 2000, p.23.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. Wernsdörfer 2008, p. 98.

<sup>214</sup> Wernsdörfer 2008, p. 98: "Am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts benutzten reformerisch denkende Intellektuelle wie Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao oder auch Sun Yatsen gerne das Medium Zeitung, um ihre Ideen unter die Bevölkerung zu bringen und bei dieser ein neues politisches Bewusstsein zu wecken." (translation A.S.).

<sup>215</sup> Teichmann 1922, p. 22.

<sup>216</sup> Kolmaš 1994, p. 65.

<sup>217</sup> Walravens 2010, p.10.

(Tatsienlu), in the province of Sinkang. Its title is only declared in German as "Volkszeitung", i.e. "People's newspaper":

Up until [February] the newspaper of the British-supported Tibetan Tharchin, which he founded a couple of years ago, was the only organ in the Tibetan language. [...] The new, daily published organ is published by the Chinese governor L i u w e n h u i [sic] of the Sinkang province, which is under the control of the Tschunking-regime. [...] In contrast to the publication made-in-India, the new foundation is said to be directed against British influence in Tibet, which Liuwenhui – as it is said – wants to replace by Chinese [influence].<sup>218</sup>

There is another noteworthy newspaper project: Apparently, the 9<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama published a weekly newspaper in Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian languages at his temporary exile, at first at Peilingmiao, then in Nanking from 1927 until 1937.<sup>219</sup> This reports Gordon Enders, an American who worked as an "official advisor"<sup>220</sup> for the Panchen. There is a great amount of confusion concerning the dates of publication of this newspaper. Fader writes that "without further interruption it would be published till the Lama's death at the end of 1937."<sup>221</sup> A man called Liu edited the newspaper.<sup>222</sup> According to Jagou, though, the Panchen published a monthly journal from 1935 until 1937 in Xining called *Xichui xuanhua shi gongshu yuekan*, in order to spread his political speeches and his religious instructions.<sup>223</sup> At the same time, from 1929 onwards, a publication called *Tibet-Mongolian Weekly News* is known to have been published by the "Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Committee", out of which Tharchin extensively cites in the Melong. There, it is referred to as *gza' 'khor re'i bod sog gsar 'gyur* or *gza' 'khor re'i bod sog gsar gnas* (see also chapter 6.2). It is highly likely that this publication is actually the alleged Panchen Lama's publication who was in close contact with the committee. Spence cites from a "Reuters government summary of Tibet-Mongolian Weekly News":

To the north and the west of China dwell the people of Mongolia and Tibet. They have lived in the darkness for a long time. Are they not asleep? This newspaper, containing good news, and written in Tibetan and Mongolian, will be like a big drum to awaken them, and will be as the morning sun dispersing the mist.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> D'Ester/Heide 1942, Vol. 17, p.239: "Bis dahin war die vor einigen Jaren gegründete Zeitung des von Engländern unterstützen Tibetaners Tarchin Baboo das erste und einzige Organ in tibetanischer Sprache. [...] Das neue, täglich erscheinende Organ wird von dem chinesischen Gouverneur der dem Tschunking-Regime unterstehenden Provinz sinkang, L i u w e n h u i [sic] herausgegeben. Im Gegensatz zu dem in Indien hergestellte blatt soll die Neugründung angeblich gegen den britischen einfluß din Tibet gerichtet sein, den Liuwenhui, wie as heißt, wieder durch einen chinesischen ersetzen möchte." (translation A.S.)

<sup>219</sup> Fader 2002, Vol.II, p.274ff.; Enders 1942, p.245 and p.284.

<sup>220</sup> Enders 1936, p.215.

<sup>221</sup> Fader II, p.275.

<sup>222</sup> Fader 2002, Vol.II, p.275; Enders 1936, p.296.

<sup>223</sup> Jagou 2004, p.14.

<sup>224</sup> Spence 1993, p.278.

The editorial policy goes in accordance with the Panchen Lama's strive to modernize Tibet and his political aim of "national union of the Five Nationalities".<sup>225</sup> Then again, Tharchin, according to Fader, writes in a letter to one of his friends: "Another paper, a weekly, in the Mongolian, Chinese and Tibetan languages, used to be published in Nanking, sometime in 1935, 1936, [and, *by Fader*] 1937 by the Chinese; but that's also stopped since the [beginning of the Sino-Japanese?, *by Fader*] War."<sup>226</sup> Fader adds, that Tharchin "incorrectly assume[s] it was published by the Chinese".<sup>227</sup> In the end, maybe both Tharchin and Fader are right, in that the publication was a cooperation between the Panchen Lama and the Chinese. It is obvious by the cited articles in the Melong and Ender's report, though, that prior to 1935, a publication existed, as well. Jagou – talking about the years 1935-1937 – describes the paper as follows: It was published in Tibetan and Chinese; it was distributed to all the offices of the Panchen and to the army at the front. It reports of Chinese and foreign news, the politics of the Republican government, and the social situation in the West. The available issues all show the Panchen on the front page; the first part of the paper is written in Tibetan, the second in Chinese.<sup>228</sup> To sum it up: It is quite possible that the Panchen Lama issued a weekly newspaper until the first half of the 30s, and then published a monthly in the second, always working together with the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Committee. It is indeed very likely that all these aforementioned newspapers are connected to each other. Further studies need to be done to clarify the matter.

According to some issues of the Singaporean publication *The Straits Times* in 1908 and 1909, the Dalai Lama had planned to start a newspaper. Presumably, he had ordered a printing press in France in June 1908 and sent a "specimen copy" of a newspaper to the "Vassal's Department in Peking".<sup>229</sup> The article further states that "the head of the department made changes in several articles, and then gave the Dalai Lama leave to issue the journal."<sup>230</sup> I have found no other source for this claim.

As a side note: After the occupation, the Chinese started their publication projects right after 1952, in a very modern fashion in Lhasa, Xining and Beijing. It took time for the Tibetan exile community to form their modern printing system.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> Jagou 2004, p.411.

<sup>226</sup> Cited in Fader II, p.279-.

<sup>227</sup> Fader II, p.279.

<sup>228</sup> Jagou 2004, p.205

<sup>229</sup> The Straits Times, June 13th, 1908, p.5.

<sup>230</sup> The Straits Times, May 26th, 1909, p.8.

<sup>231</sup> See Lindegger 2002, p.28.



## 5 The Melong

The Christian missionaries and the Chinese tried their best to implement their own specific ideas into Tibetan society by the tool "newspaper". They did not find it all too easy. Shakya points out:

The attempt to produce a newspaper for Tibetan readers, circumventing traditional standards, required a community receptive to new ideas and a producer who could command an audience. The problem for the missionaries was that they could not penetrate the conservatism and suspicion of the locals.<sup>232</sup>

At the same time, another individual grew up to play a major role in Tibetan journalism pioneering, who met the aforementioned requisites, of a receptive community and to command an audience, much better. It was Dorje Tharchin, an ethnic Tibetan from the North-West Indian and Tibetan borderlands who settled down in Kalimpong, high in the North-East of India.

### 5.1 Kalimpong and its History

Someday in the 1940s, the director of Rolex must have been on a train from Calcutta to Darjeeling. The wealthy man finally wanted to get to know this place up in Northern India, "Kalimpong", at the border to Sikkim, and not far away from Tibet, where such an unusual high amount of his Rolex-watches were ordered. When he finally arrived in Kalimpong, he was very surprised to find out that Kalimpong was little more than a puzzling trade village amidst the Himalayan foothills.<sup>233</sup>

The town is located right on the Tibetan-Indian trade route from Lhasa to Calcutta. For the Tibetans within Tibet, Kalimpong was the access point to the rest of the world. Rich Tibetans, both lay people and monks, had a *faible* for Rolex-watches. Of course, the watches were only a tiny portion of manifold trading goods being carried up and down the Himalayan passes. Copper and brass household ware, cymbals and religious items, Indian brocade, gold, indigo, cashmere, bales of cotton textile, tobacco, felt hats,<sup>234</sup> matches and soap<sup>235</sup> were brought into Tibet. In exchange, the Tibetans brought yak tails, bars of silver, gold dust, block tea from China, Tibetan and Chinese carpets, Thangkas, Chinese silk, porcelain or semi-precious

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<sup>232</sup> Shakya 2004, p.21.

<sup>233</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.81.

<sup>234</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.144f.

<sup>235</sup> Bell 1992, p.78.

stones.<sup>236</sup> In fact, half of all Indian-Tibetan trade went through Kalimpong from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century until the 1960s.<sup>237</sup> The biggest Tibetan trading good was wool, though, making up more than 90 percent of all annual exports,<sup>238</sup> and the town was organized according to the wool trade's rhythm.

Kalimpong must have been an interesting place. Fifty kilometres West to Darjeeling, the "Queen of the [British-Indian] Hill Stations"<sup>239</sup>, in the Indian district of West Bengal, Kalimpong offered a multicultural scene on its own. During Kalimpong's golden days, New Year was celebrated there seven times a year, as Nebesky-Wojkowitz notes: In January, the Europeans celebrated; a bit later the Chinese held their festival. Just a tiny bit later, the Tibetan Losar took place. In April, the Marwaris started a new year, in June the Nepalis followed. The Moslems celebrated their new year later on, and "when the European calendar year is nearing its end a new one has already begun for the Lepchas."<sup>240</sup> Macdonald, again, writes in 1930:

Kalimpong is possibly the most cosmopolitan of hill stations in the Himalayas. Here one meets Tibetans, Mongolians, Chinese, Burmese, Nepalis, Lepchas, Bhutanese, Marwaries, Ladakis [sic], Bengalis, Punjabis, Kabulis, and Europeans, and every shade between.<sup>241</sup>

Kalimpong was situated just below the border of Sikkim, forming a "wedge between its two larger neighbours, Bhutan and Nepal, on the east and west, while to the north lies the great Tibetan plateau".<sup>242</sup> Given these geographic surroundings, it was the gateway to Tibet: "Via Jelep-la, Tibet is only 30 miles away," writes the Time Magazine in 1950. "For that reason, Kalimpong has collected over the years a number of mystical characters who arrived via Jelep-la pass from Tibet, and another bunch who would give their last rupee to travel the other way. Foreign cultists, scholars, artists, adventurers and missionaries plod Kalimpong's streets, panting to explore Tibet and its particular brand of Buddhism [...]"<sup>243</sup>

On the other hand, it was the gateway to India for Tibetan merchants, expatriate, or exiled Tibetans. Rich Tibetans or Chinese used the opportunity to send their kids to English schools.<sup>244</sup> Naturally, in Kalimpong not only goods were exchanged, but thoughts and cultural heritage, as well. It was one of the contact zones where people of the high plateau met their

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<sup>236</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.144f.

<sup>237</sup> Bell 1992, p.19.

<sup>238</sup> Spengen 2000, p.118.

<sup>239</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.20.

<sup>240</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.66.

<sup>241</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.84.

<sup>242</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.1.

<sup>243</sup> Time Magazine, Dec. 4th, 1950.

<sup>244</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.20.

counterparts of the low lands, where Far-Eastern religion met Western believes, where tradition met modernity; in short: "a crossing over point between radically different worlds", as Hackett described it.<sup>245</sup> As the surrounding political situation tapered – constituted by ground-shaking events as World War II, the Chinese aggression towards Tibet, the Tibetan fight for independence, the Indian independence movement –, Kalimpong developed into a major hub of information. Japanese spies found their way there, British intelligence networks operated from there, Tibetan revolutionaries had their secret meetings there - and Tharchin with his newspaper was not only right in the middle, but also part of it (see chapter 5.2). With Chinese troops moving forward and virtually shutting down Tibet - sometimes overzealous - journalists and intelligence-gatherers took post in Kalimpong. Wild rumors emanated from the little town, becoming a major gossip factory for news on the closed but "leaking roof", i.e. Tibet.<sup>246</sup>

A hundred years earlier, Kalimpong was "little more than a stockade of the Bhutanese minister",<sup>247</sup> as Hackett writes. This is also one way of explaining the etymology of Kalimpong: "Kalön" (*bka' blon*) as in minister and "pong" (*spung*) as in "stockade".<sup>248</sup> The Tibetans often called the town *ka sbug*,<sup>249</sup> which might be a short form and/or relative of "Kalonphug" meaning "Cave of the Minister", as Nebesky-Wojkowitz writes. He further mentions it was originally a Lepcha-term, meaning "Governor's Fortress".<sup>250</sup> Olschak explains "*bKah-blon-phug*" as "Ministerklause", i.e. the retreat of the minister.<sup>251</sup> In the Melong, we almost exclusively find the term *ka sbug*, but especially in the very early issues the forms *bka' blon spung*<sup>252</sup> and *bka' sbug*,<sup>253</sup> are found.

The town is situated 1250 metres above sea level<sup>254</sup> on the Deolo-Rinkingpong ridge,<sup>255</sup> above the Teesta River, and lies on the easiest crossing-over-route between India and Tibet. For a long time, it was part of Sikkim, later on of Bhutan, both being in constant territorial quarrel, which was only ended by the British, who seized the land in 1865.<sup>256</sup> In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Scottish missionaries started to inhabit the town,<sup>257</sup> but Kalimpong's rise to wealth and fame only really followed after the British Younghusband-invasion into Tibet in

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<sup>245</sup> Hackett 2008, p.367.

<sup>246</sup> See Time Magazine November 20th, 1950.

<sup>247</sup> Hackett 2008, p.368.

<sup>248</sup> Hackett 2008, p.368.

<sup>249</sup> See e.g. Don grub 2000, p.144

<sup>250</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.60.

<sup>251</sup> Olschak 1965, p.212.

<sup>252</sup> E.g. Melong 1/1/1, 3/1&2/4, 10/1/5

<sup>253</sup> E.g. Melong 1/1/2

<sup>254</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.19.

<sup>255</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.79.

<sup>256</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.19.

<sup>257</sup> Gould 1957, p.169f.

1904, when the British finally succeeded in their decade-long plans to open up trade with Tibet. Tibet's mineral wealth was highly attractive to them, and the *East India Association* decided in a meeting in 1908, that "trade possibilities were very considerable, given substantial improvements in transport and communication". Plus, apparently the "monastic fraction" had become friendlier towards the British.<sup>258</sup> The easiest route into Tibet was the one through Sikkim; therefore, Kalimpong lied exactly on the way, where the Melong was founded 20 years later. By then, Kalimpong was flourishing, due to this trade, the trade of wool, in particular. Tharchin recognized the importance of the wool trade from the very start of his newspaper,<sup>259</sup> always printing the current prices of wool and other goods transported over the passes. Sonam T. Kazi, member of the India's Lhasa Mission from 1949 to 1956, and intimate of Tharchin, stated later on:

Every important Tibetan – whether he has been a government official or a person dealing in commerce or trade – depended upon Gergan Tharchin's Tibet Mirror, since, among other things, the Mirror published the latest prices on wool and other news related to wool trade.<sup>260</sup>

From Kalimpong, the trade route crossed South-eastern Sikkim up to the passes Nathu-la (4310m), or Jelep-la (4374m),<sup>261</sup> entering the Chumbi valley, leading up to Phari. There, the route split into 1) the track along the eastern side of Hramtso Lake (*hram mtsho*) and 2) the longer western line passing through Gyantse. Both tracks eventually lead to Lhasa.<sup>262</sup> In total, the route between Lhasa and Kalimpong was 300 miles long<sup>263</sup> and took about 25 days to cross.<sup>264</sup> From Kalimpong, the goods could be brought to the next railway station in Giellekhola<sup>265</sup>, 12 miles away, from where they arrived in Calcutta 14 hours later.<sup>266</sup> In addition, Newar traders from Kathmandu started to use the route, as well, as much of the route could be done on train, in contrast to the traditional route over the northern Himalayan border.<sup>267</sup> Bell described the state of the tracks, in 1924:

The word 'trade-route' does not connote a well-made road. The tracks [...] are sometimes very rough. But it takes a great deal to daunt the perseverance of the baggage animal, be it yak, donkey,

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<sup>258</sup> See The Times, May 14th 1908, p.7.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. also with Shakya 2004, p.18.

<sup>260</sup> Interview with Sonam T. Kazi (1991), cited in Fader II, p.324.

<sup>261</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.16.

<sup>262</sup> See Bell 1992, p.19.

<sup>263</sup> Goodman 1986, p.110.

<sup>264</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.128.

<sup>265</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.117.

<sup>266</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.80.

<sup>267</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.17.

mule, or sheep. The small, stocky Tibetan mule will climb up and down the mountain sides like a cat.<sup>268</sup>

At Gautsa, upper Chumbi valley, a British official counted 360 animals carrying wool down to Kalimpong of only one caravan, in 1919.<sup>269</sup> Yet, merchants and traders were not the only ones travelling the route. 18 years later, Tharchin and his American scholar friend Theos Bernard would sit at exactly the same town, having a conversation about Christianity and Buddhism, as Hackett reports. They had just come from Kalimpong, were they met. Hackett makes the following statement: "There could not have been a stranger conversation for two men to have had at that time and at that place — an American Hindu-Buddhist convert discussing religion with a Khunu Christian convert seated in a British rest stop in [Gautsa]."<sup>270</sup>

David Macdonald, the former British Trade Agent for Gyantse and Yatung, and a good friend of Tharchin, even published a guide book ("Touring Sikkim and Tibet") in 1930 which warns of "fake art pieces" – tourism must have been well-developed. Tourists were allowed to travel through Sikkim with proper permits and within Darjeeling frontier without any.<sup>271</sup> Travel in Tibet up to Gyantse, on the main route, was possible without special permit,<sup>272</sup> at least for British citizen. According to the travel guide, Kalimpong was served by "excellent approach roads", "excellent water supply", and "medical attention of the highest order".<sup>273</sup> Being an administrative centre, the town also had daily postal service to the plains, on one hand, and to Tibet on the other.<sup>274</sup> Kalimpong was chosen as administrative centre, simply due to its favourable position.<sup>275</sup> One important person who set the path for Kalimpong's prosperity was Reverend John Anderson Graham,<sup>276</sup> mostly referred to as "Dr. Graham", the "Father of Kalimpong".<sup>277</sup> Macdonald writes: "To this gentleman is entirely due the development of Kalimpong, as it was due to his advice and to his energy, that Government decided to open the place as a hill-station."<sup>278</sup> John Graham, as we will learn later, was also the one person who enabled the establishment of the Melong. He was a missionary of the Scottish Mission,

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<sup>268</sup> Bell 1992, p.20.

<sup>269</sup> Buchanan 1919, p.407.

<sup>270</sup> Hackett 2008, p.471.

<sup>271</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.24.

<sup>272</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.24.

<sup>273</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.79f.

<sup>274</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.65.

<sup>275</sup> See Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.65: "Because of its favourable position the town was chosen as the administrative centre for a considerable tract of Indian territory bordering Sikkim and Bhutan."

<sup>276</sup> For a brief biography of his life see: <http://www.drgrahamshomes.net/reverend-john-anderson-graham.php>, accessed April 22nd 2011.

<sup>277</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.83.

<sup>278</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.83.

which started to work in Kalimpong in 1873.<sup>279</sup> The mission station included a big church, a hospital (Chartaris hospital), a leper colony, two high schools, a weaving workshop, and a university (SUMI)<sup>280</sup> including a training school for teachers and catechists in Kalimpong,<sup>281</sup> where Tharchin was admitted to. While the Christian Scottish Mission was highly influential through their manifold institutions, Kalimpong developed also as a Buddhist centre in the later half of the 40s.<sup>282</sup> Besides Tibetan Buddhists residing in Kalimpong, the Newars from Kathmandu established renowned Buddhist institutions there. Interestingly, particularly the Theravāda tradition developed, even though most Newars usually followed Mahāyāna Buddhism. This is mainly due to one person: the wealthy Newar merchant Bhajuratna, and later his son Gyan Jyoti, who have gained substantial wealth through copper and brass business. One initial kick-start for Bhajuratna was the production of "chiriboka", sweets, which were virtually unknown to Tibetans at that time. Tibetan traders filled up their empty sacks with sweets before they returned home.<sup>283</sup> In the late 20s, and again 40s, Buddhist monks were expelled from Kathmandu and fled to Kalimpong, where Bhajuratna accommodated them. According to Kansakar Hilker, by 1945, many Theravāda monks resided in Kalimpong.<sup>284</sup> Hackett writes that Tharchin's understanding of Buddhism seems to follow the Lankan tradition,<sup>285</sup> which could be a result of the influence of this development. Bhajuratna sponsored Rahul Sankrtyayan's trip to Lhasa in 1934 for example,<sup>286</sup> and was the main donor of the "Dharmodaya Vihar", a Theravāda Buddhist temple established in 1947.<sup>287</sup> Furthermore, the YMBA – "Young Men's Buddhist Association" (the Buddhist answer to the "Young Men's Christian Association") had been established in Kalimpong, by the former British Colonel John Ryan.<sup>288</sup> In the 50s, he established the Buddhist magazine "Stepping Stones", with Gyan Jyoti being its treasurer.<sup>289</sup> Tharchin and Bhajuratna or Gyan Jyoti, respectively, knew each other pretty well. Bhajuratna would often send his son Gyan Jyoti to Tharchin, in order to translate letters for him.<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.112.

<sup>280</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.112.

<sup>281</sup> <http://sumi.in/ourstory1.htm>, accessed 22nd April 2011.

<sup>282</sup> See Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.64: "Kalimpong meanwhile had grown to become a centre for Buddhism and was often visited by Buddhist scholars and monks [...]".

<sup>283</sup> See Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.38f..

<sup>284</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.58ff..

<sup>285</sup> Cf. Hackett 2008, p.891.

<sup>286</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.113.

<sup>287</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.63

<sup>288</sup> See Time Magazine, December 4th, 1950; and Schaedler 2007, p.414, 415.

<sup>289</sup> Time Magazine, December 4th, 1950; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.79; Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.158.

<sup>290</sup> See Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.118.

Other important figures who resided in Kalimpong, where the Bhutanese minister S.T. Dorje,<sup>291</sup> Pandatshang (*spom mda' tshang*), a rich and influential merchant from Kham, later Tibetan Trade Agent of Yatung (= Drolmo),<sup>292</sup> Tibetan Lamas, various Western scholars, and British officials. In the residency of the Bhutanese royal family, the queen mother lived permanently.<sup>293</sup> Also the various British Political Officers of Sikkim, who resided in Sikkim's capital Gangtok, would often come down. All these figures were the subject of Tharchin's reporting. Even more so, over the years, Tharchin's house became the centre of exchange and the first port of call for newcomers in Kalimpong. Another place of exchange was the "Himalayan Hotel" owned by Macdonald, who wrote in 1930, how Kalimpong was the centre of the eastern and central Tibetan wool trade, and "in the winter the town is full of Tibetan traders and their muleteers":<sup>294</sup>

The cold weather is Kalimpong's busiest time, as the wool must be brought in then, during the rains the wool packs get wet and heavy, and damp is bad for the wool. In the hot weather the Tibetans will not come to India.<sup>295</sup>

The wool from Tibet was sold to Tibetan and Indian traders in Kalimpong, who cleaned and carded it at so-called godowns. Many of them existed in Kalimpong; also the Scottish mission hosted one. The Melong would regularly publish advertisements of carding combs, or job offers in one of the godowns. The wool was later exported via Calcutta to England and America.<sup>296</sup> Reading Macdonald's guidebook, one can imagine how vivid Kalimpong must have been:

Saturdays and Wednesdays are the big bazaar days, when the people flock in from the countryside to sell their products and to make their purchases of the necessaries they cannot grow themselves. On these days the bazaar is a kaleidoscope of moving colours, [...].<sup>297</sup>

All different kinds of festivals, fairs and competitions were held all year round.<sup>298</sup> The most important one of them was celebrated every first week of December, the "Kalimpong Mela"; like many things in Kalimpong, the fair was started by John Graham.<sup>299</sup> This event was always vastly covered in the Melong. Next to the bazaar there was the police station, the post

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<sup>291</sup> Macdonald, 1930, p.87.

<sup>292</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.126; Who's Who in Tibet, cited in "The Tibet Album" [http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/biography\\_201.html](http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/biography_201.html), Accessed June 6th.

<sup>293</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.19.

<sup>294</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.81.

<sup>295</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.81

<sup>296</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.154.

<sup>297</sup> Macdonald 1930, p.83f.

<sup>298</sup> See Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.174ff.

<sup>299</sup> O'Malley 1907, p.195.

and telegraph office, the town hall, and the treasury.<sup>300</sup> Around 1930, there was no bank in Kalimpong, but in 1956 there was, as well as a cinema.<sup>301</sup> The Tibetan quarter, where the Tibet Mirror Press lied, was situated above the bazaar. Nebesky-Wojkowitz gives a detailed and vivid description of the area:

Above the market-place [...] stand the houses of the Tibetan quarter. This part of town is known as the 'Tenth Mile' because it is exactly ten miles from the Teesta Bridge. The name Tenth Mile has a slightly objectionable flavour in Kalimpong. It is the site of offices, warehouses and shops of the Tibetan merchants – but also of the lodgings of numerous Tibetan ladies of easy virtue. [...] The shops of the Tibetan merchants on the Tenth Mile are filled with the most marvellous wares. Thick bundles of reddish-brown joss-sticks lie alongside piles of blankets made from coarse Tibetan wool; Chinese rice bowls of paper-thin porcelain stand next to fat yak tails, used as ceremonial fans in Hindu temples. Bales of silk and brocade, of which wealthy Tibetans have their clothes made, little caskets full of turquoise and old silver coins, the rolled-up skins of Tibetan snow-leopards, strings of artificial beads, and big white shells used by the lamas as musical instruments lie cheek by jowl with tins of Chinese delicacies [...].<sup>302</sup>

He goes on listing Tibetan and Chinese medicines, carpets, jewellery from Kham, swords, pigtails and so on. Then he turns to the "curiosum" of the Tenth Mile:

In the middle of the Tibetan quarter stands a corrugated-iron shed, from which a steep flight of steps runs up to a small stone building. The two buildings house the editorial offices and press of the oddest newspaper in the world. This is the Mirror of News from All Sides of the World, as its title means literally [...]. The editor is Kusho Tharchin, an affable Tibetan who prefers English clothes and has mastered English as thoroughly as the tortuous formulas of honorific Tibetan.<sup>303</sup>

Before we turn to the "affable Tibetan" Tharchin, it should be noted that soon after Nebesky-Wojkowitz has written so exuberantly about the hill station, the glorious times of Kalimpong started to fade. In 1962, the border between China and India was closed for good,<sup>304</sup> making a sudden halt to the trade route and also a halt to the puzzling life of the busy trade town. The Tibetologists left the place, as the "gateway to Tibet" was closed from now on. And the Christian missionaries had to realize that their hopes on a final assault on Tibet did not go any farther than Kalimpong,<sup>305</sup> the Nepali Newars returned to Kathmandu for good,<sup>306</sup> "Kalimpong went back to [being] a quiet sleepy town",<sup>307</sup> writes Kansakar Hilker.

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<sup>300</sup> See Macdonald 1930, p.84.

<sup>301</sup> See Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.69.

<sup>302</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.72f.

<sup>303</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.73.

<sup>304</sup> Olschak 1965, p.214; see also Harris 2008 on the reopening of the Nathu-la in 2006 and the general history of the trade route.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. Hackett 2008, p. 386.

<sup>306</sup> Cf. Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.18.

<sup>307</sup> Kansakar Hilker 2005, p.183.

## 5.2 The Editor Dorje Tharchin<sup>308</sup>

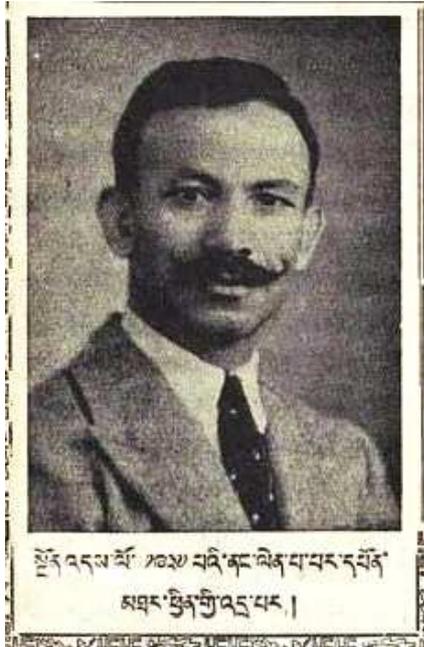


Fig. 13: Portrait of Tharchin, taken in 1937, Melong 19/1&2/23.

[Tharchin] was a smallish man, with a figure inclined to plumpness. He had a little fat face with a tiny moustache, and he was dressed in plus-fours and a rather loud English tweed coat. He usually held his cigarette within the palm of his fist, and it scarcely touched his lips. What is more important is that, a Tibetan who had been raised on the border, he had a full knowledge of the literature of his country and he had been in Lhasa many times, and had devoted many years to study. He was exceptionally competent.<sup>309</sup>

The way Theos Bernard, Tharchin's travel companion in 1937, described the newspaper editor does not quite match a picture, taken in the same year (Fig.13). It shows a cultivated, skinny man with a rather big moustache. A Mongolian artist said about Tharchin in the 40s:

[...] He has the same religion as the English. Can you imagine that? A Tibetan but not a Buddhist. But he's open-minded, not like the missionaries.<sup>310</sup>

Tashi Tsering, retrospectively, subsumes: "[...] He was supposed to be a practicing Christian. Nevertheless, he took a keen interest in Tibetan culture. Of course, he may not have taken interest in the vast scriptures of *Tantra* and *Sutra*, but he was very fond of popular cultures, such as operas, moral fables etc."<sup>311</sup> Also Bernard writes: "There seems to be nothing he enjoys more than working with the Tibetan literature."<sup>312</sup> He also mentions, Tharchin was very loyal;<sup>313</sup> During all his life Tharchin was a heavy smoker. Only in his late life he gave it up.<sup>314</sup> He was described as short-tempered;<sup>315</sup> in early years, he tried to learn some tunes on

<sup>308</sup> Most of the information is taken from the extensive 3-volume-work of H.L.Fader; See also Hackett 2008, p.370-381 for a condensed biography.

