

喇嘛、女皇與茶葉： 帝國之模式與中英在二十世紀初西藏的較量

李皓同 (Scott Relyea)

美國阿帕拉契州立大學 (Appalachian State University) 歷史系助理教授

漢學研究中心獎助學人

20世紀起，西藏高原就是英屬印度和清朝之間密集接觸和競爭的地區。甚至早在1904年楊赫斯本爵士 (Sir Francis Younghusband) 遠征西藏前，印度盧比已經成為高原上的主要貨幣。英國探險者們仔細蒐羅關於西藏東部天然資源，以及有厚利可圖的邊境茶葉交易的資訊。我的報告要探討的是英國與清朝政府的官員、商人、以及探險家在西藏的康區 (Kham region) 的互動關係，以及這個互動關係如何影響中國在這個包圍著四川省的地區的政策。

儘管四川省負責康區治理的官員和他們的英國對手，對康巴族 (Khampa) 社群有著一致的觀點，他們也清楚知道印度盧比的越境使用、英國探險者以及充滿野心的鐵路計畫形同清朝的挑戰，甚至可以說是與同時期在中國海岸地區爭奪權力的政策平行的領土擴張的序曲。1861年總理衙門的設立，中英之間的密切接觸依循兩個軌道：一、北京如何看待英國的政治和外交手段，二、帝國邊疆的康區的經濟和政治活動，二者給予清朝主張西藏高原統治權的樣本。受前述英國模式以及「領土」、「主權」等全球化新詞彙的影響，20世紀最初10年四川政府在政策思維上，暗中削弱拉薩當地利用僧院組織對清朝統治權的挑戰，並且強化清朝在國際法上的訴求，進而使英國、印度、俄國知難而退。

我的演講將深度分析上述政策中的兩項：。一枚依據印度盧比鑄造的銀幣，以及一個部分以英國的茶葉公司和印度茶葉聯盟為範本的茶葉專賣公司。二者都直接造成英屬印度及拉薩在康區的政治、社會以及經濟力量的弱化。清朝在適應19世

紀晚期到 20 世紀初期中英在康區的互動關係的過程中，發展出的這些政策模式，顯示出歐洲與美國的主權概念，如何透過這樣的管道影響帝國與帝國、國家與國家之間的關係。

Lamas, Empresses, and Tea: Imperial models and Sino-British encounters in early twentieth century Tibet

As the twentieth century opened, the Tibetan plateau was a zone of intense imperial contact – and competition – between British India and Qing China. Even before the 1904 Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa, Indian rupees had become the primary currency of commercial exchange across the plateau, and British explorers had gathered detailed knowledge of both the presumed natural resource bounty of eastern Tibet and the lucrative border tea trade traversing it. This paper explores this interaction between British and Qing officials, merchants, and explorers in the Kham region of ethnographic Tibet, and its influence on transformative Chinese policies in these borderlands straddling Sichuan Province.

Although Sichuan officials directly engaged with administering Kham shared a common perception of Khampa society with their British counterparts, they also recognised the encroachment of Indian rupees, British explorers, and ambitious railway plans as challenges to Qing authority, if not a prologue to territorial expansion paralleling the contemporaneous scramble for concessions in coastal China. Beginning with the establishment of the Zongli Yamen in 1861, close Sino-British interaction along two tracks, British ‘lessons’ in statecraft and diplomacy in the imperial capital Beijing and commercial and political actions in the imperial borderlands of Kham, provided models for Qing assertion of exclusive authority on the plateau. Fostered by the newly globalising norms territoriality and sovereignty inflected in these British models, the resulting transformative policies implemented by Sichuan officials in the first decade of the twentieth century sought to undermine Lhasa’s local challenge to Qing authority via monasteries, and thereby legitimating appeal to international law to repel the regional challenge from both British India and Russia.

This paper analyses two of these policies in depth, a silver coin modelled on the Indian rupee and a monopoly tea company partly modelled on British tea firms and the Indian Tea Association, both of which contributed to weakening the political, social, and economic power projected into Kham by British India and Lhasa. The adaptation of these models in Qing policies fostered by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Sino-British encounter in Kham reveals the conduits through which Euro-American norms of authority were shared and demonstrates their power to transform relations in the interstices of global power, where empires met empires and states met states.

主講人介紹：

李皓同 (Scott Relyea)，美國籍，李教授係美國芝加哥大學中國史博士，現任美國阿帕拉契州立大學歷史系助理教授。李教授的研究領域主要是 19 至 20 世紀中國和西藏的關係，並進一步探討其與全球化、殖民帝國等課題的連結。本次獲漢學研究中心獎助，來臺研究主題為「學當殖民主義者：『Effective Occupation』以及 20 世紀初漢人殖民康區」。