<sup>309</sup> Bernard 1950, p.44.

<sup>310</sup> Cited in Engelhardt, at press, p.213, from Hisao Kimura (1990): *Japanese Agent in Tibet: My Ten Years of Disguise*, London: Serindia, p.135-136.

<sup>311</sup> Tashi Tsering, interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.17.

<sup>312</sup> Cited in Hackett 2008, p.640: *Diary of Theos Bernard*, dated "August 10, 1937."

<sup>313</sup> See Bernard 1950, p.145f.: "Had it not been for [Tharchin's] loyalty [...] I should never have been able to manage to be here. When he left for Lhasa neither of us was by any means sure that we should meet again there. His animated face with the flowing moustache stretched out from ear to ear revealed how great the joy my arrival afforded him. I almost felt that he was getting a bigger kick out of it than I was."

<sup>314</sup> Fader I, p.225, 227.

<sup>315</sup> Fader III, p.691.

the violin.<sup>316</sup> On one of his preaching tours he bought himself a dog.<sup>317</sup> His friends referred to him as Tharchin Babu (*mthar phyin sba bu*).<sup>318</sup> He referred to himself in Melong 2/2/1 for example as *par dpon mthar phyin khu nu ba*, meaning "The editor Tharchin Khunuba [=from Kinnaur]". Being a teacher gave him the title "Gergan" (*dge rgan*), therefore some would call him Gergan Dorje Tharchin.

On April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1890<sup>319</sup>, almost 2000 kilometres to the west of Kalimpong, Dorje Tharchin was born in the small village of Poo, in the Khunu (modern: Kinnaur) district of Himachal Pradesh.<sup>320</sup> The place is hardly 10 miles off the Tibetan border, for centuries mostly Buddhist Tibetans have been living there, as formerly, the region was part of Tibet.<sup>321</sup> Tharchin was an illegitimate child. When he was born, his father (Tashi, a blacksmith from Lahul) left his mother (Sodnama, properly from Poo), for another woman.<sup>322</sup> It was to Tharchin's advantage that in this remote place, the Moravian mission operated their outmost station (see also chapter 4.1.1). Quite likely due to a lack of alternatives, Tharchin's mother converted to Christianity in 1892, and baptized her son. The Moravians "approach[ed] her to serve as nurse or governess of their children",<sup>323</sup> writes Fader. She resettled with Tharchin within the mission compound.<sup>324</sup> Tharchin later on said, that "Sodnama 'in her grief' over Taschi's desertion of her and her child, had 'given up her son to the [...Moravians...]', and that thus he 'grew up under the influence of Christians.'"<sup>325</sup> Tharchin attended the mission school, studying Tibetan and Urdu,<sup>326</sup> was described as "very promising" and was therefore trained "to become a helper in the work of the Himalaya Mission."<sup>327</sup> His mother and father died in 1906 and between 1908 and 1911, respectively. In 1910, at the age of 20, he left Poo to work all kinds of jobs at Shimla and Delhi (house worker, stone carrier, dishwasher, book binder, interpreter etc.),<sup>328</sup> as he needed money to fulfill his wish to go to Tibet in order to study Tibetan more extensively. Together with another Christian-convert friend he would also preach on different bazaars.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>316</sup> Fader I, p.226.

<sup>317</sup> Fader I, p.296.

<sup>318</sup> See e.g. Engelhardt, at press, p.210.

<sup>319</sup> There are sources stating 1889, see e.g. Shakya 2004, p.17.

<sup>320</sup> Fader I, p.20.

<sup>321</sup> Fader I, p.7.

<sup>322</sup> Fader I, 20ff.

<sup>323</sup> Fader I, p.27.

<sup>324</sup> Fader I, p.27f.

<sup>325</sup> Cited in Fader I, p.28.

<sup>326</sup> See also Tobdan/Dorje 2008, p.47: "At Poo both boys and girls attended the school. They were taught in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instructions, singing, sewing, knitting stockings, growing fruits etc. The number of students one time at Poo counted ten girls and from ten to fifteen boys."

<sup>327</sup> Rev. Schnabel in an annual report 1909/1910, cited in Fader I, p.152.

<sup>328</sup> Fader I, p.160, 164 .

<sup>329</sup> See Fader I, p.153f.

Apparently it was on one incident that his desire to start a Tibetan newspaper awakened. He was reading the New Testament which held the English imprint, "Printed at the Scandinavian Alliance Tibetan Mission, Ghoom, Darjeeling."<sup>330</sup> Not knowing any English, when he asked a friend what it meant, he was told it was the address of the mission where the book was published. He then wrote an application for apprenticeship at the press copying the imprint word by word. The letter arrived, but the Scandinavian mission had just sold their press, and instead, Tharchin was hired as a Hindi and Tibetan teacher (which he did not know very well yet)<sup>331</sup> starting from January 1912.<sup>332</sup> There, he also started to study English and Nepali (which he never really mastered)<sup>333</sup> and continued his preaching tours, this time on the Eastern parts of the Himalayas.<sup>334</sup> Even though he liked it at the Western Bengali town of Ghoom,<sup>335</sup> after five years of service,<sup>336</sup> he changed to Kalimpong, as he got a government scholarship for a teacher training program at the Scottish Universities' Mission Institution (SUMI).<sup>337</sup> At that time, Tharchin was 26 years old; he would remain in Kalimpong for the rest of his life. Through the program, he had the chance to accompany his supervisors to Bhutan and Sikkim on official travels where he got into contact with important British and Bhutanese officials.<sup>338</sup>

In 1921, Tharchin finally had the opportunity to go to Tibet for the first time, accompanying David Macdonald, then British Trade Agent for Yatung and Gyantse, and his wife up to Gyantse, as an interpreter.<sup>339</sup> His motivation to go to Tibet, according to his memoirs cited in Fader, was: preaching, studying Tibetan language and literature, and the "inborn ambition to commence the printing and editing of a Tibetan newspaper of my own once I returned from Tibet".<sup>340</sup> Arriving in Gyantse, he worked at the newly opened British school, where he set a rigid Christian curriculum<sup>341</sup> – one reason why the school had to shut down soon. At the school he trained military officers and the sons of noble Tibetans in Hindi, Tibetan and English.<sup>342</sup> After two years,<sup>343</sup> the Tibetan officers took him with them to Lhasa, in September

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<sup>330</sup> Fader I, p.171ff.

<sup>331</sup> Fader I, p.173.

<sup>332</sup> Fader I, p.208.

<sup>333</sup> Fader I, p.223.

<sup>334</sup> Fader I, p.224.

<sup>335</sup> Fader I, p.224.

<sup>336</sup> Fader I, p.208.

<sup>337</sup> Fader II, p.1.

<sup>338</sup> See Fader II, p. 24, p.35ff., p.42.

<sup>339</sup> Fader II, p.57, p.70ff.

<sup>340</sup> Cited in Fader II, p.57.

<sup>341</sup> See Hackett 2008, p.274.

<sup>342</sup> Fader II, p.87f.

<sup>343</sup> Fader II, p.95.

1923,<sup>344</sup> to open up an English school there, as well. But this plan failed due to political opposition, and he returned with them down to India again in January 1924,<sup>345</sup> but not after having made even more contacts. In Lhasa, he was in a good social position, even had a servant,<sup>346</sup> and found a wife, Karma Dechen.<sup>347</sup> Back in Kalimpong, on the invitation of Dr. Graham, he rejoined the Church of Scotland from August 1924 onwards,<sup>348</sup> also changing his affiliation from the Moravian to the Presbyterian (Scottish) Church. In 1925, he started the Melong under the supervision of the Scottish mission (see chapter 5.3.1).

In August 1927, Tharchin went on a second visit to Lhasa, together with his wife, accompanying two daughters of Dr. Graham, Mrs. Odling (and her husband) and Mrs. Sherrif, to Gyantse. Tharchin and his wife proceeded on to Lhasa, meeting the latter's family. They returned to Kalimpong seven months later, in March 1928.<sup>349</sup> In Lhasa, Tharchin refreshed his contacts to the high officials and his friends (for example Tsarong Dzasa (*tsha rong dza sag*), or Rai Bahadur Norbu Dhondup (*nor bu don grub*)<sup>350</sup>). He was also granted a short audience with the 13th Dalai Lama.<sup>351</sup> Back in Kalimpong, a new missionary, Rev. Robert Knox, had taken over the lead of the Tibetan press work. "There was little love lost between Tharchin and Knox",<sup>352</sup> as Hackett remarks, and many arguments between the two should follow in the preceding years,<sup>353</sup> leading Tharchin to leave the mission twice. One major *éclat* occurred concerning Tharchin's visit to Gyantse from the end of April 1931 until July 1931 with the American traveller Henrietta Merrick.<sup>354</sup> Following the arguments with the mission, Tharchin printed his paper privately, at the same time he got to know Jaques Bacot, a French scholar, and did some translation works with him.<sup>355</sup> Only some months later, Tharchin rejoined the mission. During 1935, Tharchin was introduced to Gendun Chopel (*dge 'dun chos 'phel*) by Rahul Sankrityayan (Rāhula Sāṅkrītyāyana)<sup>356</sup> who he invited to write articles for the Melong.<sup>357</sup> From April 1937, he stayed with him in Kalimpong for 18 months (with breaks).<sup>358</sup> Stoddard judges on their friendship:

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<sup>344</sup> Fader II, p.116.

<sup>345</sup> Fader II, p.156ff.

<sup>346</sup> Fader II, p.155.

<sup>347</sup> Fader II, p.154.

<sup>348</sup> Fader II, p.173.

<sup>349</sup> Fader II, p.287.

<sup>350</sup> See Fader II, p.290f.

<sup>351</sup> Fader II, p.309.

<sup>352</sup> Hackett 2008, p.379.

<sup>353</sup> For details see Fader II, p.337.

<sup>354</sup> Fader II, p.340-346.

<sup>355</sup> Fader II, p.351 and Tashi Tsering interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.178.

<sup>356</sup> Fader III, p.92-94.

<sup>357</sup> Fader III, p.92; for a list of published works in the Melong by Gendun Chopel see Schaedler 2007, p.422-432, 567.

<sup>358</sup> Fader III, p.92.

From the start a mutual sympathy bonded these two men, originally from the border zones of the high plateau, born at the periphery of the Tibetan civilization, two thousand kilometres apart. Both were attracted by the new ideas, the evolution of the modern world. The future of Tibet was their essential preoccupation. Tharchin no doubt saw in Gedun Chopel a potential convert [to Christianity]. He, it was said, had become acquainted with the *Bible* [back in Amdo] and was already holding a critical discourse in Tibetan Buddhism.<sup>359</sup>

Later on, according to Hortsang Jigme, Chopel and Tharchin fell out with each other";<sup>360</sup> rumors have it that Tharchin might have been involved in Chopel's arrest later on.<sup>361</sup> That is contradictory to the very sympathetic obituary he wrote in the Melong, though.<sup>362</sup>

In early May 1937, Tharchin due to his good contacts and a "pro-entry-campaign" in the Melong succeeded in gaining permission to go to Lhasa with the American scholar Theos Bernard.<sup>363</sup> The two stayed with Tsarong, by now quite well acquainted with Tharchin, and again enjoyed a high standard of living amidst Tibetan noblemen. The two also went to Shigatse,<sup>364</sup> Sakya,<sup>365</sup> and only returned to Kalimpong in late November 1937.<sup>366</sup>

In December of the same year, Canglocen Gung (*lcang lo can gung*)<sup>367</sup> visited Tharchin, who was one of the four officers he once taught on his first visit to Tibet.<sup>368</sup> He had been exiled for following the progressive reformist Lungshar (*lung shar*)<sup>369</sup> and had come down to Kalimpong. Also Kunphela (*kun 'phel lags*), Lungshar's rival, but just as well a modernizer, who Tharchin had met during his audience with the Dalai Lama in 1927, came to his house. Canglocen Gung and Kunphela had escaped to Kalimpong, as the unstable political situation in Lhasa, sparked by the death of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, became life-threatening to the reformist-thinking politicians. Both ended up staying there for many years, being politically very active.

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<sup>359</sup> Stoddard 1985, p.189,190, cited and translated in Fader III, p.92 (format according to Fader).

<sup>360</sup> Hortsang Jigme interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.164.

<sup>361</sup> Hortsang Jigme interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.164; Fader III, p.119.

<sup>362</sup> See the translated obituary in Schaedler 2007, p.496 (translated by Tendar) and Engelhardt 2010, p.5, translated by Donald S. Lopez Jr. in: *The Madman's Middle Way: Reflections on Reality of the Tibetan Monk Gedun Chopel*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006, p.2; and Melong 19/9/1.

<sup>363</sup> Cf. Hackett 2008, p.452, p.663; Fader II, p.357; For a comprehensive biography of Theos Bernard consult Hackett 2008.

<sup>364</sup> Fader II, p.373.

<sup>365</sup> Fader II, p.383.

<sup>366</sup> Fader II, p.393.

<sup>367</sup> Full name according to Goldstein 1989, p.856: "*lcang lo can (dbang rnam) or (gung) or (bsod nams rgyal po)*"

<sup>368</sup> Fader II, p.91f., 397.

<sup>369</sup> Dhondup 2003, p.528.

About two years later, in January 1940,<sup>370</sup> Tharchin accompanied the acting British Political Officer of Sikkim, Basil Gould, and British Trade Agent (Gyantse, Yatung) Hugh Richardson to Lhasa, being his fourth (and last) visit to the capital of Tibet,<sup>371</sup> in order to attend the enthronement ceremony of the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama.<sup>372</sup> As always, Tharchin was the translator and local guide. In addition, he was revising a "Tibetan Word Book"<sup>373</sup> which Basil Gould had in preparation, together with Ringang (*rin sgang*; also: Rigzin Dorje, *rig 'dzin rdo rje*) and Lama Tshatrul (*bla ma tsha sprul*).<sup>374</sup> Tharchin returned to Kalimpong in the middle of July.<sup>375</sup> This last trip to Tibet was a breakthrough in Tharchin's networking. Only two years later, Gould set him up with government subsidies for the Melong and for a while Tharchin did not have to be worried about the Melong's finance (see chapter 3.4. and Fader III, p.72). Around the same time, more and more politically active people trickled into Kalimpong. In 1939, Pandatshang Rapga (brother of the Kalimpong merchant) founded the "Tibet Improvement Party",<sup>376</sup> of which the aforementioned Kunphela and Canglocen Gung were members. Gendun Chopel was affiliated with them, as well. Their major goal was to reform Tibet, but also to "oust the British from India."<sup>377</sup> They also had some ties to the Chinese Kuomintang.<sup>378</sup> Tharchin was well-acquainted with them; his home became a meeting place of nationalistic reformers, as Fader states.<sup>379</sup> The communist Phuntsog Wangyal (*phun tshogs dbang rgyal*) and his friend Ngawang Kalsang (*ngag dbang skal bzang*) visited Tharchin in 1944<sup>380</sup> and worked at the press for six months.<sup>381</sup> Wangyal's brother Thuwang worked in Kalimpong for a while, as well.<sup>382</sup>

While Tharchin welcomed the reformist thinking Tibetans in his house, he himself was working as a spy for the British (and the Indian Government later on). As early as 1928, on his way back from Lhasa, for example, he passed on information he had privately collected there, to Arthur Hopkinson, and in return received a reward of 100 Rupees.<sup>383</sup> Subsequently, he continued this "informal" espionage, writing many letters to Sir Charles Bell.<sup>384</sup> Starting

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<sup>370</sup> Fader III, p.5.

<sup>371</sup> Fader III, p.1.

<sup>372</sup> Fader III, p.35.

<sup>373</sup> Fader III, p.8f.

<sup>374</sup> Fader III, p.34.

<sup>375</sup> Fader III, p.70.

<sup>376</sup> For details on the Tibet Improvement Party see Goldstein 1989, p.449ff.

<sup>377</sup> Goldstein 1989, p.453.

<sup>378</sup> Goldstein 1989, p.452.

<sup>379</sup> Fader III, p.111.

<sup>380</sup> Fader III, p.130.

<sup>381</sup> Fader III, p.146.

<sup>382</sup> Fader III, p.153.

<sup>383</sup> Fader III, p.331.

<sup>384</sup> Hackett 2008, p.579.

from 1943 or 1944,<sup>385</sup> he was officially enrolled as a spy, with the number ATS23.<sup>386</sup> Over the many years in Kalimpong and on his various trips, he had built himself up a network of informants. He had stationary informants in different cities, and also moving informants, especially Mongolian monks,<sup>387</sup> e.g. Dawa Sangpo (*zla ba bzang po*), who was himself in fact a Japanese spy in disguise (Hisao Kimura). Later he sent him on a fact-finding mission to Eastern Tibet, for example.<sup>388</sup> Just as he had been loyal to the British, after 1947, he wanted to continue his good work with the Indian government. While, his activities as a spy continued, newspaper-wise he did not succeed. Despite many efforts to convince authorities, he never received any subsidies for his paper. According to Fader, Tharchin probably never stopped his spying activities.<sup>389</sup> Over time, Tharchin was able to establish himself as "one of the leading men of Kalimpong",<sup>390</sup> as Scott Berry describes him. His contacts even reached as far as London, at the SOAS institute, where one of his relatives would start as a Tibetan teacher.<sup>391</sup> Tibetologists like David Snellgrove (in 1943),<sup>392</sup> or René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, or George Roerich,<sup>393</sup> were in close contact with Tharchin, to name just a few.

In 1952, Tharchin became pastor at the Scottish Church, holding Sunday morning service at Macfarlane Church, the first ethnic Tibetan in this position.<sup>394</sup> In early 1955, Tharchin's wife died.<sup>395</sup> He soon remarried the missionary Margarete Vitants (born 1899 in St. Petersburg).<sup>396</sup> Tharchin was invited to Mussoorie in 1959, to be a committee member on the Dalai Lama's board to discuss education of Tibetan refugees coming to India,<sup>397</sup> and from then on continued his educational work for the exile Tibetan government.<sup>398</sup> In his last years, he helped in revising the Tibetan edition of the bible.<sup>399</sup> Apparently, ever since 1930, Tharchin had worked on a Tibetan-Tibetan-dictionary, which was never published (even though he tried to find subsidies for it). He later accused Geshe Chodrak (*dge bshes chos drags*), who also compiled a dictionary ("*brda dag ming tshig*"),<sup>400</sup> of copying from his work.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> Fader III, p.347.

<sup>386</sup> See Fader III, p.330, p.327; Hackett 2008, p.579.

<sup>387</sup> Cf. Fader III, p.344, 345.

<sup>388</sup> See Berry 1995, p.289.

<sup>389</sup> Fader III, p.415.

<sup>390</sup> Berry 1995, p.265.

<sup>391</sup> Berry 1995, p.309.

<sup>392</sup> Fader III, p.329.

<sup>393</sup> Fader III, p.100.

<sup>394</sup> Fader III, p.434.

<sup>395</sup> Fader III, p.439; Melong 23/3.

<sup>396</sup> Fader III, p.444, 449.

<sup>397</sup> Fader III, p.510, 513f., 526.

<sup>398</sup> Fader III, p.531.

<sup>399</sup> Fader III, p.543ff.

<sup>400</sup> Shakya 2004, p.3.

<sup>401</sup> See Fader III, p.14ff.

One can see how Tharchin's priorities somewhat changed after the Dalai Lama's flight to India. In 1963, Tharchin seized publication of the *Melong*. He and his second wife started an orphanage project, which was sponsored by the German NGO "Kindernothilfe": In 1962, "Himalayan Children Homes" were founded.<sup>402</sup> In the 70s, Tharchin was increasingly struck by illness, his second wife Margaret died in 1974.<sup>403</sup> Tharchin died two years later, in 1976.<sup>404</sup> Tharchin had two adopted kids, one son (Sherab Gyamtso, *shes rab rgya mtsho*), and one daughter (Miryam, who died in 1942 at the age of 14 or 15).<sup>405</sup>

### **His motivation**

The "modus operandi" of the Moravians, as Fader argues, was to print scriptures and "smuggle" them into Tibet. Tharchin grew up in this environment, and was influenced by such ideas.<sup>406</sup> By and by, he slipped into the business of information. According to Hugh Richardson, Tharchin was friends with everybody:

[Tharchin] played both sides [i.e. British and Tibetan Revolutionists like Gendun Chopel] very carefully, well informed and very cautious. He wanted to keep in with everybody.<sup>407</sup>

Hackett writes: "Tharchin was busy paying close attention for his own ends, and those to whom he owes his allegiance, the British Empire."<sup>408</sup> Tharchin was a "loyal British subject",<sup>409</sup> or a loyal Indian subject, later on. It is important to note, that he was, in fact, pro-independence.<sup>410</sup> His motivation was hardly *only* of idealistic kind. As Hackett indicates, Tharchin had to pay attention for his own ends. Other than the wool- or brass-traders in his adopted home town, his business was information. On one hand, he openly sold a newspaper; on the other hand, he secretly worked for intelligence. Both activities mutually complemented each other. Over the years, he had build up an "informal group of people [...which kept] him informed regularly of any newsworthy item of information or intelligence they might come into possession of wherever they might be."<sup>411</sup> He also gave away information on the people he had accommodated. In a letter of 1937, addressed to Charles Bell, Tharchin writes:

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<sup>402</sup> Fader III, p.455f.

<sup>403</sup> Fader III, p.466.

<sup>404</sup> Fader III, p.466f.

<sup>405</sup> Fader III, p.454.

<sup>406</sup> Cf. Fader I, p.171ff.

<sup>407</sup> Hugh Richardson interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.29.

<sup>408</sup> Hackett 2008, 579.

<sup>409</sup> Fader III, p.332.

<sup>410</sup> Cf. Fader I, p.182f., Fader III, p.80.

<sup>411</sup> Fader III, p.343.

"These Tibetan officials [Kunphela and Canglocen Gung] are not doubting me [ie., They trust me; *bracket by Fader*], and tell all to me; but for the sake of British government I am bound to inform you and also the Political Officer, as I am a loyal subject of our Government."<sup>412</sup>

As the Tibetan situation tensed, he did keep a strict editorial policy opposing communist moves into Tibet. He collected stories of refugees, and printed what they told him. Kimura writes about Tharchin's attitude: "He had extensive contacts with the secret world of British intelligence – with which he willingly cooperated as long as it was for the benefit of Tibet."<sup>413</sup> An article about Tharchin in the *Singapore Free Press*, already in September 1950, headed with the line "A Lone Battle with Mao":

A small Tibetan with a sharp tongue, a ready smile and a love of freedom is fighting a one-man war with Communism. [...] The abbot of the one big monastery in Chinese territory recently wrote to Mr. Tharchin, thanking him for 'word of the free world' and saying he regularly posted a copy on the monastery gates. The letter took eight months to arrive, dirty and crumpled in the pocket of a roving entertainer. By that time the abbot had been 'liquidated'. [...] The Chinese Reds already know and fear the diminutive [?] Tibetan Mirror. Anyone in the border areas found with a copy is liable to be shot. ['The publication', Tharchin said,] 'kept the wolf from the door. But even if it hadn't, I would still try to warn the people of the dangers at their gates.'<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>412</sup> Cited in Fader III, p.332; Letter to Bell, 25th December 1937.

<sup>413</sup> Cited in Engelhardt, at press, p.213: Hisao Kimura (1990): *Japanese Agent in Tibet: My Ten Years in Disguise*, London: Serinida, p.135f.

<sup>414</sup> *The Singapore Free Press*, September 7th, 1950, p.2.



issues numbered "10/11" exist, with different publishing dates and entirely different contents.<sup>421</sup>

The first five volumes generally consist of issues of four pages; from the sixth volume, usually of eight. Double-issues usually also carried double amount of pages, but not always. Some issues, especially later ones, contain supplements (*kha sgong*). The thickest issue is 19/1&2 (Dec/Jan 1950/51), the Silver-Jubilee-number of the establishment of the Melong, with 30 pages total. There is no issue with less than four pages.

The newspaper was printed on five different printing devices over the years, with 1), 2) an 5) being the three major technical advances in production:

- 1) **A Roneo duplicator** (Oct 1925 - Aug 1928),
- 2) **A lithographic press** (Aug/Sept 1928 - July 1931, Sept 1932 - Feb 1948),
- 3) A different lithographic press ("Mani Press") (Aug 1931 - May 1932),
- 4) Again a different lithographic press (bought in Darjeeling) (June 1946 - Feb 1948),
- 5) **A treadle press with movable types** (Mar 1948 - Nov 1963).

### 5.3.1 History of Production<sup>422</sup>

When Tharchin was working at the Scottish mission in August 1925, a peculiar machine took his attention. It was a "Roneo duplicator", a cheap and easy-to-use machine for duplicating papers. Having been interested in printing for quite a while, he approached his mentor John Graham, the head of the Mission, and asked him whether he could have it to print a Tibetan language newspaper. Dr. Graham, not thinking the machine would work, gave it to Tharchin. After two months of trial-and-error, Tharchin succeeded.<sup>423</sup> The first issue of the Melong could be printed. Already three years later, in March or April 1928, Dr. Graham offered another, somewhat better press to Tharchin, a double-crown<sup>424</sup> lithographic hand press.<sup>425</sup> In the issue 4/10&11, an illustration of the press is depicted on the front page, including information of the invention of lithography:

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<sup>421</sup> See Appendix 1: 10/11a (8/ n.i. /1939, 8 pages; Columbia University), 10/11b (12/11/1939, 4 pages; Theos Bernard Collection (Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley)).

<sup>422</sup> For details on certain incidents or facts see Fader I-III, Hackett 2008 and Engelhardt, at press.

<sup>423</sup> This incident has been described in detail by Hackett 2008, p.376 and Fader II, p. 258ff.

<sup>424</sup> "Crown" is an old British measurement of paper size, equalling 15x20 inches, that is 381x508mm, which lies between the European format A1 and A2; see Papersizes 2011

<sup>425</sup> Melong 19/1&2/29; Fader III, p.334.

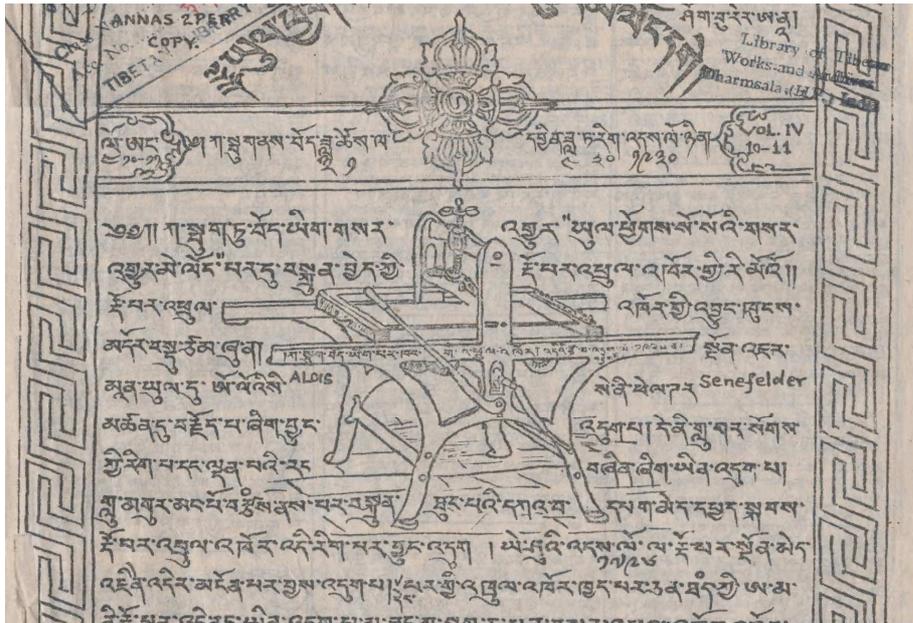


Fig. 15: The lithographic press, depicted in Melong 4/10&11/1 (© LTWA).



Fig. 16: The litho press in action, depicted in Melong 16/5/7 and 19/1&2/23.

Tharchin had been trying to get a better press for a while. On his first trip to Lhasa, Tsarong had advised him to apply to the Tibetan government for a new press. But it was Dr. Graham who sent Tharchin to the mission's godown to pick up the new press. Tharchin was then sent to Calcutta for training in lithography at the "Caledonian Press".<sup>426</sup> The first lithographed issue was Melong 3/5&6, printed in September 1928.<sup>427</sup> In the editorial of this very issue, he already expressed his wish for a proper type press,<sup>428</sup> but it took almost twenty years, until Tharchin received it. For now, he had to content himself with this litho press. The issues 6/3 -

<sup>426</sup> Fader III, p.335f.

<sup>427</sup> Melong 19/1&2/29.

<sup>428</sup> Melong 3/5&6/2.

6/7 (August 13<sup>th</sup>, 1931 - May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1932; five in total) were not printed on the litho press of the Scottish Mission as usually, but on a totally different press, the "Mani Press".

This is what happened: When Tharchin wanted to set out for his trip to Tibet with Mrs. Merrick, his supervisor Rev. Knox did not give him permission to leave.<sup>429</sup> Therefore, Tharchin left the mission altogether (against Knox' consent) and set out to Tibet as intended, leaving at the end of April, returning in July 1931.<sup>430</sup> Upon his return, the arguments continued (specifically over the edition of the two issues Knox had edited)<sup>431</sup> and Tharchin left the mission for good. Dr. Graham, Tharchin's benefactor, was not in Kalimpong at this time. Tharchin moved away from the mission house at Polhill Hall into the "Kazim Manzil". He published the next issue 6/2 (July 1931) still on the mission press, but had to pay for its usage. To the imprint he added the statement: "Kindly address all Communication to the Editor [Kazim Manzil] and not to Tibetan Press, Kalimpong." [brackets by Tharchin]<sup>432</sup> For the August-issue he found an alternative press in Kalimpong, the Mani Press (a lithographic press as well).<sup>433</sup> It might have been of Nepali ownership, as one publication of the Mani Press was a Nepali newspaper "Ādarśa", which means "Mirror"<sup>434</sup> – just like the Tibetan *me long*. It was at least published from January until July of 1930 (Volume 1, no.1 - 7&8; 7 issues).<sup>435</sup> Much later, Tharchin bought the press as a piece of memory. Now, being on his own, Tharchin struggled quite a bit, as Fader explains:

Tharchin - to meet government regulations [...] - was required to declare himself the printer and publisher of his newspaper; accordingly, he would have to pay they wages of the workers from his own pocket. Hence, the cost to him in printing and producing a newspaper on the Mani small litho press, including the salary of the workers and materials, would now be Rs. 35/- . [...] The litho machine at Mani was so small, however, that he could print only one page at a time whereas on the Mission press he could print four pages at a time.<sup>436</sup>

Publication was irregular at that time, and Tharchin did not succeed in keeping up the paper on his own. Within 10 months he only published five issues. Therefore, Tharchin reconciled

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<sup>429</sup> Fader II, p.339f.; and Melong 6/2/2 Editorial "*sger gyi zhu gsol*".

<sup>430</sup> Fader II, p.346.; Engelhardt, at press, p. 235f.

<sup>431</sup> See details in Fader II, p.346ff.; and Melong 5/12 (May 1931) and 6/1 (June 1931), Knox as "Acting editor"

<sup>432</sup> Melong 6/2/2.

<sup>433</sup> Fader II, p.350.

<sup>434</sup> Turner/Turner 2007: Ādarśa means "Mirror; commentary; ideal", a loanword of the Sanskrit "ādarśa" with the same meaning.

<sup>435</sup> CRL; According to an interview with Tharchin in Norbu 1975, p. 20, some new text books ordered by Jigme Dorje (Prime minister of Bhutan) were also printed on the Mani Press. This must have been much later (Here, again compare to Shakya 2004, p.55, who writes that "later, the Bhutanese government used the Mirror Press to publish textbooks for school.").

According to *Calcutta Gazette*, Dec.24, 1936, "Deolian", an annual magazine of the St. Andrews Colonial Home School, was also published on the Mani Press, in 1,000 copies.

<sup>436</sup> Fader II, p.350.

with Rev. Knox, and entered the mission again in September 1932. Quarrels with Rev. Knox did not end, though. On his next trip to Tibet in 1937, they got into a fight again.<sup>437</sup>

Whenever Tharchin was away from Kalimpong, he would leave his staff or his friends to operate the newspaper. In 1927 and 1928, for example, when he was in Lhasa, David Macdonald's son John and Atuk Tsering, one of Tharchin's closest friends, took care of the paper<sup>438</sup> – not particularly well, one might add, considering that only three issues were printed from August 1927 until May 1928. The issues published during Tharchin's absence include the note "Editor: Tharchin", but they have a very distinctive style. That Tharchin was somewhat concerned in Lhasa shows this letter he wrote in October 1927 to Dr. Graham:

I am very anxious about my Newspaper. It was due to be published on the 25th of September 1927 and they have not reached Lhasa, though. I do not know whether Mr. John and Atuk published it in time or not.<sup>439</sup>

In July 1936, the imprint states for the first time: "Printed by the Church of Scotland Guild Mission",<sup>440</sup> while the next three issues simply state: "Mackenzie Cottage, Tibetan Press, Kalimpong", which was the new home of Tharchin. The imprint of issue 8/9 includes the statement concerning the Church of Scotland again. From June 1936, when Tharchin went on his fourth visit to Tibet accompanying Theos Bernard, Reverend Knox took over again as editor. The imprint of issues 9/2 - 9/6 stated: "Editor: Tharchin, Kalimpong. [...] Offered by Mr. Knox, substitute to Khunu Tharchin."<sup>441</sup> Again, the issues done by Rev. Knox have a very different style than the ones done by Tharchin. This can be surely said concerning their appearance; concerning the content, further investigations are needed. Before his visit to Tibet with Basil Gould in 1940, Tharchin could not finance the newspaper any longer and shut it down from March 1940 until July 1942. Due to his good contacts, he could resume publication again, when the British decided to finance the paper. Now, he also had the opportunity to use photo blocks of the "Government's Information and Broadcasting Department",<sup>442</sup> which lead to a rise of illustrations. Starting from December 1942, the imprint gives the details of the "printer", the Scottish missionary in charge. Maybe - now that the British Government was involved - the mission wanted to underline their ownership. The

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<sup>437</sup> See Hackett 2008, p.590f. for details on this incident.

<sup>438</sup> Fader II, p.333.

<sup>439</sup> Cited in Fader II, p.333.

<sup>440</sup> Melong 8/5/8.

<sup>441</sup> Melong 9/2/8: "Editor: Tharchin, Kalimpong [...] *khu nu mthar phyin pa'i ngo tshab nog se sa heb nas phul*".

<sup>442</sup> Fader III, p.73.

missionaries and Tharchin were constantly in some power fights, as Fader has put forward.<sup>443</sup>

Printers in charge are listed below:

11/5 (December 1942) - 12/5 (December 1943):	Rev. W.M. Scott
12/6 (January 1944) - 13/5 (December/January 1944/1945)	Rev. D. McHutchison
13/7 (February 1945) - 14/7 (April/May 1946):	Rev. G.S. Mill

The following three issues are missing (14/8-14/10). Tharchin did not get along at all with his new superior, Rev. Mill, leading him to resign from the Scottish Mission altogether in the beginning of June 1946 and publish the Melong privately on his own lithographic press ever since July 1946.<sup>444</sup> He had bought this demy-size<sup>445</sup> hand press very cheaply back in 1934<sup>446</sup> or 1933<sup>447</sup> in Darjeeling.<sup>448</sup> The following imprint can be found on every single issue onwards: "Edited, printed & published by Tharchin at the Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong".<sup>449</sup>

About one and a half years later, in 1948, the Tibet Mirror Press finally got a "treadle machine with hand setting types",<sup>450</sup> i.e. a – more or less – modern printing press with movable types. On this occasion, the "Tibet Mirror Press" was officially inaugurated. The press was paid for by the Government of India; the deal had been set up by the British official Arthur Hopkinson, who - despite India's newly acquired independence - remained in office for another year following independence.<sup>451</sup> The types/matrices came from Calcutta, where they were not needed anymore.<sup>452</sup> The printing press had cost almost 14.000 Rupees.<sup>453</sup> In addition, Tharchin was also bought some land, on which a new printing house was build, all provided by the (British) Indian Government through a loan without interests.<sup>454</sup> The first issue printed was Melong 16/5, on March 22nd 1948. Other than in 1928, when there was only a small editorial explaining the changes, this time Tharchin threw a big open ceremony of the new press. The "Tibet Mirror Press" was officially born. The name obviously existed before. Other than before, the technical change was obviously noticeable in the newspaper

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<sup>443</sup> See e.g. Fader III, p.170ff. for a detailed description of the fight between Rev. Mill and Tharchin which led to Tharchin's resignation.

<sup>444</sup> Fader III, p. 178.

<sup>445</sup> Demy (or demi) is an old British paper size. It equals 17.5 × 22.5 inches, or 445 × 572mm; see <http://www.paper-sizes.com/uncommon-paper-sizes/old-european-paper-sizes/old-english-paper-sizes>, accessed May 17th, 2011.

<sup>446</sup> Fader III, p.87 and p.179.

<sup>447</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p.249.

<sup>448</sup> Fader III, p.87 and p.179.

<sup>449</sup> Melong 14/11 - last issue 28/8; including variations like "G. Tharchin", quotation marks, etc.

<sup>450</sup> Melong 19/1&2/30.

<sup>451</sup> Fader III, p.197f.

<sup>452</sup> See Fader III, p.186f.

<sup>453</sup> Fader III, p.184.

<sup>454</sup> Fader III, p.81.

due to the introduction of types. The issue itself was very elaborate, holding many illustrations. Even the following issue still opened with a full-cover-report on the opening ceremony of the new press.<sup>455</sup> One has to note that already the cover page of *Melong* 7/3, published on March 27th, 1933, shows typed letters. However, they were not produced with a printing machine, but a typewriter.<sup>456</sup>

One last major change in production occurred in 1954, when Tharchin tried to publish his newspaper weekly instead of monthly. From September 1954 until January 1955 (22/5-23/2) the *Melong* appeared weekly, with the title: *gza' 'khor re'i yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long* (+ add on). Apparently, Tharchin had been asked by readers to publish it more often.<sup>457</sup> Tharchin overextended himself with this project. After the last weekly issue, the *Melong* did not appear at all for more than nine months. When publication was resumed, frequency went back to monthly. During the 50s, some people tried to persuade him in moving with his newspaper to Lhasa, which he declined.<sup>458</sup> In the early sixties, Tharchin got a new printing press from Japan, through his scholar friend Shoji Inaba. But it was broke from the very beginning, and he never got it to work.<sup>459</sup> In May 1963, the third last known issue, Tharchin started to supplement the *Melong* with an English-language "news letter". He writes "it is hoped that the English-knowing subscribers may appreciate it."<sup>460</sup>

### 5.3.2 Finance, Price

To anticipate: Tharchin did not get rich with his newspaper. He developed reputation and influence over time, but the *Melong* never was a gold mine. Quite on the contrary, the *Melong*'s history is also one of constant shortage of money. As we have already seen in the previous chapter, the *La dwags kyi ag bar* was no profitable business. The *Melong* was not either, for similar reasons. Newspaper pioneering usually never is, as Münster writes: "The trade with newspaper and magazines could not yield a profit in the beginning. The periodical publications were only produced in very small circulation numbers. - An expensive task!"<sup>461</sup> The price of the *Melong* varied between one and a half annas per copy in the beginning and one rupee per copy in the end, as be seen in the following chart:

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<sup>455</sup> *Melong* 16/6&7/1.

<sup>456</sup> *Melong* 7/3/1.

<sup>457</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p.214.

<sup>458</sup> See Fader III, p.147.

<sup>459</sup> See Fader III, p.187ff.

<sup>460</sup> *Melong* 28/5/suppl.2.

<sup>461</sup> Münster 1955, p.9: "Der Handel mit Zeitungen und Zeitschriften hat anfangs noch keine Gewinne abwerfen könne. Die periodischen Druckschriften wurden nur in sehr kleinen Auflagen hergestellt. – eine kostspielige Sache!" (translation A.S.).

<b>Issue</b>	<b>Price as stated in the issue</b>
1/1, October 1925	1,5 annas/copy; 1 Rs. 6 annas/ year.
8/3&4, April 1935	3 Rs./year, 3 Rs. 4 annas with postage; 5 Rs. to foreign countries
12/5/6, December 1943	8 annas/copy
25/12/8, May 1959	10 Rs./year; 1 Rs./copy; Foreign countries: 15Rs/ year; Foreign by air: 35/Rs.

Unfortunately, Tharchin's readers were not very diligent in paying for their subscription. In an editorial in 1929, Tharchin states that out of his 200 subscribers only 37 subscribers paid their bills.<sup>462</sup> Furthermore, as is well known, newspapers usually do not sustain themselves simply by selling their copies, but especially through advertisement. There are, from very early onwards, ads in the Melong, which would make for a very interesting study object on its own. Especially the last page was often filled with them. The prices for ads in September 1932 were: Two half rupees on the front page and one rupee, four annas in the inside.<sup>463</sup> Yet, Tharchin did not sell enough. Without the help of different liquid sponsors, the Melong would have probably seized within a few years. In the beginning, the Scottish Mission provided salary to Tharchin and money for the paper. Every now and then, Tharchin received money from the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama<sup>464</sup> and later on from the 14<sup>th</sup>.<sup>465</sup> In 1937, the Tibetan government made a contribution of 100 rupees to him;<sup>466</sup> in 1945 he received 300 rupees.<sup>467</sup> Engelhardt concludes, though, that "overall, financial support from official Tibetan sources was indeed modest [...]."<sup>468</sup> In 1942, as a propaganda measure of the British government, Basil Gould arranged subsidies for the Melong,<sup>469</sup> in pretty high quantities, as even though World War II had broken out, the Melong could continue its publication,<sup>470</sup> or rather: resume publication after a gap of 30 months. Ironically, from that time on until a little after World War II, while most of the rest of the world was struggling with the WWII turmoil, Tharchin's financial situation constantly improved, due to the assistance of the British. After WWII, Tharchin, having left the Scottish Mission, again appealed to the Political Officer of Sikkim (POS) for money. He was granted 200 Rupees/ month, plus - and that really gave the Melong a boost - the POS decided that every Tibetan trader who applied for a trading permit, also had to

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<sup>462</sup> Melong 4/1/1.

<sup>463</sup> Melong 6/8/8.

<sup>464</sup> See e.g. Fader II, p. 267, p.326.

<sup>465</sup> As late as 1957, Tharchin received a 1000 Rupees from the 14th Dalai Lama. Fader III, p.477.

<sup>466</sup> Fader II, p.326, Engelhardt, at press, p.250.

<sup>467</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p.253.

<sup>468</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p.254.

<sup>469</sup> McKay 1997, p.213.

<sup>470</sup> See Engelhardt, at press, p.245ff. and Fader III, p.73 for details.

subscribe to the Melong.<sup>471</sup> Suddenly, Tharchin had more than 1000 subscribers and – probably for the first time – the Melong was self-supporting.<sup>472</sup> Now, the high times did not last long. It was right around the time, when India gained its independence, and the subscription program was already dropped in 1948,<sup>473</sup> leaving Tharchin again alone with his newspaper. In the early 50s, Tharchin went into serious debt, as his modern printing press was costly.<sup>474</sup> Tharchin repeatedly appealed to the new Indian POS for subsidies, but was rejected.<sup>475</sup> It is quite possible that his financial situation was also a reason for rejoining the Scottish Church.<sup>476</sup> In the 50s, the Dalai Lama provided him with money every now and then.<sup>477</sup>

It is of no coincidence that the Melong often found some kind of financing over the course of time. May it have been the Church of Scotland, or the British later on, all had specific interests in the existence of the paper. They did not finance the Melong as an act of charity. The Church of Scotland probably held high hopes in the newspaper as an instrument of proselytizing, the British saw it as a welcome device for positive publicity. Tharchin, in return, had to assure to the government not to publish anything "adverse to their interests" and to give "adequate space [to the] views of the [British] Government of India",<sup>478</sup> therefore giving up some of his press freedom. It is noteworthy, that already before the official British subsidization, the Melong was a pro-British newspaper.<sup>479</sup> After 1950, the Chinese offered to buy off 500 copies in exchange of favorable coverage, which Tharchin refused<sup>480</sup> (contrary to the British offers before, by the way). Still, the Melong was surely not a propaganda pamphlet. What distinguishes the Melong from *La dwags kyi ag bar* and *bod yig phal skad kyi gsar 'gyur* is one crucial factor: Dorje Tharchin as a "middleman" between interest-driven sponsorship of certain parties (Christian Mission, British,...), i.e. propaganda, and the genuine strive for producing a quality newspaper.

### 5.3.3 Circulation, Distribution

As the Melong's history is inseparably entwined with the wool-trade route from Lhasa to Kalimpong, so is its distribution. Due to the heavily traveled passes – may it have been through traders, pilgrims or tourists – the newspaper was disseminated to Tibet. Goodman

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<sup>471</sup> Fader III, p.181.

<sup>472</sup> See Fader III, p.181.

<sup>473</sup> Fader III, p.181.

<sup>474</sup> Fader III, p.185.

<sup>475</sup> Fader III, p.419.

<sup>476</sup> See Fader III, p.184 for his tense financial situation in 1951.

<sup>477</sup> For example, in 1957, Tharchin received 1000 Rupees by the 14th Dalai Lama. (Fader III, p.477).

<sup>478</sup> Fader III, p.179.

<sup>479</sup> See e.g. Melong 8/3&4/4, celebrating the silver throne jubilee of King George V.

<sup>480</sup> See Norbu 1975, p.20.

writes: "Circulation [...] posed somewhat of a problem, for it could take a month or more for a caravan to ply the 300 miles from Kalimpong to Lhasa."<sup>481</sup> Due south, distribution was much faster (railway!). Issue 2/2, for example, which was published according to the masthead on February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1927, bears a stamp of the Calcutta post dating February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1927.<sup>482</sup> Circulation of the Melong was extremely small, compared to modern standards. Again, the Melong has much in common with early publications in Europe. Münster writes, that the early newspaper "did not address the 'wide masses' yet, but always a selected circle of people, the 'upper classes', the intelligentsia."<sup>483</sup> Readers, according to Tashi Tsering were "Tibetan aristocrats, abbots, lamas, and rich merchants".<sup>484</sup> In his first editorial, Tharchin mentions his target groups, and what kind of use they can expect (translated by Isrun Engelhardt):

- the Sangha (*dge 'dun rnams*) (information on how the Buddhist religion is (or was) practiced in India in times of progress and downfall),
- business people (*tshong pa rnams*) (information on where items are produced and where the market is good),
- aristocrats (*sku drag rnams*) (a range of different news),
- sick people (*nad pa rnams*) (information on different medicines and cures),
- children<sup>485</sup> (*byis pa dag rnams*) (lectures and other texts for educational purposes).<sup>486</sup>

This list probably does reflect reality to some extent; whether many "sick people" and "children" read the paper, is questionable though. One has to keep in mind again that unless a literate person read it out loud, far more than 90 percent of Tibetans simply were not able to read the paper. In any case, the circulation numbers of the Melong must have varied between as little as 50 in the beginning, to more than 500 later on,<sup>487</sup> with a high of almost 2000 subscribers in 1947. In 1929, there were about 200 subscribers.<sup>488</sup> As mentioned above, during the years of WWII, the British-Indian government subsidized the paper and bought off 500 copies, distributing 150 issues in Darjeeling District, Sikkim, Bhutan, Kashmir, Leh, and Shimla Hill Stations, the rest were sent to Tibet.<sup>489</sup> Through the government program in 1947,

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<sup>481</sup> Goodman 1986, p.110.

<sup>482</sup> See Melong 2/2/1.

<sup>483</sup> Münster 1955, p.9: "Die bisher genannten Blätter wendeten sich noch nicht an die 'breite Masse', sondern immer nur an einen ausgewählten Kreis von Menschen, an die 'upper classes', die Intelligenz." (translation A.S.)

<sup>484</sup> Tashi Tsering interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.179.

<sup>485</sup> *byis pa* usually means children, but here it could be in the sense of "ignorant" or "foolish", as well.

<sup>486</sup> Melong, Vol.1/1/1; for translation, see Engelhardt, at press, p.211f.

<sup>487</sup> See Engelhardt, at press, p.248: A list of subscribers of the year 1944 or 1945 lists 532 subscribers.

<sup>488</sup> See Melong 4/1/1, April 1929.

<sup>489</sup> Fader III, p.171.

Tharchin suddenly had more than 1000 subscribers.<sup>490</sup> The highest number of subscribers was reached in March 1947, when 1983 people had a Melong-subscription.<sup>491</sup> The numbers quickly fell down again. Nebesky-Wojkowitz wrote in the mid 50s that "some hundred and fifty copies [...] appear monthly."<sup>492</sup>

It is indisputable, though, that the Melong was much wider known than it was read. It was spread throughout Tibetan provinces, reaching, obviously, Lhasa, but also "the provincial towns of Lithang, Kanze, Derge, Gyantse and Shigatse",<sup>493</sup> as Goodman writes. It reached Eastern Tibet,<sup>494</sup> and China,<sup>495</sup> also two newspapers from Singapore mention Tharchin and the Melong.<sup>496</sup> There were subscribers from Nepal, Kashmir,<sup>497</sup> Europe (such as Johannes Schubert<sup>498</sup>), and subscribers in the US (like Theos Bernard<sup>499</sup>). Prominently, both the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lamas were subscribers. The 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama recounts the paper well and especially enjoyed the news on World War II and the riddles on the last page of the paper.<sup>500</sup>

The subsequent chart shows the most striking **gaps** in the publication of the Melong:

Gap	Duration	Reason, if known
November 1927 - May 1928	6 months	Tharchin is in Lhasa.
September 1929 - December 1929	3 months	
December 1929 - March 1930	4 months	
August 1931 - September 1932	on and off	Printing on the Mani Press: Frequency extremely irregular.
In the years 1933 and 1934, some major gaps; esp. February/March - September 1934	6 months	
April/March 1935 - July 1936	14 1/2 months	
February 1940 - August 1942	30 months	Longest gap of all; Tharchin went to Lhasa and upon his return could not finance the newspaper anymore. Only in 1942, the P.O.S. agreed to finance it.
December 1950 - June 1951	6 months	
September 1961 – December 1962	15 months	

<sup>490</sup> See Fader III, p.181.

<sup>491</sup> Fader III, p.181.

<sup>492</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.73.

<sup>493</sup> Goodman 1986 p.110.

<sup>494</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p.1.

<sup>495</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p.229f.: Review of the Melong in the Chinese newspaper "North-China Herald" published in Shanghai.

<sup>496</sup> The Straits Times, October 15th, 1936, p.11; The Singapore Free Press, September 7th, 1950.

<sup>497</sup> See Engelhardt, at press, p.248 for parts of a subscription list of 1944-45.

<sup>498</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p. 218.

<sup>499</sup> Hackett 2008, p.750.

<sup>500</sup> Fader I, p. ix: Forward by the Dalai Lama.

In the later issues, regular publication is often upheld due to a trick: The paper was only published every second month, and numbered "April/March"- issue, for instance.

### 5.3.4 Making of

Generally, Tharchin was inspired by the British-style press,<sup>501</sup> which had taken root in India ever since the start of colonization (see previous chapter). Tharchin must have at least known the *La dwags kyi ag bar*. He grew up under Moravian guidance during the time the *La dwags kyi ag bar* was published. It is virtually impossible that he did not get in contact with it. The choice of the name "*Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur*" is hardly a coincidence, one department of *La dwags kyi ag bar* being "*Yul so so'i gnas tshul ni*". Furthermore, a section under the headline "*gdam dpe*", i.e. proverbs, existed in both newspapers.

Probably, Tharchin's usual mode of work was to go through Indian, English, or Chinese newspapers, translate and prepare articles (or have them translated and prepared) for his Tibetan audience. This working mode is especially underlined by the subtitles of issues 2/11 and 2/12: "The auspicious rendering of Indian, Chinese etc. news into Tibetan".<sup>502</sup> Tharchin usually indicates his sources, but not always. Some of the sources he used were: The *Calcutta Statesman*, the *London Times*, *Illustrated London News*,<sup>503</sup> *Sinwin Tienti Weekly* ("Newsdom") published in Hong Kong,<sup>504</sup> or – especially in volume 5 – the *Weekly Mongolian-Tibetan News*.

In later years, Tharchin possessed devices to produce type letters for the Tibetan, English and Devanāgarī alphabet (for Devanāgarī types see e.g. 17/9, 17/10).

One of the most prominent writers of the Melong was doubtlessly Gendun Chopel (see below again), but many of the so far mentioned persons had some of their work published in the Melong. For example Johan von Manen as early as December 1926 (1/12/4), or Nicolas Roerich in 1933,<sup>505</sup> or Charles Bell's "Portrait of the Dalai Lama" in a serial from June 1948 onwards (16/10ff.). Earlier, Geshe Chodrak was employed at Tharchin's office in 1930, even though his exact duty is not clear to me.<sup>506</sup> In the 40s, Phuntsog Wangyal and Ngawang Kalsang worked at the press for 6 months.<sup>507</sup> In the late 40s, Hisao Kimura worked there for

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<sup>501</sup> Cf. Tsering 1998, p.9.

<sup>502</sup> Melong 2/11 and 2/12: *rgya dkar nag sogs kyi gnas tshul bod skad du phab pa dge*.

<sup>503</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p.229ff.

<sup>504</sup> See e.g. Melong 20/6/8.

<sup>505</sup> Melong 7/2/3

<sup>506</sup> Fader III, p.14; Tharchin later accused Geshe Chodrak of stealing material or ideas for his own dictionary.

<sup>507</sup> Fader III, p.130.

15 rupees a month; his two Mongolian friends were set up spinning wool.<sup>508</sup> Here is a short report about his work mode:

Then one day he drew a political cartoon about the Chinese Civil War [...], and Tarchin liked it so much that he switched him to office work. The work involved dispatching the papers [...] and keeping the subscribers' list in order. This office was in a Western style house called Mackenzie College, just above the press.<sup>509</sup>

From 1956 to 1960, Pandey Hishey (a Buddhist Lepcha) worked at Tharchin's press as proof-reader and Tibetan compositor.<sup>510</sup> Tharchin also offered work to another Japanese spy, Nishikawa, but he declined.<sup>511</sup>

This leads us to the role of Tharchin's press office as a general junction. When Berry describes how Hisao Kimura, the Japanese spy in disguise, came to Kalimpong in the 40s, it gives a good picture of the press office's role in town:

Being in Kalimpong gave [Kimura] the opportunity to make quite a number of contacts. Anyone on the pilgrimage from Lhasa to the holy places of India would pass through Kalimpong, and Tarchin [sic] made it a point to accommodate them by printing leaflets and guide maps to the sacred places, as well as by placing a warehouse across the street from the Press at their disposal. Tarchin [sic], then, was often the first person the pilgrims called [...].<sup>512</sup>

Of course, Tharchin had only developed his position over the years in Kalimpong. His many travels to Tibet, or Lhasa, respectively, his work with the press, and his previous work as a Tibetan teacher had given him the possibility to meet all kinds of important or less-important people: officials associated with the Tibetan government, the Tibetan aristocracy, the Tibetan clergy; also Indian officials, and especially British officers or missionaries, and scholars were people he was well-acquainted with. His press office was a competent contact point for all different kinds of requests. Tashi Tsering mentions how "all the intellectuals [...] from Mongolia, China, Tibet, either from U-Tsang, Kham, or Amdo, from Bhutan, from Sikkim, from Kinnaur, or wherever – flocked to Tharchin Babu [...] as soon as they reached Kalimpong."<sup>513</sup> He was a gravitational point of this colorful town, and this position helped Tharchin immensely to always be well-informed and – apart from his work as a spy - publish an appealing newspaper. Hackett writes how in the years when Chinese-Tibetan-tension

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<sup>508</sup> Berry 1995, p.265.

<sup>509</sup> Berry 1995, p.265f.

<sup>510</sup> Fader III, p.429.

<sup>511</sup> Berry 1995, p.308.

<sup>512</sup> Berry 1995, p.289.

<sup>513</sup> Tashi Tsering interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.178.

became serious, "Tharchin's newspaper offices in particular became a clearing house for information about the ongoing Chinese aggression in Tibet. He was receiving handwritten account of military occupations and aerial bombardments of monasteries and villages in eastern Tibet."<sup>514</sup>

### 5.3.5 Aims and Reception

In the first issue, Tharchin gives the reason for starting a Tibetan language newspaper, (translated by Isrun Engelhardt):

Reason:<sup>515</sup> These days, India, China and European countries large and small print newspapers (kha bar ka ka si) in their own language, and are therefore able to get their news every day; for example international war or peace, the state of the business market, new discoveries of scientific processes, epidemics, natural catastrophes and so on. [...] Because we, the people of the Tibetan Snowland, do not have such a paper in our own language, I Kunuwar Tharchin and a few friends in Kalimpong believe that this can greatly benefit the Tibetans. It is also a source of pride for other peoples that we have our own language and script.<sup>516</sup>

One source of motivation was pride; to keep up with the rest of the world. Another one was to *understand* the rest of the world, by reporting about it. Shakya writes: "There is no doubt Tharchin regarded the paper as his attempt to bring Tibet into the modern world as he saw it."<sup>517</sup> This is not only seen in his own articles, but especially obvious by the room he gave to progressive Tibetan thinkers, such as Gendun Chopel. Tashi Tsering says:

G[endun] C[hophel] yearned to inform the Tibetans of his discoveries in the outside world. His writings in the *Melong* were an attempt in this direction. He said things like this: *'Hey, the world is not flat; it is round. This is what people outside say. Our Umed script evolved from U-chen. We can infer this from the fact that the scripts on the ancient Indian stone pillars look like this and that. [...].'* When one reads his articles in the *Melong*, one gets the impression that he yearned to open our eyes to these facts.<sup>518</sup>

In the *Melong*, Chopel also published his famous satirical poem in which he criticizes the conservative Tibetan society (in fall 1936).<sup>519</sup> Shakya writes, that one dominating theme "was the refusal of the Tibetan religious and political elite to open up the country and prepare for change."<sup>520</sup> One issue in the summer 1933 held a detailed illustration on how a solar eclipse works (Fig. 17).

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<sup>514</sup> Hackett 2008, p.892.

<sup>515</sup> The Tibetan word here is *sngon 'gro*, which literally means "preliminary, introduction".

<sup>516</sup> *Melong* 1/1/1; translated by Isrun Engelhardt: Engelhardt, at press, p. 210.

<sup>517</sup> Shakya 2004, p.18, also cited in Engelhardt, at press, p.216.

<sup>518</sup> Tashi Tsering interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.178 (format by Schaedler).

<sup>519</sup> *Melong* 8/8/1, for translation see e.g. Schaedler 2007, p.424f., translated by Heather Stoddard.

<sup>520</sup> Shakya 2004, p.22.

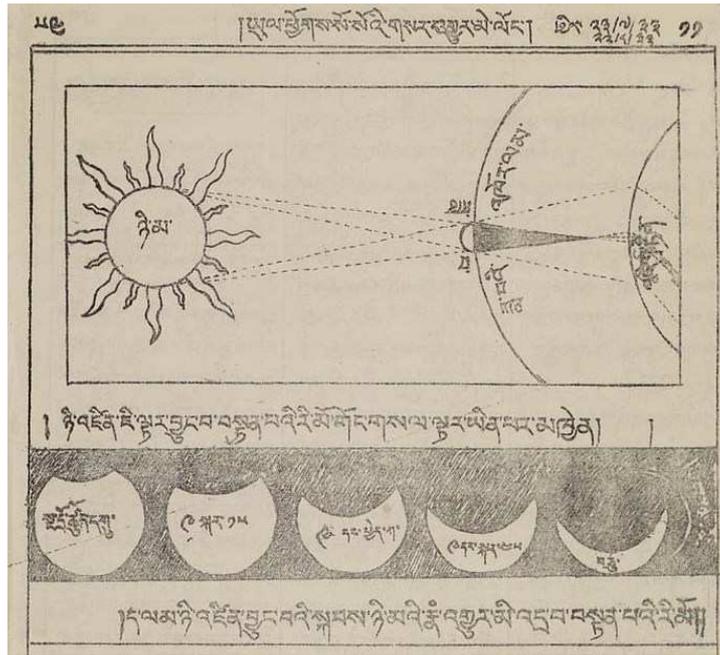


Fig. 17: An illustration of a solar eclipse, Melong 7/7&8/11.

There are numerous examples for similar articles, and they were indeed revolutionary. The same point which has been stressed earlier is put forward by Tsering when he says: "For about eight centuries, we Tibetans had remained isolated from the outside world. During that time, the world had undergone tremendous material and spiritual developments, both in India and in the West."<sup>521</sup> Tharchin, with his Melong, tried to catch up with the rest. He writes in a letter published in the Melong: "I, my humble self, have been publishing a Tibetan newspaper since 1925 when the country of Tibet had no idea about the value of newspaper like the foreign countries."<sup>522</sup> Again, Shakya says:

The Tibet Mirror was influential in the formation of new thinking among the Tibetans. The very creation of the paper subverted the prescribed notions of text. [...] What is interesting in the appearance for the first time of text that attempted to provide a new source of information and challenged existing attitudes towards the printed word [...].<sup>523</sup>

Furthermore, Shakya stresses: "Tharchin's chief motive was to contribute to pan-Tibetan unity and the transformation of Tibet."<sup>524</sup> Hackett lays down a general judgment of what the Melong was. He writes: "What has begun as a personal vision and occasional medium for Christian propaganda going into Tibet and had later morphed into a chronicle of world events, by the 1950s was [...] a vehicle for the fight or Tibetan freedom from the Chinese, with Tharchin now placing Buddhism on par with Christianity."<sup>525</sup>

<sup>521</sup> Tashi Tsering interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.178.

<sup>522</sup> Melong 16/11/4.

<sup>523</sup> Shakya 2004, p.22, also cited in Engelhardt, at press, p.217.

<sup>524</sup> Shakya 2004, p.22.

<sup>525</sup> Hackett 2008, p.891f.

It is very difficult to make concrete assertions on how the Melong was received, as sources are rare. As we have seen in the chapter on *La dwags kyi ag bar* – the Tibetans did not always find it easy to deal with such a new thing as a newspaper. Sonam T. Kazi tells a story to Fader, which illustrates once again, the culture clash taking place when the Melong was met by Tibetans: In the winter of 1932, there appeared an advertisement for a candle in the Melong. Just as advertisements are, they tend to exaggerate. Now, this specific candle promised to illuminate the whole world (*'dzam gling mun sel*), as the trade name revealed. When the 13th Dalai Lama read it, he ordered two mule loads of this magic candle.<sup>526</sup>



Fig. 18: An advertisement for a candle, Melong 6/11/8.

### 5.3.6 The End

Ella Maillart, a Swiss traveler, a visitor to Kalimpong (probably in the 30s and 40s) asked herself in December 1960: "Today, while Tibet is dying and Peking doubtlessly publishes Tibetan newspapers, who tells me if Tharchin still gives his selection of world events in his Mirror of News of all countries?"<sup>527</sup> Tharchin did. The December-issue had just been published (Melong 27/4). But as Tibet was "dying", so was the Melong. Only about three years later, Tharchin ceased publication, due to illness and due to a lack of funding.<sup>528</sup> A next generation of "journalists" had appeared, some exile Tibetans founded a new magazine, "Rang Wang".<sup>529</sup> Today the "corrugated iron shed"<sup>530</sup> of the Tibet Mirror press still exists in Kalimpong, in Hackett's words: "boarded shut for many years, dusty, rusting and abandoned".<sup>531</sup>

<sup>526</sup> Fader II, p.272.

<sup>527</sup> Journal de Geneve, 24.12.1960: "Aujourd'hui, tandis que le Tibet agonise et Peking publie sans doute des journaux tibetains, qui me dira si Tharchin donne encore sa selection des événements mondiaux dans son 'Miroir des nouvelles de tous pays'?" (translation A.S.).

<sup>528</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p.214f.

<sup>529</sup> See e.g. Norbu 1975, p.18.

<sup>530</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.73.

<sup>531</sup> Hackett 2008, p.925.



## 6 A Description of the Melong

After having described the surrounding situation of the Melong and the history and mode of its production, the newspaper itself is addressed with regard to its visual appearance and its written content.

### 6.1 Appearance

Due to the usage of different printing devices, the Melong had different formats; its height varied between 21 and 38cm, according to the CU's library record.<sup>532</sup> The newspaper consisted of a visually appealing **front page**, the **main corpus** and a **last page**, which usually held the imprint, often advertisements, and riddles (*dbu 'khor*). The number of illustrations increased over the course of time, with technical standards becoming more sophisticated. While the layout of the front page was composed in two columns all the further pages usually held three columns. The last page was composed more freely, not strictly sticking to the three-columns-scheme. Interestingly, when looking into Bengali newspapers or publications of the same time, one finds some striking similarities in general layout. Here, for example, is a comparison between the front page of the Melong and *Mukti*, a Bengali newspaper, published in Purulia, Bengal:

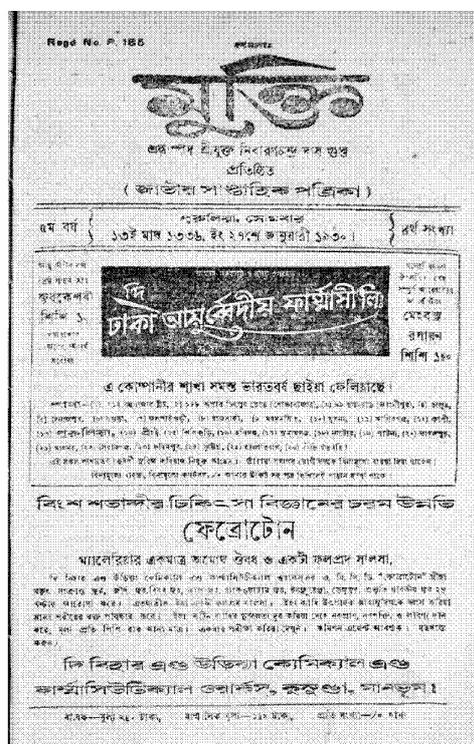


Fig. 19: Mukti Vol.5, 1930<sup>533</sup> and Melong 5/5/1.

<sup>532</sup> Acc. CLIO record, Columbia University, <http://clio.cul.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBRecID=6981643&v2=1>, accessed May 17th, 2011.

<sup>533</sup> Mukti, Vol.5, 1930, p.29.

At first glance, the papers may look different, but on closer inspection, one can clearly see how - except for the columns - the general designs of the front pages are set up similarly, especially the dateline.

### The Front page

The front page consisted of a masthead, some decorating elements (often part of the masthead), and a frame.

### Masthead

The masthead contained the name of the paper (see 2.2. "The name of the paper"), the date given in Tibetan and English calendar, the number of the issue (see 5.3.), usually the registration number of the publication in Tibetan and English (which was C.1386), and very often decorating elements which were typically Buddhist symbols. There were seven reoccurring types of mastheads over the course of the Melong's publication. Exceptions in looks can be found when it comes to details. Very concisely, this is how the masthead of the Melong developed over the years, vividly depicting the steady increase in quality of the Melong.

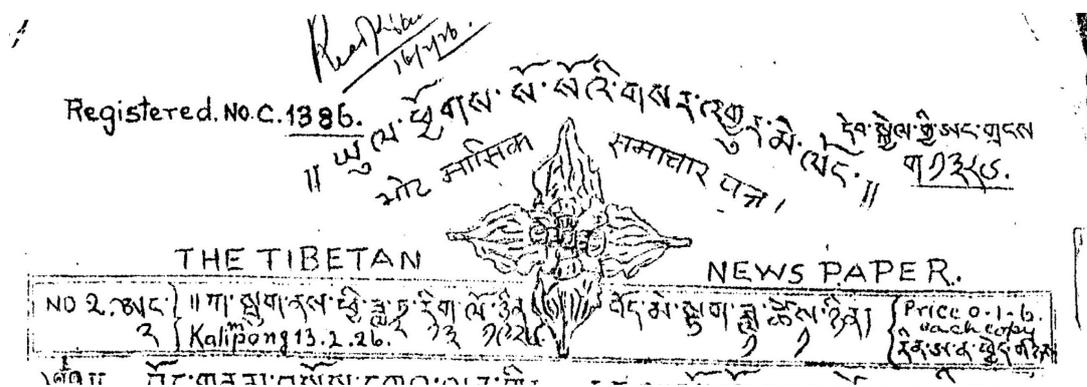


Fig. 20: Masthead Type 1, Melong 1/2/1.

### Type 1

The earliest issues, namely 1/1 - 2/12 (Oct. 1925 - Nov? 1928), had quite a chaotic masthead, quickly hand-drawn, with one decorative element: the Crossed Vajra (*rdo rje rgya dram*). Issues 2/10-2/12 look differently in style, because Tharchin was in Tibet, as has been written before (Fig.20).

**Type 2 (Fig.21)**

After Tharchin returned, this masthead was developed which should become the standard masthead for 12 years in a row (Issues 3/1&2 - 10/12; Dec? 1928 - Feb? 1940). It contained the Buddhist symbols Crossed Vajra, the Precious Jewel and a pile of jewels.

Furthermore, an entry-like frame of leaves or clouds framed the title-line.



Fig. 21: Masthead Type 2, Melong 5/1/1.

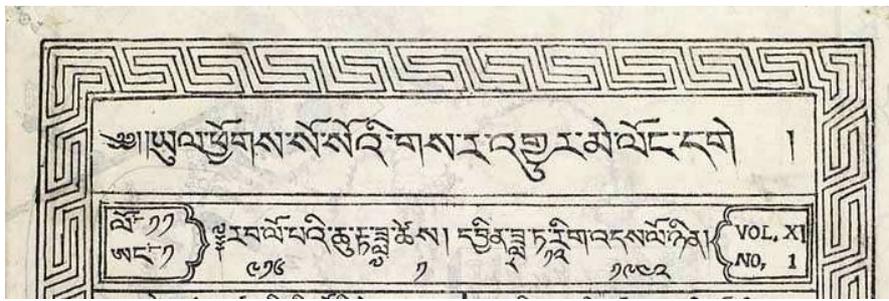


Fig. 22: Masthead, Type 3, Melong 11/1/1

**Type 3**

At the time the Indian/British Government started to pay Tharchin's bills, a new, very simple masthead was used, with no decorating elements at all. Issues 11/1 - 15/3 (Aug. 1942 - Jan. 1947) hold this type, but there are quite a few exceptions (Fig.22).

**Type 4 (Fig.23)**

Issues 15/5-16/4 (Feb. 1947- Feb. 1948) hold a very similar type, only that a garland with a White-Conch<sup>534</sup> was introduced. It will appear later many times in slightly different form.



Fig. 23: Masthead Type 4, Melong 15/10/1.

<sup>534</sup> This masthead has appeared before (e.g. 11/7; 13/3), but not regularly.

**Type 5**

In 1948, the Melong was first printed on the type press – which also changed the looks of the masthead: Issues 16/5 - 17/1 (March 1948 - Oct. 1948) bore a very simplistic, type-printed masthead, with a frame made out of swastika-symbols (Fig.24).

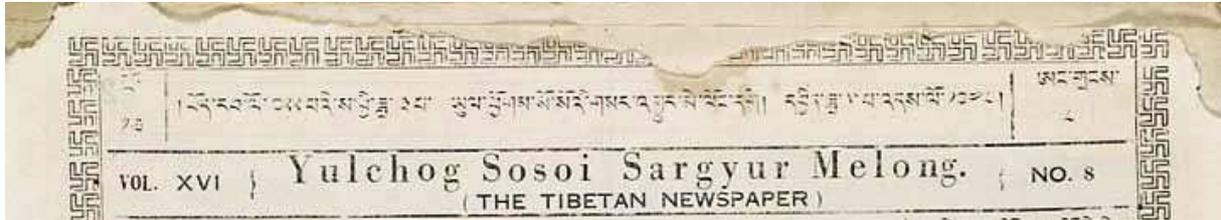


Fig. 24: Masthead Type 5, Melong 16/8/1.

**Type 6a**

Apparently, Tharchin liked the white-conch-shell-garland and wanted to integrate it into the masthead, even if using a type-press. Therefore, types 4 and 5 were merged, and ever since issue 17/2 (Nov. 1948), a hand-drawn garland rested over a type-printed headline (Fig.25).



Fig. 25: Masthead Type 6a, Melong 17/10/1.

**Type 6b**

Almost the same as type 6a, this further development from issue 19/1&2 (the silver-jubilee-issue; Dec. 1950) onwards shall be mentioned. From then on, the masthead was not changed at all. It is almost the same as 6a, but including a subtitle, and the headline somewhat changed.

(Fig.26)



Fig. 26: Masthead Type 6b, Melong 25/1/1.

## **Buddhist symbolism**

As mentioned above, many of the mastheads bear a Buddhist symbol as an integral part of its design. Most notably, we find the Crossed Vajra, the Precious Jewel, and later on the White Conch. Furthermore, piles of jewels are found on the masthead type 2. Subsequently, very briefly, some ideas and opinions concerning the use of these symbols are summarized.

### **Crossed Vajra** (*rdo rje rgya gram*)

From the first issue until the February-issue of 1940, i.e. for 15 years, the Crossed Vajra is the central symbol of the Melong-cover. It usually stands for absolute stability,<sup>535</sup> in the Buddhist context regarding one's faith. Fader writes it was only used on special occasions,<sup>536</sup> which is clearly not the case.<sup>537</sup> Furthermore, he follows the view of Bray who said the Crossed Vajra, in fact, was a "visual pun" and might actually show a Christian cross, namely a Maltese cross.<sup>538</sup> There is no evidence for this claim. The Precious Jewel, depicted just above the Crossed Vajra would not make any sense according to this theory. One theory laid out by Tharchin's son seems more plausible:

Indeed, noted the elder Tharchin's son, the choice of the double dorje with which to adorn the *Tibet Mirror* [italic by author] was an example of his father's attempt to put at ease its potential Buddhist audience so that, free from any fear or anxiety, readers would easily be drawn to its pages, including even to the page devoted to Christian themes.<sup>539</sup>

This is reminiscent of how the Moravian printers tried to pull attention to the *La dwags kyi ag bar* some decades earlier. I have no means of evaluating this theory.

### **Precious Jewel** (*nor bu rin po che*) or **Wish-granting Gem** (*yid dzin nor bu*)

During the same time the *rdo rje rgya gram* appeared on the cover, the precious jewel always accompanied it. It symbolizes wealth, increase, or wish-fulfilment in the broadest sense.<sup>540</sup>

### **(White) Right-turning Conch shell** (*dung gyas 'khyil*)

This symbol first appeared on the cover in the late 40s, and later became the major emblem – integrated into a garland – of the Melong. It is associated with the spreading of the Buddha's

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<sup>535</sup> Beer 2003, p.95.

<sup>536</sup> Fader II, p.261.

<sup>537</sup> Vol.5, for example, bears the Crossed Vajra on every issue except 5/2 and 5/3, which do not hold a masthead at all.

<sup>538</sup> See Fader II, p. 261.

<sup>539</sup> Fader II, p.261.

<sup>540</sup> Dagyab 1995, p.70.

teachings, for its loud sound, which can call together people from afar.<sup>541</sup> Fader argues Tharchin used it for spreading worldly news among Tibetans and Christian ideas.<sup>542</sup> Again, it is possible, but there is no evidence for this claim.

A great amount of further symbols appears on issues of the Melong. The eight auspicious signs especially come up regularly.

### Frame

Starting from issue 2/3, there is always a frame, decorating the front page (Fig. 27, 28).

#### Pattern of Frame:



Fig. 27: Most common pattern.



Fig. 28: Different frame patterns, occur rarely; from left to right: Melong 8/2/1, 15/4&5/1, 8/11/1, 10/11/1, 8/5/1, 16/5/1 (not to scale).

On issue 12/8/1 (March 1944), the whole masthead, including the title, the date etc., is omitted in favour of a very elaborate frame. It shows different kinds of animals and figures, and on the upper bar, again Buddhist symbols are shown (Fig.29):

<sup>541</sup> Dagyab 1995, p.24.

<sup>542</sup> Fader II, p.262.

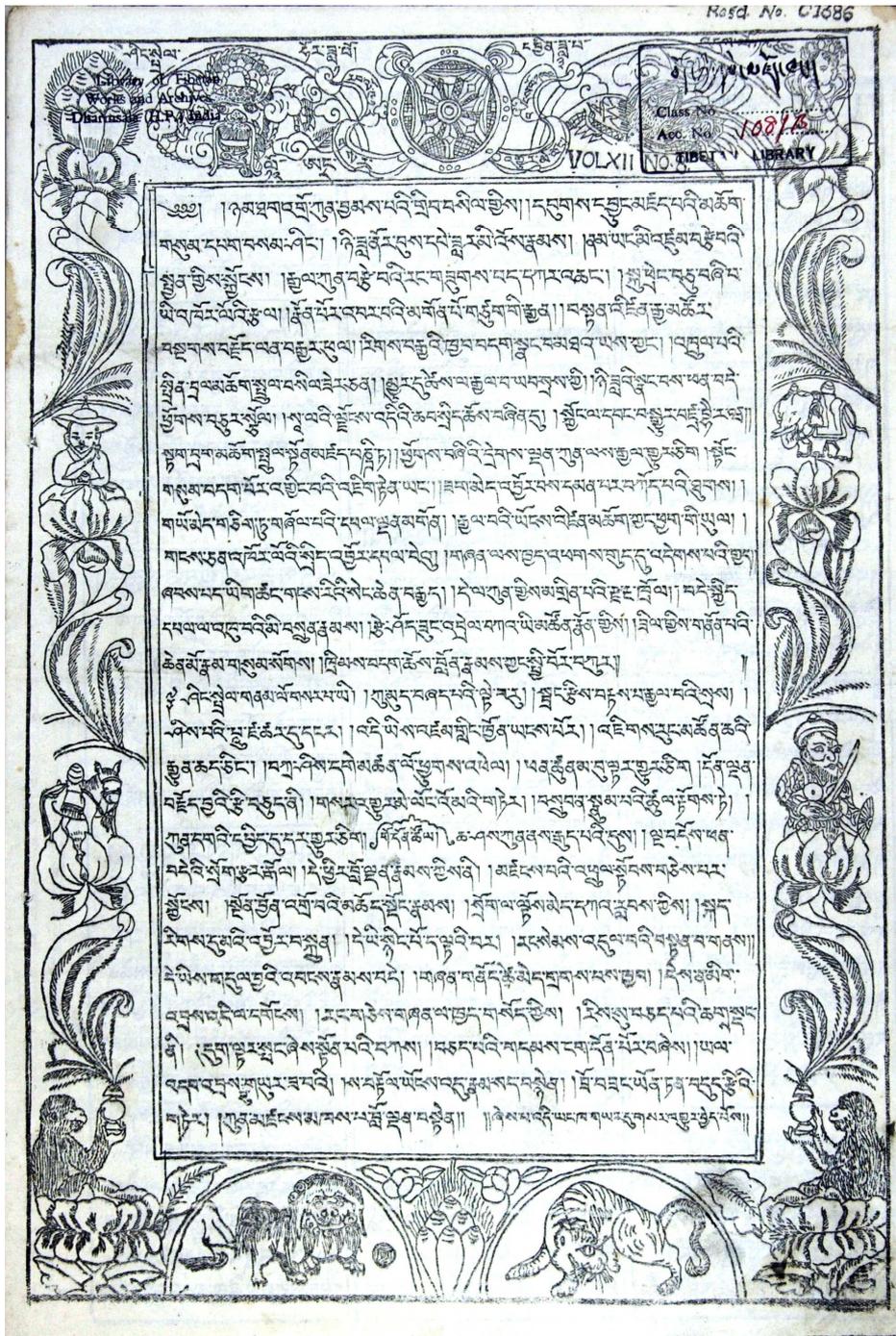


Fig. 29: Elaborate frame without masthead; Melong 12/8/1 (© LTWA).

### Illustrations

For Tharchin, as Engelhardt notices, it was especially important, "to make his newspaper as visually appealing as possible."<sup>543</sup> In the early years of publication, we do not find many illustrations except some occasional drawings. But starting from the early 40s, with WWII coverage, illustrations became an integral part of the newspaper, especially war pictures<sup>544</sup> (which he got for free from the British, compare chapter 5.3.1), the Melong drifting further

<sup>543</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p.229.

<sup>544</sup> Cf. also Engelhardt, at press, p.230.

into the direction of a magazine (see chapter 2.1.). As with the articles, Tharchin often took his illustrations from different magazines, mainly English and Indian publications. In order to bypass copyright-issues, he would have his staff produce drawings from an original photograph,<sup>545</sup> of which Fig.30 might be an example (Sept. 1934):

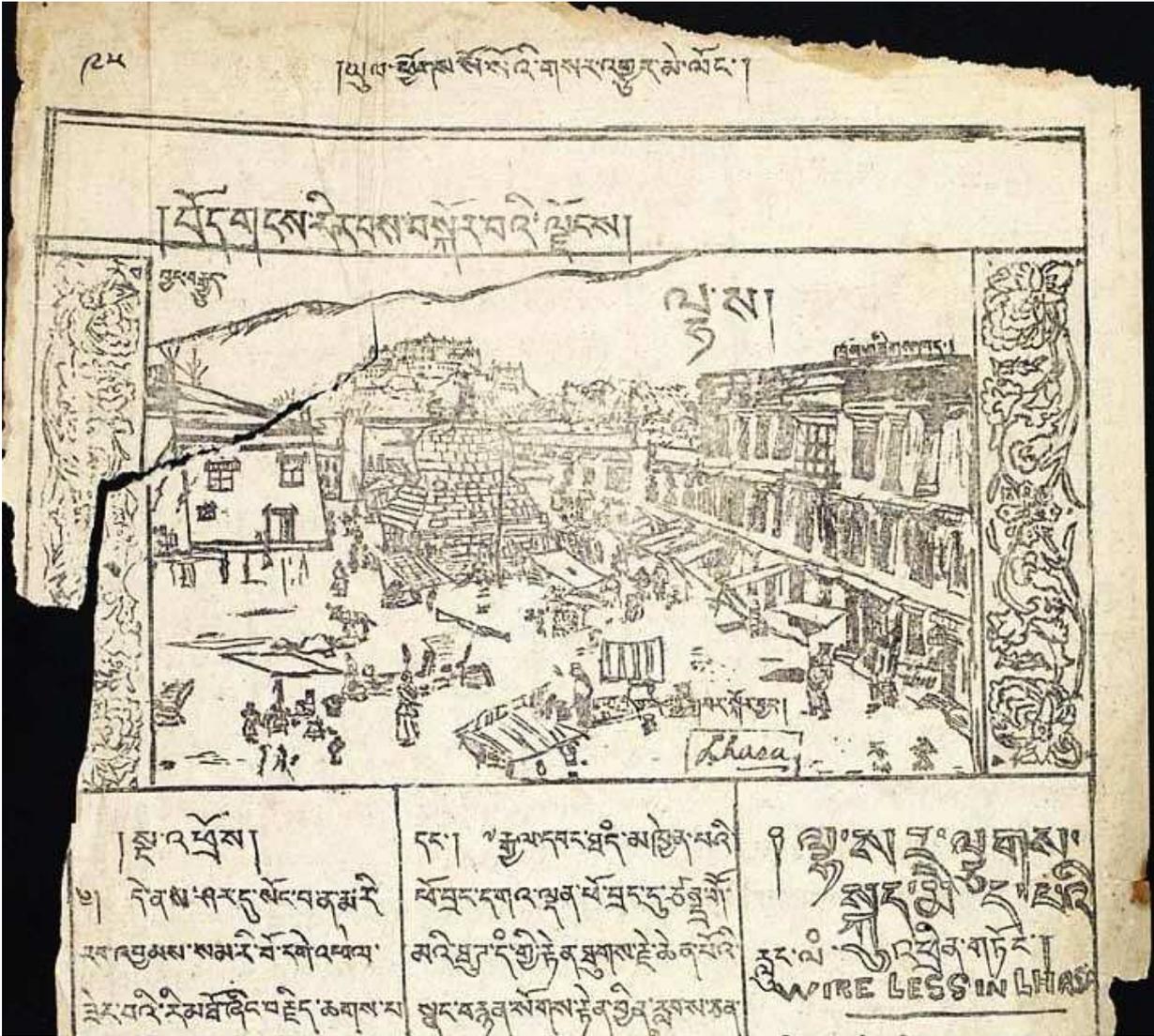


Fig. 30: A depiction of Lhasa, Melong 7/12/7.

Yet, original photographs are found in the Melong just as much. One peculiar example is the New York-front page of 11/5/1 (Dec. 1942) (Fig. 31), which presents a striking contrast to the above figure:

<sup>545</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p. 229.



Fig. 31: New York City on the front page, Melong 11/5/1 (©LTWA).

Another important mode of illustrating was using maps, which were absolutely revolutionarily and new for Tibetans. Engelhardt writes:

He put almost incredible amounts of effort into creating painstaking maps crammed with information on countries and place, as from large-scale world maps and overviews giving a general impression of the world to detailed maps of specific countries and regions.<sup>546</sup>

When hiring staff, their knowledge about the world's

geography was a decisive criterion, as the hiring process of the Japanese (spy) Kimura shows:

Tarchin [sic] asked [...] if he recognized the map of Asia on the wall for what it was. When he said he did, he was asked to use the map to explain his journey. Tarchin was impressed, and offered him a job on the printing press at fifteen rupees a month.<sup>547</sup>

But again it has to be noted, that in the beginning, maps, just as illustrations were not often found. In Volume 5, 1930-31, one finds only nine illustrations, of which one is a map (of India).<sup>548</sup> (Details see 3.5.2.1.2.)

<sup>546</sup> Engelhardt, at press, p.225.

<sup>547</sup> Berry, p.265.

<sup>548</sup> Melong 5/1/1, 5/2/13, 5/2/4, 5/4/4, 5/6/4 (two), 5/11/4, 5/12/2, 5/12/3.

## 6.2 The Content of the Melong

The amount of material [of a newspaper] is so large; its quantity already obscures what really matters. The observer stands in front of a contour-less and diffuse cloud of information, which does not easily reveal an inner structure.<sup>549</sup>

The content of the Melong has not been well investigated. The major problem in describing the content of a newspaper – as Hans Magnus Enzensberger has well-said – is its sheer abundance. The aim of this analysis is to describe the content of the Melong by setting up its core departments and then quantifying them. Even if Tharchin never explicitly formed any departments himself, just by reading through the Melong, one gets an idea of a certain division, stylistically, thematically and – concerning the news section – geographically. Once these departments are established, I want to find out how the content of the Melong is distributed therein. There is no intention to make inferences from the structured content to the producer (Tharchin) or the consumer (the readers).<sup>550</sup> The aim of this work is more or less congruent with the aims of the study "Inhalt und Struktur regionaler Großzeitungen" by Hüther/Scholand/Schwarte 1973. They write:

The present investigation was designed as purely quantitative, but not due to the conviction that quantification [...] is an axiom of content analysis, but due to [the investigation's] limited and preliminary aim [i.e. description].<sup>551</sup>

The Melong was published for 38 years. Giving a description of the whole run is simply impossible due to the limits of this paper. I therefore want to present an analysis, exemplifying the Melong's content, for one year, a full sample survey. I chose Volume 5 as the object of research, for five reasons:

- The complete run is available.
- Publishing was with regular frequency (every month).
- Each issue steadily consists of four pages.
- There was no major event that distorts the exemplary kind of the content.

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<sup>549</sup> Enzensberger Einzelheiten Band 1, 1973, cited in Hüther/Scholand/Schwarte 1973, p.12: "Die Stoffmengen sind so groß, daß sie durch ihre Quantität bereits verschleiern, worauf es ankommt. Der Betrachter sieht sich einer konturlosen und diffusen Wolke an Informationen gegenüber, deren innere Struktur nicht leicht auszumachen ist." (translation A.S.).

<sup>550</sup> Cf. Hüther/Scholand/Schwarte.

<sup>551</sup> Hüther/Scholand/Schwarte 1973, p.11: "Wenn die vorliegende Untersuchung rein quantitativ angelegt wurde, dann nicht aus der Überzeugung, daß Quantifizierung wie nach Meinung Berelsons ein Axiom der Inhaltsanalyse sei, sondern aus der eingeschränkten und vorläufigen Zielsetzung [welche die Beschreibung ist]." (translation A.S.).

- Contrary to Volume 1 (which so far fulfils the aforementioned criteria as well), Tharchin had developed a kind of routine.

Volume 5 comprises the time span from June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1930 until May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1931, holding 12 issues. It is important to note that Tharchin did not edit the last issue (but his superior Rev. Knox), because Tharchin had gone to Lhasa, accompanying Henrietta Sands Merrick.<sup>552</sup> According to Fader, he left on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May - which would make sense, as he probably prepared issue 5/12 beforehand - and returned "in late July".<sup>553</sup> According to the information given on the Melong itself, he edited the 6/2 issue (July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1931) himself again, therefore he must have returned a bit earlier. Of course the date mentioned can be – as always – somewhat wrong. In any case, a clear difference in appearance (different writing, different layout) can be seen. What is most interesting is that issue 5/12 clearly had the same writer and drawer as the October 1927-issue of *Kyelang kyi Agbar* (depicted in Fader II, Plate 39) (see chapter 4.1.1), produced some 2000 kilometres to the West.

Politically, the Chinese Civil War was given much attention,<sup>554</sup> the Tibetan-Chinese border conflicts in Eastern Tibet (e.g. in specific the fight between Dargyas and Beri monastery),<sup>555</sup> and the machinations of the Panchen Lama, who was well-minded towards the Chinese.<sup>556</sup> One reason for the emphasis on Chinese affairs – apart from being relevant concerning Tibetan affairs – is, that Tharchin had just gotten a subscription of the newsletter "The Tibet-Mongolian Weekly News",<sup>557</sup> referred to in the Melong as "*gza' 'khor re'i bod sog gsar 'gyur*",<sup>558</sup> or "[...] *gsar gnas*"<sup>559</sup> which had been established in 1929 by the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Committee of the Kuomintang, in order to promote Chinese nationalism.<sup>560</sup> He cites extensively from this newsletter. Apparently, the British censored the newsletter, though, before Tharchin (and one other subscriber from Kalimpong) were allowed to read the publication.<sup>561</sup> I assume the newsletter was a Chinese-language publication.<sup>562</sup> McGranahan notes that one of the editors was the Tibetan Kalsang Tsering (*skal bzang tshe ring*) from Batang.<sup>563</sup>

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<sup>552</sup> I am very grateful to Isrun Engelhardt for this hint.

<sup>553</sup> Fader II, p.346.

<sup>554</sup> For example Melong 5/3/3.

<sup>555</sup> For details see Shakabpa, Tsepon (1984): Tibet. A Political history, NY: Potala Publ, p. 260ff.

<sup>556</sup> For details see Goldstein 1989, p.252ff.

<sup>557</sup> McGranahan 2003, p.281.

<sup>558</sup> See e.g. Melong 5/11/4.

<sup>559</sup> See Melong 5/4/3.

<sup>560</sup> McGranahan 2003, p.281.

<sup>561</sup> McGranahan 2003, p.281.

<sup>562</sup> See Melong 5/11/4, where a comic is depicted including Chinese-script. Another hint is, that Tharchin used two slightly different titles ("[...] *gsar 'gyur*" and "[...] *gsar gnas*").

<sup>563</sup> MacGranahan 2003, p.281.

One intriguing article of Volume 5 should be specially mentioned: a two-page interview<sup>564</sup> with Liu Manqing (in Tibetan Yudhona, and referred to in the Melong as "*rgya mo lcam*", i.e. "The Chinese Lady") who is thought to be "the first Asian woman" to travel "from China to Lhasa and from Lhasa by waterway [back]"<sup>565</sup>. The half Chinese, half Tibetan woman arrived in Kalimpong in June 1930 at the age of 24, on her way back of her year-long journey. Tharchin interviewed her about her travels.<sup>566</sup> Interestingly, Liu Manqing was well-acquainted to Kalsang Tsering, the editor of the aforementioned newsletter.<sup>567</sup>

Melong 5/2 bears a supplement (5/2/5-8), which is not considered in the analysis.

The specific research questions (open hypothesis) are structured according to three different levels of analysis:

a) Departments (general thematic distribution)

How is the whole content of the Melong (Vol.5) quantitatively distributed (in percent) into the pre-structured coding frame?

b) Illustrations

How are illustrations of the Melong (Vol.5) quantitatively distributed (in percent) into the pre-structured coding frame?

c) Christian content

How high is the percentage of articles, containing some kind of Christian content?

Furthermore, I want to compare the outcome of the analysis a) and c) to an analysis where only cover-pages are counted.

### 6.2.1 Quantitative Content Analysis

With the aims of the study in mind, an empirical method from the social sciences was chosen: a quantitative formal-descriptive thematic content analysis (CA).

#### *Definition*

According to Früh, the CA is an "empirical method for the systematic, inter-subjectively comprehensible description of characteristics of content or form of messages."<sup>568</sup> In CA, there

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<sup>564</sup> The interview took place on June 12th, 1930; see Melong 5/1/2,3.

<sup>565</sup> See Melong 5/1/3, June 27th 1930: "*rgya nag nas lha sa dang lha sa nas chu thog brgyud [...] sa skor la phebs mkhan e shyi ya'i bod med rnams kyi nang nas dang po yin par bsams*"

<sup>566</sup> For details on Liu Manqing see Jagou 2009.

<sup>567</sup> Jagou 2009, p.9.

<sup>568</sup> Cited in Bonfadelli 2002, p.79: "Nach Werner Früh (2005: 21) ist die Inhaltsanalyse eine empirische Methode zur systematischen intersubjektiv nachvollziehbaren Beschreibung inhaltlicher und formaler Merkmale von Mitteilungen." (translation A.S.)

are two general approaches: the quantitative approach and the qualitative approach. This distinction is criticised by some scholars.<sup>569</sup> Krippendorff adds an epistemological objection: Content is not inherently lying within a text, waiting to be taken out by the researcher. Inferences and contexts are always subjective.<sup>570</sup> The definition of the quantitative CA is summarized by Ebster and Stelzer:

The quantitative CA aims to record and count the appearance of certain features of texts or images. The quantitative CA, therefore, strives at classifying the text- and image-parts into comprehensive categories. These categories represent the operationalization of the intriguing features. In doing so, no evaluation of the content takes place.<sup>571</sup>

### *History*

Content analysis as the "systematic reading of texts can be traced back to inquisitorial pursuits by the Church in the 17<sup>th</sup> century",<sup>572</sup> according to Krippendorff. But it was only in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when larger-scale quantitative newspaper analysis was conducted. "Facts that could be quantified were considered irrefutable",<sup>573</sup> writes Krippendorff. During World War II, extensive studies of propaganda were conducted. Harold Lasswell developed content analysis as a unique method in the 1940s.<sup>574</sup> Berelson and Lasswell undertook the first coding of a content analysis in 1948.<sup>575</sup> Over the last years, CA has developed steadily into a method for qualitatively analysing texts. More recently, computer-based text analysis has emerged. As we have seen, the origins lie in the quantitative usage. Krippendorff calls this the "shallow counting game": According to him, quantitative content analysis is outdated, and there is little use in frequencies.<sup>576</sup> This study, having no ambition to make inferences about the intent of the author, or the way the content was received, goes in accordance with Willey, who wrote in 1926:

Upon the basis of the fact of chief concern in each news item, it should be possible to classify the entire printed matter of any newspaper. It should be possible to determine precisely the number of column inches, for example, that any paper at any time has filled with political news, or school news, or religious news, as the case may be. Whether the school news in one paper is of more

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<sup>569</sup> See for example Krippendorff 2004, p. 15f.

<sup>570</sup> Cf. Krippendorff 2004, p. 19.

<sup>571</sup> Ebster/Stalzer 2008, p.202: "Die quantitative Inhaltsanalyse verfolgt das Ziel, das Auftreten bestimmter Text- oder Bildmerkmale zu erfassen und zu zählen. Die quantitative Inhaltsanalyse strebt also eine Zuordnung der Text-/Bildteile zu übergreifenden Kategorien an. Diese Kategorien stellen die Operationalisierung der interessierenden Merkmale dar. Eine Bewertung des Inhalts findet dabei nicht statt." (translation A.S.).

<sup>572</sup> Krippendorff 2004, p.3.

<sup>573</sup> Krippendorff 2004, p.5.

<sup>574</sup> Bonfadelli 2002, p.82.

<sup>575</sup> Krippendorff 2004, p. xxi.

<sup>576</sup> See Krippendorff 2004, p.60.

'value' to the reader than the school news in another paper, [...] is not to be considered. All that can be done objectively is to record the amount of space given by editors to various types of news.<sup>577</sup>

He does acknowledge that "disregarding the subjective quality of the news, the mere fact that a certain amount of space is being devoted to certain types (religious, political, educational, etc.) calls these matters to the minds of the readers, and it is probably a safe inference that the more items or column inches of news of any type, the more likely it is that this type will intrude itself upon the attention of the readers."<sup>578</sup> For the purpose of this study, the "shallow counting game" is what is needed in order to somehow describe the thematic cornerstones of the Melong. Of course, there are manifold ways to do research on the Melong by the usage of CA. This analysis is no final answer to the "what" of the Melong, but rather one approach to make the content of the Melong graspable. In my opinion, the shallow counting game is a necessary step towards a somewhat more profound in-depth analysis. We do not know the content of the Melong, besides "reading it casually". Quantifying it is a first step in analyzing it. In order to carry out the CA, three steps are necessary: a) establishing a coding frame, b) establishing the sample, and c) coding.<sup>579</sup>

### 6.2.1.1 Setting up the Departments

#### a) Coding frame

According to Merten, the coding frame must be: 1) theoretically derived, 2) complete, 3) mutually exclusive, 4) independent from each other, 5) follow a uniform classification principal, and 6) clearly defined.<sup>580</sup> Concerning 2) *complete*, one has to remember that there always has to be a residual-category in case of unclassifiable elements.<sup>581</sup>

In order to fulfil the aforementioned criteria, contemporary sources for newspaper departments are consulted. Bücher (1926) lists the newspaper departments as follows: Politics, Feuilleton, Commerce, Advertisements.<sup>582</sup> In Dovifat 1937, we find the following departments regarding content: Politics, Commercial-political, cultural-political (further divided), regional/home-part, sports.<sup>583</sup> Groth (1928) provides: General part, commerce, feuilleton, literature.<sup>584</sup> Münster (1955), again, divides the newspaper up in: Text (Politics

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<sup>577</sup> Willey 1926, p.22f.

<sup>578</sup> Willey 1926, p.23.

<sup>579</sup> See Merten 1995, p.147ff.

<sup>580</sup> Merten 1995, p. 147f; p.98f.

<sup>581</sup> Merten 1995, p.99.

<sup>582</sup> See Bücher 1926 (1926), p.247ff.

<sup>583</sup> See Dovifat 1937, Volume II, Table of Contents and 26ff.

<sup>584</sup> See Groth 1928, p.750.

(home and foreign), Commerce, cultural part (including feuilleton and entertainment), regional and home department, sports, advertisements), Advertisements, Special departments (technical pages, women's interest, ....).<sup>585</sup>

As has been stated a couple of times, Tharchin followed the British press style.<sup>586</sup> An English-training-book of 1928 "How to read an English newspaper?", provides the division: Politics, Miscellaneous News, News of the day, Special Law reports, City News, Educational and Teaching, Theatres, Clearing the Derby, The woman's page, Big adverts, Small advertisements.<sup>587</sup> In the issues of the London Times on the day of the Melong's first publication (1st October 1925), "news" is divided into the following departments: Home, Imperial, Foreign, Sport, Finance and Commerce.<sup>588</sup> For October 2nd 1925, the same, plus "Politics and Court and Personal"<sup>589</sup> is found; on October 1st, 1931, the same, plus "Law"<sup>590</sup> is found. Further classification is mentioned in the index. Among many others, categories like "Obituary" or "Theatre",<sup>591</sup> or "Crossword Puzzle"<sup>592</sup> can be found. A weather report is always provided within the Index.

There are hints about departments in the Melong itself, which are crucial in finding a useful department scheme. In the first editorial of the Melong (1/1/1), he writes about how in different newspapers people are informed on certain topics, listing "for example": international war and peace, the state of the business market, new discoveries of scientific processes, epidemics, natural catastrophes, etc.<sup>593</sup> More importantly, in the July/August issue 1933 (7/7-8), Tharchin published an appeal to his readers, containing the request to send him articles if they have heard of anything newsworthy. He specifies the thematic categories of which he is interested:

- 1) The price of things for sale on the market (*khrom du nyo chas kyi rin thang*)
- 2) About trade / business (*tshong gi skor*)
- 3) About traits /qualities (*yon tan gyi skor*)
- 4) About religion (*chos kyi skor*)
- 5) News about today's world (*deng dzam gling gi gsar gnas*)
- 6) About machines and handicraft (*'phrur [sic] 'khor lag shes kyi skor*)

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<sup>585</sup> See Münster 1955, p. 139.

<sup>586</sup> Cf. Tsering 1998, p.9.

<sup>587</sup> See Pisko 1928, Index.

<sup>588</sup> See The Times, 1st October 1925, p.15.

<sup>589</sup> See The Times, October 2nd, 1925, p.13.

<sup>590</sup> See The Times, October 1st, 1931, p.13.

<sup>591</sup> See The Times, October 1st, 1925.

<sup>592</sup> See The Times, October 3rd, 1931, p.13.

<sup>593</sup> Translated in Engelhardt, at press, p.211.

- 7) Pleasant / famous tales (*sgrung snyan po*)
- 8) New stanzas (*tshigs bcad gsar pa*)
- 9) About science of medicine (*sman rigs skor*)
- 10) About the happiness and suffering of common people (*'bangs ser gyi bde sdug*)
- 11) News about shows, playing, singing, dancing and sports etc. (*ltad mo rtsed 'jo glu gar rtsal sbyong la sogs pa'i gnas tshul*)<sup>594</sup>

The way Tharchin himself divides up his newspaper does not quite give justice to the actual reflection of the Melong. Number 9) *medicine* and 11) *shows, playing etc.* are so marginally spread over the years, that it is surprising that Tharchin specially mentions them. Number 10) *happiness and suffering etc.* is closely connected to number 3) *traits*, which itself can often – not always – be seen somehow in connection with 4) *religion*. Number 5) *News* could be divided up much further, as it is quantitatively the greatest, and as Tharchin himself does in the paper.

Compared to *La dwags kyi ag bar*, the content pattern of the Melong is more complex. Walravens had classified the content of the *La dwags kyi ag bar* into 3 major categories:

- 1) Reports on individual countries (*yul so so'i gnas tshul*)
- 2) Stories (*sgrungs ni*)
- 3) Proverbs (*gtam dpe*)

One still finds these elements in the Melong, but within a much more complex structure. Unfortunately, a contemporary Indian newspaper was not available (the *Calcutta Statesman*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, or something alike). Having looked into the structure of contemporary newspapers in Anglo-American and German sphere, and having taken into consideration Tharchin's own structuring, I have established the following - nominal - categorical scheme for the Melong (bold = existent in *La dwags kyi ag bar*):

## NEWS

- Home News (Local (Kalimpong, Darjeeling, Sikkim) and India Rest)
- Tibet News
- World News (China, Other Asia, Europe, America, Other)
- Miscellaneous (Innovation, Other)

## SERVICE

- Economy (Price Lists, texts)
- Entertainment (**Proverbs**, Riddles, **Stories**, Serialized Stories)
- Weather Reports

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<sup>594</sup> Melong Vol 7/7,8/p.3.

Obituaries  
Other

OPINION

EDITORIAL

Text  
Graphic elements  
Imprint  
Other

ADVERTISEMENTS

House  
Outside  
Undecided

UNCLASSIFIABLE<sup>595</sup>

*b) Sample*

The sampling unit of the CA was volume 5 (June 27th, 1930 - May 19th 1930). The volume is comprised of 12 issues of four pages each; in total, 48 pages were evaluated in full sample survey, i.e. taking every article (including its illustrations) of the material into account. The recording unit was one article, measured in square-millimetres. (i.e. one unit is not 1, but weighted in mm<sup>2</sup>).

*c) Coding*

Each page had a different absolute surface-size, as the materials I used are from different source (in digital format). In order to compensate this fault, each page was evaluated individually according to the respective categories. Therefore, each page could be attributed the same loading, independently of its absolute size (in mm<sup>2</sup>).<sup>596</sup> The presented percentage of the sub-categories always relate to the next category above. On the cover page, everything within the frame, including the frame itself was considered. On the remaining pages,

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<sup>595</sup> A detailed definition of each of the categories is presented in Appendix 2.

<sup>596</sup> The mathematic formula for calculating the percentage of each category follows (I am a thankful to Georg Aichinger for his help in preparing this formula):

*n* ..... number of pages  
*(A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, ..., A<sub>n</sub>)* ..... surface of each page [mm<sup>2</sup>]  
*(H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, ..., H<sub>n</sub>)* ..... surface of a category [mm<sup>2</sup>]  
*P* ..... percentage of the category [ % ]

$$P = \frac{100}{n} \cdot \sum_{i=1}^n \left( \frac{H_i}{A_i} \right) = \frac{\left( \frac{H_1}{A_1} + \dots + \frac{H_n}{A_n} \right)}{n} \cdot 100$$

everything within the frame lines, plus header (always set at 15mm height, due to the bad quality of copies) was considered.

Generally, there are two ways of assigning the articles to the categories. Either, each article is coded through every category, giving justice to the possibility that one article may contain contents of two or more categories. Or, each article is put into one category, according to its most prominent focus, giving justice to the general praxis of newspaper making, where articles simply are put into one specific department. With the aim of the study in mind, I have clearly chosen the second option, proceeding as follows: If the editor himself put the article in question under a specific headline (congruent with one of the categories), this assignment was always followed. If there was no title or the title did not indicate a specific category, the main focus of the article was the determining factor. At the same time, the source of the article was checked. For example, if the source was a Chinese newspaper, chances were higher that the article might also have a focus on Chinese affairs. Simultaneously, the placement of the article in the newspaper was considered. If there was still no assignment possible, the article was assigned to "Unclassifiable". Country-assignments go in accordance with the Tibetan names ("sog", "bod", "rgya nag", "rgya gar" etc.). If an article dealt with the relationship between two countries, it was assigned to the country on which the main focus lied, or from which country the source came from (Ex.: Relation between Nepal and China: focus is on China, source: Chinese newspaper<sup>597</sup>) For further details on assigning or exceptions on this general procedure see Appendix 2, containing detailed definitions of categories.

I have done all the coding myself. The resources for this paper did not permit the engagement of a second coder (no intercoder reliability available).

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<sup>597</sup> See Melong 5/9/4.

### 6.2.1.2 Results<sup>598</sup>

Only 0,05% of the examined material was unclassifiable. The original results included the sub-categories "Graphic elements" and "imprint". Together, they make up 88,7 % of the superordinate category "Editorial". Not really being part of the Melong's *content* per se, they were taken out of the statistic. Then, the distribution of the five superordinate categories looks as follows:

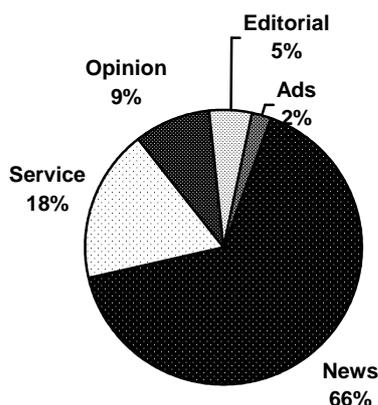


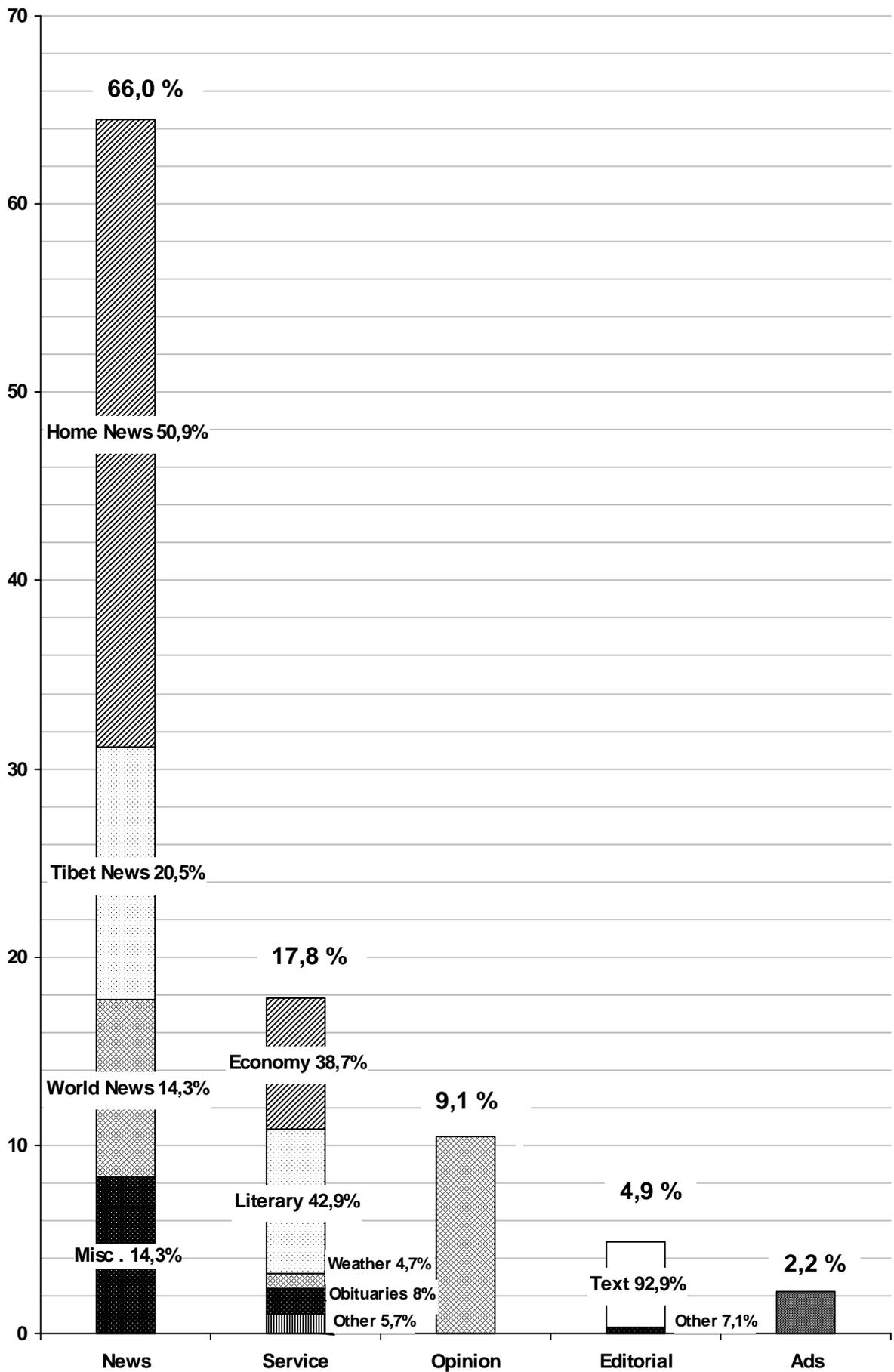
Fig. 32: General results of CA, minus graphic elements and imprint.

Each of the five main categories is further divided up into sub-categories. The results are seen in Fig.33, on the next page.

News clearly is the largest section, followed by Service, Opinion, then Editorial, and very little Advertisement. With only 2 percent advertisement in the paper, it is not further surprising that the paper was not self-sufficient. Even the Editorial-section is more than twice as big. The Opinion-section makes roughly ten percent of the paper. The Service-section makes up about 18 percent, almost a fifth of the whole content. Tharchin wanted to provide practicable information for the traders (Economy section), and entertaining elements (Entertainment) for all the readers. Both sections are large sections, but surprisingly the entertainment-department even outdoes the economy-department. Also surprising is that still eight percent make up obituaries.

<sup>598</sup> For detailed results of each category see Appendix 3.

Fig. 33: Detailed results of the CA .



Looking into the News-department, Home News clearly is ahead, with more than 50 percent. News on Tibet constitutes less than a half of it (20,5 percent), but they still rank quite a bit before "World News". In 1930, 14,3 percent of the news section was filled with global events. It is thus *en par* with Miscellaneous (of which about 40 percent are made up of "Innovation").<sup>599</sup>

When taking a look into the further division of the news section, the following picture emerges: Within "**Home News**", local news takes up substantially more space than the rest of India (67 percent vs. 33 percent). Within Local news, news from and about Kalimpong is clearly the largest group. (See Fig.34) Kalimpong-news, taken on its own in relation to the whole content of the Melong, still makes up 14,6 percent of the paper, therefore almost a sixth. There was a great focus on local issues in 1930.

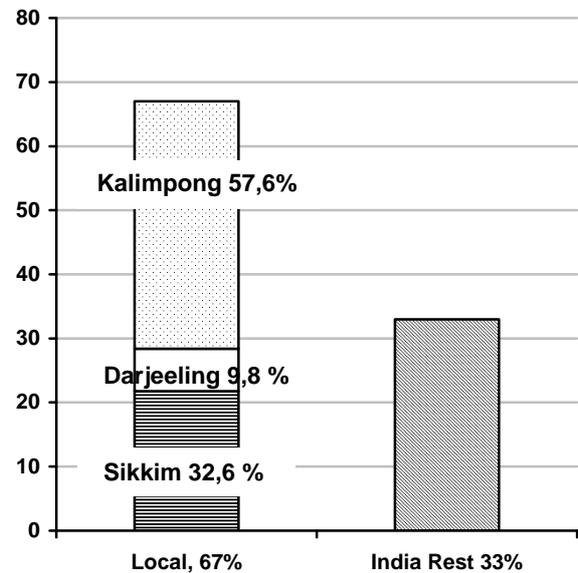


Fig. 34: Investigation of "Home News".

Another category of further differentiation is "**World News**." As can be seen in Fig.35, the coverage of China takes up half of this department, followed by the rest of Asia. News concerning countries outside of Asia, comprises only roughly 15 percent of this department in 1930. The Melong therefore, did not only hold a focus on local events, but even in the World-section was very Asian-centered.

<sup>599</sup> See Appendix 3.

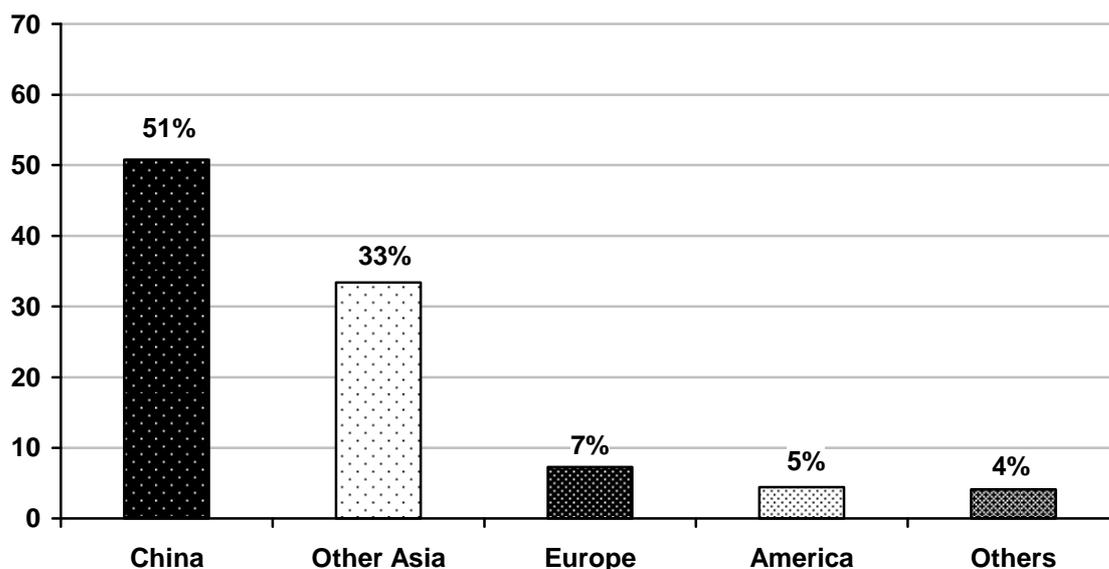


Fig. 35: Investigation into "World News".

Another department of interest is the "Entertainment"-department (Fig.36). It was further divided up into Proverbs (*gtam dpe*) and poems, riddles (*dbu 'khor*) and stories (*sgrung*). Interestingly, the Proverbs-section makes up more than half of this category, even though one could think that stories are *per se* much longer and take up more space than short proverbs and poems.

Finally, it needs to be added, that "Economy" takes up only six percent of the whole content of the Melong in the year 1930. Tibet makes up 14 percent, therefore being almost en par with Kalimpong. "India Rest" lies at 9,5 percent, quite a bit off the preceding items.

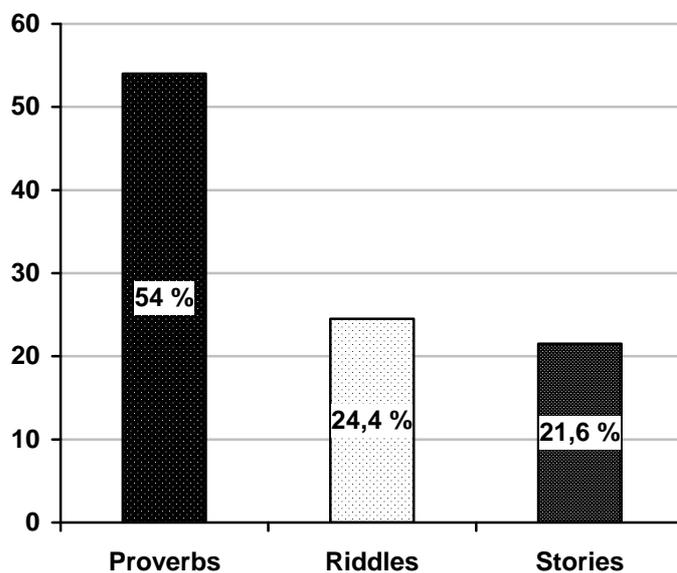
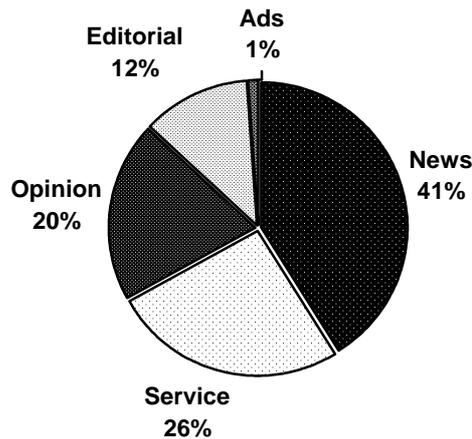


Fig. 36: Investigation into "Entertainment".

### Front page

In a second investigation, only front pages, i.e. the first and then every fifth page was taken into consideration. The results give quite a different picture of the Melong's content (Fig.37). The News-section is reduced to little more than 40 percent. The big winners are Service and, surprisingly, Opinion, which doubles its volume. Concerning Service, it is the Entertainment-



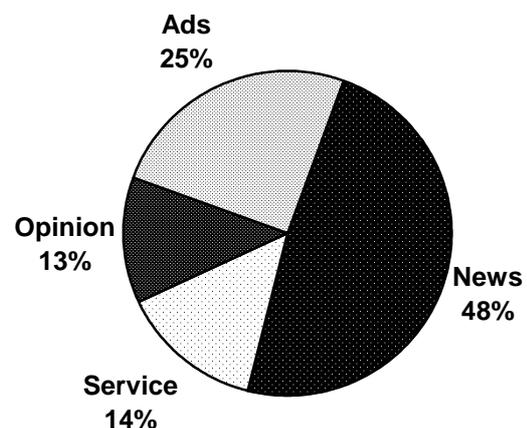
section which is found on the cover page a lot, may it be proverbs or more often stories. Concerning Opinion, the articles on Christian bible themes or Christmas wishes are very often found right on the front page (see also below). Advertisements, on the other hand, are almost negligible. Kalimpong-news, in relation to the whole content, rises up to 25 percent, once more emphasising the local focus of the paper.<sup>600</sup>

Fig. 37: Results of CA, only front pages weighted.

### Illustrations

A very different picture emerges when we look into the distribution of illustrations (Fig.38). In Vol.5, there are only nine illustrations found,<sup>601</sup> making up only 3,5 percent of the Melong's content. The subcategories of the News-section reveal some interesting facts: 75 percent of News-items derive from "Innovations", showing airplanes and zeppelins. The other 25 percent fall into "India Rest", where a map of India is drawn. Items of Service illustrate "Stories", in Opinion one illustration on the fights between Dargyas and Beri monastery is found. No illustration is found within Editorial. Most surprisingly, a full 25 percent is found in Ads, ten times more than presented in the overall results. They are an illustration for a car (*rang 'gro ba*) and a modern pen (*myu gu ya mtshan*). To sum it up: Almost all illustrations show something new, something the Tibetans have never seen before: planes, a

Fig. 38: Investigation of illustrations.



<sup>600</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>601</sup> Melong 5/1/1, 5/2/13, 5/2/4, 5/4/4, 5/6/4 (two), 5/11/4, 5/12/2, 5/12/3.

car, a pen, a map of India. This underlines the assumption that Tharchin's motivation for his newspaper was to lead the Tibetans into a more modern world.

### *Christian themes*

Because it is such a striking feature of the *Melong*, I looked into how many articles of the year in question deal in one way or another with Christian topics. Let us recount again Hackett's statement about the *Melong*: "What has begun as a personal vision and occasional medium for Christian propaganda going into Tibet and had later morphed into a chronicle of world events, by the 1950s was [...] a vehicle for the fight of Tibetan freedom from the Chinese, with Tharchin now placing Buddhism on par with Christianity."<sup>602</sup> As the previous analysis has shown, the *Melong* covered a wide range of topics, also as early as 1930. Buddhism played a huge role in the newspaper; the Sangha is especially mentioned as one of the target groups of the *Melong*.<sup>603</sup> Still, Christianity is not an expected subject in a Tibetan-made newspaper. To find parts of the bible, or an article mentioning Chian Kai Shek's Christian faith,<sup>604</sup> a picture of Jesus on the Cross<sup>605</sup> or an article comparing ten Christian vows to ten Buddhist vows,<sup>606</sup> is surprising. In order to find out to what extent the mission pressured Tharchin into printing Christian topics, or how much Tharchin himself saw his newspaper as an instrument for spreading the religion he believed in, further analysis is needed. Generally speaking, Tharchin knew what he was off to, having preached around the local bazaars himself. Nebesky-Wojkowitz describes the work of some Christians in Kalimpong in the early 50s:

A hoarse voice and the music of a concertina come from a corner of the market. They belong to a preacher of some obscure Christian sect, who is endeavouring to convince the Tibetans of the special advantages of his religion – a vain attempt, for Tibetans are almost completely immune to the influence of Christian missionaries. The man speaks very imperfect Tibetan, and the dense crowd of Tibetans gathered round him repeatedly roar with laughter at his bad pronunciation. To them the sermon is a glorious entertainment. After the fervent propagandist has concluded by damning all other Christian Churches as utterly heathen, he strikes up a hymn – accompanied by his wife on a squeaking concertina. At this the merriment of his audience reaches its climax. It undoubtedly takes courage for these two people to make a public declaration of their faith in the face of such derision.<sup>607</sup>

It can be assumed that contrary to the somewhat naive approach of some Western missionaries, Tharchin, being a Tibetan and knowing his Tibetan fellows, understood the Tibetan attitude

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<sup>602</sup> Hackett 2008, p.891f.

<sup>603</sup> *Melong*, Vol.1/1, page 1, October 1st 1925; translation see Engelhardt, at press, p.211f.

<sup>604</sup> *Melong* 5/5/3.

<sup>605</sup> *Melong* 20/2&3/1.

<sup>606</sup> *Melong* 8/3&4/2.

<sup>607</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, p.71.

towards Christianity and the missionaries. Tharchin, the man who "play[s] all sides very carefully"<sup>608</sup> – as Hugh Richardson had said – is likely to have chosen a softer way of spreading his beliefs; in general and also in the newspaper. Tharchin was a clever "networker", and not an eccentric missionary.

Leaving speculations aside, in Volume 5, we do find a good amount of articles including Christian themes, therefore confirming the first part of Hackett's statement. It should be remembered, that in the analysis there was no relevance given to the previous categories, but only checked how much percentage the articles comprise of in total, counting all the 48 pages, and in a second step only counting the front pages. Exactly ten percent of all the articles include some kind of Christian themes. In total, 15 articles on 15 pages deal with "*ye shu*" (Jesus), and/or "*ma shi ka*" (Christians).<sup>609</sup> Even more striking, when only the front pages are taken into account, 26,5 percent of the content is comprised of articles including Christian content.

In the last chapter, some of the aforementioned departments are introduced through one article.

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<sup>608</sup> Hugh Richardson interviewed in Schaedler 2007, p.29.

<sup>609</sup> See Appendix 3 for detailed list of articles including Christian themes.

## 6.2.2 Departments in Detail <sup>610</sup>

### NEWS - Home News - Kalimpong News

5/1/2 - June 1930

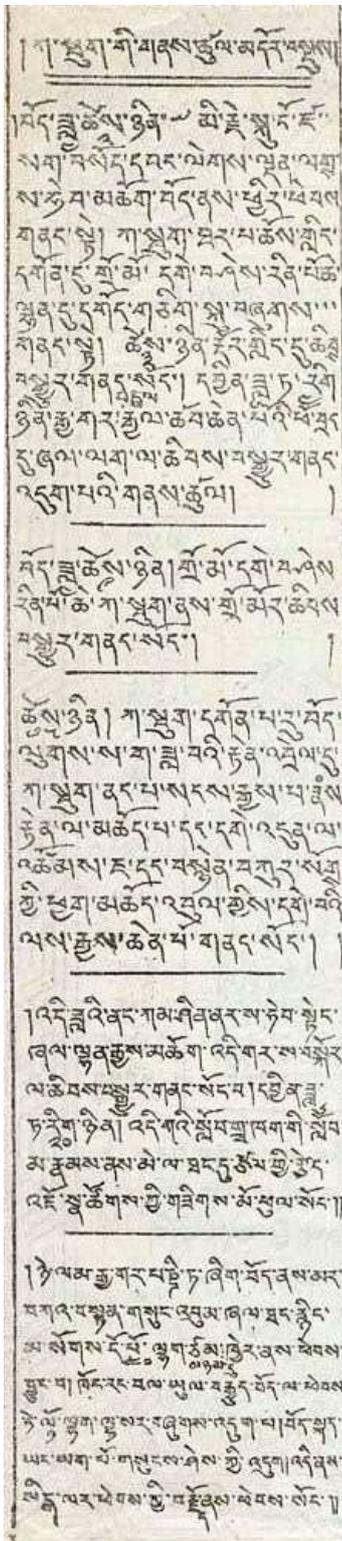


Fig. 39: Kalimpong News, Melong 5/1/2.

#### Brief News from Kalimpong:

In the fourth Tibetan month, on the second day, the venerable Chief, His Excellency Dzasa<sup>611</sup> *bsod dbang legs ldan* returned from Tibet. For one night, he stayed together with Gromo Geshe Rinpoche (*gro mo dge bshes rin po che*) in the Tharpa Choling monastery, Kalimpong. On the third day, he travelled to Darjeeling. In the sixth Western month, on the fourth day (4th of June), he went for dinner in the palace of the great ambassador of Indian Bengal. [This is] the news.

In the fourth Tibetan month, on the ninth day, Gromo Geshe Rinpoche (*gro mo dge bshes rin po che*) travelled from Kalimpong to Dromo.

On the 15th day, at Kalimpong-monastery (i.e. Tharpa Choling), on the auspicious occasion of the Tibetan tradition of Sakadawa, the Kalimpong-based Buddhists prayed to the base (the triple gems) and offered tea and reverence to the Sangha etc. [Like this] they made virtuous deeds in great [amount].

In this month, the venerable Commissioner [of Darjeeling] together with his companion [zhal lhan rgyas?], came here for inspection. In the sixth Western month, on the 20th day, he was presented a show of different games and plays on the *Mela*-grounds from students of different schools here.

Recently, an Indian Pandit (Rahul Sankrityayan) came down from Tibet, carrying with him more than 40 bundles [containing] the Kangyur and

<sup>610</sup> See for Tibetan text Appendix 4.

<sup>611</sup> A "high rank in the Tibetan government" or a "manager of the labrang [the corporation of a lama] of the regent", according to Goldstein 1989, p.843.

Tengyur, collected works, old Thangkas and so on. He went through Nepal to Tibet and stayed in Lhasa for more than one year. He also knows how to speak Tibetan well. Saying that he will go to Sri Lanka, he left.<sup>612</sup>

**NEWS - Tibet**

5/4/2 - September 1930

Recently, three Sahebs<sup>613</sup> went from Darjeeling on a journey towards Tibet. They went up to Gyantse and then sent a gift to the Dalai Lama by means of a person who takes the present [to the Dalai Lama] (i.e. a messenger). The Dalai Lama gave a great present, as well, including a pair of male Chinese (?) dogs.<sup>614</sup> Then, those Sahebs recently returned via Shigatse and Kambajong.

When the deputy of the Dapön Tsoko (*tsho sgog*; or *mtsho sgo*, aka *bsod nams dbang 'dus*<sup>615</sup>) returned from the district *spo* to the capital, the High Lama gave the rank of Dapön )Senior Military Rank<sup>616</sup> [to him]. On hearing these news, [I] congratulate [him].

Recently, two *tse drung* (a Tibetan official<sup>617</sup>) ran away. [These] news I heard.

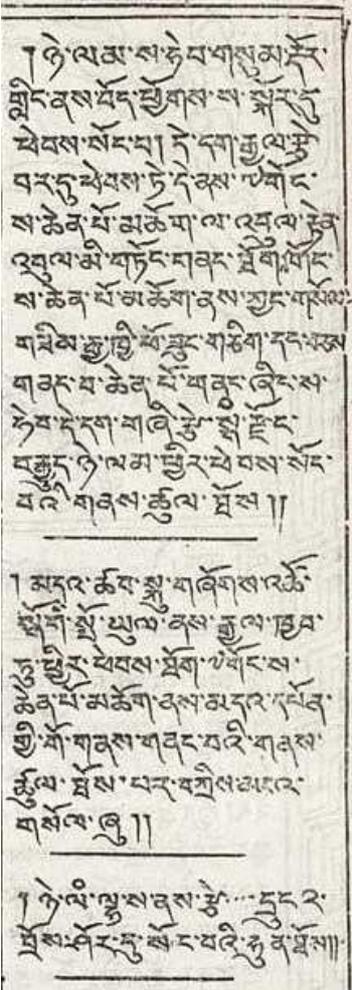


Fig. 40: Tibet News, Melong 5/4/2.

<sup>612</sup> Melong 5/1/2.  
<sup>613</sup> The "three sahebs" most probably were the American Suydam Cutting, the British Scott Cockburn and Nugent Head; see Cutting 1947, p.175.  
<sup>614</sup> Goldstein 2004: *gzim khyi* is honorific for *khyi*; *gzim rgya khyi* is therefore an Indian or Chinese dog. As the three "Sahebs" came from India, it is more likely, that they got Chinese dogs as a present.  
<sup>615</sup> The Tibet Album.  
<sup>616</sup> McKay 1997, p.xvii.  
<sup>617</sup> Details see Shen / Liu 1973: p.107-09.

NEWS - World News

5/3/3 - August 1930

Fig. 41: World News, Melong 5/3/3.

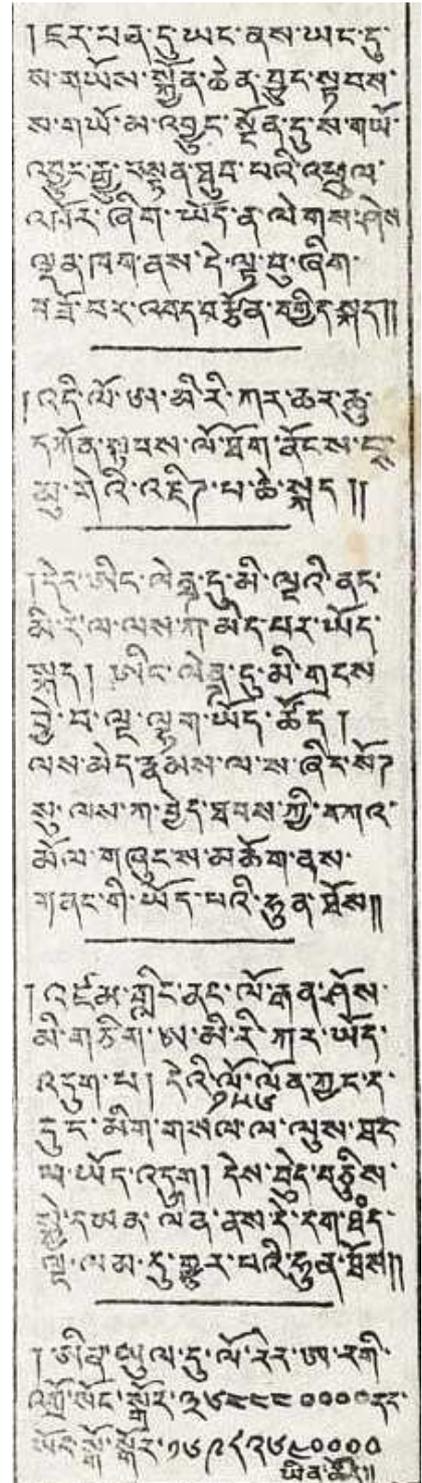
In Japan, again and again, there are great damages through earthquakes. Therefore, in order to have a machine, which can show if an earthquake will happen before the earthquake happens, experts from different sections strive to make such a [thing]. That was heard.

Because this year in America there was rarely rainfall, the harvest was bad. Therefore, there is great danger of famine. That was heard.

It is said, that these days, in England, in five people there is one person who has no work. It is estimated, that England has a population of about 50 million people. A conference by the great [British] government took place, on how to make work on farmlands and so on for the unemployed. [I] heard the news of this happening.

In the world, concerning the old and young, there is one man in America. Even though he has reached the age of 156 [sic], he still has clear sight and his body is healthy. Furthermore, he has taken 12 women as his wives, but all of them have died. The news of [this] I heard.

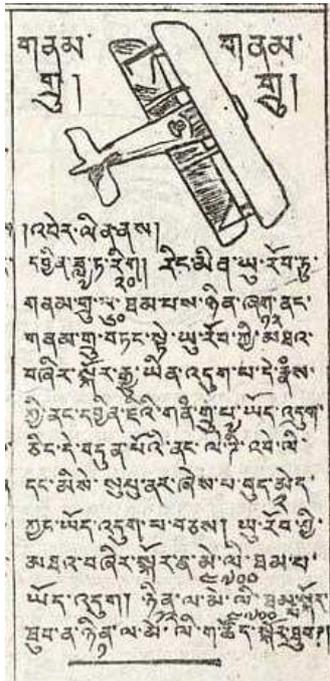
It is estimated that in England each year the expenses for alcohol are 364,440,000 *sgor mo*<sup>618</sup> and the income is 16,982,640,000 *sgor mo*.



<sup>618</sup> *sgor mo*, Tibetan term for any currency, usually the one relevant in the region; in this case it most likely refers to Indian rupees; literally meaning "round", "circular".

**NEWS - Miscellaneous**

5/2/3 - July 1930



Airplane, airplane

From Berlin, July 20th: [News is] that soon in Europe, exactly 60 pilots will fly airplanes for twelve days and circumambulate all of Europe. Among these [pilots] there are seven English pilots and among these seven pilots there are also two women who are called Lady Bailey and Mrs. Spooner.<sup>619</sup> It takes exactly 4700 miles to fly around all of Europe. If they can fly 4700 miles in exactly twelve days, then how many miles can they fly per day?

Fig. 42: Misc. News, Melong 5/2/3.

**SERVICE - Economy - List**

5/6/4 - November 1930

The price of Calcutta gold and silver:

One tola<sup>620</sup> of gold of first grade is 21-14-[0] *sgor mo*.

One tola of gold of second grade is 21-8-0 *sgor mo*.

One tola of gold of third grade is 21-5-0 *sgor mo*.

Exactly 100 tolas of silver is 47-8-0 *sgor mo*.

A maund<sup>621</sup> of copper is 40-8-0

A maund of brass is 35-0-0

Leather/Skin

Fox [skin] of best quality is about 9 or 10 *sgor mo*.

Marten [skin]<sup>622</sup> of best quality is 12-14 *sgor mo*.

Snow leopard [skin] of best quality is about 15-20 *sgor mo*.

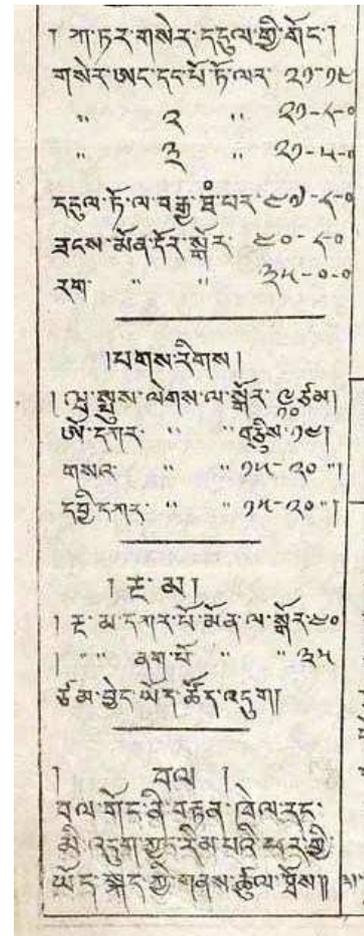


Fig. 43: Economy, Melong 5/6/4.

<sup>619</sup> Lady Mary Bailey and Winifred Spooner.

<sup>620</sup> Rizvi 1999, p.277: Tola is an Indian measurement (1 Tola = 11,66 g)

<sup>621</sup> One *maund* (Hindi) is a measurement equalling 37.4kg, according to Rizvi 1999, p.277. The Tibetan *mond do* refers to the Hindi measurement *maund*, as proven by reference Melong 18/12/2.

<sup>622</sup> According to Jäschke 1980, *o dkar* is a form of *lkog ma*, in Western Tibet *lkog dkar*, the latter meaning "a small nocturnal carnivorous quadruped with a white throat, marten?"

Lynx [skin] of best quality is about 15-20 *sgor mo*.

For a load of white animal tail hair one has to give about 40 *sgor mo*, for black animal tail hair about 34 *sgor mo*.

Wool

The price of wool is not quite sure, but [I] heard the news that it is said to be increasing gradually.

### **SERVICE - Entertainment**

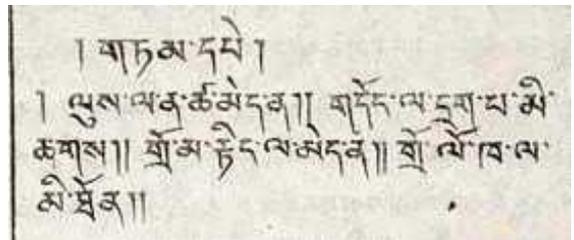
5/6/1 - November 1930

Saying

If there is no illness in your body, no dirt will arise on your face.

If there is no sweet potato in the ground, the leaves of the sweet potato will not come out on the surface.

Fig. 44: Saying (Entertainment), Melong 5/6/1.



OPINION

5/4/1 - September 1930

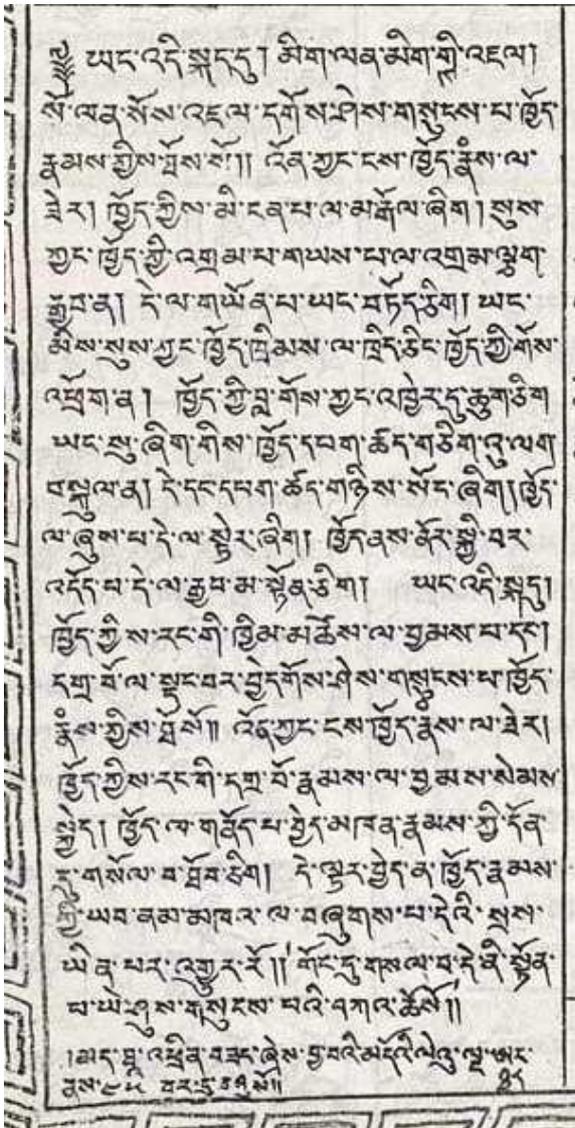


Fig. 45: Opinion, Melong 5/4/1.

It also has been said: "For a taken eye, pay back with an eye; for a taken tooth, you have to pay back with a tooth", this speech has been heard by you (Pl). But I say to you (Pl.): You should not fight against bad people. Whoever gives you a slap in the face on your right cheek, then give your left [cheek], as well. And, whatever person instructs you in the law and steals your clothes, allow him also to take your upper clothes. And if somebody urges you to compulsorily service of one *yojana*, then go this [*yojana*] and [another] two *yojanas*.<sup>623</sup> Give to the person that asks you! Do not show [your] back to the one who wants to borrow money from you! It is also said: "You have to love your own neighbors and hate your enemies." You have heard this saying. But I say to you (Pl): Produce a mind which loves your own enemies and pray for the benefit of those who make harm to you! If you have acted in this way, you will become a child of your (Pl.) father who rests in heaven.

This, what has been said above, are the teachings (*bka' chos*) of what the teacher Jesus has said. I copied from chapter 5 number 38-45 of the text (*mdo*) of the so-called Matthew-Gospel.<sup>624</sup>

<sup>623</sup> A *yojana* is a measure of distance. The exact distance is not clear. According to Monier-Williams 1999, one *yojana* is "sometimes regarded as equal to 4 or 5 English miles, but more correctly = 4 Krośas or about 9 miles; according to other calculations = 2 ½ English miles, and according to some = 8 Krośas".

<sup>624</sup> The same text, a bit longer, appears in Melong 9/3/1 (October 1937), edited by Rev. Knox.

## ADVERTISEMENTS - Outside Ad

5/4/4 - September 1930

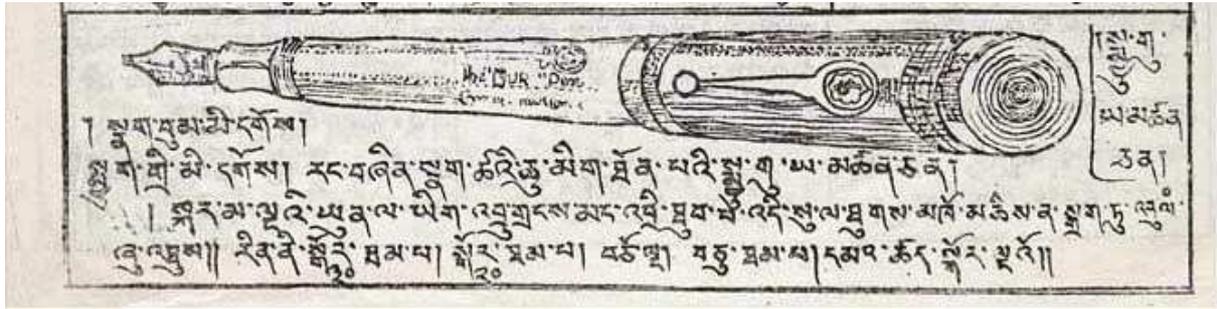


Fig. 46: Advertisement, Melong 5/4/4.

The wondrous pen

You don't need an ink pot [lit.: Chinese pot].

You don't need a pen knife. This is the wondrous pen, where the spring of ink appears from itself.

In the course of five minutes you can write innumerable syllables. Whoever needs [the pen], it can be sent through post. The price is 30 *sgor mo*, 20 *sgor mo*, 15, 10 or at least 5 *sgor mo*.





## 7 Conclusion

Finally, to conclude this broad introduction to the Melong, here is a summary of what has been shown:

The Melong is a monthly newspaper, as we have seen, with some elements that are characteristic features of a magazine. It held many slightly different names over the course of time, "yul phogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long" always being a part of it. At the time it was established, the situation within Tibetan borders was not fit for publishing a newspaper. Block print was used, so no technical device was available to quickly distribute many prints – one indispensable criteria for producing a newspaper. Movable types had already developed, but were only in use outside of Tibet, foremost by Western Tibetologists. Socially, reading was seen as a means of religious education, and especially as a means to accumulate religious merit. Delivery of news was farther advanced, especially later on with the establishment of a telegraph system by the British. Still, taken all these factors into consideration, the establishment of a newspaper in Tibet by Tibetans was unthinkable. Yet in the border regions and by foreign powers, publications in Tibetan language were indeed founded, in the first decade of the 20th century. The founders of the two very early publications *La dwags kyi ag bar* and *Bod yig phal skad gsar 'gyur* could not have been more diverse: European Christian missionaries in Ladakh (Moravians) and Chinese imperialists stationed in Lhasa (Ambans). They were from very different backgrounds and had different aims in their minds. Yet their method in achieving them was exactly the same: Both newspapers were published to educate the Tibetans, and lift them out of their daily routine, so that the Moravians on one hand and the Chinese on the other would find it easier to pursue their own goal, which was, to gain influence. Overall, it must be said: Neither was very successful. The Ambans were driven out of Tibet. The Moravians never really converted many Tibetans into Christians. The missionary Walter Asboe stated that within 80 years the Moravians converted 146 Tibetans. He himself, within 14 years of service, converted two Tibetans.<sup>625</sup>

The Melong, on the other hand, which is the third relevant early Tibetan language publication, seems to have had a different impact on Tibetan society. Like the *La dwags kyi ag bar*, it emerged from a situation entwined with missionary goals. The editor Tharchin was a converted Christian himself, brought up and educated by the Moravians in Kinnaur. The press and finances of the Melong were provided by the Scottish Missionary Church in Kalimpong, at least in the beginning, and later on by the British. What is interesting, though, is that the Melong has emancipated from its "Western patronage",<sup>626</sup> as Römer and Erhard call it.

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<sup>625</sup> The Straits Times, January 12th, 1936.

<sup>626</sup> Römer and Erhard 2007, no paging available.

On one hand, one should not overrate the Melong's role in Tibetan society. It was a small, economically unsuccessful publication with very low circulation numbers, which most of the Tibetan-speaking population could not read because they were analphabets. But on the other hand, a good amount of the very few people, who could read it, indeed did. From the Dalai Lamas down, important Tibetan officials were subscribers or at least knew the publication. In the silver-jubilee-edition, published at the turn of the year 1950/51 (19/1&2), the Political Officer of Sikkim, the Maharaja of Sikkim, editors of other newspapers, and many more officials are found on the list of congratulants.<sup>627</sup> Tharchin took advantage of the geopolitically well-situated Kalimpong to bring his newspaper into Tibet. At that time, there could not have been a better place to publish a newspaper than Kalimpong: not in Tibet proper, where it would have probably been shut down, but right at the border in British-influenced, relatively liberal India, on the route where caravans left daily for Lhasa. Furthermore, due to Tharchin's good contacts, the Melong entered the houses of decision-makers. Its quality increased steadily. At least appearance-wise, this could be shown.

Tharchin in his press office was always open to accommodate reformist-thinking Tibetans, who were not welcome in Tibet, which was ruled by a conservative clergy. Tharchin strived to introduce modernity into the Tibetan minds. During the turbulent times of the first half of the 20th century, Tharchin was naturally "fighting" on the Western-influenced side of the great power games between Chinese, British, Japanese or Russians. His attitude is emphasized by the facts that the British financed the Melong for quite a while, and Tharchin even worked as a British spy starting from the early 1940s. For him, as half an insider (Tibetan) and half an outsider (Christian, educated by Europeans), the situation must have been quite clear: that Tibet was doomed if no major reforms were carried out. The Melong made a point in providing a platform for criticism on Tibetan society, politics and culture - as the articles by Gendun Chopel for example show. Thus, it provided one major attribute of the modern-style, liberal newspaper as such, for the first time in Tibetan society. Even if – as Shakya has put forward – "the changes they [Tharchin and Chopel] sought to inculcate never happened."<sup>628</sup>

As the content analysis has shown, in 1930, there was an emphasis on local news (i.e. Kalimpong and surrounding areas) and news from Tibet in the Melong. The much smaller part of World news was mainly filled with news from China, where highly relevant political events took place. News from more distant places such as Europe and America existed in the Melong, but not in great amounts. It has to be emphasized, though, that their mere existence is remarkable. The innovative character of the paper is underlined by the illustrations of the Melong: almost all of

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<sup>627</sup> See Melong 19/1&2.

<sup>628</sup> Shakya 2004, p.39.

them show some kind of modern gadget, may it be a simple pen, a car, or a plane. Christian themes were important in the Melong in 1930, but it could not be shown whether it was Tharchin's particular will to publish many articles on Christianity, or the wish of the Scottish mission, his employer. Comparing the issues edited by Tharchin to the issues edited by his missionary employers (like Rev. Knox) would clarify this question. Due to the limits of this paper, this investigation has to be conducted at another point.

In more general terms, investigating the nature of Christian themes in relation to Buddhist themes addressed in the Melong would be another interesting aspect to study the Melong. Its contents, relevant to Tibetan and Asian history, Buddhist religion, Christian missionary activity, Tibetan nation-building, Chinese nation-building, British propaganda in Tibet, or the descriptions of the intriguing place Kalimpong - to just name a few subjects - is an amazingly rich treasure, which should be refurbished and preserved.

## **8 Appendices**

## 8.1 Appendix 1: Publication Dates of the Melong

Vol.	No.	Pages	Date (m/d/y)		Int.	Add. Titles	Imprint			Notes
			WC	TC			Editor	Press	Add. Info	
1	1	4	10/1/1925 <sup>629</sup>	n.i.		<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> , <sup>630</sup> The Tibetan Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
1	2	4	2/13/1926	1/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> , The Tibetan Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
1	3	4	3/15/1926	2/2/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> , The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
1	4	4	4/13/1926	3/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> , The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
1	5	4	5/12/1926	4/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> , The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
1	6	4	6/11/1926	5/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
1	7	4	7/10/1926	6/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> , The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
1	8	4	8/9/1926	7/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> , The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
1	9	4	9/8/1926	8/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> , The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
1	10	4	10/7/1926	9/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> , The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
1	11	missing	missing		1	missing	missing			
1	12	4	12/6/1926	11/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i> , The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
2	1	6	1/4/1927	12( <i>Inga ma</i> )/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i>	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
2	2	4	2/3/1927	12( <i>phyi ma</i> )/1/me stog	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i>	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
2	3	4	3/4/1927	1/1/me yos	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i>	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
2	4	4	4/3/1927	2/1/me yos	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i>	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
2	5	4	5/2/1927	3/1/me yos	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i>	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
2	6	4	5/31/1927	4/1/me yos	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i>	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
2	7	4	6/20/1927	5/1/me yos	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i>	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
2	8	4	7/29/1927	6/1/me yos	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i>	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
2	9	4	8/28/1927	7/1/me yos	1	<i>Bhoḡ māsik samācār-patra</i>	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	
2	10	4	n.i.	n.i.	1	The Tibetan Newspaper, Kalimpong	Tharchin (but the design looks very different)		Polhill Hall	In August 1927, Tharchin went to Lhasa with the Odlings.
2	11	4	n.i.	9/1/me yos	1	The Tibetan Newspaper, Kalimpong. Subtitle: <i>rgya dkar nag sogs kyi gnas tshul bod skad du phab pa dge</i> <sup>631</sup>	Tharchin (but the design looks very different)		Polhill Hall	Tharchin is in Lhasa.
2	12	4	n.i.	10/1/me yos	1	The Tibetan Newspaper, Kalimpong, <i>Tibetän māsik patrikā</i> <sup>632</sup> , Subtitle: <i>rgya dkar nag sogs kyi gnas tshul bod skad du phab pa dge</i>	Tharchin (but the design looks very different)		Polhill Hall	Tharchin in Lhasa; he returns to Kalimpong in March 1928.

<sup>629</sup> Melong 1/1/1: *dbyin zla 10 bcu ta rig gcig 'das lo 1925*; Compare Melong 17/1/1 (article "*sger gsol ...*") where it states: *dbyin zla 10 tshes 10*, therefore October 10<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>630</sup> = Hindi: "[The] Tibetan Monthly Newspaper" (lit.: "Newsletter").

<sup>631</sup> "The auspicious rendering of Indian, Chinese etc. news into Tibetan".

<sup>632</sup> Hindi: "The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper".

Vol.	No.	Pages	Date (m/d/y)		Int.	Add. Titles	Imprint			Notes
			WC	TC			Editor	Press	Add. Info	
3	1&2	8	5/20/1928	3,4/1	5+1	+ dge	Tharchin (but the design looks very different)		Polhill Hall	
3	3	4	6/17/1928	5/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin (but the design looks very different)		Polhill Hall	Wrong numbering: "ang 4" instead of "ang 3".
3	4	4	7/18/1928	6/1	1	+ dge	not found			Wrong issue numbering: "4" crossed, instead "5".
3	5&6	8	8,9/16,14/1928	7,8/1	1+1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
3	7	4	10/14/1928	9/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
3	8	4	11/13/1928	10/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
3	9	4	12/12/1928	11/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
3	10	4	1/11/1929	12/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
3	11	4	2/10/1929	1/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
3	12	4	3/12/1929 page 4: 3/30/1929	2/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
4	1	4	4/10/1929	3/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
4	2	4	5/ n.i. /1929	4/10	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
4	3	4	6/8/1929 page 4: 6/21/1929	5/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
4	4	4	7/7/1929	6/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Polhill Hall	
4	5	2	8/6/1929	7/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		Probably 2 pages missing.
4	6	4	9/4/1929	8/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin			
4	7&8	8+1	12/2/1929	10/1	3	+ dge	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	1 page supplement about Kalimpong Mela (but dated 8/1).
4	9	4	3/31/1930	2/1	4	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Polhill Hall	
4	10&11	8	4/30/1930	3/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
4	12	4+1	5/29/1930	4/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin		Polhill Hall	1 page supplement.
5	1	4	6/27/1930	5/1	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
5	2	4+4	7/26/1930	6/1	1	+ dge'o, The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper.	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		No masthead, 4 pages supplement.
5	3	4	8/ n.i. /1930	7/1	1	+ dge'o, The Tibetan Monthly Newspaper.	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		No masthead.
5	4	4	9/23/1930	8/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
5	5	4	10/21/1930	9/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
5	6	4	11/20/1930	10/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
5	7	4	12/ n.i. /1930	11/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
5	8	4	1/19/1931	12/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
5	9	4	2/18/1931	1/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Polhill Hall	
5	10	4	3/20/1931	2/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
5	11	4	4/18/1931	3/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Polhill Hall	
5	12	4	5/19/1931	4/1	1	+ dge	R.B.Knox	Tibetan Press		In the end of May, Tharchin went to Tibet with Mrs. Merrick (argument with Knox).
6	1	4	6/17/ n.i./[1931]	5/1	1	+ dge	R.B.Knox	Tibetan Press		Tharchin is in Tibet with Mrs. Merrick.
6	2	8	7/16/1931	6/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Kasim Manzil	Tharchin returns from Tibet in July, continuing his argument with Rev. Knox. "Kindly address all Communication to the Editor and not to Tibetan Press Kalimpong."

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			WC	TC			Editor	Press	Add. Info	
6	3	8	8/13/1931	7/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Mani Press		
6	4	8	11/10/1931	10/1	3	+ dge	Tharchin	Mani Press		
6	5	8	12/10/1931	11/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Mani Press		
6	6	8	3/8/1932	2/1	3	+ dge	Tharchin	Mani Press		
6	7	8+1	5/5/1932 suppl.:6/n.i./1932	5 [sic]/1	2	+ dge	Tharchin	Mani Press	Kasim Manzil	1 page supplement.
6	8	8	9/1/1932	7/1	4	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
6	9	8	10/1/1932	8/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
6	10	8+1	10/30/1932	9/1	1		Tharchin	Tibetan Press		1 page supplement.
6	11	8	11/28/1932	10/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
6	12	8	12/28(?)1932	11/1(?)	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
7	1	8	1/25(?)1933	12/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Polhill Hall	
7	2	8	2/5/1933	1/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
7	3	8	3/27/1933	2/1	2	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		First time cover page with types (of a type writer).
7	4	8	4/26/1933 page 8: 5/15/1933	3/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		Fully hand-written again.
7	5	8	5/25/1933 page 8: 6/1/1933	4/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Polhill Hall	
7	6	8	6/24/1933	5/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
7	7&8	16	7,8/23,22/1933	6,7/1/?	1+1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
7	9	8	10/21/1933	8/15	2	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
7	10	8	1/26/1934	12/10	3	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		No real masthead.
7	11	8	2,3/14,16/1934	1,2/1	2/3+1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
7	12	8	9/9/1934	8/1	6	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
8	1	8	2/7/1935	1/3/shing phag	5	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
8	2	8	3/7/1935	?/2	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
8	3&4	8+2	4,5/4,2/1935 page 1: 3.5.1935	2,3/1	1+1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		2 pages supplement "The Silver Jubilee" (of the British crown)-calender.
8	5	8	7/19/1936	6/1	14 ½	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Church of Scotland Guild Mission	Plus calender.
8	6	8	8/18/1936	7/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		Page 1, 5: Type printed English imprint.
8	7	8	9/16/1936	8/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Mackenzie Cottage	Imprint type written.
8	8	8	10,11/16,14/1936	9,10/1	1+1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Mackenzie Cottage	
8	9	16	12/14/1936	11/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Mackenzie Cottage, "Printed by the Scotland Guild Mission".	
8	10	4	1/13/1937	12/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
8	11	8	2/12/1937	1/1/me glang	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
8	12	8	3,4/13,11/1937	2,3/1	1+1	+ dge	Tharchin			
9	1	7	5/11/1937	4/1/me glang	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		Page 4 is numbered "4,5", even though it is only 1 sheet.
9	2	8	6/9/1937	5/1/me glang	1	+ dge	Knox; "Editor: Tharchin, khu nu mthar phyin pa'i ngo tshab nog se sa heb nas phul"	Tibetan Press		Distinctive, different look of imprint; from early May on, Tharchin is in Lhasa with Theos Bernard.
9	3	8	7/9/1937	6/1/ me glang	1	+ dge	Knox			"

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9	4	8	8/7/1937	7/1	1	+ dge	Knox			"
9	5	8	9/5/1937	8/1	1	+ dge	Knox			"
9	6	8	10/5/1937	9/1	1	+ dge	Knox			Distinctive, different look of imprint; Tharchin returns from Lhasa in Nov.
9	7&8	?	1/2/1938	10,11/1	3	+ dge	n.i.	Tibetan Press		1-7 exist, rest (probably 1 or 9 pages) missing ; one missing page printed in Chopel 1983, p.57.
9	9	8	3/3/1938	1/1/sa stag	2	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		Elaborate cover, with 8 Buddhist auspicious symbols; Tharchin back.
9	10	12	4/12/1938	2/16	1 ½	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
9	11	4	5/1/1938	3/1/sa sta[g]	½	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
9	12	4	5/30/1938	4/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
10	1	16	6/28/1938	5/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
10	2	8	7,9/28,24/1938	6,8/1	1+2	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
10	3	8	11/25/1938	9,10/1/sa stag	2	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
10	4	8	12,1/22,21/1938	11,12/1	1+1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
10	5	8	2/20/1939	1/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
10	6	8	3/21/1939	2/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
10	7	8	4,5/20,20/1939	3,4/1	1+1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
10	8	8	6/18/1939	5/1	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
10	9	missing	missing			missing	missing			According to publication dates of the previous and the succeeding issue, no issue is missing.
10	10	8	7 n.i. / n.i.	6/1	1	+ dge	Editor Tharchin, Printed at the Tibetan Press Kalimpong			
10	11a	8	8 n.i./1939	7/1	?	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	"(Darjeeling)"	There are two 10/11 (CU).
10	11b	4	12/11/1939	11/1	?	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	"(Darjeeling)"	There are two 10/11 (TCBUSB).
10	12	10	2(?)9/1940	1/1	?	+ dge	Tharchin [but different style]	Tibetan Press		Tharchin left for Lhasa in Jan 1940 with Gould and Richardson, stayed 5 months, returned to Gangtok 20th of July, then went to Calcutta, returned to Kalimpong; cessation of newspaper (no money).
11	1	8	8/12/1942	7/1/chu rta, 916	30	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		Pages 6,7 missing; From here on P.O.S. and government paid for the costs; no masthead.
11	2	8+2	9/11/1942	8/1/chu rta, 916	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		2 extra pages: map of China and neighbors.
11	3	8	10/11/1942	9/1/chu rta, 916	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
11	4	12	11/9/1942	10/1/chu rta, 916	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press		
11	5	12	12/8/1942	11/1/chu rta, 916	1	+ dge	Tharchin,	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott	Pages 10,11 missing.
11	6	12	1/7/1943	12/1/chu rta, 916	1	+ dge	Tharchin,	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott	
11	7	12	2/5/1943	1/1/chu lug, 917	1	+ zhes bya ba dge	Tharchin,	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott	
11	8	12	3/7/1943	2/1/chu lug, 917	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott	
11	9	12	4/5/1943	3/1/chu lug, 917	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott	
11	10	12	5/5/1943	3[sic]1/chu lug, 917	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott	
11	11	12	6/3/1943	4/1/chu lug, 916[sic]	1	+ dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott	

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11	12	16?	7/3/1943	5/1/chu lug, 917	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott	Pages missing.
12	1	12	8/2/1943	6/1/chu lug, 917	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott; Mackenzie Cottage	
12	2	12	9/n.i./1943	7/n.i./chu lug, 917	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott; Mackenzie Cottage	Partly strange numbering (double 6,7 instead of 8,9).
12	3	12	10/n.i./1943	8/n.i./chu lug, 917	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott; Mackenzie Cottage	
12	4	8	11/n.i./1943	9/n.i./chu lug, 917	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott; Mackenzie Cottage	
12	5	8	12/n.i./1943	10/n.i./chu lug, 917	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by W.M.Scott; Mackenzie Cottage	
12	6	10	1/n.i./1944	11/n.i./chu lug, 917	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison; Mackenzie Cottage	
12	7	8	2/n.i./1944	12/n.i./chu lug, 917	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison; Mackenzie Cottage	
12	8	12	3/n.i./1944	1/n.i./shing spre, 918	1		Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison; Mackenzie Cottage	Very elaborate graphics.
12	9	12	4/n.i./1944	2/n.i./shing spre, 918	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison; Mackenzie Cottage	
12	10	12	5/n.i./1944	3/n.i./shing spre, 918	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison; Mackenzie Cottage	Imprint with English types.
12	11	8	6,7/n.i./1944	4,5/n.i./shing spre, 918	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison; Mackenzie Cottage	
12	12	8	7,8/n.i./1944	5,6/n.i./shing spre, 918	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison; Mackenzie Cottage	
13	1	12	8,9/n.i./1944	6,7/n.i./shing spre, 918	1+1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison	
13	2	missing	missing				missing			
13	3	8	11/n.i./1944	9/n.i./shing spre, 918	1?	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison	
13	4	8	11,12/n.i./1944	10/n.i./shing spre, 918	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison; Mackenzie Cottage	
13	5	8	12,1/n.i./1944,45	11,?/n.i./shing spre, 918	1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. D. McHutchison	
13	6	12	2/n.i./1945	1/n.i./shing bya, 919	1	+ zhes bya ba dge	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. G.S. Mill	
13	7	8	3/n.i./1945	2/n.i./shing bya, 919	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. G.S. Mill	
13	8	8+4	4/n.i./1945	3/n.i./shing bya, 919	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. G.S. Mill	4 pages supplement.
13	9	8	5,6/n.i./1945	4,5/n.i./shing bya, 919	1+1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. G.S. Mill	

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13	10	missing	missing		2		missing			
13	11&12	20	8,9/n.i./1945	7,8/n.i./ <i>shing bya</i> , 919	1+1	+ dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. G.S. Mill	
14	1	missing	missing				missing			
14	2	8	11/n.i./1945	10/n.i./ <i>shing bya</i> , 919	1?	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. G.S. Mill	
14	3	8	12/i.e./1945	11/n.i./ <i>shing bya</i> , 919	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. G.S. Mill	
14	4	missing	missing		1		missing			
14	5&6	16	2,3/n.i./1946	1,2/n.i./ <i>me khyi</i> , 920	1+1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. G.S. Mill	
14	7	8	4,5/n.i./1946	3/n.i./ <i>me khyi</i> , 920	1+1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	Tharchin	Tibetan Press	Printed by Rev. G.S. Mill	
14	8	missing	missing				missing			In early June, Tharchin resigned from the Scottish Mission (quarrels with Mill); start of private press from July 1st.
14	9	missing	missing				missing			
14	10	missing	missing				missing			
14	11	8	9/n.i./1946	7/n.i./ <i>me khyi</i> , 920	?	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	"Edited, printed & published by Tharchin at the Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong"			
14	12	6	10/n.i./1946	8/n.i./ <i>me khyi</i> , 920	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	"			
15	1	8	11/n.i./1946	9/n.i./ <i>me khyi</i> , 920	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	"			
15	2	8	12/1/1946	10/8/ <i>me khyi</i> , 920	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	"			
15	3	8	1/1/1947	11/9/ <i>me khyi</i> , 920	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	"			
15	4&5	16	2,3/n.i./1947	12,1/1/ <i>me khyi, me phag</i> , 920, 921	1+1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	"			
15	6	8	4/n.i./1947	2/n.i./ <i>me phag</i> , 921	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so	"			Pages 2,3,4 missing.
15	7	missing	missing		1		missing			
15	8	8	6/n.i./1947	4/n.i./ <i>me phag</i> , 921	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so	"Edited, printed & published by Tharchin at the Tibet Mirror Press, Kalimpong"			
15	9	10	7/1/1947	5/n.i./ <i>me phag</i> , 921	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so	"			
15	10	8	8/1/1947	6/15/ <i>me phag</i> , 921	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	"			
15	11	8	9/1/1947	7/16/ <i>me phag</i> , 921	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	"			
15	12	8	10/1/1947	8/16/ <i>me phag</i> , 921	1	+ zhes bya ba dge'o	"			
16	1	8	11/1/1947	9/n.i./ <i>me phag</i> , 921	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so	"			
16	2	6	12/1/1947	10/n.i./ <i>me phag</i> , 921	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so	"			
16	3	8	1/1/1948	11/n.i./ <i>me phag</i> , 921	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so	"			
16	4	8	2/1/1948	12/n.i./ <i>me phag</i> , 921	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so	"			
16	5	8	3/n.i./1948	1/n.i./ <i>sa byi</i> , 922	1	+ dge, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			First issue fully printed with types.
16	6&7	8+4+1	4,5/n.i./1948	2,3/n.i./ <i>sa byi</i> , 922	1	+ dge, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			4 pages supplement, 1 extra flyer.
16	8	4	5/n.i./1948	3/n.i./ <i>sa byi</i> , 922	1	+ dge, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
16	9	8	6/1/1948	4/24/ <i>sa byi</i> , 922	1	+ dge, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
16	10	8	7/1/1948	5/25/ <i>sa byi</i> , 922	1	+ dge, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
16	11	10	8/1/1948	6/26/ <i>sa byi</i> , 922	1	+ dge, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			

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16	12	10	9/1/1948	7/28/[9]22	1	+ dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			Paged as "12", because page 7 is numbered as "7/8" and page 8 is numbered as "9/10".
17	1	12	10/1/1948	8/29/sa byi, 922	1	+ dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
17	2	4	11/1/1948	88 [sic]/29/ sa byi, 922	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
17	3	4	12/1/1948	10/1/sa byi, 922	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
17	4	8	1/1/1949	11/2/sa byi, 922	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
17	5	12+2	2/1/1949	12/3/sa byi, 922	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			Paged "1,2" and then it starts over again: 1-12.
17	6	8+2	3/1/1949	1/2/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			Paged "1,2" and then it starts over again: 1-8.
17	7	8	4/1/1941 [sic]	2/3/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
17	8	8	5/1/1949	2/3(sic)/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
17	9	8	6/1/1949	4/5/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
17	10	8	7/1/1949	5/5/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper) [sic!]	"			
17	11	4+2	8/1/1949	6/7/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			2 pages in the middle without paging.
17	12	8	9/1/1949	7/9/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper) Independence Number	"			
18	1	8	10/1/1949	8/10/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
18	2	8	11/1/1949	9,10/11/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			Partly handwritten.
18	3	4	12/1/1949	10,11/11/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			Partly handwritten.
18	4	8	1/1/1950	12(?)13/sa glang, 923	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			Partly handwritten.
18	5	8	2,3/1/1950	1/1/lchags stag, 924	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			Partly handwritten.
18	6	8	4,5/1/1950	2,3/14/lchags stag, 924	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			Partly handwritten.
18	7	4	6/1/1950	4/16/lchags stag, 924	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
18	8	8	7/1/1950	5/17/lchags stag, 924	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			Partly handwritten.
18	9	6	8/1/1950	6/18/lchags stag, 924	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
18	10	12	9/1/1950	7/20/lchags stag, 924	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper) Independence Number	"			
18	11	6	10/1/1950	8/20/lchags stag, 924	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			
18	12	6	11/1/1950	9/21/lchags stag, 924	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (The Tibetan Newspaper)	"			

Vol.	No.	Pages	Date (m/d/y)		Int.	Add. Titles	Imprint			Notes
			WC	TC			Editor	Press	Add. Info	
19	1&2	28+2	12,11/1950,51	10,11/22,23/ <i>lchags stag</i> , 924	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Silver Jubilee Number Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925." <sup>633</sup>	"			
19	3	12	6/1/1951	4/27/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925	5	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
19	4	6	7/1/1951	4/27/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925"	"			
19	5	8	8/1/1951 ["July" written as well, but blackened]	5/294/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
19	6	8	9/1/1951	6/304/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
19	7	8	10/1/1951	7/14/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
19	8	8	11/1/1951	10/2/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
19	9	4	12/1/1951	10/2/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925 (sic!)	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
19	10a	10	1/1/1952	11/5/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Paged 12, because 9="9/10" and 10 = "11/12".
19	10b	1	1/1/1952	11/5/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925	-	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	no inscription			One cover page with the same date as above, content: Christmas greetings and graphics,
19	10c	1	1/1/1952	11/5/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925	-	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: True Copy of His Holiness the 14 <sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama's letter to Editor [sic!], Tibetan Newspaper.	no inscription			Letter of the Dalai Lama.
19	11	6	2/1/1952	12/6/ <i>lchags yos</i> , 925	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			"Edited, printed & published by Tharchin at 'The Tibet Mirror Press', Kalimpong"
19	12	12	3/1/1952	1/5/ <i>chu 'brug</i> , 926	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Pages 8,9,10,11 missing.
20	1	10	4/1/1952	8/7/ <i>chu 'brug</i> , 926	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
20	2&3	12	5,6/1/1952	3,4/7,8/ <i>chu 'brug</i> , 926	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
20	4	6	7/1/1952	5/9/ <i>chu 'brug</i> , 926	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
20	5	8	8/1/1952	6/10/ <i>chu 'brug</i> , 926	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
20	6	8	9/1/1952	7/12/ <i>chu 'brug</i> , 926	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so,	"			

<sup>633</sup> The comma is wrongly put by the editor.

Vol.	No.	Pages	Date (m/d/y)		Int.	Add. Titles	Imprint			Notes
			WC	TC			Editor	Press	Add. Info	
						Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."				
20	7	8	10/1/1952	8/13/ <i>chu 'brug</i> , 926	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
20	8	6	11/1/1952	9/15	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
20	9	8	12/1/1952	10/15/ <i>chu 'brug</i> , 926	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
20	10-12	8	1,2,3/1/1953	11,12,1/16/ <i>chu 'brug, chu sbrul</i> , 926, 927	1+1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
21	1	6	4/1/1953 page 6: 4/27/1953	2/16/ <i>chu sbrul</i> , 927	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
21	2	4	5/1/1953 page 4: 5/4/1953	3/17/ <i>chu sbrul</i> , 927	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
21	3	8	6/n.i./1953 page 6: 6/18/1953	4/n.i. / <i>chu sbrul</i> , 927	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
21	4	4	7/n.i./1953 page 4: 7/3/1953	5/n.i. / <i>chu sbrul</i> , 927	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
21	5	8+2	8/1/1953	6/22/ <i>chu sbrul</i> , 927	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			8 paged, 2 unpagged pages.
21	6	6	9/1/1953	7/23/ <i>chu sbrul</i> , 927	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
21	7	12	10/1/1953	7[sic!]/24/ <i>chu sbrul</i> , 927	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
21	8	6	11/1/1953	9,10/25/ <i>chu sbrul</i> , 927	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
21	9	6	12/1/1953	10/26/ <i>chu sbrul</i> , 927	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
21	10	6	1/1/1954	11/27/ <i>chu sbrul</i> , 927	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
21	11	6	2/1/1954	1/1/ <i>shing rta</i> , 928	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Partly handwritten.
21	12	6	3/1/1954	1/26/ <i>shing rta</i> , 928	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
22	1	10? +8?? +2? (-> 20?)	4,5/1/1954	1 (sic!),2/28	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Available: 1,2,5,8,10 (English numbers) 4,5,6,7 (Tibetan numbers, handwritten) 2x calendar, handwritten.
22	2	16+2	6/1/1954	3,4/n.i. / <i>shing rta</i> , 928	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror],	"			2 pages supplement; partly handwritten.

Vol.	No.	Pages	Date (m/d/y)		Int.	Add. Titles	Imprint			Notes
			WC	TC			Editor	Press	Add. Info	
						Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925." + zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."				
22	3	4	7/1/1954	5/n.i. /shing rta, 928	1					
22	4	6	8/1/1954	6/n.i. /shing rta, 928	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Tibet Mirror], Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."				
22	5	16	9/1/1954	7/4/shing rta, 928	1	+ gza' 'khor re'i ... + dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Weekly Tibet Mirror] Independence Number				Partly handwritten; includes type-written English News .
22	6	16	9/8/1954	7/11/shing rta, 928	1 week	+ gza' 'khor re'i ... + dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Weekly Tibet Mirror]				Partly handwritten; includes type-written English News.
22	7	16	9/15/1954	7/18/shing rta, 928	1 week	+ gza' 'khor re'i ... + dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Weekly Tibet Mirror]				Partly handwritten.
22	8	16	9/22/1954	7/26/shing rta, 928	1 week	+ gza' 'khor re'i ... + dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Weekly Tibet Mirror]				Partly handwritten.
22	9	16+2	9/29/1954	8/2/shing rta, 928	1 week	+ gza' 'khor re'i ... + dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Weekly Tibet Mirror]				Partly handwritten, 2 pages supplement.
22	10	12	11/10/1954	9/15/shing rta, 928	1 1/2	gza' 'khor re'i + + dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Weekly Tibet Mirror]				Partly handwritten.
22	11	16	11/17/1954	9/23/shing rta, 928	1 week	gza' 'khor re'i + + dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Weekly Tibet Mirror]				Partly handwritten.
22	12	12	11/24/1954	9/29/shing rta, 928	1 week	gza' 'khor re'i + + dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Weekly Tibet Mirror]				Partly handwritten.
23	1	12	12/1/1954	10/6/shing rta, 928	1 week	gza' 'khor re'i + + dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Weekly Tibet Mirror]				Partly handwritten.
23	2	16	1/12/1955	11/19/shing rta, 928	6 weeks	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [The Weekly Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."				
23	3	8	10/1/1955	8/15/shing lug, 929	9 ½	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published. in October 1925."				
23	4	missing	missing							missing
23	5	4	2/1/1956	12/20/shing lug, 929	?	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."				"Edited, printed & published by Tharchin at 'The Tibet Mirror Press', Kalimpong"
23	6	8	3/1/1956	1/20/me spre, 930	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."				
23	7	6	4/1/1956	2/21/me spre, 930	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."				
23	8	12	7/1/1956	6/23([9]30 [inscription m5,6,7 as well, but 6 most often])	3	+ dge'o				Handwritten; no real cover, maybe page 11 is first page?
23	9	10	8/15/1956	7/9/me spre, 930	4 ½	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."				Partly handwritten.

Vol.	No.	Pages	Date (m/d/y)		Int.	Add. Titles	Imprint			Notes
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23	10	4	10/5/1956	9/1/me spreġ, 930	1m 3 w	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
23	11	6	11/12/1956	9/10/me spreġ, 930	1	+ dge'o	"			No masthead, handwritten.
23	12	4	11/24/1956	9/22/me spreġ, 930	2w	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
24	1	10	1/21/1957	11/21/me spreġ, 930	2	+ dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong.	"			Except 1,10 handwritten.
24	2	12	5/14/1957	3/15/me bya, 931	4m3w	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Partly handwritten.
24	3	8	7/1/1957	5/4/me bya, 931	1m2w	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Partly handwritten.
24	4	6	8/1/1957	6/6/me bya, 931	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Partly handwritten.
24	5	8	9/1/1957	7/8/me bya, 931	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
24	6	6	10/1/1957	8/8/me bya, 931	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Partly handwritten.
24	7&8	10	11,12/1/1957	9,10/9,10/me bya, 931	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
24	9&10	8	1,2/1/1958	11,12/n.i. /me bya, 931	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
24	11	4	3/1/1958	1/n.i./sa khyi, 932	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
24	12	8	4/15/1958	2/n.i./sa khyi, 932	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
25	1	8	5/n.i./1958	3/n.i./sa khyi, 932	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
25	2	6	6/n.i./1958	4/n.i. /sa khyi, 932	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
25	3&4	16	7,8,1/1958	5,6/n.i. /sa khyi, 932	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
25	5	8+2	9,10/1/1958	7,8,/n.i./sa khyi, 932	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			2 pages supplement.
25	6	6	11/24/1958	9,10/n.i. /sa khyi, 932	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
25	7	8	12/n.i./1958	11/n.i. /sa khyi, 932	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
25	8	8	1/n.i./1959	12/n.i. /sa khyi, 932	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so,	"			

Vol.	No.	Pages	Date (m/d/y)		Int.	Add. Titles	Imprint			Notes
			WC	TC			Editor	Press	Add. Info	
						Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."				
25	9&10	16	2,3/n.i./1959	1,2/n.i./sa phag, 933	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
25	11	8	4/n.i./1959	3/n.i./sa phag, 933	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
25	12	8	5/n.i./1959	4/n.i./sa phag, 933	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
26	1	8	6/n.i./1959	5/n.i. /sa phag, 933	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			
26	2&3	18+4	7,8/n.i./1959	7, snga pa dang phyi ma/n.i. /sa phag, 933	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			4 pages supplement, partly handwritten.
26	4&5	14	9,10/n.i./1959	7,8/n.i./sa phag, 933	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Partly handwritten.
26	6&7	10	11,12/n.i./1959	9,10/n.i. /sa phag, 933	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Partly handwritten.
26	8&9	12+2	1,2/n.i./1960	11,12/n.i. /sa phag, 933	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			2 pages supplement; partly handwritten.
26	10	6+4	3/n.i./1960	1/n.i./lcags byi, 934	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			4 pages supplement; partly handwritten,
26	11	10+2	4,5/n.i./1960	2,3/n.i./lcags byi, 934	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Supplement handwritten.
26	12	12+2	6,7/n.i./1960 page 3: 6,7/31/1960	4,5/n.i./lcags byi, 934	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			2 pages supplement, partly handwritten.
27	1	12+14	8,9/n.i./1960	6,7/n.i./lcags byi, 934	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925."	"			Partly handwritten, two separate issues.
27	2	20	10,11/n.i./1960	8,9/n.i./lcags byi, 934	1	+ dge'o, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. (Tibet Mirror) Subtitle: "First published in October 1925."	"			Partly handwritten; masthead in English types.
27	3	10+2	11,12/n.i./1960	9,10/n.i./lcags byi, 934	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published in October 1925."	"			2 pages supplement, partly handwritten.
27	4	12	11,12/n.i./1960 (sic)	10,11/n.i./lcags byi, 934	?	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published in October 1925."	"			Wrong paging (9 = 11?), partly handwritten.
27	5	8?	1/n.i./1961	12/n.i./lcags byi, 934	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published in. October 1925."	"			Partly handwritten.
27	6	8+4	2,3/n.i./1961	2,3/n.i./lcags glang, 935	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published in October 1926."	"			Partly handwritten, 4 pages supplement.
27	7	10	4/n.i./1961	3/n.i./lcags glang, 935	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] subtitle: "First published in October 1926"	"			Partly handwritten.

Vol.	No.	Pages	Date (m/d/y)		Int.	Add. Titles	Imprint			Notes
			WC	TC			Editor	Press	Add. Info	
27	8&9	16	5,6/n.i./1961	4,5/n.i./lcags glang, 935	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] subtitle: "First published in October 1921/legeble"	"			Partly handwritten.
27	10	12	8/n.i./1961	7/n.i./lcags glang, 935	2	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] subtitle: "First published in October 1925"	"			Partly handwritten.
27	11	12?	9/n.i./1961	8/n.i./lcags glang, 935	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] subtitle: "First published in October 1925"	no inscription			Partly handwritten; wrong numbering: there are two pages "8" and "9", probably pages missing.
27	12	12	12/n.i./1962	10/n.i./chu stag, 936	15	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published. in October 1925,"	"Edited, printed & published by Tharchin at 'The Tibet Mirror Press', Kalimpong"			Partly handwritten.
28	1	12	1/n.i./1963	11/n.i./chu stag, 936	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925,"	"			Partly handwritten.
28	2	8	2/n.i./1963	12/n.i./chu stag, 936	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925"	"			Partly handwritten.
28	3	8	2,3/n.i./n.i.	1/n.i./chu yos, 937	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925"	"			
28	4	8+2	4,5/n.i./n.i.	2,3/n.i./chu yos, 937	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925"	"			Partly handwritten, 2 pages supplement.
28	5	8+6	5,6/n.i./n.i.	4/n.i./chu yos, 937	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925"	"			6 pages supplement (2 pages English typed, 4 pages handwritten).
28	6	8+4	7,8/n.i./1963	5,6/n.i./chu yos, 937	1+1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925"	"			4 pages supplement (English, typed).
28	7	18	10/1/1963	7,8/1963/chu yos, 937	2	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925"	"			Some pages in English (typed), partly handwritten.
28	8	20	11/1/1963	9/15/chu yos, 936	1	+ zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Yulchog Sosoi Sargyur Melong. [Tibet Mirror] Subtitle: "First published, in October 1925"	"			Same pages in English (typed), partly handwritten.

#### Abbreviations:

Vol.	Volume.
No.	Issue Number.
WC	Western Calender.
TC	Tibetan Calender.
Int.	Interval, to the former issue, rounded off in months.
m	Month(s).
w	Weeks(s).
d	Day(s).
y	Year(s).
Add. Titles	Additional titles, other than <i>yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long</i> .
Pages	Number of pages.
Add. Info	Additional information concerning place or person.
n.i.	No inscription.

## 8.2 Appendix 2: Definition of Categories

### NEWS

Any article under the headline "gnas tshul" or any article containing new information of a specific region. Compare Tharchin's category *deng dzam gling gi gsar gnas* (5). Often, there is a political dimension to the content. Exception: "tshong kyi gnas tshul". Further classified as:

#### Home News

Any news article concerning the region of West Bengal, Sikkim and Dromo. Further classified in:  
**Local**, classified into

##### Kalimpong

Any article under the headline "ska spug" or article containing new information concerning Kalimpong.

##### Darjeeling

Any article under the headline "dor gling" or any article containing new information concerning Darjeeling.

##### Sikkim/Dromo

Any article under the headline "bras ljong" or "gro mo" or any article containing new information concerning Sikkim or Dromo or both.

#### India Rest

Headline "rgya gar" or name of Indian cities or any news item containing new information from that place.

#### Tibet

Any article under the headline "bod" or the provinces "khams", "a mdo", "dbus", "tsang", "mnga' ris" etc. , including "La dwags", or any item containing it. Also includes all the items concerning the Panchen Lama.

#### World News

Any article concerning other places than mentioned in "Home News" and "Tibet News". Further classified in:

##### China

Headline "rgya nag", or any article containing new information from that place.

##### Asia Other

Any article containing new information from Asia other than the places mentioned above.

##### Europe

Any article containing new information from European countries.

##### USA

Headline "a me ri ka", or any news item containing new information from the USA.

##### Other

Any article containing new information from a part of the world other than the places mentioned above.

## Miscellaneous

### Innovation/Technology

Any article containing information on innovations and technology, such as planes, zeppelins, cars, mountain pioneering, war material; any article where the focus is on the innovation, not on the country. (e.g. plane race in Germany). Compare with Tharchin's category *'phul 'khor lag shes kyi skor* (6).

### Other

Any article containing new information neither on a specific country nor on innovation/technology (e.g.: health). Compare with Tharchin's categories *smam rigs skor* (9) and *lad mo rtsed 'jo glu gar rtsal sbyong la sogs pa'i gnas tshul* (11).

## SERVICE

Any article of applicable nature in the every day live of the reader, in contrast to "news" which is mainly for educational purpose. "Economy" is therefore part of "Service", as the prices concern directly the life of the readers. Obituaries also go beyond the classic news report and have a service-related dimension, especially as the obituaries usually concern people of local relevance.

### Economy

headlines "tshong gyi skor", "tshong ba", with the exception of articles promoting products (these fall into the category "Advertisement"), even if they are under the headline "tshong" and similar. Compare with Tharchin's categories *khrom du nyo chas kyi rin thang* (1) and *tshong gi skor* (2).

### Price Lists

Any price lists of products (as wool, gold, leather, etc.).

### Texts

Any article concerning trade/economy composed in prose.

## Entertainment

Any article with the intent to provide some kind of entertainment to the reader, especially of literary kind.

### Proverbs/Poems

Headline "gtam dpe" or "legs bshad", "ka bshad", or any poem without the specific focus of another category (such as Editorial or alike). Compare with Tharchin's category *tshigs bcad gсар pa* (8)

### Riddles

Headline "dbu 'khor" and the matching answers.

### Stories

Headline "sgrung" or any story (also serialized), folktales and alike. Compare with Tharchin's category *sgrung snyan po* (7).

## Weather

Any weather reports for Kalimpong and the surrounding areas.

## Obituary

Any article announcing the passing away of a person.

## Other

Any service article not classifiable in the categories above, e.g.. grammar lessons.

## **OPINION**

Any article with the obvious aim to transport opinion-forming ideas, which are not operated within the "gnas tshul"-section. This category holds articles, which show a significant loss of objectivity: Articles, which are no news-reports nor Service or Editorial articles. Typically, articles dealing with religion and philosophy (other than the political dimension) fall into this category. Furthermore, advices (on health, conduct, etc.) and interviews fall into this category, as well. Also prophecies (*lung bstan*) are coded under this category. Compare with Tharchin's categories *yon tan gyi skor* (3), *chos kyi skor* (4), and *'bang ser gyi bde sdug* (10).

## **EDITORIAL**

### **Texts**

Any article written by the editor concerning the newspaper itself or its production.

### **Imprint**

Any item stating the editor, address and price of the Melong.

### **Graphic Elements**

Any graphic element not attributed to an item of any other category. (Cover masthead including frame, header (à 15 mm). Does not include illustrations concerning other articles, but only those which illustrate the newspaper itself.

### **Other**

Any item of editorial nature not classifiable in the above categories.

## **ADVERTISEMENT**

### **Own**

Any item advertising the Melong or other products published by Tharchin.

### **Outside**

Any item advertising products not in relation to the Melong, usually paid for.

### **Other**

Any item advertising products, undecided between "Own" and "Outside".

## **UNCLASSIFIABLE**

Any item in the Melong that cannot be classified into the above categories, due to three reasons: 1) illegible, 3) no matching category, 2) incomprehensible.

### 8.3 Appendix 3: Results of the CA

#### Overall Results

##### TOTAL

News: in per cent																
Home News						Tibet	World News					Misc.		gesamt		
total							China	Other Asia	Europe	America	Others	total	Innovation	Other		total
Local			India Rest													
Kalimpong	Darjeeling	Sikkim														
57,6	9,8	32,6	67,0	33,0	50,9	20,5	50,8	33,4	7,3	4,4	4,1	14,3	41,2	58,8	14,3	57,8

Service: in per cent										
Economy			Entertainment				Weather	Obituaries	Other	
total			total							total
Price Lists	Texts		proverb	riddles	stories					
29,1	70,9	38,7	54,0	24,4	21,6	42,9	4,7	8,0	5,7	13,9

Opinion: in per cent										
										total
										6,5

Editorial: in per cent											
Texts		Imprint	Graphic Eler			Other					
11,0			6,2			82,5	0,3				total
											19,9

Advertisement: in per cent											
House Ad.					Paid Ad			Undecided Ad			
					12,8			27,2		60,0	total
											1,9

Unclassifiable: in per cent										
										total
										0,0

"Kalimpong" in relation to the whole content										
										total
										11,27

"Economy" in relation to the whole content										
										total
										5,1

"Tibet" in relation to the whole content										
										total
										12,5

"India Rest" in relation to the whole content										
										total
										8,9

"Christians" in relation to the whole content										
										total
										6,3



**Results of the Front pages only (without Graphic elements and Imprint)**

**FRONT PAGE**

**News:** in per cent

Home News		Tibet		World News			Misc.		
Local	total	China	Other-Asian	Europe	America	Others	Innovation	Other	total
Kalimpong	India								
87.4	Rest	16.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	14.5
7.2	5.4	69.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	41.3
Darjeeling	Sikkim								
5.4	0.0								
33.7	25.7	25.9	49.2	65.2	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	26.2

**Service:** in per cent

Economy		Entertainment		Weather		Obituaries		Other	
Price Lists	Texts	proverbs	triddles	stories	total				
43.8	56.2	33.7	25.7	25.9	49.2	65.2	1.2	0.0	0.0

**Opinion:** in per cent

total	19.9
-------	------

**Editorial:** in per cent

Texts	Imprint	Graphic Elements	Other	total
100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.9

**Advertisement:** in per cent

House Ad.	Outside Ad	Undecided Ad	total
0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8

**Unclassifiable:** in per cent

total	0.0
-------	-----

**"Kalimpong" in relation to the whole content**

total	24.6
-------	------

**"Economy" in relation to the whole content**

total	5.4
-------	-----

**"Tibet" in relation to the whole content**

total	5.0
-------	-----

**"India Rest" in relation to the whole content**

total	0.0
-------	-----

**"Christians" in relation to the whole content**

total	26.5
-------	------

**Results of Illustrations only (without Graphic elements and Imprint)**

ILLUSTRATIONS											
News: in per cent											
Home News			Tibet			World News			Misc.		
total			total			total			total		
Local	India	Rest	China	Other/Asian	Europe	America	Others	Innovation	Other		
0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	48.4
0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	75.0
Service: in per cent											
Economy			Literary			Weather			Obituaries		
total			total			total			total		
Price Lists	Texts		proverbs	ididdles	stories						
0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.1
Opinion: in per cent											
total 12.5											
Editorial: in per cent											
total 0.0											
Texts Imprint											
Graphic Element											
Other											
total 0.0											
Advertisement: in per cent											
total 25.0											
House Ad.											
Outside Ad											
Undecided Ad											
total 0.0											
Unclassifiable: in per cent											
total 0.0											
"Kalimpong" in relation to the whole content											
total 0.0											
"Economy" in relation to the whole content											
total 0.0											
"Tibet" in relation to the whole content											
total 0.0											
"India Rest" in relation to the whole content											
total 12.5											
"Christians" in relation to the whole content											
total 5.2											

### Further analysis of Christian Contents:

- 1) p.7, 5/2/2 (26.07.1930): Fight against epidemics in Sikkim, mentioning the missionary Rev. Knox ("ston pa ye shu'i chos spel mdzad em chi nogse sa heb")
- 2) p.13, 5/4/1 (23.9.30): COVER, extracts from the bible (Mat 5,38-45: "mig lan mig gis 'jal/so lan sos 'jal dgos [...]") (see also 5.4.2.2 Opinion)
- 3) p.17, 5/5/1 (21.10.30): COVER, 10.000 "Jesus-followers" ("ston pa ye shu'i rjes 'jug") gathered in Kalimpong
- 4) p.18, 5/5/2 (21.10.30): about a Roman Catholic school ("rO mAn ke thi lig zhes pa ston pa ye shu'i yum lham mo mir yam brgyud ston pa de nyid la skyabs su 'gro ba de dag gi slob grwa [...]")
- 5) p.19, 5/5/3 (21.10.30): about Chiang Kai Shek's Christian fate ("[...] chang ke shag [...] ston pa ye shu la dad [...]")
- 6) p.25, 5/7/1 (???.12.30): COVER, Christmas announcement ("ston pa ye shu'i 'khrungs skar")  
p.275/7/3 (???.12.30): date ("ston pa ye shu'i 'das lo"), not counted!
- 7) p.29, 5/8/1 (19.01.31): COVER, Christmas reports ("'khrungs skar rten 'brel")
- 8) p.34, 5/9/1 (18.02.31): Dr. Graham being nominated as the head of Church of Scotland (ston pa skyabs mgon ye shu'i rjes 'brangs chos tshogs yongs kyi spyi khyab tu [...])
- 9) p.37, 5/10/1 (20.03.31): COVER, bible extract: Letter Paulus to the Romans, 31,1-7
- 10) p.39, 5/10/3 (20.03.31): mentioning Dr. Graham being the teacher of Christianity ("ston pa ye shu'i chos shod bla ma pa ti ri sgrwag krar dge rims sa heb [...]")
- 11) p.41, 5/11/1 (18.04.31): COVER, Easter ("ston pa sgyabs mgon ye shu 'jig rten gyi mi brgyud kun gyi sdig pa'i bu lan 'jal ba'i ched du [...]")  
p.42, (18.04.31): Easter continued
- 12) p.45, 5/12/1 (???.???.31): COVER, full page "Refrain from any sin" ("sdig pa ci yang mi bya ste")
- 13) p.47, 5/12/3 (???.???.31): - About the city of Jerusalem ("[ya ru sha len] yul der skyabs mgon ya shu ma shi ga sku bldas de [...]");
- 14) - About the Church of Scotland, Dr. Graham appointed as head ("dbyin yul is koT lan du ye shu'i chos tshogs mams kyi lugs srol [...]")
- 15) p.48, 5/12/4 (???.???.31): Bible quote: John 14, 6 ("nga ni lam yin [...]")

**Total: 15 articles on 15 pages, 7 articles on the cover page**

## 8.4 Appendix 4: Tibetan Texts

### Home News, 5/1/2

/ka spug gi gnas tshul mdor sdus/

bod zla 4 tshes 2 nyin mi rje sku ngo dza sag bsod dbang legs ldan lags sa heb mchog bod nas phyir phebs gnang ste/

ka sbug thar pa chos gling dgon du gro mo dge bshes rin po che lhan du dgod gcig sku bzhugs gnang ste/

tshes 3 nyin rdor gling du chibs bsgyur gnang song / dbyin zla 6 ta rig 4 nyin rgya gar banggal rgyal tshab

chen po'i pho brang du zhal lag la chibs bsgyur gnang 'dug pa'i gnas tshul/ /

bod zla 4 tshes 9 nyin/ gro mo dge bshes rin po che ka sbug nas gro mor chibs bsgyur gnang song / /

tshes 15 nyin/ ka sbug dgon pa ru bod lugs sa ga zla ba'i rten 'brel du ka sbug nang pa sangs rgyas pa rnam rten la

mchod pa dang dge 'dun la 'tshoms ja dang bsnyen bkur sogs kyi phyag mchod 'bul gyis dge ba'i las rgyas chen po

gnang song / /

'di zla'i nang kam shin nar sa heb steng zhal lhan rgyas mchog 'di gar sa bskor la chibs bsgyur gnang song ba/

dbyin zla 6 ta rig 20 nyin/ 'di ga'i slob grwa khag gi slob ma rnam nas me la thang du rtсал gyi rtсед 'jo sna

tshogs kyi gzigs mo phul song //

/nye lam rgya gar paN+Di ta zhig bod nas mar bka' bstan gsung 'bum zhal thang rnying ma sogs do po 40 lhag tsam

mnyam du khyer nas phebs byung ba/ khong rang bal yul brgyud bod la phebs te lo 1 lhag lha sar bzhugs 'dug

pa/ bod skad yang yag po gsungs shes kyi 'dug/ 'di nas sing+ga lar phebs kyi brjod nas phebs song //

### Tibet, 5/4/2

/nye lam sa heb gsum rdor gling nas bod phyogs sa skor du phebs song ba/ de dag rgyal rtse bar du phebs te de

nas gong sa chen po mchog la 'bul rten 'bul mi gtong gnang thog gong sa chen po mchog nas kyang gsol ras gzim

rgya khyi pho zung gcig dang bcas gnang ba chen po gnang zhing sa heb de dag gzhi rtse sgam rdzong brgyud nye

lam phyir phebs song ba'i gnas tshul thos//

/mda' tshab sku gzhogs 'tsho sgog spo yul nas rgyal khyab tu phyir phebs thog gong sa chen po mchog nas mda' dpon

gyi go gnas gnang ba'i gnas tshul thos par bkris mnga' gsol zhu//

/nye lam lha sa nas rtse drung 2 bros shor du song ba'i hun thos//

### World News, 5/3/3

/jar pan du yang nas yang du sa g.yos skyon chen byung stabs sa g.yo ma 'byung sngon du sa g.yo 'byung rgyu bstan

thub pa'i 'phrul 'khor zhig yod na legs shes ldan khag nas de lta bu zhig bzo bar 'bad brtson bgyid skad//

'di lo a mi ri kar char chu dkon stabs lo thog nongs pas mu ge'i 'jigs pa che skad//

/deng ing lenD du mi lnga'i nang mi re la las ka med par yod skad/ ing lenD du mi grangs bye ba lnga lhag yod

tshod/ las med rnam la sa zhing sogs su las ka byed thabs kyi bka' mol gzhung sa mchog nas gnang gi yod pa'i hun

thos//

'dzam gling nang lo rgan shos mi gcig a mi ri kar yod 'dug pa/ de'i lo 156 lon kyang da dung mig gsal la lus

thang pa yod 'dug/ des bud med bcu gnyis skye dman lan nas de dag thams cad lnga lam du gyur ba'i hun

thos//

/in yul du lo rer a rag gi 'gro song sgor 364440000 dang yong sgo sgor 16982640000 yin tshod//

## Miscellaneous – Innovation, 5/2/3

gnam gru/ gnam gru/

/'ber lin nas/

dbyin zla 7 ta rig 20/ ring min yu rob tu gnam gru pa 60 tham pas nyin zhag 12 nang gnam gru btang ste yu rob  
kyi mtha' bzhir skor rgyu yin 'dug pa de rnams kyi nang 'byin ji'i gnam gru pa 7 yod 'dug cing de bdun po'i nang la Ti  
'pe li ??? dang mi se su pu nar zhes pa bud med 2 kyang yod 'dug pa bcas/ yu rob kyi mtha' bzhir skor na me li  
4700 thams pa yod 'dug/ nyin 12 la me li 4700 tham pa skor thub na nyin 1 la me li ga tshod skor thub?/

## SERVICE

### Economy – Lists, 5/6/4

/ka tar gser dngul gyi gong /

gser ang dang po to lar 21-14

gser ang gnyis po to lar 21-8-0

gser ang gsum po to lar 21-5-0

dngul to la brgya tham par 47-8-0

zangs mon dor sgor 40-8-0

rag mon dor sgor 35-0-0

/pags rigs/

/wa spus legs la sgor 9 10 tsam/

o dkar spus legs la bcu gnyis 14/

gsa' spus legs la 15-20 tsam/

dbyi dkar spus legs la 15-20 tsam/

/rnga ma/

/rnga ma dkar po mon la sgor 40

/rnga ma nag po mon la sgor 35

tsam byed yod tshod 'dug/

/bal/

bal gong ni brtan khel rang mi 'dug kyang rim pa'i phar gyi yod skad kyi gnas tshul thos//

## Entertainment – Proverbs, 5/6/1

/gtam dpe/

/lus la na tsha med na // gdong la drag pa mi chags//

gro ma rting la med na// gro lo kha la mi thon//

## Opinion 5/4/1

yang 'di skad du/ mig lan mig gis 'jal/ so lan sos 'jal dgos shes gsungs pa khyod rnams kyi thos so//'on kyang  
ngas khyod rnams la zer/ khyod kyi mi ngan pa la ma rgol zhig/ sus kyang khyod kyi 'gram pa g.yas pa la

'gram lcag rgyab na/ de la g.yon pa yang btod cig/ yang mis sus kyang khyod khirms la khrid cing khyod  
kyi gos 'phrog na/ khyod kyi bla gos kyang 'khyer du chug cig yang su zhig gis khyod dpag tshad  
gcig 'u lag bskul na/ de dang dpag tshad gnyis song zhig/ khyod la zhus pa de la ster zhig/ khyod nas  
nor skyi bar 'dod pa de la rgyab ma ston cig/ yang 'di skad du/ khyod kyi sa rang gi khyim mtshes la byams  
pa dang / 'gra bo la sdang bar byed dgos shes gsungs pa khyod rnams kyis thos so// 'on kyang ngas  
khyod rnams la zer/ khyod kyis rang gi dgra bo rnams la byams sems skyed/ khyod la gnod pa  
byed mkhan rnams kyi don du gsol ba thob cig/ de ltar byed na khyod rnams kyi wab nam mkha' la bzhugs pa  
de'i sras yin par 'gyur ro// gong du gsal ba de ni ston pa ye shus gsungs pa'i bka' chos so//  
/mad tha+a 'phrin bzang shes bya ba'i mdo'i le'u lnga ang 38 nas 45 bar du bshus so//

### **Advertisements, 5/4/4**

/smyu gu ya mtshan can /

/snag bum mi dgos/

smyug gri mi dgos/ rang bzhin snag tsha'i chu mig thon pa'i smyu gu ya mtshan can/

/skar ma lnga'i yun la yig 'bru grangs mang 'bri thub pa 'di su la thugs mkho mchis na sgrag [sbrag?] tu 'bul lam zhu

'thus// rin ni sgor 30 tham pa/ sgor 20 tham pa/ bco lnga/ bcu tham pa/ dma' tshad sgor lnga'o//





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